UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU

Wydział Archeologii

Piotr Zeman

Mycenaean Palatial Towns

Contextual and Comparative Study

Mykeńskie miasta pałacowe

Studium kontekstualne i porównawcze

PRACA DOKTORSKA

Praca napisana pod kierunkiem:
prof. dr hab. Janusza Czebreszuka
dr hab. Bartłomieja Lisa

Poznań 2023

Abstrakt

W rozprawie zaproponowano zdefiniowanie jednej ze zurbanizowanych form osadnictwa mykeńskiego jako miasta pałacowego, a więc osady złożonej z pałacu, siedziby władzy centralnej zajmującej rdzeń osady oraz dolnego miasta, na które składają się wszystkie budynki znajdujące się poza rdzeniem pałacowym. Osadę można dalej podzielić na strefy, określone dzielnice osady, które można zdefiniować funkcjonalnie i strukturalnie. Podstawowy podział wewnętrzny między elitarną strefą pałacową i otaczającą ją osadą jest zawsze widoczny archeologicznie. W rozprawie zebrano wszystkie opublikowane dane archeologiczne i historyczne dotyczące trzech mykeńskich miast pałacowych – Myken i Tirynsu w Argolidzie oraz Pylos w Mesenii. Porównawcza analiza organizacji każdej osady następuje po obszernym omówieniu wszystkich danych dotyczących fortyfikacji, krajobrazu grobowego i wszystkich znanych budynków. We wszystkich trzech omawianych miastach pałacowych wyróżniono odrębne strefy osadnicze. W Mykenach były to ufortyfikowana Cytadela, Wewnętrzna Strefa Kultowo-Grzebalna oraz Dolne Miasto. W Tirynsie osadę można podzielić na Górną Cytadelę o statusie pałacowym, Dolną Cytadelę pełniącą głównie funkcje gospodarcze oraz Dolne Miasto. W Pylos nieufortyfikowana elitarna Strefa Pałacowe została oddzielona od Wewnętrznej Strefy Kultowo-Grzebalnej oraz Dolnego Miasta.

Abstract

The dissertation proposes to define one of the urban forms of Mycenaean settlements as *palatial towns*. Those are settlements consisting of a palace, a central authority occupying the elite core of the settlement, and the lower town, composed of all the buildings outside of the palatial core. The settlement can be further divided into *zones*, specific districts of the settlement that can be functionally and structurally defined. The basic internal division between the palatial elite zone and the settlement surrounding it, is always archaeologically visible. The dissertation collects all the published archaeological and historical data on three Mycenaean palatial towns – Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, and Pylos in Messenia. The settlement analysis with the use of comparative urbanism approach follows the extensive discussion of all the data on the fortifications, funerary landscape and buildings of the three aforementioned sites. Distinct settlement zones were recognized in all three palatial towns under discussion. At Mycenae those were the fortified Citadel, the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, and the Lower Town. At Tiryns the settlement can be divided into the Upper Citadel of palatial status, the Lower Citadel performing mainly economic functions, and the Lower Town. At Pylos the unfortified elite palatial core zone was divided from the Inner Cult and Burial Zone and the Lower Town.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors – prof. Janusz Czebreszuk for invaluable advice and continuous support, and prof. Bartłomiej Lis for patient mentoring, many discussions and investigating Mycenae together. Many of the ideas regarding the development of the latter site which are discussed in this dissertation resulted from our common work.

My gratitude extends to my teachers from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, especially prof. Mateusz Jaeger who gave me valuable lessons about archaeology and guided me to relational approach to urbanism. My appreciation also goes out to lecturers and staff from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki who supported me during my Erasmus stay. This regards especially prof. Stelios Andreou and prof. Kostas Kotsakis, whom I thank for their guidance and broadening my approach to Aegean Bronze Age.

I would also like to thank my friends: dr Katarzyna Dudlik for fruitful collaboration on Mycenae research and preparing some of the figures used in this work, and Charles Sturge for many discussions on the Aegean Bronze Age and correcting my English.

Finishing this dissertation would not be possible without the research project sponsored by a generous grant from the National Science Centre, Poland (project number 2018/31/N/HS3/00884), for which I am grateful.

I have to also thank my family and friends for their tremendous understanding and encouragement in the past few years. I am especially grateful to my fiancée Anna, without whom this work probably would not have been completed, for her continuous help and support.

Preface

The dissertation discusses Mycenaean palatial towns on the Peloponnese, focusing on urbanisation processes and formation of Mycenaean urban tradition. This research stemmed from my interest on Mycenaean lower towns, and search for the ordinary people within the Late Helladic social system, and those interests still show up in the content of the dissertation, which attempts not to focus on the Mycenaean palaces more than necessary. Although their role in the formation of Mycenaean urbanism was profound, which is also evident throughout the discussion, they were also subjects of numerous in-depth analysis already available in the literature, which I often referred too. Thus, I tried to limit the discussion of the form and organisation of the palatial buildings to the minimum, while paying more attention to other buildings. Nevertheless, in certain cases regarding especially the origins of the palatial culture on the Greek Mainland a more extensive discussion was necessary.

The work is divided into five chapters. Chapter I is the introduction, discussing goals and research hypothesis, history of research, theoretical background and research methodology. It is followed by three chapters on specific sites under study: Chapter II on Mycenae, Chapter III on Tiryns, and Chapter IV on Pylos. Those constitute the core of the present dissertation, being in each case divided into sections on geographical context, chronology and settlement horizons, fortifications, funerary landscape and all the buildings of the site, with the discussion on the latter further organised according to the topography of the settlements. Chapter V presents summary and conclusions of the research, with the discussion organised chronologically. The Bibliography listing all the referenced literature follows, with the journal names abbreviated according to the *American Journal of Archaeology* format if possible.

The tables which are presented at the end of the work are its essential part. Apart from those showing the chronology (tab. 1) and chronological synchronisms (tab. 2) they all contain data on the elements of the built environment which were catalogued for this research (tabs. 3-7). The main catalogue of the dissertation is the catalogue of buildings (tab. 5), containing data on exactly 200 architectural units: 69 for Mycenae, 93 for Tiryns, and 38 for Pylos. Those are marked by the identification codes composed of the site code and buildings number, that I use throughout the text. Some of those buildings are grouped in multi-building complexes, which area additionally listed in a separate catalogue (tab. 6). The plans of buildings and tholos tombs are grouped in separate tables (tabs. 8-9), being essential parts of the respective catalogues, while all other figures are presented at the very end of the dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ... 1
Preface ... 2
TABLE OF CONTENTS ... 3
LIST OF FIGURES ... 10
LIST OF TABLES ... 17
Chapter I Introduction ... 18
1. Introduction to Bronze Age Aegean archaeology ... 18
1.1. Terminology and relative chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age ... 18
1.2. Absolute chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age ... 20
2. Goals and research hypothesis ... 20
3. History of research and state of the art ... 22
3.1. History of research on the Mycenaean palatial sites ... 22
3.2. Homer and the Mycenaean culture ... 26
3.3. Early definitions of urbanism in archaeology ... 27
3.4. Processual archaeology and new studies of urbanism and proto-urbanism in the Aegean ... 27
3.5. Contemporary studies of urbanization and urbanism in the Minoan and Mycenaean culture ... 29
4. Theoretical background ... 30
4.1. Modern urban archaeology and comparative urbanism ... 30
4.2. Relational archaeology and relational approach to urbanism ... 31
4.3. Theory of Entanglement ... 32
4.4. Palatial towns from theoretical perspective ... 33
5. Research methodology ... 34
5.1. Criteria for the choice of the sites under study ... 34
5.2. Criteria for the collection of data and the used sources ... 37
5.3. Construction and range of the database and the catalogue ... 38
5.4. Criteria for the analysis and interpretation of catalogued contexts ... 41
Chapter II Mycenae ... 45
1. Geographical setting of the site ... 45
2. Settlement horizons and their chronology ... 46
3. Fortifications ... 47
3.1. First phase ... 47
3.2. Second phase ... 48
4. Funerary landscape ... 51

4.1. Prehistoric Cemetery 51
4.2. Chamber tomb cemeteries 53
4.3 Tholos tombs 53
4.3.1. Group I 54
4.3.2. Group II 54
4.3.3. Group III 55
4.4. Other burials 57
5. Buildings of the Acropolis 58
5.1. Summit and the Northeast Slope 58
5.1.1. Palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** 58
5.1.1.1. Palace Main Wing **[MYC2]** 59
5.1.1.2. Building on the Great Court **[MYC3]** 62
5.1.1.3. Palace East Wing **[MYC4]** 63
5.1.1.4. Buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6]** 65
5.1.1.5. Other buildings of the palatial complex **[MYC7-10]** 65
5.1.1.6. Summary of the complex 67
5.1.2. Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]** 69
5.2. Northwest Slope 71
5.2.1. House M Complex **[MYC13-15]** 71
5.2.2. Building K **[MYC16]** 74
5.2.3. Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]** 75
5.3. West slope 79
5.3.1. Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** 79
5.3.1.1. The Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]** 79
5.3.1.2. Ramp House **[MYC21]** 80
5.3.1.3 House of the Warrior Vase **[MYC22]** 82
5.3.1.4. South House with Annex **[MYC23]** 83
5.3.1.5. Granary **[MYC24]** 85
5.3.1.6. Summary of the complex 87
5.3.2. Building above the Little Ramp **[MYC25]** 90
5.3.3. Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** 91
5.3.3.1. Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]** 91
5.3.3.2. Tsountas House **[MYC27]** 92
5.3.3.3. The Megaron **[MYC28]** 93
5.3.3.4. The Temple **[MYC29]** 94
5.3.3.5. Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]** 97
5.3.3.6. Summary of the complex 100

5.3.4. Citadel House Complex **[MYC31-36]** 103
5.3.5. Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]** 108
6. Buildings of the Lower Town 115
6.1. Area in front of the Lion Gate **[MYC45]** 115
6.2. Museum Area 117
6.2.1. House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46]** 117
6.2.2. The "Workshop" **[MYC47]** 118
6.3. Pezoulia 120
6.3.1. Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]** 120
6.3.2. Southwest Trench Building **[MYC54]** 123
6.3.3. Petsas House **[MYC55]** 123
6.4. Panagia Ridge – North Area 126
6.4.1. Southwest House **[MYC56]** 126
6.4.2. West House Group **[MYC57-60]** 126
6.4.2.1. West House **[MYC57]** 127
6.4.2.2. House of Shields **[MYC58]** 129
6.4.2.3. House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** 130
6.4.2.4. House of Sphinxes **[MYC60]** 131
6.4.2.5. Summary of the complex 134
6.4.3. East House **[MYC61]** 137
6.5. Panagia Ridge – South Area 138
6.5.1. Lisa's House **[MYC62]** 138
6.5.2. Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** 139
6.5.2.1. House I **[MYC63]** 139
6.5.2.2. House II **[MYC64]** 140
6.5.2.3. House III **[MYC65]** 143
6.5.2.4. Summary of the complex 145
6.5.3. House of Lead **[MYC66]** 149
6.5.4. Makri Lithari Complex **[MYC67-68]** 150
6.6. Southwest bank of Khavos 150
6.7. Plakes **[MYC69]** 151
7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Mycenae 153
7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH III – LH II) 153
7.2. Initial formation of the palatial town (LH IIIA1) 155
7.3. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA2) 157
7.4. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB1 – LH IIIB2 Early) 160
7.5. Palatial town – Phase 3 (LH IIIB2 Early – end of LH IIIB) 165

7.6. Decomposition of the palatial town (LH IIIC) 172
7.6.1. LH IIIC Early 173
7.6.2. LH IIIC Middle 174
7.6.3. Later history of the settlement 176
Chapter III Tiryns 177
1. Geographical context of the site 177
2. Chronology and settlement horizons 178
3. Fortifications 179
3.1. First phase 180
3.2. Second phase 180
4. Funerary landscape 182
4.1. Chamber tomb cemetery at Profitis Ilias 182
4.2. Tholos tomb 183
4.3. North Lower Citadel cemetery 184
4.4. Other burials 184
5. Buildings of the Citadel 185
5.1. Upper Citadel 185
5.1.1. Palace at Tiryns **[TIR1-3]** 186
5.1.2. Building T **[TIR4]** 188
5.2. Lower Citadel 189
5.2.1. Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]** 190
5.2.2. Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22]** 193
5.2.2.1. North Area **[TIR9-10]** 194
5.2.2.2. North-west Area **[TIR11-14]** 196
5.2.2.3. West Area **[TIR15-17]** 201
5.2.2.4. South-west Area **[TIR18]** 208
5.2.2.5. South-east Area **[TIR19-20]** 209
5.2.2.6. East Area **[TIR21-22]** 210
5.2.2.7. Summary of the complex 211
5.2.3. Ruins of the Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR23-27]** 215
5.2.4. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-55]** 219
5.2.4.1. North Area **[TIR28-30]** 219
5.2.4.2. North-west Area **[TIR31-33]** 221
5.2.4.3. West Area **[TIR34-49]** 223
5.2.4.4. South-west Area **[TIR50-53]** 231
5.2.4.5. South-east Area **[TIR 54]** 234
5.2.4.6. Summary of the complex 234

6. Buildings of the Lower Town 240
6.1. North-eastern Sector 240
6.1.1 Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** 241
6.1.2 Areas L, M and N **[TIR62-64]** 247
6.2. North-western Sector 247
6.2.1 Building R6/18 **[TIR65]** 248
6.2.2 Northwest Building **[TIR66]** 248
6.2.3 Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** 249
6.2.3.1 Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** 249
6.2.3.2. Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]** 251
6.2.3.3. Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** 252
6.2.3.4 Summary of the complex 254
6.2.4 Complex O **[TIR70-71]** 256
6.3. Western Sector 258
6.3.1 Area P **[TIR72]** 259
6.3.2 House 49 Complex **[TIR73]** 259
6.3.3 Area D **[TIR74]** 260
6.4. South-western Sector 260
6.4.1 Area C **[TIR75]** 262
6.4.2 Area E **[TIR76]** 262
6.5. South-eastern Sector 262
6.5.1 Area F1 **[TIR77]** 262
6.5.2. Area F 263
6.5.2.1 Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]** 263
6.5.2.2 Complex F2 **[TIR80-81]** 264
6.5.2.3 Complex F1 **[TIR82-84]** 265
6.5.3 Area G1 **[TIR85]** 267
6.5.4 Area H 267
6.5.4.1 House D1-D2 **[TIR86]** 267
6.5.4.2 Walls in Area H **[TIR87]** 268
6.5.4.3 House M **[TIR88]** 269
6.5.4.4 Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]** 269
6.6. Eastern Sector 271
6.6.1 Area H1 **[TIR91]** 271
6.6.2 Area K **[TIR92]** 271
6.6.3 Building in area K1 **[TIR93]** 271
7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Tiryns 272

7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH III – LH II) 272
7.2. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA) 273
7.3. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB1) 275
7.4. Palatial town – Phase 3 (LH IIIB2) 277
7.5. Post-palatial town and its decomposition (LH IIIC) 281
7.5.1. LH IIIC Early 281
7.5.2. LH IIIC Middle 1 284
7.5.3. LH IIIC Middle 2 285
7.6. Later history of the settlement 287
Chapter IV Pylos 288
1. Geographical setting of the site 288
2. Settlement horizons and their chronology 289
3. Fortifications 290
4. Funerary landscape 292
4.1. Vayenas Grave Circle and the Shaft Graves 292
4.2. Tholos tombs 293
4.3 Chamber tombs 295
5. Buildings of the Acropolis 296
5.1. Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** 296
5.1.1. Proto-palace **[PYL1]** 297
5.1.2. First Palace **[PYL3]** 298
5.1.3. Main Building **[PYL4]** 299
5.1.4. South-western Building **[PYL5]** 302
5.1.5. North-eastern Building **[PYL6]** 303
5.1.6. Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** 304
5.1.7. Building 82 **[PYL8]** 305
5.1.8. Summary of the complex 305
5.2. Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** 309
5.2.1. Building 106 **[PYL9]** 309
5.2.2. Building 101/102/103 **[PYL10]** 310
5.2.3. Summary of the complex 311
5.3. Building P13 **[PYL11]** 312
5.4. Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14]** 313
6. Buildings of the Lower Town 314
6.1. Slopes of Ano Englianos **[PYL15-25]** 314
6.2. Area AA **[PYL26-27]** 317
6.3. Area LT **[PYL28-32]** 317

6.4. Petropoulos Field **[PYL33]** 319
6.5. Tsakonas Field **[PYL34-36]** 319
6.6. Dimopoulos Field **PYL37-38]** 320
7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Pylos 321
7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH – LH II) 322
7.2. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA) 327
7.3. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early) 331
7.4. Later history of the settlement 335
Chapter V Summary and Conclusions 337
1. Introduction 337
2. Early Mycenaean period (LH I-II) 337
3. Transition to the Mycenaean palatial period (LH IIB – LH IIIA2 Early) 342
4. Mycenaean palatial period (LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB/C Early) 344
4.1. LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB1 346
4.2. LH IIIB2 – LH IIIC Early 349
5. Post-palatial period (LH IIIC) 354
Biblipography 357
TABLES 398
FIGURES 509

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. The Area of Mycenae with Mycenaean roads indicated (French et al. 2003). Red lines: Stretches of roads plotted by Steffen (1884).

Fig. 2. Plan of the citadel of Mycenae (after French 2010, fig. 50.2, modified by the author)

Fig. 3. The area of Mycenae with locations of tombs indicated (French et al. 2003).

Fig. 4. Map of Mycenae with tholos tombs and the excavated buildings of the Lower Town (after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2, modified by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author).

Fig. 5. The palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 2 of the complex (LH IIIA2 Late – LH IIIB2).

Fig. 6. The palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 3 of the complex (LH IIIB2).

Fig. 7. The post-palatial reoccupation at the palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 4 of the complex (LH IIIC Early-Middle).

Fig. 8. Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]** (after Mylonas 1965, pl. B).

Fig. 9. House M Complex **[MYC13-15]** (Pliatsika 2015, fig. 1).

Fig. 10. Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]** (Iakovidis 2006, plan 1).

Fig. 11. Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** (Iakovidis 1983, plan 6-7, modified by the author)**.**

Fig. 12. Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (Taylour 1981, plan 6, modified by the author)**.**

Fig. 13. Section through Granary and Lion Gate (French 2011, fig. 8).

Fig. 14. Detailed plan of the area around Granary (Wace et al. 1923, pl. I).

Fig, 15. Fragment of Steffen's map of Mycenae with the area around Granary (after Steffen 1884).

Fig. 16. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIA – *WBM* phase V (after Wardle 2015, fig. 3 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 17 West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB1 Early – *WBM* phase VIA (after Wardle 2015, fig. 4 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 18. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB1 Late – *WBM* phase VIB (after Wardle 2015, fig. 6 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 19. West Slope of the (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VII (after Wardle 2015, fig. 6, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 20. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) at the end of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VIIIA (after Wardle 2015, fig. 7, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 21. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB2 Late – *WBM* phase VIIIB (after Wardle 2015, fig. 7, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 22. Architectural sequence of the Citadel House **[MYC31-36]**, drawn over the LH IIIB buildings previously occupying the area (French 2011).

Fig. 23. Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]**, with main communication routes of the complex indicated in green (after Iakovidis 2013, plan 1, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 24. Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]** (after French 1961, fig. 1, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 25. West House Group **[MYC57-60]** (after Tournavitou 1995, fig. 2, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 26. West House **[MYC57]** reconstruction. (Tournavitou 2006, figs 15–16).

Fig. 27. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the first phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 28. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the second phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 29. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the third phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 30. Section A-A through the south part of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, looking north (Mylonas-Shear 1987).

Fig. 31. Plan of the excavations on the southwest bank of Khavos (after http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html, accessed on 13.06.2022).

Fig. 32. Plan of the Early Mycenaean (LH I-II) settlement of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 33. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the end of LH IIIA2 – *WBM* phase V (after French 2002, fig. 16 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 34. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA2) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 35. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VII (after French 2002, fig. 16 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 36. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB1-B2 Early) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 37. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Late – *WBM* phase VIIIB. The main communication routes indicated with green (after French 2010, fig. 50.2, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 38. Plan of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Early – end of LH IIIB) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 39. Plan of the early post-palatial (LH IIIC Early) settlement at Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 40. Post-palatial reoccupation of the Acropolis of Mycenae, with the areas of presumed activity during LH IIIC Early- Middle indicated (after French 2002, fig. 64 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 41. Plan of the later post-palatial (LH IIIC Middle) settlement at Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

Fig. 42. Changes of the coastline in the eastern part of the Argive Plain (Zangger 1994, fig. 4).

Fig. 43. Map showing the course of the Manessi River: 1) from the Neolithic to LH IIIB2; 2) during the natural diversion in LH IIIB2/C; and 3) after the artificial redirection (Zangger 1994, fig. 13).

Fig. 44. The extent of the area of periodical flooding between LH IIIIA2 and LH IIIB2 (Maran 2010, fig. 54.1).

Fig. 45. The development of the Tiryns Citadel.

Fig. 46. The location of settlement areas and cemeteries of Tiryns and Nauplion (after Zangger 1994, fig. 13 modified by the author).

Fig. 47. Phases of development of the Citadel at Tiryns (Kilian 1988b, fig. 9).

Fig. 48. The final palace at Tiryns **[TIR3 – phase 2]** (Jantzen 1975, fig. 6)**.**

Fig 49. Lower Citadel in LH IIIB1 and the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]** (Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 100).

Fig. 50. The south part of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 1b]** (after Kilian 1988a, fig. 38).

Fig. 51. The south part of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 2a]** (after Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 134).

Fig. 52. Lower Citadel at Tiryns in LH IIIB2, with names of areas indicated (after Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 101).

Fig. 53. Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22 – phase 1]** in LH IIIB2 Early - Horizon 17a3 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 3, modified by the author).

Fig. 54. Lower Citadel Complex [TIR9-22 – phase 2] in LH IIIB2 Late - Horizon 17a5 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 4, modified by the author).

Fig. 55. Lower Citadel Ruins [TIR23-27] in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 5, modified by the author).

Fig. 56. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 1a]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19ba (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 6. modified by the author).

Fig. 57. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 1b]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19b1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 7, modified by the author).

Fig. 58. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2a]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19b1 Ende (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 8, modified by the author).

Fig. 59. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2b]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 - Horizon 20a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 9, modified by the author).

Fig. 60. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2c]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 - Horizon 20a3 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 10, modified by the author).

Figure 61. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2d]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 11, modified by the author).

Fig. 62. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2e]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21b1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 12, modified by the author).

Fig. 63. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2f]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21c1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 13, modified by the author).

Fig. 64. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 14, modified by the author).

Fig. 65. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 4]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22c1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 15, modified by the author).

Fig. 66. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 5a]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22d1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 16, modified by the author).

Fig. 67. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 5b]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22d1 Ende (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 17, modified by the author).

Fig. 68. Reconstruction of Building R117 **[TIR41]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 5).

Fig. 69. Reconstruction of Building R110 **[TIR42]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 6).

Fig.70. Reconstruction of Building R110a **[TIR43]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 7).

Fig. 71. The Lower Town of Tiryns with sectors and locations of complexes and individual buildings indicated (after Zangger 1994, fig. 5 modified by the author).

Fig. 72. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 2]** in LH IIIC Early 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 5)

Fig. 73. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16)

Fig. 74. Spatial omparison of the second and third phase of the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 2-3]**(after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, figs 5, 16).

Fig. 75. Results of the geophysical survey in the North-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (Hübner and Giese 2006, fig. 4)

Fig. 76. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 4]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 20).

Fig. 77. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 5]** in LH IIIC Middle 2/LH IIIC Late (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 27)

Fig. 78. Areas L **[TIR62]**, M **[TIR63]**, and N **[TIR64]**. Fragment of the North-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1)

Fig.79. North-western Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns, with part of the North-eastern Sector also visible (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 1).

Fig. 80. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1a]** during LH IIIC Early 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30 modified by the author)

Fig. 81. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1b]** during LH IIIC Early 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30 modified by the author)

Fig. 82. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 2]** during LH IIIC Middle 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 99 modified by the author).

Figure 83. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 1]** in LH IIIC Early – Horizon 19A (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 57)

Fig. 84. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 2]** in LH IIIC Early – Horizon 19B (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 58).

Fig. 85. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Middle 1 – Horizon 19C (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 59).

Fig. 86. The West Area of the Lower Town at Tiryns (after Rieger and Böser 1990, pl. 3).

Fig.87. A – the extent of the geophysical survey conducted in the Lower Town of Tiryns; B – results of the geoelectric survey of the West Area; C – results of the geomagnetic survey of the West Area (Hübner and Giese 2006, figs 1–3).

Fig. 88. South-west Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1).

Fig. 89. South-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1).

Fig. 90. Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]**. Walls of Phase 1 marked in red (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 4; with modifications by the author).

Figure 91. Complex F3 **[TIR80-81]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 3).

Fig. 92. Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 2).

Fig. 93. Area H in the South-eastern Sector of the Lower Town at Tiryns (Müller et al. 1975, pl. 4)

Fig.94. East Area of the Lower Town at Tiryns (after Rieger and Böser 1990, pl. 5).

Fig. 95. Plan of the Early Mycenaean (LH II) settlement at Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5).

Fig. 96. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5).

Fig. 97. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB1) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5).

Fig. 98. Plan of the first part of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Early) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5)

Fig. 99. Plan of the second part of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Late) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5).

Fig. 100. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIC Early-Middle 1) of the post-palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5)

Fig. 101. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIC Middle 2) of the post-palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5)

Fig. 102. Messenia and the provinces of LBA Pylos (Nakassis 2013, fig. 1.2).

Fig. 103. Topographic map of northwestern Messenia. LBA Pylos is indicated here as “Palace of Nestor”, while all the other marked locations refer to modern towns, including modern Pylos on the coast of Navarino Bay (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 2).

Fig. 104. Reconstruction of the diversion of the Selas River. A: reconstruction of the course of the river during the Early Holocene (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 41). B: present-day topography of the region with the current course of the river (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 42).

Fig. 105. Reconstruction of the Late Bronze Age port of Pylos, with location of drill holes A-D (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 46).

Fig. 106. Pylos Lower Town reconstruction by PRAP. Densities of ceramic material on the surface for: all prehistoric periods, Middle Helladic, Late Helladic I-II, Late Helladic III. The four levels of shading corresppond to densities: 1-375, 375-750, 750-1500, and 1500+ fragmens per ha (Bennet 2007, fig. 3.3; after Davis et al. 1997, fig. 12).

Fig. 107. Proposal of the partial reconstruction of the Early Mycenaean circuit wall at Pylos (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 302 modified by the author).

Fig. 108. Results of the geophysical research conducted west of the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]**. Massive elongated anomaly possibly indicating presene of a defensive wall visible in the top right corner (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 40)

Fig. 109. Map of the Brone Age tombs around the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Murphy 2014, fig. 16.1)**.**

Fig. 110. Area to the northeast of the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Loy, Stocker, and Davis 2021, fig. 1, modified by the author).

Fig. 111. Area around the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 301).

Fig. 112. Acropolis of Pylos in LH I (Nelson 2001, fig. 79, modified by the author).

Fig. 113. Acropolis of Pylos in LH II. Presumed aproximate extent of the central area indicated by green circle (Nelson 2001, fig. 80, modified by the author).

Fig. 114. Acropolis of Pylos in LH IIIA. Presumed extent of the central court indicate by green rectangle (Nelson 2001, fig. 81, modified by the author).

Fig. 115. Proposal of a reconstruction of the Early Palace **[PYL3]** (after Nelson 2001, fig. 81, modified by the author).

Fig. 116. Acropolis of Pylos in early LH IIIB (Nelson 2001, fig. 82, modified by the author).

Fig. 117. L Acropolis of Pylos in late LH IIIB (Nelson 2001, fig. 83, modified by the author).

Fig. 118. Shortest routes of access to the megaron of the Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** during early LH IIIB (on the left) and late LH IIIB (on the right) (Thaler 2006, pl. 16.1-2).

Fig. 119. Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** sector (after Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 309, modified by the author).

Fig. 120. Acropolis of Pylos with construction dates of buildings on the top and the slopes of AnoEnglianos indicated (Blegen et al. 1973, modified by the author).

Fig. 121. Belvedere Complex Area **[PYL12-14 – phase 1]** in LH I/II-LH IIIA (after Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 307, modified by the author)**.**

Fig. 122. Belvedere Complex Area **[PYL12-14 – phase 2]** in LH IIIB (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 307, modified by the author)**.**

Fig. 123. Area W14 (Cooper 2017, fig. 1.36 modified by the author).

Fig. 124. Trenches LT I, II, and III mapped in realtion to the Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 312).

Fig. 125. Plan of the first phase (LH I) of the proto-palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author).

Fig. 126. Plan of the second phase (LH II) of of the proto-palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author).

Fig. 127. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA) of of the palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author).

Fig. 128. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB) of of the palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author).

Tab. 1. Chronology chart. All dates are approximate. Low chronology after Wiener (2020, 283), high chronology after Manning (2010, Table 2.2).

LIST OF TABLES

Tab. 1. Chronology chart. All dates are approximate. Low chronology after Wiener (2020, 283), high chronology after Manning (2010, tab. 2.2).

Tab. 2. Relative chronology of the development and decomposition of the palatial towns of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (*WBM* phases after French 2011; Tiryns Unterburg Horizons after Damm-Meinhardt 2015; Palace at Pylos phases after Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022; synchronisms for LH IIIB after Vitale and Van de Moortel, 2020, tab. 1; synchronisms for LH IIIC after Stockhammer 2008, fig. 4).

Tab. 3. Catalog of fortifications.

Tab. 4. Catalog of cemeteries.

Tab. 5. Catalog of tholos tombs.

Tab. 6. Catalog of buildings.

Tab. 7. Catalog of multi-building complexes.

Tab. 8. Building plans.

Tab. 9. Tholoi plans.

Chapter I Introduction

1. Introduction to Bronze Age Aegean archaeology

Research into the Aegean Bronze Age as a sub-discipline of archaeology was developed during the birth of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the second half of the 19th century. What began as a search for the proof of the historicity of the Homeric poems, has evolved into an academic field in which scientific arguments gradually replaced those built on the fascination with ancient poetry (Kotsonas 2020). However, the early research of both Heinrich Schliemann and Arthur Evans, is not to be neglected as their work underpins our current understanding of the archaeological cultures known as the Mycenaean and Minoan cultures,

1.1. Terminology and relative chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age

The Bronze Age on Crete was divided into Early (EM), Middle (MM) and Late (LM) Minoan period, corresponding to Early (EBA), Middle (MBA) and Late (LBA) Bronze Age. On Mainland Greece a similar system was created, with Early (EH), Middle (MH) and Late (LH) Helladic periods being defined. This tripartite division followed the early 19th century concept of the Three Ages - Stone, Bronze and Iron Age, developed by Christian Thomsen during his reorganization of the archaeological exhibition in the National Museum of Denmark. This basic chronological division was later further developed by Oscar Montelius, who defined multiple phases of European prehistory. He based his studies on the first typologies of artefacts, which allowed him to establish chronological sequences based on formal criteria, and define groups of objects belonging to a given phase (Trigger 2006, 223–32)**.** Such chronological schemes became a standard in European and Mediterranean prehistory, being often further divided into three sub-periods, such as Late Helladic I, II and III. Further divisions were then proposed on the basis of the study of changing forms of objects and stratigraphic sequences, and more sub-phases of material culture were defined (Manning 2010, 11). This process occurred also in the archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age, where a long-standing tradition of typological pottery studies has established a complex scheme of pottery phases.[1] In this way a relative chronological system, which refers solely to the temporal ordering of objects and events relative to each other, was gradually constructed. Although modern archaeological scholarship has long recognized problems in defining dynamic cultural processes in such a way, systems of relative periodization still constitute the basis of how we put the past in order (see tabs 1-2).

[1] See for example Blegen 1921; Furumark 1941; Mountjoy 1986. For a summary of the current development of studies in the pottery of Late Bronze Age Greece see for example Gauss and Ruppenstein 2020.

This dissertation focuses on the internal developments of the Mycenaean culture, which originated on the Greek Mainland at the end of the MH period, and continued until the end of LH period. Aside from the relative chronological scheme of LH I, II, and III periods with their various subdivisions, an alternative periodization of the Mycenaean culture was developed around the main stages of its social development. Thus LH I – LH II period is known as Early Mycenaean, LH IIIA-B is defined as the Palatial period, while LH IIIC is the Post-palatial period.[2] This scheme is simplistic, but to a certain extent reflects the changes in the organization of Late Helladic society, which for almost 200 years was centred around the functioning of the Mycenaean palaces. They were monumental architectural complexes, usually built around a *megaron* and possessing residential, defensive, administrative, economic and religious functions. At the same time, they were the highest institutions of Mycenaean society, embodying the power of a *wanax* (king) and an elite supporting him, over a hierarchical social system and centralised economy (Galaty and Parkinson 2007; Shelton 2010b, 143–45). The impact of the palaces on the Mycenaean culture and specifically on its settlement system is one of the main problems tackled by this dissertation.

The specific assemblage of artefacts that we now define as 'Mycenaean', was most probably originally related to only a fraction of Late Helladic society of Greece, and then gradually spread across the Aegean region in various ways and forms.[3] The historic reality behind this process still escapes modern scholarship, due mostly to the specific nature of available written sources. This constitutes various archives of tablets covered in Linear B. It was used to write an early form of Greek, but was based on the Minoan Linear A script. The tablets were preserved accidentally, due to the fire destruction of most of the palatial complexes in which they were stored. These records are filled, almost exclusively, with information on the daily economy and lack any details about historical events or people involved in them (Bendall and West 2020, 57). Thus, we still do not really know who the Mycenaeans were, or even if such an identity even truly existed in Bronze Age Greece (see for example Maran 2019). The

[2] This division can be viewed in relation to the general Aegean division of "palatial periods", which refers to the development of both Minoan and Mycenaean palaces. In this division there is the First Palace Period (MM IB – MM II, Protopalatial or Old Palace Period on Crete), the Second Palace Period (MM III – LM IB, Neopalatial or New Palace Period on Crete) and the Third Palace Period (LM II/LH IIB – LM IIIB/LH IIIB, Monopalatial or Final Palatial Period on Crete and the Palatial period on the Mainland) (Dickinson 1994, fig. 1.2). This approach sees the Mycenaean palaces as the final part of the general development of palatial cultures in the Aegean, although their relation to the Minoan palaces, and especially to Knossos (the only palace still functioning on Crete during the Third Palace Period), is complex and should not be treated as part of a simple evolutionary scheme (see Chapter V).

[3] For modern analysis of this process from various perspectives see for example Kelder 2010; Feuer 2011; Maran 2011; Dickinson 2014, 150–56; Eder and Jung 2015; Wiener 2020; for a general outline of the development of Mycenaean culture see Maran and Wright 2020.

ethnic and political reality behind our modern archaeological constructs may have been complex and in the case of Aegean Bronze Age it most certainly was, as evidenced for example by intricate and unclear relations between the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures, some of which will be further discussed in this work.

1.2. Absolute chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age

Allocating calendar dates to specific archaeological objects, contexts or phases can be based on various sources. Archaeological-historical dating is based on appearance of imported objects of certain types and/or stylistic features in contexts that are better historically dated due to the appearance of written and inscribed sources, which allow us to establish detailed local chronologies. Thus, for example, late 19th century finds of MM and LH IIIA2 pottery and other Aegean exports in Egypt, provided a basis for Minoan and Mycenaean chronology, proving beyond doubt that they were both pre-Classical cultures. Alternative to this method is science-based dating, which uses modern dating techniques based on analysis of preserved organic materials. The most important of those, and the most relevant for the Aegean Bronze Age, is radiocarbon dating. It is an estimation of the age of a certain object on the basis of the date when it stopped exchanging carbon dioxide with the atmosphere (Manning 2010, 20).This method has become increasingly precise, and during the last 40 years it provided many dates which were in disagreement with the standard archaeological-historical chronologies of Aegean Bronze Age. The main focus of this problem is the date of the volcanic eruption on the island of Thera, which occurred towards the end of LM IA period, but the proposals of the absolute dating of that even span from around ca. 1640 BC to ca. 1520 BC (Manning 2010, 22). Thus, two rival chronologies were developed and are in parallel use in the field. They are known as the Low and High Chronologies being traditionally linked to archaeological-historical and scientific-based dating respectively (tab. 1). However, in recent years some results of radiocarbon dating are also in support of Low Chronology, thus the issue became more complex (Wiener 2020, 279). It is however still far from being resolved. Some intermediate proposals, which date the Theran eruption to ca. 1580-70 BC and are based on new calibrating methods of radiocarbon samples, have also been published (Pearson et al. 2018).

2. Goals and research hypothesis

This work began as a study of Mycenaean lower towns, i.e. the settlements which developed around the Mycenaean palaces during the Palatial period. Interest in the non-palatial contexts and non-elite parts of the Late Helladic societies still constitutes the foundation of this present research. However, in the course of research it became obvious that a holistic study of

Mycenaean palatial settlements and their analysis as urban entities would allow us to understand the functions and histories of the lower towns much better. Thus, this dissertation proposes a new model for understanding lower towns in the Mycenaean culture, the first attempt to interpret this phenomenon in a holistic and contextual approach. The primary research questions that will lead to forming this interpretative model centre around: a) origins and development of lower towns, b) their spatial and socioeconomic relations with the palaces, and functional and structural roles within palatial settlements, c) the role of palatial settlements in regional and trans-regional networks.

The full study of each lower town allows its integration into our picture of the given palatial settlement. Previous studies, focused almost entirely on elite structures (palaces, tombs and the most distinctive buildings), relied on an assumption that settlement histories followed closely those of the palaces. While this is mostly true in certain cases (Pylos), in others we can prove that the occupational history of the site was more complicated and the lower towns often had a history of their own (Mycenae, Tiryns). This holistic approach leads to the formation of a new model of understanding Mycenaean palatial sites.

The main goal of this dissertation is to define and analyse an urbanized form of Mycenaean palatial sites, named the *palatial town*. These are urbanized settlements consisting of a palace, a central authority occupying the elite core of the settlement, and the lower town, comprised of all the buildings outside of the palatial core. The settlement can be further divided into *zones*, specific districts of the settlement that can be functionally and structurally defined, including the palatial core. The basic internal division between the palatial elite zone and the settlement surrounding it, is always archaeologically visible. The palatial core zone and the lower town are mutually related to and dependent on each other socially and economically (see below).

Palatial towns were key nodes of Mycenaean regional settlement networks. They had a special position in each Mycenaean regional system, serving as the primary political, administrative, military and economic centres. This analysis is focused on identifying structural and functional divisions within the settlements, in order to understand their organization. This is crucial for understanding the hierarchy and organization of the regional settlement network. Sites can be sorted into multiple tiers, by differing levels of size and internal organization, both related to economic and political importance. The latter can be determined on the basis of both material (archaeological remains of each settlement) and written records (Linear B tablets with information regarding contacts and relations between settlements). The functional division of the settlement network was based on assigning settlements to specific economic and political

functions in the regional palatial economy. The processes of the formation of those functional and structural divisions mark the important change in the Mycenaean settlement system, and testify to its growing complexity.

3. History of research and state of the art

Mycenaean palatial states have attracted the attention of scholars since research on the Aegean Bronze Age began. In this sub-chapter I will briefly present the history of archaeological fieldwork on the palatial sites of the Greek Mainland, to continue with the discussion of the approach to Homeric poetry.

3.1. History of research on the Mycenaean palatial sites

The archaeology of Mycenaean culture was born when a German pioneer and amateur archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann discovered the sites of Troy and Mycenae in 1870s. He was convinced that he found relics of the so called Heroic Age and had proved the historicity of Homer. Those interpretations were heavily criticized already at the time, as well as his destructive field methods, caused by his lack of professional training (Kotsonas 2020, 77–78). At Mycenae he excavated parts of the citadel, where he found the famous shaft graves of the Early Mycenaean period, and cleared some of the monumental tholos tombs spread around the acropolis hill. Moreover, he brought to the field a young German scholar named Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who was his assistant and main co-worker during excavations at Tiryns, where they have found remains of a Mycenaean palace, and during the second campaign at Troy in the 1880s. Dörpfeld managed to identify and understand the stratigraphy of both sites and corrected many of Schliemann's incorrect interpretations, and thus he might be considered to be a true father of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology (Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886; Schuchardt 1891). Those early discoveries attracted the attention of a wide public audience and paved the way for identifying the cultures of Aegean Bronze Age as separate and different from Greeks of the Iron Age. Soon after Schliemann a Greek archaeologist, Christos Tsountas, began systematic work at Mycenae, uncovering most of the citadel and dozens of Bronze Age tombs, including more tholos tombs. He also excavated many other Bronze Age sites across the Greek Mainland, and wrote the first synthesis of the archaeology of LBA Greek Mainland, focused on the Mycenaean culture (Tsountas and Manatt 1897).

In the early 20th century Aegean prehistory was becoming established as a discipline that was strongly divided from Classical archaeology, which had so far dominated scholarship on the Greek past (Kotsonas 2020, 78). Many systematic excavations began, the most important of which were those of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, Carl Blegen at Korakou and later at Troy

and Pylos, Alan Wace at Mycenae, and Georg Karo and Kurt Müller at Tiryns. They all recognized the importance of stratigraphic sequences and pottery studies and participated in establishing tri-partite relative periodization systems for Crete, the Greek Mainland and the Cyclades. After the Second World War Wace returned to Mycenae and Blegen resumed his work at Pylos. They both continued long-term systematic excavations, and were the first to uncover structures outside of the immediate neighbourhood of the palaces, thus proving beyond doubt that they were surrounded by extensive settlements (Wace 1950, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956a; Blegen and Rawson 1966; Blegen et al. 1973). Wace, in particular, uncovered the remains of multiple buildings outside the walls of Mycenae's citadel, and was the first to write a scientific systematic monograph on the site (Wace 1949). At Pylos Blegen found the Mycenaean palace with the best preserved plan and an extensive archive of Linear B tablets, the largest of this kind on the Greek Mainland, comparable only to that of Knossos. Although all of these early scholars had still believed in historicity of the world described by Homer and used his poems to form interpretations, the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick in 1952 and identification of its language as Greek, soon began a new era in study of the Aegean Bronze Age (Ventris and Chadwick 1956). The work of Moses Finley was a pioneering effort to prove discrepancies between the world of Homer and the one known from excavations of LBA sites and written records from Mycenaean palaces (Finley 1956).

Research on the Mycenaean palatial sites continued in the second half of 20th century, with increasing accuracy of field work and an improved quality of the study of the finds. At Mycenae the excavations of Wace were continued by William Taylour, George Mylonas and Spyros Iakovidis, who all directed and supervised various excavations across the site, both inside the citadel and outside its walls (Taylour 1981; Mylonas 1966d, 1983; Iakovidis 1996, 2006c, 2013a, 2013b). The results of British excavations led by Taylour are published in the *Well Built Mycenae* series, some volumes of which are still in preparation. In the 1990s an important intensive archaeological survey was conducted in order to map the entire site and all of its monuments and publish the *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae* (French et al. 2003), and rescue excavations were conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service to prepare the site for the construction of the new museum (Onasoglou 1995; Danielidou 2008). In the 21st century the site is still intensively researched, with new systematic excavations and non-invasive surveys conducted both inside and outside of the Citadel (Iakovidis 2006a, 2007a, 2008, 2010a, 2010b; Petrakos 2015).[4]

[4] See also http://www.mycenae-excavations.org (access on 1.02.2022).

At Tiryns excavations after the Second World War were first conducted by Greek archaeologists Nikolaos Verdelis, who worked also at Mycenae (Verdelis 1963). The work of German Archaeological Institute was continued since the 1960s under the directorship of Ulf Jantzen, followed by Klaus Kilian in the 1970s and 80s, and later under Joseph Maran, who leads the research on the site to this day (Gercke et al. 1971; Avila et al. 1980; Jantzen 1975; Kilian 1988c; Mühlenbruch 2013; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a; Maran 2000; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006; Maran 2008; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021). The results of the German excavations are gathered in an impressive series of eighteen volumes of reports under the name *Tiryns Forschungen und Berichte*. The research at Tiryns was focused on both the entire interior of the fortified citadel, as well as on the multiple structures identified outside the walls.

At Pylos fieldwork was continued in the 1990s with an extensive survey of the entire region under the supervision of Jack Davis during the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (Davis et al. 1997), while new excavations of the site were conducted by the Minnesota Pylos Project (Cooper and Fortenberry 2017a). In the 21st century intensive research of the palace and the settlement continues, first with a program of reorganization, restudying and publishing many of Blegen's old finds (Stocker and Davis 2014), and later with systematic field research which began in 2015 under the directorship of Davis and Sharon Stocker. The latter led to the discovery of an unlooted Early Mycenaean shaft grave, the so called Grave of the Griffin Warrior, and two previously unknown monumental tholos tombs (Davis and Stocker 2016; Loy, Stocker, and Davis 2021).

During 150 years of fieldwork, Mycenaean palaces have been identified at a few other LH sites, although with a various degree of preservation and confidence in identification. Nowhere else is the plan of a palace was preserved to an extent visible at Pylos, Tiryns or Mycenae. At Athens, an extensive citadel wall of the LH period was uncovered around the Acropolis, and thoroughly studied by Iakovidis. Mycenaean terraces on the summit were probably the foundations of a palace, however almost nothing of it was preserved due to extensive building activity during the 1st millennium BC (Iakovidis 1983, 73–90, 2006b; Alexandridou 2020, 746). At Kastro Palaia in Volos, on the coast of Thessaly, elements of monumental architecture were excavated in the 1950s by Dimitrios Theocharis. He identified them as the Mycenaean palace of Iolkos, although the remains are scarce (Pantou 2010, 390–91). However, the recognition of the palatial status of this site was more recently strengthened by finds of Linear B tablets (Skafida, Karnava, and Olivier 2012).

Work at Thebes has always been heavily impeded by the rich remains of the later periods covering the Bronze Age settlement and the modern town on top of those. After the early

excavations of Eustratios Kalopais in the late 19th century, who managed to define the basics of the topography of the ancient city, Antonis Keramopoulos excavated the top of the Kadmeia hill and many of the Mycenaean cemeteries around the site (Keramopoullos 1909, 1917).[5] However, in the second part of the 20th century most of excavations at the site were rescue excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service. During these, some parts of the palatial complex were also uncovered, but its overall plan remains unknown (Symenoglou 1973). Various other buildings and parts of Mycenaean fortifications were also excavated across the site, where the archaeological research continues.[6]

Another important palatial site in Boeotia is Orchomenos, which was first investigated by Schliemann who found there a large tholos tomb and some settlement remains (Aravantinos et al. 2016, 930). Systematic excavations east of the acropolis of Orchomenos were conducted by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences at the beginning of the 20th century, where some building remains were uncovered (Bulle 1907). Later excavations were conducted by Theodoros Spyropoulos, who uncovered more architecture in the foothills of the acropolis, and interpreted it as remains of the palace (Spyropoulos 1974). The third key LBA site of Boeotia, probably of palatial status, is the fortress of Gla. It was briefly investigated already during the late 19th century, but the first systematic excavations were conducted by Ioannis Threpsiadis from 1955 to 1961, and later by Iakovidis (Iakovidis 2001, 6–7). New excavations were also recently began by Greek Archaeological Service (Kountouri 2019). Research around the site was also began as part of the Mycenaean Northeast Kopais project, during which both non-invasive surveys and excavations were conducted (Lane and Kountouri 2016, 2017, 2018; Lane 2019).

The most recently uncovered Mycenaean palace is located at Ayios Vasileios, in Laconia. It was excavated by the Greek Archaeological service in the years 2008-2016, and is still currently under research, which now focuses on the study of the finds and non-invasive survey of the palace's surroundings (Kardamaki 2017; de Neef et al. 2022; with further bibliography there). Monumental palatial architecture with rich finds including an archive of Linear B tablets were found on the site together with an important Early Mycenaean cemetery. The palace of Ayios Vasileios most probably had a very atypical plan, and it is one of the most important sites for improving our understanding of the early history of the Mycenaean palace

[5] See https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu/2017/09/13/archaeology-through-archives (access on 28.02.2022) for the overview of the early history of the archaeological research in Thebes and Boeotia.
[6] For the overview of the archaeological research on the Bronze Age in Thebes see Dakouri-Hild 2010b; Aravantinos 2015; 2020.

(Dickinson 2019, 40). However, not much is yet known about the settlement surrounding it (de Neef et al. 2022, 13–17).

3.2. Homer and the Mycenaean culture

The approach of archaeologists to Homer changed over the years. It was, and still sometimes is, used as a source of explicit parallels, in the study of Mycenaean architecture and settlement (see for example Wace 1949; Mylonas 1983; Mylonas-Shear 1987; Tzonou-Herbst 2015, 307–8; Phialon 2020, 23). The works of Homer to a various extent affected interpretations of remains at all of the sites discussed above. However, although the academic debate over the sources and scientific value of Homer's art is still far from being over, the general approach to his legacy has long changed since the times of Schliemann and later scholars like Tsountas, Wace, Blegen or Mylonas who, while developing the discipline and our knowledge of Mycenaean culture, still to a varying degrees believed that works of Homer reflected LBA realities. This faith is deeply embedded in the discipline, and into the wider Mediterranean archaeology, although the extent to which Homer is to be used changes over time. Despite the fact that the poems were probably created in the late 8th or early 7th century BC, they belonged to the oral tradition of epic poetry which almost certainly stretch back to Late Bronze Age. They include references to items characteristic only of that period and places that were truly important only then, and never again later (Dowden 2004, 189–93). However, 150 years of research on the Mycenaean culture allowed us to see many details and deep differences which existed in how it manifested itself over various places and times. None of its forms is truly similar to what Homer described. His work is, in an essence, only "a poetic creation, what some eighth-century Greeks thought the heroic world ought to have been like" (Morris 1997, 558). This work of art puts together various traditions which were developed in Greece over few hundred years, including elements which clearly belong to the post-Mycenaean world of Early Iron Age. If any Mycenaean reality or pattern of behaviour is to be seen in Homer, it is probably only the post-palatial world of competing warlords and constant warfare, rather than the well-organized reality of the palatial era (Dickinson 2019, 32). However, even in such an instance, it seems wrong to assume that the epic poetry of the Early Iron Age period can provide us with any reliable depiction of past society and culture, as any historical element in such accounts is always likely to be distorted and twisted, often made unrecognisable (Dickinson 2017, 18). Ultimately, it seems fair to say that although the worlds of Homer and Mycenaean culture are entangled with each other, they remain separate, and should always be researched as such (see for example papers in Fowler 2004; Sherratt and Bennet 2017).

3.3. Early definitions of urbanism in archaeology

Urbanism was recognized as one of the key developments of the human kind quite early in the archaeological research. Already in the first half of the 20th century Vere Gordon Childe, who based his fundamental research on human prehistory on evolutionism and Marxism, discussed what he then called 'the urban revolution'. It was defined as one of the crucial steps in the development of early civilizations and the moment in which they achieved social and economic complexity (Childe 1936, 159, 1939). Shortly after, the first scientific definition of the urban settlements as large, dense, and socially heterogeneous, was formed by sociologist Louis Wirth, and was quickly adapted by many archaeologists (Wirth 1938, 3–8). A search for a list of characteristics that should define a city began. In a later article by Childe, titled *The Urban Revolution,* he has compiled a highly influential list of characteristics necessary to identify a city. These features were "agricultural surplus that is administered by full-time specialists, the existence of large buildings for both storage and religious purposes, and writing" (Childe 1950, 3). Although much focus was put on the investigation of urban sites, which always attracted the most research due to the likely appearance of monumental architecture and spectacular finds, the culture historical paradigm that was dominant at the time was not really able to formulate any alternative to this classificatory description of urban characteristics.

3.4. Processual archaeology and new studies of urbanism and proto-urbanism in the Aegean

The breakthrough in our understanding of urbanism and urbanization was came with processual archaeology, and its search for the causes of cultural change (Binford 1962). Thus, since the early 1960s urban archaeology began to take shape as a sub-discipline of archaeology focused for the first time not only on conducting research *in* the city, but rather *of* the city. Urban archaeology was defined by an American archaeologist Edward Staski as "the study of relationship between material culture, human behaviour, and cognition in an urban setting" (Staski 1982, 97). The same author defined the urban setting itself as "a permanent location in which the density of settlement and the amount of human energy expended per unit of land area are considerably greater than in the surrounding region" (Staski 1982, 97). Around the same time a functional definition of urbanism was formulated. This influential approach simply defines urban settlements as "centres whose activities and institutions— whether economic, administrative, or religious—affect a larger hinterland" (Fox 1977; Marcus 1983; after Smith 2007, 4). All of these definitions show the fundamental turn from formulating lists of urban characteristics, to a more systemic approach focused on relations between various elements of human material culture, society and environment. This development was based mostly on the

investigations of North American and Mesoamerican cities by a new generation of American, processual archaeologists (see for example Millon, Drewitt, and Cowgill 1973).

Moreover, processual archaeology, which for the first time turned also to the behaviour of past humans in addition to their material culture, also caused the development of the sub-discipline known as behavioural archaeology (Schiffer 1975). The work of Amos Rapoport was important for development of this field, as he offered the highly influential idea of levels of meaning in the built environment (Rapoport 1982). He defined three levels: 1) high-level meaning refers to cosmological and supernatural symbolism, and is in reality almost inaccessible for modern scholars without extensive written sources that would explicitly explain it; 2) middle-level refers to deliberate messages about identity and status, and can be sometimes understood, mainly through analysis of monumentality and formality of structures as well as the effect they had on the behaviour and practices of their designers, builders and users; 3) low-level refers to recursive interactions between the built environment and behaviour and movement, so to practicalities which often heavily influence choices of builders (Smith 2007, 30–36). This approach was used by Donald Sanders in his study of Minoan architecture (Sanders 1985).

The main work of processual archaeology in the research of Aegean Bronze Age was Colin Renfrew's *The Emergence of Civilisation* (Renfrew 1972). It focuses mainly on the development of the Early Helladic societies, arguing for the indigenous development of civilization and urban culture in the Aegean. In his book Renfrew presented a model of development of Minoan-Mycenaean civilization, and discussed its origins (Renfrew 1972, 45–60). He recognized the formative role of the acceptance of palatial culture by both Cretan and Mainland societies in creating what he defined as civilization. However, the earliest proto-urban centres of the third millennium BC are defined by him mainly on the basis of the presence of "stone fortifications, a greater density of settlement and notably large central buildings." The transfer from proto-urban to urban settlements is also defined on the basis of single site characteristics. Although this transfer is already recognized to be closely tied with the appearance of palaces, we can see that the more complex approaches to urbanism developed by the American processual archaeology were not really used by Renfrew. A similar list of 'urban characteristics' was formed by Dora Konsola in her important study of Early Bronze Age settlements (Konsola 1990). However, some theoretical processual reflection on urbanism appeared in the works of Donald Preziosi, who developed complex semiotic approach to the Minoan built environment (Preziosi 1983).

3.5. Contemporary studies of urbanization and urbanism in the Minoan and Mycenaean culture

Within the last 40 years Minoan urbanism received more attention, from the theoretical perspective, than similar processes of settlement formation occurring on the Mainland.[7] Moreover, settlement studies focused on Crete have often moved away from culture historical or even processual thinking, following current methodological trends in urban archaeology and settlement studies. Researchers nowadays focus on various systemic, network-based and relational approaches, which are the basis of post-processual reflection characteristic for modern archaeology (Letesson and Knappett 2017a, 6). Settlements are defined as complex social and material systems of a multi-scalar nature, and research on them focuses on the spatial configuration of urban and architectural elements, as well as their formal and structural features. These approaches are used in attempts to understand the behaviours and practices of past Cretan urban societies. The modern study of Minoan urbanism is also heavily focused on detailed regional approaches, which emphasizes heterogeneity of the island's culture during the Bronze Age. New analyses are also strengthened by a diachronic approach which focuses on critical assessment of the development stages of the sites.[8]

There is no tradition of the holistic study of urbanization on the Greek mainland during the Bronze Age, although some of the developments that occurred in research on Crete, especially the focus on cultural heterogeneity and regional approach to archaeology, can be also recognized in studies of the Mainland. The largest collection of such studies, although focusing only on few specific aspects of Late Helladic urbanism, can be found in the volume *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* edited by Keith Branigan (Branigan 2001b). The main focus of these papers was the search for a system within the Mycenaean settlement networks and analysis of regional settlement networks and especially their inner hierarchies. In particular, the volume featured some fundamental papers on the regional settlement networks of Messenia, Argolid and Northern Greece, based on extensive surface surveys that began to be widely conducted on the Mainland during 1990s, and remain a very popular method of field research to this day (Andreou 2001; Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001a; Cherry and Davis 2001). However, of the articles in the volume, only the study of open spaces inside Mycenaean towns by William Cavanagh featured a reflection on Mycenaean urbanism and the organization of the urban environment (Cavanagh 2001).[9] The volume featured also the first definition of the town in the

[7] For the overview of the history of research on the urbanism on Crete see Letesson and Knappett 2017, 1–7.
[8] For the most recent summaries of the studies of urbanism on Crete during the Bronze Age see the papers in Letesson and Knappett 2017b; Relaki and Driessen 2020.
[9] For a more recent overview of this subject, although focused only on the Argolid, see Siennicka 2015.

Aegean archaeology that was not based solely on identifying the urban characteristics. The definition formulated by Branigan said that a town is "a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, which performs specialist functions, of a non-agricultural type, in relationship to a broader hinterland" (Branigan 2001a, 38).

Despite the shortcomings of research on Mycenaean urbanism mentioned above, there is a long-standing tradition of works focused on Mycenaean household architecture. They usually attempted to at least briefly discuss some issues of urbanism, regarding mainly the spatial and functional organization of settlements. Among these, the most important publications are: *Mycenaean Domestic Architecture* by Ione Mylonas-Shear, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur* by Gerhard Hiesel and *L'habitat mycénien* by Pascal Darcque (Mylonas-Shear 1968; Hiesel 1990; Darcque 2005). Each of these tried to establish a typology of Mycenaean houses, and in case of Darcque even of all Mycenaean buildings.

4. Theoretical background

This subchapter discusses various post-processual methodological approaches which influenced the research. A combination of comparative and relative urbanism, with the theory of entanglement, leads to establishing the theoretical perspective on Mycenaean palatial towns.

4.1. Modern urban archaeology and comparative urbanism

Post-processual urban archaeology, despite the changes caused by the abandonment of many of the classificatory culture historical paradigms, was long impeded by the continued search for categories that would describe ancient cities in terms of the presence or absence of certain traits, even if those were no longer necessary to define a settlement as urban. This was probably most apparent in an approach to urban planning, which has for a long time centred around a false dichotomy of defining planned versus unplanned cities. This approach was largely derived from Classical archaeology and its study of Greek and Roman towns that were often built with orthogonal layouts, but such a dichotomy was also sought in other parts of the world, including Mesoamerica and Asia (see for example Owens 1992, 1–30; Morris 1994, 8–10; Mieroop 1999, 83–94; Crouch and Johnson 2001, 210–13). A response to this approach was formulated by Michael Smith, who defined the idea of comparative urbanism, which constitutes the foundation of contemporary urban archaeology (Smith 2007). This approach, which uses the functional definition of urbanism, rejects the dichotomy of planned versus unplanned cities, and replaces it with a much more complex consideration of spatial principles that formulates a series of ordinal scales and defines various degrees of urban planning instead of acknowledging only the presence or absence of a certain characteristic. It is based on the two main components

that are to be considered – coordination among buildings and spaces in a city and standardization among cities. The former is to be discussed with relation to arrangements of buildings, formality and monumentality of layout, orthogonality and other forms of geometric order, access and visibility (Smith 2007, 8–25). The standardization among cities is discussed by Smith in relation to architectural inventories (groups of similar buildings among cities of the same archaeological culture, civilization or historical political entity), spatial patterns, orientation and metrology (Smith 2007, 25–29). Smith has also tied his approach closely with Rapaport's idea of levels of meaning in the built environment (see above), using analysis of the coordination and standardization among buildings and cities, to recognize differing levels of meaning in settlement plans (Smith 2007, 30).

The comparative approach to urbanism has been rarely used in Aegean Archaeology. Quentin Letesson and Carl Knappett published an important volume on Minoan architecture and urbanism, with many of the papers drawing from the comparative urbanism, focusing on patterns of spatial arrangements and planned developments (Letesson and Knappett 2017b). In this volume they also published, together with Smith, a brief summary of comparative perspective on Minoan urbanism, focusing on the organization of residential spaces, town planning and regional settlement patterns and hierarchies (Letesson, Knappett, and Smith 2017). The comparative approach to urbanism was also used by Kalliopi Efkleidou, for the study of Mycenae during the palatial period (Efkleidou 2021). She recognized various elements of urban planning at the site, analysing mainly location, visibility and coordination of structures, and tried to recognize middle-level meanings behind various building activities, to explain changes occurring throughout LH IIIA and LH IIIB (Efkleidou 2021, 33–35).

4.2. Relational archaeology and relational approach to urbanism

Comparative urbanism constitutes the basis of the theoretical approach behind the present dissertation, but with supplemented by a relational approach to urbanism and its definition of a town and of urbanization as a process. Relational archaeology derives from the post-processual reflection of the 1990s, and focuses on relations between both human and non-human objects within a meshwork of material culture. It takes a step forward from the processual search of a cause behind a change, and tries to have a better understanding of the very actions which bring the change, and which in essence consist of various changes in relations. It focuses on "linkages rather than the nodes, the actions rather than the substances –

in considering how various forms emerge and evolve together across space and through time" (Watts 2013b, 1).[10]

The relational definition of urbanism, accepted and used in this work, was first formulated by Greg Woolf for his study of Early Iron Age Celtic oppida in France (Woolf 1993). In this definition, urbanism is determined by the two main criteria. Firstly, urbanism is not only a property of individual sites but rather of entire settlement systems, which must develop functional differentiation and specialisation between sites in order to be called urban. "Towns, in other words, imply the countryside" (Woolf 1993, 227). The second criterion is that urban sites have to show significantly more developed internal differentiation than other sites in the settlement pattern. In other words, an urbanized settlement has to be more complex inside than other settlements in the system. Thus, urbanization is a process in which we can see growing functional and structural differentiation within the settlement network and inside its most prominent sites. The relational approach allows us to supplement comparative urbanism with important notion of not only function but also the very structure itself defining the urban settlement and its settlement network. One may say that such an approach joins together two of the fundamental paradigms of archaeological theory – functionalism, deriving from early processual reflection and focused on defining functions of objects as their most important characteristic (Trigger 2006, 314–19), and post-processual structuralism, focused on identifying structures underlying systems of human cultures (Hodder 2005). Moreover, the relational approach to urbanisation allows one to focus more on the social processes underlying it, than on the development of specific urban forms that differ from region to region. It provides an opportunity to investigate why similar processes of population movement and stratification of settlement systems occur in different societies and how they affected the history of those societies.

4.3. Theory of Entanglement

The final theoretical approach which influenced the present research is the theory of entanglement, formulated by Ian Hodder in his book *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Hodder 2012). This syncretic theoretical construct links together numerous scientific social theories created in the last decades. It is based on the idea of open, constantly growing nets of entangled humans and things, linked together with multiple categories of often unconscious mutual relations of dependence. To define them Hodder differentiates between the two different forms - *dependence* and *dependency*. The

[10] For the overview of various modern relational approaches to archaeology see for example papers in Watts 2013a; Harris and Cipolla 2017.

former can be understood as 'reliance on', and refers mostly to the object is allowed to do because of the relation. Dependency, is associated with a constraint, through which it limits actions and developments of individual objects and entire systems. Such links work in all possible directions, thus we can find human-human dependence, but also human-thing, thing-human and thing-thing dependences. Especially noteworthy is Hodder's explanation of the complex network of relations between people and things, while maintaining the practical, technical and material dimension of these relationships. Universality and a broad perspective of entanglement theory make it an effective tool for analyzing any system or network that binds together different sets of factors. Such a system is, for example, a palatial town which, within multiple closely dependent entities (the zones of the palatial town), integrates all buildings, their inhabitants and their properties within one network of connections[11].

One of the ideas that Hodder was building on, is the World System Theory (WST), nowadays often described as World System Analysis (WSA), due to significant changes in its perception in modern humanities and common effort to reject colonial narratives. WSA originates from the idea of mutually connected systems, together creating a larger system, which eventually reaches the size of the whole known world (Wallerstein 1974). This theoretical construct, originally built on the concept of centre-periphery relations, is currently significantly enriched and methodically developed, and is now focused on understanding functional differences from which the assessment of the relevance of individual regions is based (Trigger 2006, 438–44; Harding 2013; Galaty et al. 2014; Kienlin 2015, 71–75, 2017).

4.4. Palatial towns from theoretical perspective

To summarize, the theoretical background of the present work and the concept of Mycenaean palatial towns is based on three main pillars:

- A relational and comparative approach to urbanism. Towns thus are defined as settlements with complex internal organization that are functionally and structurally divided from the rest of the settlement network. Urbanization is a social process of transformation of the settlement pattern through its growing functional and structural differentiation. Degrees of urban planning and levels of meanings in the built environment should be defined according to criteria based on the analysis of coordination among buildings and spaces and the analysis of standardization among urban settlements.

[11] For the only previous application of the entanglement theory in the Aegean archaeology see Vitale 2016.

- Network-based archaeology. Each settlement is viewed as a network of objects, including both human and non-human participants of the system. It can be defined as an entanglement of the settlement, so the network of humans and things, related to and dependent on each other and functioning together within the site's environment.
- A multi-scalar and diachronic approach. The study is conducted on three consecutive and complementary levels: 1) the micro-level of building complex, which can consist of a one or more buildings, 2) the meso-level of entire settlements, with a sub-level of settlement zones, 3) the macro-level of regional settlement networks. A key part of the analysis is the close observation of chronology and an attempt to properly assign every archaeological context to phases of development on every level of the analysis.

5. Research methodology

The research methodology followed the guidelines established by the theoretical approach. This defined both the choice of sites under study and the range of collected data, which are both discussed below. The organization of the catalogue is summarized in the last part of the sub-chapter.

5.1. Criteria for the choice of the sites under study

There are twelve Mycenaean sites on the Mainland that at various points have been called 'palatial'. These sites are Kastro Palaia/Volos, Dimini, Orchomenos, Gla, Thebes, Athens, Mycenae, Argos, Midea, Tiryns, Agios Vasileios and Pylos (Galaty et al. 2014, 455). However, most of them, for various reasons, lack any substantial parts of a lower town known either from excavation or surface survey. Some of them also lack definitive evidence for an actual palace. These limitations come from the state of research, but also from the great variety of sizes, forms and regional contexts in which Mycenaean palatial towns functioned. Even a brief survey of available data shows that palatial towns were non-standardised and adapted to local socio-economic situations. It is worth asking if something like a 'standard' Mycenaean town even exists. In the light of the growing body of evidence, it becomes increasingly clear that regional differences, which characterized Early Mycenaean societies, continued also into the palatial era. Despite a certain level of cultural homogeneity, different economic and social organizations functioned in every region of the Mycenaean world (Pantou 2010, 383; Knodell 2021), including differing administrative practices (Shelmerdine 1999), forms of palaces and settlement networks (those issues will be extensively discussed in the present work). However, the level of economic and political integration of Mycenaean states, as well as the political organization of the Mycenaean palatial world are all contested issues (see for example papers

in Kelder and Waal 2019). This does not mean that there are no overall social, economic and political patterns related to palaces and palatial towns that can be seen across the Mycenaean world. Regional variability does not exclude more general, trans-regional processes occurring across the Aegean.

Three sites that were under study for this work – Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, were chosen on the basis of narrow criteria, regarding both the form of the settlement and the amount of data available. The settlements had to be identified as palatial towns, beyond any doubts, and provide information on both palatial elite zone and the lower town. Ayios Vasileios, despite definitely being a palatial centre, does not provide enough information on the settlement, especially on the lower town, to allow a meaningful study. The same is true for both Kastro Palaia/Volos and Athens, although the palatial status of both can also be contested. Dimini, Argos, and Midea are all sometimes considered to be palatial settlements, however for the purpose of the present study the evidence for their palatial status had to be defined as insufficient. The central double-megaron unit in Dimini should be probably identified as a communal administrative and religious centre, and not an actual palace (Pantou 2010, 382–83; Adrymi-Sismani 2016). Midea, although being a high-status, fortified settlement of a citadel type, lacks any remains of a palatial complex (Demakopoulou 2015, fig. 3). LBA Argos served only as a secondary centre, although it was still a significant settlement (Papadimitriou et al. 2015, 176).

The situation in Boeotia requires a separate discussion. Although our knowledge of the Mycenaean centres at Thebes, Gla and Orchomenos is limited by the current state of research, some general conclusions can be drawn from the available publications. The palatial status of Thebes cannot be seriously disputed, but the plan, organization and function of the local palace remain largely unknown (Symenoglou 1973; Dakouri-Hild 2001; Aravantinos 2015, 37-39). The known part of the plan did not actually closely resemble any of the Mycenaean palaces of the Peloponnese (Dickinson 2014, 156). Thus existence of a different form of Mycenaean palatial complex is possible, although both the construction methods and painted wall decorations of the palace are similar to those known from other Mycenaean palaces (Dakouri-Hild 2001, 88; Aravantinos and Fappas 2015). Moreover, although excavations across the city uncovered various Mycenaean building complexes, no architectural boundary has ever been found to divide them from the palatial buildings. The LH fortifications of the site were built of mud-brick superstructure set on stone foundations, so a construction inherently different from the Cyclopean masonry of other Mycenaean citadels, and were encompassing the entire settlement, which occupied ca. 30 ha (Aravantinos 2015, 24-26, fig. 4).

The site of Gla is a monumental fortress with Cyclopean walls surrounding the area of ca. 25 ha (Iakovidis 2001). The central building, the so-called Melathron, has a plan and internal arrangement non-comaprable to any of the known Mycenaean palaces (Iakovidis 2001, 27-39). However, the location, form and formal arrangement of the building both strongly suggest its affiliation with the central authority. The known part of the spatial arrangement of the site is also unique for the Mycenaean culture, with rows of rectangular buildings set parallel to each other in the centre of the settlement (Iakovidis 2001, 21-84).

Orchomenos was almost certainly another palatial centre in Boeotia, but its settlement is basically unknown. The excavated parts of what was tentatively recognized as the palatial complex do not allow the reconstruction of either its plan, nor the form, organization or function (Spyropoulos 2015, 357–58; Aravantinos 2020, 769). Moreover, the location of the building at the base of the acropolis testifies against its identification with the palace (Dakouri-Hild 2010a, 622). The remains of the monumental Tomb of Minyas, the only Mycenaean tholos in Boeotia, are the best indicator of the palatial status of the site (Aravantinos et al. 2016, 929–30).

All three palatial sites of Mycenaean Boeotia had to be rejected from the analysis performed in this dissertation, albeit due to different reasons. Orchomenos has a good potential of being identified as a palatial town, as the topography of the site suggests that there could have been a palatial zone on the acropolis, surrounded by the settlement below. The close presence of the tholos tomb which is very similar to the so-called Treasury of Atreus, the largest tholos at Mycenae (see below), further suggests at least some similarity to the palatial towns of the Peloponnese. However, the small amount of data, and the fact that even the palace itself was not recognized beyond doubt, preclude any meaningful analysis of the site as a palatial town. The situation is different in both Thebes and Gla. The number of excavated structures at both sites is significant, and they both contain buildings which might be considered palatial. However, they also both present a different settlement pattern than other Mycenaean palatial settlements. Instead of a dualistic layout of the fortified centre surrounded by an open settlement (i.e. a palatial town as defined here), they have a more integrated spatial arrangements, without strong internal divisions, and entirely fortified. There was no proper lower town, and the palatial zone was of different form and possibly also function. They seem to present a different form of an urban Mycenaean settlement than palatial towns as defined in this work. Nevertheless, their study would be a much needed complement to the analysis of Mycenaean urbanism presented in this work. The different form and organization of the major Boeotian palatial centres might testify to political or cultural affiliation and to the identity of the local communities, which

might have been different those accepted by the inhabitants of the palatial towns of Peloponnese.

5.2. Criteria for the collection of data and the used sources

Discussion of the specific categories of data collected for the research has to start with definitions of the most important analytical categories, based on the theoretical perspective described above. Firstly, a *settlement* is a group of buildings organized together spatially, structurally and functionally (palatial town is only a specific, urbanized form of a Mycenaean settlement). The *settlement zone* is a part of the settlement structurally and functionally separated from the rest. Settlement zones are composed of various elements of a settlement landscape, the most important of which are buildings, which form the main objects of the occupational network of the settlement, and are, at the same time, the basic analytical unit of this work. A *building* is defined here as a system of rooms built in coordination and spaced together, sometimes linked by other structural elements of built environment. It can be spatially separated from other buildings, but that is not necessary, as separate buildings can share party walls. Buildings are often parts of larger complexes. A *complex* is a is a group of buildings constructed in coordination with each other. They also can have structural or functional connections with each other and potentially form different sub-categories of complexes, i.e. multifunctional building complex, extended household, or a settlement quarter. These broad definitions help to follow the various forms in which Mycenaean urbanism manifested itself. It helps to capture changes of the settlement pattern, but also to document forms of urbanism and settlement organization. The discussion of the form and organization of analyzed complexes forms the main part of the present work, also in relation to the degree of certainty that a given group of buildings is in fact a coordinated complex.

The goal of the research was to collect selected, essential information on all of the buildings of three sites chosen for the analysis. This included data from both the excavations of archaeological contexts and from the later studies of the finds, which often influenced final interpretations regarding the excavated remains. All of this data was drawn from published materials only. Original excavation reports and material studies, preferably in the form of final publications, were prioritized in the choice of sources, but since they are often absent, other publications were also used in order to maximize the range of available information. The main criteria for the selection of catalogued data was its potential use in establishing the form, occupational history and functions of a building. Overall, merging those information leads to an attempt to reconstruct a settlement's history and spatial organization. Regarding the funerary landscape, only essential information, predominantly quantitative in nature, was collected, in

order to supplement the data from buildings, to draw some general conclusions regarding the settlement's past. Tholos tombs, despite being part of the funerary landscape, are extracted from the wider cemeteriy catalogue, and more qualitative data was collected to discuss them more precisely. Their active role in a settlement landscape was a hypothesis based on previously published research (see for example Laffineur 2007; Fitzsimons 2011; Efkleidou 2018). Additional information was also collected on fortifications, which cannot be treated as other buildings due to their very specific form and function, but play a crucial role in spatial organization of past settlements (Smith 2007, 12).

5.3. Construction and range of the database and the catalogue

In order to organize the collected data an extensive relational computer database was created with the use of FileMaker Pro 19 software. The database provided a basis for the final catalogue which is an integral part of the present work. The catalogue constitutes of 5 tables, gathering information on fortifications (tab. 3), cemeteries (tab. 4), tholos tombs (tab. 5), buildings (tab. 6) and building complexes (tab. 7), and two supplementary tables with building plans (tab. 8)[12] and tholos tombs plans and sections (tab. 9).

The table of buildings is the main catalogue of the present work, gathering data on the basic analytical units for the present research – the buildings (tab. 6). The table consists of 18 fields:

- building code (consecutive numbers preceded by a three letter code of a site – **MYC** for Mycenae, **TIR** for Tiryns, and **PYL** for Pylos),
- complex (the name of the complex to which the building belongs, if to any),
- name (name of the building used in the dissertation)[13]
- size (in square meters, always related to the maximum extent),
- number of rooms (divided into phases if possible),
- other structural elements (a list of all the structural elements that are not rooms),
- preserved storey (basement, ground floor, upper storey, or any combination of those),
- foundations form (foundation terraces, foundation trenches, flattened bedrock, flattened ground, remains of older buildings, reuse of foundation terraces, or any combination of those)

[12] If the plan is missing from table 8 it means that none was published.

[13] Buildings names usually follow the nomenclature used so far in the literature. The term "house" is thus often used despite the fact that it should technically relate only to buildings of residential function.

- wall construction technique (description of both the substructure and superstructure, on the basis of preserved evidence only)
- wall interior technique (plastered, painted plaster – monochrome, painted plaster – patterned)
- floors (tamped-earth, clay, plaster, painted plaster, stone pavement, cut-stone slabs)
- additional elements (cut-stone thresholds, windows, roof supports, bathtubs, basins, benches, built containers, drains, hearths, ovens/kilns, vessel stands, platforms, wells)
- finds (categories of finds: cooking pottery, utilitarian pottery, storage pottery, stone vessels, metal vessels, terracotta figurines, spindle whorls/buttons (clay or stone), organic tools, stone tools, metal tools, organic ornaments, stone ornaments, faience/glass ornaments, metal ornaments, organic raw material, stone raw material, metal raw material, other organic remains, Linear B tablets, inscribed vessels, seal stones, seal clay impressions, metal weapons, other artefacts) [14],
- occupational history (phases of occupation and destruction/abandonment events)
- functions (residence, storage, production, administration, ritual activities, public activities, unknown),
- references (list of sources).

The table of complexes gathers information on specific architectural or spatial units which consist of several buildings, and should be considered together, at least to some extent. These can be single architectural complexes, or urban districts planned and laid out as a spatial entity. The table does not repeat information from the separate buildings entries, and focuses rather on a summary of the data main data from buildings of the complex, and is thus simplified in comparison to the main catalogue (tab. 7). It consists of eight fields:

- complex ID (based on combined buildings ID),
- name (name of the complex),
- size (in square metres, divided by phase if possible),
- additional structural elements (architectural elements of the complex that were not part of any of the buildings)
- construction process type (gradual development or pre-planned construction)

[14] Those categories are based on functionality and/or materiality of the artifacts. Their broad nature was necessary due to the limited extent of the catalogue, but they were defined in order to preserve as much of the interpretative potential of the assemblage as necessary for the goals of the present research.

- functions (residence, storage, production, administration, ritual activities, public activities, unknown),
- occupational history (phases of occupation and destruction/abandonment events),
- references (list of sources).

The plans of complexes are all available as text figures, as the complexes form the basis for the narrative about each of the palatial towns.

The table of tholos tombs gathers information on tombs of this specific type, with only a few details on their form, as this is supplementary data (tab. 5). The table consists of nine fields:

- site (the site at which the tholos tomb is located)
- name (name of the tomb)
- diameter of the chamber (in metres), l
- length of the dromos (in metres),
- form of the dromos (masonry style)
- form of the stomion (masonry style)
- form of the chamber (masonry style)
- history of use (dating of construction, use/reuse and abandonment)
- references (list of sources).

The table of cemeteries gathers only the basic information on the cemeteries of the site, also being of a supplementary nature (tab. 4). It consists of six fields:

- site (the site at which the cemetery is located
- name (name of the cemetery)
- number of tombs (number of identified tombs)
- burial type (shaft graves, chamber tombs, cist graves, pit graves, pithos/vessel graves or other forms),
- history of use (dating of establishment, use/reuse and abandonment),
- references (list of sources).

The table of fortifications, is also supplementary and gathers only basic data on the walls of each of the analyzed sites (tab. 3). It consists of eight fields:

- name (name of the fortress, which includes the site name)
- circuit length (in metres, divided by phase),
- circuit area (in hectares divided by phase),

- form of the wall (masonry style)
- number of gates (by phase)
- additional structural elements (a list of all the architectural elements of the fortifications which are not part of the main circuit of walls)
- history of use (phases of use and destruction/abandonment events)
- references (list of sources).

5.4. Criteria for the analysis and interpretation of catalogued contexts

Any information put in the fields related to cataloguing the characteristics of buildings or other objects had to be confirmed by published evidence. It can be either direct, in form of architecture and finds preserved *in situ*, or circumstantial, in case of objects which can be definitely assigned to the building despite originating from a non *in situ* context. In lack of any evidence, the field is left blank. Two of the fields of the catalogue are dependent on the interpretations of other data, rather than being only a collection of evidence. These are the occupational history/history of use and functions fields (the latter are present only in the buildings and complexes tables). The former is based on the critical assessment of finds, especially pottery. Specific information on pottery groups was too extensive to be fully presented in the catalogue, thus the fields which refer to occupational history/history of use can be also treated as a summary of this information and its interpretation. Closed deposits, especially construction deposits and floor deposits plus other destruction contexts, have a leading role in establishing history of any structure, and are always more important and more decisive than any cumulative deposits or contexts of an uncertain affiliation (even if the affiliation can be deduced with a large degree of probability). I adhered to this rule. Only closed deposits allow us to establish a firm *terminus post quem* (*TPQ*) and/or *terminus ante quem* (*TAQ*), which is always crucial for a proper understanding of the history of every context. Archaeology rarely provides us with the exact dates of events, and much more often it requires meticulous work of putting together information from various pottery deposits of differing natures and chronological ranges, in order to try to understand the bigger picture of the history of a given context. However, the pottery deposits are often awaiting publication even after many years, while others are published in widely differing quality and types. Thus, sometimes establishing the history of a structure requires putting forward some legitimate guesses, based on circumstantial evidence, such as types of finds other than pottery, or the general history of the area known from other contexts. All the cases in which there are doubts regarding the

chronology of certain phases or destruction/abandonment events are always marked in the catalogue with a question mark.

The criteria for establishing the function of buildings and building complexes are more complicated and need to be broken down into discussions of individual functions. Those need to begin from the definition of a given function.

Residence refers to a structure used for permanent occupation by humans. As one of the most basic functions of architecture, it can be indicated by a variety of characteristics. These include: a) spatial arrangement which forms private space, inaccessible from the outside, b) finished floors and walls, especially if they are decorated, c) some internal features related to hygiene or cooking, such as bathtubs and hearths or ovens, d) groups of domestic finds, especially cooking and utilitarian pottery, remains of household rubbish (especially organic), or small collections of tools that were probably used for the household needs.

Storage is a common function, a delayed-return system that in the simplest definition refers to keeping things in an organized fashion for a longer period of time (Christakis 2008, 9–12). However, such a function is performed, to a certain extent, by almost any building. Thus, for the present analysis, storage is defined from the perspective of the settlement system, as providing the storage space exceeding the needs of the inhabitants of a given building or building complex. Such a structure provides a specialized storage space for the entire community or at least part of it. This function can be indicated by: a) spatial arrangements which form closed rooms, especially if there are more than one of such rooms and of small size, unusable for any other activity, b) unfinished walls and floors or surfaces finished in quality lower than other rooms of the building, c) internal features connected with facilitating large storage vessels and/or their content, including internal drains and vessel stands, d) storage pottery, if present in quantity and/or in specific forms pointing towards specialized storage, such us transport stirrup jars or pithoi, e) written Linear B records referring to storage of goods, f) seal stones and seal clay impressions, especially in quantity.

Production meets similar constraints as storage. To a certain extent it could have been performed in almost every household, but this dissertation attempts to define it from the settlement/system perspective. Thus, production is defined here as processing of things in order to change their form, which exceeded the needs of the inhabitants of a given building or building complex. It can be indicated by: a) a spatial arrangement which forms a working space with access to specific functional facilities, b) the latter can take many forms, but are typically benches, drains and hearths, d) finds of groups of tools, raw materials, and unfinished objects, e) written Linear B records referring to processing, gathering and/or shipment of goods.

Administration refers to the centrally organized management of people and resources, either for the needs of a single building or building complex (and these can be extensive if it serves specialized functions) or beyond those needs. Any proof of such management can suggest the presence of administration. In Mycenaean archaeology it is considered to be almost always closely tied to palatial authorities, which were involved in various industries, including both the storage and processing of multiple kinds of goods (see for example Halstead 1993; Whitelaw 2001; Halstead 2007; Pullen 2010; Halstead 2011; Parkinson, Nakassis, and Galaty 2013). The presence of this function can be indicated by specific finds, related to the use of writing and seals: a) Linear B tablets, b) inscribed vessels, c) seal stones and seal clay impressions.

Ritual activities are inherently linked to cult and religion, and as such, are usually difficult to identify with certainty, and such interpretations are very often controversial. For the identification of this function, I use the definition developed by Renfrew in his analysis of the Phylakopi sanctuary, in order to recognize and define cult places (Renfrew 1985). Thus ritual activities are defined as expressive, repetitive actions, performed in relation to the presence of transcendent powers (Renfrew 1985, 366–67). Archaeological evidence of these two main criteria can include: a) a special location and spatial arrangement of the built area, especially if it serves to control access and visibility, b) special architectural forms, especially if they support control of access and visibility, c) special internal architectural arrangement, especially if it includes cult iconography, or other internal facilities which serve to display cult images, d) special acts or movements reflected in the iconography, e) finds of attention focusing devices and experience inducing devices: cult images, offerings, special portable equipment, repeated symbols, symbols related to deities, symbolism related to funerary ritual or rites of passage.[15]

Public activities can be defined as unhidden actions performed to influence the community. These activities can be performed both by individuals or communally. They can be made possible by the community as well as forced by its demand. They can often be a part of ritual or religious activities, but this should not be assumed. The main form of human interactions that I seek to catalogue with this term are those relating to political activities, thus any form of public decision-making, performed in front of the entire society, or part of it. In Mycenaean archaeology this is always linked to actions of the elite, and during the palatial period especially the *wanax*, and their internal interactions as well as public display of these

[15] For the application of Renfrew's system in other study see Moore and Taylour 1999, 77–118; for other studies of ritual activities in the Aegean see for example Whittaker 2015; Murphy 2016a.

interactions to the rest of the community.[16] A building performing the function of public activities simply provides a space for these activities, and they do not necessarily need any additional facilities. However, such a function can be indicated by: a) having a special location and spatial arrangement, especially in terms of the formality and monumentality of the arrangement of the area around it, b) the formality and monumentality of the architectural form and internal arrangement c) the internal spatial arrangement of the building, especially with regard the location and extent of a central room or a central courtyard, d) the control of access and movement around and inside the building. All of these criteria relate to middle-levels meanings of the built environment, and are expressions of elite status and the ability of the state to form order and force individuals conform to certain norms (Smith 2007, 34–36).

Establishing the function of a building is a difficult task, not it is not always possible to achieve a result, and only rarely with any certainty. Some of the characteristics listed above can indicate more than one function, and only a specific mixture and arrangement of evidence, sometimes circumstantial, can suggest some of the functions. This is especially clear in all the cases of poor or missing evidence. Thus, in some instances "unknown" is the only possible indication of a function that can be found in the catalogue, and in other cases, discussion in the comments field has to feature additional information or doubts regarding the function of a building.

[16] For the discussion on rulership and its architecture in the Mycenaean Greece see for example Dabney and Wright 1990; Driessen 1996; Fitzsimons 2006; Wright 2006; Kelder 2012; Thaler 2015; Blakolmer 2019.

Chapter II Mycenae

1. Geographical setting of the site

The Acropolis of Mycenae is a low, rocky hill (254 m. a.s.l) which lies at the western end of a pass leading between the two summits: Profitis Ilias (809 m. a.s.l.) to the northeast and Zara (660 m. a.s.l.) to the southeast. It is separated from the mountains by two deep ravines, which are periodically filled with streams. These are Khavos to the southeast and Kokoretsa to the northeast. From the west, the Acropolis connects to the Panagia ridge, running along Khavos to the south, and to the Pezoulia slope, descending steeply towards Kokoretsa and Khavos. Further to the west, and north there are low hills, cut by ridges and a few streams. To the south, the site opens onto the Argive plain (French 2002, 13–16; fig. 1). The northern coast of the Argolic Gulf is 19 km to the south, and it was slightly closer, probably ca. 18 km, during the LH period (Zangger 1994). The pass between Profitis Ilias and Zara leads into ca. 14 km long L-shaped valley known as the Berbati Valley (Lindblom and Wells 2011). Behind it are the ridges of the northern part of the Arachnaio (1199 m. a.s.l.) mountain range. The west coast of the Saronic Gulf is 35 km to the east. The area of the site beyond the acropolis is covered with rocky, but mostly arable soils and with a few clay beds, especially to the south (French et al. 2003, 27). The closest spring is known as Perseia, and was located ca. 300 m to the east of the Acropolis hill (French 2002, 16).

Mycenae lies at the northern end of the Argive plain, directly over the pass which connects it to the Nemea Valley to the north and Corinthia to the northeast. The Acropolis hill is located on the edge of the limestone bedrock surrounding the Argive Basin sediments. The area was most probably seismically active in the past, but the occurrence of earthquakes in the LH Argolid is debated (Hinzen et al. 2018). It has been repeatedly suggested that they were responsible for the widespread destruction horizons which occurred at Mycenae during the LH IIIB period (Papanastassiou, Maroukian, and Gaki-Papanastassiou 1993; French 1996; Maroukian, Gaki-Papanastassiou, and Papanastassiou 1996). It has also been suggested that at least one more earthquake occurred at Mycenae early in the LH IIIC period (French 2011, 4). Such events were also supposed to affect Midea and Tiryns (Kilian 1996). However, more recently the results of the geoscientific project HERACLES which focused on the issue of the plausibility of seismic activity in the southern Argolid during the LBA, suggested that a destructive earthquakes most probably did not occur during this period either at Tiryns or Midea (Hinzen et al. 2018). This study did not include Mycenae, and the location of the site directly on the active fault suggests that even a local earthquake could be of disastrous consequences

(Hinzen et al. 2018, fig. 2; Maroukian, Gaki-Papanastassiou, and Papanastassiou 1996, 191). The area of the fault to the north of the Acropolis was only briefly examined, but the pottery collected from Khavos, which potentially dates the change of its course due to seismic activity along the fault, suggested that this occurred during the Mycenaean period (Maroukian, Gaki-Papanastassiou, and Papanastassiou 1996, 192). In my opinion the location of the site directly on the active fault and an abundance of archaeological evidence (see Ch. II. 7.4.), suggests that at least one earthquake of serious consequences at Mycenae likely occurred.[17] However, only a thorough seismological study of the local area can answer the question more definitely.

2. Settlement horizons and their chronology

The Acropolis of Mycenae occupied a key strategic position, controlling the northern passage from the Argive plain. It has natural defensive qualities, being protected from the east and southeast by the steep rock cliffs of Khavos. These characteristics probably encouraged the first occupation of the hill, which was settled during the Neolithic period. The Neolithic occupation followed into the EBA, but this early settlement was rather small and probably not among the leading centres of the region (French 2002, 25–29). During the Middle Helladic period Mycenae grew in size and significance, and this process accelerated rapidly in the Early Mycenaean period (French 2002, 13–16). The LBA occupation is of prime importance. During this period the palatial town of Mycenae was established, developed and then decomposed, and the site peaked in size and dominated the Argolid. Occupation at the site continued into the Iron Age, although very little is known about the settlement of the Early Iron Age – Classical period, since it was overbuilt by the Hellenistic settlement in the third century B.C. by Argos on the remains of the destroyed earlier *polis*. This settlement phase left extensive remains, which were mostly removed while the Mycenaean strata were exposed (French 2002, 141–50).

This long occupational sequence was thoroughly studied by the British research team which continued the work of Wace, and later published the *Well Built Mycenae* series (*WBM*). They have proposed the division of the stratigraphy in the Citadel House Area into fourteen phases (Taylour 1981, 12–13). LH III spans phases V-XII (tab. 2). These are precisely dated on the basis of thorough ceramic research from all of the British excavations on the site (French 2011, tbl. 1).

[17] Eric Force and Jeremy Rutter reached a similar conclusion in their study of the faults around Mycenae and their possible cultural ties (Force and Rutter 2018). However, they have misdated the construction of the entire citadel wall to a period between 1350-1300 BC, and thus dated the tectonic movement to the period between 1650-1300 BC (Force and Rutter 2018, 64–65). If this proposal is corrected with the proper construction sequence of the Citadel (see Ch. II. 3.), the conclusion has to be reached that the earthquake occurred before the construction of the second phase of the citadel wall in the middle of the 13th century BC.

The crucial event of the LH IIIB period, which marks the end of *WBM* phase VII, and will be often mentioned below as the key transition in the occupational history, is the destruction level often identified as an earthquake (see Ch. II. 7.4.). This interpretation, originally based on the signs of seismic damage on the buildings of the Cult Centre (Taylour 1981, 9), is now reinforced by finds from multiple other locations on the site (French 1996). The event was originally dated to an ambiguous Mid LH IIIB period (Taylour 1981, 12–13). However, French, together with Philipp Stockhammer, on the basis of the comparative study of the pottery of LH IIIB in Mycenae and Tiryns, proposed that the event occurred at the end of ceramic phase LH IIIB2 Early (French and Stockhammer 2009, tbl. 3)., More recent ceramic studies have convincingly rejected this chronology, and proposed that LH IIIB2 Early started shortly before the end of WBM phase VII, and lasted until the middle of *WBM* phase VIII (Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, tbl. 1:a). On the basis of the study of the occupational sequence of the palatial town I suggest a further division of *WBM* phase VIII into VIIIA – dated to the second part of LH IIIB2 Early, and VIIIB – dated to LH IIIB2 Late (see Ch. II. 7.5). Alongside eleven *WBM* phases dated between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Late and based on the stratigraphy inside the Citadel, six phases of the Lower Town, which can be regarded as the general settlement horizons, can also be distinguished (tab. 2). These phases constitute the chronological basis for the summary of the settlement's history during the LBA (see Ch. II. 7.) which follows the sections on the fortifications (see Ch. II. 3.), funerary landscape (see Ch. II. 4.), buildings of the Acropolis (see Ch. II. 5.), and of the Lower Town (see Ch. II. 6.).

3. Fortifications

The history and architecture of the fortifications at Mycenae was thoroughly studied by Mylonas (1965), who followed earlier research by Tsountas and Wace (Tsountas and Manatt 1897; Wace 1949).

3.1. First phase

There is no evidence that the Acropolis hill was fortified at any point before the first Mycenaean citadel was constructed (Mylonas 1966d, 16). The first LBA fortification wall on the site was built early in LH IIIA2 and encompassed only the summit of the Acropolis hill, following closely the contour of the rock (Mylonas 1965, 187; 1966b, 22–26; fig. 2 and tab. 3). The construction is dated firmly on the basis of the pottery from inside the north wall (Mylonas 1965, 189–90). The western wall was not preserved, but its course is suggested by the presence of wall TW, which later formed a foundation for the system of ramps ascending the hill. The location of the original western gate, directly above the later Lion Gate, is also hypothetical,

based on the preserved part of the north-western wall and the fact that the ramp leading into the citadel at the time, was ascending to the north. It was the first of the series of ramps constructed in the area in LH IIIA and built over the original MH path which also ascended to the north (Mylonas 1965, 194–96). The form and course of the eastern wall is unclear. It might have collapsed into the Khavos ravine, and as such was not preserved, but the rocky cliff protecting the hill on this side could make a wall at least partially unnecessary (Wright 1978, 104).

One of the defining characteristics of Mycenaean fortifications is the use of Cyclopean masonry (Loader 1998; Boswinkel 2021, 46–66). This architectural style is based on the use of large boulders, roughly matched to each other, with the cavities filled with smaller stones. The early Cyclopean walls of LH IIIA, were built directly on the bedrock, without the use of any mortar (Wright 1978, 175–78). The first citadel of Mycenae had a circuit ca. 740 m long and covered 2.1 ha. The walls were 6-10 meters thick and rose to an estimated height of ca. 12 m (Fitzsimons 2011, 108).

3.2. Second phase

At some point during the LH IIIB period the citadel was significantly extended (Mylonas 1965, 193). There is no evidence for the damage or destruction of the original citadel wall, but it is possible that the destruction horizon, which occurred at the beginning of LH IIIB2, and is usually regarded as an earthquake (see Ch. II. 2.), affected it. The date of the second phase of the fortifications is debated, mostly in relation to this destruction horizon. Elizabeth French postulated that the fortifications were extended before this event, during LH IIIB1 (2002, 52–57, 2011, 30). However, Ken Wardle suggested that the extension was constructed only after the destructions, basing this proposal on a reanalysis of all the pottery deposits related to the foundations of the second western wall and the Lion Gate and a study of the architectural sequence of building complexes on the western slope (K. Wardle 2003, 320–21, 2015, 591–92). The pottery excavated by Mylonas below the threshold and from both the outer and inner courts of the Lion Gate (1965, figs 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49), and from tests made under the west wall (1965, figs 60, 61, 62, 65), as well as the material excavated by Wace inside Lion Gate Staircase (Wace et al. 1923, 17–38), and behind the South House (Wace et al. 1923, 96), all suggested a date in LH IIIB2 Early/Late, most probably after the earthquake.[18]

The new west wall was constructed ca. 50 m further down the slope, encompassing the entire southwest part of the Acropolis (tab. 3; fig. 2). It is probable that there was a gate opening

[18] This is suggested mostly by the presence of Group B deep bowls and rosette deep bowls (see for example Wace et al. 1923, fig. 6d; 1923, fol. 5a; Mylonas 1965, fig. 41 top right corner; 1965, fig. 23).

to southwest in that wall, due to the presence of important communication routes on both sides, as well the presence of the Hellenistic Tower, which might have been constructed to fill the gap in the wall (French et al. 2003, 26). The western wall was separated from the north wall by the monumental Lion Gate, located at the west end of the citadel. The gate was equipped with a large external bastion, located to the west of its outer court, and protecting the gateway from the outside. The other side of the outer court was also equipped with a new fortification wall which covered the older construction, which was still standing (Mylonas 1965, 190–91). On the internal side of the gate, a small room was attached to its western wall (Wace et al. 1923, 17). It was originally interpreted by Wace as the staircase leading to the top of the walls, hence the name – Lion Gate Staircase (French et al. 2003, 11). Although this interpretation remains possible, it is not certain, and the structure might be simply a storeroom for the Lion Gate, possibly associated with control of goods which passed into the Citadel.[19] It was destroyed during LH IIIB2 and was later filled with a multi-layered dump deposit with pottery of LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Middle. It was covered by a burned destruction deposit fallen from the Granary **[MYC24]** (see Ch. II. 5.3.1.5.), a building which was located immediately to the west (Wace et al. 1923, 17–38). On the east side of the gate, there was a small rectangular niche carved in the rock. This is usually interpreted as a gate sanctuary, but nothing specific is known about its use (French et al. 2003, 11).

Behind the Lion Gate, inside the citadel, there was a small paved court. During LH IIIB2 Late this was furnished with a solid terrace – the East Platform – constructed on its eastern boundary, probably to protect the court from the results of the erosion of the slope above it. The Platform had a stairway on the south side, providing access to the area above the Lion Gate, in the corner of the fortification wall (Mylonas 1966d, 192–93). Behind the court, a new ramp was constructed to connect the Lion Gate with the upper part of the Citadel. This ramp ascended south, opposite to the previous direction, but it was not as steep and wide as the Great Ramp which succeeded it. The Great Ramp was constructed in the very last part of the palatial period, probably in LH IIIB2 Late. It was a large construction strengthened by a Cyclopean wall. It occupied the entire width between the rock to the east and the Grave Circle A to the west. The face of the rock to the east was covered by a timber-framed mud-brick wall. Along the Great Ramp ran a well-built drain. The ramp had an inclination of 20%, which must have made any

[19] The form of the structure would be unusual for a staircase, with supporting walls put on the sides instead of the centre of the structure, and the L-shaped border wall. Except for its the location next to the fortification wall and the Lion Gate which prompted Wace's interpretation, no other evidence for such a function of this space was ever documented.

ascent, other than on foot, difficult, if not impossible (Mylonas 1965, 194–95; French et al. 2003, 12).

Together with the construction of the Lion Gate, the Postern Gate was also opened in the north wall. It resembled the form of the Lion Gate (Mylonas 1965, 191–93; French et al. 2003, 11–13). Finally, the Northeast Extension of the citadel was also constructed at the time, with two sallyports – hidden narrow passages pierced through the fortification wall. This extension not only fortified the far east end of the hill, but also enclosed the Underground Cistern within the walls. This advanced structure provided permanent access to water inside the Citadel. A system of clay pipes provided water from the Perseia spring to the citadel. The Cistern had a vaulted entrance corridor linked with a tunnel carved in the bedrock and was equipped with a long narrow staircase, leading down to a large circular cistern (Mylonas 1966d, 31).[20] The Postern Gate and the Northeast Extension must have been a part of the same master plan of the citadel's development as the Lion Gate and the new west wall, and their construction had to have followed each other closely, if it was not simply simultaneous (Wright 1978, 198–99). This is suggested both by their architectural form, as well as the pottery from below the threshold of the Postern Gate and from within the northeast wall, which is of LH IIIB2 date (Mylonas 1965, figs 23, 24, 97).

Construction of the Northeast Extension was dated by Mylonas to the very end of LH IIIB, and regarded as the third stage of the citadel's development (1965, 196–97). This dating was later followed by other scholars, including Iakovidis and French (French et al. 2003, 13; French 2002, 56–57). However, the pottery fragments by Mylonas do not require such a late date. Moreover, the walls of the Northeast Extension were built with the same construction technique that was used to build the western extension. From an architectural perspective the two seem to be part of the same program, and thus should be most probably seen as being contemporary to each other (Wright 1978, 198–99).

The Lion Gate and its western bastion, as well as the Postern Gate, were built with the use of Cyclopean ashlar masonry. It uses large cut-stone blocks closely matching each other in regular rows (for the overview of Mycenaean ashlar masonry see Wright 2020). Most likely in order to visually match the ashlar face of the western bastion, the original fortification wall on

[20] French suggested that the cistern was "an early feature", constructed before the walls of the Northeast Extension (French 2002, 101–2). However, due to the clearing of the Cistern by Tsountas there are no finds that would support a construction date prior to LH IIIB2 and the suggestion is in contradiction with the architectural study of the fortifications by Mylonas (Mylonas 1965, 196–97). Moreover, the entrance to the Cistern, being built in close relation to the course of the fortification wall, was constructed with the use of a stone vault. Use of the latter outside of the funerary architecture seems to be a characteristic development of LH IIIB2 Mycenaean architecture.

the opposite side of the Lion Gate's outer court, was covered by a second wall of conglomerate ashlar blocks, forming a kind of screen built in front of the older wall (Mylonas 1965, 190–91). This suggests that the entire area was the subject of a specific architectural program, the goal of which was to achieve a specific and coherent visual effect. The Lion Gate was also framed by four massive stone blocks, including a threshold and a lintel block made of single boulders. It was crowned by a stone relief of two lions stepping on a column (French et al. 2003, 11–12; Blackwell 2014). This composition is usually recognised as a heraldic symbol of Mycenae, and remains the only example of a monumental Mycenaean sculpture (Wace 1949, 53). The making of this relief, as well as the general development of Mycenaean monumental architecture, was most probably enabled by the influence of Anatolian architectural tradition, and adaptation of tubular drill and pendulum saw on the Mainland in LH IIIB (Blackwell 2014, 475–84). Moreover, the Cyclopean walls of the second phase were constructed with the use of a deep foundation trenches filled with stones and clay, whereas the walls of the previous phase were built directly on bedrock (Wace et al. 1923, 105–6; Mylonas 1965, 193; Wright 1978, 178).

The second phase of the citadel of Mycenae marked not only a significant growth of the fortification – which now had a circuit of 860 m and covered 3 ha, but also an evolution of building technique and defensive planning. The construction of massive foundation trenches, monumental ashlar masonry, external bastions, sally ports and the Underground Cistern all testify to the increased defensive capability of the citadel and the extensive amount of labour invested into its development (Fitzsimons 2011, 108).[21]

4. Funerary landscape

The funerary landscape of Mycenae was shaped long before the acropolis was encircled with the first Cyclopean wall (tabs. 4-5). The development of Early Mycenaean burial grounds had a profound effect on a later topography of the site and organisation of the settlement.

4.1. Prehistoric Cemetery

The earliest burial ground of the Early Mycenaean settlement followed the tradition of the Middle Helladic cemetery and spread in the vicinity of the settlement (Wace et al. 1923, 118–46; Alden 2000). It covered the entire western slope of the Acropolis and reached the eastern slope of Panagia (Alden 2000, 1). Although most of the early tombs had the simple form of a pit or a cist, the cemetery also included two circles of shaft graves. The older one, Grave

[21] For a thorough study of labour costs of Mycenaean fortifications and their impact on the LBA communities of Greece see Boswinkel 2021.

Circle B was located to the west of the Acropolis. It was established during the Middle Helladic period and used until the end of LH I (Mylonas 1964; Boyd 2015, tab. 1). Inside this enclosure, the simple cists were gradually transformed into richly furnished shaft graves (Voutsaki 2021, 436–44).

The phenomenon illustrated by the Grave Circle B expanded with the six graves of Grave Circle A (LH I – LH IIA), located on slope of the Acropolis hill (Boyd 2015, 438). Several features emphasised the special status of the deceased, including the semi-circular wall separating the structure from other burials, monumental grave stelae depicting the elite activities, and particularly rich funerary offerings composed of mainly imported objects fashioned in various valuable materials (Voutsaki 2012).

The Prehistoric Cemetery was abandoned for regular use after LH IIA. However, a single chamber tomb was probably constructed in LH IIIA1 just to the south of Grave Circle B, which at the time must have been still visible and possibly was still somehow commemorated (Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Paschalidis 2010, 291–95). The exact status of this tomb is impossible to determine as it was already robbed in antiquity. Grave Circle A was also still honoured throughout LH IIIA, and in LH IIIB1 it was remodelled and monumentalised by the construction of a large stone platform topped with nine Early Mycenaean grave stelai, which originally marked the shaft graves. A parapet wall of stone slabs which obstructed the view of the stelai and enclosed the interior of the platform was most probably added to the arrangement after some time (Gates 1985; K. Wardle 2015, 587–89).[22] The ring wall was probably damaged during the earthquake in LH IIIB2 Early, after which it was refurbished and a gate was added on the north side of the enclosure (Mylonas 1966d, 25; Gates 1985, 271). The ground level inside the enclosure might have been raised at this time, to connect to the new entrance and provide the enclosure with a flat area, most likely used for ritual or public activities (Gates 1985, 270–71). The place was pehaps venerated even in post-Mycenaean times (French 2002, 79).

[22] The possibility that the parapet wall was added to the platform only after some time is suggested by the fact that its course does not follow exactly the layout of the platform, which would seem natural if the two were built at the same time. Moreover, the grave stelai would be completely invisible from the outside after the construction of the enclosure. According to the account by Schliemann, the stelai were found with sculpted sides turned to west, so as to face travelers arriving at the Citadel (Gates 1985, 270). Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the original layout has taken their visibility into account., The stelai were later completely covered by the layer of earth which was laid inside the enclosure after the opening of the gate in its north part (Gates 1985, 270–71). This further suggests that by that time the stelai lost their significance. However, the careful and clearly planned positioning of the markers suggest that during the original construction of the platform they were still of paramount importance.

4.2. Chamber tomb cemeteries

Already in LH I, a chamber tomb cemetery was established in the south part of the Kalkani hill, to the southwest of the Panagia ridge. Although only one burial can be securely dated to this period, it testifies to an early introduction of this new grave type at Mycenae (French et al. 2003, 36). During LH II and LH IIIA, cemeteries of rock-cut chamber tombs spread rapidly in all directions, being established on most of the hills surrounding Mycenae (tab. 4; fig. 3).[23] The chamber tomb became the primary type of Mycenaean burial in LH II, but its affiliation with specific social groups remains uncertain. Most probably it was first adapted by the elite groups, which were later followed by larger portions of the population (Dickinson 1983, 63).

More than 200 chamber tombs have been identified around the site so far, clustered into 27 cemeteries spread over the area of 300 ha around the settlement (Shelton 1993, 2000; French et al. 2003, 35–39; Shelton 2020, 46–50). Their setting depends mostly on geological conditions, with mild slopes of soft rock being necessary for their construction. However, the distribution of cemeteries might also relate to other factors, such as distance from the roads and pathways which provided an optimal route for funerary procession, religious beliefs, social and political dependencies, and possible individual landholdings (Cavanagh and Mee 1990; Mee and Cavanagh 1990; French and Shelton 2005, 181; Efkleidou 2019). Most of the cemeteries constructed during the LH II period were still utilised during LH III, pointing to a solidly grounded Mycenaean mortuary tradition. The tombs constructed during the LH III period are generally smaller and simpler. A similar pattern can be observed in the distribution of grave goods (French et al. 2003, 38).

4.3 Tholos tombs

Mycenae is characterised by an exceptionally large number of tholos tombs, with a total of nine monuments erected between early LH IIA and LH IIIB (tab. 5 and tab. 9). They were divided by Wace into three architectural groups of successive dates, based on the few remaining grave gifts (Wace 1949, 18; French 2002, 41–44). Moreover, they can be divided into eastern and western groups, separated by the Panagia ridge (French et al. 2003, 23; fig. 4). Those located on the east side are characterised by a more elaborate architecture. Given this fact, together with the most prominent location close to the Acropolis and alongside the main approach leading to the summit, it has been suggested that they could have been built by the

[23] Only on the slope of Zara to the southeast there were no chamber tombs excavated, although their presence was identified (French et al. 2003, 37).

rulers of Mycenae. The monuments on the west side of Panagia ridge are regarded as the tombs belonging to the aristocracy (French and Shelton 2005, 182).

4.3.1. Group I

The earliest tholos tombs of Mycenae - Wace's Group I - were constructed in early LH IIA. These are the Cyclopean Tomb and the Epano Phournos tomb, two monuments very similar to each other and located on the western slope of Panagia, and the Tomb of Aegisthus, the first to be built at the foot of the Acropolis (Wace et al. 1923, 287–302). The first two were built entirely from rubble masonry, while the Tomb of Aegisthus was partially constructed with ashlar masonry, which was used to construct its façade and the stomion. It was further equipped with the earliest relieving triangle on the site (French et al. 2003, 52). It also had a larger chamber, with a significantly longer dromos. The Tomb of Aegisthus is also the only one of the three early tombs to be partially delineated by stone walls. Wace suggested that the tomb went through two stages of use, with the ashlar façade being a later addition (Wace et al. 1923, 296–302; Fitzsimons 2011, 96; contra Galanakis 2007). Moreover, it was also suggested that during the remodelling the dromos of the tomb was extended (Fitzsimons 2006, 118–19).

My own impression, after personal examination of the tomb, is that Wace's two-phase reconstruction is correct, and the ashlar façade must be a later addition. It is clearly cut off from the stomion, and was built with the use of larger and more regular blocks. It is possible that the entire dromos of the Tomb of Aegisthus could have been extended and partially covered with walls during this later reuse. This is suggested by the deviation of the dromos axis and the rubble masonry of the dromos that resembles that used in the Tomb of Genii, usually dated to LH III (see Ch. II. 4.3.3.). Moreover, if we assume that the original dromos of Aegisthus' Tomb was shorter and devoid of walls, it would fit better the original construction date in LH IIA. It is the only tholos of Wace's Group I with a built dromos, which is however also largely different from dromoi of Group II, dated to LH IIA/B. Overall, I would suggest that the remodelling of the tholos occurred in LH IIIA.

4.3.2. Group II

The second group defined by Wace consisted of tholos tombs constructed later in LH II, either late in LH IIA or in LH IIB. These were the Panagia Tomb, located close to the top of Panagia, near the Epano Phournos Tomb, the Kato Phournos Tomb, located further away on the far west end of Pezoulia, and the Lion Tomb, built on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, opposite the Tomb of Aegisthus (Wace et al. 1923, 316–30). Ashlar blocks were used to construct all three tombs, most extensively in the Lion Tomb, which had an imposing façade

and a long, entirely lined dromos. It was also noticeably larger than any of the older tholoi, and was probably enclosed by a low wall, supporting the base of the mound which covered the monument (Wace et al. 1923, 326).

Rodney Fitzsimons suggested that this tholos was also remodelled after the original construction, by addition of the poros ashlar façade of the stomion (Fitzsimons 2006, 118, 174, 2011, 96), which Wace saw as contemporary to the conglomerate construction of the rest of the stomion and the thalamus (Wace et al. 1923, 327). However, Fitzsimons' suggestion is strengthened by Wace's observations regarding the fallen outer lintel-block and the outer threshold, which both have holes drilled in them, presumably to fit the doors (Wace et al. 1923, 325–26). This would be the first occurrence of doors in the tholos tombs at Mycenae. Other than the Lion Tomb, only tombs in Wace's third group had such a feature. The placement of the door in the Lion Tomb seems not only to be experimental, with a different position than in the later three instances – on the outer edge of the stomion rather than in its centre, but also structurally related to the outer poros façade which was based on the outer threshold and supported the outer lintel. Possibly during the remodelling of the façade, the stomion was extended and the doors were added. If that was the case, this would possibly have happened in LH IIIA2, after the remodelling of the Tomb of Aegisthus, which lacks any trace of doors, and before the construction of the Tomb of Clytemnestra, which was probably the next tholos of the east group (see Ch. II. 4.3.3.).

4.3.3. Group III

The third of Wace's groups is dated to LH III and consists of the Tomb of the Genii, on the west slope of Panagia, the Tomb of Clytemnestra next to the Tomb of Aegisthus and partially over Grave Circle B, and the Treasury of Atreus, on the southeast slope of Panagia, in some distance from the other tombs of the east group (Wace et al. 1923, 338–87). Their basic architectural characteristic is that they made extensive use of ashlar masonry, with the tombs of the eastern group being built entirely from such masonry.

The Treasury of Atreus, known also as the Tomb of Agamemnon, is the largest Mycenaean tholos tomb, originally furnished with a rich decorative façade and large wooden door (Wace et al. 1923, 338–52; Mylonas 1966d, 120–22). The high vault was covered with a mound, and most likely enclosed by a retaining wall (Wace 1956a, 116–19). This tomb, in my opinion, represents the very last stage of tholos tomb development at Mycenae, being the largest, most impressive and built with the most advanced techniques, in a location different from all the previous royal tombs. The position occupied by the tomb is a focal point of a

panorama extending from the acropolis over the Zara Mountains, Panagia Ridge, and the Argive Plain, which might have been of symbolic importance (Mason 2007). The tomb was furnished with a lintel block of 120 tons, and had a large, rectangular side chamber, which can be understood as a final development of this funerary form at the site. However, the dating of the tholos is a matter of a debate, with a proposed LH IIIA2 date dominating the literature and current research (Wace 1949, 18; French 1963, 45; French 2002, 69; Fitzsimons 2006, 137).[24] A date in LH IIIB was proposed by Mylonas on the basis of the close resemblance of the ashlar masonry of the tholos to that of the Lion Gate, and the material from below the threshold (Mylonas 1966d, 122, 1983, 174–75).[25] Mylonas refused the hypothesis of a later remodelling of the tholos that would include the threshold, which would explain presence of the late material underneath it (French 2002, 69).[26] Although in my opinion dating the tholos to the middle of LH IIIB is correct, the possibility of multiple openings and refurbishments of the façade later in LH IIIB is not to be neglected, and it may have remained in use until the end of the palatial period.[27] The tomb was probably used until the end of LH IIIB2 and the fall of the palatial administration at Mycenae. Despite its impressive appearance, a study by Ann Brysbaert showed that it would take only 10 months for 100 people to build it (Brysbaert 2020, 62–64).

The Tomb of Clytemnestra was the second largest tholos at Mycenae built with extensive use of conglomerate ashlar masonry, a richly decorated façade, and doors installed in the central threshold (Wace et al. 1923, 357–63). The tholos mound was enclosed, at least from

[24] This date is based largely on the pottery from the Bothros, excavated below the dromos of the tomb, which is of LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 Early date (French 1964, 2002, 69). However, this material does not seem to have any structural connection with the tholos, and its chronological range might be explained by the rapid growth of the settlement in the later part of LH IIIA2, which would push the refuse areas further south (see Ch. II. 7.3.). Recent research by the team from the National Archaeological Museum at Athens dated most of the small finds from the tomb to LH IIIA, but it does not affect my reasoning for the construction date (see also fn. 10). The C14 date obtained from the material above the threshold, which is likely to be from 14th century B.C., may be obtained from the remains of the objects from the original burial deposit (Kostas Paschalidis' lecture at the 19th International Aegean Conference, 11.05.2022).

[25] The resemblance to the architecture of the Lion Gate was originally noticed by Wace (1949, 49), who at the time did not know that the western wall of the citadel, the West Bastion and the Lion Gate, as well as the façade of the wall rising above the east side of the gate, were all not part of the original circuit (see Ch. II. 3.2.), and dated them to LH IIIA.

[26] There seems to be no need for moving the threshold, which was away from the façade, in case of a later reuse of the tomb. This is in accordance with the account of Wace (1921-23, 349), who stated that the threshold excavated by him was in its original state, and did not notice any secondary pit. The material from below the threshold is more likely to be the foundation deposit of the tholos. The fact that similar objects of the same date were also found above the threshold and in the dromos, can be explained by the fact they were probably part of the original furnishing of the tomb (thus deposited during the first use), which was probably later pushed out of the chamber. There was a stemmed bowl (LH IIIB) under the threshold (Wace et al. 1923, fig. 76a). Another, identical fragment was found by Stamatakis above the threshold, in the doorway (French 1963, 46; Mylonas 1966d, 122).

[27] This was discussed by Nicholas Blackwell at his lecture on the New York Bronze Age Colloquium, 1.03.2020. However, he dated the first use of the tholos to LH IIIA2, while only the last use is considered by him to occur in LH IIIB2. This proposal is based on a fact that the Tomb of Clytemnestra shows more extensive use of sawn blocks of conglomerate in the dromos and the stomion.

the east, by a massive retaining wall, known as the Great Poros Wall. The material from behind the wall firmly dates the construction of the monument to LH IIIB1 (Taylour 1955, 209–21)[28]. Around the wall, and postdating its construction, a layer of burned material was excavated, as well as a rich deposit of complete vessels with a human skeleton above. The upper part of the deposits surrounding the wall consisted of gradually accumulated fragments of domestic pottery, probably representing refuse deposit (Taylour 1955, 214–37). A single pit-grave was discovered in the dromos by Tsountas. Its date is unknown, but Mylonas suggested that it was contemporary with the construction of the tomb (Mylonas 1966d, 123).

The Tomb of the Genii is the last of the west group of tholos tombs (Wace et al. 1923, 376–87). It was originally dated by Wace as the last tholos of the third group, and thus the latest tholos built on the site (Wace et al. 1923, 374–79), but this dating was later altered to LH IIIA2 (French 2002, 71) or even LH IIB/IIIA1 (Wace 1949, 18; Fitzsimons 2006, 130). There were twelve burial pits inside the chamber, indicating that it was either used for a longer period of time, or housed an extensive communal burial (Wace et al. 1923, 379). The dromos of the tholos is walled with rubble masonry similar in coursing to that of the western citadel wall (Wace et al. 1923, 376). The use of doors, multiple elements of sawn conglomerate and advanced use of ashlar masonry within the stomion and the vault also suggest a late date. The resemblance of the façade and chamber of this tholos to the Tomb of Clytemnestra was noticed by Wace, who described it as being the "less elaborate versions of them" (Wace et al. 1923, 379). Taking all of the above into consideration, it seems that the tomb was constructed between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1.

4.4. Other burials

There were few post-palatial burials excavated in the remains of the buildings of the Lower Town, testifying to a change of use of these areas. Such graves were found on the slope of Pezoulia, on the Panagia ridge and on the northwest slope of the Acropolis (French 1954,

[28] It was repeatedly suggested to be the last of the tholoi constructed at Mycenae, on the basis of notable advancements in building technique (Wace 1949, 18; Mylonas 1966, 122; French 2002, 70; Fitzsimons 2006, 138–44). However, in comparison to the Treasury of Atreus, the only significant architectural difference is wider use of sawn conglomerate (French 2002, 70). As noted already by Wace, this material, if sawn, has a tendency to expose faults, dangerous to the construction. Those appear only after some time, not during the manufacturing (Wace et al. 1923, 362). It seems safe to assume that this was also noticed by the users of the tomb during its repetitive openings. This is probably why the conglomerate was used less intensively in the construction of the Treasury of Atreus, which I believe to be later. The other reason not to believe that the use of conglomerate points to a later construction is evidence from the palace, where the second phase of the Great Court and the final Main Megaron actually show signs of limiting the use of conglomerate (Wace et al. 1923, 232; see Ch. II. 5.1.1.1.).

268–73; Danielidou 2008, 331–32; Mylonas-Shear 1987, 27–48). By the LH IIIC Late burials were also dug inside the citadel walls, over the remains of palatial structures (French 2011, vii)

5. Buildings of the Acropolis

The Acropolis of Mycenae went through two main stages of development, corresponding to the two phases of construction of the citadel, followed by a post-palatial period (tabs. 6-8). All of its Mycenaean buildings are discussed here in a roughly geographical order, established by the counter clockwise movement from the top of the hill, but sometimes modified in order to present the buildings of each complex in a chronological order (tabs. 6-8). In case of the most extensively discussed complexes – the palatial complex, Grave Circle A and the Cult Centre, each building is also discussed in a separate subsection, after which the summary of the complex follows.

5.1. Summit and the Northeast Slope

The summit of the Acropolis and the narrow Northeast Slope together form the very centre of the site, occupying the highest parts of the hill. The summit was covered by the palatial complex **[MYC1-10]**, while the Northeast Slope was occupied by the Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]**.

5.1.1. Palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]**

The summit of the Acropolis was definitely occupied during Early Mycenaean times, but not much can be said about the early arrangement of the hill. There are a few deposits of MH-LH I pottery on the Acropolis but no architecture to which it could be linked, apart maybe from the Old Wall, which could be the earlier terrace wall preserved around the palace (French and Shelton 2005, 175–78). The existence of some Early Mycenaean architecture is evidenced by the Earlier North Wall below the South Corridor and behind the north wall of the Great Court (Wace et al. 1923, 195–97) **[MYC1]**. It was built on the same orientation on which later the palace was constructed.[29] It might have belonged to a larger complex or group of buildings, but not enough evidence was preserved to reconstruct this (Wace 1949, 70; Fitzsimons 2006, 222–23, 228). It was plastered on the north face, suggesting that the interior of a building was on this side (Wace et al. 1923, 195). Below the Southwest Terrace of the Palace there were also remains of older terrace walls, which possibly relate to this building (Schaar 1979, 56–59).

[29] This observation strengthens Kilian's hypothesis that the centre of the palace at Mycenae was always in the same place (Kilian 1987a, 110–11). Mylonas reconstructed the first megaron on the top of the hill, with the north-south orientation, although there is no evidence for such a building, and its construction would be largely impeded by the topography (Mylonas 1966d, 59)

There were numerous pottery deposits dating to LH II excavated around the summit, and they should be regarded as evidence for intensive pre-palatial occupation (Schaar 1979, 80–91). French dated this phase of occupation to LH IIB, although it probably lasted until the palace was constructed (French and Shelton 2005, 177).

The palace of Mycenae can be divided into the Main Wing **[MYC2]**, which occupied the very top of the hill and the East Wing **[MYC4]**, constructed on the east slope of the summit and on the area below. The entire complex was probably built according to one master plan, which included significant adaptation of the terrain through construction of large terraces. The area was partially cleared by Tsountas, but systematic excavations and thorough architectural studies, mainly by Wace and Mylonas, followed (Wace 1949, 69–97; Mylonas 1983, 91–127).

5.1.1.1. Palace Main Wing **[MYC2]**

Construction of the Main Wing of the palace was probably finished in LH IIIA2 Late, a date suggested by the material from under the floor of the Pillar Basement **[MYC2 – phase 1]** (Wace et al. 1923, 181–82; French 2002, 58; contra Schaar 1979, 44). The original plan of the palace must have been very similar to the final one, with the same orientation and general organisation (Kilian 1987a, 109). Access was provided through the Propylon from the north, and through an early form of the Grand Staircase, probably built in connection to the Pillar Basement, from the south (Wace et al. 1923, 185; Schaar 1979, 41–44).[30] There was also another main entrance on the east in area 27 (Kilian 1987a, 105). The main block of the palace, with the Megaron and the Great Court was constructed on a massive foundation terrace, partially built in Cyclopean masonry (Wright 1978, 101–3; Schaar 1979, 52). There is a possibility that the original Megaron from LH IIIA2 was located a little further to the west than the final one, although such a reconstruction must be treated as tentative.[31] This suggestion is

[30] The Grand Staircase is usually regarded only as a final addition to the palace, mostly because of a different orientation than that of the rest of the building, and an assumption that it could not have been built before the Pillar Basement was filled (Wace et al. 1923, 183–84; Wace 1949, 70, 90; French 2002, 61). However the fact that some earlier staircase must have functioned in the area was noticed before (Wace et al. 1923, 184–85; Wace 1949, 75; Schaar 1979, 41–44). The hypothesis that at least part of the Grand Staircase was constructed together with the original palace is based on four main arguments: 1) the external walls of Grand Staircase are built clearly in ashlar masonry with the use of timber beams, while the internal ones and the east wall of East Lobby are of rubble masonry (see Wace et al. 1923, pl. II, XXII); 2) the Pillar Basement might have been abutted on its south side even if it was not filled, it might have actually been its purpose to support the staircase constructed in the area, as suggested by the central roof support; 3) the original foundation fill according to Wace had very little LH III material, while there was abundance of it inside the bench in the West Lobby and in the cement floor of the Central Lobby, probably dating the later reconstruction of the structure (Wace et al. 1923, 149, 154, 175–79); 4) the orientation of the Grand Staircase was clearly forced by the terrain and needed to be adjusted to the southwest terrace of the palace, and by itself does not prove that the structure was a later addition.

[31] I developed this hypothesis in co-operation with Bartłomiej Lis, who was the first to notice the importance of Papadimitriou's excavations and their possible implications on the plan of the early palace.

based mostly on the excavations of Papadimitriou in the Great Court, where he found an altar and what might have been a base for the throne. These were located below the floor of the Court, next to the south column of the Megaron's porch (Papadimitriou 1960, 230–31; Mylonas 1966d, 62). There are also many other, albeit circumstantial indications of such an early arrangement. The stratigraphy below the floor of the Megaron suggests that its construction followed a significant conflagration, which would suggest a construction date following the destruction of the first palace (Wace et al. 1923, 241). No datable material was published from this context, but the description of layers suggests they consisted of redeposited material. The walls of the Megaron do not show any evidence for the two phases visible in the north wall of the Great Court. Further, its floor, despite being repaved five times, does not show any evidence for a conflagration prior to the final one. Moreover, the Great Court itself seems to have only two floors - the cement floor of phase 2 which was probably not burned, and the painted stucco floor which covers the former (Wace et al. 1923, 192).[32] Thus, only the north wall of the Great Court bears signs of the earlier fire. This suggests that the earlier arrangement of the area was different and the Great Court in its final extent possibly did not exist before the reconstruction of phase 2. The set-back in the middle of the north wall of the Great Court mentioned by Wace could have been reminiscent of this earlier layout (Wace et al. 1923, 190). In this earlier arrangement, the east wall of the Megaron would have been probably where the east wall of the vestibule was later built (fig. 5). The rest of the complex with domestic, cultic and storage quarters, was organised in two rows around the two main corridors - the South and the North Corridor (Kilian 1987a, 104–6). The palace was built with extensive use of ashlar masonry, large cut-stone thresholds and wooden columns set on stone bases. Its walls and some of the floors were extensively covered with figural frescoes (Rodenwaldt 1921).

The palace was at least partially burned during LH IIIB, but the exact date of this event remains uncertain. Only one Group A deep bowl of a general LH IIIB date, found by Wace on a burnt floor patch next to room 52, can be directly associated with this destruction (Wace 1956a, 105; Iakovidis 1986, 237). The north wall of the Great Court was also burned probably with the rest of this area, including the columns which previously supported the Megaron (Wace et al. 1923, 195–96). A burnt capital of one of these columns was found below the later floor of the Great Court (Plommer 1965; Kilian 1987a, 101). The burnt matter below the Megaron floor was probably also the result of this fire, deposited there in preparation for the reconstruction (Wace et al. 1923, 241). Pillar Basement was also burned and filled with debris

[32] There is no evidence for the burning of the first floor of the Great Court, despite speculations by Wace (Wace et al. 1923, 192).

(Wace et al. 1923, 181–83; Iakovidis 1983, 61). Another destruction deposit was found below room 41 (Wace et al. 1923, 218–19). The descriptions of both those deposits are unfortunately very brief, but the material seem to be of LH IIIB date. The burned floor with gypsum slabs found below room 11 should be probably also associated with this destruction (Mylonas 1968c, 31–32; Schaar 1979, 65).[33]

The palace was soon rebuilt and took its final form **[MYC2 – phase 2]**. The main southwest foundation terrace might have been extended to facilitate the new Megaron (Mylonas 1983, 92–93), which finds a good parallel in the contemporary development of the East Wing (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.3.). The rebuilding of the Great Court area is indicated by visible repairs of the north wall and a new cement floor (Wace et al. 1923, 188–201). The large drain constructed in the south part of the Great Court with the old ashlar blocks testifies to the re-planning of the central drainage system for the building (Wace et al. 1923, 202–3). The South Corridor was cut off from the rooms to the east, and the layout of this area was significantly changed with a new doorway opened in the north wall of the porch and possibly by construction of new rooms - 29 and 30 - to the north of the Megaron (Wace et al. 1923, 206–8, 261).[34] The Megaron was clearly reconstructed with new walls built in rubble masonry, with only a few reused ashlar blocks (Fitzsimons 2006, 245–48, fig. 4.41). Its floor was furnished with large regular cut-stone gypsum slabs, but with the limited use of conglomerate, with only two thresholds blocks made of that rock (Wace et al. 1923, 232–49). The new program of painted fresco decorations was executed on the walls (Wace et al. 1923, 249–55). The Pillar Basement was filled with destruction debris and room 52 was constructed on top of it (Wace et al. 1923, 186–88; Schaar 1979, 38–40). This occurred probably together with the reconstruction and rearrangement of the Grand Staircase in a new larger and monumentalised form. The Propylon was also rebuilt (Mylonas 1966d, 66), and room 41 was rearranged (Wace et al. 1923, 217–20; Schaar 1979, 50–51), while the Western Portal was constructed next to it (Schaar 1979, 40). The stairway ascending to the Propylon from the north was also rebuilt at that time, to adjust the area for the roadway which led to the newly built Postern Gate (Mylonas 1966d, 75–77). Other changes within the building might have also occurred, especially on the summit of the hill, where

[33] Mylonas actually interpreted it as a result of final destruction, and the floor above as LH IIIC reoccupation. However, this seems unlikely due to the fact that the pithoi found on the upper floor were also burned, probably as a result of the final conflagration of the palace at the end of LH IIIB (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.6.).

[34] This change strengthens the previously discussed hypothesis regarding the change in the location of the Megaron. If the original Megaron was in fact built further to the west, then it had less of a need for this entrance, as it was connected with the eastern quarters through corridor 45 and then through the main South Corridor. This is in accordance with Wace's observation on south wall of rooms 32-33 to north wall of the Megaron, as together they form a double wall (Wace 1921-23, 260-261). He also seemed to acknowledge the fact that both the Great Court and the Megaron are later additions to the original plan (Wace 1949, 81, 89-90).

evidence for two phases was found in rooms 11, 16 and 18 (Wace et al. 1923, 226–28; Wace 1949, 82; Mylonas 1968c, 31–32; Kilian 1987a, 106). This area was referred to as the Shrine by Wace, due to the finds of plaster tripod offering tables (Wace et al. 1923, 223–29). However Mylonas interpreted those rooms as storerooms, arguing that there is no evidence for any ritual activity in the area the Mycenaean period. The offering tables could have been simply stored there (Mylonas 1966d, 70–72).

Later during this phase the floor and the walls of the Great Court were covered with painted plaster, which is highly unusual for an open-air area. This was probably as a result of a planned alteration which were never finished, and must have occurred very shortly before the final destruction, at the very end of LH IIIB (Wace et al. 1923, 192, 204). Some other minor alterations could have also occurred at the time. Although little of the original furnishings of the palace were preserved, finds of stone and metal vessels, tools and ornaments, testify to its exceptional status (Wace et al. 1923, 147–282; French 2002, 95–98).

The palace was destroyed by a conflagration at the end of LH IIIB (Mylonas 1966d, 221). This is testified by an abundance of burned walls, and calcined and burned debris that was covering the remains. A destruction deposit from this event was also found in room 11, in the form of fallen and burned *pithoi* (Wace et al. 1923, 229–30). There is a possibility that part of the rooms on the summit, especially room 11, was rebuilt and reoccupied in LH IIIC, but the evidence for this is unclear (Mylonas 1968c, 31–32, 1983, 124). There is a possibility that a crude brick wall in this area is actually of LH IIIC date (Wace 1949, 82).

5.1.1.2. Building on the Great Court **[MYC3]**

At least six rooms were excavated by Tsountas over the Great Court of the Palace **[MYC3]**, built on the burned destruction deposit covering the remains (Tsountas 1887; French 2002, 136–38). French suggested that they are of LH IIIC Middle date, although this is against Tsountas' account, who reported Geometric pottery being found between the walls. French, however, doubted whether he was able to properly distinguish the two already in 1886 (French 2002, 137–38; contra Wace 1949, 75). This is supported by the early account of Wace, who stated that only LH III pottery was found during the removal of these walls (Wace et al. 1923, 201).

There is no evidence for the history or function of these rooms. Possibly they could be of some importance, due to their location in the heart of the former Palace, but the arrangement does not seem to relate to the walls of the palatial period in any way (French et al. 2003, 10).

5.1.1.3. Palace East Wing **[MYC4]**

The east slope of the summit was occupied by the Artisans' Quarters and the House of Columns, which are traditionally defined as two separate structures. However, they certainly formed one functional and structural unit – the East Wing of the palace (Mylonas 1966e, 1968c, 19–20; Schaar 1979, 72–74).

The of the first phase of this part of the complex **[MYC4 – phase 1]**, contemporary with construction of the original Main Wing in LH IIIA2, remains unknown. The few excavated contexts include a single room below the south terrace wall, a wall below the courtyard of the House of Columns and the Pithos Basement with chases for timber-framing, a floor attached to the latter and the lower floors of courtyard 6 and of corridor 14 in the Artisans' Quarter (Mylonas 1966e, 420–21, 1968c, 23–25; Schaar 1979, 73). It is also clear that the terraces between the Main Wing and the East Wing existed already before the latter was built, thus demonstrating the early development of this area (Mylonas 1966e, 420). The material from the earlier floor of room 6 suggests construction as early as LH IIIA. However, there is no evidence of a fire destruction prior to the end of LH IIIB, nor there is any evidence for an earthquake destruction, apart from a statement by Kenneth Schaar, who worked on the site together with Mylonas and thoroughly studied the Palace remains, that the building below the House of Columns has "evidently collapsed" (Schaar 1979, 73). Thus it is unknown if the East Wing was also destroyed during LH IIIB, like the Main Wing, or if it was purposefully dismantled and rebuilt. Whatever the reason, a planned reconstruction of this part of the complex occurred in LH IIIB2, most probably together with the other parts of the palace.

The eastern part of the earlier phase of the building was covered by a massive foundation terrace (Mylonas 1968c, 13–17). Pottery from inside this terrace confirms the construction date in LH IIIB2 (Mylonas 1968c, fig. 10). Other terraces to the west, between the East and the Main Wing were probably extended during this phase, testifying to intensive building activity and the rearrangement of the entire palatial complex (Mylonas 1966e, 420). Many of the walls of this part of the complex bear traces of timber-framing, a technique characteristic for the palatial architecture of LH IIIB (Wright 1978, 267; Schaar 1979, 73; Iakovidis 1983, 63–66).

The new East Wing **[MYC4 – phase 2]** had a formal plan, centred around two courtyards – an elongated wide open-air corridor to the west (Artisans' Quarters), and a rectangular colonnaded courtyard to the east (House of Columns). The western courtyard was paved with plaster and was surrounded by long corridors and basement rooms with plastered walls (Iakovidis 1983, 64–66). A staircase built in the north part of the courtyard led to the

upper storey above the basements. Access to this part of the building was facilitated by a long ramp leading from the north and paved with plaster. Another entrance was opened in the south wall of room 8, leading into a lane that must have run along the internal side of the Cyclopean wall (Mylonas 1966e, 420–25). Around the elongated courtyard and in the surrounding rooms Mylonas found a large number of metal and stone tools and raw materials, and over 700 objects of ivory, including ornaments, half-processed and raw pieces, as well as production leftovers (Mylonas 1966e, 425–26).

The floors of the basement rooms in this part of the complex were 1.5m above the surface of the colonnaded court to the east. However, the two parts definitely connect, not only through a narrow doorway leading from corridor 14 into the colonnaded court, but also probably through an upper storey (Mylonas 1968c, 19–20). This is suggested by the fact that the basement rooms in the centre of the complex were built along the corridor to the west, and with the floors on its level, but they were actually accessed from the east, through a staircase built to the south of the colonnaded court (Wace 1949, 94).

The northern part of the rectangular court was occupied by a large room with a vestibule in front of it - the megaron unit, with a large staircase to the east. The latter testifies to the existence of an upper storey also above this part of the complex. To the south of the court there were four more basement rooms. An abundance of storage pottery, including inscribed stirrup jars, and a single Linear B tablet were found there (Mylonas 1968a, 1968c, 25). The west part of the East Wing is characterised by use of large cut-stone conglomerate thresholds of single large blocks. The walls of the upper storey were at least partially covered with figural frescoes, which is suggested by the finds of painted plaster in the fill (Mylonas 1966d, 73).

The East Wing of the palace included multiple storerooms and working areas and was most probably involved in the processing and storage of ivory and stone as well as the storage of other goods. It appears also that some administrative activities took places here too, as confirmed by the Linear B tablet (Driessen 1996, 1018). The arrangement of the east part of the building (Artisans Quarters) resembles the House of Sphinxes (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.4.), and the main commodity processed inside seem to be also ivory. The arrangement of the rooms to the north of the colonnaded court, and the evidence for existence of an extensive decorated upper storey suggest that the building might have also serve as a residence, possibly for a palatial official responsible for the supervision of economic activities performed in this part of the Palace, but that remains uncertain, as there is no other evidence of domestic context.

The entire East Wing was destroyed in a conflagration at the end of LH IIIB, as is shown by multiple heavily burned destruction contexts with good pottery deposits (Wace 1949, 95–96; Mylonas 1966e, 426, 1968c, 25).

5.1.1.4. Buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6]**

Some of the walls of the East Wing of the Palace were re-used shortly after the destruction for construction of two new buildings (Mylonas 1968c, 32–35). However, they are only fragmentarily known, and not much can be said about their history or function.

Building Psi **[MYC5]** used some of the wall to the north of the colonnaded court of the East Wing, including the large northernmost room, the main room of the megaron unit of the palatial period. It probably formed another megaron unit, this time with a vestibule opened to the north, with additional small rooms attached to this east wall (Mylonas 1968c, 33–35). The staircase from the palatial period was probably also reused, and strengthened with a new column (Iakovidis 1983, 66). The hearth and a chimney pipe were found in the main room, suggesting that it served as a domestic unit (Mylonas 1968c, 35).

Building Omega **[MYC6],** was larger than Psi and was constructed as the second one. It was constructed on the colonnaded court, using some of the walls surrounding it. The large central room was followed by a vestibule which probably had two columns *in antis*, with bases made of conglomerate blocks from the palatial period (Mylonas 1968c, 37–38) .

Both buildings had pseudo-cement floors – a mixture of earth, clay and plaster, characteristic of the post-palatial structures at Mycenae. However, they also partially reused the plaster floors of the palatial period, wherever those survived. The spatial arrangement of the two buildings also followed, to a certain extent, that of the east part of the East Wing of the Palace (Mylonas 1968c, 38)

The area was probably abandoned before the beginning of LH IIIC Middle, judging from the Mylonas noting the lack of Granary style pottery in the deposits associated with the buildings (Mylonas 1968c, 33).

5.1.1.5. Other buildings of the palatial complex **[MYC7-10]**

Other buildings of the palatial complex were all part of the final development of the Palace and were located on the north slope of the summit.

The building known as the North Storerooms **[MYC7]** is a relatively small structure, constructed on the north slope of the Acropolis, just below the Main Wing of the Palace. It was a rectangular warehouse of which only five ground floor rooms abutting the bedrock survived. The building had a drainage system. Storage pottery, fragments of lead, ornaments of ivory and

metal and a single Linear B tablet were located inside the remains (Mylonas 1970a). Some of those objects were found in a deep burned destruction deposit, probably the remains of an upper storey or debris fallen from above, from the Main Wing of the Palace (Mylonas 1970b, 5–9). All of the architecture and finds testify to its storage function. The building was constructed in LH IIIB and destroyed at the end of this period (Iakovidis 1977, 122). Thus it is probably one of the developments of the second phase of the palatial complex.

After the destruction the building was covered by a fill with LH IIIC pottery inside, which was used as a foundation deposit for a road which connected the western and eastern part of the citadel during the post-palatial period (Iakovidis 1986, 239; French 2002, 100).

House Eta **[MYC8]** comprised two rooms to the west of House Gamma, which are only briefly mentioned by Mylonas in his excavation report for the year 1967 (Mylonas 1969, 17–18). Nothing more was published, although Iakovidis also mentioned them (Iakovidis 1983, 67), and they are visible on the map of the citadel in the Atlas (French et al. 2003 Mycenae Citadel Map 8). They were dated to LH IIIC, and blocked the passage from the Postern Gate to the Palace East Wing that functioned along the Cyclopean Wall during LH IIIB2 (Mylonas 1969, 18). Nothing is known about the contents of the building, except that both the walls and floor were covered with clay. The floor was also of pseudo-cement. The same material is used in the floors of Building Psi and Omega (see Ch. II.5.1.1.4.), which supports the construction date in LH IIIC Early.

Houses Gamma **[MYC9]** and Delta **[MYC10]** are poorly known, as they were mostly cleared by Tsountas, who regarded them as Hellenistic but few undisturbed deposits with pieces of floors were left by him, and excavated later by Mylonas (Mylonas 1969, 14–16).

House Gamma **[MYC9 – phase 1]** is located next to the fortification wall, opposite the entrance to the East Wing of the Palace. The building was constructed in LH IIIB, probably as another later addition to the palatial complex, probably contemporary with the reconstruction of the East Wing. This is suggested by the stratigraphy discussed by Mylonas: there was only one burnt LH IIIB floor in the building, below the later floor of the LH IIIC Early date (Mylonas 1969, 16–17; Iakovidis 1983, 66–67). Thus, the building was most probably burned at the end of LH IIIB together with the rest of the Palace, and was shortly after reoccupied with new floors laid and walls reused **[MYC9 – phase 2]**. Then it was probably abandoned during LH IIIC, as the second floor had no evidence of destruction.

The function of the building is uncertain due to the very limited number of published finds, but its spatial arrangement strongly suggests storage. The preserved remains of the building consist solely of small basements, with a plan adapted to the bedrock, thus it seems

that the amount of storage space was a priority during construction of the building. Probably it was another palatial warehouse.

House Delta **[MYC10 – phase 1]** is located to the southeast of Gamma, also directly in front of the fortification wall, and in close connection to the East Wing of the Palace. It must have been also constructed during LH IIIB2 and destroyed by fire at the end of this period (Mylonas 1969, 16). It was probably another palatial storeroom, as indicated both by both the spatial arrangement with large regular basements, and by the finds of storage pottery. The external courtyard with a large drain which was constructed in front of the building may have functioned as a working area. The building had a staircase built at the back, and the upper storey had probably painted walls, which is suggested by the finds of painted plaster (Iakovidis 1983, 66). However, no other evidence is available and it is uncertain if the upper storey served as a residence. The building **[MYC10 – phase 2]** was definitely reused in the post-palatial period but the extent of this reuse is uncertain. Iakovidis stated that it was used "during the whole 12th century BC", thus the material probably ends at LH IIIC Middle (Iakovidis 1977, 122).

5.1.1.6. Summary of the complex

The structures discussed above together formed the largest Mycenaean multi-building complex ever to be formed. The Palace at Mycenae at the peak of its development in LH IIIB2 covered ca. 0.8 ha and spread over the entire summit of the Acropolis hill.

The first phase of the occupational history of the complex is the Early Mycenaean occupation, although its remains were poorly preserved. It is safe to assume that a residence or group of more elaborate Mycenaean residences occupied the west part of the hill already in LH IIB. The orientation of this building, or a group of buildings is suggested by the Earlier North Wall, which testifies to the existence of at least one building on the top **[MYC1].** It must have been destroyed or abandoned and dismantled before the proper palace was constructed in LH IIIA2.

The second phase of the complex was marked by a development of the Main Wing of the Palace **[MYC2 – phase 1]**, with an arrangement possibly a little different from the final layout, and some early form of the East Wing **[MYC4 – phase 1]**, probably with a more dispersed architecture covering the eastern slope of the summit (fig. 5). Construction of this complex was probably finished only in LH IIIA2 Late, as suggested by the material from the Pillar Basement (French 2002, 58), and the fact that the Southwest Terrace of the Main Wing abutted the Cyclopean wall, thus must have been built after the beginning of LH IIIA2.

At some moment during LH IIIB, probably in the second part of the period, after the earthquake in LH IIIB2 Early, at least part of the Main Wing was damaged by fire. This date is suggested by the construction deposits which date the second phase of the East Wing (Mylonas 1968c, 13–17). This development was probably part of the general rearrangement of the complex immediately after this fire. There is a possibility that the LH IIIB2 Early earthquake affected the palace, but this remains speculative. There is no direct evidence for such a damage. During the third phase of the occupational sequence the palace was rebuilt and expanded (fig. 6). It seems that the greatest expansion was the construction of the new East Wing of the palace **[MYC4 – phase 2]**, with workshops and storage spaces. In addition warehouses in Buildings Gamma **[MYC9 – phase 1]** and Delta **[MYC10 – phase 1]** were constructed along the Citadel Wall, around a newly built large courtyard which was laid in front of the East Wing (Siennicka 2015, 366). This courtyard was accessed through a ramp partly based on an artificial platform, which was built at the end of the road which run along the Cyclopean wall, to the Postern Gate (Iakovidis 1983, 67). Another warehouse – the North Storerooms **[MYC7]** was built along this road, at the bottom of the northern slope of the summit.

The palatial complex must have been carefully planned. The layout was formalised to a certain extent, with each building of the complex being constructed around a central axis. The constraints of the rocky, uneven terrain were overcome by the builders through the use of massive, partially Cyclopean foundation terraces. The construction of each phase of the palatial complex was always coordinated along with the other main developments in the plan of the Citadel, with all the buildings of the complex built either against or along the fortification wall. During the rebuilding of the palace in LH IIIB2, the Northeast Extension of the fortification wall was built to the east, with the Underground Cistern and a new building complex inside of it. Noteworthily, access to this complex was strictly controlled by the Palace (see Ch. II. 5.1.2.). Access to this part of the Citadel was possible only through the courtyard in front of the East Wing, and then between Houses Gamma and Delta.

The Palace served not only as the residence of a king and the seat of his administration, but also provided an abundance of storage and working space, functioning as an important hub of economic activity, particularly during the LH IIIB2 period, when multiple new storerooms were built around the main part of the complex. The construction of ramps which facilitated access to the courtyard in front of the East Wing, and to the working areas in its wester part (Artisans Quarters) testifies to the need of ensuring easy access to these areas, probably in connection with transportation of various stored, processed and distributed goods, including ornaments made of ivory.

The palace at Mycenae does not provide much evidence for ritual activity performed in the Megaron or in other parts of the palace. Apart from fragments of offering tables and a couple exceptional figurines, no other indications of cult were found. However, it remains highly probable that main rooms of palatial *megara* were used to perform rituals which were part of the obligations of the king as not only political and military but also religious leader. Helen Whittaker suggested that the scenes of combat which often decorated walls of Mycenaean palaces, including the walls of the Great Megaron at Mycenae had religious meanings, which then might have referred to the rituals performed there (Whittaker 2015, 615).

At the end of LH IIIB the entire palatial complex was destroyed in a violent fire, traces of which can be found in all of its buildings. Parts of the palace were reoccupied shortly after the destruction (fig. 7), mostly within the East Wing, where some new walls were erected among the palatial ruins to form buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6].** Houses Gamma **[MYC9 – phase 2]** and Delta **[MYC10 – phase 2]** were reoccupied, probably in the same form. Moreover, a new building - House Eta **[MYC8]** - was built inside the passage leading to the Postern Gate. This newly arranged layout was probably still closely linked to the Northeast Extension and functioned as an elite public complex, providing a large amount of storage space. The character of buildings Psi and Omega remains uncertain, although their location and form were definitely exceptional for the post-palatial period. It is possible that after their abandonment at the end of LH IIIC Early, a new building was constructed on the Great Court of the palace **[MYC3]**, although its construction date remains uncertain (see Ch. II.5.1.2.). If it was built in LH IIIC Middle, it might have replaced buildings Psi and Omega as a seat of the local post-palatial aristocracy, although there are no indications of its special status apart from the location.

The Palace area was finally abandoned, probably at the end of LH IIIC Middle, judging from the similar descriptions of the range of the pottery by Wace, Mylonas and Iakovidis (Wace 1949, 69–97; Mylonas 1966d, 58–78, 1966e, 1968c; Iakovidis 1983, 55–67; Mylonas 1983, 91–127; Iakovidis 1986, 235–38).

5.1.2. Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]**

After the construction of the Northeast Extension of the fortification wall in LH IIIB2 (*WBM* phase VIIIA), at least two buildings were constructed inside its walls. These are known as Houses Alpha **[MYC11]** and Beta **[MYC12]**, and together they form the Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]** (fig. 8).

Only a small part of House Alpha **[MYC11]** is preserved, because the building was mostly destroyed by Schliemann in 1874 (Mylonas 1965, 196). The only part which survived is a storeroom with six *pithoi* and some other vessels, with part of another room to the east. There was a clay vat found inside of the latter (Mylonas 1965, 196–97). The rest of the plan is unknown, but what remains is a storage area. No evidence for a violent destruction was published, thus the building was probably simply abandoned after the end of LH IIIB (French et al. 2003, 13).

House Beta **[MYC12]** was much better preserved, although its construction date remains uncertain. French suggested that it was constructed before the earthquake, because of an *in situ* deposit of pottery in room 4, which she dated to the middle of LH IIIB (French 2002, 57). However, the walls of room 4 clearly abutted the fortification wall, so at least room 4 had to be constructed after the latter, in LH IIIB2.

The function of the building is also not clear, although it might have been a small residential unit. The central room was approached from an L-shaped corridor, which led also to a small storeroom. Room 4, built between the central room and the fortification wall had no doorway, thus it must have been accessed from the roof. The building had plastered floors, and a deposit of pottery, supplemented by a single lead vessel and a stone mortar. Mylonas suggested that it was built in connection to the Underground Cistern (Mylonas 1966e, 32). It seems that the building was destroyed or simply abandoned at the end of LH IIIB, which is indicated by the pottery deposits from inside the house and from the road to the south (Iakovidis 1986, 239–40). However, the road built between this house and House Alpha was repaved with stones and reused. Moreover, this house was probably partially covered by retaining wall K, and a new approach to the Underground Cistern, There is a layer of ash with LH IIIC pottery on the final layer of the road, so the area must have been burned at least once during the post-palatial period (Mylonas 1966a, 76).

The two buildings form of the complex known as the Northeast Extension **[MYC11-12]**. Although their exact functions are not certain, they were almost certainly built and controlled by the palace. Their construction was coordinated with the construction of the fortification wall, and access to the area was possibly only through the palatial complex. This strict control of access by the palace was most likely connected with the presence of the Underground Cistern and the sally ports, which were both of strategic importance.

5.2. Northwest Slope

The remains which occupy the northwest corner of the Citadel today, are all of the final LH IIIB2 Late date. They were all constructed in the final part of the palatial period, following the rearrangement of the fortifications. Before this, during the existence of the first Citadel, the area must have been used for communication between the west gate and the palace, as indicated by the course of the road which at the time passed along the western wall of the fortification wall (Mylonas 1965, 194–96). This road went through the gate and then most probably immediately turned east, ascending the hill towards the Propylon of the palace. However, no evidence of any structures from this period were excavated in the area. Only a single foundation trench of LH IIIA2-B1 date, excavated below Building K **[MYC16]** testifies to the early development of the area (Iakovidis 2008, 25–26).

5.2.1. House M Complex **[MYC13-15]**

The easternmost complex on the northwest part of the slope is the dense network of rooms around House M **[MYC13].** The arrangement of structures around it is difficult to understand, and they were certainly all constructed together and functioned in close correlation with each other (fig. 9). Two more buildings were identified in the complex: Building L **[MYC14]**, comprising the row of four rooms constructed along the main west wall of the complex, and Building Y-B **[MYC15]**, made of rooms built against the fortification wall, immediately to the north of House M. The complex was mostly cleared by Tsountas, but a few undisturbed deposits were later excavated by Mylonas (Pliatsika 2015, 598).

House M **[MYC13]** was the central unit of the complex (Mylonas 1963, 99–103). According to Iakovidis, who took part in the excavations of the remains, the building was constructed "shortly after the reconstruction of the palace" (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.6.), thus probably only in LH IIIB2 Late (Iakovidis 1996, 1043). It was a solid construction, built on a rectangular foundation terrace and centred around a megaron. Communication was facilitated through staircase M9 and the upper terrace courtyard M10, which was also reached by a second staircase rising from room M3(Iakovidis 1983, 52). The staircases and the courtyard M10, with a floor 2,15 m above the level of the ground floor, all indicate the existence of an extensive upper storey.

Despite the fact that Mylonas originally interpreted this complex as the residence of a military officer (Mylonas 1983, 153), there are actually strong indications of ritual activity performed inside these buildings. Those come partially from a destruction deposit which collapsed into the basement to the north (room Y1.), but there was also a rich collection of

ornaments, figurines, lead vessels and other extraordinary finds, including a decorated plaster tripod table, within the deposits in this building (Pliatsika 2015, 609). It was probably a central part of the entire complex, with rituals occurring most probably in the central room M2, equipped with built platform and figural frescoes on the walls. Access to the building was probably strictly controlled, by pairs of lodges (M5-6) and courtyards (M7-8) behind the main doorways, on the western side of the building (Mylonas 1983, 153; Pliatsika 2015, 600). Destruction deposits from room M2 and courtyard M10 indicated an abandonment at the end of LH IIIB, but no damage to the building was documented (Iakovidis 1986, 240; Pliatsika 2015, 598).

Building L **[MYC14]** was cleared to the bedrock by Tsountas, thus almost nothing can be said about it (Iakovidis 1983, 52; Pliatsika 2015, 598). It is usually considered to comprise storage rooms, but there is no clear indication for that apart from the spatial arrangement of a row of rectangular rooms (Mylonas 1983, 153). Easy access on the ground floor level suggests a different function. On the other hand, room L3 was clearly a basement accessed from above, and the plan of the buildings is rather regular and simple. Rooms L1 and L2 might have been constructed for a daily storage of materials and goods in use in House M. This would explain the easy access to them and good communication with staircase M9, leading to the upper storey of House M.

Building Y-B **[MYC15 – phase 1]** is a group of rooms with corridors and stairways, attached to the fortification wall and constructed on a slope (Pliatsika 2015, 598–99). There was a destruction deposit excavated by Mylonas in room Y1, which features objects thought to have fallen from House M (Pliatsika 2015, 601, 604). Thus, many artefacts from this rich deposit probably did not belong to this building. These objects included a large clay idol (the only one of this type found outside of the Cult Centre), many other figurines, tools and ornaments of metal and ivory, seals stones, animal bones and abundance of decorated pottery, including a fragment of a rosette deep bowl inscribed with a female name (Pliatsika 2015, 604–5; Mylonas 1962). The actual floor deposit included a stone mortar, cooking and storage pottery. In general, this part of the complex probably also served for storage. Finds from the floor of room Y1 suggests that some of the stored goods might be food supplies.

The destruction deposit from room Y1 dates to the end of LH IIIB. Traces of fire were found on the floor of this room (Pliatsika 2015, 606). Rooms B1-3 **[MYC15 – phase 2]** are built on the wall and were not part of the original plan (Mylonas 1983, 74). They were constructed already during the post-palatial period, maybe in reaction to damage or

deterioration of the wall, and used until LH IIIC Late (Iakovidis 1983, 53; French et al. 2003, 13; Pliatsika 2015, 598).[35] It is uncertain if the rest of the building was also reused at the time. The entire House M Complex **[MYC13-15]** was a pre-planned construction (Iakovidis 1983, 53). This is suggested by the arrangement of access points, roads, stairways and corridors, as part of an advanced plan of adjusting the slope to the needs of the complex, despite the different orientation of House M, and two other buildings, probably forced by the terrain. This investment must have been planned in connection to the rearrangement of the citadel and adjustment of the roadways to the new layout. In particular the road which ran to the southeast of House M and led to the upper part of Building Y-B. must have been arranged with regard to the road leading to the Postern Gate. The two were linked by a large stairway (Pliatsika 2015, 598).

There are no proper construction deposits published, but there are a number of indications for a date in LH IIIB2 Late (*WBM* phase VIIIB). Immediately to the east of Building Y-B, there was an external vaulted storeroom attached to the wall, and linked to the House M complex by a roadway with a drain below, which both connected with corridor A (Rowe and Wace 1954). The form of this room, although different from the galleries at Tiryns, shows a clear architectural connection with the latter, which were constructed in LH IIIB2 Early (see Ch. III. 3.2.). Further, several features suggest that the complex was constructed in LH IIIB2, most likely after the extension of the Citadel and rebuilding of the palace. First, the stratigraphy, although scarcely preserved, is predominantly single phased, producing LH IIIB2 late material. Secondly, the location, combined with the spatial and formal arrangement of the structure, seems to have been correlated with other developments in the last part of the palatial period, such as the orientation of the main west wall parallel to the Northwest Quarter [MYC17-19] (see Ch. II. 5.2.3).

There are strong indications of ritual activity in the complex, probably occurring inside House M. The evidence includes both the extraordinary collection of finds, closely resembling that of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (see Ch. II. 5.3.3.) and the spatial arrangement of House M, which was clearly arranged to strictly control access to the interior (Pliatsika 2015, 609). Buildings L and Y-B might have provided additional storage space for the needs of the cult.

[35] Despite the fact that those rooms were frequently referred to as "galleries" and compared to the vaulted casemates of Tiryns (see for example Iakovidis 1983, 51; French et al. 2003, 13; Pliatsika 2015, 598), they seem to be of completely different origin and form. All three rooms were constructed on the wall, "within its thickness" (Mylonas 1983, 74), but none of them was part of the original plan. Thus, there is no other possibility of constructing them other than after previous damage or dismantling of parts of the walls, while the galleries at Tiryns were planned during the construction of the fortifications. The roofs of room B1-3 are not preserved, thus the existence of vaults over them is also doubtful.

The construction date in LH IIIB2 suggests that this area could have at least partially replaced the Cult Centre, which was at the time partly abandoned. The arrangment of House M resembles Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]**, which is exactly the part of the Cult Centre which was almost certainly not in use after the earthquake (see Ch. II. 5.3.3.5.).

The complex was abandoned at the end of LH IIIB, as indicated by the destruction deposits in rooms M2, M10 and Y1, but the reasons for this are not certain. There are no indications of earthquake damage in the published evidence, although this reason for destruction was repeatedly mentioned by Iakovidis (Iakovidis 1983, 53, 1986, 258–59, 1996, 1054). Traces of burning were only reported from the floor of room Y1 (Pliatsika 2015, 606). However, the complex was mostly cleared by Tsountas, and it is possible that the fire did not cover the entire area due to the terrain. Moreover, Building K **[MYC16]**, attached to the west wall of Building L and excavated more recently by Christofilis Maggidis, provided more evidence of a strong fire at the end of LH IIIB which occurred also in this area (see Ch. II. 5.2.2.). Overall, it seems most probable that the House M Complex was another unit destroyed by the widespread conflagration at the end of LH IIIB.

The external vaulted storeroom to the east of corridor A was repaired and re-used in the post-palatial period (Rowe and Wace 1954, 254–55). Rooms B1-3 were built within the fortification wall most likely at the same time. The area remained in use until LH IIIC Late (Pliatsika 2015, 598). There was a burnt layer inside the external vaulted storeroom, indicating fire destruction during LH IIIC, possibly the one which caused the final abandonment of the area (Rowe and Wace 1954, 255).

5.2.2. Building K **[MYC16]**

This building is the most recently excavated structure on the Acropolis of Mycenae, located between the House M Complex **[MYC 13-15]** and the Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]**, in a previously undisturbed sector (Iakovidis 2006a, 2007a, 21–24, 2007b, 25–27, 2008, 23–26, 2010a, 15, 2010b, 23–25).[36]

According to Maggidis, who excavated the remains, the building was constructed after the earthquake which occurred in LH IIIB2 Early. Moreover, the fact that it clearly abuts the west wall of House M Complex clearly dates the construction after the earthquake. Thus, a date in LH IIIB2 Late seems secure. It was a simple rectangular unit, with three rectangular rooms

[36] Apart from the brief reports by Iakovidis, an extensive account of the excavations was published on the website of the project, under the address http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/citadel.html (access on 30.05.2022). This online publication is for the moment the main source of data about the building.

and an open courtyard to the north, built in a row along the western wall of House M Complex. However, it was an independent unit with access from the opposite side via a long entrance ramp. It was built on an older foundation terrace, but only partially followed its course. Despite poor preservation, the building can be interpreted as a residential unit. The latter is indicated by the presence of the kitchen area identified in one of the rooms, together with fragments of cooking pottery, walls painted with figural frescoes, and a rather domestic collection of ornaments and tools, with few metal objects.

The building was burned at the end of LH IIIB, which left a thick destruction deposit of ash and burnt material. The excavator's suggestion that the building was destroyed by an earthquake is doubtful, as there is no explicit evidence for this (apart from a "seismic imprint" on the west wall, of unknown nature or form), while both the date and burnt remains suggest association with the widespread conflagration rather than with the earthquake.

5.2.3. Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]**

This is a large complex of three buildings – Building N **[MYC17]**, Building I **[MYC18]** and Building II **[MYC19]** - located in the northwest corner of the Citadel wall (fig. 10). It was first investigated by Tsountas, who found two bronze hoards in the area, one within the walls of this complex, and the other one in its vicinity (Tsountas 1891; Iakovidis 2006c, 135–37). A few deposits that were left by him were later excavated by Iakovidis (Iakovidis 2006c).

Building N **[MYC17]** was formed from four basements, constructed with the use of large boulders (Iakovidis 2006c, 13–21, 140–43). It must have been capped by a mudbrick superstructure, as there was no access provided on the ground level to any of the basement rooms (Iakovidis 2006c, 140). External staircase might have been located south of room N2, next to the jog formed by room N1, which was probably purposefully built longer. Passage Γ probably provided access from Building N to Building I, possibly through the roof which might have covered it. This building was the first of the complex to be constructed, and must have been purposefully not integrated with the others by being divided from them by narrow passages (Iakovidis 2006c, 141, 175). The spatial arrangement, with regular spacious basement rooms suggest storage, function but there is nothing more to support it, because it was almost entirely cleared by Tsountas. In his early accounts of this building Iakovidis described pottery recovered from it as dating to the "beginning of 12th century" (Iakovidis 1983, 50).

For Building I **[MYC18]** more information is available, with few contexts left untouched by Tsountas (Iakovidis 2006c, 22–42, 107–24). The building was constructed between buildings N and II and the east boundary wall, and must have somehow provided

access from one to the other, being probably just an architectural connector. It was composed of two rooms – I1 and I2 - with a large trapezoidal courtyard I3, built against the fortification wall. The existence of the upper floor is not certain. Room I1 might have been simply accessed from the roof, which was strengthen by supports placed in room I2. However, coloured plaster recovered from the fill of the building might indicate that there were rooms with painted walls above the preserved remains (Iakovidis 2006c, 165). Access between room I2 and the courtyard was provided through a doorway at the ground level, with a threshold built of pebbles and clay and a wooden doorframe which was later burned (Iakovidis 2006c, 146). The pottery from under the threshold provides a construction date in LH IIIB2 Late (Iakovidis 2006c, pl. 10.18). There might have been some access way provided from courtyard I3 to the rooms above rooms II5-6 of Building II. Possibly there was a stairway next to the west wall of I3, the location of which might be indicated by the detached fragment of the wall, which might have been weakened by the pressure of the external construction and its use for communication. Although this remains speculative, and no evidence for such an arrangement was documented, access to Building II **[MYC19]** is problematic, and such a solution seems to be the most probable in the light of the preserved layout of the complex (see below)

The only other finds are from Tsountas' backfill, thus nothing certain can be said about their distribution. Room I2 with access to the courtyard I3, might have served as a working space, a possibility suggested by finds of stone tools and a single sheet of lead, but more importantly by the access to daylight and to the drain which was located on the courtyard (Iakovidis 2006c, 28–31). These two functions also did not necessarily exclude each other
Iakovidis suggested that the building was destroyed by an earthquake, but the only evidence for this scenario found in this building consists of a collapsed west wall of I1 and a partially detached fragment of a west wall of the courtyard I3 (Iakovidis 2006c, 143).

Building II **[MYC19]** comprises two large rectangular rooms – II1 and II2 – with two trapezoidal courtyards – II3 and II4 - between them and the fortification wall. Between this main unit and the courtyard I3 of Building I, there was another narrow passage, but this 1was further divided into rooms II5 and II6, and a small courtyard II7 (Iakovidis 2006c, 43–93, 148–56). Their association with Building II is evidenced by the continuous south wall of the building, which is also a south wall of room II5. However, the function of those small rooms is uncertain, and it remains possible that they were only providing access to the upper storey of Building II. No remains of a staircase were found, but it might have led to the space above II5 either from the courtyard I3 or from passage B to the south. There is no obvious way of access

visible in the remains of Building II, thus those speculations remain a possibility, as the interior must have somehow communicated with the rest of the complex.

It is the only building of the Northwest Quarter with a significant deposit not disturbed by Tsountas, namely the baulk that he left in rooms II1 and II2. The preserved remains comprise solid basements, with clay floors, partially timber-framed stone walls, and good evidence of collapsed mud-brick superstructure (Iakovidis 2006c, 150–52). A piece of stone with painted plaster attached to it was found in room II1. This suggests that the room had stone walls, decorated with painted plaster (Iakovidis 2006c, 151). There was probably a small window in the south wall of this room, further indicating that it was not a regular storeroom. There was a deposit of pottery, including multiple *pithoi*, and a large collection of stone vessels, various terracotta figurines, foodstuff remains, various tools and ornaments of metal and stone, as well as 12 sheets of lead. A group of almost 300 glass and stone beads was also found in room II2, to which a plaque with a cartouche of Amenhotep III published by Tsountas should be probably added, although we do not know exactly where it came from (Iakovidis 2006c, 172–73). Overall, it seems that rooms II1 and II2 were used as specialised warehouses for prestigious objects and valuable raw materials. Courtyards II3 and II4 might have been used for keeping animals, while the small yard II7 served probably only for rain collection, as a drain ran through it.

There are clear traces of fire in the destruction levels, although Iakovidis suggests that it could not have been strong because of lack of signs of it on the walls (Iakovidis 2006c, 150). This could simply be an effect of the later disturbances (Hellenistic overbuilding and Tsountas excavations which left the walls exposed for decades), but even if the fire did not affect the whole building, it definitely caused its abandonment as indicated by *in situ* destruction deposits and lack of any later activity during the LBA. The pottery from the building is consistently of LH IIIB2 Late date, including the aforementioned destruction deposits and floor deposits of rooms II1 and II2 and the construction deposit from the courtyard II4 (Iakovidis 2006c, pl.14.24, 15.27, 16.28-29, 17.30-3120.36, 21.38-39, 22.40-41, 23.42-43, 24.25, 25.46-47, 28.52-54).

The Northwest Quarter complex **[MYC17-19]** was a structure of high quality architecture, with thick, solid walls, at least partially timber-framed and decorated. It was constructed in close connection with the rearrangement of the fortification walls and interior of the citadel in the later part of LH IIIB2 (*WBM* phase VIIIB). The spatial arrangement of the complex, its semi-monumental and formal plan, which allowed strict control of access (there were no doorways on the ground level except from the one between room I2 and courtyard I3),

together with the extraordinary finds from Building II, all suggest high status and palatial affiliation of the complex. It is possible that the two hoards of bronze tools, ornaments and weapons found in the area by Tsountas, are linked to this complex. The hoards could have been deposited within the walls shortly before or after the destruction, and contain objects from the warehouses (Iakovidis 2006c, 137). Access to the complex must have been provided by an external staircase and communication inside the complex was probably facilitated by the system of roofs and probably other stairways or ladders. It served probably as a specialised palatial warehouse for various goods and possibly also animals kept in the backyards next to the fortification wall. Courtyard I3 was probably a working space. Other functions are possible but remain unknown due to poor documentation from early research. Iakovidis speculated in his early accounts on Building N that it might have housed the garrison (Iakovidis 1983, 50). Although this interpretation was not confirmed by the later research, the strategic importance of the Northwest Quarter is indicated both by its form and location, as it occupied the crucial corner of the fortifications, just above the Lion Gate. The layout of the complex suggests the Building N was a central unit controlling the access. The narrow passages closed off from the outside testify to the need of a strict control of communication (Iakovidis 2006c, 141–43). The central drainage system further suggests that the construction was carefully planned (Iakovidis 2006c, 157–60, 166).

The dating of the Northwest Quarter is problematic as Iakovidis actually dated the construction to the middle of LH IIIB, and the destruction to LH IIIB2 (Iakovidis 2006c, 175–77).[37] However, this is contradicted not only by the material from the buildings, and the fact that their construction must have taken place only after the rearrangement of the Citadel in LH IIIB2 Early (see Ch. II. 3.2.), but also by a *TPQ* for construction established by Mylonas firmly dating the construction of the East Platform to LH IIIB2 Late (Mylonas 1965, 192–93). The latter terrace is located immediately to the east of the inner court of the Lion Gate, it probably provided access to this part of the Citadel, but more importantly, it supports the foundations of Building N. This further strengthens the evidence for careful planning of the construction, as it had to be coordinated with the rearrangement of the area of the Lion Gate and construction of the Great Ramp (see Ch. II. 3.2. and Ch. II. 5.3.1.5.). The evidence of destruction is not

[37] It seems that the dating of the pottery from this complex by Iakovidis was strongly influenced by his interpretation of the history of the site. He believed that there was only one widespread destruction horizon which occurred at Mycenae during LH IIIB, and associated basically all the destruction levels of LH IIIB2 with this event (Iakovidis 1986). The destruction by earthquake which he attributed to the Northwest Quarter is also doubtful (Iakovidis 2006c, 177). The mild damage of the walls described as earthquake results, could have been easily caused by the burning of the wooden elements of construction, or post-abandonment erosion.

abundant, probably due to earlier excavations by Tsountas, but a few traces of fire and destruction deposits dated to LH IIIB2 Late allow us to associate the abandonment of the complex with the widespread conflagration that affected the citadel at the end of this phase. There was no evidence for reoccupation of the area in LH IIIC.

5.3. West slope

The west slope of the Acropolis was gradually built up during the LH period. Until the beginning of the second phase of fortifications' development in LH IIIB2 Early and extension of the Citadel, the area was outside the walls. However, it occupied a prominent position, in front of the main western gate of the fortress, and in the close vicinity of the Early Mycenaean grave circles and tholos tombs of the eastern group (except for the Treasury of Atreus located further to the south). The tholoi continued in use even in LH III (see Ch. II. 4.3.), thus during the first phase of the palatial period the west slope of the Acropolis was positioned between an active elite cemetery and the citadel. The area experienced a crucial change in organisation after the extension of the Citadel, and continued to be occupied also during the post-palatial period.

Three extensive building complexes can be recognised on the west slope. These are, in order from north to south: the Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** (fig. 11), the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (fig. 12), and the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]** (fig. 23). Another Mycenaean building was located on the terrace above the Little Ramp **[MYC25]**, although it was never excavated. Its existence can be only deduced from the remains fallen on the roadway below.

5.3.1. Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]**

This is the complex developed around the Early Mycenaean Grave Circle A (see Ch. II. 4.1.). Its buildings are discussed below in chronological order.

5.3.1.1. The Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]**

The earliest Mycenaean building identified in the area, just above the aforementioned MH walls, was the Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]** excavated by Wace (Wace et al. 1923, 74–84). Not much of it was preserved, as only one room was identified, but it is probable that it was a structure of some importance, maybe related to the elite burials of Grave Circle A located nearby. It had an east-west orientation, different from the walls which covered it later. The building was constructed most probably in LH II, which is indicated by the pottery from below the floor (Wace et al. 1923, 76). There are two important features regarding this building. Firstly, a well-built drain, most probably covered, was running to the south of the preserved room, but it was probably still inside the building, as its walls in this area were mostly

demolished to construct the Ramp House (Wace et al. 1923, 75). Some fragments of LH II pottery were found inside the drain, confirming the date of use of the building (Wace et al. 1923, 78). Secondly, an important group of figural frescoes fragments was found below the Ramp House (Lamb 1921). It was suggested by the excavators that they originated from the buildings higher up the slope to the east (Lamb 1921, 190). However, it seems more probable that they are actually associated with this building (Shaw 1996, 174; French 2002, 81).[38] The Building below the Ramp House must have been destroyed or intentionally abandoned and demolished shortly before its remains were covered by the foundation terrace of the Ramp House **[MYC21]**.

5.3.1.2. Ramp House **[MYC21]**

This building was originally cleared by Schliemann, and thus much of the information on the stratigraphy and finds has been lost (Wace et al. 1923, 74). The Ramp House **[MYC21 – phase 1]** was constructed on a terrace which covered the earlier remains (Wace et al. 1923, 74–84). This occurred during LH IIIB1 Early (*WBM* phase VIA)[39], which is the date of the construction deposit (Wace et al. 1923, 80, 82, fig. 19, pl. XIV d-f, h, i; French 2002, 82). It seems logical that its construction followed closely the raising of a monumental platform over Grave Circle A (see Ch. II. 4.1.), as the two are structurally linked to each other (K. Wardle 2015, 584). The terrace of the Ramp House had a strong west wall and formed a flat area on which the building was constructed, after foundation trenches were also dug into the terrace.[40] The doorway leading into the basement below the building was opened in the western terrace wall.

The main unit consisted of a megaron, with an anteroom 42 and the main room 40. They were abutted from the west by three more rooms: 45, with no entrance from any side, probably entered from above, 44 - above the preserved basement entrance, and 43 - with direct communication to room 40.[41] Nothing can be said about their function, nor can anything be said about their interior except that they had clay floors (Wace et al. 1923, 74). Wace assumed that the entrance to the house was only from the south (Wace et al. 1923, 74), but the communication

[38] This is indicated by the dating of the frescoes to LH II-IIIA1, thus close to the date of the building (Shaw 1996, 189–90), and their position within the layers that can be associated with demolishing or levelling after the destruction.

[39] Associations of the buildings of the Grave Circle A Complex and the Cult Centre to *WBM* architectural phases after Wardle (K. Wardle 2015). See also tab. 2.

[40] The existence of foundation trenches, although they were not explicitly mentioned in the report, is suggested by the partial demolishing the earlier walls to make room for foundations and the fact that the walls of the Ramp House continued below the floor level, which is clearly indicated on a section drawing (Wace et al. 1923, pl. XVII).

[41] Room 45 might have not been used at all, serving only as a structural support for the upper storey, according to Wace's suggestion (Wace et al. 1923, 75).

with Grave Circle A would be much easier with another entrance from the north, and the state of preservation of the walls of this phase does not exclude its existence.[42] Moreover, construction of an additional north wall outside of the original layout during the next phase (see Ch. II.), suggests that the original communication pattern was altered then. The long narrow corridor to the east was considered by Wace as a structural support for the Little Ramp. If so, then it is also a later addition to the second phase of the house, because the Little Ramp was only constructed in LH IIIB2, after the extension of the Citadel and rearrangement of the ramps (Mylonas 1965, 129; Iakovidis 1983, 43; French et al. 2003, 12). However, it can also be an external staircase leading to the upper floor of the megaron, built already in phase 1 of the building.[43] The finds reported by Wace from the level below the decomposed mud-brick must belong to the first phase of the building (Wace et al. 1923, 79–80). Those consisted of a group of pottery with mostly open shapes, and a small group of figurines, ornaments and tools.

The building was most probably affected by the LH IIIB2 earthquake. This is circumstantially evidenced by serious alterations of the later phase (see Ch. II.), and the destruction level with abundance of decomposed mud-brick, reported by Wace in corridor 41 (Wace et al. 1923, 79). There are no traces of fire in this deposit or anywhere else in the building, which despite Schliemann's work would have probably been found by Wace on floors or walls of the first phase.[44]

The second phase **[MYC21 – phase 2]** (*WBM* phase VIII) was indicated by a new floor of white clay, laid in room 40, 40 cm above the older floor (Wace et al. 1923, 79). A new outer wall was constructed on the north side, possibly to block entrance from that direction. This might have been linked to changes which occurred at Grave Circle A (see Ch. II. 4.1.).[45] The east wall of the megaron was rebuilt and reused, while a new, thicker wall was superposed above the original west wall. On top of it there was a large cut-stone threshold with pivot holes,

[42] The problem with this reconstruction is the lack of any opening in the south part of the parapet wall crowning the Grave Circle A platform. However, the parapet wall was probably added to the platform only at a later point of its development, and thus the original arrangement might have facilitated communication between the top of the platform and the Ramp House.

[43] This possibility was rejected by Wace, who considered the Ramp House and the Little Ramp to be contemporary (Wace et al. 1923, 75). That view did not hold, as it was later established that the Little Ramp is of LH IIIB2 date. During the construction of the Ramp House, the space to the east was open, there was only a road there, leading to a ramp ascending north to the original west gate of the Citadel (see Ch. II. 3.2.). Moreover, the fact that the corridor lacked floors or plastered walls, which was pointed out by Wace, can only be explained if it was only a foundation for a wooden external staircase, and not the actual interior of the building.

[44] According to Iakovidis the building was destroyed by an earthquake "practically to the ground" (Iakovidis 1986, 241–42). However, he does not refer to any particular evidence for that assessment.

[45] It seems that the parapet wall which enclosed Grave Circle A, was constructed already before the earthquake in LH IIIB2 Early, which damaged it (see Ch. II. 4.1.). Thus the process of cutting off the Ramp House from the interior of Grave Circle A was probably gradual (see Ch. II. 5.3.1.6.).

but it is doubtful if it was *in situ* (Wace et al. 1923, 75). Access from room 40 to room 43 was blocked, which together with the lack of evidence for relaying the floors there suggests that the western rooms and basements were abandoned during this phase. It thus seems that the second phase of the Ramp House had a form of a simple, rectangular megaron, with only two rooms (42 - anteroom, and 40 - main room).

It remains uncertain if the upper floor was also reconstructed during this phase, and if so, if it was still accessed by the external staircase (41). Construction of the Little Ramp, which facilitated access to this area in this phase, would make access to it problematic. It is possible that at this point the staircase was abandoned and filled with building debris to provide structural support for the newly erected Little Ramp (Wace et al. 1923, 79).

The function of the building remains unknown. Its long history, location and formal plan all suggest some importance, but the evidence for ritual activities was not documented. The plan resembles the Megaron of the Cult Centre **[MYC27]**. This refers especially to the first phase when the megaron unit was equipped with auxiliary rooms, as in the other building. Wardle suggested that this building served functions related to ceremonies occurring at the Grave Circle A (K. Wardle 2015, 579). This seems more probable in relation to the first phase of its use, when there might have been a direct communication between the two. .

5.3.1.3 House of the Warrior Vase **[MYC22]**

The building was almost entirely cleared by Schliemann, and then heavily reconstructed, thus little is known about the details of its content or history (Schliemann 1878, 131–37; French 2011, 26). It was probably built in LH IIIB1 Early **[MYC22 – phase 1]** (*WBM* phase VIA), after the South House **[MYC23]** and the Grave Circle A platform, both of which seem to have been taken into account during its construction (K. Wardle 2015, 583–85). A well located behind the northwest corner, was also taken into consideration during construction, probably being used together with the building (French 2011, 26). Another well was located below the east wall of room 48, and must have been abandoned due to the construction (Wace et al. 1923, 85). The builders removed the bedrock to construct a large foundation trench, the interior of which was used for basement rooms. Wace suggested that the original entrance to the ground floor was at the level of threshold 47 (next to the South House), however, there is also a threshold at the lower level, at the east entrance to the corridor, as well as on the north wall of room 50 (Wace et al. 1923, 85). Thus, even if the preserved rooms were indeed used only as basement rooms, and another floor was above them, they were still accessible from the outside. The latter does not apply to room 52, which was accessible only through the roof.

Schliemann reported that the interiors of walls were plastered, but it is uncertain which of the finds he collected actually belonged to the building's assemblage, and which were found in a secondary context (Wace et al. 1923, 86). It is likely that a post-palatial burial was dug into the fill of the building. Those doubts especially pertain to the the bronze vessels, a complete Naue II sword, and the well-known pictorial krater known as the Warrior Vase, which gave the name to the building (French 2011, 26; K. Wardle 2015, 593) It is uncertain if the house was even in use during LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC **[MYC22 – phase 2?]**, although Iakovidis assumed that it functioned together with the Granary **[MYC24]**, until the end of LH IIIC Middle (Iakovidis 1986, 241). Nevertheless, during LH IIIB1 it might have had a special status as a part of the complex which functioned around it. This is suggested by solid architecture, with plastered rooms, the use of cut-stone thresholds and access to the well. A ring with an onyx seal stone found by Schliemann, which if it belongs to the building's primary context, is also of interest (Schliemann 1878, 130–31).

5.3.1.4. South House with Annex **[MYC23]**

The South House was first partially excavated by Schliemann, but later the building was studied and well documented by Wace, and subsequently by Taylour (Wace et al. 1923, 86–96; Wace 1956a, 179–80; Taylour 1981; French and Stockhammer 2009, 179–80; French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming). It was relatively well preserved, with deep stratigraphy and good evidence for building techniques during the LH IIIB period.

The South House **[MYC23 – phase 1]** was constructed in LH IIIB1 Early (*WBM* phase VIA), on massive foundation terraces built on three levels along the slope, and was clearly carefully planned and well-adjusted to the constraints of the terrain (French 2011, 24–25). Extensive construction deposits of pottery were found under rooms 21 and 22 (Mountjoy 1976). The Annex was probably added to the building late in LH IIIB1 (*WBM* phase VIB), although there are no proper construction deposits published (K. Wardle 2015, 584). The entire building was the largest structure on the west slope. It was constructed of stone walls made of large boulders with a superstructure of timber-framed mudbrick. Walls were covered with thick layers of plaster, often painted. The basements had clay floors and white plastered walls, the ground floor had plastered floors and monochrome painted walls, while the second storey had plaster floors and walls decorated with figural frescoes. Cut-stone thresholds were installed in various locations throughout the building. Both parts of the buildings had access to a central drain running through the lane between the Annex and the Ramp House, down into the interior of the South House (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 21–32).

The South House had five ground floor rooms set behind a large roofed porch, and an upper storey accessed by a small staircase in the West Room (Wace et al. 1923, 91–92; French 2002, 83). The Annex, located above the South House on the middle and upper terrace, had three storeys, with parts of basement and ground floors levels preserved (French 2002, 84). They were filled with debris fallen from the upper storey (Chadwick et al. 1962, 35–46). Access to the building was provided from the north, with three entrances on three different levels, while communication inside was facilitated by a large staircase (room 9-10). Another entrance was probably at the end of corridor 6, providing access from the south (Cult Centre area). A large external staircase was probably located on that side of the building too, founded on a tower-like structure of rooms 11 and 14. It would have provided access to the upper storey of the Annex. Access between the upper floor of the South House and the ground floor of the Annex, which should have been on the same level, might have been possible through corridor 8 (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 9–10, 16–17).

It seems that at least the Annex was seriously damaged by the LH IIIB2 Early earthquake. Multiple alterations were made to the building **[MYC 23 – phase 2]** during the second phase of its use (*WBM* phase VIII), with a clear intention to reconstruct partially collapsed walls and strengthen the construction. The doorway in the south wall of corridor 6 was sealed, while the entire northeast corner of room 7 was rebuilt. The west wall of room 1 was probably also repaired at the time (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 5). Most of the new walls were built with the use of the pisé building technique, which uses a pseudo-cement made of earth or clay mixed with gravel and ceramic sherds and rammed in place between the wooden shuttering (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 24).

All the finds associated with this building belong to phase 2, but the building's function probably did not change, as the plan remained very much the same. Some of the rooms definitely served for specialised storage. The best evidence for it was found in room 1, where a large deposit of storage pottery and a group of vessel stands was found, together with large amount of lead, which was probably a remnant of at least few lead vessels (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 11). Rooms 21 and 22 were probably also storerooms, judging from their layout and location. The building probably served also as a workshop, although it is unknown what it processed (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 6–7). The evidence for craftsmanship consists of repetitive sets of artefacts, distributed across the entire building. This consists of groups of lead vessels (room 1, room 7, West Room) with mortars (North Hall, corridor 6, room 7 - probably fallen from the upper storey). Moreover, the pottery from the building seem to form a functionally uniform deposit, composed mostly of deep bowls, cups,

jugs and jars (French and Stockhammer 2009, 185–92). In addition, three large clay vats were found in the South House (West, Central and East Room). It seems likely that the North Hall and room 7, possibly together with the parts of the upper storeys above them, served as working areas. They had access to the drain and to nearby storage space, and the groups of similar artefacts – lead vessels, pottery and mortars - are distributed around them.

It is uncertain what the function of the upper storey was, and if the South House and the Annex served also as a residence. The amount of the excavated domestic refuse is small, as it consists only of a deposit in room 9, and no cooking pottery was reported. The upper storeys of the building had elaborately decorated walls, but the material which landed inside the basements included mainly stone and metal tools which can be related with economic activities occurring in the building. It is possible that the function of the building was also related to ritual activities occurring in Grave Circle A (K. Wardle 2015, 585).

The final end of the building was caused by a violent conflagration, dated to the end of LH IIIB by a destruction deposit from inside the house (French and Stockhammer 2009, 185–92; French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 8).

5.3.1.5. Granary **[MYC24]**

The building, located immediately north of Grave Circle A, was originally excavated by Schliemann, and later researched by Wace, who excavated the few undisturbed deposits around the area and thoroughly studied the architecture (Schliemann 1878, 99–117; Wace et al. 1923, 38–61). Nevertheless, the evidence from the structure is scarce and inconclusive and the building remains poorly understood.[46]

It was a very well-constructed structure **[MYC24 – phase 1]**, built most probably during the final phase of the palatial period, after the extension of the Citadel in LH IIIB2 Early (beginning of *WBM* phase VIII). This is suggested by the *TPQ* provided by the pottery from the massive foundation terrace on which the building stood, and which was described by Wace as similar to that of the early strata of the Lion Gate Staircase, and the fact that the building abuts the fortification wall of the second phase and thus must have been constructed later (Wace et al. 1923, 58).The construction date is further suggested by its palatial style architecture, with

[46] After initial study by Wace, who saw the building as a palatial construction of LH IIIB, it was later suggested by French that it was built only during the post palatial period (Wace 1949, 57, 1956b; contra French 2002, 78–79, 2009, 2011, 28, 31). The latter proposal was based primarily on Wace's description of the pottery from the foundation terrace, which however must have dated to LH IIIB2, although this cannot be established beyond doubt, because the material was lost. Nevertheless it does not force a construction date in LH IIIC. Moreover, French's interpretation of the stratigraphy of the Lion Gate Staircase, which is crucial for understanding the history of the Granary, can be debated (French 2011, 28–31).

thick walls of timber-framed stone, with a superstructure of timber-framed mud-brick, use of cut-stone conglomerate thresholds and presence of at least two windows pierced through the stone walls (Wace et al. 1923, 42–44; Iakovidis 1983, 42). The stone buttresses attached to the south and west walls of the building formed a particularly resilient structure. Such developments might have been designed in reaction to the earthquake which had occurred on the site a little earlier. A construction date in LH IIIB2 Early is also supported by a number of stratigraphic and architectural observations from the area, based on a close correlation of the buildings history with the stratigraphy excavated by Wace in the Lion Gate Staircase and with the history of the Lion Gate's inner court and the Great Ramp. Firstly, Wace's description of strata I-III of the Lion Gate Staircase suggests that the east wall of the Granary already stood in place when those layers accumulated (Wace et al. 1923, 20–26). Secondly, there seems to be a clear relationship between the bottom of the wall from strata IV-V of the Lion Gate Staircase and floor 2 of the East Corridor of the Granary. The two are located on the same level, which is clear from the cross section (fig. 13). This indicates that the wall should be related to the rearrangement of the Granary during its second phase, when the floor levels and the threshold leading into the East Corridor were significantly raised. This observation implies that the original construction of the Granary must have been earlier. In relation to the previous argument it suggests that the construction of the Granary and the Staircase was contemporary and probably coordinated.[47] Thirdly, the development of the Granary seems to be also coordinated with changes of the ramps leading up from the Lion Gate. The first of those, narrower and less monumental than the later Great Ramp, was linked by a low wall to the east wall of the Granary. It probably served as an edge of a roadway going along the ramp, and leading into the original entrance to the building (Wace et al. 1923, 60–63; wall 23 on fig. 14).[48] At a later point, most probably at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Late (see Ch. II. 3.2.), the Great Ramp was constructed and a new wall was built between its west wall and the west wall of the rebuilt East Corridor, which now had a bent shape and raised entrance level (Wace et al. 1923, 60; wall 22 on fig. 14). There were also other walls which linked the entrance with the Great Ramp, although it is uncertain what structure they formed. These observations are visible on the plan of the area published by Wace (Wace et al. 1923 pl. I; fig. 14), but even more is preserved on Steffen's

[47] Moreover, the Lion Gate Staircase was founded on a fill which abutted the fortification wall (Wace et al. 1923, 17). On the section this fill seems to partially cover the foundations of the Granary, and thus must have been deposited after construction of the buildings.

[48] The preserved course of this wall suggests also the outline of the first ramp built after the extension of the Citadel (see fig. 20).

plan, which was drawn 40 years earlier (Steffen 1884; fig. 15). The building was probably burned at the end of LH IIIB, but the evidence for this destruction is scarce.[49]

The abundance of LH IIIC pottery, especially a large collection of LH IIIC Middle vases, indicates that the building was reused in the post-palatial period **[MYC24 – phase 2]**. Destruction by fire at the end of LH IIIC Middle is well evidenced by a destruction deposit, part of which had fallen onto the terrace built over the Lion Gate Staircase (Wace et al. 1923, 29–31; French 2011, 29). The exact distribution of the finds within the building is unknown, and the building definitely contained also pots from the palatial period. Nevertheless, the finds indicate that the building was used as specialised warehouse, probably related to cult. They included, a deposit of pottery with storage vases and abundance of tools and ornaments. Carbonised grain was found inside some of the *pithoi* (Wace et al. 1923, 45–49). Moreover, over 700 terracotta figurines, and a collection of anthropomorphic vessels similar to examples known from the Cult Centre which were found by Schliemann in the area, are likely to originate from the Granary.[50] Ritual activities might have occurred on the upper floor of the building, around or inside Grave Circle A, but the Granary can also be related to the funerary cult and burial taking place outside of the citadel.[51] Whatever the reason behind it, the building was definitely used for the storage of a significant amount of goods and materials, and must have been one of the most important structures of the final palatial, but especially the post-palatial period. It was one of the very few buildings at Mycenae which were reused in LH IIIC in the same or very similar form, and the only one of possible cultic importance.

5.3.1.6. Summary of the complex

Grave Circle A was established within the Prehistoric Cemetery in LH I. Six shaft graves were dug, but not all of them were necessarily enclosed by a wall (Gates 1985, 267). During LH II, the Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]** was constructed to the south of the Grave Circle (fig. 16). The construction of this building is probably a first sign of the transformation of this area from a burial ground into a sacred inner cult zone. However, some extremely badly preserved MH walls were found even deeper, suggesting that already then the area had a multifunctional character (Wace et al. 1923, 76).

[49] This information was provided by Trevor Van Damme during his lecture *Food for thought: The Granary at Mycenae Revisited* at the Canadian Institute in Greece on 24.02.2017. The presence of burned layers above the original floors was mentioned by Schliemann in his notebooks. Van Damme has also favored the construction date in LH IIIB. Moreover, presence of burned building material is mentioned by Wace in his description of Lion Gate Staircase stratum III, in his original excavation notebook, available in the Mycenae Archive (MCNE-1-1-001).
[50] This was suggested by Van Damme during his lecture at the Canadian Institute in Greece on 24.02.2017.
[51] This was also discussed by Van Damme during his lecture at the Canadian Institute in Greece on 24.02.2017.

The Early Mycenaean shrine was destroyed or dismantled at some point before the construction of the Ramp House **[MYC21 – phase 1]** in LH IIIB1 Early. Its construction was a part of a general transformation of the area. It began with the raising of the monumental platform over the Grave Circle, crowned by the reused grave stelai (see Ch. II. 4.1.). The Ramp House was constructed just to the south of the platform, with the use of the same terrace wall, as part of one pre-planned construction process. Its function is unknown, but the location suggests ritual activity linked to the Grave Circle A. Moreover, it was linked with the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** area by a wide stone-plastered Causeway, and a roofed corridor, originally recorded as room 4 of the South House Annex (K. W. Wardle 1973, 297). This roadway seems to have obstructed communication between the western side of the complex and the upper part of the slope to the east. This suggests that the movement from there occurred mainly to the north and west, so in the direction of the Lower Town.

The South House **[MYC23 – phase 1a]** was constructed most probably together with the Ramp House **[MYC21]**. The House of the Warrior Vase **[MYC22]** was built next to the north wall of the South House shortly after the latter (fig. 17). The Annex **[MYC23 – phase 1b]** was added to the South House probably only in the next architectural phase, LH IIIB1 Late (*WBM* phase VIB; fig. 18). The South House with Annex **[MYC23]** and House of the Warrior Vase **[MYC22]** were elaborate multi-storey structures set on massive foundation terraces, with access to a central drain running through the area. At some point before LH IIIB2 Early, a ring wall of slabs was built on the top of the Grave Circle A platform (fig. 19).

The earthquake of LH IIIB2 Early must have affected the area. The ring wall of slabs crowning the Grave Circle A was damaged (Mylonas 1966d, 25). Too little is known to suggest what happened to House of the Warrior Vase **[MYC22]**, but it was suggested that it was abandoned in the later part of the period (French 2011, 26; K. Wardle 2015, 593). The South House Annex has good evidence for earthquake-related damage (French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 5).

