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THE INS AND OUTS OF THE GREAT MEGARON:
SYMBOL, PERFORMANCE, AND ELITE IDENTITIES
AROUND AND BETWEEN MYCENAEAN PALACES

Jarrett L. Farmer, Michael F. Lane

Summary

A new approach is sought to interpreting the ‘function’ of the central suite, or Great Megaron, of the palaces in Greece during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1440/1390-1190 BCE). Instead of seeking to correlate the building’s size, organisation, and properties with the features of a social model, be it cultural historical or neo-evolutionary, the roles that knowledgeable agents could have played there, with certain material-cultural resources at their disposal, are examined. The study employs details of architectural design, symbolism in painted surfaces, and records in the contemporary Linear B script of the furniture and instruments required for a particular investiture ceremony to develop a scenario in which religious-political authority is embodied and enacted, and thus presented as wholly necessary and therefore legitimate. This interpretative approach offers one example of how close reading of both documents and inhabited spaces can be used to create middle-range theories for the exploration of agency, personhood, practice, and community, both here and at yet to be discovered sites. Part I criticises prior approaches, lays out the ‘fields of practices’ theoretical framework, populates the Great Megaron at Pylos with persons and furniture, and then follows a group of celebrants from the gateway to the central hearth room’s threshold. Part II concerns the denouement of the procession of celebrants in the central hearth room of the Megaron, the social effects of what transpires there when communicated throughout society more broadly, the applicability of observations at Pylos to other Great Megara, and finally new insights into how political-economic power was actually attained and sustained in the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

PART I. A PROBLEM OF THEORY AND OF MEANINGS

We address here the oft-ignored if ever importunate problem of the function of the megaron, the central suite of rooms in palaces identified in mainland Greece and dated to the Late Bronze Age, particularly from about 1440/1390 to about 1190 BCE, the epoch of greatest expanse and integration of so called Mycenaean civilisation (Table 1). Most educated answers given to the question of the megaron’s function tell of what it represents within some unitary model of essential social relations, rather than of what was done therein. The recurring detour from specific analysis of the evidence of practices that took place in and around the megaron, including local construction of meaning, toward identifying the megaron as a sign compatible with the semiotic priorities of some model of social organisation is both curious and avoidable. The analytical equipment and data exist to determine the character and frequency of certain activities in the megaron, and certain recent archaeological and epigraphical interpretations provide grounds for putting these activities in meaningful spatial and temporal context (*e.g.* Bennet 2007; Kilian 1987b; Maran 2009; Wright 1987; 1994).

Period / Sub-Period Name	Approx. years (BCE), High	Traditional Low Chronology
Early Helladic (EH) I	3100-2700	
EH IIA	2700-2400	
EH IIB	2400-2200	
EH III	2200-2000	
Middle Helladic (MH) I	2000-1900	

MH II	1900-1750	1900-1700
MH III	1750-1690	1700-1590
Late Helladic (LH) I	1690-1610	1590-1500
LH IIA	1610-1500	1500-1430
LH IIB	1500-1440	1430-1390
LH IIIA1	1440-1400	1390-1360
LH IIIA2	1400-1300	1360-1300
LH IIIB1	1300-1230	
LH IIIB2	1230-1190	
LH IIIC Early	1190-1170	

Table 1. Aegean Bronze Age chronology. Sources: Betancourt 2007; Manning *et al.* 2006; Shelmerdine 2008a; Warren, Hankey 1989.

We furthermore observe a division within related scholarship that reflects to some degree a division of labor between well respected and widely read ‘theorists’ on the one hand and dedicated, often luminary ‘specialists’ on the other. The work of the latter is often deductive and comparative, but the sociological inferences drawn to their conclusions are just as often from the work of the former. The theorists, whose views we explore further in the next section, and the specialists, whose observations we adduce throughout, tend to constitute separate groups, as perusal of relevant bibliographies, including those herein, indicates. For example, recent theories of the Mycenaean state usually regard the palace with its megaron as an expression of some general, if not universal, socio-political type, derived over time from certain cross-cultural anthropological discourses (*e.g.* Carothers 1992; Flannery 1998, Killen 1985; Morris 1986; Parkinson, Galaty 2007). It is perhaps no surprise, given their investment of energy, that persons studying specific aspects of the palace describe and interpret not complex social entities but rather discrete activity areas therein (*e.g.* Bendall 2003; 2004; Egan 2014; 2015; Hruby 2006; Lupack 2007; Palaima, Wright 1985; Pluta 1996-1997; Schon 2007; Shelmerdine 1985; 1998; 1998-1999; 2007; Tegye 1984) and, of particular concern here, their ‘decorative programmes’ (*e.g.* Brecooulaki 2008; Brecooulaki *et al.* 2012; Egan, Brecooulaki 2015; Immerwahr 1990; Lang 1969; McCallum 1987; Reusch 1953; 1956; contributions to Morgan 2005). The trend for theorists to travel in widening circles – discussing more encompassing abstractions, after an exhaustive treatment of literature (*e.g.* ‘redistribution’, ‘political economy’, ‘leadership’, and ‘the state’) – has facilitated the slotting of specialists’ studies into the categories of social models of putative universal applicability, in spite of the specialised studies’ analytical potential to expose specific, interlinking ancient, indigenous concepts and actual practices of social organisation. The social models, in contrast, may fairly be described as top-down in their essential structures (discussion in Bennet 1988; Galaty, Parkinson 2007; Nosch 2011). The present paper is an effort toward a corrective, synthetic client-side, bottom-up solution to the problem of the function of the Mycenaean megaron. It furthermore draws inferences from specialist interpretations of the contemporary Linear B script for reconstituting activities that could have taken place there.

HISTORY OF A SIGN

A literal, Homeric interpretation of the Mycenaean palace was almost stillborn. In the last decades of the 19th century, Schliemann and Dörpfeld briefly entertained the notion that the great halls on the acropolises of Troy and Tiryns – though separated by over 1,000 years – were temples, not temporal residences, on account of their size, placement, embellishment, architectural rigour, and inordinately large central hearth (Schliemann 1884, 75-87) (Fig. 1a-b). After Tsountas’ discovery at Mycenae of a central building virtually identical in size and shape to that at Tiryns (1902) (Fig. 2), Dörpfeld changed his mind and introduced the Homeric term ‘megaron’ to describe such buildings (Schuchhardt 1979 [1891], 104-122; cf. Schliemann 1885, 208-229).

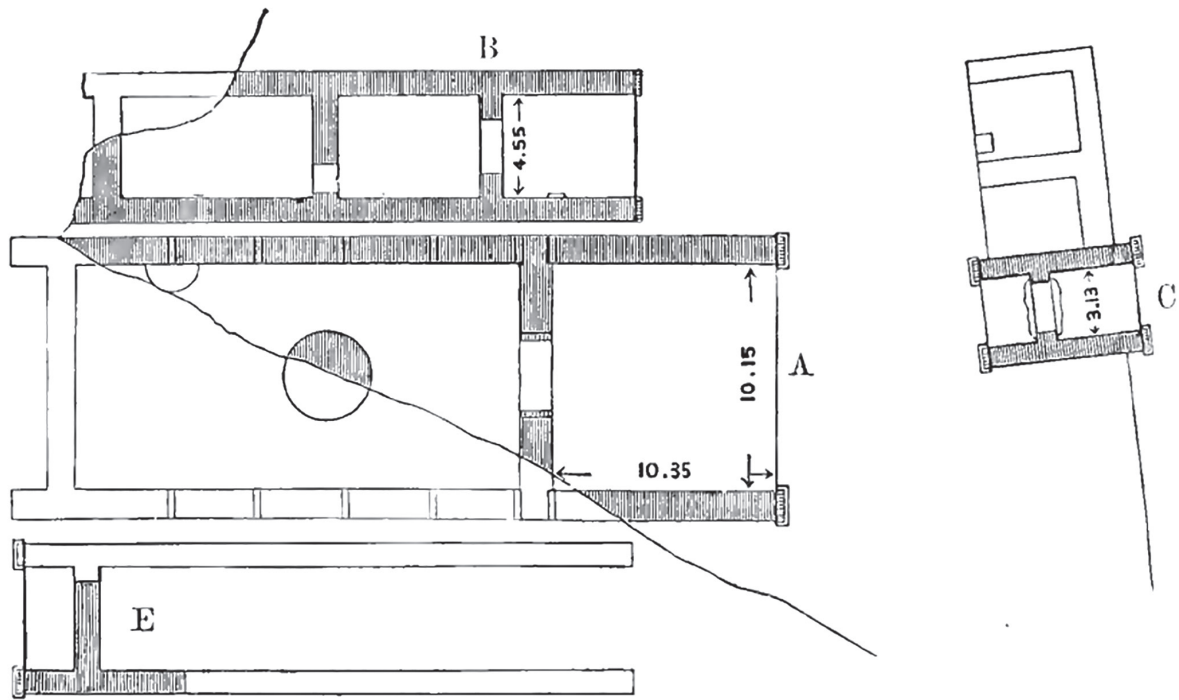


Fig. 1a. Dörpfeld's plan of Troy, showing hearth-centred 'megara' in Level II (mid-3rd millennium BCE) citadel (after Schuhhardt 1891, 70).

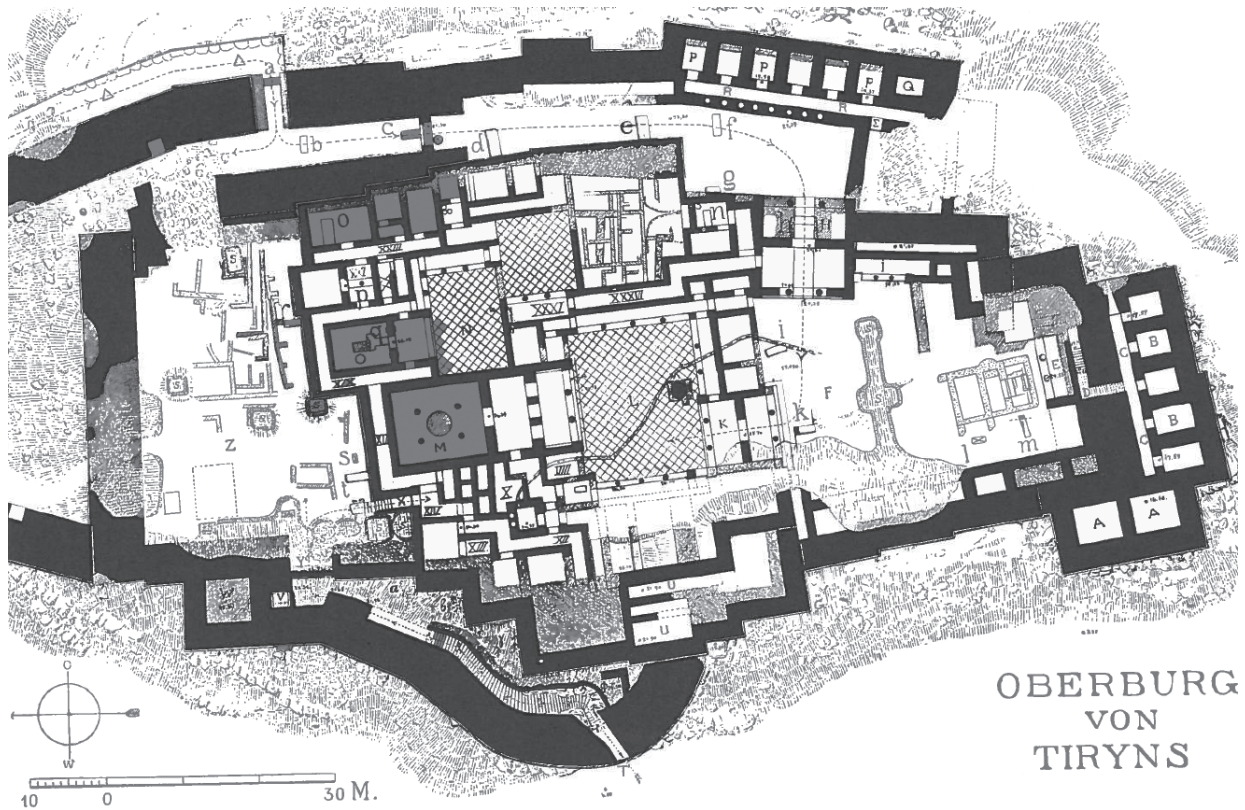


Fig. 1b. Dörpfeld's plan of Tiryns, showing final Megaron complex (LH IIIB2) on summit (after Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], fig. 1).

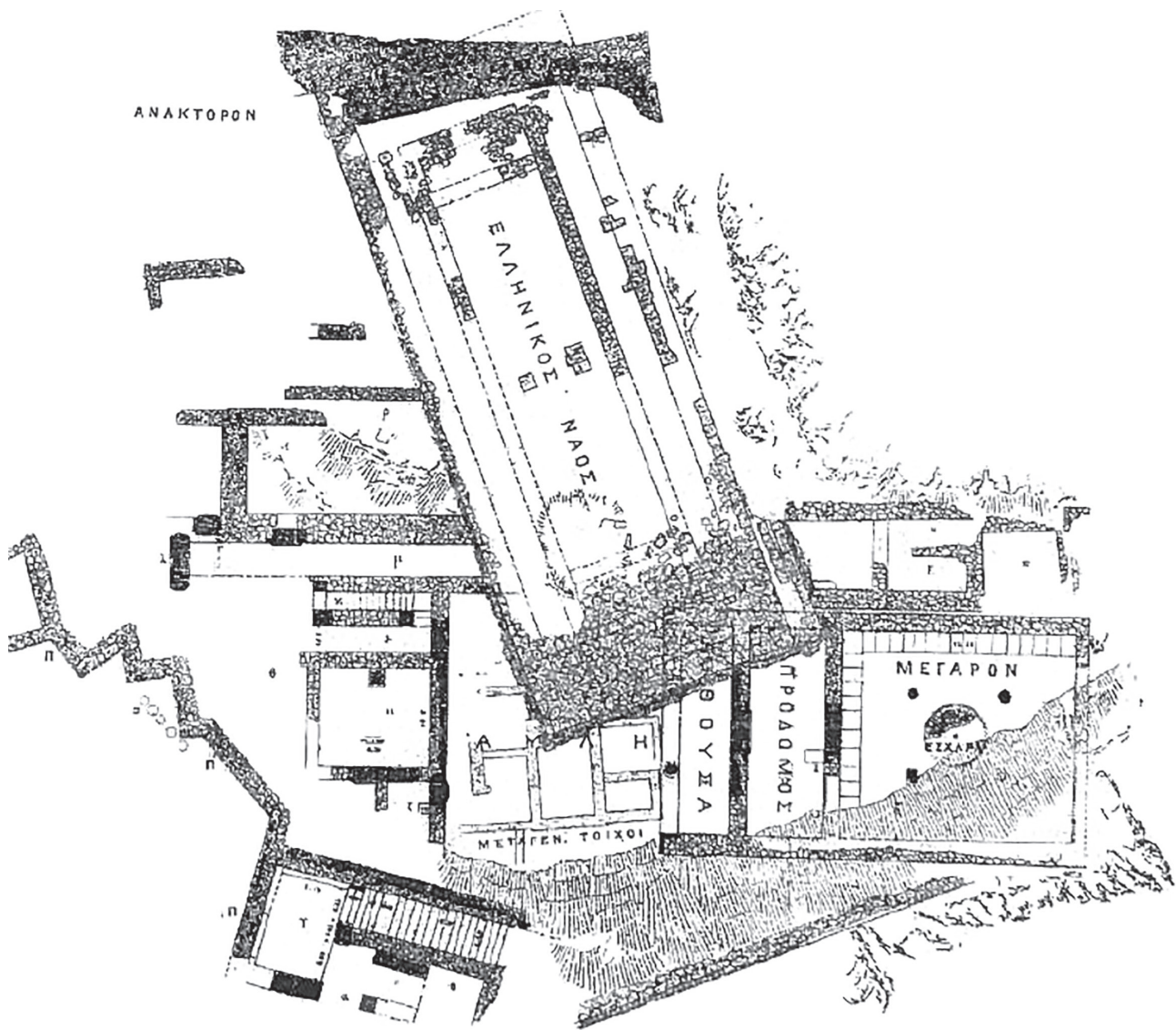


Fig. 2. Dörpfeld's plan of final Megaron (LH IIIB2) at Mycenae (north at top), showing subsequent LH IIIC walls in Megaron forecourt (centre, bottom) and diagonal stereobate of Archaic-Hellenistic Period temple (after Tsountas 1902).

