MOCHLOS IIA

Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery

The Sites



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"Killed" vases from Tomb 15: **IIB.609** (P 1137) and **IIB.850** (P 1141). Watercolor by D. Faulmann.

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Mochlos IIA

Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery
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by
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contributions by
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with
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Maria Ntinou, Nikos Papadakis, Douglas P. Park, David S. Reese,
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50A. Tomb 10, Skeleton 1, R tibia, middle third, anterior border: well defined oval-shape sclerotic bone formation (osteoblastic tumor).

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50D. Tomb 10, Skeleton 1, L orbit: extended porosity in trabecular form (cribra orbitalia).

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51B. Tomb 10, Skeleton 2, mandible: antemortem tooth loss (AMTL) of mandibular LM2, LM3, RM2.

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53D. Tomb 15, Skeleton 1, L radius, distal third, anterior aspect: long-term healed transverse fracture (Colles').

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58B. Executed and archaeological collared-jug broken spout. The undecorated vessel is the experimental vessel; the decorated vessel is the original, **IIB.609** (P 1137).

Preface

This book presents the results of excavations carried out at two Late Minoan III sites, one on the south slope of the island of Mochlos in eastern Crete and the other on the west side of a low hill that is located south of the modern town of Mochlos overlooking the Limenaria Bay to the west (Fig. 1). The excavations at these sites occurred over several years and were directed by several different archaeologists. They began in 1986 when Nikos Papadakis carried out rescue excavations for the Greek Archaeological Service on the Limenaria hill where nine tombs were exposed by a bulldozer when the site was being prepared for the planting of olive trees. In summer campaigns carried out in 1989–1994, a Greek-American team under the direction of Jeffrey S. Soles and Costis Davaras continued excavations in the area and uncovered most of the LM III remains that are published in this book, including an additional 20 tombs from Limenaria and parts of eleven houses on the island. In 1998, Papadakis excavated another tomb on the Limenaria hill for the Greek Archaeological Service. In 2004 and 2005, Soles and Davaras uncovered two additional houses in the settlement on the island, and in 2004 Chrysa Sophianou excavated an additional tomb at Limenaria for the Greek Archaeological Service.

This is the second volume in the Mochlos Publication Series, which presents the results of the Greek-American excavations in the area. The excavations uncovered remains from later historical periods as well as from four different periods of the Bronze Age ranging from Early Minoan I to LM III—the Prepalatial period, the Old Palace period, the Neopalatial period, and the Mycenaean period. The volumes are designed to present these remains chronologically by period and thematically by subject. The first volume in the series, *Mochlos* I, which appeared in 2003 and 2004, presented the LM IB remains found on the coast, including an artisans' quarter and a small farmhouse, as well as a small LM III cemetery that was established in the midst of the ruined Artisans' Quarter. Future volumes will publish the remains of the houses and other buildings from different blocks of the Neopalatial town on the island, while others will publish the remains from earlier and later periods of occupation.

The current volume, *Mochlos* II, presents all the remains from Period IV, the Mycenaean period. Like its predecessor, this volume is divided into three parts. Part A reports on the stratigraphy and architecture of the two sites, the settlement on the island and the cemetery on the opposite coast, together with a brief discussion of their finds. Part B describes the pottery from the two sites, and Part C relates information about the burial population from the cemetery and provides a more thorough description of the small finds from both locations.

Part A contains three chapters and an appendix. The first chapter describes the LM III settlement and provides a room by room description of each house with a summary of its stratigraphy, the finds in each room, and the way the house and each room may have been used. The description is followed by a complete list of artifacts and ecofacts found in the room, which are then discussed further in Parts B and C of the volume. Chapter 2 reports on the cemetery by providing a description of each tomb and its contents, both the burials and the grave goods. Each tomb is followed by a list of the artifacts found in it, including a list of the surviving skeletal remains. The editors of the volume decided to include the remains of both the cemetery and the settlement together in one volume in order to correlate the findings from both sites. In particular, it is our belief that the cemetery remains mirror the settlement remains, and Chapter 3 concludes with a general discussion of how the two sites reflect each other. It is not often that a settlement and its cemetery are both preserved in Crete, and we were extremely lucky to be able to excavate both. We have tried to capitalize further on this fact in Appendix A where we reconstruct a ritual ceremony that was once performed in the cemetery in the hope of learning more about the interaction between the living and the dead.

Jeffrey S. Soles
Costis Davaras

Acknowledgments

Most of the material published in this volume was excavated by the Greek-American team directed by Jeffrey S. Soles and Costis Davaras in collaboration with, and under the auspices of, the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens with the support of the 24th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Davaras was Supervisor of the Ephoreia during much of the time that the excavation took place, from 1990–1994, but both directors would also like to thank the successive supervisors of the Ephoreia, Nikos Papadakis (1995–2002) and Stavroula Apostolakou (2002–present) for their support and encouragement. We are especially indebted to Nikos Papadakis for allowing us to continue the excavations in the Limenaria cemetery that he had begun and for insisting that we publish the material from his excavation with the material from our excavation. As he pointed out, "It all belongs to the same LM III community." Papadakis' untimely death in 2002 was a great loss. He was committed to the excavation and publication of the cemetery material, however, and before his death he provided us with valuable information that we were able to use in writing the descriptions of Tombs 1–9 that appear here. We are grateful to the current supervisor of the Ephoreia, Stavroula Apostolakou, and to Chrysa Sophianou, Epimeletes in the Ephoreia, for continuing to support the excavation and publication of LM III Mochlos. We are also grateful to the individuals who served as directors of the division of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for the Greek Ministry of Culture during the years of excavation, including Yannis Tzedakis, Yos Zervoudaki, Katerina Romiopoulou, and Aikaterini Kiparissi-Apostolika, and to the directors of the American School of Classical Studies during these years, including the late William D.E. Coulson, Stephen V. Tracy, and the current director of the School, Jack L. Davis.

Excavation in the cemetery was conducted in five seasons. In the first year, 1986, when the tombs were discovered by bulldozer, Tombs 1–9 were excavated under the direction of Nikos Papadakis. At this time, Kostis Nikakis, the chief conservator of the 24th Ephoreia, provided invaluable assistance. In 1993, when excavations resumed under the direction of Soles and Davaras, Cameron Walker, a graduate student in Anthropology at the University of California in Riverside, served as the physical anthropologist in charge of the actual excavation of skeletal material, and Andrew Smith, an undergraduate Classics major from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, served as trench master. In 1994, Lisa M. Little, a Wiener Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, served as the physical anthropologist, and Bridget Crowell, a graduate student in Archaeology from the University of Pennsylvania, and Meredith Kato, a graduate student in Archaeology

from Bryn Mawr, acted as trench masters. In 1998, Maria Relaki, then an assistant archaeologist at the Ephoreia, served as a site supervisor, and in 2004 Chrysa Sophianou and Evi Saliagos, also an assistant archaeologist at the Ephoreia, served as site supervisors. During all these years, Manolis Mazzarakis served as the foreman and chief digger of the Limenaria excavation and provided a thread of continuity. Nine tombs were uncovered in 1986 under the supervision of Nikos Papadakis, 20 were excavated in 1993 and 1994 under the supervision of Soles and Davaras, one was dug in 1998 under the supervision of Papadakis and Chryssa Bourbou, and the last one in 2004 was excavated under the supervision of Chrysa Sophianou and Evi Saliagos.

