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POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURAL CHANGE ON THE UPPER CITADEL OF TIRYNS. THE CASE OF BUILDING T*

The question of what happened on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns in the centuries following the complete destruction of the Mycenaean palace, has occupied scholars for a long time. From the beginning, the discussion focused on a narrow megaron uncovered in 1884 by H. Schliemann and W. Dörpfeld, which was built sometime after the catastrophe in the eastern half of the ruin of the Great Megaron. Unlike its predecessor this narrow megaron, called Building T, consisted only of two rooms, an approximately square porch to the south and an elongated room to the north, it was divided into two aisles by a central row of columns and it had no central hearth (Pl. XXXI).[1] Until today this has remained the only unequivocal example for the reoccupation of the Central Megaron complex of a Mycenaean palace, and therefore it is unfortunate that the excavators did not attach any great importance to Building T. Dörpfeld devoted one page to its description and the building was only documented in a plan at a scale of 1:300 before it was partially dismantled, in order to uncover architectural features of the Great Megaron.[2] A revealing detail as to the attitude of the excavators towards Building T is provided by the frontispiece of Schliemanns publication.[3] What, at first sight, looks like a realistic sketch of the ruins of Tiryns is actually a kind of montage. Depicted are only the remains of the last Mycenaean palace, while the walls of the narrow Megaron were left out. They seem to have disturbed the general impression of the palace.

Given the insufficient informations it was somewhat foreseeable that a controversy about the date and function of the building would arise. Dörpfeld and the majority of scholars later dealing with this building, spoke out in favor of an interpretation as a geometric or early Archaic temple.[4] It is important to realize, though, that this opinion rested mainly on comparisons for the ground-plan, and not on actual finds, since in the interior of Building T not a single object of post-mycenaean date was encountered.[5] Accordingly, it came as no surprise that already in 1921 C.W. Blegen questioned the Iron Age date of the building and proposed instead an assignment to the Late Mycenaean period.[6] In the context of a re-evaluation of the social and political situation in Late Helladic IIIC K. Kilian picked up Blegens opinion and argued, that Building T could be in reality a post-palatial representative building, built intentionally inside the eastern part of the Great Megaron in order to incorporate the place of the former throne.[7] However, when Kilian in 1985 carried out excavations inside the Great Megaron no new clues as to the dating of building T emerged and it seemed that the problem of its chronological position would remain forever unsolved.

Unexpectedly, though, in 1998 during a conservation program, in which new concrete floors were installed inside the Great Megaron, excavation results were obtained, which, together with a re-evaluation of some features uncovered by Kilian, shed new light on the controversial Building T.[8]

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* This article is dedicated to Robin Hägg, who enriched our understanding of Mycenaean religion in so many ways.

1 W. DÖRPFELD, in H. SCHLIEMANN, *Tiryns. Der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns* (1886) 259-260.

2 SCHLIEMANN (*supra* n. 1) pl. II.

3 SCHLIEMANN (*supra* n. 1) frontispiece.

4 DÖRPFELD (*supra* n. 1) 260. For a presentation of the history of research see J. MARAN, "Das Megaron im Megaron. Zur Datierung und Funktion des Antenbaus im mykenischen Palast von Tiryns," *AA* (2000) 1-4.

5 This is emphasized by W. DÖRPFELD, Grabungstagebuch Tiryns 1910, 63. Additional evidence supposedly supporting an Iron Age dating of Building T, like the Late Geometric and Early Archaic Bothros and the Archaic spolia found on the Upper Citadel, was not directly linked to the narrow megaron and thus only circumstantial.

6 C.W. BLEGEN, *Korakou. A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth* (1921) 130-134, fig. 112.

7 K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tyrins 1978.1979. Bericht zu den Grabungen", *AA* (1981) 160.

8 For a comprehensive report on the excavation results see MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 4-10.

Regarding the ground plan so far two interior posts could be inferred from the fact, that two column bases of the Great Megaron were integrated into the narrow Megaron. There is now evidence, that there were more than these two features on the central axis of this building. Kilians excavations focused on the main room of the Great Megaron, which was almost completely excavated. Only some profile baulks remained untouched, one of these running exactly along the central axis of Building T.[9] On this baulk a slab of dark grey limestone with a carefully smoothed surface was already uncovered in 1985 in front of the place of the throne, but was then left uninvestigated.[10] In 1998 it was determined that this slab (Platte A) lies in a small pit cutting through the plaster floor of the Great Megaron, therefore linking the slab with later building activities and in all probability with the narrow Megaron. This applies also to two other features of Kilians excavation in the main room, namely a post-hole (Grube 1/1985) and a second stone slab (Platte B), again situated in a pit disturbing the plaster floor, and again aligned along the central axis of Building T (Pl. XXXI).[11]

The same alignment as the mentioned features in the main room show two post-holes, which were discovered next to each other in 1998 in the northern part of the vestibule of the Great Megaron, again on a profile baulk of Kilians excavation (Pl. XXXI). The holes were dug through the plaster floor on different occasions, the post to the north (Grube 4/1998), replacing an earlier one to the south (Grube 1/1998).[12] The digging of these holes caused considerable damage to the floor of the Great Megaron. Inside the two post-holes there were only few finds, nothing of which being younger than Mycenaean. Most noteworthy are the horn of a Late Mycenaean terracotta bull and fragments of a deep bowl of undecorated Mycenaean fine ware of LH IIIB or LH IIIC date, both from Grube 1/1998.[13] But fortunately, we don't have to rely on these finds for dating.

In both post-holes there were small pieces of the wooden posts, which could be used for a C14 analysis. Since some of the pieces were still in place in an upright sticking position, an attempt was made to take the samples from the outermost visible parts of the posts, in order to minimize the possible distorting effects of using samples from the core of the wood. The C14-analysis, which was kindly conducted by Dr. B. Kromer from the Institut für Umweltphysik in Heidelberg leads to the following results. Grube 1/1998 (*Sample Hd-20286*) 3020 +/- 41 BP; 68,2% Confidence (1 Sigma): 1380 B.C. (0.98) 1190 B.C.; 1140 B.C. (0.02) 1130 B.C.; 95,4% Confidence (2 Sigma): 1400 B.C. (1.00) 1120 B.C. Grube 4/1998 (*Sample Hd-20272*) 3085 +/- 65 BP; 68,2% Confidence (1 Sigma): 1430 B.C. (1.00) 1260 B.C.; 95,4% Confidence (2 Sigma): 1520 B.C. (1.00) 1130 B.C.

