

Mycenaeans Up to Date: The Archaeology of the NE Peloponnese – Current Concepts and New Directions

ABSTRACTS

Tiryns and the Argolid in Mycenaean Times: New Clues and Interpretations

Joseph Maran

On the basis of case examples from different phases within the Late Helladic period and by using evidence of recent excavations in Tiryns it will be argued that we cannot adequately understand the roughly six centuries of Mycenaean culture, if we perceive them in the framework of notions of linear „growth“ and „decline“. Instead, this period seems to have been much more characterized by a sequence of upheavals brought about by the agency of social actors. The first upheaval to be addressed comes with the emergence of Mycenaean culture and of Mycenae as the foremost site in the Argolid. The next period of radical change is associated with the building of the first Megaron palaces, since, at least in Tiryns, this new architectural form was radically imposed on a completely different kind of building structure. The demise of the palaces presents us with another striking case for an upheaval, which, as many think, was already foreshadowed by a severe crisis in the last decades of palatial rule. However, there are indications for a much more complex sequence of events than suggested by the notion of palaces already in a state of decline. Another time of significant change is represented by the re-structuring of the political landscape in the 12th cent. BCE and by the rise of Tiryns to the status of a regional centre.

Mycenaean Cult on Mount Arachnaion – Summary

Olga Psychoyos & Yannis Karatzikos

The site of Proph. Ilias, on the highest peak of Mount Arachnaion (+ 1199 m), is known as a place of cult from the Geometric time onwards. An ongoing investigation, started in 2008, has provided evidence that rituals were already performed there during the Mycenaean period. So far, it consists of finds gathered in the blackened ashy earth accumulated amidst the craggy, limestone bedrock, in clefts and crevices, on the entire surface of the summit plateau. They include sherds of *kylikes*, over a hundred fragments of clay votive figurines and two steatite seals, dating from LHIIIA1 to LHIIIB.

Tending the past, ensuring the future

Elizabeth French, British School at Athens

As we progress into the 21st Century, it is high time to evaluate how we stand at each of our major sites in the North-East Peloponnese. We are facing a period of austerity and retrenchment in all areas, particularly the arts and academia - we shall need to live on our hump archaeologically. This is thus a good moment to assess our achievements to date and to realize where sins of omission have occurred. Using Mycenae as the example I shall consider what has been accomplished over the many years of excavation and by the many scholars who have worked on the site. Is there anything that we can do now to enable our legacy to be used more profitably as a field of study in coming years?

Pottery and Petsas House: Recent research on LH IIIA 2 Mycenae

Kim Shelton, UC Berkeley

The results of nine seasons of excavation by the Archaeological Society of Athens at ‘Petsas House’ in the settlement of Mycenae have confirmed the preliminary excitement of the early 1950s discovery by Papadimitriou and Petsas. A complex structure of the LH IIIA palatial period is investigated in depth to reveal domestic and industrial functions together with an expanding role in the socio-political life of the citadel. Pottery, as the primary artifact type, is discussed within its production, storage, and distribution contexts. Other material is analyzed, including the architectural make-up and context, in light of its chronological and cultural setting in order to understand more clearly the building history of the settlement of Mycenae. A well, over 13 m. deep, located within the building complex continues to provide evidence for the use of the building, for its violent destruction, and for human agency in a post-destruction reclamation phase. The paper presents further ceramic material produced in this workshop together with evidence for a relationship to the palace through fragments of Linear B tablets and of contact with the greater Mycenaean and Mediterranean world during the 14th c. BCE. Finally, a brief summary of Mycenae’s settlement and what it can tell us about art, craft, and culture during the height of the palatial period is presented through an analysis of a decade of work at Petsas House.

The East House in the Lower Town of Mycenae: the Past the Present and the Future

Iphiyenia Tournavitou

The *East House*, an architectural complex on the slope facing the west fortification wall of the citadel of Mycenae, a few meters to the east of the southernmost of the so called ‘Ivory’ Houses and partly excavated by N. Verdelis in 1962-1963, was apparently erected during the mature 12th c BC, with as yet no evidence of earlier building activity. The first season of excavation has demonstrated the remarkably long occupational history of the site, down to the Hellenistic era and has yielded intriguing evidence of successive Mycenaean occupation phases. The systematic archaeological investigation of the *East House* and of the adjoining area to the east of the *Ivory House* group, in one of the most important, yet unexplored sectors of the Lower Town of Mycenae, is expected to yield valuable information about the architectural history and layout of one of the most extensive and best preserved Lower Towns in Late Bronze Age Greece.

Grave Circle A at Mycenae: The People

Argyro Nafplioti

This paper presents and discusses the first complete study in context of the human skeletal remains from Grave Circle A at Mycenae, currently kept in the National Museum in Athens. Morphological analysis of this skeletal material was supplemented by strontium isotope ratio analysis of samples from the majority of the Grave Circle A individuals and the results discussed include information on their biological sex, age at death, dental and skeletal health, physical activities and probable geographical origins. For some of this material it was even possible to identify the specific dead from the six graves represented.

A Mycenaean House at Chania, Mycenae

Heleni Palaiologou

In the plain almost 3 km SW of the Acropolis at the site Chania a Mycenaean settlement has been identified.

The east part of a house has been excavated. After a southern entrance and to the east of a corridor three rooms are revealed one living room with a long corner bench and two hearths, and two storerooms with storage vessels. Before the entrance of the main room in the courtyard a built staircase was leading to an upper level. At the northern end of the building a built ramp also gave access to the same storey. The walls are built of stones and clay to a certain height and the upper part of mudbrick and wooden tiers. The surface of the walls the benches and the floors are plastered. The house was destroyed by earthquake and fire at the end of LHIIIB, after a short life during this period. The debris has covered and sealed the floors of the inhabited space and the pottery used or deposited before the destruction. The building presents a monumental size and interesting architectural features. Human beings with precious belongings had escaped before the disaster and the settlement was abandoned. The site was occupied again for the construction of a stone tumulus with cremation burials in LHIIC, at a short distance from the buildings.

Later, Archaic figurines of seated goddesses and horsemen have been dedicated to the remains of the house.

The destruction of the palace in Tiryns and the “day after” – Conclusions from a LH III B Late deposit at the west staircase

Eleftheria Kardamaki

During restoration works in 1999 by the 4. Ephorate at the west wall in Tiryns a dump was discovered in the upper citadel at the northernmost part of the west staircase. The deposit, which was excavated from Dr. Alkestis Papadimitriou, was 3.5 m thick and contained a large amount of pottery and fragments of frescoes. These particular features allow the connection of the new deposit with the one that was found about one Century ago during German excavations at the staircase that brought to light the famous fresco.

