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FROM CHIEF TO KING IN MYCENAEAN SOCIETY*

Klaus Kilian, in memoriam

In his 1988 article on Mycenaean kingship Klaus Kilian examined the role of the *wanax* in the formation of an ideology of the Mycenaean state¹. This detailed model postulated that many of the institutions of the *wanax*-system were operating during LH I and II, which he characterized as the “proto-palatial” period. Kilian suggested that the process of stratification resulted in the emergence of a royal family headed by a *wanax* with authority over his *oikos*. The *oikos* he views as the center of a redistributive economy established through land holdings and the exploitation of labor. The core of his theory will be familiar to students of Finley’s, *The World of Odysseus*². Kilian’s emphasis on the role of ideology in the emergence of the Mycenaean state is significant and his argument for the pervasiveness of this ideology in the preserved evidence is compelling. The collection of papers in this volume is a tribute to the influence of his scholarship, which in many respects has paved the way for continuing study of the formation and structure of Mycenaean society.

Introduction

This paper will attempt to develop further the lines of Kilian’s argument by investigating the mechanisms that produced the *wanax* system he has defined. I am interested not in reconstructing a pseudo-historical narrative of the origins of this system³, but rather in showing how the rich fabric of information in the Aegean conforms to a variety of models currently employed by archaeologists on a worldwide basis. I do not subscribe to one theoretical viewpoint to the exclusion of others but prefer an eclectic approach because in that manner I believe the problems under scrutiny can be viewed from a variety of complementary perspectives⁴. My primary interest is on the rise of complex societies, and here I am explicitly

* I wish to thank Jack Davis for commenting on a draft of this article and making many suggestions that helped improve the argument and Mary Helms for offering encouragement. The views and mistakes are, naturally, all my own.

The following abbreviations have been used in addition to those in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 1-16:

EARLE, *Chieftoms* = T. EARLE, ed., *Chieftoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology* (1991);

THALASSOCRACY = R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS, eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 31 May-5 June, 1982*, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 32 (1984).

1 K. KILIAN, “The Emergence of *wanax* Ideology in the Mycenaean Palaces”, *OJA* 7 (1988) 291-302.

2 M. I. FINLEY, *The World of Odysseus* (2nd ed. 1979).

3 D. CLARKE, *Analytical Archaeology* (1968) 12, 22-23.

4 For recent discussions of theory see I. HODDER, *Reading the Past* (1986); P. WATSON and M. FOTIADIS, “The Razor’s Edge: Symbolic-Structuralist Archeology and the Expansion of Archeological Inference”, *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990) 613-629; B. TRIGGER, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (1989); G. GIBBON, *Explanation in Archaeology* (1989).

concerned with the nature of leadership: how it evolves and what devices it employs to consolidate its position. Thus I am most interested in identifying the archaeological evidence that correlates to leadership and in interpreting how it demonstrates the evolution of leadership from the beginning of Mycenaean society (approximately late MH) until the establishment of the palaces (approximately LH IIIA). Specifically what needs to be explained for this study is how and why the rulers at Mycenaean centers appropriated so many tangible symbols and conceptual notions from neopalatial centers in Crete, and how they managed to transform them into viable and uniquely Mycenaean instruments of governance.

Although Kilian was aware that the institution of the *wanax* did not create in one moment the Mycenaean palatial state, he did not sufficiently explain how this process occurred, nor did he consider that the formation of the palaces was not necessarily an inevitable result of such a mode of socio-political organization and its political economy, a point made eloquently by Cherry in his discussion of the evolution of the Minoan palaces⁵. In fact, we can extend the argument against the notion that the rise of the palaces was inevitable by observing that the term, "the palatial civilization of Mycenaean Greece" is a misnomer, if it is intended to refer to a politically integrated society⁶, since the different sites of Mycenaean palaces all have their own evidence of local rule and an independent local historical development. The comparison to the different forms of state formation during the Archaic period, forms that lead in some instances to *poleis* and in others to *ethne*, is apt, especially since it clarifies the essential independence of each center within the larger cultural interdependence of Hellenic culture⁷. Thus the rise of each Mycenaean palace center ought to be treated as an independent event to document, and it must be emphasized that although many centers were emerging during the periods prior to state formation only a few would result in palaces. Nonetheless, it is the case that, so far as we at present understand Mycenaean society during the palace period, there evolved remarkable uniformity in the various cultural institutions, evident in the Linear B script, in the organization of the citadels, in the crafts, and in the evidence of interaction. Colin Renfrew has suggested this phenomenon be studied from the perspective of "peer polity interaction", and I will make use of this model in this paper⁸. It is a useful model in that it explains how, despite the individual origins of each palatial center, certain unifying institutions, such as kingship, were shared by them all.

To begin, however, I wish to expand upon my insistence that the Mycenaean palace society evolved, and I will do so in the context of current theoretical approaches to the rise of prestate societies⁹. One of these is "secondary state formation", a notion first proposed by

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- 5 J. CHERRY, "Evolution, Revolution, and the Origins of Complex Society in Minoan Crete", in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA and L. NIXON, eds., *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, 1981* (1983) 33-46.
 - 6 M. DABNEY and J. WRIGHT, "Mortuary Customs, Palatial Society and State Formation in the Aegean Area: A Comparative Study", in R. HÄGG and G. NORDQUIST, eds., *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 40 (1990) 48 and n. 32.
 - 7 Y. FERGUSON, "Chiefdoms to City-States: the Greek Experience", in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 175-180.
 - 8 Originally Renfrew coined the term "early state module" before developing the notion of "peer polity interaction"; see: C. RENFREW, "Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication", in J. SABLOFF and C. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY, eds., *Ancient Civilization and Trade* (1975) 12-21 and figure 3 for a map of the Mycenaean ESMs. Peer polities are defined in C. RENFREW, "Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change", in C. RENFREW and J. CHERRY eds., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (1986) 1-18.
 - 9 See current up-to-date discussions in EARLE, *Chiefdoms*; T. PATTERSON and C. GAILEY eds., *Power Relations and State Formation* (1987); C. DRENNAN and C. URIBE eds., *Chiefdoms in the Americas* (1987); C. SPENCER, "On the Tempo and Mode of State Formation: Neoevolutionism Reconsidered", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9 (1990) 1-30.

Morton Fried in 1967¹⁰. Another is the model of the chiefdom, which has received much attention in the last decade¹¹, and which is appropriate in the context of the first model, since the formation of secondary states often is visible in the transformation of chiefdoms. A third, equally complementary approach, the “prestige exchange mechanism”, as developed by Friedman and Rowlands¹², offers a Marxist, socio-economic explanation of how secondary state formation might work. Coursing throughout these models and giving them meaning in a dynamic manner are the ideological underpinnings of the evolving society where authority finds ways to authenticate itself in ritual and augments the mechanical bareness of the prestige exchange model by emphasizing the importance of the acquisition of symbolic and conceptual information in the formation of complex societies¹³.

The focus of these approaches will be on the formation of leadership as Mycenaean society evolved. One of the most visible manifestations of Mycenaean palatial society is what is termed in this volume “kingship”. Kingship is here defined as an inherited, superior, political authority vested in a single person, the king, who holds his position for life and who maintains his power through a manipulation of economic, militaristic and ideological forces that reinforce relationships determined by value and belief systems in a society. On the one hand, these relationships are kin-based and extend backwards in time through lineal kin-groups. On the other hand, the balance of these relationships is maintained by another source of power, namely the ability of the leader to assert continually his access to external and higher sources of power that exist outside the internal landscape he controls. In both these respects kingship is like chiefship, but, as I shall discuss at length later, chiefdoms tend to be less stable than kingdoms. The role of the king is better defined than that of a chief, in part because kings are the heads of states which are more highly structured and rule-bound than chiefdoms (see discussion below). But the boundaries between the definitions of chiefdoms and kingdoms are not clearcut, for chiefdoms grade into paramountcies, and paramountcies into kingdoms (see discussion below). Often what is applicable to one applies as well to the other. Thus in a study of the evolution of kingship, the models of the chiefdom and of secondary state formation are fundamental, particularly because they work in complementary ways to illustrate the internal and external dimensions of the process of state formation.