Excavation of the LM III settlement was conducted in six seasons. A number of Greek and American students served as trench masters and kept the notebooks for the excavations during these years. In the first campaign from 1989–1994, 11 LM III houses were uncovered. Alex Inglis, a graduate student in Classics at Harvard University, as well as Aleydis Van de Moortel and Tom Brogan, graduate students in Archaeology at Bryn Mawr, were responsible for supervising the excavation of House A. John Marshall, also a graduate student at Bryn Mawr, supervised the excavation of House B, and M. Natalia Vogeikoff, another graduate student at Bryn Mawr, supervised the excavation of House H. Dimitra Katapoti, an undergraduate major in Archaeology at the University of Athens, and Alex Inglis supervised the excavation of House I. Tom Brogan and Jesse Hastings, an undergraduate in Classics from UNC Greensboro, supervised the excavation of Houses E and Z. Kevin Baldwin, a graduate student in Classics at the University of Minnesota, was responsible for Houses K and Θ. Bridget Crowell was responsible for House Λ, and Anne Foster, also a graduate student in Archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania, excavated House Δ.

In the second campaign from 2004–2005, two additional LM III houses were uncovered. Marina Milic, an undergraduate major in Archaeology at the University of Belgrade, and Lauren Souther, an undergraduate major in Archaeology at UNC Greensboro, supervised the excavation of House Γ. Tom Brogan, now Assistant Director of the excavation, and Joshua Kimbrough, an undergraduate Classics major at UNC Greensboro, excavated House N. The contributors to this volume thank all these students who kept meticulous notebooks and worked hard to make the excavation a success.

The fieldwork of the Greek-American team was supported by several agencies, including the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the National Endowment for the Humanities Collaborative Grant Program, the Loeb Classical Library of Harvard University, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Solow Art and Architecture Foundation, the William A. Stern Foundation, as well as numerous private donors, including Marion, Philippe, and Henri Lambert, Michael D. Ratner, and Karen Morely Westcott. The author of this volume is indebted to these agencies and individuals and to the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the Shelby White–Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications for supporting the study seasons that followed the excavation.

The publication of the LM III remains at Mochlos is a collaborative affair. Jeffrey Soles has organized the publication and written the bulk of the text for this volume, including the overall interpretation of the excavation that appears in the conclusions in Chapter 3. Tom Brogan contributed the description of House A in Chapter 1, and Sevi Triantaphyllou provided the skeletal inventories in the lists of finds that follow the description of each tomb in Chapter 2. Tina McGeorge analyzed the skeletal

remains from Tomb 3 and also checked our descriptions of individual skeletal remains. Nikos Papadakis supplied his field notes toward the description of Tomb 30 and Tombs 1–9, which were also published (Papadakis 1986), as well as the photographs of these tombs that appear here. Costis Davaras discovered Tomb 10—inaugurating the Greek-American excavation of the cemetery—and contributed his observations to its description, while Chrysa Sophianou is responsible for the description of Tomb 31. While Triantaphyllou served as the chief physical anthropologist after the excavation took place, Cameron Walker and Lisa Little were able to examine many of the skeletons while they were being excavated and, thus, were able to share their observations on the disposition of the skeletal remains. Jerolyn Morrison, a Fulbright Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and Douglas Park, a graduate student in Anthropology and Archaeology at Yale University, carried out the archaeological experiment published in Appendix A. We are especially grateful to Nikos Makrinakis and his family for graciously opening their ceramic and weaving studio in Myrsini and allowing us to produce the experimental vessels. Thanks also go to Jennifer Moody, Professor at Baylor University, and Kellee Barnard, Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, for reviewing various aspects of the experiment, as well as to Sarah Smith, an undergraduate archaeology major at UNC Greensboro, for her assistance in the logistics of the project.

The lists of floral and faunal material that follow the description of individual rooms in Chapter 1 are the work of David S. Reese, who is responsible for the animal and shell remains, Joanna Bending, who provided information on the botanical remains, Maria Ntinou, who analyzed the wood charcoal, and Dimitra Mylona, who is responsible for the fish and animal remains from the 2004–2005 seasons. Each of these contributors will publish a further report in *Mochlos* IIC. The lists of small finds are the work of many catalogers who have served on the project, but especially Ann Nicgorski, Mary Ellen Soles, and Kate Mahoney. The lithics identifications were produced by Tristan Carter, who contributes a further study in *Mochlos* IIC. The pumice counts were performed by Kelly Caldwell and Sarah Smith, undergraduate archaeology majors at UNC Greensboro. The pottery dates and the identification of imported pottery that are cited throughout the book are the work of Eleni Banou and R. Angus K. Smith, who are primary authors of *Mochlos* IIB, the volume that publishes the LM III pottery from the excavation.

Many other individuals have made important contributions. Julie Hanson set up the water flotation system for the retrieval of ecofactual material, but many undergraduate students from the University of Crete and UNC Greensboro supervised it over the years, including Maria Droungaki, Helène Crump, Chrysa Bourbou, and Kelly Caldwell. Jeffrey Patton, Duane Therriault, and Andrew Todd are responsible for the topographic map of the Mochlos peninsula. Patton and Therriault also laid out the grid and individual trenches for the excavation on the island. Doug Faulmann and Damon Cassiano produced most of the architectural drawings, while Faulmann, who has served as the chief architect and artist of the project since 1990, is also responsible for the reconstructed views of everyday life in LM III Mochlos and for most of the drawings of small finds in situ. Christopher Romanos drew most of the reconstructions of LM III houses. Many people served as site photographer over the years, especially Chris Drozdowski, Michael Traister, Anne Marie Pelczynski, Alex Maness, and Robert V. Grill. Grill is also responsible for scanning most of the drawings in this volume. Lauren Souther assembled the concordances at the end of the book.

We would also like to thank the editors of the INSTAP Academic Press and the anonymous reviewers of this book for their careful reading of the manuscript before its publication. They made many suggestions for improvement that we have tried to address.

In the end, everything that we have discovered about LM III Mochlos is due to the support and hard work of the local population in Mochlos and the neighboring villages of Sphaka, Tourloti, Myrsini, Mesa and Exo Mouliana, and Kavousi. Each one of these villages contributed workers who did the actual digging or helped to wash pottery. They are an enthusiastic and hospitable group of people, and it has been a privilege to get to know them and work with them for so many years.

Jeffrey S. Soles
Costis Davaras

Abbreviations

AC	almost complete
A/P	Anterior/Posterior
App	Appendix
Au	gold object
B	bone object
C	ceramic object/complete/cervical vertebra/canine
CA	copper/copper alloy
ca.	circa
C/E	cemento-enamel
cf.	compares with (bears a good morphological resemblance in the case of botanical remains)
Circumf.	circumferential
cm	centimeters
CS	chipped stone
d.	diameter
dims.	dimensions
dP^4	deciduous maxillary premolar
EO	Early Orientalizing
ext	exterior/external
F	fragmentary/female/fused/faience or glass paste
Fe	iron
g	grams
GS	ground stone
h.	height
HM	Herakleion Museum
HNM	Hagios Nikolaos Museum
I	incisor
indet.	indeterminable
JF	just fused
L	lumbar vertebra/left
l.	length
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
LN	Late Neolithic
M	minerals and rocks/molar/male
m	meter
M^1	permanent maxillary molar
M_3	permanent mandibular molar
m^1	deciduous maxillary molar
m_3	deciduous mandibular molar
max.	maximum
MC	metacarpal
mm	millimeters
MM	Middle Minoan
MNI	minimum number of individuals
MT	metatarsal
NAM	National Archaeological Museum
NB	north balk
No.	number
P	pottery/premolar
Pb	lead
PL	plaster
pres.	preserved
present	present but not quantifiable
R	right
S	stone
Sh	shell
SM	Siteia Museum
sp.	species level identification
Sup/Inf.	superior/inferior

T	thoracic vertebra	w.	width
t.	thickness	WB	west balk
UF	unfused	yrs	years
vol.	volume		

Introduction

Jeffrey S. Soles

On March 28, 1986, Manolis M. Koukourakis reported to the local police authorities at Tourloti in eastern Crete that he had uncovered pits, perhaps belonging to ancient tombs, while bulldozing terraces in the fields of Dr. Emmanuel M. Katapotis at Limenaria, on the hill that rises just to the south of the village of Mochlos and within the agricultural territory of the village of Lastros. Acting on this information from the police, Nikos Papadakis, then Supervisor of the 24th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, visited the site and confirmed the existence of a row of tombs belonging to the Late Bronze Age. He began excavations immediately on account of the nature of the finds and the need to provide for their security. During this first phase of excavation, nine unplundered tombs, Tombs 1–9, were uncovered, providing clear indication that there was an extensive cemetery of LM III date at Mochlos (Papadakis 1986).