In the first part of my paper I will present some results from the analysis of the stratigraphy and the decorated pottery, which led to the identification of three Late Bronze Age layers (Zone 1-3). Zone 2, with its rich pottery sample, marks the destruction of the palace while the uppermost Zone 1, containing more fragmentary pottery, was deposited slightly later and probably can be connected with rebuilding activities after the destruction on the upper citadel. Thus this deposit offers a unique stratigraphical evidence for the history of the upper citadel at the end of the 13th century BC.

In the second part a hypothesis about the original position of the lower layer will be given and the building activities on the upper citadel after the destruction of the palace will be discussed.

The Lower Citadel of Tiryns – what does it tell us about LH III C?

Tobias Mühlenbruch, Vorgeschichtliches Seminar Philipps-Universität

In the history of research of the Mycenaean culture, LH III C, the period following the destruction of the palaces, for a long time was considered as a phase of cultural decline. With the large-scale excavation led by Klaus Kilian in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns between 1976 and 1983 this view had to be challenged. He found a unique sequence of LH III C-settlements, which covered the whole postpalatial period. But Kilian's results increased the knowledge of the postpalatial times in several other aspects, too. The question arose if there was continuity or change or both between the palatial and the postpalatial period.

In my paper I will present some results of my doctoral dissertation about the postpalatial stratigraphy of Tiryns (Supervisors: Prof.s Maran, Deger-Jalkotzy, in print/Tiryns-Series). I will first deal with the settlement structure of the Lower Citadel in LH III C, uncovered by Kilian, and my social and political interpretations. Second I will present a model of the diet and economy in Tiryns in the postpalatial period.

Building Complex A at the Lower Citadel of Tiryns – an outstanding Mansion of the Palatial Period

Ursula Damm-Meinhardt

Parts of what is now called Building Complex A have been known ever since the very beginning of systematically excavating the Lower Citadel (Nikolaos Verdelis 1962-1963; 1965). Being placed just south of the entrance to the Southern Syrx, this large palatial house comprises several units: Building I, VII, VIII, Room 16, Room 1/04. Except for one (Room 1/04), all of these were already uncovered by Klaus Kilian (1976-1983) or his predecessors (Ulf Jantzen et al. 1968-1975), respectively. Because of postpalatial houses overlying it, however, the architectural complex was never excavated as a whole. Only in the course of restoration work at the Lower Citadel in 2004, when those younger walls were removed, the entire layout became clear. The new results are astonishing as some typical features of true palace architecture are copied here, even though on a small scale.

In my paper I would like to present the complete design of this imposing mansion and embed its various building phases in the development of the settlement in LH IIB2.

Workshop activities and pyrotechnology at Mycenaean Tiryns

Lorenz Rahmstorf

How was labour organized in Mycenaean palatial centres? What changed during the post-palatial period? What are the permanent 'workshops' we could expect to find in a Mycenaean context?

These are still tricky questions for which many indications in the archaeological record have to be scrutinized in the greatest detail possible. A detailed assessment of all archaeological indications is obviously necessary in order to recognise/define a working area or a workshop. In this contribution I would like to discuss some possible examples of working areas for metal and pottery production from the lower citadel at Tiryns. They shall be analysed in their character ('permanent' versus 'domestic') and their possible relevance to central administration.

Palatial wallpaintings from Tiryns: new finds and new perspectives

Alkestis Papadimitriou, Joseph Maran, Ulrich Thaler

In this paper, we will, firstly, present new finds of wall paintings which came to light during conservation work in the area of the *Westtreppe* at Tiryns, a dump of debris from the Tiyinthian palace located on the western slope of the acropolis and previously the findspot of the majority of the known wall paintings from the Mycenaean palace of Tiryns. Secondly, we will discuss the first results of an ongoing project of study of these and related older finds which accompanied and now follows the conservation of the new fresco fragments undertaken jointly by the 4th Ephorate and the German Archaeological Institute in the years 2006 to 2009. Before offering a conspectus of motifs, we will in particular discuss aspects of chronology and the former location of the paintings. The association of the new finds with pottery closely datable to the end of LH III B2 as well as stratigraphic and iconographic links with older material permit no doubt that the majority of the known Tiryns corpus decorated the palace at the eve of its destruction and does not constitute, as commonly assumed, a stilistically older group distinct from the scanty in situ finds from the actual palace. As to the original location within the palace of paintings secondarily deposited in the *Westtreppe*, comparative considerations of documented clearing operations within the palace and the zones of pictorial friezes represented in the finds from re-deposited debris offer a route to suggesting a highly likely former location for at least one of the most important and well-known Tiryinthian friezes, the *Große Frauenprozession*.

New evidence of Mycenaean frescoes from the citadel of Tiryns – The Kilian excavations.

Christos Boulotis, Academy of Athens, Research Center for Antiquity

The fresco material from K. Kilian's excavations (1976 forward), mostly in the Upper Akropolis of Tiryns (Oberburg) and less in the Lower Akropolis (Unterbürg), offers a solid base for the re-examination of issues concerning the practise of this prestigious art in Tiryns itself, as well as in the rest of the Greek Mainland. Apart from providing a stratigraphical-chronological documentation, these new fragments add to the local iconography some unknown, till recently, figurative and decorative motifs. At the same time, since the art of wall paintings is closely connected, *ex definitio*, with the architecture, they lead, up to a certain point, to the better understanding of the different architectural phases of the palace and of the renovation of its painted decoration. Furthermore, they help us, amongst other things, to clarify crucial points, such as the first appearance of wall paintings in the Mycenaean Festland, as well as the diachronic and interregional prevalence of certain decorative programs.

Multiple chaînes opératoires and CCI: a holistic approach to workshop studies at Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Tiryns, Greece

Ann Brysbaert

Until fairly recently, material studies that involved crafts analysis and investigations were based almost uniquely upon the study of one material, usually involving the work of one specialist only. While such research has contributed tremendously to our understanding of material culture remains, and how people lived in the past in relation to their material possessions, it is felt that still only a partial picture is painted. As much as it is generally the case nowadays, no one in the past worked or lived in isolation, at least not by choice.

In attempting to trace artisans' identities, the concepts of multiple chaînes opératoires combined with cross-craft interactions (CCI) as a methodology are employed, in order to retrieve distinctive sets of social practices/actions from the archaeological remains since most actions are not conducted in isolation. These methodological concepts are not restrained to specific moments in the production cycle only. They also encompass the potential reconstruction of contexts of extraction, manufacture, distribution and discard/reuse for a range of artefacts while they also investigate traces of social contacts that may have taken place during any of these actions.