Secondary State Formation

The model of secondary state formation posits that higher order societies create a situation that stimulates bordering, less highly organized social groups to define themselves more clearly. This process is contagious in that the creation of one secondary society can affect

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- 10 M. FRIED, *The Political Evolution of Society, An Essay in Political Anthropology* (1967) 198, 203, 240-242; see also SERVICE (*infra* n. 16) 141 and B. PRICE, “Secondary State Formation: An Explanatory Model”, in R. COHEN and E. SERVICE, eds., *Origins of the State, the Anthropology of Political Evolution* (1978) 161-186.
- 11 *Supra* n. 9; T. EARLE, “Chiefdoms in Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspective”, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987) 279-308; H. WRIGHT, “Prestate Political Formations”, in T. EARLE, ed., *On the Evolution of Complex Societies: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoijer 1982* (1984) 41-77; R. CARNEIRO, “The Chiefdom: Precursor of the State”, in G. JONES and R. KAUTZ eds., *The Transition to Statehood in the New World* (1981) 37-79.
- 12 J. FRIEDMAN and M. ROWLANDS, “Notes towards an Epigenetic Model of the Evolution of ‘Civilisation’”, in J. FRIEDMAN and M. ROWLANDS eds., *The Evolution of Social Systems* (1977) 201-276; S. FRANKENSTEIN and M. ROWLANDS, “The Internal Structure and Regional Context of Early Iron Age Society in Southwestern Germany”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 15 (1978) 73-112.
- 13 T. EARLE, “The Evolution of Chiefdoms”, in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 5-8; see now, M. HELMS, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal* (1993).

neighboring areas, and it is chaotic, since the forces of stimulus vary as do the structure and conditions of each reactive group. One problem that needs to be ascertained in each case study to which this model is applied concerns the different degrees of socio-political and economic integration between the two groups in question. For example is the superior one by definition a chiefdom or a state and the lesser a band, a tribe or a chiefdom? This is important to ascertain since the archaeological framework of the discussion needs to be adjusted to the appropriate scale of political and economic complexity in order to be sure that the data fit appropriately. For the case at hand the evidence fits well with the neopalatial Minoan society having been a state¹⁴, while on the Greek mainland (at the first period of interest relevant to this paper, namely late MH-LH I) local societal groups were variously in transition to the chiefdom. Another problem affecting our view of this period relates to Cherry's admonition that the individual trajectory of societal groups is neither predetermined nor predictable¹⁵, and this means that our reading of the process of complex socio-political formations from the archaeological evidence will be variously opaque or, at best, translucent when viewed from the perspective of different emergent regional groups, since, probably, only some of them will result in complex chiefdoms or states.

The Chiefdom

The model of the chiefdom is not a static one. Research indicates that chiefdoms are highly various in form and organization (*supra* n. 5). In part this is because they are fluid, volatile and often impermanent or fragile forms of political organization. Thus by their nature they are susceptible to change. Nonetheless, we need a definition of chiefdom in order to proceed to apply the other models of organization to our problem. Certain features are common to all. Chiefdoms are organized along hereditary lines. Power is vested in the chief, who is the center of the coordination of economic, social and religious activities. His principal concern, however, is oriented towards maintaining his position of dominance, which is open to challenge by peers. As a result much of his decision-making is focused on utilizing the resources at his command to consolidate his authority. Thus rules are established that favor his position, through rituals and sumptuary behavior and through succession. Central to the maintenance of the chief's authority, as defined by Elman Service¹⁶, is the notion of redistribution, through which the chief receives goods from commoners and redistributes them to his supporters¹⁷.

This definition contrasts to that of the state, which is defined as a "complex of institutions by means of which the power of a society is organized on a basis superior to kinship"¹⁸. Thus states are characterized by offices that are abstracted, formally defined and independent of the individual who fills them. This contrasts with chiefdoms where the chief and his person are indistinguishable. States consist of formalized institutions that exercise the specialized

14 J. CHERRY, "Politics and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation", in C. RENFREW and J. CHERRY (*supra* n. 8) 19-45; M. DABNEY and J. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 6).

15 J. CHERRY (*supra* n. 5) 33-45.

16 E. SERVICE, *Primitive Social Organization, An Evolutionary Perspective* (2nd ed. 1971) 133-169.

17 The notion of redistribution is central to Renfrew's study of the rise of complex society in the Aegean Bronze Age (C. RENFREW, *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* [1972]) but has been challenged by P. HALSTEAD, "On Redistribution and the Origin of Minoan-Mycenaean Palatial Economies", in E.B. FRENCH and K.A. WARDLE eds., *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986* (1988) 519-530; IDEM, "The Mycenaean Palatial Economy: Making the Most of the Gaps in the Evidence", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 38 (1992) 57-86. See also discussion of this issue in EARLE (*supra* n. 13) 2, with references.

18 FRIED (*supra* n. 10) 229.

functions of government, such as police forces or standing armies, ecclesiastical, economic, and administrative institutions. In contrast to chiefdoms where decision-making is centralized in the chief and undifferentiated as to function (*i.e.* there are no specialized decision-making offices), in states decision-making is itself a specialized function and breeds a hierarchy of differentiated tiers within each institutional function of the state. Thus chiefdoms may be diagrammed as operating at up to three levels of control and states with three or more ¹⁹.

These distinctions are important when applied to archaeological data and explored over a broad geographic landscape, but it is not easy to distinguish between complex chiefdoms and formative states ²⁰. The reason for this has to do with the variability and stability of complex chiefdoms as compared to states ²¹. Ethnographic documentation of chiefdoms shows considerable variability in their size, from groups of ca. 1,000 or less to large ones of tens of thousands. The normal unit of residence is the village, but groups of villages can cover a broad region defining a single chiefdom or paramountcy. Within the territory there can be specific locales for the paramount and others for lesser chiefs. For example, places may be reserved for residence and ritual. In or around settlements residential and mortuary areas will often be distinct. Useful for archaeological analysis is the fact that between simple and complex chiefdoms there are visible differences ²². Whereas in a simple chiefdom residential and mortuary differentiation may exist but only be recognized through impermanent or small scale individualistic symbols or through ritual action, in complex societies the areas themselves become architectonically formalized, even monumentalized, such that the segregation of residential, mortuary and ritual areas is often observable in the archaeological record.

The personalized structure of chiefdoms creates pressures to establish more complex levels of control. If the chief is a successful manager, he may set the chiefdom on the road to the formation of a state. Failure to do so may result either in the fissure of a chiefdom as challenging cadet groups “hive off” to found their own groups, or in the collapse of the chief’s authority and the reversion of the society to a lower level of organization. In an area of restricted resources fissure is not likely, since there is nowhere for the challenging group to go, and instead conflict may result ²³.

Many of these pressures result from the expectations created by a controlling, centralized leadership. The need for an economic system that can deliver goods and services to the controlled populace is generally considered central to the survival of the chief, although he may not control (nor need to control) this sector ²⁴. Specifically the chief has to try to ensure the flow of agricultural and craft goods for redistribution among the élite groups around him. Yet the comparative archaeological evidence suggests that more attention will be focused on strategies oriented towards the personal achievement of the chief to maintain his inherited position.

Since numerous uncontrollable variables, for example climatic perturbation, will periodically disrupt this system, the chief naturally turns to other means of overriding or compensating for these shortcomings. That is partly why ritual activities become a major concern of chiefdoms. They can distract from the unpredictable instabilities inherent in an open system and be used as a mechanism for reestablishing the superiority of the chief by

19 H. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 11) 42-43.

20 FERGUSON (*supra* n. 7) 169-171.

21 EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 5-8.

22 H. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 11) 42-44.

23 CARNEIRO (*supra* n. 11) 64, 78-79.

24 See the considerable debate of this issue in EARLE (*supra* n. 13) 8; V. STEPONAITIS, “Contrasting Patterns of Mississippian Development”, in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 213-216; R. DRENNAN, “Pre-Hispanic Chiefdom Trajectories in Mesoamerica, Central America, and Northern South America”, in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 281-287.

emphasizing kinship ties and the rights of lineage, which are particularly important as claims to heroic or divine ancestors²⁵. Likewise rituals can be used to demonstrate the leader's access to external sources of power that symbolize his ability to control the unpredictable²⁶. Success in this process much improves the ability of the chief to exploit commoners and mollify the malcontents within the élite group. This process is largely accomplished through displays of wealth, as in a potlatch or ritual feast, and is also the occasion for the display of symbols of power, authority and wealth. Hence prestige goods are fundamental in this process²⁷.

Among the chiefly élite, however, this system of ritual display utilizing wealth, prestige objects and ideological symbols is under constant pressure from competing aspirants. A competitive cycle is built into this form of political organization that is highly dependent on display of the exotic and foreign and is wholly focused on the individual. For chiefdoms in contact with other, especially more technologically sophisticated, societies, one solution to this problem is for the chief to utilize his resources to gain and monopolize access to these external sources. These sources may become a restricted resource for the acquisition of prestige items which can be used in consolidating the authority of the chief. Such a system has a strong impact on the formation of an economy, especially insofar as it creates a dependent relation between those seeking prestige items and those supplying them. Implications of this will be pursued later in this study²⁸.