Dörpfeld, Müller, Mylonas, Tsountas, Wace, and others who excavated at Mycenae and Tiryns in the years before and just after the Second World War construed the central megaron at both sites – comprising portico, ante-chamber, and main room – as an icon of a Homeric fact, although obscured and fragmented through time (Müller 1976 [1930]; Mylonas 1957; Schuchhardt 1979 [1891], 93-298; Tsountas 1893; Wace 1964; Wace, French 1979; cf. Nilsson 1933). Blegen and his colleagues working at Pylos mainly in the 1950s and 1960s, qualified the Homeric interpretation, stating that their 'Palace of Nestor' at Ano Englianos was probably not the palace of a king by that name (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 422-423). They nevertheless took as self-evident that the megaron was part of a royal residential suite and that the innermost part was the 'Throne Room' (Blegen 1953; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 76-92). Like Dörpfeld and his inheritors at Tiryns, they were not especially troubled by the presence of at least two such halls with enormous hearths inside the palace (Fig. 3). Just as the smaller 'megaron' in the much earlier citadel at Troy was eventually attributed to "women's quarters" (Schliemann 1885, 224, 239-242), so too could the smaller megaron at Tiryns and hearth-centred Room 46 at Pylos be assigned to a queen or, alternatively, crown prince (Blegen, Rawson 1966,

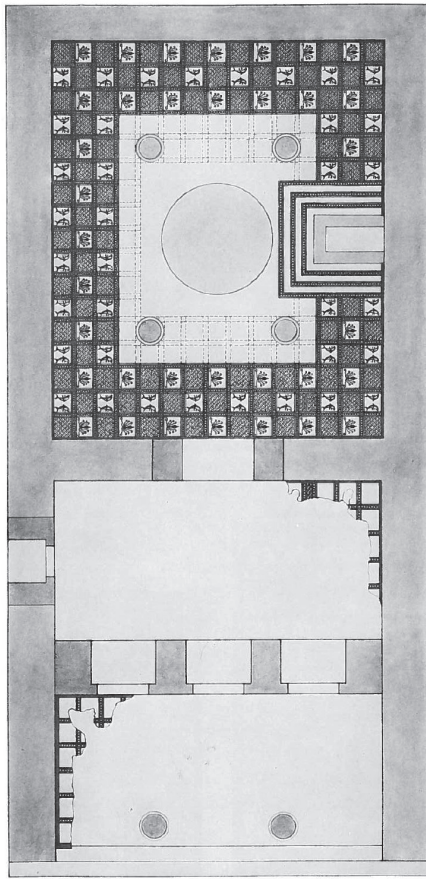


Fig. 3. Tiryns final Megaron floor plan, showing marine designs (after Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], pl. XIX).

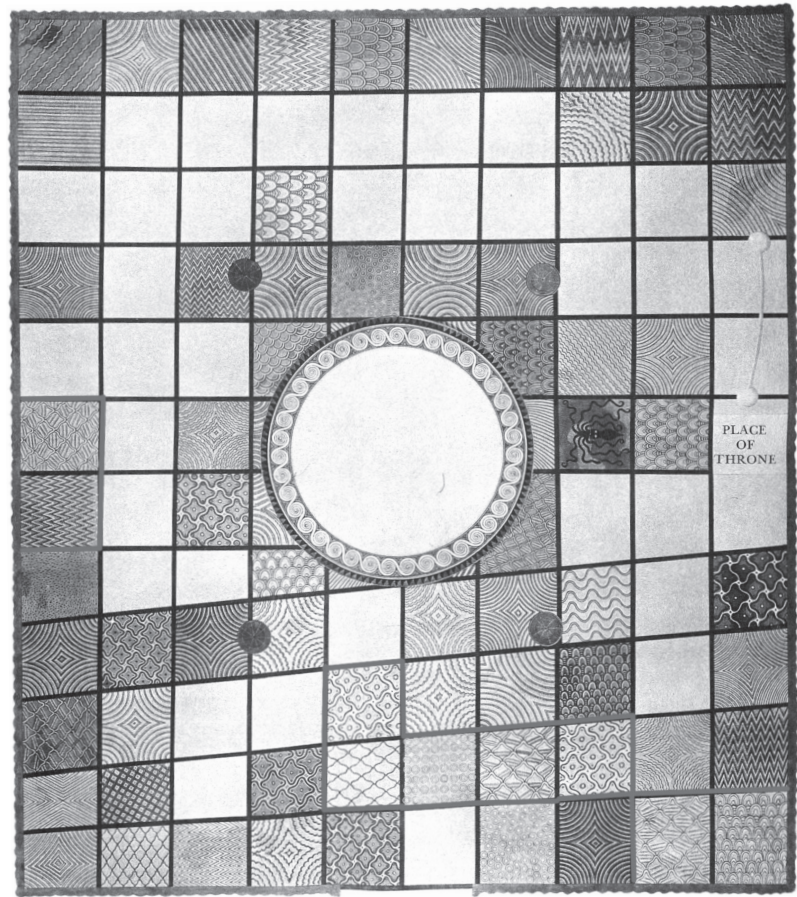


Fig. 4. Pylos final Megaron (LH IIIB late - IIIC early), hearth room (Room 6), incisions around certain painted floor panels indicated in heavy line (after Blegen, Rawson 1966).

13, 35, 197-203). One might wonder, however, exactly what manner of men's space or women's space these rooms constituted, and why they were segregated from each other in the plan of the palace, short of offering archaeologists a ready diagram of hierarchical, gendered space in Bronze Age society, as though formally parallel to Classical men's and women's quarters (*ἀνδρῶν* and *γυναικῶν*, respectively) – though Homer mentions neither. Once Blegen and Rawson settled on the appellation 'Throne Room', they hardly gave it further comment, describing it simply as "a bright and cheerful apartment especially in the light of a great fire blazing in the hearth" (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 78).

The interpretation 'Throne Room' at Pylos is susceptible to theoretical and empirical criticism. In the theoretical domain, it enjoys a commonsensical definition, since it arguably possessed a throne. To the degree definition is ever explicated, there is recourse to the analogy of the throne rooms of later European monarchs – though awkwardly not so much to the megaron of Homer's heroes (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 79, 88; cf., on Mycenae, Mylonas 1957, 45-47; Wace 1964, 73). European feudal throne rooms, however, have distinct sets of purposes related to audience, presidency, and accession – for example, the British Queen's several palaces in metropolitan London, including Buckingham, St. James, Westminster, Windsor (on medieval kingship, see Elias 1983, 41-46; Kantorowicz 1957, 160-162; Leach 2011). Hence this definition raises the question of the disposition of the body of the hypothesised Mycenaean king in his regal capacities. Did he mainly sit in splendour, or was he more itinerant? How exactly did he travel and comport himself? In the empirical domain, it has been noted that there is no proof of what kind of throne occupied the eponymous room or whether a throne was installed in every megaron, though it is a plausible inference given existing evidence (plans in Schliemann 1885, 1895; Schuchhardt 1979 [1891]). Tiryns' megaron

possesses a low platform, about two and a half by one and a half metres, projecting from the east wall, to the right as one enters the main room (Fig. 3; Müller 1976, 145; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 222-223, pl. XIX). Had one existed at Mycenae in the equivalent position, against the south wall, it long ago collapsed into the Chavos Ravine (Fig. 2). Had a throne existed at Pylos, it and perhaps its plinth have been removed, leaving a vacancy in the stucco floor of 1.07 by 0.91 metres (Fig. 4) (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 88). Reason nonetheless exists to imagine a permanent throne at Pylos, given not just the analogous dais at Tiryns but also the evidence of animal designs flanking the gap, as have been reconstructed in the Throne Room at Knossos, which dates to a period just before the first megaron of the mainland palaces were built (Mirié 1979; Niemeier 1987, 163-165). Blegen and Rawson (1966, 87) pointed out that any throne in the Pylian megaron was likely of the type made of ivory and precious wood, gilded and inlaid with glass-paste, such as is inventoried in the palace's Linear B archives, since they found no trace of a metal throne or stone one, like that of gypsum at Knossos, the latter of which was thought at the time to have been installed by Mycenaean conquerors (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 88; Evans 1935, 902). The same might be said of Tiryns.

Despite the fact that the great majority of sitting and enthroned figures depicted in the Late Bronze Age Aegean are markedly female (Rehak 1995), the throne or, by extension, the megaron has been regarded at least as a metonymical symbol of a male king – the *wanax* of Linear B records. The ghost of the *wanax* in the machinery of his magnificent hall has proved hard to dispel. He is the Mycenaean predecessor to Homer's *anax*, a title attributed especially to Agamemnon of Mycenae, occasionally to other kings. Exhortation in the last two decades to 'rethink' the purposes of Mycenaean palatial building complexes has advanced the question of what type of political-economic power these 'palaces' represent, but recourse to the neutral term 'centre' is no remedy, merely evading the problem of defining the building's particular qualities (Galaty, Parkinson 2007, 25; also Bennet 2007; Shelmerdine, Bennet 2008, 290-291). However much this call has prompted useful heuristic models of social power (Cosmopoulos 2006; Pullen, Tartaron 2007; Sjöberg 2004; Voutsaki 2001; Wright 2004c), the megaron in these models is still easily read as an index of a type of early state, commanded from the putative seat of power – the classic 'correlate' of the neo-evolutionists. It points away from its inner workings and toward correlating evidence with the archaeologist's social model – as if the megaron were, at its most expressly functional, a sort of quasi-magical regal cockpit from which the levers and pulleys of political economy are controlled. When social models are compared with one another, the megaron or throne room may be regarded as a metaphor of one kind of archaic state, as opposed to another (Blanton *et al.* 1996; Parkinson, Galaty 2007), for example, Mycenaean 'exclusionary-networked' versus Minoan 'corporate/group-oriented' (*e.g.* contraposition of 'megara' versus 'courtyard buildings'). Lately, changes in the construction and organisation of Mycenaean palaces have been taken to 'reflect' or 'mirror', through combination and recombination of architectural elements, the transformation of one kind of political-economic organisation into another (Englehard, Nagle 2011; Wright 2009). While this is a topic of important diachronic inquiry, the palace with its central megaron is nonetheless treated thus as an icon of a type, rather than as a locus of social transformations.

DEFINING THE OBJECT OF INQUIRY

We are concerned here principally with what many scholars, mainly German, have called *das große Megaron* or 'Great Megaron' (abbreviated here as capitalised Megaron) of the last building phases of the palaces at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Pylos (Kilian 1987a; Maran 2009; Müller 1976). Although it may have emerged from the design of such central buildings (Preziosi 1983, 175-193) with a large interior hearth as the 'megaron' of Phylakopi on Melos (LC II; Atkinson *et al.* 1904, 55-61; Pantou 2014; Preziosi 1983, 183-184), and its immediate tri-cameral forebear may have been Mansion 1 (LH IIB) on the Menelaion Hill near Sparta (Catling 2009), the Great Megaron can be given precise architectural definition on the basis of the dimensions and proportions of the three classic examples. The ground plan is based on a square between about 16 and 18 metres wide, possibly corresponding to a range of 45 to 50 Mycenaean feet (Graham 1969, 222-229; Preziosi 1983, 483-493). The ratio of width to length is nearly 1:2. The Megaron consists of three rooms arranged on the long axis: the portico,

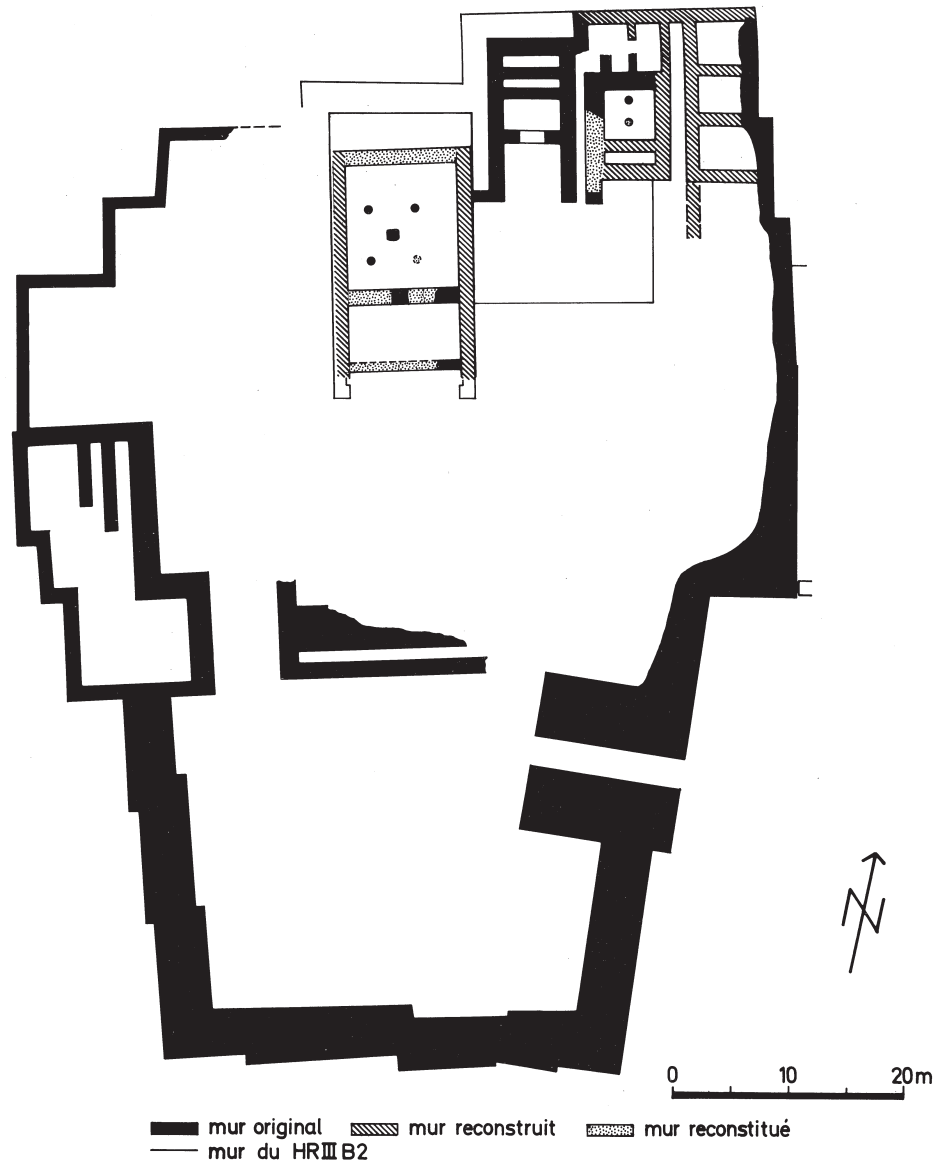


Fig. 5. LH IIIA1 pre-Megaron complex at Tiryns (after Kilian 1987a, fig. 7).

antechamber or ‘vestibule’, and main or hearth room, the ratio of their lengths being approximately 1:1:2. The rooms are symmetrical around the long axis, their main doorway being centred on it. The room with the central hearth is the space beyond which one cannot ingress further. To this definition might be added that each has a secondary entrance, although at Pylos and Tiryns it is via the antechamber, while at Mycenae it is via the north side of the porch. Tiryns’ Megaron – indeed, both the Great Megaron and its lesser companions – appears to provide the prototype for the other two. Its first phase dates to the transition between the LH IIB and LH IIIA1 (Fig. 5; Table 2), with Mycenae’s quickly following. Both these Megara were rebuilt according to the tricameral plan in the later part of the LH IIIA2 (ca. 1350-1325 BCE; French 2002; 2010; French, Shelton 2005; Maran 2001b; 2010), whereas the first Megaron at Pylos was not constructed until the LH IIIB period (Kilian 1987a; Nelson 2001), as much as half a century later.