I thus suggest an improvement (multiple chaînes opératoires combined with CCI), of an existing methodological tool (the single chaîne opératoire on its own) to analyse both the technological and social sides of spatial patterning of material remains as well as traces of entire operational chains for several materials, including use-wear and abandonment residues and traces due to post-depositional processes. By detailed investigations of LBA-IA material remains from Tiryns through the employment of macroscopy, microscopy and instrumental analysis, I aim to expose, where possible, the changing relationships between materials over time, and, more importantly, to investigate what role human agents played in these potential changes and how, subsequently, their relationships may have changed as well.

People create, recreate, affirm and reject multiple identities based upon a wide variety of social and technological factors, an important one being what they do for a living on a day-to-day basis. Through the investigation of multiple crafts and their interactions, we may come to a better understanding of how materials were related to each other in any of the chaînes opératoires steps, and potentially also how people were relating to each other through their material surroundings.

Argos in the late MH and LH period: a reassessment of the evidence

Dr. Nikolas Papadimitriou, Museum of Cycladic Art

Anna Philippa Touchais, École Française d'Athènes

Prof. Gilles Touchais, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne

Until recently our knowledge of the prehistory of Argos relied heavily on the results of three major projects: a) Volgraff's investigation of the 'pre-Mycenaean' settlement on top of Aspis, b) Deshayes' excavation of the chamber-tomb cemetery of Deiras and, c) the less systematic exploration of the 'tumulus cemetery' to the E/SE of Aspis by Protonotariou-Deilaki. The dominant view deriving from those projects was one of cultural decline for the MBA-LBA transition, population decrease and even a possible break during LH I and IIA, and a materially poor LH III period during which the size of the settlement was seriously diminished. Recent work on the site, including the French stratigraphic excavations at Aspis, the re-examination of MH burials by the "MH Argolid" project team, and numerous rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service over the past three decades, have produced evidence that challenges seriously this view. The present paper is meant to provide a synthetic overview of the available data, offer fresh insights into the question of social change in Argos during the MH-LH transition, address the question of the "Mycenaean" (LH III) settlement, and suggest possible explanations for the shifting relations of the site with other major centres in the Argolid.

The Mycenaean Acropolis of Midea: new discoveries and new interpretations

Katie Demakopoulou

The recent Greek-Swedish excavations at Midea have brought to light extensive and significant architectural remains all over the site. Also found were fine pottery, fresco fragments, precious raw materials and finished luxury objects. In addition to this and other finds, Linear B inscribed transport stirrup jars and sealings show that the third of the great fortified citadels of the Argolid was an administrative and craft centre. All these discoveries have added to our knowledge about the settlement history of Midea and have led to a better understanding of its role and function among the great centres of the Mycenaean period.

The cause of the LHIIIB:2 destruction at Midea: man or nature?

Monica Nilsson

Mycenaean Midea was ravaged by an extensive fire at the end of LH IIIB2. Although some activities at the site were resumed afterwards, it is evident that disaster had struck and the settlement did not recover from it. From recent excavations in the East Gate Area at Midea, new clues to the nature of the LH IIIB2 destruction have emerged and the earlier hypothesis that an earthquake was the cause of the conflagration in the citadel may have to be revised.

Midea met a violent end at a time of both general unrest in the Eastern Mediterranean and a profound change in LBA settlement patterns on the Greek mainland. Mycenaean architecture, grave finds and iconography have a tendency towards the display of martial power, which in all likelihood reflects an actual state of impending enemy threat. The finds from the last moments before the conflagration at Midea appear to disclose such hostile activities. This paper investigates the possibility that the destruction of Midea was caused by the human factor, not natural disasters.

Renewal or regression? Asine and the Transition from Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age
Dr. Birgitta Leppänen Sjöberg, Uppsala University, Dept of archaeology and ancient history

The Late Helladic IIIB period has long been regarded as the zenith of the Mycenaean society. The period ends with destruction, probably caused by an earthquake, an important implication of which is that the following LH IIIC period is marked by pronounced regression. In the Mycenaean heartland, the Argolid, the LHIIIC is typically seen as being characterised by smaller settlement, less contacts with the surrounding regions and a lower level of economic activity. Furthermore, the archaeological material lacks the traits that we have come to associate with the complex administrative system previously seen in the region. Recent research suggests that changes need not have been as radical as earlier proposed. Archaeological remains at sites such as Mycenae, Midea, Tiryns and Asine indicates that these centres did not immediately revert to irrelevance; rather existing research lends itself to the interpretation that there is a not insignificant measure of continuity. This includes the continued existence of networks of exchange, a finding that is supported by chemical analysis of LH III C pottery from Asine. Against this background, the paper will more specifically, focus on the Argive Plain and the settlement of Asine and the transition from the Late Helladic era to the Iron Age.

The Mycenaean in the Berbati Valley

Ann-Louise Schallin

The potter's workshop at Mastos was excavated in the 1930s. Åke Åkerström was in charge and he was also responsible for the material. In the 1950s, further excavations were conducted in order to clarify loose ends, but mainly to recover a great amount of pottery sherds. Åkerström early concluded that the structure that he had revealed represented a potter's workshop of the Late Helladic period. The best evidence for this conclusion was the kiln situated in the middle of the excavations. The huge amount of fine ware pottery sherds gave further indication for this conclusion, as did the presence of misfired pottery.

It has been put forward that the production at the Mastos workshop may have been under the power of Mycenae situated close by. A step further along this line of reasoning is to propose that the entire Berbati Valley was used as a service area for the Mycenaean state.

The nature of Mycenaean occupation of the watersheds that comprise the Longopotamos, Nemea, and Asopos Valleys

James Wright

Regional approaches are necessary in order to frame properly the questions we ask of the places and problems we study. Research of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project exploring the prehistoric occupation of the Nemea Valley demonstrates the need to include the neighboring valleys drained by the Asopos and Longopotamos Rivers. Viewed from this larger perspective this piedmont area can be understood as a geographic and cultural region separate but not disconnected from the coastal Corinthia to the north and the Plain of Argos to the south. This paper focuses on questions around the nature of human occupation and exploitation of this region from the late Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Mycenaean era.

Mycenaean Times in the Basin of Phlious

Vasco Hachtmann

In the course of an interdisciplinary survey project in the Basin of Phlious conducted by the Institute for Pre- and Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology of Heidelberg University and the Research Centre for Archaeometry of the Heidelberg Academy of Science at least six Late Helladic sites were localized. Amongst them one is situated on a naturally protected terraced spur at Aidonia. Its proximity to the famous chamber tombs, traces of Cyclopean walls, large amounts of finds, and a continuing occupation since Middle Helladic times all point at the major role it once must have played in the region. However, the material from that site strongly suggests an end of occupation in LH III A2 or slightly later, on the heyday of the palatial system.

In this paper I will present all Late Helladic sites of the survey, including information about their position, topography, size, structures, quantity and quality of finds. The following discussion will focus on the question whether there are any traces of inhabitation in the Basin of Phlious, after the settlement at Aidonia was abandoned.

