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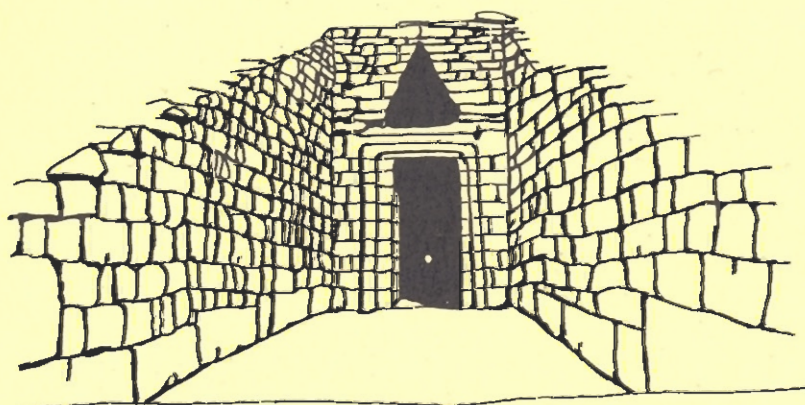
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Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid

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Mortuary Customs, Palatial Society and State Formation in the Aegean Area: A Comparative Study

by

Mary K. Dabney and James C. Wright

Abstract

This paper compares developments in the political organization of the complex societies we term "palatial" in Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece. Traditional scholarship holds that the existence of the Minoan palaces influenced the formation of the Mycenaean ones. The authors argue that, although there is abundant evidence that Minoan cultural forms were adopted by the Mycenaeans, both areas had significantly different forms of political and economic organization as they moved towards statehood. By analysis of mortuary practice and of patterns of economic and ideological behavior, the authors present evidence for changes in levels of socio-political integration that relate to state formation. The establishment of the palaces is seen as merely one episode in the long process of state formation in both areas.

INTRODUCTION

Axel Persson was keenly interested in using mortuary remains as evidence in the identification of the political structures of early societies in the Aegean area, especially for the early Mycenaean period, as his work at Dendra shows. He was also concerned with the distinction between the palace-centered societies on the mainland and on Crete. In his *The religion of Greece in prehistoric times*, Persson remarked, "there is a striking difference between Crete and the Greek mainland. The archaeologists whose field is prehistoric Greece view as one of their most important tasks the differentiation between the two cultures".¹ This remains a major issue for discussion in prehistoric Aegean studies today. In this paper we compare and contrast changes in the organization of the complex societies we term "palatial" on Crete and the mainland, beginning with state formation in Minoan Crete.

STATE FORMATION IN MINOAN CRETE

(Mary K. Dabney)

Several recent studies of the palaces in Crete suggest their socio-political roles as centers for rituals which validated and consolidated the authority of the state.² These views place the Minoan states in the general category of political

organization called a theocracy.³ Classification of the level of political organization as a theocratic chiefdom or theocratic state at a particular point in time is not the goal here. Rather, by comparisons with ethnographically documented theocracies,⁴ certain patterns in the archaeological remains which may reflect specific processes in the formation and maintenance of states are discussed.

Generally in theocracies, the legitimacy of the central authority is maintained socially by ritual acts, which are most conspicuously manifest in the archaeological record in the form of monumental architecture and religious iconography in art. The management of resources (goods and labor) legitimate the central authority economically.⁵

Monumental royal burial is one feature common to early theocratic states, according to Feeley-Harnik.⁶ Transfer of power is reinforced through burial rites. Evidence for monumental royal burial in Proto-palatial Crete, however, is entirely lacking. Considering the intensive archaeological

¹ A.W. Persson, *The religion of Greece in prehistoric times*, Berkeley 1942, 5. This paper has benefited from the comments and criticisms of Jeremy Rutter, Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier, and Klaus Kilian. Unfortunately we were not able to incorporate all their suggestions in our revisions for this publication.

² J.F. Cherry, 'Generalisation and the archaeology of the state', in *Social organisation and settlement* (BAR-15, 47), eds. D. Green, C. Haselgrove, and M. Spriggs, Oxford 1978, 411-437; G. Cadogan, *Palaces of Minoan Crete*, London 1980, 33; N. Platon, 'The Minoan palaces: Centres of organization of a theocratic social and political system', in *Minoan society. Proceedings of the Cambridge colloquium 1981*, eds. O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol 1983, 273-276; W.-D. Niemeier, 'Zur Deutung des Thronsaalraumes im Palast von Knossos', *AM* 101, 1986, 63-95; R. Hagg and N. Marinatos, eds., *The function of the Minoan palaces* (ActaAth-4°, 35), Stockholm 1987.

³ O.L. Webster, 'On theocracies', *American anthropologist* 78, 1976, 812-828, esp. 815.

⁴ G. Feeley-Harnik, 'Issues in divine kingship', *Annual review of anthropology* 14, 1985, 273-313.

⁵ Webster (supra n. 3), 815-817; Feeley-Harnik (supra n. 4).

⁶ Feeley-Harnik (supra n. 4).

exploration of the palaces and their immediate surroundings, it seems unlikely that such tombs existed and are still unknown. Therefore, the present evidence in Crete suggests an atypical development in state formation. Perhaps members of the ruling elite lost their social role upon death because authority was vested in the institution, not in the individual who held office, and was not hereditary. This situation might also explain the lack of royal iconography in art.

An ethnographic parallel for this lack of monumental royal tombs during the early phase of state formation is found among the Merina in Madagascar from 1780 to 1850.⁷ Royal tombs were not built because of the strength of local kin groups. The ruling elite in complex societies usually discourage regional differences, such as resident kin organizations, because they divert social and economic support from the state.⁸ In Madagascar, however, these local kin groups were relatively strong in comparison with the central authority because the state depended on their organization of agricultural labor during the period of state formation.⁹ Politically defined administrative units were contiguous with the territorial boundaries of kin group land holdings.¹⁰ Land ownership was restricted to members of the local kin groups (called "demes") by the practice of endogamy. The emphasis on social relationships at the local (or "deme") level was expressed in their material culture by megalithic tombs in which members of the "deme" were buried together. The right to own land was directly related to tomb-group membership.¹¹ This situation provides a striking parallel for the absence of monumental royal tombs and the continuance of burial in the tholos tombs of the Mesara area throughout the Middle Minoan period, well after the foundation of the palaces which are the first overt symbol of state formation in Crete.

