

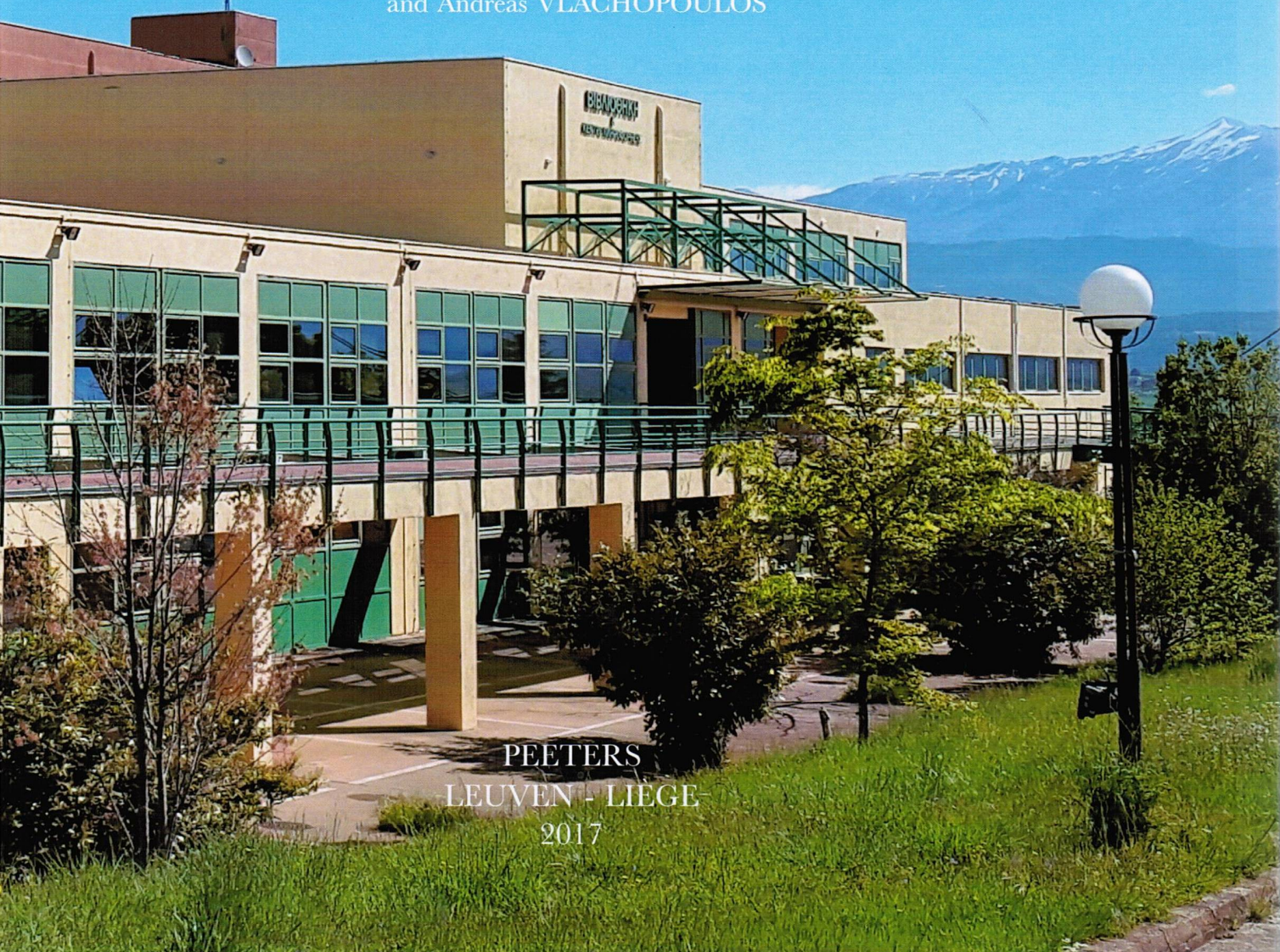
**ÆGÆUM 41**  
Annales liégeoises et PASpiennes d'archéologie égéenne

# **ΕΣΠΕΡΟΣ / HESPEROS**

## **THE ÆGEAN SEEN FROM THE WEST**

**Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference,  
University of Ioannina,  
Department of History and Archaeology,  
Unit of Archaeology and Art History,  
18-21 May 2016**

Edited by Michael FOTIADIS, Robert LAFFINEUR, Yannis LOLOS,  
and Andreas VLACHOPOULOS



PEETERS  
LEUVEN - LIÈGE  
2017



## MYCENAEAN CITADELS OF WESTERN GREECE: ARCHITECTURE, PURPOSE, THEIR INTRICATE ROLE IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

*In memoriam of my beloved wife and constant collaborator, Litsa.*

The aim of this paper is multiple, *i.e.* to examine and so far as possible to clarify, first the nature and architecture of these particular citadels, second the purpose of their construction and third their intricate role concerning the intercommunications between this part of Mycenaean Greece and their relations with the West.

The great majority (9) come from Messenia, but they are also found in the adjacent regions of Trifyllia, Elis and Achaea (5), while on the opposite side of Peloponnese and the Ionian islands Mycenaean citadels are rare (Aetoloakarnania 2, Epirus 2 [?], Ithaca 2 [?]) (Pl. CXLIX).

As regards their nature and architecture suffice to say that the architecture of citadels of western Greece follow more or less the same principles as those known from the other regions of Greece.

Starting from Messenia, its central region is dominated by the Palace of Nestor at **Ano Englianios** (Pl. CLa). The site has been already well treated and documented first by Blegen<sup>1</sup> and recently by other expeditions/projects and scholars,<sup>2</sup> all of whom emphasize its great importance. According to them Englianios had been walled in the LH I-IIA phase of the LBA.

What is an oddity is the absence of any sign of a new fortification wall on the central plateau of the hill, when the palace was constructed in the later Helladic period (13<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C). Blegen has suggested that, if such a wall was ever completed, it had been largely destroyed by erosion, probably accelerated by the scavenings of its fabric for reusable building material in the Dark Ages and in historical times. The absence of such remains led him to the suggestion that the LH IIIB palace was probably not fortified. However, such an assumption has been doubted recently on the basis of discovery by members of the Geophysical exploration of PRAP<sup>3</sup> of a strong wall "roughly parallel to the contours of the steep northwestern side of the ridge" which "may well indicate the remains of a massive fortification", enormous and extensive, probably enclosing and protecting the palace and the adjacent "Lower Town", but this hypothesis needs confirmation by excavation.

Northwards, on the west coast of the region and lying on a high inland hill, is the partly excavated by Marinatos<sup>4</sup> "country town"<sup>5</sup> **Mouriatada** with its impressive and high defensive wall, a large building of *megaron* type with rooms painted with plaster decoration and an adjacent tholos tomb. According to Bennet<sup>6</sup> "the site belongs entirely within the LH IIIB phase, almost exactly contemporary with the final

<sup>1</sup> C.W. BLEGEN *et al.*, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I-III* (1966, 1969, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> W.A. McDONALD and G. RAPP (eds), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* (1972); J.L. DAVIS *et al.*, "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part I: Overview and the Archaeological Survey", *Hesperia* 66 (1997) 391-494; E. ZANGGER *et al.*, "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part II: Landscape Evolution and site Preservation", *Hesperia* 66 (1997) 59-641; J.L. DAVIS and J. BENNET, "Making Mycenaean Warfare, Territorial Expansion, and Representations of the other in the Pylian Kingdom", R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *Polemos. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'Âge du Bronze. Acts de la 7<sup>e</sup> Rencontre égéenne internationale. Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998* (1999) 105-106; R. HOPE SIMPSON and K. HAGEL, *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals* (2006) 52-53; J.L. DAVIS (ed.), *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (2008); Y.G. LOLOS, *Πύλος ημαθόεις. η πρωτεύουσα του Νέστορος και η γύρω περιοχή. Ιστορία, μνημεία, Μουσείο Χώρας* (1994).

<sup>3</sup> For references, brief discussion and bibliography see HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 52-3.

<sup>4</sup> *PraktArchEt* (1960) 201-206.

<sup>5</sup> E. VERMEULE, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (1964) 182-3.

<sup>6</sup> J. BENNET, "The Linear B Archives and the Kingdom of Nestor", in DAVIS ed. (*supra* n. 2) 128-129.



phase of the palace at Ano Englianos" and more significantly "it seems to have replaced *Peristeria*, one of the most early Mycenaean (LH I-II) sites of Messenia". Strategically situated and oriented to catch a distant view and control of the sea, it seems that it was mainly an agricultural rather seafaring autonomous centre belonging to a local leader. Marinatos has suggested that it was a Mycenaean citadel related to that of Gla.<sup>7</sup>

**Peristeria** (Pl. CLb), a hill above the Kyparisies river, is well known from the early Mycenaean tholos tombs excavated by Marinatos in the decade of 60's.<sup>8</sup> He discovered a large LH I building (the East House), fortification remains of this important site at its south side, similar to early walls (MH-LH I) at Ano Englianos and Dorion Malthi, a gateway, through which a paved road led into the citadel and two small rooms attached to the inner side of the wall.<sup>9</sup> The acropolis was destroyed and deserted ca. 1200 BC (LH IIIB), following the catastrophe of the palace of Nestor.

**Dorion-Malthi** (Pl. CLc), a citadel excavated by Valmin<sup>10</sup> in the decade of 30's, is in a good strategic position dominating the fertile Soulima valley, which is still the main pass and trade route between the west and east Peloponnese.<sup>11</sup> Much of the wall is lost and has two main gates at the north and south which led inside, where a small village with stalls and storerooms attached to the entire inner face of the wall existed with a natural spring on the top of the hill. As Vermeule<sup>12</sup> rightly says "the farmyard quality of this citadel is noticeable". Its walls consisting of rough uneven blocks and contours (like at Pylos and Peristeria) do not protect treasure and a local leader so much as flocks and the fertile agricultural land. As regards its date Valmin<sup>13</sup> suggests "the Middle Helladic town was gradually transformed into a Mycenaean town" (MH III-LH I-II), and the fortification was probably completed in LH II, a view which is now generally accepted.<sup>14</sup> Irrespective of this, the site was occupied over a long period, very probably its occupation being continued until the end of the LH IIIC.<sup>15</sup>

So much for Messenia. As we move northwards, the district of Triphylia-Elis "heavily populated in the late Bronze Age"<sup>16</sup> has, according to recent research<sup>17</sup> and in contrast to its strategic position, extensive fertile land and many important cemeteries, no major settlements and Mycenaean citadels (with probable exceptions of **Kakovatos** and **Samiko**).<sup>18</sup>

In Achaea two certain citadels are known, Teichos Dymaion in the West and Aigeira in the East. **Teichos Dymaion** (Pl. CLia) lies on the Araxos promontory and it is fairly fully described by

<sup>7</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 201. See, however, HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 54 ("the resemblance is only superficial and the style local or provincial").

<sup>8</sup> S. MARINATOS, *PraktArchEt* and *Ergon* 1960-1965.

<sup>9</sup> See for references and bibliography N. SKOUFOPOULOS, *Mycenaean Citadels* (1971) 63; HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 54-55.

<sup>10</sup> M.N. VALMIN, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (1938).

<sup>11</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 77; SKOUFOPOULOS (*supra* n. 9) 63.