During the next phase, the area was encircled by the western extension of the Citadel Wall (*WBM* phase VIII; fig. 20).[52] A gate was opened in the north part of the ring wall crowning Grave Circle A. The Granary **[MYC24 – phase 1a]**, originally with a straight façade and much lower entrance and floor level, was built against this gate, abutting the Citadel wall. The Ramp House was rebuilt, with an altered, probably simplified plan. South House with Annex **[MYC23 – phase 2]** went through some alterations of the plan but continued to be occupied. During this

[52] Wardle does not include Granary into his reconstruction of *WBM* phase VIII, following French in dating the building to LH IIIC (K. Wardle 2015, 588).

phase, the entire pattern of communication in the area was changed. After the construction of the Lion Gate, movement was directed from north to the south, the opposite of the previous pattern. This new communication route ran through a massive stone ramp, replaced subsequently by the even larger Great Ramp (Mylonas 1966d, 26–27). The most probable architectural sequence is that during the last part of the palatial period, but probably only in LH IIIB2 Late (*WBM* phase VIIIB), a series of alterations occurred around the area of the Lion Gate (fig. 21). They probably followed a destruction of the Lion Gate Staircase, documented by Wace in its second and third stratum (Wace et al. 1923, 23–26).[53] These alterations included: construction of the Great Ramp and the East Platform, extension of the corridors of granary on a different axis, and rebuilding of the wall connecting the Ramp with the Granary (Wace 1956b, 128–30; Mylonas 1965, 192–93). The alterations which occurred at the Grave Circle A platform during LH IIIB2 must have been coordinated with those changes (see Ch. II. 4.1.). After the enclosure was opened with a gate facing north, the ground level inside was significantly raised (Gates 1985, 270–71), probably to enable its communication with the Granary and the road connecting the inner court of the Lion Gate with the Great Ramp.[54]

Those alterations would result in cutting off communication between the older part of the Grave Circle A Complex (Ramp House, South House with Annex, House of the Warrior Vase) and any direct route up the slope to the east. Probably in response to this problem, the Little Ramp and then a system of smaller ramps below it were built, to join the road running through the Great Ramp with this lower area (Mylonas 1965, 129; Iakovidis 1983, 40). The construction of the Great Ramp was also coordinated with a rearrangement of the Lion's Gate inner court, Grave Circle A and the Granary **[MYC24 – phase 1b]**.

It seems that during the palatial period the complex which was gradually developed around Grave Circle A served multiple functions. The Granary **[MYC24]** and the Ramp House **[MYC21]** must have had some cultic importance, indicated by forms and locations of both buildings, and probably provided space for ritual activities or at least functioned as service areas for rituals occurring around the enclosure with the burials, or in the other areas, possibly also outside the walls. At the same time, the South House with Annex **[MYC23]** provided storage and working areas but also elaborately decorated upper storey rooms, which might have served

[53] Alternatively, the Lion Gate Staircase might have been destroyed at the end of LH IIIB. This is difficult to decide, because the stratigraphy recorded by Wace was largely artificial, and the amount of published pottery is very small (French 2009, 2011, 28). This alternative would assume that either all of the alterations made in the area occurred in LH IIIC, or at least that the adjustment of the Granary to the Great Ramp did not occur immediately after the construction of the latter in LH IIIB2 Late, but only in LH IIIC.

[54] This hypothetical sequence of events was developed by me in co-operation with Bartłomiej Lis. His observations of probable ground level changes in the area were of key importance.

as residences of special status, or had some other function. The architectural development of the complex was clearly planned and closely coordinated at each stage, but its functional organisation remains unclear. It might have been a palatial sanctuary which was also entrusted with the processing and storage of certain materials, but its function might have been associated exclusively with the needs of the cult.

A widespread fire destruction at the end of LH IIIB is evidenced by the burned layers in the Granary **[MYC24]** and the South House Annex **[MYC23]**. It seems that during the fire the Causeway in front of the Ramp House was first covered by an older deposit of partially burned LH IIIB2 material fallen from above, and then buried under burned building debris, from the South House Annex and another building located higher up on the slope (K. W. Wardle 1973, 297–304). The latter was clearly separated from the Grave Circle A Complex and is discussed below (Building above the Little Ramp **[MYC25]**)

All of the buildings of the complex to the south of Grave Circle A were probably abandoned after the fire. The Granary **[MYC24 – phase 2]** was now the only structure of the complex in use, except for the Grave Circle A, which was definitely still venerated (*WBM* phases IX-XI). Both of them must have served important ritual and public functions for the post-palatial community of Mycenae, being essentially the only areas of clearly public character still functioning on the site during that period. It is possible that already at this time the remains of the House of the Warrior Vase were used as a burial ground (French 2011, 26). Another conflagration finally destroyed the Granary at the end of LH IIIC Middle. However, Grave Circle A continued to be honoured and probably served as an important ritual space, probably even in the historical times. It was never built over (Wace et al. 1923, 125–26; French 2002, 79).

5.3.2. Building above the Little Ramp **[MYC25]**

Existence for this building, which does not seem to be a part of any of the nearby multi-building complexes, is a matter of speculation, albeit based on strong grounds (French 2002, 80; French, Taylour, and Wardle forthcoming, 9–10). It was not excavated and is known only from debris which collapsed to corridor 4, next to the South House (Chadwick et al. 1962, 45–46), and onto the Causeway in front of it (K. W. Wardle 1973, 302–3). The building seems to have been a solid construction of high status with a conglomerate threshold and conglomerate column bases. Presumably the terrace above the South House functioned as its foundation terrace. It must have been constructed only after the extension of the Citadel Wall and construction of the new ramps, which would have provided access to this terrace from north

and west (*WBM* phase VIII). The building must have had timber-framed mudbrick walls set on a stone socle and walls decorated with monochrome painted plaster, which is also indicated by the remains from the destruction debris fallen below. If these deposits are accepted as originating from this building, then it contained a highly unusual group of objects, which included seven Linear B tablets, an inscribed clay sealing, a few tools and a variety of ornaments (K. W. Wardle 1973, 342). There is a good possibility that it was an archive or some other specialised palatial warehouse (Chadwick et al. 1962, 45; Driessen 1996, 1018). This proposal is further strengthened by the supposed location of this building, at a crucial point crossed by all the communication routes between the south-western slope of the Acropolis and the summit.

5.3.3. Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**

This complex is located at the centre of the West Slope, immediately to the south of the Grace Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]**. It comprises five buildings, set on three different levels along the slope.

5.3.3.1. Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]**

This building is known also as Tsountas House Shrine. It was partially excavated by Tsountas, and later the research was continued by Wace and Mylonas (Mylonas 1972b, 50; Shelton 2022b, 3–4).

Shrine Gamma **[MYC26 – phase 1]** was one of the first buildings of the Cult Centre, constructed in LH IIIA (*WBM* phase V), and the only one of this date to survive into LH IIIB in the same form (K. Wardle 2015, 581–82). It was a rectangular construction with at least partially painted and plastered stone walls and plastered floors. Probably only the rear room Gamma belonged to the original structure (Shelton 2022b, 34–35). At some point the shrine building was extended with another larger room built at the front, with a stepped entrance paved with flat stones (Mylonas 1983, 135; Shelton 2022b, 36–39). The latter was equipped with a large plastered horseshoe-shaped altar with a stone platform in front, a bench along the east wall, and a circular container built of clay and embedded in the northeast corner of the room. On the west side of the courtyard and in front of the shrine there was also a large rectangular altar, the foundation of which was preserved in form of a clay plastered platform with cut-stone blocks (Mylonas 1983, 133–38; Shelton 2022b, 41–43).

Mylonas suggested that an earthquake affected it, pushing the southwest corner of the building out of foundations. This should be the event dated to LH IIIB2 Early. Probably after this damage **[MYC26 – phase 2]** (beginning of *WBM* phase VIII) the floors and thresholds of the building were raised, and the new floor of the front room (Gamma 2) seem to have cover

the altar, slaughtering stone and the bench (Mylonas 1972b, 35; Shelton 2022b, 40). During the second phase the courtyard in front of the building was also rearranged, as well as the ramp leading to this courtyard from the slope to the east, known as the Processional Way (see Ch. II. 5.3.3.6.). Those changes testify to the direct connection which was formed in the final palatial period between this building and the palace (K. Wardle 2015, 592).

The building was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB, but no traces of fire were found in the deposits left by Tsountas. The date is based on the *in situ* pottery found by Mylonas in the rear room Gamma (Mylonas 1983, 138).

An important collection of cult objects and gold, glass and bone ornaments was found inside this building and in the dump of Tsountas original excavations. This included an Egyptian scarab of Queen Tyi and a plaster tablet painted with a scene of worshipping (Wace 1951, 254; Shelton 2022b, 44–51). The finds, together with exceptional internal arrangement with abundance of facilities clearly related to ritual activities, confirm the identification of the building as a shrine (Wace 1951, 254–55; Mylonas 1972b, 36; Shelton 2022b, 52–54). The continuous use of the building throughout LH IIIA and the entire LH IIIB testifies to its special status and exceptional importance.

5.3.3.2. Tsountas House **[MYC27]**

This is the largest building of the Cult Centre, yet unfortunately poorly known. It was almost entirely excavated by Tsountas, followed by Wace and later Mylonas, who finished clearing the building (Wace 1949, 66–67; Shelton 2022b, 3–5; Iakovidis 1986, 246).

It was constructed in LH IIIB1 Early **[MYC27 – phase 1]** (*WBM* phase VIA) on the two terraces below Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]** (K. Wardle 2015, 584). The ground floor consisted of an open courtyard with a megaron with additional rooms on the west side (Shelton 2022b, 12–16). The central room had a squared hearth and painted plaster on the walls. Tsountas found a set of two stones forming a basin, with a deposit of ash, burned charcoal and bones in room B. He interpreted it as a bothros used for libations (Mylonas 1983, 140). All the rooms had plastered floors. An internal staircase led to solid basement rooms built of timber-framed stone walls (Shelton 2022b, 17–19).

It is also the only building of the Cult Centre without any evidence for the earthquake damage, although it was heavily restored after the excavations, which might explain the lack of such signs of damage. The beginning of the second phase of the building's occupation **[MYC27 – phase 2]** is indicated by a few alterations, including relaying of the plaster floors of the ground floor and rebuilding of the stairway leading to the basement (Mylonas 1983, 141). This phase

was most probably the period after the extension of the citadel wall, when the entire area was rearranged (*WBM* phase VIII). The building was destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB, as evidenced by pottery found by Mylonas in a previously undisturbed pocket of fill in the basements (Iakovidis 1986, 244–46)

The building's function is difficult to assess due to the small number of finds. Mylonas suggested that it served as a treasury for the Cult Centre, while Wace's opinion was that the building was a house for the priest in charge of Shrine Gamma (Wace 1949, 66–67, 1951, 255; Mylonas 1983, 141) The spatial arrangement with spacious basements and finds of pithoi and lead vessels from room C all point towards extensive storage of goods. There are a few indications of residential function – presence of a central room with a hearth, decorated walls, differing spatial and internal arrangement of the basements and the ground floor which suggests difference in function, although the identity of the inhabitants is difficult to understand. Alternatively, the painted plaster on walls and the stone basin in room B might eventually suggest some religious importance of the building. However, this remains less probable, due to the fact that the rooms lack most of the usual facilities and finds usually linked to Mycenaean ritual spaces like platforms/altars, benches or a large number of terracotta figurines.

5.3.3.3. The Megaron **[MYC28]**

This is a rather poorly preserved structure located at the top terrace of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**. It was first partially uncovered by Tsountas and then excavated by Taylour, but remains unpublished, thus the information on the building is fragmentary (Taylour 1981; Aulsebrook 2019, 114).[55]

It was constructed in LH IIIB1 Early **[MYC28 – phase 1]** (*WBM* phase VIA), as part of the main development phase in the area (Aulsebrook 2019, 114). It was a rectangular building, with a plastered external west wall, which must have been visible when approaching the complex from the west (Moore and Taylour 1999, 111). Room 2 is the only preserved part of the ground floor, which was originally a megaron unit (K. Wardle 2015, 578). The presence of the vestibule is confirmed by the location of a large cut-stone threshold found within the east wall of the building. The main room was furnished with a plastered floor and a rectangular plastered hearth. Four basement rooms were located under the vestibule. These rooms were entered through a short stone stairway located next to the entrance into the ground floor (Aulsebrook 2019, 114–15). The basement served most probably for storage (French 2002, 63). However, a number of cooking pots found on the floor of this phase in room II and a stone

[55] Its final publication is being prepared by Stephanie Aulsebrook as part of the *Well Built Mycenae* series.

platform located in room III suggest that some other activities might have occurred there (Aulsebrook 2019, 115). Ashlar blocks reused in the surrounding Hellenistic architecture possibly derived from this building. During LH IIIB1 the building went through a few minor alterations, which included the relaying of the plaster floor of room 2 and the rebuilding of the basement corridor (French 2002, 85; Aulsebrook 2019, 115).

The building must have been heavily affected by the LH IIIB2 Early earthquake. It caused the collapse of a larger part of the ground floor and significant damage to the walls of the basements (K. Wardle 2015, 590; Aulsebrook 2019, 115–16). These were only partially repaired **[MYC28 – phase 2]**, and the damaged walls were rebuilt with the pisé technique (Aulsebrook 2019, 115). A significant amount of debris was not cleared but simply sealed off in the basements. The ground floor remains were cleared and abandoned. The impression is that the main reason behind the partial restoration of the building was to use its basements only as a passage to other parts of the Cult Centre that were more extensively rebuilt and reused (Aulsebrook 2019, 117–18). This pertains especially to the Temple, which might have been linked with the Megaron by a doorway in the west wall of the latter and the staircase leading down (Moore and Taylour 1999, 9–10). Room II was used only as a debris dump. An interesting deposit of broken pottery, boar's tusks, finished and raw pieces of ivory, and fragments of lead vessels and painted plaster was found inside it and appears to be material rejected from workshops (Aulsebrook 2019, 116). Overall, the building was probably not in regular use after the earthquake (*WBM* phase VIII). It is possible that there were plans to restore it further, but the intent was abandoned due to lack of resources, which have been needed elsewhere (Aulsebrook 2019, 118). The final end of the building was most probably brought by a widespread conflagration which affected all of the buildings of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**.

The original function of the building is impossible to assess. The basements definitely had some storage capability, and the ground floor could have been another shrine.

5.3.3.4. The Temple **[MYC29]**

This is a well-documented and relatively well preserved building located right in the middle of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**, just below the Megaron **[MYC28]**. Excavations were conducted by Taylour and later published by him and Andrew Moore as part of the *Well Built Mycenae* series (Moore and Taylour 1999). Some additional work was also conducted by Mylonas (Mylonas 1974, 1975).

The building was constructed in LH IIIB1 Late **[MYC29 – phase 1]** (*WBM* phase VIB), after the South House and the Megaron (K. Wardle 2015, 585). This is evidenced by the walls

abutting the earlier structures. They were raised around the bedrock outcrop which was mostly flattened, but in the north part of the building it remained elevated. Consequently floor of room 19 is 1.75m above that of room 18. In other parts the bedrock was flattened for the construction of stone foundations on which walls of mud-brick and pisé were standing (Moore and Taylour 1999, 1–2). They were mostly plastered but remained unpainted (Moore and Taylour 1999, 23). The building was roughly rectangular, with the central unit of two large rooms – XI and 18, set in a row. Behind them were two other much smaller rooms – Alcove and room 19, although their original appearance is not certain (K. Wardle 2015, 585). In addition, there was an external alcove in the southwest corner of room XI. During excavations it was filled with stones, and its eastern wall clearly stepped down (Moore and Taylour 1999, 11, pl. 3a). It seems reasonable to interpret this space as a staircase leading from the roof of XI accessed from the Megaron **[MYC28]**, down to the ground floor level of the Temple (K. Wardle 2015, 585). However, this arrangement might be a result of later alterations, and original use of this space might have been different.

Both of the main rooms of the building were furnished with multiple special architectural and functional facilities. In the northwest corner of room XI there was a rectangular basin of white clay mixed with earth. Two low stone benches were set on both the east and west wall of the room, while in the centre there was a trapezoid hearth made of bricks. A column was probably set on a stone base next to the south wall of this room. Room 18 was equipped with a series of platforms on the north wall, another low platform in the centre of the room, three columns set on the east side of the room, and an internal stairway leading up to room 19. An internal window or a raised threshold led from room 18 to the Alcove. This space had only tramped-earth floor, while its east half was occupied by sloping rock (Moore and Taylour 1999, 10–13). The excavators speculated that there might have been a window or a doorway leading from here to passage 34, an open-air corridor to the west, but there is no evidence for that on the preserved stone foundations of the southwest wall of the Alcove (Moore and Taylour 1999, 13). It is actually more probable that the Alcove was built only in the second phase of the building (*WBM* phase VIII), while during the previous phase the window in its south wall connected room 18 with passage 34. It would have then provided light to the main room of the Temple and allowed some manipulation of it (French and Taylour 2007, 13–15).

The building was probably damaged by the LH IIIB2 earthquake, as suggested by the later alterations that are probably a reaction to this event **[MYC29 – phase 2]** (*WBM* phase VIII) (Moore and Taylour 1999, 22–23). In particular, the southwest corner of the building seems to have been rebuilt, slightly off axis, with a pisé wall. A staircase was almost certainly

located there during this phase. Wardle suggested that it replaced access blocked after the sealing of room 19, but this is uncertain (K. Wardle 2015, 590). It seems more probable that room 19 served as an internal space of the building from the beginning, while the original access way led from the south, around the Megaron **[MYC28]**. This path was blocked after construction of a wall there and enclosing the area in front of room XI. This formed a walled courtyard, or a fifth room of the Temple (Moore and Taylour 1999, 10–11).[56] A new floor was laid in room 18 and the central platform was either altered or even constructed for the first time during this phase. The stairs and platforms were all coated or re-coated with plaster, while one of the columns was replaced and enlarged (Moore and Taylour 1999, 22–23). At the end of LH IIIB the building was destroyed by a violent fire, which filled it with deep deposits of burned debris (Moore and Taylour 1999, 31).

A collection of various objects probably used in the Temple **[MYC29]** during the first phase was deposited in the Alcove and in room 19, at the beginning of the second phase. The deposits consisted of terracotta snake and female anthropomorphic figures with multiple large idols (the only other example was found in House M **[MYC13]**; see Ch. II. 5.2.1.), pottery including a group of cooking pots, tripod clay tables and other clay tools, and abundance of ornaments of glass, metal, ivory, shell and bone. After deposition, room 19 was sealed off with a rough wall. If the Alcove was built only now, then the additional reason behind construction of its southwest wall might have been to protect the room from being filled during a deliberate infill of passage 34, which occurred after the earthquake (French and Taylour 2007, 8). Many of the terracotta figurines from the two rooms had joints between the deposits and their deposition must have been linked to the clearing and refurbishment of the building (Moore and Taylour 1999, 17).[57] It is possible that the deposition of those objects was somehow related to the tectonic fault visible on the surface in room 19, in a form of a bedrock outcrop, and its recent activity (Force and Rutter 2018, 68–71). The floor deposits of phase 2 were much poorer than the assemblages sealed off in the back rooms, but in general had the same categories of objects (Moore and Taylour 1999, 30–31).

This building was probably of key importance for the ritual activities performed in the area, many of which must have occurred inside this structure. It was located in the very centre

[56] It was excavated by Mylonas, who labelled it as room T3 (Mylonas 1975, 100, fig. 1). It is not drawn in on the original plan from *WBM* 10, but can be seen on plans from Mylonas' reports (Mylonas 1974, fig. 2, 1975, fig. 1; see also fig. 20). On the basis of those, I added it to the drawing from the *WBM 10*, adapted in the catalogue.

[57] A different interpretation of those deposits was proposed by Mylonas, who suggested that the figurines were only temporarily sealed there, between episodes of usage as apotropaic idols during processions (Mylonas 1972b, 39, 1983, 145). This seems doubtful, because there was no evidence of repetitive closing and opening of room 19.

of the sanctuary. Despite a rather simple plan and lack of sophisticated architectural form, it featured a unique series of internal facilities, including multiple benches and platforms. Other evidence of the unique role of the building consists of the rich deposits of extraordinary terracotta figurines, tripod clay tables and various ornaments that were probably collected as votives. Some of the terracotta figurines predate the Temple **[MYC29]**, thus it is possible that the cult itself was older than the building and was practiced before it was built. (Moore and Taylour 1999, 81–118). The exact nature of the rituals performed in the building is difficult to assess without explicit written sources, although the excavators suggested that the Temple cult was "directed towards a female anthropomorphic deity […] a goddess of fecundity, represented as a lactating woman, symbol of motherhood, fertility and the ability to give nourishment". The snakes could have accompanied the goddess, representing her other aspect (Moore and Taylour 1999, 117–18). Room 18 played probably a central role in the rituals, while room XI might have had a more utilitarian function, probably related to servicing the needs of the worshippers. Room 19 have probably served as an a sacred isolated space already during phase 1, being separated from the rest of the building by a stairway. The fact that such rich deposits were sealed off inside of it is hard to explain. The hypothesis linking this fact with the same earthquake which caused the collapse of much of the sanctuary is intriguing (Force and Rutter 2018, 68–71). The fact that parts of the same figures were deposited also in the Alcove might have had some ritual meaning, possibly related to the fact that the parts were placed on the two sites of the recently activated tectonic fault. However, it might have also been simply a result of a clearing of the building, with the Alcove deposit formed of a final portion of the cleared objects from the debris of the first phase (Moore and Taylour 1999, 22–23).

5.3.3.5. Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]**

This building is the westernmost part of the Cult Centre. Before the extension of the Citadel, it opened directly onto the Panagia ridge. It was excavated by Taylour, while additional work was later conducted by Mylonas (Taylour 1981; Mylonas 1973). Rooms to the south were published in the *Well Built Mycenae* series, as part of the Service Areas of the Cult Centre (French and Taylour 2007). The other rooms await final publication.[58]

The first form of the building **[MYC30 – phase 1]** was probably a structure with the rectangular room found below the Room with the Fresco. It was constructed in LH IIIA1, and must have been abandoned or destroyed before the following constructions (K. Wardle 2015,

[58] Nevertheless, the building, together with the Temple, was extensively discussed by Moore in his unpublished PhD dissertation, which remains the most comprehensive source of information on the building (Moore 1988).

582). The latter occurred in LH IIIB1 Late **[MYC30 – phase 2]** (*WBM* phase VIB), when room 31 and possibly 33 were built (K. Wardle 2015, 585; Moore and Taylour 1999, 342). The fact that they constitute the very first part of the new building is suggested by the outline of main walls. Rooms xxviii and xxv, attached to the main unit from the south and connected to each other by a doorway, might have been also part of the original construction (French and Taylour 2007, 10). They must have been connected with the large central courtyard, which occupied the area to the south between this building and Tsountas House **[MYC27]**. The opening in the upper part of the south wall of room xxv indicates that there was a second storey above, with a doorway opening onto the courtyard, or at least a window with the view on the courtyard (French and Taylour 2007, 13). The function of the two southern rooms is uncertain, although the deposit from room xxv, with pottery, tools and remains of a colouring matter, shows some evidence of production activity, although it is uncertain where it occurred as there is lack of light within those rooms (French and Taylour 2007, 36, 41). Room 31 probably served as a cult place already at this time, with the original entrance from the west, through a wide passage 34 (see Ch. II. 5.3.1.6.). The entrance from the northwest might have also existed already then. The room was equipped with an unusual u-shaped hearth, and a high platform in the southeast corner, most probably an altar (Moore 1988, 344–45). Room 33 probably functioned as an auxiliary room of the shrine. There was the neck of an amphora embedded in its floor, possibly for libations (Moore 1988, 114).

Shortly after the original construction, at the very beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (*WBM* phase VII), the complex was enlarged with construction of rooms 32 and xxiv to the east and room 38, possibly with another room behind it, to the west (K. Wardle 2015, 586). Room 32 blocked the original entrance from passage 34 and probably became the inntermost part of the sanctuary. It was furnished with a platform on which a large female anthropomorphic figurine, likely a representation of the goddess, was found. There was a gap in the north wall of that room, probably to provide light, or to give an opportunity to watch the goddess's figurine through it (Moore 1988, 376). Another amphora neck was found embedded in the floor in that room by Mylonas (Moore 1988, 108–9). The room either took over the libations service from room 33, or supported it. Room xxiv was located immediately to the south of room 32, but it was isolated from the rest of the building and opened onto the courtyard to the south. It was equipped with a deep basin covered with clay and filled with ash. The latter was built over an open-air pit with identical content that existed there before (French and Taylour 2007, 15). It is most probable that this room took over the function of the open-air space that existed in the same area before, and formed part of the service areas for the rituals performed on the large

open courtyard to the south, around the round altar which functioned there. Possibly some leftovers of the burned sacrifices were deposited here. ?

Only after the building was enlarged, the Fresco after which the room was named was set on the east wall of room 31, above the platform. The image, divided into two main parts, represents a unique piece of Mycenaean cultic representation. In the upper register there were two female deities turned toward each other, both holding weapons. In the lower register there was another, much smaller figure, holding ears of cereals and most probably accompanied by some tailed animal (Moore 1988, 346–47). This image was probably of crucial importance for the cult performed in the building, and most likely represents the deities worshipped inside.
Room 38 had a large conglomerate threshold, and served as a vestibule of the main room 31. The threshold might indicate the existence of a monumental entrance, possibly with a double door (Moore 1988, 343). This is likely given that this area was now the main entrance to the shrine. Wardle suggested that there was yet another room behind room 38, but that remains uncertain. There was only a single stretch of wall found there (K. Wardle 2015, 586). Such a room or a corridor would be useful for the control of access to the main doorway, but on the other hand it would obscure the view of the monumental entrance.

The finds associated with the floor deposits of this phase comprise a variety of pottery, stone and metal vessels and tools, terracotta figurines, and abundance of metal, glass and ivory ornaments. Moreover, finds of bronze arrowheads and fragments of blades indicate that a collection of metal weapons was also stored in the building (Moore 1988, 351–54).

There were no obvious signs of earthquake damage, but the complex apparently partially collapsed and was deliberately filled during the next architectural phase **[MYC30 – phase3?]** (*WBM* phase VIII), during which it most probably went out of regular use (Moore 1988, 354–57). Rooms 31, 32 and possibly also 33 were filled by a deposit of earth about 1m thick, partially sealed by a row of stone slabs set along the south wall of room 31 (Moore 1988, 354–55). This might have been a deliberate ritual burial of the complex (Moore 1988, 360). Rooms xxviii and xxv were also filled in, after doorways from xxviii to the Outer Courtyard and the one between the two rooms were blocked by stone walls. Room xxiv might have still been in use, as well as room 38, but their appearance or function are unknown. The complex was partially filled with burned debris at the end of LH IIIB (Moore 1988, 359).

Moore hypothesised that at least one of the deities worshipped in the building, and portrayed on the fresco from room 31, was the “Goddess of War” (Moore 1988, 378–79). This interpretation was heavily influenced by the presence of weapons in the floor deposit, but cannot be regarded as conclusive. Moreover, the fresco showed at least three characters,

possibly responsible for different aspects of the cult (Moore 1988, 380–82).[59] Nevertheless, the location, spatial arrangement, internal facilities and content of the building all indicate that the building was used for ritual activities, although the auxiliary rooms attached to the shrine from the south must have served some economic purpose. This was probably not only storage but also processing of some unknown materials, which is indicated by a variety of tools found in the building (Moore 1988, 427–30).

5.3.3.6. Summary of the complex

The history of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** begins in LH IIIA (*WBM* phase V; see fig 12). Shrine Gamma **[MYC26 – phase 1]** was probably a building of primary religious importance then (fig. 16). The room below Room with the Fresco **[MYC30 – phase 1]** indicated that the lowest terrace was also overbuilt at the time. Moreover, there was a built drain functioning at the time between the Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]** and Shrine Gamma, with a corner of two walls preserved next to it, which suggests that another building might have stood along it (K. Wardle 2015, 582). It remains uncertain how this early stage of the complex ends. The general development which started at the beginning of LH IIIB1 might have occurred after deliberate demolishing of the older structures, but that remains uncertain (see Ch. II. 7.4.).

At the beginning of LH IIIB1 (*WBM* phase VIA) the Cult Centre was rapidly developed with construction of the Megaron **[MYC28 – phase 1]** and Tsountas House **[MYC27 – phase 1]** (K. Wardle 2015, 583). They are built on a terrace below Shrine Gamma (fig. 17). Some storage and possibly residential space was thus arranged within the complex. However, it should be stressed that the explicit evidence for economic involvement of the Cult Centre is rather scarce, and most probably the complex served mainly for ritual activities. Storage, and possibly processing, was related most probably only to the goods and objects necessary for this function, or acquired due to this function. The biggest doubts about the function concern Tsountas House. It was often regarded as a residential unit (Wace 1951, 255; Mylonas 1983, 140–41), but the evidence for this is limited and the form of the building largely resembles the Megaron (main ground floor megaron unit, with additional basement storerooms), which was built at the same time and was located on the exactly opposite side of the terrace. Overall, the

[59] The triadcomposed of a senior goddess accompanied by a younger goddess and a younger god is well known from other Mycenaean representations, including the exceptional ivory figurine found in the Palace (Moore 1988, 427–28)

building might have been another shrine with storage areas, but any interpretation of its function remains uncertain (Shelton 2022b, 27–31).

The first form of the Processional Way, which at the time was probably only a simple road, was established at that time. It linked Shrine Gamma with the original western gate of the Citadel, turning north immediately above the Cult Centre (Iakovidis 1983, 45). All of those developments should be seen in connection to the monumentalisation of Grave Circle A and the subsequent development of the complex of buildings around it (see Ch. II. 4.1. and 5.3.1.6.). During LH IIIB1 Late (*WBM* phase VIB; fig. 18) the Temple **[MYC29 – phase 1]** and Room with the Fresco **[MYC30 – phase 2a]** are constructed on the lowest terrace of the slope, the latter probably having additional rooms for storage and production already in the original plan (French and Taylour 2007, 10). Other service areas (passage 34 and area 36) were also arranged around the large outer courtyard built on the lowest terrace of the sanctuary. Both the Temple and the Room with the Fresco were originally built to communicate primarily with this courtyard, which must have served as the main entrance point to the sanctuary from the west, so from the direction of the Lower Town (Siennicka 2015, 367). The courtyard had a round altar in the centre (Mylonas 1972b, 38). In general, during this phase access to the Cult Centre from the west was relatively open and direct.

Shortly after the Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30 – phase 2b]** was extended and the service areas around it were refurbished (French and Taylour 2007, 10; K. Wardle 2015, 586). The change of access to the Room with the Fresco, which was now accessible only from the west, through a large door with massive conglomerate threshold, suggests again that the main access route to the Cult Center was from the Lower Town (fig. 19). However, this access was most probably gradually limited and increasingly controlled, not only by the rearrangement of the Room with the Fresco, but also by enclosing of the outer courtyard with a stoa, and construction of another double door between it and the Tsountas House (Mylonas 1972b, 38, fig. 2, 1977, fig. 1). However, the architectural history of the most southwest part of the Cult Centre is not clear, and remains only fragmentarily published, thus this interpretation of the sequence is tentative (Mylonas 1977, 153–58).

Soon after the final alterations, a widespread destruction horizon is found throughout the complex. Shrine Gamma (Mylonas 1983, 135), Megaron (Aulsebrook 2019, 115) and the Temple (Moore and Taylour 1999, 22–23), have all suffered significant structural damage which caused partial collapse of those buildings. It is likely that Building of the Room with the Fresco was also damaged, as suggested by its abandonment and the following deliberate infill (Moore 1988, 354–57). The nature of the destruction, lack of fire traces and partial collapse,

suggests an earthquake. This seems especially probable due to the fact that the complex lies directly on the tectonic fault (Force and Rutter 2018).

In the next phase the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** still functioned, but did not regain its previous form, and likely also did not regain its former significance (see figs 17-18). Construction of the second west fortification wall ultimately blocked the access to the complex from the west (K. Wardle 2015), while the lowest part of the sanctuary was abandoned. The latter is suggested by the deliberate infill of Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30 – phase 3]** and the service areas around it (French and Taylour 2007, 10–12). The outer courtyard was probably also covered with debris, and the round altar was sealed with clay (Mylonas 1972b, 38).[60] Shrine Gamma **[MYC26 – phase 2]**, Tsountas House **[MYC26 – phase 2]** and the Temple **[MYC29 – phase 2]** continued to function, after some refurbishment and alterations. The internal corridor running between the Tsountas House and the Temple is probably blocked at this point, while the Megaron **[MYC28 – phase 2]** is only partially rebuilt, most probably to provide access to the Temple through the basement corridor to the roof of room XI and the staircase there (K. Wardle 2015, 590; Aulsebrook 2019). The Room with the Fresco is almost entirely abandoned, except for room xxiv, which probably still functions as some auxiliary or storage space (Moore 1988, 354–57; French and Taylour 2007, 10–15). The Processional Way is rebuilt acquiring its final, monumental, form with paved surface and large cut-stone threshold. The latter was installed in the gate to the sanctuary, on a terrace built above Shrine Gamma, immediately below the wide stairway leading north, along the slope of the Acropolis hill (Mylonas 1972b, 37, 1983, 130–32). The stairway must have given a start to a road, probably linked with the Great Ramp, to finally reach the Grand Staircase of the Palace. A new large squared altar is built at the end of the Processional Way, in front of Shrine Gamma. Overall, this arrangement connected the Cult Centre, and in particular Shrine Gamma, directly with the palatial complex (K. Wardle 2015, 592). Moreover, it provided a well visible route for processions going up to the Palace or down to the Cult Centre. Those would have been visible even from outside the walls of the Citadel. The appearance of the outer open-air altar on the highest terrace of the complex must have also served to assure visibility of the rituals performed around it.

At the end of LH IIIB the entire area is destroyed by fire. Burned debris with pottery of late LH IIIB2 was excavated in Shrine Gamma (Mylonas 1983, 138), the Megaron (Aulsebrook

[60] This interpretation by Mylonas, who excavated the area, was contradicted by French and Taylour, who claimed that the clay came from the later destruction debris. They suggested that the altar and the courtyard remained in use until the end of LH IIIB (French and Taylour 2007, 12).

2019, 116), the Temple (Moore and Taylour 1999, 31), the Building of the Room with the Fresco (Moore 1988, 359), and the service areas around the latter (French and Taylour 2007, 15), as well as on the Processional Way (Mylonas 1983, 132; Iakovidis 1986, 244). The area was covered by deep deposits of burned destruction debris.

5.3.4. Citadel House Complex **[MYC31-36]**

The post-palatial levels overlying the South House with Annex **[MYC23]** and the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** were excavated mostly by Taylour and later comprehensively published by French, as part of the *WBM* series (French 2011).[61] A few fragmentary architectural remains of this date were also excavated in the area by Mylonas (French 2011, 32; Mylonas 1968b, 109–10, 1970b, 9–11, 1972a, 121–22, 1973, 152–53), and are discussed at the end of this section after the findings of the British excavations, as part of the same complex.

The area was cleaned after the conflagration which ended the palatial period, in LH IIIC Early 1 (*WBM* phase IX)[62], and new terraces were prepared, with extensive use of earlier walls and destruction debris (fig. 22). Some of the better preserved walls of the palatial period were also utilized in the new buildings. Those were the West Complex Building **[MYC31],** built over the north part of the Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]** and courtyard 36, and the South Complex Building **[MYC32]**, constructed mostly over the Temple **[MYC29]** (French 2011, 11–19).

The South Complex Building **[MYC31 – phase 1]** made extensive use of the older walls from the palatial period. Rooms xxiv and xxviii were reused in this building, with the latter now equipped with a hearth. The opening in the upper part of the south wall of room xxv was now definitely used as a doorway, even if it was only a window before (see above). Room xxiv was also basically rebuilt, although with walls slightly shifted in comparison to reused older foundations, and the entrance being now on the north wall (French 2011, 15). Behind it there

[61] The name Citadel House was originally used by Wace for "the house which lies in the space between the South House and Tsountas' House" (Wace 1955, 177). The room excavated by him in 1954 turned out to be corridor 4, north of the South House Annex (Wace 1955, 177–80). Despite the fact that structures of various periods were recognised throughout the later excavations by Taylour, none of which was in the end named the Citadel House, the label "Citadel House Area" continued to be used for the entire sector excavated by the British expedition (see for example French 2011, vii). In the present work I use this term solely as a name of the complex of post-palatial buildings which covered the South House with Annex and the Cult Centre, with addition of structures cleared around the British excavations by Mylonas. The buildings which are part of this complex were themselves named "complexes" by French (apart from remains of the last phase named as a "sector"). Despite the fact that they are not separate building complexes as understood in this work, but rather buildings which only together form a complex, I continued to use those names, only adding the word "building" at the end, for the sake of consistency of nomenclature within the literature.

[62] Associations of the buildings of the Citadel House complex to *WBM* architectural phases after French (French 2011). See also tab. 2.

was a narrow L-shaped corridor xxiii-xxvi, leading to the courtyard in front of the West Complex Building **[MYC32]** to the north and probably another courtyard to the south (French 2011, 14–15). A doorway in the east wall of the corridor led to the more spacious room xxi, equipped with a bin built of unbaked clay (French 2011, 14). It might have had the upper storey, or at least a functional roof, as indicated by distribution of finds in the fill (French 2011, 14, 56). There was definitely at least one more room attached to this room from the south. Further to the east there was a terrace, possibly used as an open courtyard, although its connection with this building is not certain. It might have also served only as a supporting fill for room xxi (French 2011, 17). (French 2011, 14, 56).

The West Complex Building **[MYC32]** was separated from the South Complex **[MYC31]** by a spacious open courtyard (xxx/xxxi), and consisted of a series of ground floor rooms, all accessed from the south, through a single short corridor. Two of its rooms – xxxiii and xxxiii were built against the Citadel wall, while room xxxiv, most probably with a wooden roof support, abutted the South House terrace. It had clay floors and probably plastered walls. The building was equipped with various functional facilities, with built clay vats and a hearth in room xxxiv, another hearth with clay basin and a platform in room xxxii, and another almost identical platform in xxxii (French 2011, 18–19). A rich collection of pottery, with an abundance of open shapes supplemented with cooking and storage vessels, two whetstones and a few ornaments and terracotta figurines was found in the building. Particularly of note, there were two similar assemblages of pottery found in xxxiv and xxxiii (French 2011, 35–51). The spatial arrangement and repetitive sets of features inside the rooms seem to exclude the possibility of this building also being a residential unit. However, the function is difficult to interpret. Taylour thought that the building was of cultic importance, and interpreted both platforms as altars, but this proposal was not uniformly accepted (French 2011, 18, 56). The set of internal facilities is indeed very similar to that of the Temple **[MYC29]** and Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]**, although the presence of circular stone vats is peculiar. They might mimic the function of the clay basin from xxxiii, which finds parallel in room XI of the Temple. The repetitive sets of vessels were related mostly to food preparation and consumption and can be an evidence of communal meals, possibly of some ritual importance. The range of shapes is closely comparable to that of courtyard 36, one of the service areas of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (French 2011, 47). There were only three figurines associated with the rooms – two female figurines from the debris in xxxiv and one more elaborate example found during clearing of the platform in xxxiii. Although French listed only the first two as complete enough and originating from the primary context, their presence remains significant because most objects of this type

in the post-palatial levels in the area are of secondary and fragmentary character (French 2011, 50). Overall, it cannot be excluded that the rooms were used for ritual activities, but the evidence remains inconclusive. The area can be also simply used as a pottery storeroom, possibly with working space for food preparation or processing of some perishable material.

Finds from the building seem to constitute a domestic deposit, with a variety of pottery shapes for different purposes, including cooking pottery, a group of conuli, few tools with a bronze knife among them, ivory pins and an unusual metal fibula (French 2011, 49–50). French points out that some of the pottery vessels are of unusual shapes, but it does not change the overall interpretation of the context. This is further strengthened by the spatial arrangement of the building, which seems to consist of the main unit with a large central room isolated from the direct entrances and surrounded by auxiliary areas. The position of the hearth –not being in the central large room – is peculiar, if the building was truly a household, but might have been associated simply with the building sequence. Rooms xxv and xxviii were probably the very first to be raised due to extensive reuse of older walls, while a hearth was probably of primary importance for the new inhabitants.

According to French, the first phase of the Citadel House complex ended with an earthquake, which caused the collapse of the superstructure of the South Complex and tumbling of few walls in the area of the West Complex, without any traces of fire (French 2011, 4, 57). This damage seems to be minor for a "major earthquake". Moreover, there are no traces of this event in any other major post-palatial buildings. It may have been some more localised event of collapse, although its reason remains unknown, and the tectonic movement cannot be excluded.

The complex continues into LH IIIC Early 2 (*WBM* phase X - early), although it was rearranged (fig. 22). The occupational history of the South Complex Building **[MYC 32 – phase 2]** is uncertain, but it seems that it was at least partially reoccupied, with a new floor laid in the central room, and a new hearth built in room xxviii. Room xxiv was infilled and probably abandoned.

The West Complex Building **[MYC32]** was completely overbuilt by a new construction - the Tower Complex Building **[MYC33]**. The courtyard which earlier separated the West Complex and the South Complex, is now clearly attached to this building (French 2011, 21). It was raised and partially partitioned by two short walls, and equipped with a floor and a hearth. In the western part of the courtyard there was the feature after which the building was named – the "Tower". It was a round construction in form of a podium built of stone and clay on top of the stone pavement and foundations of soil. It is a unique feature and its function remains

unknown, although it can be compared to round altar found by Mylonas in the southwest part of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**. However, it is much larger than this altar, and was built with a different technique, namely with the use of the clay mortar (French 2011, 21).

Behind the Tower there were two rooms – xlvii and liii, built directly on top of rooms xxxii and xxxiii respectively, although with a slightly different arrangement of walls, which made both rooms narrower (French 2011, 21). No internal features were documented, but a complete animal figurine was found in room liii, thus probably associated with the use of the room (French 2011, 50). On the opposite side of the courtyard room xxix was originally constructed. It had mud-brick walls and was built on a different orientation, following the orientation of the underlying walls of the Temple **[MYC29]**. It is referred to by French as an "isolated structure" (French 2011, 22), but I would see it as an auxiliary room arranged around the newly constructed courtyard, and thus attached to the rest of the Tower Complex. The room had a hearth and a central roof support. In the later part of the phase LH IIIC Early 2 (*WBM* phase X - mature), this room was overbuilt by room 16 and 17, which were only partially separated and must have been accessed from above, due to lack of doorways on the ground level.

The function of the building remains unknown, as there are very few primary finds. It seems that the building is to some extent a continuation of the West Complex **[MYC31]**. The form of room xix, with a central hearth and a roof support, might indicate that the room was a small shrine, although there is no other evidence to support it. If the “Tower” is interpreted as some form of a large open-air altar, then the rooms behind it were probably related to its service or other ritual activities. However, there is not enough evidence overall to suggest anything certain regarding the use of the building.

Both the South Complex Building **[MYC31]** and the Tower Complex Building **[MYC33]** are abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Early, without any signs of violent destruction (French 2011, 4).

A completely new building was arranged in the area sometime later, during LH IIIC Middle (*WBM* phase XI). The Northeast Sector Building **[MYC34]** was probably a solid and spacious structure, but very little of it was preserved (fig. 22). The finds are also too few to suggest its function (French 2011, 22, 54). It might have been a residential unit, but the presence of the apsidal room with a bench inside suggests some specialised function. The complex definitely extended further to the east and south. There were a few isolated walls and floors of this phase found above the South Complex, which suggests that either the Northeast Sector Building extended there, or that another building existed in the area. The phase ends with a

violent widespread conflagration, which can probably be equated with the fire which destroyed the Granary **[MYC24]** (French 2011, 23).

Two more post-palatial buildings, albeit both very poorly preserved and only partially published, were excavated in the vicinity of the Citadel House by Mylonas. First was the Building on the Processional Way **[MYC35 – phase 1]**, located shortly before the latter turn to meet the courtyard in front of Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]**. Only a few stretches of walls, a clay floor and a hearth with two columns were preserved from the first phase of the building (Mylonas 1968b, 109–10, 1973, 152–53). They might have represented the main room of a residential unit, possibly even a colonnaded hall for communal gatherings similar to rooms 8/00 and 1/14 excavated by Maran in the post-palatial northern Lower Town of Tiryns (Maran 2016a; see also the next chapter), but there is not enough evidence to suggest anything certain. These remains were later overbuilt by another structure **[MYC35 – phase 2]**, of which a single cross-wall and a cobblestone pavement survived (Mylonas 1983, 132). The construction of the first building probably followed shortly after the abandonment of the Processional Way, as clearing and construction operations occurred then in the entire area (K. W. Wardle 1973, 303). Around the hearth of the first phase there were sherds of a Close Style krater (Iakovidis 2003, 120), which dates its end to LH IIIC Middle, while the wall of the second building was dated by Mylonas to "Late Mycenaean III C2" (LH IIIC Middle), and destroyed "at the end of Late Mycenaean III C" (Mylonas 1983, 132).

The second building identified in the area by Mylonas – the Building behind Tsountas House **[MYC36]**, is even more fragmentarily known. It is known from brief reports by Mylonas and only pieces of floors with few walls were preserved of it (Mylonas 1970b, 9–11, 1972a, 121–22). No plan of the remains was ever published. The building was located between the Tsountas House and the Citadel Wall. It had three general phases, with the first one **[MYC36 – phase 1]** dating most probably to the period immediately after the destructions at the end of LH IIIB. There were two floors of the first phase, three of the second phase **[MYC36 – phase 2]** (first one had a circular hearth on it), and one of the third phase **[MYC36 – phase 3]**. The last floor of the second phase and that of the third phase were burned (Iakovidis 2003, 121). This stratigraphy can be directly compared to that of the post-palatial levels of the Citadel House Area, and thus the general occupational history of the building was probably the same (French 2011, 32). The second phase included some later alterations, also seen with the Tower Complex Building (*WBM* phase X). The fire which affected the last floor of the second phase might be linked to the abandonment of the second phase of the Citadel House complex

[MYC31-36], while the burning of the last floor can be equated with the widespread conflagration at the end of LH IIIC Middle (see Ch. II. 7.6.2.).

The actual integration of the two buildings into the Citadel House is debatable, but both their locations and occupational sequences suggest that they were closely linked to the other buildings of the complex. Together they formed an extensive post-palatial quarter of the Citadel settlement, of most probably residential function, although some ritual significance of the rooms built against the Citadel wall (West Complex Building and Tower Complex Building) cannot be excluded.

5.3.5. Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]**

The last block of Mycenaean buildings constructed on the West Slope of the Acropolis is the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]**, located immediately behind the central stairway which ran up the hill behind Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]** and the Tsountas House **[MYC27]**. The stairway, and the large stone drain along its side, were most probably constructed only after the extension of the Citadel and construction of a new gate in the central part of the west wall (see Ch. II. 3.2.), although some earlier path must have existed there before. Evidence for both the history and functions of all the buildings of the Southwest Quarter is extremely scarce, as almost the entire area was cleared by Tsountas without any documentation (Iakovidis 2013b, 563). Some undisturbed deposits were later excavated by Iakovidis, who also published a comprehensive account of the Quarter (Iakovidis 2013b).

The complex consisted of eight buildings: the Southwest Building **[MYC37 – phase 1]**, Building A **[MYC38 – phase 1]**, Building B **[MYC39]**, Building Γ **[MYC40]**, Building Δ-E **[MYC41]**, Building Z **[MYC42]**, Building Θ **[MYC43 – phase 1],** and Building K-Λ **[MYC44]** (fig. 23). The Quarter was most probably a planned investment, the construction of which followed shortly the extension of the Citadel wall in LH IIIB2 Early (*WBM* phase VIIIA). This is indicated by the adjustment of the Quarter's spatial arrangement to the fortification wall, the coordination of the buildings to each other, and presence of common access and communication routes and a central drainage system (Iakovidis 2013b, 516). Access to all of the eight buildings was provided through the system of stairways connecting three main levels of the area and through the two main passages - Nether Lane, accessed from the stairway between the Cult Centre and the Southwest Quarter, and the Upper Lane, accessed from terrace I, above Building A. Additional access to buildings Δ-E and K was probably provided from the north, through terrace H4 and passage/courtyard I. This access point was probably also

connected through a path higher up the hill with terrace I, which seems to have served as the main access point to the Quarter (Iakovidis 2013b, 521).

The Southwest Building **[MYC37 – phase 1]**, located in the northwest corner of the Quarter, and built directly against the fortification wall, was also named in the literature as House of the Hellenistic Tower or House of the Chief/High Priest (Iakovidis 1986, 246–47; Mylonas 1983, 148–49; Iakovidis 2013b, 513). Very little is known about this building. Only rooms to the northwest were excavated by Mylonas (Mylonas 1983, 148), while the others were cleared out by Tsountas (Iakovidis 2013b, 513). However, Mylonas' excavations remain unpublished, and Iakovidis excluded the building from the publication of the Quarter (Iakovidis 2013b, 516). The building was originally a solid construction, with large basements and a timber-framed mudbrick superstructure. The bedrock below it must have been extensively excavated to form basement rooms which were as much as 2.8 m deep (Mylonas 1983, 148). Although building consisted of eight basement rooms and at least one ground floor room above them, only the room in the southeast corner was accessible from the outside. A narrow corridor probably furnished with a staircase was located behind the central part of the basements. The few available pieces of information regard mostly figural frescoes found in the destruction fill of both the LH IIIB and LH IIIC phases (see below). The palatial layers included fragments of a fresco known as the Lady of Mycenae, and in general they indicate a presence of elaborately decorated upper storey (Mylonas 1983, 148–49).

Although the building was traditionally interpreted as a residential unit, a house of a priest in charge of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (Mylonas 1972a, 38, 1983, 148), it might have actually served some ritual activities. There are no internal functional facilities reported, but the mention of multiple small objects of ivory and bronze by Mylonas can support this interpretation, if the objects were the offerings or votives (Mylonas 1983, 149). The building might have been thus a richly furnished shrine, built over basement storerooms. Such an arrangement finds parallels in the nearby building of the Cult Centre – the Megaron **[MYC28]** and Tsountas House **[MYC27]**. However, in general the function remains unknown, and the above interpretation remains speculative due to lack of published data.

Building A **[MYC38 – phase 1]** had few untouched pockets of fill left by Tsountas (Iakovidis 2013b, 520–27). The construction deposits seem to be of LH IIIB2 Early date, which would confirm the general occupational history of the Quarter, but the amount of pottery is rather small (Iakovidis 2013b, 580). It was built on a series of low terraces, with two rows of basement rooms and a staircase in the centre. The upper floor was probably decorated with monochrome plaster. Two external terraces (II and A5) provided access from the north, from

the main terrace I, which stood directly over this building (Iakovidis 2013b, 521–25). Its construction strongly supports the interpretation of the Southwest Quarter as a planned investment, because of the adjustment of the southwest corner of the building to the pre-existing stairs of stairway AB (Iakovidis 2013b, 526–27). It suggests that the Quarter was built inwards, starting from the buildings next to the fortification wall.

The spatial arrangement with a set of roughly regular basement rooms suggests a storage function, but there is little material evidence to support this interpretation. The contents of the building are not conclusive, as the finds comprise a collection of pottery with mostly deep bowls, a variety of tools and ornaments as well as 57 terracotta figurines (Iakovidis 2013b, 568–79).

Building B **[MYC39]** consisted of the main unit, constructed on the two terraces with a corridor in between, and two trapezoidal courtyards built against the Citadel wall on the lowest terrace, behind a second corridor. The courtyards had access to a central drain, and were connected with the rest of the building by the stairway AB which opened onto the corridor of the main unit (Iakovidis 2013b, 529–34). This might also have been also accessed from stairway BZ to the east, which connected with an L-shaped corridor B7, which was just a branch of the Upper Lane (Iakovidis 2013b, 532–33, 542–43).

The remains of the main unit consisted of six rectangular rooms. Three basement rooms were on the lower level, on the west side of the corridor with doorways connecting with it. On the east side of the corridor there was another basement room – B2, with a ground floor room of mud-brick superstructure above. Another ground floor room – B1 – was accessed from above B2 by a doorway and formed the largest room of the building (Iakovidis 2013b, 529–34). It was built on a stone fill, which was tested and proved to contain pottery which dated the construction to the beginning of LH IIIB2 (Iakovidis 2013b, 569, 580). The only indication of a function of this room was a low platform, interpreted by Iakovidis as an altar, and a bench along the walls (Iakovidis 2013b, 529–30). It is possible that the room served for some ritual activity. An ivory plaque was found inside the room, while in the entire building there were also few other ivory ornaments, a lead sheet and 51 figurines were found (Iakovidis 2013b, 569–80). However, in general the rest of the building seems to be arranged for the storage of material goods (rooms B2-B5). The courtyards B8-9 were used either as working space or for keeping the animals (Iakovidis 2013b, 534).

Building Γ **[MYC40]** was constructed directly above Building B **[MYC39]**, on the opposite side of the Upper Lane, and had pottery of LH IIIB2 period inside a construction deposit (Iakovidis 2013b, 535–37, 581). It was most probably a small residential unit, with a

kitchen organised in room Γ3, as indicated by a collection of cooking pots and low circular platforms excavated inside by Iakovidis, serving most probably as vessel stands for food preparation. Other in situ vessels were also found in the room, which had a clay floor (Iakovidis 2013b, 535–36, 580). The kitchen was accessed from room Γ5, which was probably a large vestibule, maybe serving also as a working area. Basement rooms Γ1 and Γ2, attached to the south side of the vestibule must have been used for storage, while the main residential unit would have been above them, accessed from a stairway (Γ4) located in the corner of the vestibule (Iakovidis 2013b, 536–37). The interpretation of the building as an independent household is thus supported not only by the contents of room Γ3, but also by the overall spatial arrangement of the building. The few metal tools and ornaments found in room Γ3 suggest that the house was not of the lowest status, despite the small size and rather basic internal arrangement.

Building Δ-E **[MYC41]** is a poorly known structure. It is arranged on three levels - external terrace (Δ1), ground floor rooms with plaster floors on the terrace below (Δ2-5), and three solid basement rooms with tampered-earth floors (E1-E3), with another storey or a functional roof above them (Iakovidis 2013b, 538–41). The building was located on the north side of the Upper Lane, and was separated from the south wall Building Γ **[MYC40]** by a short staircase, which provided access to the building from the north, through a doorway leading into room Δ2. The stairway ran along a drain, and led up to the terrace Δ1, the entrance to which was furnished with a large flat threshold stone (Iakovidis 2013b, 538–39). The terrace served as an external courtyard, used possibly as a working area.

The entire building was connected through party walls, and shared access - there is a doorway in Δ4, leading to the Upper Lane and to E1. Rooms E2 and E3 must have been accessed from the upper storey or from the roof, but location of the staircase is unknown. There are almost no finds associated with the use of the rooms, and the function of the building remains unknown (Iakovidis 2013b, 577–80). It does not seem to be a regular residential unit, because of the lack of a central room with a heart and the fact that all the ground floor rooms were easily accessible from the outside. However, the residential function cannot be excluded, as the building was next to Building Γ **[MYC40]**, which seems to be a regular house. It is possible that some living space was located above the basements E1-3.

Building Z **[MYC42]** is located on the south end of the Upper Lane. Its walls directly abutted the Citadel wall. It was composed of two similar, rectangular rooms – Z1 and Z2, both equipped with a bench and a window opening onto the Upper Lane. The floors in the building were of clay or tampered-earth, while the walls were at least partially covered with clay. Access

was provided through doors from the stairway BZ (Iakovidis 2013b, 544–66). It is unclear if there was a ground floor above rooms Z1 and Z2, but if that was the case then the staircase must have been located in corridor TZ. The form and internal arrangement of this building, with two parallel rooms with benches, are similar to the House of Shields **[MYC58]**, although Building Z is a lot smaller (377 m2 vs 50 m2). Two windows in rooms Z1 and Z2 could have provided light for the work space. In addition, among the few finds there were stone and metal tools, bronze sheets, amber and ivory ornaments and an ivory pyxis and lid (Iakovidis 2013b, 572–79). The building was most probably a small workshop involved in processing of ivory, metal and other valuable materials, possibly for the production of ornaments.

Building Θ **[MYC 43 – phase 1]** is located at the south end of the Upper Lane, from which rooms Θ6 and Θ3 were originally accessible through doorways. Around those rooms there were four basement rooms, which must have been accessible from the upper storey or through the roof (Iakovidis 2013b, 546–50). At some later point, but during LH IIIB2, the building was extended with the construction of room Θ7. In addition, stairway ZΘ was added to the Upper Lane at the same time (Iakovidis 2013a, 581)., This staircase has an orientation slightly different from the earlier stairways of the Quarter. There was a pithos installed in the corner of this new stairway, next to the entrance of room Θ7. This new room blocked the original entrance to Θ3 (Iakovidis 2013b, 548–49).

Only rooms Θ3 and Θ7 had any significant amount of the original deposits left. They were filled with destruction debris, which included traces of mud-brick timber-framed superstructure and pieces of monochrome colored plaster from the walls. Both were furnished with plaster floors, and there was also an area paved with flat stones in room Θ7. Room Θ3 had a low bench set in the southeast corner, and a row of stones in the northwest corner, which was probably the remains of a staircase leading to room Θ6 (Iakovidis 2013b, 546–50). The deposit inside this room was of peculiar nature, and consisted of various pottery, a pile of 545 sea shells, with 12 lead pellets inside them, a bronze and stone weight and ivory plaque. Room Θ7 was considered by Iakovidis to be a storeroom. This is suggested by finds of raw materials, including multiple pieces of ivory, bronze and lead, various tools, a seal stone, and a rich pottery collection of LH IIIB2. The shapes included vases for storage, drinking, eating and cooking. There were 97 figurines found in this building, more than in any other structure of the quarter (Iakovidis 2013b, 570–80).

The building most probably served for storage of a significant amount of objects and raw materials. This is suggested not only by the finds but also by the spatial arrangement of its

multiple basements. However, the building might have also served other functions which remain unknown.

Building K-Λ **[MYC44]** was poorly preserved due to extensive Hellenistic overbuilding. Much of it was removed by Tsountas, who left only area Λ3 undisturbed (Iakovidis 2013b, 552–53). The building was probably built together with the rest of the Quarter. Originally it probably consisted only of six rooms - K1-3, K6, K7, K9, arranged around an open-air vestibule in K6α.[63] In addition, there were three column bases found inside Tsountas' backfill in this area, which could have originated from K6, which was a wide room that would probably need some roof supports. A large courtyard K10 was constructed next to the Citadel wall. At some point during LH IIIB2, the building was extended, with the construction of rooms K8α, K8, K4, K5 and Λ3β and courtyards Λ3α, Λ2 and Λ1. This sequence is suggested by the differences in arrangement, orientation, form and quality of walls, but due to lack of dating material to support it, should be regarded as tentative (Iakovidis 2013b, 552–59). There were a few fairly complete vessels of LH IIIB2 Late found in Λ3β, but it is unknown if they form a construction or destruction floor deposit (Iakovidis 2013b, pls 106-7). Other finds are very few and of an inconclusive nature – a group of cooking and storage vessels, few figurines and ornaments of various materials. The building was burned, probably at the end of LH IIIB (despite Iakovidis who dates the destruction deposit from Θ7 to "early in LH IIIC1"). It was at least partially reoccupied in LH IIIC Early (pottery and walls over Θ3), and used probably till the end of LH IIIC Middle, when stairway ZΘ is abandoned (op. cit. 581). (Iakovidis 2013b, 570–78). However, the spatial arrangement of the building suggest that the building might have been involved in keeping quantities of domestic animals in the courtyards along fortifications, while the main block of ground floor rooms probably served as living quarters for the animal keepers (Iakovidis 2013a, 552-559).

Overall, the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]** provided additional residential, storage and production areas inside the Citadel, including space for domestic animals in the courtyards along the Citadel wall. Southwest Building **[MYC37]** and Building B **[MYC39]** might have served also for some ritual activities.

The evidence of the fire which destroyed the Citadel at the end of LH IIIB is much more dispersed and fragmentary in the Quarter, most probably due to Tsountas' work, but there is also a possibility that not all the buildings in the area were destroyed at that time. However, almost anywhere Iakovidis was able to excavate undisturbed deposits, he encountered traces of

[63] Alternatively, the entire K6 might have been an open-air internal courtyard, but it seem doubtful given the arrangement of the east walls of K2-3 and K6-7.

conflagration. In Building A **[MYC38]** it is suggested by the mud-brick superstructure preserved *in situ*.[64] Next to Buildings B **[MYC39]** and Z **[MYC42]**, at the bottom stairway BZ**,** there was a secondary deposit of destruction dump with burned mud-bricks (Iakovidis 2013b, 532–33). Moreover, the deposit from room B1 also suggests that the building was abandoned at the end of LH IIIB (Iakovidis 2013b, 580). There were also burnt remains of wood found in room Z1 and corridor TZ (Iakovidis 2013b, 544–46). Room Γ3 also had a rich burned destruction deposit, which dates the conflagration of the entire Building Γ **[MYC40]** to the very end of LH IIIB (Iakovidis 2013b, 581).[65] An extensive burned destruction deposit of the same date was also excavated in room Θ7 (Iakovidis 2013b, 570, 581)**.** A layer of ash and burnt matter was also found in room Θ1, while burnt mudbrick were found in the fill of room Θ3 (Iakovidis 2013b, 548–50). Overall, Building Θ **[MYC43]** was probably also destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB. Finally, the Southwest Building **[MYC37]**, partially excavated systematically by Mylonas, had a good evidence of fire destruction at the end of LH IIIB. According to the excavator, the fire reached only the north part of the building, but the structure collapsed entirely, burying a human victim inside the debris (Mylonas 1983, 146; Iakovidis 1986, 246)

Whatever the extent of the fire at the end of LH IIIB, it probably caused the initial abandonment of the entire Quarter. However, shortly after that, rebuilding and partial reoccupation began. The Southwest Building **[MYC37 – phase2]** was reconstructed already in LH IIIC Early, with floors of earth and gravel, but preserving the elaborate form, at least to some extent, as its walls were still decorated with figural frescoes (Mylonas 1972b, 38). It was finally destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIC Middle (*WBM* phase X) **[MYC37 – phase 3]**, after suffering one more conflagration (Iakovidis 1986, 247). Building Θ **[MYC43 – phase 2]** was also at least partially rebuilt at that time, with new clay floor and new walls built over room Θ3 (Iakovidis 2013b, 548–49). It is unclear if stairway BZ was already used as a dump or if it still provided access to Building Z **[MYC42]**, if the latter was reoccupied. This was suggested by the remodelling of its entrance, but there are no other indications of reoccupation and it seems more probable that construction of a new wall there served only to block the ruined

[64] Iakovidis suggested that the destruction of this building was caused by an earthquake, but offers no evidence to support such a statement (Iakovidis 2013b, 580).

[65] Iakovidis dated it to LH IIIC Early rather than to LH IIIB2 Late, but the two phases have largely similar pottery assemblages, and the latter was not properly defined during his work in the Quarter. It seems to me that nothing in the illustrated material from the room forces the destruction date in LH IIIC (Iakovidis 2013b, pls 29-33). The pottery of LH IIIC Middle, which was also found in the building, is likely to represent some reoccupation (Iakovidis 2013b. pl. 34-35)

structure and prepare the rubbish pit which was found inside of it with LH IIIC material (Iakovidis 2013b, 546–47). Stairway BZ would probably start to accumulate dump soon after, and was used for this purpose until the end of LH IIIC Middle (Iakovidis 2013b, 581).

In LH IIIC Middle, Building A was partially rebuilt, with new, thinner, walls built on top of the older remains. Drain ΘK was also constructed during this phase, indicating use of Building K-Λ **[MYC44]**. It is unclear if the latter was continuously used since LH IIIB, but it remains a possibility, as there is no published evidence of any destruction there (Iakovidis 2013b, 581).

The end of the occupational history of the reused buildings of the Quarter is unknown, but according to Iakovidis, Building A was the last to be abandoned, in LH IIIC Late (Iakovidis 2013b, 58–81). I would suggest that the fire at the end of LH IIIC Middle, which destroyed the Southwest Building and other buildings on the West Slope, caused the abandonment of the other buildings as well. This is suggested also by the fact that stairway BZ and ZΘ, as well as the drain ΘK all went out of use at the end of LH IIIC Middle, as indicated by the range of the pottery deposits associated with them (Iakovidis 2013b, 581–82).

6. Buildings of the Lower Town

The Lower Town of Mycenae spread mainly over the Pezoulia slope and the Panagia ridge, as well as along the Kokoretsa ravine (tabs. 6-8). Buildings of the settlement were also excavated in two areas which are technically still located on the Acropolis hill – the area in front on the Lion Gate, and the so-called Museum Area, on the lowest part of the north slope. These buildings are also discussed in this section, as they were never enclosed with the fortifications and were clearly separate from the upper part of the hill, forming parts of the Lower Town. The rest of the site is discussed in a geographical order determined by counter-clockwise movement (fig. 4 and tab. 6-9). The most extensively discussed complexes – the West House **Group [MYC57-60]** and Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, are again divided into subsections for each building followed by a summary.

6.1. Area in front of the Lion Gate **[MYC45]**

This is a poorly known and scarcely published sector, located between the Lion Gate to the east, and the Aegisthus' tholos tomb to the west. It was excavated by Wace during multiple seasons, but was never a central focus of excavations (Wace 1957; French et al. 2003, 53). The sector is named "Area 1" in the 1939 excavations report (Wace 1950, figs 1, 3), but later was generally referred to as Prehistoric Cemetery East (French et al. 2003, 53), hence the name Prehistoric Cemetery East Building **[MYC45]**. Only brief reports on the excavations are

available and they mostly focus on the Early Mycenaean graves (see Alden 2000 for the summary). However, there is definitely some LH III architecture above them, although it has been heavily disturbed by later, mostly Hellenistic architecture.

It seems that the earliest preserved non-funerary architectural feature in the area is a large fragment of clay floor found below the walls in the south sector **[MYC45 – phase 1]** (Wace 1957, 207–8). The fill below the floor has mostly LH II material with only a few LH III pieces, which might have been intrusive. Wace dated the floor as "post LH II". The building linked to this early floor must have been destroyed or abandoned before the deposition of pottery below wall A-A, but this is not a destruction deposit (Wace 1957, 217; French et al. 2003, 52). Moreover there was 10 cm of soil between the former floor and the deposit (Wace 1957, 218), which suggests that some time has passed between the abandonment of the building and deposition of the sherds. The deposit contained a mass of accumulated domestic debris and was probably transported from somewhere else. The material is of LH IIIB2 date (Wace 1957, 217). The deposit of dumped fresco fragments from the north part of the area could have belonged to the same event, as the fragments were generally of LH IIIB/C date (Mayer and French 1990, 223).

The aforementioned pottery deposit was later covered by a room, three walls of which were preserved and documented. It is unclear if all of the other walls and pieces of floor in the area belong to one phase, although they seem to form a coherent plan, possibly of a single building or a complex of few closely related structures **[MYC45 – phase 2]**. The *terminus post quem* provided by this deposit suggests that those structures are post-palatial, probably of LH IIIC Early date, as Wace stated that there was no Close Style pottery in the area (Wace 1950, 227). However, the date is tentative, and the reason for destruction or abandonment is not known.[66] No internal features of the building are known, and the finds are few and mostly of uncertain provenance.[67] A layer of stones to the north might have represent the remains of a Mycenaean road. There was a larnax burial, possibly of LH IIIC date, dug into it (Mayer and French 1990, 213–14).

[66] There is a "mention of burnt Myc houses" in the Atlas (French et al. 2003, 52), but I did not find any confirmation of the evidence of burnt destruction in the published reports.

[67] The only built functional facility documented in the area is a large drain running through the walls of the south sector (Wace 1950, 224, 1957, 207–8). However, this drain seems to cut through the Mycenaean walls and thus was most probably later (see also Alden 2000, fig. 4 where it is indicated as a "later drain").

6.2. Museum Area

The sector is named after the museum which was built in the lower part of the north slope of the Acropolis. Two buildings were excavated in the area by the Greek Archaeological Service in preparation for the construction of the museum – the House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46]**, located on a wide terrace closer to the fortification walls, and the "Workshop" **[MYC47]**, located ca. 50 m to the northwest, on the terraces below the former building (Onasoglou 1995; Danielidou 2008).

6.2.1. House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46]**

The first phase of this building **[MYC46 – phase 1]** must have been a relatively simple unit, was constructed in LH IIIA2 (Onasoglou 1995, 140–41). Rooms of this phase are in the east part of the plan, having in general thicker walls than in the later phases. The building was organised around a long corridor or a narrow courtyard 21, with a large rectangular room 22 attached to its north side, and smaller rooms 5 and 7 on the south side. The latter served as a vestibule leading into the main unit, composed of room 16 and 17. The first phase ends with a destruction, which left traces of fire across the floors (Onasoglou 1995, 22–81).

The building was rebuilt only in LH IIIB2, albeit on a different, enlarged plan **[MYC46 – phase 2]** (Onasoglou 1995, 144–45). New rooms were constructed in the western and central part of the plan, around a new corridor 15, and the old ones were renovated and reused. The walls were at least partially decorated inside with monochrome plaster. An oven, with a collection of cooking pottery was found in room 16, which must have served as a kitchen area during this phase (Onasoglou 1995, 65–74). A large clay vat was found in room 17, attached to the kitchen area and accessed by a wide doorway. The two rooms must have functioned together (Onasoglou 1995, 74–82). Between corridors 15 and 21 there were at least five additional small rooms. In one of them – the reused room 5, there was a stone platform. A millstone was also found in this room (Onasoglou 1995, 86–93). To the west of the former corridor there was room 1, most probably divided into two parts: 1β – the vestibule, and 1α – the main room. Another large clay vat was found in the latter (Onasoglou 1995, 101–12). To the north there was probably yet another room – 20, excavated only partially (Onasoglou 1995, 112–14).

After a careful analysis of the plan of the remains of this phase, it seems possible that the western part of the structure, with the rooms 1α, 1β and 20 was actually a second building and not part of the same house. With this interpretation, the three rooms would constitute the westernmost part of another unit, probably of a similar plan to that of the building excavated in the centre of the trench. Corridor 15 would then be an external road between the buildings. This

is also suggested by its width, stone paving, and the presence of a large central drain covered with stones, probably to create a uniform walking surface (Onasoglou 1995 pl. A). The interpretation of the remains as two separate functional units is also suggested by the two finds of similar large clay vats, one in room 1α and another in 17.

Despite the excavator's suggestion, there is no evidence for destruction of the building of the second phase by an earthquake (Onasoglou 1995, 145–46). In fact, there is no evidence for any break of occupation during the LH IIIB2 period.[68] Minor architectural remains of LH IIIC Early, from rooms 1 and 7, most probably mark alterations to the building introduced during the long-lived second phase. The latter is evidenced by the floors of rooms 1, 5, 8 and 16, each renewed multiple times. The house was finally abandoned, probably at the end of LH IIIC Early. After the abandonment, the site was used for burials of the Proto-Geometric period, one of which gave a name to the building (Onasoglou 1995, 146–47; Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 706).

The building served most probably only as a residential unit. The kitchen area in room 16 strongly suggests that. Pottery for storage discovered in rooms 16 and 1 is not frequent, and lacks any large pithoi. The processing that probably occurred in room 5 (it is called "a house workshop" in the publication), was probably only a small-scale operation, for the needs of the house, as there is nothing to suggest otherwise (Onasoglou 1995, 149). The simple spatial arrangement of the first phase, which was certainly used as a basis for the later construction, suggests that the first building served the same purpose.

There were more walls tentatively recognised to the west of the trench, at some of which were supposedly of LH IIIC Middle date (Onasoglou 1995, 150). Unfortunately, no details on their plan or form was provided.

6.2.2. The "Workshop" **[MYC47]**

The building is only fragmentarily known and not much detail can be given about it. This is because the rescue excavations which brought it to light were carried out quickly and remained unfinished, with all of the walls continuing beyond the trench. Moreover, the field documentation was of poor quality. The building was named the "Workshop" by the workmen involved in excavations, due to the sheer quantity of pottery retrieved from the trench. The task of publishing the remains after over 20 years was undertaken by Despoina Danielidou, who tried to reconstruct the history of the building despite the lack of proper information on

[68] The same conclusion was reached by Darcque, who also identified only two main occupational phases of the building (see Darcque 2005, plans 33-4).

stratigraphy (Danielidou 2008, 295–96, 323). She recognised three main occupational phases, and on the basis of the pottery assemblage from the building dated them to LH IIIA2, LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early (Danielidou 2008, 345–346).

The main part of the plan, efficiently adjusted to the steep terrain, probably belongs to the first phase **[MYC47- phase 1]**, as is evident from the form of the walls set mostly directly on bedrock, which is a characteristic of LH IIIA2. A few later walls, probably of LH IIIB1 date, were set on layers of earth (Danielidou 2008, 325, 328). The building was constructed between two terrace walls (10 and 12), which formed a flat area. The known part of the plan of the building consisted of a row of small squared rooms and larger rectangular rooms, with an open courtyard Δ-E-Z in between.[69] The courtyard was equipped with a hollow surrounded by a drain and a group of post-holes. This was probably an installation which served as a stand for a large pithos (Danielidou 2008, 306–8). No doorways were found, thus all of the rooms must have been basements accessed from above. A few pieces of white and coloured plaster found in the fill suggest that the upper storey had plastered and at least partially painted walls (Danielidou 2008, 325–30). The basements had clay or tamped-earth floors, although there was also a small space paved with flat stones in area Γ. Next to this space there was a built stone rubbish pit, with a deposit of LH IIIA2 pottery (Danielidou 2008, 306–8). A long open drain, partially bordered by stones, ran through the entire building and into that rubbish pit. Another, much shorter drain, connected areas H and Γ (Danielidou 2008, 330–31).

After the first destruction of an unknown reason, the discarded pottery was thrown into the pit in area Γ. The building must have been reoccupied immediately after this, with few new walls erected **[MYC47 – phase 2]**. According to Danielidou the building suffered another destruction in an earthquake close to the end of LH IIIB2 (Danielidou 2008, 345–46). Although the documented evidence for a seismic destruction is very weak and comprised one fallen wall (4), the most probable identification of that destruction remains the LH IIIB2 Early earthquake destruction horizon. This is strengthened by the lack of fire traces in the building, although poor documentation precludes certainty.

The third phase of occupation **[MYC47 – phase 3]** probably started in LH IIIB2, possibly even immediately after the destruction.[70] The strongest evidence for three occupational

[69] The curved wall 29 is most probably part of a Hellenistic structure which overbuilt the area (Danielidou 2008, 327).

[70] This interpretation of the sequence allows to explain the amount of LH IIIB2 material, in particular the noticeable number of Group B deep bowls (Danielidou 2008, 341). However, Danielidou interpreted the sequence differently, placing the earthquake destruction almost at the end of LH IIIB. It was supposed to be followed by a short occupational hiatus, and reoccupation in LH IIIC Early (Danielidou 2008, 345–46). This sequence seems to be influenced by the reconstruction of the site's history by Iakovidis, who placed the earthquake destruction in the

phases comes from areas B and Θ, where three consecutive floors were found (Danielidou 2008, 303–4, 311). Most of the LH IIIC material came from the east part of the building, which together with different orientation of the plan of this part, suggest that rooms Π, Σ and T might have been a part of the last remodelling (Danielidou 2008, 343). The building was abandoned at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle, after which the site is used for burials of the late Mycenaean and later Geometric period (Danielidou 2008, 346).

The function of the building is difficult to understand. While it might have served some industrial functions, only storage has been clearly confirmed through the appearance of large storage vessels and an unusual pithos stand (Danielidou 2008, 306–8, 310–12). The complex installation constructed around the latter suggests specialised storage, but it is unknown what was kept there. Other finds seem to suggest a low-status domestic deposit, with cooking and utilitarian pottery, a group of terracotta figurines, spindle whorls, various other tools and a single clay amulet (Danielidou 2008, 343–44). A large central drain does not necessarily relate to any specialised function. Overall, it seems most probable that the building was a residential unit involved in some larger-scale storage, but the interpretation is tentative due to the poor quality of data.

6.3. Pezoulia

The Pezoulia slope, descending steeply into Kokoretsa ravine, was crossed by a well preserved fragment of a Mycenaean road, running on the north-south axis (fig. 1). Eight buildings can be recognised in this area, however except from the Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]** and the Petsas House **[MYC55]**, they all remain only fragmentarily known.

6.3.1. Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]**

This group of buildings was located ca. 230 m to the northwest from the Lion Gate, on the upper part of the Pezoulia slope, relatively close to Grave Circle B. All of them were excavated by Wace during the course of his work on the site (Wace et al. 1923, 403–7; Wace 1953, 16–17; French 1954, 1961).

The occupation in the area began in LH II, when the first form of the Building below Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC48 – phase 1]** was constructed. However, only a small patch of burnt floor with a deposit of Early Mycenaean pottery was preserved from this phase (French 1954, 272). Above these remains there was a large part of a heavy plaster floor preserved

advanced LH IIIB2 and considered it the only widespread destruction horizon which affected the site during the palatial period (Iakovidis 1986).

directly under the foundations of Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC48 – phase 2]**, and laid over a deposit of LH IIIA2 domestic pottery dating the construction. The shaft or well, filled with pottery of LH IIIA2/B1 date, together with 13 human skeletons and abundance of animal bones, was dug immediately to the east of the floor patch. It must have belonged to the same occupational phase. It was probably filled with bodies of victims of the destruction which ended this phase of occupation, before being sealed by foundations of a new building. It is uncertain if it even functioned as a well before that, or if it was dug especially for a mass burial (French 1954, 273–74).

The Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]**, which covered the earlier remains discussed above, has no actual rooms preserved. It was constructed on a layer of packed earth, with LH IIIB pottery inside (French 1961, 268–69). It seems that what survived of it is only a massive cyclopean foundation terrace of a maximum height reaching 3 m. It was filled with large limestone boulders. The purpose of the wall that seems to divide the plan into two "rooms" must have been to support the foundation terrace and facilitate its filling. A drain was located underneath the east wall, leading from the outside to the inside of the northern "room". Its purpose must have been to protect the east wall from water. No sign of a superstructure survived, but it was probably a large structure of some status, judging by the foundation terrace (Wace 1953, 16; French 1954, 269–91). There is no final destruction level here. It was previously suggested that the building could have even been abandoned before the construction was finished (French 1954, 274). Two burials, probably of LH IIIC Early date, were later dug into the building's remains (Wace et al. 1923, 406–7).

Immediately to the south of Cyclopean Terrace Building, a structure known as House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]** was recognised, albeit solely on the basis of a presence of multiple clay bricks, probably serving as vessel stands, and a large deposit of pottery composed mainly of transport stirrup jars (Wace 1953, 16–17; Haskell 1981, 225–30). The latter should be dated to LH IIIA2, and due to the quantity of full vessels, the deposit should be regarded as a floor deposit.[71] Traces of fire were widespread, and confirm the destruction of the building in a fire (Iakovidis 1986, 254). Although there was not a single wall found which could be associated with this building, it had to serve as a large-scale warehouse of some liquid material.

Another fragmentarily known building laid partially over the House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]** is known as the South Megaron **[MYC51]**, albeit only a single stretch of wall associated with this building was excavated (Wace 1953, 16). It is not even entirely clear

[71] The date of the deposit is provided by a decorated rhyton, definitely of LH IIIA2 date (Wace 1953, 17; contra Haskell 1981, 225–30; Iakovidis 1986, 254).

if it was a terrace wall or a foundation terrace. However, given the form of the wall very similar to the nearby Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]**, I would suggest the latter. The two adjoining large terraces find good parallels in the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.). There is no pottery to support the chronological reconstruction, but the building must be later then the destruction of House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]** in LH IIIA2, as it is built partially over the older structure.

Wace also conducted a few test trenches around the main bulk of remains excavated in the area (French 1961). Two more buildings can be tentatively recognised in those. A few metres to the east of the Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]**, there were architectural remains of at least two rooms, which are to be recognised as the East Trench Building **[MYC52]**. French described them as two separate buildings, due to the fact that the west room was located below the more substantial remains to the east (French 1961, 83–84). However the difference of levels does not force such an interpretation, as evidenced by multiple examples, including the Petsas House **[MYC55]** located nearby (see Ch. II. 6.3.3.). The building was clearly destroyed by fire and the pottery was of "early or middle" LH IIIB date (French 1961, 84). Some early LH IIIB terracotta figurines and a few metal finds were also found within the remains.

The second building tentatively identified by the test trenches was the North Trench Building **[MYC53]**, . Only a patch of hard earth floor, covered by a burned destruction deposit of building debris was preserved. Among the building debris there were fragments of coloured plaster, some of which were clearly parts of more complex patterns (French 1961, 81). The chronological range of pottery, which included material from the LH I, II and IIIA periods, suggests that this building might have had more than one phase, but that remains indetermined. The bulk of material was of LH IIIB, which suggests that the floor should be dated to this period. No details of the ceramics are given, thus more precise dating is impossible.

Overall, the area brings evidence of three general phases of occupation. After the Early Mycenaean building **[MYC48 – phase 1]** was destroyed by fire in LH II, the area was again occupied in LH IIIA2. A building with a plastered floor **[MYC48 – phase 2]** and the House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]** belonged to this phase (fig. 24). Although its preservation is poor, it might be suggested that this was a large complex, serving storage purposes and probably also as a residence. It was destroyed by fire, most probably at the very end of LH IIIA2, which is suggested by the pottery from both buildings. Probably immediately after this destruction, a new complex was constructed in the area, partially overbuilding the older remains (fig. 24). The lack of preserved walls of LH IIIA2 date might be linked to the reuse of the building material

in the new construction (French 1954, 273). The new complex was composed of at least four buildings – the Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]**, the South Megaron **[MYC51]**, the East Trench Building **[MYC52]** and the North Trench Building **[MYC53].** The general organisation and form of the complex might be similar to the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.). The construction date is also the same – early in LH IIIB1, probably at the beginning of the period. In this reconstruction the East Trench Building would serve as the residential unit, set higher on the slope, above the rest of the complex, while the other building might have served some economic functions. If the deposit from House of the Wine Merchant can be treated as any hint towards the later history of the complex, then a large scale storage can be suggested as another function of the complex. The group was at least partially destroyed by fire, most probably around the middle of LH IIIB, as suggested by the range of the material from the East Trench (French 1961, 84). a fire is evidenced in both the North Trench and East Trench Building. I would suggest that the destruction levels from Cyclopean Terrace Building and the South Megaron eroded away, or that those buildings were not actually burned, but simply abandoned after the destruction of the main residential unit.

6.3.2. Southwest Trench Building **[MYC54]**

This building was recognised in an isolated test trench excavated by Wace 30 metres to the west of Cyclopean Terrace Building, on a terrace 6 metres below (French 1961, 84–87).[72] Only a small part of the building was uncovered. It consists of three north - south walls, with one cross wall, two patches of burned plaster floors, and a large deposit of pottery in the so-called "cupboard". The plan is impossible to reconstruct but the westernmost section, with two walls close to each other, was probably a narrow corridor, with at least two rooms on the east side (French 1961, 84). Stone slabs were used to level the surface under the rooms. A similar feature was noticed in Petsas House **[MYC55]**. The pottery from the "cupboard" dates the destruction of the building by fire to LH IIIB1 Early (French 1961, 85).

6.3.3. Petsas House **[MYC55]**

This building was located ca. 40 m to the north of Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]**, a little further down the slope of Pezoulia. It was briefly excavated in the 1950's, and more recently the research was continued by Iakovidis and Kim Shelton (Papadimitriou

[72] Location is most probably marked as D4:04 in the *Atlas* (French et al. 2003, 47).

and Petsas 1951, 1952; Shelton 2002; Iakovidis 2006a, 26–29). Systematic excavations of an entire structure were conducted, but the results are not yet fully published.[73]

The first occupation in the area is marked by LH II foundations excavated below rooms A and E **[MYC55 – phase 1]** (Shelton 2010a, 189). These were overbuilt by the Petsas House **[MYC55 – phase 2]**, most probably at the beginning of LH IIIA1 (Shelton 2015a, 139). It was gradually developed throughout LH IIIA, and by the end of the periodformed a large multileveled building, with three sets of rooms set up against the slope. It uses a variety of foundations and building techniques, with the upper, easternmost part being cut into the bedrock and reinforced with thick walls, the middle part being set on flattened cut bedrock, with the upper storey built over, and the lowest rooms set on a deep foundation terrace (Shelton 2009a, 641). The walls were built of rubble masonry with mud-brick superstructure, but some parts were constructed with timber framing. Moreover, few corner blocks of ashlar masonry were found in the building (Shelton 2015, 29–30).

The lowest level was organised around spacious rectangular courtyard B, with a pottery kiln (H) installed in the northwest corner. Storeroom Y was attached to the courtyard from the south, inside of which 11 pithoi were found. Shelton suggested that it was used for food storage (Shelton 2015b, 29). A wide entrance ramp Γ led to the southeast corner of the courtyard. On a terrace above the courtyard, around a long corridor (P), there was a series of five pottery storerooms - A, E, Θ, Z, Δ. The latter three had the material fallen from the upper story with fresco fragments, figurines and pottery. Storerooms were well organised and filled with pottery. There are over 500 vases of 20 shapes only in room A. Notably, the collection from the building included 128 small stirrup jars and a variety of kylikes (Shelton 2014). The shapes were mostly sorted according to type and function (Shelton 2014, 19). The undecorated inventory from room E was possibly also counted, using a marking system (Shelton 2015b, 31). Another room - Π, was equipped with a well, a series of post-holes, probably for potting wheels, and a platform. This room was identified as the working space of the pottery workshop. After the building was destroyed, part of the debris was thrown into the well. It included over 2000 restorable vases, of the types that could be found also in the storerooms (Shelton 2015b, 32). Rooms in this block had tamped-earth floors and plastered walls. Above this main block of rooms, there was a larger room Σ, carved in the bedrock, with walls decorated with monochrome plaster (Shelton 2002, 387, 2004, 181, 2010a, 191, 2016, 318–22). In this room, a modest domestic deposit with cooking and utilitarian pottery, few tool and simple ornaments was also found. Below the floor

[73] The main source of information on the Petsas House is a series of articles by Shelton, who focused mostly on the production of ceramics (Shelton 2004, 2009b, 2010a, 2014, 2016, 2022a)

of the room there was a child skeleton, buried with three vases of LH IIIA1 date and few ornaments. The room was recognised as a secondary living quarter, probably for the service or low-status workers or assistants of the workshop (Shelton 2015b, 28–29). A primary living quarters, inhabited by the family in charge of the building, must have been located on the upper storey, richly decorated with frescoes (Shelton 2015a, 2015b, 28). Among the finds from the building there was a group of exceptional objects. These included pictorial vases, Canaanite jars, faience plaque with Amenhotep III's cartouche and five Linear B tablets (Shelton 2010a, 197–98).

The building was most probably a family residence, developed throughout LH IIIA to become also a multifunctional complex for production, storage and distribution of ceramics, including both pottery and terracotta figurines (Shelton 2016). The courtyard was probably used to organise the movement of vessels around the kiln, and dry the ones waiting for the firing. Due to the good lighting, the courtyard could have also been used to decorate the vases with paint. This space was possibly supervised from the upper storey, set to the west and above it. The elaborately decorated upper storey must have also served as a residence for the family in charge of the operation, probably that of the master potter. The workshop had to be also involved in the palatial administration, at least to some extent. This is suggested both by the scale of the operation and few finds of Linear B tablets. The inhabitants were probably involved in the process of distribution of the produced pottery, and possibly also in the management of their own workforce. Both the pottery vessels and the figurines from the building show increasing standardisation of production across the collections from various phases of the period of the occupation.[74]

Destruction of the building which occurred at the end of LH IIIA2, was interpreted as the result of an earthquake by Shelton (2010a, 198, 2022a). The evidence for this, only briefly mentioned by her, is scarce. On the other hand there are clear indications of a violent fire, with debris of ash and charcoal buried deep in the collapse deposit (Shelton 2004, 181). This deposit also included a heavily burned fragment of a Linear B tablet (Shelton 2002, 390). Overall, the available evidence suggests that a widespread fire preceded the collapse of the building, and was probably the reason behind the destruction.[75] It seems that some attempt to clear the destruction debris was made shortly after the destruction, as evidenced by the deposit found inside the well in room Π (Shelton 2010a, 191, 198).

[74] This was discussed by Gillepsie and Shelton at the 19th International Aegean Conference, 12.05.2022.
[75] A list of archaeological criteria that can be used to evidence of seismicity as a destruction result was proposed by Eric Force (Force 2017, tab. 2).

6.4. Panagia Ridge – North Area

The elongated ridge known as Panagia dominates the west part of the site. A significant group of buildings of the Lower Town was excavated on the north part of its east slope, ca. 150 m from the Acropolis and only ca. 40 m south of the Tomb of Clytemnestra. Buildings from all periods of the Mycenaean era can be identified here, and the area must have been one of the core zones of the Lower Town. The most important complex of the area is the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, composed of the West House **[MYC57]**, House of Shields **[MYC58]**, House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** and House of Sphinxes **[MYC60]** (fig. 25). The last three were excavated by Wace in the 1950's, while the West House was later uncovered by Nicholas Verdelis during rescue excavations (Wace 1951, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1955, 1956a; Verdelis 1961). A comprehensive publication of the entire complex was prepared by Iphiyenia Tournavitou, who studied the architecture and finds from the complex, as well as the pottery, although the pottery was also published earlier by French (French 1967; Tournavitou 1995). Tournavitou later continued to study the architecture of the West House and provided the most reliable reconstruction of the building, which was the prime example of a Mycenaean elite household (Tournavitou 2006; fig. 26). More recently, she has also continued excavations in the area and uncovered the post-palatial East House **[MYC61]** (Tournavitou 2015b).

6.4.1. Southwest House **[MYC56]**

The earliest occupation in the area is evidenced by the Southwest House **[MYC56]**, a fragmentarily known structure, only parts of two rooms of which were excavated (Verdelis 1961, 161). It was discovered by Verdelis, during the exploration of the West House **[MYC57]** located immediately to the north. The building was dated to the MH III-LH I period (Chadwick et al. 1962, 20). It demonstrates that this part of Pezoulia was part of the settlement zone since the Early Mycenaean period. The function of the building is unknown, possibly it was a simple residential unit.[76]

6.4.2. West House Group **[MYC57-60]**

This group of buildings overbuilt the area where the Southwest House **[MYC56]** stood. It is the largest, the most completely excavated and the most extensively published complex of the Lower Town of Mycenae.

[76] Although Tournavitou refers to the building as "the megaron type house" (Tournavitou 1995, 66), there is no evidence for this on the plan. It seems that the two rooms forming the remains were parallel to each other and no doorway was preserved between them.

6.4.2.1. West House **[MYC57]**

It was constructed at the very beginning of LH IIIB1, as the first structure of the newly founded complex (Tournavitou 1995, 3). The west wing of the house was a paved courtyard with the megaron unit attached from the north. The form of the porch of the megaron is uncertain. It was definitely roofed, but although Tournavitou reconstructed two columns *in antis* here, she admits that their presence is speculative (Tournavitou 2006, 256). The east wing of the building was a long corridor and had a series of 5 rooms built along it (fig. 25). There may have been a row of wooden columns between the corridor and the paved courtyard, but their presence is again speculative (Tournavitou 2006, 258). At the end of the corridor, in the northwest corner of the house, there was a raised rock-cut terrace, called the Northwest Terrace, with an additional room on top, reached by an internal staircase (Tournavitou 2006, 252–54). In the southeast corner of the courtyard there was a porch with the main entrance to the house. An additional doorway was probably located south of the courtyard. It seems that during LH IIIB1, the so called East Terrace was added to this building on the east, before the general development of the complex (Burns 2007, 115–17; fig. 25). The terrace is conventionally seen as part of the House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]**, but such a reconstruction is doubtful from the architectural point of view (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.3.). The appearance of the ground floor of the terrace is unknown. It might have carried a building, or be at least partially an open courtyard (Burns 2007, 217).[77]

To the north of the northeast corner of the house, there was a shallow pit filled with domestic pottery of LH IIIB1 date. This feature, known as the "bothros", was probably used as a rubbish pit during the use of the building (Tournavitou 1995, 16; Siennicka 2015, 366).

Except for the Northwest Terrace, which had a floor level significantly above the rest of the house, the building most likely had only a single storey (Tournavitou 2006, 217). The existence of an upper storey above the west wing of the house is highly unlikely, due to the shallow stratigraphy of the destruction deposit in rooms 1-3, and the appearance of thin internal walls there (Tournavitou 2006, 244). The east wing probably also did not have a second storey, as suggested by deposit of debris coming probably from its roof, found in the corridor in front of room 5 (Tournavitou 2006, 256). The staircase at the north end of the corridor must have led solely to the Northwest Terrace and there is no other staircase identified in the building (Tournavitou 2006, 254).

[77] Tournavitou reconstructed a megaron over it, but that remains hypothetical, even if suggested by the course of the wall of the terrace (Tournavitou 1995, 41; see Ch. II. 6.4.2.3.).

The building was constructed on a flat terrace cut out in the bedrock, with walls of rubble masonry and a timber-framed mud-brick superstructure (Tournavitou 1995, 3–15). The evidence for decoration and elite type internal architecture in the building is rather poor, and composed only of relatively few fragments of figural frescoes, but this is probably due to Hellenistic structures overbuilding the main residential rooms (Tournavitou 1995, 7–9). Despite the poor evidence, it is clear that some of the frescoes which must have adorned the main unit were of exceptional quality and presented scenes, especially of hunting and processions, that are usually associated only with highly elite contexts (Tournavitou 2015a). The better preserved west wing was equipped with clay floors and served utilitarian functions - storage and processing of goods. A large collection of stirrup jars was found in room 1, alongside fragments of 11 Linear B tablets (Tournavitou 1995, 9–10). A large hearth built in the outer corner of room 3 suggests that part of the corridor in front of room 4, which might have served as a food storeroom, was used for cooking. The large central drain also originated there. Moreover, there was abundance of storage and cooking pottery found around the hearth and in the storerooms (Tournavitou 1995, 11–14). All of this indicates that the food preparation which must have taken place in the building was a large scale operation. This is also suggested by the content of the written records found in the building. These records were often dealing with provisions of rations to a significant number of people (Tournavitou 1995, 10). Storage, processing and distribution of the food for the work teams might have been the main function of the West House (Varias 1999, 596). On the basis of the content of the Linear B tablets, especially the repetitive occurrence of female names and mention of providing "beds" to some of them, it can also be suggested that the West House served as a residence for female workers involved in textile production occurring in the other buildings of the complex (Varias 2012, 159). This hypothesis does not exclude a possibility of the building serving also as an elite family residence for an official responsible for running the entire complex (Tournavitou 1995, 285–87, 2006, 261). In such a scenario I would suggest that while the megaron unit served as the main elite residence, the additional living quarter for workers was located either on the Northwest Terrace or over the East Terrace. The latter was probably added to the building at a later point (see Ch. II.), and the appearance of its ground floor remains unknown. However, the fact that it was a later addition suggests that it answered the need that emerged over time, for example due to increased labour demand.

The building was destroyed at the very end of LH IIIB1, in a violent fire which left the building with scorched remains of floors and walls, and covered by deep destruction deposit of burned building debris (Verdelis 1961, 12). The date of the event is indicated by a rich and

varied pottery collection, which was critical in the definition of the ceramic repertoire of LH IIIB1 phase (French 1967).[78]

6.4.2.2. House of Shields **[MYC58]**

This building was constructed most probably together with the West House **[MYC57]** or shortly after it (Tournavitou 1995, 287). This is indicated by both the pottery from the massive foundation terrace (French 1965, 185–92), and the spatial arrangement of the building in relation to the West House and other structures of the complex. It is spatially separated from the main block of structures to the south, and set on a slightly different orientation (fig. 25). It was a large, most probably rectangular building, with two elongated rectangular rooms parallel to each other and accessed from a vestibule. It almost certainly had an upper storey, as indicated by both the stratigraphy of the destruction deposit (Tournavitou 1995, 25–27), and by the thickness of the walls. An external staircase was probably attached to the south wall of the building, although its presence is evidenced only by a mass of calcined building material (Tournavitou 1995, 18). A second staircase might have been located outside the north wall of the North Room, where a low foundation wall was excavated (Tournavitou 1995, 27). The actual extent or plan of the northernmost part of the house are unknown, as they were mostly destroyed by Hellenistic structures (Tournavitou 1995, 25–28).

The crude internal arrangement, with clay floors and probably non-plastered walls and a peculiar set of finds, with only a small number of pottery vessels, suggest that the building was an important multi-functional workshop, probably involved in the processing of ivories, wood, faience and stone, as well as a storage and distribution centre for the prestigious items it produced (Tournavitou 1995, 287–89). The presence of a working area was indicated by a long clay bench, built along the entire west wall of the West Room. In this room an assemblage of stone vessels, stone inlays, stone and metal tools, with over 100 ivory objects, as well as ornaments of faience and metal were all found. Multiple ivory reliefs in form of figure-of-eight shield gave the name to the building (Wace 1954, 233–37). A single Linear B tablet, dealing with the transport of wool to Thebes, was found in the south part of the room. A deposit in the North Room yielded multiple objects of ivory, faience, bronze, as well as fragments of stone vessels, all found above the floor and most probably fallen from above. The East Room was

[78] More recently French published an article, in which she dated one vase from the building to LH IIIB2 Early (French and Stockhammer 2009, fig. 6.1). However, this can be explained by the fact that if the destruction occurred at the very end of LH IIIB1, the first examples of the new style were already in use. Although in this article French was clearly trying to change her own original destruction date of the West House (although without explicitly saying so), the fact that she showed only a single vessel from the building as LH IIIB2 Early casts a doubt on this proposal.

preserved too poorly to reconstruct its internal appearance or content, but it was identical in size to the West Room (Tournavitou 1995, 18–27). The upper storey most probably copied this arrangement of rooms, as there are no cross walls on the ground floor.

The building was destroyed by fire, which left a destruction deposit with burned mud-brick and wood, deposited directly on the floors. This strongly indicates that the fire occurred before the collapse, and thus was the main reason for the destruction (Tournavitou 1995, 18, 23).

6.4.2.3. House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]**

This building should be discussed in close relation to the West House **[MYC57]** (fig. 25). The western terrace was built first, clearly as an expansion of the latter. This is indicated by the fact that the two terraces of the building did not bond, with the walls of the eastern terrace abutting the western terrace. This is especially evident through a construction of a jog in the northeast corner of the western terrace. It linked the terrace to the House of Shields and formed a buttress, strengthening the northeast corner of the terrace, while being adjusted to the bedrock. Together with the rest of the east wall of the terrace it formed a distinct, monumental façade, with room X in the southwest corner clearly not being a part of it (Tournavitou 1995, 29–30; Burns 2007, 115–18). The pottery from the terrace dates this expansion to LH IIIB1. Moreover, there were two cross walls built between the new terrace and the West House, which formed a passage leading north to House of Shields **[MYC58]** (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.2.). The rest of the so-called House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** was added to the terrace later during the same phase (Chadwick et al. 1962, 30–32; French 1963, 49, 1965, 192–93). It was another massive terrace, which included 5 basement rooms (1-5), set along a long corridor, with a solid internal staircase (6-8) at the end (Tournavitou 1995, 38–39). This staircase was also accessible from the outside, by an external stairway attached to the east wall. Its presence is indicated by the three carved steps preserved at the bottom of the stepped foundation wall attached to the east wall of the building (Tournavitou 1995, 41). There was a drain running from the West House under the entire House of the Oil Merchant, which further proves the general construction sequence (Tournavitou 1995, 39–40).

The basements had clay floors and walls plastered with thick layers of clay (Tournavitou 1995, 28–29). Room 1 was equipped with 11 vessel stands for *pithoi*, with all of the vessels burnt, but preserved *in situ*. There was also an oval pit in the centre of the room. A single Linear B tablet found in the room was dealing with the distribution of oil. All of this suggests that the room served as a specialised storeroom for olive oil, which also suggested the name which

Wace gave to the building (Wace 1953, 9–15). Another rich collection of storage pottery, composed predominantly of stirrup jars, was found in room 4. Other rooms had more dispersed deposits, which were filled with the objects fallen from above (Tournavitou 1995, 28–38). It is possible that rooms 2 and 5 were empty before the collapse of the building, but it seems more probable that they served for storage of some perishable material, like wool. The presence of this material is indicated also by the content of 29 Linear B tablets which had fallen into room 2 (Tournavitou et al. 2015). The room above it might be an archive, while the rest of the ground floor probably served as a working area. This is indicated by a collection of metal and stone tools found in the fill along objects of ivory. Finds of spindle whorls, together with extensive records of various amounts of wool suggests that it might have been processed in the building (Tournavitou et al. 2015, 257–58, 261).

The building must have carried at least one more storey above, built of timber-framed mud-brick. This is confirmed by the building debris fallen into the basement room (Tournavitou 1995, 29). The plan of the ground floor most probably followed the general setting of the basements although rooms 3-4 and space 6-8 might have been joined together. At least some of the ground floor rooms were decorated with monochrome plaster and figural scenes and at least partially painted plaster floors (Tournavitou 1995, 280–81). Area X probably served as an open space on the ground floor, possibly a landing of the staircase leading from the basement. The function of the West Terrace area remains unknown, despite a figural fresco found in the fill. It is possible that it contained another housing unit (Tournavitou 1995, 280, 290). This building is essentially a two-phased expansion of the West House. It seems that it served as a specialised warehouse, involved in processing and distribution of olive oil and wool (Tournavitou et al. 2015, 261)

The building was destroyed by a violent fire. Its destruction deposit was dated to LH IIIB1 (French 1967, 150–52). Even some of the basement floors were burned, and the burnt matter often landed directly on them, which again testifies to the fact that the fire was strong and widespread long before the final collapse of the building (Tournavitou 1995, 30).

6.4.2.4. House of Sphinxes **[MYC60]**

This was the last building of the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** to be constructed, which is evidenced by the fact that its walls are abutting the south wall of the House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** (Chadwick et al. 1962, 32)**.** The house **[MYC60 – phase 1]** was constructed on flattened bedrock, partially excavated for the construction of basements and supported by a cyclopean terrace wall to the east (fig. 25). This formed a large foundation

terrace, adjusted to the local terrain (Tournavitou 1995, 42). All the walls of the building were also set in shallow rock-cut foundation trenches (Wace 1955, 187). The south part of the building was probably altered during its lifetime, but in general the entrance to both the basements and the ground floor was located on this side of the building. The basements were built with rubble masonry, while the upper storey was constructed of timber-framed mud-brick. Burnt remains and the contents of the superstructure collapsed into the basements when the building was destroyed by a violent fire at the end of LH IIIB1 (Tournavitou 1995, 44; French 1967, 153–57).

The basement arrangement was crude, with most of the rooms having only rock-cut floors. Only room 1 had a clay floor and a plastered west wall. It was equipped with a clay bench, with a setback on the south face, and at least three clay vessel stands. The room contained also a primary deposit of 7 clay sealings and 165 restorable vases, mostly unpainted open shapes, small piriform jars and coarse cooking ware. It might have been the main pantry of the building. Moreover, there was a secondary deposit of burned destruction debris, inside of which ca. 4600 pieces of ivory and 10 fragments of stone vases, with a few other objects of faience, metal and stone were found (Tournavitou 1995, 44–47). Among the ivories there were multiple exceptional ornaments, including a small relief of two sphinxes facing each other, which gave a name to the building (Wace 1954, 238). The room was at the end of the central corridor, which was probably entered through the porch. On the east side of the corridor was room 3, with a wide opening onto the porch. The room was also equipped with a drain (Tournavitou 1995, 59–63).

On the west side of the corridor there was small room 8, with a deposit of ca. 50 cooking, eating and drinking vessels. Finds of burned seeds, indicating food supplies, were also reported from this room. This deposit was possibly put in a cupboard under the staircase that might have been located there (Tournavitou 1995, 56–57). Behind this room there was a row of three rectangular rooms built along the east side of the corridor. There were no primary finds associated with those, but they were filled with deep burned destruction deposits inside of which objects associated with the ground floor were found. Among them were over 2000 objects of ivory, including ornaments, unfinished objects and pieces of raw material, a large collection of pumice fragments, as well as a variety of metal and stone tools, vessels and raw materials. Among these, multiple pieces of carbonised worked wood are noteworthy (Tournavitou 1995, 47–56). A group of Linear B tablets was also found in the fill, with the records focused primarily on taxation, personnel management and pottery storage (Tournavitou 1995, 292).

The main entrance to the ground floor must have been through an external staircase built along the west part of the main south wall, with the use of rock cut steps. It probably landed over room 10, which might have been primarily a structural support for this entrance area (Tournavitou 1995, 63–65). The area to the south probably served as an external courtyard, but this is uncertain due to later heavy disturbances. The ground floor must have been richly decorated, with painted plaster on the floors, and walls decorated with monochrome and patterned frescoes (Tournavitou 1995, 280). The actual plan of the ground floor remains unknown, although it must have been coordinated somehow with walls of the basements (Tournavitou 1995, 65).[79]

The House of Sphinxes **[MYC60 – phase 1]** must have served primarily as a workshop involved in processing of ivory, as indicated by thousands of pieces of the latter material. Working spaces might have been arranged on the upper storey, or in room 3, equipped with the drain. The building served also as a specialised warehouse for pottery, and probably also stone vases, which were found in significant quantities. Some perishable goods could have been also stored in basement rooms that appeared otherwise empty. There might have been an archive room on the ground floor, above room 6 where almost all of the Linear B tablets were found. An administrative function is also indicated by the presence of clay sealings in room 1, as the building must have participated in organised exchange of goods (Tournavitou 1995, 290–92). It is also possible that the building served as a secondary residential space for the complex (in addition to the West House **[MYC57]**). This is indicated by finds of domestic tools and domestic collection of pottery vessels, including few cooking pots, and remains of food supplies. At least some of the rooms on the ground floor, possibly the ones decorated with patterned frescoes, may have been used as living quarters.

Sometime after the destruction, probably not earlier than in LH IIIC Middle, the east part of the house might have been at least partially reused **[MYC60 – phase 2]**. There was a "considerable quantity of LH IIIC material" above rooms 3-5 (Tournavitou 1995, 42), and this was the area of the building that was the closest to the East House constructed in the same period (see Ch. II. 6.4.3.). A wall was constructed inside the building, with no regard to previous plan, to cut through the porch and room 3. Moreover, it seems that a short east-west wall south of the drain in room 5, was associated with the LH IIIC pottery (Tournavitou 1995, 60–62). In general, the rearrangement of this space and addition of thin internal walls of poor quality, must have occurred only after the destruction. The new walls were probably built to hold the debris

[79] Bryan Burns suggested that the ground floor of the building may have looked like the ground floor of the House of Shields, having two large open working spaces (Burns 2007, 118).

and form a basement, on top of which some additional ground floor structure, found on the east terrace wall, might have stood.[80] There is no information on the date of the final abandonment of the reoccupied building.

6.4.2.5. Summary of the complex

Most probably, occupation in the area continued without a break from the Early Mycenaean period until the end of LH IIIA, although we do not have any idea about the plan of the buildings which followed the Southwest House **[MYC56]**. LH II-IIIA material, including pottery and fresco fragments, was found underneath the House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** (Tournavitou 1995, 32). Remains of LH IIIA wall paintings were also found underneath the House of Shields **[MYC57]** (Tournavitou 1995, 281). However, the origins of those deposits are uncertain, and they may have been of secondary nature.

The West House Group complex **[MYC57-60]** was originally founded at the very beginning of LH IIIB1 as a group of two buildings: a main residential unit - the West House **[MYC57]**, and a specialised workshop and warehouse – the House of Shields **[MYC58]** (French 2002, 67; contra French et al. 2003, 53). There are several arguments for this scenario:
a) pottery from the terrace below House of Shields is considerably earlier than materials from construction levels of House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]** and House of Sphinxes **[MYC60]**, consisting mostly of LH IIIA2 Late pottery, with only few pieces of LH IIIB1, thus suggesting very beginning of LH IIIB1 as the construction date. This date seems to be in accordance with the evidence from the West House, although the latter did not have a clear foundation deposit (Chadwick et al. 1962, 28–29; French 1963, 48, 1965, 185–90);
b) architecturally, these are the only two buildings of the complex that are entirely independent;
c) the different axial arrangement of the House of Shields suggest that it was not built together with other expansions of the complex (Burns 2007, 117–18);
d) the drain which started at the West House megaron room did not go under House of Shields. It went only under the retaining wall that bonds with the north wall of House of the Oil Merchant[81];

[80] Alternatively, all of this activity might have happened immediately post-destruction, possibly to control the erosion of debris. Tournavitou, although with some reservations, suggested a situation similar to construction of the wall Ω at Plakes (Tournavitou 1995, 62). I find this very doubtful, as it seems that the east terrace wall was of much better use for that purpose. An intention to push and hold the debris, but only to form an available space in collapsed room 3 seems to be clear. Also the flimsy construction, and LH IIIC pottery in the fill around, suggest different interpretations.

[81] Tournavitou stated that his wall is then contemporary with House of the Oil Merchant, although French has previously labelled this wall as Hellenistic (Tournavitou 1995, 66; contra French 1967, fig. 1). In any case, it was

e) the line of the north façade of the western terrace of House of the Oil Merchant, built as the first expansion of the West House (see Ch. II. 6.4.2.3.), takes into account the existence of House of Shields, as otherwise one would expect it to follow the north wall of West House, as it does on the south side.[82]

The first expansion of the complex was the addition of the large, monumental East Terrace to the West House (fig. 25 and the discussion above).[83] The ground floor of the expansion is unknown, maybe it was even left open as a large external courtyard, although the presence of another structure on top of it, possibly a housing unit, cannot be excluded (Tournavitou 1995, 28–29; Burns 2007, 117). Despite the lack of information about the ground floor of this addition, it had definitely formed a key part of the new composite monumental façade of the complex (Burns 2007, 118).The East Terrace was connected to the West House by the two cross walls, forming a passage filled with large boulders, and paved with clay on top (Tournavitou 1995, 65–66). This communication route must have also led to House of Shields **[MYC58]** and refuse area to the north (Tournavitou 1995, 66).

The expansion continued later in LH IIIB1, with the addition of the east part of the House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]**, followed by construction of the partially rock-cut terrace of House of Sphinxes **[MYC60 – phase 1]** to the south (fig. 25). The latter might have appeared even immediately after the former (Burns 2007, 117–18). The area to the south of the West House was levelled, probably serving as a large external courtyard. A road leading to the Lion Gate was located immediately below the complex to the east, where a fragment of a retaining wall was preserved (Tournavitou 1995, 66–67).

The West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, from the beginning of its existence, was not only an elite residence, but also a multi-functional complex, with extensive working and storage areas. The complex was then gradually expanded, as new warehouses and workshops were constructed, possibly with some additional living quarters for the workmen or service. The new buildings, like the West House **[MYC57]**, were richly decorated, with the ground floors having painted walls and at least some of the floors plastered and painted too. Basements were arranged variously, but many had clay floors and plastered wooden door jambs. Pivots for doors were

clearly constructed over the drain at a later date, and does not prove the chronological priority of the West House over the House of Shields.

[82] All of this speaks against Burns' interpretation, in which House of Shields is built only together with House of the Oil Merchant and House of Sphinxes (Burns 2007, 115–17).

[83] This sequence was originally proposed by Burns, who correctly noticed that the jog in the north wall of the House of the Oil Merchant originally formed a buttress, strengthening the northeast corner of the terrace, and being adjusted to the bedrock (Burns 2007, 115–17). The fact that the two terraces of the House of the Oil Merchant were architecturally separate, was mentioned in the original publication by Tournavitou, who however did not draw any further conclusions on this basis (Tournavitou 1995, 29).

located in most of the rooms. This is in stark contrast with the extremely crude arrangement of the House of Shields **[MYC58]**, which should probably be associated with its earlier date or character of work performed there. Local archives functioned in West House, House of the Oil Merchant **[MYC59]**, and House of Sphinxes **[MYC60],** each involved in different aspects of functioning of the establishment (Tournavitou 1995, 257–76). Although only 17 names were mentioned on the tablets from different buildings, which suggests that the complex had a specifically defined group of people involved in its functioning, the rations listed on the tablets from the West House seem to be for a very large number of recipients (French 2002, 67).

The main tasks of the complex seem to have been the processing, storage and distribution of both prestigious materials: ivory, wood, stone, faience, and staple goods: olive oil and wool (Tournavitou et al. 2015, 261). At least some of the ivory ornaments prepared in the building might have been attached to wooden furniture. Textile production seems to be an especially important part of the activities performed, due to the frequent appearance of objects associated with it both on the Linear B tablets from the houses, and in their destruction deposits. Food was also probably prepared in the West House on a large scale (Varias 2012, 156–60). The complex was probably involved in the management and feeding of not only its own labour force, but also external suppliers. It was a key economic hub and one of the central depots of the Lower Town. The complex had a monumental form and rich internal decoration, indicating a high status. Its role in the local palatial economy must have been significant. Contrary to Burns, I see the development of this multifunctional complex in the context of supporting the palace, rather than competing with it (Burns 2007, 119). This is indicated by a remarkable synergy in development of the West House Group and other zones of the settlement during LH IIIB1, as well as the appearance of a significant amount of written records. The use of Linear B was exclusively related to acceptance of the palatial culture on the Mainland during LH IIIA (Zeman 2020, 111). One of the functions of the Linear B must have been to enable palatial control over the economic activities performed in the complexes outside of the palatial zone. Moreover, despite the relatively monumental form of the West House Group, it is small in comparison to the palace, let alone the entire Citadel. The location directly in front of the fortress also points towards a complete control which the central authority must have had over the complex. The official in charge of the complex, who probably lived with his family in the West House, must have been an important figure in the local palatial administration and definitely a member of the elite class (Mylonas 1983, 160; Tournavitou 1995, 296–98). Moreover, I would consider it possible that it was the family in charge of the West House Group

that was buried in Tomb of the Genii, the only non-royal tholos on the site that can be dated to LH IIIA2-B1 (see Ch. II. 4.3.3.).

The entire complex was destroyed in a violent conflagration at the very end of LH IIIB1. The ceramic evidence for the date of that event is abundant and well published (French 1963, 50, 1967; Tournavitou 1995, 69–122) The repertoire seems to be too early to be linked with the contexts identified as destroyed in the LH IIIB2 earthquake[84], which was nevertheless repeatedly suggested (Iakovidis 1986, 258–59; Mylonas-Shear 1987, 50). This is contradicted by the evidence of burned floors and deep, burned destruction deposits which landed directly on the floors, in each case suggesting that the fire occurred before the collapse, and was the main reason behind it. Moreover, no architectural evidence supports earthquake as the cause of the destruction (Tournavitou 1995, 298–99). The only uncertainty concerns the question of whether the houses were robbed/cleared before the fire. Wace thought so, and this seems to be supported by the small number of gold and bronze artefacts (Wace 1956a, 115). The number of ivories and stone vases was impressive, but they might have been objects simply too heavy to quickly carry out, as the ivory was probably at least partially attached to wooden furniture. Nevertheless, the valuables were deposited inside the layers of ash, and not below them, as it would have been the case if an earthquake was followed by fire (see Force 2017, tab. 2). The destruction of the West House Group could have been an isolated event, although few other contexts of the Lower Town can be linked to it (see Ch. II. 7.4.).

The partial clearing and reoccupation of the House of Sphinxes occurred during the post-palatial period, and should probably be regarded as part of the resettlement of the area during LH IIIC Middle, evidenced mostly by the construction of the East House (see Ch. II. 6.4.3.).

6.4.3. East House **[MYC61]**

The building was partially uncovered by Verdelis, and then systematically investigated by Tournavitou (Petrakos 2015, 27–45; Tournavitou 2015b). It is the latest known Mycenaean house built outside the citadel wall, located immediately to the southeast of the House of Sphinxes **[MYC60]**, on the other side of the Mycenaean road which cut through the area (Tournavitou 2015b, 37).

The area was heavily overbuilt with Hellenistic walls, and thus the plan of the building is not well understood. It consisted of at least 3 rectangular rooms: a large main room built on the east-west axis, attached from the north by at least two elongated rooms parallel to each

[84] This is indicated mostly by the fact that there is only a single vessel identified as Group B deep bowl in the entire large collection from the complex (French and Stockhammer 2009, fig. 6.1).

other, probably with a large open courtyard to the south. There was an artificial hollow, and a low wall built between bedrock outcrops in the south part of the courtyard, probably for collection of rain water (Tournavitou 2015b, 50). The main room was furnished with a large rectangular hearth, a bench, and a platform, serving as a kitchen or working areas. Finds included domestic pottery with cooking ware, few tools and ivories. The most extraordinary find was a Linear B tablet, although its dating is uncertain, and it probably originated from the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** (Tournavitou et al. 2015, 47). The source of ivories may be similar. The building was almost certainly an independent residential unit.

The series of clay floors and destruction deposits from building's interior, together with a dump deposit from the east part of the courtyard, confirm four occupational phases, from LH IIIC Middle to Late, interrupted by destructions, at least one of which was caused by fire. The building was then finally abandoned, probably only in LH IIIC Late. (Tournavitou 2015b, 43–48).

6.5. Panagia Ridge – South Area

Only four areas were excavated along the south part of Panagia ridge, far away from each other (fig. 4). Lisa's House **[MYC62]** was on the west slope of the ridge, while House of Lead **[MYC66]** was located on the southern tip of the ridge's summit. They were both only partially excavated by Wace, and remain unpublished (Wace 1949, 127, 1956a, 119–21). Another building was not excavated but only located during surveys, in the area known as Makri Lithari **[MYC67-68]** (French et al. 2003, 56–57). The most significant structures excavated in the area are Houses I **[MYC63]**, II **[MYC64]** and III **[MYC65]**, which together form the complex of Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65],** located on the southeast slope of the ridge, immediately to the north of the Treasury of Atreus**.** They were excavated in the 1960's by Mylonas and Ione Mylonas-Shear (Mylonas 1966b, 65–66, 1966c, 104–6, 1967, 94–95, 1968b, 111), who has later comprehensively published the remains and their content (Mylonas-Shear 1987).

6.5.1. Lisa's House **[MYC62]**

This building is only tentatively recognised. Part of it was excavated by Wace in 1939, but most of the documentation and the material were lost after the second World War (Wace 1949, 127). However, the location and chronology of the building can be suggested on the basis of a pile of discarded pottery with significant quantities of LH IIIB1 material, found near the Epano Phournos tholos tombs (French et al. 2003, 46). This is close to a place roughly indicated by a diagram from a 1939 notebook, and a location described by Wace (Wace 1949, 46). The

only other available information concerns the pottery repertoire, which according to Wace was a domestic collection which included a cooking tripod (Wace 1949, 127).

6.5.2. Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**

This is a complex of three buildings, traditionally interpreted as three independent units, non-elite households of three separate families (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 144–56). This view is challenged below, on the basis of a detailed review of the published data.

6.5.2.1. House I **[MYC63]**

House I was constructed at the very beginning of LH IIIB1, as the first part of the Panagia Houses complex (fig. 27). The building covered some earlier LH IIIA2 architecture with clay floors, of unknown form and function (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 26). The building had modest form, with walls of mudbrick on rubble masonry set directly on bedrock and decorated with monochrome wall paint only. All the floors were clay, with no doors, stone or wooden thresholds or any other complex features. The building consisted of an external courtyard (1), with two rows of rooms around a long corridor (6), although only the part west of the corridor was fully excavated. On this side of the corridor, a megaron-type unit was located, with a vestibule (3), serving as the main entrance point of the house, main room (5), and a rear basement room (7) behind (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 16–24). The staircase in the corridor led to an upper storey, that must have existed at least above room 7, which had no ground floor doorway (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 20–21). Room 5 was the main domestic space with a hearth and an area for food preparation, where a chimney pot, cooking tripods and an assemblage of domestic pottery were found (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 17–19). The function of the east part remains unknown, but some workshop activity possibly took place in room 2, where a drain was located. A single female terracotta figurine was also found in this room (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 22). Room 7 must have been a storeroom. No finds were associated with it, thus it was probably used for the storage of perishable goods, probably in non-ceramic containers. The arrangement of the space above room 7 remains uncertain. The location at the back of the house and the stairway setting similar to that of Northwest Terrace in the West House supports interpreting this as a private space, possibly a sleeping chamber (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 20–21).[85] However,

[85] Nevertheless, the reconstruction of this sleeping chamber proposed by Mylonas-Shear, with the room above room 7 interpreted as a balcony-type space, directly accessible from room 5, is purely speculative and based on questionable comparisons to the palace at Pylos and the Homeric description of Odysseus' palace. There is also no evidence that room 7 itself would be used as a storeroom for any highly prestigious items, which was also suggested by Mylonas-Shear on the same grounds (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 20–21).

it is also possible that the function of the space above room 7 was different, or that it was only a functional roof and a passage to other roofs of the complex (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.4.).

The house was probably destroyed in an earthquake, as evidenced by a skeleton covered by stones found in the doorway of the main room, probably the body of a woman killed by the collapsing structure. The building was never rebuilt, and thus this part of the complex was abandoned (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 19). No traces of fire were found in the remains. Stirrup jars from the floor deposit of room 5 are similar to examples from the House of the Oil Merchant, and thus can be of the same date (Mylonas-Shear 1987, pl. 28).

6.5.2.2. House II **[MYC64]**

The area was overbuilt in LH IIIB1, probably shortly after House I was constructed, with the same form of construction. The building **[MYC64 – phase 1]** covered some earlier remains of LH IIIA date, with only few walls identified, mainly the thick corner underneath the floors of room 8 (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 66). It was an extension of House I, which added new working, storage and possibly living areas to the household.[86] The building was composed of a series of crude, poorly arranged rooms, without any evidence even for the plastering of walls. Domestic spaces were probably mixed with storerooms, but in general, no other function than residential can be confirmed, as both production and storage did not necessarily exceed the needs of the extended household.

Originally this part of the complex probably consisted of series of five rooms (8, 10, 11, 12, 13) built around an internal open courtyard (9), with a large hearth and access to the drain. This was probably a communal working area, maybe for food preparation. Room 10, located behind the west wall of the courtyard, did not have any doorway leading to the latter, and had obviously communicated through a doorway with rough stone threshold with the rooms to the south (27-38) (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 31; see Ch. II. 6.5.2.3.). To the north of the courtyard there was a narrow corridor (14), which turned east and then again north. The northernmost part of this corridor probably formed a long ramp which served as the main entrance to this part of the complex, leading to doorway in the north wall of room 8 and to the corridor joining with the

[86] The interpretation of this building by Mylonas-Shear has various problems (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 45–46). She interpreted the doorway in the south wall of room 10 as a later alteration of phase 2, in which room 10 would be supposedly passed from House II to III (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 46). However, there is no archaeological evidence for this, and the idea of the room being transferred from one house to the other, is highly questionable. There is also no evidence for neither of the two stairways she reconstructs in this building - one between rooms 9 and 10, and the other south of room 8. These communication routes are needed for justification of the interpretation and reconstruction of the house as a megaron-type unit, but lack the support of any material evidence.

courtyard (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 35, 46).[87] To the west of ramp 5 additional storerooms were arranged (15-17 as one room, 18, 19, 21, 23 as individual rooms), which must have been accessed through rooftops (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 38–44). Room 21 had a modest child burial set underneath the bench built of stones and soil (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 43).

The first phase ends with a destruction which must have been the same earthquake that was behind the collapse of House I. It is evidenced by the moved foundations of the east wall of room 11 and lack of fire traces on any of the earlier floors. Moreover the following rebuilding and alterations of the plan suggest that a significant part of the building collapsed (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 44–45).

The building **[MYC64 – phase 2]** was quickly rebuilt and its arrangement was changed (fig. 28). The courtyard (9) was roofed and transformed into the main room of the house. This is suggested by the fact that only one floor level was found in the room despite testing. Moreover, it is obvious that the two columns located next to the hearth were added to the arrangement only during this phase. This is shown by the fact that their stone bases were embedded in the clay floor of the room. The presence of this feature, is best explained by the need to support a roof over a large area that was previously open. The earlier hearth was covered with a new one of the same type. The pavement of flat stones set in the corner of the room were probably set to arrange some working space, possibly to continue the activity that occurred there when it was an open space under the roof. The short east wall, going over the drain which originated in House III, was probably also added only at this point, to close this gap and form the actual room. This is suggested by the fact that this wall does not bond with other walls around it (Mylonas-Shear 1987, pl. 8A). The room was probably still used for household production and food preparation. This is suggested by finds of metal tools, pieces of melted lead, carbonised seeds and cooking pottery. A collection of other domestic ceramic vessels as well as few ornaments were also found on the floor of the room. A broken seal-stone was found in room 8, although not forming part of any floor deposit (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 28–31).

In rooms 10, 11, 12, 18, and 23 there were no new floors laid, and no traces of fire which ended this phase. Thus they were probably abandoned after the first destruction. The north part of the building was rebuilt in a different arrangement, consisting of a series of smaller storerooms (15, 16, 17), and an additional room built on the terrace above (20). Of those rooms

[87] The possibility of reconstructing the main entrance to the building as a ramp leading to room 8 from the north was mentioned by Mylonas-Shear, but she has found it to be less convincing than her interpretation of the entrance being located in the south wall of room 8. However, existence of an entrance at the north side of the building is supported by the evidence in the form of an opening in the north wall of room 8. It also finds a good parallel in Petsas House, where the main entrance was also arranged with a ramp (see Ch. II. 6.3.3.).

only one, 17, had a doorway leading into the corridor, thus the rest must have been still accessed through the roofs (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 31–43). There was probably no actual full-scale second floor above those rooms, as the walls are rather thin, and no staircase was identified in the area. Stratigraphy also does not support the existence of a second floor, as the clay fragments of roof were found on top of the destruction deposit, which was also not very deep (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 38–41). The rooms were filled with burned debris, inside of which a variety of metal and stone tools were found, and the collection of domestic pottery with few storage vessels, as well as remains of food supplies were all found. There were three clay sealings located on the floor of room 15, but overall it remains uncertain which objects actually belonged to rooms assemblages and which have fallen from the roofs (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 41–42).

This phase ends with a destruction by fire, which must have occurred in the later part of LH IIIB, probably at its very end. The fire left collapsed building debris, which included an abundance of burned mud-brick (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 46–47). Only after this destruction, the complex ceased to exist, replaced by two more independent units (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.4.).

After the building of the second phase was burned, habitation moved further up the slope to the west **[MYC64 – phase 3]** (fig. 29). The previously abandoned room 23 was re-established with new walls, together with a new corridor (22), and probably a small staircase which provided access to a new room (25) built higher up on the slope. Area 22-23 was rebuilt with the use of the repaired north wall of 11-12, and the west wall of 20-21 (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 64–65). This reoccupation occurred shortly after the fire which ended the previous phase, already in LH IIIC Early. This date is suggested by a small deposit from room 23, which contained two cups of LH IIIB2 Late/LH IIIC Early date (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 66, pl. 19, fig. 10). However, in general the northwest area of excavations was extremely poorly preserved, with no actual floor or destruction deposits and only partially uncovered, thus the interpretation of the architectural sequence is not certain.[88] No reason or date for abandonment of this last phase of the building is known, but it probably shared the occupational history of House III (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.3.). A few burials of unknown date were found in the rooms of the third phase. Judging from the situation in other sites of the Lower Town, they might be of the LH IIIC date, but that remains uncertain.

[88] Mylonas-Shear regarded those rooms as an entirely separate building, but shared walls and architectural sequence indicating continuity testify against it (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 64).

6.5.2.3. House III **[MYC65]**

This building formed a southwest part of the complex developed around House I.[89] It should be analysed in close connection to both Houses I and II. It forms a series of small rooms with clay floors and crude arrangement without any decoration. There is no evidence for a mud-brick superstructure in this part of the complex, but it must have existed. The shallow, mostly eroded fill and poor preservation of the walls, especially of the east part of the building, makes all interpretations problematic. This part of the complex was probably originally developed in LH IIIB1, together with House II, not long after the original construction of House I. It covered some earlier remains, probably of LH IIIA date preserved fragmentarily in the form of the west drain in room 30 and walls below room 35 (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 55, pl. 15A).

The first phase of this part of the complex **[MYC65 – phase 1]** consisted of a series of rooms arranged along the terrace to the west (28-31), which communicated with each other and had a direct access to room 10 of House II, and another set of basement rooms (35-38), covering the large central drain originating in room 31, and providing access to the space above room 7 through the roof (fig. 27). There was most probably a small staircase (34), or maybe even just a trapdoor with a ladder, providing access from the roof to the floor level of room 33. The latter led to room 29 and to the open courtyard formed between the storerooms to the west and House I to the east (27, 32).

After the earthquake which destroyed House I and parts of House II, House III **[MYC65 – phase 2]** went through significant alterations (fig. 28). New floors were laid in some of the rooms, some of which were now made not of clay but of packed earth. An additional west wall in room 29 and a buttress in room 28 were built probably to support the construction (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 53–54). The west part of the building was altered, with courtyard space now limited to area 27, and a new room (32) built in front of it, while the doorway in the east wall of room 29 was blocked (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 54). Room 32 was equipped with a stone bench, built with the use of clay mortar, a technique used also to construct the west wall of room 29. This new room provided then the only access to 33, which remained in use (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 56–58). The small staircase 34 remained in use, and still provided access to the rooftop of rooms 35-38, which was now most probably connected with the newly built roof of room 9 (see Ch. II. 6.5.5.2.). The old west wall of room 38 collapsed, probably due to the earthquake. However,

[89] Reconstruction of this building as an independent household by Mylonas-Shear depends entirely on a supposed existence of an upper floor, with a megaron-type Mycenaean house (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 61–63). There is no evidence for such an upper floor, nor for a staircase she reconstructed in the east part of courtyard 27. She also ignored the fact that there is a doorway between rooms 31 and 10 (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.2.).

it was rebuilt on the same course and with the same form, which suggests that despite its modest appearance, it was of key structural importance, probably for the support of the roof. The collapsed wall buried the central drain, which was not found in this part, and probably was already not used during this phase (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 58–59). That is suggested also by an early LH IIIB pottery assemblage linked to its use (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 50), and the fact the stone slabs that were originally covering the drain in rooms 30 and 31, were partially removed (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 55–56).

This architectural sequence, and identification of the building as part of the larger complex are evidenced by a number of architectural and stratigraphic observations:

a) there was an earlier wall below the south wall of 36, built on the same axis and continuing further east to the west wall of room 7. This wall was linked closely to the drain which abutted its north face (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 59–60). Thus this wall, together with the drain, must belong to the original arrangement of phase 1;

b) there was also an earlier wall below the east wall of space 34, which bonded with the south wall of room 35, thus proving that the entire arrangement of area 34 and room 35 also belongs to phase 1 (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 58–59, pl. 15A);[90]

c) area 34 is too small to form a regular room, while it is perfectly sized and located to function as a communication route;

d) the presence of a buttress at the east end of south wall of room 35, and the widening of the north wall of 35, and the construction of walls dividing rooms 36 from 37, and 37 from 38 all suggests that this part of the building needed structural support (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 60);

e) the building was connected to House I by the east wall of room 33, which bonds with the buttress on the south wall of 35. The former wall directly joined with the west wall of room 5, probably to further merge the roofs of two parts of the complex, as the space to the east of room 35, formed by this wall, was too small and isolated to serve any specific function;

f) the difference in the number of the floors strongly indicates the difference in the occupational history of the rooms. There were three clear floor levels in rooms 29-31, indicating a long use of the area. No preserved floor was reported from room 28, but the threshold of the east doorway is covered in the same type of earth-packed covering which forms the latest floor of 29. Room 32 had only one floor level. Finally, room 33 apparently had two floor levels, a hard-packed earth layer, later covered with clay (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 56–58).

[90] The walls visible on the plan inside room 35 were below its foundations and thus certainly they belong to some earlier structure (Mylonas-Shear 1987, pl. 15A).

g) section A-A of the complex (fig. 30), indicates that a roof over room 7 would be on a level that could provide access to the space to the west, located higher on the slope. This is especially probable if the area of rooms 35-38 was overbuilt only with low, basement-type rooms, as indicated by their appearance.

h) at the same time those rooms constituted the only part of the building which could have supported an upper floor, the existence of which is however still not evidenced by any corresponding destruction debris in the fill. Other parts of the complex lack stratigraphical and structural evidence for any upper floor.

There were no floor deposits preserved in the building, and thus the finds cannot suggest any specific function for the rooms. Rooms 30 and 31 had access to the drain, and together with rooms 29 and 28 formed an easily accessible row of ground floor cells, possibly used for processing of some materials. The bench from room 32 can also indicate some economic activity. The basement rooms 35-38 could have been only used for storage, albeit even this is doubtful due to their small size, irregular form and presence of the drain. It seems most probable that they were used only as structural support for the roof. However overall, the function of this part of the complex remains unknown. Neither storage capacity, nor the working space provided by this building did necessarily exceed the needs of the extended household (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.4.).

The fire which burned House II, did not reach House III, as there were no traces of it in the latter building. It might have been abandoned for a short period of time, but then clearly continued to be occupied **[MYC65 – phase 3]** (fig. 29). It is possible that some more alterations to the building took place then, but this is unclear. In my opinion it is more probable that all of the east part of the building was abandoned, and occupation concentrated to the west, where new floors were laid (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 55–56). This last phase of occupation might have lasted until the end of LH IIIC Early. There are no floor deposits to support this, but the lack of Close Style pottery fragments of LH IIIC Middle in the fill can suggest that the area was abandoned by that period (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 3). However, no reason for the abandonment is known.

6.5.2.4. Summary of the complex

The interpretation of this complex by Mylonas-Shear as a group of three separate, independent houses of similar plans was heavily influenced by her typological approach to Mycenaean architecture, and reliance on information from the "Odyssey" (Mylonas-Shear

1987, 144–56).[91] In general, Mylonas-Shear ignored the fact that the supposedly separate houses shared multiple walls and a large central drain. Moreover, she assumed the presence of multiple additional elements of construction, which would be necessary to form three separate megaron-type units, but they otherwise did not appear in the archaeological record.[92] Thus, a complete reanalysis of the complex and reinterpretation of its form is proposed below, based on detailed information on the stratigraphy, architecture and finds, provided by the excavator (Mylonas-Shear 1987).

The complex started to develop at the beginning of LH IIIB1, when a new building – House I **[MYC63]**, was constructed in the area (fig. 27). It was a simple single-storey house and the main residential unit of the first phase. It is unclear if some of the LH IIIA remains in the area (one of the drains in 30, walls below 35 and 8), belong to structures which functioned together with this unit, and were simply dismantled to make room for new establishment, or if they form an entirely separate earlier phase of the local occupational sequence, which would then last probably until the end of LH IIIA2. The former interpretation is supported by the fact that the distribution of those remains resemble the plan of the later extension of the complex. It is thus possible that there were additional storage and working areas organised around the main unit from the very beginning of the complex's existence.

Sometime later, but still during LH IIIB1, the building was developed into a larger complex **[MYC63-65]**. The south part of the extension **[MYC65 – phase 1]** comprised a set of five rooms built against a terrace wall to the west (28-31, 10), connected to the original unit by a small staircase (34) and low basement rooms (35-28), which covered the central drain added to the complex and linked the roofs of the extension to the original house. The staircase led to the vestibule (33), and to another small external courtyard (27, 32). To the north, there was another set of rooms constructed around an open internal courtyard with a hearth **[MYC64 – phase 1]**. The latter probably served as a new communal working area, with access to the drain and the hearth. Around it, rooms for storage (11, 12) and possibly habitation (13) were constructed. Another large vestibule room (8), with doorways to the west and north, limited the courtyard from the east. A narrow courtyard went around the northwest part of this room, and

[91] Problems in confirming this view in the archaeological record have been previously noticed in the literature (Darcque 2005, 317; Burns 2007, 113–14).

[92] In order to interpret rooms 27-38 as a separate house, a doorway between 31 and 10 has to be filled, and the entire upper floor of a megaron-type plan has to be reconstructed, together with an external staircase in area 27 (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 61). For rooms 8-18 to be interpreted as a separate house of a standardised plan, an external staircase has to be added to the south of room 8, while another internal staircase has to be put between rooms 9 and 10. Mylonas-Shear also put a doorway in the east wall of 8, and fills the missing part of its north wall, in order to further reinforce the restoration of the central axis of the building. She also excluded rooms 22-25 from her interpretation of House II.

behind its corner it met with the entrance ramp, leading to the main doorway in the north wall of room 8. Along this ramp another part of the complex was arranged. A large room (15-17) was set against another terrace wall to the northwest and probably served for habitation or work, while smaller rooms set around it were designed for storage (18, 19, 21, 23). All of these rooms must have communicated through the roofs and trapdoors, with the main communication route going along the terrace wall to the west (28-31, 10), through the roof link over the drain (35-38), on to the roof of the main house (7).

The reason behind this expansion might be an extension of the family, elevation of its status or a need to expand economic activities. Only domestic finds from House I are associated with this phase. It ends with a strong earthquake, which completely destroyed the main house, leaving a female victim crushed in a doorway of the main room (5) by the collapsing structure. Some of the walls in the rest of the complex also collapsed (36, 11-12), or even moved out alignment with their foundations (11). The destruction deposit from the main room of the original house (5), together with a few other small deposits, date the event to the middle of LH IIIB. Most probably it should be equated with the LH IIIB2 Early destruction horizon, which affected multiple other buildings across the site.

House I was left in ruins after the catastrophe. The fact that one of the victims of the catastrophe was left under the debris is of interest. Although it could have been used to suggest that the new inhabitants of the complex were somehow disassociated from the family who lived in House I, it seems more plausible that reason was that the women buried under the debris was of low social status, being probably a slave. This is also indicated by the fact that there were no finds associated with the skeleton, thus the women probably did not wear any ornaments or other valuables on her.

The complex was rebuilt with a new plan, after the original housing unit (3-7) was abandoned, together with some of the other rooms (10-12, 18, 19, 23; fig. 28). The south part of the complex **[MYC65 – phase 2]** was re-established, with new floors laid in the rooms along the west terrace (28-31), and an entire new room built (32), which limited the space of the courtyard there (27). The central drain was partially buried under the collapsed wall and its use was abandoned. Working areas in this part of the complex, previously probably located in rooms with access to the drain (30, 31), could have been moved to the southernmost rooms, equipped with benches (28, 32). A buttress (in 28) and an additional thick wall (in 29) were also constructed to strengthen the southwest corner of the building, possibly damaged by the earthquake (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 53–54). A new wall was also built in the central area (34, 36), above the abandoned drain, probably to remake the staircase, and form a roof support. The

latter was important for a communication with the north part of the complex. It remains unclear if the basement rooms (35-38) in this area were actually used for storage at the time.

The new communication route led to the roof of a new main unit (9), probably covered only then and transformed from an open courtyard into a proper room, although it was still equipped with a hearth and had an access to the last, probably still used part of the central drain. In the north, the space was divided with a set of new, small storage rooms (15, 16, 17, 20, 21), only one of which had doorways (17), while others had to be accessed through the roofs. A large vestibule room of this part of the complex (8) was probably still in use in this phase, despite there is no evidence that it had a new floor laid. However the good quality clay floor of phase 1 could have simply remained in use. Also, from an architectural perspective, its wall must have still been an important part of the structure. The same regards the smaller room to the north of the main room (13), the walls of which must have been in use, to support the roof. The corridor (14), and an entrance ramp (east of rooms 15-17), must have remained in use, also to give access to the doorway of the northernmost storeroom (17).

The complex was probably the dwelling of an extended family. They had access to some valuable goods, like metal tools, glass jewellery, and even a few gold objects, as well as the ability and opportunity to store larger amounts of goods in multiple storage rooms. They participated in the palatial system of distribution of goods, or some other system of organised exchange, as indicated by three sealings found in room 15 and a broken seal-stone from 8. The family probably had also slaves or other servants who would have occupied some parts of the complex. However, it remains uncertain if the storage or production capabilities of the complex exceeded the needs of an extended household (*contra* Mylonas-Shear 1987, 62–63; Efkleidou 2021, 29). It is possible, given the amount and arrangement of space, but the number of finds which would confirm such a hypothesis is small. There were few storage vessels or tools found in the buildings, without any unfinished objects or significant amounts of raw materials. It is also uncertain if the status of the inhabitants changed between the first and the second phase of occupation. The small number of finds associated with the first phase prevents any analysis of changes of the content of the buildings and changes of the architectural form do not suggest any difference of status. The fact that after the rebuilding the complex was much smaller than in the original arrangement (477 m2 vs 270 m2), might be associated simply a lower number of the inhabitants.

A few isolated walls of the LH IIIB date were located to the south and north of the complex, together with the existence of a solid terrace wall to the east, and another one to the

northwest, suggest that it is a part of a larger settlement area, probably extending along the entire east slope of the Panagia ridge (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 66).

The second phase ends with a violent fire, which left a burned destruction deposit across the north part of the complex (9, 15, 16, 17, 20). The date of the event is probably the very end of LH IIIB, although the destruction deposits from House II **[MYC64 – phase 2]** are not particularly rich and this assessment is not obvious (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 46–47).[93]

The third occupational phase manifests itself with new floors set in the southwest area, along the terrace wall **[MYC65 – phase 3]** (29-31, probably 28 too). The four rooms there are probably the only ones of the previous phase still in use, while the rest of the complex was abandoned (fig. 29). However, new rooms were constructed to the northwest **[MYC64 – phase 3]**, with the use of repaired walls destroyed in the earthquake (north wall of 11-12) and later in the fire (west wall of 20-21). It is not certain if the two areas still in use during this phase functioned together as one complex. Communication between them could be then established through the doorway in room 31, but they could have also formed two independent households. No reason for their final abandonment is known, but it probably occurred before the beginning of LH IIIC Middle (see Ch. II. 6.5.2.3.). None of the four burials located within the complex could be clearly dated, but all of them, except from the infant's grave under the bench in room 21, seem to post-date the use of the household.

6.5.3. House of Lead **[MYC66]**

This is a poorly preserved and only partially excavated structure, known only from a preliminary report (Wace 1956a). The preserved part consists of a large foundation terrace built in the cyclopean style, with a wide entrance ramp attached to its northeast corner. Traces of two rooms were identified inside the terrace. They were partially subterranean with only tamped-earth and rock-cut floors, probably forming basement storerooms (contra Aulsebrook 2015, 202). The size and general form of the remains, a set of decorated domestic and storage vessels, together with few metal finds, suggest that the terrace supported a household of high status (Wace 1956a, 119–21).

LH IIIA deposits with pottery and fragments of painted plaster were discovered below the floors and against the south wall of the terrace (Wace 1956a, 121). Their presence suggest that the area was inhabited already before the construction of the House of Lead **[MYC66]**,

[93] Mylonas-Shear stated that the fire must have occurred before the end of LH IIIB, on the basis of the material from underneath the floors of the third phase. However, the sherds do not actually force that (Mylonas-Shear 1987, pls 50A, 50B, 51A). Moreover, some vessels from floor deposits of room 9 and 17 seem to date to LH IIIB2 Late, thus supporting the destruction date at the end of LH IIIB (see Mylonas-Shear 1987, pls 22:70, 28:117, 28:118).

which was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIB1 (French 1963, 48). Traces of fire, and the similarity of the pottery from the destruction deposit to the material from the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, suggest that this building was probably also burned at the end of LH IIIB1 (Wace 1956a, 120; French 1963, 50; Iakovidis 1986, 249; Aulsebrook 2015, 203–4).[94]

6.5.4. Makri Lithari Complex **[MYC67-68]**

It is a very poorly recognised complex of two buildings – the West Building **[MYC67]** and the East Building **[MYC68]**, probably divided by a central courtyard. Both buildings were cleared in 1992, but no further research followed, and the materials were never published in detail (French et al. 2003, 56–57). They were previously interpreted as a road running between two parts of a gate (Steffen 1884). This hypothesis is problematic, due to both the location of the complex above a steep ridge, and the form of the complex. Its walls were not particularly well-built, and the space between the buildings being much too wide for a Mycenaean road. Thus, the function remains unknown. The plan, with a series of parallel walls forming longitudinal areas, was not published, but it supposedly does not resemble any known Mycenaean architecture (French et al. 2003, 56–57; French 2009, 59). Most of the collected survey material was of Late Helladic date, thus the buildings are considered to be Mycenaean, but no other information on the occupational history is available (French et al. 2003, 57).

6.6. Southwest bank of Khavos

The terraces which spread along the southwest bank of Khavos, directly below the west slope of the Acropolis hill, have long held the possibility of covering Mycenaean settlement underneath deep alluvial deposits (Stamos and Maggidis 2006, 158–59).The area was investigated by Maggidis between 2007 and 2013 (Petrakos 2015, 46–50). An intensive geophysical survey was followed by excavations which were supposed to uncover the Lower Town of Mycenae.[95] The results of the excavations are only fragmentarily known, as the final publication remains under preparation.

A number of structures were uncovered, but they were mostly of Protogeometric – Archaic date (fig. 31). Although this data is crucial for understanding of the post-Mycenaean history of the site, the remains that could have been associated with the Lower Town of LH Mycenae, were scarce. Moreover, not a single building could have been securely identified

[94] Despite a suggestion of Mylonas-Shear, there is no evidence for earthquake related damage (Mylonas-Shear 1968, 126–27).

[95] http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html, access on 13.06.2022. The website of the project provided most of the information on the result of excavations, as the available preliminary field reports are brief.

among them. The walls identified as Mycenaean appear to form a sequence of retaining walls. Despite the fact that more structures were tentatively recognised on the terraces by the geophysical survey (Stamos and Maggidis 2006, 160–65), the results of the excavations suggest that the area was not used for regular occupation during the Mycenaean period. I would rather suggest that it formed an outer zone of the settlement, most probably associated with agricultural activities. A similar area, also crisscrossed by long parallel retaining walls and located directly over the stream running next to the settlement, was also more recently identified at Ayios Vasileios. It was also interpreted as terraces for agricultural production, albeit only tentatively and solely on the basis of the results of a geophysical survey (de Neef et al. 2022, 33–34).

6.7. Plakes **[MYC69]**

The area known as Plakes is located on the north side of the Kokoretsa ravine, opposite the Acropolis hill. It was cut by a Mycenaean road leading north from the Citadel of Mycenae (fig. 1). The area constitutes the northernmost part of the site with a defined Mycenaean building. The latter, located ca. 120 m in a straight line from the north Citadel wall, is known as the Plakes House **[MYC69]**. It was systematically excavated and later comprehensively published by Iakovidis (Iakovidis 2013a). There was probably another smaller building located immediately to the south, but only two of its walls were found in the trial trenches (Iakovidis 2013a, 273). However, its presence suggests that occupation in the area was dense.

The building was a single-phase unit, constructed at the very beginning of LH IIIB1 (Iakovidis 2013a, 315). It was set on the slope, and organised on three levels, adjusted to the steep terrain. The main row of five ground floor rooms (3-7) built on an artificial fill, was set underneath a terrace with two elongated rooms (1-2) cut out in the bedrock, and above a series of four or five basement rooms (8-11/12), set on a terrace below. No evidence for any upper storey was found, but additional rooms of the ground floor probably existed above the basements, and the material from those eroded down the slope (Iakovidis 2013a, 273). The rubble masonry walls were overbuilt by a superstructure of timber-framed mudbrick. The upper storerooms had rock-cut floors, partially covered with plaster and clay. The ground floor was the most elaborately furnished, with plastered floors and walls, some of which were painted with monochrome and figural frescoes, although the latter were of lower quality than the decorations from inside the Citadel of the West House Group. The basements (8-12) had only floors of tamped-earth (Iakovidis 2013a, 273–74, 308–14).

The south side of the building was bordered by an elongated front courtyard, with a solid stone staircase and the central drain, which originated from room 1. The upper storerooms were probably accessible directly from the courtyard, while the ground floor communicated with the staircase, which led to an elongated vestibule – room 3. Room 4, located immediately behind the vestibule, was considered by Iakovidis to be a bathroom of a high standard, decorated with a figural scene of male procession (Iakovidis 2013a, 279–80). It was equipped with a clay larnax inside a stone enclosure, a stone platform, two stone stands, and another stone enclosure which must have been some form of a built container. A good quality plaster floor was preserved over the entire room. Room 5, also decorated with frescoes, was probably the main domestic space, with a roof support set on a conglomerate stone base, and a hearth embedded in a plastered support. In room 6 there was a very good evidence for a timber-framed mud-brick superstructure, with a wooden window set in the east wall, all covered in painted plaster decoration, which preserved imprints of wooden beams (Iakovidis 2013a, 279–84). The basement rooms were all filled with deep destruction deposits of building debris and a collection of pottery, tools and ornaments that must have originated from the ground floor (Iakovidis 2013a, 286–88). Particularly noteworthy was a collection of ca. 150 terracotta figurines, a seal stone of black steatite and three ivory styluses were among the small finds (Iakovidis 2013a, 307–8). The building went through only a few minor architectural alterations throughout the periods of its use, and did not experience any destruction prior its final destruction (Iakovidis 2013a, 294–95).

Evidence for the earthquake destruction is particularly convincing in this house. It comprises walls leaning to the side, moved foundations, parts of rooms carried down the slope, and skeletons of five victims. Two adults from room 9 were obviously killed during the collapse, a child from room 10 was buried in the debris after its skull was smashed and flattened. Another child died in room 11, possibly after being trapped there during the collapse (Iakovidis 2013a, 295–96). No traces of burning were found (Iakovidis 2013a, 275). After the destruction the site was partially cleared, and a large part of the destruction deposit was thrown into the courtyard. Retaining wall Ω was built along the west edge of the collapsed building, most probably to prevent the debris from tumbling down the slope (Iakovidis 2013a, 291). The debris was also cleared of any valuable goods (Iakovidis 2013a, 307). The fact that some of the victims were left behind in the debris, together with lack of any finds on them, suggest that they might have been of very low social status. The date of the destruction is based on the rich collection of pottery from the house, which spanned from LH IIIB1 to LH IIIB2 Early (Iakovidis 2013a, 315–16).

Iakovidis speculated that it might have been a house of a palatial scribe, due to the ivory styluses found in the destruction debris (Iakovidis 2013a, 316). Although this hypothesis is tempting, there is no other evidence that would testify to any specific occupation of the inhabitants. The building was definitely a residential unit, which is apparent from both the spatial and internal arrangement as well as a domestic collection of finds. The status of the house is debatable. Certainly it possessed some of the architectural elements usually associated with elite contexts, and had a significant storage space, but conversely it was in total small and rather modest structure.

7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Mycenae

In this subchapter, a detailed overview of the history of the palatial town of Mycenae is presented, on the basis of the evidence from the fortifications, funerary landscape and buildings discussed above. The history of the LBA settlement at Mycenae can be divided into five general phases: the early development during MH III and the Early Mycenaean period, the transitional formative period in LH IIIA1, followed by three consecutive phases of the palatial town during LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, and then a long decomposition phase of the palatial town in LH IIIC (tab. 2).

7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH III – LH II)

The distribution of pottery on the Acropolis hill indicates the development of the settlement during the Neolithic, EH and MH periods (French 2002, 26). In addition, MH phases are further documented by architectural and mortuary remains. Despite the fact that walls of supposedly MH date were found in several locations (under the Pillar Basement, House of Columns, House Delta), nothing precise can be said about the spatial arrangement of the summit at that time (Shelton 2010c, 58–60). Outside of the Acropolis, walls dating to the MH period were identified north, west and south of the summit, in particular under the West House (Southwest House **[MYC56]**), and as far away as on the Kalkani hill (Shelton 2010c, 58, 61; French et al. 2003, 26, 46–48). A concentration of simple MH burials can be found in the Prehistoric Cemetery, on the west and northwest slopes of the Acropolis (Alden 2000; French 2002, 31; French and Shelton 2005, 178; Shelton 2010c, 61–62).

The end of the MH period brought an increase in wealth and a general change in mortuary practices, first apparent in the tombs of Grave Circle B (MH III – LH I). The gradual improvement of funerary architecture, the change from individual to collective burial, the appearance of valuable offerings and grave stelae, and the separation from the surrounding MH burial ground clearly indicate the increasing differentiation of status and emergence of an elite

class (Dickinson 1994, 222; French and Shelton 2005, 178–79; Voutsaki 2012, 165–66). This process, in association with formation of a specific assemblage of material objects, defines the appearance of the Mycenaean culture in the Argolid (Voutsaki 2021). An interesting hypothesis regarding the rise of Mycenae was formulated by Maran, who suggested that the site was purposefully chosen by a group of families to form a new settlement, in opposition to Argos (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 695). The emergence of the local elite would then be part of a conscious process of rejecting old traditions and creating new ones in a deliberate attempt to create a new centre of power. Although the hypothesis is tempting, it is contradicted by the fact that similar processes of emerging diversified micro-traditions, differing for each community, occurred during the Early Mycenaean period across the entire Argolid (Wright 2008a, 145–47; Voutsaki 2021, 445). The dominant position of Mycenae was necessarily obvious from the beginning, and its rise to power was probably a long, gradual process.

The phenomenon of the emergence of the local elite social class intensified with Grave Circle A (LH I – LH IIA), originally located in the northeast part of the Prehistoric Cemetery. The deceased buried there enjoyed exceptional status. The low circular rubble wall enclosing the structure, the monumental grave figural stelae, and sophisticated funerary offerings, suggest further differentiation within the community and further separation of the elite from the non-elite (Wardle and Wardle 2019, 155–56). This separation must have resulted in formation of some political hierarchy, albeit its form and organisation at the time remain unknown (Dickinson 2014, 151). There is no evidence that these first leaders of Mycenae made any attempt to form a distinct habitation zone for themselves, and the settlement was probably loosely spread across the Acropolis hill and some of the neighbouring ridges.

The subsequent period brought several changes in the spatial organisation of the site (fig. 32). From LH I, chamber tomb cemeteries started to develop on the hills around the settlement, and spread rapidly in LH II (French et al. 2003, 35–38). This could indicate a moment of significant population growth. The increased building activity of LH II and continued use of most of the cemeteries in the subsequent period, point to a solid foundation of the mortuary tradition. During this period the use of chamber tombs was probably adapted by larger portions of the populations (French et al. 2003, 35; French and Shelton 2005, 181; Cavanagh and Mee 1990).

In addition to chamber tombs, six tholos tombs were built at the site between LH I and LH II. The two first monuments of the eastern group – the Tomb of Aegisthus and the Lion Tomb, were both significantly larger than the tombs of the western group (tab. 5; see also above). The location close to the Acropolis and former elite burial grounds of the Grave Circles,

as well as more elaborate architecture, indicate that the first two could have been built by the early rulers of Mycenae. In that case, the other tombs should be regarded as belonging to the local aristocracy (Dickinson 1977, 62–63; French and Shelton 2005, 181–82). The distribution of the tholos tombs on the site, was clearly not accidental and associated with the social context, is the first known example of the town planning that occurred at the LBA Mycenae. The emergence of this burial form signifies a substantial socio-political change and growing social competition. They can be symbolically perceived as prominent landmarks, manifesting the elite status of the buried and their former position in the hierarchy of the world of the living (Voutsaki 2001, 204; Boyd 2015, 440–42).

In contrast to this funerary evidence, the settlement evidence of this period is heavily disturbed. Building activity definitely occurs next to Grave Circle A, where a building of likely religious importance was constructed (Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]**). By LH II there was probably a large residence or a group of residences occupying the summit of the hill (Earlier North Wall Building [**MYC1**]. This clear interest in the area of the Acropolis was likely related to a progressive hierarchisation of the local elite. Some scant remains of LH II architecture were also found on Pezoulia (Petsas House **[MYC55 – phase1]** and Building below the Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC48 – phase 1]**). However, not enough evidence was preserved to reconstruct the occupational pattern of the period in more detail. However, the settlement with the Prehistoric Cemetery had to already cover at least 9 ha. No evidence of fortifications that would date to that period were found (Mylonas 1966d, 16). Nevertheless, hierarchisation of the society and gradual formation of a political system centred around the leaders must have continued.

7.2. Initial formation of the palatial town (LH IIIA1)

The process of the formation of the palatial town of Mycenae was heavily embedded in the Early Mycenaean tradition. Each of the distinct zones which define the urban settlement of the palatial period, derived to a various extent from the organisation of the settlement in LH II. However, the internal structural and functional divisions inside the settlement can be recognised in the archaeological record only from LH IIIA1. This period marked a crucial transitional phase in the history of the settlement (*WBM* phase V).

While during LH IIIA1 the Acropolis was not yet fortified, and no palatial building of this period can be recognised on the summit, the process of planned development of the town is observable in changes in the mortuary sphere, in particular the limitation of tholos tomb use, from LH IIIA onwards, not only at Mycenae but in the entire Argolid (Voutsaki 2001, 204). At

the same time the Prehistoric Cemetery was ultimately abandoned, and the area began to be used as the burial ground designated only for the ruling family. The last non-royal burial performed in the area was most probably associated with a single chamber tomb dug in LH IIIA1 to the south of the area which was later occupied by the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Paschalidis 2010, 291–95). The presence of this single tomb marks a transitional period, during which the cemetery was probably gradually claimed by the ruling elite. Part of this process was the renovation of the Tomb of Aegisthus which was reused and remodelled with a new ashlar façade built most probably in LH IIIA1 (Wace et al. 1923, 388; Fitzsimons 2006, 114–19; see Ch. II. 4.3.1.). This symbolic takeover of a previously widely accessible cemetery, marks one of the key moments in the formation of the hierarchy of power in the settlement. The building activity which expanded on the west slope of the Acropolis hill at the same time, should be interpreted in the same context of the transformation of the former Prehistoric Cemetery. New buildings of cultic importance were constructed south from Grave Circle A and its adjacent shrine **[MYC20]**. Traces of a rectangular room were discovered below the entrance to the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30 – phase 1]**, while the most significant structure of this period is Shrine Gamma **[MYC26 – phase1]** (K. Wardle 2015, 582). The remarkable continuity of its use during the following 200 years testifies to the significance of the building. The formation of the exclusively royal burial ground and the cult district located in its immediate vicinity, suggest that already during this period the first distinct settlement zone can be recognised. It can be labelled as the Inner Cult and Burial Zone. Its appearance further testifies to the separation of the Acropolis from the rest of the settlement, as the two were now divided by this distinct quarter of special role and status. Moreover, it seems that at least part of this zone was at some point surrounded by a wall, although only a small portion of it was excavated by Taylour next to the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Taylour 1955, 203–7)

Another interesting pattern of this period is observable in the chamber tomb cemeteries. After their rapid expansion in LH II, the following phase brings their continual development, suggesting a stable growth of the community since the end of the Early Mycenaean period (French et al. 2003, 38). The settlement of this period probably did not grow significantly in comparison to LH II, although the construction of the ceramic workshop at Petsas House **[MYC55 – phase 2]** is of interest, as it proves for the first time that important economic activities were performed in the Lower Town. However, the presence of specialised craftsmen on the site is evidenced already for the Early Mycenaean period, as the construction of tholos tombs depended not only on organised group labour, but also on the work of specialists and use of advanced measuring techniques (Kamm 1997). The number of tholos tombs built on the site,

and the exceptional form of the monuments of the eastern group, together with the fact that they were refurbished in an innovative way during LH IIIA, all testify to the continuous presence of an important group of architects and stone masons who worked for the early rulers of Mycenae.[96] Their works grew in size and gained more complex forms over time and the outstanding constructions of the following period should be regarded as the next step taken in the development of the Mycenaean craftsmanship and the royal architecture of Mycenae.

7.3. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA2)

In LH IIIA2 the Acropolis of Mycenae was overbuilt according to an ambitious master plan, which included raising of the first Citadel wall and the construction of the first palatial complex **[MYC1-10]**, as the terraces on which it stands were partially supported by the fortifications (Mylonas 1966d, 22–28; Wace 1949, 132–34). The complex was ultimately constructed in LH IIIA2 Late, and was laid on a formal three-axial plan, with a Megaron already located on the southwest terrace **[MYC2 – phase 1]** (Kilian 1987a, 109). After the construction of the fortifications, the buildings on the west slope were left outside the walls (fig. 33). This strengthens their connection to the nearby monumental burials, although nothing certain can be said about the details of the ritual activities they serviced. The Lion Tomb was probably also reused during this period, after remodelling through an installation of a new monumental façade furnished with the doors (Fitzsimons 2011, 96).[97]

The Lower Town grew during this phase, which is confirmed by a significant group of architectural remains. Petsas House **[MYC55]** was probably expanded during LH IIIA2, becoming a multifunctional complex responsible for the production, storage and distribution of ceramics (Shelton 2016). Another building complex with extensive storage capacity functioned in the vicinity of Petsas House, around the House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]**. Other buildings from LH IIIA2 – the "Workshop" **[MYC47 – phase 1]** and House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46 – phase 1]** were located in the so-called Museum area, on the north slope of the Acropolis (Onasoglou 1995; Danielidou 2008). Walls of LH IIIA date were also found to the south, under the later Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 66). Moreover, the growth of the settlement to the south during this period is suggested by the material from below the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus (French 1964, 241–61). This deposit of domestic

[96] For the more general discussion of the origins of Mycenaean monumental architecture and its connection to Minoan tradition see Chapter V.

[97] It is tempting to suggest that the king responsible for execution of the master plan of the Acropolis development was buried in the tomb (or in the Treasury of Atreus, if it was constructed in LH IIIA2), but this remains speculative.

refuse accumulated in LH IIIA1 – LH IIIA2 Early, thus probably the discard areas were moved further south after this period. This is further suggested by the LH IIIA deposit from below House of Lead (Wace 1956a, 121), which testifies to the spread of the settlement over the south part of the Panagia ridge. During LH IIIA2 the entire settlement reached the size of at least 15,5 ha, with the Lower Town occupying ca. 10,5 ha and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone covering additional 3 ha, while the Citadel spread over 2 ha (fig. 34).

By the end of LH IIIA2, the landscape and occupational pattern of Mycenae were significantly reconfigured. The spread of the Early Mycenaean settlement culminated in the creation of three clearly distinguished settlement zones (fig. 34). The centre of the settlement was occupied by the fortified palatial zone. Its formal planning, monumental appearance and military control over the site suggest that it was the seat of a central authority. During LH IIIA, the Inner Cult and Burial Zone gradually developed on the west slope of the Acropolis. It consisted of the royal tholos cemetery and the complex of shrines. The zone occupied a prominent central location within the settlement and the mounds covering tholos tombs dominated the area visually and symbolically. The Lower Town spread out on the north slope of the Acropolis, and on the Pezoulia slope and the Panagia ridge to the west. It consisted of independent residential units spread around the hilltops and main roads leading to the Acropolis. This distribution was probably purely utilitarian, and related to the need for easy communication with the Acropolis. However, the settlement clearly shows some degree of urban planning. The arrangement of the Citadel wall and the Palace, as well as access to the main gate through a raised ramp cutting the west slope, were all planned and coordinated in construction. This layout was definitely monumental, although the necessary and impressive adjustment to the constraints of the local rocky terrain have limited the overall expectations of the plan. Large domes over the tholos tombs of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone must have also contributed to the monumental appearance of the central part of the town. The entire arrangement was definitely planned to communicate the status and power of the local ruling family.[98]

The appearance of the palatial complex testifies to the emergence of a palatial culture in the Argolid and the formation of the palatial administration with the use of Linear B writing (Zeman 2020). By this period the local social hierarchy must have been well established, and the monarchical political system was gradually introduced in the local community.[99] The ruler,

[98] It is an example of a middle-level meaning behind the architecture (Rapoport 1982).
[99] See Chapter V for the discussion of the connection between those changes and the development of the Mycenaean state of Argolid during the same period.

under the title of *wanax*, ruled with the support of the local elite, which was involved into a complex network of dependencies and mutual obligations controlled by the palatial administration representing the royal power (Nakassis, Galaty, and Parkinson 2010, 242–44). Control over the other elite families was gained by the ruling dynasty only gradually. It was most probably based on the economic power of the palace and supervision of the exchange and distribution of prestigious items and materials (Voutsaki 2001).

The Palace was also involved in an extensive system of selective mobilisation of resources and labour, and limited distribution of food rations and materials as well as at least partial control of the land used by the community. However it controlled, to a various extent, only a few selected industries, mostly associated with processing of valuable prestigious materials and key staple goods (Halstead 1993, 2007; Parkinson, Nakassis, and Galaty 2013). The actual level of palatial involvement into the regional economy is still debated, and the existence of a significant non-palatial sector of economy inside the Mycenaean society is not to be neglected (see for example Whitelaw 2001; de Fidio 2001; Halstead 2011; Nakassis, Galaty, and Parkinson 2010, 244–45; Nakassis 2013; Dickinson 2014, 156). Moreover, most of our ideas on the functioning of the Mycenaean palatial administration derive from the archives of the palaces at Pylos and Knossos, however regional differences between functioning of those systems are apparent in the written records (Shelmerdine 1999). The finds of tablets in Petsas House confirm that Linear B records were in use at Mycenae already during the LH IIIA2, and their appearance is likely connected to the emergence of the local palatial administration (Shelton 2002).

Evidence from Petsas House testifies to the formation of a class of specialised craftsmen, involved in large-scale industries and mass production of goods. Such an operation was probably developed with the support and the involvement of the Palace, although it did not necessarily control all of the production and exchange of mass goods, like ceramics (Whitelaw 2001). On the other hand, the distribution of metal and precious stones was probably strictly controlled, and the craftsmen involved in their processing were more likely to work under palatial supervision (Voutsaki 2001).[100] The master potter in charge of Petsas House might have been a member of the local elite, but that certainly did not apply to all of the specialised craftsmen and service of Petsas House, and other complexes that must have functioned in the settlement. The existence of social stratification among the non-elite members of the local

[100] Such production could have occurred in the early form of the palace's East Wing, if it served the same function as later during LH IIIB2. However, there is no explicit evidence to support this.

community is also suggested by the appearance of the first phase of the House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46]**, although not much can be said about its content.

A widespread destruction occurred at the end of LH IIIA2, when most of the buildings outside the Citadel were burned. This is suggested by multiple destruction deposits. Petsas House **[MYC55 – phase 2]** was burned, together with the complex around the House of the Wine Merchant **[MYC50]** (Shelton 2009a, 637), and buildings in the Museum area. It is uncertain if the West Slope sanctuary was also destroyed, although a destruction deposit below the Ramp House might relate to this horizon (French 2002, 81). If so, it would suggest that the entire settlement outside the fortifications was destroyed at the time, probably in a single widespread fire, which however did not affect the palace. There is no evidence for the reasons behind the fire, but the universal appearance of the destruction horizon across different parts of the site separated by ridges, suggest human agency (contra Shelton 2022a, 43–44).

7.4. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB1 – LH IIIB2 Early)

The next phase saw a rapid development of the Lower Town and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, and further consolidation of the division of the town into three zones (*WBM* phase VI-VII). Another large tholos tomb was constructed in the royal burial zone at the beginning of LH IIIB1, the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Mason 2013). Around the time of the construction of this tomb, Grave Circle A, the location and significance of which must have still been remembered, was overbuilt with a large stone platform (K. Wardle 2015, 587–89). The latter presented an impressive view, standing directly in front of the original western wall of the Citadel. It also corresponded in form to the nearby tholos tombs, strengthening the visual and symbolic significance of this area. Moreover the monumentalised Grave Circle became a part of a larger complex **[MYC20-23]**, constructed on the slope to the south (fig. 35). This complex, the construction of which was closely coordinated with the raising of the stone platform of the Grave Circle, formed an imposing façade facing the Lower Town (Wardle and Wardle 2019, pl. LIV). To the south of this complex, there was another important group of structures – the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**, consisting of multiple shrines. The complex was gradually developed around Shrine Gamma throughout the entire phase (Wardle and Wardle 2019, 583–86). It seems that the Cult Centre was also originally designed to face the Lower Town, with all the main access points located on its western side. However, later within this phase, probably only at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (*WBM* phase VII), the complex was cut off from the Lower Town by additional enclosures. After these final alterations only two strictly controlled doorways controlled the access to the complex from the west (see figs 16 and 33). This was

certainly a planned transformation of arrangement and communication, most likely related to a change of social or political situation.

The Lower Town expanded to north, west and south. On the slope of Pezoulia, a new building complex **[MYC48-53]** was constructed around the Cyclopean Terrace Building **[MYC49]** (French 1961). To the north, the "Workshop" **[MYC47 – phase 2]** continued to be occupied, while a new area on the opposite slope started to be occupied, where Plakes House **[MYC69]**, a well-developed residential building, was located (Danielidou 2008; Iakovidis 2013a). On the northeast slope of Panagiaa, in front of the Citadel, a new elite residence, the West House Group, was gradually expanded (Tournavitou 1995).[101] The complex was involved in processing, storage and distribution of both prestigious materials and staple goods, including management of the labour force that worked in the complex or in relation to its activities. Further south, on the east slope of the Panagia ridge, another extended family residential complex known as the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** also developed throughout LH IIIB1 (Mylonas-Shear 1987). The House of Lead **[MYC66]**, possibly an elite residence constructed on a large terrace, was located even further to the south (Wace 1956a, 119–21).

It seems that throughout the palatial period, large extended family households were the primary building type developed across the Lower Town of Mycenae. They had a variety of forms, from large monumental establishments, to rather small simple units, but were all characterised by plans with a central room or courtyard, and multiple rooms, which always included abundance of storage space and adjustment of the architectural form to the terrain. The latter characteristic allows us to observe the evolution of Mycenaean architecture, which gradually developed more efficient forms of transforming the substrate according to the needs. Some of the households were clearly multi-functional, serving not only as private residences, but also important economic establishments. After Petsas House, from the previous phase was abandoned, the primary example of the latter was the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, but the Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC58-53]** was probably a similar structure, although much worse preserved. Also the "Workshop" **[MYC47]** might have served some additional economic functions (see Ch. II. 6.2.2.).

The remains of LH IIIB1 also provide much more diversity in the evidence of social class of inhabitants of various buildings, in comparison to the previous periods. Apart from elite residences, a variety of buildings which must have served as living quarters for the Mycenaean

[101] It is possible that the Tomb of the Genii should be linked with the construction of that complex (see Ch. II. 4.3.3.), which would then put even more emphasis on the significance of the emergence of an elite family in charge of the West House Group.

middle-class was uncovered in the Lower Town of Mycenae. Those were the buildings of a solid, but not monumental or elaborately decorated form, the inhabitants of which had the right and ability to possess at least some valuables, including metals, and store relatively many supplies. This part of the society was probably in reality a diverse group, composed of various specialists as well as palatial service, involved in various economic and social networks and not necessarily sharing strong common identity or a sense of common interest. However, they probably identified with the religious tradition associated with the highest echelons of Mycenaean society, including also burial in the chamber tombs (Nakassis, Galaty, and Parkinson 2010, 244). The latter were becoming more and more simple and modest throughout the palatial period, thus testifying to the spread of this burial form across various social groups of the local community (French et al. 2003, 38).

From a hierarchical perspective, the middle-class of the Mycenaean society can be simply defined as all of the members of the community which were not the elite, but also not the low-status workers, service and slaves, which must have occupied the lowest step of the social pyramid (Jung 2016, 564). The presence of the latter group, although it is almost invisible in the archaeological record, is apparent from the presence of skeletons left in the debris of collapsed buildings and additional living quarters arranged in extended households. However, it seems that both buildings excavated in the Museum area – which was to a various extent inhabited during the entire palatial period, were characterised by particularly simple architectural form, and almost a complete lack of metal objects in the primary contexts. It can be suggested that this area served as a residential quarter of low status unspecialised workers and various categories of service, maybe even slaves. The latter cannot be excluded, as we do not really have any detailed knowledge about the status of enslaved people in the Mycenaean communities of the Argolid.

There are at least two buildings of this period which can be securely regarded as households of this middle-class – Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** and Plakes House **[MYC69]**. Three can, to a various degree of certainty, be recognised as elite, which however does not mean that all of their inhabitants were regarded as such. These are the West House Group **[MYC57-**

60], the Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53],** the House of Lead **[MYC66]**.[102] The recipients of rations listed on the tablets from the West House, could have been workers of the lowest-status, living in the West House Group and involved in the processing of goods occurring in the complex, but this is not certain.

By the end of LH IIIB1 the settlement reached its peak size, occupying at least 25 ha, with the Lower Town covering about 20 ha (fig. 36). Moreover, the areas used for agricultural activities, were largely terraced and with various built functional facilities, spread to the north and west of the settlement, and probably on the southwest bank of Khavos, probably also reached the maximum extent during this period. Their presence is indicated by abundance of isolated walls of Mycenaean date identified through extensive and intensive surface surveys (French et al. 2003; Stamos and Maggidis 2006; Petrakos 2015, 46–50). The extent of those auxiliary areas to the north and west was limited by the distribution of chamber tomb cemeteries. Overall, the settlement and its immediate agricultural zone might have covered even 60 ha. Around this settlement zone, there was most probably a network of smaller hamlets and single farmsteads, which were closely connected to the settlement, although their exact role in the palatial economy and the local community is difficult to assess. Two examples of such sites were excavated at Chania and on the site known as Tsekouras. The former was probably a small settlement, developed 3 km to the southwest of Mycenae during LH IIIB (Palaiologou 2015). At Tsekouras, ca. 500 m to the east of the Citadel, there was an isolated building, most probably a household of LH IIIB date (Wace 1953, 18). It seems reasonable to assume that the development of those sites occurred at least partially in response to the growth of population of the town, and the need to increase agricultural output.

The functional and structural division of the settlement into three zones was further established by the development of both the Lower Town and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone. They have both played an important role in the economic system of Mycenae at the time, with

---

[102] A complex social structure of the Mycenaean society, with various groups of specialists, craftsmen and officials operating below the elite, but often enjoying certain privileges, was also suggested by the content of Linear B tablets from Pylos (Nakassis 2013, 6–23). Existence of a substantial middle-class, within the Mycenaean society during the LH IIIB period, although forming still a minority of the entire society, was also reconstructed by Olivier Dickinson. See for example his lecture at Durham University, 13.06.2016, under the title *Later LH IIIB. A last flourishing of Mycenaean civilisation, or an age of anxiety?*.

most if not all of the workshops and warehouses located outside the walls of the Citadel. In addition, it seems that the main division of the settlement into zones was based on their public status and cultic importance, rather than economic activities. It is possible that the larger multi-functional residences were purposefully constructed on the east slope of Panagia ridge, in close relation to the Citadel and the tholos tombs, in an attempt to form an "elite urban neighbourhood" (Efkleidou 2021, 32). They might have also formed a distinct industrial district, but there is not enough evidence available to confirm that. However, the formation of the settlement during this phase was undoubtedly partially planned, with the Inner Cult and Burial Zone at the centre and most of the buildings occupying the key points of access across the site, and maintaining visual connection with each other and with the Citadel. The two opposing monumental façades - that of the Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** on the Acropolis, and that of the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** on the opposing slope of Panagia, were constructed at the same time, probably in coordination to each other. This arrangement was thus a formal plan, executed in relation to the main road to the Citadel which run from the south, crossed Khavos and the area in front of the Acropolis (Efkleidou 2021, 34–35). Moreover, the construction of the West House Group in the immediate vicinity of the Tomb of Clytemnestra further elevates the status of the complex, and strengthens its association with the palatial administration. The tomb itself was also yet another part of the monumental approach to the Citadel, designed to show status and power of the local ruler. However, the location of other, more ordinary buildings along the roads leading to the centre of the site, was rather a continuation of the utilitarian trend developed since the Early Mycenaean period, with the habitation concentrating along main communication routes leading to and from the Citadel.

Equally important are the arrangements and dependencies between the Citadel, Lower Town, Inner Cult and Burial Zone, and the whole funerary landscape. The spatial and visual control of the Citadel over the area was at the same time strengthened and counterbalanced by the tholos tombs, conspicuous landmarks scattered across the site and marking the socio-political connotations and ancestral memory. The inhabited space and the surrounding chamber tomb cemeteries, however distanced from each other, coexisted in a close relationship.

The period ends with a series of destructions, although their exact order and chronology is debatable, due to the uneven quality of both preservation and publication of finds. It seems that at the end of LH IIIB1 (the end of *WBM* VI?) the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, House of Lead **[MYC66]**, and Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]** were all burned and abandoned (French 1961, 1963, 48, 50, 1967; Iakovidis 1986, 249). It can be suggested

that elite households of the town were purposefully targeted, as it seems that the more ordinary house of the settlement did not suffer any damage at the time. This however does not necessarily mean that the same applied to their inhabitants. Soon after, during LH IIIB2 Early, a devastating earthquake hit Mycenae (the end of *WBM* phase VII). Strong evidence for seismic related destruction was found in Plakes House **[MYC69]** and in the Panagia Houses **[MYC67-70]**, but also on the west slope of the Acropolis, where both Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** suffered significant damage (Iakovidis 1986, 256–58; French 1996).

It is unknown if the Palace suffered during any of these events. It is possible that the fire which partially destroyed it during LH IIIB, should be equated with the fire destruction horizon at the end of LH IIIB1, especially if the hypothesis about selective targeting of the elite dwellings is true. However, this is far from certain as the material from the palace is extremely scarce (Iakovidis 1986, 236–37). There are also no clear indications that the complex was affected by the LH IIIB2 Early earthquake, although it is possible that it caused the collapse of the building of the first East Wing **[MYC4 – phase 1]** (Schaar 1979, 73–74). Another possibility is that the palace **[MYC2 – phase 1]** was burned only shortly after the earthquake, during the firsts part of the next phase of the palatial town, in the later part of LH IIIB2 Early.[103] Nevertheless, what can be stated safely is that the Main Wing of the palace was at least partially burned at some point during LH IIIB, and this was probably what gave the impetus for the rebuilding of the palatial complex on a new enlarged plan during LH IIIB2 (see also below).

7.5. Palatial town – Phase 3 (LH IIIB2 Early – end of LH IIIB)

The response to this wave of destructions resulted in a deep change in the organisation of the settlement during the second part of LH IIIB2 Early (*WBM* phase VIIIA). The Citadel's fortifications were greatly expanded to the west and to the northeast, where a massive Underground Cistern was constructed (fig. 37). The new west wall, with the Lion Gate, encompassed the Grave Circle A and the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (K. Wardle 2015, 591–92). The Inner Cult and Burial Zone district was decomposed, with the tholos tombs cut off from the sanctuaries. This suggests a break in the development of the old elite funerary zone and

[103] This might be indicated by the material from below the building debris which collapsed at the Causeway in front of the Ramp House at the end of LH IIIB (Causeway Deposit C). There was a distinct deposit of pottery there, that should probably be dated to LH IIIB2 Early (K. W. Wardle 1973; contra French and Stockhammer 2009). However, the exact provenance of this material and its relation to the debris, which covered the Causeway could not be determined. Another context which could have been related to the fire of the first Palace, if it occurred after the earthquake, is the destruction deposit in the strata I-II of the Lion Gate Staircase (Wace et al. 1923, 17–38).

probably loss of its status, further evidenced by the refuse material dumped around the Great Poros Wall surrounding the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Taylour 1955, 209–21).[104] Possibly in response to this process, the Treasury of Atreus, was constructed during this period, or at least reused after the earlier construction (see Ch. II. 4.3.3.).[105] Its elaborate architectural form and the location on the eastern slope of Panagia ridge, at some distance from the other royal tholos tombs, are both remarkable. The monument seems to have a close visual connection with the Palace, being well visible from the terrace of the Great Court.

During this phase the Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** was rebuilt and expanded in coordination with the construction of the new fortification wall by the construction of a new important structure – the Granary **[MYC24]**. It must have been closely linked to Grave Circle A, which probably at that time was refurbished by addition of a gate into the ring wall on top of the platform. This gate seems to have been pointed into the direction of the Lion Gate, which at the time must have been clearly visible from inside the ring wall, as the façade of the Granary was originally straight.

The Cult Centre was wholly transformed (Aulsebrook 2019; Maran 2022, 238). Access to the much damaged and possibly partially abandoned sanctuary was restricted and reoriented, as Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]** became linked to the Palace with the monumental Processional Way and the system of stairways and ramps cutting the west slope to reach the main communication route between the Lion Gate and the Palace (fig. 37). The west side of the sanctuary, gradually overbuilt during LH IIIB1, was finally cut off from the Lower Town by the Citadel wall. Access to the shrines on the lower terraces from the west started to be particularly problematic, with only narrow passages left between the fortification wall and the buildings. The western part of the Cult Centre, with the Building of the Room with the Fresco

[104] The situation around the Great Poros Wall is difficult to interpret. The layer of burned, redeposited material, might be associated with the fires that destroy the West House Group at the end of LH IIIB1 or the destruction of the first Palace. The deposit of full vessels and the grave found next to the ring wall of the tholos might be somehow connected with the change of function and potential gradual loss of significance of Inner Cult and Burial Zone, but cultic activity can be also suggested in relation to this material (French 1981, 41). It seems that the use of this area as a dump starts only above this deposit, in the layers attributed to the very last stage of LH IIIB (Taylour 1955, 209–21).

[105] In addition to the stratigraphic and material evidence behind the LH IIIB2 construction date for the Treasury of Atreus which were discussed above, this date also fits a lot better into the currently developed reconstruction of the settlement history. It is difficult to understand why would the tomb of such importance be built in the middle of developing residential area. During LH IIIB2, particularly in *WBM* phase VIII, after the devastating earthquake that caused the abandonment of much of the settlement, including the far south part of the Panagia Ridge, where House of Lead was destroyed at the time, this location is again at the outskirts of the residential area. Moreover, David Mason's observations on the symbolic meaning of the location can remain entirely valid for the LH IIIB2 period (Mason 2007). The need to look for such a new symbolic location is more understandable if we assume that the space of the old royal cemetery was at the time already filled with the Tomb of Clytemnestra built in LH IIIB1 (Mason 2013).

[MYC30], service areas around it and the courtyard to the south was probably intentionally buried under debris and soil, in what was probably a ritual attempt to seal the abandoned cult areas (Moore 1988, 354–57). This is especially remarkable in relation to the continuous use of Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]**, which was once again refurbished and served as probably the most important ritual space on the west slope. Only one of the shrines constructed in LH IIIB1 – the Temple **[MYC29]**, was clearly rebuilt and continued to be used as a place of worship, although the sealing of the exceptional deposits of figurines in the backrooms of this building suggest that the local cult was also somehow altered.

Another planned district – the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]** was raised to the south of the Cult Centre, serving as the residential, storage and working area, possibly with some ritual spaces arranged within the buildings (Iakovidis 2013b). On the north slope, a new complex was built around House M **[MYC13-15]**. It was probably a new palatial shrine, located in the vicinity of summit of the Acropolis and with secure communication with the Propylon of the Palace. There was also abundance of storage space organised around within the complex, (Pliatsika 2015). Another residential building – Building K **[MYC16]** was constructed outside the west wall of this complex. An important complex of residential and economic functions was built in the Northeast Extension of the citadel **[MYC11-12]**, in close coordination with the construction of the new fortifications and the Underground Cistern.

During the expansion and reorganisation of the Citadel, the inner court of the Lion Gate was linked to a new stone ramp, which ascended to the southeast, in the direction opposite to the older roadways (Mylonas 1965, 194–95). In the second part of the third phase of the palatial town, probably at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Late, the entire area of the Lion Gate went through a significant rearrangement, that was clearly well planned and coordinated (*WBM* phase VIIIB, see figs 20-21).[106] A new monumental Great Ramp replaced the original construction, and filled the entire space between the rocky slope and Grave Circle A. It was linked by some form of approach to the Granary **[MYC24]**. The latter was refurbished by the elongation of the entrance corridors on a different axis, and raising the floors and the entrance threshold, to meet the new ground level related to construction of the Great Ramp. The Lion Gate Staircase was abandoned and covered by a terrace bordered by a cross-wall built above the earlier structure. Moreover, Grave Circle A was probably filled with red soil which covered the ring wall and the gate (Gates

[106] This development might have been linked to the destruction of the Lion Gate Staircase, but the material from this context is difficult to interpret (Wace et al. 1923, 17–38). The destruction of the Staircase might have been also contemporary with the fire which damaged the first Palace (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.1.).

1985). If it reached the top of the slabs, it would have allowed the area to be accessible from the direction of the Granary and the Lion Gate.

The east edge of the Lion's Gate inner court was overbuilt by a new solid terrace – the East Platform (Mylonas 1965, 192–93). Its task was probably to protect the court from the erosion of the slope above it, but it was also an important part of the development of a large palatial complex of specialised warehouses – the Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]**. The latter was built above the area of the court, in the corner of the fortification wall, but its foundations were clearly supported by the East Platform. The construction of the complex must have been thus closely coordinated with changes in the area of the Lion Gate.

The same architectural master plan included the construction of the Little Ramp, which abutted the Great Ramp and connected the south part of the Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** with the roadway leading to the top of the Great Ramp, and supported a large foundation terrace which towered over the Ramp House **[MYC21]** and South House with Annex **[MYC23]** (French 2002, 80; French et al. 2003, 12). This was now an important access point, where all the communication routes leading up the slope met (fig. 37). On this terrace stood an important building – Building above the Little Ramp **[MYC25]**, which was never excavated and its appearance and the exact location remain hypothetical. However, the content and building debris which collapsed on the area below, suggest that this was in important palatial establishment, possibly even a palatial archive. Such an interpretation is suggested by the seven tablets forming a coherent group which most probably originated from this building (Driessen 1996, 1018). Although relatively small, this is the largest collection of written records that has been found within the Citadel of Mycenae. The location of the building on the crucial crossroads, controlling the communication between the west slope and the summit, also suggest that the building played an important role in control of the distribution of goods and materials. Probably during the same period, a couple of additional rooms and courtyards were added to the buildings of the Southwest Quarter, although the synchronisation of those developments remains hypothetical. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Citadel during the third phase of the palatial town went through an intensive process of internal development, and that the density of the occupation inside the walls probably grew across the period.

The palatial complex **[MYC1-10]** took its final form during LH IIIB2, although the exact sequence of its development is debatable. The plan of the Main Wing **[MYC2 – phase 2]** consisted of the Great Megaron and the Great Court occupying the Southwest Terrace, with two other blocks of domestic quarters and storage organised on the summit around two main corridors (Kilian 1987a, 104–6). The Grand Staircase was probably rebuilt in a more

monumentalised form. The new East Wing of the Palace **[MYC4 – phase 2]** was also constructed, with extensive storerooms and workshops for palatial artisans (Mylonas 1966e). It seems that during this period, this building was the main place involved in ivory processing, thus it seems reasonable to suggest that it in some way replaced the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, destroyed shortly before the reconstruction of the palace. Other warehouses – Northern Storeroom **[MYC7]**, House Gamma **[MYC9]** and House Delta **[MYC10]** were built in a close association with the East Wing of the palace, sharing the communication routes and main external access points and providing abundance of additional storage space. This part of the complex also strictly controlled the access to the Northeast Extension, which was of obvious strategic importance.

The final plan of the palatial complex was characterised not only by monumentality, but also remarkable formality, which was achieved by the builders despite the constraints of the rocky uneven terrain (Wright 1978, 101–5). Massive foundation terraces supported by the Cyclopean fortification walls were used to enlarge the available space, and set the southwest terrace of the Main Wing, with the Great Megaron and the Great Court, on an axis exactly perpendicular to the orientation of the East Wing. The construction of the terrace of the Great Megaron, which before the collapse had to have hung over the Khavos ravine, was a remarkable architectural achievement. It seems that shortly before the end of the palatial period, some attempts were made to further refurbish the palace, and possibly change its arrangement, but those were probably never completed (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.1.).

Most of the Lower Town must have been left in ruins after the earthquake, as there are very few examples of reoccupation, namely the rebuilding of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, the "Workshop" **[MYC47]** and House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46]** (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 154–57; Onasoglou 1995, 149; Danielidou 2008, 345–46). During this period the Lower Town had clearly lost its economic significance and political status, as it seems that all of the known elite multifunctional complexes of the previous phase were abandoned. The Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** were rebuilt on a new, simpler and smaller plan, while buildings in the Museum Area, seme to be mostly modest and poorly furnished buildings. It is possible, that the part of the community which was left outside the walls of the new enlarged fortifications, was composed primarily of the lower status inhabitants of the settlement.

The number of victims of the catastrophe is impossible to estimate, but the known examples of bodies left in the collapsed buildings suggest that death was widespread. Some of the survivors moved inside the walls of the Citadel, where the abundance of new residential buildings is constructed immediately after the earthquake, probably in the response to the lack

of living quarters. I would suggest that the members of the community who were primarily allowed to move into the Citadel were mostly specialised craftsmen and palatial service.

Their appearance in the Citadel was closely related to the profound change of its character, as it was not only a palatial elite zone anymore (fig. 37). The latter was probably limited only to the palatial complex. During this phase most, if not all, of the economic activities of the community, and especially those related to the industries controlled by the palace, must have occurred behind the fortification walls. The elite character of the Citadel was blurred, with the formation of internal micro-zones of various status and specialised functions. The new complexes were built in a planned way, with well-designed access points and buildings constructed in coordination with each other and the fortification walls. Occupation, at least in some quarters must have been relatively dense, but the buildings were generally of solid construction, often with plastered floors and walls, and multiple storerooms. All of the known complexes of the period were clearly incorporated into the general communication system of the Citadel, and must have been constructed in coordination with each other and with the gradual development of this system. Overall, despite the destruction and shrinking of the town, the level of its urban planning and palatial control over its development remained significant, possibly even more advanced in comparison to the previous phase. It is difficult to reconstruct the overall size of the settlement at that time, but it was probably not more than 10 ha, with the enlarged Citadel covering 3 ha (fig. 38).

The significant changes which can be observed in the occupational pattern and the urban planning of the town during its final phase, are likely associated with some major political transformation (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 698). This is indicated by series of important developments, which occurred during a remarkably short period of time. Those were the rebuilding of the palace at the new enlarged and formalised plan, the rapid expansion of the Citadel, at the clear expense of the Lower Town, decomposition of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, consequently developed over the previous 150 years, and finally the abandonment and probably desacralisation of the royal burial ground, and construction of a new, exceptionally large and elaborate burial monument, in a new isolated location. In my opinion, the historical event that initiated these changes was most likely a dynastic change, which could have been both a result of internal and external factors. It seems that the destruction horizon which could have been associated with such an event, and which at the same time should be chronologically placed at the very beginning of this revolutionary period, is to be identified with the burned destruction of the West House Group **[MYC57-60]** and other elite residences of the Lower Town at the end of LH IIIB1. It is possible that the fire at the Main Wing of the Palace occurred

at the same time, but such a synchronisation is not necessary to suggest that the destruction of dwellings of the families which were the primary supporters of the *wanax* and the crucial nodes in the economic network of the settlement, must have resulted in a deep change of the local political and social system.

Even if the Main Wing of the palace was burned only later during the phase, maybe in relation to another historical event of political importance, there are some slight indications that the crucial change occurred already after the destruction of the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**. Apart from the fact that this monumental complex set in the exceptionally prominent location was never rebuilt, there are the changes which can be observed at the Cult Centre at the very beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (*WBM* phase VII). Already at this moment there was a clear attempt made to cut off the sanctuary from the Lower Town and strictly control access to it from the west, by the rearrangement of the Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]** and construction of the stoa which surrounded the external courtyard of the complex. It seems that the natural disaster which followed this developments shortly, provided only an additional impetus for a more profound change, the direction of which was however already established.

The opportunity for a complete reorganisation of the settlement, provided by the earthquake, was used by the new authorities to execute deep changes of the settlement organisation and layout. These changes were necessary to enforce a closer palatial control over the economy and community, and improve the defensive capabilities of the fortress, which might have been regarded as necessary because of both internal or external reasons (see for example Maran 2009b). Closer palatial control over the economy during this phase is indicated by both the concentration of the workshops and storage areas inside the Citadel, and especially the development of the East Wing of the palace and other palatial warehouses, as well as by the possible appearance of a palatial archive controlling the communication across the West Slope. Securing the control over the Northeast Extension can be regarded as a part of the same process.

It seems that some changes also took place within the ideology and legitimisation of power, which were reinforced by the urban planning. This is again indicated by the situation at the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**, which was now directly linked to the palace (see Ch. II. 5.3.3.6.). The fact that this connection clearly focused on Shrine Gamma **[MYC26 – phase 2]**, while some of the other buildings of the complex were abandoned, must be of importance. Whatever the details of the ritual activities and cult related to this Shrine, they must have been used to legitimise the power of the new *wanax*. The building also constituted a key point of circular processions which most probably took place during this period between the Cult Centre and the Palace, although they might have also have reached the Treasury of Atreus, and thus walk

through the Lower Town (Maran 2009a, 81–84). Before this phase the processions which would move between the palatial elite zone and any of the royal tholos tombs, passed only through the Inner Cult and Burial Zone. The system of ramps between the west slope and the Palace was built in a clear attempt to secure the visibility of the processions, so that they could have been observed even from outside the walls, taking place on highly exposed palatial terraces (Maran 2009a, 80–84). This staging was probably designed in order to provide a performative space for the new palatial elite to communicate its special connection with the places of worship to the rest of the community (Maran and Wright 2020, 114–15). It is probable, that this was part of a more profound change of the way in which the non-elite members of the community participated in the processions, which were definitely an important part of Mycenaean social and religious life already before LH IIIB2 (Whittaker 2015). On the one hand, the connection of the procession route with the palace, and claiming of the sanctuary by the palatial elite could suggest that the level of participation of the non-elite decreased, but on the other hand the ensured visibility of processions suggest that they were not isolated from the communal social space. Although the details of these changes are not possible to determine, I would suggest that they were part of an attempt of the new palatial elite to legitimise itself and construct a cult-based relation with the rest of the community that was somehow altered from the older tradition. This final phase of the history of the palatial town ends with a widespread conflagration, when the entire palatial complex was burned **[MYC1-10]** (Mylonas 1966d, 224–29). Evidence of contemporary fires were also found in the South House with Annex **[MYC24]**, the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**, the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]**, the Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]**, House M Complex **[MYC13-15]** and in the Northeast Extension **[MYC11-12]**. Signs of this destruction horizon can also be found outside the walls, where the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** were destroyed by fire at that time (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 156–57). This universal conflagration testifies to a total destruction of the settlement, clearly as the result of an armed conflict. It resulted in the fall of the palatial administration at the site and brought an end to the development of the palatial town, which entered a long period of gradual decay.

7.6. Decomposition of the palatial town (LH IIIC)

The process of the decline of the settlement zones formed during the palatial period was gradual. At least until the end of LH IIIC Middle, the basic occupational pattern formed during the palatial period, with the division of the settlement between the Citadel and the Lower Town, prevailed. Due to this division the settlement can still be perceived as urbanised, although it is clear that the functional differentiation between the two zones was blurred and by LH IIIC Late

it probably disappeared altogether. Elements of urban planning become extremely rare in the available archaeological record, albeit the do not disappear completely (Mühlenbruch 2013, 300). The chamber tomb cemeteries continued to be utilised during the entire post-palatial period. However, a marked increase in the number of simple graves can be noticed (Lewartowski 2000). Many of them were dug into the abandoned remains of the buildings of the Lower Town, and thus the funerary landscape was altered.

