

Before Mycenae: Middle Helladic Domestic Architecture and the Foundations of
Mycenaean Culture

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Abstract

Rebecca Worsham: Before Mycenae: Middle Helladic Domestic Architecture and the
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The domestic architecture of the Middle Bronze Age on the Greek mainland has been frequently overlooked in scholarship; where it is acknowledged, it is all too often dismissed because of its absence of monumentality and poor state of preservation, seen as a product of the turbulence that is presumed to have rocked much of Greece in the wake of the fall of the relatively prosperous culture of the Early Bronze Age. However, a close examination of the houses of two important Middle Helladic sites – Lerna and Eutresis – reveals a previously unacknowledged degree of social complexity for the time period. Indeed, the houses seem to have served as the primary means of expressing social identity within the settlements of this era, serving as arenas for articulating kinship affiliation, wealth, and power. In many ways, then, the humble dwellings of the Middle Helladic predict the palaces of later Mycenaean culture.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
List of Abbreviations	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter	
I. The Domestic Architecture of Lerna	11
1. Houses	12
2. Settlement	34
3. Conclusions	39
II. The Domestic Architecture of Eutresis	40
1. Houses	42
2. Settlement	67
3. Conclusions	72
III. House, Settlement, and Cultural Continuity	73
1. Houses	74
2. Settlements	91
3. Cultural Continuity	100

Figures for Chapter I.....	108
Figures for Chapter II.....	122
Figures for Chapter III.....	138
Appendix A: The Houses of Lerna, EH III-LH I/II.....	140
Appendix B: The Houses of Eutresis, EH III-LH I/II.....	144
Bibliography.....	146

List of Figures

1.1. Map of Middle Helladic sites (Rutter 1993, 784, fig. 15).....	108
1.2. Plan of Lerna IV, Phase 1 (Rutter 1995, Plan III).....	109
1.3. Plan of Lerna IV with tumulus (Caskey 1966, 145, fig. 1).....	110
1.4. Plan of trenches at Lerna (Zerner 1978, fig. 1).....	110
1.5. Plan of Lerna IV, Phase 2 (Rutter 1995, Plan IV).....	111
1.6. Plan of Lerna IV, Phase 3 (Rutter 1995, Plan V).....	112
1.7. Profile of imported stone cup (Caskey 1956, 164, fig. 4).....	113
1.8. Diachronic plan of Area B at Lerna (Caskey 1966, 150, fig. 5).....	113
1.9. Houses 68 and 99D, Area B/BE (Zerner 1978, fig. VI).....	114
1.10. “Propylon” associated with Wall CL, Area D (Caskey 1956, Plate 38b).....	115
1.11. Plan of House CE (House of the Pithos), Area D (Zerner 1978, fig. II).....	116
1.12. Plan of House 98A, Rooms 44 and 45, Area B/BE (Zerner 1978, fig. VII).....	117
1.13. Plan of Houses D and M, Area A (Caskey 1955, 30, fig. 2).....	118
1.14. Plan of the House of the Postholes, Area D (Zerner 1978, fig. II).....	119
1.15. Plan of House BS, Area D (Zerner 1978, fig. III).....	120
1.16. Phase plan of MH intramural graves at Lerna (Voutsaki 2007).....	121
2.1. Plan of EH Eutresis, southwestern sector (Goldman 1931, Plan IIC).....	122
2.2. Plan of House H (Goldman 1931, 21, fig. 17).....	123
2.3. Plan of House T (Goldman 1931, 27, fig. 28).....	123

2.4. Plan of House L (Goldman 1931, 17, fig. 13).....	124
2.5. Plan of Building N (Goldman 1931, 29, fig. 29).....	124
2.6. Plan of MH Eutresis (Goldman 1931, Plan IIB).....	125
2.7. Plan of MH Eutresis, Phase 1 (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 701-702, fig. 2, 3).....	126
2.8. Plans of Houses C and X (Goldman 1931, 35, fig. 37, 39).....	127
2.9. Plan of House A (Goldman 1931, 37, fig. 42).....	128
2.10. Plan of House S (Goldman 1931, 48, fig. 53).....	129
2.11. Plan of Houses F and M (Goldman 1931, 40, fig. 45).....	130
2.12. Plan of Areas G, Q, and R (Goldman 1931, 45, fig. 48).....	131
2.13. Plan of House J (Goldman 1931, 47, fig. 51).....	131
2.14. Plan of Houses P and E (Goldman 1931, 52, fig. 55, 57).....	132
2.15. Plan of MH Eutresis, Phase 2 (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 702-703, fig. 4, 5).....	133
2.16. Plan of House W (Goldman 1931, 54, fig. 59).....	134
2.17. Plan of Structures AA and U (Goldman 1931, 56, fig. 61, 62).....	134
2.18. Plan of MH Eutresis, Phase 3 (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 703, fig. 6).....	135
2.19. Plan of House D (Goldman 1931, 57, fig. 63).....	136
2.20. Plan of Pavement Y (Goldman 1931, 59, fig. 66).....	137
2.21. Plan of House B (Goldman 1931, 65, fig. 73).....	137
3.1. Graph of the area of MH houses at Lerna.....	138
3.2. Graph of the area of MH houses at Eutresis.....	138

3.3. Graph comparing the total area of houses at Lerna and Eutresis	139
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List of Abbreviations

EBA Early Bronze Age

EH Early Helladic

MBA Middle Bronze Age

MH Middle Helladic

LBA Late Bronze Age

LH Late Helladic

Introduction

Scholarship of the Aegean Bronze Age has tended to gloss over the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) on the Greek mainland as a backward period of widespread decline, dwarfed in importance by the relatively prosperous Early and Late Bronze Age civilizations. Even recent overviews of the Aegean Bronze Age – including most lately *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Cynthia Shelmerdine, and *Aegean Prehistory: A Review*, a compilation of articles originally printed in issues of the *AJA* and edited by Tracey Cullen – while considerably less dismissive of the societies of the Middle Helladic (MH), still portray the period as a sort of dilapidated bridge between the cultural landmarks of the EH II Corridor Houses and the LH I Shaft Graves, rather than as a significant era of major social change in its own right.¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, this attitude has resulted in an extremely pronounced lack of integrated investigations of the material of the Middle Helladic period. Though a notable amount of data has been recovered from various excavations on the Greek mainland and Aegina, including such significant sites as Lerna, Asine, and Eutresis, among others, it remains widely scattered, and very little has been said about it beyond a simple acknowledgment of its existence.

¹ Shelmerdine 2008 – Wright's (2008, 230-257) analysis of early Mycenaean culture in this volume is generally quite good, reductive only by the necessity of keeping the overview brief and appropriate to a general survey of the archaeology of the period; Cullen (2001) suffers from similar difficulties.

One of the areas in which this dearth has been felt most strongly is that of domestic architecture and its wider place in the settlement setting. In clear contrast to the Late Helladic, no survey of MH domestic forms or settlement structure has yet been published; while Stefan Sinos ostensibly discusses the various types of MH houses in his *Die vorklassischen Hausformen in der Ägäis*, he does so in no more than a dozen pages, a summary treatment of the available material that has now been exacerbated by a lack of synthesis of discoveries made since 1971.² Obviously, the study of the MH data has important implications for later Mycenaean (LH III) house and palace structures and issues of continuity, and what little research has been done in this area specifically engages the question of the architectural development of the megaron form and its application in the palaces.³ But this type of limited analysis, often working backward from Mycenaean models in an almost devolutionary approach, is not the only line of inquiry that a close study of MH domestic architecture makes possible. Rather, as noted by Penelope Allison, houses (and households) across cultural boundaries can be seen as the basic components of both settlements and societies, and it is therefore possible to draw conclusions about societal transformation from changes in these constituent parts.⁴ Likewise, settlements and settlement change can provide information about similar matters on a larger scale. The analysis of domestic architecture and settlement plans,

² Ione Shear (1968) contributed perhaps the first major survey of Mycenaean domestic architecture, but the topic was more recently revisited by Gerhard Hiesel (1990). Sinos (1971) surveys the domestic architecture of the Bronze Age more generally, but also devotes a chapter to the discussion of MH houses particularly (75-84).

³ Werner (1993), for instance, writes on the use and development of the megaron form, but the issue is also engaged by Wright (2006, 7-52) with regard to architectural continuity.

⁴ Allison 1999, 1-2. See also Wilk and Rathje (1982, 617-639) for the analysis of households and household archaeology on which Allison's observation is based.

then, is particularly informative in examining the Middle Helladic, an era marked by shifting social landscapes.

I. *Historical and Chronological Overview*

The examination of the domestic architecture of the mainland culture of the MBA is informed by – and to some extent a formative agent in – perceptions of MH history. Perhaps the most influential work on this subject is Oliver Dickinson’s *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilization*, described by Sophia Voutsaki as “the starting point of any investigation on this era.”⁵ Dickinson’s succinct analysis of MH culture – including brief but thorough treatment of the available evidence concerning settlements, architecture, burial, industry, trade, and environment – did in many ways lay the groundwork for ensuing research, acting as the initial source of many of the theories that have become generally accepted in early Mycenaean scholarship.⁶ Dickinson argues that MH society was relatively simple, with no clear evidence of stratification until the last part of the period and very little social organization beyond the level of the nuclear family.⁷ He suggests that the period can be characterized by general “poverty,” both in the sense of actual wealth and with respect to ideology, and notes that few settlements exceeded the size of a hamlet or village, perhaps exacerbated by depopulation of the countryside in the

⁵ Dickinson 1977; Voutsaki 2005, 134. Dickinson (1989, 131-136) “revisits” this material, but concludes that there is “no need to change my opinions on most of the basic features of my analysis” (131). While he does suggest that Mycenaean civilization is the result of local processes, then, he also argues that these are largely not “detectable” during the greater part of the MH period (133).

⁶ Dickinson 1977, 32-38.

⁷ Dickinson 1977, 38.

last part of the Early Bronze Age (EBA).⁸ Indeed, many elements of social and economic decline and stagnation are attributed to this period and identified as a consequence of the pervasive destructions of EH II and III, leading Dickinson to remark that “for many generations life was little more than a struggle to survive.”⁹ It is only relatively recently that the MH period has begun to be understood in a more positive manner; scholars such as Jim Wright and particularly Sofia Voutsaki have made strong cases for complex social interactions occurring in the MBA, revolutionizing approaches to this period.

Concerning matters of chronology, the MBA on the mainland is divided into three phases: MH I-III. These are not marked by major cultural breaks, but can rather be thought of as a single, long period of gradual change for the purposes of this study. As noted above, wide-spread destruction is archaeologically visible at many sites at the end of EH II, perhaps indicating significant social change that is also characterized by the presence of new ceramic shapes.¹⁰ Beginning in EH III, however, continuously occupied mainland sites seem to undergo no major cultural transformations until LH I/II and the rise of Mycenaean civilization. For this reason, EH III and LH I/II material is also considered with the MH evidence in the following analyses. In terms of absolute chronology, the most recent dating of the subphases of the Aegean Bronze Age is given by Shelmerdine; as this system is representative of the current scholarly consensus on this matter, it is also used here as stated below:¹¹

⁸ Dickinson 1977, 32-33, 38.

⁹ Dickinson 1977, 32, 38.

¹⁰ Rutter 1981. Goldman (1931, 229-230) also remarks on the introduction of new ceramic shapes at the start of EH III, but does not associate them with a cultural break, although she makes a point of their Anatolianizing features.

¹¹ Shelmerdine 2008, 3-6.

Subphase	Absolute Date (B.C.)
EH III	2200-2000
MH I	2000-1900
MH II	1900-1700
MH III	1700-1600 (low) 1750-1680 (high)
LH I	1600-1510 (low) 1680-1610 (high)
LH II	1510-1390 (low) 1610-1440 (high)

For simplicity, and because fine distinctions in dating are generally unnecessary to the arguments made here, the low chronology is preferred.

II. *Domestic Architecture*

The characterization of the mainland culture of the MBA as almost a nonentity, inconsequential in the face of the more obviously successful societies of EH and LH Greece, can be partially attributed to a general lack of evidence for non-domestic, public structures. This paucity of “community-works on a large scale” is understood by Dickinson as another symptom of the organizational simplicity of the period.¹² However, as Allison notes, “households constitute the bulk of the population in ancient societies.”¹³ It must therefore be expected that houses – the physical manifestation of households – would be prevalent in these cultures. It is surprising, then, that no study of the period has thoroughly interrogated these remains, even though they seem to have formed both the most basic and the most common social unit, as well as representing perhaps the only means of communal participation at these sites. That is, with no alternatives in evidence,

¹² Dickinson 1977, 38.

¹³ Allison (1999, 1) bases her comment on the work of M. Smith (1992. “Braudel’s Temporal Rhythms and Chronology Theory in Archaeology.” In *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*, edited by A. B. Knapp, 23-34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

all social interaction must have been negotiated at the level of the household in the MBA settlements of the mainland, suggesting that the houses themselves embody the complexity which has previously gone unrecognized for the period. The lack of intensive analysis of MH domestic architecture, then, may provide a partial explanation for the dismissal of the era as culturally moribund. Conversely, by approaching the period at the level of its most active social groups, it is possible to identify some of the trends that in many ways anticipate the competitive cultural climate that developed the Mycenaean palaces.

III. Approaching the Material

In spite of a relatively large amount of available material from published sites with MH remains, the lack of synthesized information makes an analysis of the domestic architecture of the period extremely difficult. Notable regional differences apparent in the archaeological record throughout the Bronze Age further complicate this matter, generating an almost unmanageable number of variables to consider in the unorganized abundance of previous research. For these reasons, two sites, Lerna and Eutresis, have been selected for examination. After presenting and analyzing the material from each site individually, more general conclusions will be put forward based on a detailed comparison between the two. Lerna and Eutresis have been chosen as the primary sites for consideration because of the popular acceptance of Lerna as a major type-site for this period, as well as frequent reference to Eutresis, one of the original large-scale excavations of MH material, for comparanda.¹⁴ Additionally, both sites offer a relatively large amount of accessible data of unquestionable quality, including both the plans of

¹⁴ Rutter 1993, 780; Wright 2008, 230.

individual houses and at least portions of the settlement as a whole. Other sites, such as Asine, Kolonna, Korakou, Malthi, and Pevkakia, may be treated briefly where they are particularly pertinent to the discussion at hand.

The analysis of MH Lerna is synthesized from John Caskey's preliminary excavation reports, as well as his additional observations on the MH material in particular.¹⁵ While Caskey notes a major cultural break between the EH II and EH III remains at Lerna, he argues for a high level of continuity in the following periods, until the site was transformed into a cemetery during LH I. The domestic architecture dating from EH III to LH I (Lerna IV-V, roughly from 2200-1500 B.C.) is therefore considered together as a physical expression of one cultural group, naturally acknowledging and critically examining significant changes over the course of this period. Caskey's reports are supplemented by the works of Jeremy Rutter and Carol Zerner, which are particularly important for the EH III and early MH remains respectively.¹⁶ Following the presentation and analysis of the architecture, the houses are contextualized within the settlement as a whole. Trends regarding choice of building site, proximity to contemporaneous and earlier dwellings, and integration of burials within the space of the living will be identified and discussed. Especially noteworthy at Lerna is the initial clustering of houses around the tumulus covering the House of the Tiles and the tendency to construct new dwellings directly over old ones, though generally without making use of pre-existing foundations. Likewise, the presence of burials in and around these houses over time, even

¹⁵ Caskey (1954, 3-30; 1955, 24-49; 1956, 147-173; 1957, 142-162; 1959, 202-207) wrote a brief report of the findings at Lerna following each season of excavation; these generally provide an overview of the MH material found, though, understandably, the EH material forms the primary focus after the discovery of the House of the Tiles. Caskey (1960, 285-303) also analyzes the EH period, including EH III, at the site separately, later focusing on the last part of the period in particular (1966, 144-152).

¹⁶ Rutter 1995; Zerner 1978.

before Lerna became a cemetery, is also highly significant, particularly taking into account the social importance attached to the proper disposal of the dead. These trends seem to indicate a preoccupation with the past and the demonstration and creation of ancestral claims – either real or social fiction – through the deliberate placement of domestic architecture.

Similarly, the investigation of the MH material at Eutresis is derived from the documentation of the excavation by Hetty Goldman.¹⁷ Because Goldman has already done much to compile this information in a cohesive manner, attention is here devoted primarily to the analysis of the architecture in light of later studies of the settlement by Eugenia Gorogianni and Anna Philippa-Touchais.¹⁸ Contrasting with Lerna, a cultural break was detected between EH III and MH I by Goldman, who proposed a site-wide destruction at this time; the archaeological material of EH III Eutresis is nonetheless briefly treated in an effort to identify and define architectural continuities or the lack thereof.¹⁹ The houses of EH III, then, again provide the starting point for discussion, concluding in LH I for consistency. The interrogation of the domestic architecture is once more followed by a consideration of the settlement plan as a whole. Here the application of the timeline proposed by Philippa-Touchais proves especially important in determining the layout of the community and the relationships among dwellings as they changed over the centuries of the MH period. Distinctive features of the settlement at Eutresis are the apparently quite close-packed nature of the houses, their varying plans, and the attention

¹⁷ Goldman (1927, 3-91) first published a relatively brief overview of the excavated material, but it was later followed by a meticulously detailed, full-length excavation report (1931).

¹⁸ Gorogianni 2002; Philippa-Touchais 2006, 689-703.

¹⁹ Goldman 1931, 231-233.

given to outdoor storage, carrying major implications for inter-house interactions and group identity. Though initially Lerna and Eutresis would appear to be very different settlements, then, there are important parallels that allow some general conclusions about the culture of the mainland in the MBA to be made.

However, Allison has also described some of the dangers of approaching the study of ancient houses and households from a purely architectural standpoint, arguing that social or temporal distance between the builders and the inhabitants of these structures can prevent a correlation between the intentions of the architect and the actual use of space, effectively creating a disjuncture between the house and the household.²⁰ As she argues, the archaeological analysis of architectural material “does not, necessarily, lead to an understanding of the perceptions of those who built the buildings, still less to an understanding of the behavior of those who inhabit the building.”²¹ Keeping these limitations in mind, the frequency with which MH houses seem to have been replaced and/or modified suggests the individual involvement of each household, which is here identified as a kinship group (and perhaps some constituent parties) for a number of reasons discussed in the concluding chapter. Finally, the very issue of ambiguity in the use of space over time implies a high degree of multi-functionality in these structures, a valuable observation in and of itself.

IV. *Aims*

Despite differences in architectural forms over the course of the Middle Helladic period, houses at all sites excavated for the period appear to have been representative of

²⁰ Allison 1999, 3-5.

²¹ Allison 1999, 4.

specific kinship groups, and were commonly replaced within a generation or two of the original construction, suggesting the strong spatial and temporal identification of the building with a particular family within the larger community. Likewise, within the boundaries of particular settlements, these structures stood in relative isolation from one another in a deliberately non-agglutinative plan and were often associated with graves, again prioritizing the kinship ties of the household over the social connection to community as a whole. Changes over the course of the period, however, including shifts in building practices and the adoption of extramural burial practices, could suggest an expansion of the social network to the level of the settlement, although the continued use of an open plan would indicate the precedence of the immediate family. The basic principles dictating the expression of kinship identity through domestic structures also seem to have been maintained up to and even throughout the Mycenaean period, implying a previously unacknowledged degree of continuity between MH and LH Greece. Though operating on a larger scale, then, Mycenaean palaces and elite architectural complexes such as the Ivory Houses continued to articulate identity among competing lineage groups, just as in MH domestic architecture, suggesting that the cultural elements responsible for the creation of the Mycenaean states were already in place in the MH period, and perhaps as early as EH III. It is, then, the goal of this study to determine the nature of these cultural elements through the analysis of the most prevalent social components of this culture – the households – and the material remains they left behind.

Chapter I: *The Domestic Architecture of Lerna*

Located on the Peloponnesian coast just south of Argos, Lerna has been consistently identified in Bronze Age scholarship as one of the type-sites, if not the primary type-site, for Middle Bronze Age settlement on the Greek mainland (Fig. 1.1).²² The importance attached to this site comes about partially because of the thoroughness of the excavation and the extensive archaeological material there, but is also a product of the presence of remains from earlier and later periods, helping to give an indication of the development of the physical culture and social climate that defined the Middle Helladic as a whole. Indeed, Lerna is perhaps best known for the so-called House of the Tiles of EH II, destroyed at the conclusion of the period, around 2200 B.C. Caskey, the principal excavator at the site, identified this event as a marker of major cultural change in this area, as well as in the wider environment of the Argolid, if not the entirety of the Peloponnese.²³ It was at this point that Lerna entered EH III, or Lerna IV, characterized by a series of small domestic units partially overlapping the mound built on the House of the Tiles, as well as certain new pottery shapes that display a mixture of EH II and

²² Rutter 1993, 780; Wright 2008, 230. Rutter (2007, 35-44) has more recently questioned Lerna's status as a type-site with regard to the ceramics of the period, suggesting that its location on the Gulf of Argos and likely involvement in two or more trade routes (from Aegina in the east and Kythera in the west) makes the pottery found there rather exceptional. Dietz (1991, 325) also calls Lerna "the most important redistributive center on the plain."

²³ Caskey 1960, 299-303.

Anatolian(izing) characteristics.²⁴ No further substantial breaks in the material remains at Lerna have been detected by the excavators for the time between the fall of the EH II settlement and the transition to a predominantly funerary function for the majority of the habitation mound as the Late Bronze Age was beginning. Though, of course, significant change does occur, it can be understood as the natural progression of the community at Lerna over several centuries, and the structures from this period will be considered together as products of the developing Middle Helladic culture.

I. Houses

A relatively significant amount of scholarship has been devoted to the domestic architecture of Lerna IV (EH III), in addition to the preliminary excavation reports compiled by Caskey. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Caskey is also the first to discuss the houses of Lerna IV as an independent topic, noting both their architectural details and remarking on visible trends in construction.²⁵ Following this initial publication was Zerner's dissertation, an analysis of the settlement of Lerna IV, as well as the early part of Lerna V, roughly equivalent to the MH period.²⁶ Though her work was mainly focused on the ceramics, she takes pains to examine this evidence within the context of the associated architecture, briefly commenting on several houses and their phasing. Rutter's later volume on the pottery of EH III Lerna also performs this task to a lesser degree, but

²⁴ See Caskey 1960, 295-297. Rutter's 1981 (originally published in 1979) publication deals with the new ceramic shapes of Lerna IV and their relationship with the so-called Lefkandi I group and possible Anatolian elements almost exclusively.

²⁵ Caskey 1966.

²⁶ Zerner 1978, 5-46.

is especially useful in its provision of more extensive site plans.²⁷ Otherwise, the domestic structures of Lerna IV are included with some frequency in more catalogue-like publications of Bronze Age material, including those by S. Sinos and K. Werner.²⁸ Lerna V is currently comparatively far less studied, with information coming primarily from Caskey's preliminary reports of the excavation. Though Lerna VI is only briefly discussed here, it has been more thoroughly treated by M. H. Wiencke.²⁹

Not every house dated to these periods can be discussed here; however, a short catalogue of the buildings and pertinent information is provided as an appendix (Appendix A). The material here is organized by period and location, beginning with the structures from Lerna IV. Somewhat problematically, a multiplicity of names and nomenclatures has developed in the various descriptions of the architectural remains.³⁰ The most commonly-used designations for structures appear here, but alternative names are noted where appropriate.

a. *Lerna IV (EH III, 2200-2000 B.C.)*

The domestic architecture of Lerna IV is divided by Caskey into four subphases, while Elizabeth Banks, working in collaboration with Rutter, is more conservative in

²⁷ Rutter 1995.

²⁸ Sinos 1971, 82-83; Werner 1993, 43-44. Werner (69-70) also briefly discusses two houses dated to Lerna V.

²⁹ Wiencke 1998.

³⁰ In the introduction to Rutter's work on the ceramics of Lerna IV (1995), Banks (1989, 3-4) clarifies the system of identifying houses, which at least in this volume is done either by the number of a related pottery lot or by field numbers given to bothroi, either certainly "associated" or more tentatively "assigned" to the buildings under discussion. Unfortunately, the nomenclature for the bothroi has yet to be standardized either.

their analysis, with three.³¹ Caskey identifies at least seventeen structures from this period, principally from the area immediately to the east of the tumulus which was erected over the burned remains of the House of the Tiles shortly after its destruction.³² Banks and Rutter, on the other hand, propose several additional buildings – up to twenty-seven total – based on their alternative interpretation of the phasing of individual structures, as well as the inclusion of previously unidentified material.³³ Generally, there is a strong overlap in the two systems of phasing; instead of Caskey’s fourth phase, Banks and Rutter divide the third phase into subphases (i.e., earlier, later, latest). The two previous phases are likewise divided, allowing for somewhat more (relative) specificity in the dating of these structures, while still keeping the chronology fairly simple by limiting the total number of phases. For this reason, as well as the currency and clear methodology of their work, Banks’ and Rutter’s system is preferred here.

Perhaps the first building to be constructed at Lerna after the fall of the House of the Tiles was fairly temporary in nature, dubbed the “Large Posthole Building” by Banks and Rutter, and equivalent to Caskey’s Building A1 (Fig. 1.2 and 1.3).³⁴ As the name implies, the remains of this building were limited to a series of postholes bordering narrow trenches that functioned as the foundation and support structure for wattle and daub walls. Though only the northern trench and a portion of the apsidal western wall

³¹ Banks 1989, 3-10.

³² Banks clarifies the location of this material, noting that most of the structures from Lerna IV were found in trenches BE, B9, B10, G, and J, starting with the northernmost trench. Zerner (1978, 2) adds Trench D in addition, located somewhat farther to the north and east than area B. Likewise, she notes areas BD, W of area BE, and A, the southeastern-most trench. See Fig. 1.4.

³³ See Banks (1989, 5) for a convenient listing of the houses of Lerna IV by period.

³⁴ Caskey 1966, 145-6; Banks 1989, 4. This building was first discussed by Caskey (1956, 162) in his preliminary report from the excavation of 1955, wherein it was not named and only briefly described. It is also discussed in Caskey 1960, 294.

were preserved, the total area of the building can be estimated conservatively at about 79m², making Building A1 one of the largest constructions at the site for the entirety of the period under discussion.³⁵ The interior was divided by a cross-wall placed immediately before the apse, with an area of burning indicating a hearth just to the east, placed off center on the northern side of the structure. The earthen floor of the building was preserved, along with an associated deposit of ceramics (Group 1).³⁶ Unusually, no evidence of large storage vessels was found within the house, although multiple narrow-necked jars, tankards, and at least one so-called ouzo cup were catalogued from this group; Rutter proposes that these shapes may be a part of a drinking ritual established in early Lerna IV with some function in creating and maintaining power after the fall of the ruling group represented by the House of the Tiles.³⁷ The location of Building A1 is also notable in this regard, directly to the east of the ruins of the House of the Tiles, tangential to – but not crossing – the border of the tumulus over it, in Area B (Fig. 1.4). Although Caskey characterizes this structure as “essentially a primitive hut,” the size, contents, and position of Building A1 indicate a high level of importance within the community of early Lerna IV.³⁸

³⁵ Caskey 1966, 146. The estimation for the area of the building is based on Caskey’s approximate measurements. He noted that if the structure had been symmetrical, it would be about 12x7m. If a fairly regular apse is also assumed, the total area of Building A1 comes out to about 78.7m².

³⁶ Banks 1989, 5. Pottery from this group can be found in Rutter 1995, 72-114.

³⁷ Rutter 2008, 461-470. He argues that this group of shapes for ceramic drinking vessels was followed by another later in the period, in which the “ouzo cups” were replaced by small kantharoi, etc. In both phases, shapes with foreign, Anatolianizing elements were deliberately used and adapted, perhaps as a sort of exotica with connotations of trade connections. Significant deposits of these vessels were also found in a trapezoidal building to the south of the large apsidal houses during the second phase of Lerna IV (Caskey’s B2), as well as a D-shaped building in the north not discussed by Caskey (464-465). Both of these structures may have functioned as storage facilities for these and other vessels.

³⁸ Caskey 1966, 146.

In use for less than a full generation, at a proposed maximum of roughly fifteen years, Building A1 was succeeded by two structures, both partially overlying it: Building A2 (Trapezoidal Building over South Part of Posthole Building) and eventually Building B1/C1 (Large Apsidal Building over North Part of Posthole Building) (Fig. 1.2 and 1.3).³⁹ While Caskey assigns the latter structure to his second phase, proposing a rebuilding of it in the third phase, Banks suggests that Building B1/C1 was also in use during the first phase of Lerna IV; indeed, floor levels for both were at fairly comparable elevations and the ceramic content could be similarly dated.⁴⁰ Trapezoidal Building A2 was quite small relative to the original Posthole Building on the site, composed of two to three rectilinear rooms with an estimated total area of about 32m², measured from one of Caskey's drawings.⁴¹ Additional working space may have been provided by an associated terrace, located to the south, while farther to south and east was a series of "plastered basins," as well as cooking/baking facilities.⁴² These auxiliary structures should perhaps also be connected to Building A2, though they may have functioned more broadly as a public space for the surrounding dwellings. Moreover, while Building A2 is by no means insubstantial, its relatively small size may suggest that it also fulfilled a supplementary role, perhaps to the larger apsidal house (B1/C1) constructed to the north. This sort of loosely formed complex with associated open spaces is proposed for the domestic architecture of the previous period by Steven Harrison; while these buildings were not

³⁹ Caskey 1966, 146. Alternative names are those of Banks (1989, 4-6).

⁴⁰ Banks (1989, 4-6) assigns the floor of trapezoidal Building A2 an average elevation of about 5.06m ASL, while the first floor laid in the apsidal Building B1/C1 was about 5.03m ASL.

⁴¹ Caskey 1966, 146.

⁴² Banks 1989, 4.

agglutinative, they were closely spaced and linked by their prominent position over the earlier Posthole Building and outside the tumulus.⁴³

Indeed, throughout subsequent phases, Banks observes a tendency to group what by the second phase becomes a pair of larger apsidal buildings in the north with a series of smaller structures in the south, beginning with trapezoidal forms, followed by a more regular megaron-type, and finally by up to six small apsidal buildings clustered on two terraces (Fig. 1.5 and 1.6).⁴⁴ These southern buildings are distinguished from their northern apsidal counterparts during the first two phases by both size and shape; while Building B2 (North Trapezoidal Building Stages 1 and 2) is fairly large, at about 55m² (approximated from one of Caskey's drawings), it is still noticeably smaller than the preserved remains of Building B1/C1, which at least by the second and third phase can be estimated conservatively at between 80 and 110m². In the third phase, the southern buildings are also differentiated by their north-south orientation, perhaps accommodating for drastically reduced area through increased numbers. Though these structures are likely to have been multi-functional, they may have served as auxiliary spaces for the larger, contemporaneous apsidal buildings to the north. Alternatively, they may have served as housing for families or individuals who were presumably subordinate to – and perhaps allies of – the group (or groups) occupying the northern buildings.

These larger apsidal houses are likewise part of a series of construction and reconstruction, beginning with Building B1/C1, or even as early as the Large Posthole Building (A1). As noted above, Building B1/C1 was slightly larger than, though

⁴³ Harrison 1995, 23-40.

⁴⁴ Banks 1989, 7.

comparable to, Building A1 before it; likewise, it was more solidly built, formed from mudbrick on a stone foundation. The interior of the structure was similarly modified with a stone platform in the apse, a built, centrally-located hearth, and perhaps a bench of some variety along the northern wall.⁴⁵ Further evidence of the relative wealth of the inhabitants of this structure can be found in the discovery of a marble cup in a bothros (B-Bs) that can be fairly securely associated with Building B1/C1, though Caskey suggests that it belonged rather to the House of the Tiles (Fig. 1.7).⁴⁶ Caskey goes on to note that the stone of the cup has some parallel at Cretan sites, while the form is Anatolian, implying an import of some variety, and perhaps prompting his assignment of the artifact to the more obviously wealthy EH II Corridor House.⁴⁷ However, the date provided by the ceramic content of the bothros, as well as the actual elevation and position of this feature, link the cup more firmly to Building B1/C1, with interesting implications for the international connections, or at least aspirations, of the inhabitants. Building B1/C1 remained in use up to the early part of the third phase of Lerna IV. Following this point, at least two further sets of foundations on this site were distinguished by the excavators, who noted slight modifications to the layout and orientation of the structure; the latest of these foundations belonged to Caskey's Building D1 (Larger Apsidal Building in Northern Area), the last of the series constructed during this period (Fig. 1.8).

⁴⁵ Caskey 1966, 148.

⁴⁶ Banks 1989, 6; Caskey 1956, 164. Further information concerning the contents of the bothros can be found in Rutter 1995, 105-106.

⁴⁷ Caskey 1956, 164.

Banks proposes a second parallel apsidal structure to the north of this series of buildings as early as the transition between the first and second subphase of Lerna IV, dubbing it the “Northernmost Apsidal Building.”⁴⁸ Though this structure is poorly preserved, it may represent the beginning of a second succession of slightly smaller apsidal houses, probably satellite to the larger dwellings to the south, and perhaps reflecting an expansion (by marriage?) of the original kinship group. The northern group of apsidal structures was relatively poorly preserved, leaving the ground plan and area difficult to determine, though it is clear that these buildings were also oriented east-west with apses to the west, and may have experienced an increase in size as the period progressed, terminating in Caskey’s C4/D5 (Smaller Apsidal Building Later in North). Zerner identifies one final pair of apsidal structures in a transitional layer before significant changes in the area in early Lerna V: House 99C/99D (Area B) and House 68 (Area BE) (Fig. 1.9).⁴⁹ The presence of a hearth in House 68 emphasizes its use, and probably the use of its predecessors, as an independent domestic unit. Likewise, at least by the construction of House 99D, the scale of the southern house was reduced, more closely mirroring the proportions of the traditionally smaller house to the north, and separated only by a narrow street.⁵⁰ The close relationship between these buildings through time, demonstrated through their proximity, orientation, and comparable

⁴⁸ Banks 1989, 6. Caskey does not seem to recognize this building in his analysis of the area.

⁴⁹ Zerner 1978, 32-34 for House 99C/99D, 39-42 for House 68.

⁵⁰ This phenomenon is in some ways parallel to Shear’s characterization of Mycenaean architecture, which, according to her argument, at its most elaborate paradigmatically involved a dual series of rooms separated by a corridor, one subsidiary to the other, with a shared open space or courtyard, as in the Panagia Houses. See Shear (1968, 454-470) for her types D1 (“main room, anteroom, corridor, and secondary rooms”) and D2 (“a re-arrangement of Type D1”), 459-462. Types E (“main room, anteroom, corridor, and large secondary room”), F1 (“main room, anteroom, corridor, secondary rooms, and enclosed courtyard”) and F2 (“a re-arrangement of Type F1”) may also be applicable, 463-467.

dimensions, perhaps implies a similarly close social bond between the groups dwelling within them; indeed, it is possible that they may have formed one larger, multi-functional complex with primary and ancillary buildings.

