COMPLEXITY, POWER AND "ASSOCIATIONS THAT MATTER": RETHINKING SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE 2 MAINLAND GREECE

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To my family

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to introduce a new approach to the analysis of social organisation of the southern Greek Mainland during the Early Helladic II period. Central to this approach is a view of social organisation less as a "problem" faced by society and more as *an open-ended project* that involves defining particular networks of relationships as "associations that matter". From this point of departure, this thesis undertakes a novel analysis of domestic and monumental architecture (and their related artefactual assemblages), placing emphasis on the definition of contexts of practice where particular models of groupness were promoted and reproduced. The analysis establishes the "domestic" and the "public" as historically specific *statements* of belonging, firmly grounded in the ways specific activities, commensal events involving the sharing of a collectively procured produce, were structured.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aims, Scope and Structure of Thesis

1.1 The problem

Even for those only barely acquainted with the Prehistory of the Aegean, Early Helladic II (EH II), the second and longer-lived phase of the Early Bronze Age (2750/2650 – 2200 B.C. – Manning 1995: 168-174) on the Greek Mainland, needs little introduction. Since Wace and Blegen's (1918) definition of a tripartite scheme to describe the mainland prehistory (Early, Middle and Late Helladic), and the further three-fold subdivision of each of the three major periods, it dominates perceptions of the mainland Early Bronze Age (EBA) (Rutter 1993a; Manning 1997).

This privileged status stems at least party from this phase being the best known and best represented (**Figure 1.1**), in turn the result not only of a highly distinctive, readily recognizable, and widely distributed ceramic repertory, but also of exceptionally well-preserved, and occasionally large-scale, architectural remains, in association with which this pottery was commonly found. But EH II is mainly famous for supposedly having seen not simply the emergence of social complexity, but also its unique (*vis-à-vis* the other phases of the EBA) manifestation. It thus stands at the core of current understandings of the historical trajectory of the mainland.

That this understanding was built over a long period of time and as a result of particular concerns in the study of the Aegean prehistory is not a grand revelation. Its foundations, as is widely known, were laid in the context of an attempt to re-interpret the palaces of the Minoan-Mycenaean era. Most analyses of the Aegean Bronze Age begin by recounting how Renfrew, attempting to prove the "complexity" of the palatial civilisation as an indigenous creation, has drawn attention to the EBA as the moment "when it all started". Equally, it is rethinking of the insights of the *Emergence* that brought forward as the particularity of the mainland the fact that ostentatious indications of complexity are limited to the EH II (Manning 1997).

The more recent call for the EBA to be studied in its own terms (e.g. Day and Wilson 2002) has hardly forced us to rethink the story we have being accustomed to telling. After nearly a century of research, Early Helladic studies seem thus to have reached a point where any understanding of the "architecture" of EBA (how, paraphrasing Sherratt 1995, parts of it are different one from another, and in what ways they all fit in an intelligible unfolding) needs to accommodate a particular interpretation (as "complex") of a series of phenomena referred to under the heading EH II. The paradigmatic status of this interpretation cannot be thus emphasised enough, considering the range of expectations it raised, the valorisations of the material it entailed, and the consequential arguments it instigated.

1.2 Aims and objectives of thesis

The purpose of this thesis is precisely to rethink the programme within which this particular narrative of the EBA was constructed. It more crucially involves providing an alternative to social inquiry that may help us appreciate the nature and social significance of the EH II material and to eventually assess the position of the phase in the historical trajectory on the Mainland. Moving from static models of social organisation to an approach able to highlight social order as an ongoing product of human action seems a promising path to take.

1.3 Structure of thesis

Chapter 2 gives a brief background to the EH II, presenting previous attempts to address its social significance, and the unanswered questions that these gave rise to.

Chapter 3 underlines some of the fallacies surrounding current analytical and interpretive priorities and introduces an alternative theoretical framework for approaching this material. By means of a theorization of practice, social organisation is highlighted as a kind of statement – discursive knowledge dependent on practice. It is argued that this involves the definition of particular social networks as "associations that matter" by highlighting particular contexts of practice as "dominant".

Chapter 4 states the methodological principles and focus of analysis. The relevance of an inquiry into the "built environment" as structuring contexts of interaction is discussed and the particular premises and goals of this analysis are presented. More specifically, analysis will seek to reveal the ways in which architecture is implicated in the production of conditions of interaction while at the same time becoming the embodiment of the relationships that this interaction promotes. The relevance of such an inquiry to the study of the archaeological record of the Early Helladic II is then demonstrated.

Chapter 5 undertakes an analysis of the "domestic record". Moving beyond previous attempts to identify the "typical domestic unit", this chapter emphasises the dynamic nature of this architecture. In view of this analysis, the domestic record emerges less as an aggregate of similar ("cellular") units and more as the ongoing product of particular "dwelling" practices. The special significance of the room with a central hearth is also considered.

Chapter 6 proposes a general redefinition of the nature of EH II monumental architecture. Stressing the predictable and identifiable character of these buildings, as opposed to the more fluid domestic architecture, monumentality is presented as involving the strategic creation of fixed and lasting places, potentially inviting large groups of people.

In the following two chapters, analytical focus shifts to the examples of monumental architecture excavated at one of the most important sites of the EBA mainland, Lerna in the Argolid.

Chapter 7 undertakes a sustained analysis of the "communal" character of monumental architecture through a particular focus on the famous House of the Tiles. Also, a review of the architectural history of the site shows that much of the architectural investment on the mound of Lerna revolves around the definition of this "public" or communal space.

Chapter 8 explores the nature and significance of the activities documented in relation to the Lerna monumental buildings. Particular emphasis is placed on the sealing assemblages, which have to date dominated discussions of the Early Helladic period. Contrary to current views of the sealings as evidence for the operation of an administrative/bureaucratic system, this chapter puts forward the possibility that sealing practices were implicated in a process of food collection, distribution and consumption. The implications for current models of redistribution are then considered.

Chapter 9 brings together and discusses insights gained by the analysis of domestic and monumental contexts. Also, in order to demonstrate the potential of the approach for the study of social change, it briefly considers some of the material evidence of the following period, the EH III .

CHAPTER 2

IMAGINING THE EARLY HELLADIC II

2.1 Introduction

This chapter serves a dual purpose. First, it offers some background information on the material designated as EH II. Second, it outlines current interpretive priorities in its analysis.

Generally, two major phases can be distinguished in the analysis of the EH II material. The first is characterized by an almost exclusive concern with its appropriate chronological definition and has been, by extension, rather poor in insights as to its historical significance. The second has witnessed an increasing effort to provide a social "interpretation" of this material. Mainly building upon the programme introduced by Colin Renfrew's (1972) seminal *Emergence of Civilisation*, such analysis has been tightly related to the perennial question of social evolution. As posited by Renfrew himself, such a concern was synonymous with detecting and explaining the emergence of social complexity. In this framework, the identification of the social type thought to most accurately describe EH II organisation often figures as the ultimate purpose of analysis. The particular problems, that insistence on this approach has given rise to, are also exposed.

2.2 Defining the EH II

As currently known and employed, the EH II is the product of a tripartite scheme proposed early in the 1920s for the classification of the EBA material on the Greek Mainland. The major proponents of this scheme were, of course, Wace and Blegen. Appearing in 1918, their joint paper on "the pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland" represents the first explicit attempt to organise the distinctive prehistoric material furnished by excavations at a number of sites north and south of the Corinthian Isthmus (in the modern regions of Phokis, Boeotia and Argolicorinthia - see Forsén 1992: 10). In this scheme, "Early Helladic II" (EH II) referred to those strata which contained "good quality" glazed pottery, yellow mottled vessels and much plain ware, as opposed both to the predominant polished and red glaze ware of the lower (EH I) levels and the "degenerated" glazed and dark-on-light painted wares of the EH III strata.

Conducting extensive survey in the region of north-eastern Peloponnese (Arapiza, Yiriza, Korakou), Blegen (1921) was also responsible for elaborating on the particular features of the period. A site of Corinthia in the valley of Kleonai, Zygouries, proved particularly illuminating. Underneath the Mycenaean deposits, excavation revealed a series of structures, which, based on the earlier definition, appeared to be assigned to EH II (Blegen 1928).

Progress in the definition of these three phases was rather slow in coming. In fact, only Goldman's (1931) excavations at the Boeotian site of Eutresis, near Thebes, has furnished a clear stratigraphy which allowed to posit with greater precision the features of the three phases in ceramic terms. This involved the definition also of a comprehensive repertory of distinctive shapes (as opposed to the former exclusive preoccupation with surface treatment) for each phase: large bowls, cups, jars and pyxides for the earliest EH I strata; a variety of deeper and shallower bowls, sauceboats and askoi for the EH II; tankards, beaker jugs, and large jars and pithoi for the EH III.

By the mid 1950s, the idea of three fixed phases in the historical development of the EBA Mainland had begun to take deep roots, and subsequent excavations in other

parts of the area (e.g. Aghios Kosmas in Attica – Mylonas 1959) sought more or less successfully to implement the given set of ceramic criteria for the characterisation and dating of the uncovered deposits. Given the relative absence of sound stratigraphic information, this was not always a straightforward procedure. Blegen (1951: 21) himself, who always insisted on the importance of stratigraphy, had already cautioned that these phases "have not yet been adequately correlated to permit a general application with any clarity of definition to one entire area" and that Early Helladic I, II, and III remained concepts "somewhat nebulous and ill-defined".

It was especially after the excavations at Lerna (Caskey 1954, 1955a; 1956; 1957; 1958) that the nature of the period came to be most forcefully acknowledged. First of all, EH II diagnostic pottery was correlated with impressive architectural remains, including two superimposed rectangular buildings of an unusually complex plan and exceptional dimensions (Building BG and its successor, the famous House of the Tiles), found in association with part of a complex fortification system (**Figure 2.1**). Equally impressive was the variety of small objects from metal, stone, bone and clay, including at least two significant collections of sealings (Heath 1958; Wiencke 1969).

The stratigraphic clarity at Lerna allowed to resolve several of the ambiguities surrounding the definition of the EH II (Caskey 1960: 285). Most important was the possibility of redefining the date of important sites excavated to that date (Raphina, Askitario, Aghios Kosmas) and wrongly assigned by their excavators to the EH III. Although not all ambiguities were resolved, Caskey's work did bring to the forefront the impressive homogeneity of the EH II material. This also allowed to underline a fundamental uniformity in the particular geographical area where early explorations had focused. As a result, a "core area" or "heartland" of Early Helladic Culture was defined, mainly consisting of the modern divisions of Argolid, Corinthia, Attica, and Boeotia (Pullen 1985: 47-52).

Thus, by the early 1970s, the quantity and quality of the material associated with the EH II had already begun to dominate perceptions of the EBA of the Greek Mainland. Contrary to the often enigmatic EH I and the far less well represented EH III, ceramics attributed until then to the middle phase of the EBA were not only, as

already said, both ubiquitous and abundant, but also associated with substantial and often particularly well-preserved architectural remains.

Held back by a pervading antiquarianism, the Cultural-Historical school of research most notably represented by John Caskey seemed to lack the conceptual tools that would allow the significance of this material to be addressed. As a result, it was possible to go only so far as to confirm "a bright flowering of human society" (Caskey 1960). The information on this society concerned not only details on the nature of settlements but, most importantly, the existence of more substantial structures, such as those revealed at Lerna. In an archaeology long dominated by the "glory" of the Minoan-Mycenaean palaces, there were very few alternatives for conceptualizing the significance of this discovery. In this sense, the best preserved House of the Tiles and its predecessor, Building BG, suggested to their excavator that the complex architectural achievements of the later prehistory of southern Aegean had some clear earlier counterparts. The relationship of EH II to the palatial era was of course addressed far more explicitly a few years later by C. Renfrew.

2.3 Colin Renfrew and the emergence of EH II complexity

2.3.1 From "periods" to "cultures"

The publication of Colin Renfrew's seminal *Emergence of Civilization* early in the 1970s appeared to signal a major breakthrough in the analysis of Early Helladic material. The methodological and interpretive programme presented there is common enough ground. It represents the first attempt to examine EBA material remains from the southern Aegean within the context of an inquiry into social evolution. Such a priority defined the purposes of social analysis as concerned with the emergence of complexity.

To undertake this inquiry it was necessary to provide corrections to previous classifications of the EH material. More specifically, Renfrew challenged both the usefulness of the tripartite scheme itself for the description of these "bodies of material", and the validity of the concomitant assumption of a *single* culture

developing in three stages. The core of the argument, later reiterated by McNeal (1975), rested on the perceived qualitative differences between the three EBA assemblages from the Greek Mainland. "Early Helladic I, II, and III", Renfrew maintained, "designate distinct assemblages of material, which are, in effect, *cultures*, in the *well-defined archaeological sense* of that term" (1972: 54, emphasis added). Renfrew referred to Childe's (1929: v-vi; see also Clarke 1968: 206) famous definition of cultures as *constantly recurring assemblages of artefacts*, complexes, in other words, of regularly associated material traits (Renfrew 1972: 4, 54; 1979). "Cultures", Renfrew went on, "have extension in time and space: they are not the same as chronological periods" (1972: 53). So although numerical designations (such as EB 1, 2, and 3) could be maintained for purely *chronological* purposes, they do not, and should not, necessarily imply sequence in *cultural* terms.

In this sense, then, the sets of material (primarily ceramic) features that were previously used as diagnostic of three chronological phases could now be employed to define three distinct cultural groups, each named after the site where those features were either first identified or found *best* represented (Renfrew 1972: 54, 99). In this respect, Renfrew proposed the term "Korakou Culture" to describe the assemblage characterised by the widespread thin-walled pottery, with lustrous surface (known as *Urfirnis*) occurring in readily recognisable shapes such as the sauceboat, the askos, and the little footed bowl or saucer. This cultural group was distinct from both the earlier "Eutresis Culture" and the later "Tiryns culture". The former referred to the "EH I" ceramic assemblage, characterised by the predominance of red-slipped ware and ceramic shapes such as the jug, the large bowl and the jar, which, although first recognised by Blegen at Korakou, seemed better illustrated in Group III at Eutresis. The latter designated the Early Helladic III assemblage, first identified in Tiryns, but substantially redefined on the basis of the Lerna evidence (Caskey 1960). The diagnostic ceramic material of this "cultural group" consisted of the characteristic light-on-dark and dark-on-light pattern painted wares, occurring in diagnostic shapes such as the two-handled tankard and the wide cup with out-turned rim.

Renfrew's alternative scheme was promoted as having important analytical implications. While it continued to be necessary to establish each culture's diagnostic (mainly ceramic) features, and to position the different cultural groups with greater

accuracy in time and space (i.e. to delineate these chunks of time and space within which particular material regularities can be registered), this was only the first step of the analytical procedure. The second step involved defining the sources of this temporally- and spatially-specific variation. For, importantly, the definition of a culture as a set of artefact-type categories, which consistently recur together in assemblages (Clarke 1968: 206), merely described the ways in which a distinct form of life can be expected to become manifested in the archaeological material, without actually also presuming the source of these patterns. To eschew unwarranted normative overtones (the idea of culture as an abstract structure of shared thought and custom) and unsubstantiated ethnic assumptions (its conventional correlation with particular "peoples"), Renfrew stressed that what these spatially and temporally specific bodies of material collectively record is the *organisation and regulated operation of human behaviour* - a unique human adaptation at a given time and place (1972: 4).

The thrust of the argument lay, in other words, in the idea that the regularities in human behaviour represented by an archaeological culture revealed a kind of order achieved through the workings of an integrated whole, best envisaged as a closed system (Renfrew 1972: 19). This system could be methodologically dissected into separate yet interdependent and interacting fields of human activity, the "sub-systems" (subsistence, technology, social, projective or symbolic, trade and communication). Investigating these interactions supposedly allowed a rigorous and objective analysis of the operational mechanisms of the system, which, as already said, ultimately accounted for the particular form and spatio-temporal patterning of the material.

2.3.2 "Change in EH II"

Renfrew's revision and re-classification of the EBA evidence from the mainland not only confirmed the exceptional nature of the assemblage now referred to as the Korakou Culture; reading into the material far more than the previous abstract idea of a "bright flowering society", Renfrew could now also clarify the true nature of its differences from the other EBA assemblages. The possibility of treating this

assemblage as the empirical manifestation of a bounded cultural system, allowed him to highlight an array of material phenomena as recording significant changes in several subsystems (technology, subsistence, exchange), and ultimately in the social domain.

The scholar first of all stressed not only the proliferation of EH II sites in relation to the earlier phase (the "Eutresis Culture") but also the particular form the correspondent architectural remains often took. The appearance of settlements of agglomerate plan, of the type excavated to that date for example at Zygouries (Blegen 1928; see Chapter 5), was significant, especially by comparison to the "earlier" "widely spaced" houses: EH II settlements represented an aggregation of population, and could be regarded as "proto-urban" ("small towns") in terms of the wide range of functions they fulfilled (1972: 108). Equally, if not more, significant were the examples of large-scale architecture, taking the form of both defensive works (fortifications) and prominent buildings. For Renfrew, all these examples bespoke the ability to mobilise labour, as well as the need for "central" supervision and co-ordination. Buildings such as those excavated at Lerna further testified to this "central authority", by virtue not only of their size but also of their association with large assemblages of sealings, since this indicated to his mind a previously unattested centralisation of economic transactions. In his words, EH II mainland provided "the earliest clear indication of a formal redistributive organisation, such as is very clearly documented in the palaces of Crete some 500 years later" (1974: 80-81; also 1972: 482).

As this evidence clearly paralleled (albeit potentially in "embryonic" form) the developments which Renfrew regarded as defining the palatial societies of the second millennium, the EB2 on the Greek Mainland could now be highlighted as "the decisive phase for the emergence of civilisation" (1972: 107). This idea was confirmed by the designation of EH II social organisation as conforming to a "chiefdom". In other words, the above mentioned material features were thought to sustain the identification of one of the most crucial (and ubiquitous) social types, as defined and made operational archaeologically by Service (1962). Although Renfrew subsequently argued against the value of such "catch-all" social types for predicting the course of social evolution, foregrounding instead their advantages only as

conceptual tools for the exploration of social organisation (1974), it was a rather fortunate coincidence that in the Aegean these early chiefdoms were in fact followed by the complex "states" of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Tringham 1974).

2.4 After Renfrew: defining the "incipient complexity" of the EB 2 mainland

Even though the direct linkages which Renfrew tried to establish between the EBA and the palatial societies of later prehistory were severely criticized (e.g. Cherry 1984), Renfrew's program was meant to have a lasting impact on EH studies. Attempts to understand this particular material seemed now to hinge on the ability to elicit the social and political organization which lay behind its material features, and to tie this, if possible, into a general history of the Aegean. The idea that this period may have witnessed the emergence of important social asymmetries, definitely an intriguing possibility, further commended this inquiry; it also justified the emphasis on the EH II, as the particular moment within the period when such change becomes more readily evident.

This fascination with the EH II or Korakou Culture seemed to be sustained by ongoing empirical discoveries. This involved both the excavation of "typical" settlements of the period (such as Lithares; Tzavella-Evjen 1985) and the discovery on both sides of the Corinthian Isthmus of at least five new buildings of a plan and size comparable to the House of Tiles and Building BG at Lerna (Shaw 1987; 1990). Moreover, while the other two assemblages continued to remain rather poorly represented (with some exceptions - see Dousougli 1987 for new findings on the EH I), the first systematic field surveys produced abundant EH II material (see for example Van Andel et al. 1986; Van Andel and Runnels 1987).

At least two major synthetic analyses undertaken in the mid 1980's, Konsola's analysis of the phenomenon of "urbanisation" and Pullen's doctoral thesis on Early Helladic Social Organisation, demonstrated a new confidence in analysing this growing corpus of material, betraying in their interpretive and analytical focus the new emphasis on the "emergence of complexity".

Konsola's comparison between a number of sites sought to associate good quality architecture and buildings of "monumental" character or "special function" with "high" quality craft goods and traded objects (1984a; 1986). That these characteristics were to be found in a group of larger settlements (most of which assignable to EH II) could indicate "central places" controlling larger regions (1984a: 166). Such supposed evidence for the co-ordination of economic and social activities at a larger geographical scale, provided a direct indication for the emergence of regionally organised societies, of chiefdoms or "polities" in other words, thus corroborating Renfrew's original assertions.

At about the same time, Pullen's (1985) doctoral dissertation undertook an explicit inquiry into EH social organization, an inquiry which was deemed necessary, given Renfrew's only cursory engagement with the material from the mainland. At least initially, Pullen questioned the ability of social typologies (on which previous scholars had extensively relied) to provide adequate descriptions of social organisation, and insisted instead on the enhanced potential of a "multi-dimensional" approach. This should be able to provide accurate "measurements" of social complexity, by examining potential differentiation both vertically and horizontally and at several "levels" of social organization (individual-settlement-region). Both funerary and settlement evidence from the "heartland" of the mainland Greece was assembled and subjected to this inquiry. Not all sets of evidence provided clear or coherent results, and the treatment of the EH period as a whole further obscured matters. Nonetheless, Pullen eventually found that at least the EH II evidence fitted the category of chiefdom fairly well (Pullen 2003).

The question of social organisation in EH II was also briefly tackled by Wiencke (1989). Surveying developments in several fields of activity (agriculture, trade, technology), the scholar confirmed a gradual development that "culminated" towards the end of the period in the appearance of the material phenomena that had captured Renfrew's attention in the first place – i.e. large monumental buildings together with sealings, in addition to large decorated hearths and similarly decorated pithoi. The earlier characterisation of this relatively complex society seemed therefore secure.

This basic understanding provided the framework for the analysis of different aspects of the material. For example, defining degrees of "specialization" became an important analytical goal of ceramic or lithic studies (see for example Rutter 1993b; Runnels 2001). In a similar vein, the identification of site hierarchies has figured as a prominent objective of field surveys. On the basis of discrepancies in site size, and of the concentration of "special" finds (such as roof tiles and large clay hearths) and of evidence for craft (mainly of obsidian production) at some "larger" sites, such hierarchical organisation of the landscape was considered to be true not only of the Argolid and Corinthia (which since became the focus of much intensive survey - see Van Andel, Runnels and Pope 1986; van Andel and Runnels 1987; Runnels and van Andel 1987; also Runnels *et al.* 1995; Forsén 1992; Wells and Runnels 1996; Cosmopoulos 1998) but quite possibly of the whole Peloponnese (e.g. Methana and Laconia – Mee 1999; 2001) and central Greece (e.g. Cosmopoulos 1991a, b).

2.5 Imagining the historical trajectory of the mainland: Complexity and Decline in the EBA

The validity or usefulness of this interpretive and analytical programme has to date never been challenged. On the contrary, in the following years, the insights which it enabled provided an unquestioned basis upon which new questions were formulated. For example, the "fortune" of this "emergent" society soon became the object of much scholarly scrutiny. Its explanation was even, as declared in his introduction, the basic purpose of Pullen's analysis (1985: 1). For by that time, the observation that the Mainland had failed to develop palaces immediately subsequently to the EBA had begun to gain increasing importance.

Adherence to the evolutionary paradigm initiated by Renfrew himself left few other options but to perceive this differential development as a "decline" (1972: 116, 255-64, 477; also see Whitelaw 2004: 233; Whitley 2004). Indeed, all the analyses of the EBA Mainland which followed Renfrew's precepts (e.g. Konsola's aforementioned analysis of the phenomenon of "urbanisation"; also Wiencke 1989) ended up confirming that all the "complex" characteristics of the EB 2 settlements (mainly large-scale architecture and potentially sealing systems) subsequently declined

instead of proliferating, and that what had come to be known as the "EH III" or Renfrew's "Tiryns Culture" clearly lacked any indication of such complexity (Konsola 1986: 17). This was a conclusion which remained largely unaffected by the subsequent demonstration of lines of continuity in several other aspects of the material record of the two periods (for example ceramics and lithics; see Rutter 1979; 1995; Runnels 1985; 2001).

Renfrew himself had already acknowledged these marked differences and while also perceiving them as a "break" in the development of the EBA Mainland (see above), he seemed little concerned to explicitly address them. On the contrary, for the following generation of researchers, it was precisely such presumed "disintegration" of EH II social systems, the fact that the promising EB 2 developments were followed by a static, rather "regressive" and occasionally "obscure" EB 3 (Konsola 1986; Pullen 1985; Pullen 1987: 534; Wiencke 1989: 509; Manning 1994; 1997), rather than by the anticipated "civilisation", that could ultimately offer significant insights into the question of social change in the prehistoric Aegean (Pullen 1985: 1). What at the very least, this "historical hiccup" of the Mainland (as graphically put by Manning 1994: 242) was thought to demonstrate, was the possible existence of "local" or "regional" developmental trajectories, which had been glossed over in Renfrew's unifying and large-scale approach: it became evident, in other words, that the broader picture that Renfrew had built was at the expense of significant "local" particularities (Pullen 1985: 2).

Establishing the particularity of the historical development of the Greek Mainland in terms of its *delay* in developing "the palace oriented societies such as evolved on Crete immediately subsequent to the third millennium B.C." (Pullen 1985: 1) eventually confirmed the failure of the EH II developments to lead to "superior" forms of social organisation - an idea most forcefully conveyed in Cherry's characterisation of the EB 2 Mainland as "a null case" (1984: 21). In Cherry's terms, this called into question Renfrew's gradualist approach, clearly invalidating his attempt to trace the "seeds" of the palatial institutions in the preceding period. It became in other words possible to argue that the appearance of "superior" forms of social organisation as illustrated by the palaces of Crete and the Greek mainland was not dependent upon (and therefore could not be explained or predicted by) earlier

formations, however "developed" or promising these might look. That social change is in fact a far more discontinuous process than Renfrew had imagined, and that "*apparent* steps towards centralisation and organisational complexity in one generation may be offset or reversed later" (1984: 23; emphasis added), was suggested to Cherry by the particular example of the Mainland.

Establishing the source of these discontinuities became the next important task. Theories about "newcomers" and "invasions" were already particularly popular among the earliest generation of researchers, and, even though increasingly frowned upon as outdated (Rutter 1993a), more sophisticated "processual" attempts have hardly managed to produce any more convincing scenario. Thus, while for some archaeologists there was no obvious alternative to presenting a new population element as responsible for "the catalysis" of EH II societies (see Wiencke 1989; 2000), others have relied on the idea that the emergence of complex social institutions and their failure are inevitably intertwined (cf. Tainter 1988: 3), and have therefore attempted to find evidence for the depletion of that vital resource which had sustained the EH II developments in the first place. A well-known scenario which followed this logic surmised that excessive land clearance onto hill slopes, and large-scale intense arable farming (as given further support by the recently available evidence for the use of the plough - Pullen 1992), created the circumstances where slope denudation was possible (van Andel et al. 1986; 1990; Jameson *et al.* 1994: 191, 355; Manning 1997: 152). The evidence called upon to back up this scenario was rather flimsy and too localised to be of general applicability (see Broodbank 2000: 325-326): it consisted of the so-called "Picrodafni" alluvium, presumably documenting a major episode of soil erosion taking place in the Argolid in the mid-third millennium BC (as indicated by the presence of EH II sherds in the alluvium, and by a single radiocarbon date - Zangger 1992; 1993).

Such failure aside, the crux of the matter lay, as Cherry himself put it, in the "inherent fragility" of these emergent formations. Cherry claimed that it is precisely such fragility that may well "find reflection in the extent of their decline in the face of the disruptions during the latter part of the Early Bronze Age" (Cherry 1984: 30). In other words, this evident inability to cope with adverse circumstances seems, according to Cherry, to be a direct consequence of the very principles along which

these early societies were organised and integrated: despite the dearth of information on the details of this organisation, their presumed conformity to the chiefdom type (this time indicated by a number of exceptional sites, among which Lerna with its large-scale architecture) was taken to "explain" their lack of stability (1984: 30). The question seems to boil down to sheer scale and complexity, for Cherry also cautioned against assigning these early formations an "undeserved illusion of grandeur" (1984: 30). Terms such as "proto-urban", Cherry maintained, not only imply a uni-directional developmental trajectory, serving thus to reinforce the erroneous impression of continuity with the later palatial societies, but also risk misleading us on the scale and complexity of these societies. The chiefdom was thus sufficiently general to allow for different developmental trajectories (Renfrew 1974), but perhaps too general to enable a more sustained enquiry into the conditions that allowed for these "divergent" histories.

2.6 Conclusions

After nearly a century of research we appear thus to have reached an interpretive and analytical dead-end. On the one hand, we seem to have said all there is to say of EH II society. On the other, we have been rather less successful in dealing with the question of change. Given the considerably enriched empirical evidence, it would be perhaps unjustified to attribute the problems surrounding Early Helladic material exclusively to lack of relevant or well-published information. To be sure, new interpretive objectives and analytical priorities have made during the past decades new demands upon the material, and the poor quality of older reports has caused justified frustration (Pullen 1985). If, however, this material continues to remain stubbornly mute to our questions, is it not just possible that there is something fundamentally wrong not only with these questions themselves, or with the methodologies set to pursue them, but even with the background assumptions which helped to categorise things in a specific way and thus to "constitute" the evidence as such (Wylie 1996)? With such questions in mind, critical evaluation of current understandings must expose the dominant problems of Helladic prehistory as what they are: much less inherent in the archaeological evidence itself and far more the product of a series of pre-understandings and often unverified assumptions which

orientated ways of organising, looking at, and making sense of, this "evidence". It is only by rethinking the more general assumptions upon which particular types of society (with "ideal" evolutionary trajectories) were identified, that we may eventually achieve an enhanced understanding of the "historical trajectory" of the Greek Mainland.

CHAPTER 3

COMPLEXITY, POWER, AND "ASSOCIATIONS THAT MATTER":

AN ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

3.1 Introduction

It was shown in the previous chapter that our appreciation of the social significance of the EH II material has come to depend on a social analysis which gave primacy to the definition of the degree of social complexity and this has basically amounted to the identification of a social type that this material seems best to represent.

This chapter is meant to put forward a different approach to social organization. The impetus for this analysis is provided by recent developments in archaeological theory. These have involved a sustained reaction against the unitary models and the reductionism and determinism of previous approaches. It was the avowed objective of much of this "post-processual" archaeology to do justice to the complexities and messiness of human life, qualities that were largely masked in the unitary models of New Archaeology. Their alternative emphasis on practice provides the possibility of discussing the social as humanly created. To this redefinition of analysis as one not of order but of *ordering* (Hinchcliffe 2000) is integral, in other words, an understanding of patterning as a "practical achievement".

By means of a theorisation of some fundamental properties of social action, and particularly of its temporal character and referential capacity, emphasis is placed

upon the definition of particular social networks as "associations that matter". This depends upon the constitution of particular practices as integral to the reproduction of particular social groups. More specifically, attention is drawn to the strategic elevation of particular contexts of practice as somehow "more important" for social reproduction.

3.2 Archaeologies of complexity and the analysis of "social organization"

The major principles of analysis of social organization as currently practised stem from social evolution. It is in this sense that emphasis on "complexity" becomes meaningful. The idea that the history of humankind can be depicted as a progressive movement towards increasingly complex forms sounds perhaps all too familiar. Complexity has figured as what captures and conveys the most important differences among human societies; as what helps to categorise social formations or to arrange them along a scale; as the inescapable outcome of human history (almost its underlying logic and ultimate goal); and at the same time as the most intriguing phenomenon, the appearance of which we need to investigate and explain. This emphasis does not mean, however, that we are in perfect control of the term or of its application.

The most famous definition on which subsequent attempts to handle the concept have relied is, of course, the Spencerian conception of social evolution as the progressive movement from incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity or, in Durkheim's terms, from mechanical to organic solidarity. Centralisation and differentiation have been the defining features of social complexity reproduced in many archaeological discussions (see White 1949: 367; Flannery 1972; also McGuire 1983). For example, in Flannery's (1972: 409) systemic model, the complexity of the social system can be measured in terms of its segregation (the amount of internal differentiation) and centralisation (the degree of linkage between the various subsystems and the highest-order controls in society). Similarly Renfrew, in a more recent attempt to define "what the study of the evolution of 'social organisation' exactly consists of", confirmed that what we are "in the broadest sense concerned with is the emergence of inhomogeneity" (1984: 98). This is not any type

of heterogeneity but the patterned relation between on the one hand segregation and on the other centralization. As such, complexity defines (and supposedly addresses) all the important features and principles that describe a human society: scale (and size), social differentiation, social inequality, forms and mechanisms of integration (see Paynter 1989).

How to operationalise these "measurements" has remained somewhat obscure. The recurrent evocation of social types, as a convenient definition of different points along a scale has hardly made things easier. Sure enough, social typologies have been the most pervasive framework, appreciated both for the optimism they fostered in the handling of the archaeological material (the concept came with a battery of "predictions" able to give meaning to archaeological configurations – e.g. Peebles and Kus 1977; Renfrew 1974), as well as for their assumed grand comparative potential (both synchronic and diachronic). Renfrew himself, and others after him (e.g. Earle 1987; Chapman 2003) have repeatedly defended this "heuristic" value of social typologies. Such heuristic value does not seem, however, entirely secure: for example, some scholars have complained against the attempt to reconstitute human history in terms of discrete stages (see McGuire 1983) and have expressed reservations as to the process whereby ethnographic examples were temporally ordered (to use Plog's phrase [1973: 183], the extent to which: "patterns of temporal variability [can be] inferred from patterns of variation in space"). Others have found social types (the chiefdom in particular) overly general so as to become nearly trivial (Yoffee 1993), or, on the contrary, too specific to actually fit any case other than those they initially described (as Sanders and Webster 1978 note, the chiefdom described by Service was in fact characteristic of Polynesia). For yet others, the most serious problem was the internal coherence of these types, i.e. the extent to which the (organizational and morphological) features that were presented as defining them were "structurally related" (Renfrew 1974; see also Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1974: 1): as these typologies developed in the context of the attempt to order empirical (ethnographic) observation, they failed to provide mechanisms that explained why particular "constellations of characteristics" are "non-random".

More fundamental problems with social evolution concerned the implied idea of the historical process as a progressive movement from simpler to more complex: with all

its temporary "failures" and regressions, this has been a both directional and predictable movement, driven forward by a fairly specific, if not entirely transparent and agreed-upon, process. But most importantly, the paradigm of complexity, itself the product of a particular era in the study of human history (Rowlands 1989), has purposefully fostered the image of society as a manageable entity: with the logic of the social process revealed and reduced to a set of fairly straightforward principles, complexity itself becomes conveniently simplified. It has been already pointed out (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 148), that what the paradigm of social evolution achieves (and what may account for its pervasiveness and continuing appeal) is to describe an orderly and predictable world, a world that *can* be known and understood, defined, as it is, by concrete purposes and structures. It is in fact this regularity that was thought to guarantee the status of archaeology as a science, as the objective study of phenomena supposedly as real (and predictable) as the "things" of the natural world (cf. Wenke 1981: 82). The analysis of social organization (with its implicit emphasis on order, regularity, and general principles) finds, as currently practised, its significance in this programme. The idea that there are some fundamental principles governing human behaviour and its development has had an understandable appeal to archaeology. But it has come at a great price: to reduce the mass of the archaeological data to order with an ideal type, variability has had to be suppressed as merely contingent, the concrete and the particular had to be subsumed in terms of an abstract category (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 149; Van der Leeuw and McGlade 1997: 5; Barrett and Damilati 2004: 149).

To this reductionism came to be added a further problem. This, as Barrett and Halstead note (2004: x), concerns the very definition of the object of analysis. In a chapter included in his book with the programmatic title "Approaches to Social Archaeology" (1984), Renfrew placed particular emphasis on the definition of the "social group" as a pre-requisite of any social (i.e. systemic) analysis. His initial predilection for culture as indicating the "social system" (1972; see Chapter 2) was here replaced by a "spatially" (i.e. territorially) defined entity, the polity. This is the "effective" social group, or "higher order entity". Renfrew subsequently (1986: 1) asserted the polity as an autonomous socio-political territorial unit. As he took great pain to argue, the importance of this definition (especially in contradistinction to the earlier emphasis on the "culture") is that these entities are "socially real" – entities

not only recognized by their members but also functioning as the most pervasive allegiance a person has (much as the citizen's commitment to his [*sic*] nation). According to Renfrew, acknowledging this is crucial, because it is precisely this overriding group consciousness that drives group behaviour, structuring people's activities, and ultimately accounting for particular (archaeologically recoverable, at least in "favourable circumstances") material patterns (1984: 97; also 1974).

Today, the assumption that one can "identify", "define" and "measure" societies as closed entities amenable to classification has been seriously questioned (see Thomas 2000; Barrett 1990; 2001; Barrett and Halstead 2004). The very possibility of classifying has been considered problematic, both because it assumes the ability to capture "the essence" of what a particular order is, and because it presupposes boundedness and fixity of form. Society in other words, is regarded as an object given, or at least as a range of discoverable structures and processes analogous in some way to the physical structures and processes which are presumably the subject matter of the natural sciences. As will be elaborated below, this critique may serve as a useful point of departure for rethinking the purposes and methods of social analysis.

3.3 Debating societies: the emphasis on practice

The foregoing critique echoes a more general dissatisfaction in the social sciences with the notion of society as a valid object of social discourse (Ingold 1994; Giddens 1990: 12-14; Urry 2000: 5-12; Bauman 1992: 39, 56-57). This emerged from a reflection upon the ways in which "society" was in the first place defined (i.e. in opposition to the individual and the community): tailored after the nation-state, the concept either implied a domain of external regulation of social relationships (encouraging the opposition structure/agency), or evoked a mode of social association of rational beings bound by contract and self-interest (*communitas* vs. *societas*). Most theorists would now take issue with the idea of a bounded entity with a high level of social and cultural integration, a high degree of functional interdependence of its various parts and a high degree of unity and independence vis-à-vis other similar entities (Featherstone 1995: 132). The reaction has found general

expression in Mann's famous aphorism that "societies are much messier than our theories of them" (1986: 4; see Urry 2000: 9).

The extreme proposition to dismiss the concept of society as "theoretically obsolete" (see Ingold 1996: 57) was meant to signal a shift of emphasis from the study of societies as things to the study of social life as process. In the simplest of terms, "questions about social life have to do with elucidating the dynamic properties of human relationships" (Ingold 1994: 737). The alternative thus to treating societies "as real entities 'out there' presenting themselves to anthropological observation as objects to be described, compared and classified", would be to shift focus to *relationships*, so that a concern with "societies" has been replaced by one with "sociality" (Ingold 1994). In effect this returns the notion of society to its earlier (i.e. prior to the eighteenth century) significance, i.e. to associate, to live in the company of others (Strum and Latour 1987; Gregory 1989).

The shift came in tandem with an increasing emphasis on practice as "the very ontological (basis) condition of human life in society as such" (Giddens 1993: 81). In simple terms, this amounts to the prosaic formulation that anything that happens or exists in social life is generated through enacted forms of conduct, and, by extension, that things exist only insofar as we practically engage with them. From this perspective, Thomas argues, "the social ceases to have any grounding essence and becomes something that people *do*: its reproduction depends entirely on its continual performance" (2000: 152). According to this "performative view", Strum and Latour argue, "society is constructed through the many efforts to define it: it is something achieved in practice" (1987: 784).

We could dwell upon this idea of the "restlessly self-modifying" character of human social orders (Giddens 1993: 117). It first of all brings forward the transformative capacity of action, confirming its vital connection with power (Giddens 1979: 88), where the latter is now to be perceived primarily as an ability to act (*potere*) and therefore as an enabling ("power to"), rather than exclusively constraining force ("power over") (on the distinction between the two understandings of power also see Benton 1981: 176; Miller and Tilley 1984: 5). The implications are crucial: "society" ceases to be conceived as a set of fixed and static structures, existing independently

of and guiding the actions of individuals and groups (Giddens 1984). Instead, interpretive energy is directed to understanding the ways in which these structures are produced and reproduced by actors' ongoing attempts to provide "definitions" of them.

3.4 Creating the social: social models and "associations that matter"

We should further comment on this idea of social actors providing in and through their actions definitions of the social world (and of their place in it) – in effect interpretations of the very conditions of their existence (cf. also Dobres 2000: 5). In Strum and Latour's (1987) terms, this means that social actors are "fully-fledged social scientists", researching (and, by so doing, constantly reinventing) what the social world is, what holds it together, and how it can be altered. Once it is acknowledged that this "research" involves human beings assessing, as Heidegger would put it, "the possibilities of being" (Gorner 2000: 14), then its *evaluative character* also becomes obvious. We may therefore construe the definitions produced by actors' "concernful" activities in a more active sense, as "propositions", which are not only about what collective life and social relations *are,* but also about what they *should* be (see also Jenkins 1992: 69). In other words, *through their continuous involvement* in the world, people sustain (produce and reproduce) *claims about what is important in life*; what needs to be obtained and preserved against loss and fragmentation and in what ways. In essence then, this amounts to the promotion through action of particular "models" of the social world, of visions of order (see Featherstone 1995: 140; also Strathern 1985: 200).

Exploring the implications of this idea for the patterning of social relationships can establish a rather different object of social analysis. It can be argued that such propositions have to do with highlighting some relationships as somehow more "important" than others. Strum and Latour (1987) may have argued for this more generic sense of "society" as "association", but they did in fact observe that "some associations are weaker while some are stronger and longer lasting". And they did ask: "*how* does an actor make the social link hold?". We may also ask: why is it important that it does? This may be taken to replicate the "orthodox" concern of

current analysis with "permanent" social phenomena – with "institutions" (e.g. McGuire 1983: 123). But the emphasis on practice, as explicated above, does provides a new entry into the matter. This, as will be argued more fully below, involves some reflection upon the qualities of action, - its "knowledgability" and its temporal and "networked" character.

3.5 Theorising practice: context, knowledge, power

3.5.1. The temporality and specificity of action: an inquiry into the production of context

Most analyses of practice begin by positing its most fundamental feature – that it is located in (it "inhabits") space and, even more significantly, time, and is therefore situational (specific). In other words, even if action is to be conceived, as Giddens (1984) suggests, as a continuous flow of interventions in the world, social life is hardly lived out and experienced all of a piece, but in discrete segments (contexts) which are variously distributed in time and space.

Time-Geography, especially as introduced by Hägerstrand and further elaborated upon by Pred (1977; 1984; 1985) and Carlstein (1981), has been one of the most popular sources of inspiration for perceiving the conditions of social engagements. According to Giddens (1984: 64), interactions between people who are co-present in time and space are crucial to any sense of continuity of social life (incidentally, this is what he means by "social integration"). This is what also informs his definition of "context": a 'band' or strip' of time-space within which social interaction takes place (1984: 71). In the terms of Time-Geography – on which Giddens himself explicitly relied - contexts are made possible by the coupling together (convergence) in time and space of the paths (trajectories) of two or more people and of particular tangible resources (Pred 1984). In other words, the constitution of contexts depends on what in the Time-Geographic jargon has been called "synchronisation and synchorisation" (Carlstein 1981), i.e. the co-ordination of movement in time and space (**Figure 3.1**).

Time-Geography provides thus an alternative means whereby to grasp the (momentary) "togetherness of things", the (precarious) coherence of social life (Gregory 1989: 194-195): the ways in which social engagements are always in a process of formation and deformation, how they come into being and fade away (cf. Featherstone 1995: 135). The idea of this intricate web of interactions has been also evocatively put by Parsons (1937; cited in Gregory [1989: 195]): his definition of the 'unit act' was as a " 'knot' where a large number of threads come together only to separate again, each one to enter as it goes on, into a variety of other knots into which only a few of those with which it was formerly combined enter with it".

These are all fairly imaginative renderings of context, and their value will be demonstrated below. Not only do they evoke the "evanescent" character of action, as well as the fact that it is "intrinsically defined by its *tempo*" or rhythm (Bourdieu 1977: 8; 1990: 81); the depiction of a synchronised convergence of persons and things serves more than to establish points of diagrammatic intersection. Rather, it conveys how all settings of social interaction expand well beyond immediate co-presence. This is not only because each participant in a situation brings to it a particular biography and personality, but because it focuses on practices which both attract attention to past actions and anticipate future ones (Giddens 1987: 132). This brings us thus to an even more fundamental dimension of the temporality of social action, that it is informed by the past and orientated towards the future (as a capacity to imagine and anticipate alternative possibilities – cf. Barrett 2001). This was one of the most crucial points emerging from Husserl's phenomenology, and it has been variously exploited by subsequent generations of researchers both in anthropology and archaeology. As Gell (1992a: 268) elaborates, every action is a unique configuration of residues of the past in the present ('retentions') and emergent elements of the future in the present ('protentions'). Thus an action is not simply a happening, but a happening infused with more time and space than itself (Munn 1990: 13).

Such emphasis allows us thus first of all more clearly to appreciate the *referential* nature or capacity of action, the ability to evoke (rely on, and anticipate) conditions which are absent. In this sense, contexts of action can be conceived as specific interpenetrations of past, present and future, of presence and absence (Urry 2000:

134): each context is a *particular* nexus between, on the one hand propinquity characterised by co-present interaction, and on the other hand, flowing webs and networks stretched across various (temporal and spatial) distances.

Written into the foregoing statements, then, is a dual emphasis on the one hand on the "situatedness" or "specificity" of action (which entails that what is important to it cannot be grasped but only with reference to specific circumstances), and on the other on its networked character (which entails that the intelligibility of action relies on things that happen elsewhere in time and space, and thus an inter-relation between all that happens or takes place).

We can perhaps grasp this dual emphasis by a particular definition of contextualisation or "framing" as the establishment of what may be called "a horizon or framework of intelligibility" (Thomas 1999). This posits that, if actions logically stretch "outward" infinitely (and the simplest of activities can be demonstrated as dependent upon a variety of other actions), then the definition of a context both involves a degree of closure (in varying degrees of explicitness), and establishes a *particular* set of other situations as those most directly *relevant* to the understanding of a specific action (on the issue of relevance see Habermas [1987: 122-123, 127]; also Baxter [1987: 46]: "A situation represents a segment of the lifeworld delimited in relation to a theme. A theme … circumscribes a domain of relevance of thematised elements of the situation, and is accentuated by the plans that participants draw up on the basis of their interpretation of the situation").

Contextualisation in other words, does not simply amount to the imposition of closure, the delimitation of the network of relations which extend outward from an action and in the light of which it becomes meaningful (Yates 1990: 154; see also Thomas 1999: 95); it most crucially involves the *manipulation of the referential capacity of action* to establish particular referents, to channel its pre-conditions and (anticipated) consequences along particular tracts of time and space. As such, it refers to both the process producing the connections between actions and the product of these particular connective operations. In short, therefore, the major defining characteristic of a "horizon of intelligibility" is that it "articulates" (i.e. establishes a particular relation between) actions. More specifically, this relation is perceived as

one of effect/precondition: by virtue of this ordering, certain activities are presented as the logical consequence and precondition of particular others (cf. "*chaîne opératoire*").

This understanding of contextualisation can indicate a potential line along which differentiation between forms of practice is effected. In the most general terms, if actions are not evenly distributed in time and space, neither do they appear as of the same "weight" or importance. It is thus argued that such gradations of action are facilitated by, and involve, the manipulation of its referential nature. We could in other words relate this relative potency both to the degree to which action is able to extend (expand) spatially and temporally its referents (its conditions and consequences) and also to the relative emphasis with which these particular linkages are established.

Bell (1992; 1997) coined the term "ritualisation" to describe the strategic manipulation of action to privilege particular situations or contexts. In this formulation, ritualisation involves the very drawing, in and through activity itself, of a privileged distinction between ways of acting. At a more complex level, it is a way of acting that specifically establishes a privileged contrast, differentiating itself as more important or powerful, and in any case dominant in status (1992: 90). This "elevation" of particular situations is achieved by a (historically-specific) orchestration of action, and Bell gives a list of alternative strategies (1992: 204-205; also 1997), whereby this has been commonly effected. These include a distinctive periodicity, the use of a delineated space, potential restriction or control of access, or even the definition of distinct and specialised personnel. They may also involve a material equipment (including dress and adornment of the body) able to heighten the formality of movement and posture, or specific preparations that demand or achieve particular physical or mental states. Choice among these strategies would depend in part on which ones could most effectively render a situation symbolically dominant to its conventional counterparts (Bell 1992: 90). Perhaps more relevant to this discussion is the observation that what potentially unites most of the aforementioned strategies is an emphasis on regularity concerning the tempo and mode of interaction (what will be done, when and where, how, by whom, including or excluding whom).

We can consider some interrelated implications of this regularity or formality. First of all, formality, as suggested by Bloch (1974), is very effective in promoting a loose social acquiescence to what is going on and also serves to impose constraints on potential alternative interpretations (see also Giddens's [1984: 87-89] "frames"). Secondly, the degree to which particular activities are regulated or formalised is the degree to which appeal is made to traditional precedents, and hence the degree to which it is suggested that *the values and forces shaping the occasion lie beyond the immediate control or inventiveness of those involved* (Bell 1997: 169). That is to say, formality stabilises (fixes) in an authoritative manner the referents of action. The point is repeated in Lukes' (1975) stress on "rule-governed activity ... which *draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling that they hold to be of special significance*" (cited in Connerton 1989: 44; emphasis added).

3.5.2 Forms of Practice and Forms of Knowledge

The above considerations may thus allow us to view this differentiation of practice in terms and in the light of a fundamental distinction between two major forms of knowledge (see Thrift 1985; Bloch 1985; Barrett 1991, 1994a for discussion). These are the stocks of knowledge drawn upon by actors in the production and reproduction of interaction (Giddens 1981: 27).

Practical knowledge as defined by Thrift (1985: 373) is that informal type of knowledge that is learned from the experience of watching and doing in specific contexts of co-presence. In Giddens's terms (1984: 4), practical knowledge is the practical competence of knowing how to proceed in daily actions, of how to "go on". Practical knowledge is the knowledge of the social rules (defined as "generalisable procedures") which allow actors to operate effectively and meaningfully. So defined, practical knowledge is part of a *continuous* and *repetitive* flow of conduct which is oriented toward doing. Importantly, this is knowledge formulated in, and referring to, *finite* time, long-term goals being submerged by immediate objectives (Thrift 1985).

Bourdieu (1977: 87) had a particular term for this kind of skill: he called it *habitus* - implying a mastery that people carry in their bodies and that is refractory to

formulation in terms of any system of mental rules and representations (Ingold 2000: 162). Such knowledge, in other words, remains largely unarticulated - so deeply grounded in habit that it comes to inhabit the realm of the undiscussed (it consists of "what goes without saying" - see Connerton 1989: 18). Practical knowledge, one might add, is characteristically *unacknowledged*: in Thrift's terms (1985: 373), "to ask about practical knowledge is to miss the point of practical knowledge". More importantly, practical knowledge allows people to take the world, in all of its arbitrariness, for granted, to experience it as "nothing other than 'the ways things are'" excluding from this experience any need for a constant inquiry into its conditions (Bourdieu 1990: 20; Jenkins 1992: 70).

Discursive knowledge, on the other hand, is knowledge called upon to provide understandings of the world - of the conditions of human existence. In a sense, discursive knowledge is "knowledge about knowledge" (Thrift 1985: 377). Evidently, discursive knowledge has an objectifying character: it *constitutes* human existence and social relations as objects for reflection (and the term "constitution" is meant to convey the inherent selectivity and abstraction of the process) and provides (inherently biased and partial) definitions. This does not mean that it "distorts" reality: rather it creates reality by attempting to spell it out and represent it.

Discursive knowledge is knowledge which necessarily refers to and evokes larger tracts of time and space (and which thus gives priority to origins and longer term goals - see Bradley 1991). It is such knowledge that becomes articulated as (coherent / singular) statements or propositions about collective life and the world – and which is arguably "revealed" (produced and worked upon) in dominant situations.

The logical question concerns the relationship between these forms of knowledge – and, by extension between the forms of practice to which they apply. To this we will return further below. For the moment, we could bring to attention the implications of these propositions. We may justifiably imagine these models as specifying in what ways people are similar and connected to each other, what they have in common, and what particular rights and obligations follow from this. In this sense, models of the social can be approached and perceived as defining sources and sites of identification

for individuals, as providing the means by which people can fix themselves within particular communities or groups.

These propositions are thus integral to the organisation of social relations (which logically expand in all directions) along *particular* lines - to the definition of particular social networks or types of social relations as "associations that matter": as those frameworks outside of which social existence is made to appear inconceivable (see Battaglia 1990: 77), and which are thus to receive logical priority, because they define both *the origin* and *the direction* of human life.

It is thus in the very nature of these models or definitions to evoke coherence and stability as fundamental properties of social life, for it is precisely such properties which make life imaginable in that they afford the fundamental certainty that the world will continue to "work" as it does. Giddens was quick to stress the importance of collective identifications for the sustaining of what he called "ontological security" (1944: 65). Ontological security, the security of being, is a concept about people having confidence (*trust*) in the constancy of their social and material environments, in the social order, in their place in the world (1990: 92). By establishing collective identities and by endowing life with the power (and security) of a timeless order, models of the social afford individuals a sense of the reliability of persons and things (Giddens 1991: 92), some *expectations of the behaviour of others*, thus grounding a sense of dwelling (in the Heideggerian sense of care and comfort, of "staying with things" - Urry 2000: 131) and of belonging (Jenkins 1996: 118).

Such models have an explicit moral content which serves to give them a binding character. They define formulae, "generalisable procedures", or "conventions" which agents follow in order to "go on" (Giddens 1989: 255; see also Thompson 1989: 63).

If thus discursive knowledge is not, in its explicitness, a usual characteristic of every day life, it is none the less maintained as the pre-understandings which guide daily life, and which make possible practical competence. In other words, the propositions which discursive knowledge involves are carried forward as techniques or practical orientations, thus constituting the (usually unacknowledged) conditions of action. The immediate implication is that such models will always tend to be ambiguous, unclear, dependent upon interpretation, and subject either to reproduction or

transformation depending on the outcome of struggles to keep them the same or to change them this way or that (cf. Clegg 1989: 209 – 210). Such models can be something as large and diffuse as the "American way", a conglomerate of ideas and feelings including (theoretically) freedom, democracy, hard work, progress, etc. (see Ortner 1973: 1340) often called to bind a heterogeneous nation together. Cohen's (1985: 21; also Jenkins 1996: 105) account of the "symbolic construction of community" as an "umbrella of similarity under which all can shelter" certainly brought forward this flexibility.

Thus, if such knowledge refers to the regimes of truth that both limit and support daily action, sustaining the routines which make life imaginable, we can begin to understand its continuing dialogue with practical knowledge. It makes sense then to argue that social reproduction concerns precisely the interplay between these forms of practice and the different understandings and visualisations of the world that they prompt. The very potency of discursive knowledge lies in and depends on demonstrating its wider relevance in day-to-day experience, in the light of which it itself "makes sense".

The degree to which (and the manner in which) readings of the social order promoted in some contexts become *authoritative* and penetrate other (particular) areas of every day life (see Barrett 1988 *contra* Thomas 1996) becomes dependent upon the degree to which these are effectively promoted as dominant.

3.5.3 Empowering Contexts

The above bring to the forefront a further important issue. For, if effectively promoted discursive knowledge has the power to *direct the activity of others*, to guide, as Foucault (1979) would put it "the possibility of conduct", then its centrality to understanding relations of power becomes evident. This is a view of power as "the ability to set the terms of the discussion" (see Lukes 1974), i.e. to establish a framework within which social negotiation occurs, a view which places the techniques by which human conduct is moulded, and the range of social actions limited, at the heart of the inquiry. The Foucaultian insight that disciplinary power, if

it is to be effective, is a constitutive rather than a repressive form (it "makes up" people) similarly relies on an understanding of a relationship of power as a mode of action that does not intend to act directly on persons or things but indirectly on actions. More accurately: the exercise of power is "always a way of acting upon subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action" (see Bell 1992: 199; Wolf [1990] calls this "tactical" or "organizational" power).

In this sense, emphasis upon the enabling aspects of power is not to suggest that power relations never involve mutually exclusive objectives or never lead to an inequality of outcomes (Allen 1997); rather, emphasis upon the transformative capacity of human action allows an enhanced understanding of how domination, "power over", which involves actors compelling others to comply with their wants, is achieved.

3.6 Conclusions

While recourse to the predictions of social evolution (with its concomitant emphasis on social complexity) has been the only way of capturing what a particular social order is, and how it might change, this chapter has attempted to put forward a different approach.

This acknowledges the reality of *particular* human relations (associations) without taking them for granted, and attempts to restore their ongoing production (in Westwood's [2002: 128] terms, their constant reinvention) to the heart of the social analysis.

In this approach, reification and essentialism (which were seen to bedevil previous approaches) emerge as necessary and inevitable aspects of social (collective) life (by means of which the world can be represented and grasped as common and shared - Thomason 1982; cf. also Herzfeld 1996). At the very least, if social life is to be "meaningful" to its participants, perhaps it must be accepted that these meanings will unavoidably take on a kind of thing-like, unconstructed, merely "discovered" reality. As I have attempted to demonstrate, recognizing this does not contradict the

contingency of social life, crystallising "social phenomena whose real significance lies not in their solidity but in their fluidity and malleability" (Wallerstein 1991: 71), but rather works from it.

Most importantly, such reifications are perceived as a discourse of power, drawing upon one of the most fundamental human needs: to belong to something which promises predictability (order). This is not a top-down imposition of "ideology" or "false consciousness" (see Callinicos 1988: 139), but an ongoing project and dialogue (discourse), which may involve, in particular situations, the contestation and redefinition of particular models of social life, the reassertion of the significance of others, and sometimes the creation of entirely new ones.