7.6.1. LH IIIC Early

The destructions at the end of LH IIIB, although they brought an end to the palatial era, did not result in the abandonment of the settlement (*WBM* phase IX-X). The Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]** and buildings of the Museum area – both the "Workshop" **[MYC47 – phase 3]** and House of the Tripods Tomb **[MYC46 – phase 2]** continued to be occupied at least until the end of LH IIIC Early (Mylonas-Shear 1987, 156–57; Onasoglou 1995, 149; Danielidou 2008, 303–4). During this period, some of the functional and structural divisions between the Lower Town and the Citadel might have still existed (fig. 39). The entire settlement had to still cover at least 9 ha.

The Citadel was partially reoccupied and although the palace was never fully rebuilt, part of the complex was clearly reused (fig. 40). The walls of the East Wing used to construct Buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6]**, which might have played a central role during this period, occupying one of the most prominent locations at the site (Mylonas 1968c). However, their form is unclear and the architectural resemblance to Building T **[TIR4]**, constructed at the same time in the ruins of the Great Megaron at Tiryns (Maran 2001a), seems doubtful. None of the two buildings seem to have had a large elongated colonnaded hall, which is the form of Building T, on the basis of which it was suggested that it served as a place of communal meeting for the early post-palatial elite (see Chapter III). On the contrary, the complex of Buildings Psi and Omega seem to follow quite closely the plan of the palatial East Wing, and it seems most reasonable to assume it served as an elite residence. Although not much of its form and internal architecture was preserved, some monumentality can be suggested at least for Building Omega (Mylonas 1968c, 37–38). Some of the palatial warehouses were also still in use, including Houses Gamma **[MYC9 – pahse 2]** and Delta **[MYC 9 – phase 3]**, which together with Buildings Psi and Omega formed the largest post-palatial complex on the site. A new road laid in LH IIIC Early over the North Storerooms **[MYC7]** was built in coordination with those developments, in a clear attempt to assure access to the warehouses and easy communication with the other side of the Acropolis. This is the only secure example of

urban planning in the post-palatial town of Mycenae. Overall, it can be suggested that the complex was occupied by the leaders of the post-palatial community. its storage capacity might have been of public importance and used by a wider part of the community. However, it is clear that after the fall of palatal administration the social hierarchy must have been significantly changed, and probably reduced in complexity. The local economy was most probably organised along new lines, with social networks focused around independent households. The form of the political system of the post-palatial period is a matter of a debate, but it was most probably focused around local leaders and possibly more communal forms of decision making (see for example Crielaard 2011).[107]

On the west slope, the Granary **[MYC24 – phase 2]** was clearly rebuilt and reused during the post-palatial period, serving most probably as the most important public building used for purposes of the cult. Some of these cultic functions might have still occurred at Grave Circle A. The Cult Centre **[MYC57-63]** was overbuilt by a new residential complex – Citadel House **[MYC31-36]**. Although some specialised, even ritual functions cannot be excluded in relation to the latter, the character of the zone must have changed dramatically, with old palatial sanctuary buried under the debris and used as a foundation for new buildings. At least few buildings of the Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]** were also occupied, although the poor quality of data from that sector does not allow for a thorough analysis of changes of the local micro occupational pattern. At least one of the rebuilt structures – the Southwest Building **[MYC37 – phase 2]**, continued to be adorned with frescoes. This suggests that the early post-palatial elite of Mycenae continued certain traditions of the palatial period and at least some of the determinants of social status remained in use.

7.6.2. LH IIIC Middle

In LH IIIC Middle (*WBM* phase XI) a new residential quarter was established outside the Citadel's wall, as evidenced by the construction of the East House **[MYC61]** (Tournavitou 2015b). It seems reasonable to assume that at least some of the structures identified during a geophysical survey conducted immediately to the southeast of the location of this house, were part of the same development phase (Stamos and Maggidis 2006). Although the excavations in the area did not so far demonstrate any stable Mycenaean occupation, the abundance of Proto-Geometric and later structures does suggest that the occupational zone of the lower town moved towards that area (fig. 41). Every other known building of the Lower Town was abandoned at

[107] However, I would not entirely exclude the possibility of some form of a Mycenaean regional Argive state to survive and continue for at least some part of LH IIIC (see Chapter V).

the beginning of the LH IIIC Middle at the latest, which further suggest a change of the occupational pattern. Thus the habitation during this period seem to concentrate on the plateau below the west slope of the Acropolis. The known remains of the period outside of the Citadel walls spread over the area of ca. 2 ha, but it is probable that the settlement was larger, as we know very little about the Lower Town at that time.

Inside the citadel the habitation most probably continued in most of the previously reoccupied areas, while some new developments occurred, including the construction of the residential buildings on the West Slope (fig. 40). However, the most important construction of the period would be the Building on the Great Court **[MYC3]**, if it is to be dated to LH IIIC Middle as proposed by French (2002, 136–38). If this proposal is correct, then the building forms yet another example of reoccupation of the palatial complex, albeit clearly different from the construction of Buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6]** in the previous phase. The latter might have even been already abandoned, while the central role could have been passed to the structure raised on the Great Court. However, the dating of the Building on the Great Court to LH IIIC Middle is debatable and no details of its history of form can be determined. In fact, it is highly probable that the building should be dated to the Proto-Geometric or the Geoemtric period, if Tsountas' account on the pottery is to be followed (Tsountas 1887). Despite the fact that the building's plan does not seem to follow the walls of the palace, it is hard to imagine that the location of the building was not consciously chosen on the basis of the social memory of the Palace. Construction of this building can be an example of the memorialisation of Mycenaean palatial ruins, and the gradual change of their meaning and social constraints which surrounded them (Maran 2020, 185–88). This is probably much more accurate in regard to the Building on the Great Court, than to Building Psi and Omega, which seem to form a simple example of immediate reoccupation in an attempt to claim some form of the palatial power and continue its tradition.

Nevertheless, this period is the last for which the functional division of the settlement into two zones can be safely claimed. Although residences built on the west slope seem to form independent households, without any specialised functions and not much different from the East House **[MYC61]** built outside the walls, the continuous use of the Granary **[MYC24]** and some of the other palatial buildings, testifies to the special significance of the zone. It also cannot be excluded that the Citadel still served as an elite residence of the leaders of the community (see Ch. II. 5.1.1.6).

The settlement suffered from repeated fires, the most serious of which was probably the one at the end of LH IIIC Middle, when all of the buildings on the western slope of the Acropolis

were destroyed (Iakovidis 1986, 257; French 2011, 31; Mühlenbruch 2013, 294–95). I would suggest that this event caused the abandonment of the entire citadel, as any evidence for its occupation in LH IIIC Late is extremely scarce, and related rather to the use of the area as burial and refuse area, and possibly a refugium. By that time burials took place on the Acropolis for the first time since the Early Mycenaean period (French 2011, vii). However, it seems that the regular occupation of the fortress stopped, and the settlement was now laid only outside the walls. The urbanised occupational pattern of the palatial period was thus finally abandoned and the palatial town was ultimately ended.

7.6.3. Later history of the settlement

The post-palatial settlement continued to exist until the end of LH IIIC Late (*WBM* phase XII), and the habitation of the site probably never completely ceased even after this period (French 2002, 141). However, it seems that the Citadel was long used only as a fortified *refugium*, and later probably also a cult place, as evidenced by the Archaic temple raised on the summit of the Acropolis. The latter covered the palatial ruins, but was built on an orientation different from the palace, and its connection to the earlier Mycenaean cult is in fact doubtful (Mylonas 1966d, 70–72). The change in the occupational pattern of the Lower Town, which occurred between LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle, turned out to be long-standing, as evidenced by later remains of the historical period, and the extent of the Hellenistic town. The establishing of the latter, which was composed of a fortified Lower Town, and the densely reoccupied Citadel, marks a key moment in the later history of the settlement (French 2002, 141–50). Only at this point was the basic occupational pattern of the Mycenaean palatial period, with the fortified Acropolis surrounded by an open settlement, finally abandoned.

Chapter III Tiryns

1. Geographical context of the site

The Citadel of Tiryns (28 m. a.s.l.) stands on a low and narrow limestone outcrop that = lies in the shallowest point of the southern Argive Plain, close to the coast of the Argolic Gulf. The hill slopes from south to north, and can be divided into three distinct parts, used during the LBA to form the Upper, Middle and Lower Citadel. The Citadel is surrounded by a flat alluvial plain, gently sloping towards the sea, which is currently about 1.8 km away from the site (Zangger 1994, 190; Maran 2010, 722). However, geoarchaeological research by Eberhard Zangger has demonstrated that significant changes occurred to the ancient coast in the area. During the Early Bronze Age the coastline was only about 300 m southwest of the site, but during the Late Bronze Age it moved away due to massive sedimentation and was then about 1 km away from the Citadel (Zangger 1994, 194–96; fig. 42). Despite this distance, the site was still in the most favourable position to have both access to the coast, serving as a harbor and a good defensive location on the hill controlling the access into the Argive Plain, and being sheltered from the east by a range of three other hills: Ayios Giorgos (49 m. a.s.l.), and two named Profitis Ilias – the larger (194 m. a.s.l.) directly to the east and the smaller one to the southeast (107 m. a.s.l.).

At the foot of the latter hill runs the Manessi stream, the closest water source to Tiryns. However, its current course is a product of Mycenaean engineering and the construction of a dam at Kofini, on the riverbed 3.5 km to the east of Tiryns and a canal which diverted the river into a new course (Balcer 1974; Zangger 1994, 204–7). This construction must have taken place during LH IIIB2, and was the result of a palatial plan to divert the course of the river that had originally flowed right next to the Citadel. Moreover, the course of this river took a natural diversion during the Bronze Age, and while it originally ran to the south of the Citadel hill, during LH III it had also formed a branch encircling the hill from the north (Zangger 1994, 199–203; fig. 43). The most recent study of the stratigraphy of the north sector of the Lower Town dates this diversion to LH IIIA2, as pottery of this period was found below the river deposits (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 123). After the diversion and before the dam was built in LH IIIB2, the area to the north of the Citadel was subject to a series of periodic floods (fig. 44).[108] These must not only have prevented any settlement in the area during that period,

[108] Zangger thought that this natural diversion occurred only during LH IIIB/C, and was followed by an earthquake, which would then cause also a single massive catastrophic flooding (Zangger 1994, 199–203, 207–11). This hypothesis is now rejected by the results of long-term studies of the stratigraphy of the northern part of the site (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 127–30, 2016, 20, 2021, 123)

but also significantly affected the landscape to the north of the hill, which should be imagined as a swampy river basin (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 100–104, 127–30). This must have gradually changed after the construction of the dam, and during LH IIIC the area was already a dry flat plain, which was then overbuilt by an extensive settlement.

It was long believed that Tiryns, like Mycenae, suffered from repetitive earthquakes, which were supposedly responsible for multiple destruction horizons on the site, including the fall of the palace at the end of LH IIIB (Kilian 1996). However, unlike Mycenae, Tiryns has limited archaeological evidence for such a scenario, with almost all of the destruction levels across the site accompanied by evidence of fire, while the location of the site does not predispose it to the occurrence of an earthquake.[109] The results of the geoscientific project HERACLES (see Ch. II. 1.), which focused on testing the earthquake hypothesis at Tiryns and Midea, suggested that such an event did not occur at either of these sites during the Late Helladic period (Hinzen et al. 2018).

2. Chronology and settlement horizons

Tiryns was first occupied during the Middle Neolithic, and it gained prime importance during the Early Helladic II period, when a monumental circular building occupied the top of the Citadel hill (Müller 1930, 80–88; Maran 2010, 723–24). Evidence of Middle Helladic occupation is scarce, but the site started to gain importance once again during the Early Mycenaean period (Maran 2010, 724–25). During LH IIIA-B the palatial town of Tiryns was established and developed, but it was only during LH IIIC, when the palatial town was replaced by a post-palatial settlement of a largely different concept and plan, that it became the largest and most important centre of the region (see Ch. V.). Occupation at Tiryns continued into the Iron Age, although erosion, later overbuilding, and dismantling of those later remains by early excavators have all contributed to a lack of data on the post-Mycenaean remains (Mühlenbruch 2013, 268, 358; Maran 2010, 723). Nevertheless, it seems that the settlement pattern was radically changed after LH IIIC, with the Citadel and the previously inhabited areas of the Lower Town abandoned. It remains uncertain where exactly the settlement zones of the Early Iron Age were, but their presence is indicated by multiple graves found at the site (Maran 2015, 285–86).

The most thorough study of this entire occupational sequence was conducted by Kilian, who supervised excavations on the Lower Citadel and parts of the Lower Town between 1976

[109] In general prehistoric burnt remains have little chance of being associated with an earthquake, which in the pre-industrial era rarely caused a fire (Jung 2016, 556–58; see also discussion of the destruction of the West House Group in Ch. II. 6.4.2.5.).

and 1983 (Kilian 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1988a). He divided the stratigraphy of the site into twenty eight horizons, with the LBA spanning between Horizons 13-22, often divided into sub-horizons (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 9–14). These were dated by Kilian partially on the basis of the ceramic material, but should be understood primarily as architectural phases. The pottery from his excavations was studied primarily by Guntram Schönfeld (1988), Walter Voigtländer (2003) and Christian Podzuweit (2007). Podzuweit, in particular, presented a coherent analysis of Late Mycenaean pottery, and proposed different dating for some of Kilian's post-palatial horizons (Lis 2007, tbl. 1). The work on pottery from Tiryns was later supplemented by Stockhammer (2008), who studied LH IIIC pottery from the later excavations of the north-eastern lower town by Maran and Alkestis Papadimitriou (2006). The occupational sequence formed by Kilian was also the subject of a long study and revision by Lorenz Rahmstorf (2008), Ursula Damm-Meinhardt (2015a) and Tobias Mühlenbruch (2013), who published the small finds, architecture and stratigraphy of LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC levels respectively.

The history of the palatial town of Tiryns spans Kilian's Horizons 14 and 22, with also seven distinct phases of the lower town that can be distinguished at the site (tab. 2). The dating of those phases presented here, as well as that of the general phases of the palatial town and of individual horizons, largely follows summaries presented by Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 12) and Mühlenbruch (2013, 3) and Stockhammer (2007, figs 3–4), however an important revision is included, regarding the dating of only the sub-horizons 17a4-5 to LH IIIB2 Late, instead of the entirety of Horizon 17. This change follows the latest research on synchronisation of Mycenaean pottery (Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, tbl. 1:a).[110]

The Mycenaean remains on the site are discussed below, starting with the fortifications (see Ch. III. 3.), followed by the funerary landscape (see Ch. III. 4.), buildings of the Citadel (see Ch. III. 5.), and finally buildings of the Lower Town (see Ch. III. 6.). A summary of the settlement's history during LBA follows (see Ch. III. 7.).

3. Fortifications

The fortifications of Tiryns were first studied by Schliemann and Dörpfeld (1886), followed by Kurt Müller (1930). In the 1950s the restoration works of the Greek Archaeological

[110] This issue regards the problem of the general phasing of LH IIIB at Tiryns and Mycenae. At Tiryns the period was originally divided into four phases (English/German): LH IIIB Early/SH IIIB Früh, LH IIIB Middle/SH IIIB Mitte, LH IIIB Developed/SH IIIB Entwickelt and LH IIIB Final/SH IIIB Ende (Podzuweit 2007, 210–13). The latter two were synchronized by Stockhammer (Stockhammer 2008, figs 3–4), and later again by him and French (French and Stockhammer 2009) with LH IIIB2 Late. However, this synchronization was more recently rejected by Vitale and Van De Moortel (Vitale and Van de Moortel 2020, tbl. 1:a), who instead synchronized LH IIIB Developed with LH IIIB2 Early, and LH IIIB Final with LH IIIB2 Late, following earlier research on LH IIIB-LH IIIC transition by Vitale (2006).

Service at the Lower Citadel under the direction of Verdelis led to the uncovering of the underground cisterns – the Syringes. This discovery precipitated the resumption of excavations by the German Archaeological Institute and researching the details of the history of Lower Citadel's fortifications (Maran 2010, 723). The latter were also more recently revised by Maran's excavations of the north tip of the Lower Citadel (Maran 2008).

3.1. First phase

The first fortifications at Tiryns were built during LH IIIA, probably together with the first Palace **[TIR3 – phase 1]** (tab. 3; see Ch. III. 5.1.1.). The Cyclopean wall encompassed only the highest, southernmost part of the Citadel, thus forming the Upper Citadel (fig. 45). During this early phase it had only one gate – at the east wall, flanked by two towers. There were already storage rooms built into the southwest corner of the wall (Iakovidis 1983, 3–5). In LH IIIB1 Early this structure was developed by construction of the East Bastion and extension of the Upper Citadel to the south. Another gate was also built between the forecourt and the Palace, with two more gates installed between the East Bastion and the main wall of the Upper Citadel (Iakovidis 1983, 6; Kilian 1988c, fig. 9).

At the same time the northern lower part of the Citadel hill was fortified for the first time, with a wall of rubble foundation on which a mud-brick superstructure was set (Kilian 1988a, 139, 1988c, 134). Thus the Lower Citadel was formed for the first time, although only a short fragment of its first wall was excavated and thus its exact course and the extent of the area it encircled are difficult to estimate. It is unknown how was it connected to the Upper Citadel, if at all, but it must have had some access way, probably from the south (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 19–20). If the known fragment of the wall's foundations is prolonged so that it follows the natural shape of the hill, the perimeter of this fortification would be ca. 260 m, and thus the total perimeter including also the Upper Citadel would sum up to 605 m.

3.2. Second phase

After the widespread destruction horizon which affected the site at the end of LH IIIB1, the Citadel was redeveloped into a new, much larger and more imposing form (tab. 3; fig. 45). This development was synchronised with the construction of the new palatial complex **[TIR3 – phase 2]** (see Ch. III. 5.1.1.). It is probable that the destructions affected the old wall of the Lower Citadel, as it was completely abandoned and replaced by new Cyclopean fortifications, equipped with twenty eight wall chambers, large niches built into the fortification wall. Interestingly, they were not set immediately on the ground level, but few meters above, thus the access to them must have been ensured through stairways or ladders. There was also a sally port in the northwest corner of this new wall (Maran 2008, 41–43).

The Middle Citadel was also built to the north of the Upper Citadel, on the central part of the hill. It had particularly thick Cyclopean walls, forming a massive terrace which connected together the Upper and the Lower Citadel. As there were no architectural remains found on this terrace that would date to the palatial period, it has been suggested that it served as the palatial garden, but this remains speculative (Jantzen 1975, 39–40). The massive squared West Tower was built on the west wall of the Middle Citadel. It was most probably equipped with another gate and a staircase leading up to the Upper Citadel. West Bastion was construction below the Tower, with a stone staircase, known as the Western Staircase set inside of it. It raised from a new Postern Gate, constructed at the bottom of the West Bastion. Fortified storerooms, built of timber-framed mud-brick set on basement cells of rubble masonry, were added to the south wall of the Upper Citadel. These developments sealed the south gate which had previously functioned on this side of the fortress. The East Bastion was rebuilt and equipped with vaulted galleries, unique for Mycenaean defensive architecture, and serving as storerooms. The inner gate of the East Bastion was moved forward, and rebuilt in a monumental form, closely resembling the Lion Gate of Mycenae. The main entrance to the Citadel was formed on the east side, with a massive stone ramp leading to the East Gate, from which one could go north to the Lower Citadel, or south, into the gates of East Bastion (Iakovidis 1983, 6–13; Maran 2010, 726–28).

In this phase, the citadel of Tiryns was the most complex of all the Mycenaean fortresses, even if by far not the largest. It covered only ca. 1.85 ha, with a wall circuit of 745 m, but used a variety of advanced defensive measures, with very thick, tri-partite Cyclopean wall precinct, multiple bastions, towers and gates, supplemented by a sally port, underground cisterns and abundance of fortified storage space. This complex form was probably a result of not only the importance of the site, and the need to protect its harbour, but also of the relatively low and flat shape of the Citadel hill, which forced the construction of extreme defensive measures in order to ensure strong defensive capabilities.

During LH IIIB2 Late, after the fire which affected at least parts of the Lower Citadel at the end of LH IIIB2 Early, its fortifications were rebuilt (Maran 2008, 41–50). The sally port in the northwest area was sealed, as well as most of the wall chambers (Maran 2008, 89, 98–109).[111] Around the same time, a new North Gate was opened at the north end of the Lower

[111] Kilian attributed the sealing of the wall chambers to the early post-palatial period (Kilian 1979, 404). However, Maran has pointed out that it is doubtful to expect such a scale of construction works on monumental architecture during this period, and at the same time he recognized traces of extensive building works on the fortifications executed during the final part of the palatial period, and attributed them in part also to the process of the sealing of the chambers (Maran 2008, 89; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 248).

Citadel (Maran 2010, 728). All of those developments show not only an abandonment of some of the defensive measures taken shortly before, but also that it was imperative to ensure access from the north, were a new settlement area was planned after construction of the dam (Maran 2009b, 252; see Ch. III. 7.4.). At the same time some changes also occurred at the Upper Citadel, where a new pebble floor was laid in the Western Staircase (Kardamaki 2015, 93).

The fire which destroyed the Palace **[TIR3]** at the end of LH IIIB must have affected at least the Upper Citadel, but nothing certain is known about the damage. The fortifications remained in use throughout the post-palatial period. The North Gate was back in use no later than during LH IIIC Middle 1 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 350). The date of the final abandonment of the fortifications is a matter of speculation. Possibly, it remained in use, to a various extent, until the Classical period, when Argos destroyed the polis of Tiryns and partially demolished its walls (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 705–10).

4. Funerary landscape

Unlike Mycenae, Tiryns lacks any traces of its special significance during the Middle Helladic or even the LH I period (Maran 2015, 278–79). There are no richly furnished graves of this period in the vicinity of the site, and in general the funerary landscape at Tiryns was dispersed, with the primary burial ground of the Mycenaean era being established relatively far away from the settlement, on the slopes of Profitis Ilias, to the east of the Citadel (Rudolph 1973, 23). This must have been the result of the topography around the site, which was generally flat, and lacked additional outcrops of rock apart from the Citadel hill itself, and thus was not suitable for tholos or chamber tombs. Nevertheless, the only example of a monumental burial form associated with the site – a single tholos tomb, is of quite a late date (tabs. 4-5 and 9; see Ch. III. 4.2.).

4.1. Chamber tomb cemetery at Profitis Ilias

The only cemetery of chamber tombs associated with Tiryns was located about 1.5km to the east of the Citadel, on the east slope of Profitis Ilias (Rudolph 1973, 23; tab. 4; fig. 46). The association with Tiryns is not without doubts, but it is the only necropolis discovered in the vicinity of the site (Jantzen 1975, 66). This location, still quite far from the settlement, was clearly forced by topography, as the hill of Profitis Ilias was the nearest outcrop of limestone large enough to facilitate construction of chamber tombs (Rudolph 1975, 23).

The actual number of tombs built in the area is unknown. The cemetery was discovered in 1915 and excavated by Karo in 1927, and the state of the preserved documentation was often problematic (Jantzen 1975, 66). Jantzen mentioned that there was more than fifty graves in the area, but Wolf Rudolph, who published Karo's excavations in 1973, described only eighteen of

them in detail in his catalogue (Rudolph 1973, 23–87). Two of them were shaft graves with side chambers, while all the others were chamber tombs (Jantzen 1975, 66). The finds were rather poor, and no exceptional burials were identified (Rudolph 1973, 90–123). The construction of the oldest tombs was dated to LH I. The use of the cemetery continued throughout the entire LBA, with even some Geometric finds testifying to continuous use of the tombs after the Mycenaean period (Rudolph 1973, 124–26).[112]

4.2. Tholos tomb

The single tholos tomb associated with Tiryns is located ca. 800m to the east of the Citadel, on the west slope of Profitis Ilias (tabs. 5 and 9; fig. 46). It was entirely robbed in antiquity and then reused in the Roman period as an oil mill (Müller 1975, 1). None of its original contents are known, but the construction date can be inferred on the basis of the architecture. It is built with advanced rubble masonry, set in regular courses, and has a walled dromos. Both of those characteristics, when compared to the tholos tombs of Mycenae, suggest a construction *TPQ* in LH IIB (Müller 1975, 4; Fitzsimons 2006, 152). The facade of the stomion was plastered and painted (Müller 1975, 2). Pivot holes for the doors were preserved on the central lintel stone, indicating presence of doors. Inside the chamber there was a shaft, the walls and floor of which were also plastered. However, it was robbed entirely of its original content and filled with stones (Müller 1975, 3). The dome has a unique form, with two different curves of the vault and a vertical shaft serving as a light well, at the top (Müller 1975, 3–4).

The presence of doors in the stomion would suggest a later date, probably in LH IIIA, as they seem to only then appear at Mycenae, during the remodelling of the Lion Tomb (see Ch. II. 4.3.2.). However, the tholos is rather small and in general the architectural form is quite unusual, especially the peculiar curvature of the chamber and the shaft on its top. Thus, the date of construction must remain uncertain.

The presence of this monumental burials form indicates the emergence of an elite group, although the interpretation of the nature of this group varies greatly. The tomb could either mark the emergence of a local, independent elite group, or it could be linked to the moment of Tiryns coming under the rule of Mycenae or at least becoming an ally to it. These two different interpretations have siginificant implications for the understanding of what the appearance of this tholos means for the history of Tiryns, especially regarding the strict control of the conspicuous burial forms in the region by Mycenae from LH IIIA onwards (Voutsaki 1995).

[112] The number of the graves assigned to specific phases was as follows (some graves were used in multiple phases): LH I - 5 graves, LH IIA - 7 graves, LH IIB - 9 graves, LH IIIA1 - 11 graves, LH IIIA2 - 11 graves, LH IIIB1 - 10 graves, LH IIIB2 - 7 graves, LH IIIC1 - 6 graves, LH IIIC2 - 3 graves (Rudolph 1973, 124).

The construction of this tholos in LH II and then lack of further development of the elite burial ground could mark the period of the subordination of the local elite by Mycenae and then depriving it of the right to build new tholos tombs. However, especially if the later construction date for the tholos is accepted (LH IIIA), a completely opposite interpretation can be also implied. This would suggest that the use of this burial form can be linked to Tiryns acquiring status of a vassal or ally to Mycenae. Tiryns would then be the only centre other than Mycenae with the right to construct such a monument. The choice between those two proposals will always be a matter of a debate, and cannot be definitively resolved with the available data. However, I find the second proposal more likely, especially given the fact that it is possible that Tiryns came under the rule of Mycenae already during the 15th century BC, when the proto-palace **[TIR2]** was constructed on the Upper Citadel (Maran 2015, 279–80; see Ch. III. 5.1.1.). In such a scenario, even if the earlier date for the tholos is accepted, it would still be constructed in some connection to the development of Tiryns by Mycenae, or at least with the support of Mycenae.

There is a chance that there was at least one more tholos on the west slope of Profitis Ilias, although such a possibility has to be treated with caution. The dromos of another domed tomb was allegedly found during excavations in 1913. There were plans to uncover it in 1940, but those were abandoned due to the war and the location of this second dromos was then lost (Jantzen 1975, 65).

4.3. North Lower Citadel cemetery

Over thirty eight burials were found in the northern part of the Lower Citadel during different excavations campaigns in that area (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 251; tab. 4). They were mostly simple pits, without any grave goods, although one of the pits might have been dug into an elongated shape that was supposed to resemble a chamber tomb (Maran 2008, 92–93). Kilian believed that these were the graves of the victims of the destructions at the end of LH IIIB, which belonged to the socially disadvantaged sections of the population and were thus buried hastily within the ruins (Kilian 1979, 386–95). However, the grouping of the graves, their stratigraphical distribution and the fact that the area was not overbuilt until LH IIIC Middle, suggest that the north part of the Lower Citadel might have also served as an intramural cemetery during LH IIIC Early (Maran 2008, 91–94).

4.4. Other burials

There were more burials of various nature found within the settlement area. Only a few Mycenaean graves were found in various parts of the Lower Town and those were mainly child burials excavated in the South-east Sector (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 11–12, 19). A

rich Early Mycenaean child grave was excavated in the East Sector of the Lower Citadel, around Building X **[TIR22]** (Kilian 1982, 419–20). Notably, the courtyard between Building VI **[TIR17]** and the Lower Citadel wall, known as the Zwinger, might have been used as an intramural cemetery during the palatial period. Seventeen simple burials in pits without grave goods were found in this area (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 186, 243). Multiple other simple graves were spread around the Lower Citadel. They were found in various parts of the zone, primarily around Building II **[TIR14]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 32), Building III **[TIR15]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 65), Building V **[TIR16]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 137), Building XIII **[TIR19-20]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 215)**,** Building X **[TIR22]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 232)**,** but also in the South-west Area, over the remains of the LH IIIB1 fortification wall (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 209)**.** The dates of these burials are rarely certain, due to scarcity of finds and problems with interpreting the stratigraphy, but they probably belonged mostly to LH IIIB2 or LH IIIC Early. Regardless of the chronology, a recent archaeometric study proved that at least some of those graves belonged to the craftsmen and craftswomen, probably of rather low status, who were exposed to physical labour and inhalation of smoke from lignite used in the production of metals and ceramics (Buckley et al. 2021, 6–7).

5. Buildings of the Citadel

The buildings on the Citadel hill are discussed in this section, with the discussion of the Upper Citadel followed by the Lower Citadel (tabs. 6-8; fig. 47). The scarce architectural remains located on the Middle Citadel cannot be dated to any specific period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 260), although there was a Late Mycenaean pottery kiln found there in 1913 by Hans Dragendorff (1913, 339–41; Müller 1930, 113; Rahmstorf 2008, 144). There are no details known about it, but it seems the most probable that it was of post-palatial date, since it would be the only part of the Late Helladic period when this area was not in the closest vicinity of the palace **[TIR3]**.

5.1. Upper Citadel

The Upper Citadel of Tiryns, dominated by the well-preserved palatial complex **[TIR1-3]** was almost entirely uncovered by Schliemann and Dörpfeld (1886). However, important excavations were also conducted in the area in 1980s by Kilian (1988b) and in the 1990s by Maran (2000). They helped to clarify important details regarding the history of the predecessors of the palace **[TIR3]**, but also its later reoccupation. The buildings of the Upper Citadel are discussed below in a chronological order.

5.1.1. Palace at Tiryns **[TIR1-3]**

There are no Middle Helladic architectural remains on the Upper Citadel, and even pottery finds were scarce, suggesting that occupation during this period was not intense (Maran 2015, 278). The earliest building remains identified on the hill belong to the so-called Maison de Chef **[TIR1],** now dated to LH I (Maran 2015, 278). It was excavated by Kilian who believed it to be of Middle Helladic date, but no final publication was prepared. A few walls were found under the Great Megaron of the palace **[TIR3]**, together with a deposit of painted plaster (Maran 2001b, 24). However, it is unclear if the plaster belonged to this building, or rather comes from later disturbances (Maran 2010, 725). A few pieces of a surface and a small wall which probably should be associated with this building were also excavated by Maran under the porch of the Great Megaron (Maran 2001b, 25). This indicates that the building stretched further to the south of the Great Megaron, but the overall plan or function of the structure remains unknown. There are no indications that this building had a monumental appearance, but the location itself, at the very top of the Citadel hill and directly below the Great Megaron, suggests that this building in fact starts a sequence of Mycenaean residences in the area (Maran 2010, 724–25).

The remains of the next phase are much better preserved, although they are still scarce. It seems that in LH II the first monumental Mycenaean elite residence was raised on the Upper Citadel. Remains of this Proto-palace **[TIR2]** include a layer of LH II pottery and fresco fragments below the court of the Little Megaron, rubble of stones with LH II pottery and painted plaster below the Little Megaron, and architectural remains below the porch of the Great Megaron. The latter were arranged on at least two terraces, indicating a building of some complexity. The remains included a few walls, patches of plaster floors, and remains of staircase connecting the two terraces on which the complex was arranged (Maran 2001b, 24–28). The plaster tripod table found by Kilian, if attributed to the use phase of this building, suggests some activities related to cult (Maran 2001b, 24). However, in general the function of the area remains unknown. There was no sign of a violent destruction, thus the building must have been purposefully dismantled in LH IIIA, before the construction of the first Palace Building **[TIR3]**, when a completely new plan was implemented on the Upper Citadel (see below). This probably occurred together with construction of the first fortification wall.

During LH IIIA the Upper Citadel was entirely rebuilt, with the first palace using a double-megaron plan **[TIR3 – phase 1]** together with construction of the fortifications (Maran 2015, 280). The exact construction date is unknown, with both LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 being possible (Maran 2001b, 23). The later date seems more in accordance with the developments at Mycenae, where the first palace is built in LH IIIA2, but it cannot be excluded that construction

at Tiryns occurred earlier. The first Palace was composed of the Little Megaron, and the Great Megaron, with the latter located a little further to the south than its LH IIIB2 successor (fig. 47). Not much of the rest of the plan is known, but there were walls of this phase also to the south, and the plan probably anticipated that of the later LH IIIB2 complex. Rooms set against the fortification wall were also built in this phase, along the western fortification wall. These were located close to the Great Megaron, and further south around the external courtyard (Kilian 1988b; Maran 2001b, 23–25). Yet again there are no signs of any destruction, thus the first palace must have been purposefully dismantled, while some walls were definitely reused as elements of the next phase of the building (Iakovidis 1983, 19).

At the beginning of LH IIIB2 (Horizon 17a0), a new palace was constructed **[TIR3 – phase 2]**, following impressive master plan, which also included the extension of the Citadel (Iakovidis 1983, 19; Maran 2010, 726, 2015, 280–82). The palace centred around two megarons and a complex system of courtyards divided by multiple gates (fig. 48). A large external forecourt (2) was set behind the internal fortification gate of the Upper Citadel. From there one could go through a monumental Propylon (3) and enter the inner colonnaded Great Court (4). This was dominated from the north by the Great Megaron (5-7), inside of which was preserved not only the painted plaster floor and a large central hearth surrounded by four columns, but also a place for the throne, set on the east wall of the inner hall (Kilian 1988b). The east wing of the palace was organised around the Little Megaron (17-18), with multiple rooms (20-29) built around two more courtyards (16, 30). In the south-east part of the complex was a space of unknown organisation or function. It was filled with a labyrinth of later walls and was simply named "residences remains" by the excavators (Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886). To the west of the Great Megaron was a series of rooms (8-10, 12-13) set along a long corridor (12, 14), most probably with a staircase at the south end.

Among these rooms was a space identified as a bathroom (11), which had a unique floor made of a single giant slab, with a depression in the centre, and walls built of wooden panels set on a stone substructure. This part of the palace was directly attached to storerooms abutting the western fortification wall of the Upper Citadel (46). This monumental three-axial plan must have been result of a pre-planned construction, which ensured the integration of the palace with the Citadel's fortifications as well as the strict control of movement from outside as well as inside the complex (Müller 1930, 119–93; Jantzen 1975, 13–58). This is indicated not only by the architectural form, with a system of passages constructed around increasingly closed spaces to which a set of liminal points led, but also a programme of fresco decorations, with multiple images of processions (Rodenwaldt 1912; Maran, Papadimitriou, and Thaler 2015). This

architectural and decorative programme was designed to lead the visitors into the throne room, but at the same time distance it from the outside world both physically and symbolically. This idea was definitely not unique to Tiryns, and should be perceived as an inherent part of the *wanax* ideology, although the site provides a unique opportunity to study this design due to a good level of architectural preservation (Thaler 2015).

The functions of individual rooms are uncertain, as the building was cleared by Schliemann and Dörpfeld and thus detailed distribution of finds remains unknown. Nevertheless, there was an impressive collection of pottery, stone and metal vessels, an abundance of terracotta figurines, tools and ornaments found in the palace (Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886). One extraordinary find is a bronze figure of a spearman, possibly an import from Anatolia (Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886, 187; Jantzen 1975, 177–78). The plan of the palace suggests that the west wing was of a private character, having access to the bathroom and the upper storey which probably served as a residential space, while the east wing was probably related to administrative and economic activities which might have been supervised from the Little Megaron (Iakovidis 1983, 15). The Great Megaron undoubtedly served as a seat of a ruler and the area where both public and ritual activities took place. It is noteworthy that almost all of the hundreds of figurines found by Schliemann came from the area of the palace (Jantzen 1975, 168).

The entire complex was destroyed by a violent conflagration at the end of LH IIIB (Maran 2015, 280; Jung 2016). There are dumps of burned deposits from this destruction along the western wall of the Upper Citadel, inside the Western Staircase and further south within the so-called Epichosis, but debris was also left over the palace (Iakovidis 1983, 19–20; Maran 2001a, 118–19; Kardamaki 2015).

5.1.2. Building T **[TIR4]**

Not long after the destruction of the palace, probably during LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19), parts of the burned debris covering the Great Court and the Great Megaron were cleared away and dumped along the western wall of the Upper Citadel (Maran 2001a, 115–16; Mühlenbruch 2013, 258–59; Kardamaki 2015). An elongated rectangular hall known as Building T **[TIR4 – phase 1]** was built within this cleared space, inside the walls of the Great Megaron and re-using its east wall (Maran 2000, 10–15). The structure must have stood quite isolated, rising above among the shallow mound formed by the ruins of the palace (fig. 47). This landscape by itself must have had a significant influence on the social memory of the post-palatial society at Tiryns, especially of the elite members who participated in the activities on the Upper Citadel and were thus constantly reminded of the palatial era past (Maran 2020, 185).

The plaster floor of the Great Megaron was probably reused in this building as it was not damaged during the construction and the post-holes for roof supports were cut into it (Maran 2000, 14, 2001a, 114). The walls of Building T were probably not decorated, as there were no finds of painted plaster within the levels associated with it (Maran 2010, 729). Nevertheless, the internal arrangement remains little known. The building reused two of the columns of the Great Megaron, with additional roof supports set in row along the central axis. Two stone slabs set in the inner part of the hall were probably platforms for portable hearths or other devices (Maran 2001a, 114–15). Despite the fact that the building included the throne from the palace, a straightforward continuation of the royal power is doubtful. Nevertheless, a symbolic reference to the power of the *wanax* was probably attempted within the building (Maran 2010, 729, 2015, 284). However, instead of being solely the seat of a ruler, the building probably served also as an assembly hall for the leaders of the post-palatial elite, with the throne used by its leader, but not being set in the very central spot any more (Mühlenbruch 2009, 314, 2013, 258–59). It is also probable that communal feasts were held inside the building, or in front of it, in the cleared out part of the Great Court. This function can be linked to traces of twelve pithoi that were stored behind the building, along the collapsed north wall of the Great Megaron (Maran 2001a, 118). The remodelling of the round altar on the Great Court, which was formed into a squared platform, occurred together with the construction of Building T (Maran 2015, 284). It suggests the continuation of ritual activity on the Upper Citadel, although it was probably no longer concentrated on processions leading to the throne room. Parts of the fortifications were also repaired at the time, and despite being mostly covered with destruction debris of the palace, the area of the Upper Citadel still constituted a clearly defined settlement zone, with specialised public and ritual functions (Maran 2001a, 118–19).

The building was remodelled at some point **[TIR4 – phase 2]**, with new roof supports installed, evidenced by juxtaposition of post-holes (Maran 2001a, 114). However, the overall plan of the building did not change. The remodelling might have occurred in LH IIIC Middle 2, when the Lower Citadel also went through a period of intensified building activity (see Ch. III. 7.5.). The building was abandoned before the end of the Mycenaean period, during LH IIIC Late (Maran 2000, 16).

5.2. Lower Citadel

The Lower Citadel forms a well-defined and the most thoroughly researched settlement zone at Tiryns. It was excavated by several teams of the German Archaeological Institute, most notably under Jantzen between 1965 and 1971 (Gercke et al. 1971; Müller et al. 1975; Avila et al. 1980), and under Kilian during eight campaigns from 1976 to 1983 (Rahmstorf 2008;

Mühlenbruch 2013; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a). This work was more recently supplemented with excavations of the North Area conducted by Maran (2008). All the buildings identified on the Lower Citadel are discussed below in the chronological order, starting from scarce remains of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 - the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]**, through the Lower Citadel Complex of LH IIIB2 **[TIR9-22]**, the re-occupation of its ruins in LH IIIC Early **[TIR23-27]** and finally buildings of the post-palatial Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54].** Within each chronological group the discussion is further organised in a roughly geographical order, arranged counter-clockwise starting from the North Area.

5.2.1. Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]**

The Lower Citadel was fully established in LH IIIB1 (Horizon 15), when the first fortification wall was constructed around the northern part of the Citadel hill, but some earlier architecture was present during LH IIIA (Horizon 14). The area was a 130 m long lower part of the hill, with slopes much less steep than the rocky Upper Citadel. The remains from this early period are poorly preserved, due to later intensive overbuilding. Nevertheless, a few buildings known from the period provide insight into the extent, form and function of the Lower Citadel at the time (fig. 49). It seems that at that time the entire area was overbuilt, given the fact that some of it was found at the north end of the hill. However, the circuit of the first wall built in LH IIIB1was slightly shorter at the time than during LH IIIB2, and the fortifications were not only significantly less advanced, but lower. The complex must have been entered from the south, from the entrance area connected also to the Upper Citadel and accessed from the east by the ramp, although no remains of any gate were found.

Building M5-6/03 **[TIR5]** was identified only by a few pieces of architecture excavated by Maran below LH IIIB2 layers at the north tip of the hill, and dated to LH IIIB1 (Maran 2008, 38; fig. 49). There were two fragments of walls, with a piece of a floor, and probably a courtyard with an oven on it. Another wall, with a floor fragment was found little further to the north, below the later North Gate. The building might have been a residence, but no clear indication of function is available (Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 192). The oven was probably multi-functional, but was not necessarily associated with any large-scale production (Vetters et al. 2016, 98–100).

Building R213 **[TIR6]** was located in the southern part of the complex (fig. 49-50). It was excavated by Kilian, but only a small part with two opposing walls and a clay floor in between was uncovered (Kilian 1988a, 137). The building dates to LH IIIB1 Early (Horizon 15), and must have been constructed in some connection with the Ramparts Building **[TIR7]**, located immediately to the south (Rahmstorf 2008, 260–62; fig. 50).

The structure labelled here as Ramparts Building **[TIR7]** was a relatively large multi-room and multi-functional building (fig. 49-51). It was the best preserved building of the Ramparts Complex, although its full plan remains unknown, as the building was only partially uncovered by Kilian (Kilian 1988a, 126–37).

The first phase of the building **[TIR 7 – phase 1a]** was dated to the later part of LH IIIA (Horizon 14), proving that the development of the area began even before the construction of the fortifications. The remains of this phase consist of two rooms – R217 and R218, and fragment of a corridor set on a terrace to the south, on a different level than the rooms were (Kilian 1978, 137). The finds associated with this phase were a group of domestic pottery, glass beads, an ivory comb, spindle whorls, terracotta figurines, and tools including a bronze drill. A stone built box-like installation was also found in room R218 (Rahmstorf 2008, 270–71) There were some modifications made to those rooms at the beginning of LH IIIB1 (Horizon 15) **[TIR7 – phase 1b]**, when the fortification wall was built next to them and the west wall of the building was rebuilt (Rahmstorf 2008, 270; fig. 50). No destruction levels are mentioned in the reports regarding this phase, thus these rooms must have been dismantled before the construction of the following phase. It was probably enlarged, but it is difficult to say as the full extent of phase 1 is not known (Rahmstorf 2008, 287).

The next phase of the building dates to LH IIIB1 Late (Horizon 16a1) **[TIR7 – phase 2a]**. It consisted of at least five rooms set on a lower terrace – R214 and R215 built on top of R217 and R218 respectively, R216 attached to the south, and R209 with R210 built on the opposite side of corridor R211, and two more rooms on the upper terrace – the large rectangular room R190, with R207 serving as a vestibule (fig. 51). The latter could have been entered from the north, from outside of the building, but also from the south, where a wide corridor (R208) was built. The west wall of R217 and R218 remained in use, now as the west wall of 214 and 215, with the dividing wall between the two rooms moved slightly to the south (Rahmstorf 2008, 270). There was a hearth in R214 during that phase, and a pithos set in the southwest corner. In room R210 there was an abundance of metal finds, including slag, scrap objects, together with a large clay-built oven, with layer of ash inside and in front of it. Fragments of crucibles were found both inside the oven and in front of it (Rahmstorf 2008, 271).

The building seems to be a domestic unit with a private living space in the upper room R190 similar to the Northwest Terrace in West House **[MYC57]**. The room was equipped with a hearth. However, while the upper terrace served as a residential space, the lower had a different function. There were multiple tools, including crucibles and bronze rods, and abundant raw metal was material found there. Moreover, there was a bronze ingot hidden in the south

wall of room R215 (Rahmstorf 2008, 270–71). The presence of the large oven in R210, with a refuse pit next to it, further suggests that the building served a metallurgical workshop (Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 185–90; Rahmstorf 2015, 144–45). This was a highly valuable material, definitely in the interest of the palace, which together with the location of the building on the Lower Citadel, suggests that the building functioned as part of the palatial economy.

During the later part of LH IIIB1 Late (Horizon 16a5) all the floors in the building except from that in room R190 were renewed **[TIR7 – phase 2b]**, and a stone-paved path was laid to the south. A new doorway was opened in the west wall of R214, leading to the passage between the building and the fortification wall (Rahmstorf 2008, 273). Kilian stated that the building was destroyed by an earthquake at the end of LH IIIB1, evidenced by the collapsed fortification walls, damage to the building walls, and presence of a skeleton of a women under the collapsed structure (Kilian 1988a, 133, 137, 1996, 65). However, the reason for the collapse remains unclear, as it was allegedly not accompanied by fire, and the skeleton may be a much later intrusion. The area was not overbuilt for a long time, thus it might have been used as a temporary burial ground during the early post-palatial period (see Ch. III. 4.4.).

Immediately to the south of the Ramparts Building **[TIR7]**, a small fragment of Building R212 **[TIR8 – phase 1a]** was excavated (fig. 49 and 51). It is only briefly mentioned by Kilian in his report, where he referred to it as the "megaroid" structure (Kilian 1988a, 130). However, the plan is only fragmentarily known and not much can be said about the building. It was assigned to Horizon 16 (LH IIIB1 Late), but have probably gone out of use before the advanced stage of that phase, when the Ramparts Building was refurbished and the stone path was laid south of it, covering the anteroom of Building R212. However, it is possible that only part of the building was abandoned then, while the rest would have remained in use until the end of LH IIIB1 **[TIR8 – phase 1b?]**.

The function of the building remains unknown. There were a few tools and several glass beads inside room R212. On the outside surface to the west of the building many more beads were found together with some bone tools. The association of the latter deposit with this building is uncertain, but it is possible that the area was somehow associated with the processing of glass. It would fit the context of the Ramparts Building well, forming another pyro-technological workshop in the area, but this scenario must remain speculative (Rahmstorf 2008, 271–72).

Overall, the earliest development of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 1a]** can be dated to the later part of LH IIIA (Horizon 14), when the Ramparts Building **[TIR7 – phase 1a]** was first constructed. At the beginning of LH IIIB (Horizon 15) the complex **[TIR5-8 phase**

1b] was transformed into a properly established settlement zone, delimited by fortifications and probably intensively overbuilt. Ramparts Building **[TIR7 – phase 1b]** was modified at the time, and Building R213 **[TIR6]** is constructed immediately to the north (fig. 50). The extent of the complex at the time is suggested by the construction of Building M5-6/03 **[TIR5]**, located at the far north end of the Lower Citadel.

At the beginning of LH IIIB1 Late (Horizon 16a1) the complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 2a]** went through some redevelopment, with Rampart Building **[TIR7 – phase 2a]** rebuilt and probably enlarged, and Building R212 **[TIR8 – phase 1a]** constructed to the south of it, across a path which led to this area from the centre of the complex (fig. 49 and 51). Building R212 seems to have been well integrated with the Ramparts Building, being oriented almost exactly the same as room R207, which was the central part of the metallurgical workshop functioning in the building. Possibly Building R212 formed a similar, two-room rectangular unit constructed on the opposing side of the passage and possibly also being a pyro-technological workshop.

During the final part of LH IIIB1 (Horizon 16a5) the complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 2b]** yet again underwent changes. The Ramparts Building **[TIR7 – phase 2b]** was renewed and a stone-paved roadway was built to the south of it, partially over Building R212 **[TIR8 – phase 1b?]**, which must have either entirely gone out of use by then, or was rebuilt with only the front room abandoned. During phase 2 the south area of the Ramparts Complex was probably a palatial production zone, dedicated to processing metals and glass. It was fortified very early in the course of the development of the town, further indicating the significance of the economic operation taking place there. It seems that all the building of this complex were dismantled and levelled during the preparations for the construction of the new Lower Citadel. However, the area of the southern area of Ramparts Complex remained largely unoccupied during LH IIIB2 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 19). Only during LH IIIC new structures were built there (see Ch. III. 5.2.5.).

5.2.2. Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22]**

At the beginning of LH IIIB2, a radically new concept was developed for the Lower Citadel, with not only massive Cyclopean fortifications (see Ch. III. 3.2.), but also a complete rebuilding of the interior of the fortified area (fig. 52). A pre-planned multi-building palatial complex was constructed on a system of multiple terraces set on different levels of the hill. The complex went through two general phases of development dated to LH IIIB 2 Early (Horizon 17a0-3) and LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4-5), which were closely linked to the changes within the fortification system of the Lower Citadel (fig. 53-54).

Due to a large number of individual buildings the discussion is organised by areas, following the plan of Kilian's excavations (Rahmstorf 2008; Mühlenbruch 2013; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a). There are six of areas – North Area **[TIR9-10]**, North-west Area **[TIR11-14]**, West Area **[TIR15-17]**, South-west Area **[TIR18]**, South-east Area **[TIR19-20]** and East Area **[TIR21-22]** (fig. 52). All of the buildings are discussed below, and the summary of the complex's history follows.

5.2.2.1. North Area **[TIR9-10]**

Two buildings were excavated in the North Area of the Lower Citadel, both belonged only to the second phase of the palatial complex (fig. 54). Building XV **[TIR9]** was located on the east side of the road leading to the North Gate, and Building XI **[TIR10]** was built on the opposite side of the same lane. The area was first excavated by Kilian (1988a), and later cleared by Maran (2008).

Building XV **[TIR9]** was a large structure, only a small fragment of which was uncovered. Two rooms – R3/01 and R4/01, were found on the east side of a thick well-built wall M1/83, which served also as a boundary of the central lane leading to the North Gate. It seems that at least the northern room – R3/01, abutted the fortifications, but it is probable that the entire building was built against the Cyclopean wall. The building was constructed in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4) **[TIR9 – phase 1a]**, it might have served some role in the control of the North Gate, but overall function is unknown. Both rooms originally had clay floors. However, at some point during LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a5) **[TIR9 – phase 1b]**, floors in the building were renewed and plaster floor were laid. Domestic pottery, including cooking vessels, with few tools and a lead ingot might point to a residential function but this remains uncertain. The length and quality of the west wall, together with two imported amphorae, one from Cyprus and another from Crete, testify to elevated status of the structure, while its prominent location, at the crucial access point to the Citadel from the north, suggests some connection to the palace (Maran 2008, 57–59; Rahmstorf 2008, 239–40; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 28–29, 239). At the end of LH IIIB the building was destroyed by fire, evidenced by burnt floors and well-preserved destruction deposits (Maran 2008, 58).

Kilian and Damm-Meinhardt associated a destruction deposit found in the North Gate, which included a collection of imported pottery and a faience rhyton, with the upper floor of this building, but there is no evidence for this (Kilian 1988a, 111; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 29 contra; Rahmstorf 2008, 240; Maran 2008, 56). In fact there is no evidence that there even was a second floor in this building, which would then justify the assumption that the destruction

debris fallen in the area considerably distanced from the building (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 28).

Building XI **[TIR10]** was a subject of lot of later disturbances but it was still relatively well-preserved. It overbuilt a thick L-shaped retaining wall which supported the path leading to the sally port during LH IIIB2 Early. The unit was raised in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4) and consisting of four rooms – R1/02, R78a and R78b built against the fortification wall and set along a corridor – R4/02. At the entrance to the building there was R78c – probably a forecourt without a front wall, although possibly still roofed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 29). The former sally port was now used as a drain, the external part of which was running through room 1/02 and was probably used by this building too. There was also a hearth in room R78a (Maran 2008, 51–52).

The building was most probably a workshop of artisans in some way related to Cyprus or the Near East (Maran 2015, 282–83; Rahmstorf 2015, 146). This is suggested above all by the presence of a unique find - an ivory rod with cuneiform Ugaritic inscription, probably used as a mnemonic or metric device (Cohen, Maran, and Vetters 2010). The abundance of various tools and raw materials testifies to processing of gold, obsidian and other stone materials, inside of room R78a, R1/02 and corridor R4/02 respectively. Other finds included faience vessels among which was a unique rhyton in shape of monkey head, and two Cypriot wall appliqués (Rahmstorf 2008, 240–41). The fireplace in room R78a was probably used to embellish luxury faience items with a gold foil overlay (Brysbaert and Vetters 2010, 32; Brysbaert 2013, 195–99). The workshop seems to have been well organised, with various materials processed in separate spaces (Maran 2008, 90; Brysbaert 2014, 243). The location and organisation of the building, use of script, and quality and value of the objects processed in the building all suggest that this was a palatial workshop, overseen or even directly supervised by the palace (Brysbaert and Vetters 2010, 33, 2013, 199, 2015, 169–70). Its location might have been also related to control over goods transported to the Citadel from the harbour (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 31). No living quarters were identified and it is doubtful if the building served as a residence at all. The function of room R78b and the forecourt R78c was not established, but given the concentration of production activities, they would not provide enough living space for many craftsmen. There was also no hearth found within them, and no domestic deposit found. Instead, a few tools and ornaments, including an amber bead, were found in those spaces, thus it seems that they might have served as storage space (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 30–31). There was also no upper storey in the building. The building was entirely destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB (Maran 2008, 56).

5.2.2.2. North-west Area **[TIR11-14]**

There were four buildings excavated in this sector – Building XIV **[TIR11]**, Building IV **[TIR12]**, Building III **[TIR13]** and Building II **[TIR14].** They all belonged to the initial phase of the complex, although some went through a significant redevelopment during LH IIIB2 Late (fig. 53-54). The area was first excavated under Verdelis during work on the underground cisterns which are located below this sector of the fortification wall (Maran 2010, 723; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 49–50). The excavations were then continued by the team under Jantzen (Grossmann and Schäfer 1971, 1975; Avila, Grossman, and Schäfer 1980), and finally by Kilian, who finished uncovering of the area.

Building XIV **[TIR11]**, located in front of the wall chamber Kw14 was rather poorly preserved. Some retaining walls protecting the wall chamber were built here even before the building was raised, immediately after or together with the construction of the Cyclopean fortification wall (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 34). The building **[TIR11 – phase 1]** was raised some time after the fortifications, during LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a1). Originally it consisted of at least two rooms –R223 and an unnumbered room to the north of it visible on the excavation plan (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 18; tab. 8), both set on a terrace above the wall chamber Kw14 (fig. 53). During this phase there were probably other rooms or construction elements to the south and east, as suggested by scanty remains (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 33). Thus the basic unit of the building at that point was located on the terrace on which room R223 was, above the entrance to the wall chamber Kw14 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 35). A hearth and a deposit of domestic pottery, metal vessels, and various ornaments and tools were found in room R223, which was probably the main living area of the building at the time (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 37–39). Nevertheless wall chamber Kw14, probably already associated with this building, was a key functional area. It was larger and better built than other wall chambers, and equipped with a well. It is possible that the building was in control of the chamber and the well, but not enough of the plan or contents is known to be certain. Communication between the two levels was probably facilitated with a staircase or a ramp which must have been located to the north of the preserved remains (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 35, 39–40). It is unknown if the anteroom to the wall chamber was already roofed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 34).

It remains unknown if the significant alterations of the following phase were forced by destruction or damage to the building, or if it was simply abandoned and demolished to make room for a new arrangement. During LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4-5), the well in wall chamber Kw14 was filled and the unit on the upper terrace was abandoned and levelled to form an open

area spreading from Building IV **[TIR13]** to Building XI **[TIR10]** (fig. 54). Following these alterations, the wall chamber was partially sealed off with a wall, and new floors were laid inside and in the area in front, which was now divided into two rooms –R225 and R226 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 40–41). Thus the main unit of Building XIV **[TIR11 – phase 2]** was moved down below the terrace that has formerly carried the upper part of the building.

The finds are few, but inside wall chamber Kw14, two pits were dug into the floor, probably vessel stands for pithoi. Two lead cauldrons were also found inside the chamber. No hearth or other domestic facilities or deposits were located there or in R226 and R225, although only a part of the latter rooms was excavated (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 39–46; Rahmstorf 2008, 247). However, it seems that during the second phase the building was completely rearranged and its function changed - from a residential unit on a terrace attached to the area of the well, to a two-room warehouse set in front of the wall chamber which provided additional storage space (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 240). The building must have then controlled the access to the wall chamber, being located at the foot of a staircase which must have still led down from the upper terrace. The building was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB, but no traces of fire were reported (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 41).

Building IV **[TIR12 – phase 1]**, originally composed of two rooms - R221a and R222a, was constructed in LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon17a0-1) shortly after the Lower Citadel fortifications, with the form and plan adjusted to the constraints of area available between the Cyclopean wall, the northern underground cistern, and the terraced area to the east (fig. 53). It was set on a narrow foundation terrace running along the fortification wall. The only access to the building was from the south-east, through the ramp which led to the cistern (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 50–51). Apart from the two rooms, the building must have had an accessible al roof, which led to wall chamber Kw13, located above the south wall of the building. However, the location of a staircase is unknown, and it is possible that the roof was only accessible by a ladder. Overall, Building IV was a small but solid structure, with good quality clay floors. A threshold leading from the outside to room R222a was cut of a large block of limestone (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 51–52).

At the end of LH IIIB2 Early (end of Horizon 17a3) the building was significantly damaged, but no traces of fire were recorded. The south wall and the central wall both tilted, while the mud-brick superstructure and the roof probably collapsed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 54–55). It is difficult to say what could have caused this damage if an earthquake is excluded (Hinzen et al. 2018). The only other possibility seems to be a contact with falling elements of other collapsing structures.

The entire building **[TIR12 – phase 2]** was rebuilt in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4), with both the superstructure and the roof raised again (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 52). This is suggested by the fact that the plan was significantly changed, with the inner wall removed and the new floor laid across the entire building (fig. 54). During this phase the building had only one large room. All the functional facilities - a large oven with a chimney, a basin, and a hearth, belong to this phase. The function of the building is unclear. The deposits of both phases are not that different, and seem to be of a domestic nature, with a few open pottery shapes, some storage pottery, a few conuli, tools and ornaments. However, the concentration of functional facilities on the floor of the second phase is peculiar and points towards some specialised production. This could have been metallurgy, glass production, food preparation, or even a mixture of all of these (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 54–55). Moreover, even during the first phase it is hard to interpret the building as a regular residence - no hearth was found that would be associated with the first floor, and the plan would be very unusual for a house. Access to the additional storage space in wall chamber Kw13 also points towards a specialised economic function for the building. Altogether it seems that it was a workshop of some kind during both phases, although its role and the industry in which it was involved probably changed, and it could have at the same time served as a living space for the craftsmen working inside (*contra* Rahmstorf 2008, 247). The building collapsed at the end of LH IIIB, and yet again no traces of fire are mentioned in the reports (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 52).

Immediately to the east of Building IV **[TIR12**] was Building III **[TIR13]**, the west wall of which was the east wall of Building IV. Building III **[TIR13]** was a rectangular single-storey unit with two rooms - R2 and R3, and it had a pseudo-apsidal walled forecourt R1 attached from the south (fig. 53). The building was excavated mostly in the 1960s by Peter Grossmann and Jörg Schäfer, who worked under Jantzen (Grossmann and Schäfer 1971, 52–52, 61–63, 67–68, 1975, 55–60, 67–83, 94–96). Few details of the contents are known, as finds from two phases and from different areas were largely merged together (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 56).

The building **[TIR13 – phase 1a]** was constructed shortly after Lower Citadel fortifications, in LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a1). It was located between the terrace set to the west, which run from the northern underground cistern to wall chamber Kw14, and on which Building IV **[TIR12]** was constructed, and the upper terrace built to the west, which held a ramp leading to the cisterns from the central lane. The building was set in shallow foundation trenches, dug into a thin layer of earth covering the bedrock in the area. The only doorway during the first phase was in the east wall of the forecourt R1, as the north wall was at the time

blocked by the neighbouring Building XIV **[TIR11]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 58–59).There was a pebble pavement in room R2, probably with a hearth (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 61).

There is no data about any destruction or damage that would cause the rebuilding, but the new floor was laid in Building III **[TIR13 – phase 1b]** at some point in LH IIIB2 Late, not at the very beginning of the phase, but slightly later, after most of the alterations in the area had already happened (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 64). New tramped-earth floors were laid in court R1 and room R2, while new clay floor was laid in room R3. In addition, the north wall was then unblocked after the levelling of Building XIV **[TIR11]** which occupied that area (fig. 54), and a new doorway was opened. This door led to an open area, probably used by more buildings than just Building III. However, it was a key functional space, with an oven, tools and raw metal, and a hearth with organic remains spread around (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 46–49). Inside Building III, a drain was installed in the court R3, which required piercing through and rebuilding of the external curved wall, in order to join the drain with the central drain running behind the wall. It was also equipped with a pavement of stone slabs laid in the central area of the court, and despite the lack of finds, it seems to have been a working area (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 58). A hearth was built in room R2 during this phase. In room R3 there were five lead cauldrons found, at least two of which were embedded in the clay floor in a hollow vessels stands. Other finds from the building are not numerous, but include open pottery vessels and storage pottery, a few stone and metal tools and two glass ornaments (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 60–64).[113] The narrow space to the west, between the building and the terrace wall which supported the ramp leading to the cistern, could have been connected to this building. Moreover, there was a large external hearth, immediately south of the building, attached from the west to the terrace wall of the ramp (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 68).[114]

The set of functional facilities, access to two working areas (court R1 and open area to the north), and the presence of a number of storage vessels and a specialised storeroom with

[113] There were two more important, albeit problematic finds from the building. The first was an inscribed ceramic handle, which probably came from the construction level and thus was not used in the building (Olivier 1988, 261; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 63). The second was a bone stylus which, according to Kilian's notebooks, was found below the destruction debris of room R3. However, Damm-Meinhardt doubted this assessment and did not include the stylus in the publication of the building's assemblage (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 64–65). Nevertheless, it was used by Rahmstorf to discuss possible palatial control over the industrial activities in this building and in the general area (Rahmstorf 2008, 211, 2015, 147).

[114] There may also have been a small storeroom added to the s west side of the building in Phase 1b (Horizon 17a5), for valuable goods. The finds included a necklace of at least nine blue glass curling or wavy beads of the same shape, a lead disc with graffiti - a weight, and a psi figurine. However the stratigraphy of this area is extremely uncertain and the connection of the small floor fragment and the threshold which constitute this context to any wall around, is dubious (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 69).

lead cauldrons in room R3 all indicates that Building III **[TIR13]** was a workshop (Hiesel 1990, 32). Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 64) suggested that room R2 might have served as a living area, but this seems unlikely given the location and open access to the room. However, her suggestion that the courtyard R1 served as a place for slaughtering animals is well justified (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 58). Access to a drain, the floor reinforced with stone slabs, and architectural form with only two narrow entrances – unusual for such a small courtyard, all support this hypothesis. Moreover, the narrow space between the ramp to the east and the building could have served for keeping the animals transported into the Citadel shortly before they were slaughtered (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 68). Multiple hearths and storage facilities accessible in the area, further suggest that Building III and its surroundings were involved in a large-scale food production. However, other activities might have been performed within the same space, especially those involving similar requirements, especially access to fire. The open space to the north of the building had strong evidence for metallurgical activities, to which lead cauldrons from room R3 might have been also associated, but other possibilities should not be neglected (Rahmstorf 2008, 248–49; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 46–49). In general, this unit should be interpreted as a multi-functional working area and probably an important part of the Citadel's economy (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 240–41).

Building II **[TIR14]** was located between the pathways leading down to two underground cisterns (fig. 53-54). It was a small, trapezoidal unit of two rooms – 2a and 2b, built against the fortification wall, probably with access to wall chamber Kw12 secured through the roof. It had doorways on both sides and in the centre, between the two rooms. It was a small, simple single-storey unit with thin walls (Hiesel 1990, 21). The building must have been built immediately after the Cyclopean wall of the Lower Citadel, at the very beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a0).[115] There are no finds reported that would point towards any particular function.

Because of the location of the building at the entrance to the underground cisterns, and the architectural form with access on both sides, it was repeatedly suggested that the building was in control of the cisterns (Jantzen 1975, 48; Hiesel 1990, 21; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 31). Access to the wall chamber and a drain, a stone pavement protecting the entrance to room 2a,

[115] It was suggested by Grossmann and Schäfer (1971), who excavated the entire building, that it was originally oriented differently, with two rooms on the east-west axis, without any doorways (Avila et al. 1980, pl. 83:2). Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 31) cast some doubt on this interpretation, but did not openly contradict it. However, there are no walls on any plan that would support such a reconstruction, and it seems much more reasonable to assume that the plan of the building did not change after the original construction, especially that there is no apparent reason that would justify such rearrangement.

together with two built containers found inside the building - one made of clay bricks in the north-east corner of room 2b, and another narrower and made of stones in the northwest corner of the same room, all suggest some specific activity. However, the lack of artefacts precludes any certainty regarding this interpretation. The building was destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB (Hiesel 1990, 21)

5.2.2.3. West Area **[TIR15-17]**

The three largest buildings of the complex were located in the West Area – Building A **[TIR15]**, abutting the Citadel's wall, Building V **[TIR16]** on a terrace above Building A, and Building VI **[TIR17],** set on two terraces to the south (fig. 53-54). The area was first excavated by Dragendorff (1913) and then Verdelis followed by Jantzen (1969, 1975, 47–50; Grossmann et al. 1980), and then almost entirely uncovered by Kilian (1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1988a). However, the final part of Building A was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in 2004-2005 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 75).

Building A **[TIR15]** was the second largest structure of the Lower Citadel. It was originally labelled by the excavators as three separate buildings, numbered I, VII and VIII (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 74, 2015b). It was built in LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a0-3) **[TIR15 – phase 1a]** on the large, complex foundation terrace, definitely as part of the planned development of the Lower Citadel. The location was certainly of special importance, with access to the fortifications, wall chambers and close to the underground cisterns (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 128). It abutted the fortification wall, and had thick, solid walls. The north wall is of particular interest, as it was built of particularly large stones and was 1.5 m thick. The stone-built foundation definitely carried a solid superstructure of mud-brick, with an upper floor (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 77–79). The ground floor had access to two wall chambers - Kw10 and Kw11, while it is probable that two others - Kw8 and Kw9 were accessed from the upper floor (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 80). The architecture of the building was of high quality, and related to the palatial architectural tradition. There were few monolithic stone thresholds in the building and columns installed in the entrance to room R9 on the North Wing and in the passage to the South Wing, and probably another one in the middle of the main entrance, forming a formal east façade. The building was equipped with a central drain, covered by the floors and running from the South Wing anteroom in the direction of the fortification wall. However, the floors were laid in clay, and the evidence for plastering on the walls is scarce. None of the rooms was decorated with frescoes (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 80–85, 112–15, 129).

The structure consisted of the larger North Wing, with four rooms, and the smaller South Wing with three rooms, divided by a sloped courtyard with a path connecting the two wings.

The courtyard was accessed from the east, through a wide, monumental entrance, probably with a wooden entrance ramp set on a large stone block (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 122). Behind the courtyard there was a large staircase (R14-15) with two stone steps preserved at the entrance from the north. The rest of the stairway might have been of wood (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 104–5). Under the staircase there was a small storage room - R14-East, accessible from the courtyard (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 84). The upper floor, which must have had a staircase landing on the west side and then a plan similar to the ground floor, remains unknown.

The South Wing did not have direct access to the upper floor. It had thinner walls and floors of poorer quality. However, room R16 had easy access to the drain and was equipped with an oven and a clay platform. There were no tools there to suggest any other use of fire than for food preparation (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 109–11). Rooms R1/04 and R120 might have been used as storage areas for the kitchen and additional working space. Moreover - the remains of sheep were found in the courtyard, thus it must have also served to store meat, at least at some occasions (Siennicka 2015, 366). This further suggests that there were significant amounts of food stored and prepared in the building. Additional large and cool storage spaces were also available in the wall chambers (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 125, 128).

The North Wing had thicker walls, access to the upper floor and more spacious main rooms, R9 and R8, both equipped with a central hearth. There was a domestic deposit of pottery, figurines, few tools and ornaments found in room R9 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 89–93). It seems that both room R8 and R9 served as the living quarters for the low status inhabitants working on the ground floor of the building, and probably of the lower status than the inhabitants of the upper floor.[116] The other two rooms of the North Wing must have served as a working area. There was a large hearth in room R7 and a collection of metal objects in room R10, including sheets of lead, pieces of bronze, bone and stone tools, bronze fibula and a collection of arrowheads. The fill with objects fallen from the upper floor included also tools and raw materials such as haematite, lead casting residue, a mortar, a marble spool and a clay pestle. The metal finds could be mostly scrap, intended for reuse. The rooms were small, rather isolated, and apparently windowless which casts some doubt if a large-scale production could have occurred in them. Nevertheless the finds, and sequence of thin ash layers in room R10, strongly suggest that the area served as a pyro-technological, most-probably metallurgical

[116] A different interpretation was suggested by Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 128–30), who saw the North Wing as a residential quarter for the inhabitants of the higher status, while the secondary living space was identified by her in the South Wing.

workshop (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 96–99; Brysbaert and Vetters 2015, 190–92; contra Rahmstorf 2015, 145).

Towards the end of LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a3) some of the floors in the building **[TIR15 – phase 1b]** were renewed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 86), and shortly after (Horizon 17a4) the building was damaged by fire, with some parts of both the ground floor and the upper floor collapsing (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 80, 125, 130).[117] This is indicated by stone rubble below the last floors in all the rooms of the building, but also by thick layers of ash in room R14-East (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 107, 119). Another layer of ash from room R9 could belong to both this or the final destruction (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 88–89).

The building was rebuilt shortly later in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a5) **[TIR15 – phase 2]**, although with significant changes to the ground floor, and thus probably also the upper floor. The small storeroom R14-East was sealed, and it is likely that the entire staircase was reconstructed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 103–7). The entrances to both the North Wing South Wings were significantly reduced, with new walls raised and columns demolished or incorporated into new walls (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 80, 85). The floor level of the South Wing was raised, with new floors set directly on the collapsed rubble, while in the North Wing the rubble was cleared away, and the new floors were set on a level similar to the previous one (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 130). It seems that in rooms R7 and R8, where the clay floor was particularly good quality, the surfaces continued to be used without any renewal (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 93, 101). The courtyard was filled with rubble and raised, becoming a flat area. The path connecting the two wings and the entrance ramp were covered (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 125). Moreover, this entire side of the building was now blocked by the newly erected Building V **[TIR16]**, thus the east entrance into the courtyard must have been completely abandoned. External access to the building was organised through the roof of Building V (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 77). The ground floor had become accessible only from the inside of the building, through the internal staircase R14-15 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 130).

The building was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB by another conflagration. Apart from a layer of ash from room R9 which could have belong to that destruction (see above), there were reddish burned parts of the floor and pieces of burned mud-brick in the fill in this room. R8 was filled with a destruction level of clay which contained pieces of charcoal and chunks of clay bricks, which would have been preserved in larger pieces only in the case of fire. It was also reported that blocks of mud-brick were found in R10 and R14-East (Damm-Meinhardt

[117] Both Kilian (1996) and Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 130) attributed this damage to a "minor earthquake".

2015a, 93–95). R14-East was sealed and abandoned at that time, suggesting that the collapse material must have come from the upper floor. Altogether, it seems that the collapse of the building could have been caused by the fire damage to the part of the upper floor, which then fell into the ground floor rooms.

Some of the finds from the destruction deposits on the floors of the ground floor, or in the collapsed fill, further testify to the elite character of the building and its inhabitants. Those include an oriental bird appliqué made of bone, an ivory comb, a necklace of glass beads fallen into room R120, a cup made of frit, an ivory lily-shaped inlay, a steatite seal stone fallen in to room R9, and a lead signet ring with a seal stone within the collapsed staircase R14-15. The abundance of metal objects from R10 was probably mostly collected for processing, but their presence still testifies to the status of the building in which such valuables were stored (Rahmstorf 2008, 251–55). Altogether, Building A was a well-planned multi-functional workshop and elite residence, certainly associated with the palatial rule (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 241–42).

Building V **[TIR16]** was located immediately to the east of Building A **[TIR15]** (fig. 54). Before Building V was constructed, there was already a sloped terrace, built at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a0-1), which facilitated communication in the area and provided access to the east entrance of Building A (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 131–32). Only after the reconstruction of Building A in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a5), was the terrace overbuilt with Building V. It seems probable that it should be in fact treated only as the extension of the former unit, as Building V provided the only way of access to the terrace below during LH IIIB2 Late. It is doubtful that such a development would be planned without the co-ordination with the inhabitants of Building A. Building V was probably planned to provide additional living quarters for the unit. It was a simple, almost rectangular, single storey building, with three rooms – R91, R90 and R92, set along a corridor, and a small open air courtyard attached from the south.

The structure completely blocked the east side of Building A and the former main entrance to the ground floor of that unit. From this point on there was no other way of accessing Building A, than to go through Building V. Access must have been organised through the roof of the latter building, and leading directly to the upper floor of Building A, as it seems that there was no communication between the two buildings at the level of the ground floor (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 77). In my opinion there are two possible ways that this access was organised: either there was an internal staircase south of the courtyard, in the space abutting Building VI **[TIR17]** to the south, or there was an external stairway attached to the east wall of Building V.

The latter variant would find a good parallel in the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae **[MYC59]** and would be facilitated by the fact that the ground was higher to the east, so the roof would be easier to reach there (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 139). Unfortunately no material evidence for any of those stairways was reported.

Apart from access to Building A **[TIR15]**, Building V **[TIR16]** provided also a direct connection between this building unit and the North-west Area. The corridor inside the building was open at both ends, which were both approached by external paths – from the south by a walled passaged going down from the central lane, and from the north by a path leading to the to the ramp and branching off to the underground cisterns (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 132; fig. 54).

There were very few finds reported from Building V **[TIR16]**. These included pottery, terracotta figurines and a few tools. They seem to form a modest domestic deposit (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 138). The hearth in room R92 also suggests a residential function (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 136). On the courtyard there was a 1m wide shallow pit or a basin, filled with ash (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 138). Its function is unclear but possibly it was simply a dump. Room R91 might have been a storeroom for perishable goods, as there were no finds there, and the room was small and had a narrow entrance.

The building was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB, in a collapse apparently not accompanied by fire (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 133, 135). However, there were fragments of mud-bricks found within the eroded clay mass of the collapsed superstructure which filled the corridor (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 137). This suggests that at least some of the bricks were hardened before the collapse, which might have occurred if there was a fire in the building. The evidence is not conclusive, but fire cannot be excluded as the reason behind the destruction of Building V **[TIR16]**.

Building VI **[TIR17]** was constructed in LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a0). It was set on two solid terraces south of Building V **[TIR16]** (fig. 53-54). The two terraces, with the east wing above the west wing, were connected by a wide staircase, which occupied the north end of the building and had two stone steps preserved. It is possible that an open courtyard to the north-east of the west wing was also integrated into the layout, but nothing was preserved of it. The east wing probably had an upper storey, as evidenced by a deep destruction fill which included objects fallen from above. The flat roof over the west wing was accessible from that upper storey. (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 141–48). The building had access to open spaces to the west – a long rectangular courtyard with access to wall chamber Kw7, known as the Zwinger and to the south, where a trapezoidal court was linked a passage leading east to the central lane

(Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 139–40). The west wing of Building VI was preserved very well, but the east part was later overbuilt by a post-palatial successor - Building VIa **[TIR48]**, thus not much of its palatial phase is known (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 140–41).

The building went through several occupational phases and was a solid structure with high quality architecture, such as thick and well-built stone walls with a mud-brick superstructure above. After the original construction **[TIR17 – phase 1a]**, the ground floor of the east wing had at least two rooms, with room R130 having only a tamped-earth floor and accessed only from the upper storey, thus probably being a basement storeroom. An annex, composed of two rooms, R191 and R192 attached to the south. R191 had a plaster coating on the clay floor, and a column installed in the centre, while the R192 was equipped with a hearth on a clay floor.

The west wing was composed of four rooms, R121, R122, R123 and R123b, built on the west side of a long corridor approached from the north, through the staircase. The northernmost room R121, had an external doorway on the west wall, leading to a rectangular courtyard arranged along the fortification wall, and a roof support in the centre (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 143–50). Rooms R123 and 123b, in the southwest corner of the building, both had various installations of a special nature, most probably related to cult (see below). In R123 there was a hearth, a barrel built of clay, and in the southwest corner - an altar built of mud bricks and covered in plaster. In R123b there was a central hearth, two low clay platforms, and a central roof support. The room could have also been entered from outside, through a doorway in the south wall, flanked by an external vestibule. The walls of the rooms were at least partially plastered. (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 155–59). Fragments of painted plaster were also found in the fill of the main room of the east wing and in the corridor of the west wing, as well as inside the deposit which landed in the Zwinger (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 165, 194). All of this implies that at least some of the rooms of the upper storey were decorated with painted plaster. This is the only such instance in the entire Lower Citadel.

During LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a1-a3) the building **[TIR17- phase 1b]** went through some architectural changes, as the south annex was shortened. Room R192 was abandoned, and transformed into an open-air terrace, with a stone oven which replaced the hearth, attached to the south wall of room R191 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 177–81). At the end of the same phase the building was damaged by fire. Traces of ash were found in room R130, and the plaster floor

of room R191 was burned (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 171, 175). Other traces of fire are of uncertain origin and can be connected to both the first or the final destruction.[118]

After this damage, the building was rebuilt **[TIR17 – phase 2]** in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4-a5). The floors in rooms R122-123 continued to be utilized, but there are multiple signs of architectural repairs and interventions. The doors in the west wall of room R121 were sealed, and a new floor was laid. The north wall of room R122 had visible signs of repairs, while another doorway on the south wall of room R123b was also sealed (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 145, 155). New floors were also laid in rooms R130 and R191 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 171, 176–77).[119]

The earlier architectural changes seem to be simply a reorganisation of the metallurgical workshop which probably functioned in the south annex (see below). However, the repairs after the first destruction seem to be a result of a planned change in access to the building, which became much more restricted, as the only way into the wing and the shrine in rooms R123 and R123b led through the main entrance and the north staircase.

The building was destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIB. The evidence for this destruction is comprised of layers of ash in room 121 and in the corridor, where burned mud-bricks were also found (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 152, 164–66). The floor of the staircase was also burned, while other fragments of burned mud-bricks were found in the fill of room R191 (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 169, 176). The fire did not necessarily affect the entirety of the building, but without a doubt was the main reason behind its collapse.

Building VI **[TIR17]** must have been a local multifunctional sanctuary with a metallurgical workshop (Hiesel 1990, 138; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 242–43; Vetters 2019, 272–76; contra Rahmstorf 2008, 145–46). The ritual activities are implied both by the built functional facilities in rooms R123 and 123b, but also by a group of kylikes found near the altar in R123 and a deposit of ornaments, including a sealing stone, which were probably votive offerings. The strikingly empty room 123b, which may have been used at cult banquets, may have been in an inactive state at the time of the destruction. (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 154–62). Ritual accessories were also kept in the east wing. Although the main room was no longer preserved, the rubble above room 130 contained inventory to be connected to the upper floor,

[118] Kilian believed that the building was damaged by a minor earthquake (Kilian 1996; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 146). However, there is no definite evidence of seismic damage– the broken end of the south wall of room R130 being not of conclusive nature and possibly a result of constructing the vestibule of room R123b shortly after the original construction of the building (contra Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 146).

[119] It is another building that was supposedly destroyed by the strong earthquake at the end of LH IIIB (Hiesel 1990, 138; Kilian 1996; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 138).

including three rhyta. These rhyta, as well as a rare ring vessel found in the vestibule, are likely to have been associated with practices of libation. A sword, of which only part of the hilt has survived, was also found above room R191. It could also have originally been associated with a cult (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 173–79). On the other hand the floor deposit of room R191, including stone tools and a group metal objects and pieces of slag, together with presence of the oven in the neighbouring room and later on the south external wall, all imply that the area served as a metallurgical workshop (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 175–80).

A few, fragmentary, Linear B tablets found in this building did not necessarily belong to it, although it was suggested that there was an archive above room R130 (Godart, Killen, and Olivier 1983, 413; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 167). However, their stratigraphical position in the pit below the floor suggests that the records were connected with the previous building in the area – the Ramparts Building **[TIR7]** or were transported here after the destruction of the building (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 182). Nevertheless, this was the largest and one of the most important buildings of the Lower Citadel Complex, and served most probably also a residence both for the elite members responsible for its functioning, who might have lived on the decorated upper storey, and for their slaves or servants, who may have occupied the secondary living quarters in rooms R121 and R122.

The interpretation of the function of the Zwinger - the long courtyard located between Building VI **[TIR17]** and the fortification wall, is problematic. Despite earlier claims of cultic function (Kilian 1988a), a more recent analysis of terracotta figurines and their distribution performed by Melissa Vetters (2019, 276–84) has excluded their connection to ritual activities performed in situ, as most of them were redeposited. A few hearths located in the courtyard, together with deposits of organic remains, indicate that the area was used for food preparation. On the other hand, the area was also occasionally used for simple burials and most probably also as the settlement's dump (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 197; Siennicka 2015, 365–66). Another open courtyard located to the south of Building VI, was also equipped with a hearth probably associated with food preparation. However, its eastern part might have served as a working area for the metallurgical workshop located in room R191, since three crucibles and pieces of bronze were found in front of the latter room. A path led from this courtyard up to the east, to the central lane (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 202–3).

5.2.2.4. South-west Area **[TIR18]**

The palatial levels of the South-west Area were only partially uncovered by Kilian, thus the architectural history of Building XII **[TIR18]**, the only remains from LH IIIB2 located in the area, is not entirely clear (fig. 54). According to Kilian's unpublished stratigraphical

synopsis, the building was constructed in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a5), but it could have been earlier or at least preceded by some earlier architecture. The building was also poorly preserved. It abutted the fortification wall and used it as its main southwest wall. The interior was divided into at least two rooms, but another was possibly located to the east. The building had access to wall chamber Kw2a, which probably provided additional storage space, but was not too well integrated into the plan. No particular access way to the chamber was identified (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 211). Passages must have led from the area of the building to the central lane, and probably also to the north to the courtyard south of Building VI.

There were only few finds, predominantly fragments of pottery and figurines found on the clay floor of the building. Above it, in the fill, there was a pottery deposit of mixed LH IIIB - LH IIIC date. It included stone and metal objects as well as many figurines (Rahmstorf 2008, 280). However, the objects were probably mostly relocated during the levelling of the ruins in LH IIIC Early, which followed the destruction shortly. Even if some of them belong to the inventory of the building, it is no longer possible to distinguish them (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 213). Thus the function of the building remains unknown.

5.2.2.5. South-east Area **[TIR19-20]**

The southeast part of the Lower Citadel was only partially uncovered by Kilian, and both buildings identified in the area – Building XIII South **[TIR19]** and Building XIII North **[TIR20]**, are only known fragmentarily. They were originally recognised as a single unit – Bau XIII, with courtyard in the centre, but it seems more probable that the courtyard belonged only to the northern building, as it was divided from the southern building with a double wall (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 218). Nevertheless, both buildings were built on the same east-west axis, perpendicular to the central axis of the Lower Citadel.

Building XIII South **[TIR19]** had only small parts of two rooms uncovered. These were numbered R71 and R72. They were constructed towards the end LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a3), but the stratigraphy in the area remain unclear. The building was probably destroyed at the end of LH IIIB, but no destruction deposit was reported (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 215). There was a built container found in the northwest corner of room R72, with fragments of handmade burnished pottery inside, but the function of the building remains unknown. It probably had access to wall chamber Ko3 further to the south (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 219–21).

Building XIII North **[TIR20]** was also partially uncovered, with only two rooms, R73a and R73b, identified. The building was constructed probably together with Building XIII South **[TIR19]**, but the construction date in the later part of LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a3) remains

uncertain. A burnt fragment of pavement in room R73a suggests that the building was destroyed by fire, probably at the end of LH IIIB (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 221). The courtyard in front of the wall chamber Ko4 was the only part of the building that was fully uncovered, but it was found to be almost empty. The building had access to chamber Ko4, which must have provided additional storage space, and possibly also at least one more wall chamber to the north (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 219). However, the function of the building remains unknown.

Both buildings in this area were approached by a pathway going down to the west from the central lane, which at this point was supported by solid retaining walls, and paved with pebbles (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 215). It is clear from the preserved remains, that both buildings in this area in fact occupied much larger area than what was excavated. It cannot be excluded that more buildings existed to the south and especially to the north of these units. However, these might have been not only not excavated yet, but also not preserved due to a much more intensive erosion which affected the higher western side of the Lower Citadel (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 221).

5.2.2.6. East Area **[TIR21-22]**

A large portion of the East Area was uncovered by Kilian, but it seems that remains in this sector were significantly affected by the erosion and overbuilding and were thus poorly preserved (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 224). Only two buildings were identified in the area, some scarce remains in front of wall chamber Ko10 **[TIR21]**, and Building X **[TIR22]** located further to the north, in front of wall chamber Ko11.

The building in front of Ko10 **[TIR21]** was uncovered only fragmentarily (fig. 53-54). Only two walls, and two fragments of consecutive floors attached to these walls were found in the area. Thus, nothing can be said about the form of the building to which they belong, apart from the fact that it must have had access to the wall chamber Ko10. However, the fact that the building had two phases, with two floors being found, suggests that the building was older than Building X **[TIR22]**, and as such was probably developed before the reorganisation of the Lower Citadel in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4-a5). Some of the finds associated with these remains were extraordinary, especially a bone stylus from the older floor, and a lead cauldron and a bronze vessel from the younger floor (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 233–34). They suggest that this building had a high status, but its function remains unknown (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 244).

Building X **[TIR22]** was the only fully exposed building on the east side of the Lower Citadel (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 224). It was a relatively small and modest one-storey unit, built in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4) around a strong terrace wall which already stood in the

area during the previous phase (fig. 53-54).[120] The building was composed of three rectangular rooms set along the north side of the terrace wall, R153, R152 and R151, with an entrance room R154 attached from the north. Another room, R150, abutted the south side of the terrace wall, and the fortification wall (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 224–28).

Domestic deposits of pottery with cooking vessels, terracotta figurines, spindle whorls and a few tools were found in rooms R154 and R152, which were also both equipped with a hearth. These areas must have served as living quarters for the inhabitants of Building X **[TIR22]**. Rooms R153 and R151 on the other hand, seem to have been used mostly for the storage of pottery, which was found in abundance both inside the rooms and fallen over their north walls. The vessels were probably stored on shelves set along the walls. There was a stone box in the southeast corner of room R153. Another stone box and a pithos were found to the northwest of the building, in the area behind the terrace wall, which probably served as an outdoor storage area. A large open courtyard, probably a working area, was developed to the south of the terrace wall, with access to the drain and to room R150. The drain was a solid construction covered with stone slabs. It was laid underneath the west part of the building and led into the North Area of the Lower Citadel where it must have met the main drain. However, overall the function of the building remains uncertain (Rahmstorf 2008, 285–86). Apart from serving as a residence, it had exceptional storage capacity, and probably served not only as a pottery storeroom, but also as a warehouse for other goods stored in the built containers and in the pithos. Other economic functions of the building are not confirmed by any material evidence, although it was suggested that the building was also a workshop (Hiesel 1990, 32; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 244–45).

5.2.2.7. Summary of the complex

The Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22 – phase 1]** was an impressive palatial investment, developed in a planned and organised way at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early (Horizon 17a0) in coordination with the construction of the new fortifications (Maran 2008, 86; see Ch. III. 3.2.). A complex system of terraces was constructed along the north part of the Citadel hill. On the western side terraces oriented north-south were constructed on three levels, parallel to the Lower Citadel axis, while on the eastern side terraces were oriented west-east, perpendicularly to the Lower Citadel axis. This plan was supplemented with a system of

[120] This construction date is contrary to Kilian's assessment. He attributed its construction to Horizon 17a0, but the later date was suggested by Damm-Meinhardt on the basis of the form and course of the large drain running through the west part of the building, as well as the generally modest architecture. She also suggested that the pottery from the building is of LH IIIB2 Late date (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 228). Another argument for the later construction date is the fact that there was only one clay floor in each room.

roadways supported by retaining walls, including a central lane leading from the East Gate of the Citadel, to the North Area of the Lower Citadel were a sally port was constructed. The communication between different levels of the complex was facilitated by a system of stairways and ramps branching off from the central lane, including a large ramp supported by a thick retaining wall built in the North-west Area, (Maran 2008, 36; Rahmstorf 2008, 287; Mühlenbruch 2013, 199; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 20; fig. 53). During this time the only access to the Lower Citadel from the outside was through the East Gate and the West Gate, both located to the south, in the central part of the Citadel.

Only fragmentary remains from the east side are known from the first phase, while in the North Area there was only a retaining wall, supporting a path leading to the sally port. During this period the development of the complex was largely focused on the west side of the hill, where at least six buildings were already constructed on the system of terraces rising to the east and supported by the base of the Cyclopean wall (fig. 53). These buildings were: Building XIV **[TIR11 – phase 1]** – a household constructed above wall chamber Kw14, probably controlling access to it; Building IV **[TIR12 – phase 1]**, Building III **[TIR13 – phase 1a]** and Building II **[TIR14 – phase 1]** - a group of workshops and warehouses with access to wall chambers Kw 12 and Kw 13 and to the underground cisterns, Building A **[TIR15 – phase 1]** - a large elite two-storey residence, with significant amount of working and storage space, and Building VI **[TIR17 – phase 1]** - the largest building of the complex, with residential and working rooms, as well as the local sanctuary organised in two well equipped cult rooms. Altogether, the complex formed an important multi-functional zone of the palatial town from the beginning. It was definitely planned, developed, and largely controlled by the palatial administration, a point indicated by both the architectural quality of the largest buildings, and the coordinated construction plan implemented as part of the work on the fortifications. In particular, the plan included organised access routes and a standardised layout focused on a system of foundation terraces built on three consecutive levels along most of the west side of the Lower Citadel.

The first phase ended with a widespread destruction at the end of LH IIIB2 Early (end of Horizon 17a3).[121] Building IV **[TIR12]** collapsed, and the two largest buildings – Building A **[TIR15]** and Building VI **[TIR17]**, were both at least partially burned. I would suggest that the complex suffered from localised conflagration which spread along the western wall of the Citadel. Additionally, during the following rebuilding of the complex some buildings, for

[121] Kilian (1988c, 134, 1996) attributed this destruction with a minor earthquake on the basis of a few walls he described as damaged due to the seismic movements and two cases of skeletons buried under the collapsed stones.

example Building XIV **[TIR11]**, which did not suffer from fire, were purposefully demolished to make room for a new alternative layout of the complex.

After the destructions, the complex was rebuilt **[TIR9-22 – phase 2]** in LH IIIB2 Late (Horizon 17a4-a5), together with significant changes to the layout of the fortifications (see above), which included the complete rebuilding of the North Area, the abandonment of the sally port, the construction of the North Gate, and most probably also the infilling of the most of the wall chambers (Maran 2008, 89). The North Area was then developed into another part of the complex, with at least two new buildings constructed there: Building XI **[TIR10]** - a workshop of Cypriot or Near Eastern craftsmen; and Building XV **[TIR9]** - fragmentarily known building, but evidently of high status. Building XIV **[TIR11 – phase 2]**, Building IV **[TIR12 – phase 2]**, Building A **[TIR15 – phase 2]**, and Building VI **[TIR17 – phase 2]** were all rebuilt with some changes to the plans. Building A was extended to the west through construction of additional living quarters, Building V **[TIR16]**. This development also changed the movement pattern in the area. The east façade and entrance to Building A was blocked and a different point of access into to the building was organised with the use of the roof of Building V. The connection to the North-west Area was also formed through a new passage running through the corridor of Building V. The building in front of Ko10 **[TIR21]** must have also gone through some alterations. Two more buildings constructed in this phase were: Building X **[TIR22]**, a household and a warehouse, mainly for pottery, located on the east side of the hill, and Building XII **[TIR18]**, a fragmentarily known structure of unknown function built in the southwest part of the complex. Shortly after these developments new floors were laid in Building III **[TIR13 – phase 1b]**, which was also unblocked from the north, where a new open courtyard replaced part of Building XIV.

In addition, there were various open areas between the buildings. The Zwinger between Building VI **[TIR17]** and the fortification wall, the courtyard to the south of the same building, the courtyard between Building II **[TIR12]** and Building III **[TIR13]**, the courtyard north of Building III, courtyard to the south of Building XIII North **[TIR20]** and courtyard to the south of Building X **[TIR22]**. These all served as important working areas, used for food preparation and daily household activities. They seem have to been closely connected to the attached buildings, and should be regarded rather as communal areas shared by a few buildings, than as public open spaces. This might have been different in case of the Zwinger and the area to the south of Building VI, which could have hosted communal feasts organised in relation with the cult performed in the nearby shrine (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 239).

To sum up, during the second phase of the complex, the concentration of residential, production and storage capacity inside the Lower Citadel progressed. The zone became more densely inhabited, and some influx of a new population, including foreign artisans and craftsmen may have occurred (Maran 2008, 88; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 245). Judging from the fact that buildings of this phase appeared in all the excavated areas of the Lower Citadel, the zone might have reached maximum capacity, being entirely overbuilt. Interestingly, the cult rooms in Building VI **[TIR17]** seem to have been cut off from the outside, and access to them started to be only possible through the interior of the building. It is possible that a process similar to the reorientation of the Cult Centre **[MY26-30]** at Mycenae occurred on a smaller scale also in the Lower Citadel, with the access to the cult rooms being restricted to the visitors coming from outside the walls. However, the general pattern of movement and access remain largely the same as in phase 1. The biggest change was the North Area becoming a key access point to the Citadel from the north (Maran 2008, 88–89), which must have further reinforced the importance of the central path.

Despite the concentration of functional facilities, well-organised layout and access ways of the complex, its architecture is rather unimpressive. Only two buildings - Building A **[TIR15]** and Building VI **[TIR17]**, showed some traits of the palatial elite architecture, and only the latter possibly had frescoed walls. All the other structures are small, undecorated and built with solid but simple techniques. The quality of the architecture does not suggest that the complex was inhabited only, or even mostly, by the palatial elite. A substantial number of craftsmen, workmen and service must have constituted a substantial part, probably a majority, of its population. It was suggested by Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, 245) that the Lower Citadel was socially divided between the west side of higher status, and the east side of lower status. However, this claim should probably be rejected. Only a single building from the east side of the complex is fully known - Building X **[TIR22]**. At the same time only Building A **[TIR15]** and Building VI **[TIR17]** are significantly larger, as they are from any other building of the Lower Citadel.

The architecture of Building X is also perfectly comparable to any building of the west side except from the two large structures mentioned above. Other buildings of the east side are known only from very small fragments and nothing certain can be said of their overall plans or forms. Due to the shallow stratigraphy and significant disturbances, as well as much less intensive investigations, the Mycenaean remains from this side of the hill are poorly known (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 224). The fact that parts of high-status architecture – Building XV **[TIR9]**, and some exceptional finds, such as the metal vessels from Building in front of Ko10

[TIR21], were found on the west side of the hill might suggests that the buildings constructed there were not much different in status than those on the opposite side.[122] Thus, no clear social distinction between the two sides of the Lower Citadel can be suggested. Nevertheless, it seems that only two or three buildings of the complex were of special, higher status than the others - Building A, an elite multifunctional residence and a workshop, and Building VI, a shrine which might have also served as an elite residence. Building XV might have also been of high status but its function remains unknown.

The Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22]** suffered from a widespread destruction at the end of LH IIIB (Horizon 18), and earthquakes again have to be rejected as its cause (Hinzen et al. 2018; contra Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 248). Reinhardt Jung (2016) analysed traces of fire associated with this horizon across the entire Citadel of Tiryns, and pointed out to its selective nature, forming a hypothesis of the social rebellion as the reason behind the fall of the palaces. He claimed that traces of fire, outside of the Upper Citadel, were found only in Building VI **[TIR17]**, Building II **[TIR14]**, and in the North Area – inside Building XV **[TIR9]** and on the passage leading to the North Gate (Jung 2016, fig. 1). However, careful examination of the final publication of the LH IIIB2 stratigraphy excavated by Kilian (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a) suggests that there were traces of burning that probably related to the same conflagration found also in Buildings XI **[TIR10]**, Building A **[TIR15]**, Building V **[TIR16]** and Building XIII North **[TIR20]**. Thus, the fire seems to have been widespread and probably covered most of the complex. Nevertheless, it remains an interesting fact that most of the simplest structures of the complex were apparently not affected by it. Although even the buildings which were not burned were abandoned and soon collapsed or were demolished. Only Building VI, out of the entire complex was reoccupied and rebuilt in a similar form during the post-palatial period (see Ch. III. 5.2.4.).

5.2.3. Ruins of the Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR23-27]**

This complex **[TIR23-27]** represents reoccupation of the ruins of the Lower Citadel Complex during LH IIIC Early 1 (Horizon 19a). This phase of the history of the area was first recognised by Kilian, who excavated and identified remains of this period between the palatial buildings of LH IIIB2, and later remains of the new post-palatial complex (Kilian 1979, 404).

[122] The high-quality of walls of Building XV **[TIR9]** was noticed by Damm-Meinahrdt (2015a, 224), but she attributed its appearance to the possible change of the concept of the social division of the complex in LH IIIB2 Late. This remains doubtful as we simply do not know enough about the east side of the Lower Citadel during the previous phase, to suggest this. The other fact brought up by Damm-Meinhardt, that the buildings on the east side seem to be less densely built, can be actually used to suggest that this was the area of the higher status, with more open spaces between the buildings to ensure their visibility and easy access to them. They were also located higher up the hill.

Only six buildings of this phase were found, all poorly preserved and located on the west side of the hill (fig. 55).

Building R226a **[TIR23]** is composed of the lower part of Building XIV **[TIR11]** – rooms R225 and R226, and wall chamber Kw14 attached to it (fig. 55). They were reoccupied shortly after the destruction (Horizon 19a0). A new floor was laid on the rubble both in the chamber and outside of it, where it also covered the partition wall, so that there was now only one external room to the building. A new division wall was also built at the entrance to the wall chamber. There were two hearths associated with this building: one inside chamber Kw14, and the other in the centre of room R226a. A modest collection of domestic objects, with pottery, few tools, and one glass bead, points to a simple residence (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 252–56).

Building R10a **[TIR24]** was composed of part of Building A **[TIR15]** along the fortification which was reoccupied after the collapse (Horizon 19a0). New walls were set on the surviving palatial foundations, and a new clay floor was laid along the Citadel wall, where a long rectangular room was constructed **[TIR24 – phase 1a]** (fig. 55). However, the remains of the buildings were scarce and its overall plan is unknown.[123] It is possible that there were further rooms to the south and to the east, over the courtyard of Building A. There was a small oven and an area with stone paving in the south part of the room, probably functioning as kitchen and storage area. A small domestic deposit also suggests residential function (Rahmstorf 2008, 256; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 256–60). At some point later, during LH IIIC Early 1 (Horizon 19a1), the building was renewed with a new floor, and probably enlarged to the east **[TIR24 – phase 1b]**. Interestingly, a bronze arrow head and a piece of lead were recorded from this level (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 260–61)

Building R84-85 **[TIR25]** was built immediately to the south of Building R10a **[TIR24]**, within another reoccupied part of Building A **[TIR15]**. The remains of the building were scarce, but I would suggest that the original form **[TIR25 – phase 1a]** was composed of room R84 with a pottery kiln built against the fortification wall outside of the south wall of the building (fig. 55).[124] It must have been built shortly after the destruction of the palatial complex (Horizon 19a0). Afterwards, but within LH IIIC Early 1 (Horizon 19a1 beginning) - the kiln

[123] The location of the south wall of Building R10a is suggested solely by the location of the wall of room R86 built in the next phase (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 33).

[124] In this scenario the south wall of the building was based on the palatial wall M198 (south wall of room R16), which would serve as the threshold and the foundation of the wall. This is based on the fact that the kiln, which must have been set outside, seems have been built against it, while the primary clay floor of room R84 also reached this wall, but did not go beyond to the south. However, Damm-Meinhardt (2015a, fig. 10) reconstructed the building differently, with its southeast corner set on the palatial wall M197 (south wall of staircase space R15), and the south side open. Although she also admitted that the form of the southeast corner is unknown (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 262).

was abandoned and covered by floor of room R85, which was added to the building **[TIR25 – phase 1b]**. It is possible that the entrance to room R84 was moved to the south, to form a longer corridor.[125] Remains of the stone setting which surrounded the kiln from the south could have then served as the foundation for a thin south wall. The form of the final phase of the building is uncertain. During the later part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19a1 the end), the floors of rooms R85 and R84 were renewed, possibly with some architectural changes **[TIR25 – phase 1c]** (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 261–63).

There was a modest domestic deposit found inside the building, a lead signet ring found on the older floor being the only exceptional find, which might have originated from Building A **[TIR15]**. The pottery kiln which functioned during the initial phase of the building, was probably used to produce storage and cooking pottery for at least some part of the community (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 264). However, it only functioned for a short period of time, after which the building seems to have become a simple household, with room R85 used either as additional storage or living space.

Building R119 **[TIR26]** was constructed to the east of Building R84-85 **[TIR25]**. It consisted of a relatively large, rounded room which was literally built into the ruins of room R120 from the palatial period (fig. 55). Its thin walls were supported by the older foundations, with heaps of earth and rubble formed behind the new construction (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 268–70). During the first phase **[TIR26 – phase 1]** (Horizon 19a0-a1) it was equipped with a clay floor with a hearth in the centre. A small domestic deposit was located around this hearth, but with an unusually high number of figurines fragments. The stratigraphic position of some of these is doubtful and they were not necessarily all part of the inventory of the room during this phase (Vetters 2019, 289–93). Nevertheless, during this period the one-room building probably served as a dwelling. It was destroyed by fire during LH IIIC Early (Mühlenbruch 2013, 46). Afterwards (Horizon 19ba-b1), already during the development of the post-palatial complex of the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54]** a new floor of rammed earth was laid in the room **[TIR26 – phase 2]** (Mühlenbruch 2013, figs 2–3). It was still equipped with a hearth, which also had a domestic deposit around it. After the building was burned again during the later part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1), only a small piece of wall was left visible above the remains (Mühlenbruch 2013, fig. 4). It must have been destroyed and buried at the end of LH IIIC Early, probably together with abandonment of cult room R117. During this final period

[125] This prolonged form of the wall would be later reused as wall M88 - the east wall of room R87. Two stones visible on the plan to the east of the south part of the east wall of room R85 might have served as the threshold to the building during the late phases.

the remains of the Building R119 **[TIR26]** were probably used as a bothros into which remains of multiple terracotta figurines were deposited, after the cult room R117 was abandoned and replaced by room R110 (Vetters 2019, 289–93).[126]

A single room of the west wing of Building VI – R122, was reoccupied during the early part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19a1) **[TIR17 – phase 3]**. A hearth was found in the room on a surface also dated to this period. The rest of the building was probably left in ruins at the time. Another hearth was found immediately outside the building remains, in the Zwinger (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 275).

Building R193 **[TIR27]** was poorly preserved and is a structure only known fragmentarily, located in the South-west Area (fig. 55). It was built into the remains of the older fortification wall from LH IIIB1. The stratigraphy only permitted a broad dating to some point within LH IIIC Early, thus either to the phase of the immediate reoccupation of the Lower Citadel after the catastrophe at the end of LH IIIB (Horizon 19a1), or the next phase of the settlement (Horizon 19ba-b1) (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 282). The exposed part of the structure had one room, with a stone-built annex attached to its southeast corner. The function of the annex remains unknown. The upper part of the structure was cut by Dörpfeld's test trench in 1905, thus the rest of the plan cannot be reconstructed. However, it seems possible that the east wall of R193, and the wall protruding from the N wall of the annex, both continued to the north. Then they could have formed a triangle space in between, which might have belonged to the building (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 29).

The function of the building is unknown. No finds except from a few ceramic vessels can be safely ascribed to it. It had clay floor, and given the small size and poor condition of the walls it may well be another simple dwelling of the early post-palatial phase, but the fact that it was based on the remains of the LH IIIB1 fortifications, in an area undeveloped in LH IIIB2, makes this interpretation uncertain. Such a location would fit better into the following phase, when a new settlement pattern emerged in the area. Nevertheless, it might have been simply part of the group of ruined dwellings functioning around the Zwinger, which remained a useful open space. The building was abandoned before the end of LH IIIC Early (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 282–83).

[126] This hypothesis proposed by Vetters is against Kilian (Kilian 1979, 394, 1981, 171), who interpreted presence of the figurines fragments in the building as proof that it served as a provisional early post-palatial sanctuary. This interpretation was rejected also by Damm-Meinhardt (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 271–73), who described the structure as a cellar-like room, used for living or as a storage place next to the pottery kiln.

All of the buildings constructed as part of this temporary organic complex **[TIR23-27]** were modest dwellings set into the ruins of the palatial period structures (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 283–84). The finds sometimes included few metal objects, but in general the community must have been poor. This is suggested by simple domestic deposits of the period, and lack of grave goods in any of the burials in the area during this period. The only building with some special function seems to have been Building R84-84 **[TIR25]**, with a pottery kiln installed in room R85. However, the kiln was quickly abandoned during the renovation of the building. The extent of this reoccupation phase is difficult to estimate. The fact that remains of this phase were found only in the west part of the Lower Citadel, might have been caused by the erosion and later disturbances, including stone robbing during the post-palatial period. However, the concentration of the reoccupied architecture along the western fortification wall would be well understood, as it was probably the safest, well-shaded and the most isolated part of the ruined Lower Citadel, with access to the underground cisterns, which remained in use (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 283). Most of the buildings were abandoned and demolished before the new settlement started to emerge in the Lower Citadel during the later part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19ba-b1). Only Building R119 remained in use (see below).

5.2.4. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-55]**

A new settlement pattern started to emerge in the Lower Citadel during LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b). This new complex, the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-55]**, used some of the palatial remains, but constituted an entity of its own, with a new plan and organisation. It went through five main phases of development spanning from LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b) to LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22), with twelve sub-phases (fig. 56-67).

The twenty seven buildings belonging to various phases of the complex is discussed below in a geographical order, organised by counter-clockwise movement from the north through the same areas which were defined for the Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22]**. These are the North Area **[TIR28-55]**, the North-west Area **[TIR31-33]**, the West Area **[TIR34-49]**, the South-west Area **[TIR50-53]**, the South-east Area **[TIR54]**. The East Area had no remains which could be dated to the post-palatial period. The summary of the complex's history is presented at the end of the sub-chapter.

5.2.4.1. North Area **[TIR28-30]**

After the destructions at the end of LH IIIB, the North Area was overbuilt in the later part of LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a3), although the use of the North Gate was re-established already at the beginning of this phase (Horizon 20a1) (Mühlenbruch 2013, 27–80). It probably served as an intramural cemetery during LH IIIC Early, as multiple graves, with no grave gifts,

were found cut into the layers of the rubble of palatial complex (Maran 2008, 91–94). There were three post-palatial buildings identified in the area: Building XVa **[TIR28]**, which was built above Building XV **[TIR9]**, and Building XIa **[TIR29]**, later replaced by Building R3/02 **[TIR30]**, which were constructed on the ruins of Building XI **[TIR10]**. The post-palatial remains in the area were first uncovered by Kilian (1988a, 111) and then excavated also by Maran (2008, 65–78).

Building XVa **[TIR28],** like its palatial predecessor Building XV **[TIR9]** was only partially uncovered. It was constructed during LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21b1). Two rooms – R1/01 and R5/01 belonged to the first iteration of the building **[TIR28 - phase 1a]**, probably with a porch in front of them (fig. 62) as suggested by a roof support found behind the south wall. During the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1) the building was rearranged **[TIR28 – phase 1b]**. The west wall was rebuilt, and the interior was transformed into a single elongated room - R2/01 (fig. 63). A hearth and a clay floor are associated with this phase, in addition to a pit with a group of clay spools, probably loom weights. The building was destroyed or abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Middle. Its function remains unknown (Maran 2008, 75–78).

Building XIa **[TIR29]** was located on the opposite side of the North Gate to Building XVa **[TIR28]**, above the palatial workshop Building XI **[TIR9]** (fig. 60). It was constructed late in LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a3), reusing the foundations and the general plan of its palatial predecessor. The building **[TIR29 – phase 1]** consisted originally of three rooms, R2/02, R78a, R78c, organised around a large walled L-shaped courtyard (78b), equipped with a hearth, three ovens and a built clay container. The courtyard had its main doorway in the south wall, and a staircase in the southeast corner, leading to the central walkway. The building might have served as a working area, as there is no indication of living quarters. This interpretation is also suggested by a collection of finds - stone and metal tools and raw materials (Maran 2008, 67–68). In particular there was also a clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription found in front of the south entrance (Vetters 2011). The ovens might have been associated with processing of lead, slag was found in the area around it (Brysbaert 2014, 244; Rahmstorf 2015, 147). The open-air area to the southeast of the building, with a clay floor, hearth and a kiln, might have also served as a working area, although in a less formalised conditions, perhaps for a different group of people (Maran 2008, 68).

There is no information for any destruction level, but the building was significantly rearranged, thus at least part of it must have been either damaged or dismantled. The rebuilding of the unit **[TIR29 – phase 2]** occurred at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1)

(fig. 61). Room 2/02 is the only one which had functional continuity. The stairway constructed in the previous phase remained in use, but was now outside the building, belonging to a narrow walled walkway constructed on the east side of the former courtyard R78b. A new courtyard was added on the west side of this walkway, equipped with a single hearth. The extent of this courtyard is unknown, but it seems that it could have occupied the entire area up to the fortification wall, because rooms R78a and R78c were abandoned at the time (Maran 2008, 70). A corridor with a stone pavement, later covered by clay, led to the courtyard from the south, bordered by the walls on both sides. The building probably still served as a communal working area, although there were very few finds associated with the second phase. There is no data on destruction, but later during LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21b1) the building was replaced by a new structure – Building R3/02 **[TIR30]**, of a similar plan (fig. 62).

Building R3/02 **[TIR30 – phase 1a]** had only one room - R3/02, and a large courtyard with a clay floor adjoined this room from the south, following the arrangement of the second phase of Building XIa **[TIR29]**. The stone platform in the northeast corner of the courtyard served most probably as a threshold leading into room R3/02. It is possible that the building continued being a communal working area, but there is no evidence, as the finds were not published (Maran 2008, 73–76). The building was used until the end of LH IIIC Middle, when it was destroyed or simply abandoned. During the final part of that period it was refurbished **[TIR30 – phase 1b]**. The stone threshold went out of use, but the entrance above it was renewed, and was probably equipped with a wooden stairway (Maran 2008, 73–74).

5.2.4.2. North-west Area **[TIR31-33]**

There were only three post-palatial buildings in the North-west Area – Building R224 **[TIR31]**, which replaced Building R226a **[TIR23]** in front of wall chamber Kw14, Building R134 **[TIR32]** abutting the fortification wall to the south of the latter structure, and Building R11 **[TIR33]**, standing isolated in the east part of the area. They were excavated by Kilian (1982), although R11 was initially uncovered in 1965 by Verdelis, whose findings were later published by Grossmann and Schäfer (1971, 57)

Building R224 **[TIR31]** consisted of one room, R224, serving as an anteroom for wall chamber Kw14. It was constructed in the later part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1) **[TIR31 – phase 1a]** (fig. 57). There was a clay floor, with a few glass and ceramic finds associated with this phase. Kw 4 was separated from room R224 by a wall (Mühlenbruch 2013, 19–23). The building was refurbished at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 1 **[TIR31 – phase 1b]**, with a stone platform built on the north wall of the wall chamber, a stone pavement installed on the opposite side, and probably a new floor laid in room R224 (fig. 58). Facilities built inside the

wall chamber seem to have been used for storage. The most characteristic architectural element of the building, a well-preserved solid stone stairway leading down into room R224 from the terrace above, was probably constructed during this period, and remained in use until LH IIIC Late. The first phase ends with the building being destroyed by fire during LH IIIC Middle 1 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 77–80).

Destruction was followed by rebuilding (fig. 59). A new clay floor was laid above the layer of ash in the final part of LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a1) **[TIR31 – phase 2]**. Clay containers were built in the passage between room R224 and wall chamber Kw14. The hearth was probably inside the chamber, which during this phase was not separated from the anteroom by any wall. The building was again destroyed by fire during LH IIIC Middle 2, as evidenced by traces of ash and burned mud-bricks (Mühlenbruch 2013, 78–79)

The building was once again rebuilt **[TIR31 – phase 3a]** with a new floor, a hearth and squared roof support installed in room R224 (fig. 60). A new wall was raised to divide the room from the wall chamber, inside of which a new stone platform was built. During the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1), a further new clay floor and a round hearth were laid in room R224 **[TIR31 – phase 3b]**. A platform inside wall chamber Kw 14 was also shortened at the time, with only the east part continued to be utilized while the rest was covered by a new clay floor (Mühlenbruch 2013, 100–102). There is no sign of destruction at the end of LH IIIC Middle, and the building clearly continued in use into LH IIIC Late. At the beginning of this phase (Horizon 22a1) **[TIR31 – phase 3c]**, a new hearth was installed inside the wall chamber, and the wall dividing it from the anteroom was dismantled. The final floor was laid in the building in LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1) **[TIR31 – phase 3d]**. The building was abandoned during this phase and replaced by an open courtyard R224. The latter still led to wall chamber Kw14 which remained in use until the end of the Mycenaean period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 151–57).

Rahmstorf proposed that bone and antler processing occurred in the building during LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 19-20), and later metal processing during LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21) (Rahmstorf 2008, 244–45). However, evidence for these activities is scarce, due to a small number of finds. Even if some production took place in the building, there is a small chance that it exceeded the needs of inhabitants (Rahmstorf 2015, 147). Nevertheless, the storage capacity provided by wall chamber Kw14 and facilities inside of it seem to have exceeded the needs of the few people who occupied room R224. Thus the building was probably not only a dwelling, but also a warehouse.

Building R135 **[TIR32]** was a simple single-phase building constructed over Building IV **[TIR12]** during the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1; fig. 63). It had one rectangular room – R135, with a floor of tamped earth, and a hearth in the centre. The finds from the structure, including a few pottery vessels, a single terracotta figurine and a bronze drill, do not tell us much about the function of the building, but it was probably a household. It was destroyed or simply abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Middle (Mühlenbruch 2013, 105–6)

Building R11 **[TIR33]** was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1) over Building III **[TIR13]** and the retaining walls of the ramp to the east of it (Grossmann and Schäfer 1971, 57). It was a rectangular structure, with some form of vestibule in front, probably transitioning into an open courtyard (fig. 61-63). The only room, R11, had a clay floor. There were no finds reported that would clearly belong to the use phase of the building, apart from a single spindle whorl. Thus the function of the unit remains unknown. It was occupied until the end of LH IIIC Middle (Rahmstorf 2008, 250; Mühlenbruch 2013, 106–8).

5.2.4.3. West Area **[TIR34-49]**

The West Area was the most densely overbuilt, with as many as sixteen buildings from various phases of the post-palatial complex identified. They are discussed below in a roughly geographical order, moving from north to south. The post-palatial levels in the area were first excavated? by Dragendorff (1913) and then partially uncovered under Jantzen, with some of the buildings being identified (Voigtländer 1971, 1973; Jantzen 1975, 50–53; Grossmann et al. 1980). The excavations were then finished by Kilian (1979, 1981, 1982, 1983).

Building R93-96 **[TIR34]** was constructed over the northern part of Building A **[TIR15]** (fig. 57). It was poorly preserved and is only fragmentarily known. The building was constructed in LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1) **[TIR34- phase 1a]**, directly on the palatial ruins. It consisted of the main room, R93, which abutted the fortification wall and most probably had access to two wall chambers, Kw10 and Kw11, and corridor R95 behind which at least two other rooms, R94 and R96, were built. The presence of at least two hearths, one in room R93 and the other one in wall chamber Kw11, and a group of domestic pottery found in the building, suggest a residential function. There is the possibility that at some point the corridor was prolonged to the north **[TIR34 – phase 1b]**, and the structure was enlarged, but there is no stratigraphy to support this phase. Only the architectural form of the corridor, with an oddly shaped northern part of the west wall, suggests that this could have been the case (Mühlenbruch 2013, 29–32; Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 33). The building must have been destroyed or abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Early.

Building R97 **[TIR35]** was an almost square one room structure, labelled before as the 'Hanghaus' (Voigtländer 1971, 404–6; Grossmann et al. 1980, 89–180; Kilian 1979). It was a short lived structure, built in the middle of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19ba-b1), and abandoned before the end of this phase (fig. 56-57). It was a modest building, with a clay floor, stepped due to the steep west-east gradient of the rubble below, and rather thin walls set on the ruins of Building V **[TIR16].** However, Building R97 was built on the plan of its own, being only founded on palatial-period remains without reusing any walls from the previous period. The entrance to the interior was on the centre of the higher, eastern wall. The only finds were few fragments of pottery but the building was probably a small residential unit (Mühlenbruch 2013, 112–13). It was abandoned and demolished within LH IIIC Early, probably in anticipation of the construction of Building R88-89 **[TIR37]** (fig. 58).

Building R86-87 **[TIR36 – phase 1]** was constructed during LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19ba), over the central part of the ruins of Building A **[TIR15]**, and against the fortification wall (fig. 56). It was composed of two rooms, the small room R86 equipped with an oven and a clay barrel, and the larger elongated hall R87, with a central hearth and two interior walls forming a space that was probably a bed chamber. At some point during the later part of LH IIIC Early, the building was at least partially burned, with traces of fire found in room R86. The oven in that room, which probably served for food preparation, was abandoned even before that.

Room R87 had only one floor recorded, thus it might have been spared by the fire which affected only the northern part of the building (Mühlenbruch 2013, 36–37). The unit was nevertheless repaired **[TIR36 – phase 2]**, with room R86 rebuilt and the south wall of R87 replaced by the north wall of Building R117 **[TIR41]** – a shrine that was constructed immediately next to Building R86-87 (fig. 57). Room R86 after the abandonment of the oven probably served as a storeroom. The presence of a bronze sheet next to a hearth in R87 is interesting, but there is no other evidence that would suggest metallurgical activities (Rahmstorf 2008, 257; Mühlenbruch 2013, 42–44). The unit was probably only residential, although it was the second largest building in the Lower Citadel during LH IIIC Early, after Building VIa **[TIR48]**, and it is possible that it had either at least a partial communal character or was inhabited by a family of special position (fig. 57). Before the end of LH IIIC Early room R86 was burned again, and the building was abandoned and demolished, to be replaced by Building R88-89 **[TIR37]**.

Building R88-89 **[TIR37]** was originally a large structure, although only partially preserved. It was constructed during the final part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1) and

consisted of at least five rooms – two rectangular rooms R88 and R89 built perpendicularly to the fortification wall, room R89a to the north, probably of similar form, with access to wall chamber Kw10, and at least two more rooms, R89b and R89c built to the east behind the wall of the building (fig. 58).

Room R86 of Building R86-87 **[TIR36]** was reused as part of room R89, it was possibly divided into two rooms (Mühlenbruch 2013, 34-35). The building must have been a large, well planned structure, based on the palatial foundation terrace and ruins of Building A **[TIR15]**. If it reached all the way to wall chamber Kw11, it would cover 188m^2, being thus the largest building of the Lower Citadel Quarter (Mühlenbruch 2013, 33–35). However, the entire extent of the plan is unknown. During LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a2-a3) **[TIR37 – phase 1b]** two hearths were added to the building in rooms R88 and R89, on the same floors which were laid in LH IIIC Early (Mühlenbruch 2013, 80–81). A good pottery deposit was supposedly found in the older room R86, might in fact date to LH IIIC Middle 1, and thus belong rather to room R89 (Rahmstorf 2008, 257) (Rahmstorf 2008, 257). At the end of LH IIIC Middle 1 the building was destroyed, and partially replaced by Building R81-82 **[TIR38]**. However, the south part of the building was rebuilt and continued to be utilised during LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1) **[TIR37 – phase 2a]**. It was then composed of probably only two rooms, R88 and R89, while the opening in the north wall of R89 was filled, and a new doorway opened in the south part of its east wall (fig. 61). The building was further refurbished later during the same phase (Horizon 21b1**) [TIR37 – phase 2b]** with a new floor laid and a new hearth built the centre of room R89. Even later during LH IIIC Middle 2 room 88 was destroyed, and overbuilt by Building R115 **[TIR39]**. Thus at this point only a single room – R89, was left of this once large building **[TIR37 – phase 3]**. It remained in use until the end of LH IIIC Middle, when it was finally abandoned (Mühlenbruch 2013, 112–13). The function of the building is not certain, but presence of the hearths suggest that it might have been a residential unit. It is possible that it was constructed as a multi-family house, and was gradually abandoned to be finally inhabited by only one group.

Building R81-82 **[TIR38]** was fully exposed but it was poorly preserved and unfortunately not much of its content was documented (Jantzen et al. 1968, 371; Voigtländer 1971, 404, 1973, 29–30; Jantzen 1975, 52–53; Grossmann et al. 1980, 163–66). It was constructed in LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1), replacing the northern part of Building R88-89 **[TIR37]** (fig. 61). It had a rectangular form, R81 being built against the fortifications and surrounded from the three sides by a wide corridor, R82, leading into wall chambers Kw10 and Kw11 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 112). The building was long-lived and continued to be used during

LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1), although nothing can be said about the changes of its interior (Mühlenbruch 2013, 159). No function can be suggested for the building (Rahmstorf 2008, 259). However, it was relatively large for the post-palatial Lower Citadel, and has a peculiar form, thus some specialisation cannot be excluded.

Building R115 **[TIR39]** was a large rectangular structure, built against the fortification wall in LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1; fig. 63). Unfortunately it was rather poorly preserved and its content is not entirely known (Voigtländer 1971, 404–5). Its northern part overbuilt room R88, while on the south it covered part of the courtyard H1 and reached the Building R110 **[TIR42]**. Deep foundations of this building were dug partially into palatial strata. It seems to resemble Building R8/00 **[TIR56]** from the North-eastern Lower Town and room R1/14 from Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]**, being a large colonnaded hall, with two rows of roof supports.

It is the first occurrence of such a building form on the Lower Citadel, which seems to have already been widely present in the Lower Town during the earlier part of the post-palatial period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 113–16). There was a collapsed stone structure found in the southwest corner of the building, possibly an altar. A medium-sized terracotta figurine and two glass beads were found in its vicinity. Moreover, a large figurine with raised arms, a group of animal terracotta figurines, miniature bowl, and various ornaments were located in the building (Rahmstorf 2008, 260; Vetters 2019, 298–300). These finds, together with the presence of a possible altar, the extraordinary architectural form and the special location of the building in the centre of the complex and next to a shrine, all suggest that the building had connection to cult and was used for ritual activities. The hall might have been also used as a place for public meetings, including communal feasts. The building was entirely burned at the end of LH IIIC Middle (Mühlenbruch 2013, 116).

Building R99-100 **[TIR40]** was a very poorly preserved building constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22a1) to the south of Building R81-82 **[TIR38]**. Only a single fragment of a wall and clay floor with a hearth were preserved from the first phase **[TIR40 – phase 1a]** (fig. 64). The second phase **[TIR40 – phase 1b]**, dated to the later part of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1) is better preserved, with at least two rooms- R99 and R100, identifiable (fig. 65). Although there was pottery found in the construction deposit, no vessels were found on the floors of the building. The only find associated with the use of the structure was a single pearl bead. Nothing certain can be said about the function of the building, but it might have been a simple two-room residential unit open to the north (Mühlenbruch 2013, 159–66). The building was destroyed or abandoned in the later part of LH IIIC Late.

Further to the south, in the centre of Courtyard H1, a series of three post-palatial cult rooms was excavated, Building R117 **[TIR41]**, Building R110 **[TIR42]** and Building 110a **[TIR43]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, 136–38)**.** They form a certain architectural tradition, being established one above another, as an example of a continuation of both form and function.

Building R117 **[TIR41]** was a small one-room building constructed in LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1) against the fortification wall to the west, and Building R86-87 **[TIR36]** to the north (fig. 57). The south wall of the latter was most probably replaced by the north wall of room R117. It was a rectangular room, with a well-developed east facade, with three columns holding a reconstructed protruding gable roof, and a bench attached to the north part of the external wall, while the entrance to the room was in the south part (fig. 68). Inside, the room had a central roof support, and a plastered stone platform built against the west wall, with a niche in the middle. Two low clay pedestals, probably lamp stands, were set in front of the corners of this platform. Plaster was applied on the floors and walls of the room with three layers indicating renewal of the room. Moreover, the first two layers of the plaster on the floor were painted. To the north of the building was an isolated collapsed stone structure, probably an altar (Mühlenbruch 2013, 53–56). During the final part of LH IIIC Early, Building R86-87 **[TIR36]** was abandoned, thus leaving room R117 isolated in the centre of the courtyard H1 (fig. 58). The finds associated with this structure were scattered and mostly fragmented, but are nevertheless of interest. They included fragments of a large terracotta figurine with raised arms, three psi figurines, a bull rhyton, and four miniature vessels. Furthermore, a total of twenty two figurines were discovered in the courtyard area to the south and east of the building, with various ornaments and tools, which should be probably interpreted as votives. Altogether, the finds confirm the connection to cult and ritual activities, suggested by the unique architectural form with an external stone altar, and special central location of the building (Rahmstorf 2008, 266; Mühlenbruch 2013, 56, 2015, 136–38; Vetters 2015, 88–90, 2019, 294–97). The building was probably purposefully dismantled at the end of LH IIIC Early, to prepare space for Building R110 **[TIR42]** (Mühlenbruch 2013, 55)

The second cult room of the series, Building R110 **[TIR42]**, was well-preserved and not much disturbed. It was constructed in shallow foundation trenches dug into the levelled remains of Building R117 **[TIR41]**, probably at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a1), and was another rectangular structure, slightly smaller than R117 (fig. 59-62). The platform from the latter was reused to form another low stone platform along the west wall of room R110. The niche in the centre was filled with stones and mud-bricks and transformed into a continuous structure (Mühlenbruch 2013, 84–86). The floor of this building was made of clay. A unique

collection of artefacts was found on it, and included many figurines among which another large figurine with raised arms was found (Mühlenbruch 2013, 118–20; Vetters 2015, 90–92, 2019, 297–98). During the final part of LH III Middle 2 the building was bordered from the north by Building R115 **[TIR39]**, while it was previously isolated in the centre of courtyard H1 (fig. 63). The building remained in use until the end of LH IIIC Middle, when it was destroyed by fire, as evidenced by a discoloration of the floor (Mühlenbruch 2013, 118).

The last cult room in the series, Building R110a **[TIR43]** was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22a1), on the ruins of Building R110 **[TIR42]**, with the use of its foundations (fig. 64-65). The stone platform from the older building was again covered with clay and also reused. The new building was slightly prolonged, with protruding walls now surrounding the entrance. Two short interior walls were added, forming a pseudo-division of the room (see fig, 70). There was a figurine with raised arms found in front of the platform, together with three small ceramic vessels (Rahmstorf 2008, 267; Mühlenbruch 2013, 168–70; Vetters 2015, 93–94, 2019, 300–302). The shrine was abandoned during LH IIIC Late.

Building R112 **[TIR44]** was small building of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1) date, constructed on the courtyard H1, between Building R110a **[TIR43]** and Building R106.124 **[TIR47]** (fig. 65). It had only one room .R112, with a clay floor and hearth. The finds were few and included a group of figurines, spindle whorls and few tools and ornaments. It was probably a simple dwelling (Mühlenbruch 2013, 171–72).[127] It was destroyed or simply abandoned in the later part of LH IIIC Late.

Building R74-**77 [TIR45]** was constructed to the south of courtyard H1, as part of the initial development of the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54]** in LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1). Unfortunately it was only partially uncovered. It had at least four rooms – R77, R76, R74 and R75, which could have reached the fortification wall. There was an oven installed in room R76, but the finds are very few, including fragments of pottery, pieces of metal, and a bronze arrow bolt. Thus interpretation of its function remains difficult (Rahmstorf 2008, 257; Mühlenbruch 2013, 29–32). It might have been a multi-room household, maybe similar to Building R93-96 **[TIR34]** which at the time occupied the opposite side of the West Area, behind courtyard H1 and a group of buildings. The building was burned during the final part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1), then abandoned and levelled to be covered by Courtyard H2 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 63, 66).

[127] Rahmstorf (2008, 267) suggested textile production occurring in this building, but given the scarce evidence it would probably only fulfil the needs of the inhabitants.

Courtyard H2 started to be overbuilt only in the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1), when Building R126 **[TIR46]** was constructed at its west edge, against the fortification wall (fig. 63). Only the north room was preserved from the first phase **[TIR46 – phase 1]**, so it is uncertain what was the overall form of the building at the time. The north room had a clay floor, and two benches - one inside, along the fortification wall, and the other attached to the outside of the east wall. A large floor deposit of pottery dates to this phase, with a few storage vessels and small to medium open and closed forms. This phase probably ends with fire, evidenced by the burned remains of the internal clay bench (Mühlenbruch 2013, 122–23).

The building was rebuilt, at the beginning of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22a1) with two rooms preserved of the second phase **[TIR46 – phase 2]**. The bench from the north room was probably not visible anymore, but a hearth was established in the centre of the building. A domestic deposit of pottery and tools was well preserved due to the fire which destroyed the building during the first part of LH IIIC Late. Despite the unusually high number of spindle whorls found in the building, it was probably only a household (Rahmstorf 2008, 277; Mühlenbruch 2013, 186–87).

Building R106.124 **[TIR47]** was constructed during LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1), partially on the burned remains of Building R126 **[TIR46]**. The original construction **[TIR47 – phase 1a]** was composed of two rooms – R106 and R106a, with the latter abutting the fortification wall. Shortly after the building was raised, a third room . R124, was added to its south wall **[TIR47 – phase 1b]** (fig. 65). It was a spacious, but simple single-storey structure.[128] There was a large group of built-in functional facilities found in rooms R106 and R106a, including two hearths, three built clay containers, two clay basins, and a solid oven built in the northwest corner of room R106, with pieces of metal and an ash cone found inside (Mühlenbruch 2013, 179–80). Moreover, there was a large collection of pottery, terracotta figurines and tools found in the building. The pottery included vessels for eating and drinking, but also quantities of storage vessels (Rahmstorf 2008, 268, 277–78; Mühlenbruch 2013, 180–82; Vetters 2019, 361–66). The finding of a seal imprint on a clay stopper is also of interest and further suggests the special status of the building (Mühlenbruch 2013, 181). The unit was probably not only a household, but also a warehouse of significant storage capacity and a pyro-technological workshop, although the scale of the production of the latter is debatable

[128] Unlike Mühlenbruch (2013, 218), I do not see any evidence for a second storey in this building. Living area might as well fit into spacious ground floor rooms, and the need for its extension might be the reason behind the construction of room R124. Moreover, no staircases, roof supports or particularly thick walls were identified in the building.

(Rahmstorf 2015, 147). It was burned during the later part of LH IIIC Late (Mühlenbruch 2013, 179).

The southeast part of the West Area was dominated by Building VIa **[TIR48]**, a successor to the palatial Building VI **[TIR17]**, built on the ruins of its east wing and with the use of the old walls. It was most probably the largest structure of the Lower Citadel during LH IIIC, with a multi-room plan and an upper storey. Unfortunately the stratigraphy was not fully documented, and the only finds belong to the last phase of building's use, in LH IIIC Late (Rahmstorf 2008, 266).

Building VIa **[TIR48]** was constructed in the final part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19b1) **[TIR48 – phase 1a]**. The building was divided into a north part and a south part, which were probably connected through an upper floor (fig. 57). The north part was composed of rooms R105 and R107, which at the time might have functioned as one space, and a staircase installed at the north wall and leading to the upper floor. This part of the building was accessible from Courtyard H1, through a staircase, and by a path laid to the east and leading to doors in the south wall of room R105. The south part of the building was also composed of two rooms. R116 was an anteroom accessible from the outside, and leading into a larger room R103, inside of which probably two roof supports were installed. The building had thick solid walls, but the construction was also further stabilised from the west side, with two stone supports protruding into Courtyard H1 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 57–61). During LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a1-a3) **[TIR48 – phase 1b]** walls of the north entrance were shortened and brought in line with the west façade of the building (fig. 59-60). A partition wall between rooms R107 and R105 was also constructed at the time. Late during this phase (Horizon 20a3), the floor of the external walled ramp leading from southeast to room R116 was probably renewed (Mühlenbruch 2013, 86–88). During LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1-b1) **[TIR48 – phase 1c]** an external flanking wall was built at the southeast entrance to the building, outside of room R116 (fig. 61). This wall was then dismantled during LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1) **[TIR48 – phase 1d]**, to create a wider passage between this building and Building R106.124 **[TIR47]** (fig. 65). Two hearths, one in room R107 and the other in room R103, were associated with this period of building's use (Mühlenbruch 2013, 120–21). There were also some fresco fragments found in room R105, which suggest that the room might have been painted (Mühlenbruch 2013, 174–75). The finds associated with the last floors of the building were composed of a group of pottery vessels, figurines and a few tools, forming a domestic deposit (Rahmstorf 2008, 266–68; Vetters 2019, 361–66).

In general Building VIa **[TIR48]** must have served as a post-palatial elite residence. While the residential function is implied by both the architectural plan and the finds from the last phase, the special status is suggested by the straightforward continuation of the palatial architectural tradition, the size of the building, its extraordinary architectural form with two-storeys and possible painted decoration of at least some rooms (Mühlenbruch 2015, 136, 139). The building was finally destroyed or abandoned in the later part of LH IIIC Late.[129]

The remains of Building VIa **[TIR48]** were partially overbuilt by Building R104 **[TIR49],** during LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22d). This is the youngest known Mycenaean structure built on the Lower Citadel. The original construction was composed of a single room –R104, with a hearth **[TIR49 – phase 1a]** (fig. 66). At same point the room was divided with an internal wall, and a trapezoidal room, R104a, was formed to the north **[TIR49 – phase 1b]** (fig. 67). A few finds associated with this building included a pottery collection dominated by open drinking vessels, a single terracotta figurine and a whetstone (Mühlenbruch 2013, 175–77). The building probably served as a household for some of the last inhabitants of the Lower Citadel. It must have been destroyed or abandoned not later than at the end of LH IIIC.

5.2.4.4. South-west Area **[TIR50-53]**

The post-palatial remains in the South-west Area were first uncovered at the beginning of the 20th century (Mühlenbruch 2013, 128, 144), and later excavated by Kilian (1981, 1982). Four buildings were identified: Building R127 **[TIR50]**, Building R129 **[TIR51]**, Building R134 **[TIR52]** and Building R136/137 **[TIR53]**.

Building R127 **[TIR50]**, constructed on the south end of Courtyard H2 (fig. 61), was a large post-palatial building constructed on a layer of rubble, probably formed during levelling of the palatial ruins. The building was well preserved and filled with plenty of finds. It was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21a1) **[TIR50 – phase 1]**, as a single long rectangular room, R127, constructed against the fortification wall. From the south it was attached to courtyard H3, which after its construction was surrounded with walls, with a walled corridor leading to it from the central lane. This restriction of access seems to imply a private character for the courtyard. The entrance to Building R127 had a small external porch and with a hearth. The room was equipped with a reused palatial drain located at the southwest corner, and two hearths (Mühlenbruch 2013, 128–33). The floor deposit included a collection of varied

[129] The stratigraphy of the building was only partially recorded, thus no proper phases of the building's history could have been recognized. Two layers of ash are mentioned from room R105, but that is not enough to suggest any particular sequence of destructions (Mühlenbruch 2013, 174). Nevertheless, it is possible that there were in fact breaks in the occupation of the building, or destruction events, which could have been associated with the architectural changes.

pottery vessels, twelve identical loom weights, spindle whorls and few other stone and metal tools. The building was destroyed by fire which left a widespread layer of ash (Rahmstorf 2008, 276; Mühlenbruch 2013, 133).

It was soon rebuilt on the same foundations with a new clay floor of high quality (Horizon 21b1) **[TIR50 – phase 2]**. The drain remained in use (fig. 62). New hearths were installed and there were now four inside the room, including a large one in the centre. A stone pavement was laid in the northeast corner of the room, probably a place prepared for storage. There was also a clay installation of unknown function in the west part of the room. The finds included a large number of pottery vessels, with a group of closed storage vessels, spindle whorls and several terracotta figurines. The building was then yet again destroyed by fire, evidenced this time by the discoloration of the clay floor, and presence of burnt mud-bricks (Rahmstorf 2008, 277; Mühlenbruch 2013, 137).

During the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1) **[TIR50 –phase 3]**, the building was once again rebuilt, but this time the east part of room R127 was expanded to the north, and the interior was divided into two rooms –R127a and R127b, by the construction of mud-brick walls (fig. 63). In room 127a the three hearths continued to be used, as well as the drain in the southwest corner. Associated with this phase was also a pithos embedded in the floor in the northeast corner. In room 127b the stone pavement in the northeast corner also continued to be used, while an external corridor with a path paved with small stones was also added to the south side of the building, linking it to Courtyard H3. There werefew finds associated with this phase. Apart from pottery they included a small bronze knife and a spindle whorl. At the end of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21d1) the building was again destroyed by fire which left burnt wooden beams, stones and mud-bricks, fallen into the rooms after a collapse of the building (Mühlenbruch 2013, 140; Rahmstorf 2008, 277).

Building R127 **[TIR50 – phase 4]** was once again quickly rebuilt on an almost identical plan, but with an additional partition wall in room R127a (fig. 64). A good domestic deposit, with pottery, a few tools, some household waste, a metal sheet, and a figurine fragment was associated with this final phase. It ends with another fire, after which the building was abandoned and overbuilt by Building R129 **[TIR51]** .

In general, this building was a large and well-equipped residence (Mühlenbruch 2013, 211–12). However, the stock of pottery, and probably some other perishable goods, seem to exceed the needs of a single family. The great collection of eating and drinking vessels also points towards communal function. It is possible that the inhabitants of Building R127 **[TIR50]**, were responsible for the organisation of communal feasts. However, the declining number of

finds suggests that this function has lost its importance over time (Mühlenbruch 2013, 222; Vetters 2015, 87).

Building R129 **[TIR51]** was constructed in the later part of LH IIIC Late (Horizon 22c1) on top of Building R127 **[TIR50]**. It was poorly preserved and is very fragmentarily known (fig. 65). It was a structure constructed against the fortification wall, with at least one room, and a clay floor. There were few pottery vessels associated with this floor, including a pithos set into a pit. The building was abandoned shortly after the construction, still during LH IIIC Late (Rahmstorf 2008; Mühlenbruch 2013, 193–94).

Building R134 **[TIR52]** was constructed in the last phase of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 221c1) in the eastern part of the South-west Area, to the south of a path leading down from the central lane to Courtyard H2 (fig. 63). It was set into foundation trenches dug into the slope. The building had only part of one room uncovered, with a clay floor and a pottery deposit left on it. However, nothing conclusive can be said about its function. The building was probably burned at the end of LH IIIC Middle. Fire destruction is indicated by the presence of well-preserved mud-bricks, above the floor of the building, probably as part of the collapsed superstructure (Mühlenbruch 2013, 125–28).

Building R136/137 **[TIR53 – phase 1]** was constructed during LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21b1), at the far south end of the Lower Citadel, close to the West Gate (fig. 62-63).[130] Only part of one room was uncovered, but it was likely a building of a significant size. It abutted a strong retaining wall, and had a simple tamped earth floor with three stone platforms and an oven. The building was damaged by fire in the later part of LH IIIC Middle 2.[131] It was quickly rebuilt (Horizon 21c1) **[TIR53 – phase 2]** and a built clay container replaced the stone platforms. There were few finds associated with this building, but they included a deposit of burned pottery fragments found on the second floor (Rahmstorf 2008, 281; Mühlenbruch 2013, 144–47). It must have been formed when the building was destroyed by fire for the second time, at the end of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 215). The building is only fragmentarily known and nothing certain can be said about its function, but the presence of storage facilities and an oven suggest some economic specialisation.

[130] The building was documented as two rooms - R136 and R137. However they probably represent a sequence of changes within a single building. Room R138 which according to Kilian was to north of them, was formed of only a single Hellenistic wall (Mühlenbruch 2013, 148).

[131] Kilian (1981) reporeted that room R137 was burned, but Mühlenbruch (2013, 146) interpreted the ash as the result of the functioning of the oven. Nevertheless, something must have caused the rebuilding of the west part of the room, while neighbouring Building R127 **[TIR50]** was burned at the same time.

5.2.4.5. South-east Area **[TIR 54]**

Only a single post-palatial building – Building R133 **[TIR54]**, was uncovered in the South-east Area (Kilian 1988a). However, during most of the LH IIIC period, wall chamber Ko4 was also being used as a living, working, and storage space (Voigtländer 1973; Mühlenbruch 2013, 92–93).

Building R133 **[TIR54]** was located on top of the higher east side of the Lower Citadel, where the ruins of LH IIIB buildings were probably visible in the area throughout the entire post-palatial period. The building was poorly preserved and only partially excavated (Mühlenbruch 2013, 91). It was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 1 (Horizon 20a1), and was supported by surrounding palatial terraces. There was a clay floor and a small oven in the only room – R133. Very few finds can be associated with this building, including two figurines and two lead fishing weights, but it might have been a simple household. It was destroyed or abandoned before the final part of LH IIIC Middle 1 (Rahmstorf 2008, 282; Mühlenbruch 2013, 91–92)

5.2.4.6. Summary of the complex

The Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54]** is associated with the redevelopment of the Lower Citadel in the post-palatial period (LH IIIC Early-Late/Horizons 19b1-22d). After the initial short reoccupation of the palatial ruins (see Ch. III. 5.2.3.), a new settlement pattern started to emerge in the area (Mühlenbruch 2013, 198–220). Its buildings were set on a layer of palatial rubble and sometimes had walls laid on palatial foundations, but with a few exceptions did not follow the plans of palatial predecessors. The complex went through three general phases, but they were divided into twelve sub-phases, following Kilian's horizons (fig. 57-65).

During LH IIIC the buildings of the Lower Citadel started to be concentrated around open courtyards, accessed through a network of paths going of the central lane and parallel to it. Thus the neighbouring areas of the west slope were more interconnected than during the palatial period, while most of the courtyards gained a much more public and communal character. They became spatial focal points of each of the areas of the complex, forming a neighbourhood of buildings organised around them. The inhabitants of these building were likely to perform various activities together, using the courtyards as common working areas and meeting points. The post-palatial courtyards of the Lower Citadel were thus probably deliberately planned as places of social and economic significance (Siennicka 2015, 368–69). Despite such elements of spatial planning clearly visible, it is clear from the long and complex sequence of architectural changes, that the complex was not pre-planned, and emerged as a

result of a gradual development of various buildings around passages and open spaces formed from LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Middle 2.

During LH IIIC Early **[TIR28-54 – phase 1a]** (Horizon 19ba; fig. 56), two new structures were constructed in the centre of the west side of the citadel, next to a cellar-like room R119 **[TIR26 – phase 2]**, which continued to be occupied after the first post-palatial horizon (see above). The new structures, Building R86-87 **[TIR36 – phase 1]** and Building R97 **[TIR35]**, were both set on the palatial ruins, but they already belonged to a new settlement pattern. Building R97 was a household, while Building R86-87 might have served as a communal hall, or at least the oven which functioned in R86 for the first part of this phase might have such a status. In this regard it might have been a successor of Building R84-85 **[TIR25]**, which was equipped with a pottery kiln, and stood in almost exactly the same space. No particular pattern of movement can be recognised for first this sub-phase, but the central role of the West Area was already visible. It is possible that some synchronised fire destructions ended this first phase, but there is not enough data to be certain. Some limited evidence of burned floors was observed in rooms R86 and R119. However, both remained in use.

The complex continued to be intensively developed later in LH IIIC Early **[TIR28-54 – phase 1b]** (Horizon 19b1; fig. 57). Five new buildings were constructed at this time: Building R224 **[TIR31 – phase 1]** a new anteroom to wall chamber Kw14; Building R93-96 **[TIR34]** – probably a multi-room household; Building R117 **[TIR41]**, a cult room with an external altar. Building VIa **[TIR48 – phase 1a] -** a reoccupation and partial rebuilding of the palatial Building VI **[TIR17]**, with the construction of a new large two-storey elite residence on the massive palatial foundation terrace; Building R74-77 **[TR45] -** probably another multi room household. The complex became more and more concentrated in the central part of the west slope. Most of the new buildings, except from Building R224, were developed around a large Courtyard H1, which at the time was a central place of the complex. It was delineated by the fortification wall to the west, dense architecture to the north, the imposing Building VIa on the terrace above it to the east, and additional walls to the south.

Further to the south there was another courtyard, H3. There were heaps of rubble around it and the area was probably not properly redeveloped at the time, but it might have been already used for communal gatherings (Mühlenbruch 2013, 212). A new movement pattern started to emerge, with a key passage in the former corridor of Building V that started to be used during this phase (fig. 57). It connected the North-west area to Courtyard 1, and both of them to the central lane (Mühlenbruch 2013, 41). During this phase the entrance to the underground cisterns was also supported with a thick retaining wall, indicating that they were used and maintained

again (Mühlenbruch 2013, 207). The formation of a new settlement pattern, focused around large open courtyards, also becomes apparent. High status buildings were erected in the complex for the first time: cult room R117 and the first large building – Building VIa. The latter resembled palatial architecture to a certain extent, and must have been the residence of a family of special position and probably some ties to former palatial administration. However, there are no signs of large-scale economic activity in the complex during this phase, thus the character of the Lower Citadel probably changed completely during the post-palatial redevelopment. The first phase ends with a fire of a significant size. Evidence for burning can be found in Building R86, Building R119, and Building R74-77 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 36, 46, 63) . Moreover, other buildings in the immediate vicinity of the burned structured were abandoned at the same time. These were Building R93-96, Building R97, and Building R119. Thus it seems the entire lower terrace to the north of courtyard H1 was affected by fire.

During the final part of LH IIIC Early (Horizon 19 b1 Ende; fig. 58) the complex was rebuilt after the fire **[TIR28-54 – phase 2a]**. Buildings R86-87 **[TIR36]**, R93-96 **[TIR34]**, and R97 **[TIR35]** were replaced by a large building, R88-89 **[TIR37 – phase 1]**, which probably served as an extensive household. The cult room R117 **[TIR41]** was now isolated from any other building, standing in the centre of a much enlarged courtyard H1. The courtyard was clearly now a central point of the complex, around which the movement was organised. At the end of LH IIIC Early Building R117 is abandoned and dismantled, to be replaced by a new cult room R110 **[TIR42]**.

During the following sub-phase, at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 1 **[TIR28-54 – phase 2b]** (Horizon 20a1; fig. 59), the settlement probably spread into the southeast part of the Lower Citadel, but only one building, Building R133 **[TIR54]**, was identified there. However, wall chamber Ko 4 shows signs of reoccupation and intensive domestic use since this period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 92). The North Gate was also reused, probably for the first time after the destruction of the palace (Mühlenbruch 2013, 207). At this point it was probably accessed through a pathway laid next to Building R224 **[TIR31 – phase 2]**, which was partially walled and must have connected the north part of the complex with courtyard H1 to the south (fig. 59). This was probably the key roadway of the complex at this point. Building R133, in the South-east Area, was short-lived, and was probably abandoned before the beginning of the next sub-phase, still in LH IIIC Middle 1.

During the final part of LH IIIC Middle 1 **[TIR28-54 – phase 2c]** (Horizon 20a3; fig. 60) the gradual development of the settlement continued. Building XIa **[TIR29]** was constructed next to the North Gate, on the ruins of palatial Building XI **[TIR10]**. The post-

palatial building served probably as a communal working area, to a certain extent continuing the tradition of the palatial workshops. Its construction shows the spread of the settlement in the Lower Citadel to the north, and abandonment of the burial ground which functioned in this area since the destruction of the palace (Maran 2008, 91–94). Probably at this point the north part of the central lane came back in use, to ensure easier access to the redeveloped North Area. Despite the abandonment of Building R133 **[TIR54]**, the southeast area of the complex was probably still in use, as suggested by the continuous occupation of wall chamber Ko 4 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 94–95).

The development of the complex gradually continued in LH IIIC Middle 2 **[TIR28-54 – phase 2d]** (Horizon 21a1; see fig, 61). Building R11**[TIR33]** – a simple dwelling, and R127 **[TIR50]** – a large well-equipped household with a spacious courtyard H3 isolated from the rest of the complex and probably used to organise communal feats, were constructed on the previously undeveloped North-west and South-west areas. The central part of the complex was rebuilt, with Building R81-82 **[TIR38]** replacing the north part of Building R88-89 **[TIR37 – phase 2]**. The cult room R110 **[TIR42]** continued to be utilised. The underground cisterns were maintained more carelessly, although they remained in use (Mühlenbruch 2013, 211). The main post-palatial communication route of the west slope of the Lower Citadel, parallel to the central lane, emerged during this period, with the corridor of Building XIa **[TIR29]** in the north, going into the passage next to Building R224 **[TIR31]**, along the west side of Building R11 **[TIR33]**, into the passage inside the ruins of corridor of Building V **[TIR16]**. From there it led to Courtyard H1 and branched off to a central lane. Courtyard H1 was connected on the south with Courtyard H2. At least two retaining walls divided the two, and supported the upper terrace of the complex, from which Building VIa **[TIR48 – phase 1c]** dominated the area. To the south of Courtyard H1, a new type of building was erected – Building R127 **[TIR50 – phase 1]**, a long hall with a central hearth and a large deposit of pottery vessels for eating, drinking, and storage. To the south of this building was Courtyard H3, access to which was organised through a ramp, going down from the central lane (Mühlenbruch 2013, 143–45). Building R127 was probably an elite residence, with a courtyard used for communal feasts. The structure was destroyed by fire at the end of this sub-phase, as well as Building R224 **[TIR31 – phase 2]**. However, there were no other destruction levels reported that could be linked to this even and both destroyed buildings are immediately rebuilt.

The complex was developed further during the later part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21b1; fig. 62) **[TIR28-54 – phase 2e]**. Building XIa **[TIR29]** was overbuilt by Building R3/02 **[TIR30]**, of similar form, Building XVa **[TIR28]** was constructed over the ruins of Building

XV **[TIR9]** and Building R136/137 **[TIR53 – phase 1]** was constructed to the south of Courtyard H3. Building R127 **[TIR50 – phase 2]** was yet again burned at the end of this sub-phase. The wall chamber Ko 4 was destroyed at the same time, with its upper floor collapsing, although it was quickly reoccupied.

During the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21c1; fig. 63), the complex was further developed **[TIR28-54 – phase 2f]**. A group of small, likelysimple residential buildings, was constructed in various places of the complex. These were Building R135 **[TIR32]**, Building R11 **[TIR33]**, Building R126 **[TIR46]**, and Building R134 **[TIR52]**. To the north of the cult room R110 **[TIR42]**, which continued to be used, Building R115 **[TIR39]** was also constructed. It was probably a communal hall, built to perform ritual activities and to house feasts or other public activities. It location at the centre of the complex, next to the cult room, further reinforces the special role of this building. It seems probable that it took over the role earlier performed by Courtyard H3, thus diminishing the significance of Building R127 **[TIR50 – phase 3]**, which had a floor deposit dated to this phase which was poorer than those from older levels. On the east side of the complex wall chamber Ko 4 continued to be used, mostly as an additional storage area.

By the end of LH IIIC Middle the complex **[TIR28-54]** was tightly built and densely inhabited. The post-palatial settlement zone reached the height of its development. It served as a residential area for a significant number of people, including at least some part of the post-palatial elite, but it is unclear if it had any public or economic role for the entire settlement. The importance of shrine R110 seems clear, although it did not necessarily serve the community of the entire settlement, but large colonnaded halls, like Building R115 **[TIR39]** were also found in the Lower Town (see Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** in the North-western sector, Building R8/00 **[TIR56]** in the North-eastern sector, and Megaron W **[TIR89]** in the south-eastern sector). All of the other buildings of the Lower Citadel were probably family households, although sometimes with significant storage capacity, working areas and facilities for the domestic production of tools. The only building that was probably a workshop was Building XIa **[TIR29]**, later replaced by Building R3/02 **[TIR30]**, for which the function is less clear. Thus, the Lower Citadel was clearly dominated by residential buildings, of mostly simple one-room plan, and modest form and furnishings. Nevertheless, the location behind the fortification wall, presence of the shrine and a group of reoccupied palatial buildings, especially Building VIa, suggest some special status of this complex. Moreover, it was gradually developed in an organised manner, with well-designed courtyards and access-ways.

The complex was destroyed in a widespread conflagration at the end of LH IIIC Middle. Burned destruction deposits were reported from the buildings in the central and south part of the complex - Building R115 **[TIR39]**, Building R126 **[TIR46]**, Building R127 **[TIR50]**, and Building R134 **[TIR52]**. Even if the fire did not spread throughout the entire Lower Citadel, it caused the abandonment of many other structures, and general disruption in the development of the complex.[132]

The complex was rebuilt at the beginning of LH IIIC Late **[TIR28-54 – phase 3]** (Horizon 22a1; fig. 64). Although the north part of the Lower Citadel was almost entirely abandoned, with only Building R224 remaining in use, the North Gate, and thus also probably the central lane, remained in use. The three courtyards located along the west side of the hill are yet again overbuilt. Building R99-100 **[TIR40]** is very fragmentarily known, but it probably at least partially replaced R88-89 **[TIR37]**. R110a **[TIR43]** was the third shrine in the sequence of cult rooms erected in the centre of Courtyard H1. Building R126 **[TIR46 – phase 2]** was rebuilt, probably on the same or a very similar plan, as well as Building R127 **[TIR50 – phase 4]**. The sub-phase ends with fire, which was however probably limited only to the south part of the complex, with burned destruction levels reported only from Buildings R126 and R127.

The complex was redeveloped after the fires **[TIR28-54 – phase 4]** (Horizon 22c1; fig. 65), with Building R99-100 **[TIR40 – phase 2]** rebuilt, and Building R106.1224 **[TIR47]** partially replacing R126, while Building R129 **[TIR51]** replaced Building R127 **[TIR50]**. The complex was now concentrated largely around only two of the courtyards - H1 and H2. The pathway along the west side of the hill is still utilised, although the concentration of buildings in the West Area progressed. The only clearly specialised buildings of the complex at the time were Building R110a - the cult room, and Building R106.124, which was probably an important economic establishment. Thus, some loss of economic potential within the Lower Citadel during the first part of LH IIIC Late is apparent, but the complex was probably still of high status, given the numerous constructions, including relatively large structures, and continuous occupation of Building VIa **[TIR48]**. Wall chamber Ko4 was also abandoned during this phase, which might suggest that the entire east slope of the Lower Citadel shared this fate (Mühlenbruch 2013, 218). At the end of this phase the Lower Citadel was again affected by a fire. Although a burned destruction deposit was only reported in Building R106.124, the fact

[132] This destruction horizon was another one equated by Kilian (1996) with an earthquake of regional range, which was also supposed to affect Mycenae, where Granary **[MYC24]**, and many other buildings were destroyed at the same time (Mühlenbruch 2013, 264). However, at both Mycenae and Tiryns, there is no evidence that would support seismic damage at the end of LH IIIC Middle (Hinzen et al. 2018), while presence of abundance of burned remains testifies to conflagrations.

that all of the other buildings were also abandoned at the time, suggests that at least some of them were damaged too. This moment marked the true end of the development of the complex. The next phase is only a prolonged period of collapse after the general abandonment (Mühlenbruch 2013, 219).

During the final part of LH IIIC Late **[TIR28-54 – phase 5a]** (Horizon 22d1; fig. 66) the only building in the complex was Building R104 **[TIR49]**, raised above Building VIa **[TIR48]** which was probably not a coincidence. A walled passage to the south of it suggests that there was still a pathway across the Lower Citadel. Wall chamber Kw 14 also continued to be occupied, although the building in front of it, Building R224 **[TIR31]**, was finally abandoned. After some time **[TIR28-54 – phase 5b]** (Horizon 22d1 Ende; fig. 67) Building R104 was divided into two rooms. Kw 14 also remained occupied. Both of them were abandoned probably only at the end of LH IIIC.

6. Buildings of the Lower Town

The remains of the Lower Town of Tiryns spread in all directions around the Citadel, covering the flat plain which surrounds the hill. However, during the Late Bronze Age the extent of the settlement changed over time and was much dependent on the changes in the geographical setting and diversions of the river which run through the site (see Ch. III. 1.). The Lower Town is divided into six sectors: the North-eastern Sector, the North-wester Sector, the Wester Sector, the South-western Sector, the South-eastern Sector and Eastern Sector (tabs. 6-8; fig. 71). All the multi-building complexes and singular buildings of the town are discussed below in geographical order, organised by counter-clockwise movement from the North-eastern Sector. Only the discussion of the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** is further divided into individual buildings and then summarised, due to the largest amount of data available on this structure. The Lower Town of Tiryns has a long research history and was excavated by various German teams, with tests conducted in the XIXth century. All the remains from outside the Citadel walls were first studied systematically by Gercke and Hiesel (1971), and then more recently discussed and carefully mapped by Rieger and Böser (1990). The most recent research on the Lower Town of Tiryns were the excavations by Maran and Papadimitriou (2006, 2016, 2021), conducted in 1999-2000 and 2013-2018.

6.1. North-eastern Sector

The North-eastern Sector was first excavated in 1909 by a team under Karo (1909, 121–22), who dug elongated test trenches L **[TIR62]**, M **[TIR62]** and N **[TIR64]**, although not much is known about their findings (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 2). Kilian (1978, 467–68) mentioned pottery dating to LH IIIC and house walls which were uncovered immediately to the north of

areas M and N, during preparations of a pipeline trench running from the seacoast to Kofini, but these finds were unfortunately never published. In 1999 a new trench was laid out in this Sector by Maran and Papadimitriou (2006), about 50 m to the northeast of the North Gate. They have excavated the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** for three seasons, while the pottery from the trench was later thoroughly studied by Stockhammer (2008).

6.1.1 Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]**

This complex was only partially uncovered, as it was found within a regular rectangular trench laid about 50 m from the North Gate of the Lower Citadel, with almost all the excavated walls continuing into the profiles (fig. 71). There were five phases of post-palatial occupation recognised in the area by Maran and Papadimitriou (2006; Maran 2016b, 204). They are discussed below in a chronological order, identified as seven buildings: The building below Building R8/00 **[TIR55]**, Building R/800 **[TIR56]**, the Northeast House **[TIR57]**, Building R5/00 **[TIR58]**, Building R3/00 **[TIR59]** and Building R1-2/99 **[TIR60]**.[133] The summary of the complex's history follows.

The building below Building R8/00 **[TIR55]** is the name for the remains labelled by the excavators as Phase 1, and dated to LH IIIC Early 1 and LH IIIC Early 2 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 131). The plan of this phase was not published in the report, but several of its elements were discussed: two walls in the west part of the trench, a fragment of sloping pavement of stones and pebbles, and a small hearth built of a clay slab. Another wall of this phase, possibly of another building, was located more to the centre of the trench, with a paving of stone slabs attached to it. Altogether, it seems to be a completely different building/s than its successor, Building 8/00 **[TIR56]**, but little of it is known (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 104–5). The original construction occurred probably at the very early part of the post-palatial period **[TIR55 –phase 1a]**. The wide distribution of architecture and broad pottery dating both suggest presence of a later sub-phase, which should be probably dated to LH IIIC Early 2 **[TIR55 – phase 1b]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105, 140–42; Stockhammer 2008, 2008, 122–57). The function of the building is unknown but the discovery of a small hearth of rather domestic nature and the pottery being identified mostly as household rubbish, suggest that it was a residential unit (Stockhammer 2008, 158–59).

Building R8/00 **[TIR56]** represents all of the remains identified by the excavators as Phase 2, and dated to LH IIIC Early 2 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 108–9). Three rooms can be recognised, room R8/00 in the northwest corner of the trench, and rooms R1/00 and

[133] The recognition of individual units differs from that of the excavators (see below), but their chronological and functional assessment of specific contexts is largely followed in the discussion below.

R2/00 in the southeast corner (fig. 72). They were built around a large open courtyard, part of which was uncovered in the northeast part of the trench. The walls in the southwest corner are difficult to understand, but they might have formed corridors leading to other parts of the building, located to the west. However most importantly, communication between rooms R8/00 and R1-2/00 was most probably provided through that space, as there are no doorways leading from the latter rooms to the north, into the courtyard. However, there was probably a doorway or at least an opening leading from the south part of the courtyard into the corridors, as the large stone attached to the south face of south wall of R8/00 served probably as part of a threshold or base for a door frame. It was also almost certainly linked by a transverse wall to the north wall of R1/00, where an indentation with irregular masonry was located exactly opposite the large stone (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105). This is the strongest argument for interpreting the two units - room R 8/00 and rooms R1-2/00, as parts of the same building, as they seem to be structurally connected through that transverse wall, and would have a common communication route arranged in between them. However, there is still a possibility that those were in fact two separate buildings, as the plan is only fragmentarily known and difficult to interpret (fig. 72).[134]

The largest uncovered part of this building is the spacious room R8/00, equipped with at least two rows of columns, a hearth, and a clay platform. The function of the room is of special interest. The hearth, located next to a platform, was probably not used for cooking, but was rather of special, perhaps cultic importance. This is suggested by the location of the hearth, close to the wooden roof support which would be hazardous if it was used constantly, as well as a collection of cooking pots. Moreover, a Cypriot-type wall appliqué found nearby, was probably attached to the column standing next to the hearth, further indicating the special function of this area (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105–8). This evidence, as well as some of the pottery, suggests that the inhabitants of the building were either of Cypriot origins or were in some other way connected to Cyprus. However, other pottery groups from the rooms and a few small finds, including terracotta figurines and spindle whorls, are of a seemingly domestic nature. There was also a Minoan transport stirrup jar found in the corner of room (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 108–9). Some pottery was also located in the long narrow room to the south of R8/00., This included a ceramic tube which was probably used for vaporizing opium on a hearth (Stockhammer 2011, 228). The buildings was probably still used mostly as a residence, while the cultic importance was not necessarily of public nature. The occurrence of communal gatherings in the large hall R8/00, or on the large courtyard to the east

[134] The excavators interpreted rooms R1-2/00 (and later R1-2/99 built on top of them) as a separate building throughout the entire history of the area (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 131).

of it, is also possible (Stockhammer 2008, 160–96, 323–25). It is uncertain if the same people were also inhabitants of the later building raised in the area, the Northeast House **[TIR57]**, or if they left after their residence was abruptly destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIC Early (Stockhammer 2008, 328). The burned debris covered most of the building remains (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 109).

The Northeast House **[TIR57]** was a unit located in the east side of the trench, during phases 3-5 identified by the excavators. It was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle as a single building **[TIR57 – phase 1]** organised around a courtyard, on which four built clay containers where located, and separated from the outside by a wall with an external entrance. It consisted of at least four rooms, R7/00, equipped with a hearth and a platform, and R6/00, as well as rooms R1-2/00 which were transferred into this unit after being burned and rebuilt, and were connected to its northern part by a courtyard (fig. 73-74). Nevertheless, it is possible that they belonged to a separate building, which was shared a functional open space with the rooms on the other side of the courtyard. The remains were rather poorly preserved due to later disturbances, and the fragmentary plan continues to make interpretation difficult (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 111–14). However, the identification of the Northeast House as a single building is further supported by the results of the geophysical survey conducted immediately to the east of the trench, which indicated that the courtyard was closed off from that side by another unit, which seems to be closely linked to both rooms R6-7/00 and R1-2/00 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 165–68; fig. 75). In my opinion, this structure included rooms which linked the two parts of the building together separated by a courtyard.

Stockhammer (2008, 218–19), after an analysis of the distribution of a large pottery assemblage associated with this phase, suggested that the two units on two sides of the courtyard were occupied by two different groups, most probably of different status and cultural background. He associated room R7/00 with users of handmade burnished cooking pottery, while room R1-2/00 were occupied by the inhabitants who exclusively used Mycenaean cooking pots. Stockhammer suggested that the former where the servants or even slaves of the latter, who were the masters of the house. The appearance of north wall of 1-2/00, which used large stone blocks for the wall base further suggests that this part of the house was the main unit of a certain representative status (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 115–17). In my opinion, all of this further suggests that the two units should be treated as one building - functional and structural entity, but with additional secondary living space of a lower status arranged within it. Thus, the form of the building had the main unit (room R1-2/00), with a courtyard attached to

its north wall and a group of additional auxiliary rooms around it, where residence for the service but also storage and working space was arranged.

At the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 the building was rearranged **[TIR57 – phase 2]** (Stockhammer 2008, 241). Room R7/00 was abandoned and the new west wall of this part of the building was erected, forming room R4/00, directly on top of former room R6/00 (fig. 76). This might have been related to a general rearrangement of the area, as a large external hearth appeared then in the north part of the passage west of house. The internal courtyard of the building remained in use, with one built container, and a small open-air hearth next to it. The appearance of the west wall of the courtyard during this phase is unknown, but the presence of a built container suggest that the space was still used in the same way (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 114–17). The different traditions of cooking pottery used in the house continued within the same spatial division, with the users of handmade burnished cooking pottery living probably in room 4/00 during this phase. The building was destroyed in a fire, which can be dated to LH IIIC Middle 2 or LH IIIC Late (Stockhammer 2008, 241). A destruction deposit with ash and charcoal was found in rooms R1-2/00 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 117)

There is a question surrounding the origins of the inhabitants who might have had some Cypriot connections. It is possible that the group which inhabited Building R8/00 **[TIR56]** still occupied the area. The placing of the bronze scale of an Eastern Mediterranean armour under the hearth in the courtyard suggests that those their tradition continued with at least some of the inhabitants of the new building. However, it is uncertain if their status was still the same as in Building R/800, as the evidence for this tradition was now hidden from sight (Stockhammer 2008, 328). Other finds associated with the Northeast House **[TIR57]** included a few ornaments and a Levantine-Cypriot lamp (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 120–21). In general, the building was probably a large and well equipped residential unit, with a diverse group of inhabitants.

During the first phase of the occupation of the Northeast House **[TIR57]**, in LH IIIC Middle 1, there was another structure, Building R5/00 **[TIR58]**, located to the west behind a wide passage (fig. 73-74). Only a small fragment of this building, constructed on the ruins of room R8/00, was excavated. It might have been another residence, but there is no evidence of is function. The building was abandoned before the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2, so before the neighbouring Northeast House was rearranged (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 14, 131–32; Stockhammer 2008, 197–220).

After the burning of the Northeast House **[TIR57]** during LH IIIC Middle 2 or even LH IIIC Late (Stockhammer 2008, 241), there were three separate structures constructed in the area,

labelled by the excavators as Phase 5 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 132; Stockhammer 2008, 242–50): Building R3/00 **[TIR59]**, located above the ruins of room R4/00, Building R1-2/99 **[TIR60]**, which replaced rooms R1-2/00, and Building R3/99 **[TIR61]** located in the western part of the trench (fig. 77).

Building R3/00 **[TIR59]** had only two walls preserved, forming a corner of a single room. There is a possibility that this room was still a part of some larger structure, which would include also rooms R1-2/99 which replaced R1-2/00. However, this is rather doubtful as there is no evidence that the courtyard in between the two units was still isolated from the outside or that it remained organised or used in a similar way during this phase. Thus, Building R/300 probably represents the remains of a building erected on the ruins of the north part of the Northeast House **[TIR57]**. Room 3/00 was built directly over room 4/00, with the walls built partially against the older ones. Nothing of the interior was preserved, thus no evidence of function is available (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 119).

Building R1-2/99 **[TIR60]** was another structure of which only a small fragment was excavated. It was built directly on the south part of the Northeast House, over the room R1-2/00. The new west and north walls of this unit were erected directly on the older foundations, although they were now of much worse quality. The new transverse wall was placed against the foundation of a wall from the previous phase. There were possibly the remains of a hearth found in R2/99. No other evidence regarding its function is known (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 119).

Building R3/99 **[TIR61]** seems to have been composed of only a single room, with three walls preserved. Almost nothing of its interior was left, except for possible remains of a hearth. Thus it might have been a residential unit, but there is no other evidence for it. Its orientation might be linked to the construction of a large external hearth to the north (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 118).

The Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** represents a sequence of buildings consecutively raised in the vicinity of each other. However, the fact that only a small fragment of an area was uncovered, precludes almost any interpretation regarding the more general organisation of the complex and its integration into a wider settlement area. Nevertheless, its construction and development definitely constituted a part of the planned post-palatial formation of the northern Lower Town. The complex occupational sequence suggests that it was a long-standing part of the settlement, and probably one of the last areas of the Mycenaean Lower Town to be abandoned.

Only isolated elements of architecture dispersed in the area were preserved from LH IIIC Early 1 **[TIR55-61 – phase 1]**, but the earliest remains, the Building below Building R8/00 **[TIR55]** were probably composed of two sub-phases (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105). They were destroyed or abandoned probably during LH IIIC Early 2 (Horizon 19b; fig. 72), which was immediately followed by a complete redevelopment of the area **[TIR55-61 – phase 2]** (Stockhammer 2008, 159). A large Building, R8/00 **[TIR56],** was constructed around an external courtyard. It was probably the residence of people of Cypriot origins or at least with some connection to Cypriot culture (Stockhammer 2008, 323–28). The special size, form and arrangement of room R8/00 suggest its relation to some ritual and public activities, while the well-built north N wall of R1-2/00 further suggest that the building was of high status. Building R8/00 was burnt at the end of LH IIIC Early (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 131)

The complex was again rebuilt at the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 1 (fig. 73), but in a new form **[TIR55-61 – phase 3]**. The foundations of walls of rooms R1-2/00 were reused to construct a new building, the Northeast House **[TIR57]**, which this time extended to the northwest, into the area of the former courtyard of Building R8/00 **[TIR56]** (fig. 74). A new internal courtyard separated from the outside by a wall with a gate and surrounded by additional rooms was now organised in this area. The building was probably a large residence with diversified groups of inhabitants, some of whom might have been of foreign origins (Stockhammer 2008, 218–19). Another building, Building R5/00 **[TIR58]**, of the same orientation as the Northeast House, was constructed to the west, over the remains of room R8/00. This was abandoned before the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Horizon 21; fig. 76), when the Northeast House **[TIR57 – phase 2]** was rearranged and then continued to be occupied **[TIR55-61 – phase 4]** (Stockhammer 2008, 241). Of particular interest is the large external hearth appeared in the north part of the passage west of the house during this phase. Its size and location suggests that it was constructed for the communal use of the inhabitants of the wider area, thus indicating that the Northeast House was only a part of a complex which occupied this area and had at least some communal spaces and facilities planned. The phase ends with another fire, which occurred either in LH IIIC Middle 2 or in LH IIIC Late (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 115–17; Stockhammer 2008, 241).

A group of three isolated buildings - Building R3/00 **[TIR59]**, Building R1-2/99 **[TIR60]** and Building R3/99 **[TIR61]**, of different orientations and no clear structural connections was constructed in the area in the following phase, during the final part of LH IIIC Middle 2 or already in LH IIIC Late **[TIR55-61 – phase 5]**. Rooms R1-2/99 were built directly on rooms 1-2/00, thus indicating some continuation of the architectural tradition, with a

structure of the same plan rebuilt for the third time (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 131). The coordination of at least the usage of the area is indicated by the continuous use of the large external hearth in the north part of the passage between rooms R3/99 and R3/00 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 117). Thus it seems that a functioning community still occupied the complex. Nevertheless, the scant architectural remains of this phase give an impression of loose and rather uncoordinated development.

6.1.2 Areas L, M and N **[TIR62-64]**

Three long and narrow trenches labelled as L, M and N were excavated by Karo (1909, 121–22) about 120-170 m from the North Gate of the Lower Citadel (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3; see gif. 71). Fragmentary remains of buildings were found in each of them (fig. 78).

There were seven walls found in in Area L **[TIR62]**, three of which formed two rooms (fig. 78). This building could cover at least 60 m^2. The wall to the south probably belonged to a different structure. It had an orientation different from the rooms to the north, thus it probably belonged to a different phase. All the wall were marked as LH IIIC by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 5).

The walls in Area M **[TIR63]** also seem to belong to more than one phase, and were all dated to LH IIIC (Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 5). Two rooms with a corridor were visible in the north part of the trench (fig. 78).

The walls in Area N **[TIR64]** formed at least two distinct units, although they might have been parts of the same building (fig. 78). Two phases are also clearly visible on the plan. They were dated by Hiesel (1990, 197–98) to LH IIIB and LH IIIC, but this seems doubtful, due to lack of any traces from the palatial period below the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]**, which was much closer to the Citadel. Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 5) marked all of the walls in the area as LH IIIC.

Altogether, this area was probably settled only during the post-palatial period, and went through two occupational phases. However their dating cannot be suggested with any certainty. If the history of the area followed that of the North-western Sector, they might have belonged to LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle 1. However, the remains of the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** suggest that the Northeastern Sector remained e occupied even later.

6.2. North-western Sector

This area has a long research history, and provides the most detailed data on the post-palatial Lower Town of Tiryns. In 1916 Karo (1930, 119–20) excavated an elongated L-shaped trench labelled as O **[TIR70]**. In 1976 Kilian (1978) excavated the Northwest House **[TIR71]**, located immediately to the south of Karo's trench, in between the remains uncovered earlier.

These structures are discussed together as Complex O **[TIR70-71]** (fig. 71). The stratigraphy of the Northwest House was published by Mühlenbruch (2013, 223–46). In his report for the season 1976 Kilian (1978, 467–68) also mentioned pottery of LH IIIC and house walls uncovered during preparations of a pipeline trench running from the seacoast to Kofini (see also above 6.1). These finds were never published. In 1982-1983 a small trench was excavated to the north by Katie Demakopoulou, but the results of these excavations are known from only a few mentions (Demakopoulou 1989, 25; Mühlenbruch 2013, 261; Maran 2016b, 204; Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 128). The building found there is discussed in this work as Northwest Building **[TIR66]**. The most recent excavations in the area were conducted by Maran and Papadimitriou (2016, 2021). In the years 2013-2015 and 2017-2018 they uncovered remains of the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**, located to the north of Complex O and to the southwest of Northwest Building, and of Building R6/18 **[TIR65]**, found in the sondage conducted further to the northwest (fig. 71).

6.2.1 Building R6/18 **[TIR65]**

The fragmentary remains of this building were located ca. 200 m to the northwest of the North Gate of the Lower Citadel (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 1). No plan was published. There was a layer dated to LH IIIB2 in the area, but the earliest architecture **[TIR65 – phase 1a]** was built in LH IIIC Early 1 and consisted of a single room, R6/18, with a stone-paved courtyard H3/18 attached to it from the south. The room was equipped with a clay floor and a small hearth. A bronze sickle was found inside of it. Shortly after the original construction **[TIR65 – phase 1b]**, an oven was also built into the room. It is uncertain if the wall which overbuilt remains of the first phase belonged to a roofed structure or to an open corridor. Nevertheless, they are constructed in LH IIIC Middle 1, and stayed in use until the end of this phase (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 120–22).

6.2.2 Northwest Building **[TIR66]**

The excavator of this building, located ca. 150 m to the northwest of the North Gate of the Lower Citadel, mentioned that it had three phases. She dated the first one to LH IIIB2, and two more to LH IIIC (Demakopoulou 1989, 25). However, Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 1), who published the only available plan of the remains, labelled all the walls as LH IIIC, while Mühlenbruch (2013, 261) described two post-palatial building horizons, and Maran (2016b, 204) compared it to the Northwest House **[TIR71]**, also dated to the post-palatial period. Nevertheless, at least two phases seem to be visible on the plan, and it remains possible, although doubtful, that the earlier belonged to the final palatial period, when the northern Lower Town may have begun to be settled (Maran 2015, 284). A unique find - clay model of a

palanquin was found in the building. According to Demakopolou (1989, 32) it was of LH IIIB date. However, such an object might have remained in use for some time, thus dating it to LH IIIB does not necessarily associate this date with the entire architectural phase.

The walls of the first phase **[TIR66 – phase 1]** are poorly visible on the plan under the later remains and nothing can be said about them. The second phase **[TIR66 – phase 2]** must have belonged to the post-palatial period, and could have dated to LH IIIC Early or LH IIIC Middle 1, given the stratigraphy uncovered in the neighbouring areas by Maran and Papadimitriou (2021). The plan shows what is probably a building of two rooms set around a courtyards with a corridor or an external pathway to the east (Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 1). The building was clearly oriented in the same way as the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 1)**.**

6.2.3 Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**

The complex was thoroughly excavated by Maran and Papadimitriou within a large rectangular trench measuring 20 by 30 metres, and located ca. 130 m to northwest from the North Gate of the Lower Citadel (fig. 79). They have published a series of preliminary reports which enabled the study and reinterpretation of the plan of the complex (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016; Maran et al. 2015, 2019; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021). In my opinion three buildings were to uncovered in the trench to varying extents: Building R1/18 **[TIR67]**, located in the northeast part of the excavated area, Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]**, only two rooms of which were identified to the west of the latter building, and Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]**, which occupied the entire south part of the trench. These are the areas which communicated with each other. Three general phases of the complex, dated to LH IIIC Early 1-LH IIIC Middle 1, can be distinguished (fig. 80-82).

In particular, there was a layer of LH IIIB2 material found in the area. It was probably associated with levelling operations and preparations for construction. Already then, the area was probably occupied by craftsmen living in tents or some other lightly constructed structures, which left series of post-holes with deposits of ivory ornaments and raw materials (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 70–81).

6.2.3.1 Building R1/18 **[TIR67]**

Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** was uncovered almost entirely (fig. 80-82). It seems that a change of the plan occurred at the very early stage of its construction, as older foundations were located under some of the walls, but the original plan could not differ greatly from the final one. Nevertheless it suggests that construction of this building was planned or even began to be executed, already in the very last part of LH IIIB (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 90–91). The

building was finally constructed in LH IIIC Early 1 **[TIR67 – phase 1a]** (fig. 80), in the form of a spacious one-storey structure organised around a large main room R1/18, which was equipped with a two rows of roof supports and a hearth. The hall was probably internally divided by wooden constructions, and did not necessarily serve as a communal space. Room R3/14 was attached from the west, and probably served as a working area, with some association to metallurgy suggested by presence of a small kiln, a broken crucible and few small fragments of objects made of copper or bronze. [135] To the north was corridor R1/17, which led into an elongated room R3/17. From there rooms R3/18 and R2/18 on the east side of the building were accessed. Those were poorly preserved and not much can be said about their arrangement and use. The entrance to the building was at the northwest corner, through courtyard H1/18. Simple floors of clay or tamped-earth were laid inside the building (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 91–96).

The unit was rebuilt and rearranged in LH IIIC Early 2 **[TIR67 – phase 1b]** (fig. 81). Room R1/18 was now turned into an open-air courtyard H1/17, with a partially stone-paved surface, making the entire plan much more similar to that of Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]**. The central courtyard was further equipped with a central hearth, a kiln a and a low clay bench built around south and west walls of the courtyard. A pile of raw clay and a group of clay loom-weights suggest that the area served for production of ceramic tools. Alternatively those could be remains of a loom, testifying to textiles production. A jar filled with stones, probably a weight, was found in room R3/14, together with a bowl lamp of a Near Eastern type, while a Cypro-Aegean cylindrical seal stone was uncovered west of this room, in the space between its west wall and Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]**.

Fragments of a portable hearth and a stone mould were found in corridor R1/17. The entrance courtyard H1/18 was overbuilt and turned into a room (R2/17), in which a large clay vat was standing, embedded in the floor. The room still provided access to the building from the north, where a path of pebbles and a stone ramp were attached to the building. Rooms to the east were also rebuilt on a new plan, with a threshold installed in the east wall of room R4/18 giving access to a courtyard or to another room. This space likely ensured communication between this room and room R5/18 to the north and the rest of the building. To

[135] The excavators hypothesised that the wall to the west of room R3/14 might have served a base for a staircase leading to an upper storey or an attic above the room (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 95). However, there was no more evidence for the existence of a second floor, and the discussed wall seems to have been attached rather to room R2/15 of Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]**. Structural separation of this wall from Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** is further suggested by the fact that they were divided by the canal built during the second phase of the complex (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 99).

the south of room R4/18 there was probably an external passage, as no floor was identified there, while the entrance to R4/18 from this side was pronounced and well-built. This was probably the main entrance to the house from southeast. Inside the room there was a bench made of a piece of abandoned south wall of room R3/18. At the end of LH IIIC Early the building was damaged by a fire, the effects of which were identified mostly on the courtyard H1/17 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 98–109).

The building was rebuilt in LH IIIC Middle 1 **[TIR67 – phase 2]** but it was largely decomposed into a group of individual rooms organised around courtyard H2/17. Two large kilns were built on the courtyard, but their function is unknown. Room 3/14 was rebuilt on the west side of the courtyard, while on the east side there were two rooms, R5/17 and R6/17, linked to courtyard H3/17 which must have served as the new entrance to the building from southeast. There was a group of handmade pottery and a miniature lead wheel, probably of Italian origin found in the latter courtyard, while in room R5/17 fragments of Cypriot terracotta wall appliqué and a broken Mycenaean krater painted with a motif recognised as a depiction of Cypriot-type bronze tripod. On the north side of the central courtyard there was an isolated room R4/17, equipped with a hearth. There was a central drain built during this phase, running through the entire area and passing west of room R3/14. This phase also ended with a fire, which was indicated by the burned remains in courtyard H3/17 and in rooms R5-6/17 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 98–115).

The building was most probably a multi-functional extended household, involved into a relatively large-scale production of metal and ceramic tools. Especially the finds from LH IIIC Early 2, to which the kiln with a deposit of loom-weights belong, indicate production which must have exceeded the needs of the inhabitants. During LH IIIC Middle 1 the unit was disintegrating, but was still linked by a common working space on the central courtyard, surrounded by isolated living quarters. Nevertheless, access to the central drain was definitely an improvement in the quality of life of the inhabitants. However, the smaller number of finds and facilities related to production suggest that building had lost some of its function during its final period, which might have also be associated with the loss of status.

6.2.3.2. Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]**

This unit was originally interpreted by the excavators as part of the three room complex R1-3/15 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 30–32). However, room R1/15 seems to belong to courtyard H1-2/15, having a direct communication with it (fig. 80-81). Moreover, it was completely cut off from the two rooms to the north by a double wall, without any doorways identified. There is also no evidence of an upper storey that would facilitate communication

between the two parts. Thus, room R1/15 was probably a part of Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** located to the south, while rooms 2/15 and 3/15 belonged to a completely different structure, only small part of which was excavated. This building must have been located to the west of Building R1/18 **[TIR67]**, being part of the same complex, and using the same main communication path leading from the north (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 104–5).

The building was constructed in LH IIIC Early 1 **[TIR68 – phase 1a]** (fig. 80)**.** The uncovered part consisted of room R2/15, which had a hearth inside, and a doorway on the north wall leading into an open courtyard (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 45). During LH IIIC Early 2**]** the building was rearranged **[TIR68 – phase 1b]** (fig. 81), with the courtyard transformed into a roofed room (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 31). The unit was probably a household, but a lack of finds precludes functional analysis. The building was probably destroyed or abandoned together with the rest of the complex due to the fire which occurred at the end of LH IIIC Early. No destruction deposit was reported, but the area was not used during LH IIIC Middle 1 (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 99).

6.2.3.3. Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]**

This building was originally recognised by the excavators as three separate parts – room R1/15 was interpreted as part of a different building oriented perpendicular to the courtyard, while the larger unit to the south of courtyard H1-2/15, and a smaller one attached to the east side of the courtyard were also interpreted as separate entities (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 24–47). Although it is possible that two separate living areas, possibly of different status, were organised within the units, I would argue that they have in fact functioned as one extended household organised around a common central courtyard.

The building was constructed in LH IIIC Early 1 **[TIR69 – phase 1a]**, and was composed of six rooms of various sizes erected on three sides of a large rectangular courtyard – H1/15 (fig. 80). The main unit was built around a large room, R1/14, with two rows of roof supports and a hearth. A group of ivory and metal ornaments, bronze tools and weapons was found around the hearth. Among the bronzes there was a fragment of a greave, a fragment of a Naue II type sword and Pertosa type dagger, all of which are regarded to be of Italian origins. These might have been deposited ritually, like the scale of armour from the Northeast House **[TIR57]**, but the deposit is nevertheless particularly rich (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 131). The large hall originally only one had other room attached to it on the east side - R5/14. This part of the building was probably the primary residential unit, with room R1/14 serving probably also for communal gatherings of the members of the local community. There was a corridor to the north of this room, linking it to the external courtyard outside, and to the internal

courtyard H1/15. The courtyard was equipped with a large central hearth, and a stone pavement installed in the southeast corner. The rectangular room R1/15 was attached to it on the west. It had doorways on its east wall, linking it directly to the courtyard. There was a kiln built in a pit in room R1/15, together with a deposit of metal tools and a stone mould for bronze sickles. These finds and the location of the room next to a large open courtyard all suggest that this was the main working area of the building, involved probably for processing metals. The production did not have to be of large-scale, but almost certainly exceeded the needs of a single extended household. A group of three rooms - R8/17, R5/15 and 6/15, with a vestibule R7/17 set on the central courtyard, might have been a secondary living area. Unfortunately, it was heavily disturbed in the Early Iron Age, and little data is available from there (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 23–32, 2021, 84–89).

During LH IIIC Early 2 the building was rearranged **[TIR69 – phase 1b]** (fig. 81). The fact that the vestibule R7/17 was then sacrificed to widen the central courtyard supports the interpretation of the entire area as one building unit, as it indicated that co-ordinated decisions were made by the inhabitants regarding the central working area. To the north of the courtyard was an isolated backyard H4/15, separating this building from Building R1/18 **[TIR67]**. It was definitely accessible from the south during this phase (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 127). There were two pits of uncertain stratigraphic position and probably ritual origins found on this courtyard. They were filled with dense deposits of ash and broken pottery, among which there was a unique four-ring rhyton with a figurine human head attached to the vessel (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 53–54).

The rooms on the east side were rebuilt, with a stone platform and a niche behind it serving probably as a dump or a storage space, built in R4/15. Two small kilns were built in courtyard H2/15, together with a new large central hearth, and a clay platform with multiple storage vessels. Among these was a unique large hand-made and burnished ceramic jar, the shape of which imitated a bronze bucket of the Kurd type, characteristic of the Northeastern Italy (Maran and Stockhammer 2021). A new clay installation, an oven or a built container, was also set in room R1/15. The main residential unit to the south was rebuilt, with a new room – R4/14, arranged in the northeast corner. Finds from this area included cooking pottery and a group of built containers, and indicated that it was a domestic space (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 32–47, 2021, 97–98). A block from a cut-stone threshold was found in room 4/14, although it might have been associated also with the previous phase. This extraordinary piece of palatial architecture was most probably taken from the palace; possibly it was a part of the bathroom stone floor (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 42).

Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** was another post-palatial multi-functional extended household, involved in metallurgical production and communal activities performed in the colonnaded hall R1/14. The special form and an extraordinary deposit of metal objects associated with this room, together with an element of palatial architecture used for the furnishing of its vicinity, and a large size of the entire structure all indicated that the building had special status. The buildings might have been inhabited by various groups of people, among which might have been members of the local post-palatial elite and craftsmen and workmen involved in service of the metallurgical workshop organised on the courtyard and inside room R1/15. The rooms on the east side of the courtyard were not well preserved, but they were well-positioned to form a secondary living quarters for the workmen. It seems that the building was accessed only from the southwest.

The building was destroyed by fire at the end of LH IIIC Early, although the conflagration was not universal (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 32). The area was rearranged and organised into a set of open courtyards equipped with multiple kilns (fig. 82). They served most probably as a communal open-air working space for production of food for the surrounding buildings, only one of which – Building R1/18 **[TIR67 – phase 2]** is known (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 74).

6.2.3.4 Summary of the complex

The Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1a]** belonged to an area of the post-palatial Lower Town built in LH IIIC Early 1 above the river sediments, continuing the palatial plan of overbuilding this area (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 125). Three buildings of the complex which were uncovered to various extents – Building R1/18 **[TIR67 – phase 1a], Building R2-3/15 [TIR68 – phase 1]** and Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69 – phase 1a],** were clearly arranged in the same orientation (fig. 80). They probably all served as extended households, involved in specialised production, which included metallurgy. Building H1-2/15 was equipped with large colonnaded hall, which probably served for communal gatherings (Maran 2016b, 208). It is possible that the original plan of Building R1/18 was in fact identical to that of Building H1-2/15, and only at some point during the construction, it was decided that its main courtyard was shortened and covered with a roof. Probably some foundations of the original plan from the palatial period were found below the complex.

However, in the final form, the two buildings had no communication with each other, being separated by the backyard H4/15, which seems to be attached rather with Building H1-2/15, as it was probably accessible from there. The individual building units were rather poorly integrated with each other, as the communication within the district seem to have occurred only

through the main passages running around the complexes, without any internal paths that would run through them. This might have been planned and caused by the heterogeneous nature of the community (see below). It is even possible that the entire town consisted of islands of buildings separated from other complexes. However, there are clear indications of urban planning in the district, with the entire complex made of similar units of similar plans and the same orientation, clearly built with the use of planned grids. The orientation of this entire complex is exactly the same as that of that of the Northwest House **[TIR71]** to the south and Northwest Building **[TIR66]** to the north, showing how large the was area covered by a uniform plan (Maran 2016b, 204–8; Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 74, 2021, 125–27).

During LH IIIC Early 2 the complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1b]** was partially rebuilt and rearranged (fig. 81). The main room of Building R1/18 **[TIR67 – phase 1b]** was now turned into an open courtyard. This unit was then used for production of loom-weights and probably other ceramic tools. The main entrance to the building was moved to the southeast side, with the residential rooms located there also rebuilt. Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69 – phase 1b]** continued to function as a production place with a communal assembly hall in room R1/15, with a few architectural changes which occurred in both the south and east part of the building. Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68 – phase 1b]** was also rearranged, with room R3/15 built on the former courtyard of the structure, but not much else can be said about it. This phase ends with a widespread fire, which destroyed the entire complex at the end of LH IIIC Early (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 134–35).

The complex was rebuilt shortly after the destruction, in LH IIIC Middle **1 [TIR67-69 – phase 2]** (fig. 82). However, only the unit to the north was partially rebuilt, as a group of rooms organised around the courtyard **[TIR67 – phase 2]**, which still functioned as a common working space, associated with pyro-technology. At the same time, the area to the south was turned into a system of courtyards with hearths and open-air passages, which were founded on the ruins of Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** and often made use of its walls. The main courtyard was equipped with a group of kilns, which probably served for preparation of food (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 57–60). The pits with ritual deposits found in the backyard H4/15 might have been related to the foundation of this large area of communal activities, as not only cooking but also feasting might have occurred here.

During this phase there was a central drain built in the west part of the complex, cutting the entire area. This further testifies to the effort invested in the common organisation of the district, despite a clear decrease in the density of occupation. In addition, the fact that the area was less densely occupied does not necessarily testify to a decline in the quality of life of the inhabitants.

The complex was ultimately burned at the end of LH IIIC Middle 1, with fire evidenced in the northeast part of the complex (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 111). This led to a complete abandonment of the area, as no later Mycenaean occupation was detected there (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 135).

Throughout the history of the complex it was inhabited by a heterogeneous population, largely made of groups of peoples associated with cultural traditions of the Central Mediterranean, Cyprus and the Near East. They or their ancestors were thus probably born in those regions. This is suggested not only by specific extraordinary objects of non-Aegean origins found in the complex, among which there were metals from room R1/15, the jar imitating a Kurdish type bronze bucket from courtyard H2/15, a miniature lead wheel found on the courtyard H3/17, the bowl lamp from room R3/14 and the cylinder seal stone found next to it, but also by a mixed nature of the pottery deposit, with a significant number of vessels in handmade burnished ware (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 130–35). Moreover, both the hearth and kilns in the complex were made in a few differing methods, further testifying to the presence of different settlement traditions and diversified cooking practices (Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 59, 2021, 130–32). This heterogeneous nature of the community occupying the complex which had been originally designed as a single structural entity, may partially explain why it was poorly internally integrated, as it might have been inhabited by people who did not know other neighbouring groups and had just arrived to Tiryns (see Ch. III. 7.5.).

6.2.4 Complex O **[TIR70-71]**

The identification of this complex is based only on spatial closeness, as it is impossible to say for certain if the walls in area O **[TIR70]**, located around the unit in the centre – the Northwest House **[TIR70]**, are parts of the same district of houses, or if they belonged to the separate but neighbouring ones (fig. 79).

The walls in Area O **[TIR70]** definitely belonged to a number different buildings, possibly of different phases, but nothing certain can be suggested. One large room is clearly recognisable on the east edge of the excavated area with another two rooms visible in the centre, while more remains were found further to the west. All the walls were marked as LH IIIC by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 4), and such a dating is also suggested by the excavations of the Northwest House **[TIR71]**.

The Northwest House was uncovered only partially with most of the rooms known fragmentarily. Some scarce remains of MH and LH IIIA were found underneath the thick alluvial deposit on which the post-palatial structure which was constructed (Kilian 1978, 450). The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 1]** was constructed in LH IIIC Early 1, on a plan

comprising of a large front courtyard with a well, around which the rest of the household was organised (fig. 83). South of the courtyard there were at least two rooms - R313 and R305a, The main entrance to the building was on the east side of the courtyard, where a wide entrance to the large room R307 was located. This room was equipped with an oven and probably served as the main working area, internally divided by a short wall set in the south part of the room. To the north of it was room R308, while additional living space was arranged to the south where rooms R309, R310a, and R312 were located. Part of a road was excavated to the east of the house, but it is unknown where the entrance to the building from this side was. The floors of the house were renewed at least once during this phase (Mühlenbruch 2013, 226–35). Later during LH IIIC Early the building was destroyed by fire. Burned deposits were found in room R310A (Mühlenbruch 2013, 234) and on the court where a burned clay slab was located (Mühlenbruch 2013, 227). However, layers of ash were widespread and could be found on all the floors. The building must have been significantly damaged.

