

STUDI MICENEI ED EGEO-ANATOLICI NUOVA SERIE

7, 2021



Edizioni Quasar

STUDI MICENEI
ED EGEO-ANATOLICI
NUOVA SERIE

è una rivista del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma

ISSN 1126-6651
ISBN 978-88-5491-266-3

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tel. +39 0685358444, fax +39 0685833591
email: info@edizioniquasar.it
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Autorizzazione Tribunale di Roma nr. 288/2014 del 31.12.2014

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CRAFTSPEOPLE, HUNTERS OR WARLIKE ELITES? A REASSESSMENT OF BURIALS FURNISHED WITH TOOLS IN MYCENAEAN GREECE FROM THE SHAFT GRAVE TO THE POST-PALATIAL PERIOD

Laetitia Phialon

Summary

In Mycenaean Greece, the number of burials furnished with tools identified so far is rather low. Toolkits found in graves have been rightly regarded by Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier either as personal possessions of the deceased or symbols of control over craft production. This article reviews the body of evidence, analyzing the burials furnished with tools within the changing Late Helladic socio-political environments. It shows that whetstones and bronze chisels were tools frequently encountered in Mycenaean tombs and that most burials furnished with tools included weapons as well. In many cases, the variety of the grave goods is noteworthy. It appears that most burials furnished with tools belonged to the Mycenaean elites, but the selection of tools and their association with other objects in grave assemblages deserves further study to better understand funerary and social practices in the Late Bronze Age. Special interest is shown in the presence of axes in the grave assemblages, stressing the symbolic and economic values of the bronze double axes, and discussing the function of iron axes of trunnion type, likely used in fighting or hunting. Finally, this article supports the view that the system of symbols referring to craft and war/hunt, introduced by Anna Maria D'Onofrio for Early Iron Age male burials, is a relevant interpretive model to comprehend the presence of tools and weapons in Post-palatial burials. The notion of hybridization active in this system may be extended to include the dimension of trade, in particular when the grouping of bronzes in a tomb may represent the access to metals and networks.

INTRODUCTION

Only a few Mycenaean burials furnished with tools, such as bronze chisels, awls, axe-adzes or whetstones, have been identified so far (*e.g.*, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 385). Craft tools found in Late Helladic graves have usually been interpreted as identity markers, but the cases where the tools clearly indicate the profession of the deceased are particularly few in number (*e.g.*, Brysbaert, Vettters 2010, 26). Profession and status, in the words of Sarah Immerwahr (1973, 14), may be interpreted as two traits of the social identity of the individuals buried in Mycenaean Greece: this perspective needs further exploration, especially when burials furnished with tools also contained weapons. The main reason behind this is that Aegean burials furnished with tools in the Shaft Grave and LH II-III periods can be interpreted in two ways, depending on their association with other categories of grave goods. According to Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 387), “1. The tools were personal possessions and their presence in the tomb aims at characterizing the deceased as a skilled manufacturer. 2. The tools symbolize the deceased’s power to manage the labor of specialist craftspeople”.

A third option would be that tools, mainly those in bronze, were considered as a valuable material and deposited in the graves because of their economic value, regardless of their function. The deposition of valuable material taken out of the cycles of distribution would thus correspond to a demonstration of wealth at the funeral, where the primary function of the objects and the symbolic meaning linked to their function would not matter. In other words, the objects deposited in the tomb would lose their practical use, being transformed into offerings of worth pure and simple. This practice is in line with a process of defunctionalization applied to various items in cult contexts (Luce 2011, 54; also D'Onofrio 2011, 651), and it may be relevant to groupings of the same tool-type in graves. Conversely when the tools represent coherent toolkits, it seems less probable that their functional aspect would be obliterated by such a process.



Map 1. Distribution of the sites listed in Table 1.

As regards the Aegean of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, it must firstly be remembered that the control and organization of the craft productions constituted one of the fundamental pillars of the Mycenaean palatial system. The division of labour and its specialization are evidenced by the recurring mention of occupational names, more than fifteen different professions, in the Linear B archives (Ventris, Chadwick 1973, 119-123, 408-409; Darcque 2008, 427; Shelmerdine 2008, 142; Rougemont 2009, 105-109; Parkinson, Nakassis, Galaty 2013, 413; Phialon 2015-2016, 25-26). A large number of individuals have been recorded on the Linear B tablets, either under their proper names or collectively under occupational names. Over a thousand craftspeople are mentioned in the archives of Pylos alone (Carlier 1996, 571; Rougemont 2009, 111). Accordingly, it would make sense to find in “the ever increasing complexity of the Mycenaean state”, characterized by “a variety of offices, professions and

occupations”, a source of differentiation at the funeral (Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 111). Moreover, special skills and a long learning process were certainly required for mastering tools and material handling at a professional level. Given this, it might be expected that craftspeople would have wished to be buried with their personal kits (Brysbaert, Vettters 2010, 27). However, the limited number of LH IIIA-IIIB burials furnished with tools identified so far does not support this view.

The aim of this article is to rethink funerary and social practices through a new examination of Mycenaean burials furnished with tools, involving a reflection on politico-economic patterns, cultural changes and continuities on the Greek mainland from the Shaft Grave to the Post-palatial period (*ca.* 1700/1600-1100 BC; see Table 1, *infra* pp. 75-79; for the geographical distribution of the sites, see Map 1). This research seeks to understand why so few burials of craftspeople have been identified so far. It has already been suggested that the burials of artisans could not be distinguished from other burials, either because the tools were mostly “handed down in the family” rather than being buried with the deceased,¹ or because they were simply not regarded as strong identity markers at the funeral (Brysbaert, Vettters 2010, 26). Another option would be that the elites alone had access to formal burial,² and that craftspeople were not part of them, bearing in mind the possibility that only a very few artisans in the palatial period would have benefited from a sufficiently high status to qualify as the royal artisans mentioned in the Linear B tablets (for the royal artisans: Carlier 1996; Palaima 1997; Darcque 2008, 471; Rougemont 2009, 111; also Evely 2000, 509). It is worth moving the debate forward by widening the initial concern of addressing the burials of artisans to a more general consideration involving other occupations and professions, such as hunters, traders, or even doctors.

Another question raised in this article is how does one define the traits of the male identity in Late Helladic funerary contexts, since the discovery of certain working tools (axes, saws, chisels and awls) in Early Iron Age weapon burials has led Anna Maria D’Onofrio (2017, 27 [Summary], 31) to argue for a “hybridization of the system of symbols referring to war and to carpentry” or, in other terms, for a hybridization of “the figures of the ‘warrior’ and the ‘artisan’”. Hence, the possibility arises as to whether a similar notion may be operating in Mycenaean burials furnished with tools, especially in the Post-palatial period. Next to the figures of the warrior and artisan, this article will explore the idea that the personas of the warrior-hunter, craftsman-carpenter/shipwright but also trader may be traced back as early as to LH IIIC, *i.e.* in the twelfth century BC.

Of course, in order to better understand male and female identities in Mycenaean Greece, results of physical anthropological analyses should be taken into consideration. Such analyses have been conducted for only a few burials reviewed in this article, namely on the skeletal remains from Mycenae (Grave Circles A and B), the Athenian Agora, Pylos, and Clauss (Table 1). Whereas the tools from the shaft graves of Mycenae cannot be attributed to specific individuals buried in these collective graves, it is worth stressing at the outset that six males and a child were anthropologically identified in my list (a young man in Pit 2 of the Grave Circle, Tholos V, at Pylos, LH IIIA, see Blegen *et al.* 1973, 142; a 26-year-old man in Grave XXIX at the Agora, *i.e.* the ‘Artisan’s grave’, LH IIIA1, see Immerwahr 1971, 231 n. 3; three men and a child at Clauss, Tombs B, Δ, M, N, LH IIIC, see Paschalidis 2018, 425, 433; a 30-year-old man in the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae, see Onassoglou 1995, 27). Owing to this very limited number of individuals whose biological sex has been determined, it is impossible to better assess whether women were buried with tools in the Late Helladic period.³ This eventually raises the question of the visibility of craftswomen in the Bronze Age burial record.

But first of all, it is essential to define working tools, to distinguish them from weapons and toiletry implements, as well as to remember the ambiguous nature of some bronze blades and versatility of others, such as the axes and knives (Blackwell 2020a, 523, 532). The possibility that axes and knives may have been used in ritual activities

1 On the notion of ‘politique de distribution’, see Baray 2008, 191-193. On the idea that the presence of tools in a grave may indicate that the deceased was the last of his lineage, see Nessel 2013, 143.

2 On the representation of elite groups in the EIA mortuary record, see Morris 1987; in LG II Attica, see Alexandridou 2016.

3 On female ‘arts’ and male ‘crafts’ in Prehistory, see Kopaka 1997, 522-523.

before being deposited in the tombs as grave goods should not be forgotten. Special attention will be paid to the categories of grave goods found together with working tools in Mycenaean burials. This article will also focus on the age and gender of the deceased potentially linked to these tools to provide new insights into the social complexity and funerary practices in Mycenaean Greece. A biographical model related to the type of grave goods should not be applied without involving a reflection on the age and gender of the deceased, as well as the symbolic value of the objects in funerary contexts (D'Agata, De Angelis 2016, 214; on EIA 'warrior graves', see D'Onofrio 2017, 29; on the 'warrior graves' and 'weapon burial ritual', see Whitley 2002, 218).

A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF WORKING TOOLS AND CRAFTS

If it is widely agreed that chisels, saws and drills are among the major and more identifiable bronze tool-types, varying in their size and shape (Deshayes 1960; Evely 1993), other types of bronze implements, such as axes and knives, require an additional comment. It is essential to determine what were the standard working tools of the likes of bronzesmiths, goldsmiths and weavers, what composed the kits of the carpenters or shipwrights in the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

Unlike in ancient Egypt, craftspeople are not depicted on Aegean Bronze Age wall-paintings or other visual media, except perhaps potters on Early-Middle Minoan seals (see Goodison 1989, 39-40, figs. 64.a-b, 66.a). However, most tool-types encountered in Minoan craft productions find parallels in the Egyptian iconographic repertoire (Evely 2000). High-quality craftsmanship is well evidenced in Proto- and Neopalatial Crete (*e.g.* Poursat 2008, 143-276; in the Knossian region, see Dimopoulou 1997), as well as in Mycenaean Greece (Laffineur 1995; Poursat 2014). In this respect, the lack of Aegean Bronze Age iconographical sources of craftspeople depicted at work is surprising. There would have been opportunities for the Mycenaeans to depict craftspeople in funerary contexts, for instance on pottery, steles, or even larnakes, but it appears that the Late Helladic iconography focused on warlike and hunting themes, as well as on religious symbols and ritual scenes.

Nevertheless, the working tools deposited with the deceased indicate that Aegean people not only attached value to these objects but also may have wished to refer to certain specific crafts at the funeral. This was likely the case on the Aegean islands in the Early Bronze Age, as suggested by the presence of tools used in carpentry in burials of this period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 384). Moreover, besides knives and axes, some tools like chisels, saws and drills as well as awls, points and punches (Evely 1993, 90) were found in collective graves in Crete, mainly in the Early Minoan tombs of Mesara (*ca.* 2500-2000 BC; see Branigan 1970, Table 1).⁴ However, the deduction that artisans have been buried in these tombs remains conjectural (Branigan 1970, 90-91), in particular because likely toolkits cannot be reconstructed nor be linked to a specific burial. Bronze tools may have been deposited because of their economic value or used as symbols of control over crafts.

Shape, size and specific traits of the tools may have varied from one region to another. Since not a single potter's wheel is known from the Greek mainland, apart from one or two possible Minoan imports (Evely 1988, 123), they must all have been of wood. By contrast, a large number of clay wheelheads were found in Minoan Crete (for pottery production: Evely 2000, 316, fig. 128, also 318). In spite of this, one may assume that the basic toolkits of Mycenaean craftspeople, especially in the palatial period, were much the same as their Late Minoan counterparts (*e.g.*, on metal working in Minoan Crete: Evely 2000, 390-391, fig. 156; on textile production: Evely 2000, 508, fig. 205; on sealstone manufacture: Evely 1993, 168, fig. 67). Cross-cultural and diachronic studies tend to confirm this view (*e.g.*, on spinning and weaving: Rahmstorf 2015, 13-15; on shipbuilding: Maragoudaki 2017, 244). Travelling craftspeople and intensive contacts following trade routes within the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean were in all likelihood the underlying factors for technological transfer and trans-regional craft links (Brysbaert 2008, 144, 149, 155-157, 165-172, 179-181; Blackwell 2020b, 215; on royal craftsmen 'invited' by the rulers in the Eastern Mediterranean world, see Muhly 2005).

4 For crucibles from EM tombs, see Oberweiler 2011, 428, 432.

What fundamentally changed in the Aegean Late Bronze Age is the socio-political environment in which the craft production developed. In Late Minoan Crete, according to Evely, the reduction of tools in number and variety after LM IIIA,⁵ in the Minoan Post-palatial period, was certainly linked to the decrease of luxury goods, due to “the loss of the highest levels of patronage” (Evely 2000, 440; this author however notes a minor revival in LM IIIC), along with the declining fresco production, particularly the pictorial ones (Evely 2000, 482-483, fig. 191). On the Greek mainland, it is possible that a similar decrease in number and variety of tools occurred in LH IIIC, *i.e.* in the Mycenaean Post-palatial period. In contrast, it must be assumed that the highest diversity and quantity of tools occurred on the mainland in the Mycenaean palatial period (LH IIIA2-IIIB). Conversely, research on bronzework points to the rarity of working tools, aside from knives, in early Mycenaean contexts (MH III-LH II, see Tripathi 1988, 144-153, 188-195). In architecture, it “may be explained by the late development of ashlar masonry on the Mainland” (Blackwell 2020a, 530). This building technique was however already adopted on the mainland in LH I-II, especially in Messenia and Laconia (Blackwell 2020b, 218).

In brief, along with common bronze knives and blades, the toolkits of Aegean craftspeople should comprise the following specific tools, according to their occupation:

- the potter: various possible tools, *e.g.* a ‘mat’, a wheel (bat, wheelhead), a scraper, a turning tool or spatula, a string, a mould, a burnisher, a sponge, a brush, etc. (Evely 2000, 262, fig. 106), according to the technique applied for shaping the vessels (hand-made, coil-made, moulded, wheel-made) and to the surface treatment of these ceramic wares (burnished, polished, incised, stamped, painted, etc.);
- the painter (especially for wall-painting): a brush, a sponge, a bowl for mixing paint and a stone grinder for crushing pigments⁶ (Immerwahr 1991, 16; Dandrau 2001, fig. 6), a ruler and other measuring devices (Evely 2000, 472, fig. 187), a compass for tracing designs (Evely 1999, 156; Aravantinos, Fappas 2015, 334, fig. 13), as well as a trowel, a spatula, a float, a plumbob, a polisher, if the painter is also in charge of applying the mud plaster (Evely 1999, 154-155; 2000, 472, fig. 187, and 480, fig. 190; Brysbaert 2008, 171, fig. 7.4);
- the architect and stone mason, worker: a saw, a drill, a chisel, a punch and point, a line, a ruler and a plumbob (Evely 1993, 211, fig. 84; Küpper 1996, 8-14; Nelson 2017, 306-307; Blackwell 2020a, 523, 530-531), along with the use of abrasives, see Boleti 2020, 259), as well as stone implements, including stone hammers and pick tools (Devolder 2018, 346-348; Blackwell 2020b, 216). The same following bronze tools used in carpentry and masonry can be added to these construction implements: an axe, adze and hammer (Küpper 1996, 8; Nelson 2017, 307-308; Blackwell 2020b, 216);
- the boatbuilder (or shipwright)⁷ and woodworkers (carpenters, joiners, carvers, lumberjacks and sawyers): tools for cutting (axe, adze, chisel, saw), perforation (drill, awl) and percussion (hammer, mallet) (Maragoudaki 2017, 243; 2019, 26), as well as potential measuring and marking devices on the basis of Egyptian iconographic sources (Evely 2000, 532, fig. 219; Maragoudaki 2017, 233);
- the foundry worker and bronzesmith: tools employed in melting processes (crucible, tuyère, nozzle, originally with bellows), tongs and casting moulds (Evely 2000, 326, fig. 130, 364, fig. 144; Oberweiler 2011), a hammer and stake or anvil, a punch and point, a chisel, a drill, a whetstone (Evely 2000, 326, fig. 130, and 390, fig. 156; also Blackwell 2018, 520), and other additional working tools (swage, mandrel and sinking block);
- the goldsmith: the same tools as for the bronzesmith, a polishing agent, but no drills and whetstone (Evely 2000, 405-408, figs. 157-160, and 439, fig. 175, also);⁸

5 *E.g.*, the variety of saws reduced to small and medium specimens after LM IIIA: Evely 1993, 39.

6 For two pebbles used for grinding the colour and a bowl containing red paint from Akrotiri, West House, Room 4a, see Marinatos 1999, pl. 59.b-d.

7 On *na-u-do-mo*, ship-builders, or perhaps shipwrights (cf. Classical *ναπηγοί*), see Palaima 1991, 287-288; Petrakis 2011, 207-208; Maragoudaki 2017, 238. Also Aura Jorro, Adrados 1985, s.v. *na-u-do-mo*, **ναυδόμος*, boatbuilder, rather than **να(ρ)οδόμος*, temple builder.

8 For moulds in Mycenaean Greece, see Tournavitou 1997. For tools found in jewellery workshops at Thebes, see Symeonoglou 1973, 70, fig. 274; Demakopoulou 2014, 144, 147.

- the glass and faience worker: moulds and grinding tools, crucible, tongs and casting moulds, a rod, modelling tools and a point, abrasives, a brush (Evely 2000, 447, fig. 176, and 466, fig. 186);
- the stone worker (cutter and engraver): tools employed in the manufacture of sealstones (drill, cutting compass, point, burin, chisel, saw) and abrasives (Evely 1993, 150, fig. 64, and 168, fig. 67); in addition, a hammer and a mallet for the manufacture of stone vases in Minoan Crete (Evely 1993, 174, fig. 69, and 189, fig. 76);
- the ivory, bone and shell worker (cutter and engraver): the same tools as for the stone worker, *i.e.* tools for cutting (saw, chisel), perforation (drill, point, burin), a compass, and abrasives (Evely 1993, 246, fig. 101, and 250, fig. 103);
- the leather worker: a vertical cutting knife (or a cutter), perforation tools (punch, awl, pricker out, needle), a mallet, a stake, a rod, tongs (Evely 2000, 524-527, figs. 215-216);
- the weaver and textile worker: spinning tools (spindle, spindle-whorl, spinning bowl), weaving tools (loom, loomweight, spool/bobbin, shuttle), sewing and pricking tools (needle, pin) and other possible tools (*e.g.*, comb, hook, raddle, beaters) in various materials (Tzachili 1997, 128-129, also 172-193; Evely 2000, 487, fig. 193, also 496-498, 502; Rahmstorf 2015, 2-12; Andersson Strand, Nosch 2015, 148);
- the basket/mat or cord maker: a needle, an awl, a comb, a spike, rods, beaters and a whirling tool (Evely 2000, 514, fig. 208).

Finally, it must be stressed that axes, adzes and picks may have been employed to other ends than wood working or stone-working for construction. As regards bronze adzes and picks, there is little doubt that these tools could have been used in agriculture (Evely 1993, 62). Otherwise, Evely (2000, 263) asserts that agricultural tools such as adzes or hoes, or simple sticks can be used for breaking up the raw clay for the potter or the mud-brick maker. Finally, it is worth remembering that stone tools such as polishers, grinders or pounders were traditionally used in agriculture and food production (Evely 1993, 111; the pestle is also seen by Evely as possible apothecary's tool or instrument).

The presence of bronze adzes in funerary contexts is unusual; picks and shovels are lacking in such contexts. Agricultural tools (picks, shovels and sickles) as well as metallurgical tools (hammers, tongs, whetstones, anvils and ingot breakers) are infrequent in Late Minoan hoards, whereas knives, saws, double axes, chisels, drills and awls are well attested (Blackwell 2018, 520). By comparison, on the mainland, knives, sickles, double axes and chisels are frequently encountered in hoards (Blackwell 2018, 521, 523). The recurrence of certain tools, such as the sickles, in Mycenaean hoards suggests that these metal tools were particularly valued and that the hoard was not a random selection, suggesting in turn that palatial authorities may have influenced implement groupings (Blackwell 2018, 523-524, 526). This difference can be explained by the fact that the grouping and caching of tools, together with scrap metal, as was the case in Mycenaean hoards, was motivated by their material value, as bronzes which were intended to be reused. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Blackwell (2018, 510), "funerary contexts [...] represent a depositional practice different from that of metal hoarding."

WORKING TOOLS IN FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGES OF THE SHAFT GRAVE PERIOD (MH III-LH IIA)

A note on Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier's list

In her article on Aegean burials furnished with tools, Kilian-Dirlmeier proposes a first list of eleven tombs dated from the Shaft Grave period, excavated in various sites (at Sesklo, in the region of Volimidia, at Lefkada-Nidri, and at Mycenae), as well as a second list of four other tombs dated to the LH II-III period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 384-385). In her article, the objects found in burials of the Shaft Grave period are chisels, an awl, a flat axe, a saw, perhaps a drill, all certainly of bronze, bronze arrowheads, grooved stone arrow-shaft straighteners, whetstones and handstones, flint flakes and nodules, flint and obsidian arrowheads, a stone axe and unworked boar tusks (Table

1). The chisel, awl, saw, whetstone, handstone, and stone axe are tool-types also encountered in LH II-III tombs of her list.