Concluding, it is worth outlining the benefits of this approach over previous analyses:

- It abandons the analysis of social organisation as an outcome or "finished product" (cf. Wolf 1990: 591). By contrast, it shifts focus to contexts of interaction (as where things are "made to happen").
- It maintains focus on the question of social power but approaches it as integral to the performance of social relationships
- It provides sounder lines for the study of social change: historical transformation can be understood in terms of shifts in the ways relationships between people were defined and objectified.

The ways these theoretical principles can inform a more concrete methodology are explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

PLACE, BUILDING, DWELLING:

INTRODUCING AN ANALYSIS OF THE EH II "BUILT ENVIRONMENT"

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the analytical focus and methodology of the thesis. This first of all involves demonstrating the relevance of the analysis of the "built environment" to the theoretical framework of the thesis, as this was discussed in Chapter 3. The pertinence of this analytical focus to the specific historical context (the EH II) is also underlined, together with the ways in which this material record can be re-examined according to the new concerns and methodological principles.

4.2 A "place" for architecture - The notion of "Place" and architecture

4.2.1 Domains, paths, foci: the creation of "place" and the spatial and temporal production of interaction

Much of what has been exposed in the previous chapter originated in an explicit emphasis on the temporal and spatial character of social existence and social interaction. The contribution of Time-Geography to this issue was already mentioned there, and, may provide both a connection to what has been previously discussed and a useful point of departure for the analysis. On the one hand, the depiction of social

life as involving synchronised encounters representing the intersection of individual paths was, as will be remembered, integral to the Time-Geographical definition of contexts. On the other hand, and more pertinently still for the concerns of this chapter, this "choreographic" (Pred 1977) point of view introduced a fundamental concept, that of "station" or "domain", to describe the "stopping places" in which the physical mobility of agents' trajectories is arrested or curtailed for *the duration* of encounters or situations (Giddens 1985: 272).

Commonly depicted as pillars in time-space (Carlstein 1981: 44; fig. 2:7; see also **Figure 3.1**), "stations" describe both the spatial and temporal dimensions of interaction. They represent the *principle of return in space*, which is analogous and complementary to the *principle of reunion*: that is to say, they represent (or, more accurately still, emerge from) recurrent meetings (Carlstein 1981: 71). In spatial terms, then, stations are places of meeting and departure and as such they may be part of particular - wider or narrower - cycles of movement (see also Barrett 1994b: 93). This posits not only that particular points in space emerge through particular patterns of movement (Crang 1996), but also that these points ultimately represent the consumption of time in the company of (specific) others.

Many of these insights are reproduced in, and complemented by, Giddens's alternative emphasis on the concept of *locale* (1984: 118; 1985). As defined by Giddens, locales refer to *the use of space (and time) to provide the settings of interaction*. In the course of their day-to-day lives people move more or less routinely from one locale to another, tracing out paths in time and space, and *drawing upon elements of these different settings in the conduct of their affairs* (Gregory 1994). Locales, thus, Giddens pointed out, are typically regionalised; that is, they are organised in time-space and in relation to routinised social practices. But they are also actively implicated in the production of interaction (Giddens 1984: 119).

This latter point will be made clearer as we proceed. For now another implication of the above should take priority. The Time-Geographical model not only affords an entry into the production of a "multi-centered" landscape, the constitution of which involves the mixing of absence and presence in volatile ways (Gregory 1994: 99); it

also allows for both qualitative and quantitative discrepancies among stations or locales (cf. also Carman 1999). As much is suggested by the visualisation of different aspects of this environment coming to the foreground (and acquiring existence) at different times in the life-paths of groups and individuals, for different reasons and thus with different frequency and in different degrees. Based on the foregoing discussion, we could assert that the significance of each locale depends upon the particular patterns of movement through which it is constituted (and to which it by definition refers) and upon the time spent there (both of which are related to the kinds of actions by means of which it is "known").

This structure allows thus particular "focal points" to emerge as the places *where actions of primary importance take place* (Norberg-Schulz 1985: 20; see also Eliade 1959: 20). Experiential geographies have always established human life as inevitably related to centres. What the Time-Geographical model allows us more clearly to envisage is what precisely differentiates these focal places: not simply that they emerge by being "time-thickened" (Crang 1998: 103), but that by doing so they bind particular people together round them: they produce and sustain particular communities.

4.2.2 Building as dwelling

The relevance of an inquiry into architecture should be evident by now. At the most general (and abstract) level, a concern with architecture is an inevitable corollary of the emphasis on the spatial and temporal production of interaction. Architecture can be approached as a technology of regionalisation, that is, as facilitating the temporal and spatial delimitation and serialisation of action, by providing, in varying degrees of explicitness, what Giddens called "bracketing mechanisms" (1984: 137). But by doing so, it also helps to establish a particular regularity and tempo in the interaction.

Partly defining the physical properties of some of these locales or stations, architecture lays the material conditions of interaction, but it does so not as a passive backdrop but as a resource relied upon to guide actions and to make interaction meaningful. Walls, furniture, fixed or semi-fixed elements, define an interior and an

exterior, channel the direction of movement and focus the attention of the eye (Barrett 1994a: 14); they "command the body by prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered" (Lefèbvre 1991: 143); they serve as cues securing a particular kind of conduct (Rapoport 1982: 187; 1990; 1994), and operate as a technology of both inclusion and exclusion (Urry 1991).

All this has obvious implications for the ways in which a particular architecture creates and comes to stand for a particular "place" – ultimately for the time spent, the kinds of activities taking place there, and the relations sustained by these actions (Urry 1991: 173). Particular buildings help to construct what people feel and think about places and about the relations that these places embody (Tuan 1977; Urry 1991; Fortier 1999: 47; see also Thomas 1990). The idea of the "house" as "home", redolent with sentiments of comfort, trust, familiarity and affection, is the most obvious example (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 3).

This probably clarifies the inseparability of building from dwelling (from belonging, staying with, and caring for things) that Heidegger (1971: 145-61) so much insisted on - that humans do not build (for example houses) *in order to* dwell (in them) but *because* they dwell. Rather than a simple subtlety of expression, this highlights building as an inventive and always contingent and bounded understanding of particular orders of spatial practice (Barrett 1994a: 24); it also forces us to begin to consider the ways in which architecture – fixing, enhancing, transforming a place - can bring forward different (albeit not equally valid) possibilities of dwelling - in essence different possibilities of being, of belonging.

These general considerations of the role of architecture can thus be taken in a more specific direction, based on my particular theoretical concerns. Architecture creates the world - by creating and sustaining foci (centres of gravity) where particular associations become more forcefully promoted. If a place acquires weight as it becomes thickened with "substantial" (in qualitative terms) time, then architecture can provide a record of - and tangible testimony to - these encounters (Ingold 1993: 152).

The purpose is not simply to provide a description of the spatial dimension of action which may then be held as relatively constant background or container, but to understand how the very production of this ordering created and expressed ways of conceiving, articulating and structuring the human world which were biased towards, promoted by, and exerted influence upon particular sets of social relations (Urry 1991: 173). This is a concern with the built environment as the creation and negotiation of a sense of "place" (embodying knowledge and the experience of important moments spent among significant others), and the creation of people as subjects who could discover themselves through their relationships to others by being variously positioned in relation to these places.

4.3 Introducing the EH II architectural record

Even a cursory survey of the evidence from the EBA mainland makes the relevance of such an inquiry to EH II immediately evident. This is not simply because architecture has been largely drawn upon in previous attempts to characterise EH II social organization (e.g. Pullen 1985 – see Chapter 2), but because the architectural remains associated with the period are both exceptionally varied and rich and also highly specific in scope: *architectural investment* seems to have concerned, as Rutter (1993a: 761) would put it, the world of the living rather than the dead. Indeed, it was evident already from the first explorations that the southern part of the mainland lacked any elaborate constructions associated with funerary activity such as had been discovered elsewhere in the Aegean (see Cavanagh and Mee 1998). Not only were no structures remotely comparable to the prominent Minoan tholoi found. The few built or cist tombs seem at present confined to some sites north of the Isthmus, especially Attica (Tsepi – Pantelidou-Gofa 2004; Aghios Kosmas – Mylonas 1959). On the other hand, in the Peloponnese the (in any case) sparse funerary facilities are rather inconspicuous, mainly consist of simple pits (e.g. Zygouries – Blegen 1928; Pullen 1994b: 120-121) or even wells (Waage 1949).

By contrast, most excavations in the same areas readily produced remains of what appear to have been settlement architecture. The historical specificity of these architectural remains was never correctly assessed. For example, a common way of

framing the observed variability has been in terms of a fundamental distinction between "domestic" and "monumental" architecture: that is to say, on the one hand there are the numerous remains of what appeared to have been the typical settlements of the period (Konsola 1984b; Pullen 1985). On the other, the group of substantially larger and more complex ("monumental") structures of the type first identified at Lerna and most widely known as the "Corridor-House".

Each part of this dichotomy is assumed to represent (and to be able to inform us on) a particular type and scale of social integration. In this sense, grasping the significance and structure of "domestic" architecture has been synonymous with defining the domestic unit. Along the same lines, inquiry into "monumental" buildings has ultimately aspired to establishing the "level" at which they operated (e.g. Rutter 1993a; Pullen 2003).

Although the analysis undertaken in this thesis works from these conventional categories, the underlying premises have been radically revised to promise fairly different insights. That is, contrary to previous approaches which took the form of the built environment as a direct expression of social organization (Lawrence and Low 1990: 460), and have as a result granted interpretive priority to typologising and objectively defining "function", this analysis seeks to understand the production and reproduction of the built environment as related to the strategic production and reproduction of "contexts of practice". As will be made plain in the course of the thesis, this is hardly limited to simply identifying the general type of activities performed. Such inquiry can only give rise to unresolved and hardly productive dilemmas (such as the aforementioned "private-public" distinction in monumental architecture). It is the style of execution of such activities that becomes particularly significant. If now, as argued in Chapter 3, such a process has ultimately to do with an emphasis on *particular* associations between people, then the analysis undertaken in the following chapters will hopefully begin to bring to the forefront the ways in which various interventions in the built environment helped to fix particular "places" as "foci", i.e. as places embodying the reunion (and safeguarding) of particular communities.

If only because this has been thought in the past to provide not only a generally unquestionable background against which monumental architecture was defined but also important clues as to the origins and function of monumental buildings, analysis begins with the "domestic" record.

CHAPTER 5

(RE)THINKING THE EH II DOMESTIC RECORD

5.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes a general inquiry into the nature of the EH II domestic record. The purpose is not to provide a full account of the excavated remains but to draw attention to some general qualities of domestic architecture that have gone largely unnoticed, but which may significantly alter our perceptions of EH II architecture in general.

Previous approaches to "domestic" architecture (as the designation itself indicates) emphasized the delineation of the "typical" domestic architectural unit (implicitly but universally thought as equivalent to the social one) as integral to any attempt at grasping the organising principles of domestic space. Despite its far-reaching implications, the plausibility of this exercise was never challenged. Instead, it has provided an unquestioned framework within which subsequent debate was to take place.

The basis of this seemingly innocuous approach was laid already from the first explorations. It is therefore pertinent to follow these views as they developed over the 20th century, and especially since Blegen's early excavations at the Peloponnesian site of Zygouries (1928). Proposing an alternative emphasis upon the particular characteristics of the EH II architectural record, the analysis then proceeds

by assessing the significance of a most prominent feature of domestic architecture, the room with a central hearth.

5.2 Establishing EH II domestic architecture

The attempt to establish a typology of domestic dwellings harks back to Blegen's pioneering explorations. Of course, EBA architectural remains had been as a rule fairly fragmentary and the ambiguities surrounding the definition of the EBA phases (see Chapter 2) had made it further difficult to establish the major "types" for each of these phases.

The early research conducted by Blegen at a number of sites in the Argolid and Corinthia, such as Korakou and Gonia (Blegen 1921; 1930-31), for all the invaluable stratigraphic information, had furnished only sparse evidence in this direction. Particularly rewarding, however, were the excavations on the low hill of Zygouries (Blegen 1928), and their impact on subsequent research has been considerable **(Figure 5.1)**.

While elsewhere on the hill the remains were both rather fragmentary and varied (they also included some isolated, possibly earlier, bothroi), in the blocks of rooms preserved in the central trench, on the summit of the hill, Blegen identified what may have been the "typical" EH II domestic architecture **(Figure 5.2)**. His reading of the complex plan indicated rather small (two- or three-room) dwellings set close together and separated by narrow streets and alleys (Blegen 1928: 4-5). What appeared to be the distinctive characteristic of the architecture was the cumulative plan, obviously the emergent product of additions of smaller single rooms or larger units. This presented evident difficulties in establishing the boundaries of the individual dwellings which were thought to make up the settlement. Nevertheless, Blegen had managed to distinguish in the central trench six such houses, apparently organized into two major blocks.

Most of the available information concerns the northern block, dominated by what Blegen christened the "House of the Pithoi", an irregular complex comprising the

aforementioned Room 4 (which gave the name to the complex) and another two rooms (3 and 5). According to Blegen, the "typical" house unit was illustrated in the more canonical units revealed to the west and south of the House of the Pithoi, that is, in Houses A and D, and potentially also in the so-called House of the Snailshells (Rooms 19 and 20). The independence of these units was supposedly most evident in the case of Houses A and D. The two units were not only accessible exclusively from the exterior, but had also clearly been later additions: the southern end of the east wall of room 5 (supposedly part of the House of the Pithoi) seems to have been demolished or at least modified when House A was built. House D, on the other hand, shares no walls with the adjoining rooms 19 and 4. The southern block was significantly less well preserved. Nonetheless, Blegen (1928: 16-20) was able to reconstruct it as consisting of two similar (three-room?) rectangular units, "House S" and "House W".

This "typical" layout as established at Zygouries was rather difficult to verify elsewhere on the hill, but this has been largely attributed to the much more fragmentary state of the remains. On the gradual northern slope, architectural remains included a building (House L) which appeared to have been of a rather different (L-shaped) plan, consisting of three rooms facing what may have been a small court (Blegen 1928: 21-24). Excavations on the southwest slope of the mound brought to light, two apparently free-standing buildings: House Y, of which only two rooms were preserved, and House U, consisting of one room (2) facing what seems to have been an enclosed court (Room 3) (Blegen 1928: 25-7).

The limited extent of excavations, and the fragmentary state of architectural remains at other sites in Corinthia (for example Korakou and Gonia), where Blegen had particularly focused his research, did not allow him to test further his model of EH II "domestic" architecture. However, the discovery at the Boeotian site of Eutresis and at Tsoungiza in Nemea of rectangular structures seemed to corroborate Blegen's model. At the former site, Goldman's (1931) excavations had brought to light a series of free-standing buildings, at least two of which (the earlier House I, and House L) could be assigned to the earlier phases of the period (**Figure 5.3**). Most famous (and more securely associated with typical EH II pottery) was House L, a long-lived structure which, according to the excavator's reconstruction, although

initially two-roomed, eventually reached considerable dimensions (78 sq. m). Perhaps comparable were the two superposed buildings (Houses A and B) revealed by Harland's early excavations at Tsoungiza, Nemea (Pullen 1990) (**Figure 5.4**).

Of course, subsequent excavations proved such clear plans to be the exception rather than the rule. For example, excavations in the coastal region of Attica (especially at Askitario, Raphina and Aghios Kosmas - Theocharis 1951; 1952; 1953; 1954; 1955; Mylonas 1959) revealed an evidently agglutinative layout strongly reminiscent of the situation in the main trench of Zygouries (**Figures 5.5-5.7**). Such appeared to be the case also in the Peloponnese: wherever fuller plans were obtained, these were equally, if not more, complex (for example at the Lower Citadel of Tiryns– esp. Kilian 1982; **Figure 5. 8**).

Nevertheless, the idea of a "domestic" architectural unit comprising a simple rectangular two- or three-room structure (see Overbeck 1963: 145; Sinos 1971; Pullen 1985: 254-5) had already gained considerable weight. In fact, these units were employed to make sense of the complex architectural remains revealed in the aforementioned sites of Attica and Boeotia. Although this endeavour was not in any case accompanied by a study of the distribution of various features or portable artifacts (cf. Whitelaw 1983), the resolution of these complex plans into clearly defined units was regarded as straightforward enough to allow (and be implicitly promoted by) the independent illustration of the latter (see for example Shaw 1987: fig 13; also Werner 1993: figs. 23, 24) (**Figure 5.9**) .

For example, Theocharis's (1951; 1952; 1953; 1954; 1955) excavations at Raphina and Askitario, on the east coast of Attica, repeatedly described the excavated parts of the sites as consisting of small individual units ("houses"). At the former site, in addition to the more clearly defined House A, and the adjoining House B, Theocharis attempted to identify distinct units in the series of rooms forming a "fortification system" on the west of the excavated area (see **Figure 5.6**). The mass of rooms revealed at Askitario was similarly believed to resolve into a series of houses, although the excavator admitted that the various walls were not all contemporary and that as many as three building phases could be distinguished (see **Figure 5.5**). The architectural analysis of the EH II settlement at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959)

highlighted, aside from some peculiar spaces (J) "typical" rectangular houses composed of at least two rooms and a front court. At least in the best preserved (southeastern) part of the settlement, these houses were said to be grouped together to form solid blocks separated by narrow winding streets (see **Figure 5.7**). Finally, as many as twenty individual houses have been identified in the excavated part of the settlement at Lithares (Tzavella-Evjen 1985) organized alongside a "central" road **(Figure 5.10)**.

5.3 (Re)considering EH II domestic architecture

It is only fairly recently that understandings of EH II domestic architecture were thought in need of a re-evaluation. This concerned questioning not the basic principles and purposes of analysis, but, rather more simply, this well-established idea of the rectangular two- or three-room unit as the "typical" layout for EH II individual houses (Harrison 1995). Harrison's survey of published evidence demonstrated the ambiguous relation of these supposedly clearly defined units to larger architectural complexes that seem to be the norm across the EH II mainland. Reservations about the integrity of such supposedly "typical" domestic units were, according to Harrison, sustainable even in the case of Zygouries, where they had been most clearly established. In fact, the three "houses" identified by Blegen around the House of the Pithoi are far too small to have fulfilled the space requirements of independent domestic units and must therefore have been part of larger entities (Harrison 1995: 38).

But uncertainty could be shown to surround the reconstruction proposed for the architectural remains at other sites as well. The case of Askitario, one of the sites producing "typical" EH II houses (A and E) is characteristic. Harrison (1995: 30) observed first of all the unusual features of the northern (1) room of House A (a paved room and thus probably open rather than the "inner" chamber that the excavator implied by the description of the structure as "megaron"). He also called attention to the evident relation of House A to Room 2, which, although assigned by Theocharis to House B, has no access to the remainder of that house, but instead opens to Room 12, considered to be part of House A.

For Harrison the logical response to these problems was the promotion of an alternative "typical" layout, this time consisting of complexes of rooms arranged around a larger central chamber or court. Zygouries provided again the clearest example: this unit was supposedly amply illustrated in the northern, and potentially also in the southern blocks, of the central trench. It might even be represented in the peculiar L-shaped plan of House L revealed on the northern slope of the hill at the same site. However, the attempt to identify this "alternative architectural tradition" (1995: 29) elsewhere proved, perhaps not surprisingly, fraught with equal difficulties. This included not only the necessity to exclude from discussion examples of free-standing structures which happened to exhibit the "typical" three-room layout, but also the frequent failure of the other remains to resolve into these neat "compounds".

The inability to further test this model was, as is often the case, attributed not simply to the incompleteness of excavations, but to the very nature of the architectural record. For, even where larger parts of settlements were exposed, architectural remains often appeared, as Harrison put it, as "little more than a confused mass of irregular rooms and spaces, possibly *distorted* by frequent rebuilding or remodelling, and in any case poorly preserved" (Harrison 1995: 23, emphasis added).

It is precisely this last comment that may create more problems than those it apparently helps to circumvent. For even a cursory survey of the evidence reveals that such ongoing additions and modifications were an integral feature of EH II building activity. This is most clear in the case of Zygouries, where Harrison saw the most unambiguous evidence for his alternative model. He himself acknowledged that the proposed complexes, such as the one around the "central" Room 4, were not executed all of a piece, but were rather the cumulative product of piecemeal, and possibly longer-term, building activity. Nevertheless, by proposing to classify the "final" result of this activity, this argument forces us to assume that this "result" was envisaged from the beginning as the ultimate goal of construction, thus determining the particular form of any subsequent additions or modifications – an assumption that the admitted "contingency" of such interventions itself negates.

If such building strategies - the ongoing addition of individual rooms or larger units and the constant remodeling and modification - largely account for the complexity and ambiguity of the architectural record, they also make the identification of the independent units that are supposedly characteristic of the period not simply inevitably arbitrary, but an ultimately misleading enterprise. In Harrison's terms, any attempt to identify in this situation a "typical" unit, repeated within and across sites, seems to rely greatly on the assumed possibility of somehow removing the "noise" and *distortions* caused by contingent (and therefore rather insignificant) modifications, to reveal the fundamental organisational principles of the built environment. That such principles did (pre-)exist and that they ultimately governed architectural forms is, in this type of argument, a hardly disputable premise (1995: 24). It can be argued, however, that, insofar as this assumption continues to hold sway, any attempt to understand the logic of EH II architecture might remain restricted to proposing alternative, but hardly more successful, typologies.

Instead, it is important to realise that this limited success may be due less to a "defect" in the available data and more to our own expectations of a particular kind of regularity. While it is obvious that we seldom have the quality of data that we regard as necessary for a more refined analysis, we may start by admitting the possibility that *the complexities, ambiguities and apparent contradictions of the architectural record are integral to (and help to constitute) its very logic* (cf. Foxhall 2000: esp. 492-3; also Halstead 1999: 80).

Highlighting, instead of suppressing, the particular "logic" of EH II domestic architecture, i.e. its contingent nature, may actually afford a fairly different approach to the architectural traditions of the period. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, it may first of all provide a point of entry to a more fruitful discussion of this evidently clearly defined tradition, referred to as monumental architecture. But it may also prove particularly instructive for perceiving the nature of "domestic" relationships themselves. More specifically, emphasis upon the contingency of domestic architecture may have important implications for the relative significance that particular parts of this architecture came to acquire. This may most profitably be illustrated with reference to a particular space, the room with the central hearth. The emphasis on this space was implicit in several attempts to

interpret EH II remains. As mentioned above, it underlined, but was never correctly assessed by, Harrison's alternative architectural model. In earlier approaches to the EH II domestic record, this room was frequently stressed as the "main living area", i.e. as concentrating the core domestic activities. As the analysis here undertaken will try to demonstrate, it may be precisely attention to the spatial and temporal organization of these activities which will allow us to grasp the nature of the particular collectivities there established.

5.4 Reconsidering the "Hearth Room": Models of "Domesticity"

Appreciating this significance of these rooms has been to a certain extent hampered by lack of explicit consideration. This analytical gap has not been acknowledged, most probably because of the assumed self-evident nature and significance of the activities that they are taken to represent. Even their aforementioned characterisation as "main living areas" of the domestic units (also shared by Theocharis 1952: 139; Harrison 1995: 27; also Renard 1995: 214) apparently seems common-sense or transparent enough not to warrant any explication or justification. That this need not be so, however, is indicated by the rather divergent readings of the same evidence. For example, the ordinariness of practices deliberately implied by their characterization as "domestic areas" is often negated by features that could not be (in the logic of the approach) comfortably accommodated in a typical "domestic" context. As we shall see, especially in the NE Peloponnese, the hearths themselves can take the form of large vessels bearing impressed or incised decoration (Lavezzi 1979; Caskey 1990), elaborate enough to sustain their (equally cursory) characterization as "ceremonial" (see Pullen 1985: 196; Caskey 1990). Alternatively, a coordinated analysis of the architectural, stratigraphic, and artefactual evidence from these rooms may bring forward some important implications of their distinctive features.

5.4.1 Distribution and architectural description

A survey of the evidence reveals that rooms with central hearths are of an apparently wide distribution across the Greek mainland: notable examples are encountered from Boeotia and the east coast of Attica to the west Peloponnese (**Figure 5.11**). Let us consider these examples in more detail.

Room III at Eutresis House L (see **Figure 5.3**) is an exceptionally large (6.40-7.70 m north-south x 5.10-5.30 m) room, constructed, as indicated by the wall construction at the southeast angle of III adjoining II, as an addition to a pre-existing (and only partly preserved) two-room structure (Goldman 1931: 15). It contained a circular terracotta hearth with decorated rim set into the floor, near its centre (**Figure 5.12**).

Some notable examples have been exposed on the Attic coast. At Askitario, a sizeable room (no. 18) (ca. 4.50 x 4.70 m. – Pullen 1985: 236) (see **Figure 5.5**) featured a large hearth of a shape (key-hole) peculiar to this part of the Mainland (albeit with some important parallels on the island of Keos [Aghia Irini – see Wilson 1999: 49-50]). A second example at the same site, this time with a circular hearth, may be a further room (no. 20, assigned to a different house unit, "House Z"), but is only cursorily mentioned by the excavator (Theocharis 1954: 105). A fairly large (3.70 x 5.00 m.) trapezoid room (2) entered from a narrow vestibule (1) has been excavated at Raphina (Theocharis 1952: 138-140) (see **Figure 5.6**).

The northeast part of the Peloponnese has provided some notable examples standing out for their unique formal arrangement. The best preserved EH II architectural remains on the south slope of the Mycenaean citadel at Berbati (Säflund 1965) consisted of a large (nearly 30 square m.), almost square, room ("megaron"), containing *in situ* a large (diam. 0.93 m.), centrally placed terracotta hearth (Säflund 1965: 99, fig. 82), very similar in both shape and decoration to that found in the western corridor of Building BG at Lerna (see Chapter 8) (**Figures 5.13-14**). An arrangement potentially similar to that documented for the Berbati room may be inferred from the summary description of architectural remains excavated at Aghios Gerasimos (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1971; no illustration available). Finally, an even larger square room (no. 4) dominates the northern of the two distinct blocks of rooms

revealed on the summit of the hill at Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 9-15) (see **Figure 5.2**). Pullen (1986b: 80) was the first to notice the similarities between a number of features of this room and the "main" halls of the corridor houses. Such similarities extend from the sheer dimensions of the room (approximately 5.60 m. x 5.55 m.), the care taken in making it a true rectangle, and the unusually wide (2.10 m.) entrance almost on axis, marked by a threshold and presumably closed by a double door (Blegen 1928: 10-11). Although a hearth itself was not preserved (it may have been removed from the room prior to its destruction by fire), the excavator observed that near the centre of the room a circular and slightly depressed area approximately 1.00 m wide was considerably harder than the surrounding floor and showed indications of having been baked by fire (Blegen 1928: 13). Moving on to the west, a rectangular, partly preserved room with a central built hearth (no. III) is reported from the site of Aghios Dimitrios in the region of Triphyllia (Zachos 1986; 1987) **(Figure 5.15)**.

This survey certainly makes such rooms appear far less "common" than perhaps anticipated or implied by the foregoing approaches (as also noted by Renard 1995: 213). Two clarifications are, however, necessary. First of all, the list provided above is not exhaustive of rooms with hearths. The key distinctive feature is the *central* positioning of a *fixed* hearth, since this implies a fairly different organization of space and activity, both from the more "casual" and circumstantial accumulations of ashes commonly found in the same position in other rooms (see for example the "Sanctuary of the Bulls" and Room 31 at Lithares [Tzavella-Evjen 1985: 21, 64-5], or the easternmost "apsidal" room of House R at Asine [Frödin and Persson 1938: 214]), and from hearths built against the wall of a room which are relatively common across the Mainland (for example the southernmost room of House I at Eutresis and Room II of House L at the same site [Goldman 1931: 13, fig. 8; 17, fig. 13], the inner room of House B at Tsoungiza [Pullen 1990]). Not only does the permanent construction imply *an emphasis on the repetition and fixity* of the activity (see Metaxa-Muhly 1984). The central positioning of this construction creates particular conditions within the room, establishing *a common point of reference* and a necessary *single focus* for all movement and all activity (as M. Visser [1990: 79] points out, the Latin word for hearth *is "focus"*). Thus elevated to a permanent feature and commanding focal point (the "centrepiece"), the hearth achieves the

explicit definition of a particular (and fixed) *identity* for the room and for everything that takes place within it.

Secondly, it is important not to take this relative rarity of these rooms at face value. It may well be true that several settlements (most notably Aghios Kosmas and Lithares) altogether lack any evidence for such spatial arrangement. We should, however, note the widespread occurrence of fragments of circular and thus evidently central ceramic hearths, even at sites where rooms featuring these hearths *in situ* were not excavated (for example at Tiryns – Weisshaar 1989). What seems a more secure conclusion is that *such rooms were not regularly repeated throughout a site*. This seems indeed to be the case where larger parts of the settlements were excavated (e.g. Zygouries, Askitario, and perhaps Raphina).

The implications of this conclusion may become more evident when acknowledging *the relative prominence* of these rooms *vis-à-vis* the other architectural remains. Such prominence may be first of all in terms of either dimensions and standards of construction (for example width of walls: e.g. Zygouries Room 4, or the Berbati Megaron), or exceptionality of other (fixed and semi-fixed) features (such as the rectangular bench-like structure exposed at Eutresis Room III - Goldman 1931: 18).

Further enhancing the exceptional visibility of these rooms is the particular care often taken clearly to demarcate access to them. This has involved the provision either of an enclosed court (such as that before Room 4 at Zygouries – Blegen 1928: 9) or, more commonly, of a shallow vestibule: in architectural terms, this provision has given rise to the (notably regular) "megaroid" form (and the impression of a clearly defined architectural unit). A further implication is the creation of an "area of transition", accentuating the acts of both entering and leaving (cf. Hodder 1998: 91; also Visser 1990: 109-11). The clearest example of this arrangement is evidenced, as indicated by its very name, at the Berbati "Megaron". Although Pullen (1985: 193) inferred from the published photographs that the west longitudinal wall of the large hall may have continued north, into the unexcavated baulk, the excavator (Säflund 1965: 97) had explicitly maintained that it was possible to establish with relative certainty the structural termination of this wall (and thus to accord it the form of an anta one metre in front of the north transverse wall of the megaron). A similar

arrangement has also been reported for Aghios Gerasimos (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1971: 69) and more securely identified at Askitario and Raphina (Theocharis 1955: 109; 1952: 140). The fact that this vestibule seems in some cases to have been a later addition (Aghios Gerasimos [Protonotariou-Deilaki 1971: 69]; Raphina [Theocharis 1952: 140]) certainly denotes this continuous investment in defining the mode of access. It is significant, for example, that at Raphina the addition of this vestibule may have coincided with the relocation of the entrance to the centre of the north wall of the room (and the blocking of the earlier off-axis one) (Theocharis 1952: 139). Further illustrative in this respect is the example of Askitario: according to the excavator's description (Theocharis 1955: 109-11), the paved area or court (no. 26), which he assigned to the same architectural unit as Rooms 18-28, was actually defined by walls (significantly flimsier than those of rooms 18-28) at a later date. One evident implication of this transformation of this court into a space structurally related to Room 18 and its vestibule is the increase in the sequence of movement: Room 18, in other words, becomes a further deep space. This importance granted to the mode of access is also indicated by the occasional further elaboration of the entrance: we should mention here the example of Room 4 at Zygouries, featuring a wide doorway, almost on axis, and presumably closed by a double door (Blegen 1928: 10-11), and the well-made thresholds attested in other cases (e.g. at Eutresis and Raphina – Goldman 1931: 18; Theocharis 1952: 139).

Last but certainly not least, the relative prominence of these rooms is reinforced and partly accounted for by reproduction patterns (cf. Bailey 1990): although stratigraphic information is far from ample, enough evidence is occasionally preserved to indicate an emphasis on continuous occupation (cf. Hodder 1998). Such emphasis may be expressed by the frequent renewal of floors (for example, three superimposed floors were found within Eutresis Room III - Caskey and Caskey 1960: 152), or even by the preferential curation of the rooms *vis-à-vis* other parts of the settlement wherein they occur. The result is that they often emerge as enduring features of the built environment, also serving as a "point of departure" for subsequent building activity. For example, the chronological priority of the megaron at Berbati seems relatively certain, a wall projecting at right angles from the E side of the "megaron" (Harrison 1995: 31) being apparently (on the basis of construction, width and position), a later addition (it does not continue the north transverse wall of

the "megaron" and is much flimsier than the walls of the latter). More revealing is the evidence from Room 18 at Askitario and Room 4 at Zygouries. The former was one of the few spaces within the excavated portion of the settlement to have been clearly rebuilt [Theocharis 1954; 1955: 111-2]): more specifically, excavation revealed that Room 18 represents the nearly exact repetition of an earlier square room featuring the same arrangement (a circular built hearth was found at its centre). An even earlier architectural phase, possibly dated to the EH I, is also represented, albeit by only a fragment of wall (Theocharis 1955: 112). The evidence from Zygouries is much similar. Pullen's (1985: 207-208; 1986b) inspection of the stratigraphic information available for this part of the site called attention to the fact that the walls of Room 4 extend at least a metre below the floor, indicating the exact reproduction of a pre-existing room. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter (Chapter 6), Pullen took this feature as evidence for the existence at the site of a building similar to those exposed at Lerna. For the purposes of the argument promoted here, the exact reproduction of a room is in itself significant. The way in which it becomes a point of reference for subsequent building activity is equally instructive, for what these later additions emphasise, in all their marginality, is the room as a place of permanence and stability, a "root" (cf. McKinnon 2000) or "centre", which creates and is reasserted by a "periphery".

While these rooms are made to appear as particularly important, often elevated into explicit "symbols of continuity" (cf. Tringham 2000: 131), they are also spaces which draw attention to, and define, a particular collectivity. As much is suggested not only by the inherently integrative function and "inviting" character of the hearth (cf. Visser 1990: 79-80), but also by the access patterns examined above, bespeaking a stress on membership, and an emphasis on controlling (or "managing") the spatial and temporal conditions of interaction. This explicit attempt to delineate and enclose a particular collectivity may be better appreciated once the activities documented in these rooms are considered.

5.4.2 Practising domesticity: the contents of the hearth rooms

Already from the characterization of these rooms as "main living areas" we have anticipated practices which include, aside from some minor craft production (textile and obsidian manufacture), an emphasis on the "routine" activities of food storage, preparation and consumption. Indeed, and although the contents of these rooms are as a rule only summarily reported, such emphasis seems to be the case in most of the examples cited above. It seems true even in the exceptional case of the (probably cleared) "megaron" at Berbati, preserving only scanty remains of pottery collected both from the floor of the room and from the pit or bothros dug near the hearth (Säflund 1965: 100). The latter produced a rather small quantity of sherds from saucers and sauceboats, the shaft of a dipper (ladle), and some undecorated fragments of a pithos (Säflund 1965: 100). The pottery collected from the floor of the room itself included a fragmentary bowl (Säflund 1965: fig. 113:13) and saucers of both Lerna Types 1 and 2 (Säflund 1965: fig. 84 a-b).

More plentiful is the evidence from the other examples. The most prominent surviving feature of Room 4 at Zygouries, giving the name to the entire complex to which Blegen assumed it belonged ("House of the Pithoi"), was the row of large decorated storage vessels set against the back wall (Blegen 1928: 11). A similar investment in storage may be indicated by a rare example of a pithos with the depiction of an animal (presumably a dog) found in the room at Askitario (Theocharis 1954: 111, fig. 8). The room at Raphina featured a large storage vessel set into the floor (Theocharis 1952: 138, fig. 7) and a peculiar clay construction with shallow depressions presumably for holding ceramic vessels, a saucer and a sauceboat found *in situ* (Theocharis 1952: 139).

Various implements for the processing of food (mainly millstones and grinders) were a recurrent find (e.g. at Raphina, Zygouries Room 4, Aghios Dimitrios), as were also a variety of ceramic vessels used for cooking (e.g. large pans). Often cited in this respect is the evidence from Room 4 at Zygouries, furnishing the well-known example of a large cooking pot containing a large beef bone (Blegen 1928: 12 - see Renard 1995: 178; 214).

Finally, vessels for the presentation and consumption of food (among which the always prominent sauceboat and saucer) reach as a rule impressive numbers and often include, as illustrated by the example of Askitario (Theocharis 1954: 109), the finest examples of tableware found at the site. The room at Raphina was said to contain, aside from a large quantity of sherds, more than 50 restorable ceramic vessels (Theocharis 1952: 139; 143, fig. 10), including at least five "Anatolian" tankards (Theocharis 1952: 143, fig 10; 145; fig. 12; Rutter 1979). "Dozens of vases" are reported from Aghios Dimitrios (Zachos 1986: 32). Similarly rich were the ceramic assemblages at Eutresis and Zygouries. At the former site, the quantity and quality of the ceramic inventory of Room III certainly exceed by far that from the rest of the building. Indeed, the exceptional architectural features of the room are reinforced by the occurrence of vessels such as the well-known (and hitherto unique) zoomorphic vase, similar to a "rhyton", but with an opening only at the rear (Goldman 1931: 19, Pl. VII), which has sustained a "ritual" interpretation of the room (Goldman 1931: 20; also Caskey 1990: 18). The assemblage was complemented by an apparently large number of individual vessels or saucers: some were found stacked on the floor, while others formed the basic contents of a shallow (depth 0.30 m.) pit which had been dug in the vicinity of the hearth (Goldman 1931: 19). Interestingly, animal bones, ashes, and large quantities of broken pottery are reported to form the contents of an unusually large (1.70 m. deep) bothros associated with the earliest floor of the room (Caskey and Caskey 1960: 152). The evidence from Zygouries Room 4 is much similar to that of Eutresis in terms both of the apparently considerable number of individual vessels, and of vessels singular for the site, such as an exceptionally well-preserved sauceboat with zoomorphic (ram-shaped) spout (Blegen 1928: 12; Pl. X:1, 2): albeit not unique as the Eutresis rhyton (sauceboats with a ram's head instead of a spout have been found, for example, at Tiryns, and potentially also at Lerna and Kouphovouno – Müller 1938: 14, Pl. V:1-5; Banks 1967; Renard 1989, pl. XLV:1, 2; see also Chapter 8.8), it is hitherto the sole example to have been found *in situ*.

In brief, therefore, the evidence from these rooms bespeaks an emphasis on the collective consumption of an explicitly (and conspicuously) stored (safeguarded) produce, prepared (i.e. transformed into edible substances) *in situ*, and presented, as mentioned above, with often exceptional care and evident formality. Rather,

however, than simply allowing this conclusion to confirm our expectations of the "typical" domestic activities (as if this would by itself provide an adequate or clear explanation), reflection on the particular characteristics of the structure of these activities and the mode of their performance may reveal these rooms as explicit statements of a particular type of social integration.

At the simplest level, the first observation supporting this proposition concerns the intimacy inherent in the very practice of food sharing. The idea of commensality as an index of kinship (Visser 1990; also Halstead 1995) has been a major insight shared by a variety of fairly different approaches to the study of food habits and customs. As Goody's (1982: 12-7) review demonstrates, the "solidary effects" of commensality was a favourite topic among early functionalists, commensalism seen as the great promoter of community. In various studies of kinship the sharing of food was seen not simply as an index of kinship but as a strategy employed in creating and sustaining "consubstantiality" (i.e. the sharing of substance) which is the essence of relatedness (Strathern 1973: 29; also Holy 1996: esp. 10-11; Carsten 1995b; 2000). The point has been confirmed, although from a significantly different point of view, by a number of theorists of consumption. Both Fischler (1988) and Falk (1994: 20), for example, stress the sense in which the eating of food serves to insulate members within a community (in Falk's terms, a sharing "eating community" - see also Hamilakis 1999; Parker Pearson 2003).

In virtually all the examples examined above, the collective consumption of food derives its particular weight and significance from its spatial association with both storage and preparation. Indeed, it can be argued that this spatial "clustering" (as opposed to their separation and dispersal – see Gosden 1994: 126; also Barrett 1989) of the activities related to the food cycle has distinctive implications both for the ways in which each of these particular activities may have come to be perceived, and for the character of the room as a whole.

To appreciate this we should consider the food cycle as a system of interrelated activities (interrelated at least in the sense that the products of one task constitute the resources [input] of another) that may be, however, *variously* distributed in space and time. The basis of this "processual" approach is hardly original. Some years ago,

Goody (1982) proposed the delineation and analysis of distinct "phases" in the provision and transformation of food. Goody himself identified four major phases, that of growing, allocating, cooking and eating, which he identified with the phases of production, distribution, preparation and consumption (1982: 37). To these four phases Goody was also quick to add the phase of "disposal" or "clearing up". Potential variability in the spatial and temporal arrangement of food-related activities has also been one of the major insights of Visser's (1990) analysis of "table manners" in recent times. Interestingly, Visser (1990: 82-83) also brought forward some of the distinct implications that such different arrangements (especially the relationship between "kitchen" and "dining room") may have for the character and relative significance of the eating occasion. Later in the thesis we shall have the opportunity to probe further into the intricate relationship between these "phases" and its amenability to strategic manipulation. For the moment we should first of all acknowledge that, however seemingly "practical" or trivial, the clustering of these activities is neither self-evident nor, indeed, pre-given. In fact, even in the very historical context of concern here, it is hardly the norm. This does not mean that we have the clear spatial separation of functions that much of the archaeology of "activity areas" (e.g. Kent 1984; 1990) would hope to expose: indeed, any attempts (e.g. Pullen 1985) to reveal (on the basis of room contents) such a logic in the spatial distribution of practices has not been particularly successful. Rather, while storage vessels are often found together with tableware, *in situ* preparation and consumption of food seems rather unlikely. A typical example is provided by Room 4 of House L on the northern slope of the hill at Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 21-2, fig. 18), featuring a number of pithoi which are, however, set over the entire surface area of the room.

Having said that, it is now possible better to assess the implications of the spatial association of these activities, as evidenced in the hearth rooms. More specifically, we may view this association as the representation of these activities as a closed, unified and coherent system - a veritable "cycle" which begins and ends in the confines of the particular room (cf. Barrett 1989: 309). This on the one hand underlines, in the most evident way, the self-contained and self-referential ("inward looking") character of the room (see Bell 1997: 158, 160, 168; also Gillespie 2000). At the same time, by stressing the logical unity of these activities, it creates particular conditions of sharing. This involves the definition not only of the stored produce as

safeguarded specifically for these events of collective consumption, but also of commensality as dependent upon the particular storage strategies.

From this vantage point it becomes possible to appreciate how this emphasis on the interdependence of actions which enabled the production and assembling of foodstuffs and those related to their consumption makes in turn explicit the unity (and interdependence) of those who participate in them: how it creates and emphasizes a particular collectivity. If, as Halstead (1995: 16) argued in a similar discussion, conspicuous cooking (or, indeed, storing) of food creates and underwrites a "social obligation to share", then the opposite may well be true: the sharing of produce visibly hoarded and prepared may serve as a reminder of the obligation to contribute or co-operate: in other words, the safeguarding and reproduction of foodstuffs becomes a common responsibility. So not only is the sharing of food highlighted as what brings together people in face-to-face communication. The structure of activities in these rooms reinforces the binding commitments and dependencies which emerge from what is explicitly presented as a common investment. Involvement in these activities is the tangible demonstration of its members' commitment to this collectivity (where, as Myerhoff [1977: 223] put it, "doing is believing"), a statement of belonging (Bell 1999).

In many ways, the constitution of the agricultural cycle as the referent for the creation and circumscription of a particular collectivity seems simply to repeat a point frequently made in anthropology and archaeology. For example, both Meillassoux (1981) and Woodburn (1982) have emphasized the ways in which agricultural systems, implying, as they do, not only investment of labour, but also a delayed return on this investment (Meillassoux 1981: 14), create binding commitments and lasting obligations among *specific* people. As Woodburn (1982: 433) put it, such commitments are in the sense of material obligations and in the wider sense of a responsibility of people for one another. What the analysis undertaken in this chapter has allowed us to envisage more clearly are the specific ways such obligations can be promoted: the strategic elevation of the stored produce into a collective resource, which binds together its consumers into a common "project".

Finally, to return to Goody's insightful emphasis on the process of "clearing up", it is equally interesting that the physical remains of these aggregations, both pots and food debris, are allowed to accumulate *in situ*, either on the floor (occasionally forming particularly thick deposits such as that noticed for Room 2 at Raphina - Theocharis 1952: 139-140), or in pits within the room (for example in Eutresis Room III and in the Berbati "Megaron"), becoming the congealed embodiment of past activity undertaken by, and thus serving as a binding force between, particular people. Such depositional strategies reinforce, in other words, the architectural observations offered above, adding to the relative "heaviness" of these rooms (cf. Munn 1987: 80). It is now possible to understand that among the most important recursive consequences of such emphasized permanence is not only the re-affirmation of these rooms as the legitimate and logical space for the continuing performance of particular activities – in this case, the storage of the product of agricultural labour, the preparation and consumption of food (cf. Lane 1994: 208) - but also the emphasis on these practices as what holds particular people together over the long-term.

The fact that these practices were shown to revolve around the safeguarding and securing of the stored produce might make the term "maintenance activities", employed by Picazo (1997) to designate the "typical" domestic activities, seem apposite. The major line of differentiation of this analysis from previous approaches should be, however, by now obvious: instead of simply seeking to identify in the archaeological material the supposedly "typical" (and cross-culturally uniform) activities of a pre-given social group (whether the "household" or the "family", nuclear or extended – for example Bender 1967; Allison 1999; but see Brück 1999), the focus here has been on the significance of these activities (and of the way they are structured and performed) for the formation and sustaining of particular collectivities.

5.5 Conclusions

The alternative analysis of the "domestic" record undertaken in this chapter has placed particular emphasis on the "processual" nature of architecture. Such an

approach was concerned with highlighting the domestic record less as an aggregate of "cellular" units (an exercise which has been shown to be both misleading and misplaced) and more as the ongoing product of particular "dwelling" strategies.

A particular aspect of this process that has been discussed was the emergence of a specific type of room, that with a central hearth. If the popular interpretation of these rooms as the "main living areas of domestic units" implied a concentration of practices that have to do with the sustaining of life of particular groups, then a coordinated analysis of the architectural and artefactual evidence has seriously refined this understanding. By highlighting an emphasis on the narrative quality of practice (cf. Habermas 1987: 136; also Hodder 1998), the interlinking and sequential organization of different activities into a larger project (into which people become bound - Hodder 1998: 88), these rooms now resurface as not only "hubs of activity" but ultimately the emerging symbols of a group's production and reproduction encapsulating the ideas and feelings that go into the sustaining of this collectivity.

The particular form of this "ostentatious domesticity", especially in relation to its potential chronological specificity, may have important implications for our conceptions of domestic "organization" in EH II. This, as will be more fully assessed in Chapter 9, is even more so in view of the activities documented in relation to monumental architecture. Before undertaking this discussion, therefore, it is to this architecture that we should turn.

CHAPTER 6

CREATING PLACES:

TOWARDS A REDEFINITION OF EH II MONUMENTALITY

6.1 Introduction

If one image dominates our perceptions of the EH II this is certainly that of the "corridor-house" type of building. Ever since the first identification of examples at Lerna, considerable research and certainly much speculation has been expended on this architectural phenomenon.

The central argument promoted in this chapter is that it is its relationship with other examples of contemporary architecture (as discussed in Chapter 5) that may provide a more useful point of entry into addressing EH II monumental buildings. Although the importance of this comparison has long been acknowledged, it has hitherto proceeded from a series of flawed assumptions about the nature of the two architectural traditions, and has, as a result, obscured rather than elucidated the significance of this architecture.

Clarifying the position of EH II monumental buildings within a wider framework of building or, more accurately, "dwelling" practice enables a renewed focus on these buildings, not as *a priori* representations of social "complexity", but as sites which had been explicitly differentiated and to which attention had been called. This idea has some evident implications for the use of the term "monumental" to describe these

buildings, a term which, although not without some objections, has previously served particular purposes in the analysis of social organization (see Chapter 4). It also seriously re-orientates further analysis of this phenomenon.

6.2. Lerna and Beyond: Monumentality as a category

More than fifty years have gone by since the excavation at Lerna, in the Argolid, of the famous "House of the Tiles" (a large, complex building originally covered by a sloping roof of fired clay tiles) and of what has long been regarded as its predecessor, the earlier Building BG (Caskey 1954; 1955a; 1956; 1957; 1958; 1960; Wiencke 2000) (**Figure 6.1**). Since then, the remains of the two partly superimposed buildings have been the object of such sustained discussion that little detail is here needed. Both were of considerable dimensions, free-standing, faced a space kept open in front of them and displayed the same basic plan. This consisted of a series (five in the House of the Tiles, three or four in Building BG) of axially laid, square to rectangular, rooms. In the House of the Tiles, one of these rooms, considerably larger and apparently equipped with a centrally placed hearth, was entered through a narrow vestibule. In Building BG this vestibule took the form of a deep porch. The distinctive feature of both buildings, which accounts for their common name, were the oblong, "corridor-like" spaces flanking the series of rooms. At least in the House of the Tiles these contained possible remains of staircases - thus implying the existence of a second storey, an assumption supported by the substantial width of the walls.

Albeit unique for a little less than 20 years, the Lerna buildings eventually proved to have counterparts at a number of other sites on the mainland (see Chapter 2) (see Felten 1986 for a comprehensive list) (**Figures 6.2-3**). In the 1970s, two evidently superimposed buildings, called by their excavator "Megara" A and B, were excavated at Akovitika in Messenia (Themelis 1970; 1984; Karagiorga 1971; Koumouzelis-Bouchard 1981; Papathanasopoulos 1971). A few years later, two similar buildings, the earlier "*Haus am Felsrand*" (part of which was assumed to have fallen down the cliff) and the better preserved "*Weisses Haus*" were brought to light by the German excavations at the site of Kolonna on the island of Aigina

(Walter and Felten 1981; Walter 1983; Felten 1986). At about the same time, part of a building that was called "fortified" by its excavator was exposed at Thebes (Aravantinos 1986).

Although no other example was as well-preserved as those at Lerna, enough was in each case available to indicate these buildings as members of a fairly widespread category or tradition that stretched over central and southern mainland Greece. With the potential exception of Lerna, the insufficiently known stratigraphic sequences from the other sites, where these buildings were found, did not allow the chronological range of this architectural phenomenon to be precisely established. It seemed, however, that it belonged to the end of EH II (Manning 1995: 51-63; Wiencke 1989: 508-509; 2000: 655), even if the exact chronological relationships between the different examples could not be specified (Wiencke 2000: 655-656).

The buildings were clearly far from identical. Even though differential preservation (and documentation) posited evident limitations to a detailed comparison (see Shaw 1987; 1990), it appeared that some important differences resided in both the number and relative size of the rooms, as well as in the particular form of the corridors.

Of the two "megara" at Akovitika, the later and better preserved Building A displayed a large room ("the largest known to date in such buildings" as observed by Shaw 1987: 70), which gave onto a wide, probably open-air court. The two buildings at Kolonna presented, at least as restored by their excavators (Walter and Felten 1981: Figs. 3, 5), closer affinities to the Lerna examples, especially in the way in which the five main rooms were set in line, framed by corridors along most of their two long sides. The layout of the "fortified building" at Thebes was peculiar in that only a single corridor had been discovered flanking the series of rooms on the north (Aravantinos 1986: 58)

Despite these differences, the logic in the organization of these spaces appeared the same, and was further corroborated by a number of other features, such as considerable (and comparable) size and a high standard of construction (including plastered walls, clay floors and the use of fired clay tiles for roofing). Their similarities also included standardised dimensions for individual spaces within the

buildings (for example the corridors are as a rule 0.90 to 1.00 m. wide) and a comparability in proportions which has suggested to some scholars the use of a standard unit of measurement (Aravantinos 1986; Felten 1986; Shaw 1987). Furthermore, all known examples were consistently free-standing and their surrounding space could in some cases be shown to have been, as at Lerna, especially treated. Indeed, traces of what may have been paving or streets were attested both at Akovitika and Thebes (Themelis 1970; Aravantinos 1986).

It is precisely the establishment of these recurrent characteristics that has permitted the ongoing identification of other, less well preserved, examples; it has also occasionally allowed re-interpretation of the architectural remains of earlier excavations. This has suggested the wide – although by no means even – geographical distribution of the type. With two rather ambiguous examples at Eutresis (Felten 1986: 25 referring to Goldman 1931: 12, pl. IIc), most of these buildings cluster in the Peloponnese, and especially its more intensively explored northeastern part (see **Figure 6.2**).

First of all, 'House Y', one of the partly preserved buildings excavated by Blegen (1928: 24-5) on the southwestern slope of the mound at Zygouries (see Chapter 5), could now be seen as an example of this category. The building, of an unusually massive construction (walls as wide as 1 m. – see also Felten 1986), consisted of a large room flanked by a narrow space, that Blegen had originally interpreted as a street or narrow passage, and which now could most plausibly be seen as a corridor (**Figure 6.4a**). As we have seen (Chapter 5), at the same site, a further potential example of the type was inferred from what have been interpreted as its possibly re-used remains, namely the large square chamber 4 (Pullen 1985: 207-208; 1986b: 80), which dominates the northern of the two distinct blocks of rooms revealed on the summit of the hill (**Figure 6.4b**). Pullen based this argument on both the stratigraphic details and the more general similarities of this room to the central rooms of the corridor-houses. He also drew attention to the profusion of ceramic tiles at the site (indicating the presumably "typical" roofing for this type of building), and the "corridor-like" form of the adjacent "House of the Snailshells" (the compartment is fairly narrow, but still twice as wide as what appears to be the "standard" corridor in

several more secure examples of the type), which Blegen (1928: 15-16) had originally regarded as an independent house unit.

Further potential examples within the study area have been identified at Tiryns and more recently at Argos. At the former site, excavations in the lower citadel brought to light a complex of rooms (Rooms 142-144 - Kilian 1981: 189, Abb. 45), one of which is narrow enough to have been a corridor (Room 144), while the fairly spacious room opening to its west (143) may represent the "main" room. The free-standing rectangular structure with exceptionally strong walls, part of which was revealed in rescue excavations in the city of Argos, has also been assumed to belong to the same category of buildings (Demakopoulou 1998). A further but less probable example has been identified in the remains of one of the two buildings discovered by Blegen (1937) at Prosymna (Argive Heraeum - Felten 1986: 25) (**Figure 6.4c**): the similarity here, however, is confined to a wall running nearly parallel to the wall of a larger room (and at a distance of 80-90 cm.), for the layout certainly lacks the regularity of other examples (it resembles more an "enclosure" similar to that of complex 142-148 at Tiryns). More secure, on the other hand, seems to be the example brought to light by excavations at the site of Asea, further to the southwest of the study area, in the modern nomos of Arkadia (**Figure 6.4d**). The partly preserved structure (House A) revealed on the highest part of the hill (Holmberg 1944: 11-2, fig. 7) features a larger room (at least 4.50 m wide) flanked by a corridor-like compartment (width 0.95 m. length 4.45 m.).

The list of examples of monumental buildings could be extended to include at least the large "House A", the earlier and (yet) best preserved of the two superimposed buildings excavated on the crown of the hill at Tsoungiza, Nemea (see Chapter 5; Pullen 1986a; 1990) (**Figure 6.5**). It is true that the building does not conform to the corridor-house type in strict terms, being significantly smaller than the aforementioned examples (9.15 m. north-south by 6.00 m. east-west) and consisting of just three axially laid rooms. It was built, however, with equally massive walls (1.00 to 1.10 m. wide), which may have supported a second floor (a potential staircase has been reconstructed in the narrow middle room – see Pullen 1990: 340). The building seems to have been at least partly surrounded by an open space (which extended at least 5 m. to the east and 6 m. to the south). In addition to this emphasis

on the exterior space, the structure presents further, and particularly significant, similarities at least with Building BG in the arrangement of the southern end, which takes the form of an open porch with a central column (see Pullen 1990: 339).

D. Pullen (1985: 264) also pointed out some similarities of these buildings with the enigmatic "Rundbau", an apparently circular, massive (diameter about 28 m.), structure which had been excavated on the summit of the acropolis of Tiryns (Müller 1938: 80). The building has been very poorly preserved and the lack of evident parallels makes it even less comprehensible. According to the most recent reconstruction (Kilian 1986), it had a bastion-studded exterior and was divided by concentric ring walls and cross-walls on two storeys, to form a series of small compartments surrounding an inner core (**Figure 6.6**). Given the fairly limited size of the excavated portions, such a reconstruction can be accepted only tentatively. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this structure in the category of the buildings described above is, according to Pullen, justified in terms not only of scale, but also of "the abstract, idealized plan of central rooms flanked by corridors, some of which house stairs" (1985: 264). It is evident, however, that even if the proposed reconstruction is valid, the "Rundbau" represents a fairly different logic in the organization of space to the examples described above.

That these buildings tell something important about social life was already evident from the discovery of the two Lerna examples. Already at that time, the contrast with EH II architecture, as then known, was hard to escape. This does not mean that sizeable rectangular structures dating to the second phase of EH II were absent. We have already mentioned, for example, House L at the Boeotian site of Eutresis and the two buildings (Houses A and B) revealed by Harland's early excavations at Tsoungiza, Nemea. Even so, however, it was obvious that the two Lerna buildings were of a scale, quality, and sophistication that were not previously attested.

But what exactly is the relationship of this phenomenon to other architectural traditions of the period? While the manifold connections of these buildings with more "ordinary" EH II architecture have been generally emphasized on numerous occasions, there is as yet little success in understanding how exactly these buildings fit into a wider framework of building practice and where their exceptionality

actually resides. The next two sections of this chapter both review current approaches and provide an alternative way of thinking through this particular architectural category that we have come to call "corridor-houses".