Low Date	Period	Tiryns		Mycenae		Pylos	
1700 B.C.E.							
	MH III					Circuit wall built?	
1600		(Putative “Maison du Chef”)		(Conjectural early mansion / palace)	← Grave Circles built		← Appearance of tholos tombs in Messenia, incl. Tholos IV and “Grave Circle” (Tholos V), Englianos
	LH I					Courtyard complex precursor; NE gate; orthostate construction	
1500	LH IIA				← Tholos tombs appear (replacing Grave Circles)		
(Mansion 1, Menelaion)	LH IIB	← 1st palace built (1st megaron suite)	← Tholos I built	← French’s Palace III built (Wace’s 2nd)			
1400	LH IIIA1		(← Dendra tombs built)			Courtyard complex, incl. Buildings A, B, and C (ashlar)	
		← Razing, 2nd palace (14th century), incl. 2nd suite	← tholoi closed		← Tholoi closed, except		
	LH IIIA2		Chamber and cist tombs prevail in Argolid	← Burning, razing, Palace IV (= Wace’s 3rd), 1st Megaron	← Tomb of Clytem. and Treas. of Atreus built ← Cult Centre built		
1300						← Fire; circuit wall razed, NE gate and Mon. Stairc. abandoned; Megaron installed	← Tholoi at Englianos abandoned
	LH IIIB1						

					← T.o.C. and T.o.A. closed	
	LH IIIB2	← Earthquake?, rebuilding		← Earthquake? modifications; Grand Stairc.	← Grave Circle A incorporated into Citadel	← Modification of LH IIIB buildings
1200		← Final destr. (ca. 1200)		← Final destr. (ca. 1200)		← Final destr. (ca. 1190)
	LH IIIC	(Reoccupation, Building T)		← Granary (Reoccupation in forecourt?)		(Possible reoccu- pation of E side of Main Building ca. 1190–975)

Abbreviations: Grand Stairc.= Grand Staircase; Tomb of Clytem./T.o.C.= Tomb of Clytemnestra; Treas. of Atreus/T.o.A.= Treasury of Atreus. Sources (in addition to those cited in the main text): Fitzsimons 2007; 2011; Mountjoy 1997; Lafayette, Hogue 2016.

Table 2. Middle-Late Helladic chronology of building events at classic mainland palaces.

It is conceivable that other Great Megara sharing a plan with those at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Pylos are to be found elsewhere on the mainland – for example at Athens, Boeotian Orchomenos, and Thebes (Iakovidis 2006) – but evidence is scant or equivocal, and our discussion is circumscribed accordingly. Furthermore, we do not concern ourselves here with so called megara of the Early and Middle Bronze Age in the Aegean (Darcque 1990; Hiesel 1989, 111–144; Werner 1993). Restricting our inquiry to a few almost stereotypically realised buildings – each of which, however, is uniquely situated, and one of which is separated from the others by 120 kilometres and two mountain ranges – is the first stage in drawing common spatial limits around the heuristic ‘field of practices’.

TOWARD RECONSTITUTING A FIELD OF PRACTICES

We have now defined an architectural space, of restricted access in each instance, and we have been able to furnish it at least with a dais for a throne and an immovable hearth. These furnishings and ways in and out not only would have placed discrete limits on the nature and scope of activity but also would have made the space suitable for certain activities, rather than others. The method of further exploration, analysis, and development of arguments proffered here owes much to the pioneering efforts of Barrett (1988; 1994, 9–85; 2000) and Kohl (2008) on ‘fields of discourse’, ‘social fields’, and the archaeology of ritual, Canuto and Yaeger (2000) on ‘community’, and Voutsaki (2010a) on ‘personhood’, among others (*e.g.* Baba 2000; Brumfiel 2000; Harris 2012; Joyce 2005; Keane 2003; Kockelman 2006; 2007). We prescribe our method for general application in social archaeology. It describes five dimensions of any socially constituted place with which an archaeologist, measuring them together, can better understand that locality’s meaning and purpose. The Great Megaron offers a study. Applying the method permits interpretations that bridge, however tentatively at first, the theoretical gap between the Megaron’s cultural formation processes (how it took shape) and its socio-political representations (what it signified in the ancient past).

1. One must demonstrate the **normal spatial limits** of this field in the pre-archaeological past. This is not to argue that a locality can be excised from the context of its broader social space. Rather, we assert that, in the course of a given space’s inhabitation within a certain time frame, it also has distinct practical limits; and, whether these are fixed in cultural terms or not, they are always parametric, their characteristic pathways overlapping with the limits of other spaces at what we call ‘nodes’ (*i.e.*, they are inhabited ‘normally’ in a statistical sense; see Lane 1993; Thaler 2005) (Fig. 6a–b). These spaces may comprise rooms, sites, landscapes, and theoretically whole regions of the earth. Every space so defined that is encompassed by another of a larger scale may be called a *place* with respect to others thus normally bounded (see Hirsch, O’Hanlon 1995; Low, Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). In the case of the Mycenae-

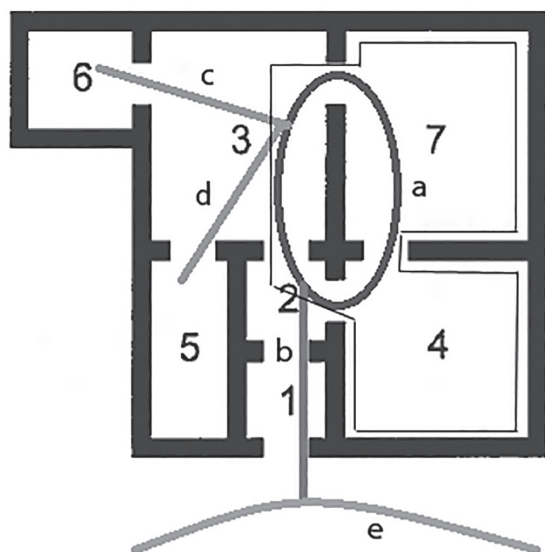


Fig. 6a. Diagram of simple hypothetical social space illustrating 'parametric' concept of spatial limits (and 'nodes'): (a) represents one circulation pattern among regular inhabitants of building; (b) represents possibly restricted ingress/egress; (c) and (d) represent occasional traffic to rooms 4 and 6, controlled through room 3; (e) represents one circulation pattern outside building. Nodes are where circulation patterns / traffic paths intersect, and fine line inside building indicates parameters of circulation pattern 2-3-4-7.

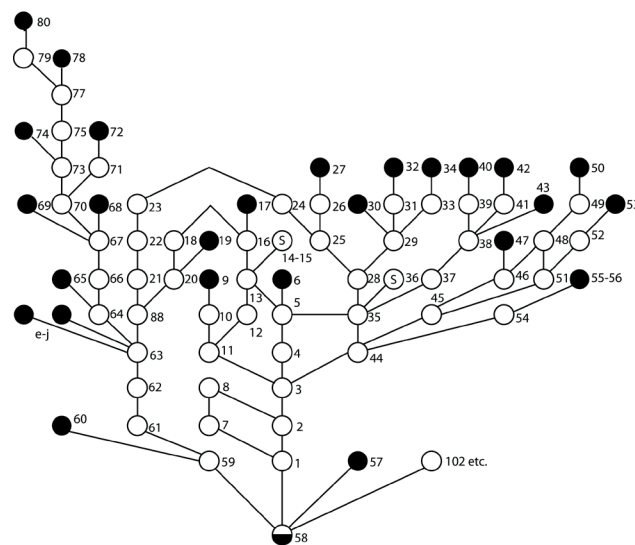


Fig. 6b. Permeability diagram of Megaron Complex and South-western Building at Pylos (Lane 1993, per Palaima, Wright 1985). Two-colour node represents exterior of building as defined here. Black nodes are deepest rooms (numbered), beyond which no further ingress exists. Parameters of Megaron Complex are represented by all nodes (rooms) accessible only through 3 and 59. 'S' represents staircase to upper storey.

an palaces, normal spatial limits would involve not simply the possible points of 'permeability' throughout the building but also the actual practical paths, such as the movement of scribes from workshops to archives (Palaima, Wright 1985; Pluta 1996-1997; Schon 2007; Shelmerdine 1998-1999).

2. A field of practices likewise has **distinct temporal limits**. In certain respects, these are easier to define than the spatial limits, because social spaces, especially ceremonial places, are often realised according to a single plan and are finally destroyed, deactivated, or deconsecrated in a relatively punctual event. However, one must abide by three caveats when defining a field of practices in this dimension. Firstly, many discrete *places* in antiquity emerged through accretion of separate deliberate efforts over the *longue durée*, rather than materializing in a single phase (*e.g.* the terraces and ancillary buildings that preceded the first 'palaces' on Bronze Age Crete; Driessen 2002; Haggis 2002; Watrous 2001). In this respect, these limits too are often nodal, their shifting and lapsing purposes gradually and unconsciously changing in material expression too. Secondly, not all places are abandoned immediately after their apparent final destruction, even when no effort is made to rebuild them completely (*e.g.* the construction of bicameral Building T inside the foundations of the Megaron of Tiryns in the Late Helladic IIIC Period; Kilian 1981; Maran 2001a). Stated otherwise, the persistence of inhabiting a space in a certain way, in spite of altered conditions (*e.g.* acting out ceremonies associated in memory with the erstwhile Megaron), is crucial to understanding the transformation of the space's use and meaning. Finally, a single space so defined can be inhabited in different ways and used for different purposes, without any obvious effect on temporal (or spatial) limits. For example, while certain halls and courts of the Mycenaean palaces were surely used for ceremonies, they were also shared by palace personnel for banal errands and routine chores.

3. The preceding observation brings us logically to our third element: **frequency and periodicity of inhabitation** within temporal limits. Some shared spaces may go unacknowledged as such in their time, these being of particular

interest to archaeologists concerned with unrecognised conditions and unintended consequences (*e.g.* the customer, the nighttime guard, and the burglar all trace different patterns in the same space, sometimes leaving distinctive evidence, however slight). Others spaces may be acknowledged as common within cultural tolerances (*e.g.* a public park or collective pasture). Still others may be characterised by tightly controlled activities (*e.g.* the Vatican secret archives). However, even the most rigorously regulated spaces, such as the inner sancta of religious edifices, are also the scene of ordinary maintenance, if only by the elect or a special caste, as well as of the occasional sacrilege. Moreover, the regular proceedings therein are perceived differently by their various participants (*e.g.* the priest, the congregation, or the child; *q.v.* point 5 below).

4. Within definite spatial limits, **material cultural resources** are at the disposal of the inhabitants. These need not be reduced in kind to furniture or portable artifacts, but may also consist of the structural (as opposed to organisational) foundations and unique characteristics of the space as perceived by its various inhabitants. Structural and symbolic elements have often been treated as the accidental, rather than essential, properties of a space, reduced singly or together to 'style' or 'decoration' (see Shanks, Tilley 1987, 86-95; Tilley, Shanks 1992, 137-147). For instance, in Lang's exemplary primary study of the frescoes at Pylos, the discussion of symbolism mainly concerns tropes, repertoire, and tradition, rather than the combination, juxtaposition, and further syntax of elements. Hence studies of components of an archaeological site or of their individual 'decorative programmes' readily become subordinated to the 'functional' organisation of some building or settlement, as seen through the reticle of an archaeological social model. Outside this lens, however, even when the space has not been markedly structured to be symbolic, the beholder may nevertheless comprehend it as so structured, given the cultural knowledge she brings to it.

5. Therefore, the critical fifth ingredient consists of **knowledgeable agents**. Animate bodies, imbued with a variety of forms of knowledge, enter into a space from the habitual to intensely self-absorbed (like prayer). They may range from a sense of one's propriety (or impropriety) in this space or the special requirements of a rite, none of which need exclude another. On occasion, for example, it will include gendered knowledge too, which, as we show, may be of special importance in the Mycenaean palaces. Social spaces do not in themselves determine human activity, though they may entrain it and *provide for* its constant reproduction, if not also its radical transformation. We do not mean to repeat the truism of 'structures structuring' in the fashion of Giddens's students. We recognise rather that sign-making and communicating activities are multifaceted and sometimes involve complex codes, and that humans are not mere vectors or filters of signs and symbols, which they repetitively project into the world in order to live securely (see Giddens 1984, 25-28; 1995, 26-29). Rather, people have diverse cognitive, psychological, and perceptual dispositions, as well as concepts of personhood based in materials and relationships, and they make choices in the presence of new evidence and events (critiques in Healy 1998; Thompson 1984).

In what follows, we apply these methodological principles to the Great Megaron in the Mycenaean era as best we can, given present evidence. We maintain that our methodology can and should be developed, so as to organise an array of techniques appropriate to detailing each of the dimensions that make up a concrete field of practices, including those that contributed to the discursive relations that may have evolved among people who once inhabited this simultaneously pragmatic and meaningful space.

WHAT *P^hurkesg^wins* SAW

We begin at Pylos, where the best-preserved and most carefully excavated Megaron is found, and where, furthermore, the surrounding inhabited spaces in the palace have also been carefully excavated and subsequently studied. In attempting hypothetically to re-inhabit this space, we think it is possible, even theoretically necessary, to tread a fine line between inferring the presence of some situationally knowledgeable Bronze Age actor in the Megaron on one side and, on the other, making normative assumptions of a singular, archaeologically informed observer therein. We maintain that what we write about activities in the Pylian Megaron is applicable in the main to the

other Megara. Our heuristic guide for agency is the evidence of Pylian texts of the Ta set, which is the catalogue of furniture and vessels required for the *wanax*'s installation of the man Augēwās in the office of *dāmokoros*, an event that most likely took place at Ano Englianos (see Appendix; on feasting context, see Killen 1998; Palaima 2004; Shelmerdine 2012; on location at *pu-ro*, see Chadwick 1988). While the furniture and vessels need not have been employed in the palace on this occasion, we maintain that they fit this setting well.

The Ta set evidently constitutes a complete inventory of all the appurtenances for a single celebration involving an intimate group of about 30 to 40 persons. Pylian scribal Hand 2 wrote it, and he may effectively have signed the document with the performative header that begins “How P^hurkesg^wrins saw [the following] when the *wanax* installed Augēwās [as] *dāmokoros*’ (on *jo-lo-* as “how”, see Thompson 2002-2003; on scribe’s name, see Aura Jorro 1999b, 177; Petruševski 1965). He seems to have written the set in advance of the occasion, since it includes reference to a vessel damaged by fire (presumably in need of repair), and he may also have discovered he was short of a table of a certain size. The text in the heading of the set (Ta 711, line 1) does not suggest the description of the aftermath of an event, as it reads ‘when’ (*hote*), not ‘after’ (*meta*, *epi*, or their compounds). The inventory can plausibly be divided into at least four functional groups, each related to a collective practice (cf. Ruijgh 1962, 7-10; see Table 3): (A) a set related to sitting for dining; (B) a set related to eminent sitting; (C) a set related to keeping and tending fires; and (D) a set that arguably consists of symbolic objects related to the formal seating. **Group A** consists of 11 tables between six and nine feet in some dimension, 12 ‘stools’ (or ‘benches?’), 6 tripod cauldrons, 6 medium-size beakers, and 6 cups (on *kotilon* and *kotylē*, see Beekes 2010, 761, 763). **Group B** consists of 5 thrones (2 pairs plus a singleton), all but one definitely with a “stool” (*t^hrānus*), 3 ewers, 3 libation bowls, 2 ‘tubs’ (dual *p^haktō*, probably meal-serving vessels; Aura Jorro 1999b, 75-76), and 1 ladle. The description of the *t^hrānus* paired with a throne on Ta 708.1 has been erased, but is still legible. Its decoration is simple, matching that of Ta 707.3, and similar to two others, but there is no reason to suppose it is an accidental duplicate. We cannot know if Hand 2 intended to record a different *t^hrānus* over the erasure. **Group C** consists of 2 fire-tongs, 2 braziers, 1 fire-lighter, and 1 rake. Finally, **Group D** consists of 2 chains to be placed ‘around the throne’ or ‘between the thrones’ (*amp^hit^horniō*), 2 double-axes, and 2 short swords or daggers.