A theoretical toolkit composed of a chisel, a saw and an axe would best fit with that of a woodworker (see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 385), or at a pinch that of a stone mason. The combination chisel-saw-axe is however observed in only one of the funerary assemblages listed by Kilian-Dirlmeier, *i.e.* in a burial at Nidri on Lefkada (Grave S4: Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, no. 16; see Steinmann 2012, no. 319), whereas three other tombs contained two of these three tool-types (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, nos. 11, 17, 25). It may well be that the two MH II-III aforementioned burials, at Nidri on Lefkada and at Sesklo, belonged to craftspeople (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, nos. 16 and 11). The same can be suggested for a third burial, which was provided with arrowheads next to two chisels and a saw at Nidri on Lefkada (Grave S8: Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, no. 17). It would be interesting to know whether the stone arrowheads found in funerary contexts would have been efficient in real activities of war or hunting. There is always the possibility that stone arrowheads were produced as objects of prestige being part of a symbolic system (Druart 2010, 152-153).

By comparison, the presence of a stone axe in the funerary assemblage does not necessarily suggest that it accompanied the burial of a craftsman. It may have played another role. Firstly, the efficiency of certain stone axes should be questioned. A MH III/LH I tomb at Volimidia-Kephalovryso provided a stone axe, unworked boar tusks together with a whetstone (tomb 5: Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, no. 14), but since this serpentinite axe is only *ca.* 5 cm long (Marinatos 1965, 105, pl. 119.α) it seems too small to be used as a true tool of everyday use.⁹ Since one may doubt that this small stone axe was used in the same manner as a metal chisel, it may be regarded as miniature object representing the work accomplished by the use of common axes or some other symbolic role. Secondly, it is a matter of determining whether tools played a main or a subordinate role in the assemblages, especially when burials were also furnished with bronze weapons such as arrowheads, swords and spearheads (see Steinmann 2012).

The series of bronze and stone tools discovered in niche 5 of chamber tomb 6 at Volimidia-Koroni is particularly worth noting, since they were the main objects of the assemblage (Marinatos 1953, 239, 250, fig. 11; also Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, no. 12; Zavadil 2013, 313) (Fig. 1). These are a chisel, a punch or chisel with a bone handle, an awl, a knife with traces of a wood handle, a stone arrow-shaft straightener, two stone rubbers or handstones, and a whetstone or perhaps a hammer. Although a saw or an axe is missing, these tools constituted a set that would be quite efficient for working wood. It would be not surprising to find we have an artisan buried in LH I with his toolkit in this niche, but no skeletal remains are reported by the excavator (Marinatos 1953, 238-239). Moreover, the arrow-shaft straightener of this toolkit would be related to a specialized manufacture, that of arrows. The other bronze and stone tools would also be consistent with the production of archery equipment. Would a manufacturer of arrows and bows¹⁰ have been buried here? It is possible, though no human skeletal remains were found related to these tools, as just pointed out. A toolkit made up of chisels, whetstones and/or arrowheads themselves would arguably indeed be equipment suitable for making arrows. This interpretation seems plausible for Grave S4 at Nidri on Lefkada, which contained just such tools in chisels and arrow-shaft straighteners, together with unworked boar tusks and arrowheads (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2007, 384, no. 16). As suggested by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 385), this points to aspects of production rather than/as much as consummation, and thus could challenge the idea of 'archer's burials'.

Arrowheads were also found in the shaft graves of Mycenae together with chisels and whetstones (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, nos. 18 and 21), but the examination of the grave goods *in toto* gives rise to a very different interpretation. It is worth stressing that the shaft graves of Mycenae were extremely richly furnished in weapons

9 Similarly, one may doubt that a fragment of serpentinite celt, measuring less than 1 cm in length, which accompanied a LH IIIB1 burial in Tomb 6 at Agia Sotira close to Nemea (Smith *et al.* 2017, 117, pl. 47E), was the fragmentary part of an efficient working tool. Otherwise, the small jasper axe, possibly an antique (Neolithic), deposited in the LH I-IIIB/C tholos (?) at Koukounara-Palaiochoria (Zavadil 2013, 484, 492 n. 286) should be regarded as a prestigious object and not as a working tool.

10 On the later occupational name *to-ko-so-wo-ko* in Linear B ('bow maker', *τοξοφοργός), see Rougemont 2009, 108.

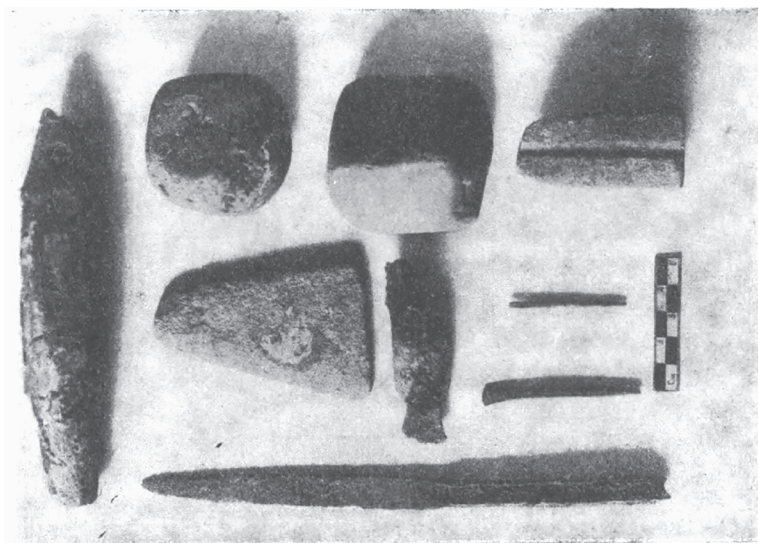


Fig. 1. Volimidia-Koroni, chamber tomb 6, tools (after Marinatos 1953, 239, 250, fig. 11).

only contribute very modestly to the demonstration of wealth performed at the funeral. Even though the tools were not the main identity markers in these graves, they may have symbolized the deceased's power to manage and control crafts (see above, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 387, nos. 18-20).

Craft or war/hunt? Burials furnished with working tools and arrows

There is no doubt that archery was a skill highly valued in the Shaft Grave period. For instance, hunting scenes with archers were illustrated on various objects from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (*e.g.*, the 'Lion hunt' dagger, the gold signet ring decorated with a hunting scene, as well as the silver krater and rhyton showing both a battle scene with archers, see Karo 1930/1933, pls. XXIV.240, CXXII, CXXIX-CXXXI; Blakolmer 2007; Poursat 2014, pl. XVII, figs. 34, 47). In this case, hunting was an activity closely linked to Mycenaean elite practices, as was the case later in the palatial period (see below). Nevertheless, most grave assemblages were more modest than those of the shaft graves. This includes an example from Mycenae itself, *i.e.* a burial furnished with a bronze awl and a stone arrowhead (pit in Chamber tomb 533, also a LH IIA cup, see Wace 1932, 119).

A question raised by the presence of tools and weapons in the same funerary assemblages is whether a strict distinction only between end-users and producers should be applied, without also considering the possibility that tools were used for repairing weapons and fitting pieces together. In terms of identity markers, the presence of tools for making arrows appears to be ambiguous (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 387), in that the deceased may have been experienced archers of high status, buried with tools used for replacing or repairing their weapons. This interpretation is particularly relevant when a whetstone was the single tool found in a grave furnished with weapons. For instance, Shaft grave 1 at Volimidia-Kephallavryso (MH III: Marinatos 1964, 88; Zavadil 2013, 180, 335) provided flint arrowheads and flakes, a whetstone, and other objects, including a dagger. The recurring presence of arrowheads in the burials of the Shaft Grave period, sometimes together with tools, is worth stressing, since arrows were certainly linked to warlike and hunting activities. It is quite possible that their production was controlled by the elites. This would be all the more true if stone arrowheads found in Mycenaean funerary contexts were produced as symbolic objects (Druart 2010, 154).

As regards stone axes found together with arrowheads, however, in contrast to the small stone axe from Volimidia-Kephallavryso (Marinatos 1965, 105, pl. 119.a), there is so far no reason to rule out the idea that they may have been adequate tools for working wood. Next to the above-mentioned burials (*e.g.* Grave S4 at Nidri on Lefkada, see above, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, 49), one may refer to the stone axes found together with arrowheads in the LH I-IIA tumuli at Koukounara-Gouvalari in Messenia (Tumulus α , Grave α 9, and Tumulus β , built grave, see

and gold ornaments (Karo 1930/1933; also Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986; Phialon 2020a, 39-42), which is not the case of the graves at Nidri. Weapons, especially swords (see Harrell 2014), in funerary assemblages are central for interpreting the social identity of the deceased. It appears quite reasonable therefore that burials of artisans should be readily distinguished from burials of warrior chiefs able to control the craft production. The shaft graves of Mycenae belonged to the most powerful elites of this period (MH III-LH IIA). If the aforementioned tools were deposited as supplementary grave goods in the shaft graves of Mycenae, increasing the amount of material accumulated here, they would

Zavadil 2013, 180, 476, 479), or to the two stone axes found together with seventeen arrowheads and other grave goods in the LH I-II tholos at Analipsis in Arcadia (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 14, pl. 8, also p. 71, from the tholos and also from 'Miniaturtholoi' 1 and 3, see pp. 18-19; for the tholos, see Rhomaios 1954, 285-286, fig. 18; also Steinmann 2012, 368, no. 58).

In addition, bronze tools, which may have been used for all manner of cutting or piercing purposes, have been uncovered in other collective tombs in Messenia, as was the case with a chisel from a grave (peribolos) at Myron-Peristeria, MH III-LH I (see Korres 1976, 486; Zavadil 2013, 506); with two awls from Tholos 2 at Myron-Peristeria, LH IIA (see Marinatos 1964, 95, pl. 91.8; Zavadil 2013, 509); with a drill perhaps from Tholos 3 at Papoulia, LH IIA (see Zavadil 2013, 538), and with another awl or drill from Tholos 1, Shaft Grave period or LH III (see Zavadil 2013, 537). Messenia seems to have been a region where the communities were accustomed to refer to certain craft and production aspects at funerals. However, even in these cases, with the exception of the main collection of tools from a niche of a chamber tomb at Volimidia-Koroni, the tools seem to have a subordinate role in most assemblages that comprised different sets of grave goods (Table 1). They were possibly associated with the other items because of their potential use for replacing or repairing them.

Prestige or occupation? Burials furnished with special implements

The variety of the grave goods found in most burials furnished with tools in the Shaft Grave period must be stressed. In the introduction of this article, it has been pointed out that bronze tools may have been deposited in graves because of their economic value. Their artistic or aesthetic value may be a reason of their deposition in a grave too. This is all the more the case with precious objects made of gold, silver or ivory, and *exotica* regarded as valuables, among them personal toiletry implements or instruments for personal care. For instance, in the LH IIA tholos tomb of Vapheio, a small silver ear-pick was possibly held together with another silver instrument in a now vanished (wooden) pyxis (Tsountas 1889, 147, 153, pl. 7.16; Salavoura 2012, 346). This ear-pick and the other instrument were certainly prestige goods. The same can be said of the gold ear-pick from Tomb IV at Thorikos in use in LH I-IIA (Servais, Servais-Soyez 1984, 48-49, fig. 26, L. 5.5 cm, weight 1 gr).

It is not intended to make here a review of toiletry implements found in funerary contexts, but it should be noted that bronze tweezers and apparent ear-picks may have been used in other purposes than personal care, perhaps in surgery (Arnott 1999a; Salavoura 2012), and in the case of large examples, in a craft activity (Piteros 2015), as it will be discussed below. Another utilitarian instrument that may have been used for different purposes and linked to various sorts of occupations, namely the balance, will also require supplementary comment later in this article, since scale pans were uncovered in LH IIB-IIIA tombs. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that scale pans come from the LH IIA tholos tomb of Vapheio, raising the question as why balances were deposited in grave and whom/what they were for. Any reflection on identity markers needs to integrate *all* the material found in the same grave context (Brysbaert, Veters 2010, 26-27).

The LH IIA tholos tomb of Vapheio is known for the diversity of its grave goods. Among them are nine lead weights (Tsountas 1889, 147; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 199-200, fig. 2; Michailidou 2008, 156) found in the cist, together with a Levantine fenestrated axe, which may have been introduced into Laconia from the Levant either *via* Crete, or *via* Egypt and then Crete (Maran 2015, 249; for this axe, see Tsountas 1889, 147, 155-156, pl. 8.1; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 200-201, fig. 4; also Steinman 2012, pl. 25). The dimension of trade in this tomb is then well evidenced by the weights and a Levantine axe (Maran 2015, 255; for the weights, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 206), as well as by ten bronze scale pans that can be added to them (Michailidou 2008, 156). As remarked upon by Michailidou (2008, 164), no skeleton has been uncovered in the tomb, but it is generally believed that only one person, a man, was buried here, that is the owner of the five balances, who was certainly involved in trade during their lifetime. In other words, the balance pans may represent aspects of his social persona.

The same line of reasoning may apply to explain the presence of a bronze balance pan and a lead weight in Tomb III at Thorikos (Servais 1971, 80-81, figs. 42-43). Nevertheless, even when it is not possible to relate balance scales found in heterogeneous assemblages to specific individuals in collective tombs, I would prefer to regard these

pans as part of a multi-dimensional symbolic system. This is true of the balance pans buried together with the remains of nine individuals, along with weapons, knives and razors (one-edged and two-edged), a bronze chisel, nine stone tools (whetstones and handstones) and other objects, in a large LH I-IIA cist grave at Koulouri on Salamis (Kattoula 2009, 245, and 2020, 641-642, fig. 8).

In addition, although most balances are seen as personal practical possessions of the deceased rather than symbolic objects in funerary contexts (Michailidou 2008, 134, 149; see Persson 1942, 73), the idea that gold balances were linked to beliefs in an afterworld must not be ruled out (Evans 1930, 150-151; for the Greek *psychostasia*: *Iliad* 22. 209-211; see Vermeule 1979, 76; also *kerostasia*, see Michailidou 2008, 24-25; *vs.* utilitarian instruments, see Baxevani-Kouzion, Markoulaki 1996, 686). This relates in particular to the fragile gold balances from Grave III of the Grave Circle A at Mycenae and involves the possibility that female persons were linked to religious beliefs in the Shaft Grave period (Whittaker 2006, 287). According to the anthropological results, a woman, a man and a second probable man were however buried in Shaft grave III (Papazoglou-Manioudaki *et al.* 2010, 169, table 1). In any case, these balances made of gold were undoubtedly valuables that emphasized the social status and economic wealth of the deceased and their family.

Finally, items such as imported axes deposited in graves may be regarded in another way, namely as *exotica*. It has been suggested that imported axes may have fulfilled a ceremonial role, such as the bronze fenestrated axe-head originating from the Levant found close to a bronze axe-adze and a knife in the tholos tomb of Vapheio (Maran 2015, 250, 254-255). It is obvious that the cultic sphere was at least symbolically represented by this Levantine fenestrated axe as well as the depiction of such an axe held by a long-robed man on a sealstone from this tomb (Tsountas 1889, pl. 10.26; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, fig. 8.225; for “a net of semantic cross-references”, see Maran 2015, 255). It must be remembered that persons in long diagonally striped robes are usually interpreted as “political and/or religious dignitaries” (Maran 2015, 251). However, the question as whether a priest or a political-religious dignitary rather than a person involved in trade would have been buried in this tholos remains open. Moreover, the objects from this tomb may have originally belonged to different individuals, in particular when considering the wide chronological range of the finds therein, as well as the large range of sealstones, perhaps corresponding to “the ultimate burial of long-treasured gifts which had been passed from generation to generation” (Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 112).

That being said, there is no doubt that the deceased buried in the wealthy furnished shaft graves of Mycenae and tholos tomb of Vapheio were part of the most powerful elites. The display of valuable objects at the funeral and their accumulation in the graves contributed to strengthen their prestige and prominent position in the rising Mycenaean world. The presence of utilitarian instruments in these assemblages should be read through this lens. Nevertheless, this does not mean that their functional aspect should not be taken into consideration too. Special implements may have symbolized the deceased’s power to manage specific activities, such as trade in the case of weights and balances, or may have been integrated into a multi-dimensional symbolic system, without belonging to any utilitarian funerary ‘kit’. The same issue reappears in LH IIB-IIIB burials furnished with a large variety of grave goods.

WORKING TOOLS IN FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGES OF THE LH IIB-IIIC PERIOD

A note on Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier’s list

The picture that emerges from the examination of the four LH II-III tombs furnished with tools listed by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 385) is quite different from that of the earlier burials, despite the fact that the chisel, awl, saw, whetstone, handstone, and stone axe are tool-types found in graves of the Shaft Grave period as well. The listed LH II-III tombs are located at Nafplio, Athens, Mycenae and Prosymna. In addition to the aforementioned tool-types, two of these LH II-III tombs, at Athens and Mycenae, contained a stone mould, a bone handle, a bone implement, a bronze double axe and an axe-adze. A tomb at Athens and another at Prosymna, respectively dated to

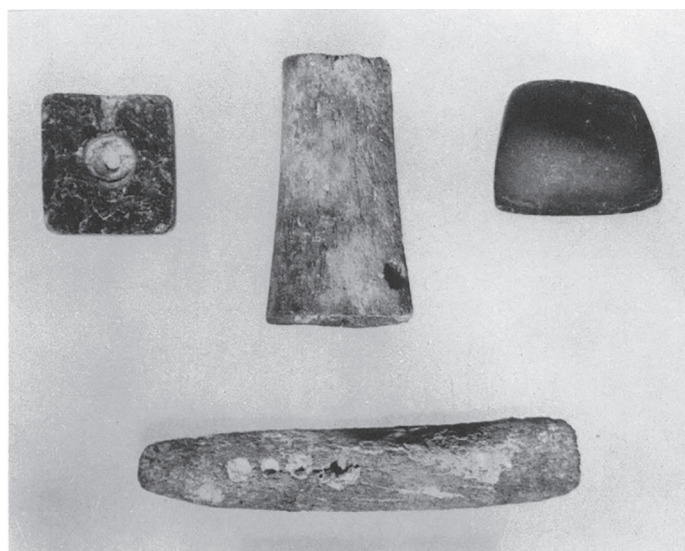
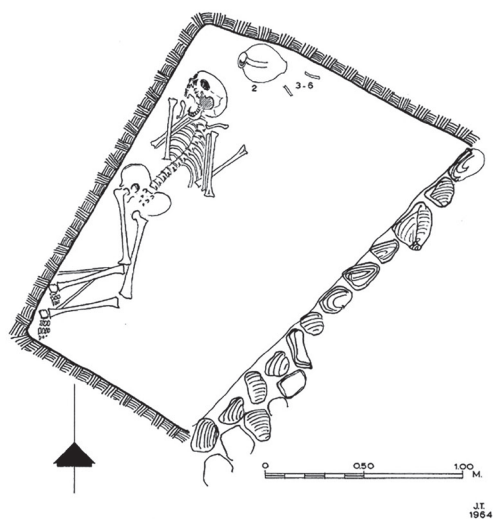


Fig. 2. Athenian Agora, Tomb XXIX, tools (after Immerwahr 1971, pls. 55, 89).

LH IIIA1 and IIIA2, can be reasonably interpreted as burials of artisans, as proposed by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, nos. 23, 25).

The burial at Athens (Grave XXIX: Artisan's Grave) was certainly that of a humble craftsman, as pointed out by Immerwahr (1973, 14; on this burial, see also Immerwahr 1971, 110, 231, pls. 55, 89) (Fig. 2). This craftsman was indeed buried with his tools, *i.e.* a stone mould for glass beads, a stone axe and a bone tool, in LH IIIA1 at the Agora. He was probably a versatile artisan, but certainly not part of the contemporary elites, due to the lack of metal weapons or precious objects in this tomb. By contrast, other burials in the same cemetery have been related to the Mycenaean elites or "warrior aristocracy" as termed by Immerwahr (1973, 14), notably Tomb III (LH IIIA), which was furnished with weapons (Immerwahr 1971, 105, 171, pls. 35-36, 81). It must be stressed that moulds were rarely discovered in Late Helladic tombs, and when they are, their presence does not necessarily involve a functional aspect. Regarding a mould found at Eleusis (Tomb Hπ3), which was intended for rings and bezels (Mylonas 1975, A, 297, 306, for the date, see p. 302; Γ, pls. 64-65.α; also Tournavitou 1997, 223, table 3), the scenes engraved in the mould made for the two bezels were most likely the reason why the object was symbolically deposited in this tomb in LH II. These ritual scenes involve two women, birds and a tripartite altar, of Minoan origins, on the first bezel, while the second shows a bird walking with its young.

The burial at Prosymna (Tomb XXXIII, side chamber) provided a saw and a chisel (Blegen 1937, 108, 347, fig. 244; for a LH IIIA2 date, see Shelton 1996, 95; for the tools, also Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 111 n. 67). These tools are suitable for wood working and their association recalls the toolkit (bronze saw, adze or chisel and leaf-shaped blade) from the LM IIIA1 'Carpenter's Tomb' at Knossos-Zafer Papoura (Evans 1906, 50-51; also Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 205, fig. 2). One may suggest that an artisan specialized in the woodworking was buried in the side chamber of Tomb XXXIII at Prosymna as well, perhaps a carpenter of a higher status than the craftsman buried in Grave XXIX at the Athenian Agora, since the side chamber of Tomb XXXIII at Prosymna also contained two lentoid sealstones, a pair of bronze tweezers and ceramic vases (Blegen 1937, 108). Another point worth stressing is that neither Grave XXIX at the Agora nor the side chamber of Tomb XXXIII at Prosymna contained any weapon.

