EXCAVATIONS AT MOCHLOS, 1992–1993
(Plates 50–64)

THE GREEK-AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS at Mochlos continued during the summers of 1992 and 1993, marking five successive years of excavation.1

The focus of the excavation continued to be the island of Mochlos, with its extensive Late Minoan (LM) IB settlement, as well as earlier Minoan and later LM III remains (Fig. 1), but work was also conducted at four sites on the adjacent coastal plain, including two outposts of the LM IB settlement and a cemetery of chamber tombs belonging to the LM III settlement on the island.

PREPALATIAL AND PALATIAL PERIODS

Mochlos Island

One of the main goals of the 1992 and 1993 seasons was to complete the excavation of the Neopalatial houses in Area E3 on the island, the settlement area where Richard Seager began to uncover houses, Blocks B and C, in 1908 and where the current project discovered a large ashlar building in 1991.2 To this end, the excavation opened 14 new trenches, all in this area, bringing the total number opened to date in the settlement area to 61 (Fig. 2).3 Until now the strategy of the excavation has been to excavate down to the LM IB levels in any given trench and then, with few exceptions, stop, leaving excavation of earlier levels to a later date. A secondary goal in the 1993 season, then, was to excavate below LM IB levels in selected locations in order to date the construction of particular buildings and explore earlier occupation on the site. Extensive Late Hellenistic and Byzantine remains were encountered just below the surface, particularly in the area of the ashlar building, and this discovery slowed progress toward achieving the intended goals. We nevertheless succeeded in completing the excavation of one large house, House C.3, at the same time that parts of two new adjacent houses were exposed. In addition, earlier Prepalatial and Protopalatial remains were uncovered in several trenches.

1 The project, begun in 1989, continues to be sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in cooperation with the Greek Archaeological Service, and the project is indebted to both for its excavation permit. It continued to receive financial support from several sources: the National Endowment for the Humanities (Grant No. RO 219232-89, which expired in 1992), the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG), Baron Philippe Lambert, and other private donors. In 1993 it also received support from the General Greene chapter of the American-Hellenic Progressive Association. The directors of the excavation take this opportunity to thank all the sources that made the 1992 and 1993 seasons possible.

For additional acknowledgments see pp. 229–230.


3 For the scheme used to number areas and trenches and the excavation methodology, see Soles and Davaras 1992, p. 419, note 21.
Fig. 1. Mochlos Island: Bronze Age settlement remains
Prepalatial Period

The 1992 and 1993 excavations uncovered remains of two Prepalatial structures in two different areas, making a total of three Prepalatial buildings exposed by the current excavations. The first of these, found in 1989, is located on the water's edge beneath the LM I houses C.1 and C.5. Prepalatial House 2, found in 1992, is located beneath Block B, midway between those found by Seager to the west beneath Block A and to the east beneath House C.2. The third house, discovered in 1993, lies to the north of House 1 beneath the street that runs alongside House C.3. These houses are scattered widely, and while some of them may be earlier than others, their remains indicate the extent of Prepalatial occupation at the site. Since later occupation often cut down through Prepalatial levels to bedrock, it may not be possible to learn the density of this occupation.

Prepalatial House 2 (Area E3, Trenches 6300, 6400, 7300, 7400)

Of this house only parts of three rooms and a few walls survive, but its remains are nevertheless interesting architecturally and stratigraphically (Fig. 3). The building is located beneath an indentation in the south façade of the Neopalatial building B.2; the walls of the later building cut down into the earlier building on its west and east. Its location here provides the best explanation for the indentation in the south façade of B.2: the builders of B.2 exposed the earlier structure but were perhaps reluctant to destroy it, and so they erected their walls around it, to the east, west, and north, leaving a gap in the south façade of B.2 that measures ca. 5.10 m. wide (east–west) and up to 4 meters deep (north–south).

Part of the south façade of the Prepalatial building is still preserved running east–west in this indentation between the two later walls of B.2, and part of the north rear wall of the building also survives behind Room 3. It is unclear how far the building may have extended to east and west, however, since B.2 was sunk below the level of the Prepalatial building to the east, and a later wall beneath B.2 also cut below the level of the building on the west. The eastern room, Room 1, is divided near the center by a short spur wall; the eastern side has been cut off by the later wall belonging to B.2, but its north–south dimensions measure ca. 3.40 m. A small stone bench is located in the southwest corner. The western rooms are completely preserved even though the later wall of B.2 rests on top of their western wall and partly overlies them on this side. A curious, short segment of wall, apparently LM IB in date, also lies atop the southwestern room, Room 2. Room 2 measures ca. 1 m. by 2.30 m. and Room 3, at the northwest corner of the building, ca. 1 m. by 2.60 m.

Even in its ruined state, the building resembles many tombs in the Prepalatial cemetery that lies a short distance away to the northwest. Like so many of these, it makes use of a rise in the bedrock to the north as its rear boundary and as a bedding for its walls, running its walls out from this bedrock toward the south at right angles to it. Remains of one mud brick were found in the southwestern room of the building, confirming that, like many of the tombs, House 2 was built of mud brick resting on low rubble socles.

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6 Its plan with two adjacent rooms placed side by side, each with its own interior spur wall, recalls Palaikastro Tomb III. See Soles 1992, pp. 183–184, fig. 72.
Most of the finds from the building came from its northern half, where they were sheltered by the bedrock rise, while the southern side of the building was disturbed by later occupation. In Room 1 two distinct floors were uncovered. The uppermost lay at an elevation of +5.91–5.76 m. and contained a Vasilike-ware jug (P 805) and numerous stone tools (GS 637–642); some later Minoan pottery was mixed with the Early Minoan (EM) pottery from this level, but the remains of an EM IIB level may nevertheless be recognized here. A lower floor level lay at an elevation of +5.76–5.49 m. and was originally paved with green schist slabs. It contained part of a fine gray-ware pyxis (P 857) and many pieces of EM IIA burnished goblets and dark-on-light ware but no Vasilike ware; it may be dated to the EM IIA phase. Similar stratigraphy was noted in Room 2, where the uppermost level, disturbed by some later material, was reached at +5.96–5.76 m. and the lower floor level was reached at +5.76–5.56 m. EM IIA pottery lay at this lower level, including a fine jug with a vestigial handle (P 824).

Another deposit from the building was found just outside its west wall. Badly disturbed, with EM I to EM IIB pottery in every pass, it may belong to another room in the house which

![Fig. 3. Plan of Prepalatial House 2](image-url)
was ruined by the later LM I construction around it. The deposit contained an unbroken goblet of dark-brown burnished ware (P 942; Pl. 50:a), very similar to one found by Seager in Block A,\(^7\) which should probably be dated to the EM IIA phase.

More deposits remain to be excavated at lower levels in all three rooms, but at present it is possible to note that the building was constructed late in EM I and has well-preserved occupation levels of the EM IIA and IIB periods.

*Prepalatial House 3 (Area E3, Trenches 5000, 6000)*

House 3 lies beneath the alley that runs along the east side of House C.3 (p. 194 below) and beneath a newly discovered house, C.7, that lies to its north and east (Fig. 6, p. 185 below). The northwest corner of House 3 lies 0.46 m. beneath the southwest corner of C.7, Room 1, and its southwest corner lies directly beneath the northeast corner of House C.3, Room 1.4. The western part of its south wall was reused in the Neopalatial period as the top step of the staircase that leads up from the lower level of the alley between Houses C.2 and C.4 to the higher level that runs alongside C.3. The building differs from the other Prepalatial buildings found to date in both its construction and its large quantity of EM III pottery. Only the western side of the house has been excavated, but it appears to have formed part of a large rectangular building with north–south dimensions of ca. 4.80 m. The exposed walls are straight and meet at right angles; they are much more carefully built and more massive than the walls in the other Prepalatial houses. About one meter wide, they are capable of supporting a second story.

Although a deposit ca. 0.50 m. deep has been excavated inside the house, no floor level has yet been found. A large quantity of broken EM III pottery has been found, however, with both white-on-black and dark-on-light styles appearing side by side. Some Vasilike ware has been found in the deepest passes. Further excavation in 1994 might determine whether the superior construction of House 3 is due to a relatively late construction date in the Prepalatial period or to differences in function.\(^8\)

*Old Palace Period*

Very little material of the Protopalatial period has been found at Mochlos. It includes a small amount of pottery from Tomb Lambda and from an open hearth beneath the LM I plateia separating House C.1 and C.5, both located in 1989, and perhaps a third deposit beneath House D, found by Seager.\(^9\) The first substantial deposit was found only at the end of the 1991 season.

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\(^7\) H. of P 942, 0.152 m.; cf. Seager 1909, p. 279, fig. 2, no. 1.

\(^8\) This house should not be dated to the MM IA period, as V. Watrous dates it in his recent survey of the Prepalatial period (Watrous 1994, p. 721). The pottery is classic EM III of the sort described by P. Betancourt (1984, pp. 9–17, the middle phase, and 1985, pp. 53–62) and others, and it may well prove to be stratified above an earlier EM IIB deposit, just as was one which Seager found beneath Block A (Seager 1909, pp. 278–280). Watrous to the contrary, EM III has been found in stratified deposits and exists as a separate pottery style and chronological period in eastern Crete. It cannot be eliminated even though it stands in the way of the diffusionist model that Watrous introduces to explain Minoan cultural change.

Deposit in Area E3, Trenches 5900, 6900

This deposit was found beneath the Middle Minoan (MM) III/LM IA foundation level of Room 2.3 in the Neopalatial house C.3 (Fig. 6, p. 185 below) at an elevation of +5.80–5.50 m.\(^\text{10}\) It is associated with a short stretch of wall that runs along its north side at a pronounced angle to the later Neopalatial walls and which was overlain toward the north with scattered stones thought to have fallen from this wall. The deposit contained a large number of animal bones and some carbon; it may belong to an upper-story collapse of a Protopalatial house, which was largely destroyed when House C.3 was built. The floor of this house has not been reached yet, although ca. 0.30 m. of the deposit has been excavated.

The deposit contained a number of well-preserved vases which might be dated to an advanced stage of the Protopalatial period because of the MM III/LM IA material found immediately above. No continuous sequence of Old and New Palace pottery has been found at Mochlos, and there may well have been a break in occupation on the island between these periods that lasted a considerable length of time. Other features of the pottery, however, particularly the scarcity of polychrome and the concentric ridges and grooves on the carinated cups, point to a date well into the MM II period. The deposit is important since it is the first substantial one of this period at Mochlos and shows some interesting parallels with other, contemporary deposits in East Crete. Much of the pottery is decorated only with a fine black slip that has a metallic sheen or with a slip that fired red. Occasionally a clean, bright white paint, quite unlike the creamy white of earlier EM III pottery, is used for decoration; it is usually thick and well fired, differing in this regard from the fugitive white of the MM I pottery described by Seager.\(^\text{11}\) Favorite shapes among the fine ware are carinated cups, tumblers, and straight-sided cups with beveled edges around the base. Most of the coarse ware is tempered with local phyllite, although less often than in the LM I period, and there is also a good amount of pottery tempered with a granitic-dioritic inclusion, a material found in the Gournia area.

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P 430. Miniature jug

Intact. H. 0.075, D. of base 0.041 m. Medium to coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); phyllite-tempered fabric. Miniature jug with trefoil spout; vertical handle, round in section. Unslipped.


P 600. Jug

Intact. H. 0.202, D. of rim 0.127, of base 0.096 m. Medium to coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); phyllite-tempered fabric. Open-mouthed jug with semicircular spout at rim and opposing vertical handle, round in section. Unslipped.


P 643. Tumbler

Fig. 4

Nearly complete. H. 0.056, D. of rim 0.087, of base 0.037 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 8/4). Tumbler with concave, flaring profile. Black slip on interior and exterior, including base. In added white, two groups of four arcs, pendent from exterior rim, and band around base.

For the shape, cf. Dawkins 1903, p. 302, fig. 1:6a, from Palaikastro.

P 647. Tumbler

Fig. 5

About one third of vase with complete profile. H. 0.066, D. of base 0.05 m. Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6), core and exterior burnt. Tumbler with slightly concave sides with horizontal grooves. Black

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\(^{10}\) For the Neopalatial stratigraphy in this room, see p. 198 below.

