MUZEUM ARCHEOLOGICZNE W POZNANIU

FONTES

ARCHAEOLOGICI POSNANIENSES

ANNALES MUSEI ARCHAEOLOGICI POSNANIENSIS

VOL. 56

POZNAŃ
2020

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Ilustracja na okładce:
Naczynie z plastycznym wyobrażeniem napierśnika z cmentarzyska
w Ciążeniu, w powiecie słupeckim. Fot. P. Silska

ISSN 0071-6863
DOI 10.34868/fap.56
Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu

Druk i oprawa
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woj. podlaskie

Spis treści

Varia

Od Redakcji

Główne części 56. tomu „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses" przynoszą prace poświęcone dwom obszarom badawczym: wschodniemu Śródziemnomorzu oraz Niżowi Polskiemu. Obydwa łączy aktywność polskich archeologów, od lat z sukcesem prowadzących tam badania.

Tematem specjalnym jest zestaw artykułów skoncentrowanych na Egei oraz Egipcie, które naświetlają wybrane problemy archeologii śródziemnomorskiej. Blok tych pierwszych to głosy najmłodszego pokolenia adeptów archeologii, specjalizujących się w badaniach strefy egejskiej. Są one pokłosiem międzynarodowej konferencji studencko-doktoranckiej „Aegean Archeology Students' Session", która odbyła się w Muzeum Archeologicznym w Poznaniu w dniach 7-8 kwietnia 2016 r. Współorganizatorem sesji był Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Zainteresowania młodych badaczy dotyczą przede wszystkim świata minojskiego i mykeńskiego. Uzupełnieniem tej części jest artykuł poświęcony zagadkowemu zabytkowi z Pustyni Zachodniej w Egipcie.

W dziale *Materiały* wracamy najpierw do dwóch znanych od wielu lat stanowisk wielkopolskich: Kotowa i Ciążenia. W obu przypadkach Autorzy proponują reanalizę dawnych źródeł pokazując, jak wiele nowych wiadomości można uzyskać pochylając się nad muzealnymi kolekcjami i archiwaliami. Cztery następne artykuły przedstawiają wyniki najnowszych badań, realizowanych w drugiej dekadzie XXI wieku. Cmentarzysko ludności kultury przeworskiej w Ochocicach, depozyt żelaznych wyrobów z Lubinicka, krypta kaliskiego kościoła pw. św. Wojciecha i Stanisława oraz fragment południowych fortyfikacji Poznania – to nowe źródła, które docenią zarówno archeolodzy i historycy, jak również wszyscy zainteresowani przeszłością naszego regionu i jego otoczenia.

Tom kończy dział *Varia*, w którym publikujemy sprawozdanie z działalności naszego Muzeum w roku 2019.

Marzena Szmyt

Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses, vol. 56, Poznań 2020
ISSN 0071-6863, DOI 10.34868/fap.56
DOI 10.34868/fap.56.001

Entangled Mycenae: towards a model of Mycenaean palatial town

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Mykeny w sieci powiązań: w stronę modelu mykeńskiego miasta

Abstract: In this paper, we focus on the entanglement of the LBA town of Mycenae, and discuss the history of the settlement, from the earliest beginnings (EH-MH), through the formation (LH I-IIIA1) and functioning (LH IIIA2-B) of the palatial town, to its gradual decomposition (LH IIIC), focusing mostly on LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB phases. Building from the relational archaeology, we discuss Mycenae of this period as an urbanized settlement and focus on a set of functional and social relations within the site. Despite the unique status of Mycenae, the features that seem to be characteristic of a Mycenaean palatial town (consisting of a palace, a central authority occupying the elite core of the settlement, and a lower town) can be clearly recognized. Those are: a) division of the settlement between the palatial zone and the lower town, b) social and economic dominance of the palace over the community, c) prevalence of single-family multi-room houses outside the palatial zone, and d) mixing of residential and funerary zones, and especially presence of elite tombs in the centre of the settlement.

Keywords: Mycenae, palatial town, relational archaeology

Abstrakt: Ideą niniejszego artykułu jest ukazanie sieci splątania obserwowalnej w jednym z najważniejszych pałacowych miast greckiej epoki brązu – Mykenach, a także omówienie historii osady od najwcześniejszych początków (WEB-ŚEB), poprzez etap formowania się (PH I-IIIA1) i funkcjonowania (PH IIIA2-B) mykeńskiego miasta pałacowego, aż po jego dekompozycję (PH IIIC). Szczególna uwaga została przy tym poświęcona fazie rozwoju osady przypadającej na okres PH IIIA2 – PH IIIB. Inspirując się założeniami archeologii relacyjnej, Mykeny przedstawiono jako zurbanizowany ośrodek, z licznymi powiązaniami między poszczególnymi elementami jego sieci. Pomimo wyjątkowego charakteru i statusu Myken, wyróżnić można pewne dystynktywne cechy mykeńskiego miasta pałacowego, składającego się z rdzenia (pałacu) otoczonego przez dolne miasto. Są to kolejno: a) podział osady na strefę pałacową i dolne miasto; b) dominacja społeczna i ekonomiczna pałacu nad społecznością; c) przewaga jednorodzinnych wielopomieszczeniowych domów poza strefą pałacową; oraz d) mieszanie stref mieszkalnych i funeralnych, a zwłaszcza obecność elitarnych grobowców w centrum osady.

Słowa kluczowe: Mykeny, miasto pałacowe, archeologia relacyjna

Introduction[1]

Theory of entanglement was developed by Ian Hodder (2012; 2018), influencing contemporary archaeological research, moving it further towards a systematic approach based on recognizing, defining and analysing networks of connected entities that are mutually dependent to and on each other. Hodder's work drew a lot from earlier relational theories, such as behavioural chains (Schiffer 1975), World System Theory (Sherratt 1993), or Actor Network Theory (Latour 2005), being itself more focused on material and practical dimension of webs of humans and things, and adding emphasis on cause and effect relationship in a historical approach to large-scale systems. Entanglement has already made a mark on a few studies focused on Late

[1] We would like to thank prof. Janusz Czebreszuk and dr Bartek Lis for advice and discussions that helped us to improve the paper. We are also grateful to Charles Sturge and Francesca Nani for help with obtaining the necessary literature. This paper presents part of an ongoing researches on Mycenaean lower towns and mortuary practices, that are sponsored by grants from the National Science Centre, Poland (project numbers 2018/31/N/HS3/00884 and 2017/27/N/HS3/01665).

Table 1. Relative and absolute Aegean chronology (Manning 2010), combined with chronological sequence of Mycenae (French, Shelton 2005: 177)

Relative chronology	Absolute chronology	Mycenae sequence
EH-MH	3100 – 1700/1675 BC	Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement
LH I	1700/1675 – 1635/00 BC	Early Mycenaean settlement
LH IIA	1635/00 – 1480/70 BC	
LH IIB	1480/70 – 1420/10 BC	
LH IIIA1	1420/10 – 1390/70 BC	
LH IIIA2	1390/70 – 1330/15 BC	Palatial town stage I
LH IIIB	1330/15 – 1200/1190 BC	
		Palatial town stage II
LH IIIC	1200/1190 – 1075/1050 BC	Post-palatial period settlement

Bronze Age[2] Aegean (e.g. Maran 2011; Stockhammer 2013; Vitale 2016; Zeman 2018). In this paper we will try to explore the entanglement of the LBA settlement of Mycenae, focusing mostly on the so-called palatial period (LH IIIA–B), with special attention put on the stage between the beginning of LH IIIA2 and the middle of LH IIIB (see table 1 for relative and absolute chronology[3]). Drawing from the entanglement theory, we will discuss Mycenae of this period as an urbanized settlement and focus on a set of functional and social relations within the site.

Another approach that we will use in the article is relational urbanism (Woolf 1993: 227-228). It defines urbanism as a property of entire settlement systems rather than individual sites. Urbanism is thus defined by the two main criteria: a) functional differentiation and specialization between sites of the settlement network, and b) urban sites showing significantly more developed internal differentiation than other sites in the settlement network. Thus, urbanization is a process in which we can see growing functional and structural differentiation within the settlement network and inside its most prominent sites. We think that such a process can be seen on the Greek mainland during the LBA, when the rise of the Mycenaean palaces transformed regional settlement networks and allowed the formation of a new form of settlement that can be named *palatial town* (Zeman 2020). The latter consisted of a palace, a central authority occupying the elite core of the settlement, and a lower town. The basic internal division between the palatial elite zone and the settlement surrounding it is always archaeologically visible. Palace and the lower town are mutually related to and dependent on each other socially and economically. They form an entanglement of objects (people, buildings, artefacts), with multiple internal and external relations (Hodder 2012), and were the key points of Mycenaean social, economic, and administrative systems.

Among the Late Helladic palatial towns Mycenae plays a special role, being the largest and most significant of the Mycenaean centres, affecting the entire Aegean culturally but possibly also politically (Kelder 2010; Eder, Jung 2015). In the last twenty years, a group of new archaeological contexts from the site was published (e.g. Iakovidis 2006; Danilidou 2008; Iakovidis 2013a; 2013b), which together with a growing body of analysis of the form and history of the settlement (e.g. Iakovidis 1986; Burns 2007; French 2009; French, Stockhammer 2009) gives an opportunity to try to remodel our thinking about Mycenae.

[2] The following abbreviations will be used throughout the paper: LBA – Late Bronze Age, EH – Early Helladic, MH – Middle Helladic, LH – Late Helladic, N – north, S – south, E – east, W – west.

[3] In the present paper we follow the so-called High Chronology (Manning 2010). Although we are aware of the on-going academic discussion regarding the matter, we consider the debate to be far from being resolved, despite certain new sources which tend to bring the ^{14}C dates closer to historical dating (see e.g. Pearson *et al.* 2018, with further bibliography).

History of the Research

The legend of "rich in gold" Mycenae was reviewed by Henrich Schliemann in 1876, who followed the description given by Pausanias (II.16.5-7) and began the first large scale excavation at the site. Its location was well-known thanks to modern travellers and scholars and their valuable descriptions and sketches. By Schliemann's arrival, five tholos tombs and the *Lion Gate* were exposed, allowing him to concentrate specifically on the area behind the gate, where he revealed the principal part of Grave Circle A (Schliemann 1880).

In fact, the extensive program of excavations was formulated already in 1840 by the Archaeological Society of Athens, which conducted or granted the concessions for any further research at the site. The particularly important projects were directed by Christos Tsountas (1880–1902), Alan J.B. Wace (1920–1957), William Taylour (1957–1969), George E. Mylonas (1958–1998), and Spyros Iakovidis (1998-2013).

The early excavations concentrated on the Palace, the Cult Centre areas and the chamber tomb cemeteries (Tsountas, Manatt 1887; Wace 1921-1923b; 1921-1923c; 1949; Mylonas 1966a; 1981; Taylour 1970; French, Taylour 2007). Outside the Citadel, the scattered architectural remains have been cleaned and investigated, revealing parts of the Lower Town (Wace 1956; Verdelis 1961; Mylonas-Shear 1987; Tournavitou 1995, 2006, 2015). The initial research of the funerary remains was dedicated to the architecture and contents of the tholoi (Wace 1921-1923a), to be then focused on the Prehistoric Cemetery (Wace 1950, 1955; Alden 2000), the chamber tomb cemeteries (Wace 1932; Verdelis 1966; Shelton 1993; 2000; French *et al.* 2003), and the Grave Circle B (Mylonas 1964; 1973). The extensive survey (1991–1993) and geophysical prospection (2003-2009) were undertaken in order to precisely map the site (French *et al.* 2003). More recently, excavations on the NW slope of the Citadel and in the Lower Town have been conducted (http://www.mycenae-excavations.org: access 28.01.2019; Shelton 2016: 317; Tournavitou 2015).

Early and Middle Bronze Age (EH – MH)

The first occupation of the Mycenae hill can be traced back to the Neolithic period. The evidence retrieved on the top of the acropolis suggests a significant spread of the settlement during the EH period (Shelton 2010: 58-59)[4].

The MH period is widely documented in the ceramic material and the mortuary remains from the Prehistoric Cemetery, which was located in the W part of the acropolis and on the surrounding slopes (French 2002: 44-47; French, Shelton 2005: 174-178; Shelton 2010: 59-61). The most striking feature of the end of the period is a growth of wealth, apparent in the burial evidence of Grave Circle B (MH III – LH I; fig. 1: I). Here simple cists were gradually transformed into shaft graves; collective tombs replaced single burials; and the accompanying offerings have grown in terms of their quantity and quality. All those features together with a wall separating Circle B from the surrounding burial ground indicate the "increasing differentiation of status and emergence of an elite class" (Dickinson 1994: 222; Voutsaki 2012: 165-166). Few architectural remains testify that not only the summit, but also the SW part of the acropolis was already inhabited by the end of MH period (Iakovidis 1983: 50; 2013a: 513-514)[5].