By contrast, Tomb 82 at Mycenae, which is listed by Kilian-Dirlmeier, was not only furnished with tools but also with weapons (Fig. 3) (for the tools, see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 235, pl. 112). According to Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 387, no. 24), the axe and axe-adze from a pit excavated in Tomb 82 at Mycenae are tools for wood working. As pointed out above, axe and axe-adze were certainly used for other purposes as well, notably in agricultural activi-

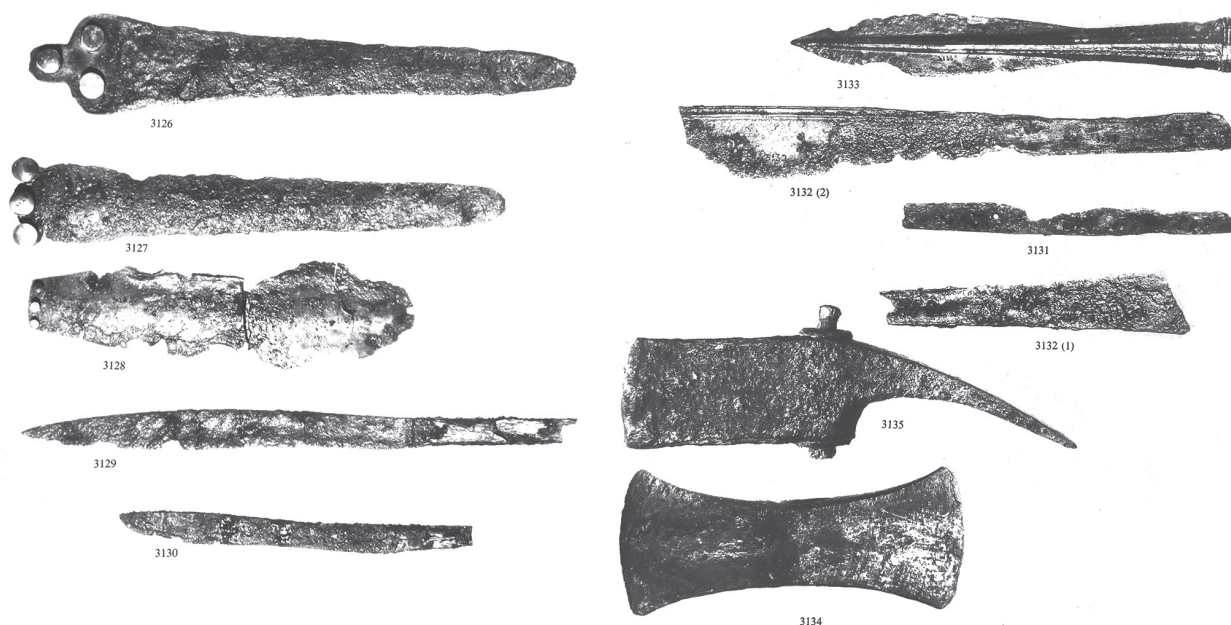


Fig. 3. Mycenae, Tomb 82, bronzes (after Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 235, pl. 112).

ties (Evely 1993, 62; Evely 2000, 263). Weapons (a spearhead and daggers) have been found in this pit, which may have contained the remains of more than one burial (for the weapons from the pit of this tomb and date LH IIB, see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 232; Steinmann 2012, no. 71). It remains possible that the bronze axe and axe-adze were buried in this tomb because of their economic value. The function of axes in Mycenaean Greece will deserve a further comment below, along with other bronze tools and instruments. This will include a discussion on the tools found in Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi (Fig. 4). For now, it should be pointed out that Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, no. 22) recorded in this tomb a bronze flat axe, two chisels, an awl, a whetstone and two handstones. These tools would constitute a toolkit very suitable for an artisan, especially a carpenter, but this interpretation has been challenged.

In addition to Kilian-Dirlmeier, other scholars have identified tombs furnished with tools. The tomb at Kallithea is one of the three additional Mycenaean tombs listed by Cavanagh and Mee as burials of craftsmen (1998, 111, and n. 67). This tomb has also provided a double axe together with a sword and a razor (Table 1). The two other tombs listed by Cavanagh and Mee are located in Thebes and Ialysos. The first could be Tomb 4 at Thebes-Kolonaki (LH II, LH IIIA-IIIC), which was furnished with an awl or chisel, an arrowhead, and various ornaments (for the tool: Keramopoulos 1917, 134, no. 13, fig. 98.12), or perhaps Tomb 17 (LH IIIA-IIIB) of the same cemetery that contained a punch or awl, a knife, weapons (arrowheads, swords or daggers) and other objects (for the tool: Keramopoulos 1917, 175, fig. 127.21). The second, at Ialysos-Moschou Vounara on Rhodes, is Tomb 15, which provided a knife, a chisel and two fish-hooks, in other words, tools respectively suitable for wood working and fishing activity.¹¹ On the other hand, when a collective tomb was furnished with weapons, tools and other grave goods, as was the case of the LH IIIA-IIIB tomb 17 at Thebes-Kolonaki (Table 1), it is difficult to explain the presence of these tools in the funerary assemblages. The diversity of the grave goods may point to a multi-dimensional symbolic system that integrates craft as an activity worth referring to at a funeral, but tools may have

11 On pieces of lead (net sinkers) and a bronze fisher-hook from LH IIIC Tomb 131 at Perati, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 453, 455, found in the southwest part of the chamber with some bones and a few jewellery items; B, 354-355; Γ, pls. 135.β, 136.α, M172, M173. It is not unreasonable to believe that fishermen were also involved in the manufacturing of nets. This occupation has been recorded in the palatial period, in the Linear B archives (*de-ku-tu-wo-ko*, *δικτυ-φοργοί, net makers, see Rougemont 2009, 198).



Fig. 4. Nafplio-Palamidi, Tomb K, bronzes: a. After Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973, pl. 91.γ, fig. 6, the first and second of the three phases; b. After Arnott 1999b, 503, pl. XCVII.b; c. After Piteros 2015, 246, fig. 5.

also symbolized the control of a chief over craft activity. Moreover, it is possible that tools were associated with the weapons because they were used to repair them, as observed before. The last comment may apply to the awl and whetstone found together with weapons in Tomb K 2:5 at the Athenian Agora (Camp 2003, 270-271).

An interesting point here is that many Mycenaean tombs, on the mainland and in the islands, which were furnished with weapons, also provided razors (one-edged or two-edged), sometimes together with whetstones.¹² Weapons and razors were also uncovered in the same grave assemblages in Late Minoan Crete (Steinmann 2012, 520-521, tables A7 and A8). Whetstones, which were certainly used to sharpen bronze weapons and blades, were

12 Steinmann 2012, nos. 25, 49, 77, 85, 176, 184, 216, 223, 345, 353-355, 361; *vs.* weapons, razors but no whetstone, *e.g.*, nos. 76, 79, 80-82, 88, 90, 95, 97, 98, 99?, 103, 125, 127, 128, 132, 134, 140, 143, 145, 147, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 167, 169, 177, 179, 183, 189, 201, 217, 326, 328, 332, 339, 342, 358, 363, 365, 382, 385, 388, 389, 400, 401.

closely linked to them. In other words, whetstones were certainly included in the weapon burial ritual performed at the funerals.¹³ Thus, the presence of these stone tools in funerary contexts would not necessarily be related to any specific craft activity, unless it is associated with other tools.

Craft, war/hunt or cult? Burials furnished with bronze axes

To go back to the bronze axes, the functional use of these tools for carpentry and building purposes seems to be undisputed (Blackwell 2020b, 221). This is particularly true of the heavy double axes found in settlements. It must be stressed that their discovery in burial contexts is uncommon. If they were the possessions of the deceased, they may indicate burials of carpenters or patrons monitoring this craft. This concerns the double axe from Chalandritsa (Papadopoulos 1978-79, 154, 226, PMX36a-b, LH IIIB-IIIC; see Kyparissis 1929, 87, fig. 2), or the double axe from the tomb at Kallithea-Langanidia, which was also furnished with a knife, a whetstone and weapons (Tomb VIII, burial Θ, LH IIIA, see Papadopoulos 1992, 58). However, regarding this last tomb, Papadopoulos attributes the bronze weapons and tools to a “treasure”. This would mean that the double axe and other bronzes were deposited in this tomb because of their economic value. The burial would thus have belonged to the local elite.

By comparison, the most striking example of a burial furnished with double axes is a Post-palatial one. This is the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae, which contained twenty double axes regarded as tools (19-22 and 25 cm) and a wedge-shaped tool (16.5 cm) (Onassoglou 1995, 25-28, 32-49, 150, pls. 8-15; the tomb was covered by a well preserved bronze tripod cauldron and the remains of a second fragmentary one) (Fig. 5). This LH IIIC tomb has been assigned to a metalsmith buried with the products of his workshop (Papadimitriou 2006, 543). Nonetheless, the axes were also certainly gathered in this tomb as part of a treasure/hoard revealing the high status of the *ca.* 30 year old male buried here, as it will be discussed further in the last part of this article.

In light of the above, it is unclear as to whether the bronzes from the pit excavated in the chamber of Tomb 82 at Mycenae were grouped here due to their economic value or whether this assemblage functioned as a coherent warlike or hunting set of equipment including axes in LH IIB. This pit contained, among other things, a spearhead, three daggers (including one reminiscent of a two-edged razor), three knives and a possible one-edged razor, next to the aforementioned double axe and axe-adze (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 232; for the grave goods, also Steinmann 2012, 371-372, no. 71, pl. 31) (Fig. 3). It is possible that the weapons, the double axe and the axe-adze belonged to the same deceased individual and thus symbolized different traits of his social persona. This last idea would be in line with the concept of a “hybridization of the system of symbols referring to war and to carpentry”, introduced by D’Onofrio (2017, 27) about EIA weapons burials and discussed below in this article. However, it must be remembered that the number of individuals buried in Tomb 82 at Mycenae remains unknown. If the pit was used for other than a primary burial, it is impossible to reconstruct with certainty the original grave assemblage(s) that included the axe and/or axe-adze.

As seen in the case of the LH IIA tholos tomb of Vapheio, the diversity of the grave goods may point to a multi-dimensional symbolic system. The objects should perhaps not be seen as a utilitarian funerary ‘kit’ belonging to one of the deceased. Rather this system may reference martial and commercial values, as was probably the case of the grave assemblage from Tholos 2 at Myrsinochori-Routsi. The chamber of this LH I-IIA and LH IIIA1 collective tomb provided weapons, mirrors and two balance pans among other items, and its dromos yielded a double axe and arrowheads (Zavadić 2013, 169, 527). The display of various objects at the funeral was certainly aimed at strengthening the social status of the elites. This interpretation may also be proposed for the LH IIB burial of a man furnished with weapons, double axes, metal vessels, ornaments and other grave goods at Stafylos on Skopelos (Platon 1949, 551, pl. 1A’; for the axes, see Tripathi 1988, 346, nos. 1146-1147). The combination of double axes

13 On the view that touchstones (usually classified as ‘whetstones’) in Early Iron Age Europe became a symbol at the moment of burial, see Ježek 2015, 122. So far, no whetstone seems to have been worn by any deceased person as a pendant or amulet in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. The “pendeloque (amulette?) en pierre” from Delphi (Perdrizet 1908, 9, fig. 24) is however identified in this article as a whetstone (Steinmann 2012, no. 223, LH IIIC).

and weapons raises the question whether double axes should be seen as tools or weapons.

In Minoan Crete, double axes have been found in palaces, settlements, cultic and burial contexts (Evely 1993, 42-72, nos. 20, 135, 156, 170, for single-axes in burial contexts, see p. 55, nos. 1, 8-18, for flat axes/adzes, see p. 72, nos. 6-11). Double axes vary greatly in size and weight. The massive bronze axes could have theoretically been intended for various purposes, such as working wood, fighting or hunting. It seems however that metal axes on Crete and the Greek mainland were not part of the regular military equipment in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Maran 2015, 250). The double axe was also used as a main religious symbol in the Minoan world, functioning as a votive offering or as part of a cult equipment. It was encountered “in finds from sanctuaries, and shrines both urban and rural, among the practical objects in artisans’ kits, as a motif on seals and sealings, in patterns on ceramics” (Alberti 2009, 104). One can express doubts about the efficiency of certain axes, whether they are double or single-axes. For instance, the maximum length and width of eleven single-axes from an ossuary at Palaikastro (MM I/II) are very small (8.6 x 3.8 cm) (Evely 1993, 55, fig. 23). Needless to say votive, ritual and ornamental axes¹⁴ were certainly not efficient tools or weapons. The strong symbolic value of the double axes in Minoan religious beliefs has already been underlined by various scholars (e.g., Nilsson 1950, 194-235; Marinatos 1993, 5).

According to Maran (2015, 251), double axes, and possibly maces, certainly functioned in the Aegean as *insignia dignitatis*, since axes of this type were most likely used as sacrificial instruments and thereby acquired a ceremonial status, even though not represented actively as such.¹⁵ Maran also points out that the double axe and mace are not depicted in battle scenes either. Moreover, the hypothesis that axes (double axes?) and knives may have been employed as ceremonial implements for killing the animal in slaughtering rituals has been suggested by Palaima, on the basis of a Linear B inscription from Pylos (tablet PY Ta 716: Palaima 2004, 236; for the ideogram of the axe, possibly the double one, see Vandenabeele, Olivier 1979, 60). This brings with it the idea that the presence of the double axe in a funerary context may be related to a ceremonial function. So far, there are however no further arguments to attribute this role to the double axes found in Mycenaean tombs. It is still possible that double axes were

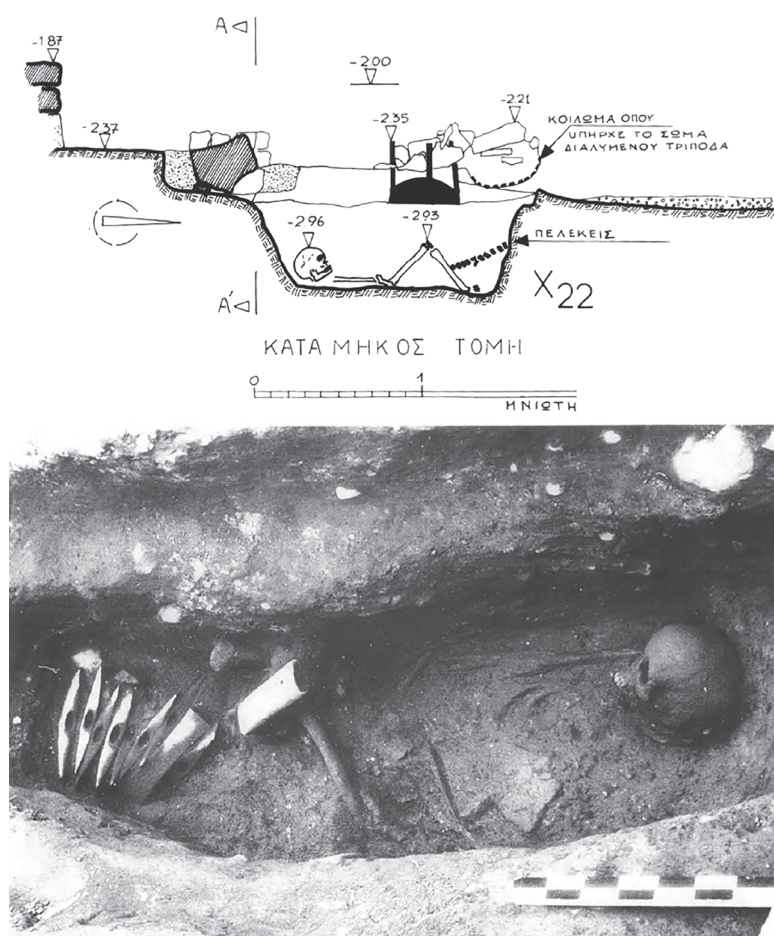


Fig. 5. Mycenae, Tripod Tomb (after Onassoglou 1995, 27, fig. IX, pl. 10.α).

14 For a series of Bronze Age bronze double axes “with a handle or meant for hanging” uncovered in the sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas, see Lambrinoudakis 1981, 64, figs. 10, 12. On an EIA bronze double axe pendant from Trapeza, see Borgna 2018.

15 On the impaled triangle as an interchangeable iconographic item with weapons, such as the double axe, dagger and arrow, see Marinatos 1986, 63.

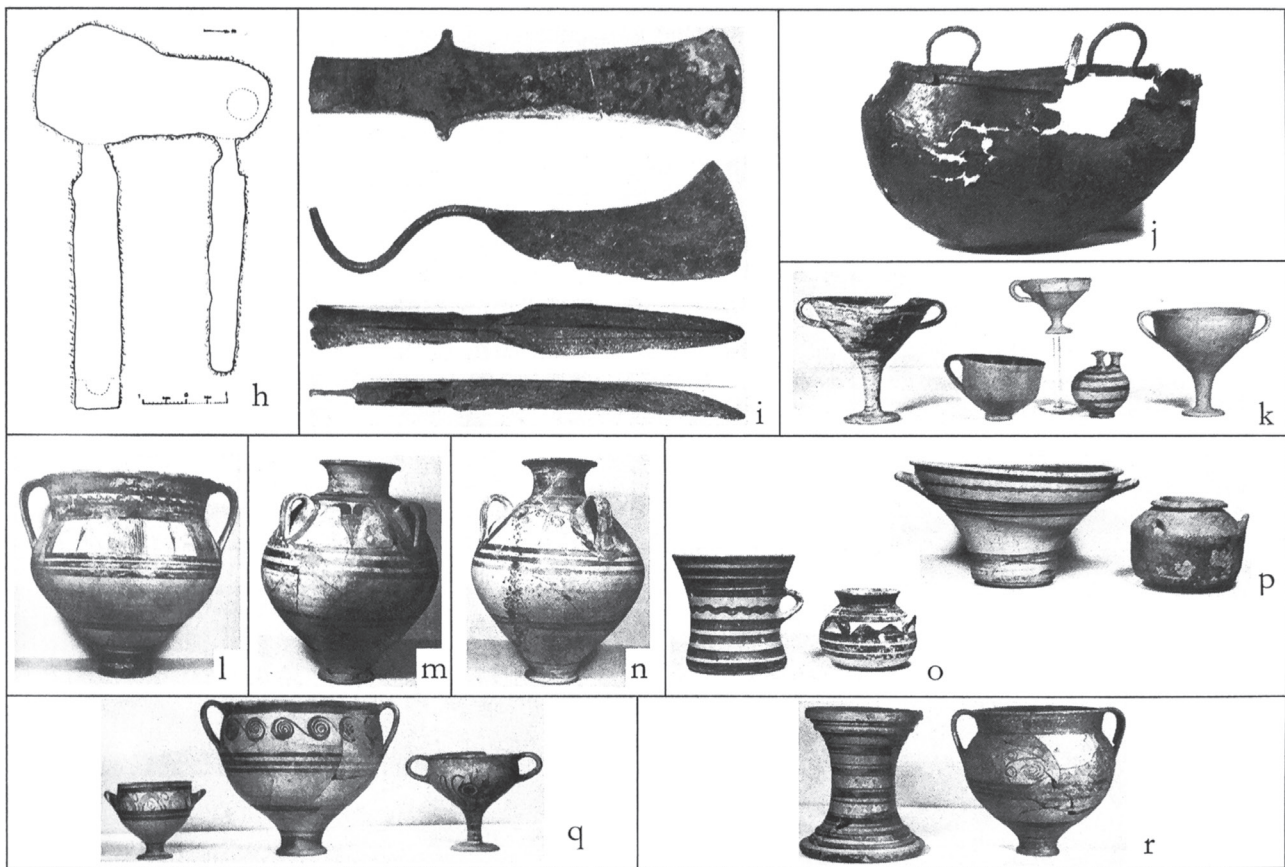


Fig. 6. Armenochori on Astypalaia, chamber tomb (after Steinmann 2012, pl. 51; see Zervoudaki 1975, 550, fig. 7, pls. 558-559).

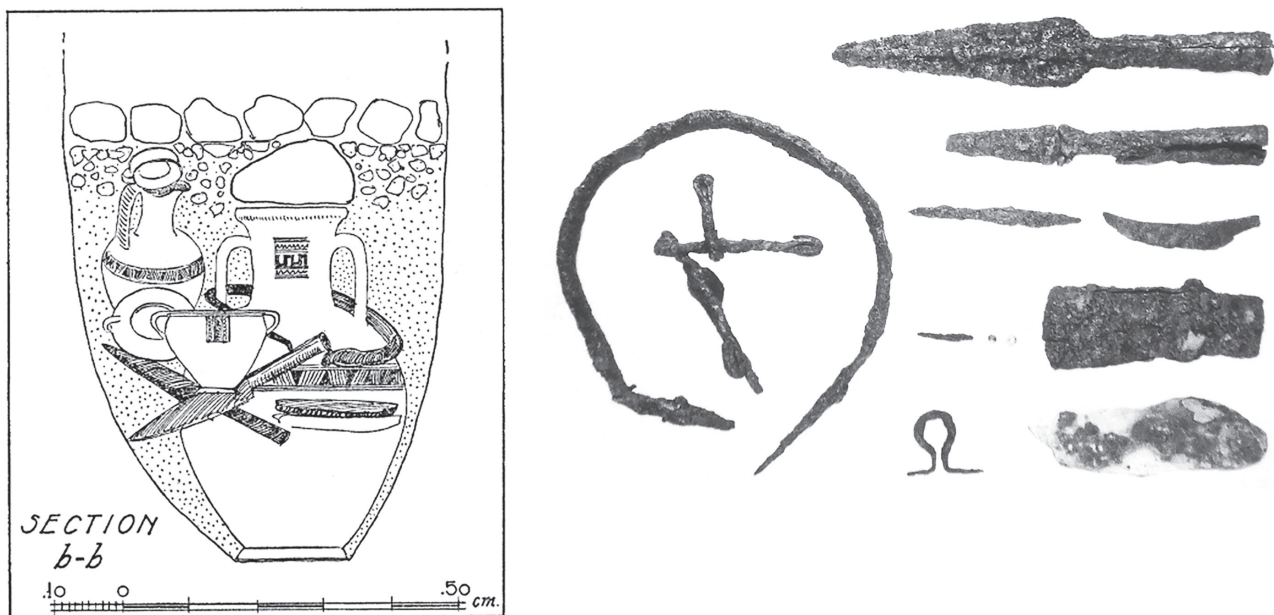


Fig. 7. Athenian Agora, Tomb 13 (Grave D 16:4), iron objects (T13-8 to T13-18) and a whetstone (T13-19), as well as bone and terracotta objects (T13-20 and T13-21) (after Papadopoulos, *Smithson* 2017, 106, fig. 2.56, and 114, fig. 2.62).

mainly regarded as working tools in funerary contexts. When they are closely associated with weapons, I would not exclude reference to a joint use in hunting practices.