Η Μυκηναϊκή Ναυπλία

Χρήστος Πιτερός, Αναπληρωτής Διευθυντής και Τμηματάρχης Χώρων Δ' ΕΠΚΑ 21100

Στα ανατολικά του αργολικού κόλπου βρίσκεται η Ναυπλία κτισμένη σε επίκαιρη θέση, πάνω σε βραχώδη απότομη χερσόνησο, το σημαντικότερο ασφαλές λιμάνι επικοινωνίας και πολιτιστικών ανταλλαγών της Αργολίδας από την προϊστορική εποχή μέχρι σήμερα.

Από τη συνεχή κατοίκηση του χώρου και τις επάλληλες μεταγενέστερες οχυρώσεις και διαμορφώσεις δεν διατηρείται τίποτε ορατό από το απώτερο και μυκηναϊκό παρελθόν.

Ωστόσο το γνωστό από παλιά σημαντικό μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο της Ναυπλίας και οι σωστικές ανασκαφικές έρευνες, στις οποίες θα αναφερθούμε, φανερώνουν ότι πρόκειται για ένα σημαντικό μυκηναϊκό κέντρο της Αργολίδας, δίπλα στο ανακτορικό κέντρο της Τίρυνθας, όπως υποδηλώνει και ο μυθολογικός απόηχος του ιδρυτή της πόλης, Ναύπλιος και ο σοφός Παλαμήδης κατά τον Τρωϊκό πόλεμο.

Mycenaean Corinth: The Question of its Significance

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How important was Corinth in Mycenaean times? Literary evidence preserves the memory of a prosperous habitation. Archaeological investigations, however, have been slow in producing results to corroborate the literature. Mycenaean occupation at the later site of Corinth is placed in the framework of habitations on little-explored neighboring hills, such as Cheliotomylos, on Acrocorinth, and on extensively excavated sites, such as Korakou. The settlement pattern and hierarchy in the area throughout the Mycenaean period is discussed and the importance of the area in terms of location and communication with adjacent regions is evaluated. Evidence for external relations is preserved in imports from Aigina and Achaia and contact with Boiotia and Mycenae. Corinth and its surrounding plain was a prosperous and densely inhabited region with strong relations to the north, south, east and west. The hypothesis of its domination by Mycenae to the south is neither negated nor confirmed by the existing evidence.

The Mycenaean settlement at Aigion in Achaea and the western frontier of the NE Peloponnese

Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki

Rescue excavations in the city of Aigion in Achaea revealed a picture of a seaside prehistoric settlement that fits into the same framework as the settlements of Argolis and Corinthia. Aigion is built on an oblong height, rising 60m above sea level, with a wide flat top, a naturally fortified site that commands both harbour and fertile plain. It is inhabited from the Neolithic period on, suffers a destruction in EH II and is resettled in MH II. I A rectangular building may be dated in Late Helladic I, that continued in use into the LH IIA period. The architectural plan is modified during the LH IIB/IIIA1 period. The intramural burials at Aigion belong to the LH I-II period and they are cist graves, simple pits and pithos burials. A cemetery of chamber tombs, located to the west, dates from the LH II on. Westward, toward the city of Patras, the Panachaikon range separates Aigion from Western Achaea, a fact reflected in the archaeological material. Phenomena typical of Western Achaea, like the building of tholos tombs in LH II or the large number of warrior graves in the LH IIIC period are remarkably absent from eastern Achaea.

Lazarides on eastern Aegina: The relationships with the NE Peloponnese

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A Mycenaean settlement, with finds dating from the end of the 17th until the beginning of the 12th century BC (MH/LH I - LH IIIC early period), flourished in the neighborhood of the modern semi-mountainous village Lazarides on the eastern part of Aigina, ten kilometers from Kolonna, about an hour's walk from the eastern coast and unseen from the sea. To the SSW and in a short distance from the settlement a cemetery with spacious built chamber tombs was discovered. Important finds were found in the three fully excavated tombs (Tombs A, B, Γ) and the settlement. The finds as well as the special type of the tomb used there supply evidence concerning the contacts with many areas in the Aegean and beyond. The material includes a great amount of locally made and imported pottery, mostly from Argolid, figurines of various types, seals, jewels made of several materials, as well as bronze and silver, items made of stone, bone and ivory and also a small but very interesting group of metal artifacts of bronze, lead, silver and iron.

The aim of this paper focuses on the extent and, if possible, the character of the relations with the NE Peloponnese, according to the finds discovered to the present.

Movement in between, into and inside Mycenaean palatial megara

Ulrich Thaler

In this paper, I am going to examine the relationship between human movement and the Mycenaean palatial megara as an architectural form on three levels. Firstly, movement in between megara will be discussed in the context of the Mycenaean argolid, most notably with reference to the relationship between the palace sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, but also in an intra-site perspective in the case of the 'Großes' and 'Kleines Megaron' of Tiryns. Secondly, with reference to both the aforementioned sites and the Pylian megaron as an obvious parallel, I intend to discuss how palatial architecture, on the one hand, highlights the canonical approach to the megaron and directs visitors towards the throneroom and, on the other hand, withholds a complete understanding of the route from the visitor during their approach, thus perceptually distancing the ruler from the ruled. Thirdly and lastly, I will set out a case for the assumption that ritual movement within the megaron's main room circled the central hearth in a clockwise manner, again with reference to both the Argolic sites and the Pylian parallel.

Courts and open-air areas in the Late Helladic III Argolid

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Courts, squares, outdoor and open-air-areas belong to the built environment of the settlements. Together with other areas and buildings they can be therefore considered as reflecting patterns of social organisation of communities or societies. These areas, which remain aside the main interest of research on Mycenaean settlements (see however: Cavanagh 2001) were significant to many aspects of life. As C. Robin and N.A. Rothschild have noticed, the outdoor areas are often of crucial social importance in a settlement, because they bear traces of social, economic, and ritual activities and meanings, which are conducted around and between buildings (Robin, Rothschild 2002: 163; cf. Robin 2002). The aim of this paper is to discuss the role and social meaning of the areas located mainly outside the palace complexes during the Late Helladic III period in the Argolid.

At least three categories of courts and outdoor areas in the settlements of the Palatial period can be identified. To the first belonged usually small and irregular courts located on the citadels and in the lower towns. They filled free spaces between the buildings, and were not designed as main areas of the groups of buildings or districts. They may have served the local communities as secondary areas for outdoor activities and working, enabled access to the individual houses and facilitated circulation and communication between the buildings. Another category comprises courts related with cult areas, which were important for religious gatherings. Non-built-up areas can be considered as the third type of open spaces in the Mycenaean settlements. They were usually unenclosed by walls and not built by buildings or other constructions. They could be directly related with individual buildings or groups of buildings (e.g. as fields, orchards, vineyards) or did not belong to any household or farmstead (e.g. as wastelands, thickets, meadows). The occurrence of such areas may be suggested especially for the lower towns, as the acropoleis were usually densely built-up. The study of potential non-built-up spaces would be crucial for understanding the system of internal organisation of the settlements and ownership of the land.