Early Mycenaean period and formation of the palatial town (LH I – LH IIIA1)

The phenomenon illustrated by the Grave Circle B expands in the six graves of Grave Circle A (LH I – LH IIA), located in the NE part of the Prehistoric Cemetery. Several factors emphasized the special status of the deceased, including the semi-circular wall separating the structure from other burials, the monumental grave stelae depicting the elite activities, and the funerary offerings composed of mainly imported objects fashioned in various valuable materials (Karo 1930-33; Voutsaki 1999; 2012; Boyd 2015).

The subsequent period brings several alterations in the organization of the settlement. Extensive chamber tombs cemeteries and tholos tombs became the dominant funerary forms. The former occupied the hills surrounding the Citadel, while the

[4] As suggested by French (2010: 672), a considerable amount of EH pottery on top of the summit suggests a presence of notable building (named Palace I by French), similar to those known from Lerna and Tiryns.

[5] The assumption that a kind of an early royal residence stood on the summit during MH – LH I period has become an accepted fact, despite the lack of any evidence for such a construction. For the proposed reconstructions see Wace 1949; Mylonas 1966a; Schaar 1979.

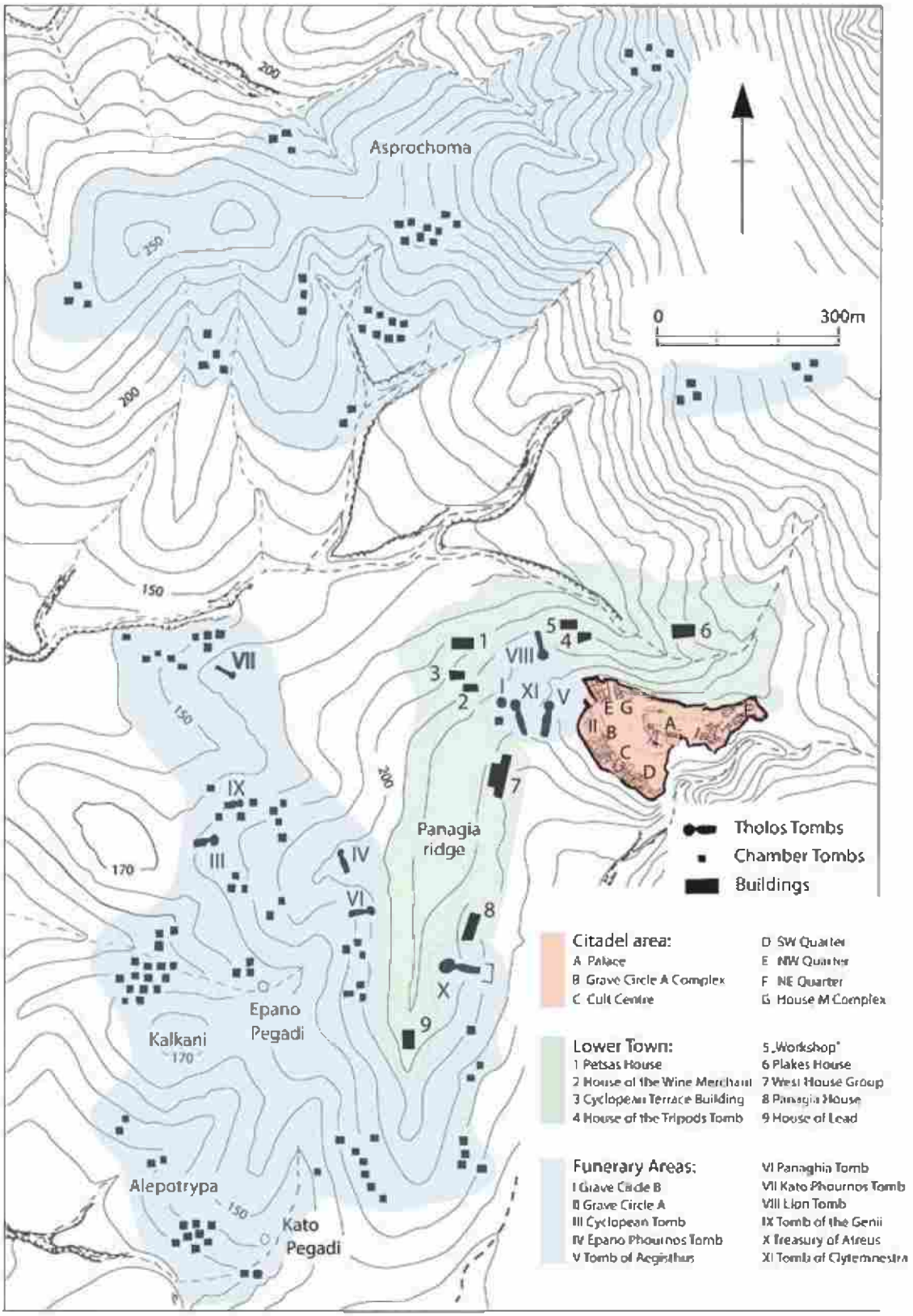

Fig. 1. Map of Mycenae during palatial period (source http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/gis.html, with modifications by the authors)

Table 2. Sequence of tholos tombs built at Mycenae (Wace 1949; French 2002; Mason 2013)

Tholos tomb	Group according to Wace 1949	Chronology proposed by Wace 1949	Reviewed chronology**
Cyclopean Tomb	I · unworked fieldstones/ rubble masonry · lack of the relieving triangles* · lack of the walled dromoi · lack of the blocking walls in the dromoi · lintel blocks are not carved to match the inner curve of the chamber	End of LH I	LH IIA
Epano Phournos		End of LH I	LH IIA
Tomb of Aegisthus		LH I – LH II	LH IIA remodeling LH II - LH IIIA1
Panaghia Tomb	II · hammer-dressed conglomerate (dromoi and stomia) · poros ashlar masonry (dromoi, stomia) · relieving triangle · blocking walls in the dromoi · lintel blocks are carved to match the inner curve of the chamber	LH II	LH IIA / LH IIB
Kato Phournos		LH II	LH IIA / LH IIB
Lion Tomb		LH II	LH IIA / LH IIB
Tomb of the Genii	III · hammer-dressed conglomerate · poros ashlar masonry · enlarged relieving triangle · lintel blocks are carved to match the inner curve of the chamber · decorative facades · wooden doors and doorframes	LH IIIA	LH IIB / LH IIIA1
Treasury of Atreus		LH IIIA	LH IIIA2 / LH IIIB
Tomb of Clytemnestra		LH IIIB	LH IIIB

* The relieving triangle existed in Tomb of Aegisthus, see Iakovidis 2001: 41

** Reviewed chronology after: Mylonas 1957; French 2002; French *et al.* 2003; Mason 2013

tholoi are divided by the Panagia (Panagitsa) ridge into eastern and western group (French *et al.* 2003: 23, 35; French, Shelton 2005: 181), with two structures on the E side of the hill (*Tomb of Aegisth*us, fig. 1: V, and the *Lion Tomb*, Fig. 1:VIII), and five placed on the W side (*Cyclopean Tomb* fig. 1: III, *Epano Phournos* fig. 1: IV, *Panaghia Tomb* fig. 1: VI, *Kato Phournos* fig. 1: VII, and *Tomb of the Genii* fig. 1: IX, for the details concerning their chronology and architecture see table 2)[6]. Those located on the E side are characterized by an elaborate architecture. Based on that, together with the most prominent location close to the acropolis and alongside the main approach leading to the summit, it has been suggested that they could have been built by the rulers of Mycenae. The monuments on the W side of Panagia ridge are regarded as the tombs belonging to the aristocracy (Dickinson 1977: 63; Hope Simpson, Dickinson 1979: 36; French, Shelton 2005: 182; Mason 2007: 35).

The emergence of the funeral landscape dominated by the tholos tombs signifies a substantial socio-political change. Their construction required access to and control of a workforce, and range and quantity of resources. Symbolically, they can be per-

[6] Establishing the chronological sequence of tholos tombs' construction and their utilization is restricted by the absence of any solid stratigraphic or contextual data. The evolutionary scheme proposed by Wace (1921-1923a) groups known tholoi into three groups according to their architectural development, remains still valid in its main frame.

Table 3. Buildings from inside the Citadel at Mycenae (Mylonas 1966; Iakovidis 1983; Fench 2002; Wardle 2015; Wardle, Wardle 2019). The abbreviations for functions: A – administration, C – cultic, P – production, R – residential, S – storage

Building		Period of Use	Functions
Grave Circle A Complex	Grave Circle A	LH I – LH IIIC Early*	C
	House of the Warrior Vase	LH IIIB – LH IIIC Middle	S
	Ramp House	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	S
	South House	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	A, S
	Granary	LH IIIC Early – LH IIIC Middle	C?, S
Cult Centre	Megaron	LH IIIB	C
	Temple	LH IIIB	C, R?, S
	Room with the Fresco	LH IIIB	C, R?, S
	Tsountas House Shrine	LH IIIA1 – LH IIIB	C
	Tsountas House	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	R
	Citadel House Area	LH IIIC	
Palace	Main Megaron	LH IIIA1 – LH IIIB	A, C
	Artisans' Quarter	LH IIIB	P, R
	House of Columns	late LH IIIB – LH IIIC	A, R
	Northern Storerooms	LH IIIB	S
	House Delta	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	?
	House Gamma	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	?
Northwest Quarter	Building N	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	S
	Building I	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	S
	Building II	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	S
House M Complex	House M	late LH IIIB – LH IIIC	C, R, S
	Building K	late LH IIIB	R
Southwest Quarter	House of the Hellenistic Tower	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	R
	Building A	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB/LH IIIC	?
	Building B	LH IIIB	R
	Complex Γ-Δ-E	LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early	R
	Building Z	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	?
	Building Θ	LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early	R?, S
	Complex K-L	LH IIIC Late	R
Northeast Quarter	House Alpha	late LH IIIB – LH IIIC	R, S
	House Beta	late LH IIIB – LH IIIC	R, S?

* The end of the period of use of Grave Circle A in LH IIIC Early relates to the construction of Granary, which blocked the access to the monument and its view from the Lion Gate.

ceived as the prominent landmarks of elite status. In consequence, the change can be seen as not the evaluation of the concept of the funeral monument itself, but rather as an expansion of the scale, demonstrating the growing social competition (Fitzsimons 2007). It is tempting to associate the possible LH IIIA1 dates of Tomb of Genii and the remodelling of the Tomb of Aegisthus with the introduction of the first palatial building at the site[7].

By the end of LH IIIA1, the socio-political landscape of the Argolid was reconfigured with the emergence of the first traceable palatial structures at Mycenae and Tiryns. At Mycenae, the access to the residence was provided by two monumental entrances – the Propylon and the South-West Staircase. The arrangement of the Palace itself remains uncertain (French 2002: 57; French, Shelton 2005, for details see Mylonas 1957; 1966; 1983). Most likely, the central building resembled those known from Menelaion or Tiryns, and was composed of an extensive court and a megaron (Fitzsimons 2007: 107 after Schaar 1979).

Traces of habitation of this period have been found outside the acropolis, marking the formative stage of the Lower Town (French, Shelton 2005: 182). Architectural remains have been found in the Pezoulia Area (South-West House dated to MH–LH I, Tournavitou 1995: 285) and in the area to the NW of the acropolis (traces of LH II floor below the Cyclopean Terrace building; Wace 1954: 273), where Petsas House was also erected in LH IIIA1 (see below; Shelton 2016: 317). In that period the settlement was already internally divided, with the acropolis occupied by the first palatial residence and the growing Lower Town, separated from each other by the elite necropolis organized around two monumental tholoi. However, formation of the palatial town occurred gradually, in a long process of creating particular settlement zones with specific functions and relations to each other.

[7] The debate regarding the new ashlar façade of Aegisthus Tomb (Wace 1921-1923a: 388; French *et al.* 2003: 52; Fitzsimons 2006: 119 vs Galanakis 2007, who completely rejects its later addition) spans the possible remodeling date from LH II (shortly after the grave was constructed) until LH IIIA1. Its association with the Tomb of the Genii (possibly LH IIB–LH IIIA1; Wace 1921-1923a: 376-387; Mylonas 1957: 96-97; Mountjoy 1993: 150) and constructions on the acropolis, however tempting, can be a matter of further discussion on this stage of the research, especially given numerous uncertainty regarding the history of Mycenae's architecture (Fitzsimons 2006: 180).