Another type of axe found in Late Helladic contexts deserves further attention. This is the axe of trunnion type, which could have been used as much as a weapon, in fighting or hunting, as for all-purpose chopping by a woodworker or an agricultural labourer. A LH IIIB-IIIC Early tomb was furnished with a bronze axe, apparently of trunnion type, a spearhead, knives and a razor at Armenochori on Astypalaia (Dodecanese) (Steinmann 2012, 429, no. 355, pl. 51; see Zervoudaki 1971, pls. 558-559) (Fig. 6). Here too, the number of individuals buried in this tomb is unknown. Would the axe from Armenochori have been intended for fighting, hunting or woodworking? By comparison, axes found in EIA graves, usually the iron axes of trunnion type, are commonly regarded as weapons and thus as part of the warrior's equipment (Lemos 2002, 122; examples from Lefkandi and Athens). One may note here that the identification of the chisel found in Tomb 13 at the Athenian Agora (Fig. 7) has been challenged: this iron object has eventually been determined as a battle axe (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 9, 106, T13-13). This case confirms the difficulty of differentiating tools and weapons in EIA contexts (Blackwell 2020a, 533, fig. 3.6.2). Following Papadopoulos and Smithson's view, one would hesitate to link the axe from the LH IIIB-IIIC Early tomb at Armenochori on Astypalaia to carpentry or other craft purposes. The use of the axe would better fit with hunting practice, possibly linked to aspects of consumption symbolized by the bronze cauldron and dipper found in this tomb (Zervoudaki 1971, 551, pl. 558.a; Steinmann 2012, no. 355, pl. 51).

Personal care or butchery/hunt? Burials furnished with razors or cleavers

The question arises whether other unsuspected blade types may have been used in the hunt. Knives and razors must be discussed in detail here. In funerary contexts, bronze leaf-shaped blades found on the Greek mainland are often seen as daggers or as double-edged knives (*e.g.*, at Prosymna, see Blegen 1937, fig. 158; Kirrha, see Dor *et al.* 1960, 140, no. 3, pl. LVII; Eleusis, see Mylonas 1975, A, 240, pl. 50.a), but as razors in Crete (at Knossos, see Evans 1906, 71, fig. 78; Armenoi, see Tzedakis, Kolivaki 2018, 15). These leaf-shaped blades are two-edged, whereas some rectangular blades, which are also interpreted as razors, are one-edged (Weber 1996, 3-5).

Regarding the two-edged leaf-shaped blades, it seems reasonable to assimilate them to daggers or knives, even though the term 'razor' is commonly used in the scholarship (*e.g.*, Steinmann 2012). This is true of the blade termed 'dagger (wide)' (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 235, ἐγχερίδιο (πλατύ), no. 3128, pl. 111) found in the aforementioned Tomb 82 at Mycenae (LH IIB, possibly corresponding to the razor mentioned by Steinmann 2012, no. 71, pl. 31). The description of a knife with a 'point like a pig tail', which is not illustrated (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 235), might correspond to a one-edge razor. Thus it is essential to specify whether the blade is one-edged or two-edged, as proposed by Zavadil (2013, 163). In this respect, it must be stressed that razors found together with tools in funerary assemblages of the Shaft Grave period are all two-edged (see Table 1). I would not exclude that such blades were potentially used in hunting activities.

One-edged blades are considered knives, which mostly have a longitudinal edge and finish in a point. It must be remembered that Aegean knives vary greatly in size and shape (one-edge, double-edged forms, curved or straight bladed, with or without flanges, see Evelyn 1993, 20). The short one-edged knife was certainly a multi-purpose tool used for a variety of tasks, for cutting and working different materials, and thus characterized by a remarkable versatility. This raises the question as to whether the function of the razors could have been versatile as well. The knives having a blade longer than 25-30 cm may have been used as efficient weapons. This was certainly the case of the long knives or cutlasses found in the shaft graves of Mycenae (Karo 1930/1933, pl. XCVII; Mylonas 1973, A-256, pl. 19β.2). In the Protogeometric period, one-edged knives, which are occasionally longer than *ca.* 10-15 cm, are considered either tools or offensive weapons (Lemos 2002, 123). Finally, with the one-edged razor, the form of the blade is worth being specified: the rectangular or almost triangular blade is wide on the opposite side of the handle.

An object identified as a 'razor' should primarily be for cutting hair, and thus be considered a personal toiletry implement or an instrument for personal grooming. Knives and perhaps razors may have been used in rituals or in some religious setting in the Aegean Bronze Age, on the argument that shaving was there practised, as may be

suggested for young people depicted on the LM IA wall-painting at Akrotiri, on Thera (in West House and Xeste 3, see comment in Chapin 2007, 230). However, there is no evidence that removal of hair took place in Aegean funerary contexts in the Bronze Age, as occurred in the New Kingdom Egypt (on the shaving of hair in religious and funerary contexts, see Eriksson 2001, 189-190), or as is related later in the *Iliad* (13. 45-46, 135-136, 141, 146, in the cutting off of the mourners' hair; see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 110). Moreover, it is not impossible that small razors, as well as tweezers, were used for minor surgical operations in the Aegean Bronze Age (Arnott 1999a, 272, 276). Likewise, there is also no reason to rule out the idea that a 'razor' may have been used as a tool (Smith *et al.* 2017, 30, fig. 2.23), namely as a cleaver, but this use deserves further discussion.

Size and durability should be main criteria of distinction between razors and cleavers. As pointed out by Eriksson (2001, 189), "the Aegean cleavers are nearly twice the length and are obviously designed for a more sturdy cutting purpose than that which the [Egyptian New Kingdom] *mechak* razors are designed for." Indeed, a cleaver should be larger than a razor (*e.g.*, on Minoan blades, see Arnott 1999a, cleaver, 275, no. 287, L. 22, W. 4-6 cm, *vs.* razor, 276, no. 288, L. 14.9, W. 3-5.3 cm). However, in the Aegean, the difference in size is not always a good indicator by which to distinguish razors from cleavers, as is illustrated by examples of the Palatial and Post-palatial periods. For instance, the length of 'cleavers' from Perati range from 17.9 to 19.8, whereas that of the razors fall between 12.9 and 21.5 cm (Iakovidis 1969-1970, B, 340, 358).¹⁶ The width of the blade could also be a criterion of distinction between cleavers and razors, as illustrated by examples from Brauron (Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2014, cleaver, 18, fig. 3.26, L. 22, W. 6 cm; *vs.* razor, 58-59, fig. 3.141, L. 22.7, W. 3.2 cm). All in all, I would argue that the larger and thicker one-edge rectangular bronze blades with a slightly curved back, in many cases conventionally termed razors, were most likely made for cutting meat (on cleavers or butchery choppers, see Evelyn 2000, 379, fig. 152.5-6; also Weber 1996, 7), and not intended for personal care.

It must be stressed that one-edged blades found in Mycenaean funerary contexts are not very long. Would they be instruments too dangerous for shaving people? I do not think that their length is an issue for this purpose, even in the case of a curved blade such as the razor from a LH IIIC tomb at Perati (t. 123: Iakovidis 1969, A, 429-430, M157, Γ, pl. 128.γ, L. 21.5 cm, W. 2.6 cm). Would their width be unsuitable for shaving people? The blades of the *mechak* razors of the Egyptian New Kingdom are also relatively wide in comparison to their length, but their cutting-edge is at one end of the hatchet-like blade (Eriksson 2001, 188, fig. 3), unlike the Aegean one-edged razors. Would one-edged razors be efficient as utilitarian tools used in butchery or in craft activity? The question remains open. Conversely, some wide one-edged blades defined as razors seem inappropriate for shaving, even though the LH IIIB-IIIC Early tomb at Armenochori on Astypalaia (Zervoudaki 1971, pl. 559.β; also Steinmann 2012, pl. 51.i) has provided a razor, whose blade is almost triangular, one-edged, with a slightly curved back, which resembles a machete or a cleaver. The identification of this razor as an instrument for personal care may be challenged, since a blade of this shape would be little suited to shaving hair on the head or chin: the possibility that this blade was used as a cleaver should not be excluded. The same reasoning applies to the two razors found in Tomb 2 at Dendra (Persson 1931, 97-98, nos. 25-26, pl. XXXII.6; Steinmann 2012, 377, pl. 38.e-g, *Rasiermesser*).

Therefore, it may be postulated that cleavers or the largest razors were probably tools or instruments well adapted for practices related to hunting. By comparison, at Knossos, the Hunter's Grave (LM IIIA) contained fifteen bronze arrowheads, a one-edged razor and a knife (Evans 1906, 30-32, Grave 10, see the one-edged razor from tomb 42, on p. 60, fig. 63; also Steinmann 2012, 415-416, no. 284, LM IIIA1, pl. 44). Had a sword been found in this grave, Evans might have called it a Warrior's Grave. Another grave in Crete yielded bronze arrowheads, cleavers, possibly a razor and a mirror disc as well as several bronze vessels (Tomb 3, Sellopoulo, LM IIIA1, Popham, Catling, Catling 1974, 240-242, 251): these were perhaps provided for the burial of a hunter, despite the fact that this

16 Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, Γ, μαχαίροπέλεκυς, 56, pl. 15.β, M219, τ. 152; 79, pl. 24.γ, M128, τ. Σ32; 369-370, M94, pl. 110.γ, τ. Σ24; *vs.* ξυράφιον, 109, pl. 33.β, M112, τ. 69; 175, pl. 52.β, M17, τ. 5α; 429-430, pl. 128.γ, M157, τ. 123; κουρίς, 426, pl. 126.δ, M151, τ. 122α. By comparison, for a cleaver or one-edged razor from Eleusis, see Mylonas 1975, B, 157, Απ11, L. 18.5 cm. For a razor from the Athenian Agora, see Immerwahr 1971, 176, III-19, pl. 36, preserved L. 19 cm.

tomb is usually regarded as a so-called warrior's grave (Hägg, Sieurin 1982, 185). The number of deceased buried in this tomb remains however undetermined (Popham, Catling, Catling 1974, 198). In Mycenaean Greece, by comparison, chisels, knives, double axes and whetstones are the tool-types found in the same LH IIB-III B tombs as spearheads (see Table 1). The association of tools and spearheads occurred in LH IIIC burials as well (Steinmann 2012, 401, no. 211, and 404, no. 225; namely at Palaio-kastro, see Demakopoulou, Crouwel 1998, 273-276, 282-283, and at Volos-Nea Ionia, see Baziou-Evstrathiou 1999, 118-119, fig. 4).

Finally, the question arises as to whether hunters would have skinned animals and prepared hides for leatherworking, or whether craftspeople were in charge of this task.¹⁷ What types of tools, as personal belongings or symbols of control over this craft, could have been deposited in the graves? It has been pointed out that vertical cutting knives found in Minoan Crete were probably used as leather cutters rather than cosmetic razors (see discussion in Evelyn 2000, 525). The curved cutting-edge of the leather cutters is at right-angles to the handle, contrary to the one or two-edged razors, whose cutting edges are on the same axis as the handle. Moreover, the fact that chisels have been found together with weapons and one-edged razors in the same Mycenaean tombs, *i.e.* at Eleusis (T. Απ11, LH IIIB) and Perati (T. 123, LH IIIC) (Steinmann 2012, nos. 179, 216), raises a series of questions: did such chisels serve in the making or replacing of the wooden shafts for weapons, or perhaps for another purpose such as skinning hunted animals, working bone or antler?¹⁸ If a chisel and a burin (or awls and punch, according to D'Onofrio 2017, 38, fig. 10) are suitable tools for wood carving, with a pair of tweezers as a useful instrument to add to this set, could one envisage a toolkit made up of a one-edged razor, a chisel or punch, a burin and tweezers as appropriate for leather, bone and antler working?

Some such tools (awl, punch or chisel, whetstone) and a one-edged razor were uncovered in Tomb 123 at Perati (LH IIIC, for the two bronze tools – κοπίδιον and σπήτιον – and blades, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 429-

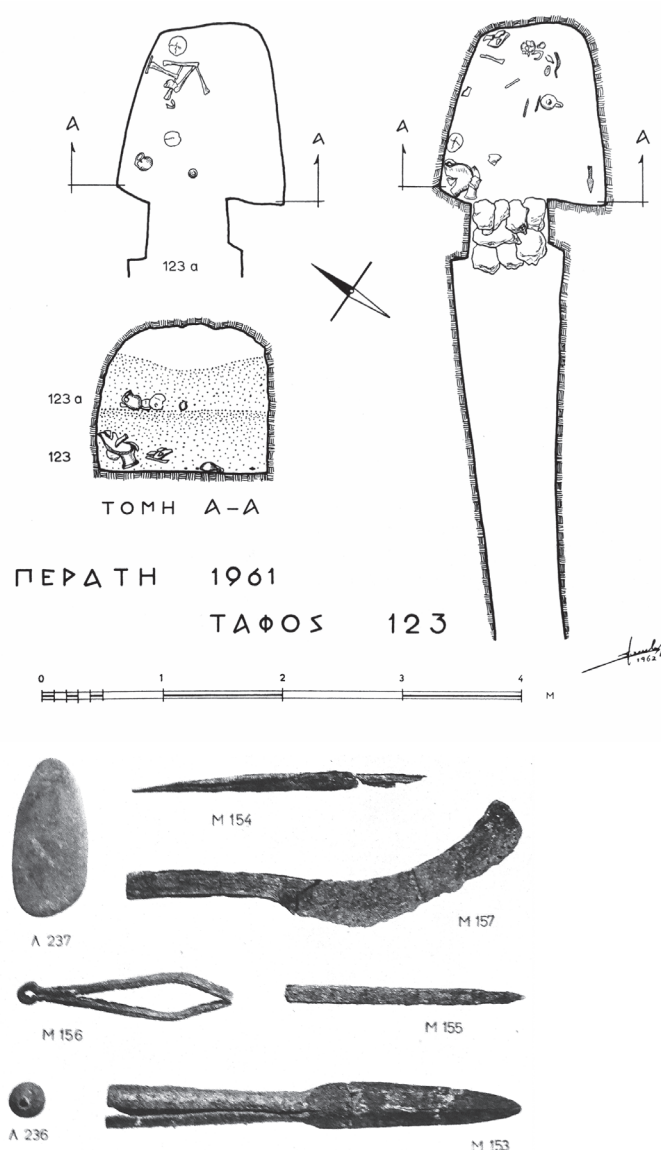


Fig. 8. Perati, chamber tomb 123, bronzes and stone objects (after Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 427, fig. 140; Γ, pl. 128.γ).

17 On tanning as a means of processing hide, see Trantalidou 2001, 278-279. On leather industry and hides recorded on documents in Linear B, see Voutsas 2001, 150-151; Bernabé, Luján 2008, 221-222.

18 On bone objects used as tools, as well as instruments and utensils of bone or partly made of bone, see Trantalidou 2001, 269-270, figs. 6-7, and, on the use of antlers and horns, 271-272.

430; B, 338-339, figs. 144-145; Γ, pl. 128.γ; also Steinmann 2012, 402, no. 216) (Fig. 8). On the assumption that the tools were closely associated with the spearhead found in this tomb, the grave assemblage may represent craft activities (leather, bone, antler working) linked to hunting practices. However, it is uncertain that all these bronze objects were originally part of the same toolkit and deposited with just one of the deceased in this tomb (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 428). In the Post-palatial necropolis of Perati, it is uncommon to find a one-edged razor associated with a weapon and tools: one may mention Tomb 5a, which has yielded a one-edged razor together with a pair of tweezers (Iakovidis 1969-1970, Γ, pl. 52.β, M17 and M16).

Personal care, surgery or craft? Burials furnished with tweezers and 'ear-picks'

Next to the razors, metal objects such as tweezers and ear-picks (or ear-scoops) are usually interpreted as toiletry implements or objects of personal use. However, the function of these objects can again be questioned. More generally, as regards tweezers, I would extend the use of these instruments to any purposes removing thorns and splinters. They would have been useful also for people involved in craft activity – picking up small or delicate items, for example. Otherwise, it has been proposed to interpret certain tweezers from Minoan tombs as surgical instruments, as is the case with the tweezers from LM IIIA2, IIIA-B tombs at Armenoi (Arnott 1999a, 275, nos. 285, 286). Similarly, some tweezers found in Mycenaean funerary contexts are seen as instruments belonging to the equipment of a pharmacist or medical doctor (also Dakoronia 2007, 60).

At this point, it is time to return to the grave goods from Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi (Fig. 4.a-c), which are regarded as working tools by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, no. 22), *i.e.* a flat axe, two chisels, an awl, a whetstone and two handstones, as already pointed out above. The presence of tweezers is not indicated by Kilian-Dirlmeier, who refers to the report of Protonotariou-Deilaki (1973, 92, fig. 6, pl. 91.γ, bronzes on figure 6, are termed “μαχαϊρίδιον, γλωσσειδές ἐγχειρίδιον, λαβίς μεγάλη, ὀπεύς, πέλεκυς, βελόνη”). These bronze objects were previously assigned to a potential surgical kit by scholars such as Robert Arnott (1999b, pl. XCVII.b), as recalled by Eleni Salavoura (2012, 347 n. 32), who dates the tomb to LH IIB. More precisely, Arnott (1999b, 503) identifies in this grave assemblage “a curved bladed knife or razor, a long saw, a pair of large-denticulated forceps, a short-tanged knife, three chisels, a long handed spoon or scoop, two long probes or lancets and a small, broad pair of forceps or tweezers”. It must be stressed that the large-denticulated forceps, as termed by Arnott, does not at all resemble the small, broad pair of forceps or tweezers.

Contrarily, Piteros considers these objects to be working tools and attributes them to “a multi-talented craftsman who worked with ivory and precious metals for making jewellery” (Piteros 2015, 247). According to this author, “the tools include a tongue-shaped dagger, an axe, a small knife, five awls of various sizes, one narrow and one wide chisel, both bearing obvious tool marks from a hammer, two pairs of tweezers, a sizeable needle and a unique pair of large tweezers (scissor-like) 30 cm in length, with small thin teeth, with concave-shaped handles probably reserved for specialized work. The toolkit also included a saw 26 cm long, a scraper with large handles 25 cm long, possibly for working the interior of vessels, three white whetstones, two grey axe-shaped whetstones and two stone grinders” (Piteros 2015, 246). It seems that these objects belonged to the same original burial or same “kit”, since they were all discovered in a pit excavated in the chamber of Tomb K, dated to LH IIIA-IIIB (Piteros 2015, 246). This pit also provided human skeletal remains (see Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973, 93, fig. 6), but only anthropological analysis could confirm whether they all belonged to a single individual.

Three remarks must be passed on the assemblage of bronzes found in the pit of Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi. First, the axe identified by Protonotariou-Deilaki (1973, 93, fig. 6, no. 108) resembles a large one-edged razor. It does not appear on the illustration published by Piteros (2015, 246, fig. 5), which shows a two-edged razor (*i.e.* leaf- or tongue-shaped dagger) instead. The presence of an axe is not mentioned by Arnott (1999b) but that of a razor is. Thus, the question arises: what does the axe look like. The widest tool after the tongue-shaped dagger on the picture published by Piteros is likely a chisel. Secondly, a larger number of awls are illustrated by Piteros than by Protonotariou-Deilaki or Arnott. Thirdly, the identification of the long-handled spoon or scoop by Arnott requires a further comment, being unlike the pair of large-denticulated forceps by the same Arnott,

which corresponds to the pair of large tweezers (scissor-like) with teeth by Piteros, or in my opinion to denticulate tongs. Since the long-handled spoon is almost as long as the saw, it can only be the scraper by Piteros (and thus the “handles” should be read as “handle”). A length of 25 cm excludes the hypothesis that it may have functioned as an ear-pick.

Could a tool with a long handle be used for scraping and removing soft material inside a narrow hollow object, like perhaps marrow from bones (for instance for making a bone tool, see Trantalidou 2001, 270), or other animal materials?¹⁹ It may work as well as a medical instrument. Another explanation could be that the bronzes in Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi were deposited because of their economic value, but the variety of instruments or tools, which constitutes a coherent kit, rather supports a functional interpretation. The presence, however, of a ‘silver ear scoop’ in Tomb III at Kalapodi (LH IIB, Dakoronia 2007, 60, fig. 2; also Salavoura 2012, 348) was probably due to its precious material. This hypothesis has been already mooted above, in the case of the silver or gold ear-picks found in earlier tombs (LH IIA) at Vapheio and Thorikos. Thus, the silver ear-pick of Kalapodi should be considered an object of prestige, especially since it was found with gold jewellery and bronze weapons under and around the head of the same deceased,²⁰ whose social status was undoubtedly high. Nevertheless, the hypothesis of a military doctor buried with his instrument has been put forward by Dakoronia (2007, 60; also Salavoura 2012, 348). In her view balances, along with tweezers and the ‘ear-picks’ (‘ear-scoops’), may have been part of the equipment of a pharmacist or military doctor.