\(^{11}\) Seager 1909, pp. 292–293; see also Betancourt 1984, p. 55.
slip on interior and around exterior of rim. Groups of three arcs, pendent from interior rim, in added white. For the motif, cf. Walberg 1983, p. 44, shape no. 9 (i), 9 and 10.

P 648. One-handled semiglobular cup
Handle missing, otherwise nearly complete. H. 0.077, D. of rim 0.113, of base 0.045 m. Fine, yellowish red clay (5YR 5/6). Cup with offset, slightly everted rim and pronounced foot; missing vertical handle, round in section. Black slip on interior and exterior, including base. Band on rim in added white, three grooves around lower part of body with bands between in added white and traces of white in grooves.


P 655. Jar
Fig. 5; Pl. 50:d
Nearly complete. H. 0.065, D. of rim 0.048, of base 0.036 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Jar with rounded and carinated profile. Three wide bands of black slip around upper part of vase and wavy band at base; areas between reserved.

P 657. Bridge-spouted jug
Preserved: one side with spout and part of opposite side with handle; base missing. D. of rim ca. 0.13 m. Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Jug with cylindrical neck and slightly convex body profile; vertical handle, round in section. Black slip on exterior
and around interior of neck, fired with a mottled red/brown to black/brown surface. Five grooves on neck. Bands around rim and base of neck in added white; groups of five vertical bands on body forming panels with a diagonal line and occasional dots between, also in added white. Handle with short diagonal lines in white; spout with bands in white.

For the shape, cf. HM 7836 from Mallia (Van Effenterre 1980, p. 520, fig. 733). For the decoration, cf. Dawkins 1903, p. 305, fig. 5e and f.

P 686. Carinated cup

About three-fourths complete. H. 0.039, D. of base 0.034 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Carinated cup with trefoil mouth and concave body profile above carination; high-swinged strap handle. Black slip on exterior and around interior of rim; area of handle and base reserved.

The area opposite the handle is also reserved, suggesting that this vase may have had a second handle.

P 688. Carinated cup

Fig. 4

About one-fourth complete, with rim and body. D. of rim ca. 0.13 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 8/4). Carinated cup with concave body profile above carination, convex profile below. Black slip on interior and exterior; about ten grooves around upper concave part of cup.

Cf. University (of Pennsylvania) Museum MS 4628-5 from Gournia (Betancourt and Silverman 1991, no. 409, p. 25). Betancourt (1983) comments, “Although the carinated cup begins in MM IB, the ridged examples are not made before MM II. For the date see the examples [nos. 257, 258] from House A at Vasilike.”

P 707. One-handled carinated cup

Fig. 5

About one-third complete, missing base. D. of rim 0.158 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Carinated cup with concave body profile above carination; vertical handle beginning just below rim, ending just below carination, round in section. Black slip on exterior and around interior of rim; about twelve grooves
around upper concave part of cup. Arc, pendent from carination, in added white.

P 756. Small amphora Pl. 50:b
Almost complete, missing one handle. H. 0.159, D. of base 0.068 m. Medium-to-fine, red clay (2.5YR 5/6); phyllite-tempered fabric. Amphora with piriform body and strap handles. Unslipped, water-wiped surface.

For the shape, cf. Walberg 1983, p. 162, shape no. 72, with parallels from Vasilike.

P 826. Jar Fig. 4
About two thirds of vase with complete profile. H. 0.079, D. of rim 0.075, of base 0.065 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Jar with rounded and carinated profile. Black slip on exterior, including base, and around interior of rim. Band around interior of rim in added white. Band around exterior of rim in added red with row of dots and narrow band in added white below. Six plants around side of vase, alternating in red and white, each with five groups of three branches; some of the red branches terminate in white dots. Plant stems continue onto base.

See Walberg 1983, pp. 59 and 185, motif 24 (vi) and shape no. 209 with parallels from Palaikastro. For the motif, cf. HM 3621 and 3622, the famous kantharoi from Gournia (Betancourt 1985, p. 102, fig. 75, where they are dated MM II).

**New Palace Period**

The excavations of 1992 and 1993 continued to uncover parts of Blocks B and C to the north of Houses B.1 and C.2 that Seager had excavated in 1908 (Fig. 6). We were able to uncover a substantial portion of Building B.2, the southeast corner of which was discovered in 1991, and we succeeded in locating the northeast and southwest corners of this building. The excavation of House C.3 was completed, and parts of two additional houses in Block C, 6 and 7, were found in the areas to the north and east of C.3. The road separating Blocks B and C was traced farther to the north where it runs between Building B.2 on the west and Houses C.3 and C.6 on the east (Pl. 50:c), rising from an elevation of +0.50 m., where it begins at the southeast corner of House B.1 near the modern coast, to an elevation of +11.10 m. a short distance beyond the northeast corner of Building B.2. The northern half of this road, running alongside B.2, is choked with ashlar blocks which have not yet been removed, but gaps in the ashlar collapse indicate that the upper portion of the street is paved with cobblestones, like the lower section cleared by Seager, and is occasionally provided with steps as it mounts the south slope of the island. Two side streets open off to the east, one noted in 1991 that runs along the south side of C.3 and a second that separates House C.3 on its north from House C.6.

The alley that separates Houses C.2 and C.4 was also traced farther to the north, where it opens into a wider area along the east side of House C.3 and provides access to a room in House C.7. At one time this alley probably continued even farther to the north and ran into the east–west street separating C.3 and C.6 before it was blocked by the wall that joins C.3 and C.7. The continuation of the street separating Blocks A and B was found in 1993 at the southwest of Building B.2. There is a sharp jog in the road here, just as there is at the southeast corner of B.2; at both points there is also a steep rise from the lower sections of the road running on either side of B.1. Staircases should be located here, rising from the lower to the higher levels of the road, but it has not yet been possible to uncover them.

*Building B.2 (Area E3, Trenches 6500–6700, 7100–7300, 7500–7800, 8100, 8200, 8400–8800, 9400–9800; Area D3, Trench 200)*

When it was discovered in 1991, Building B.2 was identified as the central building of the site because of its monumental ashlar façades, the only such façades found on the
island, and because of the evidence for ritual activity in the columnar room above its pillar crypt. Two of the main objectives of the 1992 and 1993 seasons were to delineate the boundaries of the building, since only its southeast corner had been located in 1991, and to confirm its ceremonial function and identify any others it might have had. To this end, three groups of trenches were opened over the building (Fig. 2), one over the southwest part (Trenches 7100–7300, 8100, 8200), one toward the middle of the building (Trenches 7500–7800, 8400–8800), and one toward the north side (Area E3, Trenches 9400–9800; Area D3,

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Trench 200). Work also continued in the southeast section of the building where a pillar crypt was found in 1991 (Trenches 6500–6700). Excavation proceeded slowly because of the remains of later occupation above B.2: a Late Hellenistic building located above the eastern half (Hellenistic Building 1), and a Late Hellenistic fortification that ran along its northern side, both of which had caused some damage to the Minoan structure.

Extending all the way across Block B and terraced at three levels up the slope of the hill, Building B.2 is very large (Fig. 6). Although the central section was partly destroyed by the later Hellenistic occupation, the building appears to have consisted of two wings that projected toward the south on either side of an indentation in the south façade. These two wings, separated from each other on the ground-floor level, were joined at the second- and third-story levels. It was possible to locate the northeast corner of the building and to complete the excavation of the eastern wing in 1993 (Pl. 50:e), but it was not possible to uncover all of the western wing or of the north side.

The main entrance to the building was found at the second level in Room 2.1 of the eastern wing (Fig. 6; Pl. 50:c, lower right). It was located opposite the intersection of the street running along the east façade of the building and the street running to the east between C.3 and C.6; it could thus be approached from three directions. A large threshold stone of sithorepetra is located here in the doorway 0.18–0.27 m. above street level (Fig. 7).13 A square block of ashlar sandstone was found ca. 0.29 m. above this threshold, where it was being reused in a Hellenistic level. Because one edge had been cut back to form a projecting rebate and the top cut with three dowel holes, it was possible to identify the ashlar block as the north jamb of the Minoan doorway and return it to its original position at one side of the threshold stone.14 A large wooden door set on a pivot placed on the opposite side of the doorway would have swung shut against the rebate of this block.

The entrance opens onto a rectangular vestibule, Room 2.1, which leads through a doorway in its southwest corner to Room 2.2, one of the main activity rooms in this wing of the building (Figs. 6, 7; Pl. 50:e). Room 3 of Hellenistic Building 1 sat over the western half of this vestibule and destroyed whatever remains of upper-story material might have existed here, but the eastern half of the vestibule had not been built on, and some upper-story material might have been expected. Instead, considerable wall tumble from the north wall of the vestibule was found, and the ground-floor level was located directly beneath at an elevation of +7.80–7.62 m. This wall collapsed into the vestibule at the east, but it is still preserved to its original height toward the west, where it rises ca. 2.60 m. to the third-story level; it is a substantial wall which marks the dividing line between the upper, third level and the second level. In contrast, the wall along the south side of the vestibule, preserved only to the height of one course, is rather narrow and probably could not have supported an upper-story wall. In this case, the vestibule and the rooms to its south in this wing of the building would have been only a single story high, and the upper, third level would never have projected over them (Fig. 8).

13 Threshold ca. 1.73 × 0.82 × 0.27 m.
14 Jamb block ca. 0.51 × 0.69 × 0.62 m. A similar block without the dowel holes is preserved in situ on the south side of the doorway opposite, leading into C.3 (Fig. 6).
Room 2.1 is divided into two parts by a spur wall that projects from the north wall. It may be significant that the bedrock floor of this vestibule has been cut flat in both parts of the room except in the area directly in front of the spur wall opposite the entrance, so that a person entering the room was immediately confronted with natural bedrock rising ca. 0.60 m. above floor level in this corner. A tall cylindrical stand with a bowl, which shows traces of burning inside the bowl (P 752; Pl. 51:a), was found broken on this bedrock and may have stood here as an offering stand or lamp just inside the entrance.¹⁵ Two badly smashed pithoi (P 763, 764) were found next to it.

¹⁵ H. 0.347 m. Traces of burning are located on the base of the bowl as well as around its sides. Its rim is not preserved, but the shape is not commonly used for lamps.
The doorway in the southwest corner of the vestibule is flanked by flat ashlar jamb bases, each cut with a single rebate. It leads into the spacious Room 2.2, which is paved with green schist slabs (Figs. 7, 8; Pl. 50:e). Part of this room was uncovered in 1991, but its excavation was completed only in the 1992 season. It measures ca. 3.57 m. by 5.70 m. and was surrounded by six or seven doorways, five of them with flat ashlar jamb bases, which opened into other areas. The entrance from the vestibule was located at the northwest corner. There were three other doorways in its west wall: the first, toward the north, led into a narrow corridor to the interior of the building and an interior staircase which gave access to the third level; the second, in the middle of the wall, led into a small closet, Room a; and the third, toward the south, led into another small, narrow space, Room b, which opened at its rear into still another, Room c. There must also have been one or two doorways in the destroyed south wall of the room, opening into the columnar room above the pillar crypt found in 1991. Another opened in the east wall of Room 2.2 onto a small landing and the staircase that led down to the pillar crypt.

The focus of Room 2.2 was a large basin located in the floor at the north side (Pls. 50:e, 51:b). Two wooden columns stood here on stone bases on either side of a triangular slab of purple schist, marked with the shallow hollows of a kernos, and framed the view into the basin. The basin, lined with plaster, is a shallow rectangular tank measuring ca. $1.25 \times 2.00 \times 0.05-0.40$ m. A drain opens off its southeast corner and leads under the

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east wall of the room through the east façade, where it drains into the adjacent street (Pl. 51:c). The basin was clearly designed to hold water, and while it may have been filled by hand, perhaps with water from the pithoi found in the vestibule, an opening may have been located in the ceiling above to allow rain to fall in. Although little was actually found in the basin, the remains of several cups were found in its drain, including conical cups (P 825, 1025), two one-handled cups decorated in the alternating style (P 1011, 1547; Pl. 51:d), and a third with a pattern of curving dotted lines (P 1023), all of which must belong to the very end of the LM IB period, when the building was destroyed.