Prestige Exchange and Acquisition

It is at this point that the notion of prestige exchange bears discussion. Ethnographic studies have thoroughly documented prestige exchange²⁹. Typically the process involves the reciprocal exchange of objects with no intrinsic value between chiefs, but in many of the archaeologically demonstrated cases, the objects have great value as part of the system of "wealth finance"³⁰. This process is of more symbolic significance than economic in the sense that it is reserved for the chiefs, establishes their peer status, and affirms an exchange network. What is important for the argument in this study is that prestige exchange establishes the chief's claims to access to individuals and to resources outside his societal group (Pl. XXVIIa). Thus in an instance where a higher order society becomes involved in such a mechanism, the inequality in the relationship may establish a positive flow of objects, technological expertise and information from the primary source to the secondary recipient. Evidence of this system in action is found in the Aegean and has been mapped by Jack Davis, who recognized the "Western String" network from Crete through the Cyclades, especially active during the Neopalatial period, and by Jeremy Rutter and Carol Zerner, who documented the flow of goods from Crete to the coastal areas of the Peloponnesos during the early Middle Bronze

25 See for example the many cases of elaborate display documented by D. KERTZER, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (1988).

26 See HELMS (*supra* n. 13) 49-50, *passim*.

27 This point is consistently made by the contributors to EARLE, *Chiefdoms*.

28 HELMS (*supra* n. 13) 13-87 on "skilled crafting" thoroughly discusses the relationship between skilled craft production, power and ideology.

29 B. MALINOWSKI, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) 81-104; M. MAUSS, *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1967); G. DALTON, "Aboriginal Economies in Stateless Societies", in T. EARLE and J. ERICSON, eds., *Exchange Systems in Prehistory* (1977) 191-212.

30 T. D'ALTROY and T. EARLE, "Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inca Political Economy", *Current Anthropology* 26 (1985) 187-206; K. KRISTIANSEN, "Chiefdoms, States, and Systems of Social Evolution", in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 27-28, *passim*; R. BRADLEY, "The Pattern of Change in British Prehistory", in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 67-68; G. FEINMAN, "Demography, Surplus, and Inequality", in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 261.

Age³¹. The evidence from the Aegean that bears on this issue is the large quantity of exotic items found in Mycenaean contexts, mostly tombs of élites of the early Mycenaean era.

Mycenaean Chiefdoms

It is widely accepted today that different Middle Helladic centers evolved into chiefdoms over much of the mainland³². Because of the widespread depopulation during the Middle Helladic period, it appears that there was room for chiefdoms to arise in many areas and, initially at least, for competing lines to fissure and expand into largely abandoned territory. In my view this would explain why there are so many sites with grandiose tombs, especially tholos tombs which appear epidemically over the Peloponnesos and Central Greece during LH I and II³³.

These emerging polities, however, though peers in the sense of sharing fundamentally similar material culture, were not equals. The best evidence for this inequality is found in the grave goods at these centers. Spyros Iakovides has pulled together much of the evidence from the wealthiest of these tombs in an article that argues for their similarity³⁴, but in fact a chart of the distribution of metal vessels from these locales (PI. XXVIII) demonstrates the unequal distribution of one category of goods among different persons or groups³⁵. What the goods do illustrate, however, is the common practice of marking status in all of these societies by artifacts manufactured of rare and exotic materials and largely manufactured in Neopalatial workshops or by Cretan craftsmen working in the islands or the mainland, possibly by special commission. This evidence neatly conforms to the notion of prestige exchange networks outlined above. By comparing several cases in detail even greater insight can be gained into the operation of this mechanism. In the case of metal vessels not only the number but also the kinds of vessels found in the rich Shaft Graves at Mycenae differ from those of other contemporary sites (Table II). The gross difference in numbers and types is a powerful argument that the items in the Shaft Graves were acquired by individuals or small groups of related individuals over a short period of time³⁶. This is consequently strong evidence that these items are not necessarily evidence of local mainland workshops as posited by Ellen

31 J. RUTTER and C. ZERNER, "Early Hellado-Minoan Contacts", in *Thalassocracy* 75-82; J. DAVIS, "Minos and Dexithea: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age", in J. DAVIS and J. CHERRY eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory* (1979) 143-157; see also R. HÄGG, "Degree and Character of the Minoan Influence on the Mainland", in *Thalassocracy* 119-122.

32 FERGUSON (*supra* n. 7); DABNEY and WRIGHT (*supra* n. 6); G. GRAZIADIO, "The Process of Social Stratification at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave Period: A Comparative Examination of the Evidence", *AJA* 95 (1991) 403-440; R. LAFFINEUR, "Mobilier funéraire et hiérarchie sociale aux cercles des tombes de Mycènes", in R. LAFFINEUR, ed., *Transition. Le monde égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent. Actes de la deuxième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège (18-20 avril 1988)* (*Aegaeum* 3: 1989) 227-238; I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, "Beobachtungen zu den Schachtgräbern von Mykenai und zu den Schmuckbeigaben mykenischer Männergräber", *JRGZM* 33 (1986) 159-198; KILIAN (*supra* n. 1) 292; W. CAVANAGH and C. MEE, "Mycenaean Tombs as Evidence for Social and Political Organization", *OJA* 3 (1984) 45-64.

33 CAVANAGH and MEE (*supra* n. 32).

34 S. IAKOVIDES, "Royal Shaft Graves outside Mycenae", *TUAS* 6 (1981) 17-28.

35 Metal vessels were selected because of their easy comparability from site to site and the likelihood that they would be representative of the prestige exchange network. P. DARQUE has explored in detail the variation among grave goods in tholoi as opposed to chamber tombs: "Les tholoi et l'organisation socio-politique du monde mycénien", in R. LAFFINEUR, ed., *Thanatos. Les coutumes funéraires en Egée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège (21-23 avril 1986)* (*Aegaeum* 1: 1987) 190-200.

36 In contrast to Dickinson's view in O. DICKINSON, *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilization* (*SIMA XLIX*: 1977) 54-55.

Davis³⁷. The problem is more complicated, as has been recognized by various scholars. Hartmut Matthäus has argued for a workshop in Messenia, though the numbers of vessels seem exceptionally few to verify that theory³⁸. Other possibilities include the existence of itinerant smiths or craftsmen in service to Mycenaean chiefs³⁹. Hood has argued that some of the centers of bronze production were first established on Crete⁴⁰. I think this argument can be expanded by noticing the consistency with which much of the material from the Shaft Graves (notably graves Gamma, III, IV, and V) can be compared to that from palace sites like Knossos and Zakros, which suggests a strong, if not direct, connection of the owners of that material to persons of high rank and authority in the Minoan palaces. I believe that this connection was a central stimulus to the creation of Mycenaean palatial states and the institution of kingship, which I prefer to rename for this discussion as the *wanax*-kingship. It provided a conduit for prestige goods that could be redistributed by chiefs at major emerging mainland chiefdoms.

In addition to traffic in luxury items of display, other more utilitarian ones presumably flowed along these routes, notably weapons, which had the sole purpose of controlling human populations by force, and also tools and vessels, which were useful in developing and maintaining this chiefly economy⁴¹. But by and large the majority of the items found in these rich graves, especially again at Mycenae, were of a symbolic nature, from the scepter discussed by Palaima in this volume, to the embossed gold plate peak sanctuary from Grave IV⁴². These represent some of the very numerous conceptual and ideological borrowings from the Minoans.

If the purpose of the prestige network is to differentiate the chief and his lineage from other lineages by demonstrating the former's access to external resources, this argument can be equally applied to cognitive resources. As has already been described, a characteristic of chiefdoms is the capacity of the chief to maintain the societal system through the proper execution of rituals. This responsibility is claimed as a right through lineage ties to ancestors. As it is common for ancestors to act as intermediaries to the supernatural forces of a society⁴³, the dominant lineage will assume a major role of authority in the officiating of ritual. This special relationship gives the chief authority that complements his physical and economic power. Just as the chief acquires powerful practical knowledge through his proprietary access to the artifacts of the prestige exchange network, he also acquires powerful conceptual knowledge through his access to the differently constructed belief systems and rituals of foreign societies. Insofar as he is able to appropriate these for his own use, he may also impose them on the ritual structure of his own society. This introduces another level of separation between him, his followers and commoners as illustrated in the following diagram

37 E. DAVIS, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* (1977) 328-356; EADEM, "The Vapheio Cups: One Minoan and One Mycenaean?", *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) 472-487.