Palatial town stage I (LH IIIA2 – mid-LH IIIB)

The initiation of the settlement reorganization marks the beginning of the subsequent period (French 2002; French *et al.* 2003: 22). The building activities within the Citadel (see table 3) and the Lower Town (see table 4) were followed by two extensive engineering programs: the roads and bridges construction, and the water control system. The first provided a connection with the areas and sites located N and S from Mycenae, including Argos and Prosymna in the Argolid, and Kalamianos on the Saronic Gulf (French 2009: 59; Pullen 2015). The water control system consisted of stone revetments at sides of streams, which allowed managing their force, and prevented damage from the flash flood (Fitzsimons 2007: 113; French 2009: 59; see also Lavery 1995; Jansen 2002).

The Citadel

The intensification of the settlement during the LH IIIA2 – mid-LH IIIB period followed an extensive program of Citadel's reorganization, which included construction of substantial buildings of residential, religious, and industrial character. The major work was preceded by the construction of artificial terraces on the upper acropolis, which facilitated access to the Palace and supported the main Megaron. Their construction was followed by the rise of the fortification system of Cyclopean walls, which in three stages of development (LH IIIA2, mid-LH IIIB, and late LH IIIB) encircled the most important structures located on the upper part of the acropolis (Iakovidis 1983: 24-37).

Fortifications

The first circuit of the fortification wall (First Enceinte, LH IIIA2) was constructed of the massive limestone boulders set atop the bedrock (Mylonas 1966a: 22-28; Iakovidis 1983: 27-29). The access to the first Citadel was provided by the NW gateway situated above the Grave Circle A and preceded by a ramp that led from the S (Mylonas 1965: 181-182).

The second phase (Second Enceinte, middle LH IIIB) consisted of extension of the W citadel wall, moved 50-60 m down the slope from its predecessor. This allowed it to encompass within walls a significantly larger space, including the area of Grave

Table 4. Buildings of the Lower Town in use during Palatial stage II at Mycenae (Wace 1953; 56; French 1963; Iakovidis 1986; Mylonas-Shear 1987; Onasoglou 1995; Tournavitou 1995; Danilidou 2008; Iakovidis 2013). The abbreviations for functions: A – administration, P – production, R – residential, S – storage

Residential complex/Building		Period of Use	Functions
CTB Complex	Cyclopean Terrace Building	LH IIIB – ?	S
	House of the Wine Merchant	LH IIIA2/LH IIIB – ?	S
Petsas House		LH IIIA1 – LH IIIA2	A, P, R, S
The "Workshop"		LH IIIA2 – LH IIIC	R, S
House of the Tripods Tomb		LH IIIA2 – LH IIIC	P?, R, S
Plakes House		LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	R
Southwest House		MH – LH I	R
West House Group	West House	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	A, R, S
	House of Shields	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	A, P, S
	House of the Oil Merchant	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	A, R?, S
	House of Sphinxes	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	A, P, R, S
East House		LH IIIC Middle – LH IIIC Late	R
Panagia Houses	Panagia House I	LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	R
	Panagia House II	LH IIIB	R, S?
	Panagia House III	LH IIIB – LH IIIC	R?, S?
House of Lead		LH IIIB – mid-LH IIIB	R?

Circle A and the Cult Centre. The new façade enhanced the NW wall, while the SE one was strengthened by the construction of the South Tower (Mylonas 1966a: 78-79). The extensions were built of conglomerate stone in regular courses (pseudo-isodomic style), grounded in the soft hardpan at the foot of the fill (Mylonas 1966a; Iakovidis 1983)[8].

Two monumental gateways provided access to the Citadel. The main one, known as the *Lion Gate* (fig. 2: 1), was located in the NW bastion, now remodelled in ashlar masonry, and preceded with a new external ramp. Its architecture consists of four monoliths forming the door jambs, the threshold, and the lintel. The relieving triangle was filled with a monumental relief composed of two rampant lions, standing on the incurved altars flanking a central column. The heads of the animals are missing, however, judging from the heavy attachments, they could have been made of metal or stone (Blackwell 2014: 475). From the internal gate court, a new monumental ramp, known as the *Great Ramp* (fig. 2: 4), led to the upper part of the Citadel (French *et al.* 2003: 12).

The *Postern Gate* (fig. 2: 26), similar in the architectural concept, however lacking the elaborate decoration, was situated in the eastern half of the N wall (Mylonas 1965: 188-189; Iakovidis 1983: 30-31). Presence of the western gate was postulated in the place of the later *Hellenistic Tower* (fig. 2: 16; French *et al.* 2003: 26).

[8] The recently discussed issue of dating the western extension of the Citadel (thus also the construction of the Lion Gate, the remodeling of Circle A, and the building activity within the complexes of Citadel House Area and Cult Centre) concerns two possible scenarios, before and after the earthquake in the middle of LH IIIB (French 2011: 31 vs. Wardle 2015: 592, both with further bibliography). Both are possible, as the debate is on-going. Our reconstruction of the settlement history in this article tends to follow the earlier date, but we do not consider it to be an only option. The entanglement model we discuss can be easily adjusted to the other scenario too (see footnote 28).

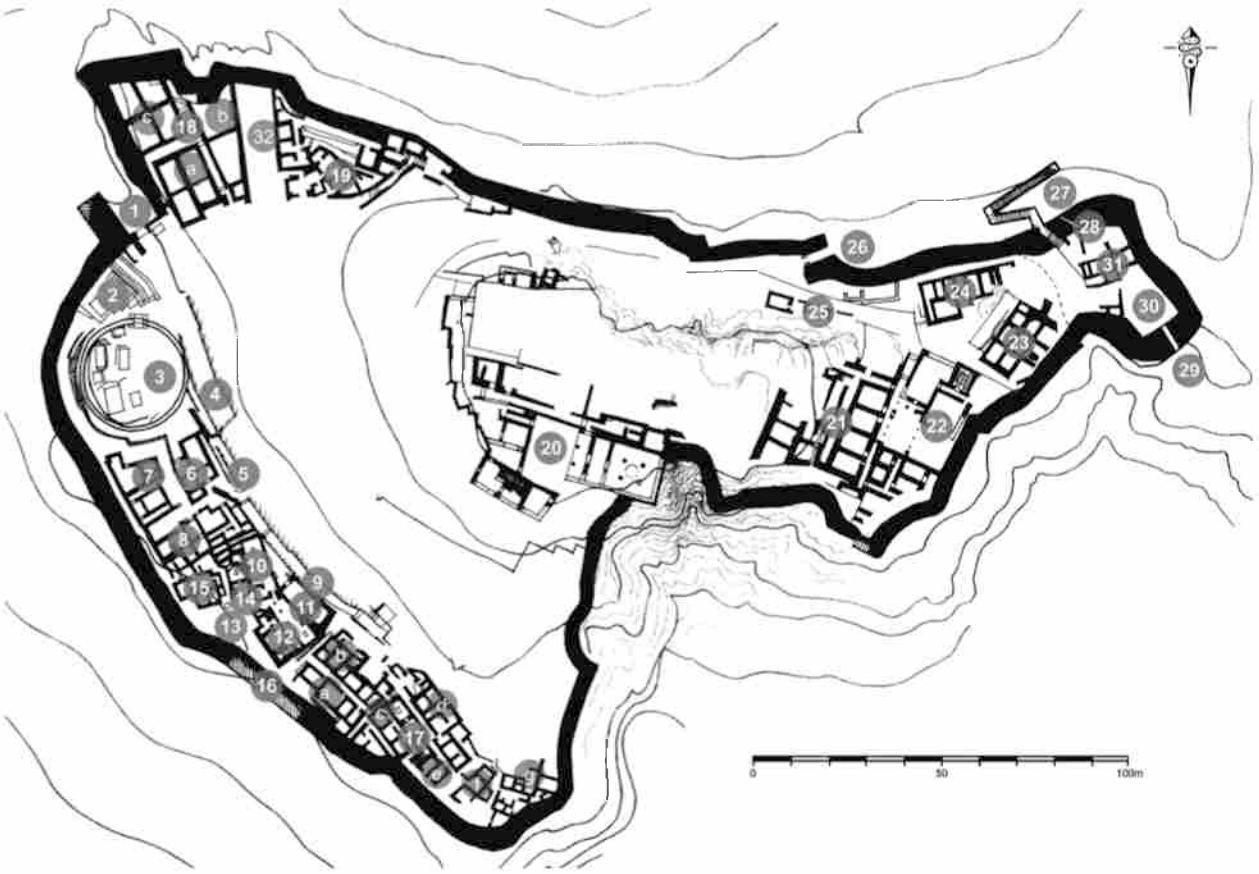

Fig. 2. Plan of the citadel of Mycenae. Marked buildings: **1.** Lion Gate; **2.** Granary; **3.** Grave Circle A; **4.** Great Ramp; **5.** Little Ramp; **6.** Ramp House; **7.** House of the Warrior Vase; **8.** South House; **9.** Processional Way; **10.** Megaron; **11.** Tsountas' House Shrine-Shrine Γ; **12.** Tsountas's House; **13.** Central Court; **14.** Temple; **15.** Room with the Fresco; **16.** Hellenistic Tower; **17.** Southwest Quarter, including: **17a.** House of the Hellenistic Tower, **17b.** Building A, **17c.** Building B, **17d.** Complex Complex Γ-Δ-E, **17e.** Building Z, **17f.** Building Θ, and **17g.** Complex K-A; **18.** Northwest Quarter, including: **18a.** Building N, **18b.** Building I, and **18c.** Building II; **19.** House M; **20.** Main Megaron; **21.** Artisans' Quarter; **22.** House of Columns; **23.** House Delta; **24.** House Gamma; **25.** North Storerooms; **26.** Postern Gate; **27.** Underground Cistern; **28.** North Sally Port; **29.** South Sally; **30.** House Alpha; **31.** House Beta; **32.** Building K (after French 2010: fig. 50.2, with modifications by the authors)

Grave Circle A Complex

The original layout of the Grave Circle A (fig. 1: II; fig. 2: 3) is unknown. Remarkably, after its construction in LH I, the area witnessed the continuous rituals and celebrations, perhaps in commemoration of the ancestors, legitimizing the authority of their successors (Wardle 2015: 587).

The remodelling, early in LH IIIB, concerned the construction of a terrace wall to retain a mound of earth heaped over the tombs to a level 4,5 m above the original surface, on top of which the grave stelae were placed. The process was finalized by the erection of the double-ring wall enclosing of the monument (Gates 1985: 271; Wardle 2015: 587, 589).

The rebuilding was not a single operation. The first phase dates to the beginning of the LH IIIB period (Wace 1921-1923b: 105-112; Wardle 2015: 587), and most likely it also antedates the construction of the W citadel wall. In that case, the visual impact of the artificial mound crowned with the stelae facing those approaching the Citadel must have been immense. Once the wall was constructed, only those permitted to enter behind the gate could experience the ancestors' resting place (Wardle 2015:

589). The construction of the double ring with the entrance facing the Lion Gate postdates the western extension of the Citadel. The structure was disturbed when the supporting wall of the Great Ramp pushed some slabs of the circle out of its alignment, most likely in mid-LH IIIB (Mylonas 1962: 117-118).

The complex of three houses located immediately S of Grave Circle A (fig. 1: B) should be considered in relation to it, given their location and the spatial arrangement. The connection with the ancestral monument, rather than with the Cult Centre located immediately S of the South House, is suggested through the opening of the complex to the N with a system of the entrances, passages, and ramps. At the same time, it seems to be isolated, at least spatially, from the buildings of Cult Centre. In the final phase of its construction, three multi-roomed nuclear parts were centred around the small courtyard. Two buildings, *House of the Warrior Vase* (fig. 2: 7) and the *Ramp House* (fig. 2: 6), focused their arrangements around the megara. The *South House with the Annex* (fig. 2: 8), the most extensive building of that complex, had a plan consisting of three sets of rooms opened into a passage connecting the House with two other structures (Iakovidis 1983: 47-48). The function of the buildings can be associated with the activities taking place within the Grave Circle A (Wardle, Wardle 2019: 158). The oldest remains of the complex can be dated to the LH IIIA2 period; however, the full arrangement was not reached before LH IIIB. The South House attests the destruction layer dating to the mid-LH IIIB period (Iakovidis 1986: 242; Wardle 2015: 582, 589).