During the Post-Palatial period an important change in the use of courts can be observed. It is especially well documented for Tiryns where the courts on the lower citadel and in the lower town became considerably larger and seem to have developed into focal points of the districts. Simple houses, which were erected around the spacious areas and opened onto them, have formed close neighbourhoods, the inhabitants of which might have worked together and undertaken various activities. It may be suggested that the open-air areas became deliberately arranged places of social and economic meanings. The reasons for the important modification in spatial organisation of the settlements and the use of courts may be associated with substantial social changes after the fall of the Palatial culture.

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How To Build A Mycenaean Town: The Architecture of Kalamianos

Daniel J. Pullen, The Florida State University

The Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP) has focused on the walled Mycenaean harbor settlement of Kalamianos, near Korphos on the Corinthian coast of the Saronic Gulf, during fieldwork from 2007–2009. A unique set of circumstances has preserved for us on the surface the town plan and a large number of buildings. The ceramics found associated with the buildings indicate a date of LHIIIA2–B date for their construction and use. One of our hypotheses is that the Mycenaean settlement at Kalamianos was a deliberate foundation, built in a relatively short period of time, when this region was a contested periphery in a competition between the venerable Saronic state at Kolonna on Aigina and the expanding state of Mycenae. In this paper I take up the opportunity presented by the architecture at Kalamianos to look at some of the ideals and solutions of Mycenaean architects and administrators when faced with the construction of a large-scale project such as this. Town organization, elite versus non-elite construction features, and the range of building types are discussed.

Late Bronze Age Architecture and Regional Dynamics at Korphos in the Corinthia

Thomas F. Tartaron, University of Pennsylvania

The main focus of the Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP) is the urban Mycenaean coastal settlement at Kalamianos, but a regional surface survey of seven square kilometers beyond the site, completed in 2009, revealed a remarkable wealth of other architectural remains from the Late Helladic period. This architecture includes settlement complexes, terrace walls, and small fortified enclosures. In this paper, I present these features and highlight problems of interpretation, including chronological resolution and function. With careful study, it has been possible to piece together a picture of intense regional activity in the Mycenaean palatial period, characterized by highly developed internal organization as well as incorporation into wider political and economic systems.

Before the Mycenaean period: social change in the MH Argolid

Sofia Voutsaki, Groningen

The early Mycenaean period is characterized by rapid change, social competition, the emergence of regional centres and social elites. It is argued in this paper that we cannot understand the transformation of the mainland societies unless we study in detail the previous MH period. Indeed, despite the proliferation of theoretical models and theoretical discussions about social change in the prehistoric Aegean, there has never been a detailed examination of social change in the crucial MH period. This was one of the aims of the 5-year multidisciplinary *Middle Helladic Argolid Project* which combined the use of different analyses (from established methods like the contextual analysis of mortuary and settlement data, to innovative techniques such as stable isotopes or ancient DNA analysis) with a complex theoretical framework stressing the role of human agency in processes of *stasis* and change. In this paper, mortuary, skeletal, biomolecular and settlement data will be integrated to address the questions: How were communities organised during the MH period? How did the impoverished and introverted societies of the early MH phases transform themselves to the competitive and expansionist polities of the early Mycenaean period?

Η Ζωή και ο Θάνατος στις Μυκήνες στο Τέλος της Προανακτορικής Περιόδου. Η Περίπτωση του Θαλαμωτού Τάφου στα Νότια του Κύκλου Β των Μυκηνών

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Τα καλοκαίρια του 1952 και του 1953 κατά την ανασκαφή του ταφικού Κύκλου Β, ο Ιωάννης Παπαδημητρίου εντόπισε και ανέσκαψε έναν πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό θαλαμωτό τάφο, που παρέμενε αδημοσίευτος έως σήμερα. Η σπουδαιότητα του τάφου έγκειται τόσο στα ευρήματά του, όσο και στη θέση του: στη σκιά της ακρόπολης, σε γειτνίαση με τον Ταφικό Κύκλο Β και εκτός οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου.

Ο τάφος διέσωσε τα σκελετικά λείψανα ενός νέου άνδρα που ήταν κτερισμένος με κεραμική, χάλκινα αγγεία, περίτεχνα όπλα και πληθώρα κοσμημάτων και μικροαντικειμένων από διάφορα υλικά. Στη μελέτη αυτή, εξετάζονται οι τεχνικές και οι αισθητικές συγγένειες των παραπάνω ευρημάτων με άλλα, γνωστά από παλαιότερες ανασκαφές στην ευρύτερη περιοχή και γίνεται λόγος για τα εργαστήρια της τοπικής οπλουργίας και της μεταλλοτεχνίας και για τα ευδιάκριτα καλλιτεχνικά τους ιδιώματα. Στο δεύτερο μέρος της παρουσίασης διερευνάται η σχέση του μεμονωμένου θαλαμωτού τάφου με τον 'ιερό' χώρο της νότιας κλιτύος της ακρόπολης και η διαδικασία του διαχωρισμού της θέσης των νεκροταφείων από τις οικιστικές νησίδες στα χρόνια της δυναμικής επέκτασης της πόλης, λίγο πριν από την εποχή της μεγάλης ακμής.

Explaining the mortuary sequence at Mycenae

Michael Boyd

This paper considers the entire sequence of funerary evidence from the site of Mycenae, from the prehistoric cemetery and early shaft graves to the end of the palatial period. Through a detailed examination of funerary practice, the aim is to understand the material and structural conditions within which innovations were introduced or traditions were maintained, and how people used those opportunities to act creatively in the funerary process, thereby remaking those conditions for the future. By considering the interactions of different groups we can understand the conditions under which changes were introduced, and explain some of the motivations of those involved. This paper will offer explanations for historical change from the perspectives of the complex interactions of those building and using tombs, rather than as a series of elite innovations.

Deiras, Argos: reassessing the chronology and importance of the Mycenaean cemetery based on finds from W. Vollgraff's excavations

Gilles Touchais (Paris I)

Anna Philippa-Touchais (EFA)

Nikolas Papadimitriou (Museum of Cycladic Art)

Deiras, the only Mycenaean cemetery that is still visible in Argos, has been systematically explored by two members of the French School at Athens: W. Vollgraff (1902-1904, 1928) and J. Deshayes (1954-1955, 1958). The excavations have brought to light 39 chamber tombs and 31 cist-graves spanning the period between LH IIA/B and LH IIIC, according to the recovered pottery.

