

SPATIAL NARRATIVES OF MORTUARY LANDSCAPES IN EARLY IRON AGE GREECE

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ABSTRACT

Cicek Tascioglu: Spatial Narratives of Mortuary Landscapes in Early Iron Age Greece.
(Under the direction of Donald Haggis)

This dissertation explores the space and place of burial in Greece in the Geometric period (900-700) and the 7th century BC. This transitional period is often characterized by increased cultural complexity and socio-political coalescence around proto-urban centers with the second half of the 8th century as a watershed moment. Previous scholarship has noted certain changes in the use and organization of cemeteries concurrent with these social and cultural transformations. In particular, scholars have observed a gradual shift from intracommunal to extracommunal burial locations. Some have argued that the increased marginalization and formalization of cemeteries in this period reflect attempts to distance the physicality of death or to deny certain classes access to burial rites.

Using the mortuary contexts of three well-documented *poleis*—Athens, Argos, and Corinth—as case studies, this project reexamines the articulation of mortuary space in the nascent Greek city. A multiscalar approach is adopted to evaluate three spatial scales of analysis: the space of the body and the grave; the space of the plot and the cemetery; and the wider mortuary landscape of a proto-urban settlement area. Results reveal that the social production of mortuary space at each of these three scales is a unique process at each settlement, contingent upon factors such as the idiosyncrasies of mortuary behavior; household and kinship patterns;

different levels of engagement between the living and the dead; beliefs surrounding pollution and purification; tomb cult and ancestorhood; settlement layout and the pace of urban growth; and the internal dynamics of socio-political realignment on the eve of state-formation. In addition, building on sociological theories of space, the study advocates a revision of models of spatial polarization in Greek cities and defines mortuary contexts as fluid and active landscapes that play a pivotal part in identity politics. In light of an in-depth analysis of these variables, the shift from intracommunal to extracommunal burial patterns at the end of the Geometric period is reframed not as the marginalization of burials but as the creation of supra-household collective spaces that aid social integration and creation of shared histories in coalescent communities.

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As I sit down and write these acknowledgements—a daunting task!—I am reminded of my advisor’s simple advice on how to finish a dissertation: “Just sit down and write!” He also said that the dissertation would “write itself”—that part was sadly not true. I wish I could say that this manuscript flowed out of me like poetry. But I am at least consoled by thinking that, if the answers came to me easily, either the answers were probably wrong or the question was not worth asking to begin with.

Anyone who has produced a work this size will know that even though I have my name on the cover, this dissertation would not have been possible without the kind and generous support of others. There are dozens of people I should be thanking, so I will extend a broad but heartfelt thank you to all those who supported me throughout this process: you know who you are. Of course I would be greatly amiss if I did not name my wonderful advisor Donald Haggis, who has shaped me into the scholar I am today, and whose unrelenting belief in me inspired me to push through times of uncertainty. Another big thank you goes to the rest of my dissertation committee—Sheila Dillon, Carla Antonaccio, Jennifer-Gates Foster, and Herica Valladares—for their encouragement, patience, and feedback. Special thanks go to my mother, who cheered me on from afar; Andrea Applebee, who has been the best friend anyone could ask for; and the students and scholars who have crossed paths with me in Athens, exchanged ideas, and offered feedback.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following chronological abbreviations are used throughout the text. Bibliographical abbreviations follow the editorial guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EG	Early Geometric
EIA	Early Iron Age
EPC	Early ProtoCorinthian
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LG	Late Geometric
LPC	Late ProtoCorinthian
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MG	Middle Geometric
MPC	Middle ProtoCorinthian
PG	Protogeometric

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“...already in late eighth-century Athens the distribution of graves and cemeteries suggests reservation of an urban area for the living and the relegation of the dead to the extra-urban area.” (Osborne 2009a, 239)

“From that time [i.e. 750-700 B.C.] onwards cemeteries were placed outside the living spaces, betraying a clear conceptual division between an urban “inside” and the world “outside.” (Hölscher 2012, 172)

“In ancient Greece, the necropolis was located outside the city, with tombs by the roadside.” (Erasmio 2012, 74)

Where did the dead belong in an ancient Greek city? What was the space and place of death within a wider physical and conceptual context in the Greek world? The statements above summarize the traditional academic wisdom on the topic: the place of the dead was the periphery of the urban core, distanced from the spaces of the living, neatly tucked away in a polarized spatial pattern that continued into Roman times and even later. The origins of this separation have been traced to the formation of cities and city-states in the 8th century B.C. when the boundaries between the gods, the living, and the dead are said to have hardened.¹

Some have argued that the relocation of burials to the periphery reflects a calculated and deliberate estrangement of the dead from the living through a coordinated spatial move that signals a newfound fear of death in Greek thought.² Others have concluded that the formation of partitioned and delineated cemeteries is socially and politically motivated—the change is a

¹ Morris 1987.

² Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 1983.

spatial and material reflection of a desire to increase the exclusivity of mortuary spaces and to enforce the formalization of burial practices.³ As Snodgrass (2016) recently points out, however, the dichotomy between “intramural” and “extramural” configurations is overworked and undertheorized. The dynamics behind the reconceptualization of mortuary spaces in Greek communities—if such a transformation indeed took place across the map—are yet to be explained within the context of urbanization and state-formation as social processes. This dissertation addresses several critical questions regarding the formation and transformation of mortuary spaces in early Greek cities. Were burials and cemeteries reorganized in the nascent Greek city, and why? What is the meaning of extramural versus intramural burial patterns? What is the cultural, social, and religious significance of spatial relocations? What is the space and place of death in communities that undergo major physical and economic expansion? What is the range of ritualized behaviors, socially-coordinated practices, habitual patterns, collective or individualist spatial decisions that shape the mortuary topography of a settlement? Using the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic burials of Athens, Argos, and Corinth—three ancient Greek cities that are among the most commonly-cited and studied early polities in Greek scholarship—this dissertation explores how mortuary spaces are formed; what functions they play within a wider social, cultural, and topographical context; and how (or why) they change.

Project Overview

For much of the Early Iron Age, the Greek landscape was characterized by loosely scattered villages organized around decentralized kinship and clan networks.⁴ Eventually, this

³ Morris 1998a, 1989, 1987.

⁴ Bintliff 2012; Whitley 1991; Morris 1987. For a more detailed overview of Early Iron Age settlement patterns and structure, see the discussion under each settlement in Chapters 3-5.

dispersed settlement pattern gave way to more nucleated proto-urban centers, gradually at first but with heightened activity and settlement nucleation in the 8th century B.C. Around the same time, we witness several significant changes in the archaeological record, including explorations into monumental architecture, the reemergence of writing, and the rise of regional sanctuaries.⁵ These patterns in coalescence, urbanization, and increased cultural complexity point to the birth of the Greek city-states.⁶ The period that spans the 9th through the 7th centuries B.C., therefore, is a time of remarkable social and political changes. My project seeks to explore these transformations through the lens of mortuary landscapes, in terms of changes in both the physical manifestation of the cemetery as a space, as well as its social and symbolic role within the newly-born city.

Previous scholarship has indeed noted some changes in the space and place of death in the Greek world towards the end of the Early Iron Age. Currently prevalent academic view maintains that there was an overall shift in the mortuary topography of proto-urban settlements as the realms of the living, the dead, and the divine were increasingly partitioned in the 8th century. Some researchers have argued that this development is evident in the increasing formalization and marginalization of cemeteries in 8th-century Athens, and suggested that similar models can be applied to Argos and Corinth.⁷ I argue in this dissertation that our current narratives on the mortuary landscapes of early Greek cities mask the real complexity and diversity of mortuary behavior and generate defective trajectories of urbanization and state-formation as social processes. To that end, one of the goals of this project is to reassess whether

⁵ Whitley 2001; Snodgrass 1977; Hägg 1983a; Coldstream 2003; Desborough 1972.

⁶ Osborne 2009a.

⁷ Morris 1987.

mortuary spaces were indeed increasingly marginalized, bounded, or otherwise delineated in the early Greek city.

In order to arrive at a holistic view of how cemeteries developed and functioned as social spaces, this dissertation adopts a decidedly spatial perspective to the topic at hand. This approach includes a discussion of the qualities and characteristics of mortuary space—largely adopted from sociological theory, as will be discussed in Chapter 2 in greater detail—as well as the consideration of multiple scales of spatial practice, ranging from episodic behaviors that shape microenvironments to durational discourses that influence wider patterns. A key theme throughout is highlighting the need to focus less on the absolute and positivist definitions of space in order to disentangle the symbolic and cognitive relationships between the spaces of the living and the dead. The consideration of multiple scales of spatial and temporal analysis (as outlined further below) allows us to understand both the role of socially- and culturally-driven collective action as well as the agency of the individual or the household in shaping mortuary landscapes.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of the proposed study is interdisciplinary and versatile, interweaving theories on urbanization, state-formation, social construction of space and spatiality, strategies of memory-making in complex societies, the role of households and kinship in complex societies, definitions of personhood, ritualized behavior, mortuary theory, and analytical evaluation of archaeological time. The convergence of these multifarious perspectives from anthropology and sociology, combined with the theoretical and methodological challenge of inferring social behavior from material culture and archaeological patterns, presents an intricate interpretive framework that seeks to address heavily problematized topics in social

sciences. In addition, much of the fundamental relevant terminology such as kinship, household, culture, identity, ethnicity, religion, and *polis*—some of which is used throughout this dissertation, albeit critically and with reservations—has become loaded and strained. This chapter presents a brief overview of the underpinnings of some of the problematic archaeological and anthropological concepts that are addressed throughout the rest of the study.

Urbanization and State-formation in Greece

The Archaic and the Classical periods in Greece are characterized by city-states—*poleis*—whose formative decades lie somewhere towards the end of the Early Iron Age with late 8th century as a watershed period.⁸ Scholars have pointed out that there are other forms of communities in Greece in addition to *poleis*,⁹ and some have even questioned the emphasis we place on city-state dynamics in Greek society or the definition of the *polis* as a “state” in general.¹⁰ This debate on the Greek *polis* has served to identify misleading perspectives that put an undue emphasis on Athens as the model urban or political form. This ongoing discourse on the form and function of the Greek city-state does not undermine the importance of the *polis*, but calls for nuanced approaches to the definition of *polis* as a city, city-state, and citizen-state.¹¹ New avenues in the scholarship on Greek states, in addition to compelling discussions on state-formation processes in anthropology, have laid the groundwork for a reexamination of the archaeological correlates of social change in Early Iron Age Greece.¹² Understanding the early

⁸ Whitley 2001; Snodgrass 1993.

⁹ Morgan 2003; Brock and Hodkinson 2000.

¹⁰ Vlassopoulos 2007; Feinman and Marcus 1998; Claessen and Skalník 1978.

¹¹ Whitley 2014; Small 2010; van der Vliet 2008, 2005; Hansen 2006, 2000, 1997, 1993; Morgan 2003; Kotsonas 2002; Flensted-Jensen et al. 2000; Mitchell and Rhodes 1997; Morris 1997a, 1991a; Small 1997b; Raaflaub 1993; Sakellariou 1989.

¹² Yoffee 2005, 1997; Chapman 2003; Blanton et al. 1996.

Greek *polis* in its physical form has been particularly difficult,¹³ but our picture is improving thanks to recent fieldwork and studies on Archaic urbanism.¹⁴ Even though it has been pointed out that state-formation does not always go hand-in-hand with urbanization, social coalescence can lead to changes in settlement patterns and the internal structure of settlements.¹⁵ Therefore, 8th-century Greece, when a number of social and material developments seem to be happening in tandem, is commonly accepted as the rise of the city-state.¹⁶

While the concept of *polis* as a political or urban form is not universally applicable to all Aegean communities, Athens, Argos, and Corinth—the three settlements that form the case studies of this dissertation—are widely researched and well-documented as *poleis* in the historical period, so the adoption of this term for these three polities is less problematic. Nevertheless, a perspective that has been rightly criticized in the scholarship of the 8th century B.C. is the tendency to approach this period solely from the perspective of state-formation. The problem, however, does not lie in framing this period as transitional, but in viewing state-formation as a linear trajectory towards the well-known forms and institutions of Classical Greece. In social sciences, this type of misleading interpretive framework has been termed “foreshadowing,” which Thrift (1996) defines as “an apocalyptic history of inevitable moments leading inevitably towards a predefined goal or fate which commentators already know, a goal or fate in which everything becomes faster, more compressed in space and time, more

¹³ Owen and Preston 2009; Osborne 2005; Morgan and Coulton 1997; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994; Owens 1991.

¹⁴ Haggis 2015, 2014a, 2014b; Gaignerot-Driessen and Driessen 2014; Fitzsimmons 2014. For a more extensive discussion of ancient urbanism and relevant bibliography, see Chapter 2.

¹⁵ Birch 2014; Bintliff 2012; Kowalewski 2006; Morris 1991a. For a recent overview of the relationship between state-formation and physical nucleation, especially in Greece, see Kōiv 2013.

¹⁶ Hansen 2003.

commodified, and so on. This logic of historical inevitability depends upon the dubious idea that history has a coherence other than what we impress upon it.”¹⁷

One of the most misleading effects of academic “foreshadowing” in Classical archaeology is the examination of change as a historical rupture, not as a gradual, prolonged, and complex process of social and political realignments.¹⁸ Such evolutionary approaches in Classical archaeology have encouraged scholars “to start from the end”¹⁹ and to seek the origins of a particular feature, layout, institution, or configuration—whether it be physical, architectural, social, or political—in the archaeological record of the Early Iron Age. It is this linear and historicizing perspective that causes the retrospective adoption of misleading anachronistic paradigms regarding urban development, *polis* institutions, citizenship, hierarchy, and state-level legislative or political authority. Recent scholarship has reevaluated the evolutionary trajectory of state-formation that drew a steady and unwavering line towards the Classical *polis*.²⁰ We now know that even within the category of a Greek *polis* itself, there are numerous variations and multiple paths of development.²¹ Therefore, studies on the social and material changes that we see in the 8th century should start from the “beginning” (with the caveat that the beginnings of social change is always a moving target) and from ground up (that is, from the available archaeological evidence, not from a predicted outcome).

¹⁷ Thrift 1996, 4.

¹⁸ Haggis 2015; de Polignac 2005a.

¹⁹ Osborne 2009b, 82.

²⁰ Haggis 2015; Terrenato and Haggis 2011 (including Small 2011 and van der Vliet 2011); Small 1997b; Morris 1997a.

²¹ Brock and Hodkinson 2000; Hall 1997b.

Mortuary Theory and the Study of Mortuary Space

As it will become evident in the discussion of the archaeological record of Athens, Argos, and Corinth in the Early Iron Age, most of our material evidence from this period comes from graves. In addition to the difficulty of understanding the spatial relationship between settlement and burial at a period when domestic contexts are scarce, heavy reliance on mortuary contexts in the archaeological record presents complex theoretical problems. The analysis of mortuary contexts is perhaps one of the most intensely debated areas in archaeology and anthropology; as a result, there have been several decades of shifting paradigms that presented myriad perspectives into looking at burials and understanding the social systems that produced them. Processual archaeology maintained a direct correlation between mortuary behavior and social structure, and strived to understand, mostly through quantitative analyses, how burials can be mapped onto socio-political organization.²² Post-processual perspectives advocated a more balanced consideration of the role of cultural symbolism, religion, belief, fashion, even personal grief and emotions in the archaeological evaluation of funerary behavior.²³

This ongoing debate on both the potential and the limitations of the study of mortuary practices—to use Binford's (1971) language from one of his seminal papers on the topic—has shown us that burials offer archaeologists a remarkably diverse, rich, and promising dataset, but decoding the social realities that lie beneath these archaeological contexts is exceptionally difficult. The mortuary realm is where the boundaries between ideology and reality become muddled: identities that are expressed in death may be imaginary or idealized; the intensity of the

²² See, for instance, Chapman et al. 1981; Goldstein 1981, 1976; Brown 1971; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter 1978, 1977, 1975; Saxe 1970.

²³ e.g. Hodder 2003, 1982a, 1982b, 1980; Parker Pearson 1993, 1982.

financial investment in the grave may not be indicative of the real-life socio-economic standing of the individual; the messages that are conveyed through burial may be an emulation of a class or a group that the deceased does not belong to; anomalous burial practices or exotic objects in the grave may or may not reflect different ethnic origins; material culture or iconography that archaeologists perceive as gendered may not carry the same meaning in that specific cultural or systemic context; and the ritualized behavior that shapes the grave may be (but need not be) guided by religious belief. The interpretive backbone of studies on the archaeology of death, therefore, have to be theoretically well-informed and sophisticated in order to navigate the complex web of cultural, social, and personal determinants of mortuary behavior and their material correlates.²⁴

These theoretical intricacies are further compounded by methodological challenges. Detailed osteological or bioarchaeological studies that establish the biological identity (such as sex, age, diet, or history of health) have been limited in many Greek Early Iron Age contexts.²⁵ When basic information like sex and age at the time of death cannot be established from skeletal remains, many studies rely on material culture to provide clues about the identity of the individual in the grave. Yet, gender “kits” in mortuary contexts are rarely consistent²⁶ and age divisions cannot be expected to correspond to dependable distinctions in material culture.²⁷ In Greek archaeology, there is a strong academic proclivity to establish gender based on grave

²⁴ Chapman 2013; Parker Pearson 1999; Carr 1995; O’Shea 1984, 1981; Ucko 1969.

²⁵ Lagia 2015; Schepartz et al. 2009; Triantaphyllou 2001.

²⁶ Sofaer and Sørensen 2013; Shepherd 2013; Arnold 2006; Arnold and Wicker 2001; Strömberg 1998, 1993; Humphreys 1993.

²⁷ Murphy and M. Le Roy 2017; Shepherd 2015; Coşkun 2015; Portat et al. 2016; Hermay and Dubois 2012 (especially Dasen 2012, Mariaud 2012, and Alexandridou 2012 in that volume); Hillson 2009; Pomadère 2005; Baxter 2005; Oakley 2003.

goods: the general impression is that jewelry, items that are marital or domestic in nature (e.g. spindle whorls), and certain vessel shapes (e.g. shoulder- or belly-handled amphorae) are reserved for women, whereas weapons and vessels that point to commensality (e.g. kraters) are offered to men. Similarly, assemblages that consist of miniature pottery or toys are interpreted as appropriate offerings for children. Nevertheless, it has been shown both in current mortuary theory as well as the burial contexts of ancient Greece that there are enough exceptions to these depositional practices that perspectives that rely heavily on the material culture of the grave to comment on the biological identity of the deceased must be approached with caution. In many societies, there is a more complicated system of acquiring objects that carry certain messages of age, gender, or social persona. It has been suggested for Late Geometric Argos, for instance, that women of a certain age and social standing could have gained access to symbolisms that are generally associated with men, whereas children were also buried with objects that allude to elite male activities that they failed to experience because of their immature death.²⁸

In addition to problems surrounding the determination of biological and social identity, mortuary contexts are shaped by a series of unique taphonomic and cultural formation processes that can be difficult to evaluate. Environmental factors can contribute to the rapid deterioration of skeletal remains, and in some cases erase them completely from the archaeological record. If the burial context can be located thanks to its material visibility (through its construction or grave goods), the absence of human remains can give the impression of an empty grave.²⁹ If the burial type itself is more susceptible to erosion (as in the case of simple pit graves) and there is

²⁸ See Chapter 4 below and Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011.

²⁹ For instance, many graves at the Early Iron Age cemeteries of Lefkandi lacked skeletal remains but appeared undisturbed, a situation which the excavators interpreted as the practice of cenotaphs and symbolic burial at the site (Popham et al. 1980).

no material culture that surrounds the interred body, it becomes nearly impossible to detect the burial archaeologically, and this situation contributes to a significant retrieval and mortuary representation problem. For these reasons, quantitative analyses in mortuary archaeology—such as establishing the size of the burying population or establishing a mortality rate for any given period—become controversial approaches.

In addition to the visibility of the grave itself, a significant portion of the funeral process—that is, ritualized acts from the time of death until the interment of the deceased and the construction of the grave, and sometimes even beyond—is archaeologically invisible.³⁰ In Greece, we know from literary sources and vase painting that the funeral was a drawn-out process that included the cleaning, preparation, and display of the corpse (*prothesis*), expressions of grief and mourning including dirges, funeral feasts, purification rituals, a public procession to the grave (*ekphora*), and visits to the cemetery after the burial. Many of these episodes leave little to no archaeological residues, but they must be considered in assessing the experiential and performative aspects of death rituals and mortuary spaces.

The study of mortuary contexts as social spaces that are part of a wider landscape adds another theoretical and methodological dimension to the topic. Although the social value of space and place of burials is recognized by anthropologists and has been a key facet of preeminent studies in mortuary analysis in the past, spatial considerations have remained tangential to most works on Greek burials.³¹ As a result, our picture of mortuary geographies in

³⁰ Boyd 2016; Nilsson Stutz 2015, 2008a; Weiss-Krejci 2011; Hertz 1960.

³¹ See Ashmore and Geller (2005) and Silverman and Small (2002) for theoretically sophisticated approaches to mortuary landscapes. Seminal studies on the spatiality of burial practices are Goldstein 1981, 1976; Peebles and Kus 1977; and Saxe 1970. Approaches that have been forwarded by Goldstein and Saxe, especially regarding the relationship between formal burial areas and territorial practices, have been especially influential in subsequent scholarship. For the application of these concepts to Greek contexts, see Snodgrass 2016; Morris 1987, 1998a, 1991.

Greece is encumbered by an absolute and positivist understanding of the meaning and construction of space. Considering more fluid, abstract, performative, and transient ontologies of space can expand our picture of the entanglement between the spaces of the living and the dead, and contribute greatly to the archaeological analysis of many spatial patterns like use, reuse, abandonment, distribution, demarcation, distance, and proximity. This topic is central to the interpretive framework of this dissertation and will be examined in further detail in Chapter 2.

Archaeology of Kinship

This dissertation strives to understand cemeteries as social spaces: mortuary space is a venue for the transmission of messages with significant social and cultural meaning through burial and ritualized behavior. This perspective necessitates a better understanding of which units or segments of the social network of a Greek *polis* are part of this communication system. Previous scholarship has focused on the interaction between the elite and the non-elite in a competitive pattern in which the elite establish the social meaning behind material culture, attempt to control access to cemeteries or burial rites, and ration the circulation of prestige objects or symbolic imagery within the community.³² While the power of the elite in dictating and manipulating the meaning behind objects, rituals, and imagery was undoubtedly significant, hierarchical tensions were not the only determinants behind mortuary behavior in Early Iron Age Greece. A growing number of studies place an emphasis on horizontal and heterarchical divisions within early Greek communities and consider the archaeological representation of other types of social units—such as households, kinship groups, and clans—within mortuary landscapes.

³² Whitley 1991; Morris 1987.

Unfortunately, material correlates of kinship structures and households are especially difficult to determine in the archaeological record. This dissertation assesses certain spatial patterns (such as the continuous reuse of graves, spatial juxtaposition or contiguity of burials, architectural demarcation of plots, or anomalous clusters of material homogeneities within landscapes of diversity) as behaviors that can be attributed to corporate social units like households or kinship groups. Before moving onto the discussion of these patterns, however, it is necessary to elaborate on how kinship is understood and defined in current anthropological and archaeological discourse.

The role of families and households as the fundamental building blocks of communities is a pattern common to most societies. Complex societies at the state level frequently devise strategies and social mechanisms through which these independent social units can relate to each other and form a functioning collective body at the supra-household level. Many studies on the role of kinship and relatedness in Greece have been striving to analyze the dynamics of kinship-based social decisions both from historical³³ and archaeological perspectives.³⁴ It is critical here, however, to clarify and emphasize how kinship or household is defined. The word “family” often evokes the fundamental Western family unit that is composed of parents and offsprings in a configuration that can be clarified as the “nuclear” or “immediate” family. This picture of family places the emphasis on biological relatedness and genealogy. The emphasis on reproduction, genealogical relationships, and shared biological traits dominated earlier paradigms of kinship

³³ Humphreys 2018, 1978; Blok 2017; Patterson 2006; Lambert 1999; Bourriot 1976; Roussel 1976.

³⁴ Souvatzi 2008; Alexandridou 2016, 2017. On lineal relationships and nuclear families in ancient Greece, see Antonaccio 1995, especially 252-254. On *oikos* as a fundamental social unit in early Greek society, see Small 1998; Donlan 1985.

but it has come under scrutiny in more current scholarship.³⁵ Scholars now agree that the definition of kinship should be expanded to include people who make a social commitment to sustain an affiliation with each other within a small-scale corporate unit that creates a shared identity. In other words, biological relatedness may be part of this bond, but there are numerous additional social mechanisms through which people can forge a connection to be included in a kinship unit. Sahlins (2013) defines kinship as a “mutuality of being” between people who consider their existence intrinsic to one another.³⁶ Kinship, then, is a discursive process based on self-identification, performance, and observance of certain criteria of social relatedness, rather than a static state strictly prescribed by biological realities. Johnson and Paul (2016) point out that “kinship as social relatedness can be based on any number of shared experiences, practices, and commonalities—including commensality, co-residence, shared knowledge, shared status, shared labor, shared connections to “place” and landscape, and naming rituals or name sharing.”³⁷ These revised perspectives into kinship characterize it as a socially defined identity.

Several of these shared traits and experiences can find material form and can be archaeologically detected. In particular, “shared connections to “place” and landscape” can manifest in two significant ways: living together and burying together. Domestic spatial expressions of social kinship can be referred to as the “household” in archaeology and anthropology, and building onto Lévi-Strauss’ (1983a, b, 1984, 1987, 1991) concept of “house societies,” scholars have produced a remarkable body of work on the social meaning and

³⁵ The deconstruction of biologically defined kinship paradigms was pioneered by Schneider (1968, 1972, 1984). For more recent overviews, see Johnson and Paul 2016; Sahlins 2013; Bamford and Leach 2009; Franklin and McKinnon 2001, 2000.

³⁶ Sahlins 2013, 2.

³⁷ Johnson and Paul 2016, 80.

physical manifestation of cohabitation in many communities.³⁸ Duncan and Hageman (2015) remark that house and lineage models may stand in opposition, but also point out that there is a certain overlap: the house “may feature varying degrees of biological and nonbiological, or social, kinship at different times during its existence.”³⁹

Scholars also extend the concept of household and kinship onto the mortuary realm based on the observation that in many communities solidarity of this basic social unit is kept intact after death. Anthropological discourse is developing methodologies and models that seek to expand the application of bioarchaeology in kinship research.⁴⁰ In spatial studies in particular, researchers look for expressions of relatedness in intracemetery analyses, such as clusters, territoriality, and the distribution of men and women across the landscape.⁴¹ Thinking in terms of the reiteration of social identity through kinship, genealogy, or lineage in mortuary studies can also be explored through the material residues of ancestor veneration and tomb cult—studies on this type of ritualized engagement with the dead have shown that not all ancestors are necessarily biological progenitors; they can be imagined, created, or appropriated.⁴²

Johnson and Paul (2016) highlight in particular the academic potential of looking at socially-defined kinship patterns in terms of analyzing layered systems of social organization.

³⁸ Steadman 2016; Carleton et al. 2013; Ensor 2013; Joyce and Gillespie 2000; in Greece, Souvatzi 2012b, 2008; for Early Iron Age and Archaic houses and households in Greece, Glowacki and Vogeikoff-Brogan 2011; Haggis et al. 2011; Ault and Nevett 2011; Westgate et al. 2007; Foxhall 2003; Nevett 1999; Morris 1999; Allison 1999, to name a few.

³⁹ Duncan and Hageman 2015, 135.

⁴⁰ Johnson and Paul 2016.

⁴¹ Some fundamental studies on the topic of kin-based mortuary practices, especially with respect to the development of space, are Carr 1995; Goldstein 1976, 1980; Parker Pearson 1999; Saxe 1970. For more recent overviews, see Ensor et al. 2017; Duncan and Hageman 2015.

⁴² For a recent overview of the archaeological and ethnographical perspectives into ancestor veneration, see Hill and Hageman 2016, especially Antonaccio 2016 on ancient Greece. For a criticism of the academic overuse of the term and concept of ancestors in archaeology, see Whitley 2002b.

They write: “Kinship/family represents a critical multiscale collective identity for which bioarchaeology can offer deep time perspectives. Approaching kinship as a multilevel form of social identity provides a yet undeveloped scale of analysis to explore connections between individual-, small group-, and community-level identities to address broader questions of human social organization in the past.”⁴³ It is indeed these graduated layers of identity that translate well into multiscale approaches in spatial studies.

Scales of Analysis in the Archaeology of Space

Mortuary landscapes are nested spaces. For a holistic view of the mortuary geography of a particular site, spatial research needs to peel back the layers systematically and examine different scales of activity and the mortuary behavior that shapes them. This dissertation handles mortuary space in three distinct scales: the microenvironment of the body and the grave (including bodily space that surrounds a corpse before it is interred into the grave), the space of the closed spatial extent of a collection of graves (whether a plot or a larger cemetery), and the wider topography of a settlement that is composed of a collage of mortuary spaces.

The examination of each of these scales involves a different set of challenges that require distinct methodological and theoretical approaches. The evaluation of the significance in bodily space in mortuary contexts is a fairly new avenue of research. Humanistic definitions of personal space that situate the body as the center of a spatial experience have been explored in sociology,⁴⁴ but extending this discussion into the performance and experience of the funeral is a more recent line of inquiry. Some discussions that explore this perspective focus on the

⁴³ Johnson and Paul 2016, 95.

⁴⁴ Ingold 2008, 1993; Merleau-Ponty 1945; Turnbull 2002; Tilley 2004, 1994; Csordas 1999; Butler 1993.

materiality of the corpse, including the adornment of the corpse as well as the evaluation of body (including skeletal remains) as an artifact.⁴⁵ This can be supplemented by considering funerals as performative rituals in which both the corpse and the living participants contribute to the experiential creation of a mortuary space.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the moment of interment as the climax of a funeral shifts some agency to the body, which has power to shape the emotional and the sensory experience of the entire event. This is particularly the case in cremation rituals where participants watch the striking transformation of the body on a pyre.⁴⁷

The grave as a contained space also necessitates a combined analysis of mortuary formation processes as well as the social meanings behind depositional and spatial practices. The physical components of the space of the grave include the burial type (that often determines the absolute spatial parameters of the grave), the body (how it is placed or oriented inside the grave), and the offerings that may be placed with the body (including the way they are positioned in or around the grave). Other factors that should be considered are whether the space of the grave is respected and preserved after it is sealed, whether it is reopened to introduce new components, or whether grave as a space is culturally less meaningful and can easily be relocated, abandoned, forgotten, or displaced without any social or emotional disturbance in the community.

The second spatial scale that is considered in this dissertation is the organization and the development of contiguous and spatially meaningful groupings of graves. The size of the grouping can range from a few graves within a plot to a large cemetery. This analytical scale examines how individual graves relate to each other, how (and why) burial areas expand, what

⁴⁵ Hughes et al 2010; Crossland 2009; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, especially Nilsson Stutz 2008b; Joyce 2005; Sofaer 2006; Fisher and Loren 2003; Hamilakis et al 2002, especially Tarlow 2002; Rautman 2000; Meskel 1996.

⁴⁶ Boyd 2016; Williams 2003, 2006.

⁴⁷ Stutz and Kuijt 2014; Williams 2004.

organizational principles steer the growth and internal organization of cemeteries, what architectural or visual markers are used to convey social and cultural messages, what commemorative practices are deployed, and what types of mnemonic practices aid in the long-term maintenance of burial grounds. A range of theoretical approaches can be useful in addressing these questions; this dissertation places a particular emphasis on investigating the potential correlation between social units (such as household or kinship) and the spatial articulation of burials, and the overall phenomenological experience of the cemetery as a memory landscape.

Spatial analysis at the scale of cemetery and plot is particularly informative in tracing changes in and the social meaning behind commemoration after death. Anthropologists and archaeologists point out that spatial patterns in mortuary contexts are frequently informed by strategies of remembrance, ranging from a focus on private family histories to collective shared pasts.⁴⁸ Williams (2006) defines cemeteries as “mnemonic compositions” that produce and reproduce social memories. Similarly, Semple (2013) explores the concept of “recycled landscapes” that capture a sense of continuity. Social memories exist at a collective level and transcend personal memories; as some have suggested, the creation of cemeteries aid in the creation of a collective identity and the integration of the individual into a larger corporate group after death.⁴⁹ In exploring the scale of mortuary contexts, Laneri (2007) points to local (e.g. family) and trans-local (e.g. state) levels of mnemonic frameworks. Likewise, Cannon (2002) observes that intramural burials preserve personal memories and intimate family connections, whereas extramural locations create collective and public scales of memory. From these

⁴⁸ For the relationship between social memory and landscapes see, Alcock 2002; Rapoport 1988.

⁴⁹ Renfrew 2016; Chesson 2001, especially Joyce 2001.

perspectives, changes in the size, articulation, delineation, and location of mortuary spaces are significant socially- and culturally-coordinated spatial decisions.

The third spatial scale that this dissertation investigates is the settlement-wide topography of burials. This line of analysis explores the distribution of burials across the landscape, in terms of both the relationship between settlement and burial, as well as patterns in the distribution of mortuary variability (such as the concentration of certain burial types or material wealth in particular localities). Through this investigation of settlement-wide patterns, I reexamine several narratives that were forwarded in previous scholarship on the space and place of death in Greece, particularly the purported shift from intracommunal to extracommunal mortuary configurations in the 8th century B.C. Aiding in this analysis is a Geographic Information System (GIS) platform, which incorporates a comprehensive database of burials dated to 9th-7th centuries B.C. from Argos and Corinth. The details of my methodology in using GIS in this type of spatial analysis are discussed further below.

Temporal Scales and the Archaeology of Time

Within each of the spatial scales discussed above, assessing the temporality of the context becomes one of the foremost concerns. This dissertation aims to present a view of transformations that take place within the mortuary landscapes of early Greek cities. In doing so, the study faces some challenges common to the diachronic analysis of the archaeological record. There are two concerns that need to be addressed in thinking about archaeological time. The first is a theoretical standpoint in elucidating how the passage of time generates archaeological contexts and how the temporal depth of archaeological contexts can be interpreted in terms of systemic behavior. Current discourse on the archaeological evaluation of time combines the

chronological and historical concepts of time with non-linear, repeated, suspended, or cyclical definitions.⁵⁰ New approaches to time perspectivism propose that “observations made at different temporal scales differentially make different processes apparent.”⁵¹ In terms of the relationship between time and archaeological formation processes, McAnany and Hodder’s (2009) redefinition of stratigraphy shifts analytical emphasis from geological superposition of layers to the interpretation of the social meaning behind the human acts and episodes that create palimpsests. McAnany and Hodder advocate an interpretive tool kit that reframes “social stratigraphy” in terms of deliberate acts and processes such as adding, removing, avoiding, cutting, hoarding, entombment, and erasure, each of which embrace a different strategy in remembering or forgetting.⁵² In addition to exploring the range of behaviors that shape social stratigraphies, McAnany and Hodder emphasize the importance of “tempo” as a temporal variable.

The second issue in dealing with time in archaeology lies in the traditional methodological challenges of chronology: assigning relative or absolute dates to material culture and situating archaeological contexts within a linear sequence of temporal development. Older scholarship relied heavily on typologies and periodization, whereas a new generation of scholars have begun to point out the artificial nature of academic temporal divisions and the caveats that must be heeded in using periodization as research brackets. There is now a thought-provoking academic debate that questions the validity of the chronological blocks that archaeologists create

⁵⁰ Lucas 2012, 2008, 2005; Olivier 2011, 2004, 2001, 1999; McAnany and Hodder 2009; Bailey 2007; Bradley 2002; Murray 1999, especially McGlade (1999) on non-linear causality and social change; McGlade and van der Leeuw 1997.

⁵¹ Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008: 3. For time perspectivism in earlier scholarship, see especially Bailey 1981, 1987, 2007.

⁵² McAnany and Hodder 2009, 7-8.

in standard periodization, and a growing number of scholars raise doubts about “what makes a period, and how periods are best named.”⁵³ The archaeological organization of chronology is linear, whereas past human behavior may be cyclical; therefore, Hadji and Souvatzi (2014) remark that the distinction between linear and cyclical flow of time is “an entirely artificial conceptual barrier, a mere construct, especially given that linear time is identified with Western thought, and cyclical with ‘traditional’ or ‘primitive’ societies.”⁵⁴ In analytical and interpretive research agendas that examine diachronic trends through quantification or spatial analysis, the categorization of data depends on periodization, and the overall picture may change according to how the data is divided or which chronological markers are chosen. Comparative studies face the additional challenge of reconciling different local chronologies.

It is a methodological reality that problems in relative dating limit our datasets while periodization itself can distort the meaning behind real systemic patterns. These academic realities, which are shared across the field of archaeology and not endemic to mortuary contexts alone, render datasets challenging but not unusable. A productive perspective is to consider multiple timescales by combining the positivist examination of hard data and datable contexts within linear timelines with a more theoretical approach to the cyclical or reiterative processes within time. To give an example from this dissertation, a cist grave that contains seven consecutive burials can be considered from two distinct perspectives: the first is its examination as an archaeological context whose development from construction to abandonment (including each independent episode of burial in between) needs to be chronicled with dates that allow us to study its place relative to the other contexts across the settlement. This enables us to locate the

⁵³ Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 2. Also see Kotsonas 2016; Morris 1997b; Hodder 1993.

⁵⁴ Hadji and Souvatzi 2014, 6.

grave temporally within a wider context, to comment on the traits it may share with others across a wider landscape, and hopefully add it to a dataset from which patterns may be developed. The second perspective is the study of the same context as a systemic space that is formed by habitual behavior, regardless of its date. Key questions in this approach are how the context is shaped; what types of behavior lead to its creation; what happened in each archaeologically visible episode of human activity that contributes to its development; what people saw, touched, and experienced in each of these episodes; and what this all means in terms of repeated mortuary behavior. In this line of questioning, the dates are less significant (even irrelevant); the more important aspect of time is not its absolute point in history, but its rhythm.

In an attempt to combine these divergent analytical scales of temporal inquiry, this dissertation approaches the available data from both perspectives discussed above. Periodization is a tool in organizing data, and such organizational parameters are usually necessary in archaeological research. For the timeframe that has been selected as the chronological scope of this dissertation (i.e. ca. 900-600 B.C.), traditional periodization relies on ceramic or art historical sequences, as reflected in terms like Geometric (based on pottery decoration), Orientalizing (reflecting presumed eastern influences in Greek art), and Archaic (largely a qualitative term that alludes to sculptural styles). An additional complication is that regional chronologies share the same terminology (like the subdivisions of the Geometric period), but the beginning and end dates for each phase may be different for each region. For the sake of convenience, this dissertation continues to use most of the traditional terminology in Greek chronology, with the full understanding that the loaded descriptive labels of these periods have generally become obscure. The regional chronologies of Athens, Argos, and Corinth are given in tables 3.1, 4.1, and 5.1.

The chronology of the 7th century presents an even more challenging problem. First and foremost, discontinuities and disruptions in the visibility of the material culture of this period make many contexts difficult to date. A grave with no artifacts is almost impossible to date with confidence, so the grave becomes chronologically invisible. Therefore, it will become a continuous theme in the following chapters that the mortuary record suffers heavily from problems in the dating and visibility of 7th-century contexts. A second issue in the archaeology of the 7th century is a problem of terminology, and it is more easily rectified. In traditional archaeological timelines of ancient Greece, this century is generally referred to as the “Orientalizing” period, but this label has been heavily scrutinized and mostly dropped from recent scholarship. Archaeologists are now in favor of more neutral terms, like ProtoArchaic, that do not make social or cultural inferences. Internal chronology of Athens and Corinth includes more specific terminology based on local pottery styles—ProtoAttic and ProtoCorinthian—and these have been retained in this dissertation only in reference to pottery dates. I mostly refer to this period as the “7th century” without using any chronological terminology, unless more specific dates are necessary, as outlined in tables 3.1, 4.1, and 5.1.

In order to complement the linear periodization of time, this dissertation also considers alternative temporal patterns and ontologies as processes that are part of McAnany and Hodder’s (2009) “social stratigraphy” within each context and spatial scale. As Hadji and Souvatzi (2014) point out, “the current conceptualization of time in terms of social memory and identity might also have a lot to gain from an awareness that the meaning ascribed to things and practices may vary or change at different spatial and temporal levels, as well as from a consideration of the links between short-term practices with long-term concepts and memories.”⁵⁵ Sociological

⁵⁵ Hadji and Souvatzi 2014, 20.

theories of space have useful approaches that analyze the simultaneous existence of social or cultural determinants of spatial behavior (which create observable, large-scale, and repeated patterns) and the agency of individuals or small social units (which materialize in alternative and small-scale contexts that archaeologists frequently dismiss as “exceptions”). Therefore, the arbitrary academic compartmentalization of time in archaeology can be reoriented through the sociological concept of space-time that studies the intersection of spatial and temporal practices. As Massey (1999) explains,

“...for time genuinely to be held open, space could be imagined as the sphere of the existence of multiplicity, of the possibility of the existence of difference. Such a space is the sphere in which distinct stories coexist, meet up, affect each other, come into conflict or cooperate. This space is not static, not a cross-section through time; it is disrupted, active and generative. It is not a closed system; it is constantly, as space-time, being made.”⁵⁶

Methodology

This dissertation adopts an implementation of this multiscalar examination of temporal and spatial patterns by organizing the material within each chapter according to graduating spatial scales and considering different modes of temporality contextually under each heading. The chronological scope—the Geometric period (ca. 900-700) and the 7th century B.C.—has been chosen to allow an examination of patterns that bracket the 8th century B.C., which, as discussed above, has been accepted as a significant moment of transition both in material culture and in the socio-political organization of Greek communities. The data is derived from published

⁵⁶ Massey 1999, 274.

material⁵⁷ and from archival material when available.⁵⁸

An approach that requires a more detailed discussion of methodology is the use of GIS as a tool for spatial analysis and visualization at the level of settlement-wide patterns. GIS has been rightly criticized as a technique that arbitrarily freezes time and simplifies complex spatial patterns. Massey (1999) has remarked that GIS mapping reduces space “to a dead surface” and has to be complemented with additional an examination of formation processes, spatial ontologies, collective and individual agency, and passage of time, all of which have been taken under consideration in this dissertation. The observation that GIS—and any kind of cartography, for that matter—simplifies spatiality is discussed further in Chapter 2.

The use of GIS for spatial analysis is a productive and informative line of inquiry, as long as it is not the only tool or approach deployed to answer research questions. Despite the inevitably flat and “frozen” nature of the visualizations that digital mapping technologies produce, GIS is an effective tool in organizing a large volume of complex data with many variables. For this reason, this dissertation has used a large GIS database of burials from Argos and Corinth in an effort to update the previous studies on the topography of burials at these sites, to visualize shifts in the settlement-wide distribution of burials through time, and, when data permitted, to comment on the distribution of mortuary variability (such as burial types) across space.

The GIS database that has been created for this project included only the graves that can be securely dated. Since the primary objective is diachronic analysis, this methodology had to

⁵⁷ The history of excavations and bibliography are discussed under individual chapters.

⁵⁸ Most importantly, the online archives of the excavations by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens at ascsa.net.

exclude burials that have been assigned broad dates in publications (such as general “Geometric” or “Archaic”) or contexts that could only be given a range (such as “MG-LG”). Within the database, each burial has been given a separate entry that included a large range of additional data, including the date of the context, sex and age of the individual, burial type, and types of grave goods. At Argos, the reuse of graves presented an additional challenge—at this site, each interment (i.e. each individual within the commingled context) was assigned a separate entry so that any relevant information on the individual (and the grave goods associated with that particular interment) could be separated from others. This database was integrated into GIS to generate the distribution patterns presented in figures 4.25-4.59 and 5.17-5.22. A simplified version in tabular form is included in tables 4.2 and 5.2.

Naturally, the efficacy of this type of analysis is limited to the quality of available data. The chronology and all other relevant information included in the database have been adopted from published information; no additional independent study was carried out on human remains or pottery to verify any of the published data. In cases where publications did not present detailed data, information that could be entered into the database was very limited. In terms of the sex and age of the individuals, only the estimates with a reasonable degree of confidence were used in the database. This includes observations based on osteological data (even those that were assigned somewhat tentatively), but not extrapolations based on grave goods (e.g. the size of jewelry or gendered categorizations of offerings). In some cases, I have accepted excavators’ conjectural remarks that assigned subadults to certain graves based on the size of the grave (e.g. pots or sarcophagi that are too small to hold adult inhumations).

With this theoretical and methodological framework in mind, the rest of this dissertation

turns to the examination of the mortuary landscapes of Athens, Argos, and Corinth in 9th-7th centuries B.C.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of theories of space, especially those that highlight the humanistic, experiential, participatory, and ultimately social definitions of spatiality that characterize it as an intersection of time, space, and human interaction. Juxtaposing these dynamic perspectives against the static archaeological perception of space as an inert setting in which activities occur or materials gather, Chapter 2 proposes new avenues for reading, defining, and analyzing mortuary spaces and the Greek city. The conclusions also provide a set of working definitions for key spatial terms such as cemetery and plot.

Chapter 3 is a detailed discussion of our current picture of the mortuary topography of the Early Iron Age and early Archaic Athens. This chapter reexamines many of the narratives that are derived from Athenian burial contexts—such as the increased formalization of mortuary spaces in the 8th century B.C.—and reevaluates several models and definitions—like “reserved cemetery” or “formal burial”—that originate from the mortuary spaces of this settlement.

Chapter 4 offers an in-depth study of the mortuary behavior and topography at Argos in the 9th-7th centuries B.C. The relatively large size of the database for this settlement (413 interments) allows some quantitative commentary (such as the changes in subadult representation in mortuary spaces in different periods) as well as an analysis of distribution patterns in mortuary variability. Therefore, the chapter reevaluates certain distribution patterns that have been proposed in previous scholarship (such as the concentration of cists in the center of the settlement). In addition, the type of mortuary behavior that leads to the creation of graves with successive multiple burials—a practice that is not observed at Athens or Corinth—is discussed in social terms. Many of the spatial patterns at Argos point to the significance of the

preservation of household, family, or kinship identities within mortuary spaces at this site.

Chapter 5 examines the burial contexts of Corinth. A significant portion of the discussion turns to settlement patterns and the changing relationship between settlement and burial during the reestablishment of the North Cemetery as a major extracommunal cemetery. Mortuary behavior at this site is analyzed in depth and in conjunction with other kinds of ritualized behavior within this community (such as attitudes towards chthonic powers or ancestors, the significance of an imagined mythological history, and the importance of water in the civic identity of this settlement). Certain types of grave contexts that are unique to this site (such as monolithic sarcophagi or compounds pit graves) are analyzed in terms of the deliberate creation of social space and social stratigraphy.

Lastly, Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of this dissertation. Instead of a division that repeats the organization of chapters according to different settlements, the conclusions are presented thematically, according to the three different spatial scales—grave, cemetery, and settlement—that have been examined throughout the project.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING THE GREEK CITY AND ITS MORTUARY SPACES

The Question of “Where?”

In *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Warf and Arias (2009) remark that “geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen.”¹ This statement may come as a truism to archaeologists, whose discipline has long been rooted in thinking “spatially.”² We uncover, situate, and plot our finds in relation to spaces—thereby addressing the question ‘where?’—and our ultimate goal is to answer the other two questions—‘how?’ and ‘why?’—in their various strands and permutations. Nonetheless, the nature of archaeological evidence introduces yet another question—‘when?’—which tends to preoccupy archaeologists. Consequently, some have remarked that archaeologists privilege time whereas geographers privilege space,³ and the two fields struggle to find common ground. Therefore, the academic relationship between archaeology and human geography—a sub-discipline of geography that explores people’s interaction with spaces and landscapes—remains estranged.⁴

On the whole, scholars have argued that traditional scholarship in humanities and social sciences has found it difficult to place equal emphasis on both time and space in academic

¹ Warf and Arias 2009, 1, original emphasis.

² Blake 2004, 230.

³ Hadji and Souvatzi 2014; Knott 2005; Hill 2015. See Massey 1999 for a discussion of the intersection of space and time in geography.

⁴ Hill 2015.

inquiry. In the words of Foucault (1980), “Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic.”⁵ More recent theories of space, however, posit that time and space are not parallel but in fact indissolubly bound.⁶ How does, then, the field of archaeology reconcile time and space? There is a growing and stimulating discussion of archaeological and historical time in recent scholarship, which seeks to problematize time perspectivism and advances more sophisticated perspectives of palimpsests and non-linear time scales.⁷ Archaeological approaches to space, however, do not exhibit the same theoretical rigor. Agnew (2011) writes: “The question of space and place in geographical knowledge is ultimately not just about whether the question of ‘where’ matters in the way that ‘when’ does in explaining ‘how’ and even ‘why’ something happens. It is also about *how* it matters.”⁸ So, how does space matter in archaeology? What theoretical perspectives underpin the archaeologist’s view—or definition—of space? And, more specifically for the purposes of this dissertation, how does mortuary space matter within a larger urban context?

In his brief overview of academic approaches to space and cultural geography, Berquist (2016) rightly notes that “we need to rethink what we mean by ‘where.’ The question of where is not answered on a map.”⁹ In archaeology, however, maps, plans, and distribution patterns are routinely presented in publications as self-evident and satisfactory answers to the question of ‘where.’ The main goals of this chapter are to reexamine archaeological perspectives into spatial analysis, to reach beyond the limited Cartesian approach which archaeologists deploy for

⁵ Foucault 1980, 70.

⁶ Massey 1999; Crang 2005.

⁷ e.g. Lucas 2012, 2008, 2005; Olivier 2011, 2004, 2001, 1999; Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008; Bailey 2007, 1987, 1981; Murray 1999.

⁸ Agnew 2011, 316, original emphasis.

⁹ Berquist 2016, 161.

locating things in absolute space, and to bolster and improve upon this definition with a social perspective that embraces space as a cognitive, fluid, variegated, permeable, contested, and relational concept. This brief overview of the social theories of space is by no means an exhaustive or even a comprehensive discussion; instead, the theoretical stances that I highlight in the following pages are but a selection, chosen to illustrate some of the ways archaeological perspectives into ancient urban environments can be enhanced by thinking about the concept of space a little bit more critically. Few studies on Greek cities show either an awareness of theories of space or an inclination to participate in such a discourse. I especially draw attention to and problematize archaeologist's traditional partition of spatiality that divides spaces into sacred, mortuary, and domestic functions within the Greek city. As I argue below, this categorization overlooks the permeability of space and superimposes an arbitrary order onto ancient geographies. Drawing from explorations into the meaning of space in disciplines outside archaeology, therefore, this chapter strives to arrive at a more nuanced conceptualization that bridges the gap between archaeological context (that is unearthed and analyzed in the present) and lived-in space (as it was conceived, perceived, and inhabited in the past).

The definition and meaning of space: interdisciplinary perspectives

We take space as a given: we would be hard-pressed to imagine a condition where there is absence of space. Perhaps for this very reason, space is difficult to define. Several decades of diverse and shifting strands of social theory in sociology and human geography have produced various definitions of space, so much so that the topic has become somewhat tortured. Castree et al. (2013) boil it down to a two-part definition: space as the “geometric container in which life takes place and matter exists” and space as the “spatial ordering and arrangement of the world

produced through social relations and practices.”¹⁰ Albeit simplified, these two definitions summarize a theoretical debate that has kept geographers busy for some time: absolute properties versus social perspectives of space.

This two-pronged definition of space also corresponds to an academic bifurcation within the field of geography between *physical* geography, which commonly focuses on the natural processes that form the environment, and *human* geography, which studies people’s perceptions of and interactions with their surroundings. The former sub-discipline generally aligns itself with natural sciences whereas the latter remains closer to humanities and social sciences.¹¹ Around 1950s and 1960s, however, human geography also began to turn towards more empirical and quantitative methods in a “Quantitative Revolution,” whose subscribers began to “much more explicitly cast space as a geometrical system of organization which could be measured objectively and scientifically and which actively shaped social relations in ways that could be modelled and simulated.”¹² Nevertheless, starting in the 1970s there emerged an overall dissatisfaction with the absolute and physical paradigms of what space *is*, which ultimately caused geographers to think more deeply about how space *is produced*. This new perspective engendered various academic inquiries into social, cultural, behavioral, and humanistic geographies that sought to grasp people’s relationship with spaces, and the results revealed a bewildering range of engagement with our surroundings. This vibrant discourse in the field of geography also generated an interest in space in other branches of humanities and social sciences in a movement retrospectively referred to as the “spatial turn.” Thanks to this truly

¹⁰ Castree et al. 2013, 479.

¹¹ Harrison et al. 2004;

¹² Castree et al. 2013, 479.

multidisciplinary effort, the Cartesian limitations of space were modified through an exploration of manifold ontologies that exist beyond absolute properties. The consensus was that social relations produce space, and, in turn, space produces social relations.¹³ One of the leading works within this movement was Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, in which he famously proposed that "(Social) space is a (social) product."¹⁴ Perhaps more importantly, Lefebvre presented the social production of space as a continually ongoing process, "inherently temporal, always unfolding, never accomplished once and for all."¹⁵ Consequently, geographers have concluded that space "is not ontologically secure—a fixable, definable, knowable, pre-determined entity; rather, space is always in the process of becoming; it is always in the process of taking place."¹⁶

Yet many theories on the social production (and consumption) of space subscribed to a degree of determinism where social norms, cultural traditions, or power-relations drive the form, layout, or content of spaces. Starting in the 1990s, these views also came under the criticism from post-structural theorists who argued against the existence of a dominant "Grand Theory" of space, and from feminist geographers who pointed out that the Marxist focus on political economy presents a myopic view that neglects the experiences of many social groups such as women.¹⁷ Those who embrace a fully "humanistic" perspective of space have explored the idea of *relational* geographies that highlight each individual's subjective perception and experience of space. Humanistic geography revisits the absolute and binary properties attributed to space (e.g.

¹³ Most notably Lefebvre 1991; Giddens 1984.

¹⁴ Lefebvre 1991, 30.

¹⁵ Lake 2010, 279.

¹⁶ Castree et al. 2013, 480.

¹⁷ For instance, England 1994; Rose 1993; Massey 1994

open/closed, near/far) and advocates an agent-centered approach in defining meanings, for example through concepts like spatial decision-making, cognitive mapping, embodied perceptions, performativity, and flow. According to some, therein lies the difference between space and place: place is a locus of individual attachment and identity, expressed and reinforced through spatial “place-making” practices.¹⁸ Influential in this line of thinking were Butler’s theorization of bodily performance as it relates to the relationship between bodies, spaces, and gender roles;¹⁹ Bordieu’s “theory of practice” and the idea of *habitus*, which can be defined as a set of behaviors that negotiate the relationship between social structure and human actions, habits, and routines;²⁰ Lefebvre’s concept of “rhythmanalysis,” which studies the rhythm of everyday activities as an intersection of space and time;²¹ and Thrift’s contributions to embodiment and “non-representational theory” that approach the human body as the source of knowledge and experience of space.²²

By and large, the idea of humanized spaces tackled the problematic relationship between the top-down determinants of spatial practices and more bottom-up spatial patterns: while there usually are social, cultural, political, or physical spatial divisions that underpin the form and layout of urban geography, there are also “private” spatial practices that may create alternative patterns of resistance, ranging from divergent minutia of everyday life—such as crossing a lawn instead of using pre-determined walkways—to the creation of radical subaltern spaces.²³ That is,

¹⁸ Agnew 2005.

¹⁹ Butler 1990, 1993.

²⁰ Bourdieu 1977.

²¹ Lefebvre and Régulier 1985; Lefebvre 1992.

²² Thrift 1996, 1-48.

²³ Blunt and Wills 2000.

when the physical forms, ideological constructs, embodied perceptions, and lived-in experiences of space do not line up in perfect harmony, spaces of contestation, transgression, and dissolution are born. This realization brought many diverse perspectives in sociology and human geography together in their acknowledgement that space is malleable and porous. As a result, a very stimulating branch of discussion turned to the description and analysis of variegated spaces that are hard to pin down through spatial science because they, by their very nature, envelop multiple connotations on multiple dimensions.

The ontological diversity of space eventually made some thinkers wonder whether we can ever fully grasp space in its many forms or develop critical models that can peel back the layers. Speaking from the sidelines, French philosopher Michel Foucault took up this challenge and made an immense impact on human geography. One of his contributions was the term and concept of *heterotopia*, which describes a paradoxical space of fragmented and superimposed meanings. Foucault defines *heterotopia*, or “other space,” in opposition to utopia: utopias are conceptual, imaginary, and unreal sites, whereas *heterotopias*, in which dominant social and spatial meanings are inverted or contested, are counter-sites that do exist in the real world. Foucault proposes that *heterotopias* are “outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality”²⁴ and they are “capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.”²⁵ *Heterotopias* are spaces of contradictions, arranged to reflect socially accepted spatial orderings but got caught up in a distortion of the real space they mimic. Among the examples Foucault gives are retirement homes, honeymoon hotels, boarding schools, cemeteries, prisons, and asylums. According to

²⁴ Foucault 1986, 24.

²⁵ Foucault 1986, 25.

Foucault, one function of heterotopic space is to contain individuals who are in a liminal state that is disruptive to social life, such as adolescents and the elderly, or those who actively upset social order, such as criminals.

Foucault perhaps envisioned his concept of *heterotopia* as an analytical method that attempts to “explain principles and features of a range of cultural, institutional and discursive spaces that are somehow ‘different’: disturbing, intense, incompatible, contradictory and transforming.”²⁶ Nevertheless, his remarks on heterotopia remained limited to a series of unpublished lectures delivered in the 1960s, and, as a result, he never fully developed the principles of his concept or articulated what geographers can do with this knowledge. Despite his brief and somewhat oblique outline of *heterotopia*, the sketch he presented stimulated much discussion among human geographers, some of whom took up and improved the slippery definition and applied it to an astounding array of spaces ranging from migrant camps to nudist beaches.²⁷ Although some might argue that Foucault’s concept of *heterotopia* has taken a life of its own quite different from what its creator may have intended, it remains useful in human geography as a framework for finding the hidden and nested meanings behind perceptions of space.

Foucault’s exploration of *heterotopia* was an effort to navigate spatial oppositions, particularly, in his own words, the tensions between “private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of

²⁶ Johnson 2013, 790.

²⁷ Olga 2013 on a migrant settlement as heterotopia; Andriotis 2010 on a nudist beach as heterotopia. For a range of other applications, see, for instance, Dehaene and De Caeter 2008; Hetherington 1997. A good summary of the impact of heterotopia in human geography can be found in Johnson 2013.

leisure and that of work.”²⁸ Other theorists also sought to chart a similar negotiation between contradictory spatial inferences by developing more structured models. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre sought to examine spatial interdependencies by formulating a trialectic of space, also known as his famous “Spatial Triad,” which articulates three interconnected facets of space: representations of space, spatial practices, and spaces of representation.²⁹ The representations of space, or *conceived* spaces as Lefebvre alternatively calls them,³⁰ are mental productions and superimpositions of spatiality created by those who design, plan, or build. *Conceived* space is the realm of ideologies and abstractions that seek to guide actions; Lefebvre identifies this dimension of space as the “dominant space in any society.”³¹ Examples of representations of space include maps, plans, images, and layouts, which can be analyzed and studied to make sense of space, but only to a certain extent since such an analysis would neglect the other two legs of the triad. Representations of space are driven by “logic and forms of knowledge, and the ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual depictions of space.”³²

The second facet of Lefebvre’s triad is spatial practices, a phrase which he uses to refer to patterns or mechanisms that coordinate a society’s movements such as infrastructure, spatial routines, crowd movements, transportation, and networks. Lefebvre calls this the *perceived* aspect of space.³³ Spatial practices are performed by inhabitants, but they are socially and culturally conditioned, cohesive, and “commonsensical” patterns;³⁴ they are also “taken-for-

²⁸ Foucault 1986, 23. For the structuralist break-down of heterotopia, see Saldanha 2008.

²⁹ Lefebvre 1991.

³⁰ *l’espace conçu*.

³¹ Lefebvre 1991, 39.

³² Shields, 1999, 163.

³³ *l’espace perçu*.