Until the 1986 discovery of the LM III cemetery, it was thought that there was no LM III occupation at Mochlos. The disaster that put an end to the Neopalatial settlement in the area was thought to have ended the Bronze Age occupation. Richard Seager excavated in the main settlement area on the island of Mochlos in 1908, but published no LM III pottery from his excavation. He reported that in the LM III period, after the destruction of the LM I town, "there was no resettlement of the town, although at one point, judging from the parts of several vases found, there may have been an isolated house of that period. On the rest of the site there are no traces of LM III and the island remained uninhabited until late Greek and Roman times" (Seager 1909, 275). He believed the LM III settlement in the area was located elsewhere and wrote, "Just below Tourloti are the remains of an extensive cemetery of LM III date (Plakalona) and although the town site belonging to it has not been discovered, it is evident that it was in this neighborhood that the new Mochlos was built. The port of the old town was still within easy reach and probably continued in use, but the LM III town itself lay at a safe distance from the sea, out of reach of any marauding ships which might visit this part of the coast" (Seager 1909, 286).

The discovery of the LM III cemetery in 1986 suggested that an LM III settlement may have been

located closer to Mochlos, and the discovery of this settlement and the further excavation of its cemetery were among the main goals of the Greek-American project that began in 1989. Surface survey in the immediate area of the cemetery suggested that additional tombs lay in the area, but revealed no evidence for any settlement remains. As a result, the site of the earlier Neopalatial settlement on the island of Mochlos seemed to be the best candidate for the LM III reoccupation of the area, especially given Seager's somewhat ambiguous remarks that there may have been "an isolated house" of this period. The Greek-American excavation discovered that Seager was probably right to identify some of the pottery he unearthed as LM III. This pottery was never published, but the new excavations found that there was in fact an extensive, if scattered, LM III stratum that lay close to the surface over large parts of the site. When excavations began in 1908 and when they resumed in 1989, a lot of this level had already been lost to site erosion. Nevertheless, the Greek-American excavations were able to identify the remains of several houses of LM III date, as well as associated external areas that lay around these houses (Soles and Davaras 1994, 429–431; 1996, 210). These included a couple of structures that Seager had previously excavated in part, identified as Houses A and Θ in the new excavations, either of which could be the "isolated house" to which Seager referred. Few of these LM III settlement remains were particularly well preserved, however. In addition to the surface erosion that damaged the LM III levels, the reoccupation of the site in the Late Hellenistic period caused even more damage. Part of a Late Hellenistic fortification cut across Houses A and N in the eastern part of the settlement, and a large oil production center located below this wall, the Beam-press Building, cut into earlier LM III and LM I levels toward the middle of the site. When the LM III settlers abandoned the site, they left little behind, and as a general rule the LM III finds from the settlement are very fragmentary.

Quite the opposite turned out to be true in the cemetery. Here the Greek-American project was able to locate and excavate 20 additional tombs (Soles and Davaras 1996, 210–222) and the Greek Archaeological Service still two more, making a total of 31 tombs. With one notable exception, all of these were unplundered. The skeletal material was often poorly preserved, but the grave goods survived largely intact, usually in the same position where they were placed 2,400 years ago. There may well be additional LM III tombs in the Limenaria cemetery and additional LM III houses in the settlement, but the project succeeded in uncovering a good sample of both, and it is doubtful that further excavation would yield much additional information about LM III Mochlos. It would yield more of the same, but would probably not make any significant change in what we have already learned.

The two sites published together in this volume provide different kinds of information about the LM III community at Mochlos. The settlement provides information about daily life and work, what people ate, for example, and in what kinds of houses they lived, while the cemetery provides information about death and burial ritual, in what kinds of tombs people were buried, and what they believed about the afterlife. The evidence from one is very fragmentary and perhaps accidental, broken objects left behind as the settlement was abandoned and houses partly destroyed by erosion and later occupation, while the evidence from the other is complete and more deliberate, reflecting choices that people made for a reason. The one provides a type of information that the other cannot, and one supplements the other as we try to reconstruct a picture of what life was like in LM III Mochlos. The two are also complementary. There is considerable overlapping in the information each provides, and the one often reinforces the findings from the other. The settlement pattern, the houses, and the distribution of certain types of objects in the settlement, for example, suggest aspects of social structure that the different tombs and the distribution of certain objects in the tombs also suggest. The stratigraphy of the settlement and architectural changes that occur over the passage of time in individual houses reflect the chronology of the period just as the individual tombs represent closed deposits from particular points in time, and both reflect similar chronological events.

At the same time, the evidence from the cemetery takes us closer to the individual inhabitants of LM III Mochlos than anything does in the settlement, for it is only here that we meet their actual

physical remains. We are able to identify their personal possessions and correlate burial data with settlement data. The settlement evidence preserves the remains of food that people ate, as well as the kitchens and hearths where they cooked their food, but the skeletal remains describe their dietary deficiencies, as well as the illnesses and accidents they suffered. The settlement evidence suggests the social structure of the community, but the way the living treated the dead, the tombs they used, the grave goods they chose, and the funerary ceremonies they enacted identify individual elites and are also good indicators of ethnicity that suggest who these LM III settlers actually were and from where they came. In some cases, the cemetery evidence even provides biographical information about individual members of the community and allows us to reconstruct personal histories, if only of a limited kind. In a few cases, the evidence provides a glimpse into the minds of the people and indicates what they were thinking and how they acted.

This book is heavily influenced by the work of archaeologists writing in the 1970s, particularly Lewis Binford (1962, 1971), James Brown (1971, 1981), Arthur Saxe (1970), and Joseph Tainter (1978), and to many who have followed since, including John O'Shea (1984) and M. Parker Pearson (1999). All of these archaeologists studied funerary practices in order to learn about the living population who performed them. They were dissatisfied with simple, descriptive presentations of archaeological data and wanted to know what the data meant and why certain practices were enacted in the way they were. They shared the belief that archaeologists should interpret data and that we could answer important questions about past societies. While it may not be possible to establish middle range laws that govern the relationships between archaeological remains and past human behavior in every case, as some tried to do, many of the techniques and observations that these archaeologists made are valid in the context of the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

LM III Mochlos belonged to the Mycenaean world. There may be no written history for this period, but there is a lot of historical information, particularly about the socio-economic organization and geography of the period that has been gleaned from the Linear B tablets. Archaeologists reporting LM III excavations have this additional resource upon which to draw in their interpretation of the archaeological data and are luckier in this respect than those reporting LM I excavations. The texts describe the administrative organization and hierarchy of the Mycenaean world, with official titles, and it is possible to integrate information derived from the texts with the archaeological evidence of elite residences and burials (Bennet 1988). The evidence from Mochlos also allows us to reassess the relations between east Crete and the rest of the island, particularly Knossos, in the LM III period. Always a second or third order site, Mochlos supplements the evidence from the texts and provides evidence for Knossos' involvement in east Crete and for the existence of independent economic networks after its fall.