Trade, craft or medicine? Burials furnished with balances

Precision balances would have been used for weighing precious and light commodities. Thus, scales (or balances) would be useful instruments for craftspeople, especially for those working with precious materials, or for other professions requiring precise measurements, such as a pharmacist. Balance pans were recovered in the same deposits as weapons, toiletry items and other grave goods at Kalapodi (Tomb I, LH IIB, Steinmann 2012, 372, no. 74; see Dakoronia, Dimaki 2004, 394; Dakoronia 2007, 59-60, 63, fig. 1). Similarly, two balance pans were found together with weapons, toiletry items and a whetstone (as a tool likely used in relation with these bronze blades) in Tholos 2 at Kazarma (LH IIA, Steinmann 2012, 367, no. 50). There is little doubt that the persons buried with weighing equipment had a high social status in the Mycenaean communities they lived in. However, it is difficult to determine whether the person in question was a merchant, craftsman or even medicine-man.²¹

As occurred in LH IIA at Vapheio and Thorikos, balance pans found in later Mycenaean burials were also part of heterogeneous assemblages characterized by a large variety of grave goods, which may include personal objects, vessels, and weapons. In the Grave Circle (Tholos V, Pit 2) at Pylos, the last burial, that of the male, was furnished with a bronze pan, an awl, a mirror, a knife, a bowl, and flint arrowhead among other things, probably in LH IIIA1 (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 139, 168, fig. 228.5; Zavadil 2013, 375, for the date, see 379). The bronze balance pan may represent one of the main aspects of his social persona related to trade, though no further object in this grave assemblage is linked to this activity. The selection of weighing equipment for funerary contexts at Pylos certainly predates the LH IIIA1 phase: five other balance pans from the same tholos (Pit 4) seem to belong to earlier burials (Zavadil 2013, 376; for the balances from Pylos, see Michailidou 2008, 150-151).

19 A current surgery instrument is the periosteal elevator, which resembles an ear-pick, *i.e.* a small spoon with a long handle. Moreover, current leather craft tools include instruments resembling fine elongated spoons or spatulas with a small round head used as modeling or embossing tools, along with half-moon knives with vertical middle tang. For a half-moon knife used for cutting leather in Egypt (wall-painting), see Trantalidou 2001, 279.

20 “[...] a large number of golden ornaments [...] golden beads, amber beads, vases, spindles, a seal stone, two bronze knives, a bronze spearhead”, see Dakoronia 2007, 60; see Dakoronia, Dimaki 1998; also Steinmann 2012, no. 75.

21 On “specialists, such as craftsmen or medicine-men”, with regard to precision weights found in Bronze Age burials at Singen (Germany), see Pare 1999, 470. On “craftsmen (goldsmiths? metallurgists?), doctors?” belonging to the socio-economic elite, buried with “personal boxes” containing weighing equipment and other prestigious grave goods in LBA graves in the valleys of the Yonne and upper Seine, see Roscio, Delor, Muller 2011, 185.

Dress accessories or textile production? Burials furnished with conuli

The difficulty of distinguishing objects of personal use from working tools is not limited to bronze instruments. Clay or stone *conuli* (perforated conoid objects) identified in Mycenaean settlement contexts have usually been regarded as spindle whorls, which vary not only in shape (Rahmstorf 2015, 6; see also Andersson Strand, Nosch 2015, 148), but also in size, diameter, and weight (Rahmstorf 2015, 5), having in addition different hole diameters [for illustrations of spindle whorls in Mycenaean contexts, see especially the articles on Midea and Thebes in the volume edited by Andersson Strand and Nosch (2015)].

Conuli of various types, mostly made of steatite, were also discovered in tombs. They are usually interpreted as ‘buttons’, in particular since the publication of the cemetery at Prosymna by Blegen (1937, 256-257, 312-314; also Konstantinidi-Syvridi 2014, 145), although *conuli* have been found scattered on the chamber floors or grouped in large numbers in the LH III tombs of the cemetery (Blegen 1937, 257, 313). The identification of buttons or spindle whorls is a long-standing debate (Wace 1932, 217-218; Iakovidis 1977, 114-115). The best illustrations of the diversity of their shape is provided by Immerwahr (199, 109, pl. 77 “buttons or beads”) for the Late Helladic II-III cemetery at the Athenian Agora (biconical, conical and slender types), as well as by Iakovidis (1969-1970, B, 279-280, fig. 123, also p. 452 “buttons”) for the Post-palatial cemetery of Perati (biconical, hemispheric, conical and shanked types). Moreover, in funerary contexts, steatite *conuli* may have been used as dress weights, since they were found lying in “an irregular row passing above and beneath the tibiae of the dead woman” in Tomb 6 at Perati (Iakovidis 1969-1970, B, 452; Iakovidis 1977, 118). The positioning of the objects on a skeleton should be a relevant criterion in identifying buttons or dress weights.

This notwithstanding, the issue here is how to distinguish dress accessories from spindle whorls, when neither the material nor the types can be used as criteria. In graves, the association of *conuli* with spools and loom-weights in the same assemblages may suggest that *conuli* functioned as spindle whorls. However, despite the significant distribution of clay spools in Aegean contexts, as reviewed by Peter Pavúk (2012, 129),²² the combination of a spool and whorls in the same funerary assemblages is very unusual. One may mention the clay spool and two whorls of the same material, perhaps from a toolkit used in textile production, found together with metal jewellery and ceramic vases in a late MH individual grave at Corinth (T. 2, see Blegen, Palmer, Young 1964, 5, 8, for the spool, pl. 3.2-14). Furthermore, in the Aegean, very few spindles of bone, ivory or metal were entirely preserved, inasmuch as spindles would appear to have been predominantly made from wood (Rahmstorf 2015, 3). This makes the tools used in the textile industry even more difficult to identify in funerary contexts. The rare examples of the Post-palatial period are however worth being discussed here.

The discovery of an ivory spindle together with a spindle whorl, a comb, an undetermined ‘winged’ object²³ and a small shield, all of ivory too, in a pit excavated at the centre of the chamber of Tomb 65 at Perati, appears to be exceptional (for the spindle, ἄτρακτος, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 76, Δ108; B, 351, fig. 155; Γ, pl. 23.β, Δ108; Rahmstorf 2015, 2-3, fig. 1.1.1). These objects would constitute a possible set for textile working, suggesting that a craftsperson was buried with his/her tools in the Post-palatial period. They were found in the pit that contained remains of two bodies, together with further grave goods (ceramic vases and beads of various materials, steatite buttons, gold and silver finger rings, and bronze fibulae and an ornament). Nonetheless, it is possible that these ivory objects were regarded as objects of prestige. The same is possibly true of an ivory spindle and a fragment of another spindle found in Tomb 152 of the same cemetery (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 56, Δ211-212; B, 351, fig. 155; Γ, pl. 15.α). In addition, ivory spindles were probably seen as valuable because of their foreign origins, since

22 The spools found in graves at Agios Stephanos (MH III-early LH, see Taylour, Janko 2008, 424, 426, nos. 6039, 6045, 6047; graves listed in Pavúk 2012) were apparently in those of children (see Taylour, Janko 2008, 131 for burial 1, and 136 for burials 7-10). I would not exclude a use as a toy for fragmentary terracotta spools found in burials of children.

23 Similarly, it is difficult to determine the function of two fragmentary curved strips of bone with incised decoration from a Submycenaean grave in the Athenian Agora, which could correspond to either a weaving tool or a jewellery item, see Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 422, 426, fig. 2.308, also 948-952, T63-18 and 19.

counterparts of ivory or bone have been identified in the Troad, Cyprus and the Levant (Rehak, Younger 1998, 254; with reference to Balfanz 1995, 105-116).

Thus far, the bioarchaeological analysis undertaken on the skeletal material from the Post-palatial cemetery at Perati has concentrated on cremated bones. The gender of the individuals buried in the two tombs (T. 65 and T. 152) that were furnished with spindles remains unknown. Spinning and weaving were activities usually linked to women in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze and Iron Age Europe (Rahmstorf 2015, 15; Nordquist 1997, 534, 537). The traditional view that “women produced textiles only for their own needs within the *oikos* system, while male were professional weavers or ‘artists’ who produced high quality textiles for exchange and artistic esteem” has been already pointed out (see Rahmstorf 2015, 15). However, the question as whether “a gender should be globally assigned for the producer(s) and their skills” (Kopaka 1997, 527-528) remains open.

As already remarked, the aforementioned examples date back to the Post-palatial period. Future reviews of funerary assemblages based on a contextual approach may reveal burials of the palatial period furnished with tools used in textile production, particularly if some whorls and buttons were really spindle whorls, but the fact that primary burials are rarely found in LH IIB-III B collective tombs leaves little hope of finding such evidence. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: stone or terracotta *konuli* were certainly not regarded as valuables as indeed were metal or ivory objects deposited with the deceased as a sign of wealth. Despite this, it would be wrong to reduce the metal objects only to their economic value: this would reflect a complete process of defunctionalization. It is essential to assess whether these objects were part of an equipment characterizing the occupation of the deceased or were part of a multi-dimensional system of symbols referring to activities valued in funerary ceremonies.

FUNERARY IDEOLOGY AND VISIBILITY OF THE CRAFTSPEOPLE IN THE LH IIIA-III B BURIAL RECORD

Profession vs. elite status

Ten more burials furnished with tools must be added to Kilian-Dirlmeier’s list (2009, 385) of four LH II-III tombs. As already pointed out, the same tool-types, basically the chisel, awl, saw, and whetstone, are observed in the LH II-III grave good assemblages, as was the case in the Shaft Grave period (Table 1). These tools may have been used by any craftsman, such as a stone mason, shipwright, or goldsmith, before having been deposited in tombs, but they rarely constitute a coherent toolkit in funerary contexts that may readily and more specifically characterize a profession or an occupation.

Three burials furnished with tools in the LH IIB-III B period are particularly worth considering. The first is Grave XXIX (Artisan’s Grave, LH IIIA1) in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 2): this was a single male burial furnished with a stone mould, a stone axe, a bone handle and a bone tool. The second is Tomb XXXIII at Prosymna (LH IIIA2), whose side chamber was provided with a saw and a chisel, a pair of tweezers, a piece of lead wire and three sealstones (Blegen 1937, 109-110, fig. 244). No weapon was uncovered in association with these two burials that certainly belonged to artisans. The third is Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi (LH IIB or IIIA-III B), an exceptional burial, furnished with various bronze tools which would fit well in the toolkit of a craftsman (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009; Piteros 2015), perhaps specialized in metal working because of a unique long pair of denticulate tongs (Fig. 4) (see above, *s.v.* tongs in Evely 2000, 326, fig. 130; 364, 524, figs. 144, 215), in wood working because of the saw, or perhaps in working animal materials. The possibility that these tools were used as surgical instruments cannot however be ruled out (Arnott 1999b, 503).

LH IIB-III B burials furnished with tools reviewed in this article were mostly provided with weapons (swords, spearheads or arrowheads). Although it is obvious that a person who could be buried with as many bronze tools as found in Tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi would have held an eminent position in the community, there is no further burial that may be mentioned for supporting the idea that tools played a major role in the funerary ideology. Regarding the double axes, it is unsure whether they were regarded as purely utilitarian tools. A double axe found together with weapons may have been assimilated to warlike or hunting values, as suggested above for the axe from

Tomb VIII at Kallithea-Langanidia in LH IIIA (but for bronzes as part of treasures, see Papadopoulos 1992, 58). Furthermore, groupings of bronzes, in particular when they include an axe-adze, such as in the LH IIB pit of Tomb 82 at Mycenae (Fig. 3), recall the Aegean hoard formations (see Blackwell 2020a, 519-520).

In contrast, weapons were certainly the main objects in most grave assemblages of the palatial period that include tools. Whetstones were linked to the use of weapons in the LH II-III period, as was the case in the Shaft Grave period. Arrowheads were still found along with working tools in LH IIB-IIIB burials, but in fewer numbers than in the Shaft Grave period. The tool-types concerned are now the chisel, awl, punch, knife, whetstone, and flint scraper (Table 1). Continuities in the selection of objects buried with the deceased remain, especially in Messenia. At Volimidia-Vorias, chamber tomb 3 (LH I, according to Tripathi and Kilian-Dirlmeier, *vs.* LH III, according to Marinatos, Weber, Kountouri or Zavadil, see Zavadil 2013, 328) was furnished with 27 arrowheads of bronze and flint, a chisel, a spearhead and a razor (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, nos. 13 and 15; see Zavadil 2013, 335 and 328). At Koukounara-Gouvalari notably, the same layer in Grave α6 of Tumulus α provided a bronze drill or chisel together with arrowheads and other grave goods of LH IIIA1-2 date (see Zavadil 2013, 472). It is noteworthy that the number of burials furnished with arrowheads decreased drastically in LH IIIB, without regaining favour in LH IIIC burials.²⁴ This raises the question whether the bow and arrow were still highly valued as offensive weapons at funerals in LH IIIB and LH IIIC. Unlike arrowheads, spearheads are well attested in burials furnished with weapons during the whole Late Helladic period (Steinmann 2012, 40-51). The weapon burial ritual was maintained in the Mycenaean funerary ideology in LH IIB-IIIA, as is evidenced by the large number of tombs still furnished with weapons (Steinmann 2012, 515-519, tables A3-A6).

The presence of weapons such as spears in tombs may have alluded to hunting, inasmuch as this activity was certainly seen as an aristocratic one and perhaps as a means of territorial control in the palatial period (Morris 1990, 149-150), and thus linked to a “clear statement of power” by the elites (Kelder 2012, 14). However, there is a clear decrease of burials furnished with weapons in LH IIIB (Steinmann 2012, 218-219, fig. 4), suggesting a decline in the weapon-burial ritual over a period covering more than a century. In LH IIIA2 and IIIB, the burials were usually not so wealthy as those in LH I-IIIA1. This suggests that funerals by the elites were less lavish in the Palatial period than in the early Mycenaean period, when “ostentation and competitive gestures” (Voutsaki 1998, 45) were at the centre of the funeral. Rituals may later have focused on emphasizing the group identity rather than glorifying an individual in the funerary performance, whereas the architectural monumentality of certain tombs, notably the tholoi, still embellished the landscape in LH IIIA2-IIIB and displayed the power of the Mycenaean rulers (Boyd 2016, 209, 213). The scarcity of tools in LH IIIB funerary contexts must be stressed (see also Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 72).

Finally, the lack of “special implements for metal working or agricultural tasks or building” in Aegean graves requires attention (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009, 385). Hammers, stakes and anvils are apparently missing in the funerary assemblages. Stone tools like polishers, grinders or pounders, which were used in agriculture and food production, occur only rarely in the Mycenaean grave assemblages, aside from some grinding stones or pounders found in Messenian burial contexts dated from the Shaft Grave period onwards (Zavadil 2013, 180, 313, 367, 506). There is also no conclusive evidence of burials furnished with potter’s tools in Mycenaean Greece or Minoan Crete thus far, except in the case of a potter’s wheel found in a chamber tomb at Kritsa (LM IIIC or earlier: Kanta 1980, 134; Evely 2000, 280, no. 61; also Eaby 2007, 38). Nor is there any hint of painter’s tools in the Mycenaean funerary contexts. Moreover, it is difficult to identify tools adequate for producing textiles in LH IIIA2-IIIB tombs, since *conuli* may have functioned either as spindle whorls or buttons. Yet the textile industry was a major craft activity controlled by the palaces, along with the perfume industry and bronze working, as attested in the Linear B archives, and numerous workers were involved in this activity.

24 For tombs furnished with arrowheads, some with other weapons, but without tools, see Steinmann 2012: LH IIIA2, nos. 95, 103, 156, LH IIIA, nos. 97, 104, 110, 121, 145, 158, LH IIIA2/B or (-B), nos. 105, 125, 163, LH IIA-IIIB, nos. 414, 417, 419, LH IIIA-C, no. 371, LH IIIB, no. 180, and LH IIIC, no. 209.

A comment on burials of priests or priestesses

The limited number of burials identified with certainty as belonging to craftspeople raises the question as to what extent other occupations may be characterized by the objects found in funerary contexts. A low visibility of other professions would support the hypothesis that the funerary ideology concentrated on the weapon burial ritual, even in the palatial period. Ceremonial implements or cult *paraphernalia* found inside the tombs may indicate burials of priests or priestesses. Nevertheless, there is always the possibility that ceremonial implements were part of a multi-dimensional system of symbols and values displayed at the funeral. Moreover, as regards cult *paraphernalia* made in precious materials, rhyta included, there is every reason to believe that they were brought to the grave as valuables (for rhyta in the shaft graves of Mycenae, see Koehl 2006, 299). The *paraphernalia* addressed below are mainly pierced vessels.

According to Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 111 n. 67), burials of priests or priestesses have been identified at the Athenian Agora (T. 26 [XXVI]), due to a pierced hydria uncovered here (Immerwahr 1971, 227-228 “a person of some religious stature”), and at Prosymna (T. 44 [XLIV]), because of a “table of offerings” and five pierced vessels presumably used for libations (Blegen 1937, 213-214). The ritual character of these objects is stressed respectively by Immerwahr and Blegen. Rhyta of various shapes, including pierced hydria and jugs, were certainly libation vessels. Aegean rhyta may have served for specific rituals at the funeral or for cultic purposes. They may theoretically have belonged to some libation sets used by priests (Koehl 2006, 337). Koehl (2006, 312-313) suggests that the five pierced vases (or rhyta) from Tomb XLIV at Prosymna most likely constituted, along with the ‘table of offerings’, the equipment of one of the deceased buried in this collective tomb. Tomb XLIV was the only tomb at Prosymna that provided such a group of pierced vases, a fact that supports the view that one of the deceased in Tomb XLIV had a particular status (Blegen 1937, 213). But the discovery of jewellery, arrowheads, a scale pan and a small spoon in this tomb is consistent with the idea of a multi-dimensional system of symbols.

Nonetheless, the possibility remains that pierced vessels were used in the rituals performed at the funeral of a person who was not a religious dignitary (Aamodt 2006, 156), supporting the notion that “the identification of these burials with those of priests cannot be based only on the presence of the particular objects, since these could have been used in the rituals performed for the deceased, and therefore may have had no connection with the dead person’s profession” (Aamodt 2006, 152). Conversely, Koehl argues for a distinction between fragments of rhyta scattered in the dromos and rhyta found inside the tomb: “rhyta found in the dromos probably belonged to assemblages that were used at the time of the last funeral at the grave, whereas rhyta found inside the tomb were probably the personal possessions of the deceased” (Koehl 2006, 278). Be that as it may, a person buried with pierced vessels in LH IIB-III B had certainly a particular status, or his/her family did, distinct from most people buried in the same cemeteries, perhaps by having some responsibility in a religious office (Aamodt 2006, 160-161).²⁵

In addition, the idea that priesthood was perhaps hereditary is discussed by Koehl. He specifies that there is so far no evidence from burials other than Tomb XLIV at Prosymna and perhaps a child’s cist burial at Agios Stephanos to suggest that priesthood was hereditary in LH IIB-III B (Koehl 2006, 342). Regarding Tomb XLIV at Prosymna, Koehl (2006, 340, 342) follows the interpretation of Blegen (1937, 214). This view is supported by the successive presence of ceremonial implements in the chamber, that is, a LH III B1 kernos (for the date, see Shelton 1996, 141 “triple composite vase”) found in the upper stratum as the successor to the ‘table of offerings’ found in the lower stratum (also Aamodt 2006, 155). This interpretation brings with it the idea that the tomb was a family tomb. The second example, which may suggest that priesthood was hereditary, is the LH IIB-III A1 burial of a child at Agios Stephanos furnished with a rhyton in the shape of a hybrid bird (Koehl 2006, 76, no. 31, fig. 3, also p.

25 Because of the sacrifice of animals and the wealth of the grave goods, the burial in Tholos Tomb A at Archanes on Crete is interpreted as that of a person with a high status and religious responsibilities, a Queen or a Princess-Priestess: Aamodt 2006, 160, see Sakellarakis 1968, 245-246.

316; as askos, see Taylour, Janko 2008, 129, pl. 40, no. 3289).²⁶ In light of the above, the presence of a rhyton in the child's burial may reflect social expectations or family aspiration.

Finally, one may wonder whether burials of palatial dignitaries or officials were characterized by funerary assemblages distinct from other elite burials furnished with metal weapons, vessels and jewellery items (for such burials, notably in LH IIB-IIIB, see Steinmann 2012, 515-520, tables A3-A7). Since sealing systems contributed to control the circulation of animals and commodities within territories and involved the work of officials or personnel of the palatial administration in Crete and on the Greek mainland (Panagiotopoulos 2010, 301),²⁷ sealstones and signet rings in funerary assemblages would be good candidates for characterizing these individuals. However, in funerary contexts, seals have usually been regarded as personal ornaments (Younger 1977, 146-153), worn by the deceased, or deposited beside or on them as valuables and signs of prestige from the Shaft Grave period onwards (Phialon 2020a, 46-50). Otherwise, seals may have been used as amulets or charms (e.g., Sakellarakis 1976, 284). Aegean sealstones and gold signet rings were objects designed to be worn, but they were not inscribed in Linear B, a script used for administrative purposes, and did not bear personal names, as occurred in the Near East (Karnava 2019, 582-583).²⁸ Moreover, there is so far no evidence of any writing implement appearing in Mycenaean funerary contexts, whereas pointed instruments of bone or bronze, which may have been used for writing on clay or other soft materials, come from settlements (for some bone examples from Thebes, see Demakopoulou 2014, 145, 147, fig. 4). The exceptional discovery of a bronze stylus at Chania in the Argolid should not be related to the burial of a scribe or a person able to write in Linear B in the Post-palatial period, since this object was found "in a LH IIIC context in a secondary use" on the floor of a tumulus, that is, placed here as a symbolic item at the inauguration ceremony of the burial ground after the first cremation burial (Palaïologou 2013, 270-271, fig. 14).

Consequently, there are apparently no specific implements that may be used to identify burials of palatial dignitaries or officials in charge of the administrative and economic control. The picture is different for the burials of priests, if one agrees with Koehl's assumption that the rhyta found inside the tombs are likely belongings of the deceased. According to Koehl (2006, 315, 324), the ratio of graves provided with rhyta in Mycenaean cemeteries ranges from one grave per cemetery in LH IIB to *ca.* 15% of the graves in each cemetery in LH IIIA2-IIIB1.²⁹ This would represent a good visibility of priests or priestesses in the burial record of the palatial period. Otherwise, rhyta may be part of a multi-dimensional system of symbols. Cult or religious symbols may have played a significant role in the burial ritual during the palatial period in their own right.

