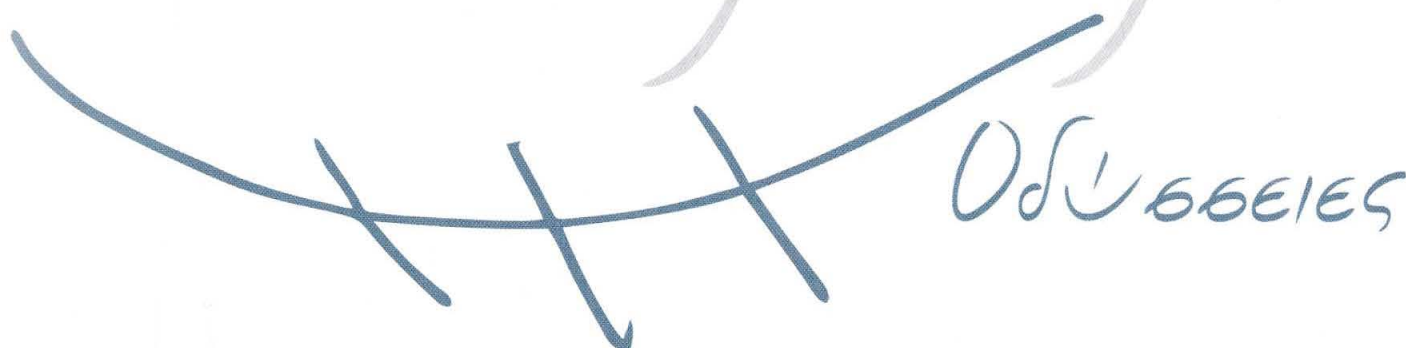


MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

Odysseys



EDITOR

Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos

ATHENS 2017

PUBLISHED BY THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECEIPTS FUND

The individual authors are responsible for the views expressed in the texts

© National Archaeological Museum

© Archaeological Receipts Fund

© I. Iliopoulou, extracts from the poems by O. Elytis

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Townsend: Copper Canyon Press

© A. Lontou, extracts from the poems by G. Seferis

Princeton: Princeton University Press

© E. Ritsou, extracts from the poems by Y. Ritsos

Princeton: Princeton University Press

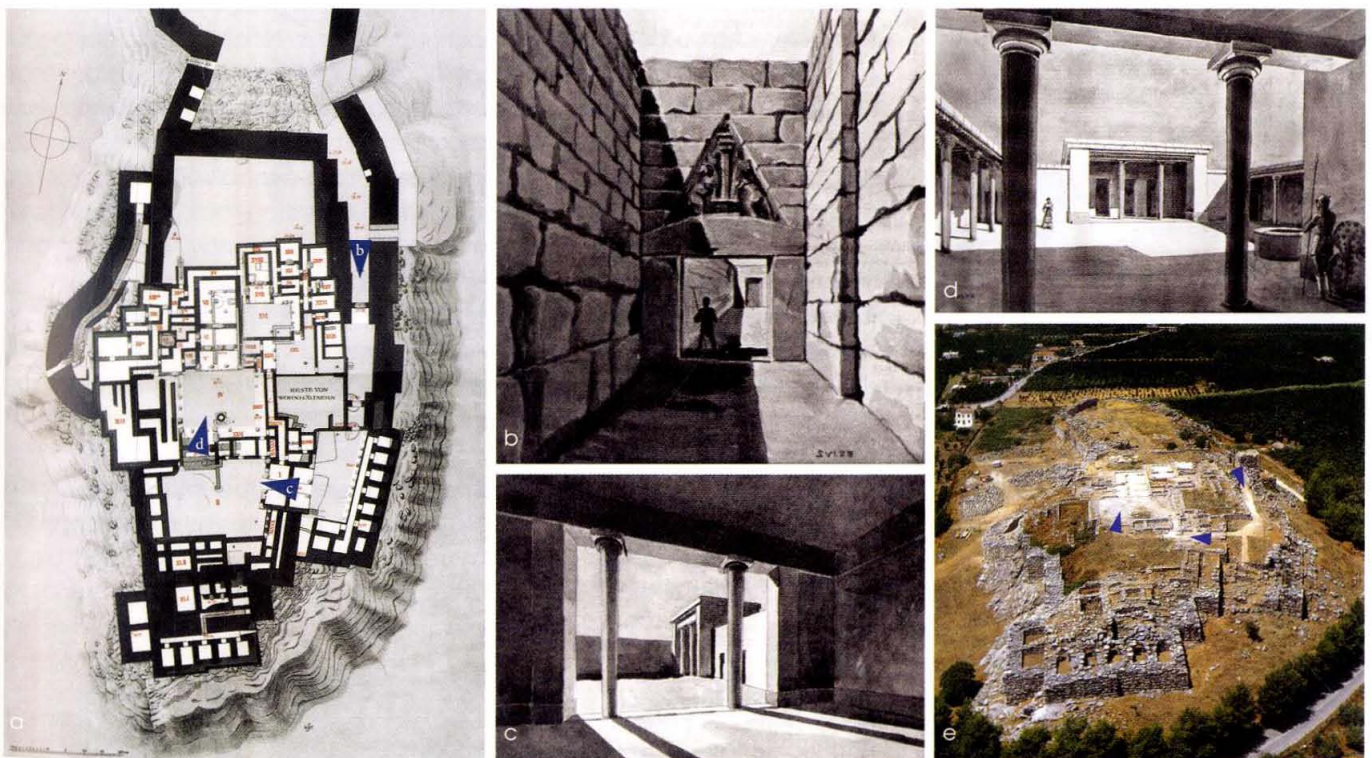
Minneapolis, Minnesota: The North Central Publishing Company