Hellenistic Building 1 (pp. 224–226 below) sat on top of this room and came within a few inches of destroying the Minoan floor; the eastern of the two stone column bases in front of the basin was probably removed at this time. Very little was found on the floor of the room or on the floors of the adjacent rooms to the west. Perhaps the most interesting remains were pieces of an incense burner, found near the basin. There was, however, good evidence for two periods of use (Fig. 7). In the later period, the original schist floor was covered over with a white plaster floor, ca. 0.02–0.05 m. thick, and a circular schist slab, placed as a column base on top of this plaster toward the southwest, stood in line with the western of the two stone column bases on either side of the basin, presumably for a third column needed to support a sagging roof beam. In this second phase, the corridor leading off the northwest corner toward the staircase to the upper level was also blocked with a wall; it would then have been necessary to use a new, more circuitous route through a long narrow corridor located behind Rooms a, b, and c to reach the staircase leading to the third level and other rooms in the interior on the second level.

In 1992 work also continued on the pillar crypt discovered the previous year (Pl. 52:a, right foreground). Remains of several pithoi (P 778, 779, 783–787) lay on its floor, but there were no finds to suggest ceremonial activity of the sort found the previous year in the collapse from the story above. The western side of the room was excavated to bedrock in order to ascertain the date of construction. Since LM IB sherds continued to be found in all the material beneath the floor, the date of this wing of Building B.2 with its ashlar façades appears to be in the LM IB phase and not earlier.

Trench 6500 was opened to the west of the pillar crypt, and a second pillar crypt was found beneath the Hellenistic levels, lying adjacent to the eastern crypt on the first level of the building (Pls. 52:a, b). As in the eastern crypt, the upper-story collapse above this western crypt was still preserved beneath the Hellenistic building. It was sealed by a layer of fallen wall debris and lay at an elevation of +6.02–5.45 m. Many small pieces of red wall plaster were scattered throughout the debris, indicating that the walls of the columnar room above had been painted like those of the room above the eastern pillar crypt. Fragments of a large, closed vessel, decorated with an octopus in classic Marine style (P 794; Pl. 52:c) and imported from Knossos, fragments of an incense burner, and a very small piece of decorated ivory inlay (B 8) lay at the bottom of this collapse.

The western pillar crypt measures ca. 2.83–3.16 m. by 5.15 m. and is connected to the eastern crypt through a doorway, provided with flat stone jamb bases, at its southeast corner (Pl. 52:a). Unlike the pillar in the eastern crypt, the pillar in this room is still standing upright, undamaged by the earthquake that appears to have caused the eastern pillar to split in two at its base. A monolithic block of calcareous sandstone, it stands ca. 1.40 m. high, resting on a
foundation slab of green schist. Its top, cut with two dowel holes, supported a single wooden beam that ran north–south across the room; the north end of the beam sat in a socket at the top of the rubble wall along this side of the room, which, like that in the eastern room, is still preserved. A long narrow bench ran along the entire north side of the room, resting on a rise in bedrock, and stepped in two levels at its eastern end. Like the eastern crypt, the western also appears to have had a window. It was located in the exterior wall at the southwest corner of the room at about the same height as the one in the eastern crypt, but was somewhat narrower, ca. 0.97 m. wide. It is less easily distinguished than its eastern counterpart since the lower part of the exterior wall at this point is constructed in rubble and not ashlar masonry. The floor of the room lay at an elevation of +5.45–5.34 m.; the only objects found here were a single conical cup (P 740) and a stone pestle (GS 651).

To the south, outside these two pillar crypts, a low wall, ca. 0.70 m. high, runs alongside the façade of Building B.2 (Pls. 52:a, 53:a). At the southwest, where the east wing is indented toward the north, this wall turns to the north and runs along the western side of the wing. Ashlar blocks from the south façade had tumbled on top of the wall and into the space between it and the façade of the building, and, as a result, it was not possible to excavate behind it. It appears, however, to have been a low terrace wall that supported a rise in ground level along the outer side of the south façade and created a shelf or benchlike platform. Remains of white plaster were preserved on top of it. A terrace paved with purple and green schist and sidheropetra slabs lay to the south, extending out toward House B.1, which lay at a much lower level farther down the south slope of the island. One of the sidheropetra slabs is marked with a ring of hollows forming a kernos. A large number of conical cups (Pl. 53:b), many with wick burnings along their rims indicating that they were being used as lamps, were found on this terrace and on the terrace wall to the north. While some of these may have fallen from the columnar rooms on the second level of Building B.2, many were in their original locations; thus the area outside the pillar crypts appears to have been the location of ceremonial activity during which people lit and deposited lamps in front of the two pillar shrines.

The road leading past this terrace to the east and toward the entrance of the building is still choked with fallen ashlar debris, and it therefore remains unclear how people gained access from the road to the terrace. Removal of the ashlar blocks might reveal some kind of stepped approach from the road. Presumably the terrace could also have been approached from the west and from the road separating Blocks A and B, but LM III reoccupation in this area (Fig. 1) destroyed the western limits of the terrace and the specific means of approach from this direction.

The area of Building B.2 that lies along the west side of its eastern wing on the second-story level is badly preserved (Fig. 6). The 1908 excavations cut into the northern part of this area, and Hellenistic Building 1 cut into the southern part, so that the Minoan floor level in this area is almost completely lost. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish segments of wall that define a rectangular space, Room 2.3, measuring ca. 4.45 m. by 6.50 m. It was a

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17 Bench ca. 0.71–0.79 x 5.20 x 0.46 m. For benches in pillar crypts, see Gesell 1985, pp. 26–29.
spacious room in the interior of the building, entered through a doorway at its northeast corner where two ashlar jamb bases are still preserved. In phase 1, it was possible to approach this doorway through the corridor leading directly from the northwest corner of Room 2.2, but in the second phase, after this corridor was blocked, it was necessary to pass through the two columnar rooms alongside the south façade and into a long narrow corridor that led to the north behind Rooms a, b, and c toward the interior staircase leading to the third-story level (Fig. 7). The west wall of this corridor was completely demolished because the floor of Hellenistic Building 1 was sunk way below it, but it can be reconstructed since one of the jamb bases of the doorway leading into Room 2.3 is still preserved at the north end of the wall. About 6.45 m. long and only 0.77 m. wide, it led from the columnar room above the western pillar crypt to the interior staircase and to the doorway into Room 2.3. While little of this room survived, the care that was taken to provide access to it, its doorway with ashlar jamb bases, and its size suggest that it had an important function in the building. A handsome cylinder seal of green serpentine (S 142; Fig. 9) was found just inside its doorway. Although no other find was made in the room to suggest what its function might have been, the discovery of a kitchen in a small room at the west side, Room 2.4, suggests that it might have served as a dining room.

Room 2.4, a small room measuring ca. 1.80 m. by 2.35 m., is provided with a doorway in its east wall that communicates directly with Room 2.3. No upper-story collapse was found in the room, and the first of three ground-floor levels was uncovered immediately beneath the wall collapse at an elevation of +7.86—7.73 m. A hearth was located at the northwest corner, resting on packed layers of schist and yellow clay, where a layer of ash and carbon, ca. 0.15 m. thick, had accumulated. A stone mortar (GS 703) lay in the southeast corner just inside the doorway, and a large number of animal bones lay on the floor with the greatest concentration along the east side of the room. Other finds from this floor level included a brazier (P 842), parts of two cooking trays (P 859, 1027), a bone awl (B 9), and a handstone, or grinder (GS 618).

A second floor was found beneath this one at an elevation of +7.73—7.48 m. This earlier floor had also been used for cooking, and the room was arranged in the same fashion, with ash and carbon from the actual cooking area spread along its north side. A triton shell (Sh 11) lay nearby toward the west. A second and larger mortar (GS 704) was located underneath

\[\text{FIG. 9. Cylinder seal S 142 from Building B.2, Room 2.3 (D. Faulmann)}\]
the later one and was sunk into the earth floor. The later mortar belonging to the floor level above had actually been placed inside the bowl of the earlier mortar. A quern (GS 635), fragments of a cooking tray (P 1030) and cooking dish (P 1032), and a number of cups and bowls (P 798, 855, 957–959, 967, 1026, 1477) were also found on this floor level.

Still another (third) floor was discovered beneath at an elevation of +7.47–7.36 m. This also was used for cooking. The mortar, GS 704, sat on this floor already in use, and a patch of ash and carbon lay just to its north. Several vases were scattered around the room, including a one-handled conical cup (P 793), a shallow bowl (P 836) with an elaborate tortoise-shell ripple decoration both inside and outside, and fragments of cooking trays (P 1019, 1020) and cooking dishes (P 1028, 1031). The pottery in all three levels included LM IB sherds, and the various floor levels of the room reflect the period of time that Building B.2 remained in use.

The area over the western side of the building where trenches 7100–7300, 8100, and 8200 were opened was disturbed. It was clear that Seager had dug here and in the area of the fortification that lies to the north. He left rooms in the fortification exposed and dumped the earth from them over this area, and so much of the 1992 and 1993 seasons was spent removing the dump. In some areas Seager or perhaps LM III settlers appear to have disturbed upper-story collapse from the Minoan building, but the collapse over some rooms and the LM IB floor levels in all rooms were still intact.

The western wing of Building B.2 is oriented at a slightly different angle than its eastern wing (Fig. 6, Pl. 53:c); it is constructed entirely in rubble, and it appears to have had its own entrance from a small court that opens off the street running along the west façade. This street continues the north–south line of the street separating Blocks A and B, which was excavated by Seager; it was choked with rubble debris fallen from the west façade of B.2 and another building that lies unexcavated on the opposite side. The court, like the street, is paved with cobbles, but it was not possible to trace its full extent to the west and north. The entrance into the building from the court leads into a long narrow corridor, which was also paved and provided with a step up toward the east. It was not completely excavated in 1993, and it is unclear where it might lead.

Several rooms lay to the south of this corridor on the ground-floor level of the building, which corresponds to the level of the pillar crypts in the eastern block. Although it is unclear how they were entered, they were designed to accommodate the activities of a number of people. The largest, Room 1.3, is located at the southwest corner of the building; it was paved with large floor slabs along the east side and provided with a large stone bench against the north wall (Pl. 53:c, top left). The room is ca. 3.74 m. wide, and if it extended all the way to the south façade of the building, as seems likely, it was ca. 6.84 m. long. Toward the north, its floor lay at an elevation of +5.40 m., and toward the south where it had collapsed into a basement room, it lay at +4.60 m. A large stirrup jar (P 870; Fig. 10) was found in this area broken into many pieces and scattered over the floor. Room 1.3 is entered from the east via a narrow corridor that runs past two small storerooms on the north and a small square room, Room 1.4, on the south. Three small pithoi were buried beneath the floor in the western of

\[19\] The meter stick visible in Plate 53:c is placed in the middle of this room to the right of the bench. L. of bench ca. 1.95 m., W. 0.53–0.75 m., H. ca. 0.30 m.

\[20\] H. of jar 0.725 m.
the two storerooms, presumably to keep their contents cool, and six large bronze basins lay in the southern part of Room 1.4 (CA 106–109, 111, 112; Pl. 54:a). Five of these basins are provided with one handle, one with two handles (CA 106), riveted to the bowl; they had been set in three pairs with one basin inside another (Pl. 54:b). They seem almost too large and

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21 As at Chalinomouri, Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 428.
heavy to drink from. Two, whose handles and rims are elaborately decorated with a leaf motif, were probably imports from Knossos, where Evans found three identical basins in the North West Treasury.  

Seager, excavating on the third level of this building in 1908, also found two of these basins imported from Knossos.

The most sensational discovery was made in the basement room beneath Room 1.3 in the southwest corner of the building (Pl. 53:c, right). A stairwell, probably provided with wooden steps at one time, led down from the west side of Room 1.3 into this basement. It was a dark, windowless room with a low ceiling; a small tripod bowl (P 1444), which may have been used as a lamp, lay in the stairwell. Lying on the bedrock floor with the remains of a jug by its side was the skull of a young woman aged 18 to 24, its lower mandible missing (Pl. 54:c) but otherwise in a relatively good state of preservation. Professor Della Cook, who examined the skull in 1994, discovered that the woman had been struck a blow to the head which pierced the top of her cranium and in all probability caused her death. No other bones and no other finds were located in the room.