A comment on the visibility of craftspeople in the burial record

In the introduction, this article raised the question as to why so low a number of LH IIIB burials furnished with tools have been identified, whereas the Linear B archives record over a thousand craftspeople, notably at Pylos (Rougemont 2009, 111; see Carlier 1996, 571). Workers appear to be at the centre of the palatial interest but not their tools, since

26 In the Palatial period, the status of 'slave of the divinity' may have been hereditary, according to certain Linear B tablets, but it is uncertain that this status was passed down the male line, see Carlier 1983, 13; on this hypothesis with respect to some religious offices, see also Mee 1998, 169.

27 Seal impressions have been identified on some 1050 well-published nodules, most dated to LM/LH IIIB, and were interpreted as the traces of control left by these officials or palatial employees, see Panagiotopoulos 2010, 299, 301. The owners of the seals must not be considered the persons in charge of writing or inscribing in Linear B clay documents, nodules included. Moreover, "a minority of Mycenaean nodules (10%) are inscribed": Panagiotopoulos 2010, 302.

28 A unique seal with Linear B signs (MED Zg 1), *i.e.* an ivory seal, comes from Medeon in Phocis (CMS V.2, no. 415). Linear B inscriptions are exceptional in funerary contexts. On two stirrup jars with Linear B signs found in funerary contexts: TI Z 9 (Tiryns-Ag. Ilias), see Sacconi 1974, 85, pl. XI; AR Z 1 (Armenoi), see Tzedakis, Kolivaki 2018, 13, fig. 1.34. On seven identical signs (ornamental or Linear B?) engraved into a slab stone from a tholos tomb at Kazanaki (Volos), see comment in Del Frio 2007, 220.

29 Koehl 2006, 278: "the vast majority of Neopalatial contexts with rhyta are domestic, while most of the Mycenaean contexts are funerary". Also the diffusion of the clay rhyta in LM IIIA funerary contexts was closely linked to "the ritual tradition of the Neopalatial élites of Knossos and the new funerary ideology that was elaborated at Knossos in the 14th century BC": D'Agata, De Angelis 2016, 219.

their mention, outside fire-tongs and perhaps saws, is exceptional in the palatial records (Michailidou 2001, 91). Despite this, the recurrence of tools like sickles in Mycenaean hoards, whose presence may reflect a certain control of the palace over bronzes (Blackwell 2018, 523-524, 526), qualifies this view slightly. In LH IIIB, after the death of their owners, a worker's tools may have been handed down within the family (Brysaert, Veters 2010, 26), since they had virtually no role in the funerary arena in this period. The funerary ideology promoted by the Mycenaean palatial elites was then still focussed on warlike values, together with an increasing religious interest in LH IIIA2-IIIB. This is in line with the idea of Voutsaki (1998, 44) who sees "mortuary ritual as creating rather than mirroring social reality."

One would have expected that architects and artisans would have been buried in the cemeteries located close to where they lived or worked, as was the case in Egypt during the Ramesside period. Areas of pottery production and a few artisanal workshops have been well identified *in situ* in Late Helladic settlements (Phialon 2015-2016; for ivory working, at Mycenae, see Tournavitou 1997, 237). In Mycenaean Greece, however, there has been no cemetery of workers and/or craftspeople excavated so far, nor cemetery of royal artisans, anything that could be compared to the Middle Bronze Age burials furnished with tools at Ebla in Syria.³⁰ There is also a lack of such evidence in Minoan Crete. It must be recalled that the LM IIIA1-IIIB tombs excavated at Mochlos are clearly later than the Neopalatial settlement (Smith 2020, 284-285), and thus could not show any link to the Artisans' Quarter.

All the same, it should be noted that some of the burials at Mochlos, dated to LM IIIA1 and IIIA2, were furnished with tools (Soles, Bending, Brogan 2011, 45; also Vavouranakis 2007, 139). The adult male of Tomb 15, buried with a dagger, a chisel, and a ceramic drinking service, has been identified as the chief of this community, having possibly played the role of a *telestas* (Soles 2008, 201), *i.e.* "a person in charge" (about the *te-re-ta*, see Carlier 1987, 65-66; Rougemont 2009, 130). This supposes that the responsibilities may have been connected to craft activities as symbolized by the chisel.

Another hypothesis for explaining the lack of visibility of craftspeople in the Mycenaean burial record that is worth considering is that only palatial elites and the groups linked to them had access to a formal burial – and that craftspeople were not part of them. As regards the Pylian kingdom in Messenia and according to the analysis of known sites, a regional population of *ca.* 50,000 individuals has been estimated (Whitelaw 2001, 64; cited by Palaima 2010, 368). By comparison, the picture emerging from the LH IIIB burial record, in Messenia, is very limited indeed, despite the use or re-use of tholoi and tholos-like tombs (Zavadil 2013, 241). This would support the idea of a very limited access to formal burial in the palatial period. However, this hypothesis may be challenged by the distribution of large cemeteries of chamber tombs outside palatial areas, in some cases quite far from the palatial centres (Cavanagh, Mee 1998, cat., 83-88, *e.g.*, Prostovitsa, Palaiokastro, Tanagra, Elateia, Ialysos). There is reason to believe that people beyond the elite groups linked to the palatial sphere were buried in these provincial cemeteries. As regards the Prosymna cemetery in the Argolid, for example, it has been calculated that "in LH IIIA the community being buried in the chamber tombs at Prosymna must have numbered 200-300, surely not an *élite*" (Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 78).

Furthermore, it must be admitted that an indeterminably large number of burials, especially the simple ones in pits, have not survived the passage of the ages (Dickinson 2006, 176), or are still not discovered. These burials were most likely those of modest people, those who were at the base of the subsistence household economy, and in certain places and circumstances were probably pressed into service by the Mycenaean palaces. This might explain why there is a lack of well identified burials belonging to workers, including women that contributed to the palatial textile industry,³¹ besides the fact that textile tool sets are rarely identified in Aegean funerary contexts.³²

30 On the tools discovered in some of the 27 burials dated to the MBA I-II at Ebla (the so-called 'Smith Burial' in Group A included), and the fact that Group A was excavated under working areas of craftsmen linked to the royal elite, see Polcaro 2014-2015, 208, 211.

31 Male textile workers are also mentioned on the Linear B tablets from Knossos: Rahmstorf 2015, 15.

32 On wooden boxes containing textile tools in Scythian high-ranking female burials of the fifth-fourth centuries BC, see Daragan, Gleba, Buravchuk 2016.

By comparison, with regard to EIA Athens, it has been argued that the elite may have constituted 25% to 50% of the adult population and a part of the whole was excluded from the cemeteries, in some periods, on the basis of their social rank (Morris 1987, 94, and 69, 96). The virtual absence of children in the EIA Attic burial record before the LG period suggests an exclusion according to age as well (Alexandridou 2016, 334). Similarly, the under-representation of children in the LH IIIC mortuary record, notably in the cemetery at Perati, is worth noting, and the children buried there may have belonged to the local elite families (Gallou-Minopetrou 2015, 57, 63). This would support the thesis of a limited access to formal burial in Mycenaean Post-palatial period too. In order to better understand this issue, burials furnished with tools and weapons deserve a further examination. It could be argued that working tools found in funerary contexts, together with weapons, were not only the indicators of the high social position of the deceased,³³ but may also reveal another trait of their social persona, linked to craft activity. In other words, tools may already present the hybridization of a system of symbols that will prevail in the Early Iron Age.

THE HYBRIDIZATION OF A SYSTEM OF SYMBOLS IN LH IIIC AND EARLY IRON AGE

The warrior-artisan, basileus and warrior-sailor in LH IIIC

A review of Post-palatial burials furnished with tools should allow us to assess whether craftspeople had a better visibility in the burial record then. First, one must establish what tool-types are most highly represented in funerary contexts, and whether they are associated with weapons. As regards EIA male burials, D'Onofrio has already pointed out that "working tools are found, albeit rarely, in association with weapons, hybridizing the figures of the 'warrior' and the 'artisan'" (D'Onofrio 2017, 30). The possibility that tools had a subordinate role in the funerary assemblages should also be taken into account.

The figure of the warrior-artisan may be a relevant concept for understanding the presence of tools in certain Mycenaean grave assemblages. However, the identification of tools may not be straightforward. For instance, the assemblage from a LH IIIB-IIIC Early tomb at Armenochori on Astypalaia (Fig. 6) is composed of a trunnion axe, a razor, knives, a spearhead, a whetstone and other objects (Zervoudaki 1971, 550-551, pls. 558-559; also Steinmann 2012, no. 355). The trunnion axe was certainly an efficient tool for every kind chopping, but this type of axe may have also functioned as a weapon. Moreover, the bronze cauldron and ladle from the same tomb on Astypalaia probably refer to consumption practices rather than production aspects, and thus to feasting in funerary contexts. The view that hunting was an activity indulged in by the elites is certainly not in contradiction with the EIA social values (Eder 2006, 553). To return to the early ancient Greek literature, it is worth remembering that the figure of Odysseus as a hunter is also a powerful "mythical paradeigma".³⁴ For instance, one may refer to the famous episode of the boar hunt (*Odyssey* 19. 439-459), linked to the male adolescent maturation (Langdon 2008, 87-88). It is obvious that hunting skills constituted an essential trait of the male identity in the LBA and EIA.

Another example is the grave assemblage from Tomb 123 at Perati, which contained bronze tools (awl, punch or chisel, and whetstone), a razor and a spearhead together with the remains of at least two deceased individuals (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 428; also Steinmann 2012, no. 216) (Fig. 8). As discussed above, if the spearhead and tools were part of the same assemblage, these objects may allude to activities ranging from hunting to leather or bone working in LH IIIC, and thus be consistent with the figure of the warrior/hunter-artisan. Conversely, two other tombs of this Post-palatial cemetery (T. 10 and T. 128), furnished with a chisel or a cutter (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 266, M36, and 441, M164), may be interpreted as the burials of craftspeople, but certainly not as the

33 However, Ježek (2015, 134-135) pleads for the abandonment of terms such as 'smith's burial': the author observes that tools as weapons in grave assemblages were certainly linked to the formation of the European nobility, and should not be related to the profession of the deceased.

34 This term has been used for the perception of Odysseus as an artisan in Etruria, see D'Onofrio 2017, 37 n. 15.

burials of warriors/hunters-artisans, since no swords or spearheads have been found with them. However, the figure of the hunter was perhaps not associated with the most powerful figure in the LH IIIC society.

In the Mycenaean Post-palatial world, the perception of *basileus* was probably closer to the notion of warrior-artisan than warrior-hunter. Earlier, in LH IIIB, the *basileus*, as a palatial dignitary, played an intermediate local role overseeing certain controls and requisitions of materials (Carlier 1995; Darcque 2008, 413; Rougemont 2009, 235; Phialon 2020b, 27). It has been argued that the *basileus*, who was the local head of the metalsmiths in the Palatial period, has become in the Post-palatial world “le garant de la défense de la nouvelle communauté” and “détenteur de l’autorité absolue” (Godart, Tzedakis 1991, 193).³⁵ This transformation would have taken place between ca. 1190 BC and 900 BC. Can such *basileis* be detected in the Post-palatial burial record?

An exceptional Late Bronze Age burial is the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae, which contained twenty bronze double axes and a tool (Onassoglou 1995, 25-28, 150, figs. 57-58, pls. 12-15) (Fig. 5). According to Palaiologou, “the 30 year old deceased does not look like a warrior but rather a treasurer or *qa-si-re-u*, *ka-ke-u*, *basileus-chalkeus*, otherwise his family would not have been able to afford to offer him such a treasure” (Palaiologou 2013, 271). The wedged-shaped tool, most likely a cutter, found close to his hand was certainly his personal belonging, but the double axes were certainly of high economic value. With the concept of *basileus-chalkeus* in mind, it has been argued that metal products may have symbolized the prerogatives of the Post-palatial rulers to access metals and to control their working. In this respect, the function of the double axes would not have played a major role in their selection here; rather these bronzes would have represented trade aspects more than craft ones. This would explain the lack of metalworking equipment like crucibles, tongs and hammers, or casting implements in LH IIIC funerary contexts, even though such a toolkit may also be understood as a sign of control over craft production and making of weapons.³⁶ In the EIA, by comparison, the ruler was able to maintain control over the metal industry encompassing trade, supply of metal and luxury objects (Mazarakis Ainian 2006, 199, 206), and thus to supervise the weapons trade as well (D’Onofrio 2011, 647), thereby revealing an essential trait of his social persona.

The LH IIIC Tripod Tomb at Mycenae is an exceptional burial. Though not furnished with a sword, this Post-palatial burial nonetheless bespeaks symbols of power through the presence of several bronze double axes alluding to trade and crafts, and in a period earlier than the EIA. The poor visibility of the *Basileus* in the Post-palatial archaeological record, except perhaps in the case of some burials furnished with weapons in Achaea, is another issue (see Jung 2016, 568; Phialon 2020b, 28; on the visibility of the *Basileus* in Early Iron Age Greece, see Mazarakis Ainian 2006, 182). In some other regions, by contrast, a shift in the funerary ideology, focusing more symbols of trade, may be the cause of this low visibility.

Although the intensity of trade between the Greek mainland and the Eastern Mediterranean was reduced drastically in the Post-palatial period, the imports found in cemeteries like Perati show that certain communities on the mainland benefited from long-distance contacts in LH IIIC. *Orientalia* (oriental *exotica*) and luxurious objects were part of the wealthiest funerary assemblages found in the Post-palatial cemetery at Perati (Cline 1994, Cat. nos. 1-4 and 23-25, T. 30, Egyptian faience figurines and amulets; Cat. nos. 108-115, T. 13, Egyptian faience scarabs of the 18-19th Dynasty; Cat. nos. 26-29, T. 47, Syro-Palestine gold amulets). The presence of two imported hematite weights from the Levant (T. 30α and T. 100) suggests that individuals buried in these tombs have taken part in the Eastern Mediterranean trade, inasmuch that the weights in question correspond respectively to a multiple of Palestinian *shekel* and to the Egyptian *qedet* units (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 301, Λ106, and p. 199, Λ208; B, 356, 460-461; Γ, pls. 89.α, 60.α; Cline 1994, 232-233, nos. 897-898; also Murray 2018, 41). As trade was a central

35 Godart and Tzedakis (1991, 193) support the idea of a “transformation sémantique qui a affecté le terme Basileus entre le II^e et le I^{er} millénaire avant notre ère”, with the crucial difference being that “le Basileus mycénien est un personnage modeste dont l’activité est limitée à la sphère artisanale et contrôlée par les fonctionnaires palatiaux”.

36 On an Early-Middle Bronze Age burial of a coppersmith in Cyprus, furnished with various copper and stone tools (including small stone mace heads), see Belgiorno 1997, figs. 11-12. Between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea, so-called metalworker graves are very rare in the Bronze Age; they can though include rich graves furnished with metalworking equipment, which most likely belonged to the local elites, see Nessel 2013, 142.

activity for Mycenaean communities, it may be assumed that weighing equipment was thought worthy enough to accompany their deceased owners to the grave. Moreover, it must be pointed out that all these *orientalia* have been obviously carried by sea.

The overall rarity of swords and spearheads found at Perati is worth stressing. In addition to Tomb 123, mentioned above, a short sword was found between two of the six burials in Tomb 38 of this cemetery (five inhumations and a cremation; for this weapon, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 280, 284, M86; Γ, pl. 82), suggesting that a warrior was buried here as in the two other tombs (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 155-157). However, grave goods from another tomb at Perati may provide a good example relating to the figure of the warrior-trader. Tomb 12 was furnished with a sword, found along with a Syro-Palestine knife whose handle was in the *shape* of a *duck-head* (see Iakovidis 1969-1970, 305, 313, M52, M53; Γ, pl. 95). It is quite likely that this collective tomb belonged to a family or a clan, as suggested by S. Deger-Jalkotzy (2006, 156), but the presence of children is not confirmed.

Sea navigation and trade were activities closely connected during the whole Aegean Bronze Age. The Mycenaean palatial elites were clearly involved in seafaring and shipbuilding (Maragoudaki 2017, 238). Ships, which were mainly used for war and/or trade, were a multivalent means of navigation (Petrakis 2011, 216). In a disrupted Post-palatial landscape, the sailor-warrior emerged as a key player, if not the leading figure of the community. The sailor-warrior culture (Kramer-Hajos 2012; Kramer-Hajos 2016, Chapter 7) is evidenced by the depiction of boats and warriors on the LH IIIC Middle pictorial pottery, notably from Kynos (Dakoronia 2006; also Kramer-Hajos 2008, 39, 89-93). The rise of this sailor-warrior 'culture' seems to have coexisted with new interregional contacts and networks that emerged in LH IIIC Early and intensified in LH IIIC Middle (Livieratou 2012, 96-97). Arguing that the Post-palatial warrior and seafarer was also the person that monitored the construction of ships, the figure of the sailor-warrior would then be assimilated to that of the warrior-shipwright. This would also mean that symbols referring to war and military carpentry might be detectable in the burial record as early as in the twelfth century BC.

The warrior-artisan and warrior-trader in the EIA

The notion of warrior-artisan/carpenter is key for understanding the social complexity in the EIA. D'Onofrio associates tools such as axes, saws, chisels and awls with the "techné of carpentry or Odysseus' virtue", assuming that Odysseus embodies the "mythical paradigm of the artisan" (D'Onofrio 2017, 30, and 37 n. 15). In the same line of reasoning, the axe, adze, chisel, mallet and drill are seen as common tool-types of a "basic shipwright toolkit" (Maragoudaki 2017, 239, see *Odyssey* 5. 234-257).

As regards the individual cremated and buried in Grave D 16:4 at the Athenian Agora in LPG/EG I, Blegen (1952, 282) has already suggested he be identified as "a warrior and perhaps also a craftsman". This interpretation is also supported by Coldstream (2003, 50) and D'Onofrio (2017, 30, 36, 39), given that the grave was furnished among other things with a small chisel, an axe and a small knife as well as two spearheads, while a 'killed' iron sword was bent around the neck of the urn amphora. However, the identification of the tools has been challenged. According to John K. Papadopoulos and Evelyn L. Smithson, the small chisel and a fragment of pin or nail correspond to arrowheads, while the broad chisel turns out to be "a battle axe rather than an implement for working timber" (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 9, also 106, Tomb 13 = Grave D 16:4) (Fig. 7). In my opinion, the so-called small chisel (T13-14) resembles more a chisel-punch than a blunt arrowhead (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 115, figs. 2.62-2.63). As observed in the first part of this article, a chisel may have been useful for making weapons, replacing or repairing parts of them, and may thus be included in the equipment of a warrior. A whetstone from this grave can be added to this assemblage (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 106, T13-19). This last interpretation suggests that the tools had a subordinate role in this assemblage.

Two further EIA graves furnished with working tools and weapons are worth mentioning, the first was excavated at the Agora, and the second at Lefkandi. Again these tools would have been adequate for working wood, but their identification is less certain than it appears at first. More precisely, it has been reported that the LPG urn of Grave Agora N 16:4 contained the fragment of a saw and a toothed knife, both of iron, whilst a sword has been found in the trench of this grave (D'Onofrio 2017, 37, with previous references). However, John Papadopoulos

and Evelyn Lord Smithson mention the presence of “one possible fragment of burned animal bone, as well as two iron knives (T10-4, T10-5)”, together with the human cremated bones of a man aged 30-34 years at death, in the cinerary urn re-dated to EG I (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 70-72, Tomb 10 = Grave N 16:4). It must be assumed that serrated blades would correspond to working tools. However, it is difficult to recognize such details in their illustrations (Papadopoulos, Smithson 2017, 74, fig. 2.28, T10-4 and T10-5).

The second EIA burial furnished with weapons and tools is the LPG inhumation grave T 39 in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi. This tomb provided a set of objects including an iron trunnion axe, fragments of a dagger, and an iron socket chisel, according to Anna D’Onofrio (2017, 32, 35, fig. 7), rather than a spear butt, as initially published (Popham, Touloupa, Sackett 1982, 219, no. 34, pl. 20, for the tomb, p. 216, fig. 2, for the axe, also pp. 219, 241). The function of the iron axe is disputed, but it cannot be excluded that such might have functioned as a weapon (see above, Lemos 2002, 122), which would emphasize the warlike dimension already embodied in the presence of an iron dagger (Popham, Touloupa, Sackett 1982, 219, no. 35). If this burial was a single burial, and to boot that of a child, since the remains of a skull and a tooth of a child are reported (Popham, Touloupa, Sackett 1982, 218; also D’Onofrio 2017, 42), and not a double burial, one may assume that this child was expected to acquire the status of warrior as a member of the EIA warlike elite (see Lemos 2002, 165, and n. 169). Nevertheless, the diversity of the grave goods found in this grave, which includes a terracotta wagon or chariot, a gold diadem and a faience Egyptian ring (Popham, Touloupa, Sackett 1982, 218-220; also D’Onofrio 2017, 40-42), would better fit the idea of a multi-dimensional system of symbols and values. In this case, the symbols referring to war and crafts are consistent with the figure of the warrior-artisan without being limited thereby. In addition, economic values are represented by the ring of Egyptian manufacture (D’Onofrio 2017, 40-41) and Near Eastern objects found in this grave (Kourou 2012a, 217 n. 12).