38 H. MATTHÄUS, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (1980) 341-342

39 E.T. VERMEULE, *The Art of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae* (1975) 11; O. DICKINSON (*supra* n. 36) 53, 67; J. HURWIT, "The Dendra Octopus Cup and the Problem of Style in the Fifteenth Century Aegean", *AJA* 83 (1979) 425-426.

40 S. HOOD, "The Shaft Grave Swords. Mycenaean or Minoan?", *Fourth International Cretological Congress* (1972) I 234-237; IDEM, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (1978) 175-186.

41 See J. DRIESSEN and C. MACDONALD, "Some Military Aspects of the Aegean in the Late Fifteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries B.C.", *BSA* 79 (1984) 49-74; but see also I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, "Remarks on the Non-military Functions of Swords in the Mycenaean Argolid", in HÄGG and NORDQUIST, eds. (*supra* n. 6) 157-161. The distinction between the use of force and the threat of force (which may be symbolized) is discussed in J. HAAS, *The Evolution of the Prehistoric State* (1982) 155-171.

42 KARO: Grave IV, 74-75, pl. 18: 242-244; Grave III, 438, pl. 27: 26.

43 C. GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) 88; FRIEDMAN and ROWLANDS (*supra* n. 12) 207; G. FEELEY-HARNIK, "Issues in Divine Kingship", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14 (1985) 288-289.

(Pl.XXVIIIb)⁴⁴. By performing these foreign rituals he may further legitimate his authority. In the case of a Mycenaean chief introducing Minoan rituals and beliefs to his society, it is not hard to imagine that these would be readily accepted as authentic signs of authority, since it is highly likely that since at least the Middle Bronze Age knowledge of the Minoans and their palace society was widespread. For example, the Neopalatial period finds from the Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros -- the steatite relief vessel, the double axes -- or the diverse assemblage from the cist in the Vapheio tholos -- the many signet seals, the rings, the lunate "Syrian" bronze ax head, the figure-eight embossed ax-adze, the golden repoussé cups, to name a few -- are easily understood from this perspective⁴⁵.

In an article on the role of wine consumption in the formation of Mycenaean society, I present a case study of the process of ritual transference by investigating ceremonies of drinking among the Mycenaean élite⁴⁶. I show that such an act, though part of the common chiefly activity of ritual feasting, was part of the process of elevating the élite above others by appropriating a ritual action and its etiquette from Minoan society, where it was an important part of the ceremony of the nobility⁴⁷. My model for this argument is derived from a study by Michael Dietler on the role of wine in the transformation of Celtic society⁴⁸.

This kind of transformation takes place in the context of an existing set of beliefs and values. The recipients, whether the Mycenaean chief or his commoners, must be able to construct a relationship to a new conceptual framework in terms of their own world view. Thus the appropriation of Minoan customs and beliefs by Mycenaeans was neither a wholesale transferral nor an adoption; rather, it was a selective adaptation of elements appropriate to an emerging Mycenaean society.

Robin Hägg has established the outlines of this argument in his articles on Mycenaean religion⁴⁹. The process of adapting elements from the Minoans, he suggests, accounts for the syncretistic nature of Mycenaean religion as seen particularly in its iconography. As has just been demonstrated, such appropriation is natural for chiefdoms in proximity to more highly organized societies. It remains to be emphasized, however, that the formation of a religion is best understood in evolutionary terms, for it begins as early as the end of the Middle Helladic period and continues until the foundation of the first palaces during LH IIIA:1⁵⁰. Since the origins of the palatial society lay in localized events, the outcome of which -- as I have stressed

44 Cf. FRIEDMAN and ROWLANDS (*supra* n. 12) 214-215.

45 Epidauros: V. LAMBRINUDAKIS, "Remains of the Mycenaean Period in the Sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas", in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS, eds., *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May, 1980* (1981) 59-65. See also reports in *Praktika* (1974) 93-101; (1975) 162-175; (1977) 187-194; (1978) 111-121; (1979) 127-129; (1981) 158-160; (1983) 152-154; (1987) 52-58, and earlier reports by J. PAPANIMITRIOU. *Praktika* (1950) 200-202, fig. 10. Vapheio: I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, "Das Kuppelgrab von Vapheio: Die Beigabenaustattung in der Steinkiste. Untersuchungen zur Sozialstruktur in Späthelladischer Zeit", *JRGZM* 34 (1987) 197-212.

46 J. WRIGHT, "Empty Cups and Empty Jugs: The Social Role of Wine in Minoan and Mycenaean Societies", in P. MCGOVERN, S. FLEMING and S. KATZ eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (in press).

47 FEELEY-HARNIK (*supra* n. 43) 288-291.

48 M. DIETLER, "Driven by Drink: the Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9 (1990) 358-372.

49 R. HÄGG, "Mycenaean Religion: The Helladic and the Minoan Components", in A. MORPURGO-DAVIES and Y. DUHOUX, eds., *Linear B : A 1984 Survey (BCILL 26: 1985)* 202-225; IDEM, "The Religion of the Mycenaeans", *II Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Rome and Naples, October 1991) in press. I thank Professor Hägg for sharing in advance this manuscript with me and permitting me to cite it in advance of publication.

50 J. WRIGHT, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion", in R. OSBORNE and S. ALCOCK, eds., *Placing the Gods: Greek Sanctuaries in Space* (in press).

above -- resulted neither from a linear trajectory nor was predictable, the formation of a Mycenaean religion (one that claimed adherents throughout the geography of an area of Mycenaean culture that was probably not politically unified), was likely the result of a collection of cult institutions and rituals from various regions that were bound together by the homologous nature of core Helladic social institutions⁵¹. As I have argued in a forthcoming paper⁵², the process of consolidating these practices into a coherent religion was occurring during the palatial period and was disrupted by the fall of the palaces at the end of the Bronze Age. Parallel to this development of a Mycenaean religion is the formation and consolidation of Mycenaean political authority. Thus the successful chief became a paramount chief, or king, in those areas where the convergence of economic, political and ideological forces were creating central places, namely Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, Orchomenos, Athens, and Pylos, to name the most obvious.

The restricted access to external resources enjoyed by a chief and his followers resulted not just in an alienation between the chiefly group and the commoners; it also created an arena of competition among different chiefly groups, some no doubt neighbors on the Greek mainland, others only distantly related⁵³. Presumably a chief would want to keep both local and distant competitors away from his sources if at all possible, and he could attempt to accomplish this by instituting monopolistic practices. In the case at hand, the primary source, neopalatial Crete, presumably had as many points of access as there were palaces (unless Knossos truly had achieved hegemony during the Neopalatial period) and there must have existed numerous secondary sources as well⁵⁴. As a result there may be in the archaeological record distributions that actually reflect the activities of different chiefly groups attempting to gain access to different palatial centers on Crete. This scenario might account for the different assemblages apparent in different chiefly tombs, *e.g.* Mycenae, Peristeria, Vapheio among other closely contemporary instances. The superiority in quantity and quality of the material at Mycenae, however, suggests a degree of access unequalled elsewhere, and, as Oliver Dickinson has suggested⁵⁵, it bespeaks a "special relation" between Mycenae and Knossos, or, as suggested here, the success of the chiefly families at Mycenae in securing exclusive, or nearly exclusive, access to Knossos and other centers in Crete. This is particularly well illustrated by observing the close relationship between objects found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and at special locales in the palaces and major villas on Crete, most notably material from "sacred" contexts in the palaces of Knossos and Zakros (Table I).

So far this is a picture of various competing chiefly groups on the mainland of Greece traversing the Aegean to Crete to acquire a variety of prestige goods to use in various fashions as instruments for controlling the people of their home territories⁵⁶. Access among these groups may not be equal as reflected in the unequal distributions of goods found in burials at the home sites. Since competition is fundamental to this model it is likely that these groups were always entangled in conflict. Again we must seek archaeological evidence that supports

51 E. BENVENISTE, *Indo European Language and Society* (1973).

52 J. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 50).

53 Comparable instances cited by FRIEDMAN and ROWLANDS (*supra* n. 12) 204-206; STEPONAITIS (*supra* n. 24) 222-227; EARLE (*supra* n. 13) 7; KRISTIANSEN (*supra* n. 30) 27-32, 38-39.

