Chapter 6

In the Grip of their Past? Tracing Mycenaean *Memoria*

Diamantis Panagiotopoulos

> *'... memory is not simply history without footnotes'*
> —(Winter 2006: 6)

In the second half of the twentieth century, the social sciences experienced a 'memory boom' that had a powerful and lasting impact on several academic disciplines (Olick and Robbins 1998: 105–40; Connerton 2006; Winter 2006: 17–51, 286–88). Notions of 'past' and personal or collective 'remembrance' dominated culture theory and generated many productive debates, creating a vast and still growing body of literature. Despite the justifiable critique against the inflationary use of the term 'memory' and its dubious innovativeness (Klein 2000: 127–29), the new theoretical tenet opened our eyes in many ways to the premises and modes of remembering and forgetting. Scholarly interest shifted from the static concept of the 'past', as a former reality with normative strength, to the dynamic concept of 'memory' as a mental process shaped by human agency. The versatility of the novel theoretical approaches aspired to do full justice to the complexity and wide array of this cultural phenomenon. One of the most crucial insights of this recent awareness is related to the concept of 'shared' or 'collective memory'. Contrary to individual memory, an essentially neurophysiological ability, the memory of collectives has always been a social construction (Klein 2000: 130). In his ground-breaking studies on collective memory, M. Halbwachs vividly demonstrated that shared remembrance was not just an accumulation of individual memories, but a cultural product, which grew in a definite social frame through communication and interaction of a group's members (Halbwachs 1925; 1950). In past and present, societies have formed and activated collective memories not just for preserving a remote past, but primarily as a means of sustaining their corporate identity (see also Lowenthal 1985: 197–200). Halbwachs' main results were later elaborated upon in the seminal works of F. Yates (1966), P. Connerton (1989) and J. Assmann (1997), which represent three of the most influential contributions on the subject in the past years. This

intense scholarly inquiry has enhanced our understanding of the social significance of memory and illuminated the modes, motifs and repercussions of communally constructed remembrance.

The new focus on the social processes of shared remembrance has provided a very effective methodological tool in archaeology and related disciplines, generating fresh approaches in the study of prehistoric Europe (Bradley 2002; Williams 2003) the ancient Near East (Jonker 1995), classical antiquity (Foxhall 1995; Small 1997; Gehrke 2001; 2003; Alcock 2002; Flower 2006), or even across disciplinary borders (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Fewster 2007). Situated in an archaeological context, the exploration of mnemonic strategies has endeavoured to go beyond the established issues of 'tradition' and tomb or hero cult. The awareness of social memory and the dynamics of its physical, architectural and material setting extended the interests of our discipline in a host of new directions. Scholars have focused on the role of mortuary practices in the construction of the past (Williams 2003), stressed the mnemonic qualities of monuments (Bradley 1998; Cummings 2003; Hope 2003) or highlighted the significance of the past in the ancient present (Bradley 2002; Lucas 2005: 77–92).

Despite its pervasiveness in current cultural studies and its application in archaeological explanation, the concept of collective memory has acquired only marginal importance in Aegean archaeology so far (Hamilakis 1998; Day and Wilson 2002: 145–47; Blakolmer 2006). There is an obvious reason for this reluctance, which is related to the extent and nature of the pertinent archaeological record. As will be demonstrated below, however, the encounter with issues of collective memory in Mycenaean culture is a methodologically risky but worthwhile venture. Contrary to many theoretical tenets, which dominate recent debates in our discipline, social memory resembles no modern theoretical construct, but refers to a paramount aspect of ancient culture, an existing mental concept, which can provide lucid insight into social behaviour in pre-modern societies. A further advantage of applying this term to the study of Mycenaean and ancient Greek cultures is that it embraces the spheres of both myth and history. The broad semantic field of collective memory seems thus to reflect the way in which Mycenaeans and Greeks experienced their past more accurately, namely as a former reality in which mythological and historical events were intricately intermingled with one another (Eder 2004: 105). The significance of shared remembrance lies in any given event's meaning for living society and not in the historicity or accuracy of a particular remembrance. Consequently, when the boundaries between truth and fiction become blurred in the remembered past, the concept of memory has a semantic advantage which can indeed provide us with a 'therapeutic alternative to historical discourse' (Klein 2000: 145; see also Nora 1989: 8–11). To be more specific, the employment of this theoretical concept in a Mycenaean context might help us to avoid the intricate and possibly fruitless discussion as to whether a narrative image corresponded to the actual past or to a mythical tradition.

The aim of the present paper is to deal not with the Mycenaean past, a term meaning the Mycenaean heritage as seen from the viewpoint of Iron Age Greece, but

with the Mycenaeans' past and thus to proceed one step further – or rather deeper – in historical time. After a short comment on the validity of our sources, the paper will follow two major threads. The first section will seek to give an account of Mycenaean commemorative actions as they are reflected in words, things, monuments and images. In the second section, we will situate our perspective in the city of Mycenae, attempting a contextual overview of the mnemonic strategies of a single site. This paper will close with a consideration of how the questions addressed here may have some relevance to Homeric studies.

Critique of the Sources

Speaking about the past in past societies, one wonders, first and foremost, whether it is feasible to trace social memory as a collective experience and a conscious social action without the aid of pertinent written information. Linear B tablets show a very narrow temporal frame – including the current and the last year – and cannot be regarded as archives in the strict sense of the term (Driessen 1994–95: 244; 2000: 14; Pluta 1996–97: 238, n. 10; Palaima 2003: 169). This is, of course, not the appropriate place to speculate about the existence of other types of records in perishable materials (see Bennet 2001: 27–29; contra Driessen 1994–1995: 244; 1999: 209; Driessen 2000: 14), although it is obviously crucial to our understanding of Mycenaean mnemotechnics to know whether this culture used writing as an external storage place for historical records that could be retrieved later on. If the Mycenaeans used writing only for a very narrow set of administrative purposes, then commemorative acts, monuments or things would have been the main mode of remembering the past. Since Linear B does not provide any clear evidence about remembrance or the significance of the past for the Mycenaeans, we must rely on archaeology alone. The relevant evidence is scarce and ambiguous when compared with the affluent testimonies of other ancient societies, but the situation is not entirely hopeless. Archaeology is in some cases able to discern different layers of historical time in one and the same archaeological horizon. Old things or monuments surviving in the Mycenaean present resemble a tangible past, sustained, activated or manipulated by a conscious act of remembrance. Based on such testimonies, we can indeed document two kinds of *memoria* in Mycenaean palatial culture: a) a sustained or passive remembrance, that is to say tombs and heirlooms as visible protuberances of the past in the dimension of present, which can be experienced or used in many ways, and b) an active remembrance enshrined in memorials and commemorative images, which represent a conscious and deliberate reference to the past. It must be stressed that the first, and passive, kind of memory is ambiguous. An awareness of past relics demands a dynamic tension between what one sees and what one knows to have existed once. The mere existence of an old monument or tomb in the Mycenaean present cannot be an unequivocal proof of a purposeful encounter with a former reality. The same lack of intentional bias applies also to old words, things or visual images, which are transmitted from generation

to generation through the unbroken stream of tradition. In these cases, we can only detect the form and not the substance of collective memory.

A Bird's Eye View of Mycenaean *Memoria*

Let us consider first Mycenaean palatial society as a cultural entity in terms of space and as an historical continuum in terms of time, not because we have any clue about *one* polity or *one* society with a uniform cultural behaviour (Shelmerdine 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 19–20, 30–31; Dickinson 2006b: 26–29), but because it is impossible to unravel the rope of history into its separate geographical strands due to our fragmentary evidence. How can we trace earlier strata of time in a given Mycenaean archaeological horizon? We can do so in the realms of words, things, monuments and visual language.