The notion of warrior-artisan is definitely a parameter worth considering in the debate on markers of social identity in EIA Greece. However, the figure of the warrior-artisan should not be regarded as a monolithic concept, but should be qualified on a case to case basis, since the identification of some tools and weapons have been challenged. A further example of such ambiguity is the association of an axe and a chisel, both of iron, in an EIA grave at Athens, in Kerameikos (PG 40: Lemos 2002, 112; see Kübler 1943, 42, pl. 38; one may note that M9 is a trunnion axe). As already pointed out by D’Onofrio (2017, 31), the axe and chisel “could be used in several fields, i.e. woodworking, carving, carpentry, metal or stone and bone working”. I would not rule out that the trunnion axe here functioned as a weapon rather than a tool. There is also reason to believe that the presence of weapons and tools in certain LH IIIC and EIA graves was linked to hunting activities and the working of animal materials. In comparison, it has been argued that a later grave in the cemetery of San Montano on Pithekoussai (T. 678, see D’Onofrio 2017, 32, 34, fig. 4) was furnished with “a complete tool kit for working wood and leather”.

The diversity of the objects found in EIA grave assemblages likewise supports the idea of a complex system of symbols referring not only to war and crafts but also to other values that may reveal more entangled social expectations displayed at the funeral. For instance, the figure of the warrior-trader (Popham, Lemos 1995) is another notion that may help to interpret the diversity of grave goods in funerary assemblages. At Lefkandi-Toumba, the grave T 79, which is a LPG cremation in a bronze cauldron, was furnished not only with iron weapons (a sword, a spearhead, two knives and arrowheads), but also sixteen stone weights and fragments, as well as a possible weighing balance, all placed with other objects in a niche in this grave, whilst a north Syrian cylinder seal, two Phoenician pottery jugs and fragments of Cypriot pottery were collected in its shaft (Popham, Lemos 1995; also Kourou 2008, 313-315, fig. 4; Kroll 2008, 37, cited by Michailidou 2008, 132). The combination of weapons, imports and weighing equipment reinforces the view that trade was a central activity by the warlike elites in the EIA (from warriors to traders, see Tandy 1997; with a comment in Muhly 2003, 23). Their participation in long-distance networks played an increasingly significant role in the process of self-representation from the MPG to LPG period (Crielaard 2006, 290).

In this context, as pointed out by Nota Kourou, the “theory of immigrant craftsmen living in small enclaves at some central settlement easily accessed by sea such as Knossos, Athens or Lefkandi” was introduced years ago in

the field of research (Kourou 2012b, 40, on “the presence of resident Phoenician craftsmen” at Knossos, see p. 35; on this theory, see Boardman 1967 and 2005; Coldstream 1969 and 1982).³⁷ Some Phoenicians certainly settled at Knossos, which was a sea port on the maritime route from the Levant to the West (Muñoz Sogas 2019, 408, 412; for *cippi* in the region of Knossos and Heraklion, see 410-411, figs. 3-4). Jewellery and unworked gold bars found in Khaniale Tekke Tomb 2 may indicate that either a Near East jeweller was buried here in the Early Iron Age, despite the absence of craft tools, or a Cretan patron monitoring metalworking by Near Eastern craftspeople and with access to raw materials (Muñoz Sogas 2019, 413). However, the question whether “the objects were made by local Cretan craftsmen or by foreign craftsmen resident in Crete” remains for most scholars still open (Hoffman 1997, 244; also Muhly 2003, 27; Dickinson 2006, 213). It must be stressed that this tholos tomb (built vault) was a collective burial used from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the seventh century, which included nineteen urns; the human remains were however not studied (Kotsonas 2006, 150-151, and thus it is better to avoid any reference to “families”, see p. 150 n. 3). The wealth of this tomb suggests that it belonged to the local elite (Kotsonas 2006, 155 “not to goldsmiths”, also 159, 162: “the élite patrons of the ‘Tekke gold workshop’”). As regards the already mentioned Tomb 79 at Lefkandi-Toumba, this burial is not only interpreted as the burial of a warrior-trader (Popham, Lemos 1995; Kourou 2008, 313-315, fig. 4; also D’Onofrio 2017, 28), but also considered a “Phoenician family tomb” by Nijboer (2008; a fragile hypothesis according to Kourou 2012b, 40).

A comment on family tombs and the transmission of power in LH IIIC

It is widely acknowledged that trade is well represented by *orientalia* in LH IIIC Perati (for instance in Tombs 13, 30 and 47). The question arises as to whether families of foreign origins were buried in this cemetery, notably in Tomb 1 (LH IIIB/IIIC transition). It must be stressed that some inhumation burials of children have been identified at Perati, but bioarchaeological analysis of the cremated bones from this cemetery has revealed the presence of only one child, that in Tomb 1, next to two youths and fifteen adults from twelve different tombs, Tomb 1 included (Paidoussis, Sbarounis 1975, 145). It seems that children were regularly, but not systematically, excluded from this cemetery.

Bioarchaeological results show that Pit 2 in Tomb 1 at Perati contained cremated remains of two adults and a child (Paidoussis, Sbarounis 1975, 134; with jewels and eight glass beads deformed and partially melted by fire, 142-143), together with many small objects, namely a cylinder seal of Syrian origin, an Egyptian cartouche of Ramses II, two gold bezel rings, two gold finger rings and another of silver, three sealstones, seven gold beads, three small cylinders of various materials, small bone plaques, glass beads, steatite buttons and a bronze mirror (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 160, 164-166, Γ, pls. 47-49, 50.α; also Cline 1994, Cat. no. 93, Egyptian faience cartouche, 19th Dynasty, and Cat. no. 176, Syro-Palestine hematite seal, fifteenth century; for the cartouche, see also Murray 2018, 54, fig. 13). Another pit (Pit 1) in this same tomb provided a cinerary urn holding bones and teeth of two individuals of different ages and probably different sex (Paidoussis, Sbarounis 1975, 133), as well as two very small gold beads (Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 161; Γ, pl. 166). Were these people all part of the same family or clan, having in common the same origins? The question remains open, but it must be stressed that Tomb 1 at Perati served as a resting place for at least eight individuals in total, and three at least were inhumations and not cremations.

As observed above, weapons are rarely attested in the cemetery of Perati. In contrast, the weapon burial ritual is well evidenced by the frequent occurrence of weapons in the Achaeans tombs (Steinmann 2012, 223-234). Hints that political power was transmitted from father to son, or from a generation to the next within a family or a clan in LH IIIC should be detected in Achaea, and not at Perati in Attica. It is worth reminding that a biographical model for interpreting burials furnished with weapons has been challenged, since “the weapon ritual was enacted even for individuals too young to have used them in their lives” (D’Onofrio 2017, 29). However, the presence of

37 This is in line with “the theory of resident Phoenician traders or craftsmen in the Aegean [...] in the 8th century contexts at two other sites in Crete, Eleftherna and Knossos”, see Kourou 2012b, 41; also Kourou, Grammatikaki 1998; Kourou, Karetso 1998; for the *cippi* from Orthi Petra at Eleftherna, see Stampolidis 2004, 238-239.

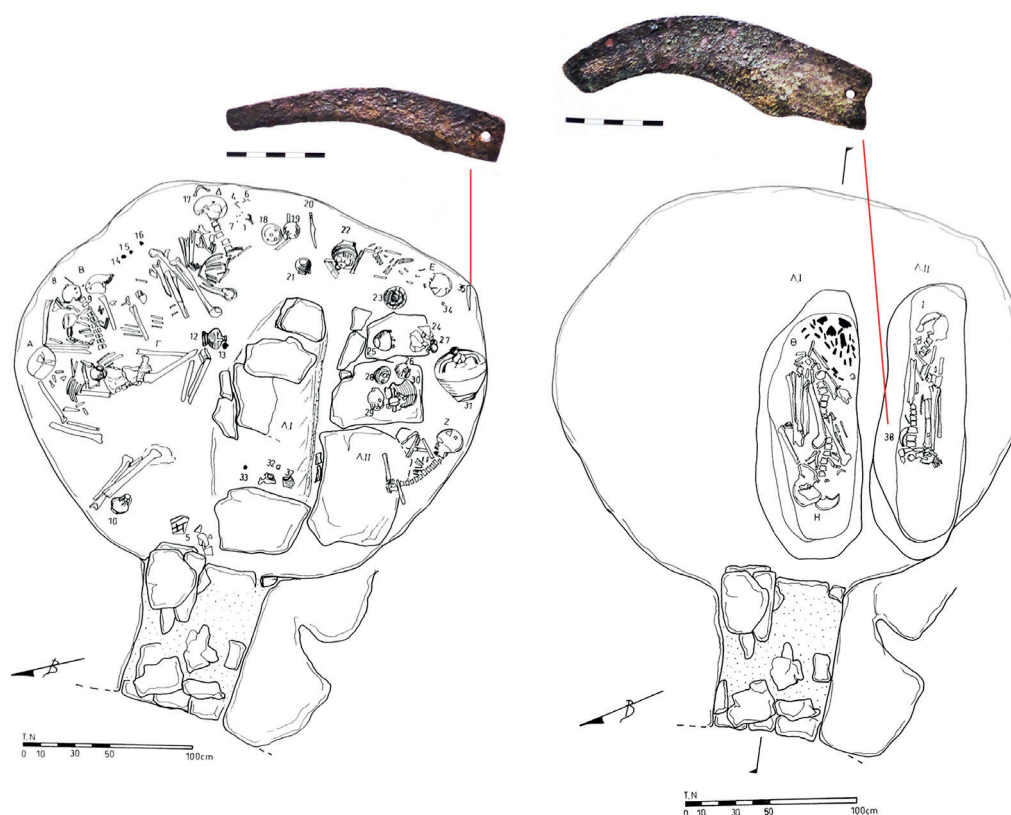


Fig. 9. Clauss, Tomb N, Burials E and I, two sickle-like knives (after Paschalidis 2018, 120-121, figs. 233-234, and 330-331, figs. 717, 720).

tools or weapons in burials of children or adolescents is exceptional in the Bronze Age as well as in EIA. These weaponry depositions were certainly rank-connected (D’Onofrio 2011, 657, citing an EIA case at Marathon-Plasi and another at Athens). A MH burial of a child furnished with a sword and two knives at Argos is worth adding to the discussion (Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 164-165, 562), since it was probably contemporary with the shaft graves of the Circle B at Mycenae (Taracha 2012, 119 n. 12). One may ask whether political power was transmitted within families in the Argolid, at sites other than Mycenae. It has indeed been argued that the elites of the shaft graves of Mycenae constituted a warlike aristocracy (Touchais 2008, 281), whose status was hereditary, inasmuch as a very few children were buried in the same wealthy graves as adults (see discussion in Dickinson *et al.* 2012, 183, 186). Another question to ask here is whether children may have received a special training as members of the elite (see Appendix).

The view that a warlike elite may have monitored agricultural work at Clauss in Achaia is supported by the fact that the burial of a man regarded as a warrior was furnished with a spear and a sickle-like knife in the Post-palatial period (Tomb M, LH IIIC Middle, Paschalidis 2018, 107). The bronze sickle and sickle-like knives from the cemetery at Clauss are seen as “purely utilitarian tools, associated with rural and farming activities” (Paschalidis 2018, 425). In association with a weapon, the sickle-like knife may have symbolized the deceased’s power to manage harvest labour in a community, and not merely be a tool assigned to the burial of a modest peasant or harvester. As pointed out by Paschalidis (2018, 425-426), the sickle and sickle-like knives were related to male burials mostly, but a sickle-like knife was found with a three-year-old child in Tomb N of this cemetery (Paschalidis 2018, 425) (Fig. 9). As bronze tools were not used by children of this age, the biographical model to explain the selection of this object should be here abandoned, but rural and farming activities were significant enough in this region to honour a child with such a bronze tool at the funeral. A further LH IIIC sickle-like knife, this time from Nikoleika near Ai-

gion (Petropoulos 2007, 262, 285, fig. 88), shows that burials furnished with such tools are concentrated in Achaea (on sickles seen as local products, see Papadopoulos 1978-79, 156).³⁸ The discovery of sickles or sickle-like knives in tombs outside Achaea is exceptional, except from a possible example at Pylos-Englianos in Messenia (chamber tomb K-2, see Zavadil 2013, 169, 395).

Finally, a comment on the gender of the individuals buried with weapons must be here added. If the weapon burial ritual is rightly linked to the male deceased,³⁹ especially when it comes to burials furnished with swords, as was notably the case earlier in the shaft graves of Mycenae (Harrell 2014, 12), this does not mean that physical anthropological studies are not useful in moving the debate further: quite the contrary. For instance, three primary burials, all probable female, as supported by the anthropological analysis undertaken by Jones (see Aktypi 2007, 205, figs. 275, 276), were identified in a LH IIIC tomb at Chalandritsa-Agios Vasileios, which was furnished with two spearheads and many other grave goods (Tomb 44, Aktypi 2007, 155-156, 253, for the spearheads, see 164-166, figs. 229-230).⁴⁰ These weapons may have become symbols of prestige linked to the family, but the possibility is not excluded that they both belonged to a woman (burial 'B').

CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding section, it is worth repeating that the number of tombs furnished with working tools in Mycenaean Greece remains relatively low thus far, although several burial contexts can be added to the lists established earlier by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 384-385), having been excavated notably in Messenia (Zavadil 2013, 168, 180), Achaea (at Clauss, see Paschalidis 2018, 425) and Attica (at Perati, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, B, 338) (Table 1). I would like to return to three main issues discussed in this article: firstly, on the main *vs.* subordinate role of the tools in grave assemblages as a criterion for distinguishing burials of craftspeople from elites monitoring crafts; secondly, on the access to a formal burial, perhaps restricted to the elites; and thirdly, on the diversity of the grave goods linked to the figure of the warrior chief.

In the Shaft Grave period (MH III-LH IIA), working tools such as chisels, awls and whetstones were found in various assemblages. There is a unique case, in the niche 5 of Tomb 6 at Volimidia-Koroni, where the tools would constitute an efficient toolkit for a craftsman specialized in making archery equipment in LH I (Fig. 1). Otherwise, tools mostly had a subordinate role in burials due to their limited number in wealthy graves or because they were intended to replace or repair weapons. In Messenia especially, the majority of tools found in burials were adequate for making, replacing or repairing weapons, notably archery equipment, which was used in fighting and hunting. These tools may thus have belonged to warriors/hunters. Regarding the shaft graves of Mycenae, as proposed by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2009, 387), I would interpret the tools there as symbols of control over the craft production as befitted the status of chief. It must be assumed that craft, as an activity represented by tools, was an aspect significant enough to be referred to at the funeral. However, much stronger prestige accrued by a display of *exotica* or ceremonial implements on this occasion. This view is supported by the discovery of weights, scale pans and a Levantine axe-head in the LH IIA tholos tomb of Vapheio, in Laconia.

The same tool-types are encountered in LH IIB-IIIB contexts, but here again burials of craftspeople can rarely be identified with certainty on the Greek mainland. Once more, tools have mostly a subordinate role in the grave assemblages, especially when the tools in question are whetstones found together with weapons. Neverthe-

38 On a sickle from a LH IIB-IIIC tomb at Voudeni, see Paschalidis 2018, 425, citing the unpublished thesis of I. Kolonas 1998, *Βούτενη. Ένα Σημαντικό Μυκηναϊκό Κέντρο της Αχαιας*, University of Crete, Rethymno, 360, T29/19. On a knife at Clauss (Tomb Δ, burial Δ, transitional LH IIB-IIIC), see Paschalidis, McGeorge 2009, 84: "sort of craftsman"; Paschalidis 2018, 39, 433; 2020, 109, fig. 6.1.

39 On LM II-IIIB tombs furnished with weapons or sharp tools such as a knife or razor (121 tombs of a total of ca. 1000 tombs), including 20 tombs for which anthropological analyses have been conducted, see D'Agata 2020, 303.

40 For weapons (sword, dagger) in a Bronze Age Cypriot female burial, see Fischer 1986, 29. For axes buried with both men and women in first millennium BC Italy, see Faustoferri 2016, 99. On knives in female burials, see D'Onofrio 2011, 655, 657; cited by Harrell 2015, 100. This includes the female burial at Toumba, Lefkandi, ca. 950 BC, see Harrell 2015, 100-102.

less, LH IIIA burials of craftspeople were certainly excavated at the Athenian Agora and Prosymna (Table 1). As suggested in this article, the social status of the artisan buried with a mould and simple tools in Grave XXIX at the Agora (Fig. 2) was relatively modest. By contrast, the two sealstones found along with a saw and a chisel in the side chamber of Tomb XXXIII at Prosymna may indicate that an individual of higher status was buried here. Finally, at Nafplio-Palamidi, the various bronze tools found in Tomb K may have constituted a suitable artisanal (or perhaps medical) equipment for a person playing a major role in the community who was buried in this chamber tomb in LH IIB or LH IIIA-IIIB (Fig. 4). One may wonder from this whether Mycenaeans were a little more prone to refer to professions at funerals in the LH IIB and LH IIIA periods.

As already pointed out, there are two main ways of explaining the limited number of burials furnished with working tools as main grave goods in funerary assemblages, “either because they were handed down in the family [...], or because projecting a specific artisan occupation was generally not considered the most important trait of one’s identity to be signaled in the funerary realm” (Brysbaert, Vetters 2010, 26). Another conceivable option is that only ruling elites gained access to formal burial and that craftspeople were not part of these elites. The model of a very limited access to formal burial in the palatial period is however challenged by the distribution of large provincial cemeteries of chamber tombs, notably at Prosymna in the Argolid, or in the regions of Elateia and Tanagra in Central Greece. Otherwise, one has to assume that the 200-300 people buried in a cemetery such as that of Prosymna in LH IIIA (“not an élite”, see Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 78) were only a small proportion of the local population and that the other part of it did not have access to formal burial.

The same issue also concerns the Post-palatial period, especially so when burials are concentrated in a main cemetery, such as that of Perati in Attica, the largest LH IIIC cemetery on the Greek mainland (219 tombs, see Iakovidis 1969-1970, 8) or, conversely, distributed in a number of smaller cemeteries in a region like Achaea. At Perati, the presence of metal chisels in the tombs may be understood as a reference to carpentry or to shipbuilding in a coastal area, within a community involved in trade with the Eastern Mediterranean, as evidenced by the *orientalia* from this cemetery. Next to *orientalia*, bronze tools and weapons were also certainly indicators of wealth in funerary contexts. In the case of the Tripod Tomb at Mycenae (Fig. 5), the bronze axes may have symbolized the power and ability of the male deceased to have access to an economic circuit, procure bronzes,⁴¹ and distribute the same (*e.g.* Palaiologou 2013, 271). By contrast, the sickle or sickle-like knives found in the LH IIIC tombs in Achaea may be regarded as regional signs of power linked to agricultural values (Fig. 9).

In this article, I suggest that the objects collected in Tomb 123 at Perati (Fig. 8) may have been related to hunting and craft activities linked to processing of animal materials such as leatherworking. This LH IIIC example draws attention to the idea that other burials furnished with a spearhead and tools may be interpreted in the same way, especially when they are also accompanied with a large razor, which may have functioned as a cleaver. Moreover, the metal axe, which is an adequate tool for woodworking, may also have been used for hunting. All this supports the view that the local ruler was perhaps in charge of hunting and feasting activities. This may be true of a LH IIIB-IIIC Early burial at Armenochori on Astypalaia (Fig. 6). This tomb was furnished with bronze blades, including an axe, a bronze cauldron, a bronze dipper held in a ceramic krater, and other vases, but no human bones were found in it (Zervoudaki 1971, 550-551, pls. 558-559; also Steinmann 2012, no. 355, pl. 51). Nonetheless, the most striking illustration of a system of symbols referring to war and feasting in Mycenaean funerary contexts is certainly provided by the Cuirass Tomb at Dendra, which contained the burial of a man accompanied with a cuirass, various weapons and bronze vessels in LH IIB-III A1 (Tomb 12, Åström *et al.* 1977; also Steinmann 2012, no. 99).

There is reason to believe that the aristocratic self-representation of men as both warriors and feasters was part of the construction of male identity in the Early Iron Age (Mikrakis 2015, 282). As stressed by James Whitley (2002, 220), “weapon burial ritual” was “a metaphor for a certain kind of masculine ideal”. The hunt as a privilege

41 The terms “procurement, appropriation and emulation” have been used for obsidian blades found in Early Cycladic graves, see Carter 1998, 63.

of the elites must be added to this picture (Eder 2006, 553). In LH IIIC and the EIA, male identity had probably more in common with the figure of Odysseus than Daedalus, though both mythological figures were known as multi-skilled men, in that the “ethos of warriorhood” was a central trait of the elite self-representation (Mikrakis 2015, 282).⁴² Nevertheless, I support the view that the Post-palatial local ruler in Mycenaean Greece may have been honoured at his funeral not only as a warrior but a leading figure at the head of crafts, trade or maritime activities. Therefore, the hybridization of the system of symbols, introduced by D’Onofrio (2017, 27) in order to interpret EIA male burials, seems to be able to encompass a multi-dimensional range of values referring to war, hunting, craft, maritime activity and trade at the end of the Bronze Age. In this context, the warrior chief of the Post-palatial period may be understood as a more comprehensive version of the dual figures that are the warrior-artisan, and the sailor-warrior or warrior-trader.

APPENDIX

Children’s military training in Aegean Late Bronze Age

This article has raised the question as whether children of the warlike elites were trained in the use of weapons in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. Thus far, there is no conclusive iconographic or written evidence to support this idea. It has been stressed that the biographical model should not be applied to interpret the presence of weapons in burials of children. There is also no reason to look for traces of trauma and wounds on bones of children as evidence of injuries, as it has been supposed for male adults (Arnott 1999b; and when such traces are observed, the burials were not necessarily furnished with weapons, see Kirkpatrick Smith 2009, 104-105), since their training should not result in serious harm to them. It is also difficult to determine whether male adolescents were sent into combat.⁴³ However, the theory that young members of the Mycenaean elites were trained up, among other ways, by horseback riding and hunting (Kelder 2012, 14; see Cultraro 2005, 294-296) might be open to confirmation by checking if specific osteological markers caused by specific activity patterns are present.