The graves are distributed in three rather distinct clusters. The southernmost one, comprising 9 chamber tombs and the monumental “dromos X”, has been excavated by W. Vollgraff. Despite the fact that those are among the largest tombs in the cemetery, their rich assemblages are rather insufficiently known. J. Deshayes published some of the pottery in 1953 and 1969 and discussed the importance of “dromos X” in the *Deiras* monograph in 1966. However, the rest of the vases discovered by Vollgraff as well as numerous gold ornaments, bronze weapons and tools, and various small items made of bronze, lead and ivory have been only summarily treated. The primary aim of our paper is to present this important material and to reassess the chronology of the associated tombs. Moreover, an effort will be made to explore aspects of the funerary ideology and the sociopolitical structure of the Mycenaean community of Argos, as reflected on the architectural form of the Deiras tombs, their spatial and chronological distribution, as well as possible differentiations among them in the quantity and quality of offerings.

Funerary treatment of equids in the Late Bronze Age: the cemetery of Dendra

Evangelia Pappi

Dr Valasia Isaakidou

In 1977, excavations in the western part of the Mycenaean cemetery at Dendra revealed articulated burials of two pairs of horses. Nearby in 2004 and 2009, during work to prepare the site for visitors, the 4th EPKA uncovered two further paired horse burials, as well as a deposit containing parts of at least four more equids, identified as donkeys. Taphonomic analysis, body part representation and spatial arrangement of the bones imply secondary (but structured) re-deposition of previously buried complete skeletons. In view of these new finds, this paper will discuss chronological issues related to equid remains from the site, Mycenaean mortuary practices involving ritual treatment of animals similar to mortuary treatment of humans, and the social and symbolic role of equids in Mycenaean society.

Structural analysis of the tholos tombs at Megali Magoula, Galatas (Troezenia)

E. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou

The newly discovered MH-LH site of Megali Magoula is located ca. 2 km west of the town of Galatas, to the north of the main road to Troezen. Megali Magoula is a conspicuous hill, 800 m long and 250 m wide, situated ca. 150 m from the coast of the bay of Pogon (seaport of ancient Troezen). A thriving MH settlement was attested on the hilltop of Magoula and three Early Mycenaean tholos tombs were excavated on its northwest slope.

Tomb 1 was an exceptionally large tholos (D. at base 11.20 m), i.e. it belonged to Pelon's Class C, and was mainly constructed above the ground in order to be conspicuous and constitute a landmark. Its earthen mound, measuring ca. 45 m in diameter, was supported by four rings of rough stone. The dromos was lined with rubble masonry that provided retaining to the loose soil of the mound on either side of it. The lower part of the walling of the chamber was built of large boulders packed with earth and filled with smaller stones in the interstices, in the "cyclopean" manner; smaller, rather flat stones had been used in the upper part in order to facilitate the converging of the vault. The tomb had been plundered in antiquity, but a few grave goods survived to attest to the chronology (LH IIB-III B) and the elite status of the burials. Soundings in the large earthen mound of the tomb yielded MH III-LH I potsherds, apparently coming from an earlier use of the site.

Tomb 2 was very small (D. at base 3.80 m) and may be ascribed to Pelon's Class A, which is extremely rare in the NE Peloponnese, although quite common in the SW Peloponnese. That tomb had a rudimentary dromos in the form of a shallow pit dug out into the native schist in front of the stomion. The chamber was sunk into the rock below the level of the lintel. The walls of the stomion and the chamber were constructed of thin flat stones, arranged in irregular courses and mortared with clay. The tomb was plundered and was re-used for burials during the Hellenistic period. The destruction layer of the chamber contained LH II potsherds, mixed with earlier (MH III-LH I) material coming perhaps from the mound, as well as few shattered vessels datable to the LH IIIA2-III B1. The only valuable object that had escaped looting was a lentoid seal of agate dated to the LH IIB.

Tomb 3 was of an earlier form than the other two. It was built totally above the ground and had no dromos; it consisted solely of a circular chamber (D. 3.90 m) with a very low, "trilithic" entrance similar to the entrance of the EM-MM circular tombs. Two rough, megalithic, limestone slabs, set upright across the walling of the chamber, formed the doorjambs; the lintel and the vault were not preserved. The surviving, lower walling of the chamber was built of rough stones of irregular shape. The lack of any considerable amount of debris in the fill of the chamber and the sporadic masses of clay contained in the destruction layer seem to indicate that the upper part of the vault was built of lighter materials, such as pieces of wood and masses of clay. The tomb had been disturbed in modern times owing to farming, but several fragmentary cups and goblets, of MH III/LH I-II date, were recovered in its floor deposit. Two bronze weapons, a Type A sword and a tongue shaped dagger, were found roughly in the centre of the chamber. Those prestige items constituted the *insignia dignitatis* of a young individual whose skeletal remains were retrieved in their proximity.

Tomb 3 may be paralleled as to its architecture and chronology to the Vagenas tholos in Messenia. Apparently, it is the earliest tholos known to date in the NE Peloponnese and may be legitimately proposed as a link between the Cretan circular tombs and the Mycenaean tholoi. The architectural form of the Helladic vaulted tomb appears to have been created here at about the same time as in Messenia, perhaps under a similar cultural influence that was transmitted to Troezenia *via* the sea routes of the Saronic Gulf. A thick layer of sea pebbles strewn over the floor of Tombs 2 and 3 shows a fusion of the new architectural form with the earlier MH tradition of burials in tumuli of earth and gravel.

Τα μυκηναϊκά νεκροταφεία της Ανατολικής Κορινθίας και ο πρώϊμος θολωτός μυκηναϊκός τάφος της Αρχαίας Κορίνθου

ΚΑΣΙΜΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑ, ΑΖ'ΕΠΚΑ Κορίνθου, ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗΣ

Σε τρεις περιοχές της Ανατολικής Κορινθίας έχουν έρθει στο φως, δυστυχώς ως αποτέλεσμα αρχαιοκαπηλικής δράσης, σημαντικά νεκροταφεία θαλαμοειδών τάφων της μυκηναϊκής περιόδου. Στην Αλμυρή, στην Γύριζα Εξαμιλίων και στο Σκάλωμα στην χερσόνησο της Περαχώρας. Πρόσφατα, σε σωστική ανασκαφή στο πλαίσιο δημόσιου έργου, αποκαλύφθηκε επίσης ο πρώτος θολωτός μυκηναϊκός τάφος στην Κορινθία, ένα ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό εύρημα τόσο ως προς τα αρχιτεκτονικά του χαρακτηριστικά όσο και ως προς τα κινητά του ευρήματα.