Though other parts of the site were generally less well preserved during Lerna IV, similar developments in the domestic architecture can be found, particularly in Area D. This region is discussed in some detail by Zerner, who documents a series of closely-spaced – both physically and temporally – structures, probably of domestic character.⁵¹ Portions of perhaps three houses (House CQ, House CV, House CX) of slightly different phases were assigned by Caskey to this period; though the limited space of the trench obscured the full plans of these buildings, they seem to have been apsidal houses of various orientations, perhaps indicating another concentration of dwellings.⁵² These structures were built and rebuilt with slight modifications a number of times, possibly beginning as early as EH II, although they may not have been continuously occupied. Nonetheless, by late Lerna IV, a relatively elaborate enclosure of some variety had been erected in this area, including a feature that Caskey identifies as “small propylon,” marked by an interruption in north-south Wall CL and further set off by shorter east-west walls, a threshold block, and an associated drain (Fig. 1.10).⁵³ This enclosure is likely to have demarcated a group of structures associated with one kinship group or families otherwise socially affiliated, fulfilling certain needs common to the group as a whole, such as drainage. Ultimately, however, this structure was overbuilt by House CE, the

⁵¹ Zerner 1978, 6-21.

⁵² Caskey 1956, 151-152.

⁵³ Caskey 1956, 151. See 149-151 for the structure as a whole. Zerner (1978, 6-7) dates this enclosure to the last part of Lerna IV.

“House of the Pithos,” an incompletely preserved north-south apsidal structure with a pithos in situ in the apse, perhaps indicating a change in the group dynamic here at the end of the period.⁵⁴ Alternatively, an area of pebble paving bordering the house on the south and east could have served as a shared space for the surrounding structures, though apparently more limited functionally, less clearly defined, and reduced in size (Fig. 1.11).

b. *Lerna V (MH, 2000-1600 B.C.)*

Following Caskey’s system for Lerna IV, Zerner divides Lerna V into a number of subphases; these divisions will be noted where possible.⁵⁵ Though the scholarship on the later domestic architecture of Lerna V is primarily drawn from Caskey’s excavation reports, Zerner’s dissertation covers the early and transitional material in some detail, up to her Lerna VB. In her initial examination of these buildings, she notes that the best stratigraphic sequence was found in Area D, on the northeastern edge of the habitation mound (Area B), reflecting disparate preservation in the two areas due to leveling at the site center.⁵⁶ Likewise, Area B and BD were noted for their “plentiful” MH remains, while Area A also contains some of the best preserved structures from this period.⁵⁷ It is therefore possible that the density of MH material in areas outside the main habitation mound could represent a shift of the settlement center away from the tumulus covering the House of the Tiles, or at least the development of additional concentrations of houses

⁵⁴ Caskey 1956, 148; Caskey 1955, 29; Zerner 1978, 6.

⁵⁵ Zerner 1978, 1. Elizabeth Blackburn (1970) divides Lerna V into five subphases (A-E) based on her work with the funerary material there.

⁵⁶ Zerner 1978, 6.

⁵⁷ Zerner 1978, 22.

in these regions. Otherwise, there were few major changes to distinguish Lerna V from the previous period.⁵⁸

However, while arguably minor, the variations between the two phases in the developing MH community at Lerna are quite significant. One of the most notable differences was the rebuilding of the paired apsidal units in Area B/BE to the east of the tumulus, last represented by Houses 99C/D and 68, as a single unit dominated by House 98A (Fig. 1.12). This structure maintained the southern apsidal house of this pair on the same plan and orientation, though conspicuously smaller in scale at less than 30m²; however, it also now included an adjacent enclosed courtyard with two auxiliary rooms (Rooms 44 and 45) in the area previously occupied by the northern apsidal building.⁵⁹ Both of these rooms were roofed over, and seem to have provided additional space for storage and cooking, as suggested by remnants of two pithoi and a brick storage bin in eastern Room 45 and an additional pithos, several mended storage pots of other varieties, and a hearth in western Room 44. The addition of these rooms at the expense of the northern house, which seems to have occurred fairly early in Lerna V, demonstrates a fundamental reconceptualization of space. That is, previously – for well over a century – the private domestic sphere of the residents of this complex, who seem to have formed a

⁵⁸ Zerner (1978, 196-197) states that “improvement is noticeable” between the end of Lerna IV and V, though she also observes that “these changes and improvements were not accompanied by major changes in culture: architecture, pottery, burial customs and artifacts remained basically the same.” Caskey (1960, 298), observing that the use life of some houses spanned this transition, gives an anecdote as an illustration of the slow change, remarking that “in familiar terms, one might even picture a housewife going to a local shop and acquiring some pieces of newfangled crockery to embellish her newly remodelled house. One would like to know the comments of her kinsfolk; the words may have been humorous, sarcastic, or chiding, but certainly not revolutionary.”

⁵⁹ Zerner 1978, 36-38 for House 98A, 42-45 for Rooms 44 and 45. The area of the house has been estimated from Zerner’s measurements: Room 1 (the east room) at about 4x3.25m and Room 2 (the apse room) at about 4.75x3.25m. It is uncertain how much, if at all, the apse was squared off to meet the western wall of the enclosure due to the destruction of much of that space by the digging of Shaft Grave 2. This complex is also discussed by Caskey (1956, 159; 1957, 149-151).

single social group, had been divided between two houses, with additional activities conducted around and between them in more public space. Now, however, the full range of household activities was integrated and internalized into one structure. While the combination of these two houses could be understood as a straightforward appropriation of the northern plot by the occupants of the southern apsidal house, the addition of an enclosed space around the two indicates the development of a new emphasis on privacy, as well as on the more abstract notion of kinship/household identity and unity within the broader social environment.⁶⁰ This phenomenon may also be in evidence in the construction of the elaborate enclosure connected with Wall CL in Area D at the end of the previous period, mentioned above. Although there is no evidence that another such structure was built in the following period, it embodies a similar concern with the demarcation of group space against that of the wider community occurring roughly at the EH III/MH transition.

This idea is consistent with Wright's work on the factionary nature of early Mycenaean society.⁶¹ Wright defines factions as competitive social groups that are consistently structured and maintained primarily through loyalty or obligation toward a dynamic leader rather than through bonds of kinship.⁶² Here, however, the role of kinship and the close social identification of the individual with the kinship group are emphasized in creating faction-like relationships between prominent households, which in turn may

⁶⁰ Though not directly concerned with the period at hand, a good summary of many of these concepts as applied to early Etruscan society, particularly concerning the use of domestic architecture in defining public and private space (and identities), as well as negotiating the transition between them, can be found in Izzet (2007, 143-164).

⁶¹ Wright 2004a, 64-82, and particularly 70-75. See Burns (2007, 111-119) for a similar argument for later (LH III) Mycenaean society.

⁶² Wright 2004a, 71. Wright models his work after that of Brumfiel (1994, 3-13).

have propelled the formation of true factions. In these pre-factions, the leadership would have been provided by the head of the primary household in each house or group of houses; while the family (probably extended) would have formed the foundation of the group, additional members may have been attracted through the activities of the household leader. At Lerna, then, the complex associated with House 98A – unique though it is – perhaps represents a firmer articulation of distinction between groups and therefore of group identity. The apparent need to display group identity architecturally, in turn, may imply the existence of other such groups – that is, major families and subordinate allies brought in either through marriage or through other social contracts, all competing for dominance within Lerna IV/V society.

While here the role of the kinship groups in these factions, as well as their multiplicity within one community, is perhaps more accentuated than in Wright's work, the basic concept of factionary opposition for limited resources, and perhaps also for trade, remains. Wright further proposes that one of the primary methods of maintaining factional loyalty and creating new social bonds was through feasting, already attested at this site in the elaborate drinking assemblages identified by Rutter.⁶³ Likewise, the importance of feasting in power-building within early MH culture at Lerna may partially explain the expansion of space devoted to cooking and storage, as seen in the deposits from the courtyard and Rooms 44 and 45 of House 98A, at the expense of the actual house, at perhaps half the size of its Lerna IV predecessors. A decreased reliance on

⁶³ Wright 2004a, 73-75. See Dietler (1996, 87-126) and Hayden (1996, 127-148), on whose work Wright partially bases his assessment, for more information concerning the role of feasting in establishing and maintaining social power. See Wright (2004b, 133-178) for further discussion of feasting within Mycenaean society in particular. Rutter's (2008, 461-481) work on the drinking assemblages of Lerna IV provides further evidence for these ideas.

purely kin-based relationships to achieve social standing and identity may also be indicated here. As the MH period progressed, this complex was also used for burials; by LH I, a shaft grave (Shaft Grave 2) was dug through the apse of House 98A, possibly further emphasizing the association of this area with (kinship?) group identity or ancestral memory. Remains of only one further substantial house, House 100, were found in a stratum over Rooms 44 and 45 and dated to the end of the period.⁶⁴

Few other remains from Lerna V were preserved in this area, and Caskey observes that those architectural elements that were found were in “woefully ruinous” condition.⁶⁵ Houses D and M in Area A, located just to the southeast of House 98A in Area B/BE, provided the major exception (Fig. 1.13). These houses, as in the case of so many others on the site, were built almost directly on top of one another, probably by the same lineage group, with various modifications performed on the architecture over the years that it was in use. House D was the first of these, probably also constructed in the early part of the period, and rather small (at about 36m²), particularly with regard to the later House M (at about 55m²).⁶⁶ Both houses were apsidal and oriented with the apse at the west, not unlike the series of apsidal houses farther to the west adjacent to the tumulus in Lerna IV, and it is possible that at least House D was originally established as an eastward expansion of a part of this group; indeed, there are signs of an additional house (“Earlier in Southeast: Large Apsidal Building”) constructed at the extreme southeastern edge of this collection during the last (“Phase IV.3 Earlier”) phase of Lerna

⁶⁴ Caskey 1957, 148.

⁶⁵ Caskey 1954, 13.

⁶⁶ Caskey 1955, 30-32. Measurements estimated from Caskey’s (1955, 30) drawings for House D. Measurements for House M were taken from Caskey’s (1954, 14) own approximations of 5.5x10.5m, assuming a regular apse in both cases.

IV, of which D may be a successor.⁶⁷ If this is the case, the construction of these houses at an apparently increasing distance from the tumulus during Lerna V suggests a developing division between these two groups. While the presence of contemporary houses to the west of House D (Area A, House Q) may contradict this idea to some degree, their lack of incorporation into, or indeed, any obvious connection to, House 98A provides an argument in favor of the formation of multiple groups in this area.⁶⁸

Yet, this grouping does not seem to have been on the level of individual households. Certain features of House M may confirm that at least during mid-Lerna V these structures did not operate independently, but were actually constructed as a part of a larger conglomeration of houses with shared space and common facilities among them. That is, though House M was fairly large and apparently well-constructed, no permanent hearth could be associated with this building in any of its three rooms for any of its four phases of use; nor is a hearth documented for House D.⁶⁹ While Caskey does observe a number of “broad hollows” that contained ash and may have functioned in place of a hearth, it seems doubtful that these rudimentary features would have been sufficient for the cooking and heating needs of what must have been a relatively substantial group.⁷⁰ This absence is especially noteworthy in that most other houses from this period do have a preserved hearth of some variety, or at least an area of more intense burning than that represented by the ash deposits in this building. Thus, it is possible to suggest that the residents of House M had access to an additional hearth for at least cooking, and perhaps

⁶⁷ Banks (1989, 7) gives a brief synopsis of this earlier building.

⁶⁸ Caskey 1954, 16-17.

⁶⁹ Caskey 1954, 15.

⁷⁰ Caskey 1954, 15.

some production activities. As the southern part of this building was poorly preserved due to military trenching during World War II, it is arguable that a hearth could have existed in this area on a courtyard or terrace associated with the building – the central room of the house does appear to have been entered from the south in at least the later stages of the building. However, as there is no sign of an enclosure wall either bonded or abutting at the western end of the building beyond the trench, or farther to the south, this proposed hearth must have been publically accessible, and was perhaps shared among some of the surrounding houses.⁷¹

House M is more definitively demonstrative of the continuing tendency of the builders at Lerna to use the same sites successively, while exploiting only a portion, usually surprisingly small, of the foundations of the preceding houses, also in evidence in the sequence of apsidal houses east of the tumulus in Lerna IV.⁷² Here, for example, House M, though approximately the same width as House D if longer and more regular, is shifted slightly to the north and west, so that only a small area of the cross-wall before the apse makes use of an earlier wall, the apse of House D. While the practice of rebuilding on old foundations is well-attested at many sites, and certainly a convenient and less labor-intensive method of construction, many of the houses at Lerna, in spite of being erected on the same plot of land as previous dwellings, often involved such significant alterations to earlier foundations that they were essentially built anew. Perhaps even more frequently, the foundations of earlier houses were abandoned wholesale, with construction of the new foundations sometimes occurring directly alongside the old ones,

⁷¹ The contemporary houses in this area were largely found just to the west, perhaps suggesting an alternative, more central location for any shared facilities that may have existed.

⁷² This phenomenon was first noticed by Caskey (1966, 144-152) for Lerna IV, and shall be discussed in greater depth below.

as in the case of the southern walls of Houses D and M. In such instances, there is a clear acknowledgement of the previous house. Additionally, the number of successive structures in these areas does seem to show a strongly felt connection on the part of the builders to at least the land, if not the preceding house itself, rearticulated and recreated over time, perhaps suggesting its long-term association with a kinship – or more socially extensive – group. Here, also, Caskey proposes that the inhabitants of House M may have been a part of the same family as those of House D before it.⁷³

As at House 98A, this family's connection and claim to the land may also have been emphasized through the practice of intramural burial. Although Caskey identified the remains of a child found in the easternmost room/porch on the floor of the third phase of House M as a victim of the fire that destroyed the building, it is unlikely that the occupants during the subsequent phase of use would have simply laid a floor over the bones of this youth, to whom they were probably related. Rather, even if the child did die in the fire, the laying of the body in the apse must have been deliberate, representing a burial within the house itself. Any anxiety over the proximity of the dead to the living, then, may have been overcome by the close ties of the kinship group, and perhaps the group identity, to the place; it therefore was not the separation between living and dead that was reinforced in this burial, but rather the distinction between group and non-group. House M, along with the less well preserved houses to the west, ultimately went out of use toward the end of Lerna V, when a group of three cist graves and at least five simpler burials were cut into the surrounding area, arguably implying the use of this land as a

⁷³ Caskey 1955, 32.

family burial plot even after the descendants of the original inhabitants had relocated elsewhere.⁷⁴

While particular house plans are less discernible in Area D, a “deep accumulation of Middle Helladic deposits” gives a good idea of the domestic architecture and its development over the period for the site as a whole, as noted by Caskey.⁷⁵ Perhaps the earliest remains that can be firmly dated to Lerna V, documented in some detail by both Caskey and Zerner, are those of the so-called “House of the Postholes,” distinct both geographically and chronologically from the “Large Posthole Building” (Building A1) discussed above (Fig. 1.14). As its name would suggest, the only remains are again a series of postholes, located roughly over the previous major structure in this area, House CE, the “House of the Pithos.”⁷⁶ It is unclear why these holes – likely for the support of wattle and daub walls, or the “tent-like” structure proposed by Caskey – are assigned their own phase rather than associated with either the House of the Pithos or the succeeding House BS; however, they are perhaps to be associated with two loose lines of stones to the north and south, which may have given further support to the walls, as well as a fairly extensive deposit of ash proposed as a cooking area for the building.⁷⁷ If these postholes do indeed represent an independent structure, it is interesting that it was both preceded and followed by houses of a more solid construction of stone and mudbrick,

⁷⁴ Caskey 1954, 13-14.

⁷⁵ Caskey 1955, 27.

⁷⁶ Though constructed in the same area, stone features to the north and south of the postholes may indicate a change of orientation from the previous structure (House CE), though the plan of the building is understandably difficult to determine.

⁷⁷ Caskey 1954, 29; Zerner 1978, 12-13. The identification of this structure as a “House” depends on the idea that this area was continuously used for domestic purposes.

although on apparently different plans. It is possible that this building was erected as a sort of place-holder, representing the claim of the previous inhabitants, or even of new ones, to the area before the more permanent foundations of House BS were laid (Fig. 1.15).

House BS does represent a departure from the plan of House CE, the “House of the Pithos,” with an east-west orientation and an apparently rectilinear form.⁷⁸ This building had preserved plaster on its walls, which were constructed with so-called “potato masonry,” involving the use of elongated, round stones, a technique that characterized several of the buildings in this area during early Lerna V.⁷⁹ The finds in House BS included at least two embedded storage jars; it was separated from two contemporary structures to the south by a road (Houses BI and BQ).⁸⁰ Another probable house to the northeast, represented by Room C, was also in use at this time.⁸¹ Once more, then, although here the buildings were not all incorporated into one unit, the proximity of these contemporary structures, which otherwise show every sign of being spatially discrete, could be explained as a group dwelling together in a complex similar to that of House 98A. Likewise, House BS and House BI, the apsidal house to the south, seem to have ultimately been joined by a later wall (Wall BY), resulting in the creation of a courtyard over the old street and perhaps suggesting an effort by this group to emulate the House

⁷⁸ Caskey 1955, 28-29; Zerner 1978, 15-17.

⁷⁹ Caskey (1955, 29) first mentions this technique in connection with House BS, but defines it more thoroughly in his later work (1957, 129) when he proposes that it is a site-wide feature of the early phases of Lerna V. Such a consistently used and unusual construction technique could indicate a common group of builders for these houses, or perhaps a common source of materials.

⁸⁰ Zerner 1978, 17-18 for House BI, 19 for House BQ. Caskey (1956, 148-149) comments on these buildings only briefly.

⁸¹ Zerner 1978, 19-20.

98A complex, as noted by Zerner.⁸² This area was probably used for domestic purposes until the end of Lerna V, when a final large (about 13.5x4.5m) structure associated with Wall R was built with three of its four rooms making use of a preexisting paved surface.⁸³ While Caskey characterizes these rooms as having a “normal accumulation of debris from habitation,” he also notes the “peculiarly awkward and uneven plan” of the building, which seems to have had an apse on the east.⁸⁴ The unusually high number of rooms, as well as the use of the paving and a series of stones that may have once formed benches of some variety, may indicate a more specialized function for the structure, either in production or storage, perhaps by an association of families, or by one particularly successful kinship group.

c. Lerna VI (LH I/II, 1600-1400 B.C.)

Unlike the previous periods, the material from Lerna VI was predominantly funerary in nature, with very little habitation material – and no houses – found. Though Caskey argues that the discovery of early Mycenaean pottery in various strata across the site demonstrates the continuity of the settlement through this period, nearly all of the areas that had held houses during Lerna V had been converted into cemeteries before the end of the period.⁸⁵ Area D provides the greatest exception, with settlement apparently

⁸² Zerner 1978, 18.

⁸³ Caskey 1954, 9-10. The paved surface on which the structure associated with Wall R was built may have represented either a street or a shared courtyard of some variety.

⁸⁴ Caskey 1954, 9-10.

⁸⁵ Caskey 1958, 144. Dietz (1991, 285), based on the work of Zerner, notes that this transition probably occurred around MH IIIA, although he argues that the relatively large amount of LH IA material in the fill of the shaft graves is indicative of resumed settlement in the area.

continuing there up to Lerna VI, although Caskey also notes the discovery of nine graves which were roughly contemporary with the last MH building here.⁸⁶ By LH I, then, the main habitation mound and much of its immediate surroundings had been appropriated for burials, including two shaft graves, particularly notable for their proximity to the tumulus over the House of the Tiles and the later houses surrounding it.⁸⁷ Indeed, as noted above, Shaft Grave 2 is cut through the apse of House 98A. While these graves contained few noteworthy finds, probably robbed out in antiquity, their presence in this area is highly significant. Even notwithstanding the indication of an elite presence at Lerna, the association of these graves with the MH houses, and House 98A in particular, may demonstrate either the continued identification of a kinship group with this land and the nearby tumulus, which must have still held connotations of importance, or the claim to this legacy. The deliberate placement of the shaft grave in the apse of House 98A makes it abundantly clear that the intended correlation was with this house and the group it represented, probably in addition to an appropriation of the memory of the House of the Tiles. Whether this burial was made by the descendants of the inhabitants of House 98A or another group wishing to lay claim to their legacy is unclear.

d. *The Houses Revisited*

The chronological breadth and sheer amount of material under discussion warrants brief concluding remarks on the general characteristics of domestic architecture at Lerna based on the evidence given above. Individual house plans throughout these

⁸⁶ Caskey 1955, 28.

⁸⁷ Caskey discusses both shaft graves in detail. For Shaft Grave 1, see 1955, 32-34; for Shaft Grave 2, see 1956, 155-157. Blackburn (1970, 168-173) also documents these tombs at some length.

periods seem to have remained fairly standard, with apsidal forms strongly dominant, although rectilinear plans were consistently in use. Both types of houses, however, almost uniformly employed a megaroid form, with perhaps two rooms arranged axially, as well as a porch or deeper entrance room. Some of these buildings, such as House D in Area A, made use of central roof supports, evidence of which is generally limited to large, flat stones used as bases for wooden supports; however, none preserves any sign of an upper story. By far the majority of the houses were constructed with mudbrick placed on stone socles of varying qualities, typically preserved for no more than half a meter above the floor, at thicknesses ranging from 0.3-0.5m. The total size of these structures varied, with the largest houses erected in Area B/BE to the east of the tumulus during Lerna IV, several of which were around 80m² in area; however, most of the houses were about 30-50m², with a consistency of size that fits well with other descriptions of the MH period, although it is not here proposed as proof of a simple society.⁸⁸ Perhaps the most common feature associated with the dwellings of this period at Lerna were numerous bothroi.⁸⁹ Though this term has not yet been clearly defined in the publication of the site, they seem to have been pits used predominantly for storage and later for refuse throughout the settlement, sometimes built within the associated house and at other times exterior. Other features generally included a hearth and some type of nearby storage, indoor or outdoor, provided variously by embedded pithoi, additional rooms and courtyards, and bothroi. Benches and platforms were less common.

⁸⁸ Dickinson (1977, 38) suggests otherwise.

⁸⁹ Caskey 1960, 294-295. Locations for at least the bothroi of Lerna IV are indicated on Rutter's (1995) plans, Figs. 1.2, 1.5, and 1.6 here.

II. *Settlement*

The size of the EH III/MH settlement at Lerna must have been fairly extensive, with some evidence of activity appearing in almost every trench opened across the site. However, in spite of the scope and quantity of the remains, it is difficult to form an accurate picture of the settlement plan as a whole because of the necessarily limited and artificially focused nature of excavation. Certainly the village of Lerna IV and V grew organically, with no sign of centralized, strategic city planning. Nonetheless, certain spaces within the community appear to have been valued above others, most graphically demonstrated in the dense clustering of houses on the east side of the tumulus covering the House of the Tiles during Lerna IV. This preferential treatment of property within Lerna probably resulted from a desire to create a socially strategic visual and spatial association with the House of the Tiles and the power structure that it represented, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of this building. While there is an initial reluctance to build over this tumulus, observed by Caskey, it gives way to increasing demand for this space later in Lerna IV, although activity is always limited to the extreme edges of this earlier monument, perhaps due to the perceived importance of maintaining the tumulus for its legitimating value.⁹⁰ It is also noteworthy that the houses that do eventually cut into the tumulus are some of the largest at Lerna, possibly a reflection of the prestige both created and maintained by this choice location. Area B/BE, then, can be considered a “neighborhood” of at least one kinship group and constituents with aspirations of social power within the community of Lerna IV and V, probably achieved – and perhaps lost again – over the course of the period.

⁹⁰ Caskey 1960, 293; 1966, 144-145.

Other centers seem to have arisen on the periphery of the main settlement mound, notably in Areas A and especially in D, at least by the end of Lerna IV, perhaps representing the formation of additional distinct social groups within the broader community at Lerna. Insofar as the plan of each is known, these centers seem to have been composed of a main house, one or more secondary houses (which may be combined, as in the case of House 98A and perhaps Houses BS and BI in Area D), and a variety of storage facilities, as well as perhaps other shared spaces for cooking or production. Likewise, they seem to have been at least partially independent of one another, implied by the long periods of time that elapsed between the conversion of each center to purely funerary use – House 98A apparently around the middle of Lerna V, House D/M by the end of this period, and the large building associated with Wall R in Area D perhaps not until Lerna VI. This argument is obviously flawed in the lack of an overall site plan for these periods, as well as the artificial segmentation of the settlement created by the trenches themselves; however, the discoveries of domestic architecture of this period were conspicuously limited in many of the other trenches, including several of those bordering these regions.⁹¹ Likewise, the concentrations of houses suggested above appear to expand and contract through time, particularly in Area B/BE, providing an additional argument against the inadvertent creation of false groupings during the excavation itself.

⁹¹ Area BD, immediately to the west of B/BE, did have a significant amount of MH architecture, not discussed here due to its fragmentary state of preservation. However, the majority of this material was from the eastern side of the trench, bordering BE and Rooms 44 and 45 of House 98A contained within it. These houses, then, could have been related to this complex. Those from the early part of the period, roughly contemporary with House 98A, are detailed by Zerner (1978, 21-31). Area BD seems to have been used chiefly as a cemetery from around the middle of Lerna V. Caskey (1957, 151-152) documents this area only briefly.

Perhaps more persuasive is that each of the proposed centers of domestic activity is marked by generations of successive building on the same plot, probably by the same lineages, indicating a significant investment in construction sites on the part of the occupants of these houses. As noted above, subsequent structures often made use of totally new or significantly modified foundations, in spite of the ready availability of the remains of the previous house, a practice referred to as “partial vertical superimposition” or “partial horizontal displacement” by Ruth Tringham (Fig. 1.8).⁹² These new foundations would have been impractical and, in most cases, unnecessary, implying motivations beyond the simple need for structural integrity in the new building. That is, it seems likely that the act of construction itself was important to each following generation of builders, perhaps serving as a means of reestablishing and recreating familial claims to the land, probably spurred by changes in household leadership. Such a phenomenon of repeated rebuilding – the so-called “continuous house” – is attested for at least Neolithic settlements in the Balkan region in Tringham’s work.⁹³ In these villages, houses were often deliberately burned before new construction was carried out, either to express a “symbolic end of the household cycle” before the transition to a new, probably hereditarily-determined owner, or to create a more permanent memory of the previous house through the baking of clay components, preserved under and around the latest building in the series.⁹⁴ A similar scenario might be proposed for the community at MH Lerna. While there is little evidence that these houses were purposefully destroyed by fire

⁹² Tringham 2000, 117.

⁹³ Tringham 2000, 115-134, and particularly 123-126.

⁹⁴ Tringham 2000, 124.

or otherwise, their relatively frequent and seemingly superfluous replacement suggests the deliberate dismantling of the previous building in the construction of the new one. Likewise, the close alignment and shared orientation of old and new structures shows a strong awareness of previous house plans over surprisingly long periods of time, as in the case of Area B/BE, and perhaps suggesting that parts of the earlier house may have been maintained as visible memorials. Nevertheless, it was the action of creating the new structure that literally allowed its occupants to take their place within the community, both identifying with and distinguishing themselves from the inhabitants of the previous house. Indeed, it is possible that the dismantling/rebuilding process functioned almost as a *rite de passage* for new household leaders, occasioned by the death of the previous head of the kinship group and the concomitant (lineal) transfer of power.⁹⁵

This apparently close bond between family, land, and renewed house also serves to explain the prevalence of intramural burial at Lerna, though Caskey also notes the probable existence of a more formal MH cemetery (Fig. 1.16).⁹⁶ While intramural burials are a generally accepted characteristic of MH society, it is possible that the majority of them occurred in areas of the community that had already gone out of use, as observed by Gullög Nordquist for the nearby site at Asine.⁹⁷ At Lerna, graves that are contemporary with the adjacent domestic units are certainly in evidence, but the greatest concentration

⁹⁵ However, it should be noted that household power must have been transferred much more frequently than the incidences of displaced rebuilding visible in the archaeological record would suggest, perhaps implying that this process occurred only in certain circumstances, such as in cases where the control of the new leader was contested, etc.

⁹⁶ Caskey 1954, 29.

⁹⁷ A more detailed account of MH burial practices can be found in Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 23-39). Nordquist's (1987, 91, 95) observations on intramural burial at Asine also provide helpful material for comparison. Dietz (1991, 275) also comments on the difficulty of associating burials with specific houses.

of burials seems to occur after the houses have been abandoned. In both cases it is likely that the interments are those of relations or constituents of the original inhabitants of the area. While the houses were in use, burials made in the area may have worked to reinforce and legitimate claims to the land on the part of the living occupants; the lasting association of the family and the plot of land may explain the later prevalence of burials in these areas. This phenomenon is almost unique to the MH period at Lerna. Elizabeth Blackburn, who conducted a careful survey of the graves at this site for her dissertation, observes nine graves for Lerna IV (dispersed throughout the central trenches) and ten for Lerna VI (predominately in Area D, with the shaft graves notably in Area B), but an incredible 209 intramural graves datable to Lerna V.⁹⁸

Of the 200 burials which can be safely assigned to a subphase (A-E, according to Blackburn's system) within Lerna V, around 53% of these are datable to the second half of the period, while just under 40% of the total number of graves occurred during the latest two subphases (D and D/E).⁹⁹ The greatest concentration of burials seems to be in Areas BE and DE, arguably in two distinct clusters. The first of these, in Area BE, is located partially within the House 98A complex – more specifically, in and around Room 45, but also to the east; the second is in Area DE, to the south of the domestic structures associated with Area D, perhaps serving to corroborate the separate identities of the groups of houses in these areas, as well as suggesting slightly different burial practices.¹⁰⁰ However, even if two separate grave clusters cannot be confirmed, the concentration of

⁹⁸ Blackburn 1970, 24-25.

⁹⁹ These statistics have been gathered from Blackburn's (1970, 179-189) catalogue of burials at Lerna.

¹⁰⁰ Dickinson (1977, 38) states that it is possible to conclude "from the distribution of the intramural graves at Lerna that each family had its own burial plot."

burials in the space between the houses of Areas B/BE and Area D also functions to separate and distinguish these regions, as well as providing an arena for the competitive assertion of land ownership through funeral ritual.

III. *Conclusions*

The importance of place to the people of MH Lerna, then, seems certain. Land bordering the tumulus over the monumental House of the Tiles became the site of a series of substantial houses that can perhaps be associated with one or two influential kinship groups and their constituents, who may have chosen to build in this location in an effort to create a link to the memory of past power. As this group of houses expanded, perhaps attracting additional adherents through their success, seen in apparent imports and the large size of the buildings themselves, other domestic centers arose, most notably in Area D. These centers may have competed throughout the period for control of resources, space, and particularly exchange; both the actual construction of houses and funeral ritual seem to have played a role in staking land claims and creating important, status-creating connections to the past, as well as functioning more obviously as opportunities for conspicuous display. However, by the onset of the Mycenaean period, the importance of this community was overshadowed by the rise of Mycenae itself, and the kinship groups represented by the houses in both Areas B/BE and Area D had lost their social significance.¹⁰¹ It was at this point that these structures were largely abandoned, but the strong association with the land itself was not lost, demonstrated by its continued use as a burial ground throughout this period and culminating in a final expression of elite influence in the two shaft graves of LH I.

¹⁰¹ Voutsaki 1995, 61-63; 2005, 138-139.

Chapter II: *The Domestic Architecture of Eutresis*

Eutresis, located in central Greece southwest of Thebes, provides a significantly different view of MH culture, apparently quite distinct from Lerna both in domestic architecture and the larger settlement plan (Fig. 1.1). While this project was originally conducted in the 1920s, it was meticulously conducted by Hetty Goldman, the director, who then compiled her work into one volume published in 1931.¹⁰² Due to this careful documentation, as well as the breadth of the remains at Eutresis, this site, along with Korakou and Tsoungiza, was perhaps the major source of information for the pre-Mycenaean Bronze Age until excavations at Lerna were completed, and it continues to play an important role in the study of MH society. Similarly, Eutresis has much to offer in its archaeological departures from the settlements that have become known as type-sites, such as Lerna and Kolonna, as well as – to a lesser extent – Asine and Pevkakia. That is, as Rutter has noted with particular regard to Lerna, several of the type-sites have been designated as such due to their relative size and the amount and chronological scope of available material.¹⁰³ Especially at Lerna and Kolonna, Rutter further observes, much of the remaining ceramic corpus has been recognized as being externally produced and imported.¹⁰⁴ While it is certainly true that imported material contributes to our

¹⁰² Prior to this volume, Goldman (1927, 3-91) summarized her findings in a preliminary report.

¹⁰³ Rutter 2007, 35-44, particularly 37.

¹⁰⁴ Rutter 2007, 36-37.

understanding of both producers and consumers, as recently argued by Burns for early Mycenaean society, it is also possible that the cultural influences implied by such trade connections may have affected other areas of society, including the construction of houses.¹⁰⁵ It is therefore valuable to examine settlements, like Eutresis, at a greater distance from the Argolid, nearby Aegina, and the nucleus of pre-Mycenaean activity that developed in that area in order to gain a sense both of the disparate and the cohesive elements of MH architecture.¹⁰⁶

Unlike Lerna, Eutresis does not seem to have experienced a major destruction until the close of EH III, perhaps suggesting a discontinuity in culture at the end, rather than the beginning, of this period.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Goldman identifies a distinct break in the material remains at this point with regard to the pottery, architecture, and burial practices of the new period.¹⁰⁸ For this reason, EH III Eutresis is discussed only briefly here, with particular attention to the nature and intensity of the apparent cultural divergence.

¹⁰⁵ Burns 2010, 3-5. Nordquist (1997, 15-27), like Rutter, problematizes the prevalence of “imports” in the ceramic record for the MH period, but also notes the complexity of identifying the production location and the ambiguities inherent in the recognition of “local wares” (17). These arguments are also important in the consideration of external/internal influences on the domestic architecture at particular sites.

¹⁰⁶ This idea is not meant to suggest in any way that Eutresis has a “pure” MH culture, which is implied to some degree for relatively short-lived sites on the periphery of the pre-Mycenaean world in Rutter’s article. Rather, Eutresis, as a site that seems to have been subject to a separate set of external influences, helps to give a sense of what, if anything, is common to MH domestic architecture as a whole.

¹⁰⁷ Goldman 1931, 231.

¹⁰⁸ Goldman (1931, 231) summarizes the differences between EH III and MH Eutresis as follows: “Upon the layer of ashes and burned *débris* follow houses of a new type and an immediate preponderance of new ceramic wares, among which the Grey Minyan pots are by far the most numerous. The closely built Early Helladic houses, with their heavy stone foundations and irregularities of construction, are superseded by the more open Middle Helladic village, where yards or partially roofed enclosures are scattered among rather narrow houses with thin but well aligned walls. The dead are now buried within the limits of the settlement and, as a rule, without grave furniture of any kind. For the first time the bored axe head and the typical Middle Helladic incised buttons or whorls appear among the finds. All of these innovations point to the arrival here, as elsewhere on the Greek mainland, of a people – different from the Early Helladics – whose advent brought with it an upheaval of some violence.” She argues that the presence of this new material indicates the arrival of a new group of people in the area (231-233).