Social dynamics in the Knossos area differed from those in the Mesara area. Because Knossos reached urban status in the Middle Minoan period,¹² local kin groups resident in the villages were already broken up.¹³ Hence, other forms of burials, such as the Mavro Spelio tombs and the larnax and pithos burials,¹⁴ are common there.

Reviewing characteristics of theocratic states, Webster observes that during the early process of state formation the central authority may continue to recognize, even depend on, local kin groups as part of the organization of the state. Ultimately, in order to maintain the central authority, the local leaders have to "shift their allegiance to the higher organizational system they valued and strove to emulate."¹⁵ Note in this connection that Middle Minoan IIIB tholos tombs are poor in prestige goods in comparison with similarly well-preserved earlier (EM-MM IA) tombs.¹⁶ By comparison, the wealth of prestige goods in the MM III Temple Repositories deposit at Knossos, the LM I Zakros treasury, and the MM III-LM I peak sanctuaries¹⁷ suggests that it is at this time that wealth was being centralized through ceremonial acts.

In conclusion, the maintenance of traditional burial practices in the Mesara area may reflect the continuing strength of local group organizations in one region centered around a palace at the same time that the central authorities at the palaces operated within a larger framework of economic

and political relations in Crete. This suggestion that overall social integration was not achieved during the Proto-palatial period complements observations made by Moody, Nixon, and Peatfield at the 4th Swedish Institute Symposium,¹⁸ that the villas and peak sanctuary shrine buildings reflect new developments in socio-economic integration at the beginning of the Neo-palatial period. Webster observes that an increase in local imitations of the centralized elites' consumption patterns is another indication of the extent to which the social as well as economic focus is shifting in emphasis towards the central authority and away from local groupings.¹⁹ In Crete, these imitations include the increased emphasis in the MM III-LM I period on the storage of goods similar to those stored at the palaces (a pattern which continues in the Late Minoan period, as shown by Begg) and the increased standardization and elaboration of domestic architecture in imitation of palatial architecture at the same time as shown by McEnroe.²⁰ The

⁷ M. Bloch, 'Tombs and states', in *Mortality and immortality: The anthropology and archaeology of death*, ed. S.C. Humphreys and H. King, London 1981, 137-147; Feeley-Harnik (supra n. 4), 297.

⁸ D.V. Kurtz, 'Strategies of legitimation and the Aztec state', *Ethnology* 23, 1984, 301-314, esp. 302.

⁹ Feeley-Harnik (supra n. 4), 297.

¹⁰ M. Bloch, *Placing the dead: Tombs, ancestral villages, and kinship organization in Madagascar*, London 1971, 47.

¹¹ Bloch (supra n. 10), 127f.

¹² S. Hood and D. Smyth, *Archaeological survey of the Knossos area* (BSA, suppl., 14), London 1981, 8, 10; T. M. Whitelaw, 'The settlement at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos and aspects of Early Minoan social organization', in *Minoan society* (supra n. 2), 323-345, esp. 339.

¹³ R.H. McGuire, 'Breaking down cultural complexity: Inequality and heterogeneity', in *Advances in archaeological method and theory* 6, ed. M.B. Schiffer, New York 1983, 91-142, esp. 119f.

¹⁴ B. Rutkowski, 'Ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν κρητικῶν λαονάκων', in *Proc2CretCongr (1966)* 1, Athens 1968, 234-237; K. Branigan, *The foundations of Palatial Crete*, London 1970, 176f.

¹⁵ Webster (supra n. 3), 820.

¹⁶ M. Dabney, *A comparison of correlations in the spatial distribution of archaeological remains from Prepalatial and Palatial period settlements and tombs in central Crete*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia Univ. 1989.

¹⁷ C. Boulotis, 'Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos: Palast und Darbringung von Prestige-objekten', in Hägg and Marinatos (supra n. 2), 145-155; A. Peatfield, 'Palace and peak: The political and religious relationship between palaces and peak sanctuaries', in Hägg and Marinatos (supra n. 2), 89-93.

¹⁸ J. Moody, 'The Minoan palace as a prestige artifact', in Hägg and Marinatos (supra n. 2), 235-240; L. Nixon, 'Neo-palatial outlying settlements and the function of the Minoan palaces', in Hägg and Marinatos (supra n. 2), 95-98; Peatfield (supra n. 17).

¹⁹ Webster (supra n. 3), 818-820.

²⁰ D.I.I. Begg, *Minoan storerooms in the Late Bronze Age*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Toronto 1975; J.C. McEnroe, *Minoan house and town arrangement*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Toronto 1979; *idem*, 'A typology of Minoan Neopalatial houses', *AJA* 86, 1982, 3-19; *idem*, 'The significance of local styles in Minoan vernacular architecture', in *L'habitat égéen préhistorique* (BCH-Suppl.), ed. R. Treuil and P. Darcque, forthcoming.

villas, first built during the LM I period, are the perfected form of this local imitation of palatial architectural forms and storage practices.²¹

I suggest the hypothesis that the end of regional burial practices coincident with the earliest villas is a reflection in the material remains of a change in the administration of agricultural production. The organization of agricultural production on the local level, which supported loyalties to local kin groups expressed in the maintenance of local mortuary practices, posed a threat to the authority of the centralized elite at the palaces. This system of organization may have been superseded by the organization of agricultural production through a secondary elite housed in the villas. The villas were independent of the villages, thus set apart from local kin groups resident in the villages, and symbolically expressed their loyalty to the central authorities by emulating palatial architectural forms and storage practices. According to Webster,²² such a shift would indicate a development in the political system towards a more complex, partially secularized state during the LM I period. All these changes suggest that the process of state formation in Crete continued throughout the Middle Minoan period, well after the construction of the first palaces.

In summary, I suggest that the end of regional burial practices coincident with the earliest villas may be a reflection in the material remains of a gradual change in the social and political structure of palatial Crete towards a more complex state. In this interpretation of the significance of changes in burial customs for understanding Minoan state formation, three important points are being made. The archaeological remains reflect changes in burial customs, religious rituals, and other symbolic behavior. These social changes can be brought about by political developments, particularly concerning the control of resources, during the process of state formation. This process continued throughout the Middle Minoan period, long after the first overt symbol of state formation, the construction of the first palaces, had occurred.

STATE FORMATION IN MYCENAEAN GREECE

(James C. Wright)²³

Conventional wisdom holds that Mycenaean palatial society was largely derived from the Minoan one. This view oversimplifies the relationship between these societies as much scholarship of the last two decades has shown.²⁴ It also hinders meaningful comparison of the different processes by which complex societies in the Aegean developed.