Words

As mentioned above, Linear B texts do not provide any sufficient information about the significance and mechanisms of collective memory. It seems that the only glimpse of a conscious bond with the past is the mentioning of ti-ri-se-ro-e, a 'Thrice Hero', in two Pylian tablets (Fr 1204 and Tn 316), where he appears among divine figures as recipient of cult offerings (Antonaccio 2006: 383–85). Provided that the interpretation of the name is correct, this record is welcome evidence of what we would otherwise suspect, namely that a hero cult did exist in the Mycenaean period. We may even assume, without running the risk of overinterpreting our evidence, that both the *wanax* and the palatial elite promoted the veneration of their ancestors and the construction of heroic descent. The tendency of aristocratic dynasties to carry back their pedigree to a divine or mythical primogenitor is a very common phenomenon throughout history. Unfortunately, there is nothing else that unambiguously points to former times, except perhaps in the case of some recurring Mycenaean personal names in Linear B texts. It has been suggested that Mycenaean high officials (the 'collectors' in particular) adhered to a limited stock of personal names, which they had obviously inherited from former generations (Killen 1979: 177). Once again, this a very common phenomenon in societies with aristocracies. G. Neumann described these personal names as 'piety names' since they bear witness to a respectful attitude towards the ancestors (Neumann 1992: 433; 1994: esp. 128; see also Palaima 1999: 370; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 19). This is an attractive hypothesis indeed, but it rests on very weak evidence (Rougemont 2001: 135).

Things

Material culture always comprises the accumulated knowledge of former developments and therefore preserves manifold traces of the past. As stressed above, the transmission of forms and techniques from one generation to another, this 'artifactual route to the past' (Lowenthal 1985: 244), results from a repetitive

incorporating practice and cannot be regarded as conscious acts of remembrance (Nora 1989: 13; Lucas 2005: 77–85). An intentional reference to the past can only be detected in cases of a deliberate use or abuse of things produced by former generations. In Mycenaean palatial culture, there are only weak traces of such a dynamic awareness of the past, in other words, old objects that document a community's shared memory of the past as collective action or – at least – collective experience. So far, the archaeological exploration of major Mycenaean centres has uncovered nothing similar to the 'Cenotaph Square' of Akrotiri, where a group of Early Cycladic figurines were ritually deposited in a stone platform by some members of the Late Bronze Age community (Sotirakopoulou 1998; Blakolmer 2006: 19–20). In the Mycenaean period, there is no comparable group of old objects invested with memories and symbolic meaning, which were consciously preserved and placed or exhibited in a public area. The discovery of a Cycladic violin-shaped figurine in a Late Helladic IIIB room in Thebes, which yielded a significant group of inscribed nodules (Piteros 1983: 133), is without doubt a remarkable find, but it is too exceptional to demonstrate a pattern of social behaviour. What remains among Mycenaean artefacts as a reference to the past is the use of heirlooms. Durable objects, used by more than one generation, possessed their own 'personal biographies' and served as a tangible link between present and past (Kopytoff 1986; Rowlands 1993: 144; Hoskins 1998; 2006; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Bradley 2002: 49–52; Bennet 2004: 93–95). But, even in these cases, it is difficult to speak unconditionally about collective memory in the strict sense of the term, since the social context of this appropriation of the past is not society but kinship, since heirlooms are usually a concern of individuals or families. The use of old seals in the palaces of the late thirteenth century BC for administrative purposes (Pini 1990: 115; Bennet 2005: 268) provides a very good example of the employment and symbolic significance of heirlooms in the high echelons of Mycenaean society. High-quality seals and signet rings seem to have survived long after the generation of their manufacturers, not just as treasured items but retaining the same function throughout centuries. Even if the early date of some of these pieces can be disputed (see below), there can be no doubt that many pieces used in Late Helladic IIIB were indeed heirloom seals, demonstrating a very strong bond between past and present, perhaps a family tradition of handing down from father to son the insignia of office and power. But even in this case, we may assess only a social *habitus*, and not a conscious reference to the past as a collective experience.

A further possible indication for the survival of old things in the Mycenaean present may be found in Mycenaean procession frescoes (Fig. 6.1), in which female participants are depicted in Minoan-style costumes (Muskett 2004). The question whether or not these clothes were Minoan remains open. If so, then we are dealing with an archaistic iconographical convention derived from Minoan prototypes, or alternatively with the stipulation of a ritual code, according to which women had to wear clothes of Minoan design on certain ceremonial occasions. In both cases, it

Fig. 6.1: Mycenaean women dressed in 'memory saturated' clothes? Procession fresco from the Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos (after Lang 1969: pl. O).

would be legitimate to regard these ceremonial clothes as 'memory-saturated fabrics' (Schneider 2006: 204) and therefore as a deliberate reference to the past, either at the level of images or at that of ritual practice.

Places/Monuments

P. Nora's collaborative study on the French *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1984–92), one of the most ambitious and influential works on collective memory, demonstrated the vital importance of a spatial benchmark or frame for anchoring a group's shared remembrance. The roots of this insight stretch back into antiquity. In ancient mnemotechnics, some text or idea to be remembered by an individual had to be associated with a part of a real or imagined building or with an image of a place (Yates 1966: 27–49). In quite the same manner, collectives need 'places', where memory can be sustained and retrieved (Barrett 1999; Connerton 2006: 318–19; Rowlands and Tilley 2006). We conserve our recollections by linking them to the physical and architectural milieu that surrounds us. Places or monuments as visible points of reference acquire the role of spatial and temporal markers, giving the realm of collective remembrance a structure (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 13–14; Buikstra and Charles 1999). Such loci not only serve to commemorate a past event, achievement or person by their mere presence; they also provide a social arena for communicative events, in which a community's individuals can collectively remember. For instance, the totemic landscapes of the Australian Aborigines (Taçon 1999) or memorial buildings are spaces in which people could become aware of the past or construct it. There can be little doubt that this two-fold mnemonic role of places and monuments was valid for most ancient societies. A sacred landscape or a memorial acted as a tangible reminder of the past and at the same time as a stage for ritual performances, ceremonies or gatherings, where the diversity of individual recollections was channelled into a single repository of homogenised remembrance. Memorial buildings may further possess a third, prospective, dimension of time, if seen as an attempt by a given societal group 'to formulate the memories of the future' (Bradley 2002: 109). Turning back to the context of Mycenaean culture, we have to face again the problem of a discouraging archaeological record. The evidence for commemorative monuments in Mycenaean cities is very weak. In fact, if we exclude the late stage of Mycenae's history, to which we shall return in the course of our contextual approach (see below), there is virtually no evidence at all. The sporadic re-occupation of old tombs is the only attestation of a conscious reference to the past.[1] Given the absence of structures commemorating former realities, we may assume that this role was fulfilled by cemeteries and tombs or places of memory, which cannot be traced by archaeological means. Funeral monuments or landscapes may have served as the only Mycenaean bridges to the past, acting as backdrops for framing social memory. In that case, the lack of relevant evidence could be meaningful. Mycenaean culture may be regarded as a further example of a pre-modern society, in which collective memory was conveyed and sustained by 'noninscribed' modi, such as ritual performances (Connerton 1989). Unfortunately, the character and symbolic content

of these ceremonial events, which are quite often narrated in visual images, remain unknown to us, due to the paucity of relevant written evidence.