The results give a clear picture. Both posts date to the Late Bronze Age, and the calibration span of the dates does not overlap at all with the 1st millennium B.C. Moreover, not even the 11th century B.C. is included in the 2 Sigma range, that is with 95,4% confidence. On the other hand, with these dates alone, we could not pinpoint the age of the two posts within the Late Bronze Age. But as they are certainly later than the Great Megaron, and only make sense in Building T, it is possible to narrow down the dates to the 12th century B.C.

While it is certain, that Building T had a central colonnade, the arrangement of the columns remains an open question. The fact is, that not all of the mentioned features on the central axis can be contemporary, and the two post holes found next to each other prove beyond doubt that a rebuilding took place. It is likely that initially a rather large distance of between 4.40 and 5.40 m was chosen for the posts, which on the occasion of the rebuilding was reduced to distances between 2.90 and 3.60 m. Whether the stone slab in front of the place of the throne served as a column base is doubtful considering its carefully smoothed surface, which does not suit such a function. In my opinion, it must be taken into consideration, that this slab was used as a support for a portable hearth or another kind of device, rather than

9 K. KILIAN, "Die 'Thronfolge' in Tiryns," *AM* 103 (1988) Beilage 1.

10 MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 5-6, fig. 2-5.

11 MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 11, fig. 5. The C14-analysis of a sample from this post also gave a Late Bronze Age date: Grube 1/1985 (*Sample Hd-20428*) 3020 +/- 39 BP; 68,2% Confidence (1 Sigma): 1380 B.C. (0.22) 1340 B.C.; 1320 B.C. (0.75) 1190 B.C.; 1140 B.C. (0.02) 1130 B.C.; 95,4% Confidence (2 Sigma): 1400 B.C.(1.00) 1120 B.C.

12 MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 6-10, fig. 5-7.

13 MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 9, fig. 8-9.

as a column base. In any case, the mere existence of the two stone slabs shows that, just as W. Frickenhaus thought, the floor level of Building T approximately corresponded to the one of its predecessor, and, accordingly, the place of the throne remained visible in the new building.[14] This bears out Kilians assumption, that the specific way of integrating Building T into the ruins of the Great Megaron was mainly guided by the wish to reutilize the place of the throne.

We can, thus, state, that Blegen and Kilian were right, and that Building T was a last Mycenaean megaron built sometime after the catastrophe into the ruins of the Great Megaron. But, beyond the mere establishment of a possibly quite immediate succession of the two megara the incorporation of the place of the throne points to something even more important, namely the continuing focus of social hierarchy on one person. Considering these signs of continuity the question arises to what extent religious aspects of the palatial megaron complex may have survived the upheavals at the turn of LH IIIB to IIIC. In this regard two further implications of the Mycenaean dating of building T deserve our attention. Immediately affected is the altar in the Great Court, since its transformation from a round to a square platform-like structure must have taken place approximately parallel to the erection of Building T. This is borne out by two slightly curved cut blocks which were removed in the course of the partial dismantling of the altar and used as building material in the narrow megaron.[15] Whether this was done, in order to ensure divine protection for the new building we cannot say, because also other blocks of the former palace were reutilized as spolia in walls of Building T.

In addition, the new dating of Building T also has an indirect bearing on the chronology of the Tirynthian Frescoes. Up till now one was confronted with the odd situation that during the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld relatively few fresco fragments and some dadoes preserved *in situ* on the lowermost portion of walls could be assigned to the latest palace.[16] On the other hand, the majority of frescoes, among them the hunting scenes and the famous procession of women, were discovered in 1910 on the western slope of the Upper Citadel in an extensive and thick layer with burnt debris in the area of the upper western staircase. However, this fresco complex was thought to belong to an older phase of the latest palace.[17] Decisive for

14 A. FRICKENHAUS, "Die Hera von Tiryns," in *Tiryns* I (1912) 2-4, fig. 2. While the level of the surface of the two stone slabs corresponds to the one of the floor (MARAN [*supra* n. 4] fig. 5), the platform of the place of the throne uncovered by Schliemann and Dörpfeld rose at least 0.12 to 0.15 m above the surrounding surface of the floor: KILIAN (*supra* n. 9) 2, fig. 1.

15 W. DÖRPFELD, *Grabungstagebuch Tiryns* (1910) 13-15; K. MÜLLER, "Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes," in *Tiryns* III (1930) 137-138, fig. 64-65; P. ÅLIN, *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland* (1962) 33; D.W. RUPP, *Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese c. 750/725 B.C. to c. 300/275 B.C.* (Diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1974) 123-127; MAZARAKIS-AINIAN, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.)* (1997) 160, 346. It is unclear why G.E. MYLONAS, *Μυκηναϊκή θρησκεία* (1977) 44 doubted the Mycenaean dating of the round altar, since Müller stressed, that the plaster floor of the Great Court was not cut by the altar, but extends right to its curved blocks. Whether the second remodeling of the altar, consisting of a rectangular addition to the southern half of the square platform, already dates to the Iron Age is impossible to say. The fact that the stones of this second remodeling were founded not on the plaster floor of the Great Court, but rather on a layer of earth could indeed point to a much later date. But this evidence is not conclusive. Moreover, it should be noted that one of the few complexes of the Upper Citadel certainly dating to Late Geometric and Early Archaic times, namely the Bothros, was dug in a way that walls of the Mycenaean palace were destroyed (MÜLLER, *op. cit.* 214, pl. 6; P. GERCKE, in *Führer durch Tiryns* [1975] 97-99, fig. 24). In this case it seems that the Mycenaean walls were at least partially covered and not readily identifiable from the walking surface of Geometric times. Therefore, doubts arise, as to whether in the 8th or the 7th cent. B.C. features of Mycenaean date like the altar were still so well visible, that they could be identified and remodeled without causing significant damage. For the difficulties in establishing a connection between the Bothros and the altar in the Great Court see A. PAPADIMITRIOU, "Η οικιστική εξέλιξη της Τίρυνθας μετά τη Μυκηναϊκή εποχή. Τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα και η ιστορική ερμηνεία τους," in *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes-Argos 28 avril-1 mai 1990* (1998) 125-126.