In this half of our joint paper I intend to focus on three salient features of Mycenaean society that I believe contrast strongly with Minoan and illustrate the different trajectory towards societal complexity followed on the mainland. These are (1) the relative lateness of the development of the palatial system, (2) the focus of the social order on the person of the ruler, and (3) the lack of outward signs of a highly developed ideological structure in the society.

To begin, some definitions are needed. What is a palace? What is meant by a palace-centered society? A common definition of palace is the residence of a ruler.²⁵ Such a

definition, however, focuses attention only on an architectural and residential form and neglects to encompass the economic and political developments that lie behind the emergence of the monumental edifices that common opinion in Aegean studies accepts as palaces, e.g. the "Palace of Minos".²⁶ In architectural terms a palace is characterized by monumentality, complexity of plan (for a diversity of functions) and the use of specialized techniques of construction. In the Aegean the last item is recognized in details, such as ashlar masonry, half-timbering, plastered and frescoed walls and floors, stone paving, stone revetments and dadoes, the use of special materials, elaborate drainage systems, and units of measure. Such characteristics require the skills of specialized craftsmen and represent in a single architectural form the degree of organization necessary for a palace-centered society—one that demands that some segments of the population work to support others who are engaged in specialized activities focused on a central place. In this sense, the palace is an artifact of a complex society and symbolizes certain values of the society or, perhaps more correctly, of its rulers.²⁷ When such a monumental

²¹ S. Hood, 'The "country house" and Minoan society', in *Minoan society* (supra n. 2), 129–135; Nixon (supra n. 18).

²² Webster (supra n. 3), 820.

²³ This half of the paper is in part instigated by T.G. Palaima, whose work on the origins of Mycenaean script ('The development of the Mycenaean writing system', in J.-P. Olivier and T.G. Palaima, eds., *Texts, tablets and scribes. Studies in Mycenaean epigraphy and economy offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.* (= *Minos*, Suppl. 10, Salamanca 1988, 269–342) turns in the final analysis on the archaeological question of determining "when [the mainland centers'] activities would have reached the point when their administrations could no longer function or function effectively without the assistance of written records" (p. 336). Determining this moment archaeologically is a primary concern of this paper.

²⁴ The role and influence of the islands has especially changed our understanding of the mechanisms of interaction in the Aegean (see N. Coldstream and G. Huxley, eds., *Kythera*, London 1972; J.L. Caskey, 'Investigations in Keos, Part I', *Hesperia* 40, 1970, 359–396, and *idem*, 'Investigations in Keos, Part II: A conspectus of the pottery', *Hesperia* 42, 1972, 357–401, and the final reports now issuing from that project; see also, J. Cherry and J. Davis, 'The Cyclades and the Greek mainland in LC I: The evidence of the pottery', *AJA* 86, 1982, 333–341 and E. Schaflield, 'The Western Cyclades and Crete: A "special relationship"', *OJA* 1, 1982, 9–25) while the importance of the indigenous Middle Helladic culture has been better appreciated through the work of Dickinson, Rutter, Zerner, and Nordquist among others (see below, notes 29, 32, 33, 36).

²⁵ Cf. 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*, ed. E. Lévy, Leiden 1987, 203–217, esp. 203.

²⁶ C. Renfrew, *The emergence of civilisation*, London 1973, 362–390, *passim*; P. Halstead, 'On redistribution and the origin of Minoan–Mycenaean political economies', in *Problems in Greek prehistory*, eds. E.B. French and K.A. Wardle, Bristol 1988, 519–529.

²⁷ Renfrew (supra n. 26), 348; Halstead (supra n. 26); Moody (supra n. 18); as an outward manifestation of the structure of

form arose is difficult to recognize. Although in Crete the date of MM IB is generally accepted, the evidence of monumental building is not entirely clear, as the case of Mallia during MM I-II demonstrates.²⁸ On the mainland these early stages are even less well defined, for in general the early Mycenaean period is not well known.²⁹

In my view the formation of the palaces of the mainland occurred as much as c. 400 years after the rise of the first palaces on Crete and as much as c. 200 years after the heightened contact with the Minoans that we mark with the era of the Shaft Graves.³⁰ Clearly the mainland palaces did not develop in immediate response to the Minoan ones. Probably the preconditions for the advent of a palatial society had not yet arisen on the mainland. More apropos, however, is the possibility that they had not even developed by the time of the Shaft Graves. Apparently the creation of a complex palace-centered society on the mainland during the Late Bronze Age was much delayed with respect to the initial period of stratification observed during the Shaft Grave period. There is no clear evidence that the monumental palaces on the mainland were constructed before LH IIIA1.³¹

power relationships in the society, the palace is an artifact created and manipulated by the ruling group; see the contributions by various authors to I. Hodder, ed., *Symbolic and structural archaeology*, Cambridge, U.K. 1982.

²⁸ H. van Effenterre, *Le palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne I* (*Incunabula Graeca*, 76), Rome 1980, 30-41, 201-229; O. Pelon, in 'Chronique...', *BCH* 108, 1984, 881-887; *idem*, in 'Chronique...', *BCH* 110, 1986, 813-816.

²⁹ O. Dickinson, *The origins of Mycenaean civilisation* (SIMA, 49), Göteborg 1977, especially chapter VI.

³⁰ The length of time between the formation of the palaces on Crete and on the Mainland has recently been emphasized by J.L. Davis in a paper given at the Mycenaean Seminar of the University of London ('If there's room at the top, what's at the bottom?' [abstract], *BICS* 35, 1988, 164f.). The length of time between the Shaft Graves and the first Mycenaean palaces would be as much as 250-300 years if recent attempts to raise the date for the inception of the Late Bronze Age are upheld; see M.J. Aitken, H.N. Michael, P.P. Betancourt, and P.M. Warren, 'The Thera eruption: continuing discussion of the dating', *Archaeometry* 30, 1988, 165-182.

