

DISCONTINUOUS HOUSES, SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES, AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATION IN LATE EARLY HELLADIC AND MIDDLE HELLADIC GREECE

Rebecca Worsham

A dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department
of Classics (Classical Archaeology).

Chapel Hill
2015

Approved by:

Donald Haggis

Carla Antonaccio

Michael Cosmopoulos

Jennifer Gates-Foster

Kenneth Sams

© 2015
Rebecca Worsham
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Rebecca Worsham: Discontinuous Settlement Structures and Social Organization in Late Early Helladic and Middle Helladic Greece
(Under the direction of Donald Haggis)

This dissertation examines the replacement of domestic architecture in the Peloponnese from Early Helladic III (ca. 2200-2000 BC) to the early Mycenaean period (ca. 1700-1400 BC). Based on Tringham's "continuous house" model and subsequent scholarship, I argue that many of these houses were cyclically destroyed and rebuilt, and explore methods for investigating this phenomenon in context using cross-cultural comparanda. I suggest a wide-spread experience of the house as a physical manifestation of the cycles of the living household—the house is rebuilt on the occasion of the death of the household head. This phenomenon is particularly visible in the Argolid. Elsewhere in the Peloponnese, the replacement of the house is very often divorced from natural generational cycles and instead works to create a link with older abandoned architecture and presumably the lineages represented by these material remains. The destruction/rebuilding cycle—regardless of whether it marked real familial patterns or fictive claims of descent—was often (if inconsistently) marked by other ritual action, including feasting/termination rites. Occasionally these rites included the burial or caching of feasting debris or offerings with the destroyed house architecture itself, parallel to the common practice of intramural burial in these settlements, itself acting further to create and maintain "place" for a kinship group within the community. House-rebuilding, however, functioned beyond place-creation in the renewal and definition of the household itself. It is in this way both continuous with the past and actively breaking from it in order to (re)create a new social group.

This idea corresponds to previous assessments of the treatment of settlements especially at the end of the period. At this time, settlements were abandoned, transformed into cemeteries, or totally reorganized, and new settlements were founded. These changes are likely to represent efforts to create more cohesive regional communities, capable of more effective interaction with other communities within an increasingly “global” Mediterranean network. I argue that the mechanism for creating these new communities was derived in part from the understanding of built space and the house in particular as an identifier of and actual means of defining a social group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: The Discontinuous “Continuous House”.....	9
Comparative Cases of House-Killing.....	15
House-Killing and Ritual Action.....	21
House Destruction, Replacement, and Cycles of Renewal.....	32
The “Continuous House” in EH III-LH I/II Culture.....	39
CHAPTER 2: House Series in the EH III-LH I/II Peloponnese.....	47
Catalogue: Achaia.....	50
Aigion.....	50
Ayios Athanasios/Katarraktis.....	54
Drakotrypa (Katarraktis/Pharai).....	57
Helike.....	61
Catalogue: Arcadia.....	66
Asea.....	66
Catalogue: Argolid.....	73
Argos.....	73
Asine.....	87

Berbatl.....	98
Lerna.....	103
Tlrtns.....	132
Catalogue: Corinthia	147
Korakou.....	147
Tsounqiza.....	152
Catalogue: Elis.....	165
Olympia.....	165
Pisa.....	174
Catalogue: Laconia.....	176
Ayios Stephanos.....	176
Menelaion.....	195
Catalogue: Messenia.....	198
Epano Englianos: Deriziotis Aloni.....	198
Katarrachaki/Koukounara.....	200
Malthi.....	202
Nichoria.....	219
Peristeria.....	223
Discussion.....	225
Overview and Methodology.....	227
Short-Term Rebuilding.....	233
Long-Term Rebuilding.....	238
No Rebuilding.....	243

Achaia: Pagona.....	243
Argolid: Megali Magoula (Galatas).....	244
Argolid: Midea.....	245
Argolid: Mycenae.....	246
Corinthia: Aetopetra.....	247
Corinthia: Gonia.....	248
Corinthia: Zygouries.....	249
Elis: Kavkania.....	249
Laconia: Geraki.....	250
Messenia: Voroulia (Tragana).....	251
Conclusions.....	251
CHAPTER 3: The Discontinuous Settlement.....	256
Transitional Planned Settlements.....	261
Reorganized Settlements.....	264
Settlements and Houses.....	269
Discussion and Conclusions.....	272
APPENDIX 1: Summary Catalogue of House Series.....	276
APPENDIX 2: Summary Table of Participation in Rebuilding and Ritual Activity by Site	281
REFERENCES.....	282

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: “Chieftain’s House” series identified by Caskey (1965) east of the tumulus at Lerna.

Figure 1.2: Composite plan of Lerna IV, and Houses D and M of Lerna V, indicating frequency of rebuilding at the site throughout this period.

Figure 1.3: Sequence of houses in the East Sector of Lerna.

Figure 1.4: Wiersma’s (2013) types of house replacement.

Figure 1.5: Wiersma’s (2013) examples of “building upon” versus true rebuilding.

Figure 1.6: Partial displacement of the houses at Opovo.

Figure 2.1: Aigion Megaron Series.

Figure 2.2: Ayios Athanasios Megaron Series

Figure 2.3: Drakotrypa Aithousa Series.

Figure 2.4: “Corridor House” Series.

Figure 2.5: “West Building” Series.

Figure 2.6: Series A-B.

Figure 2.7: Series O-P.

Figure 2.8: Series K-N.

Figure 2.9: Sector Delta House Series.

Figure 2.10: Series Pre-MA-MD/ME.

Figure 2.11: Series C/D.

Figure 2.12: House MI Series.

Figure 2.13: Tzafa Plot Series.

Figure 2.14: Series U-W.

Figure 2.15: Series A-C.

Figure 2.16: Series Pre-D-E.

Figure 2.17: House A Series.

Figure 2.18: Chieftain's House Series.

Figure 2.19: North Apsidal House Series.

Figure 2.20: Series W-4-W-56.

Figure 2.21: Series W-63-W-70.

Figure 2.22: Series W-95-W-138.

Figure 2.23: Series W-94-W-101.

Figure 2.24: Series W-105-W-109.

Figure 2.25: Series W-113-W-116.

Figure 2.26: Series W-124-W-125.

Figure 2.27: Series W-124-W-125.

Figure 2.28: Series W-166-W-173.

Figure 2.29: Series W-214-House BS.

Figure 2.30: Series 23-20.

Figure 2.31: Series 18-24.

Figure 2.32: Series D-M.

Figure 2.33: Unterburg Late "West Sequence" Series.

Figure 2.34: House 161 Series.

Figure 2.35: House 168 Series

Figure 2.36: Series D2-D1.

Figure 2.37: Graben F South Series.

Figure 2.38: Graben F North Series.

Figure 2.39: House F Series.

Figure 2.40: Series A-C.

Figure 2.41: House E Series.

Figure 2.42: EU 7 Series.

Figure 2.43: Series J-L.

Figure 2.44: House I Series.

Figure 2.45: House II Series.

Figure 2.46: House IV Series.

Figure 2.47: House V Series.

Figure 2.48: West House Series.

Figure 2.49: Delta Series.

Figure 2.50: Eta I Series.

Figure 2.51: Alpha IV Series.

Figure 2.52: Beta I and Beta III Series.

Figure 2.53: Zeta Series.

Figure 2.54: Alpha V Series.

Figure 2.55: Nu Series.

Figure 2.56: Lambda I Series.

Figure 2.57: Terrace Houses Series.

Figure 2.58: Series AB-M.

Figure 2.59: Koukounara Megaron Series.

Figure 2.60: Series A10-A14-Central Terrace Complex.

Figure 2.61: Series A33, A39-A40-Industrial Complex.

Figure 2.62: Series B39-B42-West Quarter Magazines.

Figure 2.63: Series D20-D18-21.

Figure 2.64: Series D33-D27, D33-D34.

Figure 2.65: Series D40, D43-D46-North Quarter Magazines.

Figure 2.66: Series D63-D65-North Quarter Magazines.

Figure 2.67: Series D69/71-D68.

Figure 2.68: Series V-2-Post V-2 (Wall G).

Figure 2.69: House series plotted against average house duration.

Figure 2.70: House series plotted against overall series duration.

Figure 2.71: Twenty-year groupings of average house duration for each series plotted against average overall series duration for each group.

Figure 2.72: Average number of houses within each house series plotted against the duration of the series.

Figure 2.73: Average number of houses within each house series plotted against the average duration of house use.

Figure 2.74: Start and end dates for short-term series.

Figure 2.75: Start and end dates for long-term series.

Figure 2.76: Total numbers of houses (or house subphases) during each period, divided according to inclusion in short- or long-term series.

Figure 3.1: Percentage of total number of settlements reported by Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) experiencing discontinuities at important transitions within the Bronze Age from EH II to LH III.

Figure 3.2: Peristeria and Megali Magoula Galatas.

Figure 3.3: Malthi, Aspis-Argos, and Ayios Stephanos.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Chronology

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EH	Early Helladic
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MH	Middle Helladic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LH	Late Helladic

Journals (after the Archaeological Institute of America)

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AR	Archaeological Reports
Archaeology	Archaeology Magazine
ArchDelt	Archaiologikon Deltion
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Hesperia	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
JAnthArch	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
Prakt	Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is in many ways a product of the recent academic interest in reuse of earlier material in archaeological contexts.¹ More specifically, it originates in an observation made first at Lerna by John Caskey, who documented a series of five sequentially constructed houses at the east side of the tumulus covering the House of the Tiles.² All of these houses dated to the Early Helladic III period (Lerna IV; ca. 2200-2000 BC), and so indicated the reconstruction of this house roughly every sixty years. This type of “nested” domestic construction and reconstruction has more recently been taken up in a number of studies. Donald Haggis, for example, has interrogated this phenomenon as a characteristic of “dynamic” versus “static,” more agglomerative approaches to settlement structure, comparing settlements on mainland Greece with those of Crete.³ Erika Weiberg and Michael Lindblom, contrasting rebuilding practices at Lerna and Tiryns, consider how intensively the earlier structure is reused.⁴ Vertically integrated replacement acts as an “incorporative” building strategy, while displacement is more “substitutive,” deliberately breaking with the past. Cornelia Wiersma follows a similar model, handling choices of rebuilding on a spectrum of faithfulness to the original house plan.⁵ I treat each of these perspectives in greater detail in the following chapter,

¹ For the Bronze Age specifically, see the interest particularly in the reuse of tombs in, for instance, Preston (2005).

² Caskey 1965.

³ Haggis 2013.

⁴ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014.

⁵ Wiersma 2013.

but it is worth emphasizing here that they all approach rebuilding as a gauge of either the rejection or maintenance of the social category represented by the previous structure. Rebuilding may therefore act as a useful barometer of and tool for social change.

I have endeavored here to approach rebuilding particularly in this active role, stressing its performative aspects and function in recreating social groupings. The recent interest in this phenomenon, particularly relating to the end of the Early Bronze Age on the Greek mainland and the transition into the Middle Helladic (ca. 2000-1700 BC) period, makes a more comprehensive consideration of the reconstruction of domestic architecture timely. In particular, how widespread was this practice, both at Lerna and more broadly in the EH III-MH community? What are the characteristics of house replacement; how was it enacted and how did it function; who was doing it and why? Though Wiersma addresses some of these questions briefly, it is not the focus of her study and is therefore not explored to any great degree.⁶ Similarly, as a result of her very different research questions, she is unable to consider a series of houses as a whole, rather than one house at a time. The association of house-rebuilding with the EH III and early MH period has led naturally to a broad timeframe for this study, until the end of the early Mycenaean period, around LH I/II (ca. 1700-1400 BC). This era has traditionally been understood as a major time of transition, from the “collapse” at the end of EH II to the incipient states of the early Mycenaean period.⁷ As I have noted above, house-replacement functions in bringing about social change, and reflects changing attitudes toward past social structures. It is therefore worth asking, what role, if any, did rebuilding practices have during this important transitional period?

⁶ Wiersma 2013, esp. 199-201, 209-211, and 219-220.

⁷ Dickinson 1977.

The Middle Helladic period has itself also been a subject of increasing interest since Dickinson's pioneering work on the rise of Mycenaean culture, as well as Nordquist's influential publication on MH Asine.⁸ Scholarship on MH houses and settlements more specifically has been a growing area of interest since 2010 and the publication of a number of site-specific and synthetic studies in the *Mesohelladika* volume.⁹ Wiersma has likewise recently published a comprehensive catalog of excavated MH settlements and published houses.¹⁰ In general, intensive work on the MH mainland has focused on the Argolid, and particularly on the three major sites of Lerna,¹¹ Asine,¹² and Aspis-Argos.¹³ These three sites form the focus of a project run through the Groningen Institute of Archaeology and directed by Sofia Voutsaki.¹⁴ Voutsaki's project has already provided a number of critical insights into the social, political, and economic changes occurring in the Argolid as Mycenae rose in power, eventually dominating the region and beyond.¹⁵ This approach has been valuable, but, as has been emphasized by Wiersma, there are few regional studies available for comparison, complicating the identification of different patterns or trajectories of development.¹⁶

⁸ Dickinson 1977; Nordquist 1987.

⁹ Philippa Touchais, et al., 2010.

¹⁰ Wiersma 2013.

¹¹ Banks 2013; Zerner 1978.

¹² Nordquist 1987; Voutsaki 2010a.

¹³ Touchais 1998; Philippa-Touchais 2010.

¹⁴ Voutsaki 2007.

¹⁵ Voutsaki 2005; 2010b.

¹⁶ Wiersma 2013, 225-6.

I have unfortunately done little to correct this problem here. I have adopted somewhat arbitrary geographical boundaries, considering only the mainland Peloponnese, for a number of reasons. The first is the availability of information and the high number of extensive, published excavations in the Peloponnese, and especially the Argolid, Corinthia, and Messenia. The second is that, in spite of very active rebuilding activities in Thessaly—Pefkakia is perhaps the best example of this phenomenon—it is debated to what extent these more peripheral areas can be said to be part of the same cultural milieu as, for instance, Korakou and Nichoria.¹⁷ Already in the expanse of the Peloponnese there is strong evidence for regional development; as I argue below, the Argolid is very much the most active area in rebuilding behavior. Similarly, Thessaly especially, but maybe as far south as Boeotia, engages very deliberately in tell-building, entailing very close and frequent reconstruction of houses almost by definition. There are certainly also tell-sites in the Peloponnese, but in Thessaly they seem to be a characteristic part of the culture. Perhaps in part because of this, settlements also seem to undergo specific changes (outlined in Chapter 3 below) at an earlier point in Thessaly than in the broader Peloponnese. Though parallel changes are seen at Kolonna in the Saronic Gulf, and perhaps elsewhere, it is far from clear that different portions of the Greek mainland are not undergoing very different experiences for the time period under consideration here. On the other hand, the published material from Attica, Kolonna, and perhaps Kea does display interesting parallels with the Peloponnesian material, possibly acting as a single community tied by the Saronic Gulf, and it would be useful to include it in a future study.

I argue here for the central role of the physical structure of the house in creating and maintaining the social identity of the household. This function is primarily demonstrated in the

¹⁷ See Pantou (2010b) for an assessment of the major sites around Mycenaean Volos, which in many ways is quite distinctive from the Argolid.

treatment of the house, which follows the life-cycles of its inhabitants. Essentially, the house is born and dies with the family, though likely not on a one-to-one level. Regular floor replacement and hearth renewal also speak to the episodic renewal of this house; on ethnographic parallels, these may take place yearly as part of a natural cycle, or be more occasional, marking marriages or births. House replacement may be frequent, practiced every generation or so, as at Lerna particularly, but in general throughout the Argolid, or it may be infrequent, marking the adoption of a past that is much more distant than the previous generation. Both types of replacement are likely to represent particular claims about descent and “place,” and both result in a redefinition of the family group with the creation of the new house. As Wiersma has suggested, this practice is particularly popular early in the period—though I see it continuing at a fairly high rate at least until LH I.¹⁸ Likewise, rebuilding seems to me to continue throughout the Mycenaean period, though its social role has in some ways changed. The importance of this practice in creating social identity and (somewhat literally) place within the extended family group and community is underscored, as I argue below, by the adoption of the destruction/rebuilding paradigm for the reorganization of settlement space during the early Mycenaean period.

This approach has implications for the development of the Mycenaean palace-states, for which these reorganized settlements are a precondition. Similarly, the primacy of the house in negotiating social identity and as a symbol of the kinship group is a defining feature of Mycenaean society, and it is for this reason alone worth considering the treatment of the house leading up to this moment. The contribution of this study is its identification of the house and household as the basic unit of social organization throughout the MH period and well into the Mycenaean era. Lineage as a structuring principal of Mycenaean society has been widely

¹⁸ Wiersma 2013, 220.

acknowledged, particularly in considerations of the mortuary material. But this study also highlights the destabilizing role of the house and lineage group in MH and early Mycenaean society. That is, house replacement is essentially individualizing, defining one family group in contrast to others, and probably marking a transition in household leadership on the occasion of the death of an influential leader. Though it brings people together in the creation of a new social group, it also opposes them to the earlier group and to “outsiders” in general. This process is, then, ultimately destabilizing, and settlements and societies formed from these groups must eventually break down into their constituent parts, as households continued to identify outside of the larger social grouping.

Contents

In the following pages, I handle many of these issues, focusing on the rebuilding of houses and the re-creation of the built space episodically from EH III until LH I/II. I hope to show that the renewal of the built space—especially at the level of the house but also at the level of the settlement—was a primary means of effecting the renewal and redefinition of a social group, here either the family/kinship group or the broader community of the settlement. To put it simply, building expresses belonging. In my first chapter, I handle house-rebuilding as a recurring, cross-cultural phenomenon. I establish likely social meanings for this practice based on ethnographic studies, and define characteristic features, including possible accompanying ritual action and how such features may be identified in the archaeological record. A case-study considering some of the more prominent houses at Lerna illustrates these points.

My second chapter examines proposed series of houses from the original construction through the final rebuilding. If any individual phase of the house was built from EH III until LH I/II, I have included the entire series here, regardless of whether it has earlier or later use-phases

(in EH II or LH III, for example). This chapter is arranged alphabetically according to general geographical region. For each site I have provided a sequence of every series of houses (including each individual house, approach to rebuilding, change in level, and date, as well as method of destruction, where known). I go on to consider briefly the overall pattern of rebuilding at each site, as well as the approximate site-wide rate of rebuilding (i.e., how popular was this practice at each site), and any evidence for accompanying ritual behavior marking house replacement (including house-burning, house burial, termination deposits, and intramural burial). I have been rather generous with this evidence in an effort to determine how widespread such ritual action may be. Following this catalogue of house series, I discuss overall patterns of house replacement. In short, houses are replaced either generationally or supra-generationally, and series fall broadly into these two groups. These groups represent two different types of rebuilding with different—if related—social functions. It is worth noting here that house replacement seems to be actively practiced in EH II as well, prominently in corridor-house type structures. These early examples are also worth considering in future studies.

My third and concluding chapter briefly considers settlement change as it is represented by various “discontinuities”—abandonments and new foundations—proposed by Joseph Maran for the transition to the Late Bronze Age on the Greek mainland.¹⁹ I focus on new, highly organized settlements, drawing here to some degree on material outside of the Peloponnese. These settlements are either totally new foundations or result from the destructive reorganization of earlier habitations, wiping out the previous plan entirely in certain cases. Such replacement and rebuilding appears to adopt certain elements of house-replacement, likely deliberately, in an effort to create more cohesive communities out of disparate households. In other words, house-

¹⁹ Maran 1995.

rebuilding and the accompanying formation of a family group was co-opted for community-creation, resulting in the proto-citadels of early Mycenaean society.

CHAPTER 1: THE DISCONTINUOUS “CONTINUOUS HOUSE”

The ritual phenomenon of “house-killing” is probably best attested in studies of the Neolithic period, ranging from the Vinča culture of Southeastern Europe to Anatolia and Çatalhöyük.²⁰ In general, this practice has not been located in considerations of later periods in European contexts and in particular in the majority of the Greek mainland. As Haggis has recently noted, however, there are several prominent examples of a ritual elaboration of house destruction and the deliberate “burial” of the structure, including most notably the Toumba building at Lefkandi and the much earlier House of the Tiles at Lerna.²¹ Indeed, Haggis argues that this ritualization of the destruction of the physical house is a specific characteristic of mainland Greek cultures during the Bronze Age, noting the series of houses at the east side of the tumulus at Lerna as an example. Here, as originally observed by Caskey, houses are constructed, destroyed, and built anew after the same plan and orientation as the previous houses, but at a slight offset (Fig. 1.1).²² That is, they deliberately do not use the previous foundations, nor do they make agglomerative additions to the house or redesign it in any significant way. Haggis

²⁰ See Tringham (2000) and Stevanović (2002) for the Balkan material. See Cessford and Near (2005) for that from Çatalhöyük. Episodes of house-killing have also been identified in New World contexts in Mesoamerica, discussed further below.

²¹ Haggis, 2013. Weiberg (2007, 155-185, and especially 168-170) has also recently discussed this idea for the House of the Tiles at Lerna. The publication of the Lerna IV material by Banks (2013) has called the identity of the tumulus-builders there into questions. She proposes that it was not the “new” Lerna IV inhabitants that constructed the clear memorial to the house, but instead that it was the last act of the inhabitants of Lerna III. Weiberg (2007, 178-81) makes a similar argument, though I would suggest with her that this is more or less a false distinction, and that either way the idea that the area of the tumulus remained inviolate for any length of time demonstrates the respect that the occupants of Lerna IV had for the structure.

²² Caskey 1965.

links this phenomenon—his “dynamic structure”— to “network” social strategies and understands it as highly individuating practice, opposing it to the more agglomerative, “static,” “corporate” building style of contemporary cultures on Crete.²³

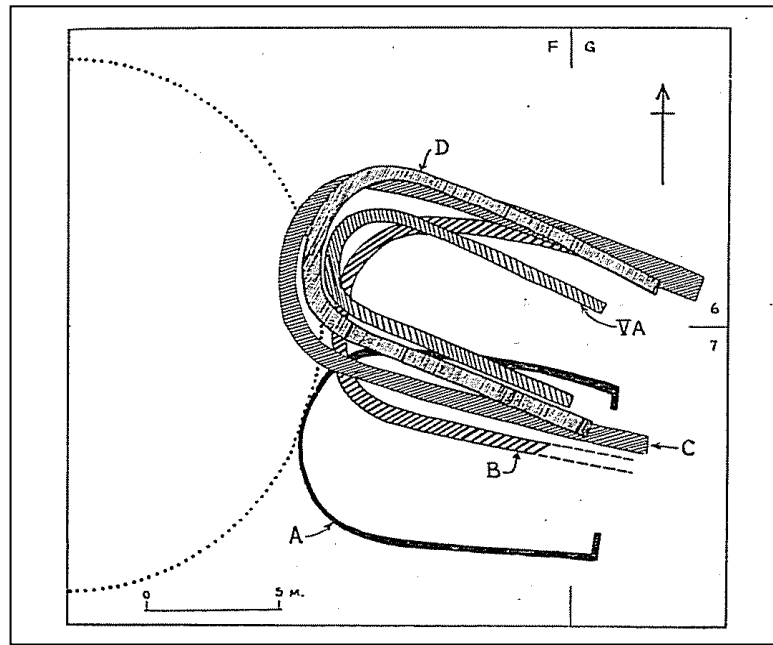


Fig. 1.1: “Chieftain’s House” series identified by Caskey (1965) east of the tumulus at Lerna. House A corresponds to Banks (2013) W-1, B to W-36, C to W-86, D to W-90, and VA to Zerner’s (1978) 98A.

Haggis’ argument depends on two major suppositions: first, that the destruction of these buildings was deliberate and ritualized and can be identified as such archaeologically; and second, that this type of ritual destruction and replacement of the building is a prominent feature of mainland Bronze Age culture(s) in particular (versus Crete). Returning to the example from Lerna, Caskey identifies no fewer than five iterations of a single house (though probably part of a larger complex) constructed after the same plan and orientation over a period of roughly 300 years on the E side of the tumulus over the House of the Tiles. On average, then, this house

²³ Haggis 2013.

appears to have been dismantled or “killed” and reconstructed with only slightly shifted foundations every 60 years or so, and more frequently if individual building phases identified by Banks are incorporated into this model.²⁴ Weiberg provides an even lower estimate of about 25 years—or as little as half of that time—for the lifespan of a house in Lerna IV (Fig. 1.2).²⁵

²⁴ Banks 2013.

²⁵ Weiberg 2007, 99-100.



Fig. 1.2: Composite plan of Lerna IV, and Houses D and M of Lerna V, indicating frequency of rebuilding at the site throughout this period. Tumulus indicated in dotted lines. North at top. After Banks 2013.

This replacement of the house has obvious implications for household memory and the relationship with the past, a phenomenon that Tringham has referred to as “the continuous house.”²⁶ Specifically, she goes on to argue that the regular replacement of domestic structures—both at tell and non-tell sites—is a strategy executed by the household to perpetuate the “place” of the house physically and symbolically within the living and ancestral communities.²⁷ Moreover, as Haggis emphasizes, the deliberate use of what Tringham has called “partial vertical superimposition” or “partial horizontal displacement” on the MH mainland represents “a conscious design principal in the building process; a deliberate decision of the builders in successive phases to disengage themselves from the physical confines of the earlier house.”²⁸ There is, then, both an obvious respect for the continuity of the household space and a discontinuous desire to “renew” the space on a regular basis, probably related to the life cycle of the living household and perhaps the household head more particularly.²⁹ This aspect of discontinuity is important to the understanding of the motivations of the house builders, who seem to be interested in both association and disassociation with what came before—that is, both the destruction of the old house, and its rebirth through re-construction. It is not the same house, but a separate, and new dwelling for a redefined social group; thus, the discontinuous house.

In her catalog of EH III-LH I/II domestic architecture, Corien Wiersma considers 272 individual probable domestic structures across 50 mainland Greek sites. Though she does

²⁶ Tringham 2000.

²⁷ Tringham 2000, 121-127.

²⁸ Tringham 2000, 117; Haggis 2013, 76. Stevanović (1997, 355) also proposes that horizontal displacement of houses in at least the Neolithic setting could have served the further purpose of facilitating access to soils for building adjacent to the construction site. In her examples, however, even the horizontally displaced houses seem to make an effort to maintain a spatial relationship with the previous structure, as well as to break away from it.

²⁹ Tringham 2000, 124.

consider the issue of rebuilding to some degree, discussed below, she does not interrogate the nature of house destruction or abandonment to any great degree. In general, she stresses the prevalence of apparent simple abandonment or desertion of these houses; for the 226 catalog entries for which she is able to make some comment about the end of the use-life of a particular structure, just over half (116 total) are suggested to have been deserted. About 13% (29) of the houses were modified or rebuilt in some way, while an additional 36% (81) suffered various forms of destruction. The abundance of simple desertions in Wiersma's study is partially a result of her reasonable use of this category as sort of default when little or no information about the end of the building's use-life is given by the excavator. Additionally, 29 of the 50 sites offer fewer than five structures for the period considered, further complicating the diachronic consideration of house series. For the purposes of this study, major modifications or rebuilding of houses, because in many cases they must have required at least the partial dismantling of the original structure, are considered with house destructions.

Of Wiersma's houses that can more or less confidently be said to have been destroyed, between 63 and 69 of the 81 are noted to have been fire-related, while 4 to 10 are attributed to earthquake damage. An additional 8 houses are simply listed as "destroyed" or "collapsed," again as a result of ambiguous information provided by the excavators. No discussion of the deliberateness of these destructions, or of how to determine how deliberate the destruction of any of these houses may have been, is made. In many cases, the excavation of these houses was not done in such a way that any evidence of intentionality of destruction was recovered—this is a question that excavators simply were not asking of the material record, again partially explaining the incidence of assumed desertions. While working with the remaining data to determine whether houses in MH Greece may have been cyclically "killed" and rebuilt presents obvious

challenges, it is approached here from several different angles, with examples drawn from the primary site at which this phenomenon has been observed, Lerna.

In this chapter, I consider first comparative cases of cyclical and ritualized house destruction, primarily by fire; these case studies emphasize the difficulty and labor investment involved in burning mudbrick or other clay-based constructions, in turn suggesting the importance of the ritualized conflagration of architecture to the social groups involved. I then consider ritual “termination” or “dedication” deposits associated with house-killing particularly in Mesoamerican cultures, and the possible application of this approach to MH material. A recent micromorphology-based study at Mitrou has emphasized the relatively fast accumulation of material as a result of the frequent replacement of houses.³⁰ This phenomenon is also considered as an aspect of the cyclical treatment of houses, probably reflecting the generational cycles of the kinship group. Finally, Wiersma’s treatment of rebuilding is briefly considered, along with the problem of “tell” versus “open” settlement plans.

Comparative Cases of House-Killing

Before examining this phenomenon more deeply in the context of the Middle Helladic settlements of Greece, examples of which form the focus of the following chapter, it is worthwhile to return to the parallel cases provided by the Neolithic communities of the Balkan and Anatolian regions, which may help to illuminate the house-cycle proposed here. For the houses at Çatalhöyük, a high degree of spatial continuity is proposed by Cutting.³¹ These structures, however, generally follow closely the boundary walls of the preceding dwelling, perhaps suggesting—along with other features of the settlement, such as the closely-packed,

³⁰ Karkanas and Van de Moortel 2014.

³¹ Cutting 2005, 163.

though not strictly agglomerative, settlement plan—that it should be more readily identified with Haggis’ “static” settlements. Cessford and Near argue that houses began to be deliberately burnt in Levels VII and VI.B of the settlement, basing this idea on criteria developed by Stevanović, including the heat of the fire, an apparent multiplicity in the points at which the burning started (multiple ignition points), and the failure to repair the building, which is generally destroyed further either before or after the fire.³²

Though they do not comment on why the buildings were *burnt* specifically, they do associate the destruction itself with the transition between abandonment and reuse of the domestic space.³³ Interestingly, the rise in an apparently ritualized destruction of the house corresponds to a contemporary decrease in the amount of time that buildings were occupied before abandonment, from about 85-135 years to about 5-45 years.³⁴ This development is suggestive of a shift in the understanding of the use-life of the house, strongly identifying it with the generational cycle of the household.³⁵ The situation provides a good parallel for that proposed for Lerna.

Perhaps most cogent, however, are the apparent destruction practices of the Vinča culture of the Balkans, which have been explicitly associated with ideas of lineage by Tringham and Stevanović.³⁶ Throughout the Neolithic, and in some areas beyond, the houses of this culture-

³² Cessford and Near 2005, 174; Stevanović 1997. The actual process of burning clay-built structures has been tested a number of times in experimental archaeology (Bankoff and Winter 1979; Coockson and Akar 2008), in general confirming the high resistance of even wattle-and-daub construction to incineration. Mudbrick construction in particular has been adopted for use in modern construction specifically for its fire-retardant qualities (County Fire Authority, Victoria, Australia, 2014).

³³ Cessford and Near 2005, 182.

³⁴ Cessford and Near 2005, 175.

³⁵ Matthews 2005.

³⁶ Tringham 2000; Stevanović 1997, 340-341.

group seem to have been consistently and regularly burned over a surprisingly large geographic distribution. Indeed, the phenomenon appears to be so methodical in the archaeological record, that Stevanović is able to argue that the design and materials (wattle and daub) of the domestic structures were deliberately selected with the ultimate aim of destruction by fire in mind.³⁷

Stevanović emphasizes the role of this intentional conflagration in “sealing off” the house “from possible future utilitarian use,” while simultaneously producing a focal point for memory in the remains of the house.³⁸ That is, both the actual burning of the house and the ruins themselves provide a means of creating, maintaining, and accentuating continuity of place for these households.³⁹ The accessibility and visibility of the destruction process and later the ruined house are therefore of paramount importance, encouraging the partial (but not total) displacement of the following house; however, the new house also actively integrated portions of the older, destroyed house into itself, symbolically both distinguishing and relating the old and new households.⁴⁰ As at Çatalhöyük, then, these houses, and their constructions and deconstructions, are presented by Tringham and Stevanović as manifestations of the household cycle, though here this relationship is made unequivocal.

³⁷ Stevanović 1997, 385. That is, in the terms of Walker and Schiffer (2006), symbolic performance preferences must have outweighed even structural concerns for the selector(s) of the household, encouraging the acquisition and use of wattle-and-daub technologies over other possible construction materials, including mudbrick and wood. Stevanović (1997, 362-380) makes a convincing case for the deliberate destruction of these houses, citing the high heat of the fire, which exceeds the temperature reachable without additional fuel, as well as multiple ignition points.

³⁸ Stevanović 1997, 385.

³⁹ Stevanović 1997, 387.

⁴⁰ Stevanović 1997, 388. Stevanović goes on to note that “even though a burned and collapse house becomes invisible by being covered by humus and/or by another house on top, it retains its visibility and its mnemonic potential. Its existence would have been known to the people who built a new house on top of it.” The destroyed house, then, need not remain as a physical monument for long, but the new house in the area and the repetition of the practice imply the presence of the older house and of houses before that.

Common to both of these examples is the use of fire in the ritualized destruction of the house.⁴¹ All of the Neolithic studies cited above emphasize the importance of the transformative effect of fire on the structure of the house. That is, while the house would have been destroyed, certain elements of the house, including particularly wattle and daub, mudbrick, and other clay construction materials, would actually have been baked and effectively made permanent.⁴² The implication of destruction by fire, then, is dual, evoking discontinuity and death on the one hand and continuity, preservation and memory on the other. Again, this has obvious implications for the social group that the house represents, and reinforces the apparent need to punctuate clearly the household cycle and to re-create periodically (episodically?) the household itself. In a similar vein, Cessford and Near remark:

Burning buildings rather than simply demolishing them and filling them with materials creates a vivid and memorable spectacle. Performance and spectacle clearly played an important role in the life of Çatalhöyük's inhabitants and the impression created by burning down buildings or groups of buildings would have been profound. Although fire can destroy the intimate locations and objects of individual and group histories, upon which some memories rely, the spectacle of burning creates other memories. In a sense burnt buildings can be viewed as offerings on a grand scale.⁴³

The “spectacle” of fire, though, is incidental to the destruction process, and a similar memorable, emotional *communitas* might have been achieved through the collective effort required on the part of the household group (or more extended social networks) to demolish the house by hand, not unlike modern barn-raising. This is particularly true if the destruction of the house can be

⁴¹ Stevanović (1997, 382-385) and Tringham (2000, 124) counter the idea of the prevalence of accidental fires, noting the extreme difficulty of burning clay-covered houses. They note ethnographic parallels for burning houses for other reasons, including pest control and misfortune in the household (untimely death, etc.), but emphasize the cyclicity of the process as a sign of the social function of this practice (Tringham 2000, 124; Stevanović 1997, 386).

⁴² Tringham 2000, 123; Stevanović 1997, 388.

⁴³ Cessford and Near 2005, 182. See also Tringham 2005.

associated with the death of a prominent member of the household group.⁴⁴ A similar, complementary feeling of renewal may have been evoked in the consequent re-construction of the house. This secondary effect must have been equally important, perhaps achieving the recreation of the social group associated with the house.⁴⁵ Both the destruction and reconstruction of the house, then, must have been imbued with ritual meaning.

The ritual nature of the destruction of the houses at Lerna may be indicated by the assemblages left (or not left) within them at the moment of destruction. Perhaps the best example of this can be found in Caskey's "Chieftain's House," Bank's Building W-1, among the largest structures erected during this period at the site. Here, the articulated skeleton of a calf was discovered lying on the floor, "on its side and neatly disposed, as if the animal deliberately had been laid to rest here or, by some mischance, had died here and had been covered over when the next building in the area was constructed above."⁴⁶ The completeness of this skeleton in conjunction with the tentative proposal of the deliberate dismantling of the building forwarded by Caskey and later by Banks may indicate its use as some sort of sacrifice or offering prior to the construction of the overlying Building, W-36.⁴⁷ Certainly prolonged exposure would have

⁴⁴ The close association of house and household cycles may be corroborated further by Milka's (2010, 437-438) work on Lerna, which identifies a pattern of house use, destruction, and burial before the construction of another house over the graves in the area east of the Tumulus at Lerna (Area BE).

⁴⁵ This idea corresponds well with ideas of materiality and social power advocated by Walker and Schiffer (2006). Through various processes, including particularly its construction and use, the house—like any other artifact—is imbued with social meaning, and serves as an expression of the social presence and influence of a certain group. Walker and Schiffer (2006, 73): "Building on Nielsen's [1995] study, we begin with the general premise that *social power is the ability to affect, prescriptively and proscriptively, the interactions of others with artifacts*" (emphasis original).

⁴⁶ Banks 2013, 41. Banks cautions, however, that the animal may have been associated with an undetected pit/bothros associated with a later building. This addendum does not seriously hamper the interpretation of this animal as a ritual deposit, as other examples of the deposition of animals possibly associated with the destruction of the house are generally found with destruction debris in bothroi, discussed further below. See also Reese (2013, 449-453) and Gejvall (1969, 29-34) for a general discussion of the cattle remains of Lerna.

⁴⁷ Caskey 1965, 146; Banks 2013, 40. Neither Caskey nor Banks fully explains the reasoning behind the suggestion that Building W-1 was purposefully removed, though both imply that it was for the replacement of this structure by

resulted in the loss of much of the skeleton in what was apparently an active area of the settlement.

Likewise in the Eastern Sector were two cases of animals deposited in bothroi. In the first of these cases (Bothros B-85), the skeleton of a dog was found mixed with ash and coarse ware sherds; the north wall of the subsequent building (W-90) was laid over this deposit.⁴⁸ The second example included two piglets inserted into a jar within a bothros (B-45) filled with burned debris, and is clearly ritual in nature, interpreted by Banks as a foundation deposit.⁴⁹ It is notable that this building was also isolated by Rutter for its unusual pottery assemblage, containing a three-spouted jar (the “Hydra”) perhaps indicative of ceremonial drinking.⁵⁰ For these reasons, this building has been suggested to have a function beyond the strictly domestic. It is equally possible that the ceramic deposit can also be associated with a ritual occurring at the time of the destruction of the building, particularly since it is also “severely burned.”⁵¹ If this is the case, then both the construction and destruction of Building W-52 are ritually marked, the implications of which are discussed further below. As Weiberg observes in her consideration of the deposition of 16 figurines near the hearth in the “Sanctuary” at Lithares, “under the circumstances of this

Building W-36. Indeed, Caskey (1965, 146) interprets Building W-1 as a largely temporary structure, that would have stood “only a year or two; possibly ten or fifteen years; probably not much longer.”

⁴⁸ Banks 2013, 175, 176. See also Reese (2013, 453-455) and Gejvall (1969, 14-18) for a discussion of the dog at Lerna.

⁴⁹ Banks 2013, 114: “A unique feature of the structure was what appeared to be a foundation bothros, B-45, which lay under the east wall of the first stage of the structure and contained at the bottom the skeletons of two new-born piglets, which had been squeezed into the neck of IV.1 transitional to IV.2 Solidly Painted and Unburnished jar P411. Packed with stones in the top 0.30 m to provide support for the wall above, the bothros was filled with ashy earth down to the bones, and it would appear that burning was part of the deposition ritual.” Reese (2013, 440) puts the age of these piglets at less than one year.

⁵⁰ Rutter 1995, Cat. P520; Rutter 2008.

⁵¹ Banks 2013, 114.

specific act, perhaps rather than a *place* for ceremony, it [the Sanctuary] should be seen as illustrating a *time* for ceremony” (emphasis added).⁵²

House-Killing and Ritual Action

Similar deposits to those described here have been recovered in Central American archaeology, particularly in the ruined settlements of the Maya. Though obviously much removed in time and space, the interpretive framework provided by these studies is useful in approaching the Middle Helladic material. These contexts, referred to as “termination deposits,” are characterized by the accumulation of cultural material over (or within) the use-surface and left unsealed, representing, as noted by Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro, ritual “performed for a variety of different reasons, including the initiation of new construction episodes, warfare, and structure abandonment.”⁵³ They go on to assert, however, that “all termination deposits appear to have one thing in common: the intent to ritually ‘kill’ an object, structure, person, or place.”⁵⁴ Based partially on ethnographic material, the authors propose that termination ritual often included the intentional demolition of architecture, particularly in an elite context.⁵⁵ The nature of these deposits is, however, ambiguous, largely as a result of their resemblance to domestic refuse and the difficulty of determining intention in the destruction of a building archaeologically.⁵⁶

⁵² Weiberg 2007, 98.

⁵³ Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 235.

⁵⁴ Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 235.

⁵⁵ Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 236. They cite Stross (1998), considering modern Mesoamerican practices, for their ethnographic parallels.

⁵⁶ Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 241.

In an effort to overcome some of these challenges, Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton have assembled a useful list of criteria for the identification of a particular type of termination ceremony, interpreted as a “desecratory” ritual, intended not just to “kill” the structure but also to sever the ties of the previous occupant to the space.⁵⁷ While not all of these criteria can be applied to Middle Helladic contexts, it is illustrative to quote them here:

1. intensive burning,
2. intentional structural damage,
3. deposition of white marl (possibly signifying ritual burial [death?] or purification, depending on the context),
4. breaking and scattering of pottery (scattering rituals being an important part of elite rituals including blood sacrifice),
5. rapid deposition,
6. dense concentration of sherds with sharp breaks (due to the erosional protection of rapid breakage and deposition in a large deposit), and
7. large quantities of elite artifacts (which might better be stated as ritual artifacts).⁵⁸

Similar ritual remains are likely to characterize termination deposits in general. Such deposits have also been found in a stratigraphically sequential series of three to four rituals, including a burial, at a “common” Maya house discussed by Garber, Driver, Sullivan, and Glassman, suggesting that these ceremonies can be a regular and cyclical process at many levels of the social spectrum.⁵⁹ It is worth noting that in their study of related ritual/abandonment processes in the American Southwest, LaMotta and Schiffer emphasize the pervasiveness of these types of activities cross-culturally.⁶⁰ This phenomenon is similar to the one I am proposing for Lerna,

⁵⁷ Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton 2003; Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 237. Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton are primarily concerned with “desecration” of a space or building during times of conflict by conquering (and generally external) groups. They note, however, that the ritual is also an act of “undedication,” perhaps a less charged term.

⁵⁸ Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 237-238. Originally published by Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton (2003, 79-80) with fewer explanatory comments. So-called “reverential termination ritual deposits,” basically signifying a more positive attitude toward the previous structure and its inhabitants on the part of the agents of destruction and deposition, are similar in content, perhaps suggesting that they should be less sharply distinguished.

⁵⁹ Garber, Driver, Sullivan, and Glassman 1998.

⁶⁰ LaMotta and Schiffer 1999, esp. 25, and see also 22-24.

though one-to-one correlation should not be expected, and does not appear here. Nonetheless, this list provides a useful starting point for interrogating MH house destruction.

The most obvious parallel is clearly the burning destruction of many MH houses, which I argue to be intentional on parallel with the Neolithic houses described previously in this chapter. Though Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton interpret this burning as a violent act resulting from warfare, in the case of the MH houses it need not (though may in some cases) be so. It is additionally worth reemphasizing that the houses need not have been burned, though burning is of course the most archaeologically-discernible method of effecting a deliberate destruction. The remaining criteria for a (desecratory) termination ritual largely regard the speed and sometimes aggressive nature of the deposition of cultural material (possibly ritual in nature) and soil, perhaps meant to symbolically bury the structure. I return now to the cases I have mentioned at Lerna, Building W-1→W-36, W-86→W-90, both part of the Chieftain's House series; and Building W-9→W-52→W-56 (Fig. 1.3).

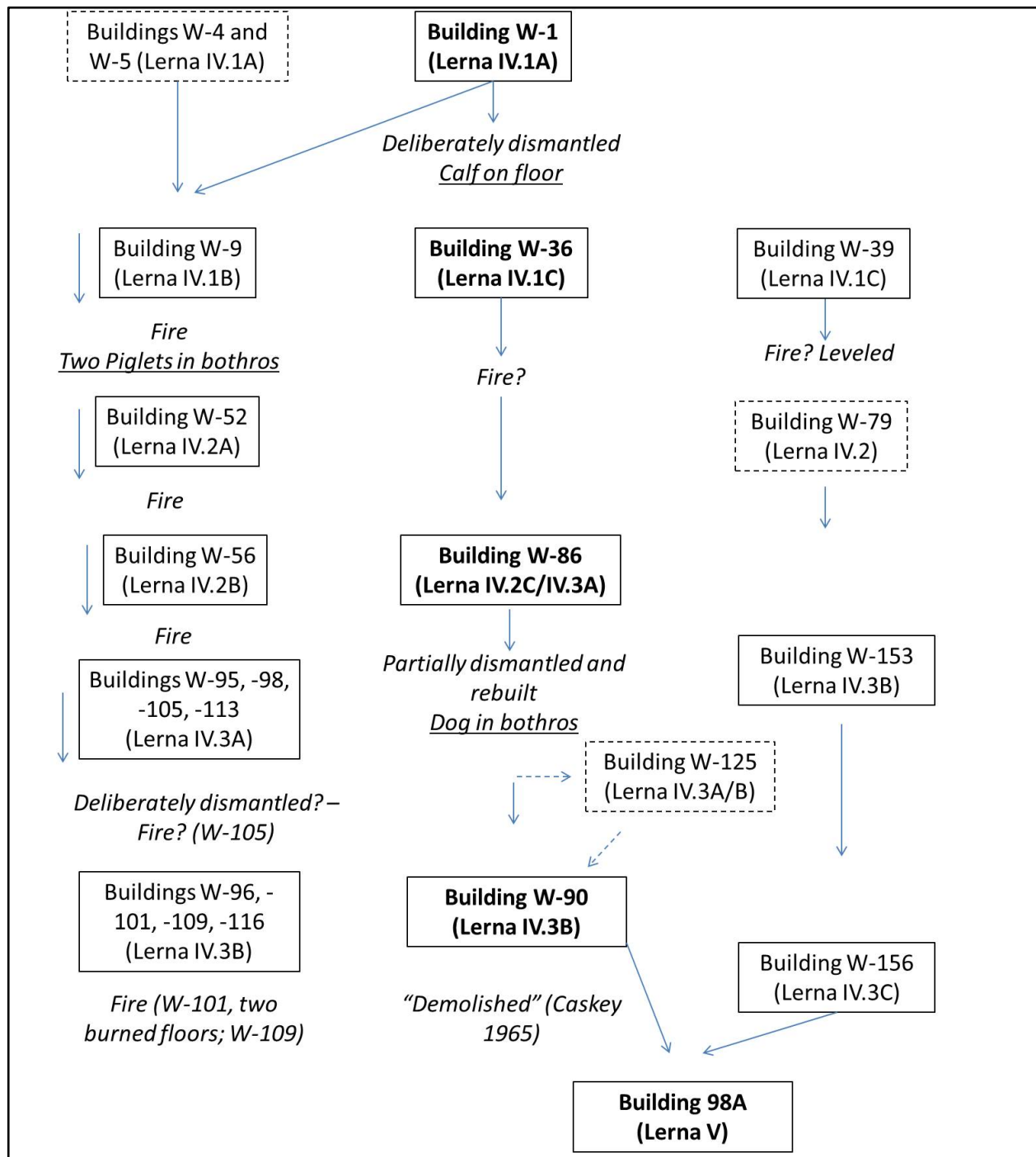


Fig. 1.3: Sequence of houses in the East Sector of Lerna. Cause of destruction in italics, possible ritual deposit italicized and underlined. Information from Banks 2013 and Caskey 1965.

Building W-1, Caskey's "Chieftain's House" at the east of the tumulus, is separated from the succeeding Building W-36 by relatively little soil.⁶¹ In addition to the articulated skeleton of a calf, this material contained the handle of a marble vessel—the so-called "Chieftain's cup"—noted by Caskey and Banks as a probable import with Anatolian and Minoan parallels.⁶² Banks explicitly links this cup, which is equipped with a hole in the bottom and a separately carved disc to fill it, with ritualized activities probably related to Rutter's proposed Anatolian-derived ceremonial drinking; Rutter himself points out in addition that the cup may predate its context by up to two centuries, suggesting its value as an heirloom item.⁶³ Notably, several additional fragments of this cup were found within a bothros (B-15) associated with the earliest floor level of the subsequent building, W-36.⁶⁴ The same bothros also contained several terracotta vessels, including an ouzo cup, bass bowl, cup, pedestal-footed cup, and tankards, as well as a "large bag" of animal bones. A handful of other objects were found in the fill of the bothros, including perforated stone discs and additional stone tools. The stone cup and the terracotta vessels, however, were concentrated at the bottom of the bothros with the bones and loose fill on top of them. Rutter does not comment on the condition of the breaks in particular, noting only that several of the vessels are worn from use; the pottery is in general near-complete and broken into a few large fragments, though portions of each piece are missing.⁶⁵ Banks proposes that the

⁶¹ I return to deposition between the use-phases of the house below.

⁶² Caskey 1956, 164; Banks 1967, 227-230; Banks 2013, 41, 94. Caskey originally associates the handle with the House of the Tiles, but observes that it was found "in and above the burnt debris [of the House of the Tiles]." It is not improbable that this "burnt debris" could be associated with Building W-1, immediately overlying the House of the Tiles.

⁶³ Banks 1967, 229; Banks 2013, 94; Rutter 2008, 465.

⁶⁴ Banks 2013, 400.

⁶⁵ Rutter 1995, 105-106, Cat. P317-P322.

bothros may have acted as a storage area for these vessels before it “served for refuse disposal.”⁶⁶ Based on her description of the stratigraphy of the bothros, however, as well as the possible scattering of the stone and ceramic vessels, it is perhaps more likely that these vessels form a deposit that was deliberately buried, perhaps as a part of a termination/dedication ritual for the transition to the new Building W-36.

Two other bothroi (B-69a, B-69b) associated with a later phase of use of this structure may confirm the continuation of this practice prior to the construction of the following house in this area, Building W-86. Particularly the second of these bothroi contained many whole vessels (seven with completely preserved profiles) in a “soft ashy fill” with a number of carbonized remains.⁶⁷ Rutter again comments on the apparent wear from usage on several of these pieces, but notes one in particular (P709, a bass bowl) for having sharp breaks in addition to signs of secondary burning.⁶⁸ Another of the vessels (P713, a rim-handled cup) is a probable import, though no objects of clear ritual significance were found in this context.⁶⁹ Banks interprets this deposit as “the household crockery of the family of the headman, which was thrown into a cooking pit located near the large central hearth when the next building was about to be constructed on this site.”⁷⁰ While Banks’ characterization of this context is one of disposal rather than one of ritual caching, it seems to correspond closely to both the possibly ritual bothros deposit associated with the previous phase of the building (B-15) and to the criteria for a

⁶⁶ Banks 2013, 94.

⁶⁷ Banks 2013, 147-148, 403; Rutter 1995, 159-161, Cat. P704-P716.

⁶⁸ Rutter 1995, 160, Cat. P709.

⁶⁹ Rutter 1995, 160, Cat. P713. Banks (2013, 148) lists, in addition to the ceramics, a bone scraper or polisher, a few obsidian tools, and a “medium bag” of (unworked) bones.

⁷⁰ Banks 2013, 147.

termination/dedication ritual deposit described above, with the greatest difference being that the materials are collected and—perhaps—ritually buried in association with the construction of the new building. At the least, these deposits appear to mark the transition between old and new structures. In this case, the evidence of burning—or even of cooking—is again also significant, as it may indicate feasting activity or the actual ritual destruction of the house.

The subsequent building on this site, Building W-86, had multiple phases, with numerous associated bothroi that were noted for the extreme burning evident in their fill. Banks, however, suggests that at least some of this may be related to metalwork in the area, which seems a likely explanation given the presence of six individual crucibles in bothros B-102.⁷¹ She goes on to propose that metalworking may have been a prestige activity “associated with the community’s headman,” capitalizing on access to valuable raw material as well as restricted technological knowledge. If this is the case, then metalworking tools may have become status objects, which would make them appropriate for ritual deposition.⁷² This suggestion may also explain the unusual number of crucibles in this single deposit, though they may simply represent debris from the destruction of the house. The next iteration of Building W-86 is associated with multiple bothroi containing a large amount of ash and bones, including bothros B-85 with the canine skeleton, probably to be associated with the destruction of the building or the construction of the subsequent Building W-90. Following this house, there is little evidence for any kind of ritual deposition, though the house series continues into the MH, discussed briefly by Zerner.⁷³

⁷¹ Banks 2013, 169. The crucibles are as yet unpublished.

⁷² Kayafa (2010, 709-710), however, notes the slow development and spread of metalwork during at least the MH period, suggesting that it was not effective or necessary as a result of the kinship-based organization of MH culture. That is, MH culture “did not rely on the display of wealth for maintaining its status and authority” (709).

⁷³ Zerner 1978, 31-38. Banks’ Building W-90 is equivalent to Zerner’s (32) House 99D (while the preceding building W-86 is equivalent to Zerner’s House 99C). House 99D is followed consecutively by 98L, and 98A. Zerner (1978, 38) mentions that additional houses were built in the area following 98A, but gives no details. Milka (2010),

Unfortunately, Zerner gives little information on the contents of these houses. Nonetheless, it is at minimum clear that this house series underwent a number of probable ritual events marking transitions between houses, with the remains of the ritual and house destruction possibly—if inconsistently—cached in assorted bothroi.

A similar series of episodes of ritual caching of a termination/dedication deposit may also be attested by an assemblage discussed at length by Rutter and Banks and associated with the final use phase of Building W-9 and the subsequent construction of Building W-52, as well as with the transition from Building W-52 to Building W-56. These structures are situated to the east of the tumulus and to the south of and partially overlying Caskey's "Chieftain's House." In the earliest in the series, Building W-9, an unusually large assemblage of 22 vessels was scattered over the area, but concentrated in the western room.⁷⁴ This assemblage is identified as purely domestic in character by Banks, and the relatively fragmentary nature of the pottery may argue against its being any sort of termination ritual deposit.⁷⁵ Likewise, little or no effort seems to have been made to cache this material in bothroi, as suggested for the buildings above, though one bothros (B-6) observed to post-date the use-life of the structure contained ash, a grainy fill

however, comments on the alternating construction of cemeteries and houses following 98A, with House 100 and Rooms 3 and 5 built in the approximate area in the following years. Again, however, no details are given.

⁷⁴ Banks 2013, 48-49. These ceramics were originally divided between two floors identified in this room, though Banks (2013, 48) observes numerous joins between levels, suggesting that these pots were part of the same deposit. The supposed later floor was separated from the floor below by only a centimeter at the eastern (interior) side of the room, but roughly 20cm at the western (exterior) side. Based on the significant slope of the upper floor, it may be more likely that it represents melt from the more substantial exterior walls on this side, or from the slumping of the roof during or following the destruction of this building by fire. I therefore agree with Banks that these vessels are likely to represent one deposit. Rutter (1995) does not examine this assemblage as a whole, but confirms that it is highly dispersed, with several joining fragments recovered from outside the house in dump like deposits to the south (see, for example, Cat. P120, which was assembled from 20 fragments in four different pottery groups; see Banks 1995, 4-5 for an explanation of these groups). This scattering is almost certainly due to the intensity of building in this area, but does suggest that if these vessels do represent a ritual deposit, its sanctity was not respected in future rebuildings.

⁷⁵ Banks 2013, 51.

that may represent organic remains, and bones.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the concentration of the material in this room—the eastern room had apparently been cleared—in conjunction with the evidence for the burning destruction of the building and the subsequent foundation ritual demonstrated by the bothros with the two piglets, may indicate feasting and/or drinking activity prior to the building's demolition.

The foundation/dedication deposit itself (B-45), mentioned above, contained the two piglets in a jar heavily worn from use, as well as a few obsidian tools in an ashy fill, apparently preceding the erection of the subsequent structure, Building W-52.⁷⁷ No further details are given for the deposit or possible contemporary features in this area. Associated with the floor of the first phase of W-52, however, was large assemblage of ceramics, including the three-spouted ritual vessel with Anatolian parallels, known by the excavators as the “Hydra” (Cat. P520), as well as 17 other fully restorable pieces and fragments of up to 64 additional vessels, of which 19 are catalogued by Rutter.⁷⁸ The ceramics vary in state of preservation, ranging from complete to extremely fragmentary (150+ sherds), and many show signs of secondary burning. In one case, Rutter notes that the burning is likely to have occurred following the destruction of the pot.⁷⁹ The assemblage was associated with a bothros, B-54, into which the floor of the room extended and which contained eight complete pots and fragments of three others, including the “Hydra.” Two

⁷⁶ The bothroi associated with Building W-9 are B-2-B-6, and B-26 (Banks 2013, 49-51; 51 and 399 for Bothros B-6). No details were recorded for the fill of Bothroi B-2 and B-26, the only other bothroi actually contained within Building W-9.

⁷⁷ Banks 2013, 114-116; Rutter 1995, 124, Cat. P411.

⁷⁸ Rutter 1995, Cat. P412, P413, P466, P494, P515, P517, P520, P540, P541, P564, P571, P597, P615, P633, P636, P641, P645, P655, P658; Rutter 2008, 464, 467, referencing Mellink 1969. Total numbers are taken from Banks (2013, 117), who comments in addition that 40 of these vessels are represented by uncatalogued sherds in storage at the Archaeological Museum of Argos.

⁷⁹ Rutter 1995, 135, Cat. P515.

other bothroi, B-55 and B-56, were associated with the use-life of the building and contained an array of tools and bones.⁸⁰ All of this material was sealed by the burned debris of the building.

An intriguing—if somewhat dubious—possibility is presented by the continuation of the floor into Bothros B-54. That is, if this bothros, noted for its unusual size (1.34m by 1.5m) and depth (1.35m) by both Rutter and Banks, was functional in rituals associated with the destruction of this building, it may have been purposefully made to contain ritual debris, as suggested for other bothroi above. If this is the case, then the implication is that the floor was either re-laid or renewed specifically for this ritual, possibly explaining the filling of the top of the other two bothroi in this room with a yellow clay similar to that of the floor, though Banks had attributed this soil to fallen and melted construction materials.⁸¹ A multi-stage ritual process for house-killing/termination could therefore be suggested. For this house series, then, the sequence of possible ritual activity as discussed here progresses as follows: 1.) Possible termination assemblage for Building W-9; 2.) Foundation/dedication deposit underlying Building W-52; 3.) Termination assemblage for Building W-52, possibly involving multiple steps of preparation and execution.

Evidence for subsequent ritual on the site of this structure for the following buildings is more elusive. Bothros B-62 may serve a caching function for a termination ritual deposit containing remnants of a feasting ritual for Building W-56, constructed following the destruction by fire of Building W-52, but is hardly conclusive; subsequent building changed type, number, and orientation of structures dramatically. Though the ritual nature of these assemblages and the

⁸⁰ Banks 2013, 119, 402.

⁸¹ This theory has the obvious problem that a ritual caching function becomes less credible for the other two bothroi if they are sealed during the termination process, while B-54 is left open, although it is possible that a multi-stage process could account for this. It is likewise inevitably too “neat” to expect all of the bothroi at Lerna to have a single, uniform function.

suggested function of bothroi in caching them are certainly debatable, it is worth noting that two bothroi (B-4 and B-57) in the area of the western room of Building W-52 were marked with upright slabs, a behavior not dissimilar to the treatment of human burials at the site.⁸² At least 12 bothroi of a total of about 223 were marked in a similar fashion, or with rings of stones around their tops; perhaps more notably, 63 of 158 bothroi (40%) for which Banks was able to recover some description of the fill contained burned material.⁸³ At least at Lerna, then, bothroi may have functioned at least on specific occasions as receptacles for the remains of termination/dedication rituals, which are similar in content to those expected among the Maya. At minimum, they must have contained the burned rubble of the houses. A similar function for pits found at Opovo filled with destruction debris has been suggested for the Vinča culture by Tringham.⁸⁴

Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton explicitly associate these rituals with Maya notions of cyclicity, “in which one cycle of life must be terminated before the next may begin.”⁸⁵ Such

⁸² No human remains were recorded for these bothroi; rather, B-4 (G154) contained fragments of two jars and two obsidian bladelets (Banks 2013, 50), while B-57 (G155) contained fragments of two jars, a bass bowl, and a “small bag” of bones, some burned (Banks 2013, 122). Cavanagh and Mee (1998) do not systematically document stelae in EH III and MH contexts, noting their presence chiefly in the Shaft Graves (28). For Lerna specifically, Blackburn (1970, 179-189 and individual catalog entries) comments on 17 graves with possible or definite markers for the MH period (Graves **12**, 21, 35, **50**, **55**, 78, 103, **126**, **136**, **154**, 162, 166, **167**, 172, 173, 182, 213), compared to 14 total for the 15 other contemporary sites she considers (294); of these, the bolded examples, seven total, may have had stele-like markers. Certainly this is a small percentage (0.03%) of the total number of graves (228), and none from the EH III period were marked. Perhaps noteworthy, however, is that bothroi exhibited the same range of markings as graves, including not only stelae but also rings of stones (Banks 2013, 414-415; for the graves, see the unbolded catalog numbers above in Blackburn 1970). An additional possible parallel treatment of the “dead” house and the actual dead may be indicated by the association of MH burials with burnt material, indicating the use of fire as a part of the burial process (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 32-33).

⁸³ Banks 2013, 399-412; these include: B-4, B-25, B-57, B-65, B-78, B-79, B-87, B-94, B-129, B-138, B-166, B-202. Bothroi with explicitly mentioned ash or burned debris include: B-5, B-6, B-7, B-19, B-22, B-23, B-25, B-31, B-32, B-36, B-38, B-45, B-46, B-52, B-54, B-57, B-59, B-62, B-63, B-67, B-68, B-69a/b, B-73, B-78, B-81, B-83, B-84, B-85, B-89, B-93, B-94, B-95, B-101, B-102, B-103, B-104, B-106, B-107, B-108, B-109, B-116, B-118, B-123, B-131, B-135, B-139, B-140, B-141, B-142, B-147, B-150, B-153, B-163, B-165, B-175, B-183, B-186, B-187, B-191, B-196, B-207, B-218, B-223. Black soil, which may or may not represent burning, brings the number up to 69 (B-10, B-37, B-80, B-146, B-151, B-210). A total of 65 bothroi of the 223 were not described as regards the fill.

⁸⁴ Tringham 2000, 126.

⁸⁵ Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton 2003, 77.

ideas are manifested in many aspects of Mesoamerican archaeology, and perhaps most notably in the sacred calendars. While EH III and MH Greece have no such concrete manifestations of a cyclical understanding of time, it is clear that at least at Lerna on certain occasions, the transition from old to new house was ritually marked. Indeed, periodic—cyclical—renewal seems to have played a major role not only in the domestic sphere, but also possibly in funerary structures. Cavanagh and Mee describe the construction of MH tumuli as “a series of consecutive layers, like the skins of an onion.”⁸⁶ This implies a semi-regular rebuilding or the tumulus, perhaps partially practically necessitated by erosion, but also likely to have been of ritual significance. Related may be the outward expansion of tumuli, as at Marathon.⁸⁷ This need to mark transitions or renewals seems, then, to have been a pervasive element in MH culture. This idea is explored further in domestic contexts below.

House Destruction, Replacement, and Cycles of Renewal

A similar argument has been made by Nicole Boivin in her consideration of Neolithic floor-laying practices at Çatalhöyük, which she bases on her ethnographic work in Rajasthan, India.⁸⁸ Boivin observes that the renewal of plaster floors in modern Rajasthan is linked to several temporal cycles, including the lifecycle of the individual, the lifecycle of the house/household, and the annual cycle.⁸⁹ Wall-plastering is also occasionally linked to these cycles, while additions and reductions to the house are linked to the cycles of the household, and in particular to marriage and death. In this case, the house and all of its constituent parts, becomes a record of events in the lives of its occupants. Though the complicated relationships

⁸⁶ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 30.

⁸⁷ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 30.

⁸⁸ Boivin 2000.

⁸⁹ Boivin 2000, 368.

between these cycles and a high degree of variation in practice in Rajasthan prevented Boivin from pinpointing an overarching pattern in the plastering of these houses, she is nonetheless able to draw conclusions concerning the occasion of plastering walls and floors at Çatalhöyük.⁹⁰ In the case of the walls, replastering seems to have been carried out in specific areas (north wall of Area 154 in Building 5) on at least an annual basis, probably tied to natural cycles and to be associated with the renewal of the structure. A high level of consistency in application may be indicative of the ritual nature of the practice.⁹¹ Floor-plastering seems to be more varied, and, where it is associated with burial, may have more to do with the life-cycles and identities of household members. In at least one area of Building 1 it also seems to have been annually renewed. Boivin has also suggested that plastering cycles may be related to the “birth” and “death” of houses.⁹²

Similar phenomena have also been observed on the Greek mainland: for the Neolithic period, Makri in Northern Greece, and, more pertinently, for the Middle Bronze Age, Mitrou in East Lokris.⁹³ The case in Makri is interesting in that it may indicate—in addition to those temporalities identified by Boivin—the additional level of community cycles, which I would argue is essential to the understanding of these practices. Panagiotis Karkanas and Nikos Efstratiou here propose that, although the same regularity of plastering could not be observed at Makri as Boivin had observed at Rajasthan and proposed for Çatalhöyük, houses in the central area of the settlement surrounding a (common?) storage facility appear to have been formally replastered together at intervals of about 33 years, reflecting a decision made at the level of the

⁹⁰ Boivin 2000, 382.

⁹¹ Boivin 2000, 383.

⁹² Boivin 2000, 384. Matthews 2005.

⁹³ Makri: Karkanas and Efstratiou 2009; Mitrou: Karkanas and Van de Moortel 2014.

broader community.⁹⁴ This 33-year cycle may be generational and is punctuated by more informal surfaces that may reflect events specific to each family, while more major rebuildings every 70-130 years conform to notions of household cycles.⁹⁵ The execution of these semi-regular replasterings on a community-wide level, however, indicates an additional degree of temporality observed in regular practice at this settlement. As Karkanias and Efstratiou note, “it appears that well-prepared floors could be viewed as important events, medium term incidences of social or economic nature in the life of the settlement and the community, and not just as simple events related to or affecting particular resident units or actions.”⁹⁶

Regular floor-laying practices also seem to have been a significant part of MH life at the coastal site of Mitrou in East Lokris.⁹⁷ Due to the unfinished state of the excavation there, it is impossible to determine how this practice played out at the level of the community. Nonetheless, Karkanias and Aleydis Van de Moortel have observed that from EH IIB until LH I, the interior surfaces at Mitrou are replaced with a high level of frequency, alternating with layers of occupational—or even destruction—debris. This custom then changes dramatically in LH I, when floors are more standardized and less commonly laid.⁹⁸ The disparity between the two periods is pronounced. Karkanias and Van de Moortel note the accumulation of a full meter of formal surfaces and incorporated occupational fill for every 200 years between EH IIB and LH I. Following LH I, however, only 20-30cm of accumulated surfaces can be attributed to the same

⁹⁴ Karkanias and Efstratiou 2009, 964-967.

⁹⁵ Karkanias and Efstratiou 2009, 964.

⁹⁶ Karkanias and Efstratiou 2009, 964.

⁹⁷ As noted by Wiersma (2013, 199) in her discussion of continuity and rebuilding in MH houses, “the most frequently observed alteration (and presumably the easiest to identify) was the construction of a new (clay) floor.”

⁹⁸ Karkanias and Van de Moortel 2014, 208-209.

200 year period. At minimum, the reconfiguration and renewal of the floor of these structures acts almost as a metonymic substitution of the part for the whole, and is equally suggestive of the cycles of the living household. More conjecturally, it is suggested that the rapid rise in level on the interior buildings must have necessitated their regular replacement.⁹⁹ Though currently there is very little architecture to associate with these surfaces at Mitrou, the observance of the cycles of the household demonstrated in the replacement of the floors may, then, have been extended to the structure itself.

Karkanias and Van de Moortel make no suggestions as to the nature of the cycle reflected here, but if we assume one surface and associated repairs and occupational debris for every 10cm of accumulation, the interior floors during the EH IIB-LH I period must have been resurfaced in a major way every 20 years or so, corresponding roughly to the generational cycle that Karkanias has suggested for Makri. If this is the case, it is clear that the LH I inhabitants of Mitrou no longer felt the need to mark the passing generations within the fabric of the house itself, perhaps suggesting the displacement of the domestic structure as the primary means of projecting and establishing group definitions, or a shift in the definitions themselves, to be considered further below. This fundamental transformation, as Karkanias and Van de Moortel have framed it, is the shift between a tell-building site to a flat, or “open” site.¹⁰⁰ They tentatively associate this transformation to the rise of a “central authority” and the imposition of more organized, and less organic, building practices at Mitrou.¹⁰¹ I would further suggest that it is a change in the observance of natural and domestic cycles that is reflected at MH Mitrou, perhaps indicating the

⁹⁹ Karkanias and Van de Moortel 2014, 209.

¹⁰⁰ Karkanias and Van de Moortel 2014, 209-212.

¹⁰¹ Karkanias and Van de Moortel 2014, 212

increasing importance of the community and the awareness of its cycles and temporalities, as has been suggested for Makri.

This discussion correlates well with Tringham’s differentiation of tell-sites with “vertical superimposition” of houses and open sites with horizontal displacement of these structures.¹⁰² She associates these two types of settlements with specific characteristics, using Neolithic models as examples. The following chart is adapted from her work on this distinction, though I emphasize here that it is a continuum rather than a true dichotomy.¹⁰³

	NL EUROPE “open”sites (e.g., Opovo, Selevac)	MH GREECE magoulas (e.g., Pefkakia, Lerna)	ANATOLIA tells (e.g., Çatalhöyük)
Method of house replacement	“Open” sites with complete horizontal displacement of buildings	Mounds of partially vertically superimposed buildings	Tells of vertically superimposed buildings
Passage between and within houses	Detached houses in independent space	Detached houses	“Houses” are contiguous rooms, accretions around a courtyard
Burials	Burials distant from residence	Burials within and around the house	Frequent burial within houses under floors and platforms
The end of the life history of a house	“Killed” by burning	“Killed” by burning or demolition; rebuilt	Changed into “ancestor place”
Symbolic expression	Anthropomorphic figurines deposited broken in pits	Possible sacrifices, material deposited in pits	Murals and relief sculpture decoration on walls
Patterns of dominance	Aggregate of independent households	Aggregate of households	Village of centrally organized households
Means of resistance	Ability for single household to fission	Household may fission/factional shifting	Fixed attachment to place makes it difficult to fission
Social memory of place established by	Informal gossip and storytelling	Formal performance	Formal ritualized performance

¹⁰² Tringham 2000.

¹⁰³ Tringham (2000, 130), Fig. 6.5. All but the MH Greece column is quoted directly.

Though chronological and geographic disparities prevent a one-to-one comparison between the EH III-LH I/II mainland, this table is intended to suggest possible patterns between open and tell settlements that may also be at work in MBA Greece. This pairing resembles the dynamic/static dichotomy proposed for settlements of the Aegean by Haggis, where the characteristics of the open settlement are dynamic, versus those of the more static tells. As noted above, Haggis has considered the replacement of the houses at Lerna to be dynamic in nature. Here, however, the generally “middle” position of the houses of MH mainland settlements may be indicative of a more active oscillation between the two settlement types, mediated through changing, cyclical treatment of the houses.¹⁰⁴

It seems clear that it is the enactment and embodiment of natural, generational cycles in the physical structure of the house that is at work in the reconstruction of houses at Lerna. This performance seems not to have been limited to full-scale replacement of houses, or even to the re-laying of surfaces, but probably extends to some degree to wall plaster and house decoration, as well as to the hearth, which may be a locus of particular significance as the heart of the house.¹⁰⁵ As Weiberg has argued, each level of the physical renewal of the house must be divorced from habituated behavior as it is understood by Hodder.¹⁰⁶ In her words:

¹⁰⁴ Haggis 2013. See also Tringham 2012, 96-97.

¹⁰⁵ Banks (2013) has several examples of the layering and relayering of the hearths at Lerna; see Fig. 27 in Building W-39, Fig. 37 for Building W-56, Fig. 43 for Building W-70, Fig. 67 for Building W-101, Fig. 88 for Building W-141, and Fig. 94 for Building W-156, for example. An interesting and possibly parallel case for a double hearth, at least one of which experienced multiple clay linings, can be found at Nichoria (associated with MH I Unit V-1), though the probable function of these installations in metalworking certainly provides more practical reasons for their repair, renewal, and replacement (Howell 1992, 26-28).

¹⁰⁶ Weiberg 2007, 114; Hodder 2006, 144: “It is important to distinguish a conscious historical relationship with the past from habituated behaviour. In the latter case, ritual and daily acts may become routinized and codified but there is no specific memory of events and histories. There may be community-wide memories embedded in daily practices and rules (everyone knows that the hearth is in the south of the house) without there being any specific memory of an individual house.”

On a very general level, it can be argued that every day in the same house, living within the same walls, is a routinised maintenance of the status quo, but, also a continuation of a tradition, i.e. a past continuously created from the viewpoint of the present. So, to fashion a room with a new floor can be seen as relating to the past, specifically the people and practices of the past, *and* the present.¹⁰⁷

It is, then, the constant interaction of present with past as it is represented in material culture that creates the present socio-cultural identity. The houses considered here, both in their role as artifact and in the crystalized way of doing and approach to architecture that they represent, thereby become objects of cultural memory. Their cyclical renewal and/or replacement represents an active engagement and negotiation of group identity—Assmann’s “concretion of identity.”¹⁰⁸ In Assmann’s words, the performative rebuilding of these houses—what may be called the rite of reconstruction—forms an “island in time,” engaging with a collective past within the context of the present. A major benefit of Assmann’s approach is that his “concretion of identity” can be applied at multiple scales. So, while house renewal and replacement may be an identifying and identity-creating (and –maintaining) practice for the broader EH III and MH cultures, it may also be said to apply *especially* on the scale of the individual kinship groups performing the replacement. Such multi-scalar meanings may partially explain the variety of approaches to the house noted by Weiberg and clear in the archaeological evidence.¹⁰⁹ These ideas likewise correspond well with the idea of the discontinuous house, as the kinship group creates and recreates itself generationally, while maintaining a connection to the past through the physical structure of the house.

¹⁰⁷ Weiberg 2007, 115.

¹⁰⁸ Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 128, 130. For Assmann, “concretion of identity” conveys “that a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon [certain] knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity. In this sense, objectivized culture has the structure of memory” (128).

¹⁰⁹ Weiberg (2007, 116) emphasizes the variety of approaches to the past within EH settlements.

The “Continuous House” in EH III-LH I/II Culture

But how common is the phenomenon of house destruction and replacement in the MH world? Stevanović proposes that this practice was part of a homogenous cultural understanding of the house in the Neolithic period, emphasizing its pervasiveness in her study region both spatially and temporally.¹¹⁰ Considering the settlements of the EH III-LH I mainland, Wiersma has recently suggested that although examples of the “continuous house” (in her terms, a strictly “rebuilt” house) can be found, they are far from being a common feature of MH settlements.¹¹¹ She goes on to isolate three types of house replacement, including 1.) “meticulous rebuilding” wherein the old foundations are reused, 2.) partially-displaced rebuilding following the same plan, and 3.) fully displaced rebuilding making no use of the earlier foundations and merely “referencing” the earlier plan in location, orientation, and appearance (Fig. 1.4).¹¹² These variations of “rebuilding” are contrasted with “building upon,” which she understands as a true break between constructions. Examples of “building upon” include: multiple houses constructed on and making no clear reference to the original foundations, reversing orientations, significant changes in the plan of the subsequent building (apsidal to rectilinear, dramatic shifts in size, etc.), total displacement of the house from the previous foundations, and any combination of the above (Fig. 1.5). As she notes, although such a typology can only be “schematic and subjective,” it provides a good framework for further discussion.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Stevanović 1997, 335, 337.

¹¹¹ Wiersma 2013, 201 (for EH III), 209-211 (for MH I-II), 219-220 (MH III-LH I). Wright (2008, 235), following Caskey, had previously commented on the frequent replacement of houses at Lerna, noting particularly Asine (House Pre-D/D/E complex) as a parallel; in personal communication (2013) he also emphasizes Pefkakia (Trench E-F VIII). For Asine, see also Nordquist’s (1987, 28-29, 88) arguments for established plots of land.

¹¹² Wiersma 2013, 200.

¹¹³ Wiersma 2013, 199.

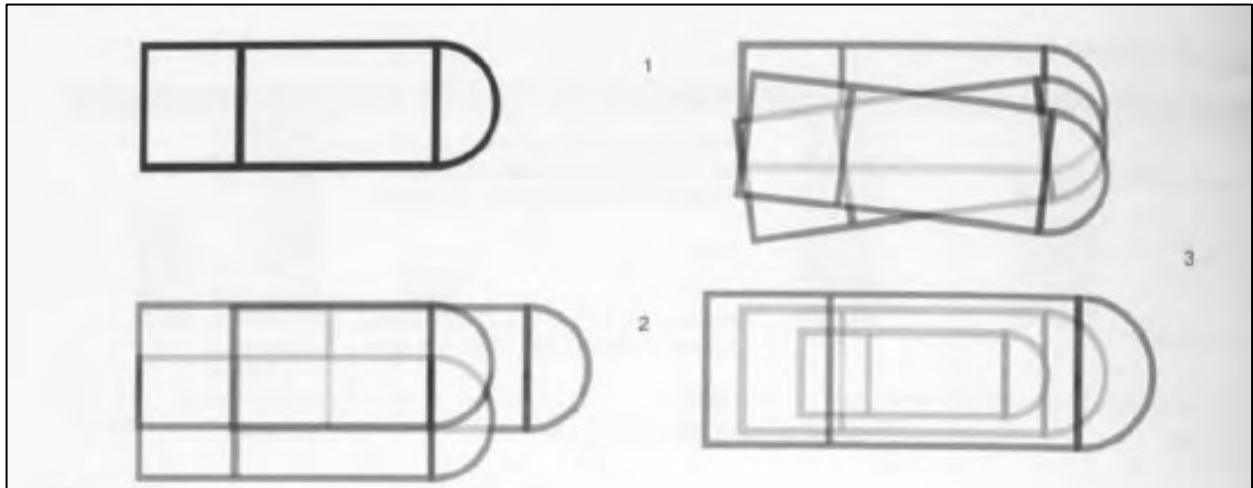


Fig. 1.4: Wiersma's types of house replacement. Wiersma 2013, 200, Fig. 4.1.9.

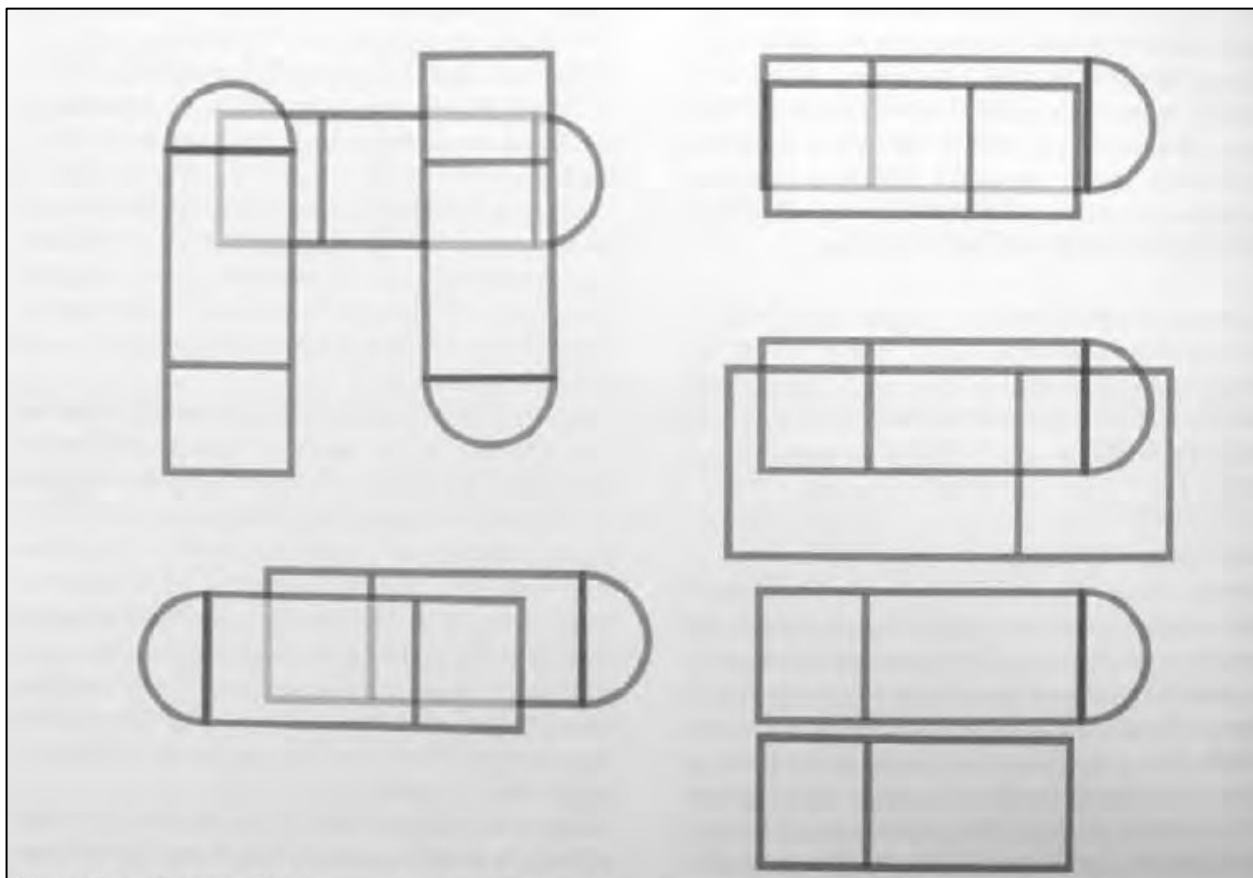


Figure 1.5: Wiersma's examples of "building upon" versus true rebuilding. Wiersma 2013, 200, Fig. 4.1.10.