The building **[TIR71 – phase 2]** was reconstructed in an altered form, although the orientation and basic premises of the plan, including the outline of most of the rooms, remained the same (fig. 84). However, the younger walls were generally built of smaller stones instead of larger stones (Kilian 1978, 450). Room R306, relabelled as R307, was rebuilt with the internal wall shortened and a drain opened inside the room. The arrangement of rooms to the south changed, with room R311 replacing the earlier layout with two rooms in this space.
Room R304 was formed to the northwest of the main room by a construction of an L-shaped wall in the corner of the courtyard. A clay platform with a stone tool, remains of a lead cone and sheet, together with a box-shaped rectangular area bordered with stones, indicate that this was a working space. The clay platform probably served as a hearth, which replaced the one from room R306. There was also a bench in the room, along its east wall. Room R313, relabelled to R301, which was extended to the east. The oven and the hearth installed in R305 and R301 respectively, are probably also from this phase. The west wall of the courtyard had a small extension added in the north part. Together with clay floor and clay bricks which were probably remains of roof supports, this indicates that the west part of the courtyard was roofed at this moment, while its west part must remained open. A new shaft for the well was also dug in the courtyard, next to the older one. The building was then destroyed again, probably in a fire which occurred at the end of LH IIIC Early, although the evidence is scarce limited to an ash layer on the courtyard; (Mühlenbruch 2013, 235–36).

The building was again rebuilt in LH IIIC Middle 1 **[TIR71 – phase 3]**, but only two rooms - R303 and R303a, the latter equipped with a hearth, were preserved from this phase (fig.

85).[136] Possibly only the west part of the house was reoccupied, while the rest was left in ruins. The walls from the previous phases were partially reused, but most of them must have been left abandoned but still visible above the surfaces. The building must have been destroyed or abandoned before the beginning of LH IIIC Middle 2 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 244–46)

In general, the Northwest House **[TIR71]** was a relatively large and well-equipped residential building of the post-palatial period. This is indicated by the spatial arrangement with the main room surrounded by auxiliary spaces, which included a kitchen area and courtyard equipped with a well, but also by the finds. These formed a domestic deposit, with a large group of pottery vessels, fragments of metal vessels, abundance of terracotta figurines, and a verity variety of tools and ornaments (Stockhammer 2008, 163–64; Mühlenbruch 2013, 223–46; Vetters 2015, 78–81, 2019, 312–27).

Some of the walls in area O, to the north of the Northwest House **[TIR71]**, seem to be roughly aligned with it (fig. 79). On the other hand, the walls to the northeast are clearly oriented differently, thus they might represent a different occupational phase or a different complex. Overall, it is a part of the northern Lower Town developed in the early post-palatial period (see Ch. III. 7.5.), thus there is a good chance that the construction in the district was planned and coordinated. However, nothing certain can be said regarding the organisation of the complex. Its history probably followed that of the Northwest House, with three phases spanning between LH IIIC Early 1 and LH IIIC Middle 1. Such a stratigraphic sequence was also excavated to the north, in the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021). Thus the area of Complex O **[TIR70-71]** was probably also abandoned before the start of LH IIIC Middle 2.

6.3. Western Sector

The Western Sector was excavated in two periods. Fragments of isolated walls were found in elongated test trench dug by Karo (1909, 121–22) in area P **[TIR72]**, in front of the West Gate of the Lower Citadel, and area D **[TIR74]**, located to the west of the Upper Citadel. Between the two, a wide area was excavated in the in the 1960s and 1970s by various teams of the German Archaeological Institute (Döhl 1975; Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977; Rieger and Böser 1990). The only identified structure that was excavated to a significant extent was House

[136] The dating of the phase was debated. The initial assessment of Kilian (1978, 455) was that the pottery forms the sequence of LH IIIC Early material. This dating was also proposed by Podzuweit (2007, 213–14). However, more recent accounts by Stockhammer (2008, 55), Mühlenbruch (2013, 244–46, 260–61) and Maran with Papadimitriou (2016, 99) all indicated that the youngest material from the buildings should be dated to LH IIIC Middle 1, and thus this should be the date of the final phase. The occupational sequence of three horizons spanning from LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Middle 1 also follows that of the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021).

49 **[TIR73]**, but other isolated walls surrounded it from north, east and south. Unfortunately, the results of those excavations remain mostly unpublished.

However, in 2002 an extensive geophysical survey was conducted on the site, and focused largely on the Western Sector (Hübner and Giese 2006). Most of the sector was investigated with magnetometry, while few selected areas were also targeted by electric resistivity (fig. 87). The survey detected presence of significant architecture, which included buildings oriented in accordance with the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** and Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** and identified to the north of House 49 **[TIR73]**. Other structures located further south were oriented similarly to the latter building (Hübner and Giese 2006, 165–68).

6.3.1 Area P **[TIR72]**

There were traces of EH and MH settlement excavated in the area, overbuilt by Late Mycenaean walls **[TIR72]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3). They run parallel to each other, and must have formed one or two buildings, probably of different phases. A corner of a room of an orientation different form the other walls is visible in the east part of the excavated area. All the walls were marked as palatial period by Rieger i Böser (1990, plan 4).

6.3.2 House 49 Complex **[TIR73]**

During the first test excavations in the area of this building in 1968, domestic LH III pottery was found, although without any architecture (Döhl 1975). During the later work, a multi-room building of LH IIIA, House 49 **[TIR73],** was identified in the area, together with many isolated walls indicating that the house was part of a densely occupied district (Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977, 123–25; fig. 86). There was also a burnt layer of LH II/IIIA date, located below the foundation of the house, testifying to earlier occupation of the area (Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977, 133–34).

House 49 **[TIR73]** was published only in a single preliminary report, and only part of the excavations were discussed in more detail (Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977, 132–37). However, it seems that what was discussed in that report was only the east wing of a much larger structure, with three rooms of the west wing partially uncovered during the later excavations, about which nothing is known (Rieger and Böser 1990 plan 4). Nevertheless, the material from the east wing indicated that the building **[TIR73 – phase 1]** must have been constructed in LH IIIA1, as there was a floor deposit of this date on the final floors, while the burnt layer below the foundations was dated to LH II/IIIA, with the original construction probably including room R77 with rooms R49A and R89 as one space. It had clay floors, which extended also outside the building to the east, indicating the presence of a courtyard there.

At some point, during LH IIIA1, the building **[TIR73 – phase 1b]** was rebuilt and extended. According to the excavator both phases followed each other directly, although the lower clay floor of R49A was supposed to be in use for a longer period of time. Three rooms were added to the south, while a new wall divided room R49A from room R89. New pebble floors were laid, including the mosaic from room 49A (Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977, 125–27). The clay floors of room R77 and the courtyards might have simply remained in use in the same form, as there was no evidence for a second phase there. The LH IIIA1 floor deposit from the last phase dates the abandonment of the building, or at least of the east wing.

The building was probably a residential unit, with the main rooms of the household located in the west wing. If both wings are taken into account, the building might be estimated to cover at least 135 m^2. It was separated by a corridor form the better known set of small rectangular rooms of the east wing, which perhaps served for storage. However, such a functional organisation is indicated solely by the spatial arrangement, with very little other data available. The walls of the building were built of un-fired mud-bricks, which left a thick layer of raw clay above the remains (Darcque 2005, 75; Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977, 126)

No other wall in the area nearby was oriented with House 49 **[TIR73]**, but there was definitely more architecture around, possibly of different phases. One spacious room can be identified to the north of House 49. All the walls were marked as palatial period by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 4). There were also a few more short wall fragments uncovered in a large rectangular trench to the north, also dated by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 4) to the palatial period. One of those fragments was particularly thick and seems to be aligned with House 49, while the walls to east of it were oriented together with the room to the north of the House 49. Although nothing more can be said about the organisation or history of the area, this suggests that it was built in an organised way, although the functioning of any multi-building complex here is speculative. Some of the walls to the south of House 49 might have been related rather to walls from area D **[TIR74]**.

6.3.3 Area D **[TIR74]**

There were three long trenches excavated in area D **[TIR74]**, in which multiple fragments of walls were found. These were probably of LH IIIA-B date, but nothing else can be said about the buildings they formed, as not even a single room can be properly defined on the plan (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3; Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 4).

6.4. South-western Sector

The South-western Sector was excavated only in a few isolated spots, that were also poorly documented and published (fig. 89). The only places where the remains of Mycenaean

buildings were definitely located were area C **[TIR75]** and area E **[TIR76]**, excavated in 1907 and 1909 by Karo (1909, 121–22). Further to the south there were also trenches in areas A and B, that were both excavated in 1907. However, the interpretation of the remains found there is problematic. Geometric graves were found in both areas, but not much else is known. A single long wall from area B was marked by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 6) as an object from the palatial period, although it was 70 m long and it is doubtful that it was a part of any building. It seems probable that it was rather a terrace wall, or some other construction related to organisation of agricultural space on the banks of the river running to the south of the Citadel. The more fragmented remains excavated in area A might have been of the same nature. This assessment is also supported by Gercke and Hiesel (1971, 1–2), who stated that the area of the Geometric cemetery was outside of the Mycenaean settlement.[137]

Another area that was excavated in the South-western sector is the area of the Agricultural Prison, to the south of area E (fig. 88). It was excavated by Verdelis in 1957 and 1960, and a deep stratigraphy with ceramic material spanning from EH to LH was uncovered there below a group of burials from the Geometric period (Verdelis 1963; French and French 1971). However, this stratigraphy was only partially published, and nothing certain is known about LBA architecture in the area. The Mycenaean pottery dating from LH I to LH IIIC suggests that this was the area belonging to the settlement or located close to the occupational zone, but there was no architecture documented that would be associated with this material (French and French 1971, 34–40). Moreover, the substantial structure that was first visible on the plan prepared by Gercke and Hiesel (1971, fig. 1) was in fact found at the bottom of the trench (French and French 1971, 21), and thus is more likely to be of an earlier date (fig. 88).[138] Nevertheless, Verdelis (1963, 1) stated that the Geometric graves were dug into foundations of Mycenaean houses, and this assessment was later followed by Kilian (1981, fig. 26) and Mühlenbruch (2013, 257). Thus, although no building was recognised in the area during this study, the possibility that the Mycenaean settlement spread into this area during at least some periods should not be neglected.

[137] However, Mühlenbruch (2013, 257) suggested that the Geometric graves in those areas were dug into foundations of Mycenaean houses. Nevertheless, he presented no evidence to support this interpretation.
[138] The structure seems to form a plan completely different from any known Mycenaean architecture on the site, but that remains based only on low-resolution general map of the site, and not on any proper excavations plan. Moreover, it was not included by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 6) on the map of Mycenaean remains of the Lower Town.

6.4.1 Area C **[TIR75]**

There were three LH III walls excavated in a single trench in this area **[TIR75]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3). They were all marked as remains of the palatial period by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 6). The two walls located in the northern part of the trench seem to form a corner of two rooms.

6.4.2 Area E **[TIR76]**

Substantial remains were found in an extensive trench opened in this area (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1). There were EH and MH layers found below the Mycenaean remains (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3). Three phases were recognised and at least one rectangular building with hearths. The last phase probably dated to LH IIIC (Mühlenbruch 2013, 257). There was a structure of at least three rooms in the centre of the trench, which probably belonged to the middle phase, to LH IIIA/B. A 21 m long wall visible along the east side of the trench was marked as LH IIIC by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 6). In the south part of the trench there was a complex tangle of walls, which belonged to all three occupational phases.

6.5. South-eastern Sector

The South-eastern Sector was extensively excavated during multiple campaigns, which were often poorly documented (fig. 89). In 1916 areas F1 **[TIR77]** and G1 **[TIR85]** were excavated under Karo (1930, 119–20), with little information on the architectural remains preserved. Area F **[TIR78-84]** was then excavated for three seasons between 1926 and 1929, while area H **[TIR85-90]** was opened in 1927 (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 2). Although those excavations were conducted more carefully, documentation from only the last campaign survived and was ultimately processed and published by Gercke and Hiesel (1971, 4–18). The excavations in area H were later finished under Jantzen, in 1969 and 1971 (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975).

6.5.1 Area F1 **[TIR77]**

There were substantial architectural remains uncovered in this area **[TIR77]**, with at least two phases recognisable on the available plans (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, fig. 1; Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 7). There is a building with two rooms visible in the north part of the trench, and another structure with at least three rooms immediately to the south of it, with a different orientation. Traces of EH and MH settlement were found below the Mycenaean remains (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 2–3), while all the LH walls were dated to the palatial period by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 7).

6.5.2. Area F

There were three Mycenaean complexes built in this area on top of each other. These were, in a chronological order, Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]**, Complex F2 **[TIR80-81]** and Complex F1 **[TIR82-83]**. Due to the loss of documentation their content and stratigraphy are poorly known, but some interpretations can be nevertheless proposed.

6.5.2.1 Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]**

This complex represents the earliest Mycenaean architecture in the area. It was composed of two buildings – House F3a **[TIR78]**, House F3b **[TIR79]** (fig. 90).

House F3a **[TIR78]** was a large Early Mycenaean structure, with solid, thick walls of and a formal plan, with mostly larger rooms. The *TAQ* for the construction of the first phase is LH I, a date provided by a burned destruction floor deposit with a single Mycenaean sherd. This suggests that the fire must have occurred rather early in the period. The main part of the building was a megaron-type unit with two rooms, and a stone pavement partially used as a substructure for the clay floor. There was also a roof support with a stone foundation in the centre of the main room (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 7–8; Hiesel 1990, 54). It seems that during the first phase there was a courtyard and some rooms attached to the east wall of the megaron. A single wall from these rooms is visible on the plan underneath the more extensive later remains (fig. 90).

After the fire in LH I, the building was rebuilt **[TIR78 – phase 2]**, with new floors laid 0.5 m above the old ones, on top of the destruction deposit. During this phase at least three rooms were attached to the northeast corner of the main unit, with a vestibule leading to the paved courtyard to the south of them. The building must have been abandoned and dismantled or destroyed before the construction of House F2a **[TIR80]** in LH I/II (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 6–8).

House F3b **[TIR79]** probably consisted of rooms arranged around the north and east side of an open courtyard, which separated it from House F3a **[TIR78]**. However, the details of its architectural sequence are not clear, particularly with regard the relationship of the wallsin the south part of the building, which seem to partially overlay House F3a. They might have belonged to another, later building.

The remains of the first phase of the building **[TIR79 – phase 1]** are composed of two walls which seem to form two rooms. This structure might have been burned together with House F3a **[TIR78]**, but there is no evidence for this destruction reported from the building. Nevertheless, it was clearly overbuilt by a new structure, composed of two solid rooms, and a courtyard attached to them from the south with at least one more room on its south edge (fig. 90). One of the rooms to the north, and the courtyard, had stone pavements. There was a

construction deposit found underneath the walls, dating the construction of this phase to LH I/II. The building must have been destroyed or abandoned before the construction of House F2b **[TIR81]** in LH II (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 8; Hiesel 1990, 55)

In general this complex **[TIR78-78 – phase 1]** was a large Early Mycenaean complex with two building arranged around a courtyard: the main megaron-type unit – House F3a **[TIR78]**, and the auxiliary rooms – House F3b **[TIR79]**. It must have been constructed at the very beginning of LH I, or even during the MH period. The first phase of the complex ended with a fire early in LH I. It was then rebuilt on a similar but enlarged plan **[TIR78-79 – phase 2]**. Nothing certain can be said about the function of the complex. The plan of the main unit is rather formal, and walls are very solid (see Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 3.2), which suggest some specialised use or high status. The complex must have been abandoned or destroyed in LH I/II, before the construction of Complex F2 **[TIR80-81]** in the same area.

6.5.2.2 Complex F2 **[TIR80-81]**

This was another Early Mycenaean complex, of which two buildings were identified – House F2a **[TIR80]** and House F2b **[TIR81]** (fig. 91). Its remains were largely disturbed and the interpretation of its organisation and history is rather difficult.

House F2a **[TIR80]** seems to be a two-room unit, possibly with more space arranged to the west. The stone pavement inside the west room is a substructure for the clay floor, part of which was preserved. Pottery from the construction deposits found under the walls was dated to LH I/II. Few fragments of LH IIIA date were also found "next to the walls", which suggest the date of the abandonment of the house at the beginning of LH IIIA1 (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 6; Hiesel 1990, 36; Darcque 2005, plan 58). Nothing can be said about the function, although it might have been a small residential unit.

House F2b **[TIR81]** was a large building, but only some parts of its plan are recognisable: a narrow room to the north, with a drain inside, a room surrounded by two corridors in the centre, and a large room with an oven built of mud-brick to the south, with yet another smaller room attached to its south wall. This final room might have been added to the building only after some time, as it seems that it was disconnected from the main unit. The west side of the structure was not well preserved, but it seems to be a rectangular house, with an additional storeroom attached from the south. The presence of a built oven, and the spatial arrangement, both suggest a residential function. The associated pottery was of LH II/IIIA1 date, thus probably the building shared the fate of House F2a **[TIR80]**, being built in LH I/II and abandoned at the beginning of LH IIIA1 (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 6–7; Hiesel 1990, 35–36).

This was probably a substantial Early Mycenaean complex of LH II-LH IIIA1 date **[TIR80-81]**. Two identified buildings had the same range of pottery associated with them (LH I/II - LH IIIA1), and seem to be arranged together, at least to some extent. This is evidenced by the fact that the southwest corner of House F2b **[TIR81]**, which was probably a later addition to the building, took into account the existence of the northeast corner of House F2a **[TIR80]**. However, there were definitely other buildings in the area, preserved only in a network of walls found around the complex. The function of the complex is uncertain, but it might have been a residential structure. The buildings of the complex must have been destroyed or dismantled before construction of Complex F1 **[TIR82-84]** in LH IIIA1. There is a mention of a layer of ash found in the vicinity of the buildings of Complex F2, meaning that it might have been burned during LH IIIA1 (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 6).

6.5.2.3 Complex F1 **[TIR82-84]**

This phase of the occupation of area F is poorly known, as very little documentation and material from those levels survived. Consequently it is not really clear if the buildings discussed below functioned as one complex, or even if they existed together. Nevertheless, three buildings were identified – House F1a **[TIR82]**, House F1b **[TIR83]**, and House F1c **[TIR84]** (fig. 92).

House F1a **[TIR82]** consisted of a main two-room units, with an additional room and possibly a courtyard with a pebble pavement to the south. There was also a porch with a pebble pavement in front of the main entrance, to the east of the building. A construction deposit with pottery of LH IIIA1 was found under the walls, thus this must indicating the date of the original construction **[TIR82 – phase 1a]**. Other pottery deposits were found on the floors of the building and underneath a small wall added to the east entrance. They were dated to LH IIIA2, thus dating a refurbishment and final use of the building to this period [TIR82 – phase 1b]. The spatial arrangement strongly suggests that it was a small residential unit, but the interpretation of function remains uncertain. No deposit which dates the final destruction or abandonment was reported from this building (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 4–5; Hiesel 1990, 35; Darcque 2005, plan 59).

Only a single wall with three cross-walls was preserved of House F1b **[TIR83]**. The remains of two rooms seem to be visible on the plan, with a stone pavement installed in the western room. There is no known material associated with this structure, so nothing can be said about the function and reconstruction of its history is rather speculative. However, Hiesel (1990, 35) mentioned that this building was on the same level as House F1a **[TIR82]**. It also seems to follow roughly the orientation of the other structure, leaving a narrow passage between the two. Thus possibly it was built together with House F1a, in LH IIIA1. It also seems that it could not

stay in use together with a structure excavated further to the north – House F1c **[TIR84]**, due to lack of space. Probably it was abandoned before construction of the latter house, and remodelling of House F1a, during LH IIIA2 (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 5; Hiesel 1990, 35).

House F1c **[TIR84]** consisted of a two-room unit, with a hearth in the centre of the inner room, and a corridor leading from the outside. There was probably another room on the other side of this passage. Walls visible to the south of this structure might have belonged to a different building, although they share the orientation as the central walls. Thus I would rather suggest that they belonged to a different wing of the same house. The room visible in the east corner, with thick walls and a drain, is the only one clearly from a different building, and probably of a different period too, not necessarily Mycenaean. There was a collection of LH IIIA2 pottery related to some of the walls in this area, although it is unknown to which exactly. Nevertheless, this suggests that the building was constructed during this period, probably together with remodelling of House F1a **[TIR82]**. The hearth suggests a residential function, but nothing certain can be said about the use of the building.

Despite problems with the identification of this complex, the overall homogeneity of the limited pottery that is known from the area, all of which was dated to LH IIIA, and a common orientation of almost all of the buildings in this level of the trench, suggest that they at least formed a district of separate houses grouped together. The buildings possibly formed residential units, but nothing certain can be said about their function due to the lack of finds. The reconstruction of the occupational history is largely speculative, but it seems that at the first phase **[TIR82-84 – phase 1]** was composed of House F1a **[TIR82 – phase 1a]**, and House F1b **[TIR83]**. These houses were probably built together during LH IIIA1, as suggested by the common orientation, use of pebble pavements and the material from the construction deposit of House F1a. Then House F1b was probably abandoned and dismantled at some point during LH IIIA2, to make room for a new structure. However, there is no evidence for any destruction in the area.

House F1a **[TIR82 – phase 1b]** was clearly remodelled in LH IIIA2, and House F1c **[TIR83]** might have been constructed at the same time. This is suggested by the scarce and not clearly assigned material from the north part of the trench that is also dates to LH IIIA2. It seems that House F1a and House F1c functioned together during this phase **[TIR82-84 – phase2]**, probably with a courtyard between them, covering the remains of House F1b. The reason or date of destruction or abandonment of the complex are unknown. No material later than LH IIIA2 is mentioned in the report, but this could be caused by the fact that only the documentation and pottery from the last season was preserved. If there were any floor or

destruction deposits in the area, they were likely to have been excavated during earlier campaigns (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 3–4).

6.5.3 Area G1 **[TIR85]**

Remains in Area G1 **[TIR85]** were excavated after the Tiryns treasure was accidentally found in this area in 1915 (Arvanitopoulos 1915; Philadelphis 1917). This was an extraordinary group of metal objects, dating mostly to the LH IIIB/C period, including tripods, vessels, weapons and tools, deposited inside and underneath a large bronze cauldron. It was hidden during the post-palatial period within the ruins of the earlier architecture (Jantzen 1975, 175; Maran 2006, 129–41).

There were three architectural phases excavated in the area, with remains of the Early Mycenaean, palatial, and post-palatial period supposedly recognised (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 3; Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 7). They were very poorly documented and not much can be said about their organisation. It seems that the walls of the palatial period were located in the western part of the trench, with an earlier probably Early Mycenaean structure below them. The thicker walls located to the east and north, forming three clearly visible rooms, were labelled by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 7) as post-palatial. However, according to Maran (2006, 140) most of the pottery recovered from this area is of MH-LH IIIA2 date, with very few later fragments. This could suggest that the walls in the east part of the trench represented a second phase of the palatial-period settlement in the area, with occupational sequence similar to that excavated in the neighbouring area F **[TIR78-84]** (fig. 89). It is also difficult to imagine that the treasure would be hidden in an area that was occupied at the time, or even was only recently abandoned.

6.5.4 Area H

This is the best researched area of the South-eastern sector, although there are still problems with the interpretation of its history, due to the loss of the documentation from the early research. Nevertheless, there is a sequence of Mycenaean occupation in the area, with five buildings identified: the Middle Helladic-Early Mycenaean House D1-D2 **[TIR86]**, building formed by the isolated walls in area H **[TIR87]**, dated to LH IIIA/B, House M **[TIR88]** of LH IIIB date, and LH IIIC Middle Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]**, formed by Megaron W **[TIR89]** and House O **[TIR90]**. Area H was definitely one of the core zones of the Lower Town, as it seems that it was abandoned only during LH IIIC Early (fig. 93).

6.5.4.1 House D1-D2 **[TIR86]**

House D1-D2 **[TIR86 – phase 1]** was constructed in MH III or LH I, with at least three rooms of the first phase recognizable. There was MH pottery associated with the construction

levels, and a mixture of MH and Early Mycenaean vessels found between the walls (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 27) There were obsidian finds associated with the early phase, due to which Hiesel (Hiesel 1990, 34) named it the "obsidian workshop", but there is no evidence for production beyond household scale. The building might have been destroyed by fire during LH IIB, although such a long uninterrupted occupation is doubtful. There were a few pockets of burned material found over the walls, indicating a fire (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 19), while the *TAQ* for this destruction is provided by the construction deposits of the next phase, dated to LH IIB.

The building was rebuilt **[TIR86 – phase 2]**, with the walls partially set over the older MH foundations. It consisted of a large main room, with a smaller one attached to it from the north, and more broken walls preserved further north indicate presence of at least two other rooms there. There were three circles of stones arranged as vessel stands along the walls of the main room. Another similar stand was close to the centre of the room (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 17–19; Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 18; Hiesel 1990, 34–35). If it was a household, it was well equipped with storage space, but nothing certain can be claimed about the function of the building. The building was abandoned, with no signs of destruction. This must have occurred before the stone pavement of LH IIIA date was laid over it (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 19).

6.5.4.2 Walls in Area H **[TIR87]**

This building **[TIR87]** consists of the walls in area H which were not recognised as a building unit so far (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 17–18). It seemed that the LH IIIA phase was missing in area H, which was noticed by the excavators (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 22). However, some LH IIIA material was reported from under the stone pavement, located under House M **[TIR88]**, but not associated with earlier House D1-D2 **[TIR86]**. Pottery of the same date was also found around this pavement (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 22). Furthermore, LH IIIA/B material was reported from around walls to the southeast of the pavement (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 27), and from the walls under House O **[TIR90]** (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 16). All of those walls seem to have formed a unit attached from the south to the courtyard with the stone pavement. The arrangement of the internal walls is not recognisable, and it is uncertain if all the walls listed above belonged to a single building, but an otherwise missing LH IIIA occupational phase should probably be equated with those remains.

Moreover, there were walls covered by a layer of ash with LH IIIB pottery found below the foundations of Megaron W **[TIR89]**. These walls were oriented roughly the same as the

walls discussed above, thus might have belonged to the same building which would be then a large complex organised around the stone-paved courtyard laid to the north. The remains from underneath Megaron W also suggest that the area was affected by fire in LH IIIB. Such a destruction date fits the *TAQ* provided by construction date of House M **[TIR88]**, which has completely different orientation from any of the walls mentioned and definitely represents the following occupational phase.

6.5.4.3 House M **[TIR88]**

House M **[TIR89]** was probably a part of a larger unit, which was only partially uncovered (fig. 93). The part which was excavated consisted of a main room with a hearth in the centre and clay floor with stone slabs of different sizes embedded in it, and another smaller room attached to it form the northwest. The empty northwest corner might have served as a small storeroom, or it was constructed only to support the structure. There were probably other rooms behind the corridor to the south, forming a second wing of the house. The pottery from below the hearth dated the construction of the building to LH IIIB. The hearth was covered by a reddish deposit of burnt clay, indicating destruction by fire. There is no pottery deposit to date it, but it could have been the destruction at the end of LH IIIB phase (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 15–18; Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 17–18, 21–22; Jantzen 1975, 59–60; Hiesel 1990, 24). A *TAQ* for the destruction is provided by the construction date of Megaron W **[TIR89]** in LH IIIC Middle. The building was probably a residential unit, which is indicated by presence of a central hearth in the central room, but lack of finds precludes any certainty of interpretation.

6.5.4.4 Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]**

After a period of abandonment in LH IIIC Early, the area was reoccupied with the construction of the extensive Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]**. This was formed by two buildings: Megaron W [TIR89], the main unit of extraordinary size and architectural quality, and House O [TIR90], an additional structure attached to the southeast corner of Megaron W (fig. 93).

Megaron W **[TIR89]** was a large rectangular building constructed in LH IIIC Middle (Mühlenbruch 2013, 265; Maran 2015, 284). Although there were construction deposits preserved, the actual appearance of the ground floor is unknown. The floor must have been significantly raised, as the west wall, built on the rising bedrock, was higher than the east wall which was constructed inside deep foundation trenches, in a much more solid way. The three massive stones set on the central axis probably served as bases for roof supports, but their foundations built of clay were probably also part of the floor support. There were fragments of painted plaster found inside the Megaron, indicating that it had decorated walls (Gercke and

Hiesel 1971, 11–15; Jantzen 1975, 60–61; Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 8–10, 15–18; Hiesel 1990, 63–64). The doors must have been on the east side, providing communication with the corridor to the east which linked the building with House O **[TIR90]**. The corridor might have also been equipped with a staircase leading from the ground level to the raised floor of the megaron. The date of the abandonment of the building is unknown, but it must have occurred before the end of LH IIIC, probably in LH IIIC Late if the date provided by House O is followed (see below).

This structure was a prominent post-palatial building, probably of some social and political importance, possibly even of central importance during the final part of post-palatial period (Hiesel 1990, 64; Mühlenbruch 2013, 265). The megaron seems to have been built by a skilled craftsmen, according to a carefully prepared plan. This is indicated by differing foundations adapted to the ground and needs of the construction, presence of roof and floor supports and the large size. The size and the plan, as well as the fact that its walls were painted, suggest a public function and the occurrence of public activities, but lack of finds and details of internal architecture prevents any further speculation. A bronze chisel, the only find associated with the use phase of the building, implies the occurrence of economic activities, but it is too isolated to draw any conclusions (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 15).

House O **[TIR90]** was a single room attached to the corridor leading to Megaron W **[TIR89]**, possibly together with other parts of the complex which were not preserved, but their presence was indicated by the broken walls protruding south of this building. It might have been built during LH IIIC Late (Mühlenbruch 2013, 266). The area to the east was probably an open courtyard (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 11). It is unclear if the oven found in the south part of the room belonged to its use phase, or to some later architecture (Hiesel 1990, 24). Small parts of walls dated to LH IIIC Late overbuilt this building, but their overall plan remains unknown (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 11; Mühlenbruch 2013, 266). They do provide a date of the abandonment for this building. The finds associated with the house were composed of a group of utilitarian pottery, two stone axes and a terracotta figurine (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 15; Hiesel 1990, 25).[139] If the oven found inside the room belonged to this structure, it would support the interpretation of the building as residential structure and this deposit as a domestic collection. Nevertheless, this remains uncertain.

[139] A Linear B tablet was also found outside the threshold of this building, but according to the excavators it did not belong to the building's inventory (Hiesel 1990, 25). Nevertheless, it is an important evidence for the presence of the administrative records in the Lower Town of Tiryns (see Ch. III. 7.4).

Overall, the Megaron W Complex [TIR89-90], was probably a multifunctional complex of some importance. The group which occupied such a building must have possessed a certain status in the post-palatial community of Tiryns. Maran (2006, 141) suggesting that the inhabitants of this complex might have been responsible for deposition of the Tiryns Treasure, which may represent a dedication offering of an elite family or group.

6.6. Eastern Sector

The Eastern Sector is an extremely poorly known part of the Lower Town (fig. 94). Apart from isolated walls excavated by Karo in 1909 in area H1 **[TIR91]** and area K **[TIR92]**, there was only one building – the Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**, uncovered in the northern part of the sector immediately outside of the Lower Citadel by Kilian (1988c, fig. 9). Unfortunately, the finds from this building were never published.

6.6.1 Area H1 **[TIR91]**

There were three parallel Mycenaean walls found in a single trench in area H1 **[TIR91]**, above some EH and MH remains (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3). All the walls were labelled as being of the palatial period by Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 5). It seems that the two walls on the west side of the trench formed a single room, while a single wall to the east, of a slightly different orientation, probably belonged to another structure (fig. 94).

6.6.2 Area K **[TIR92]**

Substantial Late Mycenaean remains **[TIR92]** were located in this area above EH and MH strata (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3). Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 5) marked all the walls in the area as LH IIIC. At least two and probably three phases can be recognised on their plan, with a large structure of three rooms on the west side, clearly built over some older walls, and another smaller unit abutting it from the west (fig. 94). It is also possible that two phases of post-palatial occupation can be seen in this trench, with some older palatial period remains below them.

6.6.3 Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**

There was a small building **[TIR93]** with two rooms located ca. 60 m to the north of Area K which must have been excavated by Kilian, even though it is not mentioned in any of his reports, being only shown by him on the map of LH IIIA1 Tiryns (Kilian 1988c, fig. 9; fig. 47). Rieger and Böser (1990, plan 5) marked it as dating to the palatial period, while Rahmstorf (2008, pls 100-101) put the building on his maps for LH IIIB. Thus neither the function, nor the specific dating of the building are known, although it seems safe to assume that it was of LH IIIA or LH IIIB date.

7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Tiryns

In this subchapter, a detailed overview of the history of the palatial town of Tiryns is presented, on the basis of the evidence discussed above. The history of the Mycenaean settlement at Tiryns can be divided into five general phases (tab. 2): early development during MH III and the Early Mycenaean period, the first phase of the palatial town following its rapid formation in LH IIIA, the second phase of the palatial town in LH IIIB1, the third phase of the palatial town in LH IIIB2, and the development and decline of an urbanised post-palatial town in LH IIIC.

7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH III – LH II)

There are no signs of significant settlement at Tiryns during the Middle Helladic period. Limited occupational remains from this phase are spread mainly on the west side of the Lower Town, while on the Upper Citadel there was very little pottery of MH I-II found, with more material from MH III, but still not associated with any preserved architecture (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3; Maran 2015, 278). The only well-defined building of the settlement that might have been built already during MH III is House D1-D2 **[TIR86 – phase 1]** in Area H of the Lower Town.

During LH I the settlement must have grown. This is indicated not only by the construction of Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]** to the southeast of the Citadel (Hiesel 1990, 54–55), which might have even occurred at the very end of MH III, but most importantly by the first traces of Mycenaean architecture on the Upper Citadel. The few walls that were preserved of the so-called Maison de Chef **[TIR1]** mark the first development of a Mycenaean residence in that area, although there is no evidence that it had any monumental appearance (Maran 2010, 724–25). The beginning of the Late Helladic period marks also the establishment of the chamber tomb cemetery at the west slope of Profitis Ilias (Jantzen 1975, 66–70).

A key development in LH II was the construction of the Proto-palace **[TIR2]** on the Upper Citadel. This was the first monumental Mycenaean residence on the site, although not much of its plan is known. It was definitely of substantial size, being constructed on at least two levels (Maran 2001b, 24–28, 2015, 279). The construction of this building, due to no other signs of elevated position of the settlement during this period, was likely connected to the emerging connection of Tiryns with Mycenae, and the support of the latter centre (Maran 2015, 279). The other remains of the Early Mycenaean period, likely dating mostly to LH II, are concentred to the south-east of the Upper Citadel and consist solely of simple residential units. Those are LH I/II walls in area G1 **[TIR85]**, Complex F2 **[TIR80-81]** in area F and House D1-D2 **[TIR86 - phase 2]** in area H. By the end of LH II the settlement was probably not larger

than 1,5 ha (fig. 95). A gradual increase in population is indicated by a slow growth in the number of chamber tombs constructed on Profitis Ilias (Rudolph 1973, 124).

Despite rather modest appearance and small extent of the settlement during LH II, the foundations for the future organisation of the palatial town were already laid during this period. The division of the settlement into an elite zone on the Upper Citadel, and the settlement of the Lower Town below, was pronounced by the construction of the Proto-palace **[TIR2]**, which must have dominated the site both visually and symbolically.

7.2. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA)

The final division of the settlement into two distinct zones – the palatial Upper Citadel zone and the Lower Town, and thus the formation of the palatial town of Tiryns, during LH IIIA, when the Upper Citadel was overbuilt by the first palace **[TIR3 – phase 1]** surrounded by the first fortifications (Maran 2015, 280; fig. 45). The exact construction date of the palace is unknown (see Ch. III. 5.1.1.), but LH IIIA1 seems doubtful. Due to the construction of the palace at Mycenae in LH IIIA2 (see Ch. II. 5.1.1), it is safer to assume that the palace at Tiryns was built around the same time.[140] Nevertheless, its construction was preceded by the gradual growth of the settlement already since LH IIIA1 and was probably only the final act of the development of the site during this period, rather than an investment which would initiate it (see below). The palace had the radically new plan of a double-megaron, and must have been organised around large open courtyards, integrated with the fortification walls and the storage rooms built into them. The Upper Citadel covered only 0,5 ha, but its fortifications were already formidable, with a massive East Gate surrounded by two towers and approached by a ramp.

The construction date of the tholos tomb located on the east slope of Profitis Ilias is problematic (see Ch. III. 4.2.), but in my opinion its appearance should be dated to LH IIIA and thus associated with the construction of the first palace at Tiryns **[TIR3 – phase 1]**. These two developments probably marked the strengthening of the relationship between Tiryns and Mycenae, and the acquisition the status of the second palatial centre by Tiryns. The strict control of the use of those conspicuous tombs by Mycenae during this period further underlines the importance of this construction and its symbolic value (Voutsaki 1995).

The Manessi river which has previously encircled the citadel only form the south, must have naturally diverted its course and formed a north branch during LH IIIA. The northern part of the site started to be periodically flooded and its landscape must have taken form of a wide

[140] There is no direct evidence which would suggest that the palace at Tiryns was built before that at Mycenae, while all the circumstantial evidence discussed here point to the opposite scenario. Nevertheless, this remains speculative due to lack of strong ceramic data from the Upper Citadel.

swampy river basin (Zangger 1994; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 127–30, 2021, 123). This limited the area of the site which was suitable for occupation, and can largely explain the concentration of the Lower Town to the south of the Citadel (see below).

The hypothesis that the position of Tiryns during LH IIIA was elevated by Mycenae is strengthened by analysis of the extent of the settlement during this period (fig. 96). The only part of the Lower Town with direct access to the palatial zone, which must have been related to the importance of this area, was the Southeast Sector, which was already densely occupied. LH IIIA remains in this area included walls in area F1 **[TIR77]**, Complex F1 **[TIR82]** in area F, walls in area G1 **[TIR85]**, and walls in area H **[TIR87]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3; Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975). The settlement spread also to the west, as indicated by the construction of a large and probably well-equipped House 49 **[TIR73]** in LH IIIA1 and other buildings which must have functioned around it, as well as presence of walls in areas E **[TIR76]** and D **[TIR74]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1–3; Podzuweit and Saltzmann 1977). Moreover, during LH IIIA2 the Ramparts Building **[TIR7 – phase 1a]** was constructed on the northern part of the Citadel hill (Kilian 1988a, 137; Rahmstorf 2008, 270–71). This probably indicates that the occupation spread into that entire area, which did not necessarily have any special status during this period. Nevertheless, despite a definite growth, the settlement was still rather small and by the end of LH IIIA covered probably only 4-5 ha (fig. 96). Apart from the palace there are two buildings of this period which might have been of some importance – House 49, which had two wings and pebble mosaic installed on of the floors, and Ramparts Building which seem to be a solid and probably large construction. Nevertheless, neither of them seem to have had any particular economic function. Overall, there is nothing to suggest that during this period there was a group of inhabitants with significant economic capabilities at Tiryns, except from the people buried in the tholos tomb, who must have resided at the Upper Citadel. This is also indicated by the appearance of the Profitis Ilias chamber tomb cemetery, which continued to grow, but all the burials remained rather modest (Rudolph 1973, 124). However, the crucial position of the Citadel hill, which controlled the coast of the Argolic Gulf, and access to a convenient seaport, were likely to encourage the ruler of Mycenae to invest in Tiryns, support its growth and control its elite. It was the access to maritime routes and control over a key part of the coast that made Tiryns important, and not the gradual organic growth of its community. The exact political reality behind this situation will probably always escape us, but it seems safe to assume that during LH IIIA at the latest, Tiryns became part of the kingdom of Mycenae.

Interestingly, during its growth as the main maritime centre of the Argolid, it overshadowed Nafplio, located 3.5 km to the south (fig. 46). Although the settlement remains

at Nafplio are scarce, over 100 chamber tombs excavated in the area of the site testify to its importance from the Early Mycenaean period (Piteros 2015). It also had a suitable position on the rocky hill above the coast, and during LH II and LH IIIA it still surpassed Tiryns in the quality of grave finds. However, although Nafplio remained an important settlement during the palatial period, it was never transformed into a palatial centre and thus must have lost the local rivalry. At some point during LH IIIA it became a secondary port to Tiryns, probably after the latter was fortified and developed with a palace. This further underlines the fact that the dominant position of Tiryns in the region was not at all obvious from the beginning. It seems safe to assume that the involvement of Mycenae was crucial for the ultimate formation of a settlement hierarchy on the shores of eastern Argolid (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 696).

7.3. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB1)

This period marks a key moment of development in the formation of the palatial town of Tiryns. At the beginning of LH IIIB1 the fortifications of the Citadel were greatly expanded (fig. 45). The Upper Citadel was enlarged and strengthen with addition of new gates and bastions, while the Lower Citadel was fortified with a wall of stone foundations and mud-brick superstructure (Kilian 1988c, 134). Thus a tripartite structural division of the site into three zones – the Upper Citadel, the Lower Citadel, and the Lower Town, was finally established (fig. 97). This was a long-standing development, which defined the plan of the site for the next three hundred years. Moreover, the strengthening and extending of the fortifications at the site and constant investment into its defensive capabilities, further indicates the strategic importance of Tiryns. Unfortunately, the developments of this period are not reflected in the funerary landscape with the number of known LH IIIB chamber tombs on Profitis Ilias remaining similar to that from LH IIIA (Rudolph 1973, 124).

We do not have much data on the organisation of the Lower Citadel during LH IIIB1, as only a few buildings of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 1b]** were identified (fig. 49). The extent of the Lower Citadel zone is suggested not only by the curvature of the uncovered fragment of the defensive wall, but also presence of Building M5-6/03 **[TIR5]** located in the northern part of the hill. Thus this LH IIIB1 Lower Citadel was probably not much smaller than the later LH IIIB2 complex encircled with Cyclopean fortifications (see Ch, III. 7.4), and covered ca. 0,5 ha. Building activity was also detected in the south part of the complex, where Rampart Building **[TIR7 – phase 1b]** was rebuilt, and the new Building R213 **[TIR6]** was constructed next to it. Later during this phase, in LH IIIB1 Late, the south part of the complex was much developed, with Rampart Building **[TIR7 – phase 2]** enlarged and transformed into a residence with metallurgical workshop, and Building R212 **[TIR8]**, probably

another workshop, constructed to the south of it. There are also some elements of planned development visible in the area, with a common passage leading to both of those buildings from the central lane of the Lower Citadel (Kilian 1988a, 126–37). Moreover, the Lower Citadel have clearly served not only a residential but also an economic function. This marks its functional division from the Lower Town. The extension of fortifications must have been planned in coordination with the development of the zone, in order to provide protection for the production centre established behind the walls. It seems that it was during this period, that a class of specialised craftsmen and service emerged in the settlement, being probably supported and mobilised by the palace, but also controlled by its administration. The fragments of Linear B tablets found in the Lower Citadel were probably associated with the Ramparts Buildings (Rahmstorf 2015, 145).

The extent of the Lower Town during this period is difficult to estimate, and has to be based on a rather circumstantial evidence, due to the fact that most of the palatial period walls excavated in the zone were dated only broadly to LH IIIA/B (Rieger and Böser 1990). The only properly excavated building definitely of LH IIIB date in the Lower Town was House M **[TIR88]**, a simple residential unit located in area H in the South-eastern Sector. It was probably constructed after the previous architecture in the area was burned during an earlier part of LH IIIB (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 8–9). However, the fact that the South Gate was opened in the Upper Citadel during LH IIIB1, suggests that the settlement developed in that direction. Thus it is probable that during this period not only areas E **[TIR76]** and D **[TIR74]**, but also area C **[TIR75]** were all occupied. The area of House 49 **[TIR73]**, despite the fact that the building was abandoned already in LH IIIA1, was also probably continued to be occupied, as suggested by the presence of multiple palatial period walls around it. Moreover, the development of the Lower Citadel suggests that the Lower Town might have been also simultaneously and probably gradually extended in that direction. As such palatial period walls in areas P **[TIR72]**, H1 **[TIR91]**, K **[TIR92]** and K1 **[TIR93]** should probably be dated to LH IIIB. In such case, the settlement during LH IIIB1 would reach the size of 7 ha, with the Lower Town extending over 6 ha (fig. 97).

Not much can be said about the organisation of the LH IIIB Lower Town, or quality of life of its inhabitants. There is no evidence that it served any other function than residential, but the remains of the period are scarce. A single fragment of Linear B tablet found in the vicinity of the post-palatial House O is likely to date to this period, rather than LH IIIC (Hiesel 1990, 25; contra Mühlenbruch 2013, 266, 272). It proves the presence of administrative records outside of the Citadel, testifying to the extent of the palatial supervision over the Lower Town.

This must have been connected with some economic dependencies but their details remain unknown. The division of the Lower Town from the Citadel and separation of its inhabitants from the people living on the hill must have progressed during this period. This is indicated not only by the development of the fortifications, but also functional specialisation of the Lower Citadel, which was probably developed specifically as an economic zone dependent on the palace. Access to the palatial elite zone on the Upper Citadel must have been rather difficult already during LH IIIA, but after the construction of the East Bastion the movement from this direction was strictly controlled and rather restricted. The gate that was probably used by the palace to communicate with the Lower Town was the newly constructed South Gate. Its location next to the fortified storerooms on the external courtyard of the palace was hardly coincidental and smut have facilitated the deliveries of goods which filled the warehouses of the Upper Citadel.

Despite claims about the earthquake which would have struck Tiryns at the end of LH IIIB1 (Kilian 1988c, 1996; Mühlenbruch 2013, 255), there is no evidence for such a catastrophe (Hinzen et al. 2018). However, as no traces of fire were associated with the end this phase, it seems the most probable that the palace **[TIR3 – phase 1]** and the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]** were simply dismantled at the end of this phase, together with the original fortification wall of the Lower Citadel, in order to make room for a new grand plan of the Citadel, while the Lower Town simply continued to grow without disruption.

7.4. Palatial town – Phase 3 (LH IIIB2)

At the beginning of the LH IIIB2 a new master plan was imposed over the entire Citadel hill (Maran 2010, 726; Mühlenbruch 2013, 255–58). The of this plan must have been an impressive effort and an acme of Mycenaean architectural achievements. It seems that those developments were yet another sign of planned development of Tiryns as the key strategic fortress and a secondary palatial centre by Mycenae (fig. 98). This is indicated not only by the scale of works, but also by the use of conglomerate blocks transported from the vicinity of Mycenae and the plan of the final palace **[TIR3 – phase 2]**, which seem to have been designed as only the ending point of processions and not as part of a system designed for circular motion. The LH IIIB2 palace at Tiryns, built on a new extended three-partite plan, with rich painted decorations and extraordinary furnishings, had the Great Megaron set behind a system of courtyards and gates. It was deliberately formed to control access strictly to progressively enclosed spaces and gradually led the visitors to a throne room (Thaler 2015). This is in contrast to the palace at Mycenae, which was surrounded by the system of passageways which led from the megaron in two directions, making both the centripetal and centrifugal movement around it

possible (Maran 2015, 281). This interpretation of the differences in the design of two palaces was proposed by Maran (2009a, 2015, 281), and further strengthens the idea of the two centres being part of a single political entity during the palatial period.

The fortifications of the Citadel were greatly expanded with both the Upper and the Lower Citadel rebuilt (fig. 45). The Upper Citadel was developed with construction of the Middle Citadel, which further extended the palatial zone to the north. The South Gate was blocked by construction of additional fortified storerooms, while the East Bastion was rebuilt and equipped with new gates and vaulted galleries. The West Tower and Western Staircase were constructed on the opposite side of the fortress, providing a new access point to the Upper Citadel, leading to the west wing of the palace and storerooms attached to this side of the Citadel wall (Maran 2010, 726–278).

The Lower Citadel was encircled with a massive Cyclopean wall equipped with twenty eight wall chambers, two underground cisterns, and a sally port installed close to the north tip of the wall. There was a gate in the southwest corner, while access was also possible from the area of the main West Gate, which was approached by a massive stone ramp and led also to the Upper Citadel (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 17–23). The interior of the Lower Citadel fortifications was also completely redesigned, with a system of multi-levelled terraces constructed on both sides of the hill to support the new multi-building complex **[TIR9-22 – phase 1]**. It was originally composed of at least nine buildings, six of which were located on the lower west slope (fig. 53). The area was well-designed, with a system of passages branching off from the central lane and connecting various levels of the area, and few open spaces set between the structures and used as working spaces and for various daily activities . The complex was also equipped with a network of drains, which often went under the fortification wall and led outside the Citadel. Most of the buildings seem to have not only residential, but also economic functions, with good evidence of large-scale food preparation and metallurgical production being of particular interest. Two of the buildings clearly stand out from the others – Building A **[TIR15]**, a large two-storey residence with elements of elite architecture and access to several working and storage areas, and Building VI **[TIR17]**, a well-equipped and furnished residence with a metallurgical workshop and a shrine of two rooms. The shrine was probably not of private character, as it was originally easily accessible from the outside of the building and approached from the south from the area of the West Gate (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 235–45). The complex must have been inhabited primarily by specialised craftsmen, their family and service, as well as palatial officials, including at least some members of the elite. They might have occupied Building VI and Building A, with one of them probably serving as a

residence for a Lower Citadel supervisor. The Lower Citadel zone must have been under a strict control and protection of the palace, and regarded as a crucial part of the fortress and key economic establishment of the settlement. This is indicated by an extraordinary concentration of storage space and production facilities, which included multiple areas designed for processing of metals, as well as access to the underground cisterns which must have been the main source of water for the entire Citadel.

At the end of LH IIIB2 Early the Lower Citadel Complex was at least partially burned, with evidence of fire spread throughout its west slope. It is possible that the fire which destroyed House M **[TIR88]** was of the same date, but it could have also occurred later. This destruction horizon was followed by a series of important developments which changed the organisation of the palatial town during its final phase. The most important of these was the construction of the dam at Kofini, which was a designed to divert the course of the Manessi river and to dry the area to the north of the Citadel. It was a massive investment and a key part of the palatial plan to expand the town to the north by preparation of new areas for settlement. This dating of the construction of the dam and the canal to LH IIIB2 Late is strongly suggested by the changes which occurred during this period at the Lower Citadel. Its fortifications were redesigned, with many of the wall chambers sealed, but most importantly the north part was rebuilt. The sally port was abandoned and reused as a drain, and a new North Gate was pierced through the Cyclopean wall. This was undoubtedly done in preparation for the expansion of the Lower Town, in order to ensure communication between the Citadel and the areas to the north (Maran 2010, 728–279). Nevertheless, this plan did not come to full realization during the palatial period. Only a few traces of LH IIIB2 occupation were found in the North-western sector of the Lower Town, with palatial period walls supposedly reported from Northwest Building **[TIR66],** and remains of light constructions evidenced by post-holes located underneath the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 70–81)**.** Thus it seems that while the preparations for the establishment of this new part of the settlement began early in LH IIIB2 Late, they were not finished until the very last years of this period and thus only an initial, probably temporary, occupation was established. Nevertheless, this expansion marks a new step in the history of the Lower Town of Tiryns, which spread to the north of the Citadel for the first time. The settlement might have reached the size of 10 ha at this point (fig. 99). Although we do not know much about the Lower Town of Tiryns during LH IIIB2, the fact that it was included in the palatial plans for the development of the settlement suggests that some elements of urban planning were introduced during its development. These definitely included planned access routes into the Citadel.

During LH IIIB2 Late important changes occurred inside the Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22 – phase 2]**. Apart from modifications to the fortifications, which seem to have led to the abandonment of some of the defensive measures and a decrease of storage capabilities, the complex was developed with new passages and courtyards and multiple new buildings (fig. 54). The sally port at the north tip was abandoned and transformed into the mouth of a complex, and certainly pre-planned system of drainage which covered the entire North and North-east Area (Maran 2008, 88, 97–109; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 227). The key constructions occurred in the North Area, where Building XV **[TIR9]** was constructed next to Building XI **[TIR10]** – a workshop of Cypriot or Near Eastern craftsmen, involved in the processing of gold, obsidian and other stone materials (Maran 2015, 282–83). This must have occurred under palatial control, but the appearance of foreign cultural traditions on site was not necessarily pre-planned. Nevertheless, the influx of new population at least into the Lower Citadel, is obvious. The Lower Citadel definitely became densely inhabited, with probably all of the terraces occupied. Nevertheless, living inside of it was still certainly a privilege, as the Cyclopean walls protected the inhabitants not only from the enemy attacks but also from the sun and wind (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 245). The concentration of economic production inside the zone progressed during the final palatial period, and thus the functional specialisation of the area was further emphasised. Building VI **[TIR17]** was redesigned during this period, and access to the cult rooms inside of it was significantly hindered, especially for the inhabitants of the Lower Town that would approach the structure from the south. This might have been a sign of a growing separation between the inhabitants of the Lower Town and the Lower Citadel, but the actual importance of the cult rooms in Building VI is difficult to assess.

The development of the palatial town of Tiryns, which was certainly planned to be continued, was stopped by the widespread destruction horizon at the end of LH IIIB. The palace was entirely burned, as well as most of the Lower Citadel. There is no evidence from the Lower Town except from a single burned building of LH IIIB date – House M **[TIR88]**, but the fact that most of the south part of the settlement was abandoned in LH IIIC Early, suggests that the Lower Town was also affected by these destructions. Nevertheless, their nature is much debated, although involvement of human agency is certain, there are multiple scenarios which might explain the chain of events (see for example Maran 2009b, 255–56; Jung 2016). No particular signs of crisis can be pointed out in Tiryns prior to the end of LH IIIB. In fact it seems that the settlement was flourishing, and for the first time became comparable to Mycenae in size and probably also economic importance, which might have been connected to some political changes (see Ch. II. 7.4. and Ch. V.). However, it is possible that the costs of the

massive buildings projects of LH IIIB2, and abandonment of the defensive measures prepared at the beginning of this phase, have all contributed to the lack of preparation for the disaster (Maran 2015, 283).

7.5. Post-palatial town and its decomposition (LH IIIC)

The process of the decomposition of the palatial town took a unique turn at Tiryns, where a significant post-palatial town was simultaneously formed. It still preserved much of the structural divisions of the palatial town, but the functional organisation of the settlement was much different, with only the Upper Citadel being a zone of specific function. Nevertheless, the settlement should still be regarded as urbanised, being internally divided and organised, and much different from any other site of the region during this period (Maran 2016b).

7.5.1. LH IIIC Early

Shortly after the destruction at the end of LH IIIB, the ruins of the palace were partially cleaned and levelled and a large rectangular structure – Building T **[TIR4]**, was constructed inside the remains of the Great Megaron. The building probably served as an assembly hall for the leaders of the post-palatial elite, with a stone altar built in front of it, in the cleared Great Court (Mühlenbruch 2015, 138–39). The interior of the building included the throne from the palace, but it is doubtful that a leader of the post-palatial community at Tiryns had the power of the *wanax*, although he tried to symbolically relate to it (Maran 2015, 283–85). The rest of the Upper Citadel was left in ruins, which must have had a significant visual impact not only on the members of the elite approaching the remains, but the entire community of post-palatial Tiryns (Maran 2020). Building T was refurbished at least once during the post-palatial period, and remained in use probably until LH IIIC Late, although the abandonment date remains unknown. It is possible that its central role was taken over or at least challenged since LH IIIC Middle, when Megaron W **[TIR89]** was constructed in the South-eastern Sector of the Lower Town (see below).

At the very beginning of LH IIIC Early the ruins of the Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR23-27]** were reoccupied (fig. 55). It is probable that they were initially inhabited by the survivors of the catastrophe, while the new population was arriving into the Lower Town (see below). The integration of this early post-palatial settlement of the Lower Citadel into the entire town was probably rather weak (Damm-Meinhardt 2015a, 247–84; Mühlenbruch 2013, 268–69). However, after some time the zone started to be redeveloped, with a new settlement pattern emerging inside the walls (fig. 57). Shortly after the first new buildings of the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 1]** were constructed, Building VIa **[TIR48]** was built on the ruins of palatial Building VI **[TIR17]** (fig. 56-57). This straightforward continuation of palatial

architecture, including the use of painted wall decorations and two-storey construction unique for the post-palatial Tiryns, strongly suggest that the inhabitants of the complex, or at least of this building, felt connected to the palatial past deliberately and tried to elevate their position through this connection (Mühlenbruch 2013, 350). The complex was also equipped with a small shrine – Building R117 **[TIR41]**. In the later part of LH IIIC Early the complex was organised with a system of passages and courtyards that facilitated movement and communal activities of the inhabitants. During the final part of LH IIIC Early the area was partially burned, with a number of the buildings of the first phase abandoned. However, it was quickly rebuilt on a similar plan **[TIR28-54 – phase 2a]**, in which a central role of Courtyard H1 was clearly established (fig. 58). During the entire LH IIIC Early period the north part of the Lower Citadel probably served as an intramural cemetery (Maran 2008, 91–94).

The northern Lower Town was extensively expanded in LH IIIC Early, according to an ambitious master plan which included the use of a grid system. This development must have been a result of the plans made in LH IIIB2, and it is difficult to imagine that it would be executed without the participation of at least a few members of the former palatial administration (Maran 2016b; Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 73). The development of the northern Lower Town according to a large-scale plan is in fact the best evidence for the partial continuation of power at Tiryns after the fall of the palace, and together with the construction of Building T **[TIR4]** and the gradual rebuilding of the Lower Citadel testifies to the survival of certain elements of palatial power and their implementation into new, much more heterogeneous social and political situation. The continuous use of Building T **[TIR4]** throughout the post-palatial period further testifies to the formation of a new political system with the power apparatus of its own.

Buildings of the first part of LH IIIC Early were excavated in the North-east Sector, where the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 1/2]** and multiple post-palatial walls in areas M **[TIR62]**, L **[TIR63]** and N **[TIR64]** were located, and in the North-west Sector, where Complex O **[TIR70-71 – phase 1]**, the Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1/2]**, Northwest Building **[TIR66]** and Building R6/18 **[TIR65]** were uncovered. All of the buildings of the northern Lower Town were set on exactly the same orientation. There was also an impressive level of standardisation in the settlement, with all the building uncovered having to a significant extent a similar plan composed of rooms organised around a large open courtyard. These included the Northeast Complex, the Northwest House **[TIR71]** of Complex O and the Northwest Complex.

The spread of the post-palatial Lower Town to the west of the Citadel was indicated by the results of the geophysical survey conducted in the Sector (Hübner and Giese 2006). The settlement probably also covered the slope to the east of the Citadel, although only walls in area K suggested this (Rieger and Böser 1990, plan 5). Nevertheless, it seems that during LH IIIC Early the settlement reached the peak of its size, occupying at least 12 ha (fig. 100).[141]

The community of the Lower Town was heterogeneous and must have been composed of various groups, including a number of newcomers, or descendants of newcomers, from the Central Mediterranean and Cyprus (Maran 2016b, 208–9). Objects with clear cultural affinities to those regions were found in both of the most thoroughly researched structures of the Lower Town, the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** and Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]** (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 130–35). The heterogeneity of the community might have caused the apparent isolation of the complexes of the Lower Town, which seem to have been weakly integrated with each other, despite being constructed on a planned network of plots and roads (Maran 2016b, 204–8). It is possible that the population mix and agencies of individual groups prevented the introduction of more unified and better internally connected complexes, which were probably originally planned to cover the area north of the Citadel. Nevertheless, communality was definitely important for the inhabitants of the Lower Town, with all the known buildings centred around open courtyards which served as the main working areas (Siennicka 2015, 368–69).

Moreover, the presence of large colonnaded halls with hearths, found in both the Northeast Complex and the Northwest Complex, suggests that communal gatherings, feasts and ceremonies were important parts of the social landscape of the Lower Town. Such activities might have served to create bounds between certain groups, while excluding others (Maran 2016b, 208). They might have improved the integration of the mixed community, but also created or amplified tensions within it. The exact social organisation of the settlement, and political significance of the presence of the newcomers is difficult to estimate. It seems that they were numerous so they were probably an important part of the community. It is also doubtful that a straightforward division between the newcomers occupying the Lower Town and the older population reoccupying the Lower Citadel prevailed throughout the entire post-palatial period, although this might have been an initial arrangement. However after some time a new post-palatial elite must have been formed, which likely included both the families with

[141] There is no published evidence to support Kilian's (1978, 467–70) estimate of 25 ha. Even on his own map published together with this suggestion (Kilian 1978, fig. 26), which presents all the areas of post-palatial occupation as contemporary, the size of the settlement is only 18 ha.

ties to palatial power, and the most significant families among the newcomers (Mühlenbruch 2013, 270–72, 353–54).

During the latter part of LH IIIC Early the Northwest House **[TIR71]** was burned and immediately rebuilt on a slightly altered plan. This destruction might have been simultaneous with a fire destruction at the end of the first phase of the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54]**, but that is not certain. A much more widespread destruction horizon occurred at the end of LH IIIC Early. This time the fire spared the Lower Citadel, but destroyed Complex O **[TIR70-71]**, Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**, Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]** and probably also Building R6/18 **[TIR65]**. The extent of these destructions suggests that most probably all of the Lower Town was burned at the time. Such a widespread fire was most probably related to an attack of an external enemy, which was probably held off by the fortifications of the Citadel, given that there were no signs of fire inside the walls.

7.5.2. LH IIIC Middle 1

During LH IIIC Middle 1 only a few new buildings were constructed in the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2b-c]** (fig. 59-60). During this period the North Gate was back in use, testifying to the integration of the complex into the wider settlement and connection with the northern Lower Town. The system of passages was developed, and the underground cisterns continued to be maintained. Another palatial structure – Building XI **[TIR10]**, was overbuilt by a new unit which was largely based on the palatial predecessor – Building XIa **[TIR29]**. Its construction marks the abandonment of the cemetery which functioned in the area during LH IIIC Early. A new shrine – Building R110 **[TIR42]**, was constructed in the centre of Courtyard H1 and replaced the Building R117 **[TIR41]** (Mühlenbruch 2013, 263). Despite the continuous development of the Lower Citadel during the post-palatial period, it remained a purely residential quarter, with only a few buildings of special cultic or public importance, or significant storage capabilities, but no economic specialisation. Thus although the structural division between the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town was maintained in the post-palatial settlement pattern, the functional division was not.

The Lower Town was immediately reoccupied after the fire which ended the previous phase. New buildings on altered plans were constructed within the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 3]** and Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 2]**. The occupational space of the latter complex has clearly shrunk, and the new structures were built rather loosely, with many open courtyards and passages organised around them. This might testify to the diminished number of inhabitants, but the construction of the central drain in the area suggests that it was

still an important part of the settlement, and subject to pre-planned large-scale developments (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 123–28).

The Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 2]** was again burned and ultimately abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Middle (Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 128–30). At the same time Building M5-6/18 **[TIR65]** and the Northwest House **[TIR71]** were also abandoned, indicating that the entire northwest part of the Lower Town was probably not occupied any more after this phase.

7.5.3. LH IIIC Middle 2

Despite the abandonment of the Northwestern Sector, the northeast area of the Lower Town continued to be occupied. The Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 4]** was rearranged at the beginning of this period (Stockhammer 2008, 241). However during the latter part of LH IIIC Middle 2 the complex was burned. It was yet again rebuilt, but in a much more loose form, probably testifying to the gradual decline and abandonment of also the northeast part of the Lower Town towards the end of this period (Maran 2006, 115–17).

I would argue that it was only at this point that the south part of the Lower Town was reoccupied, probably at least partially by the people from the burned north-western area. The reoccupation of the south part of the site was suggested by the presence of the post-palatial walls in area E **[TIR76]**, but most importantly by construction of an extraordinary Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]** which did not occur earlier than LH IIIC Middle 2 (Mühlenbruch 2013, 265–66). Its main unit was a particularly large hall with raised floor, probably of significant social and political importance. It formed the single largest room of the post-palatial Tiryns, and during the final part of the period it might have played central role as a new assembly hall for at least some members of the elite. In such a scenario it would replace, at least to some extent, Building T **[TIR4]** from the Upper Citadel and testify to the rivalry between different elite groups. However, the two structures could have also coexisted in peace and simply serve different functions (Mühlenbruch 2013, 271–72). Overall, the settlement pattern of the Lower Town was reconfigured during this period, but it nevertheless did not entirely abandon its palatial origins, being still centred on tri-partite division of the site. The settlement was probably slightly smaller during this period than in LH IIIC Early – LH IIIC Middle 1, covering a minimum of 9 ha (fig. 101).

During LH IIIC Middle 2 the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2d-f]** entered another period of intensive construction activity (fig. 61-63). Multiple new buildings were constructed in the complex, including a number of simple residential units, but also larger structures. Those were Building R127 **[TIR50]** – a large residence probably involved in

organisation of communal feasts, and Building R115 **[TIR39]** – a colonnaded hall serving for public and ritual activities. The appearance of these buildings inside the Lower Citadel must indicate significant social changes, as especially the latter type of building was previously testified solely in the Lower Town (Mühlenbruch 2013, 351). It is tempting to propose that the great development of the Lower Citadel in LH IIIC Middle 2, was directly linked to the burning and abandonment of the north-western Lower Town. It is possible that some of the surviving families from the northwest area, moved inside the walls, which would explain the growing need for residential space and appearance of new types of buildings (Stockhammer 2008, 328). Overall, it is probable that until the end of LH IIIC Middle 1, the Lower Citadel was occupied mostly by the families related to the former palatial elite. It was well organised but rather sparsely inhabited and must have been mostly covered in ruins and rubble. However, this changed during LH IIIC Middle 2 when the complex was rapidly developed. The zone was then densely overbuilt and inhabited probably by a heterogeneous community composed of both older "palatial" families, and the post-palatial newcomers. The entire Lower Citadel Quarter was burned at the end of LH IIIC Middle. Multiple burned destruction deposits were located in the buildings of the central and south part of the complex, with many others being abandoned at the same time.

7.5.4 LH IIIC Late

During LH IIIC Late the north-east Lower Town was probably gradually abandoned, while the South-eastern Sector became the primary area of occupation. Later, but within this phase the Megaron W Complex **[TIR89-90]** was also abandoned and overbuilt by some poorly recognised architecture which probably represented the very last stage of Mycenaean occupation in the Lower Town (Mühlenbruch 2013, 265).

The Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 3]** was rebuilt again during this period (fig. 64). The last shrine of the series – Building R110a **[TIR43]** replaced Building R110 **[TIR42]**, and courtyard H1 continued to be the central space of the complex. However, after the destruction of the south part of the complex by fire during LH IIIC Late, this pattern was finally changed ad the courtyard was partially overbuilt. During this final phase **[TIR28-54 – phase 4]** the complex was largely concentrated in the central part of the west slope, which became a densely occupied residential area (fig. 65). The fact that the complex continued to be occupied during this late period, and was still partially composed of large buildings, speaks of its high status and could even cast some light on its position during the previous phases. At this point most of the Lower Town was probably already abandoned. The North Gate went out of use during this period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 216). The Lower Citadel was once again burned

during LH IIIC Late, with all of the buildings abandoned at the time. This event brings a final end to the post-palatial town of Tiryns with the fall of the last urbanised area of the settlement, although some sparse occupation continued on the Lower Citadel **[TIR28-54 – phase 5]** until the end of the Mycenaean period (Mühlenbruch 2013, 219; fig. 66-67).

7.6. Later history of the settlement

After the final abandonment of the Lower Citadel, the settlement pattern established by the palatial town was ultimately abandoned. The settlement of the Protogeometric period was composed of isolated farmsteads spread around the Citadel, with cemeteries located on the plain both to the north and to the south of the settlement. In particular, the chamber tombs cemetery on the west slope of Profitis Ilias continued to be utilized even during the Geometric period (Jantzen 1975, 66). The ruins of the Citadel, which remained visible until the modern era, must have played a significant role in the heroisation of the Mycenaean past by the local Early Iron Age community (Mühlenbruch 2013, 268).

Chapter IV Pylos

1. Geographical setting of the site

Ancient Pylos, and its central building often referred to as the Palace of Nestor, is located in western Messenia, on the coast of the Ionian Sea. This region, isolated from the rest of the Peloponnese, is separated from inland eastern Messenia, formed around the vast Pamisos River valley, by Aigaleon (1132 m. a.s.l.) mountain range, which rises to the northeast of the site, with two other less pronounced peaks located further to the south - Magklavas (724 m. a.s.l.) and Lykodimos (961 m. a.s.l.). These mountains most probably marked also the border between the Hither and Further Province of the Mycenaean state of Pylos (Nakassis 2013, fig. 3.3; fig. 102). The site lies on an high elongated ridge, known as the Englianos ridge, which directly overlooks the Selas River valley, the main passage to the east, leading into a saddle formed between Aigaleon and Magklavas (fig. 103). The hill forming the highest part of this ridge – Ano Englianos, served as the Acropolis of Pylos. The site is only 5.5 km away from the coast to the west, and ca. 8 km from the Bay of Navarino to the southwest. The bay forms a gulf extending over 10 km from north to south and 4 km from west to east. It is almost entirely cut off from the sea by the island of Sphacteria, and surrounded from the north by a shallow Osmanaga lagoon. There are only two narrow channels leading to the bay from the sea.

The most extensive alluvial floodplain in the region extends between Navarino Bay and the mouth of the Selas river (Zangger et al. 1997, 557–59). This plain was formed when the Selas was still running south, through its natural riverbed, flowing into the Navarino Bay (fig. 104). Geoarcheological research conducted by a team under Zangger indicated that the diversion of the river to its current course occurred as a long-term side effect of a hydrological project, aiming to create an artificial harbour in the area. This construction, which probably occurred during the Late Bronze Age, was composed of a canal, diverting water from the lake through which Selas flowed at the time, and a basin which was artificially widened and linked to the sea with another canal, and transformed into a hidden dock (fig. 105). The amount of the water flowing through the canals must have been somehow controlled, in order to protect the dock from being filled with river sediments, and to fertilise the alluvial plain by forcing the river to partially continue to flow along the older course. This system was abandoned, before 800 BC, when the Osmanaga lagoon was formed, due to the ultimate change of the course of the Selas river. The stream must have been left to itself and ultimately followed the shorter course, flowing entirely though the canals and the abandoned port basin (Zangger et al. 1997, 613–23).

2. Settlement horizons and their chronology

The oldest settlement remains in the vicinity of Ano Englianos date to the beginning of the MH period, when several separate hamlets coexisted in the area (Stocker 2003; Davis 2010, 682). During the MH phase the settlement on the ridge must have been formed and gradually developed, as the isolated remains of this period were found in many places around the ridge. Buildings of prime importance were constructed at the hilltop in LH I, if not earlier, and during the Early Mycenaean period Pylos was already a major centre (Davis 2010, 682–83). It is the only one of the three sites analysed in this work which offers definite evidence of at least structural division of the settlement prior to the construction of the first palace, indicating the existence of a proto-urban Early Mycenaean settlement. During the latter part of the LBA, the palatial town of Pylos was formed and developed around the series of palaces built on the Ano Englianos – the First Palace **[PYL3]** of LH IIIA, and then the Second Palace **[PYL4-8]** of LH IIIB. The destruction of the Second Palace brought an end to any significant settlement in the area, although some limited signs of reoccupation dating to LH IIIC or even the Early Iron Age were found in the ruins of the palace (Hogue 2016; tab. 2).

The site was most extensively investigated by Blegen, who conducted excavations of the palace and the funerary monuments, and dug a number of test trenches around Ano Englianos (Blegen 1957; Blegen and Lang 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965). Together with his team, and especially in cooperation with Marion Rawson, he published most of the finds in three volumes entitled *Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, permanently assigning the site a name associated with the Homeric hero and establishing the basic chronology of the occupation that is largely followed to this day (Blegen and Rawson 1966; Lang 1969; Blegen et al. 1973). Although Blegen's work was focused on the remains of the final palace, he also provided evidence for the existence of the Mycenaean Lower Town. This work was later continued with an intensive survey of the site conducted within the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (Davis et al. 1997; Davis 2008). The distribution of ceramic material collected during this work was used to establish the three basic phases of development for the Lower Town. According to this research, the Lower Town occupied a minimum of around 5.48 ha during the MH period, then 7.08 ha during LH I/II, and finally 12.4 in LH III (Davis et al. 1997, 430).[142]

[142] Due to the scarcity of the excavated remains outside of the immediate vicinity of the palatial complex, I based estimations of the maximum extent of the settlement during each phase on the results of the PRAP survey in the area. However, those included only the surveyed grids and not the fenced area of the palace which covers 1.7 ha. Thus to reach the extent of the entire settlement actually suggested by PRAP this figure has to be added for each phase.

The architectural sequence of the palatial complex was thoroughly studied by Michael Nelson, who established details of the chronology and architectural forms of the remains preceding the Second Palace **[PYL4-8]**, distinguishing three main phases dated to LH I, LH I/II and LH IIIA (Nelson 2001, 2007, 2017; Rutter 2005). More recently, work at the site under Stocker and Davis, which included studies of pottery from the new excavations and reanalysis of the old material, contributed to refining the chronology of the destruction horizons on the site. The destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** - Horizon A, was dated to LH IIIA2 Early, while the destruction of the Second Palace - Horizon B, was dated to LH IIIC Early 1 (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022).[143] These two events were the key points in the history of the settlement, marking the end of the first and of the second phase of the palatial town respectively (tab. 2).

The Mycenaean remains on the site are discussed below, starting with the fortifications (see Ch. IV. 3.), followed by the funerary landscape (see Ch. IV. 4.), the buildings of the Acropolis on the top of Ano Englianos (see Ch. IV. 5.), and the buildings of the Lower Town (see Ch. IV. 6.).[144] A summary of the settlement's history during the LBA closes the chapter (see Ch. IV. 7.).

3. Fortifications

The issue of the fortifications of Ano Englianos is problematic. Although the ridge was not fortified during LH IIIB, there is evidence that there was an Early Mycenaean circuit wall encompassing it (Simpson and Hagel 2006, 52–53; tab. 3). Blegen uncovered a single gate – the Northeast Gate, composed of two short L-shaped stretches of rubble wall with a stone stepped entrance in between (Blegen et al. 1973, 4–6). The pottery found in connection with the gate indicated that it was constructed in LH I, and remained in use until LH IIIA, while in LH IIIB it was probably already covered with soil. A few pieces of a poorly preserved rubble

[143] Although the date of the destruction of the palace at Pylos was a matter of a long standing debate, with proposals spanning from LH IIIB1 (Popham 1991; Thomas 2004, 217–21) to Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 1997), the latest pottery studies seem to have finally solved the issue, with the publication of a number of vessels with prominent LH IIIC Early 1 features (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 130). This follows also the original assessment by Blegen, who described the destruction date as "a time when pottery of Mycenaean III C was beginning to be made and to displace the wares of LH III B" (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 421).

[144] Although information on the LH IIIB phase of the palatial complex provided by Blegen is of high quality, published reports regarding the buildings outside, or under the palace, were rather brief, and often lack details (Blegen et al. 1973). However, they remain our primary source of excavation data from Pylos, with more recent works being of limited scope (Cooper and Fortenberry 2017b; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021), or as yet mostly unpublished. See for example Loy, Stocker, and Davis 2021; Davis 2022; Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022 for an overview of the preliminary results of the most recent excavations on the site under the auspices of the University of Cincinnati, which however focus largely on the extraordinary funerary monument's and rarely mention the uncovered settlement remains. Those are so far only very briefly summarized on the projects website: http://www.griffinwarrior.org and sometimes mentioned during various presentations by the excavators.

wall were located on the northwest slope of the ridge, in the vicinity of the gate. Other fragments of walls of a similar appearance and the same width were found underneath the Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** (Blegen et al. 1973, 32; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021, fig. 8), and on the southwest edge of the ridge, underneath the façade of the South-western Building **[PYL5]** (Blegen et al. 1973, 12). The latter wall was attached to Building X **[PYL2]**, interpreted by Blegen as part of another gate (Blegen et al. 1973, 40). In a few other places around the slopes of the hill Blegen also found deposits of collapsed stones, which he interpreted as wall remains. On these grounds he claimed that the Acropolis was surrounded by a defensive circuit wall, constructed in LH I and abandoned before LH IIIB (Blegen et al. 1973, 8–18; fig. 107).

However, Nelson suggested that the Northeast Gate, clearly aligned with the dromos of Tholos IV (see Ch. IV. 4.2), was not part of a fortification system but only of a formal arrangement of an approach to the Acropolis (Nelson 2017, 353). The presence of a unique stone arc, possibly the remains of some apsidal structure found in front of the Northeast Gate, could support such interpretation, although its original form and function remain unknown (Blegen et al. 1973, 6). Nevertheless, even if the circuit wall existed and enclosed the entire hill, its form can hardly be considered monumental, and it did not necessarily have much defensive value, with the preserved remains confirming only 1.4 m of width. The rubble around the Northeast Gate, interpreted by Blegen as the remains of towers, is difficult to be considered as such (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 5). There was also no evidence preserved of any mechanism for closing the gate. Nevertheless, it probably served as the main approach to the ridge during the Early Mycenaean period. A second approach to the top of the ridge functioned around Building X **[PYL2]**, constructed probably also in LH I, although sometime after the Northeast Gate. A stepped formal entrance was installed on its west side in LH IIIA, and then rebuilt on the east side of the building in a similar form in LH IIIB (Nelson 2017, 358–62).

Altogether, it seems that even if the Northeast Gate was linked to the circuit wall surrounding the entire hill, this wall served more as a manifestation of a symbolic border between the hill and the rest of the settlement, and part of the formal arrangement of space, rather than a fortification wall. The construction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** in LH IIIA, which resulted in the rebuilding of the southwest area of the ridge, and the wide distribution of other LH IIIA remains across the slopes (see Ch. IV. 7.2), indicate that the circuit wall was already abandoned. However, the entrances designed to be as part of this wall remained in use for a longer period, which further reinforces their role as elements of formal planning of the settlement space designed to control access to the top of the ridge, rather than parts of a fortification system. These entrances were ultimately abandoned in LH IIIA2 Early, after the

destruction of the First Palace. The Northeast Gate in particular was probably dismantled and purposefully covered by soil, as the connection between the Palace and Tholos IV was abandoned, and the main approach to the ridge was relocated to the southwest, where a new entrance, on the east side of Building X **[PYL2],** was built in LH IIIB together with the Second Palace **[PYL4-8]**.

The search for fortifications at Pylos was continued by Zangger, who conducted an extensive geophysical survey to the west of the Palace (Zangger et al. 1997, 606–13). Among the evidence for existence of multiple structures in this area, he found also a massive, 60 m long anomaly, interpreted to be part of a fortification wall (fig. 108). It was suggested that it was a Mycenaean defensive wall encompassing the entire Lower Town (Simpson and Hagel 2006, 53), or a continuation of the Early Mycenaean circuit wall of the Acropolis (Bennet 2007, 34), but neither its date nor architectural form are known, as the anomaly was never tested through excavation. Given the early emergence of fortifications in Messenia, such a wall could have dated even to the MH period (Wright 1978, 162–66). Nevertheless, it remains possible that at some point of its history, Pylos was protected by a defensive wall which encompassed also at least parts of the Lower Town. Such a conclusion is also supported by results of the PRAP survey, as the surface densities of finds from all the periods seem to drop off beyond the anomaly (Bennet 2007, 34, fig. 3.3; fig. 106).

4. Funerary landscape

The funerary landscape of Pylos was shaped during the Early Mycenaean period, when all of the major burial monuments of the site were erected (tabs. 4-5). Nevertheless, the history of their construction and use had a profound effect on the formation of the palatial town.

4.1. Vayenas Grave Circle and the Shaft Graves

Around half of a circle of a single course of stones, with 6 pithos and pit graves inside, was found ca. 200 m to the southwest of the Palace of Nestor **[TIR1-8]** (fig. 109). It was initially interpreted by the excavators as a poorly preserved tholos tomb, but this was disregarded by Blegen himself (Blegen et al. 1973, 153–55; Murphy et al. 2020, 31), and more recently by Davis (2022, 62). Nevertheless, the original form of the Grave Circle, sometimes referred to as Vayenas, remains unknown. Rich burial gifts were found inside with a number of weapons and ornaments, deposited around at least 31 buried individuals (Blegen et al. 1973, 156–76; Murphy et al. 2020, tbl. 2.1). Reanalysis of the pottery from the monument indicated that it was first used in MH III. The most intensive period of use was LH II, while the last burials occurred in LH IIIA1 (Murphy 2014, 212–13).

Another one of the earliest elite tombs at the site, is a shallow shaft grave found by Blegen underneath room 97 of the North-eastern Building **[PYL6]** of the palatial complex (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 312–14). Only three walls of the tomb were preserved, and it was almost entirely plundered. Thus the finds were few, but included various beads and a small helmeted head made of gold, and indicate the original wealth of the tomb (Stocker et al. 2022, 240). There is no direct evidence for the construction date, but LH I seems the most plausible, given that walls of presumably MH date were uncovered below it, thus providing the *TPQ* for construction (Blegen and Lang 1964, 159), and walls dated to LH I-II were constructed in the area, thus providing the *TAQ* for abandonment (Rutter 2005, fig. 3).

A second, much better preserved shaft grave, was recently excavated by Stocker and Davis 50 m to the northeast of the Northeast Gate (Davis 2022, 64; fig. 110). It was a deep shaft built of stone walls, and covered by massive stone slabs, one of which broke and fell inside the grave. It then broke the wooden coffin inside in which a single young male, named the Griffin Warrior by the excavators, was buried in LH IIA, as indicated by pottery fragments from the burial fill (Stocker et al. 2022). The tomb was probably covered by a small mound, which must have collapsed into the shaft together with the cover slabs (Stocker et al. 2022, 212–19). The burial remained unplundered, and was found filled with an extreme amount of wealth, including an abundance of weapons, bronze armour, various gold ornaments, and a number of seal stones (Davis and Stocker 2016, 2018; Stocker and Davis 2017, 2020). Many of the objects were of Minoan origin, and a number of obvious similarities between the items deposited in the grave and the iconography depicted on some of the seal stones, suggests that the choice of Minoan religious symbols used in the grave was intentional, and likely associated with the status and function of the buried individual (Davis 2022, 81–85; Stocker and Davis 2020, 295–97).

4.2. Tholos tombs

Pylos is the second Mycenaean centre in terms of the number of tholos tombs, surpassed only by Mycenae (tab. 5 and tab. 9). Two of the tombs – Tholos III and Tholos IV, were excavated by Blegen's team (Blegen et al. 1973, 73, 95), while two more – Tholos VI and Tholos VII, were uncovered in 2018 in the vicinity of Tholos IV by Stocker and Davis (Davis 2022, 64–66). Tholoi VI and VII remain as yet unpublished, and only a handful of data is available on them. Nevertheless, three of the tombs grouped together to the north of the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** in the elevated area of the Dimopoulos Field (fig. 110), are discussed first, while Tholos III, isolated from the others, is discussed at the end of this section (fig. 109).

Tholos IV was constructed in MH III and it was the first tholos built at Pylos, and probably one of the earliest, if not the earliest, on the entire Mainland (Davis and Stocker 2015; Murphy et al. 2020, 30; Davis 2022, 66). This explains its small size, short dromos with no walls, and relatively simple architectural form of the stomion and the chamber. As with all the other Pylian tholos tombs, it is closely comparable to Wace's Group I of Mycenae tholos tombs (Blegen et al. 1973, 107–10 see Ch. II. 4.3.1.). The tomb was almost entirely plundered, but the few remaining objects indicated its original wealth, while quantities of gold leaf fragments found in the chamber were probably remains of some golden decoration of the chamber. There was also a stone cist built against the southeast wall of the chamber (Blegen et al. 1973, 95–97, 110–34). At least 13 individuals were buried in the tomb between MH III and LH IIIA, when the tholos was used for the last time (Murphy et al. 2020, 30, tab. 2.1). A small pithos found in the dromos was probably related to yet another burial (Murphy et al. 2020, 31). The location of the tholos was of special importance, as its dromos was later deliberately aligned with the Northeast Gate of the Early Mycenaean Acropolis (Davis 2010, 684). Together they must have formed a key symbolic axis of the site between LH I and LH IIIA.

In 1968 and 1969 Blegen dug two elongated tests in the area in front of Tholos IV (fig. 111). He found no architecture, only a deep deposit of soil and stones with LH IIIA-B material. However, cuttings found at the bottom of the earlier trench, as well as a line of stones found in the later trench, maybe both related to a wide pathway leading towards the tomb (Blegen et al. 1973, 65–66). The deposits covering these cuttings might have been affected by the erosion of the tumulus which originally covered Tholos IV (Blegen et al. 1973, 67).

Tholos VI, located only 30 m to the east of Tholos IV, must have been constructed as the second of the group. It was built in LH IIA, and is the largest tholos at Pylos. The dromos of this tomb was much longer than that of Tholos IV, but it still lacked any walls. Nevertheless the imposing size of the chamber speak of the monumental appearance of the tomb (Davis 2022, 66). Pieces of gold foil found in the collapse fill were possibly linked to some gold decoration of the chamber, probably similar to that installed in Tholos IV.[145] There was also a particularly rich LH IIA deposit with various ornaments found in front of the dromos. Although its function remain as yet unknown, it is a good indicator of the original wealth of the tomb.[146] A peculiar feature of the chamber of Tholos VI is the presence of ashlar blocks, resting on the floor, so

[145] Presence of pieces of gold foil in the collapse fill was confirmed in the article published by the New York Times in 2019, and available here: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/17/science/tombs-archaeology-ancient-greece.html (accessed on 20.05.2023).
[146] This deposit was briefly discussed by Stocker during her lecture at the ASCSA Open Meeting on 7.04.2023.

close to the walls that they could not have fallen from above. Thus, the blocks must have been brought inside the tomb after its reopening, possibly being salvaged from the destroyed First Palace **[PYL3]** (Davis 2022, 66; see Ch. IV. 7.2.).

Tholos VII was the latest and the smallest of the tholos tombs of this group, located 45 m to the east-northeast from Tholos VI, forming a clear third element of the local tomb sequence. It had a small chamber and a short dromos with no walls, and was the worst preserved of the three tombs in the area (Davis 2022, 66). Nevertheless, it provided clear evidence for two periods of use, with the original construction occurring late in LH IIA and the first period of use extending into LH IIB, and then a reopening and second period of use in LH IIIA2 Early.[147] Thus the tomb must have remained inactive, but probably still venerated, during LH IIIA1.[148] The dromos was oriented differently to that of the other two tombs of the group, possibly in relation to the road leading to the acropolis (fig. 110). The tomb was thoroughly looted, but there were still few objects of gold and blue glass found by the excavators in the collapsed structure.[149]

Tholos III was a relatively small tomb, located 1 km to the southwest from Ano Englianos.[150] The tholos has peculiar proportions, as the diameter of the chamber almost equals the length of the dromos. The tomb was constructed in LH II, and the stratigraphy of the dromos suggested that it was reopened in at least three subsequent periods after the original construction (Blegen et al. 1973, 73). This was confirmed during the reanalysis of the pottery from all the Bronze Age tombs around Pylos conducted by Joanne Murphy (2014, 2016c, 2016b). She established that although the tomb was continuously used from LH II, the period of the most intensive use was in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, as well as that it was the only tholos at Pylos used during LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early (Murphy 2014, 213, 2016c, 443). The tomb was severely looted and almost completely collapsed, but some of the finds indicate presence of rich grave goods (Blegen et al. 1973, 81–95).

4.3 Chamber tombs

A group of chamber tombs found on the Englianos ridge, known as Tsakalis cemetery, is located along the slope ca. 250-350 m to the southwest rom the Palace (figs. 109 and 111). It

[147] The dromos of Tholos VII was discussed by Stocker during her lecture at the ASCSA Open Meeting on 7.04.2023.
[148] This was not explicitly stated by the excavators anywhere yet, but seems to be a logical conclusion when the information on the two periods of use of the tomb is given.
[149] Finds from Tholos VII were briefly discussed by Stocker during Michael Ventris Memorial Lecture on 12.05.2021 and during ASCSA Open Meeting on 7.04.2023.
[150] It is the smallest of the tholos tombs catalogued in this work (tab. 5).

was investigated by Blegen's team, and consisted of five excavated chamber tombs: E-4, E-6, E-8, E-9, E-10, three unfinished tombs: E-1, E-2 and E-12, three tombs that were located but not excavated: E-5. E-7, E-11, and a single pit grave: E-3 (Blegen et al. 1973, 176–208; Schepartz, Sari, and Murphy 2009, 163; Murphy 2014, 213). The cemetery was in use mostly between LH II and LH IIIA. E-8, E-9, and E-3 were used since LH II, while E-4, E-6, E-10 – since LH IIIA1. The most intensive use of the cemetery occurred in LH IIIA, followed by a total abandonment in LH IIIB. Three of the graves, E-4, E-6, and E-8, were reused in LH IIIC (Murphy 2014, 214, 2016c, 441). In general E-6 stood out as having particularly rich grave goods, while E-9 seemed to be the poorest (Schepartz, Sari, and Murphy 2009, 163).

Around 100 m to the southwest of the southernmost chamber tomb of the Tsakalis cemetery, E10, another chamber tomb, K-1, was constructed in LH IIIA1 (fig. 111). It was intensively used during LH IIIA2, and then only minimal usage occurred in LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early (Murphy 2014, 214). Nevertheless, it was the only chamber tomb close to the Palace which remained in use during this period. Another chamber tomb, K-2, was located even further to the southwest, ca. 3 km from the Palace (fig. 109). It was originally constructed in LH IIIA2/B1, and although its use, albeit at a low intensity, continued into LH IIIC, the most intensive activity occurred probably as late as in LH IIIC Middle, with three large kraters of that period found in the dromos (Murphy 2016b, 441–42).

5. Buildings of the Acropolis

The buildings excavated by Blegen on the plateau at the top of Ano Englianos ridge are discussed below in a roughly geographical order, moving from the west to east (tabs. 6-8). In case of the Palace of Nestor complex **[PYL1-8]** and the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]**, discussion is separated into sub-chapters on each building, followed by a summary of the complex.

5.1. Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]**

The Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** is the best known and the best preserved Mycenaean palace, which occupied the western half of the Acropolis of Pylos. Apart from the fully uncovered LH IIIB phase of the palatial complex, more limited remains from the earlier architecture were also reached by Blegen and his team (Blegen et al. 1973, 32–47). These were later restudied by the team of The Minnesota Pylos Project, especially Frederick Cooper (2017b) and Michael Nelson (2001), who both proposed that a series of earlier palaces preceded the LH IIIB phase. Although many of the results of Cooper's work are used below, the overall phasing and dating of the most of the walls follows the assessment of Nelson (2017, 353). His

architectural sequence was also more recently confirmed by the excavations of the Ephorate of Antiquities, conducted in preparation for the construction of the new roof covering the remains of the palace (Karapanagiotou et al. 2021, 181).

5.1.1. Proto-palace **[PYL1]**

The Early Mycenaean remains underneath the palatial complex, which seem to have already formed a specialised zone of high social status, are discussed below as the Proto-palace **[PYL1]**. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the actual architectural forms and functions of those buildings remain poorly understood, and they might have not even formed a coherent multi-building complex, but rather a loosely organised group, although almost certainly focused around a planned open space area, as indicated by the distribution of the few known walls.[151]

The earliest remains with a recognisable plan found in the west part of Ano Enliganos date to LH I **[PYL1 – phase 1a]** (fig. 112). These were the pseudo-ashlar walls found underneath Court 63 and room 62 of the South-western Building **[PYL5]** of the later palace, although it seems that the ashlar blocks used in those walls were reused after dismantling some earlier MH architecture of which nothing was preserved. The extensive plaster floor which was uncovered to the north, underneath court 88, must also have been laid during LH I (Nelson 2017, 349–50). However, walls uncovered to the northwest of the Main Building **[PYL4]** of the palace, inside Blegen's test W14, were probably still forming parts of separate complex at this point. In LH II the area was overbuilt by the expanded terrace with proto-palatial residences, equipped with two drains and a small cistern (Cooper 2017b, 55–61; see Ch. IV. 6.1.).

The second sub-phase of **[PYL1 – phase 1b]** the architectural development of Ano Englianos was linked by Nelson with the orthostate walls, which he identified at the bottom of the south and east façade of the Main Building **[PYL4]** and above the plaster floor of the previous phase (Nelson 2017, 350–51, 353–56; fig. 113).[152] Some remains of a narrow storeroom with pithoi were found under rooms 55-57 of the later LH IIIB palace (Nelson 2017, 356).[153] Building X **[PYL2 – phase 1a]** a poorly preserved rectangular stone basement cell, was probably linked to the Early Mycenaean circuit wall of the Acropolis, although the form and function of the super-structure remain unknown (Blegen et al. 1973, 40–41; see Ch. IV. 3.).

[151] Cooper (2017a, 135–50) proposed that a there was a court-centred palatial complex in the area already in the MH period, followed by another slightly differently oriented palace of LH I-II. The existence of a Minoan-style Early Mycenaean court-centered palace at Pylos was also proposed by Kilian (1987b).
[152] Nelson actually assigned this phase to a broad LH I/II date, but Rutter (2005, 26–27) proposed that the orthostate walls were rather of LH II date.
[153] Cooper (2017b, 80–82) reconstructed a light well in this area, but this seems doubtful due to both the presence of pithoi and location of the remains at the edge of the presumed area of the complex.

This proto-palatial complex, was already equipped with a pre-planned drainage system, and was definitely of high status, as indicated by its size and use of extraordinary, Minoan-origin building techniques – pseudo-ashlar masonry and orthostate walls (Nelson 2017, 356). There are no objects which can be clearly assigned to the use phase of the complex, but Blegen did publish some of his finds from the Early Mycenaean levels, among which a single seal stone can be noted (Blegen et al. 1973, 37). A refuse ceramic deposit dating to LH IIB was recently excavated to the northeast of the Main Building suggested that already during this period communal feasts might have occurred in the area of the Proto-palace (Vitale, Stocker, and Malapani 2021). No destruction deposit was excavated which could be assigned to the Early Mycenaean period, but the remodelling and levelling of the hilltop must have occurred before the construction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** in LH IIIA, thus the buildings of the Proto-palace, or their remains, must have been largely dismantled.

5.1.2. First Palace **[PYL3]**

Probably at the beginning of LH IIIA, although there are no construction deposits published to specify the date, the west part of Ano Englianos went through a complete transformation. For the first time we can be certain that a coherent, pre-planned palatial complex was raised on the hill. This structure, described here as the First Palace **[PYL3]**, was composed of two or three units, forming two general wings around a large central court, resembling the layout of Minoan palaces (fig. 114). These structures were first identified by Nelson and discussed by him as Buildings A, B and C (Nelson 2017, 352–60). All of them were built with the extensive use of ashlar masonry. The complex had a planned drainage system, with a large central drain leading to northeast, into the Northeast Gate (Cooper 2017a, 44–47, 137–39).[154]

Building A occupied the west edge of the ridge, being constructed on a large terrace which extended the space on top of the hill to the west. The known ashlar walls form a megaron unit of two rooms, with the main entrance located on the side of the vestibule, and equipped with a colonnade. The building likely lay over the circuit wall which previously ran there, and replaced it with a particularly thick zig-zag external wall which bordered the complex from the slope, and together with Building A's west wall, formed a monumental and formal southwest façade of the palace. On the east end of this façade, a formal entrance to the complex was

[154] This drain was excavated by Blegen, who thought it was an aqueduct, providing water to the Acropolis (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 332–36). However, the structure was restudied by Cooper (2017b, 46–47), who concluded that such an interpretation is prevented mainly by the topography, which indicates that the water flow in the canal was rather eastward, so from the palace to the outside. Moreover, presence of an aqueduct providing water to the palace would be a unique instance in the Mycenaean world, while central drainage systems were planned in all the Mycenaean palaces.

arranged, with a two-level wide staircase, flanked from the east by Building X **[PYL2 – phase 1b]**, which was probably at least partially rebuilt, in order to fit the new layout (Nelson 2017, 357–59). The palatial terraces were probably extended also to the northwest, where another wall was built in area W14, and the drains and the cistern of LH II were partially covered (Cooper 2017b, 61–62; see Ch. IV. 6.1.). This suggests that the palatial complex occupied also the northwest edge of the hilltop, with Building A and the central court likely extending in that direction (fig. 115).

On the other side of the central court were Buildings B and C, which probably formed a single wing of the palace. Their east walls were clearly aligned, forming a single formal façade of ashlar blocks, with another entrance to the palace in the centre (Nelson 2017, 358–60). This entrance opened ono the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]**, which was much developed at the time, showing that other buildings were standing in the nearest vicinity of the palace. Even though the circuit wall must have already been dismantled at the time, the Northeast Gate was still used, and the east entrance to the palace was clearly aligned with it, thus prolonging the symbolic axis which it formed with Tholos IV.

Although it can be presumed that the palace of LH IIIA served functions similar to the complex of LH IIIB, including the administrative practices, no evidence was found that written documents were already used (Davis 2010, 683). However, the earliest Linear B tablet from the Mainland was found in the nearby Iklaina, in the context dated to LH IIIA1-A2 Early, thus confirming that the script was already known in the region (Cosmopoulos 2019, 358). On the basis of the monumental architectural form, and the formal plan of the complex which included a large central court relatively easily accessible from at least two directions, it can be suggested that public activities occurred at the palace, especially at the central court which seem to have been deliberately designed to form an open forum for gatherings. Nevertheless, Blegen's finds from clear LH IIIA levels included, alongside substantial quantities of pottery, only a handful of stone tools, beads and metal ornaments (Blegen et al. 1973, 37–38). Thus the functions of the First Palace **[PYL3]** remain largely unknown. The entire complex was burned down in LH IIIA2 Early, as indicated by pottery from the destruction deposits excavated by Blegen on the Acropolis, including material from underneath Hall 65, thus from Building A (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 127).

5.1.3. Main Building **[PYL4]**

After the fire, the First Palace **[PYL3]** was replaced by a new complex, although it is not certain if this occurred immediately after the destruction within LH IIIA2, but construction

in LH IIIB seems at least as likely (see the summary of the complex below, Ch. IV.5.1.8). The central unit of this new complex was the Main Building **[PYL4]**. The ashlar masonry façades of Buildings B and C of the First Palace were reused and rebuilt, while most of the other walls was built using the pier-wall technique, with rubble masonry separated by posts consisting of rubble and ashlar blocks set in mud mortar. They were most probably initially enclosed in wooden frames, which were removed after the mortar hardened (Nelson 2017, 329–44). The upper floor of the palace was built of mudbrick, but it did not extend over the entire structure, with the megaron being probably a flat-roofed single storied space surrounded from three sides by the two-storied wings (Hogue 2023).[155]

The original plan of the building was almost rectangular, with two formal façades on the southeast and northeast side, each with a formal entrance (fig. 116). An additional entrance also led from the southwest, through room 12. The southeast entrance was the main approach, located on the main axis on the building and leading from the large front courtyard 58 (Thaler 2006, 98). The entrance was composed of the formal propylon, which led directly into the colonnaded central courtyard in front of the megaron. A rich and complex decorative program of painted floors and frescoes adorned walls of the propylon and the Megaron leading visitors into the Throne Room (Davis 2010, 684–85).[156] The well-preserved main room of the megaron – the Throne Room, had four columns, a hearth and a throne with a shallow channel attached, designed most probably to receive libations (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 43–76). This central axis was surrounded from all sides by additional rooms, with corridors facilitating movement and two staircases (14-15 and 36) providing access to the upper floor (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 110–12, 165–67). The building also had with a well-planned drainage system (Cooper 2017a, 150–54).

The building went through a significant transformation during the latter part of LH IIIB **[PYL4 – phase 1b]** (fig. 117). New walls were built of simple rubble masonry, and lacked the sophistication of the original construction (Nelson 2017, 362–65). The back of the building was rebuilt, with room 27 added to its northwest corner, while the northeast façade was entirely abandoned and overbuilt with two walled external courtyards 42 and 47 (Wright 1984). The interior of the building was also modified, with corridor 18 cut off from the rest of the building,

[155] Blegen and Rawson (1966, 34, 192–93) reconstructed the megaron as two-storied, while also proposing that a balcony surrounded the central courtyard from above. Both of those proposals now appear not to be supported by the stratigraphy of the destruction levels (Hogue 2016, 55–66).

[156] The frescoes at the Palace of Nestor and the palatial decorative program at Pylos had been thoroughly researched for decades (for the overivew see for example Lang 1969; McCallum 1987; Thaler 2006, 100–104; Egan 2015a, 2015b; Brecoulaki 2018).

and rooms 20 and 21 opened onto the outside. This modified the movement pattern in the building, divided it into two separate entities and clearly linked those rooms to the courtyards on the west side of the building (Nelson 2017, 362). Access to the building was limited, with the propylon being of even larger importance than during the previous sub-phase, and the front courtyard 58 becoming a hub controlling access to all the parts of the complex (Thaler 2006, 98).

Destruction deposits from the building included thousands of objects, although the most of them were pottery vessels. Nevertheless, the building's inventory provided evidence for the functions of particular rooms, which centred around storage, production and administrative activities, although ritual and public role of the Megaron was definitely of key importance. The central Archive, where most of the over 1000 Linear B tablets from the site were found, operated in the southwest corner in rooms 7 and 8, next to the propylon (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 76–95; Palaima 1984). The east corner of the building probably formed an elite residential space, designed for the ruling family, with a central hearth in room 46, and a terracotta bathtub in room 43 (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 181–227). Courtyards 42 and 47, with access to the large external drain and a number of stirrup jars found in their vicinity, served probably for the production of perfumed olive oil. This was then stored in rooms 23, 24 and 27, equipped with a number of plastered platforms with large storage jars built into them (Shelmerdine 1985, 1987; Whitelaw 2001, 60–61; Davis 2010, 686; Murphy 2013; Nelson 2017, 386). Rooms 19-22 were found filled with thousands of pottery vessels, mostly kylikes, organised into specific functional groups and stored on shelves (Whitelaw 2001, 58–60; Hruby 2010, 2014). This assemblage was probably used mostly to serve participants of massive communal feasts occurring on the palatial courts, while the elite inner circle perhaps feasted inside the palace, using metal vessels (Bendall 2004, 2008, 78–80). The organisation of these gatherings was probably one of the main concerns of palatial administration, as indicated by the number of Linear B tablets (see for example Palaima 2004), as well as a large deposit of animal bones found in the Archives (Stocker and Davis 2004).

Altogether the Main Building **[PYL4]** is the best preserved main unit of a Mycenaean palace. It was a multi-functional residence and administrative, public and religious centre, with extensive economic functions which included industrial production and mass storage of goods. The building was destroyed in a violent conflagration dated to LH IIIC Early 1 (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 130).

5.1.4. South-western Building **[PYL5]**

This building formed the southwest wing of the Palace of Nestor, being a direct continuation of Building A of the First Palace **[PYL3]**. Its main unit was rebuilt with four or six large columns in the main room 65 (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 256–57), and new rooms constructed both to the northwest and southeast. Ashlar blocks were often reused in the construction of this building, mostly for door posts and formation of the monumental southwest façade (Nelson 2017, 326–28). A staircase in corridor 65 provided access to the upper storey of the building, of an unknown plan (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 263–64; Nelson 2017, 288). A programme of war-related fresco decorations, and the presence of a secondary megaron in rooms 64-65, prompted scholars to suggest it was seat of a military leader, identified on Linear B tablets as the *lawagetas* ("the leader of man") who was probably the most important of the king's officials (Bennet and Davis 1999; Davis 2010, 686). Analysis of the content of a number of Linear B tablets, most probably associated with the administrative department functioning in the building, suggest that it was involved in the collection and distribution of goods, while its geographical focus was probably limited to the Hither Province (Shelmerdine 1998, 330–31). This goes well with the fact that the South-western Building was a continuation of Building A, and with the probable responsibility of *lawagetas* for the assembling and commanding the army, as surely it was the Hither Province that determined the military strength of the state (see Ch. IV. 7.3.). Moreover, it seems that the large court 63/88, located between the South-western Building **[PYL5]** and the Main Building **[PYL4]**, which had direct access to the megaron unit of rooms 64-65, was one of the main locations where participants of the communal feasts organised by the palace gathered (Bendall 2004, 120–22). They must have been served by pottery pantries 18-22, but the collection of cooking ware from rooms 67-68 might have also been used in connection to those gatherings (Whitelaw 2001, 57–58).[157]

Along the southeast side of court 63 was a group of poorly preserved rooms of uncertain plan, built against the thick external façade wall. This area of the south-western wing was probably rebuilt at some point **[PYL5 – phase 1b]**, and the layout of the rooms was changed after the abandonment of the external wall of the First Palace, and construction of a new border wall (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 277–88; Thaler 2006, Pl. 14-15; Nelson 2017, 362). At the

[157] Todd Whitelaw (2001, 57) actually suggested that those "vessels might have been for use in this section of the palace complex, rather than more widely." However, this is not reflected on the plan of the South-western Building **[PYL5]**, with rooms 67-68 located immediately behind hall 64, which was not only easily accessed from court 63 but also probably directly involved in the feasts (Bennet and Davis 1999, 118). This of course does not exclude the possibility of the group being used also for both the daily needs of the residents of the building, as well as for the service of the feasts.

same time, the new wall was built on the south edge of court 63, further limiting access to this space. Behind this wall was a two or three room unit, probably raised already during the first sub-phase and directly linked to the rest of the South-western Building, functioning as part of the south-west wing of the palace. Room 60 of this unit served as a specialised pottery pantry, dedicated to storing pottery linked to?? funerary rites and support of the production of perfumed olive oil (Lis 2016). These rooms were directly linked to Building X **[PYL2]**, located further to the southeast. This continued to function as the fortified gateway, rebuilt to lead into front courtyard 58, through a new stone stairway rebuilt on the east side of the building, while the older staircase on the west side of the building was abandoned and cut through by a drain (Nelson 2017, 362).[158] The entire south-western wing was burned together with the rest of the palatial complex (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 236).

5.1.5. North-eastern Building **[PYL6]**

This building was a late addition to the palatial complex, constructed during the later part of LH IIIB.[159] It was built along ramp 91, which existed earlier and facilitated movement along the northeast wall of the Main Building **[PYL4]**, and took a simple, almost rectangular form, with walls built of simple rubble masonry (Nelson 2017, 365). The building was composed of two wings surrounding the central corridor. The southeast wing was made of an elongated central room flanked by two smaller squared rooms, of which only the northern was fully preserved, while the northwest wing was made of only three irregular rooms, and a colonnade which marked the entrance formed in the southwest corner (Hiesel 1990, 130–31).

The function of the building is a matter of a long debate, due to the complex nature of a large deposit of finds, among which were bronze tools, over 500 bronze arrowheads, variety of raw materials with abundance of metal, over 50 clay sealings, 64 Linear B tablets and a lentoid seal (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 311, 316, 321, 324–25; Bendall 2003, 186–87). Blegen and Rawson (1966, 303–5) interpreted the building as a workshop devoted to chariot repairs with room 93 functioning as a shrine, due to its location and the presence of an open façade with wall posts of ashlar blocks, and a supposed altar in front of it. A special religious significance for the building was also argued by others (see for example Tegyey 1984; Lupack 2008),

[158] Ulrich Thaler (2006, pl. 14-15), who analysed movement and visibility patterns in the palatial complex, has reconstructed the architectural sequence in this area differently, suggesting that the LH IIIA staircase remained in use also during the first phase of the LH IIIB palace, and was rebuilt together with the rest of the south-western wing only later in LH IIIB. Nevertheless, this detail does not influence general results of his analysis (fig. 118; see the summary of the complex below, Ch. IV. 5.1.8.)

[159] Although it was proposed that the building had an earlier phase, during which it took form of a colonnaded *stoa*, this seems doubtful as the proposal was based solely on the fact that such a development was possible from an architectural point of view (Westerburg 2001).

however there is no evidence for any ritual activities in the building, with the "altar" being highly unusual for Mycenaean tradition and lacking any traces of burning,[160] while the religious personnel who were supposedly involved in workshop's operations is were not referred to on the tablets from the building, any more frequently than they were on those from the Palace Archives (Bendall 2003, 185–86). Moreover, the architectural form of the building seems to be humble and purely utilitarian (Nelson 2017, 365), while its direct involvement in the processing of goods is doubtful given the lack of dedicated work space that would be equipped in any functional facilities in the building. On the basis of a comprehensive study which included the large-scale reanalysis of the distribution of a number of tools and raw materials across the palatial complex, and re-reading the Linear B tablets from the building, Bendall (2003) suggested that it was rather a large-scale warehouse and administrative department involved in receiving, recording and distributing goods flowing to the palace, focused especially on weaponry. The building was destroyed by fire in LH IIIC Early, together with the rest of the palatial complex and was filled with burned debris (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 299).

5.1.6. Wine Magazine **[PYL7]**

The building was a simple rectangular unit built with a mud-brick superstructure set on rubble masonry, and was added to the palatial complex during the later part of LH IIIB (Nelson 2017, 365). It consisted of two rooms: a small vestibule and the main room, were at least 35 pithoi were stored at the time of the violent destruction by fire. There were 14 clay seal impressions found around the storage vessels, some inscribed with the Linear B sign for wine, which prompted Blegen to give the building its name (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 345–46). Even if wine was probably not the only commodity kept in the building, it seems that it can be safely interpreted as a palatial warehouse.

The building was rather poorly integrated with the rest of the palace, and was definitely not part of the original layout or even planning. It had a completely different orientation than other buildings of the complex, and its entrance was located at the northeast corner, thus facing the slope of Ano Englianos (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 346; Nelson 2017, 365). It seems that providing easy access to the building for the suppliers coming from the Lower Town, was more important than facilitating movement between the warehouse and the rest of the complex.

[160] Cooper (2017b, 44) suggested that both the supposed shrine in room 93 and the "altar" in front of it, are part of the Geometric re-use and rebuilding of parts of the building.

5.1.7. Building 82 **[PYL8]**

Room 82 was a rectangular solid structure, apparently a basement cell, so it must have been entered through the superstructure, excavated by Blegen behind the palace, northwest of the Main Building **[PYL4]**. There were not many finds from the structure, but they included a pithos embedded in the clay floor (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 289–191). Immediately to the north of it, tests in area W14 were conducted, which uncovered a complex stratigraphy of dense network of walls, of mostly LH I/II – LH IIIA date (see Ch. IV. 6.1.). The area was badly eroded but during LH IIIB those walls most probably formed at least two rooms which seem to have been linked to room 82, and belonged to one building with it. The building, probably another group of palatial storerooms surrounding the Main Building, must have been erected on a terrace formed over the earlier constructions in this area (Nelson 2017, 288; Cooper 2017b, 63–66).

5.1.8. Summary of the complex

The history of the Palace of Nestor complex **[PYL1-8 – phase 1]** began with the pseudo-ashlar walls of LH I of the Proto-palace **[PYL1]** spread around the hilltop (fig. 112). Most probably during LH II, the new orthostate walls appear, which were part of remodelling or further development of this area of the hill (fig. 113). Although it is doubtful that all these walls belonged to a single palatial structure, a certain degree of coordination among buildings and formal planning is evident. The group of buildings formed during this period was characterised by its monumental size and architectural form, was equipped with a drainage system, and most probably had planned access and movement pattern. The latter was formed through the demarcation of the central open area, not necessarily in shape of a formal courtyard, and construction of circuit wall of the Acropolis and the Northeast Gate. A circuit wall encompassed the ridge from the west and must have been included into planning of the buildings occupying this edge of the hill, with Building X **[PYL2]**, constructed at its south end probably as part of a southwest gateway, which was however not the most important entrance to the Acropolis.

The Northeast Gate was clearly aligned with the dromos of Tholos IV, forming the main symbolic axis of the site. It is likely that this axis was prolonged, possibly already in LH I, with some formal entrance to the elite core zone of the settlement. The existence of such formal entrance is more obvious in LH II, when the corner of the orthostate walls, located by Nelson to the east of room 34 of the later LH IIIB Palace, was constructed (Nelson 2017, fig. 4.4). The southwest façade of a building to which this corner belonged, must have been almost perfectly aligned with the Northeast Gate, being located most probably at the northwest side of a wide

formal entrance to the area. The existence of such an approach is also suggested by the form of the Building 101/102/103 **[PYL10]** during this period, as it might have formed a formal gateway with a narrow ramp, leading into that entrance (see Ch. IV. 5.2.; figs. 113 and 119). The existence of this very complex, as well as occupation of the Belvedere Area **[PYL12-14]** (see Ch. IV. 5.5.; figs. 121-122), testify that the Proto-palace did not stand in an isolated area, and it was not necessarily physically separated with any barrier from the other buildings occupying the Acropolis at the time.

At the beginning of LH IIIA a new complex – centred around the First Palace **[PYL3]**, a single pre-planned monumental architectural unit, was built on the west edge of the Ano Englianos, which was extended through construction of terraces on northwest and the slope of the hill **[PYL1-8 – phase 2]** (figs. 114-115). No particular destruction deposit can be assigned to the Early Mycenaean complex, but it must have been destroyed or dismantled before the new plan was executed. The new complex was built with the extensive use of ashlar masonry, which was used to form at least two formal façades. The First Palace was probably composed of two wings centred around a large central courtyard, in a fashion resembling the Minoan palaces. The Minoan influence on the development of the complex is also manifested through the sequence of masonry styles used - pseudo-ashlar of LH I, orthostate in LH II and ashlar of LH IIIA, appearing at the same time and in the same order as on Crete (Nelson 2017, 360; Rutter 2005, 27–28; see Ch. IV. 7.2.).

The LH IIIA palatial complex was entered from at least two sides, from southwest through a stepped gateway formed around Building X **[PYL2]**, and from the northeast through a formal entrance built into the façade on that side. This entrance was aligned with the Northeast Gate, and must have continued the tradition of the symbolic axis connecting this point with the dromos of Tholos IV located behind the Gate. The latter remained in use despite the dismantling of the circuit wall of the Acropolis during this period. Nevertheless, despite a more formal plan the complex was still not isolated from other buildings located on Ano Englianos, with both the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** and the Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14]** still occupied. The First Palace **[PYL3]** was destroyed by fire in LH IIIA2 Early, as indicated by the ceramic material form below Hall 65 (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 122).

It is uncertain what happened in the area during LH IIIA2 Middle – Late, thus in the period between the destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** and construction of the Second Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3a**] in LH IIIB (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 142). There is a possibility that ruins of the LH IIIA complex were left in place, and the zone experienced a habitational hiatus (see Ch. IV. 7.2.). Nevertheless, early in LH IIIB at the latest, the new

palatial complex was constructed on the ridge, following an extensive levelling operation, which must have included dismantling of much of the previous architecture and clearing the area of its abandoned remains (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 32–33). However, not all of the older walls were abandoned, the ashlar blocks being often reused to rebuilt the formal façades on both sides of the complex, while the foundations of the south-western wing (Building A) were reused to build a new palatial unit (South-western Building **[PYL5]**) on a similar plan. Only at this time was the rest of the Ano Englianos was cleared of other buildings, and the palace must have stood in isolation from other structures, with a restricted palatial zone formed around it on the top of the hill (see Ch. IV. 7. 3.).[161]

The new complex had an orientation completely opposite to the First Palace, and while the northeast entrance to both complexes were similarly located, this was not necessarily linked to the continuous veneration of Tholos IV, which was definitely abandoned during LH IIIB. The Northeast Gate was also dismantled at that time, and already covered with soil (Blegen et al. 1973, 6). The location of the northeast entrance in the LH IIIB palace might have been a continuation of a symbolic tradition which connected this area with Tholos IV, through the axis crossing the Northeast Gate (Wright 1984, 26–27; Murphy 2016a, 54), although both the tomb and the gate were abandoned during this period. Thus the location of this entrance might have been also purely utilitarian, and linked solely to the fact that the northeast façade of the complex was closely based on the older LH IIIA façade. The possibility of changes to the plan of the building in that area might have been thus limited for the architects of the new palace, especially if they were in a hurry (see below).

The new palatial complex followed a radically new plan, centred around the Main Building **[PYL4]**, which clearly followed the Argive tradition of megaron-centred palaces. The fact that many of the reused ashlar blocks used for corners and door jambs, as well as some of the columns, were placed in their positions prior to the erection of the walls shows that plan and proportions of the rooms were pre-planned. Moreover, the pier-wall technique used for the construction of the Main Building finds parallels only in the Argolid, where a single wall of LH IIIB2 palace at Tiryns displays similar building technique while multiple walls of palatial period from both Mycenae and Tiryns were built with the use of timber-framed masonry, which most probably inspired the pier-wall technique. The latter clearly mimicked the timber-frame walls, but was certainly faster and easier to construct. The choice of this unique technique suggests that the LH IIIB palace at Pylos was constructed in a rush which prompted the architects to use

[161] Occupation in the Belvedere Area during LH IIIB was of ambiguous nature, and it is uncertain if any proper building stood there at the time (see Ch. IV. 5.4.).

less elaborate building methods, although they clearly introduced them into a plan template well known to them (Rutter 2005, 29–31; see Ch. IV. 7.3.).

The Main Building **[PYL4]** of the new palace was a large, multi-functional unit, which at the time must have served mainly as the residence of the ruling family and administrative, public and religious centre, probably with significant storage capacity already. It was surrounded from the west by the South-western Building **[PYL5]**, forming the second wing of the complex, and functioning most probably as the seat of *lawagetas* and additional administrative department responsible for operations of the Hither Province (Bennet and Davis 1999; Shelmerdine 1998, 199). The building was also furnished with additional storerooms, and from the northwest it was bordered by Building 82 **[PYL8]**, yet another palatial warehouse. It is likely that the palatial complex was heavily involved into organisation of large communal feasts, which occurred on palatial courtyards, in this phase, although the excavated material evidence for them – written records with lists of collected goods, extensive pottery collections and deposits of animal bones, are all associated with the next phase of the complex.

The economic capabilities of the complex were further developed in the later part of LH IIIB, when the palace was much developed and remodelled **[PYL 1-8 – phase 3b]**. In the Main Building **[PYL4]** an additional storage area was built and the formal northeast façade was abandoned and partially covered with two external courtyards, used for industrial production of perfumed olive oil (Shelmerdine 1985; Lis 2016). This development blocked the northeast entrance to the palace, which must testify to the ultimate abandonment of its connection with Tholos IV, if that connection survived into LH IIIB at all (see above). New buildings were also constructed on to the east side of the Main Building – a specialised administrative and storage centre in the North-eastern Building **[PYL6]** and another palatial warehouse, identified as the Wine Magazine **[PYL7]**. Their construction further blocked access to the complex from the east. Overall, the changes clearly and significantly alter the movement pattern of the complex, further isolating the Throne Room from the outside, and limiting the number of access points (fig. 118). These were limited to the large front courtyard 58, which became the central hub facilitating the control of the flow of goods and people into the complex (Thaler 2006, 96–100; Brenningmeyerr 2017). The location of the North-eastern Building next to this courtyard further strengthens this interpretation, as the administrative department functioning in the building was most probably responsible for recording and storing some of the goods entering the palace (Bendall 2003). The remodelling of the complex must have also affected the organisation of the communal feasts, with the limited access to the interior of the complex facilitating the hierarchical division of the participants (Bendall 2004, 2008, 79).

The entire palace of LH IIIB was destroyed in a violent conflagration that occurred in LH IIIC Early 1 (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 130, 141). Scattered remains indicate that a few rooms in the Main Building were at least briefly reoccupied sometime between the destruction and the 10th century BC (Hogue 2016). The area of the palace was once again reoccupied in 10th century BC or later, although the evidence of this phase is scarce, and composed mainly of two rooms – 89 and 90, built across Court 88, and few other poorly preserved rooms built to the northwest (Hogue 2016, 152).[162]

5.2. Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]**

The area to the northeast of the Main Building **[PYL4]**, and between the North-eastern Building **[PYL6]** and Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** was uncovered by Blegen, but it was generally poorly preserved (figs. 113-114 and 119). Blegen described the remains briefly and interpreted them only in a very general way, as LH IIIA houses (Blegen et al. 1973, 31). The following discussion of the MH III-LH IIIA/B complex functioning in the area is based mostly on the restudy of the stratigraphy by Cooper (2017b, 35–44), who identified three main phases of occupation. Nevertheless, the area remains poorly known.

5.2.1. Building 106 **[PYL9]**

This building is located partially underneath the Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** and was only uncovered piecemeal.[163] It was probably mostly obliterated by later remains. The earliest remains in the area were composed of a courtyard paved with painted plaster, with two column bases founded to the south of it **[PYL9 – phase 1]** (Blegen et al. 1973, 30). The dating of the structure they represent is uncertain. Cooper proposed that it was a portico of the MH palace, but although it has a similar orientation to walls in the Area W14 **[PYL18]** to the northwest (see Ch. IV. 6.1.), the entrance which it supposedly formed might have simply led into one of the elite residences which probably occupied the hill at the time, not necessarily a palace. This

[162] Blegen and Rawson (1966, 422) linked the black stratum covering the remains of the palace with the Archaic occupation, and connected it with existence of an olive press on the Ano Englianos in 7th century BC. This was criticized by a number of scholars, who pointed towards ceramic evidence for Early Iron Age reoccupation (Popham 1991; Hruby 2010; Griebel and Nelson 2008; Hruby 2006; Hogue 2016, 152). Cooper (2017b, 66–73) proposed that an Archaic temple surrounded by a temenos wall stood in the area northwest of the Main Building **[PYL4]**, but such a hypothesis finds little support in the scarce material evidence. For the discussion, see for example reviews of Cooper and Fortenberry eds. 2017 by Jack Davis in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2017.10.23 (https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017.10.23/; access 1.06.2023) and Julie Hruby in *American Journal of Archaeology* 122.2 (https://www.ajaonline.org/book-review/3641; access 1.06.2023).

[163] Blegen interpreted this area as an open court leading to a "dog leg corridor" which provided access to a house that would be underneath the Wine Magazine (Blegen et al. 1973, 30; fig. 119).

layout must have been abandoned and dismantled or destroyed at some point during LH I/II, as the following phase has a different orientation and layout (fig. 119).

During LH I or II the so-called "zig-zag" megaron **[PYL9 – phase 2a]** was constructed in the area. The painted floor of Phase 1 might have been reused in this building, as it was of particularly good quality, and no other floor was reported from above it.[164] Apart from the part outside of the Wine Magazine, excavated by Blegen, another fragment of this building was uncovered more recently by the Ephorate of Antiquities (Karapanagiotou et al. 2021, fig. 8). It seems that the building was composed of a large roughly L-shaped room, attached to a wide corridor or a staircase, behind which another room was located, but only a small fragment of the plan is known (fig. 119).

In LH IIIA either more buildings were constructed to the north, or Building 106 **[PYL9 – phase 2b]** was extended in that direction, as the walls are added on this side which clearly follow the north wall of the building. A thick floor packed with discarded fresco fragments was laid in the narrow space between the old and the new walls. The LH IIIA material excavated by Blegen underneath this floor provides a *TPQ* for this sub-phase (Blegen et al. 1973, 30–31) (Blegen et al. 1971, 30-31). No destruction deposit was reported but the building might have been destroyed together with the First Palace **[PYL3]**. However, the definite *TAQ* is provided only by the late LH IIIB date of the construction of the Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** (Nelson 2017, 287).

5.2.2. Building 101/102/103 **[PYL10]**

Even more fragmentarily known remains were uncovered to the southeast of Building 106 **[PYL9]**. Blegen interpreted this area as LH IIIA houses, and a cistern in room 102, about which he realised also that it had to have been constructed earlier than the palace, although it was later incorporated into it the walls of LH IIIB2 Court 42 (Blegen et al. 1973, 29–31). However, these were preceded also by the Early Mycenaean remains (fig. 119). A single wall which was located immediately to the northwest of the North-eastern Building **[PYL6]**, might have been a part of the earliest architecture in the area, possibly even of MH date, but it is uncertain if it formed a building or supported a ramp leading into the west part of the Acropolis.

The old wall was overbuilt by an H-shaped set of three walls, with steps of limestone blocks in front of them, probably supporting the Early Mycenaean ramp preceding ramp 91. Cooper (2017b, 37–38) interpreted these remains as part of a propylon entrance to his Palace B

[164] Nelson (2017, fig. 4.2) even placed the plaster floor and the columns in one phase with the megaron walls, thus suggesting that they were contemporary.

of LH I/II date. The walls are too few to be certain, but if this was truly a gateway, it seems that it might have led through the ramp to the northeast formal entrance the Proto-palace **[PYL1]** (fig. 113). The walls in area 103 might have been linked to this structure, or formed another building erected between Building 106 **[PYL9]** and the gateway (fig. 119).[165] This layout, whatever it represented, must have been abandoned, probably before LH IIIA, when new walls were laid in the area.

It is likely that during LH IIIA the building in the area was remodelled to include a small basement-like cell with plastered floor and walls (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 329). The overall form of the structure during this phase remains unknown, but it seems that additional rooms were attached to the cistern from northwest and northeast (fig. 119).[166] The construction of this building might be associated with the planning of the aqueduct leading to the First Palace **[PYL3]** of LH IIIA, and the hydraulic engineering involved in the general plan. It seems that its southeast façade was purposefully coordinated with the entrance to the palatial complex, which testifies to the position of the pathway leading from the Northeast Gate to the palatial zone (fig. 114). It is unknown if the area was affected by the LH IIIA2 Early destruction of the First Palace, but the building most probably remained in use during LH IIIB, and during the final remodelling of the palace it was incorporated into walls of court 42, with the drain going through the building reinstalled and pierced through the court's wall (Cooper 2017b, 41). The building must have been ultimately destroyed together with the palatial complex.

5.2.3. Summary of the complex

The Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** is poorly known, and functioning of the two buildings identified here as elements of one group is based mostly on spatial proximity and correlation of the chronology. Although it seems that for the most of the time the buildings formed a complex separate from the palatial complex to the west, it is likely that they were involved into service of the elite zone.

The first architectural phase in the area **[PYL9-10 – phase 1]** might be dated even to the MH period, but the reconstruction of structures hidden behind a plaster floor patch with columns uncovered to the northwest, and a single wall to the southeast, remains problematic (Nelson 2017, 353). During LH I/II the area was remodelled **[PYL9-10 – phase 2]**, with two

[165] Nelson (2017, fig. 4.2 and 4.4) marked the walls in area 103 as built in LH I/II and continuing into LH IIIA, thus with different sequence than the walls in areas 101/102, but the scarce LH IIIA material from around them did not have to be linked to the continuous use of the walls, especially given the mixed nature of the deposits. Cooper (2017b, 41) interpreted those walls as elements of post-Bronze Age occupation.

[166] A full reconstruction of the plan by Thaler (2006, pl. 16) can be seen on his plans of the palatial complex of LH IIIB (fig. 118).

buildings identifiable from that phase – a roughly L-shaped multi-room Building 106 **[PYL9 – phase 2a]** to the northwest, and a structure to the south with three walls and a few limestone blocks set in front **[PYL10 – phase 1]**. The latter remains enigmatic, although it might have been a fragment of a formal entrance to the Proto-palace **[PYL1]** at the time (Cooper 2017b, 37–38). A few walls found between the two buildings might have belonged to the gateway building, or formed yet another unit. Building 101/102 was completely changed at some point, thus its phase 1 must have been dismantled. This is the only phase that yielded a construction deposit to provide the date (Blegen et al. 1973, 30–31).

In LH IIIA the area was once again remodelled. Although Building 106 **[PYL9 – phase 2b]** continued in use, new walls constructed to the east of it might have belonged to other unit or were simply an extension of the previous layout. Building 101/102 **[PYL10 – phase 2]**, during this phase was rebuilt in a new form, with one, two or three cisterns at the west side. These were probably associated with the newly constructed aqueduct, the central drain which must have been somehow connected to the cisterns (Cooper 2017b, 44–46).

No earlier destruction deposit was reported from the area, apart from the burned debris of the final palace which apparently covered all the walls in the area (Blegen et al. 1973, 29–30). Nevertheless, those buildings were probably destroyed and abandoned together with the First Palace **[PYL3]**, during LH IIIA2 Early. The area was probably levelled during the construction of the later palace, and most of the earlier remains were probably removed then. Only Building 101/102/103 **[PYL10 – phase 3]** seem to have remained in use, probably still functioning as part of the hydraulic system operating on the hill. During the final remodelling of the LH IIIB palace it was incorporated into walls of Court 42, while the Wine Magazine **[PYL8]** partially covered earlier remains of Building 106 **[PYL9]**. This ultimately testified to this area being brought into the palatial zone, which probably occurred at the beginning of LH IIIB, when the LH IIIA structures were deliberately dismantled.

5.3. Building P13 **[PYL11]**

This building was a small rectangular structure uncovered by Blegen ca. 20 m to the east of the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** (Blegen et al. 1973, 28–29; fig. 120). It probably belonged to the earliest Mycenaean occupation phase of the hill, with sherds of MH and LH I associated with the walls. No plan, or any other details of the building's form or history were published. It was later cut by a LH IIIB drain, a branch of the palatial aqueduct.

5.4. Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14]**

The so-called Belvedere Area, located in the southeast quadrant of the Ano Englianos, was first tested by Blegen in search for the circuit wall. The continuous investigations of the area uncovered fragments of badly eroded complex composed of three identifiable buildings, occupied between LH I and LH IIIA, although some LH IIIB activity also occurred in the area (Blegen et al. 1973, 18–24; fig. 120).

Building MN **[PYL12]** was a small structure, not necessarily even a full scale house, given the small size of the two uncovered walls forming the corner of the building (fig. 121). It seems that wall K, running in an arch attached to this corner, might have been somehow attached to it, together with the drain L running into that wall from the north (Blegen et al. 1973, 20–21). The drain might have been used in association with a small but relatively well preserved Early Mycenaean pottery kiln, which was found not far away to the northwest of this building (Blegen et al. 1973, 19–20). Thus it seems that Building MN was only a small storeroom built to facilitate use of the kiln. The kiln was probably not operating anymore by LH IIIA, as suggested by the exclusively LH I-II sherds found in its vicinity.

To the south of the latter building was a narrow street delineated on one side by a wall with a drain running behind it, and on the other by solid rubble walls from another structure – Building H **[PYL13]**. The street was filled with abundance of LH I-II sherds and other domestic refuse, which suggest it was a residential area. Two rooms of Building H are recognisable on the fragmentary plan, and no internal features or finds were reported from the inside (Blegen et al. 1973, 21). However the building must have functioned together with the street, and was probably a simple Early Mycenaean household.

A group of walls was uncovered in the south part of the Belvedere Area, behind the turn of the walled street described above (fig. 120). Although only limited information was published it seems that some history of this building discussed here as the South Belvedere Area Building **[PYL14]** can be at least be partially reconstructed (Blegen et al. 1973, 22–23). The earliest phase **[PYL14 – phase 1a]**, consisted probably of a room with a roof support and a drain attached from the south, another room or basement to the southeast, and a single wall protruding from the corner of the main room. This latter wall was at some point joined by the wall delineating the street, and before that it might have formed a courtyard of this building. A C-shaped wall, wall C, with poros blocks installed in front of it, was added to the structure at some later time **[PYL14 – phase 1b**]. The original form or function of this wall are unknown, but the use of cut limestone blocs installed in front of it suggests a date in LH I. This layout

must have been eradicated at some point, probably together with the destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** in LH IIIA2 Early. Although the area is usually considered to be abandoned during LH IIIB (Nelson 2017, fig. 4.7-4.8), Blegen did mention a number of LH IIIB sherds, which were primarily associated with walls D1 and D2, a floor of tamped earth and drain AB (fig. 121). These remains might be linked to some scarce occupation of the area in LH IIIB, but no other details of the remains are known.

Overall, the Belvedere Area was occupied from LH I **[PYL12-14 – phase 1a]**. The earliest residence – the South Belvedere Area Building **[PYL14]**, was later developed, and more structures appeared around it **[PYL12-14 – phase 1b]**. The presence of the walled street filled with large amounts of domestic refuse might suggest a dense occupation of the area with coordinated buildings raised around planned pathways, but only a single fragment of a possible further household – Building H **[PYL13]**, was excavated. The north part of the area seem to have been occupied primarily by the pottery kiln. Its functioning was facilitated by the drain L and the storeroom – Building MN **[PYL12]**. This testifies to the mixed nature and multi-functional character of the Early Mycenaean settlement area developed in the area, but the existence of this kiln is also important for the understanding of the organisation of the Acropolis prior to the construction of the Second Palace of LH IIIB (see Ch. IV. 7.1-2.). The area must have been affected by the destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]**. Limited signs of a LH IIIB reoccupation of the area are of ambiguous nature, but it is doubtful that a full-scale settlement quarter was once again developed there (fig. 121).

6. Buildings of the Lower Town

The Lower Town of Pylos remains poorly known, with only a handful of structures partially excavated by Blegen (1973, 47–68) during his various tests conducted around Ano Englianos, and the results of the new excavations of the northeast part of the site are pending publication (tabs. 6-8). The known buildings of the zone are discussed below, starting from the results of Blegen's tests conducted directly on the slopes of Ano Englianos, moving counter clockwise from the northeast corner of the hill (see Ch. IV. 6.1.). This is followed by a discussion of all the other buildings of the Lower Town, grouped according to the general areas (see Ch. IV. 6.2-6.), ordered in a roughly geographical manner moving clockwise from the below the southeast slope of Ano Englianos.

6.1. Slopes of Ano Englianos **[PYL15-25]**

Blegen and his team tested the slopes of Ano Englianos extensively, primarily in search for a defensive circuit wall (Blegen et al. 1973, 8–18; see Ch. IV. 3.). The slopes were divided

into areas named from W1 to W47, and some of them yielded settlement remains of various periods, although always only partially excavated (fig. 120). The following discussion regards only the tests were buildings were recognized.

In Area W10, behind the Wine Magazine **[PYL7]** two walls forming a corner of a building **[PYL15]** were uncovered. The associated pottery material was of mixed nature, but presence of MH sherds might suggest that the structure belonged to an early phase of occupation. The test trench in this area was at some point extended to the west, where a corner of another house **[PYL16]** was uncovered, with a substantial wall attached to it. A layer of debris covering it testifies to a violent end for this structure, which had the pottery of LH IIIA at the latest associated with the walls.

Several walls were uncovered in areas W12 and W13 **[PYL17]**, around the deposit of painted plaster discarded from the palatial complex. Nevertheless no details about them were given by Blegen, apart from the fact that there was more than one phase of occupation in this area, and the lowest layer was of MH date (Blegen et al. 1973, 10).

Area W14 is of particular interest, and was already mentioned in relation to the palatial complex (fig. 123). A complex mass of walls with deep stratigraphy was excavated in this area by Blegen's team (Blegen and Rawson 1966; Blegen et al. 1973, 10–11) and then thoroughly restudied by Cooper (2017b, 54–72). The area is difficult to understand but it seems that only during the MH period it was not part of the terraces of the palatial zone, with a single wall and three drains, each of different orientation, associated with that period **[PYL18 – phase 1]** (Cooper 2017b, 55). They were located deep in the ground, below all the other remains, and testify to the existence of the MH settlement in this area. During LH I-II this part of the slope went through four stages of development **[PYL18 – phase 2a-d]**, with a number of walls gradually constructed, probably in order to form and then extend the northwest terrace of the palatial zone. This terrace, not necessarily crowned by any superstructure, was equipped with a cavea-like?? cistern, paved floor patches which might have belong to a basement located inside the terrace, and two solid drains running down the slope from the direction of the Proto-palace **[PYL1]** (Cooper 2017b, 56–61). The area went through some remodelling in LH IIIA **[PYL18 – phase 2e]**, when the terrace was once again extended, which resulted in abandonment of the cistern. Two walls – T and U, forming a corner found immediately to the southwest, directly behind room 82, might have belonged to a separate building located on the slope immediately below the terrace, or to a structure directly linked to the terrace (fig. 123). There was a plaster floor and a stone platform linked to these walls, with LH IIIA material(Cooper 2017a, 61–62). The latter phase of development must have been associated with the construction of the First

Palace **[PYL3]** and the contemporary remodelling of the hilltop (see Ch. IV. 5.1.2.), but the remains from below the terrace might testify to the spread of the Lower Town in the area. In LH IIIB the area was overbuilt by one of the palatial storerooms - Building 82 **[PYL8]**, which was destroyed together with the final palace and covered by burned debris (Cooper 2017b, 62; see Ch. IV. 5.1.7.).

Three walls on three different levels were found in Area W15 **[PYL19]**, with stratified sequences of pottery. The lower wall was associated with MH – LH I pottery, followed by LH IIIA deposit in the middle, and LH IIIB material on top. This testifies to a continuous occupation of the narrow west slope of the Acropolis, although no details are available regarding the buildings which occupied it (Blegen et al. 1973, 11).

Several walls were uncovered in Area W17 **[PYL20]**, below the South-western Building **[PYL5]**. Blegen did not described any specific finds from here, but stated that some of the walls belonged to a house which was demolished before the construction of the South-wester Building, in order to make room for the foundation terrace. Thus the *TAQ* for abandonment of this area is LH IIIB (Blegen et al. 1973, 11). Nevertheless, given that Blegen's brief account seems to indicate there was more than a single unit in this area, and that Early Mycenaean settlement remains were found all around this sector of the slope, it is likely that there was also pre-LH IIIA occupation in this area.

Some badly eroded remains were uncovered on the south-western slope of Ano Englianos in Area W19-20 **[PYL21]**, below the south-western wing of the palace. The information on them is very limited, but a single LH IIIA floor is mentioned in the publication, thus at least this phase of occupation is confirmed (Blegen et al. 1973, 50–51).

Two parallel walls were originally uncovered in area W21, interpreted by excavators as fragment of a circuit wall, and a house located immediately next to it **[PYL22]**, but no other information was provided (Blegen et al. 1973, 12–13). More walls and patches of floors with LH IIIA material were found little further down the slope, while LH IIIB material above them testifies to the continuation of the occupation (Blegen et al. 1973, 51). Overall it seems that two phases of habitation can be suggested for the area, although information on the architecture is ephemeral.[167]

Areas W27 and W28 were located on the southeast edge of the Ano Englianos ridge, along the gentle slope, a natural ramp which Blegen regarded as the original approach to the hill during Mycenaean era (Blegen et al. 1973, 15). However, existence of multiple building

[167] Nelson (2017, fig. 4.4 and 4.6) also dated two walls from this area to LH IIIA and a single wall to LH IIIB, thus indicating the same general occupational history.

remains in the area actually speaks against that. A corner of a small building was found in Area W17 **[PYL23]**, with a small group of LH IIIB sherds. In Area W28 only a single wall was uncovered, but the debris surrounding it provided evidence for mud-brick construction of the superstructure and for the LH IIIB date of use. The wall was of considerable size, and the rubble of stones extended 5 m to the east of it, into Area W29, thus the building was probably large (Blegen et al. 1973, 14–15).

Area 31-33 was located a little further up the slope, close to the hilltop. A mass of stones with one face of a wall was found here, and interpreted by Blegen as remains of a considerable building. Fragments of painted plaster suggested that its walls might have been decorated, while finds of bronze, flint, obsidian, spindle whorls or buttons, and a deposit of LH IIIB pottery dominated by kylikes all testify to the domestic character of the occupation (Blegen et al. 1973, 15–16).

6.2. Area AA **[PYL26-27]**

Two elongated trenches were dug by Blegen's team in Area AA, below the southeast slope of Ano Englianos, in a narrow space between the hill and the modern road encircling the site (fig. 111). The building in Trench AA I **[PYL26]** had three partially uncovered rooms of solid construction, with both floors and walls plastered. The material associated with this structure is mostly eroded, but the superstructure was built of timber-framed mudbrick, indicated by a single slot for a horizontal beam. A thin black stratum on the floors suggests the destruction of the building by fire, although the stratigraphy in the area seems to have been heavily affected by the material eroding from the Ano Englianos slope (Blegen et al. 1973, 61–63).

Another building with at least three rooms was partially uncovered in Trench AA II **[PYL27]**. It was covered by a thick burned destruction deposit, with LH IIIB pottery inside. Red burned plaster was preserved on the walls of one of the rooms, which was filled with red disintegrated mudbrick, thus testifying to the form of the superstructure. A bench built of tamped-earth was found in another room (Blegen et al. 1973, 62–63).

6.3. Area LT **[PYL28-32]**

Area LT was located to the southwest of the South-western Building **[PYL5]**. Five narrow elongated trenches were dug in this general sector: LT I, LT II and LT III were

excavated immediately below the steep southwest slope of Ano Englianos (fig. 124), while both LT IV and LT V were further away from the hill (Blegen et al. 1973, 52–61).[168]

A complex sequence of walls was excavated in a long trench LT I **[PYL28]**, with three general phases of occupation distinguishable, each ended by fire (Blegen et al. 1973, 52–57). There was some MH material here, which suggests occupation prior to the distinguishable architecture, but LH I-II material was the first to be associated with the architecture, in the form of three walls, two of which were later reused **[PYL28 – phase 1]**. This phase most probably ended in a fire, which left significant amount of ashes. The next phase was manifested by the corner of a large room, with a clay and pebble floor, and a few other isolated walls **[PYL28 – phase 2]**. This layer is associated with the well-defined burned LH IIIA2 Early destruction deposit (Vitale, Stocker, and Malapani 2021, 122). A mixture of LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery which landed on the burned debris suggested that a continuous occupation occurred in the area until LH IIIB, when many new walls were constructed, probably in an attempt to rebuilt the residences in the area **[PYL28 – phase 3]**. This last phase also ends with a conflagration, evidenced by traces of fire in the destruction deposit. This final destruction must have occurred in LH IIIC Early 1, together with the destruction of the Second Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 122).

Trench LT II was located a few meters to the west from trench LT I, further down the slope. Four walls were uncovered in it **[PYL29]**, two of which were substantial transverse walls, while two others were thinner, but formed a clear corner of a building. Two phases of occupation were distinguished in the trench, the first one dated to LH IIIA and the second to LH IIIB (Blegen et al. 1973, 57).

A sequence of walls was also uncovered in trench LT III, further down the slope to the west, 16 m from trench LT I (Blegen et al. 1973, 57). Three phases were distinguished in the trench **[PYL30]**: the lowest layer being associated with LH I-II pottery, the middle with LH IIIA material and traces of burning, and the uppermost with LH IIIB material and also with more traces of burning. The sequence seems to have been identical to that from trench LT I (see above). There is an interesting group of finds from this trench, probably forming part of a domestic deposit, which however included two seals - steatite and lentoid. Unfortunately it is unknown at which level those were found.

[168] The LT stands for the ”Lower Town”, which was the name used by Blegen to describe the general area below the slopes of Ano Englianos, and also the name he used for the area of the five trenches described here, although in the latter instance it was also often abbreviated by him to LT (Blegen et al. 1973, 47, 52–61). Nevertheless, to avoid confusion due to the fact that the term Lower Town is used in this work in a much broader context, I only refer to this sector in the main text as “Area LT”.

Trench LT IV was opened 60 m westward from LT III, although the exact location was not marked on any of the published plans. The excavators uncovered a few walls with two phases of habitation **[PYL31]**. The first phase was a single wall with LH IIIA pottery, while the second was marked by LH IIIB pottery, with two pithoi and walls bearing signs of fire destruction. There were only a few other finds reported from the trench, and their association is uncertain (Blegen et al. 1973, 59–60).

Trench LT V was opened 85 m to the southwest from the area of trenches LT I-III, and its exact location was also not marked on any available plan. Two walls were exposed here **[PYL32]**, with LH IIIB pottery found in between them. Below was LH IIIA material with only a single LH II fragment (Blegen et al. 1973, 60–61). The lack of earlier architectural remains suggest that the area became properly settled only in LH IIIB.

6.4. Petropoulos Field **[PYL33]**[169]

The Petropoulos Field is located to the north of Ano Englianos. The area was tested by Blegen's team with an elongated trench (fig. 111). MH layers were found here immediately below the disturbed top layer of mixed material. Each layer was associated with a wall **[PYL33]**, with the corner of a house found in the topmost level. A number of MH pottery fragments testified to its date, while the reddish stratum on the floor suggested burned destruction. The walls below those remains, with the lowermost associated with the early MH material, testify to the continuous occupation of this area until the start of the LH period (Blegen et al. 1973, 63–64; Davis and Stocker 2010). Another test trench was opened 15 m to the east of the one described above. No architecture was found in it, but the layer of LH IIIB material directly overlaid the 1m deep stratum with MH pottery (Blegen et al. 1973, 64).

6.5. Tsakonas Field **[PYL34-36]**

The Tsakonas Field is located to the northeast of Ano Englianos, in a saddle between the Acropolis and another lower ridge – the Dimopoulos Field (fig. 110). It was tested with two elongated trenches dug in 1968 and 1969 by Blegen's team, but no architecture was uncovered in them (fig. 111; see Ch. IV. 4.2.). More recently the area was intensively excavated by the resumed University of Cincinnati excavations since 2015.[170] Apart from the Griffin Warrior Grave, a number of architectural remains were uncovered, although the information available

[169] All three fields discussed in the following sections are named after the owners of the plots.

[170] See the relevant section on the project's website for the overview (http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/; accessed 1.06.2023). This is also the primary source of all the data for this section. Only Area E was discussed by the excavators in more detail during one of the lectures, which is reflected in the following discussion.

on those is extremely scarce for the time being. The trenches were opened in pre-defined excavation areas, in three of which MH or LH architectural remains were found: Area B on the northwest edge of the field, Area E in front of Tholos IV, and Area D further to the southeast, near the edge of the Dimopoulos Field (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, fig. 2; fig. 110).

MH walls were excavated in Area B **[PYL34]**. Above those there was a deep stratified deposit of MH and Early Mycenaean date. The complete lack of LH III materials suggests that the area was abandoned by that time.

A substantial Mycenaean building was uncovered in Area E **[PYL35]**.[171] Three rooms were excavated, but more walls were protruding to the northeast, in the direction of Tholos IV. The building was clearly built on the approach to the tomb. Below the walls was a massive LH IIIA2 Early deposit of pottery and bones, interpreted as the remains of a ritual feasts. It seems to have been used to level the ground, and provides *TPQ* for the construction of the building. The abandonment or destruction date is unknown, but the mention of the stratified LH IIIA2 Early to LH IIIB1 deposit excavated in this area might suggest that this is the period of use of the building (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 123). The structure was so far discussed as a "ritual complex", with this function indicated by the presence of a single large terracotta figurine in one of the rooms. The special location in front of the tholos also points in that direction.[172]

A few walls of the LH IIIB2 – LH IIIC Early date were uncovered in Area D **[PYL36]**. The only other detail known is that a decorated rhyton was found in association with those. This is too little to suggest ritual function of the building, but it cannot be excluded given the location of the structure in the vicinity of the tholos tombs and of the Building in Area E **[PYL35]**.

6.6. Dimopoulos Field **PYL37-38]**

The Dimopoulos Field is located on an elevated plateau to the northeast from Ano Englianos, behind the Tsakonas Field. It was excavated for the first time in 2018, by Stocker and Davis, who continue their work in the area to this day. Although their effort during the first seasons concentrated on the newly discovered tholos tombs – Tholos VI and Tholos VII (see Ch. IV. 4.2.), a number of architectural remains was also uncovered, briefly discussed here as the Dimopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38]**, and interpreted by the excavators as a major ritual complex. It was located on the north edge of the field, and two of its buildings, which I

[171] Before the area was investigated by the University of Cincinnati team in 2015-2016, excavations of the top layers were conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities since 2013 (http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/; accessed 1.06.2023).
[172] This building was discussed by Stocker during the ASCSA Open Meeting on 7.04.2023.

preliminarily catalogued as DF1 **[PYL37]** and DF2 **[PYL38]**, were so far excavated. Only the very basic information on those buildings ca be provided for now, as we await for the publication of the recent excavations.[173]

Building DF1 **[PYL37]** was uncovered on the northwest edge of the Dimopoulos Field. Below the building there were MH layers, but without any associated architecture, and a mixed Early Mycenaean deposit, with only an open air hearth and no walls. The building constructed on top of them had two general phases, with the first one linked to LH IIA material, and the second to LH IIIA. Building DF2 **[PYL38]** was located not far away to the northeast, and was of monumental size. A plaster table of offerings was found in one of the rooms of this building. A pit with miniature vessels and animal bones, probably a feasting deposit, was found outside of the building. No information on the chronology of this building is available.

Thus, it seems that two general phases of this multi-building ritual complex can be distinguished, following the earliest phase characterised by the presence of the pre-LH IIA large open air hearth. The latter suggests that the area behind Tholos IV might have been used for ritual activities since the earliest phase of the Mycenaean settlement. The establishment linked with the hearth was overbuilt in LH IIA, and replaced by the buildings of the Dimopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38]**. Its location suggests that it continued the tradition of the earlier ritual space. Moreover, its earliest constructions of LH IIA must have been connected with the development of the inner elite funerary zone, and the construction of either Tholos VI or Tholos VII, which were both built during the same period. No details are available on the later history or organisation of the complex, apart from the fact that it must have been rebuilt in LH IIIA.

7. History and organisation of the palatial town of Pylos

A detailed overview of the history of the palatial town of Pylos is discussed below on the basis of the data on the fortifications, the funerary landscape and the buildings. Three general phases of the settlement can be distinguished: early development from MH to LH II, which can be further divided in sub-phases of MH – LH I and LH II, and two phases of the palatial town in LH IIIA and LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early (tab. 2).

[173] See the relevant section on the project's website for the overview of the history of research of the area and work on the tholos tombs (http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tholos-tombs/; accessed 1.06.2023). The buildings in the area were excavated only very recently, and were shown and briefly described only during Stocker's lecture at ASCSA Open Meeting on 7.04.2023. The latter is the only source of data for the complex discussed in this section. I named the buildings for the purpose of the catalog, with DF standing for Dimopoulos Field, but these are not the names or codes used by the excavators (who did not give those buildings any names yet). No plan of the complex was published yet.

7.1. Early development of the settlement (MH – LH II)

The Ano Englianos ridge emerged as a primary habitation zone of the area during early stages of MH period, when a number of hamlets or farmsteads which occupied the area close to the ridge coalesced into a single settlement. This early nucleation, which must have been associated with the most favourable strategic position of the site which controlled the main river valley in the region and the only passage to the east (see Ch. IV. 1.), contributed to the remarkable expansion of the settlement already at the turn of the MH and Early Mycenaean period (Stocker 2003, 402; Davis and Stocker 2010, 104). Moreover, in MH III Tholos IV was constructed, which must have been associated with the early raise of the local Mycenaean elite (Davis and Stocker 2015). The local elite must have already had a prominent, although not necessarily dominant position in the region (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001a, 136–37). However, the Pylian elite must have already consisted of a number of families, as another elite burial zone of this period was formed in the Vayenas Grave Circle, to the southwest down the Englianos ridge towards the sea (Davis 2022, 62). The location must have been prestigious, although probably less symbolically charged than that of Tholos IV. Although no architectural remains of this period were preserved underneath the palatial complex, it seems that there must have been already a significant structure or structures raised there with the use of ashlar blocks, which were later reused in the pseudo-ashlar masonry of the LH I Proto-palace **[PYL1]** (Nelson 2017, 353; see below)

Development of the settlement continued in LH I (fig. 125). During this period the Acropolis zone was formed on the Ano Englianos when the hill was separated from the surrounding settlement by a circuit wall. The latter was not particularly solid, with the confirmed thickness of only 1.5 m, although the elevated position on the slopes of the hill must have contributed to its defensive value (Simpson and Hagel 2006, 52–53). Nevertheless, the construction of this wall must have been mainly part of a planned attempt to change spatial organisation of the site and separate the hilltop from the other settlement zones. The symbolic importance of this development is marked by the construction of the Northeast Gate, which was deliberately aligned with the dromos of Tholos IV (Nelson 2017, 353). The tomb and the gate together formed a key symbolic axis of the site which remained venerated at least until LH IIIA. The pathway laid on this axis must have been used for funeral rites and other rituals performed in connection with Tholos IV, which remained in use throughout LH I. Some of those must have taken place behind the tholos, around the large open air hearth located on the edge of the

Dimopoulos Field. Thus, already during this period a cult zone started to form around the most important funerary monument of the site.

The pathway which led from Tholos IV to the Northeast Gate must have continued up the hill, and it seems that at its other end was the elite residences of the Proto-palace **[PYL1 – phase 1a]**, raised in the west part of the Acropolis in LH I. Their form and organisation is poorly preserved, but although they almost certainly did not form a single architectural entity, it seems that a central open area was planned in between them. The use of pseudo-ashlar masonry further emphasises the status of the complex, and marks the earliest sign of the influence of the Minoan architectural tradition on the site (Rutter 2005, 25–27). Nevertheless the erection of the complex did not lead to the transformation of the entire Acropolis. Although it is likely that the western part of the hill had a special function for the settlement, and that the elite core zone was formed there, the rest of the area behind the circuit wall was clearly occupied by a variety of buildings of various status. The painted plaster floor and columns of the first phase of Building 106 **[PYL9 – phase 1]** might indicate that it was another elite residence surrounding the Proto-palace, or even simply a part of it, but Building P13 **[PYL11]** located only 20 m to the east was a simple household. Another non-elite household of this period was located in the south part of the Belvedere Area **[PYL14 – phase 1]**. Moreover, the shaft grave found underneath room 93 of the North-eastern Building **[PYL6]**, which was probably constructed during LH I, indicate that during this period the Acropolis was also still used as an elite burial zone (Stocker et al. 2022, 240).[174]

The Lower Town of the late MH and LH I was probably concentrated to the north and northwest of the Acropolis (fig. 125). Remains of this period were found in a number of test trenches on the northwest slope of Ano Englianos, namely in areas W10 **[PYL15]**, W12-13 **[PYL17]**, W14 **[PYL18]**, and W15 **[PYL19]**. MH walls found to the northeast, on the Petropoulos Field **[PYL33]** and in Area B **[PYL34]**, where also Early Mycenaean material was found above the architectural remains, strengthen the reconstruction of the primary LH I occupation zone in this general area.

Thus, together with the Acropolis the settlement occupied a minimum of 4 ha. Nevertheless, the very limited area of the excavated remains makes it difficult to reliably reconstruct the occupational pattern of the period. If the distribution of the MH ceramic material investigated by PRAP is taken into account, it can be suggested that the settlement reached the

[174] The status of this tomb is of particular interest given that it must have been used when Tholos IV was already standing (see below, fn. 34).

size of over 7 ha already in the MH period.[175] Significant amounts of MH pottery were found below the southwest slope of Ano Englianos, and much further to the northeast, on the ridge behind the Dimopoulos Field, where a separate settlement zone of the Lower Town might have already started to develop (Davis et al. 1997, 430; fig. 106).

LH II was a period of key developments which paved the way for the formation of the palatial town (fig. 126). It was also a time of the intensified display of power and wealth by the Pylian ruling elite, with a number of significant burial monuments dated to that period. Tholos VI was constructed early in LH IIA, immediately next to Tholos IV, in a clear attempt to continue its tradition and use the same symbolic axis. The dromos of the second tomb was also pointed towards the Northeast Gate. Another tholos – Tholos VII, was constructed in the same general area late in LH IIA. Its dromos was not aligned with the Northeast Gate, but it was still pointed towards the general direction of the Acropolis, and the tomb most probably stood along the main approach to the site from the north (Davis 2022, 66). Thus it probably prolonged the symbolic axis established in the previous period, and was still part of the same funerary tradition focused on formation of a an elite burial zone associated exclusively with the ruling family and located in the most symbolically charged central location of the site.

Another elite burial which contributed to the formation of this elite burial zone is the Griffin Warrior Grave of LH IIA date. Although the Griffin Warrior must have played an important role in the Early Mycenaean community of Pylos, clearly having a strong connection to the Minoan religious tradition, it remains unclear what role his tomb had in the burial sequence of the zone, and why he was not buried in a tholos tomb of his own, or in one of the already standing (Davis 2022, 81–84; Murphy et al. 2020, 31).[176] The burial emphasise the close connection between Pylos and Crete during this time, but the nature of these relations is uncertain. Despite the many Minoan-related objects in his grave, the Griffin Warrior was buried in a tomb resembling the form of burials used by the Early Mycenaean elites at Mycenae (see

[175] PRAP's estimation was 5.5 ha for the Lower Town of MH period (Davis et al. 1997, 430). The figure of 7.2 ha is reached if the 1.7 ha of the palace area is added this estimation.

[176] Despite claims by Stocker and Davis (2020, 295–97; Davis 2022, 72–86) that this is a tomb of an Early Mycenaean *wanax* of Pylos, some doubts can be raised regarding this interpretation (for the discussion of the emergence of the wanax ideology see for example Kilian 1988d; Palaima 1995; Petrakis 2021). Without a doubt the burial belonged to some unique individual of special position and probably an important role in the history of Pylos, as his burial exemplifies strong links to both Minoan Crete, and religious activities of the Early Mycenaean elites of Pylos. However, the primary burial form for the leaders of Early Mycenaean communities was a tholos tomb, and it seems that at Pylos an unbroken sequence of continuous use of tholos tombs of the inner burial zone spanned from MH III to LH IIIA2 Early (see Ch. IV. 7. 2.). Thus, I would suggest that the Griffin Warrior Grave might have represent burial of a religious leader functioning next to a ruler in a dualistic system of power, and singled out for a specific burial type, due to this unique role. A similar power system might have already emerged at Pylos before, with the Ano Englianos Shaft Grave constructed on the hill in LH I, when Tholos IV was also in use.

Ch. II. 4.1.). It was thus well-embedded in the Mainland elite burial tradition of the time, despite the extraordinary collection of grave goods. The small mound over the tomb must have been part of the landscape formed primarily by the tholos tombs, located immediately to the east of the shaft grave (Stocker et al. 2022, 219). At least as long as the location of the tomb was visible, it must have been a part of the venerated funerary zone.

During LH IIA the inner burial zone was much developed not only through the construction of the number of significant tombs, but also transformation of the open air ritual establishment functioning behind Tholos IV, into a built complex **[PYL37-38 – phase 1]**. Its construction suggests that by that time the deliberate transformation of the area from solely an elite cemetery to the Inner Cult and Burial Zone was already complete, and the zone was well defined in a settlement pattern of the site, occupying possibly even 2.5 ha (fig. 126). It served funerary and ritual functions, being structurally and functionally divided from the rest of the settlement. The only elite tomb functioning at the site since LH II that was not included inside this zone, was Tholos III, constructed during LH II ca. 1 km to the southwest of Ano Englianos (Murphy 2014, 213). The results of the PRAP survey indicated that there was no other settlement on the entire Englianos ridge which could have been associated with the tomb, thus it must have been used by one of the elite groups from the Early Mycenaean Pylos (Davis et al. 1997, 428).

The Acropolis was also much changed during LH II, with Proto-palatial residences **[PYL1 – phase 1b]** remodelled with the orthostate walls. This building technique was another, after the pseudo-ashlar masonry of LH I, originally developed on Crete (Rutter 2005, 26–27). The formal approach to the elite zone from the northeast must have been also rebuilt at the time, possibly through the construction of a propylon and a ramp **[PYL10 – phase 1]** (Cooper 2017b, 35), and existence of the central open area is more obvious on the plans of the remains of this phase than on the previous ones (fig. 113). Apart from the possible propylon building, the Northeast Area Complex was developed with another structure of significant size – Building 106 **[PYL9 – phase 2]**, possibly a household continuing occupation of the area which began during the previous period. Occupation of the Belvedere Area also continued **[PYL12-14 – phase 1b]**, with at least partially coordinated residential district developed there around a walled street. The small pottery kiln functioning in the area indicates that the Early Mycenaean Acropolis of Pylos had not only mixed status, but that it also served economic functions, although the scale of the production was rather small.

Either during LH II or already in LH I the circuit wall of the Acropolis was rebuilt with an additional southwest entrance formed around Building X **[PYL2 – phase 1a]**, which was

probably part of a fortified entrance similar to the Northeast Gate. This new approach must have provided access to the Acropolis from the road which led to the site from the coast, passing next to the Vayenas Grave Circle, straight to the area of the Proto-palace **[PYL1]**. The Lower Town also expanded into the area below the southeast gate of the Acropolis, with LH I/II walls in trenches LT I **[PYL28 – phase 1]** and LT III **[PYL30 – phase 1]** confirming this development. The same pattern was also indicated by results of PRAP survey, which suggested that the Early Mycenaean settlement could have reached the area behind the Grave Circle. A high density of pottery fragments was also recorded for the area below the northwest slope of the Acropolis, where occupation continued after LH I. The area to the northeast, intensively occupied during MH, was probably already abandoned, with no excavated Mycenaean building remains there, and the densities recorded by PRAP being rather low. On the other hand, the high density of LH I/II pottery fragments on the ridge to the northeast of Inner Cult and Burial Zone might suggests that the settlement grew in that direction (Davis et al. 1997, fig. 12). The minimum size of the entire settlement by the end of LH II established on the basis of the distribution of excavated remains is 5 ha, but if the PRAP results are taken into account, it could have reached even 9 ha by that time (fig. 106).[177] Together with the extraordinary number of tholos tombs, this suggests that by the end of LH II Pylos had already dominated its immediate area, with none of the sites in the vicinity being of even remotely similar size (Bennet 2007, 39).

It seems that the population of the settlement must have significantly grown during this period. The development of a complex socially stratified community at LH II Pylos is also exemplified by the fact that despite the extraordinary development of the most conspicuous burials, the Vayenas Grave Circle remained in use, and the Tsakalis cemetery of chamber tombs was established to the southwest of the settlement. The location of the latter also clearly delineates the maximum extent of the settlement in that direction.

The LH II Pylos cannot be defined as a palatial town, mostly because it did not have a palace yet. However, the settlement was already divided into zones, with coordinated development of the Acropolis and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone on two ends of the central symbolic axis of the site probably gradually planned as the need to further legitimise power of the elite grew. However, although the latter zone had a clear focus on burial and ritual functions, the functional division of the Acropolis and the Lower Town is not so obvious at the time,

[177] The PRAP estimation of 7.08 ha (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001a, tab. 9.1) probably did not took into account the full extent of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, which was poorly manifested in the densities of LH I-II ceramics on the surface (Davis et al. 1997, fig. 12).

despite the clear physical separation of the two by the circuit wall and built access points. Thus, although the basic elements of urban planning were already in place, it was only during LH IIIA when the proper urbanised palatial town of Pylos can be defined.

It is unknown how this development phase of the settlement ended. The only proper LH II destruction level was reported by Blegen in trench LT I **[PYL28 – phase 1]**, being associated with a fire (Blegen et al. 1973, 53). In a few other instances spread in various areas of the site new LH IIIA walls of new plans were built over the older Early Mycenaean remains, also indicating some change of occupation. This regards Building 101/102/103 **[PYL10]**, walls in Area W15 **[PYL19]**, walls in Trench LT III **[PYL30 – phase1]**, and Building DF1 **[PYL37]**, and lastly – the Proto-palace **[PYL1]**, which was replaced by the First Palace **[PYL3]** of a completely new plan, although similar in layout (see below Ch. IV. 7.2.). However, none of these buildings must have been necessarily destroyed, as especially the Proto-palatial residences could have been simply purposefully dismantled to make room for the remodelling of the Acropolis and construction of a new complex.

7.2. Palatial town – Phase 1 (LH IIIA)

During LH IIIA Pylos transformed from a proto-urban Early Mycenaean settlement, into a proper palatial town. This is above all exemplified through the construction of the First Palace **[PYL3]**. It was a well-defined architectural complex, set on a formal plan with monumental façades of ashlar masonry, which clearly attempted to delineate the palatial zone from the rest of the Acropolis and the settlement below (fig. 115). The complex was a prime example of the influence of Minoan building tradition on the Pylian architecture, manifested not only through the use of masonry styles and building techniques with clear Cretan pedigree, introduced in the exact same order at Pylos and on in the island, but also through the implementation of the court-centred plan of the palace resembling its earlier Minoan counterparts (Rutter 2005, 22–35; Nelson 2017, 360). The presence of the central court, accessed through two monumental formal approaches from the southwest – through a stairway going up from the Lower Town, and northeast – through a pathway leading from the Northeast Gate, indicates that the complex served as a place for public gatherings, possibly sometimes of ritual meaning. The palace also served as a residence for the ruler, but the it was public activities are what defines the palatial zone as being divided from the rest of the settlement not only by status, but also by specific function characteristic only for this zone. Thus, it became a second settlement zone – after the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, separated from the rest of the settlement not only structurally but also functionally (fig. 127).

The palatial complex was set on a series of extended foundation terraces, which must have overbuilt the west part of the circuit wall. The abandonment of the latter is also indicated by the appearance of a number of buildings close to the edges of the Acropolis slopes (see below). Nevertheless, the Acropolis was probably not completely blurred as a separate settlement zone, with the access to it being still somehow controlled, at least symbolically, through the Northeast Gate which remained in use despite the dismantling of the circuit wall (Nelson 2017, 357). The part of the Acropolis outside of the palace seem to have become more densely occupied, as suggested by the development of the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10 – phase 3]**. The Belvedere Area also remained occupied, although the pottery kiln was probably already out of use during LH IIIA (Blegen et al. 1973, 20).

The Inner Cult and Burial Zone continued to be intensively used and developed, with the ritual Dimopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38 – phase 2]** rebuilt at the time. The tholos tombs continued to be used, which suggests a continuation of power for the same group between the Early Mycenaean period and LH IIIA. It seems that during LH IIIA1 Tholos IV was reopened and reused, as this is the date of the latest pottery retrieved from the tomb (Davis 2010, 684; Murphy et al. 2020, 30; Davis 2022, 66). This would suggest that the elite ruling group returned to using this tomb, after Tholos VI and Tholos VII were the primary burial monuments of LH II. It must have been regarded as a powerful symbolic decision, with Tholos IV being undoubtedly of special significance as the oldest of the tombs and most centrally located in regard of the axis linking the burial zone with the Acropolis. The latter connection was reinforced with the construction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** and its monumental northeast façade, with the entrance almost perfectly aligned with the Northeast Gate (fig. 114). However, Tholos VII was reopened during LH IIIA2 Early, and used again during this period, thus probably replacing Tholos IV at this point.[178]

The Lower Town must have grown significantly during this period (fig. 127). This is marked by a number of LH IIIA architectural remains. Walls in the Area W10 Extension **[PYL16]**, walls in Area W15 **[PYL19 – phase 2]**, walls in Area W17 **[PYL20]**, walls in Area W19-20 **[PYL21]**, walls in Area W21 **[PYL22 – phase 1]** and walls in trenches LT I **[PYL28 – phase 2]**, LT II **[PYL 29 – phase 1]**, and LT III **[PYL30 – phase 2]** all indicate a marked

[178] The continuous development of the inner elite burial zone at Pylos in my opinion can even suggest the continuous rule of the same family from MH III to LH IIIA2 Early. It seems that they might have used the tombs interchangeably between those periods. I would suggest the sequence of the same family rulers and their families using consecutively: Tholos IV from MH III to LH I, Tholos VI in early LH IIA, Tholos VII from late LH IIA to LH IIB, then again Tholos IV in LH IIIA1, and finally again Tholos VII in LH IIIA2 Early. However, more data especially from the newly excavated tombs is necessary to give more support to such a scenario.

growth in the density of occupation in the areas directly below the palace. This is especially clear in case of trenches LT, with trench LT II located between LT I and LT III having no remains earlier than LH IIIA. Moreover, LH IIIA walls uncovered in trench LT IV further to the southwest suggest that the settlement grew in that direction. The expansion of the settlement in that area is also suggested by the abandonment of the Vayenas Grave Circle in LH IIIA1 (Murphy et al. 2020, 31). The excavated remains confirm the minimum size of the settlement at the time to be 8 ha. However results of the PRAP survey suggest that this growth might have been even larger. Dense concentrations of LH III pottery fragments were recorded to the southwest of the Acropolis, corresponding to the growth indicated by trench LT IV. Another settlement zone was probably to the northeast, were a growth of density was recorded already LH I-II, in comparison to MH (Davis et al. 1997, fig. 12; fig. 106). This trend, and the particularly high density of LH III materials, strongly suggest that there was an entire district of the Lower Town in this area, despite the lack of excavated remains. Thus the extent of the settlement during LH IIIA could have even exceeded 14 ha.[179]

The growth of the community is indicated also by the development and more intensive use of the Tsakalis cemetery in LH IIIA, and the construction of chamber tomb K1 in LH IIIA1 (Murphy 2014, 213–14). It seems that this spread of chamber tombs can be read as a sign of changing hierarchy, with one of the elite burial zones – Vayenas Grave Circle being abandoned already in LH IIIA1, while more widespread and more varied chamber tombs were appearing since LH II and especially during LH IIIA.[180] It might suggest that during LH II and LH IIIA a narrow elite group supporting the ruling family was gradually replaced by a more complex network of social groups of differentiated status, who especially in LH IIIA put less emphasis on the display of burial wealth and more on communal eating and drinking performed during funerary rituals, as suggested by the finds from the graves of that period (Murphy et al. 2020, 39).

[179] Unfortunately the published PRAP results for Pylos did not differentiate between LH IIIA and LH IIIB, with the estimation of 12-14 ha of size assigned to a general LH III phase of the settlement (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001a, tab. 9.1). More precise estimation of 12.4 ha was also given, with a suggestion that also the less diagnostic prehistoric material which spread over 16 ha should be assigned to this phase (Davis et al. 1997, 430). Nevertheless, I consider 12.4 ha as the proper result of the survey and estimation based on datable material, while the size of 14.1 ha is reached if the area of the palace is added to the calculation.

[180] In general the chamber tombs at Pylos were characterised by much higher variability of grave goods than the tholos tombs (Schepartz, Sari, and Murphy 2009, 163), while the osteological data suggested that individuals buried in the chamber tombs had worse relative health than the ones buried in the tholos tombs (Murphy et al. 2020, 38). The LBA graves at Pylos were subject of a detailed interdisciplinary studies, but those results should be treated with some caution, mostly due to chronological differences between the materials from various graves (for the detailed results see Schepartz, Sari, and Murphy 2009; Murphy 2014; Schepartz et al. 2014; Schepartz 2017; Murphy 2016a, 2016b, 2019; for the general overview see Murphy et al. 2020).

The First Palace **[PYL3]** was burned in LH IIIA2 Early (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 127). The fire must have spread into the Lower Town, as indicated by the restudied LH IIIA2 Early material from the burned destruction deposits from trench LT I **[PYL28 – phase 2]** and Area W21 **[PYL22 – phase 1]**, which is well synchronised with the material from the First Palace (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, tab. 10)**.** Another destruction level with traces of fire excavated by Blegen, and dated by him to a general LH IIIA phase, was found in trench LT III **[PYL30 – phase 2]**. Moreover, a number of other buildings were also destroyed or abandoned in LH IIIA. These were in the Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10 – phase 3]** and the Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14 – phase 1b]** on the Acropolis, and the in Area W10 Extension **[PYL16]**, Area W15 **[PYL19]**, Area W19-20 **[PYL21]**, and Trench LT IV **[PYL31]** in the Lower Town. Although more refined detailed ceramic data is needed to confirm this hypothesis, it seems likely that a widespread destruction horizon affected the settlement in LH IIIA2 Early, at the time of the destruction of the First Palace.[181]

The following period between the destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** and construction of the Second Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]**, remains poorly understood (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 142). However, no activity was so far recorded on the Acropolis that could be dated to LH IIIA2 Middle-Late, thus it might have been simply left in ruins during this time.[182] It seems likely that this would be the period during which the ashlar blocks from the ruined First Palace were dragged inside the chamber of Tholos VI (Davis 2022, 66), probably in an attempt to symbolically preserve its tradition.

The Lower Town and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone most probably continued to operate. The construction of Building in Area E **[PYL35]**, probably a shrine located immediately in front of Tholos IV, is most likely to occur still in LH IIIA2 Early, but already after the destruction horizon. This is indicated not only by the material from Area E, which included fills with accumulated pottery spanning from LH IIIA2 Early to LH IIIB1 (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 123, tab. 1), but also by the extraordinary location chosen in clear opposition to the earlier ritual complex functioning on the other side of Tholos IV. This suggests that although the tholos tombs were still venerated at the time, the social and political situation and thus ritual needs of the community were much changed. This change is also indicated by the fact that all the tholos tombs of the inner burial zone cease to be used, while the distant

[181] Occurrence of a widespread destruction horizon preceding the construction of the LH IIIB palace was also noticed by Blegen, albeit he dated it to the end of LH IIIA (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 423).

[182] There is also a possibility that the construction of the Second Palace should be dated to LH IIIA2, and that there was no habitation hiatus on the Acropolis, or at least that it was not that long. The lack of detailed pottery studies of the construction deposits of the palace prevent certainty.

Tholos III continued to receive burials and even peaked in use from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB (Murphy 2014, 213). This profound alteration of elite burial practices is likely associated with a dynastic shift (Murphy 2016b, 441).[183] It seems possible that during this period Pylos temporarily lost its dominant position in the immediate region established since LH II, or at least that its dominance was significantly weakened. This view is supported by finds from Iklaina, a site located only 3.7 km to the southeast of Pylos, which from LH IIIA2 Late enters a period of significant development and monumentalisation of the elite core zone of the site, marked most notably by construction of the massive Cyclopean Terrace Building (Cosmopoulos 2019, 359–64). The results of the local archaeological survey indicated that during LH III Iklaina might have reached the size of even 12 ha, being the second largest site of the region after Pylos (Cosmopoulos 2006, 219–20).

7.3. Palatial town – Phase 2 (LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early)

The LH IIIB marks the revival of the site (fig. 128). It is likely that it was during this period, characterised by the multiple monumental Mycenaean building projects across the entire Mainland, the artificial harbour of Pylos was created on the coast only 5 km west from the settlement (Zangger et al. 1997, 613–23). Although it is possible that Pylos had a port earlier, the massive investment must have enlarge the economic significance of the site and the scale on which its community exchange goods.

The ruins of the First Palace **[PYL3]** and other LH IIIA buildings on the Acropolis must have been largely cleared and levelled sometime after the destruction, which resulted in deposition of debris on the slopes (Blegen et al. 1973, 32). The palatial zone was then overbuilt, by a large multi-building complex of the Second Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3a]**. The complex lost all associations with the Minoan architecture characteristic of its predecessor, and was in turn built on a different axis, structured by the propylon, the inner court and the megaron, closely resembling the Argive palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns (Nelson 2017, 362). Nevertheless, the southwest wing of the new palace was rebuilt on a plan similar to the earlier layout, and many of the ashlar blocks from LH IIIA complex were reused during the construction of the new complex. The formal façades on the northeast and southwest side of the complex were also rebuilt following the course of old walls, albeit the main entrance, with a large front courtyard in front of the propylon, was placed on a new southeast façade. It was

[183] A radical break in leadership at Pylos was also proposed by Stocker and Davis during Michael Ventris Memorial Lecture on 12.05.2021, in association with looting of the tholos tombs which might have taken place already during the Mycenaean era.

approached from the a staircase built around Building X **[PYL2 – phase 2]** (Nelson 2017, 362).[184]

Although the northeast entrance was located at the same place as in the First Palace, a continuation of its connection with Tholos IV is doubtful. The shrine in Building in Area E **[PYL35]** must have been abandoned at the time of the construction of the palace, or shortly after, as indicated by the latest LH IIIB1 pottery from the associated accumulation (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 123). This indicates that the process of the final abandonment of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone has at least begun already during the first part of LH IIIB. Moreover the Northeast Gate in LH IIIB was already abandoned and covered by soil (Blegen et al. 1973, 6). Despite the ultimate abandonment of the last preserved elements of the Early Mycenaean circuit wall, it seems that only at this point that the palatial zone was enlarged to encompass the entire Acropolis (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 32–33; fig. 128). This is indicated by the fact that none of the buildings in the zone outside of the palatial complex was rebuilt in LH IIIB. The limited LH IIIB architecture in the Belvedere Area **[PYL12-14 – phase 2]** composed of a single wall and a drain did not necessarily form any building, and might have been part of an extensive hydraulic system serving the palace. Thus, it is only during this period when the palace at Pylos became completely separated from other structures, standing in isolation on the Acropolis hill, clearly dominating the landscape. This is another typical characteristic of the Mycenaean palaces in the Argolid.

Most probably during LH IIIB2 the palace went through a significant remodelling **[PYL1-8 – phase 3b]**, with the use of simple and cost efficient building techniques. The changes served to improve economic capabilities of the complex, but also to further isolate it from the surroundings, and implement better control of access to the Throne Room and movement of people around the complex, which became in general more enclosed (Thaler 2005; fig. 118). New production and storage areas were added to the complex, together with a new administrative department located in the North-east Building **[PYL7]**, responsible for the storage and distribution of good acquired by the palace (Bendall 2003). Areas for industrial production of perfumed olive oil were located in the courtyards added to the northeast side of the palace, which led to the ultimate abandonment of the formal northeast façade (Wright 1984; Shelmerdine 1984). At this point the connection with Tholos IV was definitely abandoned, even

[184] In my opinion this staircase was the main approach to the palatial complex **[PYL1-8]** during LH IIIB. Despite Blegen's speculation that the Acropolis was entered primarily from the east, through a roadway laid in the area of the modern approach to the site, no signs of such a road were found (Blegen and Rawson 1966, 33). Moreover, remains of LH IIIB buildings in areas W27 **[PYL23]**, W28 **[PYL24]**, and W31-33 **[PYL25]** seem to indicate that this side of the hill was overbuilt by the houses (fig. 128).

if it was still functioning during the first part of LH IIIB (Nelson 2017, 364–65; Murphy 2016a, 54). This meant ultimate breaking of the symbolic axis established in the site in LH I and abandonment of a long standing architectural and aesthetic tradition. Those changes must have been connected to some important political shift.

During this final period the Inner Cult and Burial Zone was almost certainly entirely abandoned. This is indicated not only by the changes at the palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3b]**, but also by the construction of walls in Area D **[PYL36]**. This is most probably related to the change of the occupational pattern of the settlement and the expansion of the Lower Town in this area (fig. 128).[185] The further development of the settlement, and its significant spread to southeast, is indicated also by walls in Area W21 **[PYL22]** walls in Area W31-33 **[PYL25]**, walls in areas W27 **[PYL23]** and W28 **[PYL24]**, buildings in trenches AA I **[PYL26]** and AA II **[PYL27]**. A the same time intensive reoccupation of the area to the southwest of the Acropolis is indicated by rebuilding of the walls in trenches LT I **[PYL28 – phase 3]**, LT II **[PYL29 – phase 2]**, LT III **[PYL30 – phase 3]**, and LT IV **[PYL31 – phase 2]**. Moreover, the discovery of LH IIIB walls in trench LT V **[PYL32]** suggests the development of the Lower Town in this sector, and its further expansion to the southwest. The continuous occupation of the area below the northwest slope of the acropolis is indicated by walls in Area W15 **[PYL19 – phase 3]**, although a marked drop in the density of remains found in this sector by comparison to previous phases suggest that was occupied less intensively. Altogether, despite the fact that due to the abandonment of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone the excavated remains of the settlement cover ca. 8 ha, area similar to that recorded for LH IIIA, it seems likely that during LH IIIB Pylos exceeded the size of 14 ha suggested by PRAP results for LH III (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001a, tab. 9.1).[186]

During LH IIIB the funerary landscape of the site was much changed not only due to the abandonment of the elite burials of the Inner Cult and Burial Zones. The Tsakalis cemetery, the main burial area of the settlement during LH IIIA, was also abandoned, although tomb K-1 continued to be utilised. Nevertheless it seems that there was a general trend of moving the cemeteries away from the settlement, which began in LH II when Tholos III was constructed,

[185] However, the ritual association of the structure partially excavated in Area D in 2016 cannot be entirely excluded. The single rhyton mentioned on the website of the project is certainly not enough to suggest such association (http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/; accessed on 1.06.2023), but until more results is published it remains a possibility.

[186] The absolute maximum size of the settlement suggested by PRAP results would be 17.7 ha, so the 16 ha covered by all the prehistoric materials, including the non-datable finds, plus the 1.7 ha of the area of the palace (Davis et al. 1997, 430). It seems probable that this size was reached by the palatial town in LH IIIB, when the distribution of the excavated remains also suggest a marked growth of the settlement area.

but reached peak in LH IIIA2-B, when chamber tomb K-2 was built 3 km southwest of the site (Murphy 2016b, 441). Tholos III was the only elite tomb used at the site in LH IIIB, which must have had social and political implications (Murphy 2016b, 443). It seems likely that it was used by the family responsible for the construction of the Second Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]**. Despite the fact that the tomb was located 1 km away from the settlement, it seems certain that it was associated with it, as suggested by the lack of other settlement on the ridge (Davis et al. 1997, 428). This location must have been originally much less prestigious than the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, but it is possible that the symbolic tradition behind it was changed during the LH III period. A new, more powerful meaning, possibly linked to the fact that the tholos lay on the main approach to the site from the coast, might have been given to the monument as the need to emphasize its importance arose following the political change. The tomb remained in use until LH IIIC Early (Murphy 2014, 213).

During the final part of the history of Pylos, the palace was the seat of a bureaucratic administration which overlooked the entire Messenia divided into Hither and Further province (Davis 2010, 681). The intensive involvement of the palace in various industries and its attempts to control the flow and processing of certain resources, especially bronze, perfumed olive oil and goods needed for the organisation of the communal feasts, is evident not only from the content of the Linear B tablets which record the final year of the palace's operations, but also the architectural form taken by the palatial complex during LH IIIB2.[187] Unfortunately the social and economic organisation of the Lower Town of Pylos can be deduced solely from the written records, as the excavated remains are much too scarce to identify any specific functions of any buildings, apart from the recently excavated ritual complexes. Nevertheless, we can assume that at least some part of the economic activities recorded on the tablets occurred in the Lower Town, and some part of the depended personnel recorded on the tablets in large numbers definitely lived in the vicinity of the palace, thus probably also in the Lower Town. The sheer size of the LH IIIB Lower Town of Pylos suggests that it had significant economic capabilities, or at least that it provided a large amount of labour and resources. Moreover, the tablets from Pylos confirm that the Mycenaean society of Messenia had a complex social structure, with dependent labourers forming the lower class, and a various craftsmen, specialists, owners and palatial officials clearly belonging to groups that were neither elite nor the lower class (Nakassis 2013, 6–23).

[187] See for example Whitelaw 2001 for a study which combines data from the Liner B tablets with the functional analysis of the architecture of the palace to analyze and discuss its involvement into various industries, especially the pottery production.

The state of Pylos in the form recorded on the tablets most probably developed only in LH IIIB. This is suggested not only by the history of the palace and the historical trajectory of the palatial town, which seem to peak during this period, but also by the violent destruction of the monumental architecture at Iklaina in the middle of LH IIIB. Probably only at this point the site was annexed by the Pylian polity, and turned into one of the 18 district capitals, focused on meeting the economic needs of the palace (Cosmopoulos 2019, 364–73). However, this state was particularly short lived, with the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** ultimately destroyed during LH IIIC Early 1 in a severe fire (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 130). The destruction must have been widespread and affected much of the Lower Town. This is indicated by the burned destruction deposits from trenches AA I **[PYL26]**, AA II **[PYL27]**, LT I **[PYL28]**, LT III **[PYL30]**, and LT IV **[PYL31]**. Moreover, in no instance were the LH IIIB levels excavated on the site were followed by LH IIIC occupation. This suggests that the massive conflagration which destroyed the palace resulted in the abandonment of much, if not all, of the settlement and the rapid decomposition of the palatial town. Such a widespread fire is likely to have been associated with human agency, but no evidence was found that would provide more details of such a scenario, apart from a few mentions on the tablets about sending the coastguards to watch the shores which was often read as the sign of a fear of the incoming danger (Sherratt 2001, 235; Simpson 2014, 54–55). Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing if this was truly an extraordinary situation, or rather a routine operation recorded on the tablets every year until the final destruction.

The only clear sign of some continuation of habitation at the site or in its vicinity during the post-palatial period is the use of chamber tomb K-2 in LH IIIC Middle-Late (Murphy 2016b, 441–42). Some of the rooms of the palace that were reoccupied after the catastrophe might have been used at any time between the event and the 10th century BC (Hogue 2016, 152–55). Thus this reoccupation might have been associated with the continuous use of tomb K-2, but this is far from certain.

7.4. Later history of the settlement

It seems that the settlement was never reoccupied to any significant extent. Following the limited reoccupation of the ruins sometime between LH IIIC and 10th century BC, a few new rooms were constructed in one of the palatial courtyards during the Early Iron Age, while others were raised behind the ruins of the Main Building in area W14 **[PYL28]** (Griebel and Nelson 2008; Hogue 2016, 152). The small Protogeometric tholos excavated by Blegen 3 km south of the site suggests that the small community developed around the reoccupied ruins of

the palace (Blegen et al. 1973, 237–42). Nevertheless, nothing is known about the occupational pattern of the rest of the settlement during this period, or even if any other parts of the settlement apart from the palace were settled during this time.

Chapter V Summary and Conclusions

1. Introduction

The geographical range of this study is limited to the Peloponnese (see Ch. I. 5.1.), thus it is by no means a complete account of the Mycenaean urbanism. Important LBA developments occurring in Attica, Boeotia and Thessaly would have no doubt added to that picture, with a possibility of other palatial towns or differently urbanised settlement forms being identified in those regions. Even within the Peloponnese itself there is at least one site, Ayios Vasileios in Lakonia, which was not included in the present analysis, but which has the potential of being identified as another early palatial town of LH IIIA – LH IIIB1 date, and contributing to the future research on the Mycenaean urbanism.[188] Nevertheless, in the following sections I attempt to formulate some general conclusions stemming from the investigations of the three analysed palatial towns, which are at the core of the Mycenaean urban tradition. The discussion is organised chronologically. The main focus of this sub-chapter is the urbanisation process on the Greek Mainland during the LBA, albeit additional key thematic points can be defined for each period. These include: the origins of the Mycenaean urban tradition in the Early Mycenaean period, the transfer of palatial culture from Crete to Mainland during the LH IIIA period, the formation and subsequent transformations of the urbanised regional settlement networks of the palatial period, and finally the differing local trajectories of decomposition of the palatial towns during the post-palatial period.

2. Early Mycenaean period (LH I-II)

The Early Mycenaean period was characterised by an intense rivalry between a number of local centres which emerged in both the Argolid and Messenia. Elite groups associated with these centres were likely gathered around class of warriors, who were allowed to use violence on behalf of society and had specialised tools and skills to do so (Molloy 2010, 424–26). They identified themselves through combat and hunting skills, which is reflected in the iconography and grave goods from this period. The emergence of this class, heavily influenced by the

[188] A palace excavated on this site, erected in LH IIIA2 Early and destroyed early in LH IIIB (Kardamaki 2017, 111), provides us with probably the best example of an early Mycenaean palace, much influenced by the Minoan architectural tradition. It has a plan probably comparable to the First Palace **[PYL3]** at Pylos, although with some features that are so far unique for the Mainland, especially the presence of the West Stoa, and a large courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. This is a feature unparalleled at any other Mainland palace, resembling closely Minoan court-centered palaces and having a close parallel at Kommos (Vasilogamvrou 2013, 104–10). Nevertheless, although the excavations at the site included also the Early Mycenaean cemetery, the settlement surrounding the palace was so far investigated only through a non-invasive survey, and thus not a single building can be defined at the site apart from the palace (de Neef et al. 2022). Nevertheless this is a site of special importance for the future of the research on the Mycenaean palatial towns, especially for the understanding of the process of their original formation on the Peloponnese and for the assessing of the Minoan influence on the development of Mycenaean palatial culture and of the LBA Mainland urban tradition.

Minoan military tradition and technology, was a crucial social transformation which led to the abandonment of the egalitarian Middle Helladic ethos (Maran 2011, 284; Molloy 2012, 120). The emerging Mycenaean culture was influenced also by other elements of Minoan culture, including craftsmanship, iconography and religion. It is also likely that Cretans at least indirectly affected the political situation on the Mainland in this period. Contacts with Crete, of various types, were probably the main trigger which allowed some of the early LH Mainland centres to rise above others, enabling the transformation of Early Mycenaean social, economic and political systems (Maran 2011, 286). The Mainland could interact with Crete in multiple fields, including the transfer of goods and skills (see below), but also through warfare. Our ideas of military encounters between Mainlanders and Cretans of the period should not be limited to the former raiding Crete or serving as mercenaries in Minoan palaces. Such ideas dominated the discussion on warfare between Crete and the Mainland for years, being based mostly on the widespread assumption that warlike Mycenaeans were set against peaceful Minoans (Wright 2008b, 243). However, this view has changed and it has become increasingly clear that war and warrior identity were in fact important elements of Minoan social tradition (Molloy 2012; Maran and Wright 2020, 105). It seems that the cultivated warrior identity of the Mycenaean elites was actually formed through contacts with Crete and was not in any opposition to Minoan identity (Maran 2011, 284–87).

The Early Mycenaean elites, especially of Mycenae and Pylos, distinguished themselves through conspicuous burials, filled with wealth acquired through contacts with Neopalatial centres in Crete and participation in supra-regional exchange networks. The tombs in which they were buried, initially shaft graves, then replaced by much more widespread tholos tombs, together with rather poorly preserved elite residences of the period constitute key elements of the Early Mycenaean built environment (Dabney and Wright 1990, 47–51; Voutsaki 1995; Maran and Wright 2020, 102–6).[189]

The range of Minoan influence on Early Mycenaean culture during this period indicates long-lasting permanent contacts between the inhabitants of the Mainland and Crete, involving also mobility, most likely with regard to skilled craftsmen. One of the most important technological transfers which occurred during this period was the introduction of the advanced

[189] The Shaft Graves of Mycenae appear to form a largely localised and extraordinary phenomenon of MH II-LH I period (Maran and Wright 2020, 102–3), although the presence of at least two shaft graves at Pylos raises uncertainty about the spread of this burial form. Nevertheless, at both sites the tholos tomb was the primary elite burial form throughout most of the Early Mycenaean period. The tomb form was most probably invented in Messenia in MH III, and then appropriated by elites of central and southern Greece during LH I and LH IIA (Mee and Cavanagh 1984, 49–51).

Minoan building techniques on the Mainland, primarily cut-stone masonry, which enabled the introduction of monumental architecture (Rutter 2005, 22–35). Some Minoan-style mason's marks have been identified on the Mainland, most prominent a double axe on an ashlar block at Pylos of presumable LH II date, but others were found also in the dromos of the tholos at Peristeria (Rutter 2005, 26). The pseudo-ashlar and orthostate walls of the Proto-palace at Pylos **[PYL1]**, as well as the ashlar elements of the advanced tholos tombs of LH II of both Messenia and Argolid, could not have been erected without the use of Cretan building techniques.[190] It seems that their transfer to the Mainland could have included both the direct participation of Cretans in the construction and also appropriation of new techniques by Mainlanders, through direct contact with Minoan craftsmen.[191] However, even if some of the first monumental constructions on the Mainland were built by or with the help of Cretan artisans, transfer of their knowledge must have taken place, as is evidenced by the continuous building programs at both Mycenae and Pylos. Nevertheless, the level of Minoan influence on the development of these two Mainland centres differed greatly. At Pylos, the architectural styles used between LH I and LH IIIA do not only derive from Cretan models, but also appear in exactly the same relative chronological sequence as they do on Crete (Rutter 2005, 27). Moreover, the strong connection of this site with the island is also exemplified by the conscious selection of Minoan religious symbols in the Grave of the Griffin Warrior of LH IIA (Stocker and Davis 2020). On the other hand, despite the influence which Crete must have had on the development of Argolid and the emergence of the Mycenaean power ideology and religion in the region, Mycenae never showed a strong Minoan influence on its architecture, except for the use of ashlar masonry already in LH II (Crowley 2008, 265).

At both Mycenae and Pylos the key burial monuments which shaped the funerary landscape of the sites appeared in MH III. These were Grave Circle A at Mycenae and Tholos IV at Pylos. However, while Grave Circle A was embedded into the already functioning Prehistoric Cemetery, used by the large portion of the population, Tholos IV established a burial zone that was from the beginning exclusively used by the ruling elite. It was then much developed during LH II, when two more tombs, Tholos VI and Tholos VII, were added to the necropolis. At Mycenae the Prehistoric Cemetery continued to be widely used, but the gradual

[190] Apart from Pylos, another earliest Mycenaean monumental residence is attested at the site of the Menelaion in Laconia, dated to LH IIB-IIIA1 period (Rutter 2018, 210).

[191] Transfer of technology in prehistoric societies was a generational process that could only happen within a continuative master-pupil relation. Ethnographic studies of African potters shown that common technology is actually a better indicator of mutual connections than any kind of stylistic similarity of pottery (Gosselain 1992, 1999). Architecture, a craft much more complicated than pottery, definitely required intensive and long-lasting interactions to be taught properly.

takeover of this space by the ruling elite progressed with the construction of Tomb of Aegisthus and the Lion Tomb in LH II (tab. 5). During the latter period at both sites there were also first signs of developments of ritual complexes around the elite inner burial zones.[192] There is much evidence from Pylos suggesting the existence of the symbolic axis which linked Tholos IV, the Northeast Gate of the Early Mycenaean circuit wall, and the proto-palatial residences **[PYL1]** occupying Ano Englianos, which were all purposefully aligned, in a clear instance of an early large-scale coordinated settlement planning. However, it seems that at Mycenae such an axis, although less architecturally pronounced, was also formed on the approach to the Acropolis, with tholos tombs of the east group purposefully built along it. Despite those discrepancies, in both cases the key symbolic relation between the *acropoleis* of both sites, and the elite burial zones at their feet, was already well established in LH IIA. These relations were used to form performative spaces unparalleled by any other LH Mainland centres, while the elite monuments of the funerary landscape played key roles in formation of the occupational pattern at both Mycenae and Pylos, acting as symbolic centres of both sites and providing a stunning example of a close similarity in formation of two main Early Mycenaean settlements. The fact that this was not the case at Tiryns, marks a crucial difference between this site and the two others.