6.3 On the significance of monumental architecture

The most influential attempt to insert this architectural phenomenon into a wider framework of EH II architecture was surely undertaken by J. Shaw (1987; 1990). For him, the most clear evidence for the connection between the "corridor-house" type of building and other known architectural forms was the reproduction in the former of what was generally believed at his time to be the common EH II domestic unit, i.e. a simple rectangular structure with one or two axially laid rooms entered through a vestibule (also Wiencke 2000: 656, fn. 2). Shaw's conception of the relationship between the two traditions was perhaps echoed in the very launching of the name "corridor-houses" for these buildings, which acknowledged the two narrow spaces along the long sides of a series of rooms as not only integral to the logic of the plan of these buildings, but also the actual feature distinguishing them from "ordinary" (domestic) EH II architecture.

For Shaw, the significance of these connections with "domestic" architecture was basically twofold, they first of all demonstrated the indigenous provenance of the type as opposed to by now outdated arguments for its introduction from Anatolia (Themelis 1984). Secondly, they allowed him to address anew both the generation of the type and the variation within it. As Shaw's argument went, the two- or three-room buildings of domestic architecture could have been progressively transformed into "corridor-houses" through a series of modifications and additions, the initial one being their vertical expansion ("taking the arrangement of two rooms with vestibule and repeating it above" – 1987: 76) and the construction of a staircase, which, as shown by the example of Thebes, may at least initially have been external (Shaw 1990). According to Shaw, different arrangements of this basic architectural unit may even account for the differences among examples of the type. It was argued, in this sense, that the larger and more sophisticated examples of Lerna (House of the Tiles) and Aegina (White House), with their five-room sequence on the lower floor, may

have developed from two EH II house units being placed back-to-back, but with the two interior rooms combined into one (Shaw 1987: 78).

The reproduction in this category of formal elements more widely employed in the "domestic" architecture of the period may have had further implications. For it indicated the possibility of inferring a basically "residential" character for these buildings, supposedly resolving a long-standing debate over their function (see also Pullen 1986b). Such debate harks back to Caskey's (1960) eagerness to read into the Lerna buildings the "precursors" of the Minoan-Mycenaean palaces, as well as to Vermeule's (1964: 36) alternative proposition that the two structures may have been "communal" rather than "private". A more recent response to this pervasive "dilemma" (the resolution of which was thought to hold the key to understanding the "structure" and nature of EH II societies - Felten 1986) was to admit the combination of both private and public functions, and this became a fairly popular idea (Shaw 1987; Pullen 1986b).

The soundness of this idea will be discussed in the following chapter. For now we may consider the implications of the argument for our perceptions of the exceptionality of these buildings. That is to say, we are forced to understand this exceptionality as simply a question of "bigger" and "better". This line of thinking certainly underpinned Shaw's arguments (1987; 1990), which presented both the generation of the type and the variation within it as driven by some (pre-existing) need for larger and more complex architectural forms.

The major problem with this understanding is not only that formal comparison is inevitably static, and therefore unable to bring out the mutual (reciprocal) definition of the two parts that are compared (it does not allow us to think difference *relationally* - see Massey 1999). While the current tendency has been to highlight monumental buildings as more "formal" versions of the "domestic" ones, enough has been clarified about the nature of non-monumental architecture to make this simple understanding increasingly difficult to uphold. In other words, if as argued in Chapter 5, the identification of pre-existing (and clearly defined) domestic units is an impossible exercise (and one that misses out on the very significance of this

architecture), then how are we to perceive the relationship between the two traditions?

6.4 Towards an alternative: Monumentality as a strategy

A potentially more fruitful approach to this question would be first of all to admit that it is precisely the *contrast* between the *conspicuous regularity* displayed by these buildings and the *lack* of a similar emphasis in the rest of the architecture that may be most significant. This is not meant to dismiss "domestic" architecture as ultimately un-patterned, random, or chaotic. As the previous chapter has taken some steps to establish, there was certainly a *logic* to the way in which it developed. In fact, it might be precisely this logic that current approaches have failed to address adequately and which may nevertheless provide an entry into the redefinition of the monumental buildings. For, if most of the architecture was created, as shown, more in the tradition of *bricolage* (Levi-Strauss 1972: 16ff; cf. also Carsten 1995a: 107), it is evidently important that such inventiveness and contingency appeared inappropriate elsewhere. Indeed, most analyses of EH II monumental buildings have emphasized the compact layout which bespoke their construction on a pre-set plan. It is not only the symmetry of the design that is significant, but also the insistence on *maintaining* this clarity, ensuring exceptional visibility and facilitating the identification of individual buildings as unambiguous examples of a particular category – as places of a particular kind. This is conspicuously demonstrated in the absence of any interventions that could have affected this symmetry: later alterations of the plan are virtually unknown and, even when they do occur (e.g. at Thebes – Aravantinos 1986), they concern the interior, but do not affect the exterior appearance (see Kalogerakou 1999). It is this fundamental feature that distinguishes members of this category from other sizeable and free-standing structures of the period, such as, for instance, House L of Eutresis, or Building B at Tsoungiza. Contrary to at least those more secure examples of monumental architecture, these buildings have proved open to subsequent transformations and reconfigurations, such as the addition of a further room to the west of House L (see Goldman 1931: 15) and the various instances of remodelling of Building B, including the enlargement of the

northern room and the construction of an apsidal alcove (visible from the exterior) in the north wall (Pullen 1990: 343).

What may be thus argued is that, in contrast to the transient, impermanent and unpredictable nature of much of the contemporary architecture, examples of what have been called "monumental" buildings provide *durable* and *predictable* spaces (cf. also Lane 1994): they seem to provide, nearly "advertise", stable points of reference within a far more fluid (at least in architectural terms) landscape.

This emphasis on "stereotyped" fixity (cf. Bradley 1991) may have been further reinforced by the very practice of rebuilding similar structures at the same location, as testified at Aigina, Lerna, and Akovitika. Before discussing further the possible significance of these reproduction patterns, it should be mentioned here that the very location of these buildings seems to have been hardly fortuitous. It is for example significant that they invariably seem to occupy exceptionally conspicuous points, such as the crown of hills (e.g. Thebes, Tsoungiza). Despite either the paucity of other architectural remains in the vicinity of these buildings (e.g. Aigina) or the unresolved chronological relationship to such remains (for example at Thebes and Akovitika), their "peripheral" location or even relative "isolation" from other structures, have been considered relatively clear (Felten 1986; Wiencke 1989: 502-3, fn. 54; Kalogerakou 1999: 93; Wiencke 2000: 652). This appeared further corroborated by the occasional association of these buildings with "fortification walls", if, of course, such constructions enclosed larger areas and not the buildings themselves (as cautioned for the case of Lerna – see Wiencke 2000: 649). While these observations on the location of these buildings were mainly put forward as a counter-argument to the idea of their serving a "central function" within the settlements (Felten 1986; Kalogerakou 1999), an alternative would be to admit the enhanced visibility achieved by the selection of such locations.

6.5 Redefining monumentality

Both this emphasis on fixity of form, and the emergence (promotion) of these buildings as "localizing forces", serving to establish a continuity of place (cf.

Gillespie 2000: 21), may eventually afford a more productive understanding of EH II "monumentality", defending the continuing relevance of the term in descriptions of the period, against those who regard it as an overstatement (e.g. Weingarten 1997). Indeed, as *currently used and understood*, the term seems ambiguous enough to undermine any aspirations to objectivity: if "monumentality" is a question of scale, or even labour intensity, then how "big" or how "elaborate" should a structure be to justify the term (see also Wason 1994: 146)?

The alternative understanding promoted here relies on a complementary (if not primary) definition of the "monument" as what serves to "commemorate" (*Oxford Dictionary of English*): as such, monuments do imply a sense of anteriority and posteriority: they are devices strategically used to create "a sense of the past" (Radley 1990; Gosden and Lock 1998). This production (and manipulation) of social memory (Connerton 1989) is in essence the creation of social continuity, of a collective past (i.e. of a Past to which people owe allegiance – Radley 1990: 57), and thus of a collectivity itself (Lash and Urry 1994: 240-1).

Indeed, not only has the foregoing analysis of this category of buildings been able to bring forward a persistent emphasis on revealing a "timeless" quality. If the idea of particular features of the built environment being made to last is built into the notion of monumentality (Miller 1994: 410; see also DeMarrais et al. 1996: 19), it is then evidently important that the regularity characterising these buildings has been *occasionally* accompanied by particular strategies of their reproduction and preservation. This served to enhance the "permanence" already implied by their massive construction, ultimately resulting in a clarity and visibility that most of the contemporary architecture certainly lacks. Such strategies of continuity may have included the particular conditions of destruction and curation (or "protection") of the remains of some of these buildings. The burying of the House of the Tiles under a tumulus made of its own debris is the most obvious case in point (and will be further discussed in Chapter 9). But also, the re-orientation of this building in relation to the pre-existing Building BG, rather than bespeaking "the desire to take better advantage of sunlight and shade at different seasons" (Shaw 1987: 64; also Wiencke 1989: 504) may have ensured the preservation of the foundations of the latter. This last case may be paralleled at Tsoungiza (see **Figure 5.4**). House B, the building succeeding House

A, of less substantial construction but virtually identical in size and orientation to its predecessor, was slightly askew and thus did not use the massive stone walls of the underlying House A for foundations. In this same case, it is significant that the immediate reference to the earlier structure, its virtual "reproduction", may have been achieved by the incorporation of building material from the older building into the new one, as indicated by the use of disproportionally large stones for the construction of relatively thin walls (Pullen 1990: 342).

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter promoted a general redefinition of EH II monumentality as involving the strategic creation of fixed and lasting places. This understanding seriously redefines analytical priorities. If, as argued, these buildings were explicitly distinguished and attention drawn to them, then the relationships addressed in their context were similarly emphasised (cf. Handelman 1990).

To be sure, the predictability and identifiable character of these buildings may imply an emphasis on their inviting or admitting larger numbers of people: that is to say, while a complexity in architectural design (as for example noticed for "domestic" architecture) may implicitly emphasise "insiders" (as opposed to "outsiders"), standardisation may allow more people (especially those not directly related to this architecture) to be able to move about it "correctly". This impression was already implied by the foregoing considerations of the relative location of these buildings. It is further corroborated by a number of features, including the large open spaces surrounding them and the sizeable "main" rooms with central hearths. At first sight, this emphasis hardly seems to be an original idea, since the characterisation of these buildings as "public" has had a long-standing appeal in their analysis (e.g. Renfrew 1972: 108; Vermeule 1964; see also Kalogerakou 1999 for further references). As the following chapter will attempt to demonstrate, however, a focus on the conditions of interaction provided by these buildings might help seriously to redefine this "public" character of EH II monumental architecture.

CHAPTER 7

THE POWER OF ARCHITECTURE:
EXPLORING MONUMENTALITY AT EH II LERNA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to provide an enhanced understanding of the contexts of social interaction structured by monumental architecture. Written into this concern is an analytical emphasis on the ways in which material features of these spaces are drawn upon to structure particular forms of interaction (see Chapter 4). This analysis can most profitably be undertaken with reference to the two corridor houses on the mound of Lerna. The reasons for this focus are simple. The good preservation of the two buildings, and especially of the later House of the Tiles, has justifiably made them a constant point of reference. At the same time, Lerna affords a unique richness of contextual and stratigraphic information, allowing us to explore the background against which these buildings ultimately became possible.

Following thus a brief presentation of the stratigraphic position of these constructions, analysis can begin with the best preserved (and most intensely discussed) House of the Tiles. In continuation of the argument put forward in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), this analysis affords a fundamental redefinition of this "public" domain. In fact, the two Lerna buildings can be understood as part of an explicit attempt to draw attention to, and define the conditions of, particular aggregations.

7.2 Lerna: Brief outline of EH II remains

Now located a few hundred metres from the sea (but originally coastal – see Zangger 1993: 68-82), the site of Lerna is a low artificial mound, made up almost entirely of debris from prehistoric settlements, 180 x 160 m. in size, and rising ca. 5.5 m. above the Argive plain (Forsén 1992: 31-38). EBA occupation begins at the site with EH II: although Wiencke (2000: 329-331) inferred from a small scattering of EH I sherds in later deposits the presence somewhere at the site of a potentially small (and presumably seasonal?) settlement at this time, EH II remains usually follow directly upon Neolithic strata. Such remains have been exposed in varying degrees of visibility in different parts of the mound, although most of the evidence comes from the main area of excavation (Trenches A, B, G, J – **Figure 7.1**). As inferred from the limited evidence provided by outlying test trenches, this corresponds to only 10% of the extent of the area which seems to have been inhabited (*although not necessarily contemporaneously*) during EH II. Within the main area itself, the scale of stratigraphic soundings was greatly limited by the desire to preserve later remains, the two large corridor houses and the structure commonly described as a "fortification wall" (Wiencke 2000: 3).

Despite the often limited size of trenches opened in the space between and within these structures, it became possible to highlight a long sequence of building activity. The possibility of organising this sequence into four major phases of EH II occupation (A to D) was originally brought out by the excavator (Caskey 1960). As originally defined, these phases were meant to mark the *construction* of new buildings – although it was acknowledged that some of the buildings lasted longer than others and that "older and new ones stood at times side by side" (Caskey 1960: 288). The finer classification more recently implemented by Wiencke (2000) involved the tripartite subdivision ("early" – "mid" – "late") of at least some of these phases, mainly to indicate significant repairs or instances of remodelling of existing structures. The divisions were accompanied by changes in the ceramic repertory.

Both the limited scale of excavation and the evident continuous rebuilding, which often proceeded by levelling of previous remains, have significantly constrained information on the earlier phases of occupation. The first phase (A), completely

lacking architectural evidence and actually defined on purely ceramic grounds, has been identified by a limited number of deposits (BG 5, and BDAI) found as fills north of the later House of the Tiles and immediately above Neolithic strata. The deposition of these fills must have been related to some major re-organisation of this part of the mound (which involved rasing of the earlier remains, both those of Phase A and Neolithic strata), obviously taking place at the end of Phase A.

From the next "phase" (B) only some (usually unconnected) wall fragments have been recovered, sometimes associated with floors, postholes and hearths (**Figures 7.2-3**). Only rarely could fuller plans be reconstructed and these indicated rectangular structures of varying size (for example, Houses 33, 36 and the earlier House 43). At the end of this phase, there is more substantial evidence for the paving and repaving of a large open area, occupying the space between the later Building BG and the line of the (also later) fortification (**Figure 7.3**).

This relative scarcity of evidence contrasts strongly with the amount and quality of information relating to the last two phases of occupation (**Figures 7.4-7**). A substantial part of the building activity assigned to Phase C seems to have centred on the southern part of the mound, and much of it revolved around the construction of what is usually described as a fortification system. The label may be misleading, since, as already mentioned (Chapter 6), it remains doubtful that this structure enclosed the entire mound (Wiencke 2000: 649), and as we shall see, it lacked the coherence expected of such a construction. The "system" was not constructed all of a piece (see **Figures 7.4-6**). It seems to have begun as a single strong wall (W-69), part of which is preserved to the east. Interventions consisted first of the addition of a rectangular room (QR) opening into a horseshoe projection ("Tower B") (see **Figure 7.4**) – soon to be replaced by a second solidly built one (Tower A) (see **Figure 7.5**). The expansion to the west involved the reorientation of this first wall (now W-82), and the subsequent laying of a second wall (W-83 and W-89) parallel to that and of cross-walls at intervals to form a series of small compartments (Rooms P and A-D). This new layout involved the enclosure of the gateway within one of these compartments (A). At least four further fortification rooms (J-M) were at some later point constructed as an evidently independent unit to the west (Wiencke 2000: 148) (see **Figure 7.6**).

The construction of Building BG, the earlier corridor-house at the site, is usually assigned to the same "programme of construction" with the fortification wall (see **Figure 7.5**). Only parts of the southern half of the building, oriented to face to the south, were excavated. It obviously lay on an artificially leveled space at the top of the hill, and, although greatly damaged by the subsequent building of the house of the Tiles and by the digging of later graves and numerous bothroi, it was clearly a substantial construction with walls sometimes over one metre in width (Wiencke 2000: 185).

Two further buildings (CA and DM), only partly preserved, but both with substantial floor assemblages, seem to have been constructed in the area between Building BG and the fortification system during the later stage of the construction of the latter (see **Figure 7.6**). House CA (Wiencke 2000: 132) was an apparently three-room building covering the entire area from the fortification to the southwest corner of Building BG. Only the corner of a room (DM) from an evidently contemporary building was preserved to the east of House CA (Wiencke 2000: 139-144). Both these buildings and also part of the eastern system of fortifications were destroyed by a major fire and were not rebuilt. Their remains were covered by the hard exterior level surrounding the House of the Tiles, the same level that also covered the foundations of Building BG.

What else existed at least in this part of the site at the time of the House of the Tiles is not clear (see **Figure 7.7**). Three structures (Houses 113, 117, and 119), which were presumably built in Phase C, may have still stood in place at least when the building was constructed, although in neither case was any surface found that was definitely associated with the latter (Wiencke 2000: 150-151).

The status of the fortifications at the time of the House of the Tiles is equally an open question. While by the time the building was constructed, the oldest (easternmost) part of the eastern fortification had been obliterated (converted into what the excavator interpreted as a trodden street - Wiencke 2000: 287), and the middle section of the same part, as already said, had been covered by the new level ground,

the only part still in use may have been the westernmost (Rooms J and L - Wiencke 2000: 146-147).

Even if the House of the Tiles was not (as usually portrayed) the last building of the EH II occupation, it was certainly made to stand out, surrounded by a wider "terrace" to the east and southeast (Wiencke 2000: 291). The building itself was more tightly demarcated by a specifically plastered area, preserved in bands ranging in breadth from 2.50 (south of the building) to 5.00 m. (southeast of the building) (Wiencke 2000: 283, 297).

7.3 The House of The Tiles: Conditions of Social Interaction

There are obvious difficulties in establishing the particular direction(s) from which the House of the Tiles was to be approached, or the vantage points from which it was to be seen. Nevertheless, we may imagine it as a massive, conspicuous construction, distinctive in both location and form. We may also allow that it could have been caught up in the "paths" of different people on different occasions, with different frequency and in different possible ways: it could have been simply viewed, approached, occasionally entered, or "permanently" occupied. In each case, encounters could have taken place among "occupants" (those within the building), between "occupants" and "strangers", or among "strangers" (Foster 1989). So what were the spatial conditions for such encounters to take place?

Addressing this question requires first of all a consideration of the basic features of the building, as well of its access and circulation patterns. Facing a space kept open in front of it, the building figures as a closed rectangle, with two narrow benches (30 cm. wide and 30 cm. high) set along the exterior northern and southern sides of the western half. The plan of the ground floor is complete, except where two later tombs destroyed much of the northeastern corner (for the actual state plan see Wiencke 2000: Plan 32). The excavator's restoration of jambs for a doorway at the east end of corridor 4, although possible by analogy with the arrangement in Room 1 (Shaw 1987: 62), has not been followed by all. The eastern exterior entrance has also been conjecturally restored, by analogy with the inner doorway (Shaw 1987: 62).

The building consisted on the ground floor of five axially laid rooms, flanked on the north and south by two corridors (2-4 and 9-10) with staircases leading to the upper floor and their respective *sottoscale* (**Figure 7.8**). Room 12 was the most spacious room of the ground floor, carefully plastered (Caskey 1955b) and possibly equipped with a central hearth (as indicated by a shallow depression in the floor in the middle of the room - Pullen 1985: 171). The plan of the upper floor has naturally been more contentious. According to the most widely accepted view (Shaw 1987; see also Walter and Felten 1981: 19-20; Wiencke 2000: 300-1), a series of galleries (14, 15, 21, 19, 16) could be restored above the corridors and the two anterooms of the ground floor. If this reconstruction is apposite, then the galleries would enclose two major rooms (17 and 20) separated by a narrow space. This, according to some analysts, could be the continuation upward of Room 7 of the ground floor, should the latter be restored as a light-well (Overbeck 1963: 62; Walter and Felten 1981: 19; but see Wiencke 2000: 300).

Five entrances opened into the building and access to the ground floor could be gained from all but one (the northern) of them. Of these, the eastern one, generally regarded as the main entrance to the building, led to a shallow anteroom (13) and thence to room (12). The western entrance, on the other hand, gave access through the anteroom 5 to the second largest room of the ground floor, 6. The other two entrances which led to rooms on the ground floor gave access to the small enclosed spaces 1 and 11. Access to the upper storey, on the other hand, could be gained from the staircases restored in both of the two corridors running alongside the "core" rooms of the ground floor.

These numerous entrances have been one of the most prominent features of the plan, and one that accounts for much of the controversy surrounding the building's identity: it was thought to be at odds with the impression of "concentrated power" evoked by its dimensions and sophistication and was one of the main reasons behind its interpretation as "communal" or "public" (see Vermeule 1964). Indeed, contrary to some Near Eastern parallels, which have also been proposed as "prototypes" of the plan (Margueron 1982: 581; also Themelis 1984; Hiller 1986), the building seems fairly permeable. This impression of permeability as a feature of the spaces of the

ground floor was more recently confirmed by the access map produced by Yiannouli (1992: fig 26, after Hillier and Hanson 1984; 1987) (**Figure 7.9**). By aligning all spaces above the entrances in levels, the map serves to illustrate the two configurational properties of the spatial layout: the property of *depth* (which shows in the graph as height when the entrance is used as the root of movement) and the property of *choice* (the existence or otherwise of alternative routes from one space to another). It is interesting thus to note that, despite their relatively high number, the spaces of the building appear balanced by the multiple entrances in such a way that the building remains rather shallow, investing – in the technique's terminology – in a "distributed" type of spatial layout: that is to say, there is usually more than one independent route from one space to another (see Hillier and Hanson 1984).

A different, recently more popular, reading of the building's plan (Shaw 1987: 79; also Pullen 1985: 264; 1986b; Wiencke 1986: 75-6; 2000: 299) demonstrated that this accessibility of the building actually concerned only a portion of it: more specifically, the eastern part of the upper floor, accessible only from the exterior, and especially Room 12 - Pullen 1985: 171; Shaw 1987: 62). On the other hand, there are also spaces of demonstrably restricted access, namely the rooms of the upper floor and in particular its western half, accessible only from the interior of the House. In other words, this possibility of distinguishing between two different circulation patterns not only moderated the initial impression of permeability as a general feature of the building, but also afforded an attractive solution to its character: it identified the provision of both "private" and "public" spaces, the former obviously reserved to the privileged residents of the House, the latter particularly suitable for activities that potentially gathered larger groups of people (Shaw 1987: 79).

Before evaluating the implications of this argument in more detail, we need to assess precisely this impression of permeability that has so long troubled analysts. It is, in this sense, important to note that it has been based upon the treatment of the doorways as openings, disregarding the fact that these can also be closed, segregating spaces and significantly altering the regulation of movement both from outside the building to its interior (and *vice versa*) and within the building itself (see Foster 1989; also Palyvou 1987). Despite the lack of direct evidence on the form of doors (Wiencke 2000: 297), the construction details of the preserved entrances in the

building are particularly informative. The surfaces of most doorways (e.g. in Room 5, 6, and 7) had been coated with clay and scored in sweeping curves (Caskey 1954: pl. 4c), a treatment also characterising the walls of these rooms (Caskey took this treatment as an undercoating for a second, finer layer). Combined with the lack of wall plastering in rooms 1 and 9, this sustained his suggestion that the building was in the process of being remodelled, or even in the last stages of its construction, when it was destroyed). On the other hand, three doors stand out, in that they were apparently faced with wood (Caskey 1955a: Pl. 19b; Pullen 1985: 172; 1986b: 79; Wiencke 2000: 296): the external northern entrance leading to corridor 2-4 (and thence to the eastern part of the upper floor); the inner doorway from Anteroom 13 to Room 12; and the doorway in the northwestern corner of Room 12. In other words, the only secure evidence for wooden jambs (which both may hint at the possibility of regulated locking and further serves to distinguish these particular doorways from the others) relates to the three doors that afford access to the supposed "public" zones of the building (**Figure 7.10**). Particularly in the case of Room 12, this possibility of isolating it also from the interior of the House is reinforced not only by the offset position of the inner doorway (which inhibits long views inside the House – cf. also Sanders 1990), but also by the unique raised threshold testified at this position (Pullen 1985: 172), functioning as a clearly marked transition point crossed by those leaving (*and* entering) the room. Interestingly, this possibility is further enhanced by the multiple entrances to the ground floor: we may now be able to appreciate that what such an arrangement may have ultimately allowed was circulation within the various spaces of the building, while purposefully "avoiding" Room 12.

We may thus envisage the use of doors not only to control access, and to isolate and segregate spaces (Foster 1989), but also to facilitate the *temporal* organisation of different sections of the building (Giddens 1984: 121); *that is, to define circulation or interaction that would be both space- and time-specific*. We may now thus leave behind the static and straightforward public-private distinction to explore, and consider the implications of, one of the building's most important characteristics: the potential use of different architectural features in ways that not only enabled the ordering of *multiple and temporally specific* settings for interaction, but also placed particular emphasis on their inter-relation and on the *transition* from one setting to another.

To grasp this argument fully, we should also consider the dynamic and multifarious modes of articulation of the *interior* of the building to the *exterior*, equipped with benches and especially treated to receive people. The relation between these two categories of space, and its implications for the particular significance of each one of them, will be further probed below. For the moment it suffices to indicate that they do not reflect hermetically separated domains of activity, since a number of distinctive architectural elements enabled and ensured the *transfer* from one category to the other (cf. Lawrence 1990: 76). It is significant, in this sense, that those *within* the building could have monitored, regulated, or participated in what was taking place outside in various ways: by *occasionally* opening the doors of the main entrance to go out or to receive (at least some) people into the front room; by using the stairs of the northern corridor to actually *come down* to the exterior space; or by using the upstairs "balconies", from which they could both *see* and *be seen* by those standing in the open space (**Figure 7.11**).

It is also important that the architectural elements employed in expanding or, if required, modifying the conditions of interaction (doors, narrow and rather "hidden" stairways, thresholds, and balconies) also served to *sharpen* the effect of these modifications. Such architectural arrangements not only enabled a particular zoning and partitioning of activities, but may have also provided explicit cueing devices for their punctuation (see Goffman 1974: 252; also Giddens 1985: 274; Rapoport 1982). The formal opening and closing of a door, the appearance of a person on a balcony, or the crossing of a threshold, both served to signal different conditions and types or modes of interaction ("encounters" or "regionally bounded episodes") and placed particular emphasis on the *shift* from one such mode to another.

In the light of the above we can thus begin more fully to realise first of all the potential of the particular architecture to achieve *multiple* levels of inclusiveness (and thus of differentiation among practitioners). We can envisage, in other words, principles of inclusion-exclusion ranging from access to the mound, through involvement in what was taking place in the exterior space, to admission to the front room or further inside. We can also begin to understand that this was more than a simple distribution of people among spaces (contexts of interaction) defined

architecturally. For indeed, while the architectural elements may have ensured that encounters were sustained in different parts of the building without intruding upon one another, they also enabled (or, in fact, *stressed*) their interface and interconnection.

Such emphasis on this interface was obviously crucial for defining the *relative* significance of each of these spaces. The point will be more thoroughly discussed below. In the light of the foregoing it now seems appropriate to conclude first of all that emphasis on *particular* types of integration, rather than inherent to the characteristics of the building, was dependent on the strategic manipulation of its particular characteristics to achieve the timely elevation of *particular* relations as more relevant to specific situations. It is further important to recognise that such manoeuvres also allowed particular relations of power to come to the forefront (and therefore cannot be considered irrespective of them). Of particular significance to this last point is the observation that a number of architectural features not only suggested (and constrained) the way people could have moved and operated within the space defined by the building, but also facilitated a relative spatial positioning of practitioners which seems often to have privileged different relations among them. We may recall that the arrangement of Room 12 also provided for a privileged "arrival" from the interior of the building and through a particularly demarcated entrance. Turning to the exterior space, it is further pertinent to notice the distinct possibility of its direct observation or even supervision by those standing on the balconies, a spatial relation quite different from anything allowed for by "ordinary" architectural configurations (see **Figure 7.11**). Or, to take this a step further, the mound itself, on which the House was built, enabled activities staged in the exterior space not only to be physically separated from their surroundings but also, if the earlier fortification system had indeed been obliterated by this time, conspicuous at a distance.

Such observations allow us to think of the architecture less as the fossilized imprint of pre-existing social distinctions or as the product of a "differential ranking of the community" (Wiencke 1989: 505) and more as the referent against which, and by means of which, such distinctions could be effectively reproduced by being practised (cf. Barrett 1994a: 29-32).

The significance of these relationships can be best understood against a background of earlier practices on the mound. This analysis will not only enable a better assessment of the similarities and differences between the House of the Tiles and the earlier Building BG. It will also shed light on the conditions against which the two structures ultimately became possible and meaningful.

7.4 Negotiating a community

The significance of the appearance itself of the two monumental buildings, and of the re-ordering and re-configuration of the site which they evidently signalled, remained over the years a rather unresolved question. The attempt to identify a similarly substantial building in the earlier strata of the excavated part of the mound (e.g. Wiencke 2000: 642) has proved highly ambiguous, and it is in any case questionable to what extent such a possibility would amount to an interpretation of the significance of this change.

Alternatively, a focus on the exterior space shared by both the House of the Tiles and the earlier BG seems to hold much more promise in understanding the background against which these buildings were realized. This appears to be a pertinent centre of attention on several grounds. First of all, an emphasis on this exterior space, not only as an important area for aggregations but as a space helping to explain many of the characteristics of the building, was a major conclusion of the foregoing analysis of the House of the Tiles. To this should be added the fact that this area not only was an integral part of this structure's predecessor (Building BG), but also seems to have been a consistently preserved feature of at least this part of the mound even before the construction of the two corridor-houses. As already pointed out in the stratigraphic review given above (7.2), the definition of this area by the laying out of an extensive paving (at least 22 m. east-west - Wiencke 2000: 57) in fact predates the construction of both the first corridor-house (Building BG) and the fortification system (see **Figure 7.3**). Whether or not this area was at the time related to an equally substantial building of which no actual evidence has been preserved (Wiencke 2000: 58), it must have served as a pole of attraction for potentially larger

numbers of people. Although this will be made clearer once the activities associated with this space are considered (see below chapter 8), it is important to note here that it became the object of a continuous (and apparently exceptional) investment, being meticulously paved and re-paved and provided with facilities such as built gutters for drainage (Wiencke 2000: 58; fig. I.4, I.5).

It is of evident significance, therefore, that subsequent building activity on this part of the mound took particular care to preserve and redefine at least a section of this area. It is worth mentioning in this sense that the laying of at least the first wall of the fortification system may have actually pre-dated the construction of Building BG (Wiencke 2000: 89). In other words, although this system has been more recently functionally related to the two monumental buildings (guaranteeing the "protection of their contents and of their privileged supervisors" – Wiencke 2000: 649), the original intention of the first wall may well have been the definition of the paved area itself.

In the light of the above, the fact that this area took the form of a "plaza" south of Building BG, part of which was preserved even when that building was demolished to "make way" for the House of the Tiles, becomes far more consequential than previously acknowledged. In fact, this explicit reference made by the two buildings to a previously evidently important communal space may have been integral to the very logic and legitimacy of the new architectural interventions to the mound.

Some important differences in the ways the two buildings defined (and were defined by) this space are immediately relevant to this point and are worth pointing out. Although significantly less information is available for Building BG than for its successor (see Wiencke 1986; also 2000: 185-197), it is importantly (and perhaps not fortuitously) information which concerns precisely its relationship to this space. The orientation of this building is different from that of the House of the Tiles, the main access being from the south. This southern end takes the form of a relatively deep vestibule (4.25 m. N-S by 5.50 m. E-W), which not only lay open, possibly with a central support resting on a surviving irregular stone slab in the opening, but was also technically "incorporated" within the open area, the pebble paving of the latter having been preserved at least within the vestibule to serve as flooring there

(Wiencke 2000: 190-191, 646; Plan 13). Moreover, the southern ends of the corridors also lay "strangely" open, and if they indeed contained staircases to the upper floor, as some remains of yellow clay and mudbricks could indicate (Wiencke 1986: 43-44; 2000: 193), then this suggests that access to the latter was to be obtained from this same exterior space. The proposition that these spaces could have been closed off by (less permanent?) doors (Wiencke 1986; 2000: 191) does not affect the basic observation that access to the upper floor, irrespective of whether it was permitted to all, was to be perceived as *possible* (only?) from this space.

The situation is fairly different in the House of the Tiles. Although the basic details of the architectural plan have been maintained to indicate a direct reference to, and continuity from, its "predecessor", the relationship to its surrounding space appears radically redefined. It can be argued that it is ultimately in the House of the Tiles, with its much more shallow but (conspicuously) enclosed anteroom, and the provision of built (permanent) benches along the walls, that this space becomes (strategically) "exterior". The revised plan of the House of the Tiles may have also allowed a further possibility which adds to the foregoing impression: that this space could now have been "observed" or "controlled" by spaces (the balconies), access to which was not only demonstrably restricted (either from the interior or through wooden doors-see section 7.3), but also hardly visible and perceived from the outside of the building.

While, therefore, the subtle differences between the two buildings were previously "explained" as indicating a "physical" process of "development" of the architectural form (Wiencke 1989: 504, fn. 61), they can now be understood as a strategic manipulation of the design. The end result enabled a new relationship to a pre-existing communal space while also maintaining the "important" or "diagnostic" features of the plan, i.e. the features which would enable the building to be identified as a place of a particular kind.

To grasp fully the implications of this proposition some further observations on the access to this space are in order. This question has already been broached above. It has in fact been pointed out that the reconfiguration of this part of the mound at the time of the construction of the House of the Tiles included the obliteration of at least

part of the series of rooms which are described as a fortification system for this area – especially (and perhaps not fortuitously) of that part which previously contained a particularly arranged "gateway". This implies that, prior to the House of the Tiles, there was a particular provision for controlled or at least demarcated access to this area. Indeed, many of the successive modifications to this fortification system had important implications for the ways in which admission to this area came ultimately to be perceived. Some details are useful here.

A consideration of the history of the fortification system (see Wiencke 2000: 91-149 for a detailed report) indicates at least four successive configurations, and it is significant that these entailed a progressive restriction of access. The earliest evidence for a particular (formal) provision of access to the mound consists of a "ceremonial" stairway (consisting of approximately 23 wide steps), leading upward past the west side of Tower B, and along the south side of wall W-69 to a (not preserved) gateway, potentially situated below the later Room B (see **Figure 7.4**). This stairway was soon at least partly blocked by a new solid projection ("Tower A") which was built presumably as a replacement to the damaged older one (Tower B) (see **Figure 7.5**). Probably to the same time is to be attributed the construction of Wall W-82 which must have included the first gateway within wall W-82-83. The earliest threshold of this gateway was at a level compatible with the top step of the stairway and, since the latter had not been completely blocked by Tower A, it may have been still in use. It seems that the gateway in the first stage of its existence did not have the form of an enclosed room but led directly into the open area before Building BG (Wiencke 2000: 111). A subsequent stage of construction included, first the enlargement of "Tower A" (which now blocked the stairway entirely) and the construction of a new north wall (W-86 and W-89) and of cross-walls to divide the intermediate space into small compartments, one of which (A) enclosed the former gateway (see **Figure 7.6**). Several features bespeak an exceptional emphasis on this room (and ultimately on the *act of crossing*). An unusual number of floor levels (at least six) and a series of corresponding thresholds indicate the meticulous renewal of the surface (Wiencke 2000: 117). It is equally significant that in its final form the room had received a treatment (the floor plaster having been continued up the walls) documented at Lerna only for the most carefully constructed room excavated on the mound, that is Room 12 of the House of the Tiles (Wiencke 2000: 130). A further

intriguing feature is a freestanding stone platform (1.20 by 0.90 m) revealed in the southeast corner of the room (further restricting the space within the room?).

The exact configuration of the area north of the line of the fortification rooms during each of these modifications is as a rule difficult to establish. The erection of Building BG has been considered roughly contemporary with the construction of the "ceremonial" stairway (Wiencke 2000: 108), and the alignment of its southern end (porch) at least with the two successive "gateways" seems to imply that the latter were clearly intended to channel movement to the "plaza" in front of the building (see **Figure 7.5**). With the subsequent construction of two further buildings (CA and DM) immediately north of the gateway, this route became even more clearly marked, taking now the form of a narrow passage leading directly in front of Building BG (see **Figure 7.6**). Together with the enclosed gateway, this passage may have signposted a "correct" line of entrance and approach, imposing particular constraints not only on alternative pathways and visual access to the interior, but also on the numbers of people gaining access *at any one time* and on the rhythm of movement. If larger numbers of participants were to enter, then certainly this type of access and approach (in essence a "procession") may have facilitated further distinctions to be drawn not simply between those who could enter and those who would not, but also, among the former, between those who led and those who followed (cf. Barrett 1994a: 15).

It is significant that the House of the Tiles, or in fact the space surrounding it, clearly lacked any such clearly demarcated or regulated access (see **Figure 7.7**). While the potential preservation of the "western fortifications" (i.e. Rooms J-M) may have provided a kind of "facade" to the southern side of the building, demarcating this particular part of the exterior space and potentially also indicating a line of approach to the area (see above), no evidence seems to exist for the provision of a "gateway". This state of "disorganisation" and "disrepair" in the fortification system was thought to contradict the energy expended on the construction of the building itself. It thus seemed reasonable to assume that, while it must have been the intention eventually to rebuild the line of the fortification rooms, such a programme was postponed in favour of the construction of the House of the Tiles, and finally never realised due to its unexpected destruction (Wiencke 2000: 148). Alternatively, as has already been

pointed out, what the new configuration of the exterior space of the House of the Tiles may have actually afforded was the possibility to draw particular attention, when appropriate, to Room 12. As also hinted at in the foregoing presentation, the importance (prominence) of this space is a function not only of its exceptional size, level of construction, or possibly unique equipment (central hearth), but also of the particular patterns of admission to it from the outside. This last point relates in turn not only to the (emphasised) temporal specificity of access and the specific features of the entrance (i.e., on axis and exceptionally wide) but also to the formal sequenced approach through the antechamber 13 - which, as the permeability map also illustrates (see **Figure 7.9**), is the only predefined sequence of movement in the building (there are no alternative paths). This emphasis on this particular room (12) has further implications, which will be more fully assessed in the following chapter. For the moment, it is useful to bring together, reiterate and expand some of the main points of this chapter.

7.5 Conclusions

Much of the analysis undertaken in this chapter revolved around and sought an enhanced understanding of the "communal" character of monumental architecture at Lerna. It should be clear, however, that this emphasis was not meant simply to stress what was previously described as the "public" (over "private") aspect of "monumental" architecture. Rather, the shift in analytical priorities promoted in this chapter allowed revelation of the emphasis placed by monumental architecture on structuring the conditions of particular aggregations. Throughout this chapter we have been able to follow the employment of a series of architectural features to regulate (both temporally and spatially) access and interaction, privileging some spaces as spaces for the coming together of people. As integral to these strategies we have also emphasised the possibility for some actors to be presented as differentially positioned in relation to this community.

The availability of relevant information at Lerna made it possible to explore further this idea of this "public" domain as a contested space. Not only has it been possible to understand a pre-existing "communal" space as the major referent and persisting

focus of the two buildings. In fact, what the two Lerna buildings themselves may be now taken actually to represent is the attempt to "objectify" and appropriate this communal space - an insight which will be further elaborated upon in the following chapter (Chapter 8).

This central role *claimed* by monumental architecture in community building may not have been unique to the site of Lerna. Although further observations on the other monumental buildings will be given later (Chapter 9), it does seem that strategies of these buildings' reproduction, although not uniform, have usually served to emphasise the communal parts of the architecture. The example of the two superimposed buildings exposed at Akovitika (Themelis 1970; Papathanasopoulos 1971; Karagiorga 1971; Shaw 1987: 70-2) may illustrate this point well (**Figure 7.12**). Even though stratigraphic information is, in this case, far from ample, it does seem that the construction of Building A had taken particular care to reproduce and more strictly define (in an enclosed and unusually large "court" which accounts for most of the area of the surviving portion of the building) the "public" spaces of the earlier Building B (including at least part of its exterior space).

Defining the character of this community is the next important step to take. This, as will be made clear in the following chapters, is not a question of identifying this collectivity with a pre-given scale or level of social integration. Rather, it involves the possibility of establishing the "trope" of these relationships, the central "theme", around which these collectivities could form, and the points of emphasis in the negotiation of social relationships.

CHAPTER 8

"CONTEXTS OF PRACTICE":

A NEW ANALYSIS OF THE ARTEFACTUAL ASSEMBLAGES FROM EH II LERNA

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the nature and significance of the particular activities documented in relation to the monumental architecture of Lerna (see Chapter 7). After a brief presentation of the range of deposits found in association with the two monumental buildings, a useful point of departure for this analysis is provided once again by the House of the Tiles. This particular focus is hardly surprising. Few EH II assemblages have received more attention than the group of sealings (lumps of clay originally attached to other objects and bearing the impressions of individual seals) found in a small compartment of the building.

The importance of this find is hard to over-emphasise. Contrary to the incospicuousness or "mundane" character of the contents of other buildings of the type (see Chapter 9), the Lerna sealing assemblage readily lived up to the expectations raised by the exceptional architecture. Secondly, although the sealings were not in themselves a unique find, both the size of the assemblage and its association with an exceptional architecture have instigated a number of consequential theories that have not only dominated our understanding of the "role" of the building (often projected as a more general interpretation of "monumental"

architecture – Themelis 1984; Konsola 1986), but have long stood at the core of our understanding of the period in general.

In particular, the idea that the sealings indicate the "centralized management" of resources (the monitoring of the "inward" and "outward" movement of goods) has had a long-standing appeal. The most influential version of this argument was Renfrew's idea that the sealings document the development of the redistribution system (1972: 482 – see Chapter 2) - in his terms the collection of staples from specialised producers into a centre and the re-circulation of these goods for the benefit of the contributing members. While more recent analysis has highlighted some serious empirical problems with this particular interpretation of the sealings (esp. Weingarten 1997; see also Broodbank 2000: 283), none of the proposed alternatives has proved more convincing. Furthermore, exclusive concern with this assemblage has prevented understanding of how it relates not only to other instances of seal-use at the site, but also to a background of activity on the mound.

It is a basic argument of this chapter that this situation can be remedied by a closer attention to the context of sealing practice. The insights thereby gained may indicate a new and potentially more promising avenue of research into the model of redistribution. Furthermore, in the light of such analysis we can then begin to place the particular actions indicated by the sealings in a wider framework of practice around Lerna. Previous attempts to "contextualise" the site of Lerna have hitherto concentrated on "revealing" it as the centre of a well-defined, closed territory, an organised system (Pullen 1994a; 2003). Instead of this static approach, it will be argued that the privileged position of the activities on the mound is more the open-ended result of a series of explicit strategies rather than the consequence of a pre-given and pre-existing type of integration.

8.2 The artefactual assemblages and deposition patterns in the Lerna monumental buildings

Both the reconstruction and the interpretation of the activities documented in the monumental buildings of Lerna had to face some evident depositional particularities.

The most famous find from the earlier Building BG was a large (diameter over a metre) decorated hearth exposed in the West or "Hearth" Corridor (Wiencke 1986; 2000: 193-4) (**Figures 8.1-2**). The peculiar position of the hearth (which is almost identical to that from the Berbati Megaron – see Chapter 5) has been the object of some discussion. It was found filled with ashes and, as the earth was baked beneath it, it appeared to have been used *in situ*. As the western wall was torn down to accommodate it, however, it seemed to represent a later intervention in the room. Under these circumstances, it seemed reasonable to assume that it had been removed to the corridor from another larger room of the building (most probably the South room – see **Figure 7.5**), potentially to make room for a replacement (Wiencke 2000: 194). This was a hypothesis destined to remain untested, since, evidently as a result of the conditions of destruction of the building (its rasing to provide a level space for the House of the Tiles – Wiencke 2000: 190), nearly all the other rooms of Building BG lacked a floor deposit.

The House of the Tiles provided a rather different picture. Although the original floors in the various rooms of the building were usually preserved intact, they produced in most cases relatively small quantities of finds. The preserved pottery provided evidence for rather scanty storage (pithoi of both necked and bowl varieties), cooking (ring-based bowls and baking pans), and mainly the consumption of food (more than 40% of the pottery consists of saucers) (**Table 8.1**). Such activities seem to have been ubiquitously distributed among the different rooms of the building. Even Room 12, despite its size and exceptional construction, failed to produce anything more conclusive or extraordinary than some fragments of a hearth, sparse fragments of rather coarse pottery for the preparation of food and an ambiguous mass of lead.

Already at the beginning of excavation, Caskey commented upon the relative scarcity of objects (Caskey 1954: 25), surprising given the size of the building. The excavator's original idea that the building was never finished (Caskey 1958: 129) could hardly account for this lack of finds. For, while the amounts of pottery recovered from most rooms were significantly small (and rather poorly preserved) in comparison to earlier assemblages, and the small finds both scanty and possibly (at least partly) later intrusions, they sufficed to prove that the building had been

occupied for some time before its destruction (Wiencke 2000: 301). This appeared further corroborated by the assemblage from the small compartment 11 on the south long side of the building. In contrast to the other rooms, this contained an impressive number of pots (originally as many as 110 vessels) and a large assemblage of more than 120 sealings, variously shaped (circular or conical) lumps of clay originally affixed to containers made of evidently perishable materials. The deposit was to become the most intensely discussed assemblage from Lerna. Most of the attention was focused, as may be expected, on the corpus of sealings.

8.3 Evidence for seal-use in the EH II mainland and the House of the Tiles sealing assemblage

Even at the time of the building's excavation, evidence for seal-use in the EH II southern Mainland was not, of course, absent. This evidence mainly comprised a limited number of seals, for example from Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 25, 189, fig. 178, Pl. 21.4) and Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938: 234-6, 239) and a few specimens of stamped pottery (a jar at Asine - Frödin, and Persson 1938: 239; a shallow bowl or saucer at Zygouries - Blegen 1928: 107, 214, fig. 91, 1). Possibly related was the application of larger cylinder seals on both hearths and pithoi, attested at Zygouries, Asine and Tiryns (Blegen 1928: 121-2, fig. 114; Frödin and Persson 1938: 231-2, fig 169: 1-5; Müller 1938). On the other hand, very few sealings were known, possibly also because of the special conditions required for their preservation. Aside from a single example found in a well-known well excavated at Cheliotomylos (Waage 1949), an unspecified, and summarily reported, number of sealing fragments had come from two locations at Asine, Terrace III and the Polygonal Wall Terrace (Frödin and Persson 1938: 236-8; in close proximity to the "Polygonal Wall Terrace" were also found two of the Asine seals). Only in the former were these sealings found in association with architectural remains (a room of the so-called House R). It goes without saying that such evidence hardly compared, in terms of quantity and/or exceptional nature of the architectural context, with that from the House of the Tiles.

This picture remained unaltered despite important discoveries. This involved not only some rather sparse examples of actual seals (for example a lead seal from

Tsoungiza – Pullen 1994a), but also the recovery of new sealings, both as isolated finds (for example from Akovitika – Wiencke 1989) and in at least two substantial assemblages, one at Petri near Tsoungiza and Zygouries (Kostoula 2000; 2004), the other further south, at Geraki in Laconia (Weingarten et al. 1999; Crouwel et al. 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002). The precise architectural context of these assemblages is currently unclear. The architectural position of the large room in which the Petri sealings are said to have been found remains unknown. Similarly, although ongoing excavations at the site of Geraki have revealed that the sealings may come from a fortification room of the "casemate" type, both its precise form and what exactly it enclosed have not been specified.

In the case of Lerna, it was precisely this clear association of seal-use with an exceptional architecture that has not only supported a specific interpretation of the "role" of the building, but also constrained a particular understanding of the significance of seal-use. The nature of the activities represented by this deposit became therefore over the following years the object of much scholarly scrutiny. It is the objective of the following section to revise the most influential theories built upon it.

8.4 The sealing deposit from the House of the Tiles: Current theories

The idea that the sealings provide ample evidence for some "administrative operations" taking place in the building had a major appeal from the beginning. Already in 1969 Wiencke had postulated an "archival" use for the room, accepting the sealings as a type of "record" of transactions taking place – as the access patterns of the room also indicated - between outsiders and the "authorities" of the building. The precise focus and nature of these transactions proved far more difficult to establish. First of all, as virtually nothing survived of the containers to which these sealings were presumed originally to have been affixed, their identification necessarily relied solely on the impressions preserved on the underside of the clay. These, according to Wiencke's original study, indicated five possible types of objects (A-E) (**Table 8.2**). The more straightforward Type C and D sealings represented respectively the mouth and neck of what appeared to be medium-size jars.

Impressions on other sealings indicated poles (Type A), as well as pommels and pegs potentially securing the closure of box-like wooden containers (Type B). Finally, Type E sealings potentially indicated either baskets and wickerwork coffers or the reed covering for yet other containers (Heath 1958; Pullen 1994a; Wiencke 2000: 302). Continuing study and comparison with Near Eastern parallels provided some further insight, particularly into the objects represented by the Type A and B sealings. The former were eventually thought to consist of box-like containers made of unsplit reeds (which were probably marked rather than locked by the sealing - Aruz 1994; Weingarten 1997: 119 fn. 19). Type B sealings, on the other hand, were linked, by comparison with Near Eastern examples, to the pommels and pegs which secured the closure of potentially larger chests ("coffers") and/or doors (Weingarten in Aruz 1994).

As many as 70 distinct seal types were identified among these sealings, with different combinations of various, mainly geometric, motifs (loop pattern, spiral, trefoil, swastika, triskelion), which serve to define broader thematic groups within the corpus (**Figure 8.3a-c**). More rare were instances of sealings bearing pairs of impressions - Aruz 1994: 222-223). Some of these pairs occur in the sealing corpus more than once, and sometimes on different types of containers (**Table 8.3**).

Generally, it was from the beginning evident from the lack of correlation between particular types of container and either distinct seal types or broader iconographic clusters that the sealings indicated the exchanging parties (i.e. the seal-users) rather than particular types of goods – a conclusion further corroborated by the high number of distinct seal-types. Whether, however, they indicated the providers of goods, or internal administrators, emerged in recent discussions of the assemblage as a major contested issue.

The idea that sealing practices at the House of the Tiles indicate internal officials accounting for the inward and outward movement of goods came more recently to the forefront with the identification in the corpus of a type of sealings ("Type B") which had been shown at various sites of the Aegean and the Near East to have served as a locking device, either for larger fixed containers or even for the doors of a storeroom (Ferioli and Fiandra 1990: 222; Fiandra 1994). Most importantly, at

Lerna, as elsewhere (see Wiencke 1976; also Fiandra 1994), such a function was corroborated by the proposition that all Type B sealings (i.e. 39 fragments) may actually correspond, as Fiandra's brief inspection indicated, to a quite limited number (just three) of objects (see Wiencke 1976; Weingarten 1997, 2000; Fiandra 1994).

The possibility that some items may have received more than one sealing (though simultaneously rather than consecutively) had already been posited. This concerned not only the category of jars, potentially stamped both on the neck and at the mouth (Heath 1958: 97; Stewart 1987), but also sealings initially assigned to two different types of containers: it was proposed (Stewart 1987) that the Type A and B sealings (impressions of poles and pegs) may have been used on the same wooden boxes, perhaps only ten in number, each bearing the impressions of six different seals. Not only was this proposition, however, not directly testable; the purpose and function of this multiple sealing system was hardly clear (Wiencke 1989: 505). On the other hand, the idea of objects such as doors or large coffers being sealed, opened and resealed on a rather regular basis was thought to provide fairly straightforward evidence for particular people being responsible for the "charge" and "discharge" of goods (Ferioli and Fiandra 1990: 224). This evidence for the successive application of sealings on the same containers or objects was taken to demonstrate in a supposedly unambiguous manner that sealing activity was an "internal" affair – an assumption supposedly further corroborated by the few (six) instances of co-stamping in the corpus. For Weingarten (1997: 153), who attempted to carry this argument even further, the very occurrence of such pairs, on at least those of the sealings more securely identified as corresponding to doors, could be taken to indicate "joint responsibility for locking-up". This confirmed the use of sealings as a book-keeping device, virtually a type of document used (as a substitute for writing, however "inefficient") to control the distribution of goods - a scenario which, as we shall see below, was also believed to have been true for earlier sealing assemblages from the site, and particularly for that found in Room DM (Fiandra 1994).

Although, as we shall see further below, this reconstruction has been made to appear more straightforward and unambiguous than it perhaps is, more to the point here are the problems it appeared to present in terms of its own logic. Such problems have not gone unnoticed, posing serious questions as to the extent to which the identification

of these containers sufficed to postulate the system that Fiandra had been so eager to reconstruct. It was, for instance, surprising that these supposedly "exceptional" objects, either doors (although in Room 11 there is no recorded evidence - and indeed no other indication - of a door; Weingarten 1997: 120 endnote 48) or containers (which were presumably kept within the small Room 11), seem to have been accessed not only widely (they actually bear the impression of more than 20 of the 70 seals - see also Aruz 1994: 243), but also, as the fairly limited repetition of seals indicates, most of the time by different people (see Weingarten 1997: 152, Table 3).

In fact, it is precisely these limited duplications that seem to be the most prominent, and for many of these models the most problematic, feature of the assemblage. In other words, it soon became obvious that the great majority of seals were used just once, and only some a quite limited number of times: as Weingarten noticed, "the three most active seals together stamped less than 20% of the sealings, whereas the least active together accounted for over 60% of all sealings" (1997: 150).

For Weingarten such "non-intensive" patterns of seal use rather contradicted the assumption of resident seal-owners repeatedly sealing and unsealing on the spot (Weingarten 1997: 150; see also the discussion in Aruz 1994). Although Fiandra (1994: 238) attributed this limited repetition (i.e. the high proportion of seals to sealings) to the "sudden" destruction of the building, supposedly causing a "disruption of operations before the end of the administrative period being dealt with", a number of other aspects were seen as militating against the operation of a sophisticated bureaucratic system for the control of subsistence commodities. It was, for example, noticed that the majority of the containers are clearly unsuitable for "basic commodities" such as wine and oil (sealings indicating jars, i.e. of Type C and D were a minority – less than 20% of the assemblage), and even for (long-term?) storage of grain (Weingarten 1997: 150; also Broodbank 2000: 283). This was seen as further reinforced by the failure not only of the particular room but perhaps of the entire building to produce evidence for substantial storage: it could not be overlooked that large vessels such as pithoi, while relatively abundant in other Lerna deposits, were conspicuously absent from the House of the Tiles (Weingarten 1997; also Halstead 1994; Wiencke 1989: 505). It is true that although excavation in the

area outside the building produced a large number of fragments from large decorated ("banded") pithoi, these may have originally stood in the exterior, rather than the interior, of the House (Wiencke 1970; 2000). A potentially even more serious problem was the high number of distinct seals, as it implied an organisational system of a complexity and scale rather out of place in most models of the EB2 Mainland (Weingarten 1997: 164, fn. 27; also Wiencke 1989: 505).

The alternative idea, of the sealed goods as indicating independent seal-owners using their seals as a "signature" (Renfrew 1972; Wiencke 1989: 505; Pullen 1994a), was perhaps more plausible given both the evident portability of at least the majority of the sealed objects, and the relatively high number of individual seal-types. It also appeared consistent with the actual seal-use patterns (i.e. the lack of intensity – see Weingarten 1997: 150). Finally, it can be argued that it may also prove equally compatible with the evidence for the pairing of seals on the same sealing. The occurrence of such pairs of seals is a common feature of many sealing assemblages across the Aegean (see Weingarten 1992; Kanta and Tzigounaki 2000) and has been the object of much discussion. Despite the current tendency to read into them complex administrative procedures, with different seal-users sealing and cross-sealing the same object (see above), the more simple possibility of double-faced seals cannot be dismissed (contra Weingarten 1997: 162-3, fn. 9). First of all, it accords well with the fact that, although one or both of the two joined seal-types may occur on other sealings, they always do so alone and never as members of other pairs – that is to say, the pairs do not cross-seal (S1, S57, S25 and S55 occur alone on other fragments; see Heath 1958: Table of Incidence). The actual occurrence of a double-faced stone seal from Asine (**Figure 8.4**) is further illuminating. Although it was recovered from later ("earliest" Middle Helladic) strata (Frödin and Persson 1938: 239), its iconographic style is not foreign to earlier (i.e. EBA) examples (compare, for example, both the clay seal from Corinth [Wiseman 1967: 26; *CMS* V.501] and the seal impression G-2 from Geraki [Weingarten *et al.* 1999: 366, fig. 11]). The same may also be true for its shape: it is nearly cylindrical, slightly tapering upwards and both surfaces, the one larger than the other, are incised. In fact, this very shape of seal may be indicated by the pronounced size differences characterising some of the seal pairs in the House of the Tiles corpus (compare for example S14 with S59; S39 with S40, **Table 8.3**). The existence of such double seals may also be echoed in a

few extant "seal-like" multi-facial EH II pendants such as that from Asine itself (Frödin and Persson 1938: 239; *CMS* V.526) (**Figure 8.5**), parallelled at Midea (*CMS* V. 527) and, more recently, at Geraki in Laconia (Crouwell 1999).