House C.3 (Area E3, Trenches 4800, 4900, 5800, 5900, 6800, 6900)

Excavations in 1990 and 1991 revealed three basement rooms along the south side of this building, Rooms 1.1–1.3, all of which were used for storage (Pl. 55:a, b), and a small rectangular addition at the southeast corner, Room 1.4. Excavations in 1992 and 1993 uncovered further remains in the three storage rooms and also the upper floor, or second level, of the building, where its main entrance was located (Figs. 6, 11, 12).

Three additional pithoi were removed from the northern end of Room 1.1: two (P 524, 790) had fallen from the upper floor, and the third (P 782) had stood at the far end of the room, where it was smashed when the upper floor collapsed on top of it. Only eight of the twelve pithoi and piriform jars found in this room originally stood here, and the lid to one of these was found lying on the floor beneath, along with a number of cups (P 717, 718, 720). A large number of copper-ingot fragments (e.g., CA 44, 45) and assorted bronze objects had been placed on the floor in the northeast corner (Pl. 56:a). The ingot fragments had been broken from a larger oxhide ingot, probably with a hammer stone, and weighed over 12 kilograms. The objects included many worn or damaged tools, as well as scrap pieces of metal, a crushed vessel (CA 58), two broken balance pans (CA 49, 50), and one half of a ceremonial double axe (CA 57); they were being stored with the copper-ingot fragments as a foundry hoard, all waiting to be melted down and recast. The hoard demonstrates the importance of recycling in Minoan metalworking and indicates that the industry relied on used, local materials as well as new metal sources.  

The tools include a variety of different shapes: two heavy double axes (CA 46, 47), which lay on the floor to one side of the hoard in a small niche in the wall (Pl. 56:b), a broken saw (CA 51), an unusual rasp with a circular

22 Evans 1928, pp. 629–632.
23 Seager 1909, p. 287, fig. 11; Hood 1978, p. 171, fig. 168; and Matthäus 1980 for further comparanda.
25 These pithoi were already exposed in 1991 and are seen in the drawing of finds from this room published in Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 402, fig. 6.
26 On this subject, see Budd, Pollard, Scaife, and Thomas 1995.
27 For comparanda, see Deshayes 1960.
Fig. 11. House C.3, actual-state plan
end with toothed edge (CA 52; Pl. 56:c), two chisels (CA 53, 54; Pl. 56:d), two knives (CA 55, 59), a long awl (CA 56), and a pair of tongs (CA 60). Some of the tools and many ingot pieces preserved traces of calcified textile and appear to have been wrapped in cloth. A small, bun-shaped ingot, of a black, corroded metal (Fe 2) which has not been identified yet, was also located in the midst of this hoard.

Although Room 1.2 was used for storage, its main function was to provide access to the upper floor via an L-shaped staircase, which was found at the north side of the room (Pl. 55:b). Three steps were preserved at the bottom of this staircase and two more steps were found in the return leading up toward the second level. There were probably ten or eleven steps in the original staircase, all constructed in stone resting on an earth fill; the lowest step appears to have been somewhat carelessly built of small stones, and two mud bricks were set on top of it. A small pithos (P 1206) and a side-spouted jar (P 845) were placed on the floor to the left of the staircase. A stone kernos (GS 1342) lay in the upper-story collapse in the room, providing additional evidence for the location of a small shrine on the floor above, where a stone libation table also stood.  

Room 1.3, reached by a step down from Room 1.2, is the largest of these three rooms, measuring ca. 4.10 m. by 4.34 m.; the rear, northern wall is preserved to a height of ca. 2.25 m. The northeast corner of the room was excavated in 1992. A piriform jar (P 837) was found at the bottom of the upper-story collapse and probably once stood in the room above, where

28 For the stone libation table, see Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 404, pl. 95:d.
the libation table stood. The remains of several more pithoi were found on the floor of Room 1.3 (P 807–814, 817–819), together with a number of conical and ogival cups (P 880, 888, 983, 984), which like those found with the pithoi in Room 1.1, may have been used as scoops for the contents of the pithoi. A bronze awl (CA 69) and a small lead weight (Pb 20), weighing ca. 10 g., were also found in the room.

The main entrance to House C.3 was discovered at the northwest corner, opening off the road that runs up alongside the west façade separating Blocks B and C (Figs. 11, 12). Its doorway was flanked by ashlar blocks, probably put in place during the LM IB renovation of the building. A stone threshold of sidheropetra is set 0.16–0.41 m. above street level and provides a step up into the house. The southern jamb of the doorway is cut with a rebate against which the wooden door was closed.

A small vestibule just inside the doorway opened onto a long U-shaped staircase that led up to a third level. Five stone steps are still preserved at the bottom of the north stairwell, but much of the construction of the staircase was of wood. An ashlar block, cut with two dowel holes to support vertical wooden timbers, stands at the end of the wall dividing the two stairwells, and while the north side of the stair rested against the massive stone wall of the north façade, the central and southern walls of the stairwell used mud brick extensively. The lower courses of the central wall are built in rubble only to a maximum height of 0.39 m.; mud brick was used above this point, and one course of six bricks, near the center of the wall, is still preserved. These were sun-dried bricks, containing a large amount of white gypsum, each measuring ca. 0.30 × 0.42 × 0.085 m. The south wall of the stairwell, supporting the upper flight of steps, was even less substantially built; it utilized a single course of rubble at its base and mud brick above, one course of which is preserved in five bricks lying along the western end of the wall. No trace of stone steps was found in the southern stairwell, and its steps were apparently constructed in wood. Its entrance at the west was blocked with a narrow wall, indicating that it was closed at this end, but a number of objects found inside suggest that it was used as a closet and could be entered, perhaps through a doorway from the south.

A doorway to the right of the entry led into one of three rooms, Rooms 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, which ran through the center of the house. Little upper-story collapse was preserved in these rooms, although it is clear from the adjacent staircase that an upper floor once extended over them; the massive stone wall that runs along their south sides marks the line at which the house was terraced with upper and lower stories. Most of the material from the upper story that once lay here was destroyed by the LM III reoccupation of the area associated with Mycenaean House B. The LM IB floor level in Rooms 2.1 and 2.2 was reached at +7.22–7.01 and consisted of a thick layer of white plaster, which has not been removed. Room 2.1 measures ca. 2.95 m. by 3.55 m. and Room 2.2 ca. 3.38 m. by 3.50 m.; both extended all the way to the interior wall that supported the southern façade of the third, or uppermost, level. A course of mud bricks was found above the low stone socle of the wall separating the two rooms; a doorway connecting them was probably located in the southern part of this wall, which was partly destroyed by the LM III occupation. This opening would

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29 As in House C.1, Soles and Davaras 1992, p. 435, pl. 98:b.
30 For Minoan mud brick, see Guest-Papamanoli 1978.
also have led to the landing above the staircase leading down to Room 1.2. While the floor of Room 2.1 had been swept clean and no finds were made there, the remains of at least two pithoi (P 1113, 1710) were found in Room 2.2, crushed and strewn along the western side of the room. A small jug (P 1541) and a stone lamp (S 130; Pl. 55:c) were also located in Room 2.2. The lamp had been placed near the southwest corner and stood upright in what may have been its original position, where it could have illuminated the landing above the basement staircase.

Although no trace of a doorway survives, Room 2.3 was probably entered from the east side of Room 2.2. This room, which is located at the northeast corner of the house, is the only one in the house where excavation has continued below the level of its most recent LM IB floor. The room is particularly interesting on account of its stratigraphy and the evidence it offers for different phases of construction in the Neopalatial period and for earlier houses on the site. The stratigraphy here is complex and needs additional study, but some preliminary observations can be made: There is evidence here, just as there was at the southeast corner of the building, for two building phases within the LM IB period. Later LM III occupation had removed any trace of upper-story collapse; the most recent LM IB floor level was found at an elevation of +6.60–6.41 m. A person entering from Room 2.2 would have stepped down onto the remains of an earlier LM IB wall, which runs parallel to the later wall separating these two rooms, to reach this lower floor level. In this phase, a long stone bench, measuring ca. 3.54 × 0.22–0.42 × 0.40 m., ran across the opposite, eastern side of the room. Broken pottery, including part of a strainer, was found in this layer, along with the remains of white plaster that may have belonged to the floor or walls.

Remains of an earlier LM IB phase were found beneath this floor level at an elevation +6.40–6.01 m. While it may have consisted of fill dumped in the room to raise the floor level, it is associated with the earlier wall along the west side. A deposit of MM III/LM IA transitional material was found beneath this layer at an elevation of +6.11–5.71 m., and the original construction of the walls on the northwest, north, east, and south sides of the room appears to belong to this time. A doorway, which was blocked by the earlier of the two LM IB walls on the western side of the room, belongs to this transitional phase and once led into an earlier room beneath Room 2.2, which has not been excavated. Its eastern jamb and some of its threshold stones are still preserved beneath the earlier LM IB wall between Rooms 2.2 and 2.3. The Protopalatial deposit discussed above (pp. 180–181) was found below this level.

House C.6 (Area E3, Trench 7900, 8800, 8900)

This house is located directly to the north of House C.3, across a narrow paved road leading off to the east from the road dividing Blocks B and C (Fig. 6). The house was overlain by the same line of Late Hellenistic fortification that ran across the third level of Building B.2. The outer-rampart wall of this fort was bedded on the Minoan walls at the southwest corner of the house and ran along its south façade. At one point where this façade was destroyed, the builders of the rampart filled the gap with their own stretch of wall, which they sank all the way to the level of the Minoan street, reusing some ashlar blocks from Building B.2 and setting the wall back, slightly to the north of the original south façade.
Because of this reuse of the walls of the house and the later occupation in the area, only two rooms at the southwest corner were found undisturbed. The wall at this corner is preserved to a height of 2.26 m. above street level, and both rooms were terraced above the level of the adjacent streets (Pl. 57:a). Room 1.1, located at the southwest corner, measures ca. 2.53 m. by 3.43 m.; its floor was found at an elevation of +9.00–8.67 m. Low benches, approximately 0.50 m. wide and 0.25 m. high, ran around all four sides of the room, and four pithoi (P 820, 1101, 1109, 1112), all of which had fallen in toward the center of the room, once stood on the northern and eastern of these benches. A lid (P 894) that belonged to one of them was also found fallen on the floor of the room.

A doorway at the southeast corner of Room 1.1 led into Room 1.2. It is the destroyed south wall of this room that was largely replaced by the builders of the fort, but its floor was nevertheless still intact at an elevation of +9.05–8.66 m. The room measures ca. 2.97 m. east–west and was about the same size as Room 1.1. A low bench runs along the east wall, and an L-shaped staircase rose against the north wall. The two bottom steps and a landing at the west end are still preserved alongside a square ashlar block, at the end of the south wall of the stairwell. The top of the block is cut with three dowel holes to support timber beams. A second ashlar block, found well above floor level in Room 1.1, may also be associated with this staircase. The top is cut to form a square base for a pillar or column, while the base is left uncut and was clearly intended to be set below ground level. The block had fallen from above and may have sat at the top of the staircase alongside the landing on the upper level, where the staircase turned toward the north. Three more pithoi (P 1108, 1110, 1114) were found scattered across the floor of Room 1.2, together with a piriform jar (P 1098) and a stone weight (GS 750).

The staircase on the north side of Room 1.2 led up to a third room in the house, which appears to have been reoccupied as an interior space by the later builders of the fort, unlike the area above the lower rooms, which was used as an open space. Although Seager excavated here, it was still possible to expose a nicely paved floor of green schist slabs, which belonged to a room, measuring ca. 4.36 m. north–south, in the LM IB house. These lay at an elevation of +10.05 m., only 1.40 m. above the lower floor level of Rooms 1.1 and 1.2, suggesting that no upper story ever extended out over these rooms. Conical cup fragments (P 918, 923) were found in the floor material.