<sup>12</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 77. Cf. also O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation* (1977) 93 ("Malthi seems a rather rustic acropolis").

<sup>13</sup> VALMIN (*supra* n. 10) 169-173. Also VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 77; SKOUFOPOULOS (*supra* n. 9) 20-22, 63; HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 1) 56.

<sup>14</sup> See however O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (1994) 59-60 (the fortified citadel is not MH but LH III).

<sup>15</sup> V.R. d'A DEDSBOROUGH, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors* (1964) 94.

<sup>16</sup> W.A. McDONALD and R. HOPE SIMPSON, "Prehistoric Habitation in Southwestern Peloponnese", *AJA* 65 (1961) 221 ff.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 59-61; K.C. NIKOLENTZOS, *Μυκηναϊκή Ηπειρος: Πολιτιστική και Πολιτική Εξέλιξη, Εθνολογικά Δεδομένα και Προβλήματα* (2011) 321-329.

<sup>18</sup> W.DÖRPFELD, "Alt Pylos", *AM* 38 (1913) 97-139; McDONALD and HOPE SIMPSON (*supra* n. 16); VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 166-7; HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 59 say that "The large blocks observed at Kakovatos and at Klidhi (near ancient Samikon) in Triphylia may also have been parts of Mycenaean circuit walls" and NIKOLENTZOS (*supra* n. 17) 321, n. 2004, 323-324 refers to fortified settlements similar to those at Malthi and Peristeria (MH III-LH I-II).



Mastrokostas,<sup>19</sup> Skoufopoulos,<sup>20</sup> Hope Simpson and Hage,<sup>21</sup> Giannopoulos,<sup>22</sup> Gazis<sup>23</sup> and myself elsewhere,<sup>24</sup> so it will be enough to repeat here the outline. The SW steep side, towards Elis, was protected by the sea, which once extended up to it, but has now become a marsh. It was defended by the Cyclopean wall. The style of walls is idiosyncratic, like that of Gla, not easily fitted into any category of Cyclopean masonry (Loader Type III? = "rough uncoursed blocks secured with interstice stones"<sup>25</sup>), probably "being dictated by the nature of the local limestone available".<sup>26</sup> There are three gates and the SE main gate was approached by a small staircase and flanked by a L-shaped tower attached to its NE side. "The course of events on the acropolis is not easy to interpret from the archaeological evidence available, but there do seem to be signs of destruction by fire first at the end of EH period and then during LH IIIB-C and the latest phase of LH IIIC. The architectural remains and pottery tend to confirm the possibility that the site was fortified during the LH IIIB period. Although the area enclosed by this fortification is relatively small, enclosing an area ca. 190m., the possibility that it might well be the centre of the whole adjacent Dymaion region and the stronghold of a local leader who had his administrative offices here cannot be ruled out".<sup>27</sup>

As regards **Aigeira** (Pl. CLib), I have included here this site because I take eastern Achaia as "*an integral unit of the district*".<sup>28</sup> The acropolis is omitted by Hope Simpson and Hagel, while it is mentioned and more or less well described by other scholars.<sup>29</sup> It was investigated by the Austrian Archaeological Institute early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and again in the 1970s. The recent excavations revealed remains of three phases of habitation (Phase Ia and Ib = middle LH IIC, Phase II = middle LH IIIC). The settlement was destroyed by fire by the end of Phase Ib and the houses were reconstructed in a different orientation in Phase II. The acropolis of Aigeira had also been fortified in Phase II (LH IIIC<sup>30</sup>) and was from a military view, very advantageous, at once strong and commanding. The pottery evidence and the nature and location of the site, with a usable harbour in the Corinthian gulf and a small but fertile plain to the north indicate that, although small (ca. 140 x 120 m. N-S) was an important Bronze Age (EH, LH I, IIIA-C) and especially LH IIIC Mycenaean centre.<sup>31</sup>

Turning now to Aetoloakarnania, only three sites are mentioned in the work of Hope Simpson and Hagel, as having Mycenaean fortifications (**Kalydon** and **Pleuron** in Aetolia, **Palairos** in Akarnania). To these must be added three more at **Agia Triada**, **Agios Elias Ithorias**, **Graves**. The evidence,

- 19 E. MASTROKOSTAS in *PraktArchEt* and *Ergon* 1962-1965 with a general plan of the acropolis in *PraktArchEt* (1962) 128, fig. 1.
- 20 SKOUFOPOULOS (*supra* n. 9) 60.
- 21 HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 63.
- 22 Th.G. GIANNOPOULOS, *Die Letzte Elite der Mykenischen Welt. Achaia in mykenischer Zeit und das Phänomen der Kriegerbestattungen im 12-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2008) 23-29, fig. 8.
- 23 M. GAZIS this volume.
- 24 Th. J. PAPADOPOULOS, *Mycenaean Achaia* (1978-79) 24, 46-47, fig. 1-2, 39.
- 25 N.C. LOADER, *Building in Cyclopean Masonry, with Special Reference to the Mycenaean Fortifications on Mainland Greece* (1998) 29.
- 26 LOADER (*supra* n. 25) 43-44.
- 27 PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 24) 47, 184; V.R. d'A DESBOROUGH, *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972) 94, 335.
- 28 PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 24) 184. This view is generally accepted by most scholars (Åström, Vermeule, Shachermeyr, Desborough, Skoufopoulos, Deger-Jalkotey, Eder, Kontorli-Papadopoulou, Maran, Kolonas, Giannopoulos) the only dissident being so far E. ARENA, "Mycenaean Peipheries during the Palatial Age. The case of Achaia", *Hesperia* 84 (2015) 9.
- 29 R. HOPE SIMPSON and O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age, Vol. I: The Mainland and Islands* (1979) 84-85 (B36); PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 24) 37. For a full recent bibliography and extensive discussion see GIANNOPOULOS (*supra* n. 22) 83 n.701, and 83-93.
- 30 F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Die ägäische Frühzeit I, 2* 12; II 57, 156-8, Abb.40; S. DEGER-JALKOTZY and E. ALRAM STERN, "Die mykenische Siedlung", in W.E. ALZINGER *et al.*, "Aigeira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloë in Achaia, I", *Klio* 67 (1985) 394-426; W.E. ALZINGER *et al.*, "Aigeira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloë in Achaia II-III", *Klio* 68 (1986) 309-347; S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Zum Verlauf der Periode SH IIIC in Achaia", in A.D. RIZAKIS (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike. Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19-21 Mai 1989* (1991) 19-29.
- 31 GIANNOPOULOS (*supra* n. 22) 93.



however, in all instances is meagre, deriving from surface surveys and finds and not from excavations, so it does not permit to reach definite conclusions about their 'Cyclopean' and Mycenaean type.<sup>32</sup>

In Epirus, the first, most important and systematically excavated acropolis is **Ephyra** (Pl. CLIIc and CLIIa) in Thesprotia. It lies on the small height Xylokastra (83.30 m. high) and consists of three partly preserved successive *perivoloi*. The uppermost encloses the jagged rocky summit and is in a polygonal style. The other two are constructed in the LH IIIA-C period, using Cyclopean masonry, similar to that applied at the great Mycenaean centres of Mycenae, Tiryns and Gla, the lowest having a perimeter of 1120 m. Part of the middle *perivolos* was used to support on its west side one of the three burial tumuli (A) (Pl. CLIIb-c) which contained six burials of adults accompanied by various offerings, including local handmade and burnished pottery, imported Mycenaean pottery among which sherds of kylikes, alabaster, stirrup jars and cups, a LH IIIC deep bowl (Pl. CLIIa-c) and some small objects (an amber bead, clay and steatite buttons and a fragmentary bronze pin). The other two tumuli (B and C) contained burials mainly of adults (Pl. CLIIId and CLIVa-b), local handmade and burnished pottery and small finds of LH IIIA-C date. To the south of the cemetery and in the lower and external *perivolos* there is the fairly well-preserved south main gate (Pl. CLVa-b) of the acropolis (2.30 m wide), flanked by two tower-like projections, the eastern of which is offset, comparable to the south gate at Gla, Midea and Athens,<sup>33</sup> Hammond<sup>34</sup> has suggested, on the basis of the crudeness of the constructions of the tumuli, that they were made after the collapse of Mycenaean Ephyra by pastoralist people from farther North. Without denying that Hammond may be right, I am inclined to believe that the acropolis had a permanent Mycenaean population during the entire LH III period,<sup>35</sup> with an appanent peak during LH IIIA and IIIB, i.e. it was a Mycenaean colony in the western Epirotic territory, although not isolated from the local inhabitants, as the finding of local handmade ("barbarian") ware indicates, while life continued after the collapse of Mycenaean centres. The settlement could be that mentioned in ancient literature as *Ephyra*.

Hope Simpson and Hagel do not mention any other fortified site in Epirus. However, while working on the publication of the tholos tomb at **Kiperi-Pargas**, I observed some traces of a fortification wall ca. 2 m thick ca. 50-70 m to the east of the Mycenaean tholos tomb. This wall runs down the slope of the hill and may be part of a fortification wall protecting a Mycenaean settlement - colony<sup>36</sup> (*Torjuz?*). Tartaron, who recently visited the site, says that "the masonry of the wall near the tholos is typical of the cyclopean technique and stresses its strategic and important location by stating that the inhabitants would have gained unobstructed views of the bay of Lichnos and Parga, the Ionian islands and Ephyra, possibly maintaining ties with them and other adjacent settlements".<sup>37</sup> Its extent, accurate dating (LH IIIA2-IIIB2 or IIIC?) and association with Ephyra and other settlements of the Acheron region is, however, not known. Furthermore, Tartaron added two more sites said to have been fortified with Cyclopean walls, **Ayia Eleni**, near to Ammoudia bay in the Acheron river mouth, and **Kastriza**, NW at the

<sup>32</sup> HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 102-104) are cautious by stating that Kalydon and Pleuron "may have been Mycenaean fortifications".

<sup>33</sup> Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS, "Η Εποχή του Χαλκού στην Ήπειρο", *Dodoni* 3 (1976) 275-277, pl. 1a; ID., "Settlement Types in Prehistoric Epirus", in P. DARQUE and R. TREUIL (eds), *L'habitat égin préhistorique. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale organisée par la Centre National de la recherche Scientifique de l'Université de Paris à l'Ecole française d'Athènes 23-25 juin 1987* (1990) 364, fig. 4-6; Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS *PraktArchEt* and *Ergon* 1976-90; T. TARTARON, *Bronze Age Landscape and Society in Southern Epirus*, *Genoa* (2004) 145, fig. 4.5; HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 105, pl. 24a; K. SOUEREF, *Μεταρραϊκές μαρτυρίες από την Ήπειρο* (2001) 72-74.

<sup>34</sup> N.G.L. HAMMOND, *CAH* III: 1 (1982) 636.

<sup>35</sup> K. SOUEREF, "Εισαγωγικά στην Πρωτοϊστορία της Ν.Αδριατικής και του Β. Ιονίου", in University of Ioannina (ed.), *ΦΗΓΟΣ, Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Σωτήρη Δάκαρη* (1994) 226-230; ID. (*supra* n. 33) 161-162.

<sup>36</sup> DESBOROUGH (*supra* n. 15) 102. For a recent discussion see T. TARTARON, *Glykis Limin and the Discontinuous Mycenaean Periphery* (2005) 153-160; ID. (*supra* n. 33) 170, 174.