The controversy over the date when exactly the Mycenaean Greeks took power in the island has been largely resolved by M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki's recent excavations of new Mycenaean tombs in Chania (Whitley 2005, 117). While unpublished as of this writing, these tombs date to the LM II and IIIA periods and include pit and shaft graves and chamber tombs, some with warrior burials, that parallel the graves that Arthur Evans excavated at the beginning of the 20th century at Zafer Papoura and Sellopoulo at Knossos (Evans 1906; Alberti 2004). Most archaeologists will agree now that Mycenaean Greeks were in control of the palace at Knossos when the new settlers arrived at Mochlos at the end of the LM II and beginning of the LM IIIA1 period, around 1400–1390 B.C. The Linear B tablets from Knossos, which may date to several different periods of Mycenaean rule (Driessen 1997), describe a kingdom that controlled the central part of the island, extending at least 90 km to the west, where the sites of Aptara and Kydonia are located, 60 km to the east to Malia, and 60 km to the south to Phaistos (Chadwick 1976, 48–60; Bennet 1987, fig. 1). At the beginning of the 14th century, the kingdom was young, and the *wanax* who is named in the tablets, like all kings, was probably keen to expand it farther, particularly to the east. The new settlement at Mochlos was probably part of this imperial design, and the question some have asked (Bennet 1987; MacGillivray 1997), whether or not and when, if ever, Knossos extended its interests into the eastern part of Crete, can now be answered.

The kingdom was divided into outlying areas or provinces for administrative purposes and supported a large land-owning aristocracy, the *telestai*. They are known at four sites from the Knossos tablets, including Aptara where 45 *telestai* are recorded. They are also known as the "plot-holders" or *ktoinookhoi* and their land holdings were large. During this time, trade with the Levant continued to flourish. Ships like the one found near Uluburun were sailing from the Syrian coast along the south coast of Asia Minor into the Aegean past Mochlos and along the north coast of Crete to Knossos and other mainland sites (Bass 1986; Pulak 1998; Soles 2005). These ships were bringing cargos of copper and tin that were indispensable to the functioning of the Mycenaean economy. The Knossos tablets inventoried copper ingots that these ships brought, and the palace controlled the bronze supply and played an important role in this trade (Chadwick 1976, 139–142). Whoever controlled the sea routes controlled the Mycenaean world.

Sometime in the early LM IIIA2 period, perhaps only 30 or 40 years after the establishment of LM III Mochlos, the palace at Knossos burned and its control over the island of Crete appears to have weakened. In the LM IIIA2 and early IIIB period that followed there is evidence for growing regionalism in the material culture of the island and for political fragmentation as Chania and the Mesara area asserted themselves as separate palatial administrations (Warren 1991; Popham 1994).

This was the setting for the LM III settlement at Mochlos. It was part of its age, and what happened in Crete influenced what happened at Mochlos. The settlement stood for about 150 years, and when the Mycenaean palatial systems on Crete began to collapse, sometime in the LM IIIB period, Mochlos was abandoned along with many other settlements on the island.

1

The Late Minoan III Settlement

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Some 30–40 years after the destruction and abandonment of the LM IB town at Mochlos, settlers returned to reoccupy the site. ^{14}C analysis of a short-lived sample from the earliest level of reoccupation, associated with LM II as well as LM IIIA pottery, places their arrival between 1450–1400 B.C. at 1 σ (Soles, forthcoming a). LM II pottery on the site is relatively rare, however, and they are more likely to have arrived at the end of this period, around 1400–1390 B.C. (Warren and Hankey 1989, 169). They remained on the site into the LM IIIB period, perhaps as late as 1250 B.C. The site today is an island that lies on the western edge of a tectonic valley that has been sinking as a result of faulting on either side (Soles 2004, 154–155, fig. 11.1). When the settlers arrived, probably by sea, it was still connected to Crete by a low *tombolo* that is now submerged up to 3 m below sea level (Fig. 1). The offshore hill, which rises steeply on its north side and slopes more gently on its south to a height of ca. 45 m above sea level today, bent the incoming waves around it so that their energy swept sand onto the *tombolo* from both sides. Sediment on the west side was probably eroded quickly by the prevailing winds, which blow from the northwest, while that on the east provided a beach where ships could anchor or be hauled ashore for repairs. The site was located on an ancient overseas trading route that brought seafarers from the Levant, and Minoan settlements that exploited this trade had been located on the south slope of the hill, overlooking the *tombolo*, for nearly 1500 years (Soles 2005).

When the new settlers arrived, they found the Minoan town in ruins. Its houses had collapsed, and its streets were clogged with fallen building material. Many basement walls were still standing, and occasionally a ground floor wall as well, but upper story walls and roofs had all collapsed and filled the Minoan houses with debris. For the most part, the settlers did not reoccupy the old Minoan houses, either because they felt it was too much work to do so, they deemed the standing remains structurally unsound, or they were prevented from

doing so for some psychological reason. Whatever the case, they did not come to the site to reclaim the Minoan houses; they came to control the harbor and its strategic location and take advantage of the well-watered agricultural land that lay on the opposite coast (Soles 2003a, 1–2, 103–104; 2003b).

Method of Excavation

In order to excavate the site and uncover the remains of this settlement, the Greek-American team surveyed the island and divided it into 35 areas, each 50 m^2 and oriented north–south, east–west (Soles and Davaras 1992, fig. 2). These areas were labeled from A to F north–south and 1 to 7 east–west, so each area could be identified accordingly as A1, A2, B1, B2, etc. Each area was in turn divided into 100 potential trenches, each 5 m^2. Each trench was given its own number, beginning with 100 in the southwest corner of the 50 m^2 area and ending with 10,000 in the northeast corner. When a trench was dug, a 1 m wide balk was normally left on the north and east side of the trench so that the initial area dug in any trench was only 4 m^2. The balks were then drawn and subsequently excavated. Each feature encountered in the course of excavation was dug separately and given a locus number that was based on the trench number. The first feature encountered in Area E4, Trench 4800, for example, was a wall that ran east–west through the trench, which was identified as Locus 4801. The second feature was a deposit of brown soil just to the south of the wall with numerous pottery fragments; it was identified as Locus 4802. If the locus was a deposit of soil like 4802, it might be excavated in several passes, normally 0.05–0.10 m deep. Locus 4801.1 would refer to the first pass, 4802.2 to the second, and so on. All finds within any one locus were then identified by locus number; special finds deemed worthy of publication were also given an inventory number prefaced by the initial letter of the material out of which the find was made, P for pottery, C for ceramic objects, GS for ground stone, etc. A pithos found in Locus 4801.2, for example, was identified as P 121 (E4 4801.2). In this volume, all Bronze Age and Orientalizing finds have also been given a catalog number that begins with the number of the volume, IIB.1, IIB.2, IIC.1, etc., where they are more fully described. They are also identified by their original inventory and locus numbers. Therefore, pithos P 121 is identified in this volume as **IIB.818** (P 121; 4802.2) and is fully cataloged in volume IIB. (Hellenistic objects are also noted here when they appear in LM III contexts, but will be published more fully in a later volume.) All excavated soil was dry-sieved, and a percentage of soil from most closed deposits, like floors or hearths, was also floated as described in *Mochlos* IC (Reese et al. 2004, 117). Sixty-nine trenches that contained LM III material were excavated. These numbers include three trenches located in Area D3, 38 in Area E3, 26 in Area E4, and two in Area F4 (Fig. 2).