In general, her rigorous definition is useful in determining with high probability a true series of rebuildings; however, it has the disadvantage of perhaps unnecessarily limiting an

already small field of examples, as well as dismissing almost entirely instances of rebuilding involving more pronounced displacement. Particularly for an initial consideration, it seems more valuable to retain as many cases as possible in order to consider the possible scope of the practice, and particularly whether it can be said to be a true characteristic of MH culture. To that end, I suggest that a simple reversal of a dwelling's orientation or a shift in its plan, particularly where other criteria can be mustered in favor of continuity of the house series, cannot be rejected as a true rebuilding of the house. Indeed, in Tringham's case study of precisely this phenomenon of rebuilding at Opovo, the house series is consistently and deliberately displaced, suggesting not that the subsequent houses represent a complete break with the past, but rather a different engagement with it. Under Wiersma's criteria, Tringham's house series at Opovo would not be considered (Fig. 1.6) "true" rebuildings. Though Tringham's series is manifestly unlike the Lerna series, it is crucial to consider both types of approaches to past structures as they represent two different social strategies—including among others "open" versus "tell" settlements, as noted above. The integration of more fully displaced constructions and reconstructions into the larger house series does, however, run the risk of glossing over true breaks in the sequence. In an effort to counter this problem, the chronological gap between rebuildings and the question of the visibility of earlier structures in proposed series is considered for the house series discussed below. The matter of visibility has important ramifications for issues of communicative (living) versus cultural (historicized/mythologized/collective) memory, and in turn the scope of the practice (in terms of how long after the original destruction or abandonment of the house a rebuilding may still be said to be meaningful), and the identity of the rebuilding group (kinship, community, etc.).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ The issues of time and visibility play into the problem of memory, and Assmann's (1992; Assmann and Czaplicka 1995) distinction between communicative and cultural memories. Here, it seems best to limit the scope to

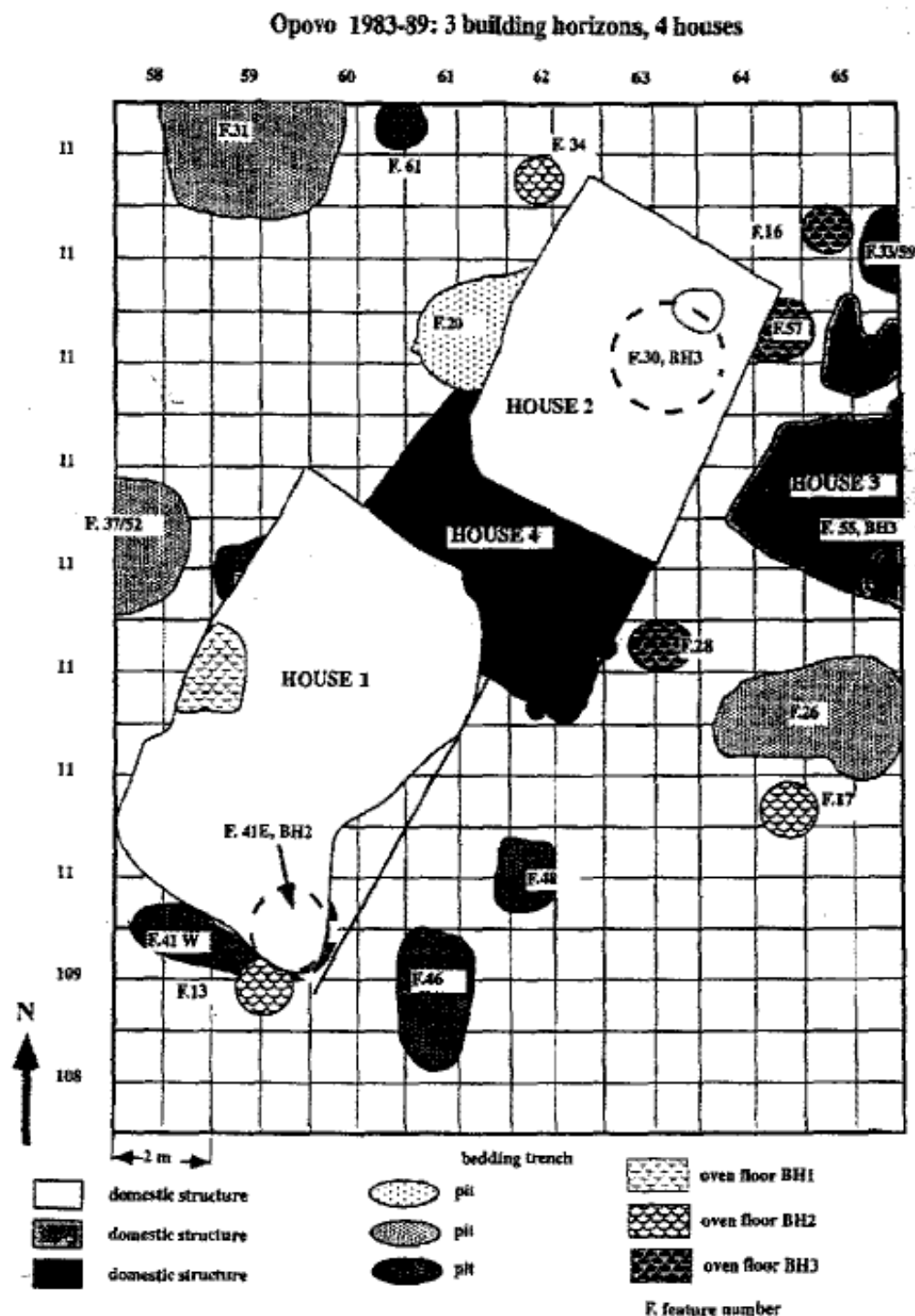


Fig. 1.6: Partial displacement of the houses at Opovo. Tringham 2000, 122, Fig. 6-2.

reproduction of the house within the bounds of communicative memory, or about 80-100 years, though reproduction following a gap greater than this period (as long as the earlier remains are still visible), has interesting implications for the role of this reproduction in cultural memory.

Though the question of rebuilding is not Wiersma's primary concern, it is also somewhat problematic that she considers the EH III, MH I-II, and MH III-LH I periods separately.¹¹⁵ That is, while this approach has the advantage of examining diachronic trends in rebuilding, it artificially breaks up house series which may continue through one or more of these periods. Here, the full history of the house series is taken into consideration in order to examine the phenomenon holistically, as well as to emphasize the changing treatment of the house within individual groups and sites. Before introducing the EH III-LH I/II house series that will concern the following chapter, it is important to consider the diachronic trends in rebuilding isolated by Wiersma, whose analysis provides an excellent, though generalized, introduction to the phenomenon and its shifting patterns of use. Wiersma observes 20 certain cases of rebuilding (8 Type 1, 9 Type 2, and 3 Type 3) and four uncertain cases for her first period (EH III). The certain cases are limited to five sites (Argissa, Deriziotis Aloni, Eutresis, Lerna, and Pefkakia), with over half (12) coming from Lerna.¹¹⁶ For her second period (MH I-II), Wiersma records 25 cases of rebuilding (4 Type 1, 14 Type 2, and 7 Type 3), noting a general decrease in the "meticulousness" of the reconstructions.¹¹⁷ Nine sites are represented here (Argissa, Asea, Asine, Eutresis, Kirrha, Kolonna, Korakou, Lerna, and Pefkakia) though again several of the examples stem from a single area, in this case Pefkakia (7) and Argissa (5).¹¹⁸ In her third period (MH III-LHI), Wiersma finds only three uncertain cases of rebuilding at three different sites (Kirrha,

¹¹⁵ Wiersma 2013, 199-201 (for EH III), 209-211 (for MH I-II), 219-220 (MH III-LH I).

¹¹⁶ See Wiersma (2013, 201) Table 4.1.9. The four uncertain examples are from Kolonna, Olympia, and Tiryns.

¹¹⁷ See Wiersma (2013, 210) Table 4.2.12.

¹¹⁸ It is also perhaps notable that these two sites make up the majority of the two more "faithful" rebuilding types (Type 1 and 2), providing 11 of 18 examples.

Tsougiza, and Tiryns).¹¹⁹ This dramatic drop in rebuildings is significant, and seems to be related to a broader phenomenon of settlement abandonment at this time, observed first by Maran and Dietz and discussed further in Chapter 3 below.¹²⁰

Overall, then, Wiersma finds examples of rebuilding at only 12 sites of the fifty sites she surveys. Though nine of these 12 settlements provide more than one example of rebuilding, only five provide more than two. Of these, Kirrha and Eutresis have three and four cases respectively, leaving Argissa with 7, Pefkakia with 11, and Lerna with 15. That is, over half (roughly 63%) of Wiersma's instances of rebuilding are derived from three settlements, two of which are located within the same geographical area (Thessaly, ca. 67km distant) and may display a regional approach to the treatment of the settlement and the house. It is significant, however, that the seven other sites that Wiersma considers in Thessaly show no instances of rebuilding. More pertinent, then, is that both Argissa and Pefkakia, as well as perhaps Lerna to a lesser degree, can be described as tell sites. Again, then, it seems clear that the rebuilding conceptualized by Wiersma is that which occurs predominately at tell sites rather than "open" sites, glossing over an important variation in MH cultural practice.¹²¹ Weiberg likewise comments on the academic attention devoted to the issue of house replacement at tell sites in particular;¹²² as she notes:

In terms of *continued* habitation, the definition of a specific spot in the landscape is likely to become continuously more entwined with the history of people and material culture connected with it.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Wiersma 2013, 219-220.

¹²⁰ Wiersma 2013, 219; Maran 1995; Dietz 1991, 293.

¹²¹ Though naturally the quality and duration of the excavation of these sites must also affect the impression of the rebuilding practices that occurred there, as noted further in the following chapter.

¹²² Weiberg 2007, 64.

¹²³ Weiberg 2007, 111.

This observation is equally true for the people who constructed and lived on these mounds as it is for the modern scholars whose interest they attracted—tells are a landmark. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that Wiersma does not find more examples of this phenomenon.

Likewise, Weiberg makes clear in her consideration of EH II tell-building at Tiryns and Lerna, the phenomenon of tell-creation is intimately linked with the destruction/rebuilding cycle of the houses of the tell community, as well as with the degree to which it is a consequence of individual practice or communal effort.¹²⁴ Although Wiersma sees no correspondence between manner of destruction/abandonment and rebuilding for any portion of her study period, concluding that the cycle of destruction and rebuilding described above for Lerna cannot be seen as a characteristic of MH culture as a whole, this conclusion may once again be a result of her sample.¹²⁵ The expansion of the definitions of rebuilding to include more displaced examples helps to counter this privileging of tell sites in the discussion of this phenomenon, though they are necessarily a major component of the body of examples of rebuilding. I additionally note for each of the following proposed house series whether they may be considered a part of a tell-style site, versus a more open plan.

House series, then, are examined from three general perspectives in the following chapter. The first of these, as described above, is the physical pattern of rebuilding, based on plans and in several cases on-site examination. The second, based on the work of Karkanas and Van de Moortel at Mitrou, considers the relative change in levels between MH houses, comparing it where possible to LH levels at the same site. While this cannot compare to actual

¹²⁴ Weiberg 2007, 113-152.

¹²⁵ Wiersma 2013, 199 (for EH III), 209-211 (for MH I-II). She does not consider the relationship between destruction and rebuilding for the MH III-LH I period as a result of the lack of examples of rebuilding at this time. Wiersma is careful to note the difficulty in determining how these houses went out of use from the partial remains that represent the majority of these structures.

micromorphological studies, it does give some idea as to the extent of this proposed practice of constant renewal of the domestic space in the broader MH world. Finally, any evidence for the ritual marking of house transitions in possible termination/dedication deposits is also discussed for these house series. By approaching this material from these various angles, it is hoped that a fuller picture can be developed of the continuous/discontinuous house in EH III-LH I/II Greece, moving the discussion beyond Caskey's house series at Lerna.

CHAPTER 2: HOUSE SERIES IN THE EH III-LH I/II PELOPONNESE

Proposed house series presented here are organized roughly geographically (with geographical regions organized alphabetically) according to notional regions of regular contact. Traditional spheres of interaction, such as the Argolid, are respected to maintain consistency with other studies and facilitate the use of this catalogue, though recent research on MH networks emphasizing the importance not of strict geographical proximity but of connecting bodies of water, such as the Euboian and Saronic Gulfs.¹²⁶ Within this broader geographical arrangement, house series are arranged by site. Both geographical regions and the sites within them are organized alphabetically. Series are named for the houses that they include (if these are named), the area that they are in (geographically or according to excavation numbers), or, in the absence of this information, by some other defining feature (apsidal, megaron). Houses that are not certainly part of a series, but seem to be related to it, are italicized. For each entry, the individually identified houses (or probable use-phases) within every series are indicated, as well as associated levels, taken from surfaces, wall bottoms, or wall tops, depending on what has been provided. The date for each house is also provided to give an idea of the chronological range of each structure, as well as of any gaps within a series. Series are arranged chronologically according to the date of the first house.

¹²⁶ For the importance of the Euboian Gulf in MH trade patterns, see Hale (2014). The importance of the Saronic Gulf to the network of MH Aigina, particularly, has been well established, but see Tartaron, et al., for a good summary of the “Saronic ‘small world’” (2011, 628-631).

An effort is made to identify how rebuilding was practiced, i.e. the method of rebuilding. As a result of the variety of approaches, such identifications were necessarily reductive. Wiersma's proposed rebuilding types—Type 1 for the wholesale reuse of foundations, Type 2 for their partial but still significant reuse, accommodating limited changes in size and orientation, and Type 3 for rebuilding that does not reuse previous foundations but instead follows orientation, plan, and general location—are noted where appropriate, and portions of series previously identified by her are bolded.¹²⁷ Where one of Wiersma's types is not provided, an abbreviated explanation for including the house in the series is given. These abbreviations include: **Integrated**, where a portion of the earlier foundations is incorporated in the later house; **Expanded**, including essentially horizontal rather than vertical integration; **Displaced**, particularly where the plan of the earlier house is referenced by the later house and is apparently related in orientation, though it may be further displaced or modified than allowed in Wiersma's schema (this is necessarily subjective); **Visible**, where the foundations of the earlier house can be shown in section to have been visible and were known to the builders of the new structure. My categories of “integrated” and “displaced,” are basically equivalent to the “incorporative” and “substitutive” categories of Weiberg and Lindblom respectively.¹²⁸ These categories are fluid and represent a spectrum of possible approaches to rebuilding, and series may be more or less integrated or displaced, often conveyed below with the label “displaced/integrated.” A composite plan showing each house as it relates to the others in its series is provided. The format is as follows:

¹²⁷ Wiersma 2013, 199-200.

¹²⁸ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014. Wiersma's schema essentially progresses from Type 1 incorporative, more “conservative” recreation of a house toward substitutive behavior, which would entail an entirely new building that is not directly related spatially or in plan to its predecessor.

Series	House 1	Wiersma Type or Method of Replacement	Elevation	Date
1 destroyed→	House 2			

Following the presentation of every series for a specific settlement, a brief commentary on the overall practice of house replacement at the site is given, highlighting unusual features or important trends. An effort to quantify the popularity of the practice of house replacement at each site follows, simply taking a percentage of the houses included in a house series out of the total number of houses attested for the site. Where only one to three houses are reported for the period, as for many of the sites considered here, this is obviously not a useful statistic, and the percentage is simply kept at zero. Even where several houses are considered, any suggestion of the pervasiveness of house rebuilding can only be approximate—among other reasons, the total number of houses is often highly debatable. The number is only meant to give a very general idea of how common it was for a house to be reconstructed at a particular site, and to facilitate comparison between sites and regions.

Lastly, consideration of any possible ritualized marking of the house cycle, particularly as it relates to the life cycle of the household, is considered. Again, to facilitate comparison between sites, four specific categories of possible ritual action are considered. The first is evidence for burning of the house, usually identified through ash layers. House destruction or dismantling, purposeful or otherwise, is assumed for each series, or else there would be no series; the burning of the house, on the other hand, is marked, and constitutes a specific and deliberate approach to house-killing. The second category is house burial, or the caching of destruction debris, usually in pits. The third category is the presence or absence of termination/dedication deposits, which should include ceramic assemblages, generally smashed or otherwise destroyed, perhaps in

association with burning or feasting debris and associated with the destruction layer of a house. Finally, intramural burial is considered, particularly as it relates to the house cycle. I selected these four features because they are relatively identifiable, and because they have been noted previously in discussions of house-killing and rebuilding.¹²⁹ Even so, caution should be taken with the proposed categories of “house-burial” and “termination deposits” simply because both types of deposit closely resemble dumps and/or debris from abandonment, among other types of archaeological assemblages.¹³⁰ I mean here simply to explore the possibility of these types of ritual action accompanying the replacement of houses.

I close by treating all episodes of rebuilding in the area of study, compiled into a total of 70 series of a minimum of 198 houses (or partially represented phases of houses) and a maximum number of 238 houses. Though rebuilding is indeed a prominent phenomenon in the Peloponnese, it certainly varies both site-to-site and regionally, as well as with differing excavation methodologies.

Catalogue

Achaia

Aigion (Unclear, possible tell)¹³¹

Megaron Series ¹³²	<i>Pre-Megaron</i> ¹³³	<i>Integrated? (Rebuilt as Megaron)</i>	<i>Level Unknown</i> ¹³⁴	<i>MH III/LH I?</i> ¹³⁵
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------	------------------------------------

¹²⁹ See especially Tringham (2000).

¹³⁰ See (Stanton, Brown, and Pagliaro 2008, 241) for comments on the ambiguity of termination deposits especially.

¹³¹ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B37.

¹³² This series is highly uncertain, particularly with regard to the proposed “Pre-Megaron,” the walls assigned to each phase, and the relative chronologies of these phases. The Pre-Megaron has been suggested only based on the published plan, which is not phased, and on which no levels are given. It is therefore only a suggestion meant to account for the double cross wall closing off the northern room of the main megaron, as well as what appears on the plan to be a wall underlying the eastern long wall of the megaron at the south, at a slightly different orientation than the later wall. I follow Wiersma in isolating the possible expansions to the megaron at the east and west. Though the eastern expansion looks as if it could be a part of the main structure, the western one appears at least to have experienced modifications later than the main megaron. Wiersma is correct, though, that the date for these is

Megaron destroyed→	Megaron ¹³⁶	Expanded	Level Unknown	LH I-IIA
	<i>Megaron Extensions</i>	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Megaron)</i>	<i>Level Unknown</i>	<i>LH I-IIA</i>
	Post-Megaron ¹³⁷		Level Unknown	LH IIB-IIIA

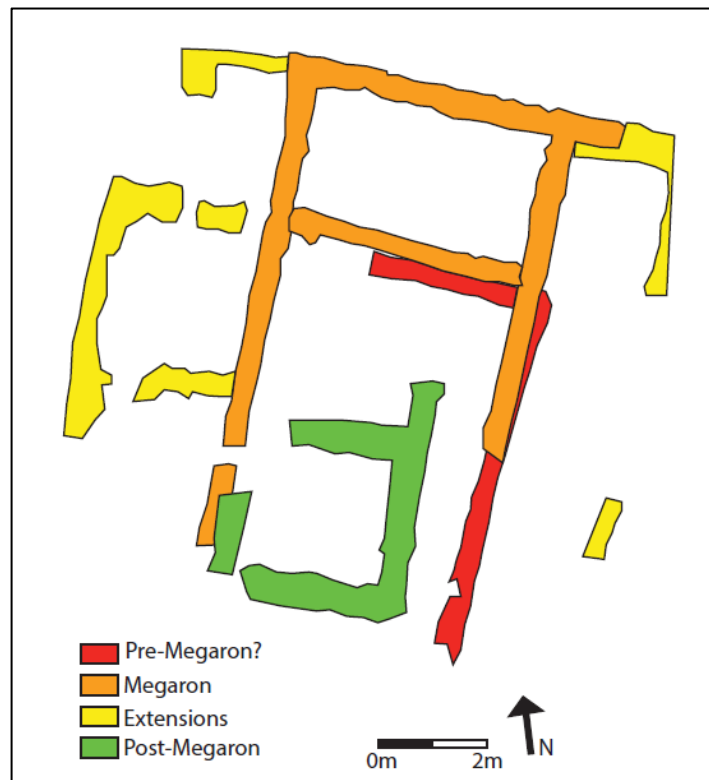


Figure 2.1: Aigion Megaron Series. After Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 140, Fig. 7.

uncertain (2013, 188), and though she tentatively assigns them to the post LH IIA arrangement of the building, they may not belong to the same building episode. The final walls added to the interior of the building are likely to be the later modifications referred to by Papazoglou-Manioudaki (2010, 135): “At the end of that period [LH IIA] the rectangular building was destroyed and new walls were introduced in the interior of the building, changing the ground plan during the subsequent LH IIB-IIIA1 phase.” Still, exactly which walls are intended remains unclear.

¹³³ Again, this phase is only suggested. This building is otherwise completely unattested.

¹³⁴ Levels are unknown for each phase of this structure.

¹³⁵ Dates for the italicized phases are surmised from the dates given for the more certain phases, but they are very debatable.

¹³⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. M02.

¹³⁷ One wall—the southern transverse wall—of the “Post-Megaron” is assigned by Wiersma to the LH I-IIA “main” megaron (2013, 561). I have taken it with the later structure because it appears to be bonded with the N-S wall on the plan, but it may well be that it should be assigned to the earlier megaron.

Commentary: Wiersma includes two houses at Aigion in her catalogue.¹³⁸ Only one of these has been provided with a published plan. The earlier of the two (A. Theotokatou plot), constructed in MH II, was destroyed by fire, with a thick destruction layer overlying the remains of the house.¹³⁹ Though later Mycenaean walls are reported, apparently bedded into this destruction layer, their relationship to the previous structure is not elaborated, and little additional information is given for this earlier of the two structures.¹⁴⁰ The later of the two, constructed in LH I (8 Odos Polychroniadou), is a sizeable megaron-structure.¹⁴¹ This house is destroyed—there is no indication as to how, though it does have a pronounced destruction layer—and its rebuilding in LH IIB reworks the original ground plan. To what extent this is a totally new building is unclear, but the walls that I have interpreted as part of the later structure (in green on the plan below) seem to follow the orientation of the earlier megaron faithfully, if slightly displaced to the east.¹⁴² I have also suggested some overlap of the north-south wall on the west, but this is extremely hypothetical since I have seen neither the actual remains nor levels

¹³⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. M01 and M02.

¹³⁹ Vordos (2001, 239) gives the only information for this house (on Odos Eisodion and K. Palaiologou, on the A. Theotokatou plot). Though Vordos does not give a date more specific than MH, Wiersma (2013, 188) is able to suggest a date of MH II based on Papazoglou-Manioudaki's analysis of the overall settlement patterns for the site (2010, 132-133, 137), which suggests a resettlement of the area following an EH II destruction in MH II.

¹⁴⁰ Papazoglou Manioudaki (2010, 131) suggests a break between MH and LH I: "This [plot] has provided the earliest evidence for settlement of this area in Middle Helladic times and its destruction before the appearance of LH I pottery."

¹⁴¹ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 134-135; Arena 2015, 12. I unfortunately could not access a copy of the dissertation of Papazoglou-Manioudaki (1998), which considers not only the settlement at Aigion, but also the early Mycenaean period throughout Achaia.

¹⁴² I assume these are later purely based on their position in the interior of the house (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 135).

for these buildings.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, the nature of the modifications resulting in the LH IIB rebuilding is, then, quite unclear, complicating the identification of a series here.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear**. In light of the lack of phased plans for these structures, it is difficult to confirm the LH I-IIA megaron in the 8 Polychroniadou plot as a house series. If it is included, then the rate would obviously rise significantly, particularly in the absence of other published houses. The general scarcity of domestic architecture of this date from the site renders any proposed rate more or less meaningless. These modifications were likewise made at the very end of the period under consideration here, at around LH IIB, and may be part of other trends at work at Aigion at this time.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

The destruction of the earlier MH II house by fire makes it possible that house-burning was practiced at Aigion, though this is of course far from certain. Intramural burial is attested for both structures. The MH building contained two burials within its walls, and the LH I-IIA had a cist grave and two burials sharing a single pit within the house itself, and two additional pithos burials nearby.¹⁴⁴ Another two burials from MH III/LH I are briefly discussed by Papazoglou-

¹⁴³ Certainly there are two phases of wall construction represented at the southwestern corner of the LH I megaron (see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 140, Fig. 7), or some offset occurred in some other way (tumble or earthquake, though the two phases remain fairly neat and linear). Which wall belongs to which phase is totally unclear.

¹⁴⁴ For the earlier building, see Vordos 2001, 239; for the later, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 135.

Manioudaki, though whether they are intramural is uncertain.¹⁴⁵ No deposits that can be attributed to ritual activity associated with house-killing and burial were discovered.

*Ayios Athanasios (Katarraktis) (Unclear)*¹⁴⁶

Megaron Series ¹⁴⁷	Megaron Early ¹⁴⁹	Integrated/Displaced (Rebuilt as Megaron)	Level Unknown	MH III ¹⁵⁰
Megaron Early burns ¹⁴⁸ →	Megaron ¹⁵¹	Modified? ¹⁵²	Level Unknown	LH IIIB ¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 133 (2 Aristeidou Street).

¹⁴⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B54.

¹⁴⁷ Zapheiropoulos 1958a, 139; Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 170-172; Papadopoulos 1979, 44-45; Hiesel 1990, 106-107; Arena 2015, 12.

¹⁴⁸ Evidence for burning is highly tentative and based on ash found on displaced column bases assigned by Hiesel (1990, 107) to the first (MH) phase of the building.

¹⁴⁹ Walls for this phase are derived from Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 171) and Papadopoulos (1979, 44).

¹⁵⁰ No more specific date than “MH” is given for this structure, but on analogy with the nearby Drakotrypa building, later in the period (perhaps MH III?) seems likely.

¹⁵¹ Walls for this phase are derived from Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 171-172) and Papadopoulos (1979, 44). Walls that Hiesel (1990, 106-107) has suggested may securely be attributed to this phase are solidly outlined in the plan below.

¹⁵² Hiesel (1990, 106-107) argues that several of the walls may possibly be attributed to a later (displaced) use of the building, based on the oddly narrow (0.40m) corridor identified as a possible entrance by Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 172) at the northeastern part of the house. Walls possibly part of this later modification are outlined with hash marks in the plan below.

¹⁵³ Hiesel 1990, 106.

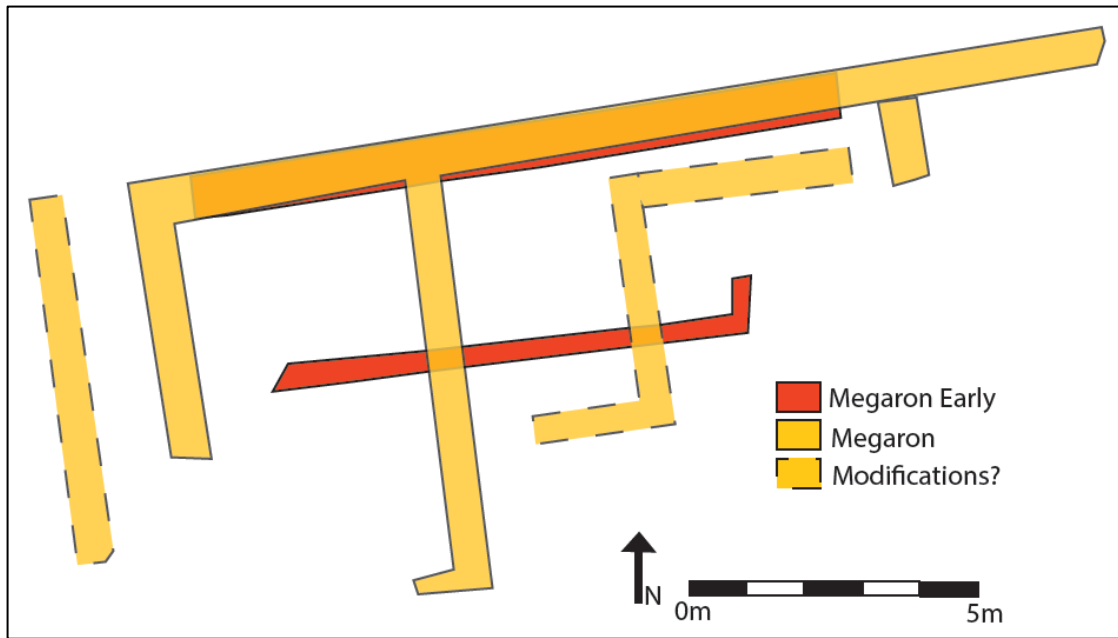


Fig. 2.2: Ayios Athanasios Megaron Series. Line of Megaron Early north wall is approximate. After Zapheiropoulos 1958b, Eik. 2.

Commentary: A fairly elaborate megaron originally constructed in MH and rebuilt and used in LH is reported by the original excavator, Zapheiropoulos. Hiesel dates the final form to LH IIIB, well outside the period of consideration, with possible later additions (the smaller room at the east).¹⁵⁴ The nature of the destruction and the type of rebuilding are unclear, but the use of the megaron is characterized as a continuous occupation from the MH period by Arena only, likely associated with an elite (family?) group.¹⁵⁵ The north wall does seem to have been in continuous use from the MH into the Mycenaean period, and the two structures shared a

¹⁵⁴ Hiesel 1990, 106-107.

¹⁵⁵ Arena (2015, 15) notes Ayios Athanasios (along with buildings at Drakotrypa and Stavros: Chalandritsa) as an example of continuity between the pre-palatial and palatial Mycenaean periods, though he does not necessarily project this continuity backward into the MH period. Arena (2015, 33-34) in general stresses the continuity of Late Bronze Age Achaia throughout the Mycenaean period. See, however, Papadopoulos (1979, 45) for an opposing view.

common E-W orientation.¹⁵⁶ At the very least, the later builders were aware and made deliberate use of and reference to the earlier structure. Any gap in occupation is unmentioned, though Papadopoulos notes that there is no evidence to rule out such a break.¹⁵⁷ A reoccupation, likely following a significant gap in which the house was used for (apparently limited) burial, somewhat similar to the 98A group at Lerna is therefore possible.¹⁵⁸

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear** from available information.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

One child's cist grave is mentioned, probably associated with the MH house or the transitional phase, as it is located under LH walls and makes partial use of the northern MH wall.¹⁵⁹ Some ash and animal remains around two possible column bases/paving stones were recorded; if these are related to the destruction of the earlier house, then they were at the very least reincorporated back into the architectural fabric of the household, perhaps as paving stones.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that other of these activities did occur at the site, but they are unattested in the published literature.

¹⁵⁶ Papadopoulos 1979, 44. Hiesel (1990, 106-107) also remarks on the foundation of the larger room on MH walls.

¹⁵⁷ Papadopoulos 1979, 45, esp. n.19: "Lack of well documented evidence, however, prevents us from postulating continuous occupation from MH to LH." Some level of awareness and deliberate reuse of the earlier remains must be operative in order to explain the later phases of Wall A.

¹⁵⁸ One burial of a child is known, discussed below, and is of indeterminate date (Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 172).

¹⁵⁹ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 172; Papadopoulos 1979, 44.

¹⁶⁰ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 172; Papadopoulos 1979, 44. For the possible association with the earlier building of these bases, see Hiesel (1990, 107). Certainly other explanations for the ash and bone in this area are highly possible.

*Drakotrypa (Katarraktis/Pharai) (Unclear)*¹⁶¹

“Aithousa” Complex Series ¹⁶²	Aithousa Early ¹⁶³	Integrated (Rebuilt as Aithousa)	Level Unknown	MH III/LH I ¹⁶⁴
	Aithousa	Integrated/Expanded (Modified and reused as Aithousa Late)	Level Unknown	LH III B ¹⁶⁵
	Aithousa Late ¹⁶⁶		Level Unknown	LH III B/C ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B51.

¹⁶² Zapheiropoulos 1958a, 140-142; Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 167-170, esp. Eik. 1; Papadopoulos 1979, 45-46; Hiesel 1990, 70-71; Arena 2015, 12. Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 167) dubs the structure an *aithousa*, and his nomenclature is followed by Papadopoulos.

¹⁶³ Walls belonging to this structure were ascertained from Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 169-170) and Papadopoulos (1979, 46, primarily n.32). Papazoglou-Manioudaki (2010, 135) implies that the whole northern room of the structure had late MH to early Mycenaean precedents.

¹⁶⁴ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 169-170) gives a general date of LH III for the whole building, and seems to suggest multiple Mycenaean structures on this site as a result of the mixed nature of even the earliest MH ceramics. Still, LH IIIB ceramics are prominent (Papadopoulos 1979, 46). Still, earlier use-phases in LH III are possible, and Hope Simpson and Dickinson note the presence of at least LH IIIA2 ceramics at the site (1979, 89), though this was possibly derived from the pottery of the nearby chamber tombs.

¹⁶⁶ Walls belonging to the final phase of this building were derived from Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 169) and Papadopoulos (1979, 46, primarily n.33).

¹⁶⁷ Hiesel 1990, 70.

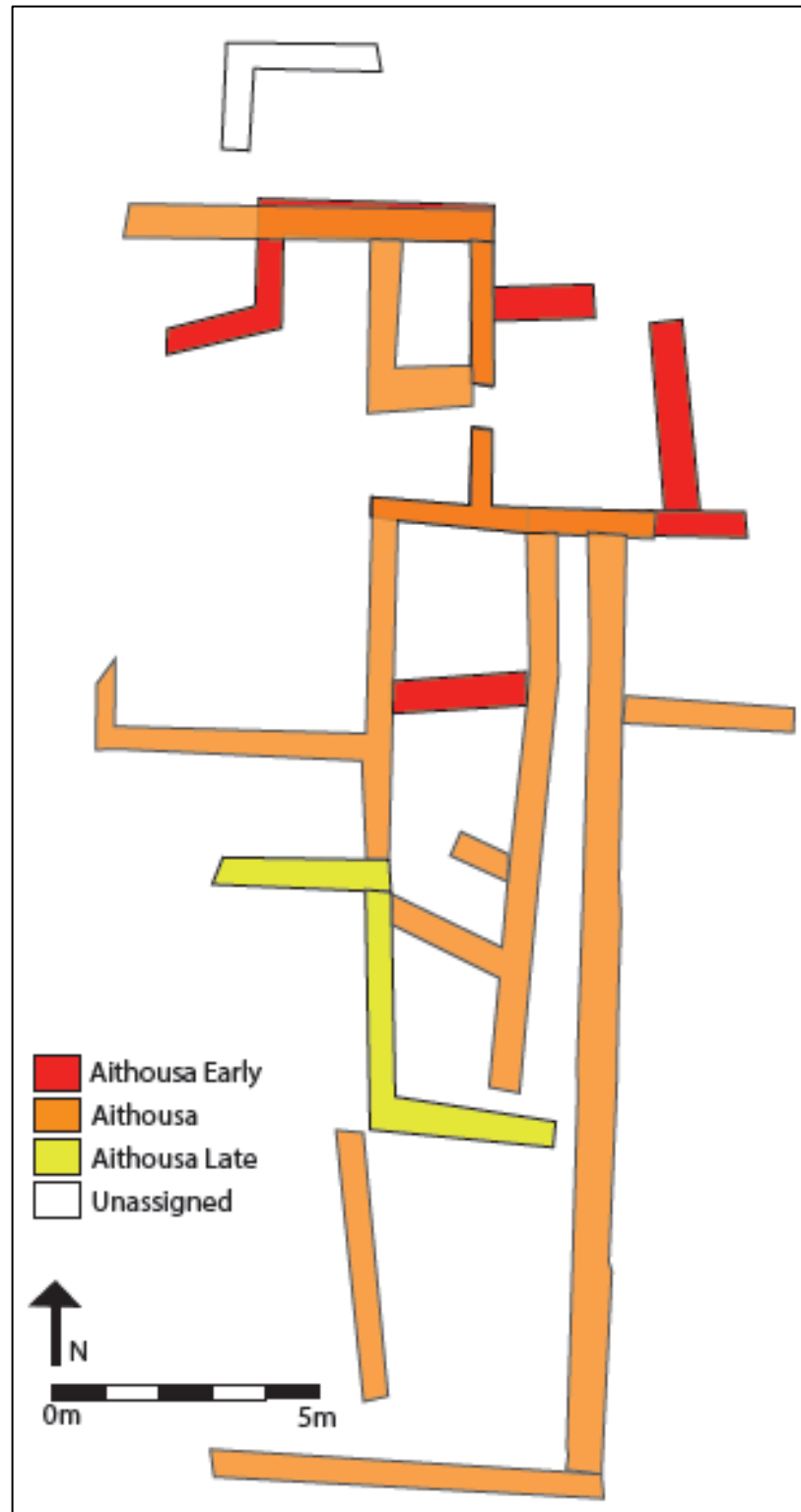


Fig. 2.3: Drakotrypa Aithousa Series. The LH IIIB Aithousa phase has been made somewhat transparent to reveal the earlier walls. After Zapheiropoulos 1958b, Eik. 1.

Commentary: A likely rebuilding or series of rebuildings is reported for an elite megaron structure with possible magazines and a courtyard at Drakotrypa. Here continuity of occupation from MH to LH III is asserted by Papadopoulos and later Arena, who suggest gradual rebuilding and/or replacement of the structure's various parts from MH to LH IIIB.¹⁶⁸ Hiesel gives the final date for the building at as late as LH IIIC, once again well outside the chronological focus of this work, but attesting to the very long history of this structure.¹⁶⁹ Though again the type of rebuilding is not elaborated, Papadopoulos, after Zapheiropoulos, observes that two walls (Γ and K1) were "partially rebuilt on" MH walls, and a major MH phase is corroborated by numerous ceramic finds.¹⁷⁰ The plan of this structure is unclear, but MH walls seem to have been concentrated at the north in the area of the main room and at the east in the area of the later "magazines."¹⁷¹ These MH walls were apparently built directly on virgin soil, suggesting a new foundation, though this is far from certain.¹⁷² Likewise uncertain is the intervening time from the original construction to LH III, but Zapheiropoulos argues that whenever this Mycenaean era structure was originally constructed, its plan was deliberately adjusted to conform to the earlier walls, explaining its somewhat irregular form at the east and northeast in particular.¹⁷³ Again, then, a probable rebuilding sequence, perhaps claiming continuity rather than representing true continuity, is associated particularly with an elite structure in this area.¹⁷⁴ In this respect it is

¹⁶⁸ Papadopoulos 1979, 46; Arena (2015, 12) also emphasizes continuity of occupation and reuse for this building.

¹⁶⁹ Papadopoulos 1979, 46; Hiesel 1990, 70.

¹⁷⁰ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 169-170; Papadopoulos 1979, 46, esp. n. 32.

¹⁷¹ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 169-170; Hiesel 1990, 70-71. See plan below.

¹⁷² Papadopoulos 1979, 46, n. 32.

¹⁷³ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 170.

¹⁷⁴ Arena (2015, 12) emphasizes this point, noting a possible role in redistribution for the structure as indicated by the possible magazines, as well as the probable use of the courtyard as a gathering space and the ritual dimension

probably also notable that a religious function has been suggested by Zapheiropoulos for this building, or at least the associated court, possibly also predisposing it to continuity and rebuilding activity.¹⁷⁵ Additional walls appear on Zapheiropoulos' plan, but very little information is given for these.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear** from available information.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

Three bothroi, tentatively identified as possible hearths, were recovered from various parts of the northern room of this building. These contained ash and ceramics, and in one case bird bones.¹⁷⁶ As described these deposits are shallow (only 0.3m over a 0.5m diameter area), but they may very tentatively represent some kind of termination ritual, and they do seem to concentrate in the areas where early MH walls are attested. Three burials of children are likewise attested from the immediate vicinity of the structure, though perhaps outside of its boundaries as established by Zapheiropoulos.¹⁷⁷ The cultic function of the southeastern area of the structure is not commonly discussed, but the ceramics mustered in support of this interpretation are late (LH IIIB) and it is difficult to say whether the area would have had any ritual significance in the

proposed by Zapheiropoulos (1958b, 169). There are, however, no other structures with which to compare this one in the immediate vicinity, with the possible exception of Ayios Athanasios (above).

¹⁷⁵ Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 169. The evidence for ritual use consists of a paved space with associated ash in the courtyard bordered by a low wall, on which was found a broken krater and hydria. For a parallel involving rebuilding of a space with a possible ritual function, see Megaron B and its MH III predecessor at Eleusis (Cosmopoulos 2014, esp. 418-419).

¹⁷⁶ Zapheiropoulos 1958 b, 167-169; Papadopoulos 1979, 45.

¹⁷⁷ Zapheiropoulos 1958a, 141-142; Zapheiropoulos 1958b, 170; Papadopoulos 1979, 45.

earlier MH period.¹⁷⁸ Again, however, even if it only later gained a cultic function or became a sacred space, it may have influenced the choice to re-inhabit (or continue to inhabit) this area.

Helike (Open?)

“Corridor House” Series ¹⁷⁹ Late House abandoned (earthquake) ¹⁸⁰	Corridor House Early ¹⁸¹	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as Middle House, integrated into Late House) ¹⁸²	Level Unknown ¹⁸³	EH II? ¹⁸⁴
	Corridor House Middle	Displaced (Rebuilt as Late House, possibly partially integrated)	Level Unknown	EH II-III?
	Corridor House Late	<i>Expanded or abandoned</i>	Level Unknown	EH III?
	<i>Corridor House Expansion?</i> ¹⁸⁵		<i>Level Unknown</i>	<i>EH III?</i>

¹⁷⁸ Whittaker (2014) does not mention this structure, perhaps arguing tacitly against its ritual use in its MH phase.

¹⁷⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. M04. Wiersma treats the three phases of this structure together under a single catalogue entry. See also Katsonopoulou 2011, 67-69.

¹⁸⁰ Katsonopoulou 2011, 84.

¹⁸¹ There is no evidence that it is a corridor house at this stage, aside from the extremely large size of the building. The “Middle” house need not be a corridor house either.

¹⁸² The identification of this structure as a “corridor house” is totally dependent on the wholesale reuse/integration of the walls of the earlier structure to form the interior walls of the possible northwestern corridor. If these walls are not reused, then there is no corridor, so I have assumed that the excavator understands them to have been integrated into the later “Corridor House Late” structure. See Katsonopoulou 2011, Fig. 6 (plan) and Fig. 7 (photo). The photo in particular shows the lower level of the earlier walls, and the cross walls of the later structure overlapping (and integrating?) the earlier long wall.

¹⁸³ Levels are unknown for all structures and iterations of structures at Helike.

¹⁸⁴ All dates are approximate and surmised from the range of dates given for the settlement as a whole (Katsonopoulou 2011, 83). Wiersma (2013, 562) gives general date of EH II-III for the house as a whole.

¹⁸⁵ The idea of a major expansion to the corridor house to the west-southwest has not been suggested elsewhere, and here is based only on the very different construction of these walls as published in Katsonopoulou (2011, Fig. 6). It is not unlikely that this represents part of the main phase of building for this house. Considering the likely function of this space in large-scale storage, with five in situ pithoi, the provision of the house with a purpose-built extension may imply a change in the social role of the space or the occupants of it (see Katsonopoulou 2011, 68).



Fig. 2.4 “Corridor House” Series. After Katsonopoulou 2011, Fig. 6.

“West Building” Series ¹⁸⁶	West Building Early	Displaced (Rebuilt as West Building Late, possibly partially integrated)	Level Unknown	EH II?
	West Building Late		Level Unknown	EH III?

¹⁸⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. M05.

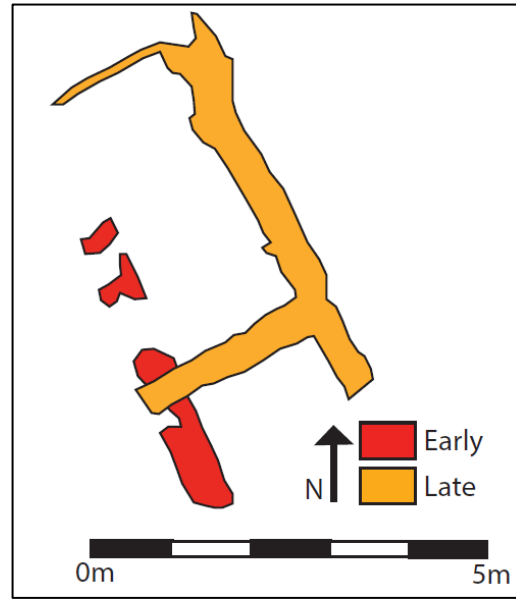


Fig. 2.5: “West Building” Series. After Katsonopoulou 2011, Fig. 6.

Commentary: Wiersma catalogues three houses from Helike, two of which have multiple phases and may represent building series. The first of these, the “corridor house” itself (Trenches H38 and H43), is quite likely, with three phases identified by Katsonopoulou.¹⁸⁷ The other is the so-called “West Building,” immediately west of and across a paved street from the corridor house (Trench 43).¹⁸⁸ The third house (Building 2 in Trench H22), and two others that are not catalogued (Buildings 1 and 3), all located to the northwest of the corridor house, show no signs of rebuilding, nor is this process in evidence for other partial buildings.¹⁸⁹ Double walls may appear in Trench H51, but in the absence of a larger-scale plan, this is difficult to confirm.¹⁹⁰ In general, then, as suggested by Wiersma, agglomerative building may have been the dominant building strategy employed at the site, perhaps corroborated by the linear, apparently planned

¹⁸⁷ Katsonopoulou 2011, 70, Fig. 6.

¹⁸⁸ This house—if it is a house—is not named by Katsonopoulou. I follow Wiersma (2013, 564) in referring to it as the “West Building.”

¹⁸⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. M03; Katsonopoulos 2011, 76. Most of the other structures are not published in any meaningful way, but a good plan for the area around Wiersma’s M03 is given by Katsonopoulou (2011, 79, Fig. 16).

¹⁹⁰ See Katsonopoulou 2011, 66, Fig. 3.

organization of the settlement.¹⁹¹ It is in this case notable that the rebuilding that is visible at this site is concentrated in and immediately around the possible corridor house, clearly a monumental structure within the fabric of the settlement. The continuity in rebuilding and apparently function from the EH II through the EH III period—though the individual phases are not dated by Katsonopoulou—is likewise significant, and if Weiberg is correct in seeing the corridor house type as a “communal” social space, any implications for the otherwise lineage-based model of house rebuilding must be assessed.¹⁹² Certainly this structure is not the only corridor house to be rebuilt, and it actually seems to be a fairly common, almost characteristic phenomenon for this type of building (Lerna, Kolonna, Akovitika), often accompanied by a major change in orientation.¹⁹³

Still, the sheer depth of deposit, though partially attributable to intermittent submergence, does point to some tell-like accumulation of habitation debris elsewhere on the site. Indeed evidence for episodic rebuilding activity is found outside the corridor house area to the northeast, demonstrated by the apparently frequent replacement of floors, similar to the situation proposed by Karkanas and Van de Moortel.¹⁹⁴ Katsonopoulou notes no fewer than ten EH III floor levels—as opposed to five for EH II—in the particularly well-preserved Trench H61.¹⁹⁵ As of 2011, the earliest excavated habitation layers were mid-EH II, and the settlement was destroyed

¹⁹¹ Wiersma 2013, 188.

¹⁹² Weiberg 2007, 53-57. On the other hand, as Weiberg (2007, 38) also notes, this sort of rebuilding as an expression of lineage is perfectly in keeping (and perhaps supportive of) Pullen’s (1985, 263-267) reading of these houses as elite structures.

¹⁹³ See Weiberg 2007, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Karakanas and Van de Moortel 2014.

¹⁹⁵ Katsonopoulou 2011, 67.

in late EH III prior to the MH period.¹⁹⁶ Assuming roughly a 200 year period of occupation for EH III Helike (2200-2000 BC), a surface in Trench H61 was totally renewed every 20 years. For EH II Helike, if a start date of around 2425 is assumed (simply dividing in half the total length of time proposed for EH II), a surface in Trench H61 was renewed every 45 years, or roughly half as often. In EH III, then, following Karkanas and Van de Moortel, a major intensification of floor-laying activity and the pattern of behavior that it represents must have occurred at Helike.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 5/ca. 14, ca. **36%** (max); 3/ca. 14, ca. **21%** (min). The total number of houses at the site is estimated here from the plan, including in addition to the five (and their probable rebuildings) discussed by Katsonopoulou, one probable building in H7, two in H26, two in H51, and one in H61. Other interpretations of the architecture are certainly possible at this stage.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Absent

Though there is strong evidence for burning destruction of houses within the settlement, this has been proposed to be a result of a major earthquake, the evidence for which is in offset walls and the apparent resulting inundation of the land indicated by brackish and marine deposits over these houses.¹⁹⁷ Though there is certainly house replacement here, then, there is no strong evidence for house-burning, or the accompanying burial of these remains. Likewise, though abundant ceramics were recovered, including five pithoi from the corridor house and a possible

¹⁹⁶ Katsonopoulou 2011, 83.

¹⁹⁷ Katsonopoulou 2011, 84; Soter and Katsonopoulou 2011.

ritual vessel (depas amphikypellon) from the aforementioned Building 2, nothing is mentioned by Katsonopoulou that might characterize these as feasting debris or termination deposits.¹⁹⁸ It is therefore likely that these are in situ use-assemblages, supporting Katsonopoulou's argument for the sudden abandonment of the settlement. The discovery of other remains of prestige-objects in gold and silver in the structures around Building 2 (with the depres cup) does indicate a small concentration in this area, which may suggest some type of ritual deposit or storage of status items, but little else is indicated about these assemblages.¹⁹⁹ There was no sign of rebuilding in this area. No intramural burials have been mentioned.

Arcadia

Asea (Tell)²⁰⁰

Series A-B ²⁰¹	<i>Pre-A</i> ²⁰²	<i>Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House A)</i>	<i>Walls at 3.06</i>	<i>EH II/III</i>
	House A ²⁰³	Integrated (Partially rebuilt as Post-A)	Walls at 3.38	EH III ²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ Katsonopoulou 2011, 68 (for find context of pithoi), 72-73 (pithoi at Helike in general), 76-81 (depas amphikypellon).

¹⁹⁹ Katsonopoulou 2011, 81.

²⁰⁰ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B70.

²⁰¹ This series certainly includes Houses A and B. House B in spite of a major shift in orientation makes significant use of the previous foundations, and in light of the general prevalence of rebuilding at the site, a deliberate rebuilding of the earlier house seems probable. The series may also include several much more fragmentary structures. Two of these (Pre-A and Post-A) are too partial to be named by Holmberg (1944). House D shares an orientation with House A and may be related, in which case the partial House C is also a part of this group. A slow shift of rebuildings toward the west is possible.

²⁰² This structure is represented only by very partially preserved walls, one of which (at the far east) is significantly lower in elevation (at 0.21m minimum below the other walls), and may therefore represent a different phase. Holmberg (1944, 11) compares these walls to series of consecutive surface and debris layers elsewhere on the site, firmly connecting the architectural remains here to a house series.

²⁰³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L01; Holmberg 1944, 11-12.

²⁰⁴ A solid date is given by Holmberg for House A, from which the dates for Pre- and Post-A have been derived. In addition to the stratigraphical situation of House A beneath the ash layer associated with the EH III/MH I transition at the site, a "late" sauceboat was found on the floor, giving a good date for the final use of this structure.

A and D burn → C abandoned?	House D ²⁰⁵	Part of A (?) (Rebuilt as House C)	Walls at 3.86	EH III
	Post-A ²⁰⁶	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House B)	Walls at 3.46	EH III/MH I
	House B ²⁰⁷	Displaced? (Rebuilt as House C?)	Walls at 3.72	MH I-II
	House C ²⁰⁸		Walls at 3.94	MH II

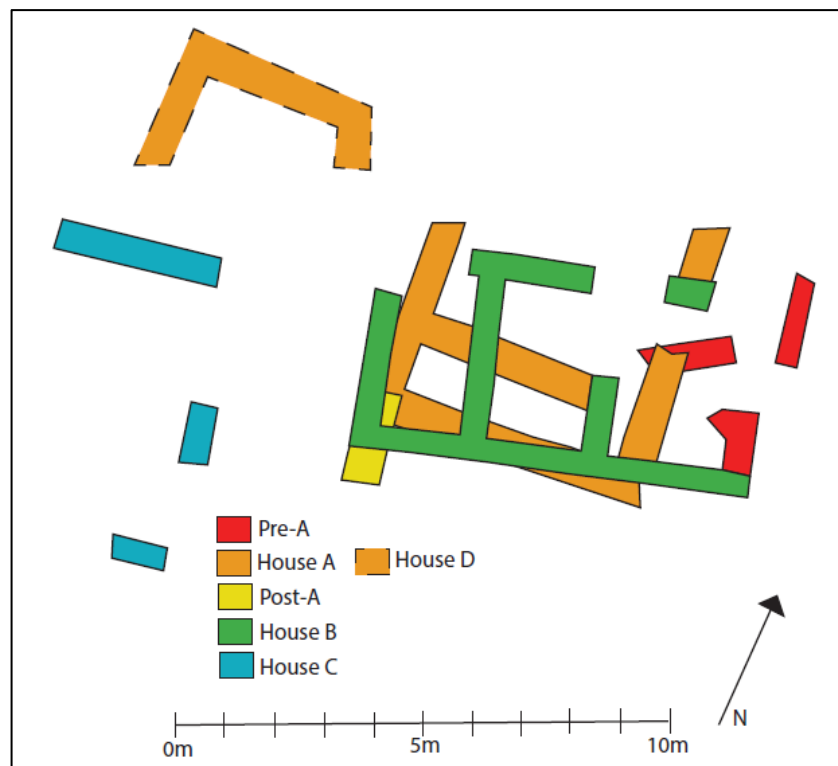


Fig. 2.6: Series A-B. After Holmberg 1944, Plate VI.

Series O-P	Pre-O ²⁰⁹	Integrated	Walls at 0.95	EH II/III
------------	----------------------	------------	---------------	-----------

²⁰⁵ Holmberg 1944, Plate VI; House D is not otherwise mentioned by Holmberg. See also Wiersma 2013, 181-182.

²⁰⁶ This structure is represented by only one partial wall; see Holmberg 1944, Plate VI.

²⁰⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L 03; Holmberg 1944, 17.

²⁰⁸ Holmberg 1944, 12; Wiersma 2013, 183. House C may not be related to this series, and House B is suggested by Holmberg to have been in use contemporaneously, indicating that C is not a succession, but an addition. House C follows the same orientation as House B, however, and may be an expansion. Likewise, if House D is related, then House C is too.

²⁰⁹ Holmberg does not name or discuss this building, which is represented by a single wall dated generally to the EH period on his Plate VI. This wall appears to directly underlie a N-S wall of House O and shares its orientation and approximate dimensions, though the change in levels between this wall and that of O is more extreme than might be expected, and it is possible that this earlier wall was no longer visible to the builders of House O. Again, however,

P abandoned	House O ²¹⁰	2 (Displaced/ Integrated) (Rebuilt as P)	Walls at 1.40	MH I
	House P ²¹¹		No levels (wall at -0.30-0.35) ²¹²	MH II

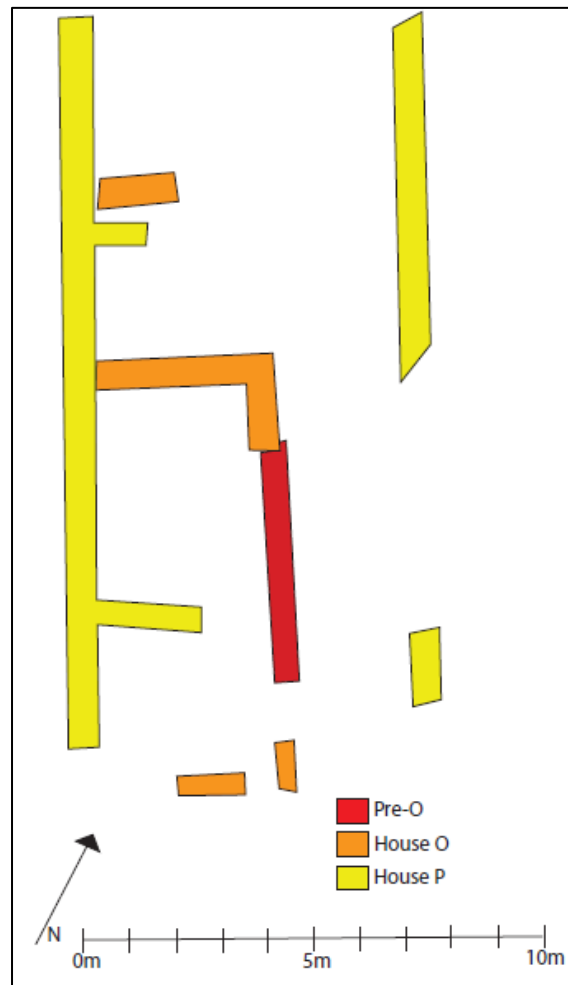


Fig. 2.7: Series O-P. After Holmberg 1944, Plate VI.

Holmberg's failure to specify whether elevations given for the walls represent wall tops or bottoms complicates these considerations.

²¹⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L05; Holmberg 1944, 17-18.

²¹¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L08; Holmberg 1944, 20.

²¹² Levels for Houses O and P can also be estimated from a section drawing (Holmberg 1944, Plate IV), using relative measurements counting down from the topsoil. Total MH levels given are about 0.7-0.85m in total depth. If an ash layer associated by Holmberg with the destruction of the EH III settlement is included, the depth increases to about 0.9-1.0m. The total depth for the EH period prior to this is about 0.3m lower in elevation.

Series K-N ²¹³	House K ²¹⁶	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as L)	Walls at 1.55 ²¹⁷	EH III ²¹⁸
K burns ²¹⁴ →	House L ²¹⁹	3 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as M)	Walls at 1.68	MH I
L burns ²¹⁵ →	House M ²²⁰	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as N)	Walls at 1.75	MH I-II
N abandoned	House N ²²¹		Walls at 2.07	MH II ²²²

²¹³ For a photograph of this series, see Holmberg 1944, 19, Fig. 20. Wiersma (2013, 183) points out that House N may also overbuild the earlier House H, perhaps suggesting that it too should be included in this series. The remains of H are, however, not extensively discussed by Holmberg (1944, 12, 15, Plate VI).

²¹⁴ Holmberg (1944, 10) mentions the “burnt layer” above and associated with the destruction of House K. He argues, however, that this layer is expansive, and may indicate a site-wide destruction layer. Forsén (1992, 95-96) also observes the extent of the destruction layer, extending at minimum throughout the excavated area of about 1,200m² and dated by her to EH III.2 on ceramic evidence.

²¹⁵ Holmberg 1944, 17: “The house appears to have been destroyed by fire, for it was covered with a substantial ash-layer.”

²¹⁶ House K is not as obviously part of this group, and certainly the houses after K experience a noticeable shift in orientation, as observed by Holmberg (1944, 11) and Wiersma (2013, 550, Cat. L02). Nonetheless, the close correspondence between the cross walls assigned by Holmberg to House K and those of the following Houses L and M suggests a degree of continuity. Likewise walls of House M and House L directly overlie the walls of House K, and the relatively small difference between the (wall top?) levels of House K and the immediately following House L makes it probable that the remains of House K were visible to the builders of House L.

²¹⁷ Levels are averaged from those given for each structure by Holmberg (1944, Plate VI). They appear to be levels for wall-tops as they are preserved, which can only serve to give a general idea of the level change, though this is unclear from the information provided. Units are also unclear, though logically they will have to be meters above a datum.

²¹⁸ House K is dated to the “very last part” of the EH period by Holmberg (1944, 9)

²¹⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L04; Holmberg 1944, 17.

²²⁰ Holmberg 1944, 12. Not catalogued by Wiersma (2013).

²²¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. L07; Holmberg 1944, 18-20.

²²² Holmberg (1944, 20) points out the MH II/III transition (ca. 1750 BC) as the probable date for the abandonment of these houses. The only other “solid” date that he gives for this series is for L, built in “the oldest Middle Helladic settlement” (17).



Fig. 2.8: Series K-N. After Holmberg 1944, Plate VI.

Commentary: These structures are somewhat sparsely described, complicating their interpretation. In general, however, rebuilding seems to be commonly practiced at Asea, lending the site tell-like qualities. Firm cases for house series can only be made for the lower, eastern group of the two concentrations of domestic structures. Here, participation in the regular or semi-regular reconstruction of houses is near universal among the better-preserved buildings. The higher, western portion of the site (perhaps on the other side of a public space, as suggested by Wiersma), shows good evidence for a more irregular, erratic pattern of rebuilding, as

demonstrated by **Series A-B**. Wiersma notes the extreme change in orientation as a likely indication that the households represented by **A** and **B** are unrelated, and the houses are separated by about 0.28-0.44m.²²³ The heavy overlap of the southern and western walls is, however, notable, and the possibly intermediary episodes of building represented by **Pre-** and **Post-A** do strongly suggest a series of consecutive houses in this area. It is unclear why the differences between the two areas occur, and it may be a matter of status and shifting access to resources. Overall, though, rebuilding seems to be the prevalent custom at the site.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 13/16, ca. **81%** (max); 8/16, ca. **50%** (min). If only named houses are included, the rate falls to 10/13, ca. **77%** (max), or 8/13, ca. **62%** (min). Houses not included in house series: MH I **House E**, MH II **House F** and **H** (3 of 16). These are sparsely represented, with the exception of House F, which is the only one of these that Holmberg and later Wiersma discuss.²²⁴ **House F** also overbuilds **House E**, and may represent another series, though there is so little left of **E** that it is difficult to make a real argument. The walls of these do, however, directly overlap, with a difference in elevation of no more than 0.16m.²²⁵ An awareness of the earlier structure on the part of the builders of **House F** is therefore extremely likely.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

²²³ Wiersma 2013, 182-183.

²²⁴ Holmberg 1944, 17; Wiersma 2013, Cat. L04.

²²⁵ See Holmberg 1944, Plate VI.

A burned floor assemblage in **House A**, including a sauceboat filled with legumes and several other fine-ware vessels, may represent a type of termination deposit.²²⁶ In **House B**, later in this series, a major deposit of ten apparently whole utilitarian cooking vessels was discovered in a large amount of ash.²²⁷ Holmberg suggests that this deposit indicates the location of the kitchen, stressing the functional nature of the vessels. Nothing is said of the stratigraphy of the ash deposit, or whether the vessels were on or in the floor of **House B**. The quality of the single published photo of this assemblage (Holmberg 1944, Fig. 11) is not sufficient to say positively, but the collection of vessels appears to be lower than the bottom of the wall of the house in elevation, perhaps suggesting a termination or dedication deposit associated with the construction of **House B** and indicating feasting activity. Here the pots were found whole, some of them were nested inside of others, deviating to some degree from other such proposed deposits. The “abundance of ash” mentioned by Holmberg may corroborate this interpretation; though of course a kitchen is possible, remains from an earlier house destruction may also be represented here.²²⁸ Again, however, no mention of a pit or bothros is made. A similar deposit in **House H** including four vessels in an ash deposit adjacent to the hearth may lend strength to the interpretation of these deposits as a “kitchen” area, but I wonder how much the identification of this area as a hearth hinged on the ash deposit.²²⁹ These vessels, “embedded” in ash, may therefore also represent a termination/dedication ritual.

²²⁶ Holmberg 1944, 12.

²²⁷ Holmberg 1944, 15, 17, and Fig. 11.

²²⁸ Holmberg 1944, 17. Wiersma (2013, 552) interprets these ashes as a possible hearth, and no other hearth is reported by Holmberg.

²²⁹ Holmberg 1944, 15.

Intramural burial is also probable at Asea. Though Holmberg is unable in many cases to clarify the relative chronology of grave and house use, he argues that at least 8 of 29 burials adjacent to walls or under floors can be associated with the use of the houses.²³⁰ At least half of these were children. The other burials can be attributed to the period following the general abandonment of the settlement, in MH III-LH I/II.²³¹ By far the majority of these are also associated with particular structures, including prominently **Houses B, L, N, and P.**²³²

Argolid

*Argos (Open)*²³³

Sector Delta House Series ²³⁴	Delta House Early ²³⁵	Displaced (or Reinforced) (Rebuilt as Delta House)	Wall tops at ca. 28.57 masl ²³⁶	EH III/MH I ²³⁷
	Delta House	Displaced (Rebuilt as Delta House Late)	Wall tops at ca. 28.65 masl	EH III/MH I

²³⁰ Holmberg 1944, 22.

²³¹ Holmberg 1944, 21: “. . . it may, of course, also be possible that some of these graves belong to the period following upon the suspension of the settlement on the hill of Asea and that this hill has then been used as a necropolis for a village that has lain somewhere in the vicinity.”

²³² Holmberg 1944, 29-30.

²³³ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat A8.

²³⁴ Daux 1967, 817-818. Daux reports that the excavators recovered a total of four phases for this structure, but only three are architecturally visible on the plan. I have arbitrarily named them here. Lambropoulou (1991, 179-180) provides a helpful outline. In the accompanying plan, the walls assigned to each phase are based on photos (esp. Daux 1967, 817, Fig. 7), particularly considering relative depth, and could, therefore, be incorrectly attributed. This house, at the foot of the Larisa hill, and the later house on the Tzafa plot, at the foot of the Aspis hill, are the only ones included here that are not from the summit of the Aspis.

²³⁵ The first phase of this house contained several clay-lined pits, possibly holding storage jars. No details are given about these pits.

²³⁶ Elevations have been taken from Daux 1967, 813, Fig. 1. It is unclear where on the walls they were measured. Averages have been taken where multiple elevations were supplied.

²³⁷ Dates are estimated from the approximate “la période la plus ancienne de l’Helladique Moyen” date given by Daux (1967, 817).

	Delta House Late ²³⁸		Wall tops at ca. 28.83 masl	MH I
--	------------------------------------	--	--------------------------------	------

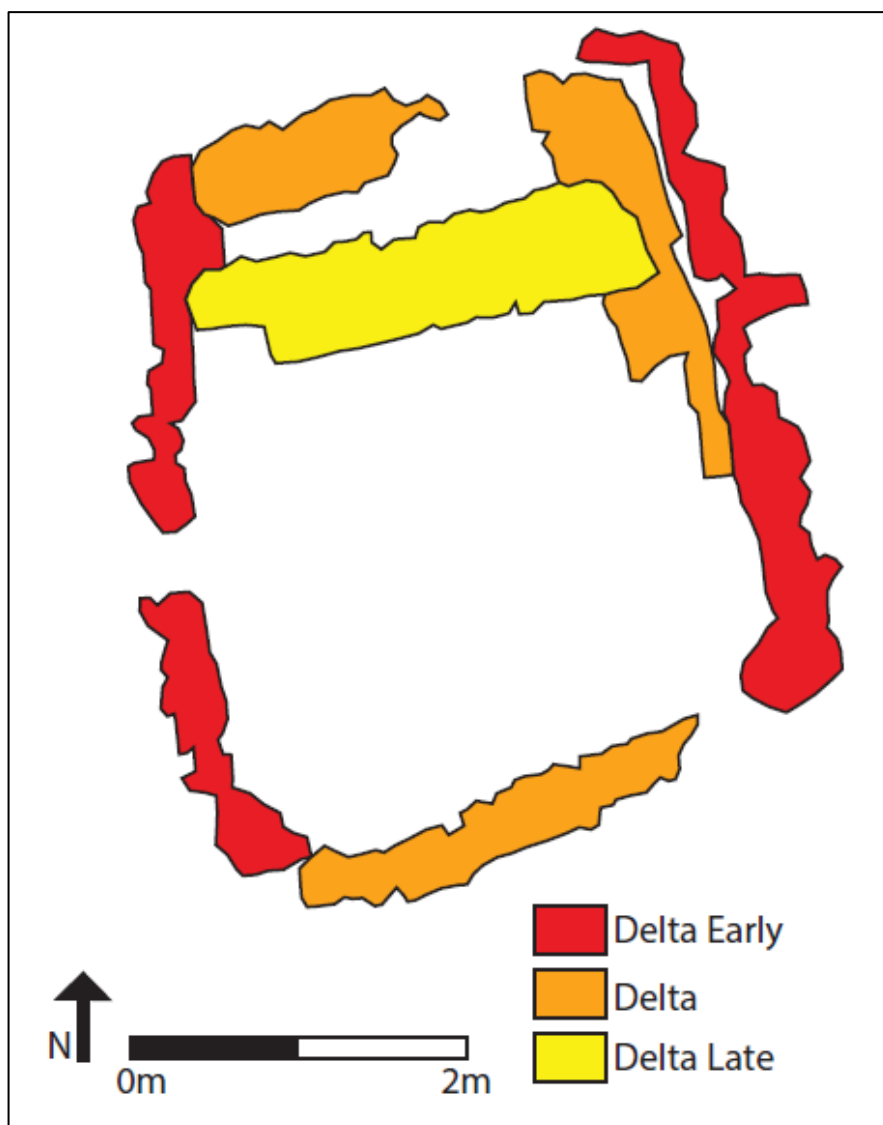


Fig. 2.9: Sector Delta House Series. After Daux 1967, 813, Fig. 1. Phases are tentatively assigned.

Series Pre-MA- MD/ME ²³⁹	<i>Pre-MA</i> ²⁴⁰	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as</i>	<i>Level Unknown</i>	<i>MH II</i>
--	------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------	--------------

²³⁸ This phase, representing the house reconstructed at a higher level, may burn; there is no carbonized material reported, but plentiful mudbrick fragments may suggest a destruction by fire (Daux 1967, 817). If so, this fire may be related to the MH I/II destruction on the Aspis.

²³⁹ This series is uncertain, but I include it for the history of use in this area and because some rebuilding was certainly taking place. The wall representing Pre-MA (or Pre-MB) lies at a distinctly lower level and is immediately adjacent to MB and runs along much of the preserved length of MA, though perhaps at a slightly different

		<i>MA/MB)</i>		
	House MA ²⁴¹	Integrated (Rebuilt as MD/ME)	Level Unknown	MH IIIA
	House MD/ME ²⁴²		Level Unknown	MH IIIB

orientation. The later houses MD and ME appear to be built directly onto the walls of MA, particularly the apse, though also at other points. This integration of the earlier structure, rather than leveling or cannibalizing it, (but not following the terrace it had established previously) suggests some concern for the earlier remains, though these later buildings are likely constructed as a part of the overall settlement plan rather than a direct continuation of building in this area. It may therefore be notable that the settlement as an integrative unit does absorb this space. The conservation on the walls in this area does, however, make it difficult to investigate their relationships. No indication is given of what sort of destruction these houses, or any of the following, may have suffered. For all houses in this series and the following, Philippa-Touchais (2010) provides a major source.

²⁴⁰ Touchais and Philippa-Touchais 1997a. This “house” is represented by a single wall and is basically undiscussed. It shares a common orientation with both House MA and a likely auxiliary structure, MB, located to the south. It may therefore not belong to this series, or act as a terrace wall.

²⁴¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G01; Touchais and Philippa-Touchais 1997a; House MA may have been additionally modified or rebuilt, as suggested by an apparently doubled nature of its northwestern long wall, noted by Wiersma (2013, 440), who further observes its date relative to the House MA cannot be determined. The tops of both walls appear to be at approximately the same level, and it may act to strengthen this side of the house against the slope, as Wiersma suggests.

²⁴² Wiersma 2013, Cat. G04 (MD) and G05 (ME).

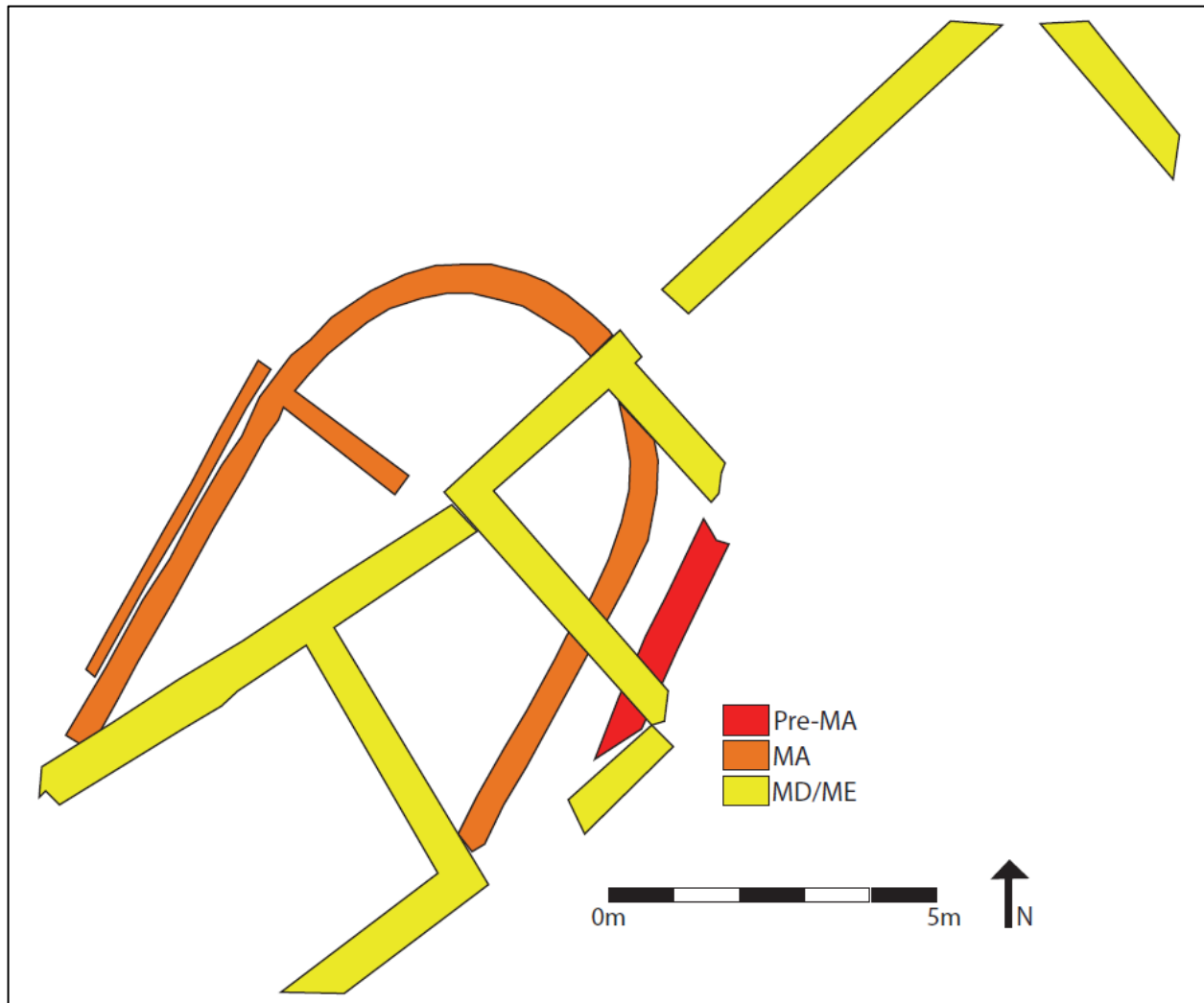


Fig. 2.10: Series Pre-MA-MD/ME. After Philippa-Touchais 2013, 92, Fig. 2.

Series C/D	Pre-C/D ²⁴³	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as C/D)	Wall top(?) at ca. 83.30 masl ²⁴⁴	MH IIIA
	House C/D ²⁴⁵		Wall top at ca. 83.73 masl	MH IIIB

²⁴³ This apsidal building appears but is not named on Vollgraff's plan (1907, Plate V), and Philippa-Touchais (2010, 793) mentions the structure briefly.

²⁴⁴ Levels for this series are taken from Vollgraff (1907, Plate 5), and seem to represent meters above sea level. It is unclear whether the tops of the walls were indicated.

²⁴⁵ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G09; Vollgraff 1907 140-141. Though Vollgraff identifies C and D as separate units, they do appear to be joined, and I follow Wiersma in treating them together. One may represent an expansion of the other (Wiersma 2013, 120).

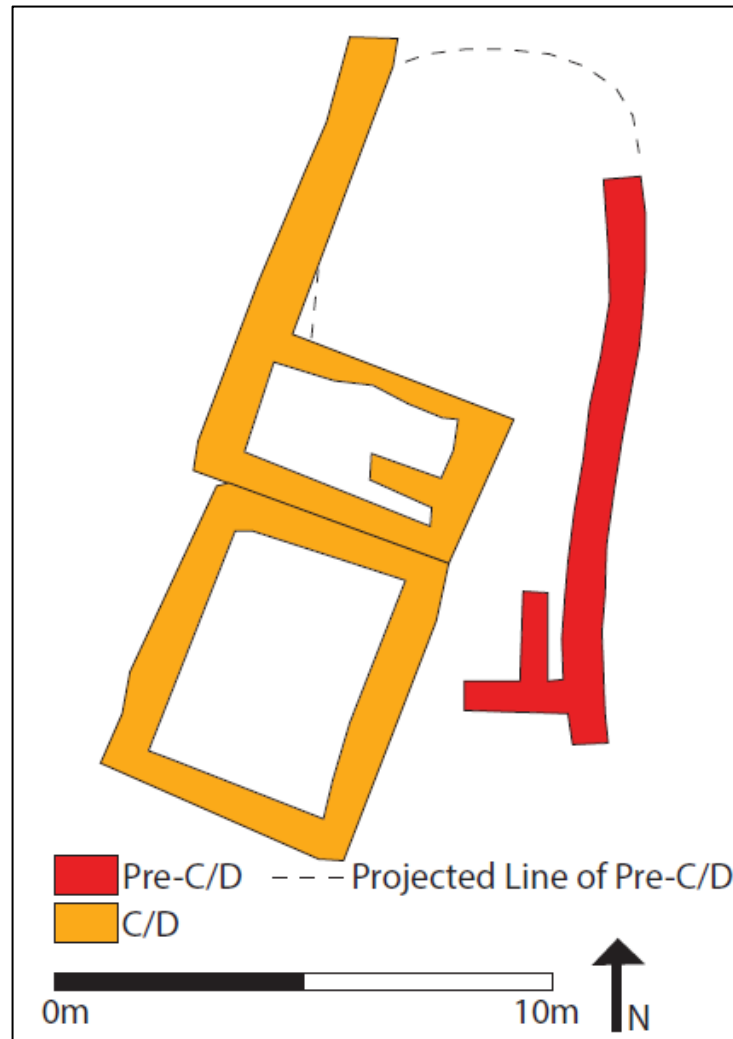


Fig. 2.11: Series C/D. After Philippa-Touchais 2013, 91, Fig. 1. The projected line is approximate and based on Philippa-Touchais 2010, 801, Fig. 9.

House MI Series ²⁴⁶	Pre-MI East (apsidal?) and West (rectilinear?)	Displaced (Rebuilt as MI)	Level Unknown	MH IIIA
--------------------------------	--	---------------------------	---------------	---------

²⁴⁶ House MI is built over two (unnamed) megaroid houses for which the only information is again given by Philippa-Touchais (2010, 793), who mentions them only briefly. A more recent plan that reflects the standing remains more accurately shows a distinct curvature to the long north-south western wall of Pre-MI East (Philippa-Touchais 2013, 91, Fig. 1). Pre-MI West is preserved in only one wall, but is apparently rectilinear. An interesting possibility that may confirm the series is presented by two partially preserved wall spurs proceeding westward from the long north-south western wall of MI, possibly also indicating a double megaron for this building. In other words, MI may not only rebuild the previous houses, but also actually joins them. The southernmost-spur is not represented in the more recent plan, however, and I could not confirm it on the ground. The northern spur may also be related to a paved area, though this could still certainly represent a wall of an adjoining (partially paved?) room. The representation of this area on the new plan shows a large almost bastion-like protrusion, but again, I could not confirm this on the ground.

	House MI ²⁴⁷		Level Unknown	MH IIIB
--	-------------------------	--	---------------	---------

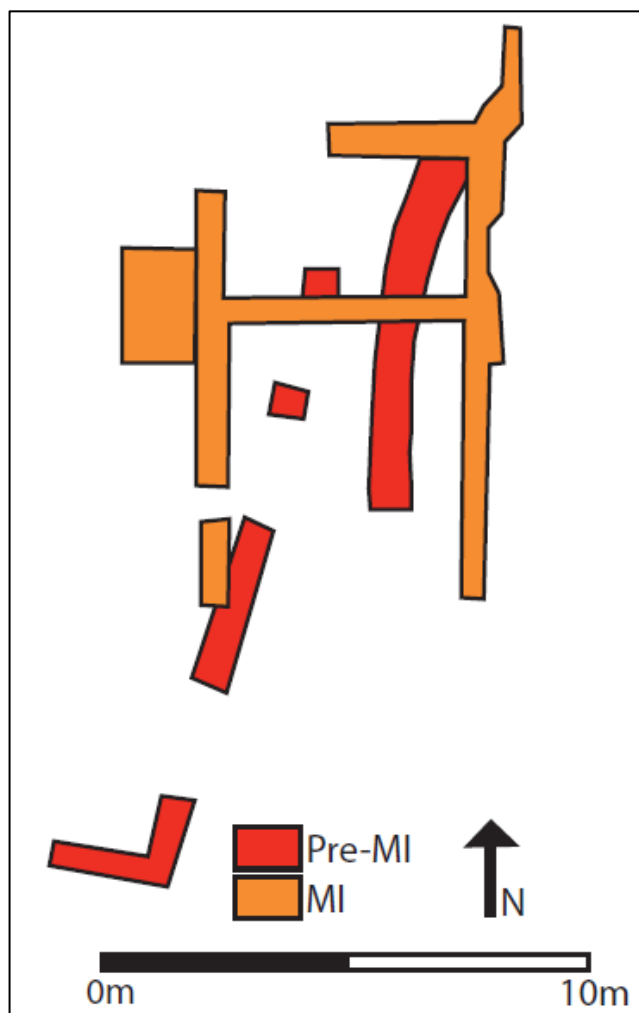


Fig. 2.12: House MI Series. After Philippa-Touchais 2013, 91, Fig. 1.