Linear B	Picture / Logogram	Translation	Notes
<i>Qe-ra-na</i>		Ewer	Etymology uncertain. <i>Kernā</i> (= <i>kernos</i>) and <i>k^welanā</i> (cf. <i>pelanos</i>) are phonologically and orthographically difficult. Derivation from <i>g^wer-</i> “warm” (cf. <i>t^hermos</i>) is possible, but curious.
<i>Pi-je-ra₂</i>		Libation bowl	<i>P^hielā</i> (= <i>p^hielē</i>)
<i>Pa-ko-to</i>		Meal-serving vessel	<i>P^haktā</i> (= <i>p^haktai</i> : “tubs; troughs” Hsch.)
<i>Po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja</i>		Ladle	<i>Prohelktērīā</i> (or perhaps mistaken pl. of <i>prohelktērion</i> ; cf. <i>proelkō</i> “to draw forth”)
<i>Ko-te-ri-ja</i>	—	Cup	Either mistake for pl. <i>ko-tu-ri-ja</i> (<i>kotulia</i>) or <i>kotelia</i> with the same meaning (cf. <i>kotilon</i>)
<i>Au-te</i>	—	Fire-lighter	<i>Austēr</i> (< <i>auō</i> “to set fire”)
<i>Pu-ra-u-to-ro</i>	—	Fire-tongs or poker	<i>Puraustron</i> (= <i>puraustra</i> , <i>purastron</i>)
<i>Qa-ra-to-ro</i>	—	Fire-rake	<i>Sk^walat^hron</i> (= <i>spalat^hron</i> , <i>skaleut^hron</i>)
<i>E-ka-ra</i>		Brazier	<i>Esk^harā</i> “portable brazier” (Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 888, V.938)
<i>Ti-ri-po</i>		Tripod cauldron	<i>Tripōs</i>
<i>Qe-to</i>		Pithos	<i>K^wet^hos</i> (→ <i>pet^hos</i>)
<i>Di-pa</i>		Beaker	<i>Dipas</i> (= <i>depas</i>)
<i>To-pe-za</i>	—	Table	<i>Tōrpe^dza</i> (or <i>trpe^dza</i>)
<i>To-no</i>	—	Throne	<i>T^hornos</i> (or <i>t^hrnos</i>)
<i>Ta-ra-nu</i>		Bench / platform / stool	<i>T^hrānus</i> (see main text)
<i>Pa-sa-ro</i>	—	Chain / ?ring	<i>Psalos/-ā</i> (cf. <i>psallion</i> , <i>psallis</i>)**
<i>Wa-o</i>		Double-axe	?
<i>Qi-si-pe-e</i>		Dagger / short sword	<i>K^wsip^hos</i> (= <i>xip^hos</i>)

Table 3. Correspondences between Linear B utensil names and English usage in the text*

* See also Bernabé, Luján 2008, 223–226; Ventris, Chadwick 1974, 324.

** Palaima (2004) seems to ignore the obvious pairing of stools with thrones in Ta 707, 708, and 714, the remaining 12 of 21 (22?) stools catalogued separately, in order by type of decoration. His interpretation of *pa-sa-ro* as *psalon* “halter” is not only based on a dubious entry in Hesychios’ *Lexicon* (probably an error of *psalion*), but it also seems to avoid the basic sense of the root *psal(l)-/psel(l)-* “ring”, as a closed shape or link (cf. *psal(l)is* “rings, bands; vaults”; *psallion* “chain”; *psel(l)ion* “armlet” or “anklet”). Palaima follows Del Frio (1990) in reading *a-pi-to-ni-jo* as *amp^bitornios* “carved, lathed all around”. One would expect **a-pi-to-no-to amp^bitornōtos*, **a-pi-te-to-no-me-no amp^biternōmenos*, or similar. *A-pi-to-ni-jo* in the context of *to-no* “thrones” is patently *amp^bit^bornios* “around-the-throne” or “between-the-thrones” (cf. *ent^bronios* “enthroned”, i.e. “pertaining to one in a throne”). *Qi-se-pe-e* is dual *k^wisp^behe*, equivalent to later Greek *xip^bei* “two (short) swords”. The latter word, like its congeners (e.g. Egyptian *hps* “khopesh”) is never used to mean “sacrificing knife” (as Greek *sp^bagis* is). The inscribed double-axe is patently the ubiquitous Minoan religious symbol, not the ‘stunning axe’ he imagines. The latter may be found in representations of officiants carrying single-edge ‘Syrian’ axes or maces on Cretan seal-stones (Haysom 2010; Marinatos 1993, 5, 7, 127–130).

The first pair of thrones are both of (false) ebony (*kutesos*, either ‘false ebony’ laburnum or African blackwood; see Table 3); one has golden bird figures on its *opikelemnia* ‘shoulder-pieces’ (probably the back rail or the ‘ears’ atop the stiles; Aura Jorro 1999b, 40), while the other has ivory *se-re-mo*-heads on the same part, and furthermore bears carvings of a male human figure and heifer figure. The second pair is also of ebony, the first with ‘shoulder-pieces’ inlaid with ivory in some form, the second with ivory *se-re-mo*-heads on the shoulders and bearing carvings of male human figures (hereafter ‘men’). The companion stool or bench of the latter is of ebony inlaid with men and lion figures, while the former three are of ebony with ivory *au-de-a*, possibly meaning ‘bases’ or ‘daises’ (sing. *au-do*). The fifth is unique and the most expensively elaborated. It may be presumed to be built on a frame of precious wood. It is inlaid with cyanus glass paste (or cyanus paste and glass crystal), and has (*s*)*barag(g)us* ‘emerald’ – possibly lapis lazuli or lapis lacedaemonius (Aura Jorro 1999b, 83; Beekes 2010, 1365; Bernabé, Luján 2008, 204, 266) – and gold on the shoulder. It is inlaid with golden figures of men, *se-re-mo*-heads, and *p^boinikes* (see below), as well as with cyanus-paste *p^boinikes*. Its stool/bench is inlaid with cyanus, ‘emerald’, and gold, and decorated with golden *ko-no-ni*- (possibly reed or rope-work patterns, *sk^boinōnis*; cf. later Greek σχοινίς). The stools or benches that appear to be paired with the tables are also specially decorated. Four of them have an ivory *au-do* and decoration described as *so-we-no*- (probably ‘groove’ or ‘channel’; Aura Jorro 1999b, 301), three more have these elements and a spiral band (*stork^wis* or *tork^wis*; on this symbol, see Hiller 2005), and one has an *au-do* with the nuts of some tree (*karu*) represented instead. The remainder, possibly comprising the third set of four, is more varied. Two are inlaid with ivory tree-nuts, one is inlaid with ivory lions’ heads and decorated with *so-we-no*, and the last is inlaid with human (*ant^brōk^wos*), horse ([*h*)*ikkwos*), cephalopod (*polupōs*), and *p^boinikes* figures.

Se-re-mo- is generally translated as “of Sirens” (Greek *Seirēno*- or *Sērēno*-; Aura Jorro 1999b, 287). ‘Siren’ is without a Greek or Indo-European etymology, and thus Hellenization of hypothetical *Seirēm* to *Seirēn* (or similar) is allowable (Beekes 2010, 1316–17). Homer does not describe the bodies of his two Sirens (*Od.* 12.39, 42, 44, 52, 158, 23.326), but from the sixth century BCE onward, they are definitely depicted in mainland Greek vase painting with the lower half a bird, the upper half a woman (Carpenter 1991, 234–235). They are retrospectively identified in bronze cauldron protomes from the eighth century BCE onward, given resemblance to later portrayals. They are often juxtaposed against griffins in the same context (Boardman 1996, 51–53; Mattusch 1988, 35–40).

If Mycenaean ‘sirens’ had women’s heads, it is unclear what would distinguish them from ‘female’ *ka-ra-a* ‘heads’ (cf. *ku-na-ja gūnaia*, Ta 711, line 3). Iron Age style sirens are unknown in the Bronze Age. Their nearest figural relative in the Aegean Bronze Age is the sphinx, whose ‘diadem with trailing tendril’ or ‘plumed crown’ distinguishes it or, at least, connects it with the dress of hieratic women of Minoan Crete (Dessenne 1957; Niemeier 1988; Rhyne 1971). Griffins, morphologically much like their Iron Age descendants, are portrayed in the Bronze Age Aegean, their head distinguished by a mammalian eye and a plume on the sagittal crest, differentiating it from a mere bird’s head (cf. *o-ni-ti-ja-or-nit^bia*-, already in the Ta inventory). Bronze Age griffins, like sphinxes, are closely associated with feminine divinity (Marinatos 1993, 152–153; 2010, 152).

Neither ‘sphinx’ (*sp^binx*) nor ‘griffin’ (*grūps*) have Greek etymologies. *Grūps* may be taken from Akkadian *karūbu* ‘griffin’ or ‘cherub’ (cf. Heb. *khārūb*), i.e. some species of winged monster. The term *po-ni-ke*, fairly transparently *p^boinikes*, could describe one or the other of these creatures (Chadwick 1976, 148; Melena 1976, 238; Ventris, Chadwick 1974, 344, 405). Like ‘sphinx’, this word may be of Egyptian origin (*špnh* ‘living image’, McGready

1968, 250; *bjnw* ‘Phoenix [mythical bird]’, Beekes 2010, 1583-1584). However, singular *p^hoinix* is found once in the *Odyssey* describing the date palm (6.163), while elsewhere in Homer, it is used for the colour purple or crimson, ascribed to the Phoenicians (*Od.* 4.141, 14.151). *Po-ni-ke* appears to be the root of Linear B *po-ni-ki-jo* (*p^hoinikios*) of the Knossos series concerning chariot parts (hands 127 and 128), where it is juxtaposed against *mi-to-we* (all by hand 128), most likely *miltowens* ‘red-coloured’ or ‘ochre-coloured’. Thus the Mycenaean usage is consistent with the Homeric and later tradition by which the date palm and, by extension, the Phoenicians were named for the colour they produced. *Po-ni-ke* has therefore preferentially been read as ‘palms’ (Aura Jorro 1999b, 138).

Creatures described in the Ta inventory are abundantly represented in Bronze Age Aegean glyptic art, such as we should expect of the furniture: e.g. heifers, lions, octopuses, and humans. Sphinxes appear at Pylos only in wall paintings. The National Archaeological Museum at Athens (NAMA) inventory of Mycenaean finds includes ivory representations of them (no. 1972, 1977, 2044, 2049-54, 2476, 7846; Sakellariou, Papathanassopoulos 1965). Griffins and lions often appear together at Pylos. There are griffin wings in glass-paste from Portico 1, a pair of griffins on a clay sealing, as well as a possible second such pair (or ‘framed’ griffin), from Room 8, a lion between two griffins on a clay sealing from the Wine Magazine, and two sealings with a lion between two griffins above a row of octopuses (Room 95 and Room 99). The NAMA inventory includes ivory griffins (2046, 2461, 2464, 2476, 3215, 7634 with a lion?) and one on an agate sealstone (2157). ‘Palms’, loosely defined, are copious on pottery and wall-painting in the Bronze Age Aegean, although none is among the glyptic in the NAMA inventory. Other than on pottery, palm fronds appear at Pylos on a clay sealing, alongside a bull, from outside the Southwestern Building (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 287), and on an old fresco fragment from the dump on the Northwest Slope (11 N nws, Lang 1969, 219, pl. 73).

We argue further along that lions are symbolically juxtaposed against griffins. Here we assert only that sphinxes or griffins, or both, are represented by *se-re-mo-* and possibly *po-ni-ke*, and are to be associated with feminine divinity. If *po-ni-ke* represents ‘palm’, then the connection is weakened, although Marinatos recently militated for a strong one (2010, 57-64).

As for other lexically ambiguous terms, *au-do-*, implied by *au-de-pi*, etc., maybe related to alphabetic Greek *oudas* ‘ground’ or ‘pavement’ and *oudos* (= *odos*, *ōdos*) ‘raised threshold’, words without obvious etymology (Beekes 2010, 1124), hence making the alternation of /*aul*/, presumably in *audos*, with /*ol*/, /*oul*/, and /*ō*/ a permissible violation of Greek phonology (Beekes 2014, 23). Given that both thrones and ‘stools’ can bear carved *audeha* (plural), one is left with the impression that these are specifically friezes at the base of these furnishings or on platforms for them.

So-we-no could represent an *o*-stem variant of Greek *sōlēn* ‘channel’ or ‘groove’, accounting for *so-we-no(-qe)* and *so-we-ne-ja*, though this form is attested only late (sixth century - first century BCE). This translation presupposes development from *solwen-*, for which we have no proof, even in the form of a dialectal reflex. It is worth noting that *so-we-no-pi* “with *so-we-no*” is never written, an inflection apparently reserved for representations (often inlaid) and constituent elements of furniture, while the derivative adjective *so-we-ne-ja* is typical of materials (e.g. *e-re-pa-te-ja* ‘of ivory’) and wrought patterns (e.g. *to-qi-de-ja* ‘spiral’). Hence the meaning ‘channel’ or ‘groove’ is enhanced.

APPROACHING THE MEGARON

Circumstance: Placing the Thrones

We now attempt to set the stage for the activity the Ta set implies, and to populate the stage with actors described in the archives. We re-emphasise that though we think this could easily, even plausibly, have taken place in the Pylian Megaron, the following is an exercise of method, a heuristic application, and a thought game.

Although the possibility of mere coincidence should go without saying, it is striking that there are three ‘sentry stands’ (some no longer stands at all) in the Main Building (Megaron Complex) at Pylos, as well as the gap in the floor of Room 6 for a throne or its permanent pedestal (Fig. 7). These are enough for three thrones with stools/benches and a pair of thrones linked together by the objects making up Group D above, the most elaborate of the pair with a ‘stool’ and the other – that with the simplest decoration – possibly without one. Moreover, they

would be installed along a route between Court 58 and Main Room 6 via Propylon 1-2, which stands in contrast with their *absence* en route from Court 58 to Room 6 via the secondary entrance to the Megaron, which was also open, albeit less directly, in the final building phase of the palace (via 58-59-61-63-12-13-5-6). It does not surprise us that Blegen entertained the notion that thrones could have been fitted, given the shape of the stands, before he settled on assigning them to sentries (Blegen 1953, 62).

One should consider in this context whether *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* means ‘platform’ for the throne, rather than ‘footstool’, given that alphabetic *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* can mean ‘bench’ or ‘ship’s helm’ too, and *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* can mean both ‘bench’ and ‘beam’. Indeed, in Pylos text Vn 46, plural *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ*, beside *elumniai* ‘boards’ or ‘rafters’, has either of the last two meanings (Baumbach 1972; Hocker, Palaima 1990). Such platforms would fit either into the hollows in the ground at these points – or, more likely, onto missing permanent bases, such as plinth stones, set into these gaps. Such a stone, selected for size and evenness, rather than perfect angles, would explain the irregular shape of the hollow in Portico 4 (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 68). In the case of Vestibule 5, the throne would have fitted into the shallow cavity created by the low rim on the ‘stand’ here, perhaps designed to prevent slippage of the throne or *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 74-75). It is conceivable that all the stands/plinths were once outfitted in this manner. In any case, portable platforms for thrones are found in Aegean pictorial arts, including the enthroned goddess of the Xeste 3 murals on Thera and the seated woman on several sealings from Knossos (Marinatos 1993, 160-162; Rehak 1995, esp. fig. XXXVIIe; Younger 1995), and permanent platforms are evident in both the low dais in the Megaron at Tiryns and the base of the gypsum throne of the eponymous room at Knossos. Indeed, the Niemeiers (1997) discovered the carbonised remains of a throne in Minoan-Mycenaean Miletos (Level IV) accompanied by a rhyton and cups (Niemeier 2005, esp. figs. 18 and 19). ‘Dais’ might be an adequate translation of *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ*, and it would be consistent with the pairing of (plural) *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* qua ‘benches’, rather than ‘footstools’, with long tables in the Ta set. If so, *audos* would perfectly describe a horizontal decorative band running around the base. That one of the braziers of the Ta set is described as being *audeswensa* ‘complete with *audos*’, in addition to having uprights (*i-to-we-sa*, *histowensa*) and a pedestal (*pe-de-we-sa*, *pedwensa*), further recommends the interpretation as some sort of decorated frieze.