16 DÖRPFELD (*supra* n. 1) 338-350, pl. V-XIII; G. RODENWALDT, "Die Fresken des Palastes", in *Tiryns* II (1912) 166-171, fig. 72.

17 MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 45-46, 209. Müller clearly states that as a result of the deposition of the layer with the burnt debris the Western Staircase was temporarily unusable, and only after an extensive repair it was reactivated. Thus, Müller didn't leave the slightest doubt that the Western Staircase existed prior to the deposition of the layer with the burnt debris. RODENWALDT (*supra* n. 16) 67 probably refers to the phase

this view was the observation, that above the layer with the burnt debris there followed another layer with Mycenaean pottery and on top a coarse lime floor with pebbles.[18] Only because of the assumption, that there existed no Mycenaean occupation on the Upper Citadel after the final destruction of the palace Rodenwaldt proposed his chronological attribution of the frescoes to an older phase of the latest palace.[19] However, considering the new evidence for a reoccupation of the Upper Citadel in the aftermath of the destruction these frescoes could very well be the ones of the last palace,[20] since the deposition of the layer with the burnt debris found in the area of the Western staircase could originate from demolition and clearing works prior to the construction of Building T.[21]

In order to consider possibie changes in the cultic activities following the destruction, it is necessary to address first the issue of the nature of palatial cult in the last decades of the Mycenaean palaces. The Linear B texts from Pylos do contribute in some way to the question of the highest level of official cult within the palaces, inasmuch as they contain indications, that the *wanax* was not only concerned with the performance of rituals,[22] but that he himself was the recipient of official celebrations and offerings.[23] This, in turn, raises, the possibility of a certain degree of deification of the ruler.[24] All other religious aspects have to be deduced from the archaeological sources, and above all from the layout of the palace. In the first place, we have to mention the rituals and ceremonies related to the Hearth-*wanax* Ideology as described by J. Wright, which were carried out in the throne room.[25] Although the exact nature of these activities remains unclear, their importance for the maintenance of the status quo of Mycenaean society during palatial times can hardly be overestimated. In Tiryns these cultic activities in the innermost sphere of the *wanax* were confronted with such under free-sky at the round altar in the Great Court. G. Albers rightly emphasizes, that in spite of the large size of the court the audience of these rituals was in all probability formed by an inner circle of high-ranking political and religious dignitaries, and not by common people.[26] This is suggested by the mere layout of the citadel with the impressive sequence of gates and propyla,

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of the repair, when he says that the layer with the debris in one place was cut by the staircase. Unfortunately, this reference was used by M. JACOB-FELSCH, "Datierung der Burgmauern von Tiryns," *Veröff. Joachim Jungius. Ges. Wiss. Hamburg* 87 (1998) 124, to make the far-reaching, but unfounded claim that the whole Western Staircase was built after the deposition of the layer with the debris in LH IIIC together with the Cyclopean fortification of the Upper Citadel and the final version of the Great Megaron. Building T she interprets as an Archaic temple (JACOB-FELSCH, *op. cit.* 126).

18 MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 45-46.

19 RODENWALDT (*supra* n. 16) 68. To my knowledge this chronological attribution to a phase prior to the final destruction of the palace has never been questioned by the scholars dealing with this fresco complex: cf. H.B. SIEDENTOPF, in *Führer durch Tiryns* (1975) 122; S.E PETERSON, *Wall Painting in the Aegean Bronze Age: The Procession Frescoes* (Diss. University of Minnesota, 1981) 69; *Aegean Painting* 165; L. KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU, *Aegean Frescoes of Religious Character* (1996) 65-66.

20 In fact, several fragments possibly belonging to the same procession of women were found by Schliemann and Dörpfeld, and may derive from their excavation in the palace on the Upper Citadel: SCHLIEMANN (*supra* n. 1) Taf. X,a.d-i. The assumption of RODENWALDT (*supra* n. 16) 69 that all these fragments were found in the Middle Citadel was only based on the argument that in 1910 similar fragments of a procession of women were encountered in a pit in the Middle Citadel.

21 In this case, the repair of the Western Staircase would also date to the time after the final destruction of the palace, i.e. the 12th cent. B.C.

22 C.G. THOMAS, "The Nature of Mycenaean Kingship," *SMEA* 17 (1976) 109-111.

23 L. BAUMBACH, "The Mycenaean Contribution to the Study of Greek Religion in the Bronze Age," *SMEA* 20 (1979) 153-156; T.G. PALAIMA, "The Nature of the Myceanaean *Wanax*: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions," in *Ruler* 133-134; E. STAVRIANOPOULOU, "Die Verflechtung des Politischen mit dem Religiösen im mykenischen Pylos," in *POLITEIA* 427-430.

24 STAVRIANOPOULOU (*supra* n. 23) 430. BAUMBACH (*supra* n. 23) 155 has noted, that in Mycenaean society there may have been no clear-cut distinction between the sacred and the secular. Thus, the king of Pylos possibly fulfilled political duties on the human level, while receiving divine honors in the realm of religion.

25 J.C. WRIGHT, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion," in *Placing the Gods* 57-59. The special relation between the ruler on the throne and the large hearth was already emphasized by MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 198, who concluded that the hearth was used for ceremonial purposes.

26 G. ALBERS, this volume. See also K. KILIAN, "Mykenische Heiligtümer der Peloponnes," in *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon* (1992) 20.

which highlight not only the increasing exclusivity of space, but also produce a dramatic enhancement of the ascent to the palace culminating, as Wright and M. Küpper have shown, in the Great Megaron.[27] Even within this main building the gradual focusing of the access while crossing the porch and vestibule points to the attempt to heighten the tension as one approaches the main room (Pl. XXXII),[28] where the enthroned person was concealed as long as possible from the eye of the visitor.[29] In this magnificent staging of power the frescoes must have played a significant role, and therefore I assume, that especially the Procession frescoes were located in the immediate vicinity of the Great Megaron. Besides showing the destination of the actual processions taking place, these frescoes also symbolized the eternal and divinely-ordained character of such ritual activities.[30]