Σκοπός της ανακοίνωσης θα είναι η παρουσίαση, για πρώτη φορά στην επιστημονική κοινότητα, της αρχιτεκτονικής και των ευρημάτων αυτών των νεκροταφείων, η σύγκριση μεταξύ τους και η εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων, στο βαθμό που αυτό είναι δυνατό, καθώς και η επισήμανση των τοπικών διαφοροποιήσεων μέσα στα όρια της Κορινθίας στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική, στα ταφικά έθιμα τις κατηγορίες και τα είδη της κεραμικής. Με δεδομένο ότι ο θολωτός τάφος έχει ήδη παρουσιαστεί με αρκετή λεπτομέρεια στο Α' Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την Κορινθία (Λουτράκι 26-29 Μαρτίου 2009) η αναφορά σε αυτών θα περιοριστεί στο θαλαμοειδών τάφων των προαναφερθέντων νεκροταφείων.

The Early Mycenaean chamber tombs in NE Peloponnese: A view from Southern Peloponnese

Chrysanthi Gallou

The Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries of NE Peloponnese have attracted intense scholarly interest since the 19th century and have formed the backbone of Mycenaean funerary archaeology. The early Mycenaean tombs at Mycenae and Prosymna have been classified among those monuments that introduced the type to mainland Greece. The aim of this contribution is to discuss anew the introduction of the chamber tomb on the mainland, assess the historical background behind its introduction and discuss the role of the Argolid in the type's introduction, dissemination and development, from a southern Peloponnesian point of view.

A Colorful Death. The Role Color Played in Burials in the Late Bronze Age Argolid

Carole Gillis

The study of burials naturally concerns various aspects: the architecture, the osteological and organic remains, the context and location, the socio-economic relevance, the finds and so on. One area that has not been investigated in depth regarding the grave gifts is the choice of color. I first became aware of this field in earlier studies regarding tin-covered vessels, where chemical analyses showed that c. 50% of the tin covering these vessels were in their original silver color, while the other half had been oxidized to a golden color. In following this direction of the possibility of meaning in the choice of color, Linear B was no help, having very few 'color terms' at all. Recently, using three aspects of color (hue, degree of shininess or lack thereof, and intensity of hue), I registered these three parameters for all the non-skeletal and non-ceramic finds in Chamber Tombs 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 (2 and 3 being empty, as was ChTII:1) at Asine. My results indicated that the most important value by far was that of shininess, followed by low intensity hues such as white/light and high intensity ones, black-brown, purple, dark red, cobalt blue and so on. I gave some possible interpretations as well. In this current presentation, I will show the results after having added the grave material from Berbati and Dendra. These results will hopefully either demonstrate that the phenomenon of color symbolism was an important one for the LBA Mycenaean or was possibly only a local one used in Asine. If the use seems to be current at least in the Argolid, possible interpretations of the symbolism will be given.

Glass eye-beads in Mycenaean Argolid - Manufacture, provenance and funerary function

Dr Kalliopi Nikita, Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham

The current paper presents and discusses the occurrence of glass eye-beads in Mycenaean Argolid. In the first place, this distinctive piece of glass jewellery is defined. The principal types of glass eye-beads are described on the basis of the techniques employed in their manufacture.

Glass eye-beads are not included amongst the typical jewellery produced by the Mycenaean glass industry that flourished during the palatial times. This phenomenon is also attested to by the rarity and uneven distribution of glass eye-beads in the Mycenaean World. Examples of glass eye-beads occurring in Mycenaean sites outside the Argolid will also be considered to facilitate a more comprehensive discussion. Given that glass eye-beads are distinctive products of alien glass industries their provenance is investigated within the external relations network of Mycenaean Greece with its contemporaneous Late Bronze Age World.

Glass eye-beads are mainly found in burials, as it happens with jewellery in general. The paper aims to understand the function of glass eye-beads as personal ornaments within the funerary context of Mycenaean Argolid. More specifically, the funerary function of glass eye-beads is explored in association with the modes of their deposition as well as the social status of the dead. An ultimate attempt is made to explain possible symbolic attributes of glass eye-beads in relation to Mycenaean funerary notions and religious beliefs.

The Definition of Late Helladic I Revisited

Michael Lindblom

In an endnote of Dickinson's (1974) paper on the definition of Late Helladic I, the author referred to the ongoing work at Ayios Stephanos as potentially important for our understanding of the origin of Lustrous Mycenaean Decorated (LDM) pottery. The final publication of the pottery sequence at the settlement justifies a review of how this "transition to Mycenaean" is identified. The possibility to split LH I into at least two parts – an early "becoming" with limited means of recognition outside Laconia, and a later "being" identifiable over considerable areas of the Greek Mainland – leave us with the conclusion that the "becoming" and hence beginning of LH I cannot be monitored outside its initial core area with the same set of diagnostic tools (as the later 'being' stage). In published deposits from the NE Peloponnese LDM pottery appears in analytically meaningful quantities only in the later phase. The pottery from the Lerna shaft grave fills is used to show that LH I Late on the NE Peloponnese is contemporary with the volcanic destruction level (VDL) at Akrotiri and the mature LM IA. Because of the large size of the Lerna shaft graves assemblages, their well-defined ceramic range, and intersecting position between southern and central Greece, they offer additional tools to sequence and evaluate LH I/LC I in other deposits.

The North-East Peloponnese and the Near East: Ceramic Evidence for Contacts in LH III

P.A. Mountjoy

Export of pottery from the Argolid to the Near East in LH IIIA-III B is discussed with reference to Neutron Activation Analysis. Shapes exported and then imitated locally, particularly in Cyprus, are surveyed. The paper concludes with a survey of the very few purely Argive motifs used on Near Eastern pottery in III C.

Palaces and "Palaces": Mycenaean Texts and Contexts in the Argolid and Neighbouring Regions

Pascal Darcque, Françoise Rougemont

From the palace of Agamemnon to the palace of Ajax and those of Nestor or Jason, the number of Mycenaean "palaces" has been growing over the years. This clearly shows that the issue of the Mycenaean palaces is still open. Our aim is to re-examine the extant archaeological and epigraphical evidence in order to answer the following questions :

What are the relevant criteria to be used to achieve a definition of Mycenaean buildings and sites which were the seat of a palatial type of power?

Do written documents, archaeological material as well as architectural features allow us to suggest a hierarchy among the buildings preserved at one site, and among the sites excavated in a region like the Argolid?

Is there a unique Mycenaean "model" for palatial organisation or did multiple "models" function in parallel on the Greek Mainland during the Late Helladic III B period?

‘The Sacred Centre at Mycenae’: location and status

Dr. K. A. Wardle, Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham

Ever since the discovery of the *Temple Complex* and the *Room with the Fresco Complex* during the Helleno-British excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae in 1968-69, it has been taken as axiomatic i) that these formed one of the principal sanctuaries at Mycenae during the 13th Century BC, regularly described as the ‘Cult Centre’ and ii) that, situated within the Citadel, they must have been under elite, palatial control.

