

	'Landscape of Memory'	Cult	Iron Age Architecture	Findings and Features	Date
Crete	Knossos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Extensive ruins of the Palace and Central Court, which had remained unoccupied since the 'Collapse'.</li> <li>EIA settlement area amongst LM ruins to the west of the Palace.</li> <li>Reuse of LM tombs in North Cemetery.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cult in the West Wing of the former Palace, and in the SW corner of the Central Court.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ash</li> <li>Bones</li> <li>Krater</li> <li>Drinking vessels</li> <li>Animal figurines</li> <li>Bird askos</li> </ul>	PG?, MG, LG.
	Amnisos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ruins of the larger LBA structures, such as a Minoan villa and megaron likely to have remained prominently visible.</li> <li>44m ashlar wall at foot of Palaiochora Hill.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ash altar against and in front of the monumental LBA ashlar wall.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bronze tripods, vessels, discs, axe-blades, and a male figurine.</li> <li>Clay miniature shields, bull figurines, and chariot models.</li> <li>A limestone head, with bone and ivory eyes.</li> <li>Skyphoi, amphorae, kraters.</li> </ul>	PG, G.
	Phaistos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Geometric residential quarter constructed at the outer edge of the former palace.</li> <li>Prominent and monumental ruins of the former palace, which had been unoccupied since the LBA.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votive deposits at the foot of two ashlar walls in the southern part of the former palace.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bronze shields, tripods, and sheet.</li> </ul>	LG, EO.
	Agia Triada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Upper Court at Agia Triada was surrounded by the prominent ruins of the Final Palatial period, which had not been destroyed in the 'Collapse'.</li> <li>These included a stoa, a monumental staircase, a bench shrine, and Building ABCD, the function of which is uncertain.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votive offerings deposited against and in front of the remains of the LBA stoa, and on and around a Minoan monumental staircase.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bronze figurines: bovids, rams, wheels, sphinx, and humans.</li> <li>Terracotta figurines: bovids, horses, birds, rams, humans, and a mythical creature.</li> <li>Vase attachments: bovids, horses, rams, humans.</li> <li>Chariot and boat models.</li> <li>Terracotta miniature shields.</li> <li>Burnt bones.</li> <li>Kernos fragments.</li> </ul>	PG, G.
	Palaikastro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Extensive remains of the LM town, unoccupied since the 'Collapse'.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ash altar amongst the ruins of the LM town.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ash.</li> <li>Bronze tripods, shields, and lion and bull figurines.</li> <li>Cups, pyxis lids, jugs.</li> </ul>	PG, G, LG, EO.
	Kommos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Landscape dominated by the monumental remains of LM port town.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sanctuary amongst and reusing remains of monumental LM building.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rectangular Temple A, late 11th century, followed by Temple B on the same location in 8th century.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tripillar Shrine.</li> <li>Burnt wood.</li> <li>Figurines: two faience humans, one bronze horse.</li> <li>Phoenician amphorae.</li> <li>Faience vessels.</li> <li>Scarabs.</li> </ul>

Table 1: Crete: Summary of Evidence

	'Landscape of Memory'	Cult	Iron Age Architecture	Finds and Features	Date	
Argolid	Mycenae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The most monumental LH structures at Mycenae, such as the Lion Gate and the Cyclopean fortifications remained more or less intact.</li> <li>The palace was destroyed in the 'Collapse', but no subsequent occupation or constructions had obscured the mass of ruins.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cult activity on the summit of the citadel amongst and later over the ruins of the former palace.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two large terraces, North Terrace I, and shortly afterwards North Terrace II, built over the ruins of the former palace in the late 8th or early 7th century.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'Pie Ware': closed jugs and open vessels.</li> <li>Skyphoi, other 'bowls', jugs, and cups with conical feet.</li> <li>Bronze rings and an iron ring.</li> <li>A bronze disc.</li> <li>Broken iron nails.</li> <li>Bronze pins.</li> </ul>	PG, EG, LG, PC.
	Tiryns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The monumental Cyclopean fortifications remained intact and prominent, rising above the flat surrounding land.</li> <li>The Upper Citadel was a mass of calcined ruins on the highest part of the citadel.</li> <li>The 12th century Building T was at the heart of the former palace, probably in a semi-ruined state.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votive offerings deposited in a bothros on the Upper Citadel.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No new structures but a proposed reoccupation of Building T and an altar on the Upper Citadel.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Miniature bowls.</li> <li>Skyphoi.</li> <li>Partially burnt vessels with pierced bottoms.</li> <li>Terracotta figurines of standing and seated women.</li> <li>Bronze rings, pins, and fibulae.</li> </ul>	LGII, SGI.
	Asine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barbouna Hill was embedded with and surrounded by fifty LH chamber tombs.</li> <li>The slopes of Kastraki were covered with the remains of the LH Lower Town which had not been extensively reoccupied.</li> <li>From the main EIA settlement area in the plain the peaks were dominant features of the landscape.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Funerary ritual (1) in the Lower Town.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Three circles, measuring 0.5-0.8cm in diameter, made up of groups of stones.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Animal bones.</li> <li>Ash.</li> <li>Broken pottery.</li> </ul>	SM.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Funerary ritual (2) on Barbouna Hill.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Three circles, measuring 1.0-1.5m in diameter, made up of groups of stones.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burnt soil.</li> <li>Ash.</li> <li>Animal bones.</li> <li>Amphorae, oinochoai, skyphoi, one-handed cups, and a large krater.</li> <li>A stone axe.</li> </ul>	LG, PC.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'Building sacrifices' (1) on Barbouna Hill.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deposits next to a new fortification wall.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kraters, an amphora, and a cup that acted as a lid for the amphora.</li> </ul>	LG.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'Building sacrifices' (2) on Kastraki.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deposits next to a new fortification wall.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Large decorated amphora, a kantharos, oinochoai, skyphoi, cups.</li> </ul>	LG.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sanctuary on Barbouna Hill.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A curved wall belonging to an apsidal building.</li> <li>Two-roomed rectangular building, with benches lining the walls of the back room.</li> <li>The building was located on a flat area that was partly built terrace and partly natural plateau.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pyxides, kraters, jugs, and bowls associated with the apsidal building.</li> <li>A lead 'Apollo-type' figurine, clay human figurines, and ash associated with rectangular building.</li> </ul>	G, LG, PC.
	Argos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Larissa, the peak overlooking the town, was the fortified citadel of LH Argos. In the absence of any evidence of destruction it is likely that Cyclopean fortifications survived.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Votive deposit on the Larissa citadel peak.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Krater, oinochoai, cups, skyphoi, kotylai, aryballoi, pyxides, and kalathoi.</li> <li>Pottery decoration included horses, fish, and people carrying branches.</li> <li>Miniature cups.</li> <li>Bronze rings and fibulae.</li> <li>Bronze horse figurine.</li> <li>Iron axes and spearheads.</li> <li>Terracotta pomegranates.</li> <li>Glass droplet.</li> <li>Faience figurine of Egyptian god Bes.</li> </ul>	LG, PC.
Argive Heraion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Substantial or extensive architecture lacking in the Bronze Age. Some traces of LH houses are the only indication of possible visible ruins in the EIA.</li> <li>Fifty LH chamber tombs in the slopes to the north and west of the site. The nearest tomb to the sanctuary site was over 100m away.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Major sanctuary.</li> <li>Thousands of votive items.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monumental 'mock-Mycenaeen' terrace with Cyclopean masonry.</li> <li>Proposed shrine building, though no trace remains.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ceramic humanoid and animal figurines.</li> <li>Bronze animal figurines.</li> <li>Bronze rings, arm rings, and earrings.</li> <li>Bronze tripods.</li> <li>Numerous bronze pins and fibulae.</li> <li>Terracotta building model.</li> <li>Kalathoi, skyphoi, pyxides, 'bowls', small jugs, pinakes, trays, plates, and amphorae.</li> </ul>	PG, G, LG, PC, SG.	

Table 2: The Argolid: Summary of Evidence

		'Landscape of Memory'	Cult	Iron Age Architecture	Finds and Features	Date
Attica	Athens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>LH terraces on the Acropolis as well as extensive monumental fortifications.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sanctuary on the Acropolis.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two poros stone bases.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decorated pottery with figured scenes, and a pierced plaque.</li> <li>Bronze tripods.</li> <li>Bronze human and horse figurines.</li> </ul>	LG.
	Eleusis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Substantial and prominent ruins of a building complex centred around the LH Megaron B.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cult activity amongst the ruins of the Megaron B complex, and then at a retaining wall supporting the ruins of the earlier buildings.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Retaining walls in two phases of construction supporting the ruins of the Megaron B complex.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two pot handles in the shape of a gryphon head and a bird.</li> <li>Amongst the ruins: ash, burnt soil, and carbonised wood.</li> <li>A further sacrificial pyre with ash, carbonised wood, and charcoal.</li> <li>Burnt, handmade, 'bird-faced' figurines.</li> <li>Gold sheet, spirals, rings, earrings (one decorated with a golden pomegranate), and a hair ring.</li> <li>Conical oinochoai, aryballoi, and an 'aryballos-shaped' oinochoe.</li> <li>Pierced and burnt terracotta plaques.</li> </ul>	LG, LGII, PC, SG.

Table 3: Attica: Summary of Evidence

	Drinking Vessels	Ash/Burning	Bones	Animal Figurines	Human Figurines	Bronze small finds	Large bronze items	Gold	Other metal	Glass	Miniatures	Weapons or military imagery	Imports	Other
Knossos	x	x	x	x										
Amnisos	x	x		x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x
Phaistos							x					x		
Agia Triada		x	x	x	x	x					x	x		x
Palaikastro	x	x		x			x					x		
Kommos		x		x	x	x							x	x
Mycenae	x					x			x					
Tiryns	x	x			x	x					x			
Asine (1)	x	x	x											
Asine (2)	x	x	x									x		
Asine (3)	x													
Asine (4)	x													
Asine (5)	x	x			x				x					
Argos	x			x		x			x	x	x	x		x
Argive Heraion	x			x	x	x	x							x
Athens	x			x	x	x	x							x
Eleusis	x	x		x	x			x						x

Table 4: Summary of Finds and Features

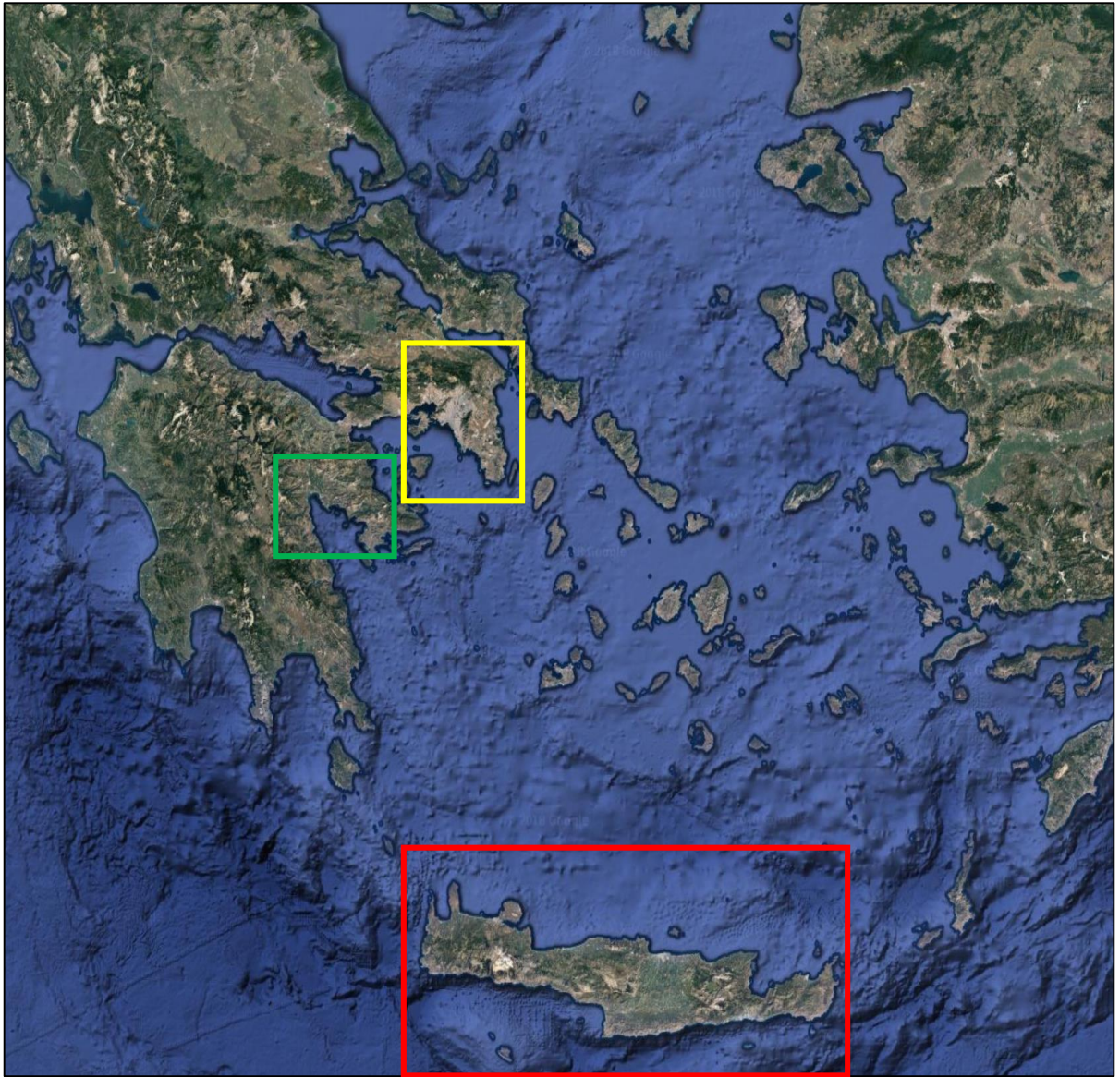


Fig. 1: Greece, with Crete (red), the Argolid (green), and Attica (yellow) marked (after Google Earth 2018).

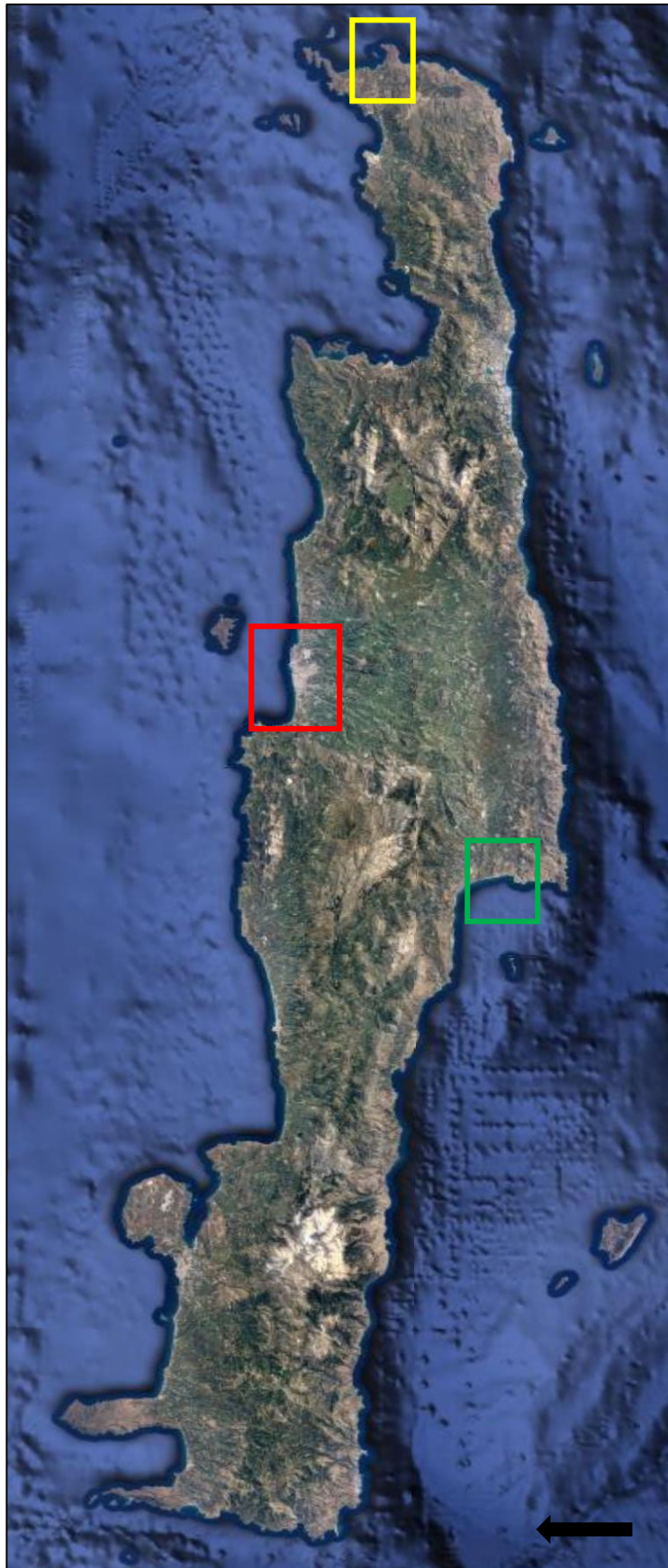


Fig. 2: Central and East Crete, with the locations of Knossos and Amnisos (red), Phaistos, Agia Triada, and Kommos (green), and Palaikastro (yellow) marked (after Google Earth 2018).

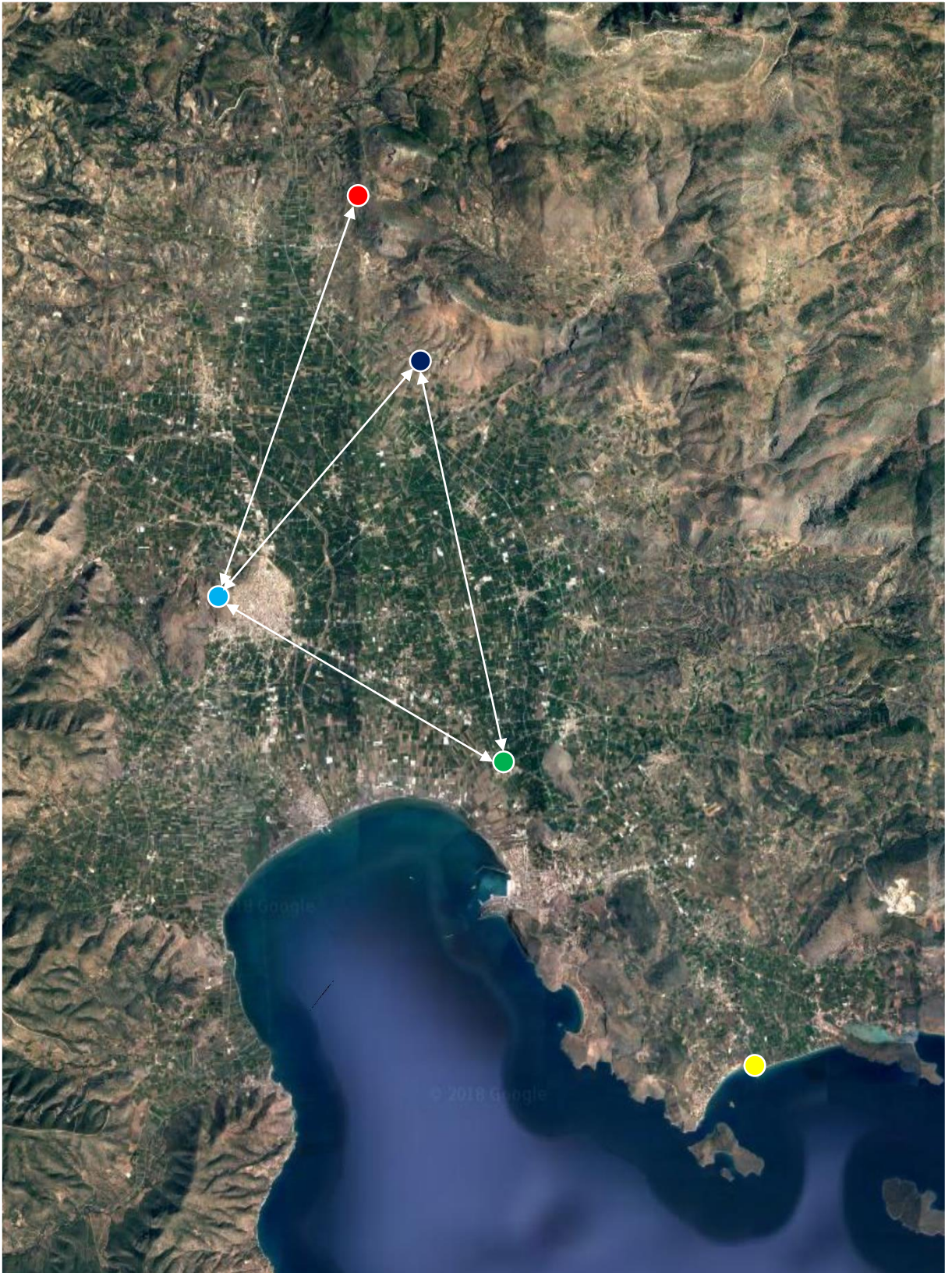


Fig. 3: The Argolid, with Mycenae (red), Tiryns (green), Asine (yellow), Argos (light blue), the Argive Heraion (dark blue), and lines of mutual visibility (white) marked (after Google Earth 2018). For scale, the distance between Mycenae and Tiryns is 15.3km.