Considering these likely features of palatial cultic activity on the Upper Citadel, we have to conclude, that the destruction of the palace and the following erection of Building T must have brought fundamental changes to the staging and performance of ritual. The most important break is highlighted by the abandonment of the large central hearth as the focus of the main room of the megaron, which was accompanied by the creation of an elongated room divided into two aisles. Only recently it became clear, that this sequence of events finds a striking parallel in nearby Midea. There, a LH IIIB-megaron with central hearth after an earthquake destruction was replaced by a megaron of LH IIIC date with a central row of columns.[31] The excavator, G. Walberg, has convincingly argued that such buildings with a division into two aisles represent a new architectural concept of the post-palatial Mycenaean period, a concept, in which the large central hearth as the focus of the building was abandoned. She goes on to conclude that the new interior arrangement of the megara may reflect the disintegration of Mycenaean centralized kingdoms and state controlled religious rituals, and the emergence of a new type of social organization.[32]

Indeed, there can be little doubt, that in Tiryns the Hearth-Wanax-Ideology could not have possibly survived unchanged the destruction of the palace. Therefore, the question arises, how it was substituted. An analysis of the layout of Building T shows, that as a result of

27 WRIGHT (*supra* n. 25) 51, 54-56; M. KÜPPER, *Mykenische Architektur. Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild* (*Intern. Arch.* 25, 1996) 111-113, 118; see also K. KILIAN, "Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausübung in Tiryns," in *Sanctuaries and Cults* 49.

28 WRIGHT (*supra* n. 25) 56.

29 The only point where I would disagree with WRIGHT (*supra* n. 25) is his assumption that the hearth and not the person sitting on the throne formed the center of attention in the main room of the megaron. Instead, I interpret the placing of the throne on the right-hand wall as a special device within the staging of power in Mycenaean palaces, and as a sign of the particular importance of the concealed person. As to the identification of this person, I find the suggestion of P. REHAK, "Enthroned Figures in Aegean Art and the Function of the Mycenaean Megaron," in *Ruler* 109-117 that not the *wanax*, but an enthroned woman held the most important ceremonial role not compelling. Rehak himself makes the convincing suggestion that the lack of an iconography of the *wanax* may derive from his role being defined on the Greek mainland only after Aegean iconography had become set in Minoan Crete. This exactly may explain, why there are no depictions of enthroned male persons in Mycenaean Greece. If we would follow Rehaks line of argument we could just as well call into question the whole concept of a king with the title *wanax*, because there are no iconographical indications for his existence.

30 R. HÄGG, "Pictorial Programmes in Minoan Palaces and Villas?," in *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes (21-22 avril 1983), BCH* suppl. XI (1985) 214; L.R. McCALLUM, *Decorative Program in the Mycenaean Palace of Pylos: The Megaron Frescoes* (Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1987) 110, 119, 148-149. As the large fresco complex was found in the area of the Western Staircase of Tiryns, KILIAN (*supra* n. 27) 49-50 with footnote 17 concluded that the procession of women and the hunting scenes were originally located in the upper floor of buildings of the western part of the palace. But the situation in Pylos, where a procession theme is found within the Megaron, rather suggests a direct linkage of the Tiryns procession fresco to the more official parts of the palace in its center or its eastern wing. For instance, the procession of women could have adorned the walls of the colonnaded hall surrounding the Great Court on three sides. Certainly, the Great Court belonged to the few areas intended to be re-utilized after the catastrophe and was, therefore, intensively cleared. Accordingly, a certain amount of the debris forming the "epichoseis" along the western slope of the Upper Citadel should derive from this area. However, since in the course of the clearing works probably also standing walls in parts of the palace afterwards not reoccupied were demolished, such an attribution will remain speculative.

31 G. WALBERG, "The Midea Megaron and Changes in Mycenaean Ideology," *Aegean Arch.* 2 (1995) 87-91; fig. 1.

32 WALBERG (*supra* n. 31) 89-91.

the simplification of the ground-plan the described principle applied in the Great Megaron of enhancing the access to the main room by architectural means was clearly weakened (Pl. XXXIII). Furthermore, the effect of the throne room must have been less mysterious, since it lacked the large central hearth and the enthroned person was clearly visible when entering the room. These are arguments supporting the opinion of C.G. Thomas and C. Conant, that one effect of the breakdown of the old system was the necessity to reduce the distance between the ruler and his followers.[33] The elongated hall may now have given the ruler the possibility to demonstrate and to advertise his prowess through feasts and gatherings.[34]

Linked to such a use of Building T may have been the 12 storage vessels, the impressions of which were observed by Philios after the first excavation campaign of Schliemann and Dörpfeld along the interior of the north wall of the Great Megaron.[35] The vessels had left the impressions in a coarse mortar ("roher Mörtel") covering the painted floor of the Great Megaron in this part of the throne room. Dörpfeld could not decide, whether the vessels were contemporary with the Great Megaron or with Building T, and today it is impossible to solve this issue.[36] Nevertheless, it seems more likely that they were installed after the destruction of the palace. If this were true, the vessels must have stood in a sort of backyard not directly accessible from Building T, since there existed no entrance in its northern wall and its western wall was built against debris of the catastrophe.[37] Indeed, the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld have shown that in the northwestern corner of the Great Megaron the wall was not preserved (Pl. XXXIII). This could indicate the creation of an access to the pithoi from the west, which in turn would exclude a contemporaneity of the pithoi with the Great Megaron.[38]

Besides these modifications in the interior organization of the Megaron and its immediate surroundings the general appearance of the Upper Citadel in LH IIIC must have undergone significant changes. Although the fortifications were repaired, and the approaches to the Upper Citadel as well as the Great Court were reactivated, there is scant evidence, that after the destruction besides the narrow Megaron other buildings were constructed on top of the ruins of the former palace.[39] It is, thus, likely that Building T stood isolated on the Upper

33 C.G. THOMAS and C. CONANT, *Citadel to City-State. The Transformation of Greece, 1200-700 B.C.E.* (1999) 29.

34 S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, "Diskontinuität und Kontinuität: Aspekte politischer und sozialer Organisation in mykenischer Zeit und in der Welt der Homerischen Epen," in *La transizione dal Miceneo all'alto Arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Roma, 14-19 marzo 1988* (1991) 64.

35 DÖRPFELD (*supra* n. 1) 393; DÖRPFELD, *Grabungstagebuch Tiryns* (1910) 56; J.C. WRIGHT, "The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum and the Early Cult of Hera in the Argolid," *JHS* 102 (1982) 201; MAZARAKIS-AINIAN (*supra* n. 15) 161.