A doorway in the west wall of this room led into still another room, set behind the west façade of the house, which the occupants of the fort had reused as an open space. Its Minoan floor level was completely destroyed, but it was still possible to recognize a fourth room, measuring ca. 1.80–2.20 m. by 4.17 m., which was stepped at two levels.

*House C.7 (Area E3, Trench 6000; Area E4, Trenches 5100, 5200)*

This building was found at the end of the alley leading up through Block C between Houses C.2 and C.4 and then along the east side of House C.3 (Fig. 6). In an early phase of LM IB a staircase at the end of this alley, now badly ruined, led up past an entrance at the southwest corner of the building and probably joined the road running east–west along the north side of C.3. Three trenches were opened in this area in 1992 and 1993.

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31 The beginning of this staircase is visible in Plate 57:a just to the right of the meter stick.
The fortification wall encountered in Houses B.2 and C.6 continued along the north side of these trenches and overlay the LM I levels, but excavation was able to reveal part of a large building with several small rectangular rooms, which was built in the LM IB period.

Room 1, located at the southwest corner of the building, had two distinct LM IB floor levels markedly different in character. In the later phase the doorway into the room was blocked by a narrow wall, which also extended to the west across the staircase in the alley and across the northern side of Room 2.3 in House C.3. It was built with a single face, and its main function was to act as a retaining wall to hold back earth eroding from the hillside. When it was constructed, it blocked any further passage through the alley to the north. In this phase Room 1 was entered from above and served mainly as a storage area. An upper-story collapse was encountered at an elevation of +7.59-7.11 m. It contained a number of clay and stone weights (C 211, 214, 215, 222; GS 742), a piriform jar decorated with incised lilies (P 832), and several conical and ogival cups (P 965, 969, 976, 980).

The first, or uppermost, floor was reached at an elevation of +7.11-6.71 m. (Fig. 13; Pl. 58:a). Nine large jars stood in the room at this time, including four pithoi (P 868, 869,
871, 895), one large stirrup jar (P 867), and four large jugs (P 864, 866, 886, 887). At the northeast corner, where P 886 lay, a stone channel was built into the wall, ca. 0.89 m. above floor level; a flat terracotta drain (C 259) found on the floor may have been used in conjunction with this channel to feed liquids, oil or wine, into the various storage jars from another room to the north. A second bronze foundry hoard, very similar in character to the one found in House C.3 (pp. 194–196 above), lay on the floor in the northeast corner of the room (Pl. 58:b). Copper-ingot fragments (CA 70, 71) lay on top of the hoard, and beneath were a number of damaged objects, including two double-axe blades (CA 72, 80), two knives (CA 77, 78), two vases (CA 76, 79), and the bezel of a ring (CA 128).

A lower LM IB floor was found at an elevation of +6.71–6.57 m. At this time the doorway to the room was open, and the function of the room was quite different. A sandstone mortar (GS 1343) was located against the west wall of the room with a handstone, or grinder (GS 720), still lying inside it. The earth floor of the room was full of carbon, animal bones, and cooking-pot fragments, and the room was clearly being used for food preparation. Several schist slabs and one work slab (C 277) were found on the floor at this level, together with conical and ogival cups (P 882–885, 900–906, 935, 944, 1434), and people were probably also eating in the room.

The trenches in Area E4+ to the east of Room 1 were opened in 1993; three additional rooms were discovered, each one of which was built on top of earlier MM III walls. These rooms lay close to the modern surface, and while there continued to be some evidence for upper-story collapse over all of them, it was badly disturbed. A number of clay loomweights (C 252, 255, 262, 265, 269) and stone weights (S 1212, 1214) were found scattered among this collapse and on the floors immediately below; a bronze needle (CA 81) was also found, and weaving may have been performed on the upper floor.

Room 2, adjacent to Room 1, is a rectangular room divided by a spur wall on the west (Fig. 6). No floor level was clearly distinguished in the southern part of the room, perhaps because of its proximity to the surface, and the northern part was not excavated because of the later fortification that sat on top of it. Room 3, lying somewhat deeper below the modern surface, was much better preserved. The first floor level was found beneath wall collapse at an elevation of +7.08–6.71 m. At this time a step in the northwest corner of the room led up through a doorway into an adjacent, unexcavated room to the north. A small bench or platform was located in the northeast corner of Room 2. The objects found at this level suggest that it was being used as a workroom. They include several stone tools, a saddle quern (GS 667), two stone weights (GS 1202, 1211), two grinding implements (GS 656, 671), a polisher (GS 672), and two whetstones (GS 655, 665) found on or near the platform in the northeast corner, together with a fancy stone lamp (S 168; Pl. 57:b), which preserved traces of burning in its two wick channels.

An earlier LM IB floor level was found at an elevation of +6.71–6.52 m. At this time four very large pithoi were buried below floor level all in a row against the south wall of the room. The rims of these pithoi rose just above floor level, and the bodies were apparently buried to keep the contents cool. For some reason, perhaps because they were damaged in an earthquake, they did not continue to be used in the later LM IB phase. A platform was also located at the southeast corner of the room.
A fourth room lies to the east, adjacent to Room 3; it exhibited the same two phases of LM IB occupation but contained very little on its two different floor levels to suggest its function.

Mochlos Coast

Excavation of the area behind the modern village of Mochlos, leading to the southwest toward Limenaria, continued in 1992 and 1993 (Fig. 14). The area between the two buildings that lay beneath the modern road was opened in 1992, and the northern sides of the buildings, where their two entrances were located, were completely exposed. It was not possible to excavate the southern parts of the buildings, which lay to the south of the modern road in a privately owned field, until the owner of the land asked in 1993 for a building permit, so requiring the Greek Archaeological Service to investigate; the Ephor Costis Davaras began excavation here in cooperation with the Greek-American team. Twelve trenches, oriented north–south, were laid out in the eastern part of the field; six of these revealed additional rooms belonging to the two buildings that lay beneath the adjacent road.

Building A (CM, Trench 2300N)

The entrance to this building was found in 1992 along the western side, across from the entrance to Building B (Fig. 15). It led across a large stone threshold into Room 8, a small vestibule which led in turn to Room 4, one of the major activity rooms in the building. Sometime after the construction of the building another room, Room 9, was added directly in front of this entrance. Its southern wall lay at an angle to the rest of the building and came very close to blocking access to the entrance. The north wall of this room was destroyed by coastal erosion, and the original dimensions are lost, but in design and function Room 9 resembles three rooms that were added to the original façades of Building B. Like these it contained a mortar of calcareous sandstone set in one corner (GS 1300), here the southwest, and a number of animal bones and olive pits, which were probably the remains of meals eaten in the room.

Two other rooms, also later additions, were found at the rear of the building. One, Room 10, contained green schist slabs from the collapsed roof, beneath fallen wall stones, but the room was not excavated to its floor level. A flight of three stone steps was found in the other room, at the southeast corner of Building A, at the very northeast edge of the field where a modern building overlies the Minoan one. These steps lead down from the higher ground level that lies behind Building A to the lower floor level of the rooms beneath the modern road and may well have led into Room 6, the area where a votive foot (C 129) was found in 1991. It was choked with fallen wall stones and has not yet been excavated to floor level.

A crudely built wall, which served as a screen protecting an open yard, was found a couple of meters to the rear of the building. A deposit of Santorini tephra lay inside this yard against the additions along the south side of the building (Pl. 58c). This deposit, stretching a distance of about 6.50 m., is some 0.40–0.80 m. wide and 0.03–0.05 m. deep. The fifth

33 Unlike those laid out earlier in the road, where the need to keep the road open to traffic dictated the shape and orientation of the trenches.
Fig. 14. Mochlos Coast: trenches behind modern village, 1990–1993
tephra deposit found in the current excavations at Mochlos,\(^ {34}\) it lay at ground level and is either another airborne deposit, which was covered by earth and so preserved when the southern additions to the building were constructed and their lower floor levels excavated, or part of a deposit that was placed against the south wall of the building, shielded by the screen wall to the south, and saved to be put to some later use.

**Building B** (CM, Trenches 2000, 2100, 2400, 2500, 2900)

Earlier excavation of Building B uncovered evidence of offerings in a bench shrine in Room 1, evidence for pot-making in Room 8, and evidence for stone-vase manufacture in Room 2. The 1993 excavation uncovered additional evidence for all three of these activities but mostly for pot-making, which now appears to have been the principle activity in the building.

The southeastern section of the building was excavated this year (Fig. 15) and revealed a stratigraphy similar to that found in the rooms excavated earlier. Stones from collapsed walls lay just beneath the modern surface, often covering schist roofing slabs, which were the first part of the building to collapse; a single floor deposit, \(ca. 0.10–0.15\) m. thick, lay underneath,

\(^ {34}\) For an analysis of the Mochlos tephra, see Soles, Taylor, and Vitaliano 1995.
right above bedrock. Pieces of mud brick were found throughout this section of the building, which was clearly a single story high with the upper part of its walls built of mud brick. It was used in the LM IB period, although there are several indications of a second building phase, which may correspond to the evidence for a later plastered floor found earlier in Room 7.\textsuperscript{35} The east, south, and west façades are easily identified, constructed as they are with large stones on the exterior and measuring 0.90–1.05 m. in width, much wider than any of the interior walls. Three small rooms (Rooms 3, 9, and 13) were added onto these exterior walls, one on each side of the building, almost as afterthoughts, and each may have performed the same function. Some of the LM IB pottery also appears to be very late; further study may identify some which might better be classified as LM II.

The building was entered from the northeast corner at the east end of Room 7; interior doorways led through Room 8, where an intact potter's wheel (C 227)\textsuperscript{36} and five badly smashed pithoi were found in 1991, into the eastern end of Room 4. Long and narrow, measuring ca. 1.50–2.75 m. by 9.54 m., this room led off to the west and provided access to the bench shrine located behind the western façade of the building. Through a doorway opposite the one from Room 8, it also provided access to Room 10, which was a major activity room in the building.

Room 4 was divided into two sections by a short spur wall near the center; the eastern section was excavated in 1993, and the floor of the room was located at an elevation of +6.00–5.90 m. A second potter's wheel (C 307) lay on the floor beneath a large slab of green schist, which had fallen from the roof and smashed it into many small pieces. Other finds from this end of the room included fragments of a pithos (P 1294), a stone table with four small feet (S 192), a finely worked stone pounder of an imported green stone (GS 685), a bronze cutting tool with a curved handle (CA 105), two broken vases, one (P 1053) incised with a lily like several others that have been found in the settlement on the island and at Chalinomouri, both made of the local phyllite-tempered fabric, and a small offering stand (P 1292) like those found in the bench shrine in Room 1.\textsuperscript{37} Although no support for the pivot of the wheel was found in the excavation, a potter may have worked at this very spot, made use of these various finds, and produced the pottery discovered here. He may have kept his clay in the pithos, used the pounder and table to crush purple phyllite for the temper that he added to the clay, and used the bronze tool to trim the clay on the wheel. He may have produced the two jars and the offering stand, which may then be thought of as the very last artifacts to have been made in this workshop before its destruction. When it became likely that Room 4, like Room 8, was being used for pottery production, the two rock-cut pits found earlier at the western end of the room assumed a greater importance. They may have played some part in the production of pottery, perhaps for the storage or levigation of clay that the potter used at the other end of the room.

Room 10, measuring ca. 5.20 m. by 5.30 m., was the largest room in the building and was also used as a workroom. A stone base supported a wooden column near the center of the room, and three low benches stood against its west and south walls. A small bin, its sides

\textsuperscript{35} Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 421.

\textsuperscript{36} Soles and Davaras 1994, pp. 421–422, fig. 17.

\textsuperscript{37} Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 423, fig. 18.
formed by a large mud brick set on edge and an upright schist slab, was located alongside the southeastern bench against the east wall. Several finds suggest that pottery was produced in this room too. These include a fragment of a third potter’s wheel (C 405), the fragment of a bat (P 2042), a work slab of thick, coarse clay (C 342), and a flat stone palette (GS 884) found inside the bin. In the collapsed wall debris that lay outside the southeast corner, small nodules of red pigment were found together with a serpentinite rubber (GS 683) and two stones that preserved traces of ground red and yellow pigment on the surface (GS 693). The red pigment is identical to the red paint found on pottery from the building, and it seems likely that pottery was being painted here. Other finds suggest two additional activities in the room. A serpentinite drill guide (GS 679), part of a serpentinite kernos with a small spout (S 184), a miniature stone alabastron (S 186) found on the bench at the northwest corner of the room, fragments of a serpentinite blossom bowl (S 196), and other fragmentary stone vases suggest that stone vases were made here too. Numerous fragments of cooking dishes, many with a corner spout, and cooking trays, as well as a number of conical and ogival cups, were found in the room and may indicate that the workshop’s artisans ate while they worked.