54 See J. DAVIS (*supra* n. 31); J. CHERRY and J. DAVIS "The Cyclades and the Greek Mainland in LC I: The Evidence of the Pottery", *AJA* 86 (1982) 333-341; E. SCHOFIELD, "The Western Cyclades and Crete: A 'Special Relationship'", *OJA* 1 (1982) 12-13.

55 DICKINSON (*supra* n. 36).

56 The emphasis here is on acquisition, as defined by HELMS (*supra* n. 13) rather than on exchange. She cites (p. 94) as an example TCHERNIA ("Italian Wine in Gaul at the End of the Republic", in P. GARNSEY, K. HOPKINS, and C.R. WHITTAKER, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy* 99) as follows: "The [Italian] merchants did not set off for Gaul for the purpose of selling an amphora of wine but in order to bring back a slave".

the notion of conflict developing, and we can reason that such evidence would be manifest only when it assumed a magnitude that would leave a visible clue in the archaeological record. Such conflict would result, for example, when chiefs attempted to consolidate territories that impinged on the borders of another chiefdom⁵⁷. The date of this development I believe corresponds to LH IIB-LH IIIA:1. This period is marked by the so-called warrior tombs and a shift in the construction of tholos tombs such that large monumental ones are constructed at palatial centers⁵⁸. Most important, however, this is the period when the first monumental edifices are established at the major centers of Pylos, Mycenae, Tiryns, and probably also Thebes, Orchomenos, Athens and the Menelaion. About other sites we are less certain, but they may be measured by another criterion, namely the construction of fortifications in LH IIIA:1 (Mycenae, Midea, Tiryns, Argos?, Geraki?, Teichos Dymaion, Krisa?, Thebes and Athens)⁵⁹.

How did this process relate to the evolution of kingship? To ask this question is to ask how the position of the chief is transformed into the position of paramount chief and king, or, for this study, *wanax*-king. Traditionally the answer is found in studying the process of the political transformation of a chiefdom into a state, but this focus should not overshadow the importance of ideology in this transformation, because, as I have been arguing in this paper, the ideological evolution of a complex society has a distinct role in the formation of the structure of its head⁶⁰. Henry Wright has suggested that an important part of this transformation is the recognition among peer paramountcies that competition among chiefdoms is principally destructive since it causes cyclical conflict and warfare, and that cooperation among peers can create a larger, more complex and more productive political and economic entity (though perhaps not necessarily more stable). Naturally there must be a basis for such cooperation. Here, Renfrew's notion of peer polity interaction is especially useful for it posits the existence of inter-polity homologies⁶¹. In the process of the formation of the Mycenaean state we can identify these as language, belief, and social organization, which go back to the core institutions of Indo-European Greek speakers inhabiting much of mainland Greece⁶². The uniformity of the evidence at early Mycenaean centers (generally uniform craft traditions, building forms, and the development of grandiose burial facilities richly furnished with individual interments) illustrates the obvious archaeological correlates of these homologies.

57 Thus the success of Mycenae in consolidating a large territory cannot solely be explained as an example of "wealth finance" (the use of items of material wealth), but must also be due to the successful management of local labor and land holdings around Mycenae, an example of "staple finance" (the use of consumable commodities; see D'ALTROY and EARLE [*supra* n. 30]; T. EARLE, "Property Rights and the Evolution of Chiefdoms", in EARLE, *Chiefdoms* 71-99). Recent research around the area of Mycenae seems to bear out the importance of land holding and intensive agriculture to the palace: see J. WRIGHT, "An Early Mycenaean Hamlet on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea", in P. DARCQUE and R. TREUIL, eds., *L'habitat égéen préhistorique* (BCH Suppl. XIX: 1990) 357; B. WELLS, C. RUNNELS, and E. ZANGGER, "In the Shadow of Mycenae", *Archaeology* 46 (1993) 54-63.

58 P. DARCQUE (*supra* n. 35) 200-205; O. PELON, *Tholoi, Tumuli, et cercles funéraires* (1976) 390-391, Table IV.

59 For most of these sites, see S. IAKOVIDES, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (1983); IDEM, "Vormykenische und mykenische Wehrbauten", *Archaeologia Homerica* (1977); for a discussion of the chronology including Argos, Geraki, and Krisa see: J. WRIGHT, *Mycenaean Masonry Practices and Elements of Construction* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College 1978) especially 162-179. It is available at Bryn Mawr College and the American School of Classical Studies, Athens.

60 H. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 11) 47-49; EARLE (*supra* n. 13) 7, 9-10; STEPONAITIS (*supra* n. 24) 213-215, 226-227.

61 C. RENFREW (*supra* n. 8) 4-5; Renfrew refers to these as "structural" in the context of architecture, but they are better understood, I think, as structures in the sense of P. BOURDIEU, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) 72-87; and A. GIDDENS, *The Constitution of Society* (1984) 16-34.

62 See BENVENISTE (*supra* n. 51).

The appearance in LH III of successful palatial centers with similar architectural forms and plans and iconographic and craft traditions, largely traceable to the artifactual evidence from the early Mycenaean era, shows the outcome of this process. Whether these qualify as states is not at issue here; rather the point is that the successful centers maintained their cooperative arrangements during the period of the establishment of the palatial centers and that each was ruled by an individual, who continued somehow the dominant chiefly lineage of his region while simultaneously establishing balancing (reciprocating) ties with the heads of the other palatial centers. Archaeologically the best evidence of this arrangement is the economic exchange system of the inscribed stirrup jars⁶³. It also characterizes the nature of the change from one of competitive display of prestige objects among competing chiefdoms to one of cooperative productive activities. No doubt there continued from the early Mycenaean period many customs of display, such as feasting, among the heads of the Mycenaean palaces, but the ideological role of the *wanax*-king, I would argue, now was oriented towards displays that consolidated the mutually agreed territory of the palace as much as, if not more than, towards the mere maintenance of a coterie of nobles in the chief's party. The existence of religious officials documented in the Linear B tablets, the holding of sacred lands, and probably the management of a sacred calendar illustrate not only the extra distance between the *wanax*-king and his subjects than had existed previously, but also the concern with managing a more complex organization and maintaining its productivity and coherence. The similarity of this organization of religion at all the palatial centers represents the foundation of a Mycenaean religion that encompassed a syncretistic cosmology of Minoan and Helladic components⁶⁴. The role of the *wanax*-king in this religion was perhaps similar to that of the élites during the formative period of the historic *poleis* where again a common cosmology was affirmed for all Greeks. The élites acted to maintain local cults and to officiate the ideological relations of each polis to pan-Hellenic cults⁶⁵. The position of the *wanax*-king was now formally sanctified through a complex iconography linking Minoan and Mycenaean ideologies⁶⁶. The power and authority of the *wanax*-king was probably largely directed toward public displays, in contrast to the private nature of chiefly demonstrations⁶⁷. Although the textual evidence for such displays is lacking, the architectural organization of Mycenae and Tiryns is particularly clear: large rampways lead up to the palace, or link Cult Center and palace; the grand staircase and elaborate propyla emphasize the entrance to the palace court; the courts before the megara are large, open areas, suitable for large gatherings. These displays represented a totality of political, religious and ancestral power in their use of architectural monuments and symbolism⁶⁸.

This study has presented a model for the evolution of some early Mycenaean chiefdoms to centralized palace-states. The role of the chief and the transformation of his position to the hereditary position of kingship is instrumental to this process and characterizes our conception of Mycenaean society and much of the archaeological evidence we have for it. L.Vance Watrous has argued that the institution of kingship was acquired by the Minoans in the Near East⁶⁹, but this is a problematic perspective since kingship is neither clearly manifested in the

63 H. CATLING, J. CHERRY, R. JONES, and J. KILLEN, "The Linear B Inscribed Stirrup Jars and West Crete", *BSA* 70 (1980) 49-113. Perhaps the best evidence that this was an exchange at the highest level of the society is the use of the adjective *wanaktero* (royal) on some of the jars.