Images

In the realm of Mycenaean visual culture, the fresco programmes of the palaces represent our most important source for notions of collective memory. This applies both to a) medium-sized or miniature friezes with narrative intent, which commemorate single events or achievements, and b) stereotypical procession frescoes, which refer to recurring ceremonial occasions (Fig. 6.1). Collective memory was built up not only from former deeds situated in a specific point of the past, but also from rituals whose repetitiveness ensured the coherence of a group in space and time. The difference in size undoubtedly reflected a deliberate difference in visual impact. The procession frescoes, with their almost life-sized proportions, the formal images and the repetitive figures, incarnated what we could describe as 'monumental' in Mycenaean art. On the other hand, narrative friezes with their great wealth of details could have a didactic quality, since they provided a visual reference and starting-point for relating or singing the depicted action. The role of Mycenaean images acting as prompts to the generation of stories is indicated by the well-known fresco of a lyre-player associated with a feasting scene (Fig. 6.2) in the main megaron of the Pylian palace (Bennet 2001: 34; 2004: 96, 100). The difference in size between the lyre-player and the feasting community implies that the first was situated in
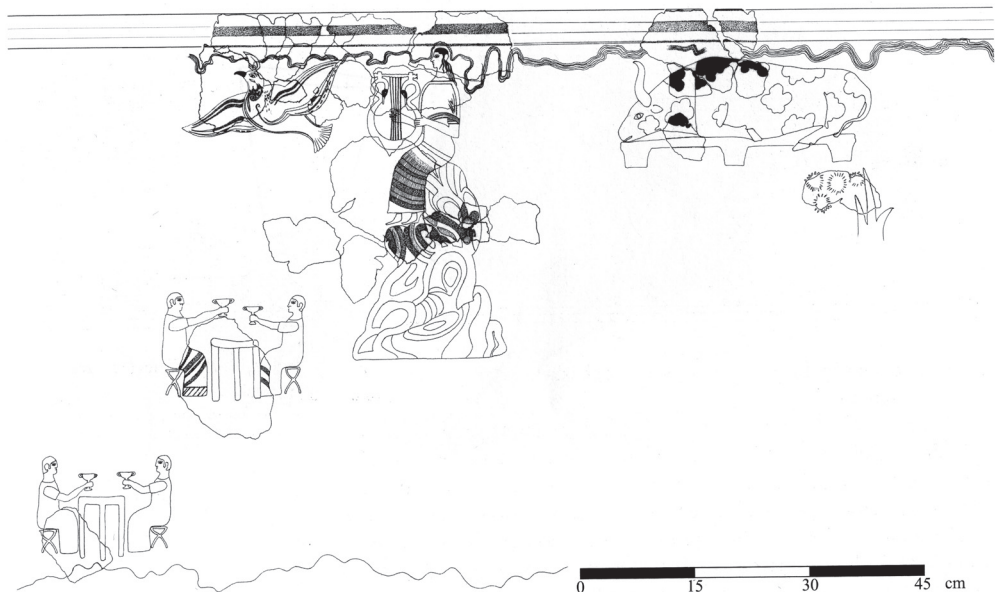

Fig. 6.2: The eye and the ear of the beholder: Depiction of a lyre-player in a fresco from the main megaron of the Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos (after Wright 2003: fig. 13).

a different temporal and spatial sphere. In fact, this figure intervenes between the feasting scene and the viewer. The precise meaning of this unparalleled complex narrative strategy, which appeals both to the eye and ear of the beholder, remains unknown. The lyre-player could have served as a prompt for the viewer to narrate the story or, alternatively, as an allusion to the fact that the depicted feast was the visual translation of an epic poem. Either way, the feasting scene resembled a focal point in the shared remembrance of the Pylian elite, a story that was both visually and orally commemorated. This case demonstrates the significance of the Mycenaean royal court not only as political or administrative institution, but also as intellectual centre, an arena of multimedia communication, where the ties with the past were kept alive through oral performances and visual images (see also Sherratt, this volume).

These observations are, of course, nothing terribly new. What appears to be far more interesting, however, is the fact that these images were always displayed in the interiors of palaces. As such, they addressed only a limited audience, the resident elite and its guests, other elite members of society or high officials. Consequently, the visual perception of collective memory through painted images in Mycenaean times was a privilege of the upper classes. It is important to acknowledge that the absence of commemorative visual images in public contexts is part of the general lack of public images in Mycenaean palace society. Apart from the Lion Gate relief in Mycenae (see below), there are virtually no stelai, reliefs or statues that were displayed in a public sphere. The populace of Mycenaean cities seems to have lived in an aniconic social landscape, which contained only miniature-sized images on seals, signet rings and pictorial pottery. Given this fact, one may wonder to what extent the masses really participated in and identified themselves as a subject of the elite's shared remembrance.

Artistic style

Style as a medium of artistic expression has acquired a two-fold significance in archaeology (Earle 2002: 162–63). First, as vehicle of a passive tradition, style reveals the 'mental template' of ancient craftsmen, the inherited concepts of the proper form of things and visual images. Second, as an active form of communication, style elucidates how individuals or groups negotiated social status and identity. Both dimensions of style, the passive and active one, can be very meaningful when interpreting social mentalities, in this case how Mycenaeans treated their past. As already noted, the unbroken stream of cultural tradition, the commitment to the legacy of previous generations, lacks the intentional character of a commemorative act (Lowenthal 1985: 57–62). What really matters for our purposes is how rigid and conservative the transmission of artistic style from one generation to another was, and how the tension between tradition and innovation developed in the Mycenaean context.

We may all agree that the development of Mycenaean imagery in the course of three to four centuries is predictable and unadventurous. After the Shaft Graves art, there is nothing essentially new in repertoire and style. A single exception worth mentioning in this respect is the development of the Boeotian painted larnakes, which belong to

Fig. 6.3: Heirlooms or artistic conservatism? Seal impression from the Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos (after Pini 1997: pl. 17, no. 39).

a rather different and very difficult chapter of Mycenaean art (Panagiotopoulos 2007) that is beyond our scope here. The conservative and repetitive character of Mycenaean art is clearly visible in virtually all branches of artistic tradition. This conservatism is so extreme, that, beyond pottery decoration, we have serious difficulties in distinguishing and chronologically arranging stylistic phases in most artefact classes, including seals and wall paintings. Who could securely date a Mycenaean signet ring, like the extraordinary example from Pylos, which is unfortunately known to us only through its impression on several nodules, showing a double-frieze composition with griffins, lions and nautili (Fig. 6.3)? The proposed dating of this and similar signet rings in Late Helladic IIIA rests only on stylistic criteria and on the prevailing view that the production of high quality seal engraving ceased by the end of that period (Younger 1981: 270–71; 1987: 58; Rutter 1992: 62; Dickers 2001: 109). This last assumption forces us to accept that at the apex of Mycenaean sealing administration in the thirteenth century BC nearly all officials at the Mycenaean palaces used seals or signet rings which were at that point of time 100 to 200 years old (Palaima 1990: 247; Hallager and Hallager 1999: 311; Hallager 2005: 261–62). Does this make any sense? The existence of heirlooms is unquestionable. But why should we exclude the possibility that a signet ring like the above-mentioned one, which corresponds perfectly to the frescoes of the Pylian palace (Bennet 2001: 34–35), was manufactured in the thirteenth century BC, following a stylistic tradition that remained virtually unchanged over several generations or even centuries? Why should we think that Mycenaean art evolved at the same fast pace as Minoan art? It is therefore possible that the conservatism of Mycenaean art may have been even more acute than we realise.

The passive acceptance of that which former generations of artists created, the concentration on a very narrow and stereotyped repertoire, has received a pejorative evaluation among modern scholars until recent years. Negative assessments dominated modern narratives of material cultural sequence in Mycenaean Greece. As indicated

above, this was primarily the result of the inevitable comparison with the dynamic development of Minoan art. The tendency of Minoan art to reinvent itself after a couple of generations, the seemingly effortless creation of new styles and motif types, is actually a very rare phenomenon in the history of ancient art. Pre-modern artists did not strive to be innovative but were bound to follow the path of their predecessors and to perpetuate canonical values. The viewer had exactly the same expectations as for new works of art. He did not seek creativity but variation on traditional themes. The cyclic material of Mycenaean imagery corresponds perfectly to the highly formulaic nature of Homeric verse, in which the listener is addicted to the charm of recurring epithets and expressions (Russo 1997; Edwards 1997; Clark 2004). When embedded in its social context, the conservatism of Mycenaean art, and its limited repertoire of subjects, could be explained not as an inability of Greek mainland artists to be innovative, but as an indication of a deliberate adherence to tradition and an attempt to preserve cultural values unchanged. The repetition of traditional artistic forms, an unbroken continuity which restrained variety and innovation, could be not just a passive adaptation of tradition but a conscious reference to the past. Seen from this angle, Mycenaean art may be understood as an expression of social stability and the legitimisation of the political status quo. This attitude toward artistic tradition is very common among 'cold societies', a term which was coined by C. Lévi-Strauss (1962: 309–10) and later taken up by Assmann (1997: 66–86). A 'cold society' offers desperate resistance against any change of its structure. A typical example is ancient Egypt, a society which throughout its history – apart from the Intermediate Periods – struggled to freeze historical change in the media of literature and visual imagery. In the same vein, the conservative character of Mycenaean art could be a strong indication of the firm fundaments of this social and political system in which former traditions had acquired a canonical value and conveyed the idea of harmony and order.