<sup>37</sup> TARTARON (*supra* n. 33) 67.



neighbourhood of Koroni village. He cautiously suggests for both sites, judging from their position and the few surface finds, a LBA date.<sup>38</sup>

So much for Epirus. The next and last district to consider is the island of Ithaca where at **Ayios Athanasios-School of Homer** (Pl. CLVIa-b), a partly excavated and well documented Mycenaean fortified settlement is known.

The results of our excavation at this site in N. Ithaca appear as follows. First, we were able to recognize there a prehistoric acropolis (ca. 23 hectares extent) with partly preserved walls the construction of which typifies the Cyclopean technique, and a complex of buildings arranged in two terraces (άνδηρα) (Pl. CLVIb and CLVII), dated from Bronze Age to Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In the lower terrace or άνδηρον the foundations of a three-roomed rectangular building in the form of a *megaron* dated from late Middle Helladic to LH IIIC period were revealed. It is almost similar in type construction and dimensions (Pl. CLVIIIa-b) with those of Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos. One can approach the *megaron* from the south through a partly destroyed stone staircase and an entrance leads to the first room (*aithousa*). Before the opening leading to the next room (*prodomos*) a relief of rough, irregular "oxhide ingot" (τάλαντον) cut out in the surface of the rock bed has been recognized (Pl. CLIXa). Whether or not it was used as an altar I cannot say.

In the northern room (*domos*) the floor with the hearth (εστία) (diam. 3 m.) was sunken. It was built of a ring of big poros stones (Pl. CLIXb). West of the *megaron* there are auxiliary rooms, where a broken Mycenaean IIIC kylix and sherds from others, prehistoric handmade sherds, big broken pithoi of later times (Pl. CLIXc and CLXa-c), a circular destroyed bothros, remains of prehistoric walls and an underground cave-like storeroom were found. An opening of a large door in the northern wall of the *megaron*, leads to a three-roomed building, orientated E-W (Pl. CLXd). Judging from its particular type of architecture, its adjacency with the *megaron*, and the few, but very important finds (two triton shells, one Minoan lead votive idol of worshipper, a stone altar-shaped seal, two stone feet and a model column in ivory) (Pl. CLXI) it is tempting to think of it being a Late Bronze Age sanctuary (?).

Three stone staircases were used to facilitate communication between the residents of the upper and lower terrace. "The palaces and houses excavated at Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos all had staircases and upper floors. A staircase is an essential feature of a Homeric house".<sup>39</sup> Parts of the steep vertical face of the rock dividing upper and lower terraces were embellished with large blocks of stone in pseudo-ashlar style (Pl. CLXIIa), exactly similar to those used in the Cyclopean wall of Mycenae at the east side of the approach to the Lion Gate.

In the upper terrace a metallurgical workshop and a bathroom were discovered. As regards the metallurgical workshop, it was recognised as such by Professor G. Papademetriou of the National Metsoveion Technical University of Athens.<sup>40</sup> Relevant products were bronze pins and nails, fish-hooks, an awl, a needle, a flat (or 1/2 of double axe?) and most importantly one broken low-stemmed monochrome LH IIIB2 early kylix, two lamps - one of bronze (Catling's Form 27b, LM/LH IIIA), the other of lead with skillet handle, broken and badly corroded (Pl. CLXII b-d).

The bathroom, SE of the metallurgical workshop, has an entrance to the east and a low inner dividing wall. Immediately after the entrance part of a slab-paved floor is preserved, while several sherds of Late Mycenaean pottery and parts of a broken clay bath-tub (ασάμινθος) were found.

<sup>38</sup> TARTARON (*supra* n. 33) 37-8, fig. 4.3 and 44-48, fig. 4.9-11.

<sup>39</sup> A. WACE, in A.J.B. WACE and F.H. STUBBINGS (eds), *A Companion to Homer* (1967) 493.

<sup>40</sup> "Το υλικό λόγω της μεγάλης του καθαρότητας (απουσίας σιδήρου) και της απουσίας μολύβδου ως κραμάτων ή ακαθαρσίας είναι απολύτως συμβατό με τις συνθέσεις προϊστορικών αντικειμένων, που παράγονται ως σφυρήλατα... Με βάση τα προηγούμενα συμπεράσματα, η περιεκτικότητα σε κασσίτερο περί το 9%, η απουσία αρσενικού και η υψηλή καθαρότητα (απουσία σιδήρου και μολύβδου), το τοποθετούν με μεγάλη πιθανότητα στην μυκηναϊκή περίοδο" (personal communication and official written opinion of Prof. Papademetriou).



Worthy of special mention are the preserved foundations of the megaron and parts of the wall dividing the two ἀνδρῶνα which have exact parallels at Mycenae.<sup>41</sup> So, I agree with Buchholz<sup>42</sup> who says that “the Ithacans of later times looked for the palace as described by Homer at this important and strategic place,” where I suggest that most probably existed the palace of Odysseus. My suggestion is strengthened by the opinions of Tsountas, Nilsson, Lorimer, Pausanias, Iakovidis, Camp, Immerwahr, and O. Komninou-Kakridi,<sup>43</sup> who rightly argue that later constructions covered prehistoric residence after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial centres and that sanctuaries or temples dedicated to local deities were constructed in the place of the palaces.<sup>44</sup>

During the final Mycenaean building phase the acropolis was enlarged by the addition of an eastern extension, to include and protect a Mycenaean underground spring carefully examined and safely dated to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC (LH IIIB2) by J. Knauss, Professor of the Technical University of Munich and leading authority and specialist on ancient hydraulic techniques and works (Pl. CLXIIIa-b and CLXIVa). He concluded that the underground well-house “is a sophisticated example of Mycenaean architecture and engineering and an impressive example of urban technical infrastructure of the Mycenaean world”. He also compared it with those known from other palatial and prehistoric sites (Mycenae, Tiryns, Ayia Eirini-Keas and Hatusa) and the results of his study have been presented at two recent international congresses.<sup>45</sup> The Ithaca spring like those of the others from elsewhere, provided water to the residents of the Mycenaean acropolis in the times of droughts or of war and its position protected it from disclosure to the enemy and made it safe from attack.

So, in view of the general similarity with the other known Mycenaean springs and taking into account the careful study of Knauss I find it difficult to disassociate the Ithaca spring from the adjacent Mycenaean megaron.

One further impressive prehistoric (?) monument deserves brief discussion, and that is the so-called *kykloteres* or *tholos* (Pl. CLXIVb). It lies further to the East of the underground spring and it was badly destroyed and looted. It produced, however, many interesting finds, among which the most important were one clay tablet bearing incised figures of a ship and a man tied on its mast accompanied by mythical creatures and symbol(s) of Linear B (?) (AB09 “SE”) (Pl. CLXVa-b),<sup>46</sup> pottery sherds and a great number of animal bones. It is worthy of special note that among these bones the most important were two *bucrania* (oxen crania) (Pl. CLXVc), which may be related with bull sacrifices<sup>47</sup> and bones of *Bos primigenius*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> G.E. MYLONAS, “Η ἀκρόπολις των Μυκηνών”, *ArchEph* (1962) 62, 64, fig. 36-37.

<sup>42</sup> H.-G. BUCHHOLZ, “Some remarks concerning the Heroon of Odysseus at Ithaca”, in D. DANIELIDOU (ed.), *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη* (2009) 136.

<sup>43</sup> Ch. TSOUNTAS, *Μυκήναι και Μυκηναϊός Πολιτισμός* (1893) 35; M. NILSSON, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (1950) 488; H. LORIMER, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950) 447; S. IAKOVIDIS, *Η Μυκηναϊκή Ακρόπολις των Αθηνών* (1962) 21; J.M. CAMP, *Οι Αρχαιότητες της Αθήνας και της Αττικής* (2009) 38; S. IMMERWAHR, *The Athenian Agora XIII. The Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (1971) 155; O. KOMNINOY-KAKRIDH, *Σχέδιο και Τεχνική της Οδύσσειας* (2002) 324.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Temples of Athena on the Mycenaean citadels at Mycenae and Athens, the temple of Hera at Tiryns, Pelopion at Olympia and that of Apollo at Thermon.

<sup>45</sup> J. KNAUSS, “Observations and considerations concerning Mycenaean underground well-houses or spring-chambers, especially at Mycenae, Tiryns and Ithaca”, *Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference for the Ancient Greek Technology* (2006) 4-18; ID., “Prähistorische Grundwasserbrunnen rund und um die Ägäis”, in Verein zur Förderung der Aufarbeitung der hellenischen Geschichte e. V. (ed.), *Tagungsband, Austausch von Gütern, Ideen und Technologien in der Ägäis und im östlichen Mittelmeer von prähistorischen bis zu der archaischen Zeit, 19-21 05 2006 in Oblstadt/Obb., Deutschland* (2008) 471-86.

<sup>46</sup> L. KONTORLI, Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS and G. OWENS, “A possible Linear sign from Ithaki (AB09 “SE”)”, *Kadmos* 44 (2005) 183-186. The absence of more clay tablets may be accidental or may be due to the catastrophe and abandonment of the palace, as it happens with the Mycenaean palace of Athens, where no such tablets have been found (see J.M. CAMP [*supra* n. 43] 37-38).

<sup>47</sup> Bucrania as remains of bull sacrifices have been found in cult places in the Aegean and Cyprus and have been associated with the cult of the bull-god. For a recent discussion and references see Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS and L. KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU, “Aegean Cult symbols in Cyprus”, in P.



Other prehistoric finds from the excavation at the site of School of Homer include coarse handmade (*barbaric ware*), Middle (grey and yellow Minyan) and Late Bronze age (Mycenaean) pottery (mainly sherds of 1 jar, 1 jug, 4 kylikes, 1 stirrup-jar, 2 deep bowls, 1 stemmed bowl, 2 kraters), a bronze spearhead, leaden rivets of the "double rivet" type, broken stone vases, a clay seal, and objects of ivory/bone (a small spoon, fragments of an ivory pyxis and a pin). It must be noticed that the relative scarcity of prehistoric/Mycenaean finds is most likely due to the continuous habitation of the site and, as has been rightly observed by Hope Simpson and Dickinson,<sup>49</sup> "later (Hellenistic and Roman) remains on the hill above the spring may have removed much of the LH (Mycenaean) level".

Finally, I consider, based on the presented above archaeological evidence, that the site at "School of Homer" covers an important and strategic prehistoric citadel and residence, commanding the whole undulating plateau which constitutes the most fertile area of the rocky island with easy access to the harbours of Polis, Aphales and Frikes. As it has a nice view on the sea and the opposite part of the Mainland and controls the trading route with the adjacent area of Aetolia and the West, it seems to be a promising and strong candidate for the political centre of the island and the Homeric palace of Odysseus (Pl. CLXVd). The architectural remains and the so far uncovered small finds show evidence for the presence of workshops, knowledge of Mycenaean engineering, the existence of foreign contacts, a military presence, the possibility of religious activities and probably the practice of record keeping. In conclusion, it is tempting to suggest a correlation of the archaeological record with the Homeric tradition.

As regards the intricate role of these citadels with the local communities, they were not only defensive, *i.e.* to protect the inhabitants from external attacks, but they served also as administrative centres and residences of the local rulers and possibly for expression of conspicuous display and power.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, it may be noted that there are more or less local peculiarities, which make the role of some crucial in importance for those living there, the exchange of local products and the various activities of those travelling to the West (*e.g.* Englianos, Teichos Dymaion, Ephyra), *i.e.* they served as a port of call for the traders to the West (*e.g.* Teichos Dymaion, School of Homer) or as a permanent colony (Ephyra) of the western Mycenaeans.