³¹ With respect to identifying the emergence of a palace-centered society on the basis of the appearance of monumental architectural forms and attendant features such as frescos and installations requiring specialized masonry and carpentry, it is important to observe that without well-preserved remains it is extremely difficult to detect monumental architecture. This is exemplified when one attempts to trace the early history of the palaces at the major Mycenaean centers. For example, early remains at Mycenae were reported in detail by Wace, who argued for an early palace of LH I date (A. Wace, 'Mycenae, 1921-1923', *BSA* 25, 1921-23, 269-270; *idem*, *Mycenae. An archaeological history and guide*, Princeton 1949, 73-75), but the actual evidence from the Pillar Basement, the Pithos Room and other areas over the crown of the citadel, such as rooms 16, 32-33, 39 and 41 (Wace, *BSA* 25, 1921-23, 185-186, 195-204), although apparently documenting the existence of a LH I phase with architectural remains, does not preserve secure evidence of a monumental construction.

A similar problem exists at Tiryns (K. Müller, *Tiryns III*, Augsburg 1930, 77f.) where recent excavations by Kilian have uncovered the LH IIIA remains ('Chronique...', *BCH* 109, 1985, 776-778; 110, 1986, 688; Kilian, *supra* n. 25, 209), and at Thebes

Furthermore, I propose that the development of Mycenaean society, as we term it, was not a uniform event over the whole mainland. Instead different areas developed according to the resources and conditions specific to each, factors already observed during the MBA.³² Thus the rise of a number of highly visible fortified citadels with palaces in the Argolis contrasts with the single palace at Pylos in Messenia and the yet undiscovered traces of any in Laconia. The existence of the multi-phase and early (LH I?-IIIA1) mansions at the Menelaion might then be viewed by us not so much as evidence of a "missing link" in the path to a uniform palace-centered society on the mainland, but as one local early solution to increasing demands for administering a small region.³³

Such an argument runs counter to the idea that the emergence of Mycenaean palaces was a natural and gradual process of development responding to the demands of an increasing population and/or to the vacuum of power in Crete after the collapse at the end of the Neo-palatial period.³⁴ Although such reconstructions attempt to make a reasonable story through a concatenation of archaeologically sequential events, they fail to examine the structural form of

and Pylos. At all these sites we are unable to push the evidence of palatial edifices earlier than LH IIIA1, despite Kilian's (*ibid.*) attempt to reconstruct a "Minoan" palace at Pylos during the early Mycenaean period utilizing the extremely scanty remains uncovered (cf. C.W. Blegen *et al.*, *The palace of Nestor at Pylos in southwestern Messenia III*, Princeton 1973, 36-46, *passim*). As for the 2nd mansion of LH IIIA1 date at the Menelaion (*infra* n. 33) determination of the extent to which it utilized monumental architectural techniques and planning must await final publication of the remains.

³² Increasing variation in artifactual assemblages for the MH period is evident in ceramics, as recognized by J. Rutter and S. Rutter, *The transition to Mycenaean* (*Monumenta Archaeologica*, 4), Los Angeles 1976; C. Zerner (*infra* n. 41), and others in recent studies, and is also apparent in burial types (*infra* n. 36), house and settlement forms.

³³ H.W. Catling, 'Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973-1976', *AR* 23, 1976-77, 24-42, esp. 29-31. The plan of Mansion 2 appears to be an elaboration of its predecessor and it is unfortunate that more artifactual evidence indicative of the functions of these buildings was not preserved.

Reasons for the different regional developments are certainly traceable to the different resources of each region and its relation to predominant routes of commerce, again exemplified by comparing the regions of southwestern Messenia and the Argive plain. As R. Hägg has demonstrated ('On the nature of Minoan influence on early Mycenaean Messenia', *OpAth* 14, 1982, 27-37), SW Messenia had an apparently close relation with Crete during the late MH and early Mycenaean periods, a relation also attested by Y. Lolos in his study of the LH I ceramics there (*The Late Helladic I pottery of the southwestern Peloponnese and its local characteristics* [SIMA-PB, 50], Göteborg 1987, 524-530). This precociousness, also observed on the island of Kythera (N. Coldstream, in Coldstream and Huxley, *supra* n. 23, 291) and at A. Stephanos in Laconia (J. Rutter and S. Rutter, *supra* n. 32), is comparable to that of contemporary Lerna (among others) in the Argolid, but does not persist beyond the early Mycenaean period when these areas were overshadowed by the development of the major citadels in the Argolid and Central Greece that were apparently more successful in utilizing local resources and populations and in developing internal and external markets.

³⁴ Thus S. Hood, *The arts of prehistoric Greece*, Harmonds-

the society and do not explain the process of its development.³⁵

Turning to the issue of the socio-political structure of Mycenaean society, the evidence from mortuary remains presents a strikingly different picture from that of Minoan Crete. At the time of increasing contact with Neo-palatial Crete, within the MH period, there are clear signs of emerging stratification seen in burial practices, both in the custom of tumulus and cist burial.³⁶ Cist tomb cemeteries and tumulus burials are forms of corporate burial reflecting kin groups linked together into a community.³⁷ The shaft graves, grave circles and their equivalents at Lerna, Aegina and throughout Messenia, represent an intensification of this social process in three ways. First, there is a shift from burial in cemeteries to burial in special reserved areas for very limited social groups (as Circles A and B) or to highly

individual family burial (as in the early tholoi of Messenia).³⁸ Second, and symptomatic of the social continuity from MH to LH times, old and new burial forms are found concurrent (or in very close chronological succession) at many sites, such as Pylos, Voidokoilia, Mycenae, and Marathon, to name a few.³⁹ Third, these special tombs are further elaborated by the visible signs of wealth and power found in the artifacts deposited in them.

The sudden increase in wealth in the special tombs is not merely explainable by reference to the establishment of internal industries but connotes a special access for those high status persons and their kin to the markets and production centers of Crete and the Aegean islands.⁴⁰ That is to say that on the mainland at this time such industries as existed were closely connected to Minoan technologies and closely tied to the small elite groups;⁴¹ they were not developed to

worth 1978, 24; M. Popham, 'Mycenaean-Minoan relations between 1450 and 1400 B.C.', *BICS* 23, 1976, 119-121; *idem*, 'Cretan sites occupied between ca. 1450 and 1400 B.C.', *BSA* 75, 1980, 163-167; cf. J. Cherry, 'Evolution, revolution and the origins of complex society in Minoan Crete', in *Minoan society* (supra n. 2), 33-47; and K. Kilian (supra n. 25), 212-217.

³⁵ Thus Halstead (supra n. 26).