Summing up this brief overview of the traces of Mycenaean *memoria* we have to admit that the evidence at hand is meagre. This is by no means an indication that Mycenaean society had only weak bonds with its past. It just shows how difficult any future attempt to discern mnemonic strategies in a society can be, in which noninscribed commemorative practices obviously provided the main vehicle for popular recollection. Rituals, ceremonies, feasts and oral performances, in which the community negotiated its past, are not expected to leave any legible archaeological traces. The very traditional and uninspired imagery, however, offers a good argument for the retrospective tendencies of Mycenaean society. Seen through the prism of their visual language, Mycenaeans were indeed in the grip of their past.

A Microarchaeological Perspective

This broad outline of the visible traces of Mycenaean *memoria* is too conventional to be true, since it ignores the dynamics of space and time. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to attempt a closer, contextual look at the extant evidence which enables us to draw a more accentuated and thus accurate picture of shared memory in the

given historical context. The following analysis of Mycenaean mnemonic strategies through a microarchaeological perspective (Fahlander 2003: 1–17) focuses on the site of Mycenae and endeavours to apprehend the practices of collective remembrance as a locally rooted social action. Even in this case, we have to begin by acknowledging the gaps in our evidence. A study of shared remembrance in the community of palatial Mycenae is bound to a single context of social activity: the sepulchral sphere. This is a very narrow perspective indeed, yet there is hardly anything else that could be unequivocally related to the collective memory of this social group. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that the remembrance of the deceased resembles the origin and core of collective memory (Assmann 1997: 60–63). Let us see what happened in Mycenae after the era of the Shaft Graves, the period during which the city became one of the most powerful centres in the Aegean region. The members of this mighty dynasty were buried in one or perhaps both grave circles (Mylonas 1972/73; 1983: 27–61; Mee and Cavanagh 1984: 48–49; Dickinson 1977: 39–58; Graziadio 1991; Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 28–29, 43–44; French 2002: 31–40) at the edges of the so-called Prehistoric Cemetery (Alden 2000; Iakovides and French 2003: 53). What follows after the abandonment of both grave circles is a long period of latent remembrance. There is no archaeologically visible action pointing to a special significance of these elite tombs in later generations. They were respected, since they remained untouched, but they did not acquire the character of an 'active' place of remembrance, a memorial for the veneration of a glorious or even divine dynasty. The only exception to this rule was the erection of the built tomb Rho above an earlier shaft grave in Grave Circle B, a couple of generations after the end of its use (Mylonas 1972/73: 211–25; Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 47). A powerful family chose as burial place for the deceased not a spot outside the city, in one of the various cemeteries surrounding Mycenae, but within the city borders, and – more important still – on the inside of a distinct burial plot. This late intervention in a highly sensitive sepulchral area was a very cautious operation, since the builders of the new burial monument took over the place of an older shaft grave. The usurpation of a former elite tomb within the well-marked terrain of Grave Circle B was without doubt an audacious act; audacious, because up to that point the community of Mycenae had respected the place, avoiding the construction of a new tomb. The fact that this built grave type is unknown in Mycenaean Greece, having its best parallels in the tombs of Ugarit (Schachermeyr 1967: 39; Mylonas 1972/73: 221–22), underlines the uniqueness of the monument and makes the matter of interpretation even more perplexing. In search of a plausible explanation for this behaviour, we might conjecture that the reoccupation of a burial place reserved for some very distinguished ancestors resembled an explicit attempt to appropriate a 'heroic' past or even to fabricate an ancestral lineage with the members of a glorious dynasty. Even if we are not able to establish the motives for this single action with certainty, we do know that it found no followers. Beside this exceptional event, both grave circles remained unchanged for several generations down to the middle of the thirteenth century. The less important tombs of the Prehistoric Cemetery (Fig. 6.4) experienced a quite
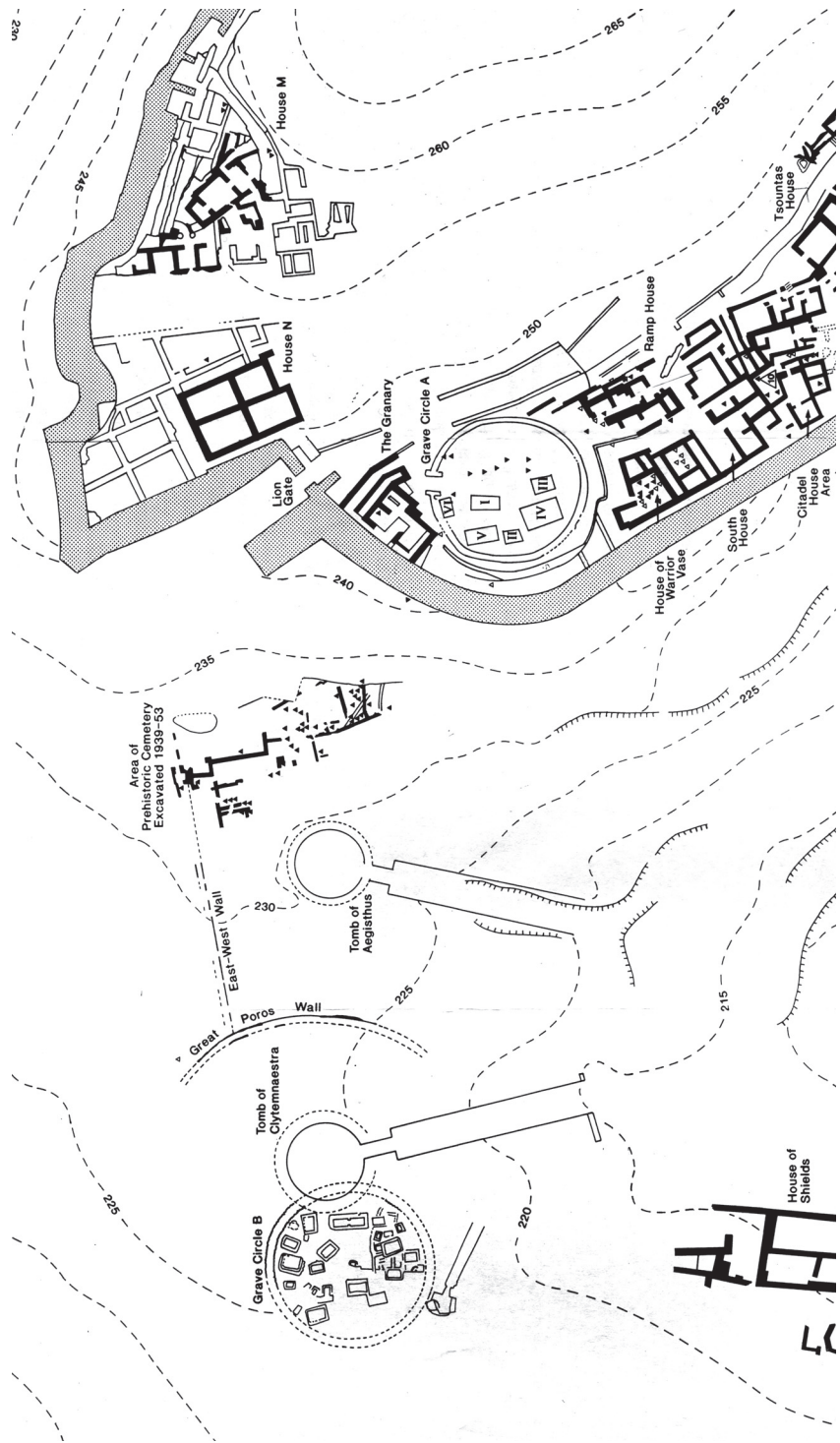
Fig. 6.4: Remembering and forgetting: Mycenae's Prehistoric Cemetery (after Alden 2000: foldout).

different fate, since they fell into limbo. The old burial ground was gradually covered by private houses or other buildings and thus became invisible. Since there was no cultural break between the time of use of the Prehistoric Cemetery and the time of its erasure from the surface of Mycenae's urban landscape, it is really difficult to understand the indifference of Mycenae's community towards these tombs, which must have belonged to their direct ancestors.