64 HÄGG (*supra* n. 49).

65 FERGUSON (*supra* n. 7) 172, 181, 190-192.

66 KILIAN (*supra* n. 1) 294; J. WRIGHT (*supra* n. 46).

67 J. WRIGHT, "Death and Power at Mycenae", in *Thanatos* (*supra* n. 35) 176-182.

68 WRIGHT (*supra* n. 67).

69 L. WATROUS, "The Role of the Near East in the Rise of the Cretan Palaces", in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS, eds., *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International*

evidence from proto- and neo-palatial Crete⁷⁰, nor is it necessary that the notion of kingship be adopted from a foreign culture. As this study has made clear, the *wanax*-king evolves naturally and organically from the process of attempting to consolidate political and religious authority at a variety of Mycenaean centers and can only be described as uniquely Mycenaean. Its relationship to Near Eastern kingship is best understood by returning to Kilian's analysis of the mature kingship of the Mycenaean centers, namely that the *wanax*-kings achieved a level of economic and political might such that they could conceive of themselves on equal terms with Near Eastern potentates and initiate (or respond to opportunities of) correspondence with the Hittite and Egyptian kings, among others⁷¹. Viewed in this manner the Mycenaean *wanax*-kings continued the process of emulation begun by the chieftains who first ventured to Crete during its palatial era and pulled themselves up another rung of the ladder of stratification as they began to participate in the international economic and political arena of the late 14th and 13th centuries B.C. This was as far as it went, however, and the subsequent disruptions in the Eastern Mediterranean forced a collapse of the system supporting the *wanax*-kings. When the system collapsed, local settings again asserted themselves, and the evolutionary process of political formation began again following different trajectories with different results.

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70 See CHERRY (*supra* n. 14); DABNEY (*supra* n. 6); E. DAVIS, this volume; T. PALAIMA, this volume with other sources.

71 Thus, KILIAN (*supra* n. 1) 294, 296. The evidence for such contact is perhaps debatable at best, but as a hypothetical notion is worth entertaining here as a way of contrasting the role of the king with that of the chief.

TABLE I
Similar Items from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and Neopalatial Centers

object	MYCENAE	KNOSSOS	MALLIA	ZAKROS	A. TRIADHA
BULL RHYTA	ShGr IV: silver	steatite		chlorite	
LION RHYTA	ShGr IV: gold	marble			
TRITON RHYTA	ShGr III: faience	marble	terracotta		obsidian
AMPHORISKOI	ShGr IV: stone			yes	
JUGS	ShGrs III, Γ: silver	silver		marble	alabaster
Stone CHALICES	ShGrs IV, V			yes	
TYPE A SWORDS	ShGrs		ubiquitous		
SACRAL KNOTS	ShGr I, V	yes			

Sources:

Knossos: Tri-Columnar Hall Treasure; Temple Repositories, Central Treasury; South House Pillar Crypt.
 Mallia: Residential Area III 1; Bastion E.

Zakros: Treasure Room

Ayia Triadha: NW Residential Quarter, Room 13 and area of main rooms.

(Aside from the Shaft Graves similar items are found in other contexts on the Mainland, as, for example, a chalice from a tomb at Nauplion and a jug from Mycenae, chamber tomb 102. See: I. SAKELLARAKIS, "Mycenaean Stone Vases", *SMEA* 17 [1976] 185, pls. XII, 34, 35).

TABLE II
Metal Vessels from Mainland Greece

Key: Matt. = Matthäus (*supra* n. 38); Davis (*supra* n. 37 [1977])
Metals: B=bronze, C=copper, G=gold, S=silver

#	Site	Location	Vessel Shape	frag?	Context Date	Biblio.	Museum #	Metal
1	A. Englianos	Tholos IV	pot	yes	LH I-III	Matt. 422	NMA 7944	B
2	Asine	Tb 1, 5	basin, 2 handles	no	LH II-III A?	Matt. 152	NMA	B
3	Asine	Tb 1, 5	hydria	no	LH IIB/IIIA 1	Matt. 243	NMA	B
4	Chandrinou		krater A	no		Matt. 190	Kalamata	B
5	Charokopeio	Tholos	krater A	no	LH I??	Matt. 191	Kalamata	B
6	Dendra	Tb 8	lamp	no	LH IIA	Matt. 452	NMA	B
7	Dendra	Tb 12	basin, 2 handles	no	LH IIB-III A	Matt. 153	Nauplion	B
8	Kalamata	Kampos	kantharos	no		Davis 134	NMA 7381	G
9	Katarraktis	Tholos B	cup, wishbone	no	LH II/III	Matt. 349	Patras 60	B
10	Katarraktis	Tholos B	cup, omphalos	no	LH II/III	Matt. 351	Patras 59	B
11	Katarraktis	Tholos B	cup, fork	no	LH II/III	Matt. 354	Patras 61	B
12	K. Englianos	GrC ShGr	cauldron	no	end MH-LH	Matt. 022	Chora 2199	B
13	K. Englianos	GrC, 3	krater A	no	end MH-LH	Matt. 189	Chora 2366	B
14	Kazarma	Tholos	cup, decor. rim	no	LH I-II	Davis 137		S
15	Mycenae	ShGr N 325	cup	no	LH I	Davis 025	NMA 8595	G
16	Mycenae	ShGr Γ 358	cup	no	LH I	Davis 026	NMA 8704	G
17	Mycenae	ShGr Γ 357	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 027	NMA 8703	G
18	Mycenae	ShGr Iota 327	cup	no	LH I	Davis 028	NMA 8621	GS
19	Mycenae	ShGr Δ 326	cup	no	LH I	Davis 030	NMA 9563	GS
20	Mycenae	ShGr VI	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 031	NMA 912	G
21	Mycenae	ShGr II	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 032	NMA 220	G
22	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 033	NMA 627	G
23	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 034	NMA 628	G
24	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 035	NMA 629	G
25	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	yes	LH I	Davis 036	NMA 868	S
26	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 037	NMA 756	S
27	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio B	no	LH I	Davis 038	NMA 630	G
28	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 039	NMA 755	S
29	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 040	NMA 866	S
30	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 041	NMA 879	S
31	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio	yes	LH I	Davis 042	NMA 867	S
32	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	no	LH I	Davis 043	NMA 855	S
33	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio A	yes	LH I	Davis 044	NMA 887	S
34	Mycenae	ShGr V	Vapheio B	yes	LH I	Davis 045	NMA 880	S
35	Mycenae	ShGr V	cup, decor. rim	no	LH I	Davis 046	NMA 786+787	S
36	Mycenae	ShGr V	situla	no	LH I	Davis 047	NMA 909a	S
37	Mycenae	ShGr V	cup, stemmed	no	LH I	Davis 048	NMA 804	S
38	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug, spouted	no	LH I	Davis 049	NMA 881	S
39	Mycenae	ShGr V	rim	yes	LH I	Davis 050	NMA 838	G
40	Mycenae	ShGr V	cup, deep	yes	LH I	Davis 051	NMA 869+870	S
41	Mycenae	ShGr V	handled goblet	no	LH I	Davis 052	NMA 656	G
42	Mycenae	ShGr V	strap handle	yes	LH I	Davis 053	NMA 886	S
43	Mycenae	ShGr V	rim	yes	LH I	Davis 054	NMA 865	S
44	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 055	NMA 441	G
45	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 056	NMA 442	G