Starting from the region of Messenia, it may be argued, agreeing with J. Davis that Englianos, the greater centre of the region, "may have dominated its nearest neighbours already by the very beginning of the Mycenaean period".<sup>51</sup> This was most probably due to three main advantages: "difficult approach by land, its superb position, permitting control of all directions around it and providing an excellent view to the Messenian coast and the existence of a powerful leader and royal dynasty". The possibility, however, that fortified settlements such as Mouriatada and Dorion-Malathi continued even after their dependency on the Englianos palace, to go on until its destruction at the end of the LH IIIB, their normal life as traditional agricultural and less so trading centres, cannot be excluded. As has been rightly pointed out by Vermeule for the case of Malathi, their fortifications did not protect treasures so much as flocks and the fertile land.<sup>52</sup>

In outlining the relations of western Greece with the West it is obviously essential to be able to distinguish between western Greek elements which are to be found in regions of the West with which

ÅSTRÖM (ed.), *Acta Cypria, Part 3. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991* (1992) 330-334; Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS, "Cyprus and the Aegean World: Links in Religion", *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Αρχαιολογικού Συνεδρίου, Η Κύπρος και το Αιγαίο στην Αρχαιότητα από την προϊστορική περίοδο ως τον 7<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα μ.Χ., Λευκωσία 8-10. 12. 1995* (1997) 176-8; G. NOBIS, "Tierreste aus dem phönizischen Kition", *Periplus. Festschrift für Hans-Günter Buchholz zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag am 24. Dezember 1999* (2000) 121-134, Taf. 32-33.

<sup>48</sup> Recognised as such by Prof. Nobis.

<sup>49</sup> HOPE SIMPSON and DICKINSON (*supra* n. 29) 185-6.

<sup>50</sup> For discussion see VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 166; S. IAKOVIDIS, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (1983) 1-2. For more details see HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 23-29 and 141-143.

<sup>51</sup> DAVIS ed. (*supra* n. 2, 2008) 68.

<sup>52</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 79. For a recent and detailed discussion on the dependences of the palace (?), see DAVIS ed. (*supra* n. 2, 2008) 128-129.



western Greece maintained contacts and all the foreign western ones which found their way to western Greece. It is noteworthy that some of the materials and objects the inhabitants of Mycenaean Western Greece desired as a return on their exports were brought to them from considerable distances (Italy, central Europe and the Baltic). Also, as E. Vermeule has argued, "trade toward the west was more abundant (in the palatial period) than in the fifteenth century, as the pottery remains suggest, but the ships brought back much less amber and only a little liparite".<sup>53</sup>

To begin with the region of Messenia, as it was noted above, and rightly pointed out by Vermeule,<sup>54</sup> the Englianos citadel-palace was not only the shelter for the king, but it "also acted as a safe-deposit and central good-exchange for most products both from the palace shops and from the country towns and villages in its economic dominion". One might wonder, what kind of goods could be exchanged between the kingdom of Pylos and the countries to the West. It may be guessed that apart from the agricultural products, wood, resin, pottery, textile material and perfume oil, leather, bronze and other local products of the basic industries could be exported. Especially, as regards the manufacture and export of perfumed oil, which according to Shelmerdine<sup>55</sup> "was big business for Mycenaean palaces", the textual information of Pylian Linear B tablets, despite the limitations of this written evidence, is of invaluable importance, indicating the commercial success of the Neleid dynasty. It is not easy to determine which and how many imports from the West reached the Palace of Nestor, but some idea may be gained by the presence of special and exotic objects of jewellery<sup>56</sup> in the nearby Grave circle (one silver and one gold diadem decorated with unusual, not Mycenaean, designs) and in the royal tholos tombs (great number of amber beads).

Moving northwards to Mouriata, in spite of its main agricultural character and its dependence to the Nestor palace, one cannot exclude the possibility of being also a significant trading centre, continuing relations with regions of Lipari and south Italy to the West, exchanging the surplus of local products and searching for prestige goods and raw metal material.<sup>57</sup> The same is valid for Dorion-Malthi, and Peristeria, two other provincial, but strong, Messenian centres. Especially for Peristeria, it has been suggested that "in the early (Mycenaean) period it was more important than Pylos; it was certainly its equal ...".<sup>58</sup>

Leaving Messenia, Kakovatos, "a fairly small acropolis-site"<sup>59</sup> in Triphylia, is, like Peristeria, better known from the rich contents of its Early Mycenaean tholos tombs (A-C). Among these finds, worthy of special mention, is the great number (ca. 500) of amber beads, indicating trading activities and relations at the time of its flourishing with the West and North,<sup>60</sup> rivalling the great Messenian centres of Pylos and Peristeria.

<sup>53</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 257.

<sup>54</sup> VERMEULE (*supra* n. 5) 166.

<sup>55</sup> C.W. SHELMEKDINE, "UMME and Nichoria", in DAVIS ed. (*supra* n. 2, 2008) 101.

<sup>56</sup> Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS, "Specific Types of Jewellery from Late Bronze Age Tombs in Western Greece as evidence for Social Differentiation", in M-L. NOSCH and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Kosmos. Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference/ 21-26 April 2010* (2012) 515-16

<sup>57</sup> SHELMEKDINE (*supra* n. 55) 101 (at Nichoria, a bronze-working establishment was discovered).

<sup>58</sup> DICKINSON (*supra* n. 12) 93.

<sup>59</sup> DICKINSON (*supra* n. 12) 93.

<sup>60</sup> For discussion of the amber in the Mycenaean World cf. PAPADOPOULOS (*supra* n. 24) 144, nn. 4-9; A.F. HARDING, H. HUGHES-BROCK, C.W. BECK, "Amber in the Mycenaean World", *BSA* 69 (1974) 145-172; A.F. HARDING, *The Mycenaeans and Europe* (1984) 68-87; M. CULTRARO, "Evidence of amber in Bronze Age Sicily: Local sources and the Balkan-Mycenaean connection", in I. GALANAKI, H. THOMAS, Y. GALANAKIS and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas. Prehistory Across the Borders. Proceedings of the International Conference Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb, 11-14 April 2005* (2007) 377-392; A. PALAVESTRA, "Was there an amber route", in *Ibidem* 349-356; J. BOUZEK, "The Amber route, Apollo and the Hyperboreans", in *Ibidem* 357-362; J. CZEBRESZUK, "Amber between the Baltic and the Aegean in the Third and Second Millennia B.C. An



For the role of the citadel at Teichos Dymaion in Achaea, it has been recently argued, on the basis of the absence of tholoi in the surrounding area and structures ascribable to palatial buildings inside the citadel, that "during the palatial age and afterward, the acropolis was most probably used to control trading routes on the Ionian sea and the population settled in the neighbouring plain".<sup>61</sup> This situation does not exclude the existence of a strong local leader coming from the Achaean elite. As to the Aigeira, I think that, thanks to its prominent and strategic place, exploiting a fertile plain and a usable harbour in the north, apart from its apparent defensive role for his inhabitants, it most probably was used as a controlling station for those travelling along the Corinthian gulf both to the Aegean<sup>62</sup> and the West.

One might agree with Arena<sup>63</sup> that Achaea, especially its western part, "played a mediating role as a "port of call" within the exchange network that included the western Mediterranean and central Europe". However, I cannot accept the view that Patras monopolized the redistribution of goods to Achaean settlements as a "gateway community", as such a role could have been played also by other major centres (Teichos Dymaion, and Aigeira) with safe harbours. Like the adjacent regions of SW Peloponnese, Achaea participated in the trade activities with the Central Mediterranean and the North by exporting surplus of local, mainly agricultural, products, such as wool, boar tusks, raisin, grapes, wood, meat, and beyond any doubt provided nautical facilities (food, wine and water) and safe anchorages to the ships and their crew from other areas which travelled westwards.

Passing to the region of Aetoloakarnania the evidence for the role of Mycenaean citadels at Kalydon, Plevron and at Ayios Elias-Ithorias (?) and the relations with the West, although sparse and meagre, seems to follow the same pattern as that from the western Peloponnese.

Different is the case with Epirus. There the acropolis at Ephyra was not simply a port of call for the sailors to the west, but, as was stated above, an important LH III Mycenaean residence<sup>64</sup> or colony<sup>65</sup> of demonstrated importance. This argument is strengthened by both the favourable climatic conditions and the apparent trading advantages provided by the existence of a wide well-protected and suitable harbour (*Γλυκὴς λιμὴν*) which offered an attractive place for re-supplying and exchange, especially during the systematic maritime trading routes in the 14<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. BC, but also was a centre of redistribution of goods and therefore vital for the life and internal trade of the local society.

Lastly, the inhabitants of the prehistoric citadel at Ayios Athanasios-School of Homer in N. Ithaca, could easily control the trading route from western Greece to the West. It is also tempting to see the admittedly few Mycenaean pottery and some artefacts from the acropolis of School of Homer and from Polis as corroborative evidence of the use of the harbours of Ithaca by Mycenaean traders heading West following a long tradition going back to EBA times<sup>66</sup> and continuing until modern times, as this island provided safe anchorage and the possibility of obtaining supplies and services from the local Mycenaean. Links of the island with the West and North may be seen in the occurrence of some bronze items (two swords in the Neuchatel and the British Museums) of Sandars's types A and C respectively and some spearheads) said to be from Ithaca, which may be regarded as imports from abroad.

---

outline of major issues", in *Ibidem* 363-370; K. SLUSARSKA, "Some remarks on the possibility that there existed an "Eastern Branch" in the system of amber routes in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages", in *Ibidem* 371-376; K. NIKOLENTZOS, "Κακόβατος. Ένας εμπορικός σταθμός εισαγωγής ηλεκτρου στον πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό κόσμο", in A. VLACHOPOULOS and K. BIRTACHA (eds), *Αργοναυτής. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χ.Γ. Ντούμα* (2003) 619-631; E. PAPADOPOULOU, "Western Greece and the North in the Late Bronze Age: The evidence of metalwork and objects of exotic material", in *Ibidem* 349-377, 464; NIKOLENTZOS (*supra* n. 17) 309-311.

<sup>61</sup> ARENA (*supra* n. 28) 11. Desborough, however, accepts my view for the defensive purpose of this citadel by suggesting (*The Greek Dark Ages*, 94) that "the very situation of this fort suggests that its purpose was to guard against menace from the sea or beyond". Cf. also GIANNOPOULOS (*supra* n. 22) 28.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS and R.E. JONES, "Rhodiaka in Achaea", *OpAth* XIII:15 (1980) 225-235.

<sup>63</sup> *Supra* n. 28, 17.

<sup>64</sup> *Supra* n. 33.

<sup>65</sup> Dakaris has suggested that "It is more probable that colonists came from west Peloponnese, from where other colonists also came later": S.I. DAKARIS, *Θεσπρωτία. Ancient Greek Cities* (1972) 28.

<sup>66</sup> K. BRANIGAN, "The Round Graves of Levkas Reconsidered", *BSA* 70 (1975) 41.



### Comment

The main points to emerge from the above survey of the Mycenaean citadels of Western Greece are as follows:

1. Their architecture-construction, although of inferior quality in building material and technique, seems to be more or less a good parallel to their great counterparts in Eastern Greece.