³⁶ See G. Nordquist, *A Middle Helladic village* (Boreas, 16), Uppsala 1987, 91-106; and in this volume. The general outlines of the intensification of social status are apparent in the change in the number and kind of grave goods, in the elaboration of the burial facility and in the creation of cemeteries and burial plots (cf. A. Saxe, *The social dimensions of mortuary practice*, Ann Arbor 1983; L. Goldstein, *Mississippian mortuary practices. A case study of two cemeteries in the lower Illinois Valley*, Evanston 1980; J. O'Shea, *Mortuary variability: An archaeological investigation*, New York 1984, 23-49). But a detailed study of this phenomenon for MH burial is lacking and one must rely on K. Syriopoulos, 'Η προϊστορία της Πελοποννήσου (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 51), Athens 1964, 330-353; E.T. Blackburn, *Middle Helladic graves and burial customs with special reference to Lerna in the Argolid*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cincinnati 1970, chapters III, IV.

³⁷ Supra n. 36; J.A. Brown, 'The search for rank in prehistoric burials', in R. Chapman, I. Kinnes and K. Randsborg, eds., *The archaeology of death*, Cambridge, U.K. 1981, 25-37, esp. 28-30; K. Branigan, 'The round graves at Lefkas reconsidered', *BSA* 70, 1975, 37-49, esp. 43-45.

³⁸ O. Dickinson (supra n. 29), 62, on the date of the earliest tholoi in Messenia.

³⁹ Pylos: C.W. Blegen *et al.* (supra n. 31), 71-171 (and on the Vagenas burials differing with O. Pelon, *Tholoi, tumuli et cercles funéraires*, Paris 1976, 194). For Marathon-Vrana see Pelon, *op.cit.*, 82-85, 228-231; see also possibly Routsis: Pelon, *op.cit.*, 75f., 198-200, and Koukirkou: Pelon, *op.cit.*, 77, 207-211. For Voidokoilia, see G. Korres, 'Εργασίαι, έρευναι, και ανασκαφαι ανά την Ελλάδα', *Prakt* 1977, 229-295, esp. 265-294.

⁴⁰ Such access may be evaluated in terms of evidence of rare items (luxury or high status ones) found only in special locations to which only certain persons would have access (J. Haas, *The evolution of the prehistoric state*, New York 1982, 174-176). A few examples are objects in the Shaft Graves that correspond to objects found in special locations in Crete, such as the stone bull rhyton of Grave IV (examples from the palace at Zakros and from the Little Palace at Knossos), marble vessels from Graves IV and V (with parallel from the palace at Zakros), or the faience cup of Circle B, Grave Gamma (with a complementary one in the Temple Repositories at Knossos).

⁴¹ In his consideration of early Mycenaean industries in *The*

origins of Mycenaean civilisation (supra n. 29), 66-86, Dickinson acknowledges that Cretan industries produced much of the material found in Mycenaean mainland contexts, recognizing that specialized craftsmen had produced much of the material wealth found in such contexts as the Shaft Graves. He explains the emergence of strictly Mycenaean industries in terms of a "flood of Aegean craftsmen, many probably from Crete itself, to the mainland in the early Mycenaean period" (p. 62) and goes on to acknowledge that "it is, indeed only an assumption that most objects found on the mainland were made there, for no workshop or working areas have been excavated apart from the Berbati kiln and a few moulds or craftsmen's tools" (*ibid.*). This situation has changed little in the decade since the publication of this book. What is changing is our picture of the archaeological record, namely evidence that the mainland began to become a lucrative market during the Middle Helladic period and increasingly so during the early Mycenaean one. Ceramic studies such as those of J. Rutter and C. Zerner ('Early Hellado-Minoan contacts', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *The Minoan thalassocracy. Myth and reality*, Stockholm 1984, 75-82) and C. Zerner ('Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I pottery from Lerna, Part I', *Hydra* 2, 1986, 58-74, esp. 71; *idem*, 'Middle Helladic and Late Helladic I pottery from Lerna, Part II', *Hydra* 4, 1988, 1-10, figs. 1-41) give some perspective on the history and early vigor of ceramic production and exchange (cf. also J. Davis, 'The Mainland panelled cup and panelled style', *AJA* 82, 1978, 216-221; Y. Lolos, supra n. 33; J. Rutter and S. Rutter, supra n. 32; J. Overbeck, 'The hub of commerce: Keos and Middle Helladic Greece', *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 7, 1982, 38-49). This interaction also stimulated the discovery and exploitation of new resources, such as metals (see Z.A. Stos-Gale and N.H. Gale, 'The sources of Mycenaean silver and lead', *JFA* 9, 1982, 467-485; *idem*, 'Oxhide copper ingots in Crete and Cyprus and the Bronze Age metals trade', *BSA* 81, 1986, 81-100, esp. 92-100). Other industries seemingly were either slow to start up, with little evidence until LH II or LH IIIA, or fostered to create luxuries for the elite, for example: faience (K.P. Foster, *Aegean faience of the Bronze Age*, New Haven 1979, esp. 155f.), stone vessels (J. Sakellarakis, 'Mycenaean stone vases', *SMEA* 17, 1976, 173-187, esp. 176-178), ivory (J.-C. Poursat, *Les ivoires mycéniens: essai sur la formation d'un art mycénien* [BEFAR. 230], Athens 1977, esp. 217-223, 249-252; J. Sakellarakis, *Τὸ έλεφαντόδοντο και η καταργασία του στα μυκηναϊκά χρόνια* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 93), Athens 1979, esp. 41f., *passim*), bronze, silver and gold working (H. Matthäus, 'Minoan influence on the Greek mainland during the sixteenth century B.C. and the origins of Mycenaean civilisation', *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 5, 1980, 37-44, esp. 39, 41; and also his discussion in *idem*, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* [PBF II, 1], Munich 1980, 341f.,

the extent that they served the local community or were competitive in Aegean markets. Furthermore there is no evidence of a population organized to support specialized production centers, let alone much in favor of intensive and specialized agricultural production. Therefore we see in the Shaft Graves mainly a socio-political development supplied externally and limited by highly restricted access to markets and production centers. Such a development strongly contrasts with the picture of Proto-palatial Crete where a broad-based internal development founded on agricultural production and storage is suggested (cf. above).