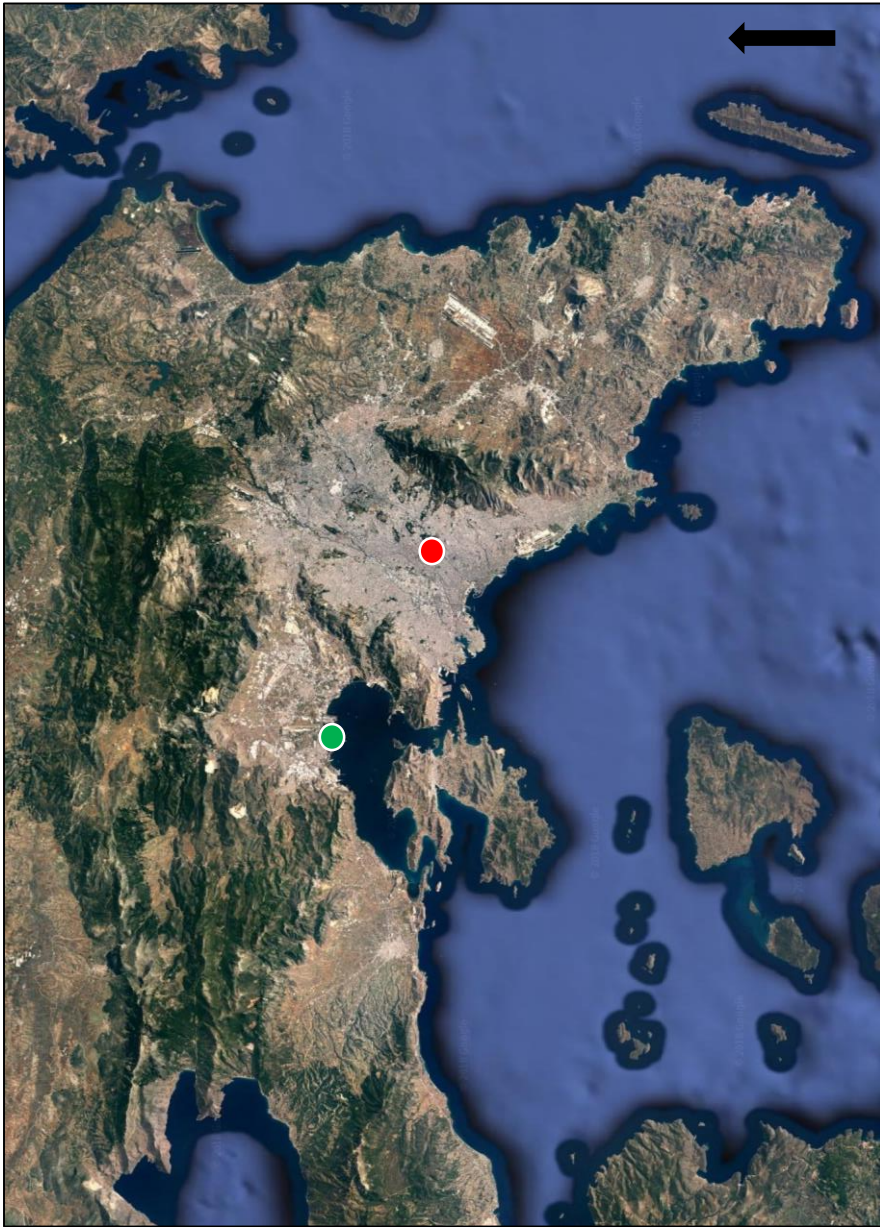


Fig. 4: Attica, with the Acropolis (red) and Eleusis (green) marked (after Google Earth 2018). For scale, the distance between the two sites is 17.7km.

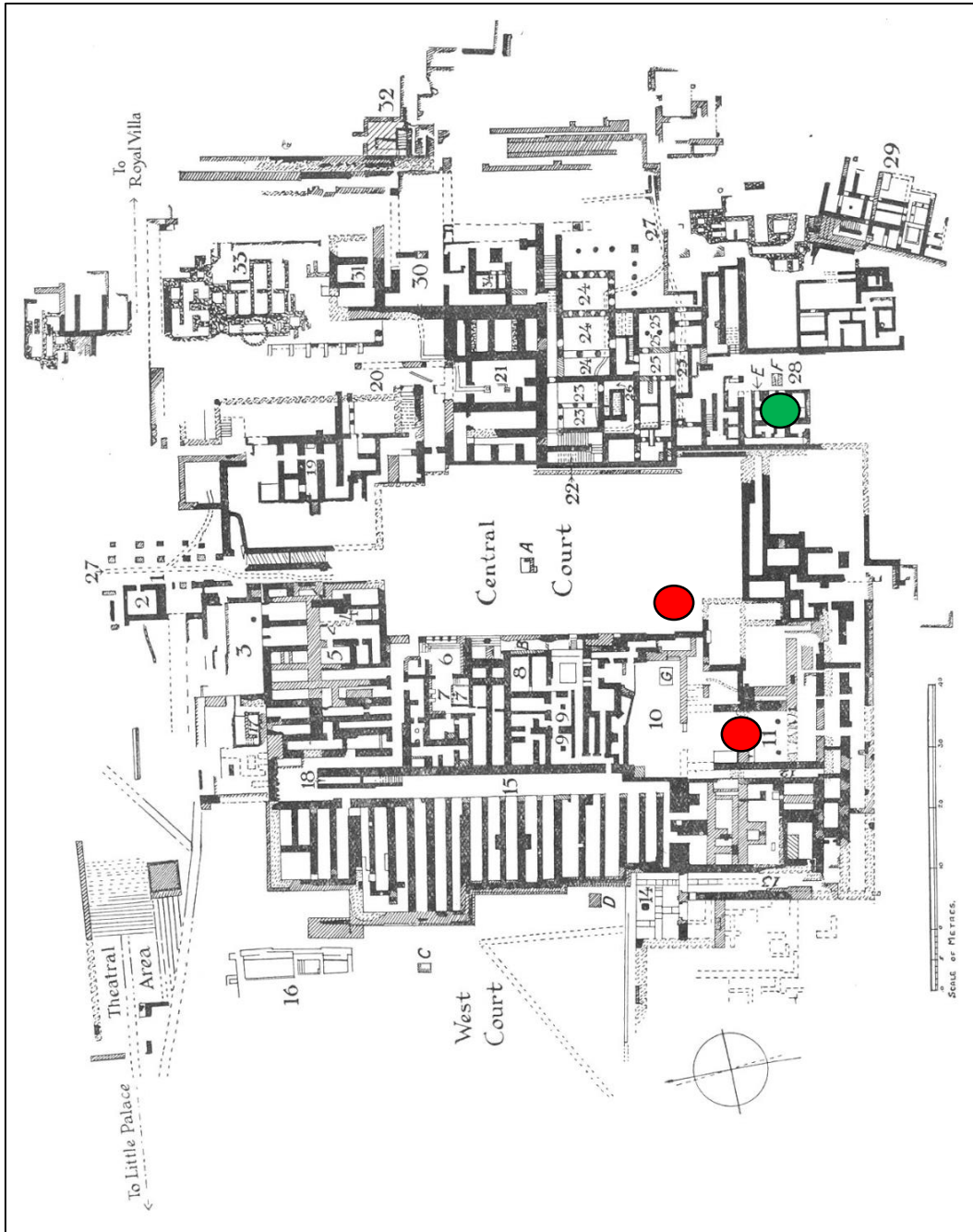


Fig. 5: Palace of Knossos with locations of Iron Age cult activity (red) and the Shrine of the Double Axes (green) marked (after Baikie 1910).

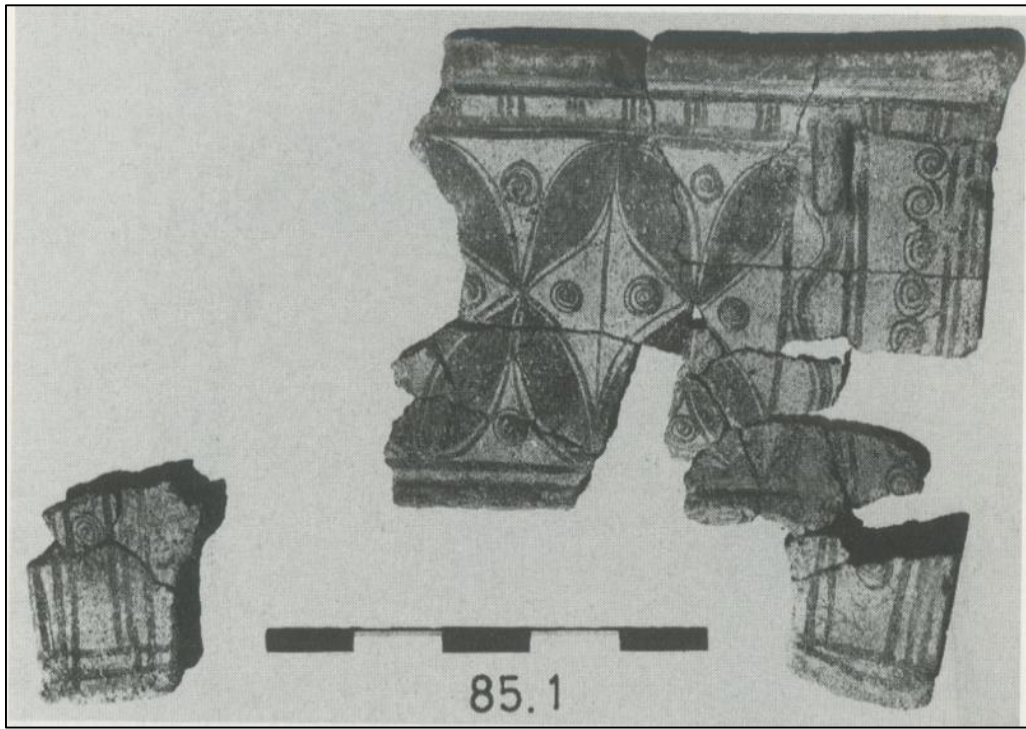


Fig. 6 (top): LMIIIB larnax reused in a LG burial in the Knossos North Cemetery (Coldstream and Catling 1996: Pl. 133).  
Fig. 7 (bottom): The cult assemblage in situ at the Shrine of the Double Axes (Evans 1928: 337).

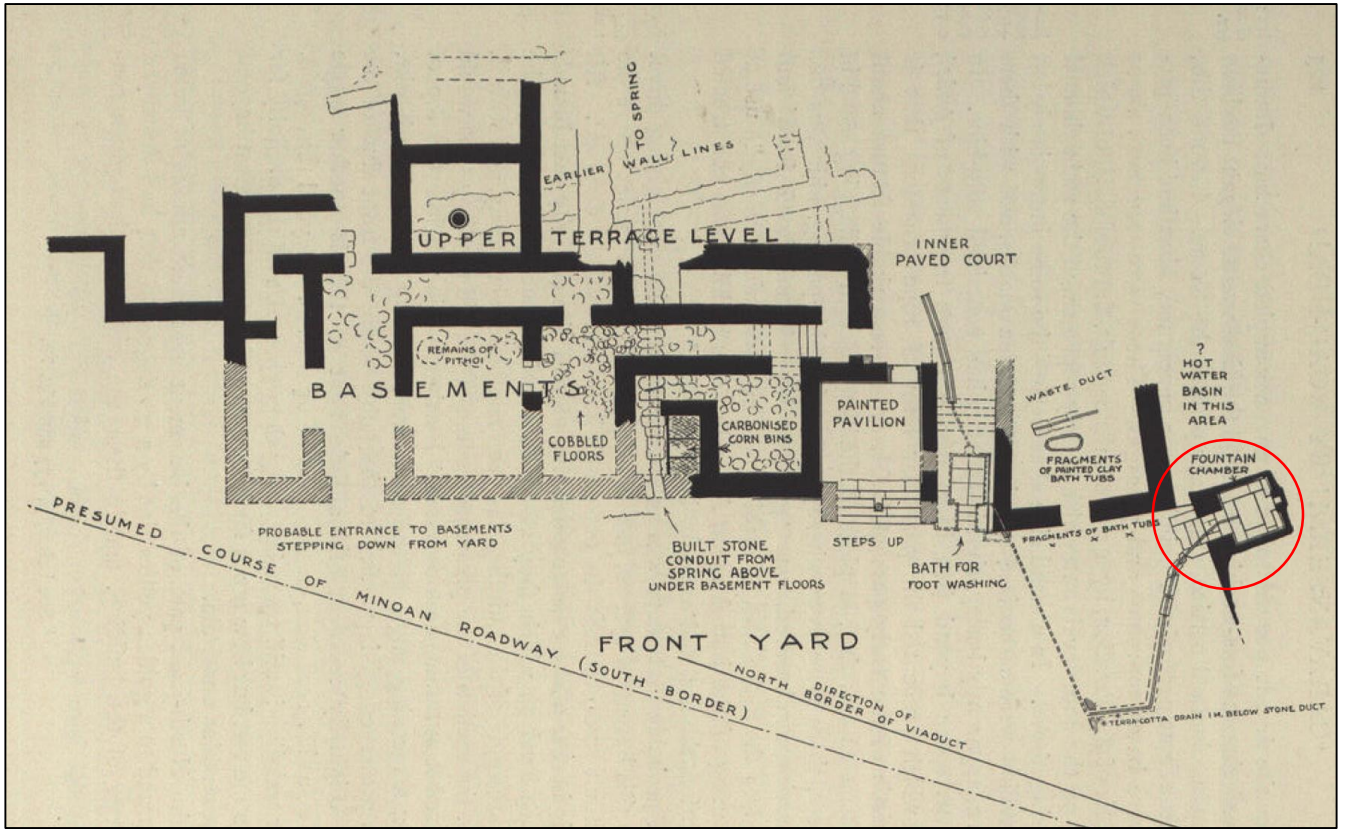


Fig. 8 (top): The Spring Chamber complex with the location of LMIIC-SM cult activity (red) marked (Evan 1928: Fig. 48).

Fig. 9 (bottom left): Kalathoi from the Spring Chamber, still containing remains of olives (Evan 1928: 134).

Fig. 10 (bottom right): A 12<sup>th</sup> century 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' within a cylindrical vessel from the Spring Chamber (Evan 1928: 129).

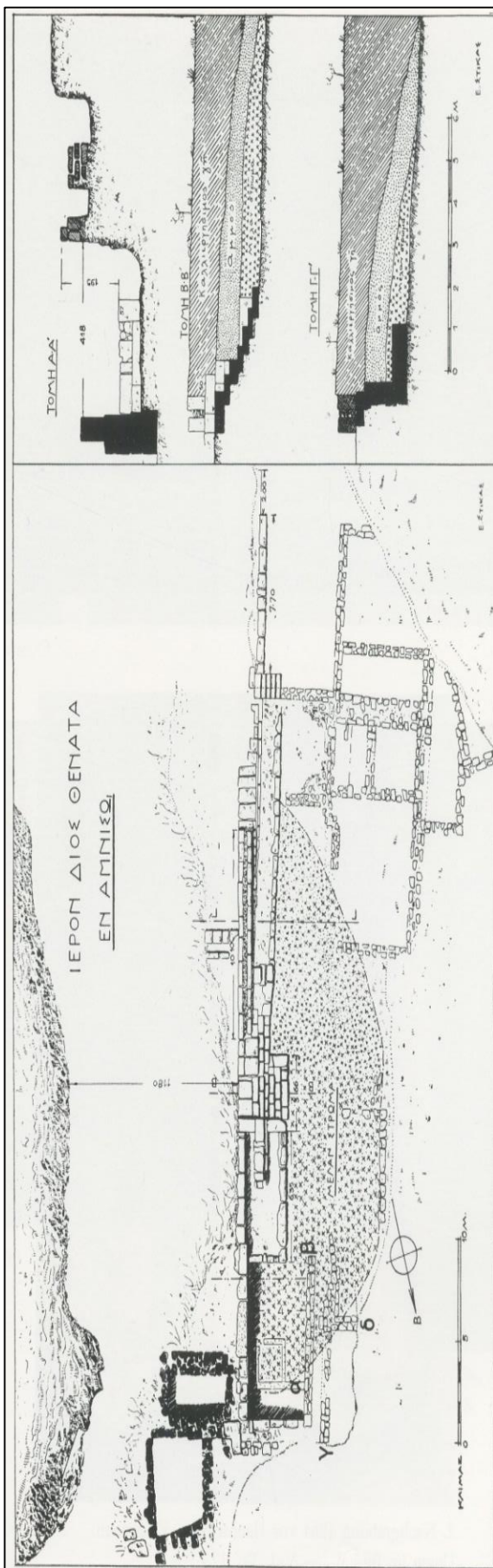
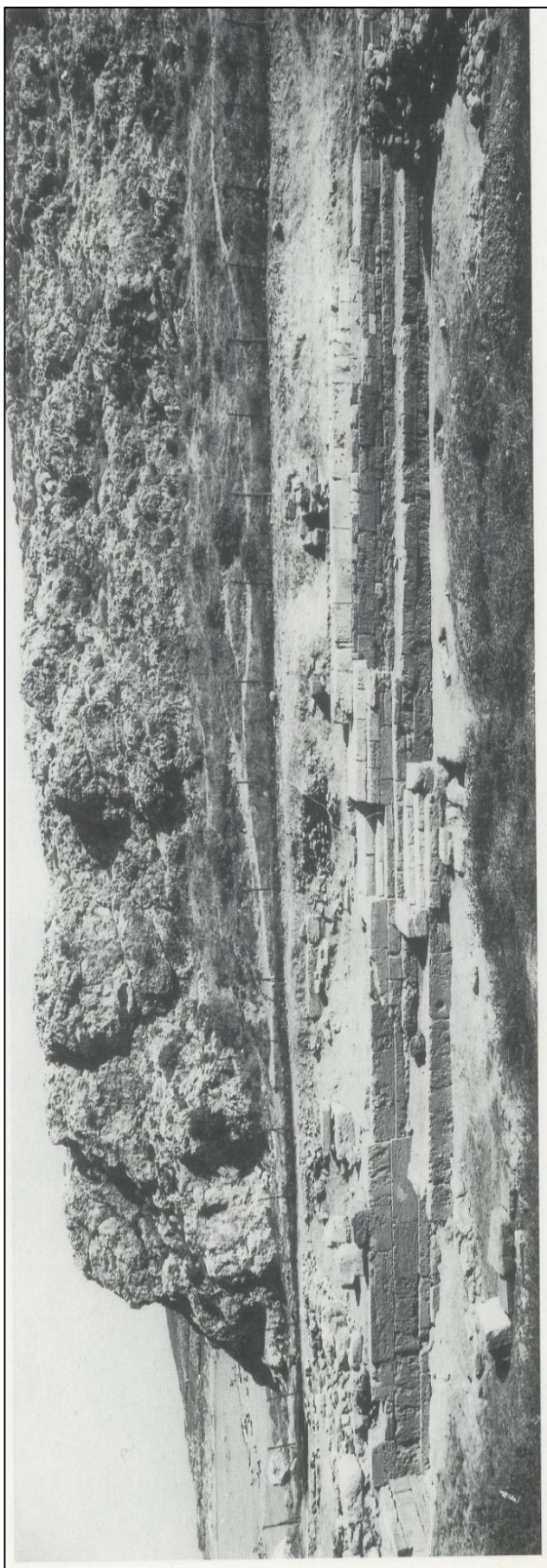


Fig. 11 (left): The monumental Middle-Late Minoan ashlar wall at Amnisos (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 30).  
 Fig. 12 (right): The ash altar (shaded) at the monumental ashlar wall at Amnisos (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 29).