This period of latent remembrance ended suddenly in the thirteenth century BC with the initiation of a new building programme at and around the citadel, in the course of which, according to J. Wright's excellent analysis (Wright 1987: 171–84), conglomerate masonry seems to have been employed as a key visual element. This ambitious construction plan included the extension of the massive defensive walls of the citadel, the refurbishment of Grave Circle A (Antonaccio 1995: 49–51; Cavanagh 2001: 129–30; Iakovides and French 2003: 18; Gallou 2005: 21) and the building of the two greatest tholos tombs in Mycenae, that of Clytemnestra and Atreus (Wright 1987: 171–84; Rehak 1992: 40–41; Iakovides 1983: 29–35). It is likely that the entire building programme was the realisation of a single 'master plan', initiated by a ruler who strove to occupy evocative 'nerve' points in Mycenae's urban space with monuments demonstrating his power (Wright 1987: 177–82; Gallou 2005: 24–25, 138).

The most remarkable aspect of the tholos tombs, beyond their admirable size and construction, is the fact that they were erected not outside the city, in one of the thirty cemeteries surrounding Mycenae, but within its urban territory, occupying a public space. The tomb of Atreus, the biggest of all Mycenaean tholoi, lies in a very prominent place on the left side of the road leading from the Argolic plain to the acropolis and is visible from the palace and the acropolis (Iakovides and French 2003: 56). It is likely that its dromos and lavishly decorated façade were not filled up after burial but remained visible for a period of time (Wright 1987: 183). This huge monument was certainly not just a tomb but a mausoleum for a great ruler or his family, a sepulchre founded not among other tombs, but embedded in Mycenae's cityscape. The monument's distance and isolation from the city's burial grounds stressed the significance of the deceased.[2] In the same manner, the slightly later tomb of Clytemnestra was erected within the city boundaries, under the section of the Cyclopean wall, in the area which was previously occupied by the Prehistoric Cemetery (Iakovides and French 2003: 51–52). The huge tumulus that covered this tomb must have had an overwhelming effect upon Mycenae's people (Taylour 1955: 221). The proximity of this tholos to Grave Circle B cannot but be meaningful.[3] In both cases, we can detect an attempt at deliberate association with the old burials which was, however, much more subtle than the transgressive character of the built tomb Rho (Antonaccio 1995: 50). The fact that, during the construction of the Clytemnestra tholos, a part of the Circle B ring wall was damaged, does not really indicate a disrespectful treatment of the old monument. Not only did the old shaft graves within Circle B remain untouched, but the new huge tumulus apparently covered both monuments, thus stressing their intended symbolic nexus.

While the final sleep of the persons buried in Grave Circle B was twice disturbed by later generations, Grave Circle A experienced a quite different fate. The old burial place was transformed into a memorial c. 250 years after it ceased to be used for burials (Fig. 6.5).[4] A new circular parapet of conglomerate blocks was constructed and – in the course of an authentic restoration of the old condition – the old grave stelai were re-erected. The royal burial ground was architecturally and symbolically upgraded to a memorial space and certainly became a focal point in social interaction at Mycenae, since the new arrangement provided an ideal place for congregations (Cavanagh 2001: 129–30; Gallou 2005: 28–29). This massive encroachment on an old monument, which until then had been left untouched, could have been more than a decent act of preserving a remote or neglected past. The likelihood of a cruel manipulation of memory gains credence when viewing this restoration as a part of an orchestrated attempt to construct a politically expedient commemoration in Late Helladic IIIB Mycenae. Only a couple of metres away from Grave Circle A, the monumental entrance of Mycenae received its adequate emblem, the famous Lion Gate relief (Fig. 6.6). The striking similarity in material and construction between the
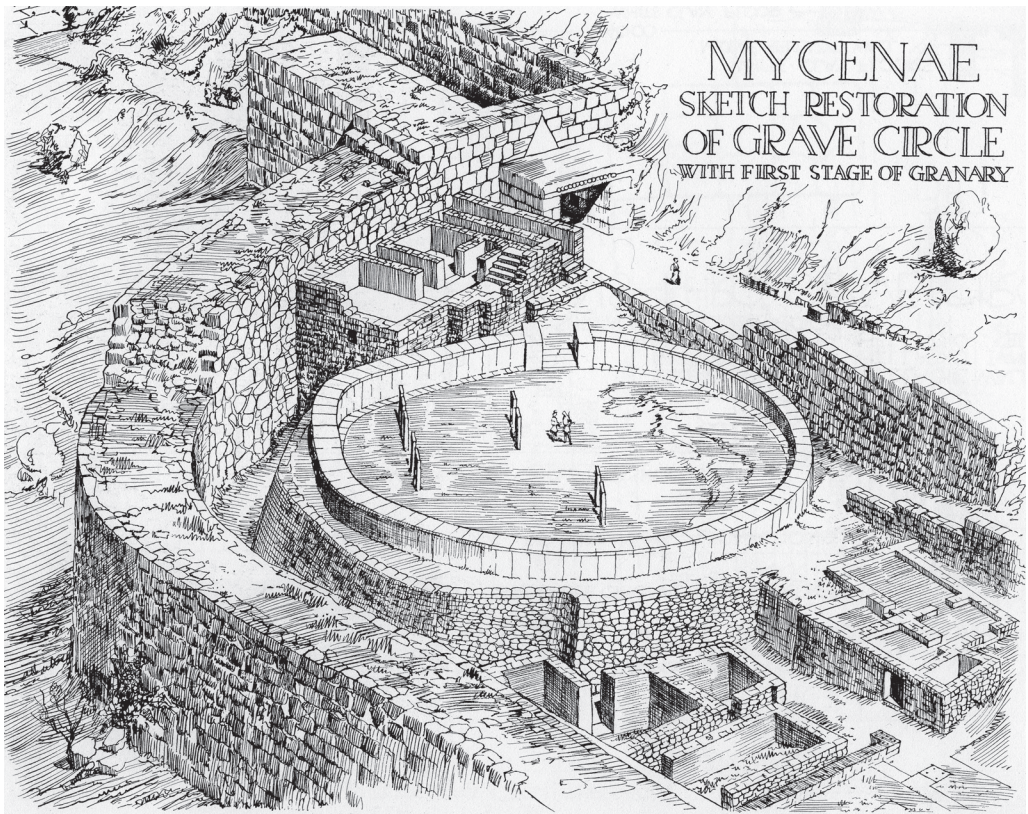

Fig. 6.5: Framing social memory: the LH III B refurbishment of Grave Circle A (after Wace 1949: pl. 22).

Fig. 6.6: A conscious reference to the past? The Lion Gate relief in the citadel of Mycenae (photo by author).

Lion Gate and the monumental tombs of Atreus and Clytemnestra was certainly hard to overlook. The visual appearance and texture of conglomerate stone were probably invested with a symbolic aura. The impressive gate relief (Wace 1949: 51–54; Iakovides 1983: 30–33; Mylonas 1983: 78–84; Iakovides and French 2003: 11–12) may have been the only Mycenaean visual image displayed in a public space. This exceptional work of art has puzzled several generations of archaeologists due to its archaistic style. There can be no doubt that composition and stylistic expression are very close to the art of the fifteenth century BC, so close that it has been suggested that the relief was a spoil from an early Mycenaean monument (see Blakolmer 2006: 21 with further references).[5] If this archaistic style is not the result of an experimental work in a vacuum of artistic traditions of monumental sculpture, we might argue that it deliberately copies earlier works as a means of paying homage to the glorious period of the Shaft Graves dynasty. If so, then we are dealing here with a systematic attempt to manipulate collective memory by a) adopting an archaistic style, b) restoring the tombs of a great dynasty and perhaps using them as a theatre for ritual or commemorative action and c) occupying prominent points of the urban landscape of Mycenae with funerary monuments.