2. With the exception of two palatial citadels of unequal size and strength at Ano Englianos in Messenia and Ayios Athanasios-Scholl of Homer in Ithaca, all other fortified settlements could be assigned either to local leaders, deriving from the so-called *elite* of their society, or to adventurous traders and colonists (Ephyra).

3. As regards their purpose, there is a general agreement that it was multiple, with defence against enemies having high priority, as it was "vital for the security of the Mycenaean states and for the maintenance of their bureaucratic systems of control, evidenced by the Linear B tablets".<sup>67</sup> Apart from this, some of these fortifications were used as "ports of call" (Teichos Dymaion, Aigeira, School of Homer) or as permanent Mycenaean colonies (Ephyra). This is supported and strengthened by the position of most of these citadels in places corresponding to areas providing safe anchorages, food and water supplies to the ships travelling along the Corinthian, Ionian and Adriatic seas westwards and to the North.

4. Extremely important and intricate was their role for the local Mycenaean communities and the links with the West and North. In other words, most probably the inhabitants of a region sought refuge and felt safe in times of war in the local citadels, their products and merchandise were collected and stored in the nearby citadels, with the local leader having the duty to supervise and distribute them, while at the same time was responsible for the decisive control of the harbours and the normal and regular maritime trading and cultural exchange activities with regions westwards and northwards.

5. Finally, from the parallels and similarities of pottery and some bronze objects and the occurrence of exotic items it will already have become obvious that there can be no doubt that Western Mycenaeans maintained frequent and manifold contacts with the West and North, especially during the LH IIIA-C period. It may be guessed that merchants and emissaries from both lands were coming and going, some doing business by exchanging goods, others bearing messages or offering gifts to local leaders. The lengthy and dangerous intervening distance between these areas cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle, since on the one hand it is known that the Mycenaeans were competent and adventurous sailors and traders, and on the other hand the possibility of transmitting some of the trade-goods, especially amber overland via Central Europe and the Balkans, cannot be excluded. These relations and mutual influences are not, however, always and everywhere easily detected from the so far relatively meagre and incomplete evidence and, I think, need additional support and documentation.

Thanasis J. PAPADOPOULOS

<sup>67</sup> HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL (*supra* n. 2) 143.

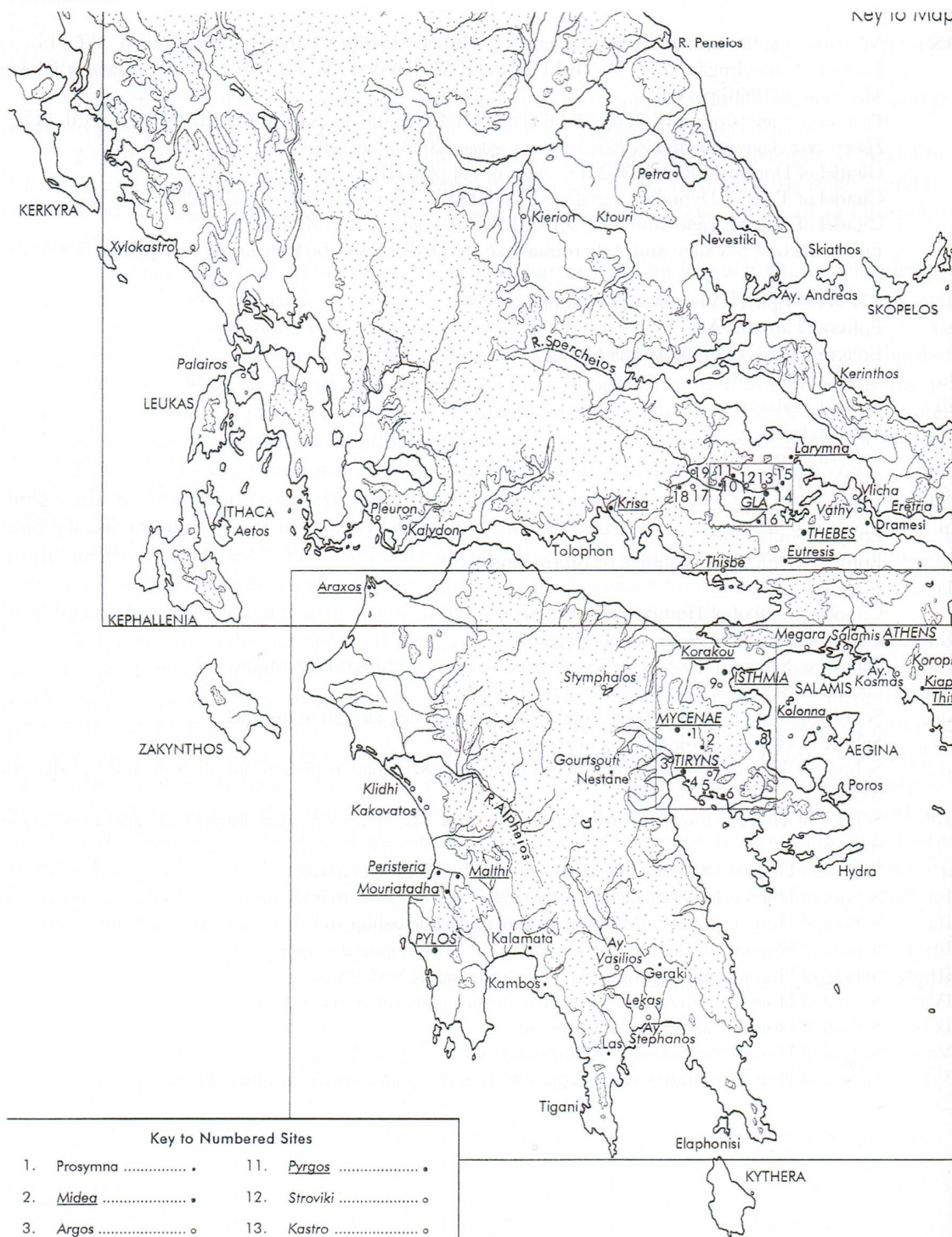


## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. CXLIX Map showing the sites of Mycenaean citadels (HOPE SIMPSON and HAGEL [*supra* n. 2] fig. 1a)
- Pl. CLa Citadel of Ano Englianos (C.W. BLEGEN and M. RAWSON, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I.2* [1966] pl. 416).
- Pl. CLb Peristeria, view from SW (Th.J. PAPADOPOULOS and L. KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU, *Προϊστορική Αρχαιολογία Δυτικής Ελλάδας-Ιόνιων νησιών* [2003], fig. 146).
- Pl. CLc Citadel of Dorion-Malthe (VALMIN [*supra* n. 10] plan III).
- Pl. CLJa Citadel of Teichos Dymaion, aerial view (A. RIZIO, *Μυκηναϊκοί οικισμοί Αχαΐας* [2011] fig. 18).
- Pl. CLJb Citadel of Aigeira, view from S (ALZINGER *et al.* [*supra* n. 30, 1985] fig. 2).
- Pl. CLJc Epirus. Acheron Valley and Acherousia lake (S. DAKARIS, *Το Νεκρομαντείο του Αχέροντα* [1996] fig. 2).
- Pl. CLIIa Citadel of Ephyra. View from S (author's photo).
- Pl. CLIIb Ephyra, Tumulus A.
- Pl. CLIIc Ephyra, burials of tumulus A *in situ*.
- Pl. CLIIIa Ephyra, deep bowl.
- Pl. CLIIIb Ephyra, alabastron.
- Pl. CLIIIC Ephyra, kylix.
- Pl. CLIIId Ephyra, Tumuli B-C.
- Pl. CLIVa Ephyra, Tumulus C.
- Pl. CLIVb Ephyra, Tumulus C, burial *in situ*.
- Pl. CLVa Ephyra, South Gate.
- Pl. CLVb Ephyra, South Gate, tentative reconstruction.
- Pl. CLVIa Map of Ithaca.
- Pl. CLVIb Citadel at School of Homer, aerial view.
- Pl. CLVIIa-b Citadel at School of Homer, general plans.
- Pl. CLVIIIa Citadel at School of Homer, lower terrace: megaron architectural remains.
- Pl. CLVIIIb Citadel at School of Homer, lower terrace, plan.
- Pl. CLIXa School of Homer, lower terrace, oxhide ingot (τάλαντον) cut out in the rock.
- Pl. CLIXb School of Homer, lower terrace, hearth (εστία).
- Pl. CLIXc School of Homer, lower terrace, handmade and Mycenaean pottery found in it and in adjacent rooms.
- Pl. CLXa-c School of Homer, lower terrace, handmade and Mycenaean pottery found in it and in adjacent rooms.
- Pl. CLXd School of Homer, lower terrace, three-roomed building (sanctuary?).
- Pl. CLXI School of Homer, lower terrace, three-roomed building (sanctuary?), finds.
- Pl. CLXIIa School of Homer, part of a Mycenaean wall in pseudo-ashlar style between lower and upper terrace.
- Pl. CLXIIb-d School of Homer, products of the metallurgical workshop in the upper terrace.
- Pl. CLXIIIa-b School of Homer, underground Mycenaean spring (KNAUSS [*supra* n. 45, 2006] fig. 2-3, 6).
- Pl. CLXIVa School of Homer, underground Mycenaean spring, tentative reconstruction.
- Pl. CLXIVb School of Homer, "κυκλοτερές" monument.
- Pl. CLXVa-c School of Homer, "κυκλοτερές" monument, finds.
- Pl. CLXVd School of Homer, tentative restoration of Odysseus's palace by the architect D. Skyrgiannis.