³⁴ Shields 1999, 162.

granted and unreflective.”³⁵ These are spatial behaviors that people engage in mechanically as they conform to existing guidelines or traditions. Lefebvre concludes that spatial practices produce and reproduce “spatial sets characteristic of each social formation.”³⁶

The last dimension of the spatial triad, spaces of representation, are the *lived spaces*³⁷ in which the other two categories—the conceived and perceived—are negotiated or even contested. Lefebvre’s spaces of representation, in which “people experience the world pre-rationally,” can be likened to what others termed “place”³⁸—these are the loci of attachment and personalization, with meanings inscribed by individuals rather than masses. As Watkins explains, “it is the *spaces of representation* that forms, informs and facilitates the deviations, diversity and individuality that are a fundamental aspect of any social encounter. This distinctiveness is achieved in conjunction with, while not being completely constrained by, the strictures of the *representations of space* and the *spatial practices* that have developed to provide the necessary cohesion and competence for successful social interaction.”³⁹ In other words, spaces of representation develop through bottom-up processes in which individual actors hold agency. While the conception and design of a space—as well as the established patterns and norms that are expected to take place within it—can guide and contain spatial behavior, these factors do not completely eliminate individualization. The challenge in analyzing space, especially based solely on maps or plans, is locating the divergent spaces of representation within any given context.

Lefebvre’s trialectical reading of space was deployed and expanded upon by several

³⁵ Shields 1999, 163.

³⁶ Lefebvre, 1991, 33.

³⁷ l’espace vécu.

³⁸ Pierce and Martin 2015, 1282.

³⁹ Watkins 2005, 213, original emphasis.

others,⁴⁰ most notably by Edward Soja, who reframed Lefebvre's spatial triad as Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace, which roughly correspond to Lefebvre's perceived, conceived, and lived spaces.⁴¹ According to Soja, these three groupings interact in complex ways that render geographer's binary focus on absolute versus abstract dimensions less useful. Instead, Soja interweaves Lefebvre's lived spaces with Foucault's heterotopia, and forwards the concept of Thirdspace. In Soja's own words, this in-between space can be characterized as:

“the place where temporality and spatiality, history and biography are really written, fully lived, filling the entire geographical or spatial imagination. It was only through an understanding of this kind of space, this third space, this lived space, this heterotopology, that it would become possible for the spatiality of human life (the spatial dimension) to be seen as equivalent in importance to life's historicity (the historical dimension) and sociality (the social dimension).”⁴²

The active, fluid, and multifarious ontologies of space, especially the discussions on people's navigation *between* spaces, also pushed scholars to revisit their perspectives on how spaces relate to each other. The world we live in, formerly conceived as a mosaic of spaces and places that were contiguous but discreet, is now recast as a network where the key concept is connection, not separation. Castree (2003) uses a series of simple but compelling illustrations to explain the shifting paradigms of place and space (Fig. 2.1): the mosaic view of place, he argues, should be replaced by new metaphors, such as place as a “switching point” or a “node,” which “allow us to think of places as inextricably interconnected—indeed interdependent—and as different and unique.”⁴³ Similarly, Thrift (2003) stresses that we need to think of space as “a series of carefully worked-up connections through which what we know as the world interacts.

⁴⁰ Contra e.g. Unwin 2000.

⁴¹ Soja 1996.

⁴² Blake 2002, 141.

⁴³ Castree 2003, 174-175, original emphasis.

These connections consist of pathways which bind often quite unlike things together, usually on a routine, circulating basis.”⁴⁴ Both Thrift’s and Castree’s revisions, which are part of a larger movement that dismantles—or at least softens—binary oppositions in human geography, are particularly compelling because they retain the “different,” “unique,” and “unlike” spatial identities while embracing the dynamism of exchange between them.⁴⁵

To summarize briefly, the common thread in many of the theoretical discourses outlined here is that space is not purely physical, and never absolute; it is constantly in motion, in a perpetual state of becoming. Hubbard et al. (2002) outline the new understanding of space as follows:

“...a relational view of space has been forwarded that seeks both to critique absolute theorizations and representations of space and to provide an alternative position. A *relative* understanding of space prioritizes analyses of how space is constituted and given meaning through human endeavor. Here, space is not a given neutral and passive geometry but rather is continuously produced through socio-spatial relations; the relationship between space, spatial forms and spatial behavior is not contingent upon ‘natural’ spatial laws, but is rather a product of cultural, social, political and economic relations; space is not essential in nature but is constructed and produced; space is not an objective structure but is a social experience.”⁴⁶

In short, just like sociologists and geographers have done with contemporary urban surroundings, archaeologists should situate the producers and consumers of ancient spaces within a world of fluid ontologies. It is in this spirit that this dissertation seeks to reexamine the development of the early Greek city by integrating a revised ontology of space with high-resolution archaeological and spatial analysis. To that end, the second half of this chapter is dedicated to a review of archaeological approaches to ancient cities with particular emphasis on

⁴⁴ Thrift 2003, 98.

⁴⁵ Cloke and Johnston 2005.

⁴⁶ Hubbard et al. 2002, 13-14, original emphasis.

the Greek *polis*, followed by a reassessment of the definition of mortuary space and its role within the context of Greek urbanism.

The Archaeology of Space

The study of space and spatial patterns in archaeology has indeed made big strides in the last few decades. With the exception of a handful of studies, however, the ontology of space remains moored in the tangible and physical qualities of space, showing a clear bias towards the development of architectural forms and monuments. Souvatzi (2012) maintains that archaeology treats the topic adequately: in archaeology, she argues, “the study of space and architecture has always held a prominent position. Indeed, they both constitute a core class of archaeological data, whereas another core class, material culture, has also always been examined in relation to its positioning in space, whether horizontally, at sites, regions, or landscapes, or vertically, in chronological strata.”⁴⁷ As Souvatzi inadvertently highlights here, however, archaeology’s primary interest in spatial analysis lies in *locating* things in space and time. On the other hand, human geographers today would posit that absolute location *in* space is only the starting point for unfolding the myriad meanings *of* space. Unfortunately, many spatial studies in archaeology begin and end with maps and distribution patterns, even though the visualization of spatial layout in itself does not grant an automatic grasp of how spaces were navigated physically, how they were conceptualized both materially and cognitively, how they were constructed socially, or how they related to other spaces both symbolically and in practice. As Dunn (2010) observes, archaeologists are more prone to “representing” and “describing,” as opposed to truly “understanding” past constructions of space. Therefore, archaeologists’ overall disengagement

⁴⁷ Souvatzi 2012a, 173.

with theoretical approaches to space in sociology and human geography has resulted in an adherence to an outdated positivist and absolutist vision of space, at least in the case of Greek cities and mortuary spaces that are examined here.⁴⁸

While there has been advanced work in many areas of spatial analysis, the archaeology of space remains undertheorized. The tension between empirical methods and social theory is particularly palpable in the fields of GIS and formal spatial analysis such as spatial syntax.⁴⁹ Researchers are now equipped with cutting-edge computer technologies that can create extraordinary two-dimensional maps as well as three-dimensional reconstructions. Nonetheless, without a firm grip on the theoretical implications of such methods, many studies produce impressive visuals but fall short of contributing substantially to our understanding of the social meaning of ancient spaces.⁵⁰ Yet others defend the usefulness of formal analysis in archaeology as long as researchers handle the data fully aware of the theoretical underpinnings that surround the study of social space.⁵¹

The root of the tension between quantitative and qualitative approaches in archaeology perhaps reflects the vestiges of the theoretical debate that revolved around the processual and post-processual “schools” in the closing decades of the last century. As Blake (2004) notes, archaeologists began to tune into the “Quantitative Revolution” just when it was beginning to lose its appeal in geography.⁵² Processual (or “New”) archaeology was born out of this

⁴⁸ Contra Souvatzi 2012a. Also contra Preucel and Meskell, 2004, who believe that “there is a common rejection of the rigid and deterministic views of space that were so influential in positivist spatial science, and a growing appreciation of its dynamic and variegated character” (Preucel and Meskell 2004, 225).

⁴⁹ Leach 1978; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Hodder 2003.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion on GIS and the aid of computer technologies in archaeology.

⁵¹ For instance, Fisher 2009, who applies Hillier and Hanson’s (1984) spatial syntax and access analysis to the LBA-Early Iron Age site of Enkomi, Cyprus, with an emphasis on environmental psychology.

⁵² Blake 2004, 232.

movement and quickly oriented its research goals towards predictive model-building and hypothesis-testing with a clear eagerness for empirical and quantitative methods. While the ultimate interest of processual archaeology indeed lay in understanding the social processes that informed material patterns, perhaps the biggest pitfall was the supposition of a unidirectional link of causality that saw physical remains, such as contexts, artifacts, and spaces, simply as byproducts of social structure. One influential line of thought in this movement was the Middle Range Theory, which Lewis Binford adopted from sociology to formulate an interpretive framework that infers human behavior from archaeological remains.⁵³ This perspective, however, viewed social processes as complex and dynamic events, but material remains were taken to be static residues and products. Spatial distribution patterns were examined as the output of activities, whereas space was often reduced to a pre-conceived container of events. Post-processualist reaction to New Archaeology sought to restore the diminished impact of human agency in archaeological theory by exploring the encoded meanings and elusive symbolisms behind artifacts and spaces, an approach more in line with the emergence of relational or embodied definitions of space in human geography. As Hadji and Sovatzi (2014) summarize, “postprocessualist approaches called for a meaningbound archaeological space and a multiplicity of interpretations including, but not restricted to, social and cultural/ideational ones.”⁵⁴ Some phenomenological studies of ancient environments, especially within a wider framework of landscape studies, can be situated within this theoretical context.⁵⁵

Some argue that the post-processual critique of New Archaeology pulled archaeologists

⁵³ Binford 1983.

⁵⁴ Hadji and Souvatzi 2014, 8.

⁵⁵ Most notably Tilley 1994. See Ashmore 2004, 2014, and Harmanşah 2014 for an overview of theoretical approaches in landscape archaeology.

out of positivist waters, and, as Lucas (2016) says, “the dust of these wars has settled.”⁵⁶ But this is true only in some respects. For the most part, archaeological inquiry still concentrates on the complexities of social structure or behavior at the expense of the complexities of tangible remains. As Olsen observes, “the materiality of past societies, tellingly conceived of as *traces* or *remnants*, becomes epiphenomena of historical and social processes that are not in themselves material.”⁵⁷ Olsen remains optimistic about the direction archaeology is going in its dealings with objects: as he notes, several recent studies from the opening decades of the 21st century adopt perspectives that see material remains not merely as an “outcome of historical and social processes or as just an epistemological component through which these processes can be grasped, but actually as constituent parts—even explanatory parts—of these very processes.”⁵⁸ Discussions on how societies “produce” or “consume” material culture now seem reductive and limiting in their assumption of a system of unilateral causality; instead, the new paradigm is the recognition of a thoroughly intricate web of “entanglement” between people and things.⁵⁹ A current wave of “symmetrical archaeology” has been positioning itself as a “posthuman” or “transhuman” perspective that draws attention to a “mutual arrangement and relationship” between humans and objects.⁶⁰ Whitmore (2007) contends that “any *radical* separation, opposition and contradiction between people and the material world with which they live is regarded as the outcome of a specifically modern way of distributing entities and segmenting the

⁵⁶ Lucas 2016, 1.

⁵⁷ Olsen 2010, 27, original emphasis.

⁵⁸ Olsen 2010, 88.

⁵⁹ For instance, Hodder 2012.

⁶⁰ Shanks 2007, 591.

world.”⁶¹

This recent interest in a revised ontology of material things, however, still seems mostly limited to the study of objects, not spaces. In order to negotiate the juncture of space, time, and things, archaeologists have created the concept of “context,” which can be summarized as the relationship between a meaningful grouping of things at a specific time, within a specific space.⁶² While space remains essential in this definition, archaeologists’ treatment of context still fails to bring space into focus. To put it simply, archaeological train of thought presupposes that events occur within pre-existing spaces and, using assemblages as footprints of activities, tries to reconstruct what these events were. Next, archaeologists assign spaces a primary identity—sacred, mortuary, or domestic—based on the nature of the events or activities that these spaces regularly contained. The spatial identity that the archaeologist has reconstructed is then reframed as the “function” of the space, which is expected to reproduce the kind of activity that correlates to the said “function” until discontinuity or rupture can be established. This somewhat circular exercise is the backbone of archaeology. Consequently, most theoretical reflections in archaeology focus on the nature of context—whether it has been disturbed, whether it can be dated, how it was assembled, what type of activity it represents, and so on—but never the nature of space itself: space in archaeological thought is an *a priori* component of context. A quick search will yield dozens of studies in archaeology that strive to explain what an assemblage is,⁶³ but not many that ask what space is. In other words, in archaeology, we problematize most

⁶¹ Witmore 2007, 546. Symmetrical archaeology is not without its critics: See, for instance, Barrett 2014 and Graves-Brown 2013. Also see Olsen and Whitmore 2015 for a response to criticism.

⁶² For instance, Hodder (2003:143) defines context as follows: “Each object exists in many relevant directions at once, and so, where the data exists, a rich network of associations and contrasts can be followed through in building up towards an interpretation of meaning. The totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around any one object can be identified as the context of that object.”

⁶³ For instance, see Hamilakis and Jones 2017.

concepts—culture, social structure, contexts, things, even time—but space is where we find our footing: we take comfort in thinking that it is absolute, fixed, and ontologically secure.

As many point out, however, archaeology has a lot to contribute to our understanding of social space. Souvatzi (2012) rightly highlights that one of the strengths of our field in spatial analysis is its remarkable access to multiple scales of inference, both spatially and temporally.⁶⁴ Studies that stand to contribute the most to our understanding of ancient environments engage in multiscalar analysis, ranging from single rooms to landscapes on the spatial scale, and from micro-stratigraphy to the *longue durée* on a temporal spectrum. On the other hand, perhaps it is this spatial diversity that has hindered the adoption of a unified theoretical framework of space in archaeology. The diversity of archaeological contexts loosely corresponds to academic specializations within the field, whether you approach these internal divisions geographically, chronologically, or thematically. For this reason, a wholesale critique (or praise) of archaeological approaches to space would be somewhat unreasonable, since different fields of archaeology have been known to respond to theoretical refinements at different paces. For instance, in Greek archaeology, the field of prehistory has generally been more receptive to interpretive frameworks developed in anthropology and other social sciences, whereas the archaeology of the Archaic and Classical contexts often remains encumbered with historically- or textually-circumscribed master narratives.⁶⁵ Similarly, in terms of thematic focus within the ancient world, household archaeology is now leading the field in the incorporation of social theory with formal analysis of space, software analysis, and methodologically rigorous excavations. Scholars who work on this topic now define households as social units whose

⁶⁴ Souvatzi 2012a, 177-181.

⁶⁵ For historical narratives in Greek archaeology and an overall state-of-the-discipline review, see Haggis and Antonaccio 2015.

corporal identity can find a large variety of spatial expressions, even at scales that transcend domestic architecture.⁶⁶ Likewise but on a larger scale, numerous studies in landscape archaeology are exploring the role of social memory in the active construction of spaces and environments.⁶⁷

In brief, disciplinary fragmentation in archaeology has led to disjointed approaches to space. This dissertation identifies two topics that are in need of a refinement, if not an overhaul, in Greek archaeology: the study of the Greek *polis* as an urban environment and the role of mortuary spaces within it. In the following pages, I touch upon a few methodological and interpretive problems that have stagnated research in these two areas and reexamine these issues in light of the perspectives from social theories of space.

Towards a Social Archaeology of the Greek City

In Greek archaeology, *polis* is defined as both an urban center (i.e. city) and an autonomous political entity (i.e. state).⁶⁸ Snodgrass (2006) observes that, while the Greek *polis* is a topic that has attracted steady attention from scholars for well over a century, early studies on the *polis*, in both the material as well as the political sense of the term, were written by historians who “saw themselves as dealing essentially with an abstraction.”⁶⁹ The birth of the Greek city is now approached not just as an historical event but as a social and physical process of coalescence

⁶⁶ Wiersma 2016; Steadman 2016; Haggis et al. 2011; Glowacki and Vogeikoff-Brogan 2011; Ault and Nevett 2011; Parker and Foster 2012, especially Souvatzi (2012b) on Neolithic households in Greece; Souvatzi 2008; Westgate et al. 2007; Foxhall 2003.

⁶⁷ Harmanşah 2014 for a recent overview.

⁶⁸ Hansen 1997, 9. For various definitions of polis as a state, city-state, or citizen-state, see Whitley 2014; Small 2010; van der Vliet 2008, 2005; Vlassopoulos 2007; Hansen 2006, 2000, 1997, 1993; Morgan 2003; Kotsonas 2002; Flensted-Jensen et al. 2000; Mitchell and Rhodes 1997; Morris 1997a; Small 1997b; Raaflaub 1993; Sakellariou 1989.

⁶⁹ Snodgrass 2006, 269.

that is traced back to the 8th century BC.⁷⁰ Snodgrass (2006) even goes so far as suggesting that “a case could be made for treating even the *polis*, at its stage of formation, as a non-historical instance, since it is almost entirely lacking in contemporary documentation.”⁷¹ Nevertheless, the Aristotelian city in its abstract form and Periclean Athens in its indelible footprint still cast a long shadow in Greek archaeology.⁷²

While archaeologists still debate the characteristic traits that would classify an ancient settlement a “city” and whether these traits can all be found in material form in the archaeological record of the early Greek *polis*,⁷³ there is general agreement that urban environment is a social space in which a large body of people forges and maintains social relationships that bind the community together.⁷⁴ According to Fisher and Creekmore (2014), cities are “at once products and facilitators of social life.”⁷⁵ It was Lefebvre (1991) who first formulated this mutually constitutive relationship between space and social action: “Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others.”⁷⁶ A city, then, is the urban locus of a large-scale community

⁷⁰ Bintliff 2012; Morris 2006; Snodgrass 2006; Osborne 2005, 2009b.

⁷¹ Snodgrass 2006, 272. Italics are my own.

⁷² See Haggis 2015 for a recent overview of the methodological and theoretical problems in the study of early Greek urbanism. Haggis (also de Polignac 2005a) rightly criticizes academic perspectives that focus on the physical and political components of Classical cities and attempt to define urbanism by trying to locate the origins (or at least earlier forms) of these components in the archaeological record of Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece. Also see van der Leeuw and McGlade 1997 for a compelling reevaluation of the culture-evolutionary paradigms in urbanization.

⁷³ See Morgan and Coulton (1997) for a reevaluation of the urban form of the Greek polis based on Gordon Childe’s ten-point list of characteristics of an ancient city. Many scholars admit frustration with the archaeological record of Archaic Greece as the earlier stages of urbanization (such as population density, settlement nucleation, public architecture, early monumentalization, and the origins of *polis* institutions) are not always immediately identifiable. See, for instance, Owen and Preston 2009; Osborne 2005; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994; Owens 1991. Therefore, many discussions of Greek urbanism turn to Greek settlements overseas, but see Antonaccio 1997 for a discussion of how cultural contact and exchange can complicate the process of urbanization.

⁷⁴ Smith 2013.

⁷⁵ Fisher and Creekmore 2014, 4.

⁷⁶ Lefebvre 1991, 73.

in which social, political, physical, and spatial processes are linked inseparably and recursively.⁷⁷ This observation certainly complicates our picture of the ancient city, but also serves to provide a perspective into the bigger picture of historical urban surroundings as an integral part of social life, not just a component or a product of it.

A number of scholars have also asserted that pre-industrial urban centers were remarkably similar to modern cities in form, function, fundamental structure, and internal mechanisms.⁷⁸ Yoffee (2009) maintains that “any comparison of early cities with modern ones needs to be taken seriously,” and contends that “future investigations of ancient cities will depend on an engagement with modern urban and social theory and from new kinds of comparative studies.”⁷⁹ Indeed, the last fifteen years of research on the topic has demonstrated an increase in cross-cultural and interdisciplinary studies that explore the social dynamics of pre-industrial urban environments in addition to the physical form of the city.⁸⁰ However, as a quick survey of some of these recent publications demonstrates, the Greek *polis* is still on the margins of these renewed discussions: of the 67 papers that appeared in five commonly-cited edited volumes on cross-cultural approaches to ancient urbanism, only three papers focus primarily on the historical Greek city.⁸¹ It is also worth noting that, of these three papers, two are on the Archaic *polis* of Azoria on Crete,⁸² a region known to generate cultural and material forms that are atypical of the mainland. Even amidst an intense dialogue on our changing views of ancient

⁷⁷ Ashmore 2002, 1172; van der Leeuw and McGlade 1997.

⁷⁸ Smith 2013.

⁷⁹ Yoffee 2009, 264.

⁸⁰ Creekmore and Fisher 2014; Birch 2014; Smith 2013; Marcus and Sabloff 2008; Storey 2006.

⁸¹ Morris 2006 in Storey 2006; Haggis 2014 in Birch 2014; and Fitzsimmons 2014 in Creekmore and Fisher 2014. No papers on Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic Greek cities in either Smith 2013 or Marcus and Sabloff 2008.

⁸² Haggis 2014 and Fitzsimmons 2014.

urban contexts everywhere else in the world, the towering paradigms of Greek urbanism are still proving difficult to replace.

What, then, is our current picture of the Greek *polis* as an urban center? Crielaard (2009) presents a reconstruction of 7th-century BC Smyrna as “the image most archaeologists and ancient historians have of an archaic Greek city” (Fig. 2.2).⁸³ The hallmarks of this layout include the defensible position close to natural resources, the fortification wall punctuated by monumental entrances, dense domestic architecture organized around an irregular network of main streets and narrower alleys, the open-air agora and the surrounding public buildings as the civic and commercial center of the city, and the conceptual and physical differentiation between the densely-populated urban core and the open countryside. To these characteristics archaeologists frequently add the spatial differentiation of one or more sacred precincts within the city and spaces set aside for burials around city gates, outside the fortifications. Osborne (2009) summarizes the typical layout of a Greek city as follows:

“the urban landscape of c. 500 BCE ... was for almost all Greek mainland cities a landscape in which, within a city wall, unplanned and unregulated domestic houses of irregular plan, built of mud brick, formed clusters divided by open spaces, some of which were devoted to public use, and visually dominated by one or more great sanctuaries featuring substantial stone temples and perhaps a monumental gateway or an associated theatre.”⁸⁴

It is worth noting that Osborne’s (2009a) summary of the Greek urban model at the end of the Archaic period does not mention mortuary spaces, but elsewhere in the same article he remarks that “already in late eighth-century Athens the distribution of graves and cemeteries suggests reservation of an urban area for the living and the relegation of the dead to the extra-

⁸³ Crielaard 2009, 351.

⁸⁴ Osborne 2009a, 243.

urban area.”⁸⁵ The idea of marginalized and formalized cemeteries goes back to Ian Morris’ (1987) argument that the boundaries between the “realms” of gods, men, and the dead were hardened by the end of the 8th century BC.⁸⁶ Many studies on Greek urbanism commonly accept the separation of mortuary and domestic spaces as a “clear conceptual division” that emerges during the rise of early cities.⁸⁷

Our current understanding of the Greek city, then, visualizes it as an urban form in which there exists a strong sense of spatial partitioning of discreet domestic, mortuary, and religious contexts. Hölkeskamp (2004) maintains that around 700 BC, “a dynamic as well as systemic momentum which marks the rise of the *polis* true and proper” results in an urban form, which he presents as the quintessential spatial structure of the *polis* (Fig. 2.3).⁸⁸ In this model, the fortification wall around the city achieves a clear delineation of the urban area from the suburban and extra-urban spaces, but a degree of connection is maintained through processions between sanctuaries. Hölkeskamp’s (2004) spatial designations—labeled on his model as “sanctuary,” “agora,” and “necropolis”—stand out as well-contained and insular spaces with discreet functions both within and outside the urban center. Even more simplified diagrams of the conceptual compartmentalization of urban spaces within the Greek *polis* can be found elsewhere, for instance in Van Pelt and Westfall’s (1991) “fivesquare city” model, which divides the city (surrounded by a “wall” that is represented by the word *emporium*) into four further spatial subdivisions for the *oikos*, the *acropolis*, the *necropolis*, and the *agora* (Fig. 2.4).⁸⁹ Similarly,

⁸⁵ Osborne 2009a, 239, citing Morris 1987.

⁸⁶ Morris 1987, 62-69, 183-196.

⁸⁷ Hölscher 2012, 172.

⁸⁸ Hölkeskamp 2004, 31.

⁸⁹ Van Pelt and Westfall 1991. De Cauter and Dehaene (2008) add “the space of play” as a sixth heterotopic space that negotiates these divisions.

Hölscher (2012) remarks that “the territories of these emerging *poleis* were increasingly conceived as, and formed into, structured concentric areas of human culture.”⁹⁰

In sum, scholars insist on a structured and orderly view of the Greek city. In Crielaard’s (2009) words, in the Greek world “the city was seen as the center of civilization and order, symbolized by urban architecture and a specifically urban layout which itself helped to create and preserve good order.”⁹¹ To what degree, however, is this tidy view of the Greek city an academic construct? The picture that emerges from this discourse on Greek urbanism paints a picture of the Greek city as an abstract utopia, not a real, lived-in environment. Such a marked and uncompromising polarization of spaces is at odds with the notions of fluidity of space and relational geographies that human geographers have established.

The difficulty of understanding the relationship between spaces is not limited to Greek archaeology. Modern urban geographers have faced a similar challenge, but ultimately succeeded in dispelling the faulty paradigms of rigid and prescriptive spaces by adopting a more refined interpretive framework of spatial connections. We have seen earlier in this chapter that the mosaic-like vision of urban space has been replaced by a more dynamic network metaphor in geography. Nevertheless, the complexity of a large system of spatial (as well as temporal) interdependencies still presents methodological problems in picturing precisely how spaces are connected to each other on a macro-scale. Thrift (2003) summarizes the shifting paradigms in visualizing the connections between spaces quite effectively:

“for a long time in geography, the accepted way was to mimic a standard means by which the world is organized and draw boundaries around areas which were assumed to contain most of a particular kind of action and between which there was interaction. Once geographers had drawn lines round and labelled these large

⁹⁰ Hölscher 2012, 172.

⁹¹ Crielaard 2009, 369.

blocks, they held them responsible for producing characteristic forces or powers. ... Such a strategy of regionalization is obviously useful. It captures and holds still a particular aspect of the world and it is doubtful that we could ever do without it. But it is always an approximation and it has some serious disadvantages, most notably the tendency to assume that boundary equals cause, and the tendency to freeze what is often a highly dynamic situation.”⁹²

Thrift’s observations explain the methodological dilemma of assigning spaces a primary function—thereby creating “blocks” of activity or dominant identity—from an urban geographer’s point of view, but, in principle, the approach is the same in archaeology. The three main categories of spatial identity in archaeology—domestic, sacred, and mortuary—are the deterministic blocks archaeologists draw around contexts. These categories, although largely academic in nature, solidify into what archaeologists constitute spaces, and the assumption that these spaces contain and reproduce a certain kind of activity creates precisely the situation human geographers are seeking to reevaluate: the mosaic-view of the ancient city where domestic, religious, and funerary activities are neatly blocked off, resulting in a frozen and partitioned view of the dynamic flow of life in the ancient city.

Are the polarized and bounded spaces of the Greek city products of our own academic categorizations of space? In addressing this question, there are three main points to reconsider. First and foremost, the structured and partitioned model of the Greek city presumes a fixed ontology of space in which the blocks of activity are deterministic and stable, in direct opposition to the ontologically fluid definition of space that asserts that the meaning and perception of space is constantly in motion. This view also neglects to incorporate time into the definition of space, especially at the scale of everyday life. As I discuss below, for instance, a single sequence of Greek funerary rituals—including the preparation and the display of the body at home, the public

⁹² Thrift 2003, 99.

transportation of the body through the streets of the city, and the interment ceremony at the cemetery—has the potential to transform and contest all our categorizations of urban space—the private home, the public street, the marginalized cemetery—within the short window of a few days.

Secondly, the structured mosaic view of the city relies too greatly on binary oppositions (open/closed, inside/outside, near/far), the boundaries of which have all but dissolved in human geography.⁹³ Consequently, prevailing models of Greek urbanism leave little room for relational geographies, Lefebvre’s “lived-in” spaces, Foucault’s heterotopias, Soja’s thirdspaces—in sum, places of personalization, transgression, and contestation. An urban environment is the sum of a whole range of diverse spaces, including the ones that resist categorization.

Finally, our current understanding of the Greek city betrays the fact that we have done very little to explore the connections and interdependencies *between* spaces, except some observations on how religious processions serve as a culturally coordinated way of navigating and reinforcing the order and structure of the Greek *polis*. Yet it is not too surprising that archaeologists have been slow to respond to the idea that cities are a network of permeable spaces rather than a sum of partitioned jigsaw puzzle pieces. Most discussions on the interconnectedness of spaces in geography are driven by a clear awareness of the post-modern collapse of time and space. Sociologists and human geographers point out that in our modern world people navigate spaces so fast that the boundaries are naturally blurred.⁹⁴ For instance, Marc Augé speaks of “non-places,” such as airports and malls, where people convene not for any

⁹³ Cloke and Johnston 2005.

⁹⁴ Cox 2005; Thrift 2003.

kind of social engagement but for a speedy transit through space.⁹⁵ As scholars earmark the arrival of modern modes of travel and communication as a turning point in the reconceptualization of spaces, ancient cities are naturally left out of the discussion. It falls on the shoulders of archaeologists, therefore, to explore and demonstrate the potential applications of this space-time compression to pre-modern built environments. We have already seen work on this front in the recent surge in the applications of network theory and small-world models to ancient Mediterranean systems of exchange.⁹⁶ The majority of these studies, however, focus on inter-site connections at regional or “global” levels. The concept should be extended to other scales, for instance intra-urban interdependencies, and help us “unblock”⁹⁷ the spaces of the ancient Greek city.

Towards a Definition of Mortuary Space

In order to soften the crystallized and segmented view of Greek urbanism, we may now turn to one of these spatial “blocks”—mortuary spaces—and examine its construction, use, and role within its larger urban setting. The academic consensus is that the birth of the Greek *polis* dates to the 8th century BC. On the other hand, major cities like Athens, Argos, and Corinth have very little in terms of recognizable architectural forms that pre-date the 6th century BC. This challenge forced scholars to fill the gap with another kind of archaeological context, which does present an abundant and robust data set throughout the Greek Early Iron Age: burials. Therefore, archaeological studies on this period regularly turn to mortuary contexts and this particular data set has been explored widely against the backdrop of urbanization and state-formation. Yet the

⁹⁵ Augé 1995.

⁹⁶ Malkin 2011; Knappett 2011, 2013; Smith 2005.

⁹⁷ Thrift 2003, 98-100.

majority of prior studies have focused on establishing typologies or examining grave goods as status markers for the social hierarchies of the newborn state. As a result, not much has been said regarding the development of mortuary space, the integration of mortuary space into the growing urban geography, or the role of mortuary ritual as a catalyst in reconfiguring *polis*-wide social relations.

Such a gap in scholarship may come as a surprise, but the underlying problem is simple: in Greek archaeology, at least in the academic corpus that deals specifically with the period at hand, there is no consistent or programmatic definition of mortuary space. A search for any kind of definition of mortuary space shows that it is almost always synonymous with mortuary context or deposit, whose identification in turn is contingent upon the discovery of human remains. To put it simply, studies on mortuary spaces are in fact studies of burial distribution.

While this approach may not seem that problematic at first, it has caused some serious misconceptions regarding the mortuary landscapes of the Greek city. It is now widely acknowledged in anthropological literature that funerary rituals are a drawn-out process, and the interment of the corpse in a grave is only a fraction of it.⁹⁸ Brown (2007) remarks that mortuary analysis “is not restricted to the physical locus of the remains; that place is simply the final resting place.”⁹⁹ In other words, in most cases where we record the location of burials, we are mapping the location where a single act within the funerary cycle—the interment—took place. Therefore, equating burial location with mortuary activity at its wider sense presents a skewed picture of the mortuary topography of the Greek city. This type of spatial examination of burial distribution clearly favors space by freezing and collapsing the temporality of the funerary cycle.

⁹⁸ e.g. Boyd 2016; Nilsson Stutz 2015, 2008a; Weiss-Krejci 2011; Laneri 2007; Hertz 1960.

⁹⁹ Brown 2007, 299.

Difficult as it may be, in order to arrive at a more accurate picture of mortuary landscapes that nest within an urban environment, archaeologists need to look at where each portion of the funerary cycle takes place and how that particular location relates to the rest of the city. This new approach has the potential to demonstrate how death rituals permeate a city and to thaw the boundaries between domestic, civic, religious, and mortuary spaces.

In brief, the discovery of a grave would suggest that the location was, at some point, a mortuary space, but the reverse is not true. That is, not all mortuary spaces are marked or anchored with a grave. A large portion of the funerary cycle can take place outside the cemetery or away from interments, and while these loci should be considered mortuary spaces for the duration of that particular death ritual, the event does not leave a material residue that archaeologists recognize as a mortuary context. There is, then, a difference between mortuary context and mortuary space. Only a few scholars who work on the subject make this difference explicit. Most notably, Nilsson Stutz (2016) points out that “it must be clarified that *burial archaeology* does not equal the *archaeology of death*.”¹⁰⁰ She goes on to explain that “the former uses archaeological sources from burial contexts to enrich our understanding of the past, while the latter specifically seeks to understand how people handled death and the dead.”¹⁰¹ Even though Nilsson Stutz does not forward a clear differentiation between mortuary context and mortuary space, she rightly suggests that “the time is now ripe for more systematic consideration of the small, difficult, diffuse, and deviant traces of the dead – and how the living dealt with death and the dead in the past.”¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Nilsson Stutz 2016, 14, original emphasis.

¹⁰¹ Nilsson Stutz 2016, 28.

¹⁰² Nilsson Stutz 2016, 19.

Even in studies that deal primarily with spatial dimensions of mortuary processes, the definition of mortuary space is not always clear. In her introduction to *The Space and Place of Death*, Silverman (2002) offers a brief overview of sociological definitions of space, place, and landscape but does not specifically address how mortuary spaces should be defined.¹⁰³ In the afterword of the same volume, Goldstein (2002) distinguishes between “visible” and “invisible” landscapes of death, but both are characterized by a presence of graves: they are visible if burials are marked by features such as mounds or monuments, whereas they are rendered invisible if the burials are completely hidden from sight, like those under house floors.¹⁰⁴ Ashmore and Geller (2005) do offer a definition of what they mean by mortuary space: “we consider *mortuary space* as an analytical domain embracing scales ranging from within individual interments and other forms of disposition, to distributions of burial sites across the landscape.”¹⁰⁵ In this definition, Ashmore and Geller highlight the significance of considering multiple scales of analysis—an important point, which I address below—but their definition of mortuary space remains limiting as it is still contingent upon interments.

Despite this obvious shortcoming in our interpretive framework of mortuary spaces and landscapes, several studies present relevant observations and vestiges of working definitions. For instance, Daróczy (2012) remarks that what scholars usually call funerary landscapes in their studies are in fact “mapsapes” of funerary sites, or “burialsapes.”¹⁰⁶ He concludes that,

“most scholars agree that a funerary landscape must involve burials and, at some level, the geographical landscape. The sum of archaeological funerary finds placed in their natural environment does not constitute funerary landscapes but rather burial landscapes, i.e. studies of burial habits. Another variable is needed

¹⁰³ Silverman 2002a.

¹⁰⁴ Goldstein 2002, 203.

¹⁰⁵ Ashmore and Geller 2005, 82, original emphasis.

¹⁰⁶ Daróczy 2012, 200.

for the burial landscapes to become funerary landscapes, which has to do with the difference between burial and funeral.”¹⁰⁷

While Daróczy (2012) successfully identifies the problem of distinguishing burial and funeral in the archaeological record, his study is mostly concerned about commemoration and social memory and does not forward an interpretive framework for the spatial dimensions of mortuary practices. A useful commentary on this topic again comes from human geography: in an edited volume titled *Deathscapes*, Maddrell and Sidaway (2010) present a variety of spaces of death that are not bound to burial locations.¹⁰⁸ These include body as space (such as the material presence of the corpse or the dying person); the site of dying and death (home, hospital, battlefield, and so on); personal and emotional geographies of the bereaved (for instance, the favorite chair that the deceased leaves behind); and spaces of remembrance outside the burial site (such as a memorial bench). In this expanded definition, “deathscapes” encapsulate spaces *of* the dead, as well as spaces *for* death, dying, mourning, bereavement, and remembrance. Based on this definition, “deathscapes” would be difficult to capture in archaeology, but Nilsson Stutz (2016) identifies the topic as a newly emerging and promising field of archaeological discussion that “focuses on human suffering, often in contexts extending well beyond interments or bone deposits.”¹⁰⁹ Although her examples are limited, she mentions a diverse range of contexts including Holocaust sites and refugee camps, and concludes that it is “theoretically vital to reflect on how the archaeology of death can expand outside the realm of the place of deposit, and instead build a competence to approach the process of death.”¹¹⁰ It is this improved and

¹⁰⁷ Daróczy 2012, 200.

¹⁰⁸ Maddrell and Sidaway 2010b, 1-8.

¹⁰⁹ Nilsson Stutz 2016, 20.

¹¹⁰ Nilsson Stutz 2016, 20.

expanded definition of mortuary space that should be adopted in archaeology in order to reach a holistic understanding of how life and death—as well as the living and the dead—were interwoven in ancient cities.

One final note regarding the definition and analysis of mortuary landscapes is the problem of scale. Mortuary landscapes are nested spaces. On the vertical axis, there is the spatial ordering within the grave below ground, the space of the burial site at our feet, and the vertical space of the stele, monument, or the mound that marks the burial. On the horizontal plane, we have the body, the objects that surround the body, the grave that envelopes the whole assemblage, the family plot that may contain the grave, the cemetery in which the plot is located, and the overall mortuary landscape of the whole city. As Ashmore and Geller (2005) note, a study of mortuary landscapes within any given spatial frame (in our case, the Greek city), needs to account for the diversity of the spatial scales of reference. This has implications both methodologically and theoretically: on the one hand, diverse scales present a challenge in visualizing the organization or distribution patterns of these contexts. Many past studies have presented the burial distribution of cities like Athens and Argos with maps in which mortuary contexts are represented as uniform dots across the board, but upon close examination it is revealed that some of these dots stand for single burials while others represent burial groups. Needless to say, this leads to a misrepresentation of the data in terms of the density and variety of mortuary contexts.¹¹¹ On the other hand, our interpretive framework should incorporate refined definitions of each notch of the spatial spectrum (burial, plot, cemetery, landscape, etc) to avoid ambiguity and confusion. This is not a pedantic but analytical exercise. To that end, I

¹¹¹ More refined mapping technologies like GIS now allow us to represent the diversity of contexts more accurately by using graduated or more descriptive symbols that represent mortuary variability.

provide a list of working definitions for some of the terms and concepts I will be using throughout the dissertation:

mortuary/funerary context (also, mortuary deposit): Any archaeological context, assemblage, or stratigraphic material that results from rituals, ritualized activities, or commemorative practices conducted in response to the death of an individual. The most common and readily identifiable type of mortuary context is the locus of burial, but a context can be mortuary in character, function, or structure without the physical presence of human remains if it contains indications of depositional processes consistent with the ritualization of death (such as cenotaphs, offering trenches, pyres, etc.).

mortuary/funerary space: Any spatial framework that houses or responds to death-related rituals, processes, or commemorative practices. Following Maddrell and Sidaway's (2010) definition of "deathscape," I take mortuary space to include spaces of death, dying, mourning, bereavement, and remembrance, regardless of the archaeological residues (e.g. human remains) these events and actions leave behind. That is, mortuary spaces include but are not limited to burial sites.

mortuary/funerary landscape: A large-scale spatial framework for a collection of mortuary spaces, with special emphasis on how individual loci within this framework relate to each other. The spatial frame can be as large as a region or culture sphere (Attica, Greece, etc.), but this dissertation takes the Greek *polis* (i.e. urban environment) as its framework.

burial (also, grave): A deliberate interment of a human body (or parts or physical indications of that body), regardless of the form of deposition (e.g. forms of inhumation or cremation) or grave type (e.g. pit, cist, pithos, urn, etc.).

tomb: an architectural feature that marks or contains a burial.

marker: any type of above-ground feature (e.g. amphora, stele, mound) that indicates the presence of a grave.

burial ground: A grouping of multiple burials. I use it as a neutral term regarding the size, location, or temporal stability of the site.

family lot (also, family plot): A grouping of multiple burials in which a degree of kinship affiliation can be demonstrated.

cemetery: While this is a very simple and common term used uncritically throughout scholarly literature, it remains generally vague or undefined in terms of spatial scale and social behavior.¹¹²

Albeit with some minor reservations, I am adopting King's (1970) definition, which sees a cemetery as a "socially recognized area in which the deceased members of a group, larger than a nuclear family, are customarily interred."¹¹³ This definition makes no restrictions regarding size, location, or spatial demarcation, outside the observation that the scale goes beyond that of a family plot. On the other hand, the definition does specify that a cemetery is a "socially recognized" burial ground in which the dead are "customarily interred," which implies that there is a degree of temporal stability in the use of the area for the disposal of the dead. Some have used variations of this word, such as "formal" and "reserved" cemetery, but these terms suggest some sort of exclusivity or control over the use of the site, which I do not presume for any of the sites under study.¹¹⁴ In addition, I make no assumptions regarding the social, economic, or citizenship status of those interred in a cemetery.¹¹⁵ For more on "formal" and "reserved"

¹¹² For various definitions and a brief overview of the term, see Sprague 2005, 162-175.

¹¹³ King 1970, 17.

¹¹⁴ Laughy 2010.

¹¹⁵ On "citizen cemeteries" in Greece, see Patterson 2006 and Snodgrass 2016, 2009.

cemeteries, see Chapter 3.

necropolis: Used mostly in classical studies or similar historical approaches in the Mediterranean sphere, this term, which literally means “city of the dead” in ancient Greek, has come to carry connotations which I avoid in this study. For instance, Sprague (2005) remarks that “necropolis implies a large size.”¹¹⁶ The use of the term also implies a strictly demarcated and often monumentalized space separate from or in spatial opposition to realms of the living, such as residential, civic, or cultic space. In addition, by virtue of its ancient Greek etymology, it inadvertently evokes historical periods, although the word does not actually appear in written sources until Strabo, who uses it as the name of a suburb of Alexandria.¹¹⁷ For these reasons, I refrain from using this term in this dissertation unless it appears in a quotation from another author.

intramural/extramural and intracommunal/extracommunal: Almost all discussions on the relationship between burial and settlement in Greek archaeology use the terms “intramural” and “extramural” (literally “intra/extra” + “muros,” meaning “within/outside walls”). These terms are problematic in several respects. First and foremost, there is an inconsistency in the definition of “muros” across scholarship: in anthropological archaeology, “muros” refers to the walls of a building, and the term “intramural” is applied to residential graves inside houses. According to this definition, an intramural grave is “embedded within a dwelling and contemporary with it.”¹¹⁸ In Classical archaeology, however, “muros” has come to mean the fortification walls of a city; therefore, the term “intramural” is used to refer to a configuration where burials are within the

¹¹⁶ Sprague 2005, 164.

¹¹⁷ Str.17.1.10 and 14.

¹¹⁸ Laneri 2013, 43.

settlement, probably near or immediately adjacent to buildings but not necessarily within them.¹¹⁹ The unsuitability of this terminology increases since it is also applied to periods and settlements even if there are no archaeological traces of fortification walls to delineate the space inside versus outside the habitation area. In this dissertation, I adopt the use of the terms “extracommunal” and “intracommunal” (after Christesen 2018) to address the spatial relationships between settlement and burial: the former refers to a configuration where burials are on the periphery of the settlement, “outside the spatial sphere of everyday activity,”¹²⁰ whereas the latter term describes a distribution pattern in which burials are within the extent of a settlement, near and among the spaces of the living.

Conclusions

In his recent book *Death: Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Mario Erasmo (2012) launches a discussion on the location of burials in the ancient world under the subheading “The Ancient Dead on the Periphery.” The first sentence reads: “In ancient Greece, the necropolis was located outside the city, with tombs by the roadside.”¹²¹ This statement, albeit vague and overly simplified, neatly sums up our current presumptions regarding the space and place of death in the ancient Greek city. This spatial pattern is usually presented as a traditional component that conforms to—and even upholds—the structure of the *polis*. The archaeological evidence that has led to this model of spatial and conceptual opposition between mortuary and domestic spaces within the Greek city will be reexamined in the following chapters. Here, I would like to return

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, Mazarakis Ainián 2007-2008; Morris 1987; Young 1951; Winter 1982. For a wider application of the term “intra muros” to contexts other than burials, see Costaki 2006. Laneri (2013, 44, n.3) points out that, in Italian, a distinction is made between “intra muros” (i.e. walls of buildings) and “intra moenia” (i.e. city walls).

¹²⁰ Christesen 2018, 9.

¹²¹ Erasmo 2012, 74.

to the social theories of space and reassess Greek urbanism in light of a new interpretive framework.

So far, I have argued that the study of Greek urbanism suffers from a lack of engagement with theoretical approaches to the meaning and ontology of space. Yoffee (2009) has argued quite forcefully that archaeologists in general have been painting a misleading picture of ancient cities that are “abstractions, lifeless, and unconcerned with the lived experience of citizens.”¹²² He goes on to remark that in recent studies on urban archaeology,

“...we seldom meet the everydayness of social life, how urban landscapes are constructions of domination, what meaning materials have in people’s lives, how imagination takes place through the sensory input of material forms, how practices reproduce or transform social structures, how people are members of each others’ worlds. James Deetz (1977) demonstrated how archaeologists could write history in the study of nails, knives, pipes, lamps, jewelry, and other “small things.” Have urban archaeologists forgotten this enduring lesson?”¹²³

Yoffee’s criticism implies that archaeologists have all but completely dehumanized ancient cities. In recent years, archaeologists have achieved a certain momentum in the cross-cultural study of ancient urbanism, especially with respect to the emphasis they have placed on the social construction of urban contexts. But is “everydayness” still missing from the ancient city, and why is this important? Let us return Lefebvre (1991), who is generally credited with developing the concept of the social construction of space into an analytical framework. Lefebvre argues that, in order to grasp the social construction of space fully, one has to consider all levels of his Spatial Triad—*conceived*, *perceived*, and *lived* spaces. According to his definition, *conceived* spaces are the representations of space—layouts, plans, spatial and architectural design elements, in addition to philosophical or intellectual treatises on these

¹²² Yoffee 2009, 281.

¹²³ Yoffee 2009, 281.

subjects. Lefebvre contends that *conceived* space is the dominant space in any society, but it is guided by logic and ideology. It is how spaces are designed on paper. As it happens, *conceived* space seems to be the comfort zone of archaeologists and ancient historians who study Greek cities: we study maps and layouts, enlist the help of literary or philosophical commentary from ancient authors like Homer or Aristotle, and ultimately create our own explanatory layouts and diagrams—our own representations of space—that exemplify the dominant structure of the Greek *polis*.

This perspective of the Greek city as an abstraction needs to be tempered by how people viewed and used their urban environments. Yet this search for a unified social meaning of space can trap scholars in Lefebvre's *perceived* spaces. For Lefebvre, *perceived* space is spatial practices that are culturally and socially coordinated. A wide variety of broad and abstract concepts like social norms, cultural expectations, traditions, and religious observances contribute to the creation of these spatial practices, telling the inhabitants of urban environments where to put their burials, how to construct their buildings, who is allowed to enter a certain space, and so on. Lefebvre's spatial practices, therefore, represent what is appropriate, right, and commonsensical. These spatial practices respond positively to *conceived* spaces and tend to reiterate the dominant conception or ideology of space. Many of the arguments on the use of space within the Greek city—the role of religious processions as structured connections between spaces, marginalization of burial grounds as a coordinated response to death or death pollution, sumptuary laws or bans that impose limitations on funerals or burial locations, presumed elite control over formal burial—are academic attempts to reconstruct these ideological spatial practices.

The sum of *conceived* and *perceived* space within the ancient city presents a cyclical

pattern between architecture and ideology, and, as Yoffee (2009) has noted, it leaves out the “lived experience of citizens” and the “everydayness of social life.”¹²⁴ This last piece of the puzzle is Lefebvre’s *lived* space, or space of representation, where individuals rather than concepts or movements *en masse* are “represented.” Watkins (2005) notes that this experiential navigation of space is “often submerged and near abandoned beneath the dominance of abstract representations of space.”¹²⁵ The lived-in dimension of space is deeply hidden in archaeological studies, but it is to be found at the micro-scale within the daily life of the city’s inhabitants, in what sociologists have termed “place.” Fisher and Creekmore (2014) have identified the same problem in the study of ancient cities from another point of view, using Rapoport’s (1988) work on levels of meaning within urban environments:

“Studies of city space often emphasize aspects that correspond to Rapoport’s high- or mid-level meanings, including cosmologies, philosophy, and worldview (high-level), as well as notions of identity, status, wealth, and power (mid-level) (Rapoport 1988:325, 1990). These meanings are most often discussed in terms of monumental architecture, tombs, and formal planning of infrastructure. Less apparent, and more often neglected in studies of city space, are low-level meanings, including implicit messages about expected behavior embodied in architecture and the articulation of space (Rapoport 1988:325).”¹²⁶

Unfortunately, archaeology’s strength is identifying patterns, which become patterns only when the action is repeated over a long period of time. Therefore, the actions of individuals at the level of everyday life are more difficult to trace in the archaeological record. It is, however, not impossible. The potential solution is in the improvement of our interpretive frameworks for the study of ancient urbanism by looking at archaeological contexts at high-resolution, by trying to reconstruct everyday use of space in addition to the long-term patterns of use, by valuing

¹²⁴ Yoffee 2009, 281.

¹²⁵ Watkins 2005, 213.

¹²⁶ Fisher and Creekmore 2014, 6.

anomalies and exceptions just as much as wide-spread and stable patterns, by acknowledging an individual's capacity to navigate between spaces both within the confines of culturally shaped norms as well as through private practices and proclivities, by trying to think of space in terms of time and considering multiple temporalities, and by trying to envision sudden but temporary ruptures in the use and meaning of space. As Hadji and Souvatzi (2014) put it:

“A most crucial requirement is to recognize the importance of a multiscalar approach to both space and time that will explore linkages between a whole range of spatial and temporal relationships. Whether from the point of view of traditional, top-down models or in terms of alternative narratives, Mediterranean prehistoric archaeology has focused heavily on the large spatial scale and the long term. One implication of this is a lack of a sense of short-term and small-scale social action and the bewildering and contradictory complexity of everyday lived reality.”¹²⁷

In the following chapters, I explore the urban dynamics of the ancient Greek city through the lens of its mortuary spaces by adopting a multiscalar approach that ranges from the single grave context to the whole mortuary landscape of the city on the spatial scale, and from an examination of various moments within the funerary cycle to a diachronic movement of burial locations on a temporal scale. By way of conclusions for the present chapter, I offer a list of statements regarding space—mostly reiterations of the theories of space summarized in the first half of the chapter—followed by the implications of the given statement in terms of the Greek city and the mortuary spaces within it.

1- *(Social) space is a (social) product*. The Greek city is the urban framework of a variety of social relationships at a variety of scales, ranging from informal inter-personal exchanges to formalized, ritualized, and economically-, socially-, or politically-driven interactions and

¹²⁷ Hadji and Souvatzi 2014, 19

transactions between large social groups. Spatial and social processes are mutually constitutive: urban space is realized through social relationships and, in turn, it helps guide, shape, reinforce, or contest them. Mortuary spaces are one of these social venues in this complex network.

2- *Space is active and dynamic.* While space is socially constructed, cities, or spaces within cities, are not static byproducts of a social structure or ideology; they are active participants of on-going social processes. As a result, the city, just like the social processes in which it is entangled, is always in flux, in a constant state of being formed and reformed. A diachronic study of the spaces within the city, such as a study of its mortuary spaces through time, helps us observe this state of motion, not in order to document the stages that precede the arrival of the city's "final" or "quintessential" form—because there is no such thing—but in order to understand how spatial change accompanies social change.

3- *Space is not absolute.* While there may be quantifiable physical characteristics of space, space can also exist as a non-representational abstraction, as a sphere of influence. For instance, it can accompany a body (personal space), a performance, or a procession and exact no material change in the environment or leave no material residue. For example, an individual lying in his death bed, or a group of mourners lamenting for a departed family member, temporarily switch the habitual spatial identity of that location to one that is primarily death-related. Memory (both at the personal and social level) can also activate new layers of meaning of space, for instance at a battlefield site that is, at its current state, no more than an overgrown field.

4- *Space and time are interlinked.* Space is "inherently temporal."¹²⁸ Space can exist, cease to exist, change meaning, be abandoned, be dismantled, be distorted, be restored or refurbished at

¹²⁸ Lake 2010, 279.

different temporal intervals or rhythms (minutes, days, years, centuries). Spaces can be defined discursively; they can be ephemeral and transient, existing in a given form only for a short span, for instance during a performance or a ritual. Since space has the potential to alternate between meanings and perceptions, multiple timescales including everyday life should be considered in order to arrive at a holistic interpretation of the spaces within a city.

5- *Space is relational*. While space can have an absolute location and a physical form, it gains meaning through the embodied perspectives of the people that occupy it. There can be as many various synchronic meanings and perceptions of space as the number of people interacting with it at any given time. Even binary qualities that have come to govern our perception of the Greek city, such as open vs closed, are subject to individual perceptions.

6- *Spaces are interconnected*. Given the fluidity of space, the connections between spaces are better understood as nodes of a network rather than a mosaic of bounded fields. Urban environments are composed of a large number of these nodes, which can be interlinked and indeed be entangled but also have unique and unlike identities. Mortuary spaces, even if they are placed on the margins of a city outside fortification walls, do not exist independently or in a vacuum. The links between mortuary spaces and other parts of the city, such as houses, streets, and civic or religious buildings, are established and reinforced through structured acts and rituals (such as processions) as well as everyday acts of individuals (such as visits to the grave site). In addition, there could be visual, symbolic, or metaphorical links (for instance, design elements that a grave stele may borrow from a sacred building), sensory intrusions (such as the sight, smell, and sound of a funeral pyre), or other types of off-site acts that establish connections between loci (such as a funeral feast at home immediately following a funeral at the cemetery).

7- *Space can be paradoxical and contested.* Foucault, who forwarded the idea of *heterotopia* as a paradoxical space that can envelop multiple meanings at any given time, wrote that “there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias. That is a constant of every human group.”¹²⁹ Therefore, in our visualizations of the Greek city there should be room for in-between spaces and *heterotopias*, which are “*alternative spaces, altered spaces, and often also alternating spaces*, in the sense that two different time-spaces come together and switch from one into the other.”¹³⁰ For instance, the display of the corpse within a domestic setting during a period of mourning does not necessarily negate or override that location’s domestic identity, but it temporarily collides two distinct and somewhat competing spatial identities—space of the dead and space of the living—together within a single architectural frame.

These observations above summarize the richness and fluidity of space, which this dissertation seeks to apply to the mortuary landscapes of emerging urban centers at the end of the Early Iron Age in Greece. I argue that the study of the ontological fluidity of space can help us correct—or at least amend—methodological shortcomings of spatial analysis in archaeology. The two-dimensional digital visualization of data in GIS remains a technical challenge in terms of freezing time and simplifying the complexities of archaeological contexts. The key to overcoming this hurdle is finding frames of reference that help us complement this analytical perspective with a more developed range of spatial behavior. Therefore, the most important methodological challenge of the topic at hand is the consideration of multiple scales of analysis: in spatial terms, this includes corporeal space, personal space, grave, plot, cemetery, and

¹²⁹ Foucault 1986, 24.

¹³⁰ De Cauter and Dehaene 2008, 93, original emphasis.

settlement-wide patterns. In temporal terms, our analysis needs to consider episodes, ephemeral moments, isolated acts, repeated acts, durational development, habitual patterns, and the *longue durée*. To return to the opening remarks of this chapter, a new era of spatial analysis invites archaeologists to think about what “where” means first, and only then to map where things are and to interpret how and why this all mattered in the lives of the past inhabitants of these spaces. Building on these definitions of space in general and of mortuary space in particular, I now turn to the location and distribution of mortuary spaces in early Greek cities and diachronic changes that took place in their configuration during the urban expansion of the 8th century BC.

CHAPTER 3: MORTUARY LANDSCAPES OF ATHENS

The city of Athens perhaps needs no introduction. A commonly repeated sentiment in recent scholarship is that much of Greek archaeology suffers from an “Athenocentric” approach that distorts our understanding of all other cities and contexts in the Aegean. Academic Athenocentrism is partly a holdover of the ancient Athenian sentiment that placed this city as the center of civilization—a sentiment which continued into early scholarship that used Athenian material culture as the baseline of all art historical typologies. Also influential was the abundance of literary commentary by Athenian authors, whose valuable first-hand testimonies forced the discipline of archaeology into a secondary position of constantly providing a response but rarely standing on its own right. While the unequal relationship between text and material culture has been mostly corrected in current scholarship, the tacit legacy of this approach is the dependency on historicizing master narratives that base either their research questions or their interpretive frameworks firmly in a historical background.

The appeal of the rich material and literary culture of Archaic and Classical Athens is quite understandable. Athens provides the best data set in Greece in many archaeological contexts and holds the potential to answer a plethora of research questions. The problem, however, lies in using Athenian evidence to create overarching models and theories against which all other Greek cities are measured. In many respects, Athens was not archetypal but perhaps quite unique and unparalleled. The present chapter introduces and reexamines some of the metanarratives that have been founded upon Athenian evidence in Greek archaeology,

particularly in the field of mortuary studies. The following chapters examine two other settlements—Argos and Corinth—and highlight the divergent trajectories of each.

Overview: Topography and Brief History of Early Iron Age and Archaic Athens

Athens lies in a coastal plain that overlooks the Saronic Gulf in northwestern Attica (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2). Her position is secure as it nests against a circuit of mountains—Pateras, Parnes, Pentelicon, and Hymettus—that not only surrounds the city but also cuts off the triangular peninsula from the neighboring regions of Boeotia and Megarid. The plain is further dotted by limestone hills and crags—the Acropolis, the Pnyx, the Areopagos, the Philopappos Hill, and the Hill of the Nymphs—that have played a central role in the urban topography of Classical Athens. The coastal plain in which the city lies is not particularly fertile, but the rest of the peninsula provides some additional access to agricultural land in other coastal and inland plains. Most of the southern half of Attica is rugged, but the mountains themselves have proven rich in other resources, particularly marble, silver, and lead. These natural barriers that protect the peninsula and provide security from land incursions have enabled ancient Athens to turn her gaze towards the sea. Seven kilometers to the southwest of the city, the port complex of Piraeus occupies a small peninsula and provides three harbors.

Athens in the Classical period became a powerful *polis* of colossal dimensions and cultural achievements; it gained and maintained prominence and prosperity during a very critical time in ancient Greek history when foreign threats galvanized the definition of a common Greek identity in opposition to that of a barbarian. The leadership position Athens earned during the turmoil of the Persian Wars and her subsequent conflicts with other *poleis* (especially Sparta) also helped her forge a stronger civic identity, which was reinforced and reshaped by a long line of Athenian authors and orators, both in prose and poetry. The historical tradition of Athens,

therefore, presents a compelling narrative of introspective and retrospective commentary that entangles myth with history, and idealism with reality.

The mythical history of Athens is full of origin stories that glorify the city's lineage and highlight the divine favors that are bestowed upon the land. Athenians traced their ancestry to earthborn or otherwise chthonic kings, Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Erichthonius. As the early kings of Athens were born out of the very soil of Attica, Athenians claimed that they had chthonic origins and had inhabited their land from the very beginning. This pedigree granted the city and its citizens an autochthony that set them apart from Peloponnesian cities whose populations were adulterated by invasions and newcomers.¹ Parker (1987) calls this distinctive corpus of myth built around the concept of continuous habitation a "political mythology," which Athenians manipulated with skill throughout history.² In addition, Forsdyke (2012) notes that "in these discourses and practices the Athenians seem to be concerned not only to reinforce their claim to an actual territory, but also to make a place for themselves within the panhellenic cultural landscape through their connection with Athena and Hephaistos."³ A large part of identity politics in Athens, therefore, was concerned with projecting a superiority for the rest of the world to see, and elevating, confirming, or reinforcing social or cultural standing through lineage. We cannot be sure whether this concern with building and presenting an idealized past was more profound in Athens than other *poleis*, or whether their strategies are simply more recoverable thanks to their successful and highly-visible methods of self-expression. Nevertheless, the same concept can be observed both at the level of the state on a monumental scale, as well as at the

¹ For more on autochthony and its role in Athenian civic identity, see Forsdyke 2012; Shapiro 1998; Connor 1994; Rosivach 1987; Loraux 1996.