The Cult Centre

The complex known as Cult Centre (fig. 1: C) consists of four structurally connect buildings: *Megaron and Temple Complex* (fig. 2: 10, 14), *Room with the Fresco* (fig. 2: 15), *Tsountas' House* (fig. 2: 12), and *Tsountas' House Shrine – Shrine Γ* (fig. 2: 11). The first three mentioned were irregularly shaped around the open space left between the buildings and the fortification wall, while the Tsountas' House Shrine faced a small courtyard connected to the Palace by the system of ramps (Iakovidis 1983: 45). The general arrangement of the complex aligns into a series of multi-rooms spaces centred around megara or megaron-like rooms. The precise architectural division and lack of direct communication between the particular parts, at least on the ground level, favours the interpretation of four distinct sacred spaces (Wardle 2015).

The oldest building within the complex was Tsountas' House Shrine (LH IIIA1); however, its final shape was given after two stages of construction during LH IIIB, before and after the extension of the western wall of the fortifications. In that case, the initial character of the complex before it was incorporated within the citadel walls, and its traditional assessment with the "official" cult, becomes questionable. The mid-LH IIIB destruction layers occurred in the Megaron, the Room with the Fresco and the Temple Complex, which were rebuilt with some changes (Wardle 2015: 579, 589; Aulsebrook 2019).

The Southwest Quarter

A district of probably mostly residential character[9], the so-called Southwest Quarter (fig. 1: D; 2: 17) was constructed to the S of the Cult Centre. It occupied space along the fortification wall, and was erected certainly after the second phase of its development, thus towards the middle of LH IIIB (Iakovidis 2013a: 581). The quarter originally comprised of six buildings: *House of the Hellenistic Tower* (probably an elite house, decorated with elaborate frescoes, Iakovidis 1983: 50; fig. 2: 17a), *Building A* (fig. 2: 17b), *Building B* (fig. 2: 17c), *Complex Γ–Δ–E* (fig. 2: 17d), *Building Z* (fig. 2:17e), and *Building Θ* (fig. 2: 17f), that were separated by few narrow corridors and stairways. All of the houses were multi-room complexes, possibly combining residential and storage functions. The area was affected by the mid-LH IIIB destruction horizon, which is attested by the collapse of Building A, which was not immediately rebuilt (Iakovidis 2013a: 580).

The Northwest Quarter

At about the same time when the Southwest Quarter was being constructed, another building complex was erected in the NW corner of the citadel wall. The *Northwest Quarter* (fig. 1: E; 2: 18) comprised three closely interconnected structures,

[9] Not much can be said about functions or even dating of the buildings, as almost the entire quarter was first excavated by Tsountas, who left no publication or any other documentation, and also did not keep any of the finds (Iakovidis 2013a: 563).

organized around a narrow courtyard: *Building N* (fig. 2: 18a), *Building I* (fig. 2: 18b), and *Building II* (fig. 2: 18c). Only the ground floor basements, probably serving as palatial warehouses, were preserved (Iakovidis 2006: 175)[10]. The complex was completely destroyed in the mid-LH IIIB destruction horizon, and never rebuilt (Iakovidis 2006: 177).

The Palace

The Palace (fig. 1: A), which occupied the summit of the hill, in its developed form consisted of a complex of buildings erected on different levels. The entry to the area was provided by the Propylon (a monumental double portico), which opened into a small and irregularly shaped court. Three large corridors divided the architecture of the complex spatially and functionally. The southern part focused around the *Main Megaron* (fig. 2: 20), the heart of the residence with three axially arranged rooms (forecourt, antechamber and Throne Room), consolidating architecturally the concept of the supreme ruler. The so-called Gallery of Curtains situated N of the Throne Rooms is regarded as the passage to the central part of the Palace that is not preserved. The Main Megaron and the central part surrounded the Great Court, extending in the southwestern part of the terrace (Wace 1949: 76-78; Mylonas 1966a: 60-63; Iakovidis 1983: 55-57).

The Palace is structurally linked to the units located on the eastern slope (*East Wing*), the *Artisans' Quarter* (fig. 2: 21), and at least one other structure of an unknown plan (Mylonas 1983: 121-122). The latter was identified solely through the wall fragments from below foundations of the later phase (see below). Artisans' Quarter consisted of two roughly parallel rows of rooms, workshops, and houses for the artists working for the palace needs (Mylonas 1966: 426). The exact function of the quarter remains undetermined, similarly to two structures located further N, House Delta (fig. 2: 23, building with three rows of rooms) and *House Gamma* (fig. 2: 24, elongated building with a set of rooms alongside its northern edge). The main storage area of the Palace (the *Northern Storerooms*, fig. 2: 25) was located in the northern part of the summit (Iakovidis 1983: 55-67).

The structures raised on the summit had been severely damaged in the mid-LH IIIB period. The traces of fires were recognized in Pillar Basement, the northern part of Great Court, the Artisans' Quarter, and in the Northern Storerooms. All the structures, except for the Pillar Basement, were reconstructed (Iakovidis 1983: 71; 1986: 236-239).

The Funerary Landscape

The burial topography of palatial Mycenae was shaped long before the acropolis was encircled with a cyclopean wall. Apart from a strong position of chamber tombs and tholoi, it is believed that the Prehistoric Cemetery was at the time still, at least partially, regarded as an important part of the landscape (Boyd 2015: 441, fn. 50; but see also Gates 1985: 264).

Chamber Tombs Cemeteries

More than 200 sepulchres have been found so far, clustered into 27 cemeteries spread over the area of 300ha around the settlement (see table 5). The location of the cemeteries outside the habitation area is remarkable (the only exceptions are the tomb located next to Grave Circle B, and the dromos cutting underneath House of Shields; French *et al.* 2003: 35; French, Shelton 2005: 181). Their setting depends mostly on geological conditions. The further distribution might relate to other factors, such as distance from the roads and pathways which provides an optimal route for funerary procession, religious beliefs, social and political dependencies, such as tribal or family divisions within the Mycenaean society, and possible individual landholdings (French, Shelton 2005: 181; see also Cavanagh, Mee 1990; French *et al.* 2003: 35; Efkleidou 2019)[11].

[10] Only the storage function is definitely confirmed, although other use of the quarter cannot be excluded. Iakovidis (1983: 50) suggested that it might have been designed to house the garrison. However, any interpretation regarding this area is significantly impeded by the fact that it was first excavated by Tsountas, who removed most of the fill, without documenting or even keeping any finds except from the few most impressive ones, including objects from two bronze hoards (Iakovidis 2006: 137, 61).

[11] A long-existing belief that each cemetery belonged to an individual settlement (Tsountas 1888: 123-124; Tsountas, Manatt 1897: 131; Wace BSA 51: 120) had to be dismissed since there is no evidence for satellite settlements (French 2009: 56-57). Darque (1987: 200) further attempted to connect the location of the tholoi with chamber tomb cemeteries located nearby. He also postulated the association between the tholoi, chamber tomb cemeteries, and the clusters of houses situated nearby.

Most of the cemeteries constructed during the LH II period were still utilized during LH III, pointing to a solidly grounded Mycenaean mortuary tradition. Only three new cemeteries were established at that time: Boliari, Kapsala North, and Paleogalaro East. Moreover, the tombs constructed during the LH III period are generally smaller and simpler. A similar pattern can be observed in the distribution of grave goods (French *et al.* 2003: 38).

Tholos Tombs

During the palatial period, two final tholoi are being constructed[12] – *Treasury of Atreus* (fig. 1: X) and *Tomb of Clytemnestra* (fig. 1: XI). They should be considered as a part of the rebuilding program of LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB date (Fitzsimons 2006: 180). Both monuments utilized the structural advantages of their predecessors, and also incorporated several architectural and conceptual changes, which suggest their active role in the socio-political mechanisms (Wright 1987: 176-184).

Treasury of Atreus

The first of the tombs was situated SW of the Lion Gate, on the E slope of the Kalkani Hill. It is a matter of the debate why one of the "royal" tholoi stands in a far distance from its predecessors. Nevertheless, the monument seems to have close symbolical connotations with the Palace. It comprises a focal point of panorama extending from the acropolis over the Zara Mountains, Panagia Ridge, and Argive Plain (Mason 2007: 46). On the other hand, the tomb was visible from the main roads leading to the settlement. In that sense, the tomb might symbolize and commemorate the power spreading into various directions over the lands acquired by Mycenae (Mason 2007: 49)[13].

The tomb comprises a vaulted chamber with a rock-cut antechamber on its northern side, a decorated doorway, and a dromos, oriented E–W. The structure was built of ashlar blocks of the local conglomerate (Wace 1956: 116-119; Mason 2007: 38). Deposits of the pottery from the vicinity of the monument suggest that the area in front of the tholos witnessed regular commemorative rituals to those buried inside (Taylour 1955: 212-213). The current state of the research, based both on the pottery and the architectural advancement of the monument, allows to place its construction between late LH IIIA and middle LH IIIB (Mylonas 1966a: 122; 1983: 175-175; Cavanagh, Mee 1999: 94; French 2002: 69).

Tomb of Clytemnestra

The last of the tholoi constructed at Mycenae is situated W of the Lion Gate. At its northern end, it impinges slightly onto the perimeter of Grave Circle B. The chosen location suggests an intention to make a direct association with the past monuments (Wardle, Wardle 2019: 156).

The tomb, oriented N–S, stands at the end of the evolutionary scheme presented by Wace (1921-1923a). Its ashlar architecture comprises a burial chamber, the passage leading to its interior, and a monumentalized stomion (Mylonas 1957: 94). The original decoration was fashioned in red gypsum (Mylonas 1957: 93)[14]. The recent research, which concerned the ceramic evidence retrieved from the covering mound and the ritual deposits found in front of the Great Poros Wall (retaining wall to support the eastern side of the mound), suggested a construction date early in LH IIIB (Mason 2013, see also Mylonas 1966a: 122; Mountjoy 1993: 17-18).

The Lower Town

Archaeological data suggests that a large settlement emerged around the Citadel in the course of the LH IIIA period. This process further intensified at the beginning of LH IIIB. All of the buildings that we know from the first stage of existence of the palatial town are discussed below in geographical order, grouped by four areas – Petsas House Area, Museum Area, Plakes, Pezoulia Area and Panagia Ridge.

[12] French (2002, 71) dates also the Tomb of the Genii to LH IIIA2, which would make this tholos a third one to be built in the palatial period, and the only non-royal one.

[13] As reconstructed by Wace, Stubbings (1962) and French (2002), the M4 road was traced as far as to Prosymna, the road M7 led SW, certainly to Argos, and road M1 connected Mycenae with the areas E of the settlement (e.g. Kalamianos). As further noted by Mason 2007, it seems significant that the tholoi abandoned by the end of LH IIIA1 (time of the final consolidation of the Mycenaean authority in the region) lie to the E (Berbati), SE (Dendra, Prosymna), and SW (Kokla) of Mycenae.

[14] Wace (1959: 36) suggested that the gypsum slabs relief of a lion and bull (now in the British Museum) once decorated the relieving triangle of *Tomb of Clytemnestra*.

Table 5. Chamber tombs cemeteries around Mycenae (Verdelis 1966; Shelton 1993; 2000; French *et al.* 2003)

Group		Starting Period	Ending Period	Nos. of the Tombs
Panagia		LH IIA	LH IIIB / LH IIIC Early	16
Epano Pegadi/Phournodiaselo		LH II	LH IIIB	25
Bouzioti (Kalkani North Bank)		LH II	LH IIIA / LH IIIB	9
Kalkani South Bank		LH I	LH IIIC Late	15+
Aghios Georgios		LH II	LH III	10
Third Kilometer		LH II	LH IIIC Late	9
Alepotrypa		LH IIB	LH IIIC	25+
Kalkani South West		LH IIIA1	LH IIIC Middle	4
Kato Phournos		LH II	LH IIIB	12+
Asprochoma/Agriosykia		LH II	LH IIIB	7
Asprochoma East		LH IIA	LH IIIC Middle	13
Asprochoma West		LH III	LH III	11
Asprochoma South West		Unknown	Unknown	2
Katsoumbela		Unknown	Unknown	4+
Loupouno		Unknown	Unknown	8
Batsourorachi		Unknown	Unknown	3+
Paleomandri		LH IIIA1	LH IIIA2	1
Souleimoni		LH II	LH IIIC	20+
Vythisma North		Unknown	Unknown	1
Vythisma South		Unknown	Unknown	5
Boliari		LH IIIA2	LH IIIB	3+
Kapsala North / Vlakhostrata		LH IIIB	LH IIIB	9
Kapsala South		Unknown	Unknown	2+
Paleogalaro West		LH II	LH III	4
Paleogalaro East		LH IIIA2	LH IIIB	6+
Gortsoulia		LH IIIA1	LH IIIC Middle	6+
Sarra		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Other areas possibly containing chamber tombs (unexcavated)	Lower Palaeogalaro	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Upper Kapsala	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Batsourorachi South West	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Pezoulia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Sfalakhtra	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Plesia Rema	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Priftiani / Gourmades	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Petsas House Area

Petsas House (Fig. 1: 1), located to the NW from the Lion Gate (Wace 1953: fig.1), was a large building with preserved ground-floor consisting of a set of rectangular rooms organized around a large courtyard (Shelton 2016: fig. 20.1). The finds, including a room with 500 well-organized vessels of 20 shapes (Shelton 2014: 20), strongly suggest that it was an elite pottery workshop, run by few craftsmen organized within a family or a professional group. It served as a production place, with large-scale ceramic storerooms and a domestic area (Shelton 2016: 325), possibly with some ties to the Palace (Tournavitou 2015: 50), even though the ceramic industry was not the main focus of the palatial authorities (Whitelaw 2001). The house was built at the beginning of LH IIIA1 and after a few architectural modifications was destroyed at the end of LH IIIA2 (Shelton 2016: 317).