36 The depiction of the circles in our Pl. XXXIII is partially based on a sketch by DÖRPFELD (*supra* n. 35) 56. In this sketch only the four westernmost circles are included, probably because in 1910 the others weren't visible anymore. Dörpfeld gives a diameter of 0.74 m for the third and the fourth circle from the left, while the diameters of the first and the second circle are not specified. The pithoi impressions 5-12, which are not shown by Dörpfeld, must have had a smaller diameter than 0.74 m, because otherwise they wouldn't have fit into the available space.

37 MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 13.

38 This view gains additional support through the observation, that, judging by Dörpfelds sketch, there existed a gap between the westernmost circle and the western wall of the Great Megaron (cf. our Pl. XXXIII). To leave this space open would have made sense, if a provisional entrance to the backyard was created, because otherwise the pithoi would have hindered the access.

39 Even nowadays remains of the burnt building material are preserved to a certain height on many walls of the Upper Citadel, and Schliemann and Dörpfeld mention no other instance where a later wall uses an earlier one as its foundation, as is the case with the eastern wall of Building T. The mud-brick installation in the southwestern corner of the main room of the Little Megaron (DÖRPFELD [*supra* n. 1] 275; MÜLLER [*supra* n. 15] 158) may be contemporary with Building T, because Kilian in an unpublished report of his excavation in 1984 refers to sherds of LH IIIC-date, which he found between the lowest course of the mud-bricks and the floor of the Little Megaron. However, contrary to the situation in the Great Megaron the debris of the catastrophe still stood very high on top of the walls of the Little Megaron, which indicates, that this building was not re-built. Like the 12 pithoi this mud-brick installation could be a feature directly linked to Building T. A possible sign for building activity contemporary with Building T could be the later wall in the northeastern corner of Room XXI, which did not show any traces of burning (RODENWALDT [*supra* n. 16] 169; MÜLLER [*supra* n. 15] 157, pl. 5; ÅLIN [*supra* n. 15] 32). Whether the same applies to the two North-South walls, which were encountered on top of walls belonging to Rooms Xa and Xb (MÜLLER [*supra* n. 15] 212-213, pl. 11; ÅLIN [*supra* n. 15] 31) in the western wing of the palace is unlikely, considering that they were built without any reference to the earlier walls. These two walls may be of much later date.

Citadel in the midst of the remaining leveled debris of the former palace. In addition to this, the appearance of the Upper Citadel in post-palatial times must have changed significantly in another respect. The power of images emanating from the frescoes, which in the past certainly had contributed to the perpetuation of the old social and religious order, had vanished.

These signs of change are confronted with undeniable aspects of continuity, consisting, above all, in the reutilization of official symbols of palatial times like the place of the throne and the altar in the Great Court. Moreover, the remodeling of the altar gives unequivocal evidence for the continuity of the performance of rituals under free-sky in front of the Megaron. But even in these cases of seeming continuity the way of treating the symbols suggests a change in the social standing of the new elite.

In this regard, it is instructive to look back on the tradition of central megaron structures, beginning in Tiryns in the 14th century BC. When approximately in the mid of the 13th century B.C. the Great Megaron was built, its measurements and interior organization corresponded basically to the ones of a predecessor megaron, the main difference lying in the fact that the new building was moved a few meters to the north, and accordingly also the place of the throne and the central hearth had to be slightly shifted.[40] Compared with this the post-palatial architects proceeded quite differently: Not only did they construct building T exactly within the boundaries of the Great Megaron reusing some of its structural features, but, more importantly, they left the base of the throne and the altar where they were situated in palatial times. In fact, it could be argued that the narrow megaron was simply built around the place of the throne. In my opinion, it is likely, that these observable differences originated in a different attitude towards the past. In the 13th century the symbols of power were exactly repeated, but the master mind of the building activity had the sovereignty to move the symbols. In contrast to this it may have been crucial for the rulers of post-palatial times not to alter the position of the old symbols, because by doing so they could claim their legitimacy as successors to the kings of the glorious past. The latter were probably seen as the ancestors, regardless of whether there really existed a genealogical link to the former ruling family, or whether this was only imagined and the new aristocracy consisted of upstarts taking advantage of the collapse of the palace system.[41]

Apart from the conclusions concerning the use of the Upper Citadel in post-palatial times, the new dating of Building T also affects the question of the interdependence of ritual activities on the acropolis as a whole. In the light of the available evidence, we have to conclude that a dense occupation of the phase LH IIIC in the Lower Citadel contrasted with an only selective reutilization of particular areas of the Upper Citadel with special political and religious significance. The architectural continuity indicated by the at least two phases of Building T in particular represents an analogy to the long sequence of small cult rooms on the inner side of the western fortification of the Lower Citadel. But the narrow megaron of the Upper Citadel and the cult rooms of the Lower Citadel have more in common than the continuous use within LH IIIC, namely the linkage to the past. The area where the cult rooms were built, had already served for cultic purposes during palatial times.[42] Again, we can infer that the creation of the new architectural forms of post-palatial religious and representative architecture was accompanied by the use of the past as a point of reference and as a means to emphasize the continuity in spite of the demise of the palace.

According to G. Albers it is characteristic for mycenaean communal sanctuaries in settlement contexts ("Stadtheiligtümer"),[43] that they are spatially separated from an eventual palace and located close to a fortification wall. Furthermore, she points out, that palace and

40 K. KILIAN, "L'architecture des résidences mycéniennes: origine et extension d'une structure du pouvoir politique pendant l'âge du bronze récent," in *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 19-22 juin 1985* (1987) 209-212, fig. 6-7.

41 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 34) 64-66; THOMAS and CONANT (*supra* n. 33) 19, 29.

42 KILIAN (*supra* n. 27) 53-56; ID. (*supra* n. 26) 21; G. ALBERS, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer. Systematische Analyse und vergleichende Auswertung der archäologischen Befunde* (1994) 104-110.