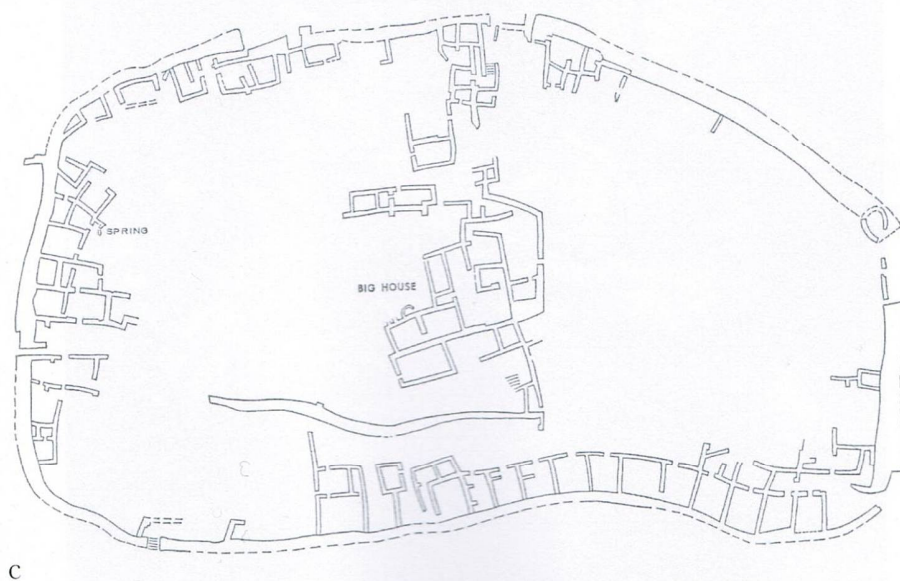
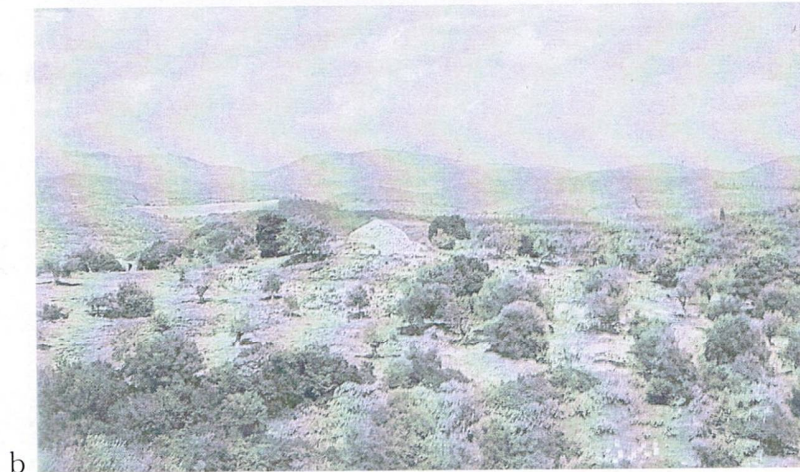
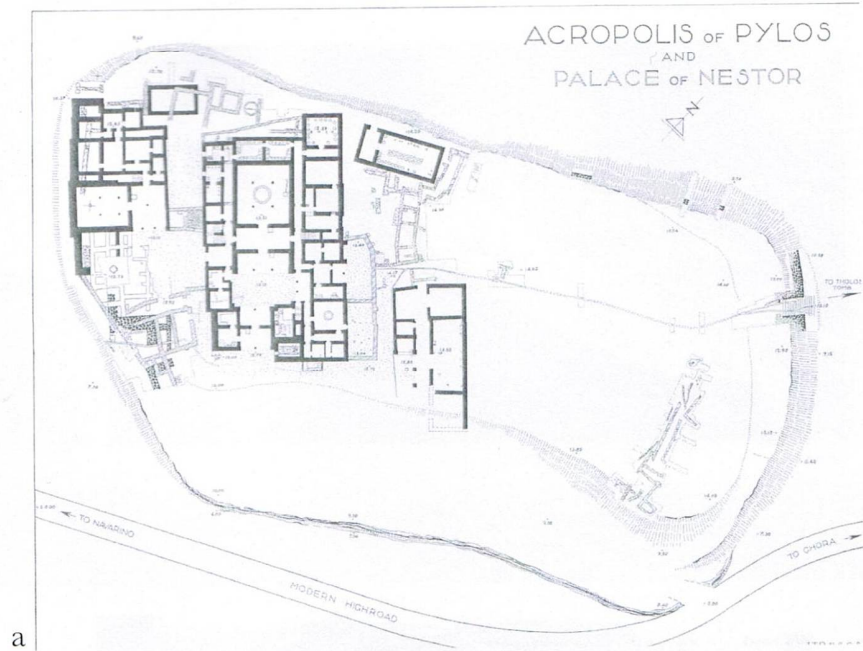
Key to map



Key to Numbered Sites

- |                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Prosymna .....        | 11. <u>Pyrgos</u> .....      |
| 2. <u>Midea</u> .....    | 12. Stroviki .....           |
| 3. Argos .....           | 13. Kastro .....             |
| 4. Nafplion .....        | 14. <u>Avia Marina</u> ..... |
| 5. Asine .....           | 15. <u>Avios Ioannis</u>     |
| 6. <u>Kandia</u> .....   | & <u>Kantza</u> .....        |
| 7. Propitias Ilias ..... | 16. <u>Haliartos</u> .....   |
| 8. <u>Vassa</u> .....    | 17. Chaeronea .....          |
| 9. Perdikaria .....      | 18. <u>Panopeus</u> .....    |
| 10. Orchomenos .....     | 19. Levendi .....            |

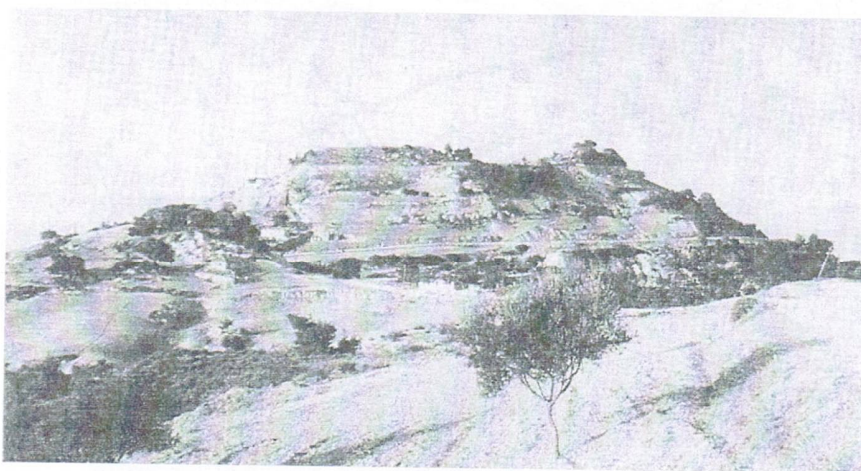




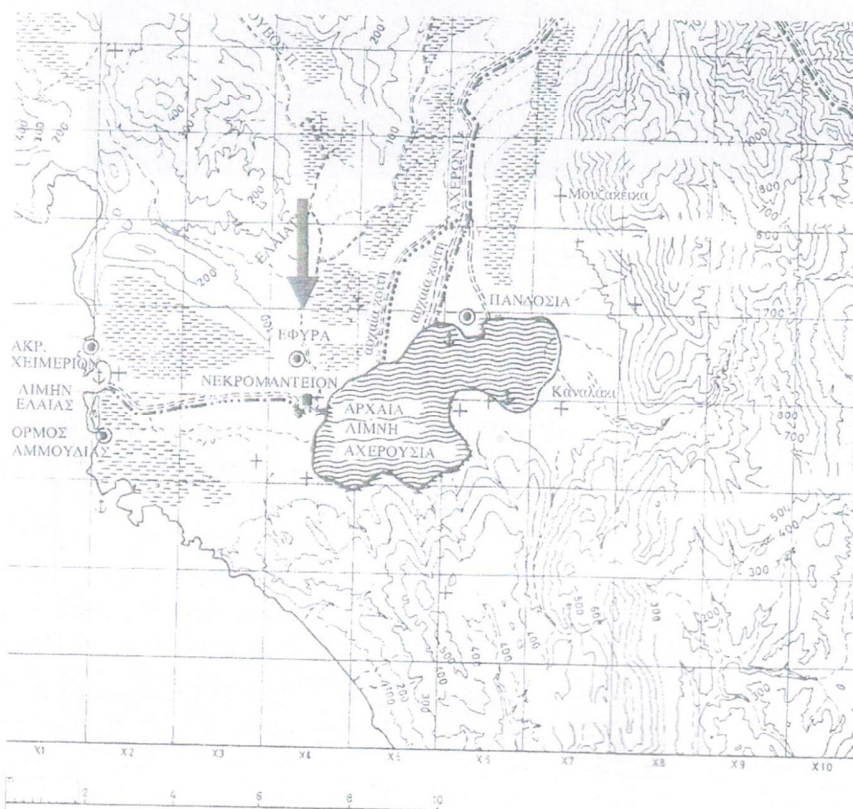




a



b



c





a

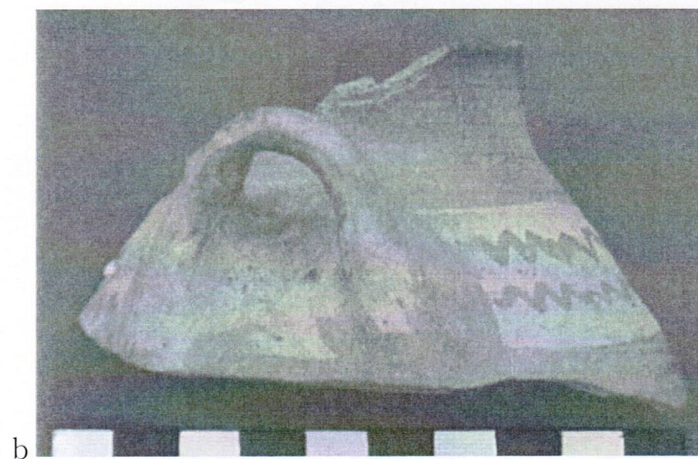
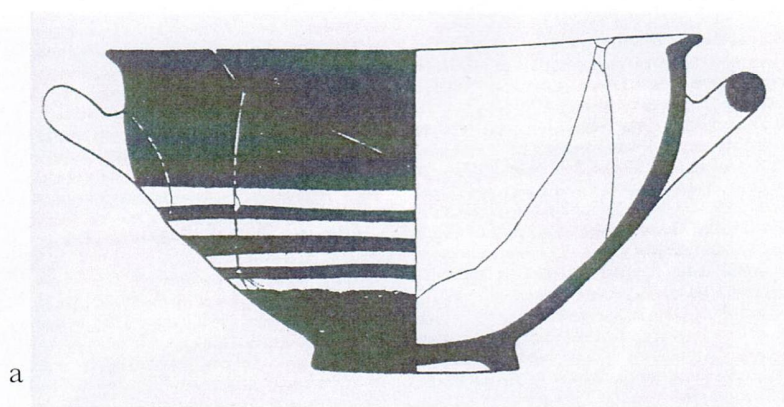