Another large storage area, known as *House of the Wine Merchant* (Fig. 1: 2) was excavated to the S–W from the Petsas House (Wace 1953: fig. 1). It is traditionally dated to LH IIIA (Wace 1953: 16), but LH IIIB was also suggested (Haskell 1981: 226, Iakovidis 1986: 254). The building is known solely from the large collection of stirrup jars, mostly from West Crete, as basically no walls were preserved (Haskell 1981: 226). However, the collection itself suggested a specialized storage function (Haskell 1981: 234-236). The so-called *Cyclopean Terrace Building* (fig. 1: 3), was located nearby, with only two basement rooms preserved. Those were based on a substantial terrace built with cyclopean walls (Wace 1954: fig. 11). It lacked finds of domestic context, possibly being another storage area (Wace 1954: 291). The preserved remains come from a building that was erected at the beginning of LH IIIB, but an LH IIIA2 (and another earlier one, see above) floor level was also found, proving that the area was already occupied then. The destruction date remains unknown, although the space was already abandoned and used for burials during LH IIIC (Wace 1954: 291). It seems reasonable to see *House of the Wine Merchant* and *Cyclopean Terrace Building* as parts of one larger complex (CTB Complex; Iakovidis 1986: 254) of possibly not only storage functions. There were at least two other buildings in the area, attested by the scarce wall remains dating to LH IIIB (French 1961).

Museum Area

To the NE from the Petsas House lies another excavated area, consisting of two sets of rooms (French *et al.* 2003: map 7). The first one, located just outside the citadel wall, was named *House of the Tripods Tomb* (fig. 1: 4). It consisted of a row of small, rectangular rooms organized around a long corridor (Onasoglou 1995: Pl. XVII). Domestic, storage, and small-scale production contexts were identified. First occupational phase dates from LH IIIA2 to mid-LH IIIB, ending with a conflagration (Onasoglou 1995: 149). A set of elongated, rectangular rooms with no corridors and supported by a terrace wall was excavated to the NW and is known under the name "Workshop" (fig 1: 5; Daniilidou 2008: fig. 4). The pottery from this context suggests domestic and storage use (Daniilidou 2008: 333-341), although the scale of the latter is difficult to assess. The ceramic material suggests two main periods of use: first one dating to LH IIIA2, ended by destruction with no fire, and second one dating to LH IIIB, and followed by another destruction at the end of the phase (Daniilidou 2008: 345)[15].

Plakes

The site of Plakes is located above the right bank of the Kokoretsa stream. A single structure, Plakes House (fig. 1:6), consisting of a series of rooms organized around a long corridor, was excavated in the area (Iakovidis 2013b: 273). The building was most probably an elite private house, which is suggested by domestic finds, including an abundance of decorated wall plaster. The house could be occupied by palatial scribes, as suggested by three ivory styluses located inside, although this is an elusive hypothesis (Iakovidis 2013b: 316). The structure was built at the very beginning of LH IIIB and destroyed later in the same phase (Iakovidis 2013b: 315-316)[16].

[15] The building was very poorly documented, during hasty excavations, which were published almost 30 years later, and not by the excavators (Daniilidou 2008: 294-295). Thus, understanding the occupational history is very difficult. The sequence described here is the one suggested by Despoina Daniilidou, who published the excavations. It seems possible that the main LH IIIB destruction might have also happened some time before the end of the phase, or that some additional destruction levels were missed.

[16] Iakovidis, who excavated the house, is actually very specific in his publication, dating the destruction to the late part of the LH IIIB2, between 1230 and 1210 BC (Iakovidis 2013: 316).

Pezoulia Area

On the other side of the site, to the SW from the Citadel, lies the largest complex in the Lower Town, namely the *West House Group* (fig. 1: 7) consisting of four closely interconnected parts. *West House* was the first to be built, at the beginning of LH IIIB. It was a substantial building with multiple rooms organized around an open courtyard (Tournavitou 2006). It served as an elite house, with domestic and storage functions, but was also involved in the administration, as suggested by Linear B tablets finds (Tournavitou 1995: 285-287). The structure was then expanded to the E by a large terrace. Then the other parts of the group were constructed (Burns 2007: 115-117). The *House of Shields* was located to the NE of it. It consisted of two elongated ground floor rooms parallel to each other, possibly with a second storey. No domestic context was identified, and the structure most probably served as a storage and workshop area, as suggested by thousands of ivory pieces and objects, together with other luxury items (Tournavitou 1995: 287-289). The *House of the Oil Merchant* was constructed directly to the E from the *West House*, around the massive terrace that was put there earlier. It probably had another storey above a substantial basement that was preserved. The latter consisted of multiple rooms organised around a long corridor, with a large collection of stirrup jars and other storage vessels, together with Linear B tablets. Thus, the building probably served as an administrative centre and a storeroom, mostly for olive oil (Tournavitou 1995: 289-290). The last structure to be erected in the area was the *House of Sphinxes*, adjoining the S wall of the *House of the Oil Merchant*. Its preserved basement was very similar in plan to the latter, and consisted of rooms organized around a central corridor. The finds suggest that the building repeated the functions of the *House of Shields*, albeit being also a domestic area with pottery storerooms. Administrative functions are suggested by a Linear B tablet and few sealings (Tournavitou 1995: 290-292).

Those structures have been traditionally discussed as four separate houses (Wace 1953: 14; Mylonas-Shear 1987: 150-154; Tournavitou 1995), although in the description above we followed an architectural interpretation of Bryan Burns (2007: 118), whos view on the West House Group, being essentially one large building, gradually expanding in the course of LH IIIB, seems more likely from the architectural and archaeological perspective based on the actual remains. According to Burns (2007: 115), West House, the oldest part of the dwelling, provided living and cooking space, while the three other parts were used for additional storage and workshop areas, although the existence of some additional living areas cannot be excluded (Tournavitou 1995: 289-292)[17]. The complex was a dwelling of an elite single family, possibly accompanied by some service. However, contrary to Burns (2007: 119), we do not see its development in the opposition to the Palace, but rather in the cooperation with it. Inhabitants of the West House gradually gained control over resources, including prestigious goods, production of which was in the close interest of the Palace (Voutsaki 2010). It seems that a likely way to access those was by maintaining relations with the authority (Tournavitou 1995: 286; 2015: 50). Of course, the exact level of palatial involvement in production and exchange that was happening in the complex is not known.

The entire group is destroyed at the same moment, in the mid-LH IIIB period[18]. There were other remains of "similar buildings" to the W, reported to be found in the area during the construction of the modern road (Verdelis 1961: 17). The area to the E, between the Pezoulia and the Chavos stream, was probably not used as a residential area in the Mycenaean times[19].

[17] Particularly likely is functioning of another living area in the House of Sphinxes, as indicated by few cooking tripods and other domestic context finds (Tournavitou 1995:92).

[18] The destruction of the *West House Group* was traditionally dated to the end of LH IIIB1 by French (1967: 158-169). However, it has been repeatedly suggested that it was destroyed in mid-LH IIIB, together with other buildings of the Lower Town (Iakovidis 1986: 256-257; Mylonas-Shear 1987: 154). More recently French also adjusted her dating of the destruction, assigning it to the LH IIIB2 Early ceramic phase (French, Stockhammer 2009: fig. 6).

[19] It was repeatedly suggested that the area to the E from the *West House Group* contained more buildings, and it was usually referred to as the „Lower Town" (e.g. Maggidis, Stamos 2006; Iakovidis 2013b: fig. 1). However, recent investigations of that area have shown that there were only few stretches of LBA walls there, with the majority of remains being post-Mycenaean (http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/lower_town.html: access 28.01.2019). We would see this area as a space for keeping animals or some other basic economic activity, that occurred just outside the residential area

Panagia Ridge

To the S of the West House Group lies another substantial architectural complex, called *Panagia Houses* (fig. 1: 8). It was built over some earlier LH IIIA buildings (Mylonas-Shear 1987: 136), and consisted of three parts: House I – built as the first one at the beginning of LH IIIB, purely domestic structure with large rooms arranged around a long corridor; House II – later addition, adjoining the N wall of House I, with a central hearth and multiple rooms, including storage areas (few sealings were among the finds); and House III – filling of the space between House I and II and the terrace wall to the W with series of small rooms of unknown functions (possibly additional storage). This interpretation is different from that of Ione Mylonas-Shear, who excavated the houses and discusses them as three separate housing units (which are based on a repetitive three-room plan), although belonging to one family or clan (Mylonas-Shear 1987: 144-146). Here we follow only the latter hypothesis, as the former one seems dubious. The obvious connection of Houses II and III was already discussed by Burns (2007: 114)[20], and when we add House I to them, which shares walls with both of the other houses, we can see that it forms a complex similar to the West House Group, with the main house expanding by additional storage, cooking and living area. The complex suffered from destruction during mid-LH IIIB (Iakovidis 1986: 259). It was located between three substantial terraces, which could have supported other houses. Moreover, trial trenches excavated around proved the existence of more LH IIIA-B walls (Mylonas-Shear 1987: 1).

House of Lead (fig. 1: 9) was located on the other side of Panagia Ridge, to SW from Panagia Houses. It was interpreted as an elite house by Wace, although only its foundation terrace with an approach ramp and two rooms, including a basement storeroom, were preserved (Wace 1956: 119-122). The house was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIB (French 1963: 47-48) and was destroyed by fire during the same phase (French 1963: 50; Iakovidis 1986: 248-249). Tests trenches to the S of the house found more deposits related to the building, including a collection of LH IIIA pottery, suggesting that the area was occupied already during that period (Wace 1956: 121).

Functional and social analysis of the palatial town

The palatial town of Mycenae consisted of two main parts: the Citadel and the Lower Town. They were mutually connected and dependent on each other, having material and social ties that together formed the local entanglement. In this paper we will discuss it on the basis of basic analytical units, namely the buildings. Each of them is assigned a set of functions (see table 3; 4 and fig. 3; 4), that together with its preserved architectural forms are used to establish the role and status of the unit within the settlement. Functions that we recognized are: a) administration – involvement in management of processing and distribution of resources goods and labour, attested by Linear B tablets. b) cultic – areas used for ritual activity, attested by certain finds and furnishing of the space, c) production – processing of resources through craft production, attested by finds of tools and unfinished objects, d) residential – areas used for living and cooking, evidenced by domestic contexts, e) storage – large-scale storage exceeding the needs of inhabitants of the building, attested by substantial storage areas with functionally specific content. Funerary function is also recognized in the settlement and attested through burials, but it should be analysed separately, in a broader context, as although some tombs are buildings (esp. tholoi), not all buildings are tombs.

The archaeological data from fifteen excavated buildings of the palatial period, which formed eight residential complexes (see table 4), suggests that the Lower Town of Mycenae comprised mostly relatively large family residences, with a series of gradually added square and rectangular rooms, organized around long corridors and/or open courtyards. All of the best-known structures (Panagia Houses, West House Group, Petsas House, Plakes House, House of the Tripods Tomb) belong to this category. Some of the other buildings can be also assigned to it (House of Lead, CTB Complex), although with

of the Lower Town. Some of the walls could have also served as parts of the water retention and management system that functioned around the site (see above).

[20] Problems with the reconstruction of the architectural history of the area were also pointed out by Darcque (2005: 317).