43 ALBERS (*supra* n. 42) 120; EAD., "Re-Evaluating Mycenaean Sanctuaries," in *Celebrations: Sanctuaries and the Vestiges of Cult Activity. Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 12-16 May 1999* (forthcoming).

sanctuary were linked through a system of ways, and in view of the iconographical importance of procession scenes in fresco painting it is likely, that these ways were used for ceremonial purposes. In the case of Mycenae such a way leading from the Megaron via the Grand Staircase to the Cult Centre and then onwards to Grave Circle A and possibly through the Lion Gate to other places in the surroundings of the citadel can be inferred.[44] Considering the continuity in the area of the megaron as well as in the cult places in the Lower Citadel we can postulate also for Tiryns a communication between these two poles of ritual activity in palatial and post-palatial times.[45] However, in contrast to Mycenae, the megaron, the public communal sanctuary and the main entrance/exit of the citadel of Tiryns were not situated on a direct line of communication. In order to reach the sanctuary in the Lower Citadel processions coming from the center of the palace had to use the long and narrow passage on the eastern side of the acropolis connecting the Upper and the Lower Citadel and had to pass by the main entrance. The special significance of this way is underlined by two features. Firstly, the most impressive gate of the citadel, resembling in its measurements and its construction the Lion Gate, was not situated at the main entrance of the citadel, but sealed of this narrow passage.[46] Secondly, to the north of the entrance there is the niche on the inner side of the eastern fortification wall (Mauerkammer Ko 1), which probably served cultic purposes.[47] If, after passing through the passage and reaching the sanctuary in the Lower Citadel, it was intended to move onwards to the surroundings of the acropolis the procession had to turn back and leave the citadel either through the main entrance or through the western entrance of the Lower Citadel.[48]

In summary, the new insights concerning the relation of Building T to the Great Megaron lead to an ambivalent picture of post-palatial Tiryns. It is now certain, that not only in the cult area of the Lower Citadel, but also in the centre of Mycenaean power on the Upper Citadel there existed a line of continuity connecting the time before and after the destruction at the end of LH IIIB. The renewed claim on the most prestigious building plot of the acropolis and the reference to the ground-plan of the Great Megaron indicate, that a segment of society attempted to restore parts of the old social order and to legitimize their power by linking it to an old tradition.[49] As it seems, similar events did not occur in the central Megaron-complexes of Pylos and Mycenae,[50] and this is further evidence supporting the view of a special position of Tiryns in the power structure of the Argolid during LH IIIC.[51] Nevertheless, in spite of the restorative attempts, this post-palatial élite did not have nearly the same power at their disposal as their predecessors in the 13th century B.C. Above all, this is demonstrated by the modest construction of Building T in comparison to the Great Megaron as well as the limited clearance of the Upper Citadel from the debris of the catastrophe, symbolizing the

44 G.E. MYLONAS, *Πολύχρυσοι Μυκήναι* (1983) 138; fig. 107; WRIGHT (*supra* n. 25) 62; KILIAN (*supra* n. 26) 17-19; ALBERS (*supra* n. 42) 14-15 with further literature.

45 ALBERS (*supra* n. 42) 104.

46 MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 70-73, fig. 47; KÜPPER (*supra* n. 27) 112.

47 DÖRPFELD (*supra* n. 1) 203-204; MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 53; S.E. IAKOVIDIS, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (1983) 10; KILIAN (*supra* n. 27) 51.

48 The Northern entrance of the Lower Citadel was in all probability too inconvenient to be used for ceremonial purposes: MÜLLER (*supra* n. 15) 52; P. GROSSMANN, "Arbeiten an der Unterburgmauer von Tiryns in den Jahren 1969, 1971 und 1972," *AA* (1980) 481-484; IAKOVIDIS (*supra* n. 47) 10.

49 In this context I will not elaborate on the issue of the further fate of Building T in the "Dark Ages." I just want to stress that I don't think it is likely that this building survived the Mycenaean period: see KILIAN (*supra* n. 26) 24 with footnote 166; MARAN (*supra* n. 4) 15-16. Accordingly, the place of the presumed temple of Hera or Athena (N. VERDELIS, M. JAMESON and I. PAPACHRISTODOULOU, " Αρχαϊκαί επιγραφαί εκ Τίρυνθος," *ArchEph* [1975] 199-203) in Tiryns must be sought not within the Great Megaron, but somewhere else.

50 Admittedly, the evidence for Mycenae is inconclusive. It is certain that parts of the palace were reoccupied in LH IIIC, and this is particularly obvious in the case of its eastern wing with the House of Columns: G.E. MYLONAS, *Mycenae's Last Century of Greatness* (1968) 33, 38; S.E. IAKOVIDIS, "Destruction Horizons at Late Bronze Age Mycenae," in *Φίλια έπη εις Γεώργιον Μυλωνάν δια τα 60 έτη του ανασκαφικού του έργου, Α'* (1986) 237-239, 259. Whether, however, the megaron was included in these attempts to reutilize the area of the former palace cannot be decided.

51 K. KILIAN, "Civiltà micenea in Grecia: nuovi aspetti storici ed interculturali," in *Magna Grecia e Mondo miceneo. Atti del 22mo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1982* (1983) 71-83.

inability of the upper class of post-palatial Mycenaean Tiryns to carry out an ambitious building program comparable, for instance, to the one in the mid of the 13th century B.C. Besides these obvious signs of a decline in the quality of architecture, I tried to show, that there is additional evidence suggesting a changed perception of the élite. Characteristic are the indications for the reference to the past as a means of legitimizing the existing political power. This may mark the beginning of the glorification of the palatial era and in this way anticipate phenomena, which would become conspicuous during the Iron Age,[52] the main difference consisting in the fact, that the people in the 12th century B.C. did not appeal to a mythical past, but rather to a past they still knew very well. If our interpretation is correct the specific way of turning to the past reflects the weakness of rulership. Although the mere existence of the place of the throne suggests a social hierarchy still focussing on one person, and although this person probably had the responsibility of carrying out cultic activities in the public, the actual power and political authority of this ruler were limited and his position rather fragile. He may still have claimed the title *wanax*,[53] but clearly, the days of the strong king of this designation had gone forever, and the process leading to the basileus of the Iron Age had begun.

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52 The re-utilization of the Great Megaron and the altar in Tiryns have been interpreted by J.C. Wright, J.M. Hall and C. Antonaccio as an appeal to the past for political reasons during the Iron Age. In my opinion their arguments still remain valid, if they are applied to the context of the latest Mycenaean period: WRIGHT (*supra* n. 35) 198-199; C. ANTONACCIO, "Placing the Past: the Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece," in *Placing the Gods* 88, 103; J.M. HALL, "How Argive was the 'Argive' Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.," *AJA* 99 (1995) 598, 600; ID., *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (1997) 138-139, fig. 16.