² Parker 1987, 187.

³ Forsdyke 2012, 129.

level of individuals who utilized a range of tools to project idealized (and perhaps imagined) social identities in the funerary realm.

The mythical history of early Athens also includes a decisive moment of foundation and unification under the legendary king Theseus. Thucydides writes:

“Under Cecrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Attica had always consisted of a number of independent townships, each with its own town hall and magistrates. Except in times of danger the king at Athens was not consulted; in ordinary seasons they carried on their government and settled their affairs without his interference; sometimes even they waged war against him, as in the case of the Eleusinians with Eumolpus against Erechtheus. In Theseus, however, they had a king of equal intelligence and power; and one of the chief features in his organization of the country was to abolish the council-chambers and magistrates of the petty cities, and to merge them in the single council-chamber and town hall of the present capital. Individuals might still enjoy their private property just as before, but they were henceforth compelled to have only one political centre, viz., Athens; which thus counted all the inhabitants of Attica among her citizens, so that when Theseus died he left a great state behind him.”⁴

The passage is interesting in its attempt to explain and date the political unification of Attica, which is not fundamentally different in spirit from the efforts of modern historians and archaeologists who continue to debate the emergence of the *polis*. A significant difference is that, while Thucydides credits a single man with the grand design of state institutions and reconstructs a top-down implementation, archaeologists agree that state-formation is a gradual process that involves a series of parallel developments in social structure, material culture, political institutions, physical growth, infrastructure, and settlement patterns. As for the date of this unification, as I discuss below, commonly held academic belief places it sometime in the 8th century B.C., although an early synoecism under a Mycenaean palace—punctured by the

⁴ Thucydides 2.15.1–2. Translation by Crawley.

dissolution of palatial systems across Greece—has also been considered.⁵

The growing pains of the early state are evident in the history of 7th- and 6th-century Athens when a series of internal conflicts and resolutions shaped the development of its institutions. A number of historical figures rise in prominence at this time; among them is nobleman Cylon, who seized and occupied the Acropolis briefly in an unsuccessful coup to become a tyrant. Many agree that the weakness of Cylon's plan was his failure to gain popular support, and without the help of the citizenry he was quickly ousted. The skirmish on the Acropolis was brief, but it was an unacceptable violation of sacred space, not only by Cylon but also by another noble family—the Alcmaeonidae—who slaughtered Cylon's followers even after they sought refuge in a sanctuary. For historians, this event illustrates the intense nature of the competition between elite families for status and power in 7th-century Athens, as well as the important role of the wider citizen population in Athenian politics.⁶

Some link the violent outcome of Cylon's failed coup with the laws of 7th-century statesman Draco, who focused particularly on curbing homicide and violence. The state-of-affairs in Athenian politics and economy at the end of the 7th century is probably reflected, to some degree, in Solon's reforms. Himself a nobleman, Solon was sympathetic to the plight of peasants and middle classes. Some of his reforms were directed at debt relief and the abolition of serfdom, others were concerned with the reorganization of the Athenian class system to allow middle and lower classes greater political representation. The reforms may have been necessary because of increasing disgruntlement and strife between the elite and the non-elite, but the

⁵ Diamant 1982.

⁶ Manville 1990, 78.

common ground Solon tried to establish failed to resolve the conflict permanently.

On the surface, the historical events and personalities of 7th-century Athens provide us with a general impression of the social structure and political system of the early state. One caveat that must be stressed, however, is that there are no contemporary sources for this period in Athenian history. All our evidence comes from later authors—some from the 5th century, but others as late as Roman. Therefore, the degree to which these historical narratives can and should be used to frame archaeological research questions is extremely limited.

History of Excavations and Scholarship

The archaeological excavation of the city of Athens is a joint effort between a number of agencies and research institutions. The clear advantage of this international collaboration is the volume of archaeological work that can be undertaken in a city of these proportions. On the other hand, the disadvantage is the unavoidable lack of consistency or inter-institutional organization, which manifests itself both in the execution of archaeological projects as well as publication standards. Rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service continue to contribute to our understanding of the mortuary landscape of Athens. The results are announced periodically in the *Archaeologikon Deltion* series, but as of the writing of this dissertation there is a significant delay in publication. A valuable addition to our knowledge of ancient Athens is Parlama and Stampolidis (2000) who published some of the findings from the construction of the Athenian Metro. Other institutions that have been involved in the excavations of significant mortuary contexts are the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (DAI) at the Kerameikos and the American School of Classical Archaeology at Athens (ASCSA) in the agora.

Secondary scholarship on Athenian mortuary contexts is extensive and will be discussed

throughout the chapter. Much of our current understanding of Athenian mortuary contexts still relies on the scholarship of the 1980s and 1990s when several studies applied contemporary anthropological theory—especially processual approaches that used mortuary behavior to reconstruct social structure—to Athenian datasets.⁷ After the 1990s, although excavations continued to yield more mortuary data, synthetic scholarship on Athenian cemeteries entered a hiatus. In the last decade, a number of studies have taken on the challenge of reexamining the topic. These include the much-awaited publication of the Early Iron Age burials of the agora by Papadopoulos and Smithson (2017), the extensive and encyclopedic work on the topography of early Athens by Dimitriadou (2012, 2019), and Alexandridou’s (2013, 2015, 2016, 2017) studies on the 7th-century offering trenches as well as her compelling examination of kinship and heterarchy in LG contexts.

Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Settlement Patterns

The wider peninsula of Attica has yielded evidence of occupation that goes back to the Upper Paleolithic period. In Athens proper, traces of human activity start in the Neolithic in the later agora as well as the Acropolis and the slopes of the Areopagus.⁸ Early Helladic sites appear along the coast of Attica but Athens itself is not a locus of intense activity at this time.⁹ Widespread distribution of Middle Helladic pottery especially in the agora area points to an increase in the density of habitation. Excavations in the agora revealed evidence of MH leveling operations but no architectural remains were found.¹⁰ Immerwahr (1971) has suggested that the

⁷ Morris 1987, 1989, 1998, 2000; Whitley 1991.

⁸ Immerwahr 1971, vii.

⁹ EH pottery in Athens generally comes from mixed or unstratified contexts. See Immerwahr 1971, 51-95.

¹⁰ Immerwahr 1971, 51-55.

MH occupants of the area must have practiced intramural burials that have been destroyed by later construction; recent reexamination of some of the early graves in the agora lends credence to this argument.¹¹

In the Mycenaean period, Athens became a substantial physical and political center. Several notable LBA settlement and mortuary contexts have been excavated across Attica, but based on the Cyclopean fortifications on the Athenian acropolis, some scholars have proposed an early synoecism around Athens (Fig. 3.3).¹² In addition, a staircase that was constructed along the north edge of the Acropolis in the Bronze Age suggests preparations to secure access to a water supply in case of a siege.¹³ The transformation of the acropolis into a citadel suggests a palatial system comparable to the Mycenaean centers of the Argolid, but neither linear B tablets nor architectural remains of a palace have been recovered. Some have interpreted a column base as the sole survivor of a Mycenaean megaron, but Archaic and Classical construction projects have removed all other potential traces of such a building.¹⁴

The Mycenaean period in Athens has also yielded notable mortuary contexts. Surprisingly, there are no tholos tombs, even though tholoi have been discovered elsewhere in Attica.¹⁵ Two types of graves were used in LH Athens: chamber tombs that housed multiple burials and were probably used as family graves, and pit graves that are single burials (Figs. 3.4, 3.5, 3.6). The fact that the chamber tombs were equipped with comparatively rich furnishings

¹¹ See Balitsari and Papadopoulos (2018), who argue that tomb I 5:2*bis*, previously thought to be Submycenaean in date, may in fact be MH.

¹² Camp 2001, 16-19, 72-74; Hurwit 1999.

¹³ Broneer 1956, 12-13.

¹⁴ Camp 2001, 19; Hurwit 1999, 73; Iakovidis 1962; 1983, 86-8.

¹⁵ At Menidhi, Marathon, and Thorikos.

including ivory and gold objects has been interpreted as evidence for aristocratic families in power.¹⁶ Based on the distribution of LH burials and wells, Lemos (2006) argues that there may have been at least three settlement nuclei under the Acropolis. She notes, “Whether, however, these communities were unified under a wanax, who had his seat on the Acropolis, or whether the fortifications on the Acropolis were built in times of danger, remains in my view uncertain.”¹⁷

Since we cannot examine the remains of a Mycenaean palace, it is unclear what happened in Athens at the end of the LBA when the rest of the palatial centers were destroyed across the Greek mainland. There appears to be a trend of depopulation and abandonment in wider Attica, but Submycenaean contexts in Athens, especially from the mortuary realm, are substantial. General opinion is that Athens thwarted the wave of destruction that sealed the fate of other Mycenaean palaces.¹⁸ Thomas and Conant (1999) have argued that settlement in Athens continued uninterrupted from the Mycenaean into the Submycenaean period, and may have even been a place of refuge for those who have escaped destruction in other settlements.¹⁹ This view finds support in Thucydides, who narrates that Athens was never subject to early invasions—and thus never “changed its inhabitants”—but did welcome waves of incomers searching for a safe haven.²⁰

Submycenaean graves in Athens are numerous, both in cemeteries that point to continuity

¹⁶ Broneer 1956, 13-14.

¹⁷ Lemos 2006, 508.

¹⁸ Immerwahr 1971, 154.

¹⁹ Thomas and Conant 1999, 61.

²⁰ Thucydides 1.2.3-6.

in use of space and in new locations.²¹ The agora and the area around the Acropolis continue to receive interments (Fig. 3.5, 3.6), but one of the most extensive mortuary spaces in this period come from the newly-established Pompeion cemetery on the northern bank of the Eridanos River at the Kerameikos (Fig. 3.7).²² Lemos (2006) notes that the areas that are used for burial for the first time in the Submycenaean period, like the Kerameikos, continue into the PG and Geometric periods.²³ Dimitriadou (2017) concludes that “there is, on the one hand, an unbroken transition from the earlier Mycenaean phases of the town into the SM and later periods and, on the other, changes that were brought about when the destruction of the other Mycenaean palatial centers led to a population influx to Athens and Attica, a phenomenon echoed in a well-known passage of Thucydides (1.2.6).”²⁴ Dimitriadou (2019, 2017, 2012) associates the locations that show continuity, which tend to stay close to the Acropolis, with the existing population of Athens, whereas the newly-established burials grounds that are founded on virgin ground farther away from the Acropolis are seen as spaces that predominantly serve a new population.²⁵ The switch from the LBA practice of multiple burial in chamber tombs to single inhumations in flat cemeteries in the Submycenaean period is also generally interpreted as a sign of a break in funerary tradition that accompanies newcomers to the area, but this practice is observed across all mortuary spaces, old and new alike.

From the Protogeometric until the Late Geometric period, settlement structure in Athens is nebulous and architectural remains are almost nonexistent. An important recent discovery to

²¹ Dimitriadou 2017, 987. For an up-to-date inventory, see Dimitriadou 2012, 31-97.

²² Kübler 1943.

²³ Lemos 2006, 511-522.

²⁴ Dimitriadou 2017, 987.

²⁵ Dimitriadou 2012, 348-349.

the northwest of the Classical agora comes from Iraklidon Street where a Geometric apsidal building was unearthed during rescue excavations.²⁶ It is not quite certain when the structure was built (possibly PG or EG), but its last phase belongs to LG when enchytrismoι of children were also introduced nearby.²⁷ Also in the vicinity of this building was a cremation burial and the fragment of an LG grave marker, which indicate further graves in the area, and another floor with postholes that may belong to a second structure. Alexandridou (2017) suggests that the building was the residence of a kinship group and the LG subadult burials could have been members of this household.²⁸

As for the rest of Athens in PG, evidence from wells and graves points to a steady population and occupation. Graves continue to circle the Acropolis but there are no more interments on top of its plateau.²⁹ Continuity is observed at the Kerameikos as well as the agora area where a particularly strong concentration of graves was excavated at the Kolonos Agoraios hill (grid A-E 6-15 in Fig. 3.5). While there is continuity in burial locations, there is a change in funerary practices: cremation becomes the preferred type of burial in PG, and this change marks the beginning of a puzzling series of shifts between the popularity of inhumation versus cremation for centuries to come.³⁰ The overall significance of cremation as a burial practice as well as its implications regarding the experience and performance of funerals is discussed below.

²⁶ The building was discovered during rescue excavations on Nikoloutsopoulos property on Iraklidon street (40) in the Thiseio district. For the brief announcement, see *ArchDelt* 56-59, 214-216.

²⁷ The preliminary report (*ArchDelt* 56-59, 214-216) suggests that the early phase of the structure might be EG, but Alexandridou (2017, 160) mentions that it was constructed in PG.

²⁸ Alexandridou 2017, 160.

²⁹ Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998, 28-29) mention that a clay bead may have belonged to a grave assemblage but there is no further evidence of mortuary contexts on top of the Acropolis.

³⁰ For the practice of cremation in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Aegean (including Attica, such as the Perati cemetery), see Ruppenstein 2013; de Polignac 2005b; Cavanagh and Mee 1998. For a succinct discussion of cremation in Athens, see Étienne 2005.

From the Protogeometric period onwards, our understanding of Athens continues to rely on burial data, perhaps even more so than before since burials in the first half of the 9th century “were furnished with a richness and variety not seen anywhere in Greece since the ruin of the Mycenaean palaces.”³¹ There is fairly strong continuity and expansion evidenced by the location of wells and graves from SM and PG into the Geometric period, with the Kerameikos and the northern slopes of the Areopagus yielding the most impressive burial assemblages. The most notable architectural context from this chronological window is an oval building to the south of the agora on the northern slope of the Areopagus (Figs. 3.8, 3.9).³² The structure, dated to the 8th (or possibly 9th) century B.C.,³³ is a small, simple construction of unworked stones enclosing a roughly 11 x 5 meter space. Excavations exposed a floor of hard-packed earth in patches throughout the building. In the center, a 1 x 0.6 meter area was covered by a thin layer of burning, which the excavators have identified as the remnants of a hearth. Segments of low stone constructions against the walls in several parts of the interior of the building are likely to have been platforms or benches. The pottery recovered from the floor and the stone platforms was limited and mixed (including Geometric, Protocorinthian and Protoattic sherds). Beneath the floor, excavations revealed the EG grave of an infant buried with shells, pig bones, and miniatures. Burr (1933) notes that the grave preceded the building and it was not a case of intramural burial beneath a contemporary floor.³⁴ Segments of other walls were discovered to the south of the building—one such wall abuts the oval building at a right angle and can be a late

³¹ Coldstream 2003, 33.

³² Burr 1933. This building has been much discussed in subsequent scholarship. For more comprehensive discussions, see Papadopoulos 2003, 275; D’Onofrio 2001; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 86-87; Antonaccio 1995, 122-123; Fagerström 1988, 44-46; Thompson 1978, 98-99, 1968; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 17. For a more complete bibliography, see Papadopoulos 2003 and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 86-87, n. 432.

³³ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 86-87.

³⁴ Burr 1933, 636. Burr mentions two more disturbed burials from within the limits of the structure.

addition to or expansion of the structure (wall A-A' in Fig. 3.9). Judging from an oinochoe that was found leaning up against this later wall, the building was abandoned by LG II.

The stratigraphy, the date, and the assemblages that can be associated with this oval building, even the location of its entrance or the nature of its roof remain controversial.³⁵ As a result, there is no consensus among scholars regarding its function. The primary publication of the structure by Burr (1933) suggested domestic use, but a few others prefer to see it as a cult space.³⁶ Burr herself entertains a cult function, but remarks that the assemblage from the occupation layer of the building includes a hearth, a cooking pot, and a quern, and therefore points to domestic activity.³⁷ She emphasizes that no votive objects or figurines were recovered from the floor deposit, but the fill above the floor (and above the clay layer that is probably wall or roof collapse) contains a dump debris that includes terracotta plaques, terracotta shields, and numerous figurines. The prominence of Geometric graves in the vicinity of the structure also encouraged a discussion about its possible function as a funerary space. Mazarakis Ainian (1997) remarks that “the chthonian character of the votive deposit of the 7th c. and the triangular heroön of the second half of the 5th c. nearby ... may in these circumstances serve as additional arguments in favour of the religious function of the earlier oval building. The presence of a hearth and probably of benches, seems to favour the theory that sacred banquets in honour of deceased ancestors may have been celebrated in the interior of the construction.”³⁸ Upon a reexamination of the building at a later date, however, Mazarakis Ainian (2007-2008) concludes

³⁵ It has been suggested that the remains could have belonged to an open-air temenos. For a discussion of both possibilities, see Thompson 1968, 60; Antonaccio 1995, 123.

³⁶ Papadopoulos 2003, 275; Thompson 1968.

³⁷ Burr 1933, 636.

³⁸ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 86-87

that “one’s effort to assign to the Areopagus building a definitive function (dwelling, chthonian shrine or heroon?) is hampered by the fragmentary and confused available data. ... It seems today more likely that this was a dwelling, forming part of a larger complex, within an elite residential area, in close proximity of which burials were also made, subsequently converted into a cult complex, perhaps associated with a hero.”³⁹

While architectural contexts are limited, there is a remarkable spike in the number of burials in Athens in LG. Dimitriadou (2012) observes that habitation thickens while the boundaries of settlement pockets become blurry because of the expansion of burial grounds and the widespread dispersal of graves across the map.⁴⁰ By the end of the 8th century B.C., Athens becomes an extensive settlement. In Dimitriadou’s view, this is the time when all types of activities and spaces become interwoven throughout the city, although architectural remains that have survived from this window are still meager. Some walls from a very poorly-published building were excavated to the south of the Olympieion; an 8th-century date has been proposed but not much can be said about the stratigraphy or the use of the space.⁴¹ The remains of another structure, possibly domestic in nature, was found adjoining an LG burial plot to the south of the classical tholos in the agora (Figs. 3.10 and 3.11).⁴² Commonly referred to as “Building A” in scholarship, this structure was probably built towards the end of the 8th century and was already

³⁹ Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 377. Another building of ambiguous function was excavated at the site of the later Academy of Plato. Sometimes referred to as the “Sacred House,” this building is also variably interpreted as a cult space, domestic space, or a funerary space that held some sort of significance in relation to the burials in its vicinity. See Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou (2011) for a reassessment of the building. Most recently, Alexandridou (2017) has pointed out that the structure may actually belong to several phases of multiple structures. Based on the pottery and animal bones as well as objects of mostly domestic value—such as spindle whorls—that were recovered at the site Alexandridou (2017) suggests that the space was used as a residence and a space for occasional banqueting activities.

⁴⁰ Dimitriadou 2012, 352.

⁴¹ *ArchDelt* 17, 9-14; Travlos 1971, 83; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 245.

⁴² Thompson 1940, 3-8; Brann 1962, 110.

out of use by the second or third quarter of 7th century.⁴³ Brann (1962) describes the building as a series of closed rooms and courtyards, one of which featured a pottery kiln.⁴⁴ The western end of the structure terminates in a party wall that it shares with a burial plot, which houses a group of burials dating from the last quarter of the 8th century into the second quarter of the seventh century.⁴⁵ While the juxtaposition of the burial plot and the building is significant, it does not necessarily clarify the function of the space. Recent studies suggest that the structure served as both a residence of a kinship group that was related to the occupants of the neighboring burial plot, and as a feasting hall.⁴⁶

Although architectural remains are scarce and ambiguous in character in the 8th century, the material culture is rich and widespread—this physical and cultural boom in Athens parallels similar developments throughout mainland Greece around this time. In Greek archaeology, this is a period of increased trade, intensification of the procurement and circulation of exotic goods, figural and narrative scenes in art, steps towards monumental architecture, reemergence of writing, and several other cultural milestones that point to a synchronized trajectory towards complexity and the beginnings of state-formation. In many respects, the birth of *poleis* is traced back to the 8th century in a number of regions in Greece, including Attica, Argolid, and Corinthia. In contrast, 7th-century remains and material culture are more meager compared to the cultural developments of the preceding decades. In Athens, the archaeological record has yielded

⁴³ van den Eijnde 2010, 110; Thompson 1940, 3-8; Brann 1962, 110. Papadopoulos (2003) has reexamined the pottery from the kiln (both its floor packing and the fill inside) in the building and observes that “the installation was in use from the Late Geometric period into the Protoattic period. Although the latest diagnostic pottery is of the 7th century B.C., there is clearly Late Geometric material throughout” (Papadopoulos 2003, 129).

⁴⁴ Brann 1962, 110.

⁴⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this grave group, which is interpreted as a family plot, see Young 1939 and Angel 1939.

⁴⁶ Alexandridou 2017, 160; van den Eijnde 2010, 110.

fewer graves and wells from this period. Some have proposed that the decrease in the number of 7th-century contexts points to a drop in population and an overall decline of the city. Camp (1979) has suggested that Athens may have become weakened as a result of a combination of drought and famine. This argument found acceptance in scholarship until Morris (1987) forwarded the idea that the fluctuations in the number of recoverable graves were a result of regulations regarding who could receive “formal” burial and gain access to cemeteries.

In brief, based on the available evidence, academic consensus on settlement structure from the Protogeometric period onwards is that the area that later became central Athens—that is, the area that falls within the Themistoclean city wall—was a sprawling landscape of loosely-knit village clusters.⁴⁷ In the absence of architectural remains from much of the Early Iron Age, this argument is largely based on the distribution of wells and graves. The basis of reconstructing the extent of settlement from this type of dataset presupposes the use of wells as water sources for households and an intramural burial distribution in which graves are close to homes. This method of interpreting settlement structure relies on extrapolation, but a similar layout—based on an analogous body of evidence—has been proposed and accepted for many other Early Iron Age settlements that develop into *poleis* towards the end of the Geometric period, such as Argos and Corinth, as I discuss in the following chapters.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, an objection to this picture of a decentralized network of villages in Athens comes from Papadopoulos (2003), who has argued that the area of the later Athenian agora was never inhabited but it was essentially an industrial zone of pottery production and mortuary spaces. His conclusions were largely based on a reexamination of the Early Iron Age agora pottery from wells that included a notable number of

⁴⁷ Snodgrass 1980, 28–31; Morris 1987, 64; Whitley 1991, 61–64; Welwei 1992, 63–65; Hurwit 1999, 87–94.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 4 for Argos and Chapter 5 for Corinth.

wasters and test pieces. As an extension of this argument, Papadopoulos has forwarded the idea that settlement in Athens was nucleated throughout the Early Iron Age.⁴⁹ He writes,

“One question remains: If the area of the later Agora was not taken up by domestic buildings, but rather by industrial establishments and graves, during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, where was the settlement of Athens during the Early Iron Age? The most elegant and straightforward answer would be that it was where it always was: on, and immediately around, the Acropolis.”⁵⁰

Although Papadopoulos has repeated his arguments in his more recent publications,⁵¹ his controversial views on the location of the Early Iron Age settlement in Athens have not found wide support in subsequent scholarship.⁵² Papadopoulos finds evidence of his vision of a nucleated settlement on the Acropolis in Thucydides, who mentions that, before the time of Theseus, the city was located on the Acropolis and the area immediately to the south of it.⁵³ Even if we take this 5th-century account at face value, Thucydides dates the citadel settlement to some vague point in time before the synoecism of Athens, which, as some have pointed out, can easily be a reference to the Mycenaean citadel.⁵⁴ In addition, the distribution of Early Iron Age architectural remains such as the Areopagus oval structure, “Building A” in the agora, and the recently-discovered apsidal building on Iraklidon street support the view that habitation was more spread out than Papadopoulos advocates. Yet the function of these architectural spaces

⁴⁹ Papadopoulos 2003, 297-316.

⁵⁰ Papadopoulos 2003, 297.

⁵¹ For instance, Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 981.

⁵² Still in favor of a more widespread habitation pattern, see, for instance, Alexandridou 2017; Rönneberg 2018; Scafuro 2015; van den Eijnde 2010; Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008; D'Onofrio 2007-2008; Lemos 2006; Thomas 2005. For a more sympathetic review of *Ceramicus Redivivus*, see Ruppenstein 2006; for a neutral one, Kourou 2008. For arguments in support of Papadopoulos' model, see Dimitriadou 2012.

⁵³ Thucydides 2.15.

⁵⁴ van den Eijnde 2010, 318.

cannot be established as either domestic or sacred with confidence, so this body of evidence is rendered inconclusive.

The function of the extant Early Iron Age buildings aside, scholars have advanced two significant methodological and theoretical criticisms of Papadopoulos' conclusions. The first point is the fact that we simply do not have the archaeological evidence—neither in architecture nor in burials or pottery assemblages—that supports a substantial settlement on the Acropolis. Van den Eijnde (2010) notes that published pottery has significant chronological gaps that point to little or no activity on the Acropolis, especially in MG I, which is a difficult phenomenon to explain if there was indeed uninterrupted habitation in this area.⁵⁵ Papadopoulos maintains that the Early Iron Age remains and assemblages on the Acropolis must have been destroyed by construction activities from the 6th century onwards, but this explanation is undermined by the survival of significant quantities of LG pottery.⁵⁶

The second problematic part of Papadopoulos' views on the nature of the agora and the Acropolis in the Early Iron Age is the supposition that mortuary and industrial activities preclude the existence of domestic spaces nearby. Yet current evidence argues against such a deliberate spatial partitioning of activities in Early Iron Age settlements. Many scholars have pointed out that domestic structures and industrial activities are interwoven in several sites.⁵⁷ A clear example is Oropos in northern Attica where pottery and metal workshops were found within the same *periboloi* as houses.⁵⁸ It has also been pointed out that the 156 pottery refuse pieces that

⁵⁵ van den Eijnde 2010, 319-320.

⁵⁶ Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, 43-50.

⁵⁷ Alexandridou 2015, 149; 2017, 159.

⁵⁸ Mazarakis Ainian 2002a; 2002b; 2007.

Papadopoulos has published in *Ceramicus Redivivus* are only a portion of the overall pottery assemblage from the agora, and only about a fifth of the Early Iron Age wells have yielded production debris.⁵⁹ It remains conceivable, then, that some of the wells were used by workshops while others were attached to residential spaces. In a review of Papadopoulos' study, Thomas (2005) remarks that "at this stage in Greek history, it seems peculiar to demand segregation of residence from work area."⁶⁰ Lemos (2006) concludes, "For the little evidence we have from EIA settlements and dump deposits outside Athens, it seems that workshops of potters and metalworkers were found within the limits of domestic spatial organisation. So although there is no doubt from Papadopoulos' careful study that some of these deposits contained potters' debris, the view that there were houses for perhaps the potters and others living in the same area can still be maintained."⁶¹

In summary, the traditional view that Athens was a network of scattered hamlets and household clusters for much of the Early Iron Age remains the more convincing model. Athens witnesses an expansion of the clusters as the scattered hamlets begin to merge throughout LG, until the proto-urban settlement emerges as an unstructured mixture of domestic and mortuary contexts in a wide area that roughly corresponds to the footprint of the later Themistoclean wall, with the Acropolis in the center.

⁵⁹ Rönnerberg 2018.

⁶⁰ Thomas 2005.

⁶¹ Lemos 2006, 514.

Burial Customs

Grave Types and Mortuary Behavior

Burial practices in Athens throughout the Early Iron Age—indeed throughout much of the history of the city—are characterized by a remarkable variety of forms and a susceptibility to diachronic change. Inhumations in a wide range of burial types, primary cremations, and secondary cremations are all attested, sometimes side-by-side, other times one tradition replacing the other. This is somewhat unusual compared to other settlements like Argos and Corinth where, although grave types may undergo gradual changes and transformations, the overarching mortuary behavior remains fairly constant. The vicissitudes of Athenian funerary traditions also make it difficult to present a tidy summary of burial customs, since every generalized statement would need to be followed by a string of exceptions.⁶² Athenian mortuary landscape, therefore, is a collage of diversity. It is difficult to ascertain what fuels this wide range in variability; some have suspected an underlying competition among elite (or between the elite and the non-elite) while others give more credit to horizontal divisions such as age or gender within the Athenian social system. It has also been suggested that other strong determining factors may be the coexistence of different belief systems, individual or family preferences, or even changing “fashions.” On the whole, Athenians show a general interest in investing in the mortuary realm; in some periods this investment may be expressed through the materiality of wealthy grave offerings, while in others, the elaboration of the mortuary space above ground takes center stage.

The big change in burial customs at the beginning of the Early Iron Age is the disappearance of the Mycenaean practice of multiple burials in chamber tombs. Multiple burial

⁶² Although out-of-date, Kurtz and Boardman (1971) and Cavanagh (1977) remain the most comprehensive overviews of Attic burial customs.

becomes rare from this point on in Athens; it is occasionally attested in the form of double burial, but most commonly when one of the individuals is a subadult.⁶³ Submycenaean burials are usually inhumations in pits or cists; they tend to cluster together in flat cemeteries, the largest of which is at the Pompeion on the north bank of the Eridanos River at the Kerameikos. Pit graves already existed in Mycenaean Athens and this type of burial shows continuity throughout the Early Iron Age. Cremation is also practiced, as evidenced by six Submycenaean cremations in the Kerameikos, but remains infrequent.⁶⁴

The Protogeometric period marks the rise of the popularity of secondary cremation for adults in Attica while inhumation continues for subadults. Secondary cremations take place in a location outside the grave. After the complete incineration of the body, the remains are collected and taken to a secondary site. Unfortunately, pyres themselves are difficult to identify archaeologically, as they do not leave behind much permanent residue. The type of secondary cremation burial that is common in Attica is known as “trench-and-hole” where the cremated remains of the dead are placed in a vessel, which is then interred in a hole at the bottom of a wide rectangular trench (Fig. 3.12).⁶⁵ The general trend appears to be the selection of neck-handled

⁶³ Papadopoulos 2017, 685-688.

⁶⁴ While sporadic occurrences of cremation are reported in Greece in the Bronze Age (Cultraro 2007; Cavanagh and Mee 1998), cremation burials in significant numbers are not common until the 12th century B.C. The origins of the practice of cremation in mainland Greece are debated; a commonly held view is that the custom was introduced to the Aegean via Anatolia (see Ruppenstein 2013; Rutherford 2007; Lemos 2002; Melas 1984; Mylonas 1948).

⁶⁵ In addition to trench-and-hole cremations, there are secondary cremations where the vessel is placed inside a simple round pit (Papadopoulos 2017, 617-621). Papadopoulos (2017, 621-632) questions whether trench-and-hole cremations constitute secondary cremations because the location of the pyre is not clear and the burning may have indeed taken place very close to the grave, perhaps immediately adjacent to it. The distance of the pyre, however, is not what defines a secondary cremation. Papadopoulos (2017, 631) calls primary cremations “simple” cremations, and observes that “the only difference between simple cremations and trench-and-hole cremations is that in the latter the cremated remains were collected and deposited in an urn, which was then embedded within the trench.” It is precisely this additional step of collection and redeposition (not the location of the pyre in relation to the grave) is what defines a secondary cremation. Compare this, for example, with primary cremations that take place *within* the grave—where the collection of the bones is not necessary and there are no cinerary urns—in 7th-century Athens

amphorae for men and shoulder- or belly-handled amphorae for women, but this is by no means exclusive.⁶⁶ The rest of the remains from the pyre may also be deposited in the trench, sometimes in a heap opposite the urn hole. There is evidence to suggest that trench-and-hole graves were marked by a small heap of earth, and perhaps occasionally by a ceramic vessel and a slab towards the end of the Protogeometric period.⁶⁷

Cremation does not replace inhumation permanently in PG, but its rising prevalence as a burial custom begs an explanation.⁶⁸ It is tempting to associate the two customs with two different sets of belief in afterlife; indeed in structured religions that hold strong thanatological views on the release of the soul or the preservation of the body after death, the distinction between inhumation and cremation becomes crucial. In early Greek religion, however, there is no indication that such a thanatological divide existed. Ancient Greek attitudes towards afterlife, especially in early authors like Homer, are vague.⁶⁹ While it is clear in many texts that receiving burial is critical in terms of gaining entry into the underworld, Rebay-Salisbury (2012) rightly concludes that “a range of beliefs existed about the proper and respectful way to pay respect to the deceased, but these views could be applied to the practices of both inhumation and cremation.”⁷⁰ Yet, compared to inhumation, the practice of cremation presents an entirely different type of mortuary behavior in terms of the destructive rather than preservative treatment

(Alexandridou 2015, 2013; Houby-Nielsen 1996, 1995, 1992), PG Lefkandi (Lemos 2002; Popham et al. 1980; Popham and Lemos 1996), and Vronda on Crete (Liston 2007, 1993).

⁶⁶ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 37.

⁶⁷ For instance, LPG graves P37 and P38 at the Kerameikos were marked by belly-handled amphorae. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 37; Kübler 1943, 38-39; contra Bohen 1997, 48.

⁶⁸ See Ruppenstein 2013, 192-193 for the general trends in the increase of cremations between the Submycenaean and PG periods in the Kerameikos and in Attica in general.

⁶⁹ Felton 2007; Johnston 1999; Richardson 1985; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981.

⁷⁰ Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 24.

of the body, as well as the overall experience of the funeral and the use of mortuary space.

Williams (2004) describes cremation as “a visual spectacle of transformation”:

“Therefore, cremation was far from being a quick, clean and clinical ‘destruction of the body’ as it is often perceived by archaeologists. While cremation certainly speeded up and controlled the decomposition of the dead, cremation equally involved a complex and sequential metamorphosis in the body’s physicality involving many stages of dissolution. The participation and observation of open-air cremations can be considered a veritable assault on the senses by these changes.”⁷¹

Given the presumed proximity of burial grounds to habitation in Athens in the Early Iron Age, it is significant to think about the space and place of a funerary ritual that has such a sensory command over the participants. Cremation increases the visibility as well as the duration of the funeral since the pyre is required to burn for hours in order to achieve a full incineration of the body. In Early Iron Age Athens, it would have been difficult for a cremation funeral to go unnoticed. In addition, the practice of secondary cremation is highly interactive since it requires active contact between the living and the incinerated remains of the dead during the collection process. Williams (2004) points out that the post-cremation rituals of handling, transportation, and secondary interment also carry import in terms of the “mnemonic agency of the body” in its transformed state.⁷²

All things considered, the significance of the practice of cremation in this period lies in experiential and social terms. Since the performative aspects of this kind of funeral have potential to be so spectacular and ostentatious, some scholars have found it useful to consider the socio-economic dimension of cremation rituals. Technical aspects of cremation are indeed more

⁷¹ Williams 2004, 271.

⁷² Williams 2004, 277.

complicated than what a simple inhumation necessitates, and as experimental studies have shown, a remarkable amount of fuel is required to build a successful pyre and maintain the temperatures required to complete the ritual.⁷³ As many have pointed out, however, cremation does not fit neatly into any kind of interpretive scheme that seeks to rank burial types according to expenditure, especially when inhumations receive notable quantities of grave goods.⁷⁴ In any case, recent anthropological studies have shown that there need not be a direct correlation between monetary investment in the funerary realm and the real-life socio-economic standing of the deceased. As I discuss further below, other arguments regarding the role of horizontal social divisions such as age and gender in the determination of a choice between inhumation and cremation have been extended for 8th- and 7th-century Athens. Whenever cremation rises in popularity in Athens, it is reserved exclusively for adults, which supports the view that age was a strong determinant in the funeral process. A pattern of gendered differentiation, however, is not as clear. Because of the compelling descriptions of pyre funerals in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, scholarship on ancient Greek burials tends to associate cremation with a deliberate evocation of Homeric male ideals, but this reductive view is complicated by the Athenian data which show that women also received cremation burials in Early Iron Age Athens.⁷⁵ For instance, Papadopoulos (2017) points out that in the trench-and-hole cremations at the agora, females significantly outnumber males.⁷⁶ In brief, there are no easy answers regarding the choice

⁷³ Stutz and Kuijt 2014; Williams 2004; McKinley 1997, 1994.

⁷⁴ Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 20.

⁷⁵ The cremated remains of a male in a bronze vessel were found next to the inhumation of a female under the tumulus at Toumba, Lefkandi—this juxtaposition is generally cited as evidence of a Homeric burial for the man and an inhumation for his spouse (Popham et al. 1993). Also see Stampolidis 1995 for a correlation between cremations and Homeric ideals on Crete. It has been argued that cremation in 7th century Attica was exclusive for men, but the argument has not been corroborated by osteological studies.

⁷⁶ Papadopoulos 2017, 622.

between inhumation and cremation in the Greek world. Kurtz and Boardman (1971) note that cremations and inhumations appear side-by-side in the same cemetery with no differentiation in terms of offerings, and conclude that “the method of burial chosen became largely a matter of personal preference.”⁷⁷

Cremation is the predominant practice in Athens from PG until LG. The transition from MG II to LG witnesses the reintroduction of inhumation for adults, although cremations continue.⁷⁸ There is a sharp rise in the number of burials in LG, and the funerary landscape in Athens increases in its diversity. Secondary cremation becomes relatively rare, but it is attested; notable cases are cremations in metal vessels.⁷⁹ Alexandridou (2016) observes that inhumations dominate in large- to medium-size burial grounds particularly in the northern parts of the city, whereas south Athens exhibits a wider range in burial forms and a persistence of secondary cremation.⁸⁰ LG also yields evidence of the earliest sacrificial pyres and offering trenches outside graves, usually in association with inhumations.⁸¹

Starting around 900 B.C. ceramic vessels that marked graves become more prevalent and begin to take monumental forms (Fig. 3.13). Common shapes are amphorae and kraters; it has been argued that the former were used for women and the latter for men.⁸² These could

⁷⁷ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 37.

⁷⁸ Alexandridou 2016.

⁷⁹ Excavations on Kriezi Street have yielded bronze cauldrons that were used as containers for cremated remains. See *ArchDelt* 23:67 and AAA 1:20-27. There are also rare cases of metal cremation urns in inhumation graves at the Kerameikos (graves G 6 and G 55).

⁸⁰ Alexandridou 2016, 335-336. Alexandridou (2016, 335) adopts the following spatial definitions from Whitley (1991, 166): “Large cemeteries included more than 20 graves, medium-sized cemeteries 6–20, and grave plots 2–5.”

⁸¹ Offering trenches in this period are generally limited to the Kerameikos but sacrificial pyres are attested elsewhere in Attica. An example of an offering trench comes from rescue excavations at Chalandri (*ArchDelt* 58–64:143–210). For trenches and sacrificial pyres associated with inhumations, see, for instance, *ArchDelt* 22:79-80 and Grave G 57 at the Kerameikos. *ArchDelt* 47:30 reports a pyre which may be a primary cremation.

⁸² Bohen 1997, 48-50; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 38.

occasionally be coupled with upright stone slabs. Holes at the bottom of some of the vessels suggest that they may have channeled libations into the grave. Monumental grave markers in this period exhibit a very specialized funerary iconography that included scenes of *prothesis* (laying out of the body) and *ekphora* (procession to the graveside).⁸³ Some of the visual symbolism (such as processions of warriors with distinctive armor and weaponry) that is prevalent in these scenes likely allude to Homeric ideals and heroic burials in epics. These Geometric vessels not only marked the grave of an individual but also provided a visual language that directed the public and social memory of the deceased—their elaborate forms, intricate decoration, and monumental sizes easily paved the way for a competitive landscape of commemorative display.

By the end of the 8th century B.C., the tradition of marking graves with monumental vessels becomes less frequently practiced.⁸⁴ In addition, the 7th century brought about a number of other significant changes in the mortuary record of Athens. First and foremost, there is a significant decline in the number of graves, which, as mentioned above, has been interpreted as a problem of the archaeological visibility of the burial practices of the period.⁸⁵ The representation of women and children in burial grounds also diminishes significantly. There are changes in the deposition of grave goods: rich female graves disappear, metal objects become rare, and weapons (with the exception of knives) are no longer part of burial assemblages. In addition, the popularity of the practice of inhumation drops again, but this time the custom is overtaken by primary, not secondary cremations: instead of collecting the remains of the deceased from a pyre

⁸³ Langdon 2008;

⁸⁴ Alexandridou 2016, 335; Coldstream 2003, 111-112; Morris 1987, 151-52; Whitley 1991, 163. Kraters were still occasionally used as markers above mounds in the Kerameikos in the 7th century.

⁸⁵ Morris (1987) interprets the changes in the number of recoverable graves as a result of the fluctuations in what percentage of the population gains access to archaeologically visible formal burial in any given period.

to inter them at a secondary location, the pyre is built inside the grave shaft itself. Grave shafts of cremations are in many ways identical to those of inhumation burials, but they usually contain a deep channel to facilitate air circulation as the pyre burns. After the completion of the burning, the entire installation is buried along with the skeletal remains. A handful of cases of primary cremation are known from LG contexts,⁸⁶ but the custom does not become common until the 7th century.

In the 7th-century cremations in Athens, offerings are seldomly placed inside the grave with the body. Instead, the more common practice is the use of separate areas outside of the grave. The most characteristic contexts of this type are the so-called offering trenches (termed “Opferrinnen” by the German excavators of the Kerameikos) (Figs. 3.14, 3.15, 3.16).⁸⁷ These offering trenches are long, narrow, and shallow ditches that were lined with mudbrick to create two interior channels. Their length varies from 3 to 12 meters, while they are usually only about 60 centimeters wide and 10 to 20 centimeters deep. These channels functioned as ventilation ducts for small offering pyres (Fig. 3.15). Post holes within the channels suggest that the offerings were placed on wooden tables that rose above the pyre, not directly on top of the pyre itself. In addition to the offering trenches, there were so-called “offering-places” where burning and some offerings also took place, but these areas were never developed into formal installations. A total of eleven offering trenches and four offering places were recovered in Kerameikos,⁸⁸ although the type is known from elsewhere in Attica.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ In Kerameikos, see Graves G 5, G 34, G 73 hS 207 (Kübler 1959); for a list of other possible or confirmed cases elsewhere in Athens, see Alexandridou 2016.

⁸⁷ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 69-78.

⁸⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 348 and Appendix 1; Kübler 1959, 11-12.

⁸⁹ Alexandridou 2015, 2013.

The excavators of the Kerameikos have presented offering trenches as installations that were opened and used at the same time as the accompanying grave. They base their observations on the stratigraphic sequence of the graves and offering trenches, including an examination of the horizontal spatial correlation between the offering trench and the grave.⁹⁰ According to this interpretation, once the funeral was over, the offering trench was sealed by a layer of plaster and never used again.⁹¹ The graves—and sometimes part of the offering-trench if the grave was accompanied by one—were also sealed by a large mound (Fig. 3.17). In addition, a marker, usually an open-shape ceramic vessel or occasionally a slab, was placed on top of the mound.⁹²

The combined practice of primary cremation and a spatially independent offering pyre outside the grave transforms the way funerals are experienced in 7th-century Athens. A significant difference between primary and secondary cremations in terms of performance and sensory experience is the lack of interaction between the participants and the incinerated body. Placed deep in the shaft of the grave, 7th-century pyres would have been somewhat obscured and the visual transformation of the body would have been less visible to mourners. In addition, scholars assume that the participants would have stood behind the above-ground offering pyres, which deflect the focus of the funeral away from the corpse and more towards the ostentatious destruction of the offerings. While the destruction of the objects above ground mimics the destruction of the body in the grave, the dramatic effect of the burning of a body is reduced.⁹³

⁹⁰ Kübler 1959, 87-88. Scholars have accepted this interpretation, even though the archaeological relationship between the graves and the trenches remain problematic in many cases (Houby-Nielsen 1996a n. 35, p. 51-52).

⁹¹ For suggestions on the possible use of offering trenches as part of a post-funerary ritual (such as a *perideipnon* on the ninth day of the funeral), see Hampe 1960, 71–75; Helbig 1900, 250–269. Several of the offering trenches are sealed by the same mound that seals the grave, so a long-term use of the trench is unlikely.

⁹² Alexandridou 2013, 272.

⁹³ Houby-Nielsen 1996a, 46; Alexandridou 2013, 277-280.

The construction of a secondary pyre for offerings is redundant and unnecessary, but it serves to control the moment of impact and the overall theatrics of the funeral.

The reasons behind the emergence of such a provocative funeral ceremony in the 7th century are difficult to interpret. The preceding century was marked by a confounding diversity in burial types and a widespread distribution of a large number of graves across Athens. The increase in numbers and variation may suggest that a larger segment of the population was practicing burial rites without restrictions, standardization in practice, or ritual oversight in the 8th century.⁹⁴ By contrast, Alexandridou (2013) remarks that “the appearance of the first trenches by the end of the 8th century might be interpreted as an attempt from the part of the elite to differentiate themselves from the rest of the population. Finally, the 7th century saw again the dominance of the wealthiest in the mortuary record, with the number of the archaeological visible burials significantly dropping.”⁹⁵ Morris (1987) has argued that these types of fluctuations in numbers are a reflection of class conflicts between the elite and the non-elite (the *agathoi* and the *kakoi*), with moments of significant transitions indicating major changes in social structure (Fig. 3.18).⁹⁶ According to Morris’ model, the *agathoi* held a degree of ritual authority over funerary practices in Early Iron Age Athens and were able to restrict the lower classes’ access to burial rites and cemeteries. In other words, the *status quo* in the mortuary landscape of Athens was an elite hegemony over burial practices; this social equilibrium was upset by episodes of upheaval when the *kakoi* temporarily gained access to formal burial. As

⁹⁴ Laughy 2010: 49-50. Morris (1987) has forwarded a similar argument.

⁹⁵ Alexandridou 2013, 279.

⁹⁶ For criticisms of Morris’ (1987) ideas on the correlation between the mortuary record and Athenian socio-political organization (as well as his quantitative methodology) Humphreys 1990; D’Onofrio and D’Agostino 1993; Papadopoulos 1993 (with a response from Morris 1993); Sourvinou-Inwood 1995; Patterson 2006.

D’Onofrio (2017) has recently pointed out, however, the challenging nature of 7th-century contexts (which often rely on problematic chronological sequences and lack osteological analysis of skeletal remains) renders “investigation of status, rank, age and gender largely speculative (albeit attractive), resting as it does upon a limited range of data and favoured models.”⁹⁷

A problematic part of Morris’ argument regarding the power play between the *agathoi* and *kakoi* in mortuary spaces is the extent of authority over ritual matters he assigns to the elite. This historicizing narrative of a coordinated and top-down exercise of power is now regarded as an anachronistic and flawed reading of Early Iron Age social structure. A quick look at the terms *agathoi* and *kakoi* illustrates that the interpretive framework itself is unsound and inappropriate for Early Iron Age Athens. These two words held a wide range of meanings in ancient Greek, and as Sluiter (2008) observes, their use seems “highly underdescriptive and therefore malleable to a point not easily matched by any other evaluative term.”⁹⁸ The word *kakos*, for instance, was largely a “poetic word” that appears in metaphorical and dramatic contexts in poetry more than prose and rhetoric.⁹⁹ In rhetoric, the word is sometimes deployed in political contexts, but in these instances it usually refers to “bad citizens.” The term appears suitable for anyone who does not observe the proper conduct expected of citizens (for instance, tax-evaders, flatterers, and sexual deviants); it does not specifically or automatically imply formal class divisions based on birth.¹⁰⁰ Sluiter (2008) emphasizes that “*kakos* functions as a blanket sign of condemnation, disapproval, in short, negative evaluation. Something is not good—but what exactly is wrong

⁹⁷ D’Onofrio 2017, 261.

⁹⁸ Sluiter 2008, 7.

⁹⁹ A breakdown of the frequency according to authors shows that, in terms of the weight of usage, the tragedians are in the top four, accompanied by Hesiod. See Sluiter 2008, tables 1 and 2, for frequency and usage.

¹⁰⁰ Christ 2008; Fisher 2008.

with it? The lexeme itself is underdescriptive and leaves the precise nature of the problem unspecified.”¹⁰¹

So, was there in fact a clear roadmap of class divisions between the *agathoi* and the *kakoi* in Early Iron Age and early Archaic Athens, and can it be used as a backdrop against which mortuary data and behavior should be interpreted? Based on his extensive survey of the usage of *agathos* and *kakos* in early Greek texts, Donlan (1968) argues that the word *agathos* was eventually used by a certain group of elites to describe themselves, but this was a late development that reflects an attempt to hold on to a superior identity at a time when that superiority was not apparent or socially recognized.¹⁰² In other words, the distinction is propagandistic and not necessarily based on real-world social divisions. In Homer, the words *agathos* and *kakos* are used to refer to a simple social order based on physical prowess, bravery, and ability.¹⁰³ In Donlan’s words, in the Homeric epics, “there is some evidence...that the word *kakoi* could be used in a narrow sense to indicate simply those outside the group of *agathoi*. Generally speaking, however, the number of “class” usages of *agathos* and *kakos* is very few, and in almost every instance the notion of physical prowess is the dominant one.”¹⁰⁴

Donlan also points out that our view of the Greek social order is heavily influenced by comparisons drawn from the European feudal system, but “the concept of ‘classes’ in the modern sense did not exist in Greece.”¹⁰⁵ In his reconstruction of the Greek socio-political structure, he argues that “the Greek aristocracies were mainly informal. A more proper analogy would be the

¹⁰¹ Sluiter 2008, 8.

¹⁰² Donlan 1968, 3-4.

¹⁰³ Donlan 1968, 199.

¹⁰⁴ Donlan 1968, 200.

¹⁰⁵ Donlan 1968, 5.

“best families” in a country like the United States, rather than formal aristocracy with internal gradations as in England and Europe.”¹⁰⁶ It appears, then, that in early Greek society there existed a degree of flexibility and permeability between vertical social and political divisions. The success behind the emergence of *polis* as a functioning institution lies in this social mobility that allowed the effective integration of different social groups into a cohesive whole during political coalescence. Significant components of social standing were kinship and clan associations, yet family status was not only inherited through lineage but could also be acquired through marriage or other alliances.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the hierarchical system as a whole was supplemented by criteria outside birth: following a set of proper conduct that mirrors social ideals (such as Homeric prowess), observing integrative social mechanisms (such as *xenia*), and participation in communal ritualized behavior (such as feasts, cult, or funerals) all contributed to the creation and maintenance of status. As a result, a lot relied upon self-identification and expression of identity. Funerals and mortuary spaces afforded a range of tools that could be deployed in this system, but without any evidence of contemporary sumptuary laws or other types of state-level intervention, it is difficult to imagine that there was any *direct* control over the use of markers of identity in the funerary field. Instead, what we perceive archaeologically as variability or rapid change in fashions may be attempts at an *indirect* regulation of the meaning behind available tools.¹⁰⁸

In summary, significant changes in burial practices take place during the transition from LG to 7th century. These shifts probably point to changing strategies in the use of mortuary

¹⁰⁶ Donlan 1968, 226.

¹⁰⁷ Blok 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Whitley 1991.

spaces as venues for identity politics, rather than a radical change in social structure as reflected in burial customs. It should also be emphasized that while the mortuary use of the wider settlement contracts and the diversity of burial types somewhat diminishes, burial customs in the 7th century are still far from being homogeneous. A group of burials at the location of the later Rundbau on the southern bank of Eridanos at the Kerameikos has yielded rich variety of mortuary contexts, including inhumations, primary cremations, secondary cremations, and a horse burial (Fig. 3.19). Grave 62 in the southeastern end of this plot is the unique case of a partially lined shaft that contained cremated remains in three bronze cauldrons.¹⁰⁹ Compared to the rest of the 7th-century mortuary contexts from Athens, the graves in this group also contained an uncharacteristic assemblage that includes perfume bottles and bronze vessels with Eastern influences. A number of the burials at the northern section of the plot were covered by a monumental mound larger than those of the contemporaneous primary cremations discussed above. D'Onofrio (2017) remarks that this group of burials in the Kerameikos exhibits a “unique texture of behavior” and points to “a social complexity which includes...the possibility that foreigners could be integrated within a local kinship group.”¹¹⁰ Tracing ethnicity in burial customs is theoretically and methodologically problematic, but D'Onofrio's compelling suggestion that foreigners were included and were indeed conspicuous in the Athenian mortuary landscape in the 7th century complicates Ian Morris' views on status and citizenship distinctions at the Kerameikos.¹¹¹ Whether this group of burials belonged to foreigners or another group who used exotic material culture and unorthodox burial practices to set themselves apart from their

¹⁰⁹ D'Onofrio 2017; Kübler 1943, 341-5; 1959, 75-6. This context is dated to 690-680 BC by Kübler, but a wider date (late 8th to mid-7th century) has been proposed by D'Onofrio.

¹¹⁰ D'Onofrio 2017, 278.

¹¹¹ Morris 2000, 304-305.

peers remains open to debate. Nevertheless, D'Onofrio's (2017) view of 7th-century Athenian mortuary landscape as "an experimental ground for disruptive novelties in the field of social behavior" carries merit.¹¹² Because of the rich contents of the graves and impressive above-ground markers such as monumental vessels or mounds, Kerameikos at large has long been understood as the burying ground of a group that put a notable amount of effort into differentiating themselves from others in the funerary realm. What segment of the Athenian society the Kerameikos group represents is still unclear. Morris (1987) has presented Kerameikos as an elite "reserved cemetery" with highly-controlled rights of access, but D'Onofrio (2017) paints a slightly different picture: she remarks that "burying groups changed over time, while descent groups, individuals with no kin relationship to local groups, and other cross-cutting categories which are difficult to detect could have been integrated into the funerary landscape."¹¹³ It is perhaps more productive to think of the Kerameikos as the most public and desirable venue for conspicuous and theatrical expressions of identity in the funerary realm in Athens. The activities in this mortuary space are not reactionary reflections of socio-political changes but active tools in navigating the fluctuations of the social network in the early Athenian *polis*.

Mortuary Variability and the Representation of Age and Gender Divisions

Mortuary variability and the role of grave goods in Athenian burials are much-debated topics. A traditional but somewhat reductive approach to the materiality of the grave is to view it as a reflection of a hierarchical system where the quantifiable characteristics of a funeral are direct correlates of the social or economic standing of the burying group. This type of approach

¹¹² D'Onofrio 2017, 278.

¹¹³ D'Onofrio 2017, 261-262.

commonly generates interpretive frameworks in which graves are ranked from “poor” to “wealthy,” either based on the quantity and quality of grave goods, the time and energy expenditure spent on the construction of the grave, or a combination of all these factors. Lack of material differentiation between graves in certain periods has led some to seek a reflection of the political concept of *isonomia* in cemeteries, whereas a more differential deposition of wealth often generates a discussion of elite versus non-elite burial types. More recently, however, scholars turn to horizontal social divisions such as age, gender, or kinship structures for an explanation of the wide range of mortuary variability in Attica.¹¹⁴

Many scholars have maintained that there is a gendered division in the offerings for male and female burials in Early Iron Age Athens.¹¹⁵ From PG onwards, some male burials begin to include a “warrior kit” which is comprised of items of military value such as swords, knives, spearheads, and arrowheads.¹¹⁶ Sometimes these weapons or objects are destroyed as they are deposited in the grave—it is not uncommon, for example, to wrap swords around urns or otherwise “kill” the weapon before the grave is sealed (Fig. 3.20). Whitley (2016, 2002a) suggests that this practice highlights the entanglement between the object and the deceased as they both depart the world of the living. Yet, despite this material and symbolic entanglement, weapons and armor in graves are not to be taken as tokens of a literal, biographical narrative of the fighting days of the deceased, but rather as “a metaphor for a certain kind of masculine ideal”

¹¹⁴ e.g. Alexandridou 2017, 2016, 2012; Mariaud 2012; Humphreys 1980. For the funerary treatment of children in Athens, see Beaumont 2012, 186-206; Stroszeck 2012; Houby-Nielsen 2000, 1996b; Haentjens 1999.

¹¹⁵ D’Onofrio 2011; Langdon 2005; Strömberg 1998; 1993; Whitley 1996.

¹¹⁶ e.g. D’Onofrio 2011 on Athens; Antonaccio 2006, 2002, 1995, especially on warrior identity at Lefkandi.

¹¹⁷ that includes an elite warrior ethos, reminiscent of the Homeric hero. Whitley (2002a) frames warrior assemblages in burials as a symbolic “nexus of associations between masculinity, prowess in battle and political authority.”¹¹⁸

Warrior paraphernalia in mortuary contexts is not unusual in Early Iron Age Greece, but Athens also presents a peculiar juxtaposition of male graves against remarkably rich contemporary female burials. Many scholars have observed that female burials of the 9th- and 8th-century Athens, on average, yield bigger assemblages, contain more prestige items, or include symbols of wealth and property such as horse iconography or the famous granary model from the grave of the so-called Rich Athenian Lady in the agora (Fig. 3.21).¹¹⁹ It has been noted that the ostentatious funerary assemblages in female graves that surpass their male counterparts are unique to Early Iron Age Athens. It would be too simplistic to conclude that these wealthy female graves are exceptional contexts that belonged to rich women who were celebrated only because of their association with powerful men. Instead, scholars have suggested that the social system of Athens in the 9th and 8th centuries granted women the potential to earn a high status in their own right, perhaps through cult participation, leadership, and lateral interactions with other women, not just through family status or an inherited standing.¹²⁰ Whitley (1996) argues that in Early Iron Age Athens, the social standing of women, especially those who have reached the middle-age, was higher than in the rest of Greece at the time.¹²¹ This suggests an interesting

¹¹⁷ Whitley 2002a, 220. Contra Bohen (1997, 49) who takes weapons in graves quite literally and remarks that “the weapons found in Early Geometric graves hint at a period of unrest, but by the Middle Geometric period, 850-760 B.C., life appears to have been more peaceful.”

¹¹⁸ Whitley 2002a, 220.

¹¹⁹ Laughy 2010, 27-29; Langdon 2005; Whitley 1996; 1991, 112-113. For the grave of the Rich Athenian Lady (Agora H 16:6), see Liston and Papadopoulos 2004; Smithson 1968.

¹²⁰ Langdon 2005.

¹²¹ Whitley 1996, 229.

system of “big women” that exists alongside an aristocratic patriarchy without being in direct conflict with it. In the second half of the 8th century, the wealthy female grave phenomenon undergoes a shift of emphasis from middle-aged women to young females.¹²² The practice of inhumation also rises in this period—Alexandridou (2016) observes that inhumations are popular among women, which may “reflect an attempt to preserve the female body as “eternally activated,” underlining the importance of the deceased.”¹²³

In the 7th century, rich female graves and the overall inclusion of women and children in mortuary spaces alongside men come to an end. Houby-Nielsen (1992) calls this development “sex discrimination at formal burial.”¹²⁴ It must be noted here, however, that the assessment of the sex of the recipients of formal burial in the 7th century relies largely on extrapolations from material culture, not osteological studies. Houby-Nielsen (1992, 1995, 1996a) identifies the individuals at the primary cremations of the Kerameikos as male based on the use of kraters as markers (which is a shape that traditional scholarship associates with men), and the “burial vocabulary” or “semantics” of assemblages recovered from offering trenches, which carry strong allusions to heroic ideals and elite commensality. Based on these observations, it can be proposed that the 7th century in Athens brings about the archaeological invisibility of female gender identity in the mortuary realm. It appears that formal and ostentatious burial becomes the purview of men, whose elite identity, whether real or imaginary, is emphasized through grave assemblages that highlight communal drinking and feasting.¹²⁵

¹²² Alexandridou 2016; Langdon 2008, 132–33; 2005.

¹²³ Alexandridou 2016, 355, citing Langdon 2008, 142.

¹²⁴ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 357–358.

¹²⁵ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 1995, 1996a; de Polignac 2005a, 61; 1996, 203. Also see Alexandridou 2013, 2015.