Hence the first throne could be placed in the Outer Propylon (1), to the left of the doorway as one enters, the second to the right of the doorway between the porch (Portico 4) and antechamber (Vestibule 5) of the Megaron, the third to the right of the doorway opening into the hearth room (Main Room 6), and the fourth to the right as one enters that room (or to the left, if one turns right in order to approach the throne). It is not difficult to imagine where the fifth possibly ‘stool-less’ throne could have sat – at the end of the ca. 2.6 metre-long libation channel to the left of the permanent throne position beside the east wall (to the right, if one were sitting facing the hearth), perhaps deliberately lower by a fraction than the principal throne (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 88).

The first three thrones, with platforms or stools, in the Propylon, Portico, and Vestibule would have been occupied, according to our explanatory device, by persons equipped with a ewer and libation bowl. The last two, in the Main Room, would have been occupied by persons responsible for meting out shares from the meal-containers with the ladle, not to mention their use of pairs of ceremonial objects, on which we elaborate below. The evidence from the earth is at least consistent with this hypothetical reconstruction. The Propylon contained silver-niello profiles of bearded men identical in form to those found on a shallow one-handled cup found in Chamber Tomb 24 at Mycenae (NAMA no. 2489; Tsountas, Manatt 1897, 234). It also contained a fragment of a cyanus-paste griffin (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 57-58, 62), such as may adorn the most elaborate throne recorded in the Ta texts. The hearth room was found to contain 11 pieces of silver, which the excavators identified as probably belonging to rims and handles of cups (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 90), while the portico and antechamber also contained thin fragments of silver (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 70, 75). Although some of these fragments are from the fill of the destruction phase, possibly fallen from an upper storey, they nonetheless likely came from the palace interior (Shelmerdine 2008b, 406).

Pomp: The Poreia

Having situated the thrones and some of the other furniture, we can return to the approach to the Megaron, now in the company of the *dāmokoros*’ investiture party. One might think of this as an updated, sophisticated version of



Fig. 7. Plan of final Palace at Pylos, showing outer gateway to Court 58 from southwest (after Thaler 2009, pl. 15).

McDonald and Thomas's Homer-inspired walk through the palace (1990 [1967], 331-337). Presuming that the procession took place just before the palace's final destruction, the party would have come up from the south-west, through the lately added outermost gateway that opened onto Court 58 (see Fig. 7). If the ceremony had also been a public occasion, this broad paved patio might have been full of spectators – a space specially reserved for them, as Bendall (2004) has suggested – and these people may later have drunk or dined in celebration. The most direct path

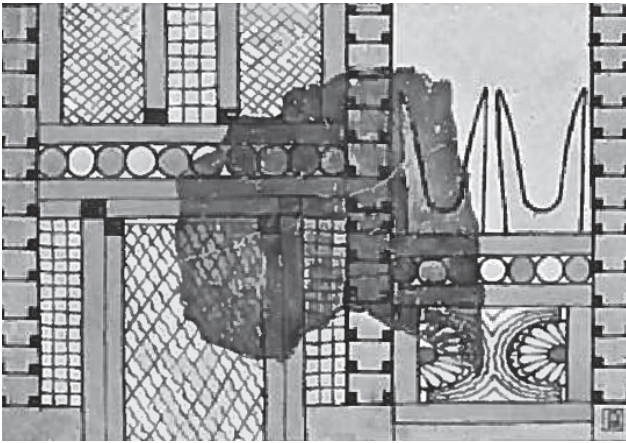


Fig. 8a. Tripartite shrine façade discovered in Pylos Court 3 near entrance to Megaron (after Lang 1969, pl. I).

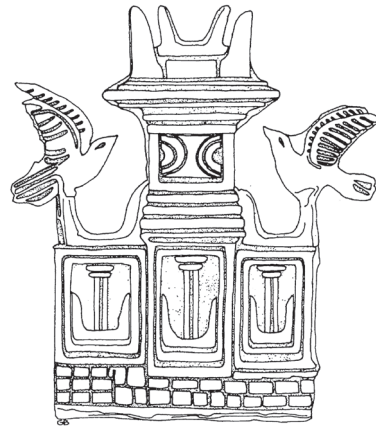


Fig. 8b. Tripartite shrine façade rendered in miniature ornament in bronze, showing birds alighting on each side, from Grave Circle A, Mycenae (after Shaw 1978, drawing by G. Bianco).

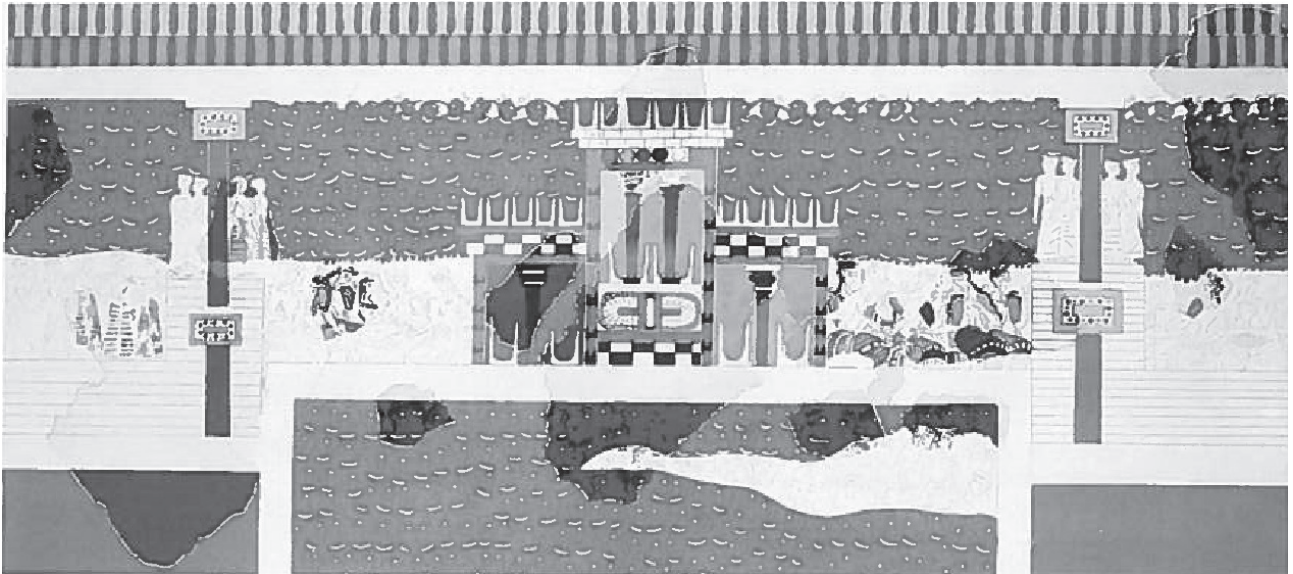


Fig. 8c. Tripartite shrine façade from the Grandstand Fresco at Knossos (MM III B/LM I A) (after Morgan 2005, pl. 10).

to the Main Building would have taken the party along the south-east wall of the outer chamber of the Archives Complex, Room 7, before it turned abruptly into the Inner Propylon (1). There, if not before, the stucco under foot would have taken a blue-grey tint (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 56). The party would have joined a procession of life-size men in long robes, their faces somewhat above average eye level – a permanent party of celebrants, unlike those temporarily visiting – represented in fresco on the walls flanking and adjacent to the entryway (Lang 1969, 190). To the left, as the visitors faced the door, was the entry to Room 7, where records were inscribed before being stored in Room 8 (Palaima 1988, 171-189; Pluta 1996-1997). It seems likely, given the records of donations in gold (PY Jo 438) and *qe-te-jo* tribute (PY Un 138, Fr 1206, -1241), that their presence and any gifts or offerings they might have brought would be registered here. The party then would have turned to the right to be greeted, before reaching the doorway, by the occupant of the first throne. The gap – or, more probably, embedded plinth (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 57) – may deliberately have been so situated, so as to intercept any party as it came from the Archives Complex, in contrast with the placement of the other thrones, which were situated to the right of the doorway as one entered. (Stone was robbed

from the southern and south-western parts of the ruins in later times, and the flat stone fitted in these sunken spaces would have been desired for exact masonry; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 45, 92-100, 218, 229, 270). Here a libation or thank-offering might have been poured from the ewer and bowl, as symbolic reciprocity for any donation made in Room 7, or, perhaps more likely given the equipment, a drink was shared from a common *p^hielā*, occasionally one that had some 20 silver-and-niello men's profiles on it, representing their special sodality.

The heavy bronze and timber doorway between the Outer and Inner Propylon (1-2) would have been opened inward for the occasion (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 59), and perhaps it was opened ceremoniously as the party approached. Inside the entry, the fresco scenery changed dramatically. While the floor remained blue-grey, above the dado and a frieze of repeating nautili, were alternating panels of scenes of human communication, human habitation, domestication, and wilderness: women sitting facing each other, one handing a small object to the other; palatial façades surmounted by pairs of lions or sphinxes; horses in pairs; and deer, also often in pairs (Lang 1969, 191). The impression, had the party the time to take it in, was of coming to the epicentre of a well organised 'outside' – one possibly meant to be admired more as one departed. The eyes of the procession would eventually have been directed toward the porch of the Megaron, where the perpetual painted parade resumed, and where, depicted on the porch's entablature or above the entry to the antechamber, was the classic tripartite façade of a Bronze Age Cretan, or 'Minoan', shrine, with the characteristic 'horns of consecration' forming a crenellation (Fig. 8a-c; see Shaw 1978). As the party traversed Court 3 toward the Megaron, it might have seen to its right human figures surrounding a large winged griffin in the shadow of Stoa 44 (a north-eastern portico; Lang 1969, 207), where the ancient processional way from Tholos IV issued into what was once a Minoan-style inner court (Kilian 1987a; Nelson 2001).

As the party entered the Megaron proper, it would have noticed how the floor had changed to a stucco quilt-work of wavy, rippling, squamous, and zigzag patterns (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 69-70). Closer to eye level, it would have beheld two tiers of persons, men and women painted on the walls, smaller than life-size and proceeding with baskets, jugs, pyxides, and other small objects in their hands toward the interior (Fig. 9). Indeed, they were of two different sizes, as though some were closer and others farther away (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 75; Lang 1969, 192-193; McCallum 1987, 77-87). The impression given, in contrast with the single-file procession of life-size men in the Outer Propylon, would be that of several streams of people from the surrounding painted 'outside' making their way, with great pomp, into the Megaron.

Between Room 4 and Room 5, as both the actual and figural procession passed beneath the tripartite shrine façade, it would again have encountered someone occupying a throne, and another libation might have been poured in thanksgiving or drink shared in hospitality. The archaeological excavators thought that the doorways of the Megaron may have been closed with tapestry, since no pivot shoes or holes were found beside the jambs. Thus the curtain might have been raised on each new scene as the party crossed a threshold. Passing into the antechamber, a magnificent over-size – or, alternatively, foregrounded – bull would have been revealed to have joined the throng, and to the right of the final threshold, the party would have repeated the libation ritual one last time with the enthroned figure on the raised plinth – here, as elsewhere, presumably performed with prayers specific to its dedicands.

PART II. CEREMONY AND CELEBRATION IN THE ROOM OF THE THRONES

THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS

The hearth room (6) is the culmination of the solemn procession through the Megaron and the nexus of this and the multitude of other symbolic motifs already perceived (Fig. 10). The robed men, if not also the flouncy-dressed women, of the procession are standing, spread out along the near wall (Lang 1969, 195; McCallum 1987, 103). On the adjacent wall to the right, up until the gap in the floor for the throne, some of the men in the party, at least, appear to have sat down opposite one another on lightly constructed stools at small tables, where they are toasting each other (Lang 1969, 194-195; McCallum 1987, 94-97, pl. IX), in a manner resembling the scene in the somewhat older Campstool Fresco of Knossos (Hood 2005, 61-61; Immerwahr 1990, 95-96; Lenuzza 2012).

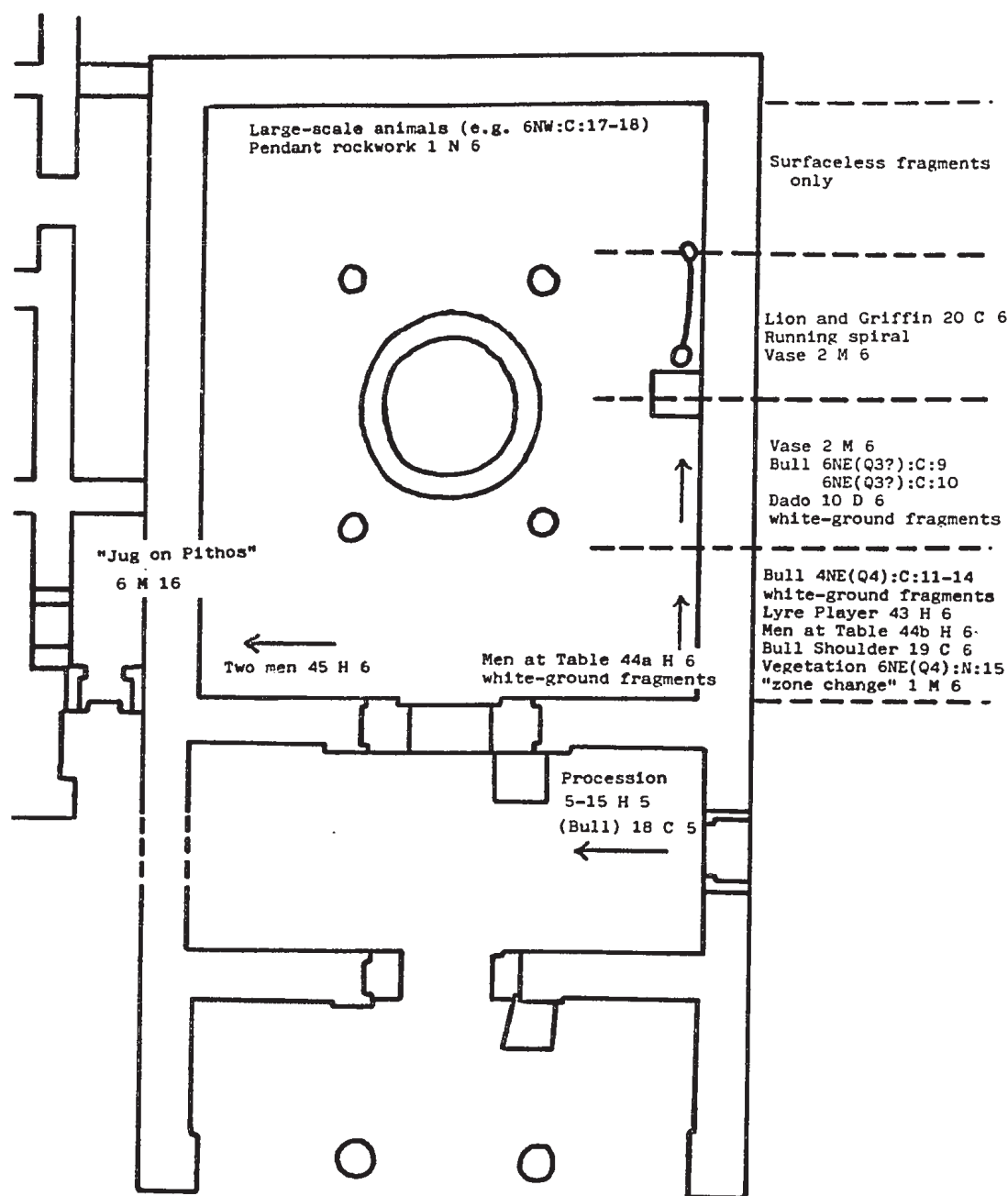


Fig. 9. Plan of Pylos Megaron procession fresco (after McCallum 1987, pl. VII).