Repeated activities may cause articular lesions that affect the bone. It has been argued that bone morphology and formation, which is under genetic control, may be influenced by muscular stresses (Larsen, Ruff 2011, 294, 297). For instance, horseback riding can create modifications of the articular surface and contour (horse riding syndrome), that may be regarded as potential osteological markers for this activity (Baillif-Ducros *et al.* 2012, 35), such as the spinal deformity (Scheuermann’s disease) and ovalization of the acetabulum. Another question is whether specific osteological markers could be linked to specialized craft activities, such as the wear observed on teeth used possibly in weaving or net making. This is also true for daily tasks involving repeated movements necessary to carry arduous tasks that may have left traces on bones, grinding cereals in a kneeling position being one such (on signs of wear observed on legs, toe and spine, see Kopaka 1997, 526).

Nevertheless, in order to identify past activities, it is necessary to confirm that pathological conditions and structural adaptations are consequences of micro-trauma, without being related to congenital or degenerative phenomena. Other factors that may influence bone morphology are indeed age and nutrition. Scholars have demonstrated that it is essential to interpret these osteological markers in close connection with archaeological data (Baillif-Ducros *et al.* 2012, 31). As for now, it is however impossible to draw any conclusion about this topic on the basis of the burials furnished with tools reviewed in this article.

42 On a shift in the Athenian self-representation to “more civil values” in LG, including music and dance, which became also part of male ideal, as represented on pottery and small objects in LG II, see Mikrakis 2015, 282-283; with similar developments in Crete, see D’Agata 2014, 80.

43 On wounds identified on the skeleton of a man, which were probably sustained in his adolescence, from a burial in MH Asine, see Arnott 1999b, 499-500.

Table 1

Site	Tomb	Deposit, burial(s), date	Tool(s)	Bibliography	K.-D. no.	Stein. no.	C&M	Note on grave goods
Shaft Grave period: MH III to LH IIA								
Sesklo	Grave 29	MH (Late)	Chisel	Tsountas 1908, 139, pl. 4, no. 12.	11			
Nidri (Lefkada), S-Cemetery	Grave S4	1 burial, MH II-III	Flat axe, 2 chisels, saw, 2 arrow-shaft straighteners, whetstone, handstone	Dörpfeld 1927, 209, pl. 69; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, 49, pls. 43-44.	16	319		2 unworked boar tusks, 9 flint arrowheads.
Nidri (Lefkada), S-Cemetery	Grave S8	1 burial, MH II-III	2 chisels, saw	Dörpfeld 1927, 210, pl. 70; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, 51, pls. 48-49.	17	320		21 flint arrowheads, some flint nodules (incl. a drill?), 3 bronze disks.
Volimidia, Koroni	Chamber tomb 6	Niche 5, LH I	Chisel, punch (or chisel) with bone handle, awl, knife, stone arrow-shaft straightener, 2 stone rubbers (pounders or handstones), whetstone (or hammer?)	Marinatos 1953, 239, 250, fig. 11; Tripathi 1988, 346, no. 1150; Zavadil 2013, 169, 180, 313.	12		X	(No loc.: 4 obsidian arrowheads)
Volimidia, Kephavryso	Shaft grave 1	Last burial (2 or 3 earlier burials), MH III	Knife, whetstone	Marinatos 1964, 88, pls. 82 (skeleton), 91.α-β (bronzes); Zavadil 2013, 180, 335.	13	25		Dagger, razor (two-edged), flint flakes, 41 flint arrowheads and debris; + no loc.: knife,, 4 whorls (stone <i>conulus</i> , 3 terracotta whorls), boar's tusk lamella.
Volimidia, Kephavryso	Chamber tomb 5	MH III/LH I	2 whetstones, stone axe (serpentine)	Marinatos 1965, 105, pl. 119.α; Zavadil 2013, 180, 342.	14			5 unworked boar tusks.
Myron, Peristeria	Grave (under and by the peribole)	5 burials (SW part; many burials in other parts), MH III/LH I	Chisel, knife (SW part, upper layers); whetstone (N wall)	Korres 1976, 486; Zavadil 2013, 169, 506.				SW: rivet, 2 bone objects, terracotta whorl, gold bead. In grave: arrowheads (bronze, flint, obsidian). North wall: sword. Other grave goods in NW part.
Myron, Peristeria	Tholos 2	Chamber, burial(s), LH IIA, or LH III	2 awls (no loc.); whetstone (chamber)	Marinatos 1963, 100, pl. 122.γ; Marinatos 1964, 94, pl. 96.δ; but most grave goods: Marinatos 1962, 95-97; Tripathi 1988, 347, no. 1156-1157; Zavadil 2013, 169, 509.				No loc.: 2 razors (two-edged), rivet, triton shell, boar's tusk and fragments. Chamber: gold sheet fragments, fragments of bronze and silver vases, gold and niello inlays, beads (amber, amethyst), 2 amber plaques, ivory handle?, terracotta figurine.
Papoulia	Tholos 1	Chamber, burial(s), Shaft gr. per. or LH III?	Awl or drill? + knife (cf. Werner 1996)	Werner 1996, 61 (tholos 3); Zavadil 2013, 169, 537 (tholos 1); see Marinatos 1954, 316 (tholos 1, ὀπεύς).				Razor (two-edged), pin, diadem, ring, beads, 3 terracotta whorls.
Koukounara, Gouvalari	Tumulus α, Grave α9	Chamber, pit: 2 burials (+ others in chamber), LH IIA	Stone axe over the pit	Korres 1975, 456 (LH II); Zavadil 2013, 180, 476.				Pair of tweezers over the pit; another in the chamber; 2 arrowheads (flint, obsidian) in the pit; others (no loc., LH I-IIIB): obsidian arrowhead and blade, flint fragments.

Koukounara, Gouvalari	Tumulus β, built grave	Chamber, secondary burials, center-E and S parts, LH I	Center-E part: 3 whetstones; S part: stone axe.	Korres 1974, 143, pl. 112.α, γ; Zavadi 2013, 180, 479.			3 stone arrowheads, bronze pin. In pit: 2 terracotta whorls with the skeleton of woman (35 y.).
Mycenae, Grave Circle B	Grave Delta	3 burials, MH III-LH I	Whetstone (NW part)	Mylonas 1972-73, 81, 89, Δ-448, pl. 72.α.	21	11	NW part: 17 flint arrowheads and 2 of bronze. Other grave goods: sword, long knife, 2 knives, bronze cup, silver goblet.
Mycenae, Grave Circle A	Grave IV	5 burials, LH I	2 chisels, chisel or drill?, 6 knives (less than 25 cm long), whetstone	Karo 1930/33, 102-103, nos. 424, 437, 438, 512, pls. 98, 102, knives, nos. 426, 439, 454, 457, 458, 460, Tripathi 1988, 304, nos. 695, 696, 698.	18	36	38 arrowheads (flint, obsidian); + in the tomb: many weapons (swords, spearheads, long knives), razor handle, gold ornaments (incl. masks), amber beads, lion-rhyton.
Mycenae, Grave Circle A	Grave V	3 burials, LH I	Chisel, 3 whetstones	Karo 1930/33, 139, 149, nos. 773, 859-861, knives nos. 738; Tripathi 1988, 304, no. 697.	19	37	In the tomb: many weapons (incl. swords, long knife 29.5 cm), gold ornaments, 5 gold goblets, 11 silver vases, silver tweezers, 2 alabaster vases, beads (amber, crystal), boar lamellas (helmet), bone comb.
Mycenae, Grave Circle A	Grave VI	3 burials, LH I	2 stone arrow-shaft straighteners, 2 whetstones, all with burial X (cf. K.-D). Also 3 knives in the tomb.	Karo 1930/33, 162, nos. 929-930, 934-935, fig. 79, knives nos. 923, 932.	20	38	With burial X: 4 swords, spearhead, 2 daggers, 2 gold "Gamaschenhalter", gold goblet, 2 bronze basins, bronze jug, bronze pin. In the tomb: other spearheads, razor (two-edged).
Mycenae	Chamber tomb 533	Pit, skeleton, LH IIA	Awl	Wace 1932, 119, no. 8.a; Tripathi 1988, 347, no. 1158.			Obsidian arrowhead.
Mycenae	Chamber tomb 515, dromos	Burials, incl. 3 in dromos, LH IIA, LH III	Awl, 2 knives	Wace 1932, 58, no. 19, pl. XXIX; Tripathi 1988, 348, no. 1162.			Dromos: scale pan, fragments of a silver vase, boar's tusks, 3 obsidian arrowheads, gold ornaments (bead, stud, leaf), terracotta "button" or whorl, 2 stone whorls, beads (amber amethyst, glass), 6 sealstones (carnelian, onyx). Other grave goods in the tomb.
Pylos, Englianos	Tholos V (Grave Circle)	Pit 3, 4+ burials, MH III-LH I	3 knives, whetstone	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 143, 161; Zavadi 2013, 169, 375.		42	In Pit 3 (SE): 4 swords, 2 long knives, boar lamellas (helmet), 2 razors (two-edged), 4 arrowheads (flint, obsidian), silver cup, bronze krater, pins (bronze, ivory, bone), beads (amethyst, amber).
Pylos, Englianos	Tholos V (Grave Circle)	Pit 4, 5+ burials, LH I-IIA, IIB	2 knives, whetstone	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 147, 167; Zavadi 2013, 180, 375.		43	Long knife, dagger, 2 razors (two-edged), gold diadem; + above (or SW of) Pit 4: 5 balance scales.

Dendra	Chamber Tomb 8	Chamber: 4 burials, incl. a skeleton in coffin, LH IIA	Whetstone	Persson 1942, 48.	49	Outer chamber: dagger, razor (two-edged), shoulder piece of an armour (rather than helmet), boar's tusk lamellas (helmet), 28 arrowheads (obsidian, flint), bronze lamp, ivory inlays of boxe or a footstool, sealstone, beads (glass, amethyst, gold), 3 steatite buttons.
Kazarma	Tholos 2	Pit III, 1 individual, LH IIA	2 knives, whetstone	Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969a, 4; 1969b, 105, pl. 84.	50	Dagger, 18 bronze arrowheads, 2 razors (two-edged), 2 balance pans, ivory comb (all in Pit III).
Analipsis	Tholos	Burial(s), LH II	Stone axe (of Neolithic type), and another stone axe, 2 whetstones	Rhomaïos 1954, 286, fig. 18 on p. 285; Kalogeropoulos 1998, 14, pl. 8.	58	17 arrowheads (flint, bronze), boar lamellas (helmet), bronze wire, many beads, ivory comb, 5 teeth of hippopotamus; in the lowest layer: terracotta buttons.
Koulouri (Salamis)	Large cist grave	9 burials, LH I-IIA	Chisel, knife, 9 stone tools (whetstones and handstones)	Kattoula 2009, 245, and 2020, 641-642, fig. 8.		Sword, spearhead, 2 cleavers (one-edged razors), 2 two-edged knives (razors), 2 balance pans, pin, pair of tweezers, 5 obsidian arrowheads, stone whorl.
LH IIB, IIIA-III B						
Athens, Agora	Grave XXIX: Artisan's Grave	Burial of a 26 y. old man, LH IIIA1	Stone mould (for glass beads), stone axe, bone handle, bone tool	Immerwahr 1971, 110, 231-232, pl. 55; Tournavittou 1997, 223, Table 3.	23	X
Athens, Agora	Chamber tomb K 2:5	7+ burials, LH IIB-III A1	Awl ("shaft"), whetstone ("stone plaque")	Camp 2003, 270-271, nos. 44, 47, figs. 35, 38.	85	2 daggers, blade (two-edged razor?), bronze sheet ("axe"), beads (faience, cornaline, shells), cornaline scarabeus, 21 stone beads or buttons, 2 terracotta figurines.
Eleusis, West Cemetery	Tomb Ηπ3	11 burials, the first in LH II, then LH IIIB	Steatite mould	Mylonas 1975, A, 297, 306, Γ, pls. 64-65.α; Tournavittou 1997, 223.		3 terracotta figurines (LH IIIB).
Eleusis, West Cemetery	Tomb Απ11	1+ burial(s), LH IIIB	Chisel (band?), awl (pin?)	Mylonas 1975, B, 155-158; Γ, pl. 167.β.	179	Spearhead, cleaver (one-edged razor).
Mycenae	Chamber tomb 82	Pit, burial(s)?, LH IIB	Double axe, axe-adze, undetermined tool (rod-shaped), 3 knives	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 235, pls. 111-112.	24	71 In the pit, also spearhead, 2 daggers, dagger (two-edged razor), knife (one-edged razor?), stone vessel. Other grave goods incl. beads (glass, fayence, gold), stone buttons.
Nafplio, Palamidi	Chamber tomb K	Burial(s)?, pit, LH IIB or IIIA-B [Piteros 2015]	See comment in text, and below the table (*).	Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973, 92, fig. 6, pl. 91.γ-ε; Arnott 1999b, 503; Salavoura 2012, 347; Piteros 2015, 246.	22	
Prosymna	Chamber tomb X	2+ burials, deposit to the N of the 2nd burial, LH IIIA2-IIIB	Whetstone	Blegen 1937, 199, fig. 512 (bronzes).	176	3 spearheads, long knife, cleaver (one-edged razor), pair of tweezers, bronze arrowhead, bronze basin.

Prosymna	Chamber tomb XXXIII	Side chamber, 1 or 2 burials, LH IIIA2**	Saw, chisel	Blegen 1937, 108-109, 346-347, plan 18, nos. 74, 75, fig. 244.	25	X	Side chamber: pair of tweezers, lead wire, 2 sealstones.
Kallithea, Langanidia	Chamber tomb VIII	Burial Θ, LH IIIA	Double axe, knife, whetstone	Papadopoulos 1992, 57-58; Giannopoulos 2008, 218.	77	X	Sword, spearhead, razor (no precision), beads.
Volimidia, Vorias	Chamber tomb 3	Pit 1, upper burial (two others lower), LH III (<i>vs.</i> LH I, K.-D.)	Chisel	Marinatos 1954, 300; Zavadil 2013, 180, 328.	15	158	Spearhead, razor (two-edged), 23 bronze arrowheads and 4 others of flint.
Pylos, Ano Englianos	Tholos V (Grave Circle)	Pit 2, young man, remains of another skeleton LH IIIA	Awl with ivory handle, knife	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 158; Tripathi 1988, 348, no. 1163; Zavadil 2013, 375.			Bronze bowl, mirror, balance scale, flint arrowhead, glass or fayence bead, terracotta figurine.
Koukounara, Gouvalari	Tumulus α, Grave α6	Chamber, 2nd layer, 5+ burials, LH IIIA1-2	Drill or chisel, knife, flint scraper (2nd layer)	Korres 1975, 445-446, fig. 4, pl. 308.α; Zavadil 2013, 169, 472.			2nd layer: pair of tweezers, 4 arrowheads (flint, obsidian), steatite <i>conuli</i> and bead. Other knife in chamber.
Thebes, Kolonaki	Chamber tomb 4	3 burials (children, adult), LH II, IIIA-III C***	Awl or chisel	Keramopoulos 1917, 134, no. 13 (<i>σπίλη</i>), fig. 98.12; Tripathi 1988, 347, no. 1159.		X	With adult: bronze arrowhead; various ornaments, incl. with children (lead object, gold and glass beads); stone vase.
Thebes, Kolonaki	Chamber tomb 17	Burial(s), LH IIIA-(IIIB)***	Punch, knife	Keramopoulos 1917, 175, fig. 127.21 on p. 173.			Arrowheads, swords or daggers, pair of tweezers, 3 sealstones, beads (amethyst, bone, glass, carnel, bronze).
Tanagra, Dendron	Tomb 75	2+ burials, LH IIIB	1st heap of bones: Knife, whetstone,	Spyropoulos 1973, 17-19.	184		With the 1st heap of bones: razor (one-edged). With 2nd heap of bones: spearhead and ceramic "feeding bottle".
LH IIIC							
Perati	Chamber tomb 123	2+ burials, LH IIIC Middle	Awl, punch or chisel, whetstone	Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 428; D'Onofrio 2017, 38, fig. 10.	216		In the tomb: spearhead in NW corner; tweezers, razor (one-edged), steatite button.
Perati	Chamber tomb 10	6 burials, LH IIIC Middle	"Cutter" or chisel	Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 266, B, 338, fig. 144, Γ, pl. 77.α.			In the tomb: ivory disk, metal fingerings, button and pottery.
Perati	Chamber tomb 128	3 burials, LH IIIC Middle	"Cutter" or chisel	Iakovidis 1969-1970, A, 44, B, 338, fig. 144.			
Palaiokastro	Chamber tomb 6	7 burials, LH IIIC Middle	Chisel or wedge, 2 knives (on the floor)	Demakopoulou, Crouwel 1998, 273-274, 276, pl. 52.c ; Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2001, 132.	211		Burial with sword, spearhead, and perhaps bronze pin; another burial with spearhead.
Pylos, Englianos	Chamber tomb K-2	Group VIII, 1 burial, LH IIIC	Sickle?	Blegen <i>et al.</i> 1973, 228; Zavadil 2013, 169, 395.			26 gold beads, steatite button or whorl. Other finds with other burials in chamber: bronze arrowhead, sealstone, ivory pin.
Clauss	Tomb B	Pit I, burial Z (male, c. 40 yr.), LH IIIC Middle-Late	Sickle	Paschalidis 2018, 25, 163, fig. 310, also p. 425.			Other burials in this tomb, incl. a second burial B in pit I with a stone whorl and a lekythos.

Clauss	Tomb M	Chamber Ma, male A (35 y.), prob. LH IIIC Middle	Sickle-like knife	Paschalidis 2018, 107, 312, fig. 660, also p. 425.		Burial of a “warrior”, also with spearhead.
Clauss	Tomb N	Chamber, child E (3 y.); Pit II, male I; LH IIIC Middle-Late	Sickle-like knife (child E). Another sickle-like knife (male I)	Paschalidis 2018, 117, 120-122, figs. 233-234, and pp. 330-331, figs. 717, 720, also p. 425.		Whorl, glass seal. On the floor and in two pits: other burials and grave goods.
Clauss	Tomb Δ	Burial Δ (male, c. 25 y.), trans. LH IIIB-IIIC	Knife, whetstone	Paschalidis 2018, 39, 186, fig. 357, and p. 188, fig. 361, also p. 433.		
Nikoleïka	Chamber tomb 4	Pit 7, LH IIIC Middle	Sickle-like knife	Petropoulos 2007, 262, 285, fig. 88; Paschalidis 2018, 425.		
Kallithea, Spentses	Chamber tomb P (Rho)	Burial A (tot. 15+ burials), LH IIIA-IIIC	Knife, whetstone	Papadopoulos 1997, 123.	376	Spearhead, pin (all with Burial A).
Kallithea, Langanidia	Chamber tomb VII	11 burials in heaps (tot. 15 burials), LH II-IIIC	Whetstone	Papadopoulos 1989, 60.	377	Spearhead, dagger, lead ring, some whorls, beads (all with the burials in heaps).
Krini, Ay. Konstantinos	Chamber tomb 2	11+ burials in a heap (and 2 other burials) LH III(A)-IIIC	Knife, whetstone	Kolonas 1990, 132.	204	With the heap of bones: sword, spearhead, 3 bronze rings, bronze band, 395 agate beads, 10 whorls.
Mycenae	Tripod Tomb	Burial (male, ca. 30 y.) burial, LH IIIC	20 double axes, wedge-shaped tool	Onassoglou 1995, 25-28, 150, figs. 57-58, pls. 12-15; Papadimitriou 2006, 543; Palaiologou 2013, 271.		Grave covered by a bronze tripod cauldron and the fragments of a second one.
Delphi, Temenos	Chamber tomb	Burial(s)?, LH IIIC	Knife, whetstone (or stone pendant?)	Perdrizet 1908, 8, figs. 18-23 (bronzes), 24 (“pendeloque”).	223	Sword, spearhead, razor (one-edged), pair of tweezers, fibula, 10 whorls (stone, terracotta).
Volos, Nea Ionia	Cist grave 56	2 burials, LH IIIC Late	Chisel	Baziou-Evstathiou 1999, 118-119, fig. 4.	225	Spearhead, bone pin, stone button.

Table 1. MH III-LH IIIC burials furnished with bronze and/or stone tools (on the Greek mainland, Lefkada and Salamis). Tool(s) used in crafts include: chisel, punch, awl, drill, knife, saw, axe, arrow-shaft, mould, rubber, whetstone; + sickle (in agriculture); chisels and other tools are generally in bronze. K.-D. = Kilian-Dirlmeier 2009; C&M = Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 111, n. 67; Stein. = Steinmann 2012. The note on other grave goods concerns (long) knives, razors, weapons, whorls or buttons, and worked material; pottery is not indicated in the note. (no loc.) = no precise location inside the burial; burial(s) = number of burials unknown; + = at least; y. = years (age at death).

* Grave goods from chamber tomb K at Nafplio-Palamidi, according to Arnott (1999b) *vs.* Piteros (2015):

- different terms, function rather alike: long saw, short-tanged knife;
- medical instruments *vs.* tools for craft: pair of large-denticulate forceps *vs.* pair of large tweezers (scissor-like) with teeth; broad pair of forceps *vs.* tweezers; 2 long probes or lancets and a small one *vs.* awls and sizeable needle;
- different identifications: 3 chisels *vs.* 2 chisels and an axe; long handed spoon or scoop (‘ear-pick’) *vs.* a scraper;
- other tools cited by Piteros 2015 (some of them by K.-D.): 5 whetstones and 2 stone grinders.

** For the date: Shelton 1996, 95. *** For the date, Tomb 4: Tzavella-Evjen 2014, 63, table 1. For the date, Tomb 17: Symeonoglou 1985, 53, table 2.4: LH IIIA1, IIIB1; 249, table 3: LH IIIA2.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Maurizio Del Freo and Don Evelyn for sharing their opinions on the themes developed in this article. Any errors or shortcomings that may remain are of course my sole responsibility.

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