b



c



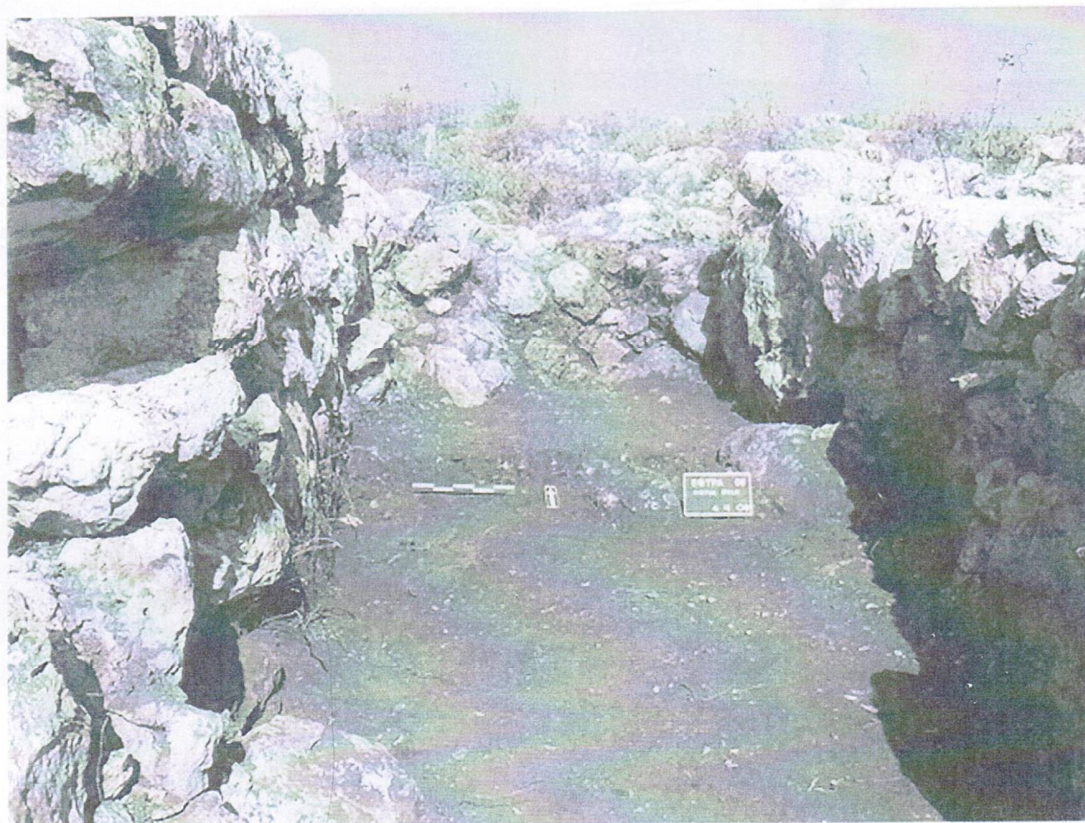






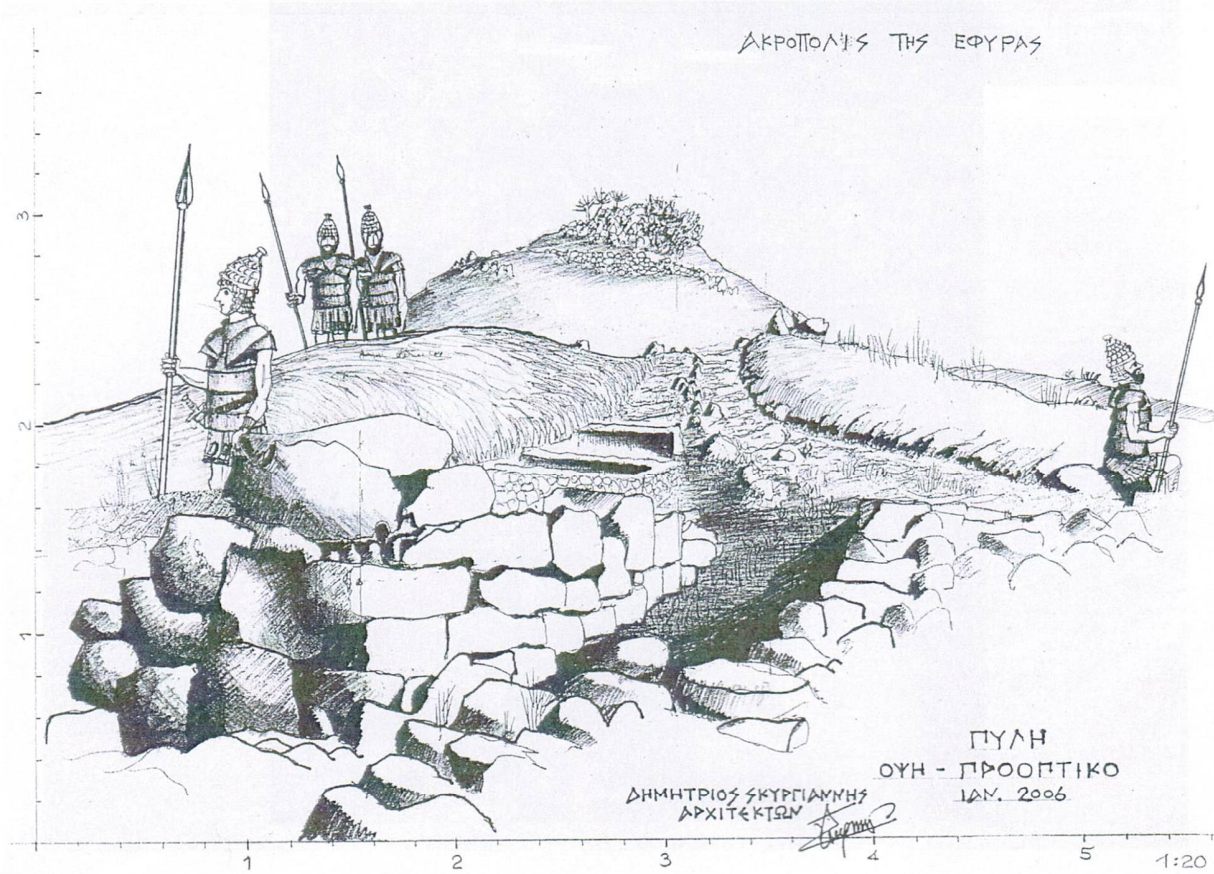
b





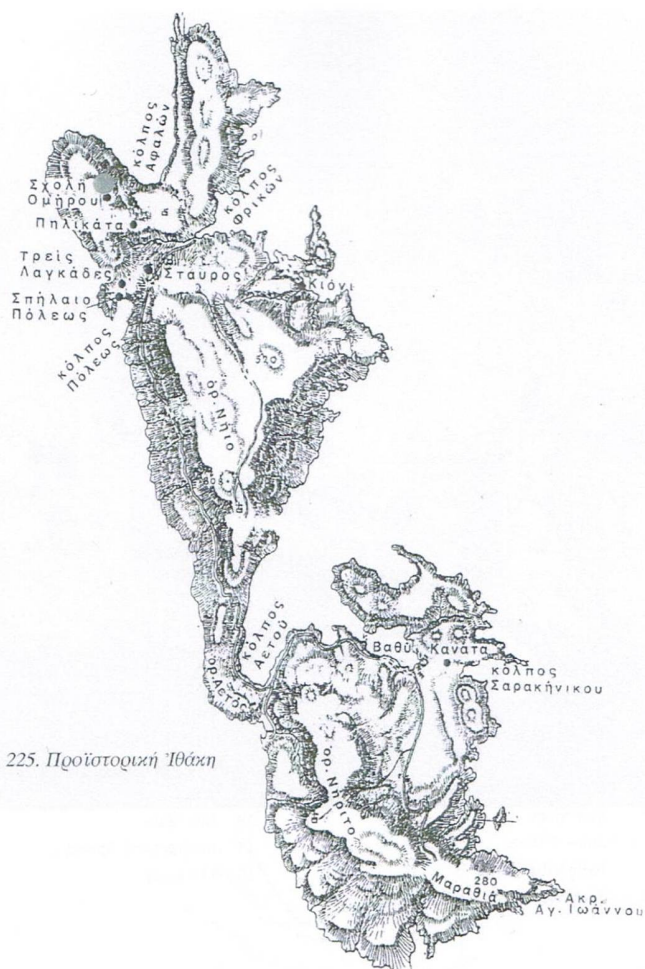
a

ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΦΥΡΑΣ



b





Εἰκ. 225. Προϊστορική Ἰθάκη

a



b





- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Megaron A              | 9. North Gate          |
| 2. Tripartite Temple      | 10. Burial Monument    |
| 3. Megaron B ?            | 11. North east Gate    |
| 4. Metallurgical Workshop | 12. Tholos ?           |
| 5. Bathroom               | 13. East Gate          |
| 6. Store Rooms            | 14. Underground Spring |
| 7. Hellenistic Tower      | 15. Kykloteris         |
| 8. Southwest Gate         |                        |