Some have interpreted the exclusion of women and children from Athenian cemeteries as the diminishing representation of the household—the *oikos*—as a social unit in the mortuary realm in the 7th century B.C.¹²⁶ The real pattern, however, may be more complicated. In her study of the mortuary representation of men, women, and children at the Kerameikos, Houby-Nielsen (1995) concludes that in 7th-century Athens “the burying family is concerned with expressing a socially defined status or quality of a deceased male family member. Women and children have little place in this ideology.”¹²⁷ In other words, Houby-Nielsen points out that households are not politically or socially unimportant at this time, but the representation of the household in the mortuary sphere is undertaken by men alone. The elite male identity that is celebrated through the burial assemblages of the offering trenches serves to highlight not just the personal qualities or accomplishments of an individual but the power of the household that the individual belongs to. Houby-Nielsen (1992) suggests that the allusions to feasting and the conspicuous destruction of banquet equipment on pyres at these 7th-century funerals express “the status of the dead man as head of a household with the right and power to give a banquet.”¹²⁸ From this perspective, the underlying message is still the declaration of the strength and superiority of a household over others within a competitive landscape, but the change is in the strategy through which this message is conveyed: highlighting multiple members of the household (including women and children) expresses strength and intergenerational stability through the solidarity of the group as a whole, whereas shifting the focus to a single member channels the substance and power of the group through the charisma of its leader as proxy. The former strategy places the emphasis on the harmonious interaction *among* the members of the

¹²⁶ de Polignac 2005a, 61. Also see Alexandridou 2016; Langdon 2005.

¹²⁷ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 145.

¹²⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 357.

household, whereas the latter necessitates a more open engagement with others *outside* that group, namely with the heads of other households. The banquet set that forms the core of the funerary assemblage alludes to the importance of the sympotic context for this interaction between elite males outside the funerary realm in more domestic or civic settings.¹²⁹ This competitive but direct social engagement with peers explains the increasing theatricality of the funeral as well as the aggressive construction of mounds that overlap and sometimes even replace existing ones.

Although women become invisible in the mortuary record of 7th-century Athens, they likely retained their behind-the-scenes influence over the funerary realm. Funerary iconography on Attic pottery shows that women occupied a central role in funerary affairs as undertakers, mourners, and caretakers of graves.¹³⁰ Scholars have observed that Geometric markers show a gendered division of roles and gestures in *prothesis* and *ekphora* scenes. *Prothesis* scenes on black figure vases and *pinakes* similarly depict women staying close to the body of the deceased, preparing it for the journey, and mourning with dramatic gestures of grief and self-mutilation, whereas men pay their respects from a distance.¹³¹ It has been suggested that women's heavy involvement in mourning and the preparation of the body is related to a fear of ritual pollution, which was navigated and neutralized more successfully by "inferior" members of the society. Stears (1998), however, argues that women's prominent participation in funerals does not point to an inferior but a crucial social role that presents "a means for the construction and display of

¹²⁹ Alexandridou 2013, 2015; Kistler 1998.

¹³⁰ Nevett 2011; Oakley 2004; Leader 1997; Houby-Nielsen 1996b; Shapiro 1991; Vermeule 1979.

¹³¹ For gendered expressions of emotion and grief, especially in funerary contexts, see van Wees 1998; Shapiro 1991.

women's power in both the domestic and the political arenas.”¹³² Scenes that depict women visiting tombs and bringing offerings are common on white ground *lekythoi* and further suggest that mortuary spaces may have been women's realm. Houby-Nielsen (1996b, 2000) also suggests that women may have been responsible for the selection of grave offerings (almost certainly for children but perhaps also for adults); they may have even dictated where children were to be buried in Classical Athens.¹³³ It is clear, therefore, that women had agency in shaping the mortuary landscape of Athens throughout its history; their own visibility after death, on the other hand, was periodically limited by ideology.

Space and Place of Death in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Athens

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, common academic wisdom on the space and place of death in Greek cities maintains a degree of opposition between the living and the dead, whose realms are divided and compartmentalized through polarized spatial patterns and architecture. This type of settlement layout where settlement and burial are clearly demarcated is believed to be typical of Greek cities. Based on the changes in the distribution of burials across Athens, Morris (1987) has traced the origins of this configuration to the end of the 8th century B.C. when he observes a shift in burial locations away from central Athens and more towards the fringes of the habitation area (Fig. 3.22). This change in mortuary topography during the expansion of the proto-urban settlement has been accepted as the beginnings of an extracommunal burial pattern, not only in Athens but also in other settlements like Argos and Corinth. While many scholars have pointed out that isolated cases of burial persist in the center of Athens,¹³⁴ the placement of

¹³² Stears 1998, 93.

¹³³ Houby-Nielsen 1996b, 243-255.

¹³⁴ Snodgrass 2016; Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008.

cemeteries outside walls, especially near gates and along major roads, is taken as a norm in Greek cities at least by the Classical period.

The model of the Greek city in which burials are not tolerated within the limits of the city is rendered particularly attractive by corroborating evidence from textual sources. In a letter to Cicero, Servius Sulpicius writes that he was denied permission to bury a friend where he wanted in Athens because burials inside the city (“*sepulturae intra urbem*”) have been forbidden on account of religion.¹³⁵ Some have viewed this comment as proof that a religious ban on intracommunal burials indeed existed in Athens, although the exact date of the ban and the precise meaning of *urbem* in this context are disputed. Even if there were legislative restrictions on the location of burials in Athens by Cicero’s time, it is impossible to assess with certainty when such a law came into effect. Young (1951) has concluded that “burial and cremation in the city were unrestricted up to the end of the sixth century, and...thereafter the burial of adults ceased, probably because of the religious ban noted in Cicero's correspondence.”¹³⁶ Winter (1982) argues that “the most likely period for the introduction of the ban (always assuming that *urbem* = *muros*) is the one of general tidying up of the disorder and confusion left behind by the Persians, and of construction of the circuit of Themistokles.”¹³⁷ Regardless, since many scholars have found the existence of a functioning state authority over ritual matters before the 6th century improbable, it is highly unlikely that there was a funerary legislation that prompted a change in the topography of burials in early Athens.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Cicero *ad Fam.* 4.12.3.

¹³⁶ Young 1951, 134.

¹³⁷ Winter 1982, 203.

¹³⁸ Laughy 2010, 39-43; Frost 2005, 27-40; Anderson 2003, 16-21; Manville 1990, 76-77.

In the academic discussion of the potential reasons behind the changes of the mortuary geography of Athens at the end of the Early Iron Age, two main arguments have come to the forefront. Seeking the answer in thanatological beliefs, Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, 1983) has argued that the shift to extramural burials reflects a calculated and deliberate separation of the dead from the living.¹³⁹ Her argument is based on the premise that the 8th-century wave of exploration and increased contact with new cultures drastically changed the Greek understanding of death. The Greeks, faced with expanding horizons and social change, and unable to reconcile their place within the growing cosmos, developed an increased awareness, and consequently, a fear of death.¹⁴⁰ In this altered world-view, death was no longer seen as a social or a collective phenomenon but the end of an individual and the termination of one's personal identity. Sourvinou-Inwood suggests that from this point on the new focus was on the individual, death rituals became more private family affairs, and burials became more individualized. The growing anxiety over death resulted in an attempt to distance it by pushing away its "physical reality" and placing burials away from the spaces of the living. In Sourvinou-Inwood's own words, "these feelings were expressed, ritually and conceptually, through the idea of pollution which provided the means for expanding and articulating boundaries."¹⁴¹

Sourvinou-Inwood's reading of the attitudes towards death in early Greece—not to mention her handling of archaeological data and her anachronistic use of an interpretive framework proposed by French historian Philippe Ariès based on Christian thought¹⁴²—has met

¹³⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 34-44.

¹⁴⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 45.

¹⁴¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 47.

¹⁴² Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 34, following Ariès 1981.

with criticism.¹⁴³ In a counter-argument, Morris (1987, 1989) proposed that spatial changes were not related to beliefs regarding ritual pollution but were a reflection of socio-political changes prompted by conflicts over the use of reserved cemeteries and formal burial. Morris also saw a trend of marginalization of burials in addition to a tendency towards formalization of space around 700 B.C., but suggested that, in reality, these boundaries served to protect the divisions between social strata.¹⁴⁴

Much of Morris' arguments on changes in the conceptualization of mortuary space in early Athens rely on his reading of space, which is in absolute and physical terms rather than experiential or social ontologies that were outlined in the previous chapter. Morris' views on exclusive mortuary spaces and strong spatial compartmentalization in early Greek cities are apparent in his definition of "reserved cemeteries" as "formal, bounded localities reserved exclusively for the disposal of the dead."¹⁴⁵ The questions of ritual authority or property ownership that would be required to regulate the reservation of space aside, the architectural and spatial qualities that are proposed in Morris' definition also prove problematic. It is not clear, for instance, how the concept of a "formal" locality should be defined in this context. If the definition of spatial formality is based on the exclusivity of space, the above discussion on the nature of the agora area in Early Iron Age Athens alone shows that it is difficult to prove a clear segregation of habitation from mortuary contexts in early Greece. The Kerameikos in Athens and a couple other burial areas in nascent *poleis* (such as the North Cemetery of Corinth) were probably set aside exclusively as mortuary spaces, but for the majority of proto-urban Greek

¹⁴³ For a recent reevaluation of the argument, see Snodgrass 2016.

¹⁴⁴ Morris 1989, 318-19.

¹⁴⁵ Morris 1987, 63.

settlements around this time, there are not many contexts that are demonstrably reserved for the dead.¹⁴⁶

Boundedness as a criterion for formal space is also rendered problematic by the dearth of archaeological evidence that points to a demarcation of spaces in early Greek settlements. One strategy for spatial demarcation that is used in later Greek urbanism is the erection of *horos* stones that announce borders, but there is no solid evidence that these existed before the 6th century. As for *periboloi* (defined as funerary enclosures in this context), Garland (1982) concludes that “in the absence of any firm evidence to the contrary...it seems reasonable to assume that the practice of erecting a stone, or in some cases mud-brick, enclosure to protect or house the dead began in the last decades of the fifth century B.C.E.”¹⁴⁷ Indeed, the only evidence of architectural demarcation of a mortuary context in Early Iron Age Athens is a wall around the three sides of a burial group to the south of the Classical Tholos in the agora (Fig. 3.10). Morris (1987) presents this grave precinct as proof of the “increasing formalization and boundedness of the intra-mural cemeteries” in the late eighth century B.C.¹⁴⁸ The function or the intended effect of the wall around this precinct, however, is not immediately clear. The burial group in question consists of 20 graves including adult inhumations and pot burials of children that date from the last quarter of the 8th to the second quarter of the 7th centuries B.C., with two subadult graves possibly dating to the very end of 7th or early 6th centuries.¹⁴⁹ An examination of the graves as well as the osteological study of the skeletal remains presents compelling evidence that this

¹⁴⁶ Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008.

¹⁴⁷ Garland 1982, 127.

¹⁴⁸ Morris 1987, 65.

¹⁴⁹ Young 1939, 11.

space was a family plot.¹⁵⁰ The plot nestles against the scarp of Kolonos Agoraios on sloping ground that is prone to erosion, and the excavator Rodney Young (1939) has commented that the graves occupy a dangerous position in a valley that carries the excess water from all nearby hills. Young concludes that the construction of the wall, its packing, and the unfinished inner face all suggest that “the wall was intended as a retaining wall from the time of its construction” to resist the erosive effects of its environment.¹⁵¹ If Young is correct in suggesting that the wall was built “partly to hold back the fill in which lay the graves, and partly to protect it from being washed away,” its primary function was the maintenance of an area threatened by topography, not a symbolic formalization of space driven by a social need to demarcate property.¹⁵² It is of course possible that a retaining wall can still serve as a symbolic barrier between the space inside and outside, but since this context is the only securely identified example of a funerary enclosure in early Athens, it is problematic to use it to present a narrative of increased formalization of mortuary landscapes.

Conclusions

This brief discussion of the burial customs and the spatial articulation of cemeteries in Athens shows that our current picture of early Athenian mortuary landscapes is in need of a revision. Many master narratives and theoretical approaches to mortuary data in Greek archaeology have been derived from Athenian contexts. Yet, many of these narratives—such as the polarized relationship between settlement and cemetery, the impact of a fear of ritual-pollution upon the spatial development of cemeteries, social hierarchy as the main determinant of

¹⁵⁰ Young 1939; Angel 1939.

¹⁵¹ Young 1939, 6.

¹⁵² Young 1939, 6.

funerary behavior, and the appeal of nonexistent or long-lost sumptuary laws as an explanation of archaeological evidence—are no longer considered applicable to Athenian contexts, let alone provide a vivid explanation of patterns outside of Athens. Recent studies in mortuary variability in Attica, a closer reexamination of the available archaeological evidence, and revised approaches to mortuary studies in general indicate that many of the arguments that constitute the foundation of our understanding of early Athenian cemeteries need to be reevaluated. Scholars now express doubts regarding the existence of an authoritative ritual control over funerary matters in early Athens and consider horizontal divisions (such as age, gender, or kinship affiliations) more useful in explaining mortuary behavior than hierarchical distinctions. Furthermore, the archaeological record shows that Athenian burial customs exhibit little uniformity that could point to a formalization or standardization of funerary practices at any period. Formalization of space is also a problematic argument given the fact that exclusivity of burial grounds cannot be proven with certainty, spatial segregation between domestic and mortuary spaces is difficult to verify, and boundedness as an architectural criterion is virtually nonexistent in early Athens. The following chapters on Argos and Corinth will pursue these topics further and continue to test the existing narratives of Greek mortuary landscapes against available archaeological data. One particular theme that this dissertation will follow consistently is the mobility of burials across the settlement and the purported separation of burial from habitation at the end of the 8th century B.C. Digital mapping of datable burials through GIS at Argos and Corinth will aid in charting this potential shift in the mortuary topography of proto-urban centers. The social meaning behind a spatial change from intracommunal to extracommunal burial locations is discussed in Chapter 6.

One consistent pattern that is clear in Athens is the importance of mortuary spaces as

venues for identity politics and a steady interest in devoting time, effort, and expenditure into the funerary realm in an attempt to highlight the extension of a social persona after death. Even though there are fluctuations in the degree of this investment throughout the internal trajectory of Athenian burial and depositional practices, there is no point in the history of Early Iron Age Athens when the funerary realm is completely obsolete or unfashionable as a public venue of self-expression. Even in the 7th century B.C. when there is a contraction in the mortuary topography of the city and an overall decline in depositions compared to the abundant mortuary record of the preceding century, the Kerameikos yields primary cremations and offering trenches that are some of the most theatrical and ostentatious funerary spectacles to date. The real changes in the meaning behind the materiality of the grave lie in the social personae that are presented through the symbolic vocabulary of the funerary realm—in different periods, different layers of a person's or a group's identity find materialization in Athens. For example, the change from the inclusion of women and children in burial to the predominance of men in the 7th century is not a change in the social message itself (i.e. the strength of the household as a unit) but a change in the communication strategy that shifts emphasis from the inclusive harmony of the household to the elevation of its individual male leaders. Similarly, the shift in depositional practices where the warrior kit is replaced by a banquet set in elite male burials continues to highlight a message of competitive male superiority, but the delivery strategy changes from underlining heroic prowess to diacritical feasting.

The constancy in the conspicuous materiality of the grave (both below and above ground) in Athens is somewhat unique. As I will discuss below, in other settlements like Argos and Corinth, there are periods when the stability of mortuary investment is punctured more dramatically: compared to 7th-century Argos where mortuary contexts are limited to pithos

burials that are completely devoid of grave goods, or Corinth where offerings all but disappear from cemeteries, the long-term consistency in the importance of mortuary contexts in Athens is remarkable. It is perhaps this steady interest in the funerary realm in Athens that leads to the development of Kerameikos as a significant public space that withstands the ebb and flow of depositional practices between cemetery and sanctuary. Visibility—whether it is achieved through the arresting performances of funerary rituals or the long-term display of commemorative markers—is of utmost significance in the competitive landscape of Kerameikos. Continuous interest in marking the grave points to a desire to reiterate social identities after death and to project a long-term social memory through markers. Changing styles and fashions in marking burials (including monumental vessels, mounds, slabs, tombs, *pinakes*, and sculpture) create a visual mnemonic palimpsest over time. As the following chapters on Argos and Corinth will show, there is no other mortuary space that compares to the Kerameikos in its longevity, its history of ostentatious display, or its leadership role in experimental styles and burial practices. By the end of the Classical period, the sum of all these experiments and changing funerary styles turns Kerameikos into a memory landscape that is quite unparalleled in the Greek world.¹⁵³ For these reasons alone, Athens should be regarded as an exceptional, not an archetypal Greek city in terms of its mortuary topography.

¹⁵³ Small 2015, 2002, 1999, 1995.

CHAPTER 4: MORTUARY LANDSCAPES OF ARGOS

Overview: Topography and Brief History of Early Iron Age and Archaic Argos

Argos lies in a central position in the Argive alluvial plain, roughly 5 kilometers from the sea, nestled against the steep hill of Larissa to the west and the low mound of Aspis (“the shield”) to the north (Fig. 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). Argos’ location commands the route between the coast and the rest of the Peloponnese to the south and the Tretos Pass towards Corinthia and the Isthmus to the north. Despite its proximity and overland connection to Corinth, however, Corinthian and other imports are rare at Argos before the 7th century, a pattern which has been tied to the strong topographical definition and cultural uniformity of the Argive plain in the Early Iron Age.¹

Historically, Argos is frequently listed as one of the foremost and powerful Greek *poleis* along with Athens, Corinth, and Sparta. In the Bronze Age, Argos was overshadowed by the strong palatial centers at Mycenae and Tiryns. Papadimitriou et al (2015) remark that “rather than a palatial site, LH III Argos was probably a sizeable Mycenaean town, a secondary centre with developed urban characteristics.”² There is continuity in habitation and material culture after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces; however, settlement history of Argos at this

¹ Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 80-81.

² Papadimitriou et al. 2015, 179.

juncture becomes entangled with the historicizing “Dorian invasion” debate. Tomlinson (1972) offers a concise but dramatic summary of this narrative:

“Thus the Argolid, underpopulated, undercultivated and poor, became the target for a different type of movement. It no longer provided the opportunity for plunder, but it did possess excellent land available for settlement, or at least with a population so feeble that little serious resistance could be offered to an invader claiming the fertile region of the Argive plain. So the Dorians moved down from their mountain homes in northern Greece to occupy much not only of the Argolid, but other regions of the Peloponnese. It is not unlikely that they had been involved in the earlier plundering raids, perhaps not alone, anxious to obtain the possessions and riches they could not produce for themselves. Now, when the wealth of southern Greece, and of the Argolid in particular was gone, and there was vacant land available for the taking, they moved in.”³

Part of the appeal of the Dorian invasion narrative as historical fact was the popularity of the myth of the “Return of the Heraclidae” and the conviction of literary sources that recounted the arrival of Dorian tribes into the Peloponnese roughly 80 years after the fall of Troy.⁴ For much of the 20th century, archaeology sought evidence that tied in with these events. Most of the corroborating evidence that was presented in this discourse highlighted material changes, such as shifts in burial customs or the emergence of new types of pottery, as indicators of a new ethnic population that entered the archaeological record.⁵ By 1990s, the Dorian narrative had been largely reassessed and rejected by most archaeologists; Hall (1997), however, warns that “reports of the death of Dorian archaeology have been greatly exaggerated.”⁶ More recent overviews of the topic remark from a noncommittal standpoint that, even though the exact process and

³ Tomlinson 1972, 53.

⁴ See, for instance, Thucydides 5. 112. For a detailed account of the mythical history of Argos, see Kōiv 2003, 216-227.

⁵ See Hall 1997a, 114-128, for a summary of the archaeology of the Dorian invasion and objections.

⁶ Hall 1997a, 121.

mechanics of change remain unknown, Argos became a Dorian city in the Early Iron Age sometime between the 12th and 9th centuries BC.⁷

As I discuss below, Argos is not much more than a collection of scattered villages for much of the Early Iron Age. Nonetheless, there is scholarly agreement that by the end of the 8th century BC Argos emerges as the central power in the Argive plain and achieves a degree of hegemony over the neighboring settlements, either directly or indirectly by securing them dependent *poleis* or allies.⁸ Ancient sources claim that the hegemony or indirect influence of Argos may have once spread beyond the confines of the Argive plain, even as far as Cape Malea at the southeastern end of the Peloponnese according to Herodotus.⁹ There is no evidence to point to such widespread control, but it is known that Argos destroyed the coastal site of Asine in the late 8th and Nauplia in the 7th centuries BC to seal her hegemony over the Argive plain. In their quantitative study of intersite relations based on stylistic variations in pottery from major settlements of the Argive plain, Morgan and Whitlaw (1991) conclude that the independence of Asine in the Geometric period may have posed an inconvenient competition—if not a direct threat—to Argos, who moved to rectify the problem through military means.¹⁰

The documented aggressive policies of Argos in its early stages of state-formation have also caught the attention of several other scholars. Whitley (1988) makes a distinction between the synoecism of Attica and Argolid and argues that, while the unification of Attica was relatively effortless and uncontested, the Argolid experienced some growing pains as it fell under

⁷ For instance, Piérart and Touchais 1996, 21-22.

⁸ Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 602-603; Köiv 2003, 298-304.

⁹ Herodotus I 82.2.

¹⁰ Morgan and Whitlaw 1991, 107.

the hegemony of Argos. According to Whitley (1988), “unlike Athens, Argos faced the problem of trying to *enforce* its authority throughout a region filled with competing, independent sovereign city states. Its 'solution' was finally military: it simply razed all other centres to the ground.”¹¹ As Whitley also points out, however, the key to maintaining the hegemony over the new territory was not a continued tight military grip but the creation of a united civic identity, possibly through cult and identity politics. Similarly, De Polignac (1998, 1998) underscores the importance of extra-urban cult centers in strengthening and reinforcing the territorial claims of the *polis* within the Argolid.¹² Pivotal in this strategy seems to have been the establishment of the Heraion at the eastern edge of the plain sometime in the 7th century.¹³

In addition to the establishment of formalized extra-urban cult spaces, another strategy in establishing links with the landscape as well as distant and mythical past was cult activity directed towards Mycenaean tombs. A good example of this is the Geometric activity at the chamber tombs at Prosymna near the Argive Heraion.¹⁴ Whitley (1988) stresses that “offerings in Mycenaean tombs, like the foundation of urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, were part of the means by which the city defined its territorial limits and established a beneficial relationship to a usable, ideological past.”¹⁵ It is important to note that this kind of cult activity after a centuries-long hiatus during which the tombs fall out of use is unlikely to be the work of direct

¹¹ Whitley 1988, 180, original emphasis.

¹² de Polignac 1995; 1998. This perspective has found broad appeal in scholarship. For instance see Kōiv (2016) for a recent discussion.

¹³ While the date of the earliest architectural remains is debated, there is general agreement that the choice of this particular location, which is closer to Mycenae than Argos, is politically motivated to solidify territorial boundaries or at least reiterate symbolic influence. In addition to de Polignac 1995; 1998, see Antonaccio 1992, Whitley 1988, Wright 1982 for the most concise arguments on the role of the Argive Heraion in intersite politics. Also see Hall 1995 and Malkin 1996 for counter-arguments.

¹⁴ Blegen 1937; 1939.

¹⁵ Whitley 1988, 181. Also see Antonaccio (2016) on the “creation” of ancestors as deliberately forged links to the past.

descendants of the original burying group. It is possible that this late cult activity was an effort to propitiate the dead who were disturbed by the discovery or rediscovery of the tombs. It has been argued rather convincingly, however, that the motivation behind this ritual engagement with the “forgotten” dead may be more socially- or politically-motivated. The materials deposited at abandoned mortuary spaces may represent the ritualized acts of a group who manufacture a fictive connection with the dead. This careful and deliberate construction of a link between the living and the dead serves to write an imaginary history that connects people of the present with a distant and foreign past. A need for social and political legitimacy, especially for those who may have lacked legitimate and deeply-rooted genealogical links, may have inspired this cult pattern: as Antonaccio (2016) suggests, “with no continuously venerated ancestors to call upon, and with widespread shifts in patterns of habitation, subsistence, trade, and ritual, ancestors had to be sought, invented, claimed, recovered.”¹⁶

The social and material patterns that we see across the Argolid in the 8th century all point to the gradual rise of Argos in power—most scholars agree that Argos enters the next century as a fully-fledged and strong *polis*. Literary sources even talk about a legendary 7th-century king, Pheidon, who carried Argos to the height of her power by defeating Sparta in war and accumulated enough clout to preside over the Olympic games.¹⁷ The dilemma about Archaic Argos, however, is the fact that little is known archaeologically from the 7th century compared to the materially-rich contexts of the preceding periods. Morgan and Whitelaw (1991) point out that, in stark contrast with a strong regional Late Geometric style, Argive pottery sequence lacks a developed Orientalizing tradition that is comparable to the concurrent developments in Athens

¹⁶ Antonaccio 2016, 119.

¹⁷ Herodotus 6. 127; Pausanias 6. 22. 2.

and Corinth.¹⁸ Also in the 7th century, there are notable changes in the depositional patterns in the mortuary record: pithos burials become the predominant custom and replace the cist tradition, grave goods dwindle and almost disappear altogether, and the number of graves plummet. As I discuss in greater detail below, the last point may be related to the first two: since the Archaic pithoi of Argos are a type of coarseware that is difficult to date on its own, 7th-century pithos burials with no datable grave goods pose a challenge in terms of chronology. The slump in the number of graves, therefore, may be an archaeological bias. Based on the changes in the mortuary record, it has been argued in previous scholarship that people may have emigrated from Argos, or that Argos was “politically stagnant” in the 7th century,¹⁹ but this view clearly conflicts with the concurrent developments in sanctuaries like the Argive Heraion. Morgan and Whitelaw (1991) emphasize that the decline in the quality of the material culture from Argos does not necessarily mean a population decrease, a cultural break, or a downturn in political influence. There are no indications that the settlement area was reduced, metalworking continues to develop, and depositions at sanctuaries, including Argive shield dedications at Olympia, increase.²⁰ It is more plausible that wealth investment and elite display at this time shifted to sanctuary contexts and the metal industry at the expense of the mortuary traditions and the production of fineware pottery.

History of Excavations and Scholarship

Like Athens, the city of ancient Argos lies under a dense modern urban sprawl which makes it difficult for archaeologists to recover and interpret Early Iron Age remains with

¹⁸ Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 93-94.

¹⁹ Foley 1988, 49-50.

²⁰ Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 94.

certainty. Excavations of the mortuary contexts have been undertaken by the EFA, especially in the southern sector around the agora and theater areas, and by the Greek Archaeological Service across the city. The finds from the French excavations have been regularly announced in *BCH* reports, albeit in summary form. *Les tombes géométriques d'Argos* by Courbin (1974) has compiled the finds from Geometric graves recovered by the French between 1952 and 1958 and included chronological as well as osteological detail. This volume, together with Courbin's *La Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* (1966) constitutes the backbone of Argive pottery chronology and periodization (Table 4.1).

In addition to the efforts of the EFA, the archaeological work of the Greek Archaeological Service was reported in annual *Archaeologikon Deltion* volumes. Some of these reports lack in detail in terms of chronology, anthropological study of the human remains, and sometimes the number, material, or inventory numbers of the grave goods. Plans, drawings, or photos of the grave contexts are rarely included. Nevertheless, the systematic and rescue excavations to date have covered significant ground and should offer us a reasonable idea regarding the ancient remains that lie beneath the modern city (Fig. 4.4). It should be noted that the southeastern sector of the city to the east of Danaou Street remains relatively sparsely explored and presents a gap in our knowledge.

In terms of previous scholarship on Early Iron Age Argos and its mortuary contexts, of particular note is Robin Hägg's (1974, 1998) extensive work on the topic and Anne Foley's dissertation and subsequent monograph (1988), which offers a synthesis of major settlements of the Argolid at the end of the Geometric and the beginning of the Archaic periods. Two more recent dissertations, Souza (2010) and Pappi (2014) offer updated catalogs of the Early Iron Age graves at Argos with a focus on pottery and other finds.

While historical surveys of Argos as a political power treat the subject as an unbroken narrative that extends into Classical and Roman times,²¹ of the archaeological studies that focus on the Geometric period, only Foley (1988) delves into the Archaic. This lack of interest is almost certainly related to the decline in the 7th-century mortuary material, which makes it a less attractive assemblage for analysis. The end of the Geometric, therefore, is also a somewhat artificial cut-off point for most archaeological studies because of the difficulty of the available data. The 7th century, however, is potentially a critical turning point in the settlement history of Argos. Unfortunately, the limitations of the archaeological record of the early Archaic settlement at Argos renders it very difficult to present a fluid diachronic view of the development of the site.

Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Settlement Patterns

Argos in the Bronze Age was a much smaller settlement compared to the wealthy and imposing sites of Mycenae and Tiryns. The Larissa Hill has not yielded any conclusive evidence to determine whether this location was ever used for intensive habitation or a citadel.²² There is Middle Helladic activity at the foot of Larissa in the southeastern sector (sometimes referred to as the “Quartier Sud” in publications),²³ but the most substantial remains concentrate at the Aspis hilltop where a Middle Helladic fortified settlement has been uncovered.²⁴ At the end of MH or the beginning of LH I, the hilltop settlement at Aspis was abandoned and remained uninhabited while residential activity began to grow at the eastern and southeastern skirts (Fig. 4.5). Philippa-Touchais (2016) remarks that the decision to abandon the existing fortified settlement on the

²¹ Kelly 1976; Tomlinson 1972.

²² See Vollgraff 1928 for a discussion of a possible Mycenaean citadel on Larissa.

²³ Papadimitriou et al. 2015, Touchais 1998.

²⁴ See Vollgraff (1907, 1928, 1930) for the original excavations and Philippa-Touchais (2016) and Papadimitriou et al. (2015) for recent work and summaries.

Aspis in favor of the foothills may indicate a power shift, in which a new leadership deliberately breaks away from an existing tradition and seeks to disrupt location-bound social memory.²⁵

There is no architectural activity that dates to the Geometric period at the Aspis, but votive deposits dated to the 8th through the 5th centuries BC indicate that the hilltop may have housed a sanctuary.²⁶

In terms of mortuary practices, finds show that intramural single burial was the prevailing custom at Argos in MH. Inhumations within or near house remains have been recovered from the Aspis settlement, as well as Quartier Sud and the Deiras ravine that separates Larissa and Aspis. A collection of graves to the south and southeast of the Aspis hill have been interpreted as extramural tumuli,²⁷ although the existence of the burial mounds themselves has been disputed.²⁸ In the Late Bronze Age, there appears to be a gradual shift from intramural to predominantly extramural practices. Existing cemeteries at the foothills of Aspis remain in use and witness the emergence of collective chamber tombs in LH I. At the beginning of LH II, shortly after the abandonment of the Aspis hilltop, a new chamber tomb cemetery also starts at Deiras. The depositions at the Deiras cemetery intensify from LH IIB onwards, both in terms of the number of interments as well as the presence of precious objects (such as gold jewelry and ivories), and continue into LH IIIC. Isolated examples of single inhumations in cist and pit graves do exist in LH, but they remain few and far between.²⁹ The Bronze Age tombs and tumuli around the Aspis were occasionally reused and revisited much later, especially in the Geometric and Hellenistic

²⁵ Philippa-Touchais 2016, 658.

²⁶ Philippa-Touchais 2016, 658-659; Philippa-Touchais and Touchais forthcoming.

²⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980; 2009.

²⁸ Recent studies (Papadimitriou et al. 2015; Sarri and Voutsaki 2011; Voutsaki et al. 2009) suggest that the evidence for tumuli is thin in most cases, and conclude that at least part of this area must have been a flat cemetery.

²⁹ Papadimitriou et al. (2015), 173-176.

periods. Unfortunately, most of the Early Iron Age intrusions (including interments) into these Bronze Age graves are poorly dated; majority of them are given broad “Geometric” dates that obfuscate a clear temporal pattern or rhythm of activity.³⁰ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Bronze Age tombs continued to attract activity and possibly veneration throughout the Early Iron Age. In this sense, the engagement with the mortuary remains of a distant past within Argos is comparable to the activity around the Middle Helladic tumulus at the North Cemetery of Corinth (both before and after the reopening of the cemetery for more interments in MG II).

As is the case with many other proto-urban sites in Greece, architectural remains that can be securely dated to the Early Iron Age are scarce at Argos. Evidence suggests continued occupation after LH IIIC, but settlement spills further into the plain and becomes more dispersed compared to the relatively nucleated layout of the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods (Fig. 4.6). In general, the boundaries of settlement areas in the Early Iron Age are extrapolated from the distribution of graves. Substantial architectural remains are rare, and most of the settlement evidence comes from pottery scatters, pits, partial walls, and isolated habitation or floor deposits.³¹ Despite the limitations of the available archaeological data, there is consensus that Early Iron Age Argos was home to loosely-knit groupings of houses and hamlets, much like contemporary Athens and Corinth.³² Based on the available evidence, scholars have identified three loose clusters at the southwestern, central, and northwestern areas of the later city (Fig.

³⁰ For Early Iron Age engagement with Bronze Age mortuary contexts at Argos, see Antonaccio 1995, 12-22. Antonaccio emphasizes that the tumuli were reused for burial, not hero cult.

³¹ Pappi 2014, 46-50, for a comprehensive list of Early Iron Age settlement remains at Argos.

³² Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 86; Hall 1997b, 93-99; Vink 2002, 54-56; Donati 2015, 188; Köiv2013, 156-157. Hägg (1974) has proposed that there is an early nucleation and the settlement is concentrated at the foot of the Larissa by the end of PG, but this argument hasn't found much favor. As Pappi (2014, 52) points out, the density of finds from southeastern Argos is partially because of the systematic and on-going excavations carried out by the EFA in this area, as opposed to the frequent but sporadic rescue excavations throughout the rest of the city.

4.7).³³ The southwestern zone (in the area of the “South Quarter,” the Theater/Odeon area, and the Roman baths) is inhabited continuously from LH into SM and PG periods. Pottery scatters, isolated walls, and a possible metal workshop also point to significant SM and PG activity in the center around the site of the modern museum.³⁴ To the northwest of the modern city, a third cluster can be identified at the foot of the Aspis in the area of the LH settlement and extending into the Deiras ridge. According to the excavators, a Mycenaean house in this area shows evidence of continued use into PG and Geometric periods (number 37 on Fig. 4.7).³⁵ Late Geometric period in particular appears to have been a time of growth, both in terms of a proto-urban expansion in Argos proper as well as a boom in settlement patterns in the wider Argolid.³⁶ It has been noted that it is probably around this time that the southwestern and the central clusters being to merge as the southwestern cluster expands.³⁷ Foley (1988) argues that by the end of the Geometric period, the population at Argos extended throughout the area that is now the modern city.³⁸

There is no material or cultural differentiation between the three Early Iron Age settlement clusters before the expansion and synoecism, although Donati (2015) suggests that “the southwestern village where the agora would eventually develop acquired a heightened

³³ Pappi 2014, 46-50, calls these clusters south, north, and east groupings. Hägg 1982 identifies as many as four clusters. These three spatial concentrations of burial and occupation contexts are sometimes referred to as “villages” in scholarship on Early Iron Age Argos (for instance, Donati 2015).

³⁴ Foley 1988, 25.

³⁵ *ArchDelt* 28, 95; Πρωτονοταρίου-Δεϊλάκη 1984, 38.

³⁶ Foley 1988, 28. A similar increase in the number and size of settlements is also attested in Attica and Corinthia at this time. This could be accredited to a population expansion, but an equally plausible explanation is an increase in the archaeological visibility of LG material culture and depositional patterns.

³⁷ Pappi 2014, 51.

³⁸ Foley 1988, 27.

significance during these early stages” (Fig. 4.8).³⁹ Donati adds that two (or possibly three) 8th-century structures under the south stoa of the agora appear to have the same orientation as this building’s northern colonnade, and suggests that “the spatial parameters of the agora, at least on the southern side, were very likely influenced by an arrangement of structures that predate any classical building by as much as 300 years.”⁴⁰ The form and function of these 8th century buildings, however, are not very clear and there is no archaeological evidence of an agora until the very end of the Archaic period.⁴¹ According to Donati (2011), the formal demarcation of public space at the agora took place as early as the end of the 6th century BC.⁴² He suggests that the construction of an open-air drainage channel in this area is comparable to the early activities at the Athenian and Corinthian agoras and indicates intent to develop the area into a more formal space.⁴³ In addition, some late-6th century structures in the southern part of the agora also shared the same orientation as the later Classical stoa and yielded Attic black-glaze cups, lead weights, and lead plaques (one inscribed with notes of delivery of goods), which may be interpreted as at early commercial activity.⁴⁴ One possibility, albeit tenuous, is that the area of the Classical agora had a special commercial character already in the late Archaic period. Before the late 6th century, however, there is no secure evidence of any type of agora, public gathering space, or monumental architecture in Argos. The oldest remains of a defense circuit also date to the 6th century.⁴⁵

³⁹ Donati 2015, 188.

⁴⁰ Donati 2015, 188.

⁴¹ Donati (2015:192) concludes that “the initial architectural stages of the Argive agora emerged by 500 B.C.”

⁴² Donati 2011, 102.

⁴³ Donati 2015, 188. Also see Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 215–216.

⁴⁴ Piérart and Thalmann 1987, 590–591; Pariente, Piérart, and Thalmann 1998, 212–213; Donati 2015, 188–189.

⁴⁵ Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 605.

Evidence of cult activity from Argos is equally meager for much of the Early Iron Age. Notable Geometric cult deposits come from the hills of Larissa and Aspis. On the Larissa, no building remains have been recovered, but a large votive deposit from mid-8th to mid-7th centuries might belong to one of the three cults Pausanias mentions on the summit (Larissaian Zeus, Athena Polias, and Hera Akraia).⁴⁶ On the Aspis, at the site of the later sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, excavators noted Geometric and Archaic deposits including pottery, miniatures, and figurines but there are no architectural remains before the 6th century.⁴⁷ Foley sees the establishment of a cult of Apollo Pythaeus among the ruins of the Aspis as “a way of linking themselves with the Mycenaean inhabitants of the past, a way perhaps of authenticating their own presence, and of establishing a sense of unity in the community. In that case it may have been rather like the motive which perhaps lay behind the establishment by the Argive Heraion near Mycenaean tombs.”⁴⁸

Down in the flatland, Hall’s (1997) map of the earliest votive deposits from major cult contexts suggests that cult activity is fairly diffuse (Fig. 4.9).⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, most of the activity corresponds to the southeastern and northwestern settlement clusters, but, again, there is no formal construction that accompanies these deposits prior to the 6th century. Some notable contexts include the site of the later sanctuary of Aphrodite in the southeast (in the South Quarter, to the south of the Odeion) where figurines may start as early as the end of the 7th century, and Bonoris plot where early Archaic votives including figurines, wreaths, spools, and pottery were found. Vink (2002) argues that cult activity in Early Iron Age Argos was not

⁴⁶ Roes 1953, 90-104.

⁴⁷ Vollgraff 1956; Foley 1988, 140.

⁴⁸ Foley 1988, 140.

⁴⁹ Foley 1988, 139-141.

spatially discreet and the concept of a differentiated sacred space did not exist until the late Geometric period.⁵⁰ Yet there is still no evidence of formalization or articulation of space in architectural terms in the Late Geometric or Early Archaic periods. As for spatial distribution of cult contexts, it is worth underlining that most of the cult activity appears to concentrate in the southeast and the northwest, where burial grounds remain in use for the entirety of the Geometric period, so mortuary and sacred activities, as well as habitation, were carried out side-by-side in early Argos.

It should be noted that settlement remains from the Archaic period are sparse compared to the Geometric, a phenomenon which ties in with the general decline in 7th-century material culture discussed above. Foley (1988) remarks that Argos “seems to have suffered a reversal of its fortunes in the Archaic period, at least in terms of the actual area of occupation of the city” and suggests that the draught theory that has been proposed for Attica might also be applicable to the 7th-century Argolid.⁵¹ Yet there is relatively strong cult activity as indicated by 7th-century votive deposits at Argos and elsewhere in the Argolid. It is probable that there was no significant decline in population or reduction in size of the settlement in the Archaic but, instead, a change in production, consumption, and depositional patterns presents a different view compared to the Late Geometric period.

Burial Customs

Grave Types and Mortuary Behavior

The spatial database of this dissertation has collected a total number of 413 individual

⁵⁰ Vink 2002, 53-62. Morris (1987, 1989) identifies this as a wider pattern in the Aegean world, contra Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, 1993).

⁵¹ Foley 1988, 29. For the possible drought in Attica, see Camp 1979.

interments, more than half of which dates to the LG period (Fig. 4.10). The predominant burial custom at Early Iron Age Argos is inhumation. Cremation is practiced in MH and LH Argos, but dwindles in the Early Iron Age, although scattered instances do exist throughout the Geometric period. In PG, there is a shift from the LH practice of multiple burials in chamber tombs to inhumations in cists and pits. Multiple burial is still practiced, as discussed below, but on a much smaller scale, probably at a family or household level.

There are four main types of inhumation burials in Early Iron Age Argos: cists, pithos burials, simple pits, and pot burials (*enchytrismoι*).⁵² A typical cist grave consists of a rectangular pit lined on the sides with stone slabs (Fig. 4.11).⁵³ There is frequently a scattering of pebbles on the floor before the body is introduced. There does not appear to be a significant pattern in the orientation of the grave or that of the body within it. Grave goods were often placed around the head first, and more towards the torso and the waist if more room was needed. After the interment and the placement of the offerings, the cist was often sealed with large cover slabs.⁵⁴ Cover slabs serve to protect the body, facilitate reentry into the grave, and also offer some clues regarding post-funerary rituals at Argos. There is some evidence of offerings placed on or near the slabs after the grave is sealed, but it is not entirely certain whether this happened during the funeral or much later. In addition, the cover slabs of a Geometric cist recovered at

⁵² In some publications, such as Souza 2010, *enchytrismos* refers to any kind of burial in a vessel, including pithoi. Nevertheless, a distinction has to be made between *enchytrismoι* in pots, which are almost always subadult burials, and pithos burials, which can house adults as well as subadults. Grouping *enchytrismoι* in pots and pithoi together in quantitative analysis leads to skewed readings of the frequency of these burials and the analysis of important factors, such as the increase in subadult burials in LG. For these reasons, I refrain from using the term *enchytrismos* for pithos burials.

⁵³ For different cist lining and construction techniques, see Hägg 1974, 108-136.

⁵⁴ Hägg (1974, 107) observes that a significant number of graves were missing cover slabs, and concludes that a stone cover was not a *sine qua non* of grave construction at Argos. It should also be noted, however, that this feature can also be very easily disturbed or removed by later activity.

rescue excavations featured two holes right above the skull of the individual inside; this may have been related to a libation ceremony, but it is impossible to ascertain when or at what frequency such ritual acts took place.⁵⁵

In contrast with the cist graves that are usually carefully constructed, a pit grave is a simple trench with no lining on the sides (for example, fig. 4.69B-E.). The trench is usually rectangular, sometimes oval in shape. Similar to cists, there is no consistent pattern in the orientation of the grave. Occasionally stone slabs may be used to cover the grave, but this is a rare practice compared to cists. Simple pit burials tend to receive fewer offerings, if any.

Pithos inhumations start at the end of PG and continue throughout the Geometric period, with a remarkable rise in LG and the 7th century.⁵⁶ Pithoi were placed into a trench either in a horizontal position or at an approximately 45-degree angle. Then, based on the position of the articulated skeletons within pithoi, it has been suggested that the corpse was lowered into the vessels feet first.⁵⁷ On average, pithoi contain fewer grave goods than cists, but it is not uncommon to place objects inside the vessel with the body, or, occasionally, immediately outside the vessel (see for example, fig.4.62, 4.97). The mouth of the pithos was often sealed either with stones, a single stone slab (fig. 4.76A-B), or with another vessel, often a krater (fig. 4.77).

In addition to pithoi, other vessels were used as funerary containers as well.⁵⁸ This practice is attested in EG and MG (mostly in coarser wares or handmade vessels)⁵⁹ but finer

⁵⁵ This grave (grave number uncertain in the report) is given a broad Geometric date and therefore is not included in the database. See *ArchDelt* 46, 97.

⁵⁶ Souza 2011, 116.

⁵⁷ Foley 1988, 85.

⁵⁸ In this dissertation, I refer to this practice as pot burial or *enchytrismos*. I refrain from using the term “urn burial” for *enchytrismo*i at Argos to avoid confusion with cremation urns.

⁵⁹ Pappi 2014, 65.

wares make an appearance in LG and numbers increase sharply.⁶⁰ A common shape for pot burials is the krater (e.g. fig. 4.76C-D); other types of vessels include amphorae and hydriae (e.g. fig. 4.67). Courbin (1974) and Langdon (2001) argue that the vessels used as funerary containers were not made for this purpose but had prior domestic use. Like the rest of the Aegean, this practice was most common for subadults, but there are cases of adult burials in large vessels as well. A unique and well-known example is the inhumation of a 35-year-old woman in a monumental pyxis with tripod feet (T 23) (Fig. 4.94). This pyxis is dated to LG I whereas the krater that was used to close its mouth is dated to LG IIb. The chronological difference between the two vessels is only about two or three decades, but Langdon 2001 takes this gap as an indication that the pyxis had a “biography” before it was turned into a funerary container and taken out of circulation.⁶¹ In addition to pot burials in single vessels, there are also some rare instances of two vessels positioned with their openings facing each other in order to provide the necessary space for a body. Grave 3 of Giarentis and Didachou plot is one such instance of two LG kraters accommodating an adult burial (Fig. 4.65).

Of these four grave types (cists, pithoi, pits, and pots), cist graves are the most popular at Argos throughout the Early Iron Age (fig. 4.12). Pithos and other pot burials start to make an appearance by the end of PG.⁶² Compared to cists and pithoi, the number of pit graves remain significantly low throughout the Geometric and the early Archaic periods. It should be noted, however, that most pit graves are generally in poor condition because the interments lack the

⁶⁰ Pappi (2014:65) argues that the emergence of pot burials in finer vessels such as kraters is a sudden event in LG II.

⁶¹ Langdon (2001) suggests that there may have been a parallel trajectory of lifespan between the pyxis and the woman buried in it. For instance, she speculates that “the creation of the pyxis around the time of her coming of age raises the possibility that it was acquired by her family to hold something that she would bring to her marriage” (Langdon 2001, 589).

⁶² Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 674.

protection of stone slabs or sturdy pithoi. Skeletal remains in simple pits are more directly subject to both severe natural taphonomic factors as well as later cultural intrusions. In addition, pit burials frequently lack grave goods which might survive the deterioration of the skeletal remains or the contours of the grave itself. In other words, pit graves are not as easily recoverable (and not as archaeologically visible) as cists or burials in large vessels. Therefore, it is entirely plausible that the number of pit graves were originally higher, perhaps comparable to cists and pithoi.

As figure 4.12 shows, there is a strong rise in the number of burials in vessels (both in pithoi and smaller pots) in the Late Geometric period. Cists continue to be the single most popular burial type in LG, but make up only 38.9% of all graves, whereas they constituted 58.8% and 56% of EG and MG graves respectively (fig. 4.13). Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) have interpreted this rise in pot and pithos burials as a period of intensified complexity and diversity in mortuary behavior at the end of LG.⁶³ In the 7th century that follows, cist graves disappear and pithoi take over as the predominant burial type. It is important to note that the rise of pithos burials and the disappearance of cists correspond to the proposed “decline” in the population, size, or wealth in Argos in the 7th century. It is indeed true that these 7th century pithos burials are practically devoid of grave goods; compared to the impressive contents of LG graves, which regularly contained both fine examples of Argive pottery as well as jewelry, bronze vessels, weapons, armor, and *obeloi*, 7th century assemblages are very meagre. This new depositional pattern does not necessarily reflect a decline in overall wealth—instead, it is the material correlate of changes in mortuary behavior and shifting attitudes towards the importance of the elaboration of mortuary contexts in the Argive community. Nevertheless, these new patterns

⁶³ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 680.

create a major obstacle in our ability to provide secure chronology for 7th century graves. In the absence of grave goods or secure stratigraphy, the main criterion for the dating of burials in undecorated pithoi is the profile of the vessel. Geometric pithoi are generally ovoid in shape whereas Archaic pithoi are cylindrical (fig. 4.14). Souza (2010) notes that cylindrical pithoi were used in the Subgeometric period, but the form is completely abandoned and replaced by the ovoid profile until the 7th century.⁶⁴ As a result, many pithos burials that have no datable grave goods are assigned a generic “Geometric” or “Archaic” date solely based on the vessel shape. These broad dates force scholars to exclude many pithos graves from detailed diachronic analyses, and might also contribute to the perceived decline in the number of Archaic graves. Therefore, problems that surround the dating of pithos burials may be a contributing factor in a skewed reading of early Archaic Argos.

Although cremation is very rare at Argos, it is not completely absent. Nevertheless, these contexts are exceptions to the rule of inhumation. There is some evidence of other uses of fire in mortuary rituals; the precise nature of this practice, however, is uncertain. Excavation reports occasionally mention traces or areas of burning within or in proximity to graves but no substantial assemblages or materials are recovered from these contexts. For instance, the bones in Grave 1 of Paraskevopoulos plot display traces of burning.⁶⁵ From the condition and the articulated position of the skeletal elements, however, it seems more likely that this burning was a later event, perhaps a ritualized cleansing or purification act when the grave was reopened. Another interesting case comes from Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot where a corner of the cist was separated using pithos sherds. There were traces of burning within this corner, which led the

⁶⁴ Souza 2010, 61-62.

⁶⁵ *ArchDelt* 21, 126.

excavator to suggest that perhaps an infant was cremated within the cist, but no bones or other evidence to support this theory was recovered.⁶⁶

Previous scholarship has consistently interpreted the diversity in grave types at Argos as the presence of different classes or populations who practice (whether by choice or due to external pressures) burial customs that are appropriate for their socio-political standing. Cists are commonly interpreted as a superior burial type because of their physical elaboration in stone, their increasingly “monumental” size in LG, and the overall quality of their material assemblages, whereas pithoi and simple pits are seen as lower forms of economic investment that is reflective of the status or the financial abilities of the burying group. This kind of processualist ranking of burials according to expenditure that corresponds socio-political divisions in the community is no longer seen as a valid perspective in mortuary theory. Nevertheless, in many ways, the legacy of the hierarchical categorization of burial types is very strong in studies on Argive burials, and indeed in Greek archaeology in general. The theoretical and methodological complexities that surround the relationship between mortuary behavior and social structure have already been addressed in Chapter 1, but the comparison between cists and pithoi in economic terms necessitates an additional note. The view that deems cists a more elegant or prestigious burial type is likely a modern bias. The academic reasoning behind the correlation is that, in addition to the additional expense of building materials (i.e. stones or orthostates), the construction of a cist represents a labor investment greater than that of a pithos. This straightforward logic, however, does not take into account the labor behind the production of a large pithos—which requires a higher level of specialization and technical skill than cutting roughly finished stone slabs—or the acquisition and transportation of these large vessels. Pithoi,

⁶⁶ Pappi 2014, 288.

even undecorated ones, were never cheap containers. As Ebbinghaus (2005) notes, once acquired, they were likely to stay in the family for a long time and recycled in various ways when damaged. To the material and artisanal value of pithoi we must also add the symbolic significance of these vessels in the Greek world where they have a long history of carrying an implied (or sometimes direct) association with the storage of agricultural wealth and surplus.⁶⁷ In Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece, large pithoi were probably showcased as display items in domestic contexts as a testament to the prosperity of the house. The monumental size of Argive pithoi, therefore, can communicate a more nuanced message of aggrandizement than a large cist. In any case, as I discuss further below, there is no spatial segregation in the distribution of cists from pithoi or pits in Argos in any period, which undermines the idea that burial types correspond to different social classes or ethnicities that would have preferred not to intermingle.⁶⁸

In terms of mortuary behavior, an important custom at Argos was the reuse of graves, a practice that has significant ramifications in terms of both the development of mortuary space as well as the ritual expression of corporate membership by the burying group. The practice of multiple successive burial applied to both cists and pithoi, although it is more common in cist graves, perhaps for the simple reason that it is much more difficult to introduce more interments into a pithos. There are also instances of multiple burials in pits⁶⁹ and pots.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, there

⁶⁷ Haggis and Mook 2011; Ebbinghaus 2005; Ault 2000; Hoepfner et al. 1999, 166-168; Cullen and Keller 1990. See Halstead and O'Shea (1982) for the importance of surplus storage in gaining, maintaining, and reiterating social standing.

⁶⁸ Contra Hägg (1974, 1998) and Foley (1988, 1998) who observed cist clusters in central Argos and pits and pithoi on the periphery—a distribution pattern which they interpreted as socially dominant elite (Hägg 1974, 1998) or politically dominant Dorians (Foley 1988, 1998) occupying the center of the settlement.

⁶⁹ e.g. Grave 7 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot housed two individuals, both interred in MG. See fig. 4.69D-E.

⁷⁰ e.g. Grave 2 of Renta plot, which is a krater that contained the remains of a 30 to 40-year-old female, a newborn, and a 3-year-old infant. Pappi 2014, 324-325.

is no consistent pattern of behavior in the reuse of graves. Sometimes existing bodies are left undisturbed and intact as the new body is interred with a new set of grave goods—an ideal archaeological scenario in which all individuals are still articulated with associated grave goods and the grave can be excavated systematically. In many cases of reuse, however, there is significant disturbance to earlier individuals when the grave is reopened. Contents are frequently pushed aside to make room for the new body and objects. Sometimes the remains become too jumbled to reconstruct a sequence of events and establish dates for the earlier interments. In some instances, older offerings and even the skeletal remains may be expelled from the grave, which makes the dating of the original construction of the grave problematic.

This type of repetitive and intrusive mortuary behavior displays a willingness to interact heavily with human remains; it should be taken as a sign of familiarity and connection (either real or imagined) with the dead, and not an indication of irreverence.⁷¹ On the contrary, in many cases, great care is taken to keep the previous interments within the grave; majority of the burials at Argos, therefore, are primary burials regardless of the degree of later disturbance. Nevertheless, secondary burial practices are still practiced sporadically. There are two main types of secondary depositional practices. The first is the removal of human remains during the clearing of a grave. There is evidence that in these instances the collected skeletal assemblage is kept together and redeposited very close to the original location. A pithos grave (Grave 2) from Manos plot is an instance where such a case is clear (fig 4.75): commingled remains of three individuals (one adult female and two adult males) and grave goods dating to EG II and MG I were found immediately outside and leaning against the shoulder of the pithos, inside which the

⁷¹ Contra Foley 1988, 34, who remarks that “the disrespect shown for the old body seems a rather strange way to treat one’s ancestors.”

articulated skeleton of a fourth individual (adult male) was recovered along with offerings dated to MG II. In this instance, the grave was probably cleared for the final interment in MG II and the previous contents were deposited next to the pithos when it was resealed.⁷²

The second type of secondary burial at Argos involves a careful selection of certain skeletal elements, usually skulls, sometimes along with long bones or other large elements (like mandible) but most of the body is excluded. Isolated skulls can be reinterred by themselves or be included within cist or pithos graves next to an articulated skeleton. According to the excavation reports, Grave 11 of Boulmeti plot is an example of the former—this small pithos burial contained the skull of an individual and was recovered in close proximity of a large pithos (Grave 14), which yielded an articulated individual along with the commingled remains of two others. An example of this type of deposition within another grave is an LG pithos burial (Grave 1) at Bougiotis plot, which housed an articulated interment as well as a single skull placed in an LG kantharos. In these types of cases, it is possible that the grave is the disarticulated individual's original (i.e. primary) location and the rest of the body is thrown away when the grave is cleaned for a new interment. But another potential explanation is the removal of selected bones from one grave for their placement into another, possibly in order to unite or repatriate individuals who are heretofore spatially separated. A potential example comes from an MG cist from Anastasaki Plot where a cranium, jaw, and long bones along with a set of grave goods were recovered on top of the cover slabs (fig. 4.61).⁷³ The contents from the cist yielded the remains of an articulated individual as well as another single skull next to the feet. A likely scenario is

⁷² The articulated individual from inside the pithos is entered into the database as “Grave 2 of Manos plot/4.” The commingled remains from outside the pithos cannot be separated and dated with precision, and therefore could not be included in the database for further analysis.

⁷³ Grave 2 of Anastasaki Plot. Pappi 2014, 217; this plot is otherwise unpublished.

that this context reflects multiple events, not a single act of clearing. The skeletal elements on the slabs and the second skull inside the cist suggest the selection and removal of these bones from another context and their redeposition in this grave. This type of mortuary behavior displays a strong desire to reunite (or at least keep together) the individuals that are housed in the grave, and it is reasonable to take these contexts in toto as multiple burials of individuals who were affiliated in some way. Unfortunately, since the condition of the human remains are not consistently published in detail, it is difficult to judge the extent of this type of disturbance into primary burials and secondary deposition. There are instances, however, as in the case of an LG pithos burial of Phlorakis plot, where the skull of the individual is conspicuously missing.⁷⁴

The custom of continued reuse of graves and the lack of an overall pattern in the introduction of successive interments cause many methodological problems for archaeologists. In instances where there is great disturbance due to reuse, offerings cannot be securely associated with specific individuals within the grave. The excavators make attempts to establish the timeline, frequency, and pattern of reuse by studying the human remains and artifacts separately, and by comparing the chronology of the grave goods to the minimum number of individuals. While this may give a rough idea of when the grave was built and how many times it was reopened, it does not present a clear picture of which skeletons (and therefore what age groups, genders etc.) should be studied with what sets of offerings. Sometimes we know when the grave was dug and when it was used last, but the events in between are not datable. In other instances, if the earlier grave goods were completely removed when the grave was reopened, it becomes impossible to date the original construction. Although the challenge of studying commingled remains creates methodological difficulties for archaeologists, this type of small-scale collective

⁷⁴ Grave 1 of Phlorakis plot. Pappi 2014, 339; otherwise unpublished.

burial contexts also provides insight into multiscalar social systems. Consistent reuse of graves and the practice of collective successive burial on a small scale suggest that the locations of the graves were known (likely marked) and the individuals that were interred together shared some sort of affiliation. The underlying principle for multiple burials at Argos is most likely kinship affiliations, ranging from immediate to extended family links, as discussed further below.

A notable shift in the practice of multiple burials at Argos is the intensification in the reuse of burials in LG. The most heavily used datable graves in this chapter's database received the majority of their interments in LG. Grave 18 of Xintaropoulos plot and Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot, both cist graves, accommodated four individuals each, all of whom were buried within a generation in LG II. A pithos grave in Bouris-Perdikaris plot in the southern margins of the settlement received all five of its interments in LG.⁷⁵ Cist grave T 265 was built in EG, received a second interment in MG II, and was reopened in LG to house three more. T 263 was opened in MG II for one interment, but received five more in LG. Seven adults were recovered from T 266; the first one was buried in MG II, followed by four more around the MG II-LG I threshold, and another two in LG II. Likewise, out of the seven adults recovered from T 278, one was interred in MG II when the cist was presumably built, but the other six were buried in rapid succession in LG. Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) note that in LG, the number of reused graves outweigh that of single graves (fig. 4.15).⁷⁶ These authors argue that "this change may be connected to a change of perception in social structure expressed through the need to stress

⁷⁵ Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/1-5).

⁷⁶ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 674-675 and table 2.

kinship or family ties. Graves therefore were regarded as family disposal areas which give an emphasis on continuity, collectivity and descent.”⁷⁷

Mortuary Representation of Age and Gender Divisions

In terms of gender and age distribution across the mortuary record of Argos, children, men, and women are all represented, although not all of the human remains that have been recovered have been subject to osteological study to estimate age and sex. Out of the 413 individual interments in the database, 259 were assigned a basic age category as adults (n=190) or subadults (n=69), while the estimate was not possible for the remaining 154 individuals (fig. 4.16). Within the assemblage that was aged, adults have the clear majority with a 73.3%.⁷⁸ Yet, a diachronic analysis of the ratio of subadults vs adults shows that there were notable fluctuations in the representation of children in mortuary contexts through ages (fig. 4.17). In EG, the number of individuals whose general age category was published is 45; of this total number, subadults (n=8) constitute 17.7% of the assemblage.⁷⁹ In MG, the percentage of subadults (n=8) in the assemblage remains consistent with a 17%. In LG, however, the number of subadults (n=48) increases to 30.3% of the studied population.⁸⁰ In other words, in EG and MG, the ratio of subadults versus adults is relatively low, a pattern which suggests that children were not buried in an archaeologically visible and recoverable way. In LG, subadults make a stronger appearance

⁷⁷ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 674-674.

⁷⁸ The subadult category includes individuals that were published as “children” or “infant,” and in rare cases “adolescent”; majority of this information comes from osteological observations. I have omitted most of the cases where tentative assignments were based on grave goods (such as observations based on the presence of miniatures, diameter of the rings found in the grave etc.).

⁷⁹ Burials whose occupant could not be determined as adult or subadult were given N/A status in the database and excluded from these calculations.