These juxtaposed men appear to be the interior counterpart of the pairs of interacting women depicted in the Outer Propylon. Above the men, on a rock outcropping and at a larger scale (or again foregrounded) is a lyre-player, away from whom a mythical crested bird flies (Fig. 11; Lang 1969, 194; McCallum 1987, 94-97, pl. X). Somewhere along the same section of wall, one bull or ox, or more, not necessarily including that seen in the antechamber, may have been trussed for sacrifice. A single bull trussed for sacrifice is reconstructed (see Lang 1969, 194-195; McCallum 1987, 94-97). Davis *et al.* (2005, § 5.1.1) report evidence of the painted remains of several bulls, some belonging to Room 6, others possibly not.

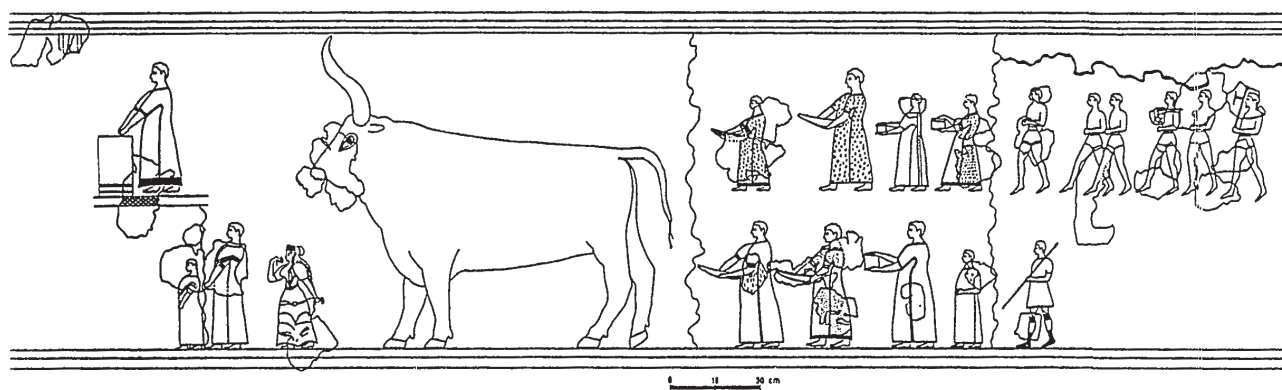


Fig. 10. Elevation of Pylos Megaron procession fresco (Room 5) (after McCallum 1987, pl. VIIIa).

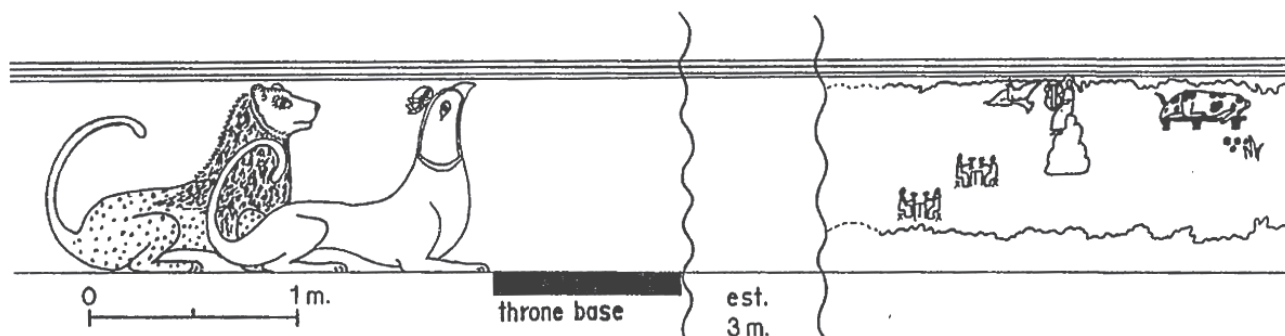


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of fresco on northeast wall of Pylos Room 6 (after McCallum 1987, pl. IX).

Although it may disappoint one's expectations of bilateral symmetry, it appears that a wingless griffin and, behind it, a lion couchant can be reconstructed on only the far side of the throne's space, to the left as one faces it (McCallum 1987, 97-101, pl. IX). This asymmetry may emphasise how the animals lie tamed at the right hand of the throne's occupant, nearly spanning the interval between the cupules at each end of the libation channel. Either above the throne or immediately to its right was painted a vessel looking like the Ta set's *qe-ra-na* ewer (Fig. 12; Lang 1969, 195, pl. 108, 141 [2 M 6]), strengthening the connection of this shape with the *p^hielā* libation bowl. The least elaborate of the five thrones, that with the non-descript ivory 'shoulder-pieces', could have stood (*t^hnānus*-less?) at the far end of the libation channel, three quarters of the way along the same wall (halfway between the throne emplacement and the north corner). Its backdrop would be strikingly different from that on the opposite side of the main throne. The mural is full of rocky crags and wild animals, and it may continue on the opposite wall (Lang 1969, 195-196; McCallum 1987, 106-107), where the depiction of a large storage jar may separate it from the aforementioned assembled crowd to the left of the door as one enters the Main Room (McCallum 1987, 104-105). The rocky landscape may have comprised a hunting scene, as may have adorned the Megaron at Tiryns at one time (Immerwahr 1990, 129-130; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 96-137), but in any case, it is unlike the sociality and domestication in the drinking and feasting scene that is its counterpoint, and it finds its reflection in the depiction on the panels in the Outer Propylon that juxtapose pairs of wild animals to pairs of tamed animals. The main throne, the most elaborate of the five, placed against the middle of the north-east wall would therefore sit at the point separating the wild from the domestic, flanked on the side of the wild by the tame griffin and lion. The lesser throne at the opposite end of the libation channel from major throne, farther to its occupant's right, extends into the wild. The main throne is the fulcrum of symbolic opposites (cf. Thaler 2009).

Had the ceremony taken place at Tiryns, the party would have observed that the floor panels, at least on the perimeter of the hearth room, outside the four columns, consisted of alternating octopuses and addorsed dolphins

(Fig. 3; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 222-237, pls. XIX, XXI), whereas at Pylos, the only distinctively marine motif is the singular – but therefore potentially significant – octopus in the panel in front of the main throne emplacement (Fig. 4; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 84). It should be remembered that the final floor design in the Megaron at Pylos may have been hastily executed, and it may well disguise an earlier, more exactly laid out and elaborate marine pattern (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 83; cf. Egan 2014; Egan, Brecoulaki 2015). Marine designs are common in other parts of Ano Englianos, especially around the Queen's Megaron (the smaller hearth room in the Main Building), and they include single octopuses, and pairs of fishes and dolphins (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 212, 214, pls. 163-167). The excavators indicated a previous floor pattern of marine motifs where they observed a pair of fish, like those found elsewhere on the palace's floors, which they attribute to an earlier phase of the Megaron's Portico (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 70).

There are suggestions of stage directions written on the floor of the Main Room (6) at Pylos, in the form of incised outlines in and around groups of rectangular panels (Fig. 4; Blegen, Rawson 1966, 84-85). A joined pair of such squares was found against the south-west wall, opposite the main throne, and one may wonder productively whether the change in mural motifs occurred above it. There is also a staggered pattern of them, whose exact purpose is difficult to ascertain, between a line from the doorway to the hearth and the eastern corner of the throne room. Whatever the case, the pattern appears not to be random, and it is certainly not evenly distributed (Egan 2015).

The remaining furniture recorded in the Ta set can be distributed around the Main Room. Contrary to some common interpretations, there is no good reason to suppose that *torpe^dzai* 'tables' described as *we-pe-za* and *e-ne-wo-pe-za* have six and nine legs respectively (Aura Jorro 1999a, 219-220; 1999b, 420). It appears the men toasting each other in the Megaron fresco sit at three-legged tables (cf. Late Cycladic I example, Dumas 1983, 116-117, fig. 18, pl. 84). However, no multiples of this number of legs are depicted anywhere in the Aegean (Higgins 1956). Questions of geometry aside, the description would be redundant, since *torpe^dza* is short for *k^w(e)torpe^dza* "four-footed", as the scribes may have been aware – or more accurately, "having four levellers" (on other Mycenaean reflexes of *ped-*, see Aura Jorro 1999b, 95; Palmer 1963, 443) – and the scribes' style is generally parsimonious. The Ta set also includes the term *pedwessa* "complete with level base" (= alphabetic Greek *pedoessa*). Hence the terms *we-pe-za* and *e-ne-wo-pe-za* are likely adjectives *hwe(k)spe^dzā* and *enewo-pe^dzā* "of six feet" and "of nine feet" in *level* length, respectively, modifying *torpe^dza*, and equivalent to Attic Greek *tripedos*, *tetrapedos*, *pentapedos*, *hekatompedos*, etc. (cf. *pe^dzos* "on foot, walking", *ape^dzos* "footless"). Hence we can plausibly imagine 11 tables – or 12, if their number matches that of the "benches" (*t^rrānues*) – either six or nine feet long, making up at least 60 linear feet of surface. These could be arranged to fit along one or more walls of the hearth room, which is just short of 50 feet interior dimension. Pairs of them might share a beaker (there being six of these), and it might be that the three pithoi recorded are shared among groups of four tables. Although this hypothetical arrangement does not resemble that of the pairs of men sitting at small tables in the Megaron fresco, the latter is a painting of an idealised outdoor scene, perhaps more akin to what might have taken place in the open courtyards (e.g. Courts 58 and 63).

The set of fire-tending tools would presumably have been distributed in and around the central hearth. That the so-called hearth shows no evidence of *direct* intense burning (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 85-87) suggests strongly that it was the platform below the chimney for portable braziers. These could have been blown or knocked over despite precautions, and so it would have been desirable to have something onto which they could spill without

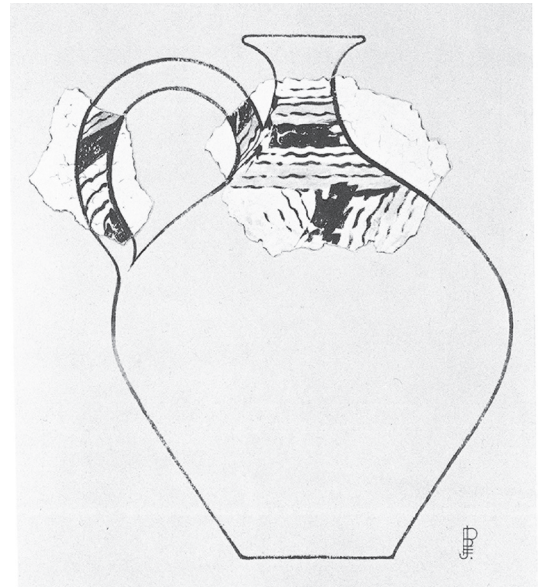


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of 'stone jar' (*qe-ra-na?*) beside Pylos throne (after Lang 1969, pl. 141).

doing great damage. If the room was well sealed, they could have provided considerable heat, should it have been desired, and the flickering light would have made the figures in the surrounding walls appear to be animated. Moreover, the pair of braziers recorded, lighted with a single lighter and tended with a single poker, seems to parallel the aforementioned pair of thrones in the Main Room and their matching pairs of accoutrements, as though there was a direct connection between joint enthronement and kindling and maintenance of the fires. Indeed, it seems that the thrones are physically connected through two *psalō amp^hit^horniō* ‘chains around’ or ‘rings between the throne(s)’, of which one can imagine a limited number of arrangements, and each could be equipped with its own dagger or short sword and double-axe.

THE CREATION OF MEANING IN THE INTEREST OF POWER

The investiture of the *dāmokoros* could well have been performed with the following symbolism (see Table 4). In the Propylon, one is met by someone on a throne with golden bird figures on its shoulders, who bears a ewer of ‘charioteer style’ (Aura Jorro 1999a, 60-61) and a libation bowl with a spiral design. The bird shapes – like the birds depicted in Minoan epiphany scenes, beside tripartite shrine façades (Fig. 8c), as akroteria of sarcophagi, accompanying Minoan women, and flitting away from the lyre player in the Pylian Megaron – may indicate communication with the eternal or divine (Long 1974), and hence that one is entering a sacred space, while the ‘charioteer’ motif, whatever its exact form, could indicate protection by elite warriors. This particular throne need not be the first in sequence, but there is some logic to its being so. The next two thrones, in the portico and antechamber of the Megaron, would each be occupied by a person bearing a bowl with spiral pattern and a ewer appropriate to the attendant of a *wanassa* “queen” (*wanassēwiā*; see Shelmerdine 2012, 693, pl. CLVIIIc). Both ewers have the design of a bucranium (*g^woukras*, “bucephalum” better) on them. On one, this is accompanied by ‘molluscan’ designs, and on the other, it is accompanied by female human figures (*gunaia* “womannikins”). The distinction seems to be borne out in the throne sets, because, although both have ivory *se-re-mo*-heads on the ‘shoulder-pieces’ – probably sphinxes, but in either case a powerful female symbol or creature known to accompany Minoan goddesses, or both (Immerwahr 1990, 61-62, 96-98, 137, 167; Morgan 2005, pl. 157; Niemeier 1988; Rehak 1994) – one is also decorated with a man and a heifer (a bucolic scene), while the *t^hrānus* of the other is decorated with male figures and lions (a hunting scene). The latter is especially closely associated with masculine endeavours in Mycenaean Greece (Wright 1995; 2004b; 2008, 242-243).

Feminine / Potnia / ?Wanassa	Masculine / Poseidon / Wanax	Media
<i>Wanassēwiā</i>	(H) <i>armotēwiā</i>	Vessel
?Bucephalum (<i>g^woukras</i>)	Mollusc shell (<i>ko-ki-re-ja</i>)	Vessel
	Nautilus	Mural painting
	Bull	Mural painting
	Deer	Mural painting
Sphinx		Mural painting
Griffin	Lion	Mural painting
<i>Se-re-mo-</i>		Furniture
?P ^h oinix (griffin, palm?)		Furniture
	Seawater / waves	Furniture
Heifer		Furniture
	Human figure (<i>ant^hrōk^wos</i>)	Furniture
	<i>So-we-no</i>	Furniture
	?Horse	Furniture / Mural painting
Woman figure	Man Figures	Furniture / Mural painting
	Cephalopod (<i>polupōs</i>)	Furniture / Floor painting
	Spiral	Furniture / Vessel

Table 4. Table of symbolic oppositions and homologies.

The ready inference is that these latter two enthroned figures represent the “two queens” (dative *wanassoīin*) of the Pylian Fr- perfumed oil series (in which the scribe of the Ta set has a hand), who receive dispensations alongside the *wanax* and Poseidon, and who are closely contextually connected with each other. In fact, the Fr series is the only other place in which the adjective *wanassēwiā* is used, qualifying oil or anointed cloth (presumably for the “queens” *attendants*). Here the ‘two queens’ are juxtaposed with Potnia ‘Mistress’ of various epithets, and so it may be presumed that they are at least representatives of one or more *potniai* ‘mistresses’ and are legally or religiously married to the *wanax*. This may have been an actual marriage with political ramifications or a sacred one, perhaps staged for worshippers or initiands. The reference to a celebration called *re-ke-(e-)to-ro-te-ri-jo lekʰesstrotērion* ‘spreading of the bed’ at Pylos (PY Fr 343, 1217) is suggestive of a ritual “sacred marriage” (Greek *hieros gamos*; see Aura Jorro 1999b, 237-238; Palmer 1963, 251, 462; see also Koehl 2001; Marinatos 1993, 188-192). It is therefore likely that *women* occupied the second and third thrones en route to the hearth room, and this placement would be consistent with the overwhelming majority of enthroned figures in mural and glyptic art in the Bronze Age Aegean (Marinatos 1993; Rehak 1995) – one of several religious motifs that it is widely accepted the mainlanders adopted from Minoan Crete, although explanations of *why* vary. Through these personages, then, one would be reminded of the aspects of the divine that attended to this place – the house of the *wanax* and the queens, the home of Potnia and Poseidon – to all of whom proper obeisance was due. That a giant bull – long a Minoan religious symbol (Hallager, Hallager 1995; Lupack 2010; Marinatos 1993, 64, 68-69, 167; Rehak 1995; Younger 1995), but also associated with Poseidon at Pylos (*Od.* 3.1-68) – joins the procession in the Megaron’s Vestibule seems quite apposite to the enthroned persons bracketing it whose ewers are decorated with bucephala and, in one case, sea shells.