ISBN 978-960-386-320-5

THE MYCENAEAN PALACES

Already the first excavations that led to the identification of a Mycenaean culture as such also yielded evidence for outlining distinctive features of a Mycenaean palace. In 1884 the excavation of Heinrich Schliemann and Wilhelm Dörpfeld on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns led to the discovery of an architectural complex (fig. 1 a, e) with a monumental rectangular building at its centre showing a tripartite subdivision into a porch, a vestibule, and a main room furnished with a large central ceremonial hearth¹. The porch opened onto a court accessed, notably not along the axis of the megaron, through a monumental propylon. To the east of this building stood a similar one, but measuring only roughly half of the size of the main building and consisting of a porch opening to a court as well as a room with a rectangular hearth. Although the two buildings were situated next to each other, no direct means of access existed between them on floor level. The finely plastered floors and walls of these buildings as well as other rooms of the palace were decorated with painted ornaments². Dörpfeld labelled the two buildings with the Homeric term "megaron"³. This term is used until today for buildings with a hearth room and a porch opening to a court although we do not know how they were designated at the time of their use. How right Dörpfeld was to consider this type of building as a defining feature of a certain type of palatial architecture became apparent a few years later, when the excavation by Christos Tsountas on the acropolis of Mycenae (fig. 2 a, b) uncovered a building similar in every respect to the Great Megaron of Tiryns⁴. As of 1900 the excavations under the direction of Sir Arthur Evans in Knossos highlighted the fundamental differences

Fig. 1. Tiryns: a. Upper Citadel: plan of the palace published by K. Müller in 1930, with positions of viewers for reconstructions (b), (c) and (d) indicated by triangles. b. Upper Citadel: Reconstruction of view from gateway towards main gate by H. Sulze. c. Palace: Reconstruction of view from outer towards inner propylon by H. Sulze. d. Palace: Reconstruction of view from inner propylon towards the Great Megaron by H. Sulze. e. Aerial photograph of the Citadel of Tiryns from the south, 1998, with positions of viewers for H. Sulze's reconstructions indicated by triangles.



1. Schliemann 1886

2. Rodenwaldt 1912

3. Dörpfeld 1886

4. Τσοῦντας 1888. Tsountas - Manatt 1897.