⁸⁰ The 7th century assemblage is too poorly-studied to make any conclusions.

in the mortuary record at Argos.⁸¹ Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) make similar observations; their data for LG, however, suggests that the presence of subadults displayed an incredible jump in to a 52.1% of the aged assemblage (fig 4.18).⁸²

The change in the presence of subadults in mortuary contexts in LG indicates that children were now included in the same burial grounds as adults. Yet the type of burial they receive appears to be dependent on their age. Based on their osteological analysis, Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) point out that neonates (0 to 12 months) and infants (1 to 6 years) were interred in pot burials (usually kraters), whereas children between 6 to 12 years old were present in pithoi and cists in both single and multiple burials.⁸³ The fine workmanship of the LG kraters that were used as funerary vessels for subadults at Argos points to a notable level of care and investment in child burials. In addition, adult symbolism that is expressed through decorative elements on the kraters (such as “horse leader” figures) as well as the sympotic implications of the vessel shape itself suggests that the mortuary treatment of children in *enchytrismoi* grants them partial access to the adult world (at least after death), both spatially through their inclusion in adult cemeteries and symbolically through the material expressions of the grave. Nevertheless, this access was not complete until the age of 6, at which point they were allowed to be included in multiple burials with adults and to make full use of adult burial types such as cists and pithoi. The increase in the inclusion of subadults in the same burial grounds in pot burials or in multiple burials indicates a potentially new spatial pattern: in LG, the mortuary realm highlights more

⁸¹ Dubois 2016; Souza 2015, 115-116.

⁸² It should be noted that while Pappi and Triantaphyllou’s (2011) observations are persuasive, the numbers they present based on their sample (selected from rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service) appear to be too disparate compared to the previously published material from the EFA excavations. It is more plausible that the assemblage that they have selected for study is biased in some way towards subadults in LG, perhaps because of the appeal of *enchytrismoi* for the analysis of LG pottery and dating.

⁸³ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 677.

intensely the continuation of family or household as a unit after death by preserving the spatial unity of its members, including children.

Mortuary Variability and Gender

Of the 413 burials analyzed in this dissertation for Argos, publications offer a sex estimate for only 72 individuals, most of whom come from the EFA excavations. Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) have conducted an osteological study of additional burials from the more recent excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service. Unfortunately, their raw data is not published and could not be accessed to be included in this dissertation.⁸⁴ The accessibility of information always restricts the sample size, but some observations can still be made with the available data. The overall ratio of males (n=44) to females (n=28) in the Argos assemblage is distributed with a noticeable bias towards males in terms of mortuary representation (fig. 4.19). The assemblage Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) have selected for osteological study presents a slightly more uneven distribution of the demographic data (Fig. 4.20). According to their study, the most salient asymmetry between the two sexes is in the 40-50 age bracket where the number of males who reached this age is triple the number of females. As the authors suggest, this may be related to a higher mortality rate for women in the 18-30 age bracket due to pregnancy and childbirth. In terms of the overall imparity in the number of females and males in the whole assemblage, Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) remark that “this picture may reflect some

⁸⁴ The 72 burials with sex assignments in the database do include some of Triantaphyllou’s osteological observations as published in Pappi 2014, 139-143. Yet many of the burials had to be excluded from the database because of uncertain chronology, especially in cases of multiple burials where date ranges were assigned to graves but the sequence of the interments within the grave was not always clear. In some instances, there were discrepancies between Pappi’s tabular data (Pappi 2014, 139-143) and the main catalog entries in terms of dates, sex, or age. These entries were also omitted from this study.

differential treatment according to gender distinction suggesting possibly that only certain women had rights of accessibility to the burial ground.”⁸⁵

The potential bias in mortuary representation based on gender and grave types has also been a popular topic in previous scholarship. Some have raised the possibility that the choice of grave type may have been related to gender and remarked that women are more likely to be interred in pithoi or pots than men.⁸⁶ Whitley (1991) points out that cists in LG Argos contain grave goods such as armor, weapons, *obeloi*, and firedogs, which are associated with elite male activities like warfare and feasting.⁸⁷ Pappi (2014) also finds it clear that, in the sample she has studied, cists are predominantly reserved for men.⁸⁸ Langdon (2001) voices some hesitation to accept a direct association between women and pithos burials—she points out that there are cases (like T 14) where women were interred in cists, but she proposes that these cases are limited to women who were buried in cists that belonged to men who predeceased them.⁸⁹ Langdon concludes that “family trumps gender, but visibility is attached to the male for whom the cist was made.”⁹⁰ Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) also note that there are female interments in cists but suggest that many of these individuals were middle age to elderly women, who must have acquired a special social status in Geometric Argos to be allowed to gain access to cists.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 678.

⁸⁶ See the discussion in Foley 1988, 34-40 and Langdon 2001, 586-587; Souza 2010, 75-80; Pappi 2014, 136-153.

⁸⁷ Whitley 1991, 190; also see Hägg 1974, 136.

⁸⁸ Pappi 2014, 144. The figures she presents are as follows: Cists: Males=37, Females=17; *enchytrismoi* (including pithoi): Males=13, Females=18; Pits: Males=3, Females=3.

⁸⁹ Langdon 2001, 586.

⁹⁰ Langdon 2001, 586-587.

⁹¹ Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, 676-677.

Despite this long-standing scholarly association of cist burials with elite men, the relationship between grave type and gender in Early Iron Age Argos is far from straightforward. An analysis of burial types against gender in the Geometric period shows that, with the exception of pot burials, there is no definitive and statistically convincing exclusion of either men or women in any of the burial types (fig. 4.21). In both female and male burials, the predominant category is cist burials. Out of the 46 individuals who were recovered from Geometric cists and whose sex could be determined, 67.3% (n= 31) are male and 32.6% (n=15) are female. Cists offer fairly robust numbers for analysis, which will be discussed further below. By contrast, the number of securely-dated pithos and pit burials that house individuals whose skeletal remains were subject to anthropological study is 15 and 8 respectively. In the former category, the distribution is almost even between men and women; in the latter men take the lead by 62.5%. The sample sizes in these categories are too small and the percentages are not compelling enough to associate either of these grave types with a specific gender.

Only 3 pot burials could be included in this analysis; this is partly due to the restrictions of the available data and partly because of the fact that *enchytrismoi* in finer vessels are usually subadult burials. All three of the pot burials with adult sex estimates belong to women. All three of the *enchytrismoi* with female remains date to the Late Geometric II period, but vessel shapes themselves show variety: one is the famous monumental pyxis with tripod feet from T 23,⁹² another is a neck-handled amphora,⁹³ and the third is a krater that housed the remains of an adult woman along with a newborn and a three-year-old child.⁹⁴ It is worth noting that pyxides are

⁹² T 23 in the SW section of the city, near the Odeon.

⁹³ Grave 2 of Skliris plot. Pappi 2014, 331, otherwise unpublished.

⁹⁴ Grave 2 of Renta plot (interments /1, /2, and /3). Pappi 2014, 324-325, otherwise unpublished.

commonly associated with women and carry marital connotations, but neck-handled amphorae and kraters are thought to be shapes that are linked to men. Based on her observations from the EFA excavations, Langdon (2001) maintains that “kraters are not generally associated with female burials in Argos” and argues that the krater that was used as a stopper for the pyxis is an anomalous occurrence.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the discovery of the female *enchytrismoi* in the neck-handled amphora and the krater from more recent rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service suggests that the traditional gendered assignment of vessel shapes in mortuary contexts needs to be reevaluated with more updated information.

In brief, overall analysis suggests that women in Geometric Argos had more options and flexibility in their choice of grave type, which led to a higher degree of mortuary variability in female burials (fig. 4.22). In terms of numbers, the argument that cists were a grave type that was generally reserved for men appears to be convincing on the surface. Yet, while men do outnumber women in cists graves in general, there is a notable number of women buried in cists that warrants a closer look at the data. First and foremost, eight of the 15 women who were found in cists were the only occupants of the grave.⁹⁶ That is, no other human remains were excavated in these contexts. Even though it is still possible that the earlier skeletal remains were completely cleared out when the final interment was introduced, no evidence to that effect was found or published by the excavators. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that these cist graves were constructed for women and there is no reason to suspect otherwise. The other seven female

⁹⁵ Langdon 2001, 588. Langdon’s supporting data, however, is based on the EFA excavations and is outdated. For instance, she writes “besides T.23, the only other osteologically sexed female burial linked with a LG krater occurs in a cist where the presence of an earlier male inhumation complicates the picture: the krater may have been offered to the earlier deceased whose remains were disturbed” (Langdon 2001, 588). This statement is no longer valid in light of more recent analyses and excavations.

⁹⁶ These cists are: Livaditis plot, no grave number (a); Grave 26 of Gounari Street; Grave III of Totsikas plot; Grave 1 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot; Grave 2 of Sklavounos Georgios plot; T 89; and Grave 22 of Kouros plot.

interments do come from cists that housed multiple burials. Two of these were found together in T 106: T 106/1, dated to EG I, is the burial of a female for whom the cist was built and T 106/2 is her female companion who was buried at the end of LG. No other human remains were found in the grave. Two other women, T 14/1, and T 14/2, were also buried together in a cist grave in EG I and MG I respectively, along with a male (T 14/3) who was not introduced until LG I. The remains of an adult female (T 90/3) were also found in a cist along with two other individuals; unfortunately, the sex of these earlier occupants of the grave could not be determined. A similar case is the cist T 278, which housed as many as seven individuals. The most recent interment in this grave is dated to LG II and was a male (T 278/7), who was discovered at the uppermost layer in good condition. Below him, the remains of an articulated female (T 278/6) were found. Underneath the female, jumbled remains of five earlier occupants were recovered but their sex could not be established. Finally, a female skeleton (173/2) was found in an LG II cist that housed an earlier interment of a male (173/1). Of the 15 female interments in 13 cists that are discussed here, T 173 is the only cist grave whose original construction can be traced to a male burial with a degree of confidence. In all other cases, the original owner of the cist is a woman or unknown.

It appears, therefore, that the supposition that cist graves are the purview of elite males in Geometric Argos may be an exaggeration. Our current evidence suggests that men may have had more of a hold over this burial type in the Late Geometric period, which also coincides with the intensified deposition of warrior equipment in the graves, but the picture is different in the Early and Middle Geometric periods. Out of the 13 female interments that are securely dated to the EG or MG periods, 76.9% (n=10) come from cists (fig. 4.23). For the 16 male interments of the same chronological period, this percentage is actually lower, at 62.5% (n=10). In other words,

according to available data, a greater percentage of women in EG and MG were found in cists than men. These figures change sharply in the second half of the 8th century: in LG, 75% of male interments were recovered from cists, whereas only 33.3% of females now come from this type of grave (fig. 4.24). It is plausible, therefore, that cists were an entirely viable and acceptable—even preferred—option for the burial of women until the very end of the Early Iron Age when the symbolic meaning of this grave type shifted in the late 8th century.

If cist graves ever carried a warrior or elite male connotation, it appears that this emerged in the Late Geometric period when the representation of females in cists began to decrease. It is interesting to note that this also corresponds with the intensification of multiple burials in LG—it is possible that the social coalescence of these decades created a need to emphasize gender-based differentiation in the mortuary realm. Yet the emergence of gender as an influential factor in LG does not mean a change in the social status of women. Moreover, the increased wealth deposition or warrior symbolism in the graves is not necessarily reflective of a differentiation in terms of stratification based on economic status or class, but possibly represents an attempt to carve out identities for individuals, especially men, in a system of mortuary behavior that is still based on horizontal divisions of households and kinship. The formation of the growing *polis* quite possibly lead to the fusion of smaller social units, such as nuclear families, into larger entities based on a social extension of non-immediate kinship affiliations, such as extended families, united households, or clans. This type of social merge would have resulted in a competition between the heads of households, each of whom sought to express individuality and superiority through material depositions in the grave as well as the strength of their direct lineages through mortuary patterns that included women and children in multiple burials in growing numbers. The overall strength of a household elevates the social standing of its members, while individual

members can reinforce and reiterate this position by representing their house in social arenas. This recursive discourse between individual and collective social standing dictates the dynamics of social mobility and interaction among peers, and could explain the simultaneous inclusivity across gender and age classes, the intensification of family bonds, and the strong emphasis on symbolic markers of male identity in LG Argos. In other words, the competition that played out in the mortuary realm in the 8th century is probably between peers across horizontal social divisions within the community, not between the members of segregated classes within a socially stratified system.

In brief, there are some significant changes in mortuary behavior in the Late Geometric period at Argos. These changes can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Compared to the EG and MG periods, there is a sharp increase in the number of graves in LG where the numbers are tripled. In contrast, there is a sharp decline in the 7th century BC when mortuary activity is once again greatly reduced. The increase in LG may be partly related to the synoecism of the village clusters, the formation of the polis of Argos, the expansion of the city, and a concurrent rise in population. It should not be ruled out, however, that this increase in activity is also partly a result of an intensification in the archaeological visibility of mortuary contexts, which become a more focused locale for material expressions of identity in LG. Similarly, the decline in the 7th century is more likely to be reflective of a change in mortuary behavior wherein material emphasis shifts away from mortuary depositions possibly towards cult contexts, and not a contraction in the settlement area or a decline in the power of the Argive state. Compounding the picture in the 7th century is the difficulty of dating the graves from this period because of the lack of datable grave goods.

- 2) Compared to the EG and MG periods, there is an increase in the number of subadults represented in the mortuary record of LG Argos. The inclusion of children in the same burial grounds as adults suggests an amplified focus on family ties through mortuary behavior and points to an attempt to preserve the unity of family and kinship structures after death.
- 3) LG also witnesses an intensification in the reuse of graves. Many cist graves that are opened in MG are heavily reused in LG when the graves with the most occupants receive the majority of the interments in rapid succession. Assuming that the groups that bury together within the same grave share a bond through family or household affiliations (which need not be based on biological relatedness), the pattern of increased reuse of graves is also an emphasis on the expression of such affiliations in the mortuary sphere.
- 4) The diversity of the grave forms also increases in LG. Although cists continue to dominate, there is a remarkable surge in the number of pithos burials and pot burials in fine wares. Nevertheless, men appear to make less use of the diversity available to them and instead gravitate more towards cist graves, whereas women take more advantage of all grave types. There is no clear correlation between gender and grave types in EG and MG, but it is possible that a more gender-driven choice in burial leads to an increased popularity of cist graves for men in LG.
- 5) The number and overall wealth of grave goods increase in LG. In particular, many of the cist graves contain both a wide array of pottery shapes as well as metal offerings such as armor, weapons (swords, knives, and daggers, both in bronze and iron), jewelry (pins, rings, and spirals in bronze, iron, and gold), *obeloi*, firedogs, and bronze vessels. The

increased presence of armor and weapons, almost always associated with identified male burials, points to an increase in male symbolism in the material expressions of the grave.

These changes in mortuary behavior and depositional patterns are very likely to be material correlates of the shifting social dynamics of the nascent polity of Argos where the inhabitants sought out new avenues for carving out identities as a foothold in a social system in transition. On a wider and communal scale, the emphasis appears to be on the underlying kinship networks of the community as the corporate expression of multiple burial intensifies and the inclusion of all members of the family units (including women and children) in the same grave or burial ground deepens. Nevertheless, individual identities are still highlighted and celebrated, especially through an increase on stressing symbolisms of male prowess, possibly as a way of reinforcing the strength of the heads of households.

I will now turn to the distribution of burials in Argos through the Geometric period and 7th century in order to examine whether these material changes explained above find expressions in spatial form. First, I will look at the wholesale distribution of burials across the settlement in an attempt to investigate whether there is a change in selection of location for mortuary contexts as the city begins to grow and take shape in the 8th century BC. Then I will turn to a more detailed analysis of the distribution of variability across the known mortuary contexts and investigate whether some of the factors such as gender, age, grave types, and material wealth, are unevenly distributed across the growing city.

The Space and Place of Death at Argos

Settlement-wide Distribution Patterns

As it has been discussed in Chapter 3, the development of urban space in early Athens is

thought to have included a process of marginalization of cemeteries starting in the 8th century BC.⁹⁷ The traditional models of Greek urbanization that emerged from the spatial analysis of Athenian cemeteries have generally been accepted as the quintessential form of the urban *polis* whose hallmark characteristics include a polarization between the spaces of the living and the dead.⁹⁸ Argos is frequently cited as an early *polis* that follows a trajectory of urbanization and social and physical unification that is comparable to that of Athens in the 8th century BC. If a common trajectory of early urbanization exists for 8th century Greece *poleis*, the burial distribution of Late Geometric Argos can also be expected to display a gradual move in burial locations towards the outskirts of the known settlement limits as the urban layout shifts from intracommunal to extracommunal cemeteries.

Although the methodological and chronological criteria of the present study have rendered much of the excavated mortuary contexts of Geometric and 7th century Argos unusable for diachronic and quantitative spatial analysis, available data, which consist of 413 interments, still paint a comprehensive and compelling picture of the mortuary landscape of the early *polis* (fig. 4.25). The spatial distribution of the 68 EG burials in the database of this dissertation loosely conforms to the three settlement clusters that previous scholars have delineated in northwest, southwest, and central/east Argos for the Early Iron Age (fig. 4.26). The northwestern and central groupings appear to have merged into a single, inchoate group already in the EG, and the graves within these zones are widely dispersed. The southern sector remains separated from the northern cluster and displays a more well-defined pattern of groupings within itself.

⁹⁷ Morris 1987.

⁹⁸ Christesen 2018.

The northwestern group of burials that stretches along Irakleous street and close to the foothills of the Aspis likely represents a occupation cluster that commands the routes towards northern Argolid and Corinthia (Fig. 4.27). Archaeological evidence for road systems in proto-urban Argos in the Geometric and early Archaic periods is very limited, but Hellenistic levels have traces of major roads and a strong network leading in and out of the city in the northwestern zone. Of particular note in this aspect is the line of graves in the north-south axis along the modern Gounari and Irakleous streets, but this could also be representative of an archaeological recovery bias from rescue excavations due to roadwork.⁹⁹

In terms of burial and settlement patterns, the northwestern cluster can be seen as continuity in location from the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age. As discussed above, the eastern and southern edges of the Aspis and the Deiras ravine have been used for burials since the MH period. Some excavation contexts, such as the Xintaropoulos plot, have yielded Submycenaean graves and point to continuity into Late Geometric. In EG, the boundaries of this cluster appear to be the modern Perseos Street to the north, the approximate vicinity of Zographou Street to the south, and the slopes of the Aspis to the west. There is no clear eastern limit as this group blends into the central cluster, but perhaps the north-south line of Pheidonos and Zaimi Streets can be thought of a permeable boundary.

The spatial pattern of burials in the northwestern cluster is a loose and dispersed distribution of sporadic interments that are probably tightly interwoven into the domestic life of this village in a typical intracommunal burial layout. The Xenakis plot represents the only major grouping. This plot has yielded three cists and three pit graves in EG. Interestingly, all three cists

⁹⁹ Pappi 2014, 44-45, emphasizes the connection between Geometric burial locations and potential roads, but our knowledge of the road network at Argos before the Hellenistic period remains extremely limited.

housed subadults in single interments,¹⁰⁰ whereas the two single pit graves yielded adults.¹⁰¹ The ages of the three individuals from the multiple pit grave (grave 5) could not be determined, and no information on the sex of any of the individuals is available. It is plausible that this plot was opened as the mortuary space of a single burying group in EG but its use does not continue into MG or LG.¹⁰² Unfortunately, no plans or photos are available from the excavation and therefore a more in-depth analysis of this space is not possible. The rest of the mortuary contexts in the northwestern cluster in EG are mostly single and isolated graves.

The loosely scattered burial pattern of the northwest is also typical of the central cluster, which can be defined as the area immediately around and to the east of the modern museum (Fig. 4.28). The radius of this cluster, however, is tighter: not much mortuary activity is attested to the south of the museum or in the north eastern quadrant outside the boundaries of Korinthou and Vasilissis Sophias Streets. Kophiniotou Street marks the easternmost limits of burials and remains a fairly constant parameter throughout the Geometric period. A burial grouping of note within the central area is Dontas plot at the corner of Korinthou and Vasilissis Sophias. This small burial ground exemplifies the range of mortuary variability in Geometric Argos with one pithos, two cist, and two pit graves, all containing a single adult interment each dated to EG.¹⁰³ The cists contained pottery only, whereas the metal finds (an iron pin and an iron dagger) came from the pit graves.

¹⁰⁰ Graves 2, 3, and 4 of the Xenakis plot.

¹⁰¹ Graves 6 and 7 of the Xenakis plot.

¹⁰² In LG, there is activity at a nearby location, the Passias plot, which yielded five LG interments in four graves.

¹⁰³ Dontas plot, no grave number (a), and Graves 1-4 of Dontas plot.

The graves at Dontas plot are a good example of a short-term small-scale mortuary space that is used in the EG period for one or two generations, but never reused for interments again. The limited temporal depth and the small spatial scale of this lot is typical of Early Iron Age intracommunal burial grounds. By contrast, the group in the Museum area is used throughout the Geometric period and into the 7th century, and probably constitutes a fairly extensive burial ground that is used by more than one burying group.¹⁰⁴ A significant context with regular and consistent burials in this area is the Makris plot, which yielded nine interments in six cist graves over the course of the Geometric period.¹⁰⁵ Graves in this plot start in EG I (Grave 5 and the first of the two interments of Grave 4) and intensify both in number and the deposition of grave goods in MG.

The southern cluster of burials in EG Argos mainly concentrates around the later theater and Odeon area and the so-called “South Cemetery” on Tripoleos street, with the addition of a handful of scattered burials further to the south and in the vicinity of the later agora area (Fig. 4.29). As it is discussed below, the southern graves have been earmarked by previous researchers as the most significant and wealthy mortuary contexts in Argos, especially in the LG period. This is partly thanks to the impressive finds from graves such as T 45 (the “Panoply Grave”) and T 23 (the monumental LG pyxis), but ongoing excavations and research have shown that there is no anomalous concentration of wealth in this area. What is indeed notable, however, is the strong continuity in the maintenance of mortuary space in this zone, as burial grounds consistently receive more interments in each period than any other single burial ground in Argos and graves

¹⁰⁴ In EG, this group consists of T164, T193, and Makris plot, with the addition of the interments to the east of Danaou Street at Papanikolaos and M. Katsaros plots.

¹⁰⁵ Graves 1-5 of Makris plot are listed in table 4.2. Grave 6, whose date is published only as “Geometric” is not included.

in these lots continue without break into the 7th century. In EG, the noteworthy plots that receive interments in the southern part of the city are the later theater and odeon area¹⁰⁶ and the “South Cemetery” and some scattered graves further south on Tripoleos street.¹⁰⁷ Among these, the “South Cemetery” and the Theater/Odeon group display the strongest continuity throughout the Geometric, and even into the 7th century. The third significant group in this zone, the Kypseli Square plot, has not yielded any graves that can be dated to EG.

The mortuary landscape of Argos in MG is very similar to that of EG in both location of burials and the patterns in distribution (Fig. 4.30). Like the configuration in EG, burials in MG remain loosely scattered with low density across the three zones in the south, northwest, and center. The northwestern cluster pulls away from the Aspis and moves more towards the flatlands in the center (Fig. 4.31), but as the LG map shows, this is a temporary gap in continuity in the foothills. Overall, the northwestern and central clusters remain merged and loosely defined, but while the northwestern cluster becomes tighter in terms of scatter radius, the central becomes more dispersed. The graves in the core of the central zone (museum area and Makris and Phlessas plots) show continuity from EG into MG, but new plots open up further north on Korinthou street and further east on Kalmoukou and Kophiniotou streets, which indicates a slight expansion in the cluster (Fig. 4.32). The group on Kalmoukou street (Boulmeti and Praxitelis plots) is a significant burial ground that will see rapid expansion in LG. On the far southern outskirts of the central cluster, Kontogianni-Zouzia plot, continues to receive interments in MG.

¹⁰⁶ T 90, T 2016, T 124, and T 128.

¹⁰⁷ T 14, T15, and T 37 in “South Cemetery” and T 16, Koligliatis Plot, Chatzixenophon Plot, and Kouros Plot further south on Tripoleos.

On the whole, the southern cluster remains separated from the northwestern and central groups in MG but the large space between the north and the south begins to yield mortuary contexts (Fig. 4.33). Among these are a cist grave on the Antonopoulos plot on Gounari street, another at the nearby Argiropoulos Konstantinos plot, and two graves (one cist and one pithos) at the Iliopoulos plot. While it is clear that the merging of the three habitation clusters of Early Iron Age Argos is not yet complete in MG, the emergence of these scattered graves between the north and the south clusters can be taken as an indication of the in-filling process of expansion and growth that leads to the proto-urban extent of the settlement in LG. Within the southern zone, the Theater and Odeon contexts continue to be important, whereas the EG mortuary contexts to the southeast of the “South Cemetery” are now mostly abandoned. An important area is the Kypseli Square, which emerges in MG with two pithos and two pit graves, with the addition of a cist grave with two MG interments in the nearby Kanellopoulos plot. The graves of Kypseli Square are never particularly rich even in LG, but the location preserves a spatial significance in the city as it grows in LG and it is one of the few areas in the city where 7th century contexts are strongly present.

In LG, the overall mortuary topography of Argos shows remarkable growth as well as consistency in the surprisingly wide dispersion of burials (Fig. 4.34). The three clusters in the northwest, the center, and the south blend into one extensive landscape, which covers most of the modern city of Argos with the exception of the northeastern and southeastern outskirts. The distribution of the burials in LG is probably an accurate representation of the extent of ancient Argos at the early stages of its urban boom. Yet, as the wide and loose dispersion of the mortuary contexts indicates, there is no indication of the organization of burials into extracommunal cemeteries at this time. Instead, individual and isolated graves (especially in the east-west belt

that now connects the northern and southern occupation clusters of EG and MG) as well as small groupings of 2-4 graves dot the landscape all over the settlement.

In the northwest, activity resumes in the Aspis foothills, both around earlier EG contexts (such as Xintaropoulos plot) as well as in new locations (such as Theodoropoulos, Oikonomos, Kypouropoulos, and Passias plots) (Fig. 4.35).¹⁰⁸ LG mortuary contexts continue to be important and heavily represented along the Irakleous and Gounari street axis leading north out of the city. Given the strength of these mortuary contexts in EG and LG, the MG gap in this corridor is somewhat puzzling. Apart from the return to the foothills, there is no significant expansion in the northwestern area, with the notable exception of the hospital area burial ground. This space lies at the northernmost known extent of the mortuary landscape of the city at any period; it appears to begin its life in LG and increases in size in the 7th century, but remains isolated from the rest of the city.¹⁰⁹

The central zone also displays continuity in most of its existing grounds in LG. The museum area continues to attract interments (Fig. 4.36). The EG burial ground at Kontogianni-Zouzia plot and the MG burial ground of Alexopoulos plot receive a couple of interments each. On the other hand, Boulmeti plot witnesses a notable expansion and with 19 new interments, becomes a mortuary space of significant size in this area in LG. What is interesting about Boulmeti plot burials is that, with the exception of an MG cist and an LG pit, all graves are *enchytrismoi* in pots for children and pithoi for adults. Boulmeti plot is one of the few medium-

¹⁰⁸ The Mycenaean cemetery at Deiras has Early Iron Age activity, sometimes even in the dromoi of earlier chamber tombs. Most of these are dated to Submycenaean/Protogeometric periods, or they have been assigned a generic “Geometric” data and could not be used in this dissertation. For a discussion of Early Iron Age activity in or around Mycenaean tombs, see Antonaccio 1994, 1995, 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Pappi (2014, 40) suggests that the first phase of one of the hospital graves (grave 102) might be MG, but the date is assigned as MG II/LG I in her catalog (Pappi 2014, 298). Because of the uncertainty of the dates, this grave was omitted from the database.

to large-scale mortuary spaces in Argos that shows such a strong preference for one grave type over the others. It presents a somewhat anomalous pocket of mortuary homogeneity embedded into a landscape of indiscriminate distribution of diversity. Its uniformity can be attributed to conscious choices in mortuary behavior exercised by the burying group, rather than the poor economic or social status of the people buried there.

Overall in the central zone, there is slight expansion to the north (Bousis-Chrisoula plot) and the east (Renta and Rebelos plots), but most of the new contexts in LG are the result of the in-filling process between the southern and northern clusters of the previous periods. Many of the contexts that could be securely dated to LG in this transitional zone are small-scale, with one or two interments each. Some exceptions are the group that consists of the Raptis and Raptis-Apostolos plots to the southwest of the museum, and the cluster of Bougiotis and Evstratiadis plots to the north of the agora. The southeastern quadrant of the city, which remained empty except and isolated EG pit grave at the Lembetzi plot, also begins to see increased activity in LG.¹¹⁰

The direction of the infilling and expansion in LG is probably from north towards the south—spatially, what constituted the southern cluster in EG and MG remains tight and traditional in its location preferences, with a slight outreach to the northeast in the Bougiotis and Evstratiadis plots (Fig. 4.37). The Theater and Odeon contexts continue to prosper; it is in LG that these spaces receive the impressive graves of T 45 (the “Panoply Grave”) and T 23 (monumental pyxis). On the whole, however, there is a wide spectrum of grave types and an

¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, it should be noted once again that there are excavated mortuary contexts in some of these areas and plots that are given broad “Early Iron Age” or “Geometric” dates in publications. With a more precise dating of these assemblages, our picture of continuity and expansion may change in the future.

uneven degree of wealth display within this context alone: both children and adults are represented; cists, pithoi, and pot burials are all present; and the deposition of wealth ranges from the armor, weapons, and *obeloi* in T 45 to pithoi devoid of grave goods (T 156 and T 157). The “South Cemetery” graves also display a similar wide range: the LG II cist grave T 1 contains rich metal contents such as bronze bowls and six *obeloi*. The LG interment in T 6¹¹¹ also yielded a bronze phiale and a bronze sword. On the other hand, some of the nearby contexts, such as T 13, are much more modest pithos or pot burials that are either furnished with only pottery or devoid of grave contents. The nearby plot at Kypseli Square show a preference towards pithoi with mostly pottery with the addition of an occasional ring or pin as grave goods. By contrast, an isolated grave from Pappas plot has yielded not only weapons (iron spears, sword, and dagger) but also gold spirals.

As discussed above, the mortuary evidence for 7th century Argos is problematic, both in terms of chronology as well as recovery and sample size. This dissertation’s database contains only 45 7th century interments, many of them with dubious dates, as opposed to the 221 LG contexts. These limitations should be taken into account when interpreting the stark difference between the LG and 7th century distribution of burials (Fig. 4.38). Some spatial patterns, however, are difficult to ignore. Interments appear to stop in some parts of the city, for instance in the southeastern quadrant which was a newly developed area in LG. A more significant gap is in the northwestern section, which had a strong tradition of mortuary spaces throughout the Geometric period and now appears to have ceased its activity (Fig. 4.39). Yet, this area was probably on the rise in its significance in the 7th century in other ways, especially in religious contexts and as the departure point for processions towards the Argive Heraion. The mortuary

¹¹¹ T 6/2 in table 4.2.

space at the Hospital continues to grow, but like all other 7th century contexts in Argos, yield only pithoi with little to no grave goods. Scattered graves continue in central Argos in and around the museum area and to the north of the museum (Laloukiotis plot and Bozionelou plot) (Fig. 4.40). In contrast with the north, the southern contexts continue without much of an interruption into the 7th century. Same trends in the decline in grave goods are observed in this area, but there is a degree of spatial conservatism as the Theater/Odeon, the Kypseli Square, and the “South Cemetery” spaces all continue to be used (Fig. 4.41).

On the whole, the spatial shifts in the 7th-century mortuary landscape at Argos can be interpreted as a transition towards extracommunal grounds. Two observations, however, are significant in this regard. First, even with reduced numbers and decline in wealth deposition, 7th century shows continuity in the use of previously established burial grounds, such as the southwestern cluster at the foot of the Larissa. This cluster was used intensively across the Geometric period, not as an organized and reserved cemetery dedicated exclusively as a space for the dead, but as an ever-expanding landscape of a mixture of mortuary and settlement contexts. There is no clear or organized attempt to push burials out of the city by delegating designated spaces for the dead on the fringes. If there was a top-down decision about the space and place of cemeteries in the urban development of the early *polis*, several remote locations like the southeast or the northeast sectors of the city would be favorable spots for extracommunal spaces for the dead. Instead, most of the activity in the 7th century remains spatially traditional and resumes in previously used contexts like the southern clusters, the museum, and the Hospital area. Secondly, scattered graves continue in some central areas, which suggests that there was no wholesale purge of intracommunal burials from the city. Instead, as Christesen (2018) has

concluded for the mortuary topography of Sparta, Argos was probably characterized by a combination of extracommunal and intracommunal burials in most of its urban history.

Some interesting patterns also emerge in the spatial distribution of the heavily reused graves at Argos. Fig. 4.42 illustrates the location of Geometric graves with graduated symbols according to the number of interments each grave contains. Much of the landscape is dotted with widely dispersed single interments. This is especially the case in the belt that separates the southern cluster from the northwestern and central ones, as this area did not develop until LG. 29 graves were reused once to introduce a second interment, and these contexts are also as widely distributed as single graves. A significant number of graves contained more than three individuals, which indicates that they were reopened multiple times. These heavily reused graves tend to group in areas that have a long-term mortuary history, such as the core areas of the three original clusters in the northwest, the center, and the south. Nevertheless, temporal depth of the burial ground does not always correspond with heavy reuse of graves. One of the most spatially consistent mortuary contexts of the city, the Theater/Odeon area, is characterized by single interment graves and contains few instances of reuse, whereas a temporally short-lived cluster on the Messinias Arkadias street to the south of the city has yielded the most heavily reused graves in the landscape.

Distribution of Mortuary Variability

As discussed above, the data on mortuary variability, especially the sex and age of individuals, is very limited at Argos. Figures 4.43-4.46 show the distribution of the age

categories across the periods under discussion.¹¹² As the comprehensive map of aged individuals through Geometric and 7th century shows, adults (n=190) and subadults (n=69) are generally buried side-by-side. There is no heavy representation of subadults in any given context in anything akin to a children's burial ground or cemetery. One observation that can be made from the diachronic breakdown of this distribution is that in EG and MG (figs. 4.44 and 4.45), children are not represented in most of the center, that is in the large zone between the Karantza-Tsokri-Vasilissis Sophias streets in the north and Theatrou street in the south. In LG, this situation changes and subadult burials appear alongside adults in the center in several plots, such as the mortuary contexts along Gounari street and the museum area (fig. 4.46). While this slight change in spatial distribution may partly be an effect of the small sample size in EG and MG, it also correlates well with the above conclusions regarding the increased inclusion and representation of subadults in the mortuary contexts of LG, potentially as a result of an increased emphasis on the unity of family and kinship groups within the developing *polis*.

In terms of the distribution of males versus females across the mortuary landscape, not much can be said with certainty (figs. 4.47-4.50). Too few individuals have been assigned a sex estimate to allow in-depth analysis. Burials from the center of the city are mostly from rescue excavations and they are more poorly studied than the rest, so the sex estimates for these contexts are not available. The lack of a clear pattern that could point to spatial segregation based on gender, however, suggests that perhaps gender is not as strong of a determinant as age in

¹¹² None of the 7th century contexts have been subject to osteological study; therefore none of these individuals have sex or age estimates in the database. For this reason, 7th century maps have been omitted from the diachronic illustrations, but the 7th century interments are included on the overall maps for age and gender (figs. 4.43-4.50) as gray dots for N/A.

mortuary behavior at Argos. This is supported by the argument that gender-based decisions regarding burial types are also not salient in the burial record until LG.

The data regarding the four different burial types at Argos is more robust and has been the topic of previous studies on the spatiality of death. Based on the data available to her at the time, Foley (1988, 1998) observed that in the center of Argos cist burials tend to outnumber other types, while pithos, pot, and pit burials are more popular in the west, the southwest, and the north. While Foley pointed out that there was no strict exclusivity, based on this pattern she concluded that “the cist and pithos users perhaps did not mix to any great extent, with the cist users preferring to live towards the centre of what is now the city of Argos, while the pithos users were generally located on the outskirts.” Foley rejected the idea that this division was based on wealth, but instead proposed that it reflected an ethnic division between the Dorians as the dominant ethnic group who used cist burials exclusively, whereas a “subservient” ethnic population buried in pithoi, pots, and pits. In terms of grave goods, she argued that some members of the non-Dorian group may have managed to accumulate wealth, which accounted for the relatively wealthy pot and pithos burials. In this argument, the concentration of cists in the center as opposed to pithoi and pots of the margins corresponds to a spatial segregation of ethnic populations within the city, potentially in life as well as in death.

The historicizing Dorian argument has been consistently applied to archaeological contexts with little success, and contains many theoretical and methodological pitfalls. Specifically with regards to its application to mortuary contexts at Early Iron Age Argos, Jonathan Hall (1997) has found Foley’s observations unconvincing, and remarked that members of different ethnic groups seldom bury within the same burial grounds. At Argos, many of the burial clusters contain a range of grave types, in many cases with all four customs practiced side-

by-side (fig. 4.51). Good examples of this pattern are the some of the long-term burial grounds such as the museum area, the Theater/Odeon district, and the “South Cemetery.” Some small to medium scale grounds with a more limited temporal depth, such as the Boulmeti plot which contains mostly pithoi and pots, or the LG cluster of pithoi and pots at Bougiotis and Evstratiadis plots to the north of the agora, are instances of a stronger preference for a single type of burial within a contained mortuary space. The fact that smaller lots, which are probably intracommunal grounds associated with a single burying group of a family or kinship affiliation, show a more consistent predilection for their own burial practice suggests the choice of grave type may be a family preference. On the other hand, larger burial grounds that remain in use longer show a wider range in types, which is possibly due to a diversity in burying population.

A spatial pattern of core-and-periphery is also not immediately clear in the distribution of burial types. In EG, an overwhelming number of the graves are cists, which are present and widely distributed across all three clusters (fig. 4.52). The pithoi in this period are recovered in the northwest and the east, and indeed appear to be absent from the center. Pits, however, are represented in the museum area, immediately to the north of the museum, on Zographou street, as well as the northwestern and southern zones. In MG, cists continue to be present everywhere, including the peripheral areas in the south and the east, as well as in the west along the Gounari street (fig. 4.53). Pithoi spread across the northwest and are also recovered from the east and the south. In LG, patterns become less clear as both pithoi and pots increase in numbers and are distributed evenly and widely (fig. 4.54). With the disappearance of cists and pits in the 7th century, the mortuary landscape is dominated by pithoi and the occasional pot burials (fig. 4.55). More unique burial types are attested in Kypseli Square (one cremation and two graves cut into

poros) and in the northeast (an extraordinary bronze cinerary urn at Bozionelos plot at the corner of Korinthou and Heras streets).¹¹³

Previous scholarship has shown a tendency to rank the burial types at Argos according to potential investment that was spent in terms of time and money on the construction of and the depositions within a given mortuary context. These rankings then were then taken as the reflection of the social, political, or economic standing of the individuals buried within different burial types.¹¹⁴ For instance, cists are generally discussed as the burials of the wealthy or the elite, both because of the money spent on the construction of the grave itself, as well as the relative richness of the grave goods recovered from cists. On the other hand, pithoi generally contain fewer grave goods and are seen as secondary to cists in terms of expenditure. Pit graves are commonly seen as representative of the poorest class of burial type at Argos based on the relatively low effort put into their construction and the dearth of grave goods contained within.¹¹⁵ The commingled distribution of these types of burials suggests, however, that the users of these graves are allowed access to the same burial grounds throughout the Geometric period, and mortuary spaces at Argos are not spatially segregated by any of these potentially socio-economic criteria.

The distribution of grave goods across the mortuary contexts of the settlement paints a similar picture (figs. 4.57-4.59). Majority of the contexts that were included in this study's

¹¹³ It is reported that, with the exception of the cinerary urn, this plot houses mostly pithoi; however the context is poorly published and is not accessible. See AR 58, 44-45; AR 54, 27.

¹¹⁴ e.g Hägg 1998, 1983, 1974; Foley 1998, 1988.

¹¹⁵ Based on a study of the skeletal materials from pits compared to those from other types of graves, Pappi and Triantaphyllou (2011) proposed that the occupants of the pits had lower levels of health status and showed higher indications of trauma and metabolic conditions. As the authors note, however, the sample size of this study is very small (only four individuals) and may not be indicative of wider trends.

database contained grave goods; some yielded relatively modest pottery offerings only (shown as yellow dots on figures 4.57-4.59) while others also included metals (indicated as yellow/green circles on the maps). Metal offerings vary in quality and number, but most common are simple rings and pins in bronze or iron. The wide distribution of metals across the mortuary contexts in all zones shows that the inclusion of these items in grave assemblages is fairly standard at Argos. There are no readily identifiable patterns of concentration or exclusion, with the curious exception of the Kypseli Square graves, which consistently yield pottery only. A spatial analysis of high-value metal objects recovered from mortuary contexts also displays a fairly even distribution of noteworthy offerings across the settlement (fig 4.60). Gold objects, usually in the form of gold spirals or occasionally other simple items of personal adornment, are recovered from graves in all periods but come mostly from EG and LG contexts (e.g. fig. 4.79B).¹¹⁶ In terms of distribution, this precious metal appears in the northwest, to the east of the museum, and in the west on Gounari Street, but it is more commonly found in the graves of the southern cluster. The main concentration, however, is not in the Theater/Odeon area, but in much smaller and short-lived lots in the southernmost fringes of the settlement.

Weapons (such as daggers, swords, knives, and spearheads) and armor (such as helmets) are dispersed across the settlement, making an evenly distributed appearance in all clusters. In EG, six contexts have yielded daggers, blades, and a possible sword, mostly in cists but also in pits.¹¹⁷ In MG, daggers, spearheads, and swords are recovered from five cists—one in the northwest, one in the center, and three in the south. In LG, there is an increase in larger objects

¹¹⁶ Gold objects were recovered in six EG, one MG, five LG, and one 7th century grave.

¹¹⁷ Two EG pits with iron daggers are Grave 3 of Dontas plot to the north of the museum and Grave 1 of Chatzixenophon plot in the south.

such as swords. Helmets also make an appearance in LG and come from T 45 (“Panoply Grave”) in the Theater/Odeon area and two cists¹¹⁸ in the northwest.

Obeloi, which are deposited in graves as prestige items, are all recovered from LG contexts with the exception of an MG cist at Anastasaki plot on the eastern limits of the settlement.¹¹⁹ As Antonaccio (2006) observes, Early Iron Age “warrior” graves frequently contain feasting equipment such as *obeloi*, graters, and firedogs (referencing especially to roasting meat and military dining practices) and ceramic assemblages that point to wine consumption.¹²⁰ Majority of the *obeloi* were found in cists, with the exception a rich pithos grave, which also yielded a gold ring and gold spirals among other bronze jewelry, in the central zone immediately to the east of the museum.¹²¹ Similar to the distribution of weapons and armor, *obeloi* come from all over the settlement and do not concentrate in any single zone or cluster.

In brief, the wide dispersal of what can be considered prestige items suggests that there is no obvious concentration of wealth in any burial ground or cluster at Argos. This even distribution of relatively rich contexts across the settlement suggests that there is no burial ground or cemetery that can be considered “elite” based on the depositional practices in material culture. Taken together with the above observations on the even distribution of various other mortuary variables across the settlement in all periods, it appears that early Argos did not have burial grounds that were exclusively dedicated to the use of any single ethnic, social, economic,

¹¹⁸ For the armor in the T 45 assemblage, see fig. 4.95. Other two helmets come from Grave 1 of Stavropoulos plot (fig. 4.85) and Grave XVII of Theodoropoulos plot (fig. 4.86).

¹¹⁹ Grave 2 of Anastasaki plot/2.

¹²⁰ Antonaccio 2006, 391.

¹²¹ Grave 1 of Papanikolaos plot.

or political segment of the society. Instead, the picture that emerges from this spatial distribution is that the mortuary decisions were made based on variables within a heterarchical social system.

Spatial Relationships Between Graves and Micro-scale Patterns

Settlement-wide distribution patterns that were presented so far afford us new perspectives into the growth and development of the city in its early stages, patterns in continuity and rupture, and the changes in the mortuary behavior of its residents. This type of larger-scale analysis, however, needs to be complemented by a more high-resolution look at intra-cemetery patterns in spatial practices. Unfortunately, inconsistencies in publication length and quality, chronological problems in dating graves, but, most importantly, the lack of published overall plans or drawings for the majority of the excavated contexts, make it difficult offer an in-depth analysis of micro-scale patterns. Therefore, it is difficult to comment with confidence on significant topics such as changes in the use of mortuary space and the spatial practices within it through time. In addition, the few plans that are available through preliminary reports in *Archaeologikon Deltion* series mostly publish graves under the broad chronological heading of “Geometric,” which makes it impossible to examine intra-cemetery patterns from a diachronic perspective.

Despite these difficulties, some observations can be made based on the currently available data. Since the burial grounds at Argos are mostly small-to medium scale, there is not enough spatial data to determine clusters or groupings of burials within cemeteries. One interesting behavior in burial organization at Argos, however, is the strong spatial relatedness of certain graves, usually in small groups of two to four. It is not uncommon for graves to mirror each other in orientation, touch each other, share a wall, or even share cover slabs. A good

example of this practice is two pit graves that share a short wall at Kontogianni-Zouzia plot on the eastern end of the settlement (fig 4.69B-C). Here, grave 5, which is dated to MG I, is separated by a thin balk from its predecessor and the two graves share cover slabs.¹²² A similar relationship or shared walls can be seen between a PG-EG cist grave (grave 11) and a “Geometric” pithos (grave 5) at the Kazantzis plot (fig. 4.68), between graves 4 and 5 at Papanikolaos plot (fig. 4.78), and a group of Geometric cist graves (graves 7, 14, 15) at Kouros plot (Fig. 4.70). In some instances, this spatial connection is limited to touching corners, as in the case of graves 15 and 16, and graves 11 and 20 at Kouros plot. Similar pairings exist elsewhere, for instance between graves 4 and 9 at Passias plot (fig. 4.81A). It is clear, at least at Kouros plot, that the burial ground has ample available vacant space that eliminates the necessity of such close proximity due to overcrowding; the connection between graves in this slight but meaningful way, therefore, must be deliberate.

Another type of connection between spatially independent graves is also known from grave goods: Kazantzis plot (fig. 4.68) in the center of the city to the south of the museum yielded an EG pithos with the commingled remains of at least three individuals introduced in MG and LG. During a reopening of the grave, some of its grave goods were cleared out and placed on top of the cover slabs of a nearby grave. Unfortunately, the report does not mention which grave received the contents, except noting that it is a few meters to the west of the pithos and there are cross-joins between the pottery recovered from the pithos and the slabs of the second grave.¹²³ The redeposition of grave goods onto another (closed) grave can be taken as a purposeful act of attempting to establish a symbolic and spatial link between two mortuary

¹²² Grave 6 is dated to PG or EG, with a terminus ante quem of EG II. Since the date is uncertain, this grave was not used in the database. See Pappi 2014, p. 265.

¹²³ *ArchDelt* 54, 142ff.

spaces through ritual. This behavior also fits in with the removal and redeposition of selected skeletal elements near occupied graves.

It has already been discussed above that the custom of reusing graves for multiple interments is likely a pattern reflective of kinship affiliations and points to efforts in preserving the spatial coherence of family members. The further spatial interdependencies on a more horizontal plane suggest that there is another layer of relatedness within the mortuary spaces of Argos. If the intimate reuse of graves is indicative of more immediate family relationships, the horizontal spatial relatedness may reflect extended family or household associations. In any case, the space and place of burial at Argos appears to have been significant and meaningful on multiple spatial scales that correspond to nested group identities within a complex social system.

Further observations on the organization of burials at Argos are compounded by the difficulty of assigning precise dates for the graves, but available plans suggest that there are two contradictory trends in the use of mortuary space. The rarer of the two patterns is the aggressive superimposition of graves. For instance, a series of Protogeometric graves at Petropoulos and Xamplas plot on Kophiniotou street overlap aggressively and are disturbed further by the Archaic intrusion of another pithos burial (fig. 4.82). Another example of intrusive mortuary behavior comes from Papoulesis plot in southern Argos towards the corner of Danaou and Atreos streets (fig. 4.80). Despite the heavy disturbance by later (Hellenistic and Roman) activity, this plot yielded three adults in large pithoi, three children in pots, and one cist grave, all superimposed in the crowded northeast corner of the excavation area.¹²⁴ According to the reports, the pithoi lay over the cist, which in turn rested on a layer of bones and pottery, possibly

¹²⁴ Unfortunately, these Early Iron Age graves are not dated with any more precision, so individual entries could not be created in the catalog.

from a refuse deposit, a secondary deposition, or a disturbance of earlier grave contents.¹²⁵ A nearby plot (Poulis plot to the south) also yielded graves, which suggests that there was originally a more extended burial ground in this location.

The more dominant pattern in burial organization at Argos is a spatial awareness and respect for existing graves, which leads to a more orderly layout that tries to preserve existing contexts rather than disturbing them. This layout is characterized by graves that are either completely independent of other burials or display a deliberate and careful connection with existing graves as described above. The loosely scattered graves of Kazantis plot (fig. 4.68) or the more tightly arranged but still fairly independent graves of Xintaropoulos plot (fig. 4.90) are examples of this configuration. Xintaropoulos plot is a good example of a small-scale burial ground that remains in use with infrequent interments throughout a protracted timeframe. Based on the available data, the pattern of growth suggests a radial expansion towards the north starting from the Submycenaean grave (grave 10), followed by a wave of EG graves (3, 19, and 20) and more Geometric/LG/Archaic graves further out towards the west and north (graves 11, 13, 16, 18, and 24). This type of expansion pattern suggests that new graves were not introduced haphazardly but with a cognitive awareness of the preexisting mortuary space throughout the Early Iron Age. At Kouros, Manos, and Raptis-Apostolos plots, graves also display a tendency to mirror orientation in parallel or perpendicular axes (figs 4.70, 4.75, and 4.83 respectively). The more carefully constructed mortuary topography in these burial grounds suggest that care is taken to select burial locations, and there are either above-ground markers or other aids in spatial memory that are deployed to achieve these layouts.

¹²⁵ *ArchDelt* 36, 111-112.

A strong spatial memory within mortuary spaces of Argos is also evident in traces of ritual and post-funerary use of burial grounds. Evidence of long-term ritualized mortuary behavior around existing graves suggests that even after the burial ground enters a hiatus or stops receiving interments altogether, the mortuary character of these spaces is actively preserved. In several cases, interments cease in burial grounds in Archaic and Classical periods, only to resume, in higher numbers, in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The continuity in mortuary activity after a long hiatus indicates that mortuary spaces are not reappropriated after the cessation of interments, but are preserved through ritual memory.

In some instances, the gap in the Archaic period is slight but it is compounded by problems in dating and publication. Examples of a break in burial in Archaic and Classical periods followed by Hellenistic interments can be found in several plots throughout the settlement, such as Xintaropoulos plot and Theodoropoulos plot, both in the northwest near the Aspis. Both plots are medium-size burial grounds with steady interments and significant mortuary contexts throughout the Early Iron Age. Theodoropoulos plot has a long history of burial activity through Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric periods. In Late Geometric, this plot is home to some noteworthy graves, including a cist grave that yielded a bronze helmet, iron daggers, and six *obeloi* (fig. 4.86).¹²⁶ Interment activity ceases abruptly after LG, and following a gap throughout the Archaic and Classical period, the burial ground reopens in the Hellenistic period.¹²⁷ This rhythm in use appears to be fairly typical of the mortuary history of Argos, but the breaks in burial correspond historically with periods in which Argos is at the height of its influence. Therefore, this pattern should not be taken as repeating cycles of social

¹²⁶ Grave XVII of Theodoropoulos plot.

¹²⁷ *ArchDelt* 28, 97-99.

decline and prosperity, or of physical growth and contraction, but rather of changing patterns in mortuary behavior that impacts the archaeological visibility of burial practices and creates artificial gaps in data.

This same pattern in mortuary hiatus and resumption is seen in other areas, for instance Kouros plot to the south of the city, where, after limited Submycenaean activity, the burial ground expands to receive 29 graves in PG and Geometric periods (fig. 4.70).¹²⁸ Although there is a break in interments in Archaic and Classical periods, Archaic figurines were found during the excavations. In the Hellenistic period, there appears to be not only a continuation of burial but a formalization of mortuary space. A limestone funerary peribolos is constructed upon Geometric tombs to the northwest and contains two late Classical to Early Hellenistic tombs. Excavators remark that the east-west axis of the existing tombs influenced the access and the later organization of the area, including the orientation of the peribolos and the Hellenistic/Early Roman cist grave in the center (T 1). Likewise, at Raptis-Apostolos plot (fig. 4.83), the orderly organization of the Classical and Hellenistic graves on a fairly precise N-S and E-W axis appears to be a continuation of the similar layout of the Geometric graves (Graves X, XI, and XII). Because of the disturbance caused by later activity, our view of the early phases is limited in this plot, but no Archaic context has yet been identified.

An interesting example of break in burial combined with continued ritual is the Tsoukrianis plot on the southern end of Danaou street, where, in addition to burials, excavators revealed traces of fire throughout the area on a compact, floor-like layer.¹²⁹ Burnt animal bones

¹²⁸ Unfortunately, individual Early Iron Age graves are not dated more precisely, except grave 11, which is Submycenaean, and graves 15 and 22, whose dates were provided by Pappi 2014, 267.

¹²⁹ *ArchDelt* 29, 228.

and other material finds (including bronze pins) were scattered in the layer with a concentration in the northeastern corner of the plot (fig. 4.88). Excavators interpret this activity as mortuary ritual connected with Geometric graves in the area (including the nearby Zacharias plot excavated by the French School). Especially interesting are two graves (an amphora with an infant and a pithos connected to a krater at the rim) which were covered by a small stone “tumulus.”¹³⁰ The report indicates that the ritual use of the space continues after the floor layer was installed in the Geometric period. Above the Geometric floor, an Archaic layer with figurines of horses, birds, and a seated goddess were recovered. Activity also continues in the Hellenistic period evidenced by pits and ash, but there is no evidence of habitation until the Roman era.

A similar type of ritual behavior, also involving a potential stone “tumulus” was unearthed at the Rebelos plot to the east of the city (fig 4.84).¹³¹ The so-called tumulus covering a Geometric grave was located to the southeast of area A in the plan, towards the middle of the eastern limits of the excavation. Of particular note is a votive deposit that yielded Archaic offerings (including figurines and pottery in both standard and miniature sizes) immediately outside and along the west side of area A. Another pit containing ash and animal bones was found to the south. Finally, in the central open area, a deposit that has been cut into a clay platform yielded figurines, miniature vessels, and traces of burning. This feature has been interpreted as an altar in the reports. According to the excavators, these deposits point to evidence of significant ritual activity throughout the area, which intensifies in the 6th century BC.

¹³⁰ “Λιθοσωρός” in Greek.

¹³¹ *ArchDelt* 55, 172-7; *ArchDelt* 53, 125-128; AR 56, 30.

In brief, the impression that we get from the 7th century distribution map, whose configuration leads us to believe that much of the settlement is cleared of mortuary activity, is partially misleading. While new interments may indeed be directed towards burial grounds on the outskirts, such as the Hospital area to the far north, mortuary spaces are still strongly interwoven into the urban fabric of the settlement.

Conclusions

A comparison of the mortuary topography at Athens and Argos reveals that the two settlements displayed significant differences in the spatiality of death and the use of mortuary space during the early decades of the development of the *polis*. At Argos, spatial practices and the wide-spread distribution of mortuary diversity indicates that the underlying pattern is that of a heterarchical system that is perhaps ranked but not highly stratified. The lack of any readily identifiable concentration of wealth or a locus of exclusive elite activity at Argos contradicts Morris' model of the power play between the *agathoi* and *kakoi* that takes place within Athenian mortuary spaces. In addition, there is no evidence of an attempt to control access to mortuary spaces at Argos through either spatial or ritual practices in anything that can fit into Morris' definition of a "reserved" cemetery.

Burial practices, and to a certain extent, spatial patterns, exhibit notable shifts the Late Geometric period at Argos. In terms of chronology, this corresponds with the development of Argos into a *polis* in social and political terms and a proto-urban center in the physical sense, which are comparable to the developments that we see at Athens around the same time. The trajectory of these processes at Argos, however, appears to be different. The changes in burial practices (such as the rise in grave goods or the increase in the reuse of graves) point to an

intensification of existing behaviors, not the emergence of new practices. It is reasonable to conclude that Argos in fact remains traditional in many aspects of mortuary behavior in the 8th century BC, including the intracommunal distribution of burials, but addresses new needs in identity politics by utilizing more intensely the mortuary systems that are already in place. This combination of traditionalism and intensification may be indicative of the social coalescence of kinship groups or clans into a larger, state-level system while individual households (and the heads of those households) seek to distinguish themselves from one another through an emphasis on lineage and tradition as well as an intensified deposition of wealth in mortuary contexts.

With regards to patterns in early urbanization, it is important to highlight that Argos, at least in its early history, does not conform to the normative model of a Greek city where the boundaries between the living and the dead are clearly defined. Burials in LG Argos dot the entire urban landscape and point to growth, expansion, and increased dispersal as opposed to marginalization, formalization, or any type of deliberate organizational behavior that is mindful of separating settlement from cemetery. Burial grounds are never architecturally articulated at Argos in any of the periods under study; clear attempts to formalize or organize mortuary spaces through architectural features such as periboloi or marked access points do not become common practice until the Hellenistic period.¹³² In the 7th century BC, distribution patterns give the sense that mortuary spaces retreat to the outskirts of the urban area. Yet, a closer analysis of the use of mortuary space at this time indicates that the hiatus in several of the burial grounds is a temporary situation and activity is resumed in later periods, which suggests that the mortuary

¹³² A wall fragment at Papoulesis plot was interpreted by the excavators as a potential peribolos dated to the Geometric period. See *ArchDelt* 35, 111, but also see Pappi 2014, 42-43, who convincingly argues for a later date for the wall. *ArchDelt* 55 (pp. 165-166) also reports that an E-W wall, which was interpreted as a peribolos, was found upon Geometric graves at the northern end of Kouros plot (fig. 4.70); the date and the exact function of the wall, however, remains uncertain.

character of the space was maintained throughout. Evidence of continued ritual activity in the form of Archaic votive deposits supports this conclusion. In other words, there is not much that points to a *polis*-wide undertaking of a reorganization of mortuary spaces as part of the urbanization process at Argos. Instead, life and death continue to be interwoven, at least spatially, and there is a strong tradition of location-bound mortuary memory in the early city.

CHAPTER 5: MORTUARY LANDSCAPES OF CORINTH

Overview: Topography and Brief History of Early Iron Age and Archaic Corinth

Ancient Corinth occupies a central position on a network of sea and land routes and commands a landscape rich in natural resources and raw materials (Figs. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). Located just to the south of the narrow isthmus that connects the Peloponnese to the rest of the mainland, Corinth had access to two ports, Lechaëum on the Corinthian Gulf and Cenchreae on the Saronic Gulf (Fig. 5.4). Much of Corinth's success and power as a *polis* can easily be attributed to this strategic command over maritime and land trade; nevertheless, as Salmon puts it, "without the resources of her land, Corinth would only have acted as a parasite upon the traffic which passed over her Isthmus."¹ The plentiful natural resources and the access to raw materials in the area enabled Corinth's growth into a self-sustaining settlement as well as an industrial center whose products were coveted and consumed across the Mediterranean.

The ancient settlement of Corinth grew upon a series of staggered terraces between the coast of the Corinthian Gulf to the north and the precipitous hill of Acrocorinth to the south.² Acrocorinth rises sharply from the terraces and at first glance provides an ideal spot for a citadel, but the approach is too steep and it is doubtful that it ever functioned as a proper acropolis.³

¹ Salmon 1984, 1.

² Hayward 2003, 16-17.

³ Bookidis (2003, 248) concludes that "nothing as yet has been found in the limited excavations carried out on the mountaintop to indicate that an early settlement existed there."