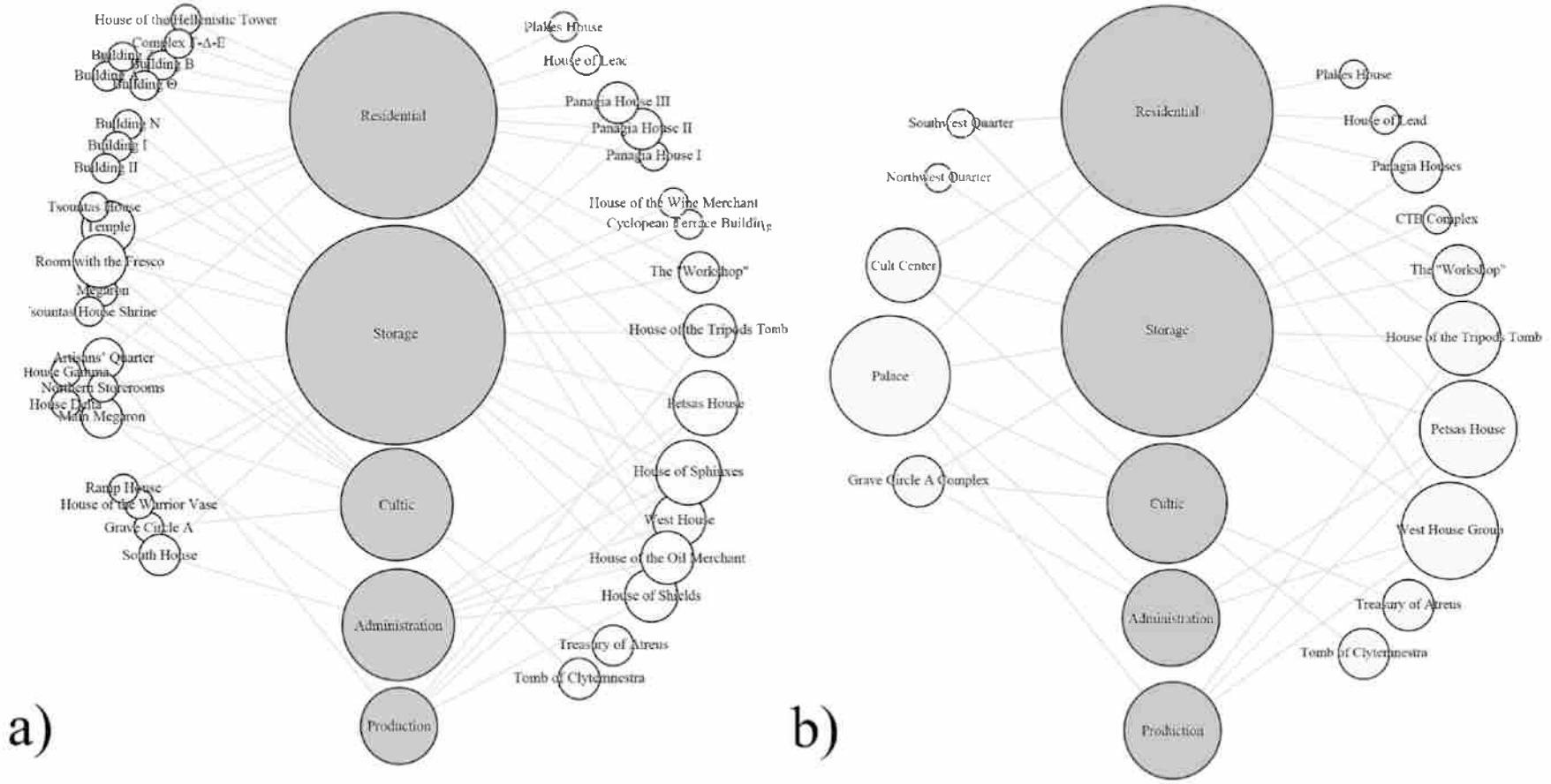

Fig. 3. Visualization of a functional network of known buildings of Mycenae's palatial town stage I. Grey nodes symbolize functions, and the white ones – buildings of the network, organized by a) separate structures or b) building complexes. Size of the node depends on the number of its connections. On both versions function nodes are set vertically, with the largest at the top and the building nodes are segregated, with Citadel on the left and the lower town on right

some caution[21]. Most of the known buildings are surrounded by evidence of more Mycenaean architecture, which suggests a relatively dense occupation of the Lower Town. However, no particular areas of functional differentiation can be for now identified within it. The network of material, functional and social ties with the Palace was based rather on individual relations. Some of the houses (West House Group, Petsas House, maybe also the CTB Complex and houses of the Museum area) had developed into multi-functional structures, serving as workshop and/or large-scale storage areas, sometimes involved also in management. We would see those houses as representing dwellings of craftsmen, merchants and other specialists that were cooperating with the Palace acting on a basis of a system of dependences, maybe formalized with palatial contracts as was the case at the palace of Pylos (Whitelaw 2001; Zeman 2018), and enforced by exchange of resources, land and social status in return for labour and loyalty (Voutsaki 2001; 2010). At the same time, it seems probable that some of the operations of those specialists were maintained by and for the local market, functioning independently, but probably not completely separately of the palace economy (Parkinson *et al. 2013*). The Palace was involved in the regional economy not only through control of some of the industries (especially those linked with prestigious items), but also by a large scale redistribution of goods among its subject and personnel (Galaty *et al.* 2011), with those two parts of the palatial economy being closely entangled[22]. Other residential quarters (House of Lead, Panagia Houses, Plakes House, House of the Tripods Tomb, probably the "Workshop" too) can be assigned to palatial officials/personnel and lower rank specialists.

The Lower Town was surrounded by cemeteries of chamber tombs from the N, W and S. The funerary landscape was supplemented by five tholoi to the W from the settlement (Cyclopean Tomb, Epano Phournos, Panaghia Tomb, Kato Phournos, and Tomb of the Genii), one on the E slope of the Panagia Ridge (Treasury of Atreus), and three others on the W side of the acropolis (Tomb of Aegisthus, Lion Tomb, and Tomb of Clytemnestra). Thus, one can say that the settlement was characterized by mixing of occupational and funerary areas, which were often laid in close proximity. This regards especially the central funerary zone in front of the Lion Gate, which covered earlier Prehistoric Cemetery. Existence of elite tombs, two of which has been added to the funerary landscape only during the palatial period (Treasury of Atreus and Tomb of Clytemnestra), within the residential quarters of the Lower Town and along main roads leading to the Citadel, suggests that those tombs could serve not only as burial places. They could have been used as landmarks representing the sphere of influence of the royal family and places of social interactions between the palatial elite and the rest of the community. Those interactions would occur during repetitive preparations of the tombs, followed by burial processions and rituals.

The citadel at that time was separated from the Lower Town not only by a physical border constructed of massive fortifications but also symbolically, by the aforementioned elite funerary zone in front of the Lion Gate. The latter should be perceived as an optically and symbolically pronounced transition from the outside to the palatial zone controlled by a ruling family. Moreover, a strong visual connotation between the Lion Gate and two tholoi, Tomb of Clytemnestra and Tomb of Atreus, cannot be forgotten. The monuments shared an architectural concept of passages leading to the monumental gateways, mirroring not only structures and the decorative approach, but also stonework, creating a physical and emblematic link between the living power and the inherited grandeur of the past (Wright 2006: 59; Fitzsimons 2007: 114; Boyd 2015: 443).

We can then divide the acropolis into two main parts: the W district, centred around Shaft Graves Circle and Cult Centre, serving religious functions but possibly also as residential quarters for its staff and maybe also other palatial personnel and officials (Tsountas' House, Southwest Quarter), and the E district centred around the Palace. The latter, being primarily a residence of a king and his family,

[21] Architecture excavated in the "Workshop" is problematic to be interpreted as such complex, but the poor state of research of those remains means that no interpretation of plans of the building can be excluded.

[22] For example, providing private workshops with raw materials (or even permission to obtain them), can be seen as part of both palatial control and redistribution of goods, especially if not all of the workshop's products were collected by the palace.

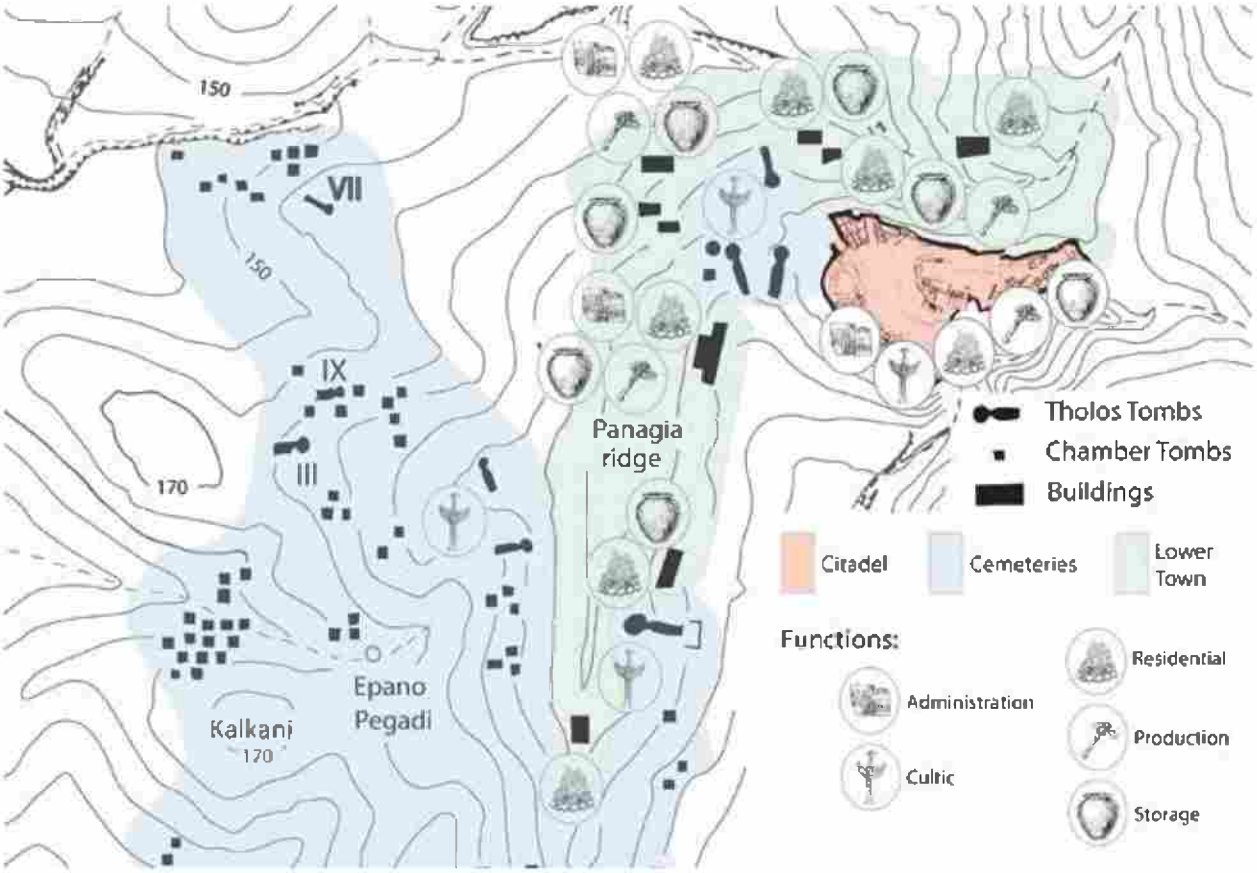

Fig. 4. Plan the palatial town of Mycenae with mapped functions (administration; cultic; production; residential; and storage) for the most important buildings and structures mentioned in the text (source http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/gis.html, with modifications by the authors)

functioned as a main political, administrative and religious centre of the settlement. Palatial complex possibly served also as living space for some of the officials and service. The Palace was surrounded by substantial storage (Northwest Quarter, Northern Storerooms) and workshop (Artisans' Quarter) areas, thus suggesting that the Citadel concentrated a significant part of the economic activities of the settlement. The acropolis also served military functions, being a heavily fortified main defensive zone of the settlement. Noteworthily, the Cult Centre was incorporated into the citadel only after the extension of the west wall, before serving as an extramural sanctuary (Wardle 2015).

The settlement had a hierarchical social system, which manifests itself in written sources[23], residential architecture and funerary landscape. The king (wanax) and his family was at the top of the society, possessing most if not all of the land and controlling access to most valuable resources and prestigious goods, including ones imported from outside the Greek Mainland (Voutsaki 2001). The ruling family occupied the Palace and buried their dead in massive tholoi. Although this form of burial was probably previously available to a larger number of aristocratic families, control over their use was one of the crucial means of controlling the society by the dominant kinship during the palatial era (Voutsaki 2001; French 2009: 60), next to the system of palatial economy (Voutsaki 2010). The change of the dominant kinship throughout the entire existence of the settlement seems probable, and it could certainly occur more than once.