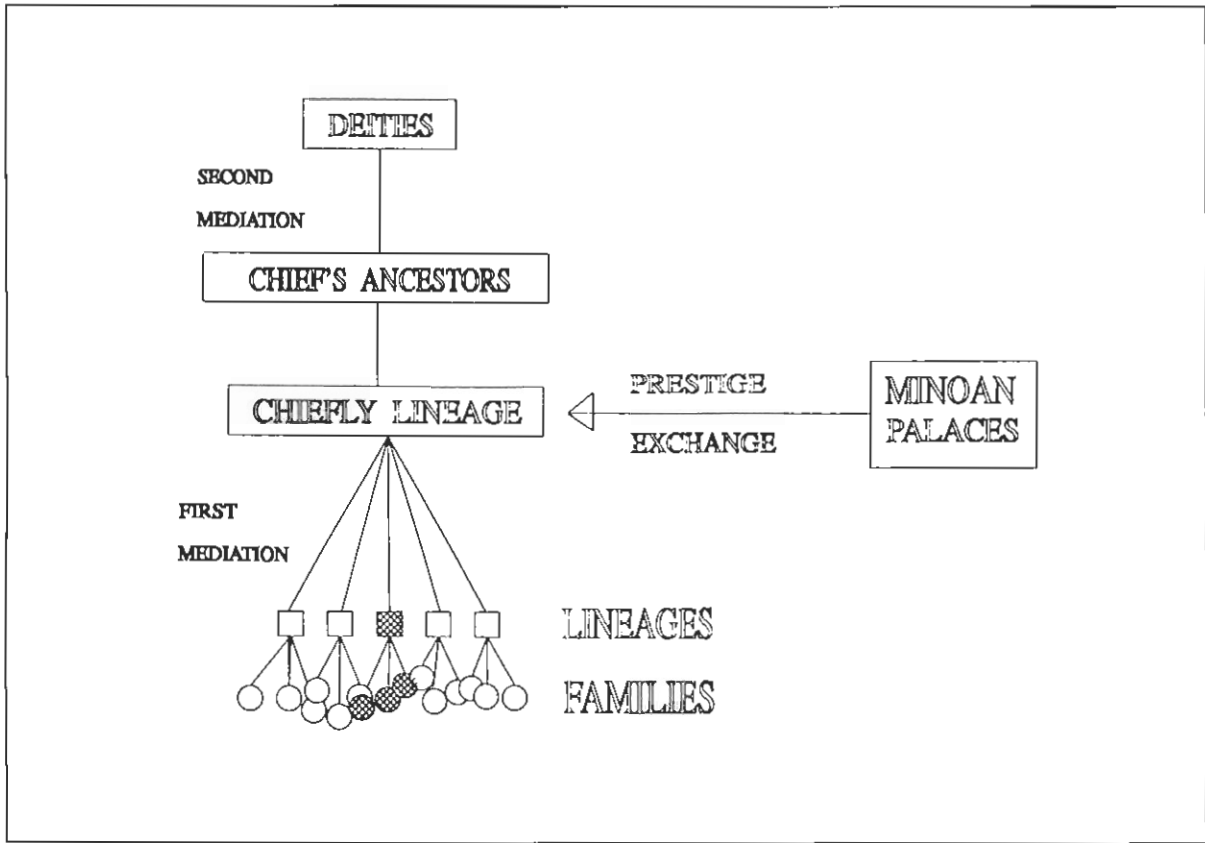
46	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 057	NMA 313	G
47	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 058	NMA 392	G
48	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 059	NMA 393	G
49	Mycenae	ShGr IV	kantharos	no	LH I	Davis 060	NMA 440	G
50	Mycenae	ShGr IV	amphoriskos	no	LH I	Davis 061	NMA 391	G
51	Mycenae	ShGr IV	rhyton, lion	no	LH I	Davis 062	NMA 273	G
52	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Nestor Cup	no	LH I	Davis 063	NMA 412	G
53	Mycenae	ShGr IV	rhyton, bull	no	LH I	Davis 064	NMA 384	SG
54	Mycenae	ShGr IV	jug	no	LH I	Davis 065	NMA 511	S
55	Mycenae	ShGr IV	jug, spouted	no	LH I	Davis 066	NMA 475	SG
56	Mycenae	ShGr IV	cup, 1 piece	no	LH I	Davis 068	NMA 519	S
57	Mycenae	ShGr IV	cup, deep	no	LH I	Davis 067	NMA 509	S
58	Mycenae	ShGr IV	cup, 1 piece	yes	LH I	Davis 069	NMA 480	S
59	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 070	NMA 517+476	S
60	Mycenae	ShGr IV	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 071	NMA 518	S
61	Mycenae	ShGr IV		yes	LH I	Davis 072	NMA 479	S
62	Mycenae	ShGr IV	jar, miniature	no	LH I	Davis 073	NMA 479	S
63	Mycenae	ShGr IV		yes	LH I	Davis 074	NMA 510	CS
64	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handle	yes	LH I	Davis 075	NMA 469	S
65	Mycenae	ShGr IV		yes	LH I	Davis 076	NMA 608c	S
66	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handle	yes	LH I	Davis 077	NMA 472	S
67	Mycenae	ShGr IV/V	handle	yes	LH I	Davis 078		S
68	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handle	yes	LH I	Davis 079	NMA 474	S
69	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handle	yes	LH I	Davis 080	NMA 478	S
70	Mycenae	ShGr IV	jug?	no	LH I	Davis 081	NMA 471+473	S
71	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handled goblet	no	LH I	Davis 082	NMA 351	G
72	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handled goblet	no	LH I	Davis 083	NMA 390	G
73	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handled goblet	no	LH I	Davis 084	NMA 427	G
74	Mycenae	ShGr IV	handled goblet	no	LH I	Davis 085	NMA 520	S
75	Mycenae	ShGr IV	krater	no	LH I	Davis 086	NMA 605+606	S
76	Mycenae	ShGr IV	rhyton, conical	no	LH I	Davis 087	NMA 477+504	S
77	Mycenae	ShGr IV	rhyton, figure-8	no	LH I	Davis 088	NMA 608a+b	S
78	Mycenae	ShGr III	Vapheio A	no	LH I	Davis 089	NMA 73	S
79	Mycenae	ShGr III	Vapheio? B?	yes	LH I	Davis 090	NMA 151a	S
80	Mycenae	ShGr III	jug	no	LH I	Davis 091	NMA 74	S
81	Mycenae	ShGr III	handled goblet	yes	LH I	Davis 092	NMA 122,155b	S
82	Mycenae	ShGr III	cyland. pyxis	no	LH I	Davis 093	NMA 72	G
83	Mycenae	ShGr III	cyland. pyxis	no	LH I	Davis 094	NMA 85	G
84	Mycenae	ShGr III	amphoriskos	no	LH I	Davis 095	NMA 83	G
85	Mycenae	ShGr III	amphoriskos	no	LH I	Davis 096	NMA 84	G
86	Mycenae	ShGr I	cup, broad rim	yes	LH I	Davis 097	NMA 212	S
87	Mycenae	ShGr I	cup, 1 piece	no	LH I	Davis 098	NMA 213	S
88	Mycenae	ShGr V	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 005	NMA 848	B
89	Mycenae	ShGr IV	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 006	NMA 578	B
90	Mycenae	ShGr III	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 007	NMA 173	B
91	Mycenae	ShGr IV	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 008	NMA 584	B
92	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 009	NMA 595	B
93	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	yes	LH I	Matt. 010	NMA 599	B
94	Mycenae	Trench H	cauldron	yes	LH I	Matt. 013	NMA	B
95	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 017	NMA 580	B
96	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 018	NMA 583	B
97	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 019	NMA 174	B
98	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 020	NMA 582	B
99	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 021	NMA 850	B

100	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 023	NMA 171?	B
101	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 024	NMA 576	B
102	Mycenae	ShGr	cauldron	no	LH I	Matt. 025	NMA 604a	B
103	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	no	LH I	Matt. 103	NMA 579	B
104	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH I	Matt. 128	NMA 211	B
105	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH I	Matt. 129	NMA 211	B
106	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH I	Matt. 145	NMA	B
107	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	no	LH I	Matt. 154	NMA 9661	B
108	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH I	Matt. 156	NMA 179	B
109	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 3 handles	no	LH I	Matt. 163	NMA 577	B
110	Mycenae	ShGr	pan	no	LH I	Matt. 169	NMA 175	B
111	Mycenae	ShGr	pan	no	LH I	Matt. 188	NMA 176	B
112	Mycenae	ShGr	krater A	no	LH I	Matt. 192	NMA 852?	B
113	Mycenae	ShGr	krater A	yes	LH I	Matt. 193	NMA 596	B
114	Mycenae	ShGr	krater A	yes	LH I	Matt. 194	NMA 597?	B
115	Mycenae	ShGr	krater B	no	LH I	Matt. 195	NMA 9663	B
116	Mycenae	ShGr	krater B	no	LH I	Matt. 196	NMA 172?	B
117	Mycenae	ShGr	krater B	no	LH I	Matt. 197	NMA 593?	B
118	Mycenae	ShGr	krater B	no	LH I	Matt. 198	NMA 598?	B
119	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 218	NMA 581	B
120	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 219	NMA 586	B
121	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 220	NMA 601	B
122	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 221	NMA 602	B
123	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 222	NMA 603	B
124	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 223	NMA 604	B
125	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 224	NMA	B
126	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 225	NMA	B
127	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 226	NMA	B
128	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 227	NMA	B
129	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 228	NMA	B
130	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 229	NMA	B
131	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 230	NMA	B
132	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 231	NMA	B
133	Mycenae	Trench H	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 232	NMA	B
134	Mycenae	Trench H	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 233	NMA	B
135	Mycenae	Trench H	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 234	NMA	B
136	Mycenae	Trench H	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 235	NMA	B
137	Mycenae	Trench H	hydria	no	LH I	Matt. 236	NMA	B
138	Mycenae	GrC A	hydria?	yes	LH I	Matt. 249	NMA	B
139	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 260	NMA 827	B
140	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 264	NMA 888	B
141	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 265	NMA 882	B
142	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 266	NMA 883	B
143	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 267	NMA 884	B
144	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 274	NMA 878d	B
145	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 275	NMA 878f	B
146	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 276	NMA 787h	B
147	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 277	NMA 875	B
148	Mycenae	ShGr V	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 278	NMA 875	B
149	Mycenae	ShGr	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 305	NMA 9566	B
150	Mycenae	ShGr	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 306	NMA 878b	B
151	Mycenae	ShGr	jug	yes	LH I	Matt. 307	NMA 878c	B
152	Mycenae	ShGr	shallow bowl	no	LH I	Matt. 313	NMA 8711	B
153	Mycenae	ShGr	shallow bowl	yes	LH I	Matt. 317	NMA 885	B