Instead, the settlement flourished on the terraces that provided the inhabitants with valuable flat land for both agriculture and expansion. A number of valleys and ravines carved by water cut across the terraces and provide a connection between the slopes and the coastal plain. Some of these shallow ravines were used as pathways and roads; the Lechaeum Road Valley, although its topography has been buried under centuries of construction, is one such example that runs through the heart of the ancient city and later becomes the main entrance into the Roman forum. Also central to the ancient city, even at its full extent, was the so-called “Temple Hill,” which was originally a limestone ridge that was gradually chipped away during and after the construction of the Temple of Apollo.

Corinth’s soil was key to her success, but much of the valuable resources were hidden underground. The mountains housed limestone reserves that provided valuable construction materials for both architecture and other contexts, such as the monolithic sarcophagi that become the norm in Corinthian cemeteries from the 7th century onwards. There is some literary evidence to suggest that Corinth exported its characteristic limestone as well as her skilled carvers and stone workers to Epidauros and possibly to Delphi. Rhodes (2003) observes that this soft, fine-grained limestone was “in many ways the prime determiner of both the physical organization and the look of post-Dark Age Corinth.”⁴ Not only did the limestone stratum that runs under the settlement determine its water reserves, but the abundance of such a versatile and manageable building material served as a catalyst for Corinth’s early experimentation with monumental architecture.

⁴ Rhodes 2003, 85.

Another raw material that determined the course of Corinthian history was the abundant clay sources that catapulted the city's pottery and tile industries.⁵ Corinthian painted pottery cornered the market across the Aegean and the Mediterranean until it was gradually replaced by Attic wares in the 6th century BC.⁶ DeVries (2003) comments that by the Late Geometric period, Corinthian wares "had already come to occupy the position all Corinthian pottery was to hold for the next two centuries, becoming by far the most extensively traded Greek fineware of all."⁷ It is also important to note that unlike the fine pottery from Athens and Argos—a great portion of which come from large vessels in grave contexts—Corinthian specialty was the production and decoration of smaller vessels like aryballoi. The mortuary realm may have had a significant role in driving the Argive and Attic pottery production at home in the Geometric period, whereas Corinthian products, while they may occasionally find their way into graves, seem to have been geared towards a different market altogether.

While the hinterland of Corinth is indeed rich and versatile in its resources, one significant material it lacks is metals.⁸ The dearth of metal sources, particularly that of copper, is not trivial. Morgan (1988) remarks that gaining access to copper may have been a very significant motivation in establishing a wide trade network in the 8th century.⁹ She observes that "Corinth, geographically, and possibly also economically, squeezed between Attica and the

⁵ Whitbread 2003.

⁶ The periodization and dates for the Corinthian Early Iron Age-early Archaic periods that are used in this dissertation are adopted from Coldstream (1968) for Geometric Corinth and from Amyx (1988) for the Archaic period (see table 5.1).

⁷ DeVries 2003, 142. The style, typology, production, and distribution of Corinthian pottery is an extensive academic topic, a full discussion of which falls beyond the scope of this dissertation. For a more comprehensive treatment of the subject, see Shanks 1999; Morgan 1988; Amyx 1988; Amyx and Lawrence 1996; Weinberg 1943; Payne 1931.

⁸ Ziskowski 2011, 42.

⁹ Morgan 1988, 330-334.

Argolid, could thus have been at a disadvantage in obtaining copper and most other metals in competition with equally expanding emergent states.”¹⁰ The growing need for bronze in the 8th century is probably tied to the social pressures of ostentatious display, particularly at sanctuaries. Yet there is some evidence that metallurgy thrived at Corinth despite the local deficiency in raw materials. According to ancient sources, the city was famed for its bronzes and a particular recipe of the alloy called the “Corinthian bronze.”¹¹

Although limited annual rainfall technically renders the region arid, the Corinthian landscape boasts ample underground fresh water sources and springs in an abundance that is quite unparalleled in mainland Greece.¹² The geology of the region causes water to be trapped in underground reservoirs between marl and limestone layers. This aquifer stratum can be easily accessed through wells, but thanks to the edges of the raised terraces that break the natural stratigraphy, underground water also surfaces as natural springs and pools that need little to no additional labor to access.¹³ A wide network of catchment tunnels that direct the flow of subterranean water augments the natural springs.¹⁴ Therefore, even though Corinthia is one of the driest areas of Greece in terms of rainfall, Simonides praises the city for being “well-watered.”¹⁵ The importance of waterworks was not only a key contributing factor in the city’s

¹⁰ Morgan 1988, 334.

¹¹ The dilemma of a famed production center that does not have natural access to the necessary raw materials has been explored at great length in previous scholarship. According to Murphy-O'Connor (1983), “Corinthian bronze” is simply bronze that comes from Corinth. Archaeological evidence for bronze production at Corinth, however, has been scarce (see Mattush 2003 for a discussion of the available evidence). According to Jacobson and Weitzman (1992), “Corinthian bronze” refers to a specific composition or a production method of the alloy that can be adopted and replicated anywhere.

¹² Landon 2003, 43.

¹³ Landon 2003, 43-45.

¹⁴ Robinson (2011, xix) notes that the spring of Peirene alone was supported by nearly a kilometer of tunnels by the Hellenistic period. See Hill 1964 for a detailed study of the springs at Corinth.

¹⁵ Simonides 720-23. See Salmon 1984, 7-8, for rainfall in Corinthia.

growth and prosperity but also occupied a significant portion of its religion and civic identity. The city was characterized by elaborate hydraulic installations including the famous fountains of Peirene, Glauke, and the Sacred Spring (Fig. 5.5). Robinson (2011) remarks that “the command of water, both salt and sweet, became a dominant and recurring theme in Corinth’s self-representation as early as the Archaic period.”¹⁶ Water and water sources played an important part in Corinthian domestic religion, ranging from its widespread adoption in purification rituals in mortuary contexts¹⁷ to an unusual prominence of nymph cults in the middle of the city.¹⁸

The settlement’s advantageous position, twin harbors, and access to raw materials contributed greatly to its success through an effective exploitation of the surrounding geological resources and a lively industry of production and distribution of manufactured goods. Starting with Homer, ancient sources described Corinth as “wealthy,” “blest,” and “prosperous.”¹⁹ The city in its heyday acquired and maintained industrial and commercial importance both in Greece and overseas across the wider Mediterranean, largely due the popularity of its ceramic products. Corinth’s trade interests overseas were bolstered as it emerged as one of the forerunners in the colonization movement in the west in the 8th century B.C., with a rooted presence especially in Italy.²⁰ The boundaries of Corinthia itself as a hinterland territory (or even a cultural zone), however, remain somewhat nebulous, since the topography does not lend itself to a clear articulation of natural borders (Fig. 5.4). The Geraneia mountains immediately to the north of the isthmus are usually taken as the division between the lands of Corinth and Megara who

¹⁶ Robinson 2011, xxi.

¹⁷ Farnham 2016.

¹⁸ Kopestonsky 2016.

¹⁹ *aphneios*, *olbia*, and *eudaimon* in Homer, *Iliad* 2.570; Pindar, *Olympian* 13.4; and Herodotos 3.52 respectively.

²⁰ Corinth’s colonization efforts and her presence overseas have been discussed extensively in previous scholarship. For a recent overview, see Stickler 2010.

commanded access points into the Peloponnese from the north. An area of particular dispute between these two *poleis* was the Perachora peninsula, whose control passed from Megara to Corinth sometime in the 9th or the 8th century B.C.²¹ To the west lay another strong *polis* of the region, Sicyon, whose boundaries with Corinth were probably contained by the river Nemea. Corinth's southern borders with the *poleis* of Cleonae, Argos, and Epidaurus are more problematic and have been subject of much scholarly discussion.²² In this rugged and mountainous terrain, Cleonae seems to have occupied an important position that controlled the passes into the Argolid from Corinthia. The tension between Argos and Corinth may have been an influential factor in Corinth's alliances with Sparta in the Classical period.

Like Argos and other *poleis* of the Peloponnese, the early mythical history of Dorian Corinth is traced to the return of the exiled descendants of Heracles—the Heraclidae—back to Peloponnesian lands. According to tradition, an aristocratic clan of Heraclid descent called the Bacchiadae usurped the control of Corinth from an existing monarchy around 750 B.C. and ruled as an aristocratic group. Herodotus tells us that the Bacchiadae observed a strict endogamy tradition and kept the clan lines pure.²³ Historians generally agree that the rise of Corinth as an important center in mainland Greece coincides with the traditional dates of the transition from monarchy to oligarchy.²⁴ The Bacchiadae were in turn overthrown by tyrant Cypselus in 657

²¹ For 9th century influence, see Salmon 1984, 46-48. For an argument in favor of a later date in the 8th century for Corinth's influence over the peninsula, see Legon 1981, 59-70. Also see Roebuck 1972, 108, 11; Payne 1940, 34-42, 53-69; and Hammond 1954, 83-102, for possible Argive presence at the Perachora sanctuary.

²² For a summary, see Salmon 1984, 5-7. For a more comprehensive discussion of the topography of Corinthia, see Wiseman 1978.

²³ Herodotus 5.92.1.

²⁴ Coldstream 2003, 167.

B.C.²⁵ The rest of the 7th century passed under tyrants Periander, whose reign is reported to have been one of great prosperity, and his successor Psammetichus, who was the last tyrant of Corinth. Corinth continued to prosper into the Archaic and Classical periods, but was continually tangled up in warfare and military campaigns both in Greece and overseas with varying degrees of success.

The archaeological evidence for the development of Corinth as a political and cultural center begins with the earliest traces of serious occupation in the area in the Early Neolithic period with significant concentrations in the later forum area and around Temple Hill.²⁶ Occupation continued into Early Helladic, but evidence of activity becomes meager after the Early Bronze Age until the beginning of the Early Iron Age. This gap in the archaeology of Corinth caused some scholarly discussion about the nature of the site during the Mycenaean period.²⁷ The most significant Bronze Age context at Corinth is the Middle Helladic tumulus in the North Cemetery, but there is no firm evidence of a substantial habitation site that corresponds with this mortuary context.²⁸ The later site of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the northern slopes of Acrocorinth has yielded some LH IIIB-LH IIIC material, including a so-called Mycenaean Building dated to LH IIIC, but Rutter (1979) argues that the building was destroyed by fire and abandoned shortly after it was built.²⁹ There are no other significant Mycenaean deposits at Corinth that point to a large-scale settlement. In fact, the entire region of Corinthia is

²⁵ Diodorus Siculus fr. 7.9.2-6. Salmon (1984, 1-54) discusses how the foundation of Corinth relates historically and archaeologically with the return of the Heraclidae and the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnese.

²⁶ Lavezzi 2003, 63-66.

²⁷ Salmon 1984, 39-48.

²⁸ Blegen et al. 1964; Rutter 1990. Based on the MH graves and LH pottery in the North Cemetery, Weinberg (1943, 3) suggests that there was some "light occupation in this vicinity."

²⁹ Rutter 1979, 389-390. Also see Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 13-15.

conspicuously lacking in Mycenaean citadels or tombs.³⁰ Roebuck (1972) suggests that Mycenaean Corinth must have been similar to the Early Iron Age pattern of widely dispersed small villages, but based on pottery scatters he also speculates that the main Mycenaean settlement may have been located underneath the later layers of the city.”³¹

The paucity of Mycenaean presence is surprising given the advantageous location of the site near the isthmus, but Salmon (1984) remarks that the absence of a proper acropolis that is easy to fortify and defend must be the reason for the gap in occupation.³² This lack of historical connection to the Mycenaean past compared to the sites of Argolid may have been significant in the development of the civic identity at later Corinth. While tangible material links to the Bronze Age past provided many other *poleis* with proof of their connection to the landscape—perhaps even their autochthony—Corinth lacked the remains and ruins to reference with confidence, a problem which must have complicated the traditional politics of belonging and legitimacy that ancient Greeks were accustomed to practice. Corinthians still found strategies for engaging with a historical and mythical past in various media in rather creative ways. One such avenue for the expression of civic identity was the composition of a local epic, the *Corinthiaca*, which narrated and praised the legendary history of the city. The epic is lost, but Pausanias provides some details. It is traditionally attributed to the 8th-century Corinthian poet Eumelus, but some give it a

³⁰ For overviews of the archaeology of Mycenaean Corinthia, including the settlement at Korakou and the so-called “Mycenaean Wall” at the Isthmus, see Tzonou-Herbst 2013; Rutter 2003, 1979; Morgan 1999, 347-367; and Blegen 1920. For other Mycenaean mortuary contexts in the area, see Kasimi 2013. Frederiksen (2013, 87) mentions that some sections of the walls on Acrocorinth could be Mycenaean, but he does not provide any discussion or basis for this argument.

³¹ Roebuck 1972, 98-99.

³² Salmon 1984, 53. Salmon (1984, 53) compares the Acrocorinth to the Larissa of Argos, and suggests that “the Dorians had apparently not yet learned to concentrate their settlements about a hill of regular acropolis type, for they chose to live beneath a much higher mountain to which they could retire in time of danger.”

mid-6th century date.³³ The need to explain the city's confused legendary past would have been a major motivation behind this poetic manipulation of history. West (2002) observes that Corinth "had no standing in traditional epic myth, and it is hardly mentioned in Homer. A mythical history had to be constructed for it in the Archaic period."³⁴

A similar effort in constructing an imagined history and alluding to a non-existent Mycenaean past can perhaps be seen in architecture, particularly that of the so-called "Cyclopean fountain" (Fig. 5.6). This intriguing installation is a 6th-century artificial grotto that accesses Peirene's waters. Hill (1964) describes the grotto's architecture as a construction "of great stones of conglomerate laid with each stone overhanging that beneath, in a manner which has its closest analogy in the store-chambers and corridors underneath the walls of Tiryns."³⁵ In addition to the construction technique of the corbelled vault and the use of Cyclopean blocks, the choice of the construction material is provocative: hard conglomerate is typical of Mycenaean architecture in the Argolid, but it is generally not used at Corinth whose local limestone is much easier to carve, transport, and use.³⁶ While the precise reasons behind the design and construction of such a mystifying architectural element will remain unknown, the possibility that Corinthian architects were fabricating a Mycenaean relic in the heart of the Archaic city is meaningful in terms of the settlement's emerging civic and urban identity.

Following the controversial gap in settlement's occupational history after the Early Bronze Age, Weinberg (1943) argues that the Submycenaean period represents "the resettlement

³³ West 2002, 109.

³⁴ West 2002, 119.

³⁵ Hill 1964, 46. Robinson (2011, 151-174) argues that there was no conscious reference to Mycenaean architecture and the vault is simply built to emulate a cave.

³⁶ According to Robinson (2011, 154-155), the choice of conglomerate is not that significant as it would have been covered with hydraulic mortar.

of the site of Corinth.”³⁷ Submycenaean finds at Corinth, however, are equally meager, consisting of only pottery scatters, a handful of graves, and the remains of a possible hut to the west of the museum.³⁸ The extent of occupation at Corinth does not appear to have been significant until the Late Protogeometric period when we begin to see a noticeable increase in human activity around 900 B.C.³⁹ Salmon (1984) argues that the LPG remains at the upper end of the Lechaem Road Valley represent habitation at a previously unoccupied area, and he links this potential shift in location to the arrival of Dorians.⁴⁰ Roebuck (1972) identifies Temple Hill as the nucleus of the settlement’s origins and a nodal point for its expansion.⁴¹

Coldstream (2003) writes that, in the first half of the 8th century, Corinth “had already grown to the size of a major city; and by 700 B.C. she had become the foremost commercial power in Greece.”⁴² Like Athens and Argos, 8th century B.C. seems to be a watershed moment of change, expansion, and rise for this settlement. As is the case with these other two *poleis*, however, architectural remains from this period continue to elude archaeologists. The area of the Roman forum is very heavily constructed and disturbed by later activity, and the rest of Corinth outside this zone has received only sporadic attention and excavation. In the forum area, a retaining wall dated to EG was found in the vicinity of Peirene.⁴³ Roebuck (1972) argues that the occupational debris and other Geometric material around this spring indicates continuous

³⁷ Weinberg 1943, 3. He envisions this event to be “the arrival of small scattered groups or families.”

³⁸ Roebuck 1972, 101; Weinberg 1943, 3-8. For Submycenaean graves at Corinth, see Dickey 1992.

³⁹ Dickey 1992, 135-136; Salmon 1984, 42.

⁴⁰ Salmon 1984, 45-46.

⁴¹ Roebuck 1972, 98-99.

⁴² Coldstream 2003, 147.

⁴³ Williams 1978b, 3-9.

habitation into the Archaic period.⁴⁴ Evidence of attempts to organize the growing settlement and provide infrastructure is also indicated by several wells and a drainage pipe that was installed in MG to drain water across the Lechaeum Valley and past the Peirene Spring (Fig. 5.7).⁴⁵ This drain remained an important feature and dictated the building activity in the area until the Classical period.⁴⁶ At Potters' Quarter, the remains of an apsidal house were dated by the excavators to the Geometric period, suggesting a possible habitation cluster here, but the precise date is not mentioned.⁴⁷

The traces of later 8th- and 7th-century habitation are more abundant. Finds concentrate in the Lechaeum Road Valley and forum area, but this is partially thanks to the research priorities of the excavation team. To the south of the Sacred Spring, excavations unearthed a terrace wall and a bothros dated to LG (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8). Williams and Fisher (1971) propose that the heavy terrace wall was constructed to protect the water source to the north from erosion and construction debris, which suggests the beginnings of a thoughtful and forward-looking urbanization process.⁴⁸ Early Archaic (i.e. Protocorinthian in local pottery sequence) remains also include a well-preserved house that was built immediately upon the LG terrace, and the corner of another house to the west of it (Fig. 5.8).⁴⁹ Traces of another early Archaic house and some associated pits were recovered to the south of the forum, near the west end of the later South Stoa.⁵⁰ It is also around this time that there is more attention paid to hydraulic installations.

⁴⁴ Roebuck, 1972, 102.

⁴⁵ Frederiksen 2013, 83; Robinson 1969, 1-35.

⁴⁶ Donati 2010, 97.

⁴⁷ Frederiksen 2013, 83, n.19, with information provided through personal communication with Charles Williams.

⁴⁸ Williams and Fisher 1971, 3.

⁴⁹ Williams and Fisher 1971, 3-10.

⁵⁰ Williams 1980, 108-110.

Construction of wells increase; about a dozen wells in the forum area alone date from LG to Early Archaic periods. Robinson (2011) dates the earliest architectural elaboration of Peirene to the 8th and 7th centuries.⁵¹ In addition, a supply chamber for what later becomes the Sacred Spring is built at this time. Williams and Fisher (1971) take the early phases of the organization of the Sacred Spring as the beginnings of the monumentalization of this feature that turns into an on-going project in the center of Corinth.⁵² Bookidis (2003) remarks that, as the name implies, the spring was considered as a sacred location and the early phases of its architectural organization can also be associated with cult activity.⁵³

While archaeological traces of domestic and civic contexts are elusive in early Corinth, cult contexts remain a significant source of information. In many ways, Corinth was a sacred landscape dotted by shrines, temples, and sanctuaries of a wide range of spatial complexity from an early period onwards. A cult of Aphrodite starts on the peak of Acrocorinth perhaps as early as the Early Geometric, or even Protogeometric period.⁵⁴ On the northern slopes of the Acrocorinth, earliest votive offerings at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore start in LG or perhaps just before.⁵⁵ Arguably the most famous sacred context at Corinth, however, is the cult of Apollo at Temple Hill.⁵⁶ Geometric pottery and bronze dedications mark the beginning of cult activity at this site in LG. In the first quarter of the 7th century, a temple that is thought to be the

⁵¹ Robinson 2011, xix.

⁵² Williams and Fisher 1971, 3, 10.

⁵³ Bookidis 2003, 250.

⁵⁴ Bookidis 2003, 248; Williams 1986, 18-19.

⁵⁵ Bookidis 2003, 248, Pfaff 1999, 118-120. The site of the sanctuary has yielded a more or less continuous sequence of pottery throughout the Early Iron Age, but it is thought that the earlier assemblages belong to domestic contexts, whereas the function of the site changes to that of a sanctuary later on. Pfaff (1999, 119) observes that the use of this site as a sanctuary of Demeter is well documented from the 7th century onwards, but it is difficult to judge when exactly the shift from domestic to cult activity took place.

⁵⁶ For the identification of the cult as that of Apollo, see Bookidis 2003, 248-250.

predecessor of the Temple of Apollo was erected.⁵⁷ The temple probably had a simple rectangular plan with no colonnade, but our evidence comes from the roof and the stone blocks of the superstructure, not the foundations. Judging from the size of the architectural elements recovered at the site, the building must have been impressive in size, although the exact dimensions cannot be ascertained. The precise design of the superstructure of the building is also debated. It is likely that the walls were entirely made of stone,⁵⁸ but Rhodes (2003) also mentions the possibility of a stone socle followed by a mudbrick superstructure, which in turn was topped by a stone cornice course (Fig. 5.9).⁵⁹

Accompanying the superstructure of the 7th-century temple was a terracotta-tiled roof that was hipped on all four sides (Fig. 5.10).⁶⁰ Rhodes (2003) observes that it was at Corinth where “the roof was first recognized as being an appropriate vehicle for the further monumentalization of the Greek temple, and it is in the 7th-century temple of Apollo on Temple Hill that that crucial invention can first be documented in Greece.”⁶¹ Moreover, the roof of this building was not only functional, but decorative. The precise interlocking system created an intricate effect of pan and cover tiles across the top as well as along the eaves. In addition, traces of glaze on the tiles suggest that there was additional decoration: approximately one in seven tiles carried black paint, which may have resulted in a striped or checkered pattern. With this building program, Corinth assumed a pioneer role in the monumentalization of religious architecture in design, size,

⁵⁷ Bookidis 2003, p. 248-250. For the early excavations of the 7th century temple, see Weinberg 1939a, 197; Weinberg 1939b, 595; Roebuck 1955, 153-157; Roebuck 1990, 47; in Robinson 1976, 224-235.

⁵⁸ Robinson 1976, 227, which remains a generally accepted opinion.

⁵⁹ Rhodes 2003, 88-89.

⁶⁰ For more on roof tiles and the roofing system of the 7th-century temple, see Sapirstein 2016, 2009; Robinson 1984; Rhodes 1984, 2003; Coulton 1977.

⁶¹ Rhodes 2003, 88.

building material, and decoration within an urban setting. The significance of this early interest in constructing formalized and monumental sacred buildings in the heart of the settlement cannot be overemphasized in terms of Greek urbanization.

Nearby extra-urban sanctuaries under Corinthian influence also attest to Corinth's gradual rise at the end of the Geometric and the beginning of the Archaic periods. Archaeological evidence suggests that there is heightened activity in dedications and construction at the sanctuaries of Isthmia, Perachora, and Solygeia in this transitional period. Kōiv (2013) remarks that "these sanctuaries—especially Perachora and Solygeia—are likely to have demarcated the territory under the Corinthian power."⁶² At Solygeia to the south of Cenchreae, a sanctuary dedicated to Hera or Demeter has been dated to the end of the 8th century BC.⁶³ Across the Corinthian Gulf at Perachora, construction may have begun with an unassuming, apsidal temple dedicated to Hera Akraia as early as the beginning of the 8th century.⁶⁴ Some have attributed the foundation of the sanctuary to Argos or Megara, but many agree that it was a Corinthian sanctuary from the beginning.⁶⁵ Bookidis (2003) highlights extraordinarily high quality of the assemblages that have been recovered from early Perachora and suggests that "the wealth of its dedications, many foreign, must reflect the affluent merchant city interested in overseas trade and its colonies."⁶⁶ In the 7th century, the temple at Perachora

⁶² Kōiv 2013, 342.

⁶³ Verdelis, 1962; Bookidis 2003, 250.

⁶⁴ Tomlinson 1992, 331.

⁶⁵ Bookidis 2003, 215; Williams 1995, 34; Salmon 1972, 178-204.

⁶⁶ Bookidis 2003, 215. Also see Morgan 1988 for a discussion of Perachora's position and significance in terms of Corinth's overseas interests.

may have been renovated and expanded to include what has been interpreted as a cult dining-room.⁶⁷

The largest and most significant sanctuary of the region was certainly the panhellenic sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia some 16 km to the east of ancient Corinth. Ziskowski (2011) suggests that “it is likely, since the sanctuary of Isthmia predates the formation of a civic center at Corinth, that this shrine represents the first visible indicator of a group identity for the Corinthians.”⁶⁸ Morgan (1999) has shown that Isthmia, which seems to have entered a hiatus in LH IIIC/Submycenaean periods following the abandonment of the Mycenaean settlement, became a functioning sanctuary in PG.⁶⁹ But it was during the course of the Geometric period, particularly in the 8th century B.C., that the site became a sacred locale comparable to the renowned sanctuaries like Olympia in its rapid development, spatial articulation, and collection of prestigious offerings. Parallel to the architectural experiments at Corinth, Isthmia began to feature monumental sacred buildings in the 7th century. Here, a hecatompedon that was approximately 32 meters in length was erected for Poseidon around 675-650 B.C.⁷⁰ The building also featured a peristyle and stone walls, in addition to a long altar and a temenos.⁷¹ Morgan (1999) draws a direct link between Isthmia’s transformation from the Geometric period onwards and Corinth’s concurrent rise as a political center.

⁶⁷ For a summary of the dining room, also referred to as the “Hearth Building” or the *hestiatorion*, see Pfaff 2003, 128-130. Tomlinson (1992, 1977) dates it to the 7th century B.C., but 8th or 6th century dates have also been proposed.

⁶⁸ Ziskowski 2011, 299.

⁶⁹ Morgan 1999, 369-400. Morgan maintains that the character of the site changed from settlement (in the Mycenaean period) to sanctuary (in PG), and, given the chronological gap in activity in LH IIIC/Submycenaean, there is no continuity of cult from the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age.

⁷⁰ Barletta 2016, 32; Broneer 1971; Gebhard 2001.

⁷¹ For a summary of the debate around the reconstruction of the peristyle, see Ziskowski 2011; Gebhard 2001; Gebhard, E. and Hemans 1992.

While early Corinth gives us ample evidence of an interest in sacred architecture on a monumental scale, there is little information on civic buildings or the commercial heart of the city. The location of the Greek agora of Corinth remains an open-ended question.⁷² In early scholarship, it was generally assumed that the Greek agora lay under—and was destroyed by—the Roman forum.⁷³ On the other hand, Williams (1970) posits that the topography of this section of Corinth would not have been suitable for a large, open-air space before the Hellenistic leveling and terracing operations, and places the Greek agora to the north of Temple Hill, possibly near the square of the modern village.⁷⁴ The arguments presented by Williams in support of the northern location of the agora were largely accepted by the majority of scholars who worked on the topography and architecture of Corinth. Nevertheless, the most recent study of the topic was conducted by Donati (2011, 2010), who rightly points out that the agora of Corinth must be assessed and identified on its own right, not against a standard checklist of the topography of a typical Greek agora.⁷⁵ According to Donati, the Greek agora of Corinth indeed lies under the Roman forum.

There is some evidence that the construction of the fortification walls of Corinth may have also begun as early as the 7th century B.C.⁷⁶ A segment of a wall dated to the 7th century has been excavated along the west ridge of the Potters' Quarter, which lies some 1.5 kilometers west of the Roman forum (Fig. 5.11). This section of wall, while almost certainly defensive in

⁷² Donati 2010, 2011.

⁷³ Plans in Corinth volume I:1, for instance, place the Greek agora immediately to the south of Peirene. Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 7.

⁷⁴ Williams 1970, 32-39.

⁷⁵ Donati 2010, 92-93.

⁷⁶ Frederiksen 2013, 79-90; Lang 1996, 171; Williams 1982, 15-18; Stillwell 1948, 14. After his recent review of the material, Frederiksen (2013: 81) concludes that the wall existed by about 625 B.C.

nature, does not correspond to the footprint of the Classical fortifications but lies slightly to the west of them. Whether this wall stretched and encircled the entire settlement as early as the 7th century, or whether it was confined to this area, is still open for discussion, but the debate has significant ramifications in terms of understanding what early Corinth looked like.⁷⁷ Some have suggested that Corinth in the early Archaic period was still a cluster of small villages, and the village located at the Potters' Quarter was the only one to receive an early fortification. In his recent reexamination of the topic, however, Frederiksen (2013) is hesitant to accept that the Potters' Quarter was the only part of Corinth that was fortified in the 7th century. He questions the possible motivation behind building a large defensive structure here, and rightly points out that the topography of this area is not suitable to function as a citadel or an acropolis, nor the finds indicate that there was anything particularly worth fortifying. As a result, he favors the theory that Corinth in its entirety was fortified in the Archaic period. The hypothetical course that he proposes is only slightly smaller than the Classical circuit, but it does leave out Temple Hill and part of the Lechaëum Road Valley (Fig. 5.12).⁷⁸ The area enclosed by this proposed wall is approximately 150 hectares, which makes it an unusually large stretch of fortified land for this period, especially in the mainland. Nevertheless, according to Frederiksen, "it seems an inescapable conclusion that there was a considerable lower circuit in the early Archaic period – exactly where it ran is of less importance."⁷⁹

It is perhaps worth noting here that Frederiksen's (2013) vision of early Corinth is fairly different from that of Roebuck's (1972), who envisions the continuation of a very loosely

⁷⁷ Frederiksen 2013; Shanks 1999, 65; Williams 1982, 15-17; Roebuck 1972, 125; Stillwell 1948, 14.

⁷⁸ The long walls between Corinth and the port of Lechaëum were not erected until the 5th century.

⁷⁹ Frederiksen 2013, 87.

populated sprawl of scattered villages throughout the Geometric and into the Archaic period.⁸⁰

Roebuck's view, however, is difficult to reconcile with the city's early hegemony in crafts production, her strong presence in trade, her growing colonial interests overseas, and the beginnings of 7th-century monumental architecture. These achievements suggest a level of social, economic, and political organization that is far more complex than a collection of small villages. Roebuck's (1972) arguments that Corinth was "relatively isolated in a cultural sense and rural in character" and her "population was poor" can be only partially accepted.⁸¹ It is true that Corinth remains traditional and somewhat subdued in some aspects of its material culture, such as the output of its mortuary realm, as I discuss below. Nevertheless, conservatism in burial customs is not to be taken as cultural stagnancy or as a reflection of the socio-economic conditions of the settlement. Given the state of development and structure at contemporary Greek settlements, there was nothing rural or poor about 7th-century Corinth who boasted an early fortification wall, urban springs, and a monumental temple to Apollo. The subjective impression of an underdeveloped Corinth rests partially on the fact that Corinthian graves are generally lacking in grave goods throughout the Geometric period; we do not see imports, weapons, or elaborate jewelry deposited in mortuary contexts, nor do we see anything equivalent to the impressive Geometric grave markers that stood in Athenian cemeteries. In Classical archaeology, this type of academic qualification of mortuary assemblages has led to narratives of rise and decline (as in 7th-century Argos) or a general impression of poverty and provincial character. Yet, it has been extensively discussed in current anthropological theory that there is no direct correlation between

⁸⁰ Roebuck 1972, 125. Also Shanks 1999, 69.

⁸¹ Roebuck 1972, 104-105.

the perceived quality of grave goods and the socio-economic standing of not only the owner of the grave but an entire population of a settlement.

Like Roebuck, Ziskowski (2011) remarks that in the first half of the 8th century BC, Corinth's loose political and physical organization had remained mostly unchanged. Her observations are also based on the quality of grave goods, particularly the gradual decrease in the offerings placed in graves at Corinth and the concurrent rise in dedications at Isthmia. She speculates that the changes seen at Isthmia "may be a reflection of the scattered nature of the early Corinthian community and the growing importance of this specific sanctuary to local ritual practices. More like an *ethne* than a polis at this time, the community rallied around a sanctuary that satisfied much of the region's religious needs."⁸² As Dickey (1992) also observes, the decline in the number of grave goods at Corinth likely represents the transfer of depositions from mortuary to sacred contexts.⁸³ The fact that an extra-urban sanctuary absorbs the shift, however, is not necessary a reflection of Corinth's own settlement structure or political system. As I have discussed above in Chapter 4 on Argos, a significant portion of the cult activity of that settlement is directed towards the Argive Heraion, a regional but still an extra-urban sanctuary. In fact, Argos throughout its history never develops a very strong cult focus within its urban setting, certainly nothing comparable to the Temple of Apollo at Corinth or the cults of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis in their monumentalization, prominence, and intensity. Therefore, the choice of an extra-urban sanctuary for cult practice and elite display does not necessarily reflect a scattered nature of organization at home, as Ziskowski implies, but perhaps a situation where a

⁸² Ziskowski 2011, 304.

⁸³ Dickey 1992, 138. This cyclical transfer between cemetery and sanctuary in Greece has been noted by other scholars, most notably Snodgrass 1980, 52-65; Morris 2000, 1987; Alexandridou 2016.

wider audience is more desirable or the geographical distance between the settlement and sanctuary is a symbolic claim of territorial rights.⁸⁴

Salmon (1984) finds Roebuck's model of multiple separate villages surviving into the Archaic period plausible, but concludes that "Corinth was already, in respect of amenities, population, and economic activity, a true city by the time of the tyrants."⁸⁵ A plausible picture for the settlement structure and layout of early Corinth is that of a growing and prosperous settlement that radiates from a small but urban and increasingly monumentalized core and spreads extends across a wide area in a dispersed pattern with small satellite nuclei. Population density is generally cited as one of the hallmarks of an ancient city,⁸⁶ and it is probable that early Corinth did not exhibit this characteristic. In all other respects, however, this settlement in the 7th century shows signs of a proto-urban center, including infrastructure, long-distance trade, craft specialization, defensive installations, and monumental architecture. Williams (1982), who is also in favor of a 7th-century circuit wall that encompassed the entire settlement at the time, suggests a habitation pattern that may have been similar to Corinth at the beginning of the 20th century AD when houses clustered around springs (at Anaploga, Hadji Mustafa, Peirene, and the Asklepion), and the rest of the area was extensive fields with scattered houses. According to Williams, the dispersed layout of early Corinth may have been a deliberate program of the tyrants, in particular Periander, who was mentioned by Aristotle for having banned citizens from living within the city.⁸⁷ As Forsdyke (2005) convincingly elaborates, however, the details of the

⁸⁴ In effect, comparable to de Polignac's (1995) point on the link between Argos and the Argive Heraion.

⁸⁵ Salmon 1984, 79.

⁸⁶ See chapters 1 and 2 for the definition of an ancient city.

⁸⁷ Aristotle fr. 611.20. See Williams 1982, 14-15 for a discussion of the possible connection between Periander's ban and the early layout of Corinth.

rule of the Corinthian tyrants derive from much later sources and are not to be taken at face value.⁸⁸

The three different patterns of urban growth and development we see in Athens, Argos, and Corinth, illustrate the diversity of the early urbanization process, even in settlements that are close geographically and yield evidence of contact with each other. This view already complicates the academic inclination to establish normative models of Greek urbanism or to reconstruct a common trajectory of physical change. As I discuss below, burial customs and the overall mortuary landscape of Corinth also exhibit significant differences in development compared to Athens and Argos.

History of Excavations and Scholarship

Unlike Athens and Argos, Corinth does not lie under a big modern city. Following a devastating earthquake in 1858, the city of Corinth was moved from its location near the ancient settlement and reestablished by the coast of the Corinthian Gulf. This archaeological advantage, however, is limited, as the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Frankish layers have been just as destructive in terms of obliterating any Early Iron Age and Archaic residues. First full-scale, systematic archaeological excavations at Corinth began in 1896 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) and continue to this day.⁸⁹ Thanks to the long-standing tradition of excavations by a single institute, as opposed to Athens or Argos where multiple foreign schools joined forces with the Greek Archaeological Service in the excavation of a wide range of contexts across the city, Corinth has a coherent data management system and

⁸⁸ Forsdyke 2005, 75-76.

⁸⁹ The Archaeological Institute of America was involved in the early campaigns, but from 1898 onwards ASCSA resumed the project alone. There have been years when no excavations were conducted—see Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 3-17, for an overview of the history of the early excavations.

consistency in publication standards. The results of the excavations have appeared regularly in *Hesperia*, as well as a thematic monograph series (titled *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, usually abbreviated as *Corinth*). The online database of Corinth excavations provides public access to a large archive of excavation photos, notebooks, drawings, and many other valuable resources.⁹⁰ In addition, several rescue excavations which took place to the north of the ancient city along the Corinth-Patras Highway and the suburban railway lines revealed a number of mortuary contexts ranging from Archaic to Roman times.⁹¹ As a whole, the findings from rescue excavations in this sector between the ancient settlement and Lechaëum suggest that the northern approach to the city was lined with a series of large cemeteries.

Needless to say, much of the archaeological effort has concentrated on the later layers of the city, particularly the Roman period. This is partly due to the density of monuments in the forum area, and partly because the widely dispersed layout of the ancient city presents a daunting task for archaeological investigations. A number of studies in the 1960s and 1970s have focused on the early urbanization of Corinth and made attempts to visualize the ancient settlement in the Geometric and Archaic periods. The topic, however, is in need of a revision. As for mortuary contexts, the seminal work remains Dickey's 1992 dissertation, titled "Corinthian Burial Customs, ca. 1100 to 550 BC." Since the publication of Dickey's study, some more graves from the Early Iron Age-Archaic periods have been excavated and published either as part of larger reports or as independent contexts.

⁹⁰ <http://corinth.ascsa.net/research?v=default> , accessed 4/31/2019.

⁹¹ Notable projects that yielded mortuary contexts are the construction of the Corinth-Patras Highway in 1964–1966, various construction projects for the railway between Corinth and Patras in 2002–2009, and the widening of the Corinth-Patras Highway in 2010–2011. See Slane 2017; Giannopoulou et al. 2013.

Two volumes of the *Corinth* series are dedicated wholly to mortuary contexts. *Corinth XIII: The North Cemetery* provides a detailed account of the graves (over 500 in number, ranging from Middle Helladic to Roman) excavated in 1928- 1930 but excludes the graves uncovered by Hill and Dinsmoor in 1915-1916.⁹² Most recently, *Corinth XXI: Tombs, Burials, and Commemoration in Corinth's Northern Cemetery* provided the publication of a series of graves and tombs excavated in 1961 and 1962; these contexts date from the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. and fall outside the scope of this dissertation. Another notable group that has been excavated in the years since Dickey's catalog is the Geometric graves at the Panayia Field to the southeast of the forum. The results have been published in detail in *Hesperia*.⁹³ The findings from the rescue excavations along the railway line and the Corinth-Patras Highway still await publication; some preliminary reports have appeared in conferences and the *Archaiologikon Deltion* series.⁹⁴

Burial Customs

Grave Types and Mortuary Behavior

Unfortunately, the mortuary data from Early Iron Age and early Archaic Corinth is much more limited than that of Athens or Argos. This is somewhat surprising given the fact that unlike Athens or Argos, Corinth is not encumbered by a modern urban sprawl and there is considerably more open space to explore. On the other hand, the limited deployment of rescue excavations at this site also means that the excavation process is complicated by logistics and priorities of the research campaigns, land ownership, and the sheer size of the ancient settlement space that can

⁹² Blegen et al. 1964.

⁹³ Sanders et al. 2014; Pfaff 2007.

⁹⁴ Giannopoulou et al. 2013; *ArchDelt* 56-59 B4, 156-58.

potentially yield finds. Dickey's 1992 dissertation on the burial practices of the entire Corinthia between 1100 to 550 B.C. catalogs 386 graves⁹⁵ and there have not been very many additions to the corpus since this publication.⁹⁶

Once again, the difficulty of dating graves in the absence of grave goods renders many contexts problematic. Dickey (1992) concludes that stone sarcophagi gradually began to replace pit and cist graves in the second half of the 8th century BC, and the shift was complete by the end of the same century.⁹⁷ Therefore, cist and pit graves that contain no grave goods and cannot be dated stratigraphically are given a Geometric date based on the assumption that this grave type ceased to exist after 700 B.C. In addition, a significant number of sarcophagi were also found empty and cannot be securely dated, since the use of sarcophagi continues into the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Dickey (1991) assigns sarcophagi to the Archaic period if the skeleton is in a contracted position based on his observation that the extended position becomes the norm after mid-6th century B.C.⁹⁸ Based on the same supposition, he gives sarcophagi that have dimensions suitable for a contracted body (as opposed to an extended one) an Archaic date even if no skeletal remains were recovered during the excavations. The margin of error in these criteria for dating the mortuary contexts of Corinth is considerable, and even then, it is impossible to be more precise than a broad "Geometric" and "Archaic" date for most of the graves. For these reasons, the total number of Corinthian graves that can be securely and somewhat precisely dated to somewhere between EG and Early Protocorinthian (EPC) based on grave goods or

⁹⁵ Seven graves contain double burials, so the total number of interments stands at 393.

⁹⁶ Panayia Field graves are a notable exception: see Pfaff 2007 and Sanders et al. 2014.

⁹⁷ Dickey 1992, 6. EG sarcophagi discovered at the Panayia Field, however, bring this conclusion into doubt. Pfaff 2007 and Sanders et al. 2014.

⁹⁸ Dickey 1992, 5.

stratigraphy comes to a modest sum of 54 (Table 5.2). Other graves that may fall into the chronological scope of this dissertation are occasionally addressed below under the discussion of burial customs or spatial practices, but they had to be omitted from the database and the detailed diachronic analysis of distribution patterns.

The prevailing burial practice at Corinth throughout the Early Iron Age and Archaic period is inhumation. Dickey (1992) notes that “ambiguous cases that could possibly be interpreted as cremations do exist, but they are few in number and in my opinion are best understood as inhumations, at least on present evidence.”⁹⁹ It has been suggested that some of the pots that have been found devoid of all human remains at Corinthian burial grounds may have originally contained cremated remains.¹⁰⁰ Yet there has been no convincing positive evidence for the practice of cremation or the use of pots as cinerary urns at Corinth.¹⁰¹ It is more likely that the pots originally contained infant inhumations (i.e. *enchytrismoι*), as it is usually the case at many other Greek cemeteries, and the underdeveloped skeletal remains have completely disintegrated due to environmental conditions.

There are a couple of instances where the excavators noted traces of burning within the grave or on the skeletal remains. At the North Cemetery, Grave 17, dated to MG II, is a pit in which charcoal and “burned matter” was found scattered through grave with a heavy concentration around the skull (Fig. 5.37). The skeleton was contracted and partially disintegrated but the elements appear to be *in situ*. The excavator also recorded charcoal and animal bones, especially in the southern extension of the grave where a subsidiary compartment

⁹⁹ Dickey 1992, 47-48.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, Williams 1970, 16, on Grave 1969-31 in the Lechaëum Road Valley.

¹⁰¹ Blegen et al. 1964, 18; Dickey 1992, 49.

was dug and covered by an independent slab. Young in Blegen et al. (1964) suggests that the burnt remains and bones may have been the remnants of a sacrifice or a funeral feast, and the pins that were found in the grave may have been used as spits.¹⁰² As Dickey (1992) notes, the excavation notebook observes traces of burning on the skull itself,¹⁰³ but this observation is not mentioned in the final publication. It is more likely that the heavily burnt soil and charcoal that tainted the bone gave the excavators the impression of burnt bone in the field, but this observation was corrected once the skull was cleaned, although not edited out of the notebook. Two other graves, Graves 21 and 22, also dated to MG II, yielded charcoal around the head.¹⁰⁴ Based on the articulated state of the skeletons and the inconsistent traces of burning within the grave, Dickey makes a convincing argument that these graves are inhumations, not cremations, and the burnt material comes from a funerary ritual. The ritual he proposes is the transfer and deposition of the sweepings (*kallysmata*) from the hearth of the deceased in order to “rid the house of the miasma associated with death.”¹⁰⁵

Overall, Corinthian mortuary contexts have yielded four main different types of graves: pits, cists, pots, and sarcophagi.¹⁰⁶ Pit graves are simple trenches for primary inhumation; they can vary in size and form, but any simple trench grave that is not lined by stones falls under this

¹⁰² Blegen et al. 1964, 24.

¹⁰³ Corinth Notebook Page: NB 393, spread 93 (pp. 174 - 175) Grave CCCXVI, Trench F, Section III, 4/3/1930.

¹⁰⁴ Young (Blegen et al. 1964, 23-30) proposes that all three graves—graves 17, 21, and 22—belong to the same family group (Group B). Potential family clusters at the North Cemetery are discussed further below, under spatial patterns.

¹⁰⁵ Dickey 1992, 50.

¹⁰⁶ Dickey (1992, 12-13) notes a variation of a pit grave, in which the grave is a slightly smaller trench at the bottom of a shaft. Therefore, a ledge is created for the cover slabs. Dickey chooses not to separate this type of construction into a fifth category of burial since it remains a pit grave in its basic construction technique and it is virtually indistinguishable from a simple pit if the shaft is shallow or destroyed. Later excavations at the Panayia Field showed that most graves, regardless of type, may have originally been set at the bottom of a shaft, but all traces of the shafts and the fill above cover slabs are either destroyed by heavy leveling operations or not recognized by the excavators until the slabs were exposed.

category (see, for instance, fig. 5.28). The trench can be cut into dirt or the bedrock. They are usually rectangular in shape (although some irregular or oval examples do exist) and covered with stone slabs. This simple grave form is fairly comparable to the pits at Argos. There has been some documented use of clay lining—or possibly mudbrick—that covered the interior walls of the trench and presumably the floor, although the latter part is somewhat unclear in reports. This variation of the pit grave is uncommon and has been called a “mud sarcophagus,” but the term is misleading in its implication that there is a container that has been constructed independently and transported to the grave site. An EG grave of a woman at the west end of the forum in the Lechaum Road Valley has yielded this kind of lining with walls that were 10 to 12 cm thick (Fig. 5.30).¹⁰⁷ Dickey (1992) brings up the possibility that the walls may have been made of mud brick rows instead of simple lining.¹⁰⁸ A second EG grave nearby was partially destroyed by later activity but enough of it was preserved for archaeologists to observe remnants of red clay lining.¹⁰⁹

Another interesting variation of the pit grave type is compound burials that have a secondary niche or compartment. An MG II pit in the south side of the forum featured a niche that was carved into the southwest wall at the level of the stone cover and sealed off by an upright slab (Fig. 5.28).¹¹⁰ The niche housed a lekythos-oinochoe and the skeletal remains of a subadult. Another example of a similar configuration dated to EG was found near the museum.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Grave 1969-29. Williams 1970, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Dickey 1992, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Grave 1970-9. Dickey 1992, Appendix p. A-4 (Grave LV-8 according to Dickey’s cataloging system). To the two clay lined examples from Lechaum Road Valley, Dickey (1992, 17) adds a third case, dated to LG, from the Potters’ Quarter, but the original report

¹¹⁰ Grave 1937-3 (also referred to as “Grave D” in reports). Weinberg 1943, 25-27.

¹¹¹ Grave 1940-5.

In this instance, a small “oval pit” was dug into the shelf of the shaft at the south end of the main pit (Fig. 5.29). Dickey (1992) interprets the subsidiary pit, which also contained pottery and small bones, as a niche whose ceiling was shaved off due to later activity.¹¹² In both of these pit graves, the secondary niche seems to have contained a burial, so the entire configuration can be considered a compound burial. If these are examples of successive burials, and the niches were carved much later than the pits, the main chamber of the pit would have been occupied while this work took place. Dickey (1992) finds it more probable that in both cases the adult and the child were interred simultaneously. He brings up the likelihood that the individuals could be mother and child, but in the case of the EG grave with the subsidiary “oval pit,” he deems it very unlikely on the grounds that the grave contained iron weapons, presumably an inappropriate offering for a woman.¹¹³ The skeletal remains from neither of these contexts were analyzed for sex or age estimate. Recent excavations at the Panayia Field unearthed a similar example of a pit with a subsidiary niche, but the niche contained pottery only and did not yield any skeletal remains.¹¹⁴

A second type of burial that is attested in Corinth is the cist grave. As discussed in Chapter 4, cists are very common at Argos and become the most popular grave form in the Geometric period. By contrast, only 10 examples have been recovered at Corinth; out of these 10, only 3 from the Lechaem Road Valley can be securely dated to fall within the chronological scope of this dissertation.¹¹⁵ Even though this grave type does not appear to be very popular in

¹¹² Weinberg 1948, 198; Dickey 1992, 18, A1.

¹¹³ Dickey 1992, 45.

¹¹⁴ Grave 2004-4. Also see nearby Graves 2003-12 and 2006-4, which are sarcophagus burials with comparable niches.

¹¹⁵ Grave 1971-1, Grave 1971-2, and, Grave 1926-24, all dated to MG II

Corinthia, the construction method shows variety. Some are lined with upright stone slabs (or orthostats) while others are lined with rubble masonry. A rubble-built cist in the Lechaem Road Valley lacked a stone cover but the head of the individual was covered with a large pithos fragment, which is tentatively identified as Argive.¹¹⁶ A couple of examples combine the two techniques of construction and feature two walls lined with slabs and two with rubble.¹¹⁷ An MG II grave at the Potters' Quarter is one such example with slabs against the long sides of the pit whereas the short side at the head of the skeleton only has a rubble packing (Fig. 5.43).

The third type of grave—the stone sarcophagus—makes sporadic appearances in the 9th century B.C. but gradually becomes popular in Corinth and replaces cists and pits by the end of the 8th century.¹¹⁸ Corinthian sarcophagi are usually monolithic constructions carved out of a local limestone block (see, for instance, figs. 5.46, 5.47, and 5.49). For the earlier part of the Geometric period when their use seems to be infrequent, Pfaff (2007) suggests that they must have been carved on demand (and somewhat hastily) since there was not a very big market for these containers.¹¹⁹ The size of early sarcophagi vary, but they tend to be on the smaller size, big enough only for a contracted body, until fully extended interments become more popular in later periods. Yet Sanders et al. (2014) note that the sarcophagi recovered in the Panayia Field are some of the largest examples. With an interior length of 1.6 meters, the sarcophagus in Grave 2002-11 in this area is the largest recovered to date at Corinth (Fig. 5.46).¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Grave 1971-1. Williams and Fisher 1972, 145.

¹¹⁷ Dickey 1992, 20.

¹¹⁸ Dickey 1992, 25.

¹¹⁹ Pfaff 2007, 476.

¹²⁰ Sanders et al 2014, 35.

Several Geometric and early Archaic sarcophagi have yielded traces of stucco inside, but the majority were left with a rough finish (Fig. 5.46).¹²¹ The sarcophagi were usually covered with monolithic lids, which were most commonly made of limestone, but a few examples are in sandstone. Based on the observation that the covers are not carved as carefully as the sarcophagi and in many cases seem to be ill-fitting, Dickey (1992) raises the possibility that the two pieces may have been produced and bought separately, not as a unit.¹²² Some grave goods may be placed inside the container, but another common practice was to leave offerings, mostly pottery, around or near the sarcophagus. In the Panayia Field, Graves 2006-4 and 2003-12, both monolithic sarcophagi, have subsidiary niches carved into the wall of the grave shaft (Figs. 5.44, 5.45). The presence of pottery but no human bone in these niches suggests that the compartments were intended for offerings, not as an additional burial space. While subsidiary niches for offerings appear to be an uncommon feature of sarcophagus burials at Corinth, Sanders et al. (2014) point out that the North Cemetery excavations generally did not dig below the level of the rim on the exterior of sarcophagi and suggest that the presence of niches around sarcophagi may have gone undetected in areas where the grave trench outside the sarcophagi was not properly investigated.¹²³

In addition to monolithic sarcophagi, there are a few constructions that are called “built” or “composite” forms. In these cases, the walls of the sarcophagus are cut out of single slabs and mortised together at the corners. The main difference between a slab-lined cist and a composite sarcophagus is that the latter also received a single slab as its floor, which creates the effect of a

¹²¹ Dickey (1992, 31-32) observes that interior stucco did not become common until the Middle Corinthian period. Two Late Corinthian examples have yielded traces of paint.

¹²² Dickey 1992, 28.

¹²³ Sanders et al. 2014, 34.

properly sealed container. Grave 47 in the North Cemetery is categorized as a composite sarcophagus by Dickey (1992), but the majority of it is hewn out of a single block, with the exception of one short side that was carved separately and mortised to the main block at the corners.¹²⁴ Similarly, an Archaic example (grave 111 at the North Cemetery) was carved out of a single block without a bottom and set on top of a separate slab that served as its floor.¹²⁵ In these cases, it is possible that there was a mishap in carving or an imperfection in the stone that caused the carver to salvage the sarcophagus in composite form. Young in Blegen et al. (1964) proposes that the composite sarcophagi were transitional between pits and monolithic sarcophagi.¹²⁶ Yet, as Sanders et al. (2014) have demonstrated, there are several examples of monolithic sarcophagi from LPG, EG, and MG that precede composite constructions.¹²⁷

Several monolithic sarcophagi had exterior notches on four corners, presumably to accommodate ropes for lowering the sarcophagus into place.¹²⁸ Recent investigations of grave shafts at the Panayia Field have shown that sarcophagi were partially surrounded by a cobble fill layer (Fig. 5.45A). In the case of Grave 2002-11, offerings are placed around the sarcophagus on top of the cobble fill before the whole grave is covered by soil (Fig. 5.46).¹²⁹ Sanders et al. (2014) estimate that the construction of a monolithic sarcophagus would have taken several days and its transportation and placement into the ground would have required substantial manpower. These authors remark that “the construction of a large sarcophagus would have been part of the

¹²⁴ Young in Blegen et al. 1964, 35; Dickey 1992, 27, appendix A-36.

¹²⁵ Dickey 1992, 27, appendix A-55-56.

¹²⁶ Young in Blegen et al. 1964, 18-20.

¹²⁷ Sanders et al. 2014, 35. Dickey (1992, 25-26) also points out the earlier examples of monolithic sarcophagi, but finds Young’s arguments for a linear evolution plausible.

¹²⁸ Dickey 1992, 30; Palmer in Blegen et al 1964, 71.

¹²⁹ Pfaff 2007, 449-450. The cobble fill came up to the slab level on the north side of the sarcophagus. Pfaff (2007, 450) suggests that the higher fill on this side could be a ramp for sliding the cover slab into place.

preburial display for the individual and his or her family within the community.”¹³⁰ The estimated weight of the Panayia Field sarcophagi range between 1.3-2.6 tons, depending on the size. Given this weight, their transportation to the grave site and their placement into the grave would also have been a spectacle. Sanders et al. (2014) propose a windlass on a framing system, whose presence and operation would have been impactful, especially at grave sites that were within habitation limits (Fig. 5.50).

The fourth type of burial that is attested in Corinth is the pot burial (*enchytrismos*) (for instance, Fig. 5.31).¹³¹ Systematic excavations at the North Cemetery have yielded several examples that carried subadult remains. Unfortunately, the same project also exposed a methodological and interpretive problem: infant skeletal remains are generally heavily damaged or entirely destroyed in most soil environments in Greece; infant bones are unlikely to be recovered in archaeological contexts unless the excavators sieve or float the soil from suspected graves. Therefore, subadult *enchytrismo*i may not yield much skeletal data in general and the burial containers may appear empty. The problem in the North Cemetery (and probably the rest of Corinth) is that some graves were accompanied by a vessel—a hydria or a krater—which was placed outside the grave at one of its corners. It is commonly agreed that these pots are offerings that were used in some type of ritual—perhaps grave-side libation—and never served as burial containers.¹³² In many cases, the pot is a handmade hydria closed by a drinking vessel like a skyphos. A notable number of pit graves at the North Cemetery, especially several that are dated to MG, have yielded confirmed examples of this practice (Fig. 5.36). This practice causes some

¹³⁰ Sanders et al. 2014, 33.

¹³¹ Like Argos (Chapter 4), the term “pot burial” here refers to inhumations in vessels, not cinerary urns.

¹³² Farnham 2016.

difficulty in establishing the function of intact pots that are found empty across the cemetery: are they vessels for post-funerary rituals or are they subadult burials? In many cases, these “isolated” pots neither contain skeletal remains nor can be associated spatially with a nearby burial, and it becomes difficult to determine their systemic use, especially for kraters. Dickey (1992) identifies empty and isolated pots in Corinth as burials (*enchytrismoi*) if they have a stone slab that seals the pot (which is customary for *enchytrismoi* but not for libation vessels) or if additional grave goods were found within or near the pot.¹³³ These difficulties in identifying pot burials limit their archaeological visibility at Corinth. Except a handful of examples that were recovered in the Lechaum Road Valley, all pot burials come from the North Cemetery.¹³⁴

Among the common vessel types for pot burials at Corinth were handmade kraters and coarse amphorae. Only two pot burials that fall into the chronological scope of this dissertation were painted finewares (Fig. 5.40). Both were recovered very close to each other at the North Cemetery. Grave 44 is an LG krater that was sealed with a stone slab. It was found immediately adjacent to the southwest corner of a pit grave, but since the krater itself also contained skeletal material, it was securely identified as a pot burial, not a grave offering. Similarly, Grave 43, an Argive krater dated to the Argive Subgeometric (i.e. Middle Protocorinthian in the local sequence), was excavated immediately next to a rubble-built cist grave. The krater did not contain any skeletal remains but it was identified as a burial rather than a grave offering because of the stone slab that sealed its rim. These four burials (two *enchytrismoi* in painted kraters and

¹³³ Dickey 1992, 37.

¹³⁴ Grave 1969-31—a handmade amphora—was found at the west end of the forum. No bones were found inside, but it is identified as a burial because of the way the grave was sealed with a flat slab in a way comparable to confirmed *enchytrismoi*. Grave 1978-1—a handmade krater—was found in the southwestern corner of the forum and contained the bones of a subadult. It is tentatively dated to LG to EPC; because of the uncertain date it was omitted from this chapter’s database.

two adjacent graves) are identified as a potential kinship or family group by the excavators.¹³⁵

The fact that the only two known instances of pot burials in finewares were found in such close proximity does raise the possibility that this rare type of burial was selected by the same burying group. It should be noted, however, that other painted kraters are found elsewhere at the North Cemetery. In those instances, the vessels are recorded in publications as grave offerings or as sporadic finds which could neither be assigned to a grave nor be securely deemed *enchytrismoi*.

Changes in the popularity of the four grave types that are outlined above are difficult to analyze because of the problems with dating. Compared to Athens and Argos, Corinth does not exhibit a strong or consistent tradition of placing a wide range of material culture within the grave. Therefore, graves whose dates can be narrowed down sufficiently within the Geometric or the early Archaic periods are few (Fig. 5.13). These dating restrictions create the limited data set and leave no workable contexts especially for the Late Geometric period when grave goods are few. The increase and decrease in the total number of graves for each period is partially an artificial byproduct of the cyclical changes in the mortuary behavior regarding the deposition of offerings in graves. Dickey (1992) observes that “the practice of depositing nonperishable grave goods with the dead was abandoned in the Corinthia for the period from ca. 750 to ca. 600 B.C.”¹³⁶ Therefore, the number of datable graves from the second half of the 8th century B.C. (i.e. the Late Geometric in Corinth) is extremely low. This period, which marks the transition from pit and cists to sarcophagi in mortuary contexts, is thought to have been significant in the growth and transformation of the settlement; there were undoubtedly more graves that are impossible to recover and date.

¹³⁵ Blegen et al. 1964, 33-34.

¹³⁶ Dickey 1992, 14.

Based on the available evidence, one trend that Dickey (1992) maintains throughout his study on Corinthian burial customs is that sarcophagi completely replace pits and cists by the end of the 8th century (Fig. 5.14). It was also in the 8th century B.C. that the same type of local limestone that is used for sarcophagi began to appear in domestic constructions. The increasing availability of quarried materials and skilled carvers around this time probably contributed to the growth of the supply-and-demand cycle around the sarcophagus industry.¹³⁷ Dickey also observes that Corinthians exhibit a strong desire to seal the grave—whether it is a pit, cist, or a sarcophagus—and suggests that this concern with protecting the corpse may have been a significant factor in the rising popularity of monolithic sarcophagi.¹³⁸ This desire to isolate the corpse from earth is curiously combined with a symbolic sprinkling of soil inside monolithic sarcophagi before the container was sealed.¹³⁹ Dickey suggests that the soil that was sprinkled inside may have been different conceptually or even physically from the soil that surrounded the grave.¹⁴⁰ A possible origin he proposes is a ritual that involved the family of the deceased to sweep the house that was polluted due to death, and bring the sweepings—the *kallysmata*—to the grave site to expunge the pollution.¹⁴¹

With regards to mortuary behavior at Corinth in general, it is important to emphasize that inhumations take place almost exclusively in single graves; we do not see the Argive practice of successive multiple burials at Corinth, except a handful of examples of double burial.¹⁴² Out of

¹³⁷ Dickey 1992, 33; Rhodes 1987.