To return to the interpretation of the sealings from the House of the Tiles, despite all the evidence supporting this idea of the seals as indicating independent seal-owners contributing goods, the reason for this use of seals has hardly become clearer. This is well illustrated by Pullen's interpretation of the sealings as indicating goods offered by (representatives of) groups – most likely individual households - to a chief residing at the House (Pullen 1994a). This posited that the sealings would be "the mechanism by which the central authority, the chief or his delegate, controlled the [obligatory?] contributions of goods by the populace, as well as the disbursement of those goods to the elite" (Pullen 1994a: 46). Of course, for the sealings to serve as a mechanism "keep[ing] track of these contributions" (Pullen 1994a: 46), in other words, as the official documentation of a transaction, the production and/or distribution of the seals needs to have been centrally controlled or, at least, the seals need to have been officially registered (see Fiandra 1994: 238). In other words, this interpretation presupposes the operation of a bureaucratic machine of no less "sophistication" or complexity than that previously dismissed. Further complications arise from the notable similarities in the designs of individual seals, to the extent that any identification or control simply by means of the depiction would have been extremely difficult (Aruz 1994: 216; see also Weingarten 1992: 26; Blasingham 1983: 15). It is indeed true that the distinction between seals is often achieved with the least possible modification of elements or of the overall design: for instance, by the simple inversion of the motif (compare S16 and S17); the simplification, elaboration, or modification of the central element (compare S7 and S8; S3 and S14; S6 and S9; S35 and S36); the omission of filling elements (compare S7 and S9) or simply of the border (compare S51 and S52); occasionally, differentiation is achieved merely by slight differences in size (compare S1 and S2; S20 and S21).

If, however, the assemblage from the House of the Tiles proved to many scholars increasingly unable to fulfil the requirements of a sealing system explicitly designed and used to enable the centralised management of resources, an alternative explanation has been difficult to come up with. Often interpretation could go no

further than the vague admission that the sealings indicated "property that was to be kept safe and made available to, or received from, persons who would not need (or be allowed?) to enter the house proper" (Wiencke 2000: 302), without framing the context of relationships within which these transfers are to be understood. Similarly "cautious" approaches explicitly refrained from providing any more definite interpretations (e.g. Aruz 1994).

On the other hand, attempts to articulate more explicit models produced highly speculative interpretations which have failed to gain wider acceptance. For instance, according to Weingarten's (1997) alternative proposition (which supposedly accommodated the evidence for *in situ* sealing operations as indicated by the Type B sealings), the sealings may represent transactions undertaken by individuals (perhaps the same heads of households that Pullen imagined) who had been using a room of the building, probably on the upper floor, as a communal storehouse for valuable materials received from "Anatolian" visitors in exchange for silver. In other words, the sealings represent transactions, which, because by nature infrequent, would, as the specialist maintains, "better fit the non-intensive patterns of seal-use than would the daily work of the chief's officials, or any kind of bureaucratic hierarchy" (Weingarten 2000: 117). The simple conclusion is that patterns of seal-use indicate "an earlier stage of social and economic development" (Weingarten 1997: 149), an argument which clearly fails to convince as an adequate explanation, and is furthermore at odds with the exceptional architecture, so persistently highlighted in this kind of reasoning as a correlate of complexity.

For all the sophistication of the analysis, investigation seems to have reached an interpretive dead-end. As a recent debate among specialists (see discussion of Aruz 1994) so clearly illustrates, the evidence is made to appear as amenable to conflicting interpretations, the success of which seems to depend less on the ability of these interpretations to accommodate the complexities of the material and more on the privileging of particular aspects at the expense of others.

8.5 The other sealing deposits from Lerna

The interpretive weaknesses of these approaches become more evident in view of evidence for seal-use both from earlier levels at Lerna itself (Wiencke 1969) and further afield. Not only do these assemblages appear no less difficult to interpret, but it remains equally difficult to establish their relevance to the evidence from the House of the Tiles.

The earliest such evidence consisted of a group of sealing fragments retrieved from the interior of a large pit or bothros (GP-4) dug in the corner of one of the "fortification rooms" (Room B), the narrow spaces enclosed by the two strong walls (W-89 and W-83) on the south edge of the excavated part of the mound (see **Figure 7.5**). A second, and apparently slightly later, assemblage consisting of approximately 60 fragments, was found in Room DM - the partly preserved structure which, as will be remembered (see Chapter 5.1), was built at some point after the construction of Building BG and before the House of the Tiles within the area defined by the "fortification system" (see **Figure 7.6**). Finally, a fragment came from Room CA, built contemporaneously with Room DM in the same area.

The position of the sealing assemblages in these contexts has not been easy to clarify. Their artefactual associations appeared unilluminating. On the contrary, the "specialised" activities implied by the application of sealings seemed hardly compatible with the apparently "domestic" character of the deposits (which are notably among the best preserved and the richest of the site), comprising a number of small finds (mainly bone and stone tools for the processing of grain and activities such as leather and obsidian manufacture), and copious amounts of both tableware and cooking pots, complemented by substantial storage vessels.

To make matters more complex, sealing in these earlier deposits appeared to concern different types of objects from those identified in the House of the Tiles. In Room DM (**Tables 8.4a,b**), except for a group of fragments, of a peculiar ("micaceous") clay composition and impressed by the same seal (S77), which potentially represent a package wrapped in matting or reeds, all other pieces seem to belong to sealings used to secure large storage vessels (Wiencke 1969). The impressions on the underside of

the fragments allowed reconstruction of the technique of sealing: first, reed-matting was placed over the mouth of the vase, usually overlapping its rim; clay was spread over the edges of the matting and over the rim, and the clay was stamped (usually more than once) with seal impressions. The recovery of the largest part of the fragments in association with the two aforementioned pithoi was taken to indicate that these were among the vessels sealed. Since not all fragments belonged to the same sealings, it also indicated the possibility that the same vessels may have been subjected to successive sealings, the fragments of these operations allowed to accumulate in the room.

Similar objects seemed to have been sealed in Room CA (as indicated by the single sealing fragment found there) and in the slightly earlier small "fortification" Room B. Especially the latter presented many similarities to that from Room DM. A group of badly crumbled sealing fragments was recovered from the interior of the clay-lined pit (Bothros GB-4) dug in one corner of the room. Although only a relatively small number of these fragments bore seal impressions, the recurrence of the same seal (S72), and the similarities both in clay and in the impressions left on the underside of the fragments, indicated a single sealing of a type similar to those recovered from Room DM (Wiencke 1969: 501-2). This sealing may have been applied to a large storage vessel. Alternatively, as Wiencke (2000: 119) conjectures from the similarity of the bothros in terms of both shape and size to a pithos (see Wiencke 2000: Section 20; cf. Gonia – Blegen 1930-1), it may have been used to secure a reed covering placed over the mouth of the bothros itself. The location of the fragments in the upper part of the bothros, in conjunction with some building material (stones and schist fragments) found with them, was also taken to imply that the sealing was in place when the room was destroyed (Wiencke 2000: 119). It was assumed, in other words, that this building material would have broken the sealing and reed packing of the bothros and knocked it down into its neck - although the large amounts of pottery recovered from throughout the bothros, as well as occasional joins with pottery found well outside it, may cast doubt on this idea.

The degree to which it was the *same* seals that were used for the sealing of these containers is not always possible to establish. In Room DM, according to Wiencke's convincing reconstruction (1969: 505), there is hardly any repetition of individual

seals. The numerous fragments found in association with the so-called West Pithos, all stamped by the same seal, do not seem to represent different sealing episodes (as Fiandra [1994], in her attempt to support her idea of administrators in charge of the distribution of foodstuffs, would prefer to interpret them), but may well correspond to a single sealing. This is indicated not only by the homogeneity of the fragments in terms of clay composition, but also by the occurrence of the impressions of two seals (S73, S74) *together* on most of the larger examples, alone on small pieces. It is also possible, in view of the spatial distribution of the fragments, that they represent one of the later (if not the latest) sealings applied to the West Pithos itself (Wiencke 1969: 504), although, since the upper part of the vessel was not found, it has not been possible to compare its profile with the impressions left on the back of the sealings.

The significance of these earlier deposits at Lerna proved rather difficult to grasp and it is clear that none of the models presented above could accommodate this information. While the evidence hardly sufficed to support the idea of a system of redistribution of raw goods, interpretation could only go so far as to suggest that "something besides the ordinary tasks of everyday life was taking place" (Wiencke 2000: 649, fn. 5). Where the "extraordinariness" of these activities actually resided remained unaccounted for. The question becomes all the more important given that the application of sealings on fixed or semi-fixed storage vessels, as documented in these earlier deposits of Lerna, seems to have been a more widespread practice. First of all, it may be represented in the aforementioned sealings from House R at Asine. This is suggested not only by the description of the impressions on the underside of fragments (indicating "a clay lining on a plaited basket" - Frödin and Persson 1938: 238), but also by the limited number of fragments with actual seal impressions (Frödin and Persson 1938: 238). The relative popularity of the practice has recently been made even more evident by the recovery of the two sealing assemblages from Petri (Kostoula 2000) and Geraki (Weingarten *et al.* 1999). In both cases the great majority of fragments come from sealings securing storage vessels, some of which were preserved *in situ*. While the tendency has been simply to extrapolate to these assemblages the arguments already proposed for Lerna (and thus to employ the presence of sealings in order to identify similarly "central" sites), we are rather unable to come up with an alternative explanation once these arguments begin to

look less convincing. This clearly makes an understanding of the Lerna evidence even more pressing.

8.6 Re-orientating analysis: Sealing as Practice and the Context of Seal-use

At the heart of the problem lies perhaps the lack of a clear definition of the concept of administration and other related ones ("control" or "redistribution"). As the foregoing review has demonstrated, the term is either too general and used in an unspecified way or, on the contrary, models articulated on the basis of very different historical situations are imposed upon the evidence. On the contrary, there has been a detrimental disregard for the context of seal-use - its position within a wider framework of action: whether it claims a degree of autonomy or if it makes sense in terms of its explicit (spatio-temporal) association to particular activities, its *timing*, frequency and social context (see Appadurai 1993). This analytical priority gains plausibility from the inherent formality of the act of stamping - an act which is by its nature one of showing. "Possession" of a seal may hardly have been significant in itself, because the object as an instrument acquired meaning only in the context of its performance (see Gosden and Marshall 1999): even the particular motif or combination of motifs which singularised each seal was made evident upon impressing it on an object. A reconsideration of the act of sealing and attention to the context of its performance is necessary if we are to address first of all the aforementioned variations between sealing assemblages. It may also eventually help to clarify the relevance of this evidence to other instances of seal-use (stamping of objects such as different types of pots and even loom-weights) or similar practices (for example the application of rollers on large pithoi and hearths). Insistence on the administrative use of seals left no option but to interpret these other uses of seals as "merely" decorative (Aruz 1994), and hence as certainly different and secondary to the "truly" functional sealings (Weingarten 1997: 157).

This analysis may begin with an inquiry into not only where the sealings were found, but what they were found with. Starting with the assemblage from the House of the Tiles, we may find that sealing practices as documented there may acquire a whole new significance when combined with an inquiry into the pottery together with

which the sealings were found. Some details of this ceramic assemblage are necessary here.

Already made evident in earlier summary descriptions of the Lerna pottery (Wiencke 1989), and more recently described in detail (Wiencke 2000), are the notable particularities this assemblage presents. These rest upon not only the sheer amount of pottery recovered, but also its functional specificity. The assemblage seems dominated by a large number of the typical EH II saucers (64 of which have been actually retained, originally as many as 77), the small bowls which are generally believed to have served as vessels for individual consumption (Caskey 1960) (**Figure 8.6**). This assemblage of saucers is complemented by a number of other vessels related to the preparation and serving of food and drink. These include, aside from the deep ring-based bowls which the analysis of the pottery from the site proved to be connected with cooking (Wiencke 2000: 548), ladles, basins, and a further type of large bowl with high neck ("collared bowl"- Wiencke 2000: 552-4) perhaps used for the presentation of food. Pouring vessels, such as the typical EH II asymmetrical spouted vessels called askoi, jugs, and the well-known sauceboats (**Figure 8.7**), are also present. Notably, only a few sherds from a pithos and a jar have been found.

A further distinctive feature of this ceramic deposit is its homogeneity in terms of mode of surface treatment. This is most evident in the case of the saucers, which make up, as already mentioned, the bulk of this assemblage. The recent analysis of the Lerna III pottery helped to distinguish between two types of saucers (Wiencke 2000: esp. 595-7). The distinction was based on both formal details (the modelling of the base and the rim) and the height/rim diameter ratio (type 2 saucers being generally deeper and exhibiting a rather bimodal size distribution). Although both these types occur in the Room 11 assemblage and despite the manufacturing variations that were thought to indicate at least three and possibly four different "hands", the largest part of this assemblage shares the rather unusual for Lerna preference for plain surfaces. This remarkable uniformity indicated to the analyst that most of the pots form an assemblage in contemporary use (Wiencke 2000: 720, Table 6). In fact, it is this large and homogeneous assemblage of individual vessels that has sustained the idea of communal meals, taking place perhaps outside the building or in another of its "public" spaces (Weingarten 1997: 164, fn. 29; also

Wiencke 1989: 505; such activities were dismissed by Whitley [2004: 197], simply because, to his mind, no room in the building is large enough to have served as a "feasting hall"). It is true that this seems to accord with the nature of the ceramic evidence also from the rest of the building, demonstrating, as already noted above (**Table 8.1**), an emphasis on the consumption of food.

However, the relation of such occasions of commensality to the actions represented by the sealings has hardly been explored. In fact, for the House of the Tiles, it has even been suggested (Weingarten 1997: 160) that the association of pots and sealings in Room 11 is the chance product of the destruction of the building - that the two components of the assemblage, while originally stored separately (the sealed goods on the second floor, the pottery in the small compartment), eventually collapsed into a single deposit. This interpretation was eventually dispelled by a more careful study of the state of their preservation and findspots (that is, neither the pots nor the sealings were widely scattered, as one would have expected if either of these had fallen from an upper room - Wiencke 2000: 235). It is in any case rather unconvincing in view of the depositional patterns of the building (the relative lack of finds from all the other rooms) - a consideration of which reveals that we are not only dealing with combined deposition but also with preferential preservation.

The alternative proposition, that the pottery and the sealed (potentially "prestige") goods were *supplies* for these occasional gatherings, presumably held in the public rooms of the building (Wiencke 2000: 651), may have taken some steps towards establishing a firmer association between the two components of the assemblage, but without further consideration of its possible significance. This proposition assumes not only that the pottery was permanently kept in this room (in the same manner as seems to have been the case in Rooms B and DM), but also that the sealings represent goods *stored* in the small compartment. Since practically nothing survives of these goods, they have been assumed to have been either perishable or even looted, given that most of the sealings seem to have been broken *before* the fire that destroyed the building (Heath 1958: 81; Pullen 1985: 282; Wiencke 2000: 302). Although such a scenario seemed plausible in view of the possibility that the entire building may actually have been "cleared" before its destruction (Wiencke 2000: 302), it still seems wanting in view of the small storage capacity of the room and the

lack of appropriate containers (i.e. jars) to which sealings of types C and D were applied (see Wiencke 1989: 505; Pullen 1994a). Most importantly, while accepting that the assembling of the sealed goods preceded these gatherings, this interpretation provides no insight into the troubling issue of the mechanisms of accumulation and into the question of the identity of the seal-users. In view of these difficulties it seems therefore pertinent to reconsider first of all the time-scale over which the two components of the deposit from Room 11 may have accumulated.

That the remarkable homogeneity of the assemblage negates the possibility of gradual and varied accumulation has already been acknowledged (Wiencke 2000: 236; for a similar argument, see Day and Wilson 2002: 149). This proposition can, however, be taken even further. In fact, upon closer analysis, the assemblage can be shown to consist of pots which, if not necessarily entirely *produced,* were at least *selected* and *assembled* for the requirements of a particular occasion.

As much is indicated first of all by an equivalence in size and proportions; it is further significant that such similarities in size cross-cut the morphological variations (types 1 and 2) indicated by typological analysis (and perhaps also the manufacturing groups, since these are typologically related). More specifically, although the saucers from this room fall into both Types 1 and 2, comparison with measurable examples of saucers from several other deposits from the site reveals that Type 2 saucers in Room 11 of the House of the Tiles exhibit a restricted range of dimensions particularly close to that of Type 1 saucers (**Figure 8.8; Tables 8.5-7**). More specifically, while Type 2 saucers at Lerna exhibit a bimodal size distribution, the House of the Tiles assemblage includes only the shallower group. The ceramic deposit can be seen in this sense to represent the "activation" of particular dimensions of variability to constitute a "category of use" (which cross-cuts and builds upon those provided by manufacture - cf. Miller 1985), an *occasion-specific* group in other words (a possibility which may, incidentally, be far more compatible with the "hasty" manufacture exhibited by many examples).

The fairly limited temporal span of the saucers is not incompatible with the time-depth of the assemblage of sealings. Indeed, it may be argued that there is nothing to contradict the possibility that the sealed goods had been assembled for the

requirements of the same occasion. A fairly short-term accumulation of the sealings deposit was in fact implied by previous interpretations (e.g. Pullen 1994a; Fiandra 1994), although this was based more on the potentially misleading criterion of the low level of repetitions of individual seals and, as the example from Room DM showed [see Section 6.3], absence of evidence for repetition cannot of itself be evidence for limited temporal length. More to the point, while it was assumed that the deposit of sealings was the product of a series of independent transactions and discrete episodes of deposition, this assumption is more a product of particular expectations about the function of the sealings – their implication in "administrative" operations - than of any actual evidence for separate transactions taking place over successive intervals of time (*contra* Pullen 1994a: 47). This is true even in the case of the occurrence of some seals more than once. In fact, the only possible instances of successive seal-use have been raised by the aforementioned suggestion of Fiandra that all Type B sealings come from a limited number of identifiable containers. Since the results of this analysis were never actually published but personally communicated to M. Wiencke and J. Weingarten (see also the discussion in Aruz 1994), it is difficult to assess this argument in detail. Judging from Weingarten's reports (1997; 2000), a basic problem seems to concern the actual homogeneity of the groups of sealings which are supposed to represent three distinct containers. This is certainly the case for the first (and considerably larger) group which "could not be further subdivided", yet "it *includes*, but is *not necessarily limited to* sealings on a conical wooden pommel" (Weingarten 1997: 152, emphasis added). Whether such inconsistencies in the description reflect the preliminary nature of Fiandra's observations (Fiandra herself repeatedly acknowledged the limitations of time in her inspection of the material) or difficulties inherent in this kind of analysis, they do serve to raise some uncertainty as to the weight of the evidence.

If this is so, then the hitherto unnoticed comparability in the number of seals represented among the sealings (70 or a little fewer if the six pairs of seal-types correspond to a single seal) and the number of individual vessels (64-77) may be more than an intriguing coincidence. Not only can it imply that it may have been the same people (most plausibly now viewed as the providers of goods) who are represented by the seals and shared a meal. Integral to such a reconstruction is the proposition that, instead of being the accumulated product of a series of actions

separated in time, the two assemblages (or at least the greatest part of them) may together represent just a *single event*, accommodated *at some point* by the building. Such a solution would not only accommodate the unusual predominance (and perhaps exclusivity) of portable (as opposed to stationary) containers, but also seems compatible with the state of preservation of the sealings (the fact that they were broken), and could also account for the absence of remains from the goods kept in the containers (as opposed to the actual preservation of food debris such as animal bones – Wiencke 2000: 236).

As will be made more explicit below, this focus of sealing practice, as suggested for the House of the Tiles, seems more compatible with the evidence from the other sealing deposits. It may also provide some insight into the elusive nature of the sealed goods. As already mentioned, most scholars were prone to dismiss, on the basis of the type of the containers, the possibility of agricultural products (Wiencke 1989: 505; Pullen 1985; Weingarten 1997: 150; Renard 1995: 292), despite some evidence such as the impressions of wheat grains and grape seeds on a sealing fragment (Wiencke 2000: 302). This argument may now appear less conclusive, for it has become even less clear that the goods offered were intended for long-term accumulation within the building. It is also significant that containers made of materials lighter than clay (such as basketry) are indeed used for dry agricultural products, and especially for their transfer over longer distances (see Rice 1987: 208) - an insight with evident implications for the presumed spatial reach of the particular practices at Lerna.

8.7 "Sharing a meal": Redefining the focus of seal-use at Lerna

As laid out, the argument brings us to a position from which to restore sealing practice in the House of the Tiles as *implicated in the sharing of a meal* by a (perhaps unusually large) number of people. It may be further argued that the other sealing deposits from the site also indicate the demarcation of resources assembled and safeguarded for some form of collective consumption. As much is suggested by a consideration of the frequency (and focus) of seal-use, and is further corroborated by the contextual associations of the sealings. First of all, it is significant that sealings

were applied to *some* but by no means *all* of the storage vessels recovered from these rooms. In other words, the application of sealings represents a more explicit storage strategy applied to only part of the agricultural products which appear to have entered the rooms. For instance, a significant number of pithoi (at least 6) and an even greater number of jars (at least 25) are reported from Lerna Room DM (Wiencke 2000: 434).

Secondly, it is questionable to what extent we can postulate intensive application of sealings. In the case of the pit from Room B, it has been possible to infer from the location of the fragments, and their similarity in type, clay, and seal impressions, that all (including those not catalogued) belonged to just one sealing (Wiencke 1969). Similarly, in Room DM, it is important to resist the impression of intense sealing activity conveyed by the relatively high number of fragments. As Wiencke (1969) demonstrated, the sealing fragments recovered in association with the two large storage vessels preserved *in situ* in the room actually represent a fairly limited number (potentially no more than four) of successive sealings. Aside from the aforementioned group of fragments which may represent a single sealing of the West Pithos, only four other fragments were recovered from the area of the East Pithos (182, 183, 184, and 186 - 182 and 183 belonging together). These bear the impressions of three distinct seals (S80, S81, and S82 respectively) and are assumed to represent three (earlier?) sealings of this pithos. This limited number of sealing episodes becomes even more telling in view of the length of use indicated by the wide variation and heterogeneity of the pottery found within the room, suggesting to the analyst long-term accumulation (Wiencke 2000: 143). The same time-depth may be implied by the differential (in terms of quantity) preservation of fragments from distinct sealings.

Finally, that the sealed foodstuffs represent goods reserved for immediate consumption (and not for distribution of raw food) seems indicated by the large ceramic assemblages kept to hand. Significant amounts of pottery (originally four bags) were recovered from the Bothros in Room B, including vessels for individual consumption, serving, preparation and cooking. Among the items retained are as many as twelve saucers, seven sauceboats and one askos, three basins and one ring-based bowl (Wiencke 2000: 425). That most of the deposit formed a group in

contemporary use was potentially supported by the very small proportion of single sherds in comparison to entire pots (Wiencke 2000: 119). In particular, a significant number of restorable vessels (including four sauceboats, a saucer and a small basin), found in the upper part of the bothros and at about the same level as the sealing fragments, were supposed to have been originally stored above it.

Even more telling is the evidence from Room DM. Originally consisting of more than 200 vessels (197 have been retained – see Wiencke 2000: 434), the ceramic assemblage was of a size similarly unusual to that from the House of the Tiles, particularly in view of the limited size of the excavated portion of the room. This ceramic assemblage consisted of a wide variety of vessels (jars, basins, collared bowls, saucers, sauceboats, askoi, along with an unusual concentration of cooking bowls and pans). These were found both along the preserved part of the north wall of the room (see Figure 7.6; also Wiencke 2000: Plan 26), potentially placed originally on some kind of support standing along the wall, and in the space around the two pithoi (Wiencke 2000: 140-2). Although the emphasis on food preparation - reinforced by several implements for the processing of grain - and serving seems to be at the expense of consumption, this may be the effect of the incomplete preservation of the room, especially as there seems to be a separate deposition of pottery related to different stages of the food storage, preparation and consumption cycle (Wiencke 2000: 143).

Interestingly, given the limited space within both the fortification rooms and the rooms DM and CA (see also Wiencke 2000: 135), the most suitable area for these commensal events seems to have been the paved area in front of Building BG (part of which had obviously been occupied by Room DM itself). It is also significant that such events of food-sharing may well have taken place in this open area even before the construction of Building BG (for the possibility of communal meals in this "courtyard" see also Weingarten 1997: 164, fn. 29). Although the ceramic evidence from the paving itself is rather limited and has further suffered from post-excavation discard, several fragments from saucers were recorded during the excavation (but were not preserved - Wiencke 2000: 56), together with fine specimens of tableware (for example the sauceboat P385 – Wiencke 2000: 56). Furthermore, the pottery from the interior of two large overlapping bothroi (HTS-3 and HTS-4), dug into the

southern edge of the paved area (and sealed by the upper course of paving), may also be connected with these commensal events. This is further corroborated by ceramic joins between at least one of the two bothroi (HTS-4) and some of the lots collected in the paving (Wiencke 2000: 56). Such joins also indicate the bothroi themselves as the locus of (selective?) disposal of some of the paraphernalia of such occasions. Their contents are illuminating: they produced animal bones, a significant amount of cooking vessels (both cooking bowls and baking pans), as well as good-quality tableware (Wiencke 2000: 55-6).

It may also be significant that, as indicated by Wiencke's useful ceramic summary (2000: esp. 636-8), some ceramic changes characterizing Phase C may hark back to this later part of Phase B - the time, that is, marked by the construction of the paving (Wiencke 2000: 636). These changes mainly involve the increased "popularity" of particular types (i.e. morphological varieties) of some vessel shapes, often at the expense of other varieties. We may note here the predominance of a fairly large type of basin ("Type 5"), used most probably for the preparation and/or presentation of food, as well as the appearance of the type 1 saucers (as mentioned earlier this is the shallower type of saucer), together with miniature ones, which become relatively common in the later phases of the period (cf. Day and Wilson 2004 for this perhaps chronologically significant popularity of diminutive drinking vessels). Also, the "deeper" ("Type 2") variety of sauceboat, which characterises the later levels of Lerna, may be foreshadowed by some unusually deep examples of the earlier Type 1 (P371; P372; P416), potentially all of which come from Late B levels. Equally relevant may be the increased popularity during Late Phase B of a relatively new type of cooking pot (the "ring-based" bowl), at the expense of an earlier, smaller, "incurved" type, which was the exclusive cooking vessel of the earlier phases at the site.

8.8 Playing with food: Commensality and social negotiation in Late EH II Lerna

The first conclusion that seems warranted on the basis of the above is that the activities, in which the sealing assemblages from the later levels of Lerna III were implicated, were of a longer ancestry on this part of the mound. But we would be

mistaken to read this as a passive reproduction of earlier practices. On the contrary, the particular organization of the activities at the time of the spatial re-arrangement of the mound bespeaks an attempt not only to ensure the continuing relevance of commensality as the major focus of the aggregations there, but also to define more explicitly the conditions – and *pre-conditions* - of these collective meals. Essential to these strategies, in other words, is an attempt to establish forcefully what makes possible these commensal events – and by extension the community which is thereby addressed. This is certainly facilitated by the spatial organization of the mound, stressing, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, access and the possibility for differential positioning of actors. In other words, it now becomes possible to read into this spatial arrangement a concern not only with defining and circumscribing the commensal community, but also with making the aggregation appear as dependent upon those more closely connected with the interior of the mound.

Interestingly, the very introduction of sealings testified at about the same time at Lerna can be viewed as part of the same attempt to establish, in an authoritative and unambiguous manner, the conditions of commensality. The foregoing analysis has already promoted the idea of seal-use as a means employed in the *temporal* management of resources: the application and removal of sealings now emerge as acts which serve to emphasise particular moments in the procurement of (cooked) food. This imposition of a particular rhythm upon the provision of food (the exploitation of pause and interval; cf. Bourdieu 1977: 79; also Jenkins 1992; Appadurai 1993: 14; Barrett 2001: 152), that is to say the explicit temporal regulation of commensality, certainly highlights the importance of these meals (in Bell's [1992] terms, *ritualises* them). At the same time, the promotion of the sealed goods themselves as resources *demonstrably* held in trust for particular occasions of collective consumption not only serves to emphasise the exceptionality of these occasions, but also effectively calls attention to the actions that enabled the assembling and safeguarding of resources, promoting them as those ensuring the commensal event.

This perspective, therefore, allows commensality to emerge as a major field of social negotiation, with the establishment of particular positions of authority being dependent upon successfully appropriating the commensal event. This implies the

possibility of competing claims upon what enables the sharing of a meal. Indeed, the case of the event reconstructed in the House of the Tiles allows us to follow the performance of these social "games" around food. On the one hand, the use of sealings serves to "author" the contributed goods, explicitly to attach them, that is, to social referents. Sealings serve to prove and demonstrate the ability of participants to contribute. This is made all the more forceful by the discrepancies in quantity of goods offered, as ultimately implied by the occurrence of some seals on more than one object (see above). Calling attention to the actions which made the production and offering possible in the first place, seal-use presents the particular histories and relations embodied in the seals as integral to the appropriate performance of the event: effectively as what makes this communal meal possible.

It is significant, however, that, even if at least some of the consumables were procured by the consumers themselves, the *in situ* transformation, re-framing and offering of *cooked* food (see Howell 1989: 428), along with the provision of a specialised assemblage of pottery, may have allowed the House to be presented as the host of the event. The importance of this role is certainly enhanced by the particular vessels employed in the *service* of food (see Wiessner 2001; also Sørensen 2000: 119), which privilege a specific positioning of participants towards the suppliers of food and drink and involve a series of gestures in their manipulation which add to the formality of the process. This refers first of all to the employment of sauceboats. Given that this is the most intensely discussed vessel shape of the period (often presented as its "hallmark"), some further comments are useful.

Mainly since Renfrew's use of the sauceboat as supporting the theory of the introduction of wine early in EB II (1972: 284), the idea that the shape indicates some type of "ceremonial" drinking has been popular among archaeologists. The exceptional quality of many extant examples (cf. Mylonas 1959: 25), and the reproduction of the shape in valuable materials such as gold (Childe 1924; Weinberg 1969; Wiencke 2000: 592), further corroborated this impression. Even if the particular substance that the vessel was designed to hold remains enigmatic (the possibility of a thicker substance such as fermented milk has also been popular, especially as it was thought supported by some examples of sauceboats with a zoomorphic spout – Fahy 1964: 21), it is true that its physical characteristics impose

a particular formality on its manipulation: the wide-mouthed shape, relatively long and high-rising spout, and single and small, usually horizontal, handle, require both hands, and long as well as slow and controlled movements to avoid spilling of contents. This exceptional care in dispensing the contents of the vessel acquires particular significance in view of its relatively small capacity (especially when compared to the, presumably functionally complementary, individual saucer), and may indicate that small quantities were served each time. Of further importance in this respect is the observation that the same characteristics that command attention to the physical manipulation of the sauceboat may have also discouraged its passing around, favouring instead its use by specific participants in charge of serving. Moreover, its proportionally small base and asymmetrical profile often make the vessel unstable when not filled (Blegen 1928; Goldman 1931: 99; Fahy 1964: 21) (see **Figure 8.7**), and thus may not have allowed it to be put down until entirely emptied. Such a possibility has some interesting implications, which will be more fully appreciated in the following discussion. First of all, it may have enabled particular participants to be presented as controlling the distribution of the substance contained in the vessel. Furthermore, emphasis on the "provider" of food may have facilitated not only regulation of apportionment (cf. Berking 1999: 69ff), but also the imposition of a serving order (and thus of a serving hierarchy - cf. Appadurai 1981: 498, 501).

Equally formal to the act of pouring from sauceboats, and bespeaking the same emphasis on the distribution of food, must have been the ladling from potentially static basins (for the functional relationship between ladle and basin see their contextual association in Tsoungiza; also the use-marks on the interior of many examples of basins - Wiencke 2000: 538, 573). Interestingly, this appears to be a practice of equally long ancestry at Lerna: it is attested from the earliest EH II levels and involves some of the most well-made ceramics of the site (Wiencke 2000: 538, 573).

In short, arguing that the ceramic media employed served to cast this activity as a distinct form of exchange (an essentially donor-recipient relationship) centred on the transmission and reception of food (Dietler 2001; also Foster 1990) highlights the participants as the *recipients of nurture and sustenance*, essentially the product of the

care of others (Foster 1990; Carsten 1995b). This *objectification* of the community becomes further obvious in view of the distinctive homogeneity and simplicity of the vessels used in the individual consumption of food and drink, providing no field for differentiation among practitioners, either in terms of appearance (vessels quite similar, unpainted and rapidly made) or in terms of food and/or drink apportionment (similar capacities). Interestingly, this impression accords well with the conclusions drawn from the architectural analysis (see Chapter 5.4): we have discussed there the effects that the particular features of the monumental buildings (especially the provision of a second floor with balconies) may have had on the character of the community assembled at Lerna.

8.9 Redefining "Redistribution" in Late EH II Lerna

As the analysis undertaken in this chapter has demonstrated, closer attention to the intricacies of social interaction at Lerna may provide a far richer understanding than previous approaches. In the simplest of terms, we have been able to reconstruct the much-discussed transactions on the mound as involving the deployment of amassed (or "pooled") goods in acts of collective consumption – essentially the "redistribution through the collectivity of goods collectively procured" (cf. Sahlins 1965). Most importantly, while this idea may seem at first sight to return us to Renfrew's earlier interpretation (see Section 8.0), the clearer understanding of the details of this process achieved in this chapter may enable us to (re)define the relevance of this model to the particular context. This becomes all the more important in view not only of the enduring appeal of the redistribution model for many students of the EH II, but also of the considerable problems and ambiguities that continue to surround it. This does not simply refer to the more immediate empirical weaknesses reviewed earlier in this chapter, but also to the tendency to use the term "redistribution" in a cursory manner (e.g. Konsola 1986), and often as self-evident or self-explanatory, without further preoccupation with how the transactions in question became possible (legitimate) and meaningful within given historical conditions. In any case, and as the interminable debate among theorists has demonstrated, such explanation is rather unlikely to succeed in the particular framework, within which the concept of redistribution has been hitherto discussed. All we have instead is a series of highly

abstract arguments, which have been furthermore shown to be both theoretically flawed and empirically unsubstantiated. Discussion of such weaknesses has been undertaken elsewhere (for a useful review see Halstead 1988; also 2004), making a full account here unnecessary. We are perhaps all too familiar with Renfrew's idea of a redistributive elite, emerging to deal with the consequences of local specialization (1972; 1984), as well as with the opposite attempt to prove redistribution less as the "benevolent" and altruistic organization of reciprocities and more as the exploitation of the many by some (evidently already powerful) few (Gamble 1981; Gilman 1981). Insofar as there is a persistent concern with the implications of such transactions for the organization of social relationships and the emergence of new forms of power, this chapter has facilitated a new point of entry into these questions. It is worth, therefore, reiterating at this point some of the main insights and implications of this analysis.

First of all, closer attention to the particular features of the transactions at Lerna has allowed us to follow the management of goods as integral to the production and reproduction of "subjects who properly belong to a community" (cf. Appadurai 1995: 205). This mainly relied on the appreciation of the temporality of sealing practice as documented at the site. We have been able to understand how seal-use, drawing attention to the moments when goods are withdrawn from circulation, but with an eye to (anticipating) their future availability, establishes resources as the object of collective attention and commitment, binding people around them. In other words, we have been able to redefine the "centralized management of resources" as the skilful creation and *manipulation* of a "social base" or a "commons" embodying the reunion of particular people (cf. Gudeman 2001).

It should also be clear that this emphasis on the strong corporate dimension of the pool of goods amassed in the "centre" is not commensurate with Sahlins's (1965: 143; 1974: 130) stress on the "social function" of redistribution, that is, the generation of "a spirit of unity and centricity". For Sahlins, the ultimate function of redistribution was to sustain the corporate structure itself. Rather than attempting to explain redistribution by what it (supposedly) does for society (cf. Giddens 1979; also Campbell 1982: esp. 36-8; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 139), this chapter has taken particular care to highlight the tensions that are integral to this process. This entails

not only a multiplicity of perspectives on what the particular practice "achieved" (instead of an objectively defined "function"), but also recognition that any "result" would have been always provisional and thus always insecure. Even the emphasis on the "centre", which for most theorists constitutes a self-evident (and defining) feature of the concept of redistribution (cf. Polanyi 1957: 250; Service 1962; Sahlins 1965), has been shown to be the outcome of a series of strategies, geared at ensuring its privileged visibility in the transactions (see Monaghan 1990).

The particular "style" of these transactions, that is to say, the "redistribution" of the collected goods as *a common meal*, is further significant. We have already called attention to commensality as a major field of social negotiation at Lerna, and, importantly, one that may have been integral to the earlier history of the site. Already implied in the skilled interplay between "hoarding" (withholding) and "sharing out" (redistribution) of resources was the possibility of intervening at critical points of the food cycle to (re)define the source of food. In other words, the very terms of the transactions may have allowed the potential appropriation of at least part of the contributions. Importantly, because of the intimate nature of the practice of sharing food and the symbolic power of the trope of commensality (the offering of food is the paradigmatic act of love and nurture - see Carsten 1995b; Berking 1999), they may also have been most effective at subtly "euphemising" (and hence legitimising) the self-interest nature of the process (see de Certeau 1987: 54), by creating, in Bourdieu's term (1990: 112), a "sincere fiction" of disinterested *generosity* (Dietler 1996: 91; see also Berking 1999: 41).

Evidently, this *claim* on the part of those related to the mound to a particular relationship to the existence and welfare of a larger community may allow us to nuance and enrich one of Renfrew's most debated ideas (Gamble 1981; Gilman 1981; see also Halstead 1988), that of a "manager" acting for the common good (cf. Clastres 1987: 64). To claim a privileged position in relation to this process sustains a particularly potent mode of power - authority. In Weberian terms, authority contrasts with domination in being a form of power not imposed but conceded by others on the basis of a legitimate claim to manage and co-ordinate (be entrusted with specialised tasks - see Allen 1997: 66; 1999: 206; Nisbet 1967: 141ff). Giddens (1994) draws attention to the double sense of 'authority': it is the authority which an

individual or group has over others, the capacity to issue binding commands; but it also means a reference-point of knowledge (also see Meillassoux 1978: 137). In these more generic terms, authority is the province of 'guardians'. Some of Arendt's (1961: esp. 120-122) insights into the nature of authority are particularly relevant here. Arendt underlines the relationship of authority with the protection and safeguarding of what is regarded as the "social base", the "sacred foundation" which binds all future generations. As she points out, the Latin word *auctoritas* derives from the verb *augere*, i.e. "to augment", and what authority, or those in authority, constantly augment (or are expected to do so) is the social base. All authority derives from (and feeds back upon) this foundation, adding to particular moments the weight of the past (so that human life attains "gravity").

This understanding allows a perhaps more fruitful synthesis of the managerial and circumscription arguments (see also Halstead 1988): on the one hand, it is power which is accepted and respected because very "real" services are offered (having to do with the sustaining of the conditions of reproduction). On the other, it is obviously also "exclusionary power" (Blanton *et al.* 1996), which seeks privileged access to the resources produced in other fields of action by control of these moments. In the present context, it is further important that this new position of power can now be seen to manipulate and derive its legitimacy from a pre-existing network of relationships on the mound.

8.10 Of territories and networks

Evidently, the significance of the particular focus and "style" of the activities at Lerna can only be appreciated against a wider landscape of movement and practice. This of course hardly amounts to drawing a relatively clear territory around the site. We are perhaps all too familiar with Renfrew's attempt to reconstitute the landscape as an orderly collection of "peer" local systems (1975; 1984; 1986), each rooted in its proper place (**Figure 8.9** – cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997). The same logic informs many of the expectations of surveys, which, undertaken in predefined and rather arbitrarily delimited regions (cf. Relaki 2004; Wright 2004), wish to "reveal" the organisation of these regions into socially real entities. The theoretical underpinnings

of this approach have already been exposed and criticised (Chapter 3). It may be here evident that it hardly works in practice.

For example, Pullen repeatedly attempted to define the "boundaries" of Lerna sealing system. First (1994a), he proposed that the sealed goods assembled in the House of the Tiles represent contributions made by the "heads" of households of the settlement of Lerna (see also Weingarten 1997). In order to support this argument, Pullen went so far as to divide the estimated extent of the settlement of Lerna by the average size of EH "typical" domestic units, to reveal a supposed equivalence between the number of individual seals and the approximate number of households (30 to 110) of the site. This proposition is of course surrounded by an array of empirical problems: not only is the extent of the "settlement" at Lerna - if indeed there was one - rather difficult to estimate; as has been previously illustrated (see Chapter 5), the attempt to delineate the "typical" EH II domestic unit is itself fraught with ambiguities. Further work in this direction (Pullen 2003), attempting to extend, by recourse to a series of rather dubious formulae, the boundaries of the system "until the southwestern corner of the Argive plain", has proved hardly more conclusive or convincing.

More importantly, insistence on this type of analysis does not only disregard the complex temporalities of landscape occupation (see for example Sutton 1994; Whitelaw 2000; Foxhall 2000; also Mee 1999); it also fails to acknowledge a distinctive (and historically specific) emphasis on interconnections, which appear to transcend, to the point of negating, the boundaries of such "systems". A number of features of the wider area of the site may support this proposition: first of all, the patterns of seal imagery; secondly the circulation of rollers decorating the shoulder of large ("banded") pithoi and the rim of circular hearths similar to that recovered from the corridor of Building BG; finally, the circulation patterns of pottery, and especially of fine tableware.

Most revealing in this respect is the very nature of the variability in the corpus of sealings from the House of the Tiles, implying a system which is purposefully expansive and hence malleable. We have already drawn attention to the notable similarities in the designs of individual seals, often achieved with the least possible modification of elements or of the overall design (Section 6.1). To this structural

principle "of the least difference" (Gell 1998: 217-218), may also be added a tendency towards the re-combination and re-arrangement of a (limited) number of motifs, allowing the seals to be *variously* interconnected. That is to say, any likeness achieved by virtue of such interconnections will be more in terms of complex "family resemblances" (see Rosch and Mervis 1975 following Wittgenstein 1953; also Lakoff 1987: 16), each seal resembling others in a variety of possible ways (just as the members of a family may share one with the other the same facial features, or the same hair colour, or temperament and the like). The immediate implication is that the corpus defies classification according to any one single criterion, appearing instead open to many alternative groupings.

This may set on a new basis the widely accepted idea that these interconnections reflect some pre-established ties between the participants. Similar linkages between seals or sealings are a common feature of many assemblages (see for example the series of "walking lions" seals in the EBA Mesara tombs) and they have often been interpreted as evidence for inter-lineage connections (see Weingarten 1992; also Blasingham 1983). This would seem to rely on a view of the different combinations taking place in a fixed, as it were copyrighted form (see Küchler 1988: 632), when their very power is that they make the seal corpus into a field of possible or legitimate transformations and re-combinations.

The importance of this "citational field" (cf. Jones 2001 after Gell 1998), in which each object possesses traces from a previous object and/or references to another one, becomes clearer in view of some close glyptic connections (Weingarten et al. 1999) and evident iconographic linkages among sealing assemblages from different sites (see especially Kostoula 2000). Such linkages are most evident among the recently excavated assemblage of Petri, and those of the House of the Tiles and Asine (see **Figures 8.3a-c; 8.10-8.12**) and involve the virtual reproduction not only of the same motifs but of the entire synthesis (compare, for example, S3 from Petri, *CMS* V.521 from Asine and S18 (*CMS* V.71) from the House of the Tiles; S1 from Petri and S28 from the House of the Tiles; S4 from Petri and *CMS* V.520 from Asine). Similarities such as that noted between the sealing from Akovitika (**Figure 8.13**) and those at Lerna (especially S23 - Wiencke 1989) further upset the clear boundaries that

customary analysis wishes to establish (each site with a well-defined territory or hinterland of resources), alerting us instead to a malleable system of reference.

This picture is further enriched by the evidence for the circulation of rollers used for the decoration of both pithoi and hearths. The occurrence in different sites (Lerna, Zygouries, Tiryns) of fragments from pithoi and hearths decorated by the same roller (*CMS* V.120; *CMS* V.504; *CMS* V.529 respectively) has already received attention from various scholars (Dousougli-Zachos 1989; Weisshaar 1989; Wiencke 1989). More specifically, it was taken to indicate the operation of itinerant craftsmen supposedly building these vessels in different sites. The appeal of this idea is evident: what was read into it was some type of "craft specialisation" (Wiencke 1989; 2000), even though the lack of clarity in the impressions (Wiencke 1970) may bespeak a lack of skill in the application of the rollers which presents some evident difficulties to this argument. Even if this idea of "itinerant craftsmen" is correct, however, more to the point is the effect of this latent possibility of replication: the circulation of these rollers would have been known, and may have been employed to forge connections across wider areas.

The patterns of pottery circulation, indicated by the chemical analysis of ceramics from a number of sites of the Argolid and Corinthia (Attas *et al.* 1987), may have had similar implications. Attas's analysis has demonstrated not simply a "lively regional exchange" (Wiencke 2000: 659), but also what appears as the intense circulation of "simply shaped and decorated pots", mostly tableware, "among communities which were individually accustomed to producing precisely the same types themselves" (Rutter 1993b: 24). To be sure, Attas's analysis can only be taken as preliminary, and subsequent research in this field (including the petrographic analysis of a fairly limited number of samples from Lerna itself – Betancourt *et al.* 1988; Betancourt and Myers 2000) still falls short of providing interpretable results (also Shriner and Dorais 1999). In any case, the "logic" of such exchanges has been difficult to grasp, and the lack of clear patterning (Pullen 1985: 340-1; Table 6.4, fig. 91), if not entirely the product of sampling strategies (as cautioned by Pullen 1985: 340; see also Rutter 1993b), has further complicated the picture.

It is precisely in view of such fluidity that the particular transactions on the mound of Lerna may have acquired their "logic". For it alerts us to the transformative capacity of such moments of social intercourse: in Munn's (1983; 1987) terms, the ability to employ particular spatial referents in order to determine the timing, location and composition of future activities (see also Battaglia 1992).

8.11 Conclusions

This chapter undertook an analysis of the artefactual assemblages found in association with the monumental architecture of the mound of Lerna. Having as a starting point the much discussed sealing assemblage from the House of the Tiles, this analysis has allowed us to highlight the implication of sealing practices at the site in a process of food collection, distribution and sharing. By placing this "distributional" system of Lerna at the heart of social reproduction, the latter has now become understood as a strategic process: a process, which involves the marshalling of material resources, time, and energy (cf. Weiner 1980).

It was also argued that unpacking this process has more to do with revealing the ongoing attempts to establish (objectify) a "territory" (as a "local" or "regional" world – cf. Appadurai 1995) than with identifying a pre-given geographical scale at which monumental architecture operated. In fact, once such assumptions are put aside, we may start assessing this phenomenon in terms of a historically specific emphasis on interconnections. Incidentally, such emphasis may actually be reflected in the wide distribution of EH II material, which has given the impression of a significant (to the point of being hardly interpretable – Dousougli 1998) "expansion".

The very depositional patterns which have previously puzzled archaeologists may afford further insight into this process. This is most evident in the case of the assemblage from the House of the Tiles. The foregoing analysis has already highlighted this assemblage as the privileged "record" of a commensal event (cf. Sørensen 2000: 119). This idea may acquire particular significance in view of the depositional particularities of the building – the concentration of finds in a single room, which is furthermore exceptionally small and accessible only from the exterior

of the building. We have already mentioned how such particularities – surely even more intriguing in view of the building's unique conditions of destruction in an intense conflagration – have been addressed: both Caskey's original proposition that the building was never finished, and the apparently more plausible alternative idea that the building was "cleared" before its destruction (see above). While raising the possibility that we may be dealing with a rather "skewed" picture of the inventory of the house, however, this last proposition hardly explained why the evoked "clearing operations" were so selective in scope: why they excluded the assemblage of the small compartment, or why, if at least some of the sealed goods were removed from the room (Pullen 1994a; Wiencke 2000), they left in place the ceramic assemblage. On the other hand, the unique preservation of the deposit may make much more sense as a deliberately created (and possibly curated) assemblage (in a sense a repository of memory; see Pollard 2001: 323), placed within a purposefully selected part of the building, rather than as a deposit "missed out" for some obscure reason by the purported clearing operations. In other words, we may now consider the exceptional visibility of the material components of this assemblage as the product of explicit strategies, which, by the elimination of other remains, managed to define *particular* actions as integral to the identity of the building, crafting for it what seems a particular and unique history.

CHAPTER 9

"SCALES OF INTEGRATION", "ASSOCIATIONS THAT MATTER" AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE EBA MAINLAND

9.1. Introduction

This chapter brings together insights from the preceding analysis to provide a more general assessment of social organization in the EH II. First of all, seeking to expand analysis to other known examples of monumental buildings, it both reassesses the "ordinariness" of practices currently assumed for these buildings and reconsiders the importance of the reproduction of the hearth room in monumental architecture.

This last point may then serve as a point of departure for returning to the relationship between two supposedly self-excluding social categories – the "domestic" and the "public" which provided the baseline of social inquiry (see Chapter 4). The analysis has hopefully managed to demonstrate both these categories not as "natural" (cross-culturally uniform) sociological facts but as historically-specific *statements* of belonging, firmly grounded in and relying on the ways specific activities are structured (Chapter 3). Drawing upon some basic insights of this analysis, it is argued in this chapter that rather than any one of these statements having logical priority over the other (as current approaches to social evolution tend to imply), they are to be perceived as *alternative aspects of the same social process*: they rely upon and reproduce a *common* (albeit general and malleable) understanding of how social relationships *should* be.

Finally, in order to give this argument a historical perspective, a brief review of the EH III evidence is also provided. This is of evident importance given current understandings of this change – i.e. that, in contradistinction to the EH II, EH III lacks any immediately apparent evidence for "complexity" (see Chapters 1 and 2).

9.2 EH II monumental buildings: "Variations on a theme"?

The extent to which the Lerna monumental buildings can be taken as representative of the category in general has figured as a prominent concern in more recent attempts to deal with this architectural phenomenon (Shaw 1987; Kalogerakou 1999). Partly because of the general paucity of the artefactual evidence from other similar buildings (reminiscent of the situation in most of the rooms of the House of the Tiles), the answer to this question has not been forthcoming and, certainly, the lack of detailed publication has made assessment of this evidence an almost impossible task.

The most significant find from the Theban "Fortified Building" was a portable clay hearth found in the easternmost shallow room (a porch or vestibule – see **Figure 6.3**). The other rooms apparently produced "only small quantities of pottery and a few small stone and bone objects" (Aravantinos 1986: 59). Equally sparse is the information concerning the two buildings at Akovitika. Finds included, aside from the sealing mentioned above (see Chapter 8), pottery of evidently late EH II date ("shallow plates" have been reported - Koumouzelis-Bouchard 1981; also Wiencke 1989: 496, fn. 6; 2000: 656, fn.1). From the surviving part of the large room of House Y at Zygouries, the excavator (Blegen 1928: 25) reports a button seal (see Chapter 8) and an unspecified quantity of pottery, including two sauceboats. A row of vessels (evidently tableware) was found *in situ* against the rear wall of the large room of House A at Asea (Holmberg 1944: 12).

The artefactual assemblages from the two buildings of Kolonna (**Figure 9.1**) seemed to have originally been significantly richer, even though only some (unspecified) portion of the finds has been published (Walter and Felten 1981; also Rutter 1983).

Especially the floor deposit of the later and better preserved White House (**Figures 9.1b – 2**) contained a rich ceramic assemblage ("Fundgrup IX" – Walter and Felten 1981: 20, 97, 142), comprising an unusual type of sauceboat with squat body and short spout, as well as some "Anatolian" one-handed cups (tankards) similar to those from Raphina House A (see Chapter 5). Although finds have not been reported separately for the various spaces of the building, it is possible that the majority came from the largest and most emphasized room of the ground floor, the "Herdraum": as we shall see below, it was the floor of this room that was subsequently sealed by a clay platform. Indeed, at least one pithos was reported to have been found *in situ* in the room (Kalogerakou 1999: 95).

Previous attempts to relate this evidence to the more ostentatious activities documented for the House of the Tiles have not been particularly successful. Insofar as the concern was with establishing the "function" of monumental architecture, there seemed to be no other option than to forge a fundamental distinction between the supposedly "specialised" activities indicated by the Lerna sealings and the "ordinary" practices inferred from the more mundane finds from the other buildings. Chronological differences and regional variation have thus been called on to provide an "explanation" for these incompatibilities (Shaw 1987; Kalogerakou 1999).

In view of the analysis undertaken in Chapter 8 we may be in a significantly better position from which to bring together this seemingly disparate evidence. First of all, it is important to realize that, given the obviously different depositional histories of the various examples, the quality and quantity of their contents cannot be taken at face value, so the apparent discrepancies may have been both exaggerated and misunderstood. We have already highlighted the *exceptional* preservation of the House of the Tiles sealing assemblage, also discussing it as the potential result of explicit deposition strategies. The example of the Kolonna White House mentioned above is equally instructive, further indicating the potentially differential focus of such strategies.

Most importantly, the analysis of the artefactual assemblages from the House of the Tiles has hopefully re-established the focus of sealing practice at Lerna: if the interpretation of the sealings as devices used to facilitate the organization of food

events is valid, then the artefactual assemblages from other monumental buildings, however poorly preserved and documented, do reveal a common theme addressed and reproduced by monumental architecture. Fleshing out the variability that the deployment of commensality as a field of activity may have entailed is not possible with the information currently at hand. But it indicates a more fruitful basis for comparison than the simple dichotomies we have worked with so far. The very "ordinariness" of these practices may acquire a new significance. This may be better understood by the analysis of the hearth room.

9.3 Re-evaluating the "domestic" outlook of monumental architecture: the hearth room

The reproduction of the hearth room in monumental architecture has long been acknowledged, but once again assessment of its significance is rather unsatisfactory. For Pullen, for example (1986b), the major implication of this observation was the possibility of inferring a domestic function for monumental buildings. Although one could hardly see how this explanation could be compatible with the common characterization of these rooms as "public" spaces, it was apparently convincing enough to be recently reiterated (Kalogerakou 1999). The artefactual evidence from the Herdraum of the White House, indicating "simple" domestic practices, was supposedly corroborative of this interpretation.

In Chapter 5 we have had the opportunity to evaluate the significance of these practices and of their structure and interrelation for the promotion of a particular model of belonging. This emerging idea of the hearth room as an icon of a group's production and reproduction may now be usefully combined both with the understanding of monumental buildings as somehow "ideal" structures drawing attention to relationships of particular significance (Chapter 6), and the clarification of the results of the architectural analysis of the House of the Tiles undertaken in Chapter 7. Interestingly, the observed emphasis placed on Room 12 as a space for particular aggregations may be here complemented by some considerations on the architecture of another building, the "Weisses Haus" (see **Figure 9.2**). Here, one can see repeated the characteristics observed for Room 12 of the House of the Tiles,

especially an emphasis on particular conditions of approach and entry, this time achieved by means of a fairly deep and "sunken" vestibule (leading further down to the main room), as well as by the off-set position of doorways. The history of this room in this latter example is equally instructive. The end of the use of the building is marked by the construction of a peculiar metallurgical installation, interpreted by the excavators as a "smelting furnace", on a massive clay platform over 1m high (Walter and Felten 1981: 23; 25-6 Abb. 17-20). It is important that the platform, seeking exceptional visibility for the activities performed there, was laid down nearly exclusively in the former "Herdraum", establishing the accumulated history of the particular room of the building as a (purposefully selected) background to the "new" activities, while at the same time reproducing the room as a persisting focal point.

In view of the above, we may redefine the significance of the reproduction of the hearth room in monumental architecture. While for Pullen the evident magnification and elaboration of these units in corridor-houses simply entailed their use by groups perhaps larger than the "ordinary" nuclear family (1986b), what can be instead argued is that both the spatial organization of these "monumental" buildings and the particular structure of their material inventory assert the significance of particular practices, affirming and promoting their wider relevance as the basis of "groupness" and collective identification. The community that monumental buildings advertise is one wherein people can find a place, not only because they can find a familiarity in the particular spatial order, but also because they can grasp the logic (and importance) of the activities taking place there. In this sense, monumental architecture is a mechanism not simply of integration but of *trust* (as defined in Chapter 3).

The example of Room 4 at Zygouries (Chapters 5, 6), if this indeed represents the re-used hearth room of a pre-existing monumental building (as suggested by Pullen - 1986b), illustrates the point well, and is further indicative of the ongoing dialogue between the two traditions. The fact that it was this particular space that was maintained and reinvested in does not simply confirm its exceptionality but also shows that it could be understood (or be re-invented) independently from its original wider architectural context. It also most crucially confirms the compatibility and mutual definition of the two "spheres of practice".

It is no accident that this emphasis on "domesticity" as read into the hearth rooms of non-monumental architecture seems to have acquired particular significance during the later part of the EB2 - i.e. when the corridor-houses themselves are believed to have gained importance: despite the patchiness of the record and the general lack of comparable ceramic and stratigraphic sequences, this conclusion seems secure on both artefactual and potentially also stratigraphic grounds. For example, the pottery recovered from most of the examples discussed in Chapter 5 does indicate a relatively late EH II date (see Wiencke 2000 for detailed ceramic correlations; also Manning 1995). It is also indicative that, with the possible exception of Askitario, such an arrangement has not to date been identified in relation to earlier architectural remains. This is for example true for the "predecessor" of Eutresis House L, House I (see **Figure 5.3**), originally dated to the EH I but more recently assigned by Wiencke (2000) to the early EH II. It may also hold true for sites for which an early EH II date has been proposed – the settlement at Lithares being the most prominent example (on the chronology see Dousougli 1987; Wiencke 1989).

The "public" and the private" can now be understood, therefore, as statements of belonging ("associations that matter"), which are products and alternative aspects of the same process rather than nested levels of organization. Before turning to EH III for comparative insights, it is worth discussing some further dimensions of this relationship as these were brought out by analysis of "domestic" and "monumental" practice.