Under these hypothetical circumstances palatial organization would not need develop merely as result of the intensification of political and economic power in the hands of elite groups during the Early Mycenaean period (in this instance between MH III–LH II). This hypothesis also suggests how these mainland elites could have a dependent relationship with respect to the primary centers of Crete without having immediately to adopt and adapt the complex structure of their society. Certainly there is little evidence that Early Mycenaean Greece had developed a complex society. Settlement information suggests a lack of highly developed

central places.⁴² There is a lack of central processing and storage facilities and no record system.⁴³ Likewise, the political hierarchy was not complex,⁴⁴ nor did it have a sophisticated ideology that was manipulated through a complex system of symbols and rituals focused on ceremonial centers distributed widely over the governed areas.⁴⁵ Instead it relied upon an intensification of displays of wealth and power of the elite personage. These displays are mostly manifest in the shaft grave, tholos and chamber tombs, where, as has already been pointed out here and elsewhere,⁴⁶ the elaborate ceremonies connected with death and burial were used as a means of reaffirming the elite group identity, consolidating power and passing it on to heirs. All in all the evidence suggests that during this period there was no major shift from the socio-economic form of the Shaft Grave period, including no rapid increase in population, and therefore no pressures on the social fabric to undergo major organizational change.⁴⁷

So long as the elite groups on the mainland were able to maintain their relationship to the external sources of wealth and production and maintain their control over the populace and necessary land holdings, there was probably

both of which define the nature of incipient metal workshops on the mainland; E. Davis, *The Vapheio cups and Aegean gold and silver ware*, New York 1977, esp. 328–356, where the rudimentary nature of the early Mycenaean workshops is clarified [38 Mycenaean vessels, nearly all cups in simple techniques, as opposed to 72 Minoan ones representing a diversity of shapes and a much more sophisticated range of techniques], and finally the important issue of the use of sealings (see discussion in Palaima, supra n. 23, 339 and notes 108, 109).

⁴² A tabular presentation of early Mycenaean sites consulted in the Gazetteer (R. Hope Simpson and O. Dickinson, *A gazetteer of Aegean civilisation in the Bronze Age I: The mainland and the islands* [SIMA, 52], Göteborg 1979) shows how unsystematic our information about this period is:

Period	Architecture	Tomb	Surface	Excavated
MH	31	58	272	94
LH I/II	25	67	90	65
LH IIIA	33	127	326	132
LH IIIB	45	133	354	143

(The numbers are totals of sites recognized according to the above-listed criteria.) Whereas by the criteria of surface collection and excavation there is a marked decrease in sites during the LH I/II period, there is a contradictory increase in tombs, obviously a result of the higher visibility of the tholos and chamber tomb type. This suggests that our information on early Mycenaean settlement distribution is spurious. When considering the problem of distinguishing surface pottery of early Mycenaean from that of late Mycenaean date, this issue is exacerbated (see J. Wright, 'An early Mycenaean hamlet on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea', in R. Treuil and P. Darque, eds., in press (supra n. 20)).

⁴³ Palaima (supra n. 23); see also the discussion following the paper by I. Pini, 'Minoische Siegel ausserhalb Kretas', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds. (supra n. 41), 123–131, esp. 130f.

⁴⁴ I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, 'Beobachtungen zu den Schachtgräbern von Mykenai und zu den Schmuckbeigaben mykenischer Männergräber. Untersuchung zur Sozialstruktur in spätelladischer Zeit', *JRGZM* 33, 1986, 159–198, esp. 196–198; and her contribution to this volume.

⁴⁵ We do not possess direct evidence of early Mycenaean shrines or religious centers (see R. Hägg, 'Mycenaean religion: The Helladic and the Minoan components', in A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux, eds., *Linear B: A 1984 survey* [BICLL, 26], 203–225, esp. 213f.; J.C. van Leuven, 'Problems and methods of prehistoric naology', in *SCABA*, 20, 23–24; figs. 1, 2, 5 for one list of probable religious structures; C. Renfrew, 'Questions of Minoan and Mycenaean cult', in *SCABA*, 28, 30; R. Hägg, 'Mykenische Kultstätten im archaischen Material', *OpAth* 8, 1968, 39–60 (although for Eleusis see now: P. Darque, 'Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Téléstérion d'Eleusis', *BCH* 105, 1981, 593–605 [not a LH II period temple]). Except for the early LM I period shrine at Epidauros (V. Iambrinudakis, 'Remains of the Mycenaean period in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas', in *SCABA*, 59–65) our information for early cult is derived entirely from the complicated evidence of the iconography of seals, sealings, frescoes, metalwork etc., much of which is of Minoan origin.

⁴⁶ J. Wright, 'Death and power at Mycenae', in *Thanatos*, Liège 1987, 171–184; Kilian-Dirlmeier (supra n. 44).

⁴⁷ The attempt to assess rates of population growth during the Mycenaean era founders on inadequate and unrepresentative information; see J. Cherry, review of M.J. Alden, *Bronze Age population fluctuation in the Argolid from the evidence of Mycenaean tombs* (SIMA-PB, 15), Göteborg 1981, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 41, 1984, 196–199. If population growth was not a widespread phenomenon during the early Mycenaean period, competition for land may not have been a major factor in political and economic relations of the period. Artifactual and iconographic evidence of weaponry and its use that might be taken as overt military displays and as evidence for such competition, have been handily dealt with by C. Morris (this volume) as an aspect of the hunt and an advertising of rank in the early Mycenaean period (see also I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, this volume; cf. J. Haas, supra n. 40, 178–182). In line with this direction of argument the lack of clear evidence of widespread fortifications, if any, during this period (S. Iakovides, 'Wehrbauten', in *Kriegswesen I* [= *ArchHom*, chapter E1], Göttingen 1977, 171f.; J. Wright, *Mycenaean masonry and elements of construction*, unpublished Ph.D. 1978, 162–179) certainly has implications regarding the size and definition of territories. Fortifications are a clear sign of active conflict and competition for land among different centers; this is why there are many fortified sites in the crowded Argive plain and none in Messenia, for example.

no impetus for the establishment of a complex administrative mechanism. But any growth in the domestic economy (either its agricultural or industrial sector) or in the population would demand more sophisticated means of decision making and create a more complex web of inter-relationships at all levels.⁴⁸

The archaeological record of this phenomenon is found in the increased distribution of recognizably Mycenaean artifacts beginning in the LH IIIA1 period when they occur widespread over the Aegean and in remarkable quantities throughout much of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁹ Mycenaean architectural forms, for residential, administrative and mortuary use, become recognizable at emerging local centers on the mainland and overseas.⁵⁰ The relationship of the mainland with Crete undergoes a transformation.⁵¹ The evidence of a full scale economy with centers of production, storage and distribution networks becomes evident at this time, especially LH IIIA2, a period that witnessed the first spurt of building beyond the fortifications at Mycenae and

the creation of workshops within the palaces.⁵²

The succeeding LH IIIB period was clearly one of consolidation of palatial control. There should be no doubt that this period enjoyed a well-established industrial base and formal exchange system,⁵³ that the palaces enlarged their urban peripheries, and that a sophisticated administrative and record-keeping system emerged.⁵⁴ Particularly important is the evidence of a highly controlled population. This is found in the massive construction projects of nearly every citadel (with the exception of Pylos). During LH IIIA2 through LH IIIB the erection of fortifications,⁵⁵ palaces, subsidiary buildings, outworks such as road and bridges,⁵⁶ and monumental tombs⁵⁷ required a highly organized and extensive labor force coerced or seconded from its normal activities.