The fact that the desire to establish a genealogical connection with a glorious dynasty comes some 250 years later and only one to two generations before the violent destruction of the citadel might help us to shed some light on the historical background of this project. Curiously, access to the restored Grave Circle A was made impossible by the construction of the Granary House, only a couple of years after the refurbishment work (Laffineur 1990: 202; Gallou 2005: 29). When placed into the historical trajectory of Mycenae, the temporal asymmetry of this restoration becomes striking: it is too remote from the end of use of the burial ground and too close to the final destruction of the acropolis. How can we interpret the belated attempt of a state-directed appropriation of the past? It is a truism that the use or abuse of the past is a favoured political strategy for the establishment of political authority. Ruling elites always try to construct narratives of shared memory, claiming for themselves the role of an eternal order. More important still, mnemonic strategies are activated especially in periods of political or socio-economic crisis. The crucial point is in our case that the need for status legitimisation came for the first time more than two centuries after Grave Circle A fell out of use. The ephemeral character of its 'second life' as a commemorative place at the heart of the city points to a politically motivated plan that was doomed to failure. It is therefore tempting to suggest that this very conscious reference to former times, the attempt to fabricate a heroic pedigree through the veneration of glorious ancestors, was initiated by the first royal dynasty at Mycenae which felt the need to demonstrate a connection to the splendid past, a dynasty which probably did not have any bonds with the royal lineage of this centre at all.

The Question of Relevance

It can scarcely be doubted that the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system at the end of Late Helladic IIIB caused a sharp cultural break and must have triggered a dramatic shift in collective memory (Dickinson 2006a). We do know that the destructions of the palatial centres affected the elite more profoundly than the lower classes. After the collapse of the palatial system, centralised economic structures ceased to function and the local cultures moved down to a lower level of socio-political organisation. We also know that in the period following these destructions (Late Helladic IIIC) the central places of the former Mycenaean citadels in Tiryns, Midea and possibly in Mycenae were reoccupied (Maran 2006: 124–28). It has been suggested that this reoccupation should be understood as a conscious revival of the old palatial system for the legitimisation of those families or groups which now came to power (Maran 2006: 143–44). This interpretation does offer a plausible explanation for the re-enactment of palatial ideology in postpalatial times, yet it is not congruent with all historical scenarios relating to the collapse of Mycenaean culture. If we accept that the main difference between Late Helladic IIIB and Late Helladic IIIC is the absence of the palatial elite, while the lower classes continued to populate the key regions of

Mainland Greece, then it is tempting to ascribe the collapse of the palaces not to a natural catastrophe or foreign invaders, but to a class struggle leading to the expulsion of the royal dynasties (Halstead 1988, 527; see, however, the critical comments of Deger-Jalkotzy 1996b: 716–17, 728 and Dickinson 2006b: 41, 54–55). Following this line of argument, we must pose the question why the Late Helladic IIIC society should adopt the palatial past as the core of its shared remembrance and demonstrate a common bond with the expelled elites? One would rather expect that the *basileis* or other local potentates after the decline of the palatial system would condemn and not adopt it. The reoccupation of the Mycenaean palaces in Late Helladic IIIC is an archaeological fact, but may simply represent the filling of a power vacuum, and not necessarily a deliberate claim of descent from the palatial elites and the creation of a succession of power.

This is exactly the point where the Homeric poems come into play. The combined study of the Mycenaean and Greek Iron Age material culture on the one hand, and Homer on the other, has great potential to answer the new questions which arise in the context of collective memory. The *Iliad*, this 'oral monument' of Greek collective memory, offers us, as an 'official' historical narrative, good insight into the selective strategies of this intellectual process, which included not only remembering but also forgetting. The suggestion of a class struggle at the end of the Mycenaean period – and perhaps even earlier – and the appearance of a new elite in Late Helladic IIIC show how complex the issues of collective memory in this specific cultural context can be. In such a case, it would be reasonable to expect not one but several collective memories. Consequently, if we take a good look at different viewpoints of shared remembrance, and thus different collective memories, we may be able to obtain a fresh perspective on the basis of old evidence. What did Greek Iron Age society actually remember? The Mycenaean palatial system or its short-lived follow-up in the Late Helladic IIIC period (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996a: 23–29; Eder 2004: 113–19)? Why is the Greek remembrance of these dynasties so ambiguous, ascribing to them not only glorious deeds, but also crimes, betrayals, deceptions, murder and incest (Deger-Jalkotzy 1996b: 728)? Could it be possible that the latter derive from the recollections of a Mycenaean population who suffered long enough under a repressive political system? This would explain the quite paradoxical fact that writing in the *Iliad* is actually only once attested, in the legend of Bellerophon and – more important still – receives here a sinister characterisation as 'malevolent signs' (*Iliad* 6. 168; see also Heubeck 1979: 128–42). This passage could be understood as a distant echo of Linear B, a writing system which the dependent population of the Mycenaean palatial centres may have experienced as an instrument of oppressive power. And finally, what about the absence of Thebes from the Homeric ship catalogue, an absence which can be regarded as a 'monumental' *damnatio memoriae* of one of the most important Mycenaean centres? These are some of the questions generated by notions of social memory, which may guide future studies and provide a new sidelight on Mycenaean and Early Greek societies.

Epilogue

The overlapping terms 'social memory', 'collective memory' or 'cultural memory', which have been monopolising the interest of cultural studies for the last two decades, refer to the recollection of the past by a collective as a deliberate, socially embedded action. Groups fabricated their own narratives of collective remembrance and built upon them a collective identity, the consciousness concerning their unity and singularity in time and space. The aim of the present paper was to employ this influential concept on a major branch of Aegean archaeology and to explore its interpretative potential. The overview of the Mycenaean evidence attempted to scan testimonies of the various realities that can be taken on by the word memory, such as old words and things, commemorative images and monuments. It has been demonstrated how difficult it is to extract a Mycenaean past from the Mycenaean present due to the lack of pertinent written information. We are compelled to rely only on the material residues of Mycenaean *memoria*. In the first part of the paper, in which Mycenaean palatial culture was regarded as a social entity, it became apparent that a conscious drift towards the past can be detected only sporadically in Mycenaean art, architecture and ritual action. A serious methodological problem arose with the need to clearly distinguish between 'tradition' and 'collective memory' or what Connerton (1989: 25) so aptly described as the tension between the 'compulsion to repeat and the capacity to remember'. The rather unconscious repetition of habitual practices in art, technique and daily life resembles indeed a strong bond with the past. In this case, though, there is little that merits the term 'collective memory', a concept which presupposes an intentional act of remembering based on social interaction. The second part of the paper was dedicated to a contextual approach, which, for obvious reasons, focused on the city of Mycenae. Here, the large-scale building programme around 1250 BC provides the most evident example of appropriating the past in a Mycenaean context. A key element of the entire project, the refurbishment of Grave Circle A, can be regarded as a conscious reconstitution of a heroic past. One or two generations before the collapse of the palatial system, Mycenae's ruling elite employed meticulous restorative devices in order to 'mantle' the glorious past of the city and invest it with a new meaning. The restored burial ground undoubtedly became an emblematic public space of intensive communal interaction, since it could serve both as a marker and a theatre of memory. Finally, a cursory look beyond the era of the Mycenaean palaces has shown that notions of collective memory may be proven very fruitful for understanding the trajectory of Greek oral tradition in the Iron Age. The likelihood of social unrest as the major agent for the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system forces us to assume a multivocality of social memory, which may enlighten actions of inconsistent remembering, selective retention and deliberate forgetting in the shared remembrance of early Greek society.