Closely tied with the king was the elite class, which based its position on maintaining relations with the royal family and involvement in the palace's economic activities. Those were various pala-

[23] Although not many Linear B tablets have been found in Mycenae, we can obtain much data from extensive archives of other Mycenaean palaces (mainly Pylos and Knossos). However, parallels should be drawn carefully, as the local Mycenaean administration and economic systems could differ (Shelmerdine 1999).

tial officials, administering labour and resources, priests or other personnel involved in the religious activity of the Cult Centre, craftsmen, merchants and other high-rank specialists. They occupied the residential quarters at the Citadel (Tsountas' House, House of Columns, Southwest Quarter), and some of the more elaborate residences in the Lower Town (Petsas House, Plakes House, West House Group, possibly House of Lead and CTB Complex). The burial form that should be assigned to this group is a chamber tomb. Obviously, there must have existed further divisions within the elite class, but they are difficult to properly define, as they are visible in the settlement remains (differences of location, size, decoration and functionality of the residences) but not in the burials (French *et al.* 2003: 35-38)[24]. The last archaeologically distinguishable group within the society would be a low-middle class, comprising low-rank specialists and palatial service. They occupied simpler, although often still large and well-equipped houses in the Lower Town (Panagia Houses, possibly also structures in the Museum area), but we could probably also sometimes assign inhabitants of additional living areas of larger complexes to that class, if they were working as service or craftsmen assistants[25]. This group was buried in simple pit and cist graves[26]. There were obviously further divisions within this, most probably the largest group within the society of Mycenae, but they are not well visible in the current state of published archaeological material (only one pit grave of LH IIIB date was found, next to the Great Porous Wall; Taylour 1955: 214). The social network was closely connected with functional and material relationships but those did not always go exactly parallel. For example, not all of the clearly elite houses of the Lower Town have developed a set of specialized functions (Plakes House), thus indicating that there were members of the elite whose position was maintained by different means. Yet, the position within the social and economic system is still indicated by material evidence, namely the prestigious objects and architectural features of the building, including rich decoration (Iakovidis 2013b).

Mycenae of the palatial era was a dominant power in the Argolid, and possibly within the entire Aegean (Kelder 2010; Eder, Jung 2015). There were two other major settlements in the region – Tiryns, a massive fortress with a megaron-type palace inside, and Midea – a fortified citadel with possibly some palatial building on top (it is very badly preserved) and close to a rich cemetery of Dendra. However, in terms of local settlement hierarchy it is difficult not to see Mycenae at the top (Kelder 2018: 206). It was both the largest and the wealthiest site, concentrating most of religious structures, the most elaborate tombs and most of the prestigious goods found in the region (Maran 2015: 281-282; but see also Voutsaki 2001; 2010). The control over the flow of imported objects and crucial resources and limiting the access to more elaborate tomb forms were possibly the primary ways for palatial sites, and particularly Mycenae, to mark their own power and authority over other settlements in the region (Voutsaki 2001; 2010). Noteworthily, it is a large-scale repetition of the same social and economic system that functioned on the site of Mycenae itself (French 2009: 60). Thus, the 1st tier of regional settlement system would comprise Mycenae, serving as an economic, administrative and political centre. The 2nd tier comprised Tiryns and Midea, playing the role of supportive, secondary palatial towns. They could have also served as additional residences for the royal family (Maran 2015: 281-282). 3rd tier would comprise of local centres like Mastos in the Berbati Valley (Klintberg 2011) or Kalamianos on the coast of Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015), with many others identified by multiple archaeological surveys (Cherry, Davis 2001: fig. 10.1, fig 10.4). Then we have the lowest, 4th tier of sites, attested by the excavations of the hamlet at Tsoungiza (Wright 1990) and further visible through the distribution

[24] This is based on the currently published syntheses. The thorough reanalysis of the available funerary contexts might bring more developed results, revealing the previously overlooked differences.

[25] An example of such a context can be the House of Sphinxes in the West House Group, although it could also be a sign of the expansion of living space by a growing family.

[26] The community buried in the simple graves represents an obviously lower wealth status in the Mycenaean society (Lewartowski 1995; 2000). However, instead of their vast cemeteries, the number of simple graves at Mycenae which can be connected with the Palatial Town Stage I period is strikingly low (Lewartowski 2000: 68-69). Similar observations from other palatial sites allow to hypothesize that they can be either located in a distance from current interest of excavators, or their detection is difficult.

of ceramic material. The functional division within the network can be seen by the palatial involvement in various projects, like controlling the pottery production in the Berbati valley (Klintberg 2011: 112), developing settlements in the Nemea Valley in pursuit of a new land (Cherry, Davis 2001: 155) or founding the port of Kalamianos, in search for the maritime access to the Saronic Gulf (Pullen 2015: 389-390). Moreover, Tiryns was one of the major Mediterranean harbours, having a very specialized economic function in the organization of supra-regional exchange (Maran 2010). One can see that the settlement system was not only hierarchical and structurally divided between the palatial and non-palatial centres, but also had at least some degree of functional specialization.

This period was not without troubles, as exemplified by the destruction of the Petsas House (Shelton 2016: 317) and the "Workshop" (Daniilidou 2008: 345) at the end of LH IIIA2. Palatial town stage I ends with a powerful, but possibly relatively local earthquake that destroyed the Palace and most of the settlement in the middle of LH IIIB (Iakovidis 1986; Mylonas-Shear 1987; French 1996). This destruction horizon was originally dated to the end of LH IIIB1 ceramic phase (French 1967) and the earthquake was first suggested as its explanation by Mylonas-Shear (1968: 485-498). The evidence of it includes tilted walls (Panagia Houses, Plakes House, Grave Circle A, South House Annexe, Northwest Quarter), moved foundations (Great Ramp), and human remains buried under collapsed walls and roofs (Panagia House I, Plakes House). Iakovidis (1986: 256-258) was the first one to suggest that all of the known destruction contexts from the middle of LH IIIB, from both the Citadel and the Lower Town, are simultaneous. Universal character of the destruction horizon is yet another argument for the earthquake hypothesis (Iakovidis 1986: 258). The exact date of the event is not entirely clear, and the debate is still ongoing (see for example Vitale 2006; French, Stockhammer 2009; Iakovidis 2013b; Wardle 2015). The catastrophe caused a major break in the entanglement, although the palatial social system survived. The settlement significantly decreased in size and almost certainly population too, which must have negatively affected the labour force and resources available to the palace. Many inhabitants, including palatial personnel and service, lost their houses, being forced to rebuild them or move. The existing network of functional dependencies partially broke down, and the social and economic system of the settlement must have been re-established under new conditions.

Palatial town stage II (late LH IIIB)

The destruction was quickly followed by hasty repairs, often of poor quality (French 2010: 677). The phase begins with the extension of the fortification wall of crucial defensive importance, towards NE (Third Enceinte, late LH IIIB)[27]. The gallery and Postern Gate provided a control view over the Chavos Ravine and the Perseia Spring, the primary source of water for the site (Iakovidis 1983: 35). The restoration included the Palace, which followed the plan of its predecessor. The eastern part of the complex was also rebuilt, including the construction of a new monumental structure – the *House of Columns* (fig. 2: 22). It became the principal building of the East Wing and consisted of a series of rooms regularly arranged around the central colonnaded court, with the western part dedicated to the storage- or workrooms (Mylonas 1966b). The communication between the Main Megaron and the Cult Centre was facilitated by the construction of the Grand Staircase (Iakovidis 1983: 62). Most of the Citadel was still occupied, including Southwest Quarter (only Building A is left in ruin) and the service areas of the Palace and the Grave Circle A. The Cult Centre was also rebuilt but had possibly lost part of its functions and religious significance, as some of the repairs there were never finished and

[27] The other scenario is that also the Second Enceinte was built only after the earthquake (Wardle 2015), and the third phase of fortifications development follows it immediately. Then the rebuilding and growth of the Citadel in late LH IIIB would be even more pronounced, while the palatial zone would be significantly smaller till the end of Palatial town stage I. However, regardless of the scenario, Cult Center was definitely originally established as an extramural sanctuary (the oldest buildings date to LH IIIA, large construction program starts at the beginning of LH IIIB), and was incorporated into the Citadel only after some time (in the middle of LH IIIB, either shortly before or shortly after the earthquake). This profound change marked the period of growing palatial domination over the Lower Town community, and the total seizure of religious power by the ruling elite. This further manifests the fluid nature of settlement zones at Mycenae and possible change of functions served by them.

the whole complex was probably gradually abandoned (Aulsebrook 2019).

However, in the Lower Town habitation continued only in the Museum area, where the "Workshop"[28] and the House of the Tripods Tomb (Onasoglou 1995: 149) were probably reoccupied, and on the Panagia ridge, where Panagia Houses complex (Mylonas-Shear 1987: 156-157) was partially rebuilt. However, most of the settlement must have been left in ruin, as these are the only known examples of immediate reoccupation in the Lower Town. This might have caused some of the inhabitants of the settlement to move behind the walls of the Citadel. Additional living quarters seem to appear in the W district (Wardle 2015: 592-593), but building activity expanded also on the NW slope, where *House M* (fig. 1: F; 2:19; Iakovidis 1983: 50-52) and adjacent *Building K* (fig. 2: 32; http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/citadel.html, access 24.02.2020) were constructed. They provided new, extensive storage and residential areas (probably in replacement of destroyed and abandoned North-west Quarter). House M probably also served as a second intramural sanctuary (Pliatsika 2015). Two buildings – *House Alpha* (fig. 2: 30) and *House Beta* (Fig. 2:31), filled the space inside the north-eastern extension of the fortification wall, next to a massive underground cistern (fig. 1: 28). The two houses probably served residential and storage functions.

Two interesting hypotheses regarding this phase of the site's history have been proposed. Firstly, Kazimierz Lewartowski (1989: 167) suggested that in this period the settlement served mostly as a cultic and military centre, as the role of political, administrative and economic capital was passed to Tiryns. This hypothesis was more recently repeated by Philipp Stockhammer (2008: 49-50) and Ulrich Thaler (2009: 292-294, 352, 419). Another interesting idea was proposed by Mylonas-Shear (1968: 491-493), who suggested that the earthquake resulted in a shift of occupied space, and moving of some of the residential quarters to the NE from the Citadel[29]. That would be the result of the scale of the destruction and a change in the pattern of distribution of water springs around the site.

The entanglement of the palatial town still functioned, although many of its internal and external relations must have changed. Almost all of the administrative and economic activities now occur inside the citadel. Its character changed, as it became not only a palatial elite zone of political and religious functions, but probably also the main residential zone of the settlement. New internal divisions must have appeared inside the walls, as more members of the middle-low class were allowed to move there. In the same time Lower Town deteriorated and lost much of its economic significance. It now provided less manpower, stored and processed less resources, and all together became more dependent on the Palace. In the same time the domination of Mycenae in the regional settlement network has probably come to an end, although proper understanding of the political situation in the late LH IIIB Argolid requires much more research.

This last period of palatial era ends with another destruction horizon, although its universal character is debatable, as are the reasons behind it (e.g. Kilian 1998; Cline 2014; Jung 2016). Iakovidis (1986: 259) suggested that the end of LH IIIB sees some localized and not necessarily simultaneous fires throughout the settlement. In fact, there are multiple destruction layers from that period, both on the Citadel (House of Columns, South House Annex, Cult Centre, Tsountas' House, House M[30], Building K[31], House of the Hellenistic Tower[32]) and in the Lower Town (Panagia House II, the "Workshop"[33], House of the Tripods Tomb[34]). The Palace was also

[28] The destruction sequence for this building is very doubtful (see footnote 15), but there is definitely a significant amount of LH IIIB2 pottery present there (Daniilidou 2008: 340-341), suggesting continuative occupation.

[29] Mylonas-Shear had rightfully noticed that Wace (1953: 17-18) has reported an LH IIIB „house of several rooms" on the so called Tsekouras Site, E of the Perseia Spring. The site was never published, but had supposedly lacked any earlier ceramic material, which could support the hypothesis of moving habitation to this area in the course of the period.

[30] Pliatsika (2015: 598) assigns the final LH IIIB destruction layer from House M to an "earthquake followed by fire".

[31] Building K has been reported to be destroyed "clearly by earthquake", which was however then followed by a conflagration (http://www.mycenae-excavations.org/citadel.html, access 19.02.2020).

[32] Destruction of this house by fire at the end of LH IIIB is also mentioned by Iakovidis (1983: 48-50).

[33] Daniilidou (2008: 345) suggests destruction by an earthquake almost at the end of LH IIIB (1200 BC).