Once inside Room 6, one’s eyes would have been drawn to the large central hearth, whether any fire was blazing there or not. Indeed, one would not have perceived the main throne right away, or even the conjectured secondary one, because of the column intervening between the entryway and their position. However, if one turned around the hearth in either direction, or simply walked up to it and looked right, one would be left in little serious doubt of the symbolism embodied in the major throne. Its shoulders were decorated with golden male figures and (feminine) *se-re-mo*-heads, as well as gold and cyanus *pʰoinikes* ‘palms’ (or ‘griffins?’), and its *tʰrānus* was decorated with cyanus, gold, and precious stone, including particularly what may be golden rope-work. It thus incorporates most of the symbols seen already on the other thrones and elsewhere, and it binds together the rest through its placement (see Table 4). To the right of the occupant, presumably the *wanax*, sit the docile griffin of the goddess and lion of the *wanax* (perhaps of Poseidon too, by extension). To his left is the scene of music and feasting where bulls (if not *the* bull) are to be sacrificed. All around is the land, both wild and civilised (with him sitting at the juncture of the two), and at his feet is the sea. Linked in some fashion to his throne is the lesser throne, possibly extending his reach into the untamed lands. Both he and the occupant of the other throne – presumably Augēwās, the initiand *dāmokoros*, governor of the cultivated *dāmos* lands and their communities (Carlier 1984, 98-99; Lejeune 1965) – may together have offered burnt sacrifice in the braziers, extending their symbolic reach into the firmament. One can imagine how the ceiling may have been decorated in a complementary fashion, although only unsurfaced fragments of plaster are surviving; the ceilings of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae and the contemporary and nearly identical Treasury of Minyas in Boeotian Orchomenos both bear traces of nail-fastened bronze rosettes, which would have shimmered in torch light (Mylonas 1957, 86; Wace 1964, 32; Schuchhardt 1979 [1891], 146-147, 301-302). Each man may be attributed a double-axe, symbol of the ancient Minoan tradition (Nikolaïdou 1994; Marinatos 1993, 5, 94-95, 145; Haysom 2010), and a “(short) sword”, or *kʷsiphos*, symbol of the Mycenaean warrior tradition. Augēwās is thus wed to both traditions, to serve and protect them.

After making their combined sacrifices, one of them, perhaps Augēwās, as a sign of both service to the *wanax* and commitment to the brethren who had accompanied him, took the single ladle and served the special accompaniment to the meat portions from one of the serving vessels into each of the six cups, one for each of half the tables present; or perhaps the *wanax* took his turn, serving the other six tables from the second *pʰaktā* container, the persons at these tables having brought their own cups or plates. The division of the party into two such groups could

be reflected in the decoration of the corresponding benches: six of them have an *audos* decorated with *so-we-no* (and probably also spirals), and three of them are decorated with “nuts” (*karues*); the remaining two recorded (of three intended?) appear to be special – one being decorated with lions’ heads and *so-we-no*, the other having a plethora of human, horse, cephalopod, and *p^hoinix* figures. One may imagine, given the discussion above, what would have decorated any sixth bench: women, *se-re-mo* or *p^hoinikes*, and perhaps heifers and *so-we-no*.

Other than Augēwās and the *wanax*, the ‘knowledgeable agents’ in the room would be the witnesses at the tables. (If the weather had been right, the feast could have been held outside in Court 3, comfortable but still intimate, but for simplicity’s sake we assume that the ceremony and subsequent celebration took place inside the same space.) There being just one bench per table, it is obvious to envision them in pairs and organised so that the party faced the centre of the room or the conjoined thrones. The incisions in the stucco of the floor panels may have provided some guidance for positioning some of the persons, furniture, or vessels (Egan 2015). Besides witnessing the symbolic investiture of Augēwās, the invitees would have partaken in the feast. Their meat portions were perhaps warmed in the tripod cauldrons, of which there is one for every two tables, and the drink (drawn from a pithos?) shared among them with beakers, of which there are also just six (three with three handles, two with four, and one with none, suggesting that some individuals brought their own drinking vessels). One might compare this passage from the Rig Veda 1.162.13 (*The Sacrifice of the Horse*): “The testing fork for the cauldron that cooks the flesh, the pots for pouring broth, the cover of the bowls to keep it warm, the hooks, the dishes – all these attend the horse” (Doniger 1981, 91). Even within this elite group, shared identity and distinction would have been negotiated through artefacts and food.

Of course, it is harder to determine the identities of the participants by title or name, other than those specified in the Ta set’s heading. If the *dāmokoros* oversaw the work of the *ko-re-te-re* ‘superintendents’ (Aura Jorro 1999a, 380–381) of each of the 16 major communities of the Near and Far Province of Pylos, as seems likely, then these and their deputies (*po-ro-ko-re-te-re*), such as are listed in Pylian bronze contributions text Jn 829, could constitute a core group of about 32, to which we may add three of the enthroned persons (if not also Augēwās and the *wanax*), bringing the number closer to 40. Twenty-three persons, including Augēwās, are given in the extant lines of PY Jo 438, which concerns gold contributions, and among them are *ko-re-te-re*, *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, *qa-si-re-we* (*g^wasilēwes* = later *basileis* “princes”), and *morok^wans* ‘shareholders’ (Aura Jorro 1999a, 458–459), a few from places other than “The Sixteen”. In any case, the tables recorded in the Ta set could easily have accommodated a party of this size, at least 32 persons if each was given a foot of room to her or his left and right. Evans (1935, 935) and, more recently, Marinatos (2010, 50) have remarked that the benches on the periphery of the LM IIB Throne Room at Knossos could have accommodated about 30 persons.

THE OUTCOME OF GOING OUT

The deeply situated Megaron is an appropriate venue for an intimate ceremony, and intimacy would have been appropriate to investiture for two reasons: first, because the authority that was to be granted and bonds that were to be renewed were exclusive to the group present – elite *sensu stricto* – and second, because the authority of the *wanax* in particular was derived from the mystery surrounding him, by the *mediacy* of the source of his power through the investiture and granting of privileges to his retainers (see *e.g.* Evans-Pritchard 2014 [1948]; Southall 1988). In the Megaron, the party would have seen the *wanax* at the pivot point of secular and divine power and understood the place of each and all of its members in relation to him through the building’s politico-religious microcosm (on the relationship between Room 6 and Hall 64 in terms of the implied sanctions against violating the social and cosmological order, see Bennet 2007). Noteworthy is how this particular microcosm appears literally and figuratively to be male-dominated, but is nonetheless not lacking in significant female presence. It is its own, indigenous theoretical domain.

Leaving the Megaron, the newly appointed *dāmokoros* and companions would have been reminded once more of the order that emanated from this place: the alternating panels of neatly executed pairs of deer, horses,

lions, and sphinxes atop shrine or palace entrances, and, not least, women sharing gifts. The recessional party would also have been responsible for promulgating the symbolic and legitimating order, often in subtle ways. Augēwās might have emerged to select audiences of notables or persons of certain social classes gathered in the adjacent courtyards, bearing the symbols of his new office – symbols only the *wanax* could have conferred. The *wanax* himself may have appeared, to confirm Augēwās' new entitlement, as well as to display his unique sumptuary rights to the crowd. Augēwās and the *wanax* would thereby have reinforced their respective embodied and literally invested personhood, and the former, with his new tools and symbols, would have been surrogate for the *wanax* as tamer and cultivator. This would not preclude the *wanax* from representing himself. Joseph Maran (2009) has cogently argued that the king's travels around the sacred and political landscape were at least as important as his holding court in any one place.

THE MEGARON AS A CLASS OF FIELD OF PRACTICES

Before considering further the *wanax*'s wider movements, as well as different, more routine activities in the palace at Pylos, we remind the reader that the preceding description of the investiture of the *dāmokoros* at Ano Englianios serves as an example of the kinds of knowledge, behaviour, and material cultural resources that constitute the Great Megaron as a class of field of practices. What is true at Pylos is true also at Mycenae and Tiryns, in terms of the spatial parameters of the tricameral building, as well as certain dimensions of the restricted approach; in terms of the continuous, multigenerational use and maintenance of the Megaron, as well as periodic or occasional special events and the regular cycles of practices there (including keeping the archives); in terms of the highly stereotypical and structured architectural and decorative programme; and finally, in terms of the material cultural furnishings of the constituent spaces. The subjects of the fresco programme of Mycenae's and Tiryns' Megaron are different from each other and from that at Pylos, but there is no reason to believe that they were any less symbolically structured. The hearth room of the penultimate Megaron at Tiryns contained the famous boar hunting scene and chariot groups (Immerwahr 1990, 129-130; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 96-137). Probably also belonging to this phase, but harder to place, is the procession of richly dressed women, similar to that observed in the LH IIIA2/IIIB1 Kadmeion of Thebes (Reusch 1956). The present investigators of Tiryns have found more fragments of this procession fresco, and they have argued that it belongs to the final Megaron complex (LH IIIB2). It would therefore be a parallel to the procession fresco in the final palace at Pylos (Maran, Papadimitriou, Thaler 2015). The chariot groups at Tiryns, of which there may have been six or more, depict unarmed, smiling pairs of persons (although sporting masculine tunics and hairstyle, identified as women on skin colour alone) standing on a diphros chariot drawn no faster than a trot (Immerwahr 1990, 129-130; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 96-103). That some groups appear to be oriented from left to right and others from right to left suggests that they originally appeared opposite each other on walls of some approach to the Megaron, constituting part of a procession. Their presumed juxtaposition with the much more violent boar hunt – involving dogs, spears, and a net – which also takes place against a wild, possibly wetland background (Immerwahr 1990, 130; Rodenwaldt 1976 [1912], 123-132), suggests that the throne at Tiryns was the fulcrum for the balance of opposites, just as at Pylos.

With two walls of the hearth room at Mycenae missing, including crucially that opposite the door and that which presumably was the backdrop of the throne's dais, it is impossible to know for certain if there are formal parallels to Pylos' Megaron. Yet here too are suggestions of a procession with a complex denouement around the throne. Fragments of adorned women bearing gifts exist (Immerwahr 1990, 117; Rodenwaldt 1921), and even the famous Siege Mural seems to consist of discrete episodes, with men harnessing horses and mounting chariots nearest the door (the destination of a procession?) and men assaulting (and falling from) walls farther along to the left as one enters (Rodenwaldt 1921, 30-45). Maran has made a prolonged argument for a special itinerary relationship between Mycenae and Tiryns (Maran 2009). Their respective fresco programmes, as well as their connection through depiction of chariots, may be peculiar to the kinds of rituals and ceremonies that took place at each:

Mycenae as the seat of the *wanax* as master of warfare (*inter alia*), and Tiryns as the seat of the *wanax* as receiver of visitors who have come from afar, and as master of the hunt and wild.

In this fashion, the differences not just in architectural organisation but also in symbolic elaboration distinguish the Megaron from ‘megaroid’ buildings at other sites of the same period too, even if the latter are ‘palatial’ insofar as they share some – *but not all* – architectural techniques, symbolic motifs, and metrology: for example, the ‘double melathron’ at Glas in the Kopais (LH IIIB; Iakovidis 2001, esp. 27–42, on the double melathron, and 138–141, on the murals) and the two ‘megara’ at Dimini in Magnesia (LH IIIA2–IIIB; Adrimi-Sismani 2004–2005, 2007; Hiesel 1989, 111–144; Pantou 2014).

The decentred social context of the Megaron just sketched out is compatible with Pylian record Un 2, by the chief scribe at Ano Englianos, Hand 1. It begins with the heading “at/to *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, upon the *wanax* being initiated, the overseer of supplies dispatched ...” (followed by a list of crops, plant products, and animals for a feast). Pylos text Tn 316 by Hand 44, a scribe who may be local to *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, given his graphic idiosyncrasies (see Palaima 1988, 108–110), affirms that the chief divinity of this place is Potnia (followed by apparently feminine *ma-na-sa* and *po-si-da-e-ja*, the latter either feminine Poseidon or a female attendant of Poseidon, and two lesser masculine personages), and suggests it is separate from the *po-si-da-i-jo* ‘shrine of Poseidon’ (whose dedicands on the recorded occasion appear also to be feminine for the most part). Further comparison of PY Tn 316 with PY Eq 36 (Hand 1) suggests that the *po-si-da-i-jo* and Potnia (if the reconstruction *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* on line 1 of the latter is correct) have their respective *wastu* ‘city’ (Lane 2016).

It seems then that the *wanax* visited the feminine pole of his axis of legitimacy on at least one occasion, a place possibly structured in parallel with the Main Building at Ano Englianos. We might conjecture that a partial inversion of the role played by the *wanax* during Augēwās’ investiture took place. The priestess of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, *E-ri-ta* of the Eb-Ep land holding series, would have presided, there also being a series of enthroned figures with suitable symbols at every threshold, some men and others women. We might expect a fresco programme including a procession of women, if not men too, bearing vessels, that terminates before the priestess, who is guarded by her goddess’s griffins, just as she may have appeared at Knossos. This is much like what Tn 316 records, where representatives of Pylos bear (*p^herei*) *dōra* ‘gifts of gold’ and silver bowls and kylikes and lead offerings-bearers (*porēnas-k^we agei*) at or to *Pa-ki-ja-ne* (on processions, see Weilhartner 2013), where the singular *porēn* means ‘offerings-bearer’ (on possible relationship with words concerning ‘offering’, as well as with *poreia* ‘journey, course; procession’, see Aura Jorro 1999b, 143; Beekes 2010, 1163–1164, 1222, 1223; Lane 2016). Looking out from any muralled court there may have been, one might have viewed a subtly different scene from the corresponding one at Pylos. Panels of palatial façades with pairs of sphinxes and lions might be expected, as might panels of men on ‘camp stools’ toasting each other, corresponding to the reciprocating women at Pylos. One might think again of the Camp Stool Fresco of Knossos, in which an enthroned woman presides, and women serve the drink (Hood 2005, 61–61; Marinatos 1993, 54–56). What we might expect to be missing is the marine motif floor and dado, intervention of the massive bull, and perhaps any scene of the wild, including hunting, if these are (as they appear elsewhere) exclusively masculine subjects. Except for the unique androgynous figure in Mycenae’s Cult Centre (Rehak 1992; 1999), women are not associated with swords of any fashion, let alone hunting and warfare. Hence the very act of initiating the *wanax* and completing his legitimacy at the home of Potnia *may* subtly have made possible, through the complementarity of symbolic resources, the real inequality of authority that allowed him to justify, as needed, a usually latent difference in power to enforce the social order. The priestess may have bestowed the double-axe on him, which he in turn could pass along with his own symbol, the sword, to his retainers, so that they might be seen both to cultivate *and* protect the land for himself *and* the priestess, Poseidon *and* Potnia. The ideological-political person of the *wanax* was not complete without the bequest of the priestess, but her continuing magnificence and expanding glorification depended on the *wanax*’s acts of patronage, even as he continued carving out dominion. The work of the women completed the *kosmos* ‘world-order’ of the men.

Cosmopoulos has recently (2015) identified a two-storey or three-storey building with three wings, surrounding a courtyard containing ritual paraphernalia, at Iklaina, five kilometres south-east of Pylos. It has yielded

fragments of fresco paintings, dating to LH IIB-III A1, of a naval scene and of women possibly in procession. May we be so lucky as to identify, in time, some such secondary centre with *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

In the meantime, the Megaron would have been the scene of other special events and routine practices. The former would have included the formal reception of foreign visitors, such as are represented in frescoes of the palace's penultimate phase and indicated by oil described as *xenwion* 'for a guest-gift' in text PY Fr 1223. It should be noted that our use of 'reception' of 'guests' in no way relaxes the concept of ritual practice in the Megaron. Those who took part in the investiture ceremony for Augēwās may have come away with actual vestments, such as the *geras* 'honour-gift' cloths recorded in the Pylos Qa series (Melena 2000-2001), just as the *wanax*'s 'companions' (*hek^wetai*) receive suitable *hek^wesia* cloths at Knossos (L- series) and (*h*)*armota* (chariots or wheels; Aura Jorro 1999a, 57-58) at the Northeast Building by Court 58 at Ano Englianos (Sa series). These garments and equipment would have contributed to the creation of their elite personhood.