a

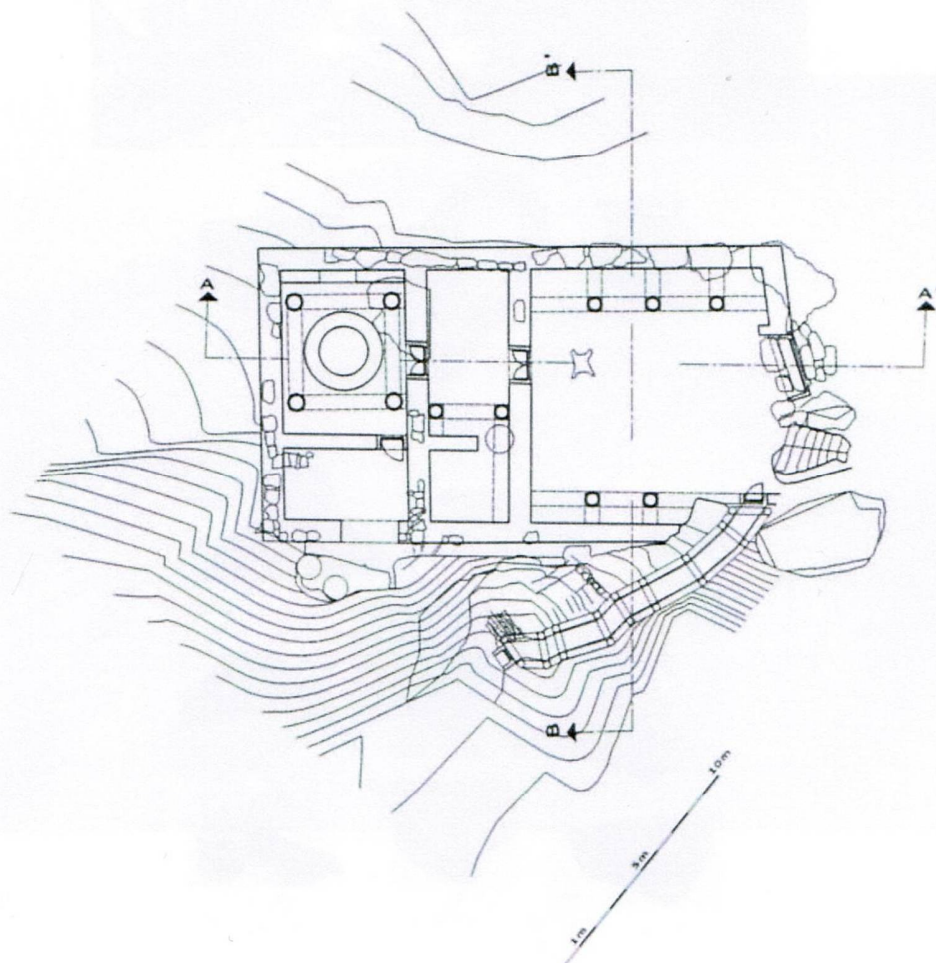


b





a



b





a



b



c





a



c

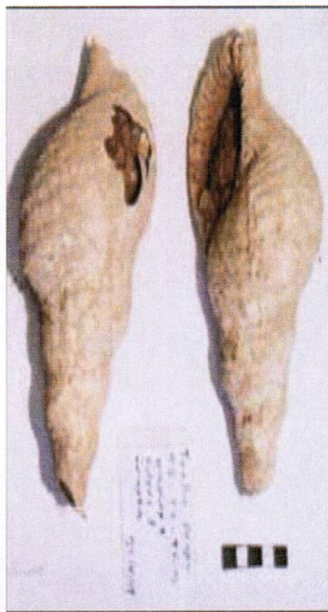


b



d





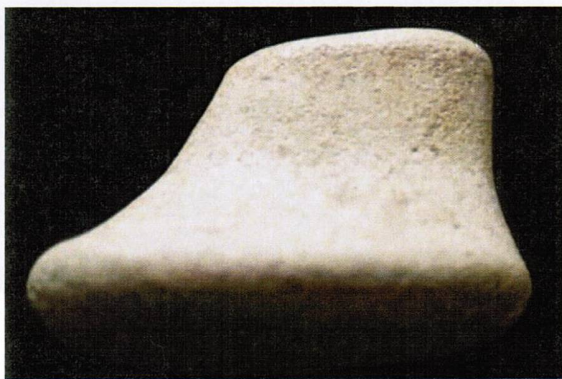
a



b



c



d

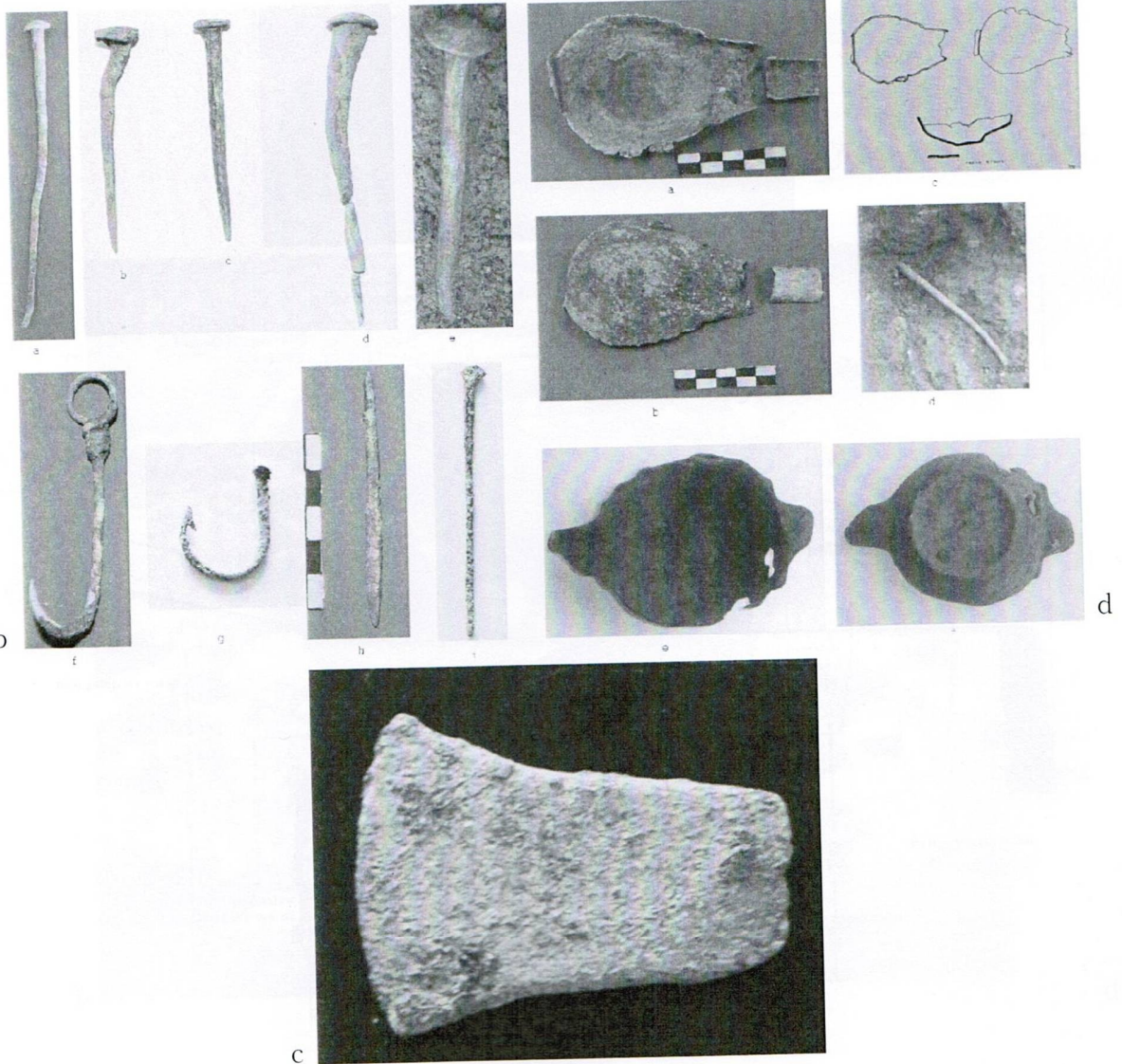


e



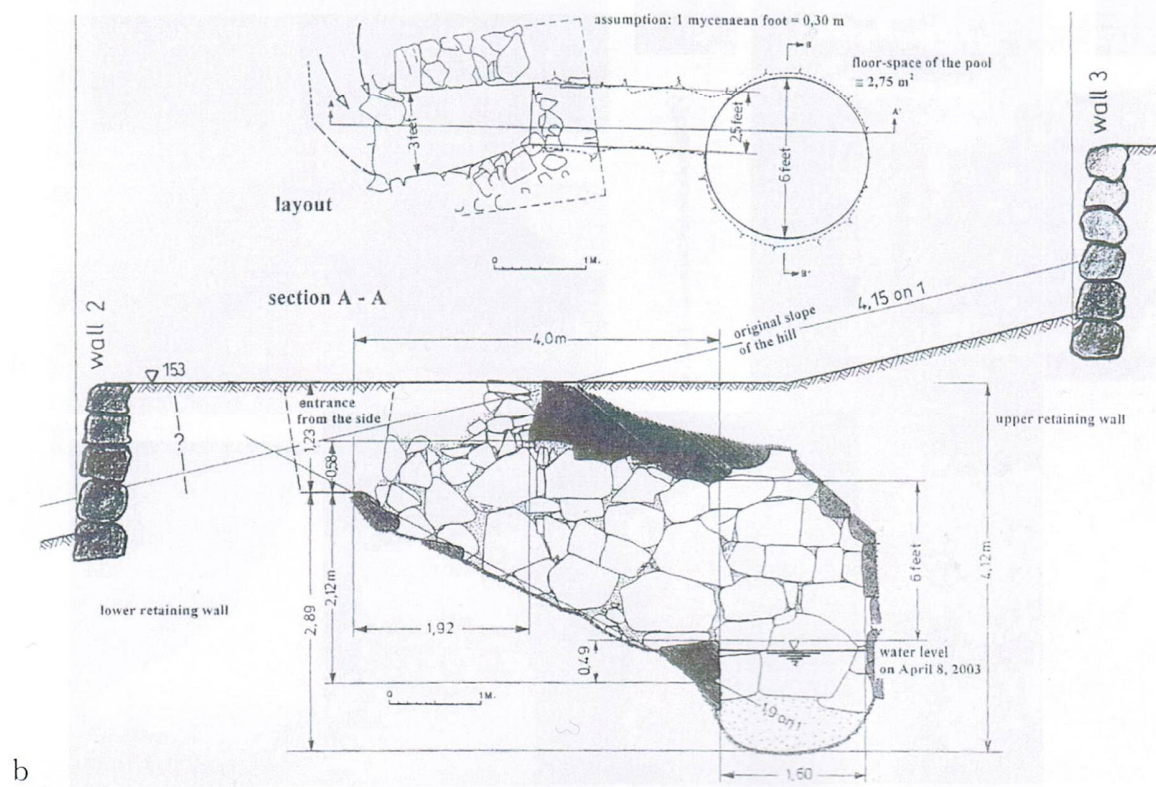


a



c









a

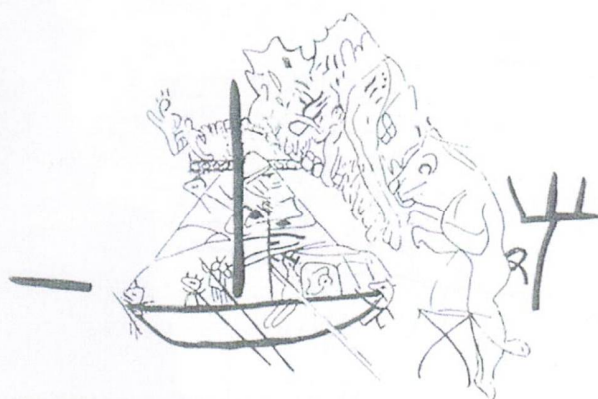


b

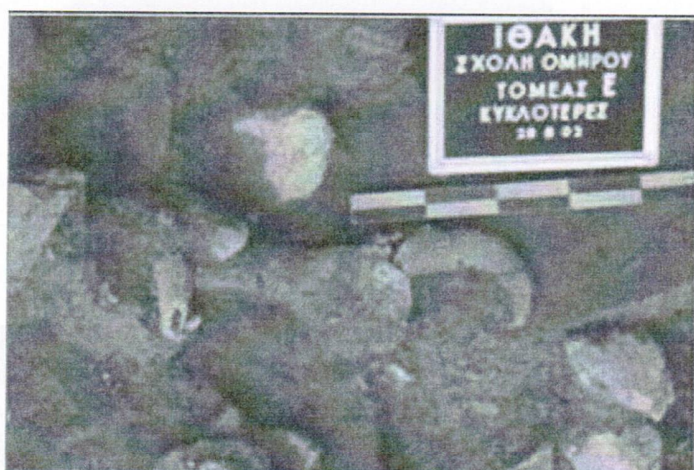




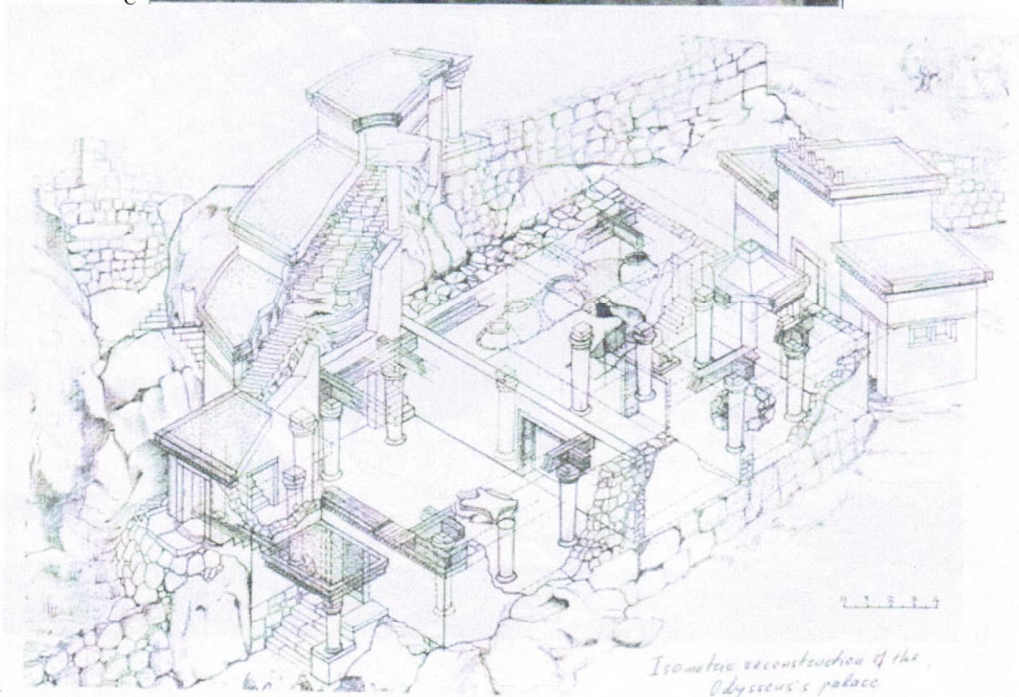
a



b



c



d

*Isometric reconstruction of the  
Odysseus's palace*