[34] Onasoglou (1995) discussed the presence of a second destruction layer in the House of the Tripods Tombs, dated to the very end of LH IIIB period, although she attributes it to an earthquake.

completely destroyed in a large conflagration at that time (Mylonas 1966a: 221). As all of those contexts lack the archaeological markers for the earthquake destruction, which characterized the earlier mid-LH IIIB destruction horizon, we suggest this catastrophe was related to human agency (Maran 2015: 283). Moreover, recent seismological research questions the occurrence of any strong earthquake in the LH III Argolid (Hinzen *et al.* 2018), although the study focused on Tiryns and Midea, and did not use any data from Mycenae. The end of LH IIIB, around 1200/1190 BC, is usually interpreted as the moment of collapse of the palatial system on the Greek Mainland and marks the beginning of the so-called Post-palatial period.

Post-palatial period and decomposition of the palatial town (LH IIIC)

At Mycenae parts of the Citadel are still occupied and the Lower Town seems to survive, as the use of the Workshop, House of the Tripods Tomb and Panagia Houses (although only the area of House III) continues for some time after the rebuilding (Mylonas-Shear 1987: 157; Onasoglou 1995: 149; Daniilidou 2008: 345-346). In LH IIIC Middle, when both Museum area and Panagia ridge were already abandoned, a new residential building (*East House*) was erected only about 15 m to the E of the abandoned West House Group (Tournavitou 2015), possibly indicating foundation of a new residential zone. The rectangular structure built on the Megaron's court might play a central role during the post-palatial period (French 2002: 136-138). The collapsed walls were reused as a stable foundation for the new buildings within the citadel wall, including new structures above the Cult Centre (the Citadel House Area) and inside the ruins of the House of Columns (Mylonas 1983: 251; French 2002: 135-140; 2011). A relatively large, two-storey building known as the *Granary* (fig. 2: 2) is considered to be constructed against the citadel wall, next to the Lion Gate, at the very beginning of LH IIIC (French 2011: 30). House M and its storerooms are still in use (Iakovidis 1983: 50). In the Southwest Quarter (Iakovidis 1983: 48-50; 2013a: 581), new building is erected on the ruins of House of the Hellenistic Tower[35], after abandonment of Building B and burning of Complex Γ–Δ–E and Building Θ. Later in the period also Building A is rebuilt (after ca. 80 years of abandonment) and a new structure, *Complex K–L* (fig. 2: 17g), is constructed along the S part of the fortification wall. The chamber tomb cemeteries continued to be utilized; however, an increase of simple graves can be noticed in comparison to the previous periods (Lewartowski 2000). The settlement suffered from repetitive fires, the most serious was probably the one at the end of LH IIIC Middle, when the Granary was destroyed (French 2011: 31).

The period is characterized by the gradual decomposition of the palatial town, and disentanglement of its social and economic network of internal and external relations. In LH IIIC Early some functional and structural divisions between the Lower Town and the Citadel might have still existed, despite a loss of the palatial status by the latter. These definitely disappear with further changes in the organization of the settlement, gradual abandonment of the surviving structures outside and inside the Citadel, and foundation of a new part of the settlement outside the walls in LH IIIC Middle. By the end of the LH IIIC Late the settlement had shrunk so much that the burials were set again on the acropolis, within the citadel walls (French 2011: vii). Moreover, almost all the buildings of the period can be characterized as independent housing units, although some differences of status are still visible. Granary was probably the only public building of the period, having a specific (although uncertain) function (French *et al.* 2003: 18). The post-palatial Mycenae experienced also a gradual loss of economic, political and religious status in the region, and slow disintegration of the Mycenaean social system (Mylonas 1983: 251-252; Maran 2015: 283-286).

Conclusions

Mycenae of the palatial era is a good example of relational urbanization in the LBA Aegean. The site, growing from a small community, developed

[35] This new house is probably still serving as an elite residence, which is indicated by presence of fresco decorations, although of inferior quality in comparison to that of the palatial period (Iakovidis 1983: 50).

a set of structural and functional divisions, becoming a large multi-functional settlement, covering over 20ha (see fig. 1). Its social system was based on a hierarchical network of relations and economy was largely influenced by bureaucratic palatial administration and redistribution of goods. We traditionally call a lord of a Mycenaean palace a king, and recognize his power as that of a dynastic monarchy. However, these are our modern labels not necessarily describing the past in the best way. *Wanax*, supported by his kinship and other families, served multiple functions in the society, and we cannot be sure about how exactly the Mycenaean political system worked. However, in Mycenaean reality power was probably as much a political and economic, as a religious matter. This is strongly manifested in Mycenae, with its outstanding concentration of cultic contexts. Together with a high density of monumental tombs and unparalleled numbers of foreign imports, precious raw materials and prestigious objects, it testifies to the superior role of Mycenae during the LH period (Maran 2015: 281). This dominance was brought to an end in the second half of the 13th century BC by an earthquake which destroyed most of the settlement (Iakovidis 1986). This event triggered the disintegration of the local social and economic system, with dramatic changes occurring within the weakened community. Its position in the regional settlement network was also probably changed (Lewartowski 1989). Soon after, the palatial system collapsed in a series of devastations that are not yet well understood. They were followed by a long period of gradual decomposition of the palatial town and decline of the settlement, which was however never completely abandoned (French 2002: 140).

The unique character and status of Mycenae makes it difficult to consider the site to be a typical palatial town, if such a category exists at all. However, some features that seem to be characteristic of a Mycenaean palatial town and appear also on other palatial sites (e.g. Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, Dimini) can be listed. Those are: a) division of the settlement between the palatial zone and the lower town, b) social and economic dominance of the palace over the community, c) prevalence of single-family multi-room houses outside the palatial zone, and d) mixing of residential and funerary zones, and especially presence of elite tombs in the centre of the settlement. This is a picture emerging from a preliminary study of archaeological remains of Mycenae. However, the problem of Mycenaean palatial towns requires a lot more research and the presented interpretations should be treated cautiously.

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Mykeny w sieci powiązań - w stronę modelu mykeńskiego miasta

Streszczenie

Urbanizację można postrzegać jako relacyjny proces społeczny. Z natury zachodzi on w systemie osadniczym oraz koncentruje się na rozwoju różnic funkcjonalnych i strukturalnych, tak pomiędzy różnymi osadami, jak i wewnątrz nich. Postępująca w późnej epoce brązu w Grecji (ok. 1700-1050 przed Chr., okres późnohelladzki [PH]) centralizacja administracji i gospodarki wokół mykeńskich pałaców wywołała głębokie przekształcenia w regionalnych sieciach osadniczych. Przede wszystkim jednak, doprowadziła ona do wytworzenia się nowej formy osadnictwa, którą można określać mianem miasta pałacowego, w postaci pałacu otoczonego przez dolne miasto. Te dwa elementy, wzajemnie społecznie i gospodarczo splątane poprzez zmultiplikowane powiązania ludzi, budynków oraz artefaktów, w efekcie tworzą jeden skonsolidowany byt i kluczowy punkt mykeńskiego systemu osadniczego.

Ideą niniejszego artykułu jest ukazanie sieci powiązań obserwowalnej w jednym z najważniejszych pałacowych miast greckiej epoki brązu – Mykenach. Szczególna uwaga została przy tym poświęcona fazie rozwoju osady przypadającej na okres PH IIIA2 – PH IIIB. Inspirując się założeniami archeologii relacyjnej, Mykeny zostały przedstawione jako zurbanizowany ośrodek, składający się z cytadeli oraz dolnego miasta, ujawniający mnogość powiązań między poszczególnymi elementami jego sieci. Przyjmując za podstawową jednostkę analityczną budynek, do każdej struktury występującej na stanowisku przypisane zostały odpowiednie funkcje (administracyjna, sakralna, funeralna, rezydencjonalna, produkcyjna, magazynowa). To właśnie one, wraz z zachowanymi formami architektonicznymi, pozwoliły ustalić rolę i status danej jednostki w osadzie.

Tym sposobem możliwe było stwierdzenie, że dolne miasto w Mykenach składało się głównie z dużych rodzinnych rezydencji (m.in. Domy Panaghia, Domy Zachodnie, Dom Petsasa, Dom Plakes). Sieć materialnych, funkcjonalnych i społecznych więzi z pałacem opierała się zaś na relacjach indywidualnych. Między innymi Domy Zachodnie oraz Dom Petsasa można postrzegać jako wielofunkcyjne struktury – mieszkania, warsztaty i magazyny rzemieślników, kupców lub innych specjalistów współpracujących z pałacem w oparciu o system wzajemnych zależności. Inne obszary mieszkalne (Dom Ołowiu, Domy Panaghia, Dom Plakes) można przypisać urzędnikom i specjalistom niższego rzędu. Stan aktualnej wiedzy nie pozwala zasugerować dalszego zróżnicowania funkcjonalnego między kolejnymi częściami osady.

Najważniejszym punktem krajobrazu funeralnego miasta były elitarne grobowce wznoszone wewnątrz osady. Znaczące było przede wszystkim usytuowanie dwóch grobowców tolosowych (Skarbca Atreusza i Grobowca Klitemnestry) w dzielnicach mieszkalnych dolnego miasta i wzdłuż głównych dróg prowadzących do cytadeli, co sugeruje, że ich znaczenie dla społeczności wykraczało poza funkcje funeralne. Niewykluczone, że stanowiły monumentalne symbole władzy rodziny królewskiej oraz były miejscem interakcji społecznych elity pałacowej z resztą wspólnoty, na przykład podczas powtarzających się rytuałów i procesji. Nekropola przed Lwią Bramą symbolicznie potęgowała rozdział cytadeli i dolnego miasta, fizycznie podkreślony przez fortyfikacje.

Akropol, będący centrum osady, można podzielić na dwie główne części. Zachodnia dzielnica, skupiona wokół Okręgu Grobów Szybowych A oraz Centrum Kultowego, była wyraźnie dedykowana funkcjom religijnym. Pałac służył zaś przede wszystkim za rezydencję władcy i jego rodziny, działając jednocześnie jako główny ośrodek polityczny i administracyjny osady. W zespołach sakralnym i pałacowym znajdowały się także przestrzenie mieszkalne dla urzędników i służby. Pałac otoczony był również magazynami i warsztatami, co sugeruje, że cytadela koncentrowała znaczną część działalności gospodarczej osady.

Plan oraz architektura osady odzwierciedlają zhierarchizowany system społeczny Myken. Na jego szczycie stał władca (wanax) wraz z rodziną. Im przypisana jest sfera pałacu oraz możliwość chowania zmarłych w grobowcach tolosowych. Ściśle związana z władcą była klasa elit, która opierała swoje

stanowisko na relacjach z rodziną królewską i zaangażowaniu w działalność gospodarczą pałacu. Do niej zaliczają się urzędnicy pałacowi, kapłani, rzemieślnicy, kupcy i inni wysokiej rangi specjaliści. To właśnie oni zajmowali dzielnice mieszkalne w obrębie cytadeli (np. Dom Tsountasa i Dom Kolumn) oraz reprezentatywne rezydencje na dolnym mieście (np. Dom Petsasa, Dom Plakes, Domy Zachodnie). Przypisaną im formą pochówku był grób komorowy. Ostatnią archeologicznie rozpoznaną grupą społeczną jest niska klasa średnia, specjaliści i służba pałacowa. Zajmowali oni domy w obrębie dolnego miasta (np. Domy Panaghia), a swoich zmarłych chowali w prostych grobach jamowych i skrzynkowych. Wewnątrz dwóch ostatnich grup musiały istnieć dalsze podziały, jednak obecny stan wiedzy nie pozwala ich precyzyjnie zdefiniować.

W XIII wieku p.n.e. Mykeny zostały dotknięte niszczycielskim trzęsieniem ziemi, po którym miasto pałacowe zostało na nowo zdefiniowane, na skutek gwałtownych przemian w organizacji osady. Towarzyszyły temu najprawdopodobniej zmiany w hierarchii i podziale ról w regionalnej sieci osadniczej. Kolejne zniszczenie nastąpiło pod koniec XIII wieku p.n.e. i położyło kres systemowi pałacowemu. Nastąpił po nim długi okres stopniowego rozkładu miasta pałacowego i zmniejszania się osady oraz spadku jej znaczenia ekonomicznego i politycznego.

Mimo wyjątkowego charakteru i statusu Myken, dalekiego od typowego ośrodka mykeńskiego, wyróżnić można pewne dystynktywne cechy właściwe dla wszystkich miast pałacowych. Są to kolejno: a) podział osady na strefę pałacową i dolne miasto; b) dominacja społeczna i ekonomiczna pałacu nad gminą; c) przewaga jednorodzinnych wielopomieszczeniowych domów poza strefą pałacową; oraz d) mieszanie stref mieszkalnych i funeralnych, a zwłaszcza obecność elitarnych grobowców w centrum osady.

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