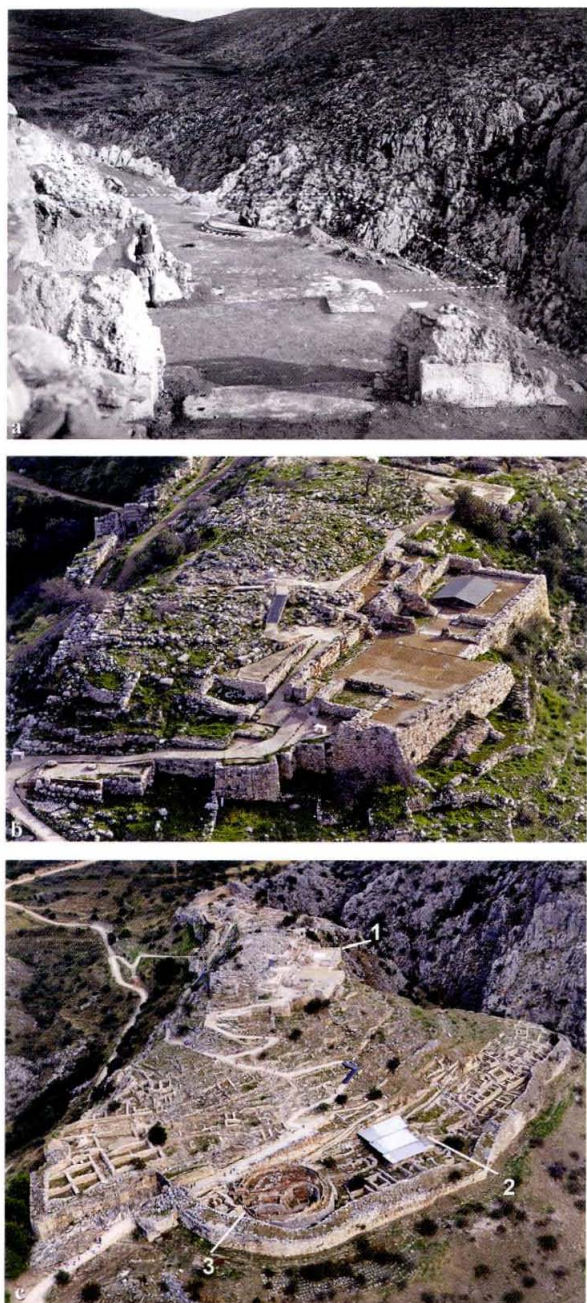


Fig. 2 Mycenae: a. Photograph of the newly excavated remains of the megaron, 1890, with original extent of hearth room and hearth indicated by dashed lines. b. Detail of an aerial photograph of the citadel of Mycenae from the south-west, 2014, showing the restored megaron and the palace's courtyard. c. Aerial photograph of the Citadel of Mycenae from the south, 2009, with indication of the location of throne room (1), Cult Centre (2), and Grave Circle A (3).

between Minoan and Mycenaean palatial architecture. The plan of the palaces in Crete was not dominated by a central building, but a large rectangular court surrounded on all sides by architectural units. The excavation of the Knossos throne room also enabled the identification of a rectangular field in the floor decoration of both the Great and the Little Megaron of Tiryns as the place where originally a throne had stood⁵.

Just as later excavations have underlined the wide distribution of the palatial plan first recognized at Knossos in other regions of Crete, the excavation directed by Carl W. Blegen at Pylos (Messenia) demonstrated that the palace complex built around the megaron is a phenomenon also encountered, on the mainland, outside the Argolis⁶. The resemblance of the architectural complex uncovered a few years ago at Dimini shows that certain principles of palatial organization were not restricted to the Peloponnese, but reached as far north as Thessaly⁷. This makes it probable that, in future, megaron palaces will also be uncovered in other areas of Central Greece.