Notes

1. See for instance Voidokoilia, where a Late Helladic I tholos tomb was cut into the centre of a Middle Helladic tumulus, which in turn covered an Early Helladic settlement: Antonaccio 1995: 50 n. 171, 80–81 (with further references); Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 42.
2. For distance and isolation as expressions of social distinctiveness in the sepulchral sphere see Wells 1990: 128.
3. The same applies to the nearby tholos tomb of Aigisthos and a chamber tomb immediately to the south of Grave Circle B excavated by Papademetriou in 1952–53. The latter is the only chamber tomb erected within the city boundaries, after the Prehistoric Cemetery came out of use: see Antonaccio 1995: 47–48, 50–51; Iakovides and French 2003: 35, 51.
4. The Late Helladic IIIB date of this refurbishment has been questioned by Gates (1985) and Laffineur (1990; 1995: 86–93), who propose a later date, without providing, however, any sound arguments.
5. A similar suggestion has been made for the gypsum blocks carved in relief from the Atreus tomb: see Blakolmer 2006: 21–22.

Bibliography

Alcock, S. E.
   2002 *Archaeologies of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments, and Memories.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alden, M.
   2000 *The Prehistoric Cemetery. Pre-Mycenaean and Early Mycenaean Graves* (Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations Within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959–1969, Fascicule 7). Oxford: Oxbow.

Antonaccio, C.
   1995 *An Archaeology of Ancestors. Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
   2006 Religion, basileis and heroes. In S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3): 381–95. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Assmann, J.
   1997 *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (2nd ed.). München: C.H. Beck.

Barrett, J. C.
   1999 The mythical landscapes of the British Iron Age. In W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape. Contemporary Perspectives*: 253–65. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bennet, J.
   2001 Agency and bureaucracy: thoughts on the nature and extent of administration in Bronze Age Pylos. In S. Voutsaki and J. Killen (eds.), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States. Proceedings of a Conference held on 1–3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge* (Cambridge Philological Society Suppl. 27): 25–37. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
   2004 Iconographies of value: words, people and things in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. In J. C. Barrett and P. Halstead (eds.), *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6): 90–106. Oxford: Oxbow.

Blakolmer, F.
   2006 'Historical memory' in der ägäischen Bronzezeit: das Beispiel der Kykladenidole. In G. Koiner, M. Lehner, Th. Lorenz and G. Schwarz (eds.), *Akten des 10. Österreichischen Archäologentages in Graz, 7. –9. November 2003*: 17–23. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Bradley, R.

    1998 *The Significance of the Monuments. On the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*. London and New York: Routledge.

    2002 *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Buikstra, J. E. and D. K. Charles

    1999 Centering the ancestors: cemeteries, mounds, and sacred landscapes of the North American midcontinent. In W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape. Contemporary Perspectives*: 201–28. Oxford: Blackwell.

Cavanagh, W.

    2001 Empty space? Courts and squares in Mycenaean towns. In K. Branigan (ed.), *Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 4): 119–34. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Cavanagh, W. and C. Mee

    1998 *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 125). Jonsered: Paul Åström.

Clark, M.

    2004 Formulas, metre and type-scenes. In R. Fowler (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*: 117–38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, P.

    1989 *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

    2006 Cultural memory. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*: 315–24. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Cummings, V.

    2003 Building from Memory. Remembering the Past at Neolithic Monuments in Western Britain. In H. Williams (ed.), *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies*: 25–43. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Day, P. M. and D. E. Wilson

    2002 Landscapes of memory, craft and power in Prepalatial and Protopalatial Knossos. In Y. Hamilakis (ed.), *Labyrinth Revisited. Rethinking 'Minoan' Archaeology*: 143–66. Oxford: Oxbow.

Deger-Jalkotzy, S.

    1996a 'Hier können wir Achäer nicht alle König sein'. Zur Geschichte des frühgriechischen Königtums. In W. Leschhorn, A. V. B. Miron and A. Miron (eds.), *Hellas und der griechische Osten. Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt. Festschrift für Peter Robert Franke zum 70. Geburtstag*: 13–30. Saarbrücken: SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag.

    1996b On the negative aspects of the Mycenaean palace system. In E. de Miro, L. Godart and A. Sacconi (eds.), *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma-Napoli, 14–20 ottobre 1991*, vol. II: Storia (Incunabula Greca XCVIII, 2): 715–28. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.

    2006 Theben und Pylos: terminologische und onomastische Korrespondenzen? In S. Deger-Jalkotzy and O. Panagl (eds.), *Die neuen Linear B-Texte aus Theben. Ihr Aufschlusswert für die mykenische Sprache und Kultur. Akten des Internationalen Forschungskolloquiums an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 5. –6. Dezember 2002* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 338, Veröffentlichungen der Mykenischen Kommission 23, Mykenische Studien 19): 19–35. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Dickers, A.

    2001 *Die spätmykenischen Siegel aus weichem Stein. Untersuchungen zur spätbronzezeitlichen Glyptik auf dem griechischen Festland und in der Ägäis* (Internationale Archäologie 33). Rahden: Leidorf.

Dickinson, O.

    1977   *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilization* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 49). Göteborg: Paul Åströms.

    2006a The Mycenaean heritage of Early Iron Age Greece. In S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I.S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3): 115–22. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

    2006b *The Aegean from Bronze to Iron Age. Continuity and Change between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC.* London and New York: Routledge.

Driessen, J.

    1994-95 Data storage for reference and prediction at the dawn of civilization? A review article with some observations on 'Archives Before Writing'. *Minos* 29–30: 239–56.

    1999 The Northern Entrance Passage at Knossos. Some preliminary observations on its potential role as 'Central Archives'. In S. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. Hiller and O. Panagl (eds.), *Floreant Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1. –5. Mai 1995* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 274 (Veröffentlichungen der Mykenischen Kommission 18): 205–26. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

    2000 *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos. Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit* (Minos Supplement 15). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Earle, T.

    2002 *Bronze Age Economics. The Beginnings of Political Economies.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Eder, B.

    2003 Noch einmal: der homerische Schiffskatalog. In Chr. Ulf (ed.), *Der neue Streit im Troia. Eine Bilanz*: 287–308. München: C. H. Beck.

Edwards, M.

    1997 Homeric style and 'oral poetics'. In I. Morris and B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*: 261–83. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.

Fahlander, F.

    2003 *The Materiality of Serial Practice. A Microarchaeology of Burial.* Göteborg: Department of Archaeology, Göteborg University.

Fewster, K. J.

    2007 The role of agency and material culture in remembering and forgetting: an ethnoarchaeological case study from Central Spain. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20.1: 89–114.

Flower, H. I.

    2006 *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture.* Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press.

Foxhall, L.

    1995 Monumental ambitions: the significance of posterity in Greece. In N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the 'Great Divide'*: 132–49. London: Routledge.

French, E.

    2002 *Mycenae. Agamemnon's Capital. The Site in its Setting.* Stroud: Tempus Publishing.

Gallou, Chr.

    2005 *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead* (BAR International Series 1372). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Gates, C.

    1985 Rethinking the building history of Grave Circle A at Mycenae. *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 263–74.

Gehrke, H.-J.

    2001 History and collective identity: uses of the past in ancient Greece and beyond. In N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*: 286–313. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2003 Was ist Vergangenheit? oder: die 'Entstehung' von Vergangenheit. In Chr. Ulf (ed.), *Der neue Streit im Troia. Eine Bilanz*: 62–81. München: C. H. Beck.

Gosden, C. and Y. Marshall

1999 The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31: 169–78.

Graziadio, G.

1991 The process of social stratification at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave period: a comparative examination of the evidence. *American Journal of Archaeology* 95: 403–40.

Halbwachs, M.

1925 *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan.

1950 *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Presse Universitaire de France.

Hallager, E.

2005 The uniformity in seal use and sealing practice during the LH/LM III period. In L. D'Agata and J. Moody (eds.), *Ariadne's Threads. Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC). Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5–6 April 2003*: 243–65. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

Hallager, E. and B.-P. Hallager

1999 Nodules and LM IIIB Kydonian pottery from the Little Palace at Knossos. In P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *MELETEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he Enters his 65th Year* (Aegaeum 20): 309–16. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.

Halstead, P.

1988 On redistribution and the origin of Minoan-Mycenaean palatial economies. In E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*: 519–29. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Hamilakis, Y.