Tzafa Plot Series ²⁴⁸	<i>Tzafa House Earliest</i>	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as Tzafa House Early)</i>	<i>Level Unknown (ca. 3m below ground level)²⁴⁹</i>	<i>MH III</i>
	Tzafa House	Displaced	Level Unknown	MH III/LH I

²⁴⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G06.

²⁴⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G18; Divari-Valakou 1998. Wiersma (2013, 464) notes the possibility of multiple phases to this house, but does not include it as an example of true rebuilding. The earliest phase reported here is divorced from the following building by Divari-Valakou (1998, 87-88) based on different construction and orientation, and so may not belong here. Too little of it was uncovered to describe fully or surmise function. No indication was given for the destruction of any phase, but preserved mudbrick associated with the last phase may suggest some burning (Divari-Valakou 1998, 87).

²⁴⁹ Approximate levels given by Divari-Valakou 1998, 87, and 95, Eik. 2 (for sections).

	Early ²⁵⁰	(Rebuilt as Tzafa House)	(ca. 1.7-2m below ground level)	
	Tzafa House		Level Unknown (ca. 1.7-2m below ground level)	LH I

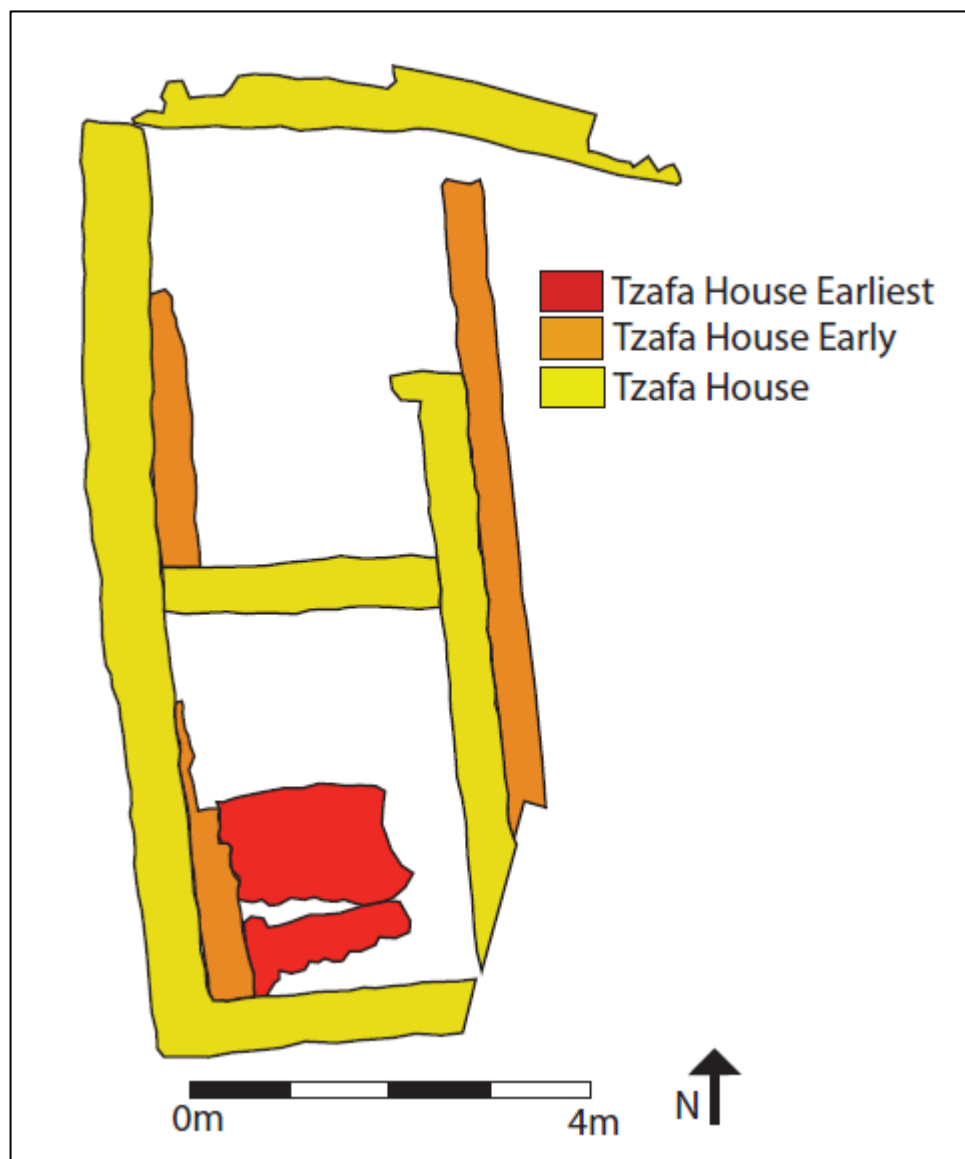


Fig. 2.13: Tzafa Plot Series. After Divari-Valakou 1998, Eik.1. Walls assigned to each phase are tentative, and the earliest was particularly unclear, though Divari-Valakou mentions east-west architecture. In general, the level at the west seemed higher than at the east.

²⁵⁰ This phase is certain and is briefly described by Divari-Valakou (1998, 87, 97-98) and very apparent in the published photos (Eik. 5-7, esp. 7). It seems that no associated floor levels were found.

Commentary: The settlement on the Aspis at Argos appears to be a new foundation in MH II/III, probably having shifted from an earlier MH I/II settlement to the south, and rebuilding is therefore naturally limited within the timeframe considered here.²⁵¹ Indeed, Wiersma observes no episodes of rebuilding at all in the 18 houses that she catalogues for the site.²⁵² Even so, the phase plans provided by Philippa-Touchais suggest a handful of possibilities—to some degree surprising given the fairly structured nature of the settlement, not unlike Malthi or Ayios Stephanos. Although the rings of three-room houses that form such a distinctive part of the settlement plan are not constructed until the later (final?) MH III/LH I phase of the site's use and certainly reflect a major structuring of the settlement space, the village on the Aspis hill seems to have been organized from its inception. That is, the encircling terrace walls that appear to structure the space of the settlement, including the central sector, appear already to be in place in early MH III.²⁵³ Similarly, the early **House MA**, though slightly different in orientation, is well-aligned with the later house-circuit. This first phase of organization follows an apparently total destruction of the MH II settlement by fire, once again in a situation highly similar to that at Malthi. The very highly uniform nature of the houses themselves, all megaroid with only two or three examples of apsidal building, seems to indicate some planning at the level of the community. To see any possible examples of individual families continuing to practice rebuilding within this context is therefore somewhat unexpected. In the cases noted here, though quite few in number, overbuilding apsidal constructions with rectilinear houses is a prominent

²⁵¹ Touchais 1998; Philippa-Touchais 2010; Touchais and Philippa-Touchais 1997b, 77.

²⁵² Wiersma 2013, 120-121, 440-465, G01-G18.

²⁵³ See Philippa-Touchais (2010, 793) for the dating of the “enclosures.” The inner, central ring wall “possibly” dates to the early part of MH III, and the outer ring, though later as preserved, probably replaces an earlier terrace wall. Philippa-Touchais’ (2013, 91, Fig. 1) recent phase plan appears to date all of the enclosure walls to the earlier MH III. See also Wiersma (2013, 121) for the assessment that there was an organization at this stage.

feature, perhaps related to the argument presented by Touchais and Philippa-Touchais that rectilinear building was preferred for its facilitation of settlement organization.²⁵⁴

A handful of other examples of rebuilding are likely, and **Houses O** and **N** are certainly built over earlier (rectilinear?) structures, of which the poor preservation unfortunately obscures the plan. These earlier structures are likely to be multi-phased themselves, complicating the picture. Even so, it is clear that they were to a large degree left in place at the transition to the later MH III period and the construction of the house-circuits, reflecting a major reorganization of the settlement. In an earlier consideration of the phases of the settlement, Philippa-Touchais had indicated an additional example of rebuilding in **House Q**, erected partially over an earlier MH III rectilinear structure, and adjacent to another similarly-planned megaroid building that also overlay the earlier house.²⁵⁵ **House Q** has apparently been redated—though this is not discussed, and later publication may overturn this—to the historical period in more recent plans, and there is no sign of the house that it was built over. Regardless, there is clearly a long history of building in this area, with many fragmentary walls. Multiple floor layers with alternating layers of darker (burned?) soil are attested in a possible MH I-II house on the Deiras hill as well, though this structure has since been reinterpreted as a possible tumulus.²⁵⁶ In general, then, limited examples of rebuilding appear to continue into the late MH III period, when the settlement's more structured reorganization may put an end to this behavior, though the subsequent abandonment of this area makes such an argument purely speculative. Even so, the persistence of rebuilding activity in a regular, possibly communally-organized settlement, at least

²⁵⁴ Touchais and Philippa-Touchais 1997b, 79.

²⁵⁵ Philippa-Touchais 2010, 801, Fig. 9 and 10.

²⁵⁶ Deshayes 1966, 20-21; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 190. See Lambropoulou (1991, 175) and Touchais (1998, 75) for the slightly later dating of this material.

at the beginning of MH III, suggests the ongoing importance of the kinship group within the broader community. The fate of rebuilding activity and intramural burial are closely intertwined in this regard; no episodes of either can be dated to the last phase of the settlement's use, following the establishment of the rings of houses.

Returning, then, to the issue of organization and reorganization of the settlement, it may be notable that at the eastern part of the Aspis, there are at least three terrace/retaining walls in close proximity, in addition to the outer ring of houses in the same area. Though it is possible that some of these walls coexisted, they seem likely to represent different phases, and perhaps a similar approach to rebuilding as is apparent in the houses, though enacted at the level of the community. A similar doubling of terrace walls may be visible in the far western walls of the **Tzafa plot**.²⁵⁷ I will return to this issue in the following chapter.

MH settlement outside of the Aspis has been treated by Touchais, who persuasively argues for shifts in settlement location within the area of Argos over the MH period, either in response to threats from Mycenae or as a result of flooding activity.²⁵⁸ Abandoned areas are subsequently used for burial, as at Ayios Stephanos, while occupation is established on the Aspis, where earlier burials had taken place.²⁵⁹ Unfortunately, little has been published of remaining architecture in these areas. The **Tzafa plot** example certainly shows a similar approach to building as that on the summit of the Aspis executed farther downslope, though Wiersma points out that it is significantly smaller in area.²⁶⁰ Rebuilding, then, is not limited to

²⁵⁷ Divari-Valakou 1998, 87.

²⁵⁸ Touchais 1998.

²⁵⁹ Touchais 1998, 77-78.

²⁶⁰ Wiersma 2013, 120. Total size of the Tzafa House was calculated at about 25m², versus up to about 72m², though several of the houses on the summit are actually about the same size (or smaller than) the Tzafa House.

the group building at the top of the hill, nor is it limited to a particular area within the hilltop settlement. It may be notable, however, that the longest series proposed here are also sites used relatively heavily for burial, at least prior to building. I discuss this possible relationship further below.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 14/37, ca. **38%** (max); 12/37, ca. **32%** (min).²⁶¹ This figure is complicated by apparent changes in the dates of some of these structures, as well as by the intermittent publication of houses elsewhere in Argos. As noted above, Wiersma catalogues 18 total houses, to which I have added several early-phase houses identified by Philippa-Touchais, which are unfortunately not named but total about eight. The absolute maximum number of houses considered by Philippa-Touchais, Touchais, and Vollgraff, including **Sector Delta**, the **Tzafa plot** and the subphases I have proposed above, is 37. This figure also includes **Houses P, Q, and e**, which appear to have been re-dated to the historic period in the most recent published phase plan. Because so few houses constructed prior to MH III were recovered, it is not possible to gauge change over time. But, if Wiersma is correct in proposing a decrease in rebuilding during MH III, this may help to explain the relatively low rate of participation in rebuilding at the site.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

Philippa-Touchais has pointed out a likely feasting deposit associated with houses **MD/ME**, including drinking, serving, and cooking vessels, as well as bones representative of the

²⁶¹ For these figures, I have counted contiguously constructed units, C/D and MD/ME, as single rebuilding events, although at least MD/ME represents two separate houses.

consumption rather than the preparation of meat.²⁶² The large amount of these materials recovered allows Philippa-Touchais to argue for “a long series of feasts,” which may reflect the relatively long history of building (and burying) in this area.²⁶³ No description is given for where specifically this deposit was found, however, or whether it was created over time, or whether it may be related to the construction of **MD/ME** and perhaps by extension the circuit of houses as a whole. A similar deposit (Deposit 641), composed of nearly 40% pithos sherds and “characterized by an abundance of high quality imported wares,” including many shapes for drinking, was associated with the remains of buildings burned and leveled at the close of MH II in the eastern sector of the settlement.²⁶⁴ Touchais and Philippa-Touchais have argued that this assemblage, recovered from a natural depression in the bedrock, represents a cleaning and leveling operation from one or more houses destroyed at this time.²⁶⁵ Certainly the use of the debris as a leveling fill serves a practical function, but the high percentage of fine wares, imports, and Minoan imitations, in combination with costly storage vessels may indicate a deliberate caching as well. This deposit is at any rate unique, and provides the most likely candidate for a ritually disposed termination at the site, possibly marking the demolition of the earlier settlement in favor of a more organized, communally-focused layout, as has been proposed for other sites. In such a case, the assemblage marks not only the access to resources and desire for prestige vessels of groups at the Aspis, but also a particular occasion of ritual significance.

²⁶² Philippa-Touchais 2010, 794-795.

²⁶³ Philippa-Touchais 2010, 795.

²⁶⁴ Philippa-Touchais 2010, 795; Philippa-Touchais and Touchais 2011; Philippa-Touchais 2007, esp. 111-112; Philippa-Touchais 2003.

²⁶⁵ Philippa-Touchais and Touchais 2011, 214.

A floor deposit in the latest iteration of the house on the **Tzafa plot** could also represent a termination deposit, consisting of seven partially or fully restorable vessels for drinking, pouring, and cooking.²⁶⁶ No other indications that this may be a specialized deposit are given, and there is no description of the specific find contexts. Four bothroi are mentioned in association with an MH levels on the Dieras.²⁶⁷ All of these contain a great deal of ceramics, but only one has possible burned remains, here consisting of a very dark soil layer at the bottom of Bothros 2. Bothros 2, along with Bothros 1, also had an inner cavity for unknown purposes, while Bothros 3 was cut into part of Bothros 4, similar to the “nested” bothroi at Nichoria. Though Deshayes identified them as possible foundations for small huts, the deposits in these bothroi may be similar to that of “Deposit 641” in the eastern area of the Aspis settlement, representing the clearing of household debris, probably at around the same time.²⁶⁸ Indeed, though Deshayes identifies separate layers within the bothroi, the material dates generally to the same period, suggesting a single infilling event.²⁶⁹ Perhaps a similar destruction took place here, prior to the abandonment of this area and the shift of the settlement center to the Aspis, possibly in a sort of *synoikismos*. Household material may therefore have been cached in these (here deliberately created) bothroi, and the area continued to be used for burial. Other than the full-scale destruction of the MH I/II settlement on the Aspis, however, house-burning is not attested at Argos.

²⁶⁶ Divari-Valakou 1998, 91-92.

²⁶⁷ Deshayes 1966, 15-21, 235-238; Lambropoulou 1991, 165-172; Touchais 1998, 75.

²⁶⁸ Though Bothros 2 may be slightly earlier, Lambropoulou (1991, 176) has suggested that the other bothroi are contemporary with the MH I/II phase on the Aspis.

²⁶⁹ See Deshayes (1966, Plate III, 4-5) for sections of Bothroi 1 and 2, with stratigraphy.

Intramural burial is certainly present at Aspis-Argos. The majority of examples by far were recovered from the more recently excavated southeastern sector, with 13 of the 14 total cases.²⁷⁰ In this area, there are burials contemporary with the houses for the early part of the MH settlement, but at the time of the final reorganization and the construction of the rings of houses, no further burials are made.²⁷¹ Ten burials reported from the **Tzafa plot** also appear to predate many of the building remains there, though not to any large degree, with the possible exception of one infant burial. These may have been covered by alluvial deposits prior to rebuilding in this area.²⁷² Even so, it is possible that certain burial areas at Argos attracted building, though none of these graves was particularly rich. It is perhaps more likely that a history of burial and house building within a particular space acts as a positive feedback loop, making additional building or burial within that area more likely. This sort of reinforcing cycle may explain the concentration of burials and the extensive building history in the southeastern sector on the Aspis—also the site of Philippa-Touchais’ probable feasting deposit. Philippa-Touchais does not suggest why the vast majority of burials on the Aspis summit are concentrated in one (occupied) area, but notes that there must be some significant difference with the northern sector, also excavated in modern times (versus Vollgraff’s excavations).²⁷³ Rebuilding also occurred in the north, so there is no simple correlation between house series and burial activity, though a relationship between the two activities is not unlikely. Similarly, the house in **Sector Delta** also contained five burials, apparently contemporary with or later (rather than earlier) than the use of the building.²⁷⁴ The

²⁷⁰ The most recent treatment of this topic is Philippa-Touchais (2013), with bibliography.

²⁷¹ Philippa-Touchais 2013; 2010, 795.

²⁷² Divari-Valakou 1998, 88.

²⁷³ Philippa-Touchais 2013, 79, 85.

²⁷⁴ Daux 1967, 818.

contemporary use of apparently extramural burial suggests specific choices made in individual funerary arrangements.²⁷⁵

Asine (Open)²⁷⁶

Series U-W ²⁷⁷ T burns ²⁷⁸ →	House S ²⁷⁹	Displaced (Rebuilt as T)	Wall tops at ca. 16.81 masl ²⁸⁰	EH III/MH I
	House T ²⁸¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as U)	Wall bottoms at ca. 16.2 masl; Wall tops at ca. 17.19 masl ²⁸²	MH I/II
	House U ²⁸³	Integrated/ Displaced (Rebuilt as W)	Wall tops at ca. 18.76 masl	MH Late
	House W ²⁸⁴		Wall tops at ca. 18.97 masl ²⁸⁵	LH ²⁸⁶

²⁷⁵ Lambropoulou (1991, 181-200) provides a useful summary of the tumuli and overall burial patterns (1991, 201) at Argos.

²⁷⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A20.

²⁷⁷ These structures are located on Terrace III, and in spite of the limitation of the available building space by terrace walls (themselves rebuilt multiple times), a relatively high degree of displacement seems to have been the preferred method of rebuilding. Wiersma (2013, 121, 122) remarks on the overbuilding, but does not believe that these houses represent a series. Though the orientation certainly changes, the fairly similar layout, the near correspondence of the crosswall of S with the east wall of T, and the integration of the earlier west wall of T in the construction of U accompanied by a possible maintenance of the storage function, seem to me to indicate a probable series.

²⁷⁸ Nordquist (1987, 73) does not state that the house was destroyed by fire, but references the burned superstructure of the building multiple times.

²⁷⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G19; Nordquist 1987, 71-72; Westholm 1938, 92.

²⁸⁰ Elevations for this series and all of the following are taken from a range of levels given for each wall by Nordquist (1987, 70, Table 7.1) and averaged to provide a single level for the house.

²⁸¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G20; Nordquist 1987, 72-74; Westholm 1938, 93.

²⁸² The dramatic rise in elevation (ca. 1.5m) between the wall tops of Houses T and U leads Westholm (1938, 95) to remark that “the ground level must have risen considerably since the construction of House T.” This rise in ground level may suggest that T and U are not related, but may also be attributable to the substantial walls of T and the adjacent terrace wall, as well as the likelihood that T had a second story.

²⁸³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. 21; Nordquist 1987, 74; Westholm 1938, 93.

²⁸⁴ Westholm 1938, 93, 95, 96. This house is not discussed by Nordquist because it is not MH in date.

²⁸⁵ This elevation has been taken from Westholm (1938, 92, Fig. 68).

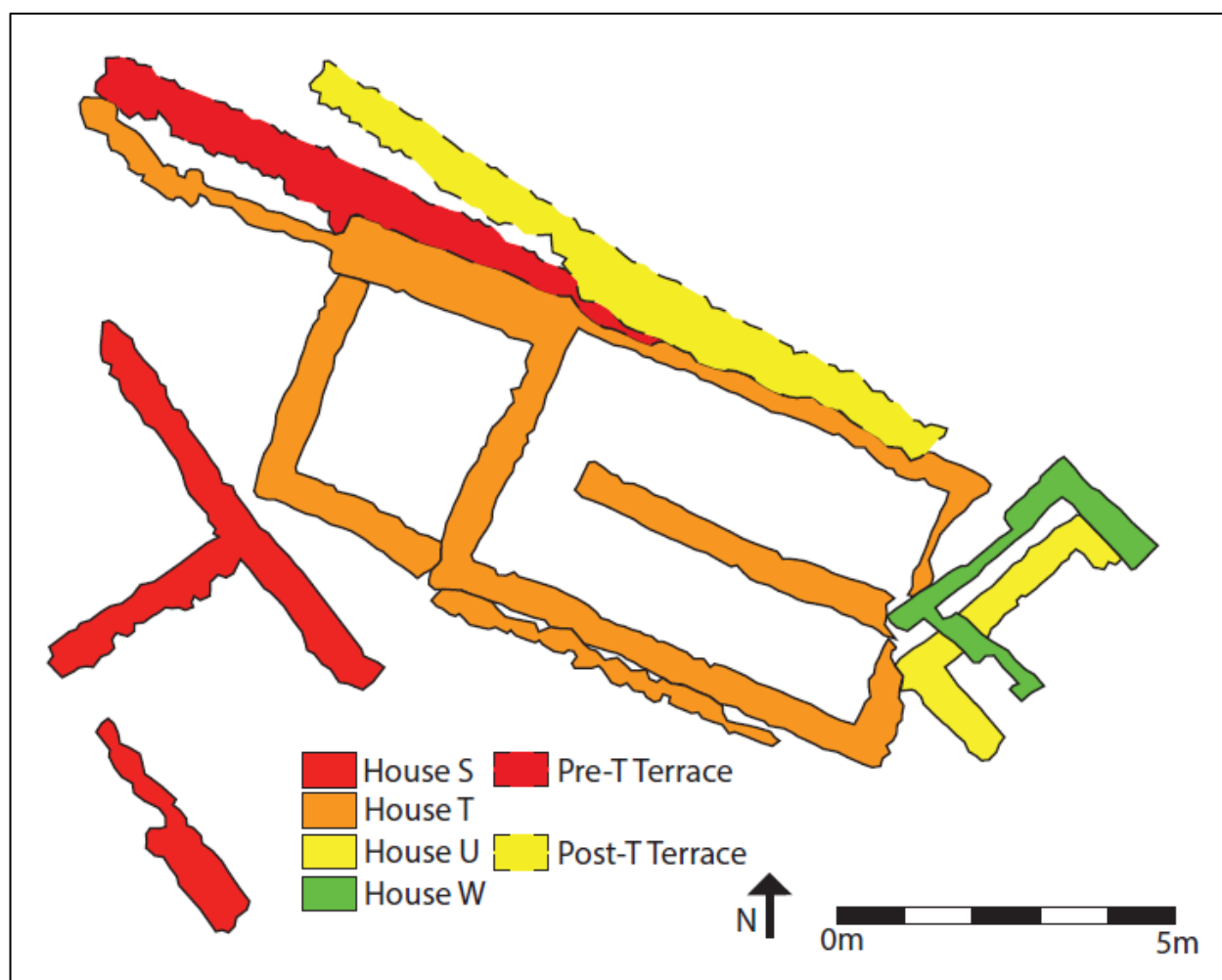


Fig. 2.14: Series U-W. After Frödin and Persson 1938, Fig. 68 and 69.

Series A-C	House Pre-A ²⁸⁷	Integrated (Rebuilt as A)	Wall tops at ca. 10.85 masl ²⁸⁸	MH I/II?
	House A ²⁸⁹	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as B)	Wall bottoms at ca. 10.67 masl;	MH II

²⁸⁶ Westholm (1938) is not able to provide a closer date, but the close replication of the plan of House U and the use of the earlier walls as bedding for the later walls may suggest an early LH date.

²⁸⁷ Nordquist 1987, 75. One wall from an earlier structure, Pre-A, was recovered beneath the central dividing wall of A. It closely mirrors the orientation of A, but may be a simple retaining wall (Nordquist 1987, 75). Details for this building are scanty, though Nordquist does supply the approximate level, and the date is surmised from its position beneath House A.

²⁸⁸ Level estimated by Nordquist (1987, 75).

²⁸⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G23; Nordquist 1987, 75-76; Westholm 1938, 68.

B burns→			Wall tops at ca. 11.41 masl	
	House B ²⁹⁰	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as C?) ²⁹¹	Wall bottoms at ca. 10.28 masl; Wall tops at ca. 10.64 masl	MH II/III
	House C ²⁹²		Wall bottoms at ca. 11.13 masl; Wall tops at ca. 11.66 masl	MH III ²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G25; Nordquist 1987, 76-79; Westholm 1938, 68-69. House B may represent two houses with a party wall, one to the north and one to the south, and it is likely to have had a second floor. It certainly has multiple phases of construction, as demonstrated by an earlier wall possibly related to house Pre-D incorporated into the north-south running western wall of the structure (Nordquist 1987, 79). The high number of abutting walls and different construction styles probably indicate additional phases, but Nordquist does not suggest an interpretation of these.

²⁹¹ Nordquist (1987, 83) points out that House C makes use of the southern wall of House B, indicating that at least this wall was still standing at the time of C's construction, and perhaps B burned only after C was constructed. This portion of the house has been noted as one of the most substantial, however, and it is not unlikely—particularly if it supported a staircase and second story, that this wall may have withstood the fire that destroyed much of B.

²⁹² Wiersma 2013, Cat. G29; Nordquist 1987, 83; Westholm 1938, 70-72.

²⁹³ Nordquist (1987, 83) does not give a direct date for this structure, but a burial (MH 20) is cut into the floor in MH III, so construction of the house must predate this event (see Nordquist 1987, 129, "List of Graves"). Wiersma (2013, 478) extends the use of this structure into LH I, possibly on the basis of its rough alignment with House E.



Fig. 2.15: Series A-C. After Nordquist 1987, Fig. 13-15.

Series Pre-D-E	House Pre-D ²⁹⁶	Integrated/Displaced (Rebuilt as D)	Wall tops at ca. 9.67 masl	MH II
Pre-D burns? ²⁹⁴ →	House D ²⁹⁷	Integrated/Displaced (Rebuilt as E)	Wall bottoms at ca. 9.50 masl; Wall tops at ca. 10.07 masl	MH II/III
D burns (2x?) ²⁹⁵ →	House E ²⁹⁸		Wall bottoms at	MH III/LH I

²⁹⁴ Nordquist (1987, 76) does not state that the structure burned, but notes concentrations of charcoal, bone, and mudbrick at the same level at the east and west sides of the building and associated with the floor, possibly indicating a burning destruction layer.

²⁹⁵ Traces of carbonized material and mudbrick are incorporated into two sequential floors of the structure in both its eastern and western parts (Nordquist 1987, 80-81). Certainly the building burned at least at the end of its use-life, as burned mudbrick and ceramics were also found on the second floor, which itself was overlain by ashy soil, at least at the west.

²⁹⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G24; Nordquist 1987, 76; Westholm 1938, 73.

²⁹⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G26; Nordquist 1987, 79-83; Westholm 1938, 72-73. House D is likely to represent three separate but related structures (Nordquist 1987, 83; Voutsaki 2010b).

			ca. 11.22 masl; Wall tops at ca. 11.40	
--	--	--	--	--

6



Fig. 2.16: Series Pre-D-E. After Nordquist 1987, Fig. 13-15.

Commentary: Rebuilding at Asine, as at Berbati, tends to be almost adamantly displaced, in a “substitutive” approach to house replacement, in spite of the limitations placed on the

²⁹⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G30; Nordquist 1987, 83-85; Westholm 1938, 73-74.

available building space as a result of the terracing efforts, probably EH II in date. If **U-W** can be seen as a continuous series with **S** and **T**, this full displacement is already pronounced in MH I with the construction of **House T**, and is most pronounced in the **A-C** series, from which the houses share the reuse of only a single central wall, not unlike the EU 7 series at Tsoungiza or the proposed rebuilding at Berbati. It is likewise notable that “houses” at Asine are typically subdivided into separate, and often independent, units. This tendency is seen prominently in **House D**, with its three independent but probably related megara, but also in **Houses E** and **B**, and possibly **A** and **Pre-D** as well. At least by MH II/III, then, contiguous houses in block-like arrangements are the dominant form of domestic architecture at the site as it is preserved. These “blocks” are subdivided into houses representing households that are probably strongly affiliated, perhaps by marriage. Though episodes of replacement of individual houses within the block are possible, in general it appears to be not simply the house but the whole block that is replaced. In her discussion of **House D**, Nordquist points out that the structure must have stood for some time, with at least two surface levels. Indeed, replacement at least the floor every 0.2m or so for three sequential floors is indicated for a room in the eastern unit of **House D** (Room XV), and the levels for two of these floors are similar in the western unit, suggesting similar patterns of resurfacing or restructuring in both halves of the northern part of the building.²⁹⁹ The southern unit, on the other hand, may be a later addition, perhaps added at the time of one of these restructuring events.³⁰⁰

House D, and to a lesser extent **B**, appears therefore to represent not only the displaced upward building, but also a strong tendency for agglomerative construction. These houses are, as

²⁹⁹ Nordquist 1987, 80-81.

³⁰⁰ Nordquist 1987, 88.

others have noted, likely to represent larger social groupings than the nuclear family, and may reflect growth or alliances among specific kinship groups.³⁰¹ In this case, these houses can be seen as a very early, small scale instance of the multiplicity and close juxtaposition of relatively powerful family/factional groups in built space, which comes to be a prominent feature of Mycenaean civilization. That is, the **A-C** and **Pre-D-E** series mirror surprisingly closely the proliferation and aggrandizement of the later citadel sites—noted particularly in the Volos and Argolid.³⁰² It is perhaps no surprise then that the architecture of each these houses acts to integrate smaller-scale structures, but is dramatically different in approach. But both houses also find parallels in later “proto-palaces,” with **House D** resembling the LH IIB Mansion I at the Menelaion (also a focus of expansion and replacement), while **House B** is similar to the (MH III/LH I) central terrace unit at Malthi. Emphasizing both the importance of these structures and their likely association with specific social groups at Asine is the use of both of these areas, and particularly **House E**, as burial grounds.³⁰³ It is notable that very few of these houses are noted for burning destruction, though they must have been dismantled prior to rebuilding.

If **S** and **T** are included in the early **U-W** series, construction focuses on an area that was certainly inhabited in the EH II period, though once again offset (and on a different terrace) from the major EH II/III **House R**, expressing either continuity with that period, or another effort to build on or near EH II remains on the part of EH III builders.³⁰⁴ This preference may also be expressed in the location of the much later **House Pre-D**, above a layer of mixed EH and MH,

³⁰¹ Nordquist 1987, 89; Voutsaki 2010b; Wiersma 2013, 125.

³⁰² Pantou 2010; Burns 2007.

³⁰³ Nordquist 1987, 95-96.

³⁰⁴ Westholm (1938, 91-92, 94) briefly discusses House R. Nordquist (1987, 88) dates this structure to EH II/III.

including EH II ceramics and tiles.³⁰⁵ It may be notable that early MH burials were also concentrated in this area. Rebuilding is only attested for relatively large-scale or affluent buildings at Asine, with the possible exception of the **U-W** series, of which only **House T** seems to have been relatively elaborate, likely having two floors and a layout not dissimilar to magazine.³⁰⁶ This may suggest the limitation of rebuilding practices to more affluent groups or to groups who had the access to labor to construct these elaborate houses.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 11/19, ca. **58%** (max); 8/19, ca. **42%** (min). Nordquist discusses a total of 14 structures for MH Asine, and notes at least 16 total for the period.³⁰⁷ Of these, Wiersma catalogues 12 with preserved plans. Neither Nordquist nor Wiersma includes **House R** or **W** in this figure, the first of which I have considered above as a result of its probably EH III floor deposit, and the second of which as a result of its early LH date as a part of the possible **U-W** series. In the maximum figure, I have also included **Pre-A**, for a total of 19 houses. There are additionally two other possible episode of rebuilding at the site. The first is the two houses excavated east of the Panhagia (**Panhagia Houses**), for which the plan is lost.³⁰⁸ The earlier of the two, **House II**, seems to date to MH I and was overlaid by rubble that may represent a destruction layer. Over this level (at about 0.5m above **House II**) was **House I**,

³⁰⁵ Nordquist 1987, 76.

³⁰⁶ Nordquist 1987, 72-74, esp. 74; Wiersma 2013, 121. The unusual plan of House T, divided into two narrow spaces with paving slabs along the walls (both sides of the central dividing wall and along the southern wall) and abundant pithos fragments, has previously been identified as a likely storage space. I agree, and would suggest a certain resemblance to a greatly scaled-down version of the palatial eastern magazines at Malia.

³⁰⁷ Nordquist 1987, 71-86.

³⁰⁸ Nordquist 1987, 75; Frödin 1938, 57-58. Though the plan is lost, these houses seem to represent a series based on their similar north-south orientation. Though only the later House I is observed to have clear traces of burning, the floor of the structure is laid on “a layer of larger stones,” which may represent the destruction debris from the earlier house, House II, itself built above an early MH terrace wall. Wiersma (2013, 121) discusses these houses briefly.

destroyed by fire, and apparently built along a similar orientation.³⁰⁹ The other possible example comes from Nordquist's **House 2** on the Barbouna hill, of which one wall of the MH III Room K was reused in the early LH period.³¹⁰ If these houses are included in the series, then rebuilding at Asine is less likely to be limited to the larger, more elaborate complexes.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

Several bothroi are mentioned for the Terrace III area, particularly underlying **Houses S** and **T**. Indeed, the crosswall of **House S** is centered directly over one of them, Bothros 3. Nordquist says little about the contents, but provides a section for Bothros 3.³¹¹ The section shows three distinct layers, suggesting three separate infilling events, the last of which may be packing prior to the building of **House S**. Though there is shading that may be meant to indicate carbon, and some larger fragments representing perhaps fragments of pithoi or mudbrick, no key is given. It is therefore impossible to say whether these may have played any role in caching material from house destructions, though at least for **House T** they appear stratigraphically to be created after a leveling event but before the construction of the house. They also certainly hold fragmentary vessels. Frödin and Persson likewise do not elaborate on the contents of the bothroi, only describing one from the Pre-Mycenaean Terrace, which was filled with a variety of EH III vessels, nine catalogued, including three large jars, two other jars, two shallow bowls, one beak-

³⁰⁹ This difference in levels appears to be approximated, and it is unclear whether it refers to wall tops, bottoms, or associated surfaces.

³¹⁰ Nordquist 1987, 85.

³¹¹ Nordquist 1987, 180, Fig. 70.

spouted jug and one pyxis.³¹² This assemblage was broken in situ, arguably because of the shallowness of the deposit, but may represent some type of ritual caching. No further details about the bothros itself are given.

Concerning possible termination deposits, one of the better candidates is a cache of at least seven ceramic vessels (three bowls, two jars, and two jugs) and an obsidian arrowhead found within a layer of mudbrick above the floor level of **House B** and suggested to have fallen from an upper story.³¹³ This may be the case, but an examination of the drawing of the deposit shows many very fragmentary vessels mixed with larger debris—whether stone, mudbrick, or pithos fragments is uncertain. They may have been broken prior to falling, or broken and scattered following the destruction of the building. An area of burning nearby—tentatively identified by Nordquist as one of two hearths for the structure—may be associated, but no level was given for this feature relative to the vase assemblage. It may also be significant that this deposit is just inside the main entrance of the building. Nordquist compares this deposit to two larger deposits found in **Houses 1** and **2** of the Barbouna Hill complexes; her comparison is partially motivated by the presence of “paired” vases in each of these assemblages.³¹⁴ In **House 1** of the Barbouna Hill, certainly destroyed by fire, twelve partially restorable pots were recovered, possibly fallen, but also possibly broken and scattered.³¹⁵ **House 2** contained sixteen partially-preserved vessels, several with joining fragments found in two separate rooms, and possibly

³¹² Persson 1938, 212-214.

³¹³ Nordquist 1987, 78. See also Nordquist (1987, 182, Fig. 77:2) for a drawing of the deposit (also called “Hamilton’s deposit”).

³¹⁴ Nordquist 1987, 85-86, esp. 86, 187-188, Fig. 85 and 87.

³¹⁵ Nordquist 1987, 85. Nordquist observes that the upper parts of these pots were better preserved; this may represent biases in collection, but is otherwise odd if they have simply fallen.

indicating scattering once more.³¹⁶ Nordquist comments that the shapes represented in both houses were largely for eating and drinking.³¹⁷ Two concentrations of pottery associated with large ash deposits—again tentatively identified as a hearth or in one case a furnace—were also recovered from **House R**, of EH III date.³¹⁸ The first deposit, in northern part of the apse, included eight vessels, and the second, in the southern part of the apse, included seven more. Fragments of an additional seven pots were found throughout the rest of the house, many of them burned, and most of the deposit was composed of jars (eight) and jugs (four), and may represent drinking activity or destruction of household possessions. With the exception of the assemblage in **House R**, all of these possible termination deposits date to later in the MH period.

The intramural burial at Asine has been much discussed, and it has been suggested by Nordquist, Wiersma, and others, that as certain houses fell out of use, they became loci for burial, as at Ayios Stephanos and Lerna.³¹⁹ This certainly happened with the **houses on the Barbouna Hill**, as well as **House E** and possibly **C** in the Lower Town.³²⁰ Two fairly elaborate LH I shaft graves were set into the **houses in the Barbouna area** in particular, possibly in association with the earlier occupants of this area.³²¹ Much of the site also saw burials that were contemporary with the use-phases of houses, and Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström observe

³¹⁶ Nordquist 1987, 85-86.

³¹⁷ Nordquist 1987, 86.

³¹⁸ See Persson (1938, 214-219) for the full deposit, which appears to be EH III in date though the house may have been constructed earlier. No reason is given for the identification of this area as a furnace, except the copious amounts of ash, also consistent with a burning destruction.

³¹⁹ Nordquist 1987, 91; Milka 2010.

³²⁰ Nordquist 1987, 95-99.

³²¹ Nordquist 1987, 98-99.

four “clusters” of graves associated with Houses **A**, **C**, **D** and **E**.³²² Since extramural cemeteries had been established by early MH II, though probably open only to a restricted group, burial within the main settlement (versus the East Cemetery or Barbouna) became a choice for at least certain adults.³²³ Children continued to be buried in the settlement.

Berbat (Tell?)³²⁴

House A (Megaron House) Series	House A ³²⁷ (“Megaron A”)	Integrated (as rebuilt as Post- A), Displaced (as rebuilt as intervening N/P)	Level Unknown	EH II
A abandoned ³²⁵ →	House N-P ³²⁸ (“ <i>Pithos Store</i> ”)	<i>Displaced</i> (<i>Rebuilt as Post- A</i>)	<i>Level Unknown</i>	<i>EH III</i> ³²⁹
N/P burns ³²⁶ →	Post-A ³³⁰	Displaced	Level Unknown	MH ³³¹

³²² Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 161; Nordquist 1987, 95-96. Further clusters are found in the area of Houses R, S, T, U and W, but these are mostly children. This area may therefore have been converted to funerary use, perhaps specifically for children.

³²³ Dietz 1980, 71-74; Nordquist 1987, 100. Nordquist (1987, 101) observes that the extramural burials tend to be more costly in construction and in grave goods, possibly explained by the dominance of adult burials in the east cemetery. See also Voutsaki, Ingvarsson-Sundström, and Dietz (2012) for a close analysis of differentiation between the three cemeteries. They conclude that the East Cemetery does show some exceptionalities, suggesting a claim to status at the site on the part of these individuals and/or their families: “there was differentiation between the group buried in the East Cemetery and the rest of the community, especially the groups buried in Kastraki—but this differentiation was neither deep nor pervasive” (459).

³²⁴ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A05.

³²⁵ Säflund 1965, 101. Megaron A is covered with a destruction level, but it is 0.25m above the floor and continuous with the destruction layer over N/P. This may suggest that there was something in this area to burn, but Säflund does not discuss this possibility.

³²⁶ Säflund 1965, 119-120.

³²⁷ Säflund 1965, 96-103.

³²⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G31. Säflund 1965, 117-120. Säflund does believe that this structure represents a “succession” to Megaron A because it overbuilds the eastern “annex,” represented by a single wall projecting eastward from the east wall of Megaron A. Whether this wall is bonded to the Megaron is unclear.

³²⁹ Wiersma (2013, 482) gives a later date of EH III-MH I for this structure.

³³⁰ Säflund 1965, 101. Säflund does not name this partially-preserved structure, but it clearly makes deliberate use of Megaron A, and may include the terrace wall “m1” very partially overlying and parallel with the north wall of N/P, suggesting a larger complex.

		(Rebuilt as L?)		
	House L ³³²		Level Unknown	LH III



Fig. 2.17: House A Series. After Säflund 1965, Plan.

Commentary: Rebuilding is apparently limited at Berbati, though this may be partially a result of the poor preservation of MH and earlier Mycenaean walls at this part of the site, which were cannibalized for modern terrace walls. Rebuilding that is attested is either early—EH II in

³³¹ Säflund (1965, 101) gives only the general date of MH for this structure. Lindblom (2011, 77) follows his assessment.

³³² Säflund 1965, 96, 120. Säflund discusses this structure only very briefly, noting that it is likely to be LH III in date, which would certainly place it after the proposed MH II-III gap in habitation at the site. It may also be on a higher terrace level, which would further complicate drawing any connection to the earlier buildings. It does, however, share a similar plan and interior dimensions to Megaron A. Since levels are not given, though, it is difficult to surmise how much, if anything, these builders would have known about previous structures. It is therefore unlikely that this structure is part of the overall series; but it is nonetheless notable that this is the one area in the earlier settlement that does show later building, and one additional wall is shown in the area of and parallel with Megaron A, while slightly earlier MH III-LH III walls are reported from above House N/P (Säflund 1965, 120)—these are left off the plan as a result of their poor preservation. It is possible, then, that a tradition of building in this area, and a notion of the history of this area, persisted, though the earlier houses may not have been known or directly referenced.

the case of **House R-B**, apparently reconstructed multiple times³³³—or poorly-preserved, as in the case of **House F-G**, which overlies an EH III destruction layer associated with an earlier habitation level, evidence for which is given in pithos installations though all architecture of the phase is lost.³³⁴ The series I have proposed here is of course tenuous at best, and involves more greatly displaced construction phases. If this is a series, in the words of Weiberg and Lindblom, it is very much a substitutive strategy of rebuilding that is being deployed here. In some ways this is surprising, given the topographical restrictions and the boundaries established by the terracing that these necessitated. In other words, one might expect a continuous and only slightly shifted building up, rather than fully-displaced shifting of building locations, which does not make the best use of the available space. This disjuncture suggests a very deliberate approach to the EH II structures at the Mastos, which are not built directly on until the MH period, and then in somewhat tentative way—though again, there are preservation issues.³³⁵ This same, eastern area of the site sees the only LH construction activity, which may be an effort to establish a connection with the site’s past on reoccupation of this area, perhaps as a legitimizing strategy.³³⁶ It is worth mentioning that **Megaron A** in particular has been identified by Pullen as an early form of the EH II corridor house.³³⁷

Also notable for the site is an apparent EH III expansion to the west of the original EH II terrace, possibly represented by the substantial southern walls of these structures, as well as by

³³³ Säflund 1965, 110.

³³⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G32; Säflund 1965, 115-116.

³³⁵ Wiersma (2013, 129) also comments on this failure to build over the EH II structure, suggesting that “the remains had a specific or important function.”

³³⁶ Lindblom (2011, 77), considering all earlier studies of the Mastos, suggests that there would minimally have been limited occupation on the hilltop during the MH period.

³³⁷ Pullen 2011, 297.

the “road” proposed by Säflund.³³⁸ This terracing project is substantial, and may be associated with the few remains of walls left in Area D, as well as with the MH **House F-G**.³³⁹ This project is not quite a reorganization of the settlement (as at Malthi and perhaps Ayios Stephanos), but does represent a significant expenditure of labor. I discuss this phenomenon further in Chapter 3.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 4/9, ca. **44%** (max); 2/9, ca. **22%** (min).

Only the rebuilding of **House A** as **Post-A** in the MH period is certain. Minimally, rebuilding was present, but certainly not very prevalent at Berbati.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

There is evidence for house burning at Berbati, but Säflund attributes much of the ash at the settlement to a single EH III destruction event, which may be true.³⁴⁰ All of the burned material is dated to EH III, with the possible exception of the burning in Room B of **House R-B**. Here, a large amount of ash was associated with a partially burned adult burial under a section of a pithos and equipped grave goods including a bronze dagger and three vessels.³⁴¹ The ceramics could be dated to EH III, but no mention was made of how this related to the EH III destruction level elsewhere at the site. In the adjacent room R, the destruction level was on, rather than over,

³³⁸ Säflund 1965, 99, 103-106. Säflund refers to this as a “pavement” or “street” and only one layer of stones is preserved, so it is possible. Its placement directly on the edge of a drop in the bedrock, however, makes it more likely to be some kind of a terrace or leveling fill associated with construction in this area. Wiersma (2013, 128-129) suggests that whole terrace was constructed in EH II, but I see no reason to question Säflund’s date.

³³⁹ Säflund 1965, 113-114.

³⁴⁰ Säflund 1965, 101.

³⁴¹ Säflund 1965, 110-111 (context), 123-124 (burial and grave goods). Säflund inexplicably assigns the pithos fragments to a later period than the burial. I see no reason not to take them as part of a single burial context.

the surface (as with the contemporary **Megaron A**), so either the structure was still in use in EH III, or it had a separate (EH III earlier?) burning event. Certainly the house had been replaced previously, and either way it is possible—and even likely—that the house burning and burial were contemporary.³⁴² If this is the case, and house and body were burned together, a parallel involving a child skeleton may be found at Ayios Stephanos in the MH I house Zeta I.³⁴³

Megaron A also had two upside down bowls on its floor, but these may have fallen, and nothing else suggests that it may be a termination deposit.³⁴⁴

Several bothroi, as well as similar but shallower depressions, were noted by Säflund throughout the site, with “true” bothroi found notably along the length of the EH III terrace wall, and depressions dominating on the interior of **House N-P** (five, three with in situ pithoi), and **F-G** (eight, and an additional two on the immediate exterior, all empty).³⁴⁵ Säflund distinguishes the “depressions” from bothroi on the basis of the pithoi found in **N-P**, and fragments of pithoi found near some of the others, arguing that these would also have held pithoi may have held pithoi or otherwise functioned in storage. Bothroi, on the other hand, are suggested to function primarily as disposal areas.³⁴⁶ Six of these are catalogued, all dated to EH II, and they contained a mix of sherds, ash, and “organic remains,” which unfortunately are not further described.³⁴⁷ None of them are marked, and no architectural fragments are mentioned; it is nevertheless

³⁴² Säflund 1965, 110. Perhaps related to the earlier replacement of this house is the incorporation of a portion of an EH II decorated hearth rim into the wall of the house (Säflund 1965, 110).

³⁴³ See Taylour and Janko (2008, 29, 122) for a description of this burial (Burial Zeta 6), which is similarly burnt and also made use of portions of a coarseware vessel.

³⁴⁴ Säflund 1965, 100-101.

³⁴⁵ Säflund 1965, 118-119 (House N-P), 116 (House F-G).

³⁴⁶ Säflund 1965, 121.

³⁴⁷ Säflund 1965, 121-123.

possible that they may have functioned to cache remains from destroyed houses or deposits associated with these, particularly in the case of Bothros 4 in Area D, which contained fragments of six bowls, several of them preserved nearly in their entirety, perhaps indicating that they are not garbage.³⁴⁸ The regular placement of the bothroi along the upper part of the terrace is, however, in some ways suspicious, and they are fairly deep at between 0.75-1.2m. They may therefore function in some way to channel water or otherwise drain the terrace.

As noted above, intramural burial was practiced at the site, and in the case of Room B of **House R-B**, may have been closely tied to the house/household cycles. In addition to the burial in Room B, two others were documented for the MH period by Säflund; however, both were on the lower terrace, where no house remains have been uncovered, and Säflund argues that they are in fact extramural.³⁴⁹

Lerna (Tell)

Series W-1-Rooms 3 and 5 (Chieftain's House Series) ³⁵⁰	Building W-1 ³⁵²	3 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as W-36 and W-39)	Floor at ca. 5.06 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 4.90 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.08 masl ³⁵³	EH III Early (Lerna IV.1)
--	------------------------------------	---	--	---------------------------

³⁴⁸ Säflund 1965, 122-123.

³⁴⁹ Säflund 1965, 93, 125. Säflund (1965, 93) goes on to characterize the area in which these were found as “covered to a depth of several metres with a filling of stones and ruins,” from which some construction in this area, if poorly preserved, may be inferred. Wiersma (2013, 129) explains this discrepancy by suggesting that portions of the settlement were abandoned for funeral use.

³⁵⁰ The Chieftain's House series and the following series (W-39-House 100) are closely related; they seem to originate in two displaced rebuildings of one house (W-1) and are later combined back into a single house group with the joining of House 98A and Rooms 44 and 45 by a common, bounded courtyard.

³⁵² Wiersma 2013, Cat. G33. Banks 2013, 37-41.

³⁵³ Elevations from Banks 2013, 38, Plan 5. Wherever Banks has provided top and bottom elevations for surfaces, I have simply averaged the levels. In general surface levels shown here are only approximate as a result of significantly sloping floors in many of these houses.

W-1 dismantled→	Building W-36 Early/Late ³⁵⁴	2 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as W-86)	Floor of W-36 Early at ca. 5.08masl; Floor of W-36 Late at ca. 5.24 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.19 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.59 masl ³⁵⁵	EH III Early (Lerna IV.1 Later)
W-36 burns→	Building W-86 Early/Late ³⁵⁶ (99C)	2 (Displaced/ Integrated) (Rebuilt as W-90)	Floor of W-86 Early at ca. 5.35 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.44 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.58 masl; Floor of W-86 Late at ca. 5.45 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.87 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.05 masl ³⁵⁷	EH III Middle-Late (Lerna IV.2-IV.3 Transition)
W-86 partially dismantled ³⁵¹	Building W-90 ³⁵⁸ (99D?)	2 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as 98L) ³⁵⁹	Floor at ca. 5.88 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.93 masl; Wall	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

³⁵¹ After this stage, Banks (2013, 218) proposes that Building W-125 may have served as a temporary replacement for W-86 prior to the rebuilding of this series in W-90. If this is the case, it is a significant displacement, and may represent both respect for the previous remains and a desire to distinguish the recreated kinship group from the old one. I have included W-125 as part of a separate series with W-124, but the possible relationship between these two house groups should be noted.

³⁵⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G35. Banks 2013, 89-96.

³⁵⁵ Elevations from Banks 2013, 90, Plan 13.

³⁵⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. 41. Banks 2013, 165-178; Zerner 1978, 32.

³⁵⁷ Elevations for W-86 Early from Banks 2013, 165, Plan 24; elevations for W-86 Late from Banks 2013, 172, Plan 25.

³⁵⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G47. Banks 2013, 178-182; Zerner 1978, 33-34.

³⁵⁹ Wiersma (2013) includes House 99D (Cat. G56) separately from Building W-90 (Cat. G47), though Banks (2013, 374) identifies the two buildings. Zerner's (1978, 32) initial analysis of the area (BE) seems, however, to associate levels that Banks (2013, 179) identifies as belonging to Building W-90 (+5.80-5.95) with House 99C (+5.80-5.98), rather than 99D, which, at +5.95-6.20, is suggested to be significantly higher in the matrix (Zerner 1978, 33).

98A burns→			tops at ca. 6.12 masl ³⁶⁰	
	Building 98L ³⁶¹	2 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as 98A)	Associated deposit at ca. 5.90 masl ³⁶²	MH I (Lerna VA)
	Building 98A Complex ³⁶³	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House 100)	Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna VA Late)
	House 100 ³⁶⁴	Integrated (Rebuilt as Rooms 3 and 5)	Level Unknown	MH II/III
	Rooms 3 and 5 ³⁶⁵		Level Unknown	MH III/LH I

³⁶⁰ Elevations from Banks 2013, 179, Plan 26. I follow Banks here.

³⁶¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G59. Zerner 1978, 35-36.

³⁶² Zerner (1978, 36) associates a deposit (B1247) with elevations ranging from 6.00-5.80 masl with this structure.

³⁶³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G63. Zerner 1978, 36-38.

³⁶⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G67. Caskey 1957, 148; Milka 2010, 437-438. Caskey (1957, 148) observes that this “fairly pretentious” structure was expanded or otherwise modified at least twice. During the significant chronological gap between 98A and House 100, the area is used primarily for burial, as argued by Milka (2010, 438). Following the destruction of this house the area is again used for burial, before Rooms 3 and 5 are constructed.

³⁶⁵ Milka 2010, 438. Rooms 3 and 5 are again abandoned to funerary use and represent the latest structural remains in this area.



Fig. 2.18: Chieftain's House Series. After Banks 2013, Plans 4, 16, and 23; and Milka 2010, Fig. 5-8.

Series W-39- Rooms 44 and 45 (North Apsidal House Series)	Building W- 39 ³⁶⁶	2 (Displaced/Visible) (Rebuilt as W- 79) ³⁶⁷	Floor at ca. 5.30 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.25 masl Wall tops at ca. 5.38 masl ³⁶⁸	EH III Early (Lerna IV.1 Later)
---	--	---	--	---------------------------------------

³⁶⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G36. Banks 2013, 96-99.

³⁶⁷ Wiersma (2013, 486) argues that this house is rebuilt as W-153, but the displaced W-79 must intercede, though it is admittedly offset. The orientation and placement of the roughly north-south crosswall in W-79 correspond well to that in the earlier W-39, and it may be that W-79 represents an apsidal house in the same tradition, though as Banks (2013, 89) notes, too little is preserved to project the plan. Banks (2013, 148) further remarks that W-39 must have been only partially cleared for the construction of W-79, leaving the apse in place.

³⁶⁸ Elevations from Banks 2013, 97, Plan 14.

W-39 burns→ Rooms 44 and 45 burn	Building W-79 ³⁶⁹	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-153)	Wall bottoms at ca. 4.93 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.02 masl ³⁷⁰	EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)
	Building W-153 ³⁷¹	2 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as W-156)	Floor at ca. 5.60 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.50 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.71 masl ³⁷²	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-156 ³⁷³ (BE-68/68A)	Integrated (with modifications) (Rebuilt as Rooms 44 and 45) ³⁷⁴	Floor at ca. 5.75 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.79 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.97 masl ³⁷⁵	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Rooms 44 and 45 (of 98A Complex) ³⁷⁶	Rebuilt as House 100 (see above)	Floor low point at 5.40masl? ³⁷⁷	MH I (Lerna VA Late)

³⁶⁹ Banks 2013, 148-150. This structure is identified by Banks as an auxiliary building for W-36 (in the Chieftain's House series), but I think it more likely to belong to the "paired" apsidal group to the north.

³⁷⁰ Elevations from Banks 2013, 90, Plan 13.

³⁷¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. 42. Banks 2013, 250-254.

³⁷² Elevations from Banks 2013, 251, Plan 33.

³⁷³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G48. Banks 2013, 254-257; Zerner 1978, 39-42. Banks identifies W-156 with the earlier nomenclature BE-68, and I have assumed 68A (Wiersma 2013, Cat. 57) is the same, as the plans are identical.

³⁷⁴ Wiersma has suggested her first type of rebuilding for this structure (the most meticulous), but she may have duplicated this house in her catalogue as a result of the lack of a consistent nomenclature prior to Banks' volume. In that case, the rebuilding is actually substantially changed, as the apse is abandoned in favor of rectilinear building and the structure is bonded with the apsidal house to the south in the 98A complex.

³⁷⁵ Elevations from Banks 2013, 255, Plan 34.

³⁷⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G64. Zerner 1978, 42-45; Caskey 1957, 149-151.

³⁷⁷ Level taken from Caskey (1957, 150) for a low point on the floor of Room 45.



Fig. 2.19: North Apsidal House Series. After Banks 2013, Plans 4, 13, 16, and 23, and 33; and Milka 2010, Fig. 5-8.

Series W-4-W-56	Building W-4 ³⁷⁸	Integrated (Rebuilt as W-9)	Wall bottoms at ca. 4.90 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.04 masl ³⁷⁹	EH III Early (Lerna IV.1)
	Building W-9 Early/Late ³⁸⁰	2 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as W-52)	Floor of W-9 Early at 5.01 masl; Floor of W-9 Late at 5.05 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 4.93 masl; Wall	EH III Early (Lerna IV.1)

³⁷⁸ Banks 2013, 44-46.

³⁷⁹ Elevations from Banks 2013, 38, Plan 5.

³⁸⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G34. Banks 2013, 46-48.

			tops at ca. 5.08 masl ³⁸¹	
W-9 burns→	Building W-52 ³⁸²	1 (Integrated) (Rebuilt as W-56)	Floor at ca. 5.17 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.19 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.40 masl ³⁸³	EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)
W-52 burns→	Building W-56 ³⁸⁴	Integrated (Overbuilt or rebuilt (?) as W-95) ³⁸⁵	Floor at ca. 5.36 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.34 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.56 masl ³⁸⁶	EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)
W-56 burns→				



Fig. 2.20: Series W-4-W-56. After Banks 2013, Plans 4, 16, and 23.

³⁸¹ Elevations from Banks 2013, 47, Plan 6.

³⁸² Wiersma 2013, Cat. G37. Banks 2013, 114-124.

³⁸³ Elevations from Banks 2013, 114, Plan 17.

³⁸⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G39. Banks 2013, 124-128.

³⁸⁵ See Series W-95-W-96 below. In general, however, this area shifted from trapezoidal building to small apsidal structures probably auxiliary in some way to the larger Chieftain's House series houses to the north.

³⁸⁶ Elevations from Banks 2013, 125, Plan 18.

Series W-63-W-70	Megaron W-63 and Court W-68 ³⁸⁷	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-70 and W-76?)	Floor of W-63 at ca. 5.21 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.16 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.44 masl; Floor of W-68 at ca. 5.15 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.07 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.17 masl ³⁸⁸	EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)
	Building W-70 ³⁸⁹		Early floor at ca. 5.34 masl; Late floor at ca. 5.44 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.42 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.58 masl ³⁹⁰	EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)
	<i>Building W-76³⁹¹</i>		<i>Floor at ca. 5.79 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.77 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.04 masl</i>	<i>EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)</i>

³⁸⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G38. Banks 2013, 132-140. Banks (2013, 132) compares this structure to earlier EH II compact megara at Berbati (Megaron A) and Tsoungiza (House A), both of which are also rebuilt.

³⁸⁸ Elevations from Banks 2013, 133, Plan 19.

³⁸⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G40. Banks 2013, 141-145. This structure was modified at least once over the course of its history, with the addition of a dividing wall and a small apsidal addition similar to that seen in the Graben F Houses at Tiryns.

³⁹⁰ Elevations for this and the following structure from Banks 2013, 142, Plan 20.

³⁹¹ Banks 2013, 145-146. This structure is clearly a part of this cluster of trapezoidal buildings, but whether it is a pair with W-70 or a displaced stage of rebuilding is unclear.

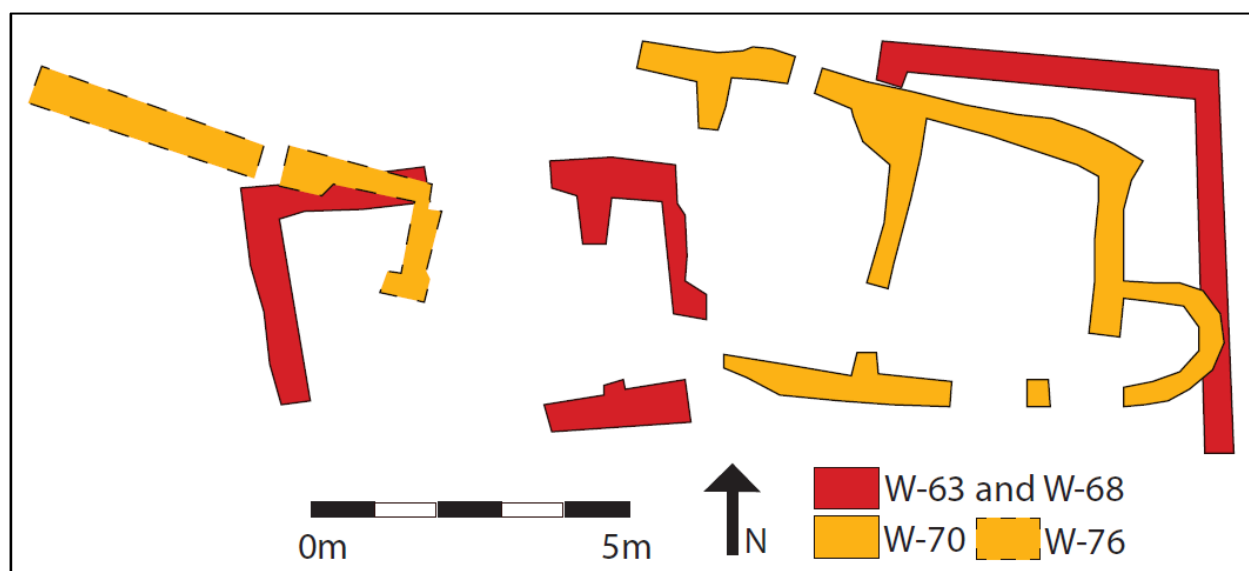


Fig. 2.21: Series W-63-W-70. After Banks 2013, Plan 16.

Series W-95-W-138 ³⁹²	Building W-95 ³⁹⁴	Integrated/Displaced (slight shift in orientation as W-96)	Wall bottoms at ca. 5.48 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.63 masl ³⁹⁵	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-96 ³⁹⁶	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-134) ³⁹⁷	Floor at ca. 5.70 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.69 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.96 masl ³⁹⁸	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-134 ³⁹⁹	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-137)	Floor at ca. 5.12 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.10 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.34 masl ⁴⁰⁰	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	<i>Building W-137⁴⁰¹</i>	<i>Integrated (Rebuilt as W-138)</i>	<i>Wall bottoms at ca. 5.35 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.50 masl</i>	<i>EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)</i>
	W-137 burns→ Building W-138 ⁴⁰²		Floor at ca. 5.50 masl; Wall	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

³⁹² The first two houses of this series are only represented by one wall for each phase; nevertheless, its close correspondence between phases and association with the “satellite” houses with W-90, which are noted by Banks for the dynamic nature of their replacement and modification (2013, 182), justifies its inclusion here. It is also worth noting that the single wall of W-95 sits directly on a wall of the trapezoidal W-56, though the construction of these series of apsidal buildings is likely to indicate a real break.

W-138 burns ³⁹³			bottoms at ca. 5.39 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.77 masl	
----------------------------	--	--	--	--

³⁹⁴ Banks 2013, 186-187.

³⁹⁵ Elevations from Banks 2013, 183, Plan 27.

³⁹⁶ Banks 2013, 187-190. Banks (2013, 190) argues that socle W-97 may represent a modification to this structure, suggesting a shift to the north of about a meter. In this case, W-97 would likely represent another reconstruction of this building.

³⁹⁷ Banks (2013, 202) argues for a next phase in MH, though she gives few details.

³⁹⁸ Elevations from Banks 2013, 188, Plan 28.

³⁹⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G53. Banks 2013, 231-234. Banks does not consider these three structures a continuation of this series, so much as a separate group, perhaps because W-134 is so destructive to the previous remains (though preserving a long wall adjacent to the structure). I associate them here both because these later structures seem to maintain general plan and they seem to continue the same relationship with the physical location.

⁴⁰⁰ Elevations for this and the following phases from Banks 2013, 227, Plan 31. They are likely lower than those of W-109 because the walls of these later houses were set more deeply in earlier layers (Banks 2013).

⁴⁰¹ Banks 2013, 234. This building is represented by a single wall.

⁴⁰² Wiersma 2013, Cat. G54. Banks 2013, 234-235.

³⁹³ A burning destruction for this house is unclear, but layer of ash was found at around the presumed floor level (Banks 2013, 235).

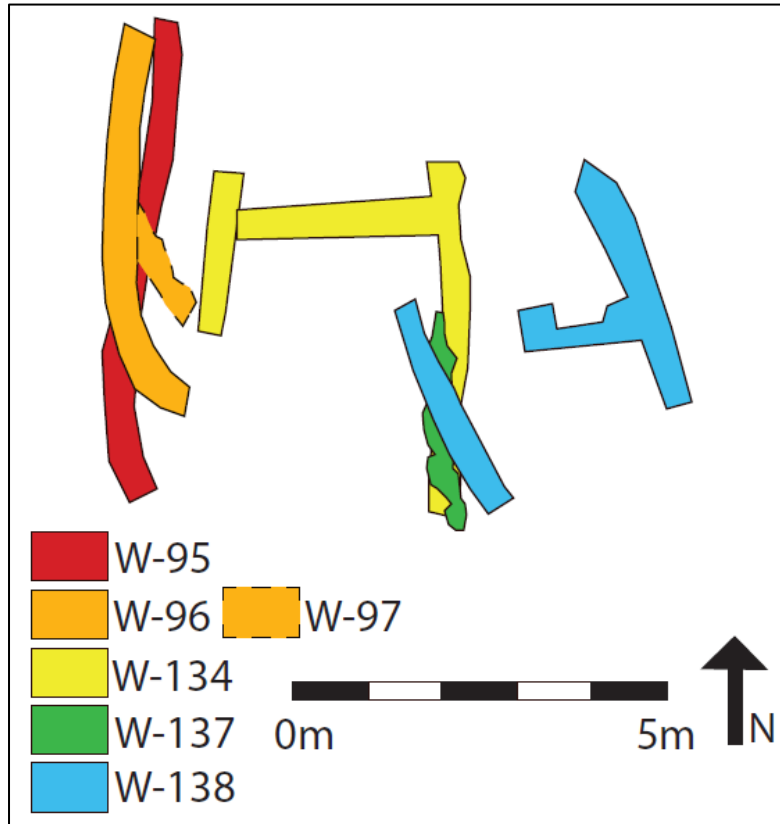


Fig. 2.22: Series W-95-W-138. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 28, and 31.

Series W-94-W-101 W-101 Early burns, W-101 Late built ⁴⁰³	Building W-94 (Posthole Building) ⁴⁰⁴	Visible? (Rebuilt as W-98) ⁴⁰⁵	Early floor at ca. 5.56 masl; Late floor at ca. 5.62 masl ⁴⁰⁶	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-98 ⁴⁰⁷	1 (Integrated) (Rebuilt as W-101)	Early floor at ca. 5.74 masl; Late floor at ca. 5.80 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.60; Wall tops at ca. 5.79 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-101 ⁴⁰⁸		Early floor at ca. 5.87 masl; Late floor at ca. 6.01 masl; Wall	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴⁰³ Banks (2013, 191, 196-197) emphasizes the strength of these fires, tentatively associating them with metalworking.

⁴⁰⁴ Banks 2013, 182-186.

W-101 Late burns			bottoms at ca. 5.84 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.09 masl ⁴⁰⁹	
------------------	--	--	---	--

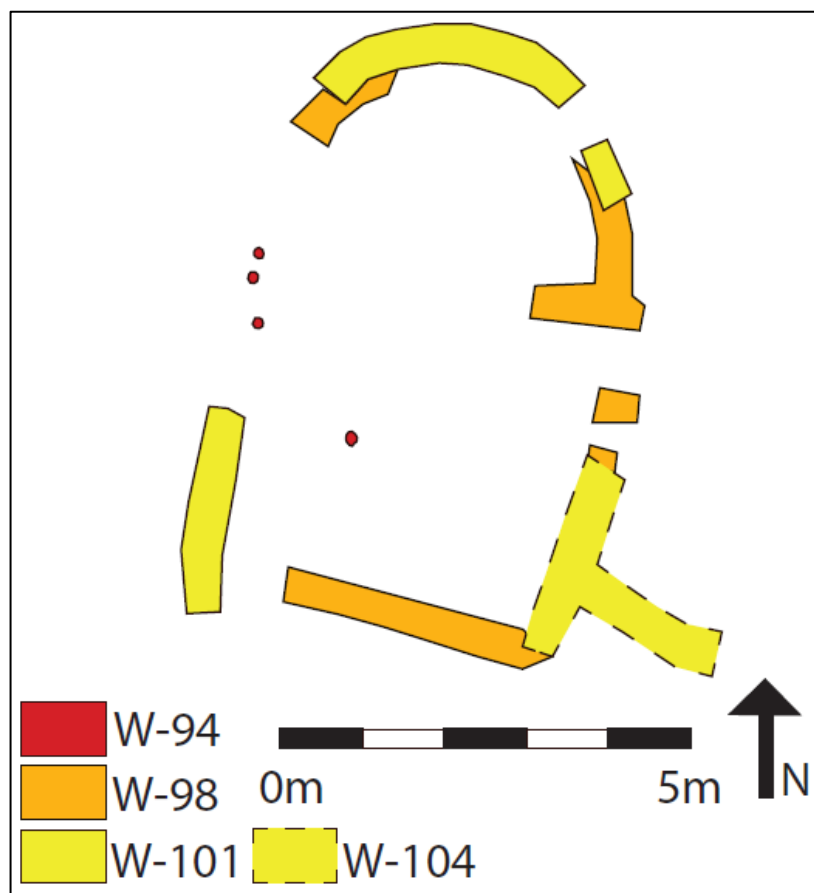


Fig. 2.23: Series W-94-W-101. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 27, and 28.

⁴⁰⁵ The form of this building is unclear as it is represented by only a handful of postholes. Banks (2013, 182) suggests that it is a similar type of wattle and daub structure as W-1, the Chieftain's House. W-94 sits directly under W-98, and it is likely that it was known, whether or not the plan was referenced, since the bottoms of the walls of W-98 are roughly at the same level with the later floor of W-94.

⁴⁰⁶ Elevations for this and the following house from Banks 2013, 183, Plan 27.

⁴⁰⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G44. Banks 2013, 190-193. Banks (2013, 191) suggests that this house is also a product of multiple building phases, representing a pastiche of earlier structures.

⁴⁰⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G49. Banks 2013, 194-197. A wall extending to the east from the southeastern portion of this structure (W-104; Banks 2013, 197) represents either an expansion or a rebuilding of the structure with significant displacement. If it is a rebuilding, its poor preservation may be explained by the later construction of building W-134, which was quite destructive for earlier architecture. An additional rebuilding is therefore likely.

⁴⁰⁹ Elevations from Banks 2013, 188, Plan 28.

Series W-105-W109 ⁴¹⁰ W-105 burns→ W-109 burns	Building W-105 ⁴¹¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-109)	Floor at ca. 5.66 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.67 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.87 masl ⁴¹²	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-109 Early ⁴¹³	Integrated (Rebuilt as W-109 Late)	Floor at ca. 5.90 masl ⁴¹⁴	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-109 Late	Displaced (Rebuilt in MH with reversed orientation) ⁴¹⁵	Early floor at ca. 6.15 masl; Late floor at ca. 6.25 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.12 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.38 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴¹⁰ Though W-109 is located over both W-105 and W-113, Banks (2013, 205) associates only W-105 with the later structure, and W-113 with the more westerly W-116. I have therefore made W-113 part of its own series, but it should be noted that it is closely related to W-105 and W-109. Indeed, as Banks remarks for the later iterations of these two series, “These two structures are very much a pair, and the slightly smaller, essentially one-stage Building W-116 might have been built as a complement to the multistage Building W-109, as the needs of the inhabitants changed.”

⁴¹¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G45. Banks 2013, 198-200.

⁴¹² Elevations from Banks 2013, 183, Plan 27.

⁴¹³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G50. Banks 2013, 200-205. For this structure alone Banks (2013, 200) describes three subphases in EH III, with a major rebuilding in MH for which details are unfortunately not provided. Only the first two phases were represented on plans, so only they have been considered here. Banks handles both phases together.

⁴¹⁴ Elevations for this and the following phase from Banks 2013, 188, Plan 28.

⁴¹⁵ Banks (2013, 202) argues for a next phase in MH, though she gives few details.

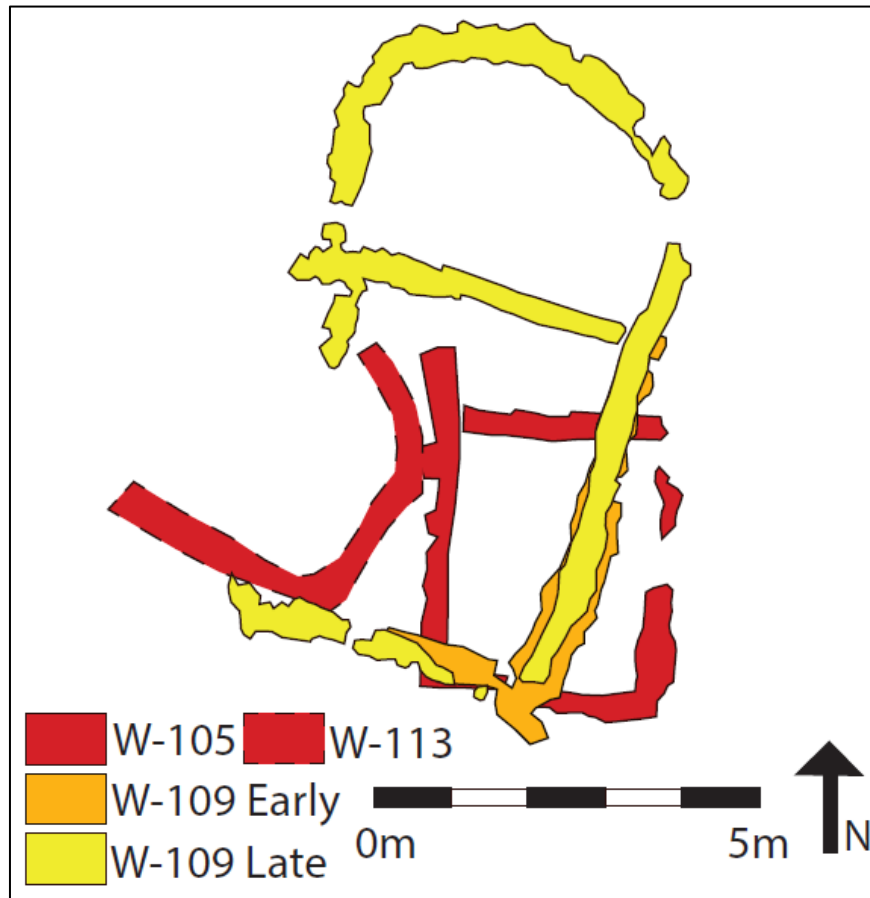


Fig. 2.24: Series W-105-W-109. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 27, and 28.

Series W-113-W116	Building W-113 ⁴¹⁶	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-115/W-116)	Floor at ca. 5.78 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 5.79; Wall tops at ca. 5.98 masl ⁴¹⁷	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Socle W-115 ⁴¹⁸	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-116)	Wall bottoms at ca. 6.00 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.16 masl ⁴¹⁹	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-116 ⁴²⁰		Floor at ca. 6.46 masl; Wall	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴¹⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G46. Banks 2013, 205-209.

⁴¹⁷ Elevations from Banks 2013, 183, Plan 27.

⁴¹⁸ Banks 2013, 209.

⁴¹⁹ Elevations for this and the following phase from Banks 2013, 188, Plan 28.

⁴²⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G51. Banks 2013, 209-211.

			bottoms at ca. 6.40 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.63 masl	
--	--	--	--	--

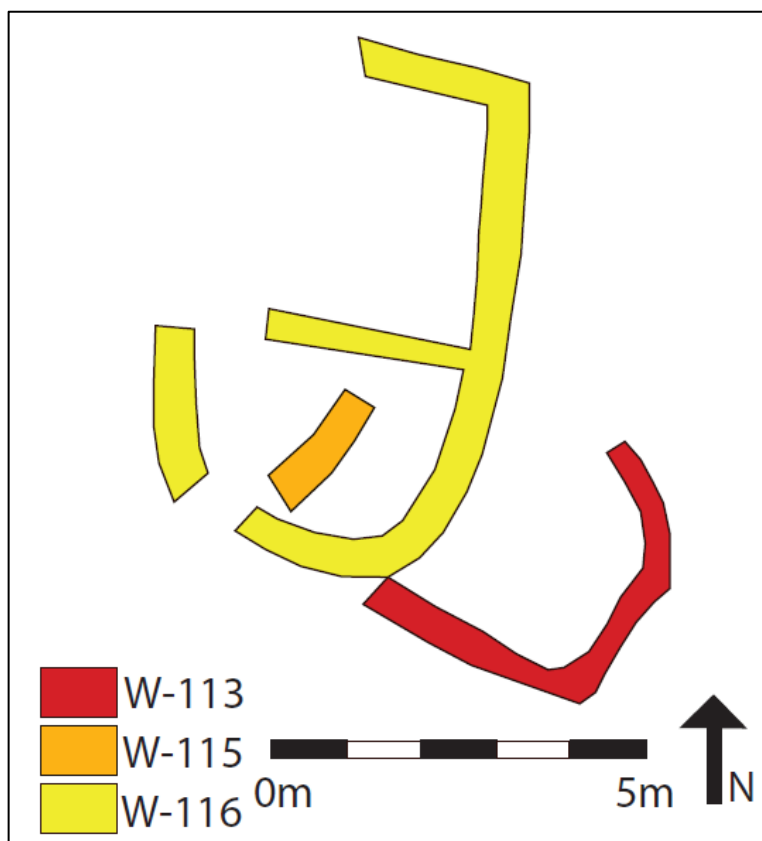


Fig. 2.25: Series W-113-W-116. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 27, 28.

Series W-124-W-125	Building W-124 ⁴²¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-125)	Wall bottoms at ca. 4.74 masl; Wall tops at ca. 4.98 masl ⁴²²	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
W-124 burns→	Building W-125 ⁴²³		Floor at ca. 5.04 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 4.98 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.18	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴²¹ This building is represented by a single thin wall running under the later wall of W-125, see Banks (2013, 218).

⁴²² Elevations from this and the following house from Banks 2013, 219, Plan 29.

⁴²³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G43. Banks 2013, 218-221. Banks (2013, 218) observes two additional building phases set over this structure later, but does not elaborate.

			masl	
--	--	--	------	--

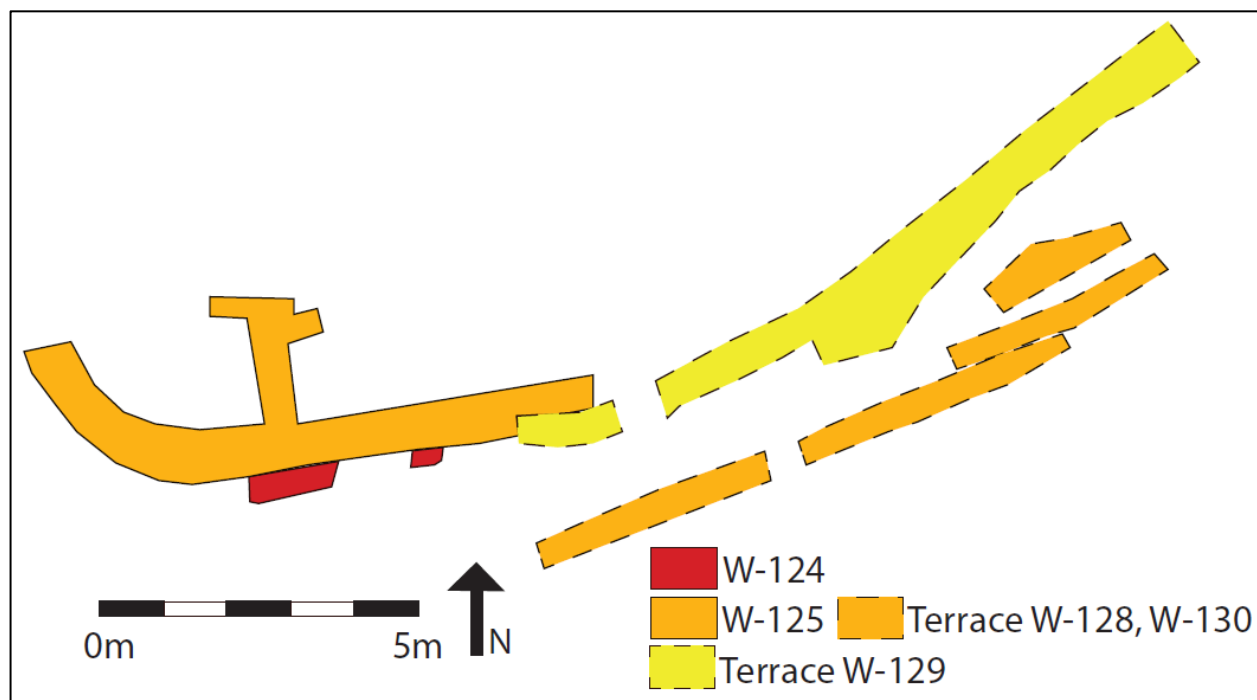


Fig. 2.26: Series W-124-W-125. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 29, and 30.

Series W-62-W-149 ⁴²⁴	Socle W-62	Integrated (Rebuilt as W-141)	Wall bottoms at ca. 5.68 masl; Wall tops at ca. 5.83 masl ⁴²⁵	EH III Middle-Late (Lerna IV.2 Late)
	Building W-141	Integrated (Rebuilt as W-143)	Wall bottoms at ca. 5.99 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.15 masl ⁴²⁶	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Socle W-143 ⁴²⁷	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-145-147)	Early floor at ca. 6.04 masl; Late floor at ca. 6.16	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴²⁴ Remains for this series are somewhat sparse, but Banks remarks several times on the frequency of rebuilding here. Probably related is the even more poorly preserved Building W-150 and its successor, represented by socle W-152, representing either shifts to the south for certain structures in this series, or a pair of related structures, as suggested by Banks. Also probably related is the socle W-144, though Banks (2013, 240, and see Plan 32) emphasizes that it is of “totally unrelated form and orientation.”

⁴²⁵ Elevations from Banks 2013, 125, Plan 18.