Room 13 is a small rectangular area that was attached to the rear of the building and was entered through a narrow doorway at its northeast. The floor of the room was found beneath a collapsed layer of wall and roofing material. A sandstone mortar (GS 1340) is located at the northwest corner, and a deposit of carbon lay just to the south. A tripod cooking pot (P 1189), a number of conical cups (P 1061, 1062, 1169, 1174, 1175, 1234), and several ogival cups (P 1059, 1168, 1182), found in the room along with an assortment of animal bones, suggest that the room was used as a kitchen for cooking and eating. A number of fragmentary cooking dishes and conical cups were also found in the area alongside this room, just to the east.

A large amount of mud brick and ash lay against the outside of the south wall of Room 13. It belonged to a collapsed kiln, which had been built up against the room, using its rubble wall to form part of the wall of the stoking chamber (Pl. 59:a). The chamber formed an irregular circle, ca. 0.90 m. in diameter, and was constructed partly of small stones, which were placed around its base on the west and south, but mostly of mud bricks, one of which had fallen still intact into the middle of the chamber. Two channels or flues opened off the east side of this chamber and extended ca. 1.40 m. to the east. These were cut into the bedrock, lined with clay, and contained some ash and carbon. An upright mud brick separated the channels at the west; a horizontal brick appears to have been placed on top of this upright brick at the point where the stoking chamber opened into the two channels. The channels are each ca. 0.25 m. wide and probably supported shelves, running at right angles to the channels, which held the pottery being fired. It was a small kiln, no more than 2.50 m. in total east–west length, and could not have accommodated large vessels. Numerous fragments of conical cups were found in the flues, as well as a loomweight alongside the chamber; these may be the very objects that were fired here. One should probably picture a box around the

38 For the bat see Evely 1988, p. 85, figs. 3 and 10.
39 Like GS 272 from Room 1 of Building A, in Soles and Davaras 1994, p. 417, pl. 100:d.
40 For cooking trays and dishes, see Betancourt 1980, pp. 5–7.
stoking chamber, built partly of upright mud bricks and perhaps open at top so that the potter could feed fuel into it, and a separate domed construction over the firing chamber, one side of which rested on the horizontal brick placed between the two parts of the kiln.  

Chalinomouri (Ch, Trenches 200, 300, 1100–1300, 2100, 2200)

The excavation of the LM IB building, discovered at Chalinomouri in 1991, continued in 1992 (Figs. 16, 17). A rectangular structure measuring ca. 8.25 m. by 14 m., this building contained seven or eight rooms. The 1991 excavations had revealed evidence for terracing in the field that lies to the northeast of the house, evidence for storage of agricultural produce in pithoi buried beneath the floor of Room 2, and evidence for the manufacture of vases of green serpentinite, a material locally available on both sides of the ravine that this building overlooks. The building served as a rural outpost of the main settlement on Mochlos, where its pottery was made, and its occupants took advantage of the natural resources at this end of the Mochlos coastal plain with its abundant water supply to engage in a number of different activities. If the main settlement on Mochlos is thought of as a second-order site, overseeing the neighboring coastal plain for a larger site or nearby palace, this farmhouse is a good example of a third-order site whose occupants were in some way attached to the settlement on Mochlos and looked to it for social recourse and other needs of a more practical nature.

Four of the five rooms south of Rooms 1 and 2 were excavated in 1992, and evidence for LM III reoccupation was found in two of them. This reoccupation, like that found in Room 1 in 1991, made use of the earlier walls. Both differ in this regard from the reoccupation on the island, where there is often a considerable amount of earth between the LM IB and LM III remains, which has accumulated either from erosion of the south slope of the island or from the collapsed debris of LM IB buildings, so that the LM III buildings sit on top of the earlier structures and show little or no relation to them. The reoccupation at Chalinomouri is not well preserved since it lay near the modern surface and was itself badly eroded, especially along the western side of the house, where the west wall has partly collapsed into the neighboring ravine. Evidence of this reoccupation was found in Room 1, but the best evidence to date was found in Room 4, where it was possible to identify an LM III floor at an elevation of +28.52–28.39 m. A new wall, which rested in part on an earlier wall separating Room 4 from Room 5, was built along the south side of Room 4 at this new floor level, blocking an earlier doorway at the southeast corner of the room; it is, however, the only LM III wall in the whole building. The LM IB floor in Room 4 lay ca. 0.50 m. below this level. The intervening area was filled with earth and preserved no wall or roof debris from the LM IB building. A polished stone bead of serpentinite (S 151), which could have been manufactured in the house, was found in this fill. No LM III floor level was found in Room 5, but the later occupants of the building appear to have filled it with earth in a similar fashion in order to raise its original floor to a higher level. The original floor in the

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41 The authors are indebted to Philip Betancourt and Harriet Blitzer, both of whom visited the kiln and shared their observations with us.


43 Soles 1991, pp. 73–76.
Fig. 16. Chalinomouri: trenches, 1991–1993
room lay at an elevation of +28.12–28.06 m. and contained the remains of two piriform jars decorated with lilies, incised in the clay (P 1243) or applied in relief (P 1242).\textsuperscript{44}

Rooms 3 and 6 preserved little evidence for LM III reoccupation. Wall debris was found just below the surface, lying on top of green schist slabs and crushed purple schist belonging to roof debris from the LM IB building.\textsuperscript{45} The LM IB floor lay at approximately the same level in both rooms, +27.91–27.76 m. Both Rooms 3 and 6 were used as major activity rooms in the house, and doorways in the northeast and southwest corners of Room 3 permitted circulation through this section of the house.

\textsuperscript{44} Cf. P 1053 from the potter's workshop in Building B (p. 205 above).

\textsuperscript{45} For the use of similar roofing materials in the LM IB buildings at Mochlos, see Soles and Davaras 1994, pp. 397–398.
Room 3, which measures *ca.* 3.30 m. by 3.95 m., was apparently used as a kitchen and eating room (Pl. 59:b). A large patch of carbon lay on the floor in the center of the room, and the remains of a pithos (P 2055) with its base missing lay amongst the wall and roof collapse in the southeast corner, where it may have been serving as a chimney pot when the roof was still intact. A bench, measuring *ca.* 0.50 × 1.30 × 0.23 m., stands at the northwest corner of the room. A large number of limpet shells lay scattered on the floor in front of the bench, along with the stone guide for a drill (GS 723) used in stone-vase manufacture.

A stone column base stands near the center of Room 6, which is about the same width as Room 3 but *ca.* 5.02 m. long. This room also appears to have been used for cooking and eating. A deposit of carbon was found here too, and more limpet shells lay scattered along the northwest side of the room. A stone bench, stepped at two levels with overall measurements of *ca.* 0.67 × 1.15 × 0.16–0.44 m., is located in the north corner, and a bronze awl (CA 84) and remains of a jug (P 1244) were found in the northwestern area of the room. The south side of this room and the adjacent area to the northeast have not yet been completely excavated; these rooms mark the southernmost limits of the house, however, and if an entrance to the house is to be found, it should be located somewhere in this area.

Some of the pottery from this building, like that from Buildings A and B on the Mochlos Coast, may be dated as late as LM II.

### MYCENAEOAN PERIOD

**Mochlos Island**

*House B* (Area E3, Trenches 4800, 4900, 5800, 5900, 6800, 6900)

Remains of a second LM III building, House B, were found in 1992 just below the surface (Fig. 1). These consisted of a long retaining wall that ran across and above the earlier storerooms, Rooms 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, of House C.3, the western end of a rectangular building, which was badly destroyed, and a small rectangular shed located just in front of the building and used for cooking. Very little pottery from the building survived, and the building was dated tentatively to the IIIB period because of its resemblance to the remodeled part of House A.

**Mochlos Coast**

The LM III settlement on the island does not appear to have been large, and it may not have included many more buildings than the two or three that have been found to date. Its cemetery lay nearby, directly across from the island on the hill that rises behind the modern village of Mochlos (Pl. 59:c). Nine of the tombs in this cemetery were excavated in 1986 when they were accidentally exposed by a bulldozer; it was always clear that more were to be found here, however, and in 1993 the current excavation resumed work in this area, opening seven additional tombs.

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The LM III Cemetery (Fig. 18)

The sixteen tombs opened to date lie on the western side of the hill within view of the settlement on the island. Most are located along one long row at approximately the same elevation, and only three have been found lower down the slope. They are all small chamber tombs cut into the soft kouskouras of the hillside, most with dromoi that are filled with stones and that were ordinarily used for one or two burials. Nevertheless, they show a remarkable number of variations: in the individual burials, in the grave goods deposited in different tombs, and in the manner of burial and evidence of secondary use. Four of the seven tombs opened in 1993 held a total of six individuals, three male and three female burials; two tombs contained no skeletal material whatsoever; and one contained as many as seven individuals. Two of the tombs were used by male-female couples, and the two used for single burials, one male and one female, were linked in such a way as to suggest that they were also serving a male-female couple. Whenever a tomb was used for multiple burials, it showed evidence of being reopened at a later date to accommodate the later burial. Four of the tombs used larnakes, including three tubs and one chest, and two used pithoi, one of which was empty.

![Fig. 18. Mochlos Coast: plan of LM III cemetery](image)

Tomb 10 (Fig. 19; Pl. 60:a)

Tomb 10 is one of those used by a male-female couple. It held a tub-shaped larnax; both individuals had been placed inside it, but only one was still partly articulated. At least twelve articulated vertebrae and the skull were still preserved in the southern half of the larnax; ribs and part of a scapula were also present. A preponderance of foot bones was found at the north end of the larnax, but otherwise the skeletal remains were disturbed and

48 The authors are indebted to Cam Walker, who excavated the burials exposed in 1993, and to Lisa Little (Indiana University) for undertaking the skeletal analysis of the Mochlos burials.

For a similar use by male-female couples and individuals, compare the burials from the LM III tombs at Chania, Hallager and McGeorge 1992.

49 Two tombs excavated in 1986 are reported to have contained couples, the remaining seven to have been used by individuals. Burials are not identified by sex, although one subadult burial is reported. Larnakes, including one tub and three chest larnakes, were used in four tombs; pithoi were used in five. Like those excavated in 1993, the tombs should probably all date to LM III (Papadakis 1990, p. 228).
TOTAL BURIALS FOR 1986 and 1993

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<tr>
<th>Tomb</th>
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<td>Chest larnax (4)</td>
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<td>9</td>
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(total population = 24)

incomplete. Earthquake, ceiling collapse, and rodent activity are all possible explanations for the disturbance of the bones noted in this tomb and others, but secondary, post-mortem handling is a fourth possibility, especially in the case of a tomb when it was reused as this one was and the first burial had to be moved to make room for the second. A tall jug of LM IIIA:1 date (P 950; Fig. 20) lay on top of the bones and was the only object found inside the larnax.

Eight objects had been deposited on the floor of the tomb. These included three miniature jugs (P 947, 948, 951), two semiglobular bowls with spouts, the standard drinking vessel in LM III Mochlos (P 952, 953), and a composite vase (P 946; Pl. 60:b),50 all of which should probably date to the same period as the jug P 950. A bronze bowl (CA 87; Pl. 60:c, right) had been placed directly in front of the larnax. Closed with a bronze mirror (CA 92; Pl. 60:c, left) that served as a lid, the bowl was being used as a jewelry box. Inside were a bronze dress pin (CA 93), a gold-plated ring (Au 1), its bezel missing, a complete necklace made up of more than forty faience beads, each in the shape of an ivy leaf (F 58), and a single gold bead (Au 2), which may have served as the centerpiece of the necklace (Pl. 60:d).