9.4 "Cultures of sharing" and the analysis of social organisation

It was proposed above that the "order" evoked by monumental architecture is not imposed top-down and does not simply represent a "consensus" reached bottom-up either: it develops from an open-ended discourse concerning the establishment of an appropriate "basis" for social relationships. Analysis of domestic practice (Chapter 5) and of the activities documented in relation to monumental architecture at Lerna (Chapter 8) has allowed us to provisionally define this "basis" in terms of a dominant

"theme", the distribution (as a prepared meal) of produce (demonstrably) collectively procured.

Acknowledging this common trope is crucial. First of all, it may help to contradict expectations about particular types of transactions pertaining to different social "levels". The reference here is to the well-known typology of redistribution proposed by Earle (1977) and more or less explicitly referred to by others (see Halstead 1988). Earle distinguished between three major types of redistribution, namely *householding* ("the pooling and general consumption of goods under the division of labour characteristic of a domestic unit"), *sharing-out* ("the allocation of goods produced by co-operative labour to participants and the owners of the factors of production"), and *mobilisation* ("the recruitment of goods and services for the benefit of a group not coterminous with the contributing members"). To serve the evolutionary goals of this typology, these types were assumed to correspond to increasingly higher levels of social organisation: they were taken to indicate respectively domestic production (as defined by Sahlins 1974), inter-household production usually within a single community, and intercommunity production (Earle 1977: 215-6). The obvious implication is that these types explicitly described relationships of different quality, to the effect that, in each case, transactions appear underpinned by fairly different moral rules (cf. Sahlins' [1965: 151ff] well-known idea of different types of "reciprocity" depending on the degree of "social distance").

Instead of supposing different kinds of exchange being dictated by a pre-given scheme of social morphology, analysis in Chapters 5 and 8 has placed emphasis on the ways in which the structure of such practices serves to bring together *particular* collectivities. This shift of focus has revealed a meaningful fuzziness of the boundaries between Earle's types. This is not only because "sharing" in the domestic domain is hardly ever the selfless act that terms such as "generalized reciprocity" would seem to imply (see Gell 1992b), but because what we may have attempted to identify as mobilization may well be expressed as sharing (cf. Mosko 1997). Indeed, the common trope in the distribution of goods demonstrated for both domestic and monumental contexts (Chapters 5, 8) entails not simply the explicit cross-reference between what we take (*a priori*) to be different scales of social organization but their actual *mutual constitution*.

These "scales" become then, in Herzfeld's (1997: 5) words, "strategic adjustments to the demands of the historical moment": they represent an assessment of possibilities of commitment and rely for their reality on the way particular activities are structured. Replicated and resonating across different fields, the logic of these activities would appear to be the very logic organizing the social world (Bell 1992: 129), securing an "agreement" on its "legitimacy".

To grasp the historical specificity of this dialogue it is useful to briefly introduce the EH III period that witnessed not simply the "eclipse" of monumental architecture, but also, as an inevitable corollary, a fundamental redefinition of the domestic domain.

9.5 Food for thought: introducing the EH III

Most accounts of the mainland EBA describe EH II monumental architecture as a relatively short-lived phenomenon. The destruction of the House of the Tiles in a large conflagration (potentially limited to the building itself – Wiencke 2000: 213), and its covering by a large tumulus (purposefully left undisturbed by subsequent building activity - Caskey 1960), are often evoked to mark the "change of an era".

This does not mean that monumental buildings simply "disappeared" because, as already evident from the foregoing analysis (Chapter 6), they hardly did so. As much is true not only of the "dramatic" turning of the House of the Tiles into a conspicuous landmark and a referent of social memory (as also pointed out by Whitley 2004), but also of other buildings as well (the White House being the most prominent among them). Other examples (for instance the "Fortified Building at Thebes") may have been left standing for sometime, either cleared or looted of their original contents. Importantly, however, even when explicitly referred to and commemorated, monumental buildings simply ceased to constitute places appropriate for the performance of specific activities and for the attachments that these activities facilitated (see Barrett 1999: 28-29).

Given the foregoing considerations, this eclipse of monumental architecture as a valid (legitimate) place for the reproduction of particular types of social relationships cannot be taken to simply entail a "fragmentation" of the social construct into its "components" (as social evolution would have us surmise), but a radical redefinition of what made social relationships possible. Such a redefinition may have long been evident given the marked material differences characterising the EH III, including both architectural changes (the increased popularity of a distinct architectural type, the apsidal building – see Caskey 1966; Forsén 1992; **Figures 9.3-9.4**) and a novel ceramic repertory characterized by an unprecedented complexity in terms of both shapes and decoration (Rutter 1995). But neither the implications of this new spatial order and artefactual assemblage for the organization of food-related activities, nor, of course, the possible ways in which this organization may have promoted particular social relationships have hitherto been the object of any sustained inquiry. True enough, many stratigraphic problems remain to be solved before we can begin to evaluate dimensions of this change (e.g. Weisshaar 1982; Pullen 1987; Manning 1995; Maran 1998). However, some preliminary observations, especially concerning Lerna, may still illustrate the promise held by such an analysis.

We may begin by bringing forward some distinct implications of the new architectural type. Apsidal structures, in contradistinction to previous domestic architecture, are independent and conspicuously isolated buildings. Their linear organization promotes a distinction between a "front" room, where there is often evidence for a hearth, and a back, less accessible space (see Yiannouli 1992: 84-86). An interesting conclusion in this respect is a spatial arrangement that Yiannouli (1992: 84) saw as the defining feature of a particular category of apsidal buildings, including Lerna Buildings A1, B1, C1 (see **Figure 9.3**). In these buildings, evidence for storage is confined to the apse. This entails not only the positioning of storage in the deepest space of the building, but also its potential spatial separation from consumption. It would be interesting to relate this observation to the numerous pits or bothroi that particularly characterise EH III strata (Caskey 1960): if these had originally served for storage, as is often assumed (Marinatos 1968; Touloumis 1994: 68-70; Strasser 1999), then this is a remarkably different strategy from the earlier (EH II) conspicuousness of large, often decorated, pithoi.

The possibility that such emphasis indicates the promotion of a different "theme" and basis for social relations, i.e. "hospitality", deserves to be examined. In other words, EH III may witness the explicit constitution of food into the object of exchange (i.e. overt donor-recipient relationships - cf. Dietler 2001), as opposed to its earlier presentation as a common fund (and the more covert claims on authority). It is potentially in the context of such a shift, that one should study the introduction of an extremely rich and often lavishly decorated ceramic assemblage, exhibiting an impressive variety of drinking vessels (**Figure 9.5**) (Rutter 1995).

The reconfiguration of power relations underwriting this process surely invites more analysis than is possible here. It suffices to point out that, if providing for the wider community now emerged as a core concern, then the ability of different houses to successfully host commensal events may have ultimately underlined their claim to reproduction (cf. Halstead 1999; Kotsakis 1999). Interestingly, although currently clouded by the uniform patterns imposed by the phasing (Banks 1995), rebuilding seems to have been piecemeal and selective in scope. That this process may have eventually seen the emergence of some of these buildings as more permanent and "focal" constructions may be documented by the evident difference between the more stable northern part of the excavated area (incidentally, the above mentioned Buildings A1, B1, C1) and the "ever-changing" southern part (Banks 1995). A new emphasis on vertical continuity of independent houses may have also found material expression in the first burial tumuli which are thought to have made their appearance, at least in the Peloponnese (Forsén 1992), serving as new "markers" of the landscape.

Finally, it would be interesting to push the argument further, and view these changes in terms of a more general stress on attachment to place. Replacing the earlier emphasis on interconnections (as discussed in Chapter 8), this change may be first of all read into the marked alteration of settlement patterns (the troubling decrease in site numbers - see for example Rutter 1993a) and may be also related to the emergence of strictly "local" ceramic styles, serving to distinguish, as Rutter (1995: 651) has pointed out, between sites only a few kilometres apart.

So, however provisional and sketchy, such observations may open up the way to a fundamental redefinition of our ideas of what the "problematic" EH II-III change may have actually involved. This may well be a long-term project. But it is certainly a far more fruitful one than models of "emergence" and "decline" which have long bedeviled EH archaeology.

9.6 Conclusions

By way of an ending, we may return to the initial question posed in Chapter 3: How is the social link made to hold? And why is it important that it does? Throughout the thesis, an attempt has been made to address the mixture of constraint and possibility that are woven into any sense of "groupness"; to pay closer attention to the interaction between the imagination of solidarity and its realization through specific social relations and practices (Amit 2000). That this focus can significantly alter the way we think and write about particular times in prehistory has been the most pervasive conviction of this analysis. Hopefully this work has taken a small step towards demonstrating this potential.

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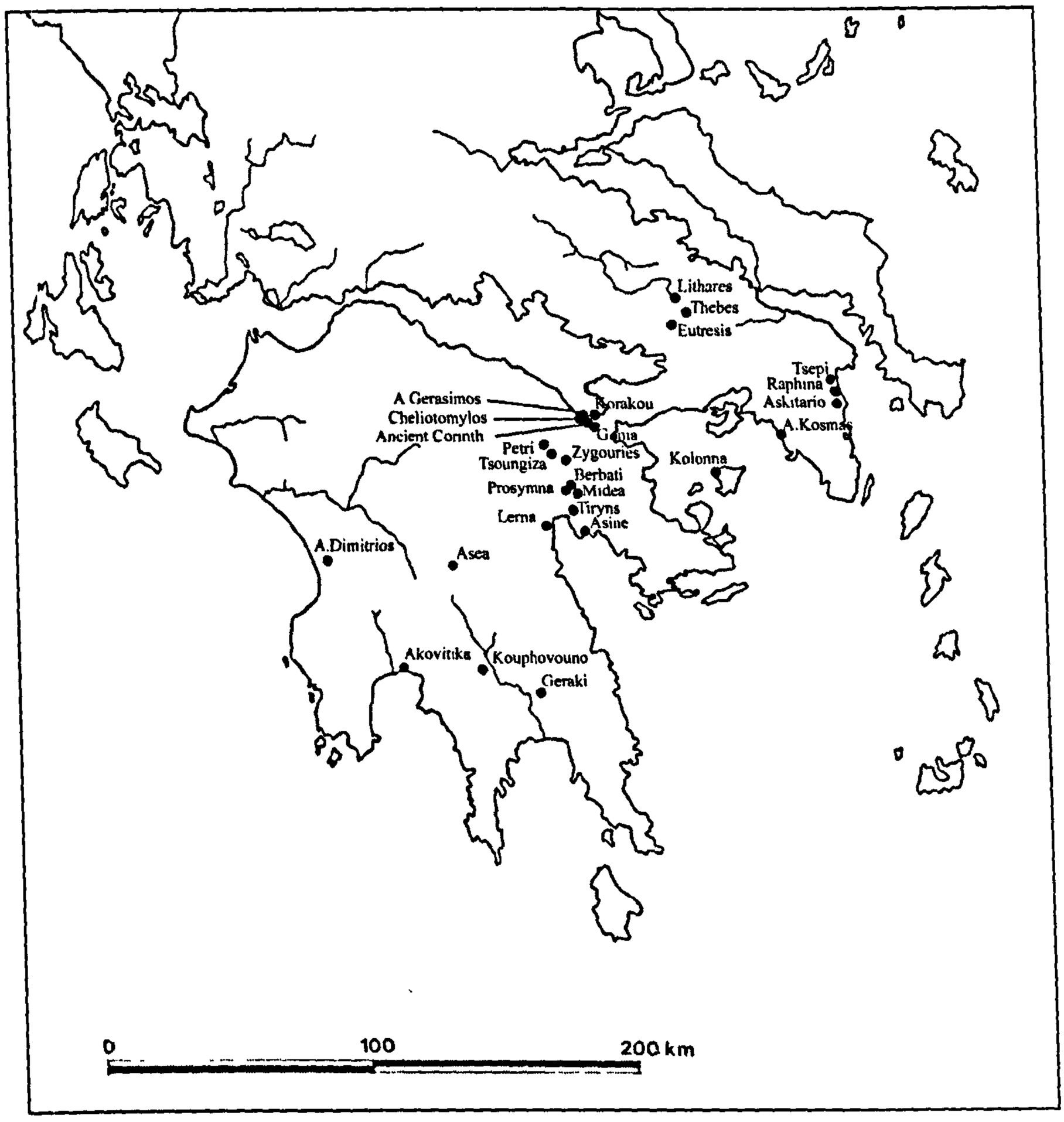

Figure 1.1 Early Helladic sites mentioned in the thesis.

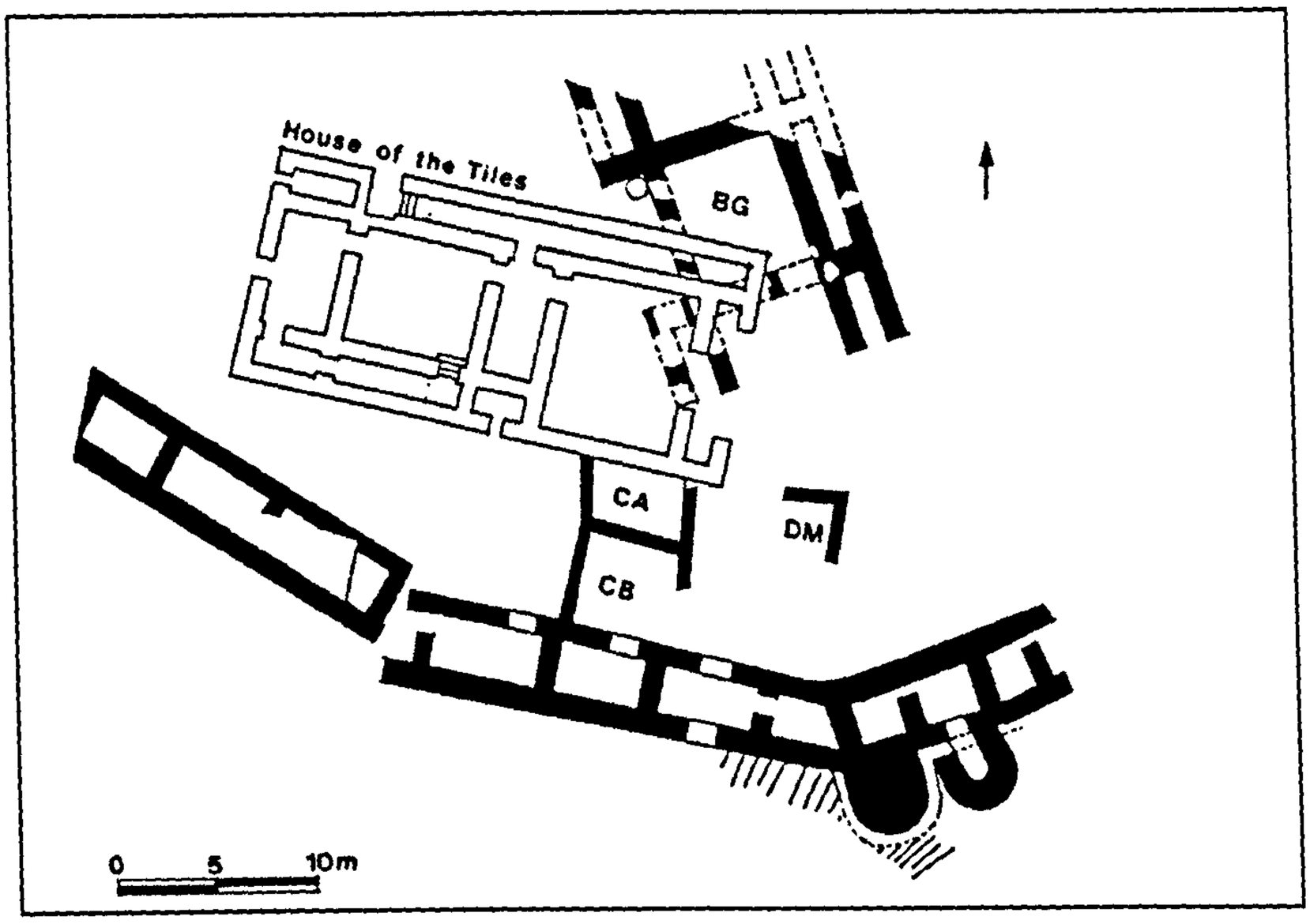

Figure 2.1 Lerna: General Plan of EH II occupation (after Wiencke 1986: Fig. 32).

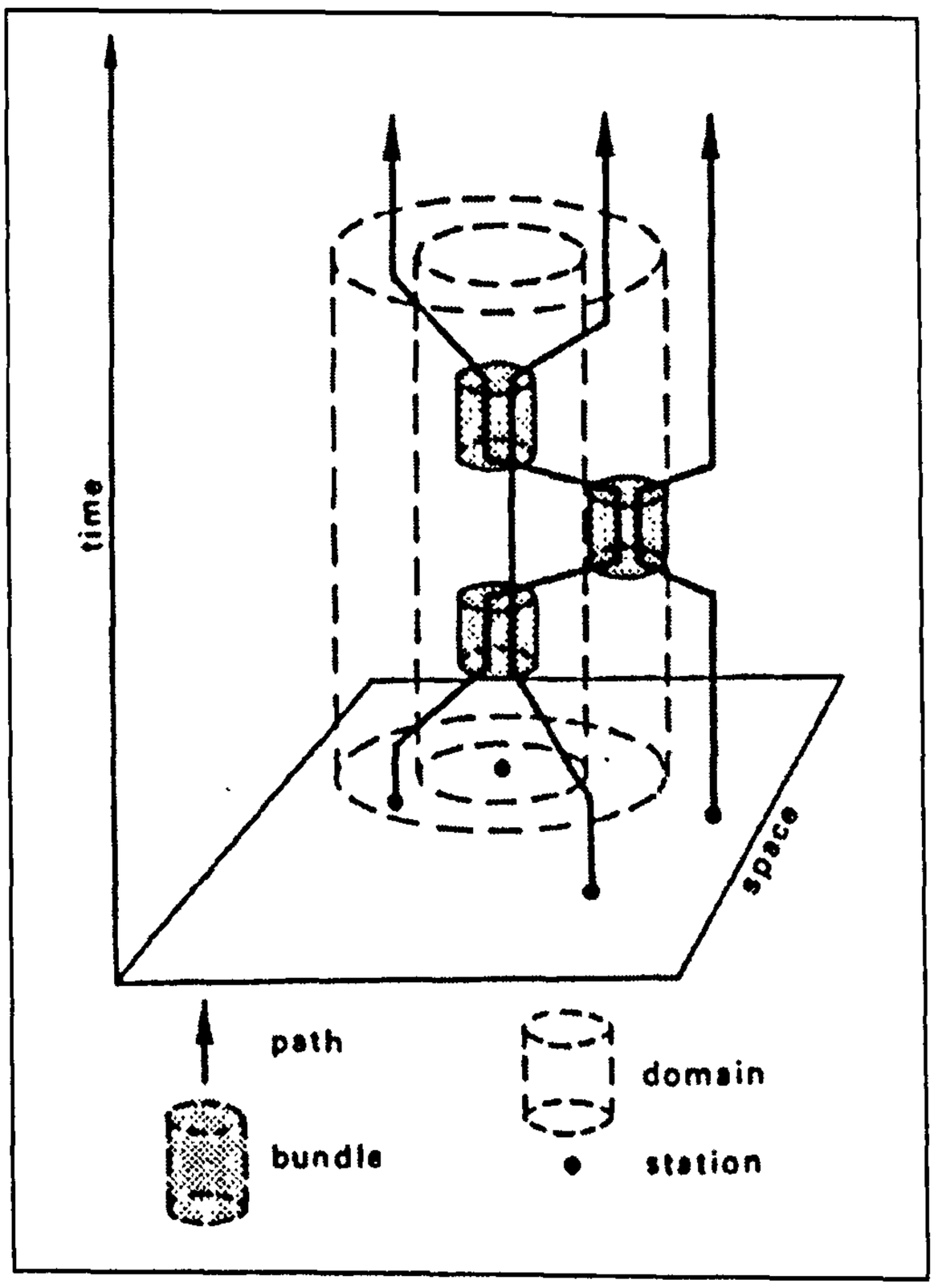

Figure 3.1 Hägerstrand's web model (after Gregory 1989: Fig. 2).

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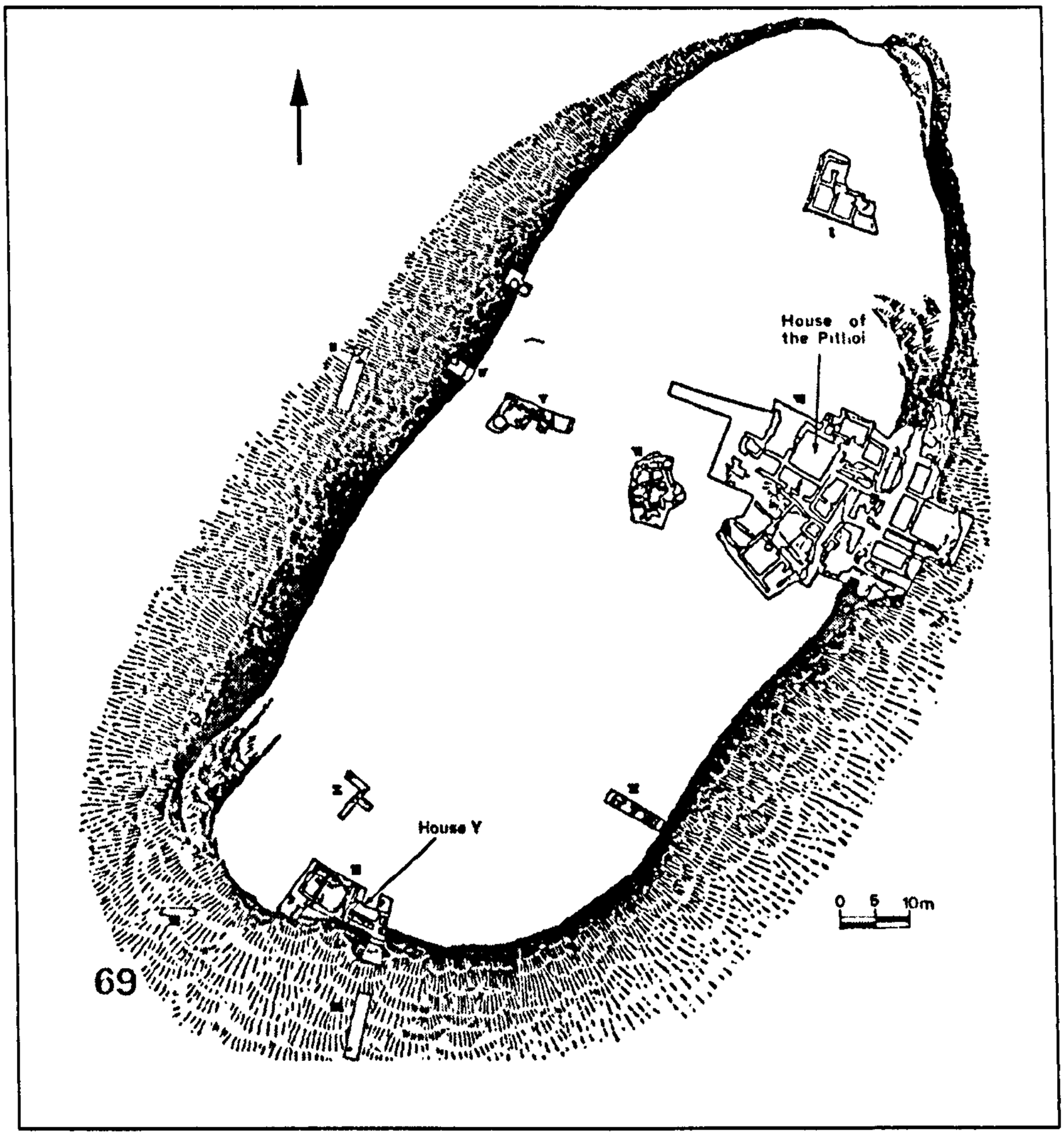

Figure 5.1 Zygouries: General Plan (after Pullen 1986b: Fig.69).

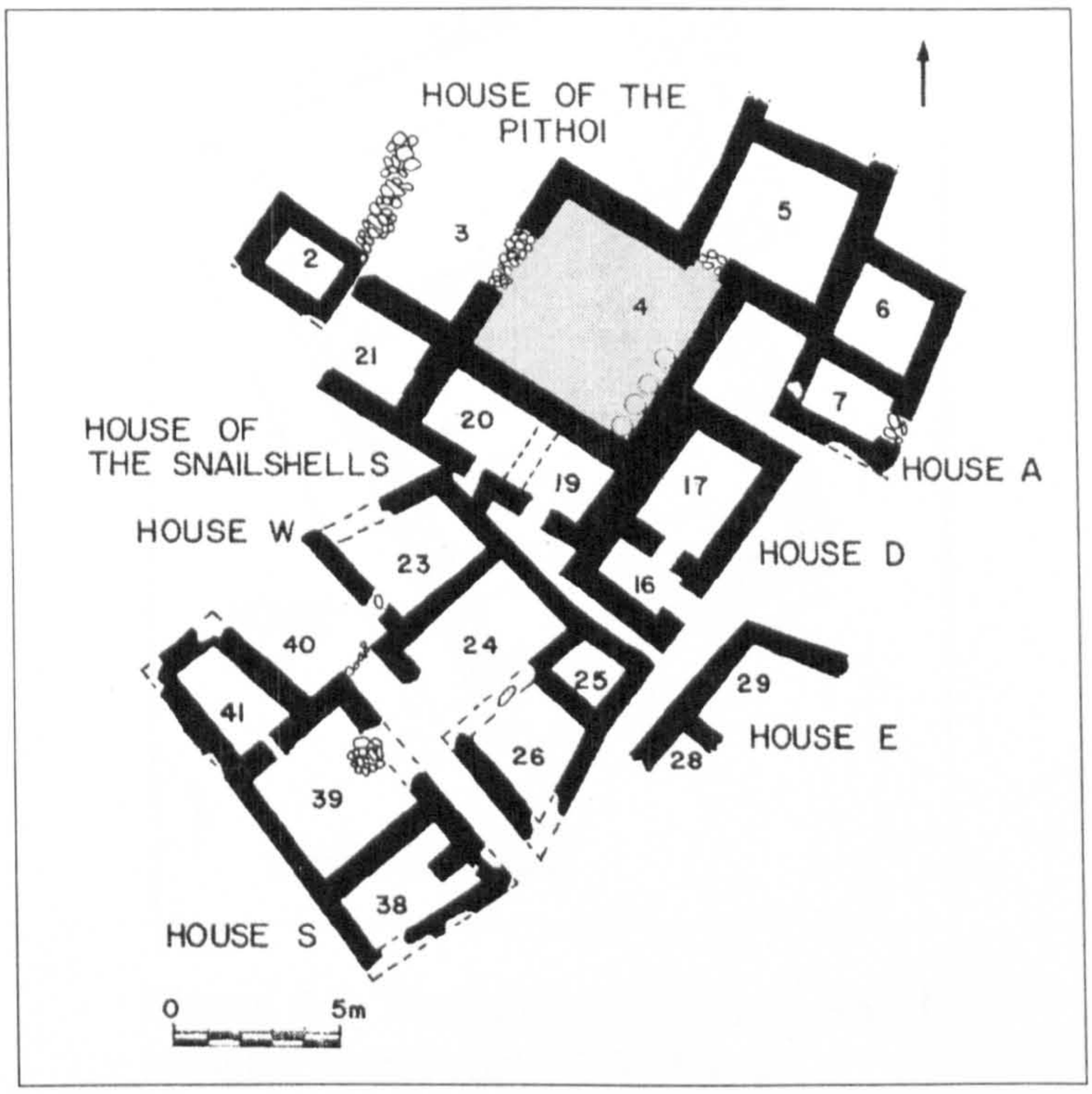

Figure 5.2 Zygouries, Central Trench: Architectural remains; hearth room shaded (adapted from Pullen 1986b: Fig. 71).

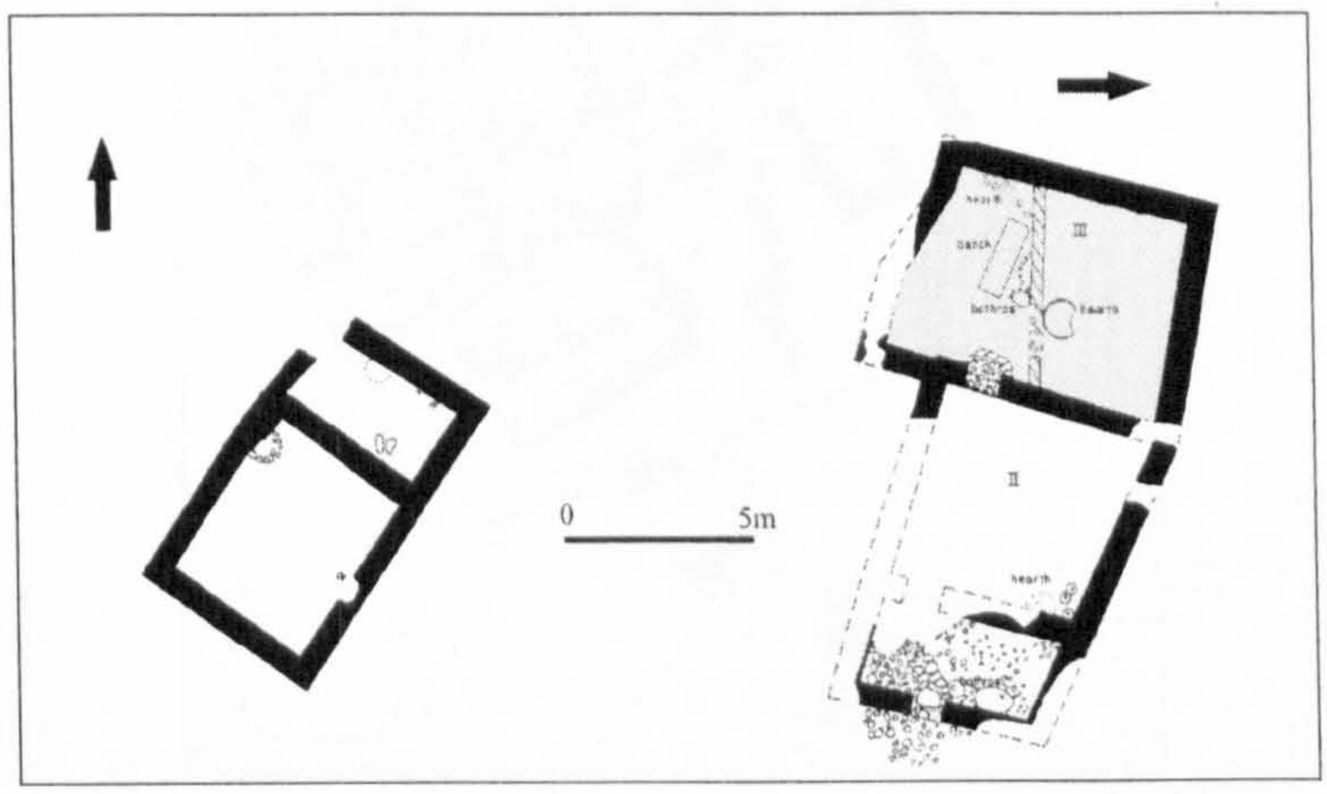

Figure 5.3 Eutresis: Houses I and L; hearth room shaded (adapted from Pullen 1985: Figs. 78, 79).

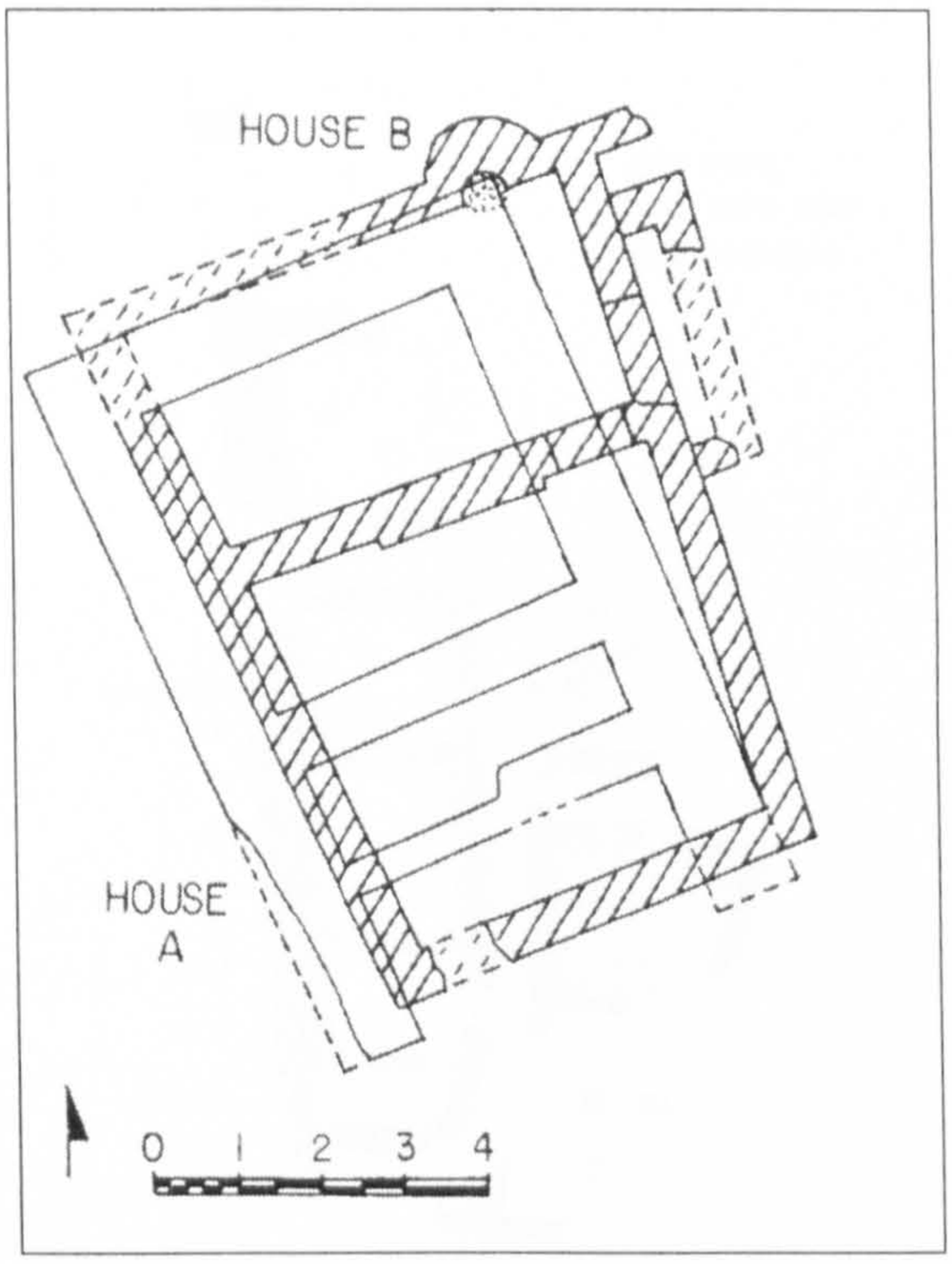

Figure 5.4 Tsoungiza: Houses A and B (adapted from Pullen 1990: Fig. 2).

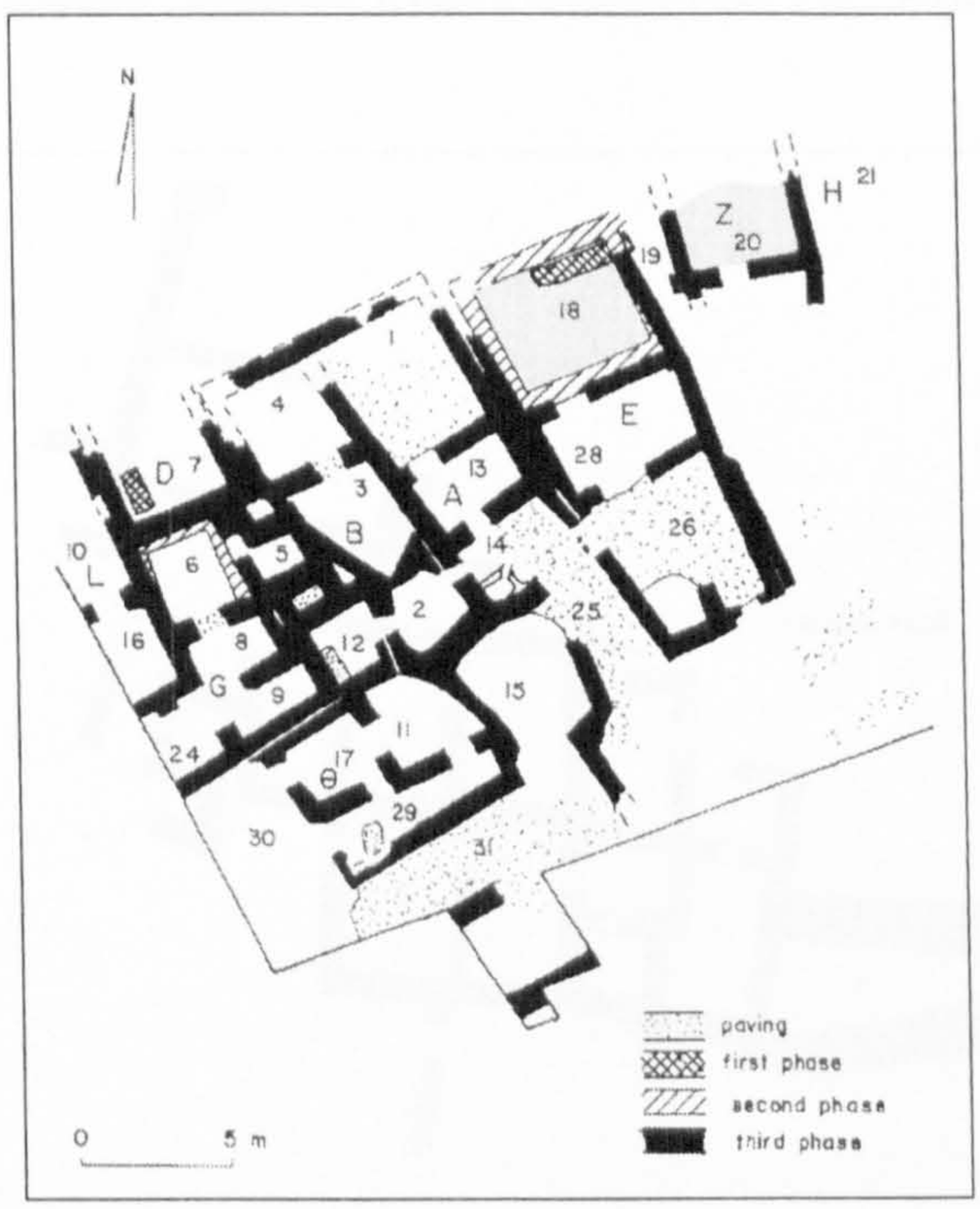

Figure 5.5 Askitario: Architectural remains; hearth rooms shaded (adapted from Pullen 1985: Fig. 74).

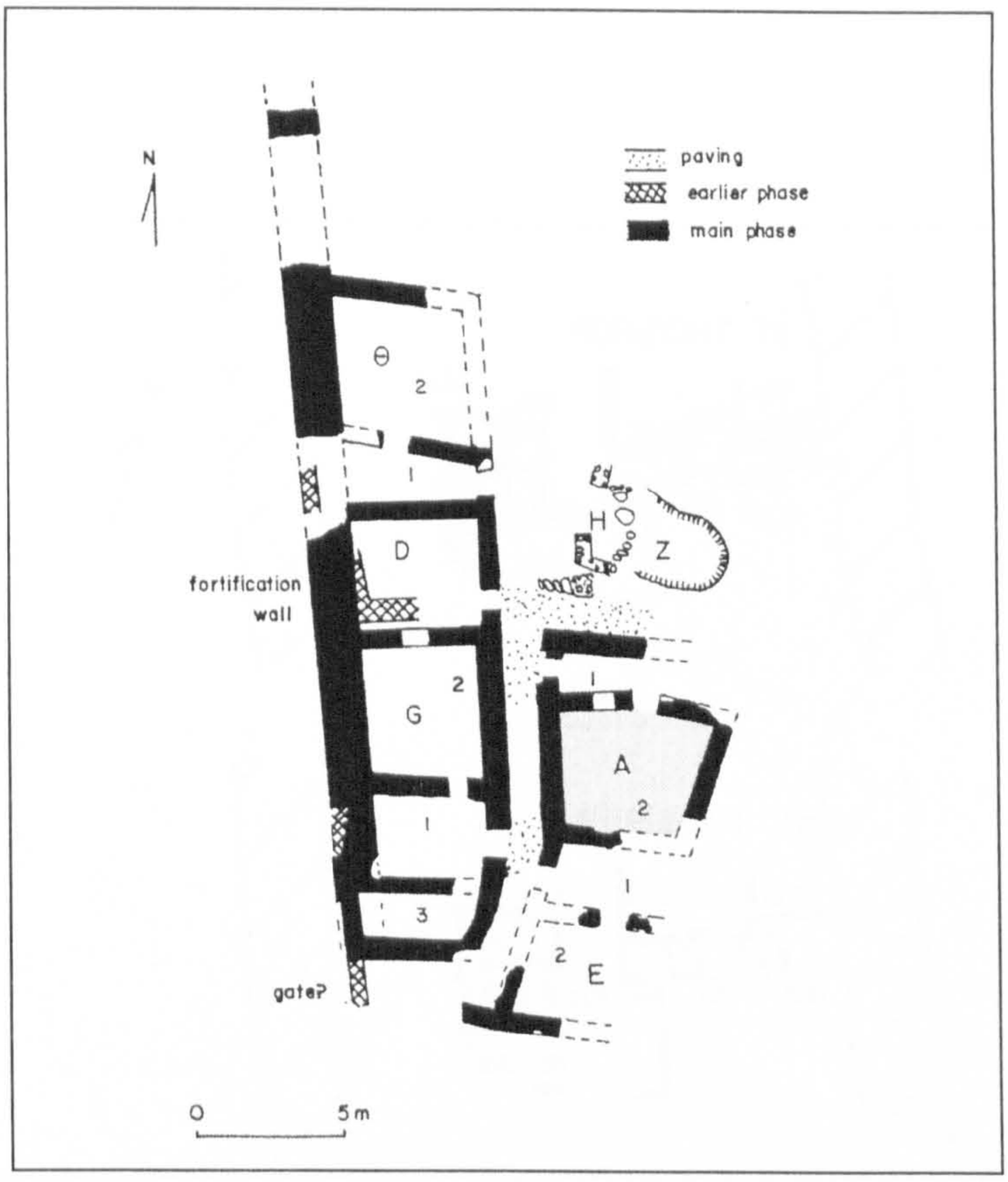

Figure 5.6 Raphina: Architectural remains; hearth room shaded (adapted from Pullen 1985: Fig. 75).

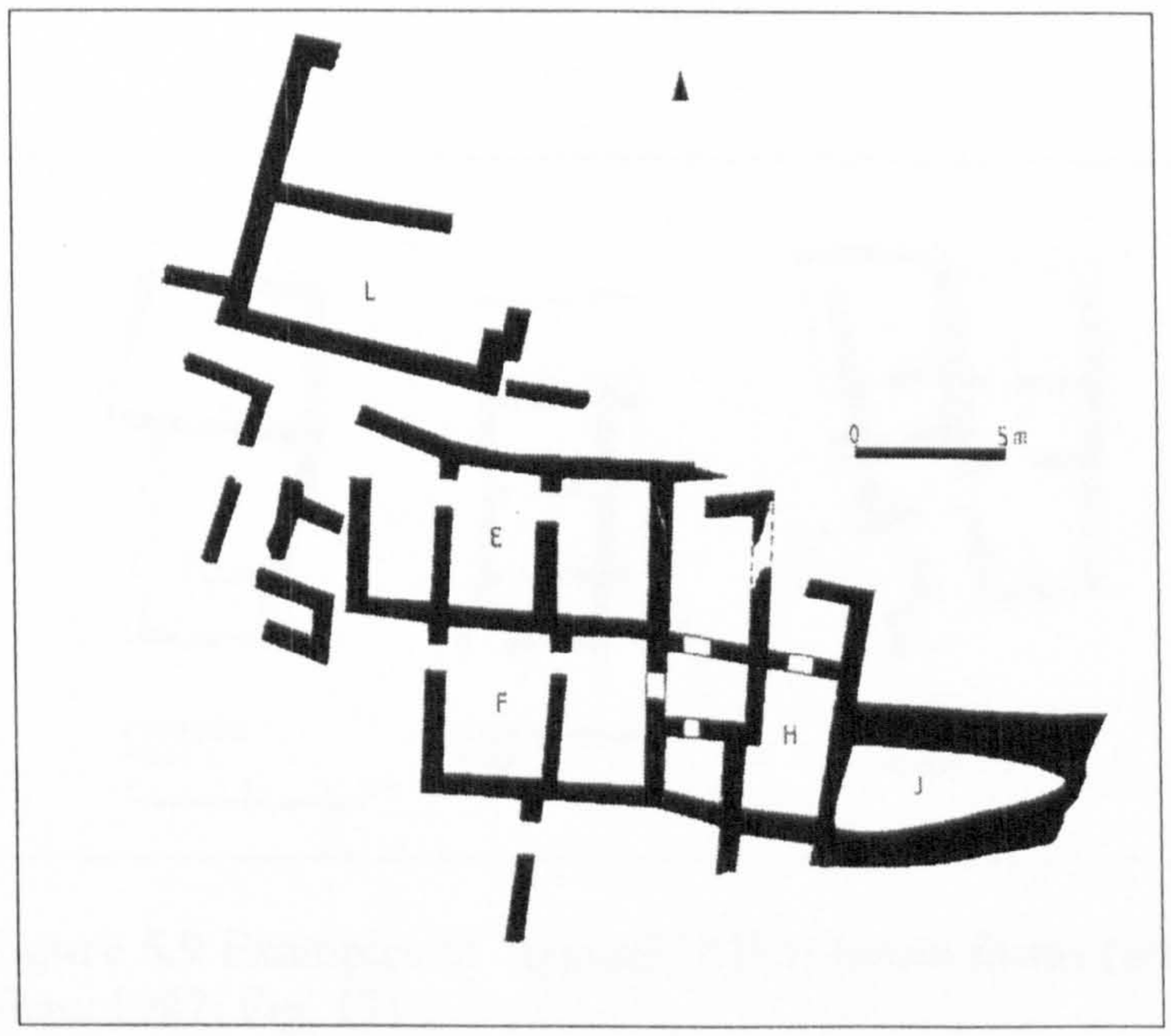

Figure 5.7 Aghios Kosmas: Architectural remains (after Harrison 1995: Fig. 5).

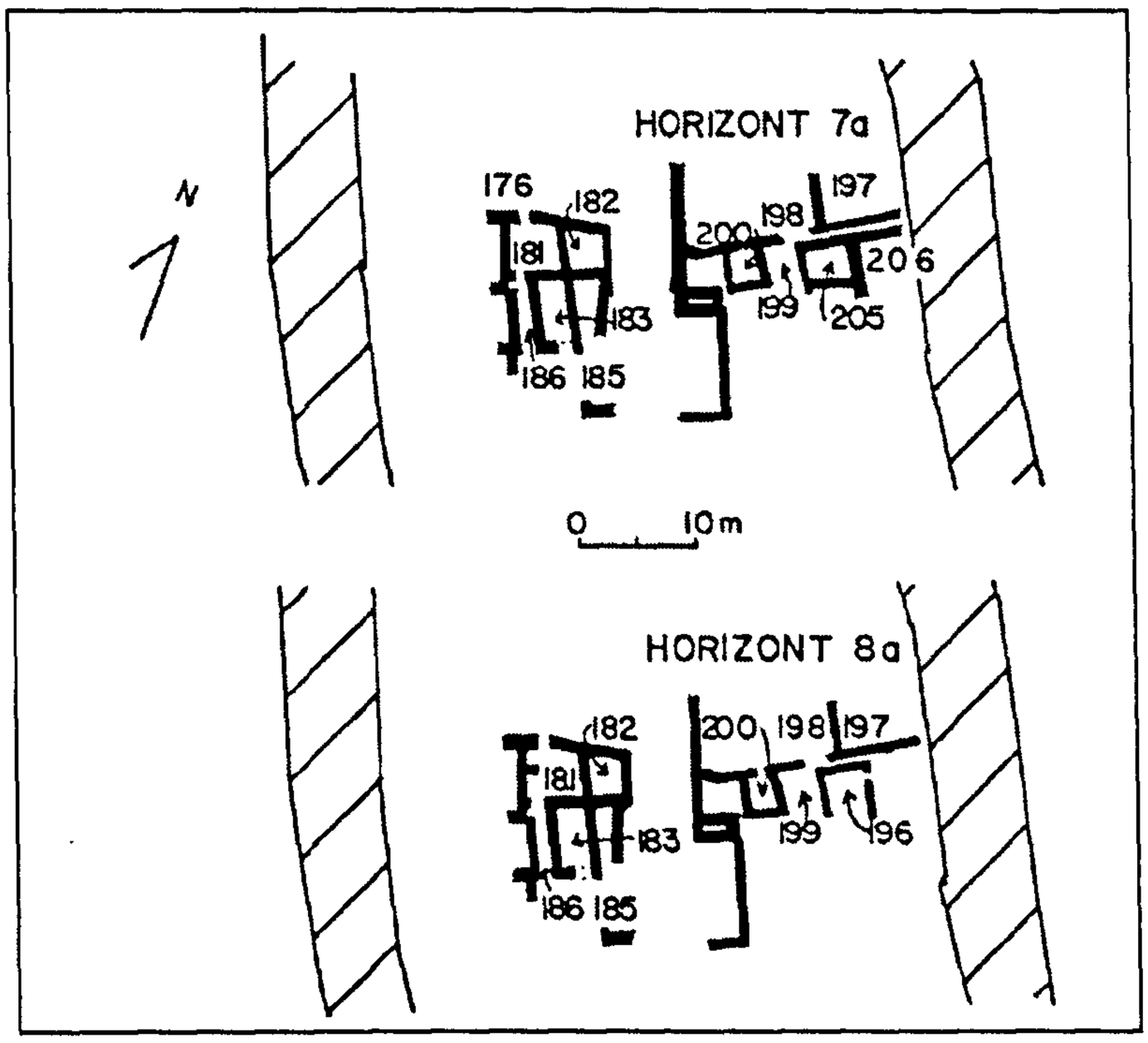

Figure 5.8 Tiryns, Lower Citadel ("Unterburg"): EB 2 architectural remains (after Pullen 1985: Fig. 45).

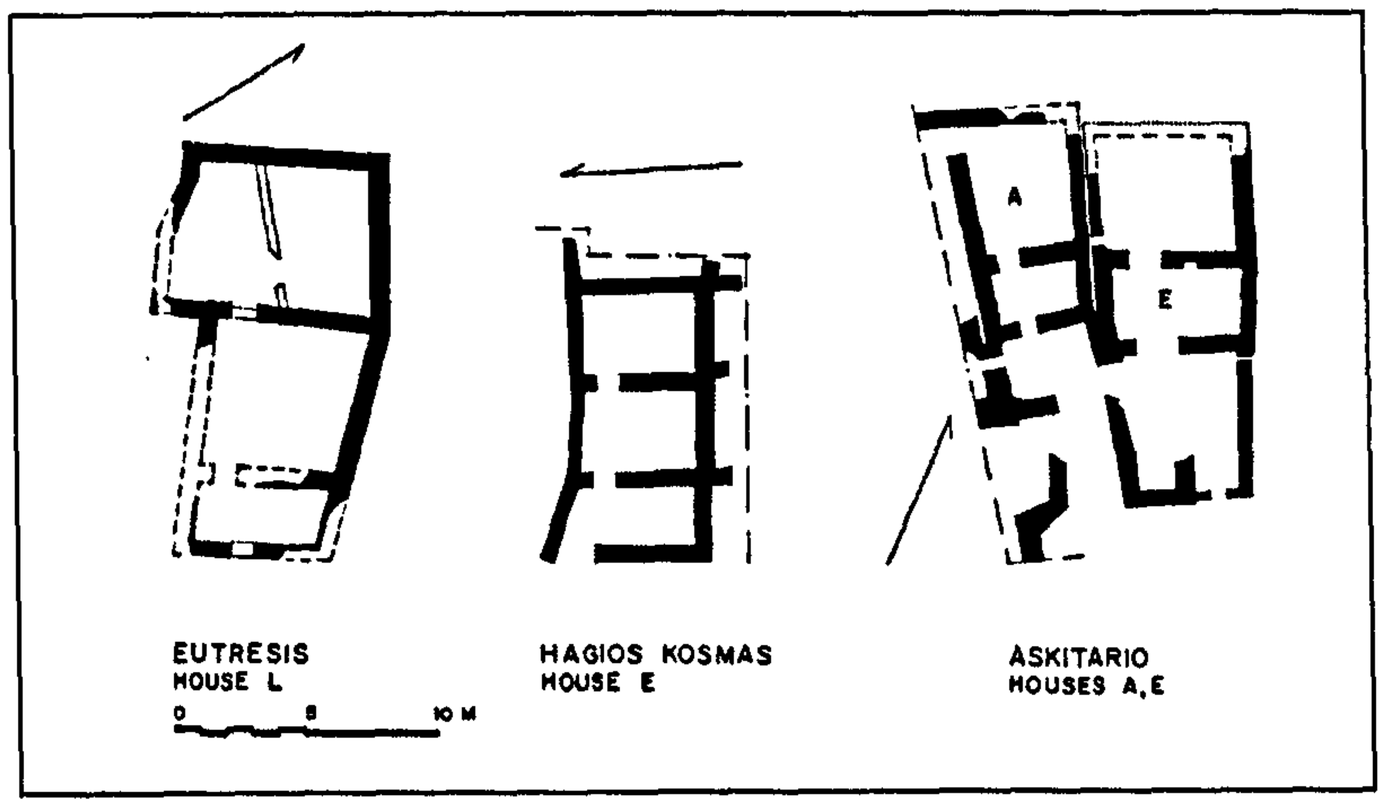

Figure 5.9 Examples of "typical" EH II house forms (after Shaw 1987: Fig. 13).

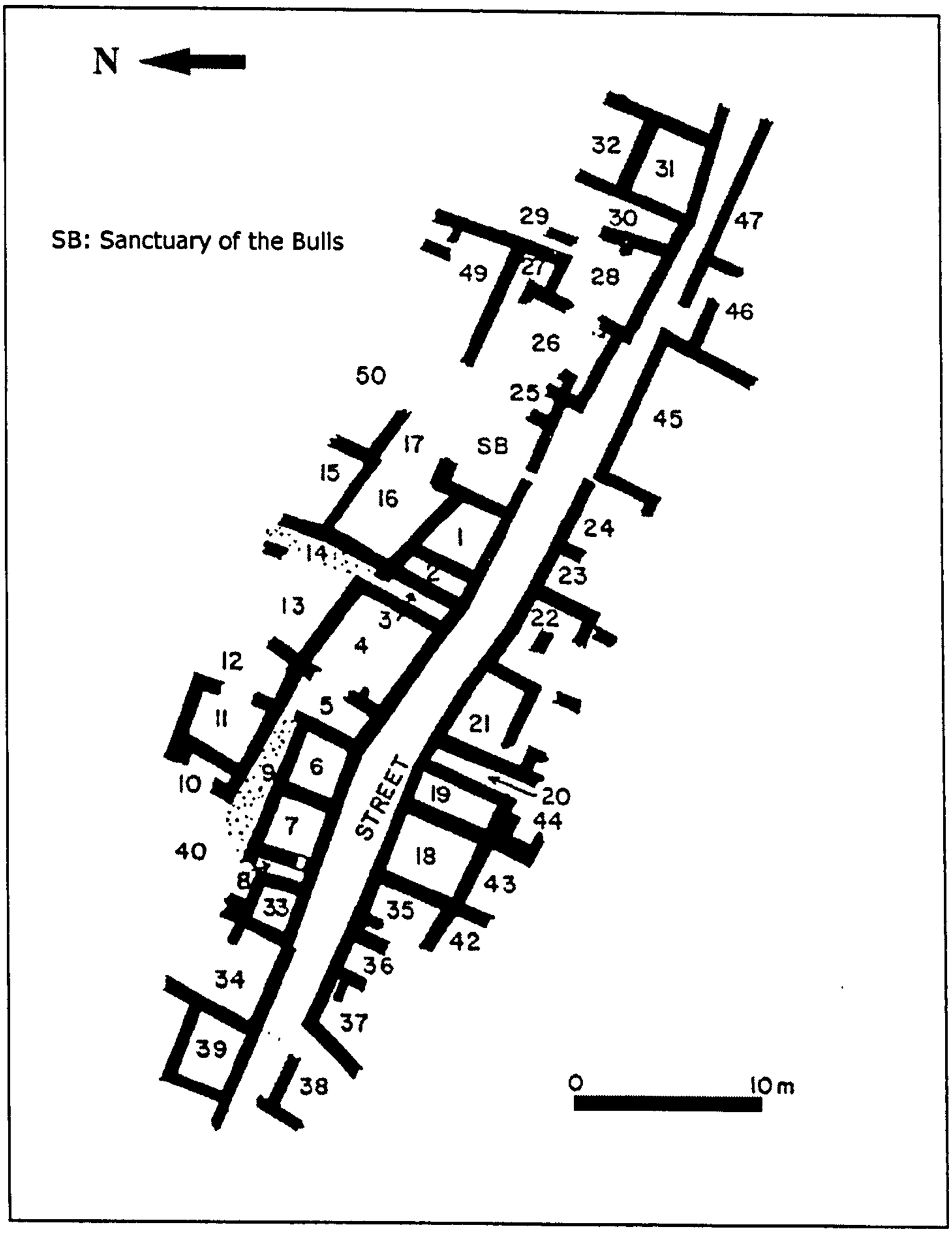

Figure 5.10 Lithares: Architectural remains (after Pullen 1985: Fig. 81).