Study of the exceptionally complex stratigraphy and the wide range of finds, both within the cult rooms and in adjacent areas, has shown, however, that

- The first construction of both complexes in the first half of the 13th Century antedates the western extension of the Citadel walls.
- Much of the use of both complexes, together with alterations and repairs, also antedates this extension.
- There is no stratigraphic/pottery evidence to show whether the Room with Fresco Complex continued in use after the construction of the new Cyclopean walls or not.
- Although the Temple Complex remained in use in a very limited way until the destruction of the whole area at the end of LH IIIB 2 late, there is no stratigraphic/pottery evidence to show whether the cult deposits of objects presumed to have been in use in the complex were made before or after the construction of these walls.

These ‘sacred’ complexes were thus established and used for a period *outside* the Citadel and could, potentially, have been accessible to any of the inhabitants of the city of Mycenae, not just the elite who controlled access to the Citadel. It remains an open question whether the Room with the Fresco Complex continued in use after the extension had been constructed, though on balance I feel that this is unlikely, since access to it was physically very restricted.

The removal of the Western extension of the Citadel wall from our ‘map’ of this part of Mycenae invites further consideration of the reasons for the location of these sacred areas outside the Citadel at the edge of a steep narrow strip of the slope on which the House of the Warrior Vase, South House and Tsountas’ House had already been built by early in the 13th Century. This is of course the same strip which had been chosen centuries before for the location of Grave Circle A.

We do not know where the main entrance to the Citadel was before the construction of the Lion Gate, which is an integral part of the western extension. We may presume that Grave Circle A (whether already monumentalised or not) lay beside a major route into or out of the Citadel, while we may expect that the monumental Clytemnestra and Aegisthus Tholos tombs were easily visible from such a route.

Some of the distinctive objects found in the sacred complexes are earlier than the structures in which they were found and indicate that the cult already existed - though of course we do not know whether this was on the same site or a more distant one.

I would like to propose as a working hypothesis that one of the routes into the Citadel passed the entrances to the Clytemnestra and Aegisthus Tholoi before climbing across the slope below Circle A to reach the point where the Hellenistic Tower was built. Here it met the steep stone stairway (and adjacent drain) which formed the southern boundary of Tsountas’ House.

Once the South House, the ‘Megaron’ and Tsountas House had been constructed by the early years of the 13th Century, a small courtyard would have remained beside this route which was then partly filled in by the construction of the two sacred complexes. Originally

the entrances to both of these opened in the direction of the courtyard (though that of the Room with the Fresco Complex was later transferred to the opposite side of the building).

The origin of the cult activity in this location may lie in the MH period when the region was a cemetery, or may relate to the establishment of this route up to the Citadel. Situated, as several Aegean sanctuaries were, adjacent to one of the community's boundaries (in the case of Mycenae that between the elite on the Citadel and the rest of the population in the city which it controlled) it was ideally placed to serve both groups. The presence of high-status items such as the ivory head and lion alongside quantities of much more mundane items of pottery etc would accord well with this interpretation.

Tales of the Unexpected; Identifying Cult Practice in the House M Quarter of the Mycenae Citadel

Vasiliki Pliatsika

The House M quarter lies in the northwestern part of the Mycenae citadel, situated closely to the northern approach from the Lion Gate to the palace on the top of the hill.

Excavations in this area were conducted twice, first by Tsountas in the late 19th c., who left no record of his extensive activities, and then by Mylonas from 1962 to 1964, who published some of the results in preliminary reports.

The most conspicuous building of this quarter, House M, presents several notable architectural features which speak of its special function and should be interconnected with the activities that took place in its premises.

Despite post-mycenaean disturbances and Tsountas's intervention, Mylonas detected a few intact assemblages both inside the building and in the lower basement room to its north, where much of the superstructure collapsed following an earthquake at the end of the 13th c. B.C.

The detailed study of the facts and finds of these assemblages led to rather unexpected results, as they furnished enough significant evidence to associate House M with cultic activities.

This is an inference of considerable implications since it is widely accepted that divine worship inside the citadel of Mycenae was essentially limited to the shrines of the Cult Centre in the southwest slope.

Piety begins at home, but whose piety?

Reconstructing use- and discard-patterns of Mycenaean vs. handmade burnished terracotta figurines in postpalatial domestic contexts within the settlement of Tiryns and beyond

Melissa Veters

The contextual analysis of two LH III C figurine classes - genuine Mycenaean types and examples of handmade burnished wares and derivatives – starts with a typological definition of both classes. Their chronological and spatial distribution within the settlement area of Tiryns forms the basis for a detailed comparison of figurine-use in domestic contexts, but also refers to comparanda for handmade burnished figurines beyond this site. The reconstruction of rituals involving figurines is discussed and put into the wider context of postpalatial religious behaviour in the private as opposed to the public realm. Special attention is given to practices which might reflect the shaping of diverse religious identities after the demise of the Mycenaean palatial society.

The Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine in perspective

Robin Hägg

The well-known Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine, which was found and excavated in April 1926, has been discussed and (re)interpreted in various ways during the almost 85 years since its discovery. For Nilsson, who was the first scholar to describe it in an addendum to the first edition of his *Minoan-Mycenaean religion* (1927), it was natural to hail the discovery as the first example of a sanctuary of Minoan type on the mainland. Persson, the excavator, thought that it "may be considered as a transitional stage between the small house sanctuaries of the Minoan age and the temples of the Greek age." I intend to discuss these and subsequent interpretations of this important find complex against a background of our changing views of the relationship between the Aegean religions and their place in the history of scholarship.

Mycenaean religion in the twenty-first century

Helène Whittaker, University of Tromsø

In this paper I will present an overview of new material pertaining to religion from the north-eastern Peloponnese and look at new developments in the study of Mycenaean religion and cult in the past twenty years or so.

Discussions about prehistoric Greek religion have often been unnecessarily restricted as they have mostly concentrated on the evidence for sanctuaries, cult images, votive material etc, that is to say evidence which is generally accepted as "religious". However, all or most aspects of a society's daily life and social organisation are in some way dependent on or affected by its worldview, which in a prehistoric society must have been largely shaped by its relations with the non-material world, often personified as gods, ancestors, or spirits of various kinds. In the attempt to reconstruct the religion of a past society, it is not only the evidence which can be classified as cultic or ritual which is relevant but the totality of the available material record. In the second part of my paper I wish, therefore, on the basis of the evidence from the north-eastern Peloponnese, to argue that Mycenaean religion should not be discussed in isolation from other social and cultural contexts but integrated into the wider discussion of how we understand life and society in the Mycenaean period.