The LM III Settlement

During excavations carried out from 1989–1992 and 2004–2005, the Greek-American project uncovered the remains of 13 houses belonging to the LM III reoccupation of the site, as well as three small deposits of the period with very fragmentary or no architectural remains (Fig. 3). The houses were identified with Greek letters (A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, Θ, I, K, Λ, M, N) in order to distinguish them from earlier Minoan houses on the site (B.1–B.2, C.1–C.7, D.1–D.6). The excavation was able to identify two phases of occupation in the stratigraphy of the houses and sometimes in the architectural changes that they underwent. All of the houses were probably in use during both phases. The Early

Reoccupation (Phase 1) dates to the end of LM II, the LM IIIA1 period, and part of LM IIIA2. Only five of the houses contained LM II material (Houses A, I, E, K, Θ), and they may have been built before the others, although the lack of LM II survivals in the other houses may be entirely accidental and does not preclude the possibility that they were built at the same time. Certainly by LM IIIA1 all the houses were standing and the character of the settlement was well established. The Late Reoccupation (Phase 2) dates to the LM IIIA2 period and continues into the early part of LM IIIB. All the houses contained some LM IIIA2 pottery, but not all contained LM IIIB pottery, and it is unclear whether all the houses continued to be occupied at this time.

The houses are scattered in a broad band ca. 100 m in width across a large part of the site. Because the whole south slope of the island has not been excavated, it is unclear whether the LM III settlement was ever any larger than this. Because of site erosion and later activity on the site, it is also difficult to say how densely settled this excavated area was. Six houses, B, Δ, H, I, M, and N, form a cluster in the center of the area, many of them sharing party walls, and indicate that some parts of the settlement were densely occupied. Other houses, Γ, Z, E, Λ, K, Θ, and A, which lie to the west, east, and south of the cluster of six houses are isolated and free-standing. The relatively open pattern of settlement around these houses may, however, be due to two post-depositional activities on the site: later Hellenistic occupation in the second and first centuries B.C. and the excavations of Richard Seager, which were carried out in 1908. Houses E, Z, and Λ lie at the southern edge of a large Hellenistic building (Soles and Davaras 1996, 222–226, fig. 28; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2004, 213–220), which destroyed most of House Λ and may have destroyed other LM III houses beneath it. Houses A and N were also partly destroyed by the Hellenistic reoccupation that ran across them. Houses A and Θ were partly excavated by Seager, and another, unidentified house, one corner of which survives just to the south of House E, appears to have been destroyed in the course of his excavation of Minoan houses in Block B of the Neopalatial town.

Both densely and sparsely settled areas were probably characteristic of the reoccupation as the new settlers took advantage of what earlier walls had survived from the old Neopalatial settlement to build their own houses. In any case, it is impossible to estimate the size of the total population from the excavated settlement remains alone with any degree of accuracy. If each house accommodated one family, then the extant remains represent a population of 13 to 14 families, perhaps as few as 70 individuals, and if these are all the houses there were, then perhaps no more than six generations, about 400 people, lived here during the 150-year life of the settlement.

The LM III settlement differs from the earlier Neopalatial town in several respects. It accommodated a smaller population and occupied a smaller area. It did not extend across the Mochlos isthmus to the area opposite the modern island where there was an extensive artisans' quarter in the LM IB period, and it was also confined to a narrower area of land. Only one house lies on the modern coast, whereas most houses and deposits lay well back from the coastline between the 5 and 10 m contours. In contrast, the earlier Minoan houses were located right along the water's edge and covered the southern slope of the island, extending up the slope to the north and around the slope to the east and west. They extended part way onto the now-submerged isthmus and were also built on the opposite shore line. Local tectonics may have played a role in the location of the LM III settlement, and the shifting of local fault lines may have caused some subsidence of the site, which caused the settlers to build farther from the coast and higher up the south slope.

The LM III houses were also placed haphazardly. There was no sense of planning of the sort that characterized the Minoan town with its neatly laid streets and carefully contained blocks of houses. Indeed, with the exception of one roughly constructed road that leads up from the coast to the entrance of House A, there are no streets at all, and the LM III occupants reused paths over earlier streets or made do with the natural hill slope and a number of artificial terraces to move from one place to another within the settlement. If there is any one factor that influenced the placing of the houses in the LM III settlement, it was the existence of earlier LM I walls that still stood above the collapsed debris of the Minoan town. They

provided convenient existing walls that the LM III settlers could reuse in building their own houses, and nearly every LM III house on the site incorporates preexisting Minoan walls in its own construction in one way or another. All of the houses use them for one or more facades, either the rear, side, or front of the house, and many also use them for internal walls. In a few cases, LM III rooms are set down inside earlier Minoan rooms, as in the case of House Δ, Room 2, or House Γ, Room 1, where the new settlers cleared away earlier wall and roof collapse and reoccupied the space, or in the case of the inhabitants of House Δ, Room 2, establishing a new floor level ca. 0.50 m above the old Minoan floor level. In only one case (House A), however, does an entire LM III house reoccupy the space of an entire Minoan house. In many cases, entire houses are set inside earlier Minoan streets, where there must have been some subsidence in the ground level so that old Minoan house facades exposed on one or more side could be reused. Houses Z, Δ, H, Θ, and I are all good examples; each sits in an earlier Minoan street and reuses one or two of the earlier Minoan facades that faced the streets they reoccupied. The exterior faces of the Minoan facades now became interior faces, and their interior faces exterior faces.

New walls are often bedded on top of earlier Minoan walls. In the case of House B, the outer south wall of the house is bedded on an earlier Minoan wall that separated the basement story in the Minoan house from an upper story. In House A, the western facade of a Neopalatial house is reused with a new course of large stones laid on top. At one point, the stones ran over an earlier window or doorway in the Minoan wall. Old Minoan walls are also often used as socles for new mudbrick superstructures. Sun-dried mudbrick, which survived largely as a light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) or very pale brown (10YR 7/3–7/4) soil in the collapsed debris of the houses, was the principal building material for the superstructures of the smaller houses, both for interior and exterior walls, only a few of which were built entirely in stone. Occasionally, an old Minoan wall might undergo a complete sea change and be reused as something altogether different, as in the case of the porch of House H where two blocks in the Minoan walls on which it rested were transformed into a table and bench.

The LM III builders also reused earlier Minoan building materials. They were especially fond of ashlar masonry that had been used earlier for quoins in the Minoan houses or as horizontal blocks in the south and east facades of the LM IB ceremonial building, Building B.2. It is reused in six of the houses that were located most closely to the destroyed Building B.2: Houses B, Δ, E, I, Λ, and M. House Θ, which was located a considerable distance from Building B.2, also reused ashlar blocks that probably belonged to the ruined Minoan houses located in its vicinity. The blocks were used in several ways. They were used as fill under the floors of houses (Houses Δ, I, Λ), as building blocks in new walls, laid sometimes in level courses but more often quite haphazardly (Houses E, Δ, H, Θ), as jambs or jamb bases flanking major doorways (Houses B, Θ), and as benches inside and outside houses (Houses Θ, M). Old Minoan column bases were also reused, including two in House Γ, which probably also came from Building B.2, and two in House A, which probably belonged to the earlier Minoan House D.6.