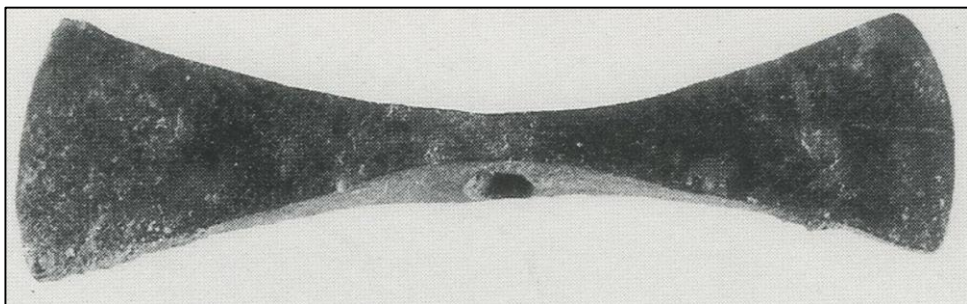
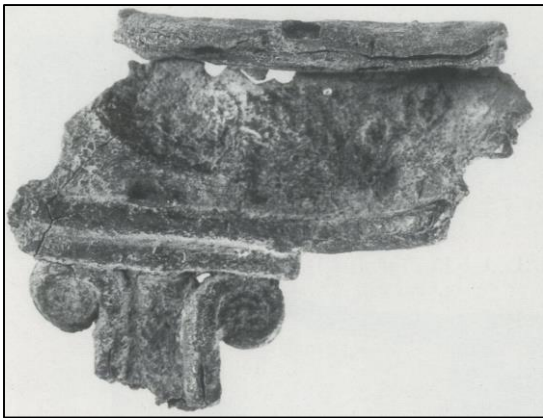
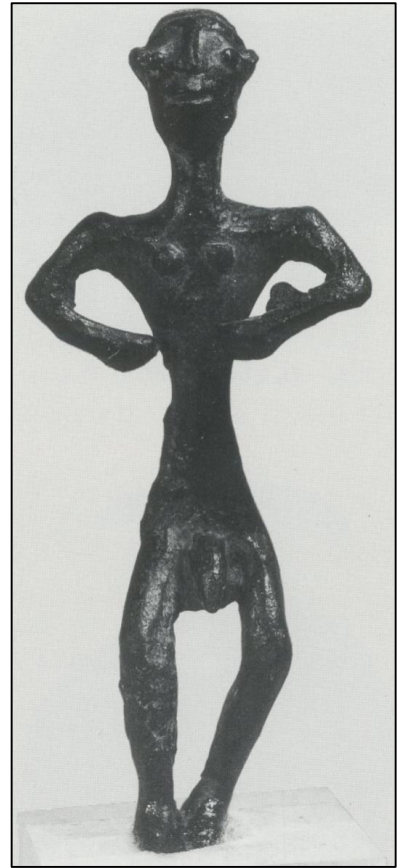
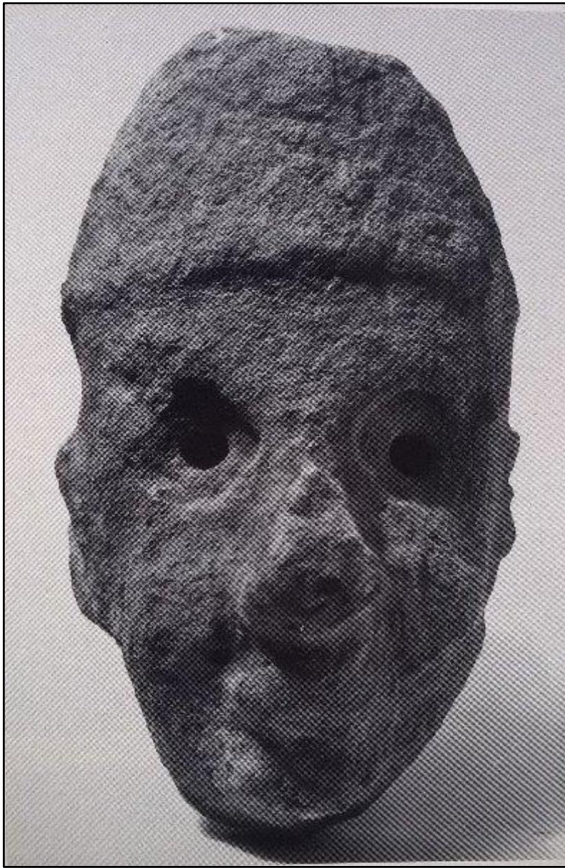


Fig. 13 (top left): A North Syrian limestone head found at Amnisis, height 17.0cm (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 81).  
Fig. 14 (top right): PGB-EG bronze figurine found at Amnisis, height 10.5cm (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 73).  
Fig. 15 (middle left): PG-EG bronze tripod fragment found at Amnisis, height 6.9cm (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 75).  
Fig. 16 (middle right): Wheel of a LG chariot model found at Amnisis, height 7.0cm (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 76).  
Fig. 17 (bottom): LM-LG bronze double-axe blade found at Amnisis, height 5.5cm (Schäfer 1992: Taf. 76).

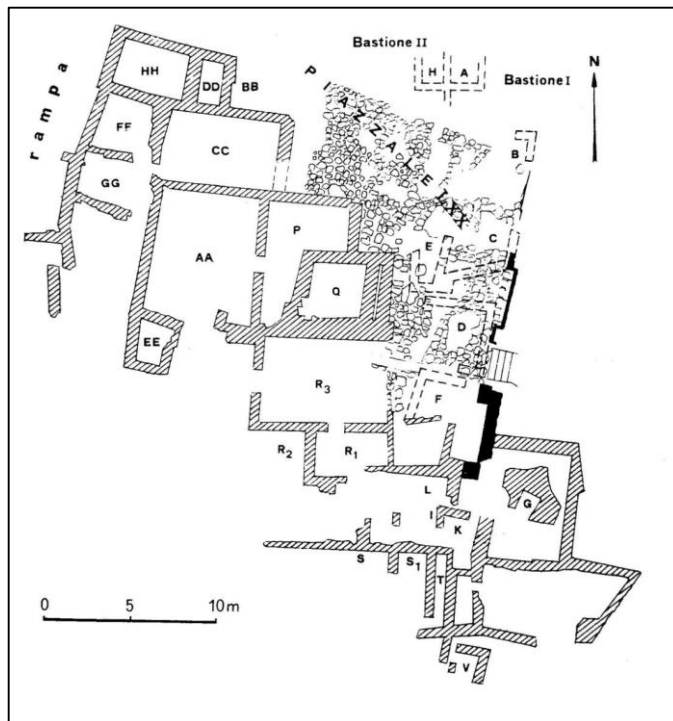
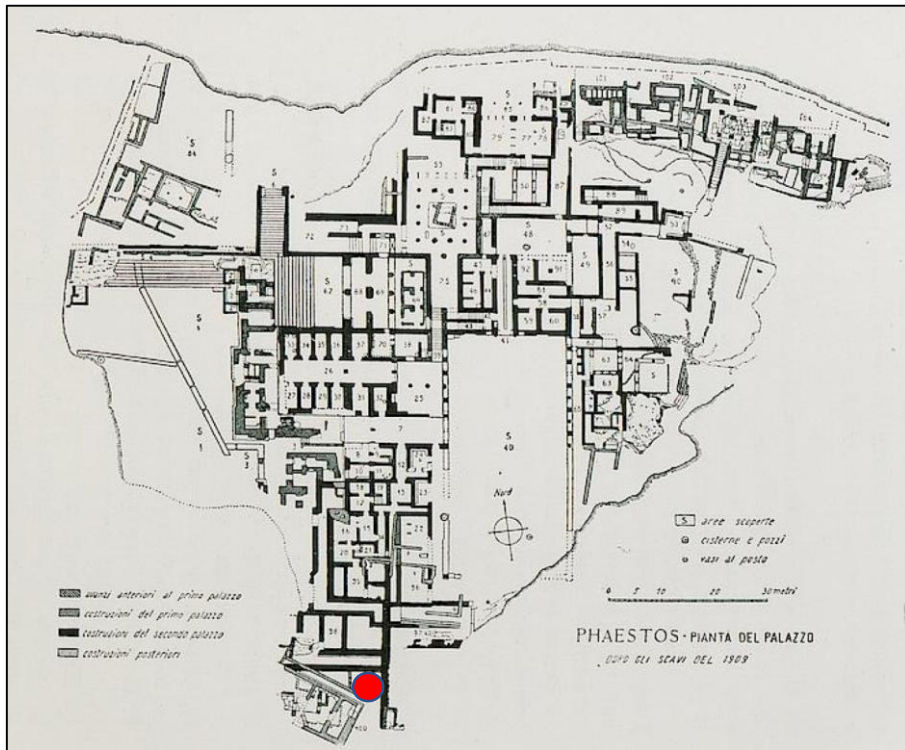


Fig. 18 (top): The Palace at Phaistos with the location of Iron Age cult activity (red) marked (Pernier 1935: 49).  
 Fig. 19 (bottom): The Geometric Quarter at Phaistos (Cucuzza 1998: 64).

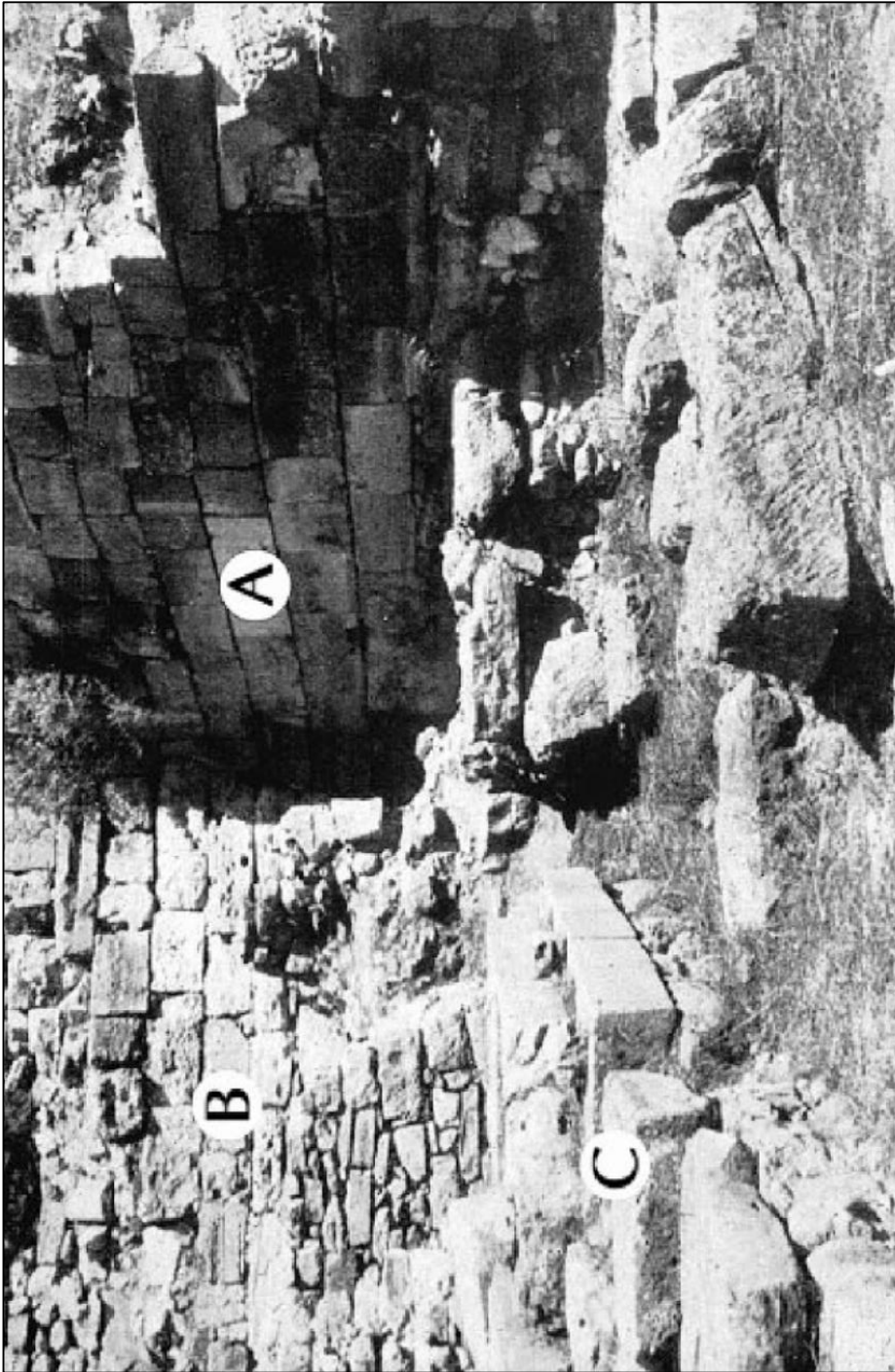


Fig. 20: Monumental ashlar walls ('A' and 'B') at Phaistos in front of which LG votives offerings were deposited (Pernier and Banti 1951: Fig. 83).

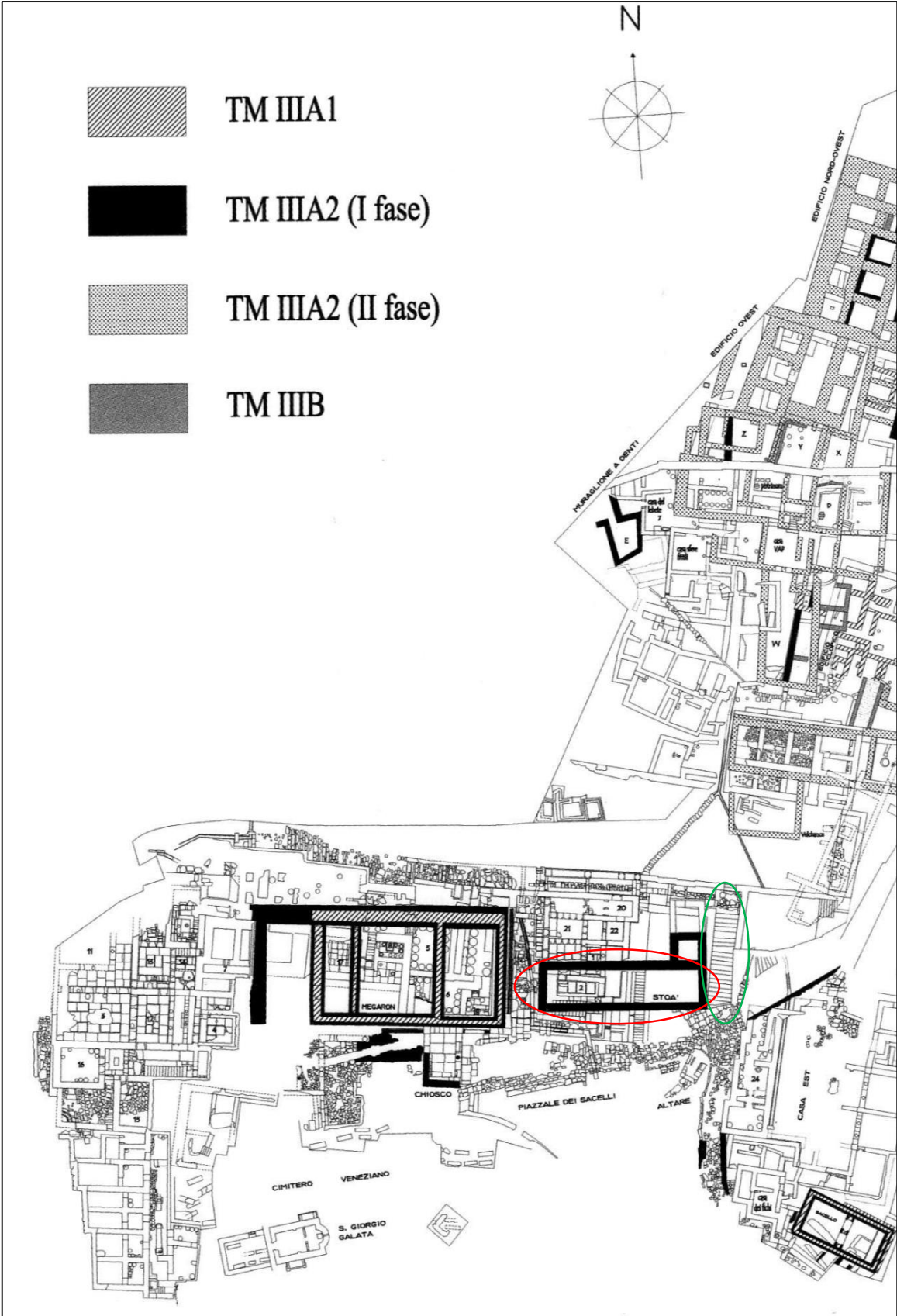


Fig. 21: LM Agia Triada with the stoa (red) and monumental staircase (green) marked (Cucuzza 2003: Fig. 2).

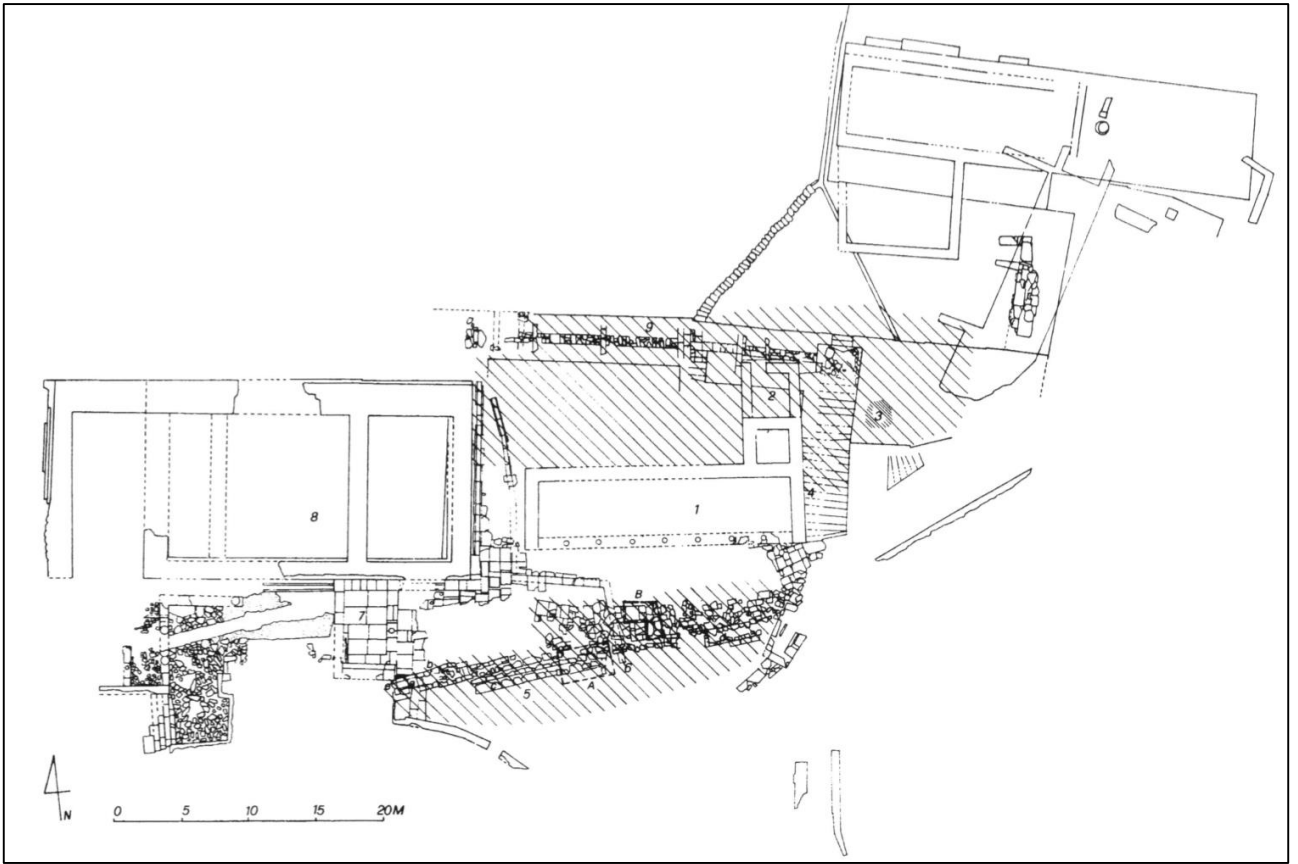


Fig. 22 (top): Votive deposits area (shaded) in front of and around the LM stoa and monumental staircase at Agia Triada (D'Agata 1998: 20).  
 Fig. 23 (bottom): Geometric clay human figurines deposited at Agia Triada, Scale 1:1 (D'Agata 1998: 22-23).