The larnax (C 283; Fig. 21) was the only one of the four found in 1993 with elaborate painted decoration. On the exterior of its long sides are two vertical spirals placed symmetrically on either side of a central panel, a decorative arrangement that has a close

50 Another of these composite vases was found in Tomb 9; see Papadakis 1990, pl. 151:g. They are often found in LM III tombs; for a discussion of the type with open bowls, see Karantzali 1986, p. 60.
parallel in a larnax now housed in the Siteia Museum (SM 12033).\textsuperscript{51} Painted just beneath the rim on either side of the interior are two unusual figures: they stand with hands on their waists, perhaps dancing, both wearing pointed shoes and what may be a dagger, while one wears an animal mask that looks very like the head of a jackal.

\textsuperscript{51} SM 12033 was moved to the Siteia Museum from Herakleion when the new museum was opened; its provenance is "eastern Crete".
Fig. 20. LM IIIA:1 jug P 950 from Tomb 10 (D. Faulmann)
Fig. 21. Larnax C 283 from Tomb 10 (D. Faulmann)
Tomb 11 (Pl. 61:a)

Tomb 11 is another of the tombs used by a male-female couple. In this case, however, only one of the burials was found in the sarcophagus. The first, which was female, was laid on the floor of the tomb and buried beneath a layer of earth 0.15–0.20 m. thick; the second burial was placed in a larnax (C 288), which lay at an angle on top of the earlier burial, the south end higher than the north.52 Both burials were incomplete and badly disturbed, and both tomb and sarcophagus were filled up to the rim of the sarcophagus with earth that had fallen from the ceiling.

An amphora (P 1000) was found on top of the burial inside the sarcophagus, and six additional vases, also belonging to the second burial, were found along the north side of the chamber. These included a semiglobular bowl with spout (P 986), a pyxis (P 1007), a jug very like P 950 from Tomb 10 but undecorated, a stirrup jar (P 989), a miniature jug (P 987), a shallow bowl (P 988), and a bronze bracelet (CA 89).

Among the objects found with the earlier burial in the earth beneath the larnax were three stirrup jars (P 1012, 1014, 1015), a miniature askos (P 1013), a small collection of faïence beads (F 10), a pin head (F 9), and a bronze ring (CA 91).

Tomb 12

Tomb 12 contained no larnax, no pithos, and no skeletal remains. It did contain six objects that are typical of the grave goods found in the other tombs: an amphora (P 1033), a jug (P 1038), a miniature jug (P 1037), two semiglobular bowls with spouts (P 1034, 1036), and a rounded cup (P 1035). Either the body was removed at some point after burial, or the skeleton belonged to a child and completely disintegrated, or the tomb served as a cenotaph.

Tomb 13 (Pl. 61:b)

Tomb 13, the most carefully designed of the tombs, is unusual in several respects. The dromos, ca. 3.55 m. long, was neatly cut with side walls slanting inward toward the top, and the stomion was provided with an actual doorway with jambs cut from the bedrock.53 It is also the richest of the tombs in finds. It is one of two tombs where objects had been placed outside the tomb chamber; they were located ca. 0.20 m. above the original floor of the dromos, either against the outer face of the stomion wall or broken and inside it. They included four stirrup jars found outside the wall (P 1044, 1045, 1051, 1052) and several vessels placed inside (P 1116–1120, 1124, 1058), one of which was a pomegranate-shaped rhyton (P 1116; Pl. 61:c, left), decorated with an octopus, which had been smashed into many small pieces.

As many as seven different individuals, male and female, were buried in the tomb. In the interval between the burials, some ceiling collapse had occurred, particularly along the northern half of the tomb. The latest burial appears to have been male; the disturbed remnants of his skeleton were found inside the sarcophagus (C 313). Two stirrup jars (P 1048, 1049) had been placed on the rim of the larnax, one an import from Chania (P 1048; Pl. 63:b),54 and as many as twenty other vases (P 1063–1077, 1079–1083) had

52 Papadakis reports a similar arrangement for the burials in Tomb 1 (Papadakis 1990, p. 228).
53 Cf. Tomb 10 at Chania, Hallager and McGeorge 1992, pp. 17–18, pl. 5:A.
54 For the Kydonia workshop, see Tzedakis 1969, pp. 396–418.
been placed around the front and sides of the larnax on earth from the ceiling collapse. These included several stirrup jars and an unbroken rhyton (P 1065; Fig. 22, Pl. 61:c, right) identical to P 1116, which was on its side in front of the larnax, on top of the other vases, apparently the last object placed in the tomb. Two lentoid steatite seals with conical backs lay inside the larnax. One was carved with a lion munching the hindquarters of a deer,
with a column behind (S 188), the other with a winged sphinx wearing a hat with two plumes (S 189; Fig. 23).

A large cylindrical pyxis lay on the floor of the tomb at the southwest corner of the larnax (P 1074; Pls. 61:b, right, 62:a); it held the remains of a female skeleton, aged 24 to 48, which had been broken up to fit inside. She was apparently an earlier burial in the tomb and probably an earlier occupant of the sarcophagus, whose remains were removed, broken up, and redeposited when the later burial was made. Two bronze finger rings (CA 100, 101) found in the larnax and eight carnelian, rock crystal, and faïence beads, found scattered throughout the tomb (S 190, F 19), the remnants of larger necklaces, may have belonged to her. Three stirrup jars and two conical cups (P 1079–1083) that lay on the floor may have belonged to the grave goods deposited in the tomb with earlier burials.

**Tomb 14**

Tomb 14 contained one large pithos (P 1104) and no other finds. The pithos lay on its side and was carefully supported with rocks at its base and along its sides to keep it in place. It was broken by ceiling collapse and was quite empty. Tomb 16 contained a similar pithos, similarly disposed, with a semiarticulated skeleton still inside, and there is no doubt that this pithos was intended to be used as a burial pithos. The absence of grave goods suggests that the tomb was never used or completely plundered.

**Tomb 15 (Fig. 24)**

Tomb 15 is unusual because it appears to have been connected by a small tunnel to Tomb 16, next to it on the south (Pl. 62:b). Each had its own dromos and entrance from
the west, and each contained a single burial; the disposition of the tombs suggests that the two individuals were related in some way.

Tomb 15 contained a chest larnax with legs and gabled roof (C 314; Pl. 62:c);\(^{55}\) the side facing the dromos was decorated with a triglyph panel in relief. The roof of this tomb had completely collapsed, but the lid, though broken, was still \textit{in situ} on top of the larnax and preserved the semiarticulated skeleton of an adult male. It lay on its side in a contracted position with head to the south, facing west. A short wooden staff lay alongside the tibias of the legs.

Fig. 25. Jug P 1155 from Tomb 15 (B. O’Rourke)
Thirty objects had been placed outside the larnax at the southern side of the tomb. These included an amphoroid krater (P 1156; Pl. 63:a), which contained a jug and a semiglobular bowl with spout (P 1165, 1166), three other jugs (P 1139, 1155; Fig. 25), including one decorated with an octopus (P 1137; Fig. 26), the handle and spout of which had been broken off before its deposit in the tomb, thirteen other cups or bowls (P 1132, 1133, 1135, 1136, 1142, 1145–1149, 1151, 1153, 1154), an undecorated kylix (P 1152), the only one found in the cemetery so far, two piriform rhyta (P 1134, 1138; Pl. 63:c), and two conical rhyta (Pl. 63:d), one of which was decorated (P 1141) and placed inside the other, which was

Fig. 26. Jug P 1137 from Tomb 15 (B. O’Rourke)
plain (P 1140). Three shallow conical cups had been placed in the tomb as lamps (P 1143, 1144, 1150). Three bronze objects were also discovered: two blades and a pair of tweezers (CA 110, 113, 114).

**Tomb 16 (Pl. 64:a)**

The roof of this tomb, like that of Tomb 15, had also collapsed, and the burial pithos that lay inside was broken in two. The bottom half had been wedged in place with stones when it was originally placed in the tomb, lying on its side in an east–west direction; it lay still intact in its original position. The top half, which had broken off, had slid down to the western end of the pithos. The semiarticulated skeleton of a young woman lay inside, shielded by the broken top half of the pithos (Pl. 64:b). She had been placed in the pithos headfirst in contracted position, and her hands lay together by her chin. She wore three bronze rings on her fingers (CA 124–126), one of which was still in place, and a necklace of gold and faience beads (F 20, S 194, Au 3) was still around her neck.56

Three jugs (P 1199–1201), a spouted semiglobular bowl (P 1198), and a pyxis (P 1202) lay on the floor of the tomb to one side of the burial.

**LATE HELLENISTIC PERIOD**

**Mochlos Island**

In 1909 Richard Seager reported extensive Roman remains on the island of Mochlos, which he believed to have served as a port for a Roman town on the adjacent coast.57 He removed most of these remains without describing them in any detail or publishing the associated pottery, but he reported coins of Hadrian, Diocletian, and Constantine. He also reported Roman fish tanks, rock-cut tombs, and a quarry, all located on the coast of Crete across from the island. On the top of the island he reported a “large fortress” with “a long wall” along the “northern edge of the hilltop along the cliffs, with towers at the east and west ends and a larger one in the centre.” Extensions of this wall could be traced along the western and eastern sides of the island (Fig. 27). He believed that this fortress was Early Byzantine, dated to the time of the Saracen invasion in the early 9th century after Christ. In 1982 Ian Sanders repeated Seager’s observations in his gazetteer of Roman sites in Crete.58

The first three seasons of the new excavation failed to turn up any evidence for major Roman occupation on Mochlos, uncovering instead remains of the Early Byzantine period on the south slope of the island in the general area where Seager had reported Roman houses.59 It was assumed that much of what Seager had described as “Roman” was in fact Early Byzantine. In the summer of 1992, however, after several summers of excavation on the lower part of the south slope, work began in the northern part of Area E3, as well as in Area D3, where Seager had excavated earlier and exposed rooms that he described

56 Cf. the faience beads reported from Chania Tomb 11, Hallager and McGeorge 1992, pp. 19–20, with further examples cited there in notes 65 and 66.
Fig. 27. Mochlos Island: Late Hellenistic and Byzantine remains
as “Roman”. When excavation began, it was assumed that these would also turn out to be Early Byzantine, and it was a great surprise therefore when pottery of a much earlier date began to appear.

**Hellenistic Building 1** (Area E3, Trenches 6300–6700, 7300–7700)

As a result of continuing excavation, this building, which was mistakenly assumed in 1991 to be Early Byzantine when two of its eastern rooms were first exposed, can now be securely dated to the Late Hellenistic period. Dr. Natalia Vogeikoff has identified a number of Koan amphoras and other pottery of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C., which lay in rooms in the western part of the building excavated in 1992 and 1993.

Hellenistic Building 1 has now been completely excavated (Fig. 28). It is a long, one-story building of eight rooms, which extends ca. 23.50 m. east–west against the south slope of the island. While people may have lived in the building, it also had important industrial functions: it was provided with two beam presses, one probably used in textile manufacturing, and the other used in the production of olive oil. These appear to have been the two main industries supported in the building, which was accordingly laid out in two parts. The eastern part, Rooms 1, 2, and 3, accommodated the textile workshop, and the western part, Rooms 4–6, was used for the production and storage of olive oil. The two functions were reflected externally in its architecture: the north and south walls of the western part of the building were set back slightly from those of the eastern section, the rooms on the west lay at a lower level than those on the east, and the gabled roof probably lay at two levels, the western part lower than the eastern.

Each of the rooms in the eastern section of the building was provided with its own doorway opening toward the east. A pivot stone stood alongside the doorway of the central room, Room 1, and this room, which held the beam press, could be closed with a wooden door. The beam support was cut in a sandstone block anchored in the wall at about the same height (0.21 m.) above the pavement of the press as the pier support in Room 6. The floor of Room 2 was neatly paved with small, green schist slabs, which clearly had been robbed from the hall of Minoan Building B.2 that lay just underneath. It was the only room of the three with a paved floor. A smashed amphora was found against the north wall; the room would have been a good resting spot where workers could find momentary respite from their labor and take refreshment out of the hot sun. The excavation of Room 3 was completed only in 1992. Its floor lay at +8.27–8.09 m., a slightly higher level than the floors of the two rooms to the south, and one had to step up over a raised threshold stone to enter the room. A spindle whorl and a number of stone tools were found on the floor, and a semicircular stone basin, which might have been used for washing wool, stood in the southwest corner.