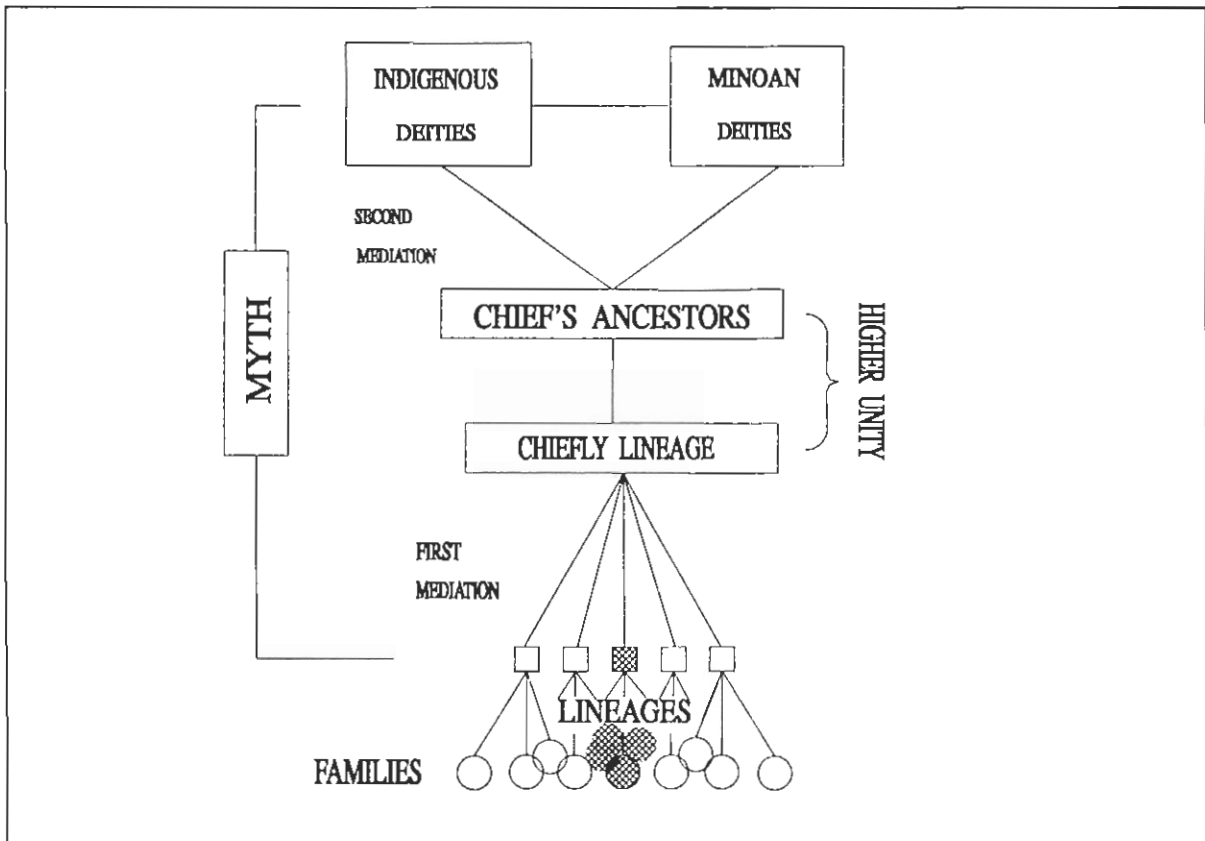
154	Mycenae	ShGr	shallow bowl	yes	LH I	Matt. 318	NMA	B
155	Mycenae	ShGr	cup, wide rim	yes	LH I	Matt. 341	NMA 170	B
156	Mycenae	ShGr	cup, wide rim	yes	LH I	Matt. 342	NMA	B
157	Mycenae	ShGr	spouted cup	yes	LH I	Matt. 346	NMA	B
158	Mycenae	ShGr	Vapheio B	no	LH I	Matt. 355	NMA 8701	B
159	Mycenae	ShGr	Vapheio	yes	LH I	Matt. 356	NMA 878b	B
160	Mycenae	ShGr	bowl	no	LH I	Matt. 420	NMA	B
161	Mycenae	ShGr	pot	yes	LH I	Matt. 423	NM 224a/215b	B
162	Mycenae	ShGr	krater	yes	LH I?	Matt. 200	NMA	B
163	Mycenae	ShGr	krater	yes	LH I?	Matt. 201	NMA	B
164	Mycenae	ShGr	krater	yes	LH I?	Matt. 202	NMA	B
165	Mycenae	ShGr	krater	yes	LH I?	Matt. 203	NMA	B
166	Mycenae	ShGr	krater	yes	LH I?	Matt. 204	NMA	B
167	Mycenae	Poros Tr	hydria?	yes	LH I?	Matt. 247	NMA	B
168	Mycenae	Poros Tr	hydria?	yes	LH I?	Matt. 248	NMA	B
169	Mycenae	ShGr	cup, pedestal	yes	LH I?	Matt. 366	NMA	B
170	Mycenae	ShGr	jug	yes	LH II	Matt. 263	NMA 211	B
171	Mycenae		cup, handle	yes	LH II-III A	Davis 131	NMA 2874	CG
172	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH II A	Matt. 127	NMA 211	B
173	Mycenae	ShGr	jug, spout	no	MH III late	Davis 029	NMA 8569	S
174	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	MH-LH I	Matt. 130	NMA 211	B
175	Mycenae	ShGr	basin, 2 handles	yes	MH-LH I	Matt. 131	NMA 211	B
176	Mycenae	ShGr	hydria	no	MH-LH I	Matt. 217	NMA 9665	B
177	Mycenae	ShGr	jug	yes	MH-LH I	Matt. 259	NMA 9660	B
178	Mycenae	ShGr	shallow bowl	no	MH-LH I	Matt. 321	NMA 9569	B
179	Mycenae		handle, Vapheio	no		Davis 132		S
180	Patras	Pherai	goblet	no	LH II-III?	Davis 135		S
181	Peristeria	Tholos III	Vapheio A	no	LH II A	Davis 099	Chora	G
182	Peristeria	Tholos III	Vapheio A	no	LH II A	Davis 100	Chora	G
183	Peristeria	Tholos III	cup, shallow	no	LH II A?	Davis 101	Chora	G
184	Prosymna	Tb X	cauldron			Matt. 039	NMA	B
185	Routsi	Tholos 1	pan	no	LH II-III A?	Matt. 172	Chora 2747	B
186	Routsi	Tholos 2	cauldron, tripod	?	LH II?	Matt. 100	?	B
187	Routsi	Tholos	Vapheio B	no		Davis 102	NMA 8364	G
188	Thebes	Pelopidou 28	basin, 2 handles	yes	LH II-III A?	Matt. 146	Thebes	B
189	Vapheio	Tholos	Vapheio B	no	LH II	Davis 103	NMA 1759	G
190	Vapheio	Tholos	Vapheio B	no	LH II	Davis 104	NMA 1758	G
191	Vapheio	Tholos	Vapheio B	no	LH II	Davis 105	NMA 1888	S
192	Vapheio	Tholos	Vapheio B	no	LH II	Davis 106	NMA 1887	S
193	Vapheio	Tholos	cup	no	LH II	Davis 107	NMA 1875	GS
194	Vapheio	Tholos	jug, spouted	yes	LH II	Davis 108	NMA 1901	S
195	Vapheio	Tholos	movable handle	yes	LH II A	Matt. 428	NMA 1840	B
196	Vapheio	Tholos	movable handle	yes	LH II A	Matt. 428	NMA 1840	B
197	Vapheio	Tholos	ladle	no	LH II A	Matt. 447	NMA 1872	B
198	Vapheio	Tholos	brazier	no	LH II A	Matt. 468	NMA 1891	B

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. XXVIIa Model of Prestige Exchange Mechanism (after FRIEDMAN and ROWLANDS in *The Evolution of Social Systems* [1977]).
- Pl. XXVIIb Diagram of Ideological Structure in Early Mycenaean Society.
- Pl. XXVIII Chart of the Distribution of Early Mycenaean Metal Vessels.



a



b

Early Mycenaean Metal Vessels

(late MH - LH II)