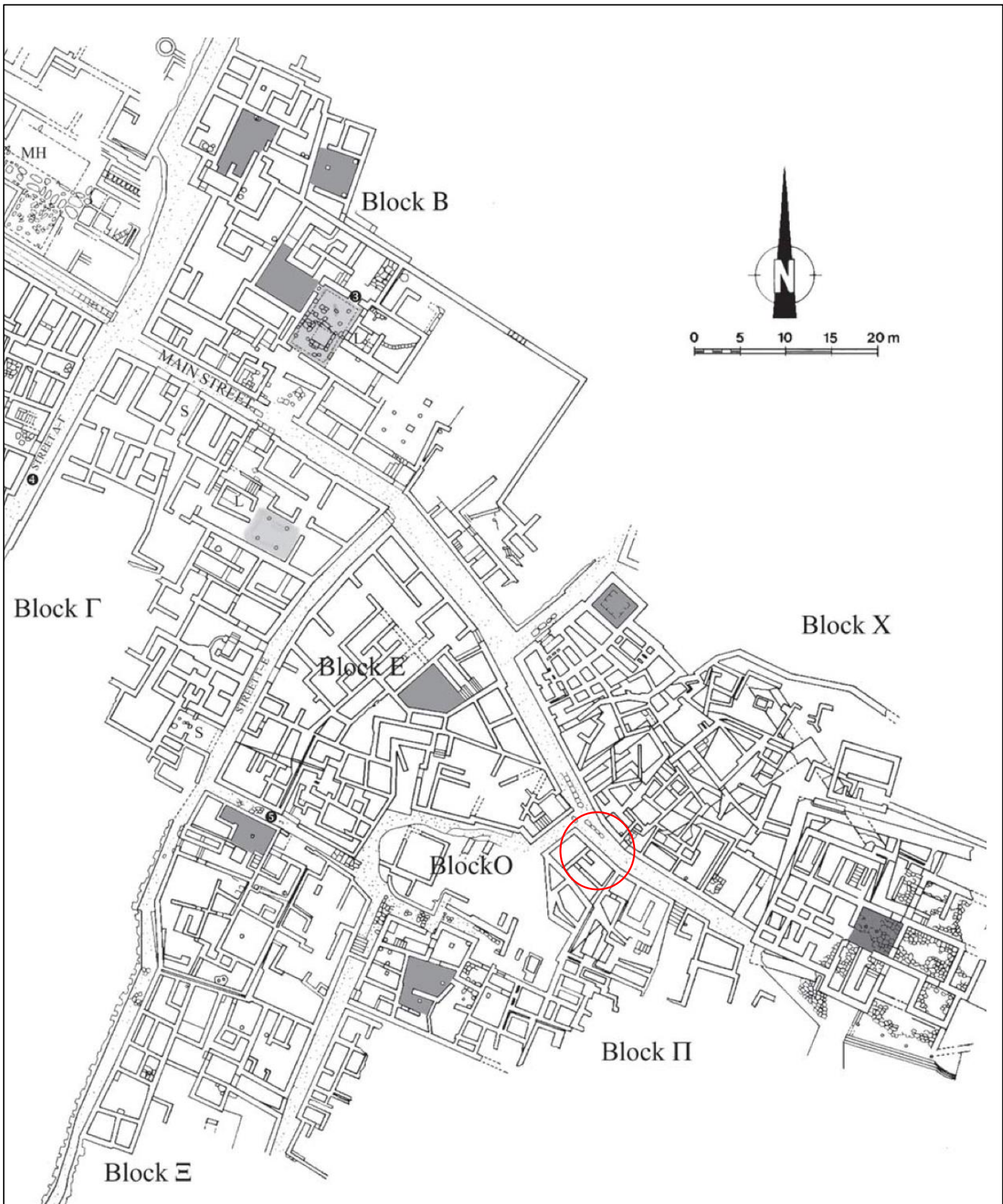


Fig. 24: South-eastern quarters of LM Palaiakastro with the location of the later ash altar marked (Cunningham 2007: 101).

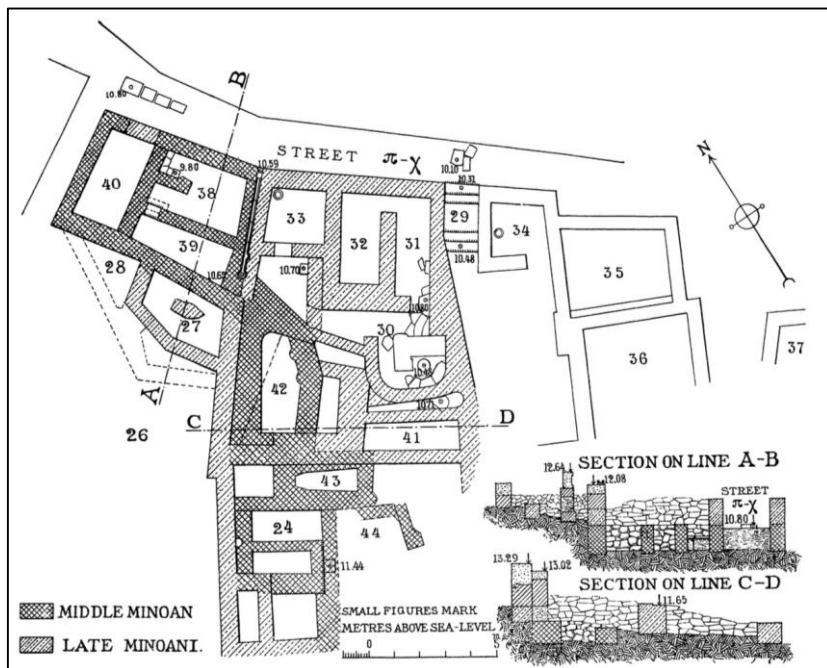
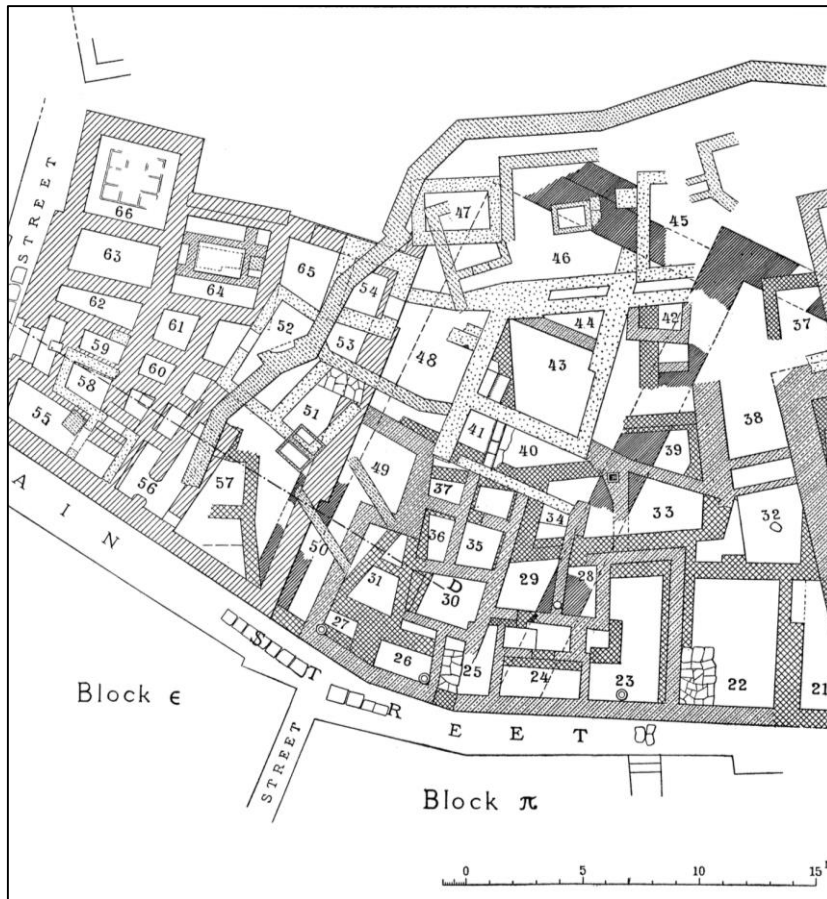


Fig. 25 (top): Block X at Palaikastro (after Dawkins, Hawes, and Bosanquet 1904-1905: Pl. X).  
 Fig. 26 (bottom): Block Π at Palaikastro (Dawkins, Hawes, and Bosanquet 1904-1905: Pl. XII).

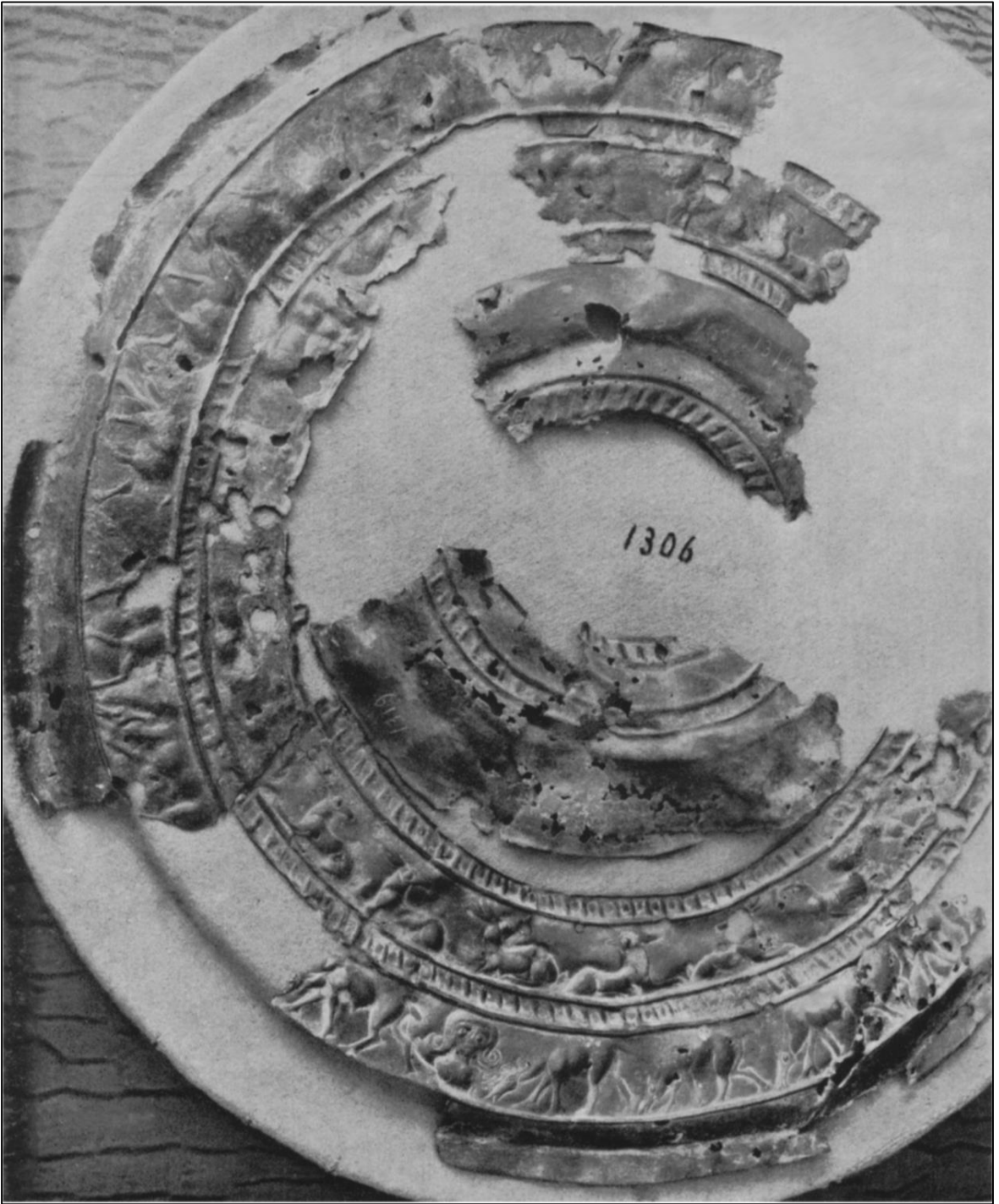


Fig. 27: LG-EO bronze shield from Palaikastro featuring a grazing deer frieze (Benton 1943: Pl. 24).

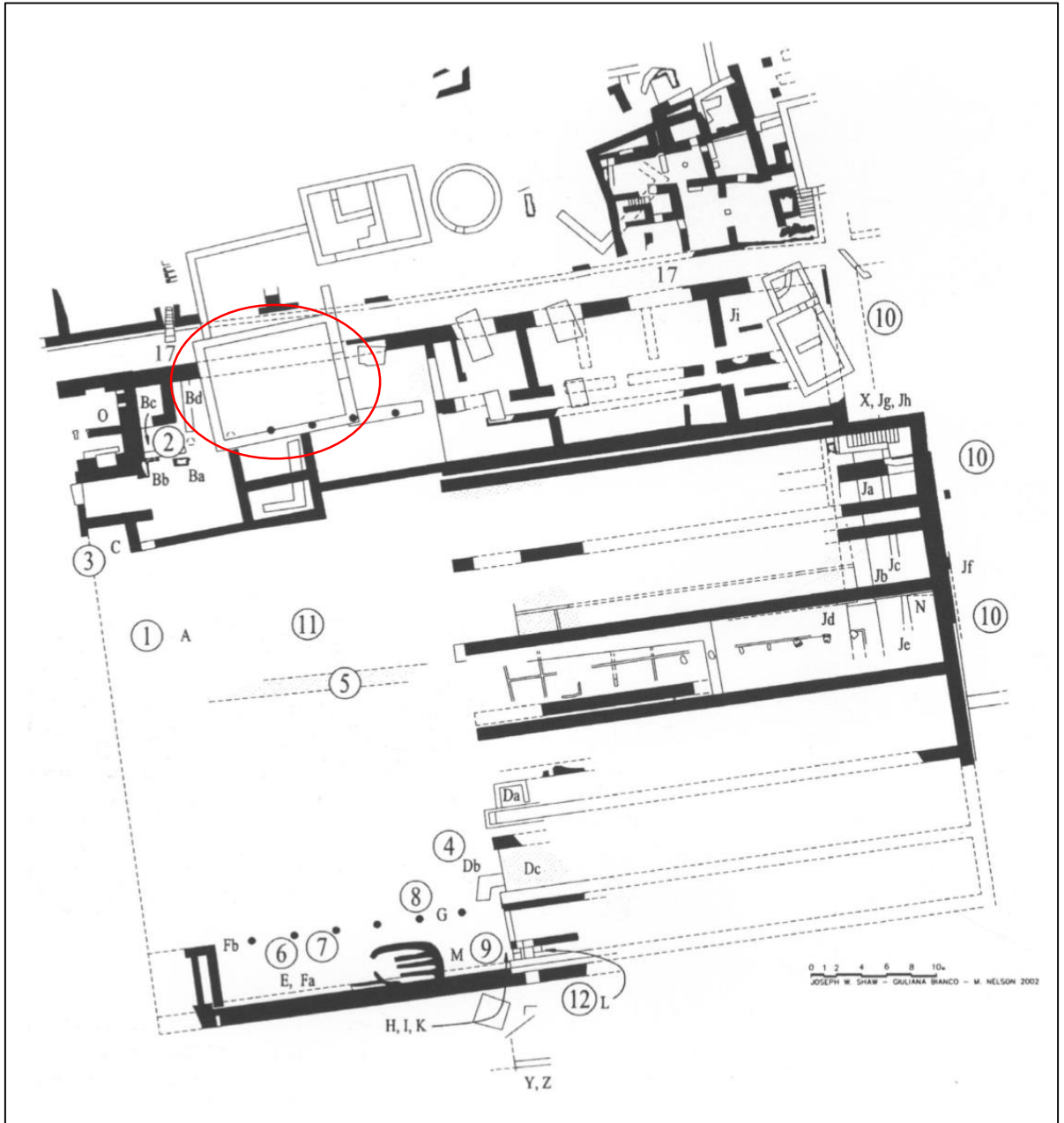


Fig. 28: MM Building T at Kommos with the location of the Iron Age temple marked (Shaw 2013: 138).

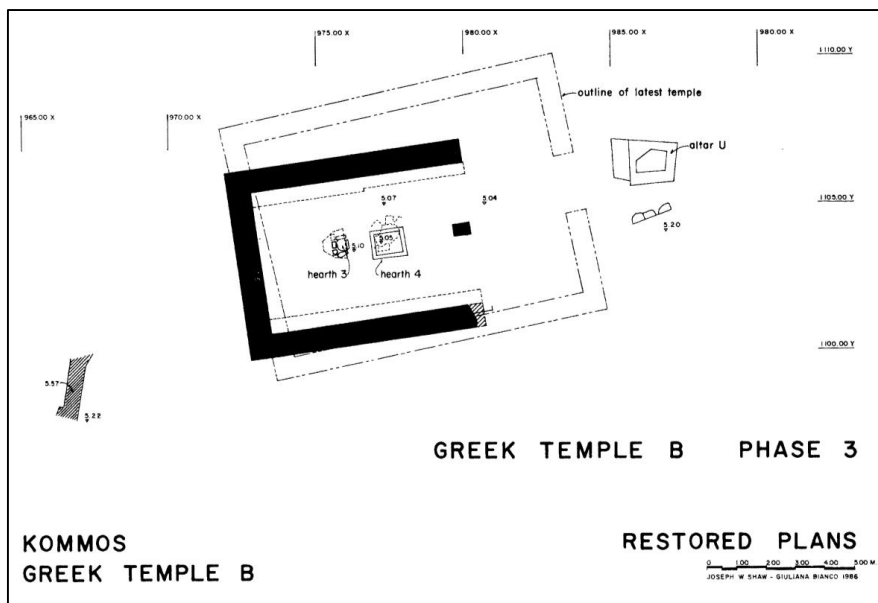
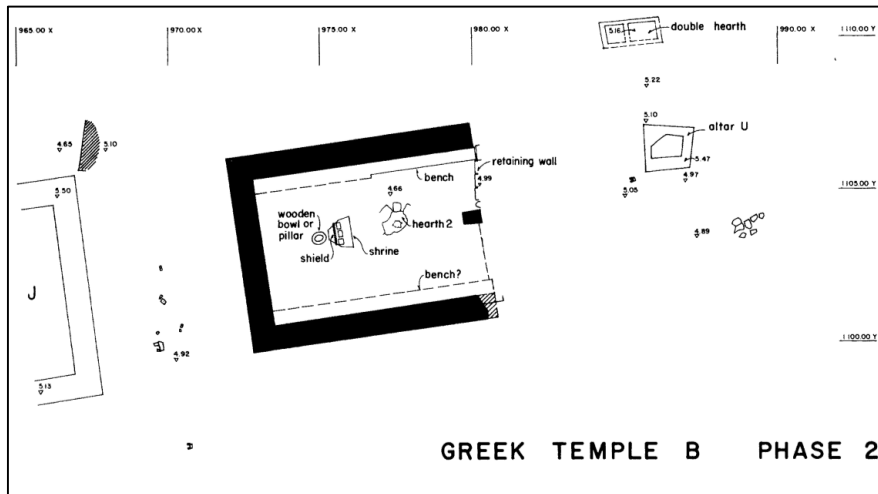
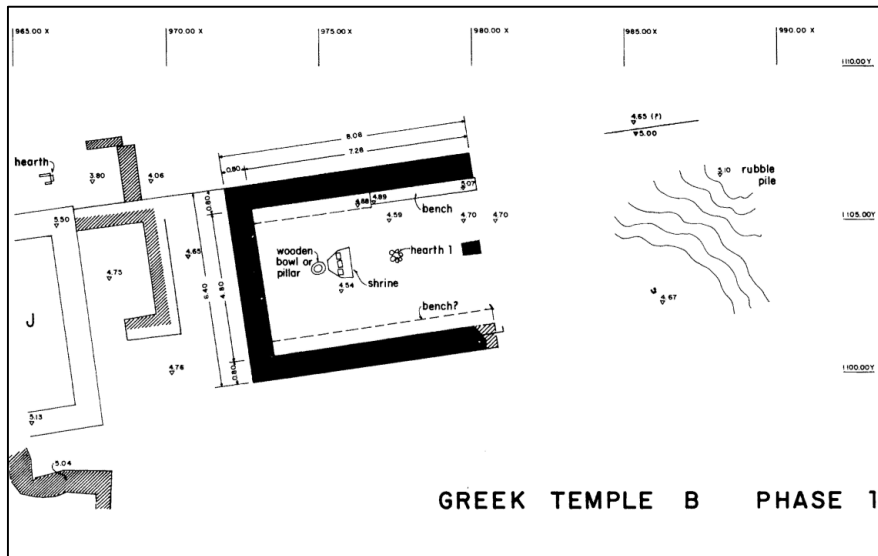


Fig. 29 (top): Temple B Phase 1, Kommos (Shaw 1989: 167).  
 Fig. 30 (middle): Temple B Phase 2, Kommos (Shaw 1989: 167).  
 Fig. 31 (bottom): Temple B Phase 3, Kommos (Shaw 1989: 167).