All of the houses were one-story buildings, unlike the earlier Minoan buildings that often reached three stories, and this appears to be a feature of other LM III settlements as well (Platon 1957; Hayden 1990; Hallager 1997, 184–185). Most houses were small one, two, or three-room structures, not unlike others on Crete at this time (Hayden 1987), and several have a quadrangular plan with an axial arrangement (Houses B, Γ, Δ, H, Θ, I) that may reflect mainland influence (Darcque 2005, 346–350). Several are distinguished by separate cook sheds located in an adjacent space. Houses B, Γ, and K had cook sheds opposite their entrances from the time of their construction; House I had one attached to its rear, and House H used the porch along its eastern side as a cooking area. Independent cook sheds, standing alone or attached to one side of a building, have also been found at LM III buildings in Malia, Chrysokamino, and Kommos (Driessen and Farnoux 1993, 675–682, fig. 7; 1994, 54–64; Floyd 2000; Shaw 1990, 233, 239; Nixon 1996, 68–69, pl. 2.78, Room 019) and may be a feature of LM III architecture elsewhere in Crete. A few, like the cook shed attached to House B, as well as a few of the houses, like House Δ, had built hearths, but more often than

not cooking fires were placed directly on the floors of the rooms without any kind of built structure. Many of these small houses were terraced against the hillside; they may have used old Minoan walls for terracing (Houses Γ, N, H) or newly constructed ones that were sometimes quite substantial (Houses Γ, B, M, Δ). The terrace walls either supported a partially-open space alongside the house, as was the case with Houses Γ and H, sometimes provided access up to the house, as do those alongside Houses B, Δ, and Γ, or sometimes they may have supported the outer exterior wall of the house itself, as is the case with House Z.

The floor assemblages from the LM III houses were poorly preserved. In addition to the heavy reuse of Minoan materials, several abandonment and post-abandonment processes appear to have played a significant role in LM III site formation. The least effort model of abandonment suggests that the inhabitants abandoning a settlement or structure "will transport as much of the assemblage as is economical, given the conditioning factors of (1) replaceability, (2) transport costs, and (3) conditions of abandonment" (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999, 20–25; Brogan, Smith, and Soles 2002, 90–101). With the exception of the final phase of House A where a large number of restorable vessels were found, the other houses contained very few vases with even complete profiles. Thus, most Mochlos LM III deposits appear to exhibit a slow or planned abandonment rather than a sudden natural or man-made destruction. Subsequent construction on the island in the Hellenistic period also played an important and detrimental role in the preservation of LM III deposits, which were often victim of later foundation trenches and terracing operations.

This combination of heavy reuse of Minoan materials, planned abandonment, and major Hellenistic construction has limited the presentation and interpretation of LM III floor deposits. Frequently, less than 5 percent of the pottery from a floor could be securely dated to the LM III period, while the majority usually belonged to the preceding LM I phase. This situation frustrated most attempts to provide statistical analyses of pottery from floor deposits along the lines of those prepared for the LM IB Artisans' Quarter at Mochlos (Barnard 2003, 113–170). The primary goal of the pottery analysis, therefore, was to identify any and all fragmentary LM III sherd material on a floor in order to establish the date of occupation. If the publication were limited to complete vases or those with full profiles, there would be very little, if anything, that could be said about some of the LM III assemblages. Even with this expansive treatment of the evidence, there remain surfaces that have no datable LM III pottery, but have been identified as LM III on the basis of surrounding rooms and other architectural or stratigraphic information. The identification of room functions is hampered therefore, as it is often based on fragmentary sherd material, which is the only preserved evidence. While these sherds do not necessarily attest to the final activities in the room or area, they may, however, reflect activities that were carried out during the life of the building and, as such, tell us something about the house.

House A and its Approach from the Sea

House A is located in Area E4 above Block D of the Neopalatial town (Fig. 3). Seager excavated parts of six Neopalatial houses in this block, which lies to the east of the small church of St. Nikolaos (Seager 1909, pp. 288–303). He identified and published only one of these, which he described as House D (referred to here as House D.3), the easternmost of four houses (Houses D.1–4) that lay along the coast in this block. He also excavated parts of a fifth house, House D.5, that was located just north of these, higher up the south slope. The LM III House A is found directly west of House D.5 on the slope above Houses D.1, 2, and 4. It is a large house, which lies in as many as nine different trenches (Figs. 2, 3; Trenches 4700, 4800, 4900, 5700, 5800, 5900, 6700, 6800, and 6900).

Post-depositional activity in the area had a detrimental impact on the house's preservation. This

activity belonged mainly to the Late Hellenistic period when a fort was built across the northern half of the house and caused considerable damage to the earlier LM III remains. Seager also excavated across the top of the house as part of his excavation of House D.5. "At the end of the season I made a cutting higher up on the southeast slope to see if it offered possibilities for another season, but the result was a negative one. This row of rooms . . . was entirely covered by Roman buildings, which had cleared away almost everything to the M.M. I level, and this itself had nearly disappeared" (Seager 1909, 302). Discouraged by these results, Seager did not pursue his excavation in the area any further. He did not realize that he had come upon a LM III house underneath the "Roman buildings" (now identified as Late Hellenistic) and had in fact exposed its entire east facade in his "cutting," as well as parts of its south wall, the eastern half as a result of his excavation of Houses D.1 and 2, and the western corner as a result of his excavation of House D.4. As a result of this previous activity, some areas of the house were disturbed and some LM III material was lost, but the house itself survived remarkably well. Its entire southern half was still intact when the Greek-American project began.

The house and its surroundings were excavated in four seasons. Work in 1989, carried out in six trenches (Trenches 1700, 1800, 2700, 2800, 3700, 3800), exposed the road that led up to the house from the coast (Soles and Davaras 1992, 442, fig. 15, pl. 102c). Work in 1990, carried out in three trenches (Trenches 4700, 4800, 5800), exposed the entrance to the house and a series of rooms located behind its southern facade. Work in 1991 continued the excavation of these rooms (Soles and Davaras 1994, 429–431, fig. 20, pl. 107a). Final work in 1994, conducted in six trenches (Trenches 5700, 6700, 5800, 6800, 5900, 6900), exposed the northern part of the house.

The LM III house reoccupied the spot of an earlier house, labeled House D.6, that originally belonged to the Neopalatial town. This earlier house was located along the west side of Block D and was approached from the south by a north–south street that led up along the west side of House D.4 and separated Block D from Block C (Fig. 3). It could also be reached from the west by an east–west street that led from Block C along the north sides of Houses C.3 and C.7. It was an ordinary house in the Neopalatial town, the same size as many others and probably also two stories high. In the LM III period when it was reconstructed and reoccupied, it was transformed into the most important dwelling in the settlement. Although only one story high in its reoccupied state, it contained eight different rooms and was by far the largest of the LM III houses at Mochlos. It was also the most carefully constructed and used exceptionally large stones in its facades even if many of them rested on the earlier construction. Its interior walls were constructed entirely in stone. It was now isolated along the east side of the LM III settlement and was approached by its own, roughly cobbled street that led straight up the slope from the coast to the entrance of the house. When the house was first built in the LM II/IIIA1 period, it was comparatively monumental. In its architecture, location, and its finds, it provides good evidence for social ranking in the community and may be identified, in its earlier phase at least, as the house of the local *telestai* whose graves have been identified in the LM III cemetery (Soles 1999, 2003b; Brogan 2006b).

Like many houses in the LM III settlement, House A shows signs of two LM III stratigraphical levels, but, unlike most of the other houses, it also shows signs of two major building phases (Figs. 4–8). In a second phase of construction, which belongs to the LM IIIA2/B period, the early LM III house was substantially altered. The road leading up to the house continued in use, but the floor level of the house, particularly in Room 4 at the southeast, was raised ca. 0.30–0.50 m again, and both the main entrance and the vestibule, Room 3, no longer functioned as integral parts of the house. They seem to have formed a terrace, probably open to the sky, which now served as a point of access to two separate structures, one of which was built to the east of the old vestibule with its own doorway opening onto the east side of the terrace, and the other which reused the rooms along the west side of the earlier house with its entrance opening off the northwest corner of the terrace. The terrace provided access to the main entrances of these two houses and also to a passage (perhaps unroofed) that opened off its

northeast corner. This passage was created out of preexisting spaces in the old house to separate the two buildings, and led to two secondary entrances one on its east and one on its west, that opened into the interior rooms of the two adjacent houses.