⁴²⁶ Elevations for this and the following phases taken from Banks 2013, 238, Plan 32.

⁴²⁷ Two floor levels were associated by Banks (2013, 238) with this phase, suggesting subphases within the frequent rebuilding and modification of this structure.

			masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.02 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.33 masl	
	Socles W-145-147	Integrated (Rebuilt as/Modified with W-148)	Wall bottoms at ca. 6.12 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.33 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Socle W-148	Integrated (Rebuilt as/Modified with W-149)	Wall bottoms at ca. 6.15 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.29 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Socle W-149		Wall bottoms at ca. 6.34 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.42 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

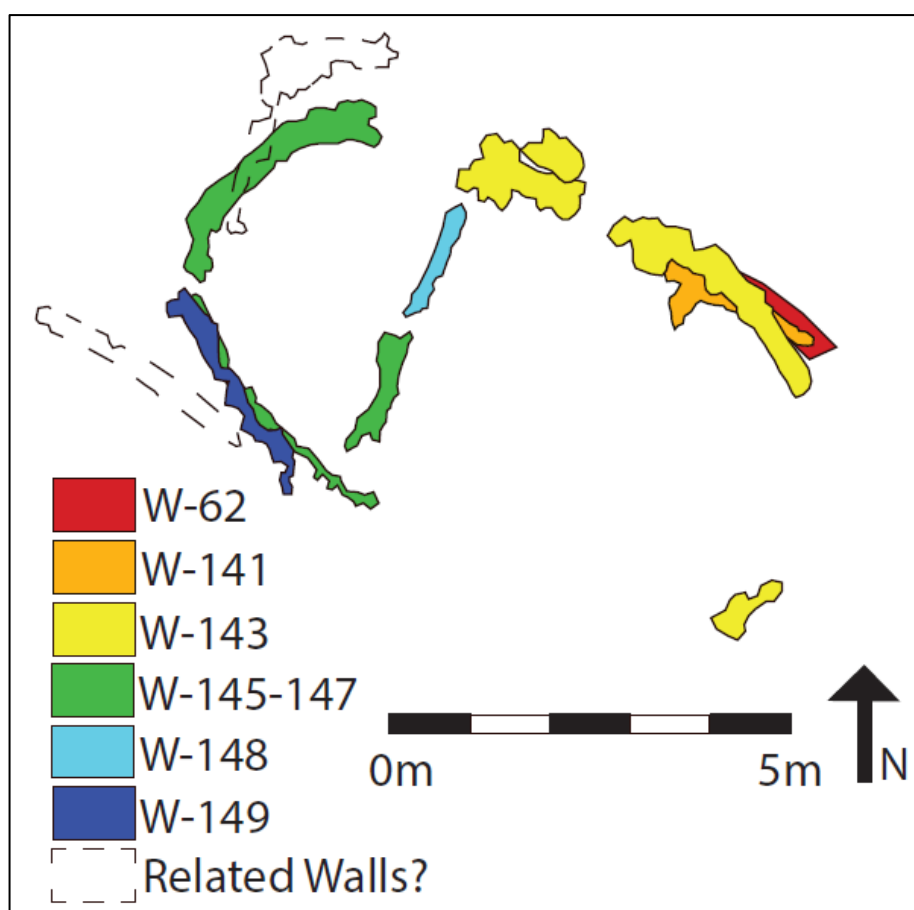


Fig. 2.27: Series W-62-W-149. After Banks 2013, Plan 16, 23, and 32.

Series W-166-	Building W-	Displaced	Floor at ca. 6.35	EH III Late
---------------	-------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------

W-173 ⁴²⁸	166 ⁴²⁹	(Rebuilt as W-168)	masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.15 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.39 masl ⁴³⁰	(Lerna IV.3)
W-166 burns→	Building W-168	Displaced (Rebuilt as W-173)	Floor at ca. 6.20 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.20 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.45 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
W-168 burns→	Building W-173 Early ⁴³¹	Integrated (Rebuilt as W-173 Late)	Floor at ca. 6.18; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.18 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.35 masl ⁴³²	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)
	Building W-173 Late	Unknown (Rebuilt as W-173 Latest) ⁴³³	Floor at ca. 6.18 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 6.48 masl; Wall tops at ca. 6.74 masl	EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)

⁴²⁸ The apsidal structure W-178 (Banks 2013,) probably forms a pair with this series and may be related.

⁴²⁹ For W-166 and the subsequent W-168, see Banks 2013, 273-275.

⁴³⁰ Elevations for this and the following house are taken from Banks 2013, 274, Plan 36.

⁴³¹ Banks 2013, 278-285. This building had minimally two phases noted by the excavators (Banks 2013, 278), though they are considered together by Banks. It is likely that the “Early” stage presented here was also preceded by a structure of which a single wall (W-177) was preserved and reused in the later iterations (Banks 2013, 279-280).

⁴³² No solid floor was found, but fragments ranged from +6.6-+6.2 (Banks 2013, 280). I have taken these elevations from the plan (Banks 2013, 279, Plan 37).

⁴³³ Banks (2013, 278) also reports an MH rebuilding of this structure, though she gives no details and the specific date is not provided.

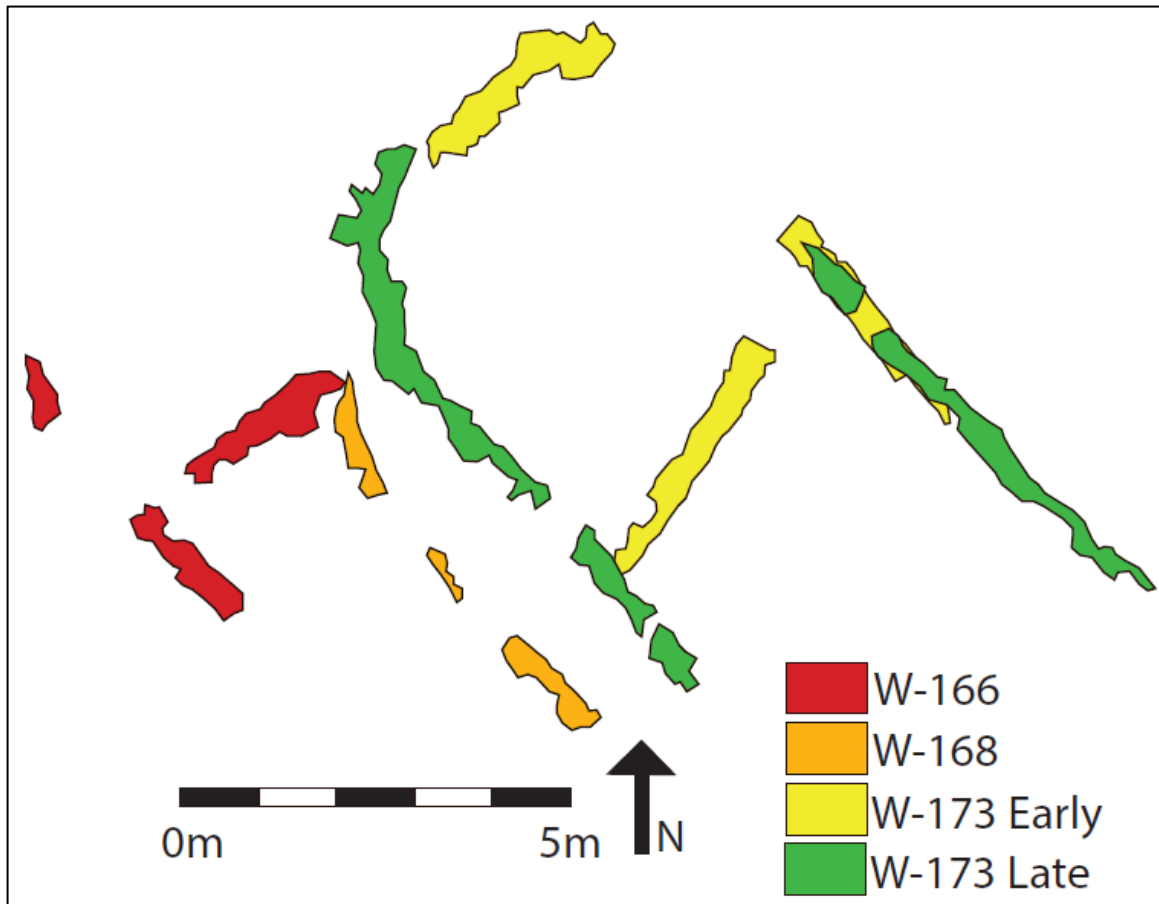


Fig. 2.28: Series W-166-W-173. After Banks 2013, Plan 23, 36, and 37.

Series W-214- House BS ⁴³⁴	<i>Building W-206</i> ⁴³⁷	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as W-211)</i>	<i>Floor at ca. 2.09 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 1.84 masl; Wall tops at ca. 2.06 masl</i> ⁴³⁸	<i>EH III Middle (Lerna IV.2)</i>
W-206 burns→	<i>Building W-211 (Boneyard)</i> ⁴³⁹	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as W-214)</i>	<i>Wall bottoms at ca. 2.10 masl; Wall tops at ca. 2.25 masl</i> ⁴⁴⁰	<i>EH III Late (Lerna IV.3)</i>
	Building W-214 (House of the Pithos) ⁴⁴¹	3 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as House of the Post Holes)	Floor at ca. 2.50 masl; Wall bottoms at ca. 2.49 masl; Wall tops at ca. 3.09 masl ⁴⁴²	EH III/MH I (Lerna IV/V Transition) ⁴⁴³
W-214	House of the	3 (Displaced)	Level	MH I (Lerna VA

⁴³⁴ This series is outside the main settlement to the northeast in Area D.

burns ⁴³⁵ →	Post Holes ⁴⁴⁴	(Rebuilt as House BS)	Unknown ⁴⁴⁵	Early)
House of the Post Holes destroyed? ⁴³⁶ → BS burns	House BS ⁴⁴⁶	Rebuilt as House BJ ⁴⁴⁷	Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna VA)

⁴³⁷ Banks 2013, 320-322. The two walls that can be firmly associated with this structure are likely to belong to different phases.

⁴³⁸ Elevations taken from Banks 2013, 321, Plan 42.

⁴³⁹ This structure has been tentatively identified by Banks (2013, 327) as a light, possibly open air unit for the disposal of portions of the animal (mostly the head) that were not useful for meat or skins. As a possible special-purpose structure, it may not belong to this sequence. It is interesting that the following house was sited on this large-scale bone deposit, and though few of these bones could be linked to the consumption of meat, they may represent some other type of deposit prior to and associated with the construction of W-214, which follows W-211 closely chronologically.

⁴⁴⁰ Elevations taken from Banks 2013, 326, Plan 43.

⁴⁴¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G58. Banks 2013, 331-332; Zerner 1978, 7-10. Both Banks (2013, 331) and Zerner (1978, 8) note two phases for this house, one late EH III, and one EH III/MH I.

⁴⁴² Elevations taken from Banks 2013, 326, Plan 44.

⁴⁴³ Dates for these houses are from Zerner 1978, 7.

⁴³⁵ The destruction of the House of the Pithos by fire is uncertain, but a large destruction deposit containing carbonized wood is possibly to be associated with the structure (Zerner 1978, 9).

⁴³⁶ Zerner (1978, 15) very briefly mentions the destruction of this building prior to the construction of BS.

⁴⁴⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G62. Zerner 1978, 12-14.

⁴⁴⁵ Levels may be approximated from sections provided by Zerner (1978), but they do not provide the degree of accuracy necessary to study small scale level change between houses.

⁴⁴⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G65. Zerner 1978, 15-17, 18. Zerner (1978, 16-17) notes at least two and possibly three floor levels for this house. Deposits for these floor levels are described by Zerner (1978, 69-81)

⁴⁴⁷ Zerner (1978, 17) mentions this probable rebuilding, but does not elaborate or describe the house.

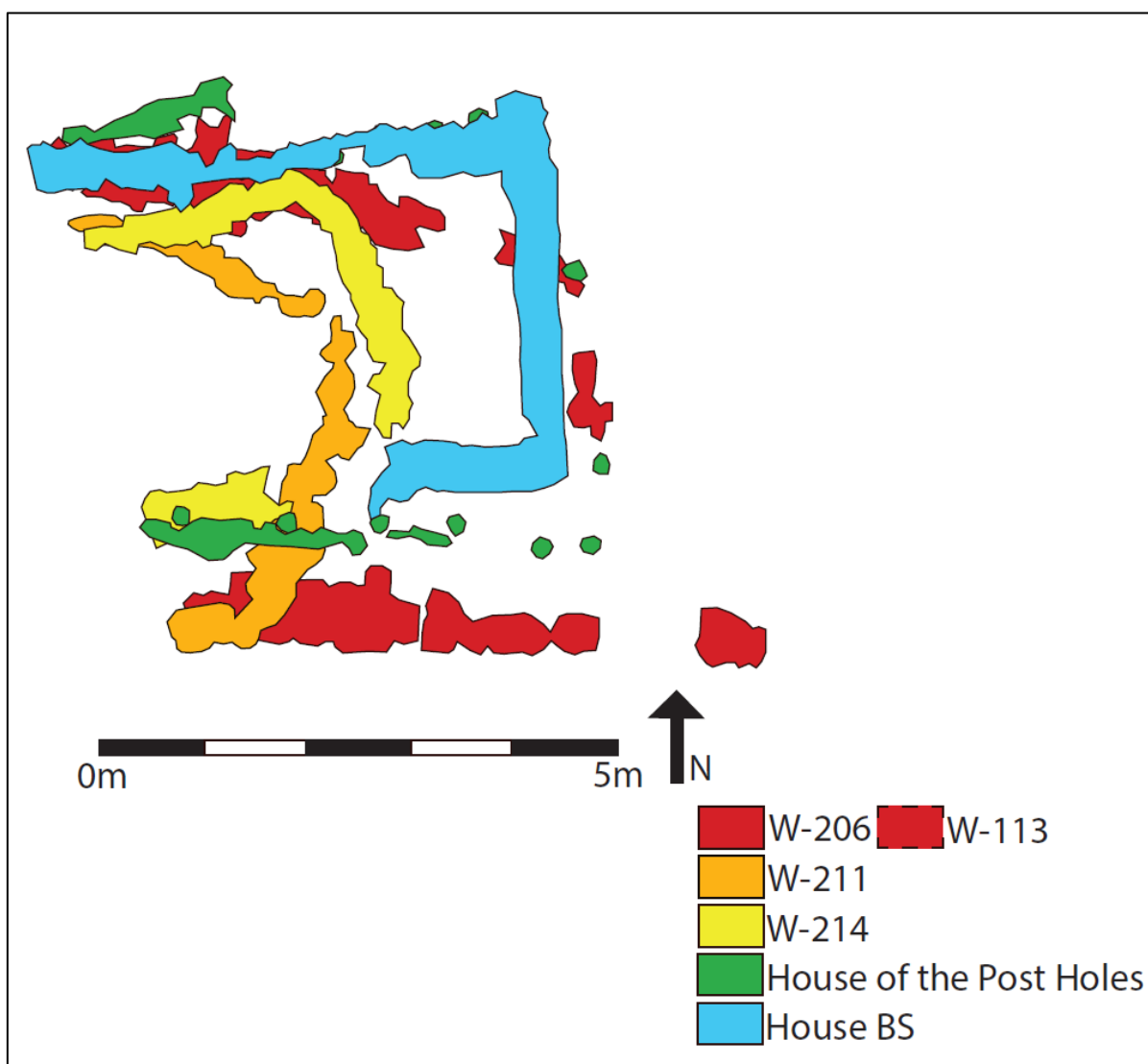


Figure 2.29: Series W-214-House BS. After Banks 2013, Plans 42 and 43; and Zerner 1978, Area D: Plans 1-3.

Series 23-20 ⁴⁴⁸	House 23 ⁴⁴⁹	Integrated (Rebuilt as House 23)	Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna VA)
23 burns→	House 20 ⁴⁵⁰	Rebuilt as House	Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna

⁴⁴⁸ Zerner (1978, 22-25) observes that walls beneath these structures are only very ambiguously related to this and the following series (Series 24-18). Wall 32 may be a part of House 24 extending to the east, but partially underlies House 23 as well. Wall 33 is likely earlier, but an occupation level was identified between Walls 32 and 33, possibly representing an earlier (burned) structure (Zerner 1978, 23-24). I have included Walls 32 and 33 in the following plans based on this rather tentative connection to the later buildings.

⁴⁴⁹ Zerner 1978, 28-29.

⁴⁵⁰ Zerner 1978, 29-30.

20 burns→		15 ⁴⁵¹		VA)
-----------	--	-------------------	--	-----

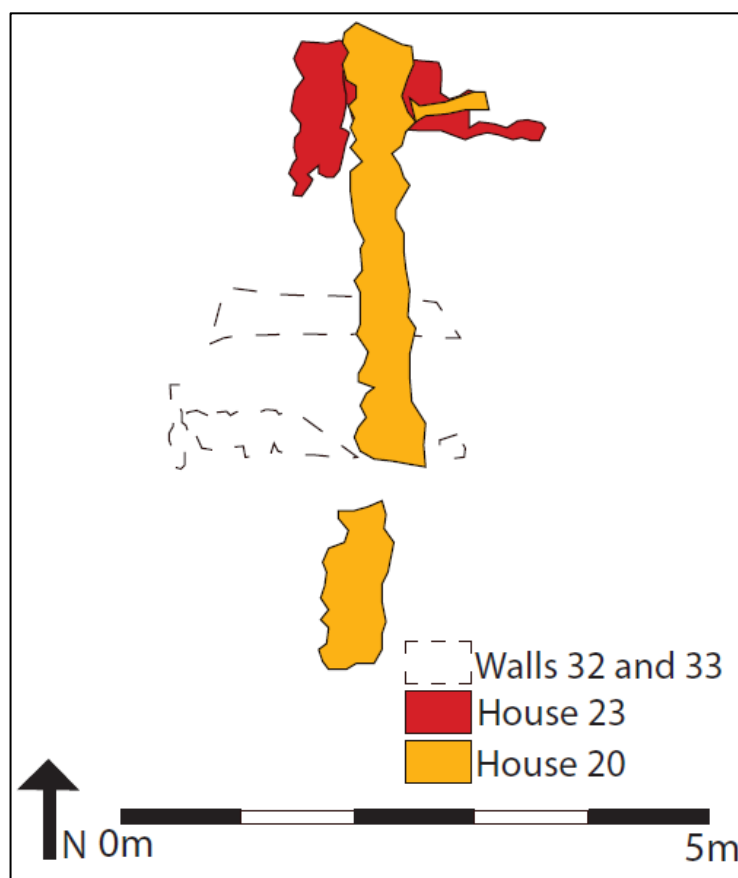


Fig. 2.30: Series 23-20. After Zerner 1978, Fig. 5.

Series 24-18 ⁴⁵²	House 24 ⁴⁵³	Displaced (Rebuilt as House 18)	Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna VA)
24 burns→	House 18 ⁴⁵⁴		Level Unknown	MH I (Lerna VA Late)

⁴⁵¹ Zerner (1978, 30-31) once again comments that House 20 was rebuilt as House 15, but does not describe the later house except to say that it dates to Lerna VB.

⁴⁵² The earlier Wall 32 may be an eastern extension of House 24, or it may be part of an earlier structure with Wall 33 (Zerner 1978, 23).

⁴⁵³ Zerner 1978, 25-28. A long habitation sequence is noted by Zerner (1978, 27) for this building, though separate floors could not be identified.

⁴⁵⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G66. Zerner 1978, 30.

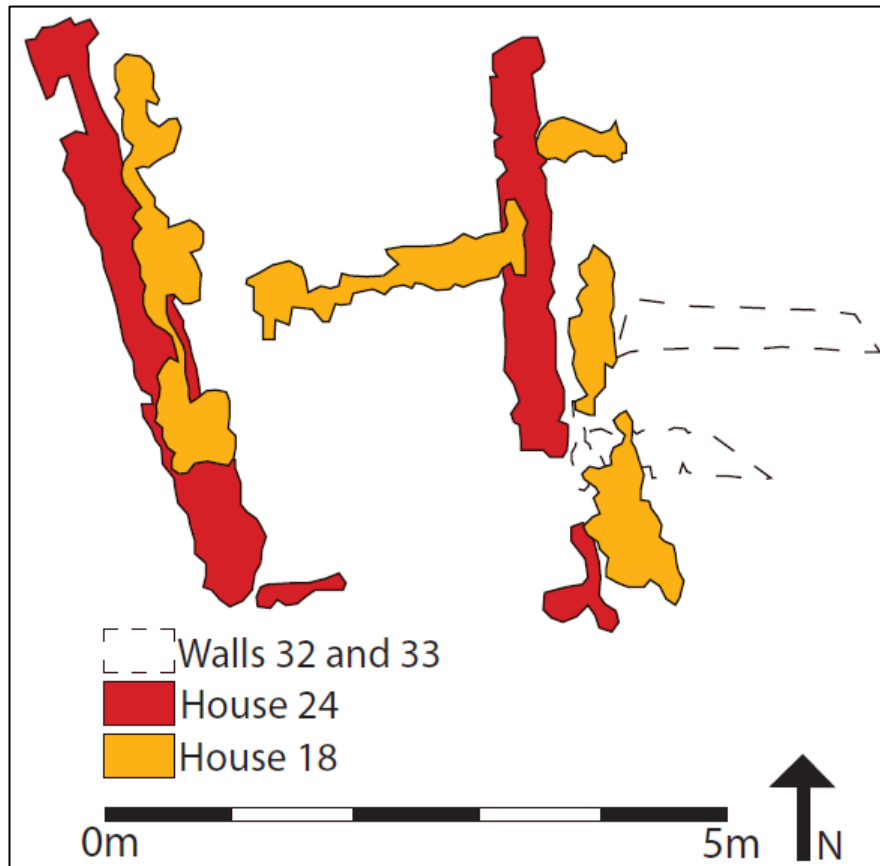


Fig. 2.31: Series 18-24. After Zerner 1978, Fig. 5.

Series D-M D burns→	House D ⁴⁵⁵	3 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as M)	First floor at ca. 4.96 masl; Second floor at 5.10 masl (?) ⁴⁵⁶	MH I (Lerna VA)
	House M ⁴⁵⁷		First floor at ca. 5.70 masl	MH II (Lerna VC)

⁴⁵⁵ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G60. Zerner 1978, 46; Caskey 1955, 30-32; 1954, 16. House D has at least two phases, the first of which came to a close following an earthquake, after which the building was repaired, only to burn again.

⁴⁵⁶ The first floor level for this structure is derived from Caskey (1955, 30); the second is the original projected earliest floor, proposed the previous year by Caskey (1954, 16).

⁴⁵⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G68. Caskey 1954, 13-16. Caskey (1954, 15) notes no fewer than four destructions of House M by fire, but only one of these shows signs of rebuilding of foundations at the southeast side of the house, suggesting a long-standing reuse of foundations for this structure.



Fig. 2.32: Series D-M. After Caskey 1955, Fig. 2.

Commentary: I have already discussed Lerna for some length in Chapter 1 above. It is clear and accepted that house replacement is a common phenomenon at this site.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, as discussed below, it is near ubiquitous among the better published houses. It is worth observing that the idea that rebuilding practices are especially prolific from EH III-MH II owes much to the high quantity of (EH III especially) published houses from Lerna. Rebuilding does clearly continue into the MH period here, and in very limited cases to the end of the period, suggesting the maintenance of this practice throughout the life of the settlement.⁴⁵⁹ Similarly, rebuilding was

⁴⁵⁸ Banks (2013, 343-367) comments on this characteristic of Lerna, tentatively associating it with metallurgical activities and repair to structures made after expeditions to gain desirable materials for metalworking. See also Caskey 1965; Wiersma 2013, 136; Weiberg and Lindblom 2014.

⁴⁵⁹ Later episodes of rebuilding at Lerna include the ongoing Chieftain's House series, Building W-109, Building W-125, Houses D and M, houses in Area D, and continued rebuilding over the tumulus (W-173 and W-178).

not limited to the central area of the settlement east of the tumulus, but was apparently a ritual accessible to the inhabitants of Lerna across the site, as shown by the series **W-214 (House of the Pithos)-House BS** in Area D to the northeast. Not only were houses rebuilt, but they were also continuously modified, with regular replacement of floors and hearths in many of these structures in between full-scale rebuilding.⁴⁶⁰ The regularity of these minor replacement practices is notable because it highlights the more occasional nature of house destruction and rebuilding, and also of the displacement of the domestic structure, i.e. the substitutive quality of rebuilding at Lerna. Following several destructions in **House M**, for example, including one possibly enacted on the death of a child, the foundations were simply reused, though the structure had originally displaced from the earlier **House D**. Clearly, then, a range of possible solutions to house rebuilding existed and were utilized by the living inhabitants of these structures, with house displacement representing both continuity and discontinuity, a deliberate break with past houses and households.

The location of the early houses on the borders of the tumulus over the House of the Tiles also carries connotations of continuity and discontinuity, as does the tumulus itself. Weiberg and Lindblom are likely correct in proposing that **W-1**, the first house in the **Chieftain's House** series, in many ways was meant as a replacement for the House of the Tiles itself, situated directly over its main entrance, possibly with the foundations of the earlier corridor house still visible around it.⁴⁶¹ It is this prominence of location, and the relative size of the houses in this series, that has led to their identification with a relatively influential—if not leading—group at

⁴⁶⁰ See Banks (2013, 148-150) for an account of the rebuilding and reuse of a hearth/bothros B-70 that reads very much like a house-rebuilding event at a much smaller scale.

⁴⁶¹ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 397, 398.

the site, or minimally, an arena for communal functions and social negotiation. There are other large-scale apsidal structures at the site, including the later **W-173** and **W-178**, the placement of which on the tumulus itself may be an even more direct claim to the legacy of the House of the Tiles, though the houses are certainly much later.⁴⁶² The pairing of these structures—and the structures of the **Chieftain's House** series with the apsidal houses to the north (**W-39-Rooms 44 and 45**)—must be a result of social organization at EH III Lerna from a relatively early date. The meaning of this apparent affiliation between houses is unclear, but is likely to represent in some way factional or kinship-based connections—purely speculatively, perhaps related to marriage (husband-wife, mother-father of husband and/or wife). The occurrence of multiple groups of large paired apsidal buildings simultaneously probably indicates groups of similar social make-up active in the settlement at the end of EH III. The difference at this point between these and the Chieftain's House group is the duration of the claim to the space and the perpetuation of the series until the end of habitation at the settlement.

A recurring motif in Banks' publication is the possible presence of metallurgical activity in many of the rebuilt structures. Though the evidence for this activity is not abundant, it is present in several of the houses to the east of the tumulus, as well as outside this immediate area (Bothros-68 at the SW of the tumulus). Though the metallurgical material is most concentrated in **W-1** and **W-86**, in the **Chieftain's House** series, and in affiliated structures, **W-98** and **W-101**, as well as perhaps **W-141** farther to the south, it is interesting that there is evidence for this activity outside this region as well, though the site is fairly small.⁴⁶³ Banks is, though, probably

⁴⁶² In my view, the numerous bothroi associated with these structures are not problematic for the notion of respect toward the tumulus, as many of them probably did eventually serve to cache the destroyed remains of houses. The bothroi, then, may actually further the connection between the new apsidal buildings and the old House of the Tiles, reinforcing notions of house cycles and the renewal or recreation of the past.

⁴⁶³ Banks 2013, 82, 100, 167-169, 178, 243, 343-367. W-1 had a mold for a copper chisel and an associated working space to the north (Banks 2013, 82, 100). W-86 Early was associated with six crucibles, copper residue, and

correct to associate the apparently influential group at the east of the tumulus with this craft, at least at certain points in its history.⁴⁶⁴ It is possible that metal-working and house replacement both act as status activities to some degree, particularly if house-burning is seen as a sort of potlatch ritual. In such a case, families with the means to enact house-burning might naturally have greater access to materials and technology for metalworking as well, perhaps explaining the intensity of these activities at the east side of the tumulus. Nevertheless, rebuilding is not limited to these houses or this area, so no clear correlation between the activities can be established.

The organization of the EH III settlement at Lerna is quite similar to that of EH III Tiryns, perhaps expressing some regionalism. Treatment of the houses and their arrangement around a tumulus are, however, also quite similar to the EH III settlement at Olympia. Lerna may well have had connections with both sites, but there may also be a more or less common conception of the house and its treatment in the EH III Peloponnese. At Lerna and Tiryns, Weiberg and Lindblom have stressed the increasingly “private and individual” nature of these houses, which seems to be a good model for other EH III sites as well.⁴⁶⁵ For Lerna in particular, they suggest the initial maintenance of some public functions of the House of the Tiles, drastically changed in form and scale, prior to “the reformulation of the area from an official and communal undertaking to a residential quarter with individual households.”⁴⁶⁶ This interpretation

abundant ash (in Bothros B-102) (Banks 2013, 168), while another crucible fragment was found in material from W-86 Late (Banks 2013, 175-176). A possible crucible hearth was recovered from W-98, possibly related to the large hearth of the successor building W-101, and these structures may also be affiliated with the Chieftain’s house series (Banks 2013, 191, 197). Outside of this group (though not far), W-141 also contained a crucible, sizeable hearth, and a pit of pebbles that may have been used to hold crucibles or molds (Banks 2013, 238-239, 243). All of these contexts are late in the EH III sequence.

⁴⁶⁴ Banks 2013, 343-367.

⁴⁶⁵ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 399.

⁴⁶⁶ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 401.

is based in part on the association of these buildings with probable public spaces, which are slowly overtaken by house construction. The picture is, however, somewhat complicated by the introduction of major terracing projects at the end of EH III and into the MH period, particularly at the southeastern edge of the settlement.⁴⁶⁷ In form, these terraces strongly resemble contemporary walls around the House F series at Korakou. I return to this point below, but such efforts are indicative of larger-scale communal activities, suggesting some corporately-driven activity at the site by this point as well. It is hard to surmise what may have happened after this point, but the settlement is abandoned to funerary use by the end of the MH period.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 56/109, ca. **51%** (max); 48/109, ca. **44%** (min). The minimum number was reached from the removal of uncertain rebuilding episodes and of the sparsely-represented rebuildings in Series **W-141**. Banks reports around 76 buildings just for the main settlement of EH III Lerna, though many of these have multiple phases (as, for instance, **W-141**), adding an additional 17 (most of them from Area D) for a total of 93 EH III buildings at the site. Zerner's work on MH Lerna and Milka's assessment of intramural burial in the later MH houses of the main area of the settlement add a further 14 later structures, while Wiersma catalogues 2 final houses. The total number of houses I have used here is then the sum of these parts, at about 109. This number represents by far the most houses at any single site considered here, so it is noteworthy that the rate of rebuilding is also rather high in spite of the number of poorly preserved or partially published houses, for which nothing can be said about phasing or rebuilding episodes. It is likewise certain to rise with more thorough publication of structures only briefly mentioned in preliminary reports; for instance, Caskey reports that **House**

⁴⁶⁷ Banks 2013, 223-225; Caskey 1956, 160-161.

Q was “remodeled at least once,” and little else is known about the structure.⁴⁶⁸ For the 36 more or less well-published houses catalogued by Wiersma, around 33 are included in a series—the better-known houses are almost invariably rebuilt. It is clear that many of the phases represented above have subphases that did not show architectural change, but were recoverable only from rising floor levels, demonstrating regular renewal of the structure at a smaller scale.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

For Lerna, I have already handled much of the evidence for possible ritual related to house-burning, which does seem secure at the site, above in Chapter 1. Here I merely note that my model for house replacement fits Lerna well because I have used Lerna as the paradigm for this behavior. Evidence for house burial and the deliberate caching of burned material is very strong, as noted in Chapter 1.⁴⁶⁹ Likewise, I have already discussed the best candidates for termination deposits, and intramural burial at the site has been a major source of discussion, and is perhaps best characterized—if only briefly—by Milka.⁴⁷⁰

It may be worth observing that the best sequence of house-burning at the site takes place in the buildings identified by Weiberg and Lindblom as the site of probable public ceremony, including the **Chieftain’s House** sequence and the trapezoidal buildings (**W-4-W-56**) to the

⁴⁶⁸ Caskey 1954, 16.

⁴⁶⁹ See also Banks’ (2013, 416) comments on this phenomenon, though she does not see it as meaningful so much as purely practical.

⁴⁷⁰ Milka 2010; Blackburn 1970.

south.⁴⁷¹ These episodes of replacement may corroborate their interpretation of the site and of these areas in particular as a place of “constant renegotiation or substitution of values” at this time.⁴⁷² The continuation of termination deposits into the MH period may be attested by a deposit of arrowheads and other tools in the burned debris of **House 24** in Area BD, though rather early in Lerna V.⁴⁷³ **House M** also showed evidence of a termination deposit (several stone tools, ceramic vessels, spindle whorls, and pieces mother of pearl) at the time of its first destruction.⁴⁷⁴ The skeleton of a child was found on the floor associated with the third occupation of **House M**, and may have been “buried” there, with the house destruction forming part of the funeral ritual (see Ayios Stephanos and Berbati for comparanda), though Caskey suggests that the child may have died in the fire.⁴⁷⁵

Tiryns (Tell)⁴⁷⁶

Unterbург Late “West Sequence” Series ⁴⁷⁷	Rooms 142, 145-148	Integrated (Rebuilt as 142-144)	Level Unknown	EH II (Horizon 8b)
	Rooms 142-144 ⁴⁷⁸	Integrated (Rebuilt as 141)	Level Unknown	EH III (Horizon 9)
	Room 141 ⁴⁷⁹		Level Unknown	EH III (Horizon 10-13)

⁴⁷¹ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 401.

⁴⁷² Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 404.

⁴⁷³ Zerner 1978, 26-27.

⁴⁷⁴ Caskey 1954, 15.

⁴⁷⁵ Caskey 1954, 16.

⁴⁷⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A7.

⁴⁷⁷ This series is derived from Weiberg’s (2007, 122) West Sequence, which does not include Room 141, although she tentatively associates it with this group (2007, 125).

⁴⁷⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G70. Kilian 1981, 189.

⁴⁷⁹ Kilian 1981, 187, 189.

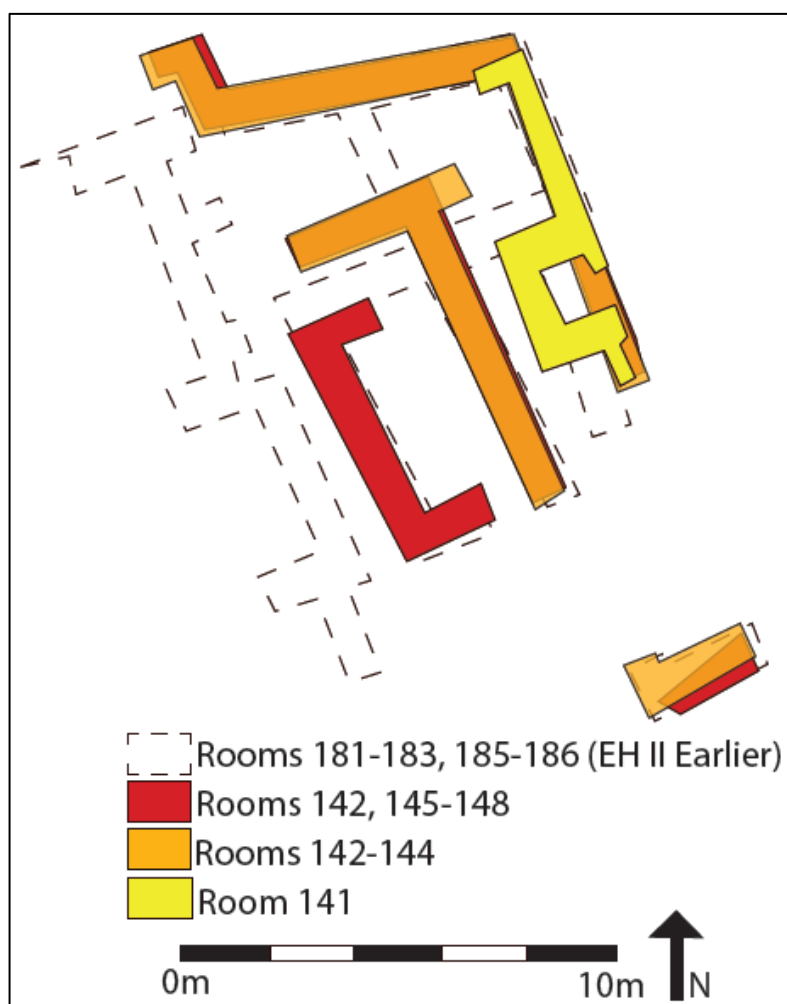


Fig. 2.33: Unterburg Late “West Sequence” Series. After Kilian 1981, Abb. 44 a-b; 1983, Abb. 39 a-b; and Weiberg 2007, Fig. 26. Rooms 142-144 have been rendered partially transparent to show the underlying levels. The previous EH II structure, representing a long history of reuse, is given for reference.

House 161 Series ⁴⁸⁰	House 161 Earliest ⁴⁸¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as House 161 Early)	Level Unknown	EH III (Horizon 10-13)
------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---	---------------	---------------------------

⁴⁸⁰ Kilian 1981, 186; 1982, 420; Weiberg 2007, 126. Kilian notes “at least” two phases beneath this house, but gives no details and no plan showing the phases. A photo of the house provided by Kilian (1981, 187, Abb. 43) does appear to show at least one certain earlier phase at a slightly different orientation just beneath the later walls.

⁴⁸¹ I have seen no plan or photos that clearly identify this phase of building for House 161. Kilian (1981, 186) simply observes that the two earlier phases reported by him are “similarly” oriented (“gleichorientierten Vorgängern”), which I take to mean slightly displaced. It is possible that this phase is represented in the photo mentioned above (1981, 187, Abb. 43). I have presented my interpretation of the phasing of this building as best as I can determine from this photo, but further publication may reveal errors, and the phasing as provided should be considered tentative.

	House 161 Early ⁴⁸²	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House 161)	Level Unknown	EH III (Horizon 10-13)
	House 161		Level Unknown	EH III (Horizon 10-13)

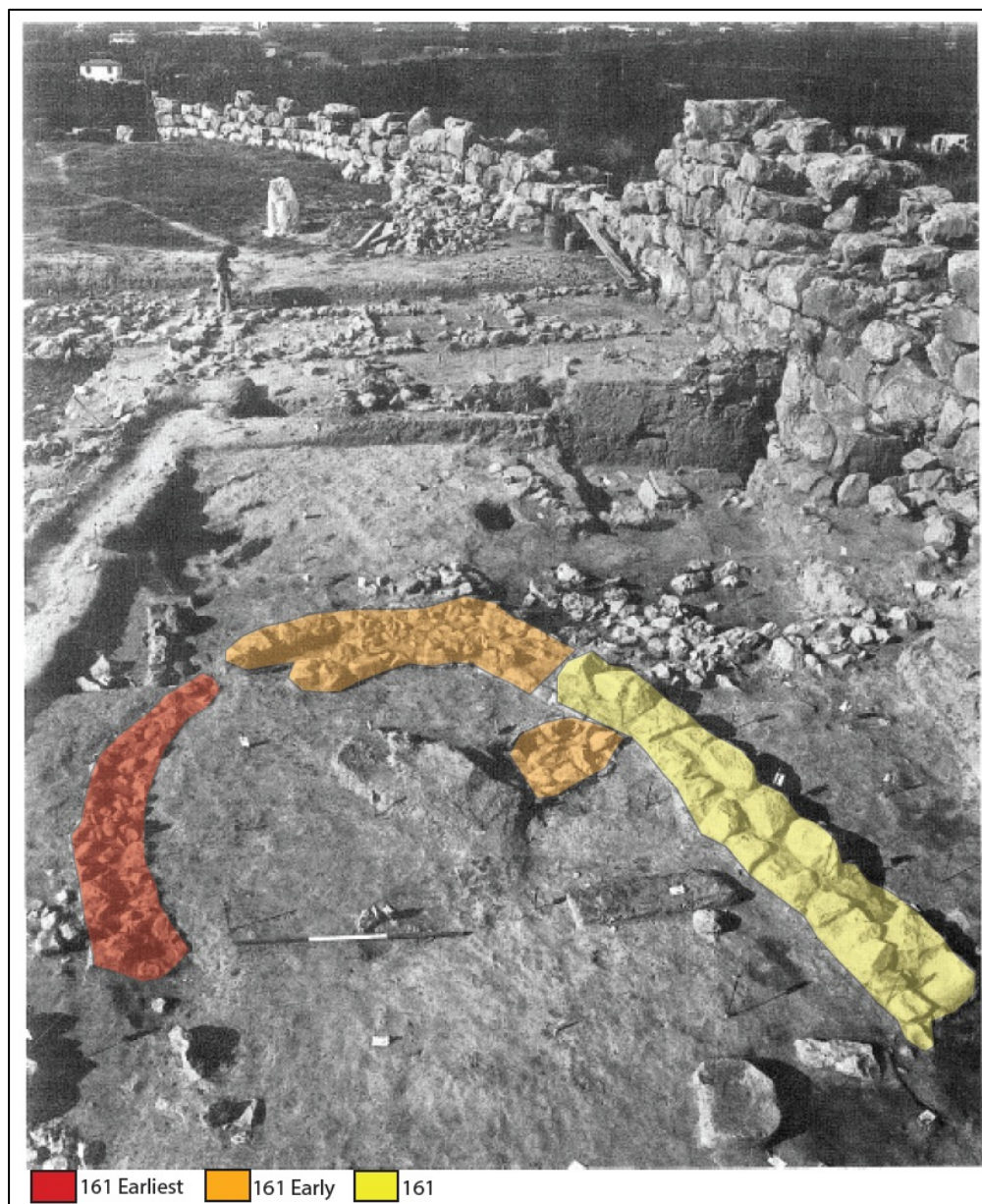


Fig. 2.34: House 161 Series. After Kilian 1981, Abb. 43. Phasing suggestions here are very tentative.

⁴⁸² This phase as I have represented it below may simply be the continuation of the later house at a lower level, where it was destroyed by early Mycenaean activity. Kilian (1981, 188, Abb. 44a) does not, however, represent this part of the building in his schematic plan, so I have taken it to be an earlier phase.

House 168 Series ⁴⁸³	House 168 ⁴⁸⁴	Integrated (Rebuilt as Post-168)	Level Unknown	EH III ⁴⁸⁵
	Post-168	Integrated (Rebuilt as 168 Late)	Level Unknown	EH III
	House 168 Late	Integrated (Rebuilt as 168 Later)	Level Unknown	EH III
	House 168 Later	Integrated (Rebuilt as 168 Latest)	Level Unknown	EH III
	House 168 Latest		Level Unknown	EH III

⁴⁸³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G72; Kilian 1982, 420, 422, Abb. 40; Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 398; Weiberg 2007, 126. Again, though four phases are noted, they are not all clearly distinguishable in the photo provided, and so specific rebuildings proposed here can only be tentative. Nothing is mentioned of the destruction of House 168 or its later phases of use, and the method of rebuilding (integrated) is surmised for all phases based on the close “stacking” of the walls visible in Kilian’s photograph (1982, Abb. 40).

⁴⁸⁴ Wiersma (2013, 201) mentions a possible rebuilding of House 165 (Cat. G71). I could find no mention of this episod elsewhere, and it is possible that House 168 was intended.

⁴⁸⁵ Wiersma (2013, 522) argues that the original phases of this house may be EH II, but Kilian (1982, 420) appears (if only vaguely) to imply an EH III date for all phases, and Weiberg follows this assessment (2007, 126, 149). The beginning date is, however, relatively unimportant to the argument here, though it does complicate any establishment of the duration of use of the structure.

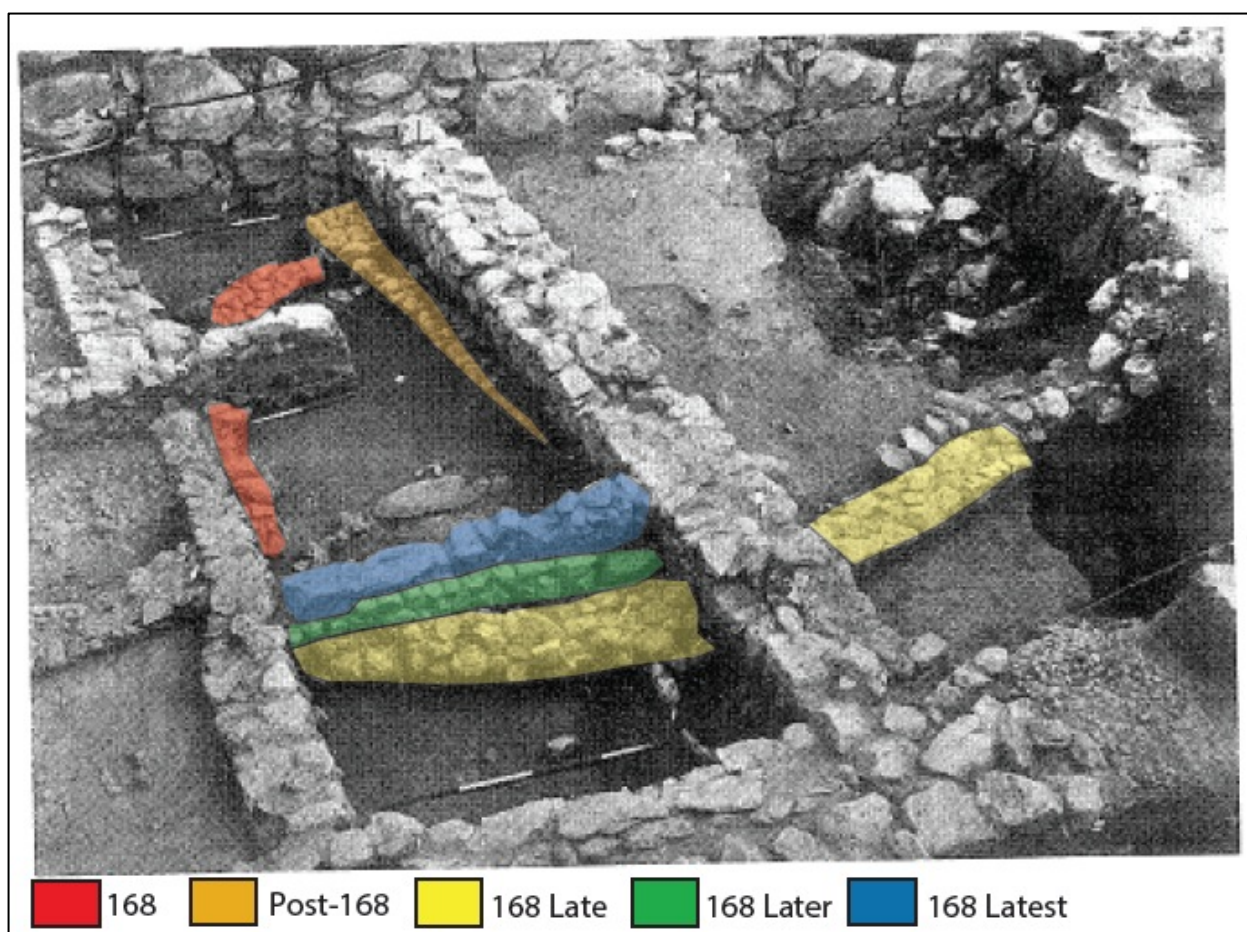


Fig. 2.35: House 168 Series. After Kilian 1982, Abb. 40. Phasing suggestions here are very tentative.

Series D2-D1⁴⁸⁶	<i>Pre-D2⁴⁸⁸</i>	<i>Integrated/Displaced (Rebuilt as D2)</i>	Wall tops at ca. 4.49 masl ⁴⁸⁹	<i>MH III?⁴⁹⁰</i>
	House D2⁴⁹¹	Integrated (Rebuilt as House D1)	Wall tops at ca. 5.00 masl	MH III ⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁶ This series is one of the late episodes of rebuilding identified by Wiersma (2013, 219-220). Haus M overbuilds this series in LH IIIB and may be related, and the LH IIIC Megaron W is built in the adjacent area along very much the same orientation as D1, and may be a very late iteration. The orientation and plan of M are quite different, however, and may suggest a break. See Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 18-26, Beilage 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 20. Only three walls have been tentatively attributed to this building, and little is known about it.

⁴⁸⁹ Elevations for this and the following phases are averaged from levels given by Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel (1975, Beilage 3).

D2 burns ⁴⁸⁷ →	House D1 ⁴⁹³		Wall tops at ca. 5.37 masl	LH IIB
---------------------------	-------------------------	--	-------------------------------	--------

⁴⁹⁰ No firm dates are given for these walls, and Lambropoulou (1991, 273) notes an absence of any early to middle MH pottery published from the area. The ceramics in the D1-D2 area are noted for an apparently continuous transition through the late MH period and into the early LH (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 26).

⁴⁹¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G76. Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 19-20.

⁴⁹² The use of this house may extend into the LH I period based on ceramic finds (Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 24, 26).

⁴⁸⁷ Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 19, 26.

⁴⁹³ Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 18-19.

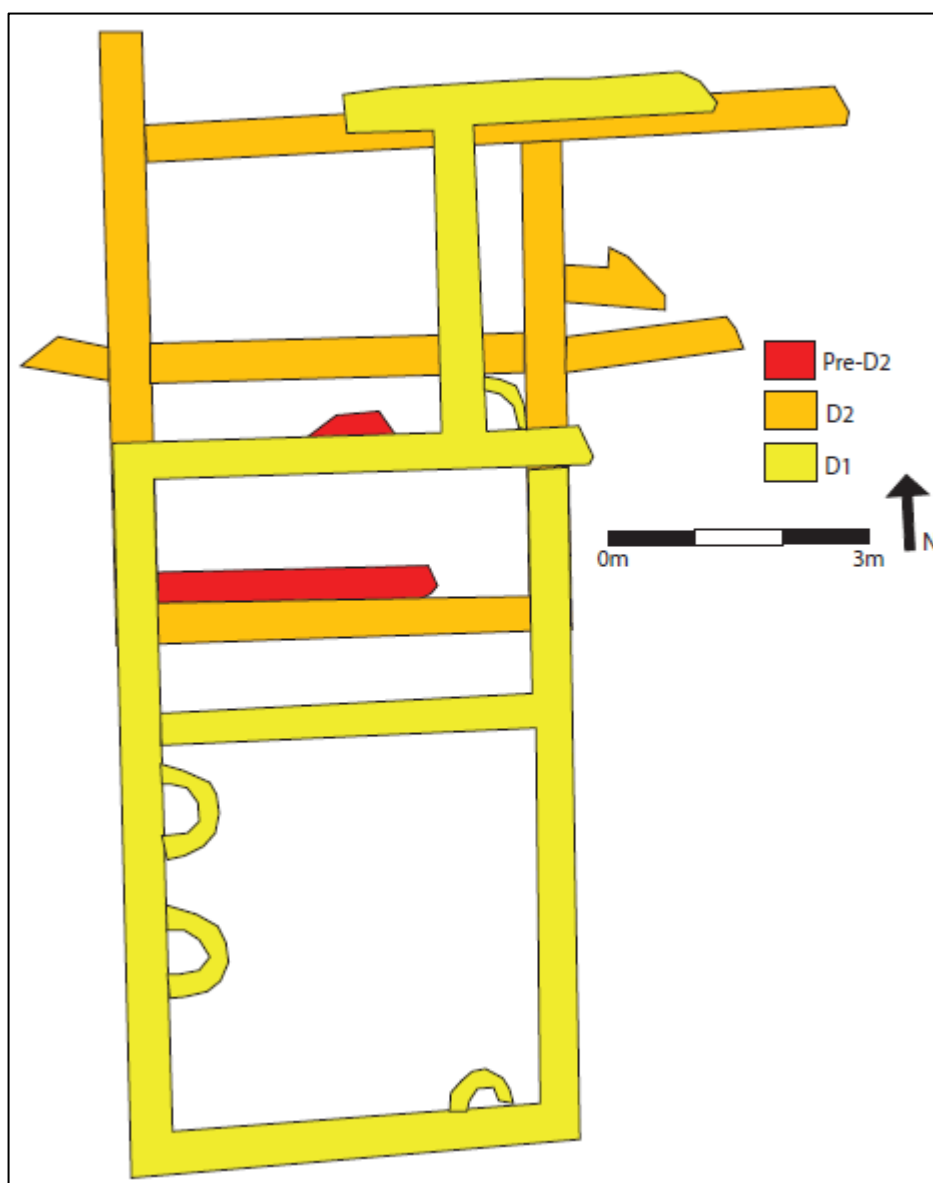


Fig. 2.36: Series D2-D1. After Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, Beilage 4.

Graben F South Series ⁴⁹⁴	F West House Early ⁴⁹⁵	Integrated (Rebuilt as West)	Wall tops at ca. 6.46 masl ⁴⁹⁶	MH III/LH I ⁴⁹⁷
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------	---	----------------------------

⁴⁹⁴ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G74 (East) and G75 (West). Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 7-8; Lambropoulou 1991, 269-270. Wiersma recognizes the multiple phases of these houses, referred to by her as “Western House-Trench F” and “Eastern House-Trench F” but does not consider it a true rebuilding. I have based my terminology on Wiersma’s for clarity, though Gercke and Hiesel and Lambropoulou seem to refer to the original house as the southwestern house of trench F. As far as I can tell, they do not describe the southeastern house except for a very brief mention (Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 8), presumably due to a lack of information left by the original excavators.

⁴⁹⁵ Whether the walls representing this house actually formed a full house—or merely small portions of walls that were later modified—is unknown. Gercke and Hiesel (1971, 7-8) indicate that the ash layer at the level of the earlier (scorched) walls may be best explained by the destruction of the proposed earlier house, of which the foundations must have been methodically reused. Even so, no other walls show signs of multiple phases in the photographs and

West House Early burns→		House Late)		
	F West House Late	Displaced (Rebuilt as East House?) ⁴⁹⁸	Wall tops at ca. 6.65 masl	LH I/II
West House Late burns	<i>F East House</i>		Level Unknown	LH I/II ⁴⁹⁹

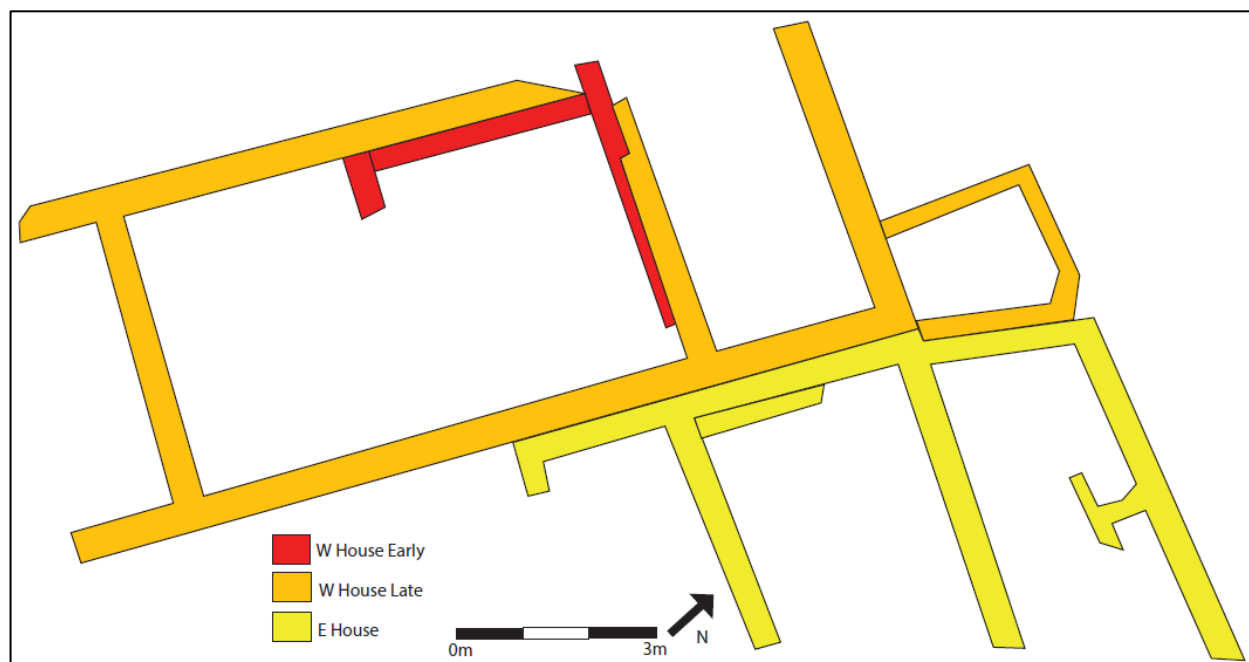


Fig. 2.37: Graben F South Series. After Gercke and Hiesel 1971, Beilage 4. Early phase walls are uncertain, with the exception of the northern transverse wall.

plans examined for their study, so the earlier house is debatable. I argue for it here for the reasons above, and because of the apparently long-lived practice of careful reuse of foundations at Tiryns.

⁴⁹⁶ Elevations for this series are taken from Gercke and Hiesel 1971, Beilage 4.

⁴⁹⁷ Lambropoulou (1991, 270) gives the date of LH I for this house based on reanalysis of the floor deposit. Gercke and Hiesel (1971, 7-8) had suggested MH III/LH I transitional.

⁴⁹⁸ This displacement is only a suggestion based on the idea that the possible earlier wall under the East House of Graben F may belong to the same structure as the West House. The relative date of the East House versus the later iteration of the West House is unclear, and Gercke and Hiesel (1971, 8) do not describe the relationship between them except to note that they are contiguous.

⁴⁹⁹ This date is surmised from the date for the final form of the West House of F. I have assumed a similar date because the two structures are built against each other and apparently over the MH III/LH I structure proposed by Gercke and Hiesel, but Wiersma (2013, 524) provides a date of MH III-LH I, which is certainly also possible. No information on the dating or finds from this building is given by Gercke and Hiesel.

Graben F North Series	F North House Early ⁵⁰⁰	Displaced (Rebuilt as North House)	Wall tops at ca. 4.89 masl ⁵⁰¹	LH I
	F North House ⁵⁰²		Wall tops at ca. 6.05 masl	LH I/II

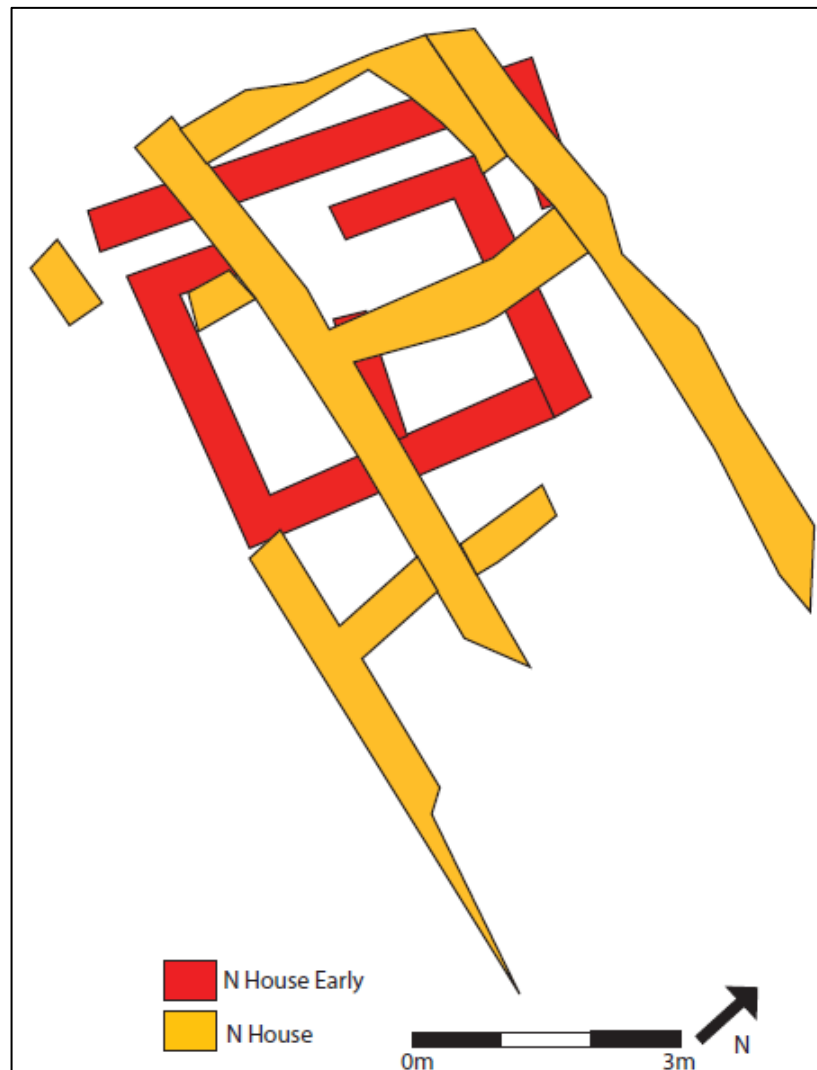


Fig. 2.38: Graben F North Series. After Gercke and Hiesel 1971, Beilage 4 and 5.

⁵⁰⁰ This house apparently sits on earlier (possibly MH) walls, from which it is separated by a significant ash layer. See Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 8-9; Lambropoulou 1991, 270-271.

⁵⁰¹ Elevations for this series are from Gercke and Hiesel 1971, Beilage 4 and 5.

⁵⁰² Very little discussion is made of this structure, apparently because it is poorly published and preserved. I have assumed a date contemporary with F West House Late. See Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 8. As depicted on the plan, it appears to be built on terraces, and is likely to represent multiple phases.

Commentary: Weiberg and Lindblom emphasize Tiryns for its heavy use of incorporative (integrative) rebuilding strategies, in which walls of earlier houses are fairly faithfully reused in later iterations.⁵⁰³ Though Weiberg and Lindblom focus on the EH II/III transition at the site in their consideration of the practice, the extremely long history of this phenomenon at Tiryns should be stressed, as it is well-established in EH II and continues in more limited fashion through the whole of the Mycenaean period. Weiberg outlines two sequences of building activity separated and demarcated by fire destructions in the Unterburg/Lower Citadel for the length of EH II.⁵⁰⁴ This same behavior continued into the developed EH III period, now exercised within a new settlement plan consisting primarily of apsidal houses. Weiberg accentuates this change in overall settlement plan as an apparent dismissal of the previous patterns of building.⁵⁰⁵ In certain cases, however, at least at the beginning of the EH III period, EH II structures may have continued to be rebuilt (see **Rooms 142-144**), emphasizing some continuity—or at least a desire to maintain continuity—at the site.⁵⁰⁶ The introduction of apsidal houses does certainly indicate a major conceptual shift in the built space of the settlement, but the maintenance of “traditional” rebuilding practices—in spite of the dramatic transformation of the space—may attest to the perceived importance of this action.⁵⁰⁷ In short, the house continues to be replaced across the change in settlement plan because it is the house; replacement is fundamental to the total concept

⁵⁰³ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 392.

⁵⁰⁴ Weiberg 2007, 121-125.

⁵⁰⁵ Weiberg 2007, 127.

⁵⁰⁶ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 398; Weiberg (2007, 125) considers Rooms 142-144 and Room 141 specifically. Wiersma (2013, 146-148) follows her, and (2013, 522) also interprets Kilian’s comments about House 168 to suggest that its early phases should be EH II, with final phases in EH III.

⁵⁰⁷ For this idea, see Weiberg and Lindblom (2014, 398).

of “house” at Tiryns, and is an essential feature of domestic space.⁵⁰⁸ It is noteworthy here that the rebuilding also continues to be highly incorporative, versus more displaced “substitutive” strategies employed elsewhere, as argued by Weiberg and Lindblom.⁵⁰⁹

I am in full agreement that this choice of rebuilding, and the commitment to the act of rebuilding, are very prevalent at Tiryns, and crucial to the interpretation of the social climate of the site at this time. Weiberg and Lindblom persuasively interpret these behaviors as “household-level maintenance of several individualizing building plots over the generations.”⁵¹⁰ The direct reuse of walls versus displacement demonstrated, for instance, at Lerna, Asea, and other tell-like sites in the Peloponnese, is not adequately explained, let alone the displacement apparent at more open sites, such as Asine. Likewise, the rather extreme shift to apsidal building, made even more dramatic in the face of the strong adherence to direct replacement and “tradition,” requires some additional explanation.⁵¹¹

Weiberg and Lindblom stress the significance of this change in settlement plan, particularly since it follows a destruction of the previous settlement by fire. The regularity and frequency (five attested for EH II/III) of fire destructions of the Unterburg settlement over time seems deliberate, and the use of fire in restructuring settlements has been proposed for Ayios Stephanos, to which I would add minimally Malthi and Aspis-Argos. Because only two of these

⁵⁰⁸ Weiberg and Lindblom (2014, 405) express a related thought: “Because of the primary function of the area [the Lower Citadel], which contained households engaged in day-to-day activities, a sense of continuity likely existed or was consciously maintained amid the turmoil.” House replacement must have been part of this “continuity-building” activity.

⁵⁰⁹ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014.

⁵¹⁰ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 393.

⁵¹¹ Weiberg and Lindblom (2014, 404) characterize the EH II-III settlement at Tiryns as one of “strong functional and conceptual continuity” with a “sense of tradition.” Though they (Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 402) do remark that “the lack of previous changes makes the introduction of apsidal houses at Tiryns 10 appear quite profound,” they go on to suggest that the continuity in the ceramic sequence “should caution us not to read too much into it.”

fires resulted in significant change to the settlement plan, I would suggest that fire-destruction of the settlement was a semi-regular practice, executing exactly the ritual I have proposed for the houses at a larger scale. This action was not intended necessarily to reformat the settlement, only to redefine the social group that composed it. The act of settlement-killing, along with the agglomerative building strategies evident in the EH II houses and the circumscribing of building space in a community “plan” suggests more corporately-driven social organization than has been evident elsewhere, which may in turn help to explain the ongoing practice of direct rebuilding in EH III (and later) Tiryns. I return later to house- (and settlement-) burning.

The opportunity for the shift to apsidal houses was provided by the destruction of the settlement, whether or not it was deliberate. The persistence of rectilinear building over the early EH III **Rooms 142-144** complex, interpreted by Kilian as a possible corollary to the corridor-house type structures at Akovitika, may suggest some ongoing aspiration to earlier social structures, similar to the reading of the Chieftain’s House at Lerna offered by Weiberg and Lindblom.⁵¹² On the other hand, the more monumental Rundbau is not treated in this way, though the early remains in the Upper Citadel are certainly problematic, and Weiberg and Lindblom note that **Rooms 142-144** have much in common with less pretentious contemporary domestic architecture.⁵¹³ Still, the choice to continue this building format in **Room 141** in spite of the otherwise universal shift to apsidal construction must have some meaning, specifically citing the older architectural form and the group that it represented. The apsidal houses, by way of contrast, are a true break—if not in reality, as suggested by the ceramic evidence, then in spirit. The transformation seems to represent the adoption of more individualizing, network

⁵¹² Kilian 1981, 189. Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 399.

⁵¹³ Pullen (2011) does not include this house in his discussion of possible corridor house-like structures, possibly speaking further against this comparison.

strategies of social expression, and it may be notable, though few details are available, that the rates of rebuilding of these apsidal houses seem to be different (five times for **House 168** versus three for **House 161**, for instance). As observed by Weiberg and Lindblom, the increasingly similar layout of Tiryns and Lerna probably indicates a common “private and individual” approach to social organization.⁵¹⁴ The plan of both sites, at least from around Horizons 10-13 at Tiryns and Phase IV.3 at Lerna, are startlingly—if perhaps coincidentally—similar, with perhaps the best preserved apsidal **House 161** backed against the more traditional, older holdover at the site in **Room 141**, and three smaller apsidal houses grouped with and perpendicular to it.⁵¹⁵ Weiberg and Lindblom also point out the near contemporary adoption of stone-socle apsidal buildings at both Tiryns and Lerna.⁵¹⁶ Perhaps the inhabitants of these two sites were associated, with ties through marriage or factional affiliation? This tenuous connection does not of course explain the introduction of apsidal houses at Tiryns. I would suggest, however, that the form, free-standing and not conducive to strict spatial planning, was adopted as the community at Tiryns embraced more network strategies of social organization.

Though there is little in the way of early to mid-MH architecture at Tiryns, the practice of rebuilding appears to remain constant into the early Mycenaean period, as demonstrated especially by the houses of **Graben F** and **H**. Indeed, the **North House of Graben F** accumulated over two meters of debris from three previous main phases.⁵¹⁷ This rapid buildup of layers speaks strongly to a continuation of Weiberg’s incorporative, tell-building behaviors, and it is perhaps notable that even among these later houses, the possible displacement in the **Graben**

⁵¹⁴ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 399.

⁵¹⁵ See Banks (2013, 182) for this same observation concerning “satellite structures.”

⁵¹⁶ Weiberg and Lindblom 2014, 401.

⁵¹⁷ Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 9.

F South series is the among the only real examples of this rebuilding strategy visible at the site for the period under consideration. The active construction in the area of the Upper Citadel is also noteworthy, though it is as a result of later building in this area extremely difficult to read. Though it is for the most part later than the period under consideration here, Maran provides a good summary of the continuous building in the area of the later “Große Megaron,” including at least two more or less well preserved predecessors, though not necessarily on the same plan.⁵¹⁸ Associated with the earliest of these structures, dating perhaps to LH II, is a large deposit of ceramics, probably created at the time that much of the building was leveled to create the first megaron in LH IIIA. Such a deposit is a good candidate for a termination event, and a high-profile building might naturally attract this type of attention. Certainly this area continued to be used and rebuilt—though with very significant gaps—until the end of the Mycenaean period with Building T. Some sense of these repeated building efforts is given also for the earlier material by Müller, but these walls are very difficult to interpret.⁵¹⁹

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 20/27, ca. **74%** (max); 16/27, ca. **59%** (min). Weiberg totals ten structures in the Tiryns Unterburg dating to EH III from Kilian’s reports.⁵²⁰ In addition to these ten, there are, minimally, another four catalogued by Wiersma, and an additional thirteen considered here, including proposed subphases, but not construction outside of EH III-LH I/II. In general, rebuilding, often but not always following a destruction by fire, is common at the site, first in the EH III Lower Citadel, then later particularly in the Lower Town, but also perhaps in the Upper Citadel in the area of the palace. In addition to the examples

⁵¹⁸ Maran 2001. See also the summary and bibliography provided by Maran (2012).

⁵¹⁹ Müller 1930, 77-112, see also Tafel 5-6A.

⁵²⁰ Weiberg 2007, 125; Kilian 1982, 420; 1981, 186-189.

noted here, a deep sounding in **Graben H** in the Lower Town revealed four settlement layers and more than five interspersed layers with some signs of burning.⁵²¹

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

Weiberg's EH II sequences in the Unterburg may suggest a regular practice of house-burning from the EH II period onward.⁵²² These rooms were constructed contiguously, and within these groups, not every room was burned at the same time, with partial destruction and replacement accompanied by more limited reflooring in surrounding rooms evident, for example, in the transition between **Rooms 205-206** and the later **Room 196** at Horizons 7a/8a.⁵²³ On the other hand, the apparently contemporary nature of many of the destructions in the east and west groups may suggest a more community-wide replacement, if the regularity of the fires can be seen as an indication of a deliberate dismantling of the houses as suggested above. Though it is much later, the use of fire in restructuring of the Upper Citadel has also been implied by Maran for the Upper Citadel sequence, possibly indicating the continuation/renewal of this practice.⁵²⁴

In general, floor deposits and/or possible caching areas have not been described in the literature for these houses to such a degree that it is possible to suggest any kind of a termination event, though the sheer prevalence of house-burning at the site would anticipate a more Lerna-

⁵²¹ Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 28-3, and Abb. 9 for section.

⁵²² Weiberg 2007, 122.

⁵²³ Weiberg 2007, 122; Kilian 1983.

⁵²⁴ Maran 2012.

like approach to house-killing, at least for the early examples. A fairly deep (0.98 m) bothros associated with **House 168** contained imported ceramics within an ashy fill, but little other information is given.⁵²⁵ Kilian characterizes the fill of this bothros as settlement debris, but it may well be an example of house-burial or caching of household debris following a destruction of this building. Concerning intramural burial, there are a few examples, including one possible example around **D2**, though most burials in this area postdated this house.⁵²⁶ Additional extramural burial is attested from **Graben F**, as well as the Upper Citadel.⁵²⁷ All of this is somewhat limited in scope, perhaps once more reaffirming the more corporate nature of the community of Tiryns at this time. That is, there was perhaps no perceived need or desire to use burial to create or define family space within the community in addition to house replacement.

Corinthia

Korakou (Tell)⁵²⁸

House F Series ⁵²⁹	Pre-F ⁵³⁰	3 (Displaced) (Rebuilt as F)	Surface at ca. 0.4-0.5m below ground level ⁵³¹	MH I-II ⁵³²
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------	--	---	------------------------

⁵²⁵ Kilian 1982, 420; Wiersma 2013, 148.

⁵²⁶ Gercke, Gercke, and Hiesel 1975, 20.

⁵²⁷ Gercke and Hiesel 1971, 8-9; Müller 1930, 79, 92-95, 97-98, 101, 110-111 (graves are mentioned intermittently throughout 77-112, though primarily for relative dating).

⁵²⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A50.

⁵²⁹ Blegen (1921, 78-79) gives no information for the transition between Pre-F and F as far as how Pre-F may have gone out of use. Wiersma (2013, 432) tentatively suggests abandonment for the structure, but based on the relative levels of the buildings, it seems improbable that much time had passed between the two phases. No signs of burning are mentioned—indeed, Blegen (1921, 76) makes a point of noting that for House F the mudbricks had completely dissolved as a result of this—so Pre-F may have been dismantled to construct F proper. Likewise, nothing is said about the termination of House F except that portions of the foundations were destroyed by LH III construction (Blegen 1921, 77).

⁵³⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F01 (“House Under F”); Lambropoulou 1991, 50-51; Blegen 1921, 78-79. Blegen does not name this house and describes it only briefly.

	House F ⁵³³		Surface at ca. 0.36m below ground level	MH I-II ⁵³⁴
--	------------------------	--	---	------------------------

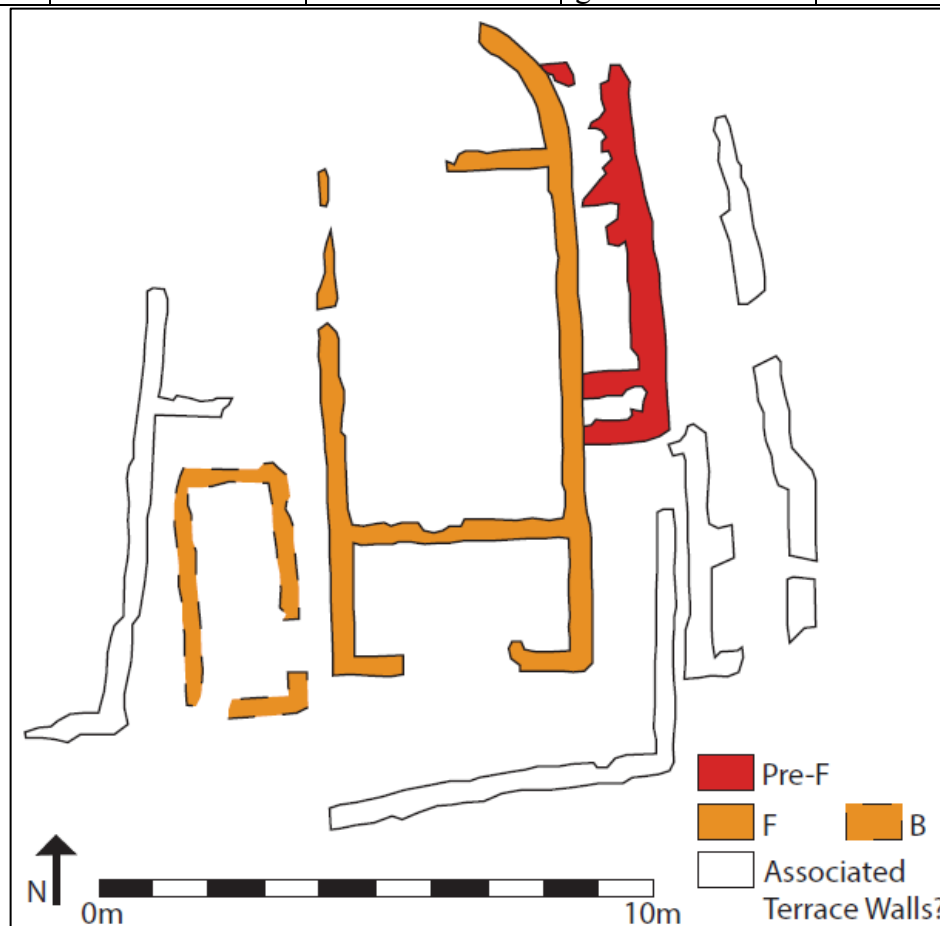


Fig. 2.39: House F Series. After Blegen 1921, Plate VIII.

⁵³¹ Only the surface level of House F was given by the excavators, from which and from levels given from the general area of Pre-F, Lambropoulou (1991, 51) is able to surmise the approximate floor level for this structure. The surface level of Building F is also taken from Lambropoulou (1991, 48, 51).

⁵³² This date is derived from Lambropoulou's (1991, 51) analysis of ceramics taken from the area of Pre-F, possibly but not certainly within the building. These ceramics were consistently datable to the first half of the MH period, so Lambropoulou's suggestion of an MH I-II date for the area in general seems likely.

⁵³³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F02; Lambropoulou 1991, 48-49; Blegen 1921, 76-78.

⁵³⁴ Lambropoulou (1991, 48-49) elsewhere indicates that because of a failure to fully describe or save the pottery from the floor level of the house (with the exception of the remains of a single pithos), the structure cannot be dated more closely than MH generally. The house is then dated on the evidence of other structures in the area.

Commentary: Two other houses are documented for the MH period from Korakou, all catalogued by Wiersma.⁵³⁵ Another MH surface associated with a built hearth was explored by Blegen in **Pit S**, demonstrating the spread of the settlement over the excavated area to the west, and other walls, of which, as Blegen remarks, “none calls for particular description.”⁵³⁶ Aside from the series described here, none shows any architectural evidence of full-scale rebuilding. **House B**, however, to the west of and possibly auxiliary to **House F**, is associated with five consecutive floor levels over a depth of about 0.40m (from 0.27m to 0.67m below ground level).⁵³⁷ One of these floors is under the walls of **House B**, predating the structure and suggesting the replacement of an earlier building, though no architectural remains could be identified for this Pre-B phase. The final three surfaces were contaminated with LH sherds, allowing Wiersma and Lambropoulou to disassociate them from **House B**. I see no reason not to expect some contamination of the upper surfaces, particularly given Blegen’s comments about the heavy erosion in this area of the site, and there are no other structures in the area with which to associate these surfaces.⁵³⁸ **House B**, then, seems to have been subjected to a number of renewals and modifications over the course of its use, whether or not it is a satellite of **House F**.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F03 (Structure B) and F04 (MH House). See also Blegen (1921, 78) and Lambropoulou (1991, 49-50) for House B, and Blegen (1921, 79) and Lambropoulou (1991, 47-48) for the apsidal MH house west of House H.

⁵³⁶ Blegen 1921, 79.

⁵³⁷ Lambropoulou 1991, 49.

⁵³⁸ Blegen 1921, 76.

⁵³⁹ It does in some ways seem unusual for an auxiliary structure, as it is identified by Blegen (1921, 79) and Wiersma (2013, 434), to have had its floor renewed so many times. Lambropoulou (1991, 49), however, points out that this interpretation is derived only from the small size of the structure, rather than any material within the house that might positively give its function.

To the east of **House F**, several other walls of this same date were uncovered (in the so-called “Minyan Court”); these run parallel to each other and to **Pre-F** and may represent terrace walls for **House F**—possibly indicating some importance within the community for this household—or for the proposed road to the south of **House F**.⁵⁴⁰ The partial alignment of one of these walls with the eastern wall of **Pre-F**, as well as their apparent redundancy as terrace walls, may suggest some rebuilding in this area as well. No EH buildings were recoverable, but EH walls were in some cases associated with burned mudbricks.⁵⁴¹ Unfortunately, Blegen does not distinguish between the phases of the EH period in his brief commentary. All of the LH remains are attributed by Blegen to LH III, though a large amount of early Mycenaean sherds are reported by Lambropoulou from the area directly to the west of **Houses F and B**.⁵⁴² In at least one instance—**House H**—these later houses have earlier walls in situ that may belong to early Mycenaean building phases, but no dates are provided for these.⁵⁴³

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding: 2/5, ca. **40%**. This considers only the MH houses attested, even in partial forms. Because Blegen does not quantify the EH architecture represented at the site, or distinguish between earlier and later phases of the period, no effort has been made to include these here. If they were included, however, it would naturally lower this figure, as none of these structures could be determined to have been rebuilt.

⁵⁴⁰ Blegen 1921, 78; Lambropoulou 1991, 50. Wiersma (2013, 104-105) identifies these walls as possible “stock gardens or animal pens,” on parallel with structures at Kirrha.

⁵⁴¹ Blegen 1921, 75.

⁵⁴² Blegen 1921, 79-99.

⁵⁴³ Blegen 1921, 92. House P may also have other phases, perhaps related to some of the partial walls within the megaron, though these are in general attributed by Blegen to a ritual function for the building (Blegen 1921, 84, Fig. 114, 85-88). See also the unusual plan of House M (Blegen 1921, 90, Fig. 119).