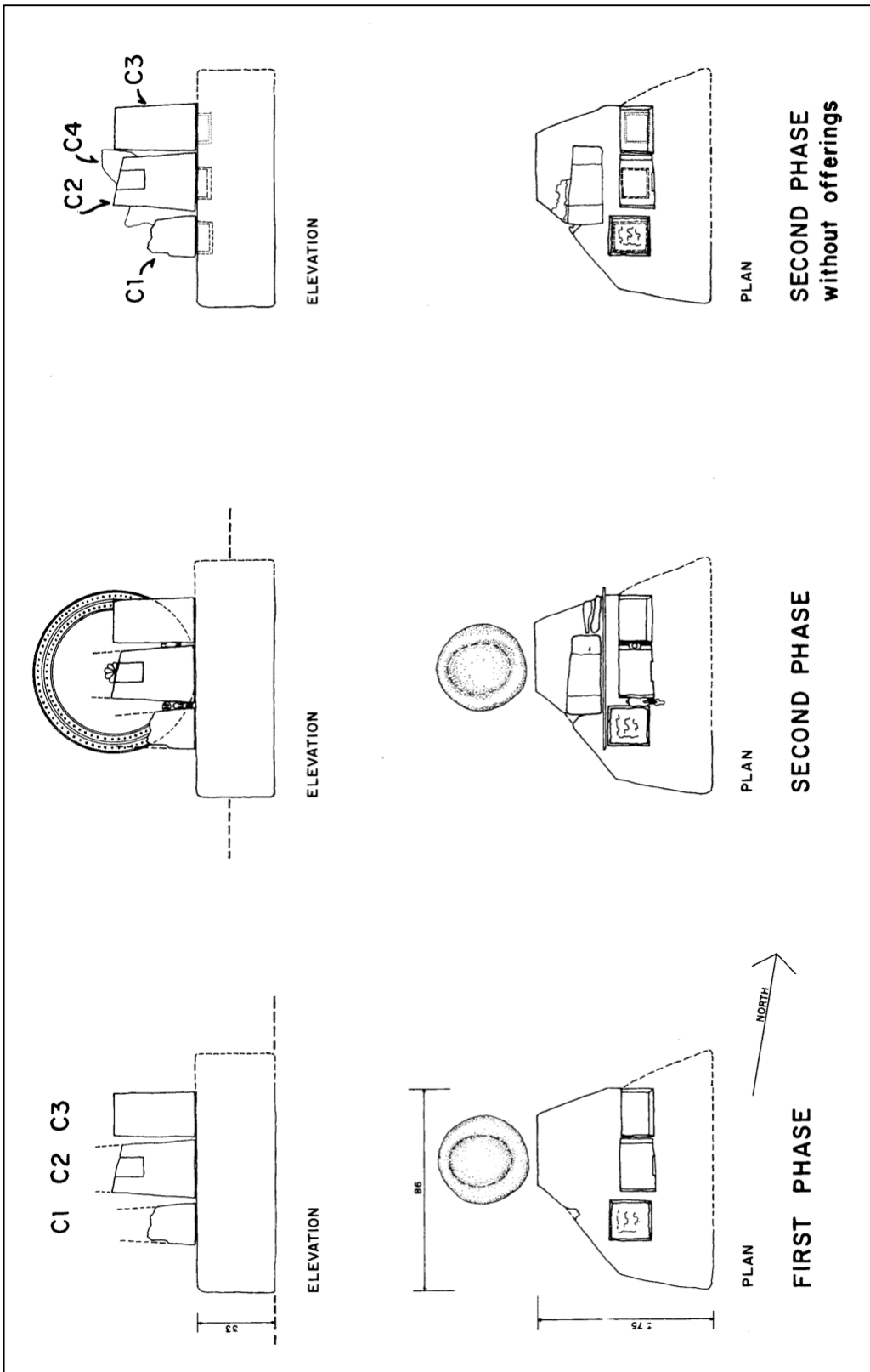


Fig. 32 : The Tripillar Shrine from Temple B at Kommos (Shaw 1989: 168).

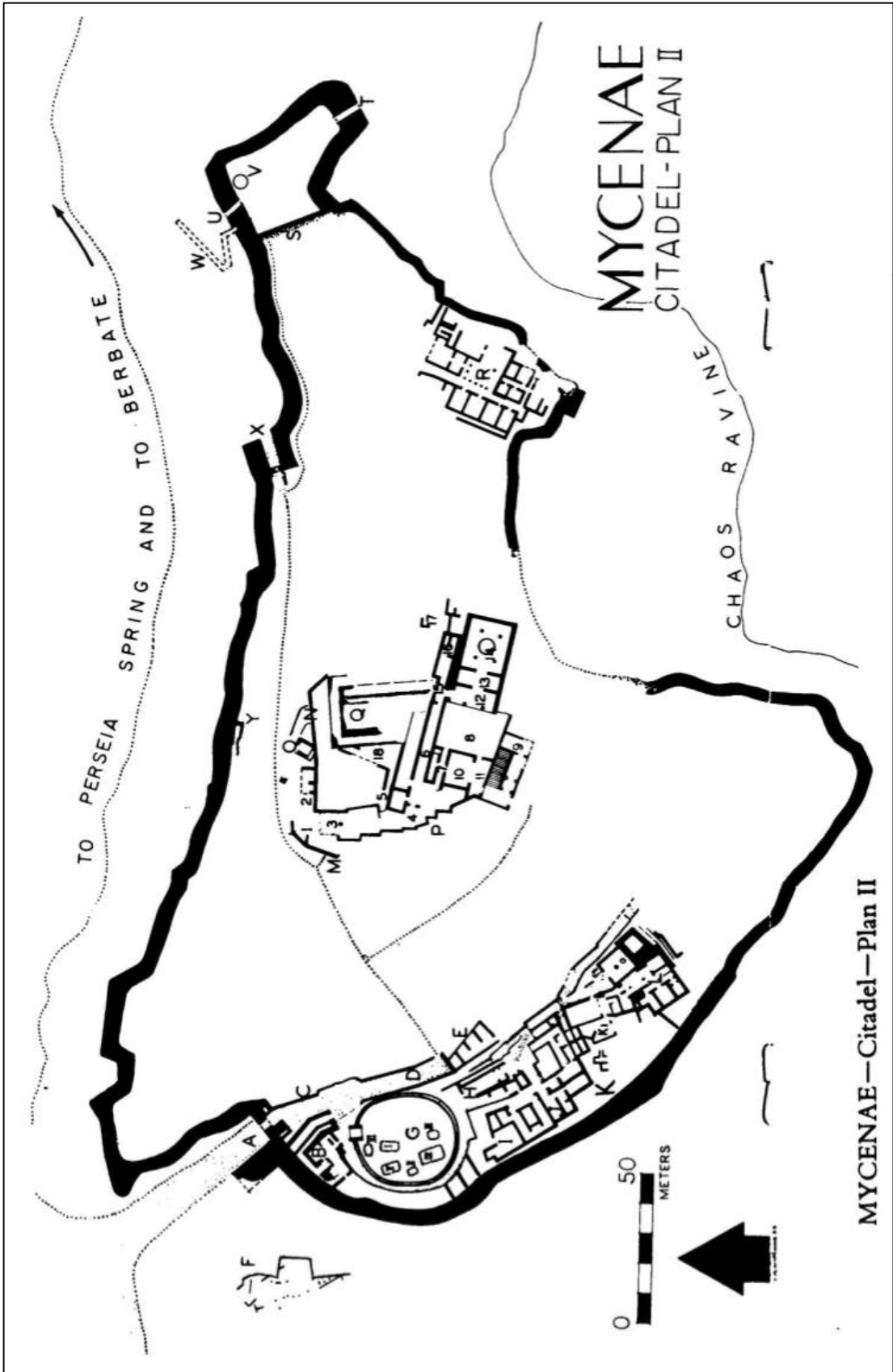


Fig. 33: The citadel of Mycenae (Wace 1980: X)

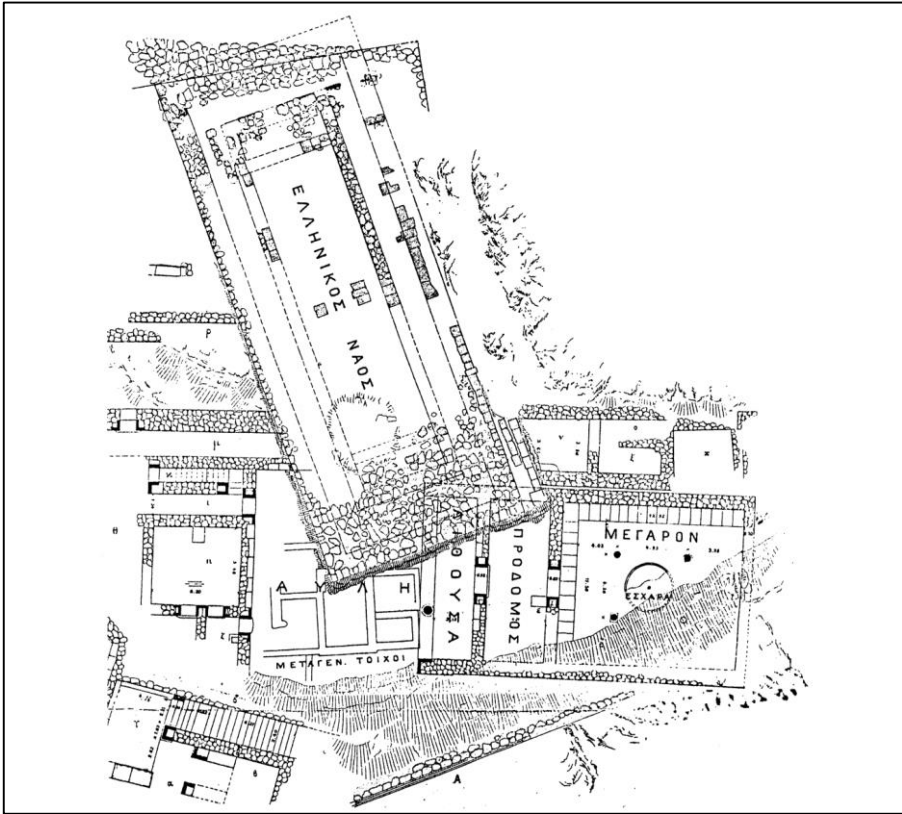


Fig. 34 (top): The Lion Gate at Mycenae (author's photograph).

Fig. 35 (bottom): The palace at Mycenae, partly covered by a Hellenistic temple (Klein 1997: 251).

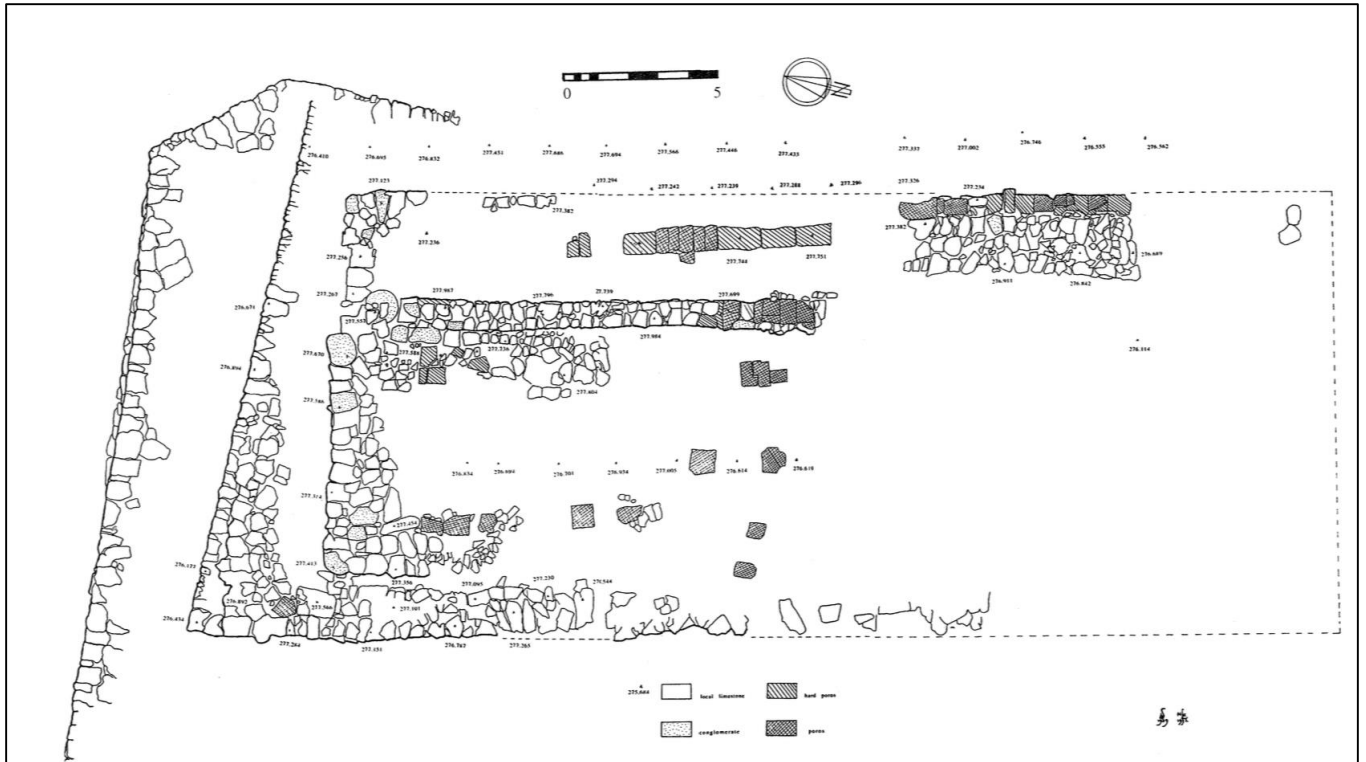
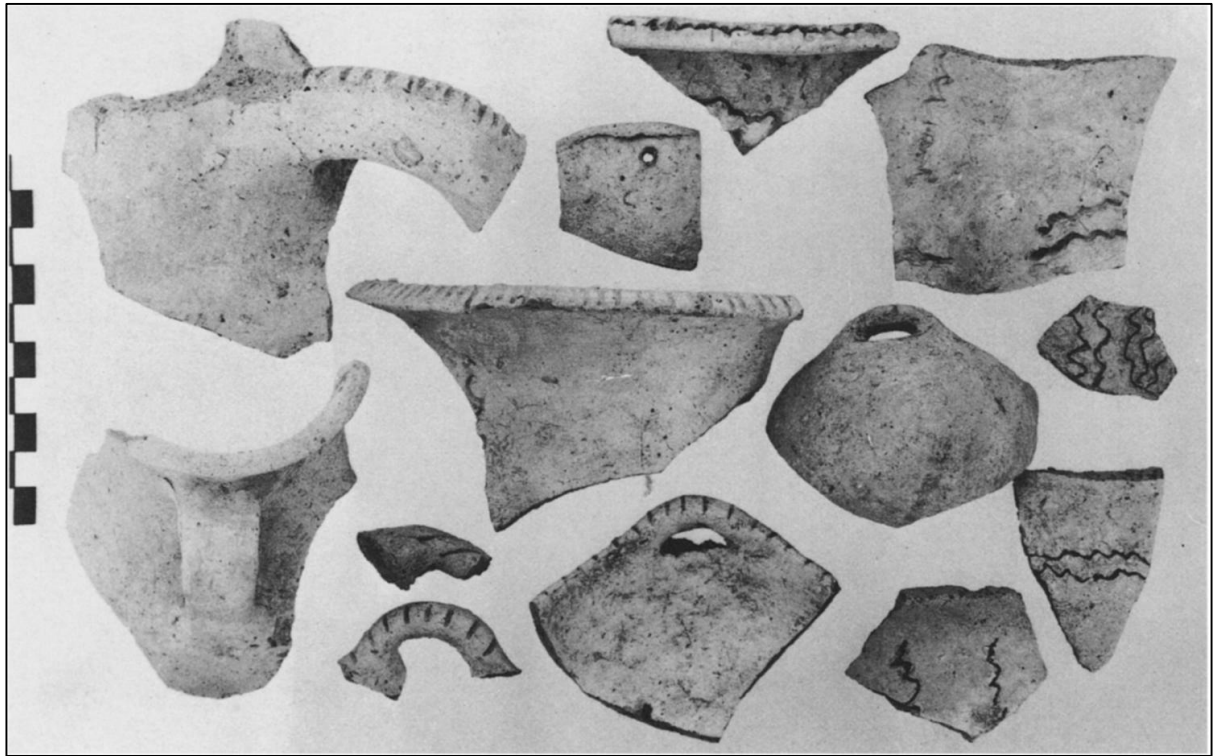


Fig. 36 (top): 'Pie ware' from Mycenae (Klein 1997: Pl. 51b).  
 Fig. 37 (bottom): Remnants of North Terrace I and North Terrace II at Mycenae (Klein 1997: 294).

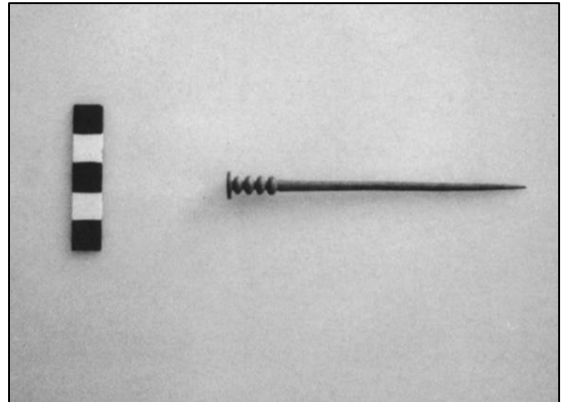
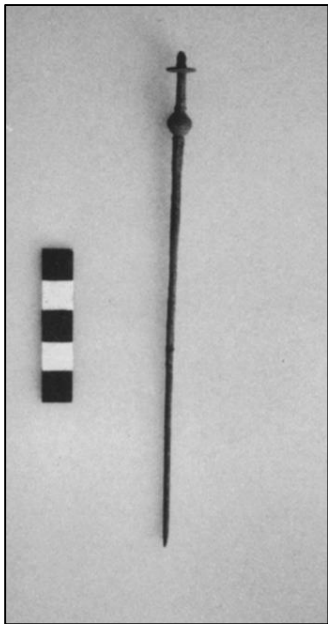
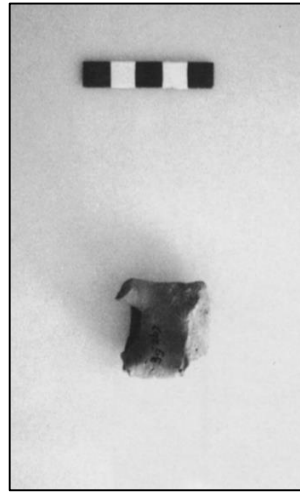


Fig. 38-39 (top): Iron Age figurine fragments from the citadel at Mycenae (Klein 1997: Pl. 59).  
Fig. 40 (bottom left): EG pin from the citadel at Mycenae (Klein 1997: Pl. 59).  
Fig. 41 (bottom right): LG pin from the citadel at Mycenae (Klein 1997: Pl. 59).

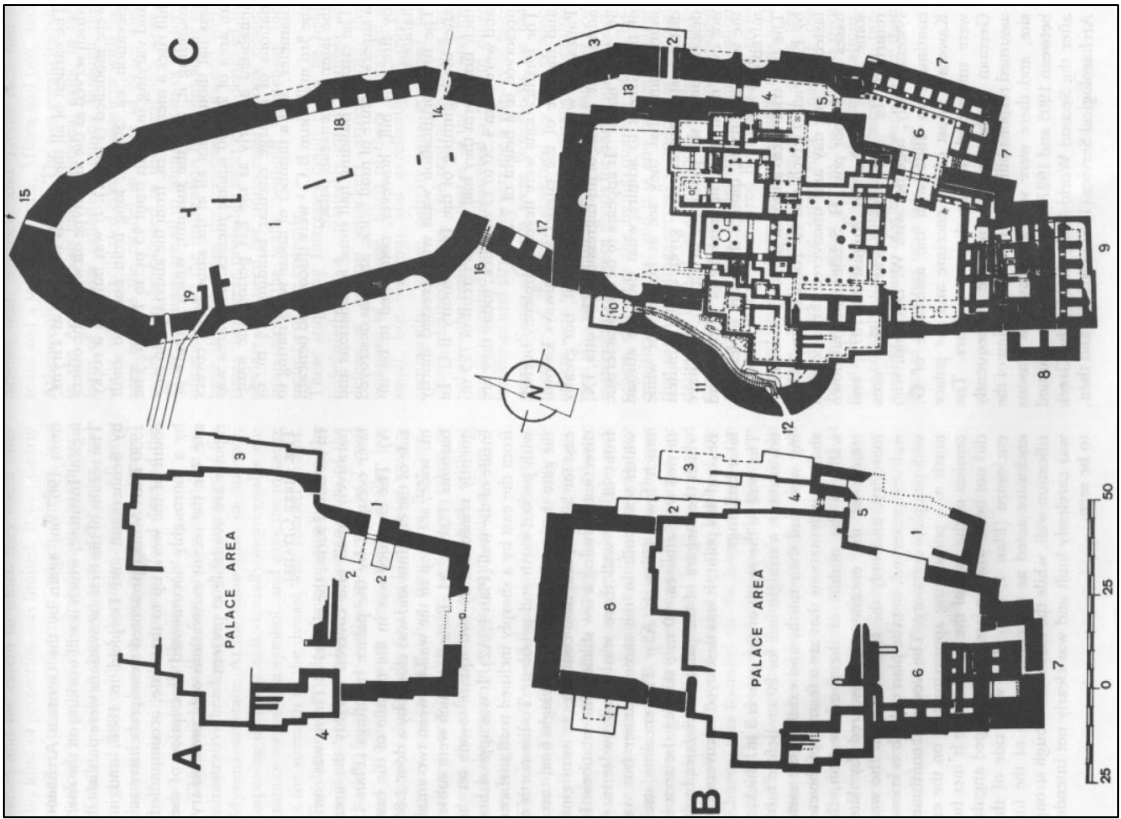


Fig. 42 (top): Development of the palace and citadel at Tiryns (Iakovidis 1983: 4).