THE QUOTIDIAN MEGARON

Room 6 at Pylos was discovered furnished with a terracotta 'offering table', covered with stucco, and two miniature ceramic kylikes, clustered between the westernmost column and the hearth (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 89). These humbler objects, along with others, such as the terracotta bull that could have fallen from the upper storey (Egan 2012a; 2012b), may have been used for quotidian rituals, keeping the place sacred to the gods; they have no obvious place in a procession or a royal audience. Room 46, the Queen's Megaron, could likewise have been used for the regular rituals of those who kept the palace up, as well as for private preparations for more public events. It contained more ceramic (rather than metal) than Room 6 did, including sherds of a jug, amphora, krater, and stirrup jar, and of conical cups and kylikes (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 202-203). It too possessed murals of hunting and a frieze of couchant lions and griffins (a "bold masculine spirit", according to Blegen, Rawson 1966, 202; see also Lang 1969, 208-211).

Periodic activities of more banal, less symbolically charged character – yet sharing some *nodes* with ritual pathways – would have included *P^{urkesg^wrins}*' inventory of furniture for Augēwās' assumption of office, his storing a version in Room 8 for some occasional or periodic inspector, including himself or someone like him at a distant time. He may even have copied it to a more perishable medium, complete with his promissory heading, for dispatch to some authority in a distant sphere, such as at *Pa-ki-ja-ne* or farther away. 'Scribe', rather than describing the whole of *P^{urkesg^wrins}*' existence, was one role of many that he played within the fields of practice of Ano Englianos and beyond, a role so minor that it did not merit a distinct title (see Deger-Jalkotzy 2008a; Nakassis 2013, 37-39; Nightingale 2008). It is something of an historical irony that writing, the theorist's tool par excellence, may very well have been ancillary to other modes of knowledge and power in Mycenaean Greece.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding tableau is conjecture. But it is informed conjecture, which makes of it a heuristic model. Like any heuristic device that has concrete foundations, it is susceptible to testing, revision, and further building of theories weaving material cultural particulars into social models. Even if it is wrong in some particulars, it is right in others, as well as in certain generalities. For example, we may be wrong about the placement of the five thrones – though we submit that selectively placed sentry stands are less likely – but we are correct about their specific decoration, and we are unlikely to be wrong about their pairings with a stool or even each other. There is a series of correlations of male figures with certain designs or symbols and female figures with others (see Table 4). The respective figures and motifs are also demonstrably opposed to each other or occasionally combined (in any case, balanced in some fashion). The symbolic programmes of the Megara are more similar to each other than they are to those of preserved non-Megaron programmes, processions of specially bedecked *porēnes* 'offerings-bearers' being a key feature, and the juxtaposition of elements is far from arbitrary (*i.e.* merely decorative). The peculiar design motifs and architectural

elements of the Megaron are also distinctly different from those of megaroid or other ‘palatial’ buildings, including the putative *Ur-Megaron* of Hall 64-65 at Pylos (or, alternatively, the ‘military-leader’ *lāwāgetās* megaron; see Lang 1969, 214; Pontani 1998; Younger 2005) which curiously has a 5-cm deep depression for a ‘sentry stand’ on the disadvantageous north-west side of the entrance. This holds true whether one thinks the similarities are due to peer-polity interaction or some other, possibly direct intervention (*e.g.* Kelder 2010, on an expansive Kingdom of Mycenae; Wright 2006, on the formation of the Mycenaean palaces through peer-polity interaction; discussion in Petrakis 2009). Inhabitation of the space by knowledgeable actors is logically entailed, and it is an unavoidable issue in the presence of persons named in the records. If the *wanax* is to be imagined in the palace, then, for purposes of discovery, so is everyone else.

To fail to recognise that the Megaron is a specific, negotiable, permeable field of practices – not a symbol or index, nor a metaphorical helm of governance – is to fail to understand the nature of political power in the Mycenaean era. This power cannot be reduced to the immanent strength, wit, or charisma of the ruler. Neither can it be reduced to the self-evident right or might of his kin or faction, nor to oft-touted abstract “manipulation of religious symbols” (De Marrais, Castillo, Earle 1996; Earle 1987; 1990; 1997; 2011; Shelmerdine 2007, 42; Wright 2004b, 70-73; 2008, 237, 249, 252; on counter-factionalism, Brumfiel 1989), as if ideological justification amounted to obfuscation of intentions or ‘false consciousness’ of the ruled (see Miller, Rowlands, and Tilley 1989, especially the contributions by Brumfiel, Gunawardana, and Miller). Nor can it be reduced to bureaucracy. Legitimacy of actual inequality of means – if it is not simply blind oppression followed by massive, if futile, resistance – entails balancing sameness against difference, commonality against potential for sharing in the new and exotic (Claessen 1979). These discourses are complicated when a foreign tradition is co-opted, as distinct from a pre-existing local tradition becoming amplified or somehow the exclusive province of a few (Kempf 1994; Shaw, Stewart 1994; Stewart 1999; Bastide 2004; Droogers 2004; Wolpert 2004; Palmié 2006). No one doubts that co-optation of elite practices is true of relations between the Mycenaean mainland and the Minoan Aegean.

The elaboration of the Megaron as a field of practices, not to mention its further archaeological exploration in such terms, does not simply inventory the tools of political power in Mycenaean Greece, nor is the scenario described above just one of ‘patron-role’ feasting by another name (Dietler 2001, 82-85; Wright 2004a, 13-17). In the latter case, it not only sets the stage for a specially segregated ritual affair, which may or may not have been integrated with more public feasting, but it also does not assume the automatic efficacy of the ideological practice of feasting. In the former case, the model of the Megaron as a field of practices provides archaeologists with the resources they need to explain the *transformation* of Mycenaean society (*q.v.* on the contingent, non-palace households in Peru, see Hastorf, D’Altroy 2001; on the palace’s vested interest in land and animals in the Aegean, see Halstead 1998-1999; 1999; 2001; 2007). As in religious hierarchies, the investiture of Augēwās and initiation of the *wanax* had both esoteric and exoteric aspects. In some measure, what transpired was meant for common consumption, albeit mediated through a series of specially authorised persons, the very keepers of the rites. The rituals must have drawn on a common idiom to be communicable at all: at some level, the audience must have recognised those engaging with them as their people, the beliefs expressed as their beliefs, and the gods named as their gods (Ayabe 1976, 385-386; Loeb 1929; Webster 1932). We see a plethora of ranked gods in the Linear B texts, and this surely overlapped with the pantheon of popular cult. However – and this is what distinguishes our model from one of top-down political and ideological control – precisely because the ceremonies were exclusive and meant to concentrate power and focus it in certain directions, there was no guarantee that their message would be properly understood or even well received, especially as far as effecting certain behaviour was concerned. For example, as Bendall has framed the issue, at local feasts, even those the palace sponsored, one would have found people ‘aping their betters’ in an ineloquent attempt to reproduce what took place in the palace (Bendall 2004, 126-128; see also Shelmerdine 2008b). Imagination would have filled gaps in specialized symbolic and ritual knowledge, and without specific guidance of palatial authorities, would have led to heretical interpretations. Furthermore, we should not suppose that most people lived according to the norms and mores of the elites represented – nor that most people would have thought it proper to live as they did.

Although much has been made of the disappearance of certain institutions between the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age – the *wanax* and his *hek^wetai*, a prominent Mistress (at least in the Olympian pantheon), administration employing the Linear B script (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008b, 403-405; Kilian 1988; Morpurgo-Davies 1979) – the so-called Dark Age is not to be measured simply in absences. The chronological transition is also a period of structural transformation. This is the era of the rise and changing role of the *basileus* (*qa-si-re-u*), of the introduction or re-emergence of radically different wealthy burial practices (e.g. cremation), of the ascendancy of young Zeus, a lesser recipient on Tn 316, over older Poseidon, chief among the recipients of offerings at Pylos and Knossos (see De Fidio 2001; Deger-Jalkotzy 1996; 2008b, 398-399). Where we find evidence of perseverance in the old ways, such as in Building T inside the foundations of Tiryns' Megaron (Maran 2001a) or in the pseudo-Linear B inscriptions from Asine and Deiras (Deshayes 1956, 362-363, fig. 4; Evans 1935, 755-758, figs. 739-740; Raison 1968, 227-229, pls. 188-189), all dated to some point in the LH IIIC, the results are not just diminished in number or size and in elaboration, but they are symbolic and communicative shadows of their former selves too. It is as if lay teachers had been left to rebuild a cathedral with neither the guidance nor the money of the Mother Church.

Finally, we return to our model of performance in a symbolically structured space. We do not take our stance in order to militate about good theory versus bad theory, granted there are theories of greater or lesser probability, or about what should and should not, can or cannot be theorised. Rather we remark that any theoretical stance that assumes that archaeology is quantitative and universalizing or it is nothing (on general terms of debate, see Hart *et al.* 1996) perpetuates a top-down model of Mycenaean society, in which the single unifying political principle most often is explicitly or implicitly a masculine agent, described in one dimension or more (male sex, warrior-hunter personhood, patrilineal clan, etc.; Wright 1995; 2004b; 2008; Voutsaki 2010a; 2010b; see critique in Pauketat 2007, 7-30). It is easy for the individual theorist to adopt this dominant, privileged position. Yet the specialists provide the theorist with details that are not just differentiae within some essential structure but rather are crucial to reconstructing the subtleties of social power and legitimate authority, even inside the privileged circles of Mycenaean elites. Our stance is rather that archaeology as anthropology should be both qualitative and quantitative. It should also respect diversity of agency. It should be generalizing, while recognizing the incommensurability of different forms of knowledge of and in society. It should not nor need not be stereotyping or totalising. That is, it can be magisterial without being imperial.

APPENDIX

The Pylos Ta series, as arranged by type of furnishing by Ruijgh (1962), starts with the performative heading *Hō(s) wide P^burkes^wrins hotewanax t^bēke Augēwān dāmokoron* “How [or Thus] Ph. saw [the following] when the *wanax* appointed Augewas as *dāmokoros*” and proceeds through the account of vessels, tables, and thrones. Dot subscripts have been omitted from the transliteration.

Ta 711

- .1 o-wi-de , pu₂-ke-qi-ri , o-te , wa-na-ka , te-ke , au-ke-wa , da-mo-ko-ro
 .2 qe-ra-na , wa-na-se-wi-ja , qo-u-ka-ra- , ko-ki-re-ja , *204^{VAS} 1 qe-ra-na , a-mo-te-wi-ja , ko-ro-no-we-sa
 .3 qe-ra-na , wa-na-se-wi-ja , ku-na-ja , qo-u-ka-ra , to-qi-de-we-sa *204^{VAS}

Ta 709

- .1 pi-je-ra₂ , to-qi-de-ja *200^{VAS} 3 pa-ko-to a-pe-te-me-ne *214^{VAS} 2 po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja *228^{VAS} 1 ko-te-ri-ja 6
 a sa-qe 1
 .2b au-te 1 pu-ra-u-to-ro 2 qa-ra-to-ro 1 e-ka-ra , a-pi-qo-to , pe-de-we-sa 1 e-ka-ra , i-to-we-sa , pe-de-we-sa , so-we-ne-ja , au-de-we-
 .3 ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , *34-ke-u *201^{VAS} 1 ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u *201^{VAS} 1

Ta 641

- a , ke-re-a₂ , *201^{VAS} [
 .1b ti-ri-po-de , a₃-ke-u , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke *201^{VAS} 2 ti-ri-po , e-me , po-de , o-wo-we *201^{VAS} 1 ti-ri-po , ke-re-si-jo , we-ke , a-pu ,
 ke-ka-u-me-no[

- .2 qe-to *203^{VAS} 3 di-pa , me-zo-e , qe-to-ro-we *202^{VAS} 1 di-pa-e , me-zo-e , ti-ri-o-we-e *202^{VAS} 2 di-pa , me-wi-jo , qe-to-ro-we *202^{VAS} 1[
 .3 di-pa , me-wi-jo , ti-ri-jo-we *202^{VAS} 1 di-pa , me-wi-jo , a-no-we *202^{VAS} 1

Ta 642

- .1 to-pe-za , ra-e-ja , we-a-re-ja , a-ja-me-na , a₂-ro[]u-do-pi, ku-wa-no-qe , pa-ra-ke-we-qe[]e-ne-wo , pe-[
 .2 to-pe-za ,ra-e-ja , me-no-e-ja , e-re-pa-te , a-ja-me-na , qe-qi-no-to , au-de-pi , ko-ru-pi-qe 1
 A e-ne-wo ,pe-za
 .3b to-pe-za ,ra-e-ja , a-pi-qo-to , e-re-pa-te-jo , po-pi , e-ka-ma-te-qe , qe-qi-no-to , to-qi-de

Ta 713

- .1 to-pe-za ,ra-e-ja , ku-te-se-jo , e-ka-ma-pi e-re-pa-te-jo-qe , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , qe-qi-no-me-na , to-qi-de 1
 .2 to-pe-za , e-re-pa-te-ja , po-ro-e-ke , pi-ti-ro₂-we-sa , we-pe-za , qe-qi-no-me-na , to-qi-de 1 [[to-pe-za]]
 .3 to-pe-za ,ku-te-se-ja , e-re-pa-te-jo e-ka-ma-pi , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , ko-ki-re-ja

Ta 715

- .1 to-pe-za ,ku-te-se-ja , e-re-pa-te-jo , e-ka-ma-pi , a-pi-qo-to , e-ne-wo-pe-za , ko-ki-re-ja
 .2 to-p-e-za , a-ka-ra-no , e-re-pa-te-ja , a-pi-qo-to 1 to-pe-za , a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-japo-ro-e-ke 1
 .3 to-pe-zo , mi-ra₂ , a-pi-qo-to , pu-ko-so , e-ke-e , e-ne-wo-pe-zo , to-qi-de-jo , a-ja-me-no , pa-ra-ku-we 2

Ta 707

- A ku-te-ta-jo
 .1 to-no , ku-ru-sa-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , o-ni-ti-ja-pi 1 ta-ra-nu-qe , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi 1
 .2 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re , qe-qe-me-na , a-di-ri-ja-te-qe , po-ti-pi-qe 1
 .3 ta-ra-nu ,ku-te-so , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi
 .4 *vacat*

Ta 708

- .1 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , a-ja-me-no , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja , e-re-pa-te 1 [[ta-ra-nu-qe , ku-te-se-jo , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi]]
 .2 to-no , ku-te-se-jo , e-re-pa-te-ja-pi , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi , qe-qi-me-no , a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe
 .3 ta-ra-nu ,ku-te-se-jo , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , a-di-ri-ja-pi , re-wo-pi-qe 1

Ta 714

- .1 to-no , we-a₂-re-jo , a-ja-me-no , ku-wa-no , pa-ra-ku-we-qe , ku-ru-so-qe , o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja
 .2 a-ja-me-na ,ku-ru-so , a-di-ri-ja-pi , se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re-qe , ku-ru-so , , ku-ru-so-qe , po-ni-ki-pi 1
 .3 ku-wa-ni-jo-qe ,po-ni-ki-pi 1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , ku-wa-no , pa-ra-ku-we-qe , ku-ru-so-qe , ku-ru-sa-pi-qe , ko-no-ni-pi 1

Ta 721

- .1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , to-qi-de-qe , ka-ru-we-qe *220 1
 .2 ta-ra-nu-we , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , to-qi-de-qe *220 3
 .3 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-ra-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , *220 1
 .4 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-ra-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe , *220 1
 .5 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi *220 1

Ta 722

- .1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , a-to-ro-po , i-qo-qe , po-ru-po-de-qe , po-ni-ke-qe *220 1
 .2 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , ka-ra-a-pi , re-wo-te-jo , so-we-no-qe , *220 1
 .3 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , ka-ru-pi *220 1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo-pi , ka-ru-pi *220 1

Ta 710

- .1 ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , au-de-pi , so-we-no-qe *220 1
 .2 *vacat*

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