Even though the megaron-palace is the most well-known type of Mycenaean palatial architecture, there is evidence indicating that it became canonical perhaps as late as the 13th c. BCE, while before that period a greater variability in palatial plans may have existed. Furthermore, it seems that these different architectural layouts of palaces should not be perceived as stages of a linear evolution, but rather as the result of multiple transformations caused by the agency of political groups⁸. No evidence of palatial architecture remains from the beginning of the Mycenaean period (17th and 16th c. BCE); the funerary sphere may have constituted the only area of architectural monumentalization then. As a, so far, singular 15th c. BCE building, the so-called Mansion I at the Menelaion near Sparta in Laconia seems to anticipate central features of the megaron palaces⁹ and is considered as a kind of "proto-palace" by many. Nonetheless, it appears that during the 14th c. BCE the significance of this site was eclipsed by nearby Agios Vasileios, where ongoing excavations are uncovering a much larger and unquestionably palatial complex, whose most prominent feature so far is a large court surrounded by stoas, while a central suite of rooms has as yet not been identified¹⁰. This recalls the suggestion that a palatial complex with a large central court resembling Minoan ones may have served as a predecessor of the megaron-palace at Pylos¹¹.

Even if future research attests to the existence of an alternative "Minoan" model, the fact remains that the first megaron palaces that were built in Tiryns during the 14th c. BCE and in Pylos around 1300 BCE¹² seem to have been imposed on top of the remains of earlier architecture with a different layout¹³. In Tiryns, there is reason to believe that the point of reference for choosing the plot for the palatial megara were not the immediately preceding buildings but a ritual tumulus formed in the late 3rd millennium BCE

5. Müller 1930, 145.

6. Blegen - Rawson 1966.

7. Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη 1999-2001. Adrymi-Sismani 2004/2005.

8. Kilian 1987b. Dabney - Wright 1990. Wright 2008.

9. Catling 2009.

10. Βασιλογάμβρου 2010. Βασιλογάμβρου 2011. Βασιλογάμβρου 2012.

11. Kilian 1987a. Nelson 2001. Nelson 2007.

12. Kilian 1987c. Kilian 1989. Nelson 2001.

13. Maran 2001a.

out of the ruins of the Early Helladic Circular Building (Rundbau)¹⁴. The construction of the most important buildings of the Mycenaean palace exactly above the ancient tumulus would have allowed for the integration of the megaron into a long chain of tradition.

Concerning the choice of the megaron as the central building, there is a strong tendency in research of identifying this building as a purely "Hellenic" architectural form that developed continuously out of earlier Mainland Greek predecessors of the Middle Bronze Age¹⁵. Despite the fact that rectangular buildings with hearth rooms indeed had a long tradition on the Greek Mainland, the megaron palaces of the 14th century may be better understood as a reinvention based on a transcultural process in which architects, designers, and builders deliberately merged Mainland Greek architectural elements, such as the central hearth, with features of Minoan derivation¹⁶. Hence, the positioning of the throne on the right-hand side of the main room of Mycenaean palatial megara and the framing of the throne by a wall-painting with a griffin in the megaron of Pylos (fig. 3) emphasize that certain features of the layout of the main Mycenaean palatial buildings reflect the design of the Knossos throne room¹⁷.

Mycenaean palaces were administrative, economic, political, and religious centres although these sectors of society often cannot be disentangled, since they were so closely interrelated. All palaces were integrated into a wider architectural setting consisting of quarters used for storage, administration, artisanal activity, cult purposes, or for housing personnel. The administrative role of the palaces is reflected in the activities of a bureaucracy using the Linear B-script to write early Greek texts on unbaked clay tablets¹⁸. These texts provide information about the structure of the palatial polities and demonstrate that the palaces took a strong interest in certain sectors of the economy, but do not seem to have controlled all economic activity. The palatial centres are also distinguished by the presence of artisans who manufactured a variety of finished products consisting of raw materials that were often obtained through long distance trade. The palaces also had facilities for the bulk storage of commodities, such as wine and oil, in sufficient quantities so as to cover the needs of the permanent residents of the palatial centres and those who visited them on the occasion of festivities¹⁹.