Massive land reclamation projects as in the Kopais and around Tiryns (the Kofini dam and re-routed stream channel) also required extensive manpower and reflect an enlargement and intensification of agricultural activity to supply foodstuffs and produce raw goods for industry and

⁴⁸ One example of how such an economy could be stimulated is the study by J. Davis and H. Lewis of the Kean pottery industry's reaction to the introduction of large numbers of cheap Minoan imports ('Mechanization of pottery production: A case study from the Cyclades', in *Prehistoric production and exchange, the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean*, A.B. Knapp and T. Stech, eds. (Institute of Archaeology, U.C.L.A., Monograph, 25), Los Angeles 1985, 79–92. For the theoretical background to the causes for increased social and economic complexity see R. Carneiro, 'On the relationship between size of population and complexity of social organization', *Southwestern journal of anthropology* 23, 1967, 234–243, esp. 239–242; C. Peebles and S. Kus, 'Some archaeological correlates of ranked societies', *American Antiquity* 42, 1977, 421–448, esp. 427–430; R. Dumond, 'Population growth and political centralization', in *Population growth: Anthropological implications*, ed. B. Spooner, Cambridge 1972, 286–310; F. Hassan, *Demographic archaeology*, New York 1981, chapter 13 and pp. 250–257. I wish to thank Keith Dickey for enlightening me on the complexities of this literature on population growth and socio-political complexity.

⁴⁹ See now, R.L.N. Barber, *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age*, Iowa City 1987, 224–226; *idem*, 'The Late Cycladic period: A review', *BSA* 76, 1981, 1–21, esp. 8–10; for Rhodes see: C. Mee, *Rhodes in the Bronze Age, an archaeological survey*, London 1982; R. Jones and C. Mee, 'Spectrographic analysis of Mycenaean pottery from Ialysos on Rhodes', *JEA* 5, 1978, 461–470; for Cyprus: H. Catling, *Cypriot bronzework in the Mycenaean world*, Oxford 1964, 49f.; K. Nicolaou, 'The first Mycenaeans in Cyprus', in *The Mycenaeans in the eastern Mediterranean (Acts of the international archaeological symposium, Nicosia, 1972)*, Nicosia 1973, 51–61; G. Cadogan, 'Patterns in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the eastern Mediterranean', in *The Mycenaeans in the eastern Mediterranean*, 166–179, esp. 170; for LH IIIA1 see P.A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean decorated pottery: A guide to identification* (SIMA, 73), Göteborg 1986, esp. 51. LH IIIA1 is often found together with LH IIB; the two are not well stratigraphically defined. This period also marks the advent of the Pictorial Style: E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean pictorial vase painting*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 3, 6–8.

⁵⁰ Phylakopi: C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff, eds., *An island polity. The archaeology of exploitation in Melos*, Cambridge 1982, 41.

Crete: A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III period in Crete. A survey of sites, pottery and their distribution* (SIMA, 58), Göteborg 1980,

passim, esp. 318–320; B. Hayden, 'Crete in transition: LM IIIA–IIIB architecture, A preliminary study', *SMEA* 26, 1987, 199–234, esp. 210–216.

Rhodes: Mee (supra n. 49).

⁵¹ Hayden (supra n. 50); Popham 1976 (supra n. 34), 120f. and *idem* 1980 (supra n. 34), 163–167 (to which append Kommos: see J. Shaw *et al.* 'Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1977', *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 165–170); H. Matthäus, 'Minoische Kriegergräber', in *Minoan society* (supra n. 2), 203–215; W.-D. Niemeier, 'The character of Knossian palace society in the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.', in *Minoan society*, 217–236; I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, 'Nocheinmal zu den "Kriegergräbern" von Knossos', *JRGZM* 32, 1985, 196–214, esp. 197, 207f., 210f.

⁵² Early buildings outside Mycenae are Petsas' House (P. Petsas, 'Ανασκαφή ἐν Μυκῆναις', *Prakt* 1950, 203–233; 1951, 192–196) and the House of Lead, The House of Shields, the House of the Oil Merchant, for which see E. French, 'Pottery groups at Mycenae: A summary', *BSA* 58, 1963, 44–52, esp. 46–49.

⁵³ H.W. Catling, J.F. Cherry, R.E. Jones, J.T. Killen, 'The Linear B inscribed stirrup jars and west Crete', *BSA* 75, 1980, 49–113; C. Shelmerdine, *The perfume industry of Mycenaean Pylos*, (SIMA-PB, 34), Göteborg 1985; J. Killen, 'The Linear B tablets and the Mycenaean economy', in *Linear B* (supra n. 45), 241–305.

⁵⁴ Palaima (supra n. 23), 4, n. 13.

⁵⁵ At Midea, Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Krisa, Teichos Dymaion, Samikon, Gla, Thebes, Athens, to name the best known; see S. Iakovides, *Late Helladic citadels on mainland Greece* (Monumenta Graeca et Romana, IV), Leiden 1983; Wright (supra n. 47), 162–179; for Kleidi-Samikon see E. Papakonstantinou-Charitou, 'Περιοχή Σαμικού: ἀρχαιολογικὴς ἐνδείξεις κατοικίσεως στὰ ἱστορικά χρόνια', *Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλληνικῶν μελετῶν* 2, 1983, 287–306, esp. 291.

⁵⁶ B. Steffen, *Karten von Mykenae*, Berlin 1884; G. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean age*, Princeton 1966, 86f.; W.A. McDonald, 'Overland communications in Greece during LH III, with special reference to the southwest Peloponnese', in *Mycenaean studies*, E.L. Bennett, Jr. ed., Madison 1964, 217–240; W.A. Heurtley, 'Notes on harbours of south Boeotia and sea-trade between Boeotia and Corinth in prehistoric times', *BSA* 26, 1923–25, 30–45; Hope Simpson and Dickinson (supra n. 42), 250f., site G38.