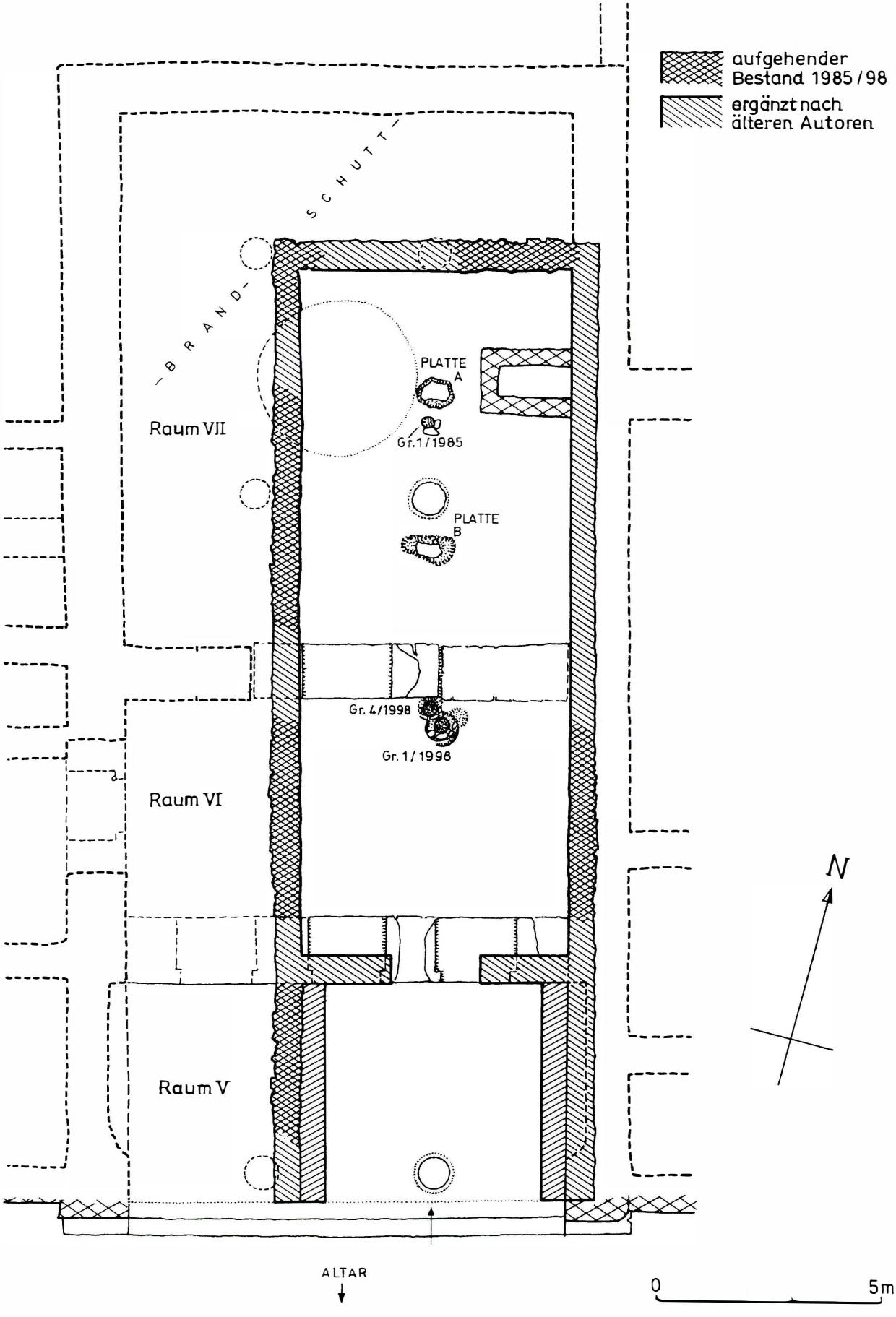
53 DEGER-JALKOTZY (*supra* n. 34) 66; THOMAS and CONANT (*supra* n. 33) 29.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. XXXI Original ground plan of Building T (after SCHLIEMANN [*supra* n. 1] pl. II) with additions of the excavations in 1985 and 1998.

Pl. XXXII The access to the Great Megaron of Tiryns and the altar in the Great Court (after MÜLLER [*supra* n. 15] pl. 5).