Fig. 43 (bottom): The progression of thresholds from gate to megaron at Tiryns (Maran:2006: Taf. 13).



Fig. 44: A reconstruction of Building T standing amidst the ruins of the palace in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Joseph Maran).

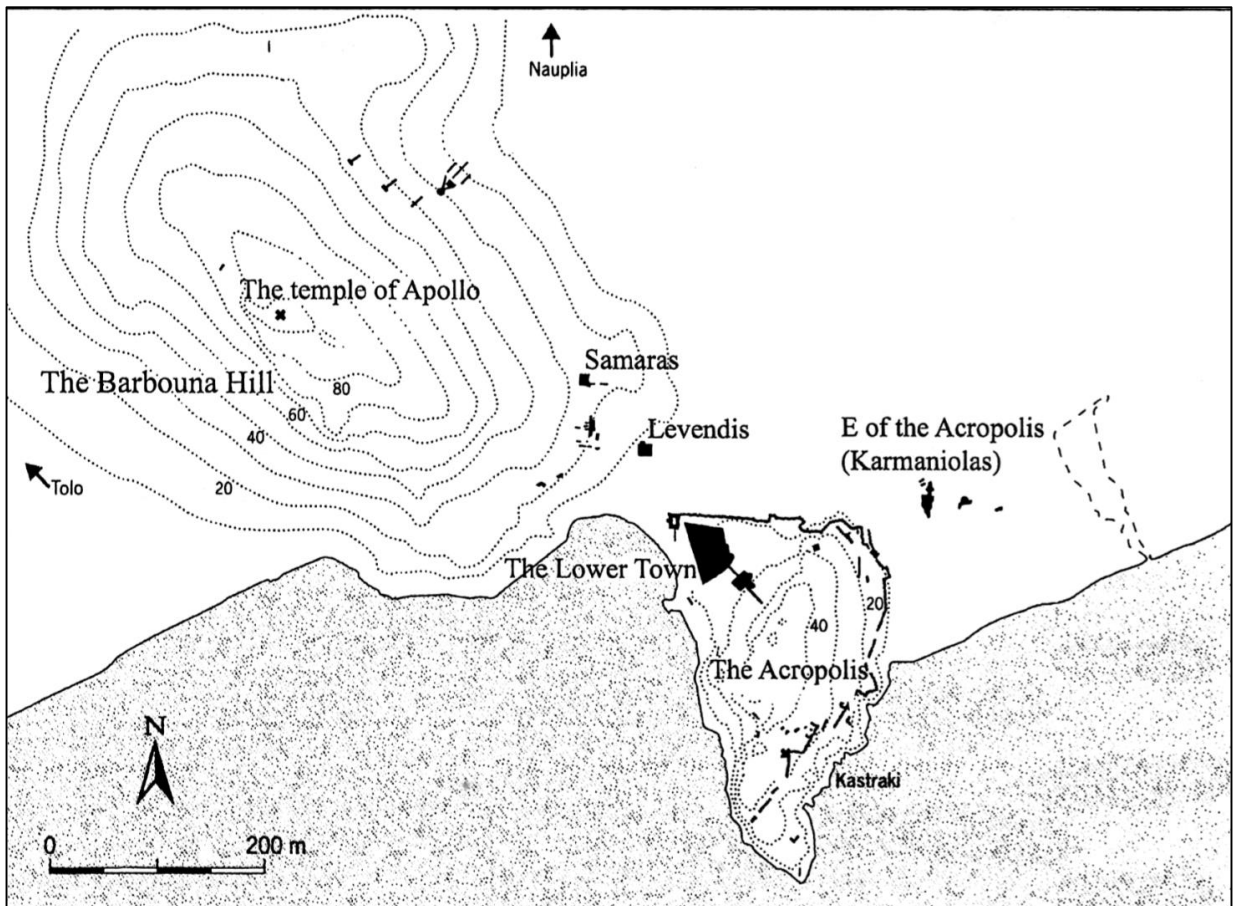
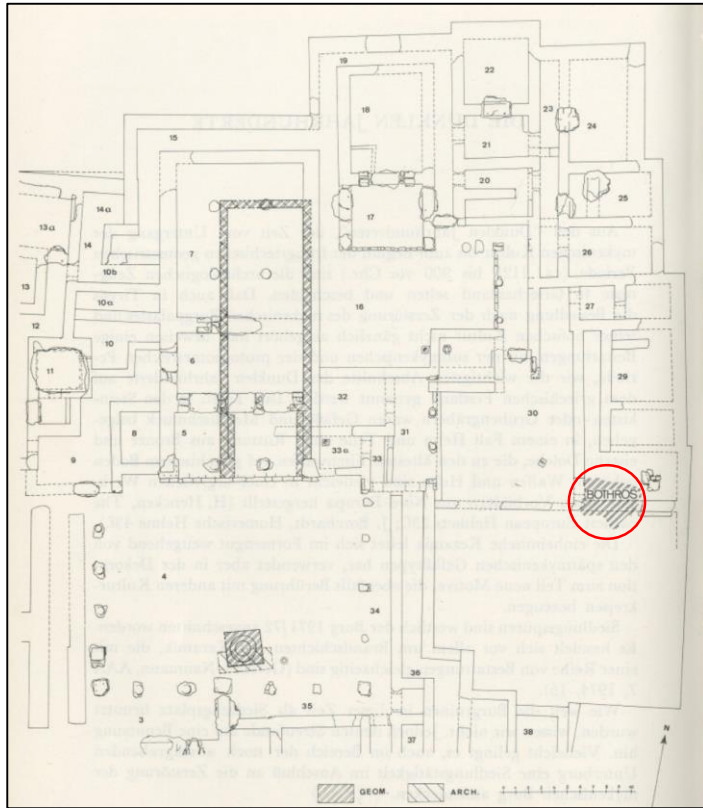


Fig. 45 (top): The Upper Court of the Tiryns citadel with the bothros (red) marked (Jantzen 1965 Abb. 24).  
 Fig. 46 (bottom): Asine, incorporating both Barbouna Hill and Kastraki (Backe-Forsberg and Risberg 2002: 86).

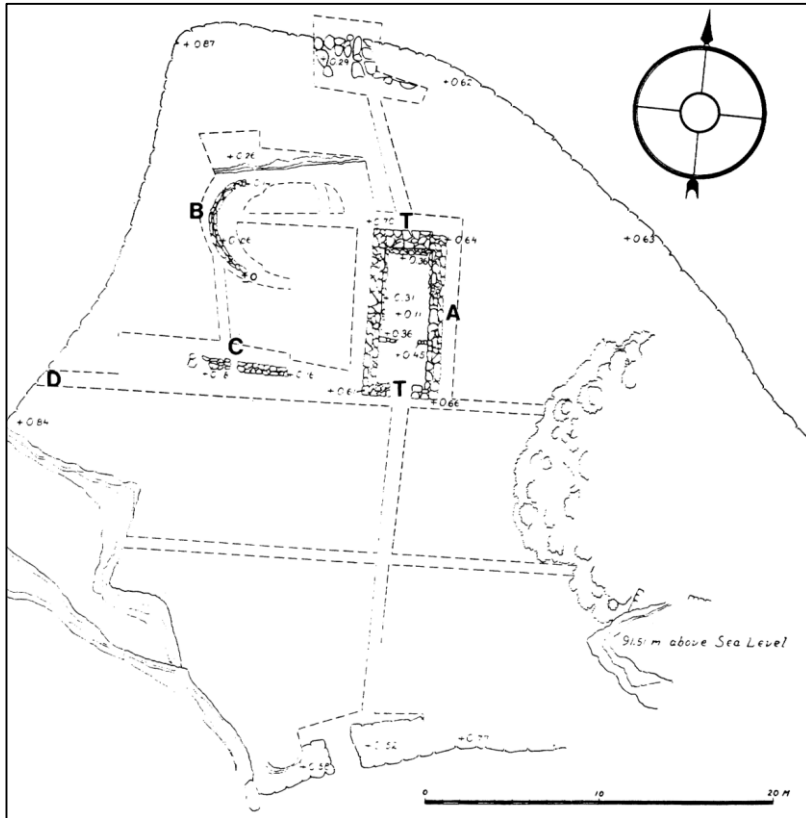


Fig. 47 (top): The view from Barbouna to Kastraki and the Lower town during the Swedish excavations of the 1920s (Yioutsos 2017: 165).  
 Fig. 48 (bottom): The terrace on Barbouna Hill (Frödin and Persson 1938: Fig. 130).

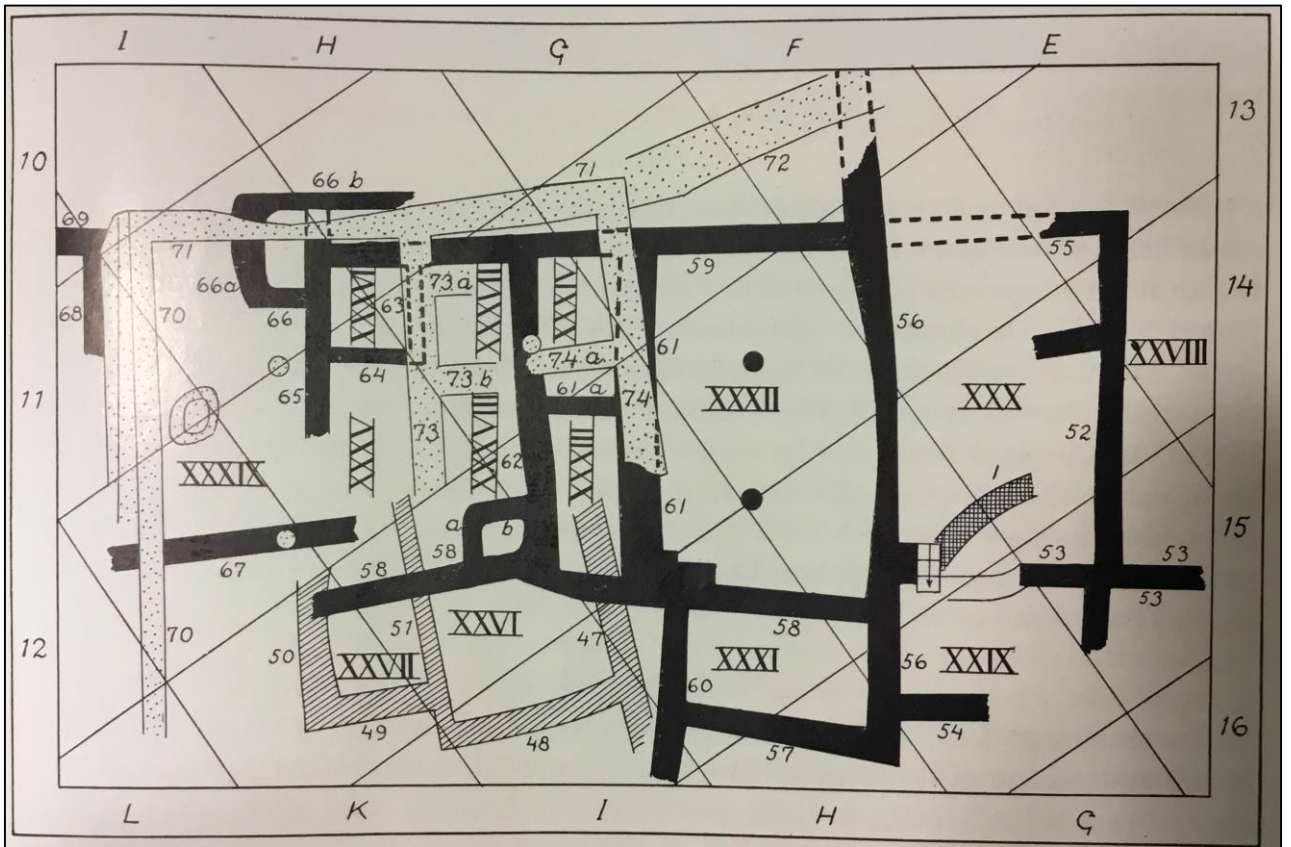


Fig. 49: Plan of Phase 6 of Asine Lower Town showing House G in black (Frödin and Persson 1938: Fig. 53).

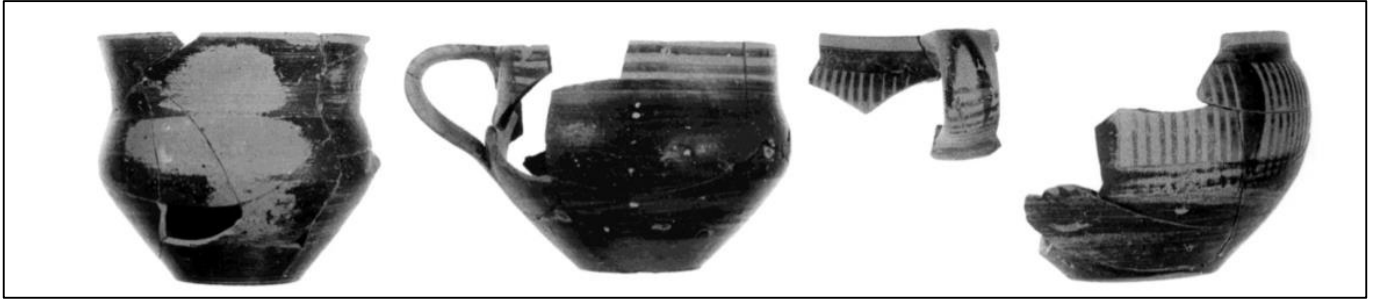


Fig. 50a (top): G cups from the Barbouna Hill terrace (Wells 2015: 151).  
Fig. 50b (bottom): LG krater from the Barbouna Hill terrace (Wells 2015: 150).

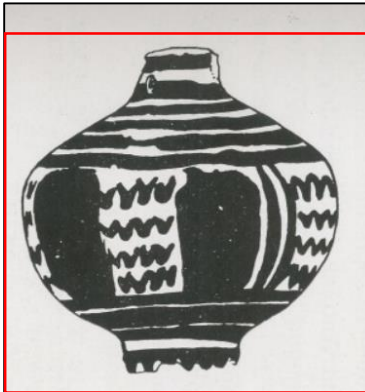
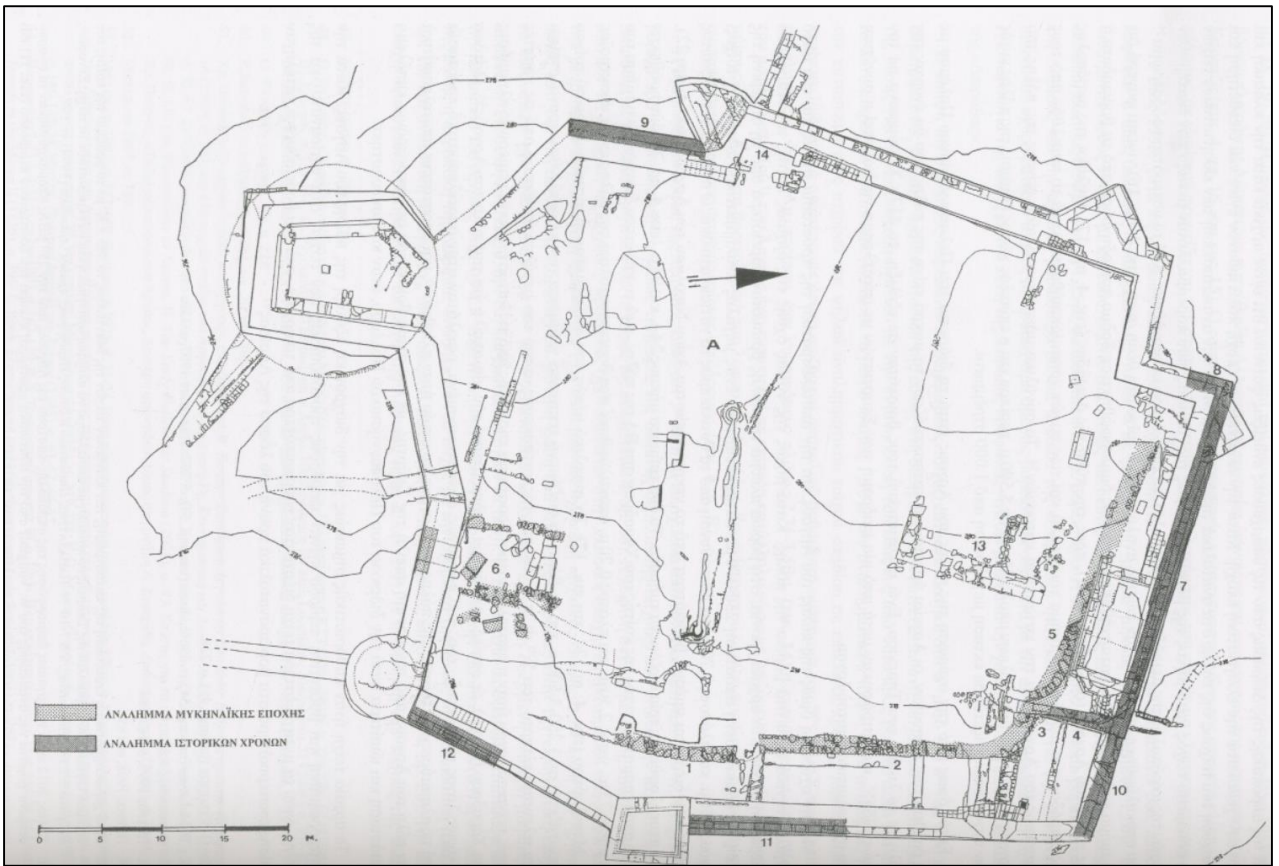


Fig. 5.  
Grenade en terre cuite peinte.  
Larissa.

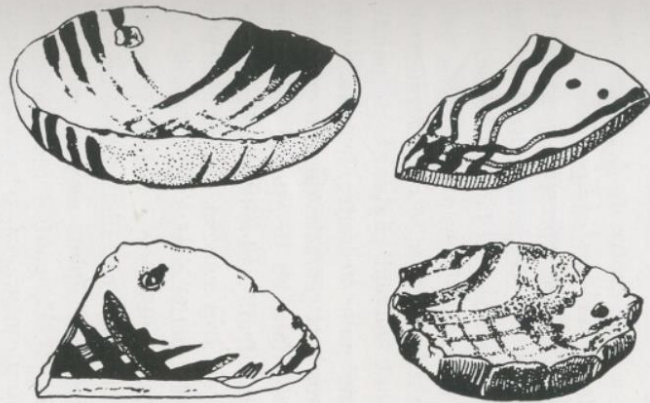


Fig. 6. — Jattes de l'époque géométrique tardive. Larissa.

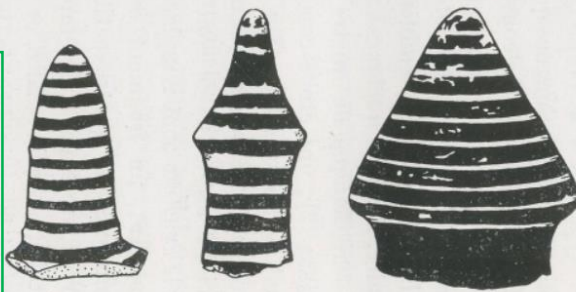


Fig. 7. — Boutons de couvercles de pyxis. Larissa.

Fig. 51 (top): The citadel of Larissa at Argos; proposed Late Bronze Age fortifications are in lighter shading; the excavators did not specify the precise find spot of the votive deposit within the citadel (Mulliez 2013: 346).

Fig. 52 (bottom): Items from the votive deposit at Larissa including a terracotta pomegranate (red) and a pomegranate-shaped pyxis handle (green); (Roes 1953: Figs. 5-7).