1998 Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies. In K. Branigan (ed.), *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1): 115–32. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Heubeck, A.

1979 *Schrift* (Archaeologia Homerica III, X). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hope, V. M.

2003 Remembering Rome. Memory, funerary monuments and the Roman soldier. In H. Williams, (ed.), *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies*: 113–40. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Hoskins, J.

1998 *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. London: Routledge.

2006 Agency, biography and objects. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*: 74–84. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Iakovides, S.

1983 *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (Monumenta Graeca et Romana 4). Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Iakovides, S. and E. B. French

2003 *Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae* (The Archaeological Society of Athens Library 229). Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.

Jonker, G.

1995 *The Topography of Remembrance. The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Studies in the History of Religions 68). Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.

Killen, J.

1979 The Knossos Ld(1) tablets. In E. Risch and H. Mühlestein (eds.), *Colloquium Mycenaeum. Actes du Sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975*: 151–81. Geneva : Librairie Droz.

Klein, K. L.

  2000 On the emergence of memory in historical discourse. *Representations* 69: 127–50.

Knapp, A. B. and W. Ashmore

  1999 Archaeological landscapes: constructed, conceptualized, ideational. In W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape. Contemporary Perspectives*: 1–30. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kopytoff, I.

  1986 The cultural biography of things. Commoditization as process. In A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective:* 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laffineur, R.

  1990 Grave Circle A at Mycenae: further reflections on its history. In R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June, 1988* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4o, 40): 201–05. Stockholm: Paul Åströms.

  1995 Aspects of rulership at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave period. In P. Rehak (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992, with Additions* (Aegaeum 11): 81–94. Liège and Texas: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique and University of Texas at Austin, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory.

Lang, M. L.

  1969 *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia II. The Frescoes.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C.

  1962 *La pensée sauvage.* Paris: Plon.

Lowenthal, D.

  1985 *The Past is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lucas, G.

  2005 *The Archaeology of Time.* Routledge: London and New York.

Maran, J.

  2006 Coming to terms with the past: ideology and power in Late Helladic IIIC. In S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3): 123–50. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mee, C. B. and W. G. Cavanagh

  1984 Mycenaean tombs as evidence for social and political organisation. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3(3): 45–64.

Muskett, G.

  2004 Colour coding and the representation of costumes in Mycenaean wall painting. In L. Cleland and K. Stears (eds.), *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (BAR International Series 1267): 68–73. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Mylonas, G. E.

  1972/73 Ο ταφικός κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών, vols. 1–2 (The Archaeological Society of Athens Library 73) Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens.

  1983 Πολύχρυσοι Μυκήναι. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

Neumann, G.

  1992 Deutungsvorschläge zu mykenischen Namen. In J.-P. Olivier (ed.), *MYKENAÏKA. Actes du IXe Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens organisé par le Centre de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine de la Fondation Hellénique des Recherches Scientifiques et l'École française d'Athènes, Athènes, 2–6 Octobre 1990* (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement XXV): 433–41. Athens: École française d'Athènes.

1994 Wertvorstellungen und Ideologie in den Personennamen der mykenischen Griechen. *Anzeiger der phil.-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 131: 127–66.

Nora, P.

1989 Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations* 26 (Spring): 7–25.

Nora, P. (ed.)

1984–92 *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vols. 1–3. Paris: Gallimard.

Olick, J. K. and J. Robbins

1998 Social memory studies: from 'collective memory' to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105–40.

Palaima, T. G.

1990 *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration. Proceedings of the NEH-Dickson Conference of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, January 11–13, 1989* (Aegaeum 5). Liège: Universitè de Liège.

1999 Mycenaean militarism from a textual perspective. Onomastics in context: lāwos, dāmos, klewos*. In R. Laffineur (ed.), *POLEMOS. Le Contexte Guerrier en Égée à l'Age du Bronze. Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998* (Aegaeum 19): 367–78. Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.

2003 'Archives' and 'scribes' and information hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B records. In M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Tradition. Concepts of Record-keeping in the Ancient World*: 153–94. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Panagiotopoulos, D.

2007 Mykenische Trauerbilder. Zu den Anfängen der griechischen funerären Ikonographie. In F. Lang et al. (eds.), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΣ. Archäologische Forschungen zwischen Nil und Istros. Festschrift für Stefan Hiller zum 65. Geburtstag*: 205–14. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Pini, I.

1990 Some considerations on the use of seals for administrative purposes in Mycenaean Greece. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici* 28: 107–16.

Pini, I. (ed.)

1997 *Die Tonplomben aus dem Nestorpalast von Pylos*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Piteros, Chr.

1983 Θ´ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων. Θήβα. Οδός Οιδίποδος 1 (οικόπεδο Δ. Λιάγκα). *Archaiologikon Deltion* 38 (Chronika): 131–34.

Pluta, K. M.

1996–97 A reconstruction of the archives complex at Pylos: a preliminary report. *Minos* 31–32: 231–50.

Rehak, P.

1992 Tradition and innovation in the Fresco from Room 31 in the 'Cult Center' at Mycenae. In R. Laffineur and J. L. Crowley (eds.), *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia* (Aegaeum 8): 39–62. Liège: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.

Rougemont, F.

1998 Quelques problèmes liés à l'étude des 'collecteurs' dans les tablettes en linéaire B. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 122: 431–34.

Rowlands, M.

1993 The role of memory in the transmission of culture. *World Archaeology* 25 (2): 141–51.

Rowlands, M. and C. Tilly

2006 Monuments and memorials. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*: 500–15. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Russo, J.
  1997 The formula. In I. Morris and B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*: 238–60. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.

Rutter, J.
  1992 Cultural novelties in the post-Palatial Aegean world: indices of vitality or decline?, In W. A. Ward and M. Sharp Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*: 61–78. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Schachermeyr, F.
  1967 *Ägäis und Orient. Die überseeischen Kulturbeziehungen von Kreta und Mykenai mit Ägypten, der Levante und Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 93). Wien: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf.

Schneider, J.
  2006 Cloth and clothing. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*: 203–20. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Shelmerdine, C. W.
  1999 A comparative look at Mycenaean administration(s). In S. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. Hiller and O. Panagl (eds.), *Floreant Studia Mycenaea. Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 274, Veröffentlichungen der Mykenischen Kommission 18): 555–76. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Small, J. P.
  1997 *Wax Tablets of the Mind. Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sotirakopoulou P.
  1998 The Early Bronze Age stone figurines from Akrotiri on Thera and their significance for the Early Cycladic settlement. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 107–65.

Taçon, P. S. C.
  1999 Identifying ancient sacred landscapes in Australia: from physical to social. In W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape. Contemporary Perspectives*: 33–57. Oxford: Blackwell.

Taylour, W. D.
  1955 Mycenae 1939–1954. Part IV. The Perseia Area. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50: 199–237.

Van Dyke, R. M. and S. E. Alcock (eds.)
  2003 *Archaeologies of Memory*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Wace, A. J. B.
  1949 *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wells, B.
  1990 Death at Dendra. On mortuary practices in a Mycenaean community. In R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June, 1988* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4o, 40): 125–40. Stockholm: Paul Åström.

Williams, H.
  2003 *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Winter, J.
  2006 *Remembering War. The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Wright, J.
    1987 Death and power at Mycenae: changing symbols in mortuary practice. In R. Laffineur (ed.), *Thanatos. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège, 21–23 avril 1986* (Aegaeum 1): 171–84. Liège: Université de l'Etat à Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.
    2004 A survey of evidence for feasting in Mycenaean society. *Hesperia* 73 (2): 133–78.
Yates, F.
    1966 *The Art of Memory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Younger, J. G.
    1981 The Island Sanctuaries Group: date and significance. In I. Pini (ed.), *Studien zur minoischen und helladischen Glyptik. Beiträge zum 2. Marburger Siegel-Symposium, 26. –30. September 1978* (CMS Beiheft 1): 263–72. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
    1987 Aegean seals of the Late Bronze Age: stylistic groups VI. Fourteenth-century Mainland and later fourteenth-century Cretan workshops. *Kadmos* 26: 44–73.