¹³⁸ Dickey 1992, 33.

¹³⁹ Sanders et al. 2014; Pfaff 2007; Dickey 1992, 35.

¹⁴⁰ Dickey 1992, 35.

¹⁴¹ Garland 2001, 40-44; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 200-202; Parker 1983, 35-36.

¹⁴² Dickey 1992, 45.

the 393 graves he documented, Dickey (1992) lists nine graves as multiple burials between ca. 1100 to 550 BC. Out of these nine, Dickey argues that only one—a Submycenaean pit grave of two children—can safely be interpreted as a successive burial where there was a considerable time gap between the two interments.¹⁴³ An MG II pit grave from the Potters' Quarter also housed the commingled remains of two subadults and should certainly be considered a multiple burial, whether successive or simultaneous.¹⁴⁴ An Archaic sarcophagus from the North Cemetery contained two skeletons, but there were no grave goods so it cannot be assigned a more specific date.¹⁴⁵ There was no detailed examination of the human remains from this context so the sex and age of the two individuals was left undetermined. Palmer in Blegen et al. (1964) speculates that it could be the grave of a mother and child, or, based on the small dimensions of the sarcophagus, two children.¹⁴⁶

The other cases of possible multiple burial that are mentioned in Dickey (1992) are compound burials featuring adults. Both examples were recovered in the center of the settlement at the Lechaeum Road Valley and dated to MG II (Figs. 5.24-27).¹⁴⁷ In both cases, two pits are dug side by side at right angles to each other. The spatial relationship between these graves and the mortuary space of this plot in general are discussed in greater detail below. One thing that is clear and needs to be emphasized here is that these examples are not interments in the same

¹⁴³ This grave, Grave 1969-33/32, is outside this dissertation's chronological scope. See Dickey's (1992) appendix, grave LV-9 according to his catalog system, p. A-4

¹⁴⁴ Grave 1931-94, also referred to as "Grave I" in reports, drawings, and plans.

¹⁴⁵ Grave 149 of the North Cemetery. Because of the uncertain date, this grave has not been included in this dissertation's catalog.

¹⁴⁶ Palmer in Blegen et al. 1964, 177. Dickey (1992, 46) notes two more sarcophagi containing two individuals each from the greater Corinthia region: an EC grave from the West Cemetery in Isthmia, and an Archaic one from the village of Solomos to the south of Corinth.

¹⁴⁷ Graves 1936-19 and 20 form one complex, and Graves 1937-1 and 2 form another. These graves are also referred to as Graves "A and B," and Graves "F and G" in reports, drawings, and plans.

grave; each individual is interred in a separate pit that is self-contained. Dickey is undoubtedly correct in highlighting that there is a very strong spatial affinity between the two pits that are connected, and perhaps for that reason, the two chambers can be interpreted as two compartments of a single grave. There is, however, a marked spatial independence of each pit, which retains all the characteristics of a normal stand-alone pit grave when judged on its own right. For these reasons, these connected complexes cannot be interpreted as the same type of successive multiple burial tradition we see at Argos, where individual interments all share the same grave.¹⁴⁸

The two different approaches to the tradition of multiple burial we see at Argos and Corinth are significant in terms of mortuary behavior and the use of mortuary space. At Corinth, the custom is remarkably rare, and when it is practiced, the grave never houses more than two interments. This is a stark contrast between the graves of Argos that could contain as many as seven individuals. In addition, in the three Corinthian cases where two individuals shared the same space—that is, the true multiple burials, not the compound burials—at least one of the skeletons is suspected or confirmed to be that of a subadult. The continuous reuse of graves at Argos suggests that they were used as communal tombs for families, sometimes for more than 200 years; this is clearly not the case at Corinth. Nevertheless, the absence of multiple burials does not necessarily mean that household or family bonds are not an organizing principle in Corinthian society. As I elaborate below, Blegen et al. (1964) have observed traces of an underlying spatial organization in which graves may have clustered together based on hereditary lines at the North Cemetery. Yet Corinthian burial customs exhibit a different expression of

¹⁴⁸ These connected burials at Corinth are more similar conceptually to Graves 5 and 6 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot at Argos (fig. 4.69B and C), where two graves were separated by a thin baulk although they shared cover slabs.

personhood. The mortuary space of a dead individual at Corinth was respected and very seldomly intruded upon. It can be argued that at Argos, the grave as a space belonged to the family and was shared by a collective, whereas at Corinth, it belonged to a person. The commingled remains at Argos rendered the occupants of the grave individuals, whereas at Corinth, there was a continuous preservation of personhood. Nevertheless, anthropological studies maintain that the expression of personhood is context dependent—the preservation of one's identity and personal space after death in Corinth does not necessarily preclude their effective integration into a larger collective within other contexts in life. In addition, if the family clusters proposed by Blegen et al. (1964) at the North Cemetery are to be believed, the degree to which a person preserves individuality or associates with a collective after death is also a factor of spatial scale: while the boundaries of the space of a grave are impermeable at Corinth, the maintenance of a long-lasting communal cemetery and the presence of potential family clusters within it indicate an interest in expressions of collective identities at the scale of cemetery.

With respect to grave goods, Corinth once again displays remarkable differences from Athens and Argos. The most striking difference is that Early Iron Age and Archaic Corinthian graves have yielded very few weapons (only in iron) and not a single case of armor. The only weapons that were recovered from the graves in Corinth were isolated examples of iron spearheads, possible arrowheads, and knives.¹⁴⁹ The spearheads were identified as belonging to throwing spears or javelins.¹⁵⁰ Dickey (1992) remarks that in the case of two pit burials from the Lechaum Road Valley, the spears must have been broken or “killed” in order to fit inside the

¹⁴⁹ Dickey (1992, 91) notes that an iron sword was found at an MG II burial at Aghioi Theodoroi.

¹⁵⁰ Pfaff 2007, 503; Dickey 1992, 91.

relatively small space of the grave.¹⁵¹ The near absence of warrior paraphernalia in Corinthian graves is in stark contrast with LG Argive graves that have yielded impressive sets of weapons and armor, as well as *obeloi* and firedogs that are also associated with the warrior kit. Also in the 8th and 7th centuries, Corinth began to gain fame in the production of metalwork and was credited with a special type of helmet called the “Corinthian helmet,” which was depicted on figurative pottery and dedicated at sanctuaries, including the panhellenic ones, as a prestige item.¹⁵² Yet not a single example was recovered from Corinthian graves. A metal workshop dated to the early 7th-century does point to a metal industry at Corinth,¹⁵³ but the finished products seldomly turn up on Corinthian soil. This may suggest that the Corinthian elite were not interested in symbols of warrior identity as a marker of social standing, but dedications from sanctuaries and a growing interest in hoplite imagery on 7th-century pottery conflict with this interpretation. It is likely that the interest in this type of material expression of identity or status was never directed towards mortuary contexts at Corinth.

Mortuary Representation of Age and Gender Divisions

The small sample size (n=54) of securely dated graves from Corinth in the Geometric and early Archaic periods considerably restricts our ability to interpret patterns in the mortuary treatment of different age groups or genders. As is the case at all archaeological sites in the Aegean, the main difficulty in identifying subadult burials at Corinth is the complete deterioration of the underdeveloped bones in most mortuary contexts. Vessels that are sealed with a slab or include additional offerings within them are generally assumed to be subadult

¹⁵¹ Dickey 1992, 91.

¹⁵² Shanks 1999, 67. For a more detailed discussion of the form, function, and symbolic use of the Corinthian helmet, also see Snodgrass 1980, 105-107; 1965; 1964, 20-8, 193–204.

¹⁵³ Williams and Fisher 1971, 5-10.

enchytrismoι since the size of the container would not accommodate an adult. In previous scholarship, several empty pits, cists, and sarcophagi have also been labeled as subadult graves based on their size if their capacity was in no way sufficient for an adult.¹⁵⁴ Out of the 54 burials that were included in this chapter's analysis, 17 were identified as adults, 15 as subadults, while no identification was possible for 22 (Fig. 5.15). The diachronic breakdown of adult and subadult burials reveals no significant trends, especially given the dearth of data from LG and Protocorinthan contexts (Fig. 5.16).

Dickey (1992), who includes a larger data set from more broadly dated contexts and across the entire Corinthia, observes that both male and female adults are buried in pits, cists, and sarcophagi, as are children. His study also reveals that 11 of the 95 individuals in pits were identified as subadults, but except two ambiguous cases, none of the pits in the North Cemetery have yielded subadult remains.¹⁵⁵ Skeletal data is limited from cists but a slab-built example from the Lechaem Road Valley (Grave 1926-24) yielded skeletal remains of a child. In terms of the deployment of sarcophagus burials for children, Dickey (1992) notes that 25% of the excavated sarcophagi that are dated to the 7th and 6th centuries have an interior length of less than 0.80 m. If the identification of these containers as subadult burials is correct, burying children in sarcophagi was a fairly common custom in the Archaic period (see, for instance Fig. 5.42).¹⁵⁶ Dickey (1992) also notes that, on average, Archaic child burials are better furnished compared to earlier contexts. This rise in the number of offerings in children's graves may have begun as

¹⁵⁴ The graves that were identified as subadult burials based on their size are indicated by a question mark in Table 5.2.

¹⁵⁵ Dickey 1992, 20. The two uncertain cases in the North Cemetery are graves 14B and 15B, which, as discussed in greater detail below, may or may not be graves.

¹⁵⁶ Also see Dubois 2016.

early as the end of MG II, around 750 B.C. From this trend, Dickey concludes that social responses to the death of a child became stronger in the Archaic period, which he takes to be “an indication that children were now economically or socially more important in Corinthian society than they had been previously.”¹⁵⁷ In light of recent studies on the social significance and meaning of offerings in mortuary contexts, Dickey’s overall argument is problematic in its approach that views the quantity or quality of grave goods as a reflection of emotional response or a correlate of the socio-economic standing of the deceased. Nevertheless, this potential intensification in the materiality of children’s graves in Archaic Corinth recalls the sudden increase in the visibility of children’s burials in Late Geometric Argos.

This brief overview of the mortuary data from Corinth in the Geometric and Archaic periods reveals that a number of significant changes were attested in mortuary behavior at this settlement in MG II, roughly around 750 B.C. It is in MG II that we see a spike in the visibility and overall number of graves. This rise is tied to an increase in the number of objects deposited in graves on average, since grave goods also increase archaeologists’ chance of assigning better dates to mortuary contexts. It is worth noting that the intensification in the deposition of material culture within graves in MG in Corinth is immediately followed by a long period of relative absence of grave goods in LG and PC. It is not until the Early Corinthian period that offerings reappear in mortuary contexts. This cyclical intensification and deintensification of depositional patterns within graves also occur at Argos where materially rich LG contexts were replaced by the empty graves of the 7th century. At both settlements, changes in material depositions are

¹⁵⁷ Dickey 1992, 101.

paralleled by a change in burial types: pithoi at Argos and sarcophagi at Corinth replace all previous grave forms for adults around the same time grave goods disappear. Yet both grave forms in themselves are relatively laborious in production, monumental in size, and ostentatious in mobilization.

The rest of this chapter turns to a diachronic evaluation of the space and place of burial at Corinth, including distribution of burials across the settlement throughout the Geometric and early Archaic periods, the internal organization and growth of mortuary spaces, and the micro-environment of the grave itself. This examination will show that both Argos and Corinth eventually develop a mortuary landscape of extracommunal burial areas while intramural burials sporadically continue throughout the settlement. Yet the development of extracommunal cemeteries comes at two different moments in the internal trajectory of the settlement: at Corinth, it corresponds to a period of rise and intensification of the materiality of the grave, whereas at Argos it occurs during the 7th-century deintensification of grave goods in pithos burials.

The Space and Place of Death at Corinth

Settlement-wide Distribution Patterns

Most scholars agree that the social and physical processes of state-formation and urbanization were well under way by the end of the Geometric period at Corinth. Yet, as it has been discussed above under settlement patterns, Corinth is characterized by a decentralized layout of villages throughout the Early Iron Age, arguably well into the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. It is very likely that the Temple Hill and later forum areas served as a social, religious, physical, and conceptual center at this time, but population density in the wider area of the settlement

remained low. Changes in the location and organization of mortuary spaces during the early development of the city can shed some light onto how the dead fit into the lives of the inhabitants at Corinth (Fig. 5.17 and 5.18).

Based on the location of Geometric graves, wells, springs, and other finds such as pottery concentrations, a number of smaller nuclei have been identified across the area that forms wider Corinth. For instance, habitation pockets have been identified at the village of Anaploga roughly one kilometer southwest of the main archaeological site, and at Potters' Quarter. Most of the evidence for these clusters, however, dates to MG or later. For the earlier part of the Geometric period, information is limited. Only seven graves that can be safely dated to EG have been identified at Corinth; five of these were discovered in the Roman forum and Lechaem Road Valley area, and two were unearthed recently at the Panayia Field (Figs. 5.18 and 5.19). At the forum area, EG burial contexts are the compound pit grave 1940-5 with the oval burial niche, a pit lined with red clay to create a "mud sarcophagus" (Grave 1969-29), and another nearby pit also with traces of clay lining (Grave 1970-9). To the west side of the later Lechaem Road under the sidewalk, another poorly preserved pit (Grave 1973-6) was discovered. To the southeast of the forum, Panayia Field excavations have revealed five Geometric graves, two of which (Graves 2002-11 and 2003-12) can be dated to EG.¹⁵⁸ Both EG graves here feature monolithic sarcophagi and attest to the early production and use of these containers in Corinthian mortuary contexts. The graves are oriented roughly on a north-south axis and conform to the

¹⁵⁸ The fifth grave, Grave 2004-3, is assigned a broad Geometric date and could not be included in the diachronic analysis of this chapter.

contours of a path that leads towards the Lechaëum Road Valley. The path could not be dated securely but may have been in use already in the Geometric period.¹⁵⁹

A significant development in the mortuary landscape of Corinth in MG II was the reestablishment of the North Cemetery as a burial ground after a long hiatus (Fig. 5.20). This area saw its first mortuary activity in the Middle Helladic period when about a dozen graves formed a cemetery at the bottom of later Corinth's main terrace (Fig. 5.33). Excavators found no evidence of occupation nearby. The first Geometric graves appeared at the beginning of the 8th century immediately to the north of the Middle Helladic burials. All of the MG burials from the North Cemetery are pit graves. Both adults and subadults are represented, although the identification of some of the subadult burials are tentative. As discussed below, the spatial organization of the later cemetery greatly respected the presence of the Middle Helladic burials. The MG graves were contained within a funerary peribolos and the cemetery continued to grow radially with this enclosure as its center (grid 5C and 5D on Fig. 5.33, also see Fig. 5.34-5.36 for the enclosure). From MG II onwards, the North Cemetery was used continuously into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In every respect, including its long-term uninterrupted use, large scale, careful internal organization, and extracommunal location at the edge of the settlement, the North Cemetery embodies a highly-organized, communal burial space.

Another area that shows notable mortuary activity in MG is the Potters' Field (Fig. 5.20). This location represents the western edge of the full extent of Corinth, and for this reason it may be tempting to see the MG burials here as the beginnings of another extracommunal cemetery. Nevertheless, Potters' Quarter proves to be rather small-scale and short-lived as a mortuary

¹⁵⁹ Sanders et al. 2014, 10.

space. Investigations to date have unearthed a total of 8 interments in 7 graves in the northern edge of the excavated area (Fig. 5.11). Among these, four pit graves could be dated to MG. One pit that housed two infants remains one of the rare examples of a double burial at Corinth.¹⁶⁰ A second pit contained the poorly preserved bones of another child, while two other pits yielded adults.¹⁶¹ Another pit grave was discovered in the area but could not be dated due to the lack of grave goods, although it is likely that it also falls somewhere in MG or LG.¹⁶² Dickey (1992) points out that five of these graves form a tight cluster and perhaps belong to a single family, while the isolated pit that falls approximately 10-15 meters to the north might be an indication that the burial ground extends in that direction.¹⁶³ It is likely that the burials here were associated with another habitation pocket that was established close to the clay sources in this area. Another group of burials to the east of Potters' Quarter and to the north of Anaploga may have also been related to the same (or another) small housing cluster. Unfortunately, the majority of the graves cannot be dated with certainty, although Dickey (1992) argues that they range from Geometric to Hellenistic period and may belong to a rather extensive cemetery that was established in MG.¹⁶⁴

In MG, burials also resume in greater numbers in the Lechaum Road Valley and forum areas and show variety in form (Fig. 5.18). A roughly hewn monolithic sarcophagus, whose MG I date makes it the earliest known example from the Lechaum Road Valley, was discovered somewhere to the west of the Apollo peribolos.¹⁶⁵ Nearby, a slab-built cist grave yielded a child

¹⁶⁰ Grave 1931-94.

¹⁶¹ Graves 1931-96, 1931-98, and 1933-207. The date of Grave 1933-207 is relatively uncertain but Dickey (1992, A-23) tentatively places it ca. MG.

¹⁶² A monolithic sarcophagus was also discovered within the foundations of the Classical city wall in this area, but could not be dated, although a 7th century date has been suggested. Stillwell 1948, 59-60; Dickey 1992, A-23.

¹⁶³ Dickey 1992, 131.

¹⁶⁴ Dickey 1992, 131.

¹⁶⁵ Grave 1899-2. Precise location is not published but can be extrapolated with some certainty from reports.

inhumation.¹⁶⁶ Two additional MG rubble-built cists of an adolescent and an adult female were unearthed towards the south of the forum.¹⁶⁷ At the west end of the forum, a handmade amphora covered by a large slab was likely an infant inhumation dated to MG.¹⁶⁸ Also in this area, a handmade hydria capped by a bronze bowl was discovered standing in situ and upright, similar to the hydriae that stand at the corners of contemporary graves in the North Cemetery. The actual grave itself was never found, but Dickey (1992) catalogs the hydria as the marker for a probable burial.¹⁶⁹ At the south side of the forum, excavations revealed an interesting group of MG II burials in unusual compound configurations.¹⁷⁰ Also in this area was Grave 1937-3, a rectangular pit with a secondary burial niche for a child. A cult area to the south of these somewhat unusual burials may be related to this mortuary space in general; this complex as a whole is discussed in greater detail below.

The rise in the number of burials in MG is short lived. Compared to Athens and Argos, the mortuary corpus that can be dated to the second half of the 8th and 7th centuries at Corinth is extremely limited. There are only 5 graves that are assigned a plausible LG date in publications (Fig. 5.21). Three of these are pot burials from the North Cemetery and presumably represent subadult inhumations.¹⁷¹ Another grave of a subadult was found at the Potters' Quarter in an LG pit.¹⁷² The only adult burial is the pit grave of a woman in the Lechaeum Road Valley.¹⁷³ The

¹⁶⁶ Grave 1926-24.

¹⁶⁷ Graves 1971-1 and 1971-2.

¹⁶⁸ Grave 1969-31. Dickey (1992, A-5) raises the possibility of an EG date, but an MG date appears more plausible based on the comparanda for the amphora.

¹⁶⁹ Probable grave 1935. See Dickey 1992, A-3.

¹⁷⁰ Grave 1936-19, 1936-20, 1937-1, and 1937-2.

¹⁷¹ Grave 40, Grave 44, and Grave 69 of the North Cemetery.

¹⁷² Grave 1931-95.

¹⁷³ Grave 1971-5.

Protocorinthian (PC) period that covers the last two decades of the 8th century and most of the 7th century yields 11 datable graves, 8 of which are sarcophagi and pot burials from the North Cemetery (Fig. 5.22). An adult-size sarcophagus that dates to early Protocorinthian (EPC) comes from the west end of the forum.¹⁷⁴ Two other sporadic burials, both sarcophagi dated to EPC, were recovered in the wider Corinth area.¹⁷⁵ In addition to these graves, Dickey (1992) emphasizes the difficulties of dating Corinthian graves from mid-8th century onwards and notes that “at least ten burials in and around the Lechaion Road Valley date with certainty or strong probability after 750 BC, and this number should perhaps be augmented with others from the list of undatable burials.”¹⁷⁶ It appears that interments became increasingly rare at the Lechaion Road Valley and forum areas after mid-8th century BC but did not cease completely (Fig. 5.7).

Our limited understanding of the mortuary landscape of Corinth in the Archaic period is augmented by the results of rescue excavations along highway and railroad lines between Patras and the modern city of Corinth. Currently the findings are available only as short reports and cannot be incorporated into any kind of detailed spatial analysis since specific location or coordinates are not given in many cases.¹⁷⁷ On the whole, however, these recent discoveries suggest that the entire northern front of the main terrace of ancient Corinth may have been an extensive mortuary space. One of the substantial mortuary contexts that have been unearthed during the construction of a high-speed railway line is a large Archaic cemetery to the west of

¹⁷⁴ Grave 1933-131.

¹⁷⁵ Graves 1969-19 and 1951-1.

¹⁷⁶ Dickey 1992, 125.

¹⁷⁷ Giannopoulou et al. 2013.

the North Cemetery and to the northwest of Cheliotomylos.¹⁷⁸ Between 2002 and 2007, this excavation yielded a total of 74 monolithic sarcophagi from the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. (Fig. 5.51). Another large Archaic mortuary space with thirty graves was discovered to the north of ancient Corinth during the widening of the Corinth-Patras highway.¹⁷⁹ To the east of this group of graves, the same project also unearthed an ancient limestone quarry that was probably used in the Archaic period to supply the cemetery with sarcophagi. Several other mortuary contexts have been reported across the plain during these construction projects; some of the graves reportedly date to the Geometric period, suggesting that the development of this extracommunal mortuary zone between the city and the coast may have started as early as the 9th century BC.¹⁸⁰

To sum up the evidence so far, the majority of previous studies on the mortuary contexts of Corinth agree that the Middle Geometric period, especially the first half of the 8th century B.C. (MG II) is a threshold of change both in burial customs as well as the spatial distribution of burials across the settlement. Many scholars interpret the refoundation of the North Cemetery in the 8th century as the first step in establishing extracommunal burial locations and purging graves from the center of the settlement. Williams (1982) writes: “By the Late Geometric Period urban organization is taking root, seen archaeologically in a new burial practice with the establishment of the North Cemetery. Family burial plots in association with the houses in the center of the city

¹⁷⁸ *ArchDelt* 56-59 B4, 156-58, announces the location as the Lekka-Gotsi property at the 1717 kilometer marker, but the exact location is not mentioned or confirmed in the more detailed report that follows (Giannopoulou et al. 2013).

¹⁷⁹ The excavation was conducted by ΛΖ’ ΕΠΙΚΑ but the exact location is not given. For the brief announcement, see *Archaeology in Greece Online*, record ID 2493.

¹⁸⁰ Geometric graves have been reported at the Rota property (km marker 0+200), the Deli property (km marker 2153) and the Mikrou plot (km marker 2153). Some of the graves have yielded rich material culture, including jewelry in bronze and gold. See *ArchDelt* 56-59 B4, 156-58.

are being eliminated in favour of large group burial grounds away from the urban areas.”¹⁸¹

According to Ziskowski (2011), “The decision to establish this formal space suggests that the population in the Lechaion Road Valley had reached a threshold such that it was no longer viable to bury the dead within the community. The new cemetery not only implies population growth, but also unification in the community concerning standards of burial.”¹⁸² In brief, there is general agreement that the establishment of the North Cemetery represents a deliberate marginalization of burial grounds in Corinth as part of the settlement’s new urban character.

While the 8th century activity in the North Cemetery is certainly important in terms of the foundation of a formal collective space for the dead of the community, a few amendments to the arguments on the purging of burials from the center need to be highlighted. Firstly, MG II as a chronological threshold does not appear to carry the same weight everywhere else at Corinth. The early graves at the Panayia Field suggest that burials in this area start in EG and precede the North Cemetery by a couple generations. Excavations so far suggest that this whole area to the southeast of the forum was used exclusively for burial in the Geometric period and remained unoccupied throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.¹⁸³ This space, then, can be viewed as another extracommunal burial spot at the edge of central Corinth. Based on current evidence this mortuary space appears to have been small-scale and temporally limited in its use, but its spatial segregation from all other activities is meaningful in terms of the mortuary landscape of Corinth. In addition, rescue excavations across the northern plain and in the vicinity of the Northern Cemetery unearthed more Geometric graves in this area, suggesting that the development of a

¹⁸¹ Williams 1982, 11. Also see Farnham 2016, 371; Ziskowski 2011, 71; Morgan 1994, 125; 1998, 87; 2000, 50; Roebuck 1972, 122.

¹⁸² Ziskowski 2011, 72.

¹⁸³ Sanders et al. 2014, 41.

widespread mortuary belt to the north of the settlement may have started earlier than MG. Sanders et al. remark that, in light of the recent excavations that yielded several Geometric burials on either side of the North Cemetery, “definitive statements about burial inside and outside the city or in this or that “cemetery” are becoming more difficult to uphold.”¹⁸⁴

In addition to the potentially early emergence of extramural mortuary spaces at Corinth, arguments regarding the end of burial at the center in MG II need revisions (Fig. 5.7). Dickey (1992) observes that “while the number of graves in the Lechaion Road Valley does decrease after MG II, the practice of burying in this area did not cease at the end of MG II or LG. The ten preserved burials that are likely to date to the late 8th or 7th century cannot be dismissed as exceptional. Rather, the willingness on the part of some Corinthians to place their dead in close proximity to the settlement continued through the 7th century.”¹⁸⁵ Sanders et al. (2014) agree that “sporadic burial continued in the area of the Forum well into the Archaic period.”¹⁸⁶ Most recently, Christesen (2018) has pointed out that Sparta as well as Argos and Corinth continued to practice both extracommunal and intracommunal siting of burials through the Hellenistic period.¹⁸⁷ In light of current evidence, it is more likely that there is no linear evolutionary trajectory that leads from an intracommunal to extracommunal spatial pattern of burials at Corinth. Rather, the parallel presence of mortuary spaces both within and on the fringes of habitation clusters may have been a pattern throughout the development of the city, perhaps starting as early as the Early Geometric period. Although the intensity in the use of intracommunal spaces for burial fluctuates, the refined model of the urban landscape of Corinth

¹⁸⁴ Sanders et al. 2014, 72, n. 157.

¹⁸⁵ Dickey 1992, 128.

¹⁸⁶ Sanders et al. 2014, 73.

¹⁸⁷ Christesen 2018, 33-51.

should include the coexistence of central and satellite burial grounds throughout much of its history.

Spatial Relationships Between Graves and Micro-scale Patterns

As discussed in Chapter 4, mortuary behavior at Argos is marked by a strong tradition of successive multiple burials in the Early Iron Age. This practice, which is indicative of the perseverance of family bonds within the confines of a closed mortuary context, is largely absent at Corinth. In Corinthian cemeteries, individuals are given their own space after death in whatever form the grave may take. The absence of multiple burials at Corinth is largely reflective of a local tendency to separate and confine contexts while maintaining a high level of spatial control over the mortuary space at a larger scale. Nevertheless, there are indications of other types of spatial relatedness between Corinthian graves that point to a degree of regard for kinship ties in mortuary spaces. The most salient examples of kinship and family as guiding principles in burial at Corinth are the compound grave complexes in which two otherwise independent graves are connected. Adult graves that feature a secondary niche for subadults fall into this category. Yet the construction of a separate space for the child is markedly different from the practice of including its remains within the main grave—the child is granted a degree of spatial independence but its bond with the occupant of the grave is still strongly emphasized. Nevertheless, judging from the current sample, this type of burial niche remains rare at Corinth. Subadult burials are attested in a wide variety of ways—including but not limited to *enchytrismoι*—and they are frequently found independent of adult burials. It is not uncommon to find subadults in their own pit, cist, or sarcophagus grave within adult cemeteries, although there

are also several instances where the child's independent *enchytrismos* is placed immediately at the corner of the grave of an adult.¹⁸⁸

A more common type of secondary compartment at Corinth is a niche or pit that receives offerings only. It is possible that all secondary pits or niches once contained infants whose skeletal remains escaped detection. Nevertheless, the excavators of the Panayia Field to the southeast of the forum have conducted a very careful excavation of three niches connected to Geometric graves and still found no traces of skeletal remains.¹⁸⁹ The additional effort of carving out a separate niche for grave goods instead of placing them within the grave or the sarcophagus itself is a striking behavior. In certain cases, like Grave 2006-4 from the Panayia Field, the offerings within the niche are further sectioned off and protected with a stone slab that seals the opening (Fig. 5.49). Pfaff (2007) likens the Panayia Field niches to the offering compartments at the North Cemetery where group of MG II pit graves feature an extension of the pit for offerings (Figs. 5.37-5.39).¹⁹⁰ These extensions take the form of rectangular pits on the southern end of north-south oriented graves, and, except one example, they are usually slightly wider than the main pit. It is unclear from publications and drawings how the compartment was separated from the main grave vertically, but the excavators do emphasize that the grave and the compartment were sealed individually, each receiving its own stone slab. At the end of the funeral, both slabs were presumably covered with fill that sealed the entire grave shaft, but not much attention was paid to the composition of fills or shafts during the excavation of the North Cemetery. It is possible that the separation of secondary compartments allowed the deposition of additional

¹⁸⁸ For instance, Graves 43 and 44 of the North Cemetery. See Group F in fig. 5.34 for a plan of the related adult and subadult graves of 41-44, and fig. 5.40 for the containers.

¹⁸⁹ Pfaff 2007; Sanders et al. 2014.

¹⁹⁰ North Cemetery graves 17-19, 21, and 23. See Pfaff 2007, 489; Blegen et al. 1964, 24-30.

grave goods at a later date without opening the main chamber, but it is more probable that these subsidiary spaces served their primary purpose during the funeral and were sealed permanently, much like the 7th-century offering trenches in Athens. Traces of burnt debris and charcoal from the compartment of Grave 17 support the idea that these spaces served as repositories for the remnants of a grave-side ritual.

The construction of independent spaces ancillary to the main grave is mimicked in some unique cases of compound burials that connect two adult pit graves. Excavations revealed two such double grave compounds dated to MG II at the south side of the forum (Fig. 5.24-5.27). Graves 1936-19 and 1936-20 are two rectangular pits that were sunk into the bedrock at right angles within the same large shaft (Fig. 5.26).¹⁹¹ The two pits were connected via a short channel whose purpose could not be determined. To the east of these two graves was another double compound with a slightly different configuration: this pair (Graves 1937-1 and 1937-2) also consisted of two rectangular pits carved into bedrock perpendicular to one another, but they were set immediately abutting each other and communicated via a broad “window” (Fig. 5.27).¹⁹² A bronze spit, also described as a long bronze pin in Dickey (1992), was found on the shelf of the window between the two graves; an identical object was recovered from inside Grave 1937-1 but may have been originally placed next to its twin. Judging from the width of the shelf, which fits the length of the bronze spit with precision, Morgan (1937) argues that the window was constructed specifically for the placement of the spits between the two graves. Grave 1937-1 also yielded a number of gold rings and spirals, which is somewhat uncharacteristic of Corinthian burial contexts. Although it is not clear whether the skeletons were studied by anthropologists for

¹⁹¹ Morgan 1937, 544, also labeled Graves A and B in publications, drawings, and plans.

¹⁹² Morgan 1937, 544, also labeled Graves F and G in publications, drawings, and plans.

an osteological determination of sex, Morgan (1937) speculates that the occupants of graves 1937-1 and 2 were husband and wife, and the bronze spits symbolized their marital union.¹⁹³ It is logistically very feasible that the connected pits were not excavated at the same time, but one followed the other. This scenario, however, is difficult to prove without further examination of the deep shaft to ascertain whether there are multiple phases to its excavation. In both cases of these two burial compounds, the two connected graves shared the same shaft. Unfortunately, the shafts were badly damaged by later construction in the area, but the excavators did not encounter any evidence of multiple phases of fill. In terms of the construction of the graves, Morgan (1937) observes that “in each case the larger grave was toward the north, oriented in the normal manner, while the smaller grave, of inferior workmanship, was oriented at right angles to the larger.”¹⁹⁴ These two burial complexes were part of a bigger burial ground that continued to be used in the Archaic period. To the south of this space, excavations unearthed a small cult complex, discussed further below.

In brief, Corinthian mortuary spaces are characterized by a unique behavior of compartmentalization. This spatial insulation can be applied to human remains—whereby individuals are granted their own space—as well as grave offerings that are placed in secondary compartments, niches, or in the grave shaft outside the walls of sarcophagi. The construction and maintenance of this type of spatial order achieves significant results: it minimizes the comingling of the dead within the cemetery, reduces the contact between the living and the dead during the funeral, and prevents future encounters during subsequent funerals. Compared to Argos and Athens, the engagement with the dead during and after the funeral appears to have been highly

¹⁹³ Morgan 1937, 545.

¹⁹⁴ Morgan 1937, 544.

codified and formalized at Corinth. This view fits in well with Farnham's (2016) observations that Corinthian funerary behavior was characterized by the use of water as a purification agent and involved the placement of vessels (such as hydria) outside the grave potentially for future use in similar libation rituals.¹⁹⁵ It is convincing that Corinthians who exhibit a disinclination to disturb and interact with existing mortuary contexts also place an emphasis on the performance of purification rites.

The institution of a general sense of order within Corinthian mortuary spaces can also be observed in the overall organization and the orientation of graves. The Panayia Field graves share a north-south orientation on an axis that appears to conform to the contours of a path that leads to the forum area (Fig. 5.44). Based on the dates of the graves, Pfaff (2007) suggests a pattern of growth from south to north.¹⁹⁶ A similar concept of organization that shows a strong awareness of and deference to existing graves can be seen at a much larger scale throughout the development of the North Cemetery (Fig. 5.33). From the reopening of the cemetery in the 8th century onwards, all subsequent burials extend across the area to the north of the Middle Helladic graves, which remain untouched through the Hellenistic period. Rutter (1990) has argued that the Middle Helladic graves were covered by a tumulus that was visible and prominent throughout the history of this space.¹⁹⁷ When interments resume in MG II, the first graves (graves 14-16) appear roughly 10 meters to the east of the MH tumulus and follow a strict north-south orientation (Fig. 5.33.). The three earliest MG graves (14A, 15A, and 16), along with the possible graves of 14B and 15B, are surrounded by a rectangular peribolos made of upright

¹⁹⁵ Farnham 2016, 381.

¹⁹⁶ Pfaff 2007, 512; Sanders et al. 2014, 16.

¹⁹⁷ Rutter 1990, 455-458; Blegen in Blegen et al. 1964, 1.

stone slabs (Fig. 5.34 and 5.36A).¹⁹⁸ The peribolos escapes intervention throughout the use of the cemetery, and appears to have remained a central point from which growth radiates in later Geometric and Archaic periods. Young in Blegen et al. (1964) speculates that the occupants of the peribolos may have had a prominent status, and concludes that “we must infer a special relationship between the burials themselves, enclosed and isolated as they were; and the simplest inference is a family burial-plot in which three related adults and perhaps two of their children were buried together, probably at different times.”¹⁹⁹

Based on the potential family or kinship relationship between the graves within the peribolos at the North Cemetery, the excavators sought to reconstruct further such clusters among the burials. While the peribolos remains a unique example of a plot enclosure, the publication of the Geometric and Protocorinthian contexts of the cemetery proposes a total of 15 family clusters, labeled Groups A to P (Fig. 5.34-5.35). The clusters were drawn by archaeologists based on the succession of burials, certain typological associations (such as common construction techniques among nearby graves), shared orientation, proximity, and other spatial criteria. For instance, Young in Blegen et al. (1964) calls the peribolos graves “Group A” and identifies eight subsequent graves that form “Group B”: five of the graves in the latter group are pits with offering compartments—an otherwise unique feature in the cemetery—while the remaining three are assigned to the group because of their proximity and north-south orientation. According to Young, the position and alignment of the first three graves of Group B (Graves 17-19) were chosen “with definite reference to an already existing north wall of the Group A

¹⁹⁸ The identification of 14B and 15B as graves is tentative because these pits have not yielded any skeletal remains and the possibility of their being offering compartments could not be ruled out. See Young in Blegen et al. 1964, 15.

¹⁹⁹ Young in Blegen et al. 1964, 15. See Antonaccio 1995, 216, for a summary discussion of the clusters within the North Cemetery.

enclosure, the first (17) at its northwest corner.”²⁰⁰ Naturally the reconstruction of clusters or corporate affiliations based on these debatable spatial and typological criteria is speculative. Young acknowledges that the proposed groups remain tentative; for example he entertains the idea that groups A, B, and C can all belong to the same large cluster. Still, it is entirely conceivable that this large-scale, long-duration organized cemetery was governed by some sort of an underlying guiding principle that controlled its expansion. The uniform distribution of wealth across the graves and the relative lack of ostentation both above and below ground suggest that the spatial arrangement of the cemetery conformed to a heterarchical system, most likely along the lines of family divisions. The presence of women and children also support the idea of family as a social unit within this collective space.

As briefly outlined here, the spatial growth of Corinthian mortuary spaces shows a pattern of order and regard for earlier contexts. Conforming to a calculated spatial arrangement is relatively easier in spaces that are designated exclusively for burial, such as the North Cemetery and the Panayia Field. On the other hand, adherence to a comparable spatial logic in more urban areas where domestic, mortuary, and sacred contexts were interwoven would have been more difficult to achieve. In certain parts of Corinth where the growth of the settlement threatened earlier burials, we encounter other interesting cases of deference to graves. In Potters’ Quarter, archaeologists have noted that a 7th-century structure that was partly built over MG burials showed special care not to disturb an elliptical grave marker. This stone marker was recovered *in situ* and still upright despite later construction in the area. A similar case comes from the center of Corinth in the area of the double burial compounds at the south side of the forum. These graves must have been covered and forgotten until the construction of a drain in the Classical

²⁰⁰ Young in Blegen et al. 1964, 15.

period unknowingly disturbed the grave shafts and exposed the cover slabs. Once the slabs were visible and the graves were recognized, the course of the drain was altered slightly to avoid disturbing the burials further (Figs. 5.24-5.25).

Perhaps the most revealing case in terms of Corinthian attitudes towards the dead is the construction of the so-called Heroon of the Crossroads in the later forum where a forgotten plot of Protogeometric graves were rediscovered during construction work for a road, probably in the Early Corinthian period (Fig. 5.32).²⁰¹ The discovery of the graves immediately triggered cult activity in the area; a stratum of burnt debris, pottery, and votives, including horse and rider figurines cover the graves and continue for a couple generations. In the Middle Corinthian period, sometime in the second or third quarter of the 6th century B.C., the cult was formalized through the construction of a temenos that encompassed an area approximately 3.8 by 4.5 meters. The walls of the temenos consisted of a limestone socle mounted by a row of orthostates and a beveled coping course at eye level. A doorway through the eastern wall of the temenos granted access inside where an offering table was set up between graves to the left of the entrance. The temenos remained in use until the fall of Corinth at 146 B.C.

The reason why these long-forgotten Protogeometric graves attracted such an intense and continuous cult activity upon their discovery remains unclear. Nevertheless, with regards to the use of urban space, what is significant is that there is a clear, reverential, and ritualized engagement with the dead when mortuary contexts are recognized, even in the very heart of the city, instead of an inclination to ignore or expel the traces of the dead from settlement areas. Williams (1981) suggests that the cult and the subsequent temenos at the crossroads were

²⁰¹ Pfaff 2003, 128; Antonaccio 1995, 214-216, 264; Williams 1981, 410; Williams and Fisher 1973, 6.

established “to propitiate the spirit of the person found in the grave, thought, perhaps, to have been a hero of the past or, at least, an ancient ancestor of the Corinthians.”²⁰² Whether this particular space represents a hero cult or ancestor worship is open for further discussion. Yet the fact that cult activity is formalized and sustained for so long indicates a collective effort or a state-level involvement and maintenance rather than just the individual efforts of households and families to cherish personal memories at the cemetery. At the very least, this type of on-going formal ritual activity directed at the dead implies a shared and fairly long-lasting belief system.

Similar contexts that point to chthonic worship or ancestor cults are reported at a number of locations at Corinth. Unfortunately, the ground level between graves at the North Cemetery was never investigated with great care; as a result, not much information on ritual activities around graves is available from that particular space. On the other hand, pottery assemblages that date to LH IIB through the earlier phases of Geometric when no interments took place in the cemetery suggest that there was some sort of activity in the area, perhaps one that was directed at the existing tumulus prior to the reopening of the cemetery for burials.²⁰³ A more compelling case of cult after the abandonment of a cemetery comes from the Panayia Field where the latest known burial dates to late MG I or early MG II. Sanders et al (2014) observe that “although the Panayia Field appears to have been uninhabited in the Archaic and Classical periods, finds suggest that some type of ritual activity was occurring there perhaps in connection with the Geometric tombs.”²⁰⁴ These finds include a pit that was filled with debris from religious activity that included pottery and miniatures datable to the Protocorinthian (720-625) and Archaic (600-

²⁰² Williams 1981, 410.

²⁰³ Dickey 1992, 9; Rutter 1990, 455-458.

²⁰⁴ Sanders et al. 2014, 74.

450) periods, as well as other deposits containing ash, charcoal, pottery, and votive reliefs. The excavators have found the material comparable to other cult deposits around grave sites, particularly those from the temenos at the crossroads. In addition, the base of a perirrhanterion that was used as spolia in a nearby Roman wall also points to libations or cleansing rituals by the graves. Sanders et al. (2014) propose that “taken together, these finds suggest that the presence of the Geometric graves was recognized, and that ritual practices related to the commemoration of ancestors began perhaps as early as the late 8th century B.C. (less than a century after the latest Geometric burial) and continued well into the 6th century B.C., if not later.” These authors speculate that the continuous activity around earlier graves can be related to hero cults, memorial services, or other types of chthonic rituals, but conclude that “there is no evidence to suggest that these graves were considered extraordinary during the Archaic and Classical periods. Instead, the Panayia Field material is perhaps better interpreted as part of memorial liturgy conducted on a regular basis or during festivals when the dead were remembered and propitiated, rather than as clear evidence of hero cult being performed at the site.”²⁰⁵

Another context that is worth addressing in a discussion of grave-side cult at Corinth is an architecturally elaborated space that has been identified as an altar area in the later forum, immediately to the south of the burial ground that includes the double compound burials of Graves 1936-19/20 and 1937-1/2 (Fig. 5.24). This cult area has been described by the excavators as “a curious series of cuttings in *stereo*, forming an enclosure for an altar” (Fig. 5.25B).²⁰⁶ The main space of the shrine is sunk into the ground in a large pit that is approximately one meter deep; the upper edge of the balk is smoothed down and prepared as the bedding for a wall. In the

²⁰⁵ Sanders et al. 2014, 46.

²⁰⁶ Morgan 1937, 545. Original emphasis.

middle of the rectangular subterranean space is a small stone foundation block of an altar. The entrance is from the west through a series of columns whose cuttings have been preserved. The east wall features a niche and another foundation block that may have supported an image. Morgan (1937) observes that the northern half of the entrance was blocked and the visitor would have been forced to enter into the space from the southern end of the entrance and turn left towards the altar.²⁰⁷ This position would leave the worshipper facing north towards the nearby group of graves. Based on the location, position, orientation, and the subterranean construction, Morgan proposes a chthonic cult function for this intriguing space. Finds suggest that the pit shrine was constructed in the 6th century around the time when interments stopped in the nearby cemetery, but the cult activity continued until the early 4th century.

Conclusions

To sum up, the spatial history of burials in early Corinth paints a picture of the gradual construction of a well-organized mortuary landscape that accompanies a growing urban setting. For much of the Early Iron Age, Corinth exhibits an intracommunal burial configuration— analogous to that of Athens and Argos—where burial takes place within or near settlement clusters. The strongest evidence of this interwoven landscape of domestic and mortuary contexts comes from the Lechaum Road Valley in the Early and Middle Geometric periods. Although habitation clusters are nearly invisible outside the core of the Lechaum Road Valley, burial groupings (such as the graves at the Potters' Quarter and Anaploga) probably represent intracommunal burials at satellite nuclei that characterized the dispersed layout of the Corinthian proto-urban landscape. From MG II onwards, Corinth exhibits a decrease in burials in the

²⁰⁷ Morgan 1937, 545-546.

Lechaëum Road Valley and a concurrent interest in extracommunal cemeteries, as evidenced by the reopening of the North Cemetery. Intracommunal burials continued sporadically (and were likely greater in number than what the archaeological record allows us to see), but the extracommunal mortuary landscape steadily expanded and widened (especially in the Archaic period) across the entire northern front of the terrace on which the ancient city of Corinth was built. The spatial shift from intra- to extracommunal burial locations finds parallels in the mortuary landscapes of 7th-century Argos and Athens. The social motivation behind this shift and explanation for this type of spatial change from one configuration to the other are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed here, especially within the context of Corinthian mortuary behavior, that the stimulus behind the rising popularity of extracommunal burial locations was not to distance mortuary affairs from domestic or sacred contexts by confining them to marginalized locations, as previously thought. Instead, there appears to be a set of guiding principles and ritualized behaviors that focus on how to *integrate* the dead successfully into the world of living. Yet, the engagement with the dead at Corinth was highly structured. Corinthian ritual behavior shows a tendency to impose a form of controlled formalization over the engagement with the chthonic realm—mortuary spaces serve as the interface in which this interaction occurs, and the observance of a set of proper actions ensures that the interaction is successful. Traces of these regulatory guidelines can be seen in the compartmentalization of mortuary spaces that produces a spatial order, provisions for purification rituals, controlled access into spaces, and the construction of long-term formalized cult spaces. Differences between the Corinthian ritual and spatial order in mortuary spaces and the Argive behavior of engaging with the dead more freely and fluidly through the constant reopening of graves and

handling skeletal material is worth reiterating. At Argos, familiarity with the dead is at a more personal level, whereas at Corinth, the everyday interaction with the skeletonized human body is very limited. Anthropologists agree that the human body retains a mnemonic agency even after it is reduced to bones or ashes; Argive pattern of engagement with the recently-dead in family tombs serves to maintain the personal connections to and memories of the dead, whereas at Corinth, it is possible that the dead phase into an abstraction of ancestorhood.²⁰⁸ This results in the formalization of the interface between the living and the dead in Corinth. We can spot the existence of ritualized behavior at the everyday level in the practice of grave-side libations—this ritual was probably practiced at other settlements as well, but at Corinth, the material imprint is more visible through the provision of vessels near graves. At a broader spatial and temporal scale, cult around graves appear to continue after the abandonment of mortuary spaces. Once a cemetery falls out of use, cult activity grows and continues in the vicinity of the graves. Judging from the significant temporal depth of ritual deposits and the formalization of spaces such as the Heroon at the Crossroads and the pit shrine in the later forum area, these cults are at a more collective scale that is larger than the individual household level.

The overall effect of the controlled ritualization at Corinth amounts to a belief in the inviolability of the spaces of the dead.²⁰⁹ It is likely that during the growth of mortuary spaces at early Corinth, the basic organizational principle patterns itself upon kinship structures that leave

²⁰⁸ Scholars have suggested that the limit to the depth of “genealogical memory” is three or four generations; anything beyond is lost to “genealogical amnesia” (Antonaccio 2016:104, 1995:264; Qviller 1981:111; Bourriot 1976:1135-1139). The ritualized interaction with the remains of the family dead would aid in the retention of more personalized memories of ancestors.

²⁰⁹ It is worth noting here that the apparent inviolability of mortuary space that is observed in early Corinth changes at the end of the 5th century, particularly at the North Cemetery where overcrowding must have become a concern. The rhythm in the orientation of graves loosens, more graves overlap older ones, and the excavators note a number of instances of reuse. See Palmer in Blegen et al. 1964, 76-77.

room for the expression of certain family preferences through the choice of burial, design of unusual compound spaces with niches or compartments, construction of periboloi, or siting of graves near each other, but on the whole everyone adheres to a broad understanding of spatial practices that uphold a shared belief system within the mortuary realm. To return to Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad, the mortuary landscape at Corinth provides a compelling example of the relationship between "spatial practices" and "spaces of representation": the former is the observance of a set of cultural, social, or religious traditions and norms that are shared by all members of a given community, whereas the latter is creation of more personalized places within the boundaries of the flexibility that "spatial practices" afford. The basic principles of the Corinthian mortuary behavior and belief system ensures that certain standards are observed consistently, but its flexibility also paves the way for a degree of creativity that allowed the production of singular spaces such as the compound burials connected via channels or "windows."

Based on these observations, it is possible to conclude that starting from the Geometric period onwards the dead occupied a central role in the emerging civic identity of Corinth. In the early stages of *polis* formation, this civic identity was entangled in the creation of a distinctive urban character which embraced the notion of "sacred ground." Corinthians heavily emphasized the chthonic powers of their city; Corinthian underground, however, was not solely the realm of abstract forces and deities, but it was also the provider of natural resources that supported the city, the source of springs that kept it alive, and the resting place of ancestors that paved the way to its success. The sacred urban ground upon which the *polis* grew drew part of its strength from a mythical past that included the dead rather than excluding or marginalizing them. The process of veneration may have involved the creation of imagined heroes, shared ancestors, and a

mythical past, perhaps along the veins of what was narrated in the epic *Corinthiaca*, or similar to the forged antiquity of the Cyclopean fountain in the middle of the city. The sum of all these efforts advertised Corinth as a deeply-rooted and powerful *polis* that can rival the Mycenaean ancestry of Argos or autochthonous Athens.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has revisited the mortuary spaces of three Greek settlements—Athens, Argos, and Corinth—at the onset of state-formation and urbanization between 900-700 B.C. Its primary goal has been the study of the social and spatial mechanisms behind the development of mortuary landscapes in Greek cities during this significant transitional period and the reexamination of several academic narratives that were written from processual, positivist, or historicizing perspectives. This final chapter presents some of the conclusions that can be derived from the comparative study of these three distinct mortuary topographies that have been explored so far.

Part of the challenge in the analysis of mortuary contexts and spaces is constructing a workable interpretive framework that can be used to assess archaeological residues in systemic and social terms. Each new generation of archaeologists works on this problem of inferring social patterns from material culture. Mortuary contexts are especially problematized in anthropological theory as they represent the convergence of complex archaeological questions (such as chronology, depositional patterns, and formation processes) and anthropological debates (such as social structure, religious belief, osteological analysis, and kinship patterns). It is difficult to have complete academic command of the literature on anthropological theory on all of these subjects as well as the archaeological datasets that a comprehensive study of mortuary contexts would require. Moreover, even though the last few decades have witnessed rapidly

shifting paradigms in archaeological theory,¹ our reading of mortuary behavior in the Greek world still relies on a few key studies of the 1980s and 1990s. Our models, therefore, remain rooted in processualism and Middle Range Theory, which approach burial patterns as reflections of social structure or reactions to social change.

For the period under examination in this study, one of the legacies of processual and quasi-processual approaches in archaeology has been an overworked focus on social stratification and hierarchy as reflected in the quantitative (i.e. socio-economic) ranking of grave types and wealth deposition. But what is a more useful framework for the relationship between hierarchy, heterarchy, and cemetery as a social space? With regards to the examination of the correlation between social structure and spatial patterns that shape mortuary landscapes, the most compelling interpretive assessment of formation processes remains Härke's (2001) elucidation of layers of ideology that surround burial spaces. Härke proposes three distinctive dimensions of power that work independently but simultaneously in mortuary landscapes: the power *of* cemeteries, the power *in* cemeteries, and the power *over* cemeteries. The power of cemeteries refers to the role of mortuary spaces within a wider social context. What is the physical or symbolic significance of mortuary spaces in a given community? What is the degree of influence death rituals have over life? What weight or agency does the funerary realm carry in terms of shaping or steering ideologies? Do mortuary spaces have any potential to be used as public venues in political, social, or cultural manipulation of ideas? What are the mechanisms that can be used to achieve these goals, and how likely are they to be successful within the socio-political context of that particular community? In a sense, Härke's first layer presents a contextual

¹ Lucas 2015, 2016.

evaluation of the importance of cemetery as a social setting.

The second dimension—the power *in* cemeteries—elaborates on who the participants are within this setting. Who communicates through these channels in a given community? Who is represented or heard? Who desires to be represented? What are the messages that are conveyed? These questions seek to decode the complexities of the negotiation of identities through funerary rituals within set spatial parameters. Finally, the third layer of ideology—the power *over* cemeteries—questions how and by whom the first two layers are controlled. Is there a group (such as the elite), an institution (such as the *polis* as a legislative authority), or a doctrine (such as religious dogma) that regulates burial practices or funerary spaces? Who has access to mortuary spaces or the ideological vocabulary within them, and who makes the decisions? Härke (2001) rightly points out that all three of these layers of ideology must be considered in order to arrive at a complete view of how mortuary landscapes function in societies.

In early Greek cities, the power *of* mortuary spaces over the socio-political life of the community was significant. Mortuary spaces carried agency and actively guided community members through the social network of the polity at large by offering an open and fluid line of communication between its members. As I elaborate below under the discussion of settlement-wide patterns, the significance of mortuary space as a platform for the dialogue between social groups increases when cemeteries are rendered more public, visible, and communal by expanding the wider audience of funerary activities. Therein lies the most significant consequence of the shift from intracommunal mortuary spaces (which are smaller in size, more limited in lifespan, and narrower in their audience) to extracommunal cemeteries (which are larger, more temporally stable, more collective in its target audience, and more neutral but public in spatial terms). The expansion of extracommunal cemeteries in the 7th century is a strategy to

add another public and collective venue of social interaction between the segmented groups of the emergent *polis* that pursues effective ways to ease community coalescence.

The power *in* Greek cemeteries—that is, the identity of the participants of the intra-community dialogue—changed periodically in response to the socio-political conditions and demands of the times. It is likely that the elite was ever-present and did not allow themselves to be excluded from the discourse, but they were not the only contributors to the development of mortuary landscapes. It is probable that mortuary spaces were more inclusive, not reserved for aristocracy or “citizens,” but more permeable to allow social integration and compensate for the upward social mobility of various groups like foreigners and the parvenu. The inclusion and representation of women and children also changed over time, probably according to what purpose such visibility might serve within a larger social context. The inclusion of all members of the family in the cemetery puts an emphasis on the cohesion of the household, possibly at times when the wider relevance of households as the building blocks of social order was threatened by the formation of supra-household networks and institutions in the nascent *polis*.

Lastly, the power *over* cemeteries in early Greek cities may be the most misconstrued ideological layer within mortuary landscapes. Many attempts have been made to identify a single source of this power, whether it be the aristocracy, state policy, or religious canon. Nevertheless, there is not much hard evidence that there was ever an institutional source of power that regulated the access to or activities within mortuary spaces before at least the Archaic period. Spatial practices in the mortuary realm in early Greece, therefore, are more likely to be socially-coordinated collective mobilizations based on habitual and repeated patterns, not based on an enforceable master design. For instance, the growth of extramural cemeteries may have been a more organic process of shifting focus away from closed familial contexts and gravitating

towards more communal spaces and activities in search of a wider range of representation in the public arena. It is likely that several other decision-making bodies were influential in dictating the space and place of burial, such as the potential impact of women in selecting burial locations for children.²

The interplay between these three layers of ideology presents an intricate web of behavioral patterns that can be difficult to disentangle. The ultimate question that needs to be addressed in the examination of spatial patterns and overall mortuary behavior is the question of agency: who makes the decisions in the funerary realm, and how are these decisions made? Contrary to previous scholarship that has placed most of the decision-making powers in mortuary landscapes with the aristocracy (either through direct control over cemeteries and burial rites or indirect influence by setting trends and restricting the circulation of prestige items) or the state (for instance, through legislative measures that ban or dictate funerary behavior), this dissertation assigns greater agency to individuals and basic corporate units such as households. This perspective does not undermine the influence of elite behavior, state institutions, or religion in molding, guiding, and influencing a systemic set of behaviors in which individuals operate. Cultural traditions and social mechanisms are indeed powerful factors behind mortuary (and spatial) behavior, but their determinative capacity must be assessed contextually. In mortuary behavior, communities develop a system of symbolisms and encoding social messages, but the way the system is enforced is different in every society. If the community presents a range of options or a degree of flexibility within this system, it is up to the burying group to choose how to engage with this system and how to use its metaphorical language to send the desired message. In the archaeological record, the presence of a wide range of options manifests itself as

² Houby-Nielsen 1996b.

material diversity (as in LG Athens, for instance); the absence of options (i.e. a heavy-handed enforcement of normative behavior) would create a mortuary landscape of uniformity with few exceptions to the rule.

The exercise of agency at an individual or household level is not the equivalent of a modern concept of freedom or free will, but it rather points to a social environment of a risk-and-reward system behind nonconformity. If nonconformity sends a social message that is more advantageous or desirable than complying with normative behavior, it may be exercised, especially if the reward has long-term potential (such as increased prestige, social standing, or commemoration). In sociology, Lefebvre (1991) has drawn attention to a similar distinction between culturally- and socially- circumscribed “spatial practices” and “spaces of representation” in which individual decisions are “represented.” Similarly, Rapoport (1988) has pointed out that built environments communicate cues that “remind users of what behavior is appropriate to the situation defined by that setting, communicated through fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed cues. People may ignore these mnemonics: setting are not determining. While cues must be notices and understood, there must also be a willingness to “obey”.³ This interplay between social resistance and compliance is built into systems with social and political mobility; it can also create new material patterns that will become normative, or even trigger social change, if the anomalous behavior is replicated by others. From this perspective, nonobservance of socially dominant behavior can carry substantial meaning. Acts of resistance can produce material anomalies and “exceptions” in the archaeological record, but their examination is just as significant as the assessment of wider patterns. A good example is the continued practice of intracommunal burials despite a growing popularity of extracommunal cemeteries at the end of

³ Rapoport 1988, 327.

the Early Iron Age—as I argue below, lingering intramural burials can point to conscious decisions of entrenched behavior to delay integration into large-scale, collective cemeteries. This spatial decision may correspond to an attempt to preserve traditional and familial burial locations and to uphold the social independence and power of the household during a period of social realignment that prompts collective and coalescent patterns in the Greek world.

This brief discussion of various planes of ideology, agency, power, decision-making, and social behavior illustrates that the dynamics behind the creation of mortuary landscapes operate at multiple levels. To that end, an additional goal of this dissertation has been the adoption of a multiscalar approach in the study of mortuary spaces in early Greek cities. To that end, I have considered several dimensions of spatial scales both vertically (from the grave to the above-ground markers) and horizontally (expanding radially from the microenvironment of the grave to settlement-wide patterns). As I have discussed in chapter 2, one of the most compelling definitions of space is to think of it in terms of time, whether it consists of an attempt to interpret any given picture of a space that is frozen in time—for instance, looking at the mortuary distribution map of Late Geometric Argos—or whether it aims to understand durational time and temporal rhythms that create palimpsests—such as the collage of markers and monuments at the mnemonic landscape of the Kerameikos. These variegated scales of analysis apply to both spatial and temporal planes: graduated spatial scales range from bodily space to the grave, the plot, the cemetery, and the settlement, whereas temporal analysis considers single ephemeral moments (such as the funeral) as well as the continuous development of contexts through repeated episodes and habitual patterns. As a result, the line of inquiry has included both the role of cemetery in its wider social and physical context in the long term, and the significance of episodic everyday mortuary behavior that shapes the cemetery itself.

Spatial Scales: Microscales of Bodily Space and the Grave

Space need not be absolute or defined in architectural terms, and it does not have a fixed scale, range, or boundary. Studies on personal, relative, and performative spaces have presented myriad ways of understanding space as an extension of our bodies. This approach allows us to recognize the agency of the human body in the creation of space, which is not just a container of events, persons, and things but an active environment of interactions. In the analysis of mortuary spaces, it is important to consider this analytical scale and reflect on the agency of perhaps the most important component of the funeral—the body of the deceased—as the core constituent of space. This approach redefines mortuary space as a fluid environment that surrounds funerary activity—temporary as it may be—at the center of which lies the corpse. Mortuary space starts at deathbed, or at whatever setting death occurs in cases of unnatural or violent death, like the battlefield. Although there are few archaeological residues of the mortuary space that is created at the time of death, there was considerable interest in that particular moment in Greek thought, as evidenced by many artistic depictions that show a hero fallen in battle, Hypnos and Thanatos carrying off a body, or Hermes guiding a soul into the underworld.