The characteristic form of the Mycenaean centres of the Argolis is the citadel in which the palace and parts of the surrounding settlement were fortified with a massive Cyclopean wall, while other architectural complexes remained outside of the fortification²⁰. Similar fortified palatial centres also seem to have existed in Attica and, at least to some extent and in slightly different form, in Boeotia, while in Messenia, Laconia and Thessaly citadels of this kind have not been ascertained²¹. Mycenaean palaces were not always built on the highest part of a hill, but in most cases topographically exposed points were chosen as building plots, which suggests that the palaces were meant to be visible from far away. The Palaces were "per-

14. Maran 2016.

15. Kilian 1987a, Barber 1992.

16. Wright 2008.

17. Maran - Stavrianopoulou 2007.

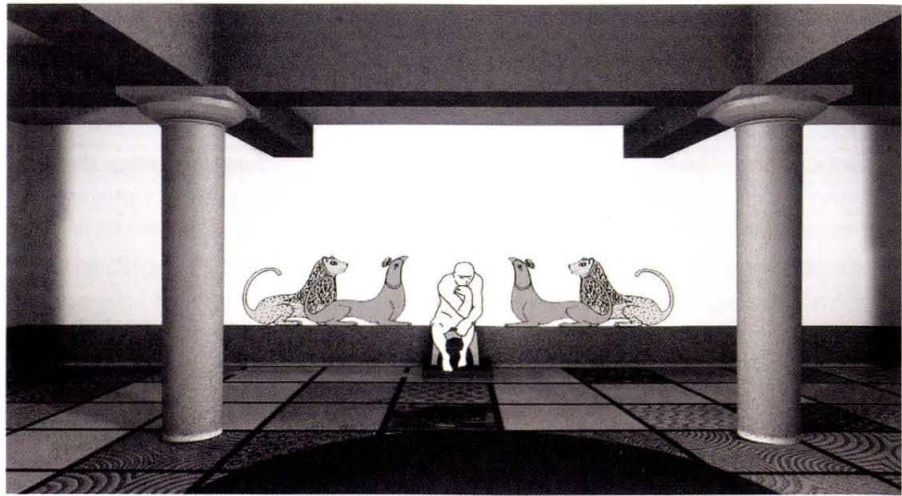
18. Shelmerdine 2008, Shelmerdine - Bennet 2008.

19. Nakassis 2012.

20. Iakovidis 1983.

21. Hope Simpson - Hagel 2006, 23-143.

Fig. 3. Pylos. Throne room. Digital reconstruction of the view across the central hearth towards the throne.



formative spaces" that were designed down to the smallest detail for the staging of certain forms of social communication, above all processions²² that crossed through courts and ultimately led to a specific destination, i.e. the central building and its court²³. The various hypethral and roofed spaces of the palaces were used by different social groups for feasting and other ceremonies²⁴. The architectural layout of the palaces guided visitors to move in a certain direction, exposed them to various sensory stimuli and drew them deeper and deeper into the palace (fig. 1 b, d), until those allowed to reach the final destination of the procession performed those rituals central to the state ideology²⁵. Some of the themes of the palatial wall-paintings were closely related to the social practices that were actually carried out in the rooms or buildings they adorned, something that becomes particularly evident in the frescos of processions that in Pylos and most likely Tiryns as well moved in the direction of the throne room²⁶.

Although the prominence of processions suggests significant communal participation, what was going on inside the palaces was undoubtedly embedded in a strategy of concealment, exclusivity, and seclusion by the ruling class – a tendency that seems to have increased in the course of the Palatial period until reaching its peak in the final fifty years of that period²⁷. The structuring of the routes used for ritual movement is a reflection of the hierarchical political order culminating in the wanax and the associated ruling elites²⁸ which, in the course of the Palatial period, seem to have increasingly emphasized their exclusive rights to control public ritual. At Mycenae, the final decades of this period saw the construction of a new west cyclopean wall, by means of which the Cult Centre and Grave Circle A (fig. 2 c: 2-3), previously situated outside the citadel wall, were integrated into patterns of circulation inside the citadel²⁹. This allowed processions to create links between the seat of the ruler, the seat of the gods in the Cult Centre and the seat of the ideologically elevated ancestors in Grave Cir-