Only at Pylos can a settlement zone on the Acropolis structurally separated from the rest of the settlement be identified already during this period, although even there the Early Mycenaean circuit wall seems to have enclosed also non-elite residential quarters, forming a specific settlement zone, but not yet exclusively elite in character. However, the scant remains of the Earlier North Wall Building **[MYC1]** suggest that the elite at Mycenae had also at least partially claimed the Acropolis hill of that site already in LH II. The remains of the Proto-palace **[TIR2]** at Tiryns, which at the time was only one of a few significant local centres in Argolid and did not have any monumental burials, suggest that a similar process occurred also at this site. This clear interest in the summits of the hills dominating the surroundings was likely related to a progressive hierarchisation of the Mycenaean society and gradual formation of a political system centred around its leaders. It is tempting to interpret those developments on the most pronounced landscape features as a visual metaphor based upon the site's topography, employed by the emerging social group to reflect its elevated position and, more importantly, to consolidate and secure the new social order. All of those Early Mycenaean elite residences were direct predecessors of palaces erected during LH IIIA, which were in all instances built over those earlier structures. This continuity is particularly important in the context of the

[192] Those were Building below the Ramp House **[MYC20]** at Mycenae and Building DF1 **[PYL37]** at Pylos.

formation of palatial zones, which clearly had their origins in the spaces appropriated by the ruling elite already in the Early Mycenaean period.

By LH II Mycenae and Pylos were both dominant centres, although not necessarily already political hegemons, of Argolid and Messenia respectively (Bennet 2007, 37–39; Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 695–96). This is exemplified not only by the presence of unparalleled number of monumental elite tombs but also by the clear growth of both settlements, which might have reached the size of even 9 ha. The growth of their communities is also indicated by appearance and spread of chamber tomb cemeteries, especially during LH II (tab. 4). Their creation marks the permeation of the elite burial tradition to the wider segments of the population and emergence of a more complex social network with families of various status establishing individual tombs (Wright 2008a, 147–48). Nevertheless, a significant rise in the number of known burials in comparison to LH I, for which excavated chamber tombs are responsible, might also indicate the first noticeable population growth at both sites. This is especially strongly indicated at Mycenae, where at least ten new cemeteries were established in LH II. The trend is less pronounced at Pylos, but noteworthily the first chamber tomb cemetery of the site was established during LH II. The same process is also observable at Tiryns, although in LH II it was still a rather small settlement of only ca. 1,5 ha, overshadowed by nearby Nafplio, which was probably the primary port of Mycenae during this period (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 696). However, its cemetery of chamber tombs established in LH I on the slopes of Profitis Ilias, clearly expanded in LH II, thus indicating that similar social changes and possibly some population growth occurred there too.

Summarising those developments, deliberate positioning of elite Early Mycenaean residences and tombs in symbolically charged location of the sites created a core around which the occupational patterns of Mycenae and Pylos were formed. This process has also largely defined the development of the two sites during the subsequent periods. The construction of monumental architecture on the Mainland was enabled by the transfer of advanced Cretan building techniques, while a flow of Minoan objects but also of military, political and social ideologies, prompted the transformation of Mainland society and rise of its elites. Throughout LH I-II the communities of Mycenae and Pylos grew both in size and social complexity, creating the potential necessary for their further development and adoption of an urbanised form of palatial towns. The trajectory of Tiryns was rather different, and in LH II it was still a minor settlement, although its elites had already erected a monumental residence and were probably closely entangled with Mycenae (Maran 2015, 279).

3. Transition to the Mycenaean palatial period (LH IIB – LH IIIA2 Early)

A crucial change of significant consequences occurred in Mainland-Cretan relations in LH IIB/LM II (tab. 1). At this time Crete enters the so-called Monopalatial or Final Palatial period, following the destruction of all palaces except for Knossos, which dominated the island but also underwent dramatic transformations, including a change in the language of administration from whatever is represented by the undeciphered Linear A, to Greek, in the form of Linear B, which was derived from the former writing system and thus preserved a lot of Minoan elements (Driessen and Langohr 2007, 181–85; Bennet 2008). The change of administrative language at Knossos is usually interpreted as evidence of a Mycenaean/Mainland takeover of the site, and considering the situation at other sites, of the entire island (Rutter 2018, 210).[193] Despite certain doubts that can be regarding this narrative, it seems clear that a major political change must have taken place on Crete in LM II (Driessen and Langohr 2007, 187–89). However, the manifestation of this change in writing was probably not immediate, and this is also suggested by material evidence, with the earliest preserved Knossian collection of Linear B tablets convincingly dated to LM IIIA1 (Driessen 2008, 70–72).

The emergence of Final Palatial Knossos must have had immense impact on the intensification of the transfer of palatial culture on the Mainland, which was a crucial step leading to the formation of palatial towns and urbanisation of the Mycenaean settlement networks. In LM II-IIIA1 Knossos, despite that it was not necessarily a political hegemon of the entire Aegean any more, was still by far the largest settlement of the region and most probably also at least a symbolic seat of an ultimate power. The strong influence of the Knossian ideology of power is indicated by the appearance of the throne rooms of Mainland palaces of the following period, which copied the positioning of the throne on the right hand side of the main room, and at least in the case of Pylos, also the framing of the throne by a wall painting with a griffin (Driessen and Langohr 2007, 181; Maran and Wright 2020, 112).

The transfer of palatial culture to Mainland was definitely a gradual and long-lasting process, but the key moment for its materialisation was the construction of the First Palace at Pylos **[PYL3]**. It not only continued the Minoan-based architectural tradition of the previous periods, but also introduced a formal plan with a central court closely resembling the Minoan palaces (Rutter 2005, 27; Wright 2006, 14). Around this complex the first Mycenaean palatial town on the Peloponnese was formed, characterised by the presence of a Minoan-style palace at its centre. The town had four distinguishable zones: the palatial zone, the rest of the

[193] It was suggested that this period also marks the beginnings and sudden growth of a Mycenaean political and military complex that at some stage could form a united Mycenaean kingdom (Kelder 2010; Eder and Jung 2015).

Acropolis, the Lower Town, and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone. The latter followed the Early Mycenaean tradition, with the LH II tholos tombs continued to be used, and the surrounding ritual complex probably developed over time.[194] Thus the central symbolic axis established during the Early Mycenaean period not only continued to be utilised for ritual purposes, but also linked the two key settlement zones of special purposes, around which the rest of the palatial town was formed. The Lower Town definitely grew during this period, and the entire settlement might have reached the size of 14 ha. It is probably during this period that Pylos enforced political hegemony on the other sites of the wider region for the first time (Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001b, 137–38).

The earliest Linear B tablet outside of Crete was found in Iklaina, in LH IIIA1-A2 Early context (Cosmopoulos 2019, 358), thus proving that during this period the transfer of this crucial technology to the Mainland was already in progress, although there is no direct evidence that it was used at nearby Pylos at that time.[195] Nevertheless, the use of script and written documentation was a development necessary to establish the bureaucratic administration that is at the core of the palatial culture, and the transfer of underlying technology must have been also based on long-lasting and intense human-human interactions. The function of the script was limited solely to serving administrative and economic purposes, by listing various goods and lands assigned, sent or owned by various members of society, which seems to have also been the main function of the Linear A script (Palaima 2010). This suggests that the adoption, modification and then spread of the script on the Mainland was a deliberate process, and was supposed to support one particular function. Its appearance in each Mainland region had to be closely related with the acceptance of the palatial culture and the need of the local elite to control the flow of people and resources in a more organised way. Without this need there was virtually no reason for the use of Linear B.[196]

During this period both Mycenae and Tiryns continued to develop, with new buildings raised outside of the *acropoleis*, suggesting the stable growth and intensified habitation of the surrounding settlement. The construction of the Petsas House **[MYC55]** indicated that at least at Mycenae the settlement had already served not only residential but also economic functions, while scanty architectural remains suggest that the ritual complex surrounding the inner burial

[194] See Dimopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38]** (Ch. IV. 6.6.).
[195] The earliest Linear B tablet in the Argolid was found in the Petsas House **[MYC55]**, within the destruction context dated to the end of LH IIIA2 (Shelton 2002, 390).
[196] This assumption derives from the fact that all known Linear B documents served this single function. However, it is not impossible that there existed other, more perishable categories of written documents, that could have served a different purpose.

zone at that site continued to develop.[197] Thus, the processes of formation of settlement zones were ongoing, although the Argive palaces were not yet standing.

The ultimate act in the process of transition to the palatial culture to the Mainland, marking also a crucial shift in the power balance within the Aegean, was the destruction of the Final Palace at Knossos at the beginning of LM IIIA2/LH IIIA2 Early (Popham 1970, 87; Maran and Wright 2020, 110–12). Destruction of the First Palace **[PYL3]** at Pylos, and at least parts of its Lower Town, occurred around the same time (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 127) and was likely connected to the same political and military conflict, which led to the ultimate downfall of Cretan dominance over the Aegean and replacement of the Minoan palatial tradition by its Mycenaean successor.

4. Mycenaean palatial period (LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB/C Early)

The Mycenaean palace in its form attested at Mycenae, Tiryns and the Second Palace at Pylos, differed greatly from the Minoan palace, being centred around a megaron, an architectural form probably deriving from the Helladic tradition. Main room of the megaron, traditionally with a hearth at its centre, in a Mycenaean palace was further equipped with a throne, and transformed into a main seat of power of a *wanax* (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 112). The palace was a closed complex, with control of access gradually increasing as one entered inside (Cavanagh 2001, 130–31; Thaler 2005). Outer courts, where most of the economic activities probably took place, were accessible for some of the members of the lower classes, providing the palace with various goods. Inner courts and the centre of the palace were reserved for the elites and their guests, and presumably even among the elite only a very restricted audience was allowed to be present inside the main megaron. Interestingly, Mycenaean palaces were always separated from the rest of the settlement, often by massive fortifications, although at Pylos it was only by the topographical superiority. All of this is in contrast to Minoan palaces, being relatively open, accessible and centred around large open courtyards, with no clear boundary set between the palace and the surrounding town (Branigan 2001a, 44).

It therefore seems that while Minoan influence on Mycenaean culture was immense and included transfer of technologies necessary for the development of palatial culture, the Mainland social system and ideology of power developed independently (Dabney and Wright 1990, 52). The Mainland elites appropriated the palatial culture but also transformed it for their own purposes and according to the different social situation on the Mainland. They selectively

[197] Those were primarily Room Gamma of the Shrine Gamma **[MYC26]** and the room below the Building of the Room with the Fresco **[MYC30]**.

adopted elements that suited their aims and rejected what they considered unnecessary or even a threat to their own position. Palaces were used to formalise power, further restrict access to the ruling class and concentrate administrative, economic and religious functions. Most if not all of the social interactions with the rest of the community were linked to residences and tombs of the elite, which were positioned in the key locations of the settlement already during the Early Mycenaean period, and thus pre-defined this overwhelming elite dominance. Even the large communal feasts that took place in the Mycenaean palaces followed this logic, as they provided an opportunity for the *wanax* to host some members of the community in his own house – the palace, and use this opportunity to improve community cohesion but also emphasise the social hierarchy. Those goals were influenced by the built environment, as the guests were divided into groups of different status dining in different locations around the palatial complex (Bendall 2004).

Those marked differences between Minoan and Mycenaean palatial cultures resulted not only in different forms and functions of the palaces, but also much different urban settlement forms that developed around them. In comparison with Minoan palatial sites Mycenaean communities seem to have been much more dominated by the palaces rising over them. Archaeologically, this is most easily seen in two features. First, massive fortifications separating the palaces from the rest of the community in case of Mycenae and Tiryns, and secondly a proportionally much larger share of the palatial zone in the overall size of the settlement, in case of all three discussed palatial towns.[198] These observations not only demonstrate the focus of urban planning on the residences of the elite, but also point towards greater economic imbalance between the elite and the rest of the community. Secondly, empty spaces in Mycenaean towns seem to have been designed for processions, rather than for communal gatherings (Cavanagh 2001). The routes of processions were designed to pass by the most monumental structures of the town, possibly giving other inhabitants the opportunity to observe members of the elite marching (Cavanagh 2001, 131–32; Maran 2015, 281; Maran and Wright 2020, 114). This hypothesis fits well with the presence of tholos tombs in the centre of settlements at both Pylos and Mycenae, and the formation of strong symbolic axes between

[198] During LH IIIA2 the Citadel at Mycenae occupied ca. 13 % of the site (2 of 15.5 ha), during LH IIIB1 - 8 % of the site (2 of 25 ha), but in LH IIIB2 this share rose to a stunning 25 % (3 of 12 ha). The Citadel at Tiryns occupied 10-12,5% of the site in LH IIIA2 (0,5 of 4-5 ha), ca. 14 % of the site in LH IIIB1 (1 of 7 ha), and ca. 15-21 % during LH IIIB2 (1.5 of 7-10 ha). The particularly high percentages for LH IIIB2 fit well with the overall characteristic of the period. The case of Pylos is the most interesting, as the palatial zone of the Minoan-style palace of LH IIIA occupied only ca. 4 % of the site (0.7 of 14 ha), but it became ca. 9-11 % in LH IIIB (1.7 of 16-18 ha). This marked change of proportions, occurring despite the growth of the settlement area, is another good indicated of the transformation of the Pylian palatial zone. In comparison, Minoan palaces occupied only 2 to 5 % of the entire settlement area (Branigan 2001a, 44).

tholos tombs and the palatial zones. The prime position of the elite tombs supported, or even forced interactions between the elite members, burying their dead, and the rest of the community, observing or possibly also to some extent taking part in the funerary ritual, which was focused on deceased elite member. This is in contrast with Minoan open access courts and squares, that supposedly allowed more egalitarian and inclusive interactions to take place (Letesson and Vansteenhuyse 2006, 111–12).

4.1. LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB1

During the period immediately following the destruction of the last palace at Knossos, the first palaces that were Mycenaean in form were built at Mycenae **[MYC1-10 – phase 2]** and Tiryns **[TIR1-3 – phase 3]**. Two large, megaron-centred palatial complexes were raised and surrounded by massive Cyclopean fortifications. This led to the closely coordinated formation of the elite palatial zones, separated from the rest of the settlement, and serving not only as residences for rulers, but also as seats of administrative power and key public and ritual establishments of each settlement. They were formed inside the imposing fortified citadels which apart from defensive and military functions, served also as visual markers of the power of the palaces, dominating the landscape of both towns. By the end of LH IIIA2 the palatial towns at Mycenae and Tiryns were both formed, each with at least two, and in the case of Mycenae three, distinct settlement zones. These were the fortified palatial zones, and the growing lower towns surrounding it, with the entire settlements covering ca. 15 ha at Mycenae and 4-5 ha at Tiryns. At Mycenae, the development of Petsas House **[MYC55]** and Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]**, which were both multi-functional elite complexes, testifies to the growing economic importance of its Lower Town, which developed primarily organically, spreading along the complex road system which connected the citadel with the whole region (French et al. 2003, 28–30).

The construction of the Citadel at Mycenae marks also the formation of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone, which was separated from the rest of the Acropolis hill. The abandonment of the Prehistoric Cemetery, and continued use of the Tomb of Aegeisthus and the Lion Tomb during LH IIIA indicated the final claiming of the zone by the ruling elite, who obtained exclusive rights to use the inner burial ground. Those developments finalized the process which began in the Early Mycenaean period, and which sought to create at Mycenae an exclusive burial zone, similar to that functioning in Pylos in MH III-LH IIIA2 Early. The construction of the tholos tomb at Tiryns, probably during LH IIIA, completes the initial processes of monumentalisation of the site and finalises its connection with Mycenae under one political

entity. During this period it had also finally overshadowed Nafplio and became the primary port of Mycenae and the main maritime centre of the Argolid (Maran and Papadimitriou 2020, 696).

During LH IIIB1 both Mycenae and Tiryns grew intensively and became more complex settlements. At Tiryns, apart from the enlargement of the Upper Citadel, the Lower Citadel was fortified with a wall of rubble stone and formed a third settlement zone of the town, probably from the beginning focused on economic functions and increasing the economic capabilities of the settlement as a seaport. The remains of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]** of this period are rather scarce, but they include a workshop involved in metal-processing. The Lower Town of that period probably grew along the newly fortified zone, and might have reached ca. 7 ha. The developments of this period embodies the crucial difference between Tiryns and the other two discussed palatial towns. At Mycenae and Pylos the formation of the occupational pattern and coordinated urban planning was focused around symbolic axes connecting palatial zones with elite burial grounds and ritual complexes, which was aimed at strengthening the power of the ruler. At Tiryns the planned development of the occupational pattern, although it included the Upper Citadel palatial zone symbolically linked to the palace at Mycenae (Maran 2015, 281), followed mainly much more utilitarian needs, aimed at increasing economic opportunities and protecting them against external attack.

Following the widespread fire which destroyed much of Mycenae at the end of LH IIIA2, the Lower Town of and the Inner Cult and Burial Zone were both rebuilt and largely developed. By the end of LH IIIB1 Mycenae might have reached the size 25 ha, with abundance of architectural remains of the period testifying not only to the extent of the Lower Town, but also to its continuous economic significance. The latter is mostly linked to the emergence of the West House Group **[MYC57-60]**, a primary example of a multi-functional elite complex with exceptional economic capabilities. Its development must have been associated with the palatial involvement and planned development of the Lower Town. The construction of the complex was coordinated with the rebuilding of the ritual complex of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone on the opposite slope. The façade of the West House Group opposed the façades of the shrines and other buildings of the Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** and Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]**, forming a monumentalised central urban district, with formal elements of complexes belonging to two settlement zones forming a visual entity (Efkleidou 2018, 2021). Moreover, the two latter complexes were both densely overbuilt and had carefully pre-planned access points, being initially opened towards the Lower Town. The visual landscape in the area was also influenced by the monumentalised Grave Circle A platform, which formed a stone mound probably visually referring to the nearby tholos tombs. The construction of the Tomb of

Clytemnestra marked the final act of the development of the inner elite burial ground, as well as continued the monumentalisation of the approach to the Citadel. All these developments constituted concerted efforts to manifest the power of the ruling palace elite through implementation of urban planning and manipulation of visual landscape of the settlement.

During LH IIIA2-B1 the Argolid and Corinthia most probably formed a single palatial state with the capital at Mycenae surrounded by a hierarchical, urbanised regional settlement network (Maran 2015, 280–83). Mycenae was both the largest and the wealthiest site, concentrating most religious structures, the most elaborate tombs and most of the prestigious goods found in the region. Control over the flow of imported objects and crucial resources together with limiting access to more elaborate tomb forms were possibly the primary ways for palatial sites, and particularly Mycenae, to mark their own power and authority over other settlements in the region (Voutsaki 2001, 2010). Thus, the first tier of the regional settlement system would comprise Mycenae, serving as the economic, administrative and political centre. The second tier comprised Tiryns, playing the role of supportive, secondary palatial town, additional residence of a ruler, and having a very specialised economic function in the organisation of supra-regional exchange, as one of the major Mediterranean harbours. The next tier would comprise significant local centres, like Midea, Nafplio, Asine, and Argos in the southern Argolid, some of which were fortified (Piteros 2015, 253), but also Mastos in the Berbati Valley (Klintberg 2011) or Kalamianos on the coast of the Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015). Then the lowest, fourth tier of sites, was attested by the excavations of the hamlet at Tsoungiza (Wright and Dabney 2020) and further visible through the distribution of ceramic material recorded during various archaeological surveys (Cherry and Davis 2001). The functional division within the lower tiers of the network can be seen by the palatial involvement in various projects, like controlling the pottery production in the Berbati valley (Klintberg 2011, 112), developing settlements in the Nemea Valley in pursuit of new land (Cherry and Davis 2001, 155) or founding the port of Kalamianos, in search for a maritime access to the Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015, 389–90). One can see that the settlement system was not only hierarchical and structurally divided between palatial and non-palatial centres, but also had at least some degree of functional division, with various settlements playing different roles and being involved into economic specialisation.

It remains uncertain if the Second Palace at Pylos **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** was constructed shortly after the destruction of the palatial complex in LH IIIA2 Early, or if the Acropolis remained abandoned until the construction of this complex occurred at some point in LH IIIB1. Nevertheless, the new palace at Pylos marked a break in a long tradition of Minoan-influenced

architecture on the site, and took a form closely resembling the Argive palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns (Nelson 2017, 362). Moreover, for the first time in the history of the site, the palatial zone occupied the entire Acropolis. The period marked also gradual abandonment of the symbolic connection with the Inner Cult and Burial Zone. Although we cannot be certain of the political situation which led to those changes, the developments at Iklaina during the period between LH IIIA2 Middle and middle LH IIIB suggest that the immediate vicinity of Pylos was enjoying at least some degree of independence during this period (Cosmopoulos 2019, 359–64).

4.2. LH IIIB2 – LH IIIC Early

The changes which occurred in the second part of the LH IIIB period were widespread, but despite certain similarities that can be observed between transformations occurring in the Argolid and Messenia, it is uncertain if those were mutually intertwined. Both at Pylos as in Tiryns and Mycenae an increased attempt to directly control the production and storage of goods is visible in the palatial zones, which became more enclosed and in the case of Argolid also more heavily fortified. At both Pylos and Mycenae the symbolic connections of the former period were abandoned and replaced by new symbols of power embodied in the changed built environment. Nevertheless, we should not necessarily perceive the final stages of the palatial period as a time of crisis. It was probably a period of intensified warfare and increased social tensions, but at the same time the acme of palatial economic control and urban planning, which is reflected in a number of monumental undertakings of that period.

Mycenae experienced two waves of destructions in the middle of LH IIIB – series of fires at the end of LH IIIB1, and an earthquake in LH IIIB2 Early - which heavily affected the development of the site. The earthquake left most of the town in ruins, from which it had never fully recovered. By the end of LH IIIB2 the town covered probably only ca. 12 ha. The opportunity for a complete reorganisation of the settlement, provided by the earthquake, was used by the new authorities to introduce deep changes into the settlement organisation and layout. These changes were necessary to enforce closer palatial control over the economy and community, and improve the defensive capabilities of the fortress, which might have been regarded as necessary because of both internal or external reasons. The Lower Town had clearly lost its economic significance and socio-political status, as all of the known elite multi-functional complexes of the previous phase were abandoned. Some of the former inhabitants of the Lower Town were probably allowed to move inside the walls of the Citadel, which was much developed and enlarged with new fortifications. This large-scale rebuilding of the Citadel must have been a subject of a palatial master plan, as all the new complexes had pre-designed

access points and movement around the Acropolis was well planned and controlled. However, the elite character of the zone must have become blurred, with the formation of internal micro-zones of varying status and function, and clear focus on increasing the living and storage space inside the walls. The Inner Cult and Burial Zone disintegrated and was cut in half by the fortifications, which divided the ritual complexes from the tholos tombs that were left outside the walls and probably gradually lost the symbolic significance. The Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** was reoriented towards the palace and linked to it by a series of ramps forming the Processional Way. Their construction was coordinated with rebuilding and expansion of the palatial complex, and must have served to strengthen the connection between the palatial elite and the shrines located on the slope below. Thus, a new symbolic axis was formed on the site. Finally, the construction, or at least the reuse, of the Treasury of Atreus on the edge of the still occupied part of the palatial town must have been also associated with the same political shift which led to other developments of the period, and contributed to transformation of the visual landscape for the needs of the new rule. Overall, despite the destruction and shrinking of the town, palatial control over its development and urban planning remained significant.

The same period at Tiryns was characterised by rapid developments, some of which were of similar character to the changes at Mycenae. The Lower Citadel was monumentalised with Cyclopean fortifications and filled with densely built groups of warehouses, workshops and residences, only few of which had signs of elite habitation. The Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22]** is a prime example of palatial urban planning, forming a well-defined urban district, built in close coordination with the construction of the fortifications and organised around a series of lanes connecting all the buildings of the complex with the central pathway running through the middle of the area. The palace at Tiryns was also rebuilt and enlarged, with its symbolic connection to Mycenae continuing. However, the largest project of the period was associated with construction of the dam at Kofini, redirection of the Manessi river and preparation of a large area to the north of the Citadel for development and expansion of the Lower Town. This was closely coordinated with yet another rebuilding of the Lower Citadel, which during the final years of LH IIIB was further developed with the addition of new buildings, but also abandonment of some of the defensive measures and opening of a new gate designed to ensure communication with the area to the north (Maran 2010, 728–279). Those developments marked the acme of the Mycenaean palatial urban planning, with large-scale coordination of monumental investments ensured to provide pre-planned settlement area. The urban planning of Tiryns once again focused on providing utilitarian developments aimed at

improving the economic capabilities of the settlement. The town might have reached the size of 10 ha at this time, for the first time becoming closely comparable to Mycenae.

However, despite marked differences in focal points of occupational patterns of Mycenae and Tiryns, there is also a number of similarities between the development of those sites during LH IIIB2, pointing towards certain patterns in the development of palatial towns in the Argolid during this period. These similarities included the use of exact same defensive measures—bastions, sally ports and underground cisterns—all as parts of extensively expanded Cyclopean walls, as well as by largely similar urban planning of the newly developed areas inside the citadels. At both sites most of the economic activities started to be performed inside the walls within centrally planned building quarters, the construction of which was closely coordinated with the erection of new defensive walls. Although the approach to the Palace was designed differently at Mycenae and Tiryns, at both sites it was the central element of urban planning, which determined the form of the Citadel. Moreover, these plans were likely closely related to each other, with the two similarly laid out Palaces being linked as two ends of a single formal processional route (Maran 2015, 281). These examples of marked standardisation among the two main centres of the Mycenaean Argolid testify to their planned and likely coordinated development. It is likely that those transformations, and a growth of the size and significance of Tiryns with the simultaneous decline of Mycenae, which however definitely remained a large settlement, an important fortress and religious centre and a royal burial ground, were all linked to a dynastic change which occurred earlier during the period, probably in relation to the first destruction wave at Mycenae at the end of LH IIIB1. It seems possible that the actual economic and possibly even the political centre of the region during this period might have been already transferred to Tiryns (Lewartowski 1989, 167; Stockhammer 2008, 49–50; Thaler 2009, 292–94, 352, 419). Thus, the urban planning of the period was probably largely affected by the change of the political situation, and the need of the new ruling elite to legitimize its own power and establish a reinforced connection with the local communities of palatial towns and of other settlements in the network.

The same period marked also significant changes in Messenia. Although the detailed trajectory of the town development in LH IIIB is not known, and precise chronology of most of LH IIIB remains is uncertain, the maximum size which the settlement could have reached by that time was probably ca. 16 ha (Davis et al. 1997, 430). It is likely that this maximum extent should be associated with this last phase of the palatial town. During this period the palatial complex was rebuilt, and the aesthetic and symbolic tradition referring to the First Palace **[PYL3]** was ultimately abandoned, as was also the connection of the palatial zone with the

tholos tombs of the inner burial ground (Nelson 2017, 362). The complex became more enclosed, with a strictly controlled access points, and very limited available movement pathways around (Thaler 2006, 96–100). Similarly to the Argolid, the storage and production capacity of the palatial zone were much enlarged. The fact that since LH IIIA2 the only tholos tomb used at the site was Tholos III, at a considerable distance from the palace and isolated from the abandoned Inner Cult and Burial Zone, suggests that there too a dynastic sight might have occurred at some point, probably in association with the construction of the Second Palace **[PYL1-10 – phase 3a]**. The remodelling of the palatal complex, increased control over the flow and production of goods, and ultimate abandonment of the older architectural tradition might be associated with strengthening of this new rule, and its successful attempt to again dominate Messenia. It is clear from the content of Linear B tablets from the site, that this attempt was successful.

The palatial administration of the Pylian state towards the end of LH IIIB, and therefore also the organisation of its regional settlement network, is particularly well known, thanks to an extensive archive of Linear B tablets from the palace. In the course of the LH IIIB period, the site of Pylos dominated the entire region and subordinated other significant centres, like Iklaina and Nichoria, which formed a second tier in the regional settlement network. That this annexation process occurred only during this period is suggested by the destruction of monumental architecture at Iklaina in the middle of LH IIIB (Cosmopoulos 2019, 372–73). The second tier of settlements could have had various trajectories, and thus differing relations with the palace, as certain tasks and resources could be entrusted rather to faithful allies than recent rivals. The diversity of the second tier centres is also marked by profound differences between Iklaina and Nichoria (Cosmopoulos 2018, 109). All together there were 17 or 18 towns that served as capitals of the districts, into which the state was divided. Each of them had a local governor, *ko-re-te* in Linear B, most probably appointed by the palace, and who had administrative and political roles (Cosmopoulos 2006, 208). They also had specialised economic functions, focusing on producing and providing different goods for the palace. This functional economic division was at least partially planned by the palace and controlled from it, which is suggested by various Linear B tablets. They list not only various goods transported to or from the palace, but also multiple individuals playing different roles within the regional administration (Nakassis 2013, 6–23). Those officials were mainly overseeing economic production and acquisition of goods, thus ensuring that the functional division within the settlement system continued to operate. The network was further supplemented with villages, of which we know 12 names, that formed a third tier of the hierarchy. Some of them also had

assigned economic tasks, although from the examples we know, these functions seem to have been less varied than those performed by second tier centres (Cosmopoulos 2006, 211–12). We can identify the lowest, fourth tier, composed of farms and hamlets that were spread around the landscape, solely through surface concentrations of ceramic material. These sites do not appear in the archives, possibly escaping the scope of palatial administration (Cosmopoulos 2006, 222). On the contrary, settlements of higher tiers are mentioned in the Linear B tablets, but in a few instances have also been identified with particular sites located in survey or excavated. In some cases, it was even possible to propose a link between the actual site and the toponym appearing on the tablets.[199] Thus both the hierarchical structural division of the Pylian settlement network, its function organisation which included economic specialisation of at least some of the settlements, and increased administrative role of the higher tiers centres, are all well visible in the written records.

At the end of LH IIIB the Mycenaean palatial system in Argolid rapidly collapsed, with palaces in Mycenae and Tiryns destroyed around the same time, together with considerable parts of both palatial towns. Those widespread destructions must have been result of an armed conflict, so far interpreted in the modern literature either as a social revolt (Jung 2016) or a war between the Mycenaean polities of the final palatial period, which led to the collapse of the states already weakened by the increased palatial economic control and monumental architectural investments of LH IIIB2 (Maran 2009b, 255–56). The palace at Pylos was destroyed shortly after those events, in LH IIIC Early, together with the entire settlement (Vitale, Stocker, and Davis 2022, 130). This must have also been a result of human agency. Although the exact course of events is impossible to reconstruct without written sources, it seems that the political change which occurred in the Argolid in the middle of LH IIIB, and the results of which might have been visible in urban planning at both Mycenae and Tiryns, might have destabilised the situation on the entire Peloponnese, leading to the intensification of various regional and supra-regional conflicts. Nevertheless, the collapse of the palatial system was definitely a complex multi-causal process, and not a single-cause catastrophe (Maran 2022).[200]

[199] Those are the sites of Pylos, identified as pu-ro, Nichoria, identified as ti-mi-to-a-ke-e and Iklaina identified as a-pu2 (Cosmopoulos 2006, 215–17 with further bibliography there).

[200] Another factor which might have contributed to the collapse of the palatial system is the climate change, which might have heavily influenced the agricultural output of the Mycenaean communities (Finné et al. 2017). Although the region is characterised by a Mediterranean climate, with hot and dry summers followed by mild winters with increased rainfall, during the Bronze Age the climate of the Peloponnese went through a few different stages. Analysis of stable oxygen isotope data from Mavri Trypa Cave allowed to trace this variability (Weiberg and Finné 2018). Most noteworthy, the period of the most stable conditions lasted from LH IIB until the end of LH IIIA, preceded and followed by a long period characterized by increased volatility. Four periods of drier climate were

5. Post-palatial period (LH IIIC)

The collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system marked the end of the development of palatial towns, but not the end of the Mycenaean urban tradition. The post-palatial trajectories in Messenia and in the Argolid differed greatly. The former region has experienced widespread depopulation, and was without a doubt subject to a major crisis which followed the collapse of the palatial system in LH IIIC Early. This is also indicated by the almost total abandonment of Pylos, which seems to have never again been reoccupied on any significant scale (Griebel and Nelson 2008; Finné et al. 2017, 10). Thus the decomposition of the LH IIIB occupational pattern at this site was rapid and definite. All the settlement zones were immediately dissolved, and although some survivors might have still lived among the ruins, the functional and structural organisation of the palatial town collapsed.

In the Argolid the situation was much more complex. Although the Mycenaean polity of Argolid almost certainly ceased to exist, both Mycenae and Tiryns remained to function as regional centres. At Mycenae the previous settlement pattern of the palatial town was gradually decomposed throughout the entire LH IIIC. During this period, some functional and structural divisions between the Lower Town and the Citadel still existed. Moreover, the ruined walls of the Palace's East Wing **[MYC4]** were used to construct Buildings Psi **[MYC5]** and Omega **[MYC6]**, which might have played a central role at least in LH IIIC Early (Mylonas 1968c, 11–27). This revival of palatial structures suggest some attempt at continuation of power and palatial tradition, which is also visible in the post-palatial settlement pattern of the Citadel, with some of the palatial warehouses still in use, and a new road laid inside the walls suggesting an attempt to coordinate movement in the zone. However, large parts of the Citadel were overbuilt by new structures set on top of the collapsed buildings from the previous period. In LH IIIC Middle a new residential quarter was established outside the Citadel's wall, as demonstrated by the construction of the East House **[MYC61]**, which marked an important moment for the new occupational pattern to emerge. The new residential quarter seems to have concentrated on the plateau below the west slope of the acropolis which was not previously used for residential purposes. This change turned out to be long-standing, as evidenced by later remains of the historical period, and the extent of the Hellenistic town. The settlement suffered from repeated fires; the most serious probably being the one at the end of LH IIIC Middle. The process of the disintegration of the town continued until the end of the Mycenaean period, with the settlement occupying between 5 and 9 ha. The functional division between the Citadel and the settlement

also recognised: two separate ones during LH II, another one in the middle of LH IIIB, and then the general drying trend during LH IIIC, lasting into the Early Iron Age (Weiberg and Finné 2018, fig. 1).

outside the walls disappeared only in LH IIIC Late, when the last buildings of the palatial period were finally abandoned. Thus, during LH IIIC, the town at Mycenae declined, but only gradually, and it took over 100 years for the settlement pattern established by the palatial town to be finally abandoned, and replaced by an open settlement with the acropolis serving as a burial zone and fortified *refugium*.

Tiryns, even though it shared a similar fate to Mycenae, experienced an unprecedented growth, particularly during LH IIIC Early-Middle. The crucial factor which contributed to this development must have been linked to the heterogeneity of the Tirynthian population, and its continuous functioning as a major Mediterranean harbour. Already in LH IIIB2 there were multiple indications for of the presence of foreign artisans from Cyprus or Near East in the Lower Citadel, and the situation must have expanded in LH IIIC. Multiple finds from this period testify to the occupation of the Lower Town by people associated not only with the Eastern but also Central Mediterranean (Maran 2016b, 208–9).

The ruins of the palace at Tiryns were partially cleared shortly after the destruction, and Building T **[TIR4]** was raised in between the walls of the Great Megaron. Thus, in opposition to Mycenae, the new post-palatial elite at Tiryns did not hesitate to interact with and remodel the very central and symbolic location within the ruins of the palace. Moreover, the new building changed the function of the area, serving as an assembly hall for the elite members (Mühlenbruch 2009, 247). Thus, it seems that instead of futile attempts to continue the palatial tradition which can be observed at Mycenae, at Tiryns the new elite groups deliberately began to form new social system and architectural tradition which stood in at least partial opposition to the palatial past. This is indicated also by the formation of the post-palatial occupational pattern of both the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town. The former, after the initial period of reoccupation of the palatial ruins **[TIR23-27],** started to emerge in a completely new form, constituting the Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54]**. Until the end of LH IIIC Middle it went through eight phases of development, gradually forming a completely new occupational pattern, focused around large open communal courtyards and only rarely using the ruined palatial foundations. Despite its complete destruction in fire at the end of LH IIIC Middle, the complex was redeveloped in LH IIIC Late and remained inhabited until the advanced stages of that period.

The post-palatial Lower Town at Tiryns was most probably developed according to palatial plans to expand the settlement towards north, into the area dried by the diversion of the river following the construction of the dam (Maran 2016b; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021). This strongly suggest that at least some of the former palatial elite members participated also

in the new political system and influenced the decision-making process. Grid system was used to plan the plots of the northern Lower Town designed for individual complexes, plans of which were however probably changed in comparison to the palatial originals in order to fit the needs of heterogeneous post-palatial society. The district was cut with a regular network of parallel and perpendicular roads, and all of the excavated residential complexes in the area seem to have been largely similar to each other, being formed around a large open communal courtyards. The development of this district is a unique example of large-scale planning of a Mycenaean non-elite settlement area. It was a prime achievement of the late Mycenaean urban tradition, rooted in the investments and plans of the palatial period, despite being implemented only in the post-palatial era. The northern Lower Town of Tiryns was also extensive, and due to its development the entire post-palatial Tiryns reached the minimum size of 12 ha. This revival of the town might have even led to some political consolidation of the region under the new leadership (Maran 2009b, 56).

Nevertheless, this large-scale post-palatial urbanisation project ultimately failed. The settlement experienced series of fires and parts of the northern Lower Town were abandoned already in LH IIIC Middle 1. The occupation was then partially transferred to the south part of the Lower Town, although some of the inhabitants probably moved inside the Lower Citadel. Parts of the Lower Town remained occupied even in LH IIIC Late, but were ultimately abandoned together with the Lower Citadel by the end of the Mycenaean period. This marked the final abandonment of the occupational pattern established by the palatial town, which was replaced by a much more dispersed occupational pattern characteristic of the Early Iron Age.

The end of the post-palatial towns of Mycenae and Tiryns marked the ultimate downfall of the Mycenaean urban tradition. None of the sites that functioned as palatial towns on the Peloponnese during the LBA ever returned to such a prominent position in subsequent eras. However, the memory of their greatness survived in the social memory, contributing to the creation of legends about them, that were reflected in Homeric epics.

Biblipography

Adrymi-Sismani, V. 2016. 'Dimini: An Urban Settlement of the Late Bronze Age in the Pagasitic Gulf', in Driessen, J. (ed), *Ra-pi-ne-u: Studies on the Mycenaean World offered to Robert Laffineur for his 70th Birthday* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 39–61.

Alden, M.J. 2000. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 7. The Prehistoric Cemetery: Pre-Mycenaean and Early Mycenaean Graves* (Oxford).

Alexandridou, A. 2020. 'Athens and Attica', in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 743–62.

Andreou, S. 2001. 'Exploring the Patterns of Power in the Bronze Age Settlements of Northern Greece', in Branigan, K. (ed), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York), 160–73.

Aravantinos, V. 2015. 'The Palatial Administration of Thebes Updated', in Weilhartner, J. and Ruppenstein, F. (eds), *Tradition and Innovation in the Mycenaean Palatial Polities* (Vienna), 19–49.

Aravantinos, V. 2020. 'Thebes and Boeotia', in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 763–85.

Aravantinos, V. and Fappas, I. 2015. 'The Mycenaean Wall Paintings of Thebes: From Excavation to Restoration', in Brecoulaki, H., Davis, J. L., and Stocker, S. R. (eds), *Mycenaean Wall Painting in Context: New Discoveries, Old Finds Reconsidered* (Athens), 316–53.

Aravantinos, V., Fappas, I., Kyriazi, O., Luglio, G. and Pisani, M. 2016. '"No Greater Marvel" revisited: use and reuse of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Orchomenos', in Mazarakis Ainian, A. (ed), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 4. 2012: Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης, Βόλος 15.3 έως 18.3.2012 Volume 2: Στερεά Ελλάδα* (Volos), 929–41.

Arvanitopoulos, A.S. 1915. 'Ανασκαφαί και έρευναι εν Τιρύνθι', *Prakt* 1915, 201–36.

Aulsebrook, S. 2015. 'Retrieving Capacity Data From Crushed Lead Vessels: An Example From The House Of Lead, Mycenae', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 15, 201–11.

Aulsebrook, S. 2019. 'Crisis at the Cult Centre. Evidence from the Megaron Basements', in Żebrowska, K., Ulanowska, A., and Lewartowski, K. (eds), *Sympozjum Egejskie. Papers in Aegean Archaeology*, 111–23.

Aulsebrook, S.J. 2020. ‘Understanding the role of metal within the Late Bronze Age community at Mycenae: challenges and potential approaches’, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 237–64.

Avila, R., Grossman, P. and Schäfer, J. 1980. ‘Grabungen im bereich des Baues 2’, in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band IX. Grabungen in der Unterburg 1971* (Mainz am Rhein), 1–88.

Avila, R., Grossman, P., Schäfer, J., Knell, H., Slenczka, E., Voigtländer, W. and Breitinger, E. 1980. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band IX. Grabungen in der Unterburg 1971* (Mainz am Rhein).

Balcer, J.M. 1974. ‘The Mycenaean Dam at Tiryns’, *AJA* 78, 141–9.

Bendall, L. 2003. ‘A Reconsideration of the Northeastern Building at Pylos: Evidence for a Mycenaean Redistributive Center’, *AJA* 107, 181–231.

Bendall, L. 2004. ‘Fit For a King? Hierarchy, Exclusion, Aspiration and Desire in the Social Structure of Mycenaean Banqueting.’, in Halstead, P. and Barrett, J. C. (eds), *Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece* (Oxford), 105–35.

Bendall, L. 2008. ‘How Much Makes a Feast? Amounts of Banqueting Foodstuffs in the Linear B Records of Pylos’, in Sacconi, A., Del Freo, M., Godart, L., and Negri, M. (eds), *Colloquium Romanum: atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma, 20 - 25 febbrario 2006* (Pisa), 77–101.

Bendall, L. and West, M. 2020. ‘Evidence from Written Sources’, in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 763–85.

Bennet, J. 2007. ‘Pylos: The Expansion of a Mycenaean Palatial Center’, in Galaty, M. L. and Parkinson, W. A. (eds), *Rethinking Mycenaean palaces II* (Los Angeles), 29–39.

Bennet, J. 2008. ‘Now You See It; Now You Don’t! The Disappearance of the Linear A Script on Crete’, in Baines, J., Bennet, J., and Houston, S. D. (eds), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems. Perspectives on Literacy and Communication* (London ; Oakville), 1–29.

Bennet, J. and Davis, J.L. 1999. ‘Making Mycenaeans: Warfare, Territorial Expansion, and Representations of the other in the Pylian Kingdom’, in Laffineur, R. (ed), *POLEMOS: Le*

contexte guerrier en Égée á l'âge du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998. (Liège ; Austin), 105–20.

Bennet, J. and Shelmerdine, C.W. 2001. 'Not the Palace of Nestor: The Development of the "Lower Town" and Other Non-Palatial Settlements in LBA Messenia', in Branigan, K. (ed), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York), 135–40.

Binford, L. 1962. 'Archaeology as Anthropology', *AmerAnt* 28, 217–25.

Blackwell, N.G. 2014. 'Making the Lion Gate Relief at Mycenae: Tool Marks and Foreign Influence', *AJA* 118, 451–88.

Blakolmer, F. 2019. 'No kings, no inscriptions, no historical events? Some thoughts on the iconography of rulership in Mycenaean Greece', in Kelder, J. M. and Waal, W. (eds), *From 'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': kingship and political organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Leiden), 49–94.

Blegen, C.W. 1921. *Korakou: A Prehistoric Settlement Near Corinth* (Athens).

Blegen, C.W. 1957. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1956', *AJA* 61, 129–35.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1958. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1957: Part I', *AJA* 62, 175–91.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1959. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1958', *AJA* 63, 121–37.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1960. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1959', *AJA* 64, 153–64.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1961. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1960', *AJA* 65, 153–63.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1962. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1961', *AJA* 66, 145–52.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1963. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1962', *AJA* 67, 155–62.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1964. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1963', *AJA* 68, 95–105.

Blegen, C.W. and Lang, M. 1965a. 'The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1964', *AJA* 69, 95–101.

Blegen, C.W. and Rawson, M. 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Volume I: The Buildings and Their Contents* (Princeton).

Blegen, C.W., Rawson, M., Taylour, W. and Donovan, W.P. 1973. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia. Volume III: Acropolis and Lower Town: Tholoi, Grave Circle, and Chamber Tombs; Discoveries Outside the Citadel.*

Boswinkel, Y. 2021. *Labouring with Large Stones: A Study into the Investment and Impact of Construction Projects on Mycenaean Communities in Late Bronze Age Greece* (Leiden).

Boyd, M.J. 2015. 'Explaining the mortuary sequence at Mycenae', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 433–47.

Branigan, K. 2001a. 'The Aspects of Minoan Urbanism', in Branigan, K. (ed), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York), 38–50.

Branigan, K. (ed) 2001b. *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York).

Brecoulaki, H. 2018. 'Does Colour Make a Difference? The Aesthetics and Contexts of Wall-painting in "the Palace of Nestor" at Pylos', in Vlachopulos, A. (ed), *Χρωστήρες. Paintbrushes: wall-painting and vase-painting of the second millennium BC in dialogue: proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography held at Akrotiri, Thera, 24-26 May 2013* (Athens), 390–405.

Brecoulaki, H., Zaitoun, C., Stocker, S.R., Davis, J.L., Karydas, A., Colombini, M.P. and Bartolucci, U. 2008. 'An Archer from the Palace of Nestor: A New Wall-Painting Fragment in the Chora Museum', *Hesperia* 77, 363–97.

Brenningmeyerr, T.M. 2017. 'Modelling Movement and Use Patterns within the Palace of Nestor: A GIS/Space Syntax Approach', in Cooper, F. A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds), *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford), 155–64.

Brysbaert, A. 2013. '"The chicken or the egg?" Interregional contacts viewed through a technological lens at Late Bronze Age Tiryns, Greece', *OJA* 32, 233–56.

Brysbaert, A. 2014. 'Talking Shop. Multicraft Workshop Materials and Architecture in Prehistoric Tiryns, Greece', in Rebay-Salisbury, K., Brysbaert, A., and Foxhall, L. (eds), *Knowledge Networks and Craft Traditions in the Ancient World: Material Crossovers* (New York; London), 37–61.

Brysbaert, A. 2015. 'Multiple chaînes opératoires and cross-craft interaction: A holistic approach to workshop studies at Palatial and Post-Palatial Tiryns', in *Mycenaeans up to date: The*

archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions (Stockholm), 151–9.

Brysbaert, A. 2020. 'Forces of the hands, forces of the lands. An awareness of people's multitasking in the agrarian and economic landscape of the Late Bronze Age Argive Plain', *Groniek* 222, 59–82.

Brysbaert, A. and Vetters, M. 2010. 'Practicing Identity: A Crafty Ideal?', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 10, 25–43.

Brysbaert, A. and Vetters, M. 2013. 'A moving story about exotica: objects' long-distance production chains and associated identities at Tiryns, Greece', *OpAthRom* 6, 175–210.

Brysbaert, A. and Vetters, M. 2015. 'Mirroring the Mediterranean? Artisanal Networking in 12th century BC Tiryns', in Babbi, A., Bubenheimer-Erhart, F., Marín-Aguilera, B., and Mühl, S. (eds), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C. International Post-doc and Young Researcher Conference, Heidelberg, 6th-8th October 2012* (Mainz), 161–75.

Buckley, S., Power, R.C., Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M., Akar, M., Becher, J., Belser, M., Cafisso, S., Eisenmann, S., Fletcher, J., Francken, M., Hallager, B., Harvati, K., Ingman, T., Kataki, E., Maran, J., Martin, M.A.S., McGeorge, P.J.P., Milevski, I., Papadimitriou, A., Protopapadaki, E., Salazar-García, D.C., Schmidt-Schultz, T., Schuenemann, V.J., Shafiq, R., Stuijts, I., Yegorov, D., Yener, K.A., Schultz, M., Spiteri, C. and Stockhammer, P.W. 2021. 'Archaeometric evidence for the earliest exploitation of lignite from the bronze age Eastern Mediterranean', *Scientific Reports* 11, 24185.

Bulle, H. 1907. *Orchomenos I. Die älteren Ansiedelungsschichten* (München).

Burns, B. 2007. 'Life Outside a Mycenaean Palace: Elite Houses on the Periphery', in Westgate, R., Fisher, N., and Whitley, J. (eds), *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond, Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001* (London), 111–9.

Cardarelli, A. (ed) 2010. *Le ragioni del cambiamento = Reasons for change: 'nascita', 'declino' e 'crollo' delle societ?? tra fine del IV e inizio del I millenio a.C. = 'birth', 'decline' and 'collapse' of societies between the end of the IV and the beginning of the I millemnium [sic] B.C. : atti del convegno internazionale : Roma, 15-17 giugno 2006* (Roma).

Cavanagh, W. 2001. ‘Empty Space? Courts and Squares in Mycenaean Towns’, in Branigan, K. (ed), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York), 119–34.

Cavanagh, W.G. and Mee, C. 1990. ‘The Location of Mycenaean Chamber Tombs in the Argolid’, in Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. (eds), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988* (Stockholm), 55–64.

Chadwick, J., Bennett, E.L., French, E.B., Verdelis, N.M., Williams, C.K. and Taylour, W.D. 1962. ‘The Mycenae Tablets III’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 52, 1–76.

Cherry, J. and Davis, J.L. 2001. ‘“Under the Sceptre of Agamemnon”: The View from the Hinterlands of Mycenae’, in Branigan, K. (ed), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (London; New York), 141–59.

Childe, V.G. 1936. *Man Makes Himself* (London).

Childe, V.G. 1939. *The Dawn of European Civilization* (London).

Childe, V.G. 1950. ‘The Urban Revolution’, *The Town Planning Review* XXI, 3–17.

Christakis, K. 2008. *The Politics of Storage: Storage and Sociopolitical Complexity in Neopalatial Crete* (Philadelphia).

Cline, E. (ed) 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford).

Cohen, C., Maran, J. and Vetters, M. 2010. ‘An Ivory Rod with a Cuneiform Inscription, Most Probably Ugaritic, from a Final Palatial Workshop in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns’, *AA* 2010, 1–22.

Cooper, F.A. 2017a. ‘Hydraulic Engineering on the Englianos Ridge: Evidence for Pre-LH IIIB Palaces’, in Cooper, F. A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds), *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford), 135–53.

Cooper, F.A. 2017b. ‘The Minnesota Pylos Project: Investigations and Results, 1990-98’, in Cooper, F. A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds), *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford), 29–134.

Cooper, F.A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds) 2017. *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford).

Cosmopoulos, M., Allen, S.E., Riebe, D.J., Ruscillo, D., Liston, M. and Shelton, C. 2019. ‘New accelerator mass spectrometry 14C dates from the Mycenaean site of Iklaina’, *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 24, 888–99.

Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2006. 'The Political Landscape of Mycenaean States: A-pu$_2$ and the Hither Province of Pylos', *Hesperia* 110, 205–28.

Cosmopoulos, M.B. (ed) 2016. *The Political Geography of a Mycenaean District: The Archaeological Survey at Iklaina* (Athens).

Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2018. *Iklaina: The Monumental Buildings* (Athens).

Cosmopoulos, M.B. 2019. 'State Formation in Greece: Iklaina and the Unification of Mycenaean Pylos', *AJA* 123, 349–80.

Crielaard, J.P. 2011. 'The "Wanax to Basileus model" reconsidered: authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces', in Mazarakis, A. (ed), *The 'Dark Ages' Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June 2007* (Volos), 83–111.

Crouch, D.P. and Johnson, J.G. 2001. *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (New York).

Crowley, J. 2008. 'Mycenaean art and architecture', in Shelmerdine, C. W. (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge), 258–88.

Dabney, M. and Wright, J.C. 1990. 'Mortuary Customs, Palatial Society and State Formation in the Aegean Area: A Comparative Study', in Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. (eds), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988* (Stockholm), 45–53.

Dakouri-Hild, A. 2001. 'The House of Kadmos in Mycenaean Thebes Reconsidered: Architecture, Chronology, and Context', *BSA* 96, 81–122.

Dakouri-Hild, A. 2010a. 'Boeotia', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 614–30.

Dakouri-Hild, A. 2010b. 'Thebes', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 690–711.

Damm-Meinhardt, U. 2015a. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XVII.1. Baubefunde und Stratigraphie der Unterburg (Kampagnen 1976 Bis 1983): Die Mykenische Palastzeit (SH III B2) und Beginnende Nachpalastzeit (Beginn SH III C)* (Wiesbaden).

Damm-Meinhardt, U. 2015b. 'Building Complex A in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns: An outstanding mansion of the Palatial period', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 117–30.

Damm-Meinhardt, U. and Mühlenbruch, T. 2013. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XVII. Baubefunde und Stratigraphie der Unterburg und des Nordwestlichen Stadtgebiets (Kampagnen 1976 bis 1983): Die Ausgehende Palastzeit (SH III B2) und die Mykenische Nachpalastzeit (SH III C). Dokumentation zu den Bänden XVII 1 und 2* (Wiesbaden).

Danielidou, D. 2008. *Ανασκαφές Μυκηνών ΙΙ. Το 'εργαστήριο' των Μυκηνών* (Athens).

Danielidou, D. 2009. 'Bringing down the house: Changing construction techniques in LH IIIA2 and IIIB Mycenae', in Danielidou, D. (ed) *Δώρον: τιμητικός τομός για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη* (Athens), 635–46.

Darcque, P. 2005. *L'habitat mycénien: Formes et fonctions de l'espace bâti en Grèce continentale à la fin du IIe millénaire avant J.C.* (Athens).

Davis, J.L. (ed) 2008. *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Princeton).

Davis, J.L. 2010. 'Pylos', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 680–9.

Davis, J.L. 2022. *A Greek State in Formation: The Origins of Mycenaean Pylos* (Oakland).

Davis, J.L., Alcock, S.E., Bennet, J., Lolos, Y.G. and Shelmerdine, C.W. 1997. 'The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project. Part I: Overview and the Archaeological Survey', *Hesperia* 66, 391–494.

Davis, J.L. and Stocker, S.R. 2010. 'Early Helladic and Middle Helladic Pylos: The Petropoulos Trenches and Pre-Mycenaean Remains on the Englianos Ridge', in Philippa-Touchais, A., Touchais, G., Voutsaki, S., and Wright, J. C. (eds), *Mesohelladika. Mesoelladika: La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Η ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα στη Μέση εποχή του Χαλκού. The Greek mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8-12 mars 2006* (Athènes), 101–6.

Davis, J.L. and Stocker, S.R. 2015. 'Crete, Messenia, and the date of Tholos IV at Pylos', in Cadogan, G., Andreou, S., Hatzaki, E., and Macdonald, C. F. (eds), *The Great Islands: Studies of Crete and Cyprus presented to Gerald Cadogan* (Athens), 175–8.

Davis, J.L. and Stocker, S.R. 2016. 'The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos', *Hesperia* 85, 627–55.

Davis, J.L. and Stocker, S.R. 2018. 'The Gold Necklace from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos', *Hesperia* 87, 611–32.

Demakopoulou, K. 1989. 'Πήλινο ομοίωμα φορείου της μυκηναϊκής εποχής από την Τίρυνθα', in Dakari, K. A. (ed), *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν. Τόμος Γ* (Athens), 25–33.

Demakopoulou, K. 2015. 'The Mycenaean Acropolis of Midea: New discoveries and new interpretations', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 185–96.

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1977. *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation* (Göteborg).

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1983. 'Cist graves and Chamber Tombs', *BSA* 78, 55–67.

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1994. *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge).

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 2014. 'The mainland Bronze Age: the search for patterns', *Pharos* 20, 145–61.

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 2017. 'The Will to Believe: Why Homer Cannot be "True" in any Meaningful Sense', in Sherratt, S. and Bennet, J. (eds), *Archaeology and Homeric epic* (Oxford), 10–9.

Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 2019. 'What conclusions might be drawn from the archaeology of Mycenaean civilisation about political structure in the Aegean?', in Kelder, J. M. and Waal, W. (eds), *From 'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': kingship and political organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Leiden), 31–48.

Döhl, H. 1975. 'Tiryns-Stadt: Sondage 1968', in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VIII* (Mainz am Hein), 137–54.

Dowden, K. 2004. 'The epic tradition in Greece', in Fowler, R. L. (ed), *The Epic Tradition in Greece* (Cambridge; New York), 188–205.

Dragendorff, H. 1913. 'Tiryns. Vorbericht über die Grabungen 1913.', *AM* 38, 329–54.

Driessen, J. 1996. ‘Architectural Context, Administration and Political Architecture in Mycenaean Greece’, in De Miro, E., Godart, L., and Sacconi, A. (eds), *Atti e memorie del secondo Congresso internazionale di micenologia, Roma-Napoli, 14-20 ottobre 1991. Volume 3: Archeologia* (Rome), 1013–28.

Driessen, J. 2008. ‘Chronology of the Linear B texts’, in Duhoux, Y. and Davies, A. M. (eds), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World, Volume 1* (Louvain-la-Neuve ; Dudley), 69–79.

Driessen, J. and Langohr, C. 2007. ‘Rallying ’round a “Minoan” Past: The Legitimation of Power at Knossos during the Late Bronze Age’, in Galaty, M. L. and Parkinson, W. A. (eds), *Rethinking Mycenaean palaces II* (Los Angeles), 178–89.

Eder, B. and Jung, R. 2015. ‘“Unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno”: The Mycenaean Palace System. Tradition and Innovation in the Mycenaean Palatial Polities’, in Weilhartner, J. and Ruppenstein, F. (eds), *Tradition and innovation in the Mycenaean palatial polities* (Vienna), 113–40.

Efkleidou, K. 2018. ‘Architectural conspicuous consumption and design as social strategy in the Argolid during the Mycenaean period’, in Brysbaert, A., Klinkenberg, V., Gutiérrez Garcia-M., A., and Vikatou, I. (eds), *Constructing Monuments, Perceiving Monumentality and the Economics of Building: Theoretical and methodological approaches to the built environment* (Leiden), 65–86.

Efkleidou, K. 2019. ‘Walking your Way to Death. Exploring the Relation Between the Location of Mycenaean Chamber Tombs and Roads in the Argolid’, *Open Archaeology* 5, 484–504.

Efkleidou, K. 2021. ‘Understanding Large Urban Planning Production in Mycenaean Greece: the Case of Mycenae’, in Pakkanen, J. and Brysbaert, A. (eds), *Building BIG – Constructing Economies: from Design to Long-Term Impact of Large-Scale Building Projects, Panel 3.6* (Heidelberg), 27–43.

Egan, E.C. 2015a. *Nestor’s Megaron. Contextualizing a Mycenaean Institution at Pylos.* PhD Dissertation (Cincinnati).

Egan, E.C. 2015b. ‘Working within the Lines: Artists; Grids and Painted Floors at the Palace of Nestor’, in Lepinski, S. and McFadden, S. (eds), *Beyond Iconography: Materials, Methods, and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration* (Boston), 187–204.

Feuer, B. 2011. ‘Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery’, *AJA* 115, 507–36.

de Fidio, P. 2001. ‘Centralization and its Limits in the Mycenaean Palatial System’, in Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds), *Economy and politics in the mycenaean palace states: proceedings of a conference held on 1 - 3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (Cambridge), 15–24.

Finley, M.I. 1956. *The World of Odysseus* (London).

Finné, M., Holmgren, K., Shen, C.-C., Hu, H.-M., Boyd, M. and Stocker, S. 2017. ‘Late Bronze Age climate change and the destruction of the Mycenaean Palace of Nestor at Pylos’, *PLOS ONE* 12, e0189447.

Fitzsimons, R.D. 2006. *Monuments of Power and the Power of Monuments: The Evolution of Elite Architectural Styles at Bronze Age Mycenae.* PhD Dissertation (Cincinnati).

Fitzsimons, R.D. 2011. ‘Monumental Architecture and the Construction of the Mycenaean State’, in Terrenato, N. and Haggis, D. C. (eds), *State Formation in Italy and Greece: Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm* (Oxford), 75–118.

Force, E.R. 2017. ‘Seismic Environments of Prehistoric Settlements in Northern Mesopotamia: A Review of Current Knowledge’, *BASOR* 378, 55–69.

Force, E.R. and Rutter, J.B. 2018. ‘Holoecene fault scarps at Mycenae, (Greece) and possible cultural ties.’, *SMEA* 4, 63–74.

Fowler, R.L. (ed) 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (Cambridge; New York).

Fox, R.G. 1977. *Urban Anthropology: Cities in Their Cultural Settings* (Englewood Cliffs).

French, D. and French, E.B. 1971. ‘Prehistoric Pottery from the Area of the Agricultural Prison at Tiryns’, in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band V* (Mainz am Rhein), 21–40.

French, E.B. 1954. ‘Part VI. The Cyclopean Terrace Building and the Deposit of Pottery beneath It’, *BSA* 49, 267–91.

French, E.B. 1961. ‘Mycenaean occupation near the Cyclopean Terrace Building at Mycenae’, *BSA* 56, 81–7.

French, E.B. 1963. ‘Pottery groups from Mycenae: a summary’, *BSA* 58, 44–52.

French, E.B. 1964. ‘Late Helladic IIIA 1 Pottery from Mycenae’, *BSA* 59, 241–61.

French, E.B. 1965. ‘Late Helladic IIIA 2 Pottery from Mycenae’, *BSA* 60, 159–202.

French, E.B. 1967. ‘Pottery from Late Helladic IIIB 1 Destruction Contexts at Mycenae’, *BSA* 62, 149–93.

French, E.B. 1981. ‘Cult Places at Mycenae’, in Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May 1980* (Stockholm), 41–8.

French, E.B. 1996. ‘Evidence for an Earthquake at Mycenae’, in Stiros, S. and Jones, R. E. (eds), *Archaeoseismology.* (Athens), 51–4.

French, E.B. 2002. *Mycenae: Agamemnon’s Capital : The Site and Its Setting* (Stroud; Charleston).

French, E.B. 2009. ‘The Significance of Changes in Spatial Usage at Mycenae’, in Bachhuber, C. and Roberts, R. G. (eds), *Forces of transformation: the end of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean: proceedings of an international symposium held at St. John’s College, University of Oxford 25-6th March, 2006* (Oxford; Oakville), 106–10.

French, E.B. 2010. ‘Mycenae’, in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 671–9.

French, E.B. 2011. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 16/17. The Post-Palatial Levels* (Oxford).

French, E.B., Iakovidis, S., Ioannides, C., Jansen, A., Lavery, J. and Shelton, K. 2003. *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae* (Athens).

French, E.B. and Shelton, K. 2005. ‘Early palatial Mycenae.’, in Dakouri-Hild, A., and Sherratt, S (eds), *Autochthon: papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 9 November 2005* (Oxford), 175–84.

French, E.B. and Stockhammer, P.W. 2009. ‘Mycenae and Tiryns: the Pottery of the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century BC - Contexts and Definitions’, *BSA* 104, 175–232.

French, E.B. and Taylour, W.D. 2007. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 13. The Service Areas of the Cult Centre* (Oxford).

French, E.B., Taylour, W.D. and Wardle, K. forthcoming. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 9. The South House and the Annex* (Warminster).

Furumark, A. 1941. *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm).

Galanakis, Y. 2007. 'The Construction of the Aegisthus Tholos Tomb at Mycenae and the "Helladic Heresy"', *BSA* 102, 239–56.

Galaty, M.L. and Parkinson, W.A. (eds) 2007. *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II* (Los Angeles).

Galaty, M.L., Parkinson, W.A., Pullen, D.J. and Seifried, R.M. 2014. 'Mycenaean-Scapes: Geography, Political Economy, and the Eastern Mediterranean World-System', in Laffineur, R., Touchais, G., and Rougemont, F. (eds), *Physis: L'environnement Naturel Et la Relation Homme-milieu Dans Le Monde Égéen Protohistorique : Actes de la 14e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Paris, Institut National D'Histoire de L'Art (INHA), 11-14 Décembre 2012* (Leuven; Liege).

Gates, C. 1985. 'Rethinking the Building History of Grave Circle A at Mycenae', *AJA* 89, 263–74.

Gauss, W. and Ruppenstein, F. 2020. 'Pottery', in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 433–70.

Gercke, P., Gercke, W. and Hiesel, G. 1975. 'Tiryns-Stadt 1971: Graben H', in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VIII* (Mainz am Rhin), 7–36.

Gercke, P. and Hiesel, G. 1971. 'Grabungen in der Unterstadt von Tiryns von 1889 bis 1929', in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band V* (Mainz am Rhein), 1–20.

Gercke, P., Hiesel, G., French, D., French, E. B., F., Grossmann, P., Schäfer, J., Siedentopf, H. and Rudolph, W. 1971. *Tiryns: Forschungen Und Berichte. Band V* (Mainz am Rhein).

Godart, L., Killen, J. and Olivier, J.-P. 1983. 'Eighteen More Fragments of Linear B Tablets from Tiryns', *AA* 1983, 413–26.

Gosselain, O.P. 1992. 'Technology and Style: Potters and Pottery Among Bafia of Cameroon', *Man* 27, 559–86.

Gosselain, O.P. 1999. 'In Pots we Trust: The Processing of Clay and Symbols In Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Material Culture* 4, 205–30.

Griebel, C. and Nelson, M. 2008. 'The Ano Englianos Hilltop After the Palace', in Davis, J. L. (ed), *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Princeton), 97–100.

Grossmann, P., Knell, H., Slenczka, E. and Voigtländer, W. 1980. ‘Grabungen in des Quadraten IV2. V. VI2’, in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band IX. Grabungen in der Unterburg 1971.* (Mainz am Rhein), 89–180.

Grossmann, P. and Schäfer, J. 1971. ‘Tiryns: Unterburg, Grabungen 1965’, in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band V* (Mainz am Rhein), 41–76.

Grossmann, P. and Schäfer, J. 1975. ‘Tiryns: Unterburg 1968. Grabungen im Bereich der Bauten 3 und ‚4‘’, in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VIII* (Mainz am Rhein), 55–96.

Güntner, W. 2000. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XII. Figürlich Bemalte Mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns* (Mainz am Rhein).

Halstead, P. 1993. ‘The Mycenaean palatial economy: Making the most of the gaps in the evidence’, *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 38, 57–86.

Halstead, P. 2007. ‘Toward a Model of Mycenaean Palatial Mobilization’, in Galaty, M. L. and Parkinson, W. A. (eds), *Rethinking Mycenaean palaces II* (Los Angeles), 66–73.

Halstead, P. 2011. ‘Redistribution in Aegean Palatial Societies. Redistribution in Aegean Palatial Societies: Terminology, Scale, and Significance’, *AJA* 115, 229–35.

Harding, A. 2013. ‘World Systems, Cores, and Peripheries in Prehistoric Europe’, *EJA* 16, 378–400.

Harris, O.J.T. and Cipolla, C.N. 2017. *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives* (London).

Haskell, H.W. 1981. ‘Coarse-Ware Stirrup-Jars at Mycenae’, *BSA* 76, 225–38.

Hiesel, G. 1990. *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur: Studien zur Architekturgeschichte des Griechischen Festlandes in der Späten Bronzezeit* (Mainz).

Hinzen, K., Maran, J., Hinojosa-Prieto, H., Damm-Meinhardt, U., Reamer, S.K., Tzislakis, J., Kemna, K., Schweppe, G., Fleischer, C. and Demakopoulou, K. 2018. ‘Reassessing the Mycenaean Earthquake Hypothesis: Results of the HERACLES Project from Tiryns and Midea, Greece’, *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America* 108, 1046–70.

Hodder, I. 2005. ‘Symbolic and structuralist archaeology’, in Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. (eds), *Archaeology: The Key Concepts* (London; New York), 190–3.

Hodder, I. 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Chichester).

Hodder, I. 2018. *Where Are We Heading? The Evolution of Humans and Things* (New Haven).

Hogue, S.L. 2016. 'New Evidence of Post-Destruction Reuse in the Main Building of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos', *AJA* 120, 151–7.

Hogue, S.L. 2023. 'The Palatial Megaron and Upper Story in the Palace of Nestor: Evidence for a New Reconstruction', *Hesperia* 92, 43–110.

Hollond, A. 2017. 'Enclosed Gardens in Courts 42 and 47', in Cooper, F. A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds), *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford), 165–70.

Hruby, J. 2006. *Feasting and Ceramics: A View from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.* PhD Dissertation (Cincinnati).

Hruby, J. 2010. 'Mycenaean Pottery from Pylos: An Indigenous Typology', *AJA* 114, 195–216.

Hruby, J. 2013. 'The Palace of Nestor, Craft Production, and Mechanisms for the Transfer of Goods', *AJA* 117, 423–7.

Hruby, J. 2014. 'Moving from ancient typology to an understanding of the causes of variability: a Mycenaean case study', in Kotsonas, A. (eds), *Understanding standardization and variation in Mediterranean ceramics: mid 2nd to late 1st Millennium BC* (Leuven; Paris; Walpole), 49–58.

Hübner, C. and Giese, S. 2006. 'Bericht zur geophysikalischen Prospektion im Stadtg ebiet von Tiryns', *AA* 2006, 163–9.

Iakovidis, S. 1977. 'The Present State of Research at the Citadel of Mycenae', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London* 14, 99–141.

Iakovidis, S. 1983. *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (Leiden).

Iakovidis, S. 1986. 'Destruction Horizons at Late Bronze Age Mycenae.', in *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Μυλωνάν διά τα 60 έτη του ανασκαφικού του έργου* (Athens), 233–60.

Iakovidis, S. 1996. 'Mycenae in the Light of Recent Discoveries', in De Miro, E., Godart, L., and Sacconi, A. (eds), *Atti e memorie del secondo Congresso internazionale di micenologia, Roma-Napoli, 14-20 ottobre 1991. Volume 3: Archeologia* (Rome), 1039–49.

Iakovidis, S. 2001. *Gla and the Kopais in the 13th Century B.C* (Athens).

Iakovidis, S. 2003. ‘Late Helladic IIIC at Mycenae’, in Zavadil, M. and Deger-Jalkotzy, S. (eds), *LH III C chronology and synchronisms: proceedigns of the international workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, may 7th and 8th, 2001* (Wien), 117–23.

Iakovidis, S. 2006a. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2003, 19–24.

Iakovidis, S. 2006b. *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens* (Athens).

Iakovidis, S. 2006c. *Ανασκαφές Μυκηνών Ι. Η Βορειοδυτική Συνοικία* (Athens).

Iakovidis, S. 2007a. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2004, 21–6.

Iakovidis, S. 2007b. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2005, 25–32.

Iakovidis, S. 2008. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2006, 23–9.

Iakovidis, S. 2010a. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2007, 15–21.

Iakovidis, S. 2010b. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 2008, 23–30.

Iakovidis, S. 2013a. *Ανασκαφές Μυκηνών IV. Η Οικία Στις Πλάκες* (Athens).

Iakovidis, S. 2013b. *Ανασκαφές Μυκηνών ΙΙΙ. Η Νοτιοδυτική Συνοικία* (Athens).

Jantzen, U. 1975. *Führer Durch Tiryns*.

Jantzen, U., Döhl, H., Grossman, P., Megow, W.-R. and Schäfer, J. 1968. ‘Tiryns - Synoro - Iria 1965-1968’, *AA* 1968, 369–74.

Jantzen, U. 1969. ‘Tiryns 1968’, *AA* 1969, 1–11.

Jung, R. 2016. ‘“Friede den Hütten, Krieg den Palästen!” – In the Bronze Age Aegean’, in Meller, H., Hahn, P. H., Jung, R., and Risch, R. (eds), *Arm und Reich: zur Ressourcenverteilung in pra-historischen Gesellschaften 8. Mitteldeutscher Archaeologentag vom 22. bis 24. Oktober 2015 in Halle (Saale)* (Halle), 553–77.

Kamm, W. 1997. ‘The “Kuppelgrab von Tiryns” as a paradigm for the usage of measuring rods and ropes in prehistoric Greece’, in *Archaia Elliniki Technologia: Praktika 1o Diethnes Synedrio.* (Thessaloniki), 135–9.

Karapanagiotou, A.-V., Kosmopoulos, D., Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2021. ‘Archaeological Investigations and Research Associated with the Construction of the New Roof at the Palace of Nestor.’, in Eder, B. and Zavadil, M. (eds), *(Social) Place and Space in Early Mycenaean*

Greece: International Discussions in Mycenaean Archaeology, October 5–8, 2016, Athens (Vienna), 175–84.

Kardamaki, E. 2015. 'Conclusions from the new deposit at the Western Staircase terrace at Tiryns', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 79–97.

Kardamaki, E. 2017. 'The Late Helladic IIB to IIIA2 Pottery Sequence from the Mycenaean Palace at Ayios Vasileios, Laconia', *ArchAustr* 101, 73–142.

Karo, G. 1909. 'Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1908. Türkei (Kleinasien), Kreta, Griechenland', *AA* 1909, 86–124.

Karo, G. 1930. 'Schatz von Tiryns', *AM* 55, 119–40.

Kelder, J.M. 2010. *The Kingdom of Mycenae: A Great Kingdom in the Late Bronze Aegean* (Bethesda).

Kelder, J.M. 2012. 'Ahhiyawa and the World of the Great Kings. A Re-evaluation of Mycenaean Political Structures', *Talanta* XLIV, 41–52.

Kelder, J.M. and Waal, W. (eds) 2019. *From 'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Leiden).

Keramopoullos, A. 1909. 'Η οίχία τού Καδμου', *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1909, 57–122.

Keramopoullos, A. 1917. 'Θηβαίχά', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 3, 308–41.

Kienlin, T.L. 2015. *Bronze Age Tell Communities in Context: An Exploration Into Culture, Society and the Study of European Prehistory. Part 1: Critique: Europe and the Mediterranean* (Oxford).

Kienlin, T.L. 2017. 'World Systems and the Structuring Potential of Foreign-Derived (Prestige) Goods. On Modelling Bronze Age Economy and Society', in Sholz, A. K., Bartelheim, M., Hardenberg, R., and Staecker, J. (eds), *ResourceCultures. Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources - Theories, Methods, Perspectives* (Tübingen), 143–57.

Kilian, K. 1978. 'Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1976', *AA* 1978, 449–70.

Kilian, K. 1979. 'Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1977', *AA* 1979, 379–411.

Kilian, K. 1981. 'Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1978. 1979', *AA* 1981, 149–94.

Kilian, K. 1982. ‘Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1980’, *AA* 1982, 393–430.

Kilian, K. 1983. ‘Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1981’, *AA* 1983, 277–328.

Kilian, K. 1987a. ‘Der Hauptpalast von Mykene’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 102, 99–114.

Kilian, K. 1987b. ‘L’architecture des résidences mycéniennes: Origine et extension d’une structure de pouvoir politique pendant l’Age du Bronze récent’, in Lévy, E. (ed), *Le Système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (19-22 juin 1985)* (Strasbourg), 203–25.

Kilian, K. 1988a. ‘Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/1983’, *AA* 1988, 105–51.

Kilian, K. 1988b. ‘Die “Thronfolge” in Tiryns’, *AM* 103, 1–9.

Kilian, K. 1988c. ‘Mycenaeans Up To Date. Trends and Changes in Recent Research’, in French, E. and Wardle, K. (eds), *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* (Bristol), 115–52.

Kilian, K. 1988d. ‘The Emergence of the Wanax Ideology in the Mycenaean Palaces’, *OJA* 7, 291–302.

Kilian, K. 1996. ‘Earthquakes and archaeological context at 13th century BC Tiryns’, in Stiros, S. and Jones, R. E. (eds), *Archaeoseismology.* (Athens), 63–8.

Kilian, K. 2007. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XV. Die handgemachte geglättete Keramik mykenischer Zeitstellung* (Wiesbaden).

Klintberg, L. 2011. ‘The Late Helladic period’, in Lindblom, M. and Wells, B. (eds), *Mastos in the Berbati Valley: An Intensive Archaeological Survey* (Stockholm), 97–118.

Knodell, A.R. 2021. *Societies in Transition in Early Greece: An Archaeological History* (Berkeley).

Konsola, D. 1990. ‘Settlement size and the beginning of urbanization’, in Darcque, P. and Treuil, R. (eds), *L’habitat égéen préhistorique: actes de la table ronde internationale, Athènes, 23-25 juin 1987* (Athens; Paris), 463–71.

Konstantintidi-Syvridi, E. and Paschalidis, K. 2010. ‘Honouring the dead behind the scenes: the case of the chamber tomb to the south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae.’, in Cavanagh, H., Cavanagh, W. G., and Roy, J. (eds), *Honouring the dead in the Peloponnese* (Nottingham), 289–328.

Kotsonas, A. 2020. ‘History of Research’, in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 75–96.

Kountouri, E. 2019. ‘Ανασκαφη Γλα Βοιωτιασ’, *Prakt* 2019, 109–52.

Laffineur, R. 2007. ‘Building for Ruling. Architecture and Power at Mycenae’, in Bretschneider, J., Driessen, J., and van Lerberghe, K. (eds), *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean* (Leuven).

Lamb, W. 1921. ‘Frescoes from the Ramp House’, *BSA* 24, 189–99.

Lane, M. 2019. *MYNEKO 2019 Study Season Report*.

Lane, M. and Kountouri, E. 2016. *Mycenaean Northeastern Kopais (MYNEKO): Annual Report, 2016*.

Lane, M. and Kountouri, E. 2017. *Mycenaean Northeastern Kopais (MYNEKO): Annual Report, 2017*.

Lane, M. and Kountouri, E. 2018. *MYNEKO Annual Report, 2018*.

Lang, M. 1969. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, Volume II: The Frescoes.* (Princeton).

Letesson, Q. and Knappett, C. 2017a. ‘Introduction - Minoan Built Environment: Past Studies, Recent Perspectives, and Future Challenges’, in Letesson, Q. and Knappett, C. (eds), *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment* (Oxford; New York), 1–20.

Letesson, Q. and Knappett, C. (eds) 2017b. *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment* (Oxford; New York).

Letesson, Q., Knappett, C. and Smith, M.E. 2017. ‘A Comparative Perspective on Minoan Urbanism’, in Letesson, Q. and Knappett, C. (eds), *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism: New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment* (Oxford; New York), 361–90.

Letesson, Q. and Vansteenhuyse, K. 2006. ‘Towards an Archaeology of Perception: “Looking” at the Minoan Palaces’, *JMA* 19, 91–119.

Lewartowski, K. 1989. *The Decline of the Mycenaean Civilization: An Archaeological Study of Events in the Greek Mainland* (Kraków).

Lewartowski, K. 2000. *Late Helladic Simple Graves: A Study of Mycenaean Burial Customs* (Oxford).

Lindblom, M. and Wells, B. 2011. *Mastos in the Berbati Valley: An Intensive Archaeological Survey* (Stockholm).

Lis, B. 2007. 'A Revolution in the Study of Late Mycenaean Pottery? A review Article of Ch. Podzuweit "Studien Zur Spätmykenischen Keramik"', *Archeologia* 58, 171–84.

Lis, B. 2016. 'A Foreign Potter in the Pylian Kingdom? A Reanalysis of the Ceramic Assemblage of Room 60 in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos', *Hesperia* 85, 491–536.

Loader, N.C. 1998. *Building in Cyclopean Masonry: With Special Reference to the Mycenean Fortifications on Mainland Greece* (Jonsered).

Loy, M., Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2021. 'From Archive to GIS: Recovering Spatial Information for Tholos IV at the Palace of Nestor from the Notebooks of Lord William Taylour', *IntArch* 56.

Lupack, S. 2008. 'The Northeast Building of Pylos and An 1281.', in Sacconi, A., Del Freo, M., Godart, L., and Negri, M. (eds), *Colloquium Romanum: atti del XII colloquio internazionale di micenologia, Roma, 20 - 25 febbraio 2006* (Pisa), 467–84.

Manning, S.W. 2010. 'Chronology and Terminology', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford; New York), 11–28.

Maran, J. 2000. 'Das Megaron im Megaron. Zur Datierung und Funktion des Antenbaus im mykenischen Palast von Tiryns', *AA* 2000, 1–16.

Maran, J. 2001a. 'Political and Religious Aspects of Architectural Change on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns. The Case of Building T', in Laffineur, R. and Hägg, R. (eds), *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the Sth International Aegean Conference/ se Rencontre egeenne internationale Goteborg, Goteborg University, 12-15 April 2000* (Liège), 113–22.

Maran, J. 2001b. 'Zur Frage des Vorgängers des ersten Doppelpalastes von Tiryns', in Böhm, S. and Eickstedt, K.-V. (eds), *ITHAKI: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001, Böhm* (Würzburg), 23–9.

Maran, J. 2006. ‘Coming to terms with the past: ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC’, in Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Lemos, I. S. (eds), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh), 123–50.

Maran, J. 2008. ‘Forschungen in der Unterburg von Tiryns 2000-2003’, *AA* 2008, 35–111.

Maran, J. 2009a. ‘Mycenaean Citadels as Performative Space’, in Maran, J., Juwig, C., Schwengel, H., and Thaler, U. (eds), *Constructing power: architecture, ideology and social practice = Konstruktion der macht: architektur, ıdeologia und soziales handeln* (Hamburg), 75–91.

Maran, J. 2009b. ‘The crisis years? Reflections on signs of instability in the last decades of the Mycenaean palaces’, *ScAnt* 15, 241–62.

Maran, J. 2010. ‘Tiryns’, in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 722–34.

Maran, J. 2011. ‘Lost in Translation: the Emergence of Mycenaean Culture as a Phenomenon of Glocalization’, in Wilkinson, T. C., Sherratt, S., and Bennet, J. (eds), *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to the 1st Millennia BC* (Oxford; Oakville), 282–93.

Maran, J. 2012a. ‘Architektonischer Raum und soziale Kommunikation auf der Oberburg von Tiryns – Der Wandel von der mykenischen Palastzeit zur Nachpalastzeit’, in Arnold, F., Busch, A., Haensch, R., and Wulf-Rheidt, U. (eds), *Orte der Herrschaft Charakteristika von antiken Machtzentren* (Rahden), 149–62.

Maran, J. 2012b. ‘Ceremonial feasting equipment, social space and interculturality in Post-Palatial Tiryns’, in Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P. W. (eds), *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters* (Oxford; Oakville), 121–36.

Maran, J. 2015. ‘Tiryns and the Argolid in Mycenaean times: New clues and interpretations’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 277–93.

Maran, J. 2016. ‘Against the Currents of History: The Early 12th c. BCE Resurgence of Tiryns’, in Driessen, J. (ed), *Ra-pi-ne-u: Studies on the Mycenaean World offered to Robert Laffineur for his 70th Birthday* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 201–20.

Maran, J. 2019. ‘Not “cultures”, but culture!: The need for a transcultural perspective in archaeology’, in Abu-Er-Rub, L., Brosius, C., Meurer, S., Panagiotopoulos, D., and Richter, S. (eds), *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies* (London), 52–64.

Maran, J. 2020a. ‘The Presence of the Past: Ruin Mounds and Social Memory in Bronze and Early Iron Age Israel and Greece’, in Gilboa, A. and Yasur-Landau, A. (eds), *Nomads of the Mediterranean: trade and contact in the Bronze and Iron Ages: studies in honor of Michal Artzy* (Leiden; Boston), 177–98.

Maran, J. 2022. ‘The Demise of the Mycenaean Palaces: The Need for an Interpretative Reset’, in Jung, R. and Kardamaki, E. (eds), *Synchronizing the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces* (Vienna), 231–53.

Maran, J. and Papadimitriou, A. 2006. ‘Forschungen im Stadtgebiet von Tiryns 1999-2002’, *AA* 2006, 97–169.

Maran, J. and Papadimitriou, A. 2016. ‘Gegen den Strom der Geschichte. Die nördliche Unterstadt von Tiryns: ein gescheitertes Urbanisierungsprojekt der mykenischen Nachpalastzeit’, *AA* 2016, 19–118.

Maran, J. and Papadimitriou, A. 2020. ‘Mycenae and the Argolid’, in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 693–718.

Maran, J. and Papadimitriou, A. 2021. ‘Der lange Schatten der Palastzeit. Die nördliche Unterstadt von Tiryns: ein Großbauprojekt palast- und nachpalastzeitlicher Entscheidungsträger’, *AA* 2021, 1–141.

Maran, J., Papadimitriou, A., Birndorfer, T., Khamnueva, S., Bork, H.-R., Unkel, I. and Kroll, H. 2019. ‘Tiryns, Griechenland. Die Arbeiten der Jahre 2015 bis 2018’, *eDAI-F* 2019, 68–77.

Maran, J., Papadimitriou, A., Hinzen, K., Schultz, M., Schmidt-Schultz, T.H. and Thaler, U. 2015. ‘Tiryns, Griechenland. Die Arbeiten der Jahre 2012 bis 2014’, *eDAI-F* 2015, 47–55.

Maran, J., Papadimitriou, A. and Thaler, U. 2015. ‘Palatial wall paintings from Tiryns: New finds and new perspectives’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 99–116.

Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P.W. 2021. ‘Emulation in Ceramic of A Bronze Bucket of the Kurd Type From Tiryns’, *Origini. Prehistory and protohistory of ancient civilizations* 44, 93–110.

Maran, J. and Wright, J.C. 2020. 'The Rise of the Mycenaean Culture, Palatial Administration and Its Collapse', in Lemos, I. S. and Kotsonas, A. (eds), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Hoboken), 99–132.

Marcus, J. 1983. 'On Nature of the Mesamerican City', in Vogt, E. Z. and Leventhal, R. M. (eds), *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey* 195–242.

Maroukian, H., Gaki-Papanastassiou, K. and Papanastassiou, D. 1996. 'Geomorphologic-Seismotectonic Observations in Relation to the Catastrophes at Mycenae', in Stiros, S. and Jones, R. E. (eds), *Archaeoseismology*. (Athens), 189–94.

Mason, D.J. 2007. 'The Location of the Treasury of Atreus', *OJA* 26, 35–52.

Mason, D.J. 2013. 'The Date of the Tomb of Clytemnestra', *BSA* 108, 97–119.

Mayer, A. and French, E.B. 1990. 'Wallpaintings from the Area of the Prehistoric Cemetery, Mycenae', *BSA* 85, 213–23.

McCallum, L.R. 1987. *Decorative Program in the Mycenaean Palace of Pylos: The Megaron Frescoes.* PhD Dissertation (Philadelphia).

Mee, C. and Cavanagh, W. 1984. 'Mycenaean Tombs as Evidence for Social and Political Organisation', *OJA* 3, 45–64.

Mee, C. and Cavanagh, W.G. 1990. 'The Spatial Distribution of Mycenaean Tombs', *BSA* 85, 225–44.

Mieroop, M. van de 1999. *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (Oxford).

Millon, R.F., Drewitt, R.B. and Cowgill, G.L. 1973. *Urbanization at Teotihuacan, Mexico. Volume One: The Teotihuacan Map, Part One: Text, Part Two: Maps* (Austin).

Molloy, B. 2010. 'Swords and Swordsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age', *AJA* 114, 403–28.

Molloy, B. 2012. 'Martial Minoans? War as social process, practice and event in Bronze Age Crete', *BSA* 107, 87–142.

Moore, A.D. 1988. *The Cult Rooms from the 'Citadel House' Excavations at Mycenae.* PhD Dissertation (Manchester).

Moore, A.D. and Taylour, W.D. 1999. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 10. The Temple Complex* (Oxford).

Morris, A.E.J. 1994. *History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolution* (London; New York).

Morris, I. 1997. 'Homer and the Iron Age', in Morris, I. and Powell, B. B. (eds), *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden), 535–59.

Mountjoy, P.A. 1976. 'Late Helladic IIIB 1 Pottery dating the Construction of the South House at Mycenae', *BSA* 71, 77–111.

Mountjoy, P.A. 1986. *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification* (Göteborg).

Mountjoy, P.A. 1997. 'The Destruction of the Palace at Pylos Reconsidered', *BSA* 92, 109–37.

Mühlenbruch, T. 2009. 'Tiryns - The Settlement and its History in LH III C', in Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Bächle, A. E. (eds), *LH III C chronology and synchronisms III: LH III C Late and the transition to the Early Iron Age: proceedings of the international workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, February 23rd and 24th, 2007* (Wien), 313–26.

Mühlenbruch, T. 2013. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XVII.2. Baubefunde und Stratigraphie der Unterburg und des Nordwestlichen Stadtgebiets (Kampagnen 1976 Bis 1983): Die mykenische Nachpalastzeit (SH III C)* (Wiesbaden).

Mühlenbruch, T. 2015. 'Power and cult in LH IIIC Tiryns', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 131–41.

Muhly, J. 2010. 'History of Research', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford).

Müller, K. 1930. *Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes* (Augsburg).

Müller, K. 1975. 'Das Kuppelgrab von Tiryns', in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VIII* (Mainz am Rhein), 1–7.

Müller, K., Gercke, P., Gercke, W., Hiesel, G., Godart, L., Olivier, J.-P., Grossmann, P., Schäfer, J., Rudolph, W. and Döhl, H. 1975. *Tiryns: Forschungen Und Berichte. Band VIII* (Mainz am Rhein).

Murphy, J.M. 2013. 'The Scent of Status: Prestige and Perfume at the Bronze Age Palace at Pylos, Greece', in Day, J. (ed), Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology (Carbondale), 243–65.

Murphy, J.M. 2014. ‘The Varying Place of the Dead in Pylos.’, in Nakassis, D., Gulizio, J., and James, S. A. (eds), *KE-RA-ME-JA: studies presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), 209–21.

Murphy, J.M. 2016a. ‘Same, Same, but Different: Ritual in the Archaic States of Pylos and Mycenae’, in Murphy, J. M. (ed), *Ritual and Archaic States* (Gainesville), 50–75.

Murphy, J.M. 2016b. ‘The Power of the Ancestors at Pylos’, in Alram-Stern, E. (ed), *Metaphysis: Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Leuven), 439–45.

Murphy, J.M. 2019. ‘Power Plays at Pylos: the Past and Memory in the Tombs and at the Palace’, in Borgna, E., Caloi, I., Carinci, F. M., and Laffineur, R. (eds), *MNHMH / MNEME: past and memory in the Aegean Bronze Age: proceedings of the 17th International Aegean Conference, University of Udine, Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, Department of Humanities, 17-21 April 2018* (Leuven, Liège).

Murphy, J.M., Stocker, S.R., Davis, J.L. and Schepartz, L.A. 2020. ‘Late Bronze Age Tombs at the Palace of Nestor, Pylos’, in Murphy, J. M. (ed), *Death in late Bronze Age Greece: Variations on a Theme* (New York), 45–59.

Mylonas, G.E. 1962. ‘An Inscribed Sherd from Mycenae’, *Kadmos* 1, 95–7.

Mylonas, G.E. 1963. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1961, 99–106.

Mylonas, G.E. 1964. *Grave Circle B of Mycenae* (Lund).

Mylonas, G.E. 1965. ‘Η Ακροπολις των Μυκηνων Μερος Δευτερον οι Περιβολοι αι Πυλαι Και αι Ανοδοι’, *ArchEph* 1962, 1–199

Mylonas, G.E. 1966a. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1964, 68–77.

Mylonas, G.E. 1966b. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1962, 57–66.

Mylonas, G.E. 1966c. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1963, 99–106.

Mylonas, G.E. 1966d. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton).

Mylonas, G.E. 1966e. ‘The East Wing of the Palace of Mycenae’, *Hesperia* 35, 419–26.

Mylonas, G.E. 1967. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1965, 85–96.

Mylonas, G.E. 1968a. ‘A Tablet from Mycenae’, *Kadmos* 7, 65–6.

Mylonas, G.E. 1968b. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1966, 103–14.

Mylonas, G.E. 1968c. *Mycenae’s Last Century of Greatness* (Sydney).

Mylonas, G.E. 1969. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt*1967, 7–19.

Mylonas, G.E. 1970a. ‘A New Tablet from Mycenae, MY Fu 711’, *Kadmos* 9, 48–50.

Mylonas, G.E. 1970b. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1968, 5–11.

Mylonas, G.E. 1972a. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1970, 118–24.

Mylonas, G.E. 1972b. *Το Θρησκευτικών Κέντρων τον Μυκηνών. The Cult Centre of Mycenae* (Athens).

Mylonas, G.E. 1973. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1971, 151–71.

Mylonas, G.E. 1974. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1972, 114–26.

Mylonas, G.E. 1975. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1974, 99–107.

Mylonas, G.E. 1977. ‘Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών’, *Prakt* 1975, 153–61.

Mylonas, G.E. 1983. *Mycenae Rich in Gold* (Athens).

Mylonas-Shear, I. 1968. *Mycenaean Domestic Architecture.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Bryn Mawr).

Mylonas-Shear, I. 1987. *The Panagia Houses at Mycenae* (Philadelphia).

Nakassis, D. 2013. *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos* (Leiden; Boston).

Nakassis, D., Galaty, M.L. and Parkinson, W.A. 2010. ‘State and Society’, in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 239–50.

de Neef, W., Voutsaki, S., Ullrich, B. and Freibothe, R. 2022. ‘A palace under the olive trees. Investigating the spatial organization of the Mycenaean palatial center at Ayios Vasileios (Laconia, Greece) through large-scale magnetic gradiometry’, *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 14, 34.

Nelson, M. 2001. *The Architecture of Epano Englianos, Greece.* PhD Dissertation (Toronto).

Nelson, M. 2017. ‘The Architectur e of the Palace of Nestor’, in Cooper, F. A. and Fortenberry, D. (eds), *The Minnesota Pylos Project, 1990-98* (Oxford), 283–418.

Olivier, J.-P. 1988. ‘Tirynthian Graffiti. Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/83’, *AA* 1988, 253–68.

Onasoglou, A. 1995. *Η Οικία του Τάφου των Τριπόδων στις Μυκήνες* (Athens).

Owens, E.J. 1992. *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London).

Palaima, T. 1984. ‘Scribal Organization and Palatial Activity’, in Shelmerdine, C. W. and Palaima, T. (eds), *Pylos Comes Alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (New York), 31–9.

Palaima, T. 1995. ‘The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions’, in Rehak, P. (ed), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992.* (Austin), 119–42.

Palaima, T. 2004. ‘Sacrificial Feasting in the Linear B Documents’, *Hesperia* 73, 97–126.

Palaima, T. 2010. ‘Linear B’, in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 356–72.

Palaima, T. and Wright, J. 1985. ‘Ins and Outs of the Archives Rooms at Pylos: Form and Function in a Mycenaean Palace’, *AJA* 89, 251–62.

Palaiologou, H. 2015. ‘The Mycenaean building at Chania of Mycenae’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 613–22.

Pantou, P. 2010. ‘Mycenaean Dimini in Context: Investigating Regional Variability and Socioeconomic Complexities in Late Bronze Age Greece’, *AJA* 114, 381–401.

Papadimitriou, I. 1960. ‘Αβασκάφε εν Μυκήνες’, *Prakt* 1955, 217–32.

Papadimitriou, I. and Petsas, P. 1951. ‘Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἒν Μυκήναις’, *Prakt* 1950, 203–33.

Papadimitriou, I. and Petsas, P. 1952. ‘Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἒν Μυκήναις’, *Prakt* 1951, 192–6.

Papadimitriou, N., Philippa-Touchais, A. and Touchais, G. 2015. ‘Argos in the MBA and the LBA: A reassessment of the evidence’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 161–84.

Papanastassiou, D., Maroukian, H. and Gaki-Papanastassiou, K. 1993. 'Morphotectonic and archaeological observations in the eastern Argive Plain (eastern Peloponnese, Greece) and their palaeoseismological implications', *Zeitschrift für Geomoprohologie* 94, 95–105.

Parkinson, W.A., Nakassis, D. and Galaty, M.L. 2013. 'Crafts, Specialists, and Markets in Mycenaean Greece. Introduction', *AJA* 117, 413–22.

Pearson, C.L., Brewer, P.W., Brown, D., Heaton, T.J., Hodgins, G.W.L., Jull, A.J.T., Lange, T. and Salzer, M.W. 2018. 'Annual radiocarbon record indicates 16th century BCE date for the Thera eruption', *Science Advances* 4, eaar8241.

Petrakis, V. 2021. 'Transforming Expressions and Perceptions of Prestige in the Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Southwestern Peloponnese.', in Eder, B. and Zavadil, M. (eds), *(Social) Place and Space in Early Mycenaean Greece: International Discussions in Mycenaean Archaeology, October 5–8, 2016, Athens* (Vienna), 295–319.

Petrakos, V. 2015. 'Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών', *Prakt* 2013, 21–50.

Phialon, L. 2020. 'The End of a World: Local Conflict and Regional Violence in Mycenaean Boeotia?', in *The Dancing Floor of Ares: Local Conflict and Regional Violence in Central Greece* 21–45.

Philadelphis, A. 1917. 'Ο μυκηναικός θησαυρός Τίρυνθος', *ArchDelt* 2, 13–21.

Piteros, C. 2015. 'Mycenaean Nauplion', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 241–59.

Pliatsika, V. 2015. 'Tales of the Unexpected: Identifying cult practice in the House M Quarter of the Mycenae Citadel.', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 597–612.

Plommer, H. 1965. 'A Carved Block from the Megaron of Mycenae', *BSA* 60, 207–11.

Podzuweit, C. 2007. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XIV. Studien zur Spätmykenischen Keramik* (Wiesbaden).

Podzuweit, C. and Saltzmann, D. 1977. 'Ein mykenischer Kieselmosaikfussboden aus Tiryns', *AA* 1977, 123–37.

Popham, M. 1970. *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos. Pottery of the Late Minoan IIIA Period* (Göteborg).

Popham, M. 1991. 'Pylos: Reflections on the Date of its Destruction and on its Iron Age Reoccupation', *OJA* 10, 315–24.

Preziosi, D. 1983. *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification* (Berlin).

Pullen, D.J. 2015. 'How to build a Mycenaean town: The architecture of Kalamianos', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 377–90.

Rahmstorf, L. 2008. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XVI. Kleinfunde aus Tiryns: Terrakotta, Stein, Bein und Glas-Fayence vornehmlich aus der Spätbronzezeit* (Wiesbaden).

Rahmstorf, L. 2015. 'Workshop activities and pyrotechnology at Mycenaean Tiryns', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 143–9.

Rapoport, A. 1982. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (Beverly Hills).

Relaki, M. and Driessen, J. (eds) 2020. *OIKOS - Archaeological Approaches to House Societies in Bronze Age Aegean* (Louvain-la-Neuve).

Renfrew, C. 1972. *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.*

Renfrew, C. 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London).

Rieger, A. and Böser, W. 1990. 'Das neue Kartenwerk von Tiryns', in *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XI* (Mainz am Rhein), 165-171.

Rodenwaldt, G. 1912. *Die Fresken Des Palastes* (Paris).

Rodenwaldt, G. 1921. *Der Fries Des Megarons von Mykenai* (Halle).

Rowe, K.R. and Wace, A.J.B. 1954. 'Mycenae 1939-1953: Part IV. The "Gallery" in the North Wall', *BSA* 49, 254–7.

Rudolph, W. 1973. 'Die Nekropole am Prophitis Elias bei Tiryns', in Jantzen, U. (ed), *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VI* (Mainz am Rhein), 23–126.

Rutter, J.B. 2005. ‘Southern Triangles Revisited: Lakonia, Messenia, and Crete in the 14th-12th Centuries BC’, in D’Agata, A. L. and Moody, J. A. (eds), *Ariadne’s Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC). Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5-6 April 2003* (Athens), 17–64.

Rutter, J.B. 2018. ‘An Aegean archaeologist’s response’, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici. Nuova Serie* 4, 208–13.

Sanders, D. 1985. ‘Behavior and the Built Environment: An Interpretive Model for the Analysis of Architecture in an Archaeological Context and Its Testing on Material from the Aegean Bronze Age Site of Myrtos’, *Dissertation Abstracts A* 46, 186.

Schaar, K.W. 1979. *An Interpretation of the Palace Plans at Mycenae.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.

Schepartz, L.A. 2017. ‘Mycenaean Hierarchy and Gender Roles: Diet and Health Inequalities in Late Bronze Age Pylos, Greece’, in Klaus, H. D., Harvey, A. R., Cohen, M. N., and Larsen, C. S. (eds), *Bones of Complexity: Bioarchaeological Case Studies of Social Organization and Skeletal Biology* (Gainesville), 141–72.

Schepartz, L.A., Papathanasiou, A., Sari, M.-A., Stocker, S.R., Davis, J.L., Murphy, J.M., Malapani, E. and Richards, M. 2014. ‘No Seat at the Table? Mycenaean Women’s Diet and Health in Pylos, Greece’, in Schepartz, L. A. (ed), *Anthropology à la Carte: The Evolution and Diversity of Human Diet* (San Diego), 359–74.

Schepartz, L.A., Sari, M.-A. and Murphy, J.M. 2009. ‘Differential Health among the Mycenaeans of Messenia: Status, Sex, and Dental Health at Pylos’, in Schepartz, L. A., Fox, S. C., and Bourbou, C. (eds), *New Directions in the Skeletal Biology of Greece* (Princeton), 155–74.

Schiffer, M.B. 1975. ‘Archaeology as Behavioral Science’, *American Anthropologist* 77, 836–48.

Schliemann, H. 1878. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* (New York).

Schliemann, H. and Dörpfeld, W. 1886. *Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns. The Results of the Latest Excavations* (Leipzig).

Schönfeld, G. 1988. ‘Bericht zur bemalten mykenischen Keramik. Ausgrabungen in Tiryns’, *AA* 1988, 152–211.

Schuchardt, K. 1891. *Schliemann's Excavations: An Archaeological and Historical Study* (London; New York).

Shaw, M.C. 1996. 'The bull-leaping fresco from below the Ramp House at Mycenae: a study in iconography and artistic transmission1', *BSA* 91, 167–90.

Shelmerdine, C.W. 1984. 'The Perfumed Oil Industry at Pylos', in Shelmerdine, C. W. and Palaima, T. (eds), *Pylos Comes Alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (New York), 81–95.

Shelmerdine, C.W. 1985. *The Perfume Industry in Mycenaean Pylos* (Göteborg).

Shelmerdine, C.W. 1998. 'The Southwestern Department at Pylos', in Bennet, J. and Driessen, J. (eds), *A-na-qo-ta. Studies Presented to J. T. Killen* (Salamanca), 107–33.

Shelmerdine, C.W. 1999. 'A Comparative Look at Mycenaean Administration(s)', in Hiller, S., Panagl, O., and Deger-Jalkotzy, S. (eds), *Floreant studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995* (Vienna), 555–76.

Shelton, K. 1993. 'Tsountas' Chamber Tombs at Mycenae', *ArchEph* 132, 187–210.

Shelton, K. 2000. 'Four Chamber Tomb Cemeteries at Mycenae', *ArchEph* 139, 17–64.

Shelton, K. 2002. 'A New Linear B Tablet from Petsas House, Mycenae', *Minos* 37–38, 387–96.

Shelton, K. 2004. 'Open and ready for business: the excavations at Petsas House and the LH IIIA2 period at Mycenae', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 47, 181–2.

Shelton, K. 2007. 'Foot Soldiers and Cannon Fodder: The Underrepresented Majority of the Mycenaean Civilization.', in Morris, S. P. and Laffineur, R. (eds), *Epos: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference / 11e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Los Angeles, UCLA - The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006* (Liège; Austin), 169–75.

Shelton, K. 2008. 'Drinking, Toasting, Consumption and Libation: Late Helladic IIIA Pottery and a Cup for Every Occasion.', in Hitchcock, L., Laffineur, R., and Crowley, J. (eds), *Dais: The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference / 12e Rencontre*

égéenne internationale, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25-29 March 2008 (Liège; Austin), 221–8.

Shelton, K. 2009a. 'Bringing down the house: changing construction techniques in LH IIIA 2 and IIIB Mycenae', in Danielidou, D. (ed), *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη* (Athens), 635–46.

Shelton, K. 2009b. 'The figurines from Petsas House', in Schallin, A.-L. and Pakkanen, P. (eds), *Encounters with Mycenaean figures and figurines: papers presented at a seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 27-29 April 2001* (Stockholm), 55–60.

Shelton, K. 2010a. 'Citadel and Settlement: A Developing Economy at Mycenae, the Case of Petsas House.', in Pullen, D. J. (ed), *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22-24 February 2007* (Oxford; Oakville), 184–204.

Shelton, K. 2010b. 'Late Bronze Age', in Cline, E. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford), 139–48.

Shelton, K. 2010c. 'Living and Dying in and around Middle Helladic Mycenae', in Philippa-Touchais, A., Touchais, G., Voutsaki, S., and Wright, J. C. (eds), *Mesohelladika. Mesoelladika: La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Η ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα στη Μέση εποχή του Χαλκού. The Greek mainland in the Middle Bronze Age. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8-12 mars 2006* (Athens), 57–65.

Shelton, K. 2014. 'Wine, Women, and Song . . . The LH IIIA:2 Kylix at Petsas House, Mycenae', in Nakassis, D., Gulizio, J., and James, S. A. (eds), *KE-RA-ME-JA: studies presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), 17–32.

Shelton, K. 2015a. 'Late Helladic IIIA Frescoes from Petsas House, Mycenae: Splatters, Patterns, and Scenes', in Brecoulaki, H., Davis, J. L., and Stocker, S. R. (eds), *Mycenaean Wall Painting in Context: New Discoveries, Old Finds Reconsidered* (Athens, Greece), 126–43.

Shelton, K. 2015b. 'Pottery and Petsas House: Recent research on LH IIIA2 Mycenae', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 27–36.

Shelton, K. 2016. ‘Petsas House, Pottery Production, and the Mycenaean People in LH IIIA2’, in Driessen, J. (ed), *Ra-pi-ne-u: Studies on the Mycenaean World offered to Robert Laffineur for his 70th Birthday* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 317–26.

Shelton, K. 2020. ‘“You Can’t Take It with You”: The Sociopolitical Context of Changing Burial Traditions during the Palatial Period at Mycenae.’, in Murphy, J. M. (ed), *Death in late Bronze Age Greece: Variations on a Theme* (New York), 45–59.

Shelton, K. 2022a. ‘On Shaky Ground: Petsas House and Destruction at Mycenae in LH IIIA2’, in Jung, R. and Kardamaki, E. (eds), *Synchronizing the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces* (Vienna), 35–47.

Shelton, K. 2022b. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 14. Tsountas House Area* (Oxford).

Sherratt, S. 2001. ‘Potemkin Palaces and Route Based Economies’, in Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds), *Economy and politics in the mycenaean palace states: proceedings of a conference held on 1 - 3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (Cambridge), 214–38.

Sherratt, S. and Bennet, J. (eds) 2017. *Archaeology and Homeric Epic* (Oxford).

Siedentopf, H., Rudolph, W., Döhl, H., Willerding, U. and Voigtländer, W. 1973. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band VI* (Mainz am Rhein).

Siennicka, M. 2015. ‘Courts and open spaces in the Late Helladic III Argolid’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 361–76.

Simpson, R.H. 2014. *Mycenaean Messenia and the Kingdom of Pylos* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania).

Simpson, R.H. and Hagel, D.K. 2006. *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals* (Sävedalen).

Skafida, E., Karnava, A. and Olivier, J.-P. 2012. ‘Two new Linear B tablets from the site of Kastro-Palaia in Volos’, in Carlier, P., De Lamberterie, C., Egetmeyer, M., Guilleux, N., Rougemont, F., and Zurbach, J. (eds), *Études mycéniennes 2010. Actes du XIIIe colloque international sur les textes égéens. Sèvres, Paris, Nanterre, 20-23 septembre 2010* (Pisa; Roma), 55–73.

Smith, M.E. 2007. ‘Form and Meaning in the Earliest Cities: A New Approach to Ancient Urban Planning’, *Journal of Planning History* 6, 3–47.

Spyropoulos, T. 1974. ‘Τό ανάκτορον τού Μινύου εισ τόν Βοιωτικόν Όρχομενόν’, *AAA* 7, 313–25.

Spyropoulos, T. 2015. ‘Wall Paintings from the Mycenaean Palace of Boiotian Orchomenos’, in Brecoulaki, H., Davis, J. L., and Stocker, S. R. (eds), *Mycenaean Wall Painting in Context: New Discoveries, Old Finds Reconsidered* (Athens), 354–68.

Stamos, A. and Maggidis, C. 2006. ‘Detecting Mycenae: Systematic Remote-Sensing Survey in the Lower City: Toward the Discovery of the Mycenaean Settlement Outside the Citadel’, in Campano, S. and Forte, M. (eds), *2nd International Conference on Remote Sensing Archaeology: From Space to Place (Rome 2006),* (Oxford), 157–66.

Staski, E. 1982. ‘Advances in Urban Archaeology’, *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 5, 97–149.

Steffen, B. 1884. *Karten von Mykenai* (Berlin).

Stocker, S.R. 2003. ‘Pylos Regional Archaeological Project. Part V: Deriziotis Aloni: A Small Bronze Age Site in Messenia’, *Hesperia* 72, 341–404.

Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2004. ‘Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor’, *Hesperia* 73, 179–95.

Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2014. ‘“Re-excavating” the Palace of Nestor: The Hora Apotheke Reorganization Project’, in Nakassis, D., Gulizio, J., and James, S. A. (eds), *KE-RA-ME-JA: Studies Presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine* (Philadelphia), 239–48.

Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2017. ‘The Combat Agate from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos’, *Hesperia* 86, 583–605.

Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2020. ‘An Early Mycenaean Wanax at Pylos? On Genii and Sun-Disks from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior’, in Blakolmer, F. (ed), *Current Approaches and New Perspectives in Aegean Iconography* (Louvain-La-Neuve), 293–9.

Stocker, S.R., McNamee, C., Vitale, S., Karkanas, P. and Davis, J.L. 2022. ‘The Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos: Construction, Burial, and Aftermath’, *Hesperia* 91, 211–50.

Stockhammer, P.W. 2008. *Kontinuität und Wandel - Die Keramik der Nachpalastzeit aus der Unterstadt von Tiryns.* PhD Dissertation (Heidelberg).

Stockhammer, P.W. 2011. ‘Household Archaeology in LHIIIC Tiryns’, in Yasur-Landau, A., Ebeling, J. R., and Mazow, L. B. (eds), *Household archaeology in Ancient Israel and beyond* (Leiden; Boston), 207–36.

Symenoglou, S. 1973. *Kadmeia I. Mycenaean finds from Thebes, Greece. Excavation at 14 Oedipus St.* (Göteborg).

Taylour, W.D. 1955. ‘Part IV. The Perseia Area’, *BSA* 50, 199–237.

Taylour, W.D. 1981. *Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969. Fascicule 1. The Excavations* (Warminster).

Tegyey, I. 1984. ‘The Northeast Workshop at Pylos’, in Shelmerdine, C. W. and Palaima, T. (eds), *Pylos Comes Alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (New York), 65–79.

Thaler, U. 2005. ‘Narrative and Syntax: new perspectives on the Late Bronze Age palace of Pylos, Greece’, in Nes, A. van (ed), *Space Syntax 5th International Symposium: proceedings ; Delft, 13 - 17 June 2005* (Delft), 323–39.

Thaler, U. 2006. ‘Constructing and Reconstructing Power’, in Maran, J., Carsten, J., Schwengel, H., and Thaler, U. (eds), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice. Konstruktion der Macht: Architektur, Ideologie und soziales Handeln* (Hamburg), 93–116.

Thaler, U. 2009. *Architektur Der Macht – Macht Der Architektur. Mykenische Paläste Als Dokument Und Gestaltungsrahmen Frühgeschichtlicher Sozialordnung* PhD Dissertation (Heidelberg).

Thaler, U. 2015. ‘Movement in between, into and inside Mycenaean palatial megara.’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 339–60.

Thomas, P. 2004. ‘Some Observations on the “Zygouries” Kylix and Late Helladic IIIB Chronology.’, in Chapin, A. P. (ed), *Χάρις: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr* (Princeton), 207–24.

Tournavitou, I. 1995. *The ‘Ivory Houses’ at Mycenae* (London).

Tournavitou, I. 2006. ‘A Mycenaean Building Reconsidered: The Case of the West House at Mycenae’, *BSA* 101, 217–67.

Tournavitou, I. 2015a. ‘Sport, Prestige, and Ritual Outside the Palaces: Pictorial Frescoes from the West House at Mycenae’, in Brecoulaki, H., Davis, J. L., and Stocker, S. R. (eds), *Mycenaean Wall Painting in Context: New Discoveries, Old Finds Reconsidered* (Athens), 144–69.

Tournavitou, I. 2015b. ‘The East House in the Lower Town of Mycenae: The past, the present, and the future’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 37–51.

Tournavitou, I., Strand, E.B.A., Nosch, M.-L. and Cutler, J. 2015. ‘Textile production at Mycenae, mainland Greece’, in Strand, E. B. A. and Nosch, M.-L. (eds), *Tools, textiles and contexts: investigating textile production in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age* (Oxford; Philadelphia), 253–65.

Trigger, B.G. 2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge).

Tsountas, C. 1887. ‘Ἀρχαιότητες ἐκ Μυκηνῶν’, *ArchEph* 1887, 155–93.

Tsountas, C. 1891. ‘Ἐx Μυκηνῶν’, *ArchEph* 1891, 1–44.

Tsountas, C. and Manatt, J.I. 1897. *The Mycenaean Age: A Study Of The Monuments And Culture Of Pre-Homeric Greece* (Boston; New York).

Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2015. ‘“ΑΦΝΕΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ”: Mycenaean reality or Homeric fiction’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 297–311.

Varias, C.G. 1999. ‘The Palace of Mycenae in LH III B2 According to the Documents in Linear B: A General Description’, in Deger-Jalkotzy, S., Hiller, S., and Panagl, O. (eds), *Floreant Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995. Band I* (Vienna), 595–600.

Varias, C.G. 2012. ‘The Textile Industry in the Argolid in the Late Bronze Age from the Written Sources’, in Laffineur, R. and Nosch, M.-L. B. (eds), *Kosmos: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference* (Liège Leuven), 155–61.

Vasilogamvrou, A. 2013. ‘Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας’, *Prakt* 168, 97–116.

Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J. 1956. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge).

Verdelis, N. 1963. ‘Neue geometrische Gräber in Tiryns’, *MdI* 78, 1–62.

Verdelis, N. 1961. ‘A Private House Discovered at Mycenae’, *Archaeology* 14, 12–7.

Vetters, M. 2011. ‘A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns’, *AA* 2011, 1–49.

Vetters, M. 2015. ‘Private and Communal Ritual at Post-Palatial Tiryns’, in Pakkanen, P. and Bocher, S. (eds), *Cult material: from archaeological deposits to interpretation of early Greek religion* (Helsinki), 65–106.

Vetters, M. 2019. *Die spätbronzezeitlichen Terrakotta-Figurinen aus Tiryns: Überlegungen zu religiös motiviertem Ritualverhalten in mykenischer Zeit* (Heidelberg).

Vetters, M., Brysbaert, A., Ntinou, M., Tsartsidou, G. and Margaritis, E. 2016. ‘People and plants. Piecing together archaeological and archaeobotanical data to reconstruct plant use and craft activities in Mycenaean Tiryns’, *OpAthRom* 9, 93–132.

Vitale, S. 2006. ‘The LH IIIB-LH IIIC Transition on the Mycenaean Mainland: Ceramic Phases and Terminology’, *Hesperia* 75, 177–204.

Vitale, S. 2016. ‘Cultural Entanglements on Kos during the Late Bronze Age: A Comparative Analysis of “Minoanisation” and “Mycenaeanisation” at the “Serraglio”, Eleona, and Langada’, in Gorogianni, E., Pavúk, P., and Girella, L. (eds), *Beyond Thalassocracies: Understanding Processes of Minoanisation and Mycenaeanisation in the Aegean* (Oxford; Philadelphia), 75–93.

Vitale, S., Stocker, S.R. and Davis, J.L. 2022. ‘The Destructions of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos and Its LH IIIA Predecessor as a Methodological Case Study’, in Jung, R. and Kardamaki, E. (eds), *Synchronizing the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces* (Vienna), 121–48.

Vitale, S., Stocker, S.R. and Malapani, E. 2021. ‘A Late Helladic IIB Pottery Deposit from the Ano Englianos Ridge at Pylos in Western Messenia’, in Eder, B. and Zavadil, M. (eds), *(Social) Place and Space in Early Mycenaean Greece: International Discussions in Mycenaean Archaeology, October 5–8, 2016, Athens* (Vienna), 193–213.

Vitale, S. and Van de Moortel, A. 2020. ‘The Late Helladic IIIB phase at Mitrou, East Lokris: pottery, chronology, and political relations with the palatial polities of Thebes and Orchomenos/Glas’, *ASAtene* 98, 9–59.

Voigtländer, W. 1971. ‘Tiryns. Unterburg-Kampagne 1971’, *AA* 4, 398–406.

Voigtländer, W. 1973. ‘Tiryns Unterburg-Kampagne 1972’, *AA* 6, 28–38.

Voigtländer, W. 2003. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band X. Die Palastkeramik* (Mainz am Rhein).

Voutsaki, S. 1995. ‘Social and Political Processes in the Mycenaean Argolid: The Evidence from the Mortuary Practices’, in Laffineur, R. and Niemeier, W.-D. (eds), *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference / 5e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994, Vol I.* (Liège; Austin), 55–66.

Voutsaki, S. 2001. ‘Economic Control, Power and Prestige in the Mycenaean World: The Archaeological Evidence’, in Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds), *Economy and politics in the mycenaean palace states: proceedings of a conference held on 1 - 3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (Cambridge), 195–213.

Voutsaki, S. 2010. ‘From the kinship economy to the palatial economy: the Argolid in the second millennium BC’, in Pullen, D. J. (ed), *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22-24 February 2007* (Oxford; Oakville), 86–111.

Voutsaki, S. 2012. ‘From value to meaning, from things to persons: the Grave Circles of Mycenae reconsidered.’, in Urton, G. and Papadopoulos, J. (eds), *The construction of value in the ancient world.* (Los Angeles), 112–37.

Voutsaki, S. 2021. ‘Social change and human agency. The Argolid at the onset of the Mycenaean era’, in Eder, B. and Zavadil, M. (eds), *(Social) Place and Space in Early Mycenaean Greece: International Discussions in Mycenaean Archaeology, October 5–8, 2016, Athens* (Vienna), 423–52.

Wace, A.J.B. 1949. *Mycenae, an Archaeological History and Guide* (Princeton).

Wace, A.J.B. 1950. ‘Excavations at Mycenae, 1939’, *BSA* 45, 203–28.

Wace, A.J.B. 1951. ‘Mycenae 1950’, *JHS* 71, 254–7.

Wace, A.J.B. 1953. ‘Mycenae 1939-1952: Part I. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of 1952’, *BSA* 48, 1–18.

Wace, A.J.B. 1954. ‘Mycenae 1939-1953: Part I. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of 1953’, *BSA* 49, 231–43.

Wace, A.J.B. 1955. ‘Mycenae 1939-1954: Part I. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of 1954’, *BSA* 50, 175–89.

Wace, A.J.B. 1956a. ‘Mycenae 1939-1955: Part I. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of 1955’, *BSA* 51, 103–22.

Wace, A.J.B. 1956b. ‘The Last Days of Mycenae’, in Weinberg, S. S. (ed), *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of her Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Locust Valley), 126–35.

Wace, A.J.B. 1957. ‘Mycenae 1939-1956, 1957: Part IV. Prehistoric Cemetery: A Deposit of L.H. III Pottery’, *BSA* 52, 207–19.

Wace, A.J.B., Heurtley, W.A., Lamb, W., Holland, L.B. and Boethius, C.A. 1923. ‘The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae, 1921-1923 [corrected title: The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae, 1920-1923]’, *BSA* 25, 1–434.

Wallerstein, I. 1974. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* (New York).

Wardle, K. 1973. ‘A group of LH IIIB 2 pottery from within the Citadel at Mycenae’, *BSA* 68, 297–348.

Wardle, K. 2003. ‘The “Cult Centre” at Mycenae and other sanctuaries in the Argo-Saronic Gulf and the NE Peloponnese: Location and status.’, in Konsolaki-Giannopoulou, E. (ed), *Αργοσαρωνικός: Πρακτικά 1ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998* (Athens), 317–32.

Wardle, K. 2015. ‘Reshaping the past: Where was the “Cult Centre” at Mycenae?’, in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 577–96.

Wardle, K. and Wardle, D. 2019. ‘The citadel of Mycenae: a landscape of myth and memory’, in Borgna, E., Caloi, I., Carinci, F. M., and Laffineur, R. (eds), *MNHMH / MNEME. Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 17th International Aegean Conference, University of Udine, Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, Department of Humanities, 17-21 April 2018* (Leuven), 153–64.

Watts, C. (ed) 2013a. *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things* (London; New York).

Watts, C. 2013b. 'Relational archaeologies: roots and routes', in Watts, C. (ed), *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things* (London; New York), 1–20.

Weiberg, E. and Finné, M. 2018. 'Resilience and persistence of ancient societies in the face of climate change: a case study from Late Bronze Age Peloponnese', *WorldArch* 50, 584–602.

Weisshaar, H.-J., Weber-Hiden, I., von den Driesch, A., Boessneck, J., Rieger, A. and Böser, W. 1990. *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte. Band XI* (Mainz am Rhein).

Westerburg, J. 2001. 'Ein Rekonstruktionsvorschlag zum Nordostbau des "Nestor-Palastes" in Pylos: Die erste Stoa auf dem griechischen Festland?', *AA* 2001, 361-71.

Whitelaw, T. 2001. 'Reading between the tablets: assessing Mycenaean palatial involvement in ceramic production and consumption', in Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States. Proceedings of a Conference held on 1-3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics* (Cambridge), 51–79.

Whittaker, H. 2015. 'Mycenaean religion in the 21st century', in Schallin, A.-L. and Tournavitou, I. (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date: The archaeology of the north-eastern Peloponnese - current concepts and new directions* (Stockholm), 613–22.

Wiener, M.H. 2020. 'Helladic Greece from the Middle Bronze Age to c. 1350 BCE', in Blum, S. W. E., Efe, T., Kienlin, T. L., and Pernicka, E. (eds), *From Past to Present. Studies in Memory of Manfred O. Korfmann* (Bonn), 279–331.

Wirghová, S. 2022. 'Turning Points in the Ceramic Sequence of the Northern Tip of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns', in Jung, R. and Kardamaki, E. (eds), *Synchronizing the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces* (Vienna), 49–96.

Wirth, L. 1938. 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology* 44, 1–24.

Woolf, G. 1993. 'Rethinking the oppida', *OJA* 12, 223–34.

Wright, J.C. 1978. *Mycenaean Masonry Practices and Elements of Construction.* PhD Dissertation (Bryn Mawr).

Wright, J.C. 1984. 'Changes in Form and Function of the Palace at Pylos', in Shelmerdine, C. W. and Palaima, T. (eds), *Pylos Comes Alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (New York), 19–29.

Wright, J.C. 2006. ‘The Formation of the Mycenaean Palace’, in Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Lemos, I. (eds), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh), 7–52.

Wright, J.C. 2008a. ‘Chamber Tombs, Family, and State in Mycenaean Greece’, in Gallou, C., Georgiadis, M., and Muskett, G. (eds), *Dioskouroi. Studies presented to W. G. Cavanagh and C. B. Mee on the anniversary of their 30-year joint contribution to Aegean Archaeology* (Oxford), 144–53.

Wright, J.C. 2008b. ‘Early Mycenaean Greece’, in Shelmerdine, C. W. (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge), 230–57.

Wright, J.C. 2020. ‘Mycenaean Ashlar Masonry An Overview’, in Devolder, M. and Kreimerman, I. (eds), *Ashlar: exploring the materiality of Cut stone masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age* (Louvain-la-Neuve), 187–214.

Wright, J.C. and Dabney, M.K. 2020. *Nemea Valley Archaeological Project 3: The Mycenaean Settlement on Tsoungiza Hill* (Princeton, New Jersey).

Zangger, E. 1994. ‘Landscape Changes around Tiryns during the Bronze Age’, *AJA* 98, 189–212.

Zangger, E., Timpson, M., Yazvenko, S., Kuhnke, F. and Knauss, J. 1997. ‘The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project. Part II: Landscape Evolution and Site Preservation’, *Hesperia* 66, 549–641.

Zeman, P. 2020. ‘Urbanisation and Formation of Palatial Towns in Mycenaean Culture. Foreign Influences or Indigenous Development?’, in Driessen, J. and Vanzetti, A. (eds), *Communication uneven: Acceptance of and resistance to foreign influences in the connected ancient Mediterranean* (Louvain-La-Neuve), 101–18.

Tab. 1. Chronology chart. All dates are approximate. Low chronology after Wiener (2020, 283), high chronology after Manning (2010, tab. 2.2).

Relative periodization on the Greek Mainland	Low Chronology (BC)	High Chronology (BC)	Relative periodization on Crete	Low Chronology (BC)	High Chronology (BC)
MH	2100/2050 – 1630/10	2100/2050 – 1700/1675	MM	2100/50 – 1630/10	2100/50 – 1700/1675
LH I	1630/10 – 1520/10	1700/1675 – 1635/00	LM IA	1630/10 – 1520	1700/1675 – 1625/00
LH IIA	1520/10 – 1450/40	1635/00 – 1480/70	LM IB	1520 – 1440	1625/00 – 1470/60
LH IIB	1450/40 – 1410/00	1480/70 – 1420/10	LM II	1440 – 1410/00	1470/60 – 1420/10
LH IIIA1	1410/00 – 1365/55	1420/10 – 1390/70	LM IIIA1	1410/00 – 1355/45	1420/10 – 1390/70
LH IIIA2	1365/55 – 1290/85	1390/70 – 1330/15	LM IIIA2	1355/45 - 1290	1390/70 – 1330/15
LH IIIB1	1290/85 – 1240	1330/15 – 1200/1190	LM IIIB	1290 - 1200	1330/15 – 1200/1190
LH IIIB2	1240 – 1200/1190				
LH IIIC	1200/1190 – 1070	1200/1190 – 1075/1050	LM IIIC	1200 - 1070	1200/1190 – 1075/50

Tab. 2. Relative chronology of the development and decomposition of the palatial towns of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (*WBM* phases after French 2011; Tiryns Unterburg Horizons after Damm-Meinhardt 2015; Palace at Pylos phases after Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022; synchronisms for LH IIIB after Vitale and Van de Moortel, 2020, tab. 1; synchronisms for LH IIIC after Stockhammer 2008, fig. 4)

<table>
<tr><th>Relative chronology</th><th>WBM Citadel Phases</th><th>Mycenae</th><th>Tiryns Unterburg Horizons</th><th>Tiryns</th><th>Palace at Pylos Phases</th><th>Pylos</th></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIA1</td><td rowspan="2">V</td><td rowspan="2">Pre-palatial settlement</td><td rowspan="3">14</td><td rowspan="2">Pre-palatial settlement</td><td rowspan="2">Early Palace</td><td rowspan="2">Palatial town – Phase 1a</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIA2</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Palatial town – Phase 1</td><td>Palatial town – Phase 1</td><td>Intermediate period?</td><td>Palatial town – Phase 1b</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIB1 Early</td><td>VIA</td><td rowspan="3">Palatial town – Phase 2</td><td>15</td><td rowspan="2">Palatial town – Phase 2</td><td rowspan="2">Late Palace – Phase 1</td><td rowspan="5">Palatial town – Phase 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIB1 Late</td><td>VIB</td><td>16</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">LH IIIB2 Early</td><td>VII</td><td rowspan="3">17a0-3</td><td rowspan="3">Palatial town – Phase 3</td><td rowspan="4">Late Palace – Phase 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>VIIIA</td><td>Palatial town – Phase 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIB2 Late</td><td>VIIIB</td><td>17a4-5</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Early 1</td><td>IX</td><td rowspan="5">Post-palatial settlement</td><td rowspan="2">19</td><td rowspan="5">Post-palatial settlement</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Early 2</td><td>X</td><td rowspan="4">Post-palatial reoccupation?</td><td rowspan="4">Abandonment?</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Middle 1</td><td rowspan="2">XI</td><td>20</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Middle 2</td><td>21</td></tr>
<tr><td>LH IIIC Late</td><td>XII</td><td>22</td></tr>
</table>

Tab. 3. Catalog of fortifications.

Name	Circuit lenght (in metres)	Circuit area (in hectares)	Form of the wall	Number of gates	Additional structural elements	History of use	References
Mycenae Citadel	740 (phase 1); 860 (phase 2)	2,1? (phase 1); 3 (phase 2)	Cyclopean masonry, ashlar masonry (phase 2 only)	1+ (phase 1); 3? (phase 2)	Entrance ramp; bastions (Lion Gate, Postern Gate); sally ports (NE Extension); rooms within the walls(Building Y-B); room attached to the walls (Lion Gate Staircase); vaulted room attached to the walls (E of House M Complex)	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Destruction? - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction - Classical (468 BC)	Wace et al. 1923, 9-38, 96, 105-106; Wace 1949, 22-23, 49-57, 132-134; Mylonas 1962-1965, 187-198; Mylonas 1966, 15-35; Wright 1978, 175-199; Iakovidis 1983, 24-37; Mylonas 1983, 70-88; French 2002, 52-57, 77-78, 80, 92; Iakovidis and French 2003, 11-13; French 2003, 26; Wardle 2003, 320-321; Younger 2010, 625; Fitzsimons 2011, 108; French 2011 WBM 16/17, 30-31; Wardle 2015, 591-592
Tiryns Citadel	300 (phase 1a); 345/605? (phase 1b); 745 (phase 2)	0,5 (phase 1a); 0,65/1,05? (phase 1b); 1,85 (phase 2)	Cyclopean masonry, rubble masonry	1 (phases 1a); 5? (phase 1b); 8 (phase 2a); 9 (phase 2b)	Entrance ramps; intramural enclosure; gate towers (E gate, phase 1a; West Bastion tower, phase 1b/c-d); bastions (N gates of Upper Citadel, phase 1b-d; West Bastion, phase 1c-d); rooms within the walls (S side of the Upper Citadel, phase 1b-d; E side of the Upper Citadel, phase 1c-d), niches inside walls (Lower Citadel, phase 1c-d); galleries (S and E side of the Upper Citadel, phase 1c-d); subterranean galleries/cisterns (W side of the Lower Citadel, phase 1c-d); staircases (S side of the Upper Citadel, the West Staircase, the W gate of the Lower Citadel, phase 1c-d), sally port (N side of the Lower Citadel, phase 1c)	Phase 1a - LH IIIA1/A2 Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB1 Phase 2a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2b - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 3 - LH IIIC Destruction - Proto-geometric?	Müller 1930 Tiryns III, 1-73; Mylonas 1966a, 11-15; Jantzen et al. 1975, 13-22, 39-47, 53-58; Iakovidis 1983, 3-13; Kilian 1988a, 139, fig. 28; Kilian 1988b, 134, fig. 9; Maran 2001a, 115-116, 118-119; Maran 2008, 98-109; Maran 2010. 725-729; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1 17-23
Pylos Circuit Wall	430?	1,15?	Rubble masonry	1+	Towers at the NE Gate?; exterior structure of an unknown function (NE Gate)	Phase 1a - LH I Phase 1b - LH I Abandonment - LH IIIA2 Early?	Blegen et al. 1973, 4-18; Wright 1978, 164-165; Zangger et al. 1997, 606-613; Davis et al. 1998, 55-58; Hope Simpson and Hagel 2006, 52-53; Nelson 2017, 353

Tab. 4. Catalog of cemeteries.

Site	Name	Number of tombs	Burial forms	History of use	References
Mycenae	Panagia	16	Chamber tombs Cist graves	Establishment - LH IIA Last use - LH IIIC	Shelton 1993, 199-201; Shelton 2000, 51-63; French et al. 2003, 35
	Epano Pegadi/Phournodiaselo	25	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II Last use - LH IIIB	Shelton 1993, 202-204; French et al. 2003, 35-36
	Bouzioti (Kalkani North Bank)	9	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II Last use - LH IIIB	Shelton 1993, 205; French et al. 2003, 36
	Kalkani South Bank	15+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH I Last use - LH IIIC Late	French et al. 2003, 36
	Aghios Georgios	10	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIA? Last use - LH IIIB/C?	Shelton 1993, 208; French et al. 2003, 36
	Third Kilometer	6	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II Last use - LH IIIC Late	Shelton 1993, 204-205; French et al. 2003, 36
	Alepotrypa	25+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIB Last use - LH IIIC	Shelton 1993, 206-208; French et al. 2003, 36
	Kalkani South West	4	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA1 Last use - LH IIIC Middle	French et al. 2003, 36
	Kato Phournos	12+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II Last use - LH IIIB?	Shelton 1993, 197-199; French et al. 2003, 36
	Asprochoma/Agriosykia	7	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II/LH IIIA1? Last use - LH IIIB	Shelton 1993, 191-194; French et al. 2003, 36
	Asprochoma East	13	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIA Last use - LH IIIC Middle	Shelton 1993, 194-195; French et al. 2003, 36
	Asprochoma West	11	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH III? Last use - LH III?	Shelton 1993, 195; French et al. 2003, 36-37
	Asprochoma Southwest	2	Chamber tombs	Unknown	Shelton 1993, 195; French et al. 2003, 37
	Katsoumbela	4+	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Loupouno	8	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Batsourorachi	3+	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37

Site	Name	Number of tombs	Burial forms	History of use	References
Mycenae	Paleomandri	1	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA1 Last use - LH IIIA2	French et al. 2003, 37
	Souleimani	20+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIA Last use - LH IIIC	Shelton 1993, 196-197; French et al. 2003, 37
	Vythisma North	1	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Vythisma South	5	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Boliari	3+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA2 Last use - LH IIIB	French et al. 2003, 37
	Kapsala North/Vlakhostrata	9	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIB? Last use - LH IIIB?	Shelton 2000, 46-51; French et al. 2003, 37
	Kapsala South	2+	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Paleogalaro West	4	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH II Last use - LH III	French et al. 2003, 37
	Paleogalaro East	6+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA2 Last use - LH IIIB	Shelton 2000, 43-46; French et al. 2003, 37
	Gortsoulia	6+	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA1 Last use - LH IIIC Middle	Shelton 2000, 27-43; French et al. 2003, 37
	Sarra	Unknown	Chamber tombs	Unknown	French et al. 2003, 37
	Prehistoric Cemetery/Acropolis	150+	Shaft graves Pit graves Cist graves Pithos grave Chamber tombs	Establishment - Middle Helladic Use of Grave Circle B - MH II - MH III Use of Grave Circle A - MH III - LH I Abandonment of the regular use - LH IIIA1 Functioning of the Inner Cult and Burial Zone - LH IIIA2-B Re-establishment - LH IIIC Last use - LH IIIC Late	Wace et al. 1923, 118-146, 406-407; Desborough 1954, 258-266; Alden WBM 7 2000; Konstantintidi-Syvridi, Paschalidis 2009, 291-295
Tiryns	Profitis Ilias	50+	Chamber tombs Other	Establishment - LH I Last use - LH IIIC/Geometric?	Jantzen et al. 1975, 66-70; Rudolph 1975 Tiryns VI;

Site	Name	Number of tombs	Burial forms	History of use	References
Tiryns	North Lower Citadel	38+	Pit graves Cist graves	Establishment - LH IIIC Early Abandonment and overbuilding - LH IIIC Middle 1	Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, 7-9; Grossmann and Schäfer 1971 Tiryns V, 65-71; Kilian 1979, 386-395; Maran 2008, 59-64, 91-94
Pylos	Vayenas Grave Circle	6+	Pithos grave Pit graves	Establishment - MH III Last use - LH IIIA1	Blegen et al. 1973, 134-176; Shepartz et al. 2009, 161-162; Davis 2010, 684; Murphy 2014. 212-213; Murphy 2016a, 52-53; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI; Murphy 2019, 211-212; Murphy et al. 2020, 31; Davis 2022, 62
	Ano Englianos Shaft Grave	1	Shaft graves	Construction - MH III/LH I?	Blegen, Lang 1963, 159; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 312-314; Cooper 2017, 37; Stocker et al. 2022, 240
	Griffin Warrior Grave	1	Shaft graves	Construction - LH IIA	Davis, Stocker 2016; Stocker, Davis 2017; Davis, Stocker 2018; Murphy et al. 2020, 30-31; Stocker, Davis 2020; Davis 2022, 64-71, 82-85; Stocker et al. 2022
	Tsakalis	9	Chamber tombs Pit graves	Establishment - LH II Abandonment - LH IIIB Re-establishment and last use - LH IIIC	Blegen et al. 1973, 176-208; Shepartz et al. 2009, 163-164; Murphy 2014, 213-215; Murphy 2016a, 52-53; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI
	Chamber tomb K-1	1	Chamber tombs	Construction - LH IIIA1 Last use - LH IIIC Early	Blegen et al. 1973, 208-215; Shepartz et al. 2009, 163; Murphy 2014, 213-215; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI
	Chamber tomb K-2	1	Chamber tombs	Establishment - LH IIIA2/B1 Last use - LH IIIC Middle-Late	Blegen et al. 1973, 224-237; Shepartz et al. 2009, 163; Murphy 2014, 213-215; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI

Tab. 5. Catalog of tholos tombs.

Site	Name	Diameter of the chamber (in metres)	Length of the dromos (in metres)	Form of the dromos	Form of the stomion	Form of the chamber	History of use	References
Mycenae	Cyclopean Tomb	8	13	No walls	Large rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - early LH IIA	Wace et al. 1923, 287-296; Fitzsimons 2006, 109-11
	Epano Phournos	11	10	No walls	Large rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - early LH IIA	Wace et al. 1923, 292-296; Wace and Hood 1953, 69-83; Fitzsimons 2006, 112-14
	Tomb of Aegisthus	13	16/22	Rubble masonry (partially walled)	Ashlar/rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - early LH IIA Remodelling - LH IIIA1?	Wace et al. 1923, 296-302; Wace 1955, 175; French et al 2003, 52; Fitzsimons 2006, 114-119; Galanakis 2007, 239-56;
	Panagia Tomb	8,20	12	Rubble masonry	Ashlar masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - late LH IIA/LH IIB	Wace et al. 1923, 316-20; Fitzsimons 2006, 119-121
	Kato Phournos	10	12	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - late LH IIA/LH IIB	Wace et al. 1923, 320-322; Fitzsimons 2006, 121-124
	Lion Tomb	14	22	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - late LH IIA/LH IIB Remodelling - LH IIIA2?	Wace et al. 1923, 325-330; Wace 1955, 175; Fitzsimons 2006, 118-127; Fitzsimons 2011, 96
	Tomb of Genii	8,40	16,6	Rubble masonry	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Construction - LH IIIA2/B1?	Wace et al. 1923, 376-387; Wace 1949, 18; French 2002, 71; French et al 2003, 44-45; Fitzsimons 2006, 127-130
	Treasury of Atreus	14,50	36	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Construction - LH IIIB1/2? Remodelling - LH IIIB2?	Wace et al. 1923, 338-352; Wace 1949, 18, 49, 124; Wace 1956, 116-119; French 1963, 45-46; Mylonas 1966, 120-122; Mylonas 1983, 172–175; French 2002, 69; Fitzsimons 2006, 130-137; Mason 2007; Brysbaert 2020, 62-64
	Tomb of Clytemnestra	13,40	37	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Ashlar masonry	Construction - beginning of LH IIIB1 Abandonment - LH IIIB2 Late?	Wace et al. 1923, 357-363; Wace 1949, 18; Taylour 1955, 209-221; Wace 1955, 194-198; Mylonas 1966, 120-22; French 1980, 41; French 2002, 70; Fitzsimons 2006, 138-144; Mason 2013; Brysbaert 2020, 62-64

Site	Name	Diameter of the chamber (in metres)	Length of the dromos (in metres)	Form of the dromos	Form of the stomion	Form of the chamber	History of use	References
Tiryns	Tholos at Tiryns	8,5	13,7	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - LH IIB/LH IIIA?	Dragendorff 1913; Jantzen et al. 1975, 62-65; Müller 1975 Tiryns VIII, 1-6; Kamm 1997; Fitzsimons 2006, 151-152
Pylos	Tholos III	7,7	8,1	No walls	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - LH II Last use - LH IIIC	Blegen et al. 1973, 73-95; Shepartz et al. 2009, 162; Davis 2010, 684; Murphy 2014, 212-213; Murphy 2016a, 53; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI
	Tholos IV	9,35	10,5	No walls	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - MH III? Last use - LH IIIA	Blegen et al. 1973, 95-134; Shepartz et al. 2009, 162; Davis 2010, 684; Murphy 2014, 212-213, 216; Davis and Stocker 2015; Murphy 2016a, 52-54; Murphy 2016b, 441-443, pl. CXXXI; Murphy 2019, 211-212; Murphy et al. 2020, 29-31; Loy, Stocker, Davis 2021; Davis 2022, 62-66
	Tholos VI	12	15	No walls	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - LH IIA	Davis 2022, 64-71; Davis and Stocker, ASCSA Open Meeting 7.04.2023; Davis and Stocker, Michael Ventris Memorial Lecture 12.05.2021; http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tholos-tombs/
	Tholos VII	8,5	10/14	No walls	Rubble masonry	Rubble masonry	Construction - LH IIA Abandonment - LH IIIA1 Reopening and last use - LH IIIA2 Early	Davis 2022, 64-71; Davis and Stocker, ASCSA Open Meeting 7.04.2023; Davis and Stocker, Michael Ventris Memorial Lecture 12.05.2021; http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tholos-tombs/

Tab. 5. Catalog of buildings.

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC1	Mycenae Palace	Earlier North Wall Building	Unknown	1+	Unknown	Unknown	Foundation terraces	Rubble masonry	Plastered				Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIB? Destruction/ Abandonment - LH IIIA2?	Wace et al. 1923, 195-197; Schaar 1979, 41-68, 80-91; French and Shelton 2005, 175-178; Fitzsimons 2006, 228-260
MYC2	Mycenae Palace	Palace Main Wing	3370	25+	Entrance ramp (3, 6), Propylon (9), Great Court (53), Megaron's porch (55), courtyards (10, 45, 45, 60), balcony-court (36-38), North Corridor (18-27), South Corridor (45-34), corridors (25, 27, 49, 82), Grand Staircase (63, 66, 67), stairways (2, 31, 34, 47, 81, 83)	Ground floor, basement	Foundation terraces, foundation trenches, flattened bedrock	Timber-framed ashlar masonry (phase 1), timber-framed rubble masonry with ashlar blocks(phase 2), rubble masonry, timber-framed mud-brick	Plastered Painted plaster (complex) Painted plaster (simple)	Plaster Clay Painted plaster Stone slabs Cement Cut-stone slabs	Cut-stone thresholds Columns Benches Drains Hearths Basins	Utilitarian pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Organic ornaments Stone ornaments Other organic remains Metal raw material Metal tools Metal ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Stone tools Storage pottery Other artefacts Terracotta figurines Metal weapons Metal vessels Cooking Pottery Stone vessels Seal stones	Residence Storage Administration Public activities Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Late? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIB2? Phase 2a - LH IIIB2 Early/Late? Phase 2b - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Tsountas 1886, 59-74; Rodenwaldt 1921; Wace et al. 1923, 147-282; Wace 1949, 69-90; Papadimitriou 1955, 230-231; Wace 1956a, 104-106; Plommer 1965; Mylonas 1966a, 58-72; Mylonas 1968, 31-32; Shaar 1979, 33-68, 79-91; Iakovidis 1983, 55-63; Mylonas 1983, 91-116, 124-125; Iakovidis 1986, 236-237; French 2002, 57-61, 95-98; French et al. 2003, 14-15; Fitzsimons 2006, 195-260

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC3	Mycenae Palace	Building on the Great Court	82	6+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Foundation terrace reuse	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery		Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle/Geometric? Destruction/ Abandonment - ?	Wace et al. 1923, 201; Wace 1949, 75; French 2002, 136-138; French et al. 2003, 10
MYC4	Mycenae Palace	Palace East Wing	1955	17+ (phase 3)	Entrance ramp (15), corridors (B, K, P?, S/Y, X, 5, 7, 14), external corridor (16, S side), porch (F), staircases (L, Q, 13, T?), courtyards (C, 6)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terraces	Timber-framed stone, timber-framed mud-brick	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered	Plaster Tamped-earth Cement	Drains Cut-stone thresholds Columns	Inscribed vessels Storage pottery Linear B tablets Terracotta figurines Metal raw material Stone raw material Other artefacts Stone vessels Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Metal weapons Metal tools Utilitarian pottery Organic/clay raw material Inscribed vessels/tools	Storage Production Administration Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIA2? Phase 1b - LH IIIB1? Destruction? - LH IIIB2? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Wace 1949, 91-97; Mylonas 1966a, 72-73; Mylonas 1966b; Mylonas 1968, 11-27; Mylonas 1969, 7-14; Iakovidis 1977, 120-122; Shaar 1979, 72-75; Iakovidis 1983, 63-66; Iakovidis 1986, 238; French 2002, 61-62, 97-99; French et al. 2003, 14
MYC5	Mycenae Palace	Building Psi	102	3+	Staircase? (E side)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings; foundation terrace reuse	Rubble masonry		Plaster	Hearths Columns	Utilitarian pottery Other artefacts	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early?	Mylonas 1968, 32-35; Mylonas 1969, 13-14; Iakovidis 1983, 66
MYC6	Mycenae Palace	Building Omega	190	3+	Corridor? (N side)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings; foundation terrace reuse	Rubble masonry		Plaster	Columns		Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early?	Mylonas 1968, 32-35; Mylonas 1969, 13-14; Iakovidis 1983, 66

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC7	Mycenae Palace	North Storerooms	104	5+	Unknown	Ground floor	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry			Drains	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Linear B tablets Organic ornaments Metal ornaments Stone ornaments Stone vessels Metal raw material Stone raw material Organic/ceramic tools	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIB2?	Mylonas 1970a, 5-9; Mylonas 1970b, 48-50; Iakovidis 1977, 122-123; Iakovidis 1983, 67; Mylonas 1983, 121-122; Iakovidis 1986, 239; French 2002, 100; French et al. 2003, 13
MYC8	Mycenae Palace	House Eta	42	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment?	Mylonas 1969, 17-19; Iakovidis 1983, 67
MYC9	Mycenae Palace	House Gamma	202	10+	Corridor (W side)	Basement	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early? Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Mylonas 1969, 16-17; Iakovidis 1977, 122; Iakovidis 1983, 66-67; Iakovidis 1986, 239; French 2002, 100; French et al. 2003, 14
MYC10	Mycenae Palace	House Delta	331	8+	External courtyard (on the NW side), staircase (X)	Basement	Unknown	Rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)		Drains Vessel stands	Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2? Destruction? - end of LH IIIB? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early? Abandonment? - LH IIIC Middle 1?	Mylonas 1969, 14-16; Iakovidis 1977, 122; Iakovidis 1986, 239; French 2002, 100; French et al. 2003, 14
MYC11	Northeast Extension	House Alpha	40	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery		Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction/ Abandonment - end of LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early?	Mylonas 1962-65, 196-197; Mylonas 1966a, 32; Mylonas 1966c, 74-75; Iakovidis 1977, 123; Iakovidis 1983, 53-54; French 2002, 102; French et al. 2003, 13
MYC12	Northeast Extension	House Beta	115	4	Corridor (W side)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Metal vessels Stone tools	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early?	Mylonas 1962-65, 157-158, 196; Mylonas 1966a, 32; Mylonas 1966c, 75-76; Iakovidis 1977, 123; Iakovidis 1983, 54-55; Iakovidis 1986, 239-240; French 2002, 57, 102; French et al. 2003, 13

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC13	House M Complex	House M	212	6+	External courtyards (M7, M8, M10), staircase (M3), external staircase (M9)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace, flattened bedrock?	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex) Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth Plaster	Platforms Drains	Utilitarian pottery Metal vessels Terracotta figurines Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Other artefacts Seal stones Other organic remains Organic ornaments Organic/ceramic tools	Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction/ Abandonment - end of LH IIIB	Mylonas 1963, 99-103; Iakovidis 1983, 52; Mylonas 1983, 152-153; Iakovidis 1986, 240; Plitasika 2015, 598-604, 609
MYC14	House M Complex	Building L	106	4+	External corridor (E side)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock?	Rubble masonry					Unknown Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction/ Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB?	Iakovidis 1983, 52-53; Mylonas 1983, 153; Pliatsika 2015, 598
MYC15	House M Complex	Building Y-B	221	5 (phase 1); 3+ (phase 2)	Corridor with a stairway (B), corridor (C)	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry, cyclopean masonry (fortification wall)		Plaster Tamped-earth	Drains	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Inscribed vessels Stone tools Metal ornaments Seal stones Organic ornaments Stone ornaments Metal tools Stone vessels Metal vessels Other organic remains Cooking Pottery Storage pottery Faience/glass ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material Inscribed vessels/tools	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 2 - LH IIIC Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Mylonas 1962a, 64; Mylonas 1962c; Iakovidis 1983, 51-52; Mylonas 1983, 74; Iakovidis 1986, 240; French et al. 2003, 13; Pliatsika 2015, 598-599

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC16		Building K	96	3	Courtyard (to the N), entrance ramp (to the W)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace reuse	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex)	Clay Tamped-earth	Drains	Utilitarian pottery Other organic remains Terracotta figurines Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Storage pottery Faience/glass ornaments Stone ornaments Organic ornaments Metal ornaments Cooking Pottery Organic/clay raw material	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction - end of LH IIIB?	Iakovidis 2006, 19-21; Iakovidis 2007a, 21-24; Iakovidis 2007b, 25-27; Iakovidis 2008, 23-26; 2010a, 15; 2010b, 23-25; http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/citadel.html
MYC17	Northwest Quarter	Building N	231	4+	External staircase? (S of N2)	Basement	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth			Unknown Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB?	Iakovidis 2006, 13-21, 107-124, 140-143, 161-177
MYC18	Northwest Quarter	Building I	219	2+	Courtyard (I3)	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth	Drains, Columns	Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Other organic remains Spindle whorls/buttons Metal raw material	Unknown Production	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB?	Iakovidis 2006, 22-42, 107-124, 143-148, 161-177
MYC19	Northwest Quarter	Building II	285	4+	Courtyards (II 3, II 4, II 7)	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on timber-framed stone	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered	Clay Tamped-earth	Vessel stands, Windows	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Other organic remains Spindle whorls/buttons Organic ornaments Cooking Pottery Terracotta figurines Metal raw material Metal tools Stone vessels Stone ornaments Stone tools Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Organic/clay raw material Organic/ceramic tools	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Iakovidis 2006, 43-93, 107-124, 148-156, 161-177
MYC20	Grave Circle A Complex	Building below the Ramp House	53	1+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex)		Drains	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH II? Destruction? - end of LH IIIA2?	Lamb 1921; Wace et al. 1923, 74-84; Shaw 1996; French 2002, 81-82; Wardle 2015, 579, 582-84

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC21	Grave Circle A Complex	Ramp House	124	5+ (phase 1); 2? (phase 2)	External staircase? (41 - phase 1 only?)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay		Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Faience/glass ornaments Stone tools Storage pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2? - LH IIIB2? Abandonment - ?	Lamb 1921; Wace et al. 1923, 74-84; Shaw 1996; French 2002, 81-82; Wardle 2015, 579, 582-84
MYC22	Grave Circle A Complex	House of the Warrior Vase	180	5+	Corridor	Basement	Foundation trench	Rubble masonry	Plastered		Cut-stone thresholds Wells	Storage pottery Other organic remains Utilitarian pottery Seal stones Terracotta figurines Metal weapons Metal vessels Metal ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (earthquake)? - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 2? - LH IIIB2? Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Schliemann 1878, 131-137; Wace et al. 1923, 84-86; Iakovidis 1986, 241; French 2011 WBM 16/17, 26, 30; Wardle 2015, 583-85, 593
MYC23	Grave Circle A Complex	South House with Annex	283	9+	External porch (E of North Hall), external staircase? (11-14), external passage (3-15), external roofed corridor (4) corridors (5,6, 8), internal staircases (9/10, S wall of West Room)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terraces	Mud-brick and pisé on timber-framed stone	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Tamped-earth Plaster Painted plaster Clay	Drains Vessel stands Cut-stone thresholds	Storage pottery Metal vessels Utilitarian pottery Organic ornaments Stone tools Metal tools Other organic remains Terracotta figurines Organic/ceramic tools	Production Storage	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Late Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Wace et al. 1923, 86-96; Wace 1955, 179-180; Taylour 1962; Wardle 1969; Wardle et al. 1973; Mountjoy 1976; French 2011 WBM 16/17, 24-25; French et al. [forthcoming] WBM 9

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC24	Grave Circle A Complex	Granary	181	2+	Entrance corridors (East and West), internal corridors (13, 17), staircase (18)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terrace	Timber-framed stone	Plastered	Clay Plaster Stone pavement	Cut-stone thresholds Windows	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Other organic remains Stone ornaments Stone vessels Metal vessels Faience/glass ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Storage pottery Metal ornaments Stone tools Seal stones Organic/ceramic tools	Storage Ritual activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIB2/end of LH IIIB? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late/LH IIIC Early? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Schliemann 1878, 99-117; Wace et al. 1923, 38-61; Wace 1956; Mylonas 1983, 150-151; French 2002, 78-79; French 2011 WBM 16/17, 28, 31; Trevor van Damme lecture at CIG, 22.02.2017
MYC25		Building above the Little Ramp	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Foundation terrace?	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry?	Painted plaster (simple)		Columns Cut-stone thresholds	Linear B tablets Seal stones Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Metal tools Stone tools Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Stone ornaments	Administration Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB?	Taylour 1962, 45-46; Wardle 1973, 302-303, 327-328, 336-342; Driessen 1996, 1018; French 2002, 80; WBM 9, 9-10 (unpublished)

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC26	Cult Centre	Shrine Gamma	92	2	External courtyard with a rectangular altar	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Plaster Stone pavement	Benches Hearths Platforms Vessel stands Built containers	Utilitarian pottery Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Other organic remains Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines	Ritual activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIA1 Phase 1b - LH IIIB1? Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Wace 1951, 254-255; Mylonas 1972, 36-40; Mylonas 1983, 133-138; Wardle 2015, 581-582, 590, 592; Shelton 2022 WBM 14, 31-54
MYC27	Cult Centre	Tsountas House	200	8	External courtyard (A), stairway and internal corridor (E)	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry, timber-framed stone	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered	Plaster Tamped-earth	Hearths Basins Drains	Storage pottery Metal vessels Utilitarian pottery Stone raw material Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Other organic remains	Storage Unknown Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction? - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early/Late? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Tsountas 1886, 75; Wace 1949, 66-67; Wace 1951, 255; Mylonas 1974, 91; Mylonas 1983, 140-141; Iakovidis 1986, 244-246; Wardle 2015, 584, 586, 592; Shelton 2022 WBM 14, 11-30
MYC28	Cult Centre	Megaron	110	5+	Entrance stairway, corridor	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terrace, flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry, ashlar masonry?	Plastered	Plaster Stone pavement	Hearths Platforms Cut-stone thresholds	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Faience/glass ornaments Cooking Pottery Metal vessels Stone ornaments Organic ornaments Other organic remains Organic/clay raw material	Ritual activities Storage	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Late? Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Moore and Taylour 1999 WBM 10, 9-10; French 2002, 63, 85; Wardle 2015, 578, 580, 590; Aulsebrook 2019;

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC29	Cult Centre	Temple	61	3 (phase 1) 4 (phase 2)	Internal staircase (18), entrance staircase? (S of XI), external staircase/alcove? (SW of XI), external courtyard? (S of XI)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick and pisé on rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster Clay Tamped-earth	Benches Platforms Hearths Basins Windows Columns	Terracotta figurines Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Organic ornaments Stone ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Other organic remains Seal stones Seal clay impressions Metal raw material Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Stone tools Metal vessels Organic/ceramic tools	Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Late Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Mylonas 1974; Mylonas 1983, 144-145; Moore 1988, 30-66, 206-341; Moore and Taylour 1999 WBM 10; Wardle 2015, 585-594
MYC30	Cult Centre	Building of the Room with the Fresco	101	7+	External entrance corridor (34 - phase 1a only)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick and pisé on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex)	Plaster Clay	Hearths Platforms Basins Cut-stone thresholds Windows	Utilitarian pottery Cooking Pottery Terracotta figurines Stone vessels Storage pottery Stone tools Seal stones Metal weapons Metal vessels Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments Organic ornaments Metal ornaments Stone ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material	Ritual activities Production Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIA1 Destruction - end of LH IIIA2? Phase 2a - LH IIIB1 Late Phase 2b - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction/Abandonment? - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 3? - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB?	Mylonas 1973; Taylour 1981 WBM 1, plan 7; Moore 1988, 67-114, 342-436; French and Taylour 2013 WBM 13; Wardle 2015, 582-594;
MYC31	Citadel House Complex	South Complex Building	70	5+	Corridor with a staircase (xxxiii-xxvi); external courtyard? (xx)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick and pisé on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Clay	Hearths Benches Built containers	Utilitarian pottery Cooking Pottery Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Stone tools Metal ornaments Organic ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Metal tools	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1 Destruction (earthquake?) - end of LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early 2 Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early?	French 2011 WBM 16/17, 2-4, 14-17, 30-51; WBM 16/17 Supporting Data, 107-158

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC32	Citadel House Complex	West Complex Building	106	3	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry with timber beams	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Clay	Basins Hearths Platforms Drains Built containers Columns	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Cooking Pottery Stone tools Metal ornaments Organic ornaments Other organic remains Faience/glass ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines Organic/clay raw material	Unknown Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1 Destruction (earthquake?) - end of LH IIIC Early 1	French 2011 WBM 16/17, 18-19, 35-51, 56; WBM 16/17 Supporting Data, 166-217
MYC33	Citadel House Complex	Tower Complex Building	141	4 (phase 1a); 5 (phase 1b)	External courtyard with the Tower (xlviii-xlix)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry, mud-brick	Painted plaster (simple) Plastered	Tamped-earth Stone pavement	Hearths Columns	Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Metal tools Organic ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Storage pottery Metal raw material Organic/clay raw material	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 2 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early	French 2011 WBM 16/17 2011, 21, 51-54, 56; WBM 16/17 Supporting Data, 219-263
MYC34	Citadel House Complex	Northeast Sector Building	51	2+	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Clay	Hearths Benches Columns	Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Faience/glass ornaments Organic ornaments Storage pottery Stone ornaments Organic/ceramic tools	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	French 2011 WBM 16/17, 21-23, 54, 56; WBM 16/17 Supporting Data, 266-288
MYC35	Citadel House Complex	Building on the Processional Way	Unknown	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths Columns	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle? Destruction - LH IIIC Middle/Late?	Mylonas 1968b, 109-110; Mylonas 1973, 152-153; Wardle 1973, 303; Wardle 1983, 132; Iakovidis 1986, 244; Iakovidis 2003, 120

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC36	Citadel House Complex	Building behind Tsountas House	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early 1? Phase 2a - LH IIIC Early 2? Phase 2b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early? Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Mylonas 1970, 9-11; Mylonas 1972, 121-122; Iakovidis 2003, 121; French WBM 16/17, 32
MYC37	Southwest Quarter	Southwest Building	310	9+	Unknown	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex)	Tamped-earth		Metal ornaments Organic ornaments Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 2a - LH IIIC Early? Phase 2b - LH IIIC Early/Middle? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early? Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Mylonas 1968. 107; Mylonas 1972a, 38; Mylonas 1972b, 120-124; Mylonas 1973, 146; Mylonas 1976, 89-90; Mylonas 1983, 148-149; Iakovidis 1986, 246-247; Iakovidis 2003, 120; French et al. 2003, 16; Iakovidis 2013b, 513
MYC38	Southwest Quarter	Building A	245	10	External terraces (II, A5), internal staircase? (A4)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth Clay Plaster	Drains	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Metal tools Stone vessels Stone tools Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Other organic remains Organic/ceramic tools	Unknown Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Iakovidis 2013b, 17-81, 447-473, 520-527, 563-582

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC39	Southwest Quarter	Building B	220	6+	Internal corridors (middle lane, nether lane), external courtyard (B8 and B9)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster Clay	Benches Drains Platforms	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Organic ornaments Metal raw material	Unknown Ritual activities Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB	Iakovidis 2013b, 111-138, 447-473, 529-534, 563-582
MYC40	Southwest Quarter	Building Γ	74	4+	Internal staircase? (Γ4)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace, flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry	Plastered	Tamped-earth Clay	Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Other organic remains Cooking Pottery Storage pottery Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Metal raw material	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB/ LH IIIC Early?	Iakovidis 2013b, 173-203, 447-473, 535-537, 563-582
MYC41	Southwest Quarter	Building Δ-E	132	7+	External terrace (Δ1)	Basement?, ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Plaster		Metal raw material Other artefacts Other organic remains Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early?	Iakovidis 2013b, 223-232, 447-473, 538-541, 563-582
MYC42	Southwest Quarter	Building Z	50	2+	Corridor (TZ);	Basement?	Flattened bedrock?	Rubble masonry	Plastered	Tamped-earth Clay	Benches Windows	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal raw material Metal tools Stone tools Stone vessels Other organic remains Organic ornaments Other artefacts	Unknown Production	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB?	Iakovidis 2013b, 273-287, 447-473, 544-546, 563-582

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC43	Southwest Quarter	Building Θ	129	7+	internal stairway? (in Θ3)	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple) Plastered	Plaster Clay Stone pavement	Benches	Other organic remains Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Seal stones Cooking Pottery Terracotta figurines Stone vessels Metal tools Spindle whorls/buttons Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Storage pottery Metal raw material Metal ornaments Organic/clay raw material Organic/ceramic tools	Unknown Storage	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Iakovidis 2013b, 302-389, 447-473, 546-551, 563-582
MYC44	Southwest Quarter	Building K-Λ	290	6+ (phase 1); 10? (phase 2)	Courtyards (K6α, K10, Λ1, Λ2, Λ3α)	Basement, ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster Tamped-earth	Vessel stands Windows	Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Terracotta figurines Metal raw material Stone ornaments Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Other artefacts	Residence Unknown Storage	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late? Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Iakovidis 2013b, 419-444, 447-473, 552-559, 563-582
MYC45		Prehistoric Cemetery East Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor?	Flattened ground?	Rubble masonry?		Clay		Stone tools Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Stone raw material Metal weapons Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Organic ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB/end of LH IIIB? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early?	Wace 1950, 224-227; Wace 1957, 207-218; Mayer and French 1990; Alden 2000 WBM 7, fig. 4; French et al. 2003, 52-53
MYC46		House of the Tripods Tomb	230	4+ (phase 1); 16+ (phase 2)	Corridors (21, 15)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth	Drains Platforms Ovens Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Stone tools Cooking Pottery	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIA2 Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late? Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Onasoglou 1995

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC47		The "Workshop"	219	10+	Terrace walls (10, 12), courtyard (Δ-E-Z)?	Basement	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth Clay Stone pavement	Drains Pithos stands Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Terracotta figurines Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Stone raw material Metal tools Cooking Pottery Organic/clay raw material Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments	Storage Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Destruction - end of LH IIIA2 Phase 2 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 3a - LH IIIB2 Early/Late Phase 3b? - LH IIIC Early? Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle 1	Danielidou 2008
MYC48	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	Building below Cyclopean Terrace Building	Unknown	1+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Unknown		Plaster	Wells	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Stone raw material Stone tools Metal raw material Organic/ceramic tools	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH II Destruction (fire) - LH II Phase 2 - LH IIIA2 Destruction - end of LH IIIA2	Wace et al. 1923, 403-407; Wace 1953, 16; French 1954, 268-291
MYC49	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	Cyclopean Terrace Building	140	Unknown	Unknown	Basement	Foundation terrace	Unknown			Drains	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Tableware Pottery Cooking Pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIB1?	Wace et al. 1923, 403-407; Wace 1953, 16; French 1954, 268-291
MYC50	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	House of the Wine Merchant	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Unknown			Pithos stands Vessel stands	Storage pottery Tableware Pottery Utilitarian pottery	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIA2	Wace 1953, 16-17; French 1954, 273-274; Haskell 1981, 225-230
MYC51	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	South Megaron	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Basement	Foundation terrace	No walls preserved					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1? Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB1?	Wace 1953, 16
MYC52	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	East Trench Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal tools	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1?	French 1961, 83-84

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC53	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	North Trench Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	No walls preserved	Painted plaster (complex) Painted plaster (simple)	Tamped-earth		Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1?	French 1961, 81-83
MYC54		Southwest Trench Building	Unknown	Unknown	Corridor?	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines Storage pottery	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2/LH IIIB1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIA2/LH IIIB1	French 1961, 84-87; French et al. 2003, 47
MYC55		Petsas House	767	9+	Entrance with ramp and external staircase (Γ), corridor (P), staircase (T)?, courtyard (B) with pottery kiln (H)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock, foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry,timber-framed stone with some ashlar corner blocks	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Tamped-earth Stone pavement	Wells Pithos stands Platforms Vessel stands Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery Metal ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Terracotta figurines Linear B tablets Other organic remains Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Tableware Pottery Cooking Pottery Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material Organic ornaments	Storage Production Residence Administration	Phase 1 - LH II Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIB/IIIA1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIA2	Petsas 1950, 203; Shelton 2002-2003; Shelton 2004, 181-182; Iakovidis 2006, 26-29; Shelton 2009a; Shelton 2009b, 635-641; Shelton 2014, 18-28; Shelton 2010b, 189-193; Shelton 2015a, 127-139; Shelton 2015b, 27-33; Shelton 2016, 317-319; Shelton 2022
MYC56		Soutwest House	19	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1 - MH III Destruction/Abandonment - LH I	Verdelis 1961, 161; Verdelis 1962, 20; Tournavitou 1995, 66
MYC57	West House Group	West House	395	8	Courtyard, porch, rock-cut terrace, corridor, staircase (N end of the corridor), external porch (SE corner)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry, mud-brick internal wall (N wall of room 3)	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Clay Stone pavement	Drains Platforms Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Other organic remains Linear B tablets Metal tools Cooking Pottery Inscribed vessels Inscribed vessels/tools	Storage Production Residence Administration	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1	Verdelis 1961, 12-17; Verdelis 1962, 13-29; French 1967, 157-168; French 1971, 101-187; Tournavitou 1995, 1-16; Tournavitou 2006

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC58	West House Group	House of Shields	377	3+	External staircases? (S wall, N wall)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Benches	Linear B tablets Utilitarian pottery Stone vessels Stone raw material Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Metal tools Stone tools Organic/clay raw material Organic ornaments	Storage Production	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1	Wace 1954, 233-235; Wace 1955, 180-181; French 1963, 48; French 1965, 185-190; French 1967, 178-179; Tournavitou 1995, 16-28
MYC59	West House Group	House of the Oil Merchant	468	6	Corridor with a staircase (6, 7, 8), external porch? (x), external staircase (E terrace wall)	Basement	Foundation terraces	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Tamped-earth Clay Plaster Decorated plaster Painted plaster	Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Stone raw material Faience/glass ornaments Linear B tablets Stone ornaments Metal tools Stone tools Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments	Storage Production Administration	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1	Wace 1951, 255-256; Wacee 1953, 9-15; Wace 1955 184-185; French 1962, 30-32; French 1963, 49; French 1965, 192-193; French 1967, 150-152; Tournavitou 1995, 28-41; Tournavitou et al. 2015, 257-258, 261
MYC60	West House Group	House of Sphinxes	354	5 (phase 1); 1 (phase 2)	Corridor, porch (S of corridor), staircase (8), external staircase (S of 10), entrance? (10)	Basement	Foundation terrace, flattened bedrock, foundation trenches	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Clay Plaster Painted plaster	Drains Benches Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Seal impressions Seal clay impressions Stone vessels Faience/glass ornaments Organic ornaments Metal ornaments Metal tools Stone tools Stone raw material Spindle whorls/buttons Storage pottery Linear B tablets Metal raw material Terracotta figurines Other organic remains Cooking Pottery Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material	Storage Production Residence Administration	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1 Phase 2? - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Wace 1954, 238-241; Wace 1955, 185-189; Wace 1956, 113-116; French 1962, 32-34; Verdelis 1962, 28-29; French 1967, 153-157; Tournavitou 1995, 41-65

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC61		East House	71	3+	External courtyard (south area), water tank? (south area)	Ground floor?	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Clay Stone pavement	Benches Platforms Hearths Drains	Utilitarian pottery Other organic remains Metal tools Spindle whorls/buttons Linear B tablets Terracotta figurines Organic ornaments Cooking Pottery Storage pottery Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction - LH IIIC Middle Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction - end of LH IIIC Middle? Phase 4 - LH IIIC Late? Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Tournavitou 1995, 67-68; French et al. 2003, 54; Grammateos 2015, 27-45; Tournavitou 2015, 37-51
MYC62		Lisa's House	0	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Utilitarian pottery Cooking Pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB2 Early?	Wace 1949, 46, 127; French et al. 2003, 46
MYC63	Panagia Houses	House I	132	5+	Corridor (6), courtyard (1, staircase (N part of the corridor)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Clay	Hearths Drains	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Storage pottery Cooking Pottery	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early	Mylonas-Shear 1987, 15-26
MYC64	Panagia Houses	House II	245	9 (phase 1); 8 (phase 2); 2+ (phase 3)	Internal open courtyard? (9, phase 1), corridor (14), entrance-ramp (N part of 14)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Benches Hearths Columns	Utilitarian pottery Seal stones Terracotta figurines Other organic remains Storage pottery Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments Metal raw material Stone tools Seal clay impressions Spindle whorls/buttons Metal ornaments Cooking Pottery Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 3 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early?	Mylonas-Shear 1987, 27-48

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC65	Panagia Houses	House III	100	9 (phase 1); 10? (phase 2); 4? (phase 3)	External porch (27), staircase/trapdoor with ladder? (34)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Clay Stone pavement	Drains Benches	Terracotta figurines Utilitarian pottery Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB Phase 3 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early	Mylonas-Shear 1987, 52-63
MYC66		House of Lead	680	2+	Entrance ramp (NE corner)	Basement?	Foundation terrace	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth		Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Metal vessels Metal ornaments	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIB1?	Wace 1956, 119-121; French 1963, 48, 50; Mylonas-Shear 1968, 126-127; Aulsebrook 2015, 202-205
MYC67	Makri Lithari Complex	West Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry?					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	French et al. 2003, 56-57
MYC68	Makri Lithari Complex	East Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry?					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	French et al. 2003, 56-57
MYC69		Plakes House	205	12	External staircase, external courtyard	Basement, ground floor	Flattened bedrock, flattened ground	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Tamped-earth Clay Plaster Stone pavement	Drains Platforms Bathtubs Built containers Hearths Windows Columns	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Stone vessels Seal stones Metal tools Terracotta figurines Stone tools Other organic remains Faience/glass ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Cooking Pottery Metal ornaments Organic/clay raw material Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early	Iakovidis 2013a

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR1	Tiryns Palace	Maison de Chef	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry?				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I Destruction/Abandonment? - LH II?	Kilian 1988b, 134; Maran 2001b, 24; Maran 2010, 724-725; Maran 2015, 278
TIR2	Tiryns Palace	Proto-palace	Unknown	Unknown	Stairway (arrow)	Unknown	Foundation terraces	Rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered	Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Other artefacts	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH II Abandonment - LH IIIA1/LH IIIA2	Maran 2001b, 24-28; Maran 2010, 725; Maran 2015, 279
TIR3	Tiryns Palace	Palace Building	1716	34+	Propylon (3), internal courtyards (4, 16, 30), megaron's porches (5, 17), corridors (9, 12, 14, 23, 33b, 36, SW corner), staircases (10, 14a, 20), light well (10)	Ground floor	Foundation terraces	Timber-framed stone, timber-framed mud-brick	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered	Plaster Cement Painted plaster Stone slabs Clay Stone pavement Cut-stone slabs	Platforms Wells Hearths Benches Drains Basins Cut-stone thresholds Roof supports	Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal tools Metal ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Metal weapons Metal vessels Stone vessels Stone tools Faience/glass ornaments Organic ornaments Organic/ceramic tools	Residence Storage Administration Ritual activities Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIA1/A2 Abandonment - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886; Rodenwaldt et al. 1912 Tiryns II; Müller 1930 Tiryns III, 119-193; Jantzen et al. 1975, 23-39; Iakovidis 1983, 13-20; Kilian 1988c; Hiesel 1990, 212-213; Maran 2001a, 115-116, 119; Maran 2001b, 23-24; Darcque 2005, plan 65b-c; Maran 2010, 725-726; Kardamaki 2015; Maran 2015, 279-280; Maran et al. 2015; Papadimitriou et al. 2015
TIR4	Tiryns Palace	Building T	158	1	Porch (S side)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Plaster	Platforms Roof supports	Storage pottery	Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction? - LH IIIC Early/Middle Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 2? Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886, 259-60; Maran 2000; Maran 2001a; Müchlenbruch 2007, 247; Müchlenbruch 2009, 314; Maran 2010, 729; Maran 2015, 283-285; Müchlenbruch 2013, 258-259; Müchlenbruch 2015, 138-139;

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR5	Ramparts Complex	Building M5-6/03	Unknown	1+	Courtyard?	Ground floor	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)	Clay	Ovens/kilns	Other organic remains Stone vessels Stone tools Stone raw material Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early? Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Late? Destruction/Abandonmnet - end of LH IIIB1	Maran 2008, 38; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 239; Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 192-195; Davis et al. 2014; Vetters et al. 2015, 98-100, 116-119
TIR6	Ramparts Complex	Building R213	7	1+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB1?	Kilian 1988a, 137; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 260-262
TIR7	Ramparts Complex	Ramparts Building	150	2+ (phase 1); 8+ (phase 2)	Courtyard (208), corridors (S of 218, phase 1a; 211, phase 2)	Ground floor?	Foundation terraces	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)	Clay	Ovens Vessel stands Hearths Ovens/kilns Built containers Platforms	Stone ornaments Metal raw material Metal vessels Terracotta figurines Stone tools Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Stone vessels Organic/ceramic tools Seal stones Faience/glass ornaments Organic ornaments Cooking Pottery Metal ornaments	Production Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIA2 Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction/Abandonment? - LH IIIB1 Phase 2a - LH IIIB1 Late Phase 2b - LH IIIB1 Late Destruction - end of LH IIIB1	Kilian 1988, 126-137; Darcque 2005, plan 66; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 269-273; Rahmstorf 2015, 144-145
TIR8	Ramparts Complex	Building R212	12	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay		Organic/ceramic tools Spindle whorls/buttons Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Late Phase 1b? - LH IIIB1 Late Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB1	Kilian 1988a, 130; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 271-272

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR9	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XV	29	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Foundation trenches	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Plaster		Inscribed vessels/tools Stone tools Metal tools Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Metal raw material	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Late Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Kilian 1988a, 108-111; Maran 2008, 37, 57-59; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 239-240; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tirynx XVII.1, 28-29, 239
TIR10	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XI	90	3	Unknown	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Hearths Drains	Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material Other inscribed objects Stone tools Stone raw material Metal ornaments Stone vessels Organic ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Other organic remains Utilitarian pottery	Production	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Kilian 1988a, 111; Kilian 1988b, 4; Maran 2008 50-58, 90; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 240-241; Brysbaert and Vetters 2010, 29-35; Cohen et al. 2010; Maran 2010, 282-283; Brysbaert 2013; Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 195-199; Brysbaert 2014, 242-244; Brysbaert 2015, 154-157; Brysbaert and Vetters 2015, 164-167, 169-170; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 29-31, 240; Maran 2015, 282-283; Rahmstorf 2015, 146; Wirghová 2022
TIR11	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XIV	60	2+	Access to wall chamber (Kw14), Staircase? (N side), wall chamber (Kw14)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock, foundation terraces	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Wells Hearths Vessel stands	Metal vessels Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Organic/ceramic tools Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Faience/glass ornaments	Residence Storage Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB2 Early/LH IIIB2 Late? Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 243-244, 247; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 32-44, 240

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR12	Lower Citadel Complex	Building IV	34	2 (phase 1); 1 (phase 2)	Wall chamber (W of the S wall)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Clay	Hearths Ovens/kilns Basins Cut-stone thresholds	Stone tools Utilitarian pottery Organic ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/clay raw material Organic/ceramic tools Metal tools Metal raw material Storage pottery Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Terracotta figurines	Production Unknown Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction - end of LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Grossmann, Schäfer 1971 Tiryns V, 54-56, 72-73; Grossmann, Schäfer 1975 Tiryns VIII, 55-96; Darcque 2005, plan 68; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 247-248; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 49-56
TIR13	Lower Citadel Complex	Building III	57	2	Courtyard (R1)	Ground floor	Foundation trenches	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Tamped-earth Stone pavement Clay	Drains Hearths Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Terracotta figurines Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Metal tools Metal vessels Faience/glass ornaments Organic/ceramic tools	Storage Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Grossmann, Schäfer 1971 Tiryns V, 52-54, 61-63, 67-68; Grossmann, Schäfer 1975 Tiryns VIII, 55-60; 67-83, 94-96; Olivier 1988, 261; Hiesel 1990, 31-32; Darcque 2005, plan 68; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 211, 248-249; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 46-49, 57-65, 240-241; Rahmstorf 2015, 146-147
TIR14	Lower Citadel Complex	Building II	29	2	Unknown	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone slabs Stone pavement	Drains Built containers	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction/Abandonment? - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 2? - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Grossmann, Schäfer 1971 Tiryns V, 50-52, 59-60, 67-68; Jantzen et al. 1975, 48-49; Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, 1-87; Hiesel 1990, 21; Darcque 2005, plan 69; Mühlenbruch 2013 TIryns XVII.2, 25; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tirynx XVII.1, 31-32, 241

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR15	Lower Citadel Complex	Building A	223	8 (phase 1); 7 (phase 2)	Access to wall chambers (Kw 8-11), Staircase (R14-15), stairway to wall chamber (NW corner of R9), courtyard (between R9 and R15), entrance ramp? (courtyard; phase 1 only)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Clay Tamped-earth	Drains Ovens/kilns Platforms Cut-stone thresholds Roof supports	Metal weapons Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Metal raw material Spindle whorls/buttons Stone ornaments Stone raw material Organic/ceramic tools Stone tools Metal tools Utilitarian pottery Faience/glass ornaments Storage pottery Organic ornaments Metal vessels Other organic remains Seal stones	Residence Storage Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIB	Jantzen et al. 1975, 47-48; Hiesel 1990, 21, 154-156; Darcque 2005, plan 70; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 251-255; Brysbaert and Vetters 2013, 190-195; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 74-130, 241-242; Damm-Meinhardt 2015b; Rahmstorf 2015, 145; Vetters et al. 2015, 96-98, 108-116
TIR16	Lower Citadel Complex	Building V	97	3	Corridor (E side), courtyard (S of R92), staircase? (SW corner or the E side)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths Basins	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Metal tools	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIB	Jantzen et al. 1975, 50; Grossmann et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, 93-154; Hiesel 1990, 136; Darcque 2005, plan 71; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 255; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 130-139

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR17	Lower Citadel Complex	Building VI	283	8 (phase 1a); 7 (phase 1b-2); 1 (phase 3)	Access to wall chamber? (Kw7); Staircase (N part), corridor (along M120), porch with an annex (S of R123b), external courtyards (W part, NE part?)	Basement; ground floor	Foundation terraces	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Clay Tamped-earth Plaster	Platforms Built containers Hearths Roof supports	Stone tools Storage pottery Seal stones Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Faience/glass ornaments Metal ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Metal tools Metal weapons Metal vessels Linear B tablets Inscribed vessels Organic ornaments Stone ornaments Metal raw material	Residence Production Ritual activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 3 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Iakovidis 1983, 20; Godart et al. 1983; Hiesel 1990, 136-138; Darcque 2005, plan 72; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 260-265, 274-275; Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, 139-199, 242-243; Rahmstorf 2015, 145-146; Vetters 2019, 272-288
TIR18	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XII	29	2+	Access to wall chamber (Kw2a)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry	Plastered	Clay		Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 280; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 210-214, 244
TIR19	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XIII South	9	2+	Access to wall chamber? (Ko3)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay	Built containers	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction - end of LH IIIB?	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 282; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 215-221, 244
TIR20	Lower Citadel Complex	Building XIII North	41	3+	Access to wall chamber? (Ko4), Courtyard? (W of Ko4)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery Metal raw material	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIB?	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 282; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 215-221, 244
TIR21	Lower Citadel Complex	Building in front of Ko10	Unknown	1+	Access to wall chamber (Ko10)	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay		Terracotta figurines Utilitarian pottery Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material Metal vessels Spindle whorls/buttons	Unknown	Phase 1a? - LH IIIB2 Early? Phase 1b? - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 284-285; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 233-234, 244

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR22	Lower Citadel Complex	Building X	84	5	Outdoor roofed storage? (NW area), courtyard (SW area)	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Rubble masonry		Clay	Built containers Drains Hearths	Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal tools Spindle whorls/buttons Stone tools Cooking Pottery Faience/glass ornaments	Residence Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction - end of LH IIIB	Hiesel 1990, 32; Darcque 2005, plan 73; Rahmstorf 2008 XVI, 285-286; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 221-233, 244-245
TIR23	Lower Citadel Ruins	Building R226a	31	1	Access to wall chamber (Kw14)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Spindle whorls/buttons Utilitarian pottery Organic/ceramic tools Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments Metal raw material	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 252-256
TIR24	Lower Citadel Ruins	Building R10a	43	1+	Access to wall chambers (Kw10-11), courtyard? (to the E)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement Clay	Ovens/kilns	Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Terracotta figurines Utilitarian pottery Metal weapons Metal raw material	Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 256; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 256-261
TIR25	Lower Citadel Ruins	Building R84-85	45	1 (phase 1a); 2 (phase 1b-c)	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Ovens/kilns Hearths	Spindle whorls/buttons Metal ornaments Metal raw material Metal tools Terracotta figurines Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery	Residence Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early Phase 1c - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 261-268
TIR26	Lower Citadel Ruins	Building R119	25	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay Tamped-earth	Hearths	Storage pottery Metal tools Organic/ceramic tools Utilitarian pottery Cooking Pottery Terracotta figurines	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire?) - LH IIIC Early Phase 3? - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Early	Darcque 2005, plan 74; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 256, 258; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2 44-46; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 268-273; Vetters 2019, 289-293;
TIR27	Lower Citadel Ruins	Building R193	9	1+	Annex? (E part)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 280-283

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR28	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building XVa	23	2+ (phase 1a); 1+ (phase 1b)	Porch (S of 1/01, phase 1a),courtyard? (S part; phase 1a)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Organic/ceramic tools Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle 2?	Kilian 1988a, 111; Maran 2008, 75-78
TIR29	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building XIa	85	3 (phase 1); 1 (phase 2)	Courtyard (78b phase 1; S of 2/02 phase 2), entrance stairway (SE corner of 78b, phase 1), entrance corridor (E of wall 5/82 phase 2)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Ovens/kilns Hearths Built containers	Stone tools Metal raw material Metal tools Other inscribed objects Organic ornaments Metal weapons	Production Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonmnet? - end fo LH IIIC Middle 1? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment? - LH IIIC Middle 2	Kilian 1988a, 111; Maran 2008, 65-73; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 24; Vetters 2011, 15-22; Brysbaert 2014, 244-245; Brysbaert and Vetters 2010, 31-32, 34-36; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 73-77; Brysbaert and Vetters 2015, 167-170; Rahmstorf 2015, 147; Vetters et al. 2015, 101-102, 119-123
TIR30	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R3/02	49	1+	Courtyard (S of 3/02)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay			Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle 2?	Maran 2008, 73-76
TIR31	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R224	31	1	Access to wall chamber (Kw14), stone stairway (E side),	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Built containers Hearths Platforms Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Faience/glass ornaments Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Metal raw material Storage pottery Stone tools Metal tools Other organic remains Organic/ceramic tools	Storage Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle 1 Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction (fire?) - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3a - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3b - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3c - LH IIIC Late Phase 3d - LH IIIC Late Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 242-246; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 19-23, 77-80,100-102, 151-157; Rahmstorf 2015, 147
TIR32	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R135	22	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Terracotta figurines	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle	Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 105-106

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR33	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R11	19	1	Courtyard ("R"12)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Cut-stone thresholds	Spindle whorls/buttons	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle	Grossmann and Schäfer 1971 Tiryns V, 57; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 250; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 106-108
TIR34	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R93-96	33	3+	Access to wall chambers (Kw10, Kw11), corridor (R95)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Benches Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Metal weapons Metal raw material	Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b? - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 257; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 29-32
TIR35	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R97	30	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay		Utilitarian pottery	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Voigtländer, 1971, 404-406; Voigtländer 1973, 34; Jantzen et al. 1975, 50-53; Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, 166; Hiesel 1990, 22; Darcuqe 2005, plan 75; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 257; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 37-39
TIR36	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R86-87	52	2	Courtyard? (NE part)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Ovens/kilns Hearths Built containers	Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Metal raw material Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Metal weapons	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Voigtländer 1971, 404; Jantzen et al. 1975, 51-53; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 257; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 36-37, 42-44
TIR37	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R88-89	56	5+ (phase 1); 2+ (phase 2); 2 (phase 3)	Access to wall chambers (Kw10-11)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Stone tools Utilitarian pottery	Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction? - end of LH IIIC Middle 1 Phase 2a - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 2b - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction? - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction - end of LH IIIC Middle	Hiesel 1990, 197; Darcque 2005, plan 78 Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 259; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 33-35, 80-81, 112-113

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR38	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R81-82	88	2	Corridor (S of R81), access to wall chamber (Kw10)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Jantze et al. 1968, 371; Voigtländer 1971, 404; Voigtländer 1973, 29-30; Jantzen et al. 1975, 52-53; Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, 163-166; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 259; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 108-112, 159
TIR39	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R115	73	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement	Platforms Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Faience/glass ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments Seal stones Stone raw material	Public activities Unknown Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Voigtländer 1971, 404-405; Hiesel 1990, 23; Darcque 2005, plan 80; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 260; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 113-116; Vetters 2019, 298-300
TIR40	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R99-100	23	1+ (phase 1a); 2? (phase 1b)	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement Clay	Hearths	Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments	Unknown Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Late Phase 1b - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 260; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 159-166
TIR41	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R117	11	1	External stone altar (to the N)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster Painted plaster	Benches Platforms Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Organic ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Stone ornaments Metal ornaments	Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction - end of LH IIIC Early	Hiesel 1990, 55-56; Darcque 2005, plan 77; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 266; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 53-56; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136-138; Vetters 2015, 88-90; Vetters 2019, 294-297
TIR42	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R110	7	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Platforms	Terracotta figurines Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Organic/ceramic tools	Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Hiesel 1990, 22; Darcque 2005, plan 80; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 266; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 84-86, 118-120; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136-138; Vetters 2015, 90-92; Vetters 2019, 297-298

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR43	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R110a	10	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Platforms	Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Utilitarian pottery	Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Hiesel 1990, 55; Darcque 2005, plan 84; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 267; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 168-170; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136-138; Vetters 2015, 93-94; Vetters 2019, 300-302
TIR44	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R112	16	1	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Organic ornaments Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Metal ornaments Stone tools		Phase 1 - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Darcque 2005, plan 84; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 267; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 171-172
TIR45	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R74-77	20	4	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Ovens/kilns	Organic/ceramic tools Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 63-65
TIR46	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R126	40	1+ (phase1); 2 (phase 2)	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Benches Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines Metal tools Organic/ceramic tools	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle Phase 2 - LH IIIC Late Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Late	Darcque 2005, plan 81; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI , 277; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 122-123, 186-187, 216; Vetters 2019, 355-361
TIR47	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R106.124	70	2 (phase 1a); 3 (phase 1b)	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry, mud-brick		Clay Stone pavement	Hearths Basins Built containers Roof supports Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Seal clay impressions Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material Stone tools Metal tools Faience/glass ornaments	Residence Storage Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Late Phase 1b - LH IIIC Late Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Late	Hiesel 1990, 33; Darcque 2005, plan 85; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 268, 277-278; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 179-182; Rahmstorf 2015, 147; Vetters 2019, 361-366

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR48	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building VIa	160	4	Anteroom with a doorstep (N of R107), staircase (N of the anteroom), entrance ramp/terraced passage (SE side), wall supports (W wall)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings, foundation terrace reuse	Rubble masonry	Painted plaster (complex)	Clay	Hearths Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Organic/ceramic tools Stone tools Metal tools	Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Middle 1 Phase 1c - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 1d - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Darcque 2005, plan 76; Mühlenbruch 2007, 245-247; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 266-268; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 57-61, 86-88, 120-121; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136, 139; Vetters 2019, 361-366
TIR49	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R104	30	1+ (phase 1a); 2+ (phase 1b)	Corridor? (S side)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Stone tools	Unknown Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Late Phase 1b - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Late	Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 175-177
TIR50	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R127	98	1 (phase 1-2); 2 (phase 3-4)	Porch with an external hearth (phase 1); paved porch? (phase 3-4)	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry, mud-brick		Clay Stone pavement	Hearths Drains Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Metal tools Metal raw material Terracotta figurines Organic/ceramic tools Stone ornaments Other organic remains Stone tools Cooking Pottery Metal ornaments	Residence Storage Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle Phase 4 - LH IIIC Late Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Late	Hiesel 1990, 23-24, 33-34; Darcque 2005, plan 82, plan 86; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 276-278; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 128-141, 189-193, 211-212; Vetters 2015, 81-87; Vetters 2019, 347-355

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR51	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R129	Unknown	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Clay	Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Late Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 280; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 193-194
TIR52	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R134	14	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Foundation trenches	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay		Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools	Unknown	Phasse 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 125-128
TIR53	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R136/137	36	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth	Built containers Platforms Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery Spindle whorls/buttons	Unknown Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction? - LH IIIC Middle Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire?) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 281; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 144-147
TIR54	Lower Citadel Quarter	Building R133	10	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Foundation terrace reuse	Rubble masonry		Clay	Ovens/kilns	Stone tools Metal tools Terracotta figurines	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle 1	Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 282; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 91-92
TIR55	Northeast Complex	Building below Building R8/00	0	1+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Cooking Pottery Storage pottery	Unknown Residence	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 1/2? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early 2	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 104-105, 131-132, 140-142; Stockhammer 2008, 122-159; Maran 2016, 204;
TIR56	Northeast Complex	Building R8/00	103	3+?	Courtyard (NW part), porch (W of 8/00), corridors? (S of 8/00)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay Tamped-earth	Hearths Platforms Roof supports	Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Storage pottery Cooking Pottery Utilitarian pottery Other artefacts Organic ornaments	Residence Unknown Ritual activities Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105-111, 131-132, 142-145; Stockhammer 2008, 160-196, 273-310, 318-326; Maran 2016, 204;
TIR57	Northeast Complex	Northeast House	117	4+ (phase 1); 3+ (phase 2)	Courtyard with an entrance	Ground floor	Remains of older buildings	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Clay	Hearths Platforms Containers Built containers	Other artefacts Organic ornaments Metal tools Cooking Pottery Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Organic/ceramic tools	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 1? Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Middle 1? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle 2/LH IIIC Late	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 111-121, 131-132, 157-158, 165-168; Stockhammer 2008, 197-241, 311, 327-328

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR58	Northeast Complex	Building R5/00	4	1+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement Clay		Terracotta figurines Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle 1	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 114, 131-132
TIR59	Northeast Complex	Building R3/00	12	1+	Unknown	Unknown	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 119, 131-132; Stockhammer 2008, 242-250
TIR60	Northeast Complex	Building R1-2/99	18	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry			Hearths	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 119, 131-132; Stockhammer 2008, 242-250
TIR61	Northeast Complex	Building R3/99	8	1+	Unknown	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry			Hearths	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 118, 131-132; Stockhammer 2008, 242-250
TIR62		Walls in Area L	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR63		Walls in Area M	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR64		Walls in Area N	90	2+ (phase 1); 4+ (phase 2)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle/Late?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971, suppl. 1, 2; Hiesel 1990, 197-198; Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns X, plan 2
TIR65		Building R6/18	Unknown	1+ (phase 1)	Courtyard (3/18)	Ground floor?	Flattened ground	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Hearths Ovens/kilns	Metal tools Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early Phase 2? - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle 1	Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 120-122

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR66		Northwest Building	65	4+	Courtyard? (centre), corridor? (E side)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Terracotta figurines	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2/C Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB/end of LH IIIC Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early/Middle? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle/Late?	Demakopoulou 1989; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 128; Mühlenbruch 2013 TIryns XVII.2, 261; Maran 2016, 204
TIR67	Northwest Complex	Building R1/18	156	5+ (phase 1); 4+ (phase 2)	Courtyards (1/18 phase 1a; 2/17 phase 1b), corridor (1/17, S of 4/18?) external courtyard? (2/18), staircase? (W of 3/14), entrance ramp (NW corner of 2/17; phase 1b)	Ground floor	Flattened ground? (phase 1), remains of older building (phase 2)	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Stone pavement Tamped-earth Clay	Hearths Ovens/kilns Platforms Roof supports Benches Vessel stands	Organic ornaments Storage pottery Metal tools Utilitarian pottery Seal stones Cooking Pottery Stone tools Organic/ceramic tools Organic/clay raw material	Residence Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early Phase 2- LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle 1	Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 32; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 78, 86-96, 98-115
TIR68	Northwest Complex	Building R2-3/15	21	1+ (phase 1a); 2+? (phase 1b)	Unknown	Ground floor	Flattened ground?	Rubble masonry		Clay	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Stone ornaments	Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early?	Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 30-32; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 94-95
TIR69	Northwest Complex	Building H1-2/15	210	6+ (phase 1a); 7+ (phase 1b)	Courtyard (1-2/15), corridor (1/14-1/15), porch (7/17; phase 1a), external courtyard? (1/13)	Ground floor	Flattened ground	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Stone pavement Tamped-earth Clay	Hearths Platforms Vessel stands Ovens Built containers Ovens/kilns Cut-stone thresholds Roof supports	Metal ornaments Metal weapons Organic ornaments Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Stone tools Storage pottery Cooking Pottery Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Metal raw material Other artefacts Organic/ceramic tools	Residence Production Public activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early Later activity (working area?) - LH IIIC Middle 1	Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 24-47; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, 84-89, 97-98

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR70	Complex O	Walls in Area O	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1a? - LH IIIC Early 1? Phase 1b? - LH IIIC Early 2? Phase 1c? - LH IIIC Middle 1? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle 1?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR71	Complex O	Northwest House	113	7+ (phase 1-2); 2+ (phase 3)	Courtyard (NW side; phase 1-2), corridor (E of R301; only phase 2)	Ground floor	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Drains Wells Ovens Hearths Platforms Benches Built containers Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery Terracotta figurines Stone tools Metal raw material Metal vessels Metal tools Metal ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Stone ornaments Organic/ceramic tools Organic ornaments	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early 1/2? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early 2? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early? Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle 1? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle 1?	Kilian 1978, 449-457; Darcque 2005, plan 63; Stockhammer 2008, 163-164; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 223-246, 260-261; Vetters 2015, 78-81; Maran 2016, 202; Maran and Papadimitriou 2016, 99; Vetters 2019, 312-327
TIR72		Walls in Area P	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR73	House 49 Complex	House 49	34	2+ (phase 1a); 6+ (phase 1b)	Corridor (W side), courtyard? (E side)	Ground floor	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)	Stone pavement Clay		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIA1? Phase 1b - LH IIIA1 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA1?	Döhl 1975 Tiryns VIII; Podzuweit and Salzmann 1977,132-137; Hiesel 1990, 8; Darcque 2005, plan 64
TIR74		Walls in Area D	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR75		Walls in Area C	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR76		Walls in Area E	Unknown	3+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 3 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3, pl. 1ö Mühlenbruch 2013, 257
TIR77		Walls in Area F1	Unknown	1+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH III? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3
TIR78	Complex F3	House F3a	116	7+	Courtyard? (SE side)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH III/LH I? Destruction (fire) - LH I? Phase 2 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - LH I/II?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 7-8; Hiesel 1990, 54-55; Darcque 2005, plan 57