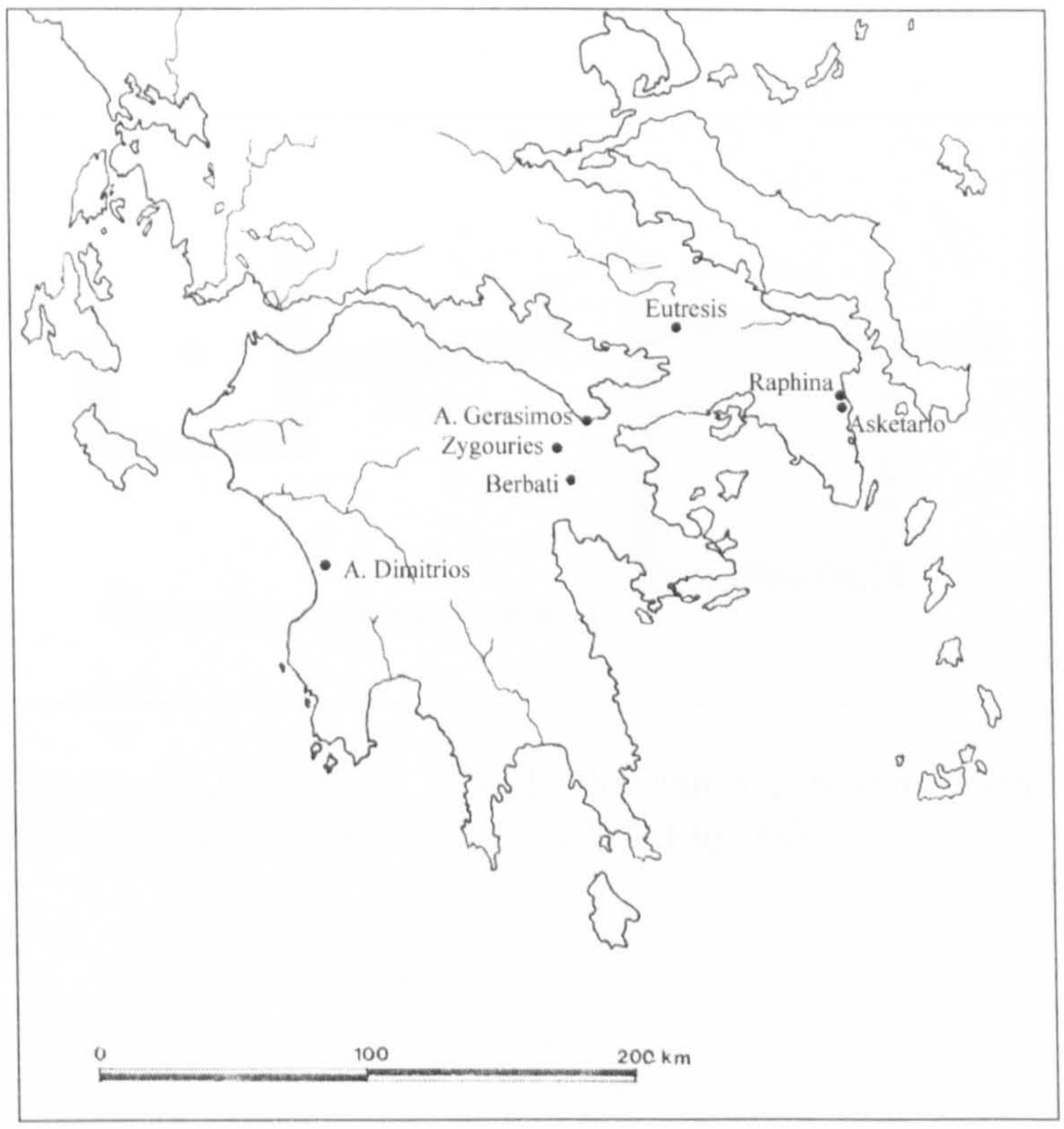

Figure 5.11 Distribution of settlements with hearth rooms.

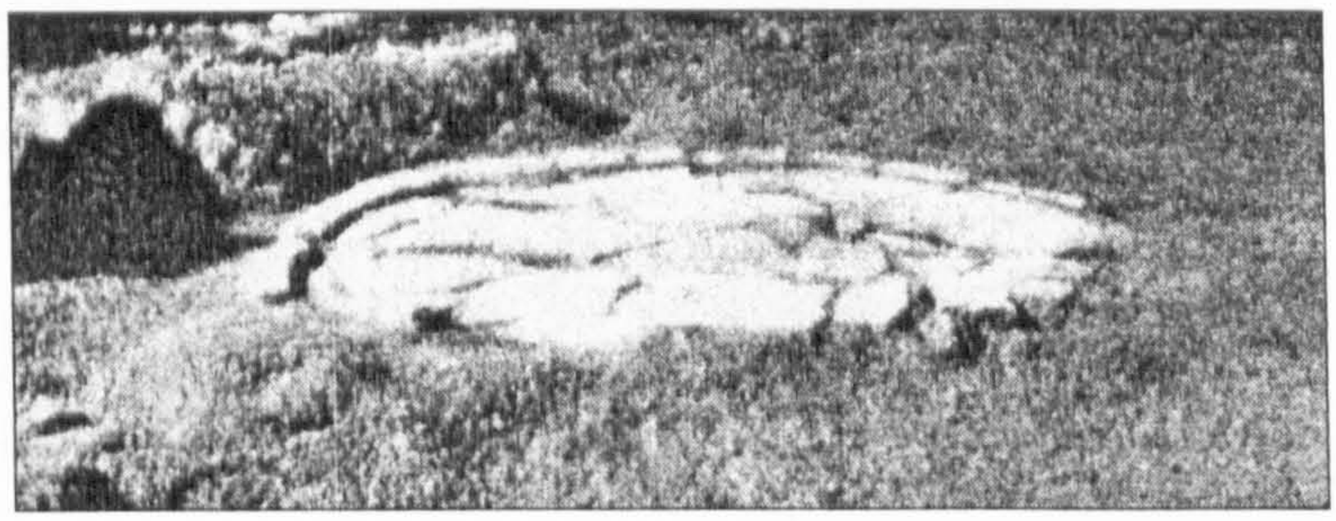

Figure 5.12 Eutresis, House L: Hearth from Room III (after Goldman 1931: Fig. 16).

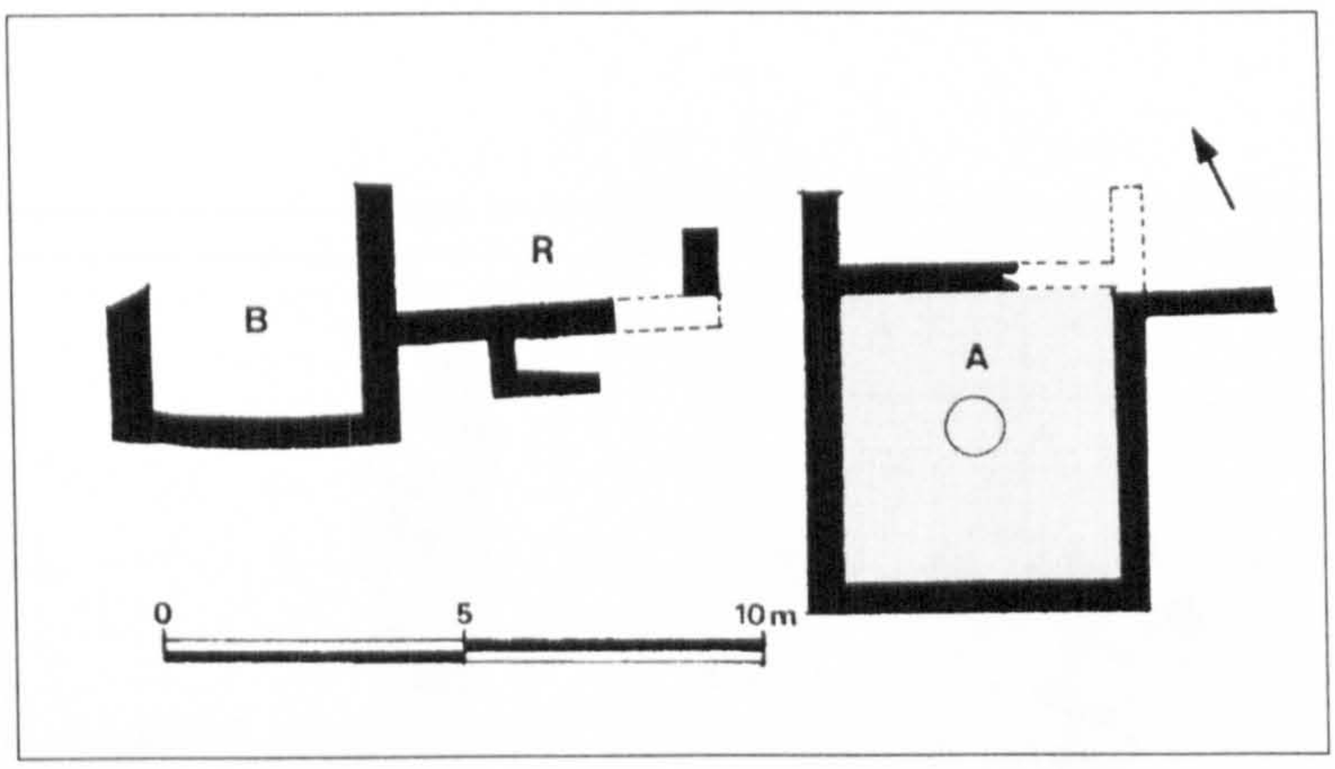

Figure 5.13 Berbati: EB 2 "Megaron"; hearth room shaded (adapted from Säflund 1965: Fig. 78).

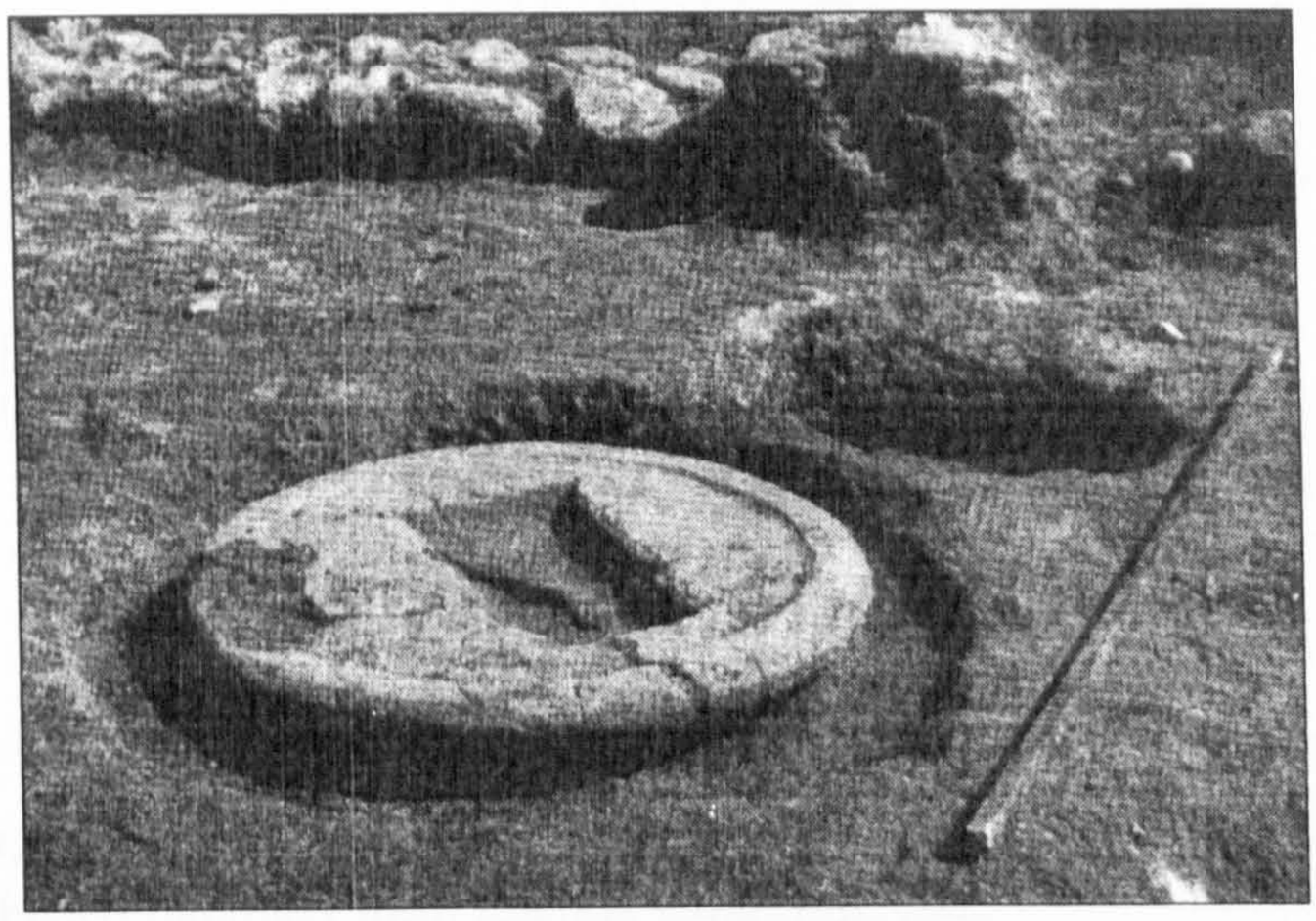

Figure 5.14 Berbati, "Megaron": Circular hearth and bothros (after Säflund 1965: Fig.. 81).

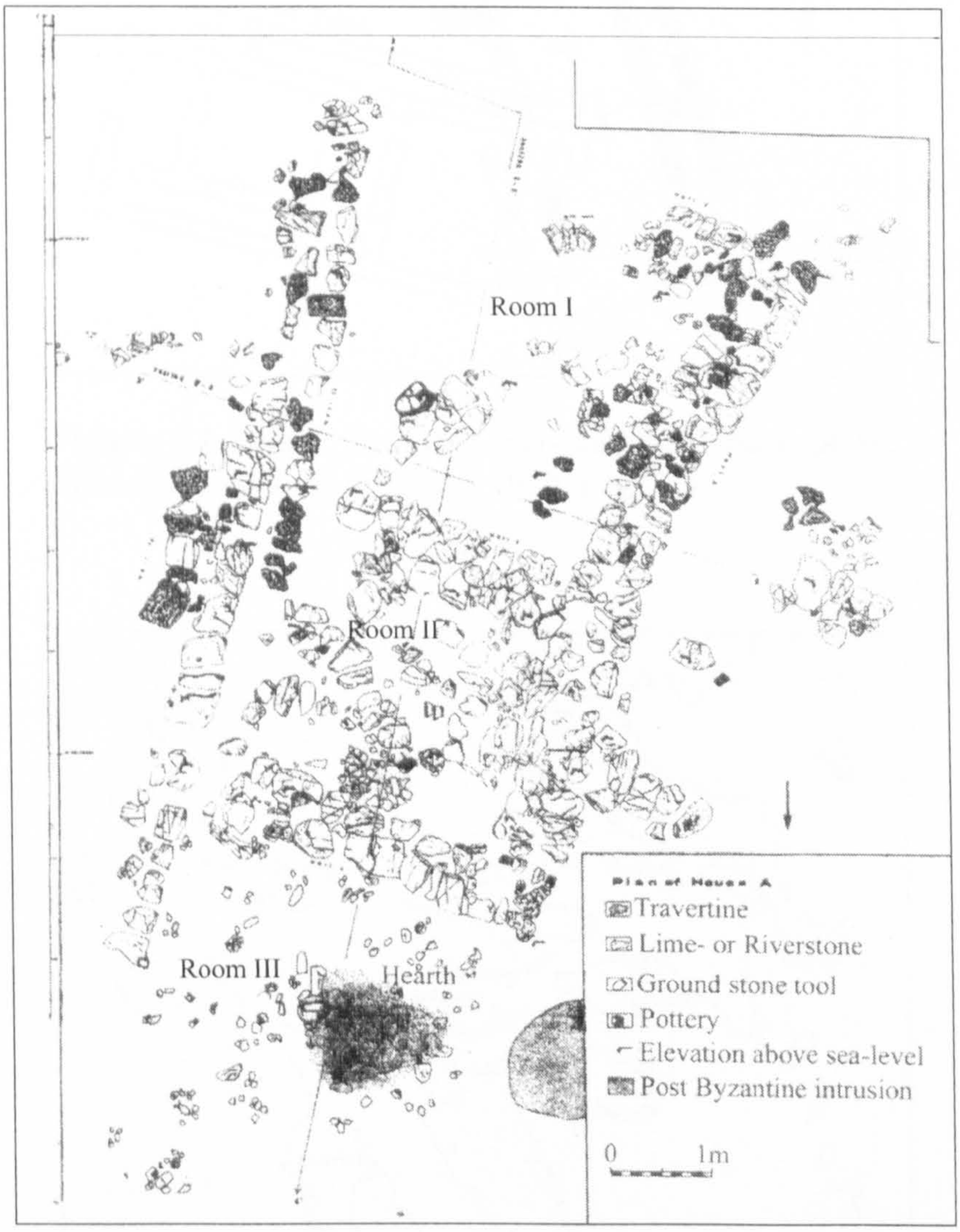

Figure 5.15 Aghios Dimitrios: House A; position of hearth shaded (adapted from Zachos 1986: Fig. 24).

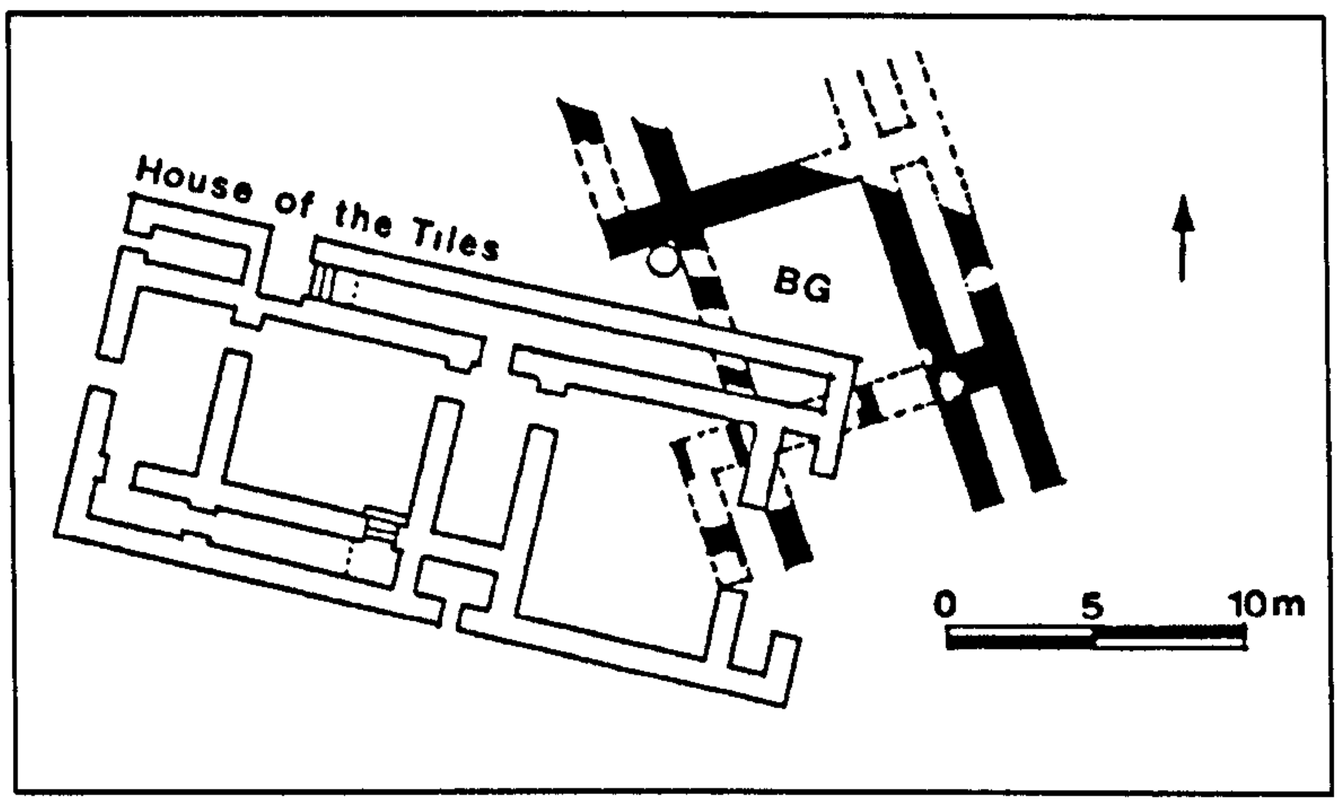

Figure 6.1 Lerna: Building BG and the House of the Tiles (adapted from Wiencke 1986: Fig. 32).

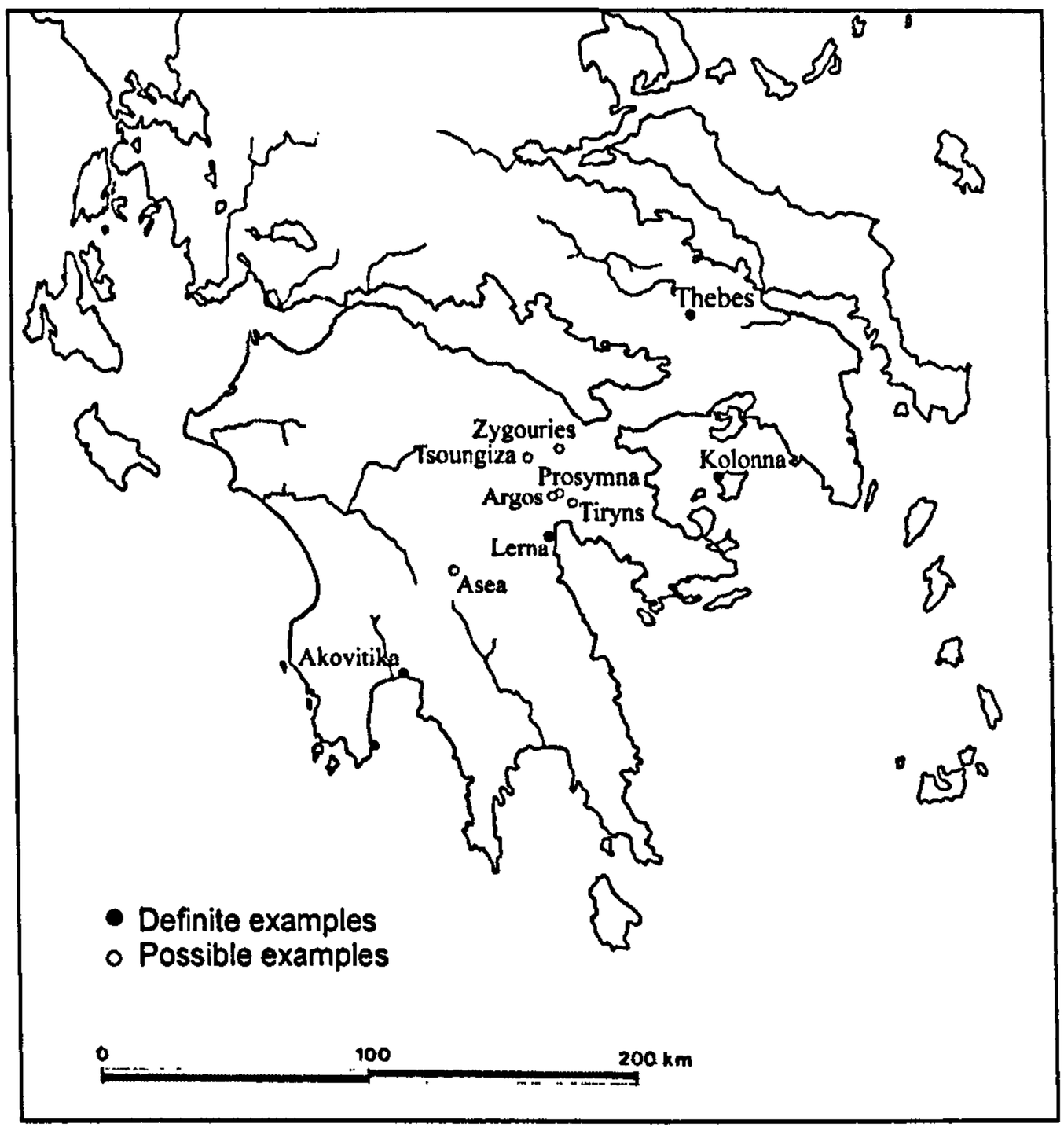

Figure 6.2 Distribution of Early Helladic II Corridor Houses.

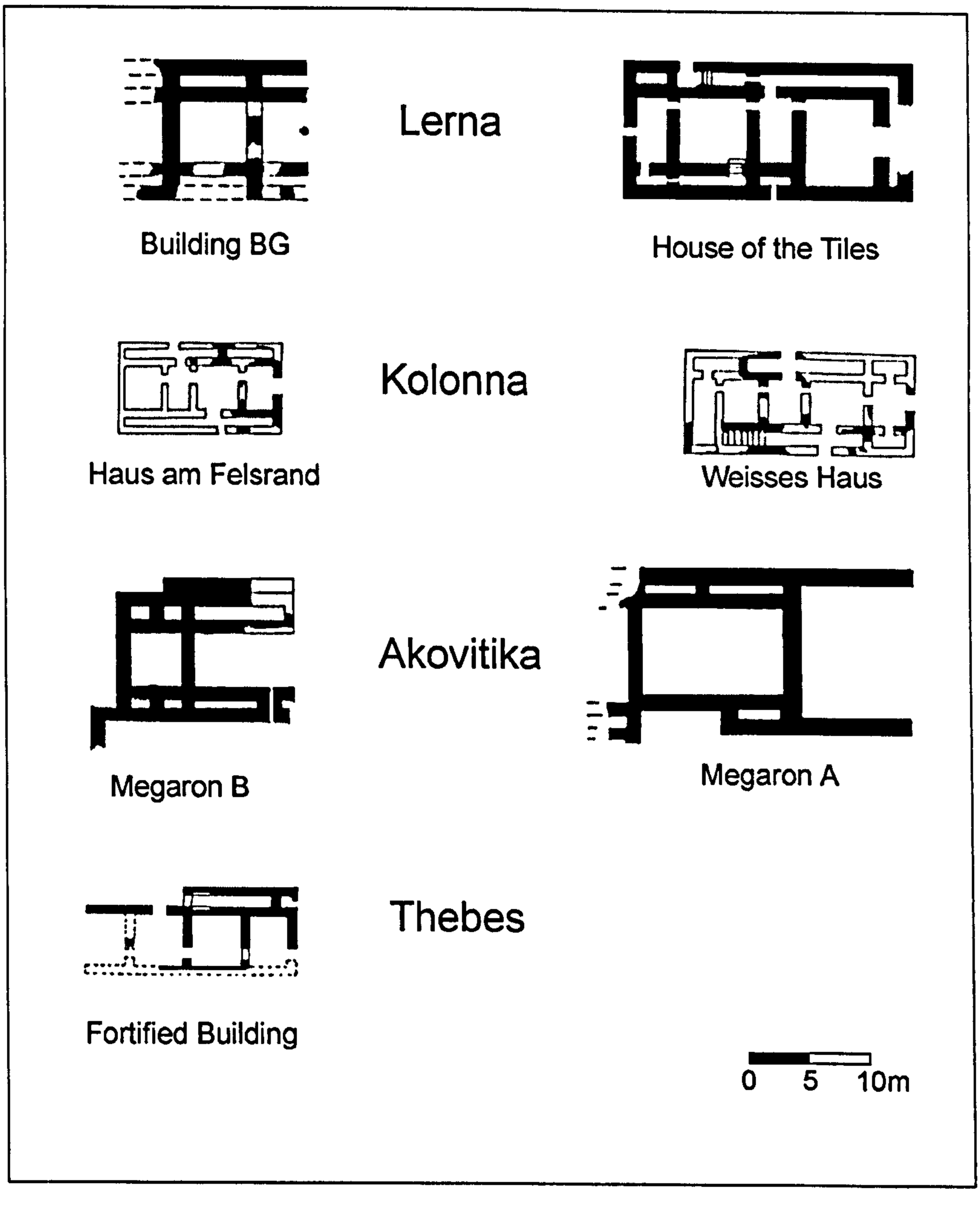

Figure 6.3 Plans of Early Helladic II Corridor Houses (adapted from Pullen 1985: Fig.4; Aravantinos 1986: Fig. 53).

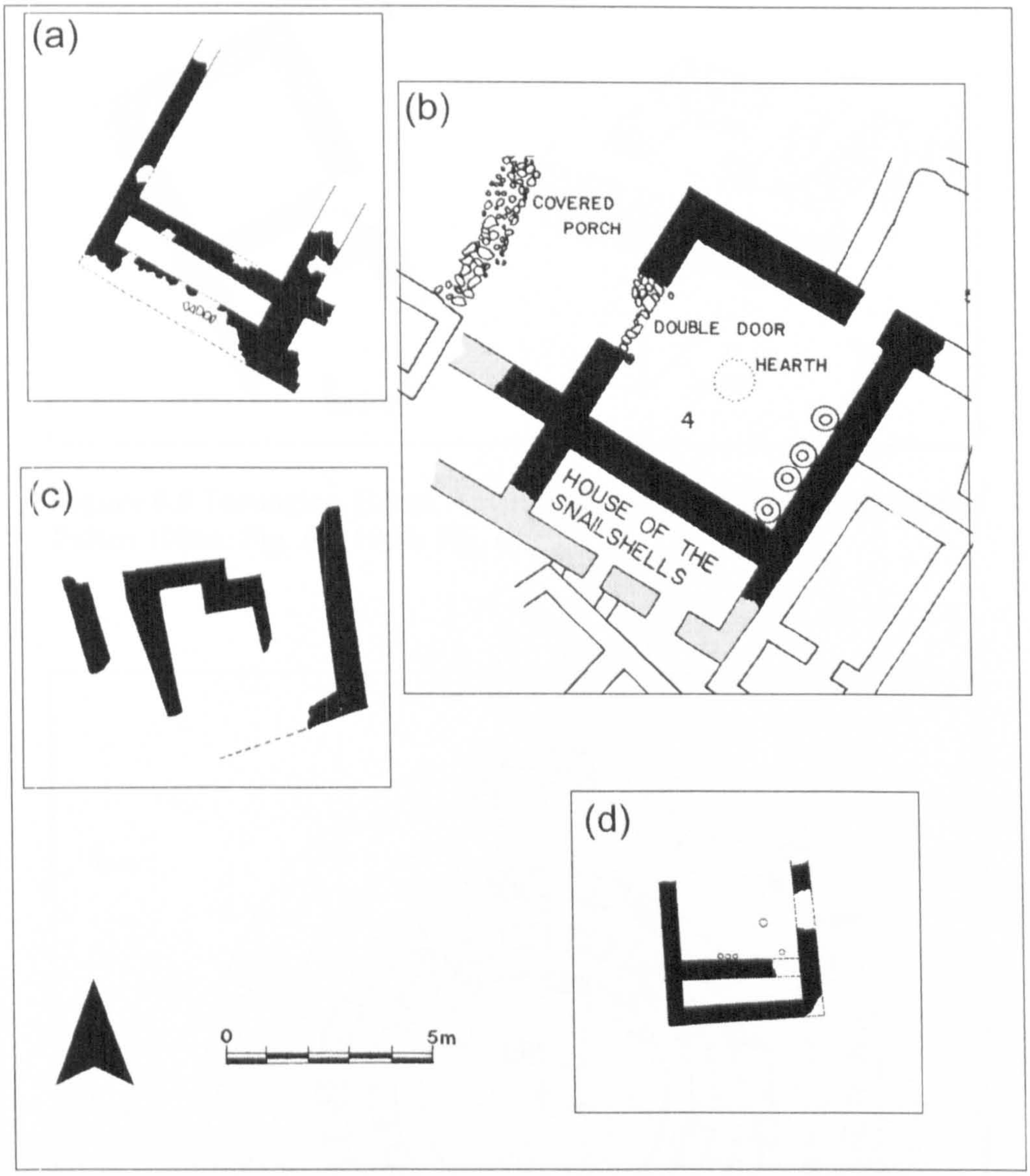

Figure 6.4 Plans of proposed examples of Corridor Houses: (a) Zygouries House Y (after Pullen 1986b: Fig. 70); (b) Zygouries Room 4 (after Pullen 1986b: Fig. 73); (c) Prosymna (after Felten 1986: Fig. 49); (d) Asea House A (after Holmberg 1944: Fig. 7).

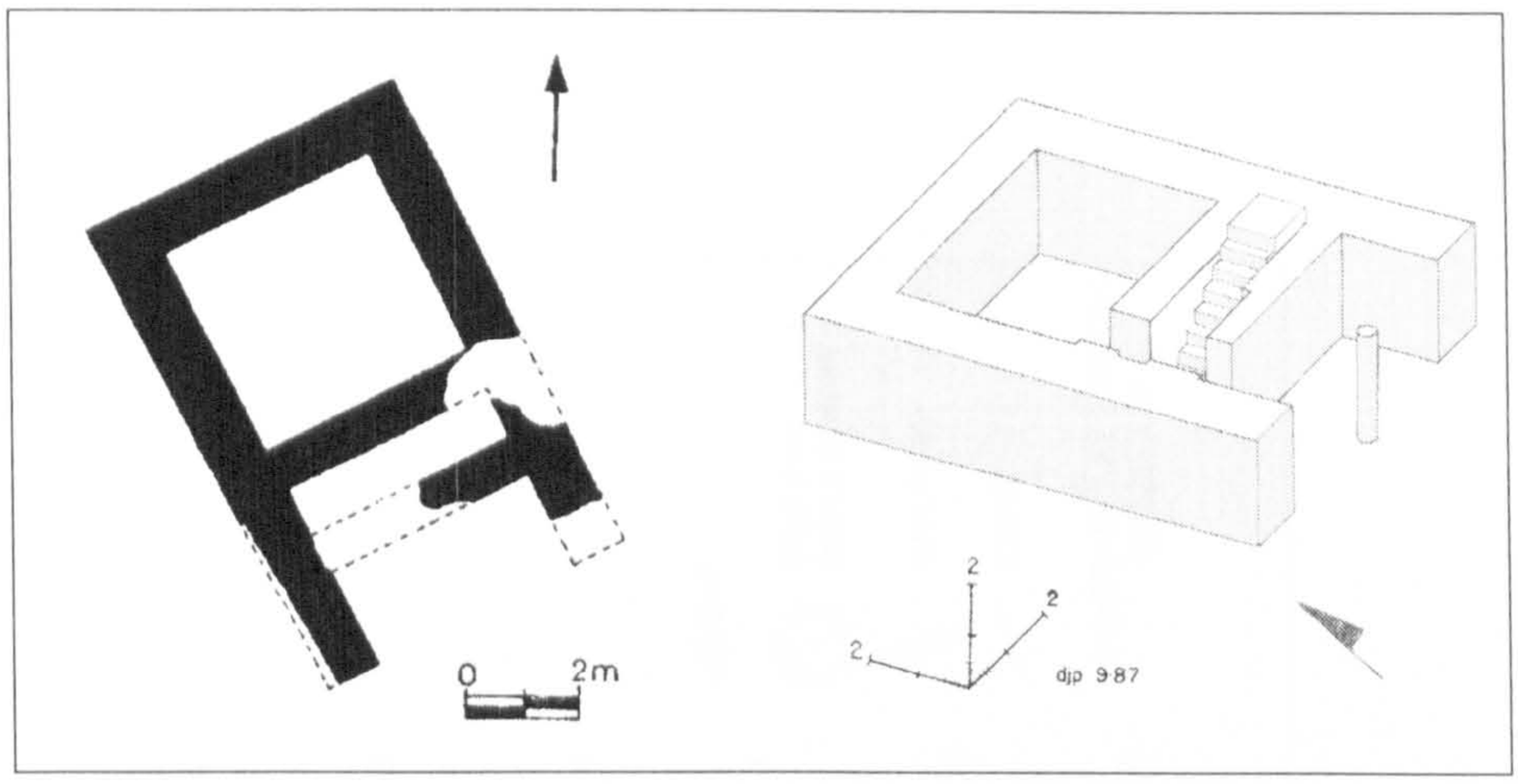

Figure 6.5 Tsoungiza, House A: Ground plan and reconstruction (after Pullen 1986a: Fig. 66; 1990: Fig. 6).

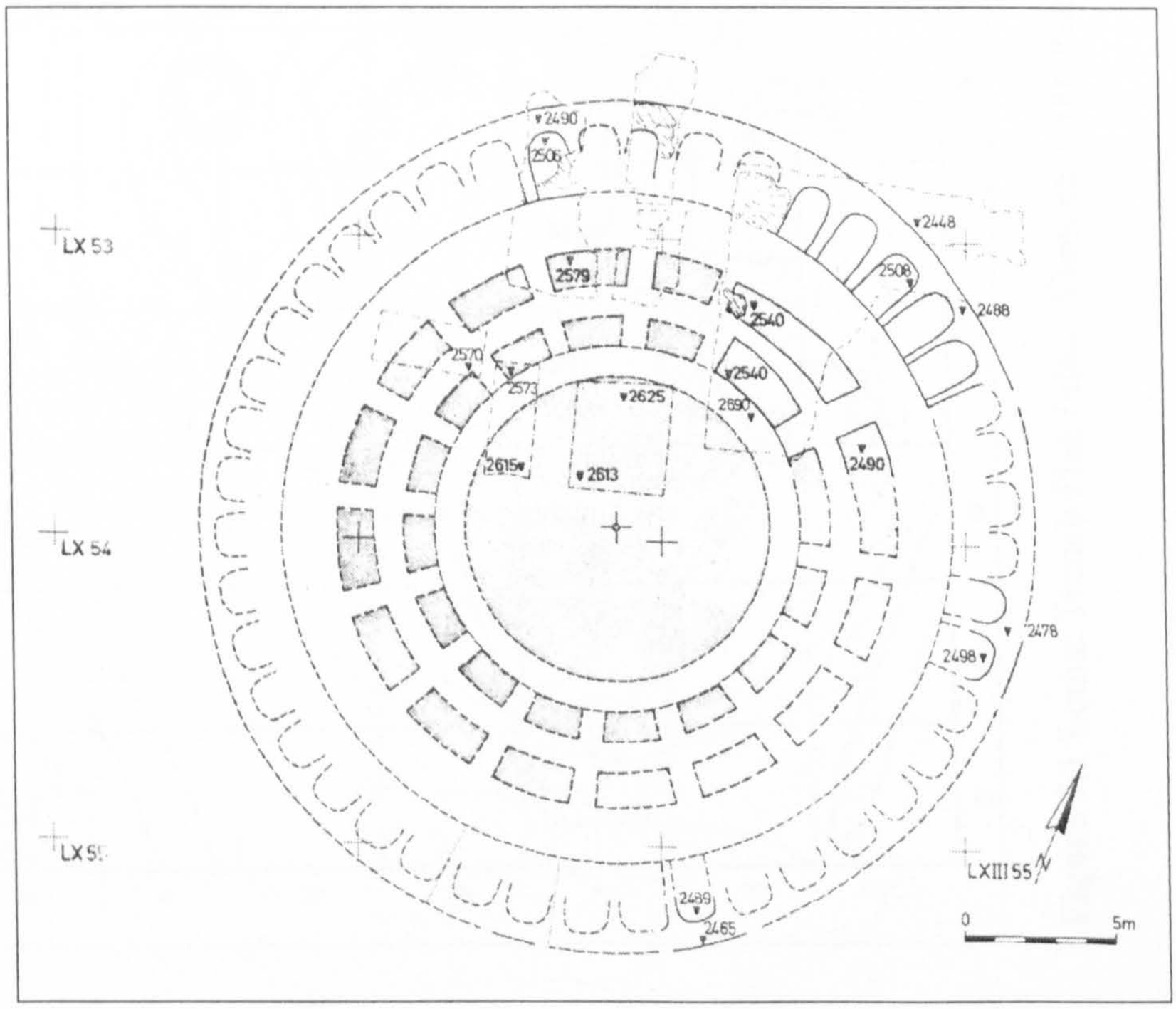

Figure 6.6 Tiryns, "Rundbau": Restored ground plan (after Kilian 1986: Fig.59).

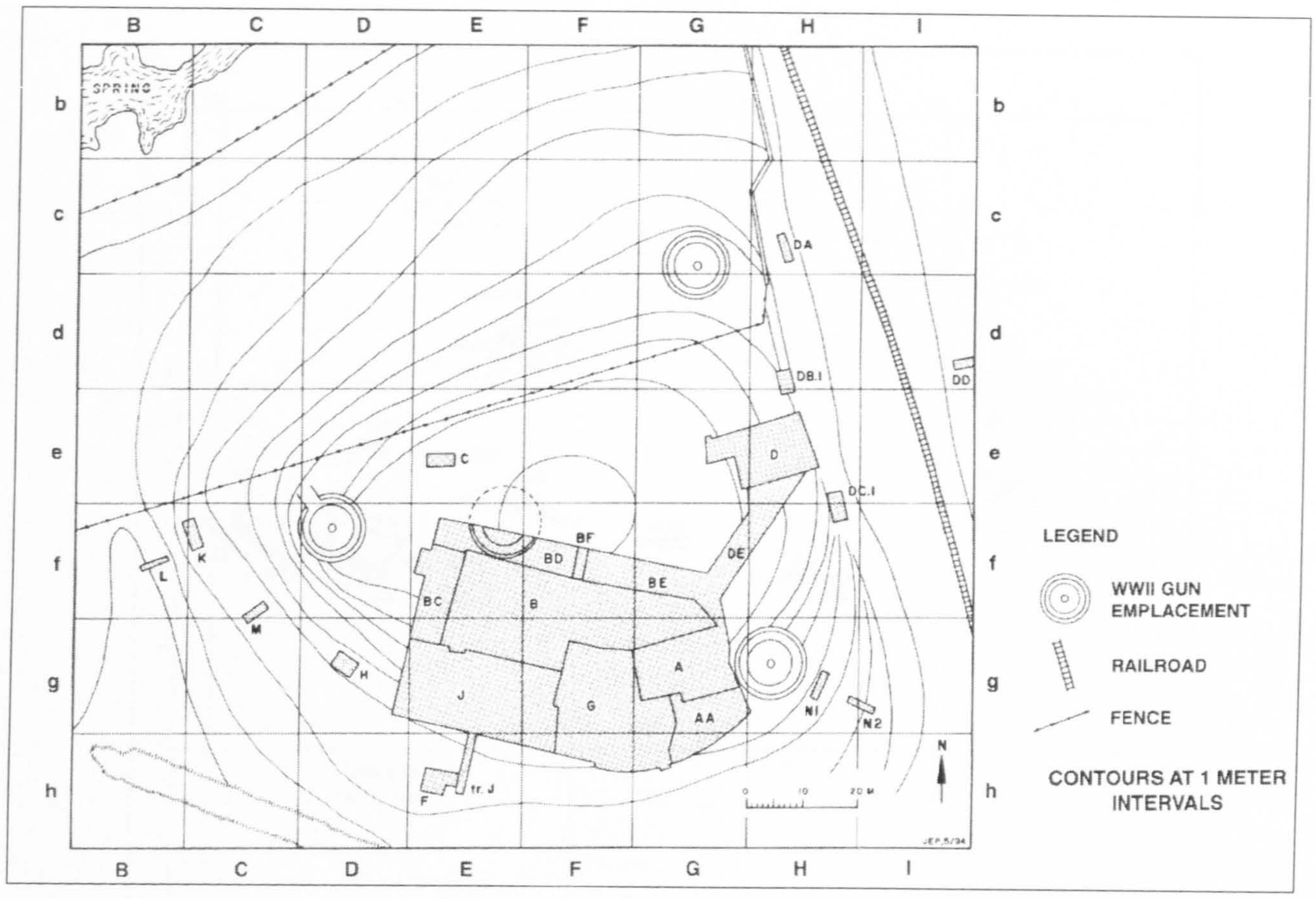

Figure 7.1 Lerna: Trench Plan (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 1).

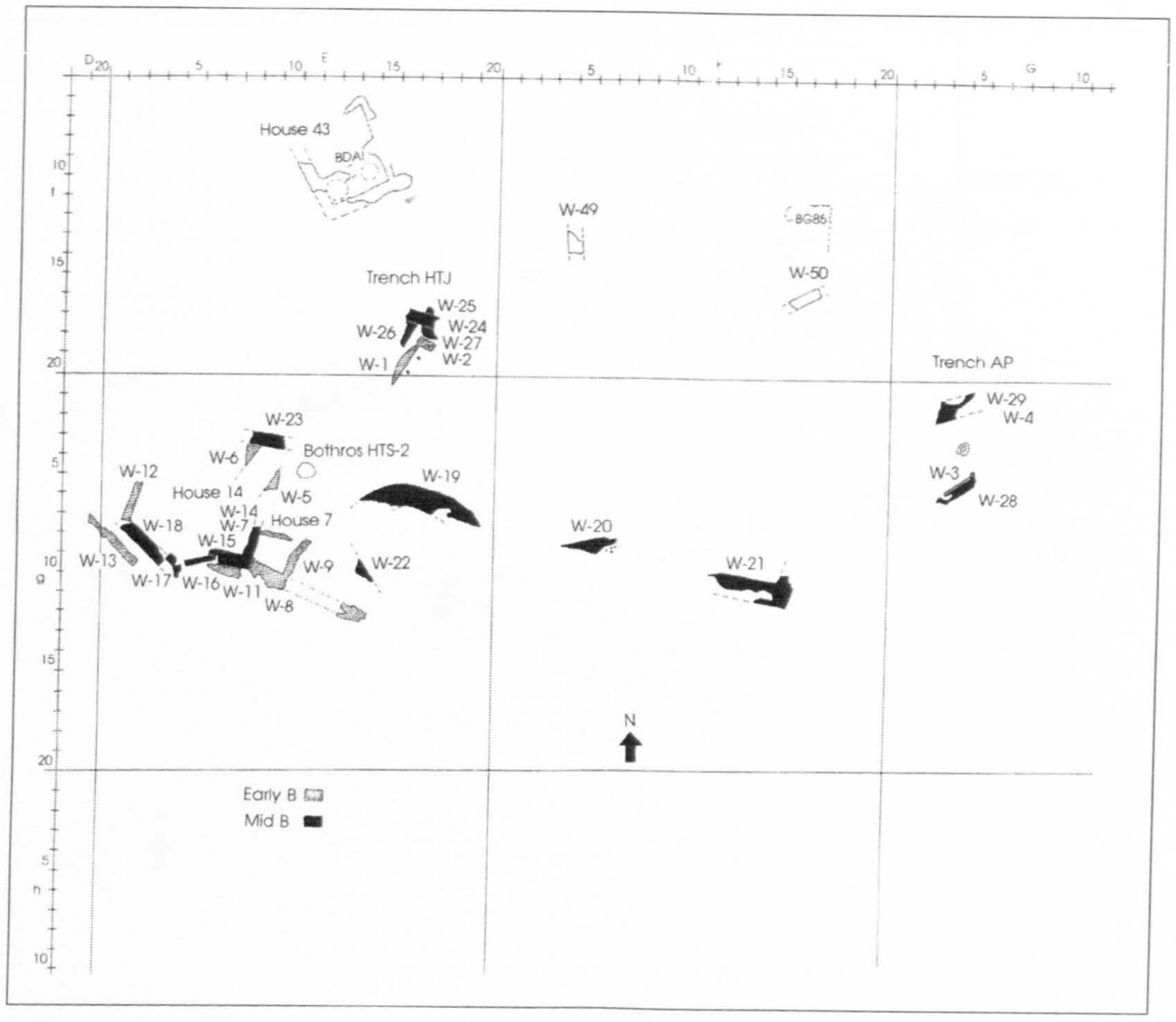

Figure 7.2 Lerna: Early and mid phase B (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 3).

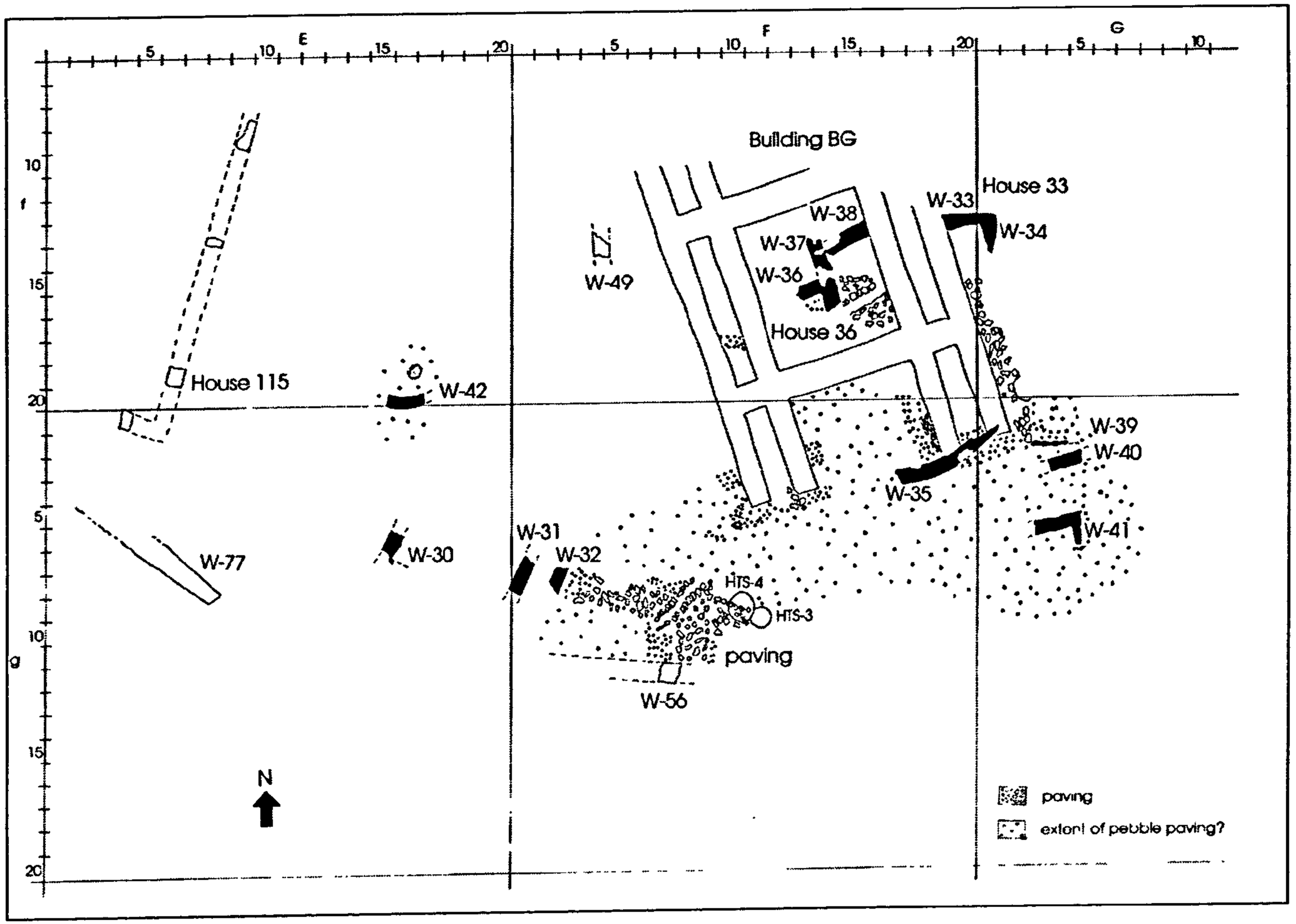

Figure 7.3 Lerna: Late Phase B (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 4).

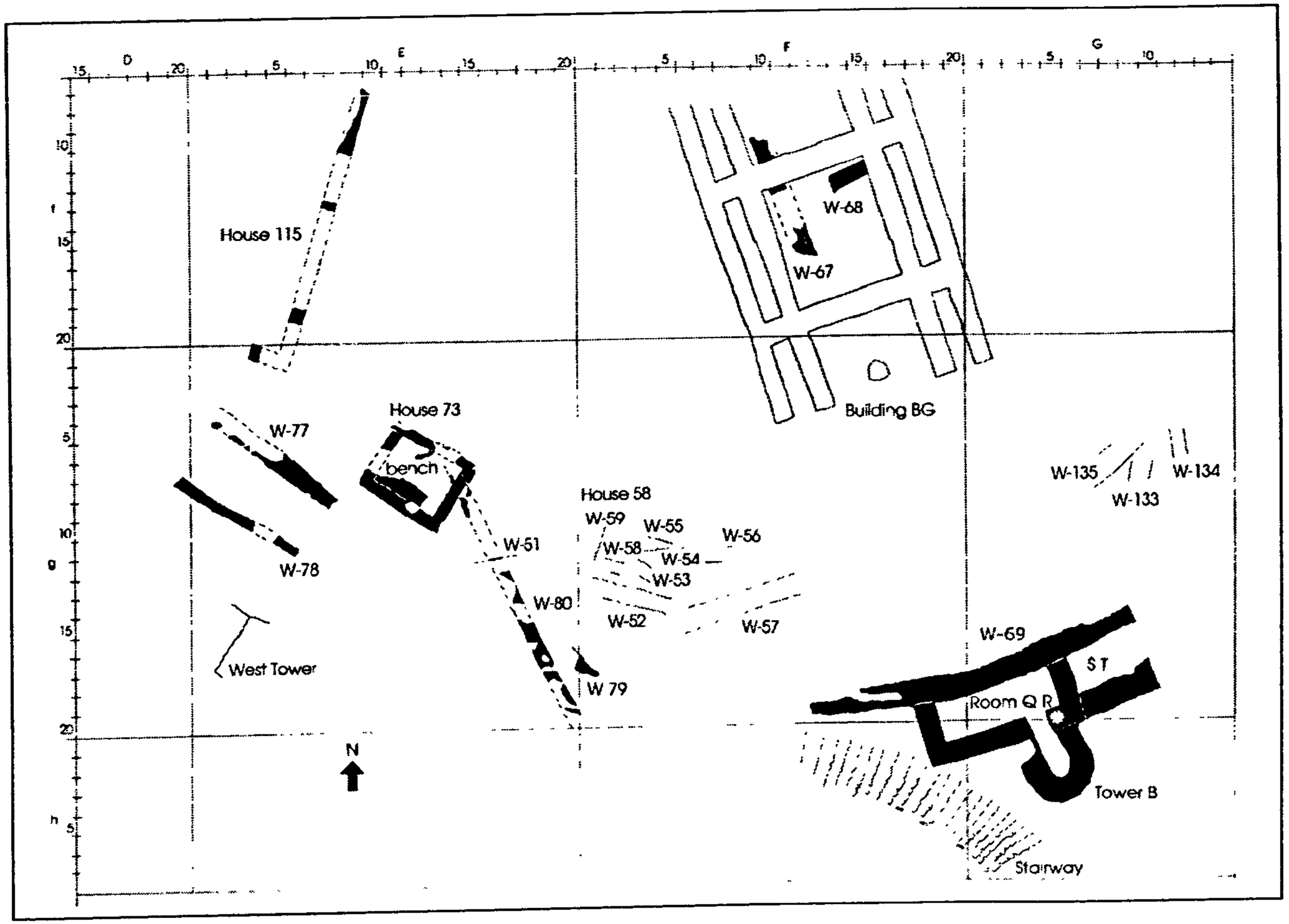

Figure 7.4 Lerna: Early phase C (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 5).