22. Weilharter 2013.

23. Wright 1994. Wright 2006. Thaler 2006. Maran 2006.

24. Bendall 2004. Stocker - Davis 2004.

25. Wright 1994. Küpper 2006, 111-113. Thaler 2012.

26. Maran 2012. Maran - Papadimitriou - Thaler 2015.

27. Maran 2015.

28. Thaler 2015. Thaler (forthcoming).

29. Wardle 2003. Wardle 2015.



Fig. 4 Tiryns. Reconstruction of the citadel after the destruction of the palace and the erection of the post-palatial megaron.

cle A³⁰. In this way, the control over access to crucial religious monuments became an exclusive right of the palatial elite. Such a wish for exclusivity is also manifest in Tiryns, where starkly contrasting sensory impressions created by the elaborate architecture and artfully employed changes of direction appear to be the archaeological correlates of differentiated rights of access that came into play as a gradually diminishing group of participants in a procession neared its destination. This staging of exclusivity reached its climax in the Throne Room, which was dominated by the ceremonial hearth and offered very limited space to participants³¹.

At the turn of the 13th to the 12th c. BCE the Mycenaean palaces were destroyed and subsequently not rebuilt. Only at Tiryns in the early 12th c. BCE a narrow megaron was integrated into the ruin of the Great Megaron (fig. 4) so as to reuse the place of the throne and also the Great Court as well as a hypethral altar within it were reused³². By contrast, the rest of the palace was not rebuilt and left as a ruin which shows that the activities of the Post-palatial period aimed at reclaiming only such points that had been of the highest political and religious significance in the former palace. The way how the inhabitants intervened into the ruin of the destroyed palace established a new tradition of exalting the past and using it as a source for gaining legitimacy under new political and social circumstances that lacked the pronounced hierarchies of the Palatial period.

Joseph Maran - Ulrich Thaler

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to A. Papadimitriou, who kindly provided the aerial photographs from the Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolis, and to M. Kostoula for the faithful translation from German into Greek of the text and the digital processing of the figs. 2 and 4.