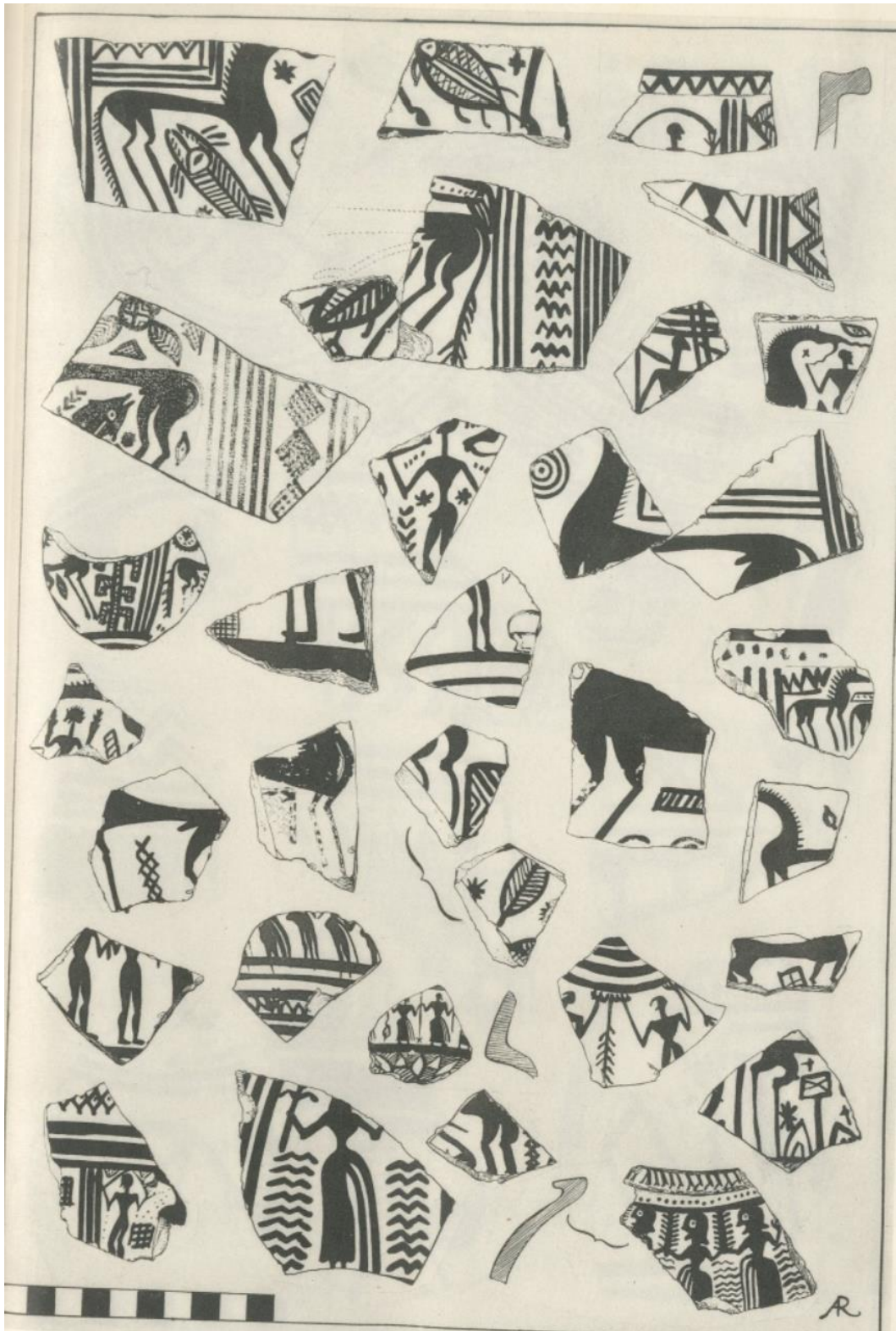


Fig. 53: Decorated Geometric pottery from the Larissa deposit (Roes 1953: Pl. xxiv).

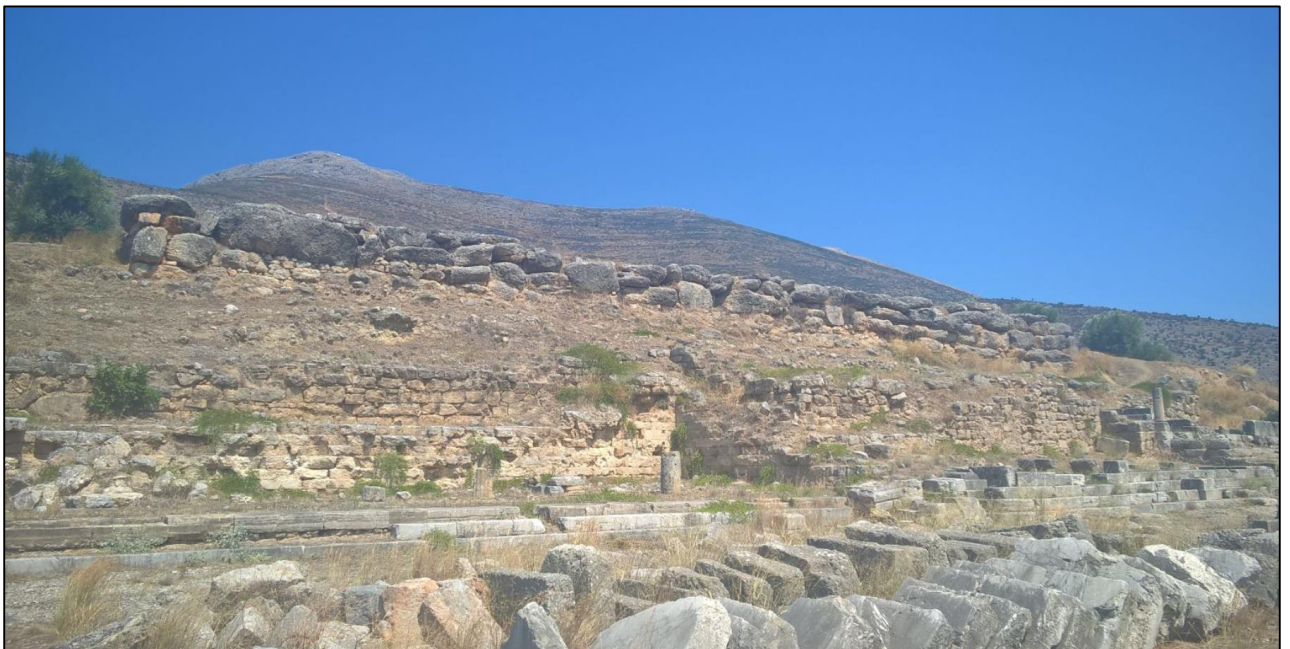
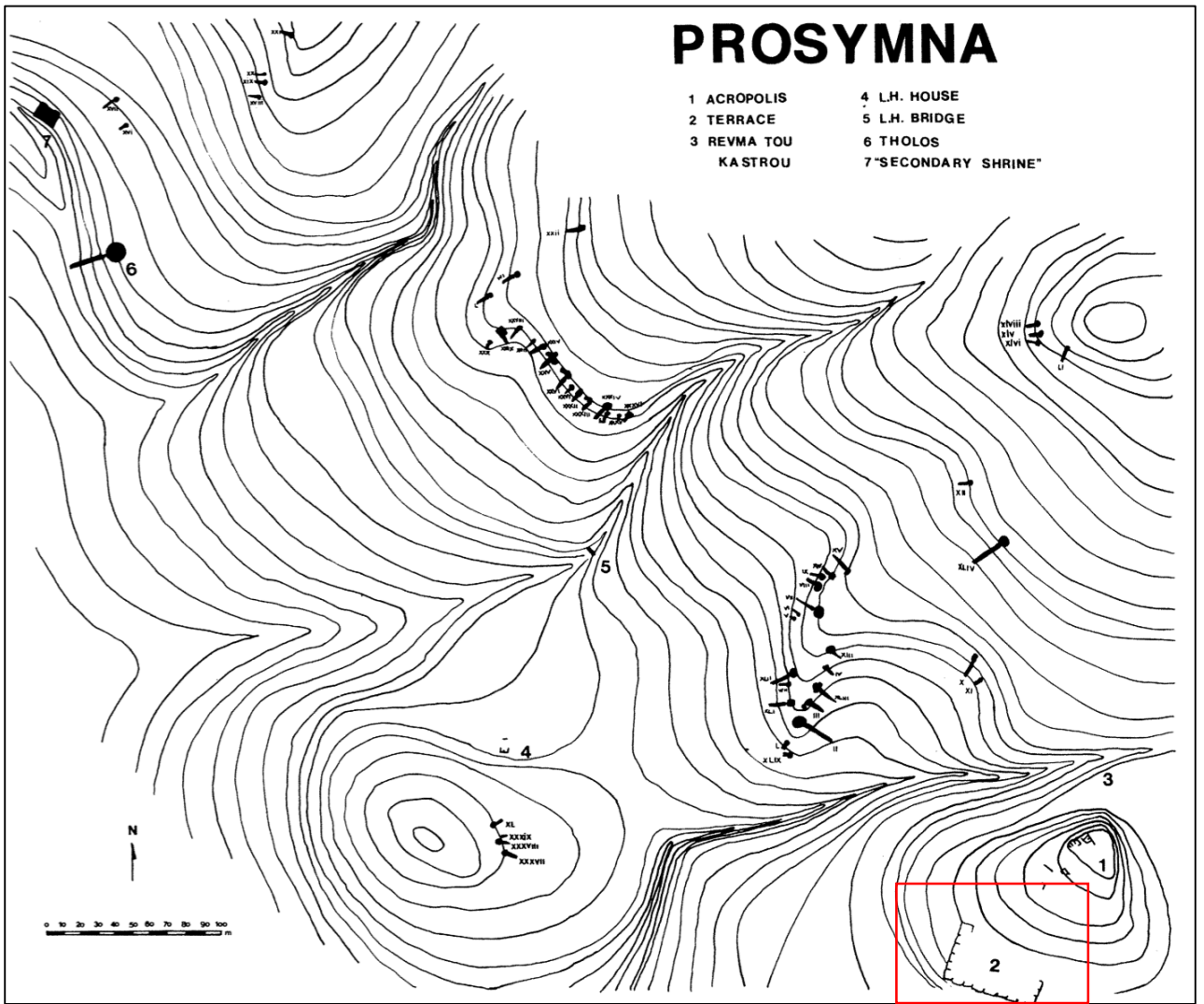


Fig. 54 (top): Prosymna necropolis and the Argive Heraion (red); (Antonaccio 1992: 88).  
 Fig. 55 (bottom): The monumental terrace at the Argive Heraion (author's photograph).

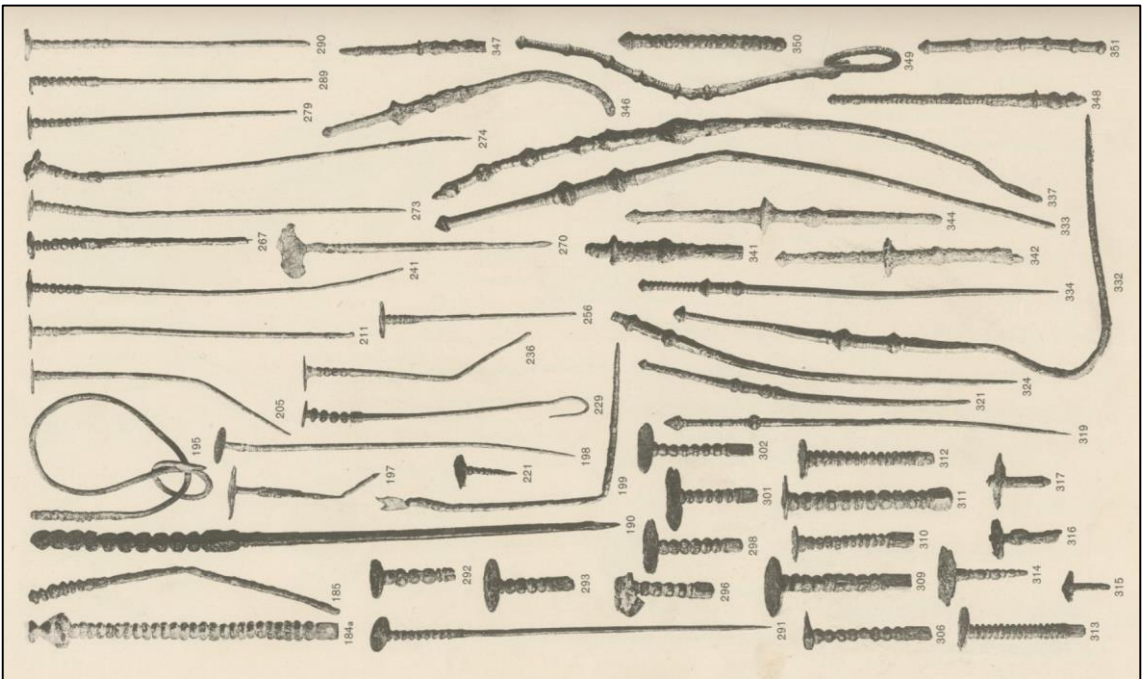
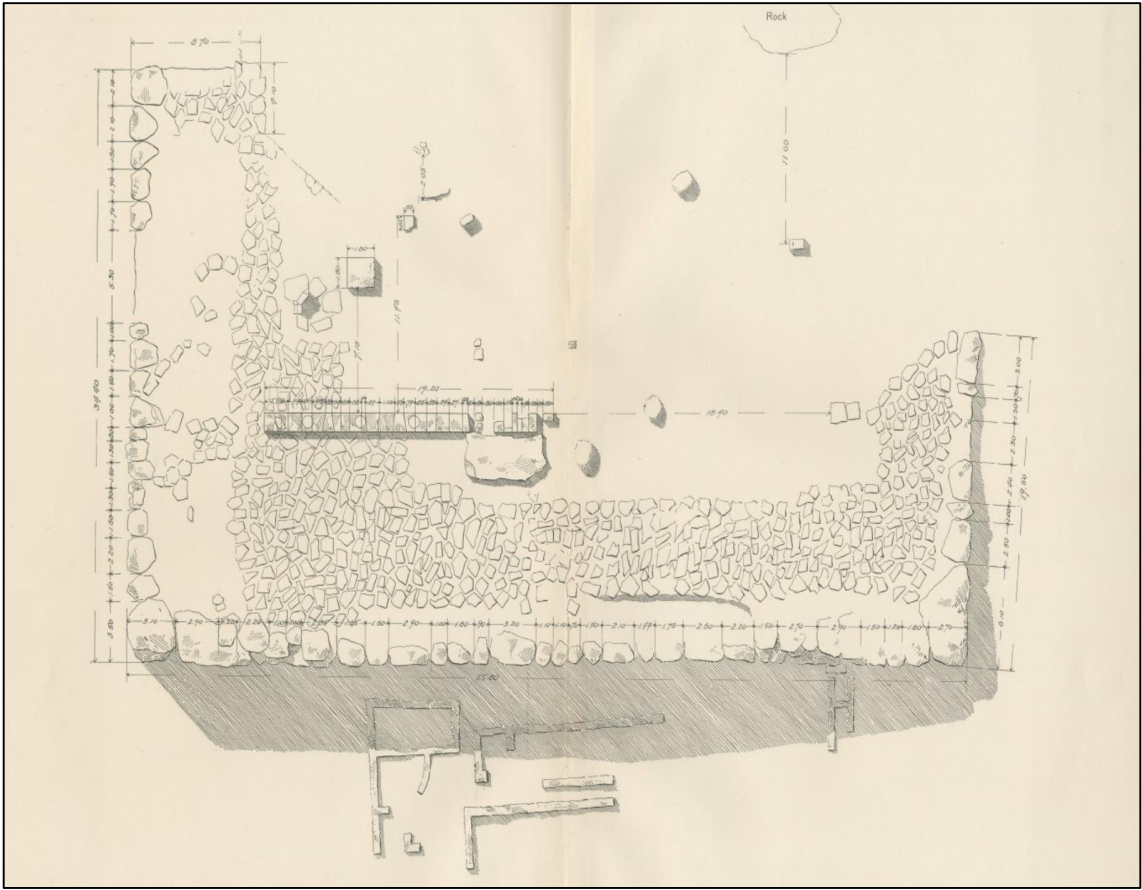


Fig. 56 (top): The monumental terrace at the Argive Heraion (Waldstein 1902: Pl. VIII).  
 Fig. 57 (bottom): Pins deposited at the Argive Heraion (Waldstein 1905: Pl. LXXIX).

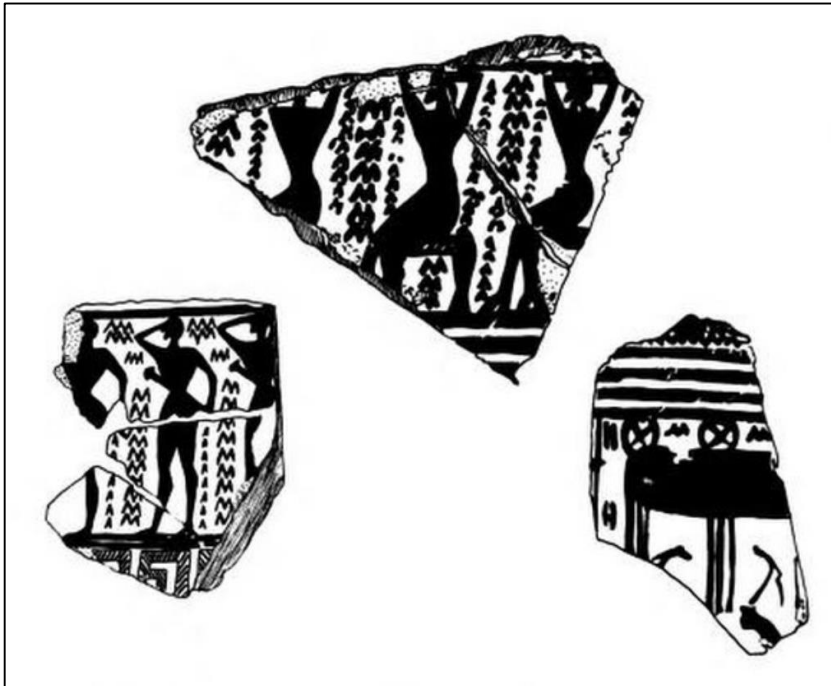


Fig. 58 (top): SG building model from the Argive Heraion (Joseph Maran).

Fig. 59 (bottom): LG pottery fragments from the Acropolis at Athens (Graef and Langlotz 1909: Pl 8; Hurwit 1998: 86).

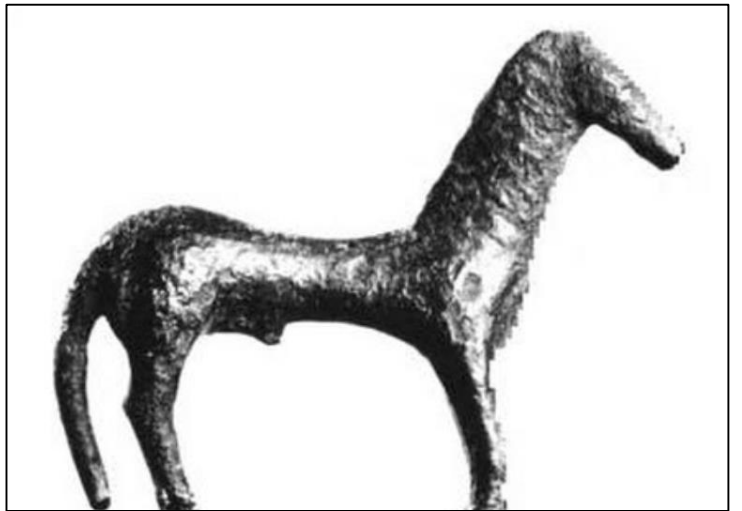


Fig. 60 (top): Late 8<sup>th</sup> century figurine attachment from a bronze tripod deposited on the Acropolis at Athens (Hurwit 1998: Fig. 64).  
Fig. 61 (bottom left): A late 8<sup>th</sup> century bronze Minotaur figurine from the Acropolis at Athens (Hurwit 1998: Fig 65).  
Fig. 62 (bottom right): A late 8<sup>th</sup> century bronze horse figurine from the Acropolis at Athens (Hurwit 1998: Fig. 66).