The Approach from the Sea

(Area E4, Trenches 1700, 1800, 2700, 2800, 3800, 4800; Figs. 2, 3, 5, 10; Pl. 1)

In both LM III phases, House A was approached by a road that was located in Trenches 1700, 1800, 2700, 2800, 3800, 4800, and Room 500 of old Minoan House D.1 (Figs. 5, 9, 10). Seager's excavations in 1908 had already cleared the majority of soil in these trenches, exposing the western rooms of Neopalatial Houses D.1 and D.2 and the eastern rooms of House D.4. A narrow strip of soil remained between the two houses, however, and it is conceivable that this strip served as a ramp or path for Seager's excavations farther up the slope. If so, it is doubtful that Seager realized he had chosen a path that was originally laid down in 1400 B.C.

In 1989 excavation resumed in this unexcavated area in order to expose the space between the Minoan houses and to delineate the houses' western and eastern facades more clearly. After removing only the surface level in Trenches 1800, 2800, and 3800 some 0.10–0.20 m in depth, it became clear that the space had been filled in with soil, provided with a rough cobble paving, and used as a road some time after the destruction of the Neopalatial houses. As there was little soil cover over this road and no stratigraphy, its architectural remains and relationship to earlier Minoan buildings on the site provided the main evidence for its date of construction. Both LM I houses, D.1 and D.4, which are located on either side of the road, had been badly damaged in the catastrophe that destroyed the Neopalatial site. Part of the east facade of House D.4 had collapsed, and the southwest corner of House D.1 was also destroyed. The builders of the new road took advantage of the Neopalatial walls that still stood and reused them for their own purposes, but also built new walls where necessary.

The road was excavated in three parts: the main length of the road that lay between the earlier Minoan houses, which was divided into a northern and southern half, a landing at the southern end of the road that lay above the north side of Room 500 in House D.1, both of which were excavated in 1989, and a second landing at the top of the road located in front of the entrance to House A, which was excavated in 1990. In each case, it was decided to distinguish between a surface level that consisted of a soft, dark brown top soil and a harder level that lay just beneath, although the distinction may have been sometimes more arbitrary than real. The surface soil on the main length of road contained no significant finds, while the soil beneath was excavated in two parts, a northern part identified as "west facade.1–5" and a southern part identified as "west facade south.3." The landing at the southern end of the road was excavated as Locus 500. A surface deposit over this landing was uncovered at +3.90–3.81 m (Loci 500.1–2) and contained pockets of a reddish-brown soil (5YR 4/4), which may have been ancient. The level beneath this deposit was divided into two parts, that on the west (Locus 501) and that on the east (Locus 502). The upper two passes in each locus were excavated to a depth of +3.46 m and revealed additional details of the LM III landing (Loci 501.1–2, 502.1–2). Lower passes excavated in both loci belonged to the LM I house on which the LM III landing sat. The landing at the northern end of the street was excavated in Trench 4800. A dark brown surface soil over the landing was removed as Locus 4800.surface, revealing the southern facade of House A. The area to the south of this wall was excavated in two passes, an upper level that contained no pottery (Locus 4802.1) and a lower level that lay at +7.10–6.18 m (Locus 4802.2) and contained a large broken pithos of LM III date (**IIB.818**; P 121), as well as pavers in the street at the entrance (Locus 4804), steps leading into the house, and an adjacent stone bin.

Architecture

The approach to the house begins with the southern landing, which is +3.75 m at its lowest point of elevation, and ends with the landing in front of House A at an elevation of +6.82 m (Figs. 5, 10). The main street or path, which runs north–south, lies between these two points but could only be accessed in the town from the southern landing, which runs east–west at its base. The landing is set on top of what was probably a closet or basement storeroom in the northeast corner of Room 500 of the earlier Minoan House D.1 and reuses the existing walls in this corner of the room, which created a platform for the landing. It uses the old north wall of the room for its north wall, the east wall of the room for its east wall, and the southern wall of the storeroom for its south wall. The west wall of the storeroom was reused as a step on the western side of the landing and led up to the level of the street, which was 0.25 m higher. The landing measures 0.65–0.81 m in width and ca. 1.60 m in length. It is approached by three steps on its eastern side that led up from the original LM III ground level. The lower step is set in front of the landing and is constructed from irregular cobbles, whereas the middle step is a single limestone slab that rests on the south wall of the old basement room. The upper step is a large grayish-green limestone slab that sits on top of the landing and forms part of the paving at the eastern end of the landing.[1] The rest of the landing was paved with crude stones, like most of the street itself. It stood ca. 0.50 m above ground level at an elevation of +3.75 m.

The soil covering the landing, like that covering most of the road, was badly disturbed. The surface levels (Loci 500.1–2) contained a large amount of Hellenistic pottery and fragmentary roof tiles, as well as some LM IB pottery. The lower levels (Loci 501 and 502) also contained Hellenistic material, but a larger quantity of LM pottery, including a kylix stem that was found just west of the western step. No finds were in situ, and it was not possible to discern what might have been deposited here as a result of Seager's excavations or what might have been deposited earlier. The landing leads onto the southern end of the road, which lies at an elevation of +4.00 m. The road viewed from the north stops abruptly where it turns to meet the landing and is faced here with a relatively well-built wall five to six courses high, which rises ca. 0.65 m above ground level (Fig. 10). The two together, the landing and the south end of the road, not only served as the beginning of the path to House A; this continuous, roughly paved platform ca. 7.80 m long and 0.50–0.65 m high would also have been used as a dock or loading platform for goods being carried to and from ships in the harbor. The street runs from this point up the slope of the island for a distance of ca. 14.75 m. The southern part of the road is supported on the west and east by the surviving sections of the east facade of House D.4 and the west facade of House D.1. Occasionally, these walls were rebuilt where gaps occurred, as in the case of the western wall of Room 200 in House D.1. The southern section of this wall was destroyed, and a new wall, which runs in a more truly north–south line, had to be built to replace it. The northern part of the road is supported on its east by the west facade of House D.2; whatever supported it on the west is now destroyed. The road has four steps and is paved its entire length, sometimes with neatly laid slabs, but more often with crudely placed stones. At several points, it reuses as pavers the stones that were exposed at the tops of the partially ruined walls in the adjacent Minoan houses. It resembles the old *kalderimi* roads still to be found in the Greek countryside today, but still forms an impressive ramp that rises nearly 3 m before ending at the entrance to House A.

A variety of finds were collected from the steps, including an ogival cup (**IIB.1049**; P 4240), a one-handled conical cup (**IIB.1045**; P 223), a closed vessel (**IIB.997**; P 4242), a scored basin (**IIB.584**; P 4239), and a stirrup jar (**IIB.758**; P 4241). All were found extremely close to the surface and therefore cannot be placed here with absolute certainty. Some date to the LM I period and could have been moved here during the construction of the ramp or at the time of Seager's excavation. It is also possible that they were reused in the LM III period. Others, including the stirrup jar (**IIB.758**; P 4241), date to the LM III period, however, and may have been dropped on the road at this time. Two vessels (**IIB.758**, **IIB.997**; P 4241, P 4242) appear to have been imports from Gournia.

A stoop or landing consisting of two steps with flanking stones and measuring ca. 1.77 m across was constructed at the top of the road in front of

the entrance to the house (Fig. 9; Pl. 1B). Its base lies ca. 0.50 m above the base of the original south facade of the Neopalatial house and is clearly a later construction than the Minoan house. A stone bin, measuring ca. 0.35 x 0.56 m on the inside, perhaps designed for feeding animals, was built against the west side of the stoop, also ca. 0.50 m above the base of the south facade. A large pithos (**IIB.818**; P 121), only the top half preserved, stood against the east side of the stoop (Pl. 1C), but otherwise the finds, including a stone polisher (**IIC.354**; GS 455), and a slab or quern (**IIC.385**; GS 928), provide very little information about the activities that took place on the upper landing. Its main purpose, however, is not in doubt; it provided access to the house's entrance and to a vestibule, Room 3, located just inside.