30. Stavrianopoulou 1995.

31. Thaler 2012.

32. Maran 2000. Maran 2001a. Maran 2001b.

Photographic Acknowledgements

- Fig. 1: picture composition by U. Thaler. Fig. 1a-d: Müller 1930, pl. 1, 72, fig. 47, 194, fig. 91, pl. 42 Fig. 1e: Παπαδημητρίου 2001, 4.
- Fig. 2: picture composition by M. Kostoula. Fig. 2a: Archive of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (Number of negative D-DAI-ATH-Mykene-6, photo: anonymous). Fig. 2b-c: Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolis (photo: C. Xenakis).
- Fig. 3: Digital 3D model A. Wand.
- Fig. 4: picture composition by M. Kostoula. Model of the Citadel of Tiryns: photo. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe / J. Maran. Surrounding area (Google Earth).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη, Β. 1999-2001. Μυκηναϊκή Ιωλκός, *AAA* 32-34, 1999-2001, 71-100.
- Adrymi-Sismani, V. 2004/2005. Le palais de Iolkos et sa destruction, *BCH*, 128/129, 1-54.
- Barber, R. L. N. 1992. The Origins of the Mycenaean Palace, in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in the Honour of Hector Catling*, London, 11-23.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2010. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 165, 65-80.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2011. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 166, 59-68.
- Βασιλογάμβρου, Α. 2012. Ανασκαφή στον Άγιο Βασίλειο Λακωνίας, *ΠΑΕ* 167, 63-76.
- Bendall, L. 2004. Fit for a King? Hierarchy, Exclusion, Aspiration, and Desire in the Social Structure of Mycenaean Banqueting, in P. Halstead - J. C. Barrett (eds.), *Food, Cuisine, and Society in Prehistoric Greece, Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology* 5, 105-135.
- Blegen, C. W. - M. Rawson. 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia: The Buildings and their Contents*, Princeton.
- Catling, H. W. 2009. *Sparta: Menelaion I, The Bronze Age*, BSA Suppl. Vol. 45, London.
- Dabney, M. K. - J. C. Wright. 1990. Mortuary Customs, Palatial Society and State Formation in the Aegean Area, in R. Hägg - G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988*, Stockholm, 45-53.
- Dörpfeld, W. 1886. Die Bauwerke von Tiryns, in Schliemann 1886, 200-352.
- Hope Simpson, R. - D. K. Hagel. 2006. *Mycenaean Fortifications, Highways, Dams and Canals*, SIMA 133, Sävedalen.
- Iakovides, S. E. 1983. Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 4, Leiden.
- Kilian, K. 1987a. L'architecture des résidences mycéniennes: Origine et extension d'une structure du pouvoir politique pendant l'âge du bronze récent, in E. Lévy (ed.), *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1985*, Strasbourg, 203-217.
- Kilian, K. 1987b. Zur Funktion der mykenischen Residenzen auf dem griechischen Festland, in R. Hägg - N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June 1984*, Stockholm, 21-38.
- Kilian, K. 1987c. Ältere mykenische Residenzen, *Kolloquium zur ägäischen Vorgeschichte, Mannheim 20.-22.2.1986*, Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes 9, Mannheim, 120-124.
- Kilian, K. 1989. Μυκηναϊκά ανάκτορα της Αργολίδας. Αρχιτεκτονική εξέλιξη από την οικία του αρχηγού στο ανάκτορο του WA-NAX, *Πρακτικά του Β' τοπικού συνεδρίου Αργολικών σπουδών, Άργος 30 Μαΐου-1 Ιουνίου 1986*, Αθήνα, 36-40.
- Küpper, M. 1996. *Mykenische Architektur: Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild*, Internationale Archäologie 25, Rahden.
- Maran, J. 2000. Das Megaron im Megaron. Zur Datierung und Funktion des Antenbaus im mykenischen Palast von Tiryns, *AA*, 1-16.
- Maran, J. 2001a. Zur Frage des Vorgängers des ersten Doppelpalastes von Tiryns, in S. Böhm - K.-V. von Eickstedt (eds.), *IAAKH: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001*, Würzburg, 23-29.