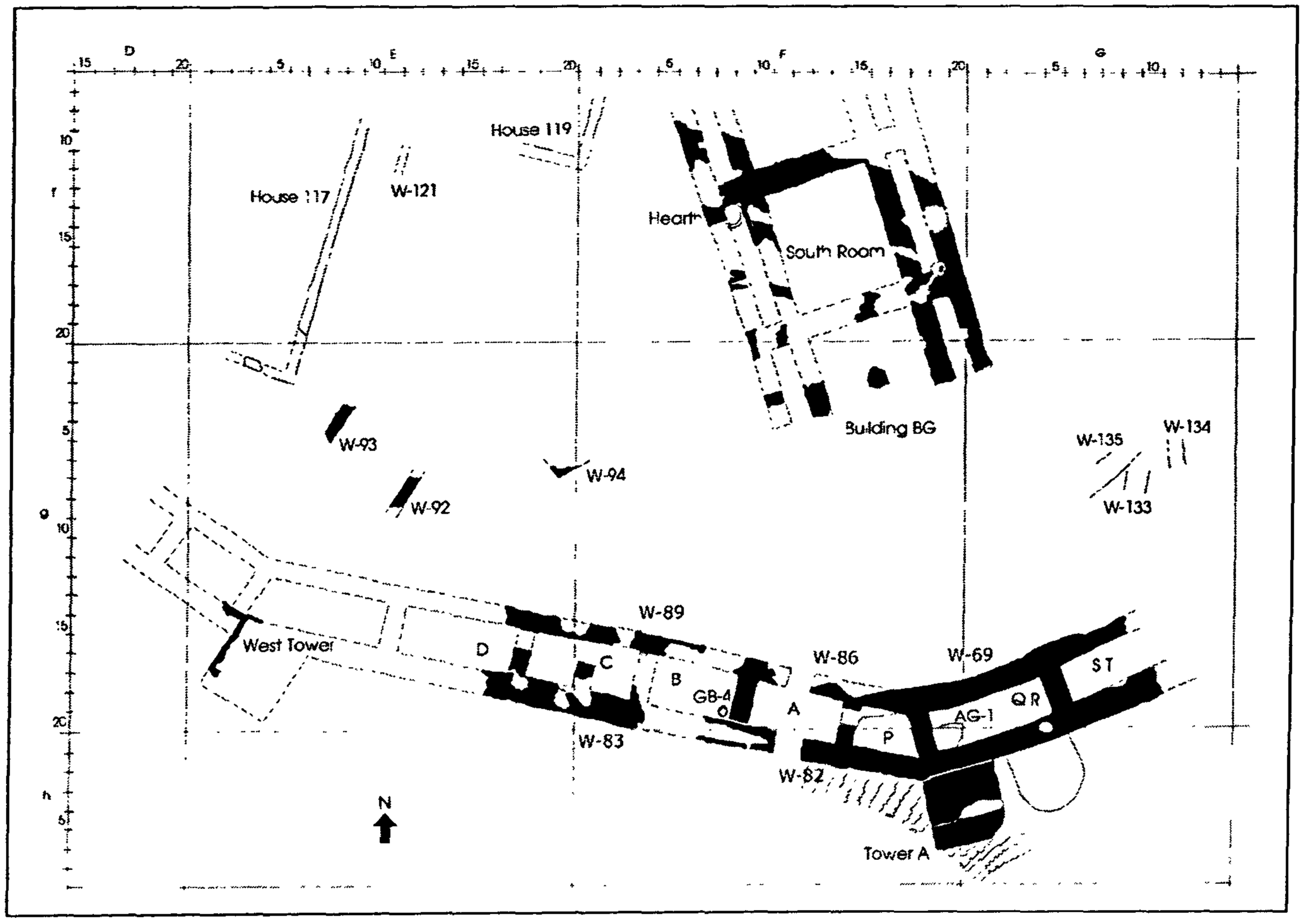

Figure 7.5 Lerna: Middle phase C (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 6).

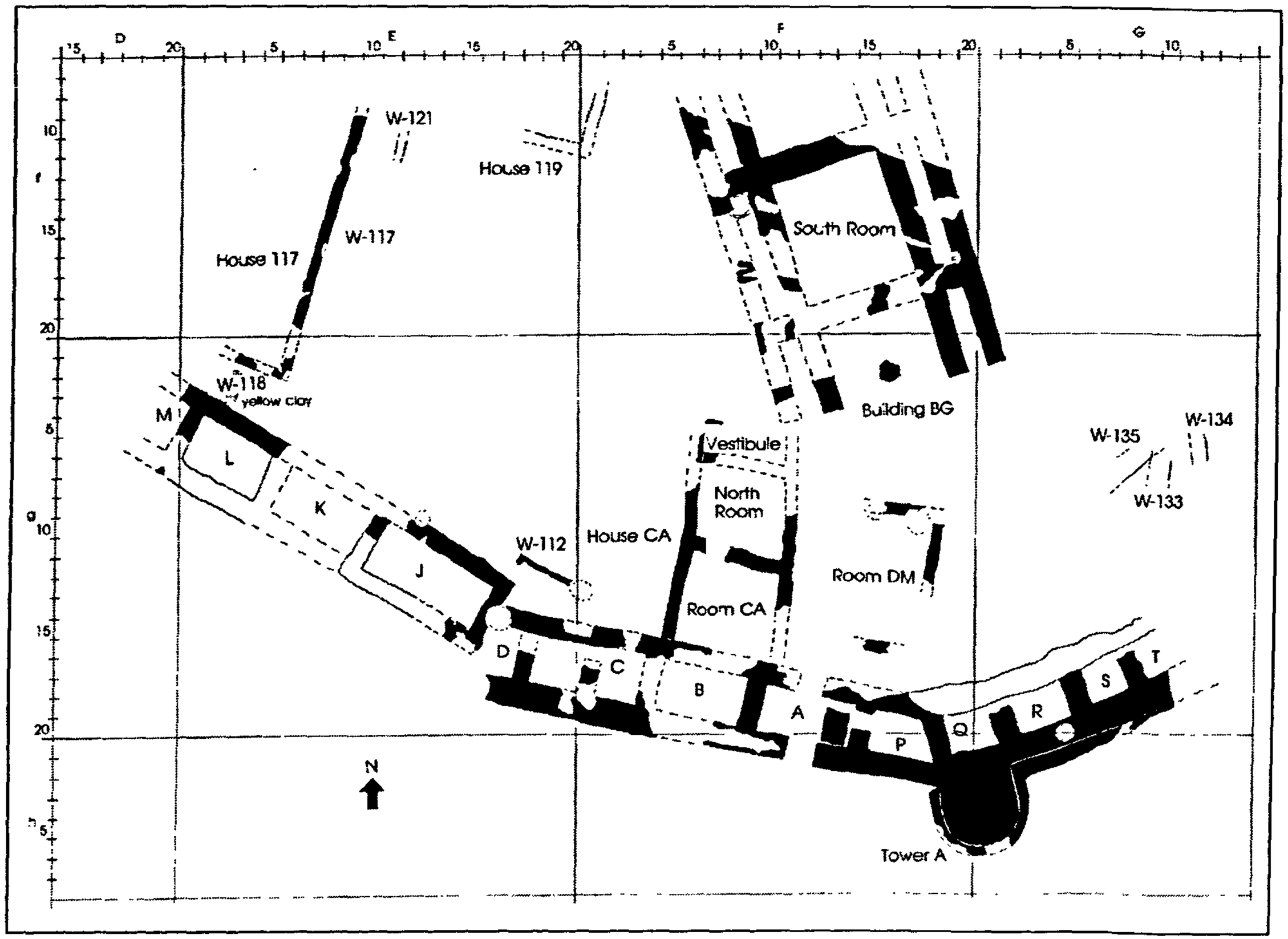

Figure 7.6 Lerna: Late phase C (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 7).

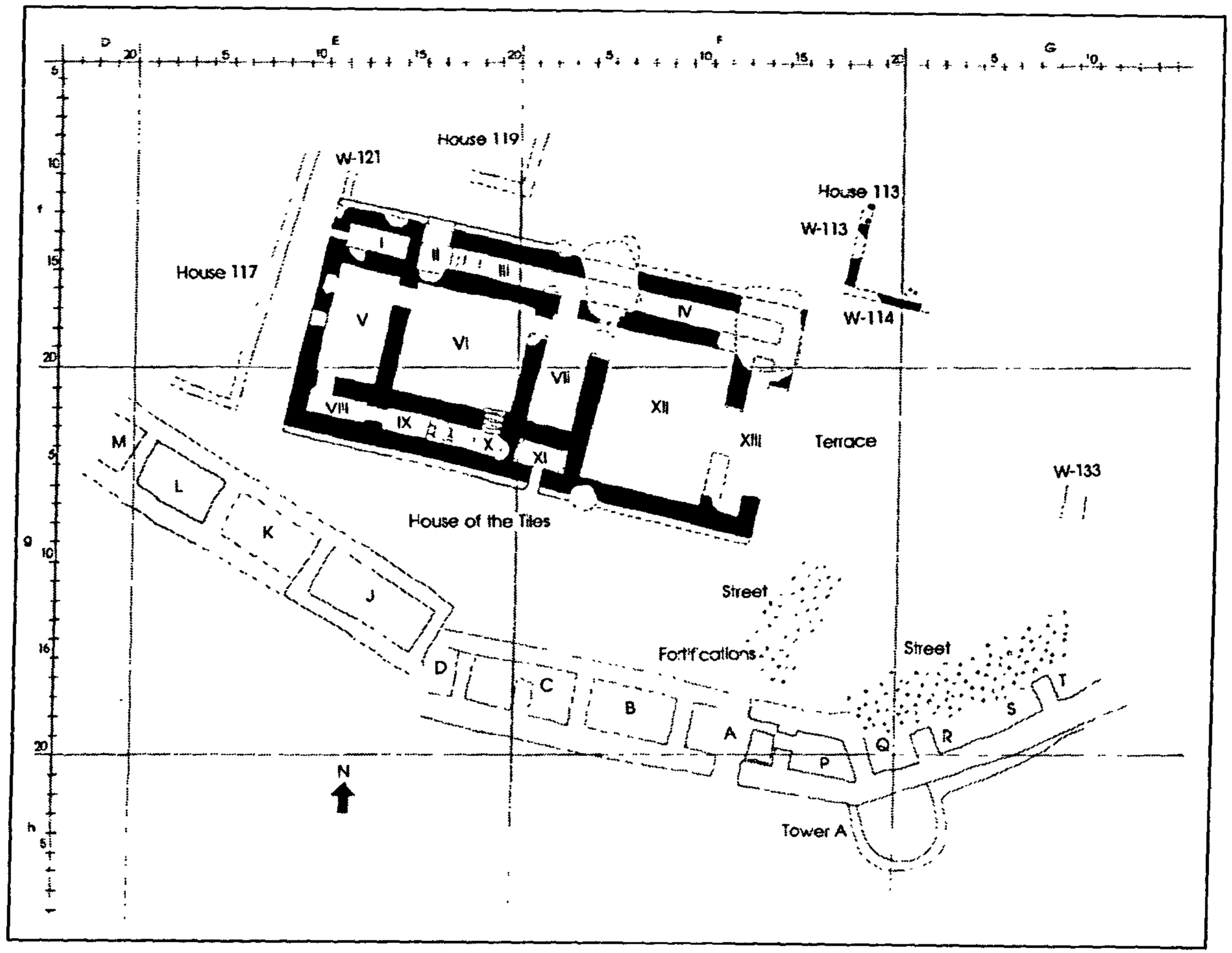

Figure 7.7 Lerna: Phases D and C/D (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 8)

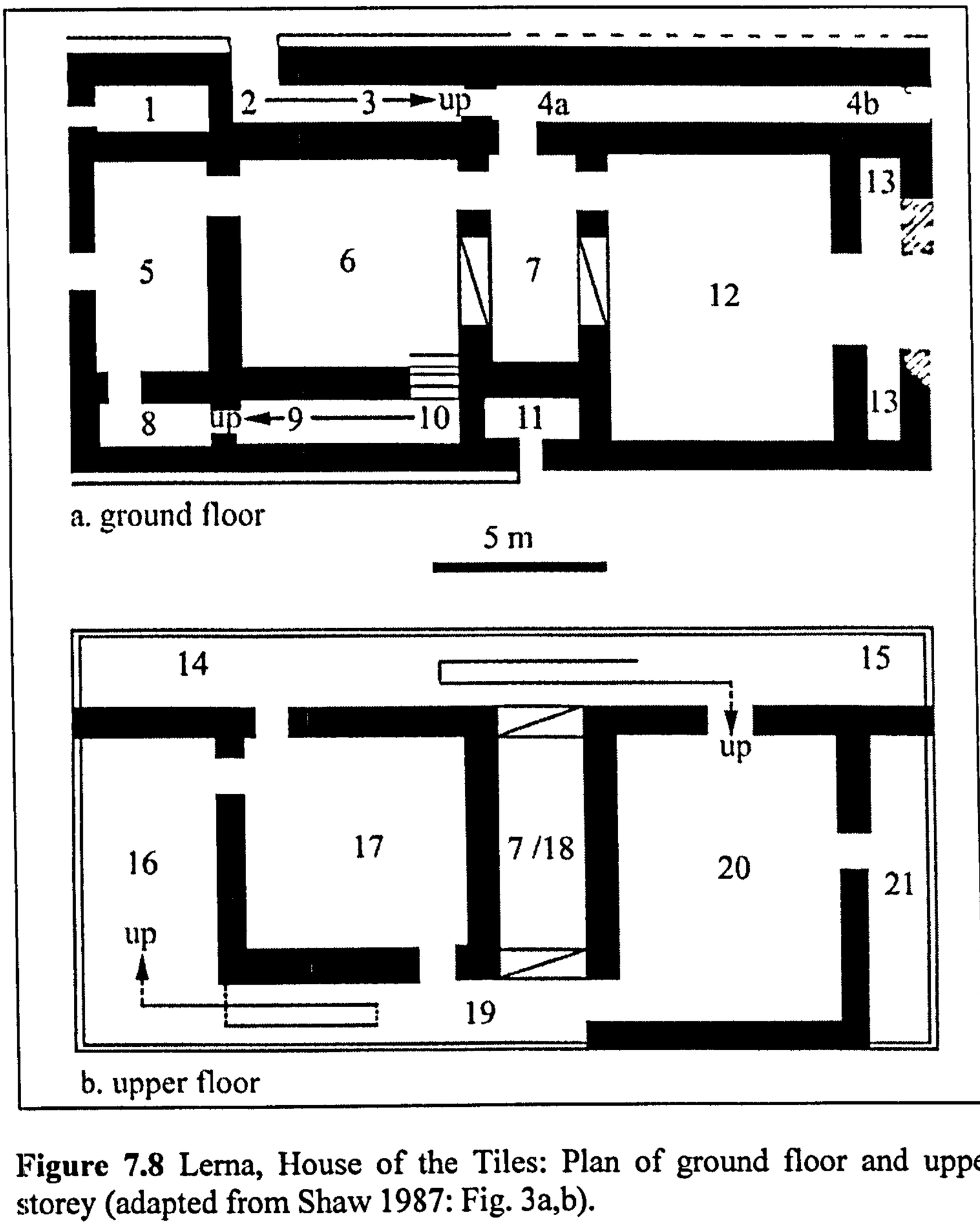

Figure 7.8 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Plan of ground floor and upper storey (adapted from Shaw 1987: Fig. 3a,b).

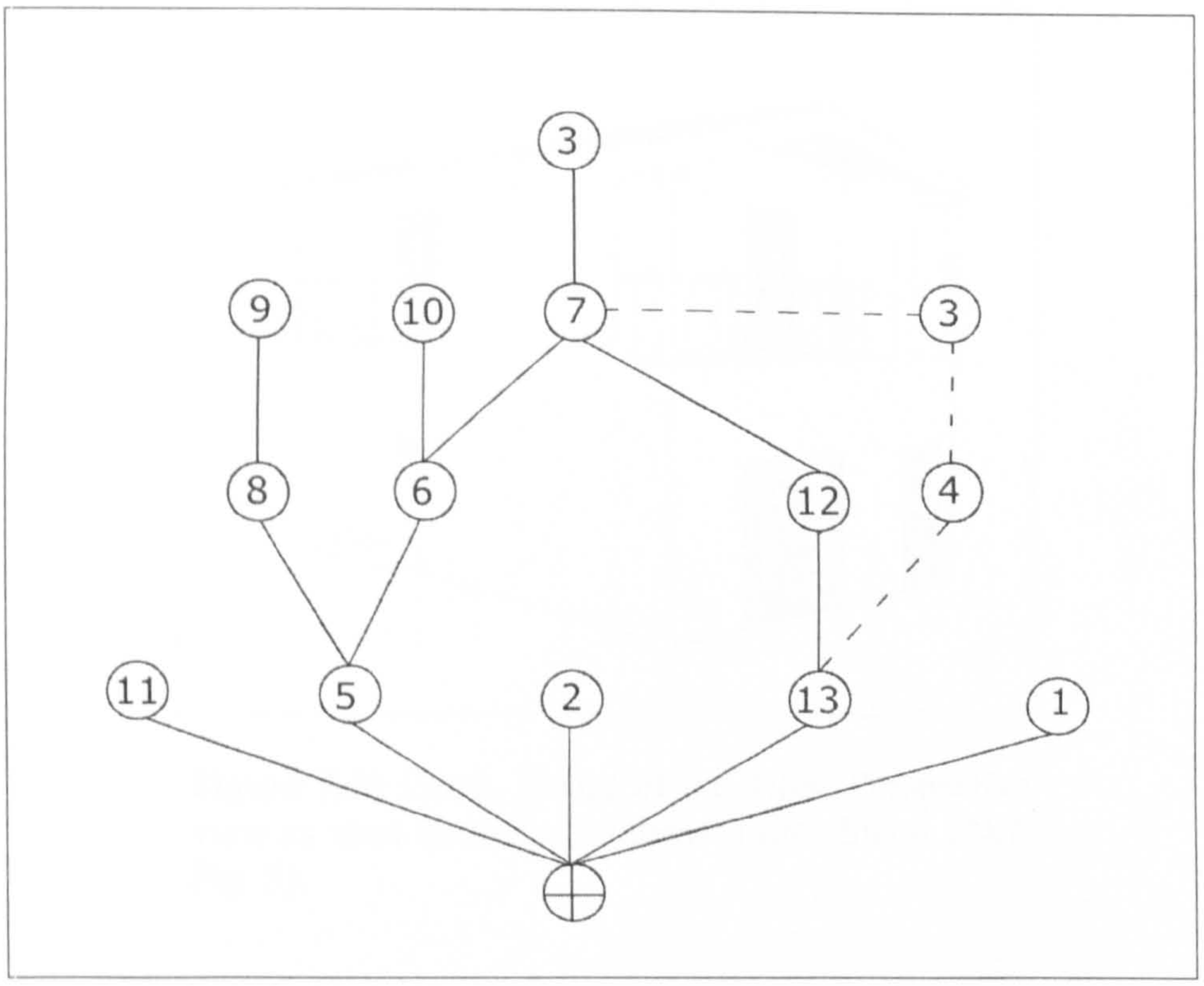

Figure 7.9 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Permeability map (after Yannouli 1992: Fig. 26).

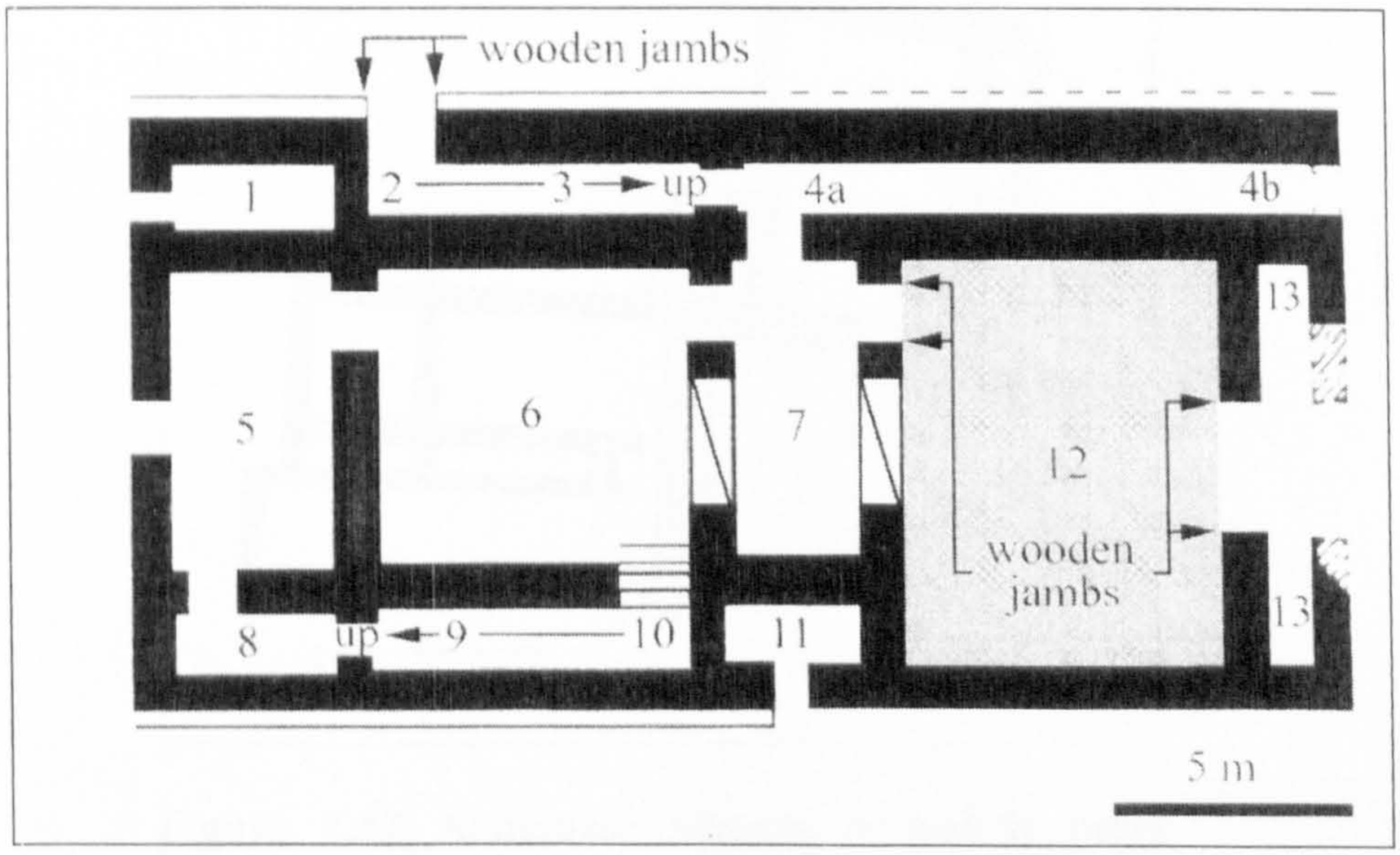

Figure 7.10 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Plan of ground floor with evidence for doors indicated (adapted from Shaw 1987: Fig. 3a; Pullen 1986: Fig. 34).

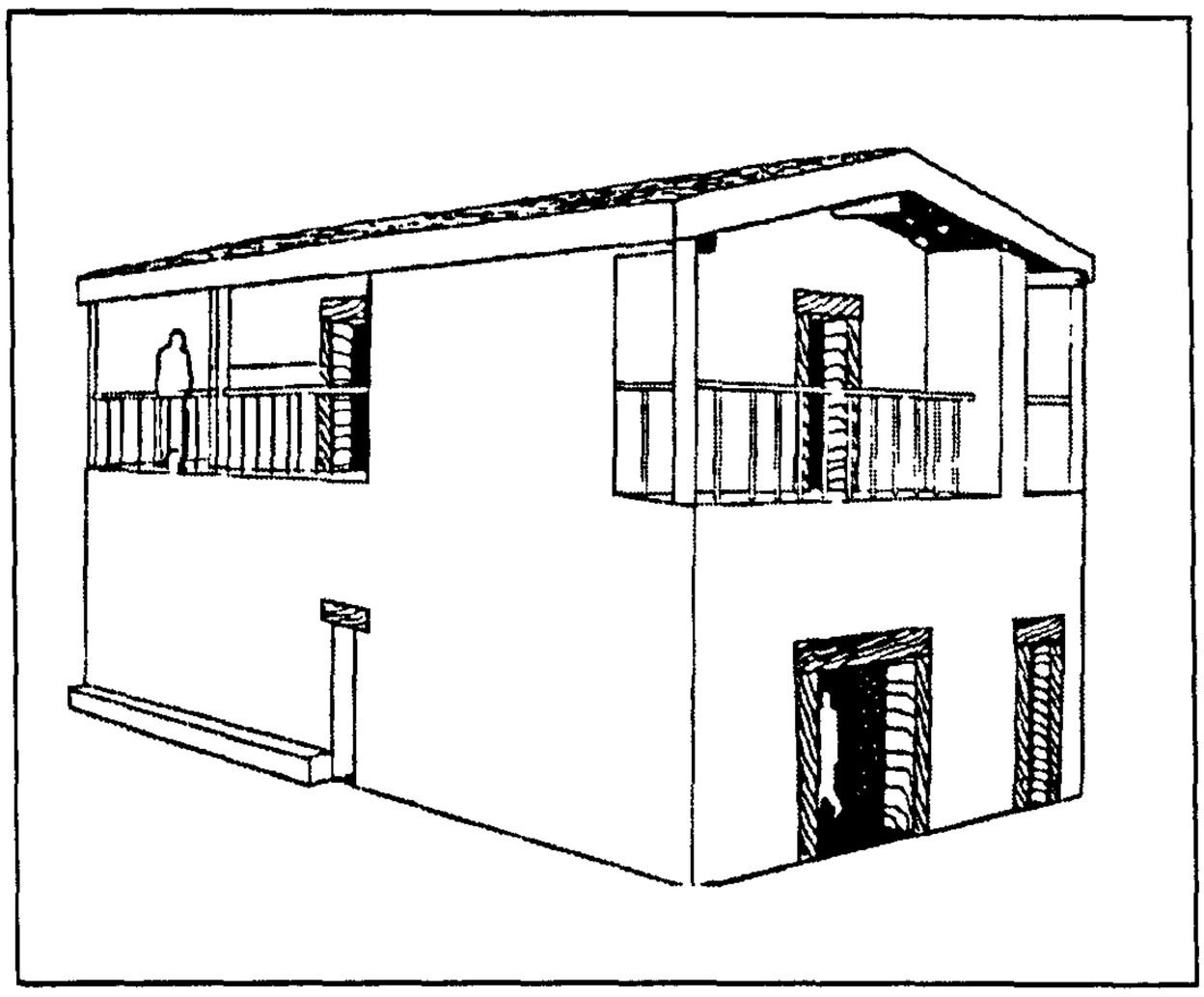

Figure 7.11 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Perspective view as seen from the southeast (after Shaw 1987: Fig. 5).

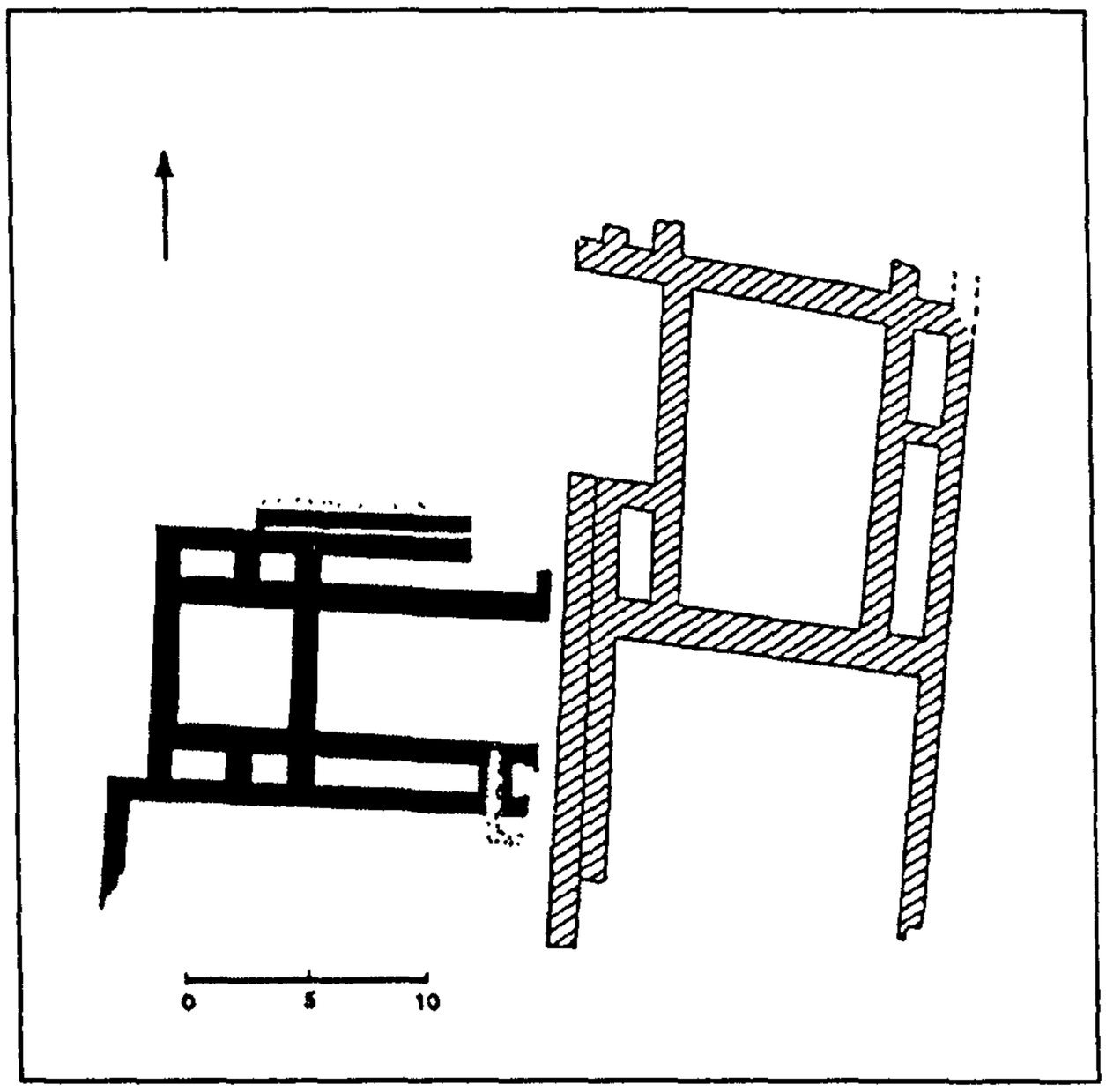

Figure 7.12 Akovitika: Megara A and B (after Kalogerakou 1999: Fig. 4).

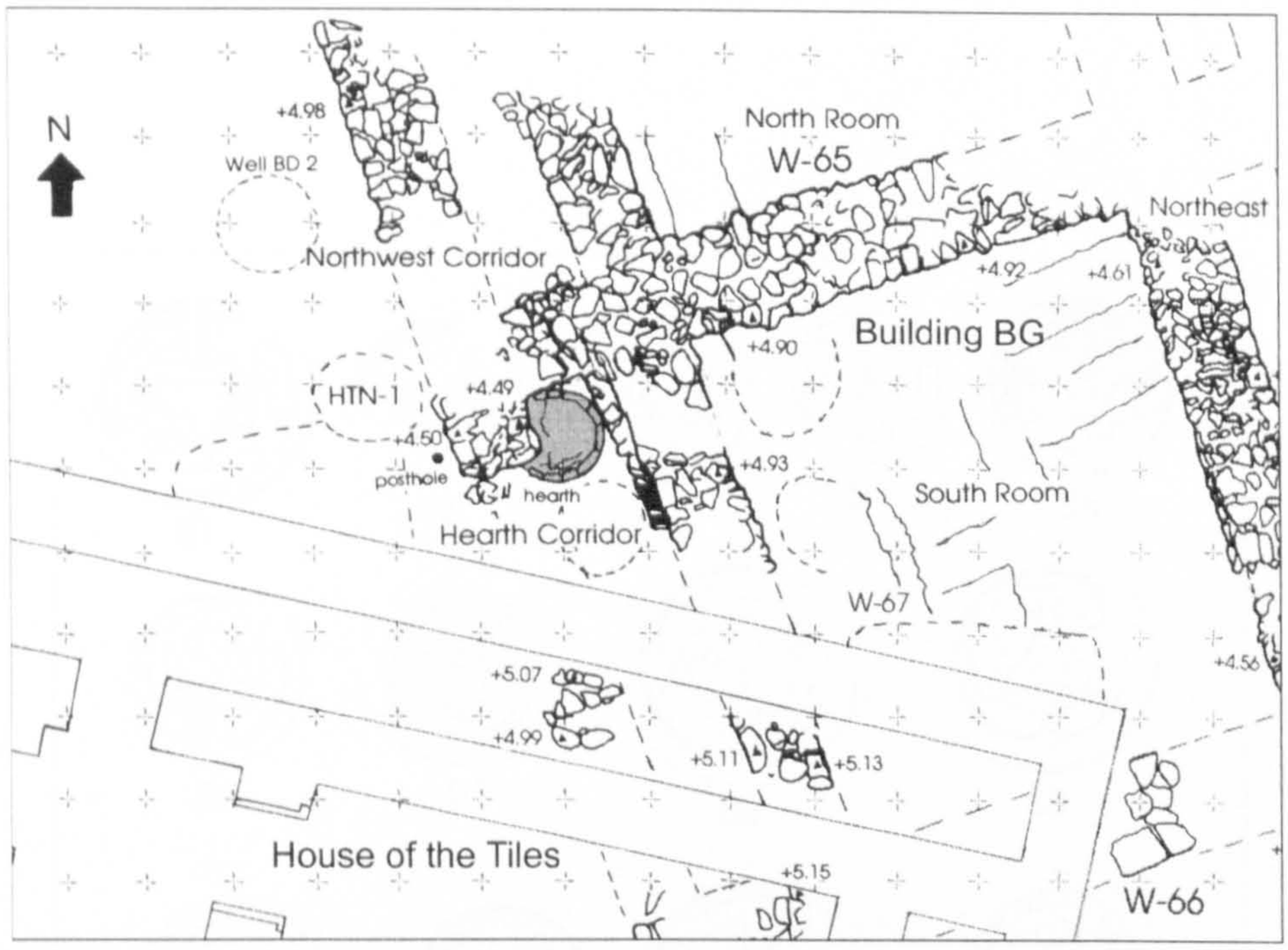

Figure 8.1 Lerna, Building BG: Location of hearth (*shaded*) (after Wiencke 2000: Plan 31).

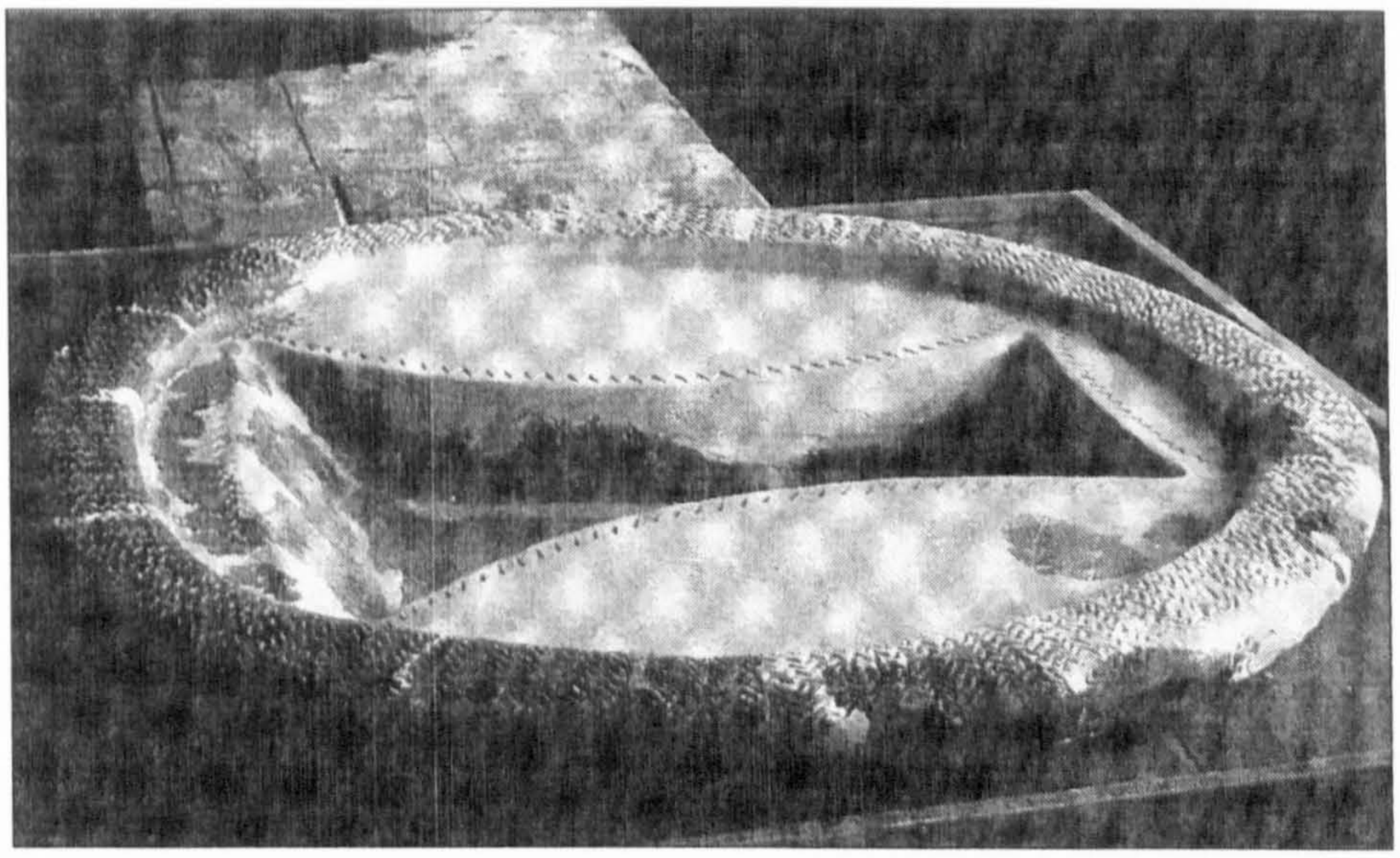

Figure 8.2 Lerna, Building BG: Hearth (after Wiencke 2000: Plate 13.772).

Figure 8.3a Lerna, House of the Tiles: Seal impressions from Room 11 (after Heath 1958: Pl. 20).

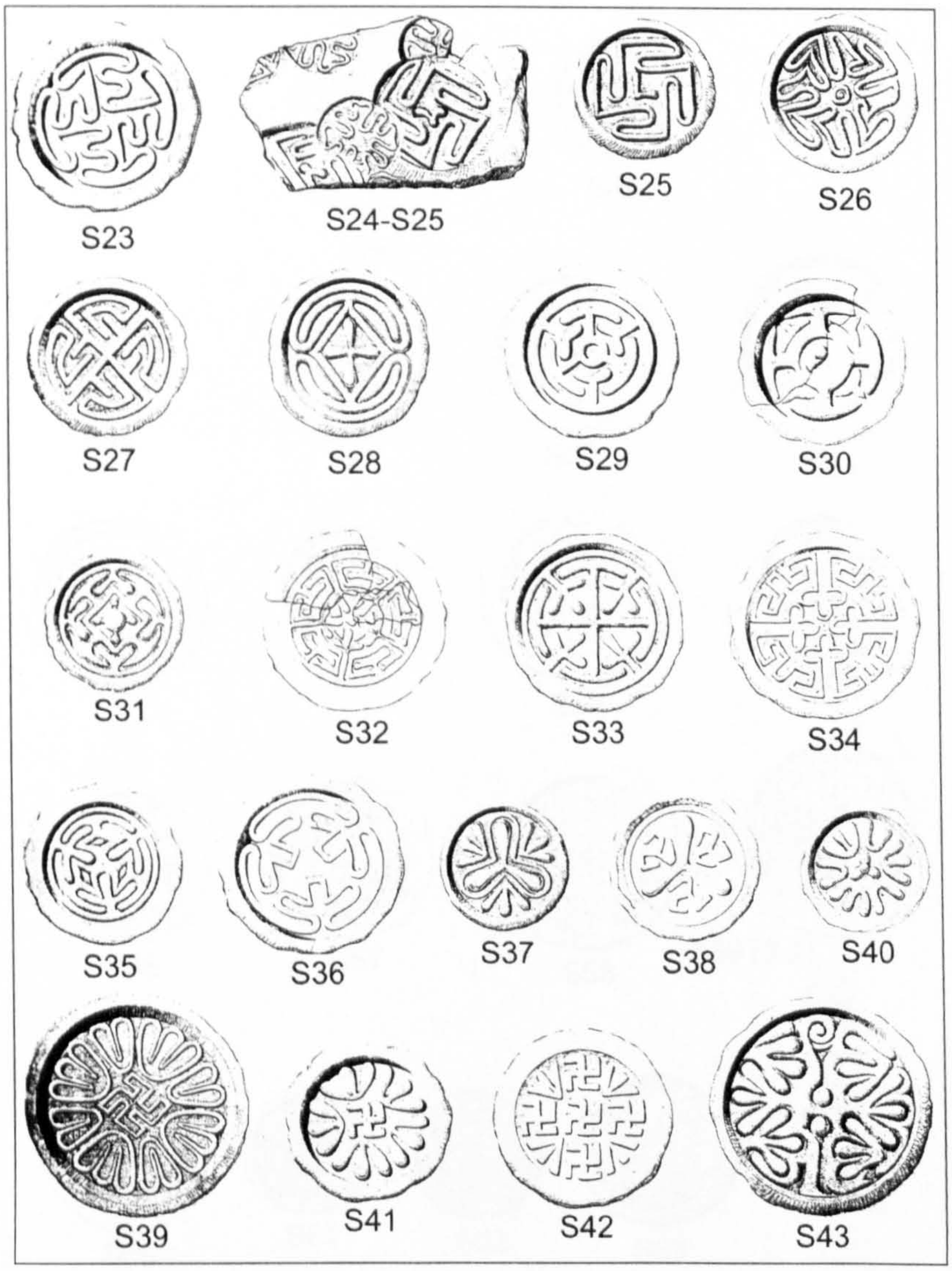

Figure 8.3b Lerna, House of the Tiles: Seal impressions from Room 11 (after Heath 1958: Pl. 21).

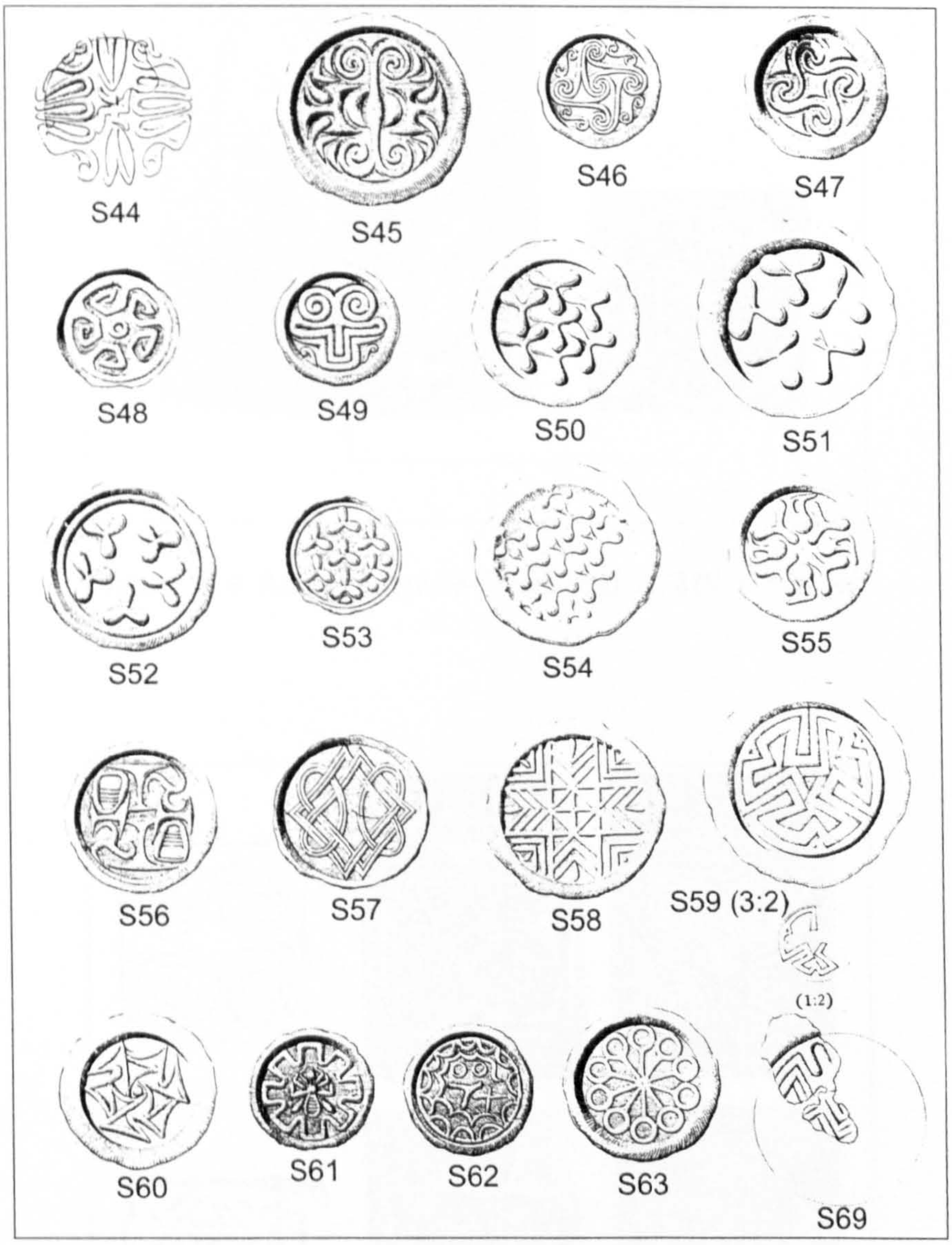

Figure 8.3c Lerna, House of the Tiles: Seal impressions from Room 11 (after Heath 1958: Pl. 22).

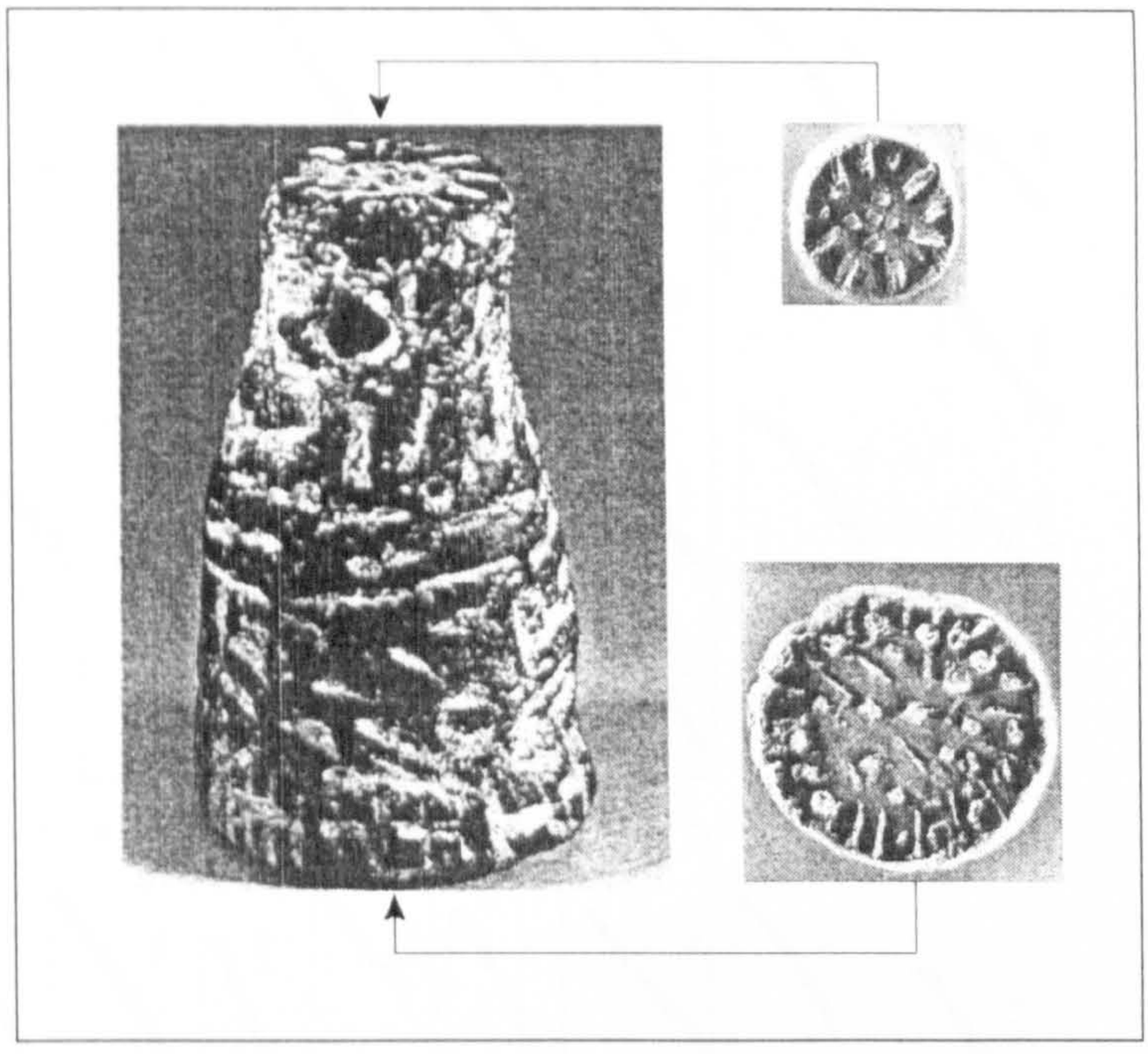

Figure 8.4 Asine: Double-faced seal (*CMS V.*50: Nr. 523).

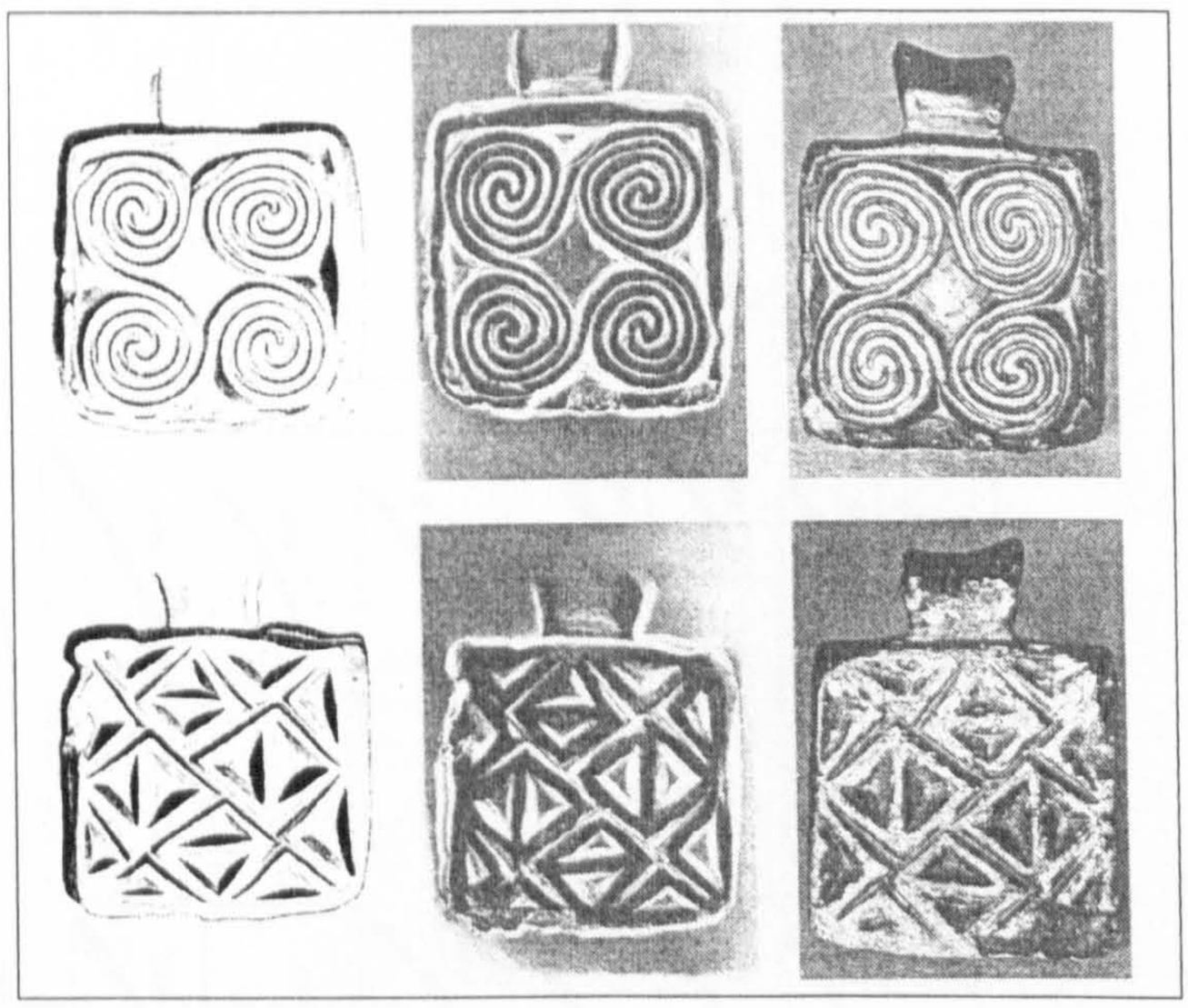

Figure 8.5 Asine: EH II multi-faced seal-like pendant (*CMS V.*50: Nr. 526).

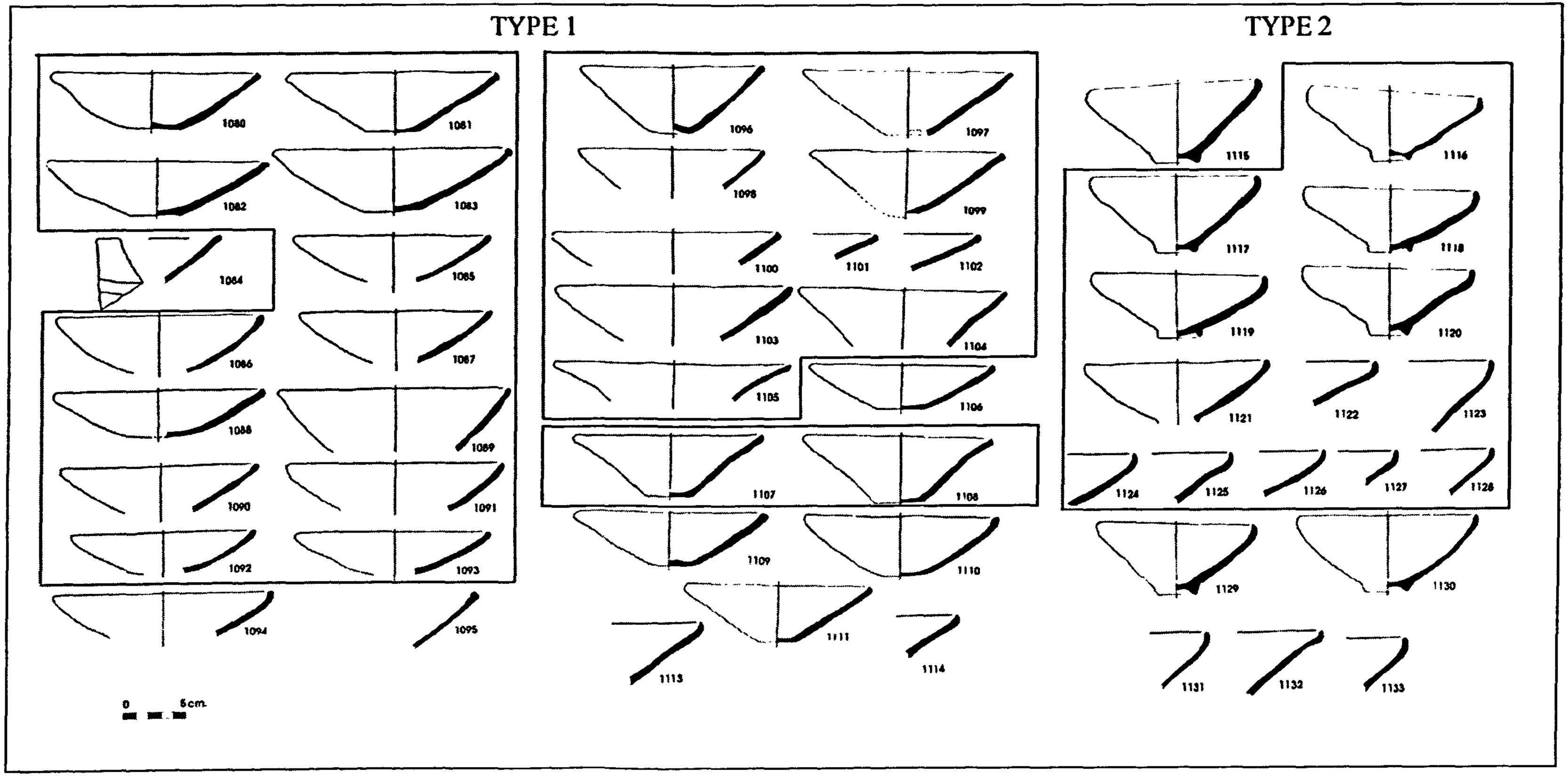

Figure 8.6 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Saucers from Room 11; lines indicate possible manufacturer groups (adapted from Wiencke 2000: Fig. II.65).