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR79	Complex F3	House F3b	80	2+	Courtyard? (centre)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I? Destruction (fire) - LH I? Phase 2 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - LH II?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 8; Hiesel 1990, 55
TIR80	Complex F2	House F2a	26	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA1?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 6; Hiesel 1990, 36; Darcque 2005, plan 58
TIR81	Complex F2	House F2b	68	4+	Corridors? (W side, E side)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry			Drains Ovens Ovens/kilns	Utilitarian pottery	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA1?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 6-7; Hiesel 1990, 35-36
TIR82	Complex F1	House F1a	64	3+	Porch? (E side), courtyard? (SE side)	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery	Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIA1 Phase 1b - LH IIIA2 Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 4-5; Hiesel 1990, 35; Darcque 2005, plan 59
TIR83	Complex F1	House F1b	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry?		Stone pavement			Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA1? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 5; Hiesel 1990, 35
TIR84	Complex F1	House F1c	45	2+	Corridor? (W side)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry?			Hearths	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 5-6; Hiesel 1990, 35
TIR85		Walls in Area G1	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Aravantinopoulos 1915; Philadelphis 1917; Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3; Jantzen et al. 1975, 174-178; Maran 2006, 129-140, figs. 8.3a-b
TIR86		House D1-D2	69	3+ (phase 1); 4+ (phase 2);	Unknown	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock?, remains of older buildings (phase 2)	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay	Vessel stands Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Stone tools	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH III Destruction (fire) - LH IIB? Phase 2 - LH IIB Abandonment - LH IIIA1	Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 17-19; Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, 18-26; Hiesel 1990. 34-35; Darcque 2005, plan 60
TIR87		Walls in Area H	212	5+	Courtyard (N part)	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIB?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 TIryns V, 17-18; Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, 18-19, 22, 27

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR88		House M	61	7+	Corridors (S side)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock?	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement	Hearths	Utilitarian pottery	Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 15-18; Jantzen et al. 1975, 59-60; Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, 17-18, 21-22; Hiesel 1990, 24; Darcque 2005, plan 61
TIR89	Megaron W Complex	Megaron W	196	3	Unknown	Ground floor?	Foundation trenches, flattened bedrock	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)		Hearths Roof supports	Metal tools Utilitarian pottery	Unknown Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Middle/Late?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 11-15; Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, 8-10, 15-18; Jantzen et al. 1975, 60-61; Hiesel 1990 63-64; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 265
TIR90	Megaron W Complex	House O	60	1+	Courtyard with a staircase? (11)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay	Ovens Ovens/kilns Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery Stone tools Terracotta figurines	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 18; Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, 10-17; Hiesel 1990, 24-25
TIR91		Walls in Area H1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 1-3, pl. 1
TIR92		Walls in Area K	Unknown	3+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB/C? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIC? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 1-3
TIR93		Building in area K1		2+	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH III A/B? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Kilian 1988, fig. 9; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, Pls. 100-101
PYL1	Palace of Nestor	Proto-palace	2370	4+ (phase 2)	Central court?, fortified entrance? (S corner)	Ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened bedrock	Pseudo-ashlar masonry (phase 1a); orthostate masonry (phase 1b)		Plaster	Drains Roof supports	Seal stones Utilitarian pottery Metal ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines	Storage Unknown Public activities	Phase 1a - LH I Phase 1b - LH II? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 32-40; Hiesel 1990, 195; Nelson 2001; Rutter 22-35; Nelson 2007; Davis 2010, 682-83; Cooper 2017, 135-150; Nelson 2017, 352-360; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021
PYL2	Palace of Nestor	Building X	63	1	External stairway (W side - phase 1; E side - phase 2)	Basement?	Unknown	Pseudo-ashlar masonry, rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1a - LH I/II Phase 1b - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 2? - LH IIIB1? Destruction? - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1973, 40-41; Hiesel 1990, 168; Cooper 2017a, 74-76; Nelson 2017, 287, 352-362

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Aditional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL3	Palace of Nestor	Early Palace	2530	5+ (phase 1); 2? (phase 2)	Central court?, fortified stairway (S corner)	Ground floor	Foundation terraces, flattened ground	Ashlar masonry				Metal raw material Metal ornaments Stone ornaments Spindle whorls/buttons Stone tools Utilitarian pottery	Unknown Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction (fire) - LH IIIA2 Early	Blegen et al. 1973, 32-40; Nelson 2001; Rutter 2005, 22-35; Davis 2010, 682-83; Cooper 2017, 135-150; Nelson 2017, 352-360; Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022
PYL4	Palace of Nestor	Main Building	1680	19 (phase 1a); 20 (phase 1b)	Main gate (1, 2), additional entrance (41), central courtyard (3), side courtyards (42, 47 - phase 1b), front courtyard (58), staircases (14-15, 36, 54?), corridors (13, 16, 18, 25, 26, 28, 35-37, 45, 48, 51, 52), external cistern (102)	Ground floor	Foundation trenches	Ashlar masonry (reused), pier-wall rubble masonry, mud-brick	Painted plaster (complex) Plastered Painted plaster (simple)	Painted plaster Clay	Vessel stands Hearths Drains Benches Bathtubs Roof supports Cut-stone thresholds	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Linear B tablets Metal raw material Metal ornaments Stone ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Seal clay impressions Metal tools Stone tools Organic ornaments Stone raw material Other organic remains Metal weapons Cooking Pottery Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Terracotta figurines Metal vessels Stone vessels	Residence Storage Production Administration Ritual activities Public activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1? Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Blegen, Rawson 1966, 43-235; Shelmerdine 1984; Wright 1984; Palaima and Wright 1985; McCallum 1987; Hiesel 1990, 163-65; Whitelaw 2001; Darcque 2005, plan 113; Hruby 2006; Davis 2010, 684-687; Hruby 2010; Egan 2015; Cooper 2017b, 150-54; Firth 2017; Nelson 2017, 284-287, 360-65; Brecoulaki 2018; Lafayette Hougue 2023

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Aditional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL5	Palace of Nestor	South-western Building	860	13 (phase 1a); 18? (phase 1b)	Courtyard (63), corridors (66, 70, 75, 79, i, f), staircase (69)	Ground floor	Foundation terraces	Ashlar masonry (reused), pier-wall rubble masonry, mud-brick	Plastered Painted plaster (simple) Painted plaster (complex)	Plaster Clay	Drains Roof supports Cut-stone thresholds	Cooking pottery Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Metal tools Spindle whorls/buttons Metal vessels Linear B tablets Metal weapons Stone vessels Organic ornaments Seal clay impressions Stone tools Terracotta figurines Metal ornaments Faience/glass ornaments Other organic remains Metal raw material Stone raw material	Residence Storage Administration Public activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Phase 1b? - LH IIIB2? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 236-288; Hiesel 1990, 165; Shelmerdine 1998-1999; Bennett and Davis 1999; Darcque 2005, plan 114; Davis 2010, 686; Lis 2016; Cooper 2017, 150-54; Nelson 2017, 360-65
PYL6	Palace of Nestor	North-eastern Building	372	6+	Porch (92), corridor (94, 95), external ramp (91)	Ground floor	Flattened ground?	Mud-brick on rubble masonry with reused ashlar blocks		Clay Plaster Painted plaster	Drains Roof supports	Seal clay impressions Linear B tablets Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Stone raw material Metal raw material Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Metal tools Stone tools Terracotta figurines Seal stones Organic/clay raw material	Storage Administration	Phase 1- LH IIIB2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 299-325; Tegyey 1984; Hiesel 1990, 130-31; Westerburg 2000; Bendall 2003; Darcque 2005, plan 115; Lupack 2008; Davis 2010, 686; Murphy 2016a, 57-60; Nelson 2017, 287, 362-65;
PYL7	Palace of Nestor	Wine Magazine	155	2	Unknown	Ground floor	Foundation terrace	Mud-brick on rubble masonry		Clay Plaster	Vessel stands	Seal stones Storage pottery Seal clay impressions Utilitarian pottery Stone ornaments Stone tools Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material	Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 342-349; Hiesel 1990, 62-63; Darcque 2005, plan 116; Davis 2010, 686; Nelson 2017, 287, 360-65

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Aditional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL8	Palace of Nestor	Building 82	78	3?	Courtyard (to the N), entrance ramp (to the W)	Ground floor?	Flattened ground	Rubble masonry		Clay	Vessel stands	Utilitarian pottery Storage pottery Metal raw material Stone tools Terracotta figurines	Storage Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 289-291; Blegen et al. 1971, 44; Hiesel 1990, 166-67; Brenningmeyer 2017b; Cooper 2017a, 63-66; Nelson 2017; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8, 362;
PYL9	Northeast Area Complex	Building 106	104	2+ (phase 2)	Plastered courtyard (phase 1); external corridor and courtyard?(NE side; phase 2b)	Ground floor	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Painted plaster	Roof supports	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH III? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH I/II? Phase 2b - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 336-341; Blegen et al. 1973, 29-31; Hiesel 1990, 195; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Cooper 2017a, 35-41; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8; Karapanagiotou et al. 2021
PYL10	Northeast Area Complex	Building 101/102/103	33	3+ (phase 2)	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Stone ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 3? - LH IIIB? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 326-331; Blegen et al. 1973, 29-31; Hiesel 1990, 31; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Cooper 2017a, 35-41; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8
PYL11		Building P13	7	1+	Unknown	Unknown	Flattened ground	Rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1 - MH/LH I? Destructiom (fire?) - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 28-29
PYL12	Belvedere Area Complex	Building MN	13	1+	Courtyard? (E of wall K)	Ground floor	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry			Drains Platforms		Storage Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 20-21; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8
PYL13	Belvedere Area Complex	Building H	11	1+	Courtyard? (N side)	Ground floor?	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 21; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8
PYL14	Belvedere Area Complex	South Belvedere Area Building	51	2+ (phase 1a); 3+ (phase 1b); 1+ (phase 2)	Unknown	Ground floor?	Flattened bedrock	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth Plaster	Drains Roof supports	Other organic remains Stone raw material Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1a - LH I? Phase 1b - LH II? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB/C?	Blegen et al. 1973, 22-23; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Aditional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL15		Walls in Area W10	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Painted plaster (simple)			Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH/LH Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 10
PYL16		Walls in Area W10 Extension	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 10
PYL17		Walls in Area W12-13	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - ? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 10
PYL18		Walls in Area W14	162	Unknown	Corridor? (E side, phase 2)	Basement	Flattened bedrock, remains of older buildings	Rubble masonry with reused ashlar blocks		Stone paveme nt	Drains		Unknown Storage	Phase 1 - MH? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2a - LH I/II Phase 2b - LH I/II Phase 2c - LH I/II Phase 2d - LH I/II Phase 2e - LH IIIA? Destruction/Abandpnment - ?	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 289-298; Blegen et al. 1973, 10-11; Hiesel 1990, 167; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Brenningmeyer 2017b; Cooper 2017a, 54-72; Nelson 2017, fig. 4.1-4.8
PYL19		Walls in Area W15	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 3 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 11
PYL20		Walls in Area W17	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown					Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II/LHIIIA? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA/LH IIIB?	Blegen et al. 1973, 11
PYL21		Walls in Area W19-20	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry?				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1971, 50-51
PYL22		Walls in Area W21	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction (fire?) - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIB? Destruction - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 12-13, 51
PYL23		Walls in Area W27	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 14-15

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Aditional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL24		Wall in Area W28	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 15
PYL25		Wall in Area W31-33	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry?	Painted plaster (simple)			Spindle whorls/buttons Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1973, 15-16
PYL26		Building in Trench AA I	Unknown	3+	Unknown	Ground floor	Unknown	Timber-framed mud-brick on rubble masonry	Plastered	Plaster		Utilitarian pottery Organic ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire?) - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1971, 61-63
PYL27		Building in Trench AA II	Unknown	3+	Unknown	Ground floor	Unknown	Mud-brick on rubble masonry	Painted plaster (simple)	Plaster	Benches	Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1971, 62-63
PYL28		Walls in Trench LT I	Unknown	2+	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Clay Stone pavement		Utilitarian pottery	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II Destruction (fire) - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA Destruction (fire) - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 3 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1971, 52-57; Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022, 122
PYL29		Walls in Trench LT II	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1971, 57
PYL30		Walls in Trench LT III	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry		Tamped-earth		Utilitarian pottery Metal weapons Metal raw material Stone ornaments Stone raw material Seal stones Terracotta figurines Spindle whorls/buttons Faience/glass ornaments	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA Destruction (fire) - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 3 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1971, 57-59

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL31		Walls in Trench LT IV	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Storage pottery Utilitarian pottery Metal raw material Stone tools Spindle whorls/buttons Terracotta figurines	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIB Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen et al. 1971, 59-60
PYL32		Walls in Trench LT V	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery Spindle whorls/buttons	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1971, 60-61
PYL33		Walls in Petropoulos Trench	Unknown	1+ (phase 3)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Spindle whorls/buttons Organic/ceramic tools Metal raw material Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - MH Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 3 - MH Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Blegen et al. 1971, 63-64
PYL34		Walls in Area B	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH Destruction/Abandonment - LH I/II?	http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/
PYL35		Building in Area E	Unknown	3+	Unknown	Unknown	Flattened ground	Rubble masonry				Terracotta figurines	Ritual activities Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA2 Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB1?	Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022, 123; Stocker, Davis 7.04.2023 ASCSA Open Meeting Lecture; http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/
PYL36		Walls in Area D	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown				Utilitarian pottery	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early?	http://www.griffinwarrior.org/tsakonas-field/

Building Code	Complex	Name	Size	Number of rooms	Other structural elements	Preserved storey	Foundations form	Walls construction	Walls	Floors	Additional elements	Finds	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL37	Dimopoulos Field Complex	Building DF1	Unknown	3+ (phase 1); 4+ (phase 2)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rubble masonry			Drains	Utilitarian pottery	Ritual activities Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Stocker, Davis 7.04.2023 ASCSA Open Meeting Lecture
PYL38	Dimopoulos Field Complex	Building DF2	Unknown	4+?	Unknown	Ground floor?	Unknown	Rubble masonry				Utilitarian pottery	Ritual activities Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Stocker, Davis 7.04.2023 ASCSA Open Meeting Lecture

Tab. 7. Catalog of complexes

Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC1-10	Mycenae Palace	7665	Foundation terraces (between the Main Wing and the East Wing), ramp with a courtyard (4, only phase 2),	Pre-planned construction	Residence Storage Production Ritual activities Administration Public activities	Phase 1 - LH IIB? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2? Phase 2 - LH IIIA2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIB? Phase 3a - LH IIIB2 Early/Late? Phase 3b - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 4a - LH IIIC Early Phase 4b? - LH IIIC Early? Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Wace et al. 1923, 147-282; Wace 1949, 69-97; Mylonas 1966a, 58-78; Mylonas 1968; Shaar 1979; Iakovidis 1983, 55-67; Mylonas 1983, 91-127; Iakovidis 1986, 235-238, 256-260; Kilian 1987; French 2002, 57-63, 95-100; Iakovidis 2003, 120; French et al. 2003, 14-15; French and Shelton 2005, 175-178; Fitzsimons 2006, 195-274
MYC11-12	Northeast Extension	626	Underground cistern (N side), roadway (in the center), retaining wall K (phase 2 only),	Pre-planned construction	Storage Residence	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early? Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB/LH IIIC Early? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle?	Mylonas 1962-65, 144-166, 196-197; Iakovidis 1983, 53-55; Iakovidis 1986, 239-240; Mylonas 1983, 85-86; French 2002, 56-57, 101-102; Iakovidis 2003, 120; French et al. 2003, 13
MYC13-15	House M Complex	1003	Stairway (to the S), roadway (SE area), courtyards (SW area, square), corridors with stairways (A, D), terraces (N and S of C), exterior vaulted storeroom (E of A)	Pre-planned construction	Ritual activities Storage	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late? Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB Phase 2 - LH IIIC Destruction (fire)/Abandonment? - LH IIIC Late?	Wace and Rowe 1954; Iakovidis 1983, 50-53; Mylonas 1983, 74, 152-153; Iakovidis 1986, 240, 258-259; Iakovidis 1996, 1054; French 2002, 94-95; French et al. 2003, 12-13; Pliatsika 2015
MYC17-19	Northwest Quarter	791	Passages (A-B, Γ)	Pre-planned construction	Storage Unknown Production?	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Tsountas 1891; Spyropoulos 1972; Iakovidis 2006

Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC20-24	Grave Circle A Complex	1238	Central drain, roofed external corridor (E of South House Annex), causeway, system of ramps (N of Ramp House)	Gradual development	Ritual activities Storage Production Public activities	Phase 1 - LH I Destruction - end of LH IIIA2? Phase 2 - LH IIIB1 Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 3 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB2 Phase 4 - LH IIIC Early Destruction - end of LH IIIC Middle	Wace et al. 1923, 118-126; French et al. [forthcoming] WBM 9; Taylour 1962; Mylonas 1966, 25-27; Wardle 1969; Wardle et al. 1973; Gates 1985; Wardle 2015
MYC26-30	Cult Centre	872 (phase 2c)	Entrance ramp (Processional Way - phase 2 only), external courtyard with round altar (SW of the Temple - phase 1 only?), internal open-air corridor (between Tsountas House and the Megaron and the Temple)	Gradual development	Ritual activities Production Storage Residence?	Phase 1 - LH IIIA1 Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIA? Phase 2a - LH IIIB1 Early Phase 2b - LH IIIB1 Late Phase 2c - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 3 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Mylonas 1972; Mylonas 1977; Taylour 1981 WBM 1; Iakovidis 1983, 44-48; Mylonas 1983, 127-148; Moore 1988; Moore and Taylour 1999 WBM 10; French 2002, 84-92; French and Taylour 2007 WBM 13; French 2011 WBM 16-17, 31; Wardle 2015; Aulsebrook 2019
MYC31-36	Citadel House Complex	422	Courtyard xxx/xxxi (phase 1)	Gradual development	Residence Unknown Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1 Destruction (earthquake?) - end of LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early 2 Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early 2 Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle	Iakovidis 1986, 244; Iakovidis 2003, 120-121; French 2011 WBM 16/17
MYC37-44	Southwest Quarter	1624	Terraces (I, H4), passages (Nether Lane, Upper Lane, B7, I), stairways with drains (AB, ΓΔ, BZ, ZΘ), drain (ΘK - only phase 2b)	Pre-planned construction	Residence Storage Production Ritual activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction - end of LH IIIB Phase 2a - LH IIIC Early Phase 2b - LH IIIC Middle Destruction - end of LH IIIC Middle Phase 3 - LH IIIC Late Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Iakovidis 2013b

Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
MYC48-53	Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex	671+	Unknown	Unknown	Storage Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH II Destruction (fire) - LH II Phase 2 - LH IIIA2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIA2 Phase 3 - LH IIIB1 Early Destrution (fire) - end of LH IIIB1?	French 1954, 291; French 1961; French et al. 2003, 48
MYC57-60	West House Group	1594 (phase 1d)	Corridor (between WH and HotOM), external courtyard (S of WH), external refuse area (N of WH)	Gradual development	Storage Production Residence Administration	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Phase 1c - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Phase 1d - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB1 Phase 2 - LH IIIC	Verdelis 1962, 28-29; French 1963, 50; Tournavitou 1995, 65-67, 257-299; Iakovidis 1986, 258-259; Mylonas-Shear 1987, 155; French 2002, 66-68; Burns 2007; Varias 2012; Tournavitou et al. 2015, 260-261
MYC63-65	Panagia Houses	477 (phase 1b); 270 (phase 2); 101 (phase 3)	External drain	Gradual development	Residence Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIB1 Early Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early/Late Destruction (earthquake) - LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 3 - LH IIIC Early Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Early	Iakovidis 1986, 249-251; Mylonas-Shear 1987, 48-51, 61-63, 66; Darcque 2005, 317; Burns 2007, 113-114; Efkleidou 2021, 29
MYC67-68	Makri Lithari Complex	Unknown	Central courtyard?	Unknown	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIB? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Steffen 1884; French et al. 2003, 56-57; French 2009, 59
TIR1-3	Tiryns Palace	3290	Propylon (1), external courtyards (2, 56), rooms within the fortification wall (42, 45, 46), Middle Citadel interior (49, phase 1b)	Pre-planned construction	Residence Storage Administration Ritual activities Public activities	Phase 1 - LH I Abandonment? - LH II? Phase 2 - LH II Abandonment - LH IIIA1/A2? Phase 3 - LH IIIA1/A2 Destruction (fire)? - end of LH IIIB1? Phase 4 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB Phase 5a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 5b - LH IIIC Middle? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Schliemann and Dörpfeld 1886; Müller 1930 Tiryns III, 119-193; Jantzen et al. 1975, 13-58; Iakovidis 1983, 3-20; Kilian 1988c; Maran 2000; Maran 2001a; Maran 2001b; Darcque 2005, plan 65a; Maran 2010, 724-731; Kardamaki 2015; Maran 2015, 278-80; Thaler 2015; Thaler 2016, 112-114; Vetters 2019, 206-256
TIR5-8	Ramparts Complex	200+	Stone-paved passage (between Rampart Building and R212; phase 2b)	Gradual development	Residence Production Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIA2 Phase 1b - LH IIIB1 Early Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIB1 Early Phase 2a - LH IIIB1 Late Phase 2b - LH IIIB1 Late Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIB1	Kilian 1988a, 126-137; Maran 2008, 38; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, 269-273, 286-287 ; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.2, 19; Vetters 2019, 169-205

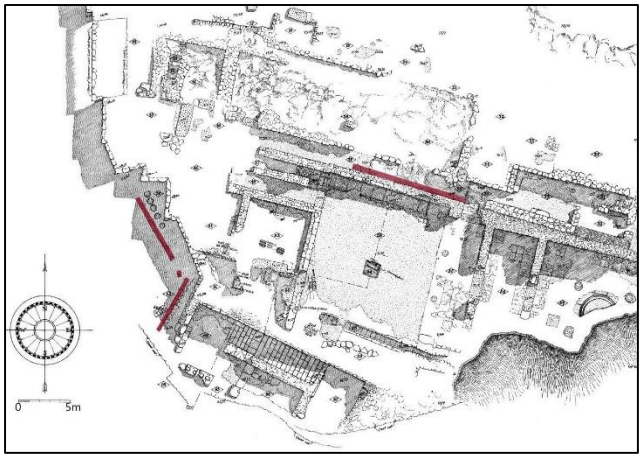
Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR9-22	Lower Citadel Complex	4535	Retaining walls; access ramp (E of Building III)	Pre-planned construction	Residence Storage Production Ritual activities	Phase 1 - LH IIIB2 Early Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB2 Early Phase 2 - LH IIIB2 Late Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIB	Maran 2008, 36-59; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI; Rahmstorf 2014; Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 199-201; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1; Vetters 2019, 257-310
TIR23-27	Lower Citadel Ruins	1775+	Unknown	Gradual development	Residence Unknown Production	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early	Maran 2008, 59, 91-94; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI; Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, 247-284; Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 201; Vetters 2019, 289-293
TIR28-54	Lower Citadel Quarter	2476+	Courtyards (H1, H2, H3); altar (N of R117); passages in walled corridors (corridor of Building V, corridor E of R224, corridor between R106 and Building VIa, "R"125, "R"128, "R"132)	Gradual development	Residence Ritual activities Unknown Storage Production	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early Phase 2a - LH IIIC Early Phase 2b - LH IIIC Middle 1 Phase 2c - LH IIIC Middle 1 Phase 2d - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 2e - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 2f - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 3 - LH IIIC Late Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Late Phase 4 - LH IIIC Late Destruction - LH IIIC Late Phase 5a - LH IIIC Late Phase 5b - LH IIIC Late Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Late?	Mühlenbruch 2007; Maran 2008, 59-95; Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI; Mühlenbruch 2009; Mühlenbruch 2010; Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2; Brysbaert 2014; Mühlenbruch 2015
TIR55-61	Northeast Complex	201+	Courtyard with an external hearth (phase 2b-3)	Unknown	Residence Unknown Public activities	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 1/2? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Early 2 Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonment? - end of LH IIIC Middle 1? Phase 4 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Middle 2 Phase 5 - LH IIIC Middle 2 Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIC Late?	Maran and Papadimitriou 2006; Stockhammer 2008, 69-328; Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, 261-262; Maran 2016, 204; Vetters 2019, 327-344

Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
TIR67-69	Northwest Complex	420+	Backyard (Hinterhof; phase 1); System of passages and courtyards with hearths, platforms and kilns (S part; phase 2); drainage (W part; phase 2)	Pre-planned construction	Residence Production Public activities Unknown	Phase 1a - LH IIIC Early 1 Phase 1b - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Early Phase 2 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction (fire) - end of LH IIIC Middle 1	Maran 2016, 204-217; Maran and Papadimitriou 2016; Maran and Papadimitriou 2021
TIR70-71	Complex O	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIC Early 1 Destruction - LH IIIC Early 2? Phase 2 - LH IIIC Early 2 Destruction - end of LH IIIC Early Phase 3 - LH IIIC Middle 1 Destruction/Abandonment - end of LH IIIC Middle 1?	Kilian 1978, 449-457; Vetters 2019, 312-326
TIR78-79	Complex F3	270+	Courtyard? (centre)	Unknown	Unknown	Phase 1 - LH I? Destruction (fire) - LH I? Phase 2 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - LH I/II?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 7-8; Hiesel 1990, 54-55
TIR80-81	Complex F2	107+	Uknown	Unknown	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH II? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA1?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, 6-7; Hiesel 1990, 35-36
TIR82-84	Complex F1	230+	Courtyard? (centre)	Unknown	Residence Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIIA1? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2? Phase 2 - LH IIIA2? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2/B?	Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V 4-6; Hiesel 1990, 35
PYL1-8	Palace of Nestor	4350	Forecourt (58; phase 3), ramps (91, 59; phase 3), courtyard (63, 88), corridor (59, 61)	Pre-planned construction	Residence Storage Production Administration Ritual activities Public activities	Phase 1a - LH I Phase 1b - LH II? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA1? Destruction (fire) - LH IIIA2 Early Phase 3a - LH IIIB1 Phase 3b - LH IIIB2 Destruction (fire) - LH IIIC Early Later activity (overbuilding and reoccupation) - LH IIIIC/Proto-Geometric-Archaic	Blegen, Rawson 1966; Lang 1969; Blegen et al. 1973, 32-47; Wright 1984; Shelmerdine 1987; Hiesel 1990, 212-216; Popham 1991; Mountjoy 1997; Shelmerdine 1998; Nelson 2001; Dacrque 2005, plan 112; Thaler 2005; Rutter 2005, 22-35; Thaler 2006; Nelson 2007; Davis 2010; Brecoulaki et al. 2012; Lafayette Hogue 2016; Lis 2016; Brenningmeyer 2017; Cooper 2017a; Cooper 2017b; Hollond 2017; Nelson 2017; Brecoulaki 2018; VItale, Stocker, Malapani 2021; Vitale, Stocker, Davis 2022
PYL9-10	Northeast Area Complex	378	Unknown	Gradual development	Unknown	Phase 1 - MH III? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 3 - LH IIIA Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 4? - LH IIIB? Destrution/Abandonment? - LH IIIC Early?	Blegen and Rawson 1966, 326-339; Blegen et al. 1973, 29-31; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Cooper 2017, 35-44; Nelson 2017, 288, fig. 4.1-4.8

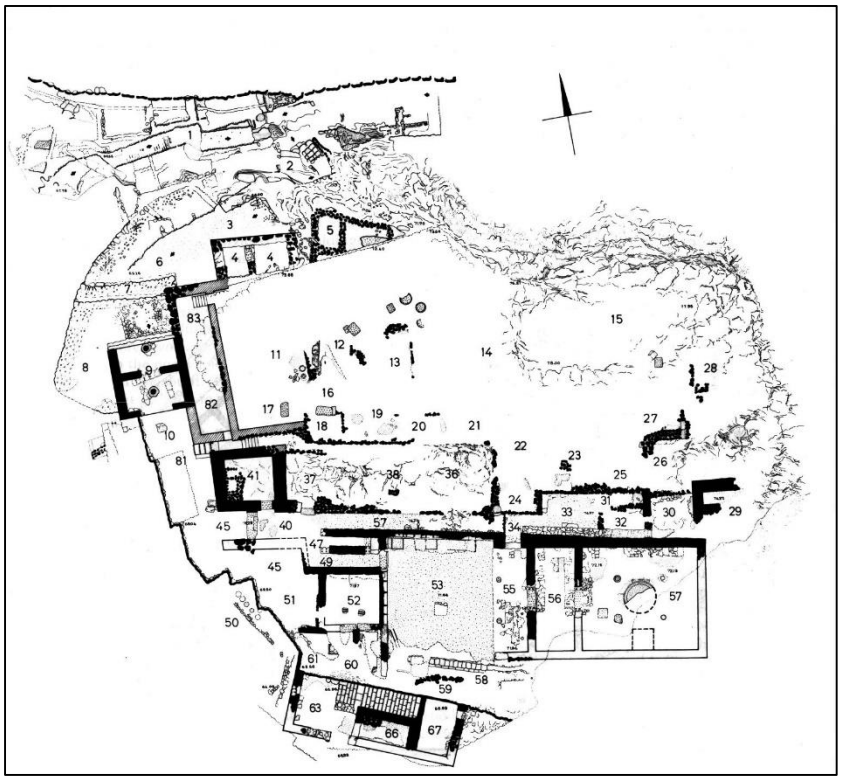
Complex ID	Name	Size	Additional structural elements	Construction process type	Functions	Occupational history	References
PYL12-14	Belvedere Area Complex	235	Road (between walls I and I); small kiln (to the N)	Gradual development	Storage Unknown Production	Phase 1a - LH I Phase 1b - LH I/II Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIA2 Early? Phase 2? - LH IIIB? Destruction/Abandonment - LH IIIB/C	Blegen et al. 1973, 18-24; Hiesel 1990, 194-95; Nelson 2001, fig. 80-83; Rutter 2005, fig. 2-7; Cooper 2017, 47; Nelson 2017. 289, fig. 4.1-4.8
PYL37-38	Dimopoulos Field Complex	0	Unknown	Unknown	Ritual activities Unknown	Phase 1 - LH IIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ? Phase 2 - LH IIIA? Destruction/Abandonment - ?	Stocker, Davis 7.04.2023 ASCSA Open Meeting Lecture

Tab. 9. Building plans.

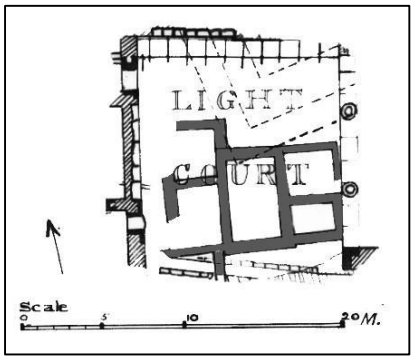
MYC1 Earlier North Wall Building (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 2)



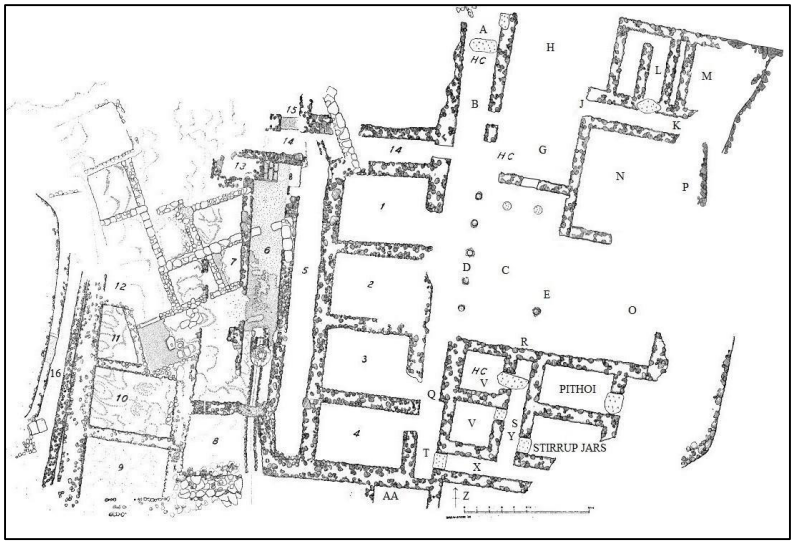
MYC2 Palace Main Wing (Source: Iakovidis 1983, plan 12)



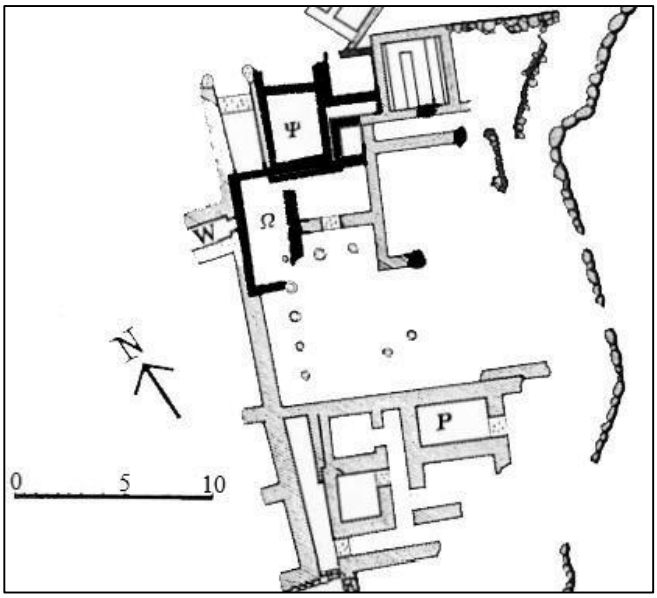
MYC3 Building on the Great Court (Source: French 2002, fig. 65)



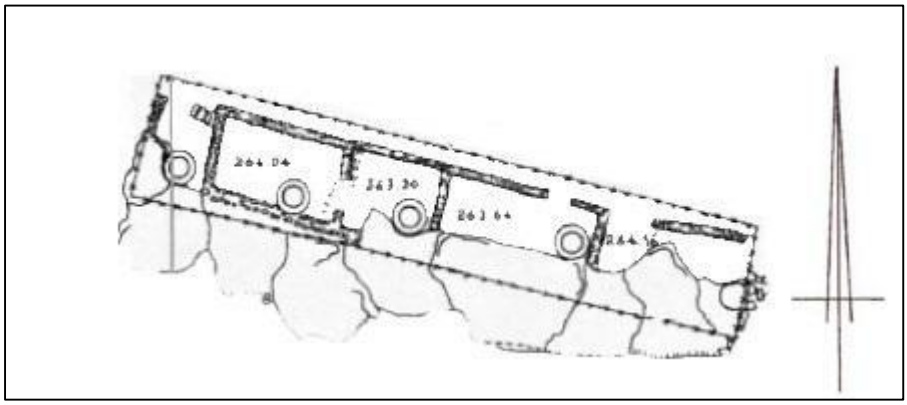
MYC4 Palace East Wing (Source: Mylonas 1966b, fig. 1)



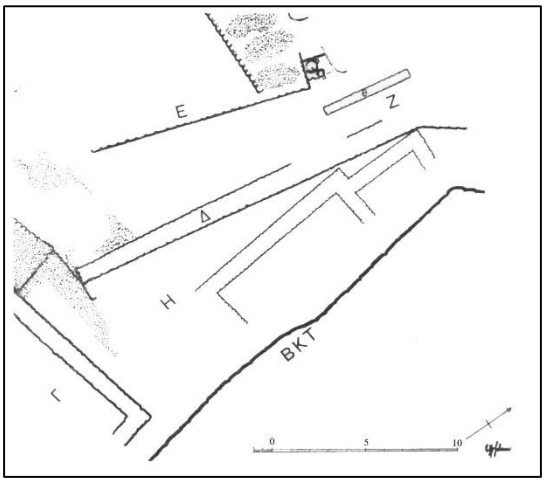
MYC5 Buildings Psi; **MYC6** Building Omega (Source: Mylonas 1968, fig. 3)



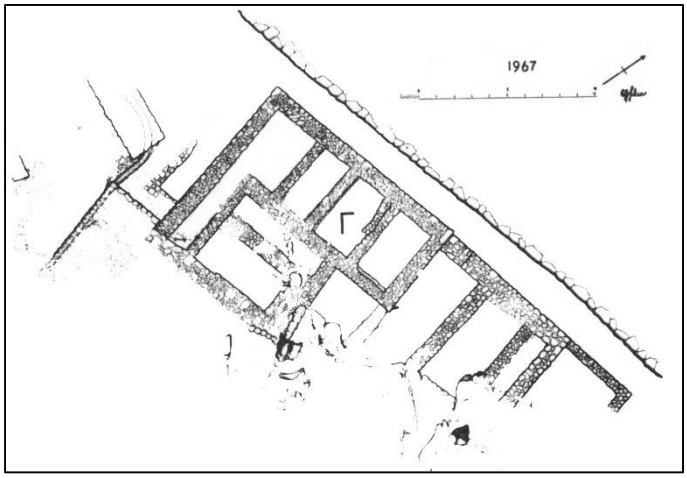
MYC7 North Storerooms (Source: French et al. 2003, Map Mycenae Citadel 8)



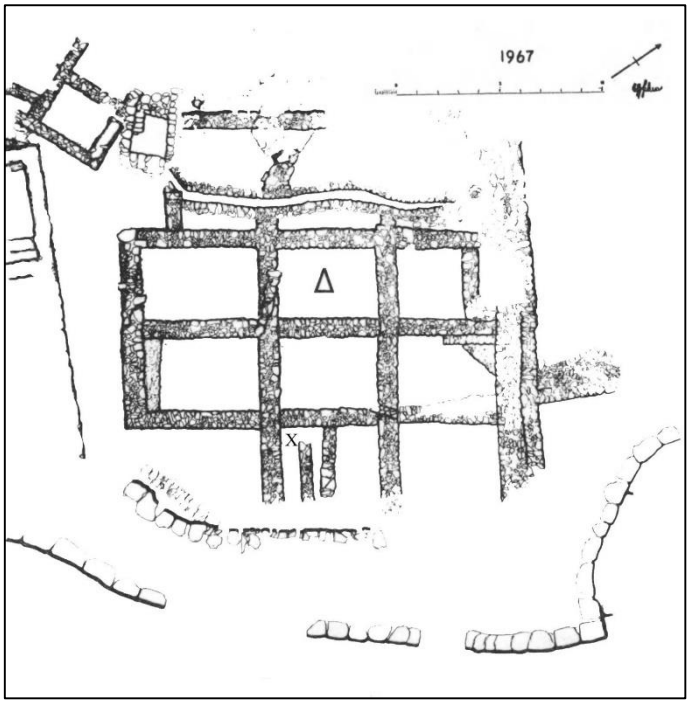
MYC8 House Eta (Source: Mylonas 1969, fig. 2)



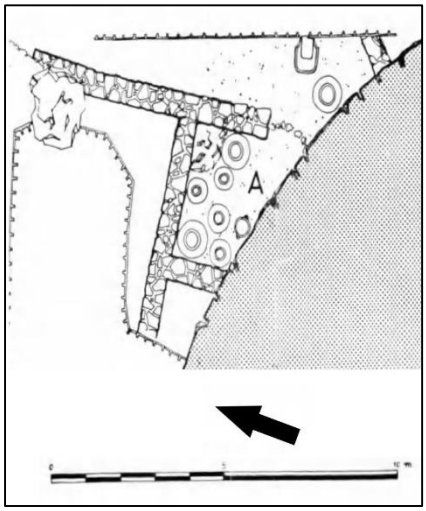
MYC9 House Gamma (Source: Mylonas 1969, fig. 1)



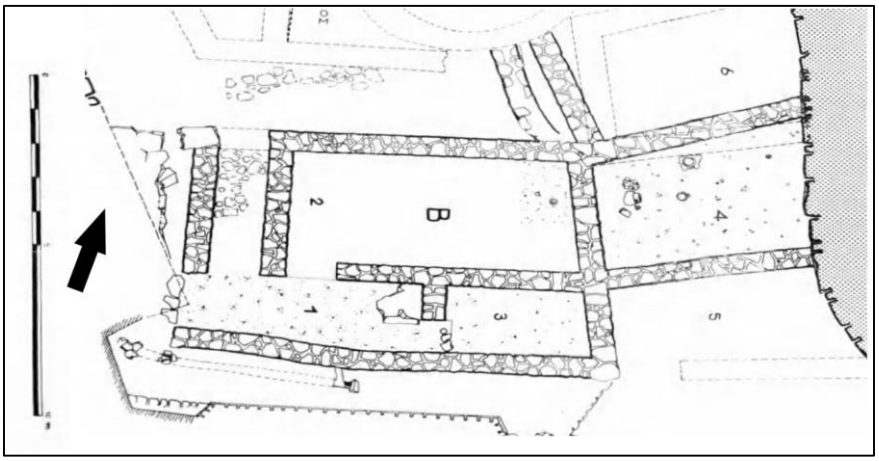
MYC10 House Delta (Source:Mylonas 1969, fig. 1)



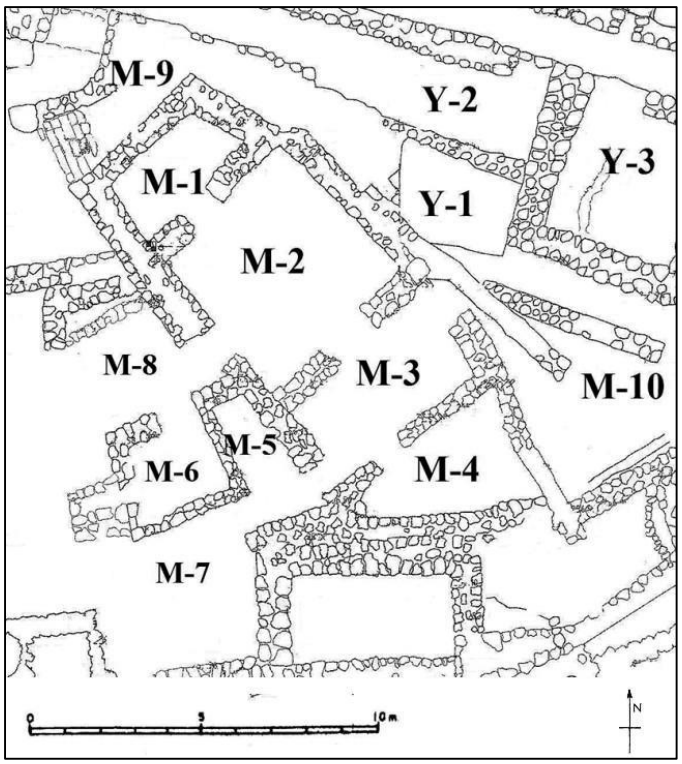
MYC11 House Alpha (Source:Mylonas 1965, pl. B)



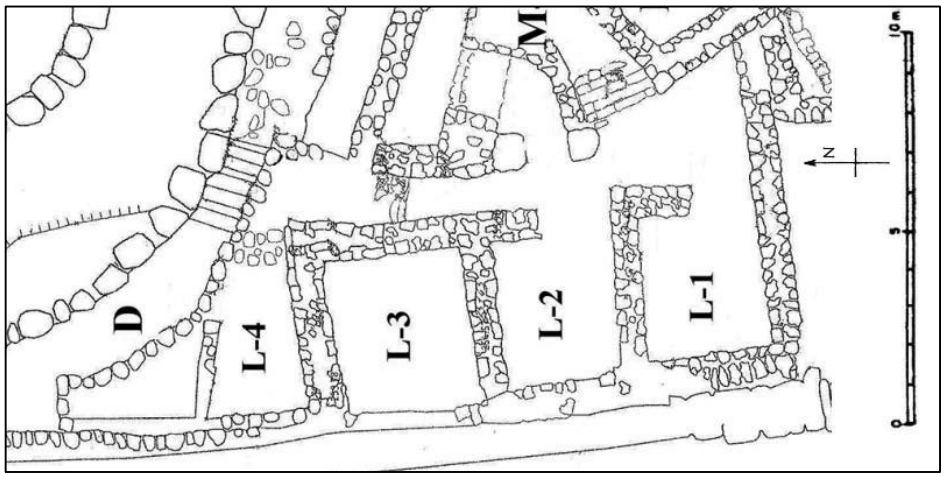
MYC12 House Beta (Source:Mylonas 1965, pl. B)



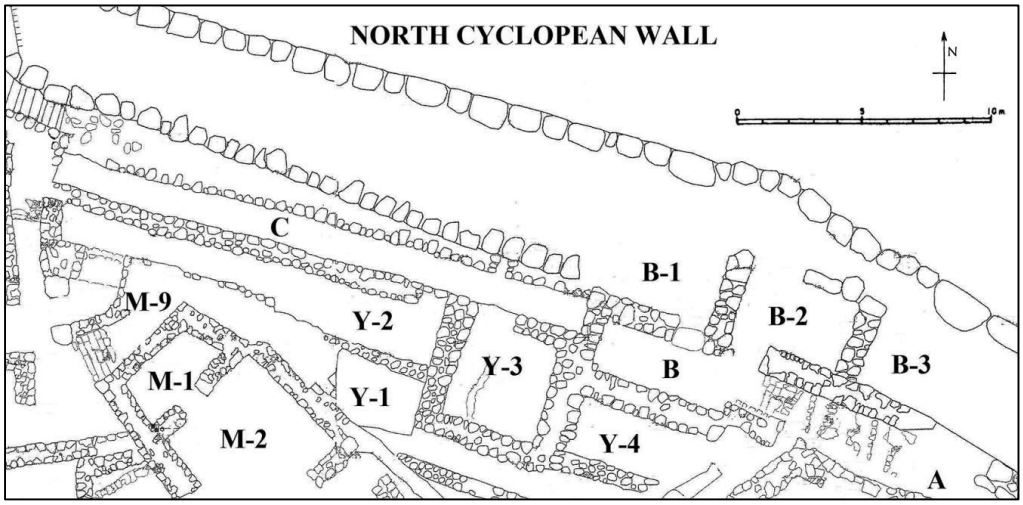
MYC13 House M (Source:Pliatsika 2015, fig. 1)



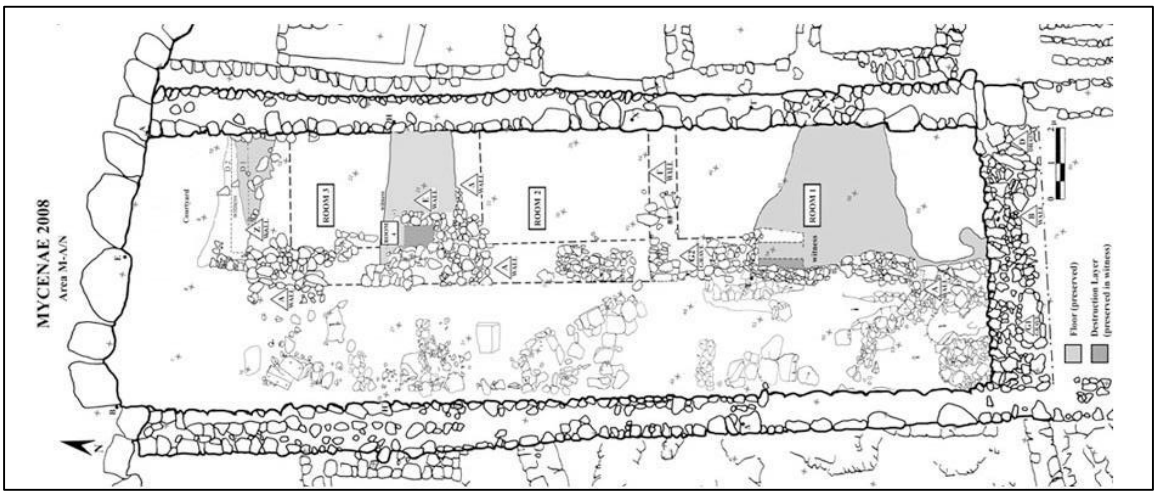
MYC14 Building L (Source: Pliatsika 2015, fig. 1)



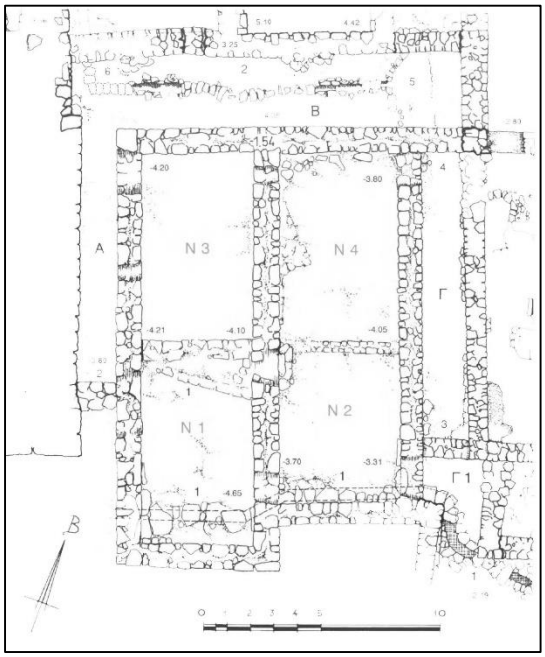
MYC15 Building Y-B (Source:Pliatsika 2015, fig. 1)



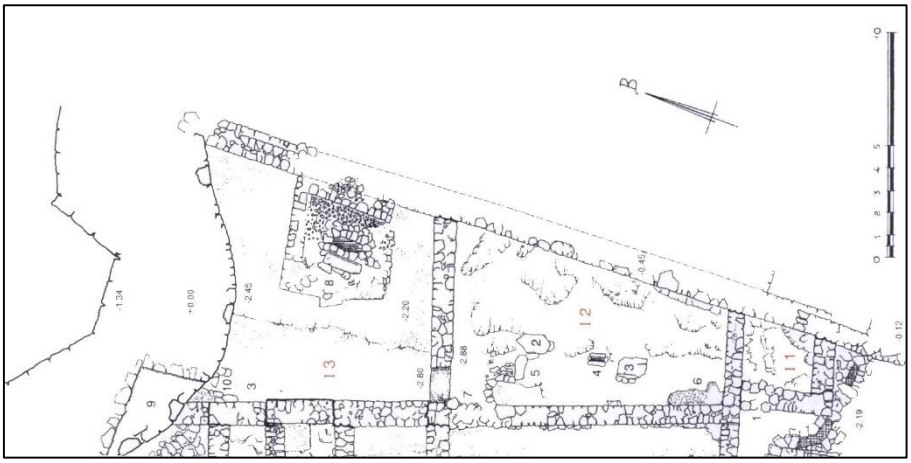
MYC16 Building K (Source: Iakovidis 2010b, fig. 1)



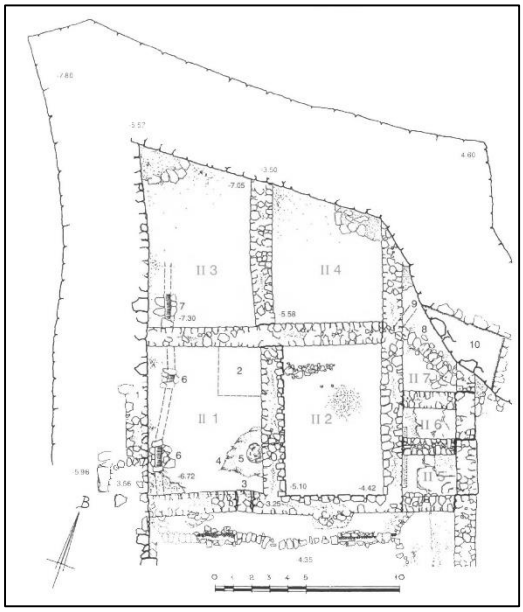
MYC17 Building N (Source: Iakovidis 2006, plan 3)



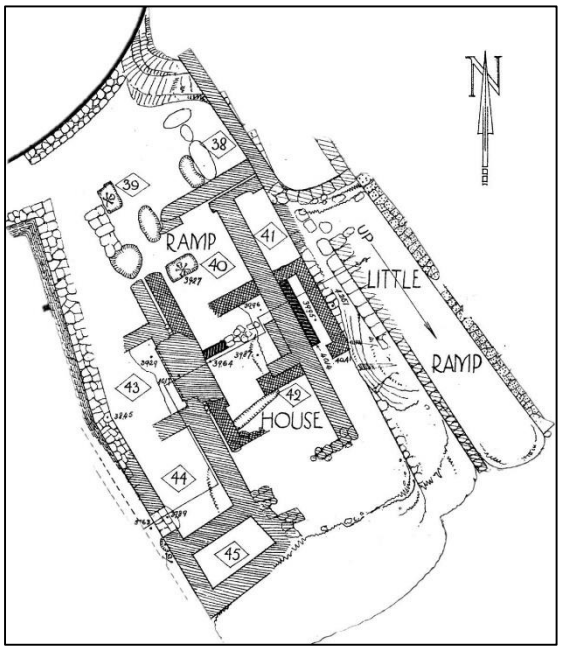
MYC18 Building I (Source: Iakovidis 2006. plan 4)



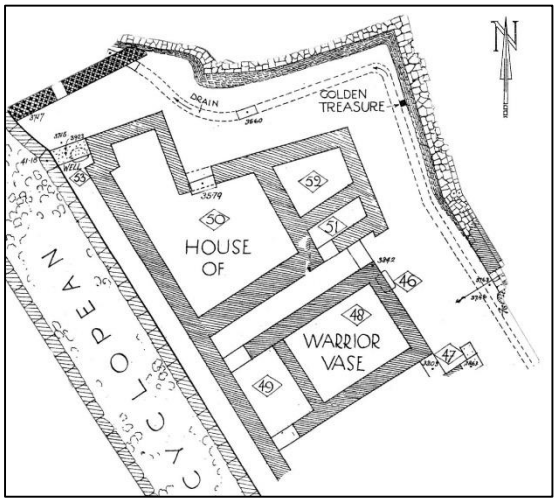
MYC19 Building II (Source: Iakovidis 2006, plan 7)



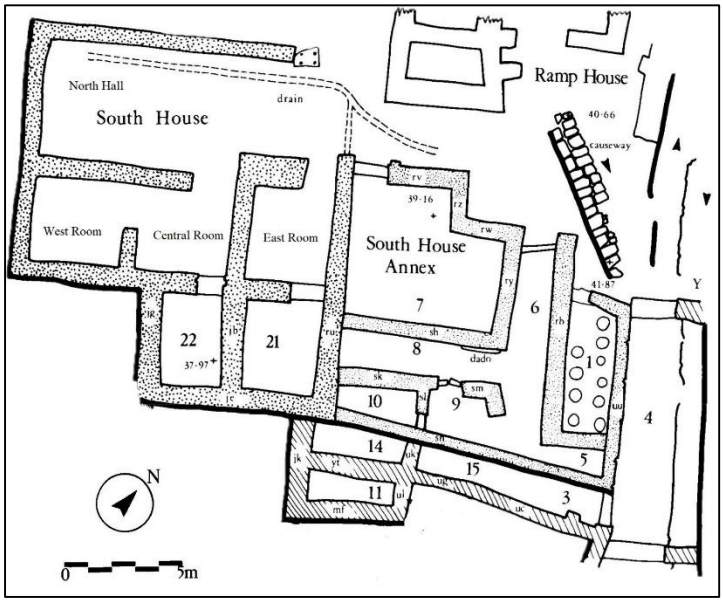
MYC20 Building below the Ramp House; **MYC21** Ramp House (Source:Wace et al. 1923, pl. 1)



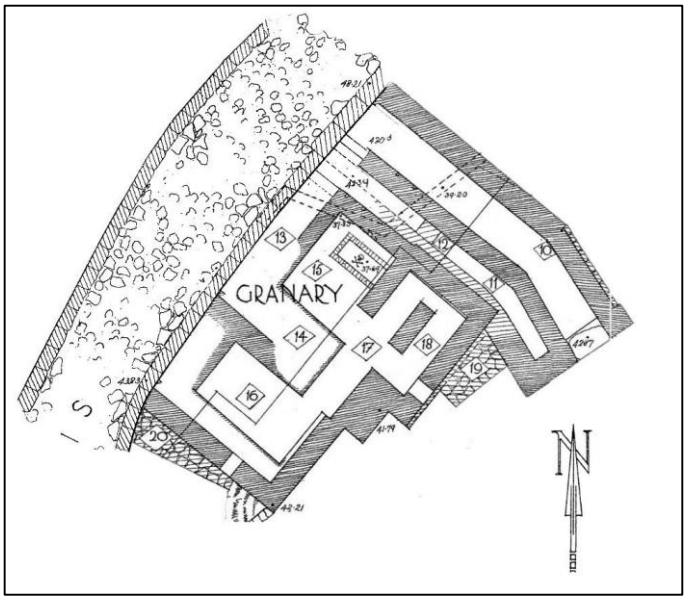
MYC22 House of the Warrior Vase (Source:Wace et al. 1923, pl. 1)



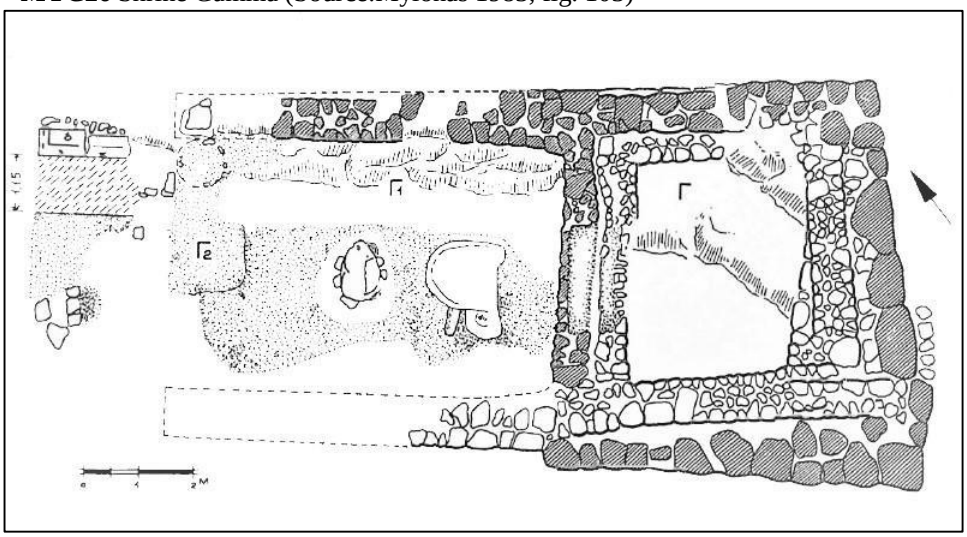
MYCC23 South House with Annex (Source: Taylour WBM 1 1981, plan 6)



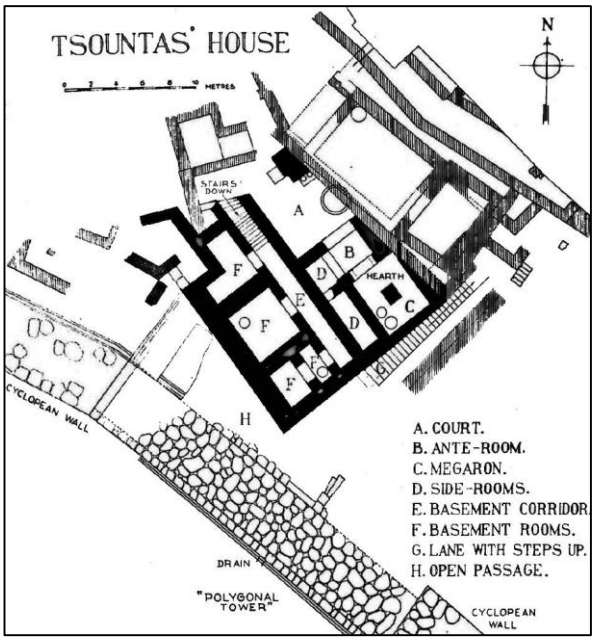
MYC24 Granary (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 1)



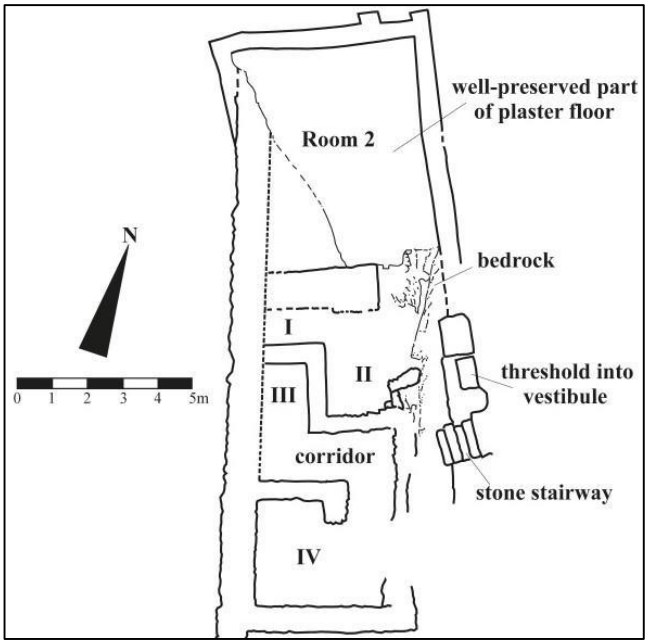
MYC26 Shrine Gamma (Source:Mylonas 1983, fig. 103)



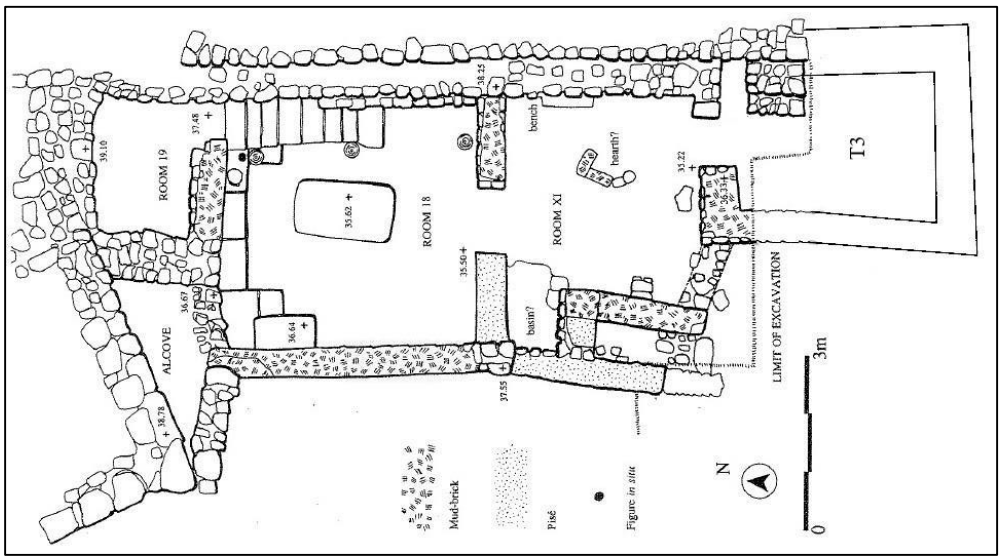
MYC27 Tsountas House (Source:Wace 1949, fig. 25)



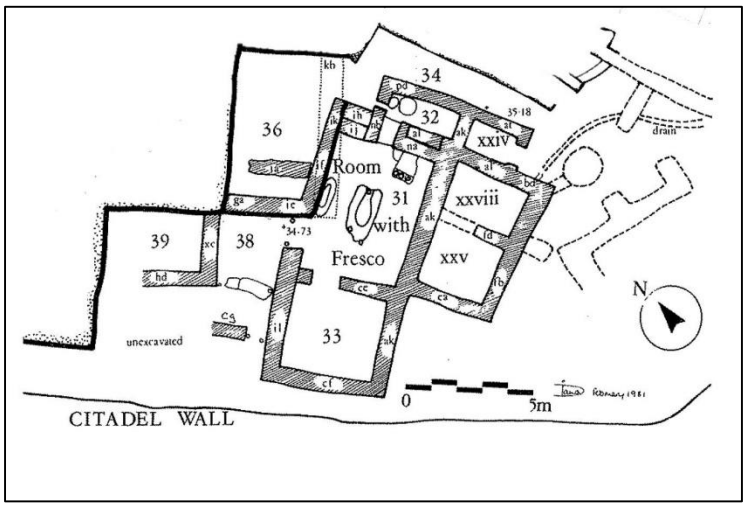
MYC28 Megaron (Source: Aulsebrook 2019, fig. 3)



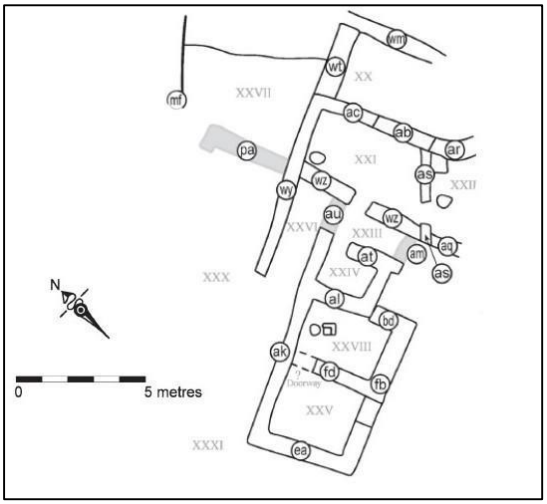
MYC29 Temple (Source: Moore and Taylour 1999 WBM 10, fig. 2 - modified)



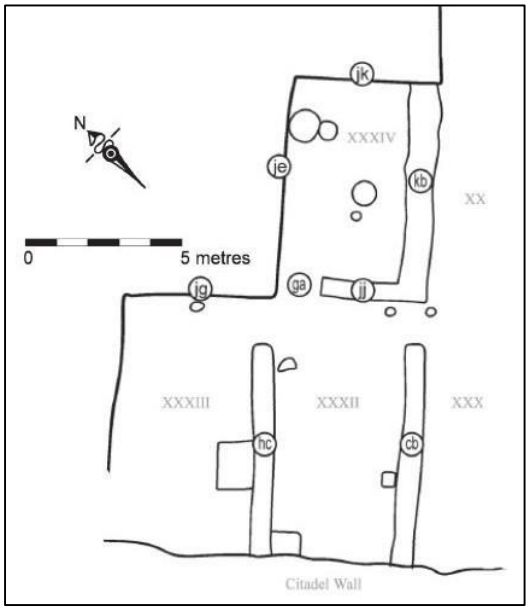
MYC30 Building of the Room with the Fresco (Source: French and Taylour 2013 WBM 13, fig. 1)



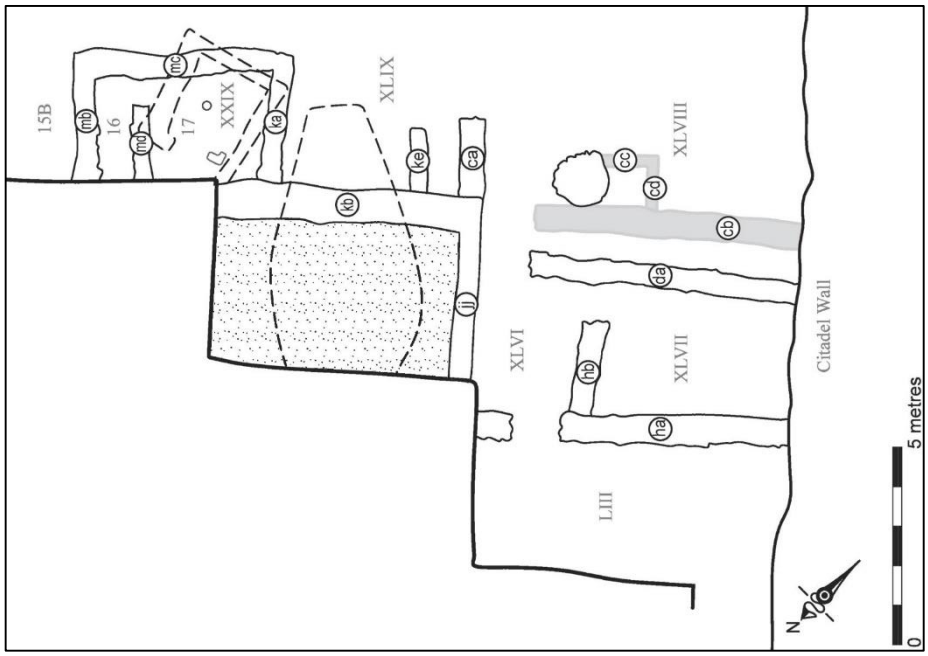
MYC31 South Complex Building (Source: French 2011 WBM 16/17, fig. 1)



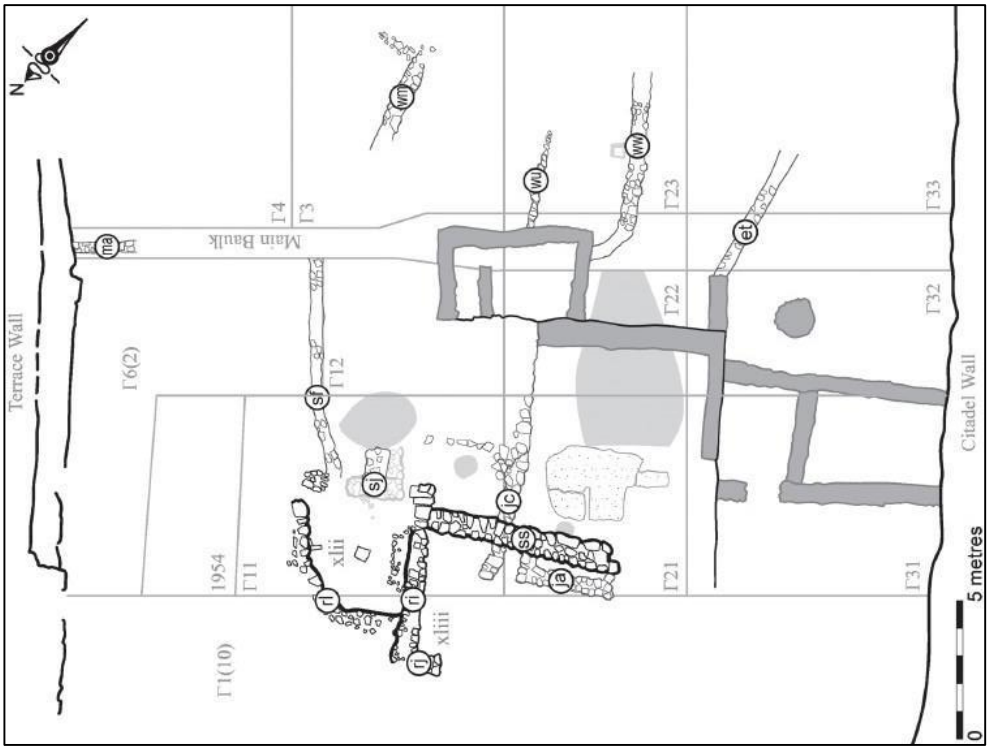
MYC32 West Complex Building (Source: French 2011 WBM 16/17, fig. 1)



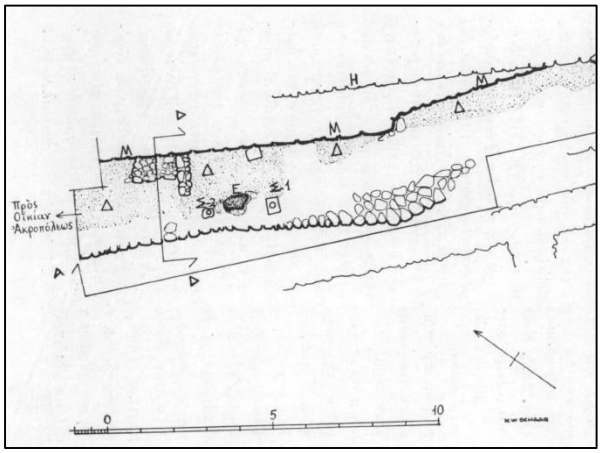
MYC33 Tower Complex Building (Source: French 2011 WBM 16/17 2011, fig. 2)



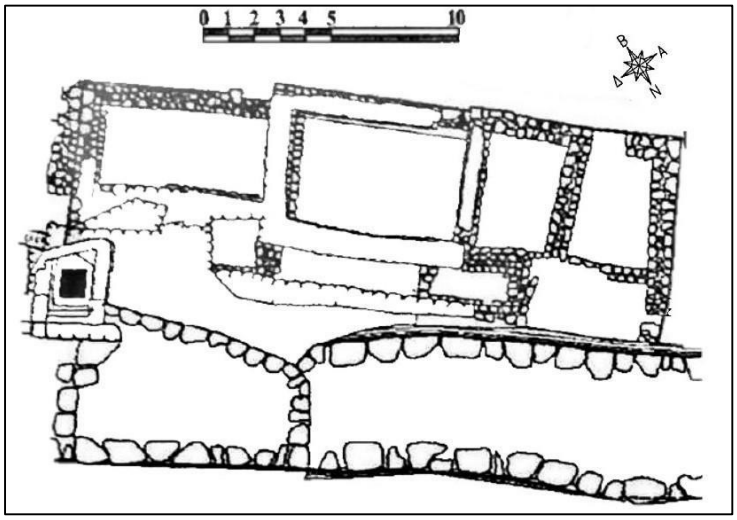
MYC34 Northeast Sector Building (Source: French 2011 WBM 16/17, fig. 3)



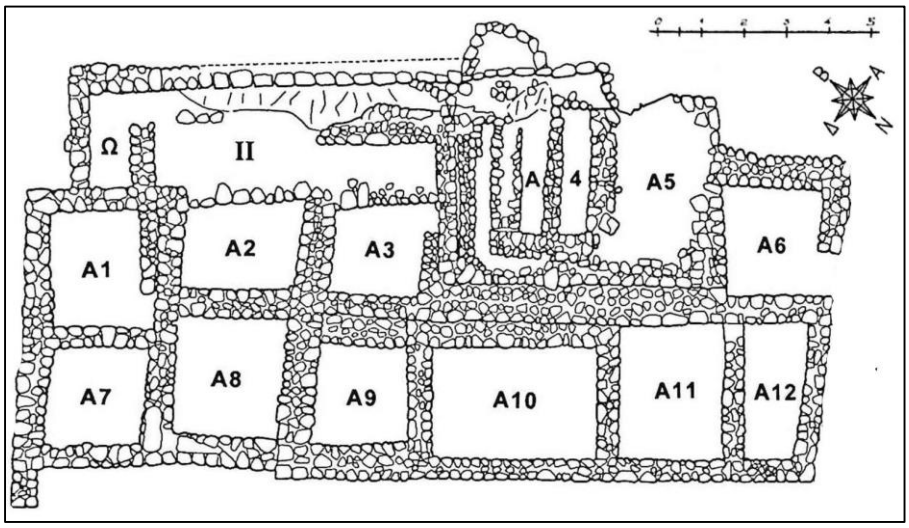
MYC35 Building on the Processional Way (Source: Mylonas 1968b, fig. 4)



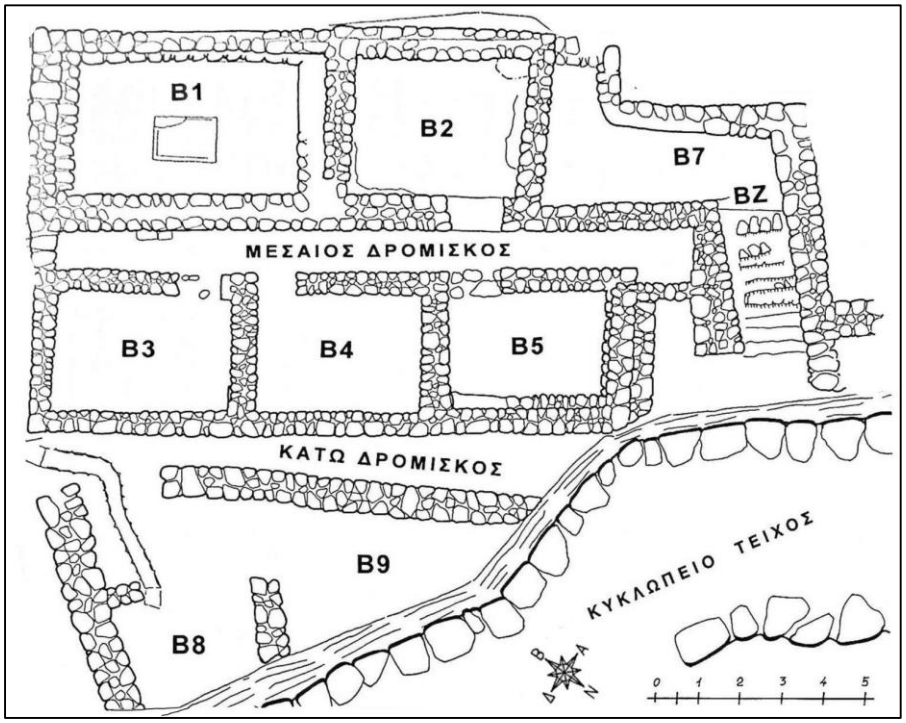
MYC37 Southwest Building (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, pl. 1)



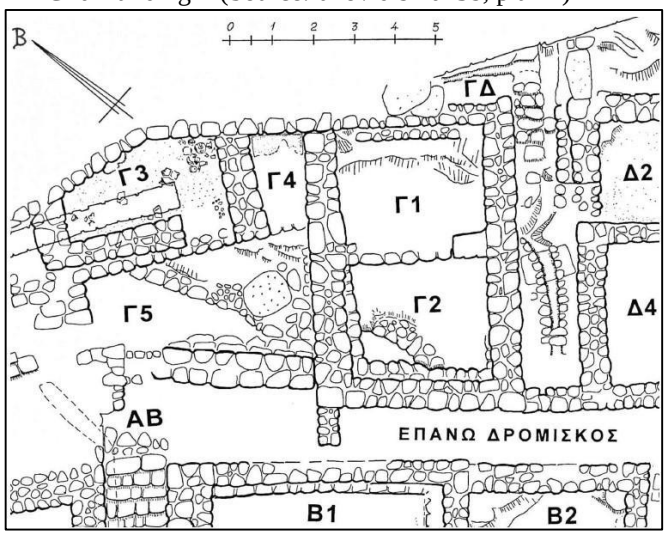
MYC38 Building A (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 2)



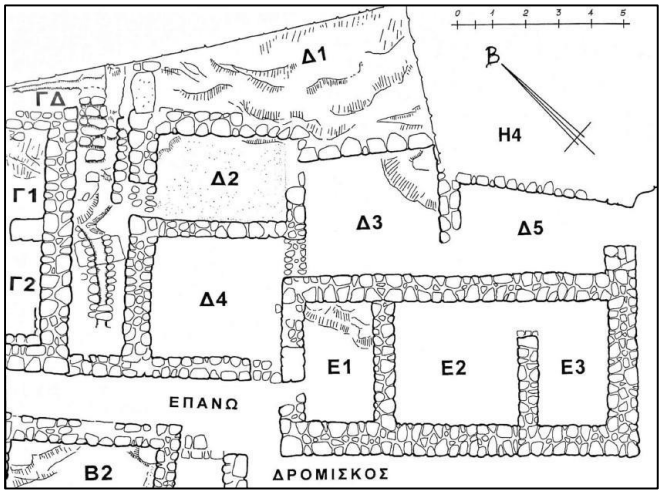
MYC39 Building B (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 3)



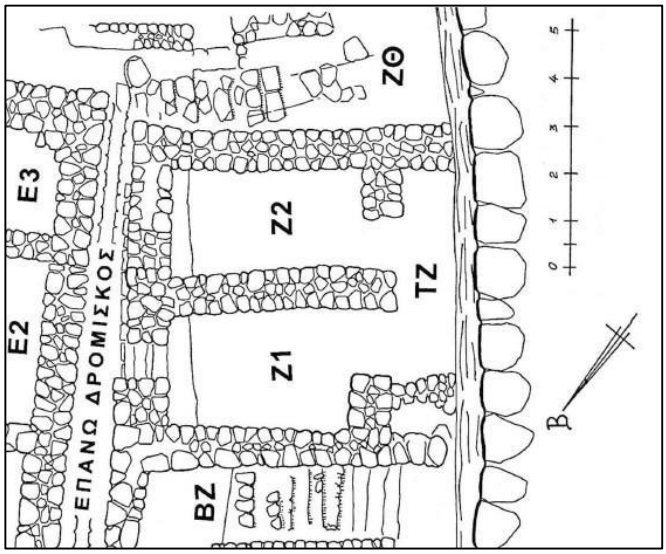
MYC40 Building Γ (Source:Iakovidis 2013b, plan 4)



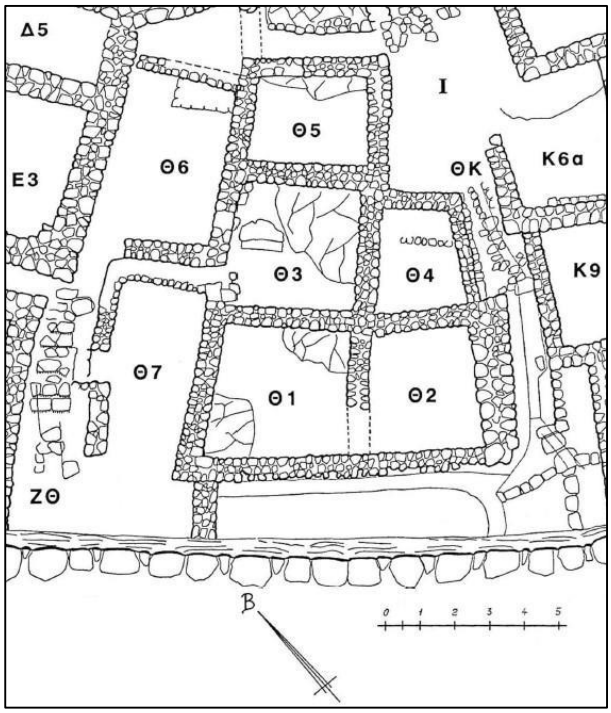
MYC41 Building Δ-E (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 5)



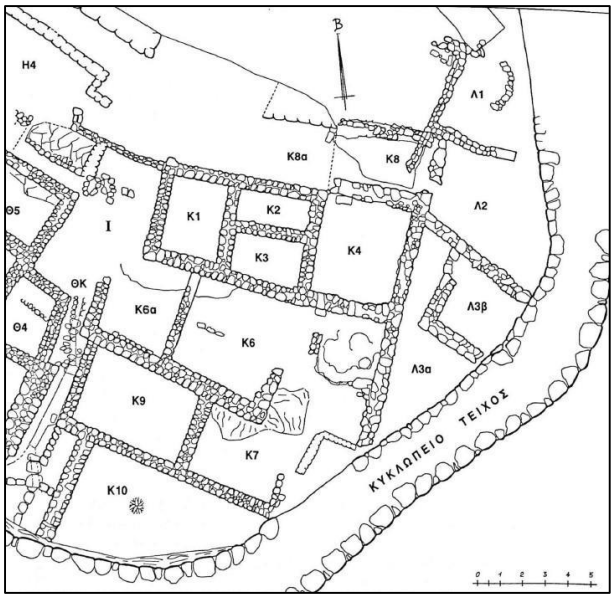
MYC42 Building Z (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 6)



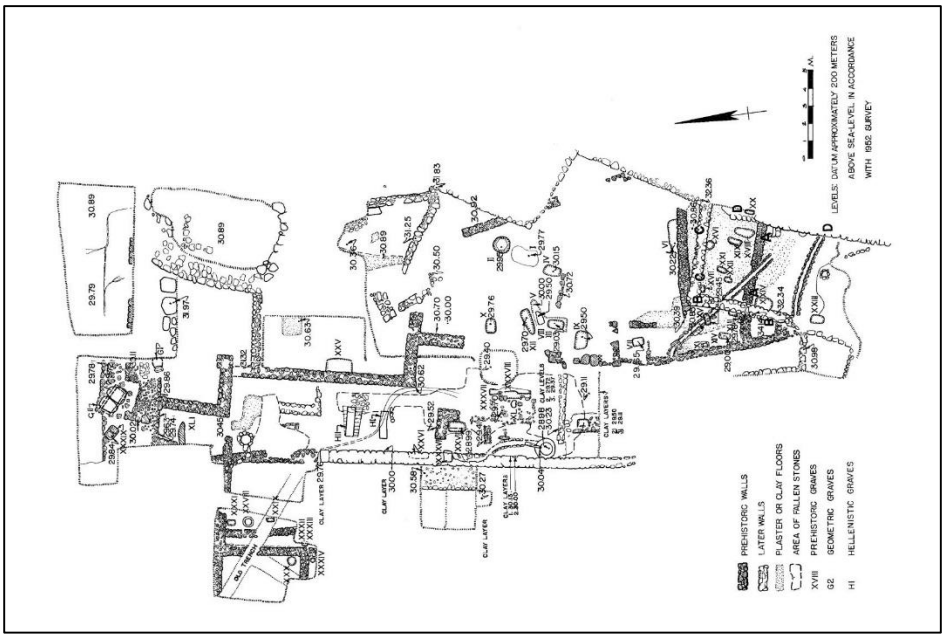
MYC43 Building Θ (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 7)



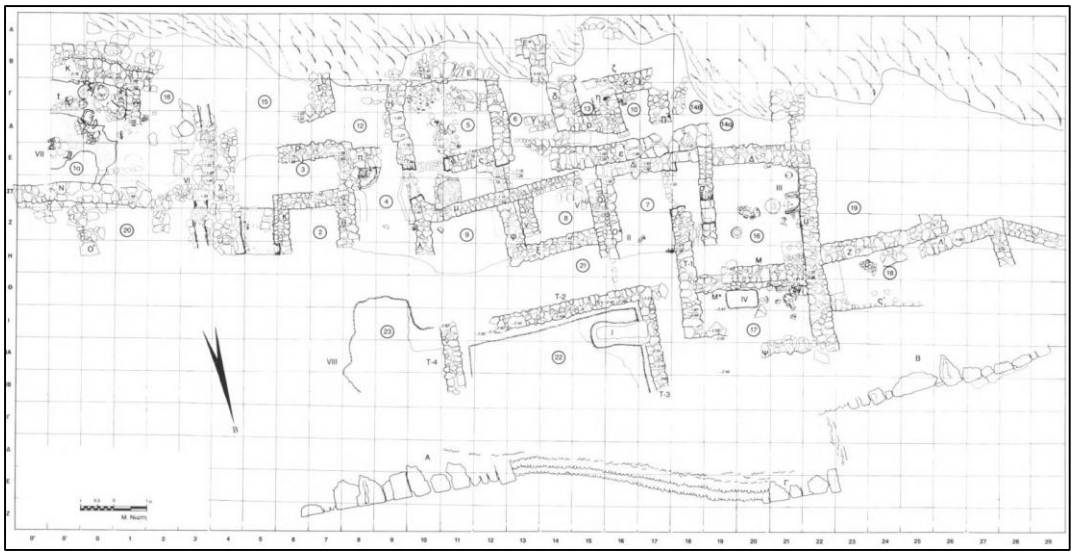
MYC44 Building K-Λ (Source: Iakovidis 2013b, plan 9)



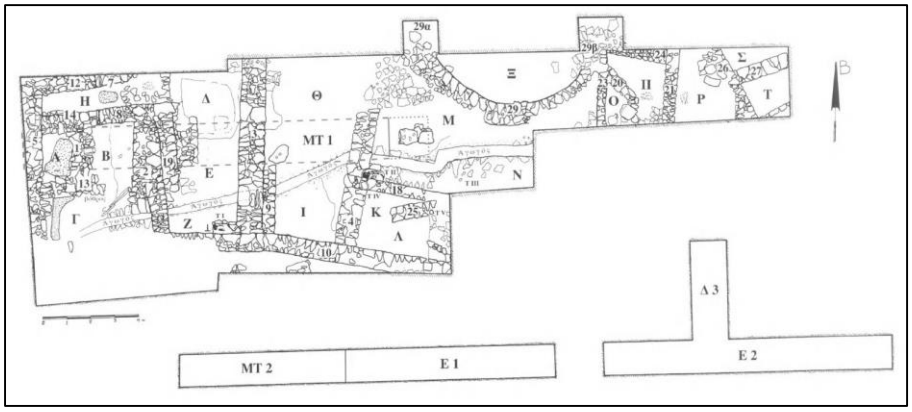
MYC45 Prehistoric Cemetery East Building (Source: Wace 1957, fig. 2)



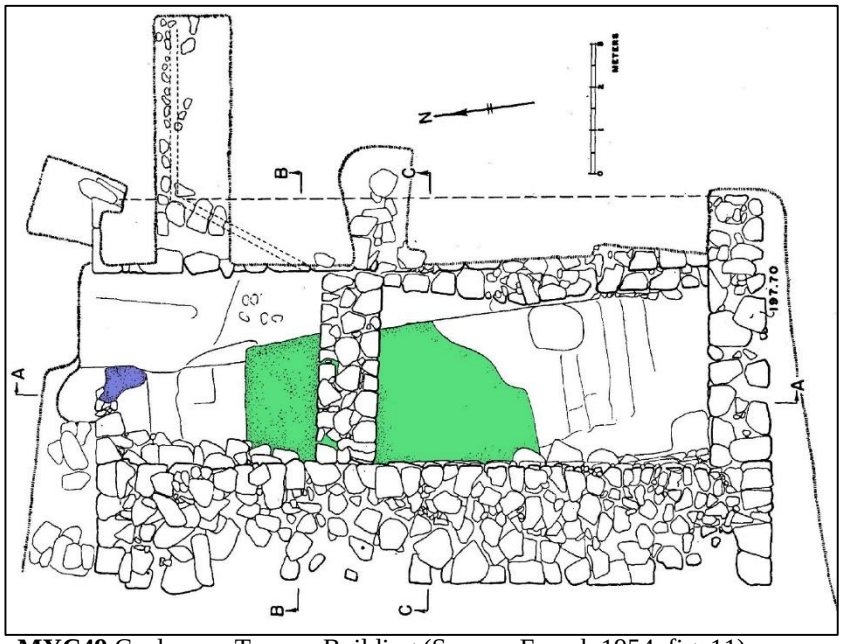
MYC46 House of the Tripods Tomb (Source: Onasoglou 1995, pl. A)



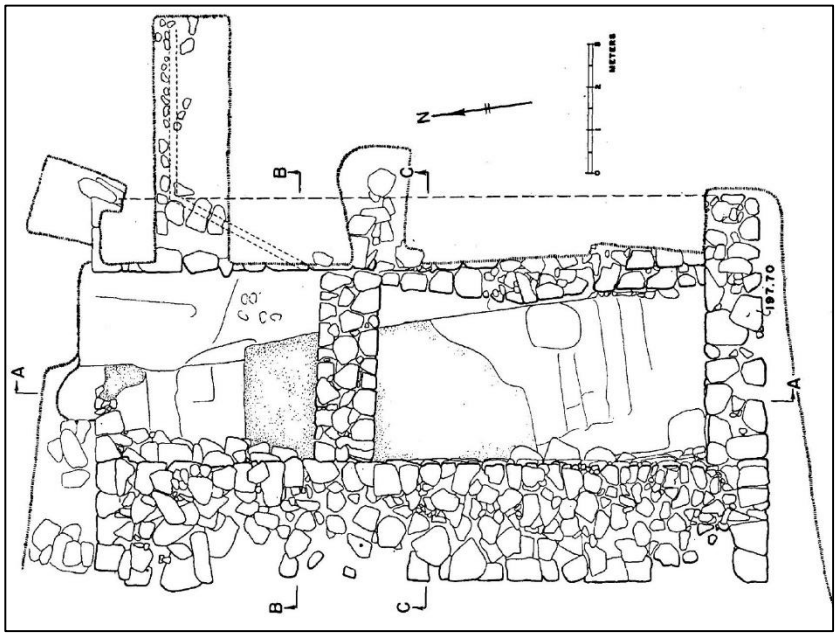
MYC47 The "Workshop" (Source: Danielidou 2008, fig. 4)



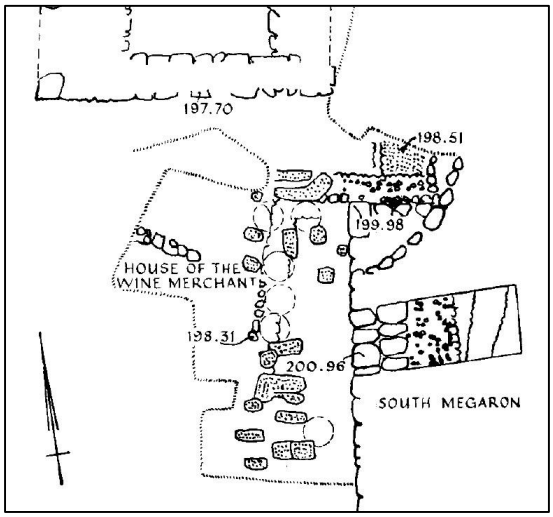
MYC48 Building below Cyclopean Terrace Building (Source: French 1954, fig. 11 - modified)



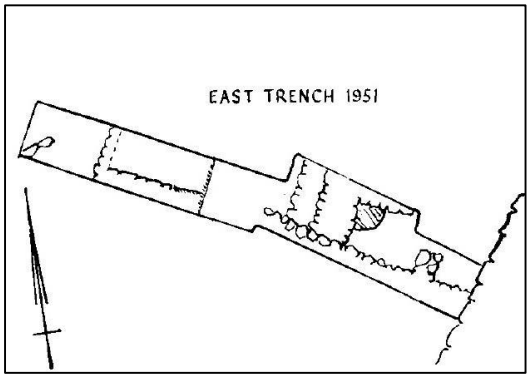
MYC49 Cyclopean Terrace Building (Source: French 1954, fig. 11)



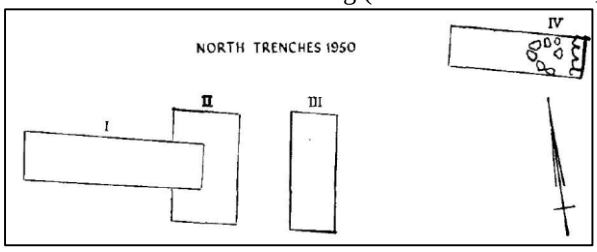
MYC50 House of the Wine Merchant; **MYC51** South Megaron (Source: French 1961, fig. 1)



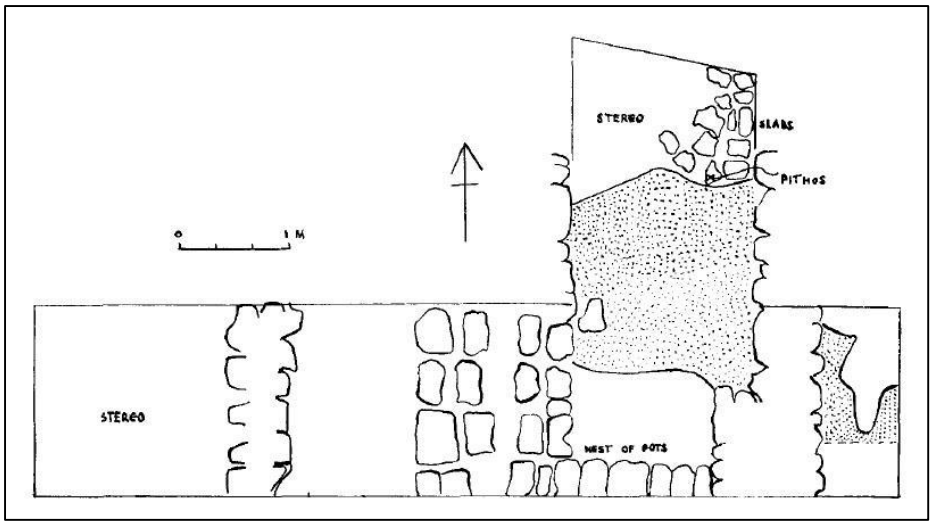
MYC52 East Trench Building (Source: French 1961, fig. 1)



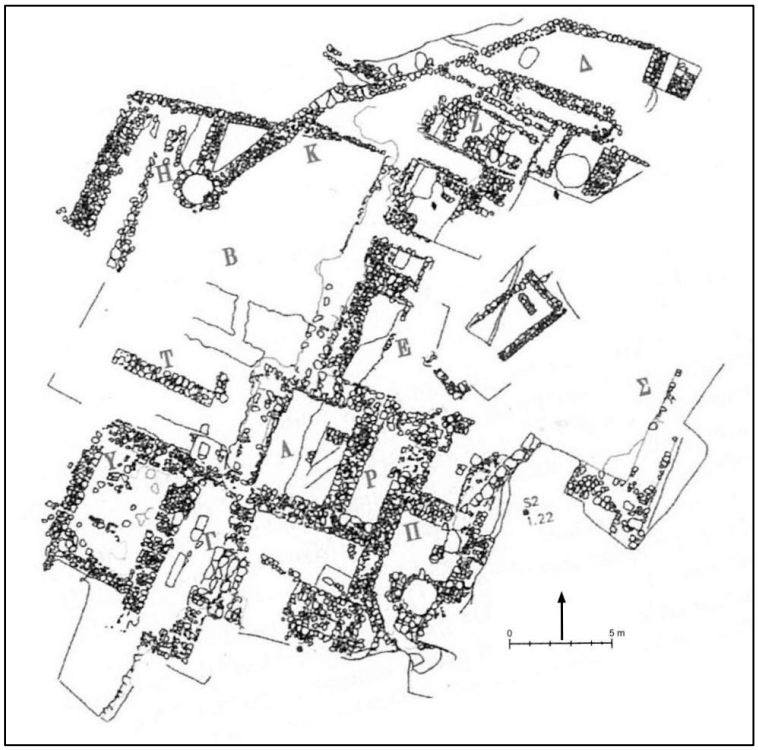
MYC53 North Trench Building (Source: French 1961, fig. 1)



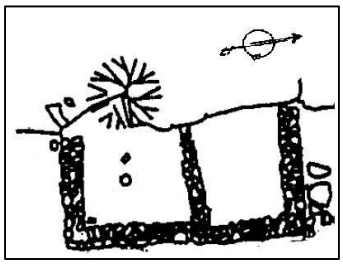
MYC54 Southwest Trench Building Source: French 1961, fig. 3



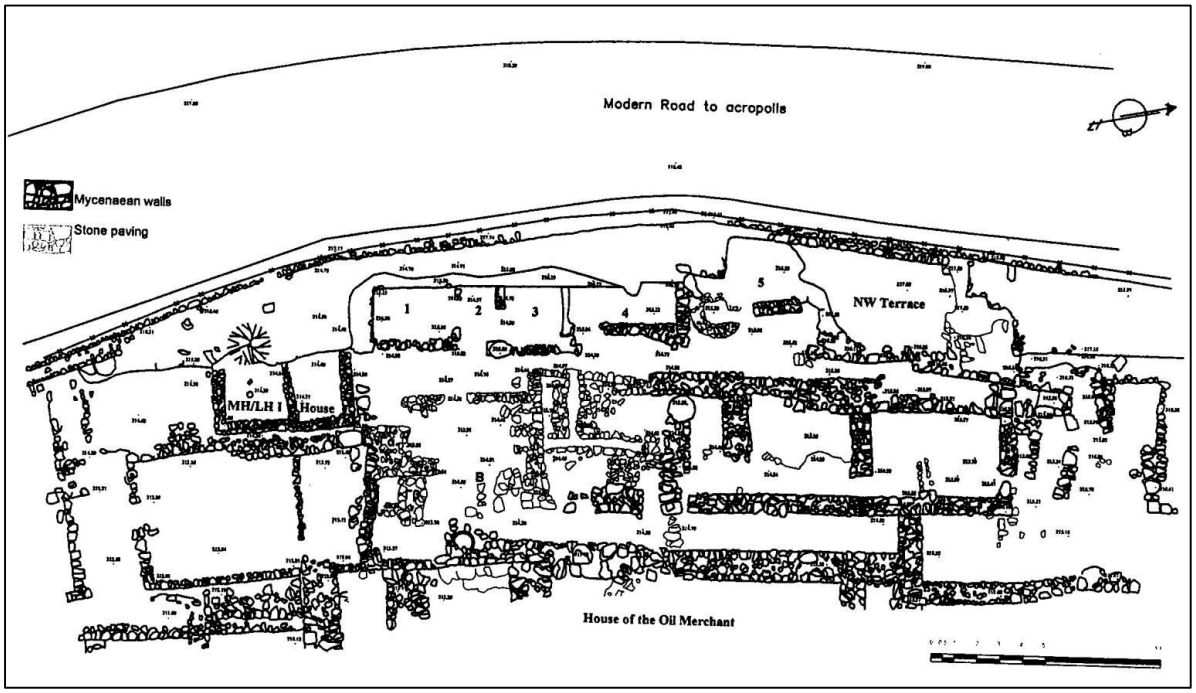
MYC55 Petsas House (Source: Shelton 2016, fig. 20.1)



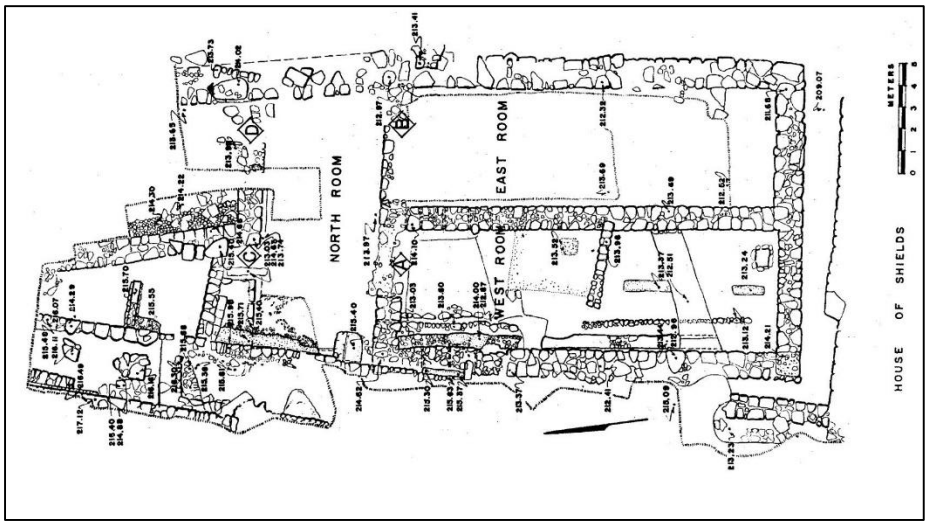
MYC56 Soutwest House (Source: Tournavitou 2006, fig. 2)



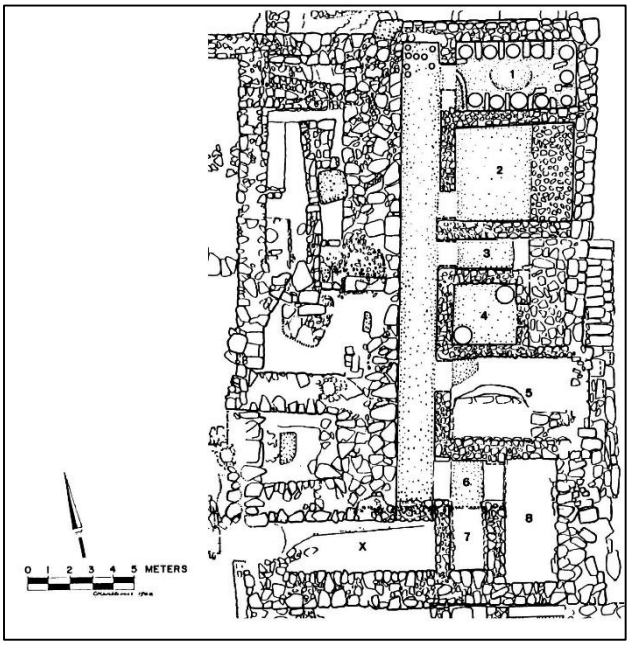
MYC57 West House (Source: Tournavitou 2006, fig. 2)



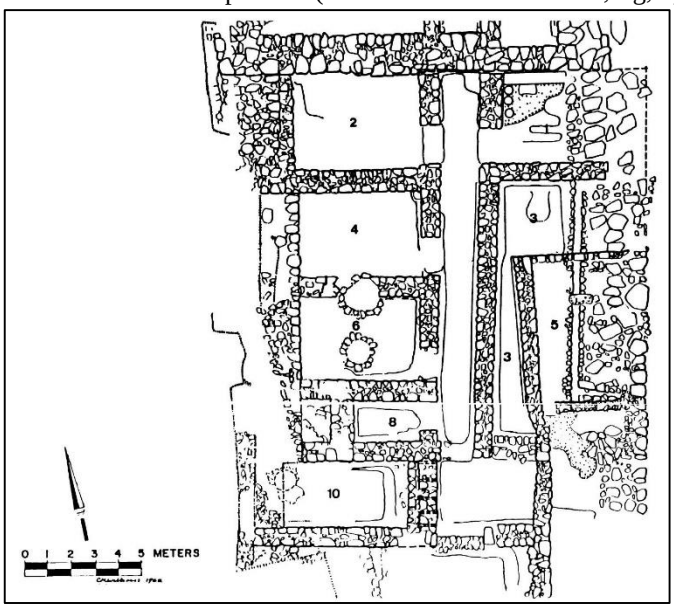
MYC58 House of Shields (Source: Wace 1956, fig. 3)



MYC59 House of the Oil Merchant (Source: Tournavitou 1995, fig. 2)



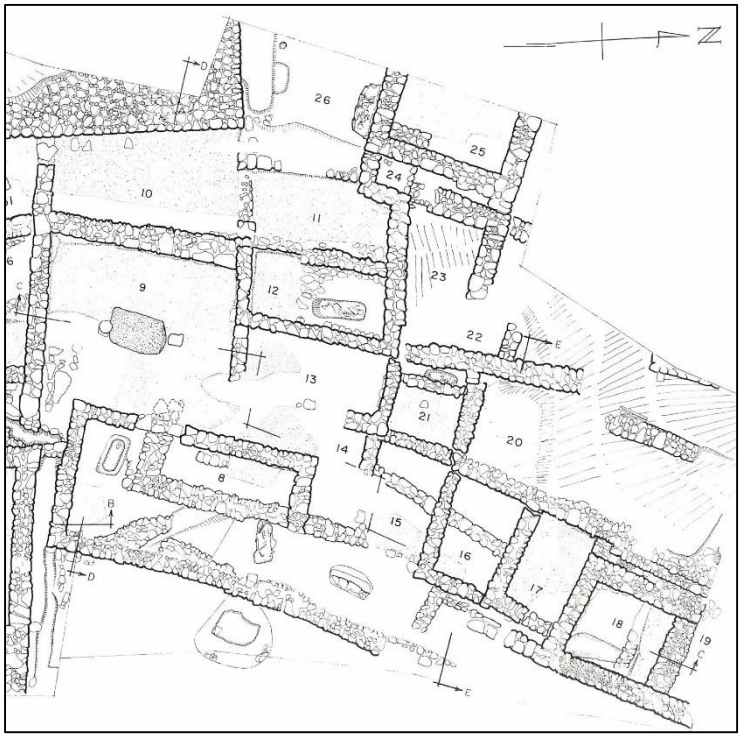
MYC60 House of Sphinxes (Source: Tournavitou 1995, fig, 2)



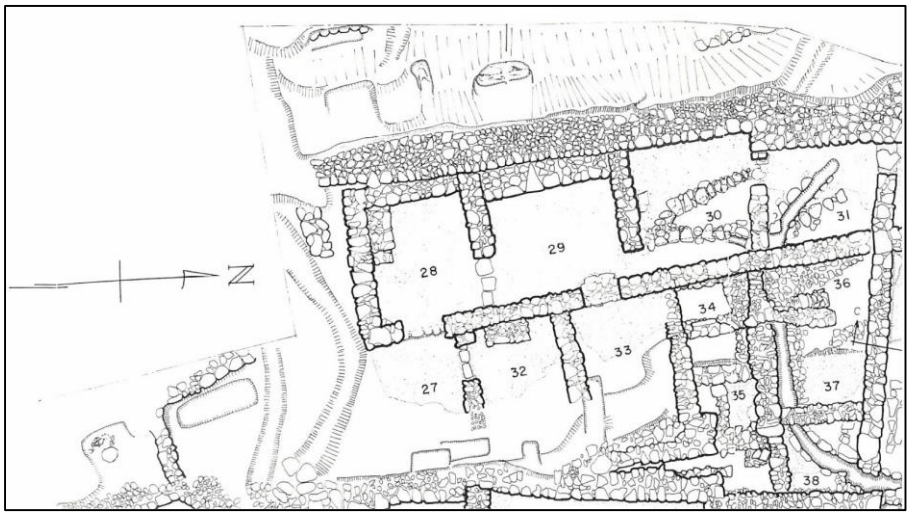
MYC61 East House (Source: Tournavitou 2015, fig. 4 - modified)

MYC63 House I (Source: Mylonas-Shear 1987)

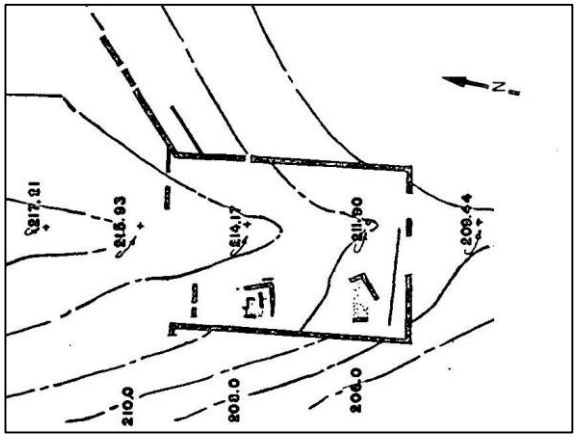
MYC64 House II (Source: Mylonas-Shear 1987)



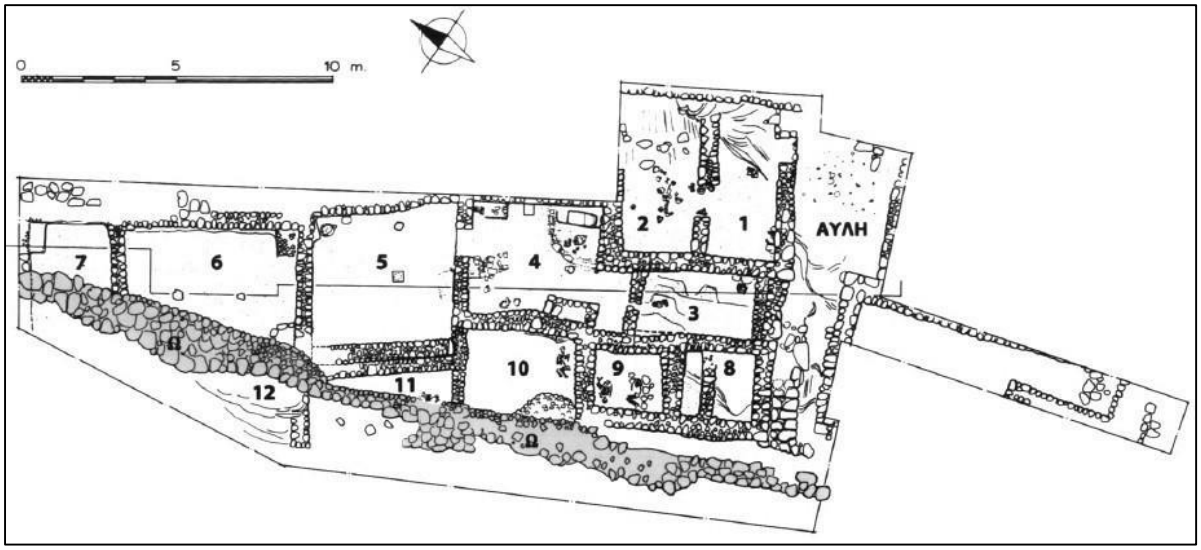
MYC65 House III (Source: Mylonas-Shear 1987)



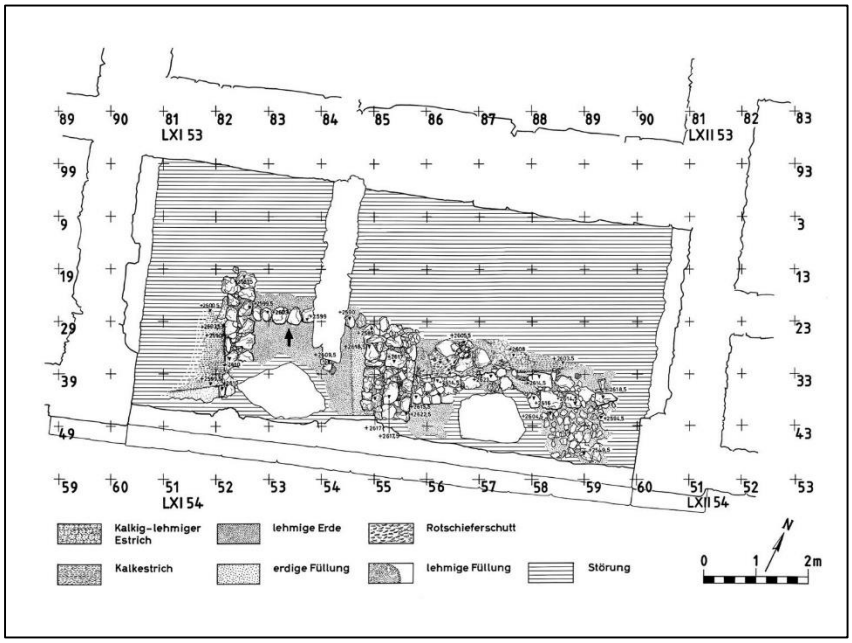
MYC66 House of Lead (Source: Wace 1956, fig. 7)



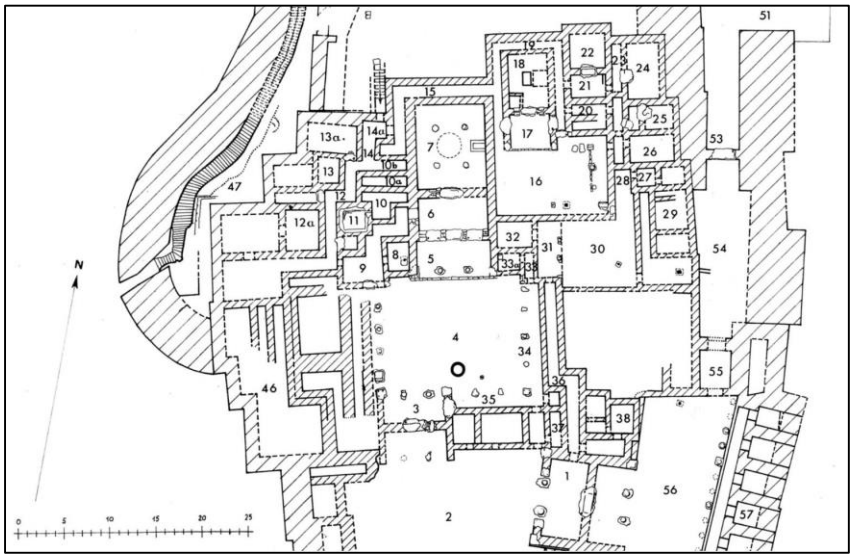
MYC69 Plakes House (Source: Iakovidis 2013a, pl. 2)



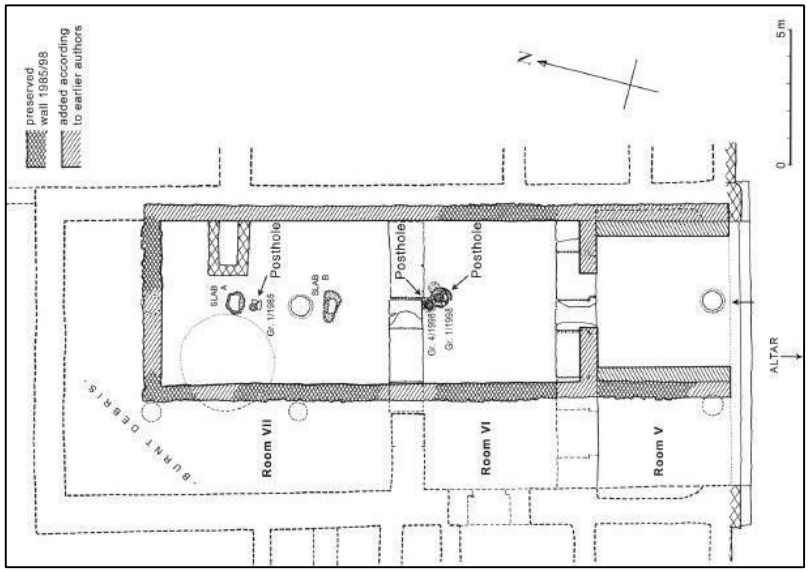
TIR2 Proto-palace (Source: Maran 2015, fig. 1



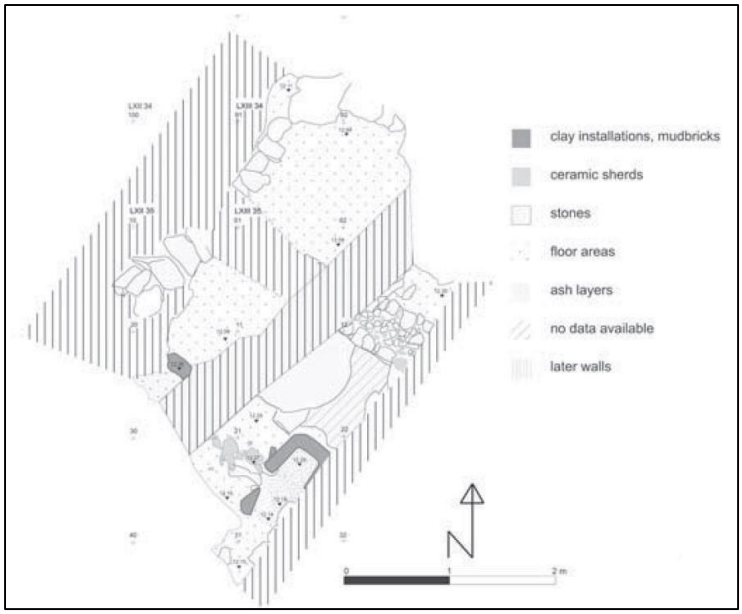
TIR3 Palace Building (Source: Jantzen et al. 1975, fig. 6)



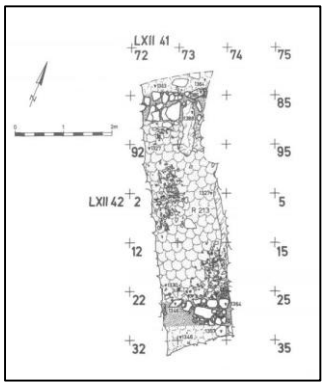
TIR4 Building T (Source: Maran 2010, fig. 54.2)



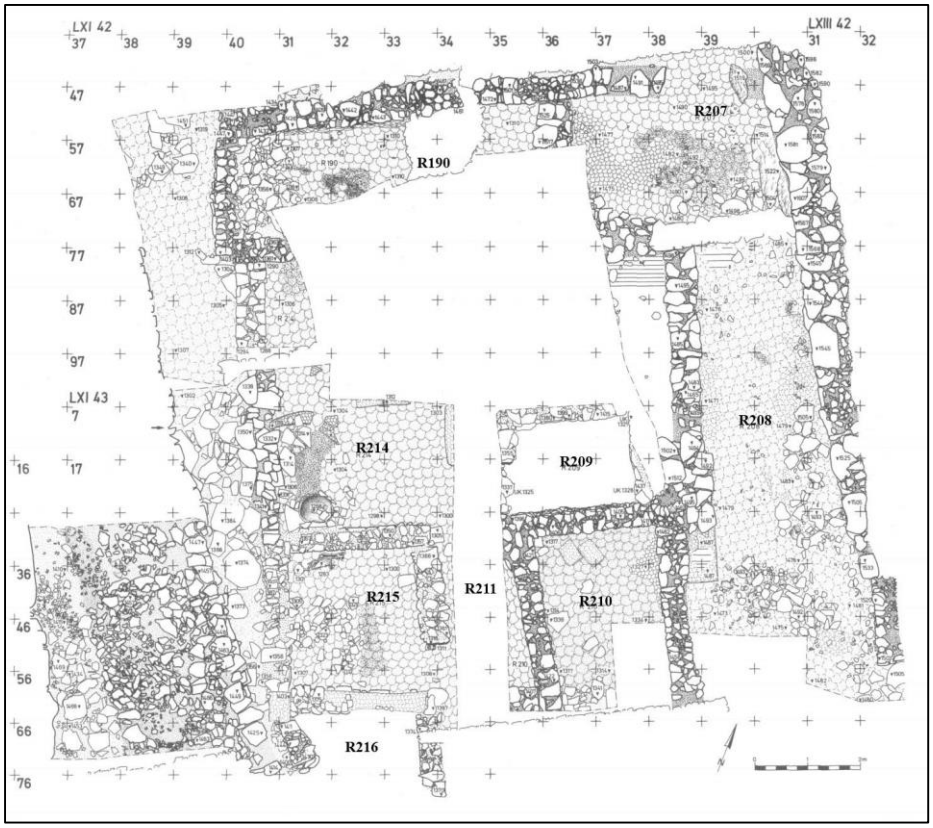
TIR5 Building M5-6/03 (Source: Vetters et al. 2016, fig. 4)



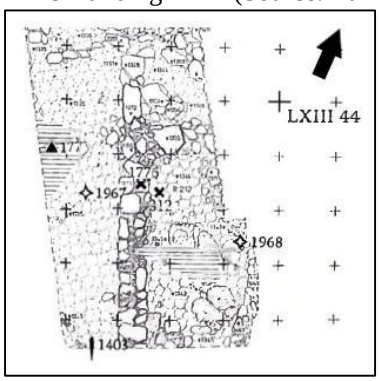
TIR6 Building R213



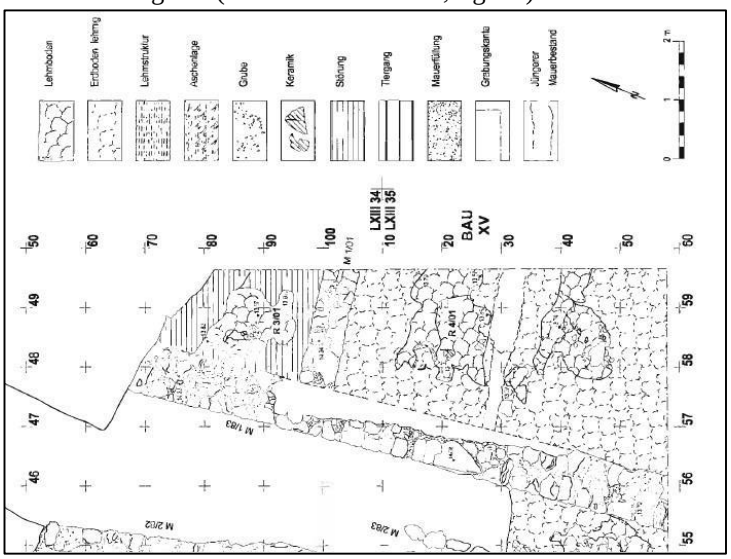
TIR7 Ramparts Building (Source: Kilian 1988a, fig. 35)



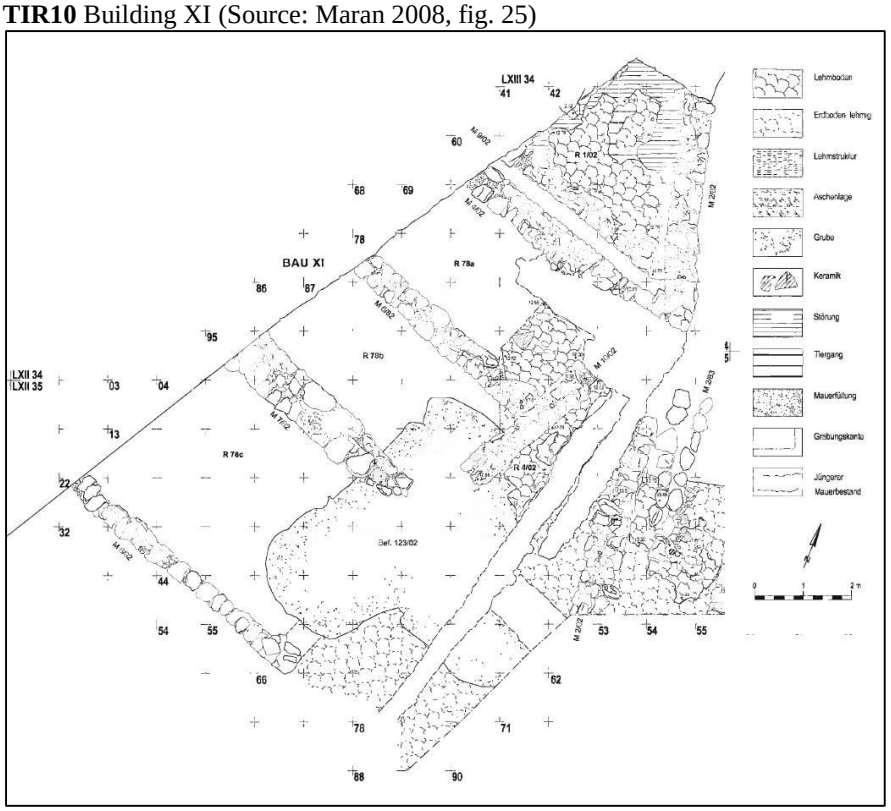
TIR8 Building R212 (Source: Rahmstorf 2008 Tiryns XVI, pl. 134



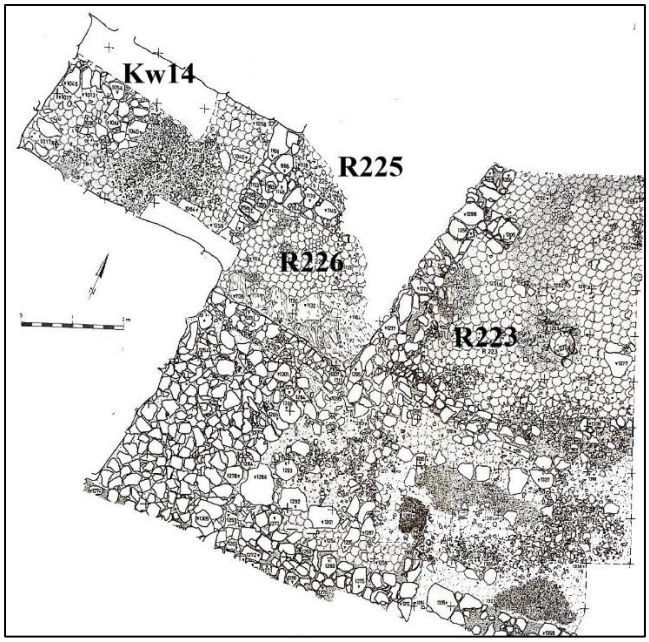
TIR9 Building XV (Source: Maran 2008, fig. 25)



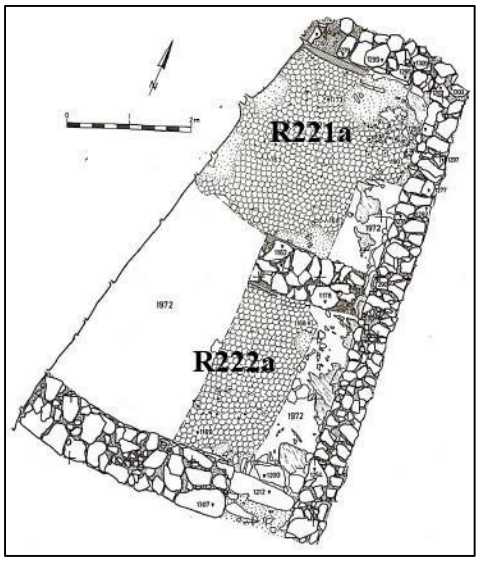
TIR10 Building XI (Source: Maran 2008, fig. 25)



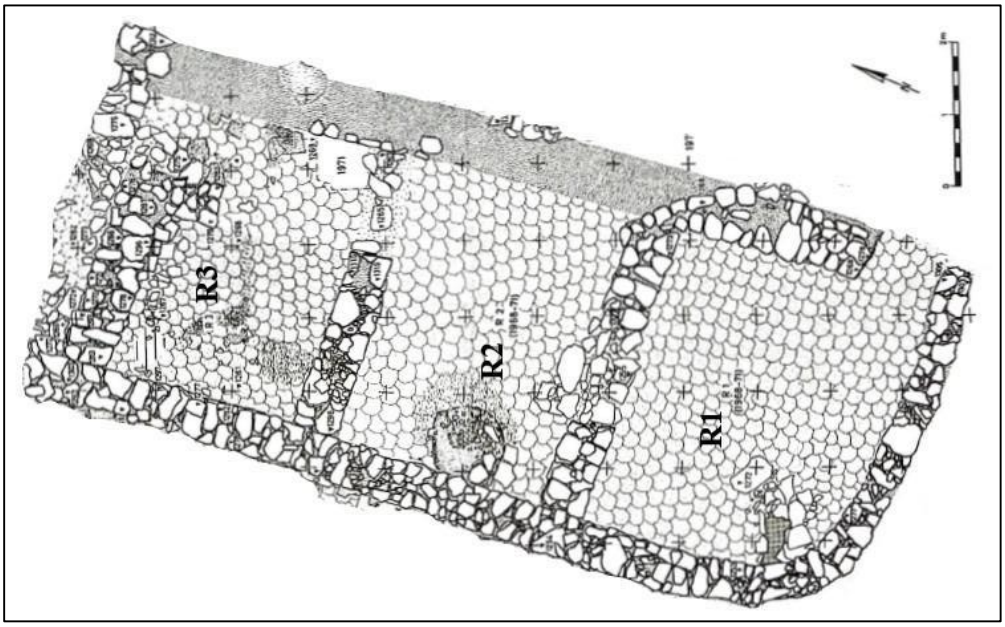
TIR11 Building XIV (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 18)



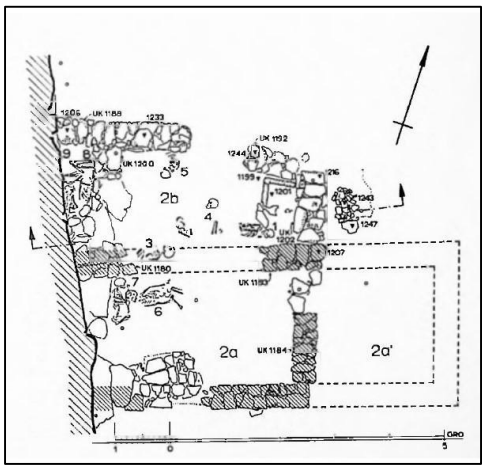
TIR12 Building IV (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 18)



TIR13 Building III (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 2)



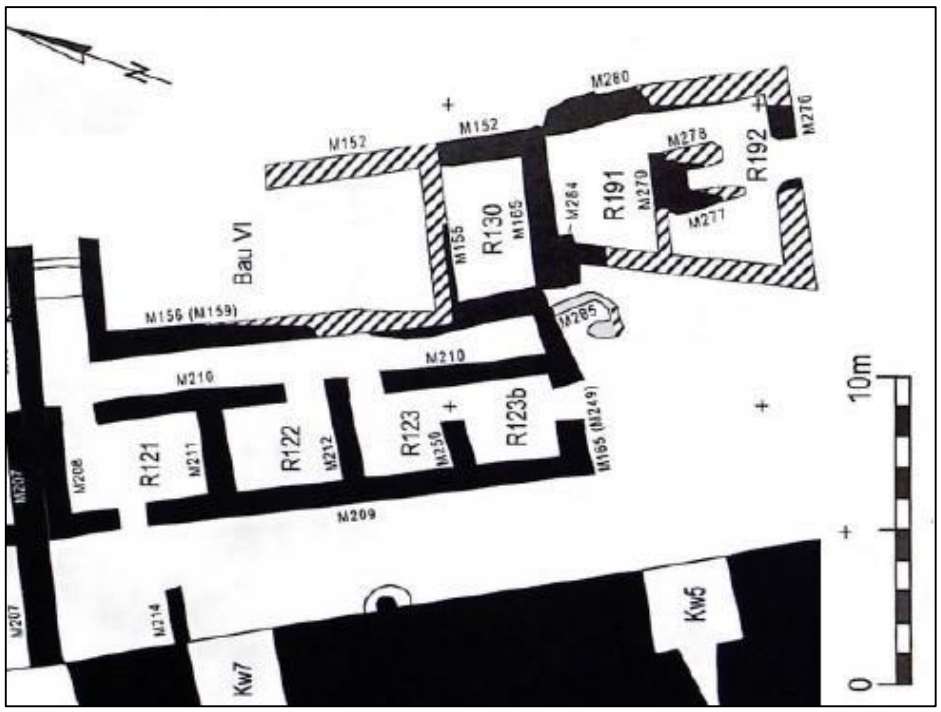
TIR14 Building II (Source: Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, pl. 83:2)



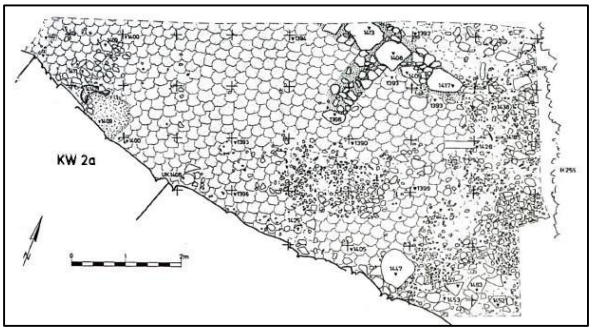
TIR15 Building A (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 22)

TIR16 Building V (Source: Damm-Meinhardt 2015a Tiryns XVII.1, fig. 4)

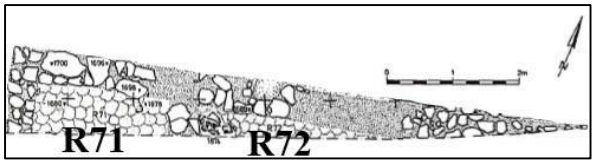
TIR17 Building VI (Source: Damm-Meinhardt 2015 Tiryns XVII.1, fig. 3)



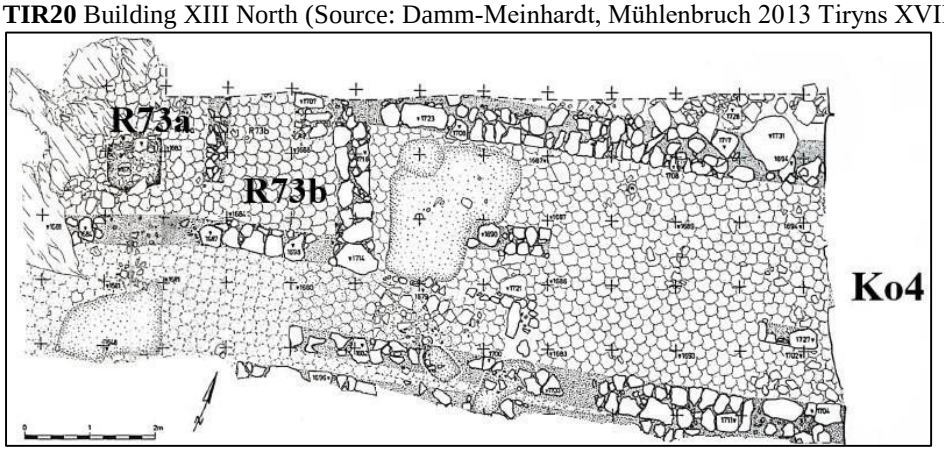
TIR18 Building XII (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3 plan 30.1)



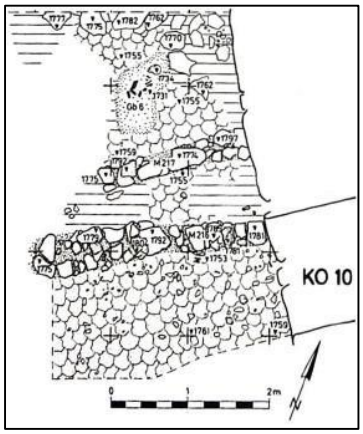
TIR19 Building XIII South (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 4)



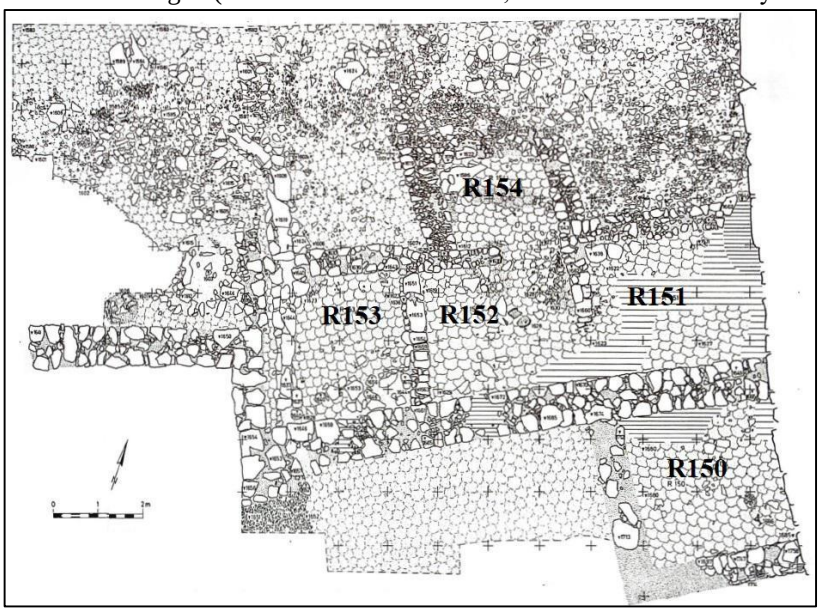
TIR20 Building XIII North (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 4)



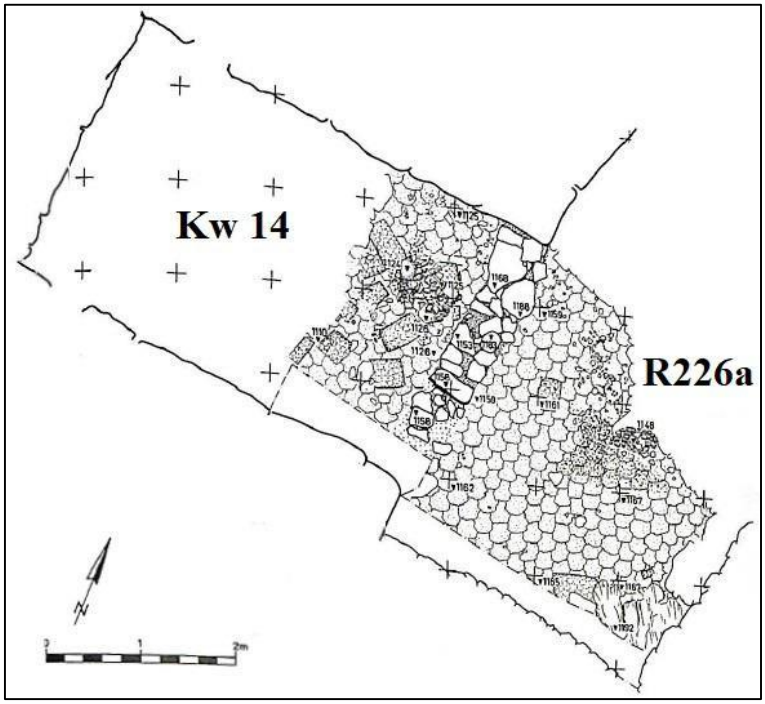
TIR21 Building in front of Ko10 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 30.2)



TIR22 Building X (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 31)

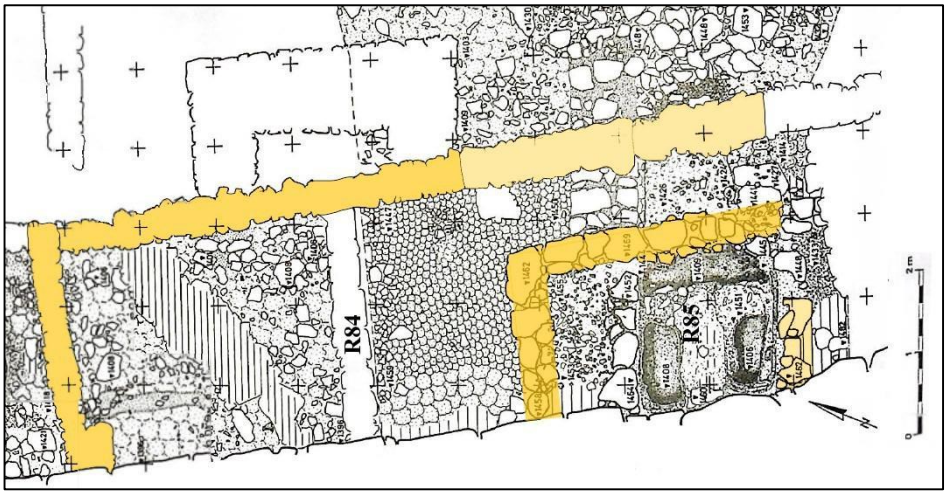


TIR23 Building R226a

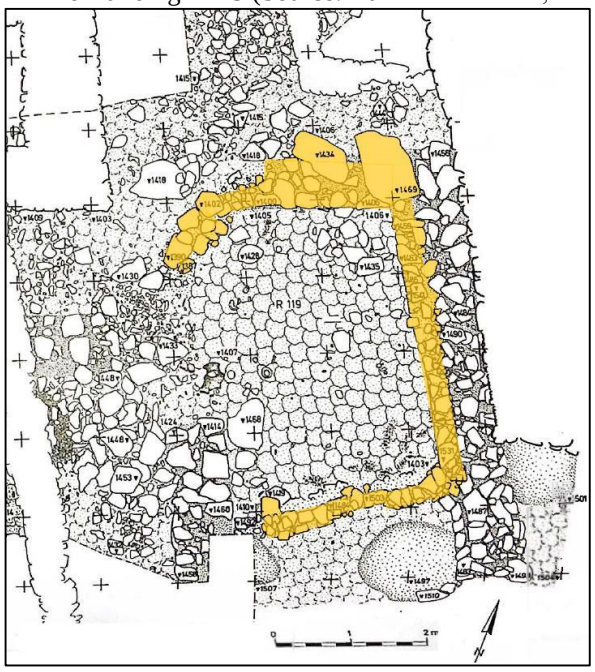


TIR24 Building R10a (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 32 - modified)

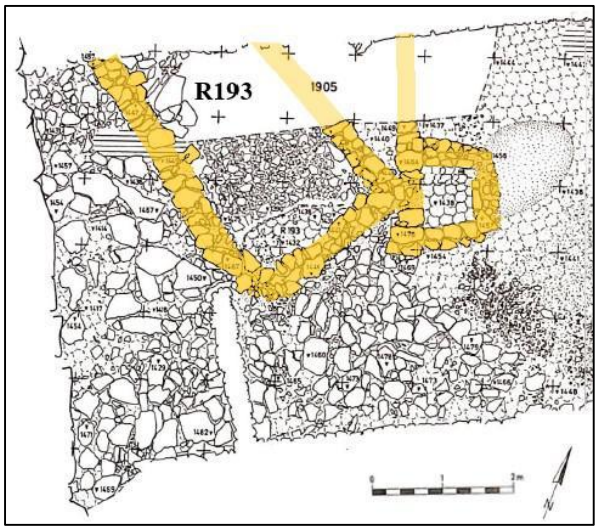
TIR25 Building R84-85 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 32 – modified)



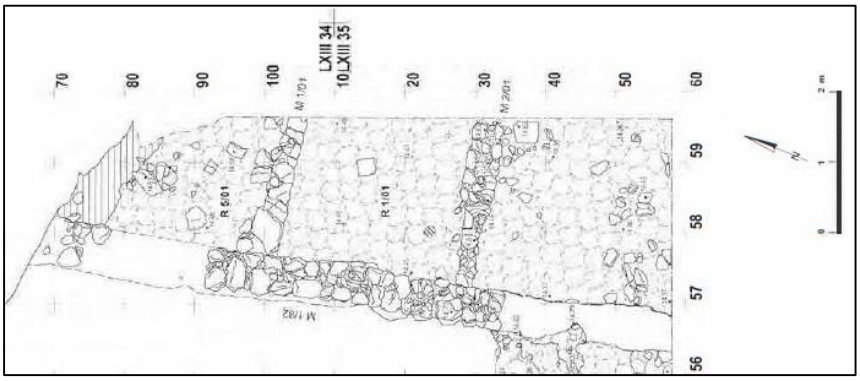
TIR26 Building R119 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 32 – modified)



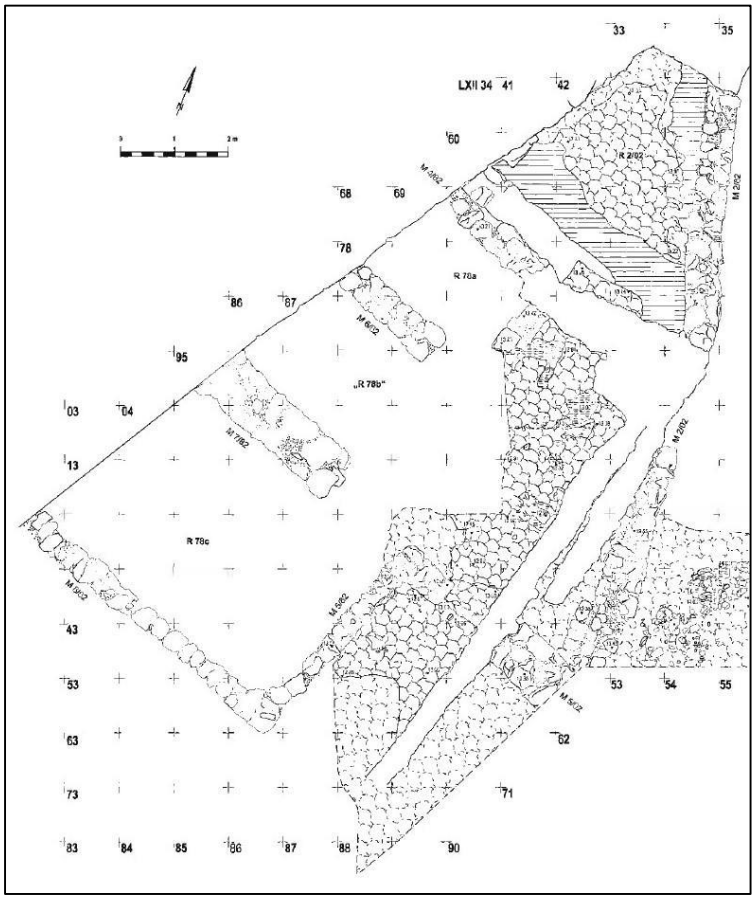
TIR27 Building R193 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 29)



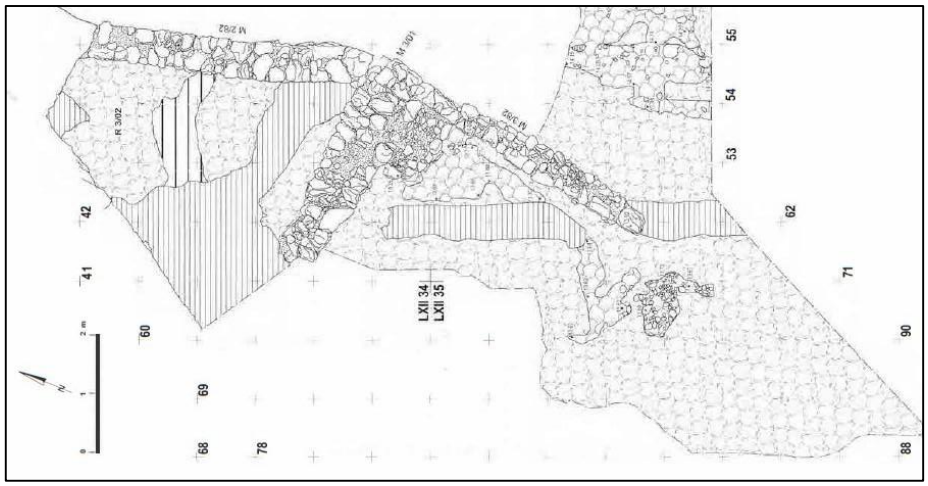
TIR28 Building XVa (Source: Maran 2008, fig. 61)



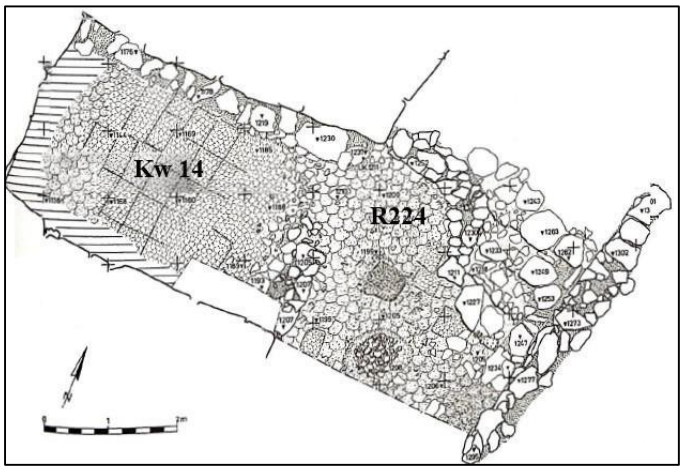
TIR29 Building Xia (Source: Maran 2008, fig. 55)



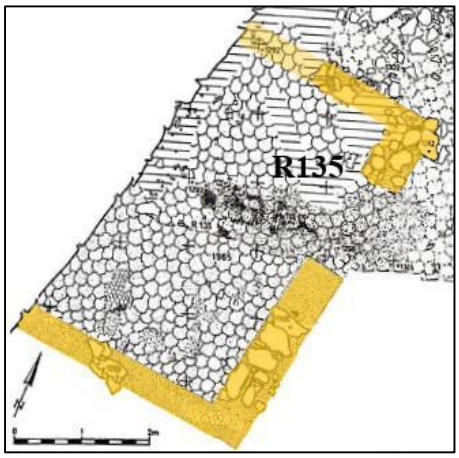
TIR30 Building R3/02 (Source: Maran 2008, fig. 61)



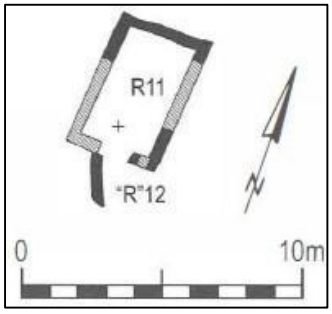
TIR31 Building R224 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 48.2)



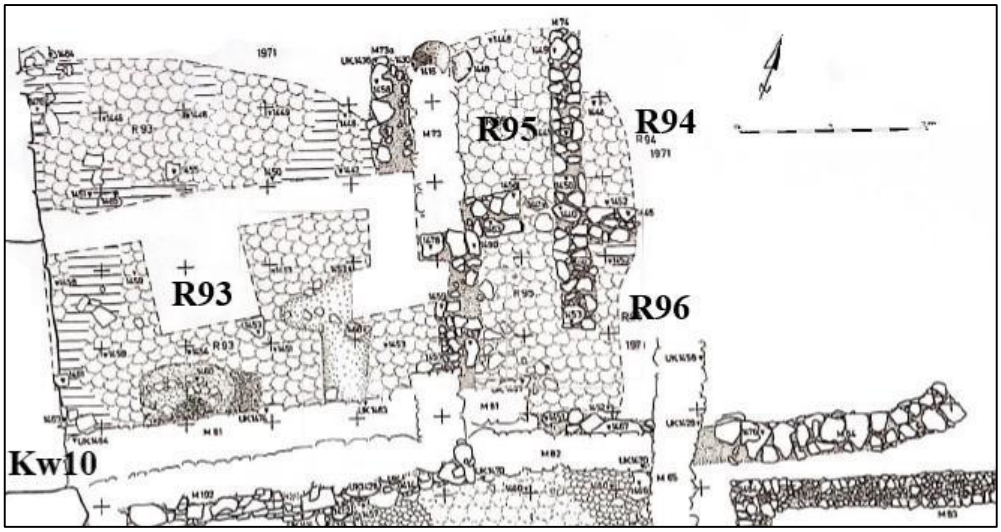
TIR32 Building R135 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 8)



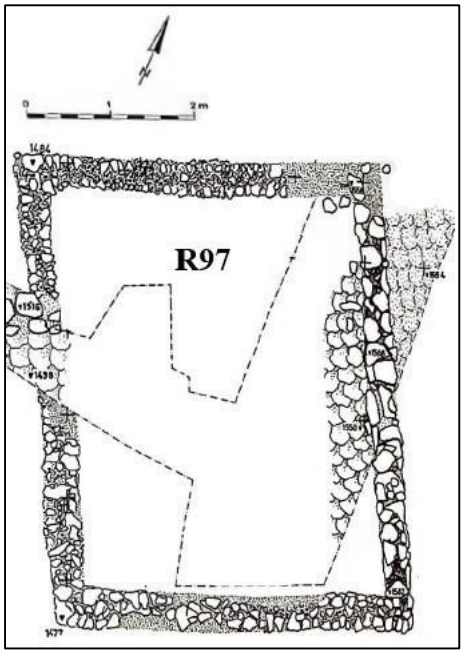
TIR33 Building R11 (Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.2, fig. 14)



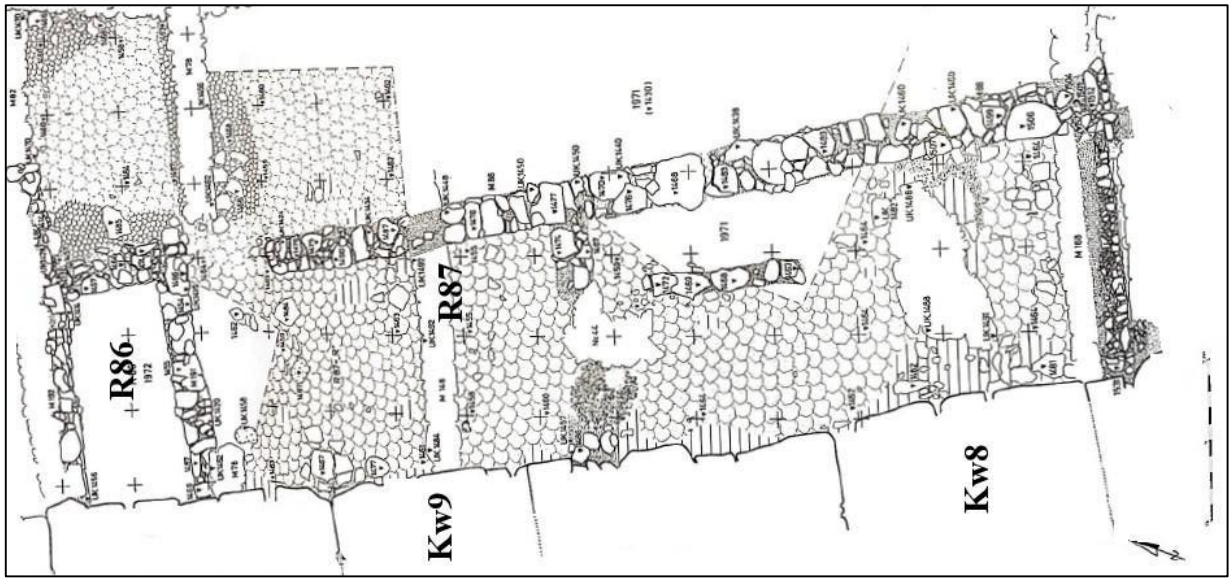
TIR34 Building R93-96 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 33)



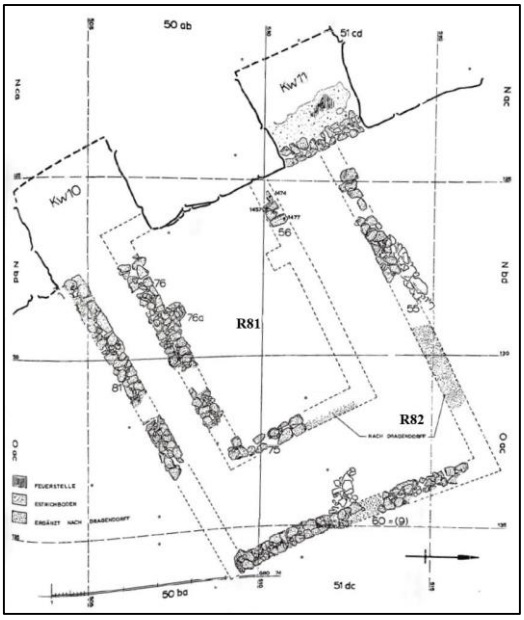
TIR35 Building R97 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 34)



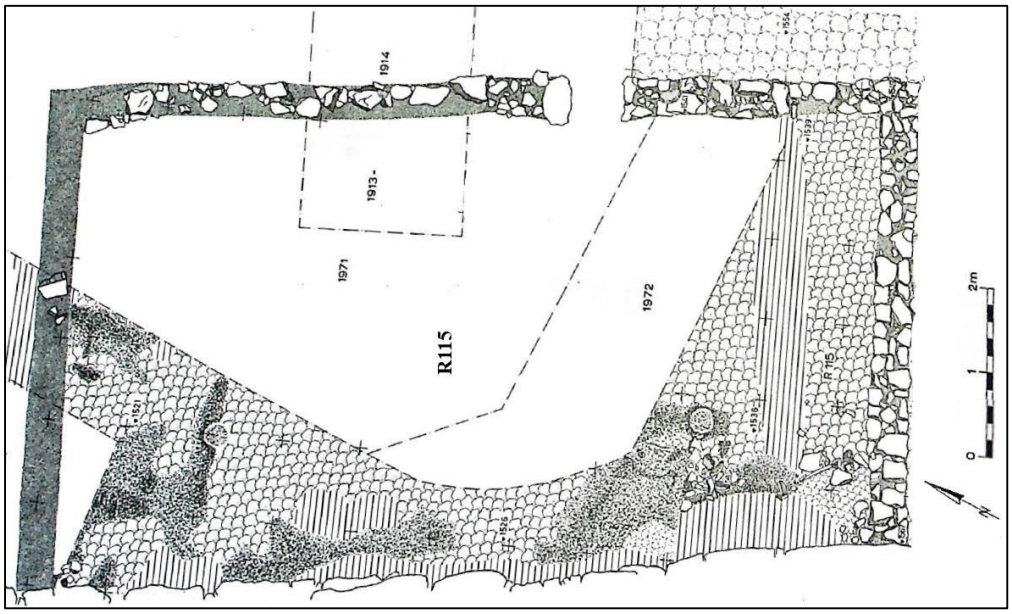
TIR36 Building R86-87 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 33)



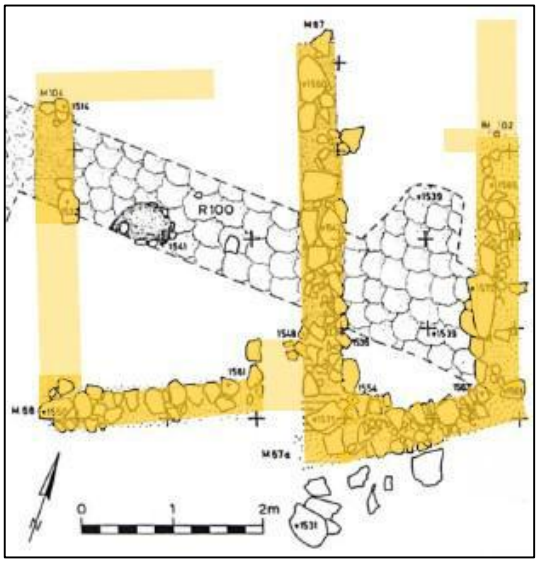
TIR38 Building R81-82 (Source: Avila et al. 1980 Tiryns IX, appendix 3.2)



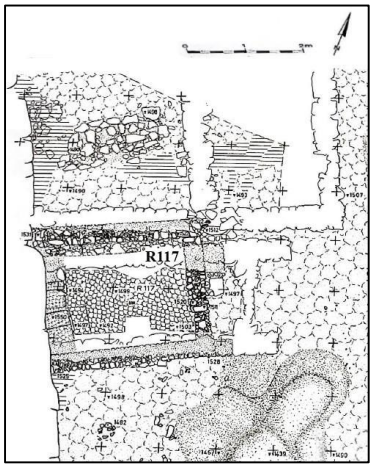
TIR39 Building R115 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 41)



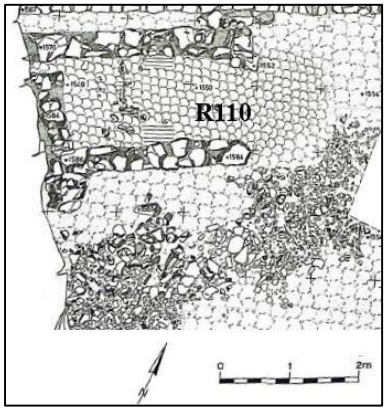
TIR40 Building R99-100 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 54.2 - modified)



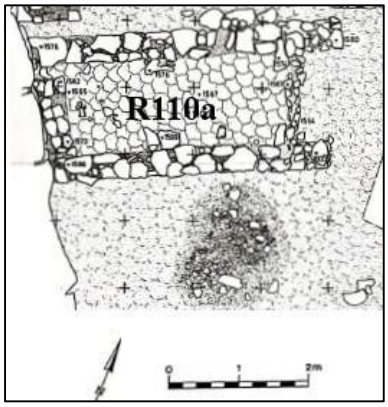
TIR41 Building R117 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 35)



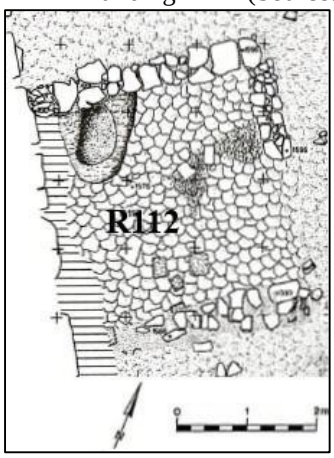
TIR42 Building R110 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 41)



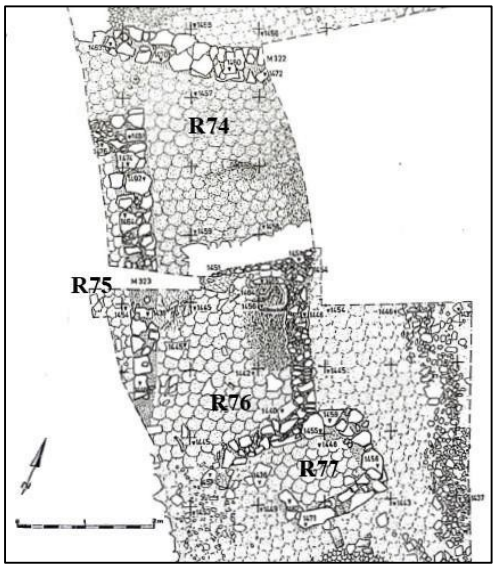
TIR43 Building R110a (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 6)



TIR44 Building R112 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 6)



TIR45 Building R74-77 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 39)

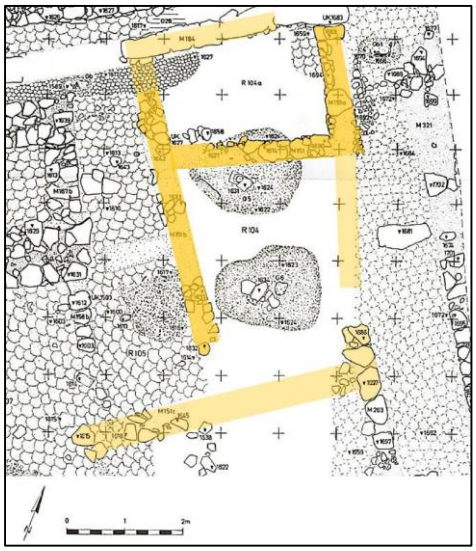


TIR46 Building R126 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 45 - modified)

TIR47 Building R106.124 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 37)

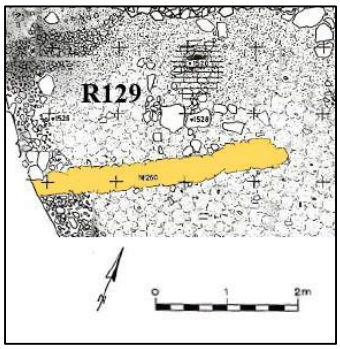
TIR48 Building VIa (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 37 - modified)

TIR49 Building R104 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 5 - modified)

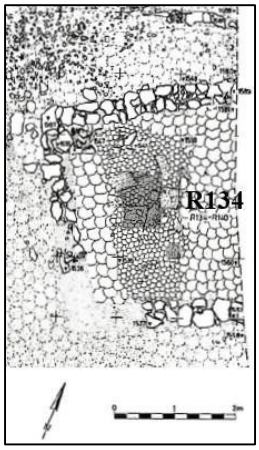


TIR50 Building R127 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 51)

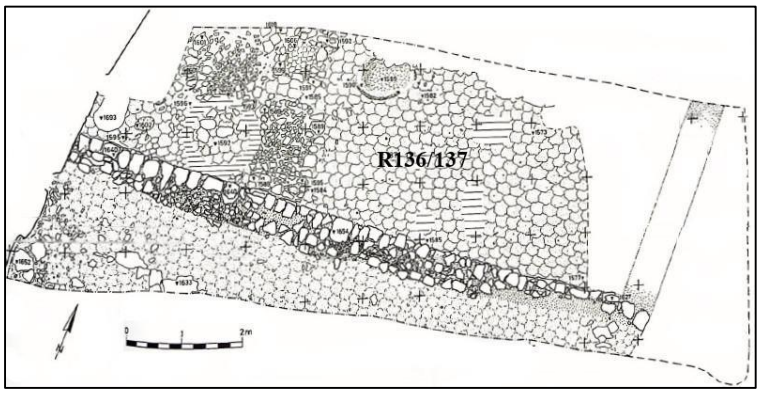
TIR51 Building R129 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, plan 51 – modified)



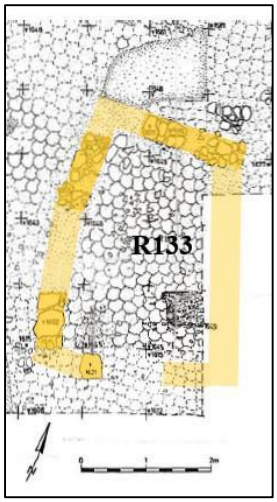
TIR52 Building R134



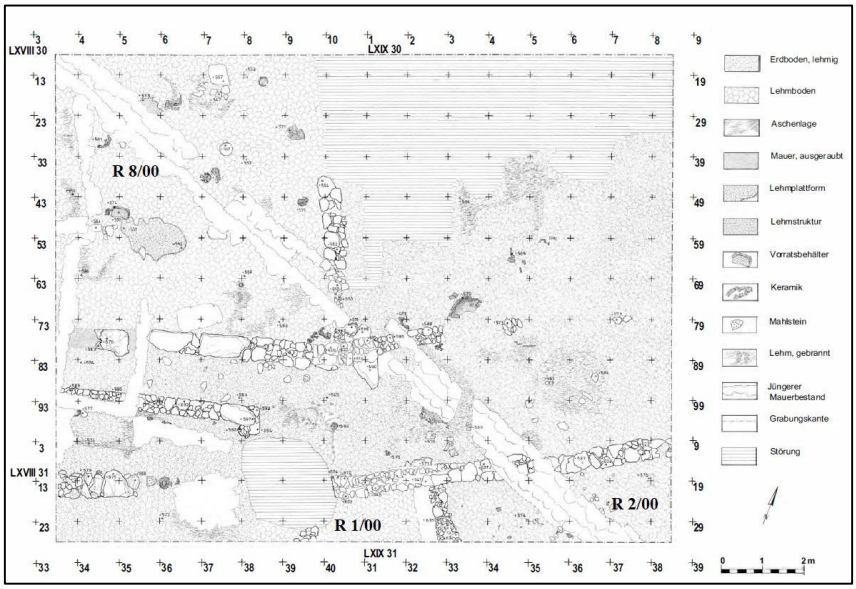
TIR53 Building R136/137



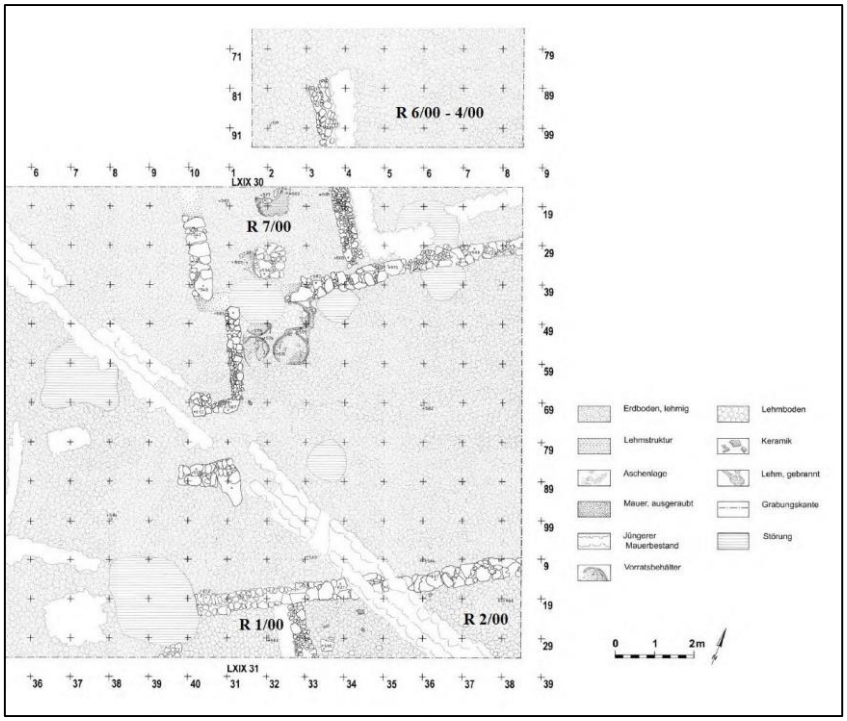
TIR54 Building R133 (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVIII.3, appendix 5 – modified)



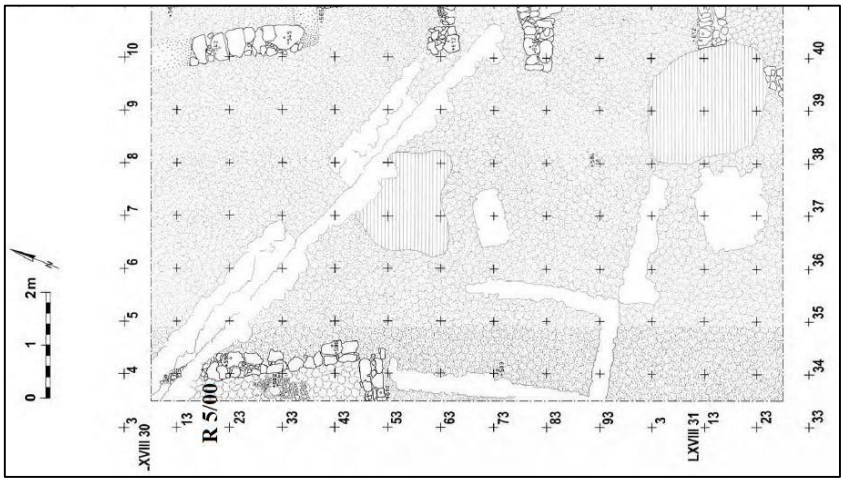
TIR56 Building R8/00 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 6)



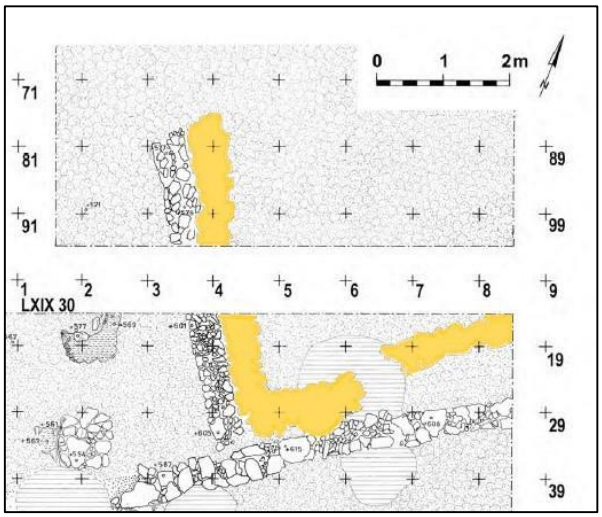
TIR57 Northeast House (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16)



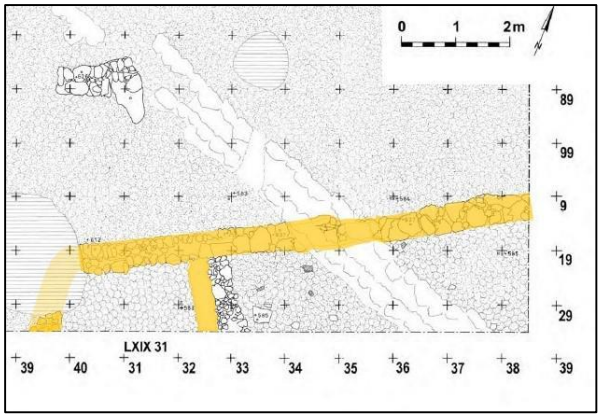
TIR58 Building R5/00 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16)



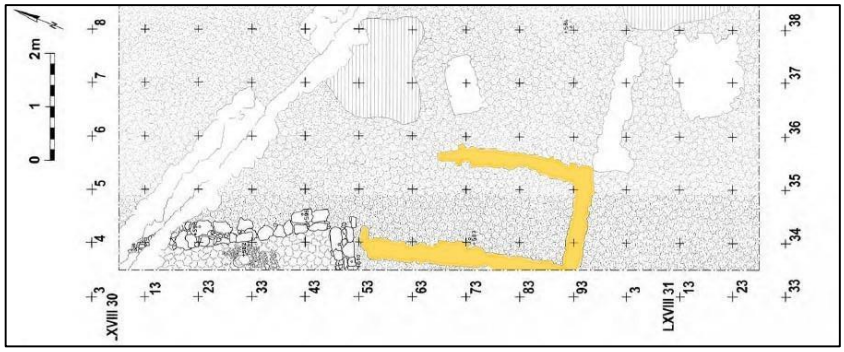
TIR59 Building R3/00 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16 - modified)



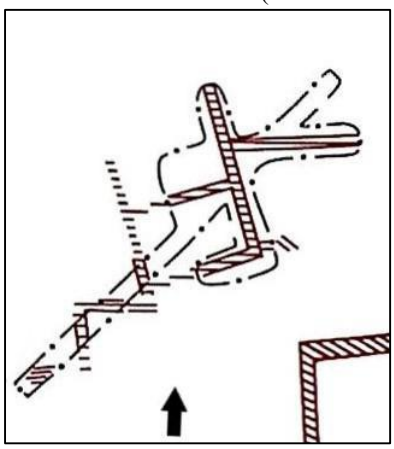
TIR60 Building R1-2/99 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16 – modified)



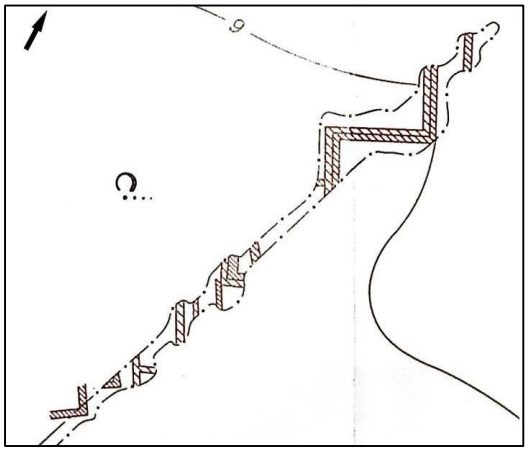
TIR61 Building R3/99 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16 – modified)



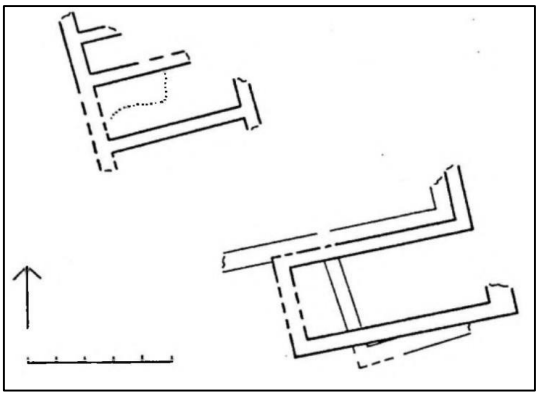
TIR62 Walls in Area L (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 5)



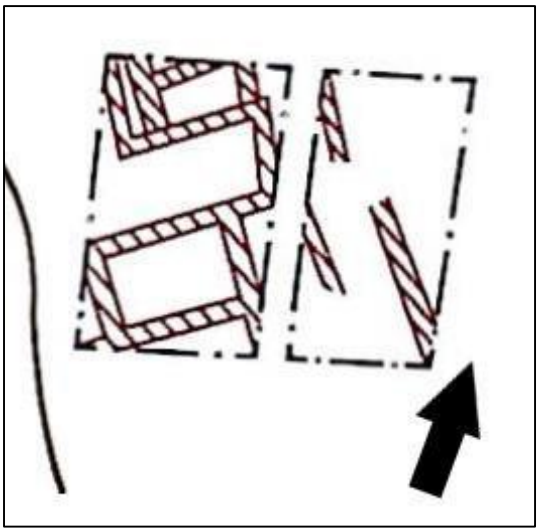
TIR63 Walls in Area M (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 2)



TIR64 Walls in Area N (Source: Hiesel 1990, fig. 166)



TIR66 Northwest Building (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 1)

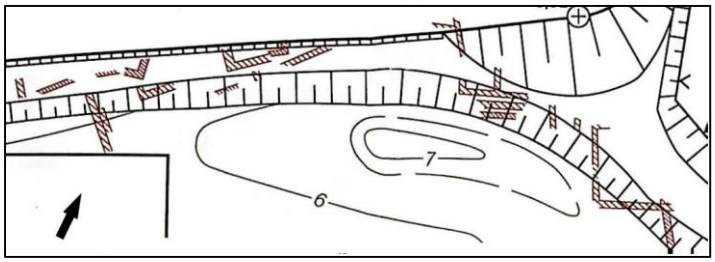


TIR67 Building R1/18 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30)

TIR68 Building R2-3/15 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30)

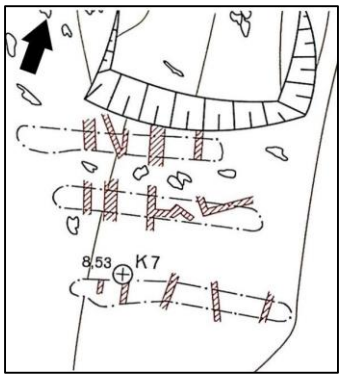
TIR69 Building H1-2/15 (Source: Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30)

TIR70 Walls in Area O (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 4)

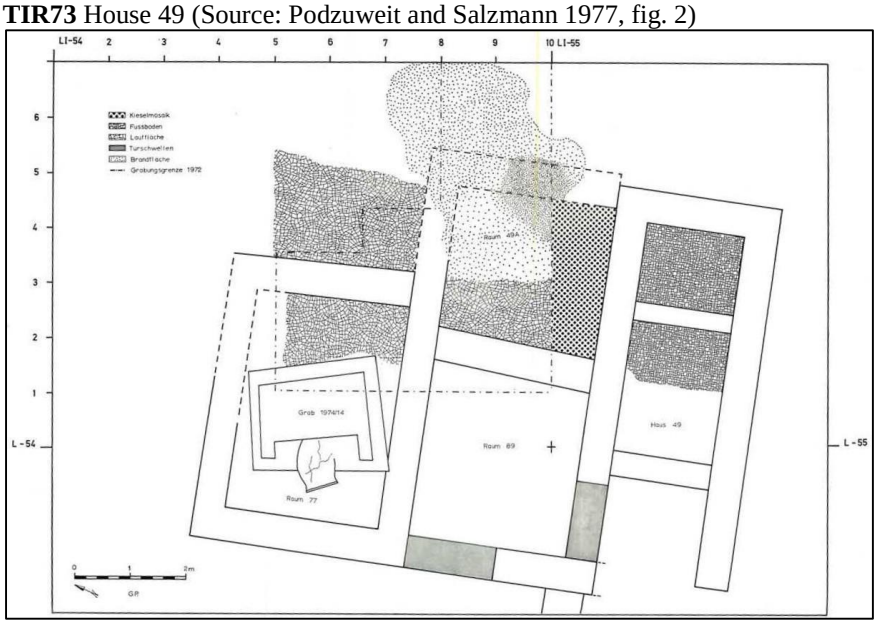


TIR71 Northwest House (Source: Damm-Meinhardt, Mühlenbruch 2013 Tiryns XVII.3, plan 58)

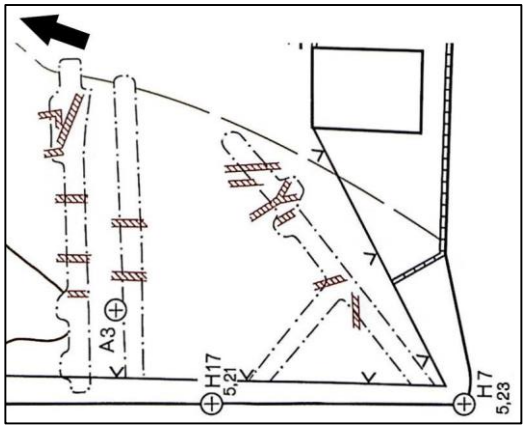
TIR72 Walls in Area P (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 4)



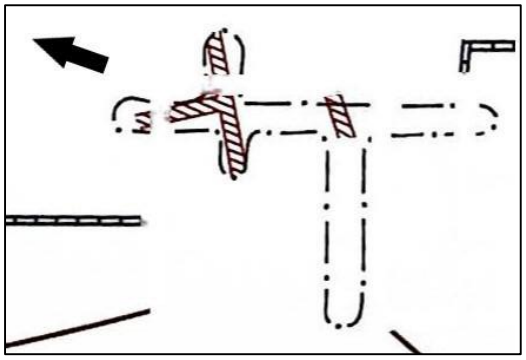
TIR73 House 49 (Source: Podzuweit and Salzmann 1977, fig. 2)



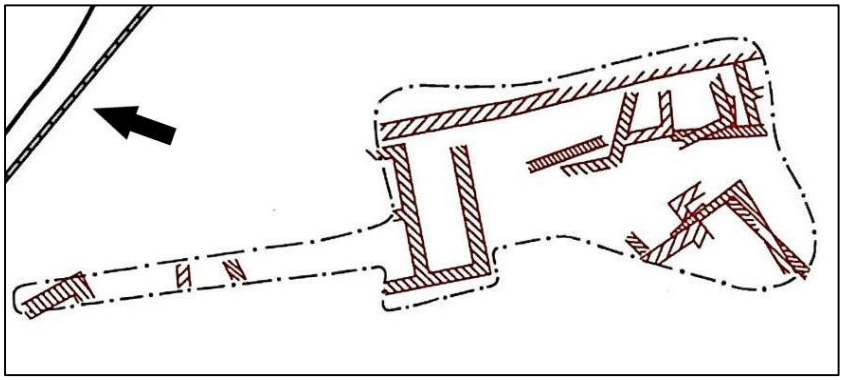
TIR74 Walls in Area D (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 4)



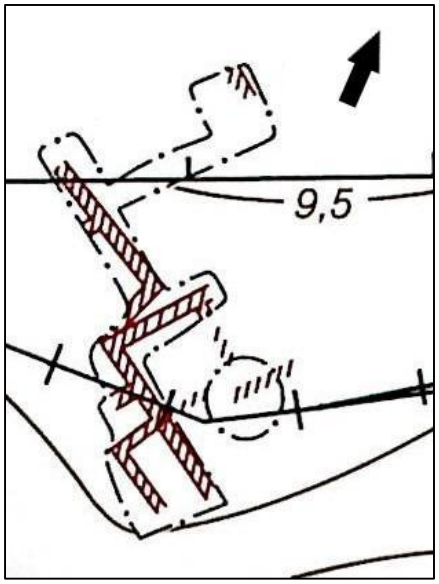
TIR75 Walls in Area C (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 6)



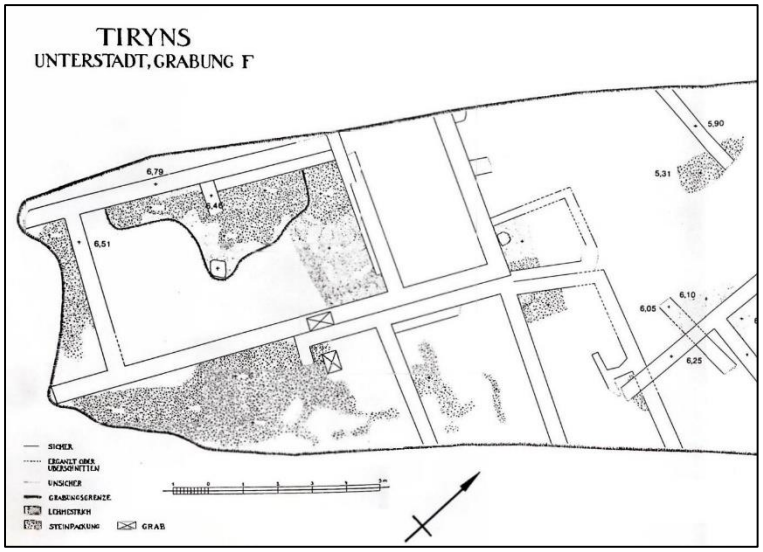
TIR76 Walls in Area E (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 6)



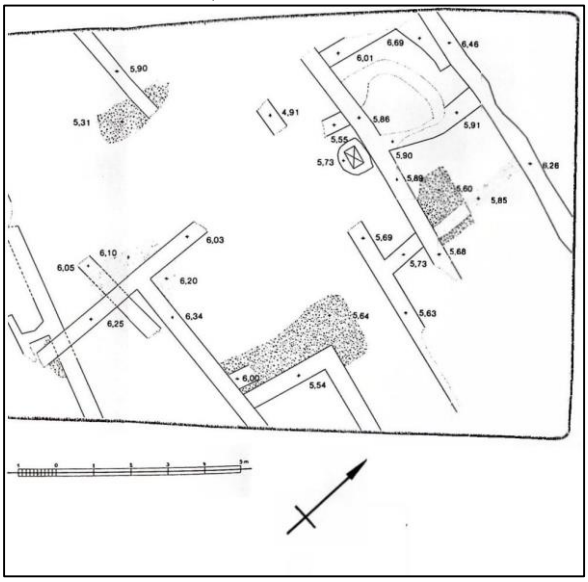
TIR77 Walls in Area F1 (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 7)



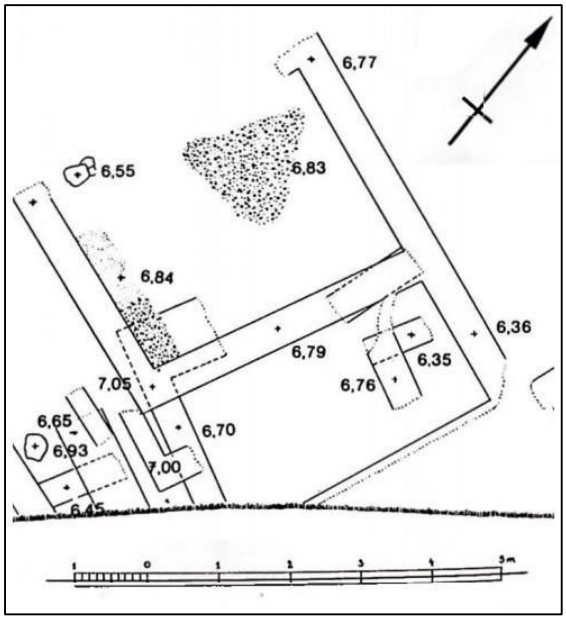
TIR78 House F3a (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 4)



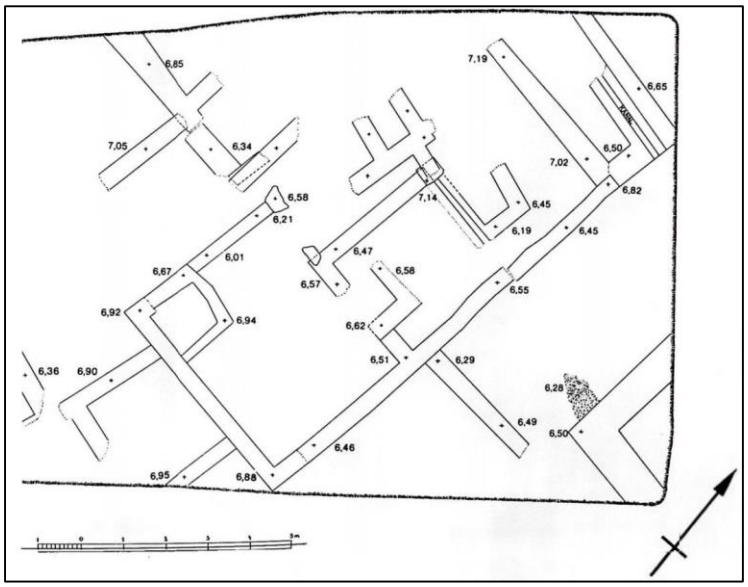
TIR79 House F3b (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 4)



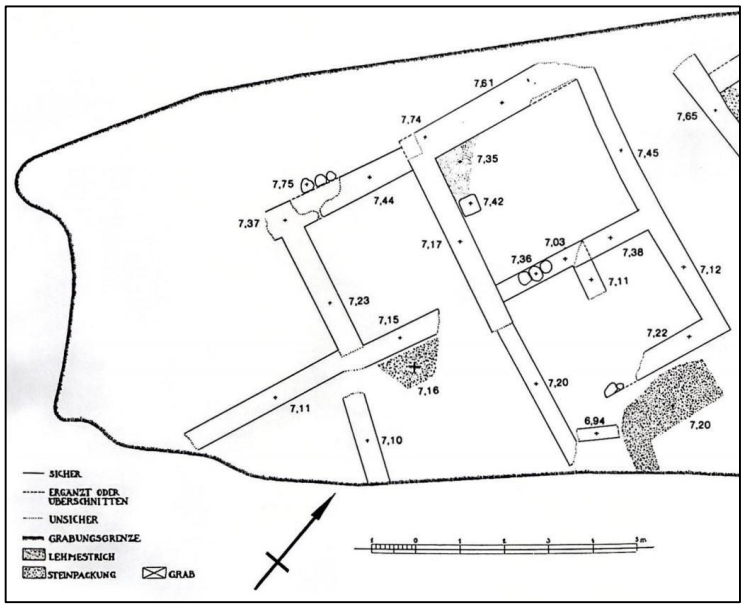
TIR80 House F2a (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 3)



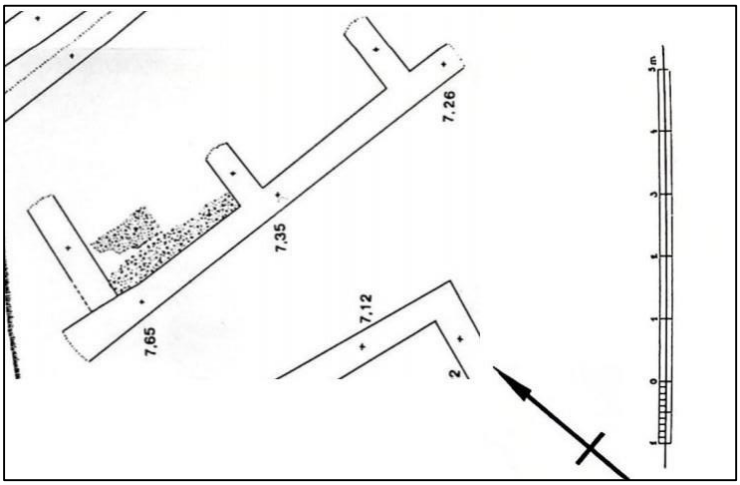
TIR81 House F2b (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 3)



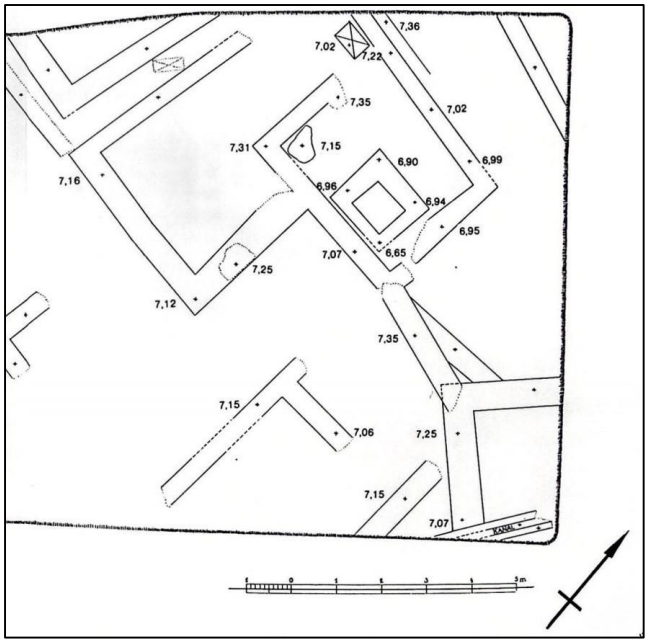
TIR82 House F1a (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 3)



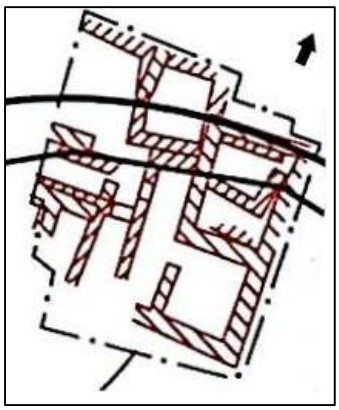
TIR83 House F1b (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 2)



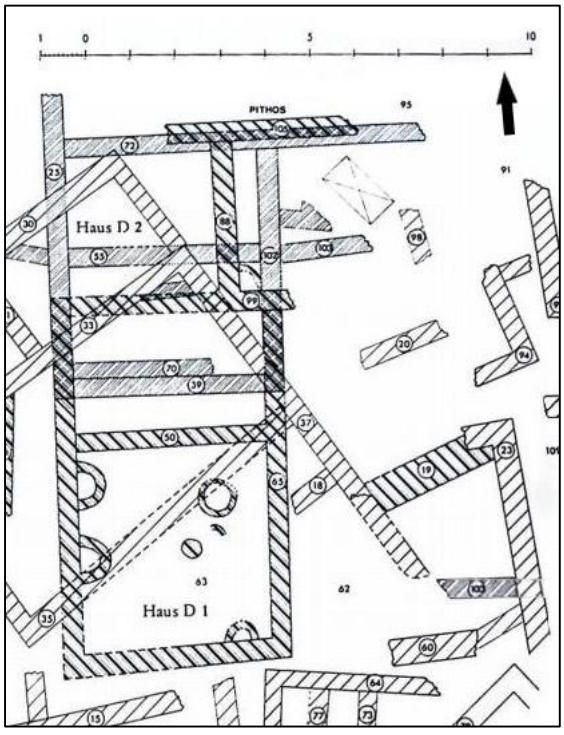
TIR84 House F1c (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 2)



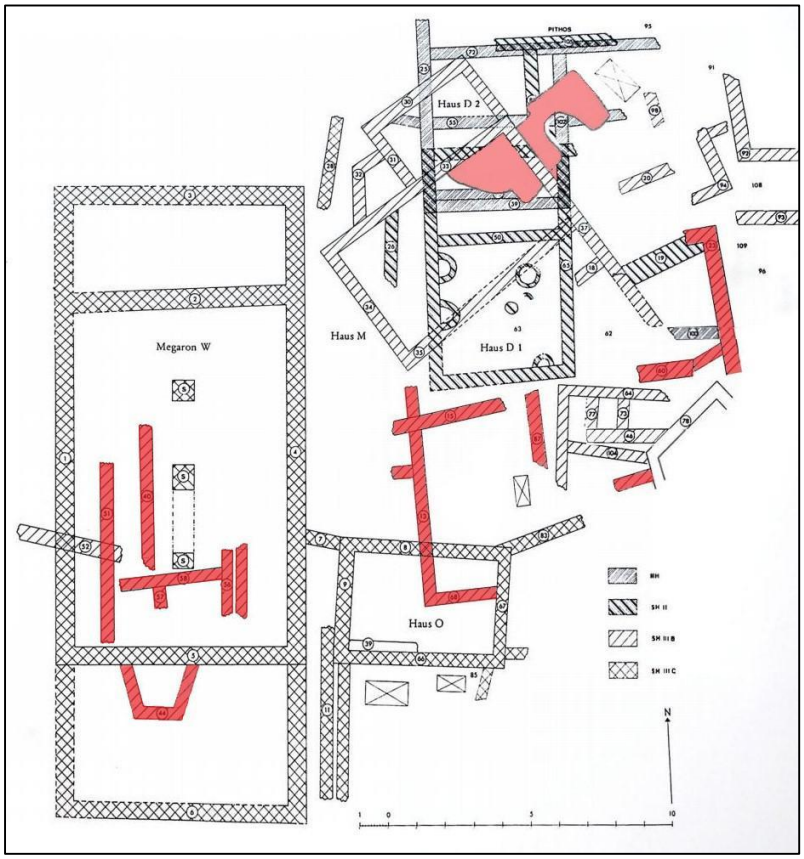
TIR85 Walls in Area G1 (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 7)



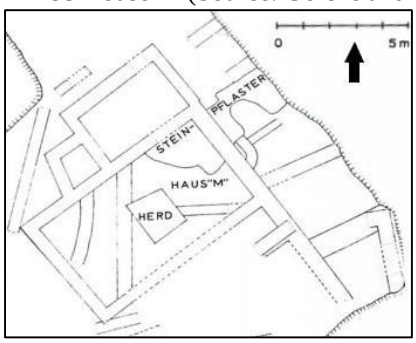
TIR86 House D1-D2 (Source: Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII suppl. 4)



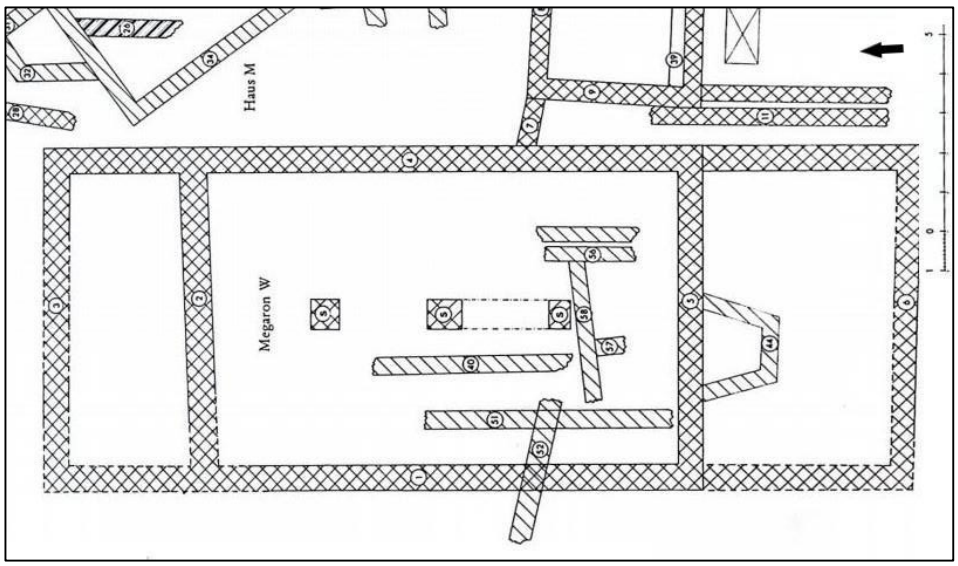
TIR87 Walls in Area H (Source: Gercke et al 1975 Tiryns VIII, suppl. 4 - modified)



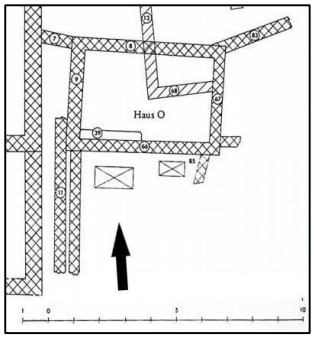
TIR88 House M (Source: Gercke and Hiesel 1971 Tiryns V, suppl. 8)



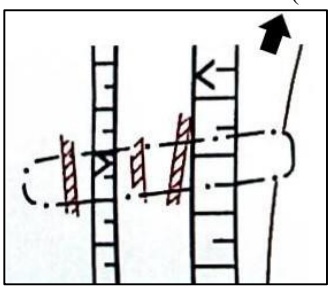
TIR89 Megaron W (Source: Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, suppl. 4)



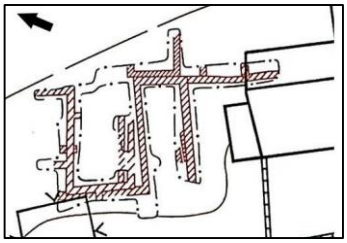
TIR90 House O (Source: Gercke et al. 1975 Tiryns VIII, suppl. 4)



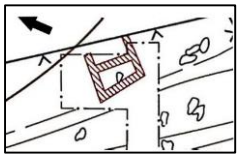
TIR91 Walls in Area H1 (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 5)



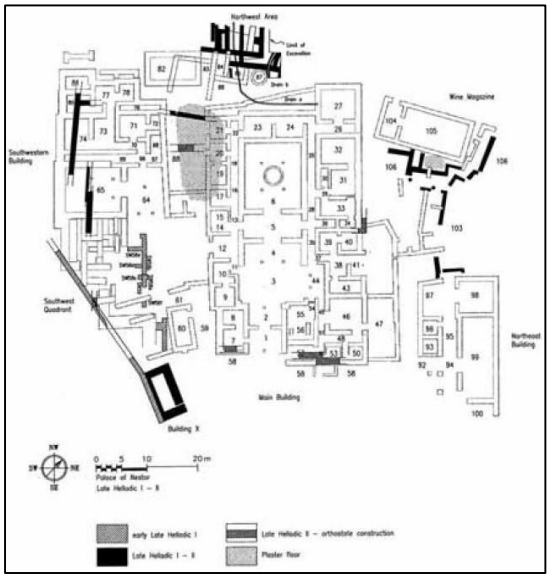
TIR92 Walls in Area K (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 5)



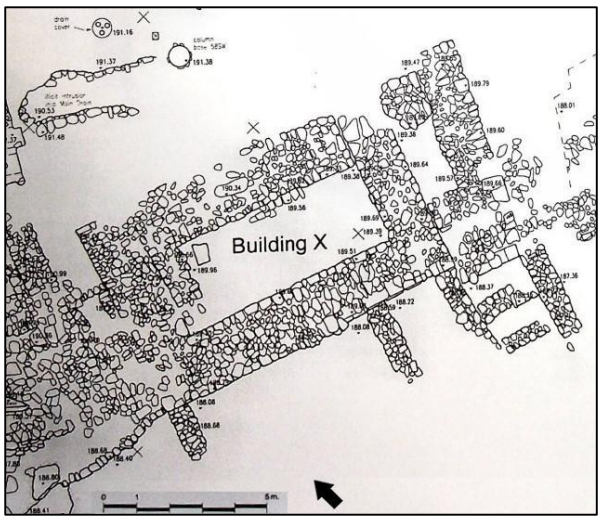
TIR93 Building in area K1 (Source: Rieger, Böser 1990 Tiryns XI, plan 5)



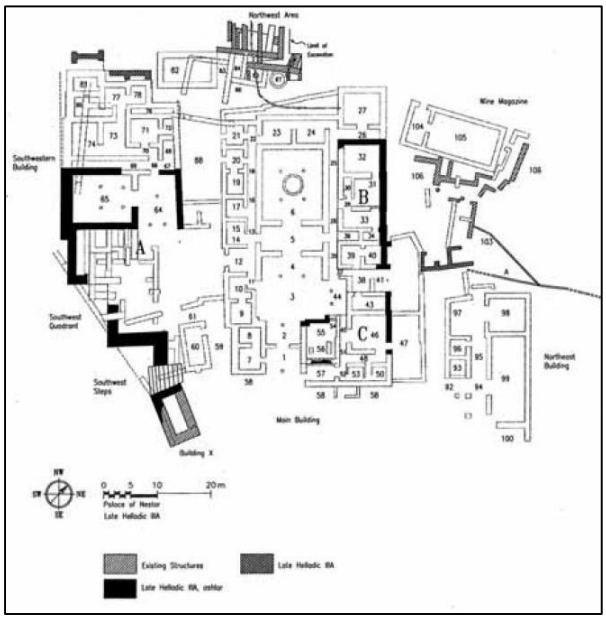
PYL1 Proto-palace (Source: Nelson 2017, fig. 4.3)



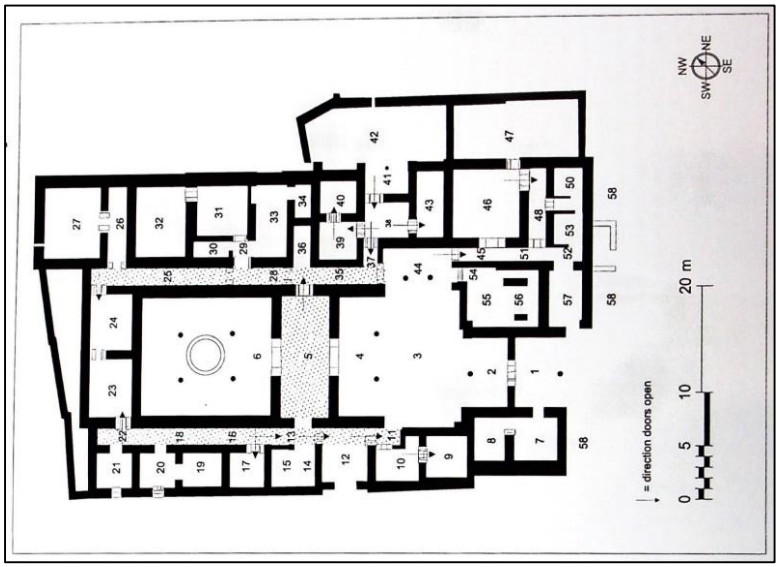
PYL2 Building X (Nelson 2017, plan XV)



PYL3 Early Palace (Source: Nelson 2017, fig. 4.4)

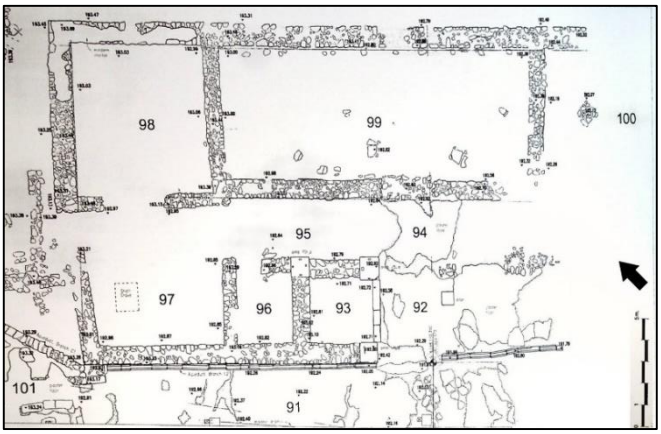


PYL4 Main Building (Source: Nelson 2017, fig. 1.3)

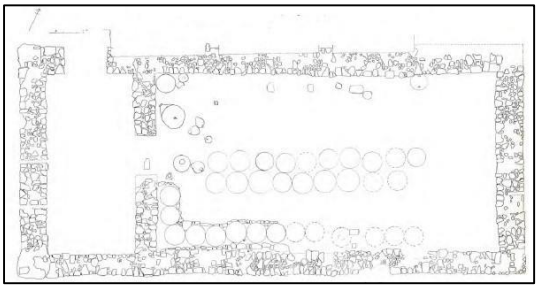


PYL5 South-western Building (Source: Nelson 2017, plan XIV)

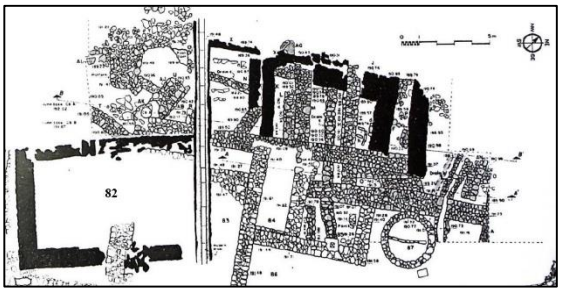
PYL6 North-eastern Building (Source: Nelson 2017, plan XXII)



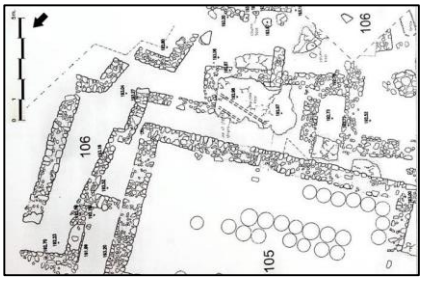
PYL7 Wine Magazine (Source: Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 428)



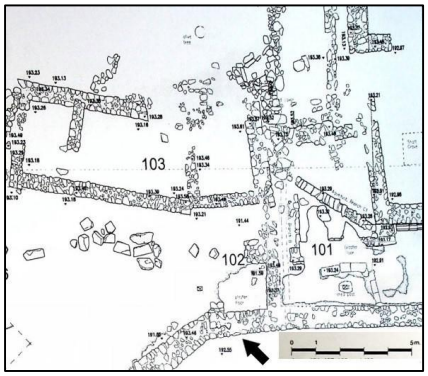
PYL8 Building 82 (Source: Cooper 2017a, fig. 1.36)



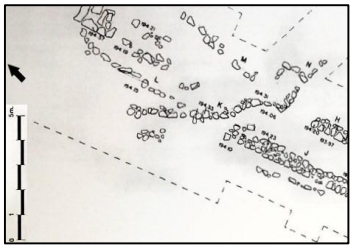
PYL9 Building 106 (Source: Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 309)



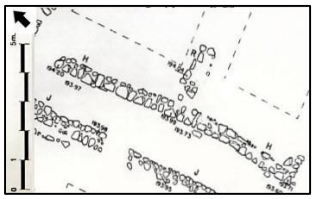
PYL10 Building 101/102/103 (Source: Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 309)



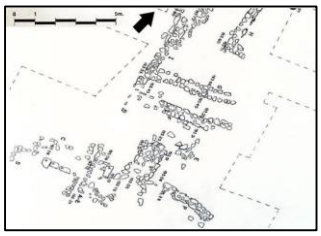
PYL12 Building MN (Source: Nelson 2017, plan XXXIV)



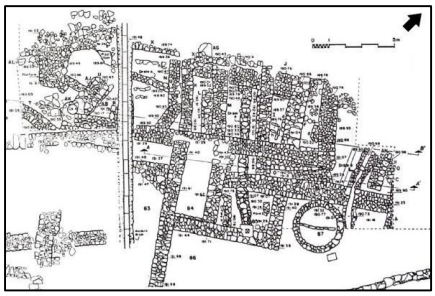
PYL13 Building H (Source: Nelson 2017, plan XXXIV)



PYL 14 South Belvedere Area Building (Source: Nelson 2017, plan XXXIV)

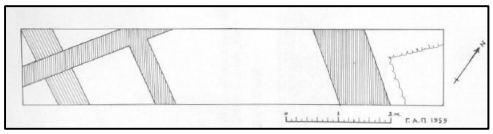


PYL18 Walls in Area W14 (Source: Cooper 2017a, fig. 8.6)

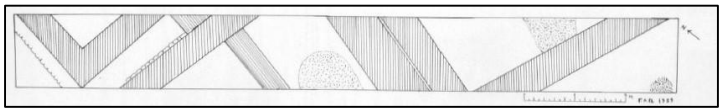


PYL28 Walls in Trench LT I (Source: Blegen et al. 1971, fig. 314)

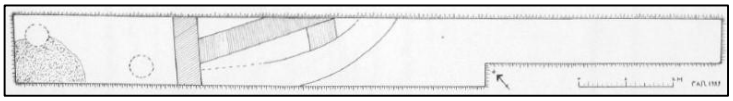
PYL29 Walls in Trench LT II (Source: Blegen et al. 1971, fig. 315)



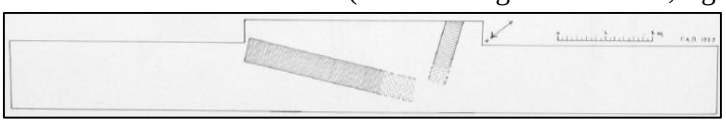
PYL30 Walls in Trench LT III (Source: Blegen et al. 1971, fig. 316)



PYL31 Walls in Trench LT IV (Source: Blegen et al. 1971, fig. 317)

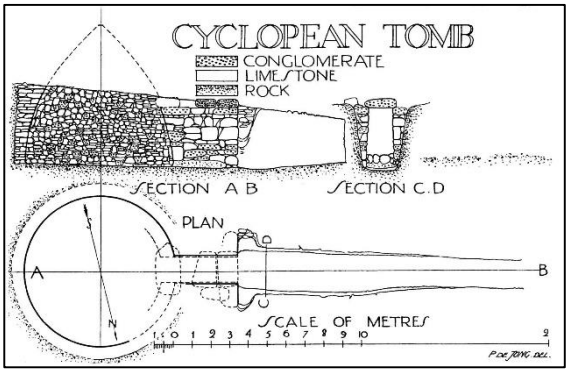


PYL32 Walls in Trench LT V (Source: Blegen et al. 1971, fig. 318)

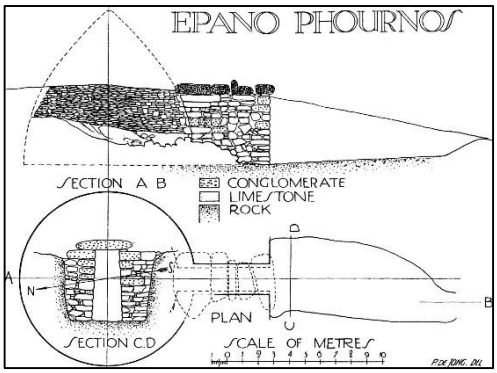


Tab. 9. Tholoi plans.