- Maran, J. 2001b. Political and Religious Aspects of Architectural Change on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns. The Case of Building T, in R. Laffineur - R. Hägg (eds.), *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg 12-15 April 2000*, Aegaeum 22, Liège, 113-122.
- Maran, J. 2006. Mycenaean Citadels as Performative Space, in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft* 19, Hamburg, 75-92.
- Maran, J. 2012. Architektonischer Raum und soziale Kommunikation auf der Oberburg von Tiryns. Der Wandel von der mykenischen Palastzeit zur Nachpalastzeit, in F. Arnold - A. Busch - R. Haensch - U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Orte der Herrschaft. Charakteristika von antiken Machtzentren, Menschen - Kulturen - Traditionen* 3, Rahden, 149-162.
- Maran, J. 2015. Tiryns and the Argolid in Mycenaean Times: New Clues and Interpretations, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitu (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 277-293.
- Maran, J. 2016. The Persistence of Place and Memory: The Case of the Early Helladic Rundbau and the Mycenaean Palatial Megara of Tiryns, in M. Bartelheim - B. Horejs - R. Krauß - B. Horejs (eds.), *Von Baden bis Troia: Ressourcennutzung, Metallurgie und Wissenstransfer - Eine Jubiläumsschrift für Ernst Pernicka, Oriental and European Archaeology* 3, Rahden, 153-173.
- Maran, J. - E. Stavrianopoulou. 2007. Πόρτιος Αθήν - Reflections on the Ideology of Mycenaean Kingship, in E. Alram-Stern - G. Nightingale (eds.), *KEIMELION. The Formation of Elites and Elitist Lifestyles from Mycenaean Palatial Times to the Homeric Period. Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2005 in Salzburg*, Vienna, 285-298.
- Maran, J. - A. Papadimitriou - U. Thaler. 2015. Palatial Wall-Paintings from Tiryns. New Finds and New Perspectives, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitu (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 99-116.
- Müller, K. 1930. *Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes, Tiryns* 3, Augsburg.
- Nakassis, D. 2012. Prestige and Interest: Feasting and the King at Mycenaean Pylos, *Hesperia* 81, 1-30.
- Nelson, M. C. 2001. *The Architecture of Epico Englianos, Greece*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto.
- Nelson, M. C. 2007. Pylos, Block Masonry and Monumental Architecture in the Late Bronze Age Peloponnese, in J. Bretschneider - J. Driessen - K. van Lerberghe (eds.), *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 156, Leuven, 143-159.
- Παπαδημητρίου, Α. 2001. *Τίρυνς*, Αθήνα.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1912. *Die Fresken des Palastes, Tiryns* 2, Athen.
- Schliemann, H. 1886. *Tiryns - Der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns*, Leipzig.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. 2008. Mycenaean Society, in Y. Duhoux - A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain. Antiquité 120, Louvain-la-Neuve, 115-158.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. - J. Bennet. 2008. Economy and Administration, in C. W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, 289-309.
- Stavrianopoulou, E. 1995. Die Verflechtung des Politischen mit dem Religiösen im mykenischen Pylos, in R. Laffineur - W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *POLITEIA: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994*, Aegaeum 12, Liège and Austin, 423-433.
- Stocker, S. R. - J. L. Davis. 2004. Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor, in J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast, Hesperia* 73, Princeton, 59-75.
- Thaler, U. 2006. Constructing and Reconstructing Power: The Palace of Pylos, in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft* 19, Hamburg, 93-111.
- Thaler, U. 2012. "Going Round in Circles": Anmerkungen zur Bewegungsrichtung in mykenischen Palastmegara, in O. Dally - S. Moraw - H. Ziemssen (eds.), *Bild - Raum - Handlung: Perspektiven der Archäologie*, Berlin - Boston, 189-214.

- Thaler, U. 2015. Movement in between, into and inside Mycenaean Palatial Megara, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 339-360.
- Thaler, U. (forthcoming). Eventful Architecture: Activating Potentials for Movement and Segregation in Mycenaean Palaces, in S. Schmidt-Hofner (ed.), *Normative Raumordnungen in den Kulturen des Altertums* (forthcoming).
- Τσούντας, Χ. 1888. Ανασκαφαί Μυκηνών του 1886, ΠΑΕ, 59-79.
- Tsountas, C. - I. Manatt 1897. *The Mycenaean Age: A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece*, London.
- Wardle, K. A. 2003. The "Cult Centre" at Mycenae and other Sanctuaries in the Argosaronic Gulf and the NE Peloponnese: Location and Status, in Ε. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου (ed.), *ΑΡΓΟΣΑΡΩΝΙΚΟΣ. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998*, Αθήνα, 320-325.
- Wardle, K. A. 2015. Reshaping the Past: Where was the "Cult Centre" at Mycenae?, in A.-L. Schallin - I. Tournavitou (eds.), *Mycenaeans Up To Date. The Archaeology of the Northeastern Peloponnese - Current Concepts and New Directions*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, 56, Stockholm, 577-596.
- Weilhartner, J. 2013. Textual Evidence for Aegean Late Bronze Age Ritual Processions, *Opuscula* 6, 151-173.
- Wright, J. C. 1994. The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion, in S. E. Alcock - R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 37-78.
- Wright, J. C. 2006. The Social Production of Space and the Architectural Reproduction of Society in the Bronze Age Aegean during the 2nd millennium B.C.E., in J. Maran - C. Juwig - H. Schwengel - U. Thaler (eds.), *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice, Geschichte: Forschung und Wissenschaft* 19, Hamburg, 49-74.
- Wright, J. C. 2008. Early Mycenaean Greece, in C. W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge, 230-257.