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

As noted above, burned remains of domestic architecture were recovered from the EH settlement at Korakou, but there is no evidence of house-burning for any of the MH structures discussed above, nor any ash deposits that might give even indirect evidence of this practice. One clay-lined bothros was also recovered in the area of **House P**, probably from an EH III context; this contained a large amount of “debris and carbonized matter,” as reported by Blegen.⁵⁴⁴ No further description of the contents are given, but “debris” may imply architectural material, perhaps suggesting house burial, though this is of course as usual very uncertain. No further bothroi are reported, and this would again apply only to the EH settlement. Candidates for MH termination deposits are likewise weak, though this is partially a consequence of the very terse descriptions of the floor deposits of these structures given by Blegen. Presumably there was little to describe, perhaps indicating that the houses were cleaned out. One small coarseware jar was found partially embedded in the floor of **House Pre-F**, but nothing indicates that this was not used feature of this structure.⁵⁴⁵ Intramural burial of infants is attested for the MH period at the site—one of these burials was set into a corner of a very partially preserved MH structure.⁵⁴⁶ It is unclear whether it was made while the building was in use. Another LH II plot containing

⁵⁴⁴ Blegen 1921, 75-76. The bothros was associated with the “latest floor level of the Early Helladic period” (75), and measured 0.70m in diameter by 0.90m in depth. The clay lining was not burned and showed no sign of having been exposed to heat. See Lambropoulou (1991, 35) for the location.

⁵⁴⁵ Blegen 1921, 79.

⁵⁴⁶ Blegen 1921, 100-101.

three burials, also for children, may have been associated with LH III House P or a predecessor.⁵⁴⁷

Tsougiza (Tell→Open?)⁵⁴⁸

House A-C Series ⁵⁴⁹	House A ⁵⁵⁴	<i>Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House B)</i>	<i>Wall tops at ca. 372.83 masl⁵⁵⁵</i>	<i>EH II Developed (Phase I)⁵⁵⁶</i>
A burns ⁵⁵⁰ →	House B ⁵⁵⁷	<i>Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as House Pre-C/C)</i>	<i>Wall tops at ca. 373.10 masl</i>	<i>EH II Developed (Phase 3)</i>
B abandoned ⁵⁵¹ →	Pre-C ⁵⁵⁸	Displaced? (Rebuilt as House C)	Wall tops at ca.373.35 masl	EH II/III
Pre-C burns ⁵⁵² → C burns ⁵⁵³	House C ⁵⁵⁹		Level Unknown	EH III

⁵⁴⁷ Blegen 1921, 102-103. Blegen identifies these as intramural specifically, and associates them with the family-group of House P.

⁵⁴⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A70.

⁵⁴⁹ This series and the following one (House E series) were originally excavated by J. P. Harland in his Area R/P, and were restudied under the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP) as a part of their Excavation Unit (EU) 5. It may not, however, be a true series so much as a reoccupation/reclamation of spatial location (and perhaps social role) of Houses A and B on the part of House C, given the likelihood of large chronological gaps between these houses. I propose it because of the placement of C and because the pits in C seem almost to be an effort to reach these earlier structures, which is of course completely conjectural.

⁵⁵⁰ Pullen 2011, 276, 288-289.

⁵⁵¹ Pullen reports that Harland did not believe that House B was burned, but no other suggestions are given for the destruction of the building. A ca. 200 year hiatus (for the duration of the latter half of EH II) in construction for EU 5 (the hill top) prior to EH III has been proposed, so abandonment of House B is probable (Pullen 2011, 14-16). Significant modifications were made at its southern end prior to abandonment, however, many of which were reused in the following structure/structures (my Pre-C) (Pullen 2011, 330-333).

⁵⁵² The destruction of Pre-C by fire is attested by the EH III destruction layer of burnt and ashy soil (Fill 23) underlying House C (Pullen 2011, 465).

⁵⁵³ Pullen 2011, 446.

⁵⁵⁴ Pullen 2011, 264-276; 1990, 338-340. House A had a predecessor, also destroyed by fire, for which the only evidence is the destruction layer and a hearth cut into the bedrock itself (Pullen 2011, 276-277).

⁵⁵⁵ Levels for Houses A, B, and Pre-C approximated from averages taken from levels given by Pullen (1990, 335, Fig. 3).

⁵⁵⁶ Pullen 2011, 288-289. In terms of absolute chronology, though the duration of Phase I is not suggested, this period lasts roughly from 2690-2630 BC, assuming that each of the three Phases lasts an equivalent amount of time



Fig. 2.40: Series A-C. After Pullen 1990, Fig. 2 and 3; 2011, Fig. 6.4.

(ca. 60-65 years). Phase 3, during which House B is built, lasts from about 2570-2500 BC (Pullen 2011, 15, Table 1.2). The EH III construction took place over about 200-250 years from 2300-2050 BC (Pullen 2011, 15, Table 1.2).

⁵⁵⁷ Pullen 2011, 324-330; 1990, 340.

⁵⁵⁸ Pre-C, more or less equivalent with Harland's "Southeast Rooms Extension" (Pullen 2011, 448) consists of several walls originally constructed in EH II Developed and contemporary with or slightly post-dating House B, including walls 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 26, 27, and 28 (Pullen 2011, 330-333). These walls form a very partially preserved structure that was ultimately connected to House B through the abutting wall 13 and the continuation of the east wall of House B in walls 26-28. In EH III, wall 13 (also στ) saw a second phase with a clearly different construction method, associated by Harland with House C and by Pullen (2011, 446-447) with an earlier (Pre-C) EH III phase, with which the EH III wall 16 (also εν) can also be associated (Pullen 2011, 447-448), as well as the destruction layer represented by Fill 23 (Pullen 2011, 465). An early EH III modification and reuse of this EH II construction—prior to House C—is therefore likely, though the precise date is equivocal (Pullen 2011, 448).

⁵⁵⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F06; Pullen 2011, 443-448.

House E Series	<i>Burnt Room</i> ⁵⁶²	<i>Integrated (Rebuilt as Apsidal House)</i> ⁵⁶³	<i>Wall tops at ca. 372.92; Surface at ca. 372.89 masl</i> ⁵⁶⁴	<i>EH II Developed (Phase 2)</i> ⁵⁶⁵
Burnt Room burns (site abandoned) ⁵⁶⁰ →	Apsidal House ⁵⁶⁶	Displaced (Rebuilt as House E)	Wall tops at ca. 373.27 masl	EH III
E burns ⁵⁶¹	House E (“House of the Querns”) ⁵⁶⁷		Level Unknown	EH III

⁵⁶⁰ Pullen 2011, 310. No mention is made of the abandonment or destruction of the Apsidal House. Presumably it must have been dismantled for the construction of E and the related buildings to the north (H). Or perhaps it was destroyed in the same burning episode that overlies Pre-C (Fill 23). E was certainly burned in a later event.

⁵⁶¹ Pullen 2011, 456.

⁵⁶² Pullen 2011, 310-324; 1990, 340-342. Architectural definition of this room is difficult to determine, but the EH III apsidal house is set directly over it. Wiersma (2013, 106) remarks on this relationship, but believes that it is not a rebuilding, presumably as a result of the chronological gap in the use of this area. The Burnt Room itself was probably rebuilt when a portion of it subsided over a filled EH I cistern beneath it (Pullen 2011, 320-321).

⁵⁶³ The earlier building was known by the time of the construction of the Apsidal House, as the foundations of the later structure were set into it (Pullen 2011, 318-319). It may, however, have been rediscovered following the abandonment at the site from the latter half of EH II up to EH III.

⁵⁶⁴ The levels for the Burnt Room and the Apsidal house were averaged from elevations given by Pullen (2011, Fig. 5.45 and 5.56 for the Burnt Room and Fig. 6.18 for the Apsidal House). Elevations for House E are not known. The surface level for the Burnt Room is equivalent to NVAP's Floor 11; the walls (29, 32, 46, and 44) may not be associated with this surface insofar as the destruction deposit extends further to the south (Pullen 2011, 320). But the heavy disturbance in this area by later building has probably caused this odd distribution of material.

⁵⁶⁵ Phase 2 of EH II Developed should be roughly equivalent to 2630-2570 BC (Pullen 2011, 15, Table 1.2).

⁵⁶⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F05; Pullen 2011, 468.

⁵⁶⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F07; Pullen 2011, 452-460.



Fig. 2.41: House E Series. After Pullen 1990, Fig. 3; 2011, Fig. 6.17 and 6.18.

Excavation Unit (EU) 7 Series⁵⁶⁸	House 1 (“West Megaron” or “West Building Southwestern Side”)⁵⁷⁰	Expanded, Displaced/ Integrated ⁵⁷¹ (Rebuilt as House 2)	Wall tops at ca. 367.96 masl ⁵⁷²	LH I
House 1 burns→ House 2 abandoned ⁵⁶⁹	House 2 (“West Building Northeastern		Wall tops at ca. 368.07masl	LH I

⁵⁶⁸ This series represents one of only three rebuildings identified by Wiersma (2013, 219) for the early Mycenaean period; others are at Kirrha and Tiryns.

⁵⁶⁹ Dabney and Wright 2013, 353. An LH IIA bothros was sunk into the area. It contained ceramics, but nothing further is noted.

⁵⁷⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F08; Dabney and Wright 2013, 351-353; Wright 1990, 348-350. Nomenclature in parentheses for this house and for the following house has been taken from Pullen (“West Megaron”; 2011, 469) and from Wiersma (“West Building Southwestern Side”) for the sake of consistency, but there is a West Building named

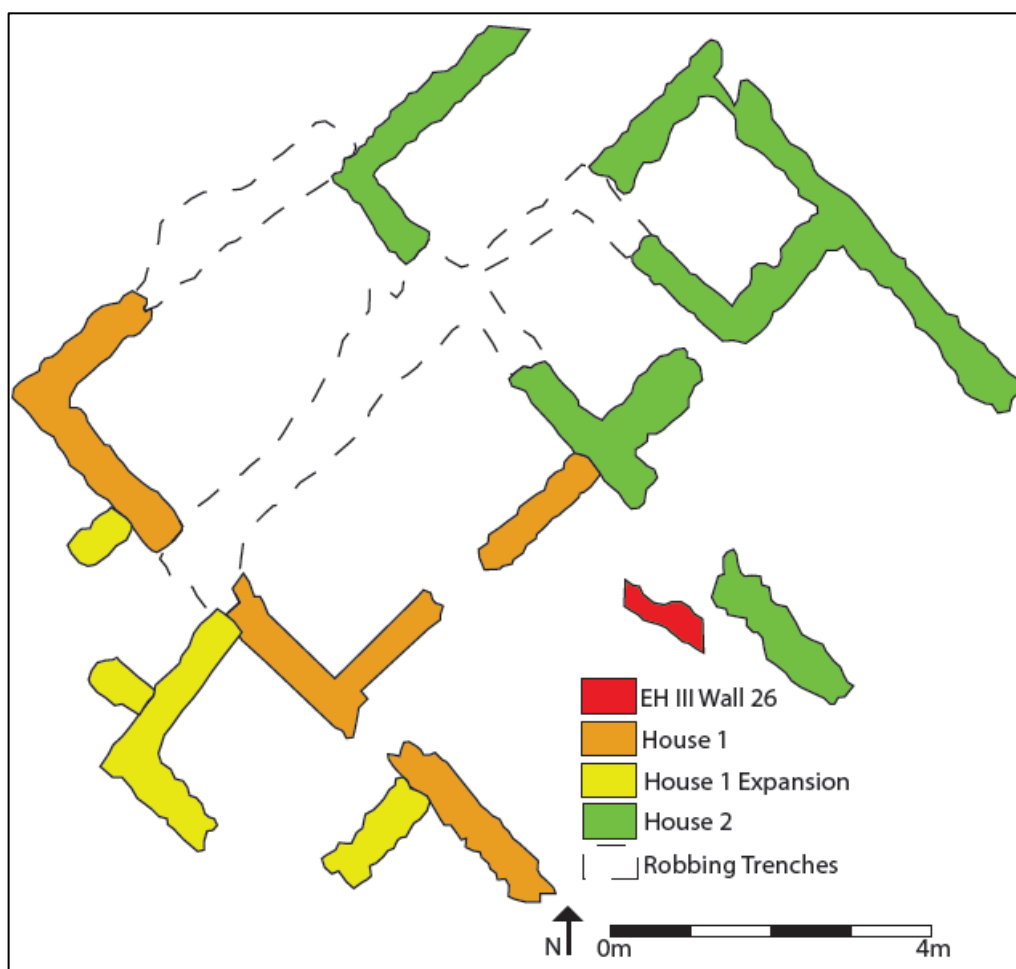


Fig. 2.42: EU 7 Series. After Dabney and Wright 2013, Eik. 3.

by Harland also in Area L, so I have opted for the shorter but less descriptive EU 7 House 1 and 2. Wright (1990, 350) also once refers to the building as “Tou Skorda to Chani,” after a large amount of carbonized garlic found within the structure, certainly catchier than “House 1”.

⁵⁷¹ Prior to its destruction, House 1 is expanded to the southwest in two poorly preserved rooms (Wright 1990, 350). Following its destruction, the northeastern long wall of House 1 is reused as the foundation for the southwestern long wall of House 2, basically entailing a shift of the whole house, essentially duplicated and fully displaced to the northeast. Although Wiersma discusses these houses as an instance of rebuilding, she does not identify a particular type of rebuilding for them, instead emphasizing the rarity of LH I rebuilding, and the diversity of approaches taken at this time by implication. A sondage in the area also revealed a single EH III wall segment (wall 29) parallel with the later northeast wall of House 1, but too little has been revealed to suggest an EH III predecessor (Pullen 2011, 471).

⁵⁷² Elevations for this series were taken from those given by Wright (1990, 348, Fig. 1).

⁵⁷³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. F09; Dabney and Wright 2013, 353; Wright 1990, 350.

House J-L Series ⁵⁷⁴	House J ⁵⁷⁵	Displaced/Partially Integrated (Rebuilt as House L)	Level Unknown (ca. 364.01 masl) ⁵⁷⁶	EH III or MH III/LH I ⁵⁷⁷
	House L ⁵⁷⁸	Expanded (Houses M and N)	Level Unknown	LH IIA
	<i>Houses M and N</i> ⁵⁷⁹		<i>Level Unknown</i>	<i>LH IIA</i>

⁵⁷⁴ This area was excavated by Harland in his Area L, and is now associated with NVAP's EU 10. Dabney and Wright (2013, 355) are unable to say from the information given by Harland whether these houses, and J in particular, were destroyed or abandoned, noting only that there is a definite break in this area following LH IIA.

⁵⁷⁵ Dabney and Wright 2013, 351; Wright 1990, 351.

⁵⁷⁶ Levels for both of these structures, excavated by Harland, are unknown. Building K (the so-called "House of the Arrowmaker"), contemporary with Building J (Wright 1990, 351), can give some idea for the general level of these structures, at an average level of about 364.01 masl for the wall tops in the newly excavated area.

⁵⁷⁷ Because very little from this area was kept from Harland's excavation, the date is difficult to establish with certainty, and in their latest work Dabney and Wright (2013, 351) comment that it could be either EH III or MH III. Previously, Wright (1990, 351) had suggested a date of LH I based on Harland's assessment of the structure, and its immediate overbuilding by a less equivocal LH IIA structure.

⁵⁷⁸ Dabney and Wright 2013, 353-355; Wright 1990, 351.

⁵⁷⁹ M and N were also probably expanded to the west, and the so-called West Building (in its original form a free-standing structure) may have been overbuilt at this time as part of this expansion (Dabney and Wright 2013, 355).



Fig. 2.43: Series J-L. After Dabney and Wright 2013, Eik. 5.

Commentary: Rebuilding is obviously a known and common practice at Tsoungiza from the EH II period, shown in the slightly displaced rebuilding of **House A** as **House B**. These buildings were of some importance, and **House A**, truly monumental in its construction, has been understood as a sort of proto-corridor house.⁵⁸⁰ Though Pullen proposes that some time must have passed between the destruction of **House A** (and a more thoroughly destroyed predecessor)

⁵⁸⁰ Pullen 2011, 289-297, esp. 297.

and the construction of **B** on the grounds that **B** does not make use of the very solid foundations of **A**, he goes on to remark that its trapezoidal plan, mirroring that of **A**, “cannot be entirely accidental.”⁵⁸¹ It seems likely, then, that **House B** represents very much the same type of behavior that is represented in the EH III-LH I/II houses under discussion here. The significance of this replacement, in addition to emphasizing the “paired” quality of corridor and proto-corridor houses in general, is that, at least at Tsoungiza, some continuity in the practice of a deliberately displaced rebuilding seems to exist from EH II, and relatively early in this period if **House A** has truly replaced another structure, as suggested by the hearth cut into the bedrock beneath it.⁵⁸² **House C**, and by extension **Pre-C**, of the EH III reoccupation of the site following a period of abandonment of about 200 years, may have been intended to continue this series, and is associated with pits that dig down to the level of the earlier structure (certainly the pit for Pithos 5, less so Pit 26).⁵⁸³ Indeed, Harland’s Area R Pithos 5 sits directly on a wall of **House A**. If **House C** does represent a continuation of this series, it is somewhat unusual for its immediate overbuilding of the corridor (or proto-corridor house), as opposed to Berbati’s Megaron A, also proposed by Pullen to be a proto-corridor house, and of course the House of the Tiles at Lerna.⁵⁸⁴ It is possible that this choice of building location was made as a status claim on the parts of the

⁵⁸¹ Pullen 2011, 324.

⁵⁸² Pullen 2011, 276-277. It is in this case obviously totally indiscernible whether A is offset or displaced from the plan of its predecessor. Likewise, the plan of House B, uncertain as a result of its poor preservation in the years between Harland’s excavation and NVAP’s more thorough documentation, does not apparently reflect the same proto-corridor house form as its predecessor, and, based on other rebuildings of corridor houses, a change in orientation might be expected. See Weiberg (2007, 39) for paired corridor houses.

⁵⁸³ See Pullen (2011, 268, Fig. 5.23, 271, 444-446) for a discussion of the pithos and its pit, and its relationship with House A. Pit 26 is tentatively dated to EH II by Pullen (2011, 271). Harland, however, had associated it with the EH III levels. Disturbance in the area complicates the issue, but the pit was discovered by Harland at or near the wall level of C, and so, though it probably precedes the building, it may have been a product of the earlier EH III occupation in this area.

⁵⁸⁴ See Pullen (2011, 297) for Berbati Megaron A as a proto-corridor house.

inhabitants of **House C**; their wealth and access to resources may be suggested by the contents of the building, which, while not rich, include a mold for metalworking.⁵⁸⁵

Though rebuilding is certainly present in the EH III settlement at Tsoungiza, the most identifiable cases occur either in EH II, or with EH III structures on EH II remains, in spite of the long gap between these phases. As also suggested for Ayios Stephanos, there may here be an effort to find and build upon EH II structures on the part of the EH III inhabitants. Later in the period, identification of series is complicated by the extremely close construction of the houses. Not only is **House E** built upon the earlier EH III **Apsidal House**, but also the more partially preserved **Houses H** and **D** overlie it, and may to some extent be more natural successors, more closely mirroring its plan and likely themselves to represent multiple phases of building.⁵⁸⁶ Pullen has suggested that “not every building was necessarily a separate house,” considering particularly **House E** and its small size (<15m²).⁵⁸⁷ The houses on the hilltop (EU 5), then, may function together as an interdependent group, perhaps representing closely integrated households, or perhaps an extended family. This may explain **House E**’s centralized location and its prominent role in storage, containing no fewer than eight pithoi arranged around the circumference of a fairly restricted space. This may also play into its possible association with the much earlier **Burnt Room**, which is likely to have had a role in communal drinking rituals. The closely integrated nature of these houses may also explain the extensive, probably multi-house destruction layers, though naturally their close proximity would also encourage multi-

⁵⁸⁵ Pullen 2011, 446. No other signs indicating metalworking around the house or by its denizens were found. The mold was for metal tools.

⁵⁸⁶ Pullen 2011, 448-451. House D may also be a part of House C, and its participation in the House E series may be indicated by its use of the west wall of the apsidal structure as a floor for its hearth (Pullen 2011, 449). Pullen (2011, 450) is unable to suggest whether D or H is earlier, but believes them to be of different phases. House H is destroyed by fire.

⁵⁸⁷ Pullen 2011, 907.

house destruction. The hilltop apparently continued to form a natural locus for activity into the LH period, when an elaborate covered pit grave was cut into **House E**.⁵⁸⁸

Tsougiza is also somewhat unusual for the number of examples of LH I/II rebuilding. I have discussed two series above, but others are likely to exist, including two structures (forming one series) in EU 7, parallel to the “**West Building**” and so likely to be more or less contemporary.⁵⁸⁹ Wright also makes note of an LH IIB structure overbuilding a late MH surface including numerous carbonized grape seeds and burned mudbricks in EU 2, possibly representing a rebuilding of a burned structure, though Rutter has argued that this is likely to be an outdoor area.⁵⁹⁰ Frequent replacement of floor surfaces was also noted for one of the rooms of **House 2** of the EU 7 series.⁵⁹¹ Wiersma argues that it became standard at this time to make changes to pre-existing structures rather than to build them anew, and this is certainly represented as well, with major expansions particularly of **House L**, but also of **House 1** of the EU 7 series prior to rebuilding.⁵⁹² Nevertheless, the continuation of some tell-like building strategies (building on and up) is clear, also in the clustering of houses that Wright points out for the early Mycenaean period at the site.⁵⁹³ In other words, though a general progression from EH II-III upwards rebuilding to LH I/II expansion and agglomerative outward rebuilding can be

⁵⁸⁸ Pullen 2011, 913-918.

⁵⁸⁹ Wright 1990, 350-351.

⁵⁹⁰ Wright 1990, 351; Rutter 1990, 379-383; Dabney and Wright 2013, 351. The later LH IIB structure, though poorly preserved, had a major ceramics deposit, including several drinking vessels, and was associated with an infant burial, perhaps indicating a termination/funerary assemblage (Wright 1990, 351). There was also LH I material beneath it, perhaps suggesting multiple phases, though the whole area was disturbed by LH III construction (Dabney and Wright 2013, 351).

⁵⁹¹ Dabney and Wright 2013, 353. These floors are described as alternating layers of sand and ash, observed for the southern room of the double rooms in the middle of the structure.

⁵⁹² Wiersma 2013, 109, 219-220, esp. 220.

⁵⁹³ Wright 1990, 353.

seen, house series persist somewhat more pervasively and prominently at Tsoungiza than is visible at many other sites. As at Ayios Stephanos, the hilltop is largely abandoned during the early Mycenaean period.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 8/17, ca. **47%** (min.); 10/17, ca. **59%** (max).⁵⁹⁴ I have included only published houses dated to the periods under consideration (EH III-LH I/II), eight for EH III, and nine for LH I/II. In addition to those included in the house series identified above, for the EH III settlement, Pullen has published **Houses D, F, G, and H**.⁵⁹⁵ As noted above, **D** and **H** may also be a part of the **E** series. Pullen also reports walls underlying **F** that share its orientation.⁵⁹⁶ For the early Mycenaean settlement, only the **West Building, House K** of Area L (EU 10), and an unnamed LH IIB structure of EU 2 have been left out of the series above.⁵⁹⁷ The EU 2 structure may overbuild an MH III surface, as noted above. The **West Building** is also likely part of a series, but it is less thoroughly discussed than others in this area, with a more partially preserved plan. Divided by period, for EH III Tsoungiza, 4/8, or **50%**, of the houses participate in a series, while for MH III-LH I/II the number is between **44%-67%**.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

⁵⁹⁴ It is unclear if Houses M and N should be counted as a single unit, representing the annex to L, or as two units since multiple expansions were apparently made—see Dabney and Wright (2013, Eik. 5).

⁵⁹⁵ Pullen 2011, 448-452.

⁵⁹⁶ Pullen 2011, 460.

⁵⁹⁷ Dabney and Wright 2013.

The EH III **House C**, itself burned, was constructed over a bothros (Pit 26) that contained a great deal of burned material and was cut into **Houses A** and **B**, which I have suggested may be associated with the earlier **Pre-C** phase, though Pullen has given it an EH II date.⁵⁹⁸ The large pithos (Pithos 5) set into a pit in the floor of the House was also filled with carbonized material, including mudbricks and other architectural fragments.⁵⁹⁹ Harland does not identify any botanical remains, but he may have been mistaken in the absence of archaeobotanical analysis at the time. Instead, in addition to the carbonized elements, various blades of chert and obsidian were recovered, as well as the greater part of two plain vessels.⁶⁰⁰ No bones, human or otherwise, were recognized. The filling of the pithos with architectural fragments and household goods is at least unusual and may represent some type of termination event, and perhaps the caching of destruction remains, particularly since other pithoi assigned by Harland to **House C** were both smaller and set much higher—a full meter above the bottom of Pithos 5.⁶⁰¹ The extensive floor assemblage of **House E**, including eight pithoi, several of which contained the carbonized remains of foodstuffs, as well as food preparation and serving equipment, is likewise a candidate for a termination deposit, though its clear role in storage would otherwise explain many of the items present—though not necessarily the very crowded conditions of the “House.” A pile of apparently discarded animal bones was also recovered, as well as possibly stored ceramic vessels, including a number of jars and bowls, which Pullen suggests functioned in food

⁵⁹⁸ Pullen 2011, 446.

⁵⁹⁹ Pullen 2011, 444-445.

⁶⁰⁰ Pullen (2011, 445) reports Harland’s assessment of the two vessels as “domestic pots,” and suggests that these may have been Bass bowls or wide-mouthed jars.

⁶⁰¹ Pullen 2011, 446. The higher level does lead Pullen to suggest that they may be associated with an unpreserved successor to House C.

preparation.⁶⁰² This structure may have held a specialized function within the community, possibly serving as a central storage area to **C** and **F**, both of which are connected to **E** by narrow paved spaces (“alleys”).⁶⁰³ If they were “killed” as part of a house/household cycle, **E** may represent a sort of potlatch-style episode of conspicuous consumption. Either way, **E** seems to have followed in the same path as the EH II **Burnt Room**, also destroyed by fire with an intact deposit that clearly points to food (or drink) preparation, and likely communal drinking rituals.⁶⁰⁴

For the later houses, one possible candidate for a termination deposit can be suggested in **House 1** of the EU 7 Series, which was destroyed in a conflagration, preserving a major floor deposit that included a near-whole sheep/goat, garlic, and many cooking and serving vessels.⁶⁰⁵ The caching of feasting remains is known from the site, and may imply that this deposit should not be taken as feasting on the occasion of the house destruction, but again perhaps more in the vein of conspicuous consumption, though again it is certainly possible that it simply represents the use of the house.⁶⁰⁶ Still, the very organized quality of the rebuilding represented by **House 2** may imply a deliberate destruction of the previous structure.

Though a cist grave is attested beneath the floor of **House E** (House of the Querns), it is believed to be LH in date, based primarily on the dating of the fragmentary bronze objects it includes, as well as the probability that it cut through the southwestern wall of **E**.⁶⁰⁷ It is possible

⁶⁰² See Pullen (2011 456-460, esp. 460) for the description and analysis of the floor deposit.

⁶⁰³ Pullen (2011, 460) emphasizes that these structures were probably contemporary and destroyed simultaneously. The so-called alleys are only about 0.5m wide, and may have been intended primarily to facilitate drainage, possibly feeding into Cistern 1, to the south of House E.

⁶⁰⁴ Pullen 2011, 323-324.

⁶⁰⁵ Wright 1990, 350. Many of the dishes were found together, either in the northern corner of the main room or in the annex, and may have been stored.

⁶⁰⁶ Dabney and Wright 2013, 356; Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004.

⁶⁰⁷ Pullen 2011, 452-453, n. 18, 913-918.

that as at Ayios Stephanos, the old settlement center became a locus for burial. Cavanagh and Mee report a second intramural burial of a child from the early Mycenaean period in a simple pit grave, probably in the area of the unnamed LH IIB structure in EU 2.⁶⁰⁸ No burials made contemporaneously with the EH III settlement are mentioned by Pullen, though they are known, if still uncommon, from EH II.⁶⁰⁹

Elis

Olympia (Tell?)⁶¹⁰

House I Series ⁶¹¹	Apsidal House I ⁶¹³	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as MH House)	Wall bottom at ca. -1.73 mbd ⁶¹⁴	EH III
I burns ⁶¹² →	Rectilinear MH House	Abandoned as a result of flooding	Wall bottom at ca. -1.60 mbd	MH I

⁶⁰⁸ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 43, n. 19, 57; Catling 1985-86, 25.

⁶⁰⁹ Pullen 2011, 300. There is one infant burial of EH II date on the hilltop.

⁶¹⁰ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B71. I have partially considered Olympia a possible tell-site because of its fairly close resemblance to Lerna.

⁶¹¹ See Wiersma (2013, 178 n.21) for the suggestion that this house group should be identified as a possible series, after Rambach 2002.

⁶¹² The destruction of this building is not described. Rambach (2013, 177) refers to the ashy soil of the “destruction horizon” of the apsidal houses (“stark aschehaltigen Erde des Zerstörungshorizontes der Apsidenhäuser”), so it may apply to House 1 as well. At any rate, the soil around the house showed signs of burning to such a degree that the later MH structure was initially interpreted as an altar. The later building may therefore have burned as well, though Rambach believes that much of the soil associated with this structure was lost to erosion. The area may likewise have attracted later cultic attention (burning and votive deposits) because it does resemble an altar (Rambach 2013, 177-178).

⁶¹³ Wiersma (2013) is unable to catalog this house as a result of the lack of a plan until 2013. Dörpfeld 1935, 93-94; Rambach 2013, 175-178.

⁶¹⁴ Elevation taken from Rambach (2013, 176-177).

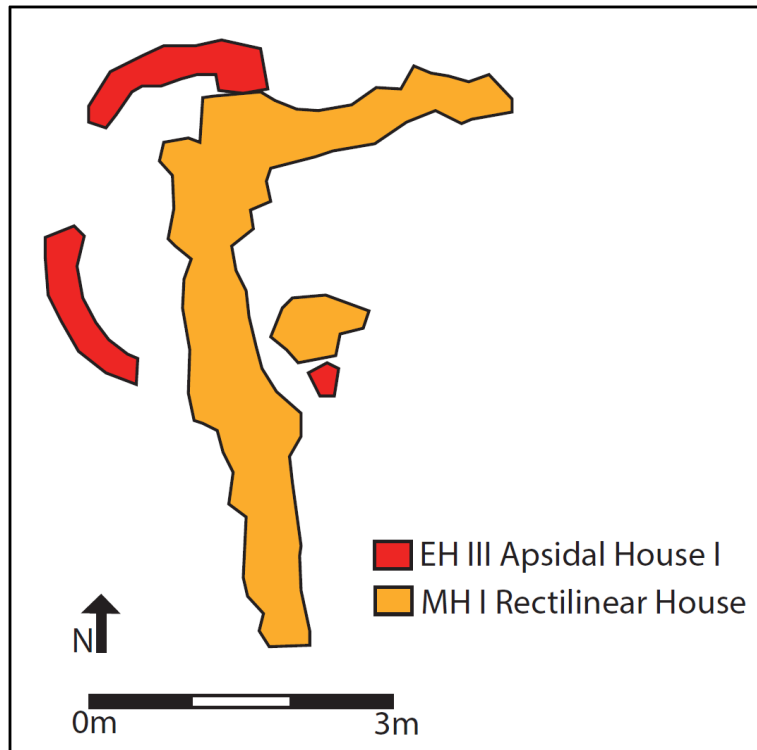


Fig. 2.44: House I Series. After Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 4b.

House II Series ⁶¹⁵ II burns→	Apsidal House II ⁶¹⁶	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as MH House) ⁶¹⁷	Wall bottom at ca. -2.13 mbd; Floor at ca. -2.03 mbd ⁶¹⁸	EH III
	Rectilinear MH House ⁶¹⁹	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as II Final)	Wall bottom at ca. -2.03 mbd ⁶²⁰	EH III/MH I
	House II Final ⁶²¹		Wall top at ca. -1.2 to -1.8 mbd	MH Later/EIA

⁶¹⁵ Rambach (2013, 151) defines the phases of this building.

⁶¹⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. K02. Dörpfeld 1935, 85-87; Rambach 2013, 132-158.

⁶¹⁷ As a result of the poor preservation of the later structures, Wiersma (2013, 201) is unable to determine the character of rebuilding. Based on the plans and Rambach's analysis, however, it seems safe to say minimally that the later rebuildings were displaced, integrating elements of the previous architecture.

⁶¹⁸ Levels taken from Dörpfeld 1935, 85, Abb. 9.

⁶¹⁹ Multiple structures may be represented here; if so, they are essentially contemporary (Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 4).

⁶²⁰ This level is approximate, and based on Rambach's (2013, 153) assertion that the wall bottom of the rectilinear structure (fragment d) must have rested on or slightly above the original floor of the earlier house.

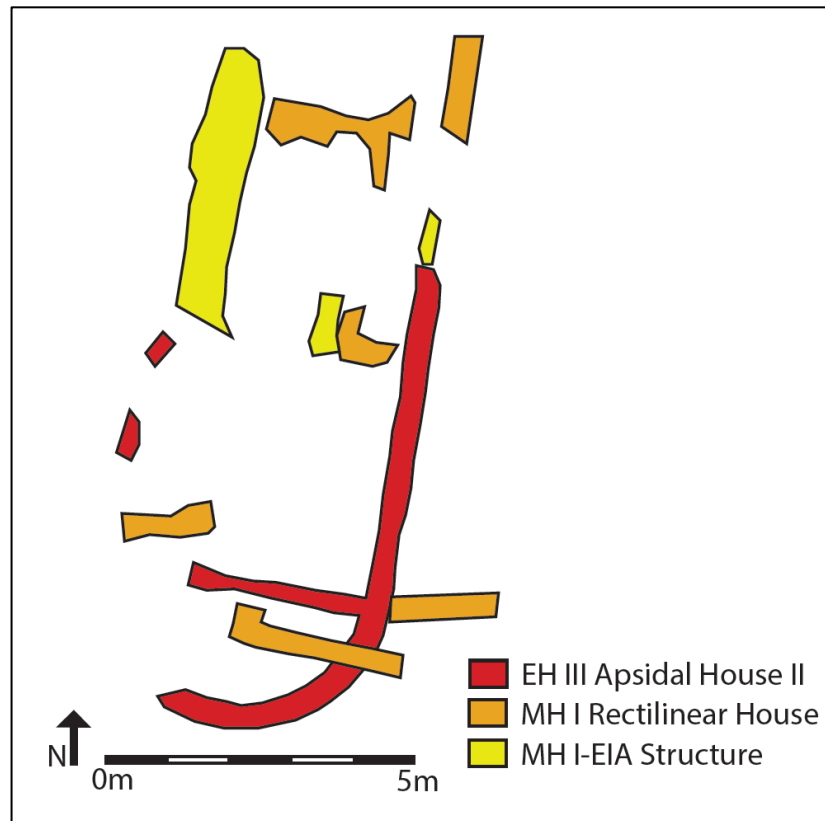


Fig. 2.45: House II Series. After Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 4a.

House IV Series	Apsidal House IV⁶²³	Integrated (Rebuilt or modified as IV Final)	Level Unknown ⁶²⁴	EH III
------------------------	---------------------------------------	--	------------------------------	--------

⁶²¹ It is unlikely that these remains in themselves represent a house. Rambach (2013, 153) refers to the largest fragment (z) as a “fill” (*schüttung*), and it may be that it was intended to partially level the area prior to new construction following an apparently significant deposit of alluvial debris.

⁶²² This level is very approximate and is based on Rambach’s (2013, 153 and n. 45) comment that this level was immediately beneath or even in the EIA levels at the site (specifically beneath the “Aschealtar des Zeuskultes”) at approximately the level reached in the earliest excavation. The number was extrapolated from the levels given for the pre-Classical EIA deposits in the area of the Pelopeion and for the level reached in the earliest excavation in the area of House 3 by Dörpfeld (1935, 80, Abb. 5 and 82, Abb. 8).

⁶²³ Wiersma 2013, Cat. K04. Dörpfeld 1935, 90-92; Rambach 2002, 198; Rambach 2013, 180. Rambach (2013, 180, especially n. 111) has remarked very briefly on the rebuilding of House 4 during his “Phase der Rechteckhäuser,” but a more in-depth discussion is forthcoming.

⁶²⁴ Dörpfeld (1935, 90) gives an approximate level of 0.20m below the level of the earlier (1880) excavation. Separate elevations for the different phases of the building are not given, however, making it difficult to gain a sense of the change in level between the two use-phases.

	House IV Final (Rectilinear MH House?) ⁶²⁵		Level Unknown	MH I
--	---	--	---------------	------

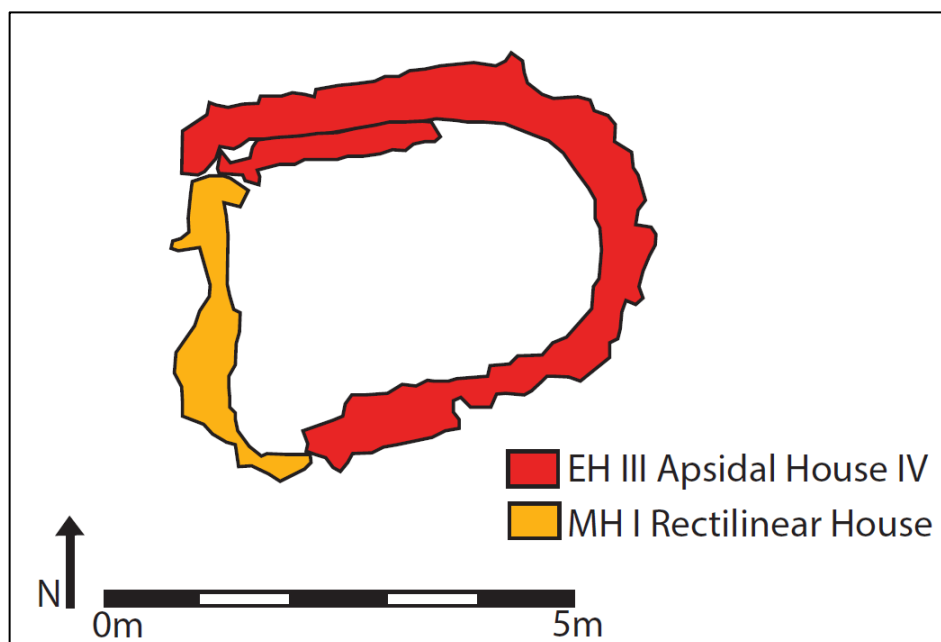


Fig. 2.46: House IV Series. After Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 1.

House V Series	Apsidal House V ⁶²⁶	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as MH House)	Floor at ca.-1.67 mbd; Wall bottom at ca. - 1.98 mbd ⁶²⁷	EH III ⁶²⁸
V burns→	Rectilinear MH House ⁶²⁹	Abandoned as a result of flooding ⁶³⁰	Wall bottom at ca. -1.84 mdb ⁶³¹	MH I

⁶²⁵ Rebuilding in this area is not discussed at any length, so the character of the new construction is highly unclear, but Rambach (2002, 198) describes new building around the house as “repair,” with a new wall closing off the previously open west side. Rambach sees this reconstruction as part of a shift from sacred to mundane domestic function. Wiersma (2013, 544) points out a bench-like structure along the N wall, but is unable to date this addition more closely than EH III. It is tempting to see this “bench” as part of a double-apse, but this is perhaps unlikely, and levels are not given to aid with phasing.

⁶²⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. K05. Dörpfeld 1935, 76, 87-88; Rambach 2002, 186-187, 190; Rambach 2013, 129-131.

⁶²⁷ Floor level taken from Dörpfeld 1935, 76, Abb. 3; additional levels from Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 2. In general, Rambach’s levels are about 0.2-0.4m deeper than Dörpfeld’s. Because the levels for these structures are more or less consistent, I have simply chosen a representative number (rather than averaging all provided levels).

⁶²⁸ A good summary of dating conflict for prehistoric Olympia is given by Wiersma (2013, 176-177, see especially Table 3.10.1).

⁶²⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. K07. Rambach 2002, 186-187, 190; Rambach 2013, 129-131.

⁶³⁰ Rambach 2002, 200; 2013, 131, 180.

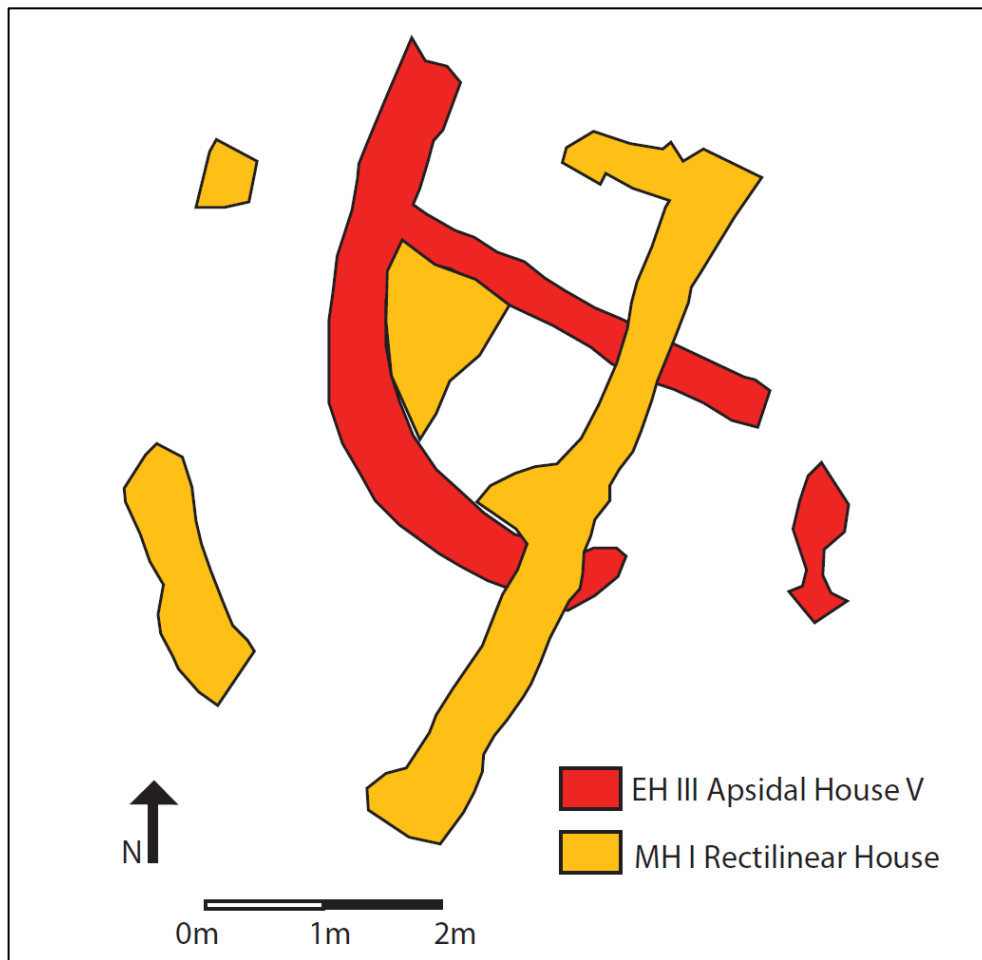


Fig. 2.47: House V Series. After Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 2.

Commentary: The general outline of events at Olympia as it has been developed by Rambach and others is that a tumulus was constructed and demarcated in EH II in the area of the Altis under the later Pelopeion, and then abandoned, perhaps as a result of flooding. At this time, settlement shifted to the New Museum site nearby. Unfortunately, little can be said about these house remains, so they are not considered here. It is however worth noting that in these trenches also, houses may have been arranged around a tumulus, and there was abundant evidence of burning destruction.⁶³² In the mid to late EH III, settlement returned to the area of the Altis and

⁶³¹ Level from Rambach 2013, Farbtafel 2.

⁶³² Koumouzelis 1980, 125-135 (houses), 139 (tumulus).

the original EH II tumulus. A series of apsidal houses were erected around it, of which Apsidal House 4 and 5 may be in privileged positions. Following this phase of early building, several of the houses were replaced with specifically rectilinear structures (which do not have their own numbers), apparently in the final EH III to early MH I period. These houses are different in plan (apsidal→rectilinear) and placement (partial horizontal displacement), but follow the earlier structures closely in orientation, incorporating portions of the earlier foundations into the later structures.⁶³³ The close chronological relationship between the two phases of building is emphasized by Rambach, and several of the original structures do appear to have been burned.

The situation is in many ways similar to that of EH III Lerna, though there are of course notable differences. Nevertheless, both settlements appear to be participating in many of the same cultural practices, including the tumulus (tumuli?), habitation around it, replacement of houses, possible house-burning and burial, and intramural burial. As at Lerna, houses are dispersed, and organically-organized, probably in family groups. Also similar to Lerna is the appearance of a “paired” set of apsidal houses in the area of the Museum, paralleling the 98A group that caps the Chieftain’s House series east of the tumulus over the House of the Tiles. Finally, as at Lerna, the majority of the houses with good rebuilding sequences are arranged immediately around the tumulus itself (**House 2** provides a possible exception, though it is still fairly close), perhaps indicating a relationship between proximity to the tumulus and rebuilding practices, probably related to prestige and status within the community.⁶³⁴

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 9/12, ca. **75%** (max.); 6/12, ca. **50%** (min.). The total number of MH structures is unclear, but these buildings do appear to be placed

⁶³³ Rambach 2013, 177.

⁶³⁴ Houses 3, 6, and 7, farthest from the tumulus and with little evidence for rebuilding are also the most poorly preserved, complicating this assertion to some degree.

preferentially over earlier structures. In general, however, they are not well preserved, so the evidence for rebuilding is still highly equivocal, particularly pending the publication of the houses in the area of the Museum.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

The **Apsidal House 4**, at least in its original use, has been identified as a likely candidate for ritual activity at Olympia, possibly transcending the level of the individual household for community-wide significance. This assessment has been based on the relatively isolated position of **House 4**, associated with a well and platform (near which was found a miniature bronze axe) within a possible *temenos* around the east side of and oriented toward the tumulus.⁶³⁵ Because rituals associated with this area appear to be supra-household—and are otherwise difficult to recover—I do not consider them here. Instead, I turn to the tumulus itself.

The tumulus has been extensively discussed, and is classified by Forsén and Weiberg as a “ritual tumulus,” indicating that the tumulus was constructed for some purpose other than burial.⁶³⁶ In addition to this tumulus and the one at Lerna, two others at Thebes have been included in this category. All of these are roughly contemporary, built either in the developed or final EH II period. Though this sample size is obviously quite small, the tumulus at Olympia stands out in that it is not associated with earlier remains, architectural or otherwise, and may

⁶³⁵ Rambach 2002, 194-198; Weiberg 2007, 173.

⁶³⁶ Forsén 1992, 232-237; Weiberg 2007, 155-185. See also Whittaker 2014, 92-116. Weiberg (2007, 185) is careful to emphasize that each of these tumuli presents a unique set of circumstances, and argues that they may be best considered outside of the “ritual tumulus” category on a case-by-case basis.

have been abandoned for some time in the final EH II and early EH III period. It nevertheless forms a locus for the domestic—and probably ritual—activity of the later EH III settlement. Houses cluster close to the tumulus, and, as at Lerna, some are built contiguous to it, in this case **Apsidal House 5**.⁶³⁷ Also similar to Lerna is the idea that the tumulus lost relevancy over the course of EH III, until by the end of this period and the beginning of MH several pits were dug into it. These pits have been interpreted by Rambach as evidence of clay-mining activities on the mound, possibly indicating that the people of the settlement no longer viewed the mound as sacred space; also at this time, Rambach argues, **Apsidal House 4** loses its ritual function.⁶³⁸ Weiberg has questioned this assessment, noting that the presence of these pits need not

I follow Weiberg in this idea, and would add that it is not simply that the tumulus maintained its ritual/sacral character, but also that this reverence may to some extent explain the presence of the pits in this area. Rambach observes that these pits are concentrated on the north side in the area of the houses and were filled with burned debris (*Brandschutt*) from the destruction by fire of the “Apsidenhäuserdorf.” This deposit of burned material within these pits is characterized by Rambach and Wiersma as one of simple disposal. I would argue, however, that it represents the same type of house burial that I have suggested for Lerna above. These pits were presumably unmarked and little mention is made of other goods deposited with the house debris; Rambach does, however, mention in passing a large amount of ceramics of EH III and

⁶³⁷ The idea that this building immediately next to the tumulus and partially overlapping its stone border may indicate the loss of the “respect” for the space has been countered by Rambach. He, and Wiersma after him (Rambach 2001, 330; Wiersma 2013, 177), have argued that alluvial deposits from flooding activity had covered the built boundary of the tumulus at the point that House 5 was constructed, meaning that the integrity of the portion of the tumulus that was still visible was preserved. I would argue that the slight overlapping of the boundary of the tumulus seems to me very purposeful and is consistent with the rebuilding practices at the site in general. It is probably not coincidental that this house, representing one of the best examples of rebuilding at this site, is located here, and likely represents a claim to the space and social capital of the tumulus. The very close proximity of this building to the possible ritual platform associated with House 4 and the tumulus should also be noted.

⁶³⁸ Rambach 2002, 198. Wiersma (2013, 178) follows Rambach in this assessment.

MH I mixed with this material, perhaps a result of feasting activity or termination rituals.⁶³⁹ The deliberate placement of this burned debris *into the tumulus* is, however, noteworthy on its own. Rambach goes on to very briefly propose that these pits were dug for clay for construction purposes—intended for mudbricks to be used in the new rectilinear structures.⁶⁴⁰ If this is the case, then this practice further underscores the idea of cyclicity in the “life-cycle” of the houses, with the “killed” house deposited (ritually?) into venerated space, from which the materials for the new house are also derived. Here again there is a special connection between architecture, architectural remains, and the ritual tumulus, as at Lerna (and Thebes), though here architectural remains are deposited into the tumulus rather than buried under it (more closely mirroring burial practices of the time?). Though Rambach intimates that the apsidal houses were burned in a single episode, and they certainly were destroyed over a relatively short time-frame, their destruction and renewal seems to have been ritually marked through these practices. It may additionally be notable that “burial” of house remains was executed in a central area, perhaps suggesting the development of a more cohesive community group at an early period here, on parallel with, for instance, the social implications of the use of extramural cemeteries. Rambach is, however, correct in emphasizing that it is also expedient to make use of available resources close to the house (**Houses 1 and 5** in particular).

Several houses are likewise associated with intramural pithos-burials of infants and children. Rambach dates all of these burials to the later, MH I rectilinear building-phase at the site.⁶⁴¹ Regardless, claim on the space by a particular family group through funerary activities is

⁶³⁹ Rambach 2010, 116.

⁶⁴⁰ Rambach 2002, 212 n. 124.

⁶⁴¹ Rambach 2002, 198; Rambach 2013, 158-167

likely. Overall, treatment of the houses and the domestic space is surprisingly similar to that at Lerna.

Pisa (Unclear, possibly open)⁶⁴²

West Series ⁶⁴³	West House 1 ⁶⁴⁴	Displaced (Rebuilt as West House 2)	Wall at approx. 833 masl(?) ⁶⁴⁵	MH II/III ⁶⁴⁶
West House 1 dismantled(?)→	West House 2		Level Unknown	MH II/III

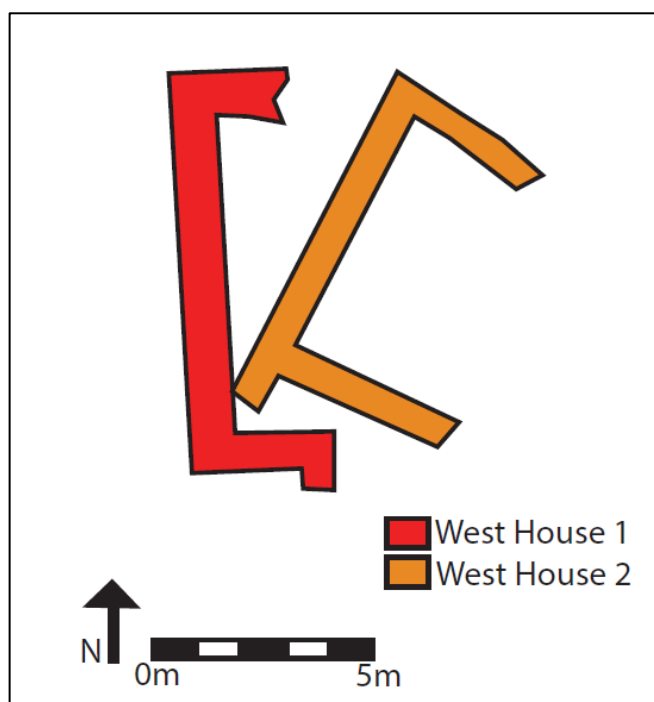


Fig. 2.48: West House Series. After Dörpfeld 1935, Tafel 23.

⁶⁴² Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. B75 (“Miraka: Oinomaos”).

⁶⁴³ Dörpfeld 1935, 273-275. See also a brief treatment in Koumouzelis (1980, 194).

⁶⁴⁴ These houses are numbered here for convenience, and distinguished from the houses on the south side of the hill. No numbers have been assigned to them previously, and little is known about individual structural details. It is clear, however, that these two houses must reflect some type of series rather than contemporaneous building.

⁶⁴⁵ Levels for both houses are taken from Dörpfeld 1935, Tafel 23. It is unclear whether the level responds to the top or bottom of the wall, and no units are given. This house is presumed to be earlier because of the lower level, but it is also slightly downslope.

⁶⁴⁶ The date is derived from the date for the overall settlement as established by Koumouzelis (1987, 207) and Rambach (2002, 152).

Commentary: Very little has been published about this site. In general, as Wiersma notes, the construction appears to be agglomerative.⁶⁴⁷ These buildings are less “neatly” arranged than those lining settlement walls at Argos and Malthi, for instance, though there is a settlement wall at Pisa as well, and it is likely that multiple phases of building are represented. This idea is perhaps corroborated by at least two instances of double-walls visible in Dörpfeld’s plan.⁶⁴⁸ At least in the case of the **West House** Series, partially displaced rebuilding is likely to be represented. Nothing is mentioned about how the first house in this series was destroyed or abandoned, though it must have been at least partially dismantled (whether it had been destroyed or abandoned) prior to the building of the second house, though an effort seems to have been made to leave much of the earlier structure in place. It may also be, however, that the earlier “house” is actually a terrace wall, supporting the other structure.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 2/4, **50%**. At least four houses are represented here, one of them a fairly large agglutinatively-grown, multi-room structure that may be composed of multiple structures. Again, this number is only an estimate.

Ritual Deposit:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Present

None identified. Intramural burial of children, particularly under the walls of houses, is attested, but nothing further can be said.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Wiersma 2013, 178.

⁶⁴⁸ Dörpfeld 1935, Tafel 23. See also Rambach (2002, 152) for a brief remark on the two building phases at Pisa.

⁶⁴⁹ Koumouzelis 1980, 194; Wiersma 2013, 178.

Laconia

Ayios Stephanos (Tell?)⁶⁵⁰

Delta Series ⁶⁵¹ Area Delta converted to burial space	Delta I ⁶⁵²	<i>Displaced (Rebuilt as Delta II or Delta III)</i>	<i>Wall top at ca.96.74 masl; Wall top of bk at ca.96.36 masl⁶⁵³</i>	<i>EH II Early⁶⁵⁴</i>
	Delta II ⁶⁵⁵	Displaced (Orientation shift; Rebuilt as Delta III)	Wall top at ca. 96.45 masl	MH I Late
	Delta III ⁶⁵⁶		Wall top at ca.97.27 masl	MH II

⁶⁵⁰ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. C17.

⁶⁵¹ Area Delta and all of its architecture are discussed by Taylour (1972, 244-247) in summary form.

⁶⁵² Taylour and Janlo 2008, 560. This structure includes walls **bc** and **bd** (though about 30cm lower in elevation. I include wall **bk** at the south as well, though not technically a part of this structure, for its shared orientation and apparently close relationship to Structure Delta II (Taylour 1972, Fig. 13).

⁶⁵³ Elevations for Area Delta are taken from the old benchmark. The adjusted elevation for Delta I is 97.67 masl, for wall **bk** 97.23, for Delta II 97.38, for Delta III 98.12.

⁶⁵⁴ Taylour (1972, 244) observes that relatively little EH pottery can be assigned to this area, and Structure Delta I dated primarily on the shared orientation with Area A. Delta II, however, has the same orientation and is assigned to MH, which Taylour suggests as a possibility for Delta I as well. The adjusted date for this structure would be MH I Early.

⁶⁵⁵ Taylour and Janko 2008, 569. Delta II includes walls **bf** and **bj**.

⁶⁵⁶ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H03; Taylour and Janko 2008, 572. Wiersma (2013, 530) suspects that this structure, made up of walls **bb**, **ba**, **bi** at the north and **bl**, **bm**, and **be** at the south, actually represents two separate buildings, following Taylour's original (1972, 244) interpretation of the area. The plan is difficult to discern as the area is heavily disturbed by burial and later building activity, and does seem unusual as restored by Taylour and Janko (2008, Fig. 14.4). Still, it is consistent with other long apsidal buildings (primarily Alpha IV) at the site. A third possibility is that the long walls frame a gated entrance to the site, as for example at Megali Magoula Galatas, but this would suggest a walled settlement, for little substantial evidence, though the presence of a gate in this area by LH IIIC (Delta V) may lend circumstantial support to this interpretation (Taylour and Janko 2008, 599). I discuss this further in Chapter 3.

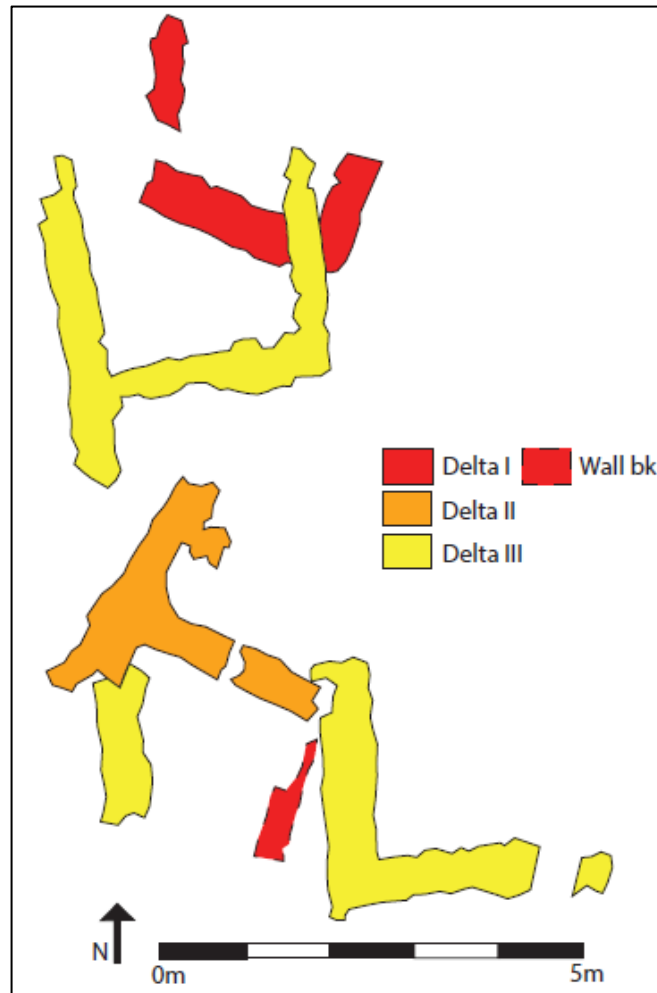


Fig. 2.49: Delta Series. After Taylour 1972, Fig. 13.

Eta I Series ⁶⁵⁷	Eta I Earliest ⁶⁶⁰	Integrated/Visible (Rebuilt as Eta Early) ⁶⁶¹	Wall bottom at ca. 97.79 masl; Wall top at ca. 98.05 masl ⁶⁶²	EH II Early- Late
Eta I earliest abandoned ⁶⁵⁸ →	Eta I Early ⁶⁶³	Displaced (Rebuilt as Eta I)	Wall bottom at ca. 98.05 masl; Wall top at ca. 98.20 masl	MH I Early
	<i>Pre-Eta I/Eta I Outbuilding?</i> ⁶⁶⁴	<i>Displaced? (Rebuilt/Modified as</i>	<i>Wall bottom at ca. 98.42 masl;</i>	<i>MH I Late</i>

⁶⁵⁷ Structures in this series are sparsely represented, generally represented by only one wall, and only one of these is named by Taylour and Janko (2008, 30-42)—the MH I Eta I structure. Even so, together they represent a long series of rebuilding using and reusing walls that share a common orientation and often directly integrating earlier remains. These walls are later used in cist tombs when the area becomes strictly funerary in function, ca. LH I-II.

⁶⁵⁸ Taylour and Janko 2008, 39.

Eta I burns ⁶⁵⁹ → Area Eta		<i>Eta I)</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 98.57 masl</i>	
	Eta I ⁶⁶⁵	Displaced (Rebuilt as Eta I Late and Later)	Wall bottom at ca. 98.17 masl; Wall top at ca. 98.61 masl	MH I Late
	<i>Eta I Late</i> ⁶⁶⁶	<i>Displaced? (Part of Eta I Later? Rebuilt as Eta I Latest)</i>	<i>Wall bottom at ca. 98.44 masl; Wall top at ca. 98.61 masl</i>	<i>MH II</i>
	Eta I Later ⁶⁶⁷	Integrated/Displaced (Rebuilt as Eta I Latest)	Wall top at ca. 98.5 masl	MH III
	Eta I Latest ⁶⁶⁸		Wall bottom at	MH III/LH I-

⁶⁶⁰ Taylour and Janko 2008, 40. This structure consisted only of wall **do**, in use from EH II early through the end of the period and associated with a probable floor to the SW and to the NE.

⁶⁶¹ Eta I Earliest probably was only built upon after a significant gap during EH III, but is likely to have been known, as demonstrated by the relative levels of the structures. Use of the earlier structure may have been practical, as the EH II building made use of a drop in bedrock (Taylour and Janko 2008, 40). It is likely to have had a cultural dimension as well, and, together with Areas Alpha, Delta, and Zeta, seems to show an MH I preference for building in areas with remains of earlier occupation. Area Nu provides the exception.

⁶⁶² All levels for this series are taken from Taylour and Janko 2008, 31, Fig. 1.15.

⁶⁶³ Taylour and Janko 2008, 38-39. This structure consisted only of wall **dj**, tentatively identified as either a terrace wall or a long apsidal building similar to Alpha IV.

⁶⁶⁴ Taylour and Janko 2008, 38. This structure consisted only of wall **dq**, and its function is unknown. It may be in use contemporaneously with Eta I, as it is stratigraphically beneath the destruction layer associated with this building. I have suggested its use as an auxiliary structure, or as a poorly preserved predecessor, though its foundation level is somewhat higher than that of Eta I proper; this may however be accounted for by the natural slope.

⁶⁵⁹ Taylour and Janko 2008, 37-38. Destruction debris was not particularly ashy, but some stones were burnt, and daub architectural remains must have been preserved through burning.

⁶⁶⁵ Taylour and Janko 2008, 34-38. This structure consisted of walls **dg** and **dh**, bonded, and is also referred to as Room I.

⁶⁶⁶ Taylour and Janko 2008, 34. The structure consists of wall **dp** only. This wall was associated with a paved area to the north, and possibly forms part of a road system. It is more severely displaced than other structures in this series, and so may be unrelated. I have included it here because it preserves the orientation of the other structures, and because it would have continued on a line that would intersect the theoretically later wall **dk** of the "Eta I Later" structure. These may form a single unit.

⁶⁶⁷ Taylour and Janko 2008, 33-34. The structure consists of wall **dk** only, and may be associated with wall **dp** of Eta I Late.

⁶⁶⁸ Taylour and Janko 2008, 32-33. The structure consists of walls **di** and **dr**, probably parts of a single continuous wall.

converted to burial space			ca. 98.61; Wall top at ca. 98.81 masl	LH I
------------------------------	--	--	---	------

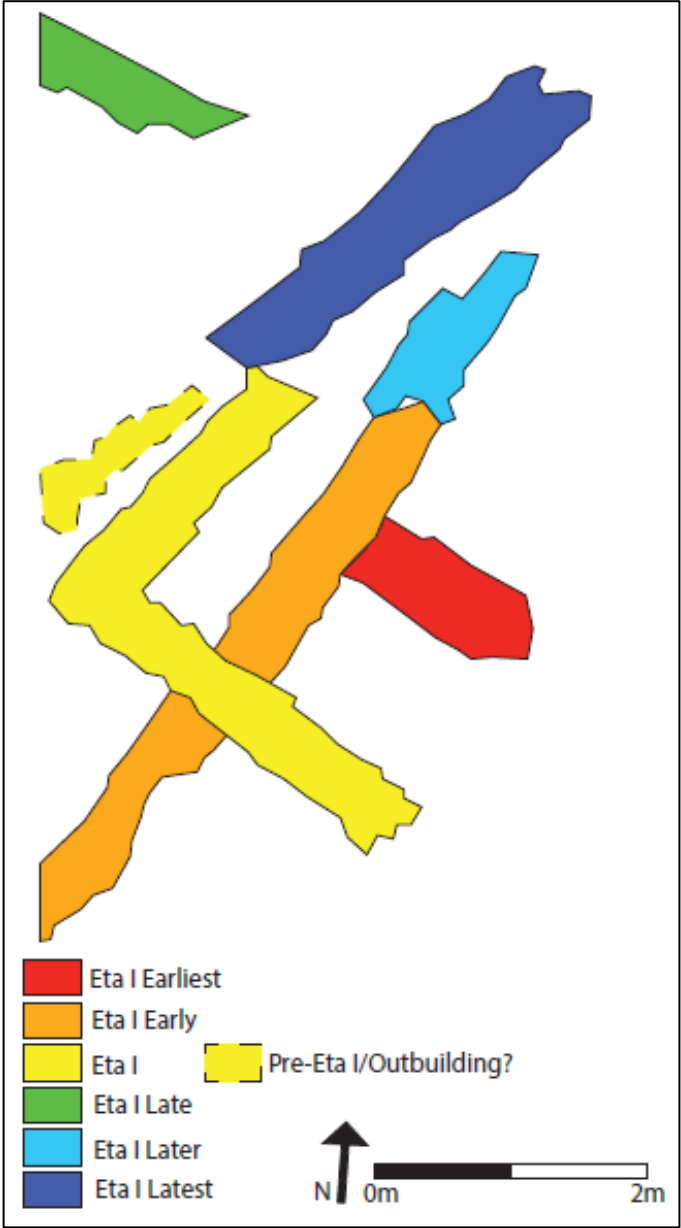


Fig. 2.50: Eta I Series. After Taylour and Janko 2008, Fig. 1.15.

Alpha IV Series	<i>Structure Alpha III</i> ⁶⁶⁹	<i>Displaced/Visible</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 98.03</i> ⁶⁷⁰	<i>EH II Late</i>
-----------------	---	--------------------------	---	-------------------

⁶⁶⁹ Taylour 1972, 240 (walls **al** and **ae**); Taylour and Janko 2008, 560.

	Structure Alpha IV ⁶⁷¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Alpha IV)	Wall top at ca. 98.42 masl	MH I Early
	Post-Alpha IV		Wall top at ca. 98.48 masl	MH I Late



Fig. 2.51: Alpha IV Series. After Taylour 1972, Fig. 3.

⁶⁷⁰ Elevations for Area Alpha are based on the older bench mark at the site, set at a theoretical 100 masl. The old benchmark was not recovered in the later excavations, but the difference in elevation between the newer and older benchmark was ascertained to be between 0.7-1.17m, and the older benchmark is now considered to be 100.925 masl (Taylour and Janko 2008, 11). The adjusted elevation for Alpha III is 98.96 masl, for Alpha IV 99.35 masl and 99.41masl for Post-Alpha IV. It should be noted that at about 0.40-0.50m under the *top* of the long wall of Alpha IV, the walls of Alpha III, though significantly earlier, are likely to have been visible to the later builders. This reoccupation is likely to represent not the return of the earlier kinship group, but a claim on the part of a new group to an ancient space. The influence and status of this group is perhaps indicated by the rather large size of Alpha IV.

⁶⁷¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H01; Taylour 1972, 239-243, esp. 240. Wiersma and Taylour consider both certain phases of this house series together. Alpha IV consists of walls **as**, **ad**, and **ax**. Post-Alpha IV is made up of wall **ar**.

Beta I and Beta 3 Series ⁶⁷²	Pre-Beta I ⁶⁷⁴	Displaced (Rebuilt as Beta I)	Wall top at ca. 96.30 masl	EH II Late or MH I Earliest ⁶⁷⁵
	Beta I ⁶⁷⁶	Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Beta I or Beta III)	Wall top at ca. 96.70 masl; surface at ca. 96.54 masl	MH I Early
	Beta I burns →	Post-Beta I ⁶⁷⁷	Wall bottom at ca. 96.86 masl; Wall top at ca. 97.06 masl ; surface at ca. 96.88 masl	MH III
		Beta III ⁶⁷⁸	Wall bottom at ca. 96.76 masl; Wall top at ca. 97.07 masl	MH III
		<i>Beta I Late (Court?)</i> ⁶⁷⁹	<i>Wall bottom at ca. 97.08 masl; Wall top at ca. 97.42 masl; surface at 97.1 masl</i>	<i>MH III/LH I-LH I</i>
	Forge burns→ Beta I and 3 are converted to public and then burial space ⁶⁷³	<i>“Forge”</i> ⁶⁸⁰	<i>Wall bottom at ca. 97.04 masl; Wall top at ca. 97.56 masl; surface at ca.</i>	<i>LH IIA</i>

⁶⁷² This series is highly equivocal, but I include it to show to emphasize the repeated use of this space, including here very prominent series of surfaces (Taylour and Janko 2008, 51), not unlike that of Lambda I.

⁶⁷³ This space included a paved courtyard, gated and stepped road, and possible terrace, all in use until LH IIIA1 (Taylour and Janko 2008, 49-56). By LH IIIC, this area contains burials (Taylour and Janko 2008, 48).

⁶⁷⁴ Taylour and Janko 2008, 60. Only one wall segment can be assigned to this phase, wall **gr**.

⁶⁷⁵ MH I is more likely, though EH II is possible, according to Taylour and Janko 2008, 60.

⁶⁷⁶ Taylour and Janko 2008, 58-60. Only one wall is attributed to this phase, wall **fa**.

⁶⁷⁷ Taylour and Janko 2008, 56-57. Only one wall is included in this phase, wall **em**. It may have functioned as a terrace wall, and seems to be separated from Beta III by a road. It may nevertheless be related, and is certainly significant in this series both for its clear reference to earlier structures and for its preservation in the later floor of the “Forge,” though Taylour and Janko also suggest that it was partially robbed out at this time. Ash deposits dated to MH III (Taylour and Janko 2008, 58) may be associated with any building on this terrace.

⁶⁷⁸ Taylour and Janko 2008, 56. This room consisted of walls **fd** and **fb**.

⁶⁷⁹ Taylour and Janko 2008, 51. This room is formed by walls **ep** and **ej**.

			96.97 masl	
--	--	--	------------	--

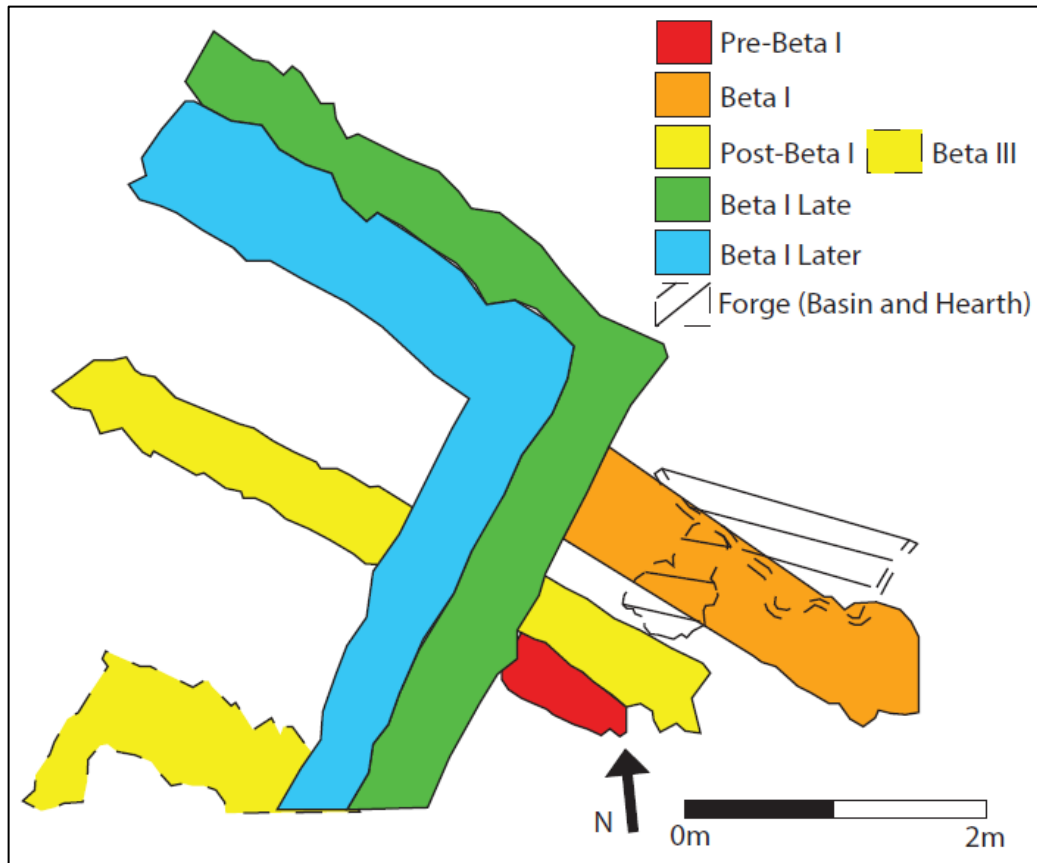


Fig. 2.52: Beta I and Beta III Series. After Taylour and Janko, Fig. 1.28, 1.31-1.33.

Zeta Series ⁶⁸¹	Structure Zeta I ⁶⁸²	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as Zeta II and Pre-Zeta IV)	Wall bottom at ca. 92.94 masl; Wall top at ca. 93.33 masl ⁶⁸³	EH II Late/MH I Earliest
----------------------------	---------------------------------	---	--	--------------------------

⁶⁸⁰ Taylour and Janko 2008, 52-56. The “forge” is west of and includes walls **ep** and **ey**; wall **em** of Post-Beta I.

⁶⁸¹ This series is somewhat problematic because it is often unclear whether one or two structures are represented. For instance, Structure Zeta II may be a part of the same building as Pre-Zeta IV, and Post-Zeta III may be a part of Zeta V. For this reason, and because even when two structures are present (likely Zeta III and Zeta IV, for example) they are likely to be closely related, sharing a possible courtyard space, I have considered them as part of a single series. If, however, the Zeta series was broken up, it would go as follows: 1) Zeta I→Zeta II→Zeta III; and 2) Zeta I→Pre-Zeta IV→Zeta IV→Zeta V.

⁶⁸² This structure is unnamed in the text of Taylour and Janko (2008, 28-30), but consists of walls **iu**, **is**, and **it** and is labeled on the plan for the period (Taylour and Janko 2008, 561, Fig. 14.1).

⁶⁸³ All elevations for Ayios Stephanos are taken from a benchmark theoretically at 100 masl. Elevations are estimated from averages taken for the structure as a whole.

Zeta I burns →	Structure Zeta II ⁶⁸⁴	Displaced (Rebuilt as Zeta III) ⁶⁸⁵	Wall bottom at ca. 93.06 masl; Wall top at ca. 93.98 masl	MH I Early
	Pre-Zeta IV ⁶⁸⁶	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as Zeta IV, and perhaps III)	Wall top at ca. 94.24 masl	MH I Early
Zeta II burns →	Structure Zeta III ⁶⁸⁷	Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Zeta III?)	Wall bottom at ca. 94.54 masl; Wall top at ca. 94.81 masl	MH I Late
	Structure Zeta IV ⁶⁸⁸	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as Zeta V)	Wall bottom at ca. 94.13 masl; Wall top at ca. 94.39 masl; Floor at ca. 94.05 masl	MH I Late
Zeta III burns →	Post-Zeta III ⁶⁸⁹		Wall bottom at ca. 94.54 masl; Wall top at ca. 94.76 masl; Surface at ca. 94.67 masl	MH II
Zeta IV burns →	Structure Zeta V ⁶⁹⁰		Wall bottom at ca. 94.46 masl;	MH II

⁶⁸⁴ This structure is unnamed in the text of Taylour and Janko (2008, 27-28), but consists of wall **io** is labeled on the plan for the period (Taylour and Janko 2008, 562, Fig. 14.2).

⁶⁸⁵ Zeta II and III are separated by a fill of 0.5-0.6m, but Taylour and Janko suggest that the remaining wall of Zeta II was probably only a terrace wall supporting a structure above, of which some part may have still been known to the builders of Zeta III. Alternatively, Zeta III may be part of an effort to raise the terrace. A direct sequence of rebuilding, though, is certainly complicated by this apparent gap.

⁶⁸⁶ This structure is unnamed in the text of Taylour and Janko (2008, 27), but consists of walls **in** and **iq** and is briefly discussed. The name is in reference to its place beneath Zeta IV (as this structure is labeled in Taylour and Janko 2008, 562, Fig. 14.2).

⁶⁸⁷ This structure, labeled Zeta III on the overall plan for the period (Taylour and Janko 2008, 562, Fig. 14.2), is referred to as Structure Zeta II in the text (Taylour and Janko 2008, 26, 568). I have followed the nomenclature of the plans here because several buildings in this series are not named or numbered in the text.

⁶⁸⁸ This structure, labeled Zeta IV on the overall plan for the period (Taylour and Janko 2008, 562, Fig. 14.2) and consisting of walls **im**, **ij**, **ip**, **il**, **ir**, and **ik**, is referred to as Structure Zeta I in the text (Taylour and Janko 2008, 26-27, 568).

⁶⁸⁹ This structure is not named by Taylour and Janko (2008, 25), and consists of only one wall (**ii**). Its identification as a house separate from Structure Zeta V is dependent on a proposed road between the two buildings. Taylour and Janko nevertheless indicate that this wall may form a megaron-like structure with Zeta V.

			Wall top at ca. 94.82 masl; Surface at ca. 94.45 masl	
--	--	--	--	--

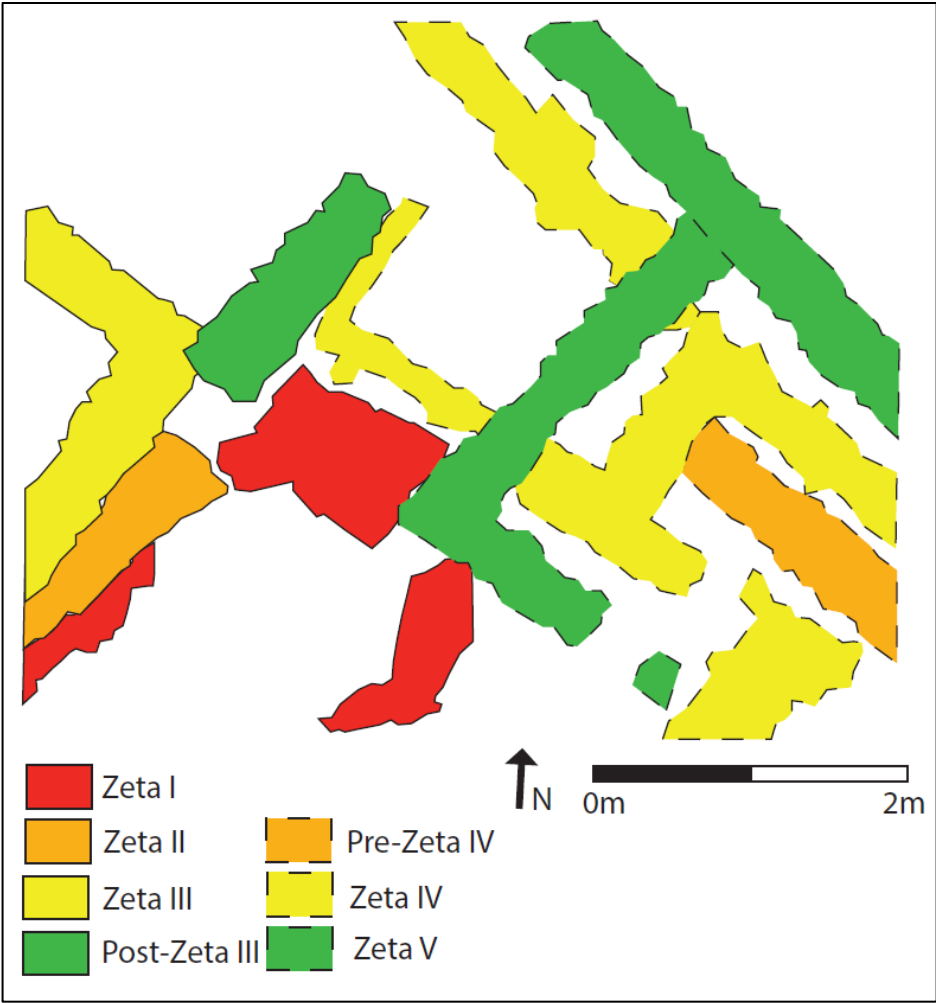


Fig. 2.53: Zeta Series. After Taylour and Janko 2008, Fig. 1.9.

Alpha V Series	Pre-Alpha V ⁶⁹¹	Displaced/Integrated	Wall top at ca.	MH I Late
----------------	----------------------------	----------------------	-----------------	-----------

⁶⁹⁰ This structure, labeled Zeta V on the overall plan for the period (Taylour and Janko 2008, 573, Fig. 14.4) and consisting of walls **if**, **ib**, and **ia**, is referred to as Structure Zeta III in the text (Taylour and Janko 2008, 25).

⁶⁹¹ Evidence for this first phase of Structure Alpha V is slim at best, and the wall I have associated with a possible rebuilding, though visible on Taylour's (1972, 210, Fig. 3) plan of the area, is not named. The date of this structure and whether it preceded or followed Alpha V is also unclear, as the elevations of both phases are quite similar. It may be more likely, based on the apparent lack of a south face for the wall on Taylour's plan, that it precedes Alpha V and was directly overbuilt (integrated) on its southern side. Still, on parallel with Alpha IV, it may represent an expansion or rebuilding.