Pl. XXXIII The access to Building T (after MÜLLER [*supra* n. 15] pl. 5; SCHLIEMANN [*supra* n. 1] pl. II, with additions of the excavations in 1985 and 1998), the remodeled altar in the Great Court and the impressions of 12 pithoi (partially after W. Dörpfeld's Grabungstagebuch Tiryns 1910, 56).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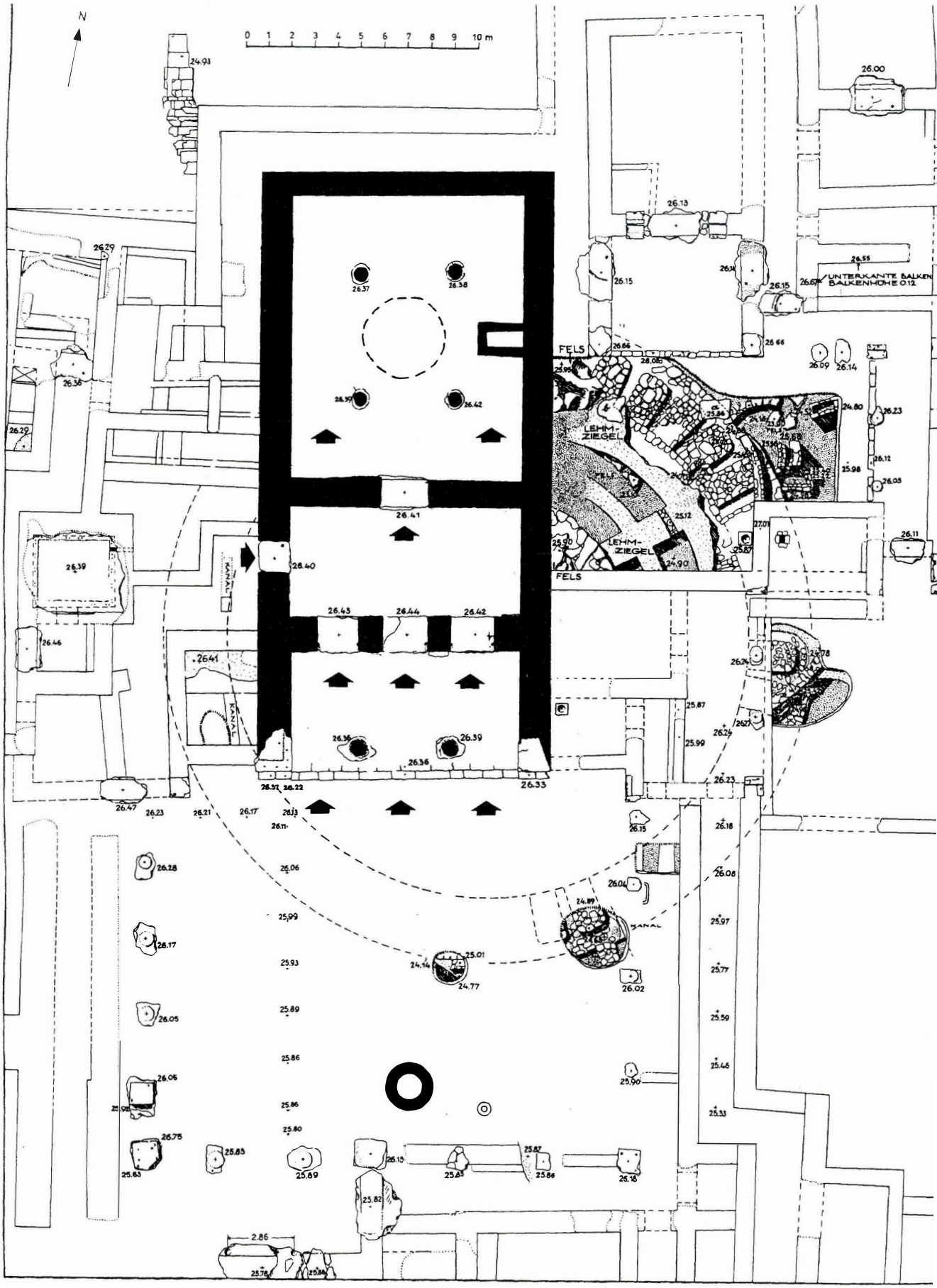
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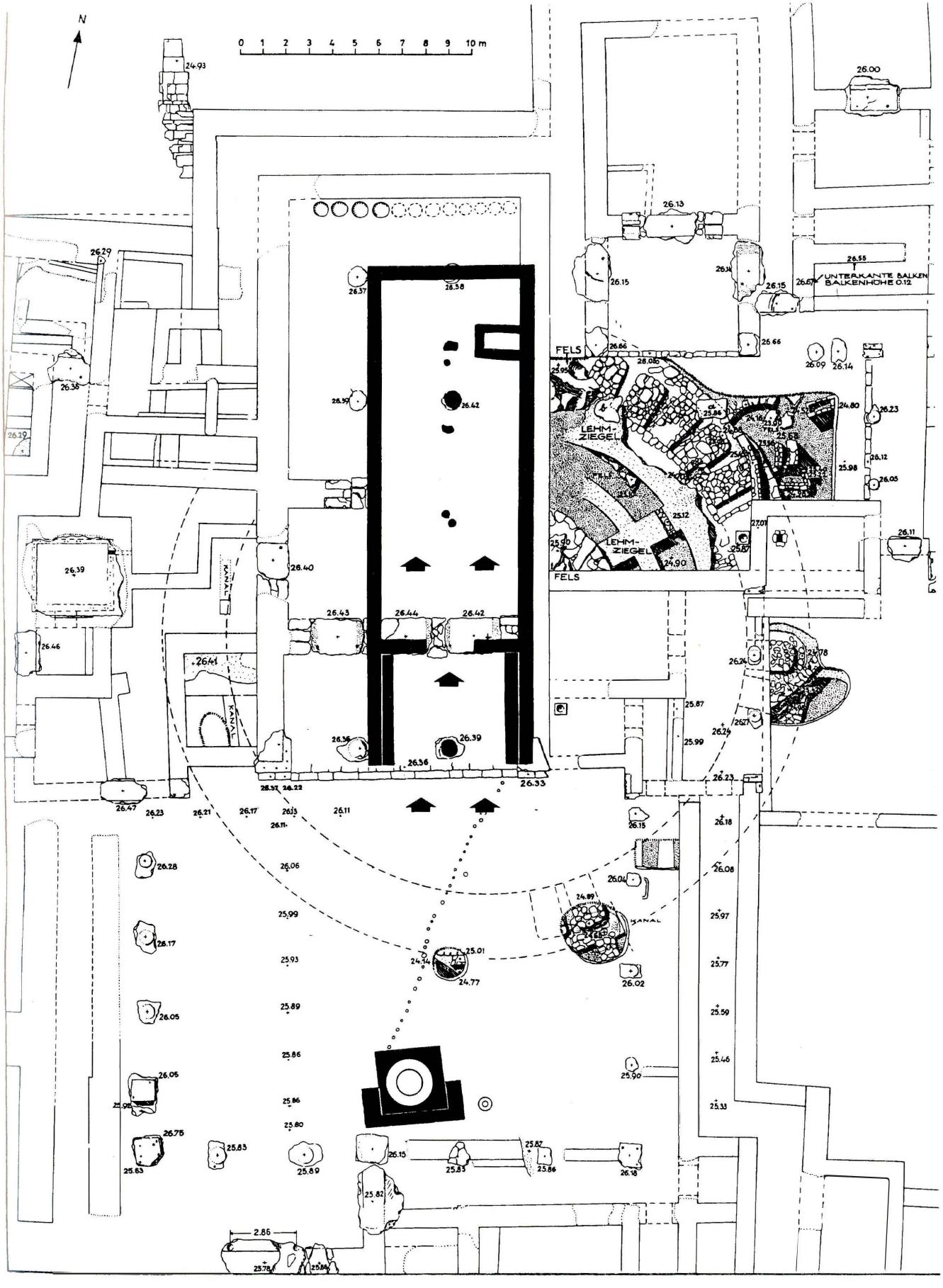
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