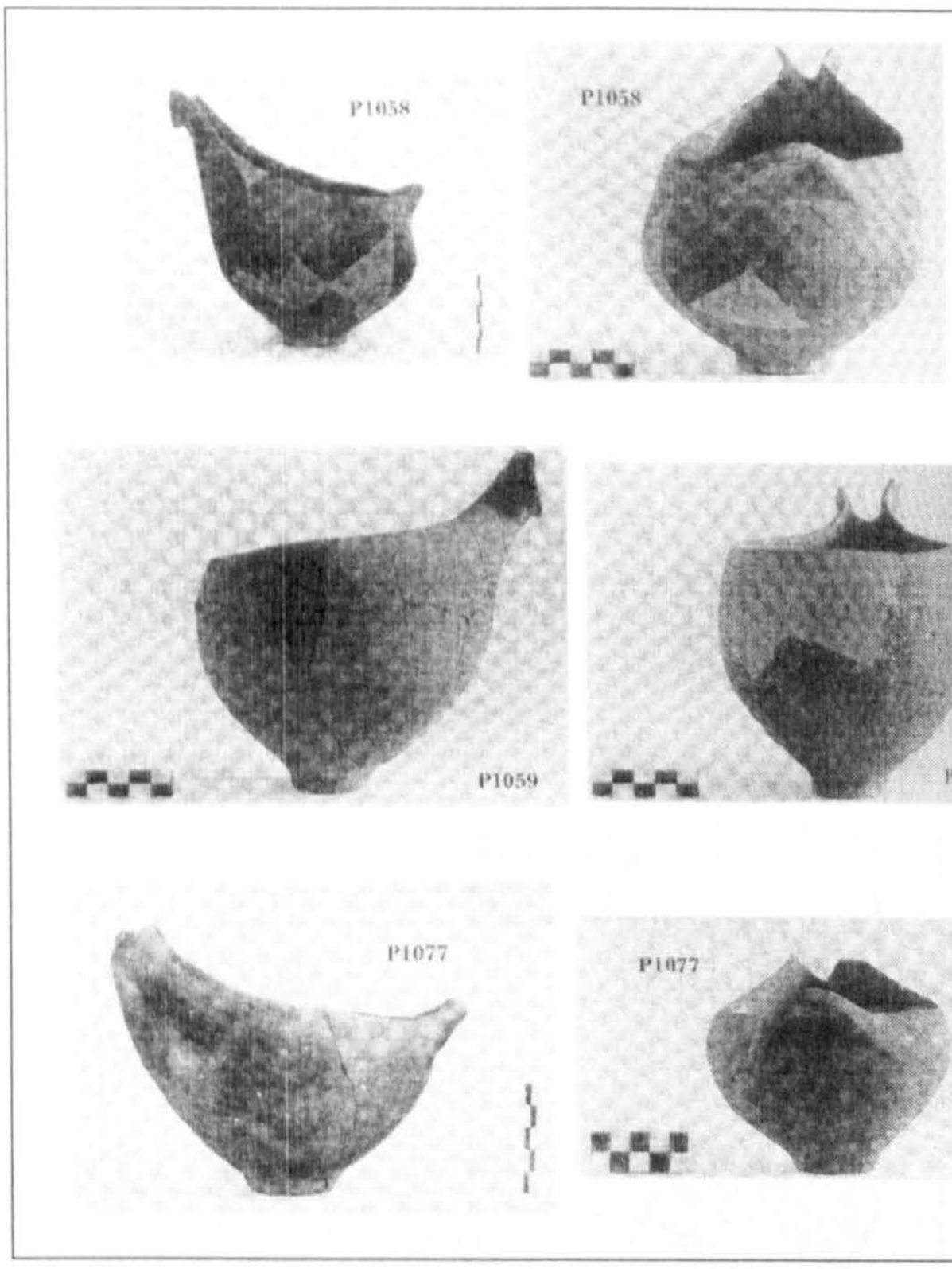

Figure 8.7 Lerna, House of the Tiles: Sauceboats from Room 11 (adapted from Wiencke 2000: Pls 20, 21).

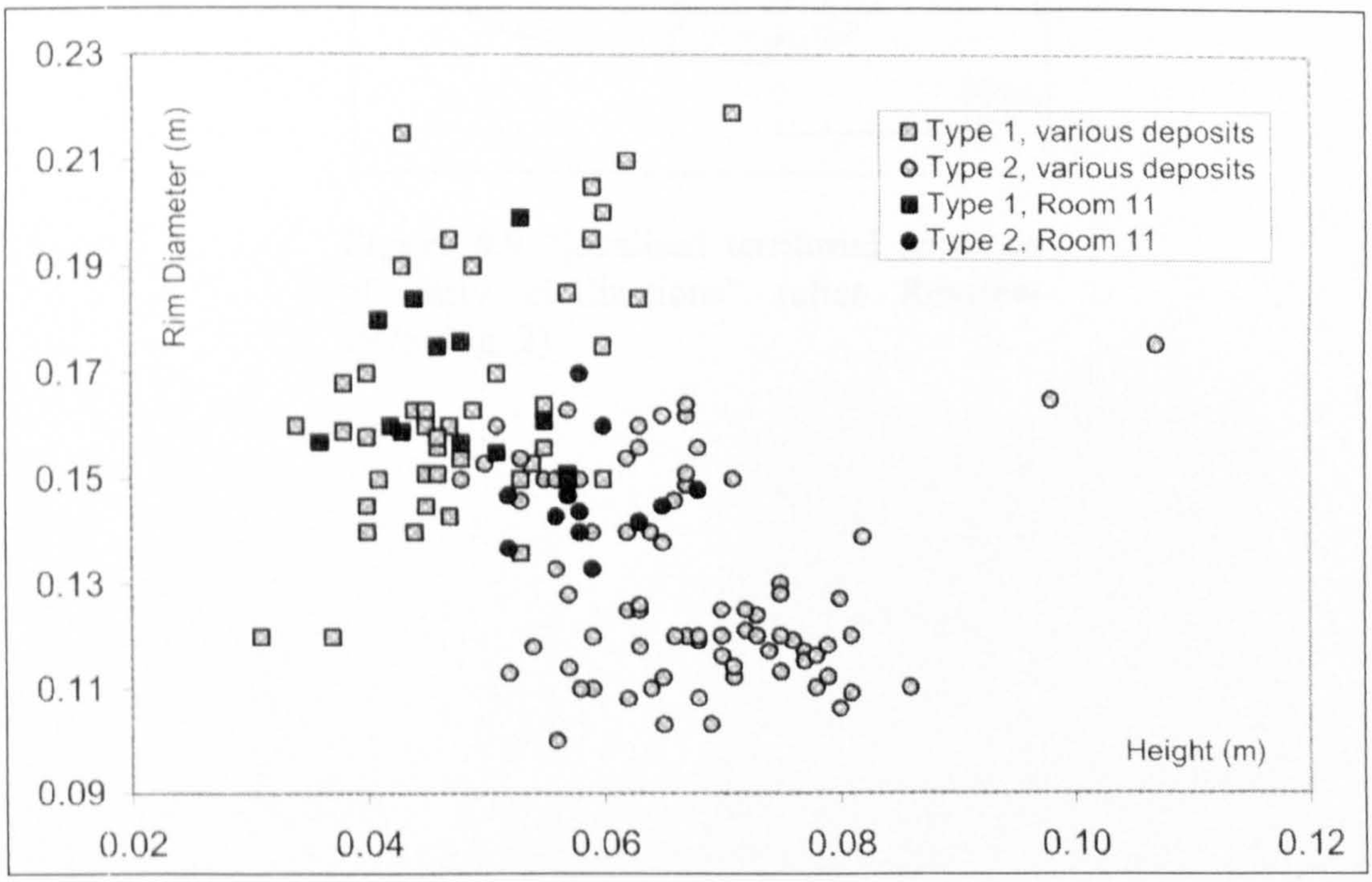

Figure 8.8 Lerna: Height/rim diameter scatter-plot of EH II saucers (data from Wiencke 2000).

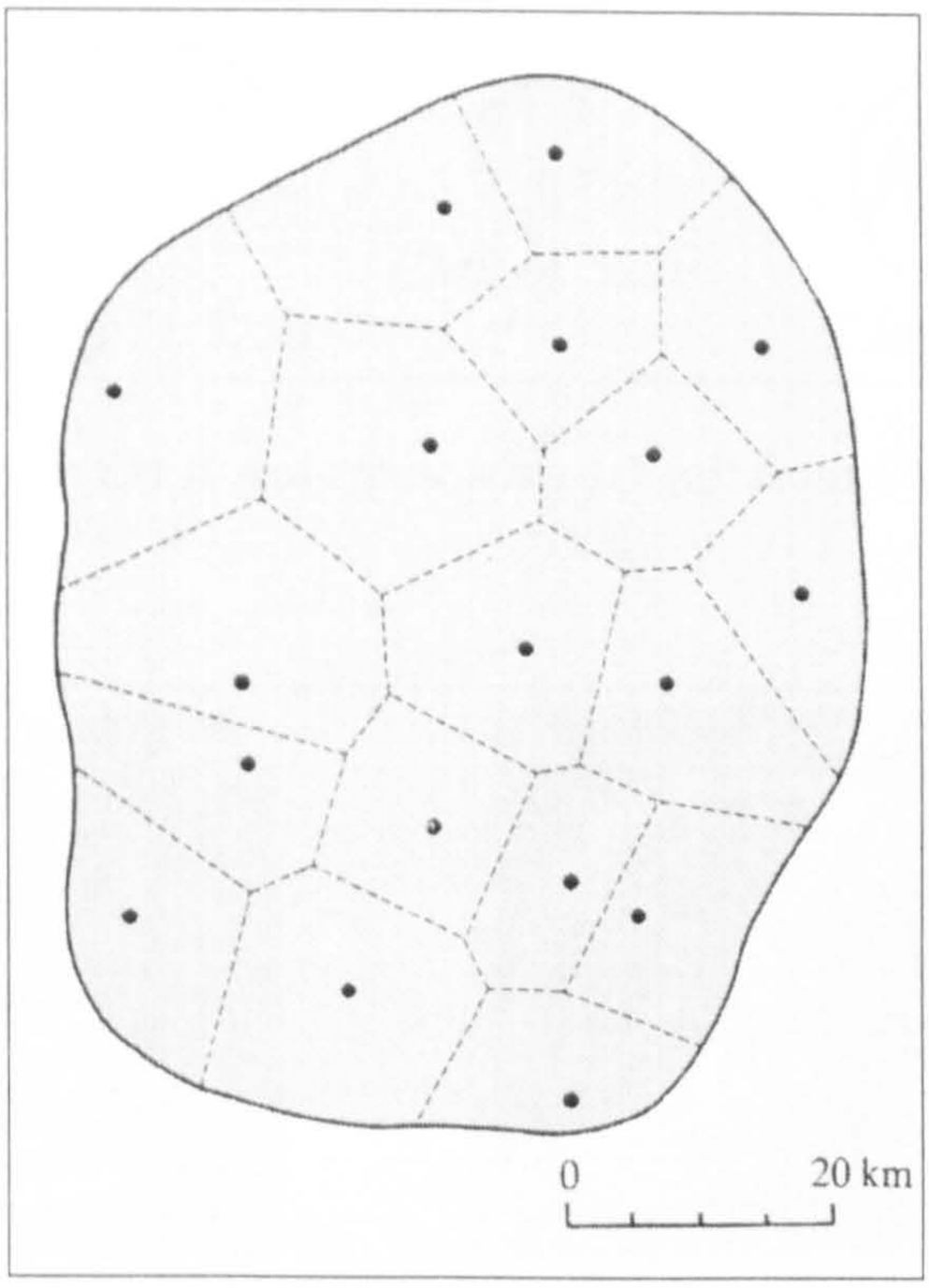

Figure 8.9 "Idealised territorial structure of early civilizations" (after Renfrew 1975: Fig. 2).

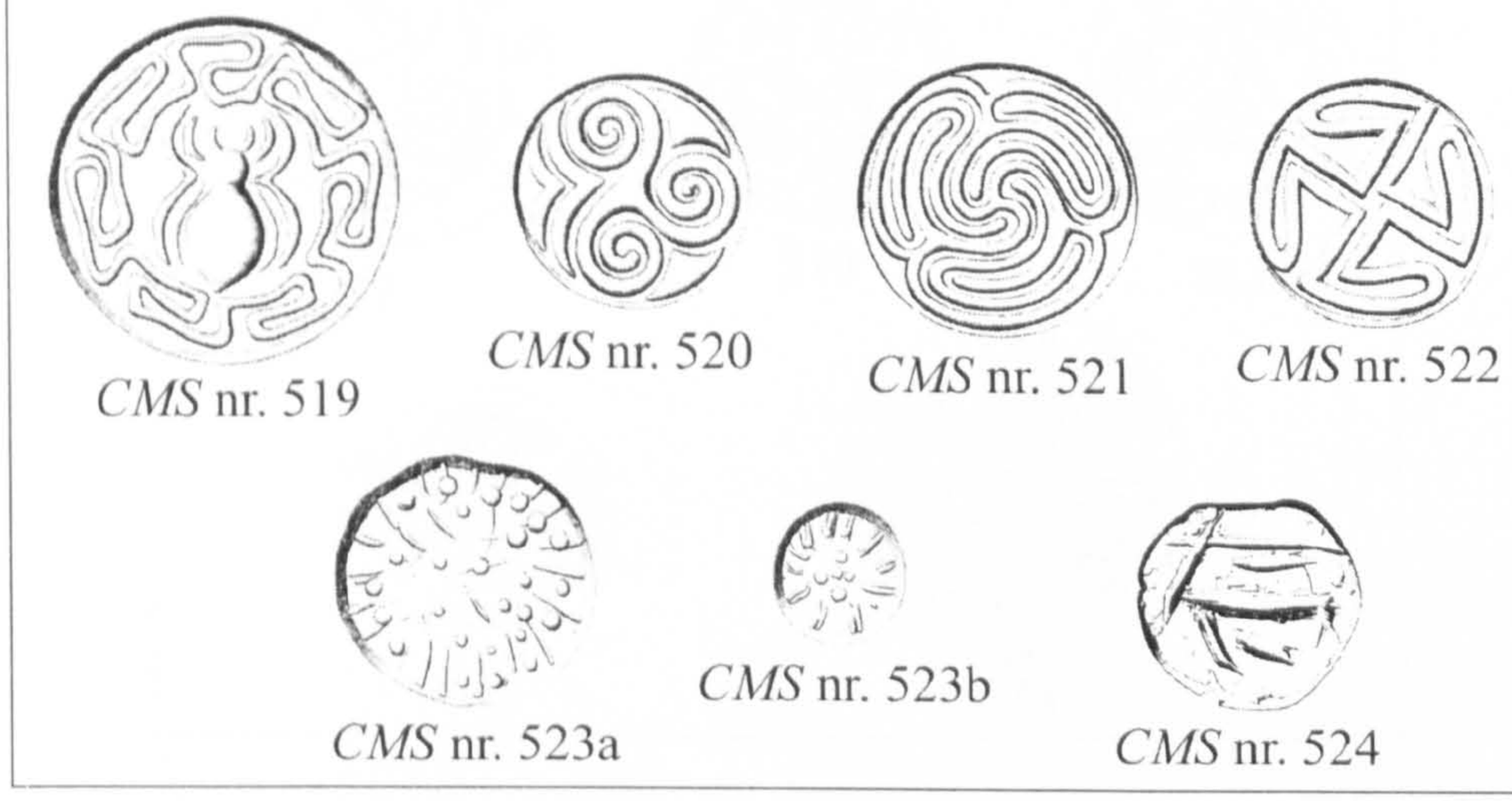

Figure 8.10 Asine: EH II seal types; scale 1:1 (all from *CMS V*).

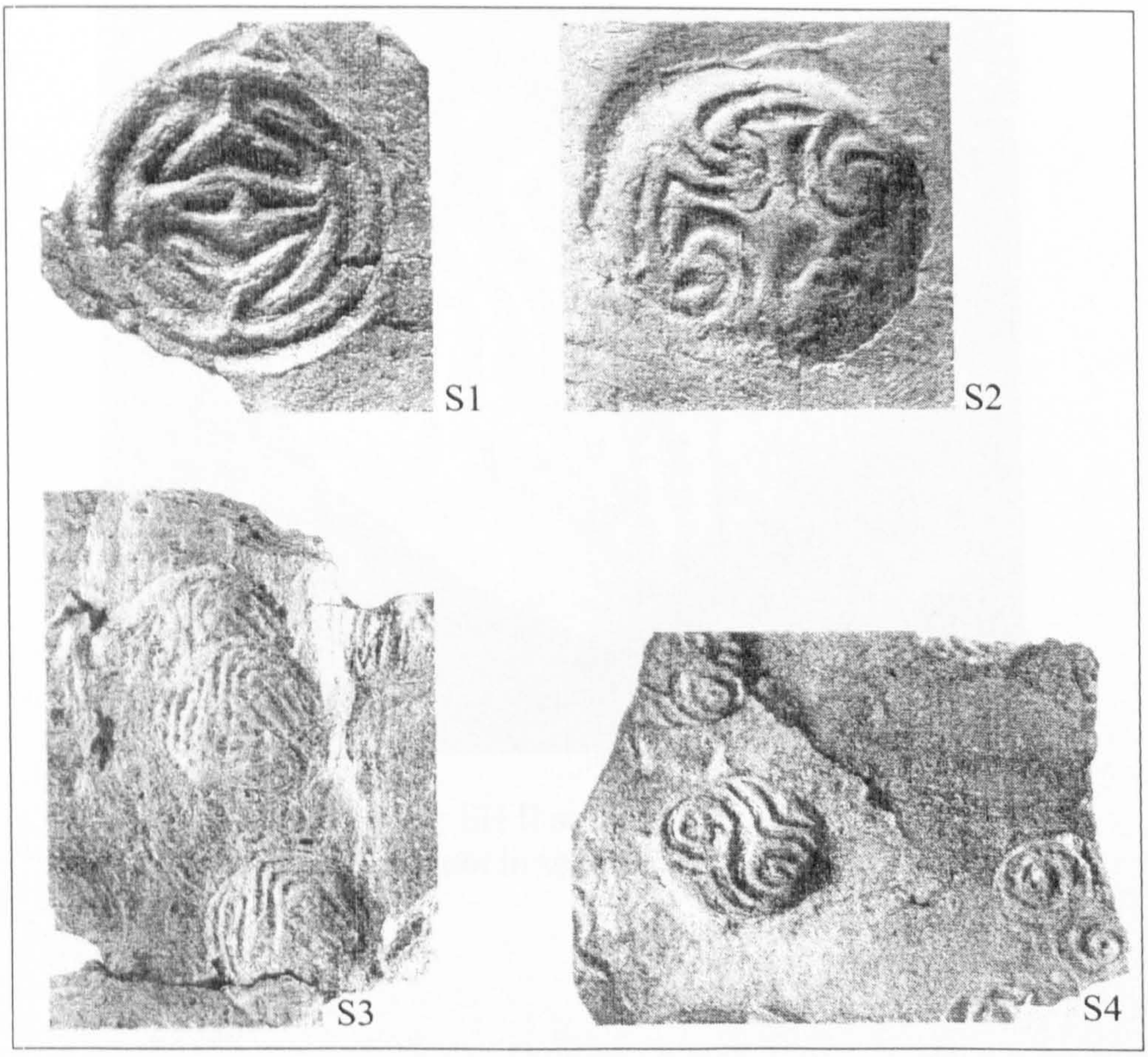

Figure 8.11 Petri: EH II seal types; scale 1:1 (after Kostoula 2000: Fig. 4).

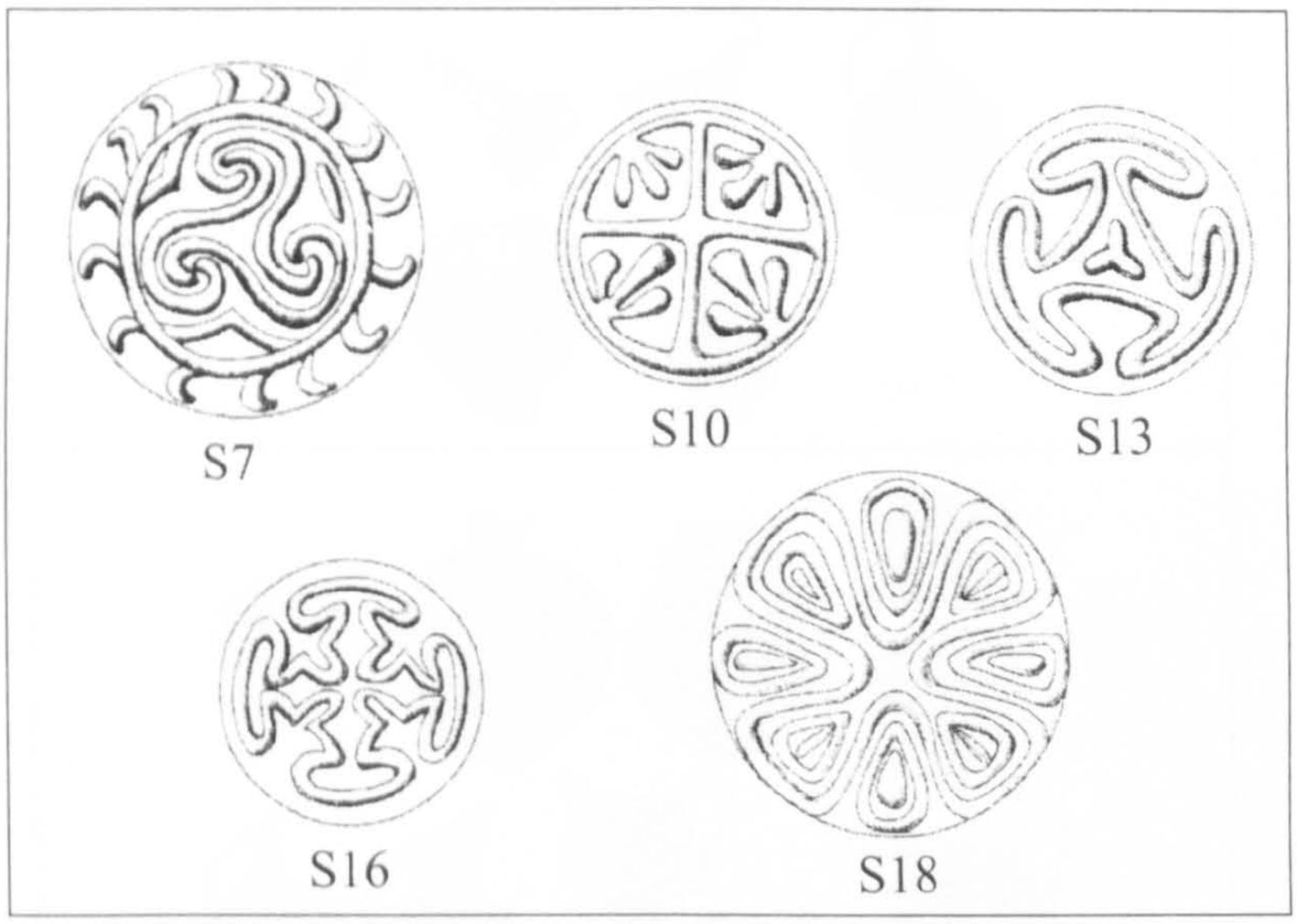

Figure 8.12 Petri: EH II seal types; scale 1:1 (after Kostoula 2000: Fig. 5).

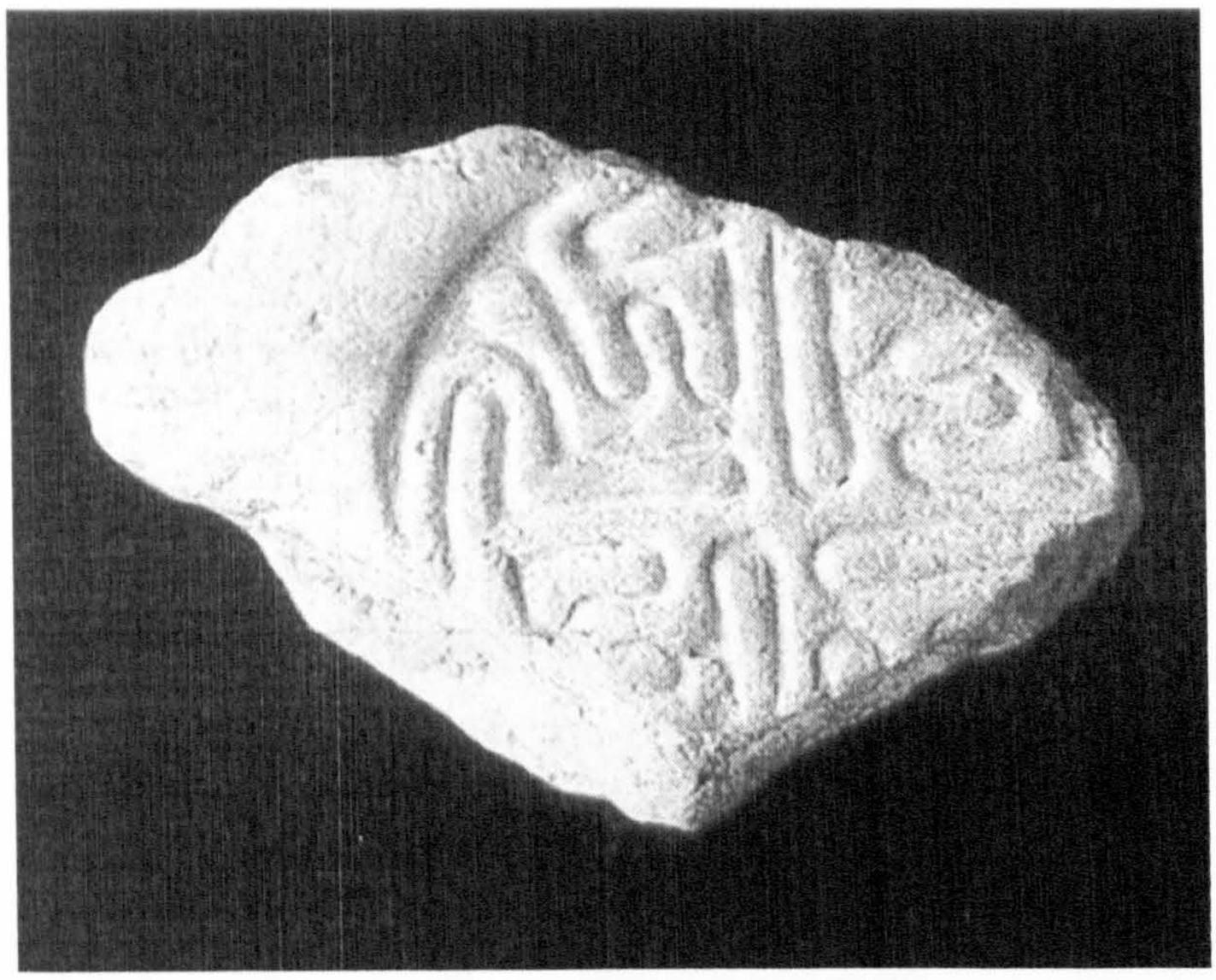

Figure 8.13 Akovitika: EH II sealing (after Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1995-2001; not in scale).

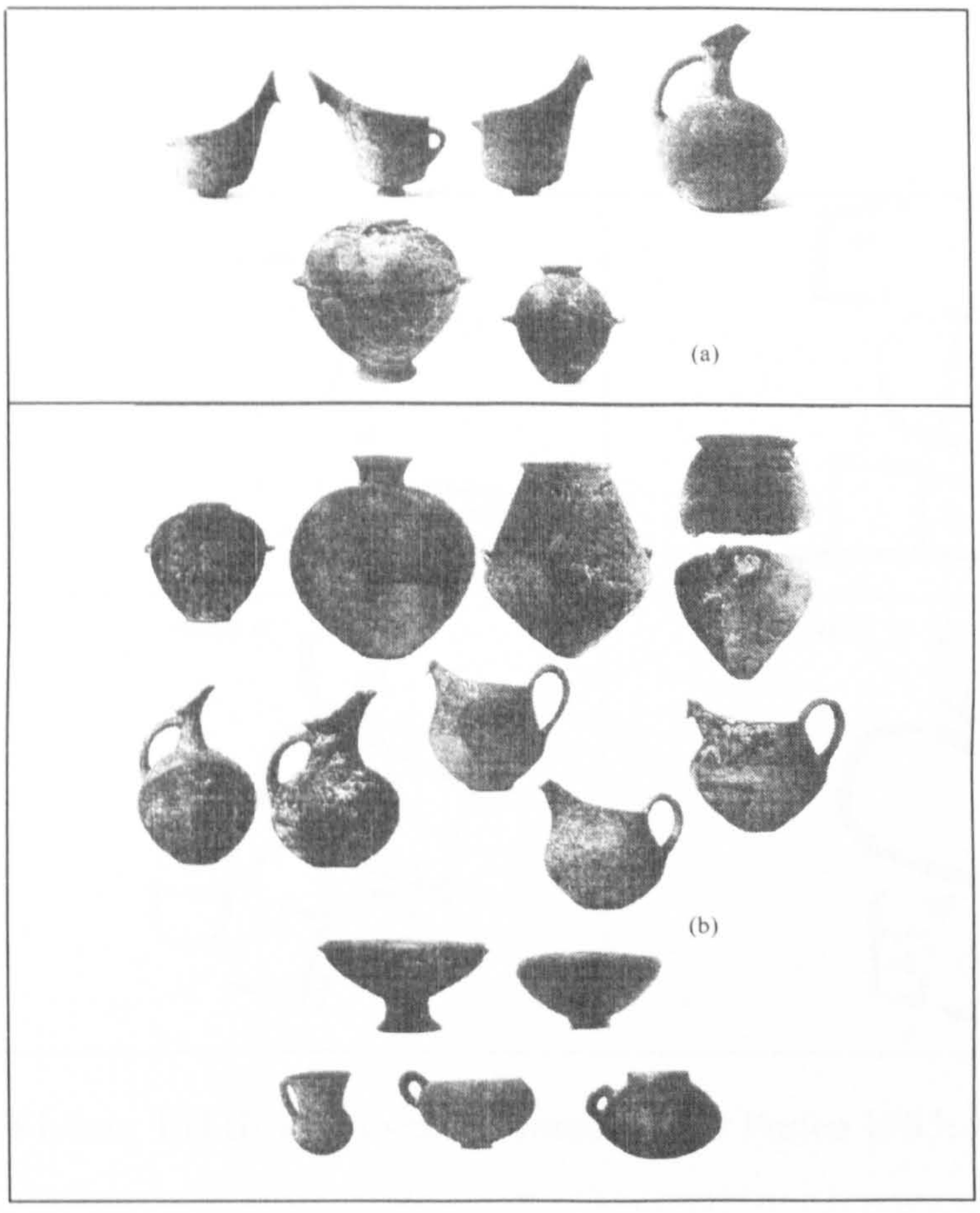

Figure 9.1 Kolonna: Pottery from (a) the "Haus am Felsrand" and (b) the "Weisses Haus" (after Walter and Felten 1981: Pl. 82-5; not in scale).

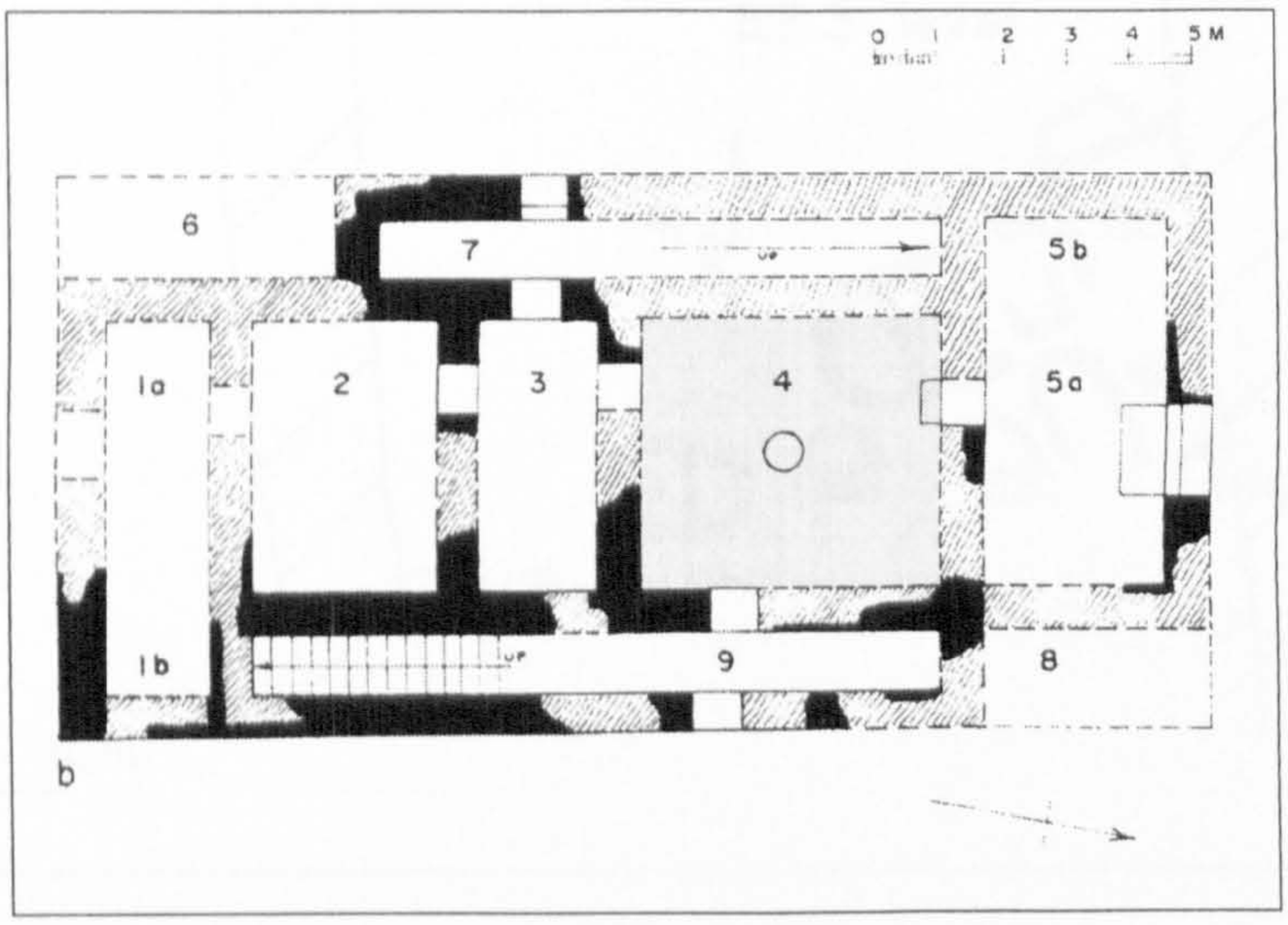

Figure 9.2 Kolonna, "Weisses Haus": Plan of ground floor; hearth room shaded (adapted from Shaw 1987: Fig. 6b).

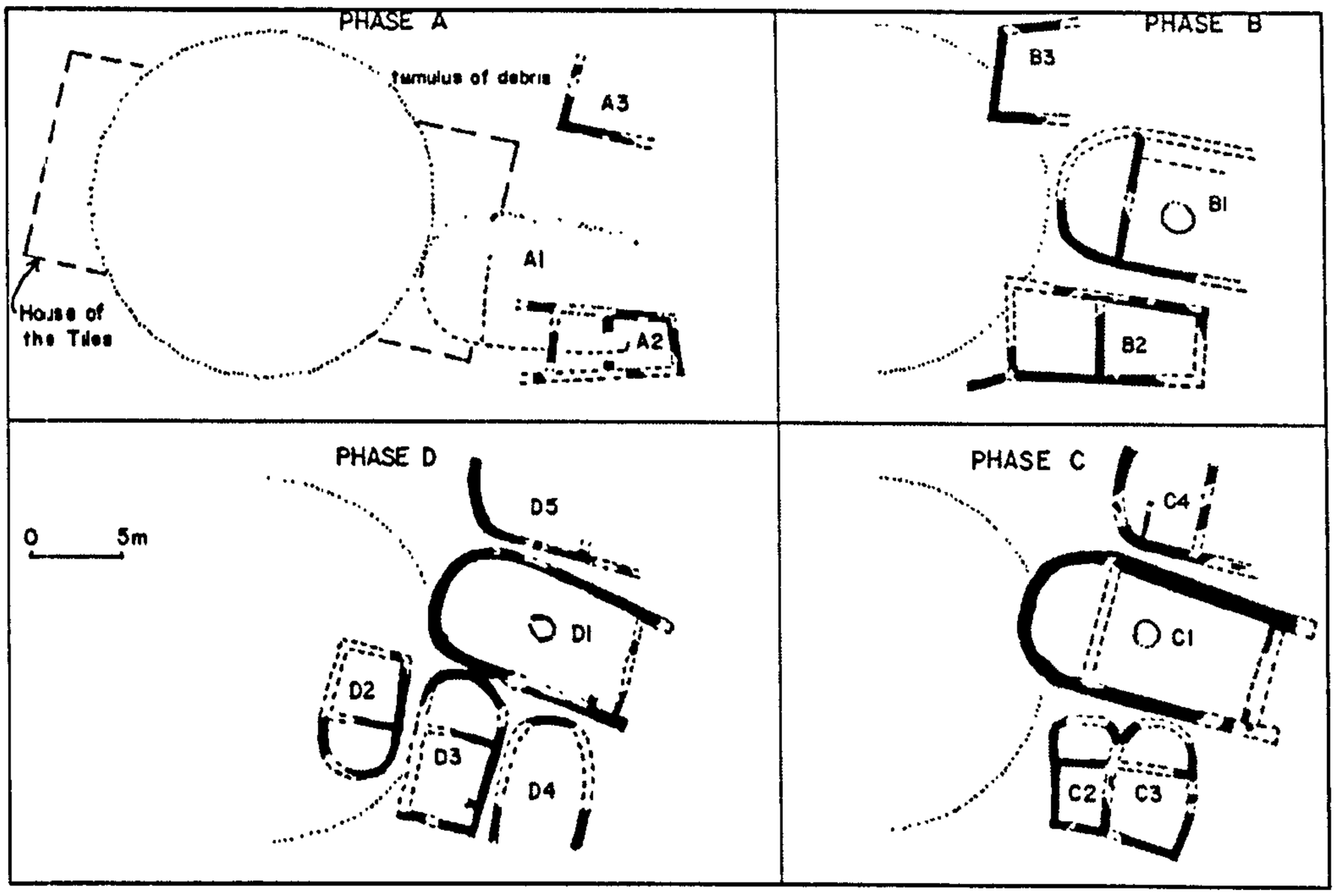

Figure 9.3 Lerna: EH III architectural remains (after Pullen 1985: Fig. 41).

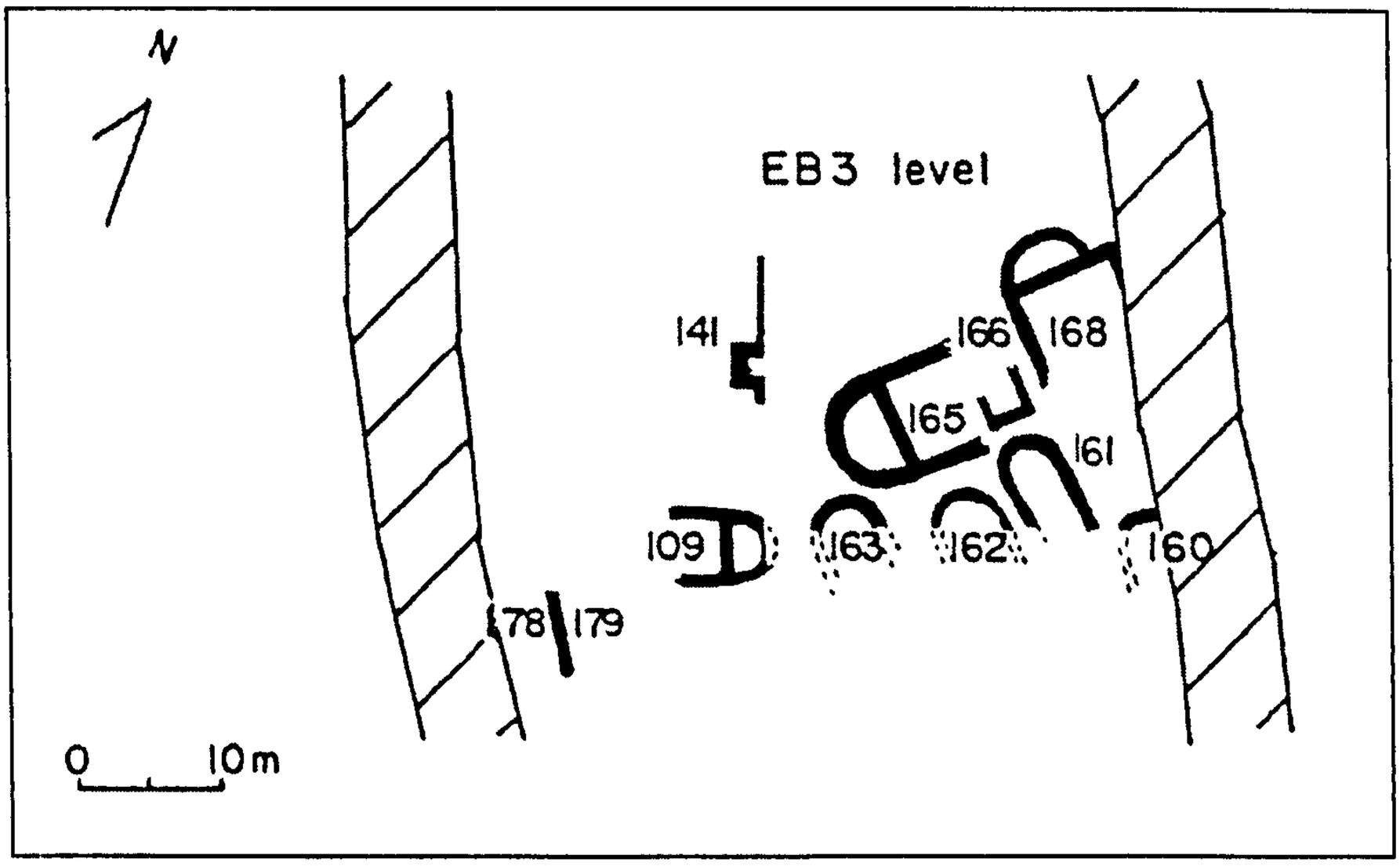

Figure 9.4 Tiryns: EH III architectural remains (after Pullen 1985: Fig. 45).

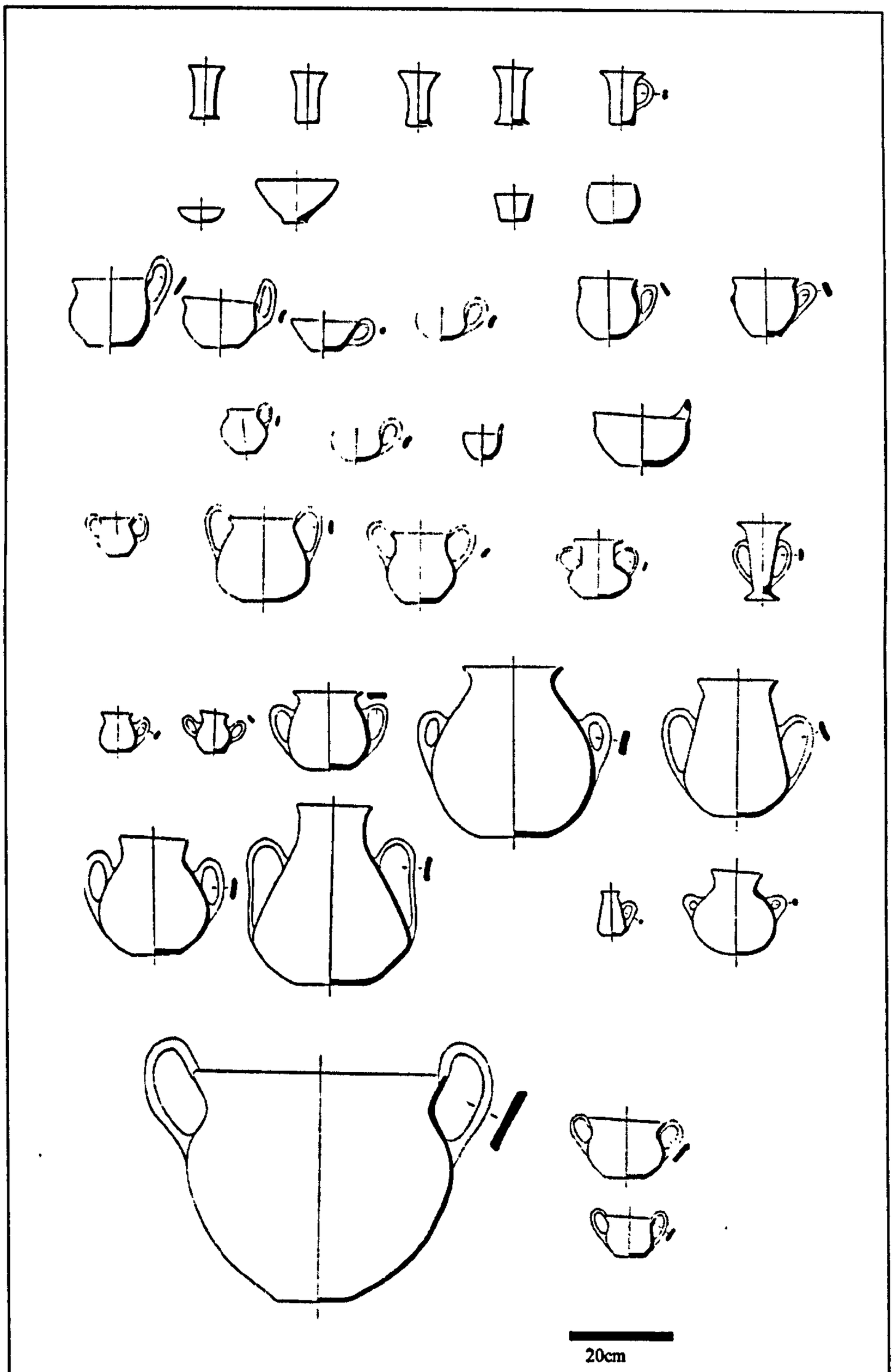

Figure 9.5 Drinking vessels from Lerna IV (EH III) (adapted from Rutter 1995: Fig. IIIC-1 – IIIC-5).

Seal type	Number of fragments	Number of sealings	Type of container					
			A	B	C	D	E	Unknown
S1	8	2	2					
S2	1	1		1				
S3	5	4	1	2				1
S4	1	1						1
S5	1	1						1
S6	1	1			1			
S7	1	1	1					
S8	1	1						1
S9	2	1?					1	
S10	1	1						1
S11	3	3	1	1			1	
S12	2	1?					1	
S13	1	1		1				
S14	3	2			1	1		
S15	1	1					1	
S16	3	2		1				1
S17	1	1					1	
S18	2	1?				1		
S19	2	1?					1	
S20	1	1					1	
S21	1	1		1				
S22	1	1	1					
S23	1	1			1			
S24	1	1		1				
S25	5	3		3				
S26	9	5	5					
S27	1	1					1	
S28	2	2					1	1
S29	1	1			1			
S30	1	1						1
S31	1	1			1			
S32	5	2		1				1
S33	4	1		1				
S34	1	1					1	
S35	1	1				1		

Table 8.2 House of the Tiles, Room 11: Seal-use patterns (adapted from Heath 1958: Table of Incidence).

Seal type	Number of fragments	Number of sealings	Type of container					
			A	B	C	D	E	Unknown
S36	1	1						1
S37	1	1		1				
S38	1	1		1				
S39	5	5		3			2	
S40	7	5		3			2	
S41	3	2		1				1
S42	1	1				1		
S43	1	1					1	
S44	1	1					1	
S45	1	1					1	
S46	1	1	1					
S47	1	1		1				
S48	1	1						1
S49	3	1?	1					
S50	3	3					2	1
S51	2	1?	1					
S52	1	1					1	
S53	1	1				1		
S54	1	1	1					
S55	11	5-7	2	3-5				
S56	1	1	1					
S57	4	2?	1	1				
S58	1	1			1			
S59	2	2			1	1		
S60	1	1			1			
S61	4	2	2					
S62	1	1						1
S63	1	1					1	
S64	2	1			1			
S65	1	1			1			
S66	1	1					1	
S67	1	1					1	
S68	1	1						1
S69	1	1						1
S70	1	1						1

Table 8.2 *(cont)* House of the Tiles, Room 11: Seal-use patterns (adapted from Heath 1958: Table of Incidence).

Seal pairs		Type of container					
		A	B	C	D	E	Unkn.
 S1	 S57	1					
 S14	 S59			1	1		
 S24-S25			1				
 S32	 S41		2				2
 S39	 S40		3			2	
 S46	 S55	1					

Table 8.3 House of the Tiles, Room 11: Patterns of co-stamping (data from Heath 1958: Table of Incidence).

Fragment	Seal impression	Underside impression	Location
151	S73 + S74	Rim and reed	In West Pithos
152a	S73 + S74	Rim and reed	Near East Pithos (below basin P789)
152b	S73 + S74	Rim and reed	Near East Pithos (below basin P789)
152c	S73	Rim and reed	Near East Pithos
153	S73 + S74	Rim and reed	Near East Pithos
154	S73	Rim and reed	Below basin P789
155	S73	Rim	Below basin P789
156	S73	Rim	Lower part of floor debris
157	S73	Neck	Lower part of floor debris
158a	S73	Reed	In West Pithos
158b	S73	Reed	In West Pithos
158c	S73	Reed	Near West Pithos
159	S73 + S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.751)	S73 + S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.752)	S73 + S74	Reed and cord?	In West Pithos
(L5.764)	S73 + S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.907)	S73	Reed	In West Pithos
160	S73 + S74	Reed	Near East Pithos
161	S73 + S74	Cord	In West Pithos
162	S74	Rim	Upper part of debris
163	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.755)	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.756)	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.760)	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.761)	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
(L5.762)	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
164	S74	Reed	In West Pithos
165	S74	Reed	Near West Pithos
166	S74	Reed	Near West Pithos
167	S74	Reed	South of bothros GP-30
168	S74	None preserved	In West Pithos
169	S73 or S74	Reed	In West Pithos
170	S75	Rim and reed	With potsherds from floor deposit
171	S76	Rim and reed	Upper part of floor debris
172	S77	Reed	South of bothros GP-30
173	S77	Reed	Lower part of debris
174	S77	Reed	Near West Pithos
(L5.727)	S77	Reed	South of bothros GP-30
(L5.731)	S77	Reed	South of bothros GP-30
(L5.744)	S77	Reed	With potsherds from floor deposit
175	S77	Mat	Near East Pithos
176	S77	Mat	Near East Pithos
177	S77	None preserved	Upper part of floor debris
178	S77?	Reed	Upper part of floor debris
179	S78	Reed	With potsherds
180	S79	Mat	With potsherds
181	S79	Mat	With potsherds
182	S80	Reed	In East Pithos
183	S80	Rim and reed	In East Pithos

Table 8.4a Lerna, Room DM: Seal-use patterns (data from Heath-Wiencke 1969).

Fragment	Seal impression	Underside impression	Location
184	S81	Rim and reed	In East Pithos
185	S82	Neck	Lower part of floor debris
186a	S82	Rim and reed	Lower part of floor debris
186b	S82	Rim and reed	Lower part of floor debris
186c	S82	Rim and reed	In East Pithos
186d	S82	Rim and reed	In East Pithos
186e	S82	Rim and reed	In East Pithos
187	S82	Neck	In East Pithos
188a	S82	Cord	Below basin P789
188b	S82	Cord	Below basin P789

Table 8.4a (*cont.*) Lerna, Room DM: Seal-use patterns (data from Heath-Wiencke 1969).

Seal-Type	Number of fragments	Number of sealings represented	Object sealed
S73+S74	32	1?	Pithos (West?)
S75	1	1?	Pithos
S76	1	1?	Pithos
S77	9-10	1?	Package?
S78	1	?	Pithos?
S79	2	1-2?	Pithos?
S80	2	1?	Pithos (East)?
S81	1	1?	
S82	9	?	

Table 8.4b Lerna, Room DM: Seal-use patterns (data from Heath-Wiencke 1969).

Shape	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	**VIII -X**	**XI**	**XII**
Askos		1	1	1	2	2			4	1
Baking pan						1	2			1
Basin			1		2	3	1	2	7	1
Bowl (Ring-based)		1	3		1	2	1	1	2	1
Bowl (pedestaled)		1					3		3	
Bowl (collared)									1	
Fruitstand							2			
Hearth				1			1			1
Jar	2	1		1	1	5			1	5
Jug					3	1	3		3	2
Ladle	1		1				1	3	2	
Pithos	1				2	1	1		1	1
Sauceboat	9	2	4	7	20	22	6	9	13	8
Saucer	6	3	6	4	45	39	15	14	64	10
Pedestaled saucer	1									1
Miniature saucer					3		1	1	2	
Large saucer					1					
Uncertain	1	2	1	1	1	17	3	3	5	7
Total (items retained)	**21**	**11**	**17**	**15**	**80**	**93**	**40**	**33**	**109**	**39**

Table 8.1 House of the Tiles: Distribution of pottery among rooms (data from Wiencke 2000: 471-90).

Catalogue number	Phase	Height (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)
577	early C	4.6	15.6
588	early C	4.6	15.8
601	early C	4.4	14.0
602	early C	4.3	19.0
610	early C	4.5	14.5
612	early C	4.7	16.0
624	early C	4.8	15.6
680	early C	4.7	19.5
681	early C	6.2	21.0
722	mid C	4.0	15.8
758	mid C	3.4	16.0
759	mid C	4.5	15.1
761	mid C	4.6	15.8
769	mid C	4.5	16.0
784	late C	4.0	14.0
785	late C	4.0	14.5
819	late C	3.8	16.8
857	late C	4.4	16.3
858	late C	4.6	15.1
859	late C	4.8	15.4
860	late C	4.5	16.3
875	late C	4.6	15.6
905	late C	4.7	14.3
906	late C	5.4	15.3
907	late C	6.0	15.0
918	late C	3.1	12.0
919	late C	5.3	15.0
930	late C	5.5	15.6
931	late C	4.9	16.3
964	mid/late C	4.3	21.0

Table 8.5 Lerna IIIA-C: Measurable examples of Type 1 saucers (data from Wiencke 2000).

Catalogue number	Phase	Height (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)
154	late A	5.4	11.8
197	late A	5.7	11.4
234	late A	10.7	17.5
234	B or C	6.3	12.5
235	B or C	7.3	12.0
266	early B	6.8	12.0
290	mid B	9.8	16.5
308	mid B	7.5	12.0
332	late B	7.2	12.1
349	late B	6.2	12.5
350	late B	8.1	12.0
351	late B	6.9	10.3
374	late B	7.8	11.6
441	mid/late B	7.7	11.5
454	B	5.7	12.8
497	A or B	6.8	12.0
498	A or B	8.6	11.0
499	A or B	7.4	11.7
500	A or B	6.5	11.2
501	A or B	6.2	10.8
502	A or B	5.9	11.0
553	early C	7.6	11.9
554	early C	7.5	13.0
555	early C	8.2	13.9
556	early C	7.8	11.0
589	early C	7.3	12.4
590	early C	7.2	12.5
592	early C	6.8	10.8
593	early C	6.3	12.6
594	early C	8.0	12.7
595	early C	6.2	15.4
613	early C	5.6	13.3
614	early C	5.8	11.0
616	early C	6.8	11.9
625	early C	5.9	14.0
633	early C	7.0	11.6
634	early C	6.7	12.0
701	mid C	8.1	10.9
707	mid C	6.4	11.0

Table 8.6 Lerna IIIA-C: Measurable examples of Type 2 saucers (data from Wiencke 2000).

Catalogue number	Phase	Height (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)
708	mid C	4.8	15.0
723	mid C	7.5	11.3
724	mid C	5.6	10.0
732	mid C	6.7	16.2
733	mid C	6.7	16.4
734	mid C	5.7	16.3
735	mid C	7.0	12.0
747	mid C	6.3	12.6
762	mid C	7.9	11.8
764	mid C	6.6	14.6
770	mid C	5.0	15.3
779	late C	6.2	14.0
786	late C	5.1	16.0
803	late C	6.6	12.0
804	late C	7.5	12.8
805	late C	6.7	15.1
806	late C	7.0	12.5
820	late C	7.1	15.0
877	late C	8.0	10.6
879	late C	6.3	11.8
880	late C	7.1	11.2
881	late C	6.5	10.3
882	late C	5.4	11.8
883	late C	6.5	16.2
884	late C	6.3	16.0
885	late C	5.3	14.6
890	late C	7.1	11.4
891	late C	5.9	12.0
892	late C	5.5	15.0
920	late C	7.7	11.7
921	late C	5.8	14.0
922	late C	8.2	11.3
923	late C	6.3	15.6
924	late C	5.7	15.0
932	late C	6.5	13.8
933	late C	6.8	15.6
960	mid/late C	6.7	14.9
966	mid/late C	6.8	13.5
967	mid/late C	5.8	15.0

Table 8.6 (*cont.*) Lerna IIIA-C: Measurable examples of Type 2 saucers (data from Wiencke 2000).

Catalogue number	Phase	Type	Height (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)
1011	D	1	5.5	16.4
1015	D	1	3.8	15.9
1016	D	1	5.9	20.5
1017	D	1	6.0	20.0
1018	D	1	4.9	19.0
1019	D	1	6.0	17.5
1034	D	1	4.0	17.0
1035	D	1	4.1	15.0
1047	D	1	5.7	18.5
1048	D	1	6.3	18.4
1065	D	1	4.1	18.0
1080	D	1	4.6	17.7
1081	D	1	4.8	17.6
1082	D	1	4.4	18.4
1083	D	1	5.3	19.9
1096	D	1	5.7	15.1
1099	D	1	5.5	16.1
1106	D	1	3.6	15.7
1107	D	1	5.1	15.5
1108	D	1	6.0	15.0
1109	D	1	4.3	15.9
1110	D	1	4.2	16.0
1111	D	1	4.8	15.7
1062	D	2	5.8	17.0
1066	D	2	5.2	13.7
1067	D	2	6.0	16.0
1115	D	2	6.5	14.5
1116	D	2	5.7	14.7
1117	D	2	6.3	14.2
1118	D	2	5.8	14.4
1119	D	2	5.2	14.7
1120	D	2	5.6	14.3
1129	D	2	5.9	13.3
1130	D	2	6.8	14.8
1036	D	2	5.8	14.0

Table 8.7 House of the Tiles, Room 11: Measurable examples of saucers (data from Wiencke 2000).