Following the MH period, however, no such division was noted, with no sign of a destruction level and only gradual change apparent through LH III.¹⁰⁹ However, as at several other sites in central Greece, there is very little material at Eutresis that can be safely assigned to LH I/II; the single house representing this period at Eutresis is considered here for its implications concerning the changing character of the settlement. More uniquely, there is also very little that can be assigned to the Late Bronze Age as a whole, perhaps a product of the heavy erosion of the settlement mound. Eutresis, then, provides a good example of a relatively isolated, inland community that seems to have been primarily active during the period at hand, meeting Rutter's recent redefinition of a type-site and affording a useful contrast to Lerna.¹¹⁰

I. Houses

As noted above, the domestic architecture of Eutresis, while not the subject of an independent work, has been fully published in some detail by H. Goldman with the formal excavation report. The EH and Neolithic material at the site were later reexamined by John and Elizabeth Caskey, who opened two additional trenches in the northwestern part of the settlement mound at Goldman's request.¹¹¹ More recently, Eutresis has been considered on a regional level with regard to its architecture and its implications for the order of the broader Boiotian community at the time; perhaps most relevant is an article by Philippa-Touchais concerning the phasing of MH building activity at the site,

¹⁰⁹ Goldman 1931, 235-236.

¹¹⁰ Rutter 2007, 37.

¹¹¹ Caskey and Caskey 1958, 126-167.

discussed further below.¹¹² Otherwise, very little attention has been given to the site outside of brief overviews of the period or excavation reports referencing the material for comparanda. A critical re-examination of Goldman's findings in light of more recent research on the period as a whole is therefore appropriate.

a. *EH III (2200-2000 B.C.)*

The EH III remains at Eutresis are fairly sparse, with only two partial houses firmly datable to the period (Fig. 2.1). These buildings were both located in the southwestern part of the site, with one of them, House H, in a considerably better state of preservation (Fig. 2.2).¹¹³ House H is a rectilinear structure with an east-west orientation, partially overlying an earlier EH II building of slightly larger size (House L).¹¹⁴ This structure was composed of two rooms arranged axially in a standard megaroid plan; Goldman notes a shift from earlier EH domestic layouts in that the main room is here a longer rectangle, rather than a square.¹¹⁵ A series of walls found directly beneath the outer walls of House H, though at slightly different angles, may suggest either that this building was constructed loosely on the foundations of an earlier structure independent of House L, as well as a portion of House L itself, or that House L extended to the south and House H was built over only a portion of this earlier dwelling. Both ideas have interesting

¹¹² Gorogianni (2002) discusses the architecture at Eutresis as a part of a wider analysis of the MH architecture at other sites in Boiotia in an effort to overturn previous conclusions concerning the social complexity (or lack thereof) of the region at this time. Philippa-Touchais (2006, 689-703), on the other hand, focuses exclusively on Eutresis.

¹¹³ The common location in the southwestern part of the site probably has more to do with excavation method and preservation of materials than with any meaningful social grouping at this time.

¹¹⁴ Goldman (1931, 20-26) discusses House H in some detail.

¹¹⁵ Goldman 1931, 20.

implications for the family group inhabiting House H and their assertion of either connection or disconnection from the social unit represented by House L. While a subsequent rebuilding of House H was not fully completed, the practice of replacing/reconstructing buildings generationally, as in EH III Lerna, may be present here.¹¹⁶ House H also seems to have been equipped with an off-center hearth, an “ash-pit” presumably for hot coals, a brick column, a fairly elaborate entranceway, and a courtyard or street on its eastern side. All of these things, in combination with its relatively large size, at about 70m², imply the prosperity of the inhabitants, though the lack of contemporary structures makes their place within the broader community difficult to infer.

House T (Fig. 2.3), as noted above, is significantly less well preserved, but seems to have been rectilinear as well.¹¹⁷ Like House H, House T may have been constructed on a portion of House L, though in this case the newer building crosses the foundations of the earlier one perpendicularly rather than following the lines of the previous walls. House T also contains a built hearth, as well as an “ash pit” and a bothros. Additionally, the arrangements for the door also involved a drilled socket for the hinge – if no built threshold – and an adjacent courtyard. Though Goldman notes some differences with other EH houses in wall thickness and the “free-standing” quality of the hearth, overall these houses seem to have been fairly comparable both in plan and provision; however, the lack of contemporary architectural material elsewhere on the site prevents a complete

¹¹⁶ Goldman 1931, 22.

¹¹⁷ Goldman 1931, 26. The two remaining walls of this structure show no sign of curvature, although an apse could have been present.

understanding of the relationship between the two buildings.¹¹⁸ While it is possible that the shared features of the structures indicate either 1.) common builders or 2.) a grouping of houses not unlike those proposed for Lerna, it is equally feasible that the similarities between Houses H and T are demonstrative of a wider cultural group rather than a small family network. Nonetheless, the location of the two structures over the remnants of the EH II House L, as well as later building in this area, may imply the familial connection between these two houses, perhaps descending from the inhabitants of House L, or at least claiming their heritage.¹¹⁹

Indeed, Goldman suggests that at least the western room of L was used for cult purposes, perhaps providing a motivation for later families to visually link themselves to the occupants of this structure (Fig. 2.4). Goldman's identification of the religious function of this room was partially based on the discovery of a decorated clay disk embedded in the floor of this room, apparently rendered redundant by two other less elaborate hearths (one located in the SW corner of the same room, one in the NE corner of the adjacent room to the east), and therefore interpreted as an altar. However, the later division of this room into two spaces, as well as the altogether irregular plan of the structure as a whole, may imply the expansion and subsequent division of this house in order to accommodate a growing family, in which case a third hearth might have proven useful or necessary.¹²⁰ It is possible that such growth would have eventually demanded

¹¹⁸ Goldman 1931, 26.

¹¹⁹ Goldman 1931, 15-20.

¹²⁰ Goldman (1931, 15-16, 18) notes that Room III of House L does seem to be a later addition, as well as that the entrance into this westernmost room from Room II was eventually blocked. Although the growth of the family may still be implied here, it is also possible that the separation between these rooms, as well as the eventual division of Room III itself, indicates the use of this area by smaller affiliated families, though this idea does little to explain the proposed concentration of religious features (bothros, bull rhyton, etc.)

further space, perhaps resulting in the dismantling of House L in favor of Houses H and T, with a shared space between the two. Though this idea can only be hypothetical, it may be corroborated in part by two smaller constructions, O and N, which appeared to have been built after House L went out of use, but, at least in the case of N, before House H was erected (Fig. 2.5).¹²¹ Goldman proposes that these rounded edifices were meant either for storage or as shelter for livestock, indicating the appropriation of this space for (shared?) auxiliary purposes even before the construction of House H.¹²² Alternatively, although both O and N were believed to be too small to provide adequate dwelling space, a series of postholes outside O may imply the sort of temporary structure proposed for transitional stages between building activity at traditional kinship sites at Lerna.¹²³ At a generously estimated 13m² in area, it may have played a more symbolic role as a marker of the family's intention to develop the area further, as well as more practical uses in storage while more permanent construction was underway.¹²⁴

Altogether, then, while Goldman identifies a number of characteristics that mark the transition from EH III to MH I at Eutresis, including a reduction in wall thickness and height, as well as a new preference for larger stones and less bonding material in

found in these rooms. The “altar” has also been identified as a hearth, though of a ceremonial nature, by M. Caskey (1990, 18).

¹²¹ Goldman 1931, 26-28.

¹²² Goldman 1931, 28.

¹²³ Goldman 1931, 26-28.

¹²⁴ Wright (2004a, 74-75) cites herding and animal husbandry as important means of maintaining factional control, particularly for their use in making major territorial claims, as well as in their provision of meat for feasting and other ritualized social activities. While Buildings O and N are not particularly large, they may still have worked to advertise the presence of animals within the settlement, and so the wealth and (potential) power of those who owned them.

construction technique, the domestic architecture of the two periods is fairly consistent.¹²⁵ This point is argued by Philippa-Touchais in her recent work, in which she notes that the houses of both periods shared similar locations and orientations, as well as that a major north-south road of EH III was maintained throughout the MH period.¹²⁶ Although she agrees with the differences observed by Goldman, she suggests that the “break” between the two periods and any accompanying pause in the building activity could only have been fairly short in duration.¹²⁷ The relatively low amount of EH III material examined, as well as its concentration in the southwestern portion of the site, also fails to support Goldman’s theory adequately. It is therefore not unlikely that some of the trends observed for EH III Eutresis could have continued into the MH period; indeed, the tendency toward lateral expansion of existing homes followed by a fully displaced rebuilding, as well as a tendency toward smaller outbuildings, and perhaps the proclamation of wealth through them, can be identified during later phases.

b. *MH (2000-1600/1400 B.C.)*

Goldman divides MH Eutresis into three subphases, which she suggests at least initially roughly correspond to the subdivisions of Middle Bronze Age Crete.¹²⁸ In a later critical reexamining of these divisions, Philippa-Touchais further distinguishes between earlier and later portions of Goldman’s “levels” 1 and 2, calling them I α /I β and II α /II β

¹²⁵ Goldman 1931, 33.

¹²⁶ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 695.

¹²⁷ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 697.

¹²⁸ Goldman (1931, 233) states that “the Middle period began in this region at about the same time as the equivalent period in Crete” based on the apparently contemporaneous appearance of “pottery of Cycladic type” on the mainland and on Crete.

respectively. Based on a careful analysis of the ceramics and stratigraphy, she assigns each of her phases a relative date: her Ia is roughly equivalent to MH I and early MH II, with Ib as MH II late, IIa/β as MH III, and III as LH I/II.¹²⁹ According to Philippa-Touchais' system, then, all of the periods represented at Lerna are also present at Eutresis. However, it should be noted that this redating of Goldman's phases is heavily reliant on the pottery of the Argolid for comparanda, with Joseph Maran's work on Pevkakia and Caskey's studies of the ceramics of Keos as the major exceptions. Though to some extent this dependence is unavoidable – these are the places with a firmly established MH stratigraphy – Philippa-Touchais' system does little to account for any possible regional peculiarities or “cultural lag” in the dispersal of diagnostic shapes and decorative techniques of the period, with the result that the correspondence with absolute dates is somewhat uncertain. Nonetheless, her redating is quite useful, particularly with regard to drawing meaningful conclusions from inter-site comparisons.

The first and earliest subphase had remnants of perhaps ten structures designated as independent units by Goldman, comprising the majority of the building activity that took place at Eutresis for the time period under consideration (Fig. 2.6 and 2.7). While, again, not every one of these structures can be discussed here, an appendix is provided in order to give a general impression of the MH settlement as a whole (Appendix B).¹³⁰ Goldman observed that two apsidal houses, the only ones identified at the site, seemed to preserve certain features that she believed were characteristic of EH III architecture,

¹²⁹ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 698. Gorogianni (2010, pers. comm.) also assigns Goldman's third phase of the MH period to LH I/II.

¹³⁰ Gorogianni (2002, 157-159) also provides a convenient list of the houses of MH Eutresis, along with several pertinent details of their construction.

perhaps suggesting their place as some of the earliest structures of the new period.¹³¹

These structures, Houses C and X, were both fairly small – perhaps smaller than structures O and N of EH III – with C at about 11m² in total area, although the courtyard is not included in this measurement and may have been roofed (Fig. 2.8).¹³² The presence of a hearth indicates that at least House C was meant for habitation, in spite of its diminutive size. Similarly, both houses also have accommodation for storage: the courtyard and pithos noted above for House C, and two clay-lined bothroi in the apse of House X. Though Goldman asserts a ritual role for bothroi assigned to earlier periods, Caskey has suggested that such clay-lined bothroi were intended for the storage of foodstuffs, and particularly worked to keep them cool, a function perhaps more recently corroborated in the work of Thomas Strasser.¹³³ The double walls associated with House C are an unusual feature at the site; Goldman proposes that the exterior long walls could belong to adjacent auxiliary structures (“as P to G” around the middle of the period), while the outer apsidal wall could indicate piecemeal building strategies, already attested

¹³¹ Goldman 1931, 34. Features she believed were retained by these two houses are the “ash pit” and the bothros, as well as perhaps some ceramics. A further apparently apsidal building was dated by Goldman to the final phase of the MH period, but the remains consisted only of a single wall; she neither assigned it an official name nor studied it in detail.

¹³² This measurement is based on Goldman’s estimation of the size of the main room at about 3.3x2.8m, with the apse being about 2.2m wide. The roofing of this courtyard is highly debatable in that Goldman argued that a pithos found embedded there was intended for the collection of rainwater, hardly feasible if the space had been roofed. Goldman 1931, 34-36 for House C, 36-37 for House X.

¹³³ Caskey 1960, 294; Strasser 1997, 73-100, particularly 82. Though Strasser problematizes the identification of storage areas in the archaeological record, he rightly emphasizes the role of sealants (like clay) and manageable size in creating a feasible storage space.

at the site.¹³⁴ It is perhaps more likely that these walls provide another example of Tringham's "partial horizontal displacement," constructed over an earlier building.¹³⁵

Distinguishing this site somewhat from Lerna is the prevalence of rectilinear structures here during the MH period, some of them fairly traditional megaron shapes, including particularly Houses A and S, as well as House P somewhat later, discussed below. (Fig. 2.9 and 2.10).¹³⁶ Notably, these houses are relatively large in comparison to the others, with House A measuring about 47m² in total area, House S at about 58m².¹³⁷ Both of these structures were oriented roughly E-W and opened to the E; there was also a courtyard on this side in at least House S. Likewise, both houses were divided into two rooms using fairly temporary or incomplete walls. In the case of House S, the partition wall was probably of mudbrick on three stone bases, though other arrangements are also offered by Goldman. The hearths of Houses A and S were situated in the innermost room, which also contained benches and a possible oven in House A, and accommodations for storage in House S – relatively elaborate furnishings. Moreover, these houses are the only structures assigned to this period with burials found within their walls. While they may not be contemporary with the use phases of these buildings, their social importance within the community, or at least to the inhabiting families, is certainly implied. House S is also, perhaps coincidentally, constructed partially over the remains of House T of EH

¹³⁴ Goldman 1931, 36.

¹³⁵ Tringham 2000, 117.

¹³⁶ This characteristic of MH Eutresis has been remarked upon by Gorogianni (2002, 73). The plan of House S is somewhat unclear due to the lack of preservation on the western side of the building; it may very well have had an apse, though there are no signs of curvature in the remaining walls. It may also have been divided lengthwise by a series of supports, as noted by Goldman (1931, 48). Though Goldman seems more inclined to believe a lateral division of this house, she does propose comparanda at Thermon – again maybe suggesting an apsidal structure.

¹³⁷ Goldman 1931, 37-39 for House A, 48-49 for House S.

III and House L of EH II, proposed as significant structures for their respective periods; however, the lack of alignment with any of the walls of these structures speaks against their close association.¹³⁸ Based on these observations, it is possible to correlate these houses with relative wealth and status within the community at Eutresis, although this idea can be only tentative in light of the sample size.¹³⁹

However, those buildings that do not conform to the megaroid plan of axially aligned rooms, including Building F and Areas G, Q, and R, are identified by Gorogianni, after Goldman, as auxiliary units, probably functioning as storage/production facilities (Fig. 2.11 and 2.12).¹⁴⁰ Houses J and M, of similarly small size (10-20m²), though somewhat more regular rectilinear plans, may also fall into this category, along with the two apsidal buildings; most of these structures are equipped with a hearth and may have provided shelter for smaller or less prosperous families (Fig. 2.11 and 2.13).¹⁴¹ Although the size of these houses seems to have been prohibitive to extended habitation by a family of any size, many of them, such as Houses M and F, may have been joined in a larger complex, expanded along irregular lines according to the availability of space whenever the need arose. Even so, there are no examples of individual buildings other than Houses

¹³⁸ Philippa-Touchais (2006, 691), however, does suggest that two long walls found to the south of S may have represented a rebuilding of EH III House H, perhaps making the connection between House T and House S more feasible.

¹³⁹ Gorogianni (2002, 131-135) associates the use of the megaroid plan at Eutresis with residential functions. She further proposes the use of Houses A and S by large extended family groups based on their unusually large size. In the case of House S, she also notes that the inhabitants may have held “a central role within the segment of the community represented by the structures revealed in this particular part of the site” (135). This is also probably true of House A.

¹⁴⁰ Gorogianni 2002, 136-138. More specifically, Goldman (1931, 44-47 for G, Q, and R; 41-44 for Building F) had suggested such a use for Areas G, Q, and R, but separate hearths associated with Building F allowed her to designate it as an independent dwelling space – the “House of the Merchant”.

¹⁴¹ Gorogianni (2002, 135) argues briefly for the affiliation of these houses with the larger and apparently more influential House S.

A and S that even come close to meeting the standard size of dwellings established at Lerna, about 30-50m².

Perhaps corroborating this idea is the attention devoted to storage-related facilities in many of these smaller, irregular buildings – and particularly in Areas G, Q, and R. That is, such auxiliary areas may have been practically necessary if some of the smaller buildings at Eutresis (like M and C) were used as dwellings, simply because there would have been little room to conduct the activities of daily life, particularly if these places were already crowded with clay bins and pithoi, as the excavation material suggests. These smaller houses may have enjoyed access to Areas G and Q, and perhaps R, units constructed entirely for the purpose of storage and production with no sign of habitation, through the more obviously wealthy houses at Eutresis, which are likely to have controlled them more directly. It is perhaps likely, then, that each area would have provided additional auxiliary space for an entire group of houses at Eutresis, as observed by Gorogianni.¹⁴² These units are fairly centrally located within the settlement and are not clearly assignable to any particular structure, with the possible exceptions of House P/Area G/Q and House M/F/(S?), discussed below.¹⁴³ However, their centrality does not suggest that they were used as public facilities or represented “a community that was sharing resources,” as argued by Gorogianni; rather, they are likely to have served particular wealthy families at the site, as well as the less affluent groups affiliated with these, with their centrality being both a product of convenience and social competition.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Gorogianni 2002, 138.

¹⁴³ Gorogianni (2002, 138-139) also notes the difficulty of assigning any of these auxiliary units to particular houses.

¹⁴⁴ Gorogianni 2002, 139.

Indeed, there was evidently a shared concern with storage/production, and, perhaps more significantly, the display of these things, among several groups at Eutresis.

The composition of at least one of these groups can be tentatively proposed; Areas G and Q, which Goldman suggests form one unit, could be a subsidiary part of the larger House P to the north (Fig. 2.14).¹⁴⁵ Although she assigns House P to MH II based on the pottery found there, she observes that the earliest floor (of three) could belong to MH I, as well as that “the south wall of P runs parallel to, but does not impinge upon, the wall of G in such a way as to show clearly that the two buildings were, when first built, simultaneously in use.”¹⁴⁶ It therefore seems likely that these two structures were in contemporaneous use for at least the MH I/MH II transition, and perhaps more if House P can be thought of as a rebuilding of an earlier dwelling, as may be indicated by the shift in thickness that occurs in the southern wall.¹⁴⁷ Like houses A and S, House P was a long, probably megaroid, building of significant size, at about 53m², including a possible paved forecourt on the east. There are, then, three large houses, and perhaps three affluent family groups – A, S, and P – represented in the architecture of Eutresis for the early part of this period, each with its own set of auxiliary buildings fulfilling extra-domestic purposes.

Certainly there are problems with this theory, not the least of which is the available sample size.¹⁴⁸ However, while House A, for example, does not have an

¹⁴⁵ Goldman 1931, 44.

¹⁴⁶ Goldman 1931, 51-52.

¹⁴⁷ Goldman (1931, 51) records that the south wall generally averages to about 0.6m in width, but at the east is closer to 0.45m, more consistent with her observed norm for the period.

¹⁴⁸ It is also problematic that long walls to the north of House S may indicate that the western half of the site had several such long houses, and Areas G, Q, R, and later U, simply functioned as the front courtyards

obvious set of satellite buildings, it does not seem unlikely that one may have existed to the north; such an auxiliary use for this area can perhaps best explain a series of pithoi found there, as well as perhaps House C, which had additional accommodations for storage, as noted above, and could have provided housing to either a branch of the kinship group represented by House A or its constituents. Indeed, while the series of long walls noted by Goldman to the north and south of House A may indicate a series of similarly sized houses extending in both directions, at least in the case of those walls which may be associated with C, they seem to have been divided during this period, perhaps suggesting the appropriation of these areas by the inhabitants of House A or another House beneath MH III House D.¹⁴⁹

Likewise, though Goldman does not associate the M/F complex with House S, she does indicate that F and J are fairly parallel and may be related, while later noting that House J, built after S, opens onto the eastern court of the larger building. This association can be only tentative, as Philippa-Touchais argues that the construction of Houses J and F signal the end of the use of House S, indicating this idea in her plans (Fig. 2.15).¹⁵⁰ However, there seems to be little reason to suppose that House S went out of use at this time; J does not actually impinge on any area of House S other than the proposed forecourt, and indeed the west wall of J may make a deliberate stop before reaching the south wall of S. The floor levels of all of these structures – about 4.5m above the datum for J and F, 4.4m for M, and 4.5m for House S – are comparable, with the 10cm

of these houses. It could in this case nonetheless be suggested that even without this clustering phenomenon, there was still a heavy emphasis on storage/production of individual families at Eutresis.

¹⁴⁹ Goldman 1931, 50. Goldman (1931, 36) discusses the possibility that House C was once a larger building extending to the west in her analysis of that building.

¹⁵⁰ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 693.

difference being easily attributable to the different dates of construction.¹⁵¹ It is also perhaps noteworthy that if the continued use of House S is accepted, the entire S/M/F/J complex would have been abandoned at around the same time (by the end of Goldman's first phase or Philippa-Touchais' phase II α). Thus, three additional structures can be tentatively linked with House S, probably built one at a time as they became necessary or desirable. This link becomes more tenable if the reduced thickness of the southern portion of the western wall of M, indicated in Goldman's plan, can be taken to imply a door there (Fig. 2.11).¹⁵² That is, all of these buildings would then open onto a paved space on the eastern front of House S, perhaps indicating a common area used by a single group. Area R, and later U, may have belonged to another structure that has not been recovered.¹⁵³

Regardless of the specific ownership of the subsidiary structures proposed here, it is clear that a heavy emphasis on storage shaped the greater portion of the construction at this site. Moreover, many of the provisions for storage – pithoi, bothroi, clay bins – were highly visible, generally fairly large receptacles in their own right, placed in open-air spaces with low enclosure walls often intended simply to support the vessels themselves, as documented by Goldman.¹⁵⁴ The individual families at Eutresis, then, seemed not only

¹⁵¹ The elevations are taken from Goldman (1931, Plan IIB). The datum is a zero point established at "virgin soil," but the actual elevation for this point is made clear. See Goldman (1931, 7) for an explanation of elevations at the site.

¹⁵² Goldman (1931, 40) does not discuss this feature, but it is also visible in her photos of the foundation of the building (1931, 39: Figure 44).

¹⁵³ The close alignment of some of the walls in Area R with the cross-walls of House M (Goldman 1931, 50), as well as the division of Area R from Areas G and Q by a substantial road, may indicate the association of this building with the group surrounding House S, though again, this idea is difficult to substantiate. Philippa-Touchais (2006, 692) also remarks on the possibility of a relationship between R and M briefly.

¹⁵⁴ Goldman 1931, 42, 44. Goldman (1931, 44) further explains "The walls of areas of this type were invariably found to be much poorer in construction than those of the living quarters, and frequently adapted to the shape of the receptacles and ovens . . . They also vary greatly in thickness . . . The areas could hardly

to be concerned with the actual practical aspect of providing storage for surplus materials and additional production, but also with a more socio-politically-motivated display of these goods, either in order to generate or legitimize social influence within the community. This emphasis on elaborate provisions for storage as a proclamation of wealth, usually in the form of ornate, labor-intensive pithoi, has been recently noted for Late Minoan Crete by Kostandinos Christakis and for Late Geometric Greece by Susanne Ebbinghaus.¹⁵⁵ In these cases, richly-decorated pithoi seem to have functioned in social display, holding a prominent place in the homes of influential men in these societies as physical manifestations of their access to resources and their ability to actively provide for their own families, as well as others within the community.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, for Christakis and Ebbinghaus, the primary display area would have been the *interior* of the house, making a clear statement of the inhabitants' ownership of the stored materials.¹⁵⁷

While the situation at Eutresis is quite different, the emphasis on storage and the exhibition of the ability to provide seem to be related. Though the individual storage vessels, generally bothroi, pithoi, and clay bins, were not generally very elaborate here, their sheer number and the complexity of arrangements made to house them together in a limited amount of space are impressive. Even beyond the effort expended in the creation

have been roofed over as a whole, and the protection for the grain stored in them was in all probability, as in F, provided by small sheds.”

¹⁵⁵ Christakis 1999, 1-20; 2008. Ebbinghaus 2005, 51-72.

¹⁵⁶ Christakis 2008, 1-4, 37-38, especially, for the outlining of his general thesis. Ebbinghaus 2005, 57-58.

¹⁵⁷ A similar scenario is proposed and rejected by Strasser (1997, 91-93) for the koulouras of at least Knossos and Phaistos. Even so, his arguments in favor of the use of bothroi in storage may suggest the functionality of “social storage” (Halstead 1982, 92-99) on the MBA mainland; indeed, it is otherwise quite difficult to explain the low level of incorporation of these storage facilities into individual domestic structures at Eutresis, at least during the earlier part of the period. While Dickinson (1989, 136) also denies the use of “social storage” during the MH period, he fails to recognize the enormous amount of attention and labor devoted to fairly complex storage arrangements at both Lerna and Eutresis.

of the receptacles themselves, the structures in which they were found seem to have been fairly labor-intensive, indicating not only the access to resources but also the ability to mobilize a workforce with fairly specialized skills, especially if these areas were also involved in production. These storage units – such as Areas G, Q, and R – would, then, have been an important display in their own right, particularly if they can be associated with individual houses and their occupants. Furthermore, if these buildings can indeed be thought of as a deliberate advertisement of wealth, it is interesting to note that the primary arena for this conspicuous display would have been on the *exterior* of the house proper, creating some ambiguity in the ownership of the goods while simultaneously making them more vulnerable to theft. These risks would have been a necessary consequence of the external display of wealth, and imply a certain level of competition among the proposed groupings of structures. That is, the strength of the link between “owner” and “owned” was apparently less important than reaching the external target audience of these displays, evidently the inhabitants of the other major houses.

This sort of intra-community competition again recalls Wright’s arguments concerning the prevalent factionalism of early Mycenaean society, and may even work to explain some of the difficulties in assigning the auxiliary units to particular houses.¹⁵⁸ That is, these storage/production facilities may have been concentrated in a central area to ensure that they would have been seen by the occupants of the other houses on various parts of the settlement mound. The similarities of these units, as well as the relatively sudden appearance of several of them at Eutresis are likely to be additional consequences of factional competition. Wright has proposed an analogous phenomenon for later

¹⁵⁸ Wright 2004a, 70-73.

Mycenaean culture; as one palace would make use of an innovative building technique or feature, others would adopt and adapt it to their own settings and purposes, resulting in highly similar structures.¹⁵⁹ Burns' observations on the apparently competitive relationship, primarily expressed through storage and production capabilities, between the West House group at Mycenae and the palace at the same location are also pertinent.¹⁶⁰ Burns proposes that the substantial amount of luxury material found at the West Houses, as well as the accommodations apparently made there for the processing and storage of these materials, presumably with the intention of distribution, is indicative of an effort to challenge the economic and political hegemony apparently exercised by the occupants of the palace.¹⁶¹ Here, then, although it is significantly later, the dynamic between the two domestic groups provides an informative parallel that may partially elucidate the prevalence and centrality of auxiliary units at Eutresis, as well as their highly specialized architectural forms.

Generally less activity seems to have taken place at the site during the second phase of the Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 2.15). As noted above, one of the major houses assigned to this period was House P, which seems to have had its roots in the later part of MH I, or even earlier (Fig. 2.14). House E, a fairly sizable structure oriented north-south and located to the east, was also built, or at least expanded at this time (Fig. 2.14). The northern part, which seems to have ultimately become a courtyard of some variety, may have formed the main room of a smaller house during the early part of the period, as

¹⁵⁹ Wright 2006, 7-52.

¹⁶⁰ Burns 2007, 117-118. It is also perhaps important to note that the storage and production facilities of the West House Group were shared among four distinct buildings, each identified as an independent house at one point in its excavation history.

¹⁶¹ Burns 2007, 117-119.

initially proposed by Goldman and corroborated by Philippa-Touchais.¹⁶² Ultimately, however, it was extended to the south for some distance, resulting in a house of about 26m², though this measurement does not include the court area to the north or an addition made to the east, apparently for storage.¹⁶³ While this house is somewhat smaller than (perhaps half the size of) other structures proposed as major dwelling units here, it seems to have been relatively elaborate, with evidence of at least one central posthole indicating a roof support, an impressive threshold block, and a paved, partially enclosed court of some size. No further buildings constructed during this period were found in this area, suggesting the integration and internalization of storage space into the house itself or the provision of additional storage/production space elsewhere. It could also have been associated with another, larger house; House A seems to have remained in use through at least the early part of the period, and House D was constructed here during Goldman's third phase.

The monumental House S, located in the southwestern portion of the site, seems to have gone out of use at this time.¹⁶⁴ It was not replaced, nor was any other structure of comparable size ever erected in this area. Instead, smaller rectilinear structures, perhaps intended for auxiliary roles, as proposed for the earlier Houses M, F, and J in this area, were constructed.¹⁶⁵ House W, a rectilinear building of which only 4m² is preserved, was erected over the southern portion of House S itself, perhaps demonstrating the abandonment of this area by the kinship-group that can tentatively be associated with

¹⁶² Goldman 1931, 52-54; Philippa-Touchais 2006, 692.

¹⁶³ Philippa-Touchais (2006, 694) proposes that this expansion took place during her phase IIβ (MH III).

¹⁶⁴ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 693.

¹⁶⁵ Goldman 1931, 55-56; Philippa Touchais 2006, 693.

House S (Fig. 2.16).¹⁶⁶ House M/F was likewise overbuilt by House AA (Fig. 2.17).

While this house was also poorly-preserved, it is notable, according to Goldman, for containing the only gold found at the site, although only a small amount.¹⁶⁷ Even so, this find could indicate that this building functioned in the storage/production of more prestige materials. Structure U, to the north of AA, was also built at this time, overlying both the earlier House R and the road that had once separated this unit from G/Q (Fig. 2.17).¹⁶⁸ The construction of this building on the road, which must have functioned as a boundary between house/storage complexes, is perhaps significant, and may imply the appropriation of additional territory by House P or another house in the northern part of the site, perhaps at the expense of the inhabitants of House S. It is at this time that Philippa-Touchais' proposed dichotomy between the residentially-oriented northern part of the site and the production-oriented southern part of the site becomes most apparent.¹⁶⁹

Goldman's third period of MH Eutresis, perhaps corresponding more closely to LH I/II, saw even less building activity than the previous period (Fig. 2.18).¹⁷⁰ Only one major structure was erected at this time, House D (Fig. 2.19).¹⁷¹ This building was again located in the northern part of the site, and was apparently constructed over an earlier

¹⁶⁶ Goldman 1931, 55. Gorogianni (2002, 75) believes that House W is a domestic structure; there is indeed nothing to indicate a storage/production function for this building, other than perhaps a stone platform of undetermined function. If this was an actual house, however, it still does not seem to be on the same level as the large structures of the earlier period. It may, however, have been that of a less affluent family, perhaps affiliated with the groups in the larger houses to the north as a constituent or a craftsman working in the associated storage/production area.

¹⁶⁷ Goldman 1931, 55.

¹⁶⁸ Goldman 1931, 55-56.

¹⁶⁹ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 695-696.

¹⁷⁰ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 698.

¹⁷¹ Goldman 1931, 56-58.

edifice, called D1 by Philippa-Touchais, though proposed here as another house with storage facilities associated with MH I House A, perhaps similar to the structures in Area B/BE at Lerna.¹⁷² It is, at any rate, perhaps important to distinguish D1 from D; that is, the two structures are somewhat unlikely to be closely related and do not seem to represent an on-site rebuilding, as suggested by around a meter of fill separating the two levels.¹⁷³ Goldman records that House D “is one of the best built of those found at Eutresis,” basing her remark on the consistency and quality evident in the construction.¹⁷⁴ Like the other large dwellings located in this area, House D was rectilinear and megaroid with two rooms and a paved court to the west. Though the full length of the building is not preserved, this structure measured around 50m² in area, not including a possible associated space to the east.¹⁷⁵ House D is therefore highly comparable in size and shape to the earlier Houses A, S, and P, which by this time had gone out of use with the exception of House P.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, Philippa-Touchais notes that this building was constructed on the most visible spot in the site, perhaps emphasizing its importance.¹⁷⁷ It

¹⁷² Philippa-Touchais 2006, 690-691.

¹⁷³ Goldman 1931, 56.

¹⁷⁴ Goldman 1931, 56.

¹⁷⁵ Gorogianni (2002, 158) records a total area of 49.22m² for this building. The measurement here is based on Goldman’s (1931, 57) drawing, with the slight discrepancy probably attributable to different estimations of the length of the disturbed northern and southern walls.

¹⁷⁶ Though Goldman (1931, 56) notes that the courtyard of House D cut into that of House P, there is no reason to suppose that this indicates an abandonment of House P at this time. Though the court of House D appears to have well-constructed borders, it is possible that this area functioned as shared space between the two buildings. Indeed, Philippa-Touchais (2006, 694-695) suggests that the paved area can be identified as a major north/south road bisecting the site. There is, however, little question that House D was the dominant structure at this time.

¹⁷⁷ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 696.

is therefore possible that House D represents the domination of the site by a single family-group.

This idea is perhaps corroborated by what appears to be a shift in function for certain areas of the settlement at Eutresis. The southwestern portion of the site, first dominated by houses and later by a marked prevalence of storage/production units (Philippa-Touchais' *εργαστήρια*), is at this time partially paved over. Goldman designates this space as Pavement Y and identifies it as a possible road/gate complex with an associated brick yard; she also notes a fairly large oven in this area immediately prior to the construction of the northern part of the road (Fig. 2.20).¹⁷⁸ Although an apsidal building (the so-called "house of the brick yard master") was constructed to the east of this area at this time, there is a clear reorganization of this space, perhaps resulting in the aggrandizement of the public infrastructure of Eutresis, particularly if the road continued to the northeast over Buildings AA, U, and the remnants of G/Q, as argued by Philippa-Touchais.¹⁷⁹ She goes on to associate this project with the inhabitants of House D; indeed the road seems to continue up to this point, meeting the courtyard of this building and perhaps serving chiefly as an access route to this point from the lower plateau, and presumably the town below.¹⁸⁰

The construction of this road at the expense of the storage/production spaces established during the earlier periods is quite significant. First, it implies that the public display of resource-ownership, perhaps competitive in nature, was no longer necessary,

¹⁷⁸ Goldman 1931, 59-60.

¹⁷⁹ Goldman (1931, 60) notes the presence of the "house of the master of the brick yard," but does not discuss it in detail. Philippa-Touchais (2006, 695) also mentions it only briefly.