⁵⁷ Wright (supra n. 46).

for that portion of the population engaged in specialized activities.⁵⁸ Documents in Linear B also record the management of people and the administration of specialized industries.⁵⁹ Some of these are records of tax collection, slave holding, armaments for middle level officials and military duties, all of which strongly indicate formal agencies of enforcement. Certainly the frequent appearance of armaments in tomb inventories and in representations supports the notion that a standing military or police force existed. Finally the ranked structure of authority and land holding in the Linear B tablets suggests that power was concentrated at the top of a political hierarchy.

Within this hierarchy the role of established ideology in Mycenaean society is far from clear.⁶⁰ The bulk of evidence is late, LH IIIB and even Post-palatial. None of it is connected with independent monumental ceremonial centers; consider, for example, the architecture of the shrine complex at Mycenae. Except for the very recent discovery of a large figure like the lady of Phylakopi at Tsoungiza (which suggests a shrine there),⁶¹ all the evidence we have is concentrated at major centers: Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, Phylakopi, Asine, Athens. Ceremonial scenes in Mycenaean fresco painting are not common and occur only in palatial settings while divinity and cult are not commonly expressed in Mycenaean art.⁶²

This relatively undeveloped nature of cult places and cult symbolism suggests a continuing lack of emphasis on a divine ideology as a means for controlling the populace. The appearance of cult centers only late in the Mycenaean period and only at major centers suggests that recognition of the utility of using ideology to reinforce allegiance to the palace was not highly developed and previously had not been utilized very systematically. In contrast it should be clear from the continuance of burial customs that reinforce patterns of allegiance to lineal ancestors (as seen in the long-used chamber tomb cemeteries, in the monumental burials of the tholoi, and in the maintenance of cemeteries over a long time) that much emphasis was placed upon the respect or worship of ancestors. These practices are part of the increasing focus on individual power seen at Mycenae in the symbolic use of monumental mortuary, palatial and military architecture, and in the establishment of monumental ancestor cult settings during the LH IIIB period. Thus the contrast between the elaborate display and strategic location of the refurbished Grave Circle A and the less pretentious and less centrally located "cult center" once again focuses attention on the Mycenaean emphasis on the importance of persons, in this case probably putative ancestors of the ruler.⁶³ Such a development, well documented at Mycenae, witnesses the emergence of an early form of state that is focused on the ruler and his house, on noble kin groups, and on a concern with establishing a dynastic heritage. Perhaps these developments at Mycenae during the LH IIIB period signal the convergence of ideology and political centralization such that the establishment of the cult center there was part of the final process of consolidating power in the hands of a single ruler.

CONCLUSIONS

In both areas of this study investigation of symbolic behavior, particularly in burial customs, helps elucidate the forms of social relationships, such as kin groups, which have economic and political roles in these societies. Moreover, changes in these customs, along with other factors, provide data for hypotheses about changes in social integration which reflect political developments. Examining the evidence in light of anthropological studies of state formation leads to the realization that the institution of the palaces is but one episode in the long process towards state formation in both areas. Although the palaces are its most visible archaeological aspect, as we have discussed, developments on Crete and the Mainland did not follow the same path nor result from the same causes. By focusing on developments specific to different regions, such as those of the Messara and around Knossos in Crete and of the Argolis and Messenia on the mainland, we suggest directions for future research to provide additional evidence for the different social forms and economic structures which propelled Crete and the Mainland along different routes of political development.

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⁵⁸ In general for this phenomenon see K. Bntzer, *Oriental despotism: A comparative study of total power*, New Haven 1957; while for hydraulic systems in Greece see: E. Kenney, 'The ancient drainage of the Copais', *Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool)* 22, 1935, 189–206 and most recently, J. Knauss, B. Heinrich, and M. Kalcyk, *Die Wasserbauten der Myner in der Kopais: die älteste Flußregulierung Europas*, Munich 1984 (who make inaccurate use of the archaeological data, viz.: LH IIIA = 1300, and incorrectly date the dikes too early by an infelicitous reliance upon myth; a date of early LH IIIB concurrent with the erection of the wall of Gla is nearer correct); for the Kofini dam near Tiryns see J.M. Balcer, 'The Mycenaean dam at Tiryns', *AJA* 78, 1974, 141–144 and now E. Finke, *Landscape evolution of the Argive plain, Greece: paleoecology, Holocene depositional history, and coastline changes*, Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University 1988, 88f., 112, 124f., 147 (I thank Dr. Finke for giving me a copy of this work to read).

⁵⁹ M. Lindgren, *The people of Pylos. II: The use of personal designations and their interpretation* (Boreas, 3:11), Uppsala 1973.

⁶⁰ M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973, 125–129, *passim*; J. Chadwick, 'What do we know about Mycenaean religion?', in *Linear B* (supra n. 45), 191–202.

⁶¹ J. Wright, J. Cherry, J. Davis, E. Mantzourani and S. Sutton, 'The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, 1984–1987: A preliminary report', *Hesperia*, forthcoming.

⁶² Hood (supra n. 34), 77–83; I. Kritsaki-Providi, *Τοιχογραφίες του θρησκευτικού κέντρου των Μυκηνών*, Athens 1982, esp. 100–107; Lucinda R. McCallum, 'Frescoes from the throne room at Pylos: A new interpretation', *AJA* 91, 1987, 296 (abstract).

⁶³ Wright (supra n. 46).

Discussion

S. Diamant: Did I understand you correctly, that you almost completely disassociate the appearance of palatial structures on the mainland in LH IIIA1 from the collapse of Crete, and, what I take to be even more important, the take-over of the Minoan sphere of influence by the Mycenaean sphere of influence? It seems to me hard that they could be completely unrelated events.

J. Wright: My point was more to emphasise that the early Mycenaean period was one of development and one of dependency on the Minoan structure. Whatever happened to the Minoan palatial structure and whatever scenario one

wants to follow during the LH IIIA and LM IIIA periods is acceptable. I don't really feel that I am obliged to come down on one side or the other of the issue.

S. Diamant: Did you say that there were Mycenaean monumental funerary structures in the 14th and 13th century? I had the impression that the building of tholos tombs had finished by the 14th century.

J. Wright: That is certainly not the case for the Clytemnestra and the Atreus tholoi, dating to LH IIIB1.

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