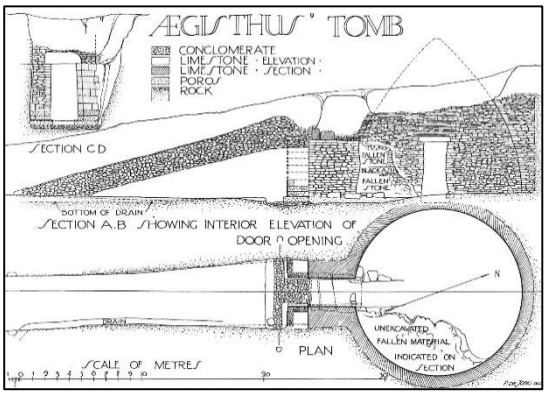
Cyclopean Tomb (Source: Wace et al. 1923, fig. 50)



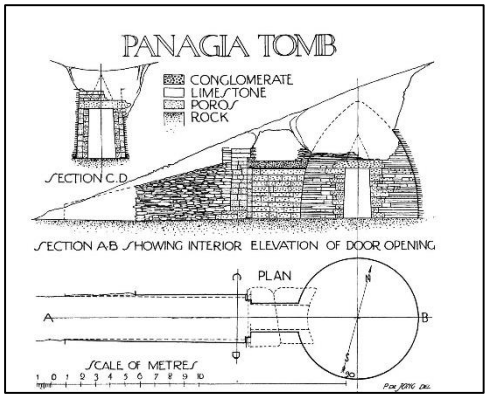
Epano Phournos (Source: Wace et al. 1923, fig. 52)



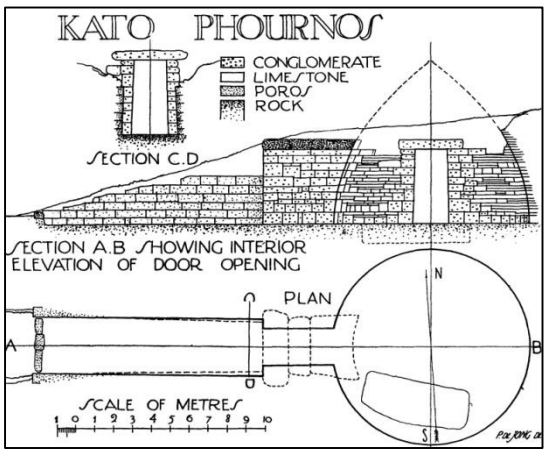
Tomb of Aegisthus (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 46)



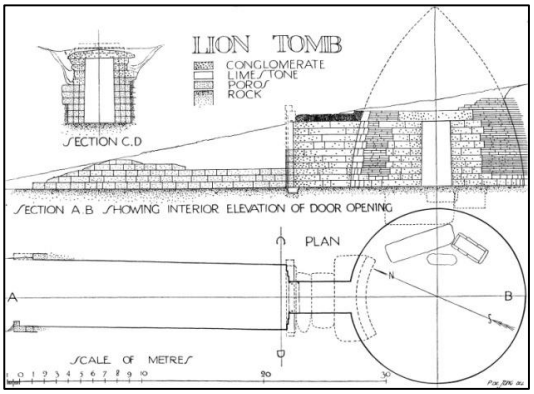
Panagia Tomb (Source: Wace et al. 1923, fig. 59)



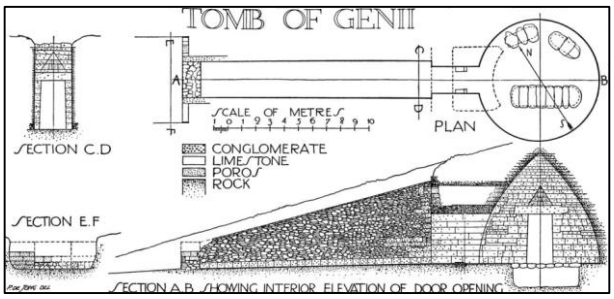
Kato Phournos (Source: Wace et al. 1923, fig. 61)



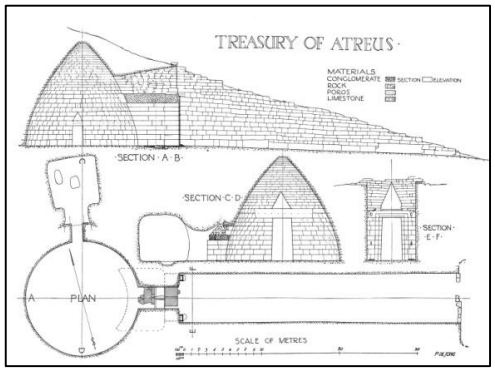
Lion Tomb (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 53)



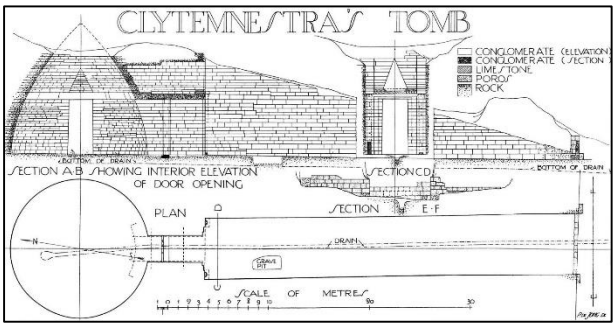
Tomb of Genii (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 60)



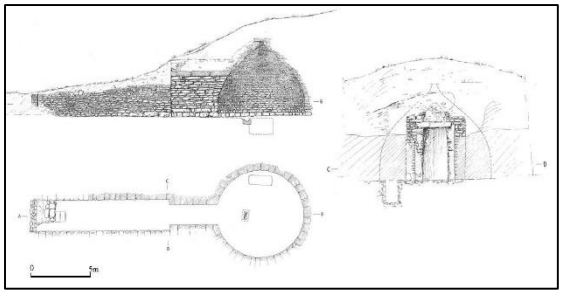
Treasury of Atreus (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 56)



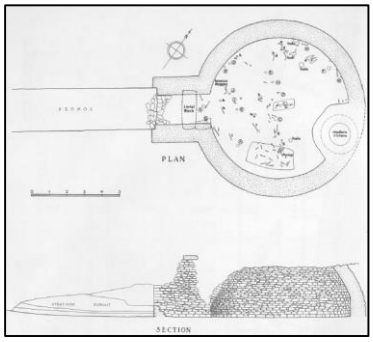
Tomb of Clytemnestra (Source: Wace et al. 1923, pl. 58)



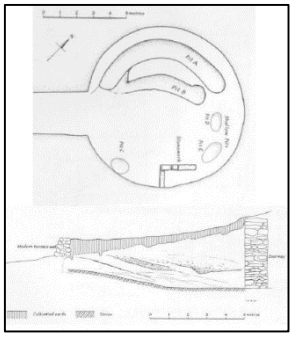
Tholos at Tiryns (Source: Müller 1975, suppl. 2-3)



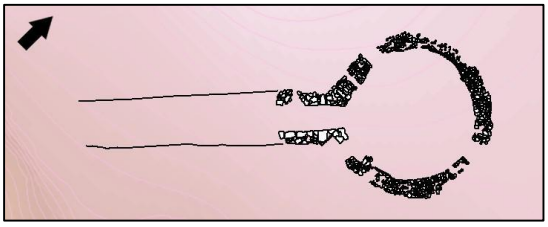
Tholos III (Source: Blegen et al. 1973, figs. 319-320



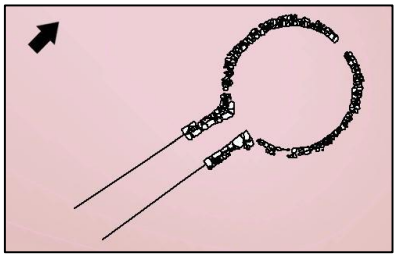
Tholos IV (Source: Blegen et al. 1973, figs. 323-324



Tholos VI (Source: Loy, Stocker, Davis 2021, fig. 1)



Tholos VI (Source: Loy, Stocker, Davis 2021, fig. 1)



FIGURES

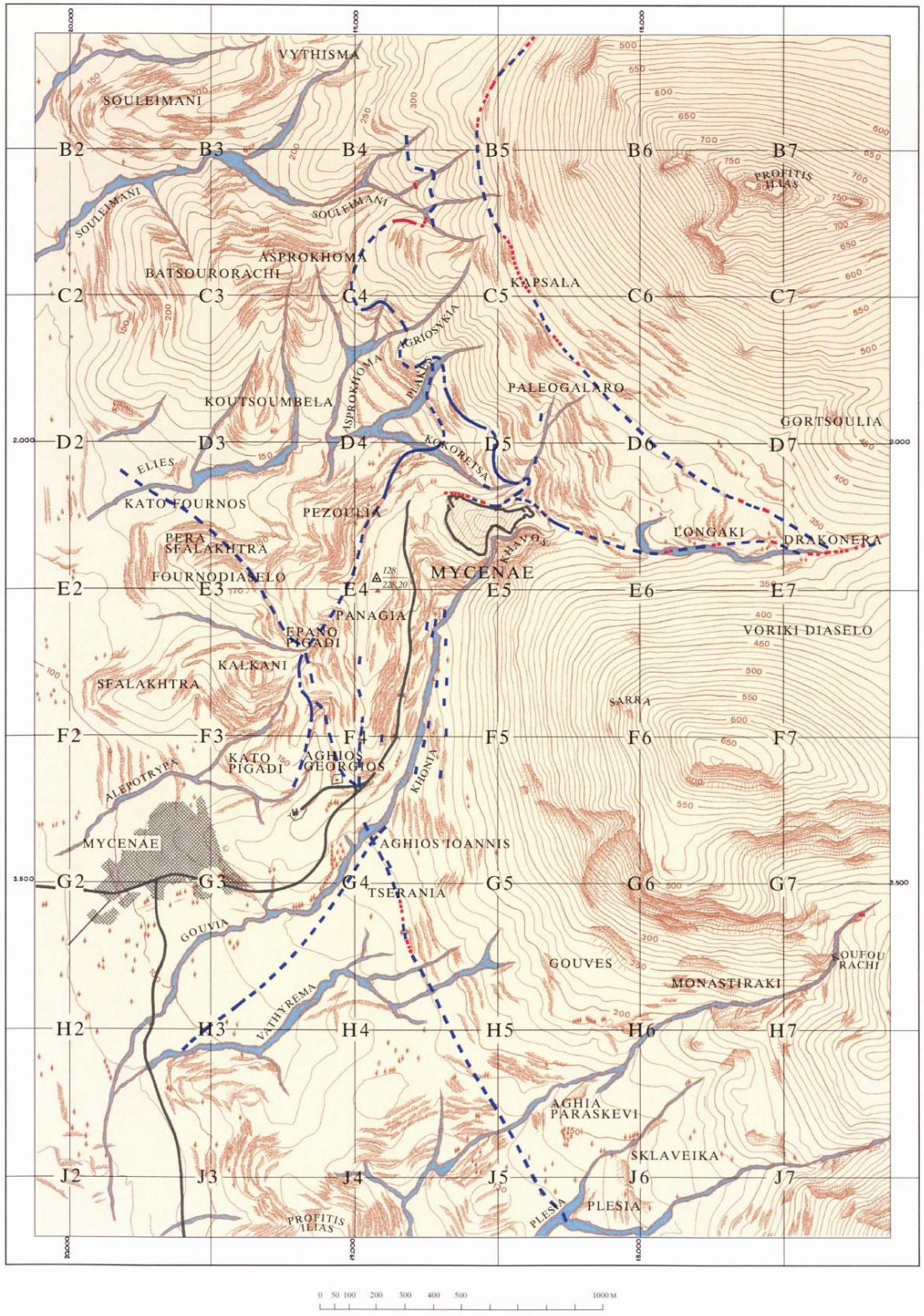


Fig. 1. The Area of Mycenae with Mycenaean roads indicated (French et al. 2003). Red lines: Stretches of roads plotted by Steffen (1884). Blue lines: Stretches of roads identified or postulated by the BSA survey.

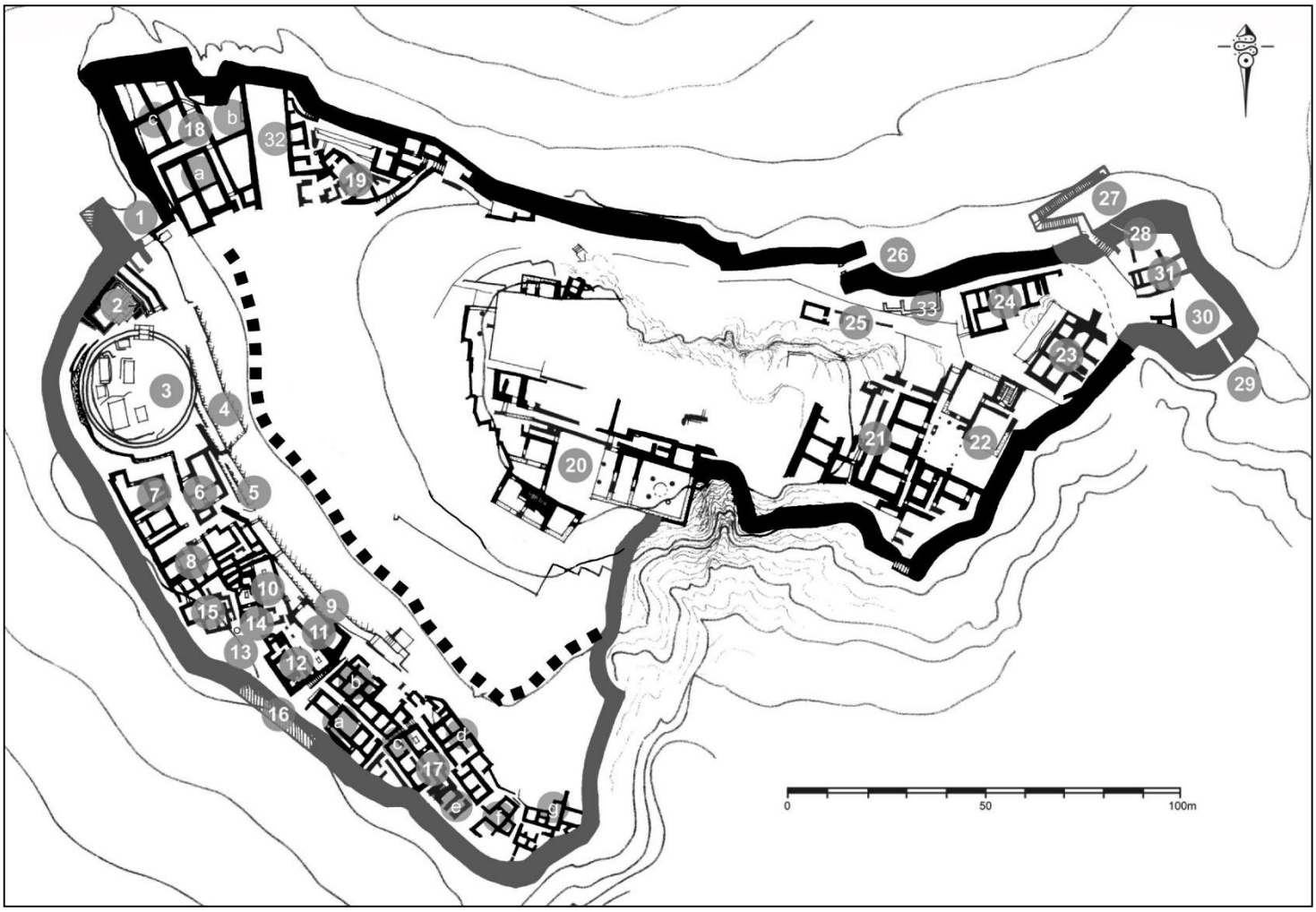


Fig. 2. Plan of the citadel of Mycenae (after French 2010, fig. 50.2, modified by the author): a) Phase 1 (black) - western fortification wall reconstructed on the basis of the course of wall TW, b) Phase 2 (grey). All buildings indicated in black. The numbering: (1) Lion Gate; (2) Granary; (3) Grave Circle A; (4) Great Ramp; (5) Little Ramp; (6) Ramp House; (7) House of the Warrior Vase; (8) South House; (9) Processional Way; (10) Megaron; (11) Tsountas' House Shrine – Shrine Γ; (12) Tsountas's House; (13) Central Court; (14) Temple; (15) Room with the Fresco; (16) Hellenistic Tower; (17) Southwest Quarter, including: (17a) House of the Hellenistic Tower, (17b) Building A, (17c) Building B, (17d) Complex Γ–Δ–E, (17e) Building Z, (17f) Building Θ, and (17g) Complex K–Λ; (18) Northwest Quarter, including: (18a) Building N, (18b) Building I, and (18c) Building II; (19) House M; (20) Main Megaron; (21) Artisans' Quarter; (22) House of Columns; (23) House Delta; (24) House Gamma; (25) North Storerooms; (26) Postern Gate; (27) Underground Cistern; (28) North Sally Port; (29) South Sally; (30) House Alpha; (31) House Beta; (32) Building K; (33) Building Eta.

FIGURES

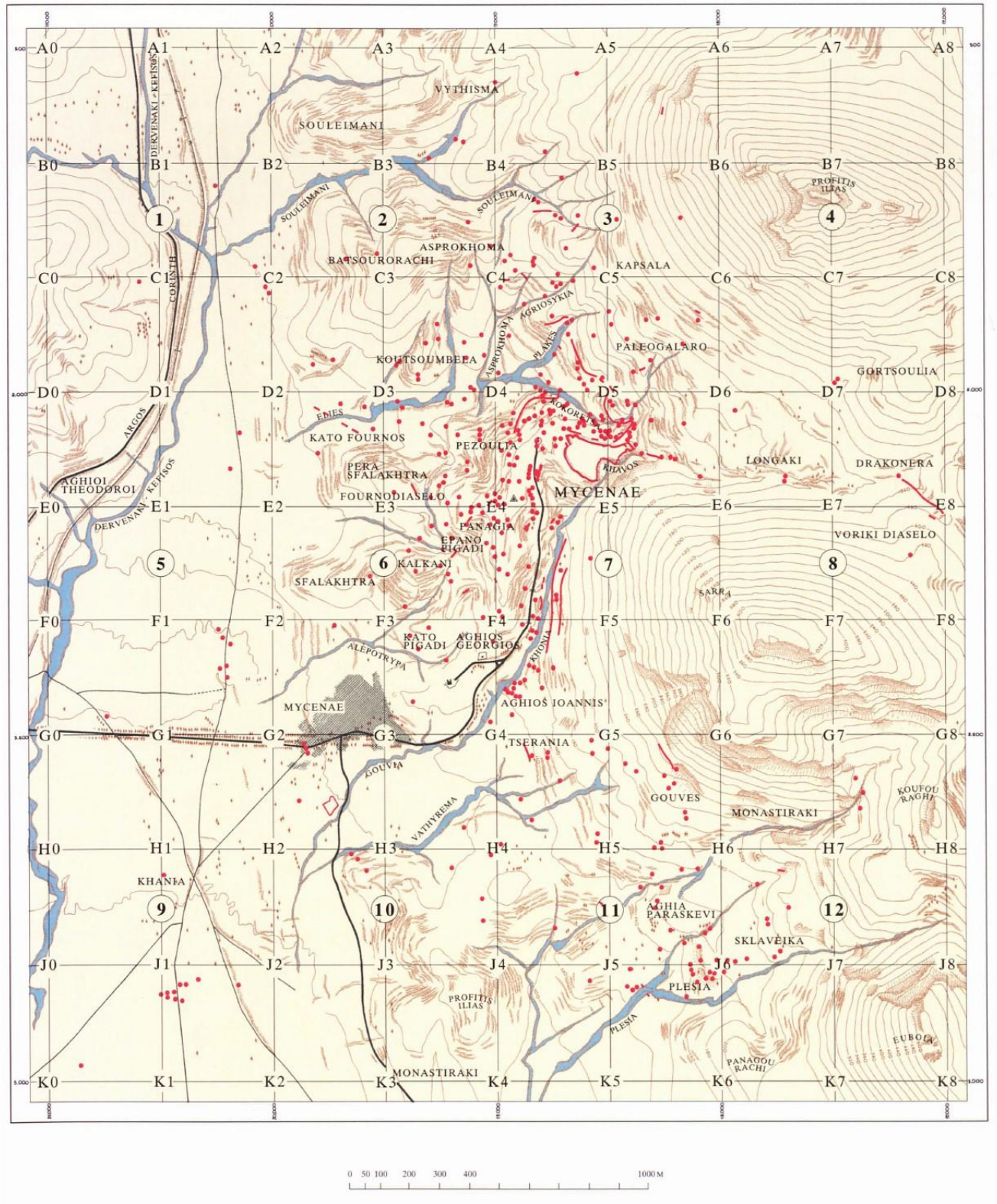


Fig. 3. The area of Mycenae with locations of tombs indicated (French et al. 2003).

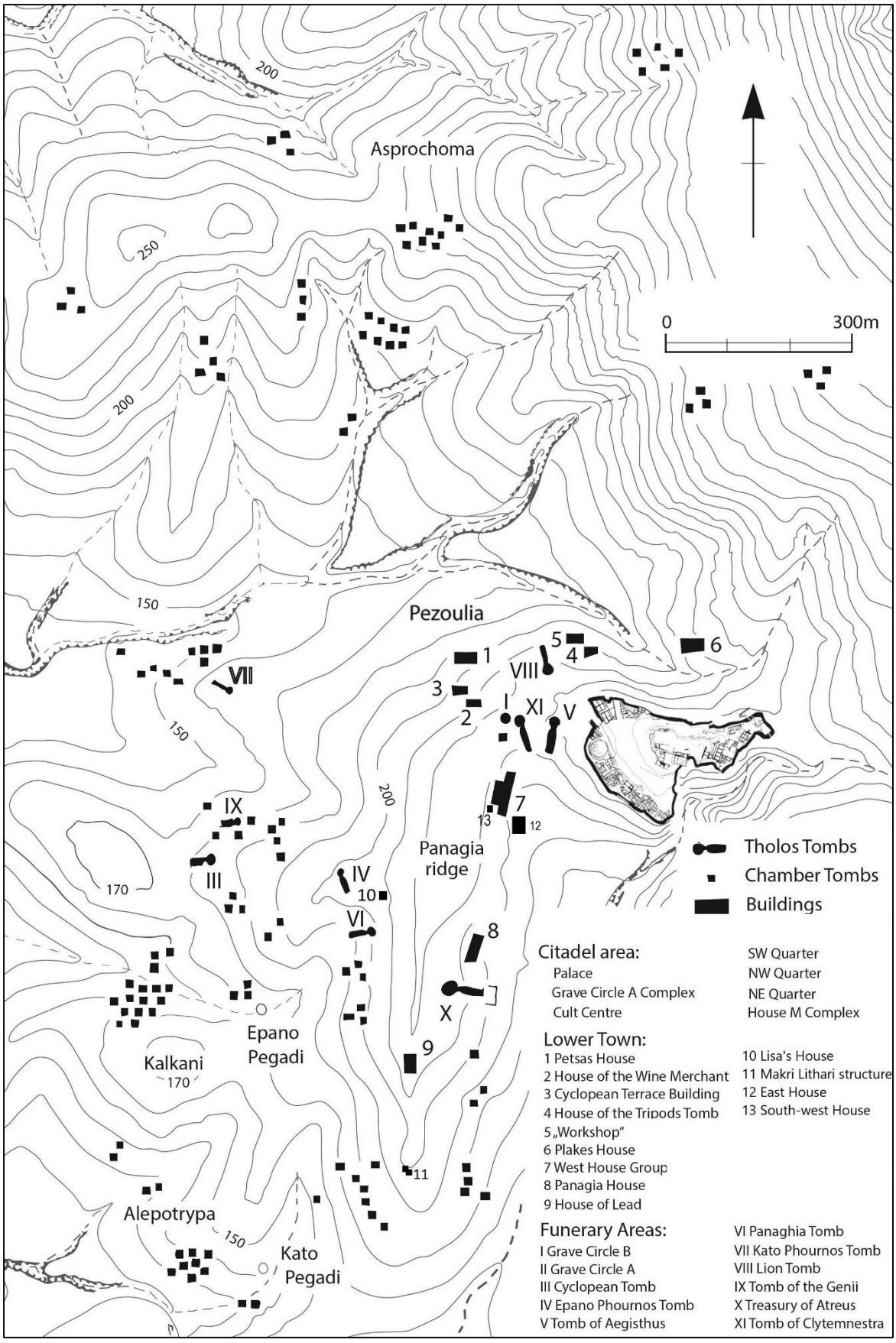


Fig. 4. Map of Mycenae with tholos tombs and the excavated buildings of the Lower Town (after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2, modified by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author).

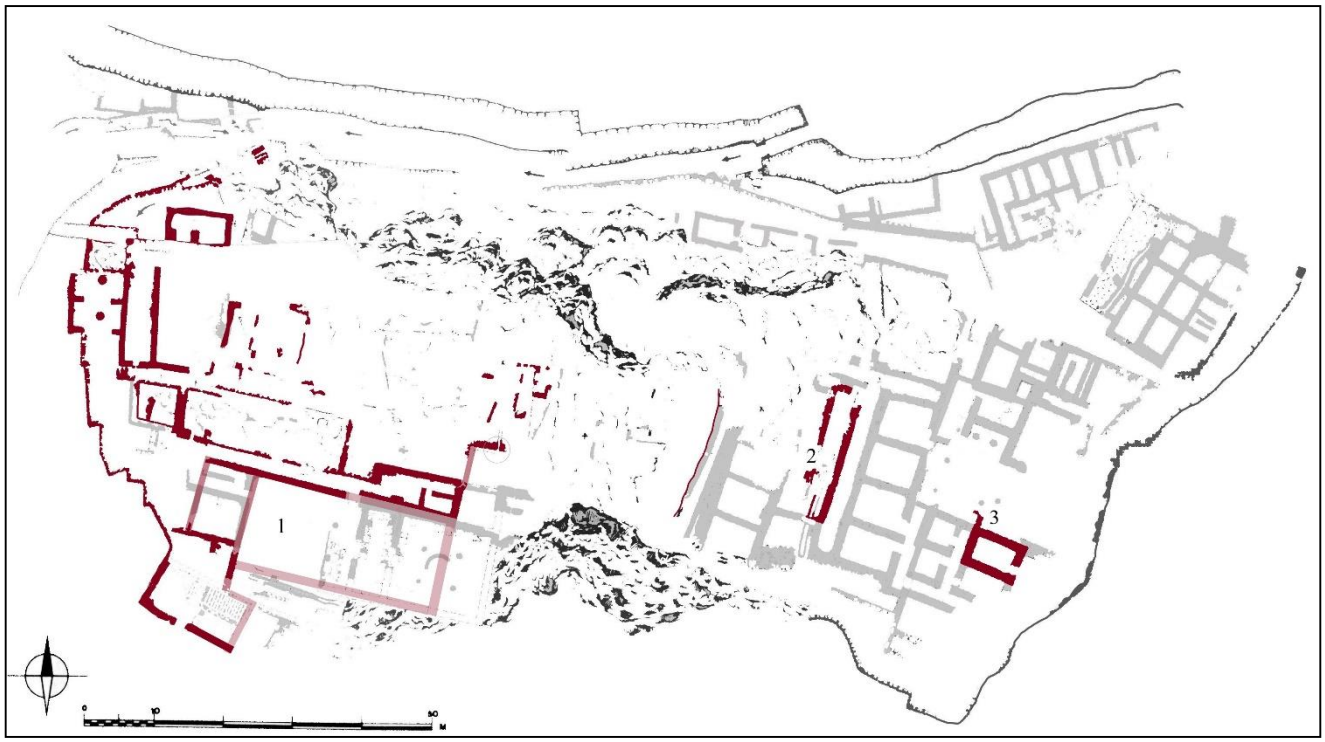


Fig. 5. The palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 2 of the complex (LH IIIA2 Late – LH IIIB2). 1 – The Main Wing (phase 1); 2 – Courtyard 6 of the East Wing, with an earlier floor; 3 – earlier remains below the colonnaded court of the East Wing and below the basement with the *pithoi*.

Fig. 6. The palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 3 of the complex (LH IIIB2). 1 – the Main Wing (phase 2); 2 – the East Wing (phase 2); 3 – the North Storerooms; 4 – House Gamma (phase 1); 5 – House Delta (phase 1).

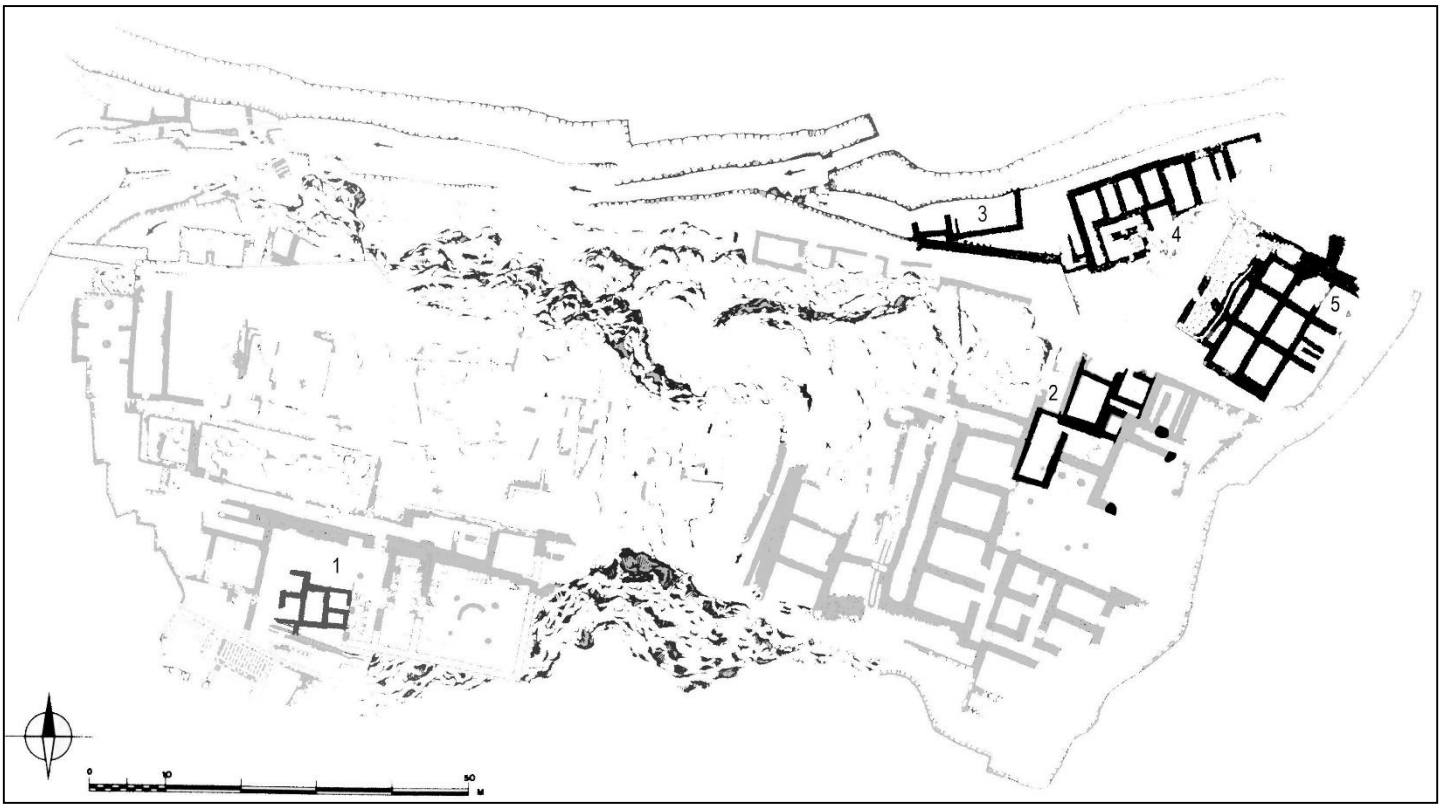


Fig. 7. The post-palatial reoccupation at the palace at Mycenae **[MYC1-10]** (after Iakovidis 1983, plan 11, modified by the author). Phase 4 of the complex (LH IIIC Early-Middle). 1 – Buildings above the Great Court; 2 – Buildings Psi and Omega; 3 – Building Eta; 4 – House Gamma (phase 2); 5 – House Delta (phase 2).

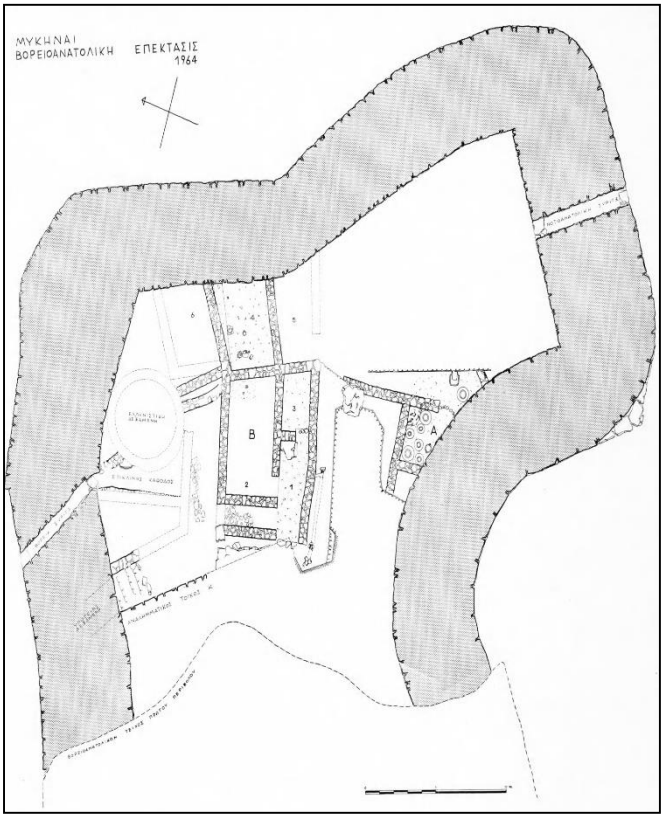


Fig. 8. Northeast Extension Complex **[MYC11-12]** (after Mylonas 1965, pl. B).

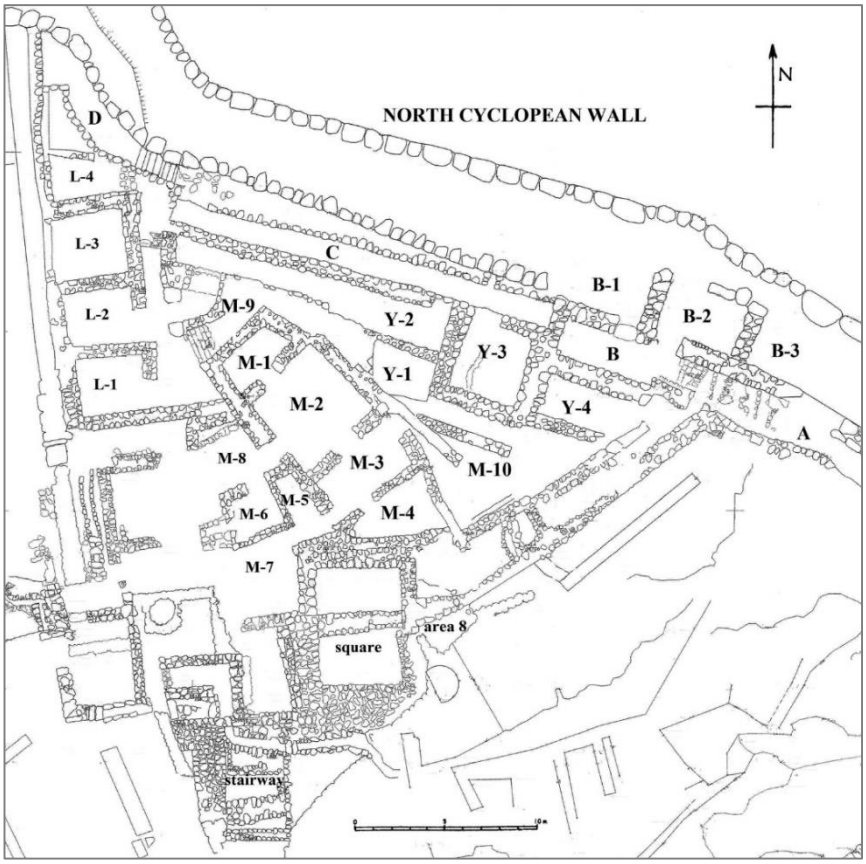


Fig. 9. House M Complex **[MYC13-15]** (Pliatsika 2015, fig. 1).

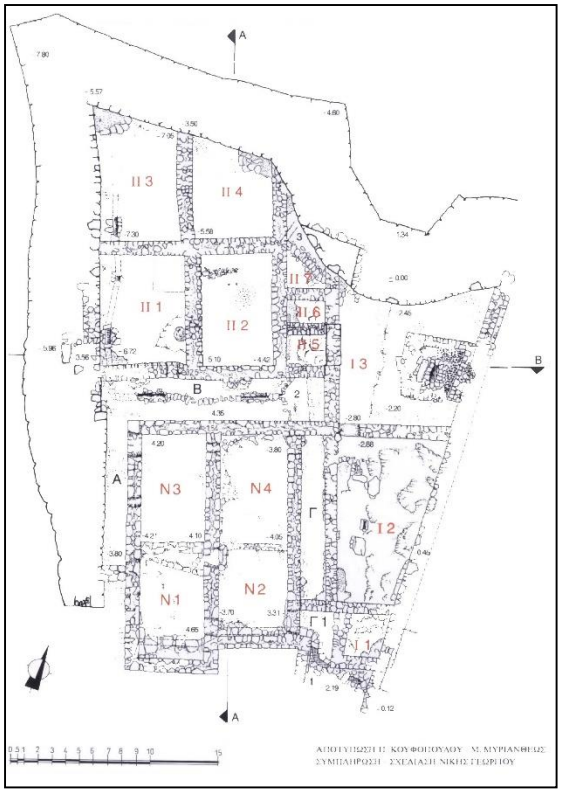


Fig. 10. Northwest Quarter **[MYC17-19]** (Iakovidis 2006, plan 1).

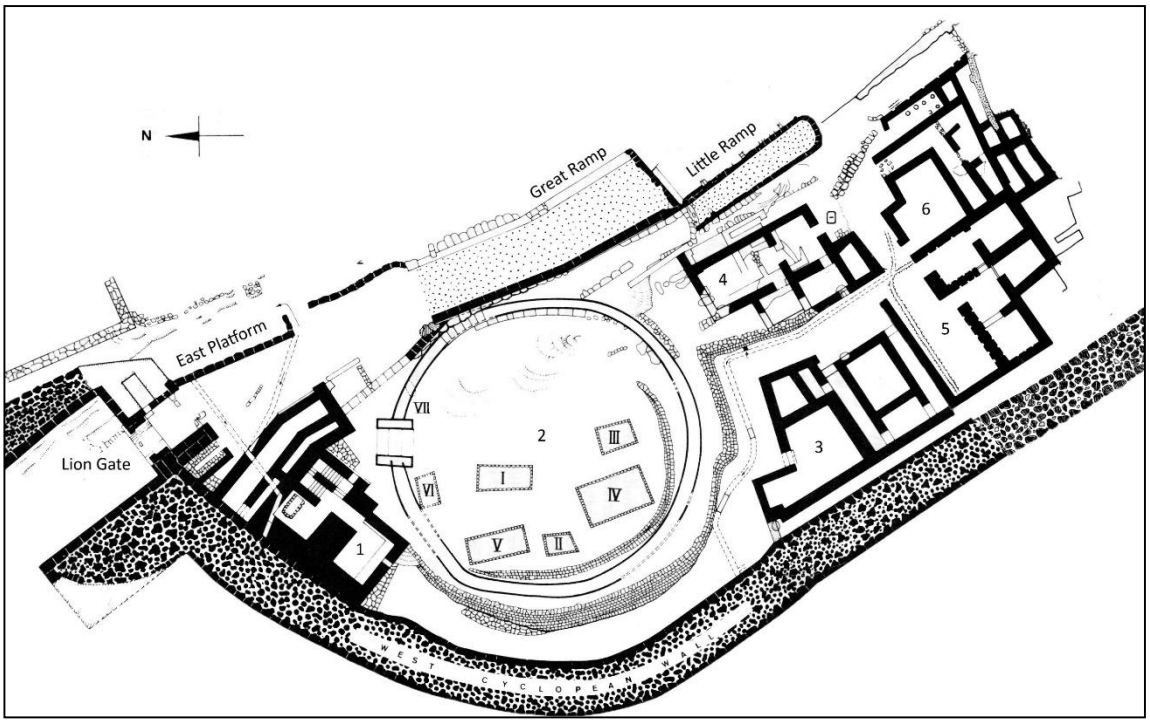


Fig. 11. Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** (Iakovidis 1983, plan 6-7, modified by the author)**.** Legend: 1 – Granary, 2 – Grave Circle A, 3 – House of the Warrior Vase, 4 – Ramp House. 5 – South House, 6 – Souh House Annex.

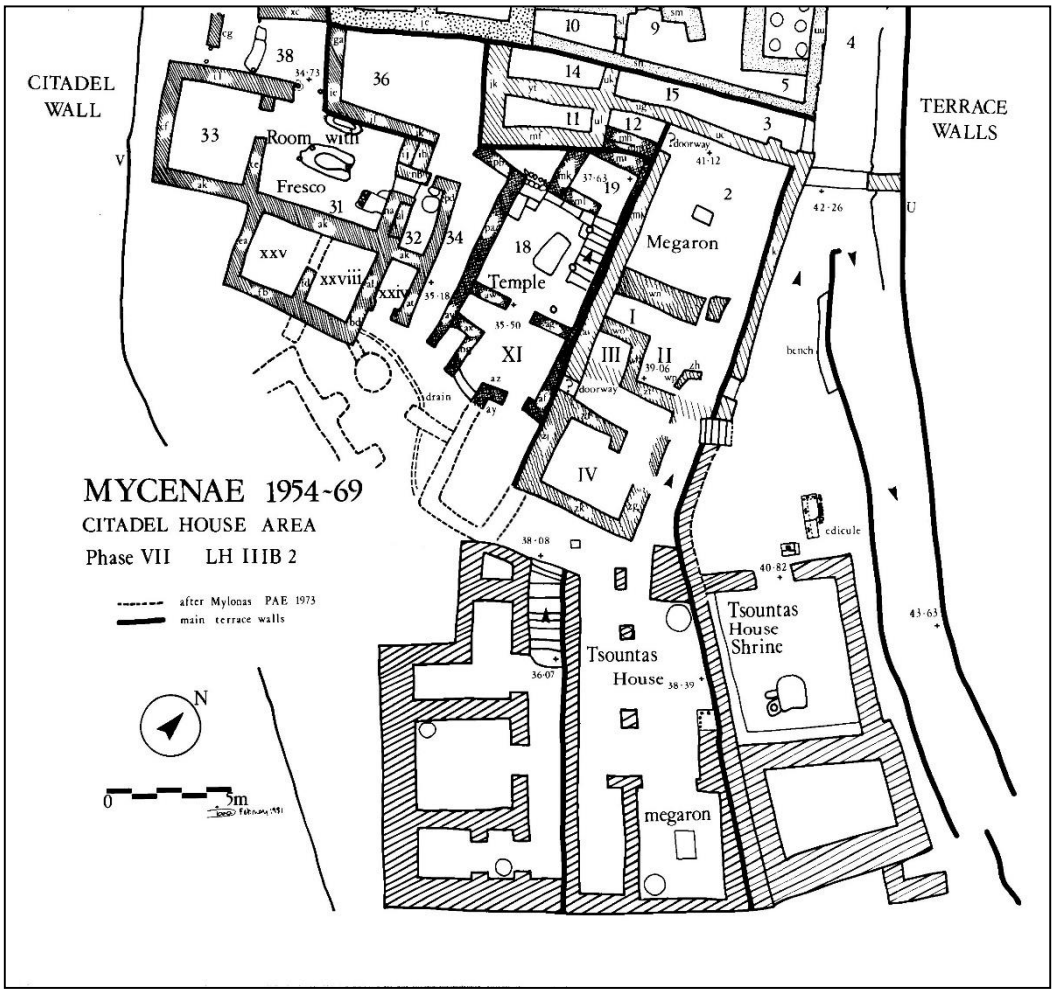


Fig. 12. Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]** (Taylour 1981, plan 6, modified by the author)**.**

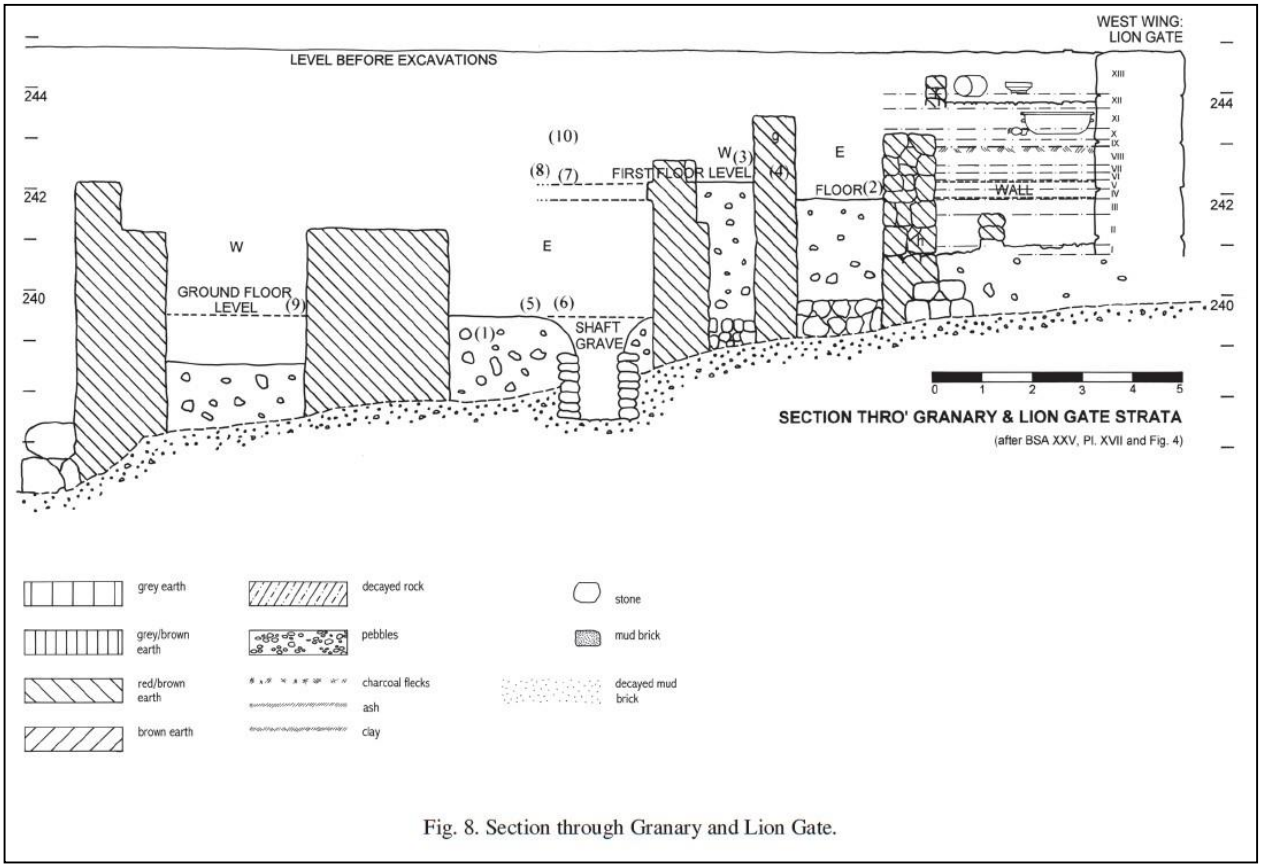


Fig. 8. Section through Granary and Lion Gate.

Fig. 13. Section through Granary and Lion Gate (French 2011, fig. 8).

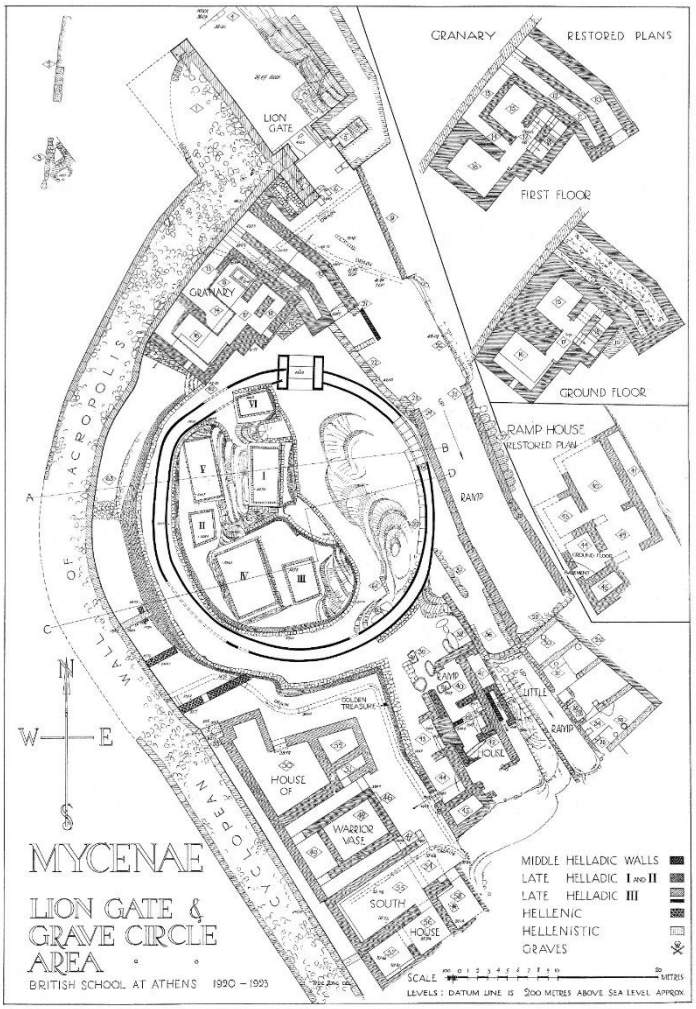
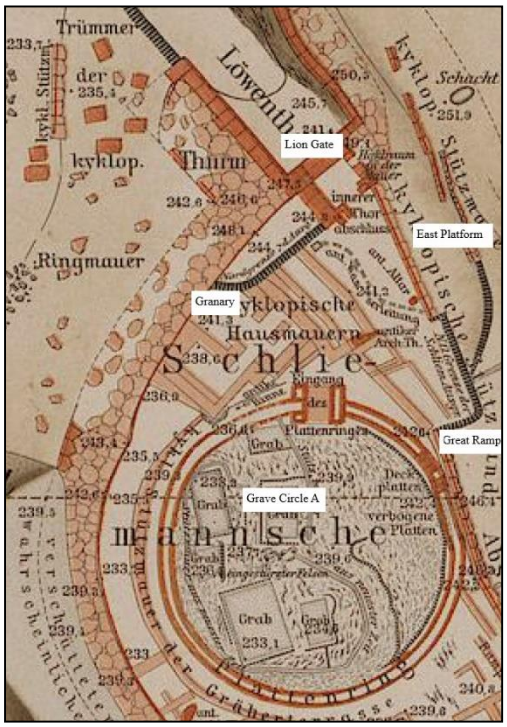


Fig. 14. Detailed plan of the area around Granary (Wace et al. 1923, pl. I).



Fig, 15. Fragment of Steffen's map of Mycenae with the area around Granary (after Steffen 1884).

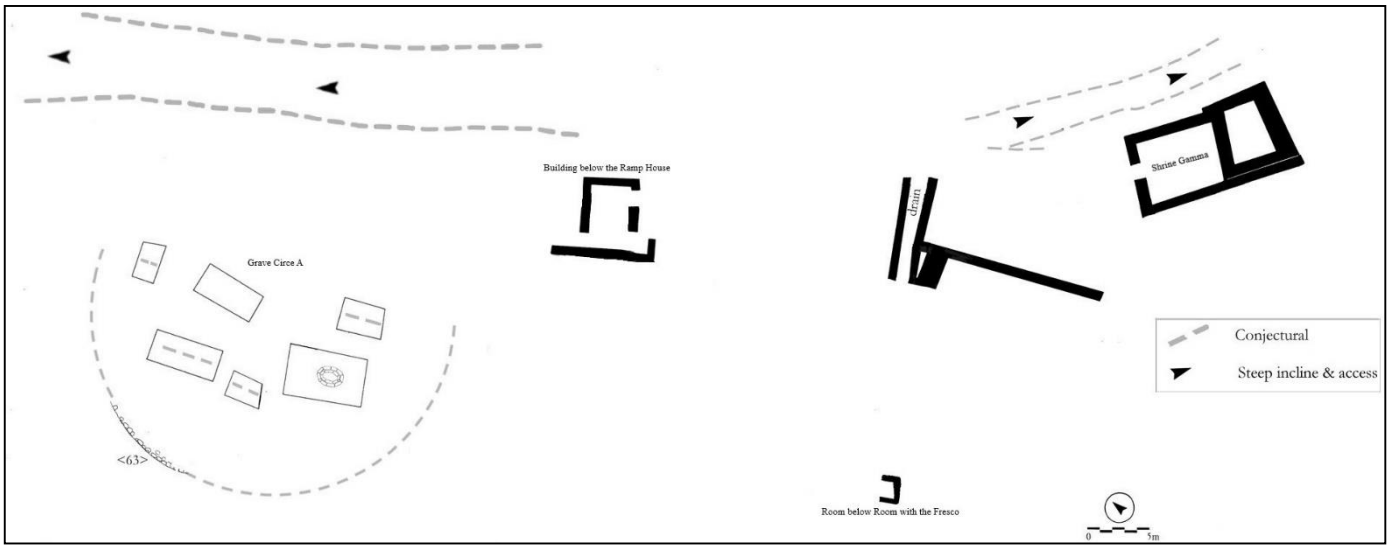


Fig. 16. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIA – *WBM* phase V (after Wardle 2015, fig. 3 with modifications by the author).

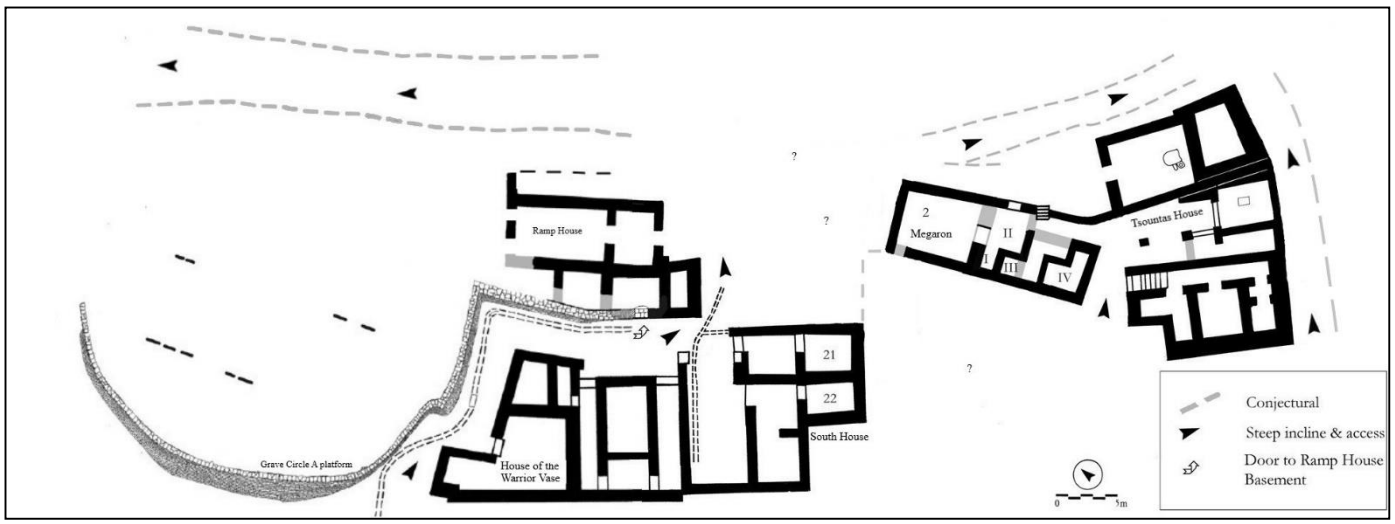


Fig. 17 West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB1 Early – *WBM* phase VIA (after Wardle 2015, fig. 4 with modifications by the author).

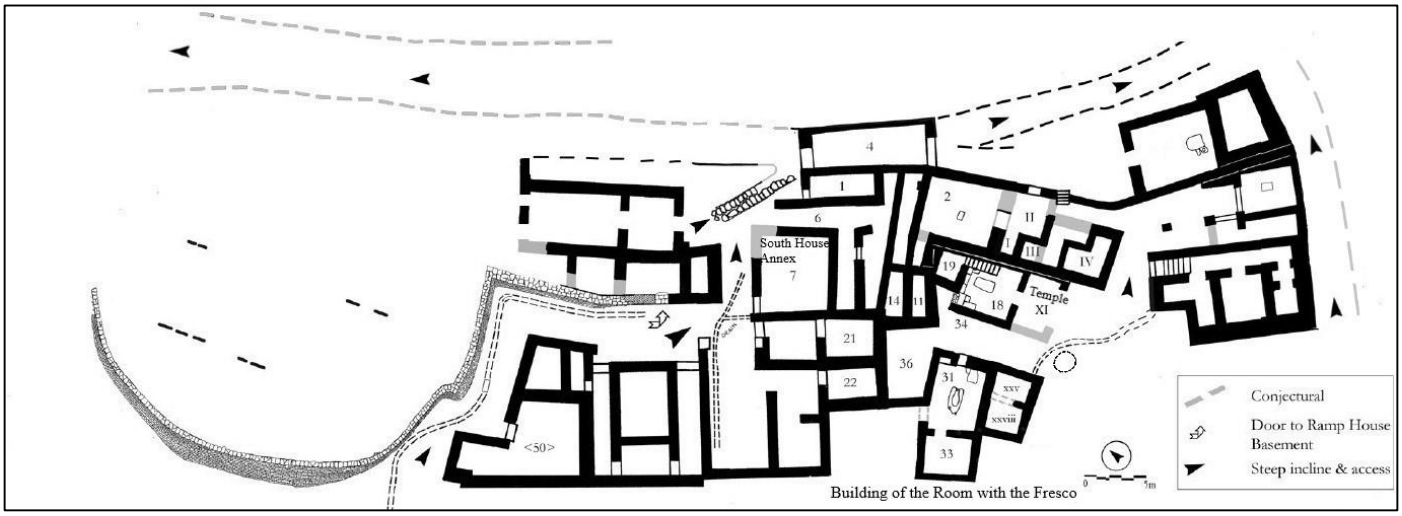


Fig. 18. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB1 Late – *WBM* phase VIB (after Wardle 2015, fig. 6 with modifications by the author).

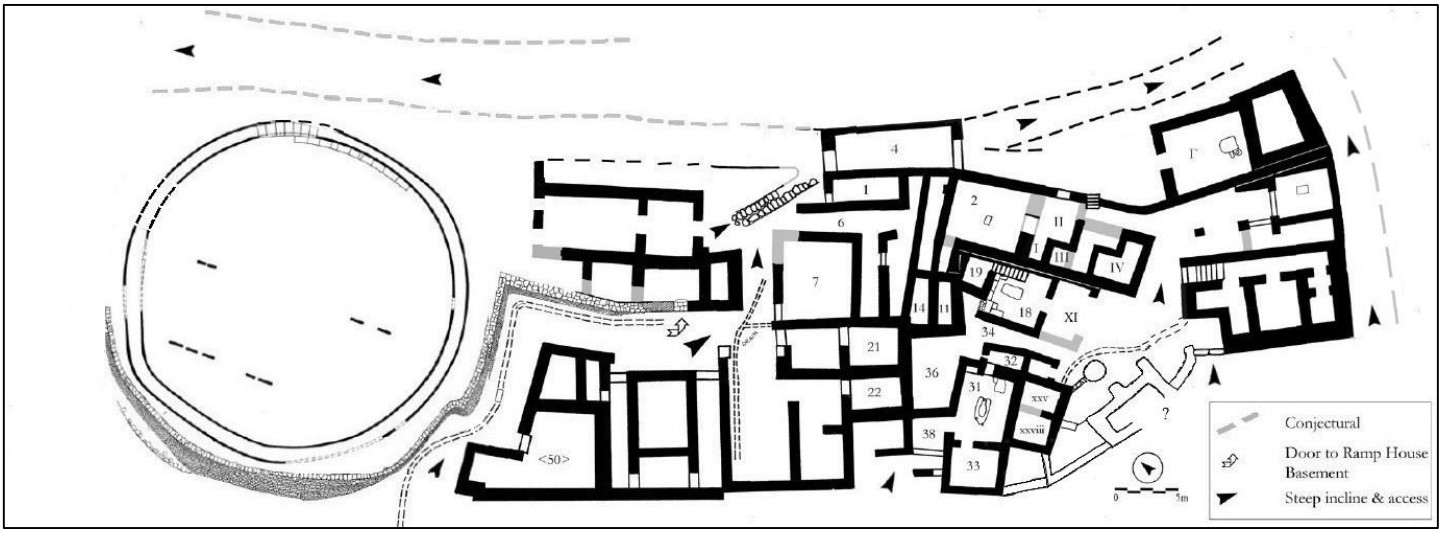


Fig. 19. West Slope of the (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VII (after Wardle 2015, fig. 6, with modifications by the author).

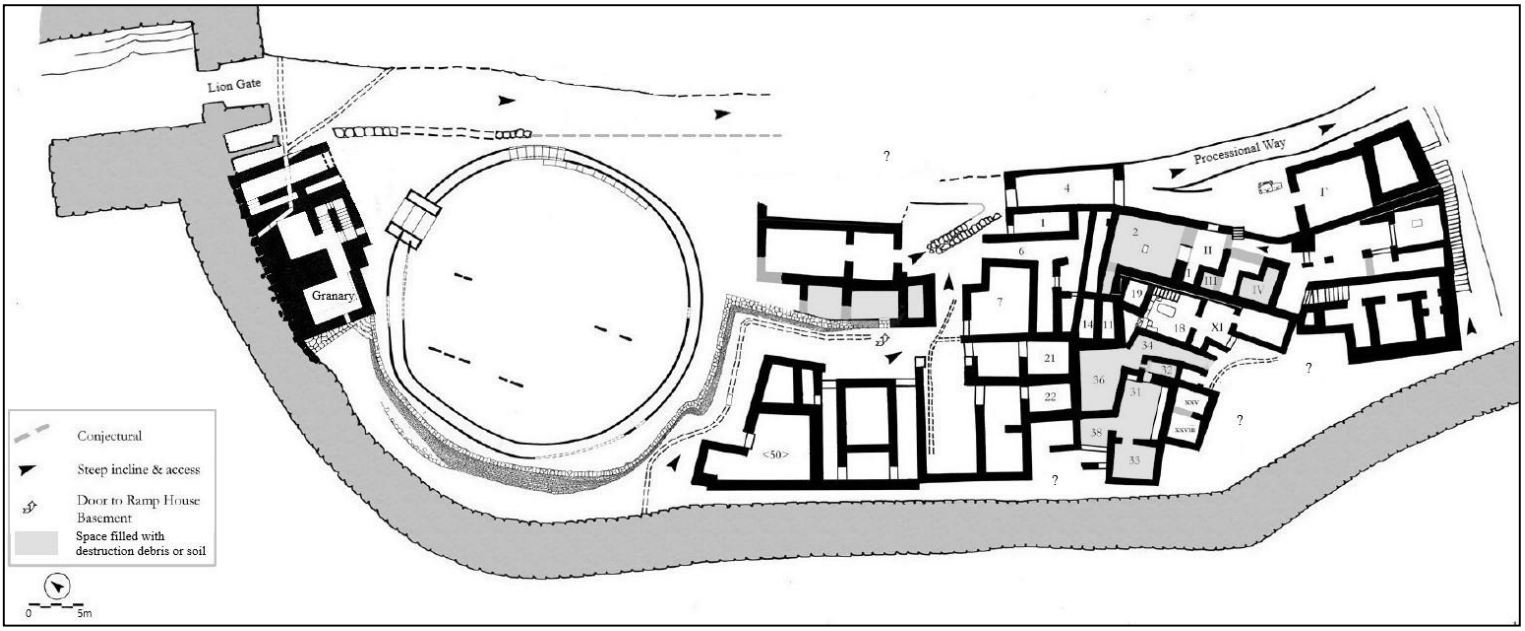


Fig. 20. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) at the end of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VIIIA (after Wardle 2015, fig. 7, with modifications by the author).

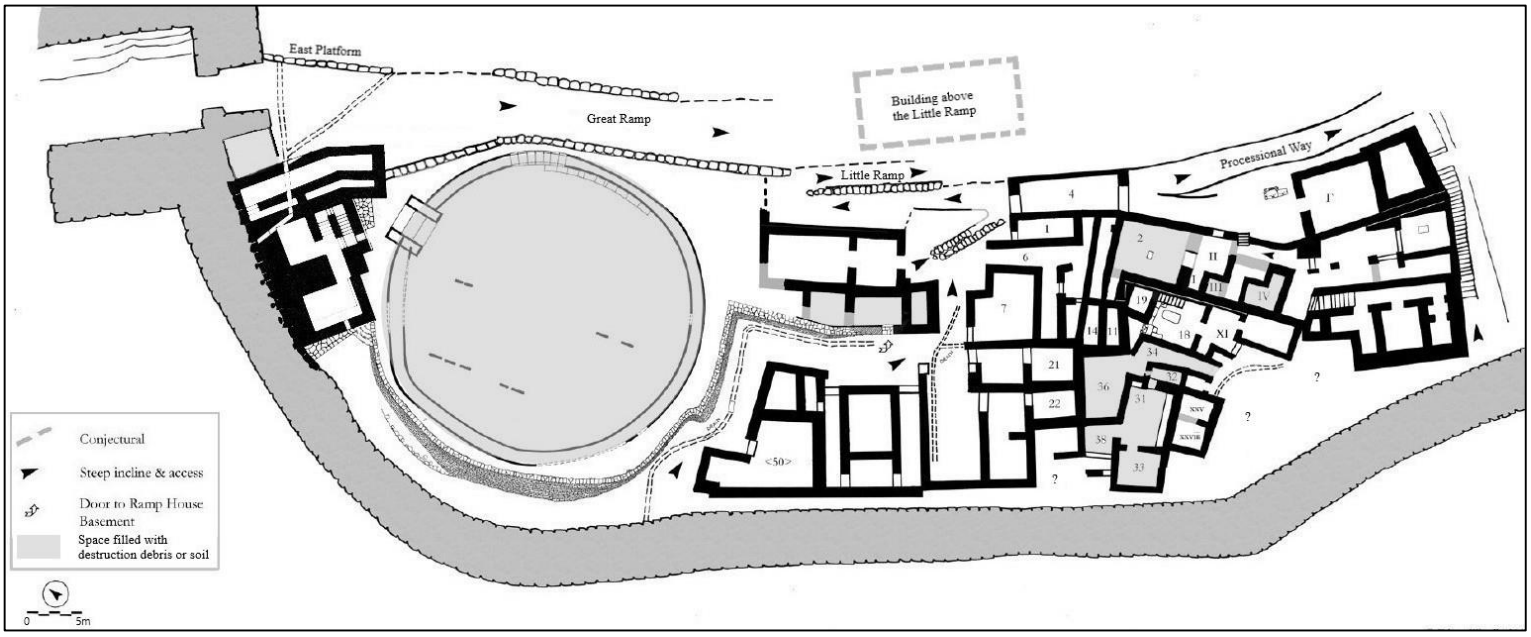


Fig. 21. West Slope of the Acropolis (Grave Circle A Complex **[MYC20-24]** and Cult Centre **[MYC26-30]**) in LH IIIB2 Late – *WBM* phase VIIIB (after Wardle 2015, fig. 7, with modifications by the author).

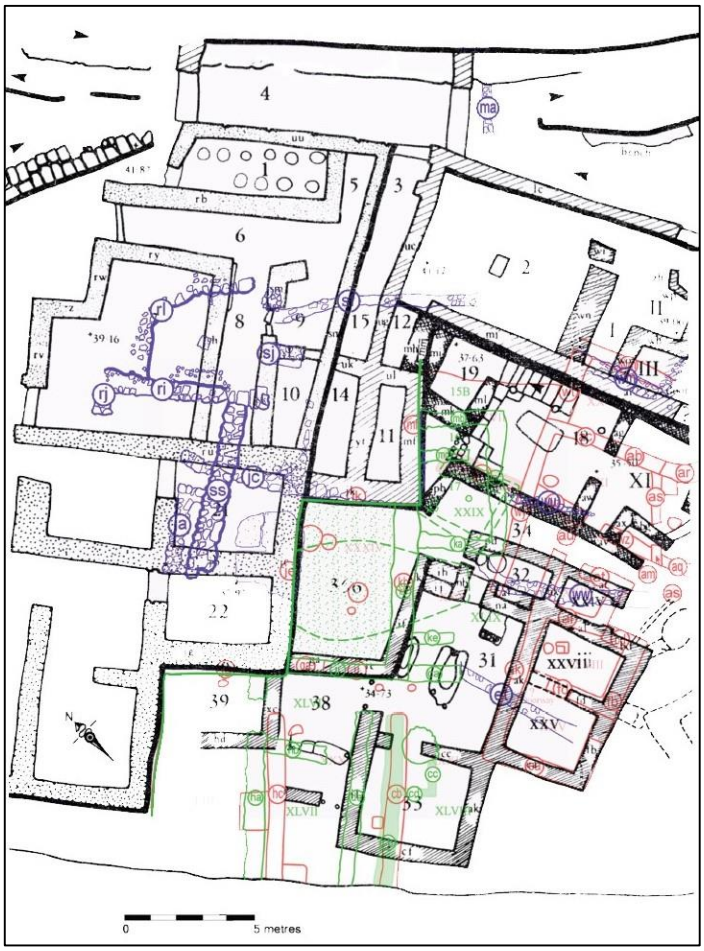


Fig. 22. Architectural sequence of the Citadel House **[MYC31-36]**, drawn over the LH IIIB buildings previously occupying the area (French 2011). Legend: red – phase 1 (LH IIIC Early 1, *WBM* phase IX); green – phase 2 (LH IIIC Early 2, *WBM* phase X); blue – phase 3 (LH IIIC Middle, *WBM* phase XI).

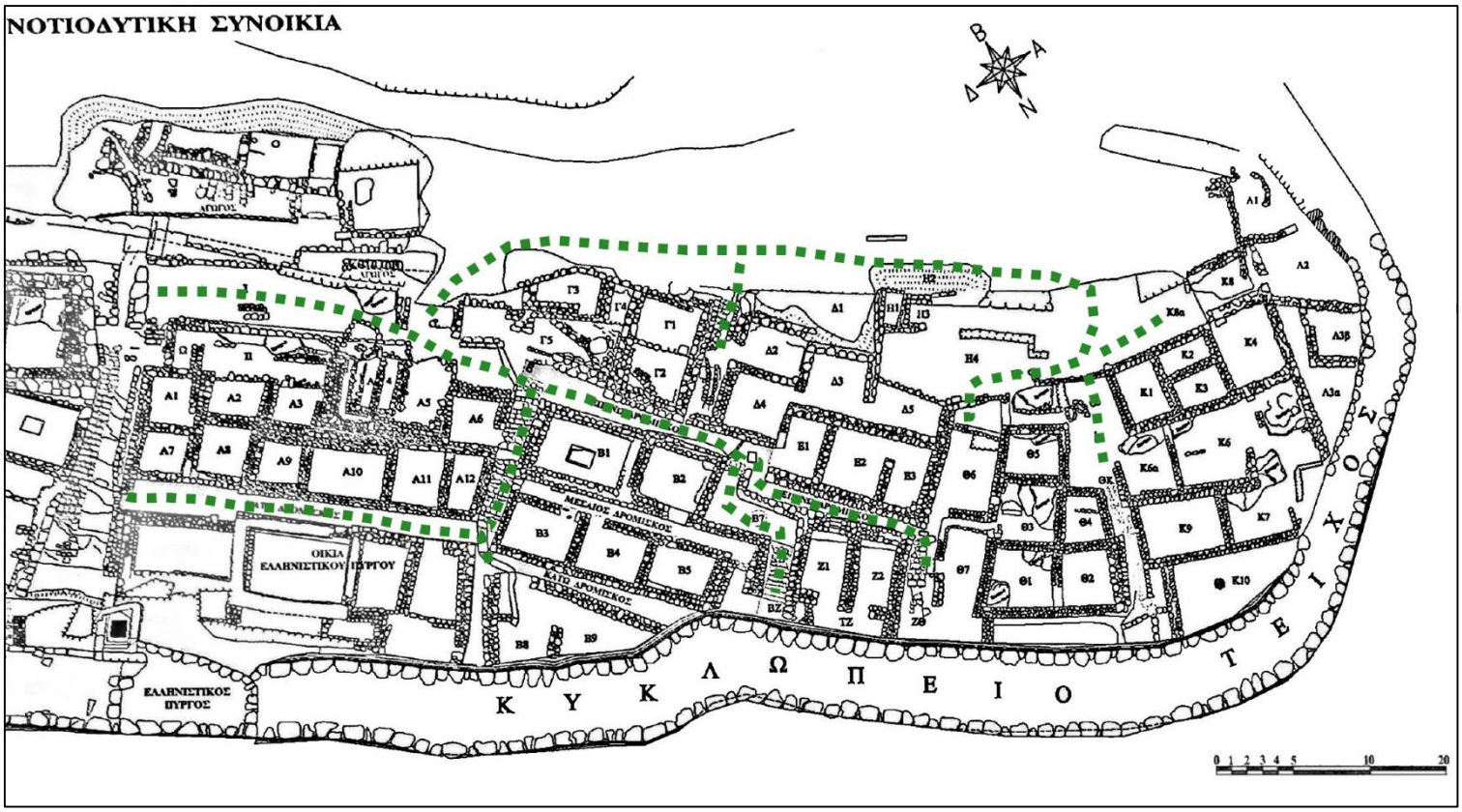


Fig. 23. Southwest Quarter **[MYC37-44]**, with main communication routes of the complex indicated in green (after Iakovidis 2013, plan 1, with modifications by the author).

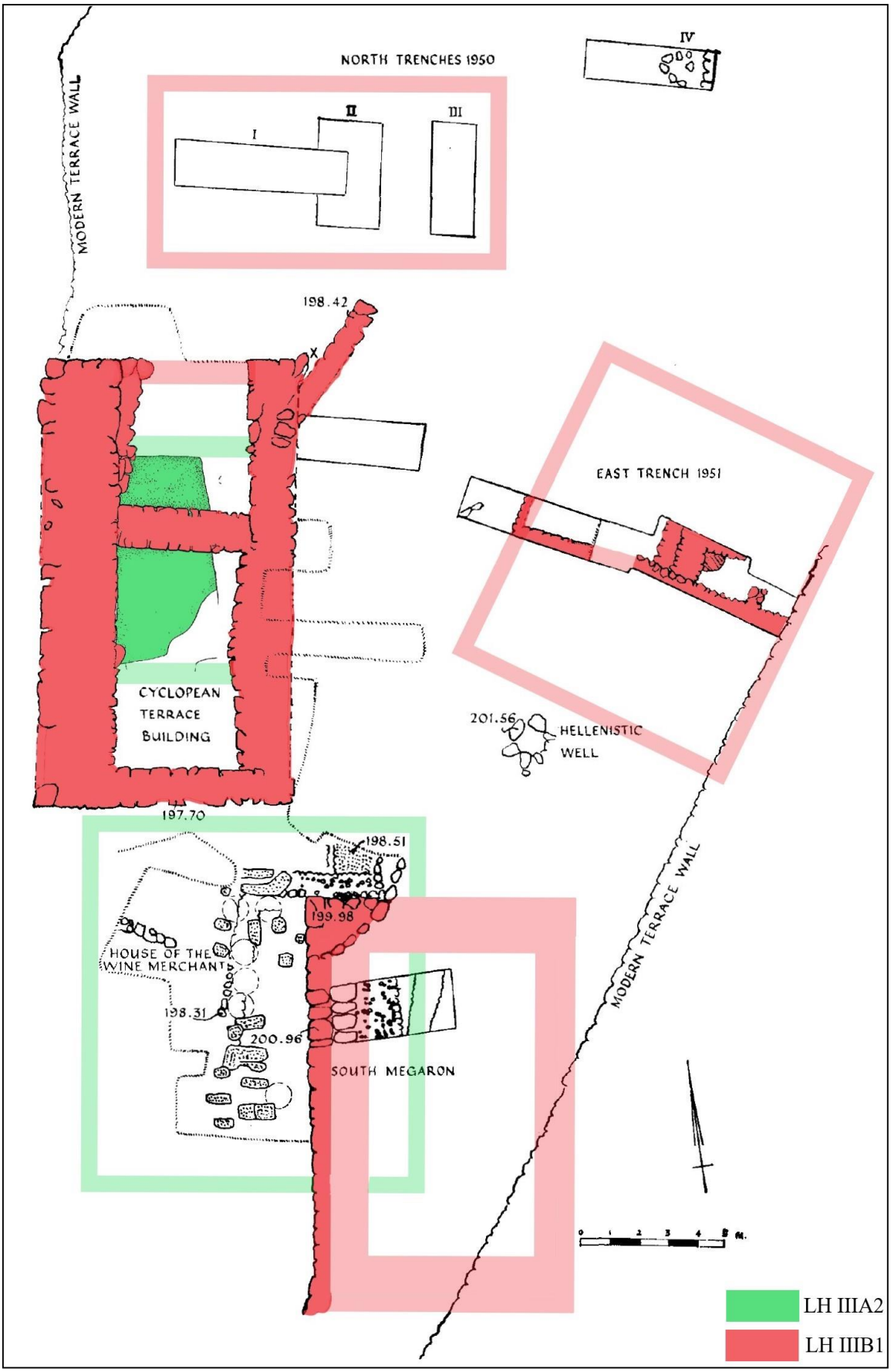


Fig. 24. Cyclopean Terrace Building Complex **[MYC48-53]** (after French 1961, fig. 1, with modifications by the author).

Fig. 25. West House Group **[MYC57-60]** (after Tournavitou 1995, fig. 2, with modifications by the author).

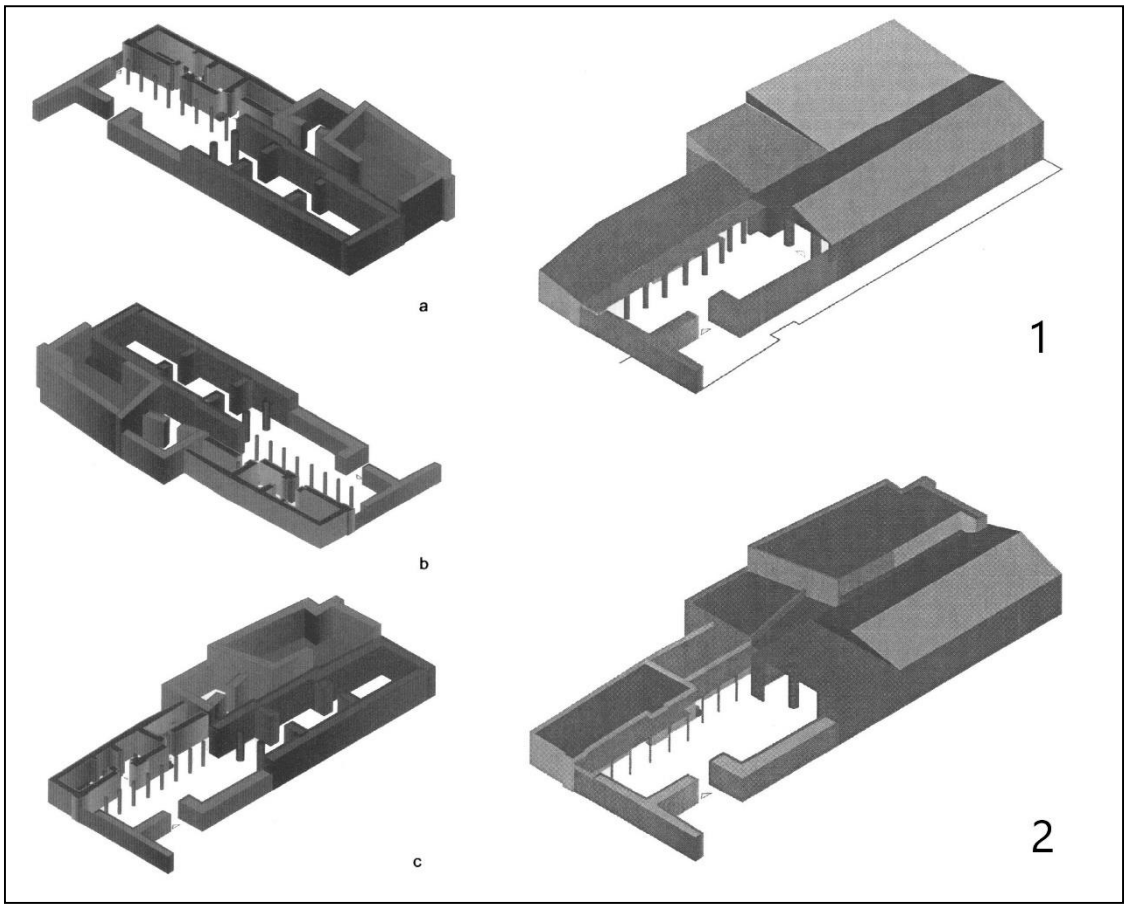


Fig. 26. West House **[MYC57]** reconstruction. Images on the left are the no-roof sections viewed from northeast (a), southwest (b), and southeast (c). On the right there are full reconstructions of the building viewed from the southeast, in a version with pitched (1) or flat (2) roofs (Tournavitou 2006, figs 15–16).

Fig. 27. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the first phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

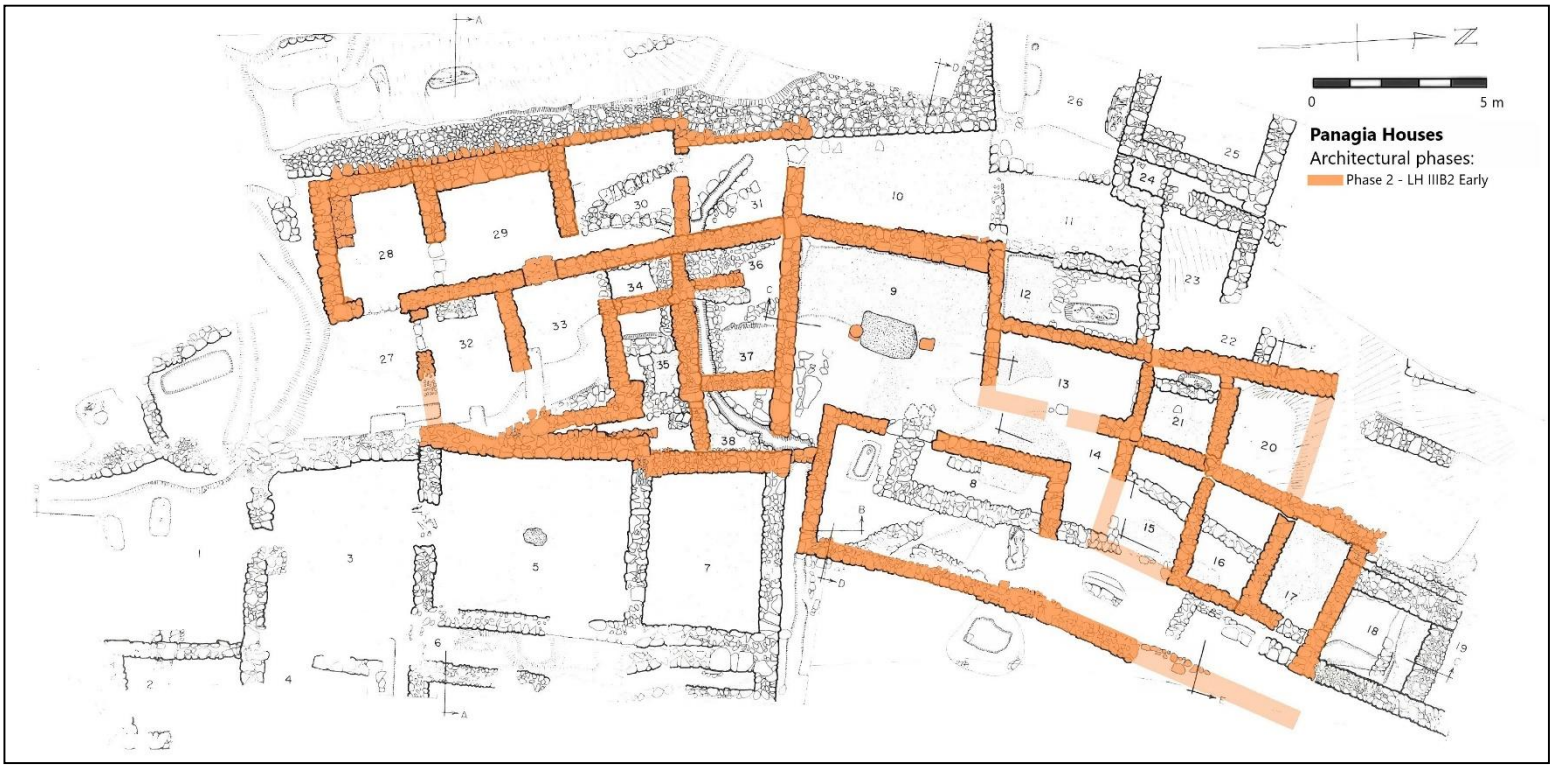


Fig. 28. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the second phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

Fig. 29. Plan of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, with walls of the third phase indicated in colour (after Mylonas-Shear 1987 with modifications by the author).

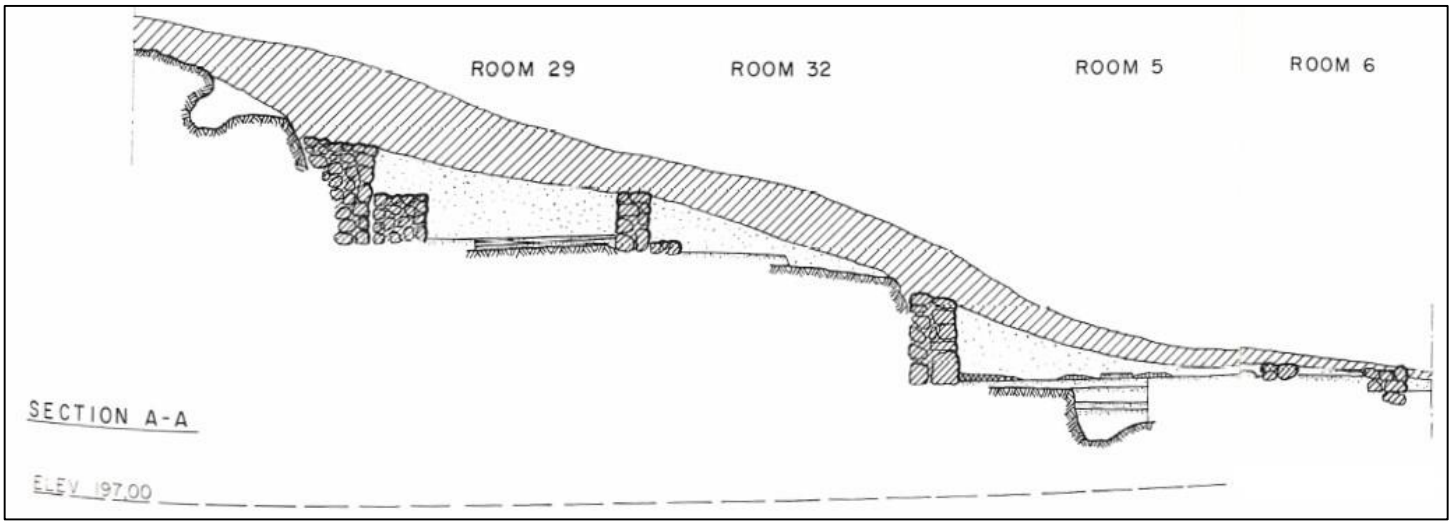


Fig. 30. Section A-A through the south part of the Panagia Houses **[MYC63-65]**, looking north (Mylonas-Shear 1987).

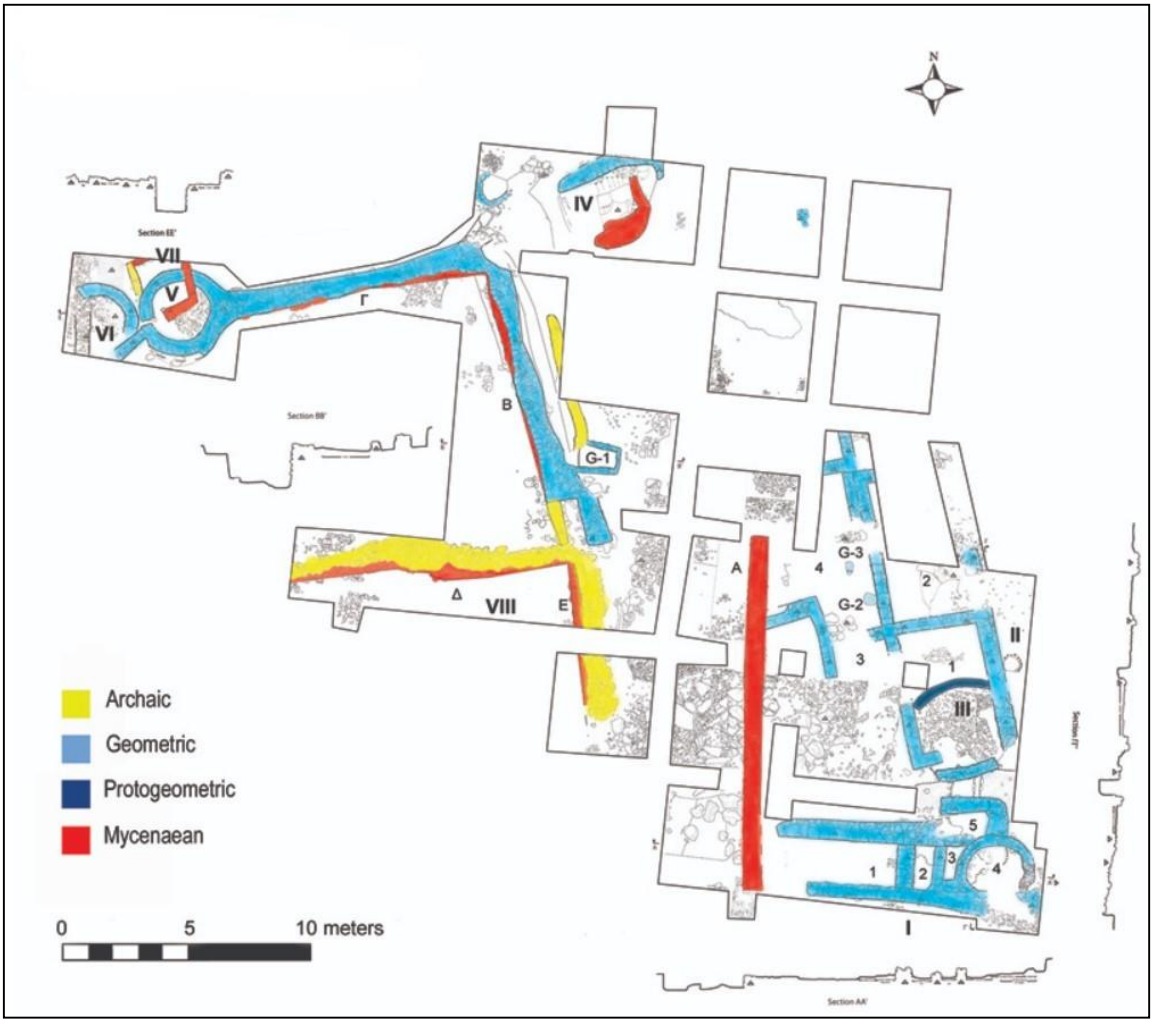


Fig. 31. Plan of the excavations on the southwest bank of Khavos (after http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html, accessed on 13.06.2022).

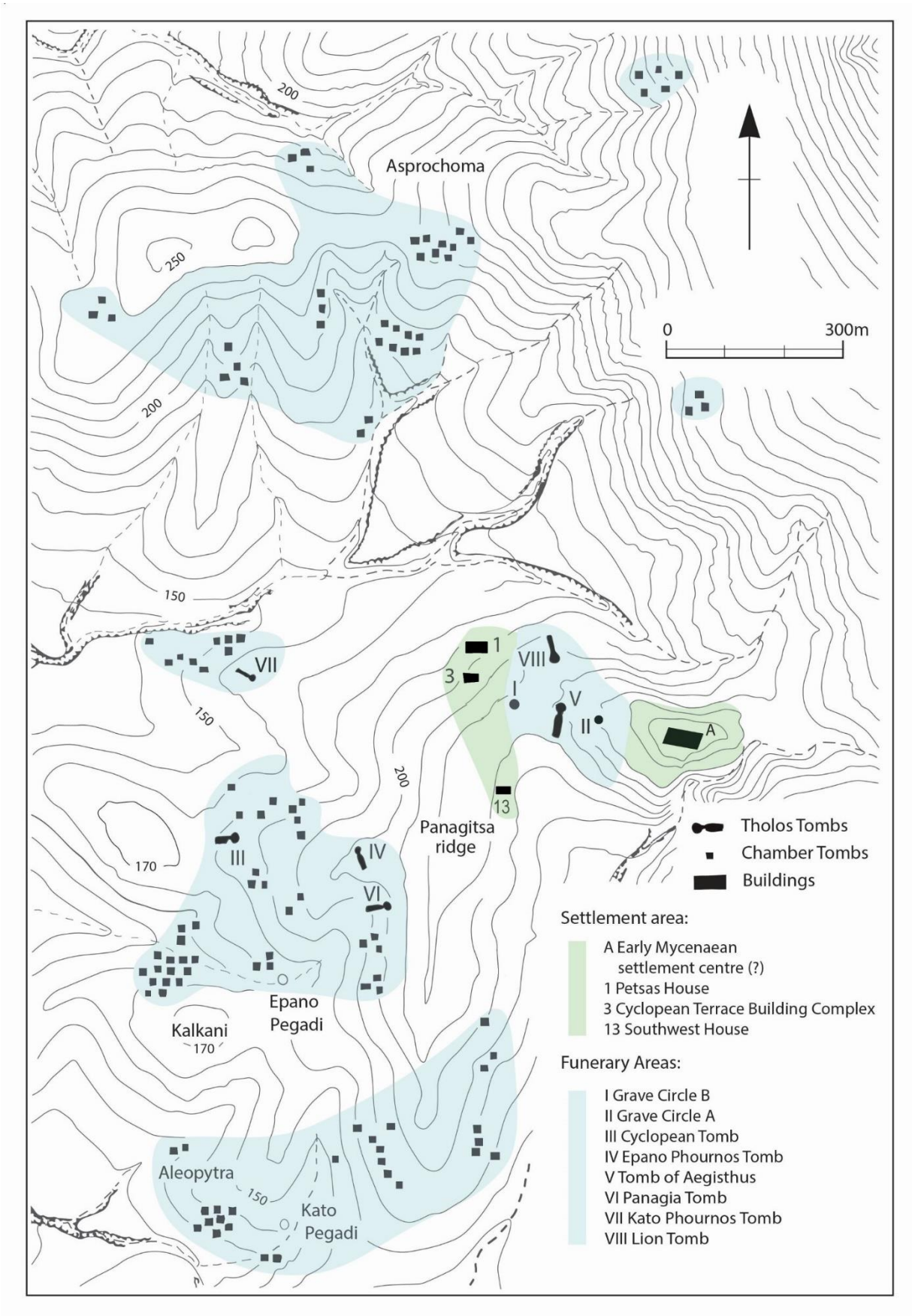


Fig. 32. Plan of the Early Mycenaean (LH I-II) settlement of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

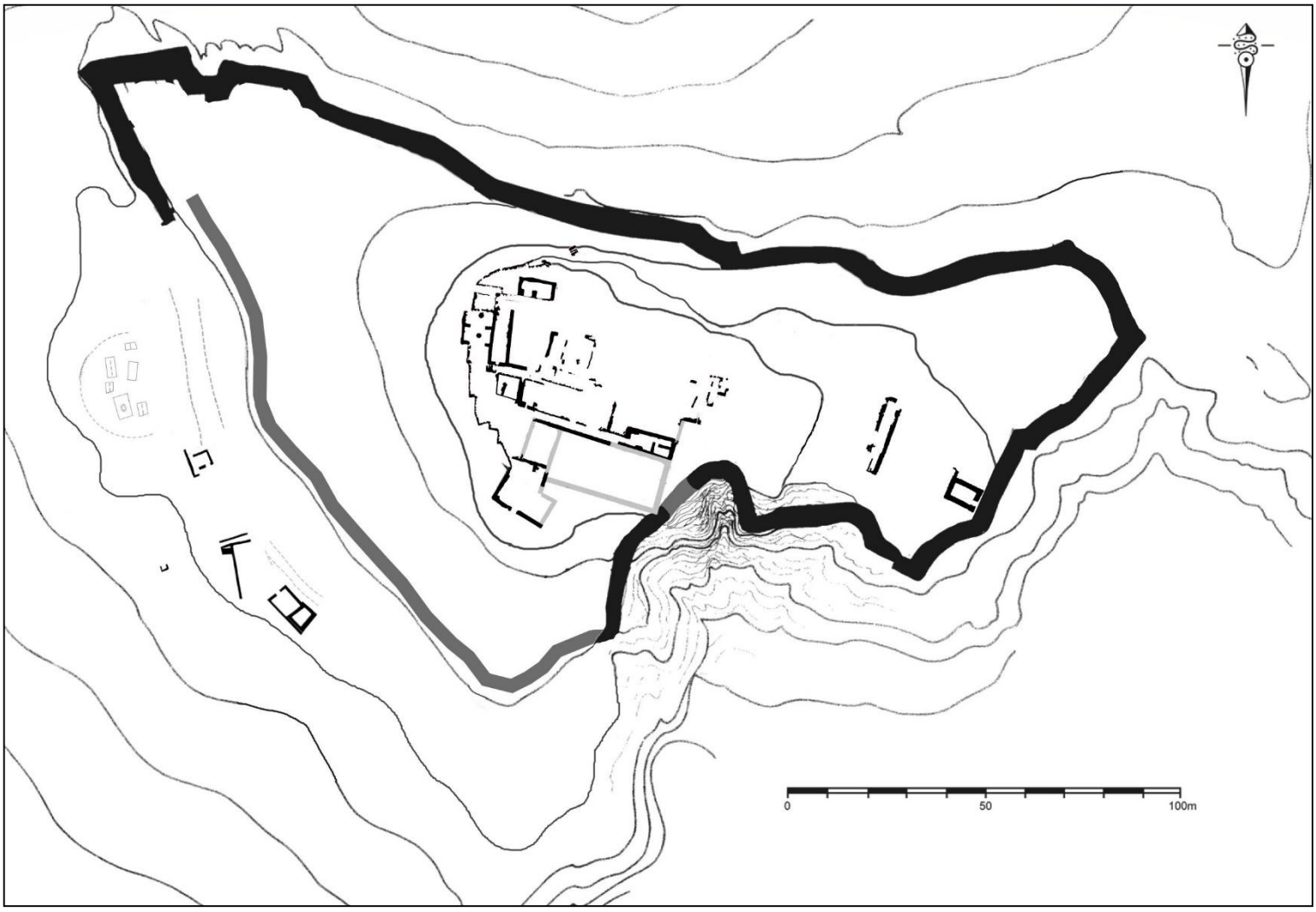


Fig. 33. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the end of LH IIIA2 – *WBM* phase V (after French 2002, fig. 16 with modifications by the author).

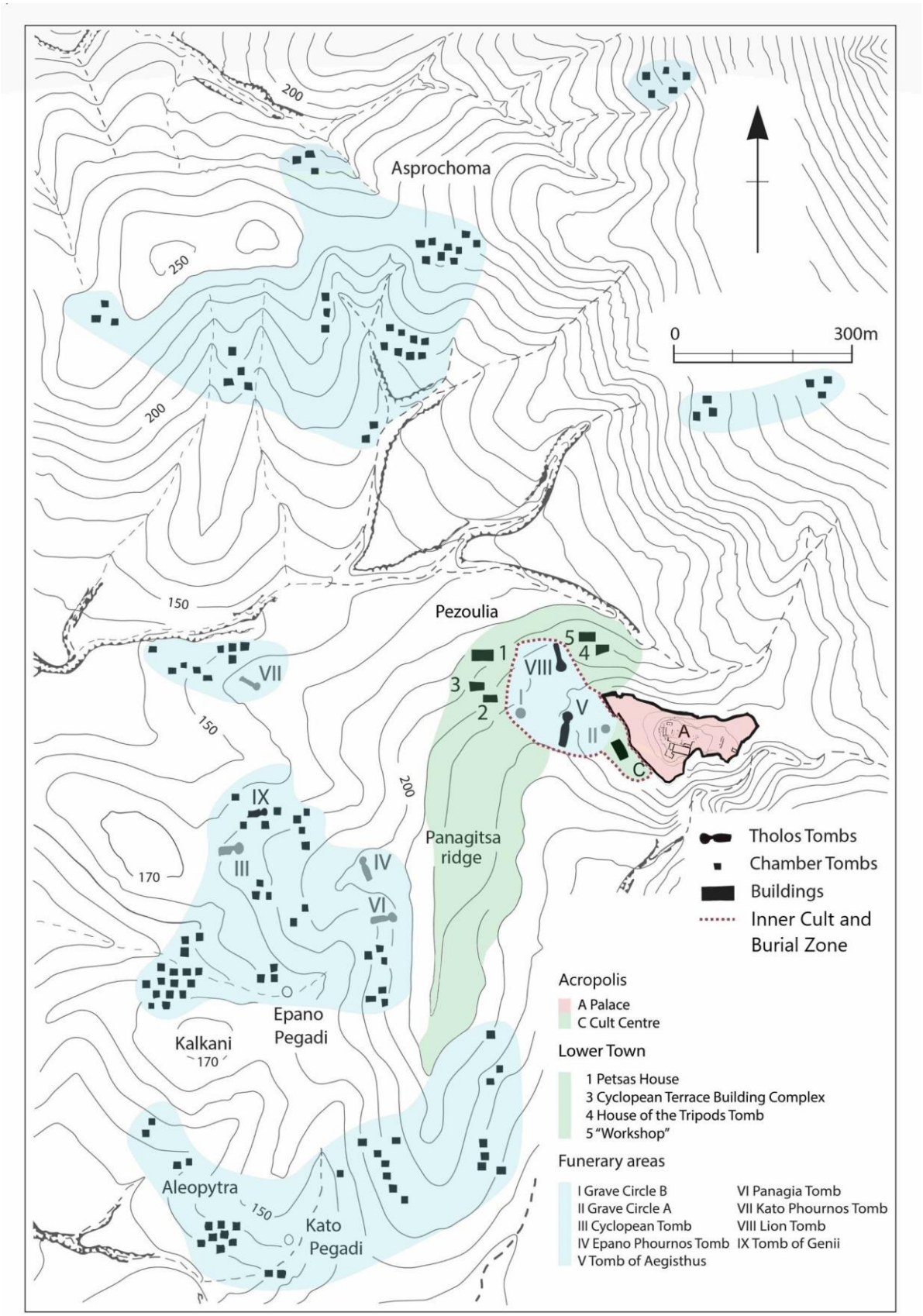


Fig. 34. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA2) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

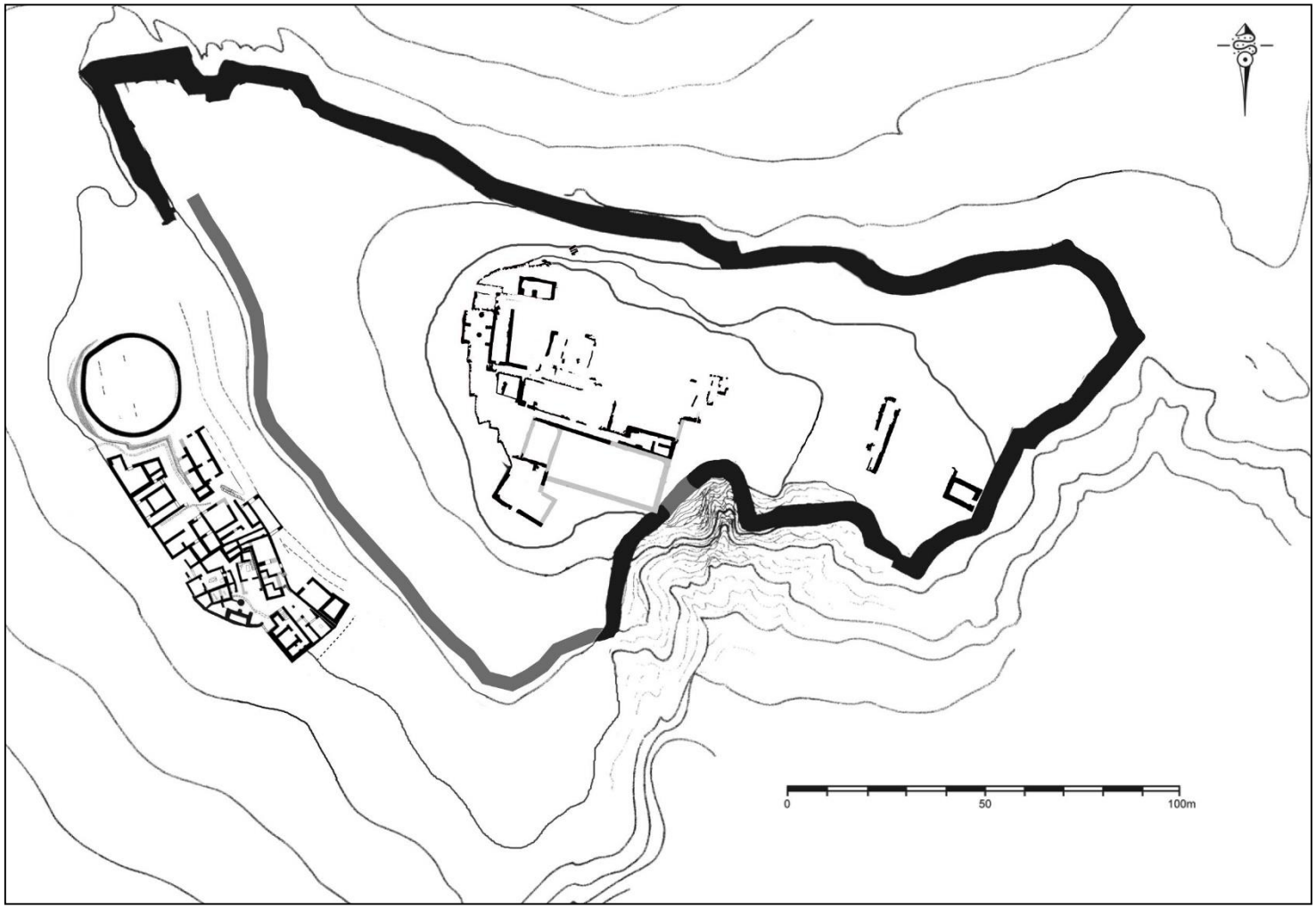


Fig. 35. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Early – *WBM* phase VII (after French 2002, fig. 16 with modifications by the author).

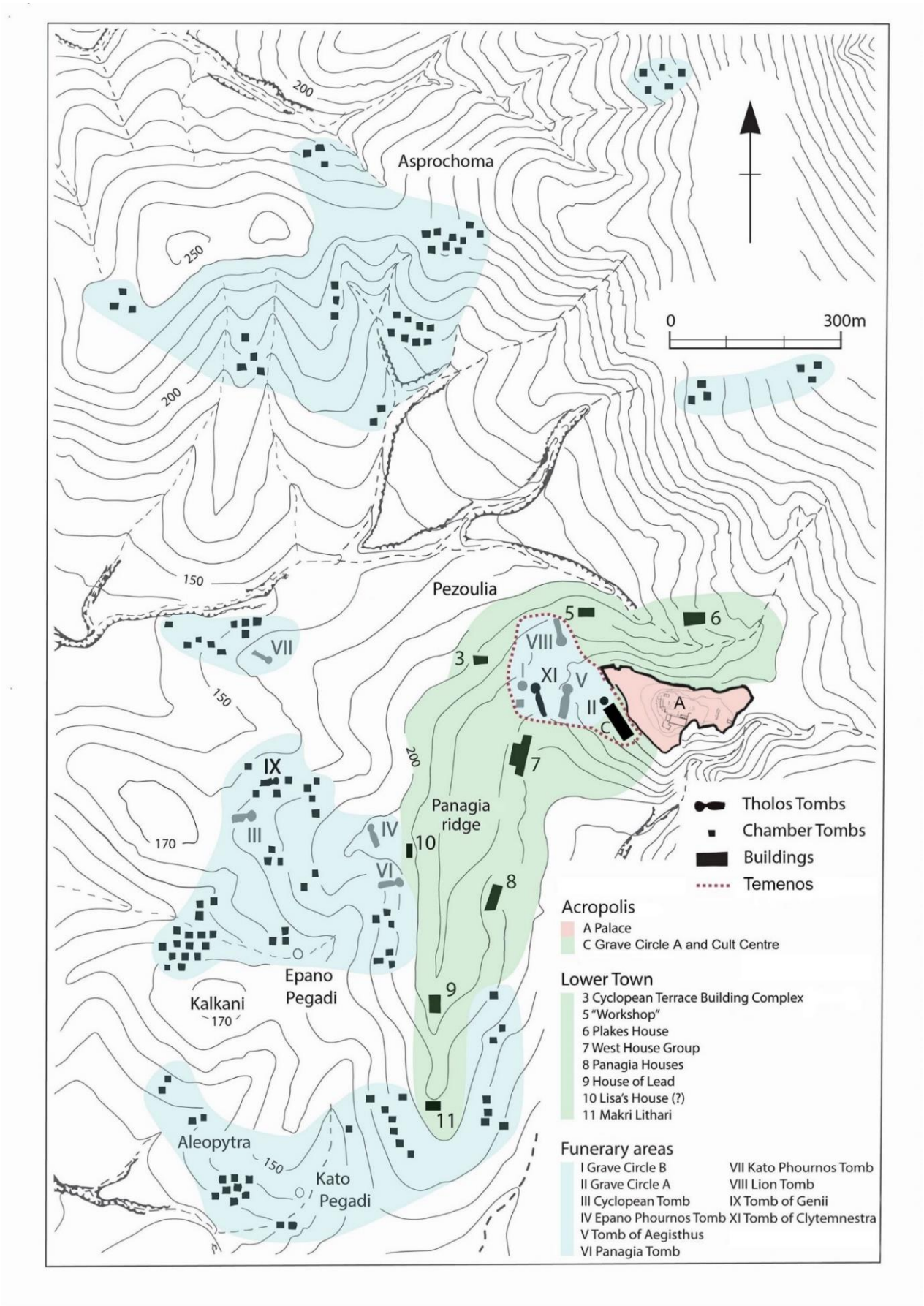


Fig. 36. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB1-B2 Early) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

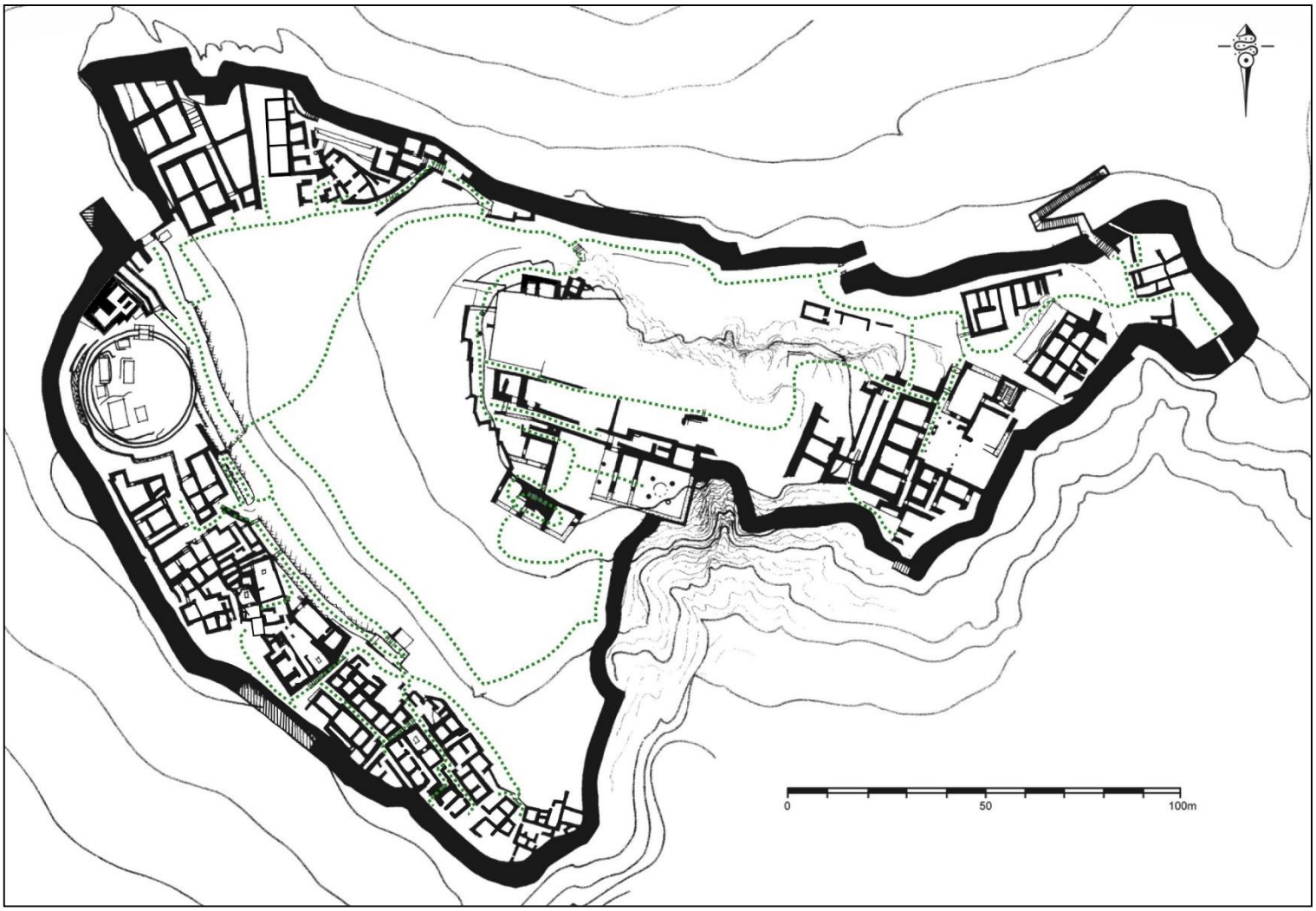


Fig. 37. The Acropolis of Mycenae at the beginning of LH IIIB2 Late – *WBM* phase VIIIB. The main communication routes indicated with green (after French 2010, fig. 50.2, with modifications by the author)

=

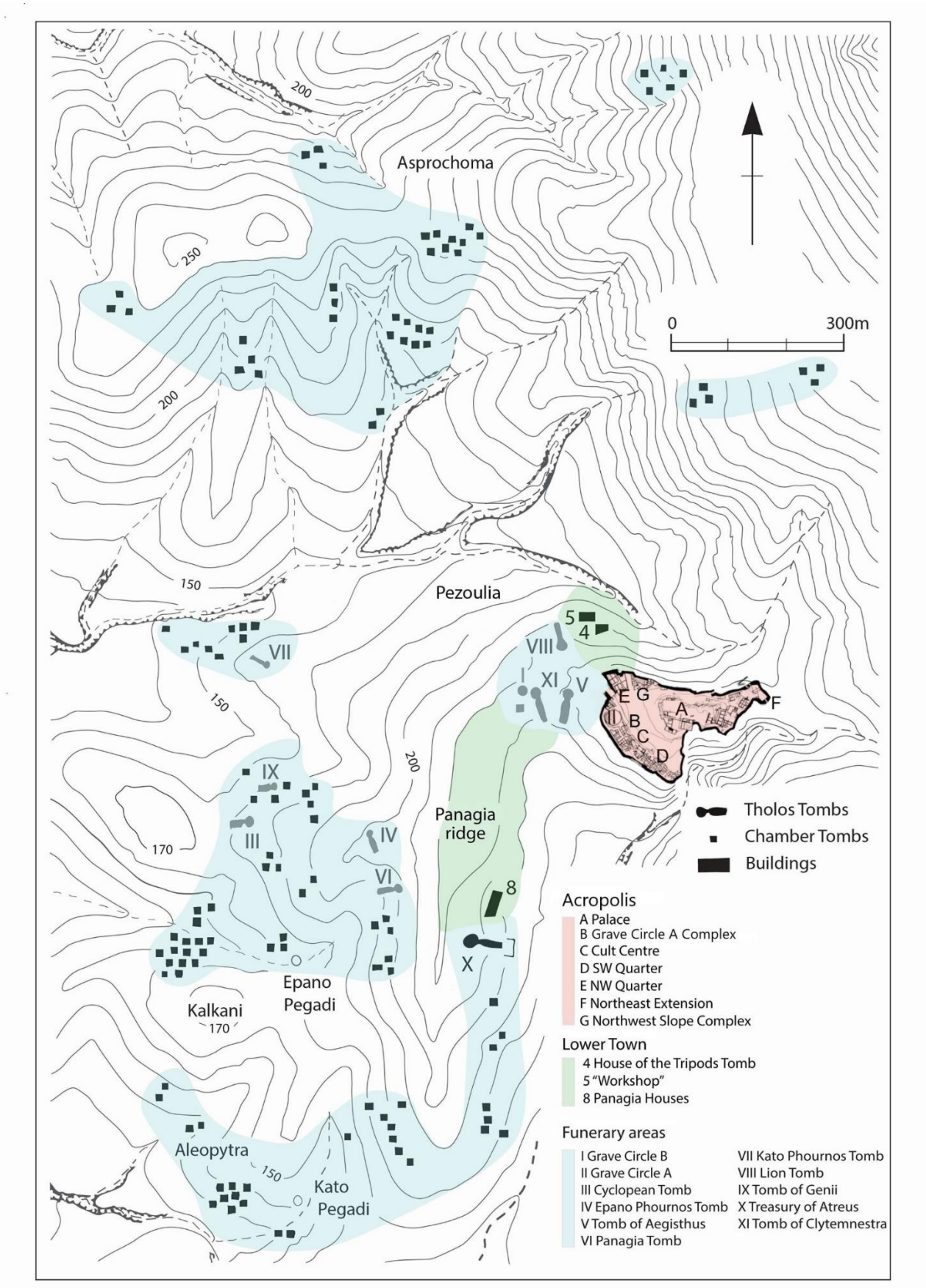


Fig. 38. Plan of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Early – end of LH IIIB) of the palatial town of Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

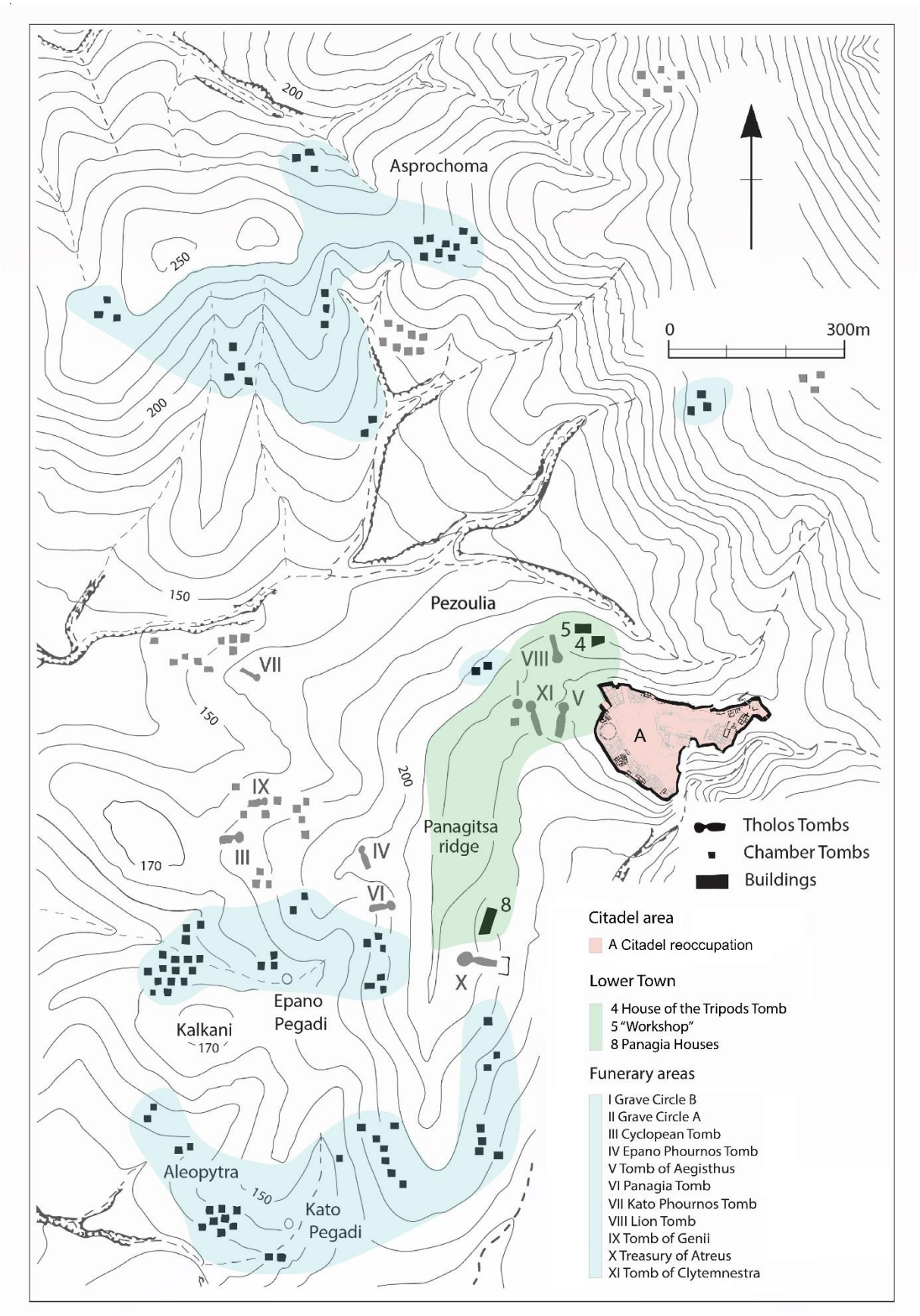


Fig. 39. Plan of the early post-palatial (LH IIIC Early) settlement at Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

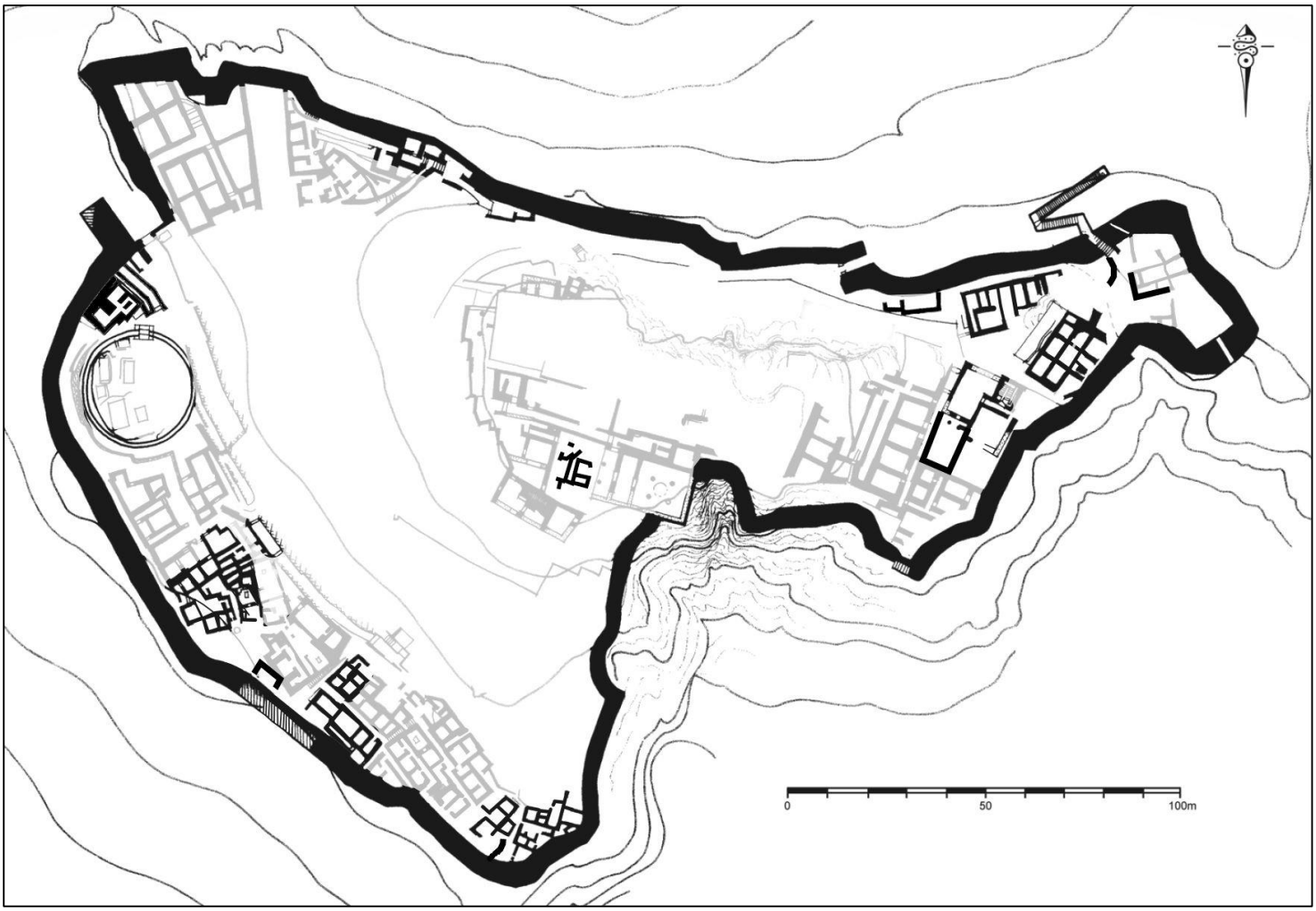


Fig. 40. Post-palatial reoccupation of the Acropolis of Mycenae, with the areas of presumed activity during LH IIIC Early- Middle indicated (after French 2002, fig. 64 with modifications by the author).

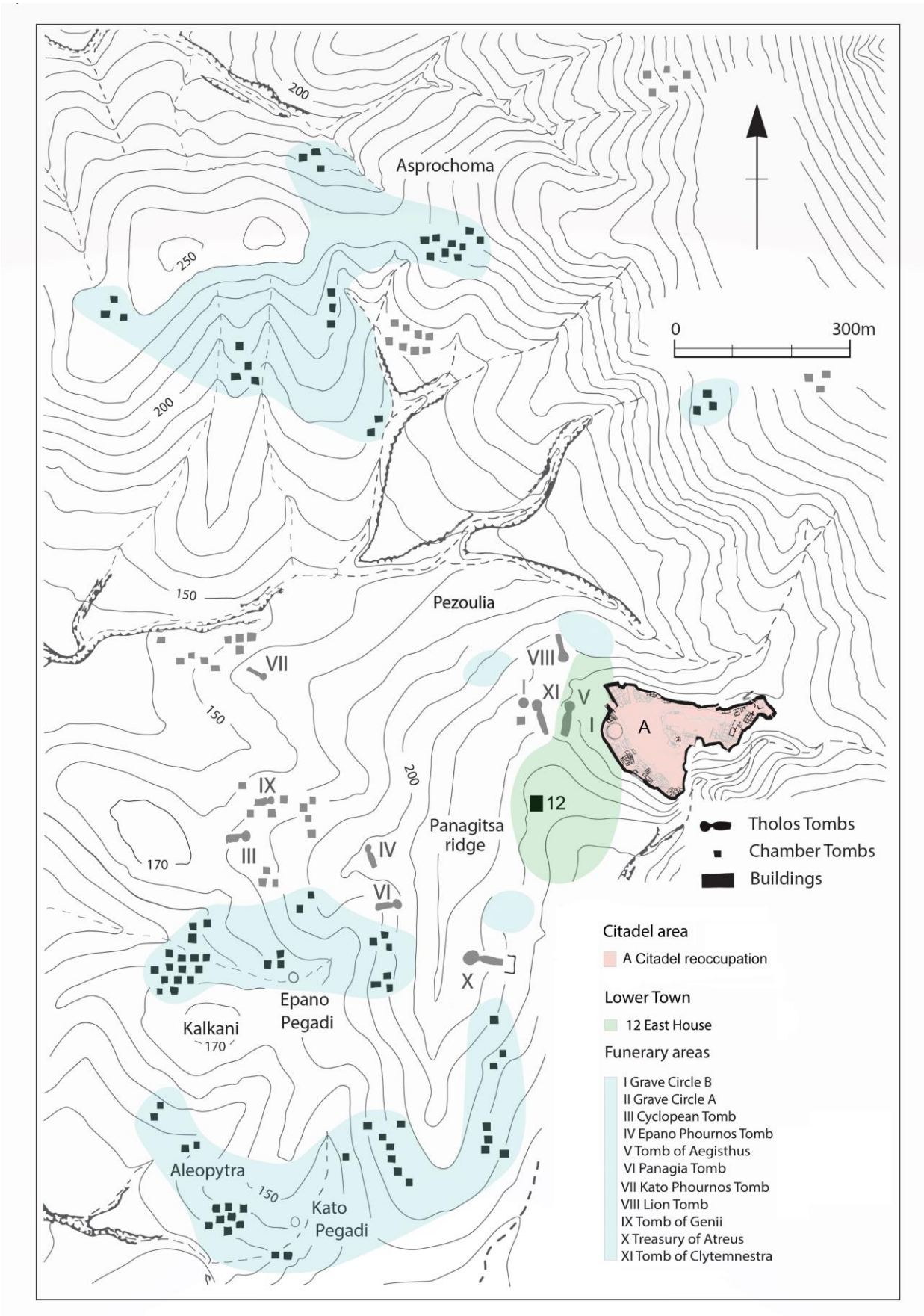


Fig. 41. Plan of the later post-palatial (LH IIIC Middle) settlement at Mycenae (drawing by Katarzyna Dudlik and the author, original map after Stamos and Maggidis 2006, fig. 2).

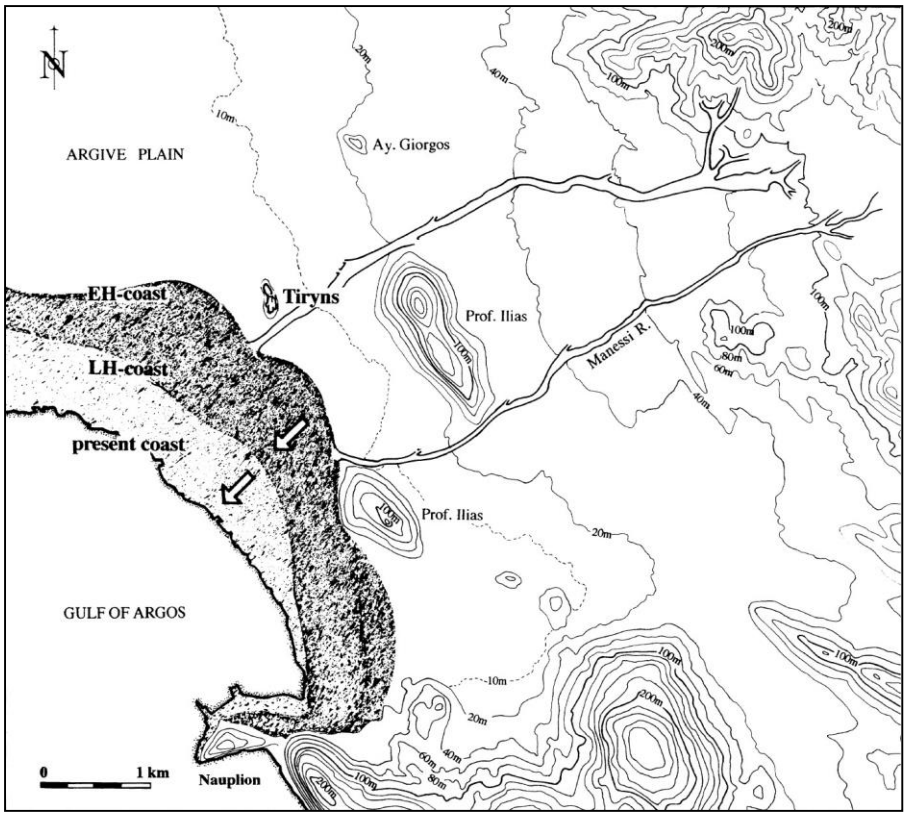


Fig. 42. Changes of the coastline in the eastern part of the Argive Plain (Zangger 1994, fig. 4).

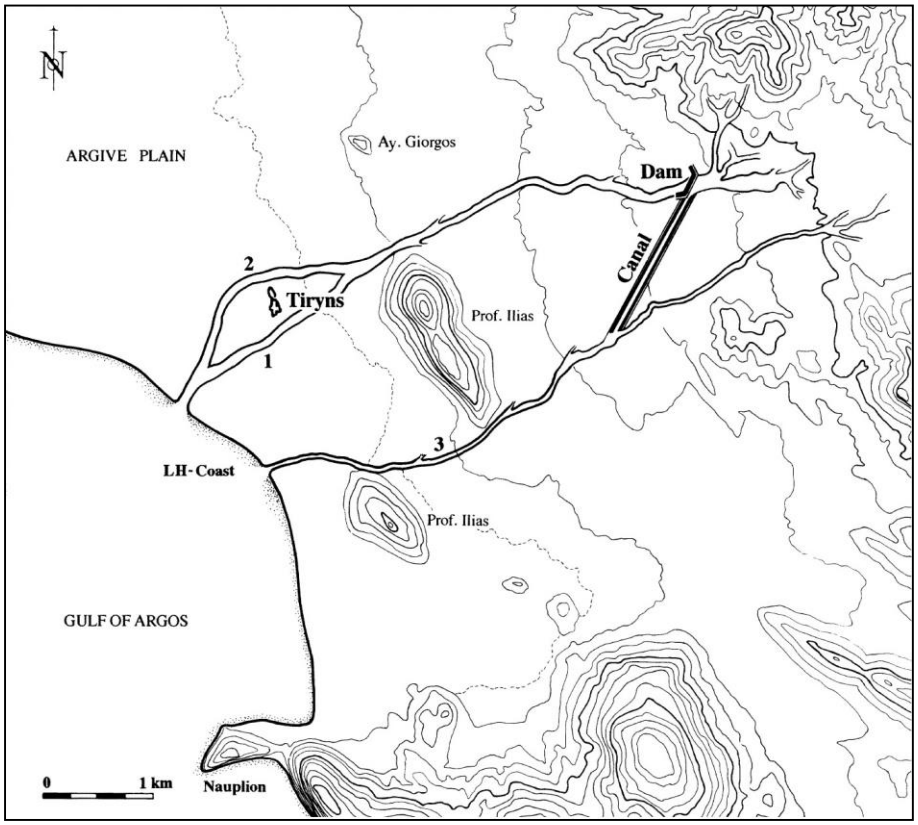


Fig. 43. Map showing the course of the Manessi River: 1) from the Neolithic to LH IIIB2; 2) during the natural diversion in LH IIIB2/C; and 3) after the artificial redirection (Zangger 1994, fig. 13).

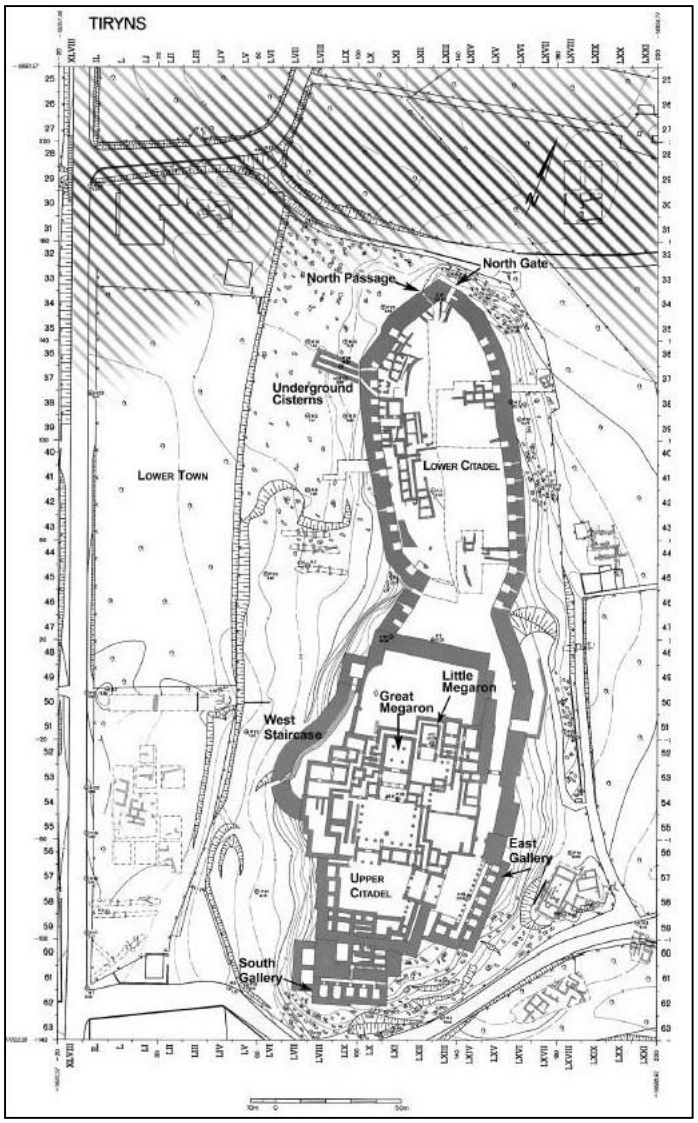


Fig. 44. The extent of the area of periodical flooding between LH IIIIA2 and LH IIIB2 (Maran 2010, fig. 54.1).

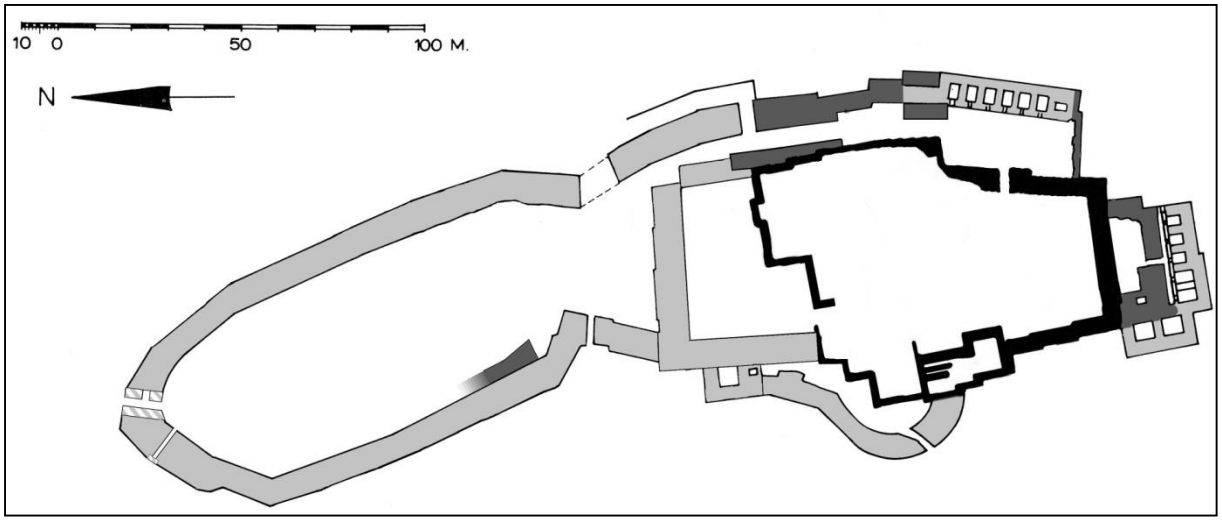


Fig. 45. The development of the Tiryns Citadel.

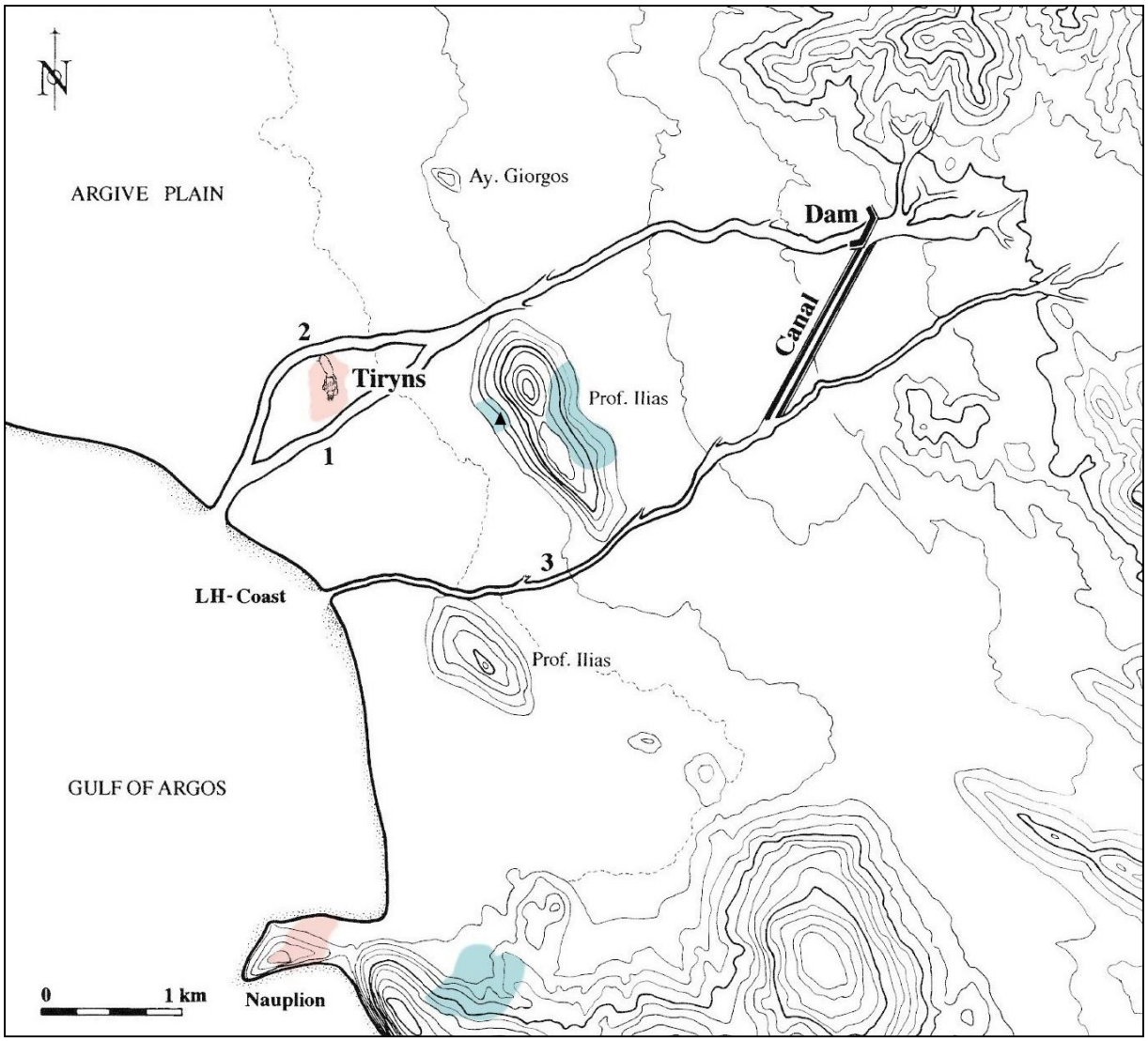


Fig. 46. The location of settlement areas and cemeteries of Tiryns and Nauplion (after Zangger 1994, fig. 13 modified by the author).

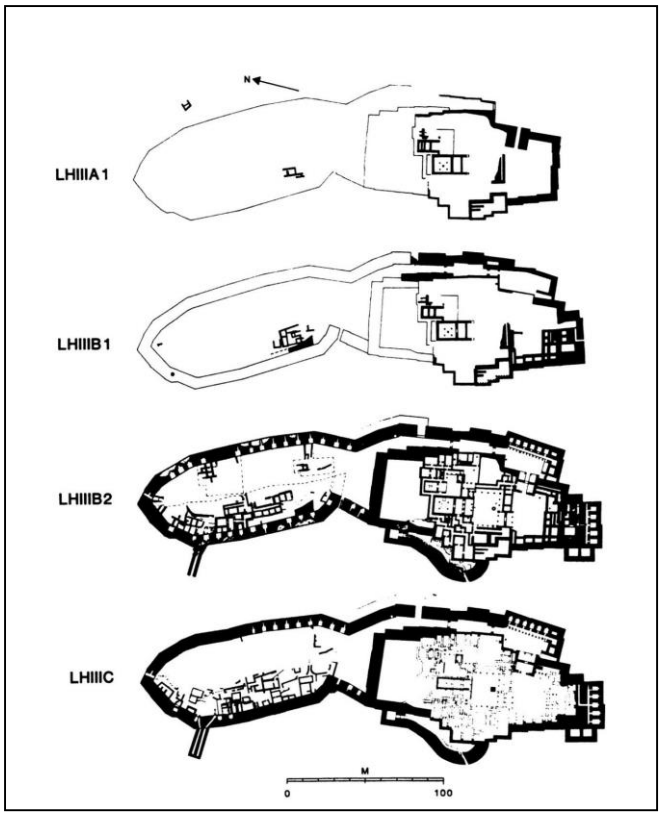


Fig. 47. Phases of development of the Citadel at Tiryns (Kilian 1988b, fig. 9).

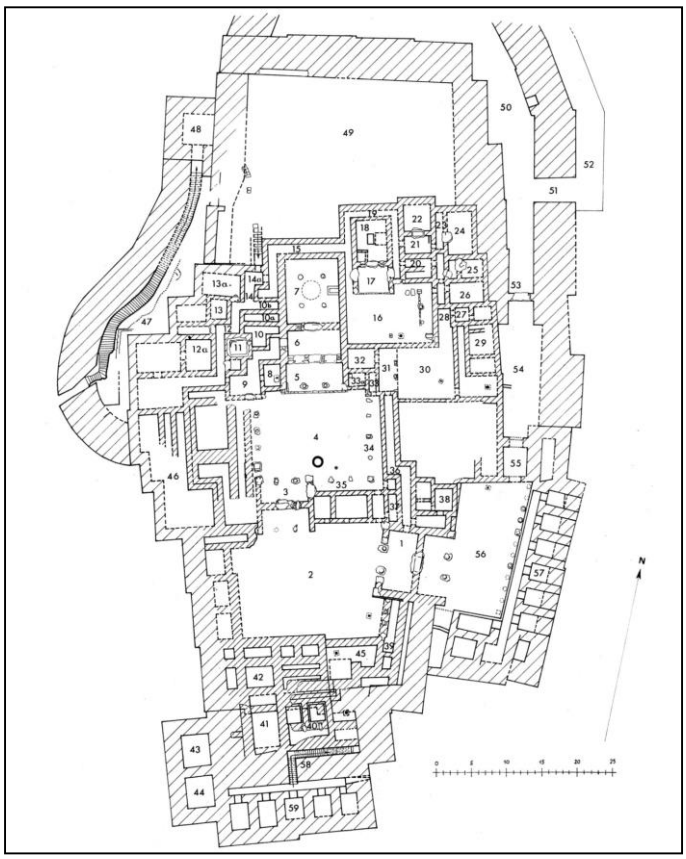
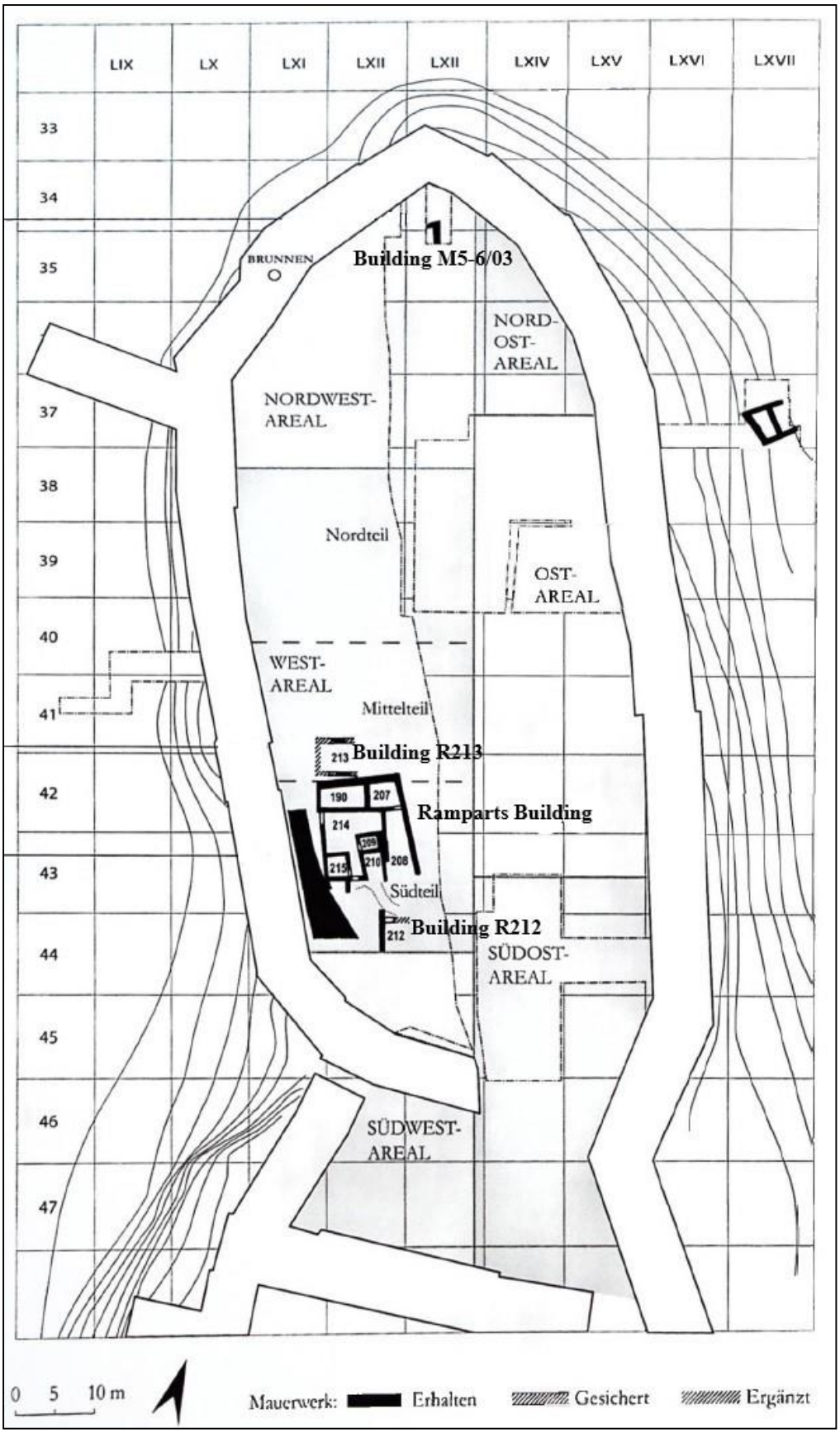


Fig. 48. The final palace at Tiryns **[TIR3 – phase 2]** (Jantzen 1975, fig. 6).


LIX
LX
LXI
LXII
LXII
LXIV
LXV
LXVI
LXVII
33
34
35
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
BRUNNEN
Building M5-6/03
NORD-
OST-
AREAL
NORDWEST-
AREAL
Nordteil
OST-
AREAL
WEST-
AREAL
Mittelteil
213
Building R213
190
207
214
209
210
208
215
Ramparts Building
Südteil
212
Building R212
SÜDOST-
AREAL
SÜDWEST-
AREAL
0 5 10 m
Mauerwerk:
Erhalten
Gesichert
Ergänzt

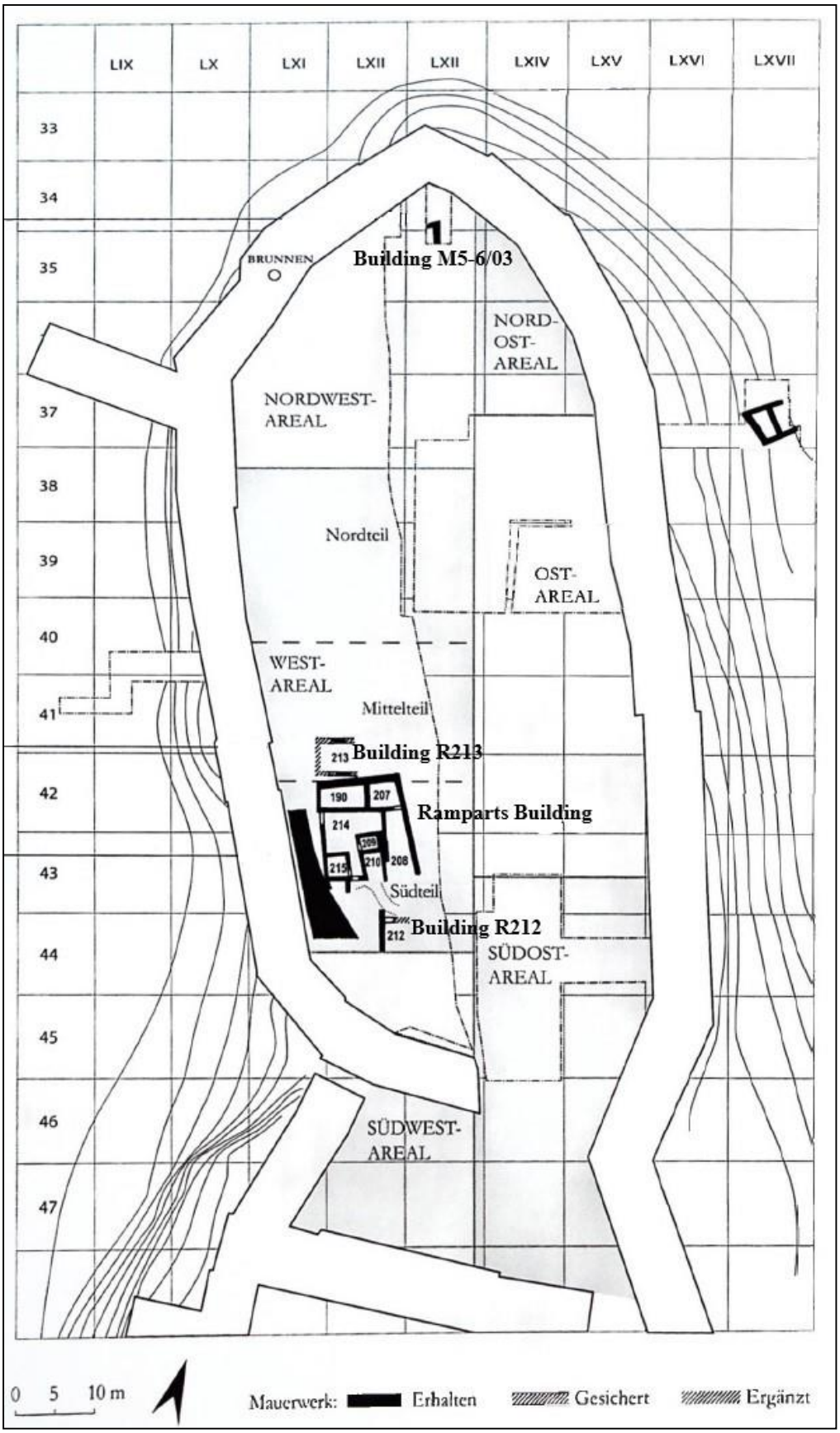


Fig 49. Lower Citadel in LH IIIB1 and the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8]** (Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 100).

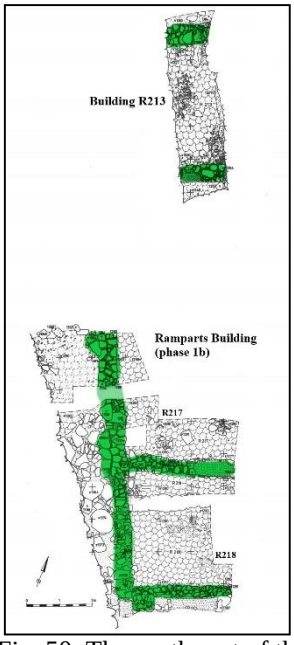


Fig. 50. The south part of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 1b]** (after Kilian 1988a, fig. 38).

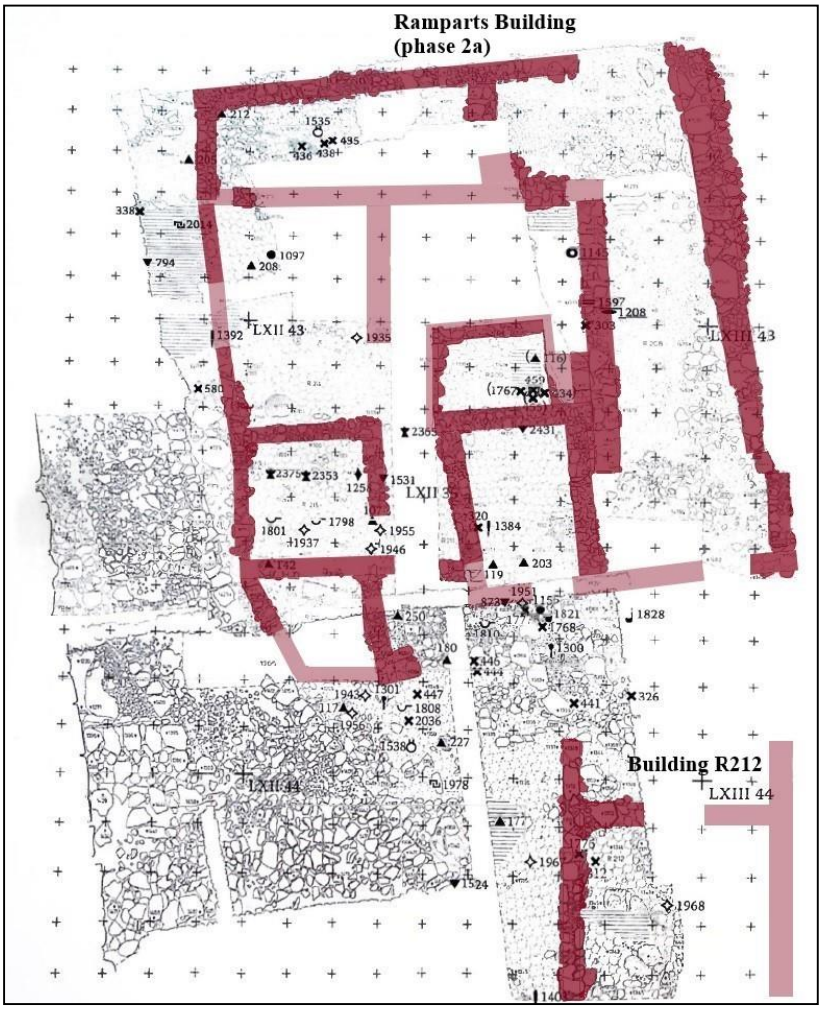


Fig. 51 The south part of the Ramparts Complex **[TIR5-8 – phase 2a]** (after Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 134)

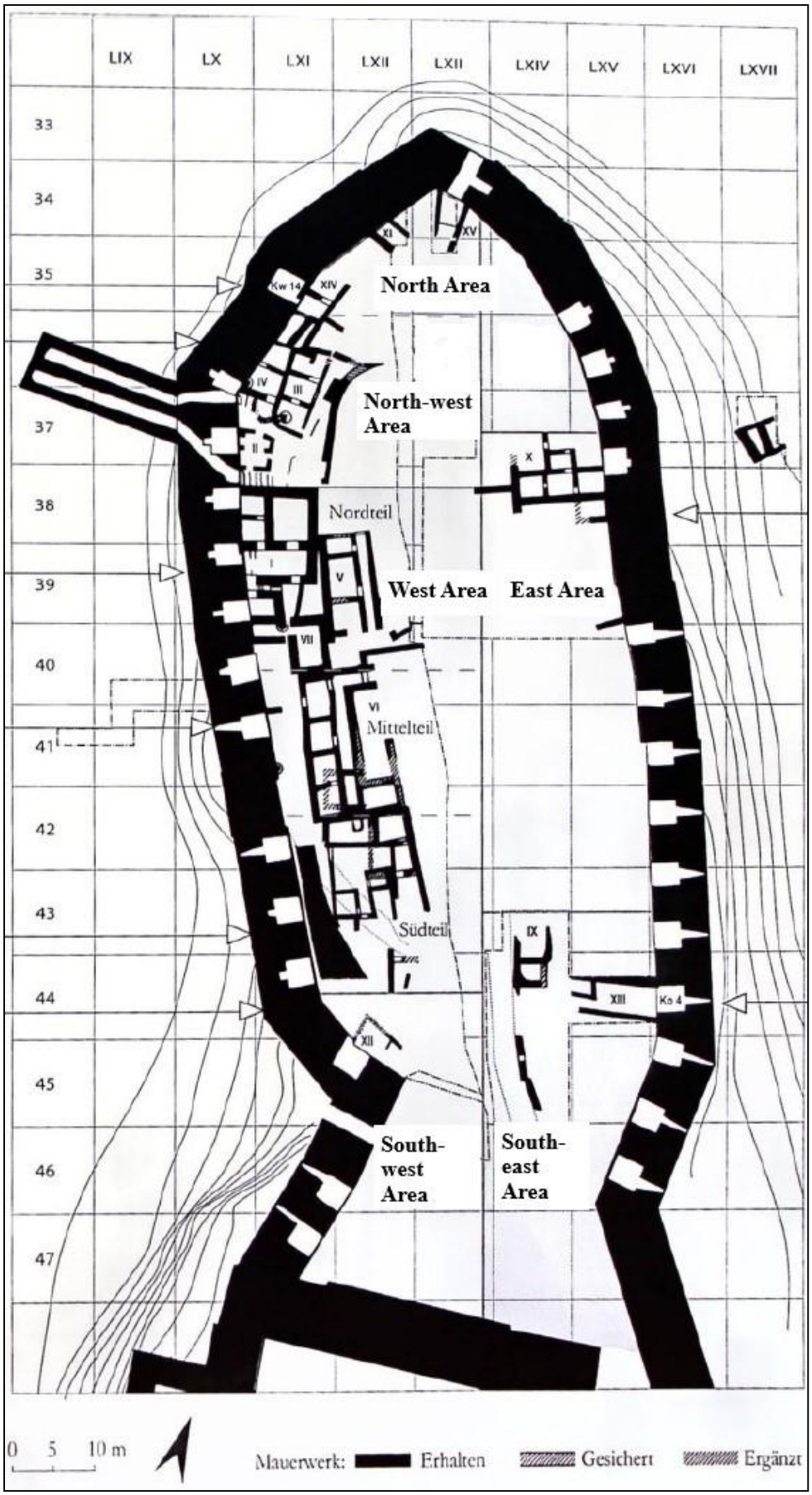


Fig. 52. Lower Citadel at Tiryns in LH IIIB2, with names of areas indicated (after Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 101)

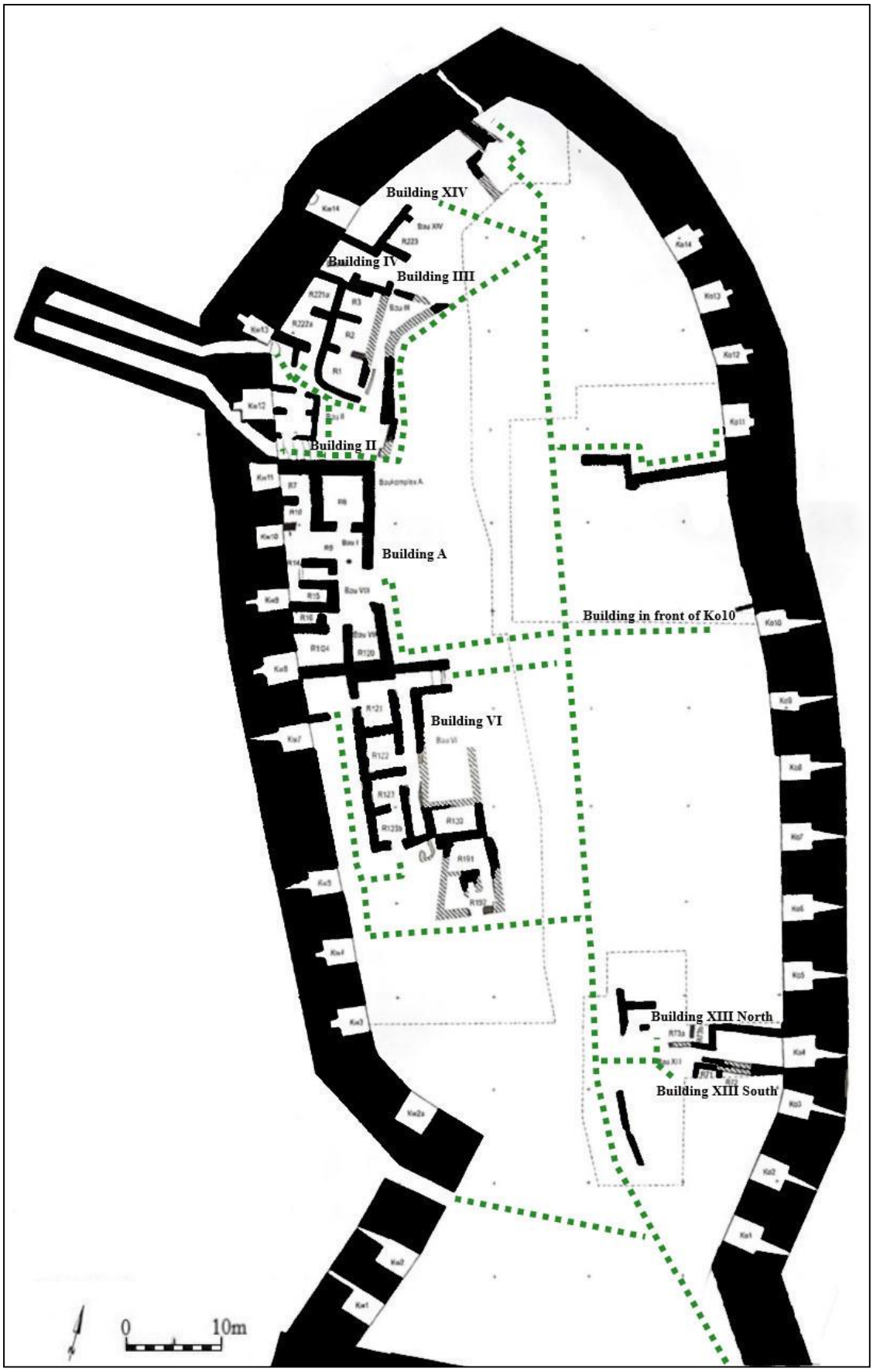


Fig. 53. Lower Citadel Complex **[TIR9-22 – phase 1]** in LH IIIB2 Early - Horizon 17a3 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 3, modified by the author).

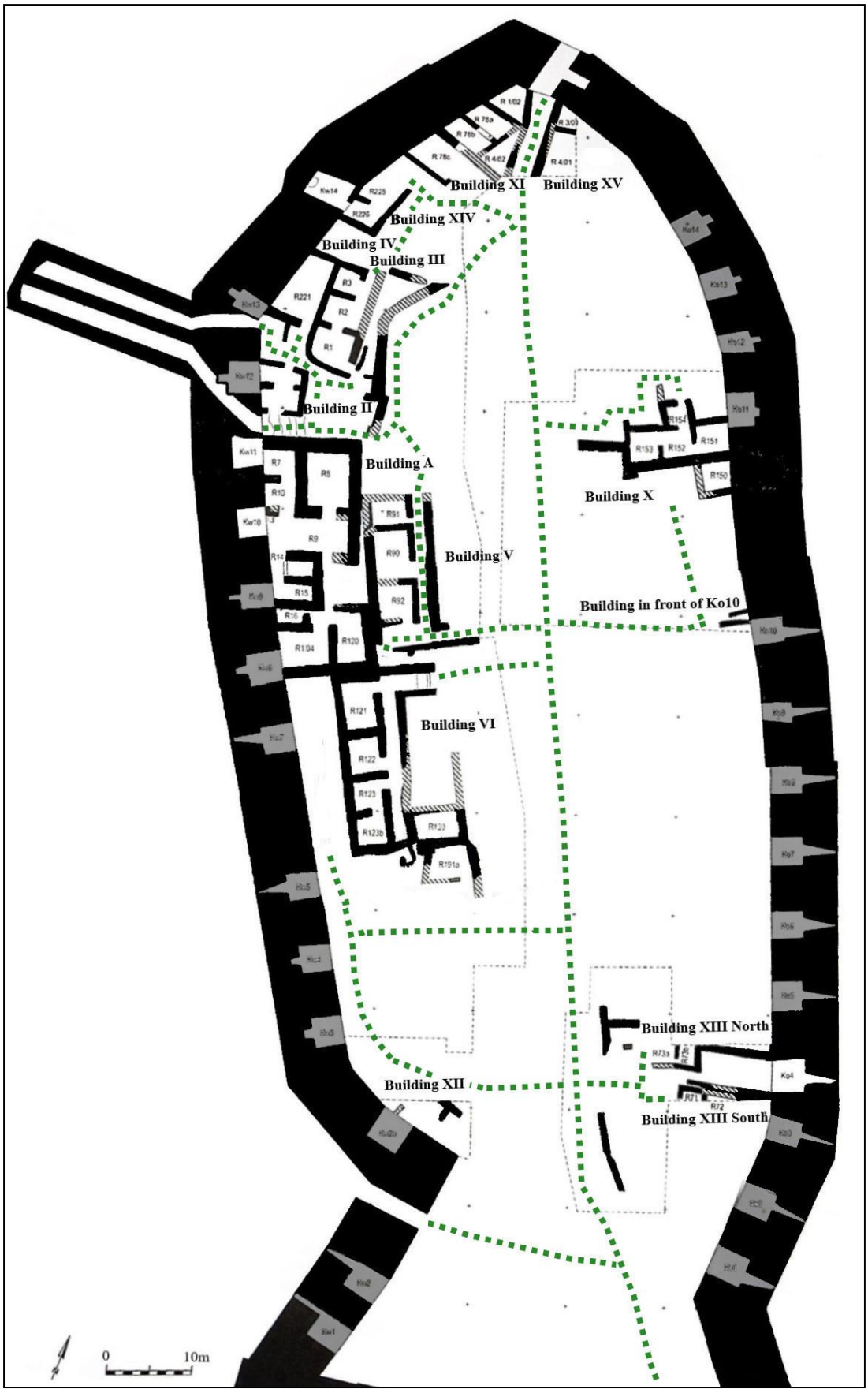


Fig. 54. Lower Citadel Complex [TIR9-22 – phase 2] in LH IIIB2 Late - Horizon 17a5 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 4, modified by the author)

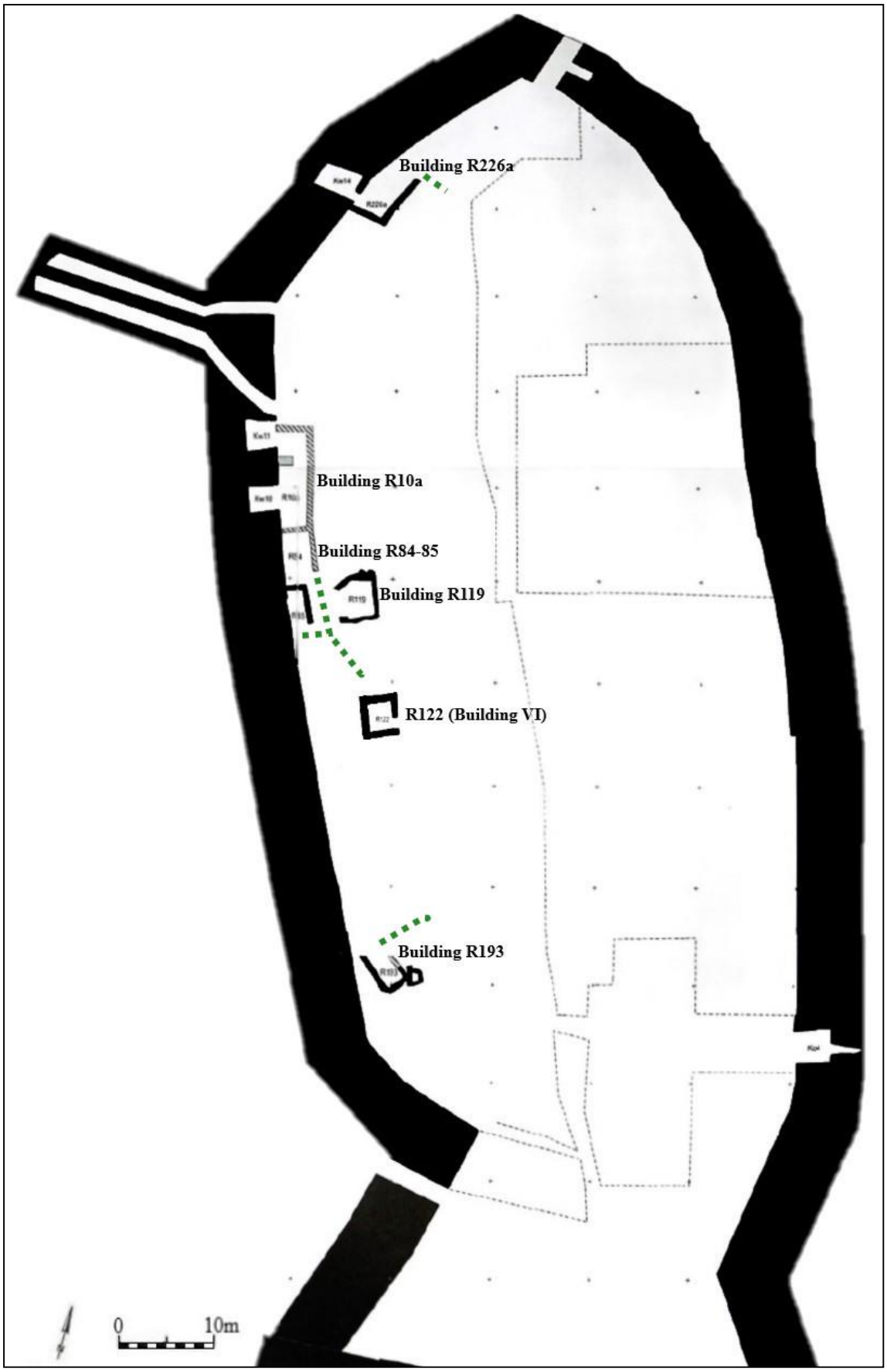


Fig. 55. Lower Citadel Ruins [TIR23-27] in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 5, modified by the author)

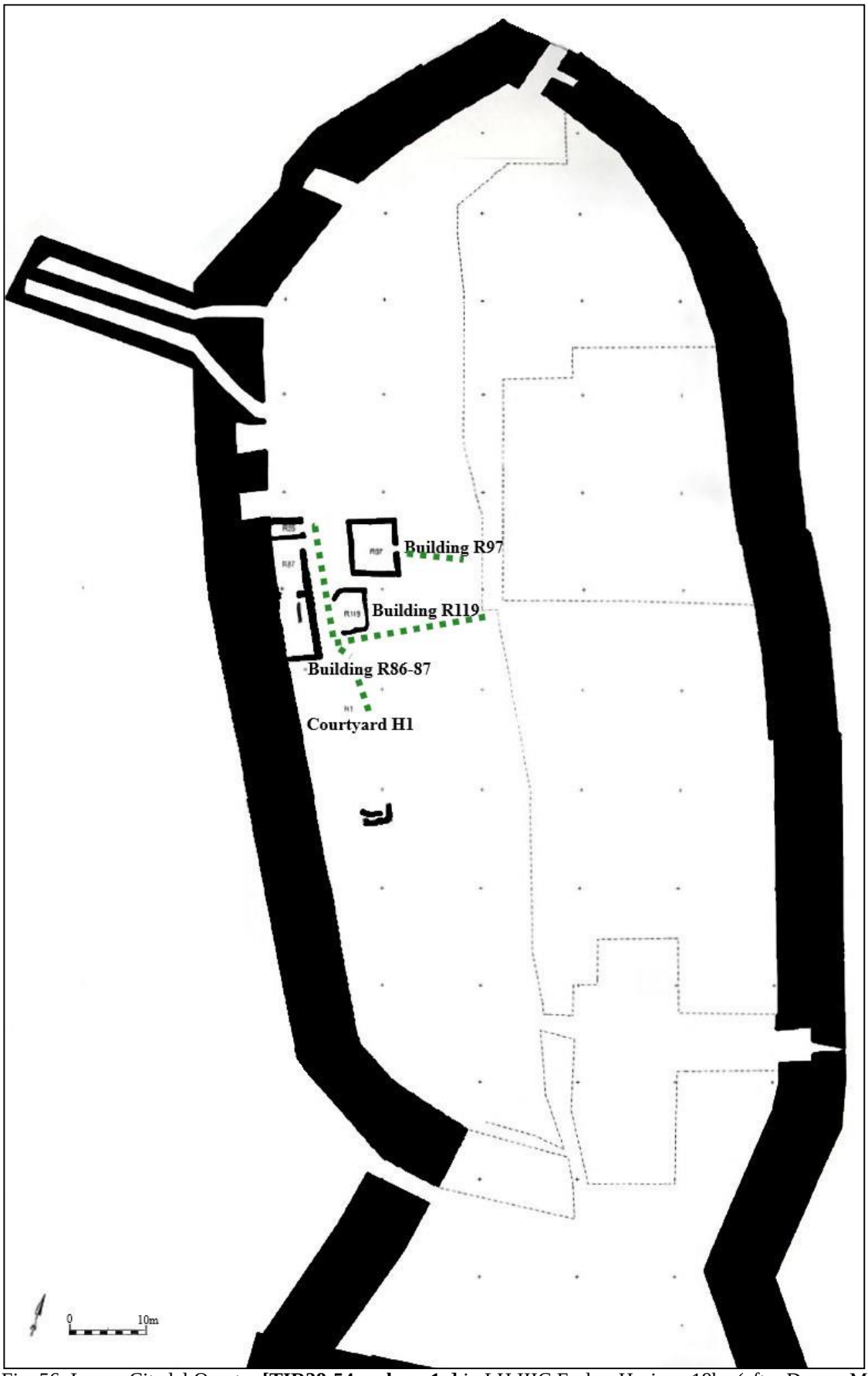


Fig. 56. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 1a]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19ba (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 6. modified by the author).