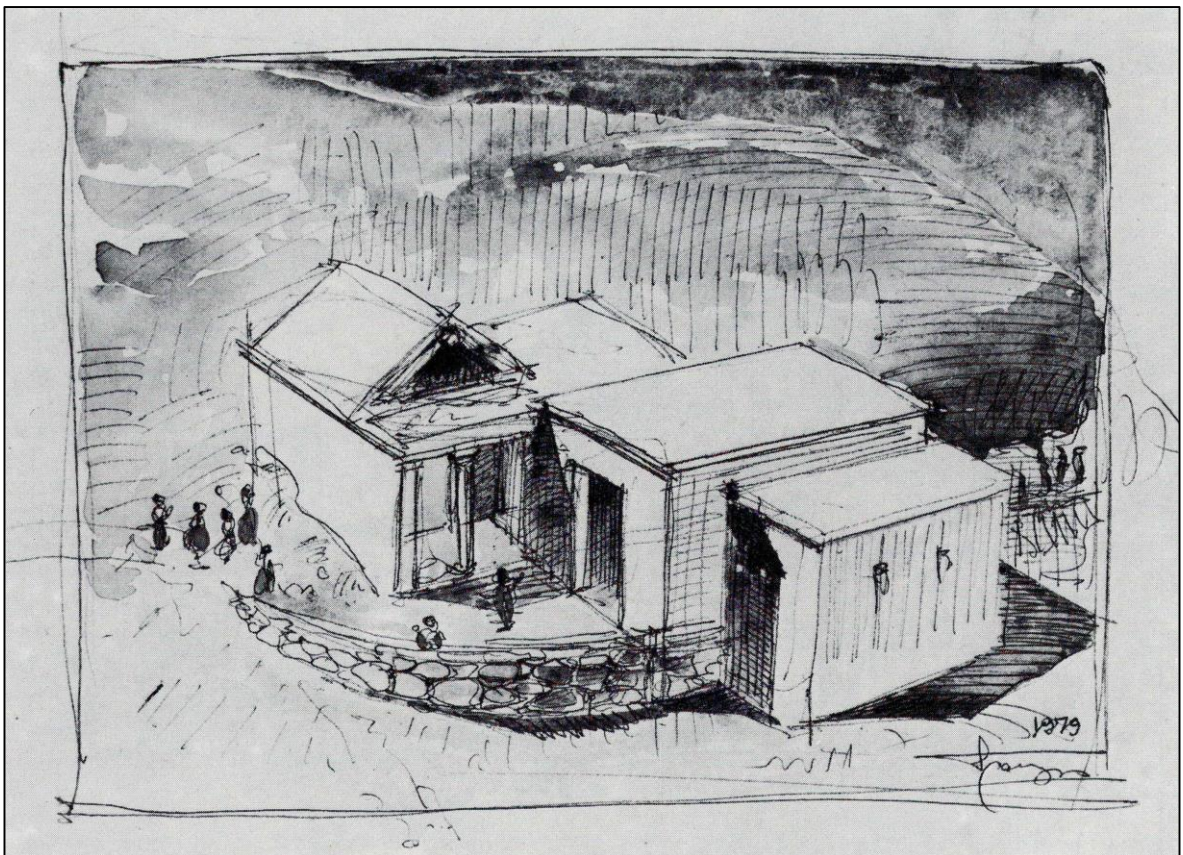
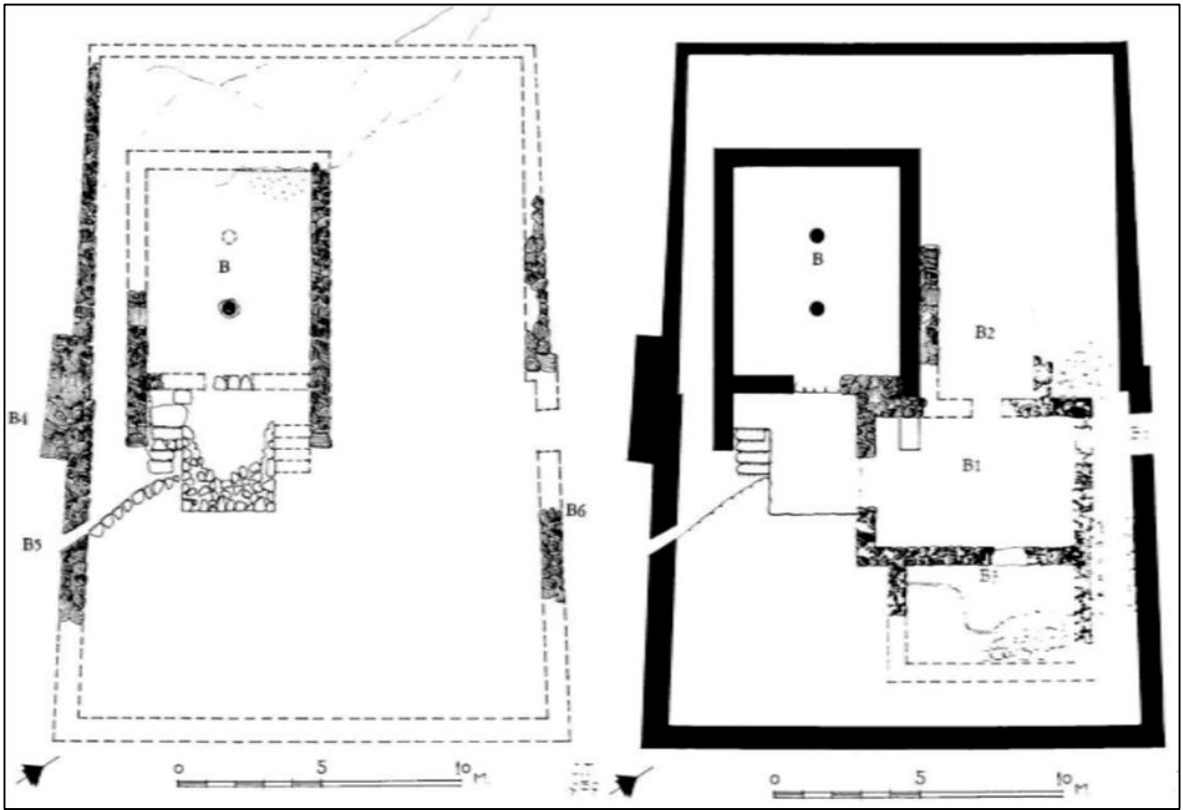


Fig. 63 (top): Two phases of the Megaron B complex at Eleusis, the first from LHIIIB, the second from LHIIIB (Van den Eijnde 2010: 144).  
 Fig. 64 (bottom): A sketched reconstruction of the Megaron B complex (Travlos 1983).

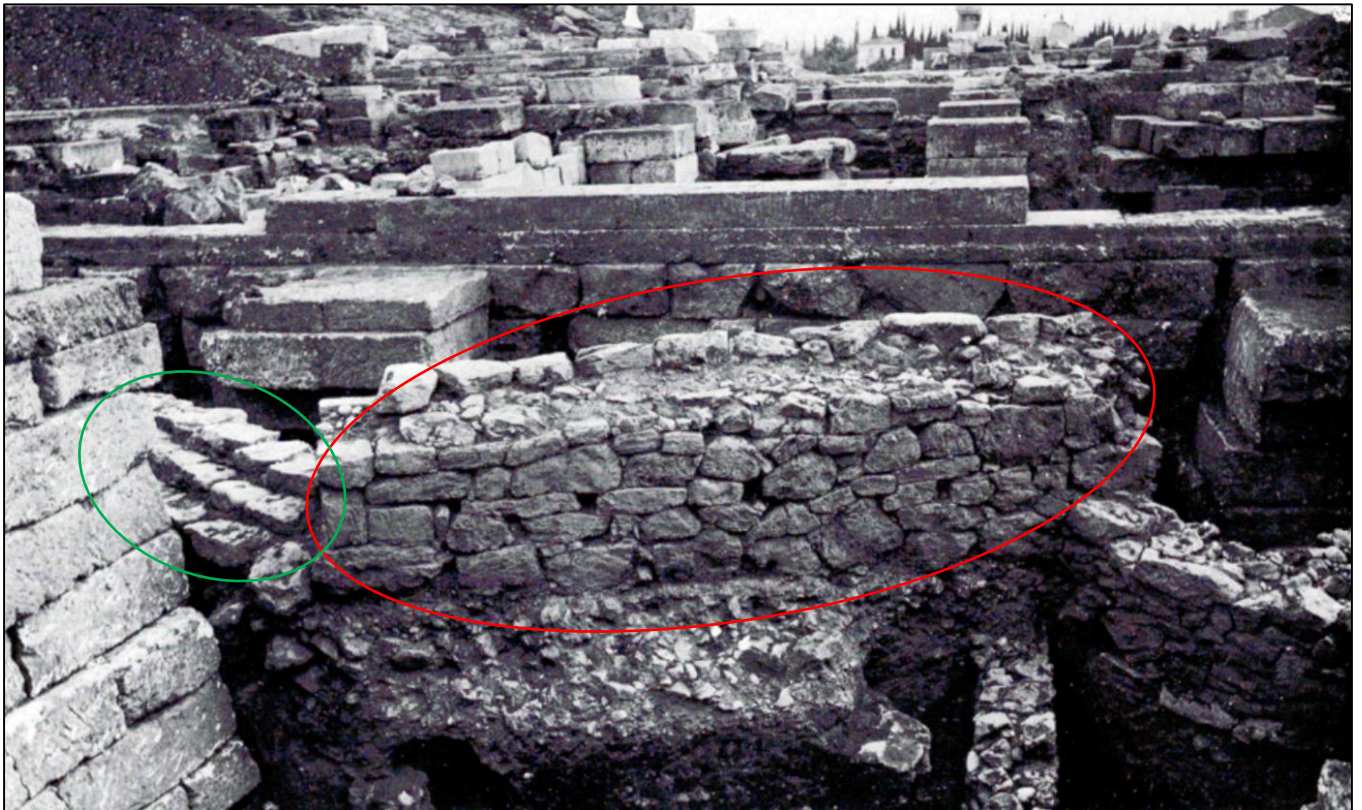
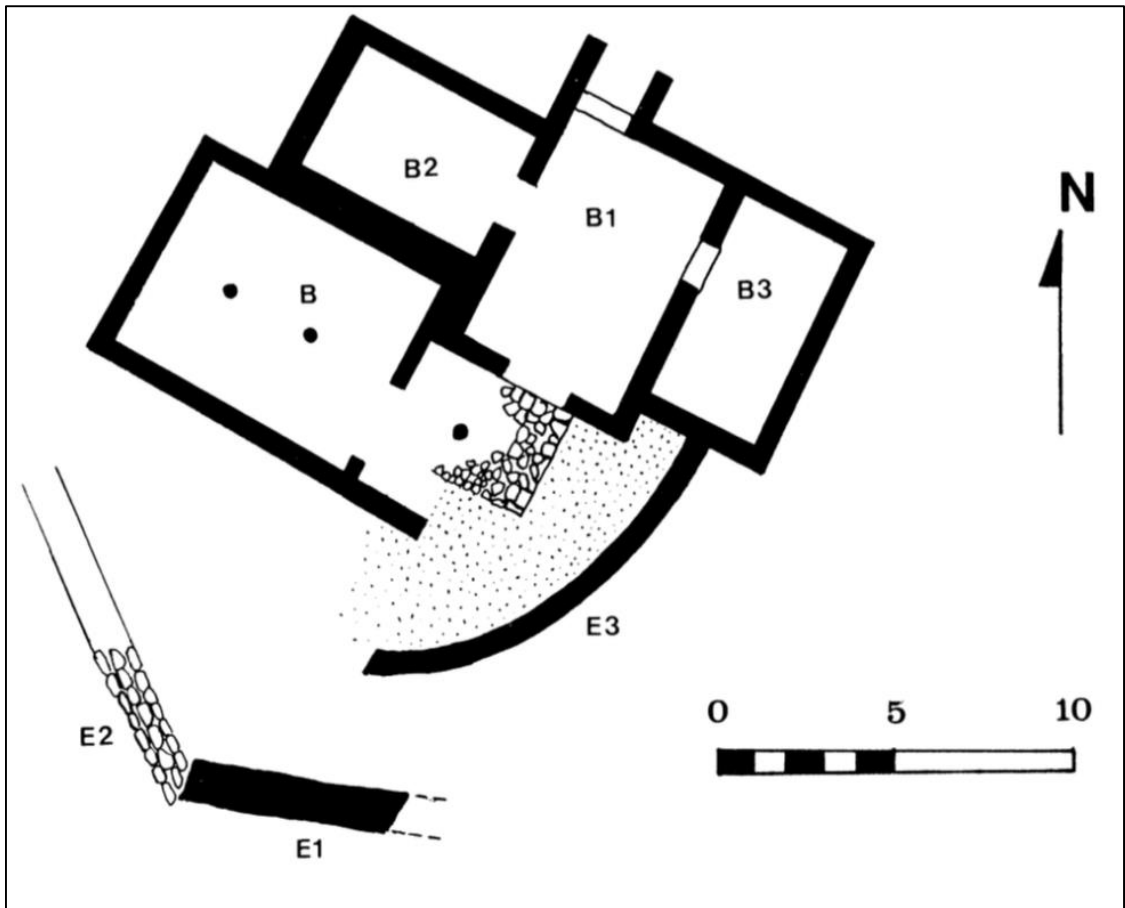


Fig. 65 (top): The Megaron B complex with Geometric retaining walls E1-3 (Ven den Eijnde 2010: 148).  
 Fig. 66 (bottom): Retaining walls E1 (red) and E2 (green) at the Megaron B complex (Van den Eijnde 2010: 154).

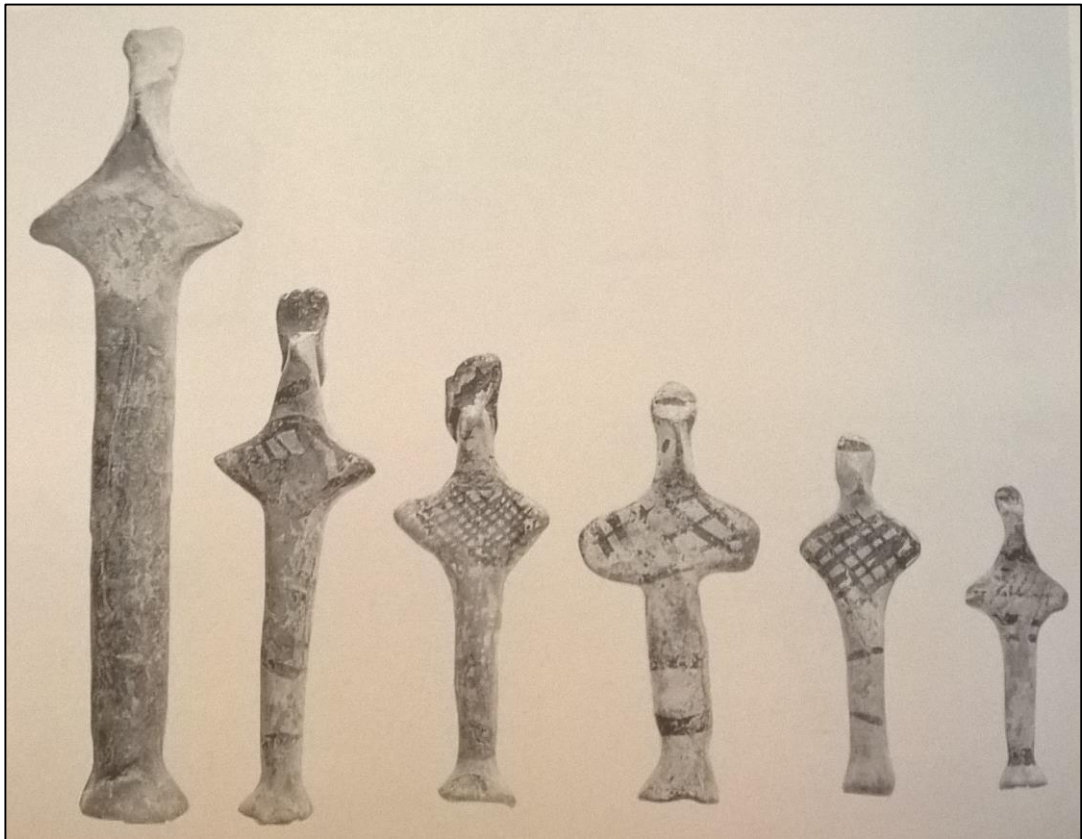
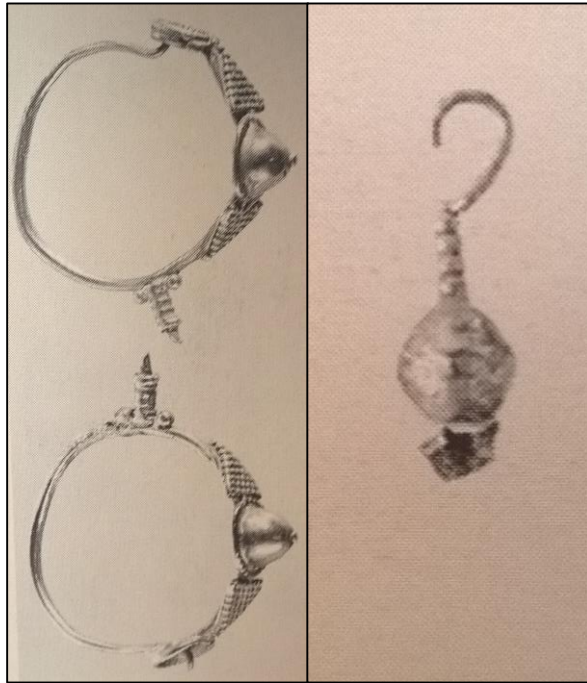


Fig. 67-68 (top): Gold earrings from the pyre at Eleusis (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999: A187-189).  
Fig. 69 (bottom): 'Bird-faced' figurines from Eleusis, ranging in height from 5.5cm-21.0cm (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999: A72-75, A83, A94).

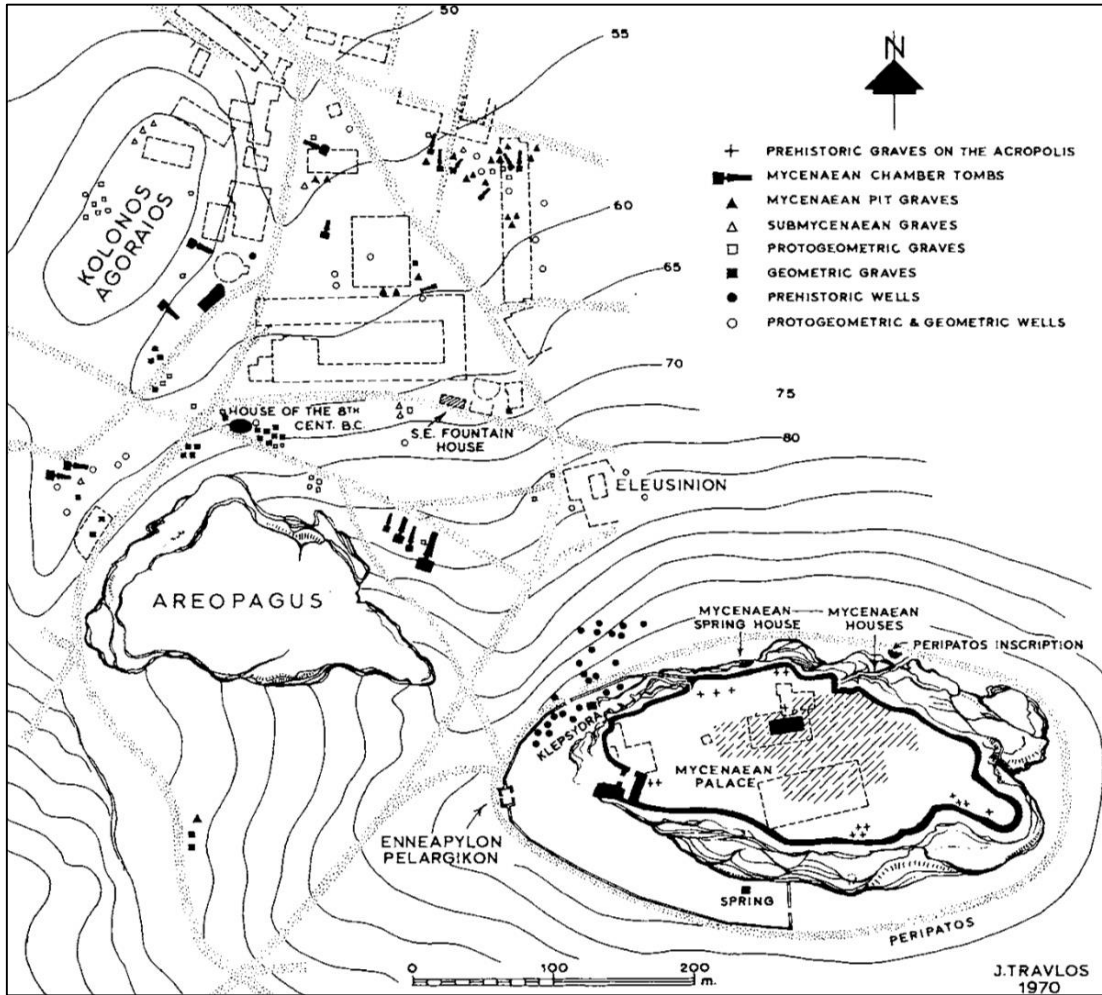


Fig. 70: Distribution of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age tombs at Athens (Immerwahr 1973: 6).