Area Alpha converted to burial space		(Rebuilt as Alpha V)	98.54 masl ⁶⁹²	
	Structure Alpha V ⁶⁹³		Wall top at ca. 98.57 masl	MH II-MH III ⁶⁹⁴

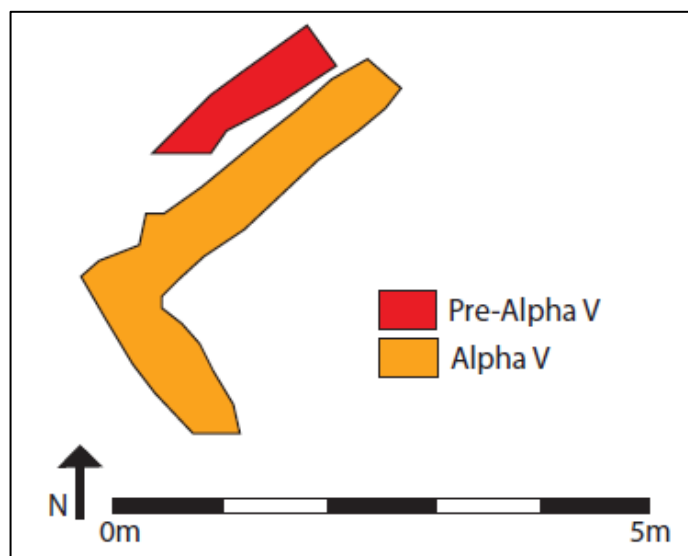


Fig. 2.54: Alpha V Series. After Taylour 1972, Fig. 3.

Nu Series	Structure Nu I ⁶⁹⁸	Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Nu I?)	Wall top at ca. 98.24 masl; Surface at ca. 98.17 masl ⁶⁹⁹	MH I Late
Nu I burns, Grave 14 built ⁶⁹⁵ →	<i>Post-Nu I</i> ⁷⁰⁰	<i>Displaced</i> <i>(Rebuilt as Nu II/Post-Nu II?)</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 98.48 masl;</i> <i>surface at ca. 98.46 masl</i>	<i>MH III</i>
Post Nu I destroyed ⁶⁹⁶ →	Structure Nu II ⁷⁰¹	Displaced (Rebuilt as Post-Nu II?)	Wall bottom at ca. 98.42 masl; Wall top at	MH III/LH I

⁶⁹² Elevations for Alpha V are taken from the old benchmark. The adjusted elevation for Pre-Alpha V is 99.47masl, and 99.5masl for Alpha V.

⁶⁹³ Taylour 1972, 240; Taylour and Janko 2008, 572, 576. Alpha 5 is composed of walls **ak** and **aq**.

⁶⁹⁴ Taylour and Janko 2008, 572, 576.

⁶⁹⁵ Taylour and Janko 2008, 112, 140-141.

⁶⁹⁶ Taylour and Janko (2008, 108) mention a destruction layer associated with one of these partial walls (**ng**) as well as the general destruction of the area in the terracing that preceded construction of Nu II.

Shaft Grave (Grave 13) built ⁶⁹⁷ →			ca.98.87 masl; Surface at ca. 98.46 masl	
	<i>Post-Nu II</i> ⁷⁰²		<i>Wall bottom at ca. 98.80 masl; wall top at ca. 99.08 masl</i>	<i>LH I-IIA</i>

⁶⁹⁸ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H02. Taylour and Janko 2008, 112-119 (walls **nh** and **nz**).

⁶⁹⁹ Elevations taken from Taylour and Janko 2008, Fig. 1.53-54, 1.61-63.

⁷⁰⁰ Taylour and Janko 2008, 107-112. This phase consists of various walls, the relationships of which are difficult to determine as a result of terracing, and road-building, in this area. A gap following the occupation and destruction of Nu I (with the possible exception of MH II wall fragment **nv**, Taylour and Janko 2008, 112) in which the “Lower Pebbled Road” ran over the remnants of the building is likely. A later phase of this road, perhaps following the re-establishment of domestic activity in this area, is proposed. For the earlier part of MH III, Taylour and Janko (2008, 108) do suggest one structure, my Post-Nu I, composed of walls **ng**, **nx**, and **nw**, but note that it could also represent a court. A floor seems to continue in association with wall **ng**, but the “Upper Pebbled Road” is established, and contemporary walls of late MH III are assigned primarily to animal pens. Still, domestic occupation seems to have continued in this area, though its extent is unclear. These walls are indicated by dashed outlines in the plan.

⁷⁰¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H06. Taylour and Janko 2008, 102-107 (walls **nf**, **ne**, **nd**, **nc**, **nk**, **nm**, **no**).

⁶⁹⁷ Taylour and Janko 2008, 102, 137-140.

⁷⁰² Taylour and Janko 2008, 94-98. This may be portions of two structures composed of wall **nl** (LH IIA) at the south and **na** (LH I/IIA) at the north. Though **nl** is of a generally “messier” construction, they are on a similar alignment and share a similar date and level (accounting for slope), and so may be related.

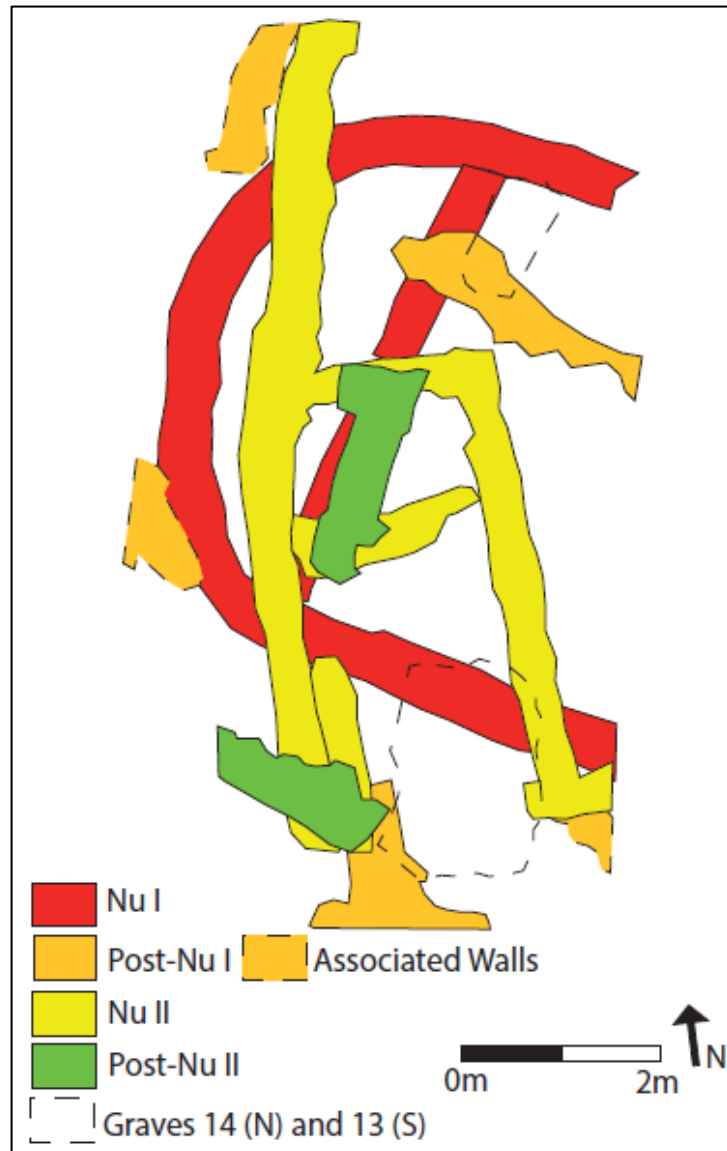


Fig. 2.55: Nu Series. After Tylour and Janko 2008, Fig. 1.53, 1.60-1.63.

Lambda I Series ⁷⁰³	Floor 10 ⁷⁰⁴	Unknown ⁷⁰⁵ (Rebuilt with	Surface at ca. 98.55 masl ⁷⁰⁶	MH II/III
-----------------------------------	-------------------------	---	---	-----------

⁷⁰³ Tylour and Janko 2008, 85-91. I give no real phase plan for this series as no architectural changes were apparent; in general, preservation was poor and disturbed by later building, and the structure was incompletely excavated. Phases that follow are assessed from identified surfaces primarily in the northern room of the structure. This series is primarily intended to show floor replacement/renewal as a prominent feature at Ayios Stephanos. I do not suggest that the building was fully replaced for every new floor, but it certainly was following the burning destruction of the Floor 10 phase.

⁷⁰⁴ Tylour and Janko 2008, 91 (for Floors 7-10); 87 for Floors 4a/b and 6.

⁷⁰⁵ Since the walls of these earlier phases are not preserved, the type of rebuilding cannot be determined. It is possible that since there do not seem to be outlying or displaced walls that rebuildings were fairly faithful to the

Floor 10 burns→ Lambda I abandoned		Lambda I/Floor 9)		
	Lambda I ⁷⁰⁷	Unknown	Wall top at ca. 98.87 masl	MH III Early
	Floor 9	Unknown (Resurfaced?)	Surface at ca. 98.70 masl	MH III Late
	Floor 8b	Unknown (Resurfaced?)	Surface at ca. 98.70 masl	MH III/LH I
	Floors 7, 8a	Unknown (Resurfaced?)	Surface at ca. 98.67 masl	LH I
	Floors 4a/b, 6		Surface at ca. 98.68 masl	LH I/II

original plan and location, suggesting Wiersma's Type 1 "meticulous" rebuilding. For all phases other than the Floor 10/9 transition, the full building need not have been replaced, and simple resurfacing is possible.

⁷⁰⁶ Elevations for Floors 10 and 9 estimated from sections (Taylour and Janko 2008, 88-89, Figs. 1.50 and 1.51). Elevations for Floors 8, 7, 6, and 4a/b are taken from the plan of the area (Taylour and Janko 2008, 87, Fig. 1.49). Taylour and Janko (2008, 91) report that Floor 10 was about 0.18m below Floor 9; this is the only floor for which they report the specific relative depth. It should be noted that the earlier surfaces were only found at the north of this area, which was also higher in elevation as a result of the natural slope.

⁷⁰⁷ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H04. The structure consists of walls **mi**, **mb**, **md**, **mh**, and **me**.

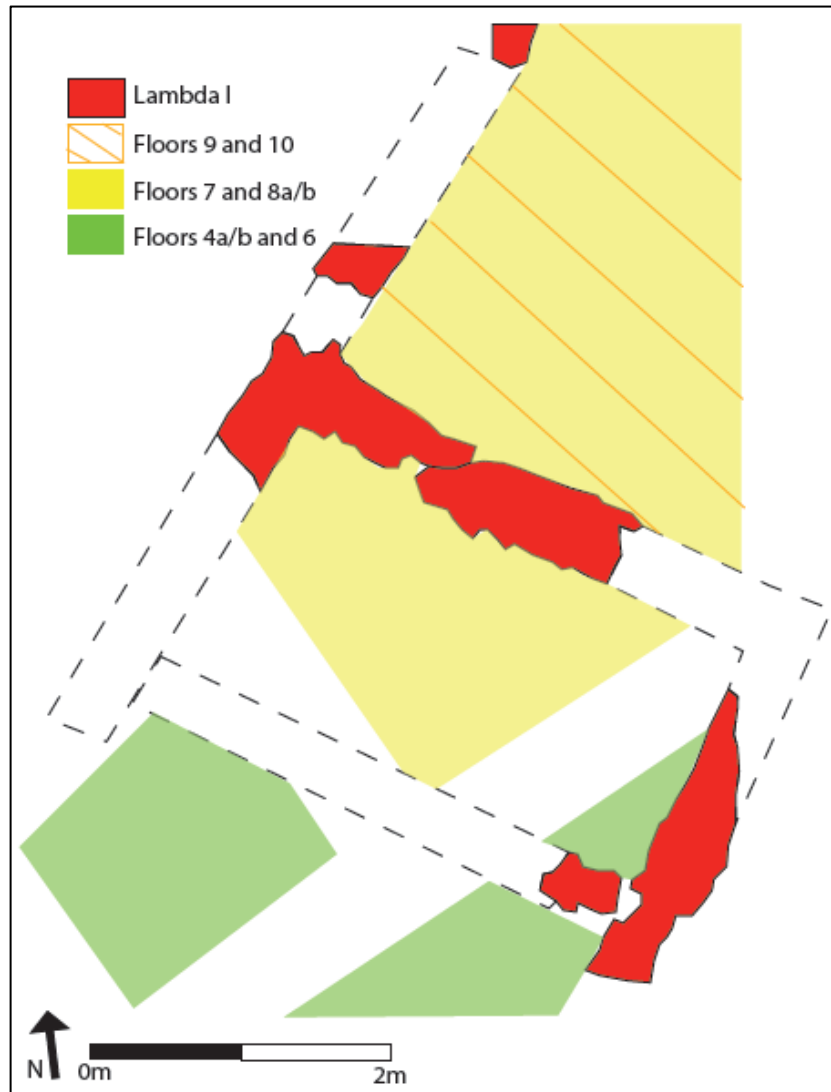


Fig. 2.56: Lambda I Series. After Taylour and Janko 2008, Fig. 1.49.

Commentary: In general, the practice of rebuilding domestic structures is both prevalent and long-lived at Ayios Stephanos. On the summit of the hill in Area Alpha, though the preservation was generally poor and the stratigraphy was mixed, rebuilding seems to be consistently practiced from the EH period onward, with the exception of an apparent period of site-wide abandonment in EH III.⁷⁰⁸ These earlier structures (Alpha I, succeeded by Alpha 2) are likely to date to EH II, early and late respectively, on parallel with nearby Area Eta and based on

⁷⁰⁸ Taylour 1972, 261.

the intramural burials in Area Alpha.⁷⁰⁹ The EH III gap is followed by a consistent shift of orientation across the hilltop, but in spite of this change, there may be a preference for building on earlier EH II architecture, demonstrated both in **Alpha** and **Delta** as well as **Eta**, **Zeta**, and perhaps **Beta**. Indeed, in general, earlier architecture seems to be built upon and reused even following substantial chronological gaps throughout the Mycenaean period, particularly in Areas **Lamda** and **Beta**. The site as a whole shows a strong and persistent preference for tell-like building and mound formation, demonstrated by replacement at the level of the whole house, the floor, and even the hearth.⁷¹⁰ This trend at Ayios Stephanos may, in some ways, focus less on the house and household of and more on the settlement, meaning that referencing a particular earlier structure in a particular location may not have been as imperative as simply building up, on top of earlier remains. The shifting use of domestic areas as living space and then cemetery argues against this idea, however, particularly in cases of burials deliberately nested within houses, seen most extremely in **Area Nu**, but also across the site. The house is, then, still intimately connected to the particular lineage group.

Taylor and Janko trace the development at Ayios Stephanos as one progressing from free-standing houses to agglomerative building on the model of Pavlopetri and Malthi.⁷¹¹ This idea is probably basically correct, as seen, for instance in the MH I Alpha IV and Nu I, both free-standing apsidal structures, versus the MH III Lambda II, with up to ten agglomeratively-

⁷⁰⁹ Taylor and Janko 2008, 30-42 (Area Eta), 142 (for burials). Dates and identifications of EH II structures are given by Taylor and Janko (2008, 560). One wall (**aa**, and perhaps **an**) may be as early as EH I (Taylor and Janko 2008, 557).

⁷¹⁰ Successive hearths are represented in at least Areas Beta (Taylor and Janko 2008, 55, Fig. 1.31) and Delta (Taylor 1972, 223, Fig. 13). This idea contrasts strongly with Wiersma's (2013, 160) assertion that the site shows remarkably little rebuilding. Though I agree that in general, the kind of rebuilding seen at Lerna, for instance, or even in Alpha IV here is less in evidence, this must be chiefly a result of the lack of fully revealed building plans over extended areas. In Area Zeta, especially, there is a clear desire to rebuild often along similar, but not identical, lines that I think is evident throughout the site.

⁷¹¹ Taylor and Janko 2008, 572.

arranged rooms. I would go even further in this line of argument. I follow Taylour and Janko in the suggestion of settlement reorganization at Ayios Stephanos, probably around MH II-III.⁷¹² Not only was an agglomerative building strategy favored, but also concentric terrace walls were constructed and probably lined with rooms, and the road system was expanded and formalized, including gates (**Area Beta**).⁷¹³ I discuss this further in Chapter 3, but it is worth emphasizing that even within this more tightly-structured community, at least in some cases, individual houses were still subjected to limited destruction/replacement activities, as demonstrated by **Nu II** and parts of **Lambda II**, in which individual rooms may have received termination rituals including burning and pottery deposits, as well as burial. In general, however, this type of behavior did decrease in frequency.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: 34/41, ca. **83%** (max); 24/41, ca. **59%**. If only houses named by Taylour and Janko are included (dismissing many of the more fragmentary phases proposed here), the rate naturally falls: 16/23, ca. **67%** (max); 14/23, ca. **61%**. Regardless, the rate of participation in house series is rather high for the site. It is particularly high in the early part of the period (EH II Late-MH I) at 19/34, ca. **56%** of all rebuilt houses. This rate falls to 10/34, ca. **29%** for MH II-MH III, and to 5/34, ca. **15%** for MH II/LH I-LH IIA.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present

⁷¹² Wiersma (2013, 161) also accepts the reorganization of the settlement, suggesting that many of the buildings on the southern slope of the settlement may have been burned in order to clear space for new construction. I have argued something similar for Malthi.

⁷¹³ I would suggest that structure Lambda II may not be a single house so much as a series of rooms lining concentric terrace walls, similar to Aspis-Argos. I discuss this further below.

Intramural Burial	Present
-------------------	---------

Signs of fire destruction prior to rebuilding episodes are inconsistently represented but certainly present at Ayios Stephanos.⁷¹⁴ **Area Zeta** provides by far the best example of a sequence of burning destruction and rebuilding, though house burning was also apparent in Areas **Eta**, **Beta**, and **Nu**. It is notable that though these buildings are only partially preserved, they can in no way be said to have a claim to a particularly prominent area (as by the tumuli at Lerna and Olympia, and perhaps the hilltop **Areas Alpha** and **Delta** at Ayios Stephanos itself), although **Area Zeta** is close to the spring.⁷¹⁵ Additionally, these houses do not appear to be elite structures, with the possible exception of **Area Nu**. Nevertheless, some signs of the ritual marking of house-burning may appear in the burnt ceramic deposits associated particularly with Areas **Nu** (Nu I and II) and **Zeta** (especially Zeta III and IV). I was unable to find evidence for house-burial, and as in certain instances at Lerna, the debris from the destruction seems to have been pushed downslope, perhaps to level the area (**Zeta III and IV**). Pits were noted in association with the destruction of **Nu I**, but the contents are not discussed (“nothing that could be recognised as of any significance”), and they are shallow and may be related to pitting from falling debris, as suggested by Taylour and Janko.⁷¹⁶ A pit full of MH ceramics is mentioned for **Area Delta**, but not further elaborated, and in general ash deposits at the site seem fairly shallow where they are not clearly a part of a broader destruction level.⁷¹⁷ Association of metal-working and house replacement, as at Nichoria and Lerna, is attested here in **Areas Beta** (the “Forge”)

⁷¹⁴ Taylour and Janko (2008, 565) remark on the absence evidence for the destruction of houses by fire in their discussion of the EH III/MH I transition particularly.

⁷¹⁵ Taylour and Janko 2008, 21.

⁷¹⁶ Taylour and Janko 2008, 114.

⁷¹⁷ Taylour and Janko 2008, 569.

and **Nu**, which is notable for the inclusion of crucibles in the floor deposit of **Nu I** and in its shaft grave burial, Grave 13.⁷¹⁸

Perhaps the best evidence for a termination deposit is found in the southern room of **Structure Nu II** (Room 2), which was subsequently used for a shaft grave burial (Grave 13). This room contained abundant signs of burning and two kantharoi, one of them miniature and one overturned, both positioned by the hearth and also burned.⁷¹⁹ This material was then mixed in with the fill of the shaft grave, perhaps more closely associating the house killing and burial episodes. In the room to the north, there were fewer signs of fire, indicating that the house as a whole was not burned, and a beak-spouted jug and conical cup were found slightly above the level of the floor. These deposits may be unrelated, but could also suggest a gap between the abandonment of the building and the burning/termination event, which may therefore have less to do with the house than with the burial in Grave 13. On the other hand, localized burning and replacement episodes limited to specific rooms or areas of a building may also be attested in **Structure Lambda II** nearby.⁷²⁰ Prior to **Nu II**, **Nu I** may also have received a termination deposit associated with an MH II burial (Grave 14), with a number of vessels found broken within the destruction debris.⁷²¹ Although meant as a literal description of the terrain, the word “mound” is used multiple times by Taylour and Janko to describe a change in elevation

⁷¹⁸ Taylour and Janko 2008, 52-56 (the “Forge”); for Area Nu, 102 (grave), 108 (roads), 118 (floor deposit).

⁷¹⁹ Taylour and Janko 2008, 105-106.

⁷²⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. H05. Taylour and Janko 2008, 75-80, esp. 80.

⁷²¹ Taylour and Janko 2008, 116-117. I suggest here that the termination of the building is closely related to this burial, and that ritual accompanying the destruction may be the same as the funeral ritual at Ayios Stephanos, at least in the Nu Area. These vessels may of course also be fallen, and included two flasks, three cups, a jug, and two jars, one of which contained eel bones. These were clustered in the apse, just outside of which was the burial. The burial is dated to MH II on the evidence of a single pot, but its proximity to the time of the building’s destruction is emphasized by Taylour and Janko (2008, 112). It may therefore be that the sequence of events should be destruction/termination deposit→burial, versus a more contemporary relationship.

experienced by their proposed road constructed over the house following this burial in MH II/III.⁷²² It is possible that the house and the burial within it were temporarily marked by a low mound, which if it was tamped down should resemble a road, and the next solid construction in the area is not until MH III or even as late as the MH III/LH I transition with Nu II. This idea is of course speculative, but it may help to explain the unusual presence of a Minoan male figurine in the area at around this level.⁷²³ Whether this would be veneration of the house or the burial, or both, is unclear. An early MH I house-burning in **Area Zeta** that included infant bones, perhaps interred (**Burial Zeta 6**), is interesting, and, though probably a product of the intramural burial widely-practiced at the site, may suggest the destruction of house and body together.⁷²⁴ This case is, however, as far as I know unparalleled at Ayios Stephanos, but there is a similar situation with a burned EH II-III pithos burial (?) at House R-B at Berbati.⁷²⁵

Intramural burial was practiced at the site for the period under consideration, but most prominent is a progression of abandonment of domestic space in favor of funereal use, first on the hilltop in **Areas Alpha and Delta**, and then later further downslope, more or less throughout the formerly inhabited space.⁷²⁶ This phenomenon is discussed further in Chapter 3, but it is worth noting that it occurs at different times for different house groups at Ayios Stephanos, and though there is often reoccupation of the area, it is generally only in LH IIIC. This practice of

⁷²² Taylour and Janko 2008, 108 (“mound”), 111, 112 (referring to a rise in ground level over the remains of the house in general).

⁷²³ Taylour and Janko 2008, 108. See Taylour and Janko (2008, 110, Fig. 1.62) for a plan with the find spot indicated.

⁷²⁴ See Taylour and Janko (2008, 29, 122) for a description of this possible burial (Burial Zeta 6), which is heavily burnt and perhaps enclosed in fragments of large coarseware vessels.

⁷²⁵ Säflund 1965, 110-111.

⁷²⁶ Taylour and Janko 2008, 141.

using former domestic space for burial is not unlike the situation proposed by Milka for Lerna and Aspis-Argos.⁷²⁷ Though at Ayios Stephanos, many of these areas were not re-inhabited until much later, suggesting on a practical if not literal level the permanent transition to funerary use, **Area Nu**, for instance, did see alternating domestic and funerary use. This case is particularly similar to Lerna in its “capping” of a house-series with the installation of a sort of shaft grave, seen here in Grave 13.⁷²⁸ Infant and child burials, of course, were found throughout the settlement, and many of them were probably more or less contemporary with habitation—in a few cases, demonstrably so.⁷²⁹ The relatively frequent appearance of skull-only “burials” in **Area Alpha** especially, and generally throughout the hilltop burials, is perhaps noteworthy, though of course there is some selection bias here; still, Taylour notes special attention given to skulls in cases of reuse of the tomb, perhaps illustrating reverence toward the dead as ancestors.⁷³⁰

*Menelaion (Unclear)*⁷³¹

Terrace Houses Series ⁷³²	Phase 1 ⁷³³	Displaced/Integrated (Rebuilt as Phase 2)	Wall top at ca. 9.72 ⁷³⁴	LH IIB ⁷³⁵
1 dismantled→	Phase 2 ⁷³⁶	Displaced (Rebuilt	Wall top at ca.	LH IIB

⁷²⁷ Milka 2010.

⁷²⁸ Taylour and Janko 2008, 137-140.

⁷²⁹ Taylour and Janko 2008, 141.

⁷³⁰ Taylour 1972, 237-239.

⁷³¹ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. C01.

⁷³² Catling 2009, 64-66. Wiersma (2013, 162) proposes this series, and I follow her here.

⁷³³ Phase 1 consists of walls delta and zeta.

⁷³⁴ Elevations at the Menelaion were taken from a bench mark set at 10m above an arbitrary zero point (Catling 2009, 237). All elevations shown here were taken from Catling (2009, 30, Fig. 32).

⁷³⁵ Catling (2009, 65) suggests that Phase 1 could be LH IIA Late, but that LH IIB is the more likely date for all three phases, suggesting fast transitions, particularly considering a modification made to the second phase and the destruction of Phase 3 also within this period.

⁷³⁶ Phase 2 consists of walls beta and epsilon, with wall alpha abutting beta and representing a later modification.

2 dismantled→		as Phase 3)	9.21	
	Phase 3 ⁷³⁷		Wall top at ca. 10.08	LH IIB

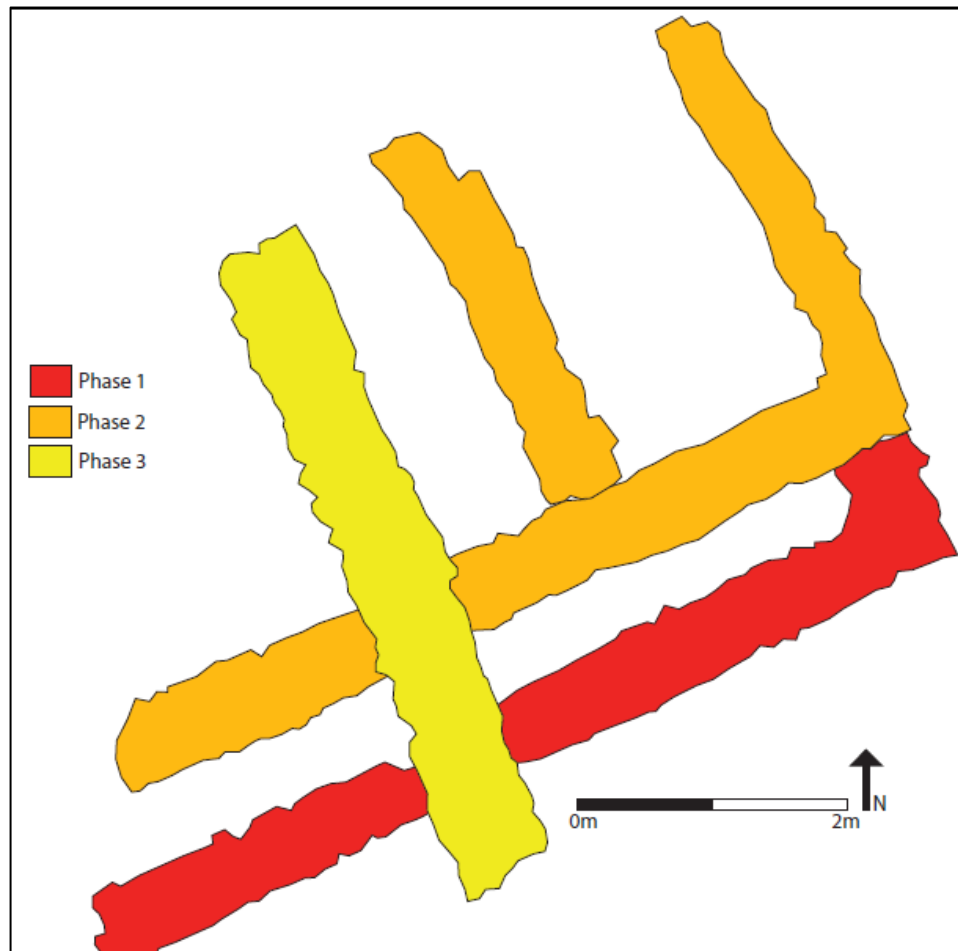


Fig. 2.57: Terrace Houses Series. After Catling 2009, Fig. 32.

Commentary: The so-called Terrace Houses are fairly late, named for their location on the upper terrace of the Menelaion Hill, nearby the well-known Mansions. It is rightly pointed out by Wiersma for the high probability that it represents a series of rebuildings.⁷³⁸ All three phases were likely built and destroyed within the LH IIB period, representing a relatively high

⁷³⁷ Phase 3 consists of a single wall, gamma, and Catling (2009, 65) notes that it may simply represent an enclosure wall of some variety.

⁷³⁸ Wiersma 2013, 162.

overturn, with a rebuilding every 20 years (or less). This series is useful in demonstrating a persistence of rebuilding practices throughout the Mycenaean period that is prominent at the Menelaion site, particularly in elite building. This is perhaps most well-known in the Mansions themselves, with three iterations, but is very pronounced in Building B on the Aetos Hill, and perhaps other structures in this area. Like the Terrace Houses, Building B is first constructed in LH IIB, partially overlying or immediately bordering a possible MH tumulus—perhaps supplying motivation to continue to rebuild in this area—on the Aetos South Slope.⁷³⁹ This building, which is similar to “Mansion I” in certain elements of its construction and in its reuse of earlier blocks, is rebuilt or significantly modified twice before the end of LH IIIA1, and once more by LH IIIB, for a total of four building phases. Like Ayios Stephanos, then, rebuilding at the Menelaion is long-lived, lasting well into the Mycenaean period, at least for certain types of structures.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear** from available information.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Absent

Catling suggests that the first two phases were purposefully demolished prior to rebuilding, but no signs of burning were in evidence.⁷⁴⁰ Too little material was associated with any phase to identify anything like a termination deposit. Likewise, no burials were found with these buildings, but as noted above, Building B may have been constructed in deliberate

⁷³⁹ Catling 2009, 198-212 (for Building B), 190-191 (tumulus).

⁷⁴⁰ Catling 2009, 65.

association with and partially overlapping an MH tumulus, suggesting a desire to join (and perhaps here, legitimate?) the house and the household through connections to the ancestral—real or fictive—dead.⁷⁴¹

Messenia

Epano Englianos: Deriziotis Aloni (Unclear)

Series AB-M AB “destroyed” ⁷⁴² →	<i>Pre-AB</i> ⁷⁴³	<i>Unclear</i>	<i>Surface(?) at ca. 0.38m below surface</i>	<i>EH II</i>
	Building AB ⁷⁴⁴	3 (Rebuilt as M)	Floor/hearth ca. 0.25-0.30m below surface	EH III-MH I
	Building M ⁷⁴⁵		No floor (0.12-0.2 m below surface)	EH III-MH I

⁷⁴¹ Catling (2009, 199) comments only very briefly on the relationship of Building B with the MH levels it overbuilds. It partially cuts into a grave, but I would attribute this oversight to a misunderstanding of the extent of the tumulus by LH IIB. Catling (2009, 191) also tentatively proposes that the terrace on which B is constructed may have been built to protect and support the tumulus.

⁷⁴² Stocker (2003, 348) does not explain further the evidence elucidating the nature of the destruction of Building AB, except that Building M was constructed after a short abandonment. Evidence for the abandonment, however, is described, and consists of a layer of yellow-white clay, noted for its sterility, above building AB, possibly deposited by erosion prior to the construction of M, which would have sealed this stratum (Stocker 2003, 348-350, citing Taylour 1972). Another possible scenario is that this yellow-white layer represents melted roofing clay, which would also explain its slumping over the walls (Stocker 2003, Fig. 7). This possibility, in combination with the much darker (possibly burnt?) soil above this layer, perhaps the collapsed walls of the structure, does not necessarily mean that AB was not abandoned, but suggests a swifter turn-around between the destruction of AB and the construction of M. Stocker’s (2003, 345-347, 350) supporting argument for the temporary abandonment of the area is a layer of soil found on top of the walls of AB but beneath the walls of M where they overlap. This layer is, however, “shallow” and may again consist of debris from the destruction of the house rather than erosion, though no description of its character is given.

⁷⁴³ Stocker (2003, 348, 350) identifies a probable EH II surface beneath and in the approximate area of House AB. No architecture is associated with this building, if it is a building, and its assignment to this house series can therefore be only tentative. Multiple ceramic finds on this surface and the near-whole condition of an EH II bowl recovered make the case for its association with these houses somewhat stronger, suggesting a very short period of abandonment, if any, before rebuilding occurred.

⁷⁴⁴ Stocker 2003, 345-348; Wiersma 2013, Cat. J01.

⁷⁴⁵ Stocker 2003, 345; Wiersma 2013, Cat. J02.

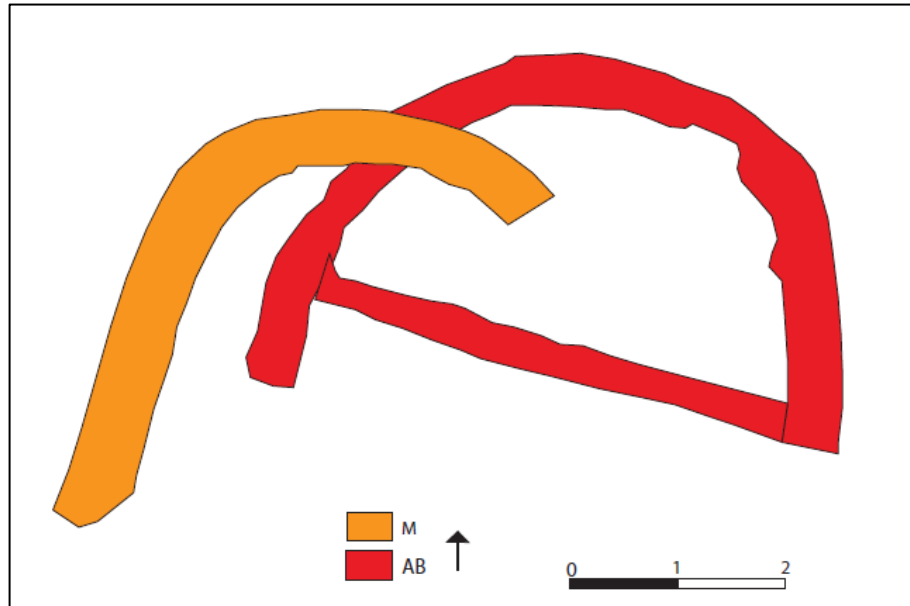


Fig. 2.58: Series AB-M. After Stocker 2003, Fig. 2.

Commentary: No other house remains have been recovered from Deriziotis Aloni, and only a handful of isolated walls datable to the MH and early Mycenaean period have been recovered from elsewhere at Epáno Englianos, leaving estimates of the frequency of house-rebuilding practices difficult to establish. If, however, Kilian’s proposed pre-palatial MH-LH I/II “mégastructure” beneath the later Mycenaean palace can be supported, it does suggest a major example of this phenomenon, with particular regard to elite structures.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear** from lack of contemporary houses.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Absent
Intramural Burial	Absent

No deposit possibly related to a ritual of house destruction or renewal was recovered, and there is no evidence to suggest that the destruction of **House AB** was deliberate or otherwise.

The presence of not one but two horseshoe-shaped pithos-sherd hearths(?) is an unusual feature,

and may echo ideas of household renewal, although they are at more or less the same level.⁷⁴⁶

Also unusual is the presence of burnt soil within them, though the sherds themselves were not burnt. They may have served as platforms for specialized activities, and although they are highly unusual, there is nothing to link them to ritual behavior.⁷⁴⁷

*Katarrachaki/Koukounara (Unclear)*⁷⁴⁸

Megaron Series ⁷⁴⁹	Pre-Megaron ⁷⁵⁰	Displaced? (Megaron shifted to the north)	Level Unknown	LH I ⁷⁵¹
	Megaron ⁷⁵²		Level Unknown	LH II early

⁷⁴⁶ Stocker 2003, 348.

⁷⁴⁷ The pithos-hearths may, however, be very loosely similar to an infant burial at Ayios Stephanos, which was laid on pithos fragments (Burial Zeta 6; see Taylour and Janko 2008, 29, 122). Purely speculatively, these may have functioned in intramural burial, and there is a vine cutting immediately above them that may have disturbed any remains of any material on these “hearths” (see Stocker 2003, 350, Fig. 10, for the corresponding section). A similar feature has been found in House K at Asea (Holmberg 1944, 10).

⁷⁴⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. D35.

⁷⁴⁹ Wiersma 2013, 506-507, Cat. J03. Lolos (1987, 32) notes that this building is also referred to as “Megaron 1” and the “Apsidal Megaron.” Information and the plan for this house is derived primarily from the excavation notebooks of Marinatos.

⁷⁵⁰ Lolos 1987, 29-30. This building is surmised from a single wall and Marinatos’ description of an early phase.

⁷⁵¹ Though Lolos (1987, 39-40) observes that the stratigraphy for the site is extremely unclear, it is suggested by Marinatos that relatively little time passes between the two phases of this building (Lolos 1987, 30).

⁷⁵² Lolos 1987, 28-41; Hiesel 1990, 183.

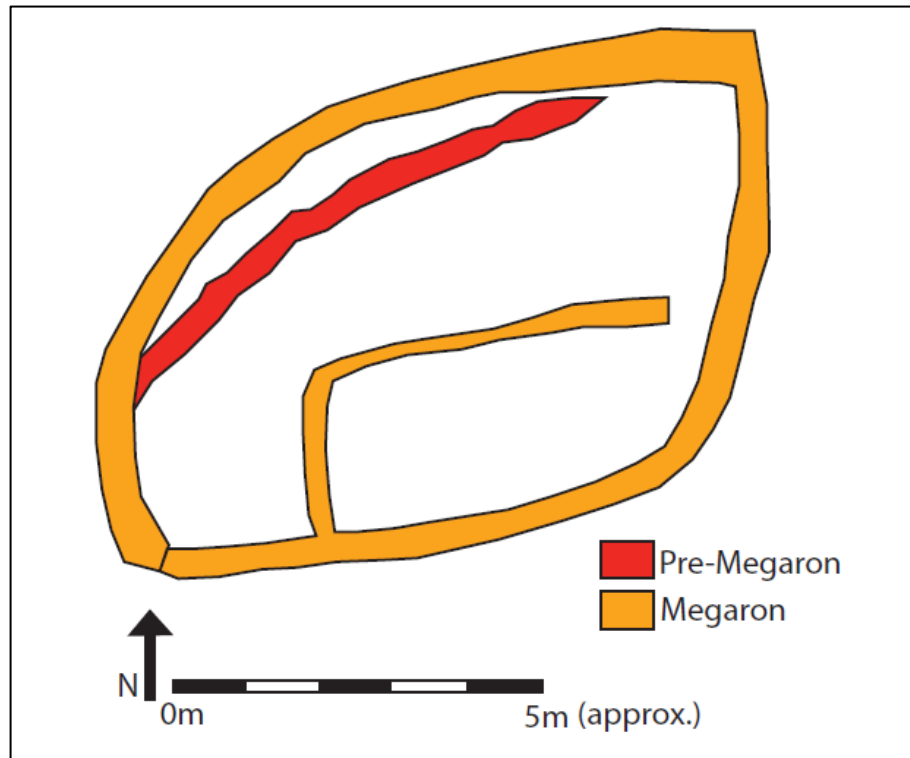


Fig. 2.59: Koukounara Megaron Series. After Lolos 1987, Fig. 27.

Commentary: This house is highly unusual, and more and better study of the structure is needed before more can be said. The case for rebuilding hinges entirely on the identification of the earlier north wall, running along approximately the same lines as the later house. No additional walls were reported that can be associated with this earlier structure, and nothing is mentioned regarding the destruction of this earlier house, except that it was replaced fairly quickly. The wall demarcating the southern “Room 3” is interesting in that it does resemble to some degree the apse set within an apse that can be found especially at Lerna, but here these two areas do seem to be contemporary.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear**. As there is only one house published in enough detail to even consider rebuilding practices, this rate is highly equivocal. This “megaron” may or may not have been rebuilt, though the depth of deposit is interesting, and

may suggest some tell-formation processes at work.⁷⁵³ Regardless, this example of rebuilding is obviously far less secure than, for instance, Deriziotis Aloni, and the lack of available comparanda at the site makes it impossible to say more about rebuilding practices here.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Absent

No deposits were identified that could be linked to the ritualized destruction or rebuilding of the house. Lolos does observe a prevalence of low-footed plain goblets, which may suggest some type of drinking ritual associated with one of the house phases, but the evidence for this is slight at best.⁷⁵⁴ No signs of burning are noted for any of the ceramics, and nothing is reported of their find contexts beyond the general area of the house; rather, the general “domestic character” of the deposit is stressed.⁷⁵⁵

Malthi (Open)⁷⁵⁶

Series A10-A14-Central Terrace Complex (CTC)	<i>Pre-A10-A14</i> ⁷⁵⁷	<i>Integrated?</i>	<i>Wall top at 279.04 masl</i>	<i>MH II/III?</i>
	House A10-A14 ⁷⁵⁸	Integrated (A15 and A16 of CTC)	Wall top at ca. 279.46 masl ⁷⁵⁹	MH II/III?

⁷⁵³ Lolos (1987, 29) notes that soundings reached a depth of 1.5m.

⁷⁵⁴ Lolos 1987, 30, 40.

⁷⁵⁵ Lolos 1987, 30-31.

⁷⁵⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. D222.

⁷⁵⁷ Valmin (1938, 37) notes a “few stones found at a lower level east of the room A13,” which may represent an earlier structure.

⁷⁵⁸ Valmin 1938, 37-38.

⁷⁵⁹ This elevation and those following were averaged from elevations given on the stone-by-stone plan (Valmin 1938).

A10-A14 burns→	CTC ⁷⁶⁰	Integrated (A9 of LH CTC)	Wall top at ca. 279.58 masl ⁷⁶¹	MH III/LH I
	LH CTC ⁷⁶²		Wall top at ca. 280.12masl	LH I-III?

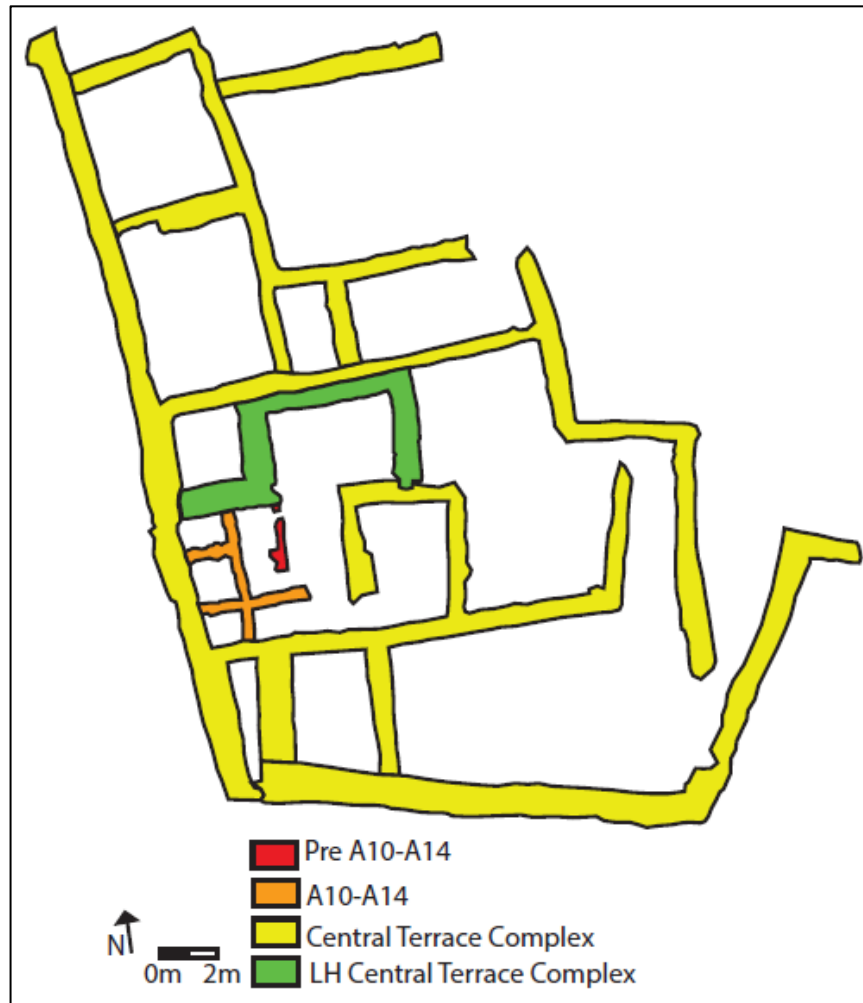


Fig. 2.60: Series A10-A14-Central Terrace Complex. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Series A33, A39- A40-Industrial	House A33, A39-A40 ⁷⁶⁴	Integrated (A34 and A38 of IC)	Wall top at ca. 279.15 masl	MH II/III?
------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------

⁷⁶⁰ Valmin 1938, 77-97, and especially 95 for A15 and A16.

⁷⁶¹ Averaged from only the CTC walls immediately bordering the earlier structure.

⁷⁶² Valmin 1938, 171-172.

⁷⁶⁴ Valmin 1938, 39-40.

Complex (IC) ⁷⁶³	<i>Pre-A34</i> ⁷⁶⁵	<i>Expansion of A33, A39-A40?</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 279.08 masl</i>	<i>MH II/III?</i>
	<i>Post-A40</i> ⁷⁶⁶	<i>Displaced</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 279.80 masl</i>	<i>MH III?</i>
	<i>Pre-A34 II</i> ⁷⁶⁷	<i>Displaced</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 279.57 masl</i>	<i>MH III?</i>
	IC (A34 and A38) ⁷⁶⁸		Wall top at ca. 279.87 masl	MH III/LH I

⁷⁶³ This series is proposed because of the heavy rebuilding in the area, but is also highly confused for this reason. Though the rooms over the earlier structure A33, A39-A40 are discussed by Valmin with the Industrial Complex, he also notes that they are somewhat irregular and may date to a different construction episode than the more standardized building to the north (1938, 99-100). They are also overbuilt by Byzantine structures which are not identified on the plan, further complicating interpretation of phasing in this area. The size of the original structure (A33, A39-A40) is unclear. Though “Pre-A34” seems related, it may be an expansion, on a higher terrace, or part of the original plan; if so, this structure is of a fairly complex, multi-room design, perhaps most similar to structures at Asine (House D, for instance). “Post-A40” is also contentious, particularly in its much higher level, though it does overlap the original structure and follow its lines to some degree. All of the dates are relative, and the phasing proposed here is tentative at best. Particularly A36-A37 have been specifically argued by Valmin to be later than much of the other construction in this area (1938, 100), though based on inspection of the plan, they appear older than the structures to the north (see especially the join with the N wall of A36 and the S wall of A43).

⁷⁶⁵ Valmin 1938, 44-45.

⁷⁶⁶ Valmin 1938, 68 (“below the southern wall of A41”).

⁷⁶⁷ Valmin 1938, 67-68.

⁷⁶⁸ Valmin 1938, 97-105.

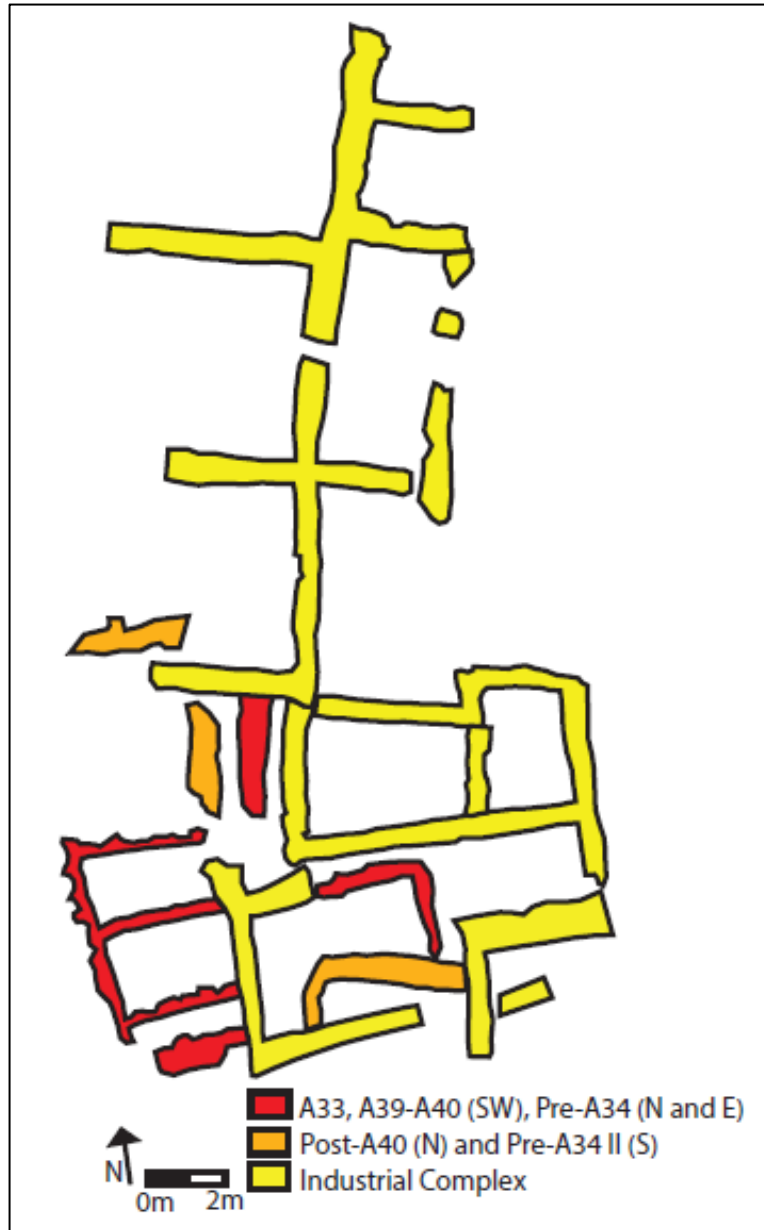


Fig. 2.61: Series A33, A39-A40-Industrial Complex. (After Valmin 1938, State Plan.)

Series B39-B42- West Quarter Magazines	House B39-B42 Early ⁷⁷⁰	Integrated (Rebuilt as B39- B42 Late)	Wall top at ca. 272.31 masl	MH II/III?
--	---------------------------------------	---	--------------------------------	------------

⁷⁷⁰ Valmin 1938, 46. Valmin does not name this house, but describes it as a N-S oriented apsidal structure.

(WQM) ⁷⁶⁹ B39-B42 Early dismantled→	House B39-B42 Late ⁷⁷¹	Integrated/ Visible (Rebuilt as WQM)	Wall top at ca. 271.85 masl	MH II/III?
	B39-B40 (WQM) ⁷⁷²		Wall top at ca. 272.38 masl ⁷⁷³	MH III/LH I

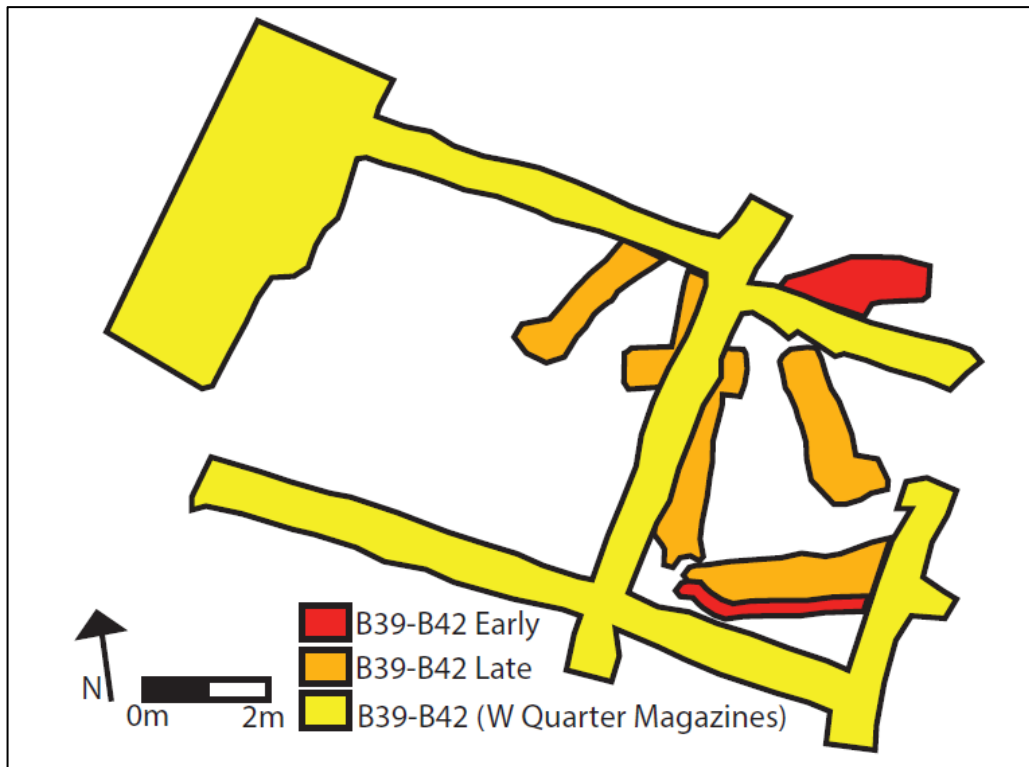


Fig. 2.62: Series B39-B42-West Quarter Magazines. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

⁷⁶⁹ This series is also situated within an area of heavy rebuilding, with a number of isolated wall fragments. Valmin identifies the first two structures in this series (similarly oriented apsidal buildings) from a number of surrounding walls, and though I follow his interpretation here for the table, many alternative readings of the architecture are possible. Based on apparent construction style and major differences in level, I would argue for three, rather than two, structures. Though the later magazine B 39-B40 does not really reference the plans of these earlier buildings as they are preserved, significant use is made of the long N-S wall, and the later wall appears to be bedded directly on it. Again, then, the earlier structures were at least known.

⁷⁷¹ Valmin 1938, 46-47. This house is also not named by Valmin, but is also described as a roughly N-S oriented apsidal structure, reusing the S wall of the earlier iteration.

⁷⁷² Valmin 1938, 142-143 (B40), 145 (B39). These are the rooms that are directly related to the series, but Valmin associates them with the much larger magazine complex. It is therefore perhaps more likely that the use of the earlier walls was simply a matter of convenience.

⁷⁷³ The elevation change between phases here reflects a major drop down to the west rather than any significant differences in level.

Series D20-D18-D21	House D20 ⁷⁷⁴	Integrated/Visible (Built directly on by D22 (?) and D18-21) ⁷⁷⁵	Wall top at ca. 271.34 masl	MH II/III?
	Terrace Wall D22 ⁷⁷⁶	Visible (Built directly on by D18-21)	Wall top at ca. 271.84 masl	MH III?
	Shelter D18-21 ⁷⁷⁷		Wall top at ca. 272.12 masl	MH III/LH I?

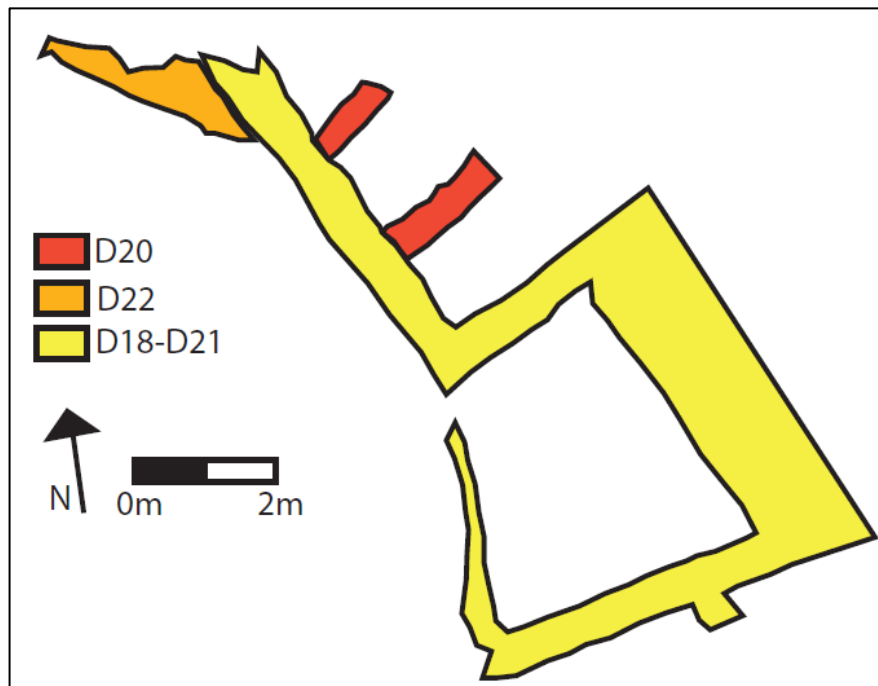


Fig. 2.63: Series D20-D18-21. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Series D33-D27, D33-D34 ⁷⁷⁸	House D33 ⁷⁷⁹	Displaced-orientation shift	Wall top at ca. 272.50 masl	MH II/III?
--	--------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	------------

⁷⁷⁴ Valmin 1938, 34-35.

⁷⁷⁵ This house may be apsidal, as Valmin suggests, or it may be rectilinear, with a southwestern long wall running under that of the later D18-21, in which case the structure is actually rather carefully integrated into the later “shelter.” If the latter is the case, it may suggest rooms running along the face of the possible terrace wall D22 (under which circumstance D20 and D22 would be contemporary, or D20 would be later), closely mirroring the later development of the settlement.

⁷⁷⁶ This wall, at the north of the area labeled D22, is not handled by Valmin at all. Everything here is surmised from the stone plan.

⁷⁷⁷ Valmin 1938, 166-167.

D33 dismantled→ D32 burns→		(Rebuilt as D32)		
	House D32 ⁷⁸⁰	Visible (Built directly on by D27, D33-D34) ⁷⁸¹	Wall top at ca. 272.61 masl	MH II/III?
	House D27, D33-D34 ⁷⁸²		Wall top at ca. 273.79 masl ⁷⁸³	MH III/LH I

⁷⁷⁸ This series is again started by two apparently consecutive apsidal/ovoid houses, D33 and D32. Although on the plan these two structures seemed as if they could belong to a single, possibly rectilinear structure, the difference in levels revealed by a section drawing (Valmin 1938, 36, Fig. 11) suggests that they are at least of different phases. I follow Valmin's interpretation for the table above.

⁷⁷⁹ Valmin 1938, 35-36.

⁷⁸⁰ Valmin 1938, 36.

⁷⁸¹ Valmin 1938, 36. See also the section on this page, Fig. 11. This section is somewhat misleading and probably mislabeled, but does give a sense of the visibility of the ruins of the houses prior to the various rebuildings. Indeed, D27, D33-D34 appears to be bedded in the ash layer. If this is the case, the builders of this last house were at least aware of the previous structure, though they do not reference the plans or integrate the walls significantly.

⁷⁸² Valmin 1938, 164-165. This much larger rectilinear structure may have an earlier phase that is not mentioned by Valmin, but is indicated on the stone plan in a wall jutting out to the south of the wall dividing rooms D33 and D34 and following the line of this later wall, which was apparently built directly on it, precisely. No further evidence of this earlier phase was found.

⁷⁸³ Dramatic rise in elevation can again be attributed to expansion up the hill to the south.

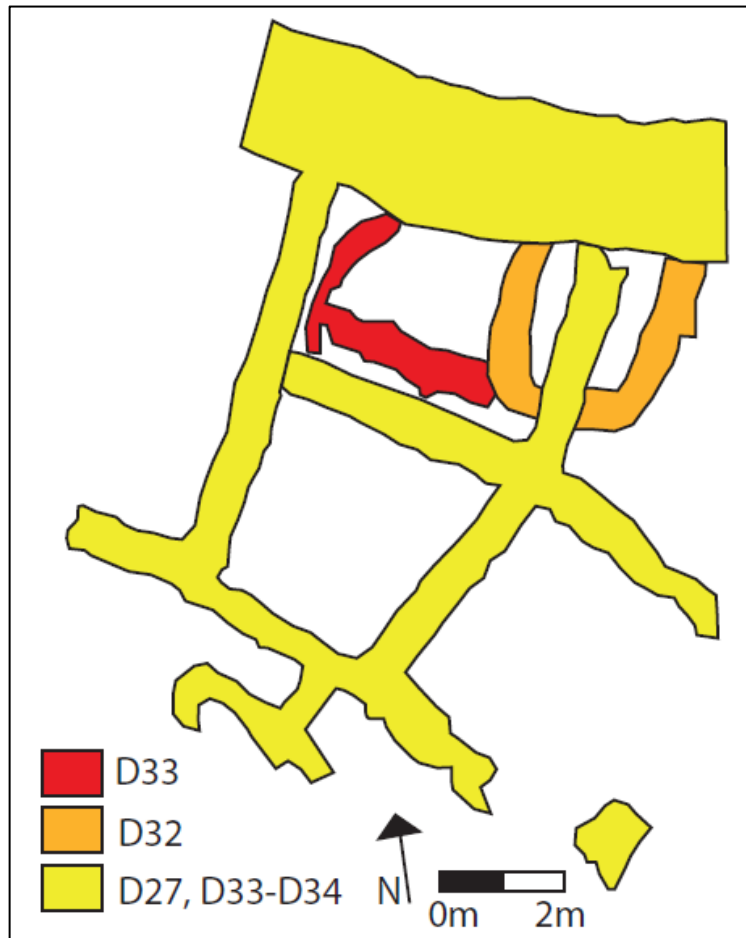


Fig. 2.64: Series D33-D27, D33-D34. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Series D40, D43-D46-North Quarter Magazines (NQM)	House D40, D43-46 ⁷⁸⁴	Integrated	Wall top at ca. 273.87 masl ⁷⁸⁵	MH II/III?
	D43-D46 ⁷⁸⁶ (Magazine)	Expanded	Wall top at ca. 274.05 masl	MH III/LH I
	D42, D47	<i>Expanded</i>	<i>Wall top at ca. 274.70 masl</i>	<i>LH I?</i>
	D48		<i>Wall top at ca. 275.61 masl</i>	<i>LH I/II?</i>

⁷⁸⁴ Valmin 1938, 42-44.

⁷⁸⁵ Change in elevation for this series can be attributed primarily to change in slope, which rises to the south, where the majority of the modifications to this structure were made.

⁷⁸⁶ Valmin 1938, 161-162.

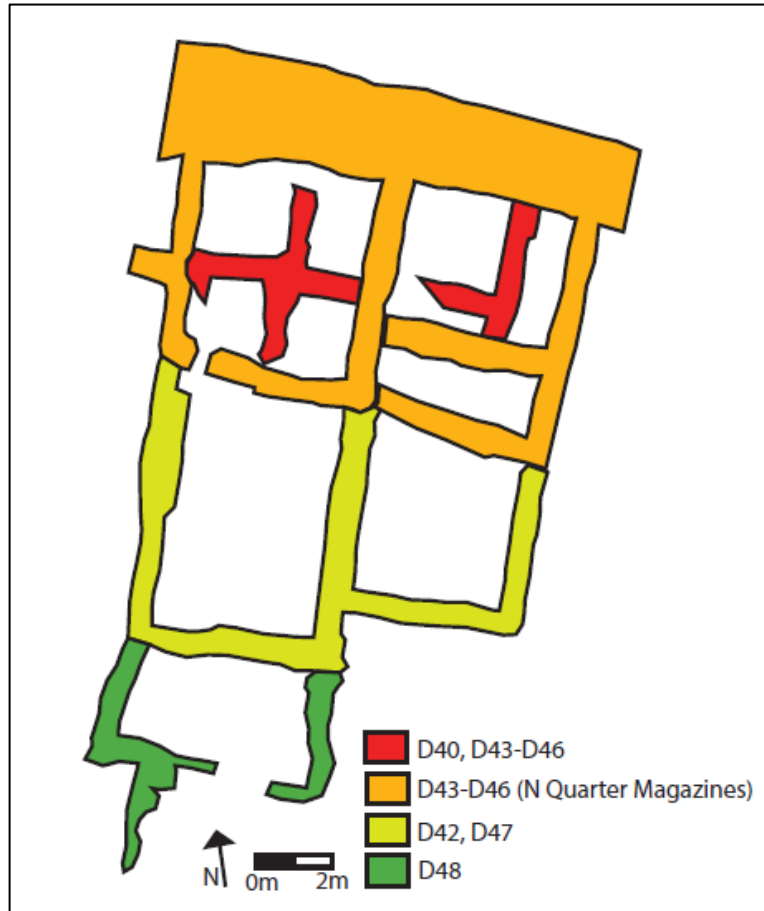


Fig. 2.65: Series D40, D43-D46-North Quarter Magazines. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Series D63-D65-NQM ⁷⁸⁷	House D63-D65 ⁷⁸⁸	Displaced-orientation shift (Rebuilt as D59?)	Wall top at ca. 272.72 masl	MH II/III?
D63-D65 dismantled→	House D59 ⁷⁸⁹	Displaced-simple shift/Integrated (Rebuilt as D58, D64)	Wall top at ca. 272.88 masl	MH II/III?

⁷⁸⁷ Valmin reconstructs the wall fragments in this area as the remains of two apparently consecutive apsidal structures, D63-D65 and D59. Though he does not comment on the relative dates of these structures, noting only that they are both early, D59 must postdate D63-D65 according to Valmin's plan. Alternatively, these walls may represent a single rectilinear structure similar to D40, D43-D46, or two larger parallel apsidal structures. Either way, at least two rounded features, possibly functioning storage bins, appear to be associated with this level. The transition from D63-65 to D59 cannot be seen as an episode of rebuilding if they are interpreted contra Valmin as portions of a single structure. For the purposes of the table above, I have however followed Valmin.

⁷⁸⁸ Valmin 1938, 51.

⁷⁸⁹ Valmin 1938, 50-51.

D58, D64 burns→	House D58, D64 ⁷⁹⁰	Integrated (partially rebuilt as D57, D60-62)	Wall top at ca. 273.30 masl	MH III
	D57, D60-D62 ⁷⁹¹		Wall top at ca. 272.42 masl ⁷⁹²	MH III/LH I

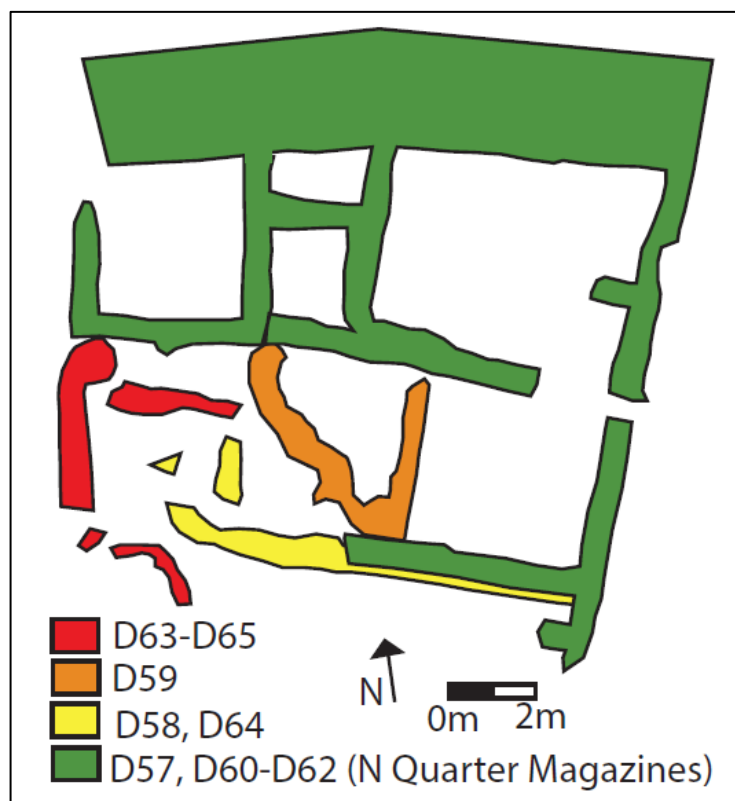


Fig. 2.66: Series D63-D65-North Quarter Magazines. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Series D69/71- D68	House D69/71 ⁷⁹³	Visible (Built directly on by	Wall top at ca. 271.92 masl	MH II/III?
-----------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------

⁷⁹⁰ Valmin 1938, 59-60. This structure is heavily incorporated into later building probably to be associated with D57, D60-D62. Valmin notes two different architectural styles, suggesting at least two phases to the southern wall. The northern wall is likely to be under/incorporated into the south wall of D57, D60-D62. I am not certain that it is apsidal. Valmin likewise notes that the walls are at significantly different levels, though this is largely a consequence of the natural slope.

⁷⁹¹ Valmin 1938, 158-159. This final structure is dated by its joins with the settlement wall to the major reorganization of the site.

⁷⁹² Drop in elevation here can be attributed to the slope down to the north.

⁷⁹³ Valmin (1938, 52) observes that the two walls associated with this structure may not connect, and that they may be associated with terracing efforts rather than a domestic structure. If this is a terrace wall, it is interesting for its prediction of the line of the later settlement wall, and also for the fact that it was overbuilt against the line of the topography, in apparently total disregard for the earlier terrace. It may not, therefore, represent a true house series.

D69/71 burns →		D68 and D67) ⁷⁹⁴		
	House D68 ⁷⁹⁵	Displaced? (Partially dismantled for D67?)	Wall top at ca. 272.09 masl	MH III
	House D67 ⁷⁹⁶		Wall tops at ca. 271.99 masl	MH III

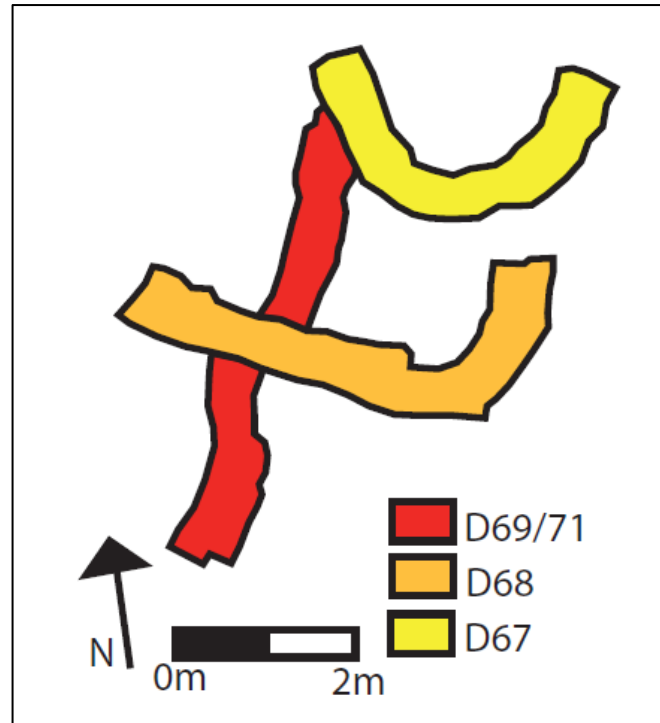


Fig. 2.67: Series D69/71-D68. After Valmin 1938, State Plan.

Commentary: The problematic dating of the phases at Malthi has been well-documented in the literature, so the dating of these house series is at best tentative. The overbuilding of the entire site in the massive settlement restructuring that occurred probably at the MH/LH transition

⁷⁹⁴ See Valmin (1938, 64, Fig. 18) for a section showing the immediate, though quite displaced, relationship between the earlier and later structures.

⁷⁹⁵ Valmin 1938, 65-66.

⁷⁹⁶ Valmin 1938, 64-65. Though Valmin sees Houses D67 and D68 as roughly contemporaneous, judging from the plan, it is possible that the northern wall of D68 was dismantled for the construction of D67. The lower elevation of D67 is explained, among other things, by the natural slope.

similarly complicates any picture of rebuilding, though a case can be made for the limited examples described above. In general, this rebuilding seems to simply integrate earlier walls without following the earlier plans very closely, and it could certainly be argued that the full-scale redevelopment of the settlement must have necessarily resulted in some overbuilding.⁷⁹⁷ On the other hand, the limited nature of these incidents also suggests that only certain structures were left in place during the rebuilding process. Indeed, Valmin does specifically point out the “developed and costly” nature of the earlier structures in the central terrace area, and the relative elaboration of these buildings may indicate the importance of their inhabitants within the contemporary community, again creating a tentative connection between rebuilding practices and community leaders.⁷⁹⁸ It is also true, however, that the most compelling examples of rebuilding are located just inside (or to the east of) “spine” walls supporting the central terrace, where it is clear that the restructuring of the settlement demanded the raising of the ground level, rendering the removal of earlier structures unnecessary.

Outside of the central terrace area, however, and at the northern edge of the settlement are additional examples of rebuilding, including once again an apparently large and complex structure **D40, D43-D46**. This importance of this structure is perhaps indicated by the presence of an ivory sword pommel in one of the burials within the structure, though this could certainly also be unassociated. Though there are also a number of apsidal structures in this area that are rebuilt on at least a limited scale, in general, the preference at Malthi seems to have been rather strongly for agglutinative rectilinear building, particularly after the restructuring of the

⁷⁹⁷ Valmin (1938, 26) makes this same observation, noting that “only two of the earliest houses have roughly the same orientation as the Middle Helladic ones (A 10-14 and D 43-46), but this may be accidental. . . . At any rate, the builders of the Middle Helladic town did not pay any attention to the settlement which they found before them on the acropolis.”

⁷⁹⁸ Valmin 1938, 37.

settlement. Structures that are integrated into later buildings and rebuilding episodes tend to be relatively large and multi-roomed, more like Kolonna than Lerna, for example. It is perhaps notable that the lines of **D69/D71** and **D40, D43-D46** parallel the line of the later circuit wall fairly closely, perhaps indicating an earlier iteration of the defensive wall, which may itself be represented by a fragment of a large wall at the north side of Valmin's **D22**.⁷⁹⁹ The close correspondence between earlier structures with the later wall may alternatively signify the incorporation of portions of houses into the city wall (i.e., the use of the earlier house walls) in the construction of the enceinte, also similar to Kolonna. The same phenomenon is visible in the early structure **B20-B21, B27**, which Valmin also notes as a possible defensive or terrace wall inside the line of the later wall.⁸⁰⁰ The topography may also be responsible for this feature.

A significant amount of rebuilding appears also to have taken place in the southwestern part of the settlement (Valmin's area B), but the walls are very difficult to interpret, as demonstrated by the example of rebuilding given. Around room **B21**, the so-called "bastion" may follow earlier walls, but these may also be a part of the possible terrace structure **B20-21, B27**.⁸⁰¹ Further cases may be argued for other structures in the central (Valmin's area A) and northern (Valmin's area D) sectors, where in general the most recoverable rebuilding episodes were located. These wall fragments are limited in nature, consisting of two or fewer segments, or the relationship to later building activities was very limited. Also significant are the number of early structures that are not rebuilt or even significantly overbuilt, including the apsidal structure A2 at the top of the rise.

⁷⁹⁹ The wall at the north of D22 is not otherwise discussed by Valmin, but runs along the approximate line of the later enceinte wall and is at least partially faced with large boulders as recorded on the stone plan.

⁸⁰⁰ Valmin 1938, 45-46, but especially 45.

⁸⁰¹ Valmin 1938, 136-137, stone plan.

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: Valmin identifies and discusses 166 spaces of varying types, including primarily houses, magazines and other storage facilities, shelters, folds, passages and stairs, and towers and defensive structures. Of the 166 spaces, only 81 are not assigned a non-domestic function. Though certainly many of the spaces, particularly the magazines and storage areas, must have been multifunctional, I have followed Valmin's identification of function here, and the 81 spaces identified as domestic structures have been emphasized.

Overall rate: True reconstruction: 24/81, ca. **30%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 54/81, ca. **67%**. If non-domestic spaces are included, the rate of rebuilding drops quite dramatically. True reconstruction: 30/166, ca. **18%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 78/166, ca. **47%**.

Early (pre-reorganization)⁸⁰² Rate: True reconstruction: 17/37, ca. **46%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 33/37, ca. **89%** (domestic spaces only). True reconstruction: 17/41, ca. **41%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 34/41, ca. **83%** (including domestic and non-domestic spaces).

Late (post-reorganization)⁸⁰³ Rate: True reconstruction: 7/44, ca. **16%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 21/44, ca. **47%** (domestic spaces only). True reconstruction: 13/125, ca. **10%**; Possible reconstruction (some overbuilding occurred): 44/125, ca. **35%** (including domestic and non-domestic spaces).

This number is equivocal for Malthi for a number of reasons. Valmin's division of space into separate buildings is inconsistent at best, and so the total number of structures is fairly

⁸⁰² Equivalent to Valmin's phases Dorion I-III.

⁸⁰³ Equivalent to Valmin's phases Dorion IV-V.

arbitrary until further work can be done at the site. Likewise, building phases seem to have been glossed over to some extent in several cases. The rate of rebuilding represented here is therefore simply meant to give a general idea of the practice at Malthi. Even so, it is clear that there is a very pronounced drop in rebuilding following the reorganization at the site. There is a bias in the data here—as a result of the reorganization of the site, earlier buildings where they are preserved are almost invariably overbuilt, while later buildings are not, partially because the site is for the most part not used during the later Mycenaean period. Nevertheless, this trend is broadly consistent with Wiersma’s suggestion that rebuilding declined in frequency over time, particularly during the LH I/II period.⁸⁰⁴

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

A possible bothros, originally identified as a hearth by Valmin, was discovered to the east of **A10-A14** and may have been associated with the destruction of this house.⁸⁰⁵ This “hearth” was covered with around a half-meter of ash, mixed ceramics, burnt bones, stone and bone tools, and a single spindle whorl. Though it was excavated in three “layers” it is unclear whether these were stratigraphic or arbitrary, so it is difficult to determine whether multiple episodes of deposition are represented here.⁸⁰⁶ A second possible example associated with the **D33-D27**,

⁸⁰⁴ Wiersma 2013, 219-220.

⁸⁰⁵ Valmin 1938, 38.

⁸⁰⁶ The pit was never isolated, so mixing particularly at the top, where a number of LH I/II ceramics were recovered. Though Valmin (1938, 38) does tentatively associate this bothros with A10-A14, then, it is, as he notes, possible it resulted from later activity at the site.

D33-D34 series is Valmin's "spring" (**D35**).⁸⁰⁷ Though this feature is somewhat narrow for a bothros, it contained a major deposit of "broken vases" and was associated with, though separate from, a large amount of ash and carbonized wood, covering an area of ca. 1m in diameter.⁸⁰⁸ No dimensions were given for the "spring" itself, but it appears from the plan to be no more than 0.5m in diameter, making it more likely to be natural in origin, and Valmin does once observe water in it. It may be simply that it provided a convenient area for rubbish disposal, though the significant ash deposit at least makes a role in ritual or feasting possible. No date is given for the sherds in the "spring," or for those associated with the ash deposit, so it is difficult to relate these features firmly to one of the houses on this site. Another shallow bothros with a notable ash deposit was associated with the small apsidal house **D16** underlying the town wall.⁸⁰⁹ It may have been used with an associated hearth, and did not contain many artifacts; however, the ash appears to be piled to about 0.5m in depth over an area of about 1.5m, so a ritual function possibly associated with the destruction of the house is possible.⁸¹⁰ Magazine **B51** also contained a feature described by Valmin as a "natural cist" or "depository," which may have functioned as a bothros, though it contained nothing.⁸¹¹ Concerning other types of ritual deposit, Valmin observes that large-scale infilling of the earlier remains in the reorganization of the settlement has confused any floor deposits, though this suggested filling event is in itself significant, and is discussed further in Chapter 3.⁸¹²

⁸⁰⁷ Valmin 1938, 24-25, Fig. 6.

⁸⁰⁸ Valmin (1938, 25) interprets the ash deposit as basically the remains of a facility for heating water for laundry.

⁸⁰⁹ Valmin 1938, 25, 32-33.

⁸¹⁰ Dimensions have been estimated from Valmin 1938, 32, Fig. 9.

⁸¹¹ Valmin 1938,

⁸¹² Valmin 1938, 41.

A burial made within the south wall of **A33, A39-A40** may also represent ritual action, though it is likely to have occurred well after the end of the use life of the house, as it contains a so-called feeding-bottle probably to be dated to MH III.⁸¹³ The grave, containing a poorly-preserved infant burial, may be associated with rebuilding episodes to the east, and perhaps specifically with **A36-A37**, which Valmin identifies as a probable domestic structure. Milka's proposal that abandoned or destroyed houses served funerary purposes prior to rebuilding may apply here.⁸¹⁴ A similar trend is probably represented by the three graves set into **D40, D43-D46** (Graves IV-VI), as well as a fourth bordering the structure to the east (Grave VII), and possibly by the two graves of **D27, D33-D34** (Graves XI and XII).⁸¹⁵ It is unclear whether these precede the reconstruction of the settlement, though Valmin dates them all to the MH period. An ivory sword pommel found in Grave IV may suggest a Late Bronze Age date. It is worth mentioning in this context Valmin's so-called "Sanctuary of the Grave Cult" (**C1-C2**), a structure associated with several burials, including Valmin's "grave circle," as well as large deposits of ash, bone, and ceramics.⁸¹⁶ No evidence of rebuilding is preserved for this structure, whether it is a sanctuary or otherwise, but the floor deposit includes several vessels apparently broken in situ, possibly suggesting a ritual breakage.⁸¹⁷ It is, however, difficult to confirm the occasion of this breakage as a result of Valmin's failure to mention the level from which these vessels originated. The building is, however, sealed by a "black" LH layer, which may suggest its destruction by

⁸¹³ Valmin 1938, 195-196; Pomadere 2007.