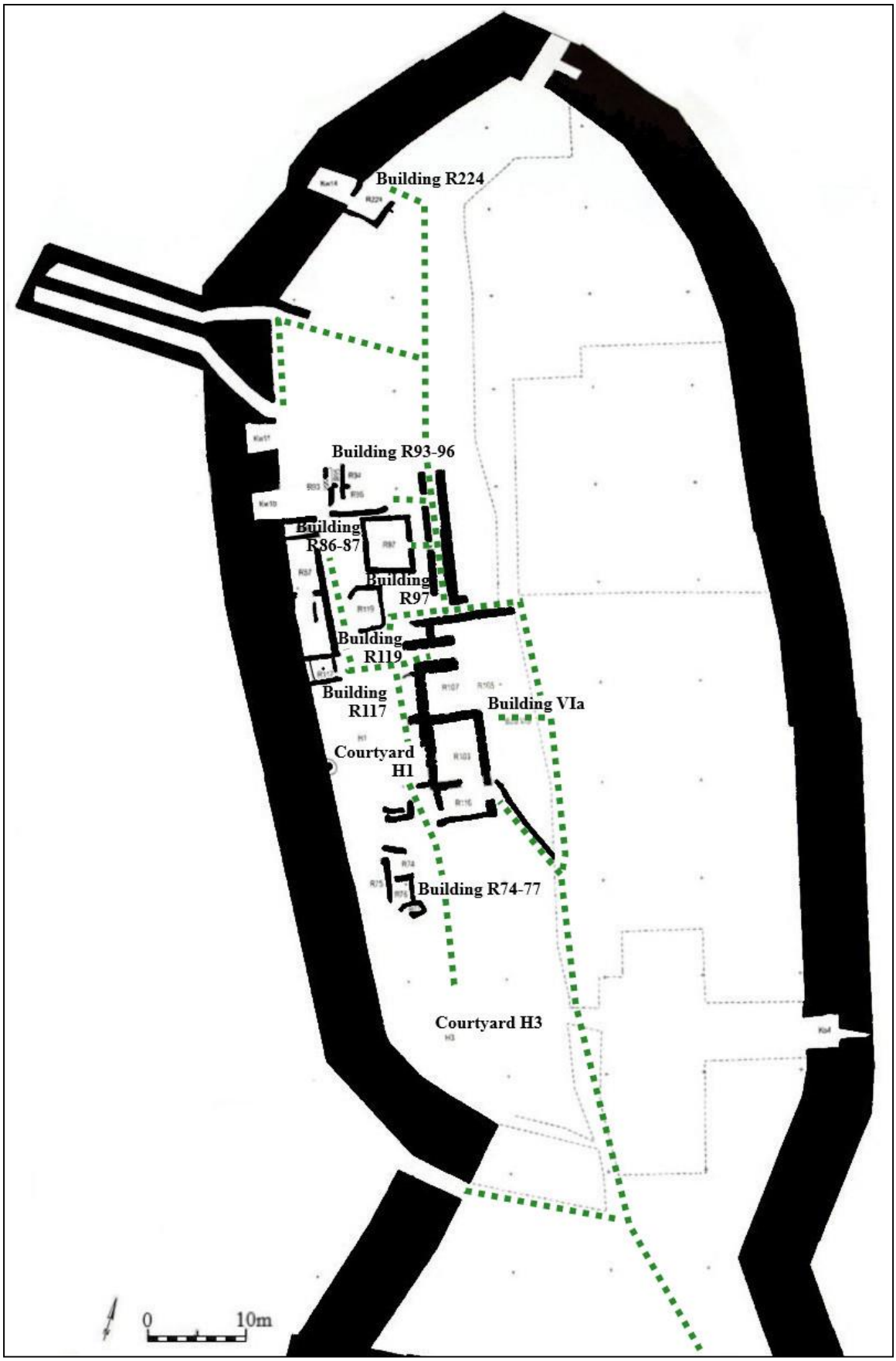


Fig. 57. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 1b]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19b1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 7, modified by the author).

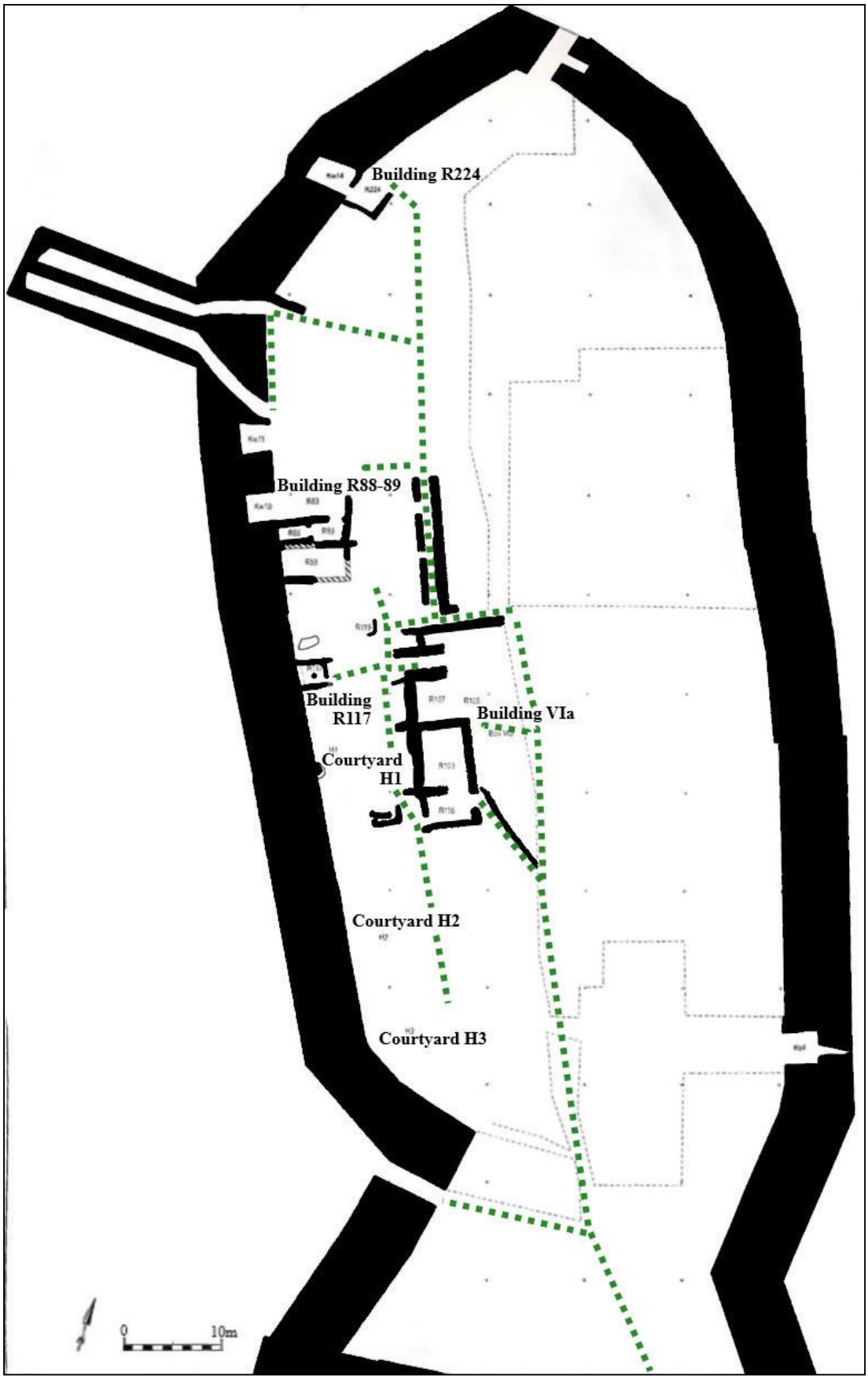


Fig. 58. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2a]** in LH IIIC Early - Horizon 19b1 Ende (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 8, modified by the author)

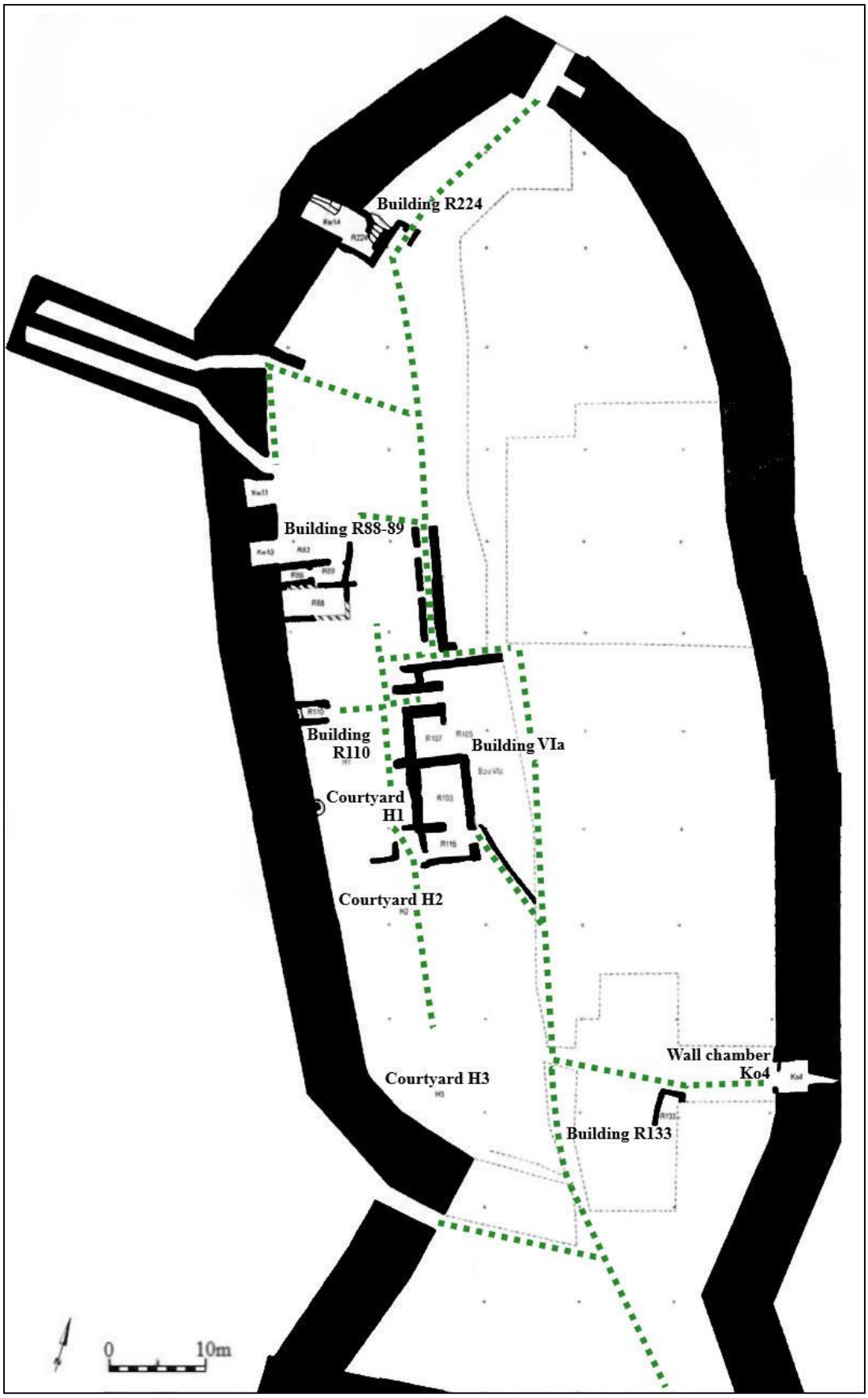


Fig. 59. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2b]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 - Horizon 20a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 9, modified by the author).

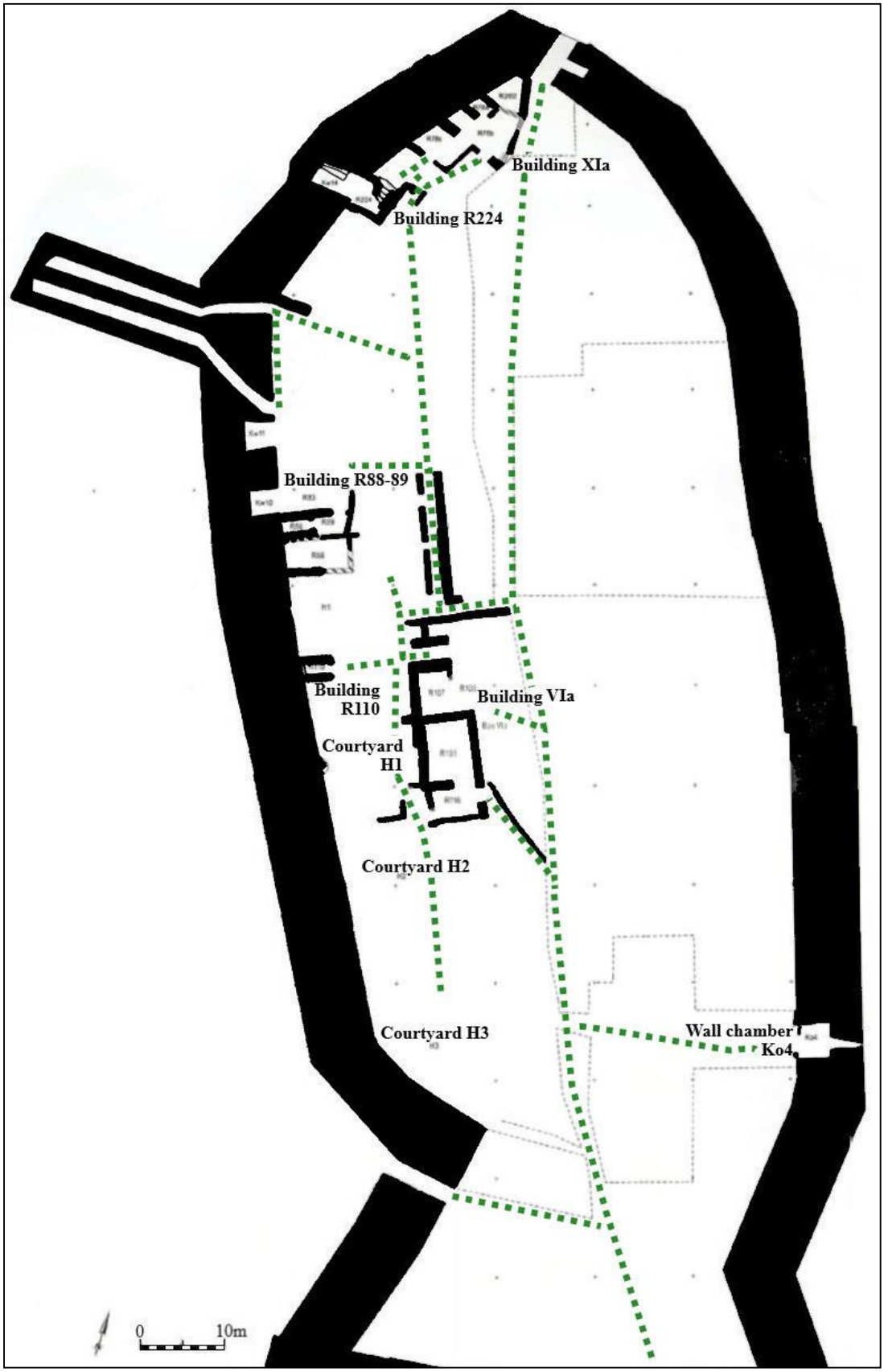


Fig. 60. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2c]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 - Horizon 20a3 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 10, modified by the author).

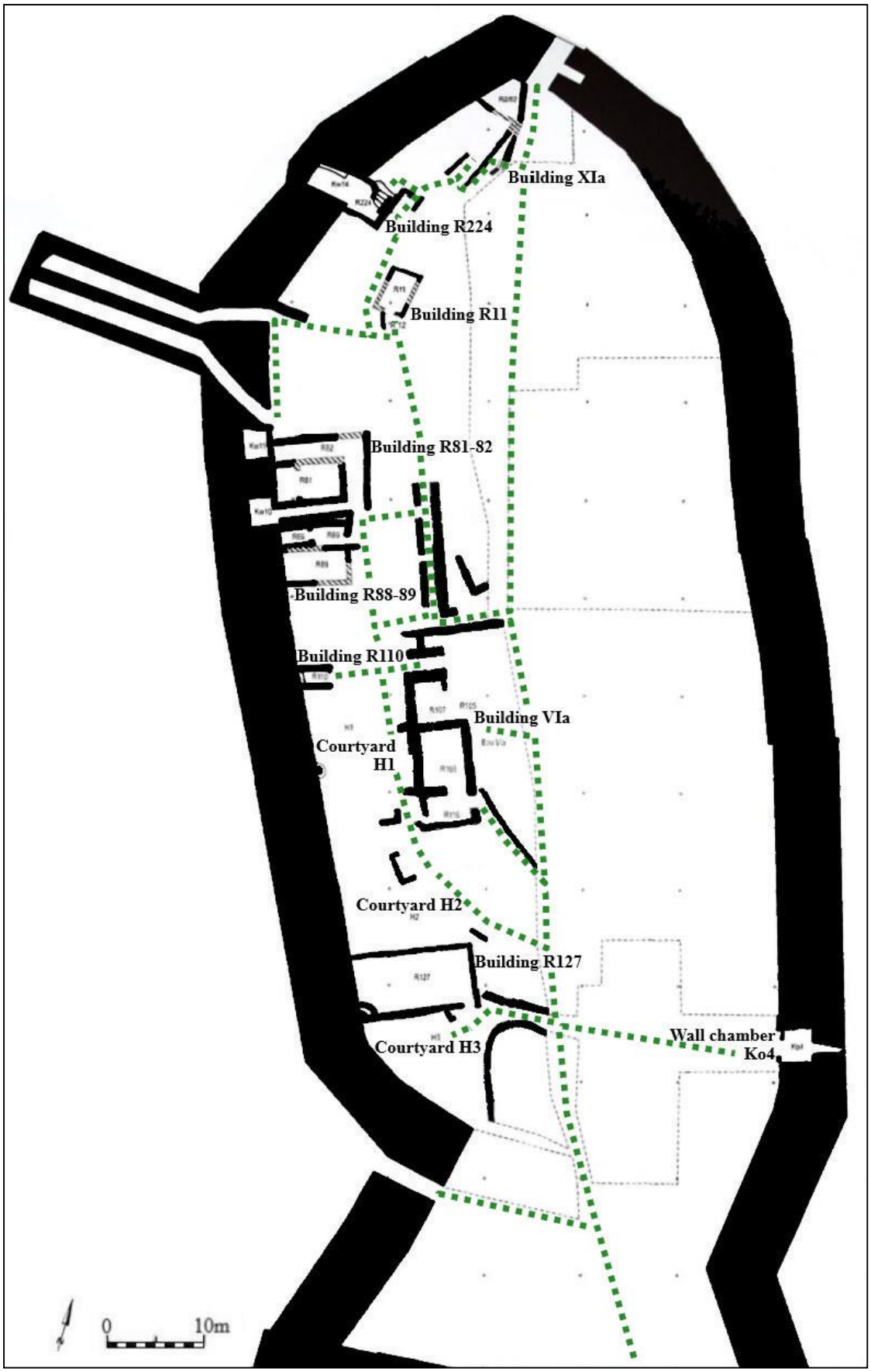


Figure 61. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2d]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 11, modified by the author)

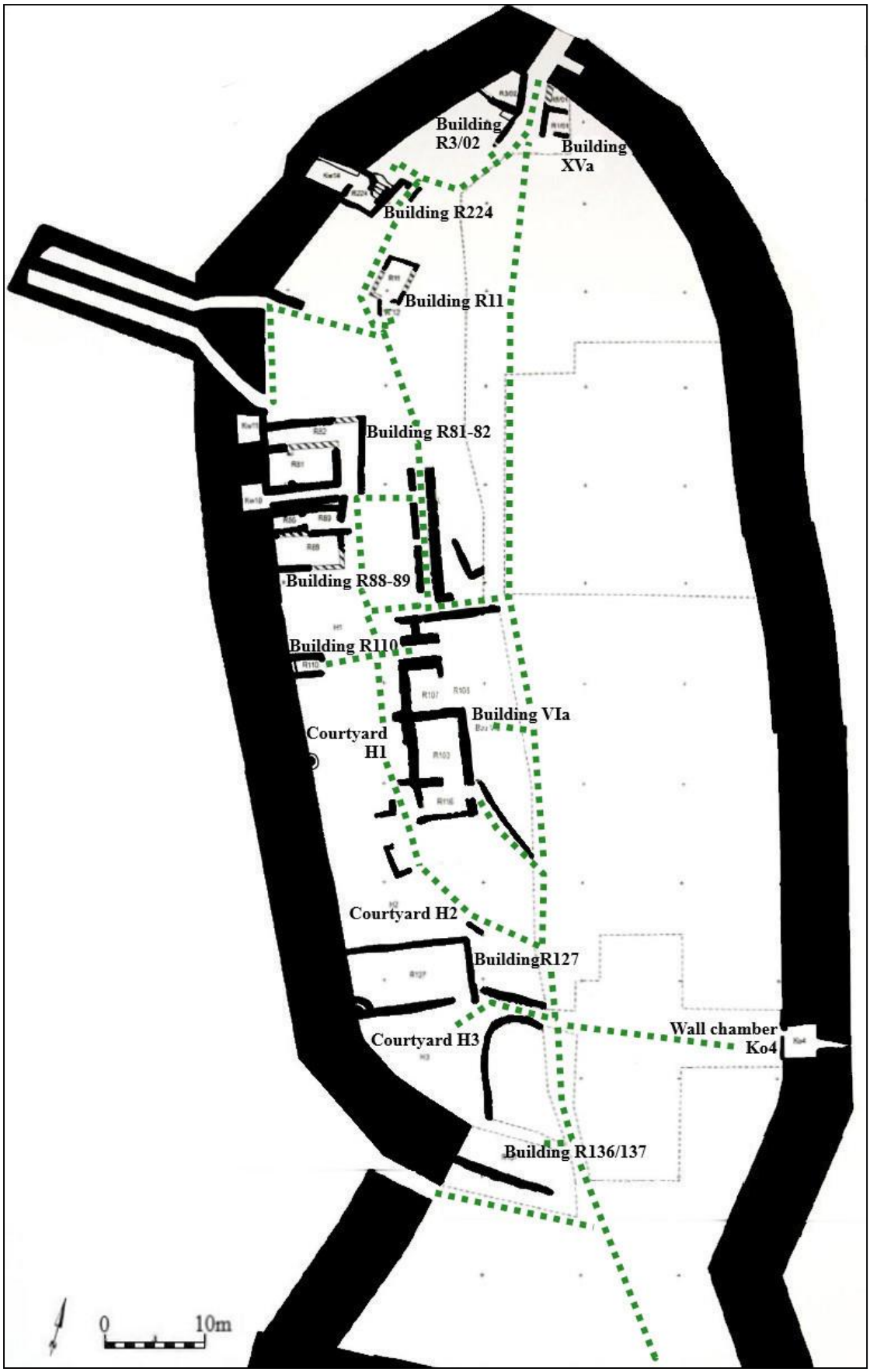


Fig. 62. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2e]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21b1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 12, modified by the author).

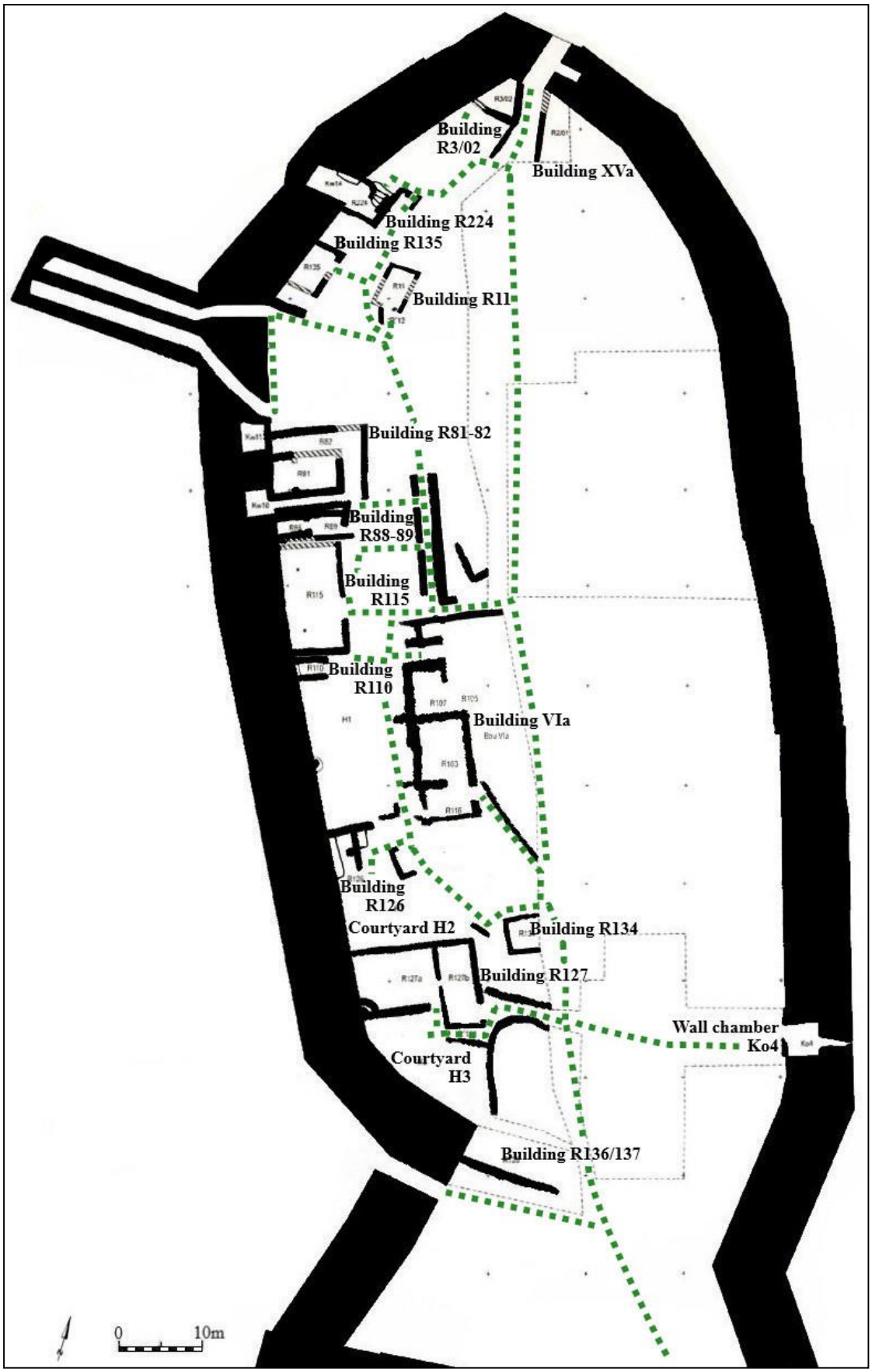


Fig. 63. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 2f]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 - Horizon 21c1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 13, modified by the author).

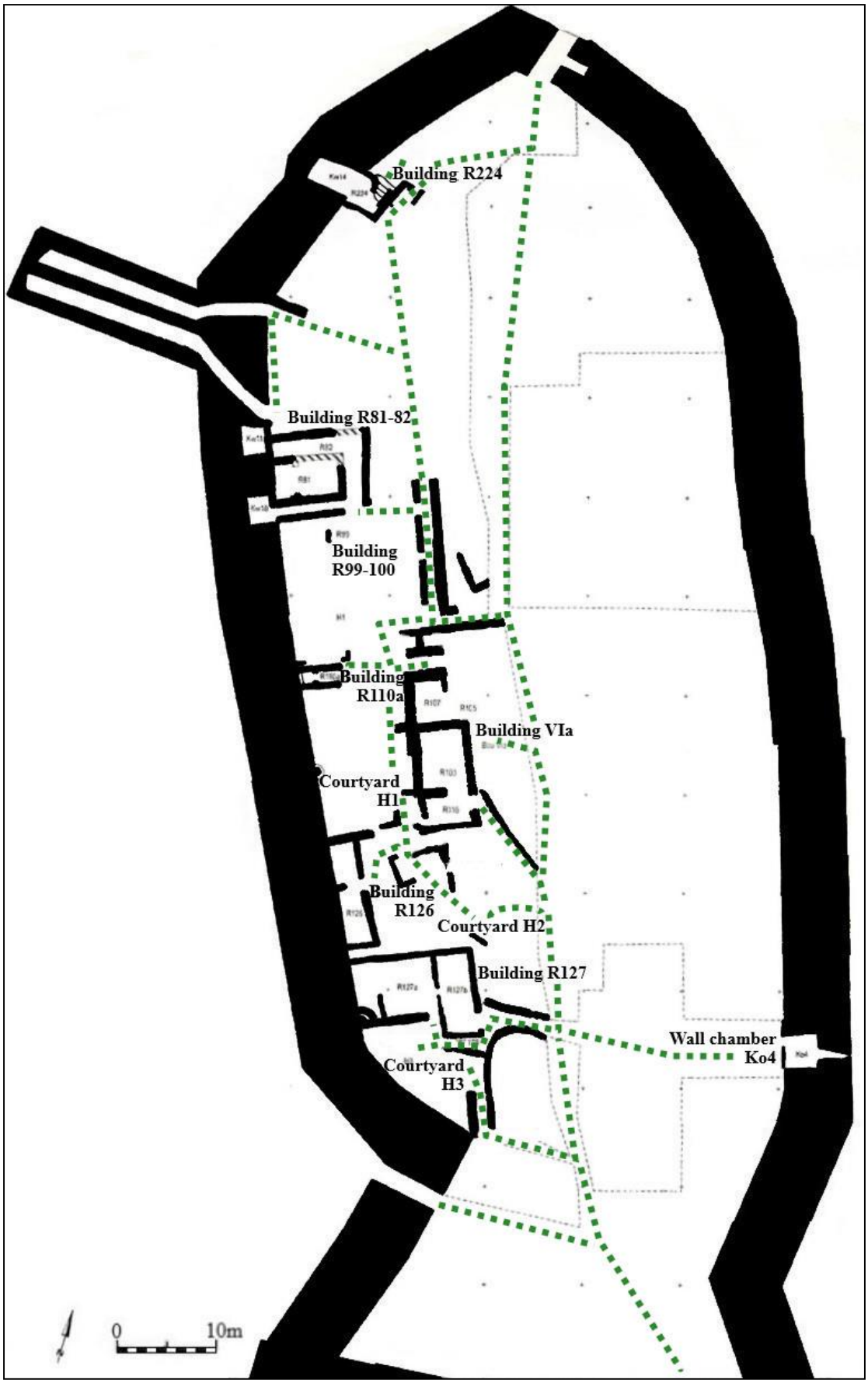


Fig. 64. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22a1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 14, modified by the author).

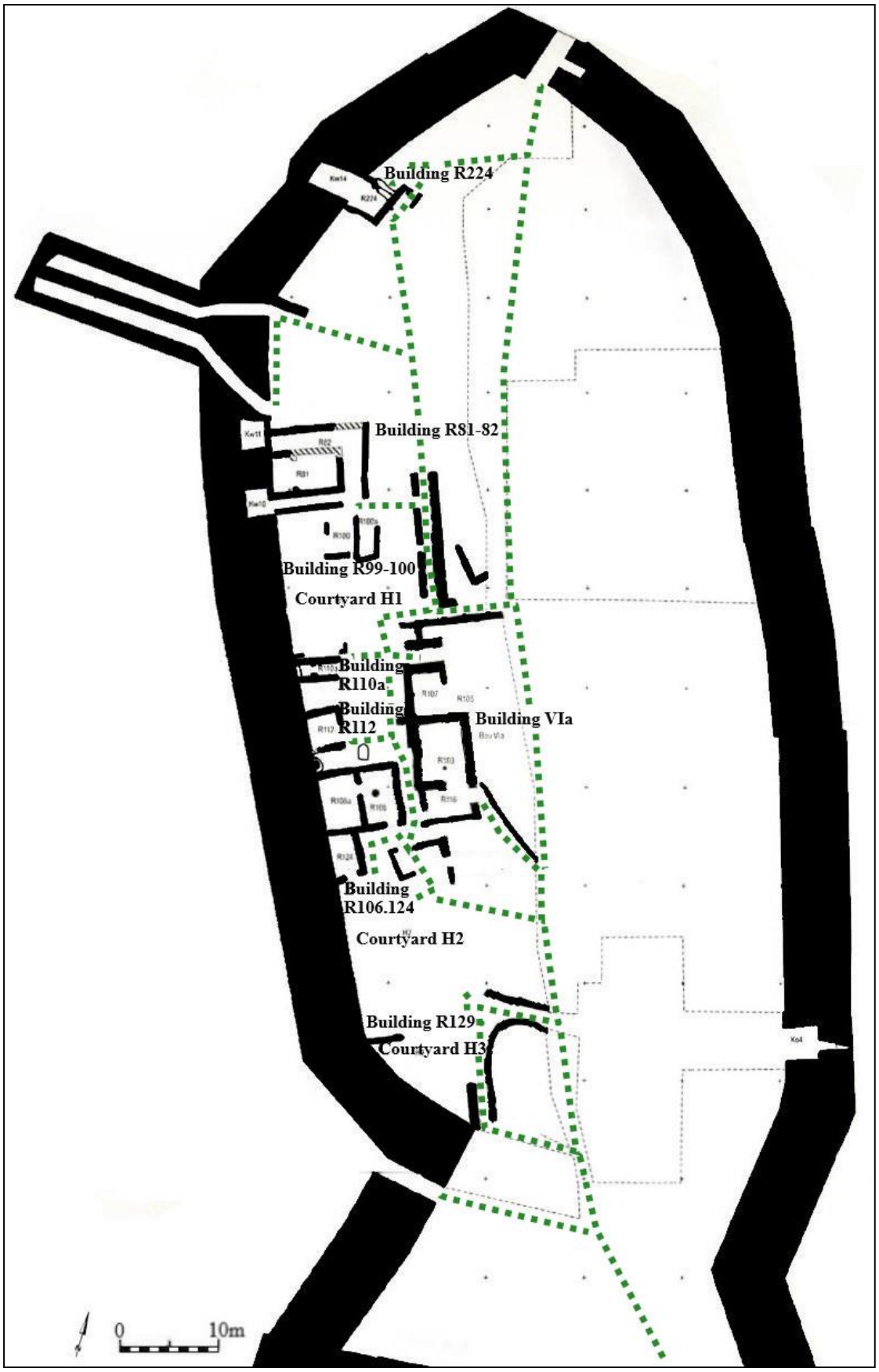


Fig. 65. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 4]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22c1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 15, modified by the author).

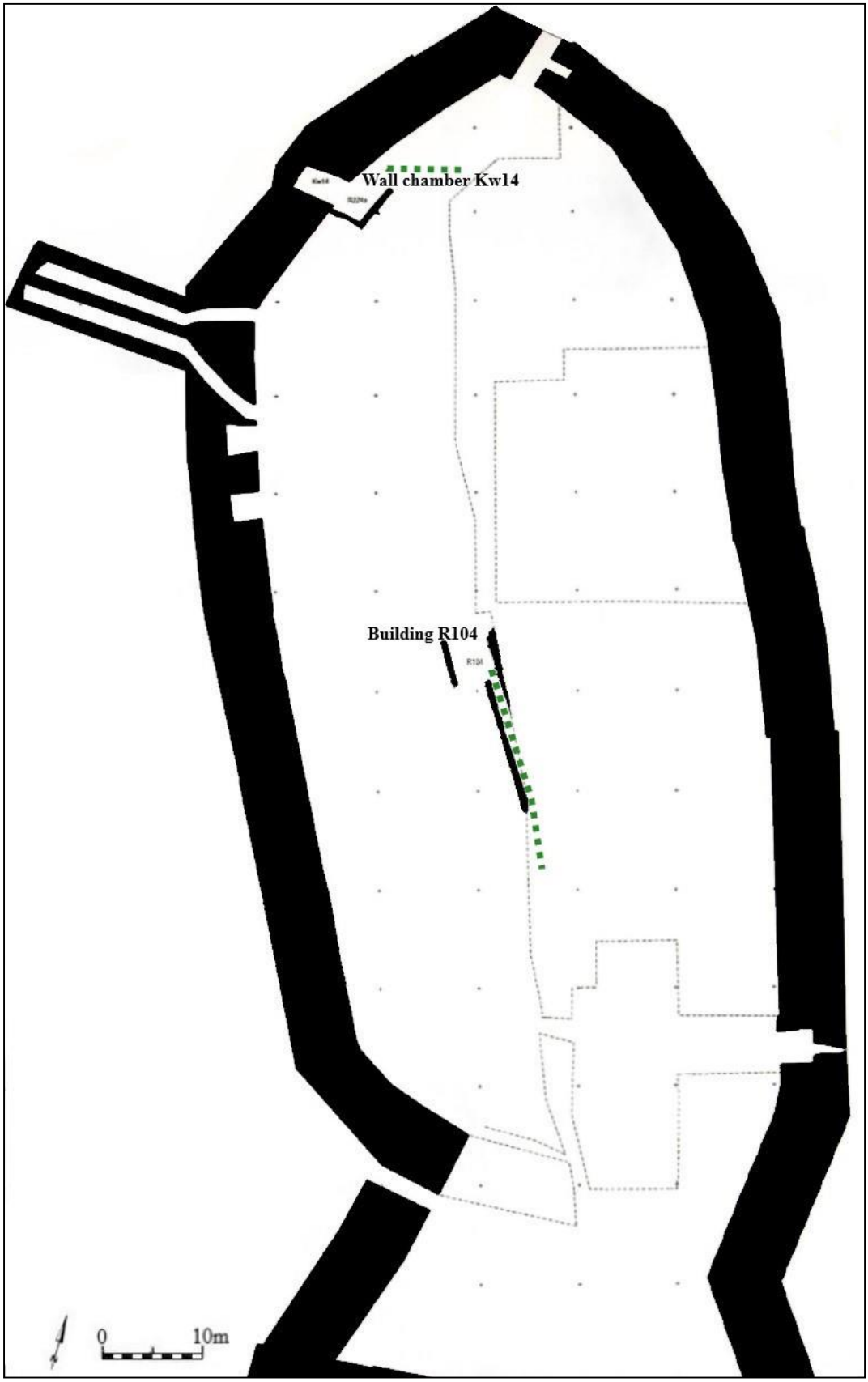


Fig. 66. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 5a]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22d1 (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 16, modified by the author).

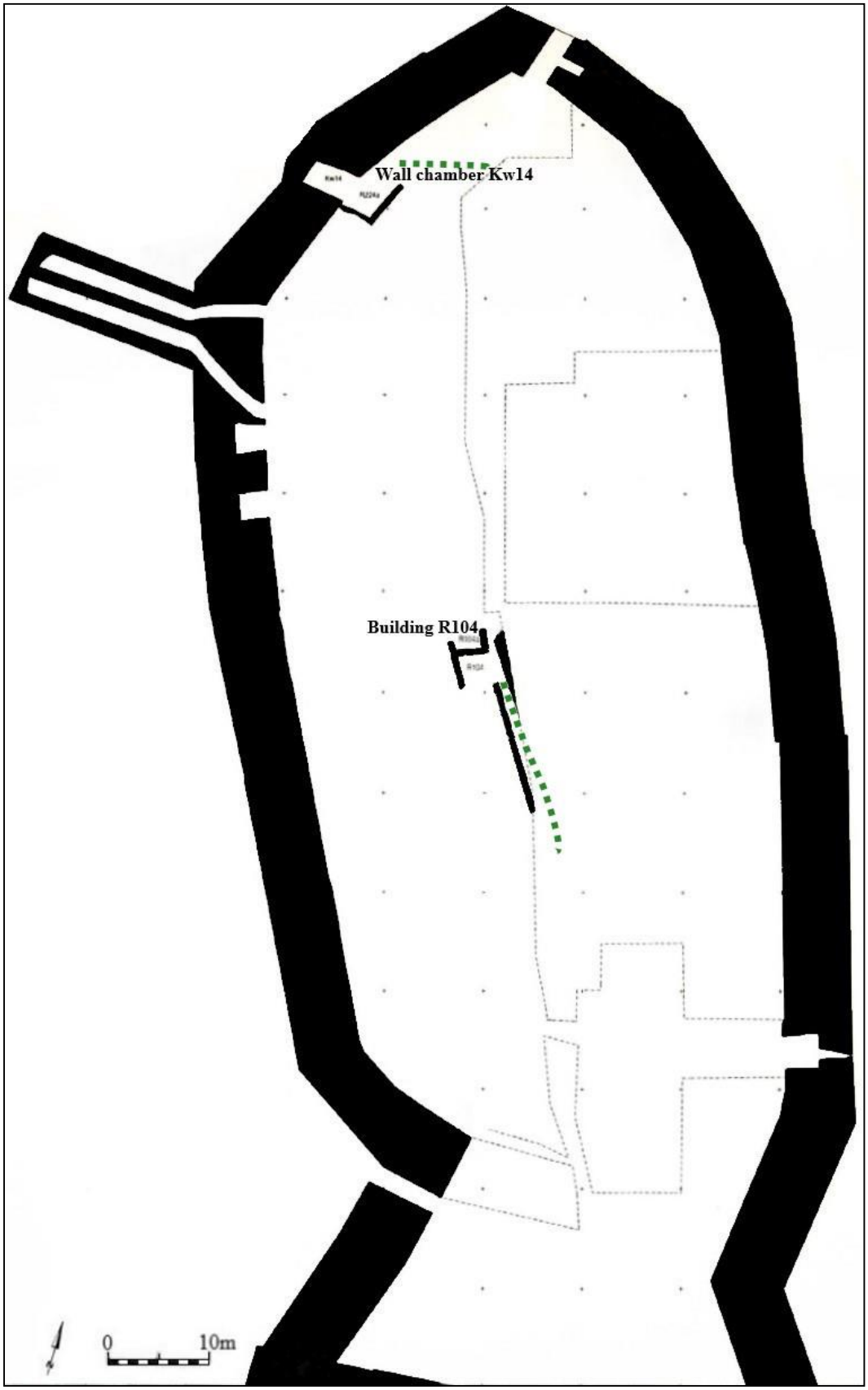


Fig. 67. Lower Citadel Quarter **[TIR28-54 – phase 5b]** in LH IIIC Late - Horizon 22d1 Ende (after Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, pl. 17, modified by the author).

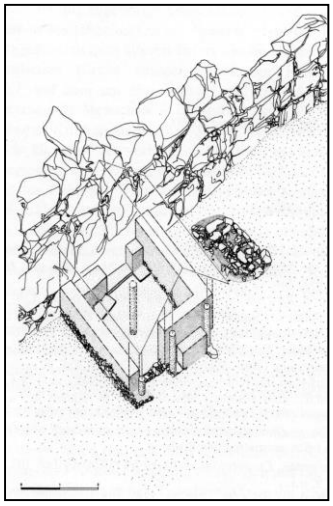


Fig. 68. Reconstruction of Building R117 **[TIR41]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 5).

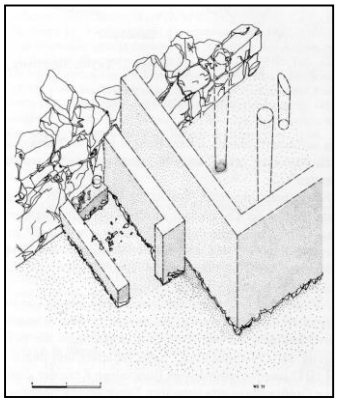


Fig. 69. Reconstruction of Building R110 **[TIR42]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 6).

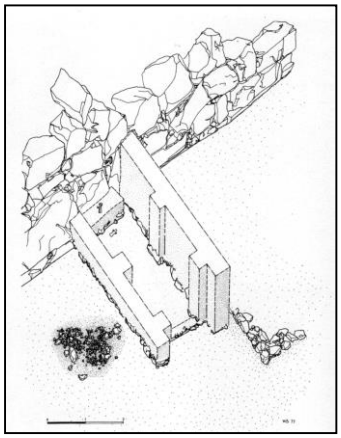


Fig.70. Reconstruction of Building R110a **[TIR43]** (Mühlenbruch 2015, fig. 7).

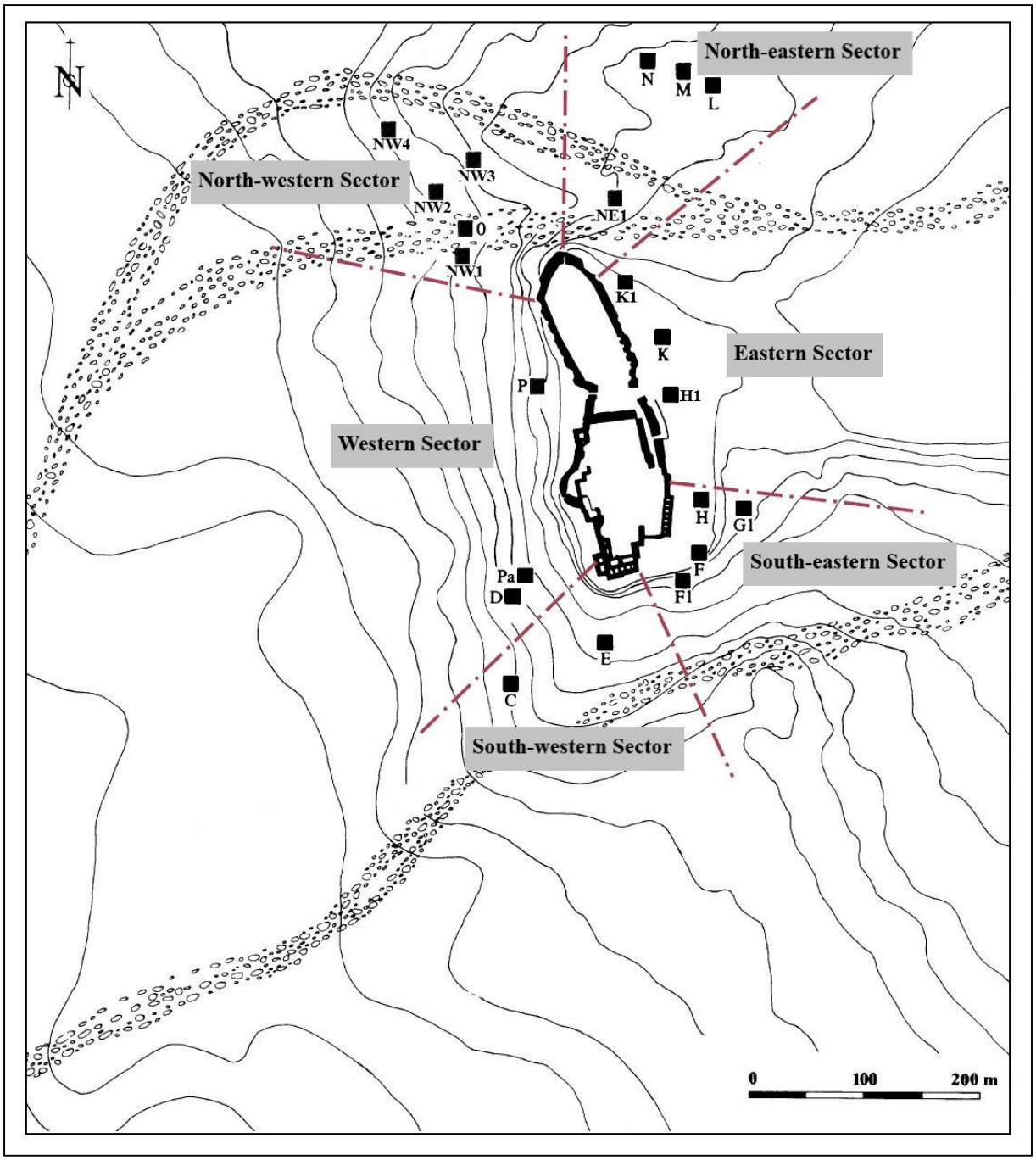


Fig. 71. The Lower Town of Tiryns with sectors and locations of complexes and individual buildings indicated (after Zangger 1994, fig. 5 modified by the author). Legend: NE1 – Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]**; L – area L **[TIR62]**; M – area M **[TIR63]**; N – area N **[TIR64]**; NW4 – Building R6/**18 [TIR65]**; NW3 - Northwest Building **[TIR66]**; NW2 – Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**; O – area O **[TIR70]**; NW1 – Northwest House **[TIR71]**; P – area P **[TIR72]**; Pa – House 49 **[TIR73]**; D – area D **[TIR74]**; C – area C **[TIR75]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; F1 – area F1 **[TIR77]**; F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; G1 – area G1 **[TIR85]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**; H1 – area H1 **[TIR91]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**; K1 – Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**.

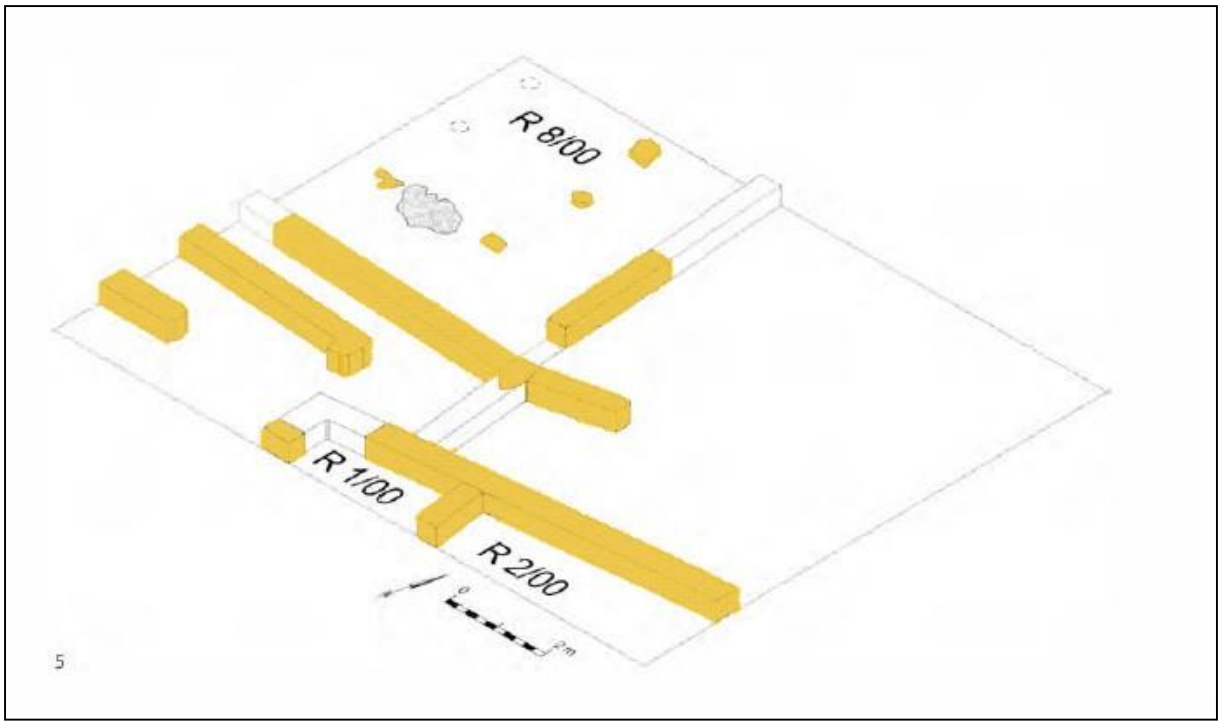


Fig. 72. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 2]** in LH IIIC Early 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 5)

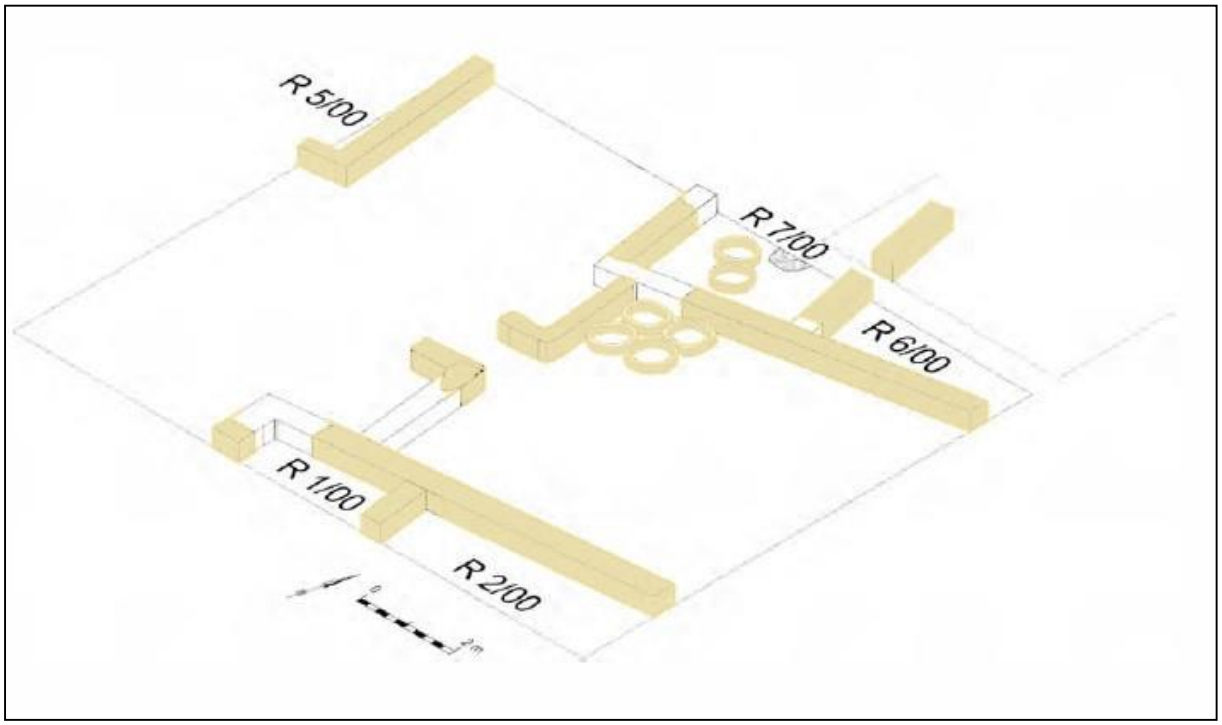


Fig. 73. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Middle 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 16)

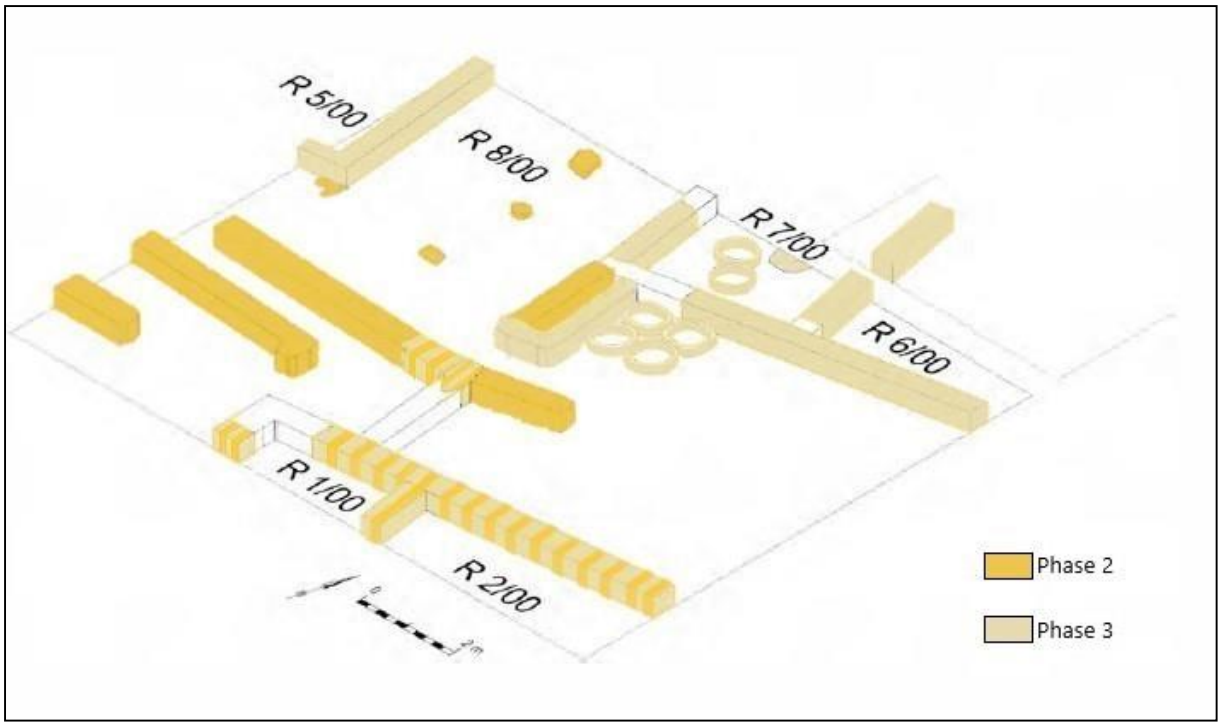


Fig. 74. Spatial omparison of the second and third phase of the Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 2-3]**(after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, figs 5, 16).

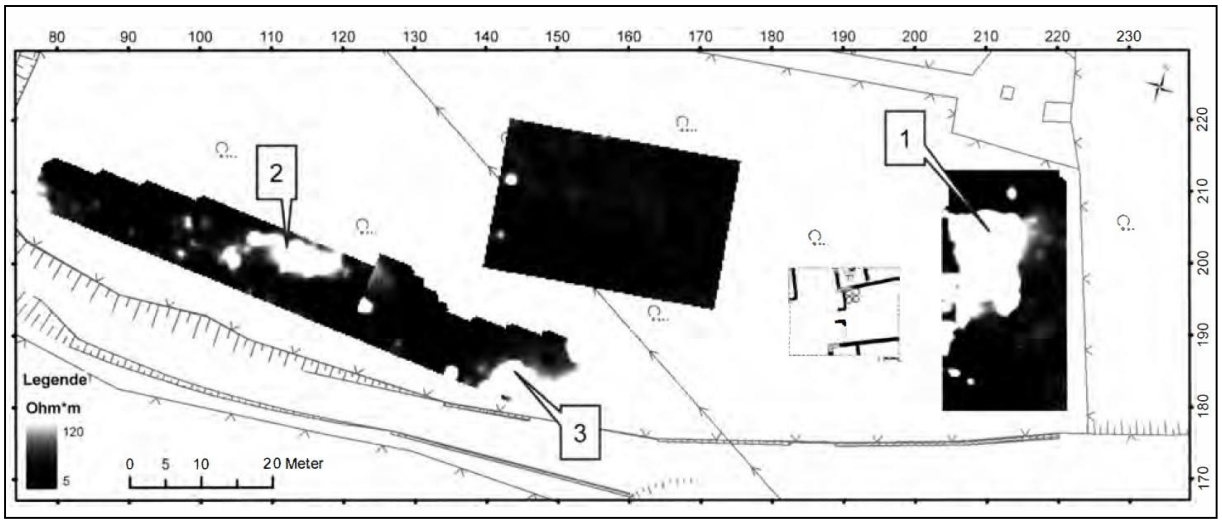


Fig. 75. Results of the geophysical survey in the North-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (Hübner and Giese 2006, fig. 4).

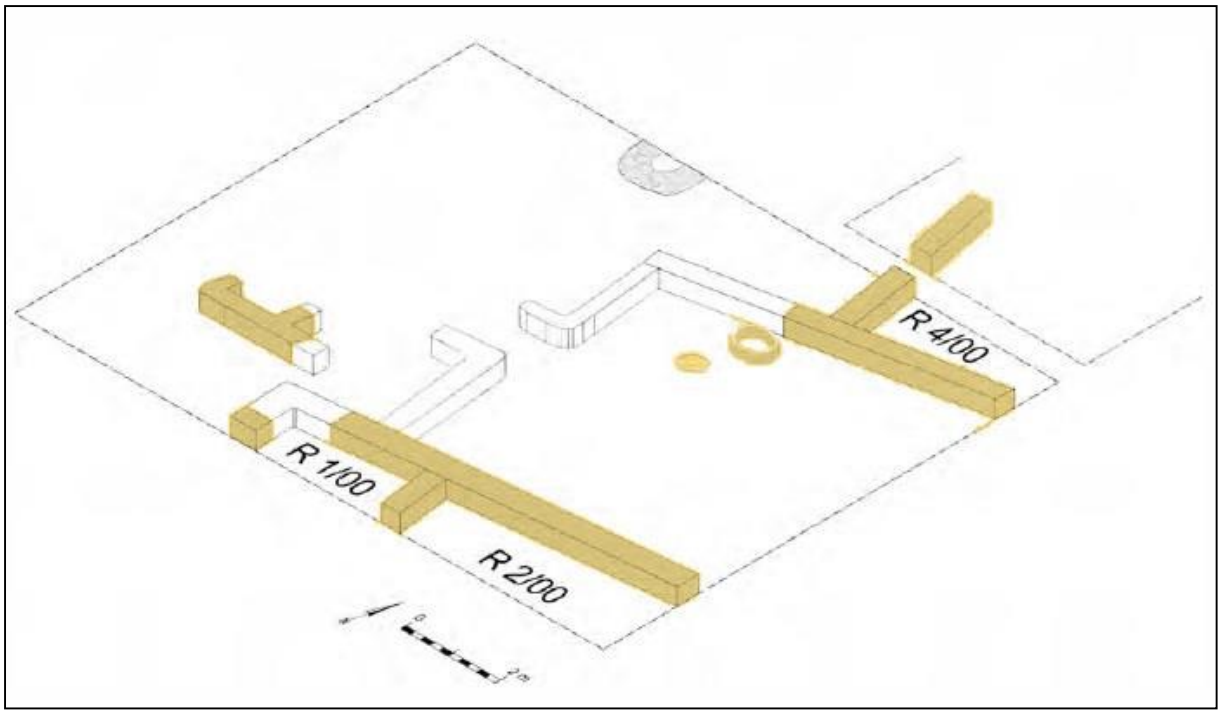


Fig. 76. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 4]** in LH IIIC Middle 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 20).

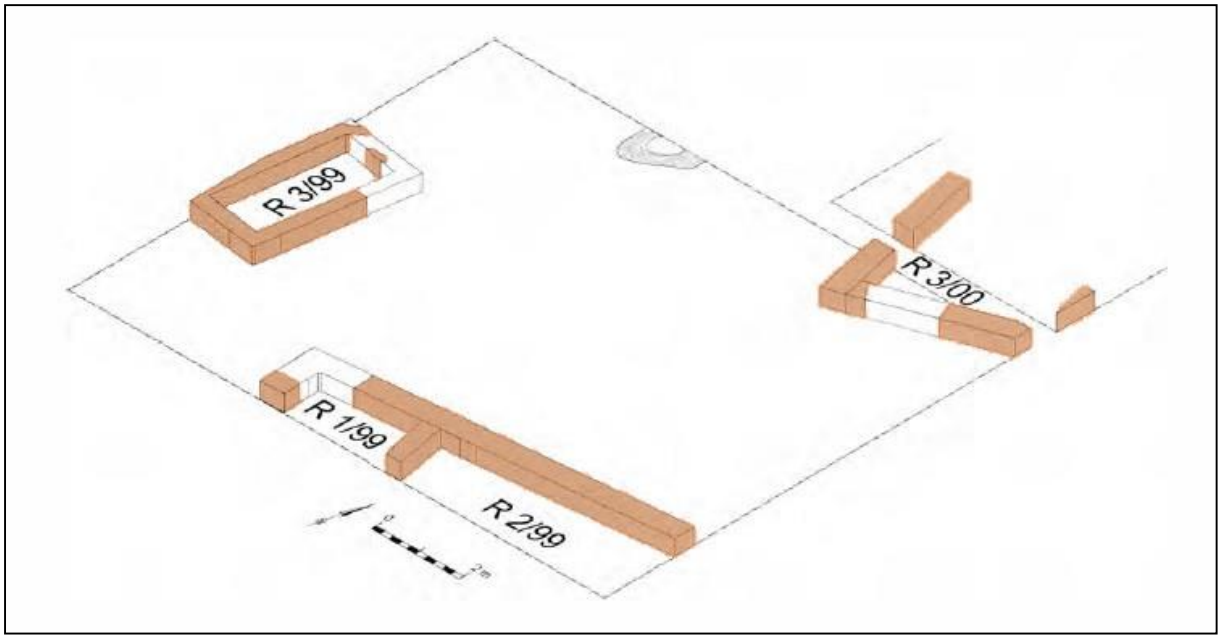


Fig. 77. Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61 – phase 5]** in LH IIIC Middle 2/LH IIIC Late (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, fig. 27)

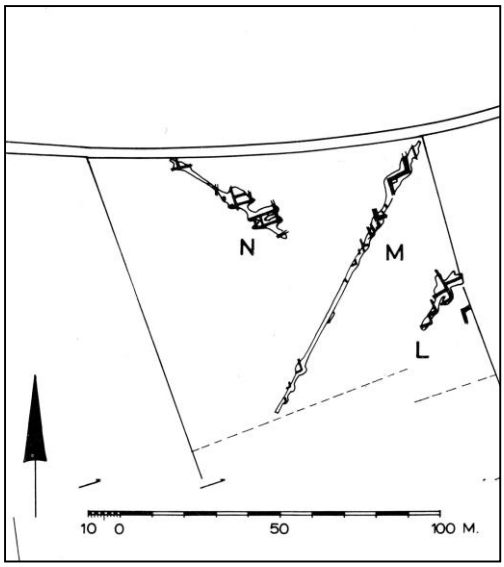


Fig. 78. Areas L **[TIR62]**, M **[TIR63]**, and N **[TIR64]**. Fragment of the North-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1)

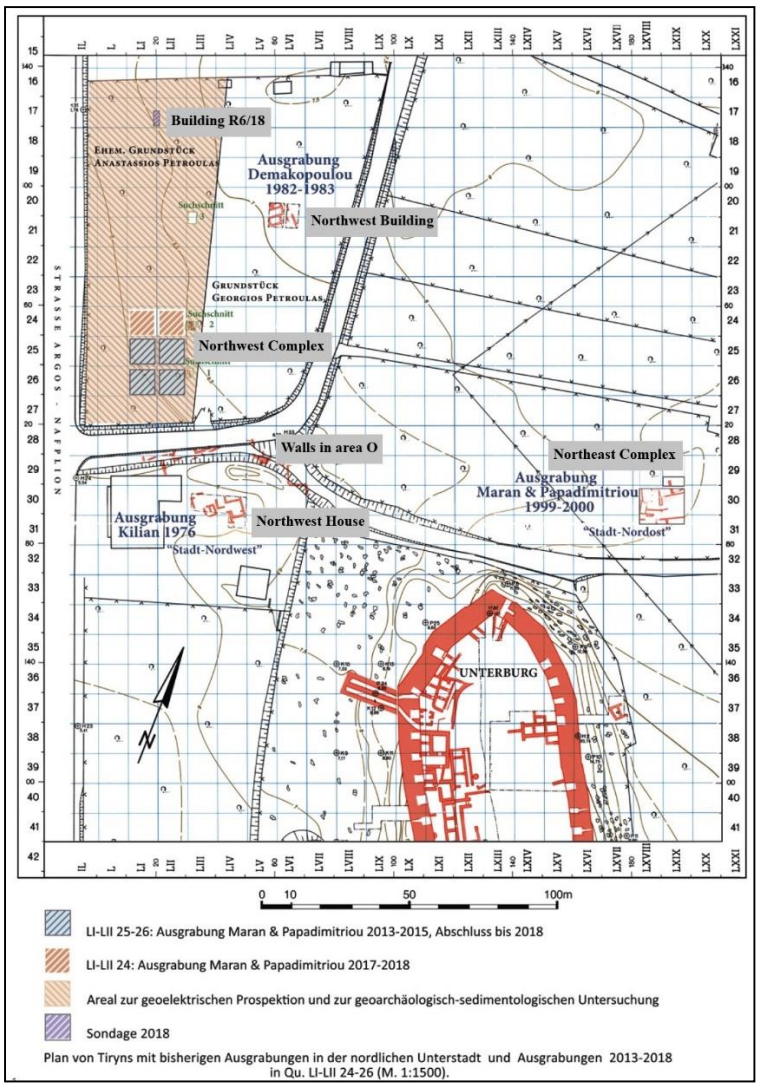


Fig.79. North-western Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns, with part of the North-eastern Sector also visible (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 1).

Fig. 80. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1a]** during LH IIIC Early 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30 modified by the author). Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** in blue, Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]** in green, Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** in red.

Fig. 81. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 1b]** during LH IIIC Early 2 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 30 modified by the author). Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** in blue, Building R2-3/15 **[TIR68]** in green, Building H1-2/15 **[TIR69]** in red.

Fig. 82. Northwester Complex **[TIR67-69 – phase 2]** during LH IIIC Middle 1 (after Maran and Papadimitriou 2021, fig. 99 modified by the author). Building R1/18 **[TIR67]** in blue.

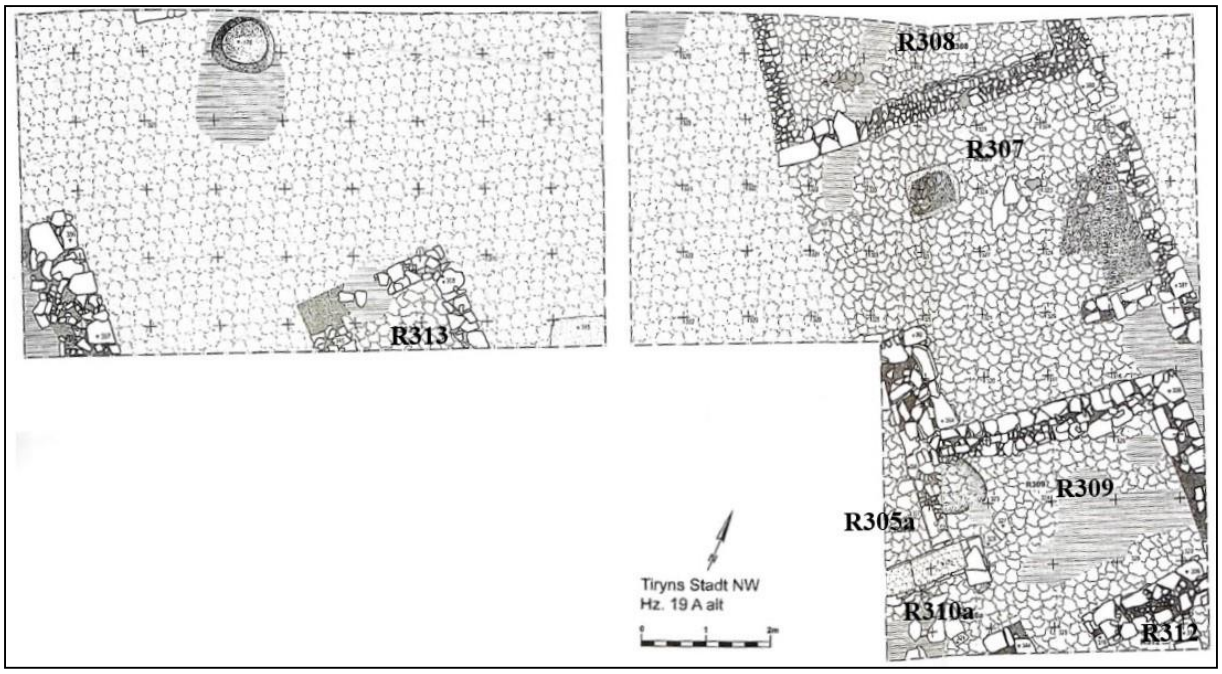


Figure 83. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 1]** in LH IIIC Early – Horizon 19A (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 57)

Fig. 84. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 2]** in LH IIIC Early – Horizon 19B (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 58).

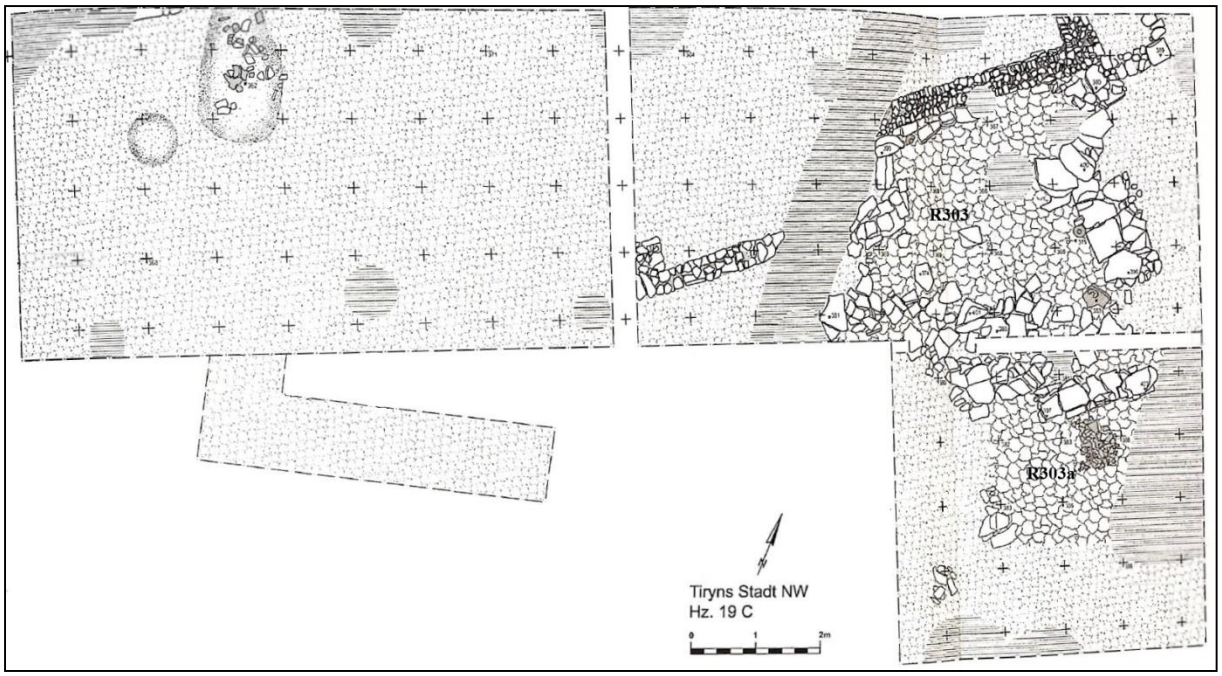


Fig. 85. The Northwest House **[TIR71 – phase 3]** in LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Middle 1 – Horizon 19C (Damm-Meinhardt and Mühlenbruch 2013, plan 59).

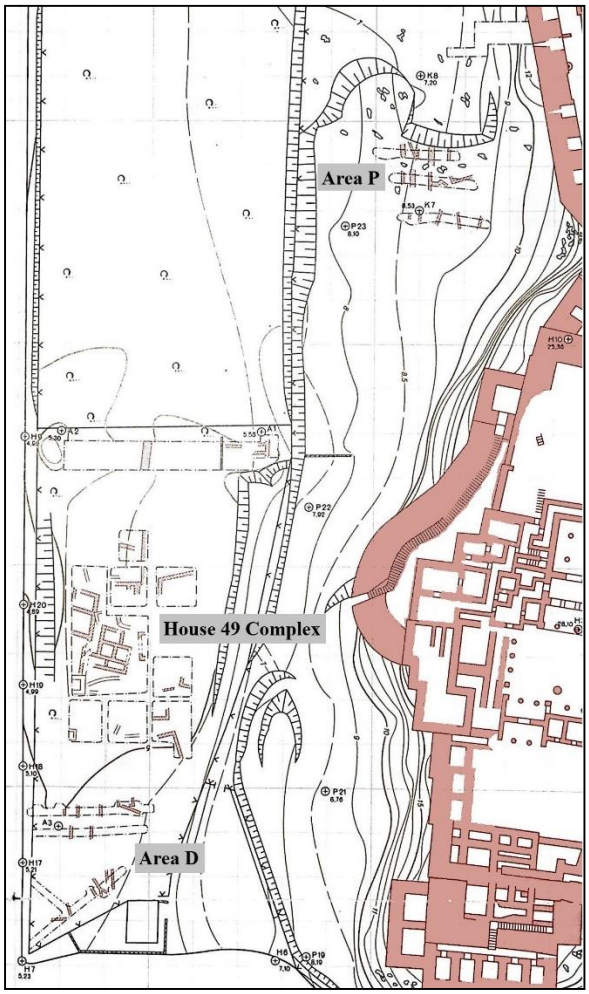


Fig. 86. The West Area of the Lower Town at Tiryns (after Rieger and Böser 1990, pl. 3).

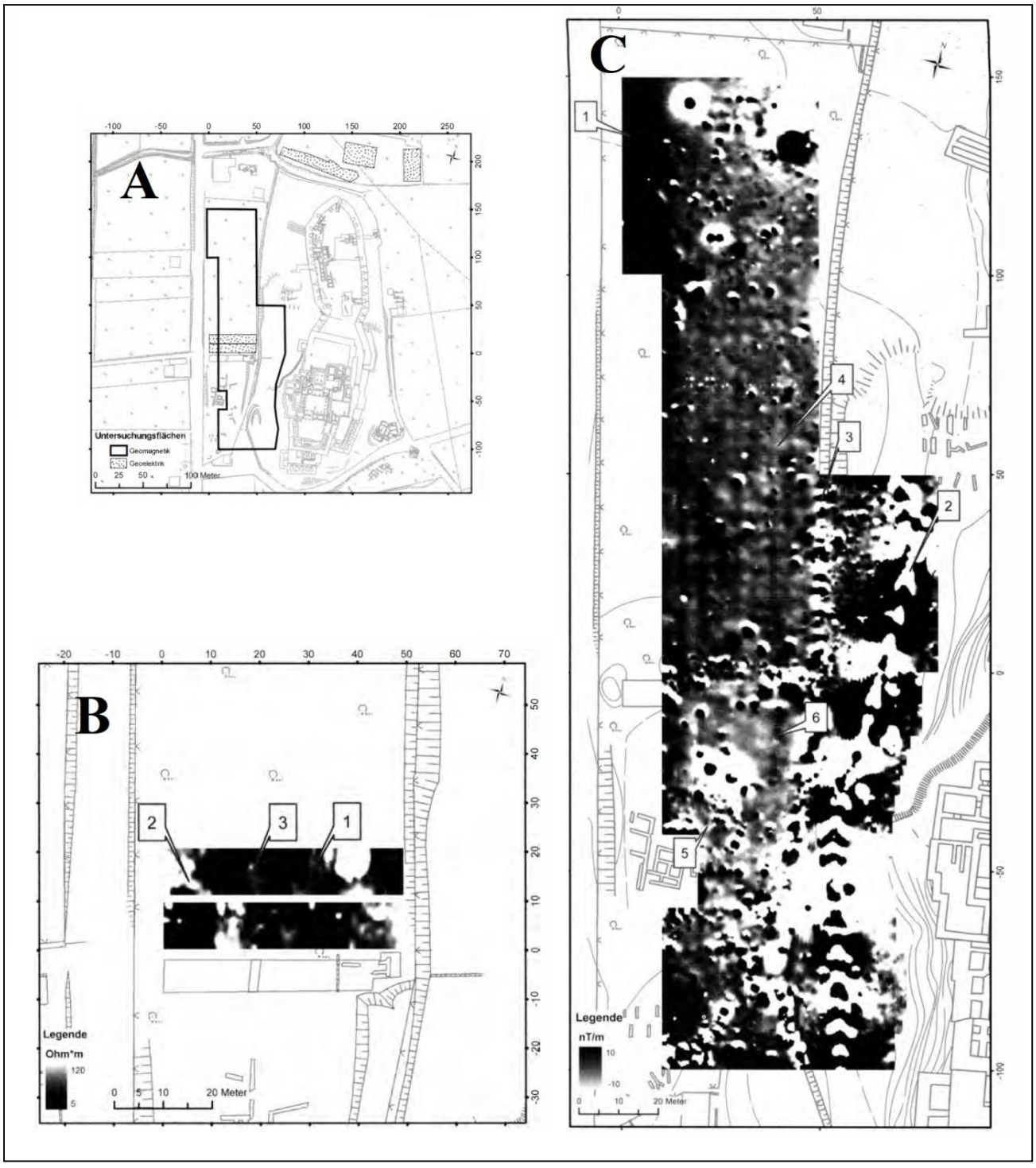


Fig.87. A – the extent of the geophysical survey conducted in the Lower Town of Tiryns; B – results of the geoelectric survey of the West Area; C – results of the geomagnetic survey of the West Area (Hübner and Giese 2006, figs 1–3).

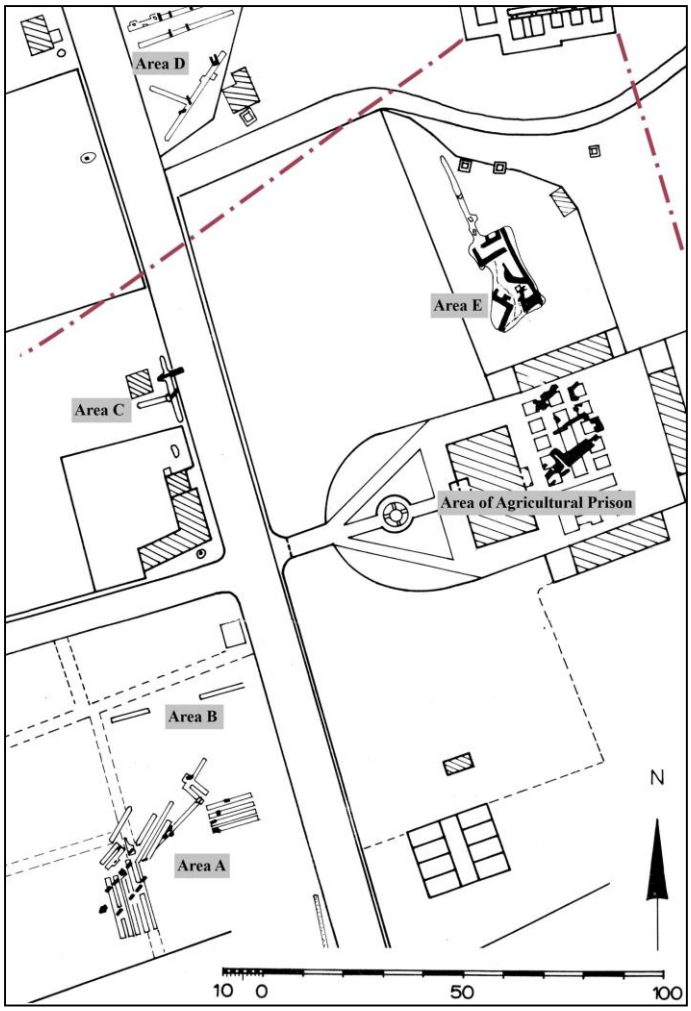


Fig. 88. South-west Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1).

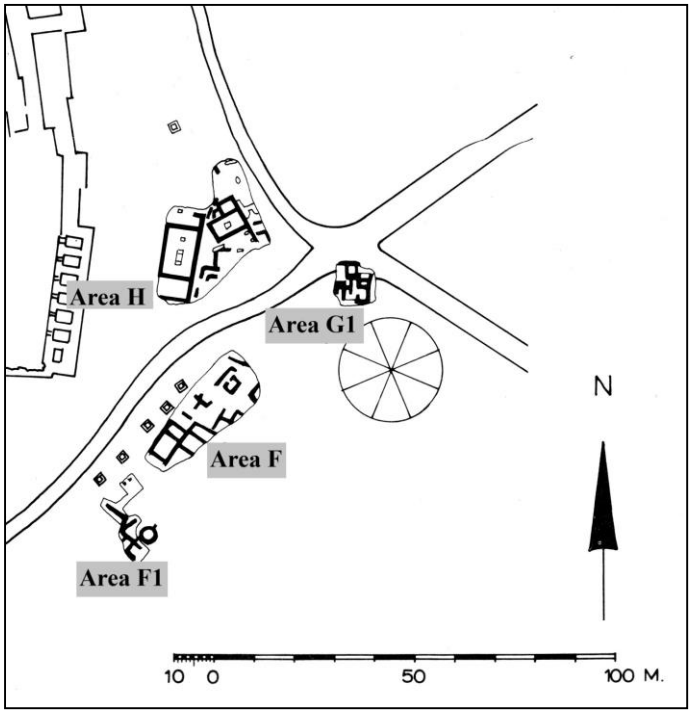


Fig. 89. South-east Sector of the Lower Town of Tiryns (after Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 1).

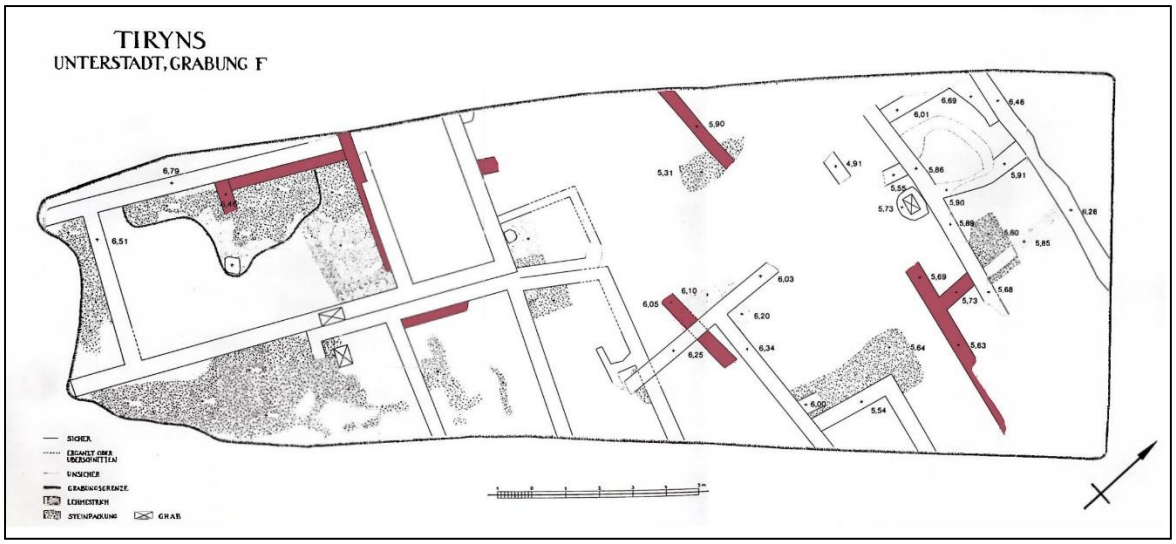


Fig. 90. Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]**. Walls of Phase 1 marked in red (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 4; with modifications by the author).

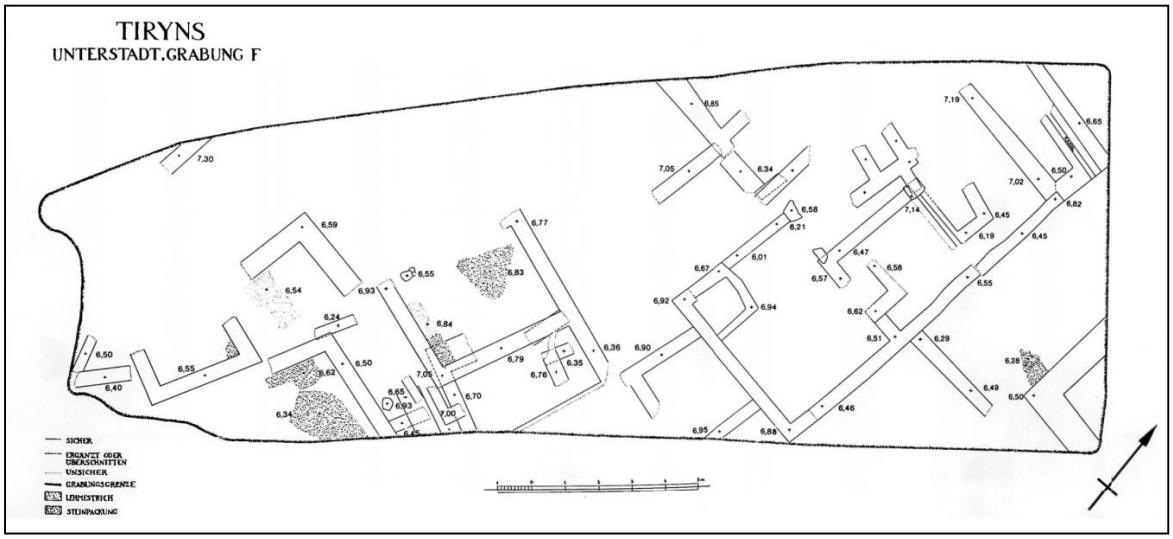


Figure 91. Complex F3 **[TIR80-81]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 3).

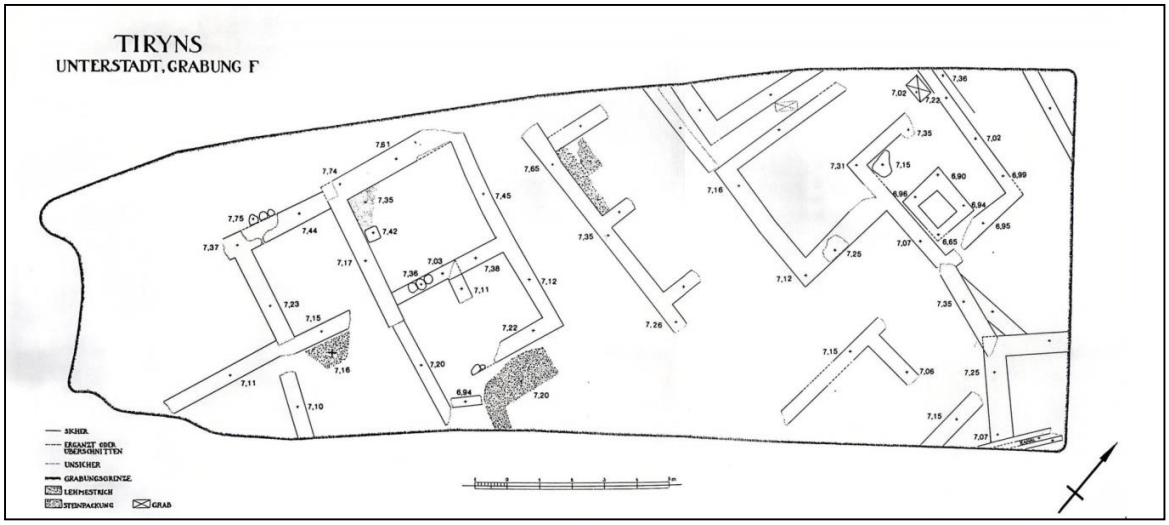


Fig. 92. Complex F3 **[TIR78-79]** (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, pl. 2).

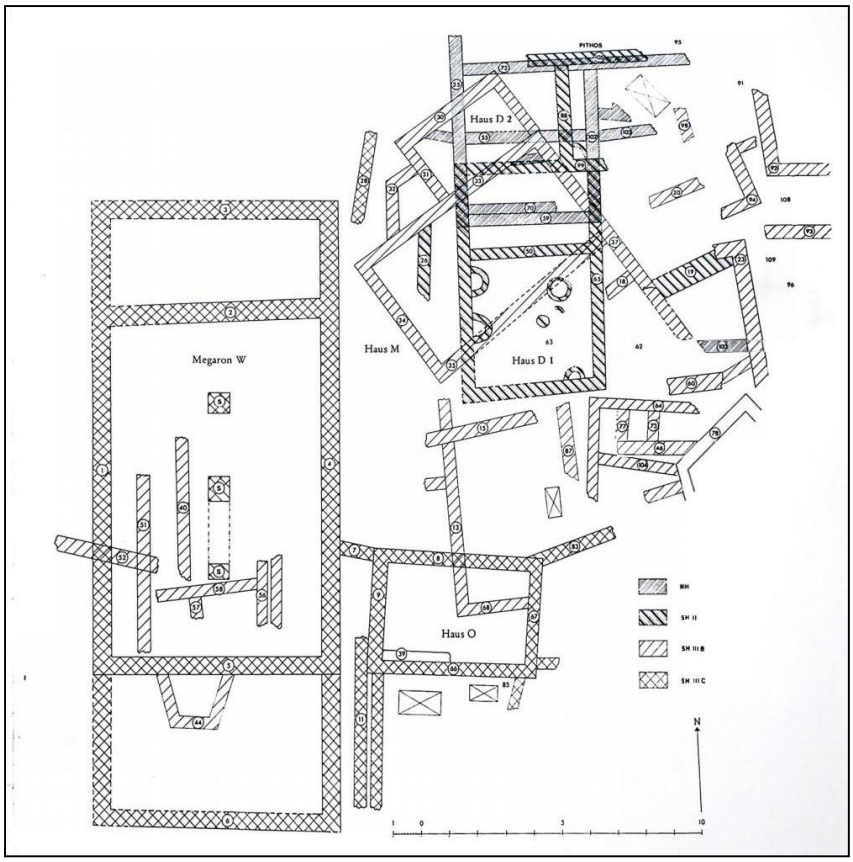


Fig. 93. Area H in the South-eastern Sector of the Lower Town at Tiryns (Müller et al. 1975, pl. 4)

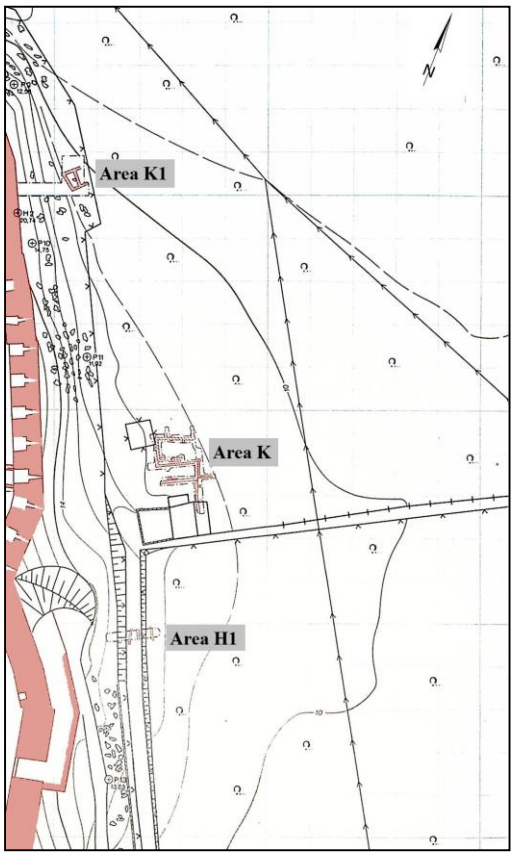


Fig.94. East Area of the Lower Town at Tiryns (after Rieger and Böser 1990, pl. 5).

Fig. 95. Plan of the Early Mycenaean (LH II) settlement at Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: PP – Proto-palace **[TIR2];** F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; G1 – area G1 **[TIR85]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**;

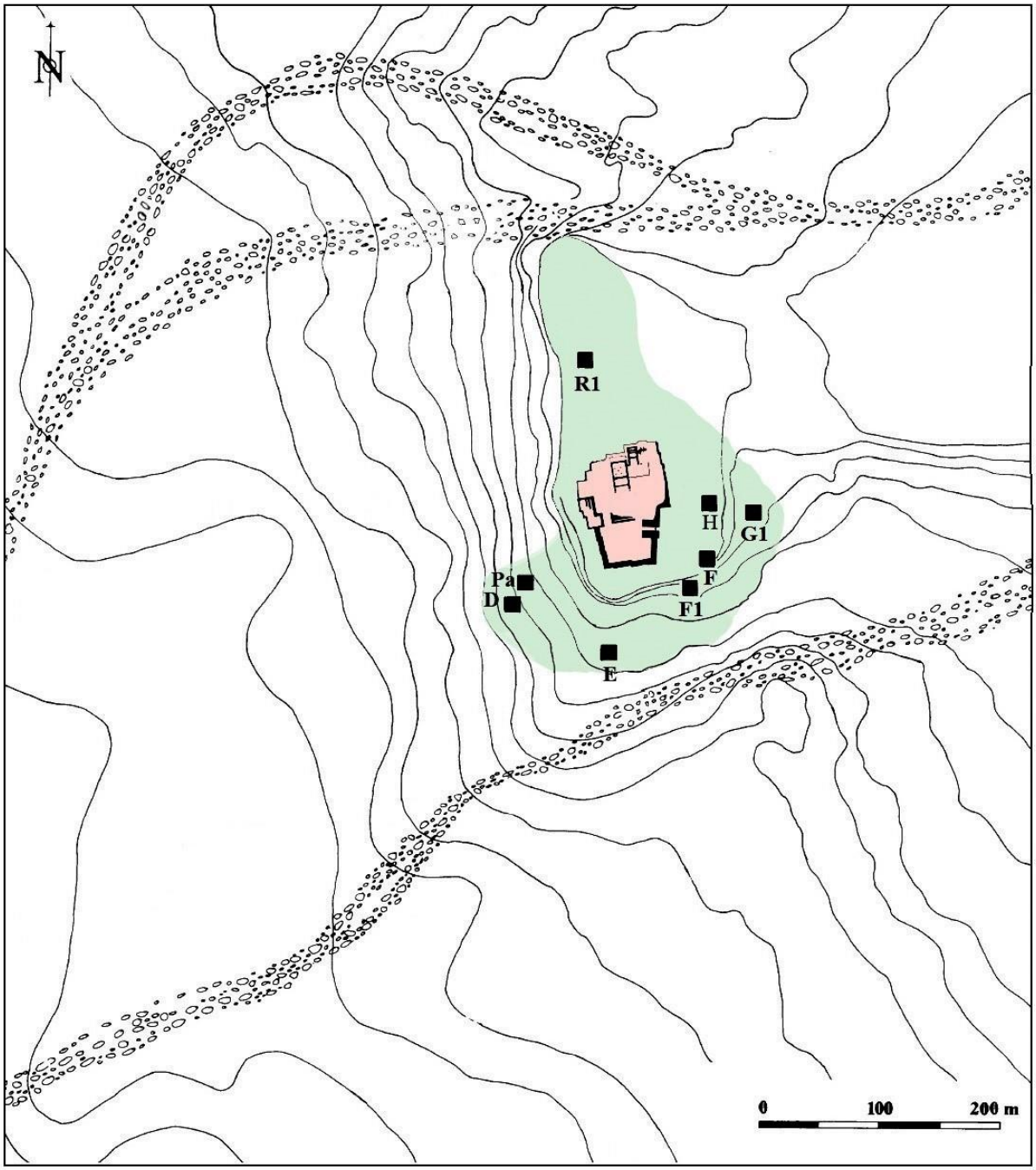


Fig. 96. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: R1 – Ramparts Building **[TIR7]**; Pa – House 49 **[TIR73]**; D – area D **[TIR74]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; F1 – area F1 **[TIR77]**; F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; G1 – area G1 **[TIR85]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**.

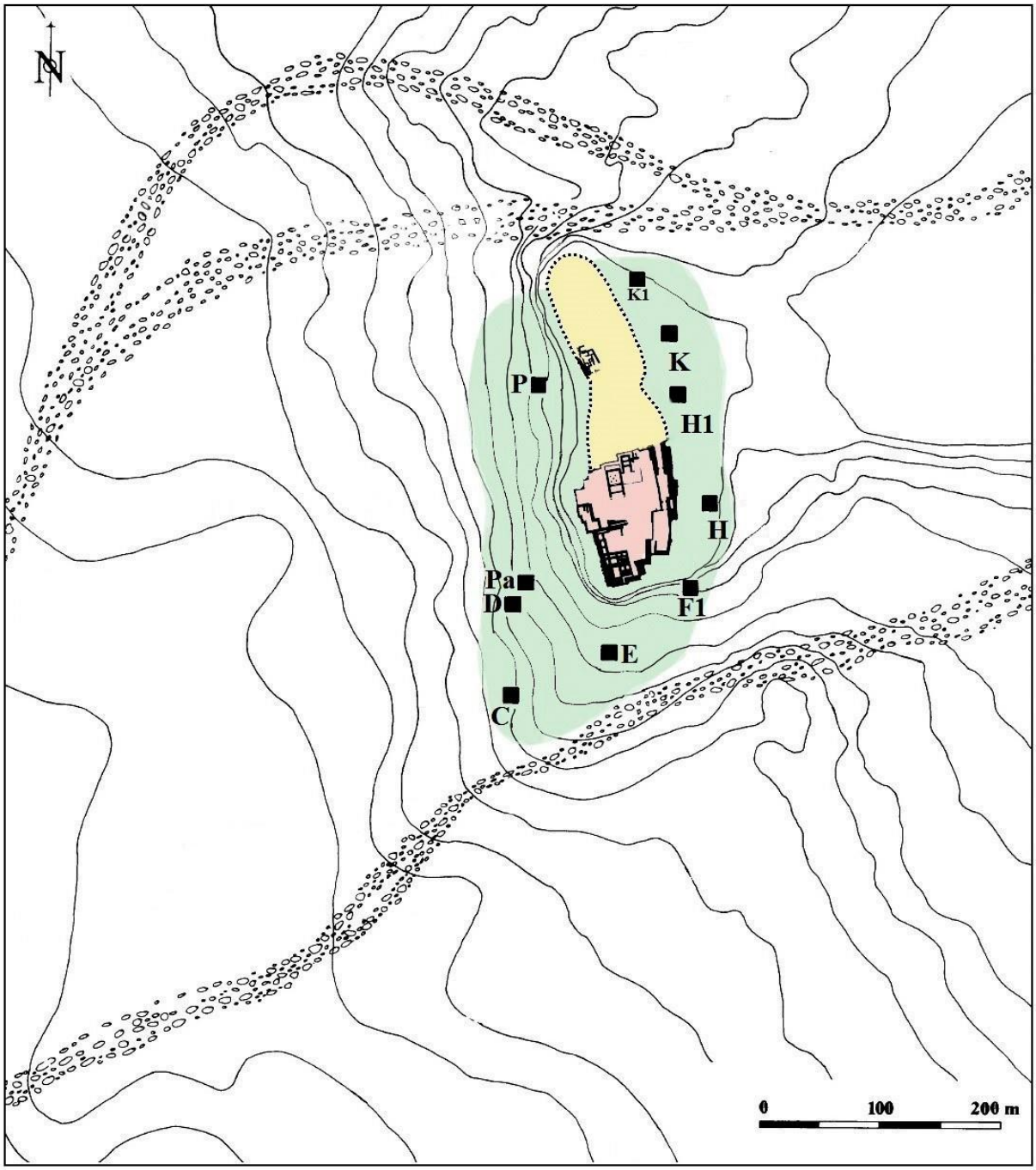


Fig. 97. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB1) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: P – area P **[TIR72]**; Pa – House 49 **[TIR73]**; D – area D **[TIR74]**; C – area C **[TIR75]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; F1 – area F1 **[TIR77]**; F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; **[TIR85]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**; H1 – area H1 **[TIR91]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**; K1 – Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**.

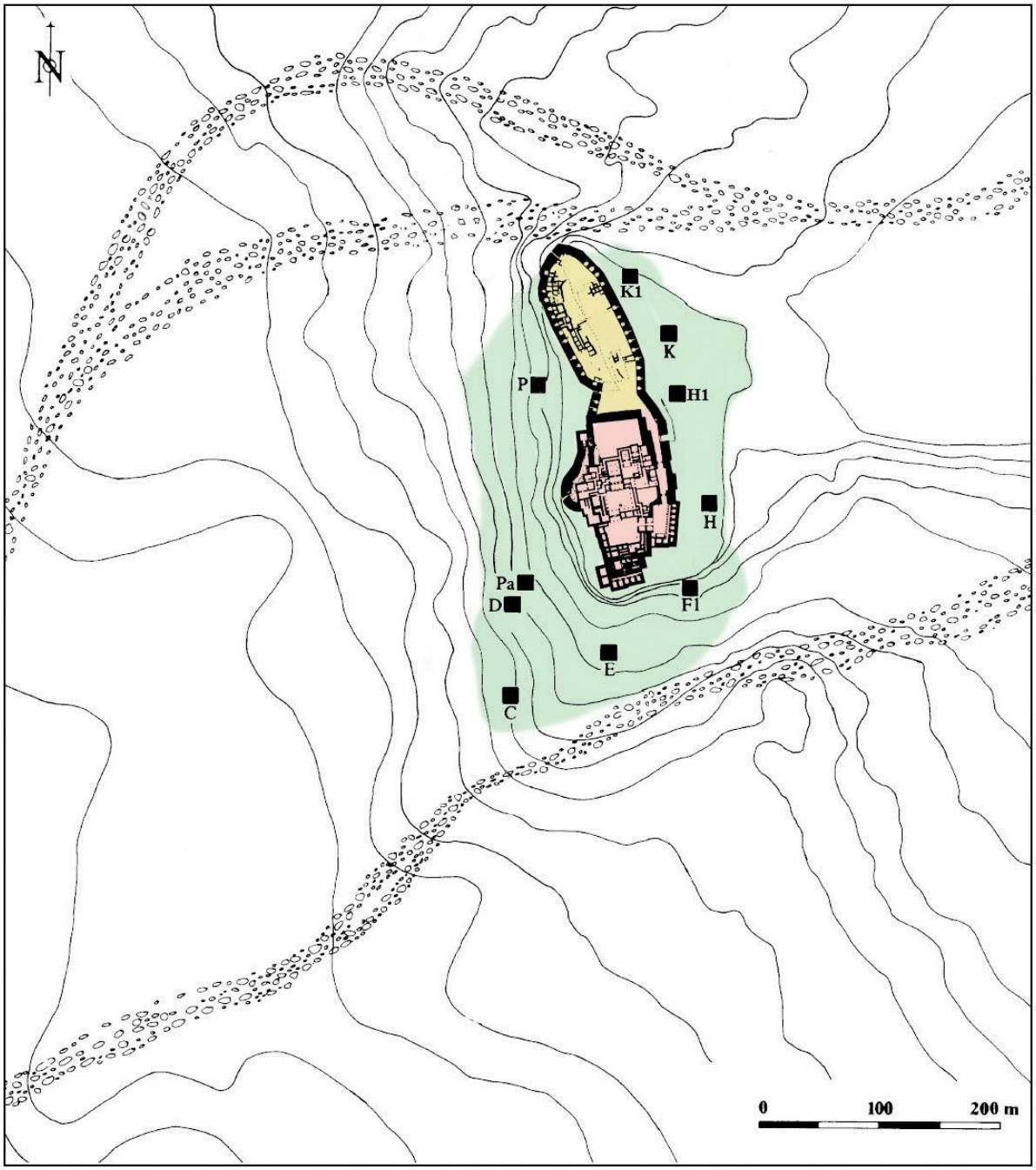


Fig. 98. Plan of the first part of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Early) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: P – area P **[TIR72]**; Pa – House 49 **[TIR73]**; D – area D **[TIR74]**; C – area C **[TIR75]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; F1 – area F1 **[TIR77]**; F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**; H1 – area H1 **[TIR91]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**; K1 – Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**.

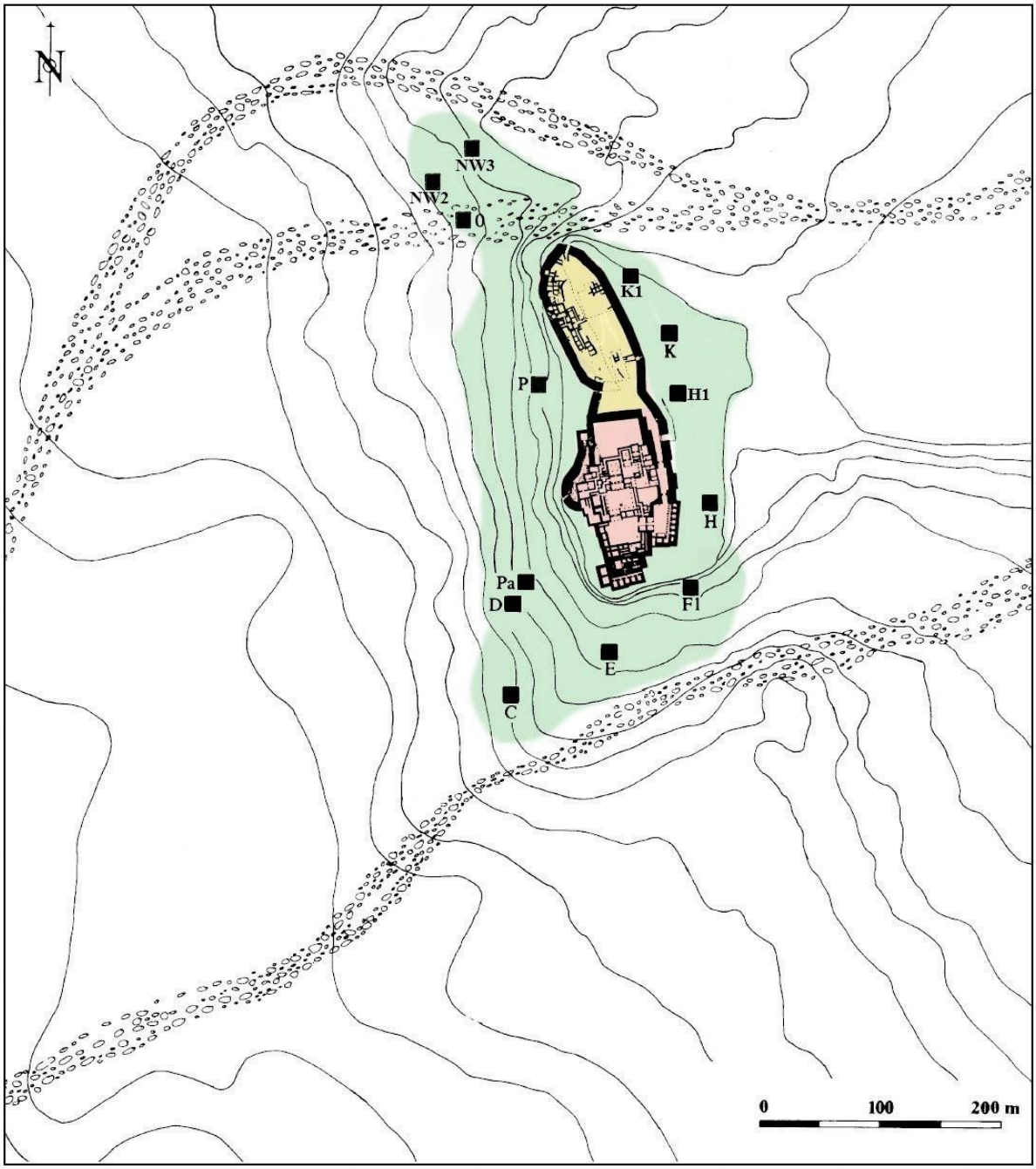


Fig. 99. Plan of the second part of the third phase (LH IIIB2 Late) of the palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: NW3 - Northwest Building **[TIR66]**; NW2 – Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**; P – area P **[TIR72]**; Pa – House 49 **[TIR73]**; D – area D **[TIR74]**; C – area C **[TIR75]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; F1 – area F1 **[TIR77]**; F – area F **[TIR78-84]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**; H1 – area H1 **[TIR91]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**; K1 – Building in area K1 **[TIR93]**.

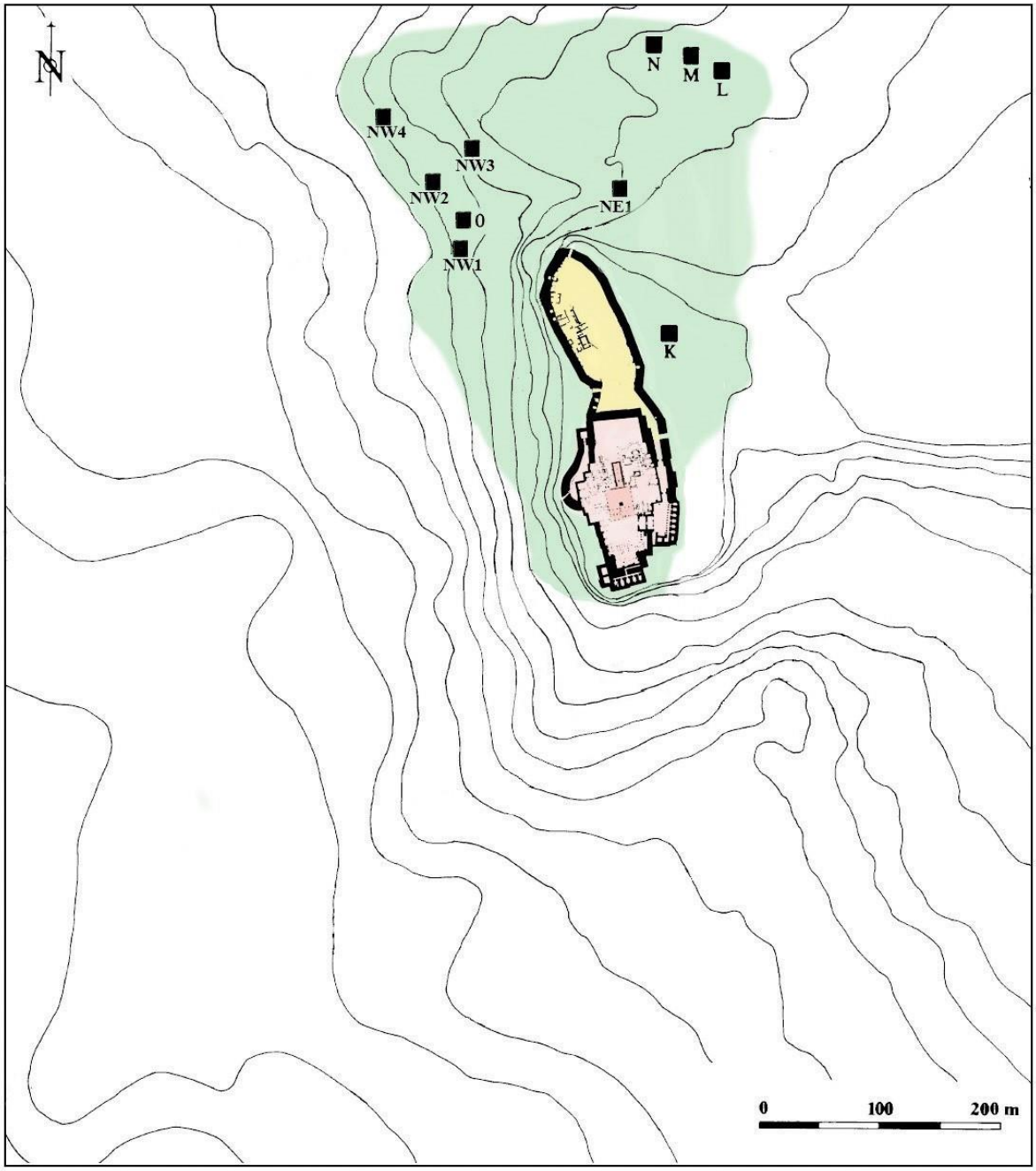


Fig. 100. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIC Early-Middle 1) of the post-palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: NE1 – Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]**; L – area L **[TIR62]**; M – area M **[TIR63]**; N – area N **[TIR64]**; NW4 – Building R6/**18 [TIR65]**; NW3 - Northwest Building **[TIR66]**; NW2 – Northwest Complex **[TIR67-69]**; O – area O **[TIR70]**; NW1 – Northwest House **[TIR71]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**.

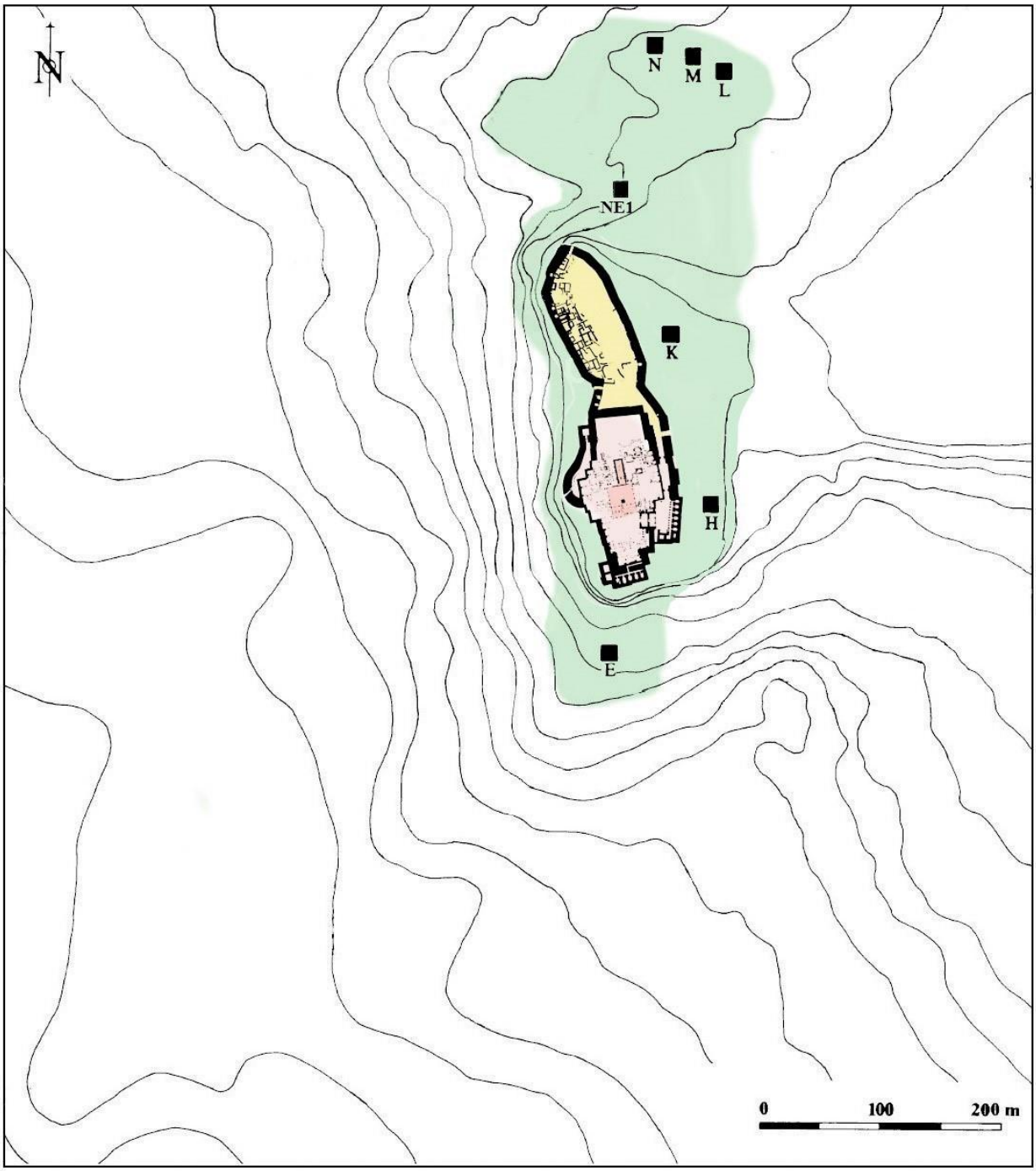


Fig. 101. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIC Middle 2) of the post-palatial town of Tiryns (drawing by the author, original map after Zangger 1994, fig. 5). Legend: NE1 – Northeast Complex **[TIR55-61]**; L – area L **[TIR62]**; M – area M **[TIR63]**; N – area N **[TIR64]**; E – area E **[TIR76]**; H – area H **[TIR86-90]**; K – area K **[TIR92]**.

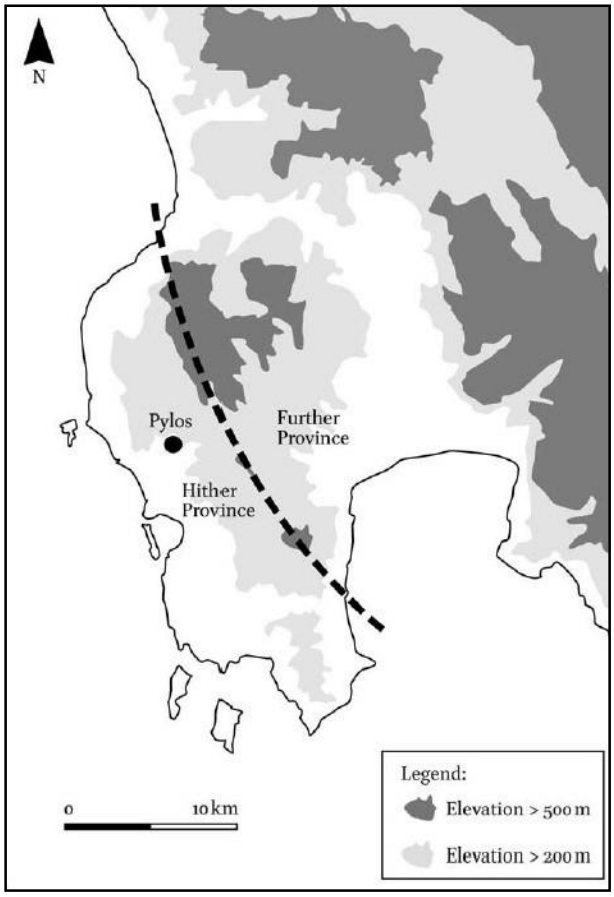


Fig. 102. Messenia and the provinces of LBA Pylos (Nakassis 2013, fig. 1.2).

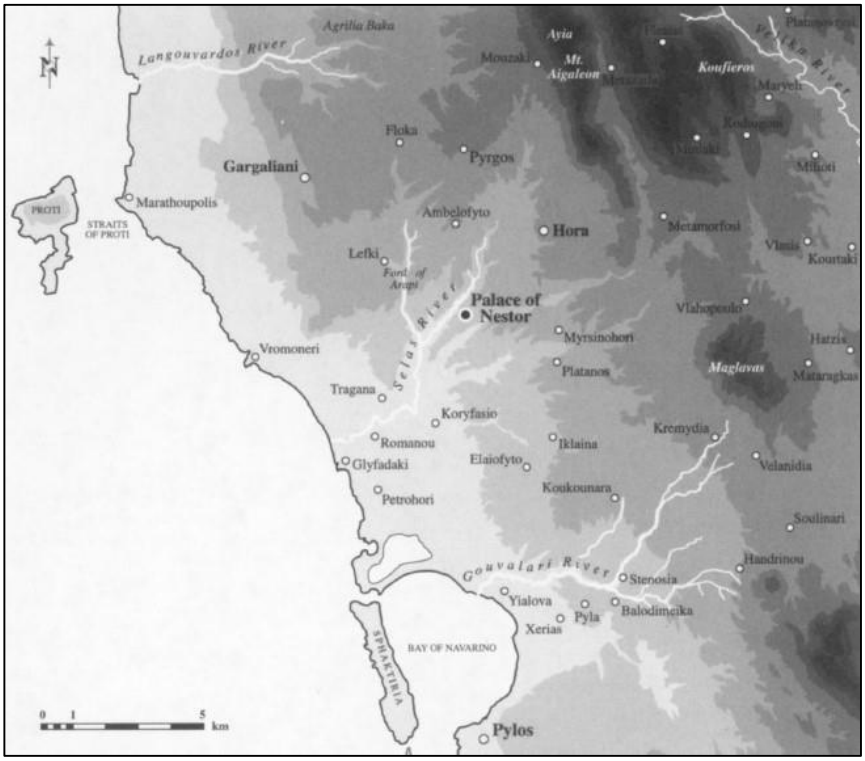


Fig. 103. Topographic map of northwestern Messenia. LBA Pylos is indicated here as "Palace of Nestor", while all the other marked locations refer to modern towns, including modern Pylos on the coast of Navarino Bay (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 2).

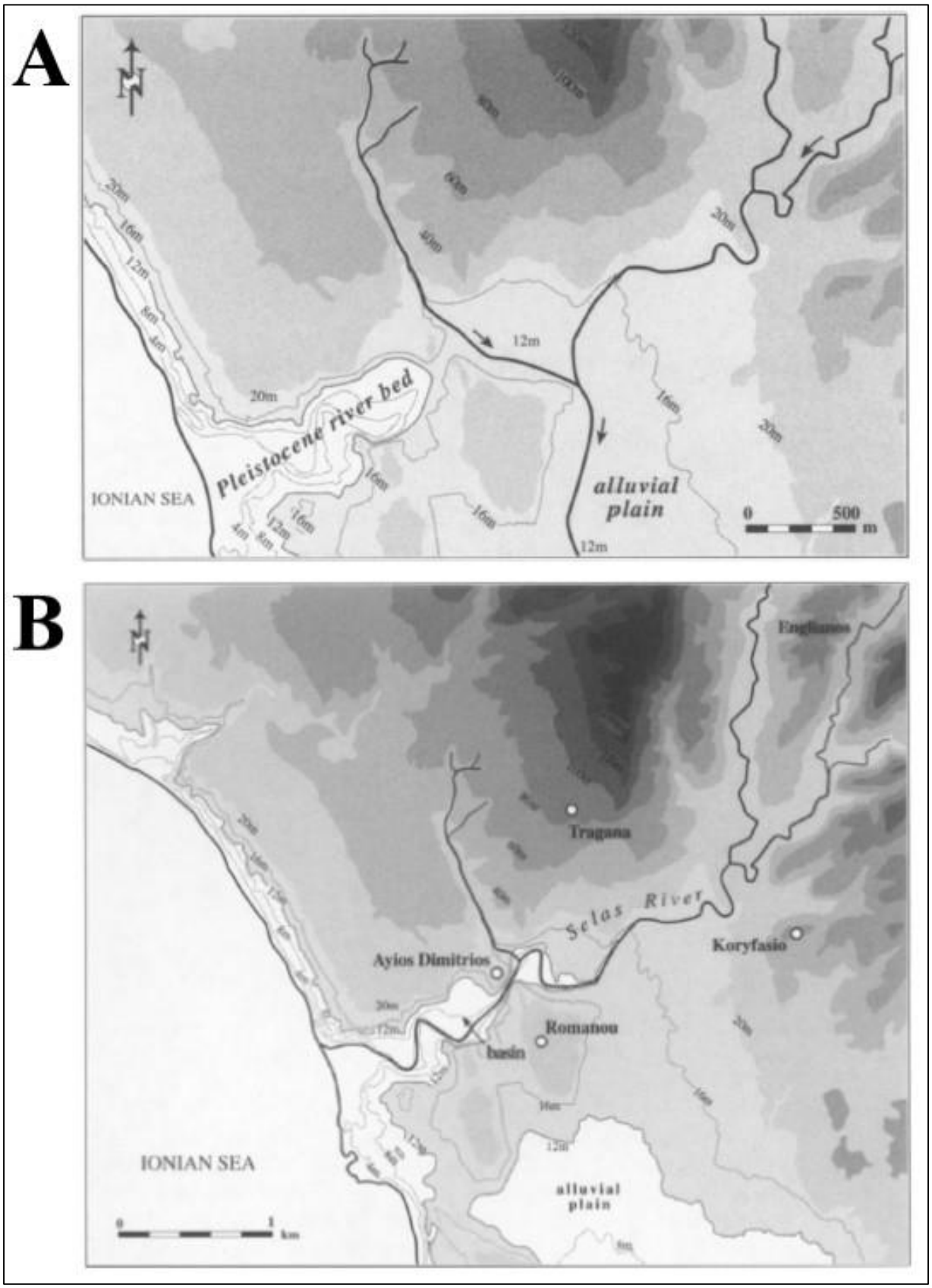


Fig. 104. Reconstruction of the diversion of the Selas River. A: reconstruction of the course of the river during the Early Holocene (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 41). B: present-day topography of the region with the current course of the river (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 42).

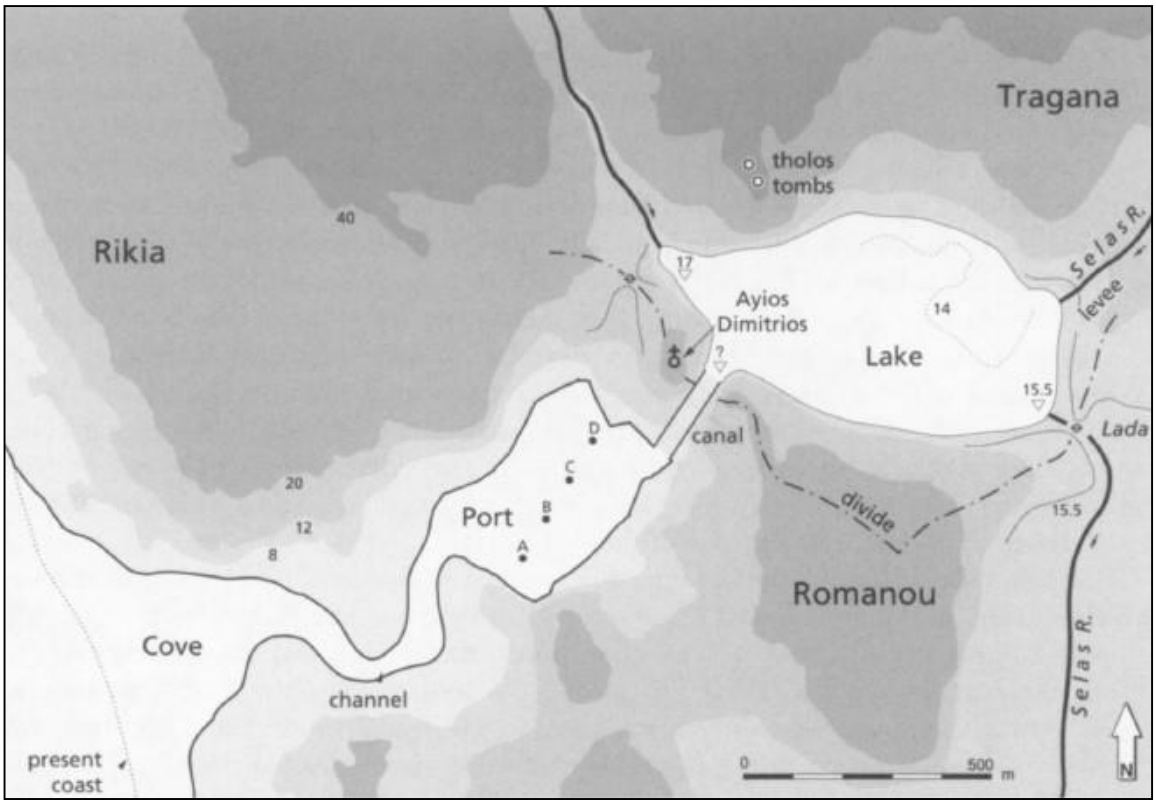


Fig. 105. Reconstruction of the Late Bronze Age port of Pylos, with location of drill holes A-D (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 46).

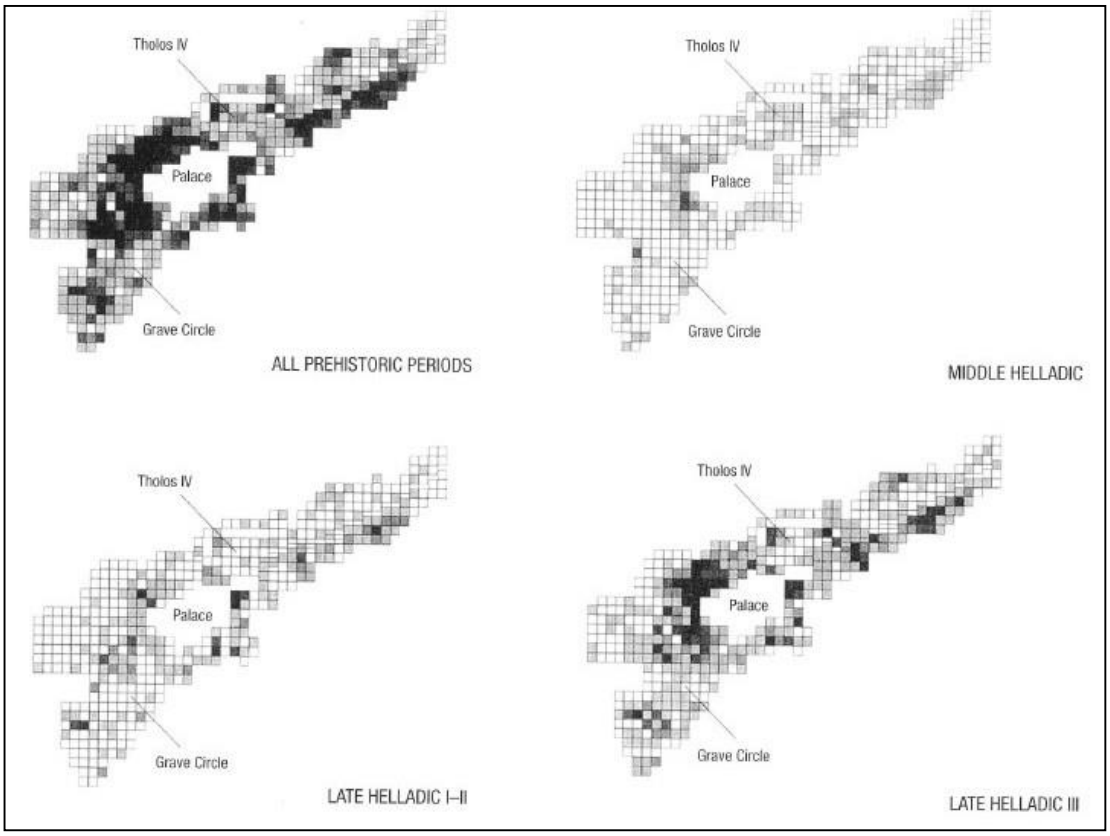


Fig. 106. Pylos Lower Town reconstruction by PRAP. Densities of ceramic material on the surface for: all prehistoric periods, Middle Helladic, Late Helladic I-II, Late Helladic III. The four levels of shading corresppond to densities: 1-375, 375-750, 750-1500, and 1500+ fragmens per ha (Bennet 2007, fig. 3.3; after Davis et al. 1997, fig. 12).

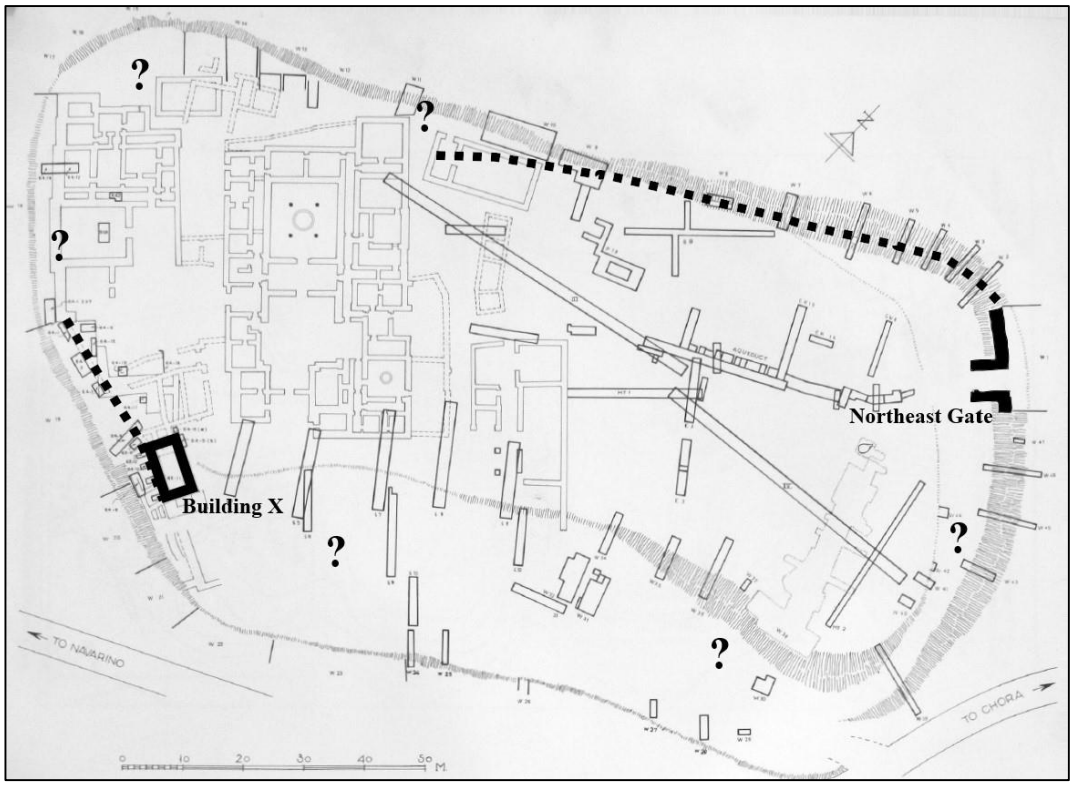


Fig. 107. Proposal of the partial reconstruction of the Early Mycenaean circuit wall at Pylos (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 302 modified by the author).

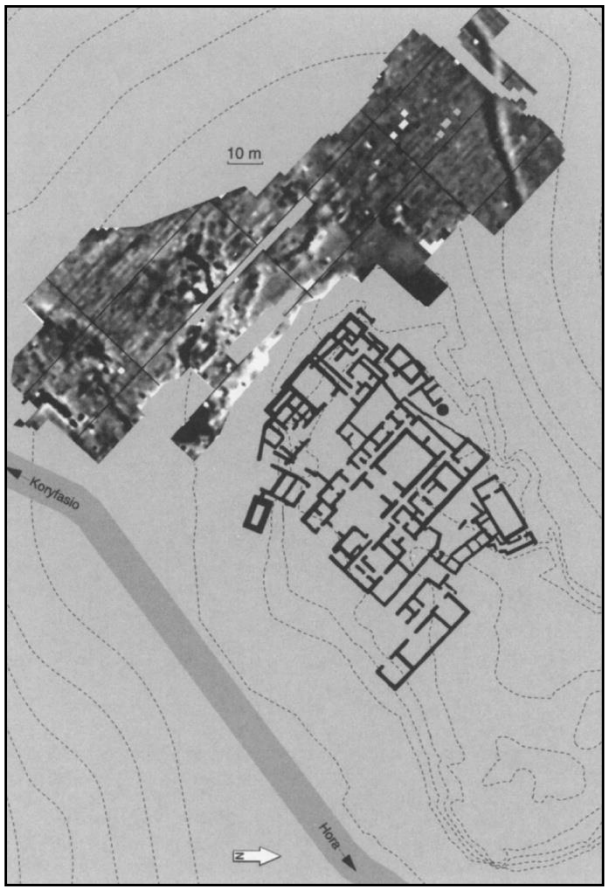


Fig. 108. Results of the geophysical research conducted west of the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]**. Massive elongated anomaly possibly indicating presene of a defensive wall visible in the top right corner (Zangger et al. 1997, fig. 40)

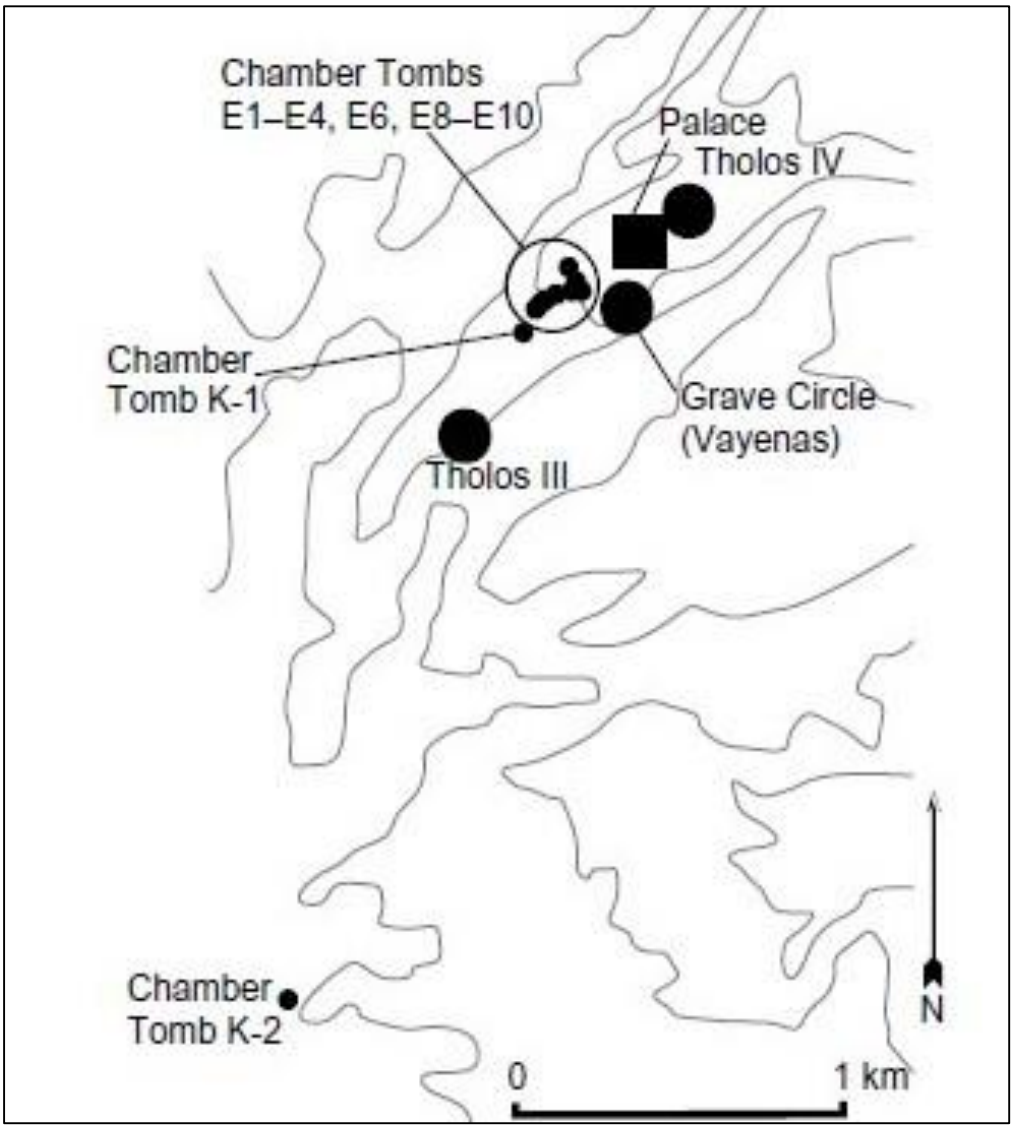


Fig. 109. Map of the Brone Age tombs around the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Murphy 2014, fig. 16.1)**.**

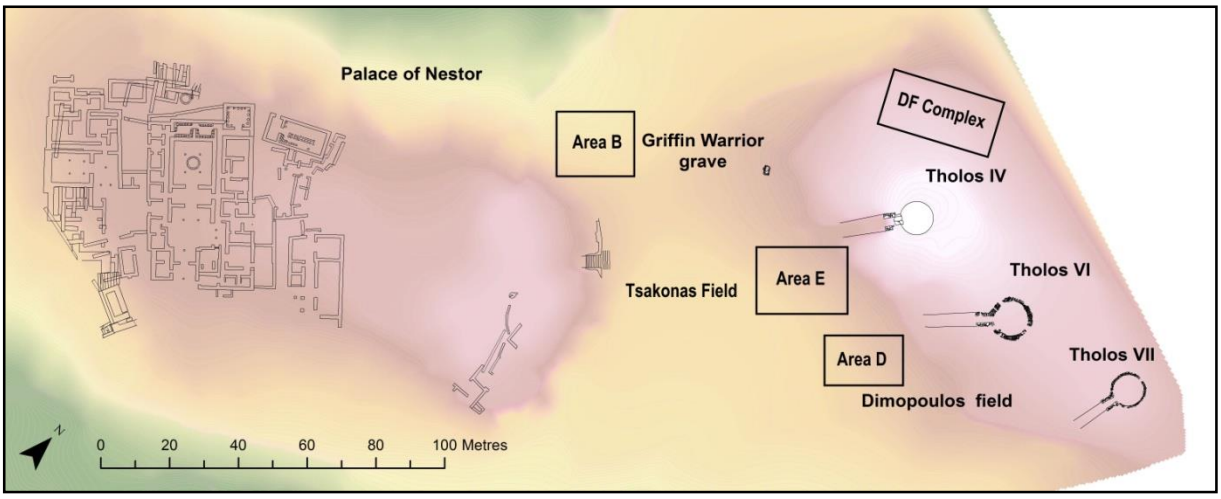


Fig. 110. Area to the northeast of the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Loy, Stocker, and Davis 2021, fig. 1, modified by the author).

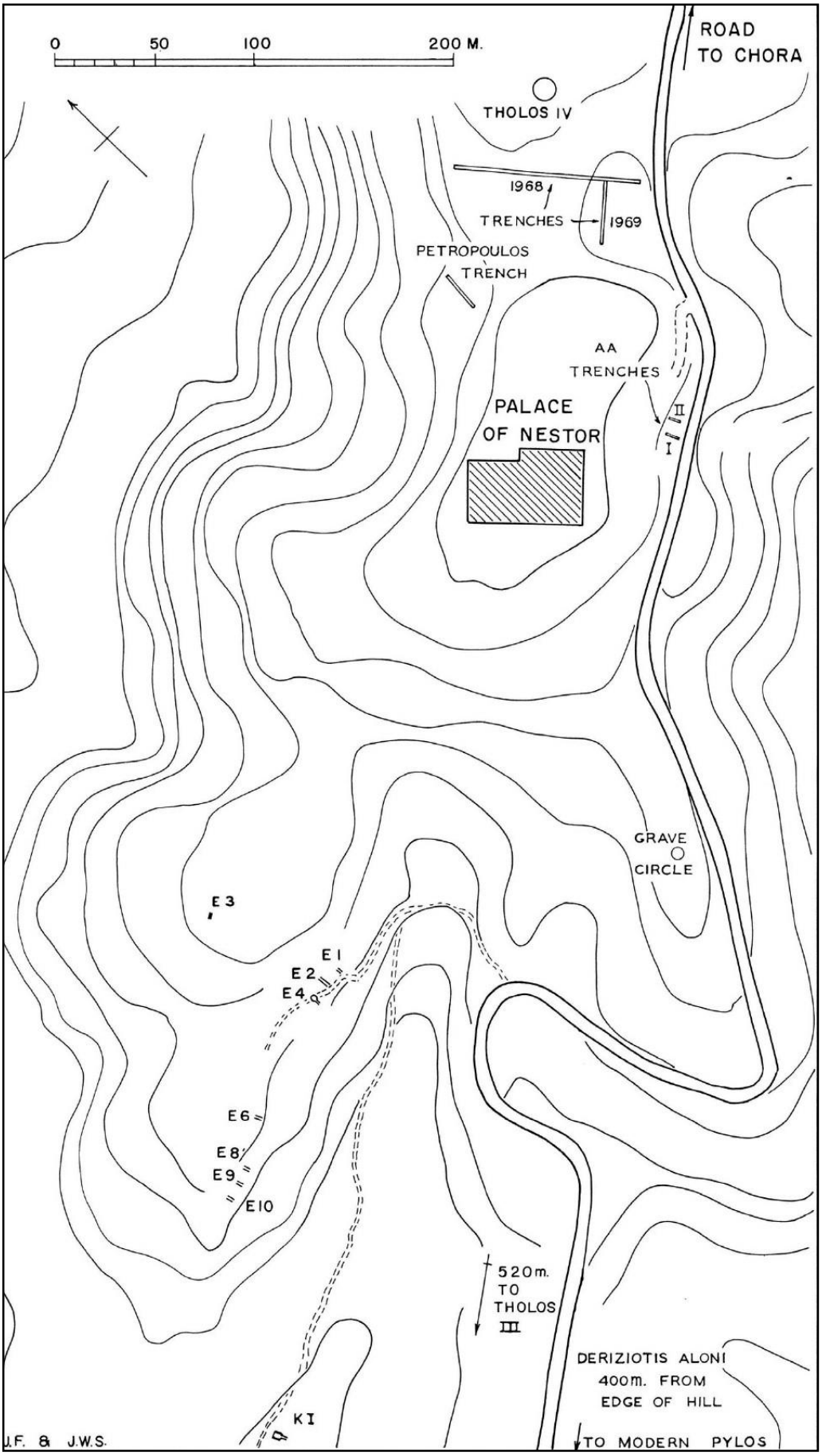


Fig. 111. Area around the Palace of Nestor **[PYL1-8]** (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 301).

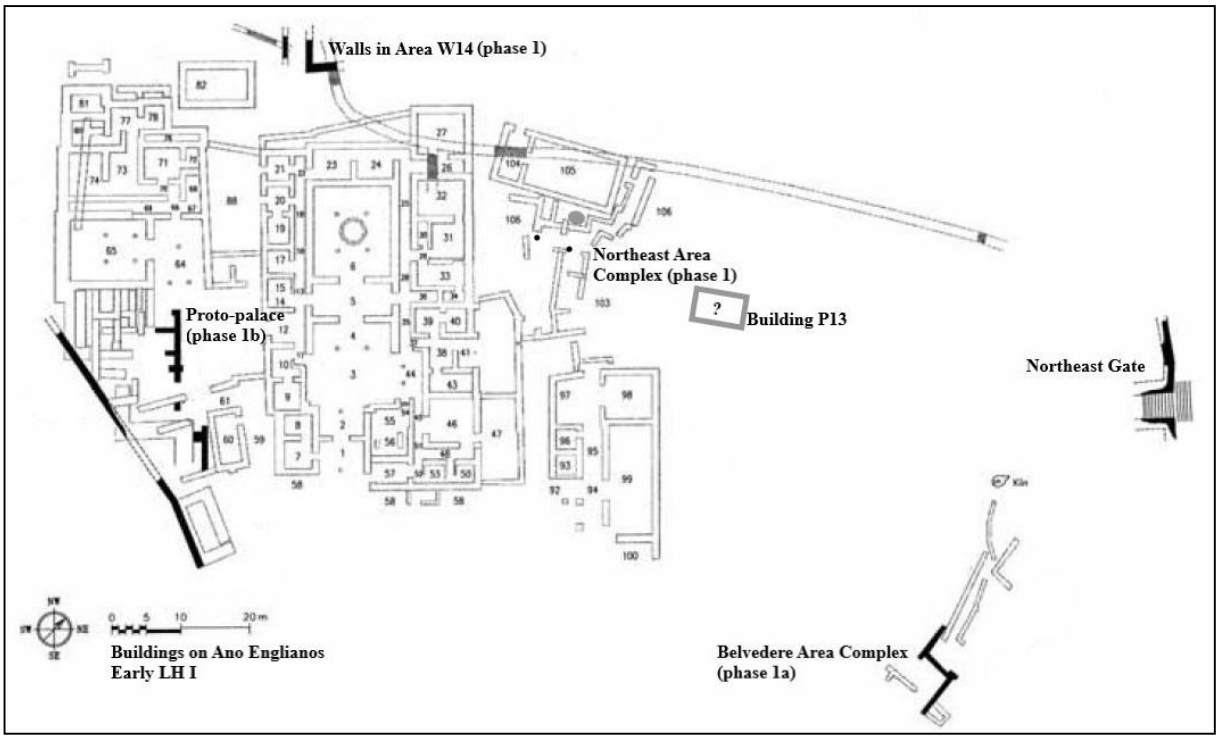


Fig. 112. Acropolis of Pylos in LH I (Nelson 2001, fig. 79, modified by the author).

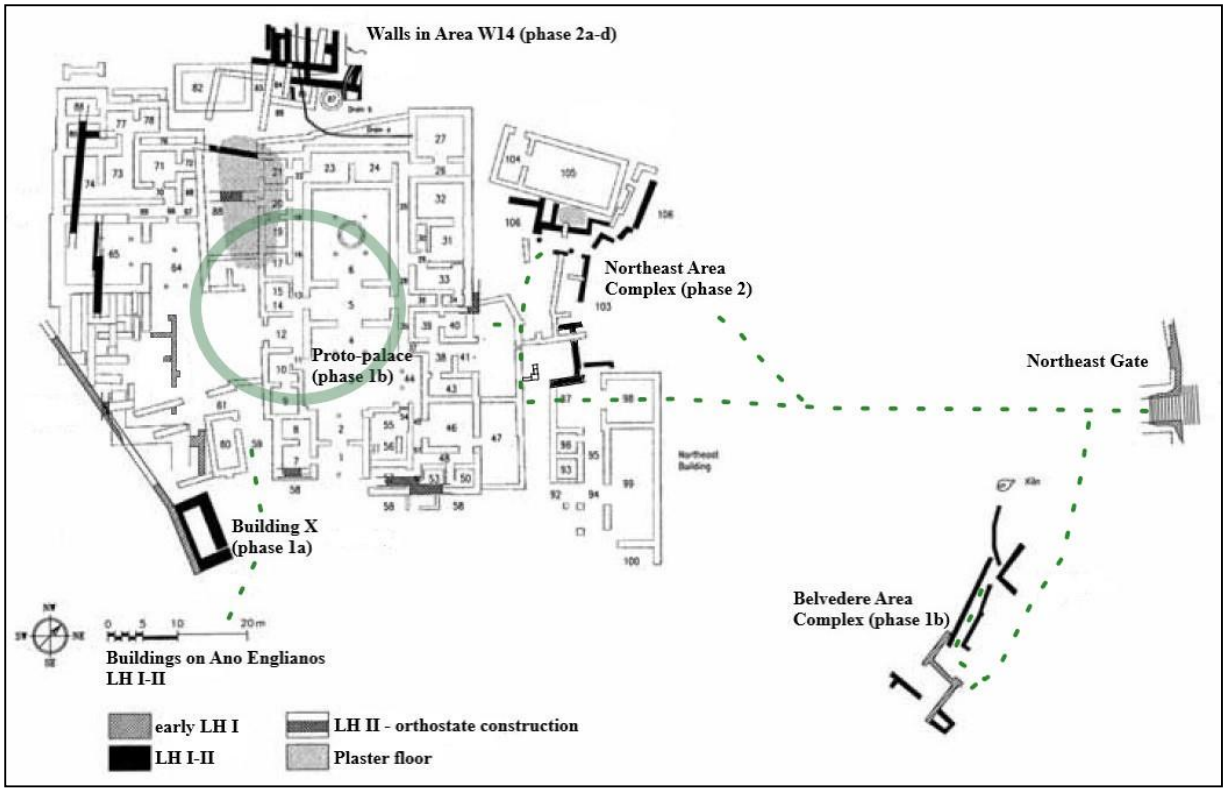


Fig. 113. Acropolis of Pylos in LH II. Presumed aproximate extent of the central area indicated by green circle (Nelson 2001, fig. 80, modified by the author).

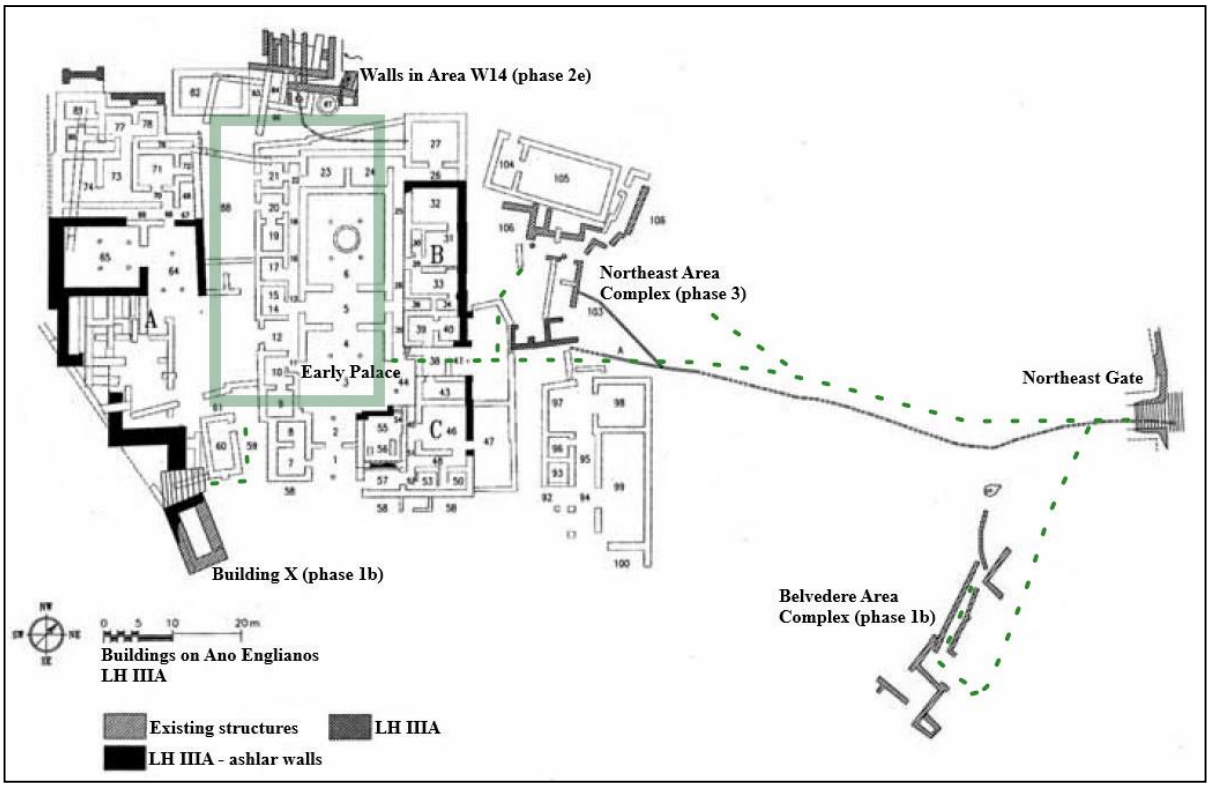
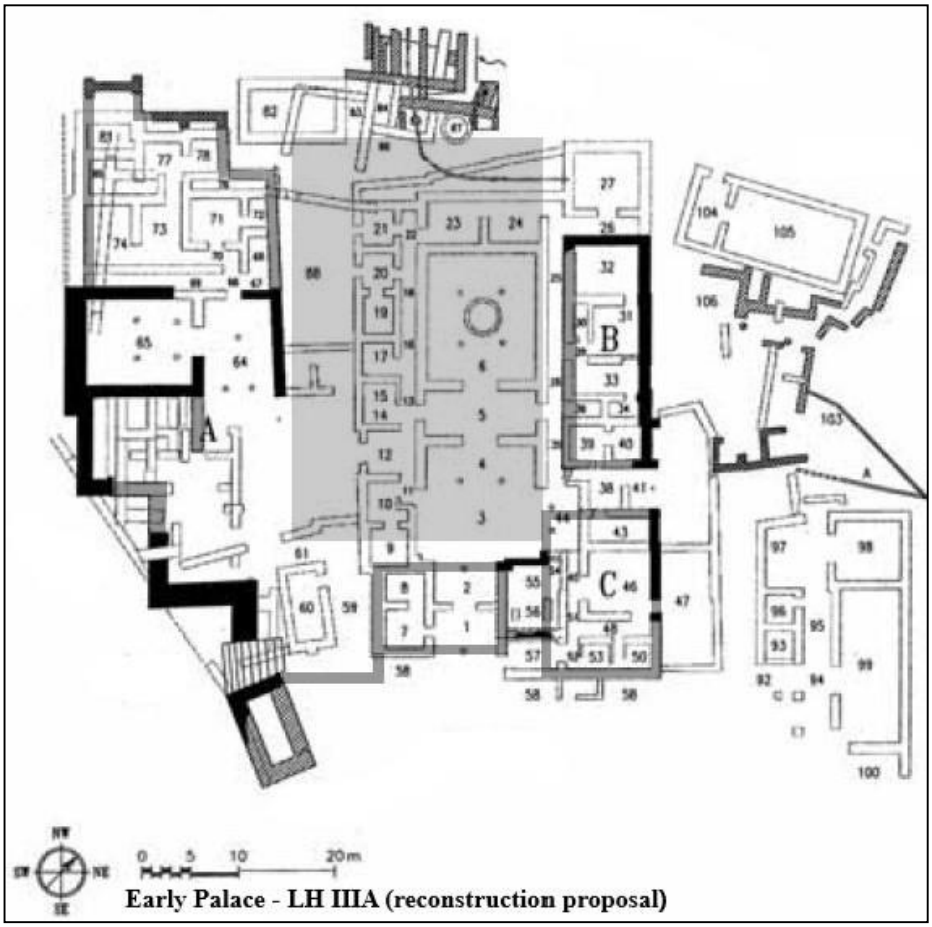


Fig. 114. Acropolis of Pylos in LH IIIA. Presumed extent of the central court indicate by green rectangle (Nelson



2001, fig. 81, modified by the author).

Fig. 115. Proposal of a reconstruction of the Early Palace **[PYL3]** (after Nelson 2001, fig. 81, modified by the author).

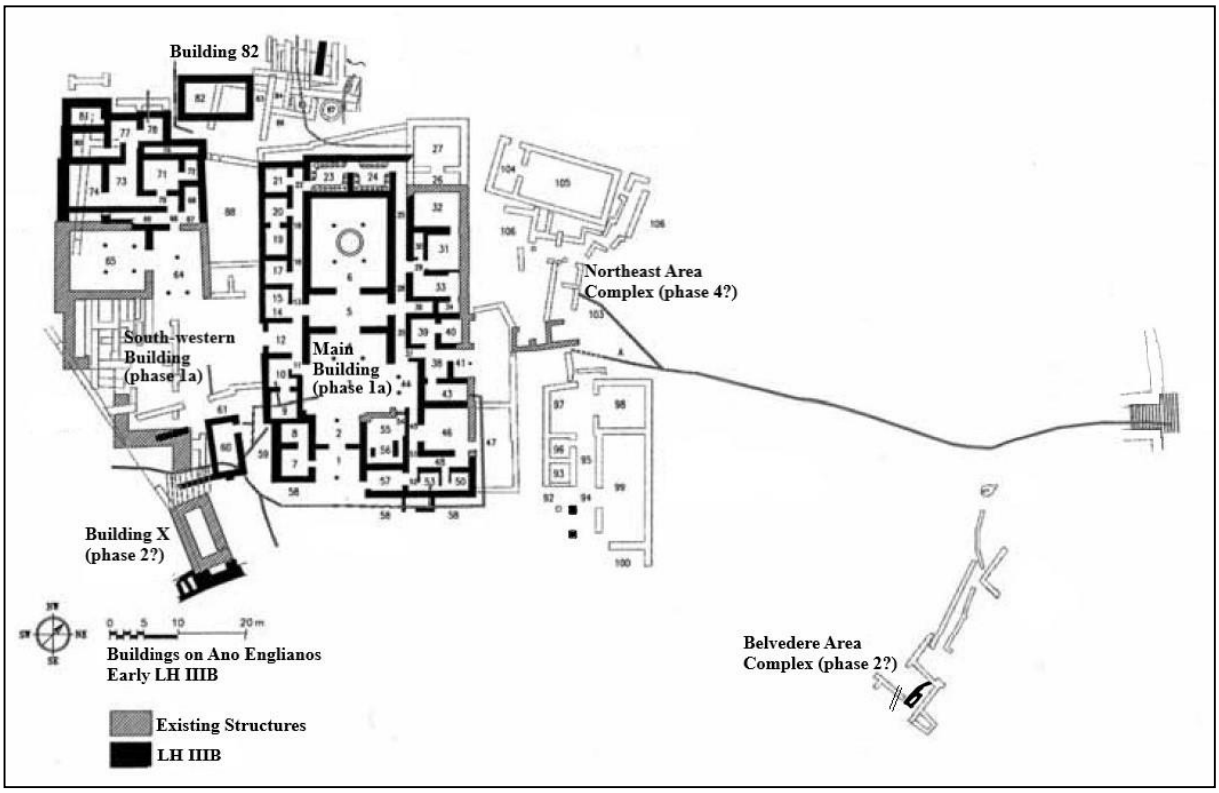


Fig. 116. Acropolis of Pylos in early LH IIIB (Nelson 2001, fig. 82, modified by the author).

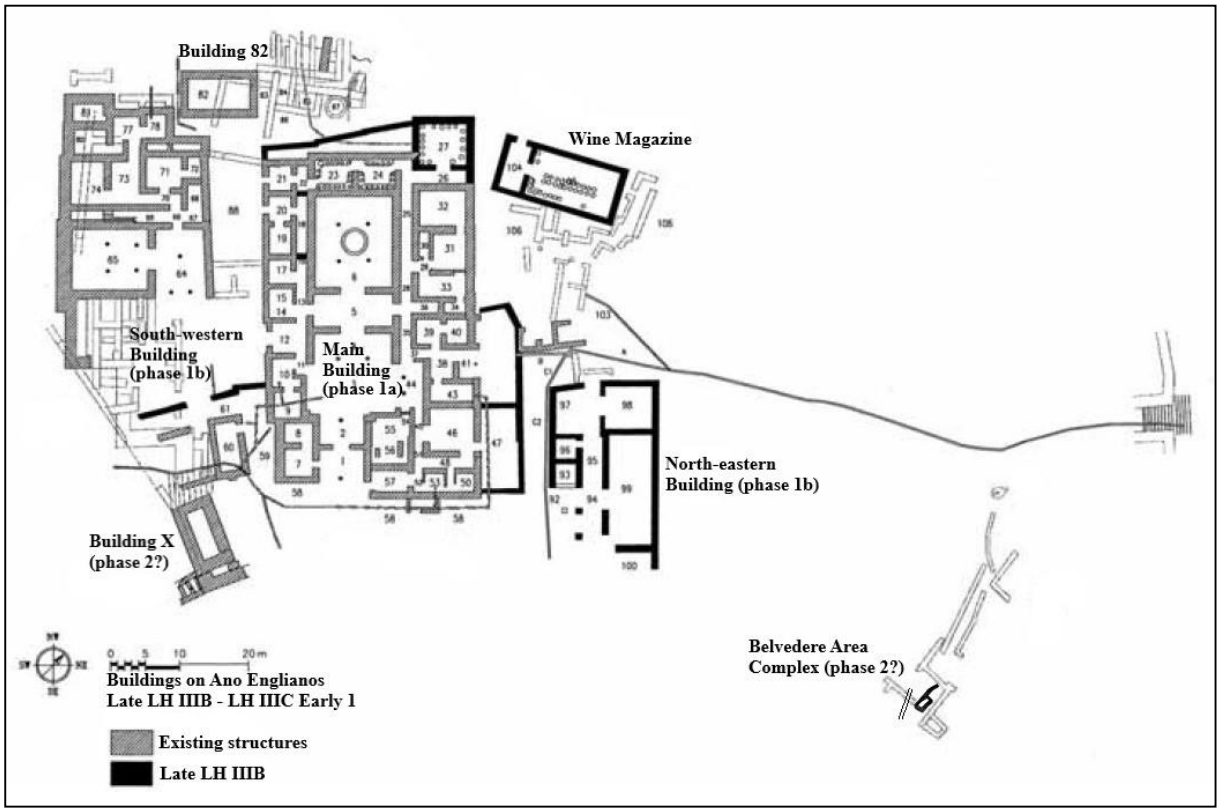


Fig. 117. L Acropolis of Pylos in late LH IIIB (Nelson 2001, fig. 83, modified by the author).

Fig. 118. Shortest routes of access to the megaron of the Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** during early LH IIIB (on the left) and late LH IIIB (on the right) (Thaler 2006, pl. 16.1-2).

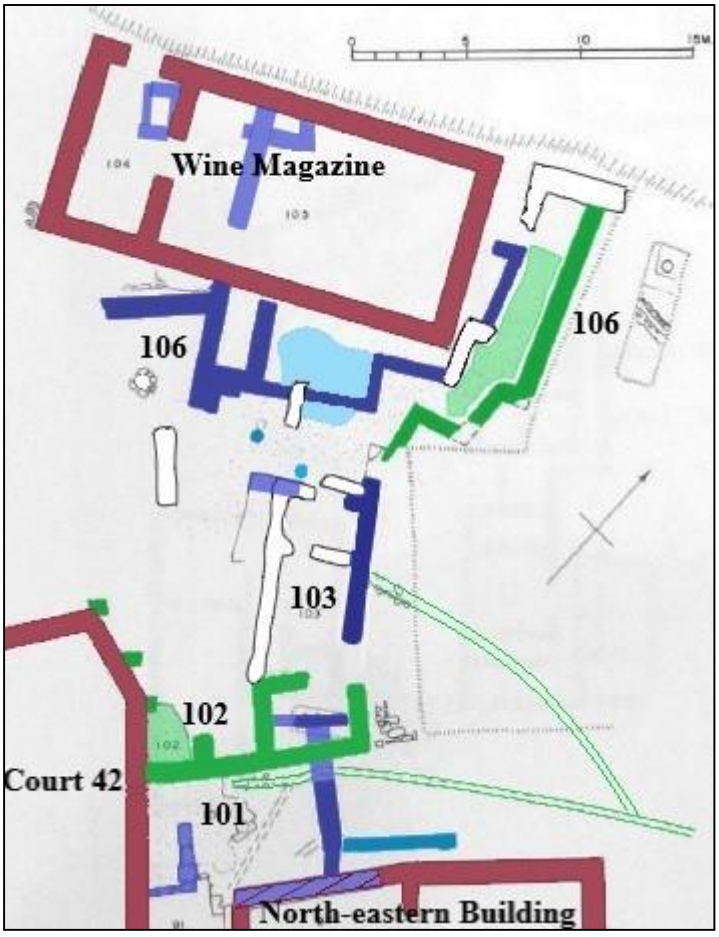


Fig. 119. Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10]** sector (after Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 309, modified by the author). Legend: Phase 1 (MH III) – blue; Phase 2 (LH I/II) – purple; Phase 3 (LH IIIA) – green; Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** – red; Post BA walls – white.

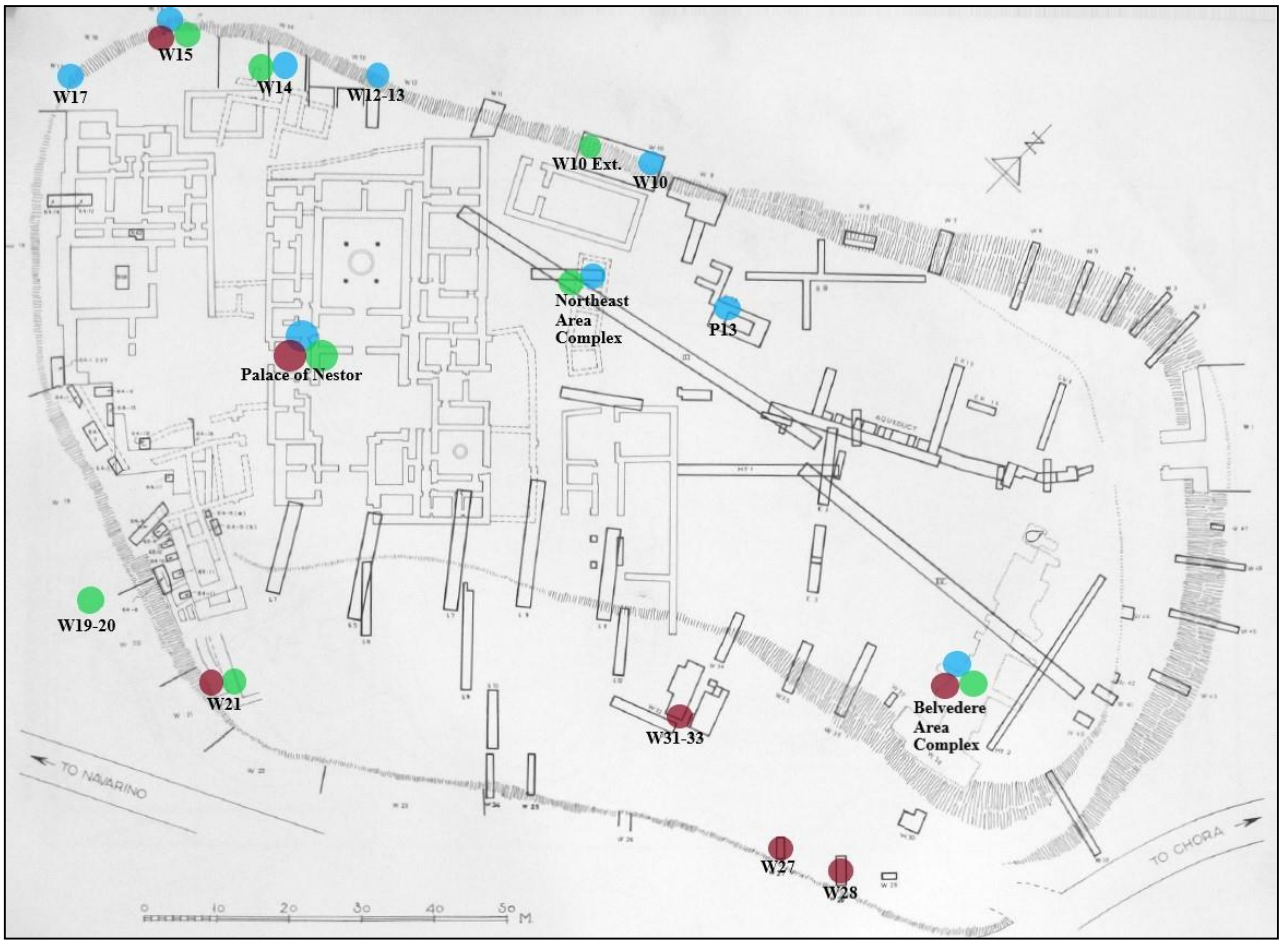
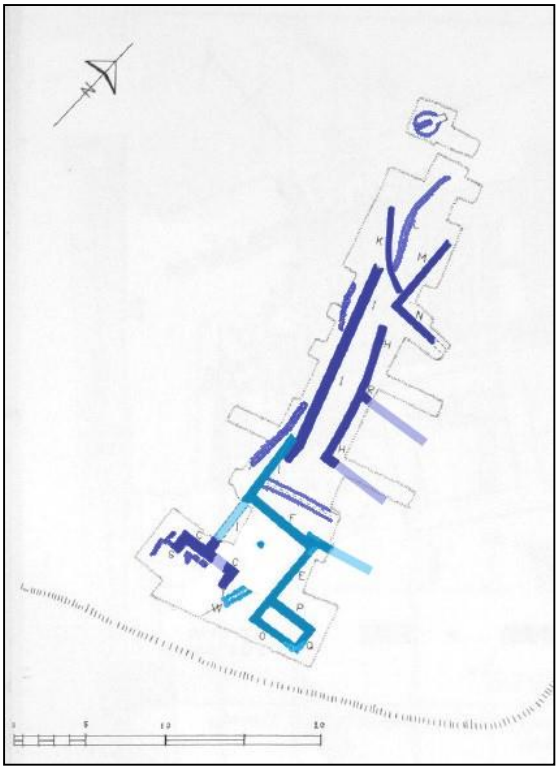


Fig. 120. Acropolis of Pylos with construction dates of buildings on the top and the slopes of AnoEnglianos



indicated (Blegen et al. 1973, modified by the author). Legend: Early Mycenaean – blue; LH IIIA – green; LH IIIB – red.

Fig. 121. Belvedere Complex Area **[PYL12-14 – phase 1]** in LH I/II-LH IIIA (after Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 307, modified by the author)**.** Legend: Phase 1a (LH I?) – blue; Phase 1b (LH I/II) – purple.

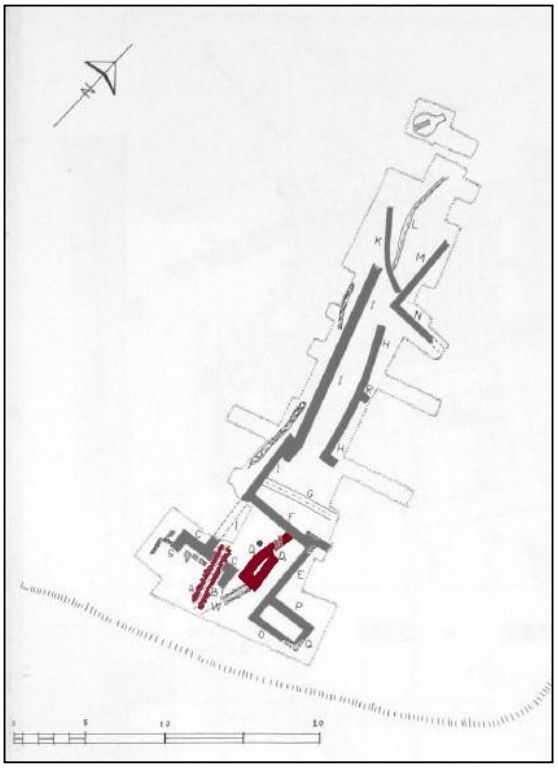


Fig. 122. Belvedere Complex Area **[PYL12-14 – phase 2]** in LH IIIB (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 307, modified by the author)**.** Legend: Phase 1a (LH I?) – blue; Phase 1b (LH I/II) – purple.

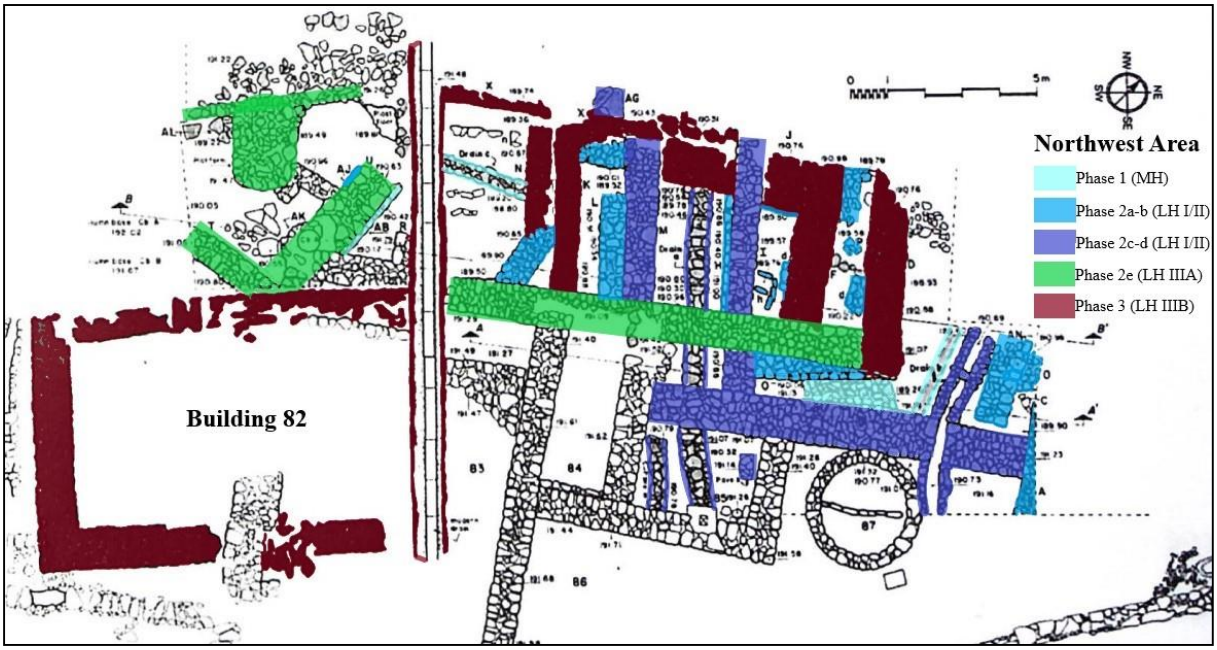


Fig. 123. Area W14 (Cooper 2017, fig. 1.36 modified by the author).

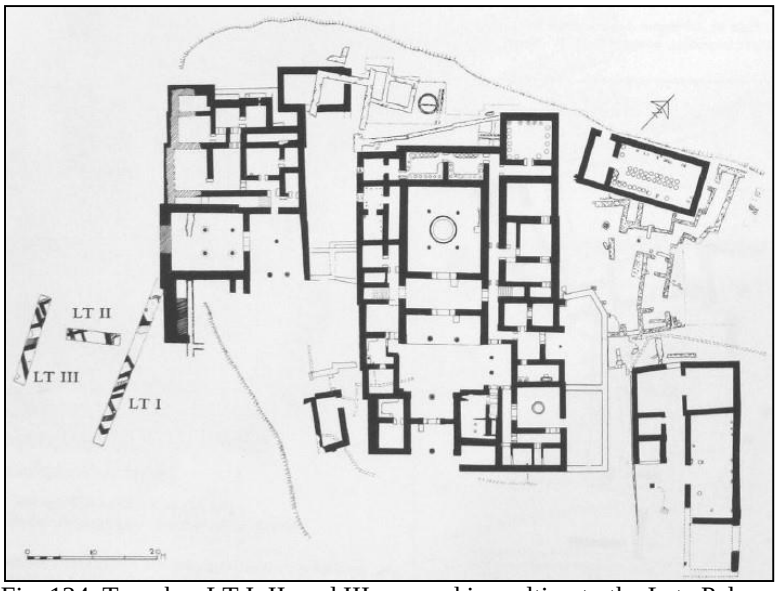


Fig. 124. Trenches LT I, II, and III mapped in realtion to the Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]** (Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 312).

Fig. 125. Plan of the first phase (LH I) of the proto-palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author). Legend: Red – elite zone; Green – other settlement zones; Blue – burial zones; 1 – Proto-palace **[PYL1 – phase 1a]**; 2 – Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10 – phase 1]**; 3 – Building P13 **[PYL11]**; 4 – Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14 – phase 1a]**; 5 – Walls in Area W10 **[PYL15]**; 6 – Walls in Area W12-13 **[PYL17 – phase 1]**; 7 – Walls in Area W14 **[PYL18 – phase 1]**; 8 – Walls in Area W15 **[PYL19]**; 9 – Walls in Petropoulos Trench **[PYL33]**; 10 – Walls in Area B **[PYL34]**; X - Ano Englianos Shaft Grave; IV – Tholos IV; V – Vayenas Grave Circle; ? – settlement area reconstructed solely on the basis of the results of PRAP survey.

Fig. 126. Plan of the second phase (LH II) of of the proto-palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author). Legend: Red – elite zone; Green – other settlement zones; Blue – burial zones; Red dashed line – Inner Cult and Burial Zone; 1 – Proto-palace **[PYL1 – phase 1b]**; 2 – Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10 – phase 2]**; 3 – Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14 – phase 1b]**; 4 – Walls in Area W12-13 **[PYL17 – phase 2]**; 5 – Walls in Area W14 **[PYL18 – phase 2a-d]**; 6 – Walls in Area W17 **[PYL20]**; 7 – walls in Trench LT I **[PYL28 – phase 1]** and LT III **[PYL30 – phase 1]**; 8 –Demopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38 – phase 1]**; X – Griffin Warrior Grave; IV – Tholos IV; VI – Tholos VI; VII – Tholos VII; V – Vayenas Grave Circle; ? – settlement areas reconstructed solely on the basis of the results of PRAP survey.

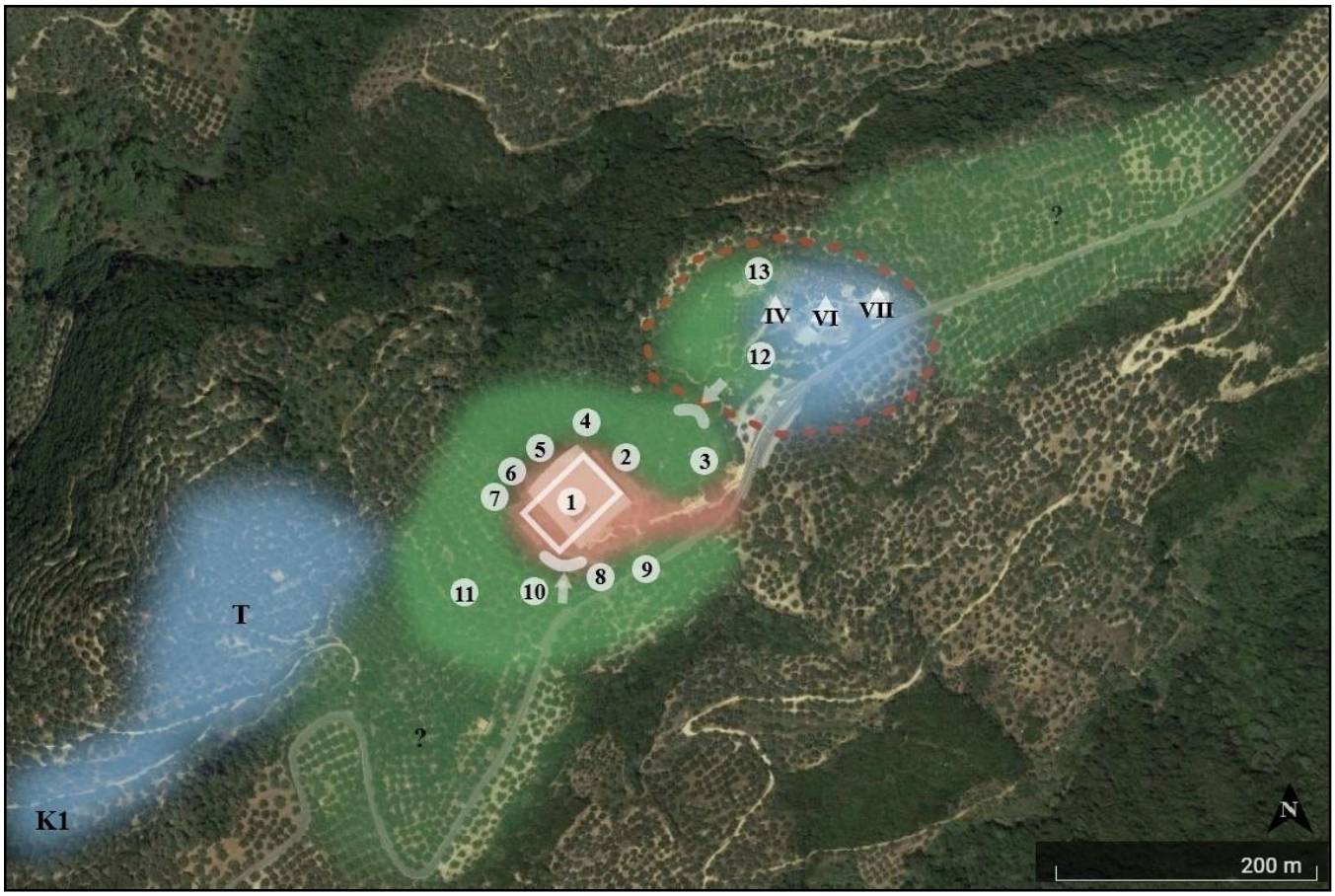


Fig. 127. Plan of the first phase (LH IIIA) of of the palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author). Legend: Red – palatial zone; Green – other settlement zones; Blue – burial zones; Red dashed line – Inner Cult and Burial Zone; 1 – Early Palace **[PYL3]**; 2 – Northeast Area Complex **[PYL9-10 – phase 3]**; 3 – Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14 – phase 1b]**; 4 – Walls in Area W10 Extension **[PYL16]**; 5 – Walls in Area W14 **[PYL18 – phase 2e]**; 6 – Walls in Area W15 **[PYL19 – phase 2]**; 7 – Walls in Area W17 **[PYL20]**; 8 – Walls in Area W19-20 **[PYL21]**; 9 – Walls in Area W21 **[PYL22 – phase 1]**; 10 – Walls in Trenches LT I **[PYL28 – phase 2]**, LT II **[PYL 29 – phase 1]**, and LT III **[PYL30 – phase 2]**; 11 – Walls in Area LT IV **[PYL31 – phase 1]**; 12 – Building in Area E **[PYL35]**; 13 – Demopoulos Field Complex **[PYL37-38 – phase 2]**; IV – Tholos IV; VI – Tholos VI; VII – Tholos VII; T – Tsakalis cemetery; K1 – chamber tomb K1; ? – settlement area reconstructed solely on the basis of the results of PRAP survey.

Fig. 128. Plan of the second phase (LH IIIB) of of the palatial town of Pylos (source of the map: Google Earth, drawing by the author). Legend: Red – palatial zone; Green – other settlement zones; Blue – burial zones; 1 – Late Palace **[PYL1-8 – phase 3]**; 2 – Belvedere Area Complex **[PYL12-14 – phase 2]**; 3 – Walls in Area W15 **[PYL19 – phase 3]**; 4 – Walls in Area W21 **[PYL22]**; 5 – Walls in Area W31-33 **[PYL25]**; 6 – Walls in Area W27 **[PYL23]** and Wall in Area W28 **[PYL24]**; 7 – Buildings in Trench AA I **[PYL26]** and AA II **[PYL27]**; 8 – Walls in Trench LT I **[PYL28 – phase 3]**, LT II **[PYL29 – phase 2]**, and LT III **[PYL30 – phase 3]**; 9 – aproximate location of Walls in Trench LT IV **[PYL31 – phase 2]**; 10 – aproximate location of Walls in Area LT V **[PYL32]**; 11 – Walls in Area D **[PYL36]**; K1 – chamber tomb K1; Abandoned: IV – Tholos IV; VI – Tholos VI; VII – Tholos VII; T – Tsakalis cemetery; ? – settlement area reconstructed solely on the basis of the results of PRAP survey.