Two rectangular rooms, Rooms 7 and 8, are located at the western end of the building. Both lacked walls on the south. A large pivot stone stood at the southeast corner of Room 7, however; much larger than a normal door pivot and worn from repeated use, it was apparently used for a large wooden barrier that could swing shut against the south end of the western wall and so prevent access to the room. The floor of Room 7 was partially paved with green schist slabs and sloped down from north to south at elevations of +6.24

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60 It was wrongly identified as Byzantine Building 2 in the 1991 report, Soles and Davaras 1994, pp. 433–434.
Fig. 28. Mochlos Island: Late Hellenistic Building 1
to +5.52 m. The room gave access to the main workroom of this section of the building, Room 6, through a doorway, provided with a paved threshold, in its east wall.

Room 6, which contained another beam press, quite different in design from the one in Room 1, was the largest room in the building (Pl. 64:d). It measured ca. 5.05 m. by 5.30 m.; a stone slab located near the middle of the room probably supported a wooden post, which may have been needed to support the roof. Fragments of roof tiles, mostly flat ridge tiles like those found in the eastern part of the building in 1991, were scattered on the floor, which lay at an elevation of +6.23–6.17 m. A crudely built hearth was located in the northwest corner, and the beam press was set against the middle of the east wall. The press was built in two parts: A rectangular platform measuring ca. 1.39 × 1.08 × 0.50 m. stood to the north; its surface was paved with schist slabs and provided with a dressed limestone slab with a raised edge along the outer north side, a small spout projecting beyond it. A masonry pier, ca. 0.55 m. wide, was built against the south side of this platform, rising ca. 0.21 m. above it. Numerous olive pits were found around the platform of the press, and it was clear that olives were being pressed here for their oil, perhaps after being boiled over the hearth at the opposite side of the room.

Harriet Blitzer was able to visit the site during the excavation of this press and reconstructed the following description of its operation: The wooden beam, resting on the stone pier to the south, supported flails, or bags of stone weights, which pressed down on a sack full of olives. The sack was sufficiently porous to allow the liquid, water and oil, to drain through onto the surface of the press, through the spout, and into a container placed at the base of the platform beneath the spout. A number of wide lead strips, perforated with small holes, were found around the press; it seems likely that these served as brackets to attach the flails to the beam.

Two doorways located in the east wall of the room provided access to Rooms 4 and 5. Both these rooms stood at a higher level than Room 6, at an elevation of +7.03–6.72 m. A monolithic stone, cut to form two steps, stood at the entrance to Room 4, but there was insufficient space to allow for such steps in front of the entrance to Room 5, since a container receiving the pressed oil would have been located in the space before this door. The rooms have no other entry, and both may have been used as storage rooms for the oil. Remains of at least four Koan amphoras (P 1542, 1543, 2154, 2155) were found in the rooms, and the finished product may have been stored here. A wheelmade lamp (C 167) of Asia Minor origin was also being used in Room 4.

The Late Hellenistic Fort

The area above Hellenistic Building 1 had been extensively explored by Seager but required cleaning and some additional excavation before it could be studied (Fig. 27). The rooms that Seager opened here extend over an area about sixty meters long and cannot belong to one long house. The cleaning revealed two groups of connected rooms set behind, and to the north of, a continuous wall that extends the whole length of the area exposed.

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62 Cf. the examples in Weinberg et al. 1965, pp. 3–48, fig. 4:6, and Empereur and Hesnard 1987, pp. 9–71, pl. 4:20, dated to the early 1st century B.C.
63 Agora IV, Type 40 A, no. 521, pp. 126–127.
64 Max Kalhammer was responsible for most of the drawings of these remains.
The western group contains about eight rooms, some of them divided in two by a spur wall, and most of them previously excavated. In Room 1, however, Eastern Sigillata A ware was uncovered along with evidence for cooking, and a large stone platform in the northwest corner may have served as a sleeping platform. The room could be entered through a doorway in the east wall and may have provided access to a rectangular bastion that projected from the south side of the room. All the rooms in this section adjoin one another and, entered from the east, north, or west, they form a solid, unbroken line of wall on the south. The section of rooms to the east, which were also excavated by Seager, are arranged a little differently. They lie behind a terrace wall or rampart that projects to the south, leaving an open space between the buildings and the actual line of wall. The area between these two groups of rooms is not well preserved, but a series of terraces is located here behind the same line of wall, and a wide staircase appears to have led up from one terrace to another, past an exedra on the third terrace, into the interior of the complex.

This complex was cleaned, and drawings were made, toward the end of the 1993 season; it was possible to open four trenches in previously unexplored areas before closing the excavation for the winter. Two trenches in Area D3, 100 and 1100, placed at the western end of the complex, exposed Room 9 and indicated that the complex continues farther in this direction. Excavation uncovered two stratified layers in this room, the upper containing more examples of Eastern Sigillata A ware, which has good parallels at Knossos dating to the 1st century B.C., as well as coarse wares and evidence for cooking. The most striking discovery in this room, however, was a small terracotta head of Jupiter Serapis (C 290; Pl. 64c), a popular god in Crete.66 Other trenches, placed at the eastern end of the complex (Area E3, 5900, 6000 and Area E4, 5100, 5200), exposed a series of bastions projecting from the face of the continuous wall that runs along the south side, indicating that the complex continues farther in this direction as well.

It now seems that the south wall of this complex probably extends all the way to the eastern section of the wall running along the eastern side of the island, which Seager had identified as Early Byzantine, and that the complex formed a line of garrisons located just inside a continuous fortification wall that formed a large circle around the island. It was in use during the Late Hellenistic period; it remains to be seen if was reoccupied by later Byzantine soldiers in the 9th century after Christ.

Further work is required before the Late Hellenistic period at Mochlos can be fully understood. At the moment there are several possible explanations for the remains which have been found here. The Ptolemies had been active keeping peace in the area since the 3rd century B.C., and Patroklos, commander of the Ptolemaic forces in the Chremonidean War, established a garrison at nearby Itanos, which the Ptolemies maintained well into the following century. In the 2nd century they established another garrison at Leuke off the southeast coast of Crete, and they may have felt a need to establish still a third as an additional base for their activities in eastern Crete and other operations in the Aegean. The city-states of Hierapytna and Praisos, which both claimed this area of Crete, may also have

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65 Hayes 1971, pp. 252–253, fig. 3.
67 Bagnall 1976, pp. 120–123.
attempted to secure the strategic harbor at Mochlos for themselves. In the middle of the 2nd century, when war broke out between Praisos and Itanos largely as a result of a dispute over the administration of the Shrine of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, Praisos may have felt the need to secure its northern frontier. Later, after war broke out between Praisos and Hierapytna and Praisos was completely destroyed, Hierapytna took up the territorial claims of Praisos and pursued the war against Itanos. Hierapytna might also have felt the need to secure the northern approach to the isthmus, which led straight overland to the city. In 115 B.C. Hierapytna appealed directly to the Roman Senate to arbitrate its conflict with Itanos, first through the mediation of itinerant justices from Magnesia on the Maeander, later through a Roman commission headed by Q. Fabius. In 112 the consul Calpurnius Piso was instructed to resolve the dispute and reestablish the border between Itanos and Hierapytna. Rome was now an active player in the area, but it may not have been until the next century that troops were actually required there.  

In the 1st century B.C., Rome grew increasingly concerned as Crete, which had earlier supported Perseus in his wars against Rome, now supported Mithridates, supplying him with mercenaries, receiving his emissaries, and opening its ports to Pontic ships. These actions, along with the reappearance of Cretan piracy, provoked the Senate to demand the conquest of the island. An initial foray sent out in 77 B.C. met with disaster, but in 68 B.C. the consul Q. Caecilius Metellus landed on Crete with three legions. He undertook the complete subjugation of the island, conquering Kydonia in the west first, then moving east to destroy Knossos. The Cretan Ariston played a major role in the defense of the island, escaping in 67 to Hierapytna, where he led the final resistance against the Romans. Hierapytna was the last city to fall, and while the details of Metellus’ strategy in the conquest of the island are unknown, it is likely that he moved troops by land and by sea. To reach Hierapytna from Knossos, the easiest route would have taken him along the north coast of Crete to the isthmus of Hierapytna. Mochlos offered the best harbor at this point, and Metellus may well have established a camp here, or taken advantage of a preexisting one, to support his troops in their march across the isthmus to Hierapytna.

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a. Goblet P 942 from Prepalatial House 2

b. Amphora P 756 from Protopalatial deposit

c. Street between Blocks B and C with main entrance to Building B.2 on right, from north

d. One-handled cup P 648 from Protopalatial deposit

e. Building B.2, eastern wing: Room 2.2 with vestibule (Room 2.1) in foreground, from north

JEFFREY S. SOLES AND COSTIS DAVARAS: EXCAVATIONS AT MOCHLOS, 1992–1993
a. Lamp P 752 from vestibule

b. Room 2.2, basin, from south

c. Drain to street from basin, from east

d. LM IB cup fragments
   P 1011 from drain of basin

Building B.2

JEFFREY S. SOLES AND COSTIS DAVARAS: EXCAVATIONS AT MOCHLOS, 1992–1993
a. Pillar crypts with terrace, from east

b. Western pillar crypt, from north

c. Fragments of marine-style vase P 794 from western pillar crypt

Building B.2
a. Terrace and wall south of eastern wing, from south

b. Conical-cup lamp P 633 from area south of eastern wing
c. Conical-cup lamp P 673 from area south of eastern wing

d. Western wing from west

a. Bronze bowls CA 106–109, 111, 112 from Room 1.4

b. Bronze bowls CA 108, 109

c. Skull of young woman from basement room

JEFFREY S. SOLES AND COSTIS DAVARAS: EXCAVATIONS AT MOCHLOS, 1992–1993
a. Room 1.3 from south

b. Room 1.2 (left) and Room 1.1 (right) from south

c. Lamp S 130, Room 2.2

JEFFREY S. SOLES AND COSTIS DAVARAS: EXCAVATIONS AT MOCHLOS, 1992–1993
a. Foundry hoard

b. Double axes CA 46 and CA 47 at bottom of hoard

c. Rasp CA 52
d. Chisel CA 53
e. Chisel CA 54
a. House C.6, Rooms 1.1 and 1.2 in course of excavation, from east

b. Lamp S 168 from House C.7, Room 3
a. House C.7, Room 1, from northwest

b. Foundry hoard in House C.7, Room 1

c. Deposit of volcanic ash behind Building A on Mochlos Coast, from west

a. Mochlos Coast: kiln behind Building B in course of excavation, from south

b. Chalinomouri, Room 3, from southeast

c. View of LM III cemetery, from west

a. Contents of tomb *in situ*

b. Composite vase P 946

c. Bronze mirror CA 92 (left), bowl CA 87 (right)

d. Found inside bowl: bronze pin CA 93; gold-plated ring Au 1; and faience necklace F 58/Au 2

*Jeffrey S. Soles and Costis Davaras: Excavations at Mochlos, 1992–1993*
a. Contents of Tomb 11 in situ

b. Contents of Tomb 13 in situ

c. Pomegranate rhyta P 1116 and P 1065 from Tomb 13
a. Pyxis P 1074, view A, with skeleton inside from Tomb 13

b. Pyxis P 1074, view B

LM III cemetery

c. Tombs 13 (to left), 15 (center), and 16 (to right), from west

d. Tomb 15 with sarcophagus C 314 and other finds

a. Amphoroid krater P 1156 from Tomb 15

b. Stirrup jar P 1048 imported from Chania from Tomb 13

c. Rhyton P 1134 from Tomb 15

d. Rhyton P 1141 with case P 1140 from Tomb 15

LM III cemetery

a. LM III cemetery, Tomb 16, from south

b. View of skeleton inside P 1197 from Tomb 16

c. Head of Jupiter Serapis C 290 from Late Hellenistic fort

d. Late Hellenistic Building 1, Room 6, with beam press at rear, from west

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