⁸¹⁴ Milka 2010.

⁸¹⁵ Valmin 1938, 196 (Grave V), 197-197 (Grave VII), 203 (Graves IV and VI), 204 (Grave XI), 204-205 (Grave XII).

⁸¹⁶ Valmin 1938, 126-131.

⁸¹⁷ Valmin 1938, 129: "A great many of the sherds found in both rooms could be mended and it could be observed that most of them belonged to vases which had been broken inside the rooms."

fire, though Valmin suggests rather that the dark color can be associated with organic detritus in the topsoil.⁸¹⁸

Nichoria (Unclear)

Series V-2- Post V-2	Unit V-2 ⁸¹⁹	Displaced (Rebuilt as V-1 or Post V-2)	Floor not reached	MH I ⁸²⁰
V-2 burns→	<i>Unit V-1</i> ⁸²¹		<i>Floor (ca. 88.5- 88.75masl)</i> ⁸²²	<i>MH I</i>
	Post V-2 (Wall G)		Floor? (ca. 84.3- 84.5masl) ⁸²³	MH I

⁸¹⁸ Valmin 1938, 128.

⁸¹⁹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. J05.

⁸²⁰ Howell (1992, 26) observes that although the walls of this structure are at about the same level as those of Unit V-1, it may be slightly earlier in date, suggested by the natural slope and the fact that the bottoms of the walls were not reached.

⁸²¹ Wiersma 2013, Cat. J04.

⁸²² See Howell 1992, 18, Fig. 2-2.

⁸²³ See Howell 1992, 20, Fig. 2-4.

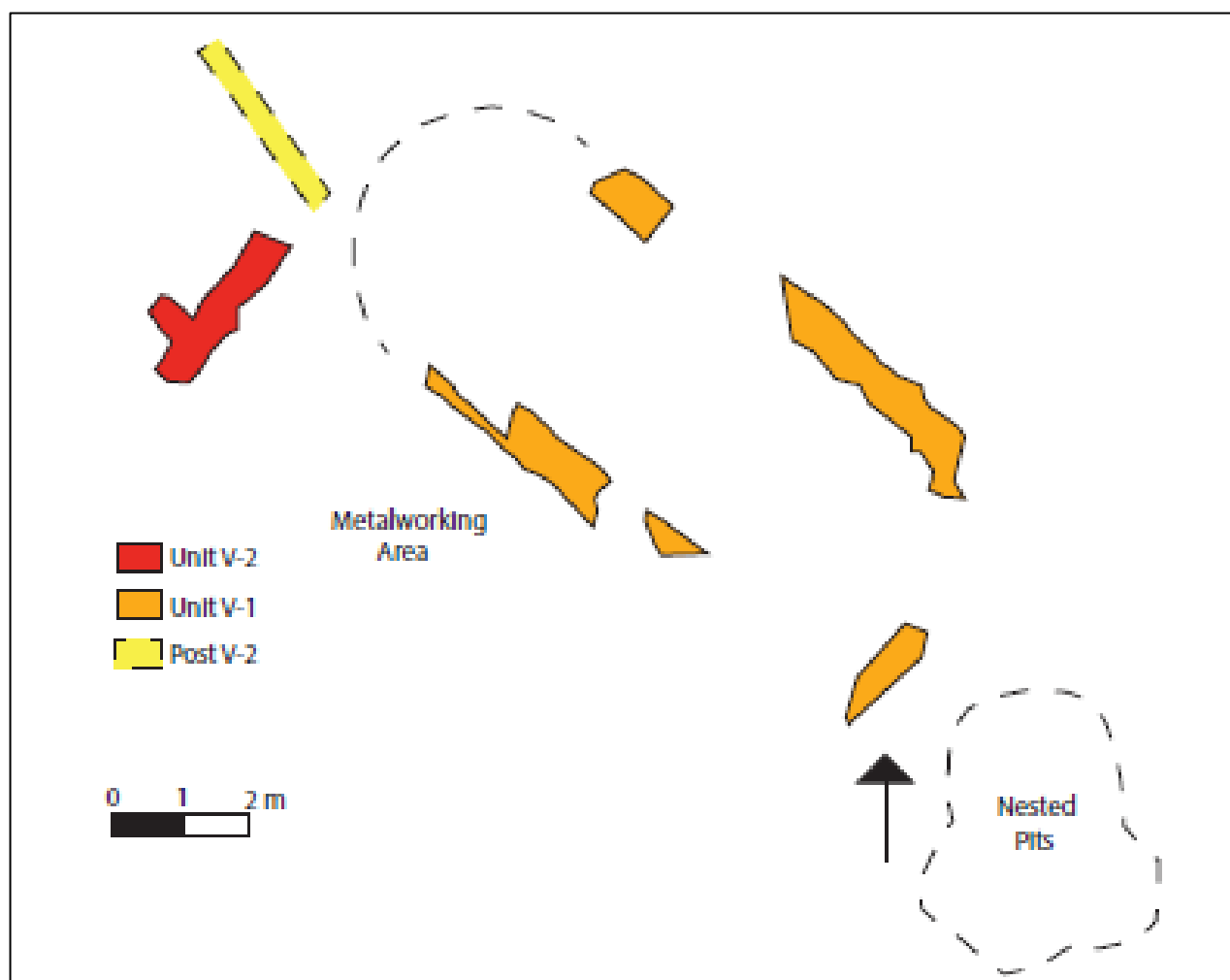


Fig. 2.68: Series V-2-Post V-2 (Wall G). After Howell 1992, Fig. 2-1.

Commentary: No other architectural remains datable to the MH or early Mycenaean periods have been recovered at Nichoria, though the settlement seems to have experienced growth after MH I.⁸²⁴ The assignment of all of the remaining MH architecture to a single house series has some obvious problems, but a case can be made for this association, and as a possible example of more distinctly displaced rebuilding practices it is useful to treat it briefly here. **Unit V-2** was only partially excavated and its date cannot be closely determined. A large destruction deposit found within the building suggests that it was burned, and this deposit was subsequently

⁸²⁴ Howell 1992, 16.

built upon by **Wall G**, which appears to be part of a rebuilding effort for this building. The relative dates of **Wall G** and **Unit V-1** are likewise unclear as a result of the natural slope, but **Wall G** is laid directly on top of the destruction deposit of **V-2** and is of a different construction style. The similarity of construction method between **V-2** and **V-1** may suggest that **Wall G** postdates both buildings, though **G** may also be contemporary with **V-1**. **Wall G** may likewise signify an incursion into the space of **V-1**, though this suggestion is dependent upon the reconstruction of the missing apse of **V-1**. The possible use of the space of **V-1** in the rebuilding of **V-2** represented by **G** indicates the participation of **V-1** in this house series, though these buildings may instead form a group similar to the paired apsidal buildings at Lerna. Certainly they serve to dominate the space around a pair of hearths apparently used in an active metallurgical workshop, and may have been meant to limit access to this area and, by extension, knowledge of the craft. Although only one surface can be attributed to **Unit V-1** and no walls appear to underlie this building, the unusual position of the surface *over* the walls suggests that at least one rebuilding of this structure occurred or was planned. **V-1** is similarly bedded on an ashy stratum with carbonized inclusions.⁸²⁵

Though the high amount of ash in the area of this house series has been probably correctly interpreted as a byproduct of the metallurgical industry, its collection in a series of nested pits/bothroi (**Pit V-3**, **Pit V-2**, and **Pit V-4**) immediately to the southeast of **V-1** may indicate a cyclical treatment of the house and the disposal or caching of the destruction debris, as at Lerna.⁸²⁶ Howell's idea that the original bothros, **Pit V-3**, was excavated for construction material for **V-1** supports a notional connection between house, bothroi, and

⁸²⁵ Howell 1992, 23.

⁸²⁶ Howell 1992, 21-22.

construction/destruction practices.⁸²⁷ Howell further notes that the proximity of the Vathirema ravine precludes the identification of the bothroi as mere dumps; however, he associates these too with the metallurgical activity in the area.⁸²⁸ The presence of crucible fragments in this material corroborates this interpretation, but the relatively quick infilling of the lower portion of Pit V-3 and the possible (still short-term) seasonal infilling of its upper portion may indicate some kind of cyclical ritual action, including much ash and carbonized material, river stones (possibly related to metalworking?), ceramics, bone, and stone tools.⁸²⁹

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear** from the number of contemporary houses.

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Present
House Burial	Present
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Absent

The sheer number of crucible fragments found in the immediate vicinity of Unit V-1, including one deposit of over forty fragments, is worth mentioning. This deposit, found to the south of the V-1, may also be associated with Pit V-2.⁸³⁰ It is notable for its similarity to a deposit associated with Lerna IV Building W-86, which Banks understood as evidence of the control of metalworking activity by community leaders. The lack of other houses in the area with which to compare V-1 and V-2 complicates this comparison, but, whether or not this crucible

⁸²⁷ Howell 1992, 23.

⁸²⁸ Howell, 1992, 22.

⁸²⁹ Howell 1992, 21-22.

⁸³⁰ Howell, 1992, 24.

debris is related to household cycles, Howell is correct in saying that they could easily have been disposed of in the adjacent ravine, and may therefore have some significance to the group represented by V-1 and probably V-2. The swift deposition of material into Pit V-3 may also be ritual in nature, and Howell emphasizes the large fragments of ceramics in good condition.⁸³¹

Peristeria (Unclear, possibly open)⁸³²

North House Series	North House 1	Unclear	Level Unknown	LH I
	North House 2		Level Unknown	LH I/II

Commentary: Though multiple houses are mentioned for *Peristeria*, only two, the East House and the North House, are discussed/published at any length. Only the North House is thought to have had a “second, slightly later, alteration,” described most helpfully by Lolos.⁸³³ No plan of this house and no details of the second iteration are given. I include it here only because it is a case worth considering in the future, and because it is the only possible example for the site. Based on this sparse material, the site seems to follow a more “open,” agglutinative style of building. Vermeule, and Lolos after her, note the “sprawling” character of the houses, and Vermeule’s observation that houses did not in general have more than one stratified floor could further corroborate the open nature of the settlement.⁸³⁴ Clear Minoan influence on this site, particularly apparent in the Minoan-style mason’s marks on the prominent Tholos 1, may partially explain this building practice, though certainly other areas with heavy Minoan influence (Ayios Stephanos) did not consistently follow agglutinative patterns of construction.⁸³⁵ The

⁸³¹ Howell, 21.

⁸³² Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. D200 (“Mirou: *Peristeria*”).

⁸³³ Lolos 1987, 42, and n. 34 for additional bibliography.

⁸³⁴ Vermeule 1964, 117.

⁸³⁵ Hood 1960-61, 13; Vermeule (1964, 124) discusses the tholos in some detail.

partial dismantlement of the East House in the construction of Tholos 1, essentially set into the same space, is notable, and may relate to ideas about rebuilding and the “place” of the lineage group, discussed further in the consideration of the broader settlement in Chapter 3 below.⁸³⁶

Rate of Participation in Rebuilding Practices: **Unclear**. Too little information is given about this site to determine rebuilding rates. In general, based primarily upon Vermeule’s brief remarks, reconstruction of houses seems to have been rare, if practiced at all.⁸³⁷

Ritual Deposits:

House Burning	Absent
House Burial	Absent
Termination/Dedication Deposits	Present
Intramural Burial	Present

None identified. The East House, for which the finds are better known, contains a broadly domestic assemblage, and no signs of burning were mentioned. Nor was the method of deposition described. A double cup found in the East House may have had some ritual function, and similar cups have been found at MH sites throughout Messenia, but little can be said about the use-context for this vessel.⁸³⁸ Both houses had burials set into the floors (two in the North House and seven in the East house, all children).⁸³⁹

⁸³⁶ Lolos (1987, 43, 46-48) also emphasizes the relationship between the East House and Tholos 1. For the house, see Hiesel 1990, 193.

⁸³⁷ Vermeule 1964, 117.

⁸³⁸ Lolos 1987, 51-52. I would compare this vessel to the so-called Hydra at Lerna, but little else about the deposit (as it is published) is indicative of a termination ritual. Whittaker (2014, 87-88) has noted composite vessels for their use in funerary ritual and/or funerary meals.

⁸³⁹ Lolos 1987, 42-43.

Discussion

Twenty-one sites within the Peloponnese and representing at least one episode of rebuilding have been considered here. For these sites, a total of 69 episodes of rebuilding have been presented, involving between 196 and 237 houses. The sites presented here average about 2.8 houses per series minimum, or about 3.4 houses per series maximum, suggesting that an average house from EH III to LH I/II would have been rebuilt (if at all) two times. No series is totally rebuilt more than seven times (for a total of eight houses), and this number is only represented at Lerna in the apparently unique Chieftain's House series. Indeed, only seven series total show five or more firm episodes of rebuilding, including the Chieftain's House Series. Considering only relatively certain incidents of rebuilding, seven houses are projected for the Zeta series at Ayios Stephanos. Ayios Stephanos also has two other series with five or more houses, including Eta I and Lambda I. Tiryns has one series with four rebuildings (and five houses), House 168. All of the other long-term sequences are from Lerna, and these may be subsidiary or related to the Chieftain's House (certainly Series W-39-Rooms 44 and 45, and possibly W-62-W-149). Only thirteen series have four or more firm rebuildings, and over half (ca. 55%) are rebuilt only once. This number decreases rather sharply to about 26% if less certain (though in many cases probable) rebuilding events are included, but even then, most houses see no more than one additional possible reconstruction. In general then, the majority of series are rather brief, with no more than two to three houses included.

It is tempting to interpret this only limited number of rebuildings as a reflection of short-term "life-span" of the families using these houses. In this case, in accordance with arguments I have made above, the first house in a series represents the inception of a household group. On a marked occasion, perhaps of a death or marriage, this house is destroyed, and a second house is

built. But only in relatively rare occasions was a third or fourth house built. It is possible that the cycle of rebuilding is fairly brief, either because of waning bonds with the original house and household in the passing of generations or as a result of extra-local marriage, or simply because the household does not last more than a few generations—it dies out. This explanation is naturally speculative, but the generational model may be supported by the duration of house use (and associated changes in level), as well as the duration of each series as a whole.

Broadly, two major trends are identifiable. The first is very invested in frequent and regular rebuilding and may be related to generational use of domestic structures, comparable to Lerna, which remains the best example of this approach to house-treatment for sites in the Peloponnese. Duration of series and house alike are relatively short-term. The second forms a more limited category, is characterized by longer-term and more infrequent rebuildings, and is often involved with possible prestige-locations. It is likely to represent supra-generational, supra-kinship use of domestic space. House series frequently share aspects of both of these trends, and they are not mutually exclusive, nor is there a clear division between the two groups. Likewise, the second category of longer-term rebuilding must in some ways be dependent on and referent to the first category of shorter-term rebuilding, discussed further below. Some parallel for the division between faster-paced, possibly generational rebuilding and slower cycles of house replacement may be provided by analyses of stylistic change and vessel replacement in ceramics, which show a similar split between more frequently-replaced household vessels and longer-lived communal or ritual vessels.⁸⁴⁰ I outline some of the methodological problems with this approach below, including primarily difficulties with vague or relative chronologies and their comparison

⁸⁴⁰ For example, see Hardin and Mills 2000.

across multiple sites. In general, however, I believe that these trends represent real approaches to domestic architecture from EH III-LH I/II.

Overview and Methodology

I have approached duration of house and house series use from a few different perspectives, which have rendered broadly comparable results. First, referring to the simplified chronology provided by Cline and Voutsaki in the recent *Oxford Handbook*, I have provided a rough estimate for the total time a series was used from the first house to the final construction. More precise estimates were complicated by the use of broad chronological frameworks for most of these houses, for which very few absolute dates have been provided. Site-specific dating conventions have also caused some difficulty with comparison between sites and relationship to absolute dates. Where no absolute dates have been given for chronological subdivisions, I have generally assumed the equivalent duration of subphases (for example, Lerna VA), unless such an equivalency is specifically denied in publications. The use of the major chronological categories (for example, EH III) is also problematic in that it represents approximately 200 years, only part of which is likely to be relevant to a particular house. This is particularly troublesome for the consideration of rebuilding on EH II remains where further subdivisions are not provided, and may have artificially lengthened the duration of these series in particular. In an effort to account for this chronological distortion, I have provided both a maximum duration of series, including the full length of time given for each house (for example, all 450 years of EH II), as well as a more restricted duration, for which I have tried to assess likely areas to narrow down the range of dates provided by the excavators (for example, EH II/III is likely to relate to the latter half of EH II rather than the whole period). For this chart, see the first appendix below.

I have divided these maximum and more restricted chronologies into equal parts based both on the number of “firm” rebuildings and the number of possible rebuildings. This has provided an estimate for the average duration of use for each house. Obviously, there are problems with this method of assessment, particularly in that it cannot properly account for gaps between rebuildings, or for variation in the duration of use of houses within each series, both of which are extremely likely to have occurred. Nevertheless, I believe that this line of analysis has yielded some idea of the social processes behind house replacement. Additional fine-tuning may be provided by more comprehensive study of the finer chronologies provided by micromorphology and floor replacement, but is difficult at the scale of the architecture of the house.

Overall, average maximum duration for the series considered here is 368 years, with an average house rebuilding every 111 years. On a more restricted chronology, the average duration of a series is 317 years, while the house is rebuilt every 97 years on average. These are obviously roughly comparable time scales, with houses rebuilt perhaps two to three times over a period of about 350 years. There is, however, a great deal of variation in the duration of series and consequently in the time between rebuildings, from which I have suggested the following two categories: short-term rebuilding and long-term rebuilding, encompassing two different approaches to house replacement. The categories are distinguished based on average house duration within individual series. Where the house duration was less than 100 years, I have considered it to be short-term; where greater than 100 years, long-term. This division is somewhat arbitrary (see Fig. 2.69 below), but does suggest a concentration of houses in the 20-79 year range for average duration, before falling off for 80-99 years, and continuing to decline after a slight rise in the 100-119 year category.

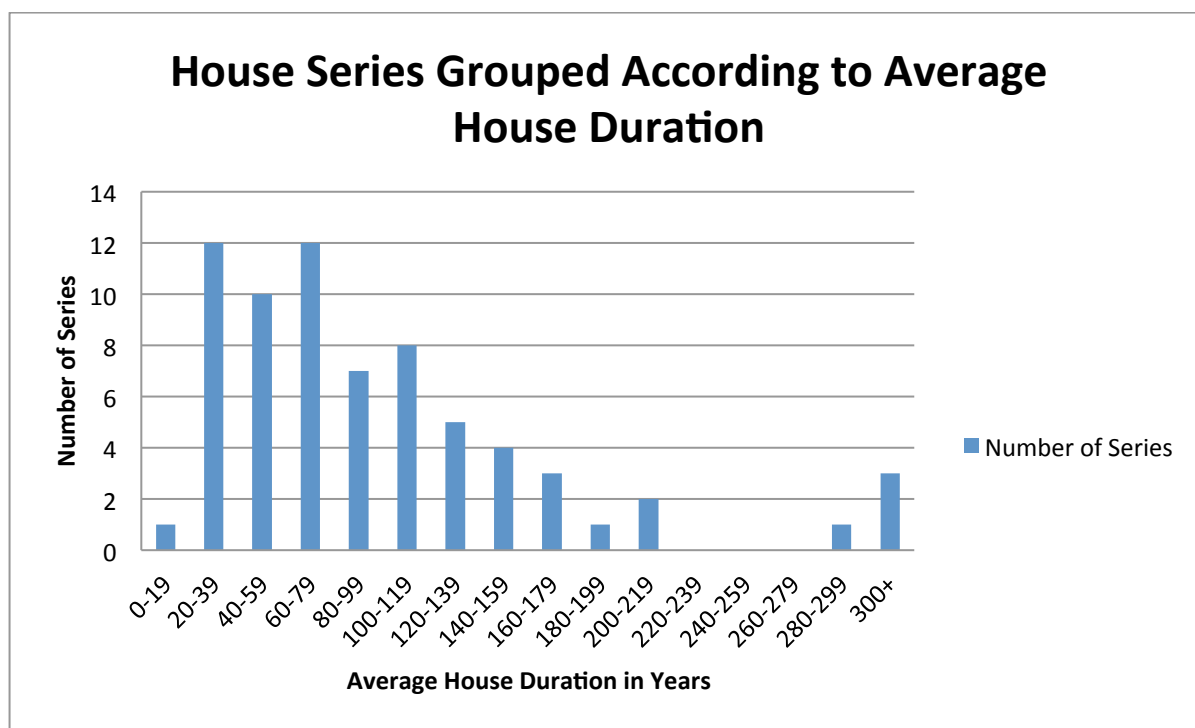


Fig. 2.69: House series plotted against average house duration.

This concentration of average house duration around the 20-79 year range is paralleled by a similar clustering of house series by overall series duration at around 100-299 years (see Fig. 2.70 below). There, is, as might be expected, heavy overlap between the series included in this cluster with short-term series in general, not unexpectedly emphasizing that shorter series tended to have houses of shorter duration.⁸⁴¹ Shorter-term replacement of series lasting longer than 300 years is likely to be significant, and includes the Chieftain's House series, among limited others. In these cases, a blending of short-term and long-term characteristics and goals may be expected, a phenomenon discussed further below.

⁸⁴¹ Only four series of the longer-term type are included in the 100-299 year series duration cluster, including Tiryns Graben F North, Ayios Stephanos Alpha V, Peristeria North House, and Koukounara Megaron Series. All of these have individual house durations of 100-125 years, on the lowest end of the long-term spectrum.

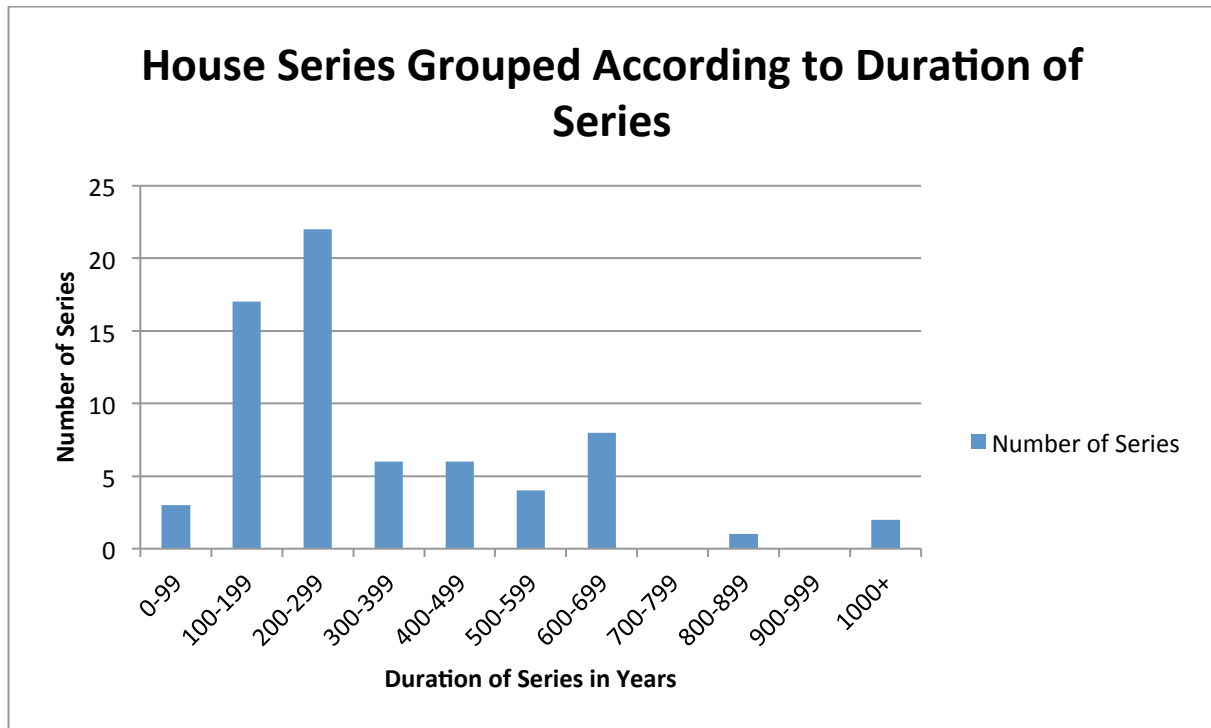


Fig. 2.70: House series plotted against overall series duration.

Returning to the basic division of the data by average house duration, a further trend emphasizing the correlation between length of house use and length of overall series is visible. In general, as the duration of the individual house increases, so does the length of the overall series (see Fig. 2.71 below). This observation is not totally unanticipated, as the duration of the series was used to obtain the average house duration along with the total number of houses in each series; the longer the series, the longer the duration of each individual house, with the handful of exceptions mentioned above. It is likewise notable that though series of longer duration do have the potential for a greater number of houses within each series, the average never rises very far above the overall average of 3.4 houses per series (see Fig. 2. 72 below). Indeed, when individual house numbers are plotted against average house duration, the number of houses more clearly descends—slightly—as house duration increases (see Fig. 2.73 below). Again, this relationship is not totally surprising, as numbers of individual houses per series were used to

calculate the average duration of each house. As house numbers declined, average duration increased. Even so, it seems likely that house series of longer duration in general had fewer houses (or the same number of houses), which consequently stayed in use for longer periods of time. Part of the explanation for this may be regional, and may also have to do with site-specific adoption of tell-style building. Socially-motivated adoption of short-term or long-term rebuilding strategies is also highly likely. It at any rate seems clear that these categories represent real approaches to the domestic space, and I turn to a further exploration of these types of rebuilding now.

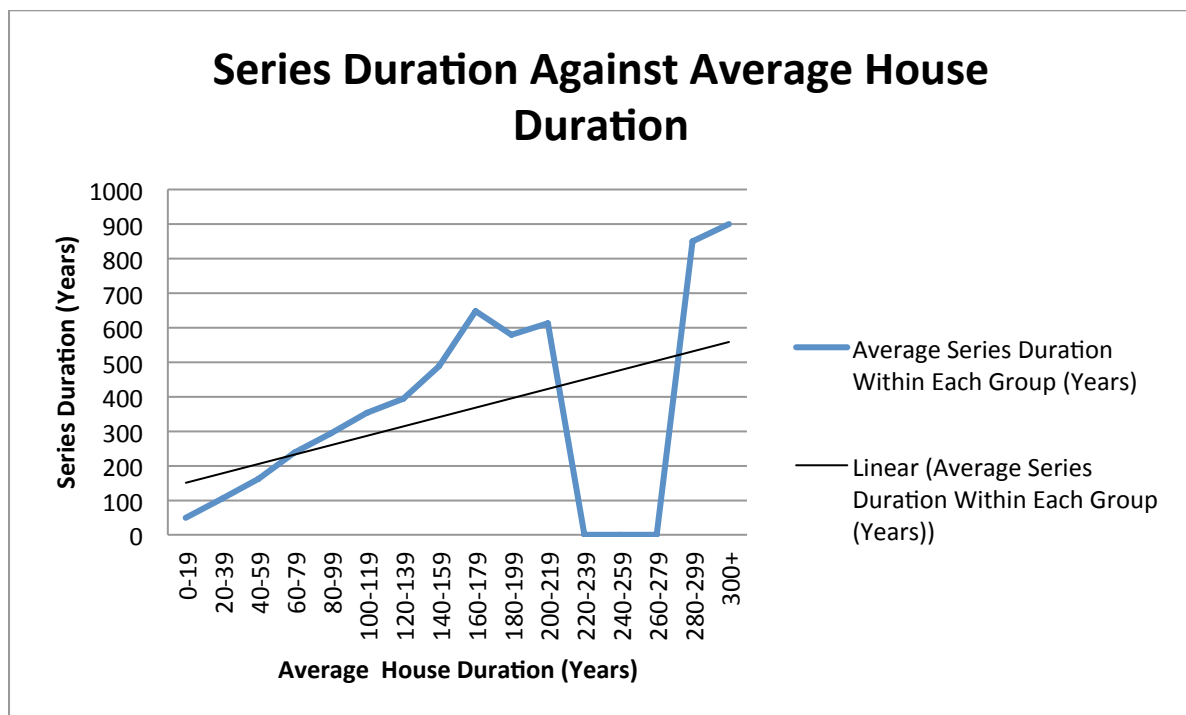


Fig. 2.71: Twenty-year groupings of average house duration for each series plotted against average overall series duration for each group. A general correlation between length of house use and length of series can easily be seen.

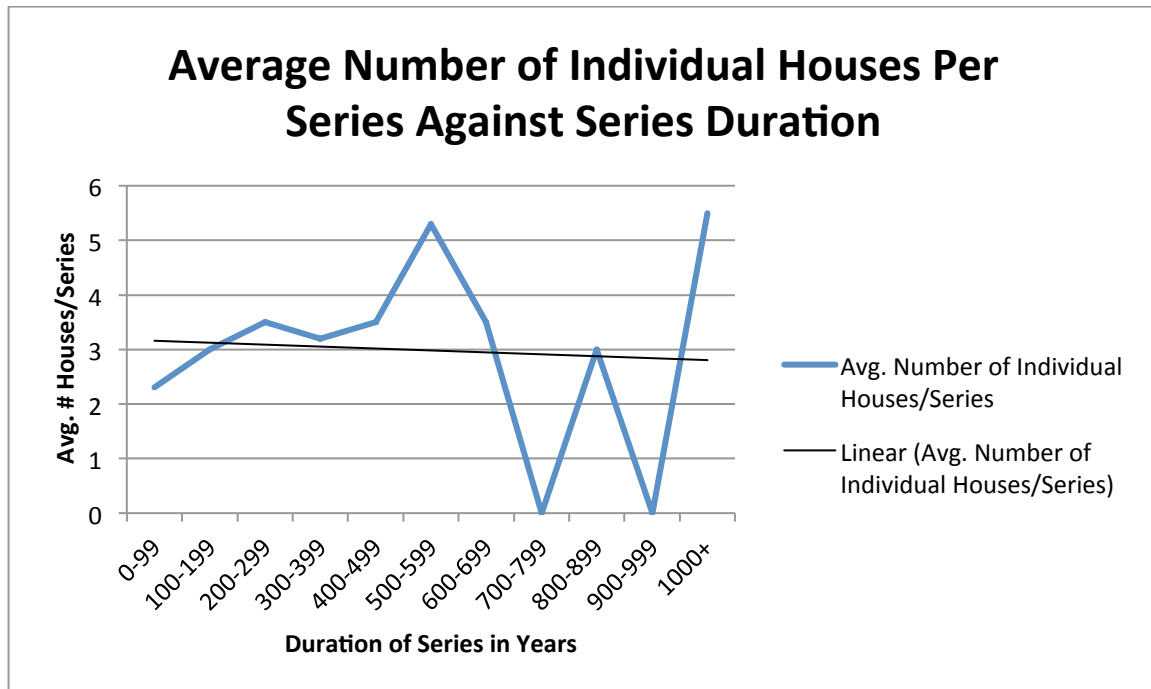


Fig. 2.72: Average number of houses within each house series plotted against the duration of the series. In general, number of houses stays the same or declines, in spite of the higher number of houses for the 1000+ year category.

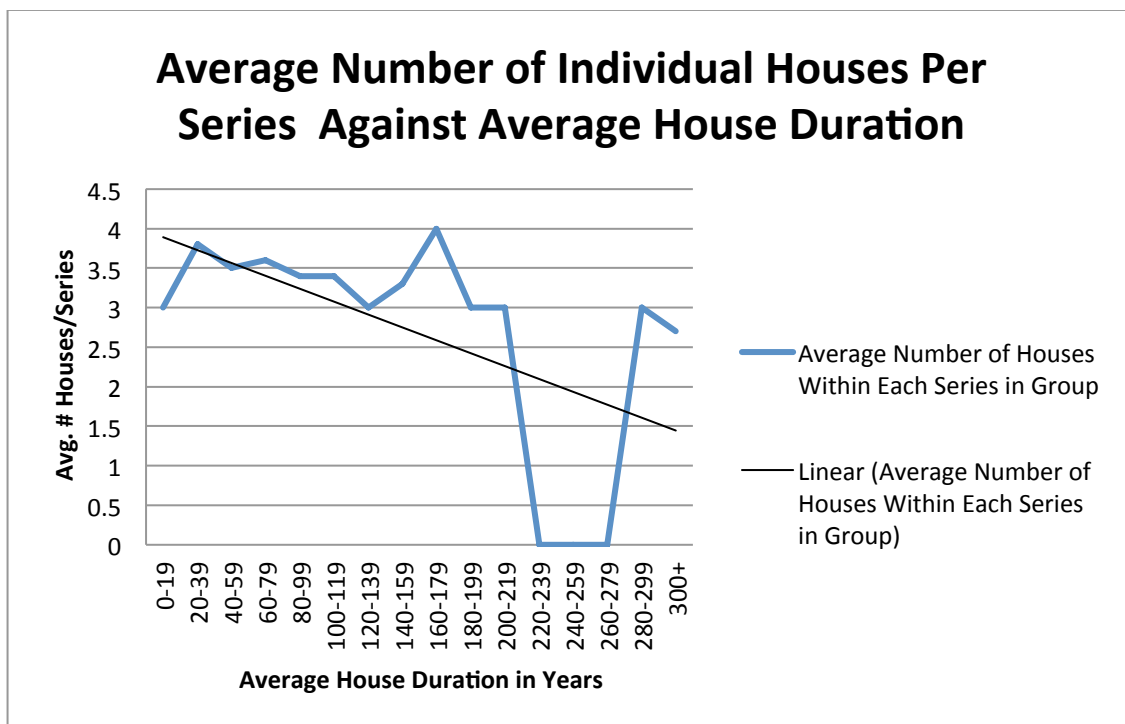


Fig. 2.73: Average number of houses within each house series plotted against the average duration of house use. Again, in general the number of houses stays generally the same or declines.

Short-Term Rebuilding

Short-term rebuilding is defined here as rebuilding occurring more frequently than every 100 years. Such rebuilding strategies account for over half of the series considered here, at about 61%. For these houses, the average duration of each series is just over half that of the overall figure, at about 186 years. Rebuilding occurs on average every 54 years, again showing half the rate of the house series considered overall, with houses replaced perhaps three times before going totally out of use. All of the series at Lerna are included in this group, with a lower than average rate of rebuilding of roughly every 38 years; if Lerna is not included, the average rate of rebuilding rises to roughly every 62 years. These rates correspond well with the peaks in house-replacement at every 20-39 and 60-79 years (see Fig. 2.69 above). A clear concentration of about 34 of the 42 series making use of short-term rebuilding strategies shows that replacement of houses was conducted most commonly on a range of 20-79 years. In general, then, this rate is consistent with a generational or bi-generational model of house replacement, assuming standard lengths for the lives of individuals within this period.

Of course, paleodemography is a notoriously fraught field.⁸⁴² Triantaphyllou, reconsidering Angel's analysis of burials at Lerna and the Grave Circles at Mycenae, has observed an average age at mortality in the mid to upper 30s, and more lately has projected the highest mortality rate for adults (male and female) in prime adulthood, from 30-40 years of age.⁸⁴³ For men, mortality rates in mature adulthood (40-50) are similarly high, followed by young adulthood (18-30). A generation at Lerna could therefore vary significantly, but should be

⁸⁴² See Lagia and Buikstra (2009, 12-14) for a summary of paleodemographical study in Aegean archaeology particularly.

⁸⁴³ Triantaphyllou 2001, 33; 2010, 448; Angel 1971; 1973. See especially Triantaphyllou's (2010, 451) helpful graphs for a summary of these ideas.

about 30-40 years, and perhaps slightly longer where men are concerned. Turning back to the houses, then, a scenario may be proposed in which one or more adults, perhaps on the occasion of a marriage, builds a house. I assume here for the purposes of the argument that this occurs roughly around age 20. The household grows through the addition of children, and one or more of the original adults is likely to have died somewhere inside of the next 20 years. The house may be replaced at this point (at only 20 years), either at the marriage of a child or the death of a house-founder, but the relatively prompt nature of the rebuilding is somewhat less common. Only 13 house series have an average house duration that suggests destruction and rebuilding at the death of the first generation (or possibly roughly contemporary with the marriage of the second), from about 17 years to about 33 years—the latter assumes a long but still plausible lifespan for one or more house-founders. Of these, the majority are from Lerna, though single examples exist from Ayios Stephanos (Zeta Series), the Menelaion (Terrace Houses Series), and possibly Nichoria (V-2-Post-V-2). If the house continues to stand, perhaps a new floor is laid, or a twin “paired” house is built in the vicinity.

Within the next 20 years, the children of the house-founder, the second generation, have also had children and begun to die. At this stage, the original house is between 40 and 60 years old, if perhaps modified, and is quite likely to be replaced at the time that the third generation has theoretically inherited the domestic space. Examples here are not limited to Lerna (with only 3 of around 12 cases of series on 40-63 year average cycles), but include most of the sites in the Argolid, as well as Tsoungiza, Ayios Stephanos, and Malthi. Older houses and slower rates of replacement—for instance, the many houses (around 14 series) that are replaced on roughly 60-80 year cycles—may suggest an adoption of more minor methods of house-modification (again, primarily floor laying or free-standing additions) rather than full-scale rebuilding at certain

junctures. Perhaps more likely, however, is that the assumed transition between heads of household was marked by house destruction and rebuilding only when the household leader had lived a relatively long life, consequently attaining a greater influence within the kinship group. In this case, house replacement is not strictly generational; it is determined not purely by position within the kinship group and ascribed status, but by possession of social capital and achieved status.

This suggestion may be corroborated by the extreme investment necessitated by reconstruction of houses, even outside of the potlatch-style approaches that have been suggested in certain cases above. Certainly the destruction of a house—especially by fire—represents the conspicuous consumption of resources, with or without termination deposits or accompanying feasting, and poses a threat to associated structures within the community. Likewise, rebuilding requires significant expenditure, though it also must have served to demonstrate an ability to marshal labor and resources, perhaps on the part of the new household head. It would therefore be unsurprising if this practice was enacted only in cases of acute change in household composition and infrastructure, such as might be expected with the death of a well-established household/kinship group leader. Such a model is not entirely divorced from the more long-term supra-generational cycles of rebuilding described below, and may in some ways account for the lack of a clear division between the two groups. This scenario is certainly speculative, and other interpretations are possible. But this course of events, along with the inherent variability in the length and impact of human lives, probably explains the range of house replacement cycles, as well as their pronounced clustering at the 20-80 year mark.

The very fast-paced replacement of houses at Lerna, representing just under a third of all the series considered here, seems to be a site-specific feature, though the prevalence of short-

term house replacement in the Argolid more generally is also striking. Including Lerna, Argolidic sites account for over half of all short-term series at ca. 62%—without Lerna, still over a quarter (ca. 26%). Though the Argolid has more series represented in this study than any other area (ca. 45% of the total including Lerna), their presence in the short-term grouping is still disproportionately high. Short-term house construction therefore may be a regional characteristic of the EH III-LH I/II Argolid, perhaps partially explaining the endurance of the practice at places like Tiryns (see above). The shorter average house replacement cycle of every 38 years at Lerna may also indicate site-specific policies of reconstruction hinging on different or more frequent life-cycle events (for example, death *and* marriage), or may have been observed more regularly than other sites. The commitment to very regular house replacement at Lerna may also validate the observations made above of the relatively prominent marking of these events with ritual actions including termination deposits and house burial, which are much more visible here than at other settlements. Notable is the absence of any sites from Achaia and Arcadia, though the lack of material from these areas partially accounts for it. Likewise, the intensity of Bronze Age exploration in the Argolid, leading to several long-term excavations, including notably Tiryns, Lerna, and Argos, has perhaps led to a bias in the data in favor of this region, though the nearly equally heavily explored Messenian sites still do not compare to the numbers shown here.

Short-term series appear throughout the period at hand, but are particularly popular in EH III (largely as a result of Tiryns and especially Lerna), as well as MH II (as a result of Malthi) (see Fig. 2.74 below). Removing Malthi and Lerna—the two most influential sources of site-specific bias—these series seem to appear at a more or less regular rate throughout the period under consideration, with a very slight peak in MH II and MH III.⁸⁴⁴ This is rather later than

⁸⁴⁴ Even this slight rise may be a result of site-specific chronologies, with several series active in Argos specifically at this time.

might be expected from Wiersma's analysis, and certainly the addition of sites outside the Peloponnese would help to test the validity of this slight rise. At any rate, it does indicate the continuation of house series into the MH III period. Level change for short-term series is about 0.26m between houses on average, slightly less than the overall average of 0.28m, and the long-term series average of 0.31m. This difference is likely so little as to be meaningless, and problematically few of the long-term house series had levels provided (at about 67%, versus 79% for the short-term houses). Even so, further work may corroborate a generally lesser change in level for the short-term houses, as a result of their construction in relatively quick succession. It is important, however, that the disparity in level change is not more pronounced for long-term series, a point which I address below.

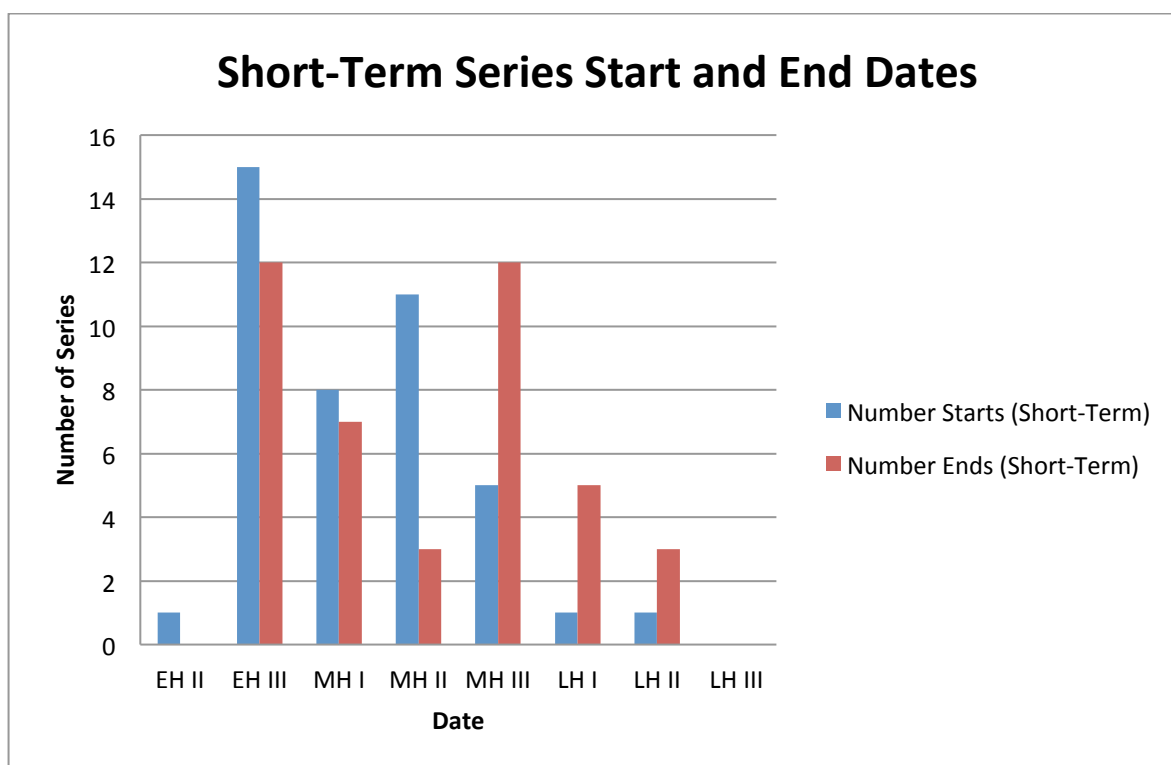


Fig. 2.74: Start and end dates for short-term series. Peaks are partially due to the number of house series at Lerna and Malthi, which follow specific site chronologies.

Similarly ambiguous is the approach to rebuilding in the short-term series. Though a proportionately higher number of houses involved in short-term series has a reasonably pronounced “displaced” character, at about 60% (versus about 41% for long-term series), the number of more strictly integrated series is also proportionately higher, at about 24% (versus about 19%). The majority of EH III-LH I/II series are therefore likely to be somewhat displaced. Short-term series may have more pronounced displacement than long-term, and rates of integrative building are more or less equivalent in both types. I would venture that the slightly more frequent appearance of full displacement in short-term series is likely to have something to do with the focus of short-term series on the present recreation of the house, versus a long-term focus on establishing and actively demonstrating a connection to a past house. In the case of short-term rebuilding, the house is less important as an object to be replicated than as a stand-in for the household that must be created anew. It need not be the same, though it is rooted in a common location.

Long-Term Rebuilding

Long-term rebuilding is here defined as reconstruction of domestic space that took place every hundred years or more. Approximately 39% of the series considered here fall into this category. For these series, the average overall duration is around 520 years, while the average use-life of each house is about 165 years. Both of these figures are well over the overall average, and are around three times the average series and house durations for short-term series. Within this very extensive timeframe, houses are rebuilt an average of 3.2 times maximum, and a minimum of 2.3 times. Though there are series with a greater possible amount of rebuilding, including seven likely phases for Ayios Stephanos Eta I and six for Asea A-B, in general this average is very slightly lower than the overall average number of rebuildings at about 3.4 houses

per series maximum, and the short-term series average of about 3.5. In short, basically the average number of houses per series goes unchanged, and they are simply built less frequently throughout the period. These series are from a wide distribution of sites, with no strong site-specific clustering to bias the identification of general trends. It is notable, however, that only four series are Argolidic; that is, of the series from the Argolid, the majority by far (at about 84%) are short-term. Long-term rebuilding, however, appears not to be a feature of a particular area, but rather a more widely-practiced (if relatively infrequent) approach to the reconstruction of houses.

The average house duration at over 165 years per house seems less likely to be dictated by natural cycles. Assuming the same general mortality rate seen at Lerna of about 30-40 years (for males and females) proposed by Triantaphyllou and discussed above for short-term series, rebuilding would have to occur no sooner than the fourth generation following the original builder, and as late as the eighth generation. Certainly it is possible that other sites enjoyed lower mortality rates until later in life, but Ayios Stephanos, which has several long-term series, was thought to have been in a malarial zone, while Olympia seems to have also been at risk flooding and associated illnesses. It seems unlikely, then, that Lerna could have been too far exceptional in its mortality rates, and indeed, nearby—and also coastal—Tiryns shows two long-term series as well. This average duration is therefore improbably long for the continuous use of a single house. The timeframe given is therefore likely to include abandonment, possible conversion to funerary space, prior to reoccupation at some much later date. Why then so often echo the plan of the previous building, to which there can be only a remote connection?

The practical reuse of earlier walls is likely to have some role, but I would argue that it is limited. Instead, I understand long-term series almost as a referent to short-term series,

reclaiming “old” space as a means of jump-starting a cycle, creating an ancient lineage that may or may not have any basis in reality. That is, older walls are sought out—often but not always either very old or positioned in a marked location—to build upon, taking up an older house to create a series where none had previously existed. Here I define a marked location as one situated at a generally recognized “central area” or landmark (major area of later building, for example, or the tumulus at Lerna), or a natural geographical feature that raises visibility or otherwise dominates the landscape (such as a hilltop). Other exceptional, “attention-focusing” qualities may accompany these, such as monumentality, isolation, or association with courtyards or other gathering spaces. This definition—based on Renfrew’s approach to identifying ritual spaces—is obviously highly subjective.⁸⁴⁵ The majority of series in marked locations, just over a third of the total number of series considered here, are long-term in nature, at about 64%. Likewise, over half of all long-term series (at about 59%) enjoy marked locations. Many of these are in association with EH II landmarks (the tumulus at Olympia, or the possible corridor house at Helike), or appear in isolation with monumental (chiefly in size) construction (several of the Achaia series). There are, however, several series in marked locations in Lerna, and one each in Tiryns and Argos, which are short-term.

An additional category of marked location may be provided by the foundation of many of these houses on EH II remains. Indeed, the majority of long-term series are begun in the EH II period (see Fig. 2.75 below). This observation is somewhat circular in that very few series had specific dates within EH II—an extensive period—for the original structure. Unless I could assume a more specific date (or one was provided), I included minimally half of the full length of the period, and often the full length. Still, cases like Tsoungiza and Ayios Stephanos, where

⁸⁴⁵ Renfrew 1985, 11-26, esp. 18.

specific dates were provided, may corroborate this idea; the sheer number of EH II starts may likewise provide some of its own support. Evidence for special, almost reverent, treatment of EH II remains has been attested not only at Lerna for the tumulus over the House of the Tiles—though this is certainly debated—but also at, for instance, the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary, as convincingly argued by Theodorou-Mavrommatidi.⁸⁴⁶ Much has been written on the active co-opting of memory represented by ruins through construction in proximity to earlier remains. Ethnographic work in Zimbabwe (and elsewhere) has suggested the power of earlier structures and graves in establishing or re-establishing claims of autochthony and legitimacy in contested landscapes.⁸⁴⁷ In this case, “reclamation” of space and place are established within a few generations, and the right to the land and its concomitant meanings is inherited, based on kinship/familial or tribal affiliations which are for the most part real. The increased scale of time that I am dealing with here may imply less in the way of direct (versus indirect or fictive) familial association with ruined or abandoned EH II structures. Nevertheless, the declaration of autochthony and the connection to a remembered or imagined heritage asserted by renewed construction in ancient landscapes attested in ethnographic material is very relevant to the houses considered here. The mechanics that I envision in the marked locations of long-term series are, then, reclamation of the perceived authority or legitimacy of the inhabitants of earlier structures as *an inherited right* on the part of later builders.

⁸⁴⁶ Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2010.

⁸⁴⁷ Fontein 2011. See also Stoler (2013), though dealing primarily with issues in colonialism and the ongoing influence of the built landscape of colonial regimes, and Tilley (2006) for a useful review of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of these works.

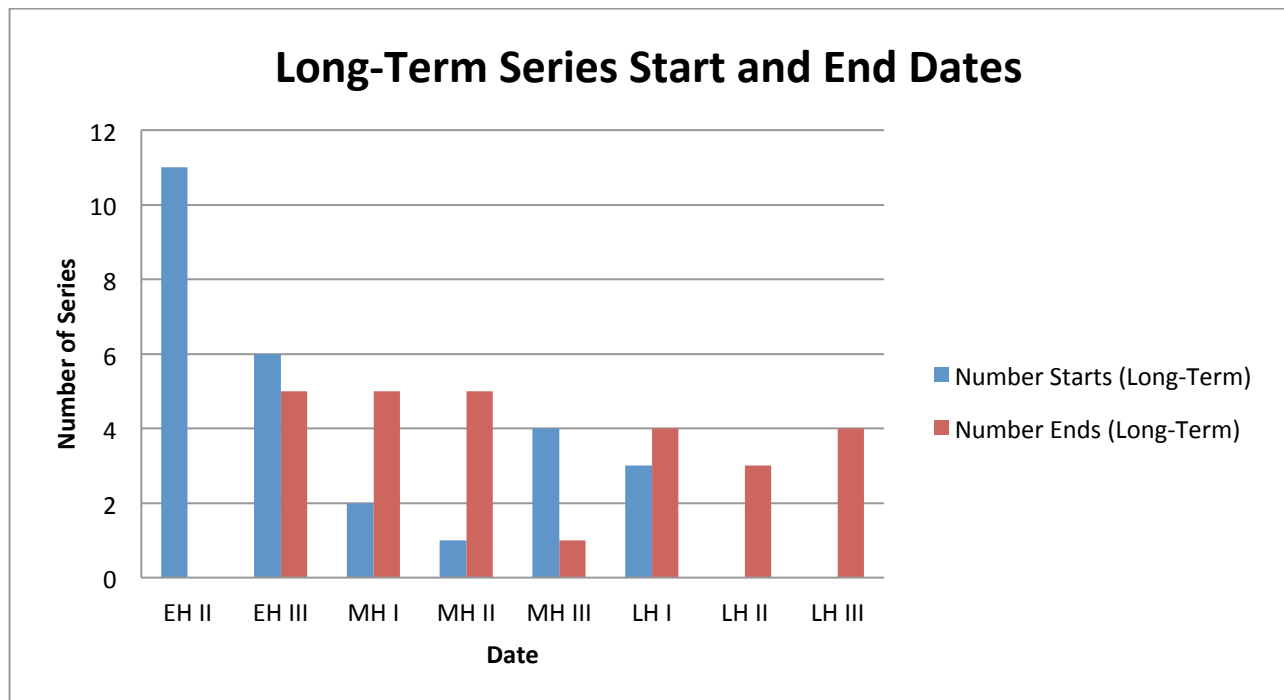


Fig. 2.75: Start and end dates for long-term series. The high number of EH II start dates is partially a result of the length of the period, which has caused several of these houses to be included in this category.

Other than the extremely long duration—though not necessarily continuous use—of some of these houses and series, very little distinguishes them from short-term series. This lack of differentiation may be deliberate, and the earlier architecture, probably “ancient” at the time of rebuilding, was treated exactly as if it were a house of the immediately preceding generations, as suggested for short-term series. Displacement is still prevalent, at about 41%, though not a clear majority. This feature may in some ways obviate the suggestion that walls were simply re-used for convenience; rather, the same emphasis on recreation as has been suggested for the dismantled houses of short-term series seems also to be at work here with the older, possibly ruined walls of long-term series houses. Level change between houses is likewise comparable to short-term series, at about 0.31m between houses, as opposed to the short-term average of about 0.26m. Given the presumed or explicit abandonment of many of these earlier structures (see for instance the EH II structures at Tsoungiza), the close vertical proximity of much earlier and

much later use-phases may indicate actual excavation and/or clearing of accumulated soil and debris from the earlier structures. This action, and the increased labor that it represents, emphasizes the very deliberate claim to the perceived legacy of earlier inhabitants, whatever it may have been.

No Rebuilding

Several sites catalogued by Wiersma for the Peloponnese show no evidence of rebuilding at all, including Kavkania in Elis, Geraki in Laconia, Mycenae and Megali Magoula Galatas in the Argolid. The lack of attested episodes of rebuilding is significant, but can often be explained by the very low numbers of domestic structures dating from EH III to LH I/II found at these sites and/or the relatively brief excavations, which are not able to penetrate (potentially) deeper occupation levels. Mycenae is perhaps the most troubling example, given its location in the Argolid—truly the hotbed of rebuilding—as well as the duration and extensiveness of the excavation and its overall prominence in Bronze Age research. Even so, the scarcity of early architectural remains at the site, due in large part to heavy overbuilding, is well-known.⁸⁴⁸ I treat here only sites with defined architectural remains believed or likely to be domestic in nature.

Achaia

*Pagona*⁸⁴⁹

A series of habitation and destruction layers from MH II through the whole of the Mycenaean period has been briefly discussed by Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi.⁸⁵⁰ Fragmentary walls associated with these levels may attest to house rebuilding, but it is uncertain in light of the

⁸⁴⁸ Shelton 2010, 58.

⁸⁴⁹ Wiersma 2013, 190.

⁸⁵⁰ Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2010.

limited architectural material currently known.⁸⁵¹ A pattern similar to other sites in Achaia, with late MH foundations reused by later Mycenaean construction (in a long-term rebuilding sequence) is possible.⁸⁵²

Argolid

*Megali Magoula (Galatas)*⁸⁵³

Likely dated to MH II-LH I/II in at least its primary phase of use, the walled settlement at Megali Magoula Galatas appears to be a new foundation, and therefore does not enjoy the history of rebuilding that appears at several earlier sites.⁸⁵⁴ It may likewise have been ultimately (and relatively quickly) abandoned to funerary use, though its series of tholos tombs are located outside of the settlement wall (as opposed, perhaps, to Peristeria), and settlement may simply have shifted down the hill during the Mycenaean period.⁸⁵⁵ Walls have been identified as likely domestic architecture at the northern, southern, and central portions of the settlement. These remains have been described only briefly, and no specific number of houses has yet been proposed. I would suggest based on the published plan that no more than two or three houses are represented, perhaps consisting of two-three narrow rooms and arranged back-to-back; the walls at the north of the settlement are quite substantial, and appear unlikely to be domestic.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵¹ See Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1998; 2001.

⁸⁵² See Arena (2015) for the Mycenaean period at this site.

⁸⁵³ Wiersma 2013, 143-144.

⁸⁵⁴ Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou (2010, 73) identifies a *floruit* for the site roughly contemporary with Kolonna IX-X, itself equivalent to about 1800-1400 BC, or about MH II-LH I/II. The MH II period is particularly emphasized in earlier publications (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2003, 180; 2009, 506). But ceramics as early as EH III are attested (Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010, 70).

⁸⁵⁵ Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2003, 165-181; 2009, 506-511; 2010, 72-73 (for tombs); 2003, 162; 2010, 69 (for shift of settlement).

⁸⁵⁶ See Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou (2009, Eik. 10) for the plan of the settlement.

Apparently overlapping walls in the central and southern (especially southeastern) areas make multiple phases—and perhaps displaced rebuilding—highly likely. One probable instance of a rebuilt wall has been confirmed on the ground, though it may rather represent an effort to build around a bedrock outcropping. A child's cist grave within the settlement attests to at least limited intramural burial.⁸⁵⁷ The site as a whole is strikingly similar to Malthi in construction and plan, discussed at greater length below.

*Midea*⁸⁵⁸

Though apparently occupied from EH III throughout the length of the MH and early Mycenaean periods, domestic architecture—and architecture in general—is largely lacking at Midea, lost to erosion and overbuilding. The remaining evidence for MH activity at Midea is helpfully summarized by Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou.⁸⁵⁹ A handful of fragmentary walls and associated floor were recovered from the vicinity of the Lower Terraces (the Megaron Complex), dated generally to the MH period.⁸⁶⁰ Some of these may be domestic in nature, but little can be said about them. A large-scale terrace wall installed in MH II, as well as later terracing and the construction of a proposed water management system are likely to attest to an early elaboration, reorganization, or monumentalization of the site at the MH/LH transition.⁸⁶¹ A number of burials, primarily of children, attest to the practice of intramural burial at the site.⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁷ Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010, 70.

⁸⁵⁸ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A6; Wiersma 2013, 144-145.

⁸⁵⁹ Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010.

⁸⁶⁰ Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 35; Demakopoulou, et al., 1997-1998, 76, 90. See also Walberg (1998, Plan 3) for a phase plan of this area.

⁸⁶¹ See Walberg (1998, 71-74) for the water management system. See also Demakopoulou, et al., 2000-2001, 50-52.

⁸⁶² Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2010, 34-35, 38-39.

*Mycenae*⁸⁶³

Shelton emphasizes the likely occupation of Mycenae from the Neolithic onward, though many of these earlier phases are attested primarily or exclusively through ceramics.⁸⁶⁴ The limited architectural remains are helpfully summarized by Lambropoulou and more recently by Shelton, who catalogues an apparent series of building, burning, and clearing episodes in the acropolis area.⁸⁶⁵ These seem to date from about MH III to LH II, and may be related to the construction of earlier palatial structures.⁸⁶⁶ Shelton mentions, in addition to signs of burning and feasting debris, series of floors, and a progressive monumentalization or reorganization of the space similar to activities on the Aspis at Argos is possible.⁸⁶⁷ Possibly associated with this reorganization is the proposed MH “fortification” wall, though this is certainly a source of debate.⁸⁶⁸ Further evidence for house burning may be found in an MH III structure recovered from beneath the Processional Way.⁸⁶⁹ Outside the citadel, Wiersma catalogues one domestic structure from Mycenae dating to the MH III-LH I period, originally discussed by Verdelis and recounted by Lambropoulou, found in the area of the Ivory Houses.⁸⁷⁰ Relatively few details are given; it is suggested that the house was destroyed prior to the construction of the West House,

⁸⁶³ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A1.

⁸⁶⁴ Shelton 2010, 58.

⁸⁶⁵ Lambropoulou 1991, 240-246; Shelton 2010, esp. 59-60.

⁸⁶⁶ French and Shelton 2005.

⁸⁶⁷ Shelton 2010, 59-60.

⁸⁶⁸ Rowe 1954; see Mylonas (1966, 16-19) and Lambropoulou (1991, 241) contra. For the relationship between terrace wall and early palatial structure, see French and Shelton 2005, 177-178.

⁸⁶⁹ Shelton 2010, 60.

⁸⁷⁰ Wiersma 2013, Cat. G69; Verdelis 1961, 161-163; Lambropoulou 1991, 241-242. See also Tournavitou (2006) for very brief remarks on the reuse of earlier architecture in the West House.

but it is difficult to establish a relationship between the two. Certainly some of the earlier architecture underlying the Mycenaean structure to the north (in the area of Room 4) was reused.⁸⁷¹ Possibly associated with this house was a sherd-filled bothros. Of around five to six houses with partially known plans, then, evidence for rebuilding is limited. Nevertheless, it seems likely to have occurred, based particularly on the evidence for burning and reconstruction in the area of the acropolis. Intramural burial is attested, and Shelton observes that graves are typically found in association with contemporary or abandoned domestic structures.⁸⁷²

Corinthia

*Aetopetra*⁸⁷³

A single house and associated workspace has been explored at the site of Aetopetra near Corinth.⁸⁷⁴ The structure itself dates to the MH period—perhaps MH I—and is preceded by two shallow EH III bothroi filled with burned ceramic material, perhaps attesting to the destruction, clearing, and caching of a previous building, though no architectural evidence may attest to this.⁸⁷⁵ Likewise, the subsequent MH walls seem to be founded on stereo, indicating either a strong displacement of this building or its construction *ex novo*.⁸⁷⁶ Though some evidence of fire was found on the stereo itself, Chatzipouliou-Kalliri argues that it is unlikely to represent full-scale destruction, and may instead be attributed to regular domestic activity.⁸⁷⁷ The pithos burial

⁸⁷¹ Tournavitou 2006, 250 n. 147.

⁸⁷² Shelton 2010, 61-63.

⁸⁷³ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A54; Wiersma 2013, 109.

⁸⁷⁴ See Chatzipouliou-Kalliri (1984) for a brief but thorough report on these remains. Blegen (1920, 3-4) also briefly mentions this site, observing “a number of house walls” visible at surface levels.

⁸⁷⁵ Chatzipouliou-Kalliri 1984, 326. For the date, see Chatzipouliou-Kalliri 1984, 335.

⁸⁷⁶ Chatzipouliou-Kalliri 1984, 327.

⁸⁷⁷ Chatzipouliou-Kalliri 1984, 329.

of a child and at least one installation of a storage jar (and eventual bothros) were associated with the structure.⁸⁷⁸ No remains later than this partially-preserved house were found.

*Gonia*⁸⁷⁹

Nearby Gonia has no clear domestic structures with associated occupation levels.⁸⁸⁰ One corner of a room dating to the MH period was excavated (in Trench B), while a probable series of EH rooms was discovered elsewhere (Trench T).⁸⁸¹ The settlement is nevertheless likely to have been extensive, particularly in the central area of the hill.⁸⁸² Two clay-lined bothroi, probably to be dated to EH III, were recovered beneath an EH III surface, both filled with carbonized material, and one with five restorable vases.⁸⁸³ A third clay-lined bothros is mentioned, also EH III in date, but nothing of its contents could be recovered.⁸⁸⁴ These bothroi seem similar to those at Lerna and may attest to caching of the remains of house destruction or termination ritual. Seven burials, including several adults as well as sub-adults and likely intramural, are contemporary with the MH settlement at the site.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁷⁸ Chatzipouliou-Kalliri 1984, 329-330.

⁸⁷⁹ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A57; Wiersma 2013, 109-110.

⁸⁸⁰ Blegen 1930; 1920, 6-7; Lambropoulou 1991, 70-111.

⁸⁸¹ Blegen 1930, 59. Lambropoulou (1991, 71, 72) observes that no pottery later than EH III was saved from Trench B, making it difficult to confirm the date of the architectural remains here.

⁸⁸² Lambropoulou 1991, 107. Blegen (1930, 59-60) also observes floors found in “several” of his test trenches.

⁸⁸³ Blegen 1930, 60-62.

⁸⁸⁴ Blegen 1930, 62.

⁸⁸⁵ Blegen 1930, 62-64. Blegen (1930, 62) calls these graves “simple shaft-graves,” but based on the photos and brief descriptions, “cists” or “pits” may be more accurate. He argues for their intramural nature based on their placement “under courtyards and beneath the actual floors of houses,” but does not mention how he was able to identify the domestic nature of these surfaces within the limited contextual area of the trenches. Lambropoulou (1991, 103, 107) points out that the MH date for most of these graves hinges on typological arguments.

*Zygouries*⁸⁸⁶

Blegen treats the MH period at Zygouries only very briefly, noting only two (unrelated) fragmentary walls, one of them possibly apsidal (in Trench VI), that may date to the period, in spite of “thick” MH occupational debris on the eastern side of the hill.⁸⁸⁷ According to Lambropoulou’s analysis, the ceramics associated with MH levels appear in general to date late in the period, but nothing more can be said about the (possible) houses.⁸⁸⁸ It is possible, however, that the tendency for MH builders to construct on or around EH II remains was also at work here. Four probable intramural burials, including adults as well as children, were excavated.⁸⁸⁹

Elis

Kavkania

Only one house has been found here, dated to MH III. Though it is burned, there is too little to say whether this house may have been part of a series, and in many ways it is likely that it is not.⁸⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the excavators observe a possible secondary installation of floor paving above the original floor level.⁸⁹¹ The house is also notable for a deposit of pottery made in the floor prior to the fire destruction.⁸⁹² In general, ceramics were only very partially preserved; though Arapojanni tentatively suggests that the building may have been abandoned before destruction, she also notes erosion as a likely culprit. Interestingly, the fragments of the vessels

⁸⁸⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. A67; Wiersma 2013, 110.

⁸⁸⁷ Blegen 1928, 28. Lambropoulou (1991, 112-122) treats the MH remains at the site more extensively.

⁸⁸⁸ Lambropoulou 1991, 121.

⁸⁸⁹ Blegen 1928, 39.

⁸⁹⁰ Arapojanni (2002, 8) argues that the house may have been dug into the surrounding natural subsoil, probably to account for the slope of the ground and provide a level surface.

⁸⁹¹ Arapojanni, et al., 2002, 42.

⁸⁹² Wiersma 2013, 542.

are also widely scattered with secondary burning, possibly indicating that they were broken and scattered prior to the fire, attributable either to a termination ritual or, once again, to abandonment, stone-robbing, and erosion.⁸⁹³ Simple disposal of rubbish is unlikely because of the lack of bones in the area, as Arapojanni emphasizes.⁸⁹⁴ A “bothros-like” hole or depression containing a great deal of charcoal was also reported, possibly signifying the same type of burial of burned architectural elements as proposed for Olympia.⁸⁹⁵

Laconia

*Geraki*⁸⁹⁶

Only fragmentary walls and a “grey, ashy earth fill with abundant animal bones” remain of the MH occupation at Geraki, and during EH III the settlement was likely abandoned.⁸⁹⁷

Though all periods of the MH are represented, abandonment at the MH/LH transition is likely.⁸⁹⁸

As no whole houses were recovered, rebuilding is not clearly attested at Geraki. Nevertheless, though circumstantial, six presumably sequential surfaces dating to the MH period on the acropolis (in trench 52/7r) may indicate the same type of rebuilding/resurfacing suggested for

⁸⁹³ Arapojanni (2002, 43-46, esp. 45) gives a description of the various find spots of Cat. 36, suggesting that it may have been in situ (and whole) and then broken by falling debris. Cat. 45 was similar (Arapojanni, et al., 2002, 47). Cat. 43 was likewise broken and scattered—at only a third preserved, it is composed of 199 fragments—and is also burned. The position of portions of this vessel over stones possibly from the western wall may indicate, however, that it was smashed after the fire, or that it fell from above (Arapojanni, et al., 2002, 46-47). Later stone-robbing activity could also account for this upheaval.

⁸⁹⁴ Arapojanni, et al., 2002, 53.

⁸⁹⁵ Arapojanni, et al., 2002, 21. The bothros also contained sherds, a Murex shell, and a small part of an obsidian blade.

⁸⁹⁶ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. C12.

⁸⁹⁷ Crouwel, Prent, and Buitenhuis 2008, 3; Crouwel 2010.

⁸⁹⁸ Crouwel 2010, 82-83.

MH sites with more extensive architectural remains.⁸⁹⁹ A tell-like approach to construction is suggested.

Messenia

*Voroulia (Tragana)*⁹⁰⁰

A single room has been excavated, which may be domestic in nature, though a possible cultic function has been suggested.⁹⁰¹ Lolos notes that this room was “destroyed,” but does not elaborate further.⁹⁰² The large amount of drinking vessels in particular, along with regular household pottery, may indicate a possible termination deposit, perhaps involving feasting. The lack of contextual information clearly hinders any further interpretation.

Conclusions

A handful of other partially-published sites with fragmentary architectural remains of this period exists, but little can be said for them, and whether or not rebuilding was practiced in these places is not ascertainable in the current state of exploration and publication. In total, considering sites with evidence for house series in conjunction with the sites with little firm evidence for this practice, around a third of all sites with some more or less defined domestic architecture show no verifiable sign of rebuilding. Many of these sites are, however, not fully explored and/or have suffered from overbuilding and erosion, and in several cases (Megali Magoula, Mycenae) rebuilding is highly likely to have played a role within the settlement. It is clear, then, that rebuilding and the house-cycle, whether following more or less regular generational patterns or

⁸⁹⁹ Crouwel, Prent, and Buitenhuis 2008, 13; Crouwel, Prent, and Macveagh Thorne 2009. These surfaces are not explicitly domestic.

⁹⁰⁰ Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, Cat. D12; Wiersma 2013, 172.

⁹⁰¹ Lolos 1987, 60-95, esp. 93-95; Dickinson 1970, 369; Marinatos 1960, 114.

⁹⁰² Lolos 1987, 60.

motivated by claims of legitimacy and fictive kinship ties, was a major part of domestic architecture from EH III to LH I/II. Can any patterns of change or elaboration, similar to those established for the funerary material, be established for house replacement? In other words, how does this treatment of domestic architecture change over time, if at all?

As established in the following chart (Fig. 2.76 below), the short-term, frequent replacement of houses is particularly popular from EH III until MH III, while long-term rebuilding persists from EH II until LH I, minimally, and seems to continue well into the mature Mycenaean period. In general, both types of house reconstruction decline in frequency after LH I. For short-term series this decline is particularly sharp, suggesting a major change in house-replacement practice at the MH III/LH I transition. This shift is consistent with proposed major socio-cultural changes taking place at the same time, the so-called Shaft Grave Period, which has been marked as a moment of major discontinuity within the Greek mainland by Maran and others.⁹⁰³ I consider this idea in greater depth below. Most pertinent for the purposes of the houses specifically is the argument of Karkanas and Van de Moortel that Mitrou transitions from tell to open building strategies at around this same time.⁹⁰⁴ In other words, the inhabitants of Mitrou abandon what would appear to be short-term house series, and perhaps rebuilding activities all together, likely as a result of increasing organization at the level of the community. There is, then, a relatively sudden shift away from the strong emphasis on natural cycles of individual lineage and kinship groups entailed in house-rebuilding. This transformation is apparently not limited to Mitrou, but is also widespread in the Peloponnese.

⁹⁰³ Maran 1995.

⁹⁰⁴ Karkanas and Van de Moortel 2014, 209-212.

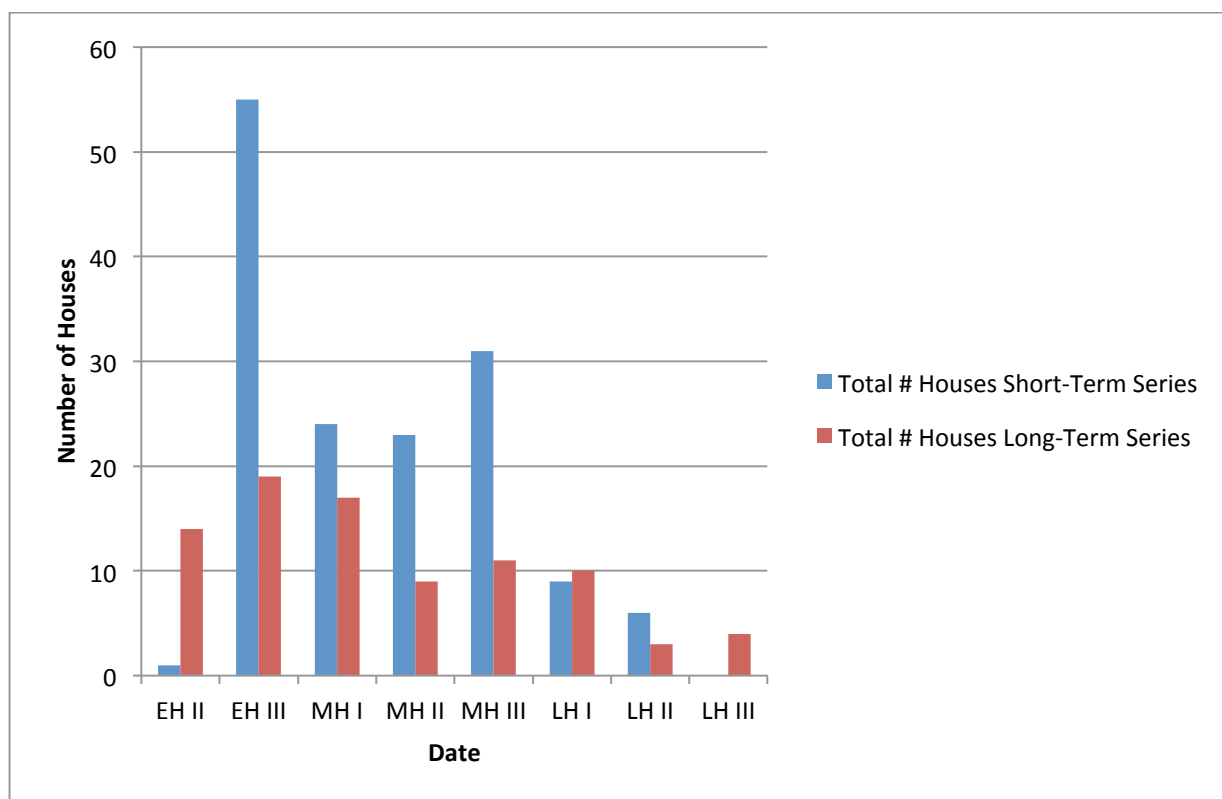


Fig. 2.76: Total numbers of houses (or house subphases) during each period, divided according to inclusion in short- or long-term series.

A parallel phenomenon has been observed in the funerary material. Voutsaki especially has identified a transition from simple, vertically undifferentiated but widely diverse burial practices of the MH period to formalized extramural burial differentiated in wealth and labor investment in the early Mycenaean period.⁹⁰⁵ The reason for this change, as she describes it, is mounting external pressure from intensifying contact with broader Mediterranean networks, which simultaneously increased access to wealth and raw materials while also disrupting established economic and social patterns on the mainland.⁹⁰⁶ In her words:

A new means of social evaluation, a new mode of creating and expressing prestige, was introduced: the acquisition of valuable goods and their ritualized deposition with the dead. The new mode, however, began to manifest itself in mortuary practices at a period

⁹⁰⁵ Voutsaki 1998, esp. 44-48.

⁹⁰⁶ Voutsaki 1998, esp. 47-48.

during which we can also observe an increasing emphasis on descent, expressed in the use of multiple tombs. The new structural principle countered the old kinship order, but remained dependent upon it. We thus see in the mortuary practices of the time the clash, and perhaps also the reconciliation, of two competing organizing principles.⁹⁰⁷

This shift is accompanied by a general conversion of the early MH “kin-based society to one permeated by rigid status distinctions within which entire communities and social groups attempted to negotiate their position.”⁹⁰⁸ Very basically, then, in the MH III/LH I period, there is a breakdown of purely kinship-negotiated social order as power structures became increasingly centralized and reliant on achieved status and asymmetric relationships achieved through displays of wealth, including particularly conspicuous consumption and gift-exchange.

How does this compare to the transformation in rebuilding practices? Centralization and differentiation do appear to play a role for the treatment of the houses as well. It could certainly be argued that house replacement as a practice was no longer open to as many families, paralleling segmentation visible in the mortuary material and possibly indicating increasingly asymmetrical access to resources. It is important, however, that house rebuilding, at least in the form of long-term series, does continue throughout the Mycenaean period. It is possible that the replacement of the house—representing an ostentatious display of consumption and access to labor and building materials—became increasingly the purview of the elite. Indeed, marked rebuilding has been observed for the palace at Tiryns, and likely for Mycenae as well, as well as with the Mansions at the Menelaion and the fairly large-scale megaron structures that are so characteristic of rebuilding in Achaia. Particularly for these elite structures, rebuilding probably marks a claim to and in some ways effects descent and legitimacy—and probably regional

⁹⁰⁷ Voutsaki 1998, 47. See also Voutsaki (2010a, 97) for this idea.

⁹⁰⁸ Voutsaki 2010a, 104, and esp. Table 5.6.

dominance—on the part of a group that may or may not be related to the previous inhabitants. Rebuilding of these structures, no longer purely domestic in character, but likely to be the seat of public functions, feasting, and ceremonies, was infrequent and possibly consciously archaizing. It would have been intended not just for the kinship group of the rebuilders, but, in keeping with the more public role of these structures, for a broader group either of elites, a factional cohort, or the community as a whole. Rebuilding, then, seems to become (or perhaps was always?) a means of creating status at the level of the individual or kinship group within Mycenaean communities, while simultaneously also defining a broader social group of constituents.

I take up this issue of social change and community-building at the MH III/LH I transition, particularly as it relates to Voutsaki's ideas about the transformation of kinship-based organization and Karkanas' and Van de Moortel's arguments for increasingly centralized authority, in my concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 3: THE DISCONTINUOUS SETTLEMENT

As a means of addressing the significant drop in short-term rebuilding at the MH III/LH I transition, while long-term rebuilding continues into the Mycenaean period, I turn now to Maran's proposal of serious discontinuities at the level of the settlement during the Shaft Grave period. Maran, as noted above, has previously identified particular types of settlement "discontinuities" for the Early Mycenaean ("Shaft Grave") period, partially based on the work of Klaus Kilian. More specifically, Maran argues that high numbers of settlements are abandoned, resulting in:

- 1.) The foundation of new settlements, often prioritizing different organizational features than previously, primarily including fortification walls.
- 2.) The return to previously occupied settlements following an earlier period of abandonment.
- 3.) The conversion of settlement space to funerary use.

Any combination of these three types of "discontinuities" is possible. Furthermore, though he does not elaborate to any great degree, Maran theorizes that:

. . . the main reason for the abandonment of the traditional Middle Bronze Age architectural pattern was that in the Shaft Grave Period new demands regarding the layout of settlements arose, which could not be met by the old structural patterns. *If we generalize this, we could assume that the breaks in settlement continuity during the Shaft Grave Period are connected with a restructuring and reorganization of the settlements.*⁹⁰⁹ (The emphasis is mine.)

⁹⁰⁹ Maran 1995, 72. Similar ideas have been expressed by Dietz (1991, 292-294) for the Argolid specifically.

The “traditional MBA architectural pattern” referred to by Maran is one like that of Lerna or Korakou, loosely or organically organized, with little in the way of planned infrastructure (for example, road or drainage systems). Maran likewise does not describe *how* settlements may have been reorganized, other than the increasing use of fortification walls. Dietz handles several of these issues in his treatment of the Argolid, and Maran deals primarily with Thessaly and Pefkakia in particular in his consideration. So how wide-ranging are these discontinuities?

Using the *Gazetteer* of Hope Simpson and Dickinson as a tool for preliminary analysis, I have confirmed that settlement abandonments between MH and LH I/II do appear to be extensive and wide-ranging across the Greek mainland. The material from the *Gazetteer* alone provides a corpus of 731 sites occupied for some part of the period between (and including) EH II to LH IIIA. Of these, 332 sites showed some evidence of MH I-III occupation, and an additional 87 may have been inhabited at this time. The challenges of identifying sites from sherd scatters, let alone their nature and occupation history, are known; nevertheless, in the absence of a large corpus of excavated and published settlement sites, this sort of data provides the best means of assessing shifts in settlement patterns and Maran’s potential discontinuities. Of a total of 419 possible MH sites, only about 150, or roughly 35% are used in LH I/II. If sites described generally as LH rather than LH I/II specifically are removed, the number drops to only about 127 sites (30%). The continuity of use is comparably low for the possibly major cultural break across EH II into EH III, with only about 30% of sites used in both periods.⁹¹⁰

Unfortunately, it is hard to determine from this information *how* the sites were being used (occupation vs. funerary). There are 108 sites (about 26% of the total number of possible

⁹¹⁰ These numbers do not include general EH/EB material, which could be assigned to any (and every) portion of the EH period (therefore artificially increasing continuity), noted by Hope Simpson and Dickinson. The total number of probable EH II sites is approximately 242, out of which 73 are occupied into the EH III period, or roughly 30%.

MH sites) with some evidence of MH occupation *and* MH/LH I/II-III A1 graves, but it is naturally unclear whether the settlement continued to be used alongside the cemetery based on this evidence alone. Consideration of new foundations at LH I/II is likewise complicated. Of about 164 LH I/II sites, only about 49 (ca. 30%) seem not to have been occupied in MH at all. While many settlements are indeed apparently at least temporarily abandoned before LH I/II, then, the majority (70%) of those in use are used continuously the MH period. Of these, however, nearly half (45%) show some evidence of funerary use and may therefore fall into Maran's suggested settlement-to-cemetery category.