Floor of Road

POTTERY

Stirrup jar: **IIB.758** (P 4241; west facade.2).

Basin: **IIB.584** (P 4239; west facade.4).

Closed vessel: **IIB.997** (P 4242; west facade.4).

Conical cup with handle (LM I): **IIB.1045** (P 223; west facade.4)

Ogival cup (LM IB): **IIB.1049** (P 4240; west facade.4).

MARINE SHELLS (247 MNI [3 collected dead])

25/1 *Patella*—26 MNI; *Monodonta*—medium; 3/4 *Murex*—1 broken lip; distal/columella/body; columella/siphon; columella; siphon/body, 6 MNI; 0/4 *Charonia*—apex, worn, bored on edge; siphon, waterworn; apex side; upper body, 1 MNI; 171/5 *Cerithium*—26 with lip (9 holed opposite mouth), 174 MNI; 4 *Euthria*—2 gastropod, bored; *Conus*—worn, broken lip; *Gibbula* —rather large; *Pisania*; 29 *Nassatius mutabilis*—largest 0.027 m; 0/4 *Luria*—no color or gloss, medium; *Cerastoderma*—distal, R, large (west facade.surface, 2–4).

LAND SNAIL

Rumina (west facade.surface).

Surface of Landing before House A

STONE

Obsidian flake: **IIC.539** (CS 409; 4800.surface).

MAMMALS

25 bone/tooth fragments—*Ovis/Capra*: upper premolar, lower molar fragment, scapula fragment (body, 2 pieces), radius shaft, distal tibia (F, broken), distal metapodial (F), vertebra fragment, 3 rib fragments, 5 shafts (4800.surface).

MARINE SHELLS

1/1 *Murex*—2 MNI (4800.surface).

LAND SNAIL

Rumina—has gloss (4800.surface).

Floor of Landing before House A

POTTERY

Conical cup: **IIB.55** (P 3549; 4802.2)

Lid: **IIB.810** (P 3548; 4802.2).

Pithos: **IIB.818** (P 121; 4802.2).

Ogival cup (LM IB): **IIB.1048** (P 3283; 4802.2)

STONE

Polisher: **IIC.354** (GS 455; 4802).

Quern: **IIC.385** (GS 928; 4802).

Obsidian blade: **IIC.696** (CS 517.2; 4804).

2 obsidian flakes: **IIC.485**, **IIC.550** (CS 517.1, CS 516; 4804).

MARINE SHELLS (14 MNI)

2 *Patella*; 2/2 *Monodonta*—1 apex, 1 open, 3 MNI; 2/3 *Murex*—3 MNI; 0/2 *Charonia*—columella; *Charonia Pisania*; *Columbella*; *Chama*—small, l. 0.023 m; *Gibbula varia*; 0/1 *Bittium* (4804).

LAND SNAILS (52 MNI)

29 *Eobania*; 23 *Rumina* (4804).

FISH (2 MNI)

Sparidae otolith; Centracanthidae otolith (4804).

WOOD CHARCOAL

2 *Prunus* sp., 1 cf. *Pistacia*, 1 indet. (4802), 1 indet. (4804).

*Contents of Pithos **IIB.818** (P 121)*

MAMMALS (2 MNI)

3 bones—*Ovis/Capra* or *Sus*: 3 fragments (small); Shrew—2 lower canines, mandible, shaft.

MARINE SHELLS (11 MNI [1 collected dead])

3 *Patella*; 1/1 *Monodonta*—2 MNI; 1/3 *Murex*—2 MNI and 0/1 waterworn; *Gibbula*; *Conus* (broken lip); *Pisania*.

LAND SNAIL
Helicella.

BOTANICAL REMAINS
1 *Medicago* sp.

House A

(Area E4, Trenches 4700, 4800, 4900, 5700, 5800, 5900, 6700, 6800, 6900; Figs. 2, 3, 5–19; Pls. 1–4)

In its original state, the Neopalatial house on the site of House A measured ca. 8–11 m in width and ca. 13.70 m in length on its exterior. In Phase 1 of the reoccupation, the original outline of the house was retained, and the exterior dimensions of the house were the same. In Phase 2 when the house was broken up into two smaller units, A east and A west, only parts of the exterior walls on the south, west, and north of the original house were used. The following description focuses on the two phases of the house's LM III use because only a small part of the earlier Neopalatial house was excavated, and a large part of the earlier house was, in any case, gutted in the LM III rebuilding. The rooms of the house were numbered in the order in which they were excavated, but the description here follows the route that one might take through the house, beginning with the entrance vestibule, Room 3. The stratigraphy of each room is presented first, then a description of the room's architecture is presented, first in Phase 1 and then in Phase 2, along with the finds associated with each phase. Room 4 causes the only problem for this plan of presentation because the large room of Phase 1 is broken into three smaller spaces in Phase 2. The description concludes with an interpretation of the room's function in each phase.

The modern surface deposit over the southern side of the house consisted of a dark brown soil (5YR 3/4–7.5YR 4/4) ca. 0.20–0.35 m deep that sloped down toward the south from an elevation of +9.09 to +7.40 m (Trenches 4700–4900, 5800, 5900). It was badly disturbed by the Hellenistic occupation and Seager's excavation in the area, but contained a relatively large amount of LM III material, including a rich collection of sherds connected with drinking (i.e., kylikes, deep cups, dippers, a pulled-rim bowl, and a globular krater of LM IIIB date decorated with double axes and horns of consecration), as well as earlier Minoan and later Hellenistic finds. Presumably the LM III objects belonged to the house, although some of the associated faunal material may have belonged to the Minoan and Hellenistic occupation. The objects lay above the rooms of the house and were likely disturbed during the Hellenistic construction phase or Seager's excavation, so it is impossible to say exactly where in the house they were originally located. They are listed first, and the description of individual rooms follows afterward.

Surface and Hellenistic Fill over Rooms 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5

POTTERY

Conical cup: **IIB.33** (P 114; 5802.4).

2 deep cups: **IIB.110** (P 3279; 5803.4), **IIB.125** (P 4045; 4706.surface).

Deep cup or kylix (LM II/IIIA1): **IIB.126** (P 4047; 4704.1).

6 kylikes: **IIB.170** (P 3220; 5803.6), **IIB.172** (P 3223; 5803.1), **IIB.173** (P 3226; 5803.7), **IIB.178** (P 3290; 5803.3), **IIB.232** (P 4119; 5900.1), **IIB.238** (P 4201; 4900).

Pulled-rim bowl: **IIB.330** (P 3221; 5803.1).

Deep bowl: **IIB.467** (P 3365; 4900, 5900.1).

Krater: **IIB.523** (P 105; 5803.1).

5 dippers: **IIB.533** (P 3213; 5803.1), **IIB.535** (P 3215; 5803.4), **IIB.536**, **IIB.538** (P 3219, P 3292; 5803.6), **IIB.558** (P 4118; 5900.1).

Pithos: **IIB.827** (P 3310; 5803.6).

Brazier: **IIB.979** (P 3212; 5803.1).

Decorated closed vessel: **IIB.983** (P 3287; 5803.6).

Conical cup lamp (LM I): **IIB.1031** (P 3210; 5803.6).

Decorated closed vessel (LM I): **IIB.1074** (P 4676; 48/5800.surface).

CERAMIC OBJECTS

Loomweight: **IIC.175** (C 609; 5906.1).

Hellenistic loomweight: (C 17; 5900.surface).