¹⁸⁰ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 696.

or at least was able to be scaled back into a few buildings around the proposed gateway. It likewise suggests that there was a group both organized enough and motivated to mobilize a workforce to carry out the project. Goldman's proposed oven and brick yard may also be associated with the road project, rather than with individual houses, of which there is little evidence other than a single apsidal wall (the house of the master of the brick yard); their proximity to the road itself, as well as the idea that at least the oven subsequently went out of use and was paved over, may support this supposition.¹⁸¹ It is also possible that these facilities were also intended for public use, again, as implied by their ease of accessibility. If so, the shift in the function of this portion of the site from private residences/associated storage and production to a public space of more communal use may imply the intervention of the inhabitants of House D, who seem to have been responsible for the reorganization of this area – suggested by the trajectory of the road as well as the building itself. These facilities, then, may have allowed the occupants of House D both to assert their control over certain aspects of production in the community and to cast themselves as the providers of resources that might be further used to generate individual income.

While few signs of storage or production activities were preserved in House D itself, the easternmost room of the building, identified by Goldman as an “alley” behind (on the east side of) the structure, may have functioned in such a role.¹⁸² If this is so, it is

¹⁸¹ Indeed, it is possible, though difficult to prove, that the apsidal house to the east of this area was meant as temporary housing for those working on this project, further suggesting a high level of centralization and socio-political power emanating from House D at Eutresis for the MH III/LH I transition. Nonetheless, Goldman (1931, 62) notes that, at least for the oven, there is no evidence that it “was used for other than household purposes,” although she later remarks that “some of our finest vases came from the immediate vicinity.” This concentration of high-quality ceramics, however, may have more to do with six adjacent burials (the relative levels are not given).

¹⁸² Goldman 1931, 58.

interesting that there is no sign of access to this room from the house itself; rather, it appears to have been entered from the north and to have been open at the south. Though Goldman does not associate this area with House D, the north wall of House D seems to have been extended to meet the north wall of the “alley,” while the relative narrowness of the proposed entrance could indicate that this wall was once continuous.¹⁸³ Goldman further notes that the easternmost walls of this area may have extended to the south, perhaps suggesting a larger outdoor space associated with House D – the lack of enclosure wall of any variety on this side seems to signify a degree of public access.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the only remaining indication of the function of this space was the grave of a young child, which may serve to illustrate a relationship with House D, but does little to illuminate its nature. If this space did serve as a storage area, it represents a closer concentration of materials around the house itself, which may demonstrate a higher degree of internalization of these functions during the MH/LH transition, perhaps brought about by the decreasing need for conspicuous storage/production as one family rose to preeminence within the settlement. Even if this space was not intended for storage – and even if it cannot be firmly associated with House D – the lack of storage units of any variety assigned to this period may indicate such an internalization of these functions, and is certainly a distinctive feature of this period, representing a major departure from earlier practice at Eutresis.

¹⁸³ Goldman 1931, 58.

¹⁸⁴ Goldman 1931, 58.

*c. LH I/II (1600-1400/1350 B.C.)*¹⁸⁵

As noted above, there is very little material at Eutresis that can be firmly dated to LH I/II – perhaps less if Philippa-Touchais’ redating of the material is accepted; even the ceramics of this period were relatively rare.¹⁸⁶ Goldman attributes this phenomenon partially to the erosion of the site and partially to a shift in settlement center, although somewhat more extensive remains of the LH III settlement were recovered.¹⁸⁷ A single house, House B, represents the architecture of the settlement at this time (Fig. 2.21).¹⁸⁸ This structure, located just to the south of the area of House A, was apparently a roughly square single-room dwelling with an area of about 25m². Two of the walls may have been lined by a bench, although a hearth found immediately adjacent to it on the east side perhaps suggests a more shelf-like function for at least parts of this installation. Other contemporary houses seem to have existed to the east of this building, but were not recovered, except a few walls which may have also formed part of a system of terrace walls, as suggested by Goldman.¹⁸⁹ Goldman likewise notes a series of walls to the north of House D, which seem to be aligned on the same orientation and are likely to have been in use at this time, possibly along with House D itself.¹⁹⁰ Given the lack of other houses assigned to the early part of the Late Bronze Age at Eutresis, it is difficult to draw

¹⁸⁵ The dates for LHI/II here are slightly adjusted to account for Philippa-Touchais’ downdating of the MH period at Eutresis, though the remains assigned by Goldman to the first phase of the Late Bronze Age still seem to be pre-palatial in nature (LH III A1 at the latest).

¹⁸⁶ Goldman 1931, 235.

¹⁸⁷ Goldman 1931, 64.

¹⁸⁸ Goldman 1931, 64-66.

¹⁸⁹ Goldman 1931, 66.

¹⁹⁰ Goldman 1931, 64.

conclusions about their character, or the nature of the settlement at this time. It is, however, noteworthy that House D may still be occupied at this time; House B, obviously less elaborate and quite a bit smaller, may have been inhabited by a subsidiary or less influential family, or provided auxiliary space for House D or another unrecovered structure.

d. The Houses Revisited

A good summary of the architectural trends at the site is provided by Gorogianni, and so shall be only very briefly discussed here.¹⁹¹ Methods and details of construction technique were fairly similar to those employed at Lerna – stone socles of about 0.45m in thickness, mudbrick superstructures, some sign of roof supports, but no evidence of a second floor, an average of two axially aligned rooms, and associated paved spaces.¹⁹² Almost all of these buildings seem to have had an interior hearth and accommodations for localized storage, including most prominently large pithoi. Again, benches and other elaborations of the interior of these houses were less common, though present. Differences exist in the prevalence of rectilinear (versus apsidal) plans at Eutresis, as well as the number of irregularly planned units that seem to be primarily meant for storage and production; the latter structures seem to have been expanded to fill available space when the need arose, with fairly specific purposes in mind, and appear to have been partially open, though always enclosed by at least low walls demarcating the boundary of the structures. Although, as at Lerna, the houses can be grouped into subsets by size, here the

¹⁹¹ Gorogianni 2002, 131-140, 157-159.

¹⁹² Goldman 1931, 33.

divergence between large (about 50m²) and small (about 10-30m²) was marked and relatively dramatic, probably attributable to the high number of structures which can be assigned an auxiliary function. However, several of the larger structures (particularly E, and perhaps C and M) of the “small” group also had interior hearths and were probably inhabited by less affluent families, perhaps affiliated with those occupying the “large” houses, A, S, P, and D. Goldman further identifies the lack of identifiable stone foundations used for interior cross-walls as a unique characteristic of the site during the Middle Bronze Age.¹⁹³

II. *Settlement*

Based on the analysis of the distribution of the ceramics, the total settlement size seems to have decreased following the EH destruction, either a consequence of the depopulation that has been identified as a characteristic of the MH period or of a greater concentration of settlement on the mound at the expense of the surrounding area.¹⁹⁴ Though the proposed widespread destruction by fire at the end of the Early Bronze Age could ostensibly have provided the opportunity to create a planned layout, the settlement seems to have grown more or less organically – that is, with no indication of centralized organization – as has been most recently observed by Gorogianni.¹⁹⁵ Goldman, on the other hand, identifies some trends that may suggest a higher, though still quite limited degree of order, noting that several of the houses are constructed on a roughly parallel

¹⁹³ Goldman 1931, 37-38.

¹⁹⁴ See Dickinson (1977, 32-33) for a general overview of many of the generally accepted characteristics of MH settlement.

¹⁹⁵ Gorogianni 2002, 130.

alignment quite close to one another, with streets running between them.¹⁹⁶ Her suggestion that at least some of the domestic remains dated to the early part of the Late Bronze Age doubled as terrace walls may also imply that much of the settlement layout was likely to have been dictated by the land, particularly with regard to accommodations necessitated by the sloping ground.¹⁹⁷ Goldman offers no further observation or explanation concerning the nature of the settlement plan of MH Eutresis, remarking only that it “has the character of a poorer and more isolated community than the Early Helladic.”¹⁹⁸

Though the largest houses at Eutresis are notably smaller than their apparent analogues at Lerna, this may be less attributable to general poverty than regional variation. Indeed, there are a number of differences between the two communities that support this idea, including perhaps most prominently the much more subdued reuse of building sites. While it is certainly possible that some recycling of foundations went undetected by the excavators, no plot of land at Eutresis shows any evidence of the continuous rebuilding that is so apparent on the east side of the tumulus at Lerna. Rather, the builders at Eutresis seem to have had a preference for lateral expansions to existing houses whenever possible, apparently less concerned with generationally distinct rebuildings than the architects at Lerna. Even so, these houses were eventually abandoned in favor of newer buildings, perhaps meant to shelter the same family group, as is probably demonstrated by at least two groups of houses; the first group was located in the

¹⁹⁶ Goldman 1931, 50.

¹⁹⁷ A characteristic also noted by Dickinson (1977, 33) for the period.

¹⁹⁸ Goldman 1931, 234.

southwest portion of the excavated settlement and composed of perhaps EH II House L, EH III Houses H and T, and finally MH I House S, while the second group was in the northeast and consisted of MH I Houses C and A, possibly MH II House E, and finally MH III House D.¹⁹⁹ These diachronic groups of dwellings probably demonstrate the traditional association/ownership of certain plots of land by kinship groups, who may have occasionally asserted their claim to the land through the recreation of domestic space, typically increasing the scale of building in the process.

Perhaps pertaining to these proposed groupings is Philippa-Touchais' argument that the settlement at Eutresis was functionally divided into a residential area in the north and a production area in the south.²⁰⁰ Certainly this division was real by the second half of the Middle Bronze Age. If the southwestern area can be linked with a kinship group occupying House S and perhaps in control of several smaller surrounding outbuildings, the shift to primarily non-residential uses implies the relocation or dissolution of this family, either voluntary or at the hands of a competing group. By the end of this period, as noted above, the territory seems to have been appropriated by the occupants of House D, possibly suggesting the role of the northeastern group of houses in the removal of the southwestern faction. Likewise, the large-scale reorganization of this portion of the site may be interpreted as a part of the rise of a new power under more centralized control within the settlement, again, perhaps the outcome of factional competition among a handful of families at Eutresis.

¹⁹⁹ It is possible that LH I/II (or later) House B should also be considered with this group. Philippa-Touchais (2006, 691) associates this structure with House A, but assigns it to an earlier period.

²⁰⁰ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 695-696.

The primary means of competition at the site has been proposed here as display of storage/production facilities, created both for their obvious practical benefits, as well as to accrue wealth and prestige to individual kinship groups. This tendency may explain the prevalence of smaller, irregular buildings apparently constructed to fulfill very specific purposes at the site, as well as their collection in the areas between the larger houses, where they might have the greatest visibility. Some of these structures probably also sheltered families affiliated with the more influential occupants of the larger houses, as suggested by Gorogianni, which may have also functioned as a form of prestige-building display.²⁰¹ One of the most distinctive changes in evidence at Eutresis was the decreasing use of these outbuildings, arguably demonstrating the triumph of one kinship group – House D – over competing families, though it is unclear what the ultimate fate of this group may have been.

While intramural burial was practiced at Eutresis, it was much less common than at Lerna, possibly a product of the relative size of the excavated settlements; only 24 graves total were recovered from the site, with 22 of these assignable to the MH period.²⁰² Goldman notes only two of these graves (Numbers 4 and 14) as instances of “the so-called intramural burials.”²⁰³ Although she does not clearly define her use of the term in her work, the context suggests that she was referring to burials on ground partially enclosed by walls that could be firmly associated with a specific house. However, the majority of these burials (19) occurred in close proximity to structures in

²⁰¹ Gorogianni 2002, 135.

²⁰² Goldman (1931, 221-226) discusses these burials only very briefly, but identifiable bones indicated the interments of both adults and children within the settlement, with very few grave goods recovered, as is typical of this period.

²⁰³ Goldman 1931, 223.

use during MH/LH I/II, and can therefore be considered intramural. These graves seem to be divided fairly evenly between the northeast (8) and southwest (11) portions of the settlement, and it is therefore possible to separate them into two groups. In both areas, it is likely that they were associated with particular residences (C, A, D, S), perhaps functioning as a legitimating claim to space – especially in the northeast, where housing seems to have been especially desirable. In the southwest, about half of the graves (6) are clustered around Pavement Y, and are therefore not clearly attributable to a certain building.

However, their concentration in this area may be explained if Y does represent the remains of an important road. Certainly it is a well-attested practice in the ancient world to place tombs along busy thoroughfares, often in competitive display meant to create and sustain prestige for a particular family.²⁰⁴ As there are no signs of markers of any variety here, this grouping of burials may not have had precisely the same motivations. Nonetheless, the frequency of interment in this area suggests that it was a known burial place, which can probably be associated with one family group: perhaps that of House D, responsible for much of the other activity here.²⁰⁵ Rather than display, then, the location of these burials along the road leading to D was probably meant to suggest the ownership of the larger part of this land by the inhabitants of D. This kinship group, then, seems to have made use of the practice of intramural burial, often apparently employed to create

²⁰⁴ Arguably this occurred also in the case of the later grave circles at Mycenae.

²⁰⁵ If this group can be connected with House D, it may imply that most of the intramural burials at Eutresis occurred during the later part of the Middle Bronze Age, and perhaps into LH I/II, as proposed for Lerna above. This phenomenon has also been remarked on by Maran (1995, 69-70), who, after Kilian, notes it as a general trend occurring during MH III/LH I/II throughout mainland Greece.

and maintain inherited land claims, to extend and cement their own control of the settlement of Eutresis at this time.

III. *Conclusions*

Overall, then, the emphasis on place and the reiteration of land ownership through construction seems to be more diffuse at Eutresis, though the practice of intramural burial and the proposed division of the site into two major house groupings suggests that it was no less strongly felt than at Lerna. Here, however, the use of architecture in creating generational distinctions within individual families seems to have yielded to the need to differentiate between kinship groups through the construction of a central, large dwelling, and conspicuously placed storage/production facilities. These trends may explain the decreasing building activity occurring at the site throughout the MH/early LH periods; as noted by Maran, many MH settlements underwent a similar reduction in building activity toward the end of the period, which he attributes to the rise of new power structures capable of dictating a shift in settlement location.²⁰⁶ By LH III, however, although there is no further evidence of a single dominant structure – like House D – a wall surrounding the settlement may indicate the palatial pretensions of a locally powerful family, perhaps the same one that rose to preeminence during the earlier period.

²⁰⁶ Maran 1995, 72.

Chapter III: *House, Settlement, and Cultural Continuity*

Using the material available from both Lerna and Eutresis, it is possible to draw some general conclusions concerning the nature – both physical and social – of the domestic architecture of mainland Greece during the MBA, as well as its place within the broader settlement.²⁰⁷ The similarities and differences that have been noted between the architectural remains at the two sites provide a sense of the rich complexity of the period, which has only in recent years begun to receive attention. It is additionally possible to gain an impression of the social groups represented by these houses, earlier proposed to be extended kinship groups and associated individuals, although there are some methodological concerns with this approach, discussed further below. Even so, the architectural remains of domestic units at both sites include several structures that appear to form clusters, indicating smaller domestic complexes within these settlements.

However, even within these groups, the houses, though closely-packed, are generally distinct, while further attention is devoted to creating separation among the groups themselves, both through the creation of physical barriers and spatial boundary markers, including perhaps intramural burial, as well as more abstracted factional relationships. This apparent opposition should not be understood as a tendency toward completely in-group social relationships; rather, there is likely to have been a high degree

²⁰⁷ The approach to this section is somewhat more assertive in argumentation and accepts some of the tentative proposals made above – such as the presence of house groupings at Lerna and Eutresis – as more factual in nature in order to facilitate the discussion at hand. The theoretical nature of these arguments should be kept in mind.

of intergroup movement and cooperation, particularly in the face of completely foreign influences. Even so, the MH communities at Lerna and Eutresis seem to be characterized by a somewhat fractious predisposition, wherein it was possible for a well-established and prosperous group to gain social prestige and power, which may have later diminished if social circumstances were changed. It is, then, important to examine these settlements at the level of the constituent parts on which these factionary groups depended, that of the houses themselves.

I. Houses

It is perhaps necessary first to take a moment to consider what is actually represented by the domestic architecture at Lerna and Eutresis, as well as how these remains have come to be identified as “domestic” in nature. As noted by Wilk and Rathje in their seminal publication on the archaeology of the household, houses represent “the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group.”²⁰⁸ However, they also caution against collapsing the distinction between the architectural remains of houses and the households that may have once made use of them.²⁰⁹ Even so, the identification of dwellings in the archaeological record must necessarily come before any discussion of the inhabitants. In the cases of Lerna and Eutresis, certain structures – apsidal or rectangular buildings consisting of one to three axially aligned rooms, often with definable associated exterior spaces, though ranging broadly in size – are recognizable as houses due in large part to 1.) their prevalence in the

²⁰⁸ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 618.

²⁰⁹ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 620: “Archaeologists do not excavate households; they find the material remains of dwellings.”

archaeological record at the two sites, 2.) the associated features and finds (such as hearths and accommodations for storage, and finally 3.) the lack of clear evidence for more specialized, non-domestic functions. While other types of structures (such as Areas G, Q, and R at Eutresis) do exist at these sites, finds indicate that they are almost exclusively related to storage or production, and many of them probably belonged to specific houses, suggested by proximity and occasionally by shared enclosure walls, making them an extension of the domestic sphere. With the exception of streets and possible public work space at Eutresis, no further specialized structures that could not be associated with a particular house or house group were found at either of these sites for the duration of the MBA. The houses at Lerna and Eutresis, then, must represent not only the basic unit of social organization for the MH period, but also the primary one.

The physical remains of these buildings form only one element of the household, which is composed also of social and behavioral dimensions, as defined by Wilk and Rathje.²¹⁰ That is, the house is the manifestation of a social group, but, while it may clarify the nature of that group, cannot be fully identified with it. Here it is perhaps important to note that the household may not correspond with a single house, as well as that more than one “household” may cohabit a single building.²¹¹ Although Daniel Pullen, based on the earlier work of William Allen and James Richardson, discourages the extrapolation of detailed theories of the form and function of kinship groups from these remains, the association of houses and social groups primarily composed of individuals related by familial ties has been largely accepted, although other social bonds

²¹⁰ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 618.

²¹¹ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 620-621.

are also likely to be represented.²¹² The complexity of the “household” is in some ways determined by the public demands and economic pressures of the broader settlement. Wilk and Rathje identify four major social arenas negotiated at the level of the household: production, distribution, transmission (inheritance issues), and reproduction (child-rearing).²¹³ All of these functions, with the possible exception of “reproduction,” are evident to some degree in the remains of the domestic architecture found at Lerna and Eutresis, and can be used to supply some basic conclusions concerning the nature and organization of the households at these sites during the MBA.²¹⁴

a. *Form and Function*

Before continuing this line of analysis, the actual remnants of the houses at Lerna and Eutresis should be briefly revisited.²¹⁵ As noted above, these dwellings were fairly consistent in number of rooms, with one larger, primary room and one or more auxiliary rooms; but they varied enormously in total area, from about 10 to 100m² – a remarkably wide range that merits further attention. This variability in size is partially due to differences in the scale of building at the two sites.²¹⁶ Houses at Lerna, even where proposed to have been chiefly intended for extra-domestic functions, seem to have only

²¹² Pullen 1985, 158; Allen and Richardson 1971, 41-53.

²¹³ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 621-631.

²¹⁴ The “reproduction” function of households may also arguably be present in the archaeological record in the prevalence of children in the intramural burials occurring over the course of the MH period at both sites. It is possible that the preferential treatment of children for this type of burial reflects beliefs concerning the nature of childcare and its place within the house in these communities.

²¹⁵ The following approach is loosely modeled after Pullen’s (1985, 259-270) analysis of the architectural remains of the Early Bronze Age mainland.

²¹⁶ It is also perhaps due in part to the methods of the excavators – generally speaking, Goldman was more willing to venture an estimation of the total size of the building than Caskey.

very infrequently been less than 20m² in total area, whereas at Eutresis, even excluding those buildings that were not designated as houses by Goldman, just under half of the buildings that were identified as being primarily domestic in nature were smaller than 20m², sometimes by a fairly significant margin. In some cases, such as that of House J at Eutresis, the poor preservation of the structure may account for unusually small size. However, dwellings like House M, where the foundations appear to be more or less intact, indicate that such small structures did occur at the site, and were probably included at least to a limited degree in the domestic sphere, as indicated by the presence of a hearth. The lack of any accommodation for multiple stories in these houses, either in the form of stairs or in additional structural reinforcement on the ground floor with the possible exception of a few examples of central roof supports, precludes the existence of additional domestic space no longer preserved in the archaeological record. The foundations that have been identified at Lerna and Eutresis, then, seem to represent the total amount of domestic space available.

At Lerna, of about 40 published houses that can be dated to EH III/MH, about 26 were sufficiently preserved to estimate the total size of the house (or room) as it stood at the time of excavation. For the purposes of this analysis, all structures of which a plan has been published and which retained at least two walls, at least one of them apparently preserved to its full length, were considered to be capable of giving a rough approximation of the minimum area of the structure. Although where possible the measurements of the excavators were used, often they were taken from the plans using the scales provided; those measurements given here are estimates (rounded to the nearest whole number) and can only convey a general impression of the distribution of house

sizes at Lerna. Additionally, the relatively great amount of attention given to the EH III (Lerna IV) material in publication, particularly concerning the building activity in Area B and the many reiterations of preexisting structures that occurred over this period, may warp the overall picture to some degree. Nevertheless, keeping these limitations in mind, the distribution of house sizes at Lerna can be used to reach some general conclusions concerning the social structure there (Fig. 3.1).

While this distribution does not reveal a single, uniform house size for the MH Lerna settlement, it does show three concentrations at about 11-20m², 31-40m², and 51-60m². With the exception of House C2 in Area B, one of the smaller apsidal dwellings that may have been related to the larger structures east of the tumulus in a supplementary role, the full plans of the buildings in the smallest group, located in Areas D and BD, were not preserved, and they would have been larger than is indicated here. Though it is unclear how much their poor state of preservation has affected total size – both areas were somewhat peripheral to the site center and focus of building activity – the rarity of complete foundations indicating a building of less than 20m² at the site may indicate that they are somewhat more anomalous than given above. Likewise, two of the buildings (BS and 24) in this category represent reconstruction over and generally following the lines of two earlier buildings (House of the Postholes, 18) that were also included in this group. Accepting their preserved size as is, however, at least one structure, “House” 24, is an irregularly-shaped unit that may be intended for storage and production, as indicated by two pithoi and a series of tools that may have functioned in arrow-making found within its walls, as well as its proximity to the adjacent building.²¹⁷ House 18, which was constructed directly over it, also contained two pithoi and perhaps fulfilled a similar role.

²¹⁷ Zerner 1978, 26-27.

While the other buildings in this group did not have explicitly extra-domestic uses, they were also found in close association with other structures, perhaps functioning together.

Of the two larger clusters in house size at Lerna, the first – 31-40m² – is largely concentrated in the central part of the site (Area B), with the exception of D in Area A. Several of these structures have been proposed to lodge families affiliated with those in the larger apsidal houses, perhaps suggesting that this group represents the “standard” size for houses of the non-elite for EH III/MH Lerna.²¹⁸ The last cluster of houses of 51-60m², as well as the four remaining larger houses, should then represent a wealthier group, the elite of Lerna, although it is unclear why there is such an extreme difference in size between this group of houses and the largest group, or what this gap might indicate. It is interesting to note that of the nine houses at Lerna exceeding 50m² in total area, seven of them (78%) date to Lerna IV; the same seven were also located in Area B. This phenomenon may be partially explained by the development of the enclosed complex with House 98A – if the full compound is included, the area is brought up to about 74m² – but may also have something to do with changing expressions of wealth, or, more concretely, the changing access to wealth at the site as the MBA progressed. This idea may be supported in Voutsaki’s analysis of the changing distribution of wealth in the Argolid based on the mortuary evidence, which shows an increasing degree of influence around Mycenae for the later part of the MH and early LH period to the exclusion of other sites in the area, such as Lerna and Asine.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Certain houses that have been identified above as elite dwellings, such as House 98A, are actually somewhat smaller than this group, unless the full area of the complex, including Rooms 44 and 45, are included in the total.

²¹⁹ See Voutsaki (1995, 61-63; 2001, 183-184; 2005, 138-139) for the decreasing affluence of Lerna as Mycenae rose to power in the Argolid.

At Eutresis, fewer structures were identified and sufficiently preserved to provide an idea of their total size. Of 23 structures that were identified by Goldman as having some domestic function, as well as an additional two designated by Philippa-Touchais, 21 structures retained a plan that allowed for an estimation of the total size. Again, only the structures that had at least two walls, one preserved to its full length, were measured, with the total area then rounded to the nearest whole number. House H2 and the House of the Master of the Brickyard proved exceptions to this general rule in that although both houses were poorly preserved, the walls that remained continued for a length that was deemed adequate to convey a sense of the extent of the structures. Likewise, although Structures G, Q, R, and U, among other possible structures, were believed by the excavator to be specifically intended for storage/production outside the immediate spatial context of the house, their close relationship, both spatial and otherwise, with various domestic units at the site allows their inclusion in the total distribution (Fig. 3.2).

As noted above, these structures tended to be smaller than those at Lerna, possibly due to the prevalence of small storage areas that were not clearly incorporated into a larger domestic unit at Eutresis. There is a clear concentration of houses in the 11-20m² bracket, as well as in the 21-30m² group, although three of the four structures in the latter group were actually closer to the higher end of the range. Considering the two groups together, there is no clear pattern either chronologically or spatially, and it seems likely that structures of this size were typical at Eutresis throughout the MH period. Likewise, only three of the buildings in these two groups were constructed specifically for storage/production, perhaps supplemented by additional domestic functions; however, the more explicitly domestic quality of the majority of the structures of this size (73%) is

implied. It can therefore be argued that structures of 11-30m² were typical of MH dwellings in this settlement, with more elite houses represented by the groups exceeding 40m² in total area.

A direct comparison of house sizes at Lerna and Eutresis emphasizes a wide range in total size, but also demonstrates that the majority of the variation occurs at Lerna (Fig. 3.3). In order to explain the distribution in house size at the two sites, it has been proposed above that many of the buildings identified as individual domestic units functioned in tandem with surrounding structures, forming relatively large house complexes. Generally, these seem to have consisted of one to two main houses, with additional, smaller buildings providing ancillary dwelling spaces or room for storage and production. This phenomenon has also been proposed for the domestic architecture of EH II by Harrison, who argues that Pullen's estimation of the amount of space necessary for each individual in these houses is unrealistically low.²²⁰ Rather, following Todd Whitelaw's model for early Minoan Crete, Harrison suggests that each occupant would need about 10m², observing that based on this figure several of the structures identified as individual houses at Zygouries for the EH II period would serve at most a family of two; therefore, the "houses" at Zygouries must actually represent rooms within larger, more intricate structures arranged around a courtyard.²²¹ Although Harrison's approximation of necessary space may be somewhat high, even Pullen remarks on the unusually small size of the houses at Zygouries, and Harrison's solution to this problem is sound.²²² While the smaller structures at Lerna and Eutresis are neither agglutinative nor organized around a

²²⁰ Harrison 1995, 26.

²²¹ Harrison 1995, 26-29. Whitelaw 1983, 323-345.

²²² Pullen 1985, 260.

courtyard, then, they do appear to be functioning as a part of a larger group of structures, probably constructed where space allowed as the need arose.

Accounting for the larger variety in house size at Lerna is somewhat more difficult. Much of the diversity in scale can be tentatively attributed to a diachronic change in wealth occurring over the course of the MBA at the site, apparently significantly more dramatic than that which took place at Eutresis. However, it is also possible that the relative accessibility of resources and the wider trade network allowed for the development of a multi-tiered social system at Lerna, rather than a simple dichotomy of wealthy families and their less prosperous constituents that appears to exist at Eutresis. Although diversification in specific functionality may account for some of the smallest buildings (Houses 18 and 24), it is unlikely to have played a significant role in creating this distribution – most of the structures recovered do seem to have been primarily intended for residence. Likewise, while the size of the house is likely to have been changed to accommodate the expansion or contraction of the household, the methodology for the calculation of a precise number of inhabitants is debatable at best; the idea that the wide range in scale among the dwellings at Lerna can be ascribed to the differing needs of distinct types of social groups (such as a club, governmental organization, or other institution) is therefore implausible.²²³ Indeed, the variation visible at Lerna speaks strongly in favor of the use of these buildings almost exclusively as residences, probably those of families as well as any constituents.²²⁴

²²³ See Harrison (1995, 25-26) for a brief summary of this problematized scholarship.

²²⁴ Wallace-Hadrill's (1994, 91-117) warnings against the understanding of residences as dwellings of single nuclear families are perhaps pertinent here. However, generally at Lerna and Eutresis the use of a single main entrance and easy accessibility of the houses suggests a less complicated situation than that at Pompeii and Herculaneum, even were the significant chronological gap not an issue.

The small size of the houses at Eutresis need also no longer be fully attributed to the skewing effect of the prevalence of storage units, relative to perhaps two likely examples at Lerna. Rather, it is possible that the social strategy of constructing smaller, explicitly multifunctional houses to serve within a larger group (as at Zygouries) was also more broadly implemented at Eutresis, although the groups themselves are less archaeologically distinct. That is, at Eutresis, the construction of a relatively large number of small ancillary buildings is perhaps indicative of a greater need for social grouping in the face of economic adversity; the distribution of these structures, few of them clearly clustered together, may imply that extra-kinship social bonds were more fluid, but must also have functioned in increasing the visibility of wealth for purposes of display. At Lerna, on the other hand, it seems likely that individual families might more readily stand as independent socio-economic units, or, more simply, there was greater access to resources and wealth in the MBA Argolid than in the more peripheral northern mainland. While the elite inhabitants of Eutresis may have emphasized the display of affiliated families and resources through separate and dispersed outbuildings, the elite of Lerna may have preferred to participate in the competitive display of wealth through the construction of a single, extremely large dwelling within the house clusters, at least during Lerna IV. Similarly, at Lerna there was perhaps less meaning in the display of stored goods or smaller affiliated houses because its location on multiple trade routes allowed the accumulation of capital in the settlement, especially during the early part of the period. Conversely, the relatively sparse resources at Eutresis must have encouraged the development of elaborate storage and production facilities as the primary form of

competitive display, contrasting with the more standardized, axially-organized structures that housed the owners of these buildings.

While the organization of the houses and the social groups they represent, then, appears to be more complex than previously acknowledged within the scholarship of the MBA mainland, inside the houses themselves differentiation was at a minimum. Only one structure of the 63 identified at both sites preserves remains of more than three rooms – the majority of the houses seem to have had two rooms, where the foundations were revealed sufficiently to indicate multiple internal spaces.²²⁵ The low level of separation in the interior space implies that these rooms were multi-functional, with one serving as the primary living space, as indicated by its larger size, the presence of a hearth, and generally dining- and cook-ware, and the other intended for storage and other supplementary uses. Although it is possible that a multiplicity of individual rooms was rendered unnecessary by the amount of space available through other structures within the larger complex of houses, the high incidence of courtyards and paved areas that can be associated with these houses suggests that functional differentiation existed primarily between interior and exterior domestic space. Exterior spaces are likely to have been used primarily for storage/production, as well as perhaps baking and other activities involved with the preparation and processing of raw materials. While these undertakings would have occurred primarily outside of the walls of the house proper, often by necessity, the use of pavement and boundary walls less frequently clearly demarcates the domestic space of particular buildings. Overall, then, significantly more effort was expended on the

²²⁵ The minimum possible number of rooms was counted here, so the more fragmentarily preserved houses could have had – and probably did have – additional rooms. In cases where an area could have served as a porch or a room, it was counted as a room. Perhaps 43% of the total number of structures identified had at least two rooms, while about 33% of the buildings were too poorly preserved to distinguish more than one room.

architectural distinctiveness of each domestic unit and group of units than on spatial/functional separation within the house itself.

b. *Households*

Though the individual rooms of the MH dwellings at Lerna and Eutresis may not have been intended for one single purpose, the full function of the house as a whole has yet to be determined. It has been suggested above that the majority of the architecture at these sites housed extended kinship groups, probably in multiple buildings; the apparently close association between kinship groups and their dwellings has also been noted in previous chapters. It is therefore appropriate to analyze these structures further with regard to the groups that used them in order to elucidate the place of both house and household within these MH settlements. Returning to the four functions fulfilled at the level of the household, as proposed by Wilk and Rathje – production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction – it is clear that the domestic architecture at both sites was meant to facilitate these roles, particularly within the larger house complexes.²²⁶ Because little is known of the subsistence strategies employed at these sites, the extent and level of complexity of production and distribution can only be surmised from the material remains. However, at least at Eutresis, the sheer amount of space devoted to processing and storing raw goods may suggest a system of production involving multiple people performing tasks at the same time, referred to as “simultaneous” production by Wilk and

²²⁶ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 621.

Rathje.²²⁷ Such a system may also be present at Lerna, as indicated by the increasing specialization and incorporation of storage/production facilities visible in Area B/BE.

Moreover, the development of more highly differentiated structures at both sites, including finally Area Y at Eutresis and a possible foundry in the vicinity of Area B at Lerna, implies at least limited specialization of labor, allowing for “complex simultaneous” production.²²⁸ That is, several tasks of different natures could potentially have been carried out by different individuals concurrently, although it is difficult to determine if this more intricate system of labor would have been necessary to the household economic system at either site. Still, the complexity apparent in the physical remains suggested here to pertain to production functions for these houses suggests a fairly stable, well-developed method of processing resources at the level of the household, perhaps even serving as a source of social prestige. Wilk and Rathje contend that such systems of labor can often be associated with relatively large households that tend by necessity to be highly organized with centralized leadership.²²⁹ This idea is remarkably consistent with the proposed house complexes – one to two clearly dominant dwellings with a variety of auxiliary spaces, including paved surfaces, enclosed courtyards, and actual outbuildings – at both sites.

The distribution of the processed materials is more likely to have been conducted according to regionally-determined systems at Lerna and Eutresis. That is, the inhabitants of Lerna, enjoying greater access to large-scale exchange networks, may have focused

²²⁷ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 622-624.

²²⁸ Caskey 1956, 159; Wilk and Rathje 1982, 622.

²²⁹ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 623-624.

their production to a greater degree on extra-settlement trade, at least in the upper levels of society. Nonetheless, returning to the evidence for the storage of materials at the site, particularly in the form of bothroi at Lerna for the early part of the period and Areas G, Q, R, and U, as well as House F, at Eutresis, some pooling of goods for individual household use can be surmised at both sites.²³⁰ Again, Wilk and Rathje associate the internal distribution of produced materials with large households, noting that this trend is particularly true of households employing more specialized simultaneous labor.²³¹ Likewise, they observe that those households that involve a significant number of members in production and that then collect the yield to redistribute to those members and their dependents tend to be fairly well-established and enduring.²³² It may reasonably be suggested that the domestic sites of settlements participating in such a system would therefore display signs of continuous use, with numerous expansions to and reconstructions of houses over a considerable period of time. Accordingly, the continuous occupation of Area B/BE at Lerna may be partially explained by production/distribution strategies employed by the inhabitants of the dwellings there; however, the “transmission” function of households proposed by Wilk and Rathje must have also played a role in the creation of this phenomenon.²³³

Wilk and Rathje define transmission as “a special form of distribution that involves transferring rights, roles, land, and property between generations,” and in many

²³⁰ Wilk and Rathje (1982, 624-627) juxtapose “pooling” and the internal distribution of goods with “exchange” and external distribution.

²³¹ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 625.

²³² Wilk and Rathje 1982, 626.

²³³ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 627-630.

ways it is the household function that has left the greatest amount of evidence at these MH settlements.²³⁴ While relatively little can be said for the conceptualization of property and ownership at these sites, it is clear that households both at Lerna and Eutresis had much invested in the land on which their dwellings stood, demonstrated by both the relatively frequent occurrence of intramural burial, discussed further below, as well as the consistent and continuous use of these sites, apparently by the same family.²³⁵ The intensity of the reuse of domestic plots at Lerna may be related to the pressures exerted on local resources by surrounding communities; as Voutsaki has noted, the MH Argolid was relatively highly populated, well-developed, and characterized by a more competitive inter-settlement environment than that which is likely to have existed at Eutresis.²³⁶ Wilk and Rathje explain that limitations on the availability of land and other means of accruing wealth incite increasingly tight control over these resources, generally exercised on the level of the household and passed down lineally, at first to multiple recipients, and finally to a single heir.²³⁷ They further observe that households under such pressures tend to form large clusters for as long as feasibly possible, as potential heirs vie for the control of the household and its possessions.²³⁸ The frequent reconstruction of houses on the same site and along similar plans observed at Lerna, then, would perhaps

²³⁴ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 627.

²³⁵ Georgousopoulou (2004, 207-213) remarks on the use of intramural burials to make statements of land ownership in MH Asine. Related to her work is that of Paul Oliver (1989, 73) who emphasizes that “transmission” was intended to manage not only the physical inheritance of house or place, but also with the inheritance of associated social meanings and significance(s) of the place.

²³⁶ Voutsaki 2005, 138-139.

²³⁷ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 627-628.

²³⁸ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 628. Sometimes these large house clusters also included “client households,” Wilk and Rathje (1982, 629) add, “in order to obtain additional labor without giving up rights to land.”

have served to make a strong declaration of ownership, both to the outside community and to the household itself.²³⁹ Conversely, the larger scale of the settlement at Lerna and its more frequent interaction with outside groups may have increased the need for kinship groups to achieve a stronger self-definition against each other and more foreign social elements. Regardless, the lineal transmission of domestic plots and possessions at Lerna, and to a lesser extent at Eutresis, seems to have played a major role within the households at these sites.

While the transmission function of these households implies the presence of heirs, probably related by blood to the “transmitter” of the property, little can be said concerning the reproductive function of households or the place of children at Lerna and Eutresis from the archaeological record.²⁴⁰ The generally accepted prevalence of children among intramural burials could suggest a social perception of the proper place of children within the home under the supervision of the collective household group, but strategies employed in raising these children and managing their welfare in the context of the other functions of the household are difficult to derive from the remaining evidence.²⁴¹ Certainly the importance of children within both communities is attested in the use of grave goods, sometimes fairly elaborate, in their burials, and again demonstrates a concern with inheritance. However, the social significance of children is not so particular as to demonstrate anything more useful about the MH households at Lerna and Eutresis,

²³⁹ Similar phenomena have been noted in other societies; the presence of this trend among the peoples of the Neolithic Balkans, documented by Tringham, has been discussed above, but S. Gillespie (2000, 135-160) also comments upon the “nested” houses of the Maya.

²⁴⁰ Wilk and Rathje 1982, 630-631.

²⁴¹ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 24-25, 34. However, a recent systematic study of intramural burials at Thebes suggests that these inhumations were representative of the full demographic range of MH society (Dakouri-Hild 2001, 103-118). Blackburn (1970, 283-284) also comments on the intramural burial of children at Lerna.

and it does not seem possible to conclude anything more than that households at these sites mediated the reproductive aspect of these communities.

c. House Complexes and Complex Households

The houses of MH Lerna and Eutresis, then, were designed to accommodate fairly large, complex groups. These households, which may have operated to some extent as social factions, probably occupied multiple buildings within larger architectural clusters. Such outbuildings would have been necessary to facilitate the households' residential and production/distribution needs, which seem to have been both intricate in execution and internally-focused, directed largely toward the maintenance of the household itself. The strength of this system resulted in fairly enduring household groups, continuously occupying certain portions of both settlements for such long periods of time that the land must have become tied to their social identities, eloquently illustrated in the common eventual conversion of these areas into family burial grounds. Likewise, the lasting nature of these MH households indicates that issues of inheritance were successfully negotiated, probably by means of the lineal transmission of these plots of land and their attendant properties through a particular family, that responsible for the organization of the various household functions, within the larger group. To summarize:

- 1.) MH houses at Lerna and Eutresis can be associated with extended family groups, which come together to form households of various sizes occupying and/or making use of multiple buildings, one of which is the primary dwelling space.

- 2.) These households may have constituent families and their houses clustered around them, forming a larger, faction-like group.
- 3.) This extended family that forms the core of the household and any constituent “client” families are centrally organized, with well-defined (although probably not uncontested) leadership corresponding to the head of the family, in order to control complex production/distribution strategies indicated by specialized architectural remains associated with these houses.
- 4.) The stability achieved by these households through these production/distribution strategies leads to reuse of and identification with domestic architecture and associated land, passed down lineally through the core family over the course of the period.
- 5.) Strong identification with the household indicated by these remains, as well as pressure exerted by the scarcity of resources, resulted in a competitive relationship between factions, although social identification at the level of the settlement might also be expected where interactions with external communities were particularly active.

Having then examined the MH societies of Lerna and Eutresis at the most basic architectural level, it is perhaps appropriate to turn attention to the broader context of the settlement in order to further elucidate the nature of inter-household relationships.

II. *Settlements*

It is difficult to get a sense of the settlement patterns at most MH sites due to the limited nature of the excavations; generally only small sections of the settlement have

been uncovered, often at widely-spaced intervals. Even where significant portions of the settlement have been revealed, as at Lerna and Eutresis, later intrusions and intensive reuse of the land, sometimes during the MH period itself, often obscure the remaining evidence, while further problems are presented by the limited publication of full phase plans for both sites. In spite of these setbacks, some general description of these MH settlements is possible; one of the first characterizations of the settlement patterns of the period was given by Carl Blegen in his report of the excavations at Korakou, where significantly less MH material was uncovered. Therein, he is able to conclude that “the village of the Middle Helladic Period consisted of small houses placed close together and separated by narrow streets.”²⁴² Though these structures were indeed typically located quite near one another, the architecture of the MH mainland seems to be marked less by proximity than a strong preference for free-standing buildings loosely organized into clusters. Generally though, few MH settlements show any indication of a centralized plan or the extra-household leadership that might be necessary to coordinate such a project.²⁴³ Their arrangement, then, seems to have been primarily dictated by topography, availability of space, and finally by the physical expression of social groupings through the construction of domestic architecture.

a. Setting and Layout

²⁴² Blegen 1921, 78.

²⁴³ The city walls at Malthi and Kolonna provide the major exception. See Valmin (1938, 52-169) for an analysis of the MH settlement at Malthi, while the settlement at Kolonna on Aegina is discussed by Walter and Felten (1981).

Lerna is located on a low, coastal hill, which may have been formed by the long accumulation of settlement debris at the site, as proposed by Caskey.²⁴⁴ The excavated portion of the site itself measured approximately 2700m², although the full area seems not to have been continuously occupied (Fig. 1.4).²⁴⁵ At Eutresis, the excavated area is somewhat smaller, at about 2200m², although Goldman notes that the primary excavation and perhaps the main habitation occurred in a 50m² area in the northeastern portion of the site (Fig. 2.6).²⁴⁶ Like Lerna, the settlement occurred on relatively high ground, though here there were major elevation changes incorporated into the site itself. That is, the northern part of the site was somewhat higher than the surrounding plateau, which Goldman attributes to the regular deposition of habitation debris in this area, augmenting the natural topography.²⁴⁷ The more dramatic landscape at Eutresis may have been negotiated through terracing, a common strategy for maximizing the availability of land within settlements during this time.²⁴⁸ The use of intramural terracing at this time generally resulted in parallel rows of houses, as at Eutresis; while this plan may give the impression of an overall organization, it is doubtful that it reflects any real community-wide effort to create an ordered infrastructure. Likewise, although the terracing itself may have involved multiple households or household factions, it is more probably the result of

²⁴⁴ Caskey 1954, 3.

²⁴⁵ The area of the site was estimated from Zerner's (1978, Fig. I) plan of the trenches at Lerna, assuming about six 20x20m grid squares, with an additional very rough approximation of 20x15m for Areas D and DE.

²⁴⁶ Goldman 1927, 5. The site area was estimated from Goldman's (1931, Plan IIB) plan; having divided the site into four parts, each quadrant was measured individually. The lack of a grid on Goldman's plans makes this estimation imprecise at best, but gives a general idea of the maximum excavated area.

²⁴⁷ Goldman 1931, 6.

²⁴⁸ Terracing is also very much in evidence at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938) and Pevkakia (Maran 1994).

leveling activity carried out before the construction of individual houses. The settlement at Lerna would have had no need for terraces, allowing inhabitants to build more freely over a greater area; nonetheless, houses at Lerna were often constructed in parallel rows, perhaps out of convenience or a desire to create a more visible social bond among structures. Regardless, there is again no sign that the orientation or design of houses was determined by any authority higher than that of the individual occupants.

Maran has proposed that the beginning of the LBA on the mainland seems to be characterized by a shift in the location of settlements.²⁴⁹ He argues that while several new settlements were founded during LH I/II on highly defensible land, previously existing hill-top settlements, like Lerna and Eutresis, were often abandoned for use as cemeteries.²⁵⁰ While he hesitates to provide an explanation for this phenomenon, Maran tentatively suggests that the use of these former settlements as burial grounds indicates the continuing connection with the area of the previous inhabitants, who must have remained fairly close to their old settlement; he further attributes the movement of the population and the shift in site use to the rise of different structures of leadership and a desire to create new settlements, though he fails to elaborate upon this idea.²⁵¹ Maran's suggestions are plausible, and, as has been suggested for Eutresis, it is possible that single households at several sites had achieved complete or near-complete control of their respective villages, allowing – and to some extent necessitating – the reorganization of settlements to facilitate this more centralized control. It is likewise possible that the inter-

²⁴⁹ Maran 1995, 67-72.

²⁵⁰ Maran 1995, 69-71.

²⁵¹ Maran 1995, 71-72.

site competition for access to trade and resources incited significant relocation of families to the more successful settlements, leading to the decline of many well-established MH settlements, although, as Maran remarks, the lack of LH I settlement material makes such ideas difficult to support.²⁵²

b. *Organization*

Both Lerna and Eutresis, then, can be characterized by an open, organic settlement plan. While, as noted above, houses tended to be closely spaced, there is little to suggest that the availability of land for the construction of new buildings was scarce. That is, where the full plan of the building is known, the domestic architecture at both sites tends to be fairly regular in form, suggesting that there was adequate space to accommodate these structures. More asymmetrical architectural layouts can generally be attributed to the specialized functions of buildings, as with the storage areas at Eutresis and Area BD at Lerna. The desire to cluster such auxiliary structures in specific areas – either for display or to associate them with a specific house – may have also contributed to their irregular plans. Notably, land availability at these sites must have provided builders with the opportunity to group houses and outbuildings together, perhaps factoring to some degree in the formation of extra-household, factionary social networks.

While there was apparently sufficient land for the expansion of these houses, it is important to note that the complete rebuilding of houses was often preferred; similarly, free-standing auxiliary structures were favored over agglutinative building techniques, at least until the construction of House 98A. Even here, however, a significant portion of the complex was devoted to an open courtyard, creating a degree of separation between

²⁵² Maran 1995, 67.

the elements. This MH predilection for independent buildings can be attributed to a practical concern with the prevention of the spread of fire through the domestic groups, particularly considering the large-scale storage of goods necessary for the successful maintenance of the household. Alternatively, the multiplicity of structures serves both to create a series of bounded open spaces between the buildings and to advertise the wealth and influence of the household within the community. The complete reconstruction of houses, sometimes shifting foundations entirely, may also have been intended as a public message, as well as a sort of ritual, illustrating the recreation of the household under a new generation of leadership and asserting the identity of the household group against the broader settlement. The clustering of houses would then fulfill a similar purpose on a slightly larger, factionary scale.

Less can be said concerning the infrastructure of these settlements. While pebbled streets are attested at both Lerna and Eutresis, it is unclear how the excavators were able to distinguish these thoroughfares from the paved courtyards associated with individual houses. Even where these features can be determined to be streets, they often seem to border houses and are likely to have been constructed and maintained by individual households at and for their own convenience.²⁵³ A similar system can be proposed for the drainage of these settlements; though there are few indications of any accommodation for drainage at Lerna or Eutresis, Maran argues that narrow alleys between houses at Pevkakia functioned to channel water away from residential areas.²⁵⁴ Here again, though,

²⁵³ The maintenance of sidewalks, comparable here in their common understanding as part of the public domain, by the inhabitants of individual houses at Pompeii, as discussed by E. E. Poehler (2006, 53-74), provides an informative, though much later, parallel.

²⁵⁴ Maran 1994, 206.

these drains do not seem to represent a centralized infrastructure, but were probably built according to the needs of the surrounding households, as suggested for the proposed drain serving the early complex in Area D at Lerna.²⁵⁵

Likewise, there are few examples of public spaces at either site. Although Philippa-Touchais proposes a sort of *plateia* in the northern part of the settlement at Eutresis for the latter part of her first phase (MH II), it is bordered by two major residences (Houses P and A, as well as perhaps her D1) that may have shared its use.²⁵⁶ Thus, this space may not have been truly public, as is arguably demonstrated by the lack of a clear access route from the southern part of the settlement. Likewise, there are no examples of structures specifically intended for either government or religion, leading Goldman to comment on the “spiritual poverty” of MH Eutresis.²⁵⁷ However, the absence of truly public structures at these sites should not be understood as a consequence of simplicity or disorganization; rather, the infrastructure of the community was established and maintained at the level of the household – or more particularly, the head of this group. Considering the implication of inter-household cooperation implied by the presence of even a limited infrastructure, it is here appropriate to examine the nature of the relationships between these constituent parts of the community.

c. House and Settlement

²⁵⁵ Caskey 1956, 151.

²⁵⁶ Philippa-Touchais 2006, 692.

²⁵⁷ Goldman 1931, 234. The tumulus covering the House of the Tiles may be tentatively proposed as a sort of settlement-wide religious space, though there is little evidence in support of this idea. Rather, religion, like most other social aspects of these MH communities, seems to have been negotiated at the level of the household.

Social organization at both Lerna and Eutresis seems to have occurred primarily at the level of individual households and small household groups. This system must have necessarily led to fractious relationships among social units, characterized by competitive building and efforts to attract constituents through feasting, among other methods of social posturing. However, it is overly simplistic to suppose that there was no degree of cooperation among these households. That is, it is not unlikely that even the most factionary household groups would have occasionally bonded together for more intensive labors, such as harvesting or even house-building, although this sort of collaboration may still have operated to create social debts and accrue prestige within the larger settlement. Likewise, intrasettlement cooperation and social identification with the settlement rather than the household may have increased as the MH period progressed. This new affinity with the greater group may have to do with an increase in interaction with outside settlements over the course of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, as has been proposed above for Lerna, but may also be indicated by the construction of a defensive wall at Eutresis in LH III. Such a trend may also be traceable in a rise of the use of extramural cemeteries in LH I/II.

Previously, intramural burial at these settlements would have acted as an expression of kinship and household land claims; Georgousopoulou, especially, highlights this relationship between the living and the dead, correlating the relatively high concentration of MH I graves within the settlement of Asine with legitimating strategies of land use.²⁵⁸ Building on this idea, it is perhaps even likely that greater numbers of burials or more visible graves around a certain structure would have been more effective

²⁵⁸ Georgousopoulou 2004, 207-213.

in legitimating land claims, either through the implication of duration of occupancy or the social influence of the group, even allowing the accrual of prestige from burials associated with domestic space. The accumulation of social status through proximity to the dead has also been suggested for extramural cemeteries; examples of this idea can be found especially in the tumuli of MH and the shaft graves of LH I, in which it is likely that kin and constituents were buried together, symbolically articulating family unity, wealth, and power.²⁵⁹ In this case, however, the burials, now separated from the community of the living, would have been associated with the settlement as a whole rather than a particular house within it, creating a different dynamic that could be indicative of social change.²⁶⁰

While it has been noted above that Eutresis and particularly Lerna saw an increase in intramural burial toward the end of MH III/LH I, it has also been argued that by this time large portions of these settlements were no longer used for habitation. Similarly, while graves were generally still grouped into plots – especially visible at Lerna and probably to be associated with longstanding local households – the lack of clear association with the living kinship group weakens any land claims on behalf of individual families. Rather, the conversion of substantial, continuous areas of the settlement to funeral use may have acted in LH I/II as a statement of the possession of the surrounding area on the part of the settlement as a whole. The use of more monumental graves by settlements to mark the extent of their territory is a well-known phenomenon in the

²⁵⁹ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 30, 33-35, 43-46, 55-56; Wright 2008, 238.

²⁶⁰ This shift has been associated in the past with the rise of the Mycenaean culture and state, but it is arguable that the tendency to associate domestic architecture with graves never disappeared from Helladic society – certainly the assimilation of Grave Circle A into the walls of Mycenae itself makes a sort of kinship claim, and it is possible that similar relationships existed between other domestic complexes and the tholoi outside the walls.

Aegean Bronze Age, remarked upon by Joanne Murphy among others.²⁶¹ Though the MH intramural burials at these sites were not generally monumental and would not have been visible from a significant distance, their concentrated placement upon the old settlement mound may have functioned as a similar territorial claim, intended as a message of ownership to nearby – possibly expansionist – towns and villages.²⁶² While the articulation of individual household identity would have still played a major role in the creation and maintenance of group bonds through the ritual of burial, then, there seems to have been a new concern with the expression of place within broader pre-Mycenaean culture, probably a result of increasing interaction with external social forces.

III. *Cultural Continuity*

The major changes in the domestic architecture and settlement structures at Lerna and Eutresis seem to be representative of general trends occurring throughout the mainland settlements through the duration of the MBA. S. Voutsaki has suggested that the key to these changes is a shift in the conditions of “social categorisation,” expressed most explicitly through the transformation of funeral ritual.²⁶³ She argues that:

The main structuring principle underlying mortuary patterns in the MH I-MH II periods was kinship rather than social status; . . . as authority was ‘inscribed’ and embedded in kin relations, it did not require elaborate practices and material distinctions for its legitimation. However, in the MH III-LH I periods a new mode of social evaluation was introduced, one based on ostentatious practices and possibly military achievement.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Murphy 1998, 27-40.

²⁶² At Asine, also, there are a number of “extramural” burials, including shaft graves, that seem to date to mid- to late MH and early LH I/II, identified by Nordquist (1987, 98-101), perhaps suggesting a similar trend there.

²⁶³ Voutsaki 2005, 139.

²⁶⁴ Voutsaki 2005, 137.

However, there are also clear elements of cultural continuity into the Mycenaean period and beyond, particularly regarding the importance of the household and kinship group in creating social identity. That is, Voutsaki's suggestion that kinship fell out of favor as a means of negotiating social identity precludes her from acknowledging its enduring significance in Mycenaean society. It will not be argued here that conspicuous consumption and adoption of exotica did not play an increasingly important role in the LH I cultural climate, but rather that these social strategies continued to be used most prominently within the kinship context, as in the case of the Grave Circles of Mycenae. Moreover, as Wright argues, the appearance of the megaron – the basic domestic form, emblematic of the family – at the very heart of the Mycenaean palace is testament to the persistent articulation of identity through lineage.²⁶⁵ The differences between the two periods, then, seem to be related to the magnitude of expression and dictated by the access to resources.

a. Application of the Dual-Processual Model

The social continuity occurring between the supposedly “simple” MH settlements and the later Mycenaean states can perhaps be attributed to a fundamentally unchanged approach to establishing and maintaining power structures. Here it is perhaps useful to turn to the ideas of Richard Blanton, *et al.*, concerning the political systems of developing societies, their “dual-processual” model.²⁶⁶ According to Blanton, there are two primary,

²⁶⁵ Wright 2006, 39-41. Carl Knappet (2009, 14-26) also argues for continuity between the kinship-focused organization of households and the later palatial states, although he focuses his work on Crete rather than mainland Greece.

²⁶⁶ Blanton 1996, 1-14.

coexisting methods of obtaining and preserving control of social organizations; one, the exclusionary approach, also referred to as the “network” strategy, is defined as “a political-economic pattern in which preeminence is an outcome of the development and maintenance of individual-centered exchange relations established primarily outside one’s local group,” while the other, the “corporate” strategy, is characterized by a distribution of power “across different groups and sectors of society.”²⁶⁷ William Parkinson and Michael Galaty, applying this model to the cultures of the Aegean Bronze Age, conclude that the pre-Mycenaean mainland is marked by an increasingly “network” method of power-building, culminating in LH III with the formation of the Mycenaean states.²⁶⁸ They particularly emphasize the “desire to control the production and distribution of prestige goods and promote the roles of specific hereditary leaders,” as well as the domination of foreign trade and its concomitant use in legitimation techniques, as major characteristics of the power structures of Mycenaean Greece.²⁶⁹

Although the role of the household in the creation of social power in MH society has been strongly accentuated above, it should again be noted here that each of these households, typified by complex kinship structures and extremely involved production and distribution systems, would have had highly centralized leadership, probably ultimately inherited lineally. Likewise, while the cultivation of extra-regional trade relationships by individuals is not obvious in the archaeological record for early MH society, Lerna’s position on important trade routes has already been noted, while

²⁶⁷ Blanton 1996, 4, 2.

²⁶⁸ Parkinson and Galaty 2007, 113-129, particularly 120, 122-123.

²⁶⁹ Parkinson and Galaty 2007, 123.

Goldman remarks on the likelihood that Eutresis was active in local trade at least as far as the Gulf of Corinth.²⁷⁰ It is additionally possible that the formation of social bonds with outside households, either through marriage or the establishment of a “patron-client” type of relationship, would have functioned similarly in advertising the “foreign” connections and power of the household leader, helping to legitimate and propel changes in status.

The presence of network-based power structures as early as EH III in these settlements therefore seems likely. Blanton, *et al.*, further suggest that the major means of expanding power in such societies was through “patrimonial rhetoric,” emphasis on kinship groups and ancestry, and “prestige-goods systems,” the control of precious materials.²⁷¹ At least at Lerna, the early institutionalization of inheritance as a fundamental part of household relationships is archaeologically apparent, implying the use of Blanton’s “patrimonial rhetoric” to solidify a basis of control. Though the production and distribution of prestige items seems less likely for early MH society, it is possible that limitations created by a less active engagement with foreign or even extra-regional trade at this time allowed fairly common materials and goods to achieve inflated significance; it is at any rate clear that inhabitants of the settlements at Lerna and Eutresis were strongly concerned with aspects of storage, production, and distribution, which seem to have formed elements of social competition at these sites.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Goldman 1931, 3.

²⁷¹ Blanton 1996, 5.

²⁷² Parkinson and Galaty (2007, 122) propose that the elite of EH II settlements were “cut out of the loop” by “the monopolization of long-distance trade contacts by the emergent Minoan elite on Crete” at the EH II/III transition, severely limiting the mainland’s access to exotica (both material and ideological) until later in the MBA.

Households and settlements of the MH period, then, are characterized by exclusionary network power structures even before the development of Mycenaean society. However, the intensification of the exploitation of these strategies in the establishment and maintenance of power over the course of the LBA, as suggested by Parkinson and Galaty, seems extremely likely, perhaps partially accounting for some of the key differences in the two cultures – the rise in the practice of multiple burial and apparently greater complexity of funeral ritual, as well as the use of figurative artistic motifs – as identified by Voutsaki.²⁷³ Yet especially in the use of “patrimonial rhetoric” as a means of securing and legitimating a power base, arguably a motivation for the elaborate Grave Circles at Mycenae, as well as the later incorporation of Grave Circle A into the walls of the citadel, there are echoes of the social importance of the household in MH settlements. Indeed, as Knappett argues for Bronze Age Crete, “ultimately the state as a whole can be conceptualized as a grand household of households, headed by a patriarchal figure.”²⁷⁴ At the peak of the use of individualizing, wealth-based network strategies in Mycenaean society, then, individual power continued to be lineally-imparted and determined by membership in a larger kinship group, a system with firm roots in the factionary households of the mainland of the MBA.

b. *Discontinuity*

It should not, however, be forgotten that significant changes occurred in mainland society through the duration of the LBA. While the city wall constructed during LH III at Eutresis may show the palatial pretensions of the elite inhabitants there, they fall well

²⁷³ Parkinson and Galaty 2007, 120 (Table 2); Voutsaki 2005, 140-141.

²⁷⁴ Knappett 2009, 17.

short of the mark, and there is little sign of new construction within the boundaries of the wall, suggesting slow depopulation of the site rather than increasing power and prosperity. Likewise, though the shaft graves at Lerna can be understood as indications of the presence of a nearby elite group associated at least by ancestry with the site, the settlement itself was largely abandoned during the Mycenaean Age. Neither Lerna nor Eutresis, then, provides an example of the sort of continuous development into a powerful Mycenaean community described above, in spite of fostering a cultural climate that might be reasonably expected to do so. Nonetheless, the discontinuity apparent at these settlements is likely to be a consequence of the same intensification of processes that spurred the rise of Mycenaean civilization; that is, the increase in competition between settlements for resources and access to trade networks, which continued well into LH III, remarked upon by both Wright and Burns, forced the decline of sites that could not integrate themselves successfully into this new, more aggressive external framework, failing to overcome the factionary divisions at the level of the household to form more viable economic units in the face of an expanding world.²⁷⁵

c. Conclusions

Thus, there may not have been any great change between the apparently simple society of the Middle Helladic and the complex culture of the Late Helladic. Rather, the same tendencies that informed the construction of the small apsidal houses in Lerna IV and V instigated the production of the Mycenaean palaces at a later period and on a larger scale; both types of building represented the articulation of familial identity and concomitant claims to the occupied land. Likewise, the dispersed settlement patterns of

²⁷⁵ Wright 2006, 12-13; Burns 2007, 111-119.

villages like Eutresis find expression in the competing elite domestic complexes of Mycenae and Tiryns; indeed, the earlier structures mirror later houses such as the Oil Merchant complex even in the amount of space dedicated to storage and craft production, suggesting a similar manner of conveying wealth through possession and management of resources. Burial, as well, seems to have been actively intended to construct meaningful, legitimating claims of kinship and land ownership throughout the two periods, at first used intramurally to make statements concerning individual households within the settlement, and later more frequently extramurally, perhaps as an indication of the territorial borders of a broader community, in addition to maintaining its role in creating and maintaining kinship groups.

The Middle Helladic is therefore neither a cultural vacuum nor a simple connective – it should not be seen in terms of the traumatic end of the prosperity of EH II, but studied as an important period of development in its own right. Indeed, the careful analysis of representative settlements at Lerna and Eutresis has revealed a high degree of social complexity, in spite of the apparent poverty of remains. Though perhaps recovering from a series of destructions and temporarily precluded from participation in foreign trade networks by the rise of the Minoan hegemonies, the mainland culture of the MBA was far from being “static” and “backward.”²⁷⁶ Rather, it seems to have provided the backdrop for extremely active intra-settlement competition, expressed and negotiated on the level of the household. Moreover, although the forms of structures remained fairly consistent throughout the period, building activity was ongoing and frequent until LH I/II at both Lerna and Eutresis, suggesting not the frailty of the dwellings themselves, but the importance attributed to their construction.

²⁷⁶ Dickinson 1977, 32.

At Lerna, this phenomenon has been characterized as a key part of the generational re-creation of social identity, as the heir to the household establishes himself as owner of the physical property of the household and leader of its more ephemeral members. Likewise, at Eutresis, the construction of dwelling space and associated auxiliary units must have played a major role in the establishment of the local power of certain households, perhaps culminating in the construction of House D. If, then, the MH period has appeared to be a time of cultural stagnation before sudden rise of the Mycenaeans, it is because it has not been examined at the level of its most active socio-economic unit, that of the household. Notoriously represented in the archaeological record only by scattered deposits of artifacts, a series of ceramic shapes and fabrics that are too little known to date closely, and poorly preserved architectural remains, these households formed the underpinnings of later Mycenaean society; through the analysis of MH domestic architecture, it is possible for the first time to see how such fragmentary architecture was able to provide the cultural foundations for the later construction of cyclopean citadels, themselves supporting an essentially unchanged megaroid form at the heart of the Mycenaean palaces.

Figures for Chapter I: *The Domestic Architecture of Lerna*

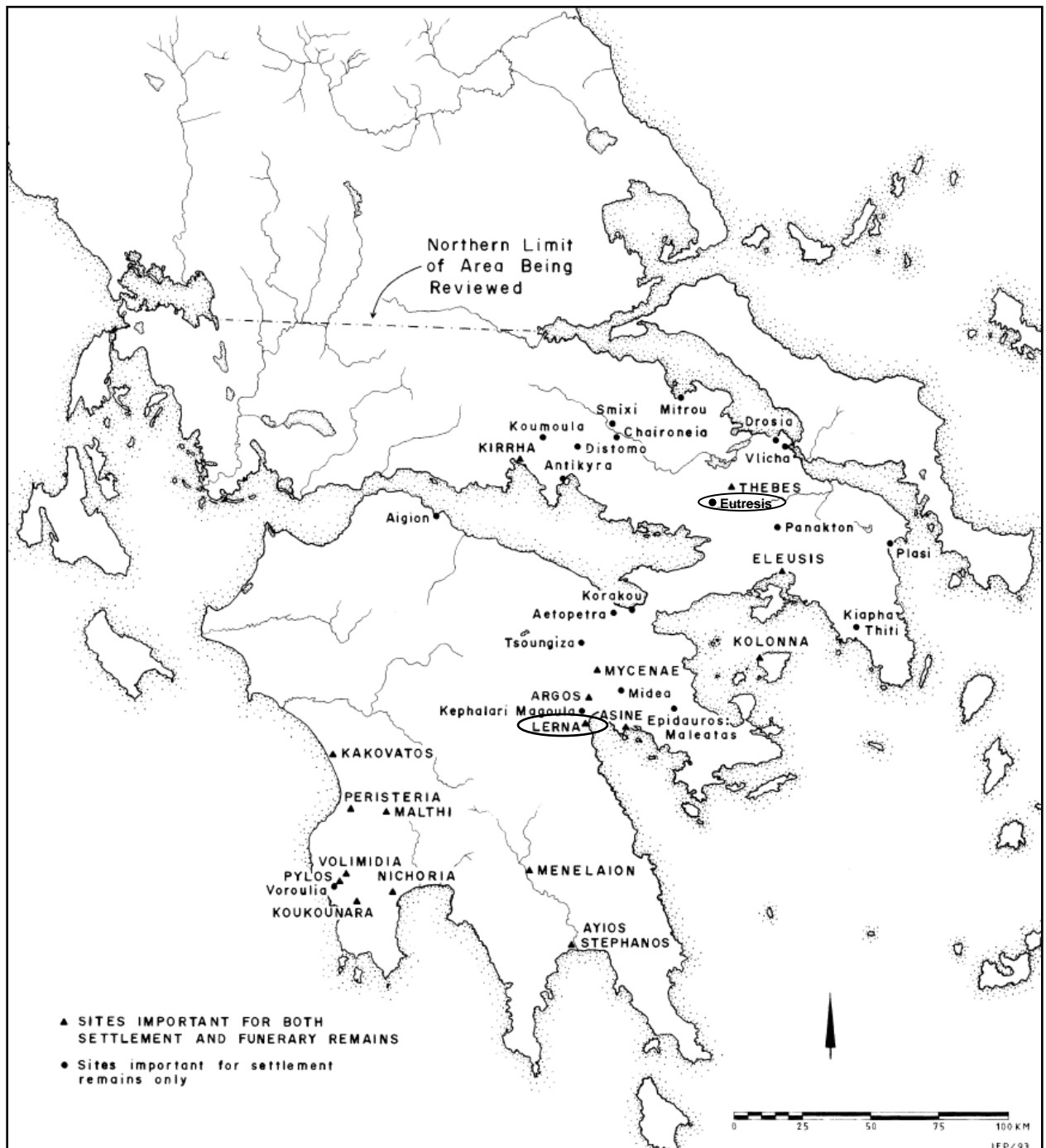


Figure 1.1: Position of Lerna in relation to other MH sites. The position of Eutresis is also indicated. (After Rutter 1993, 784, fig. 15)

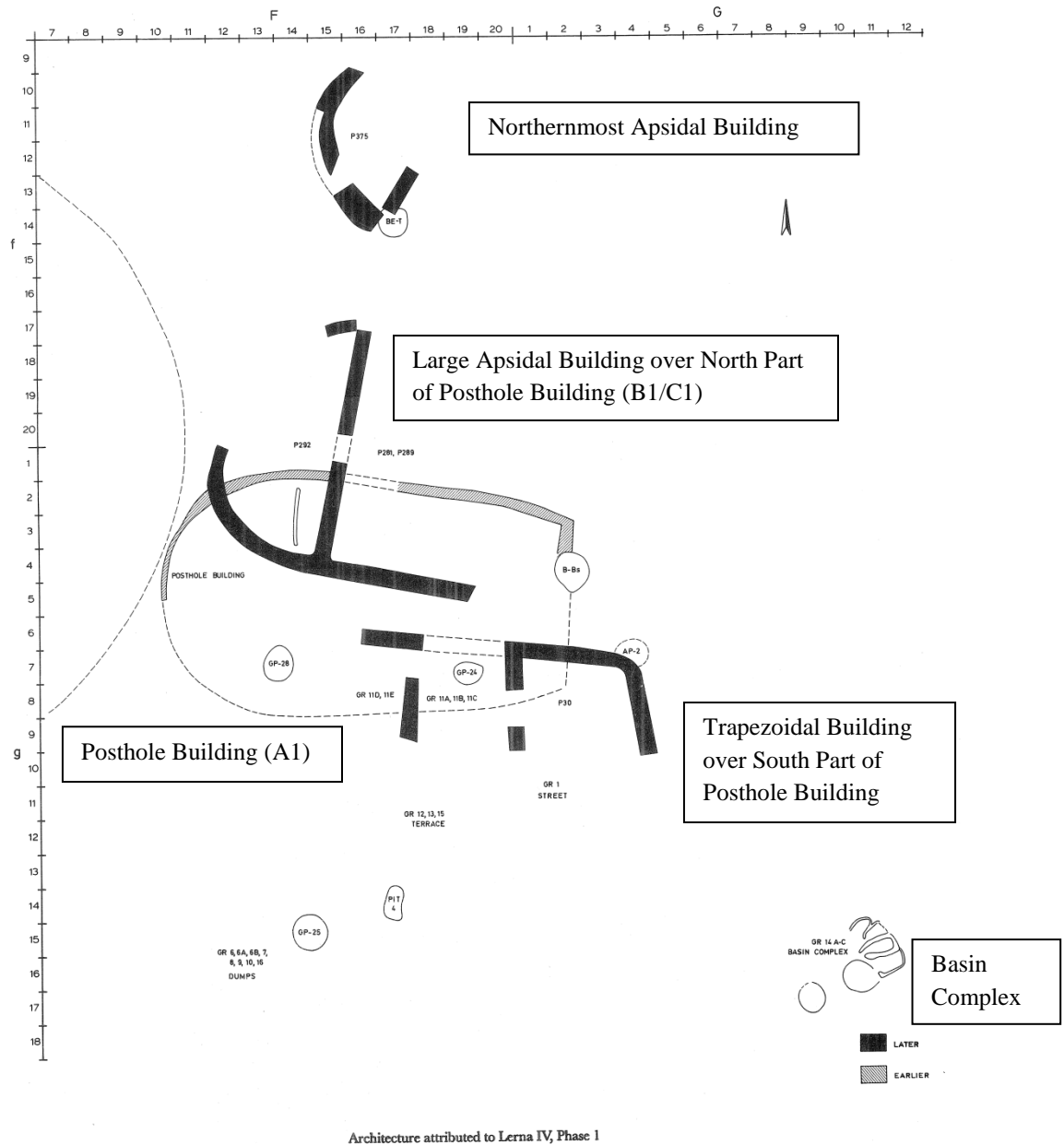


Figure 1.2: Lerna IV, Phase 1, Area B/BE. (After Rutter 1995, Plan III)

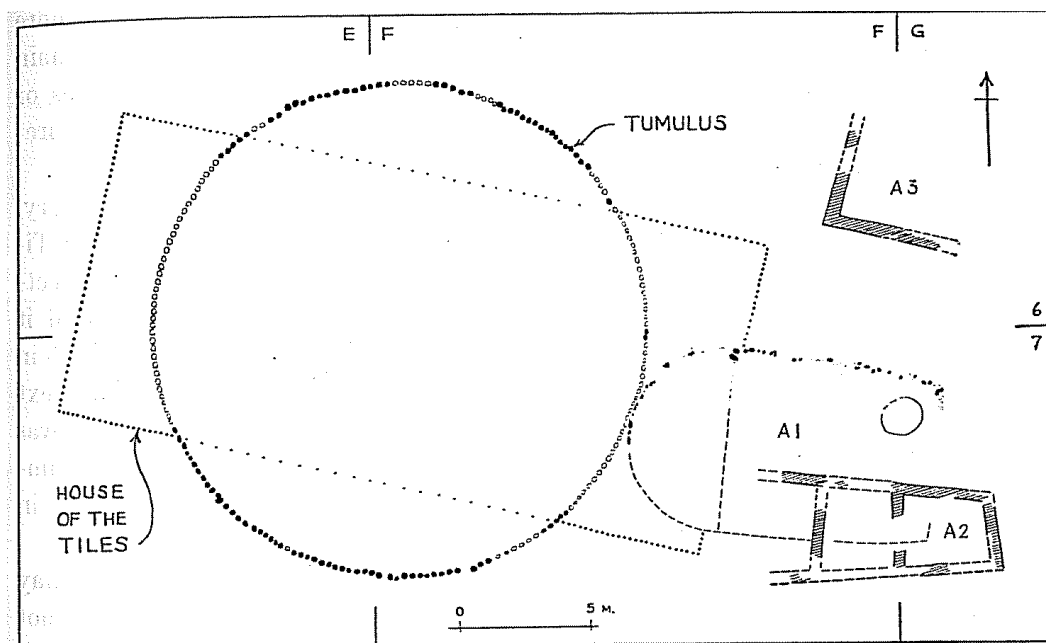


Figure 1.3: Caskey's plan of the first phase of Lerna IV in Area B/BE. (Caskey 1966, 145, fig. 1)

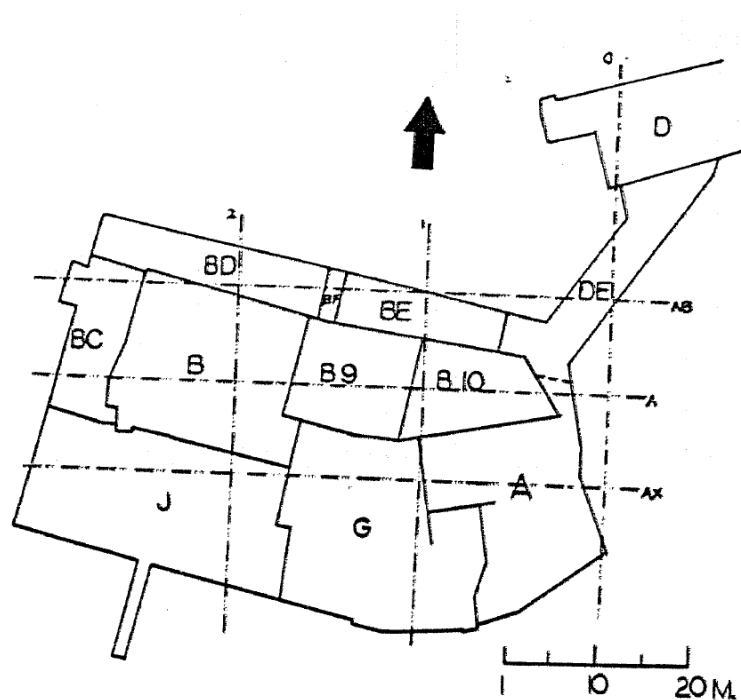
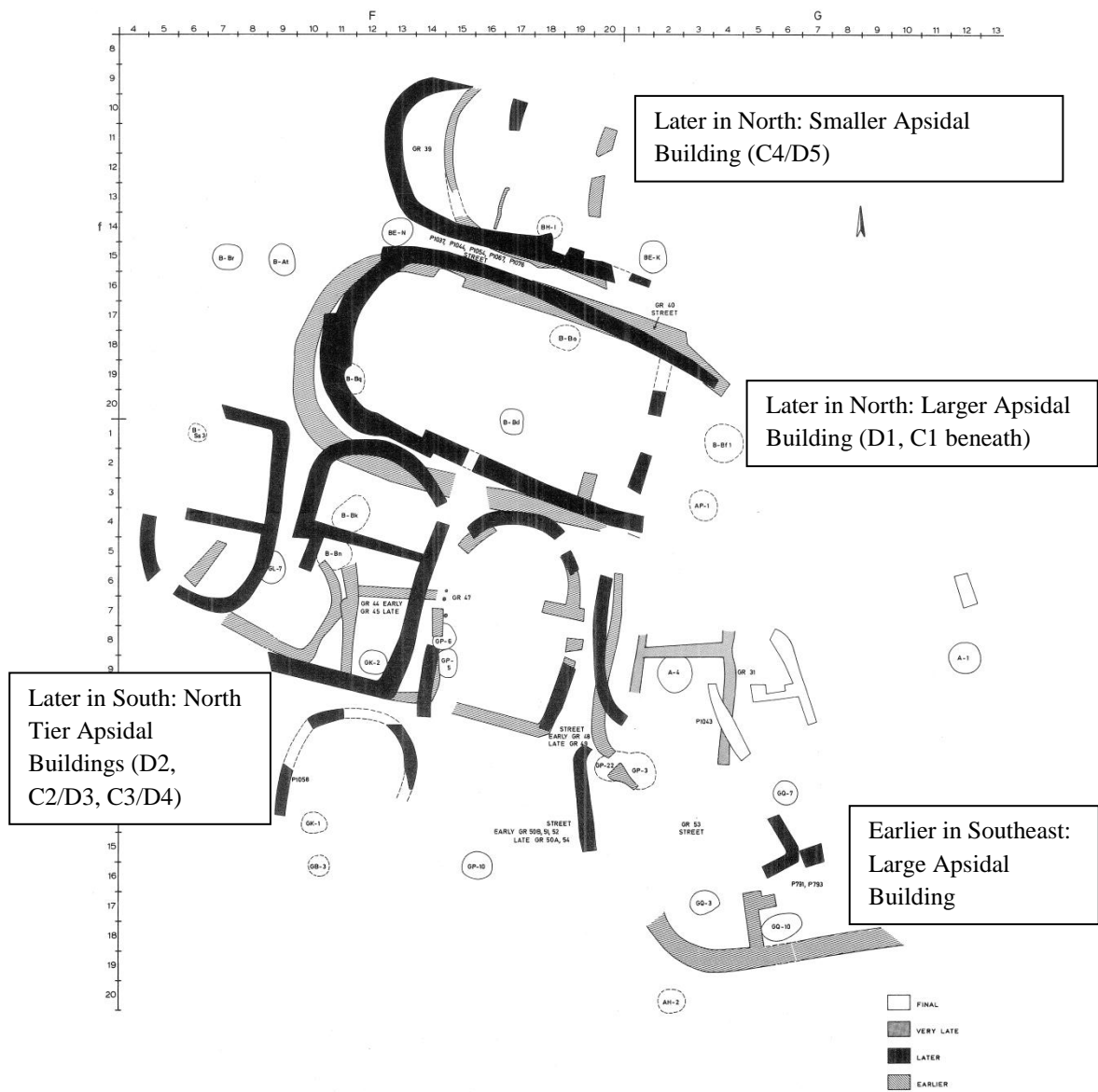


Figure 1.4: Plan showing the placement of the various trenches and larger areas of exploration at Lerna. Area B includes Trenches B9 and B10 as well. (Zerner 1978, fig. 1)



Architecture attributed to Lerna IV, Phase 3

Figure 1.6: Lerna IV, Phase 3, Area B/BE. (After Rutter 1995, Plan V)

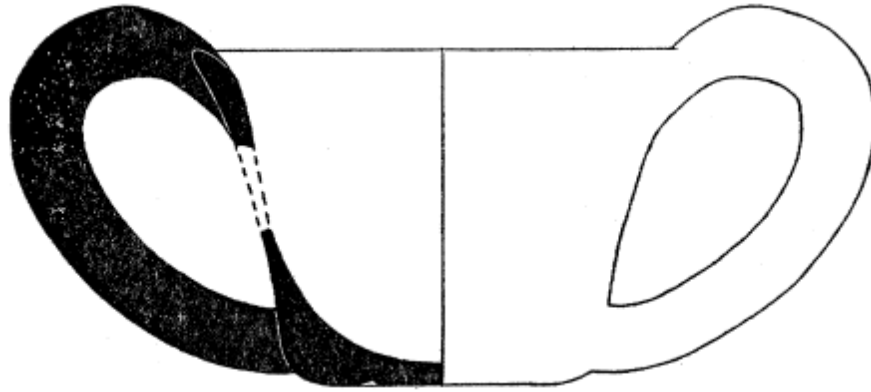


Figure 1.7: Profile of an imported stone cup associated with Building B1/C1. (Caskey 1956, 164, fig. 4)

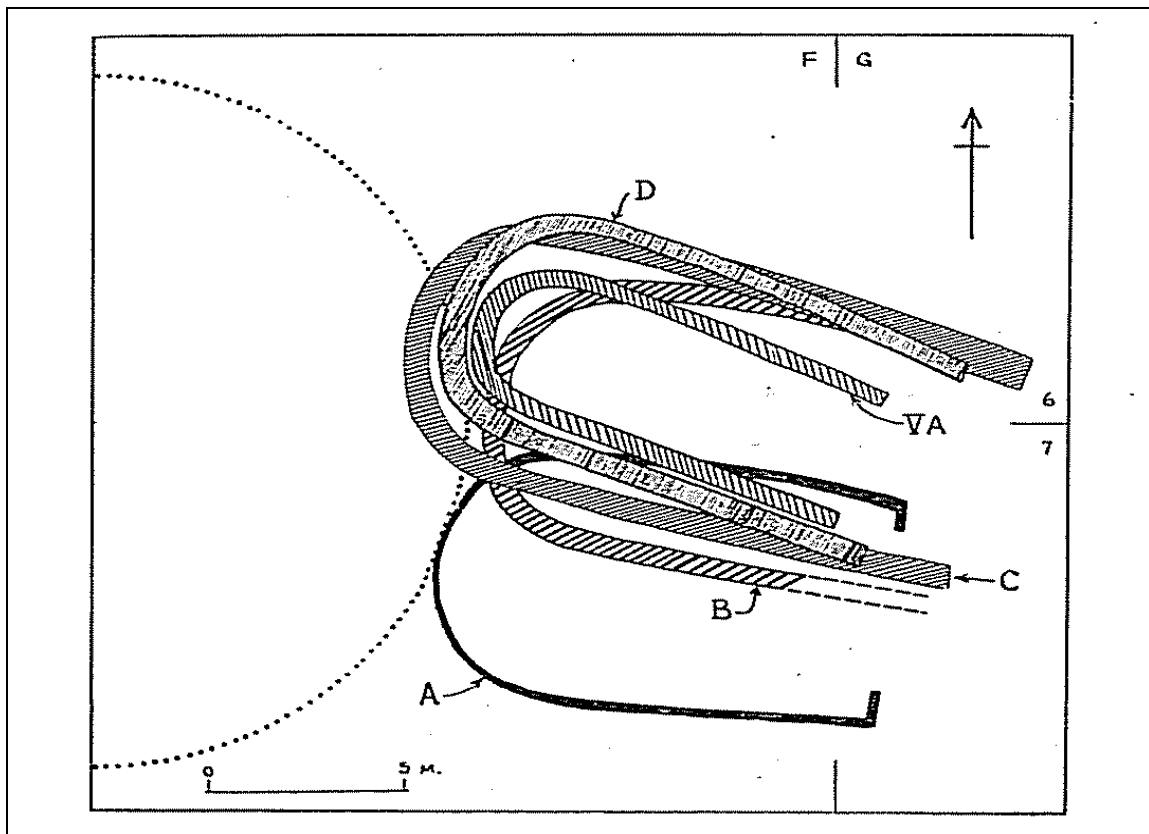


Figure 1.8: Series of large apsidal buildings (A1-D1, House 98A) to the east of the tumulus over the House of the Tiles (Area B/BE) and their relationship over time (Lerna IV through early Lerna V). (Caskey 1966, 150, fig. 5)

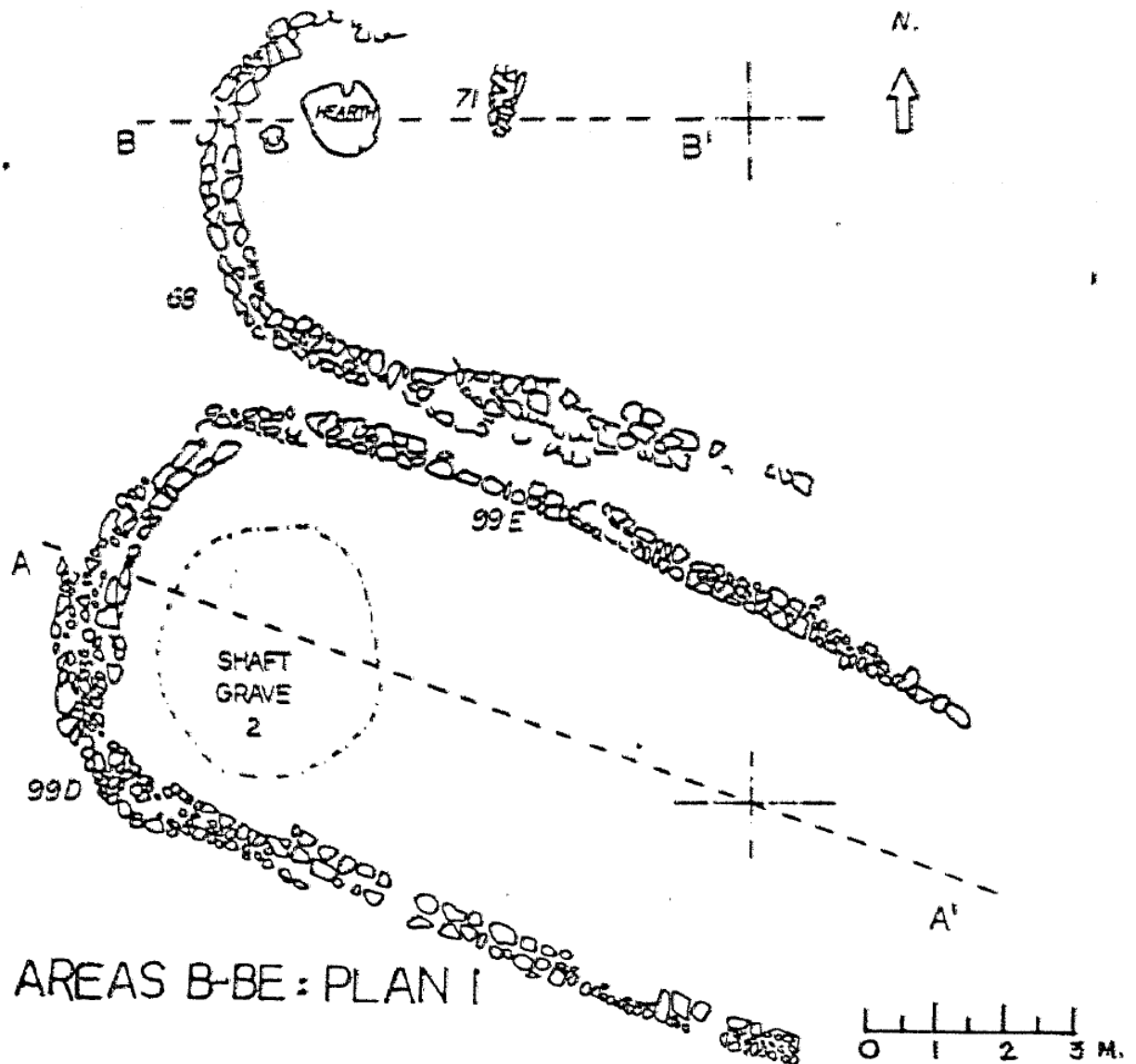


Figure 1.9: Plan of the final pair of apsidal houses in Area B/BE east of the tumulus to be constructed during Lerna IV (Transitional Phase). (Zerner 1978, fig. VI)



Figure 1.10: Enclosure with “propylon” associated with Wall CL in Area D (Lerna IV, Phase 3). (Caskey 1956, Plate 38b)

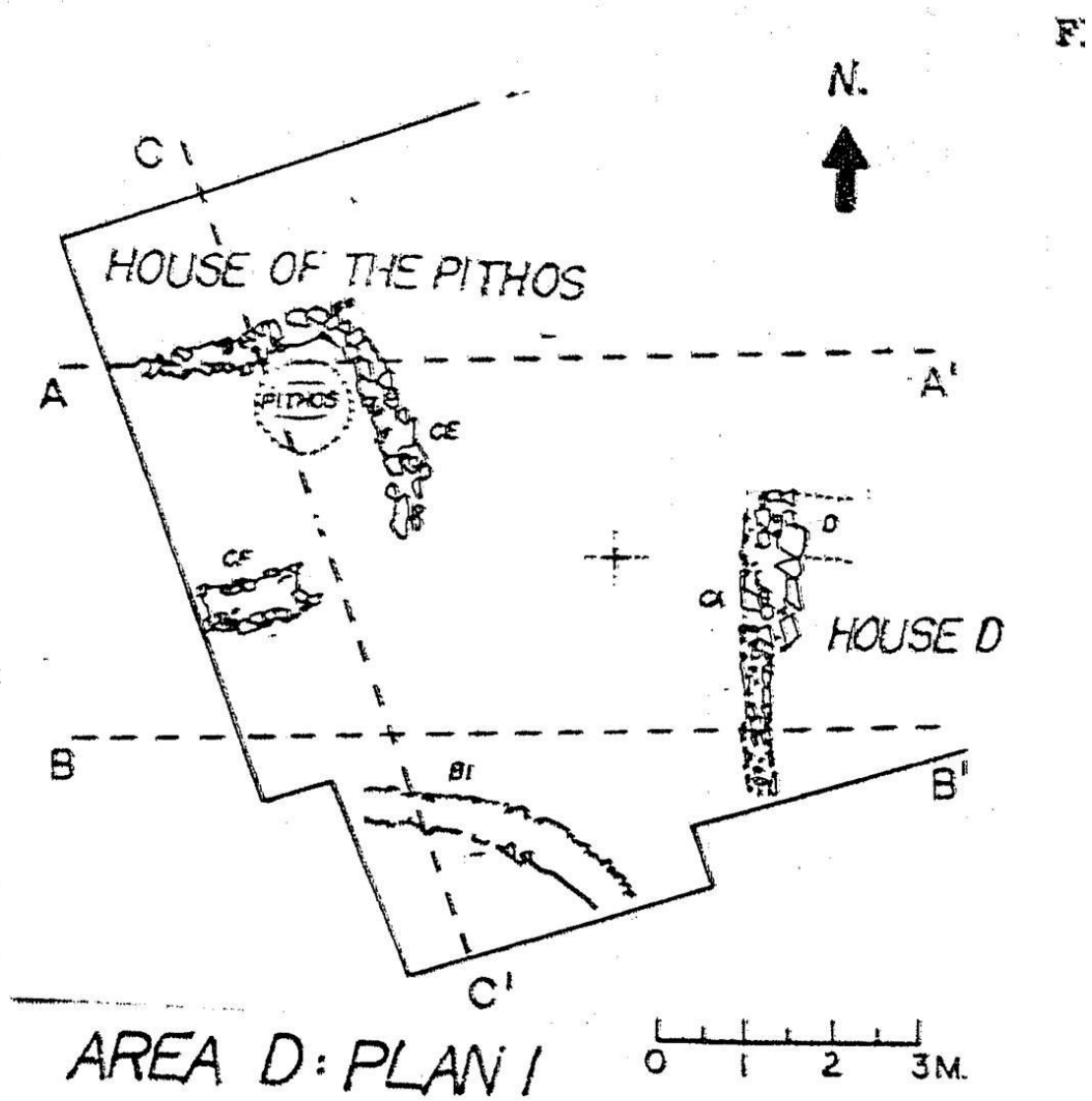
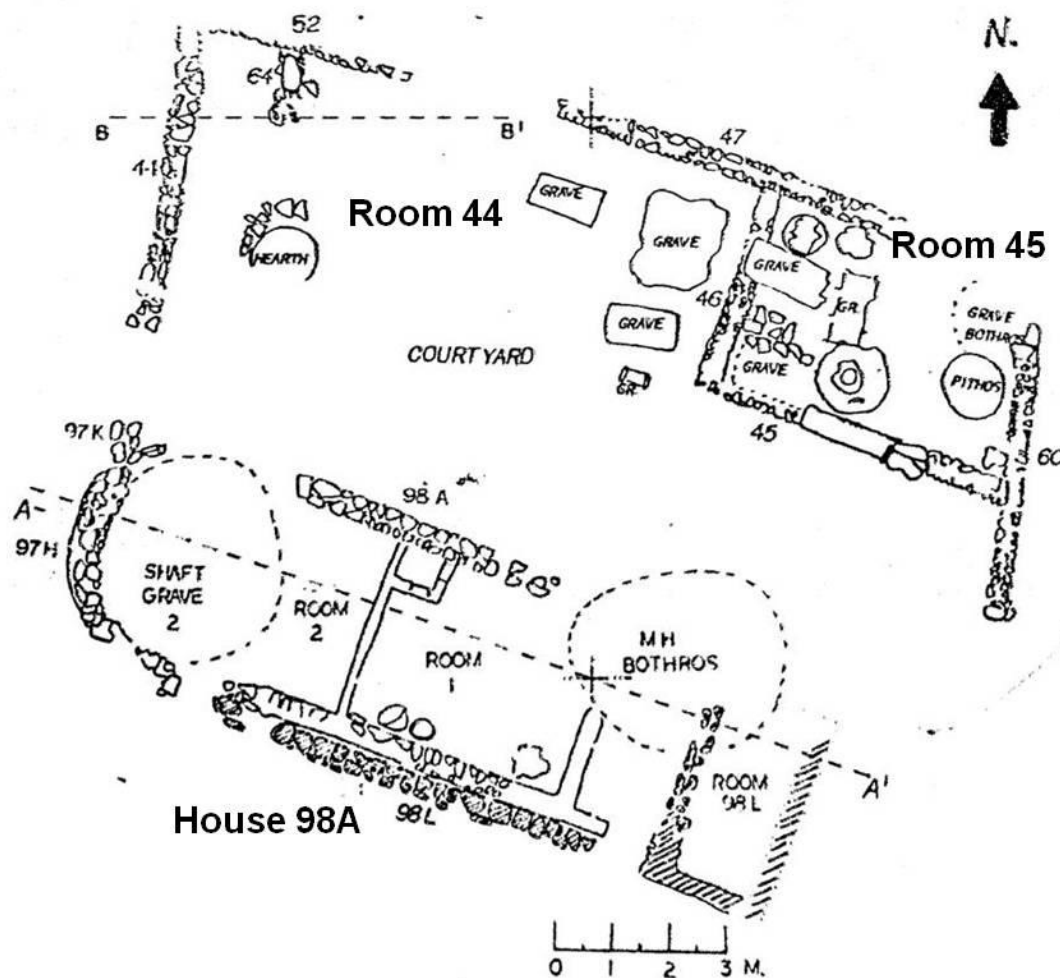


Figure 1.11: Area D during the last phase of Lerna IV (Transitional Phase). (Zerner 1978,

fig. II)



AREAS B-BE: PLAN 2

Figure 1.12: House 98A, the complex over the traditionally paired apsidal houses to the east of the tumulus (Area B/BE, Lerna V, Phase 1). (After Zerner 1978, fig. VII)

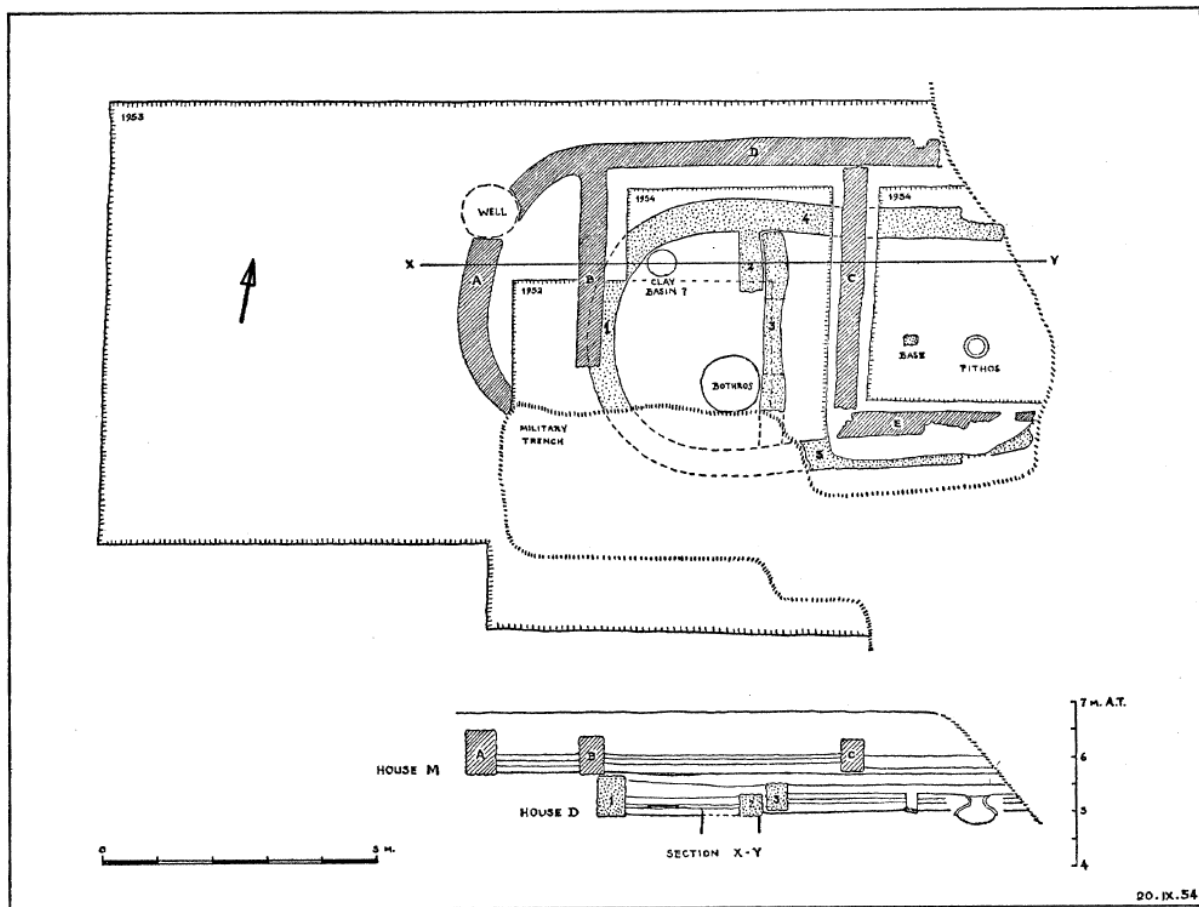


Figure 1.13: Houses D (early Lerna V) and M (middle to late Lerna V) in Area A in the southeastern part of the site. (Caskey 1955, 30, fig. 2)

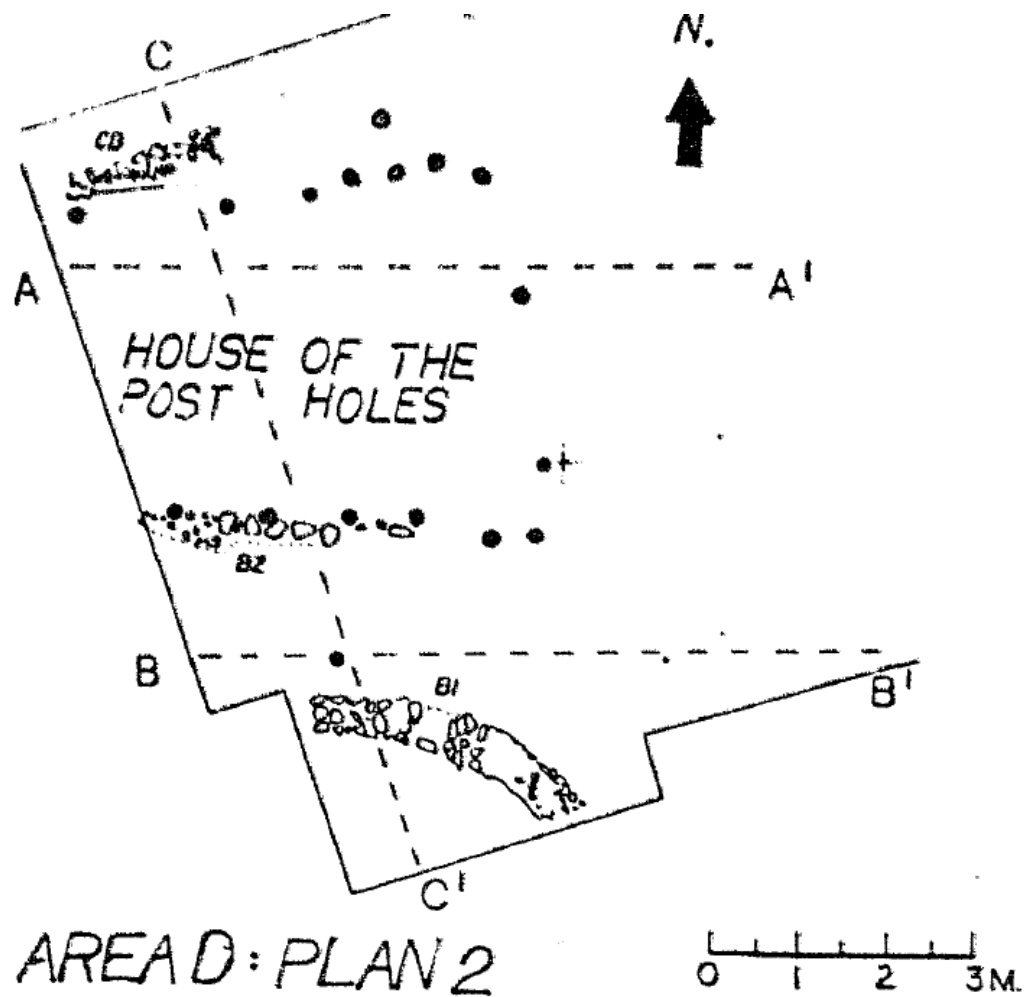


Figure 1.14: The House of the Postholes in Area D, dated to early Lerna V and apparently a transitional dwelling between the destruction of House CE (House of the Pithos) and the construction of House BS. (Zerner 1978, fig. II)

FIGURE 11

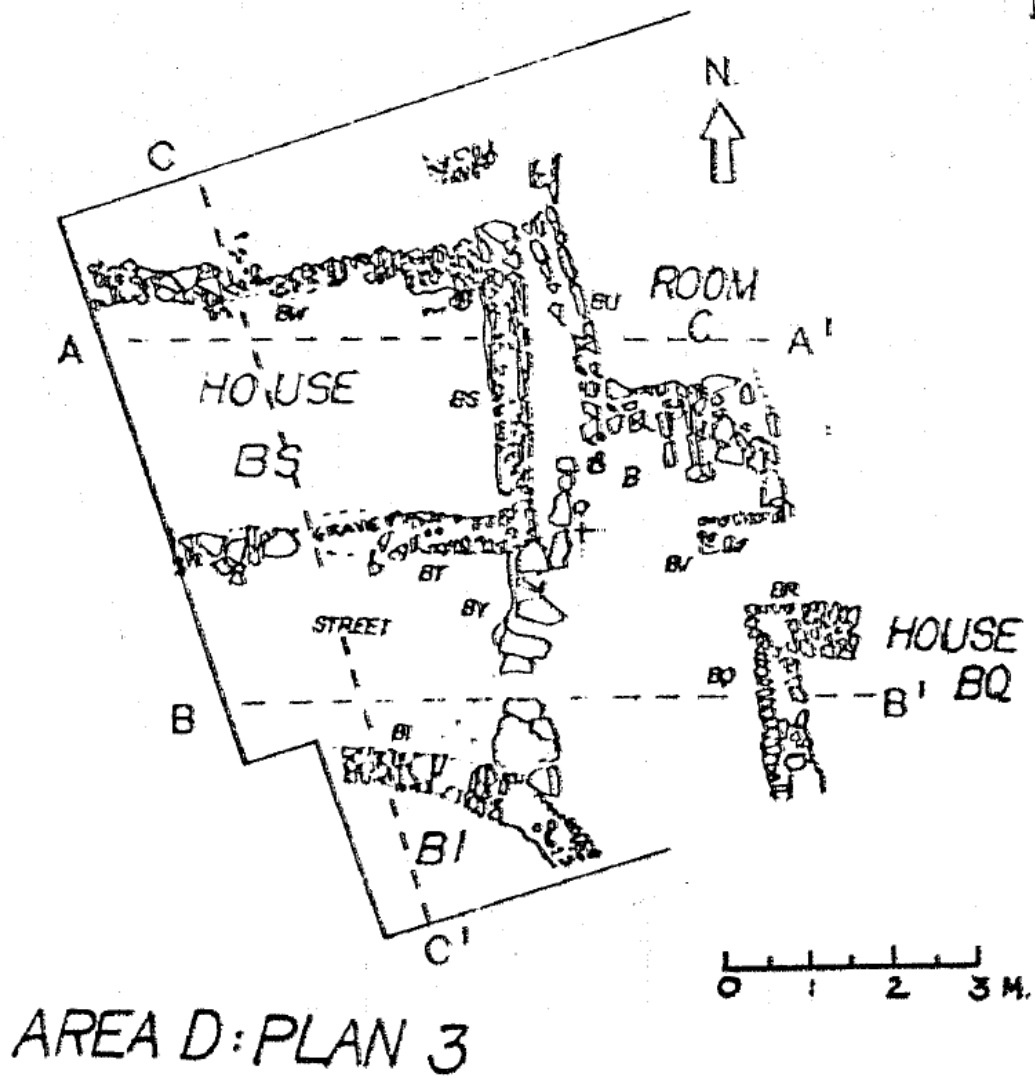


Figure 1.15: House BS in Area D (Lerna V). Note the close spacing of the adjacent structures. (Zerner 1978, fig. III)

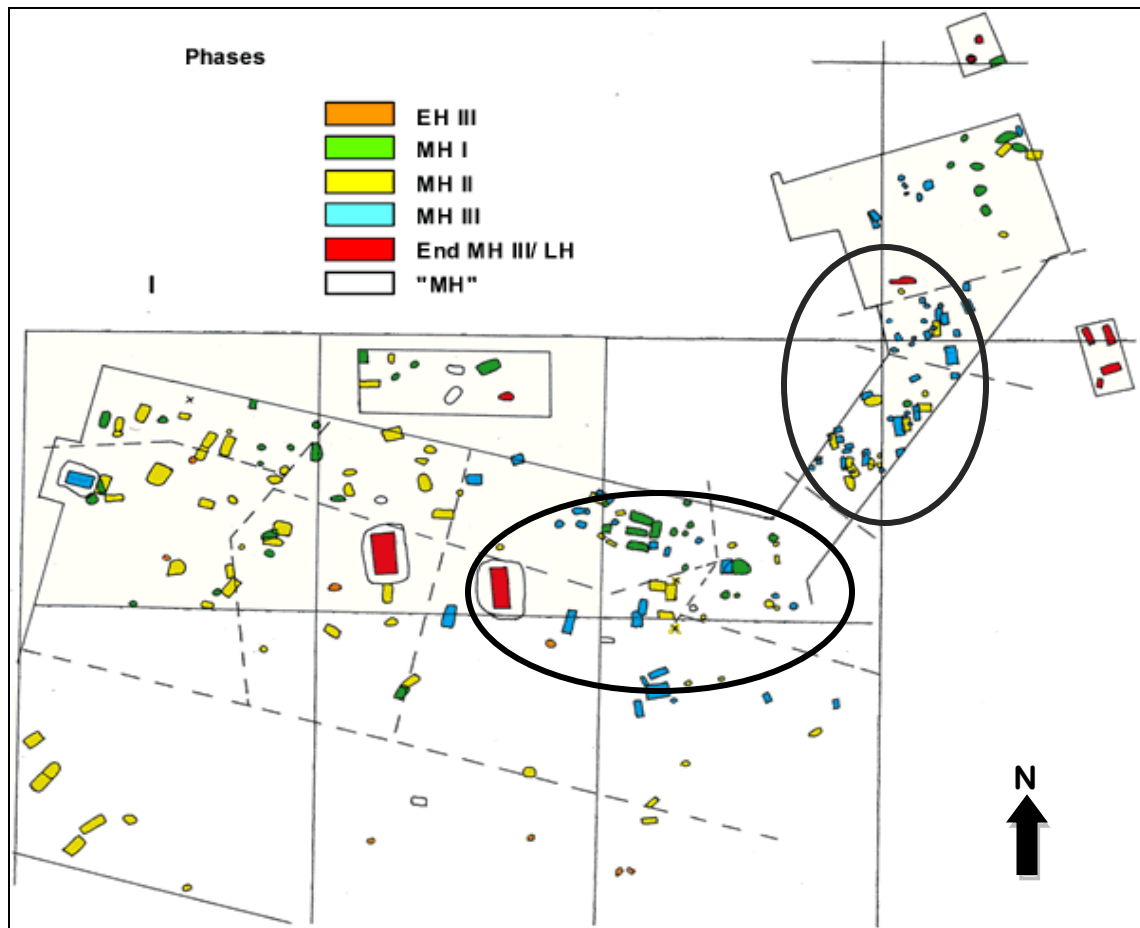


Figure 1.16: Phase plan of the intramural graves of MH Lerna, with proposed groupings in Area B/BE (left) and Area DE (right) indicated. The grid consists of 20x20m squares.

Modified from Voutsaki 2007.

Figures for Chapter II: *The Domestic Architecture of Eutresis*

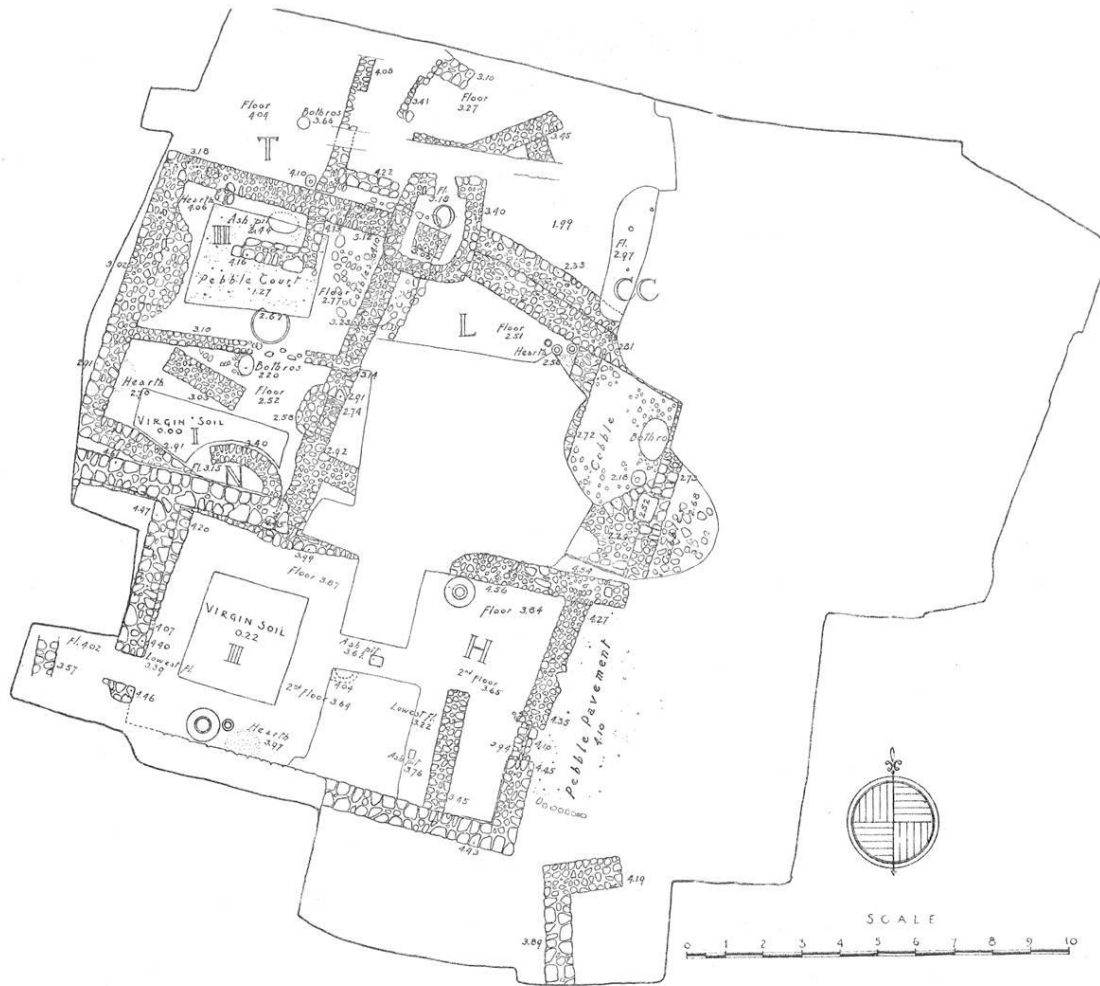


Figure 2.1: Plan of EH Eutresis, detail of southwestern sector. (Goldman 1931, Plan IIC)

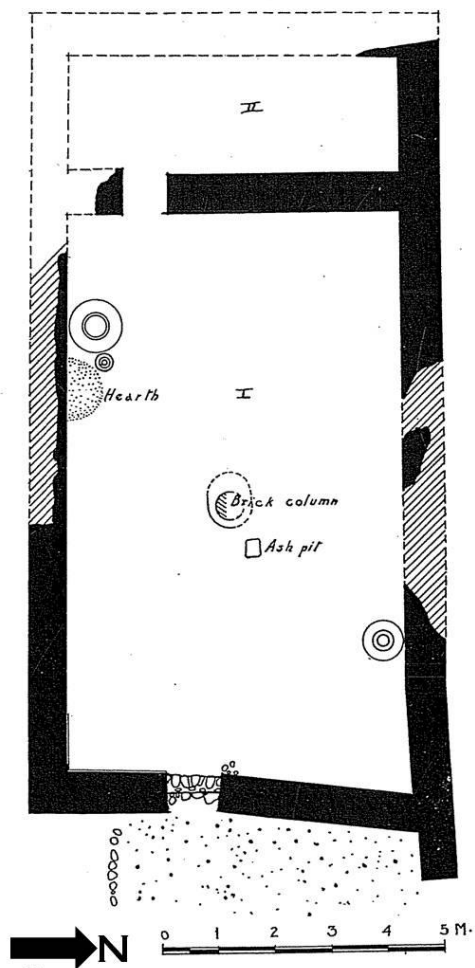


FIGURE 17. HOUSE H FROM THE EAST (EARLY HELLADIC III)

Figure 2.2: Plan of EH III House H. (Goldman 1931, 21, fig. 17)

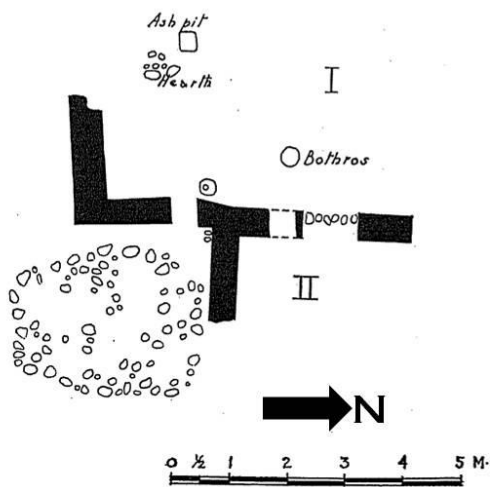


FIGURE 28. HOUSE T FROM THE EAST (EARLY HELLADIC III)

Figure 2.3: Plan of EH III House T, only partially preserved. (Goldman 1931, 27, fig. 28)

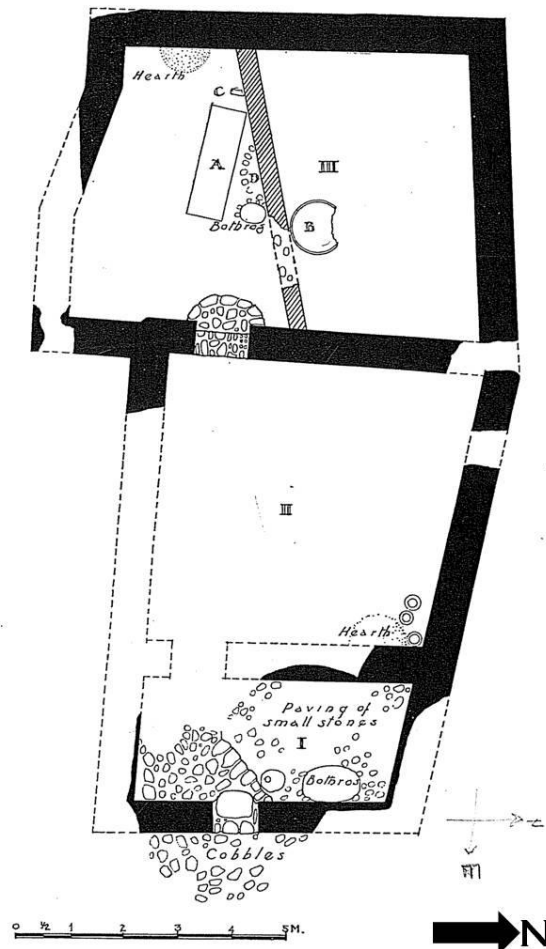


FIGURE 13. HOUSE L FROM THE EAST (EARLY HELLADIC II;
THE DIAGONALLY HATCHED WALL IN III BELONGS TO
THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION)

Figure 2.4: EH II House L. Note the later division of the western room. (Goldman 1931,
17, fig. 13)



FIGURE 29. BUILDING N
FROM THE WEST

Figure 2.5: EH II/III Building N. Building O was similarly shaped and slightly larger.
(Goldman 1931, 29, fig. 29)

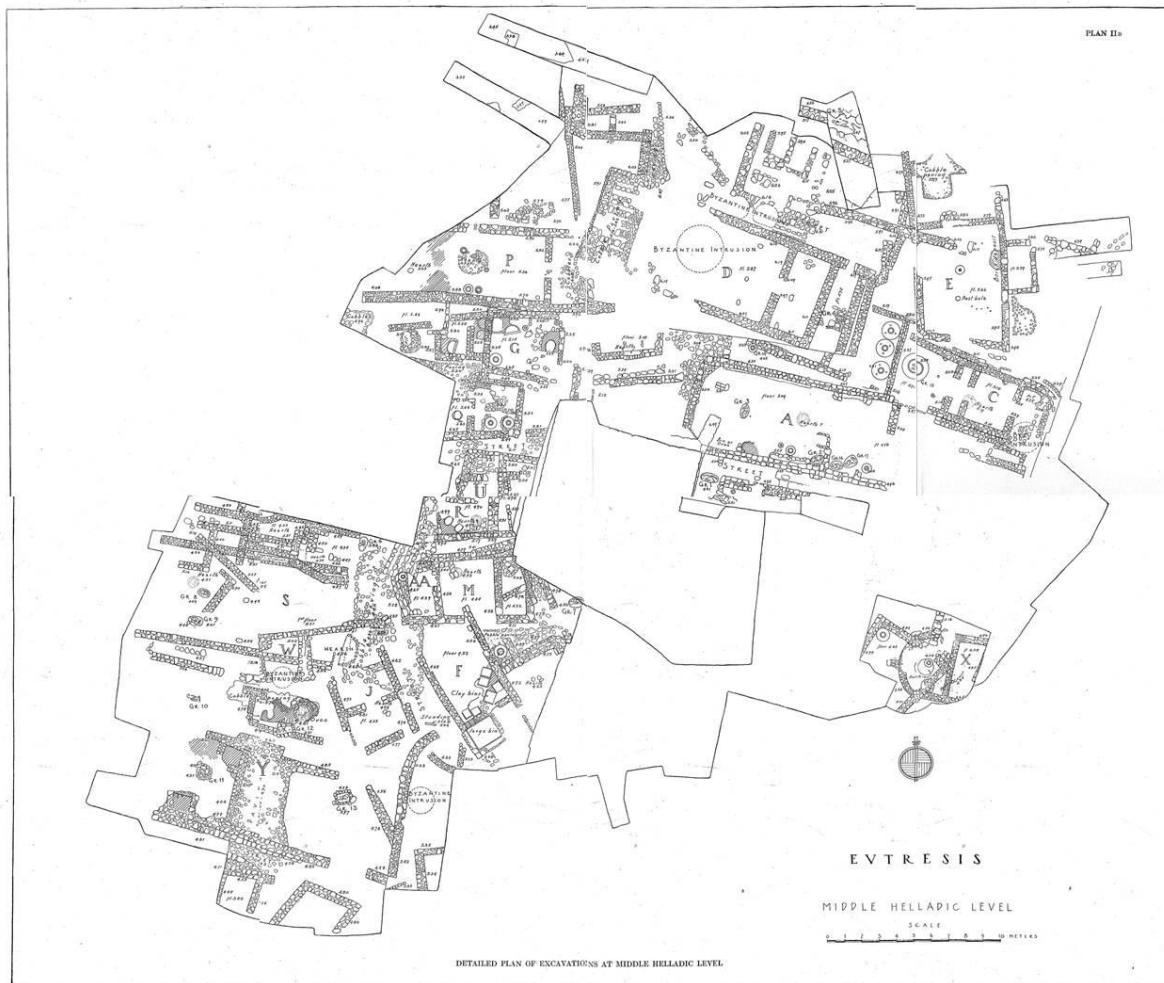


Figure 2.6: Plan of Eutresis. The scale provided represents ten meters. (Goldman 1931, Plan IIB)

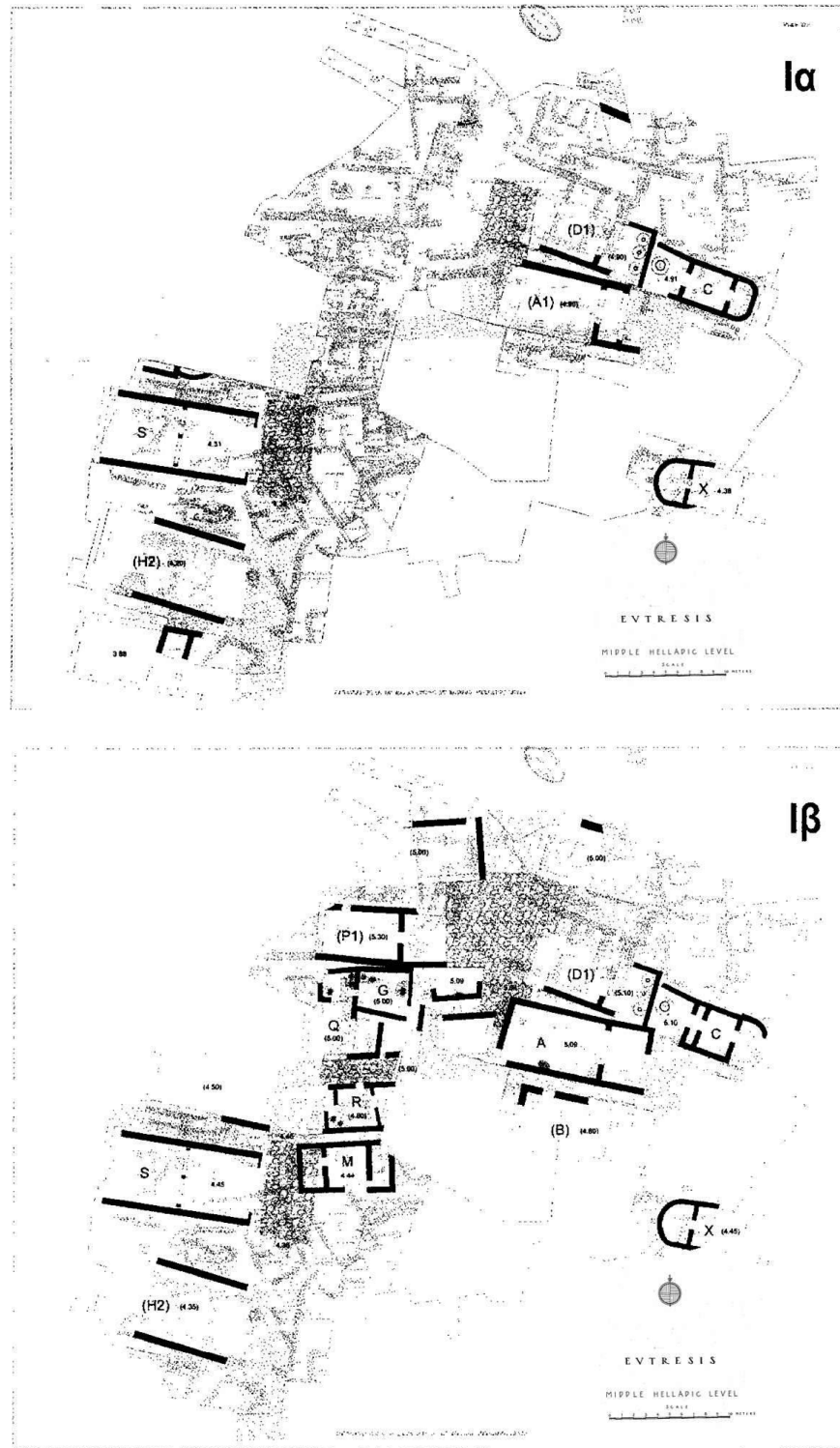


Figure 2.7: Philippa-Touchais Phases 1α and 1β, equivalent to Goldman's Phase I of the MH period, and perhaps roughly to MH I and II. The scale represents ten meters.

(Philippa-Touchais 2006, 701-702, fig. 2 and 3)

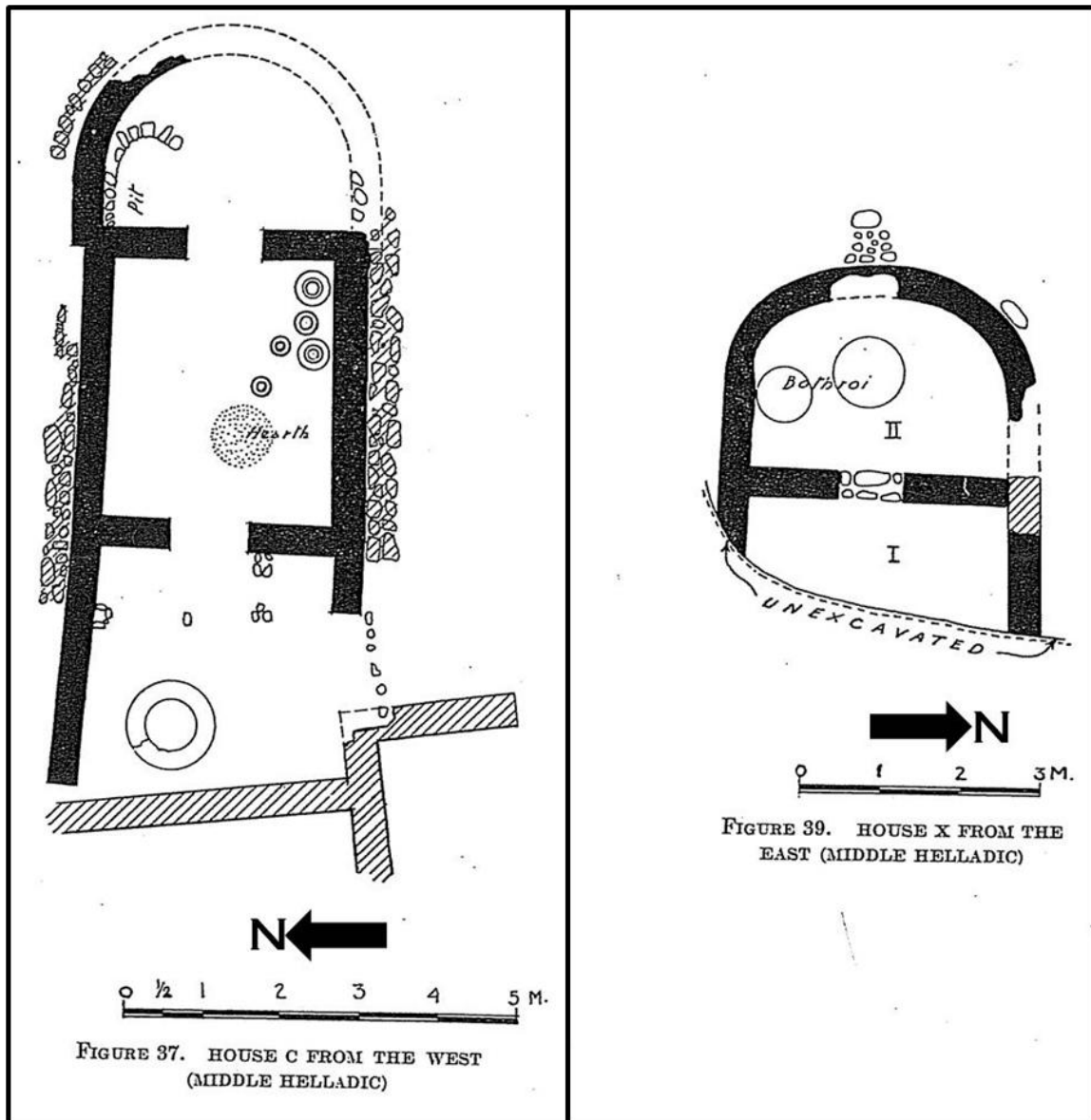


Figure 2.8: Plans of Houses C and X, assigned to Goldman's first phase of the MH period (MH I/II). (Goldman 1931, 35, fig. 37 and 39)

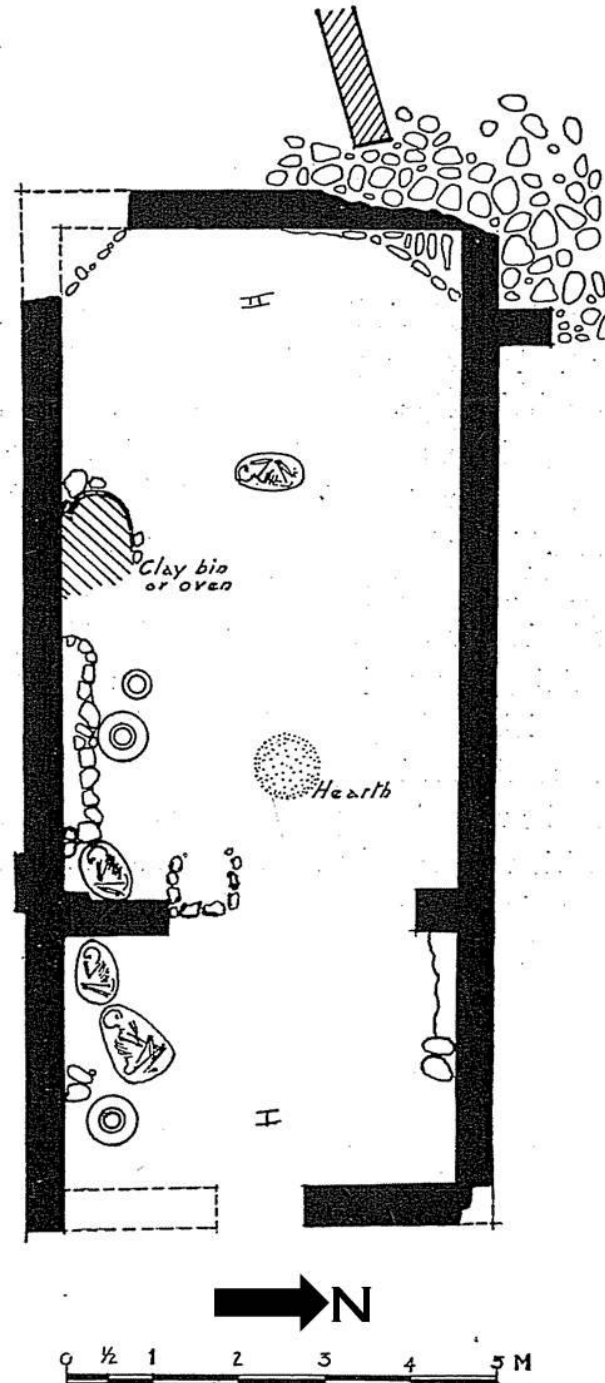


FIGURE 42. HOUSE A FROM THE EAST
(MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.9: Plan of House A, dated to Goldman's MH Phase 1 (MH I/II) and located in the northeastern section of the site. (Goldman 1931, 37, fig. 42)

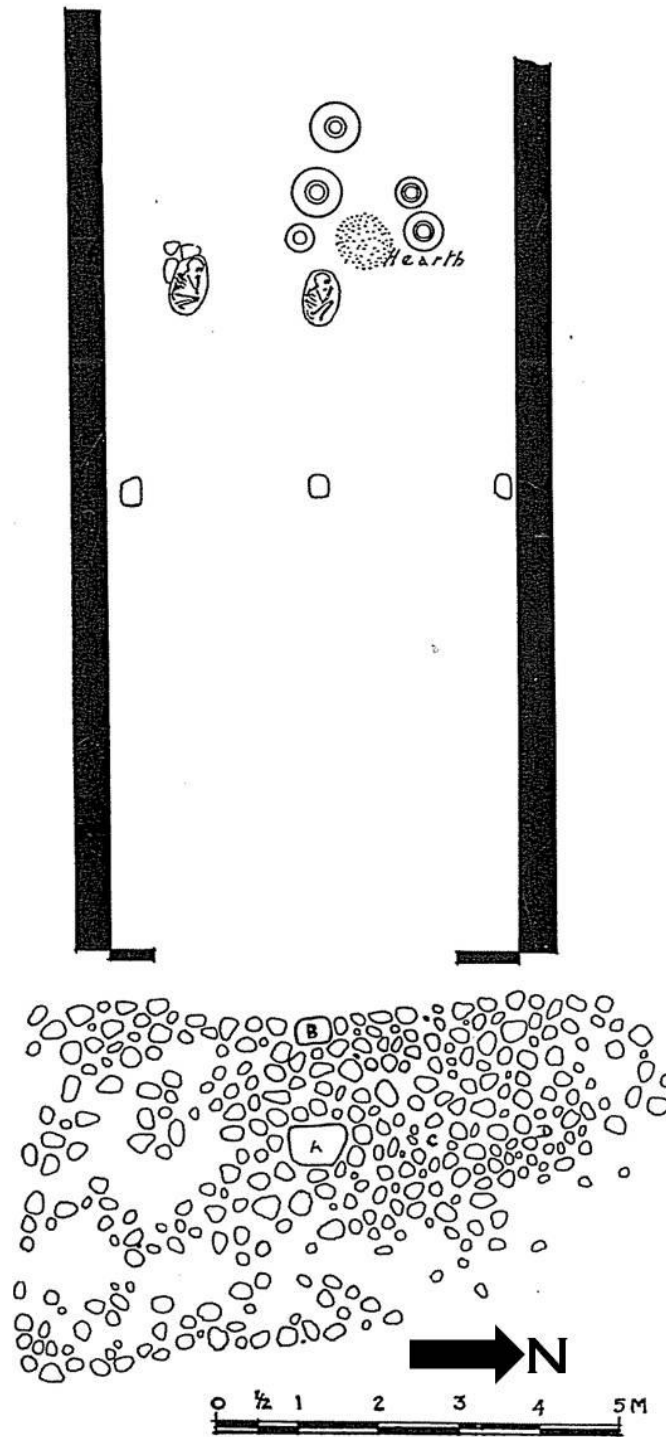


FIGURE 53. HOUSE S FROM THE EAST (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.10: Plan of House S, assigned by Goldman to her first phase of the MH period (MH I/II) and located in the southwestern portion of the site. (Goldman 1931, 48, fig. 53)

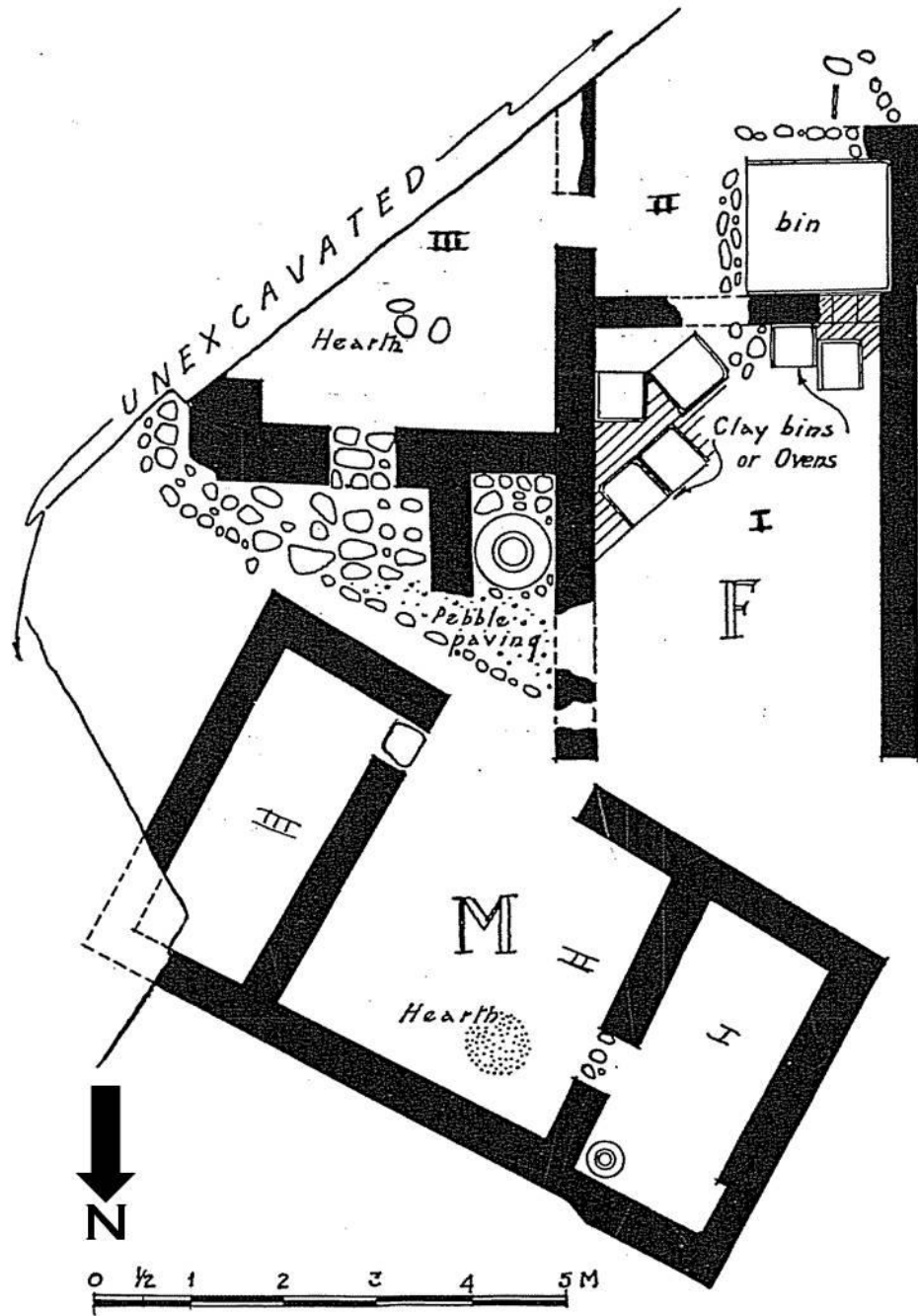


FIGURE 45. BUILDINGS F AND M FROM THE NORTH (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.11: Plans of Houses F and M, both dated to MH Phase I by Goldman (MH I/II) and located in the southwestern part of the site. (Goldman 1931, 40, fig. 45)

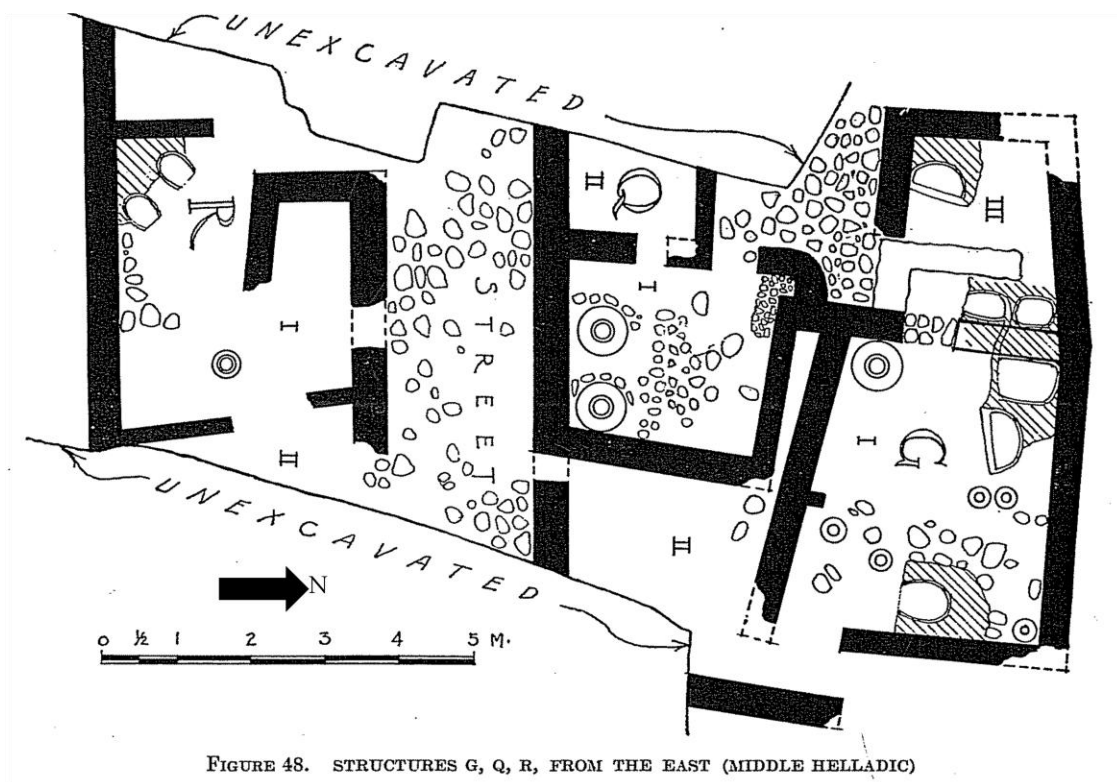


Figure 2.12: Plan of Areas G, Q, and R, assigned by Goldman to her MH Phase I (MH I/II) and located in the central/southwestern portion of the settlement. (Goldman 1931, 45, fig. 48)

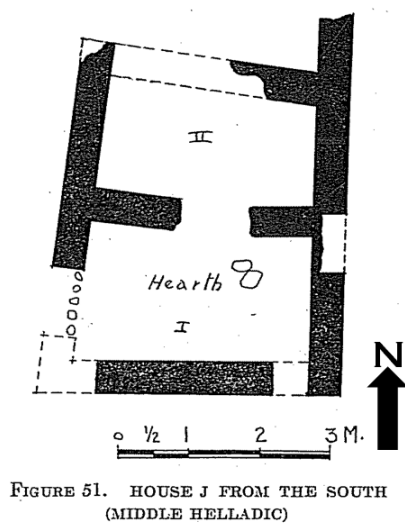


Figure 2.13: Plan of House J, Goldman's MH Phase I (MH I/II). (Goldman 1931, 47, fig. 51)

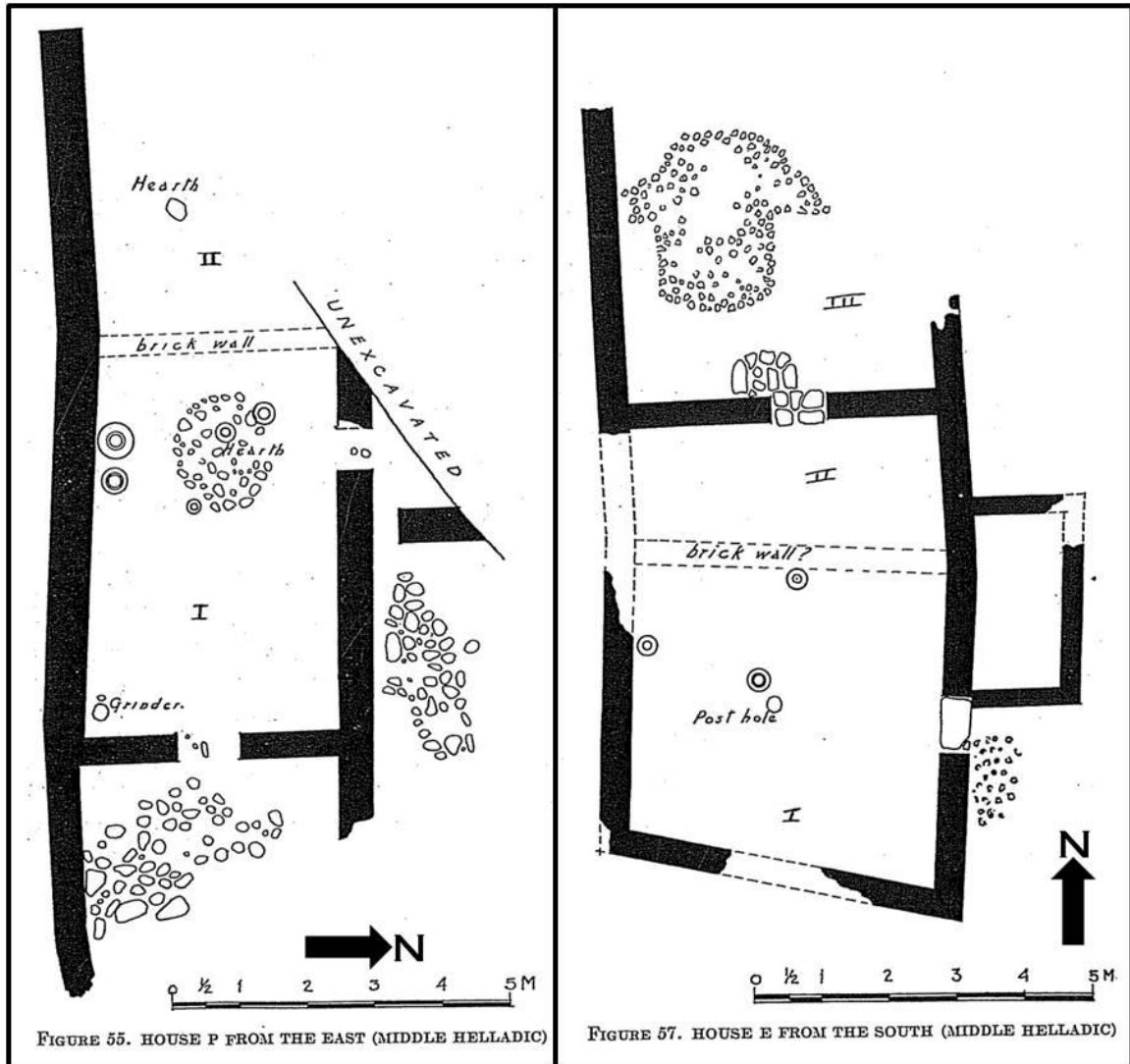


Figure 2.14: Plans of Houses P and E, assigned by Goldman to her MH Phase II, but both likely to have had earlier phases. (Goldman 1931, 52, fig. 55 and 57)

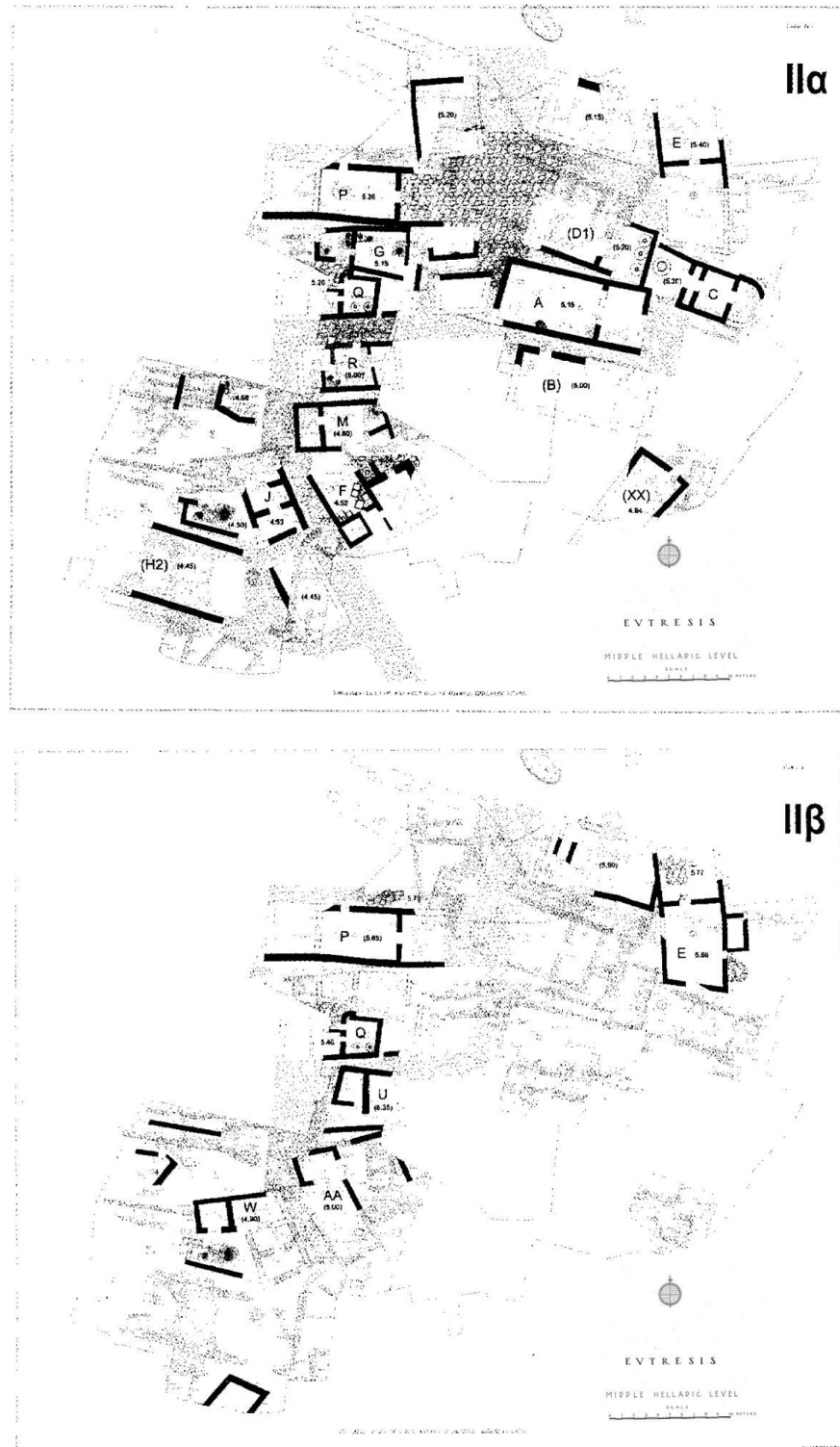


Figure 2.15: Goldman's second phase of MH Eutresis, divided by Philippa-Touchais into two subphases and proposed to be contemporaneous with MH III elsewhere. The scale represents ten meters. (Philippa-Touchais 2006, 702-703, fig. 4 and 5)

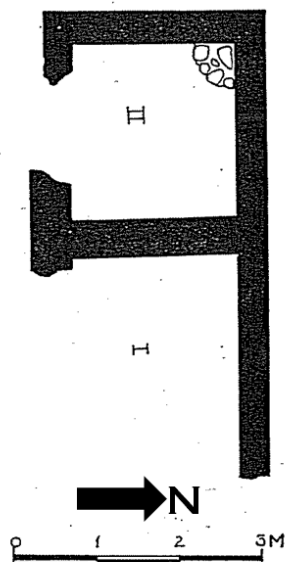


FIGURE 59. HOUSE W FROM THE EAST (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.16: Plan of House W of Goldman's MH Phase II (MH III). (Goldman 1931, 54, fig. 59)

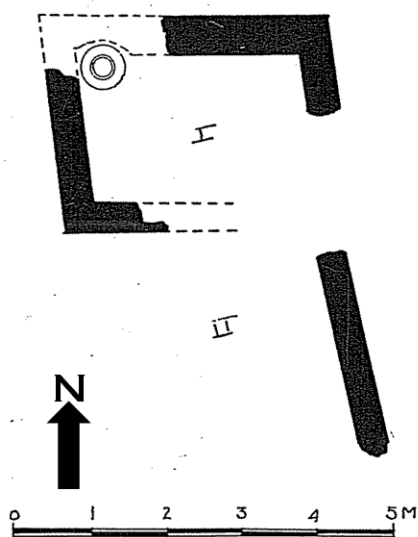


FIGURE 61. STRUCTURE AA FROM THE SOUTH (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

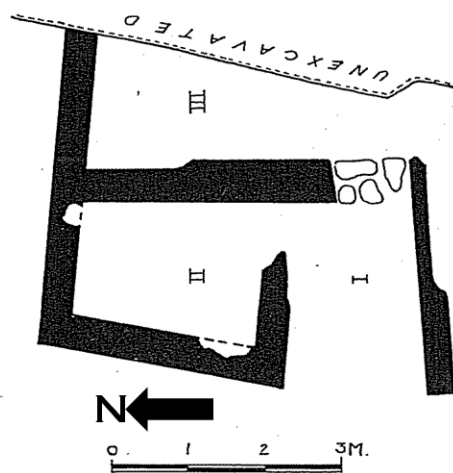
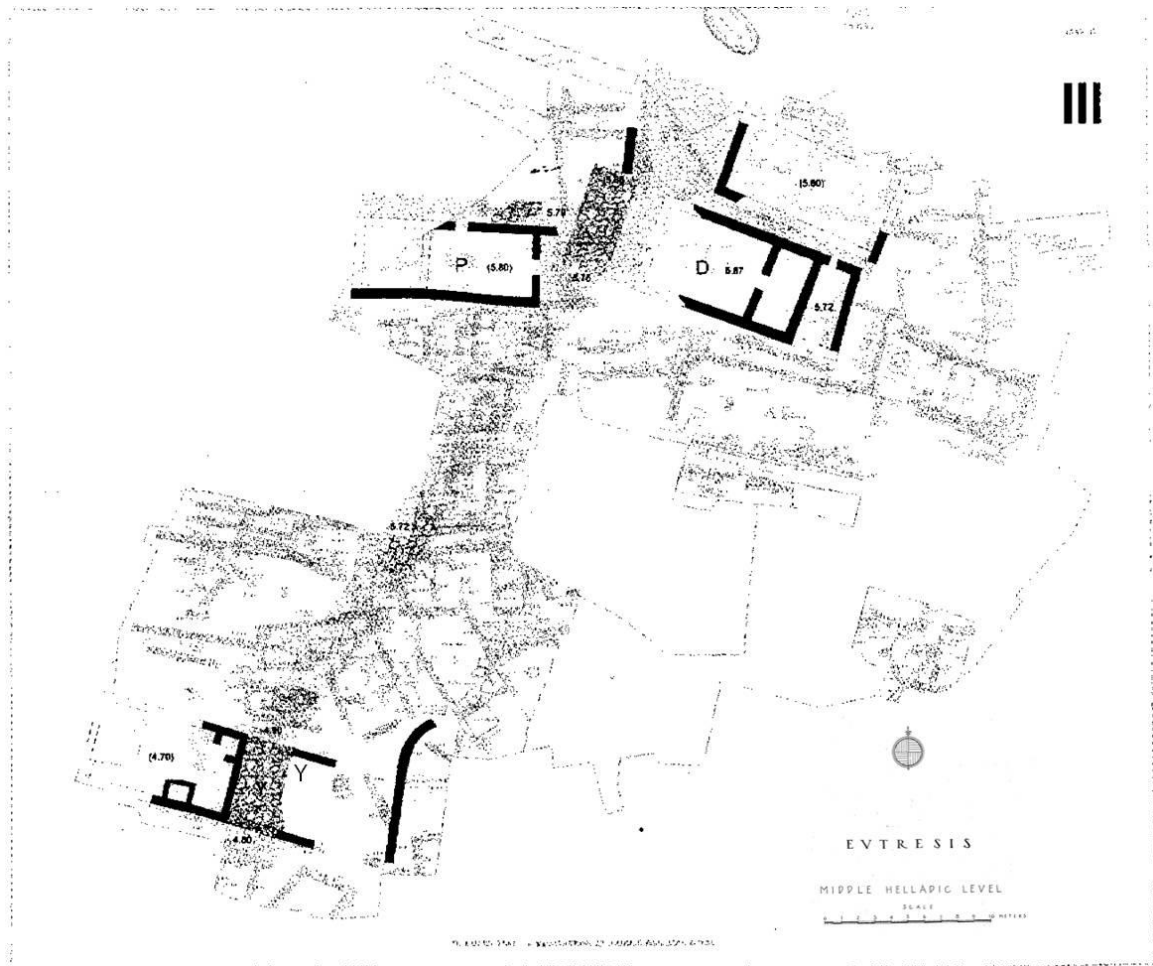


FIGURE 62. STRUCTURE U FROM THE WEST (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.17: Plans of Structures AA and U, both of Goldman's second MH phase (ca. MH III) and located in the southwest. (Goldman 1931, 56, fig. 61 and 62)



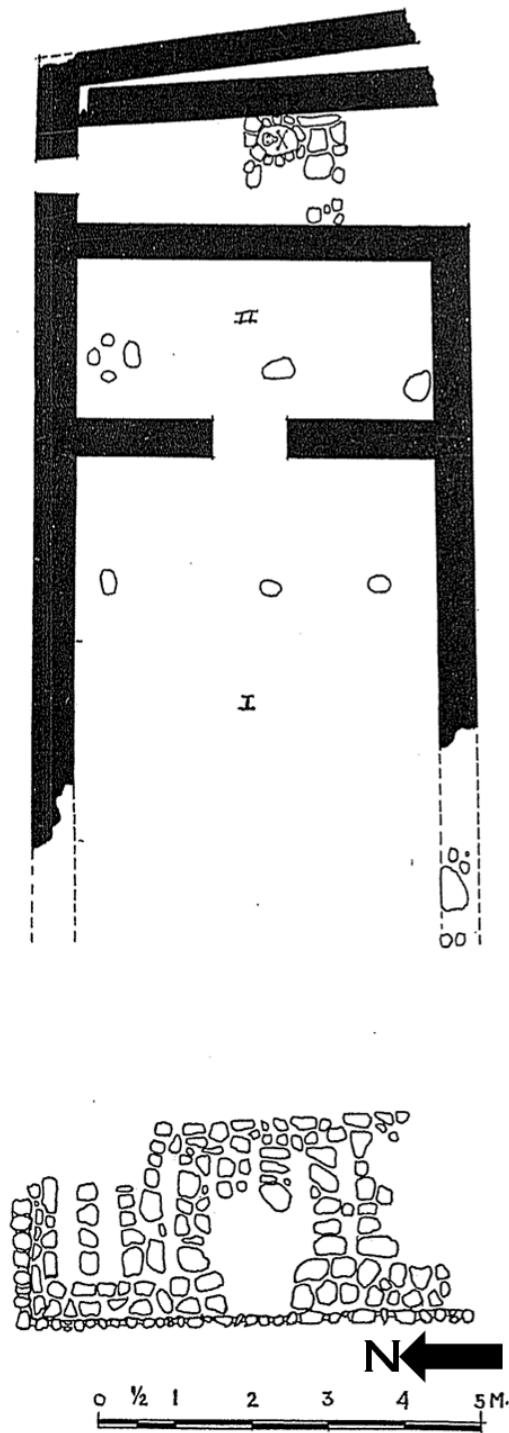


FIGURE 63. HOUSE D FROM THE WEST
(MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.19: Plan of House D and forecourt, dated by Goldman to her MH Phase III (LH I/II). (Goldman 1931, 57, fig. 63)

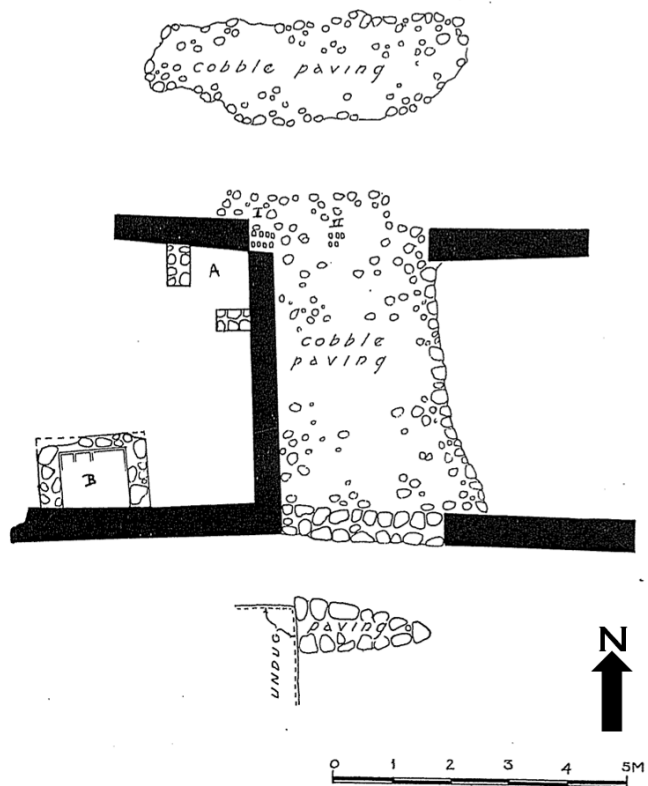


FIGURE 66. PAVEMENT Y FROM THE SOUTH (MIDDLE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.20: Plan of Pavement Y and associated areas, dated to Goldman's third phase of the MH period (LH I/II). (Goldman 1931, 59, fig. 66)

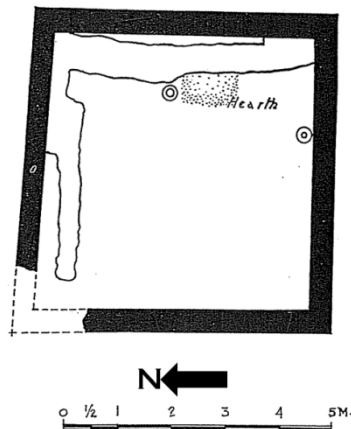


FIGURE 73. HOUSE B FROM THE WEST (LATE HELLADIC)

Figure 2.21: Plan of House B, assigned by Goldman to the early part of the Late Bronze Age. (Goldman 1931, 65, fig. 73)

Figures for Chapter III: *House, Settlement, and Cultural Continuity*

Total Area	Number of Structures
0-10m ²	1
11-20m ²	5
21-30m ²	2
31-40m ²	6
41-50m ²	3
51-60m ²	5
61-70m ²	0
71-80m ²	1
81-90m ²	2
91-100m ²	0
>100m ²	1

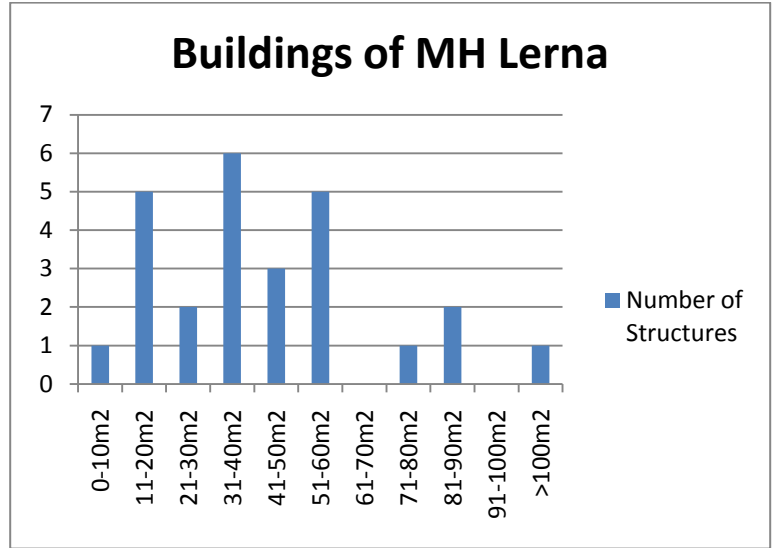


Figure 3.1: Distribution of the total area for MH houses at Lerna.

Total Area	Number of Structures
0-10m ²	3
11-20m ²	7
21-30m ²	4
31-40m ²	1
41-50m ²	3
51-60m ²	2
61-70m ²	1

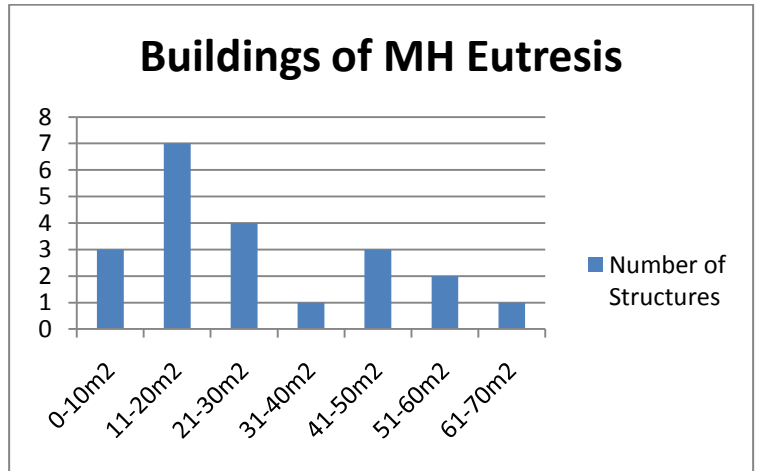


Figure 3.2: Distribution of the total area for MH houses at Eutresis.

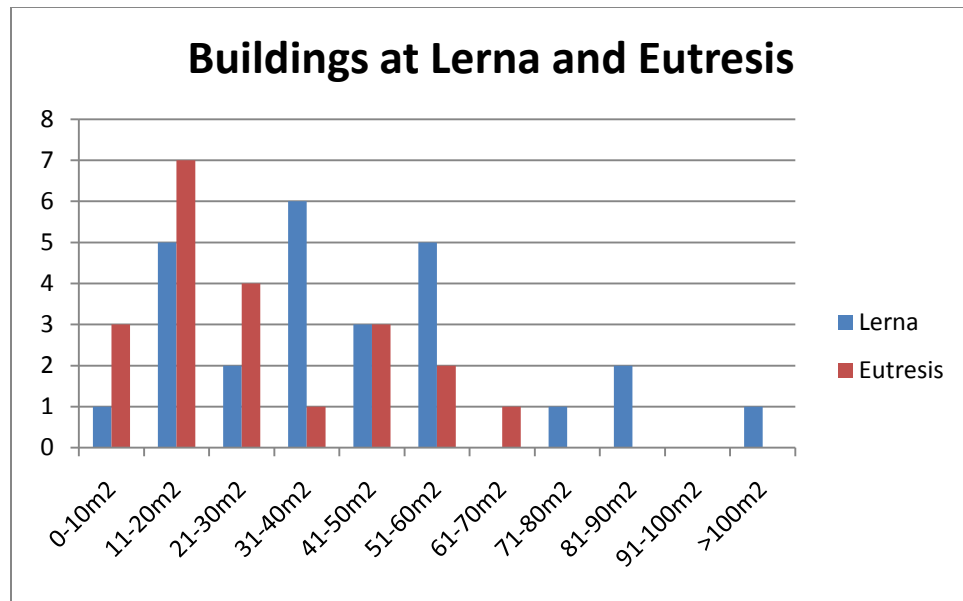


Figure 3.3: A direct comparison of the total area of MH houses at Lerna and Eutresis.

Appendix A: The Houses of Lerna, EH III-LH I/II

House	Alt. Names	Area	Phase	Subphase	Shape	Min. Rooms	Sq. Meters	House Beneath	House Above	Bibliography
A1	Large Posthole Building	B	IV	1	apsidal	2	79	House of Tiles	B1	Caskey 1956, 162; 1960, 294; 1966, 145-6, Banks 1989, 4
A2	Trapezoidal Bldg. over S of Posthole Bldg.	B	IV	1	trapezoidal	3	32	A1	B2	Caskey 1966, 146; Banks 1989, 4
A3		B	IV	1	rectilinear?	1				Caskey 1966, 146-7
B1	Large Aps. Bldg. over N of Posthole Bldg. (C1)	B	IV	1	apsidal	2	81	A1	C1	Caskey 1966, 148; Banks 1989, 6
B2	N Trapezoidal Bldg. (2 stages)	B	IV	2	trapezoidal	2	55	A2	C2/C3	Caskey 1966, 147-8; Banks 1989, 6
B3		B	IV	2	rectilinear?	1				Caskey 1966, 147
House SW of B2	S 1 Room Megaron, S Trapezoidal Bldg.	B	IV	2	trapezoidal	2				Caskey 1966, 148; Banks 1989, 6-7
C1	Early in N: Larger Aps. Bldg. and	B	IV	3	apsidal	3	117	B1	D1	Caskey 1966, 148-9; Banks 1989, 6-7

Assoc. St.									
C2	Later in S (N Tier): Central (D3)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	17	B2	D3
									Caskey 1966, 149; Banks 1989, 8-9
C3	Later in S (N Tier): East (D4)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	32	B2	D4
									Caskey 1966, 149; Banks 1989, 8
C4	Later in N: Smaller Apsidal Bldg. (D5)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	46		D5
									Caskey 1966, 149; Banks 1989, 8
Oval building		B	IV	3	oval	unknown			Caskey 1966, 149
D1	Later in N: Larger Apsidal Bldg.	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	80	C1	99C
									Caskey 1966, 149-50; Banks 1989, 7-8
D2	Later in S (N Tier): West (later phase)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	29		
									Caskey 1966, 150; Banks 1989, 9
D3	Later in S (N Tier): Central (C2)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	34	C2	
									Caskey 1966, 150; Banks 1989, 8-9
D4	Later in S (N Tier): East (C3)	B	IV	3	apsidal	1	32	C3	
									Caskey 1966, 150; Banks 1989, 8
D5	Later in N: Smaller Apsidal Bldg. (C4)	B	IV	3	apsidal	2	57	C4	68
									Caskey 1966, 150; Banks 1989, 8
99C	D1?	B	IV	3	apsidal	1		D1/C1?	99D
									Zerner 1978, 32
99D		B	IV	transitional	apsidal	1	52	99C	99L
									Zerner 1978,

							33-34			
68	BE	IV	transitional	apsidal	2	45	Rooms 44/45 Zerner 1978, 39-42			
CE	House of the Pithos	D	IV	transitional	apsidal	1	9	CQ/CU/CX/CV	House of the Postholes	
D	D	IV	transitional	rectilinear?	1					
98L	B	V	1	apsidal	3	37	99D	98A	Zerner 1978, 35-36	
23	BD	V	1	rectilinear?	1	House 20			Zerner 1978, 28-29	
24	BD	V	1	irregular	1	15	House 18			Zerner 1978, 25-28
House of the Postholes	D	V	1	rectilinear?	1	18	CE	BS	Caskey 1955, 29; Zerner 1978, 12-14	
	D	V	1	apsidal	1	Caskey 1955, 148-149; Zerner 1978, 17-18				
98A	B/BE	V	1 (later)	apsidal	2	28	99L	Caskey 1956, 159; 1957, 149-151; Zerner 1978, 36-38		
Rooms 44/45	B/BE	V	1 (later)	rectilinear	2	46	68	Caskey 1956, 159; 1957, 149-151; Zerner 1978, 42-45		
18	BD	V	1 (later)	rectilinear?	2	16	House 24	Zerner 1978, 30		

20	BD	V	1 (later)	rectilinear	1		House 23	Zerner 1978, 29-30
Room C	D	V	1 (later)	rectilinear?	1			Zerner 1978, 19-20
BQ	D	V	1 (later)	rectilinear?	1			Zerner 1978, 19
BS	D	V	1 (later)	rectilinear	1	11	House of the Postholes	Caskey 1955, 28-29; Zerner 1978, 15-17
D	A	V	2	apsidal	2	36	M	Caskey 1955, 30-32
Q	A	V	2		unknown			Caskey 1954, 16-17
15	BD	V	2		unknown			Zerner 1978, 30-31
M	A	V	3	apsidal	3	55	D	Caskey 1954, 13-16
House 100	BE	V	final		unknown			Caskey 1957, 148
Building Assoc. with Wall R	D	V	final	apsidal	4	59		Caskey 1954, 9-10

Appendix B: The Houses of Eutresis, EH III-LH I/II

Eutresis - House	Area	Phase	Subphase	Shape	Min. Rooms	Sq. Meters	House Beneath	House Above	Bibliography
Touchais 2006)									
H	SW	EH III		rectilinear	2	70	L	H2	Goldman 1931, 20-26
T	SW	EH III		rectilinear	2		L	S	Goldman 1931, 26
C	NE	MH I	1a	apsidal	2	16			Goldman 1931, 34-36
X	SE	MH I	1a	apsidal	2	12		XX	Goldman 1931, 36-37
A	NE	MH I	1a	rectilinear	2	47			Goldman 1931, 37-39
S	SW	MH I	1a	rectilinear	1	58	T	W	Goldman 1931, 48-49
H2	SW	MH I	1a	rectilinear	1	50	H	Y	Philippa-Touchais 2006, 691
F	SW	MH I	1b	irregular	3	27		AA	Goldman 1931, 41-44
M	SW	MH I	1b	rectilinear	3	19		AA	Goldman 1931, 40-41
G (Area)	W/ Central	MH I	1b	irregular	3	24			Goldman 1931, 44-47
Q (Area)	W/ Central	MH I	1b	irregular	2	9			Goldman 1931, 44-47
R (Area)	W/ Central	MH I	1b	irregular	2	13		U	Goldman 1931, 44-47
J	SW	MH I	2a	rectilinear	2	10			Goldman 1931, 47-48
P	NW	MH	1b	rectilinear	2	53			Goldman 1931,

	I/II							51-52
XX (Philippa-Touchais)	SE	MH II	2a	rectilinear	1	14	X	Philippa-Touchais 2006, 692
E	NE	MH II	2a	rectilinear	3	26		Goldman 1931, 52-54
W	SW	MH II	2b	rectilinear	2	10	S	Goldman 1931, 55
AA (Structure)	SW	MH II	2b	rectilinear	2	16	M/F	Goldman 1931, 55
U (Structure)	W/ Central	MH II	2b	irregular	3	15	R	Goldman 1931, 55-56
D	NE	MH III		rectilinear	1	50	D1?	Goldman 1931, 56-58
House of the Master of the Brickyard	SW	MH III		apsidal	1	32		Goldman 1931, 60
Y (Pavement)	SW	MH III		irregular			H2	Goldman 1931, 59-60
B	NE	LH I/II		rectilinear	1	25		Goldman 1931, 64-66

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