Are these ratios unusual? Looking again at the EH II/EH III transition, a large number of sites are abandoned prior to EH III. But again the majority of EH III sites—here by far—were in use in the EH II period as well (94%). Only 6% of EH III sites were “new foundations.” Very few (3 of 78) show signs of possible funerary use during this period, so a transition to funereal use seems less likely. Of these same 78 sites with certain EH III material, 75 are used continuously into the MH period, and there are perhaps 223 new foundations, still eliminating sites attributed generally to the EH period. There is then, both a high degree of continuity in existing settlements, and a very high rate of new foundation from EH III to MH. Skipping to the LH I/II to LH III A transition, a similar pattern is evident, with 154 of 165 LH I/II sites (eliminating those attributed to LH generally) still in use in LH III A, with perhaps 298 new foundations. For this transition there is a great deal of evidence of funerary use at these sites, but it is heavily weighted by the visibility of built and chamber tombs at this time.⁹¹¹ This data is

⁹¹¹ Boyd (2002, 8) comments on the low visibility of unmarked tombs in survey.

summarized in the following chart.⁹¹² The highest incidence of new settlement foundation occurs over the course of the MH period, followed by a relatively high incidence of abandonment and a moderate level of new foundations, with much of the continuity of use being attributable to funerary use of sites. The MH/LH transition is notable, then, for the frequency of abandonment alongside new foundations, beginning with the extremely high number of new foundations attributable to the MH period itself. It does therefore appear to be a time of high discontinuity.

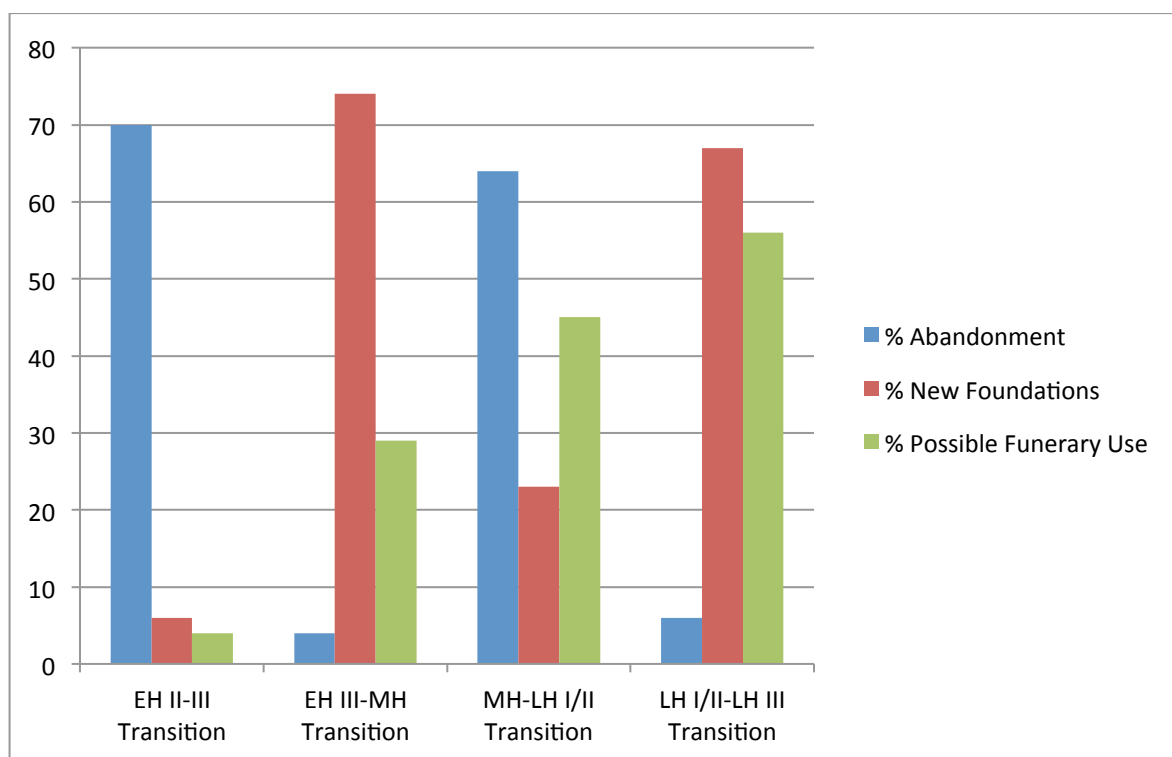


Fig. 3.1: Percentage of total number of settlements reported by Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) experiencing discontinuities at important transitions within the Bronze Age from EH II to LH III.

Naturally, these numbers are affected not only by the increasing visibility of tomb-types, but also by the identification of specific pottery types in survey and excavation data, as well as the choices in the periodization made by Hope Simpson and Dickinson. While the EH and LH

⁹¹² Data is taken from Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979). Attempts have been made to correct for site-use attributed generally to the EH or LH periods. Numbers are therefore approximate, and offer only a general idea of trends in site patterns.

periods are broken into their constituent parts (I, II, and III), the MH is considered as a whole, prohibiting a more nuanced consideration of development and discontinuity during the MH period itself. It is likewise necessary to corroborate this picture using more recent intensive survey work in several parts of Greece, as the *Gazeteer* is able to give only a rough general idea.⁹¹³ The long history of matt-painted wares and difficulty in distinguishing late MH from early Mycenaean ceramic types must further complicate the interpretation of this survey data.⁹¹⁴ Likewise, though these “discontinuities” are indeed prevalent at the MH-LH I/II transition, a number of important exceptions, including especially Pefkakia (which falls into two of these developmental categories), demand a closer interrogation of the range in the chronology of the process and the—perhaps surprisingly—broad geographic area over which these discontinuities can be seen to extend.

Of Maran’s discontinuities, I focus here on reorganization of settlements, considering both pre-existing settlements that are drastically restructured during the transition to the Late Bronze Age and the new planned settlements that so strongly resemble them. Although I continue to concentrate on Peloponnesian examples, I do here draw from material across the Greek mainland. Ultimately, I argue that the rebuilding of these settlements is strongly related to house-rebuilding, merely expressed on a larger scale. In other words, these settlement reorganizations function very much in the same way as I have argued for the reconstruction of

⁹¹³ Recent survey work includes, but is in no way limited to, the Kea Archaeological Research Survey (directed by J. Murphy and A. Kelly, 2013, classics.uncg.edu/kea), as well as the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (directed by T. Gregory and D. Pullen, 2007, und.edu/instruct/wcaraher/EKASPage/EKASStaff.html), among others. Fairly recently published are J. Bintliff’s (2007) *Testing the hinterland: the work of the Boeotia Survey (1989-1991) in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiiai* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research), and C. Mee’s and H. Forbes’ (1997) *A rough and rocky place: the landscape and settlement history of the Methana Peninsula* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press), as well as Lindblom and Wells 2011. Many more could be mentioned here, and I expect to address these trends in later versions of this work.

⁹¹⁴ Rutter 1983, 137-142; 2010, 417; Wright 2008, 230. See also Wiersma 2013, 5-6.

houses, here meant not to recreate the kinship group, but the broader community of the settlement.

Transitional Planned Settlements

A body of settlements—new foundations dating roughly from the middle of the MH period through the end of LH I or so—has been recognized for an increased interest in hilltop locales and fortification walls. Within the Peloponnese, only Megali Magoula Galatas, Peristeria, and possibly the unexcavated site of Konchilion (Kastro) fall into this category, but a handful of other settlements are similar, including prominently Kiapha Thiti in Attica, and Maran adds Panakton in Boeotia and Petra in Thessaly (Fig. 3.2).⁹¹⁵ Though Kiapha Thiti represents a settlement at which habitation was resumed following a gap from the end of EH II, and Galatas may have been fortified somewhat earlier than the Shaft Grave period at about MH II, all of these sites are roughly contemporary and employ formalized plans that are similar to one another. This plan consists of a settlement/fortification wall, generally lined with a series of rooms in a more or less integrated plan. I can find no attested instances of these interior rooms bonding with the fortification wall—as has been argued for Malthi—and the interior walls at Galatas have been specifically shown to abut the interior of the fortification wall.⁹¹⁶ Nevertheless, these rooms seem to be an integral part of the overall plan. There is likewise

⁹¹⁵ Maran 1995, 68. For Megali Magoula Galatas, see Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou (2003; 2009, 504-511; 2010); and Wiersma (2013, 141-142). For Peristeria see Vermeule (1964, 117-118); Lolos (1987, 42-59); Daux (1965, 739-743); Wright (1978, 68-70); Cook (2014, esp. 240-241); and Wiersma (2013, 171-172). For Konchilion (Kastro) see McDonald and Hope Simpson (1969, 138, Ill. 6, 141-142) and Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979, Cat. D203). For Kiapha Thiti see Lauter (1996); Maran (1992b); Hagel (1992); and Wiersma (2013, 89). For Panakton see Munn (1996) and French (1991-1992, 29-31); the date of the fortification may be questionable here. For Petra see Milojčić (1955; 1960); and Wiersma (2013, 52). Brauron seems to have been inhabited earlier, possibly but not certainly continuously into the MH period, but was also heavily structured at this time with a fortification wall or minimally extensive terracing projects. It may therefore fall more naturally into the second category of reorganized pre-existing settlements. For Brauron, see Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979, Cat. F38); Wiersma (2013, 87); Kakavoyianni and Douni (2010); and Kalogeropoulos (2010).

⁹¹⁶ Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010, 69.

evidence for formalized gates at Galatas, Peristeria, and Kiapha Thiti, as well as a paved road leading from the wall at Peristeria.⁹¹⁷ Kiapha Thiti and Konchilion, and perhaps Galatas, are further segmented on the interior of the fortification walls by additional terracing. Though it is in many ways a natural response to hilltop terrain to construct terrace walls, these terraces must also function to divide and structure the settlement; they are not simply a practical, but also a social measure, leading to more elaborate organization of the built space.

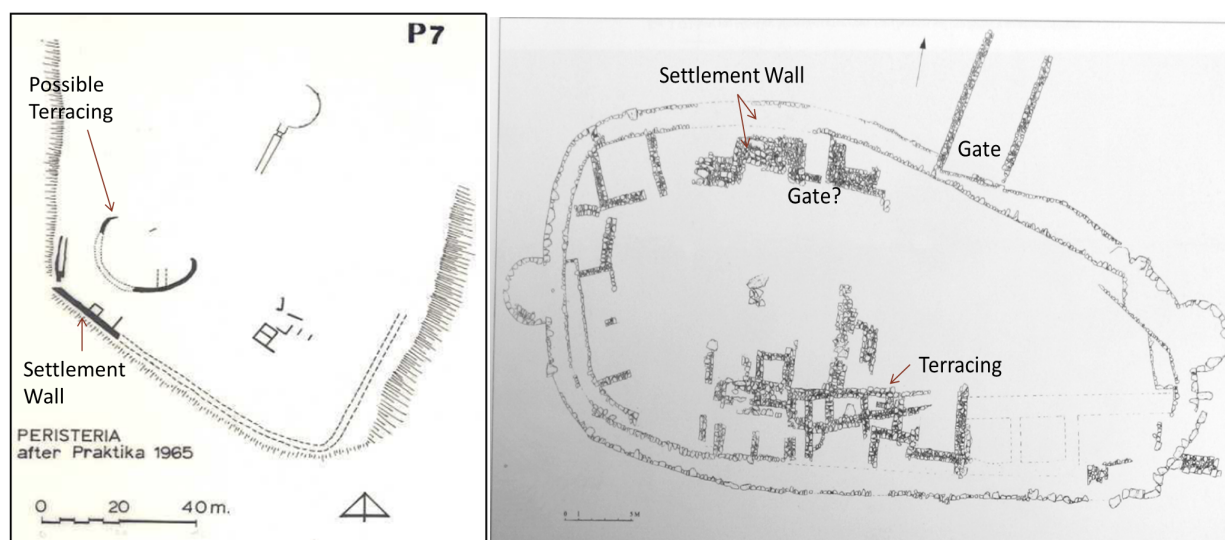


Fig. 3.2: Peristeria (at left, after Wright 1978) and Megali Magoula Galatas (at right, after Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2003), displaying an interest in fortifications and terracing.

The fortification walls of these settlements are nevertheless perhaps the most defining feature. Naturally, once again, these fortifications fulfilled a practical role in acting as defensive structures at a time marked by social upheaval—discussed further below—and probably violence, if the interest in martial activities and warrior identity shown in material deposited with the dead in the Grave Circles at Mycenae can be understood to reflect reality.⁹¹⁸ But the role of fortification walls in creating and defining community and social identity is also well known. A

⁹¹⁷ See Daux 1965, 739.

⁹¹⁸ On the warrior burials in the Shaft Graves, see recently Harrell (2014), with useful bibliography.

useful summary of the function of such walls as “sociophysical boundaries” is provided by Susan Kenzle, based on the work of Marjorie Lavin.⁹¹⁹ As Kenzle states, these walls worked:

. . . for the purposes of spatial demarcation and social regulation. As such, they delineated territory by defining and separating insiders from outsiders; regulated or restricted access . . .; acted as mnemonics by reminding or informing people of appropriate behavior; enhanced privacy and the control of information; and bolstered social integration within settlements.⁹²⁰

Being monumental structures, as suggested by Bernard Knapp, fortification walls and the act of and investment in their construction play a major role in “becoming”—the act of building creates and continues to demarcate a social group.⁹²¹

Similarly, as a constructed monument, the wall forms a “material marker of ideology, memory, and identity.”⁹²² In the context of Archaic Greece, Franziska Lang emphasizes the function of these walls not only in creating identity within the community, but also in defining what is not the community, the “other.”⁹²³ It is also worth noting that Archaic Greece experiences a similar phenomenon of wall-building and structuration, likely related to the rise of the polis, remarkably parallel to the situation described here, as argued below.⁹²⁴ The fortifications and terrace walls at these new MH/LH settlements must have shared many of these functions, likely resulting in highly-delineated communities, spatially and socially. I turn now to the reorganized settlements, which share many similarities with the new foundations.

⁹¹⁹ Kenzle 1997; Lavin 1981.

⁹²⁰ Kenzle 1997, 207.

⁹²¹ Knapp 2009, based on Trigger 1990.

⁹²² Knapp 2009, 56.

⁹²³ Lang 2007, 185-186.

⁹²⁴ Lang 2007, esp. 190-193.

Reorganized Settlements

With the exception of Megali Magoula Galatas, Peristeria, and perhaps Konchilion, then, in general within the Peloponnese sites of this type were reorganized or refounded from established settlements. These reorganized settlements include Malthi most prominently, as well as Aspis-Argos and perhaps Ayios Stephanos (Fig. 3.3). Outside of the Peloponnese, Brauron (if it is not refounded after an EH III abandonment), Kolonna, and Ayia Irini, both of which are already fortified by the time of the MH III/LH I transition, also show signs of reorganization. For at least the Peloponnesian sites, reorganization follows a major destruction by fire, and there is more or less firm evidence for accompanying feasting activities prior to rebuilding at the Aspis.⁹²⁵ As Wiersma has suggested for Ayios Stephanos, these fires are not unlikely to have been deliberate, actively dismantling the earlier settlement in an undertaking similar to a house-killing, but at a much broader scale. The new plans at these sites included structuring terrace walls or “spine walls,” resulting generally in concentric rings of architecture within the settlement. In several cases, monumental structures, apparently with some public function, were also erected, often centrally. Examples include the central terrace and hearth-building at Malthi (Valmin’s Room A1) and likely the central terrace structures at the Aspis, as well as the so-called Large Building Complex (Großsteinbau) at Kolonna, incidentally rebuilt no fewer than three times.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁵ For Malthi, see Valmin (1938, 52-53). For the Aspis (both destruction by fire and associated feasting deposits), see Philippa-Touchais (2010, 795-796); Philippa-Touchais and Touchais 2011; Philippa-Touchais 2007, esp. 111-112; and Philippa-Touchais 2003. For Ayios Stephanos, see Taylour and Janko (2008, 572); and Wiersma (2013, 161). For this last site, Wiersma suggests that the fire was deliberate in order to clear a section of the site (in the area of Lambda II) for a more organized rebuilding.

⁹²⁶ For Kolonna, see Gauß, Lindblom, and Smetana 2011.

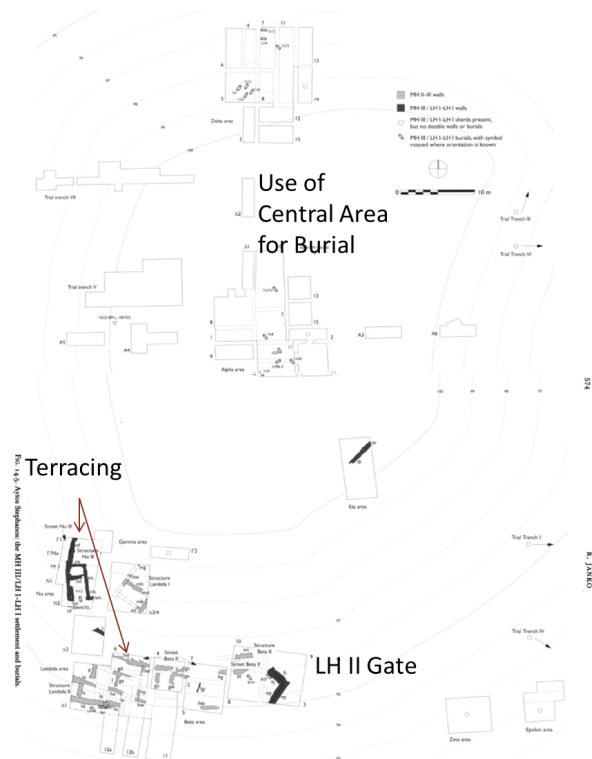
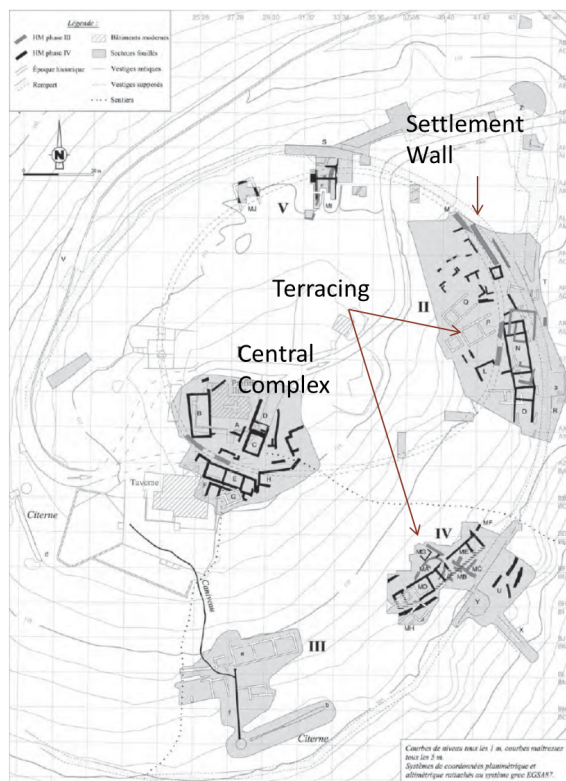
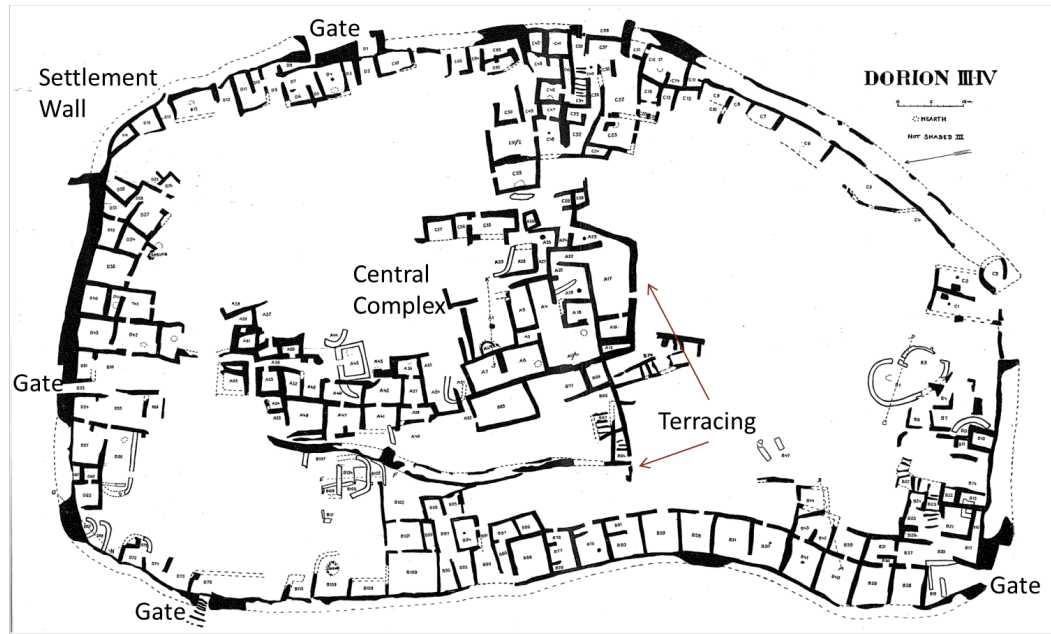


Fig. 3.3: Malthi (at top, after Valmin 1938), Aspis-Argos (bottom left, after Philippa-Touchais 2013), and Ayios Stephanos (bottom right, after Taylour and Janko 2008), showing terracing and fortification projects.

These plans are generally highly integrative. This characteristic is partially a product of the structuring of the terrace walls and the fortification wall, all of which act to link physically the houses of the settlement. This effect has been observed for the spine walls at Azoria, similarly reorganized at around 700 BC, resulting in a new highly-structured plan incorporating a number of public buildings, once again as part of the polis-creating phenomenon.⁹²⁷ Though these “spine walls” follow the natural topography of the hilltop and serve a practical retaining function in addition to forming a common wall for several structural groups at Azoria, Haggis has observed that:

The [spine] walls are megalithic, if not in some cases monumental, in form; they are also consistent in construction technique across the site and synchronous in date. While architectural regularity and repetition of form are part of the design, the overall effect is neither one of convenience nor of necessity. . . . The spine wall seems to be an important part of the rebuilding of the site . . . a reorganization of space that is physically unifying. In its modest expression of planning and monumentality, the spine wall may have had a symbolic function as well, serving to articulate the identity of the community and the new social, administrative, and managerial roles and responsibilities of its members.⁹²⁸

It is worth noting that these structuring terrace walls appear at several early Archaic sites, including Lato in Crete, as well as Vroulia on Rhodes, and seem to be fundamentally related to the architectural expression of social change occurring at this time.

Though acting as an integrative force within the settlement, then, the spine walls also serve to demarcate space and control access to particular areas of the settlement. That is, the settlements are no longer “open” in plan. It is notable that though this type of design is very suitable for hillside settlement, it may also appear in other topography, as demonstrated by the adjacent “long-houses” in Secteur D at Kirrha, suggesting that topography was not the primary

⁹²⁷ Haggis et al. 2004, 349-352; 2007, 263-265.

⁹²⁸ Haggis et al. 2004, 351-352.

concern in the construction of these settlements.⁹²⁹ Likewise, this reorganization (or refounding) seems to be executed fairly quickly; at Malthi, an extreme example, the excavator believes that the settlement was rebuilt as a conceptual unit, at once, as a part of a single plan.⁹³⁰ Indeed, several of the walls of the “magazines” lining the interior of the fortification wall do appear to bond with the fortification, and are likely to have been constructed together. The unified nature of these new settlements is perhaps their most intriguing aspect, suggesting a considered and deliberately-conducted approach to the (re)organization of these towns.

The reorganization at Malthi and Aspis-Argos are well known. That at Ayios Stephanos, on the other hand, is less obvious. Here, the only sign of what is likely a general reorganization of the site is in the area of Lambda II. This structure, I would argue, should be rather interpreted as a southern terrace wall with bordering rooms, possibly bordered by a passage to the north. To the north of this passage is another terrace wall, along which runs Street Beta II. Slightly later, a gate is added in Area Beta, with a tightly-controlled entrance. It is possible that there was an earlier gate at the north in Area Delta of a similar type to that at Galatas and possibly at Malthi, marked by framing walls leading up to an entrance. The evidence for this gate is, however, slight at best, as there is no sign of a circuit wall or terracing in this area.

At each site, restructuring resulted in significantly different plans. At Malthi, the magazines lining the fortification wall were arranged perpendicularly to the circuit, while at the Aspis these rooms were arranged in sequences of three running lengthwise along the wall. Only at Malthi have formalized gates been identified, until the LH II gate at Ayios Stephanos. Though Malthi and the Aspis have a central terrace, at least at Malthi functioning as a probable

⁹²⁹ Dor, Jannoray, Van Effenterre and Van Effenterre 1960, 39-42; Philippa-Touchais 2010, 784-788.

⁹³⁰ Valmin 1938, 22, 52-55.

ceremonial space, Ayios Stephanos has no clear center, with a cemetery at its core. Nevertheless, the organizational principals functioning at each site are very similar and their enactment at around the same time is significant.

At the two island sites, the pre-existing settlement walls are renewed or reconstructed.⁹³¹ Indeed, at Kolonna the fortification wall was rebuilt or reinforced at least five times throughout the Middle Bronze Age and into the Mycenaean period, reaching a thickness of about eight meters, while two additional exterior defensive walls were constructed—the first at the MH/LH transition and the last in the Mycenaean period. It is clear that these walls were in many ways symbolic redundancies, not totally necessary for a purely defensive function, and they must have had some recursive social significance to the people at this site.⁹³² The periodic recreation of this wall in many ways resembles the reconstruction of the houses, and I believe that this repetition and reconstruction must have served a similar purpose, discussed below. Less elaborate efforts at reorganization, including terracing projects at Lerna and Korakou, as well as perhaps renewed attention to the fortification wall at Geraki, have been noted. The clear expenditure of money and manpower on such massive overhauls of the settlement space at all of these sites underscores the importance of this process.

Before discussing the social implications of these new, highly-organized settlements, it is worth noting that in spite of the elaborate and costly efforts represented by the (deliberate?) destruction and rebuilding of an entire village, the majority of these settlements are abandoned or converted to funerary use (quite spectacularly in the case of Peristeria) by the start of the mature

⁹³¹ Kolonna: Walter and Felten 1981. Ayia Irini: Davis 1977.

⁹³² See Renfrew 1985.

Mycenaean period in LH III.⁹³³ I would suggest that evidence for successful settlements of this type may be lacking simply because they were once again reorganized as mature Mycenaean citadels came to prominence. In other words, settlements that did not make this transition had already been abandoned or were unable to compete with the success of the new citadel sites and the wealth and labor they must have commanded in order to become citadel sites.

Settlements and Houses

Knappett's consideration of scales of organization is useful in connecting this discussion of settlement organization with the earlier consideration of house replacement.⁹³⁴ As I have argued above, these two practices were enacted similarly and involved a destruction by fire of the first edifice, perhaps accompanied by ritual activity such as feasting, followed by a rebuilding. Essentially, Knappett, after Southall and especially Schloen, argues for a segmentary state model for second millennium BC Aegean communities.⁹³⁵ According to this theory, each level of organization from the household to the community and state reproduces the same basic units and has the same basic decision-making powers, simply operating at different scales. Each level is structured according to kinship ties and notional lineage groups, in a sort of "patrimonial" arrangement. In Knappett's words, "ultimately the state as a whole can be conceptualized as a grand household of households, headed by a patriarchal figure."⁹³⁶ In this model, the persistence of kinship-based organizational structures and heterarchical social bodies co-exists with developing hierarchy, and it does seem to correspond well to the elements of MH and early Mycenaean society described here.

⁹³³ See Lauter (1996, 95) for a similar idea.

⁹³⁴ Knappett 2009.

⁹³⁵ Knappett 2009, 22-23; Southall 1956; 1988; Schloen 2001.

⁹³⁶ Knappett 2009, 17.

The proliferation of these highly-organized settlements, whether newly founded or reorganized, seems, then, to represent this effort to “scale-up” socio-political organization based on the household model. A larger social grouping is created in the community, probably with a smaller-scale ruling body consisting of one or more faction leaders acting as a head of household for the community as a whole. The likely heterarchical nature of this leadership may be attested by the maintenance of multiple houses on the central terraces of the Aspis and probably Malthi, where two large houses are likely represented. Panagiota Pantou has discussed this idea extensively for the early Mycenaean period at the Menelaion, where Mansion I is likely to represent such a social arrangement, and it is worth noting that this traditional heterarchy—or at least the guise of it—may be codified in the double-megaron plan of the palace at Tiryns, for example.⁹³⁷ Kinship-relationships likewise seem to continue as the basis for negotiating social status and authority alongside economic or wealth-based mechanisms well into the Mycenaean period. This idea is well-demonstrated in the use of “domestic” or “kinship” markers in the expression of status, for example, in elite tumuli, grave circles, and tholoi, as well as the prominence of the basically domestic megaron form in elite building, as demonstrated by Wright.⁹³⁸ Likewise, the now well-established prominence of feasting/drinking rituals in

⁹³⁷ Pantou 2010, esp. 52-72.

⁹³⁸ Wright 2006, 41: “This architectural form [that is, the palace complex and especially the central megaron] may now be understood as having achieved through the focus placed upon it by the ritual demands of the Mycenaean state the status of a powerful built and inhabitable symbol, the space and place of which was an *axis mundi* for anyone who identified with the culture we call Mycenaean. In its original form during the Middle Bronze Age as the residence of families it housed the nuclear family and its associates. Through social practices within it and through the repetition of furnishings and architectural form it is not difficult to envisage how this built space came to be associated with the head of household, who in the instance of primary lineages became a leader in the community. In this manner the house form can have begun to be also a place of political, economic, social and ideological power. What was practised in it over these many generations would have amplified and politicised this primarily domestic building. It should little surprise us, then, when the super-organic structure of Mycenaean society collapsed and decomposed, what remained was still the family and its lineage and the age-old practices that were performed in the household, especially the household of the head man.”

establishing and maintaining power-relationships in elite Mycenaean behavior may be attributed to similar behaviors carried out in kinship and extended kinship groups.

These reorganized settlements, then, act essentially as a scaled-up house, perhaps explaining in some way the treatment of the settlements at this time. Certainly if Malthi, Aspis-Argos, and perhaps Ayios Stephanos were deliberately burned in order to recreate the settlement, the cyclical understanding of the house and the necessity of its destruction and rebuilding in the remaking of the social group has been applied at a higher scale. Likewise, the use of abandoned settlements as cemeteries—most monumentally executed at Peristeria, with tholoi and tumuli planted into former settlement space—very closely mirrors Milka’s model for the treatment of abandoned houses at Lerna.⁹³⁹ It is possible, then, that the scaling-up of the reproducible, re-creatable social unit from the level of the family to the level of the broader settlement at the MH/LH transition lessened the need for short-term house replacement, or circumscribed it as families were more spatially constrained in more highly-organized settlements. Kinship connections may have begun to be expressed in other ways, and perhaps in the mortuary sphere, complementing Voutsaki’s arguments for the use of multiple tombs at this time as a means of emphasizing and creating descent.⁹⁴⁰ It is worth noting once again also that house replacement did continue, but was practiced less frequently on a more long-term basis, possibly acting not only in the traditional role of recreating the family group, but also to create and reinforce status claims on the part of the (re)builders. That status was still very much lineage-based is perhaps corroborated by the persistence of this practice.

⁹³⁹ Milka 2010.

⁹⁴⁰ Voutsaki 1998.

The segmentary society model is therefore an appropriate means of assessing organization throughout this period, explaining how the settlements were reorganized, and to some degree why house-replacement fell out of favor within the broader community of early Mycenaean Greece. It does not, however, explain *why*, the question to which I now turn. In particular, why now? Change in house-rebuilding practice represents just part of a broader systemic transformation, including shifts in mortuary patterns and Maran's discontinuities. Here, it is useful to turn to ideas about aggregation and community formation, encompassing the shift from house- to settlement-level social groups.

Discussion and Conclusions

In particular, Stephen Kowalewski's (2006) comparative model of coalescence is useful in considering why settlements were so heavily remodeled at the transition to the early Mycenaean period.⁹⁴¹ Originally developed as a theoretical model by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson in regard to Southeastern Indians, coalescence described aggregations of diverse communities in response to social crises, in this case population collapse, the slave trade, and increasing English presence.⁹⁴² Coalescent societies, as aggregates, were inherently unstable, requiring large-scale social change to remain viable communities.⁹⁴³ Kowalewski applies this model across multiple cultures in various historical contexts in an effort to determine its applicability outside of the southeastern United States. In so doing, he elaborates on the actual process of coalescence, involving deliberate community formation through specific tactics, including archaeologically invisible manipulation of the mytho-historical past of the coalescing

⁹⁴¹ Kowalewski 2006. More recently, see Beck 2013.

⁹⁴² Ethridge and Hudson 1998.

⁹⁴³ Ethridge and Hudson 1998, 42.

peoples, as well as more materially-based changes in architecture and production strategies, among others. Kowalewski interprets this phenomenon as a cross-cultural response to similar forces, and especially to situations of external violence and extreme political/social/economic instability, which in turn make it desirable or necessary to create more unified (and often larger) social groupings.

Though it cannot provide a full account of a living society's efforts to create an integrated community, architecture provides the best means of tracing the process of coalescence archaeologically, and this aspect of Kowalewski's model is emphasized here. Architecturally integrating features noted by Kowalewski include the disassociation of ceremonial and gathering areas from individual houses or domestic groups, the increase in size of these spaces, the reduced visibility of administrative centers, and the standardization of building (occurring in fewer episodes). Such integration, incidentally, often promotes heterarchical power structures and their physical expression in the built space of the community. Even within Kowalewski's own case studies, the variation in integrative strategies is substantial; however, the similarities in architectural patterns in the MH in early Mycenaean reorganized settlements are striking.

Even so, it is certainly true that there are major differences in the coalescence that may have been experienced in these communities and that of the traditional model of the Southeastern Indians. Groups coming together to form new communities at the MH/LH transition are likely to be rather culturally homogenous, and so more easily joined within a cohesive society. As described above, however, kinship ties and lineage groups were very likely still acting as the primary social grouping, in many ways running counter to the integrative effort represented by these new communities. This factional nature of MH and early Mycenaean society has been generally acknowledged, following the work of Wright, who in turn bases his analysis on that of

Elizabeth Brumfiel.⁹⁴⁴ Likewise, applications of the dual-processual model developed by Blanton, et al., to Aegean prehistory, spearheaded by William Parkinson and Michael Galaty, have generally agreed that Early Mycenaean society was predominately “network” in character, emphasizing individual status and personal networks, and becoming more so over the course of the Bronze Age.⁹⁴⁵ Because of the apparently individually-focused and highly-fractional nature of MH society, it is possible to view the creation of these more planned and unified settlements as a series of smaller-scale coalescences, basically representing physically an effort to create and maintain a singular group identity. Indeed, this fractiousness may explain the need to treat the settlement as a house—it acts to reinforce the broader social grouping, drawing the entire settlement into a sort of extended kinship group.

As with more traditional coalescences, “scaling-up” social organization to the level of the settlement was likely a response to similar social crises and discontinuities as suggested for the Native American groups—that is, increasing access to external goods and peoples and shifts in the political economy, among others.⁹⁴⁶ That it was a time of general upheaval is more than adequately demonstrated by the widespread settlement abandonment taking place contemporaneously.⁹⁴⁷ In view of the role of these social crises as motivators, I turn now to the recent work of Eelco Runia.⁹⁴⁸ Runia uses a psychoanalytical approach towards an understanding

⁹⁴⁴ See Wright (2004b) and Brumfiel (1994).

⁹⁴⁵ Blanton et al. 1996; Parkinson and Galaty 2007. This categorization has been based on the clear status attached to the acquisition of exotica and foreign trade relations apparent in the Early Mycenaean Shaft Graves at Mycenae, as well as the centrality and hierarchical organization of ceremonial space in the citadel complex and extensive evidence for elite-driven feasting at Pylos and elsewhere (See Wright 2004a; Dietler 1996; Hayden 1996).

⁹⁴⁶ Beck 2013; Voutsaki 2010b; Pullen 2010.

⁹⁴⁷ Maran 1995.

⁹⁴⁸ Runia 2014.

of the urge to depart from or destroy old socio-cultural structures and create new ones. He emphasizes the discontinuities and departures framing and inundating history, which are often glossed over in the creation of a narrative of events, both at an individual and a societal level. Runia's "discontinuous" example of the 1989 shift in the East German demonstration slogan from "wir sind das Volk" to "wir sind *ein* Volk" is startlingly similar to the problem faced here.⁹⁴⁹ I would suggest that for the MH/LH transition, this transformation was accomplished through the adoption of house-rebuilding rituals for community-creation at a broader scale, as well as the establishment of a widely-used architectural vocabulary of integration within the new settlements. Settlements were in this way able to take on the organizational characteristics of a house, unifying a community into a large-scale household. The enduring importance of this correlation is arguably written in Mycenae's own fortification walls, episodically elaborated and renewed as long as there were resources available to do so.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁹ Runia 2014, 140.

⁹⁵⁰ French 2009.

APPENDIX 1: SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF HOUSE SERIES

Key: White Background-Short-Term Series
Grey Background-Long-Term Series

ID	Region	Site	Series	# Firm Houses in Series	Total (Max) # Houses in Series	Begins	Ends	Restricted Duration of Use (Years) for Series: All Houses	Average Duration of Each House (Years): Restricted Scale, All Houses	Average Level Change (m)	Marked Location ?	Dominant Rebuild Type
1	Achaia	Aigion Ayios Athansios/ Katarraktis	Megaron	2	4	MH III/LH I	LH II/III	450	113	Unknown	TRUE	None
2	Achaia	Drakotrypa/ Katarraktis/ Pharai	Megaron	2	2	MH	LH III	600	300	Unknown	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
3	Achaia		Aithousa	3	3	MH III/LH I	LH III	600	200	Unknown	TRUE	Integrated
4	Achaia	Helike	Corridor House	3	4	EH II	EH III	650	163	Unknown	TRUE	Displaced
5	Achaia	Helike	West Building	2	2	EH II	EH III	650	325	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
6	Arcadia	Asea	A-B	2	6	EH II/III	MH II	625	104	0.18	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
7	Arcadia	Asea	O-P	3	3	EH II/III	MH II	625	208	0.45	FALSE	Integrated
8	Arcadia	Asea	K-N	4	4	EH III	MH II	400	100	0.17	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
9	Argolid	Argos	Sector Delta House	3	3	EH III/MH I	MH I	200	67	0.13	FALSE	Displaced
10	Argolid	Argos	MA-MD/ME	2	3	MH II	MH III	200	67	Unknown	FALSE	None

11	Argolid	Argos	C/D	2	2	MH III	MH III	100	50	0.43	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
12	Argolid	Argos	M1	2	2	MH III	MH III	100	50	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
13	Argolid	Argos	Tzafa Plot	2	3	MH III	LH I	200	67	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
14	Argolid	Asine	U-W	2	4	EH III	LH	500	125	0.72	FALSE	Displaced
15	Argolid	Asine	A-C	3	4	MH I/II	MH III	250	63	1.01	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
16	Argolid	Asine	Pre-D-E	3	3	MH II	MH III/LH I	250	83	0.87	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
17	Argolid	Berbati	A	2	4	EH II	LH III	1450	363	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
18	Argolid	Lerna	Chieftain's House	8	8	EH III	MH III/LH I	550	69	0.21	TRUE	Displaced
19	Argolid	Lerna	W-39-Rooms 44 and 45	5	5	EH III	MH I	260	52	0.04	TRUE	Displaced
20	Argolid	Lerna	W-4-W-56	4	4	EH III	EH III	100	25	0.15	TRUE	Integrated
21	Argolid	Lerna	W-63-W-70	2	3	EH III	EH III	50	17	0.48	TRUE	Displaced
22	Argolid	Lerna	W-95-W-138	4	5	EH III	EH III	100	20	-0.02	FALSE	Displaced
23	Argolid	Lerna	W-94-W-101	3	3	EH III	EH III	100	33	0.16	FALSE	Integrated
24	Argolid	Lerna	W-105-W- 109	3	3	EH III	EH III	100	33	0.3	FALSE	Displaced
25	Argolid	Lerna	W-113-W- 116	3	3	EH III	EH III	100	33	0.31	FALSE	Displaced
26	Argolid	Lerna	W-124-W- 125	2	2	EH III	EH III	100	50	0.24	FALSE	Displaced
27	Argolid	Lerna	W-62-W-149	6	6	EH III	EH III	125	21	0.13	FALSE	Integrated
28	Argolid	Lerna	W-166-W- 173	4	4	EH III	EH III	100	25	0.11	TRUE	Displaced
29	Argolid	Lerna	W-214-House BS	3	5	EH III	MH I	210	42	0.33	TRUE	Displaced
30	Argolid	Lerna	23-20	2	2	MH I	MH I	60	30	Unknown	FALSE	Integrated
31	Argolid	Lerna	24-18	2	2	MH I	MH I	60	30	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced

32	Argolid	Lerna	D-M	Unterburg Late West Sequence	2	2	MH I	MH II	180	90	0.74	FALSE	Displaced
33	Argolid	Tiryns			3	3	EH II	EH III	275	92	Unknown	TRUE	Integrated
34	Argolid	Tiryns			3	3	EH III	EH III	200	67	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
35	Argolid	Tiryns			5	5	EH III	EH III	200	40	Unknown	FALSE	Integrated
36	Argolid	Tiryns			2	3	MH III	LH II	400	133	0.44	FALSE	Integrated
37	Argolid	Tiryns			2	3	MH	LH I/II	250	83	0.19	FALSE	None
38	Argolid	Tiryns			2	2	LH I	LH I/II	200	100	1.16	FALSE	Displaced
39	Corinthia	Korakou			2	2	MH I/II	I/II	150	75	0.09	FALSE	Displaced
40	Corinthia	Tsougiza			2	4	EH II	EH III	640	160	0.26	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
41	Corinthia	Tsougiza			2	3	EH II	EH III	580	193	0.38	TRUE	None
42	Corinthia	Tsougiza			2	2	LH I	LH I	100	50	0.11	FALSE	Displaced
43	Corinthia	Tsougiza			2	3	MH	LH II	250	83	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
44	Elis	Olympia			2	2	EH III	MH I	300	150	0.13	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
45	Elis	Olympia			2	3	EH III	MH/E	400	133	0.1	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
46	Elis	Olympia			2	2	EH III	MH I	300	150	Unknown	TRUE	Integrated
47	Elis	Olympia			2	2	EH III	MH I	300	150	0.14	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
48	Elis	Pisa			2	2	MH	MH	150	75	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
49	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos			2	3	EH II	MH II	850	283	0.36	TRUE	Displaced
50	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos			5	7	EH II	MH III/LH I	1050	150	0.14	FALSE	Displaced
51	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos			2	3	EH II	MH I	413	138	0.23	TRUE	Displaced

52	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos	Beta I and Beta 3	4	6	EH II/MH I	LH II	500	83	0.25	FALSE	Displaced
53	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos	Zeta	7	7	EH II/MH I	MH II	200	29	0.05	FALSE	Displaced/ Integrated
54	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos	Alpha V	2	2	MH I	MH II/III	250	125	0.03	TRUE	Displaced/ Integrated
55	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos	Nu	2	4	MH I	LH I/II	450	113	0.28	TRUE	Displaced
56	Laconia	Ayios Stephanos	Lambda I	6	6	MH II/III	LH I/II	350	60	0.03	FALSE	Integrated
57	Laconia	Menelaion	Terrace Houses	3	3	LH II	LH II	100	33	0.18	TRUE	Displaced
58	Messenia	Epano Englianos: Deriziotis Aloni Katarrachaki	AB-M	2	3	EH II	EH III/M H I	300	100	0.11	FALSE	Displaced
59	Messenia	Koukounara	Megaron A10-A14-Central Terrace	2	2	LH I	LH II	200	100	Unknown	TRUE	Displaced
60	Messenia	Malthi	A33, A39-A40-Industrial Complex	3	4	MH II/III	LH III	650	163	0.36	TRUE	Integrated
61	Messenia	Malthi	B39-B42-West Quarter Magazines	2	5	MH II/III	MH III/LH I	200	40	0.18	FALSE	Displaced
62	Messenia	Malthi		3	3	MH II/III	MH III/LH I	200	67	0.04	FALSE	Integrated
63	Messenia	Malthi	D20-D18-D21	3	3	MH II/III	MH III/LH I	200	67	0.39	FALSE	Integrated
64	Messenia	Malthi	D33-D27, D33-D34	3	3	MH II/III	MH III/LH I	200	67	0.65	FALSE	Displaced

65	Messenia	Malthi	D40, D43-D46-North Quarter Magazines	2	4	MH II/III	LH I/II	350	88	0.58	FALSE	Integrated
66	Messenia	Malthi	D63-D65-North Quarter Magazines	4	4	MH II/III	MH III/LH I	200	50	-0.3	FALSE	Displaced
67	Messenia	Malthi	D69/71-D68	2	3	MH II/III	MH III	150	50	0.04	FALSE	Displaced
68	Messenia	Nichoria	V-2-Post V-2	3	3	MH I	MH I	100	33	Unknown	FALSE	Displaced
69	Messenia	Peristeria	North House	2	2	LH I	LH I/II	200	100	Unknown	TRUE	None

APPENDIX 2: SUMMARY TABLE OF PARTICIPATION IN REBUILDING AND RITUAL ACTIVITY BY SITE

ID	Settlement	Max Site- Wide Rate of Rebuilding (%)	Min Site- Wide Rate of Rebuilding (%)	Total # Houses (Max)	House Burning	House Burial	Termination Deposits	Intramural Burial
1	Aigion	0	0	2	Present	Absent	Absent	Present
2	Ayios Athanasios/Katarraktis	0	0	2	Absent	Absent	Absent	Present
3	Drakotrypa	0	0	3	Absent	Absent	Present	Present
4	Helike	36	21	14	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
5	Asea	81	50	16	Present	Absent	Present	Present
6	Argos	37	32	38	Absent	Absent	Present	Present
7	Asine	58	42	19	Present	Absent	Present	Present
8	Berbati	44	22	9	Present	Present	Present	Present
9	Lerna	52	44	109	Present	Present	Present	Present
10	Tiryns	74	59	27	Present	Present	Absent	Present
11	Korakou	40	40	5	Present	Present	Absent	Present
12	Tsougiza	47	59	17	Present	Present	Present	Present
13	Olympia	75	50	12	Present	Present	Absent	Present
14	Pisa	50	50	4	Absent	Absent	Absent	Present
15	Ayios Stephanos	83	59	41	Present	Absent	Present	Present
16	Menelaion	0	0	3	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
17	Epano Englianos: Deriziotis Aloni	0	0	3	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
18	Katarrachaki/Koukounara	0	0	2	Absent	Absent	Present	Absent
19	Malthi	30	67	81	Present	Present	Present	Present
20	Nichoria	0	0	3	Present	Present	Present	Absent
21	Peristeria	0	0	2	Absent	Absent	Present	Present

REFERENCES

- Angel, J. L. 1971. *The People of Lerna. Lerna: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Vol. 2. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- 1973. "Human Skeletons from Grave Circles at Mycenae." In *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*, edited by G. E. Mylonas, 379-397. Athens: Archaeologiki Etaireia.
- Arapojanni, X., J. Rambach, and L. Godart. 2002. *Kavkania: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung von 1994 auf dem Hügel von Agrilitses*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Arena, E. 2015. "Mycenaean Peripheries during the Palatial Age: The Case of Achaia." *Hesperia* 84(1): 1-46.
- Assmann, J., and J. Czaplicka. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65: 125-133.
- Bankoff, H. A., and F. A. Winter. 1979. "A House-Burning in Serbia: What do burned remains tell an archaeologist?" *Archaeology* 32: 8-14.
- Banks, E. C. 1967. "The Early and Middle Helladic Small Objects from Lerna." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati.
- 2013. *The Settlement and Architecture of Lerna IV. Lerna: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Vol. 6. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Beck, R. 2013. *Chiefdoms, Collapse, and Coalescence in the Early American South*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Birch, J. 2013. "Between Villages and Cities: Settlement Aggregation in Cross-Cultural Perspective." In *From Prehistoric Villages to Cities: Settlement Aggregation and Community Transformation*, edited by J. Birch, 1-22. New York: Routledge.
- Blackburn, E. T. 1970. "Middle Helladic Graves and Burial Customs with Special Reference to Lerna in the Argolid." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati.
- Blanton, R. E., G. M. Feinman, S. A. Kowalewski, P. N. Peregrine. 1996. "A Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization." *Current Anthropology* 37(1): 1-14.
- Blegen, C. W. 1920. "Corinth in Prehistoric Times." *AJA* 24(1): 1-13.
- 1921. *Korakou: A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*. Boston: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

- 1928. *Zygouries: A prehistoric settlement in the valley of Cleonae*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1930. "Gonia." *Metropolitan Museum Studies* III(1): 55-80.
- Boivin, N. 2000. "Life rhythms and floor sequences: excavating time in rural Rajasthan and Neolithic Çatalhöyük." *WorldArch* 31(3): 367-388.
- Boyd, M. J. 2002. *Middle Helladic and early Mycenaean mortuary practices in the southern and western Peloponnese*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Brumfiel, E. 1994. "Factional competition and political development in the New World: an introduction." In *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by E. Brumfiel and J. Fox, 3-13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burns, B. E. 2007. "Life outside a Mycenaean Palace: elite houses on the periphery of citadel sites." In *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*, edited by R. Westgate, N. Fisher, and J. Whitely, 111-119. London: British School at Athens.
- 2010. *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Caskey, J. L. 1954. "Excavations at Lerna, 1952-1953." *Hesperia* 23(1): 3-30.
- 1956. "Excavations at Lerna, 1955." *Hesperia* 25(2): 147-173.
- 1957. "Excavations at Lerna, 1956." *Hesperia* 26(2): 142-162.
- 1965. "Houses of the Fourth Settlement at Lerna." In *Charistērion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*. Vivliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Archaïologikēs Hetaireias 54. Athens: Hē en Athēnais Archaïologikē Hetaireia.
- Catling, H. W. 1985-1986. "Archaeology in Greece, 1985-86." *AR* 32: 3-101.
- 2009. *Sparta: Menelaion I, The Bronze Age*. London: British School at Athens.
- Cavanagh, W. and C. Mee. 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Cessford, C. and J. Near. 2005. "Fire, Burning and Pyrotechnology at Çatalhöyük." In *Çatalhöyük perspectives: reports from the 1995-99 seasons*, edited by I. Hodder, 171-182. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Chatzipouliou-Kalliri, E. 1984. "Λείψανα πρωτοελλαδικού και μεσοελλαδικού οικισμού στο λόφο Αετόπετρα. Πρώτα αποτελέσματα δοκιμαστικής ανασκαφικής έρευνας." *ArchDelt* 33A(1978): 325-336.

- Coockson, B. C., and M. Akar. 2008. "Burn the House Down." Alalakh.
<http://www.alalakh.org/burnthehousewdown.asp>.
- Cook, P. S. 2014. "The 'Energetics' of Mycenaean Defense Works: Assessing Labour Investment for Fortification Construction During the Late Helladic Period (ca. 1600-1200 B.C.)." M.A. thesis, Trent University.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. 2014. "Cult, Continuity, and Social Memory: Mycenaean Eleusis and the Transition to the Early Iron Age." *AJA* 118(3): 401-427.
- County Fire Authority, Victoria, Australia. 2014. "A guide to retrofit your home for better protection from a bushfire: Building and renovation ideas to better prepare your home in a bushfire situation." Victorian Building Authority.
http://www.buildingcommission.com.au/___data/assets/pdf_file/0020/7391/Bushfire_Retrofit_Web.pdf.
- Crouwel, J. 2010. "Middle Helladic Occupation at Geraki, Laconia." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 77-86. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Crouwel, J., M. Prent, and H. Buitenhuis. 2008. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Lakonia. Preliminary report on the fourteenth season (2008)." *Pharos: Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens* XVI: 1-30.
- Crouwel, J., M. Prent, and S. Macveagh Thorne. 2009. "Geraki: An Acropolis Site in Lakonia. Preliminary report on the fifteenth season (2009)." *Pharos: Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens* XVIII: 1-33.
- Cutting, M. 2005. "The Architecture of Çatalhöyük: Continuity, Household and Settlement." In *Çatalhöyük Perspectives: Reports from the 1995-99 seasons*, edited by I. Hodder, 151-169. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Dabney, M. and J. Wright. 2013. "O Mesoelladikos kai o Mykinaikos Oikismos stin Tsougkiza tis Archaïas Nemeas." In *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnesus: Topography and history from prehistoric times until the end of antiquity: proceedings of the international conference held at Loutraki, March 26-29, 2009*, edited by K. Kissas and W.-D. Niemeier, 351-361. Munich: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.
- Dabney, M., P. Halstead, and P. Thomas. 2004. "Mycenaean Feasting on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea." In *The Mycenaean Feast*, edited by J. Wright, 77-95. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- 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: École Française d'Athènes.
- Daux, G. 1965. "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1964." *BCH* 89(2): 683-1007.

- 1967. "Chronique des fouilles." *BCH* 91: 623-889.
- Davis, J. L. 1977. "Fortifications at Ayia Irini, Keos: Evidence for History and Relative Chronology." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati.
- Demakopoulou, K., and N. Divari-Valakou. 2010. "The Middle Helladic Settlement on the Acropolis of Midea." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 31-44. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Demakopoulou, K., N. Divari-Valakou, P. Åström, and G. Walberg. 1997-1998. "Excavations in Midea 1995-1996." *OpAth* 22-23: 57-90.
- 2000-2001. "Work in Midea 1997-1999: Excavation, Conservation, Restoration," *OpAth* 25-26: 35-52.
- Deshayes, J. 1966. *Argos, les fouilles de la Deiras*. Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin.
- Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1970. "The Origins and Development of Early Mycenaean Culture." Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford.
- 1977. *The origins of Mycenaean civilisation*. Göteborg: Åströms.
- 1989. "'The origins of Mycenaean civilisation' revisited." In *Transition. Le monde Egeen du Bronze Moyen au Bronze Recent [Aegaeum 3]*, edited by R. Laffineur, 131-136. Liège : Université de l'Etat à Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.
- Dietler, M. 1996. "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Status and Power in Prehistoric Europe." In *Food and the Status Quest*, edited by P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenhovel, 87-126. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dietz, S. 1980. *Asine II,2: Results of the excavations east of the akropolis 1970-74: The Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean deposits*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen/Åström.
- 1991. *The Argolid at the Transition to the Mycenaean Age*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities.
- Dietz, S., and M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. 2010. "Pagona and the Transition from Middle Helladic to Mycenaean in Northwestern Peloponnese." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki and J. Wright, 121-128. Athènes: École française d'Athènes.
- Divari-Valakou, N. 1998. "Evrinata apo to Mesoelladiko oikismo tou Argous. Anaskafi oikopedou B. Tzafa." In *Argos et l'Argolide: Archéologie et l'urbanisme*, edited by A. Pariente and G. Touchais, 85-101. Athens: École française d'Athènes.

- Dor, L., J. Jennoray, and H. and M. van Effenterre. 1960. *Kirrha: étude de préhistoire phocidienne*. Paris: de Boccard.
- Dörpfeld, W. 1935. *Alt-Olympia: Untersuchungen und Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte des ältesten Heiligtums von Olympia und der älteren griechischen kunst*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler and Sohn.
- Ethridge, R. and C. Hudson. 1998. "The Early Historic Transformation of the Southeastern Indians." In *Cultural Diversity in the U.S. South: Anthropological Contributions to a Region in Transition*, edited by P. Beaver and C. Hill, 34-50. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Fontein, J. 2011. "Graves, ruins, and belonging: towards an anthropology of proximity." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17(4): 706-727.
- Forsén, J. 1992. *The Twilight of the Early Helladics: A Study of the Disturbances in East-Central and Southern Greece towards the End of the Early Bronze Age*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- French, E. 1991-1992. "Archaeology in Greece 1991-1992." *AR* 38: 3-70.
- 2009. "Town Planning in Palatial Mycenae." In *Inside the City in the Greek World: Studies of Urbanism from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period*, edited by S. S. Owen and L. J. Preston, 55-61. Oxford: Oxbow.
- French, E., and K. Shelton. 2005. "Early Palatial Mycenae." In *AUTOCHTHON: Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild and S. Sherratt, 175-184. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Frödin, O. 1938. "The Lower Town: The trial trench E. of the Panajia." In *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930*, edited by A. Westholm, 57-58. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts.
- Frödin, O. and A. W. Persson. 1938. *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930*. Edited by A. Westholm. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts.
- Garber, J. F., W. D. Driver, L. A. Sullivan, and D. M. Glassman. 1998. "Bloody Bowls and Broken Pots: The Life, Death, and Rebirth of a Maya House." In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by S. B. Mock, 125-133. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Gauß, W., M. Lindblom, and R. Smetana. 2011. "The Middle Helladic Large Building Complex at Kolonna. A Preliminary View." In *Our Cups Are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by W. Gauß, M. Lindblom, R. A. K. Smith, and J. Wright, 76-87. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Gejvall, N-G. 1969. *The Fauna. Lerna: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Vol. 1. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Gercke, P., and G. Hiesel. 1971. "Grabungen in der Unterstadt von Tiryns von 1889 bis 1929." In *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte, Band V*, 1-23. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Gercke, P., W. Gercke, and G. Hiesel. 1975. "Tiryns-Stadt 1971: Graben H." In *Tiryns: Forschungen und Berichte, Band VIII*, 5-40. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Hagel, D. 1992. "The Fortifications of the Late Bronze Age on Kiapha Thiti, Attika." In *Fortificationes Antiquae*, edited by S. Van de Maele and J. M. Fossey, 45-51. Amsterdam: Brill.
- Haggis, D. 2013. "Destruction and the formation of static and dynamic settlement structures in the Aegean." In *Destruction. Archaeological, philological, and historical perspectives*, edited by J. Driessen. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain.
- Haggis, D., M. Mook, C. Scarry, L. Snyder, and W. West. 2004. "Excavations at Azoria, 2002." *Hesperia* 73: 339-400.
- Haggis, D., M. Mook, R. Fitzsimons, C. Scarry, and L. Snyder. 2007. "Excavations at Azoria, 2003-2004, Part 1: The Archaic Civic Complex." *Hesperia* 76: 243-321.
- Hale, C. 2014. "Central Greek and Kean Interconnections during the Middle Bronze Age: The Evidence from Mitrou and Ayia Irini." Paper read at the 115th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2-5 January, Chicago.
- Hardin, M. A., and B. J. Mills. 2000. "The Social and Historical Context of Short-Term Stylistic Replacement: A Zuni Case Study." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 7(3): 139-163.
- Harrell, K. 2014. "The Fallen and Their Swords: A New Explanation for the Rise of the Shaft Graves." *AJA* 118(1): 3-17.
- Hayden, B. 1996. "Feasting in Prehistoric and Traditional Societies." In *Food and the Status Quest*, edited by P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenovel, 127-148. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hiesel, G. 1990. *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur: Studien zur Architekturgeschichte des griechischen Festlandes in der späten Bronzezeit*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Hodder, I. 2006. *The Leopard's Tale: Revealing the Mysteries of Çatalhöyük*. London: Thames and Hudson.

- Holmberg, E. J. 1944. *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Hood, M. S. F. 1960-1961. "Archaeology in Greece, 1960-1." *AR* 7: 3-35.
- Hope Simpson, R. 2014. *Mycenaean Messenia and the Kingdom of Pylos*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Hope Simpson, R. and O. T. P. K. Dickinson. 1979. *Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Howell, R. J. 1992. "The Middle Helladic Settlement: Stratigraphy and Architecture." In *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece: Volume II. The Bronze Age Occupation*, edited by W. A. McDonald and N. C. Wilkie, 15-42.
- Kakavoyianni, O., and K. Douni. 2010. "Η μεσοελλαδική εποχή στη νοτιοανατολική Αττική." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 199-210. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Kalogeropoulos, K. 2010. "Middle Helladic Human Activity in Eastern Attica: The Case of Brauron." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 211-221. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Karkanias, P., and N. Efstratiou. 2009. "Floor sequences in Neolithic Makri, Greece: micromorphology reveals cycles of renovation." *Antiquity* 83: 955-967.
- Karkanias, P., and A. Van de Moortel. 2014. "Micromorphological analysis of sediments at the Bronze Age site of Mitrou, central Greece: patterns of floor construction and maintenance." *JAS* 41: 198-213.
- Katsonopoulou, D. 2011. "A Proto-urban Early Helladic Settlement Found on the Helike Delta." In *Helike IV. Ancient Helike and Aigaleia. Protohelladika. The southern and central Greek Mainland*, edited by D. Katsonopoulou, 63-87. Athens: The Helike Society.
- Kayafa, M. 2010. "Middle Helladic Metallurgy and Metalworking: Review of the Archaeological and Archaeometric Evidence from the Peloponnese." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 701-711. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Kenzle, S. C. 1997. "Enclosing Walls in the Northern San Juan: Sociophysical Boundaries and Defensive Fortifications in the American Southwest." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24(2): 195-210.
- Kilian, K. 1981. "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1978. 1979. Bericht zu den Grabungen." *AA* (1981): 149-194.

- 1982. "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1980. Bericht zu den Grabungen." *AA* (1982): 393-430.
- 1983. "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1981. Bericht zu den Grabungen." *AA* (1983): 277-328.
- 1987. "L'architecture des résidences mycéniennes: origine et extension d'une structure du pouvoir politique l'âge du bronze récent." In *Le système palatial en orient, en Grèce et à Rome*, edited by E. Lévy, 203-217. Strasbourg: Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg.
- Knapp, B. 2009. "Monumental Architecture, Identity and Memory." In *Proceedings of the Symposium: Bronze Age Architectural Traditions in the East Mediterranean: Diffusion and Diversity (Gasteig, Munich, 7-8 May, 2008)*, 47-59. Weilheim: Verein zur Förderung der Aufarbeitung der Hellenischen Geschichte.
- Knappett, C. 2009. "Scaling Up: From Household to State in Bronze Age Crete." In *Inside the City in the Greek World: Studies of Urbanism from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period*, edited by S. Owen and L. Preston, 14-26. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou, E. 2003. "Η Μαγούλα στον Γαλατά της Τροιζηνίας. Ένα νέο ME-YE κέντρο στον Σαρωνικό." In *ΑΡΓΟΣΑΡΩΝΙΚΟΣ: Πρακτικά 1^{ου} Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού. Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998. Τομος Α': Η Προϊστορική Περίοδος*, edited by E. Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou, 159-228. Athens: Demos Porou.
- 2009. "Νέα προϊστορικά ευρήματα από την Τροιζηνία." In *From Mesogeia to Argosaronikos. B' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities: Research of a Decade, 1994-2003*, edited by V. Vassilopoulou and S. Katsarou-Tzeveleki, 497-518. Markopoulo Mesogaia: Municipality of Markopoulo of Mesogeia.
- 2010. "The Middle Helladic Establishment at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troezenia)." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 67-76. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Koumouzelis, M. 1980. "The Early and Middle Helladic Periods in Elis." Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University.
- Kowalewski, S. A. 2006. "Coalescent Societies." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by T. J. Pluckhahn and R. Ethridge, 94-122. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Lagia, A., and J. Buikstra. 2009. "Bioarchaeological Approaches to Aegean Archaeology." *Hesperia Supplements* 43: 7-29.
- Lambropoulou, A. 1991. "The Middle Helladic period in the Corinthia and the Argolid: An archaeological survey." Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.

- LaMotta, V. M., and M. B. Schiffer. 1999. "Formation processes of house floor assemblages." In *Archaeology of Household Activities*, edited by P. Allison, 19-29. London: Routledge.
- Lang, F. 2007. "House – community – settlement: the new concept of living in Archaic Greece." In *Building communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001*, edited by R. Westgate, N. Fisher, and J. Whitley, 183-193. London: British School at Athens.
- Lauter, H. 1996. *Kiapha Thiti: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen II.1 (Die bronzezeitliche Architektur)*. Marburg/Lahn: Philipps-Universität.
- Lavin, M. W. 1981. "Boundaries in the Built Environment: Concepts and Examples." *Man-Environment Systems* 11: 195-206.
- Lindblom, M. and B. Wells, eds. 2011. *Mastos in the Berbati Valley: An Intensive Archaeological Survey*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Lolos, 1987. *The Late Helladic I Pottery of the Southwestern Peloponnesos and its Local Characteristics*. Ph.D. diss., University of London. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- McDonald, W. A., C. T. Shay, N. Wilkie, R. Hope Simpson, W. D. E. Coulson, W. P. Donovan, H. Blitzer, J. Rosser, S. Aschenbrenner, R. J. Howell, O. T. P. K. Dickinson, H. Hughes-Brock, W. D. Wade, D. L. Wolberg, F. V. Grady, R. E. Sloan, J. Shay, G. Rapp Jr., and S. R. B. Cooke. 1975. "Excavations at Nichoria in Messenia: 1972-1973." *Hesperia* 44(1): 69-141.
- McDonald, W. A., and R. Hope Simpson. 1969. "Further Explorations in Southwestern Peloponnese: 1964-1968." *AJA* 73(2): 123-178.
- McDonald, W. A. and N. C. Wilkie, eds. 1992. *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece*. Vol. 2, *The Bronze Age Occupation*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- Maran, J. 1992. *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Pevkakia-Magula in Thessalien III: Die Mittlere Bronzezeit I*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- 1992b. *Kiapha Thiti: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen II.2: 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Keramik und Kleinfunde*. Marburg/Lahn: Philipps-Universität.
- 1994. "Zum mittelbronzezeitlichen Bebauungsschema auf der Pevkakia-Magula bei Volos." In *Thessalia: Dekapente chronia archaiologikis erevnas, 1975-1990, Apotelesmata kai Prooptikes*, Volume A, 205-210. Athens: Ministry of Greek Culture.
- 1995. "Structural Changes in the Pattern of Settlement during the Shaft Grave Period on the Greek Mainland." In *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age [Aegaeum 12]*, edited by R. Laffineur and W-D. Niemeier, 67-72. Bruxelles : Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.

- 2001. "Zur Frage des Vorgängers des ersten Doppelpalastes von Tiryns." In *IΘAKH: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001*, edited by S. Böhm and K.-V. von Eickstedt, 23-29. Würzburg: Ergon.
- 2012. "Tiryns." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. H. Cline, 722-734. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marinatos, S. 1960. "Voroulia." *ArchDelt* 16B: 114.
- Matthews, W. 2005. "Life-cycle and Life-course of Buildings." In *Çatalhöyük Perspectives: Reports from the 1995-99 seasons*, edited by I. Hodder, 125-149. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Mellink, M. J. 1969. "A Four-Spouted Krater from Karataş." *Anadolu* 13: 69-76.
- Milka, E. 2010. "Burials Upon the Ruins of Abandoned Houses in the Middle Helladic Argolid." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 433-443. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- Miløjčič, V. 1955. "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen auf den Magulen von Otzaki, Arapi und Gremnos bei Larisa 1955." *AA* 1955: 182-231.
- 1960. "Die Versuchsgrabungen im Gebiete von Petra am Boibi-See und die Geländebegehungen in Nordostthessalien." *AA* 1960: 150-163.
- Müller, K. 1930. *Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes. Tiryns: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts, Band III*. Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag.
- Munn, M. 1996. "First Excavations at Panakton on the Attic-Boiotian Frontier." *Boeotia Antiqua* 6: 47-58.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1966. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nielsen, A. E. 1995. "Architectural Performance and the Reproduction of Social Power." In *Expanding Archaeology*, edited by J. Skibo, W. Walker, and A. Nielsen, 47-66. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Nordquist, G. C. 1987. *A Middle Helladic Village. Asine in the Argolid*. Uppsala: Bohusläningsens Boktryckeri AB, Uddevalla.
- Nordquist, G., and A. Ingvarsson-Sundström. 2005. "Live Hard, Die Young: Mortuary Remains of Middle and Early Late Helladic Children from the Argolid in Social Context." In *AUTOCHTHON: Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild and S. Sherratt, 156-167. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Pagliari, J. B., J. F. Garber, and T. W. Stanton. 2003. "Reevaluating the Archaeological Signatures of Maya Ritual and Conflict." In *Ancient Mesoamerican Warfare*, edited by M. K. Brown and T. W. Stanton, 75-89. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Pantou, P. 2010a. "Mycenaean Society Outside the Palaces: A Study of Late Helladic IIB-III B1 Corridor Buildings." Ph.D. diss., University of Buffalo, State University of New York.
- 2010b. "Mycenaean Dimini in Context: Investigating Regional Variability and Socioeconomic Complexities in Late Bronze Age Greece." *AJA* 114(3): 381-401.
- Papadopoulos, T. J. 1979. *Mycenaean Achaia. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol. LV*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Papazoglou-Manioudaki, L. 1998. "O Mykinaikos Oikismos tou Aigiou kai i Proimi Mykinaiki Epochi stin Achaia." Ph.D. diss., University of Athens.
- 2010. "The Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I Periods at Aigion in Achaia." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 129-141. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.
- Parkinson, W. A. and M. L. Galaty. 2007. "Secondary States in Perspective: An Integrated Approach to State Formation in the Prehistoric Aegean." *American Anthropologist* 109(1): 113-129.
- Persson, A. 1938. "The finds." In *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930*, edited by A. Westholm, 199-438. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts.
- Philippa-Touchais, A. 2003. "Aperçu des céramiques mésohelladiques à décor peint de l'Aspis d'Argos. II. La céramique à peinture lustrée." *BCH* 127: 1-47.
- 2007. "Aeginetan Matt-painted Pottery at Middle Helladic Aspis, Argos." In *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st to November 2nd, 2004*, edited by F. Felten, W. Gauss, and R. Smetana, 97-113. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- 2010. "Settlement Planning and Social Organisation in Middle Helladic Greece." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 781-801. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.
- 2013. "Les tombes intra-muros de l'Helladique Moyen à la lumière des fouilles de l'Aspis d'Argos." In *Sur les pas de Wilhelm Vollgraff: Cent ans d'activités archéologiques à Argos*, edited by D. Mulliez, 75-100. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.

- Philippa-Touchais, A., and G. Touchais. 2011. "Fragments of the Pottery Equipment of an Early Middle Helladic Household from Aspis, Argos." In *Our Cups Are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by W. Gauß, M. Lindblom, R. A. K. Smith, and J. Wright, 203-216. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Philippa-Touchais, A., G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, eds. 2010. *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*. Athènes: École française d'Athènes.
- Pomadere, M. 2007. "Des enfants nourris au biberon à l'Âge du Bronze?" In *Cooking up the past: food and culinary practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by C. Mee and J. Renard, 270-289. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E. 1980. "Οι τύμβοι του Άργους." Ph.D. diss., University of Athens.
- Pullen, D. 1985. "Social Organization in Early Bronze Age Greece: A Multi-Dimensional Approach." Ph. D. diss., Indiana University.
- 1990. "The Early Bronze Age Village on Tsoungiza Hill, Ancient Nemea." In *L'Habitat égéen préhistorique: actes de la Table ronde internationale organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique, l'Université de Paris et l'École française d'Athènes (Athènes, 23-25 juin 1987)*, BCH Suppl. 19, edited by P. Darcque and R. Treuil, 331-346. Paris: De Boccard.
- 2010. *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age: Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22-24 February 2007*. Oxford: Oxford Books.
- 2011. *The Early Bronze Age Village on Tsoungiza Hill*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Rambach, J. 2001. "Zur Zeistellung der Apsidenhäuser in der Altis von Olympia." In *Lux Orientis: Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by R. Boehmer and J. Maran, 327-343. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.
- 2002. "Olympia, 2500 Jahre Vorgeschichte vor der Gründung des eisenzeitlichen griechischen Heiligtums." In *Olympia 1875-2000: 125 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen, Internationales Symposion, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000*, edited by H. Kyrieleis, 177-212. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- 2010. "Προσφάτες ερευνες σε mesohelladikes theseis tis dutikeis Peloponnisou." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 107-119. Athènes: École française d'Athènes.

- 2013. "Die prähistorischen 'Rechteckbauten' in der Altis von Olympia." In *Olympia XIII: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, edited by H. Kyrieleis, 129-181. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag.
- Reese, D. S. 2013. "Appendix V: The Fauna." In *The Settlement and Architecture of Lerna IV. Lerna: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 6, by E. Banks, 421-467. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Renfrew, C. 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*. London: British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Rowe, K. R. 1954. "Mycenae 1939-1953: Part III. A Possible Middle Helladic Fortification Wall." *BSA* 49: 248-253.
- Runia, E. 2014. *Moved by the Past: Discontinuity and Historical Mutation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rutter, J. B. 1983. "Fine Gray-Burnished Pottery of the Early Helladic III Period: The Ancestry of Gray Minyan." *Hesperia* 52(4): 327-353.
- 1990. "Pottery Groups from Tsoungiza of the End of the Middle Bronze Age." *Hesperia* 59(2): 375-458.
- 1993. "Review of Aegean Prehistory II: The Prepalatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland." *AJA* 97(4): 745-797.
- 1995. *The Pottery of Lerna IV. Lerna III*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- 2008. "The Anatolian Roots of Early Helladic III Drinking Behavior." In *The Aegean, in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the Early Bronze Age*, Oct. 13th-19th, Urla-Izmir, edited by H. Erkanal, H. Hauptmann, V. Sahoglu, and R. Tuncel. Ankara: Research Center for Maritime Archaeology.
- Säflund, G. 1965. *Excavations at Berbati: 1936-1937*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksells.
- Schloen, J. D. 2001. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Shear, I. M. 1968. "Mycenaean Domestic Architecture." Ph. D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- 1987. *The Panagia Houses at Mycenae*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Shelton, K. 2010. "Living and Dying in and around Middle Helladic Mycenae." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by

- A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki and J. Wright, 57-65. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.
- Soter, S., and D. Katsonopoulou. 2011. "Submergence and Uplift of Settlements in the Area of Helike, Greece, from the Early Bronze Age to Late Antiquity." *Geoarchaeology* 26(4): 584-610.
- Southall, A. R. 1956. *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.
- 1988. "The segmentary state in Africa and Asia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30: 52-82.
- Stanton, T. W., M. K. Brown, and J. B. Pagliaro. 2008. "Garbage of the Gods? Squatters, Refuse Disposal, and Termination Rituals among the Ancient Maya." *Latin American Antiquity* 19(3): 227-247.
- Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M. 1998. "Οικισμός της εποχής του Χαλκού στην «Παγώνα» της Πάτρας." In *Πρακτικά του Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Άργος – Ναύπλιον, 6-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995*, edited by T. Gritsopoulos, 514-533. Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon.
- 2001. "Οικισμός της εποχής του Χαλκού στην «Παγώνα» της Πάτρας." In *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier "100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen"*, Athen 5.3-7.3 1998, edited by V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, 29-38. Athens: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Stevanović, M. 1997. "The Age of Clay: The Social Dynamics of House Destruction." *JAnthArch* 16: 334-395.
- 2002. "Burned Houses in the Neolithic of Southeast Europe." In *Fire in Archaeology*, edited by D. Gheorghiu, 55-62. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Stocker, S. 2003. "Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part V: Deriziotis Aloni: A small Bronze Age Site in Messenia." *Hesperia* 72(4): 341-404.
- Stoler, A. L., ed. 2013. *Imperial debris: on ruins and ruination*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stross, B. 1998. "Seven Ingredients in Mesoamerican Ensoulment: Dedication and Termination in Tenejapa." In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by S. B. Mock, 31-39. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Tartaron, T. F., D. J. Pullen, R. K. Dunn, L. Tzortzopoulou-Gregory, A. Dill, and J. I. Boyce. 2011. "The Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP): Investigations at Mycenaean Kalamianos, 2007-2009." *Hesperia* 80(2011): 559-634.
- Taylour, W. D. 1972. "Excavations at Ayios Stephanos." *BSA* 67: 205-270.

- Taylor, W. D. and R. Janko. 2008. *Ayios Stephanos: Excavations at a Bronze Age and Medieval Settlement in Southern Laconia*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Theodorou-Mavrommatidi, A. 2010. "Defining Ritual Action. A Middle Helladic Pit at the Site of Apollon Maleatas in Epidauros." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki and J. Wright, 521-533. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.
- Tilley, C. 2006. "Introduction: Identity, place, landscape and heritage." *Journal of Material Culture* 11: 7-32.
- Touchais, G. 1998. "Argos à l'époque mésohelladique: Un habitat ou des habitats?" In *Argos et l'Argolide: Archéologie et l'urbanisme*, edited by A. Pariente and G. Touchais, 71-84. Athens: École française d' Athènes.
- Touchais, G. and A. Philippa-Touchais. 1997a. "Argos: Aspis." *BCH* 121(2): 752-753.
- 1997b. "La Grèce avant les palais mycéniens: les fouilles de l'Aspis d'Argos." In *Aux origines du monde égéen. Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 222, 76-81. Dijon: Archéologia.
- 2008. "The Rise to Complexity of a Pre-palatial Society: The Middle Helladic Settlement of Aspis at Argos." *BICS* 51: 193-194.
- Tournavitou, I. 2006. "A Mycenaean Building Reconsidered: The Case of the West House at Mycenae." *BSA* 101: 217-267.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2001. "Burial Variability in the Argolid during the MH and Shaft Grave Period." M.A. thesis, University of Thessaloniki.
- 2010. "Prospects for Reconstructing the Lives of Middle Helladic Populations in the Argolid: Past and Present of Human Bone Studies." In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 441-451. Athènes: École française d' Athènes.
- Trigger, B. G. 1990. "Monumental architecture: a thermodynamic explanation of symbolic behaviour." *World Archaeology* 22: 119-131.
- Tringham, R. 2000. "The Continuous House: A View from the Deep Past." In *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, edited by S. Gillespie and R. Joyce, 115-134. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 2005. "Weaving house life and death into places: A blueprint for a hypermedia narrative." In *(Un)Settling the Neolithic*, edited by D. Bailey, A. Whittle, and V. Cummings, 98-111. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Valmin, N. 1927-1934. "Utgrävningarna av Malthi" Unpublished field notebooks, transcribed by M. Lindblom (2002). Lund: Lund University.

- 1938. *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Verdelis, N. M. “Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών εκατέρωθεν της Δυτικής Οικίας.” *Prakt* 1961: 161-166.
- Vermeule, E. 1964. *Greece in the Bronze Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vollgraff, W. 1906. “Fouilles d’Argos. B. –Les établissements prehistoriques del’Aspis.” *BCH* 30: 5-45.
- 1907. “Fouilles d’Argos. B. –Les établissements prehistoriques del’Aspis.” *BCH* 31: 139-156.
- Vordos, A. G. 2001. “Aigio.” *ArchDelt* 51B(1996): 239.
- Voutsaki, S. 1998. “Mortuary Evidence, Symbolic Meanings and Social Change: A Comparison between Messenia and the Argolid in the Mycenaean Period.” In *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by K. Branigan, 41-58. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- 2005. “Social and Cultural Change in the Middle Helladic Period: Presentation of a New Project.” In *AUTOCHTHON: Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild and S. Sherratt, 134-143. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- 2007, 12 July. *Shifting Identities: Social Change and Cultural Interaction in the Middle Helladic Argolid 2000-1500 BC*. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology. <http://www.mhargolid.nl/index.html> (March 2012).
- 2010a. “From the Kinship Economy to the Palatial Economy: The Argolid in the Second Millenium BC.” In *Palatial Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by D. Pullen, 86-111. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- 2010b. “The Domestic Economy in the Middle Helladic Asine.” In *Mesohelladika: la Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. BCH Supplements 52*, edited by A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki, and J. Wright, 765-779. Athènes: École française d’Athènes.
- Voutsaki, S., A. Ingvarsson-Sundström, and S. Dietz. 2012. “Tumuli and social status: a re-examination of the Asine tumulus.” In *Ancestral landscapes: Burial mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages*, edited by S. Muller Ceka and E. Borgna, 445-461. Lyon: Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient.
- Walberg, G. 1998. *Excavations on the Acropolis of Midea. Results of the Greek-Swedish Excavations. Vol. I: The Excavations on the Lower Terraces 1985-1991*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.

- Walker, W. H. and M. B. Schiffer. 2006. "The Materiality of Social Power: The Artifact-Acquisition Perspective." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 13(2): 67-88.
- Walter, H. and F. Felten. 1981. *Alt-Ägina*. Band III, 1, *Die vorgeschichtliche Stadt: Befestigungen, Häuser, Funde*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Weiberg, E. 2007. "Thinking the Bronze Age: Life and Death in Early Helladic Greece." Ph. D. diss., Uppsala University.
- Weiberg, E. and M. Finné. 2013. "Mind or Matter? People-Environment Interactions and the Demise of Early Helladic II Society in the Northeastern Peloponnese." *AJA* 117(1): 1-31.
- Weiberg, E. and Lindblom. 2014. "The Early Helladic II-III Transition at Lerna and Tiryns Revisited: Chronological Differences or Synchronous Variability?" *Hesperia* 83(3): 383-407.
- Westholm, A. 1938. "The architecture of the Lower City." In *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930*, edited by A. Westholm, 59-105. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts.
- Wiersma, C. 2013. *Building the Bronze Age: Architectural and Social Change on the Greek Mainland during Early Helladic III, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Whittaker, H. 2014. *Religion and society in Middle Bronze Age Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, J. 1978. "Mycenaean Practices and Elements of Construction." Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- 1990. "A Mycenaean Hamlet on Tsoungiza, Ancient Nemea." In *L'Habitat égéen préhistorique: actes de la Table ronde internationale organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique, l'Université de Paris et l'École française d'Athènes (Athènes, 23-25 juin 1987)*, *BCH Suppl.* 19, edited by P. Darcque and R. Treuil, 347-357. Paris: De Boccard.
- 1995. "From Chief to King in Mycenaean Greece." In *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean [Aegaeum 11]*, edited by P. Rehak, 63-80. Liège: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.
- 2004a. *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- 2004b. "The Emergence of Leadership and the Rise of Civilization in the Aegean." In *The Emergence of Civilization Revisited*, edited by J. C. Barrett and P. Halstead, 64-89. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

-2006. "The Formation of the Mycenaean Palace." In *Ancient Greece: from the Mycenaean palaces to the age of Homer*, edited by S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos., 7-52. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

-2008. "Early Mycenaean Greece." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by C. Shelmerdine, 230-257. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zaphegiopoulos 1958a. "Achaia: Pharai." *Ergon* (1957): 139-142.

-1958b. "Anaskaphi en Pharais." *Prakt* (1958): 167-172.

Zerner, C. W. 1978. "The Beginning of the Middle Helladic Period at Lerna." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati.