SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE EARLY BRONZE 2 AEGEAN

The third millennium B.C. is an age of significant changes, that shaped decisively the growth of Aegean civilization. The technological and cultural advances of the period accelerated the process towards social complexity and had a tremendous impact on all aspects of life. The most important developments took place in the middle phases of the period, known as Early Bronze (EB) 2. In the present paper I summarize the available evidence in order to reconstruct the social and political structures of the EB 2 Aegean and their chronological development during this period [1].

Social and political organization in the EB 2 Aegean

There are three social units to each culture: the *individual*, the *group*, and the *settlement*, bound by the notion of inequality or heterogeneity [2]. Inequality results in hierarchy which, in turn, causes stratification. Two theories have been suggested to explain the mechanisms of hierarchy; the first considers that hierarchy is the result of only single factors [3] and the second of several interrelated factors [4].

The Individual

The position of the *individual* within a community or a group is defined by its *social persona*, *i.e.* the social identity or identities which reflect a set of rights and duties [5]. The *social persona* defines the ranking of the individual within the hierarchy of his/her

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1 For the EBA in general see C. RENFREW, *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (1972); D.J. PULLEN, *Social Organization in Early Bronze Age Greece; A Multi-dimensional Approach* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University 1985). For the EB 2 see M. WIENCKE, "Change in Early Helladic II", *AJA* 93 (1989), 495-509; M. COSMOPOULOS, *The Early Bronze 2 in the Aegean* (*SIMA* XCVIII 1991); J. FORSEN, *The Twilight of the Early Helladics: A Study of the Disturbances in East-Central and Southern Greece towards the End of the Early Bronze Age* (*SIMA-Pocket Book* 116 1992). For excellent updates on recent developments in EBA studies see J.L. DAVIS, "Review of Aegean Prehistory I: The Islands of the Aegean", *AJA* 96 (1992), 699-756 and J.B. RUTTER, "Prepalatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland", *AJA* 97 (1993), 758-774.

2 R.H. McGUIRE, "Breaking down Cultural Complexity: Inequality and Heterogeneity", in M.B. SCHIFFER (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (1983), 109. Cf. PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 34.

3 This theory is exemplified by the "layer-cake" model of stratification. Cf. G.A. JOHNSON, "Information Sources and the Development of Decision-Making Organizations", in CH.L. REDMAN, M.J. BERMAN, E.V. CURTIN, W.T. LANGHORNE JR., N.M. VERSAGI, and J.C. WANSER (eds.), *Social Archaeology: Beyond Subsistence and Dating* (1978), 87-112.

4 McGUIRE (*supra* n. 2).

5 W.H. GOODENOUGH, "Rethinking Status and Role: toward a General Model of the Cultural Organization of Social Relationships", in M. BLANTON (ed.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, *ASA Monographs* 1 (1965), 1, 24.

community and can be identifed through the analysis of burials and mortuary customs [6].

Renfrew has been one of the first archaeologists to address the problem of social organization in the EB 2 Aegean and to propose an explanation [7]. At the level of the *individual,* Renfrew's observations concern primarily the emergence of wealth and social hierarchy. In his study of Early Cycladic cemeteries, he distinguishes between "rich" and "poor" graves on the basis of differences in burial gifts: metal objects, frying pans, bone tubes, obsidian, and painted pottery appear in rich graves, while utilitarian vases, such as bowls and cups, in poor graves [8]. Similar differentiations are noticed also at Lefkas, Crete, and Troy. These "rich" graves indicate the emergence of wealth and the gradual differentiation of the individual as a separate entity with a distinct identity; this is also indicated by the numerous seals and sealings, which could have been personal emblems of ownership of goods [9]. A distinction between rich and poor graves is also made by Doumas (table 1), who demonstrates that rich graves tend to accommodate single burials, in contrast to smaller and poorer graves, that contain multiple burials [10]. Doumas further notices that richer graves become more common in the advanced Syros group [11]. Wealth seems also to have been the main differentiating criterion on the Mainland [12]: Besides rich burials, the only individuals to receive special treatment were infants, usually buried in single graves or beneath house floors [13].

Group	**Island**	**Cemetery**	**Grave no.**
Kampos	Naxos	Louros Athalassou	26
		Spedho	10, 13
	Dhespotiko	Livadhi	
Syros	Syros	Chalandr./A. Loukas	307, 351
Keros	Keros		
	Dhespotiko	Livadhi	
Amorgos	Amorgos	Dhokathismata	14

Table 1. "Rich" EC II graves [14]

In a recent analysis of mortuary data from the Mainland, the Cyclades, Crete, and the East Aegean, an effort was made to determine patterns of differences and similarities in the frequency and nature of artifacts and to correlate these to such burial data as number of individuals in each grave, posture, sex, age, and cut marks on bones (table 2) [15]. Although in general the range of gifts deposited in EB 2 graves is standard (pottery vases, household objects, toilet implements and, occasionally, jewelry and metal weapons), their frequency in combination with the technical features of the tombs confirm that wealth was the main differentiating factor in most parts of the Aegean [16]. This is more apparent on Crete, where rich and poor tombs (table 3) are distinguished by the frequency

6 PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 280. Cf. C. RENFREW, "Socio-economic Change in ranked Societies", in C. RENFREW and S. SHENNAN (eds.), *Ranking, Resource, and Exchange: Aspects of the Archaeology of early European Society* (1982), 3-4.
7 RENFREW (*supra* n. 1).
8 RENFREW (*supra* n. 1), 370-378.
9 RENFREW (*supra* n. 1), 386-390.
10 After C. DOUMAS, *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades* (*SIMA* XLVIII 1977), 55-60.
11 DOUMAS (*supra* n. 10), 60-62.
12 PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 369.
13 PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 370.
14 After DOUMAS (*supra* n. 10).
15 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 30-36, App. Tables 3.1-3.14.
16 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 32-35.

of burial gifts, especially gold and ivory [17], and in the Cyclades, where marble figurines and vases, bronze and silver tools, cosmetic implements, jewelry, lead figurines, and small objects seem to appear more frequently in rich graves [18]. Individual wealth is less apparent on the Mainland, where the standard burial gifts are five to ten clay vases (sauceboats, bowls, and less often pyxides and jars) per dead, and occasionally some bronze or obsidian scrapers (Pl. IIa-b) [19]. At Manika a separate class of "valuable" gifts was distinguished, such as imported beak-spouted jars [20]. On the other hand, the large number of sealings from Lerna could be interpreted as signs of ownership [21].

Site/Grave	Min.Ind.	Posture	Age	Sex	Cutmarks
Zygouries					
VII	12-14	D	A	M/F	?
XVI	3	D	A?	M/F	?
XX	15	D	A?	M/F	?
Corinth					
I	1?	?	?	?	?
II	2?	?	?	?	?
Asine					
I	1		C	?	
II	1	?	C	?	
Nemea					
I	1	D	C	?	
Manika					
M I	1	Co?	A	F	+
M IV	3	Co/D	C/Y/A	M/F	+
M V	1	Co	A	F?	+
M VI	2	D/Co?	C/A	M?	+
M VII	1?	D	A	F?	
M IX	1	D	A	?	+ burned
M XI	2	D/Co	Y/A	M/F	+
M XII	1	Co	A	F	?
M XIII	2	D/Co	C/A	F	+
M XIV	1	Co?	C	?	+
M XV	3	D/C	C(2)/A	M/F?	+
M XVI	3	D/Co	A	?	+
M XVII	1	Co	A	?	+
M XVIII	1	Co	A	M	
M XIX	2	D/Co	Y/C	F	+
M XX	1	Co	A	M	+
M XXI	4	D/Co	Y(1)/A	M(1)/F	+
Gamma I	6	D/Co	I/C/A(4)	?	+
Gamma II	2	Co	C/A	F	+
Gamma III	1?	D	?	?	?
Gamma VII10		2+	D/Co	?	? ?
A.Kosmas					
1	5	Co	C/A	M/F	
2	13	D	A	M/F	
3	6	D	A	M/F	
Areas A/B	1	D	A	?	
4	16	D	A	M/F	
5	6	D	A	M/F	

17 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), Appendix Table 3.14.
18 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 33.
19 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 290, Appendix Tables 3.5, 3.6, 3.7.
20 A. SAMPSON, *Manika, an Early Helladic Town in Chalkis* (1985), 227.
21 WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 507.

6	10	Co/D	A	M/F
7	7	Co	A	?
8	6	Co?	A	M?F
9	12	D	A	M/F
9A	1	D	C	?
10	2	D	A?	?
11	4-5	D	A?	?
11A	1	D	C?	?
12	2	D	A?	?
13	5	D	A?	M/F
14	4	D	A?	?
15	1+	Co	C	?
16	2	D	A	?
17-18	1?	?	C	?
19	?	D	A	?
20	16	D	A	M/F
21	1	D	A	?
21A	1	D	C	?
22	4	D	A	M/F
23	3	D	A	?
24, 26	?	?	?	?
24A	1	D	C?	?
25	1	?	C?	?
27	3	D	A	?
28	7	D	A	M/F
29	1	D	A	?
30	?	?	?	?
31	2	D	A?	?
32	1	D	A	?
N.Gr.25 & 32	1	S	?	?
50	3	S	A	?
51	10	Co/D	A	?
Voula	1	D	A	?
Markop.II-VI	1	?	?	?
Tsepi 1-16+	1-20	Co	A	?

Table 2. Burial Data from EH II graves
Co: Contracted S: Stretched D: Disturbed A: Adult C: Child I: Infant

The evidence from the East Aegean is too scanty for any reconstruction of burial habits.

Other criteria for ranking the individual are not apparent. The only cases where *professional status* could be established are at Lefcas, where forty eight stone arrowheads were found in a (warrior's ?) tomb and at Chalandriani, where a grave may have been used for the burial of a carpenter and his son. It is noteworthy that stone tools (pounders, rubbers, polishers, etc.) are not found in tombs and the finds of obsidian tools in child burials should caution us against correlating professional status to the nature of burial gifts. *Political* or *religious status* is also not reflected in the burials, as there are not any exceptional tombs or graves that could be ascribed to "rulers" or "kings" or "priests" or "officials". Some valuable objects (perhaps the silver diadems from the Cyclades) or seals could have been symbols of authority; but there are not any iconographic sources in the arts and of course no written sources that would help us ascribe a political significance to these objects. *Genre* does not seem to have played a role in social differentiation, since both males and females were buried indiscriminately, often in the same tombs [22]. A

22 Cf. C. BROODBANK, "The Longboat and Society in the Cyclades in the Keros-Syros Culture", *AJA* 93

possible exception could be the Minoan *tholoi*: for the whole time span of their use (EM 1 - MM 1) it has been estimated that three quarters of the buried individuals belonged to men [23], but there are not any indications that separate tombs existed for men and women. Differentiation according to *age* is noticed only in the separate burials of children, who are buried usually in single graves.

	Pottery	Figurines	Metal	St.vases	Seals	Amulets
A. Eirene			x			
A. Kyriake	x					
A. Triadha A	x	x	x			
A.Onouphrios			x	x	x	x
Aspripetra	x					
Koumasa A	x	x	x			
Koumasa B	x	x	x		x	
Koumasa E				x	x	
Lebena I	x		x		x	x
Lebena Ib	x	x		x		
Lebena II	x	x	x	x		x
Lebena IIa	x		x			
Lebena III	x	x				
Marath. I	x		x	x		x
Platanos A			x	x	x	
Platanos B	x			x		x
Platanos Gamma	x					
Porti	x		x			
Siva N	x		x			
Siva S	x		x		x	
Arkhanes E	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mochlos	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sphoungaras	x			x	x	

Table 3. Burial gifts in EM II tombs [24]

In conclusion, the *social persona* of the individual appears to have been defined basically on the basis of wealth on the Mainland, the Cyclades, and Crete and perhaps genre on Crete. Otherwise, the EB 2 burials present an extremely homogeneous picture.

The group

A precise definition of the social group has not yet been agreed upon by archaeologists [25]. For the purposes of this paper a group is defined as a smaller individual community group, which exhibits "a recognizable degree of residential coherency among two or more nuclear families within the community" [26].

Social groups can be defined through the study of burials. In some EH II and EC II cemeteries a formal arrangement in clusters has been observed. These clusters could have

(1989), 322 and n. 13.

23 K. BRANIGAN, *The Foundations of Palatial Crete* (1970), 166-169, 115.

24 Based on BRANIGAN (*supra* n. 23), 166-169, Appendix 3.

25 Cf. C. RENFREW, *Approaches to Social Archaeology* (1984), 33ff.

26 B. HAYDEN and A. CANNON, "The Corporate Group as an Archaeological Unit", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1 (1982), 135. Groups in which members do not reside together although the group may have important religious, economic, or political functions are termed "institutions" (*ibid.*). For the theories concerning the possible relationships between linear descent and land control see PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 41-42.

been used by corporate (lineage) groups [27] and in one case they could "reflect the social status of certain families within a Cycladic community" [28]. On Crete, the lack of single burials and the communal character of the tholos tombs suggest the existence of clans [29]. Burial data from the East Aegean are very scanty. Inequality and heterogeneity at the group level can be studied in settlement architecture [30]. The majority of buildings in EB 2 settlements are residential units, presumably inhabited by nuclear families. Pullen groups house sizes around two modes, one at ca. 11 m^2 and one at ca. 30 m^2, and suggests that the former were inhabited by families of four to five persons and the latter by families of eight persons [31].

Monumental buildings used for administrative purposes appear in the advanced phases of EB 2 [32]. On the Mainland they are the so-called Corridor Houses (Pl. III) which, it is generally agreed, were used as the residence of the "chief" of the settlement [33]. The building complexes at Vassilike and Myrtos may be indications that a central authority had emerged following the accumulation of wealth, as they could have been "mansions" of the ruler who exercised this central authority. Branigan suggests that this "communal leader" was elected by the community, perhaps every eight years, and came from the same class that acquired wealth and power through trade [34]. A class of "officials" and a class of "domestic servants" must have developed for the administrative and law-enforcing needs of the settlement [35]. Warren [36] does not consider the building complex at the site a "mansion" and does not accept the existence of a central authority:

> "... the complex [...] is certainly a village settlement, [...] a settlement in the form of a single large complex without separately defined houses suggests a social organization based on a single large unit, a clan or tribe living communally and perhaps not differentiated into individual families, and quite without any apparent chief or ruler" [37].

Architectural remains of workshops can point to the existence of craft specialists: advanced craft specialization would have resulted in full-time specialists, who would have been engaged only in the manufacture of their products and supported by the members of the community engaged in agricultural or pastoral activities. Part-time specialists do not imply social differentiation, but the economic differentiation of full-time specialists could lead to social differentiation [38]. In terms of chronology, metal workshops appear in the advanced phases of the period [39] and would suggest that craft specialization became more apparent in later EB 2 [40].

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27 PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 370-371.
28 DOUMAS (*supra* n. 10), 34.
29 BRANIGAN (*supra* n. 23), 116. Cf. J.L. BINTLIFF, "An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley, Appendix 2: the Number of Burials in the Mesara Tholoi", *BSA* 72 (1977), 83-84; T.M. WHITELAW, "The Settlement at Fournou Korifi Myrtos and Aspects of Early Minoan Social Organization", in *Minoan Society*, 323-345; R.W. HUTCHINSON, *Prehistoric Crete* (1962), 232-233.
30 McGUIRE (*supra* n. 2), 124; RENFREW (*supra* n. 25), 47.
31 PULLEN (*supra* n. 1), 372-375.
32 WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 496.
33 WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 503-505, with further references.
34 BRANIGAN (*supra* n. 23), 119ff.
35 BRANIGAN (*supra* n. 23), 121.
36 P. WARREN, "Knossos and the Greek Mainland in the Third Millennium B.C.", *AAA* 5 (1972), 266-267.
37 WARREN (*supra* n. 36), 267.
38 Potter's marks can also illustrate this point. The majority of these is concentrated in the advanced phases of the period. WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 507 n. 78.
39 Except for the East Aegean.
40 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 27.

The settlement

The definition of the settlement as a social and political unit presents many difficulties, as it involves theories about the formation of state and complex society. Two main explanations have been suggested [41]. The first is evolutionistic and made up of two theories [42]: those relying on a single *prime mover* and those which consider change as a result of several factors (chiefly the *systems theory)*. The second explanation, although essentially accepting evolution, is based on the *dynamic* relationships of the settlements; this explanation suggests that the formation of states is a result of the *integrative* (bureaucracy and redistribution of goods) [43] or the *conflictive* (predominance of one group over the others) [44] forces of the settlements [45]. Both explanations accept Service's scheme of the evolution of the stages of political organization from *tribes* to *chiefdoms* and eventually to *states* [46].

The social and political organization of *settlements* can be studied through their microstructural and macrostructural characteristics [47]. On the Mainland three types of settlement organized in a two-tier hierarchy can be distinguished:

(A) Large isolated settlements (intersite distances 7-10 km). Their subsistence seems to have been based on a mixed economy of agriculture, stock breeding, marine resources, trade, and craft technology (Argolid, Boiotia, Attica).

(B) Large settlements around which several smaller ones are clustered (Argolid, Laconia, Messenia, Euboia). The primary center can be quite large (3-15 ha.). Primary and secondary settlements seem to have relied on a complementary economy: secondary settlements would have been food-producing stations and primary settlements may have functioned as trade and craft centers.

(C) Clusters of small or medium settlements (size ranging from 1 to 3 ha.). These are usually located around plains or lakes, with intersite distances ranging from 1 to 5 km (Argolid, Messenia). These sites seem to have been on the same level of hierarchy and their function seems to have been basically the production of subsistence goods.

In general, high settlement density, large average settlement sizes and the pattern of clusters of settlements with a wide range of economic activities [48] would confirm the existence of *chiefdoms* [49]. These were presumably governed by the ruler whose residence

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41 N. YOFFEE, "The Decline and Rise of Mesopotamian Civilization: an Ethnoarchaeological Perspective on the Evolution of Social Complexity", *American Antiquity* 44 (1979), 5-35; J. HAAS, *The Evolution of the Prehistoric State* (1982).

42 K.V. FLANNERY, "The Cultural Evolution of Civilizations", *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 3 (1972), 399-426; H.T. WRIGHT, "Recent Research on the Origin of the State", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6 (1977), 379-397.

43 E.R. SERVICE, *Origins of the State and Civilization: the Process of Cultural Evolution* (1975).

44 M.H. FRIED, *The Evolution of Political Society: an Essay in Political Anthropology* (1967).

45 HAAS (*supra* n. 41), 209 argues against the evolutionistic explanation and suggests a functionalistic one, according to which power relationships between groups and the eventual control of a group over the resources of the community result in the "development of a stratification of the system".

46 SERVICE (*supra* n. 43); ID., *Primitive Social Organization: an Evolutionary Perspective* (1962). Cf. M.D. SAHLINS, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange", in GLUCKMAN and EGGAN (eds.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology, ASA Monographs* 1 (1965).

47 Microstructural: size, ecistic features, fortifications, open spaces, streets, house density, special function buildings, duration of occupation. Macrostructural: physical setting, location, resources, settlement density, and intersite distances. COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 1, 286-288, Appendix Tables 1.1-1.9.

48 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), chapter 1.

49 RENFREW (*supra* n. 1), 480-482. Cf. FLANNERY (*supra* n. 42), 401, fig. 1. Also WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 502; D. PULLEN, "Ox and Plow in the Early Bronze Age Aegean", *AJA* 96 (1992), 46.

was in the Corridor Houses of the larger settlements. Trade evidence would suggest economic ties among various chiefdoms, but not much can be said about political organization. In terms of chronological development, in such areas as the Argolid and northeast Attica, small sites seem to be abandoned in favor of larger sites [50]. It is, however, impossible to say whether these are isolated cases or part of a more general phenomenon. As our knowledge of the period increases, it may be possible for surface surveys to isolate early from late EH II sites.

In the Cyclades the settlement pattern is dispersed [51]. The rule is small, self dependent communities, with poor ecistic features (packed houses, narrow streets, no open spaces, no Special Function Buildings) and an economy based on marine rather than agricultural resources [52]. These features, together with the absence of administrative buildings could indicate an egalitarian society [53]. There is no evidence for conflicts between the settlements of each island, or between the various islands; the material remains show that there were certainly economic ties [54]. A possible chronological pattern can be seen in the increase in the number of small settlements in an advanced phase of the period, perhaps caused by division of the already existing communities [55]. At the very end of the period (Kastri phase) there is a considerable decrease in the number of settlements and a relocation of some settlements on steep hills, usually fortified [56].

On Crete settlement pattern is dispersed, but small nucleated settlements (farmsteads ?) occur in areas with rich resources that can be exploited by several communities, as in the Lasithi plain, the north coast of the island, and the Ierapetra isthmus. Isolated settlements or farmsteads perhaps specializing in stock raising and seasonally inhabited are also known (*e.g.* mountainous Debla in the west part of the island). The dispersed settlements of the central and eastern part of the island seem to have been rather self-dependent, with a mixture of agricultural and stock-raising or marine resources. In general, small settlement size, low settlement density, large intersite distances, and absence of a central political authority are arguments against the existence of chiefdoms. An advanced degree of settlement independence could be postulated, where settlements could have been governed by clans.

East Aegean settlements are small (usually smaller than 1 ha.). A few (Troy, Poliochni, Thermi, Emborio) present advanced ecistic features with paved streets, open spaces, Special Function Buildings, and a house density ranging from 10 to 17 houses per 1000 sq. m. On the other hand, fortifications, absence of satellite settlements, and self-sufficiency in production of subsistence goods would suggest that these were primary centers. A pattern of dispersed settlement thus emerges, with only higher order centers functioning both as food producing and commercial stations.

In general, mainland Greece presents the most diversified picture, with a

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50 WIENCKE (*supra* n. 1), 499; M. COSMOPOULOS, "Archaeological Investigations in the Area of Oropos", *ArchEph* (1989), 176-178 (in Greek); ID., "Prehistoric Attica: the Oropos Survey Project", *AJA* 94 (1990), 328.

51 J.L. DAVIS, "Perspectives on the Prehistoric Cyclades: an Archaeological Introduction", in P. GETZ-PREZIOSI, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections* (1987), 18; BROODBANK (*supra* n. 22), 321, 327.

52 Cf., however, C. GAMBLE, "Surplus and Self-sufficiency in the Cycladic Subsistence Economy", in J.L. DAVIS and J.F. CHERRY (eds.), *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory* (1979), 126.

53 C. RENFREW and M. WAGSTAFF, *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos* (1982), 35; BROODBANK (*supra*, n. 22), 321.

54 BROODBANK (*supra* n. 22), 337.

55 BROODBANK (*supra* n. 22), 327.

56 R.L.N. BARBER, *The Cyclades in the Bronze Age* (1987), 70.

combination of three types of settlement pattern, a two-stepped hierarchy with primary and secondary centers, and a wide range of functions. Early Cycladic II settlements are dispersed; hierarchy can not be detected and they could have functioned as trade or food producing stations. Crete presents two types of settlement pattern and a two-stepped hierarchy; some differences in function can be seen between the settlements in the north and those in the south part of the islands. In the East Aegean we observe one type of pattern and the existence only of primary centers. Noteworthy is the large number of settlements that are founded for the first time in the EB 2 and continue to be inhabited in the EB 3 (with the possible exception of the Cyclades). Although the increase is not as great as it appears (not all new sites were permanent settlements), it is sufficient to demonstrate a significant increase in population during the EB 2. The lack of data about the precise chronology of the vast majority of EB 2 sites does not allow a reconstruction of the chronological development of settlement pattern within the period. The possibility of an evolution from nucleated to dispersed pattern in the advanced stages of the period seems, however, plausible.

Conclusion

In general, social and political organization in the EB 2 Aegean present two patterns: the Mainland and the East Aegean seem to have been organized in chiefdoms, within which the basic social group was the family. Social differentiation according to profession, age, political or religious status is not obvious, but it appears that individuals were differentiated by wealth. In the Cyclades and on Crete an organization in tribes is more likely. In the Cyclades the basic social group seems to have been the family and on Crete the clan. In both cultures the social status of the individual seems to have been defined by wealth rather than by any other factor.

In terms of chronological development, indications of a more complex social and political organization are apparent in EB 2b [57]. Such phenomena as individual wealth ("rich" graves), craft specialization (workshops), formalized political organization (Corridor Houses), and urbanization (changes in settlement pattern) are clearly noticeable in the advanced phase of EB 2. These developments fit well with the general expansion and growth that has been noticed in artifact production [58], exchange networks [59], and iconography [60].

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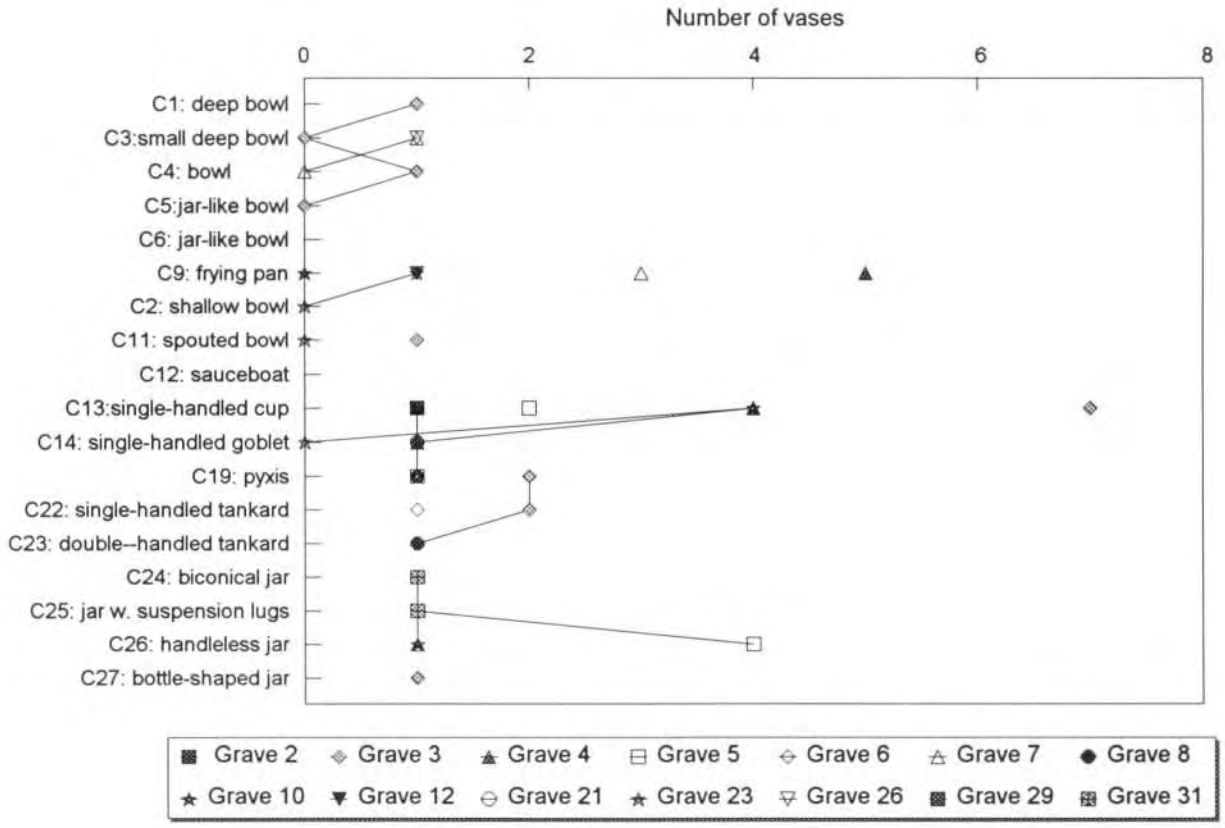
57 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n.1), 118-122.

58 COSMOPOULOS (*supra* n. 1), 119-120.

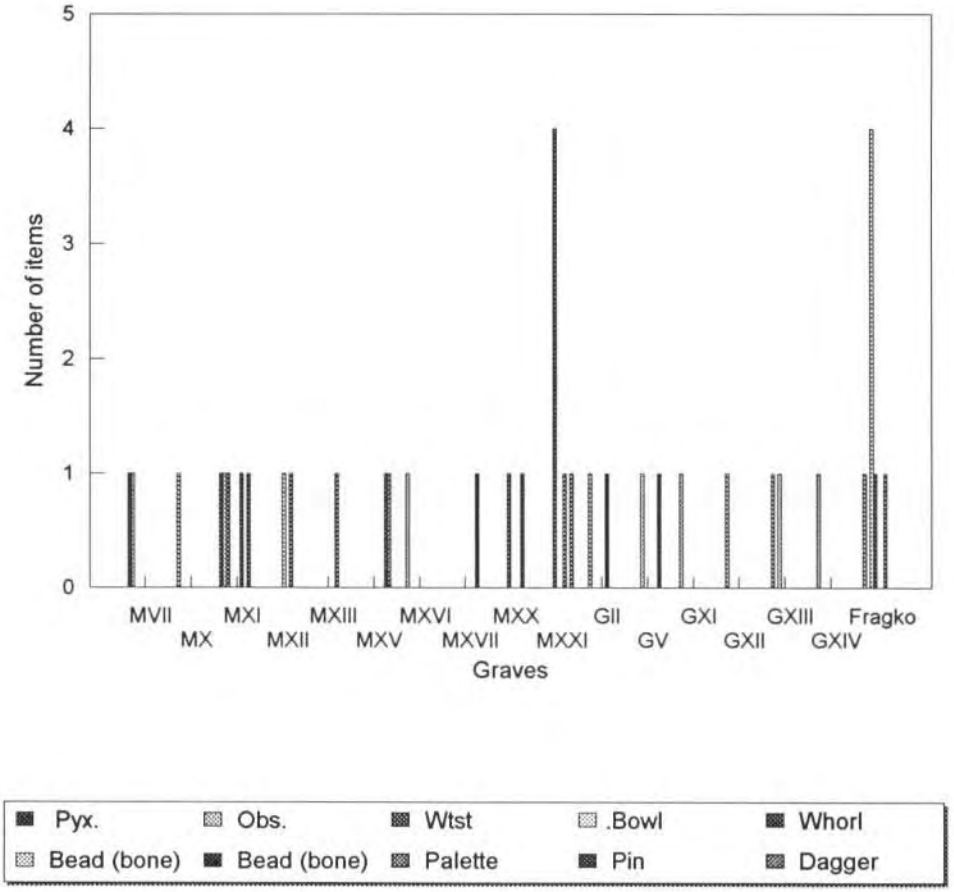
59 M. COSMOPOULOS, "Exchange Networks in Prehsitory: the Aegean and the Mediterranean in the Third Millennium B.C.", *Thalassa. L'Egée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990), Aegaeum* 7 (1991), 155-168.

60 M. COSMOPOULOS, "The Development of Iconography in the Early Bronze 2 Aegean", *ΕΙΚΩΝ. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference/4e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992, Aegaeum* 8 (1992), 87-96.

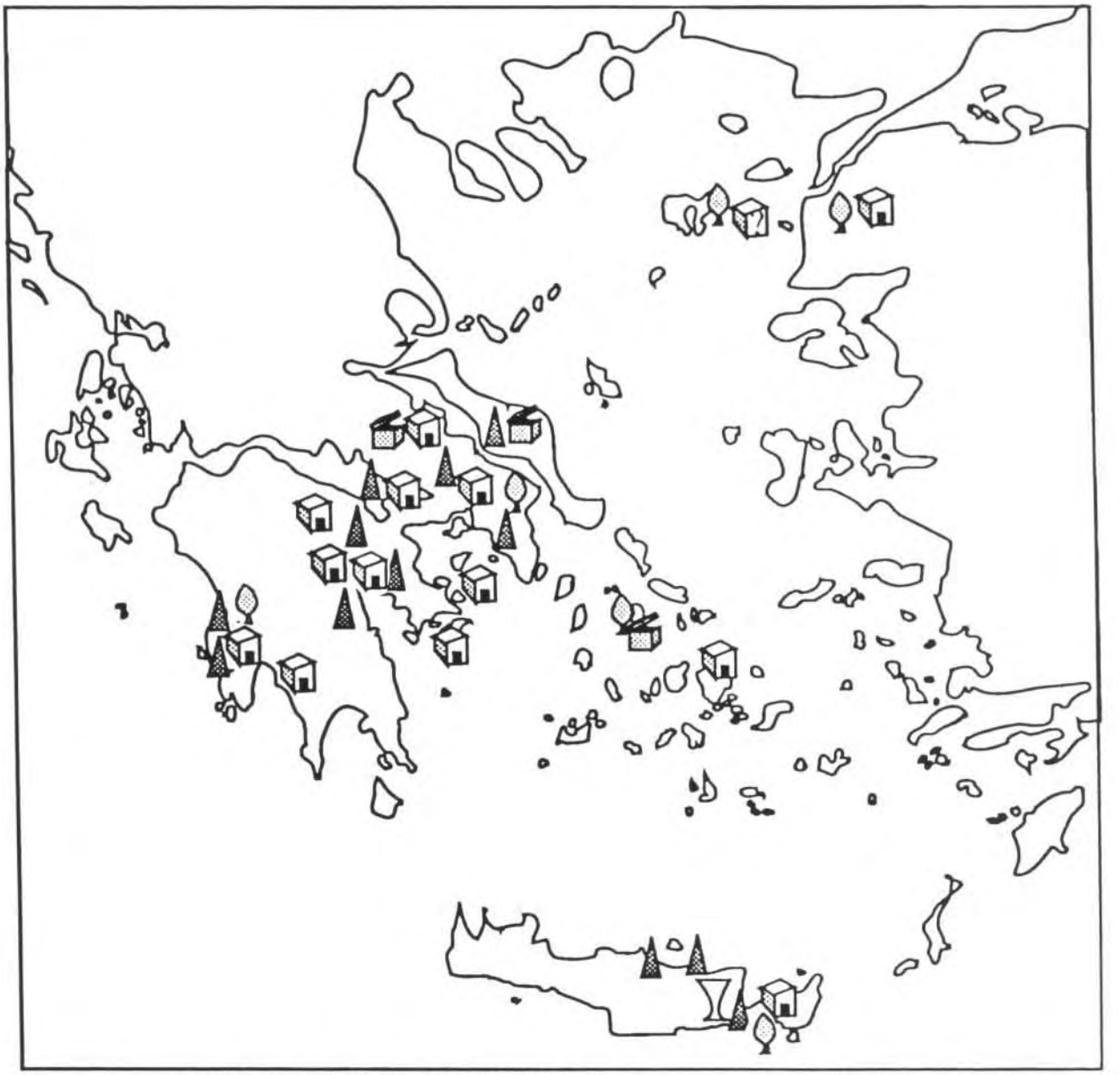
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



a. Aghios Kosmas



b. Manika



Distribution of Specialized Buildings

Pottery Workshops

Obsidian Worshops

Metal Workshops

Storage Places

Special Function Buildings