What follows the moment of expiration is a transitional period between death and burial. Van Gennep (1960), who analyzes funerary rituals as one of the rites of passage in a person's life, proposes a tripartite scheme in which the individual leaves familiar surroundings (i.e. the departure from the world of the living at the moment of death), lingers in a liminal stage where all social affiliations are severed (i.e. the soul in transition), and finally rejoins a new environment (i.e. the world of the dead or the collective group of ancestors). Rites of passage provide a framework that guides societies through potentially traumatic episodes when an individual leaves a particular social group. The separation signals a risk of social dissolution and

upsets conventional social order that relies upon the solidarity of its constituent parts, so a proper set of rituals are formulated to rectify the disturbed equilibrium. The completion of the rite of passage reinstates everyone to their proper place in the community.

Funeral as a rite of passage is a particularly compelling perspective, since many anthropologists agree that funerary rituals have a significant role in social psychology as coping mechanisms for the survivors. Ancient Greek texts that provide commentary on the topic of burial indicate that the tripartite division of rites of passage is applicable to how the Greeks viewed the transition from death to afterlife. Greeks believed that death brought about a ritual pollution that not only surrounded the corpse or the space of death but extended to kin. Passages in Homer tell us that the soul was particularly restless during the transitional stage after death as it could not enter the underworld before the living conducted proper burial rites.⁴ The liminality of the soul in the underworld during this time corresponds to preparatory funerary rituals such as *prothesis* (the laying out of the body) and *ekphora* (the procession to the burial site) in the world of the living. Therefore, the corpse at this phase is particularly polluting and dangerous.⁵ The household of the deceased temporarily becomes mortuary space by virtue of the performance of ritualized funerary preparations, expression of grief, and the display of the body for the viewing. The body itself takes center stage as it is cleaned, prepared, and perhaps adorned for the afterlife. Judging from grave offerings that include pins, fibulae, and jewelry, textual and archaeological evidence that support the use of shrouds, and artistic depictions that include props like chin straps and pillows on black-figure *prothesis* scenes, considerable effort is devoted to present the corpse as aesthetically pleasing and serene as possible during its display. The space created by

⁴ Johnston 1999.

⁵ For the relationship between body and pollution, see Farnham 2016, Douglas 2002.

the axial but motionless cadaver is juxtaposed and augmented by the corporeal space of the mourners, whose emphatic gestures, lamentations, and self-mutilation expand the funeral sphere both visually and aurally. This performative space that develops around the corpse is mobile and moves with the participants during the *ekphora*, cutting across public spaces of the settlement, compelling bystanders to engage in the experience. In brief, the body of the deceased has a significant degree of mnemonic, sensory, and spatial agency during pre-interment rituals. The physical and architectural barriers that may separate domestic, sacred, and mortuary contexts are rendered permeable and even obsolete through the movement of the body and its entourage across space.

The importance of bodily space continues at the grave site during the final funerary rituals. The most poignant of the range of burial types that have been discussed in this dissertation in terms of sensory experience is cremation, during which the participants witness the transformation of the human body from skin and flesh to calcined bone fragments. Williams (2004) points out that the body retains agency even in its reduced state, since the bones have to be collected manually from the pyre remains. These additional stages of interaction and engagement with the remains of the dead make cremation a unique burial type.

After the interment of the body, the grave becomes a closed context that envelops bodily space in more absolute terms. Grave type dictates the parameters of mortuary space at this scale, but the material components of this microenvironment depend on depositional practices. Often the body, which is central and a focal point in the grave, is surrounded by offerings. Alternatively, however, the space that offerings occupy may shift away from the body and move into subsidiary locations in the grave (like the offering compartments and niches at Corinth), immediately outside the grave (like the objects around sarcophagi at Corinth or on top of the

cover slabs of cists at Argos), or even spatially independent locations (such as the offering trenches at Athens). It is important to note that this type of segregation between the body and the offerings does not necessarily push the materiality of the grave into a secondary place; on the contrary, it can serve to underline the deposition of objects by giving them spatial independence and making them an alternative focal point. The disassociation of offerings from taphonomic processes (such as the burning of the body or the decomposition of inhumations inside graves) can shift emphasis from death towards a ritualized destruction of material wealth. For instance, in 7th-century Athens, the spatial externalization of material wealth was probably a manipulation of the theatricality of funerals and conspicuous consumption. Material culture that is detached from the body can also serve as mnemonic proxies and decrease the degree of engagement with human remains.

The microenvironment of the grave may also be further shaped by a long sequence of cultural interferences and natural taphonomy. In recent theoretical debates on archaeological formation processes, scholars began to think about stratigraphy in terms of habitual and temporal patterns.⁶ McAnany and Hodder (2009) frame stratigraphy not simply as an observation of the law of archaeological superimposition, but as a palimpsest of material residues of social behavior. Lucas (2005, 2012) categorizes formation processes and types of behavior according to how people engage with existing deposits. For instance, a tendency to preserve existing remains limit destructive intrusions and create reiterative palimpsests. On the other hand, certain types of behavior include intrusive episodes that reverse, erase, or displace existing residues from archaeological contexts.

⁶ Lucas 2012, 2008, 2005; Olivier 2011, 2008, 1999; McAnany and Hodder 2009; Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008; Bailey 2007; Murray 1999; Bradley 2002.

In these respects, the three sites that are examined in this study exhibit significantly different behavioral patterns, each resulting in the creation of distinct grave contexts. In Corinth, the tendency is preservative; the monolithic sarcophagus that becomes a typical grave type at this site seals in the body and it is seldomly reopened or interfered with. Older grave contexts, when discovered, are preserved and respected if possible, not dismantled or relocated. There are almost no examples of secondary burials—skeletal elements are rarely collected from the primary location to be interred elsewhere. The microenvironment that is created in Corinthian graves is close to what sociologists term a “place”—a personalized space with discreet boundaries which social norms seek to preserve. On the other hand, graves at Argos are shaped through a remarkably different “social stratigraphy”: they are reopened episodically and their contents are disturbed, pushed around, or entirely removed. Argive graves are communal spaces, not individualized places. The corporeal cohesion of an individual’s remains (and personhood) is immaterial after death—secondary depositions are common, and in many cases just a skull or a few bones suffice to represent the deceased in a secondary location. In Lucas’ taphonomical terms, Argos burials are highly reversible, and frequently reversed. Lastly, in Athens, although there are no “typical” burials to speak of, there are some interesting behavioral patterns that are also unique to this settlement. Athenian cremations combine a very destructive type of burial with a peculiar tendency to create a vertical layering effect within the grave, but the stratigraphy is built deliberately and rapidly, not through a natural, long-term sequence of repeated behavior. To give an example, in the secondary trench-and-hole cremation graves that were popular between PG and LG, from bottom to the top we have the skeletal remains in the urn (which sits at a spatially distinct hole at the bottom of a wider trench), additional offerings (if any), the residue of the pyre that is thrown into the grave, the backfill, the small earthen mound that covers

the grave, and a ceramic marker sits at the very top (Fig. 3.12). In other words, the burial rite that is chosen is destructive and “reversible” as it completely erases the primary context (i.e. the pyre) in which it is created, but the secondary grave is carefully layered and sealed within a day, and very rarely disturbed. 7th-century primary cremations omit the destruction of the primary context, but the same interest in deliberate layering and immediate sealing continues: the funeral pyre is topped with backfill, a mound, and a marker, while the offering trench—which is used only once during the funeral—is also covered with plaster and abandoned. In addition, subsequent mounds frequently overlap existing ones and continue to add to the vertical layering.

In summary, the formation of the microenvironment of the grave in Athens, Argos, and Corinth exhibits three different patterns of engagement with the remains of the dead. In Argos, the engagement is continuous, intrusive, and highly interactive. In Athens, at least in the practice of cremation, the engagement is mostly restricted to a single episode—the funeral—and becomes limited during any subsequent visits to the grave site where markers act as proxy for the dead. Out of the three sites under study, Corinthian grave types exhibit the lowest level of engagement with the remains, coupled with preservative and insular tendencies in constructing hermetic grave spaces for individuals (such as the use of sarcophagi) and an inclination to avoid further contact with the remains of the dead. Vessel shapes in Corinthian mortuary assemblages and the practice of placing pots at the corners of graves present compelling evidence for the regular observance of purification rituals, which point to the ritual regulation of the contact between the living and the dead at this site.⁷ The emphasis on the use of water as a purificatory agent at

⁷ For pottery shapes (especially pouring vessels) from Corinthian graves, see Farnham 2014, 2016. In addition to the hydriae that are frequently placed at the corners of graves in the North cemetery and at the Lechaum Road Valley, Farnham (2016, 2014) also points out that kraters (which become popular in LG in Corinth) may have been used for ritual ablution.

Corinth parallels the importance of water in the urban and civic identity of the site, and may suggest the practice of a more systematized ritual control over pollution.

Spatial Scales: Internal Organization of Burial Grounds

Characteristics and the development of mortuary spaces at the mesoscale (i.e. the scale of the cemetery) are difficult to analyze because of the limitations of the data. Problems in dating individual graves create a hurdle in visualizing the growth and expansion of burial areas.

Another concern is the rate of archaeological retrieval in determining the extent and character of burial grounds: it is not clear in most cases whether isolated graves or even grave groups are part of an extended cemetery or individual plots with other activities (domestic, industrial, or sacred) that are interwoven in one large space.⁸ This gives rise to inconsistencies in adopting spatial terminology in reference to mortuary spaces. There is still no consistent definition of a “cemetery” in the Greek world. The difficulty in assessing the extent of any given mortuary space renders the definitions based on size or the number of graves problematic.⁹ Morris’ (1987) definition of cemeteries as “formal, bounded localities reserved exclusively for the disposal of the dead”¹⁰ carries some merit since it is a descriptive and not quantitative definition, but the criteria it proposes are highly problematic since neither the exclusivity nor the boundedness of many burial areas, even in Athens where this definition was developed, cannot be proven. The most useful and adaptable perspective remains King’s (1970) definition of a cemetery as a “socially recognized area in which the deceased members of a group, larger than a nuclear

⁸ See chapter 3 on Athens for a discussion of the nature of the Early Iron Age agora as a mortuary space.

⁹ See, for example, the spatial definitions of mortuary spaces in Whitley (1991, 166): “Large cemeteries included more than 20 graves, medium-sized cemeteries 6–20, and grave plots 2–5.”

¹⁰ Morris 1987, 63.

family, are customarily interred.”¹¹ This definition implies that the size of the burial ground is a key factor in determining its spatial character, but does not propose quantitative limits: instead, the important point is that cemetery is a communal space at a supra-household level, as opposed to a plot, which may be exclusive to a certain social group. Cemeteries are “socially recognized” localities whose function is to reintegrate segmented corporate units within a social system into a common space where rituals can be performed at a public and communal scale. The second important part of King’s definition is its emphasis on temporal depth: cemeteries exhibit long-term and consistent use (such as the Kerameikos and the North Cemetery) whereas family plots tend to be short-lived, limited to a couple of generations. For these reasons, D’Onofrio (2017) makes a valid point that burying groups in large scale cemeteries like the Kerameikos must have changed over time.

Family plots can exist as spatially independent spaces (such as the Tholos group at the Athenian agora) or they can be incorporated into larger cemeteries. Unfortunately, there is no way of providing incontrovertible archaeological proof for the relationship between the occupants of the graves in any given mortuary space. Even DNA and osteological studies, such as the arguments in favor of a family connection between the individuals at the Tholos grave plot,¹² are limited in their application, since scholars now agree that households and kinship groups as social units are not strictly biological connections but they can include members who are connected in other ways.¹³ Nevertheless, it has been established that kinship was a crucial organizational parameter in the social, cultural, and political landscape of ancient Greece,¹⁴ and

¹¹ King 1970, 17.

¹² Angel 1939.

¹³ e.g. Johnson and Paul 2015; Sahlins 2013 etc.

¹⁴ For a recent discussion of the topic, see Humphreys 2018; Blok 2017.

the most likely scenario regarding the composition of burying groups and spatial organization within cemeteries is kinship and clan affiliations. Regardless of burial types, funerary customs, or mortuary behavior, kinship played an important role in spatial decision-making in all three settlements examined in this dissertation. Architecturally, a family plot can be delineated to establish spatial boundaries, but this is a very rare practice in the sites under study before the Classical period: only the Tholos grave group in Athens and the central *peribolos* at the North Cemetery in Corinth have yielded clear examples of architectural demarcation in funerary contexts.¹⁵ There are, however, other strategies in constructing space that can point to familial and kinship affiliations. The continual reuse of graves at Argos can be attributed to families (likely nuclear in size) whereas family plots at a slightly larger scale may have encompassed extended kin. Similarly, the construction of spatial relatedness between graves (such as the adjoining compound graves at Corinth or the graves that touch each other in several burial grounds at Argos) is not accidental but a deliberate tactic to express social affiliations on a horizontal plane. Finally, patterns in spatial grouping and proximity can be used to reconstruct kinship units (such as the potential clusters at the North Cemetery) but this line of analysis remains methodologically problematic and needs further study.

Spatial Scales: Settlement-wide Patterns

One of the narratives about the development of mortuary topographies in Greek cities has been the gradual shift from intracommunal to extracommunal burial areas by the end of the Geometric or at the beginning of the early Archaic periods. One significant point that we must bear in mind in the reevaluation of this view is that our picture of the spatial distribution of

¹⁵ For a discussion of periboloi in funerary contexts see Garland 1982, and Antonaccio 1995, 250-251 (especially regarding the later construction of periboloi that enclosed existing Early Iron Age graves).

graves in 7th-century Greece is probably distorted by the overall diminished visibility of burials in this period due to changes in mortuary behavior and depositional practices. The number of recoverable and datable contexts decrease significantly in all three sites, and our understanding of the mortuary geography of any given settlement may change dramatically if we could locate the missing graves, some of which may indeed conform to intracommunal patterns.

Regardless, there appears to be an expansion of, or at least continuity in, extracommunal burial areas during the birth of proto-urban centers in Greece. What is the reason behind the growing popularity of cemeteries at marginal locations or on the fringes of habitation areas? Before attempting to answer this question, some important observations need to be highlighted. Firstly, it has been shown—hopefully in this dissertation but also in other cities like Sparta¹⁶—that the core-and-periphery model between settlement and cemetery is not a universal phenomenon that is *sine qua non* of the Greek urban layout. Differences in the spatial history of the three cities examined here indicate that urbanization is a diverse process and, while many Greek cities exhibited a lot of common features and types of architecture by the Classical period, we cannot produce an ideal paradigm for the quintessential Greek city or a shared evolutionary track of development in urbanism. Secondly, the emergence or expansion of extracommunal cemeteries does not preclude the continuation of intracommunal burial. There has been a great deal of commentary and speculation in scholarship regarding funerary legislations that must have restricted the practice of intramural burials and forced the residents to find alternative solutions for burial location. Many of these arguments are inspired by the existence of such laws in much later periods, in the Classical or even the Roman world; the argument is anachronistic for a polity in its earliest stages of formation. At Corinth, for instance, the establishment of the North

¹⁶ Christensen 2018.

Cemetery as a major extracommunal cemetery is dated to a time when some scholars argue that the settlement was a scattered, low-density collection of villages. It is unlikely that there was any sort of grand design regarding mortuary organization that was launched by a central authority in any of these early states.

Another point that must be considered is the timeframe of the emergence and growth of extracommunal burial grounds. At Corinth, the movement starts in the first half of the 8th century BC (MG II in Corinthian pottery sequence) when the settlement is at the very early stages of its development and probably not a fully-fledged city or *polis*. At Argos, however, the shift is delayed by about a century and takes place much later in the development of the city when it had already achieved hegemony over the Argive plain and become an important center. In contrast with Corinth, the formative decades of Argos in LG witness a remarkable increase in intracommunal mortuary spaces and a wide dispersion of burials across the entire settlement. Therefore, there appear to be different local responses to and idiosyncrasies in the development of the extracommunal burial configuration in various Greek cities.

In brief, both the spatial patterns and the timeline in the development of extracommunal burial spaces can be different in every city. But are there shared reasons or motivations behind this growing tendency to place the dead on the outskirts of settlement? Some have suggested that the emergence of extracommunal cemeteries must be a result of the growth of the urban area in which space becomes too valuable to devote to the dead. Yet, the MG reestablishment of the North Cemetery at Corinth dates to a period when, as Williams (1982) puts it, “no pressures of growing urban density existed.”¹⁷ The appeal of extracommunal cemeteries, then, is not the

¹⁷ Williams 1982, 11.

availability of land at peripheral locations as opposed to the center of the settlement, so a top-down decision regarding land maintenance is unlikely to be the determining factor. Instead, the shift is gradual and agency lies with the individuals and corporate groups that willingly make this choice without any external physical or legislative pressure.

Another factor that scholars have considered in explaining the selection of peripheral burial locations in Greek cities is religious concerns over death pollution. The idea that a fear of ritual contamination could influence the spatial placement of burials and cemeteries found favor in early scholarship¹⁸ and occasionally persists—either implicitly or explicitly—in more recent studies.¹⁹ As discussed above, however, ritual pollution may have indeed influenced mortuary behavior or burial types, but it is unlikely that it played an effect on the spatial distribution of burials. The successful observation of funerary rituals—some of which are purificatory in nature—neutralize ritual pollution caused by death.²⁰ At Corinth, for instance, there are indications that death pollution may have been a serious concern, maybe more so in this *polis* than others. However, Corinthian contexts also display a very consistent and effective set of behaviors to control and diffuse death pollution. Pollution is an abnormal stage and a temporary condition, not the permanent state of an environment or a person. Bendlin (2007) emphasizes that “the separation between the two categories of “pure” and “polluted,” maintained only within a given (ritual) situation, can and must be abandoned afterwards, if we wish to return to a normal life.”²¹ Similarly, Parker (1983) notes that “the disposal of the body was the turning-point within the sequence of events that followed the death. Purification could now begin, and the activities of

¹⁸ Most importantly Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 1983, 1995.

¹⁹ Farnham 2016; Retief and Cilliers 2006.

²⁰ Farnham 2016.

²¹ Bendlin 2007, 180.

everyday life be gradually resumed.”²² In brief, cemeteries or graves in early Greece were not necessarily perceived as dangerous places with a lingering aura of ritual pollution, and the spatial marginalization or isolation of mortuary spaces from domestic contexts would not achieve a conceptual separation of death from life.²³ On the contrary, distancing burial sites from houses would prolong the *ekphora* and exacerbate the exposure of the metaphysically liminal corpse to the rest of the settlement. While concepts of pollution and purity may have dictated the types of rites that were formulated to restore ritual and social order after death, and may have even influenced the range of material culture that funerals generate,²⁴ it is doubtful that they had any impact on the spatial development of mortuary topography at large.

If a shortage of urban space or a fear of pollution are not satisfactory explanations for the growing popularity of extracommunal burial grounds in early Greek cities, what motivated this new configuration? Williams (1982) writes: “The great change in the burial patterns from family plots probably close to the family houses and within the areas of inhabitation to group burials in more isolated cemetery areas indicates interest in community organization, or at least in the power of some authority who acts in terms of priorities of the community over and above those of the individual or family.”²⁵ While the argument regarding authoritative power is debatable, Williams is correct in his assessment that the change relates to the formation of a community at a supra-household level. Although the dichotomy between “intramural” and “extramural” cemeteries is overworked and undertheorized in Greek archaeology,²⁶ there are compelling

²² Parker 1983, 36.

²³ Taking the belief in death-pollution too far was considered superstitious and socially unacceptable behavior (Bendlin 2007, 179-180; Parker 1983, 36).

²⁴ Farnham 2016.

²⁵ Williams 1982, 15.

²⁶ Snodgrass 2016.

perspectives into the siting of burials in anthropological literature. Cannon (2002) approaches spatial patterns in mortuary geography as expressions of “scales of memory.” In his view, the spatial distribution of burials across a settlement will vary based on what kind of memory the burying group is seeking to preserve or create. If the goal is to preserve a “personal memory” based on a more direct familiarity with the deceased, burials will be placed in close proximity to the living as “an expression of their continuation as a part of the family.”²⁷ The spatial distribution of grave contexts will be restricted to spaces that are closely associated with family (i.e. close to houses or familial land), and the temporal depth of the burials will be limited to a few generations. On the other hand, if the aim is to create and perpetuate a more *social memory* that extends beyond a personal knowledge of the deceased, burials will be located in more central or communal spaces that make a public presence possible. The spatial scale of the cemetery will vary based on the audience, whether it is an extended clan or kinship group, a whole community, or even an entire region. According to Cannon’s view, the creation of an independent space for the dead is not an act of marginalization, but it denotes the elaboration of the cemetery as a focal point for more public activities. As Cannon puts it, “the creation of social memory begins in the designation of a separate place for the dead. Through the generations, their common placement reinforces and symbolically represents the larger community of the living.”²⁸

Cannon’s perspective into the space and place of the dead within communities is an attempt to reconcile absolute spatial patterns (such as distance/proximity) with more socially- and culturally-encoded meanings behind mortuary behavior. In that sense, Cannon’s paradigm remains binary, as it tries to explain a binary spatial pattern. Nonetheless, his assessment of the

²⁷ Cannon 2002; 193.

²⁸ Cannon 2002; 194.

social significance behind extracommunal cemeteries as the creation of collective mortuary environments for a shared identity and history maps rather well onto the social developments in Greece at the end of the Early Iron Age. The social, political, and physical synoecism at the end of the Geometric and throughout the early Archaic periods in Greece led to the creation of performative spaces at collective scales at a supra-household level—this development is seen in a variety of religious and civic contexts, ranging from sanctuaries to communal dining spaces. Cemeteries that invite a collective burying population is just another material manifestation of the same phenomenon. Even though their location on the margins of proto-urban growth has coopted the academic discourse in Greek archaeology, what is more significant is their communal scale and collective character. Cannon’s two levels of memory (i.e. personal versus social) essentially propose that the main difference between intracommunal and extracommunal cemeteries lies in how spatial patterns are informed by kinship configurations within mortuary landscapes: the scale of the burial ground is reflective of how kinship units or households are either kept spatially insular or are integrated into a larger collective space. It follows to reason that the change from one configuration to the other is brought about at the end of the Early Iron Age when segmented corporate units were seeking more ways to become effective members of an emerging collective identity of a complex polity. In summary, the creation and the expansion of extracommunal spaces for the dead in the early city parallels the development of other “central” places of social meaning for the community, like architecturally discreet temples, sanctuaries, or agoras. In this regard, cemeteries are socially and conceptually central while being spatially peripheral.

The case of Corinth is particularly interesting in this regard: if the widely dispersed habitation pattern indeed continued at Corinth even after the formation of the state was fully

underway, this settlement's developmental trajectory is a case of political and social coalescence while physical unification lags behind. The decentralized pattern of habitation could have motivated the residents of Corinth to turn to alternative ways of community formation without the need to relocate their domestic spaces to form an urban core in order to experience a sense of belonging. The establishment of a communal cemetery would help express group identity and cohesion beyond that of a household or family.²⁹

Nevertheless, we must remember from the discussion above that spatial practices and the process behind the creation of social space can also be contested. When socially-coordinated spatial patterns are not universally adopted by every member of a community, alternative spaces of resistance or transgression are born. This type of tension can account for the continuation of intracommunal burials in reduced numbers even during the rising popularity of extracommunal cemeteries. Since family preferences were a significant factor in determining mortuary behavior, it is conceivable that some households also entrenched themselves in family histories and traditional burial locations and resisted a wholesale integration into extracommunal cemeteries. This explanation for the side-by-side existence of intra- and extracommunal patterns becomes more compelling if we accept that the decision to relocate was probably left up to individual households at the beginning, and there was no legislation to enforce their displacement. The mechanics of spatial resistance can also explain why three cities display three different temporal trajectories: even though the social conditions are comparable in all three—that is, social and political coalescence necessitates the creation of communal spaces—differences in mortuary behavior and social ideologies create conflicting patterns. At Argos, we have seen that the power of family and kinship as an organizational principle in mortuary spaces is more pronounced than

²⁹ Dickey 1992, 137-138.

Corinth and Athens. This is evident in the consistency in including women and children in burial, the pronounced spatial relationships between graves, location-bound memory and spatial stability within dispersed clusters, and the continuous reuse of graves. It is probable that the high emphasis on household-based decisions in the mortuary realm at Argos caused the delay in the widespread adoption of extracommunal cemetery locations and created a "landscape of resistance" as some households tried to remain entrenched in the intramural configuration during coalescence.

On the other hand, I have argued above that, at Corinth, the formalized and ritualized interaction between the dead and the living, as well as the limited interaction with the remains of the dead during funerary rituals, creates a very different experience of mortuary spaces. The familial and interactive engagements with the dead at Argos perpetuate personal memories of the dead, whereas the codified approach to the chthonic realm at Corinth is more consistent with a highly ritualized and controlled engagement with a collective body of ancestors. If the delegation of the dead into a collective and more abstract ancestorhood is accelerated at Corinth, it is not surprising that the creation of a collective space at a large extramural cemetery comes early at this settlement. Spatial resistance to the change in burial configuration at Argos is strong and prolonged, whereas it is seen at a much smaller scale at Corinth and Athens where sporadic intramural burials continue throughout the Archaic period.³⁰

At the end of this discussion of the different analytical scales of mortuary spaces, it is important to emphasize, once again, that these spatial parameters should not be understood as conflicting but complementary identities. State-level polities are composed of a graduated

³⁰ Dickey 1992; Sanders et al. 2014.

spectrum of social identities, ranging from a single individual to a household, the extended kin group, the community, and several other social groups that cut across these divisions. These units sometimes operate on harmonious and coordinated frequencies; but they can also produce diametric reactions. Our analyses cannot insist on antithetical dialogues between academically polarized identities like the *oikos* and the *polis*, or the elite and the non-elite. This type of perpetual schism without an outlet would bring about social dissolution. Instead, the channels of communication between different social units that nested within a large community were far more complex. The same argument can be extended to spaces within an urban setting. A similar kind of graduated spectrum is observed at mortuary spaces at the level of graves, plots, cemeteries, and mortuary geographies at large, and each grade displays a unique character. The meaning behind spaces does not lie in antithetical and binary traits—like near or far, bounded or open, intramural or extramural—but the fluid dialogue that exists between them. This dialogue gives rise to paradoxical landscapes (like the transient mortuary space of mourning within a domestic setting) and landscapes of nonconformity (like lingering intracommunal graves in a settlement of expanding extracommunal cemeteries).

A Tale of Three Cities

The final conclusion of this dissertation is that three settlements on parallel and somewhat contemporaneous trajectories towards the formation of state-level polities and proto-urban centers have produced three different mortuary landscapes. Some may find this conclusion noncommittal and even disappointing, but understanding the reasons behind this verdict are far more interesting and academically useful than producing a predictive or descriptive model of a typical Greek cemetery. Mortuary landscapes are shaped by two fundamental processes: the cumulative residual effects of mortuary behaviors that build them, and the demands of the social

and physical environments in which they function. Since each Greek *polis* appears to have adopted a completely unique set of mortuary traditions, socio-political structure, and physical form, there can hardly be a usable model of a typical Greek cemetery, at least in early Greece. An Athenian who visits a cemetery in Argos and witnesses the reopening of a cist that already contains half a dozen decomposed bodies, a Corinthian who attends a spectacular cremation funeral in 7th-century Athens, or an Argive who marvels at the transportation of a 2.5-ton megalithic sarcophagus at one of the cemeteries in Corinth, would all walk away with an experience that has no place in their own local landscapes. The recognition of this diversity in not only ritual behavior but also spatial practice helps us understand the social dynamics that make up the Greek *polis*. Therefore, our current academic perceptions of Greek mortuary geographies, which rely on static views of these archaeological contexts (such as their location on a map), must be reevaluated and bolstered by a consideration of a multiplicity of spatial scales, temporalities, mortuary behavior, and formation processes.

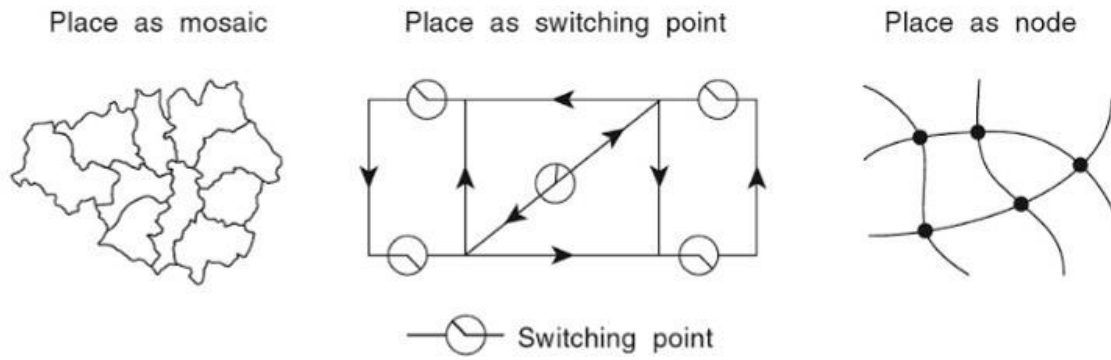


Fig. 2.1. Metaphors for understanding the connectivity of places. Castree 2003, fig. 9.3, p. 162.

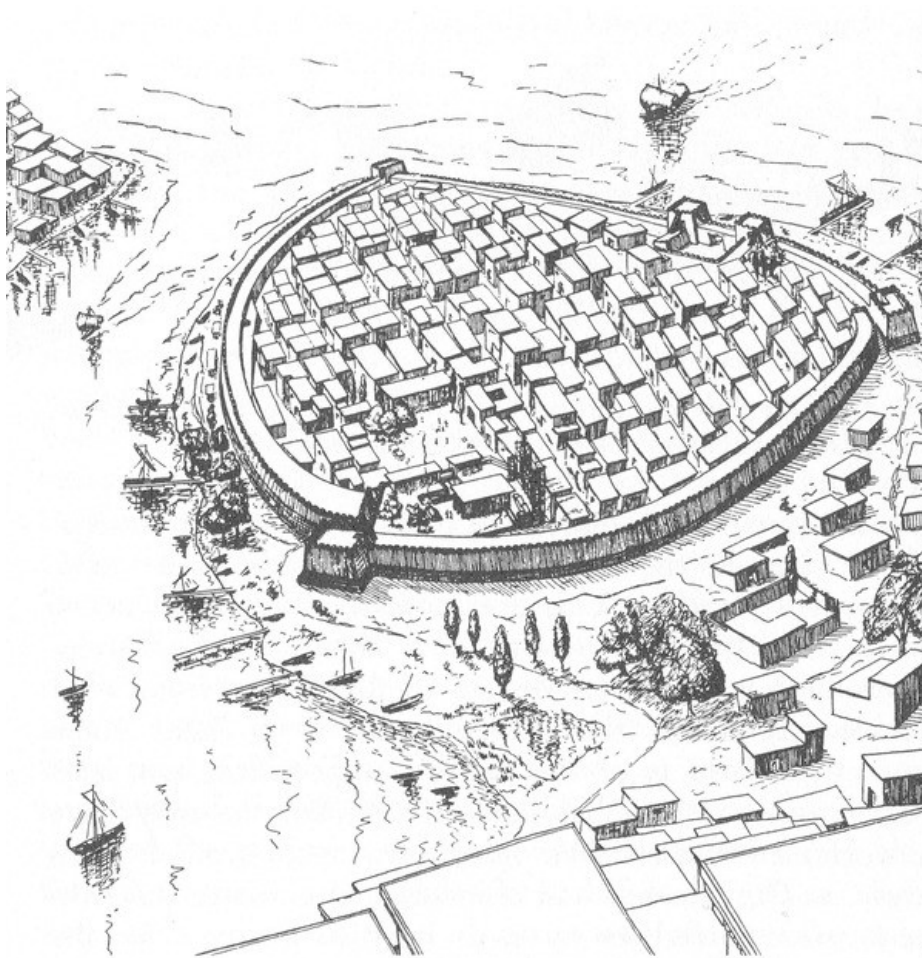


Fig. 2.2. Artist's reconstruction of Old Smyrna circa 600 BC (Cook 1958-9, p.15, fig. 3, reproduced in Crielaard 2009, fig. 18.1).

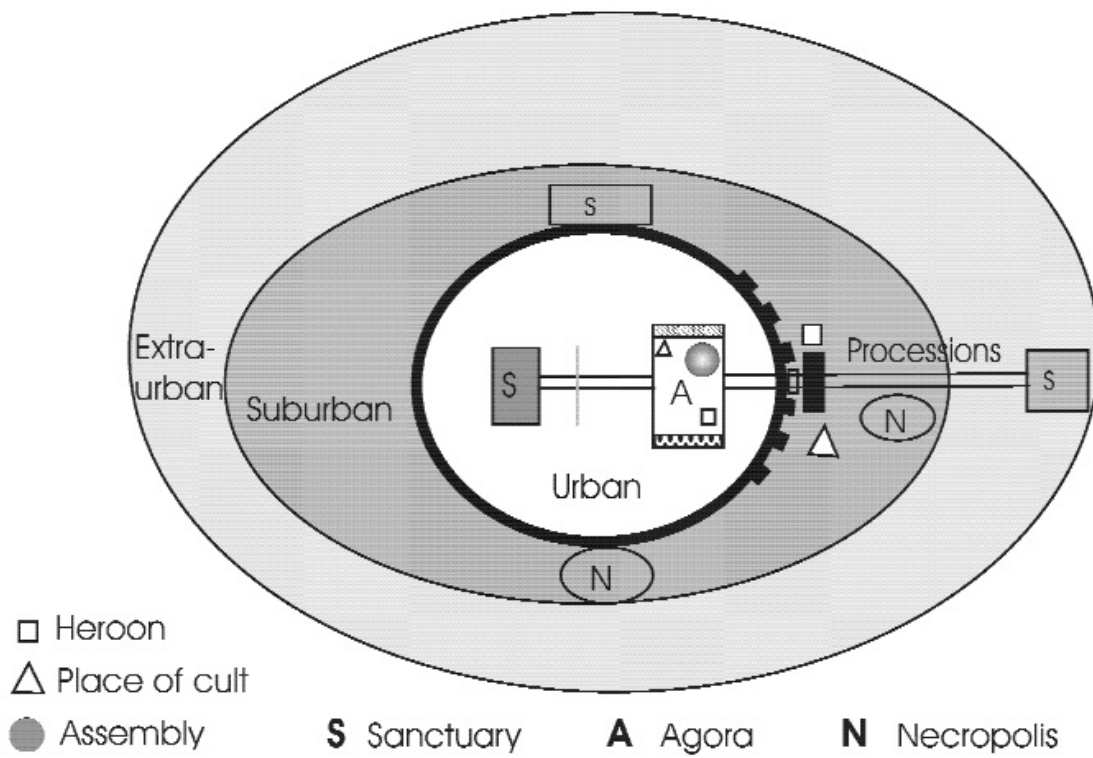


Fig. 2.3. The spatial structure of the *polis* according to Hölkeskamp 2004 (fig. 1, p. 31).

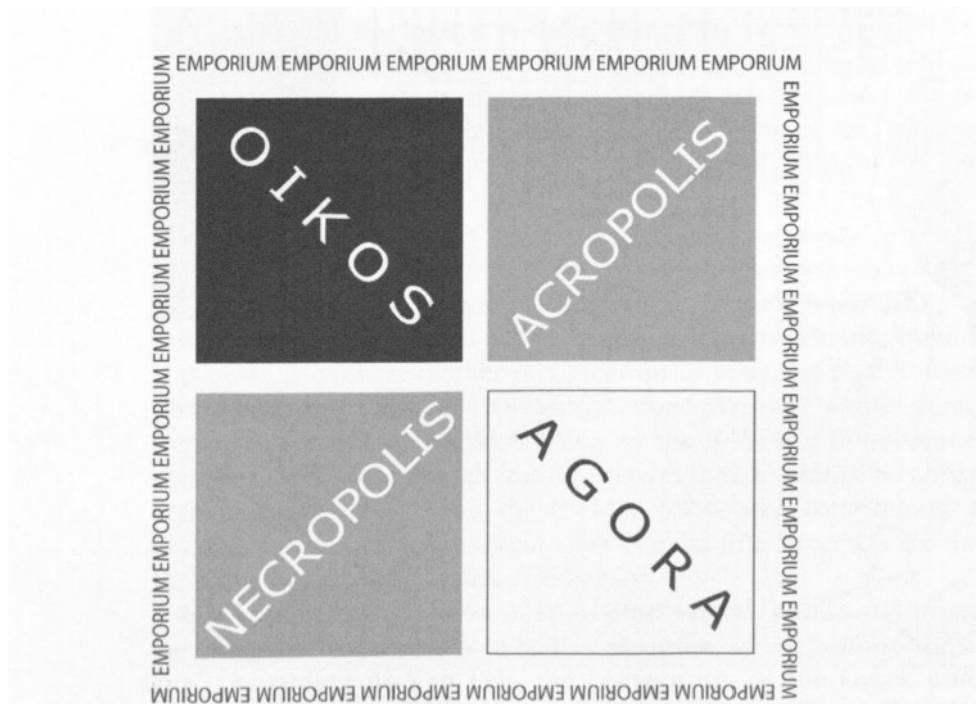


Fig. 2.4. Visualization of the “fivesquare city” model by De Caeter and Dehaene 2008, p. 90, after Van Pelt 1991.

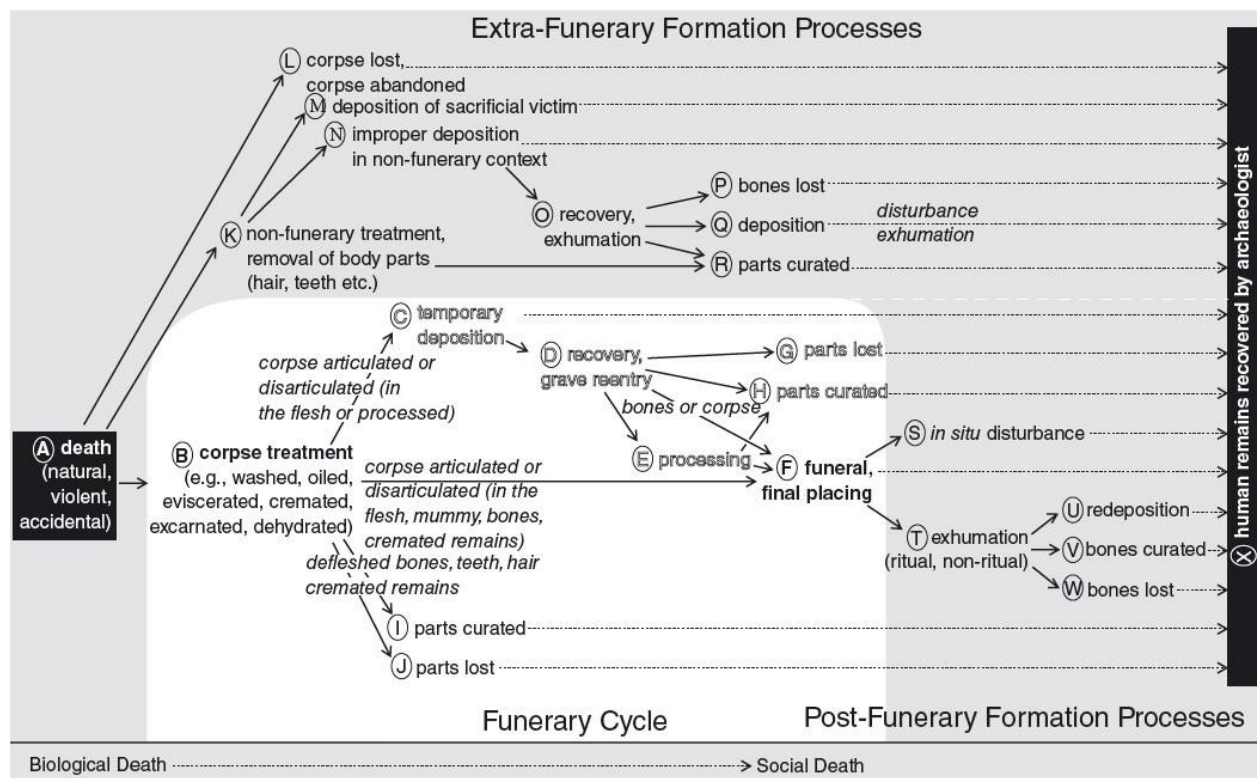


Fig. 2.5. A schematic model of mortuary formation processes from the death of an individual (A) until archaeological discovery (X) (Weiss-Krejci 2011, p. 69, fig. 4.1).

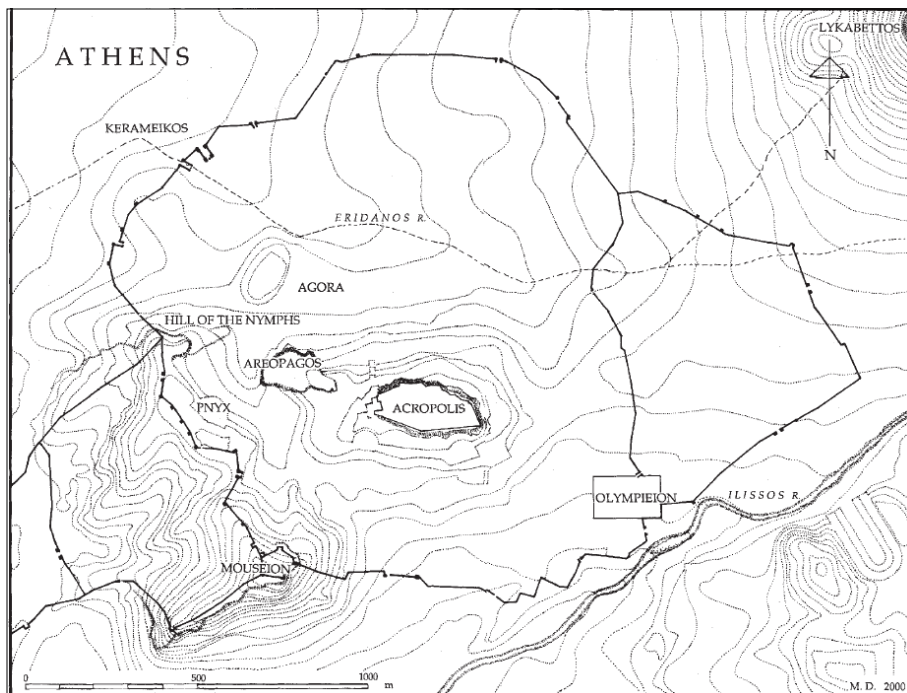


Fig. 3.1. General plan of Athens, showing topography, major landmarks and later fortification walls. Camp 2001, p.4 fig.1.

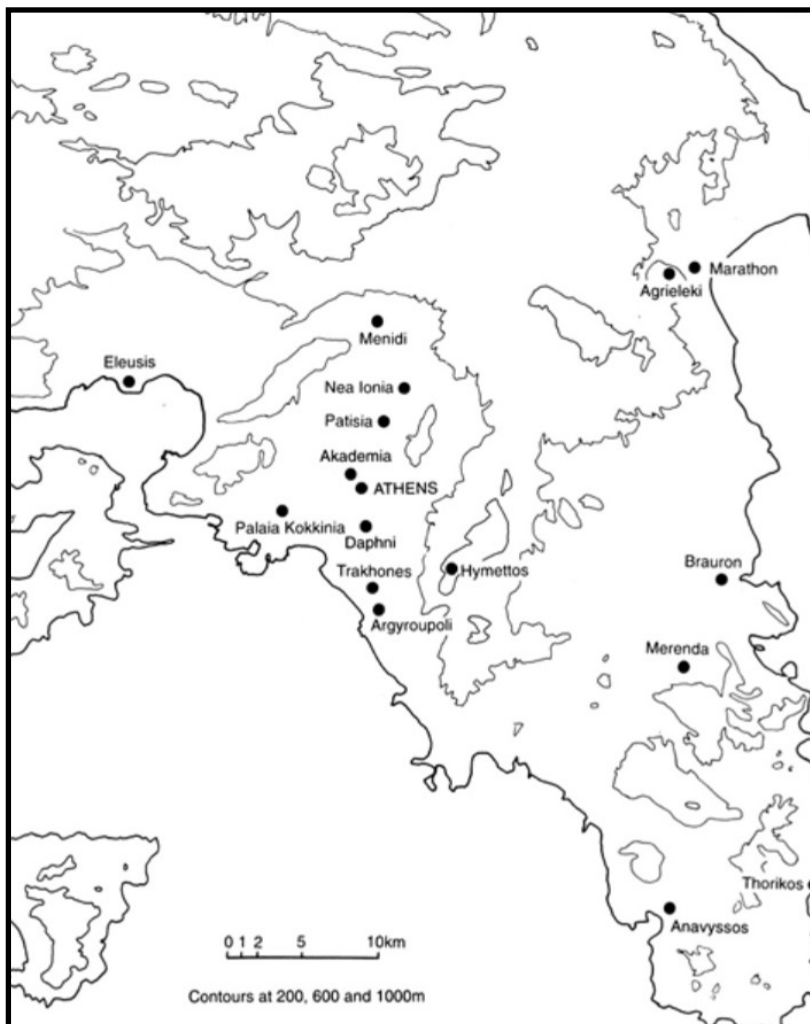


Fig. 3.2. Topography of Attica, showing Early Iron Age sites (prior to 800 B.C.). Osborne 2009, fig. 18.a.

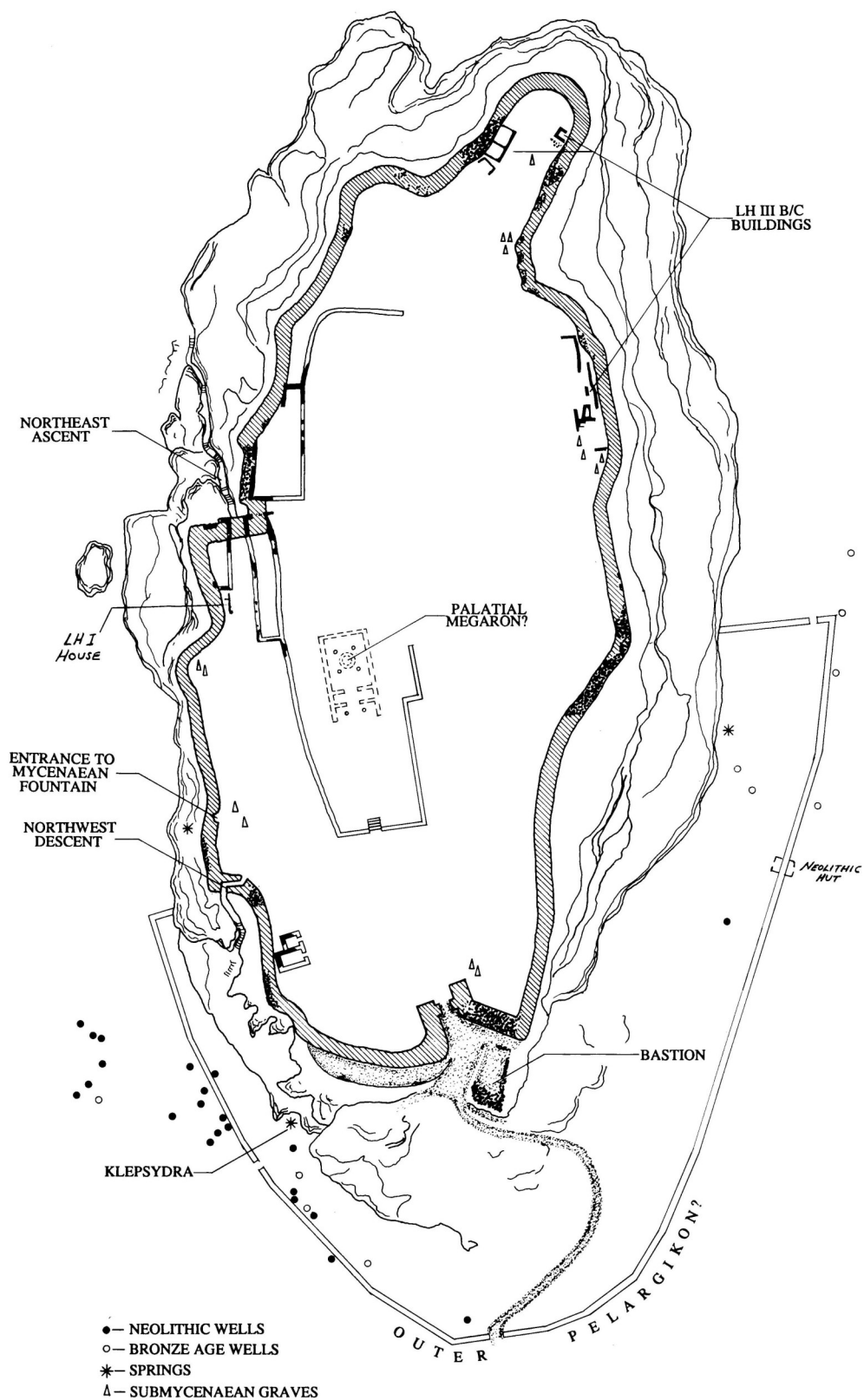


Fig. 3.3. The Acropolis of Athens at the end of the Bronze Age. Hurwit 1999, fig. 48.

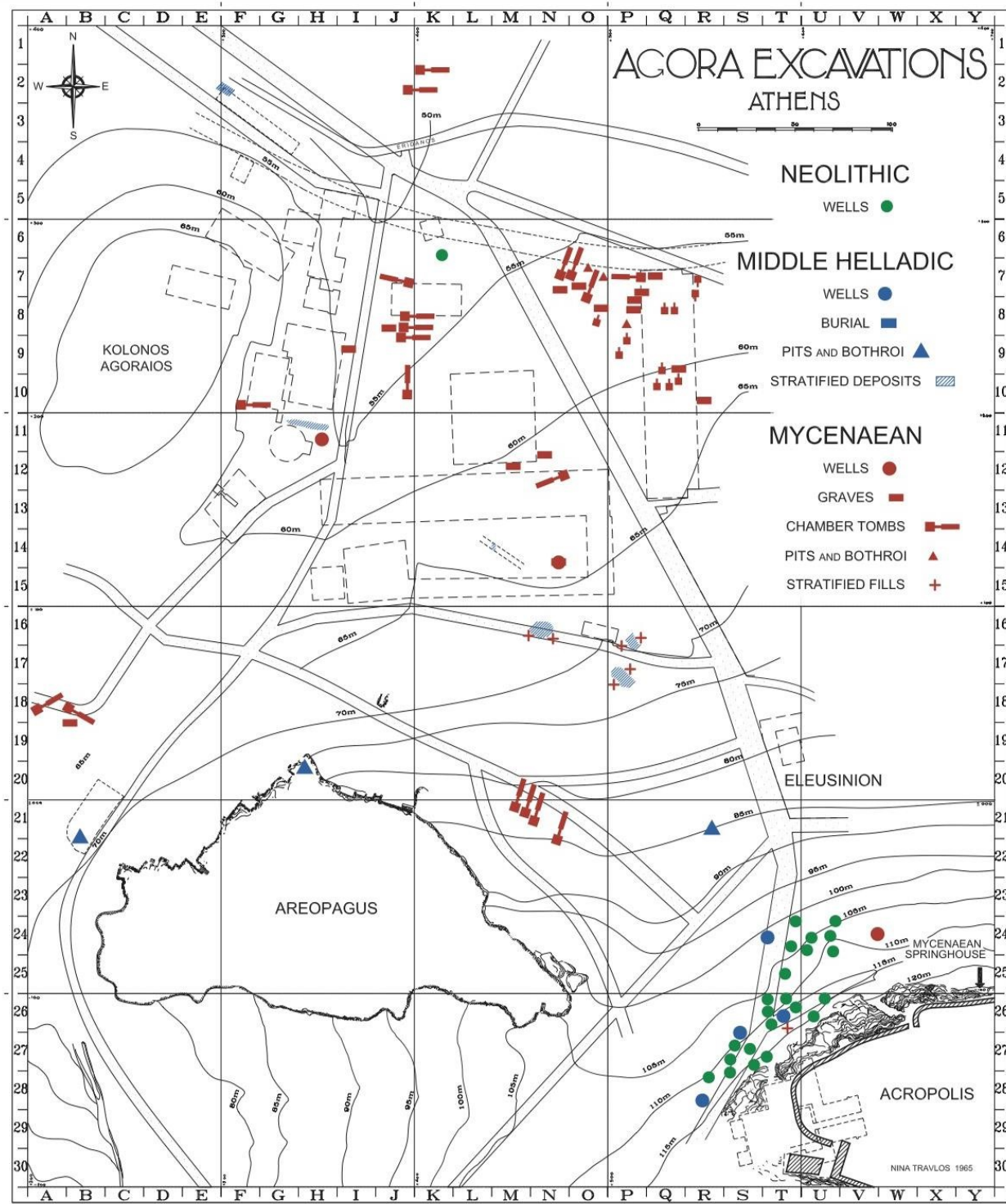


Fig. 3.4. General plan of the Agora area, showing prehistoric deposits. Gawlinski 2014 p.102 fig. 57

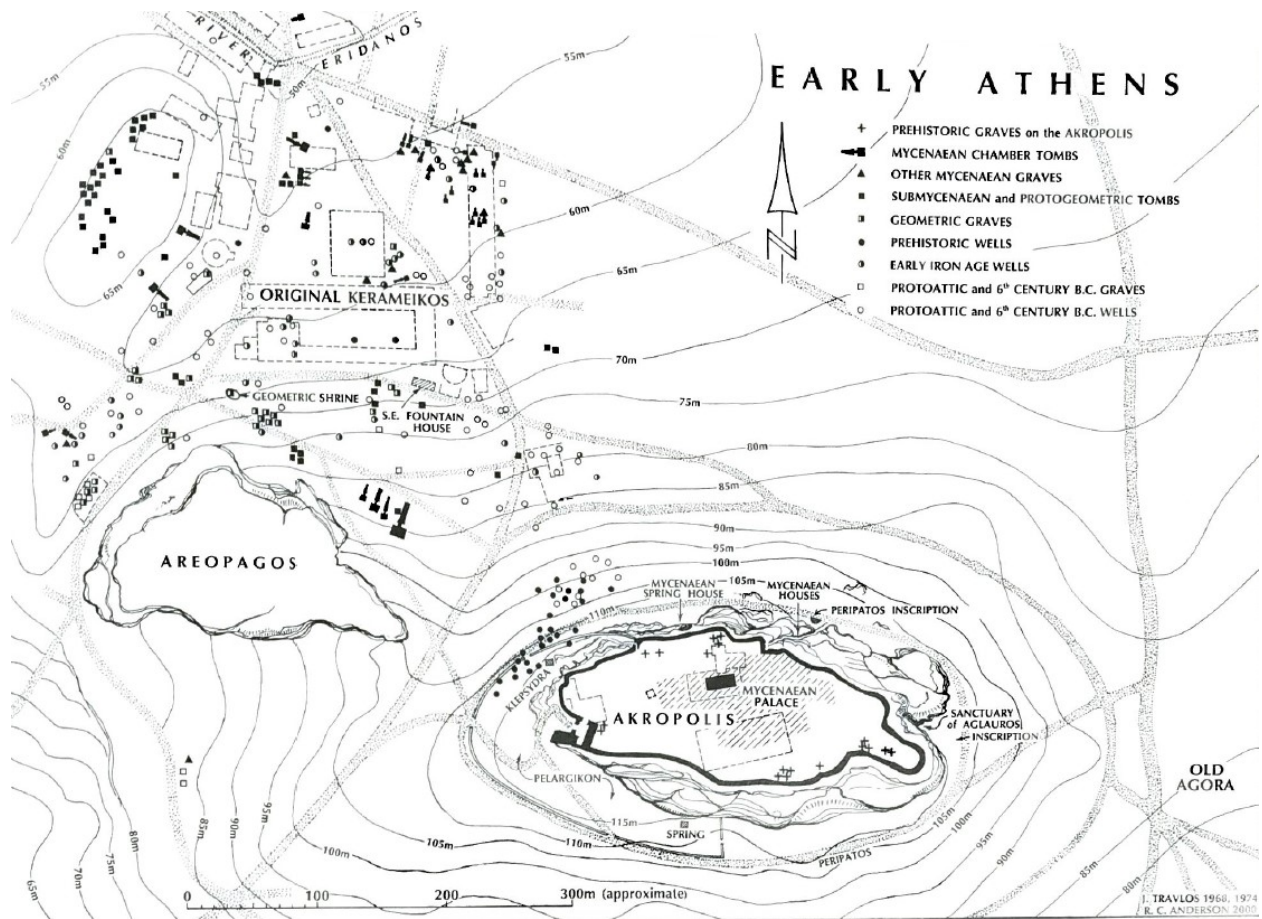


Fig. 3.6. (Above) Distribution of graves and wells in prehistoric and Early Iron Age Athens. Papadopoulos 2017, p.3 fig. 1.2

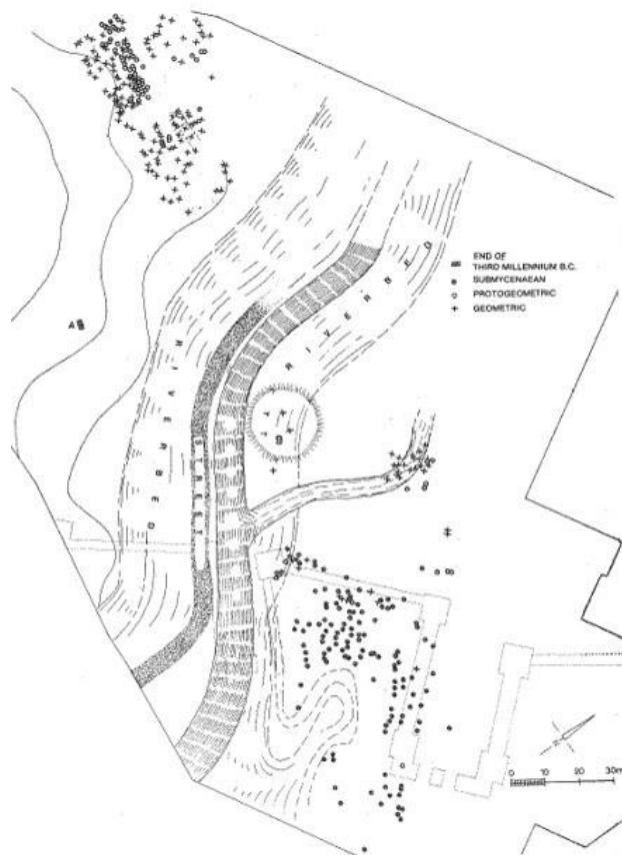


Fig. 3.7. (Below) Early Iron Age graves at the Kerameikos. Knigge 1991, fig.4.

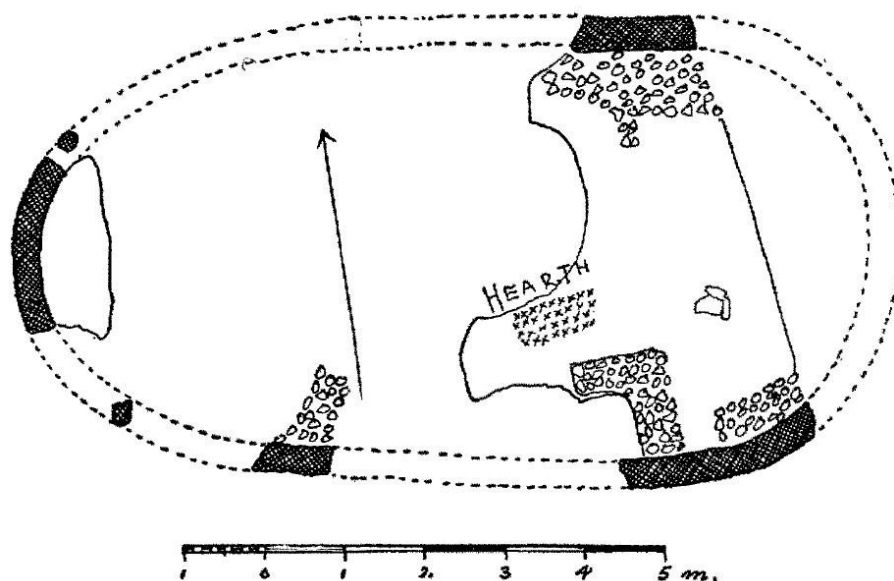


Fig. 3.8. Plan of the Geometric oval building on the northern slope of the Areopagus. Burr 1933, p.545 fig.3.

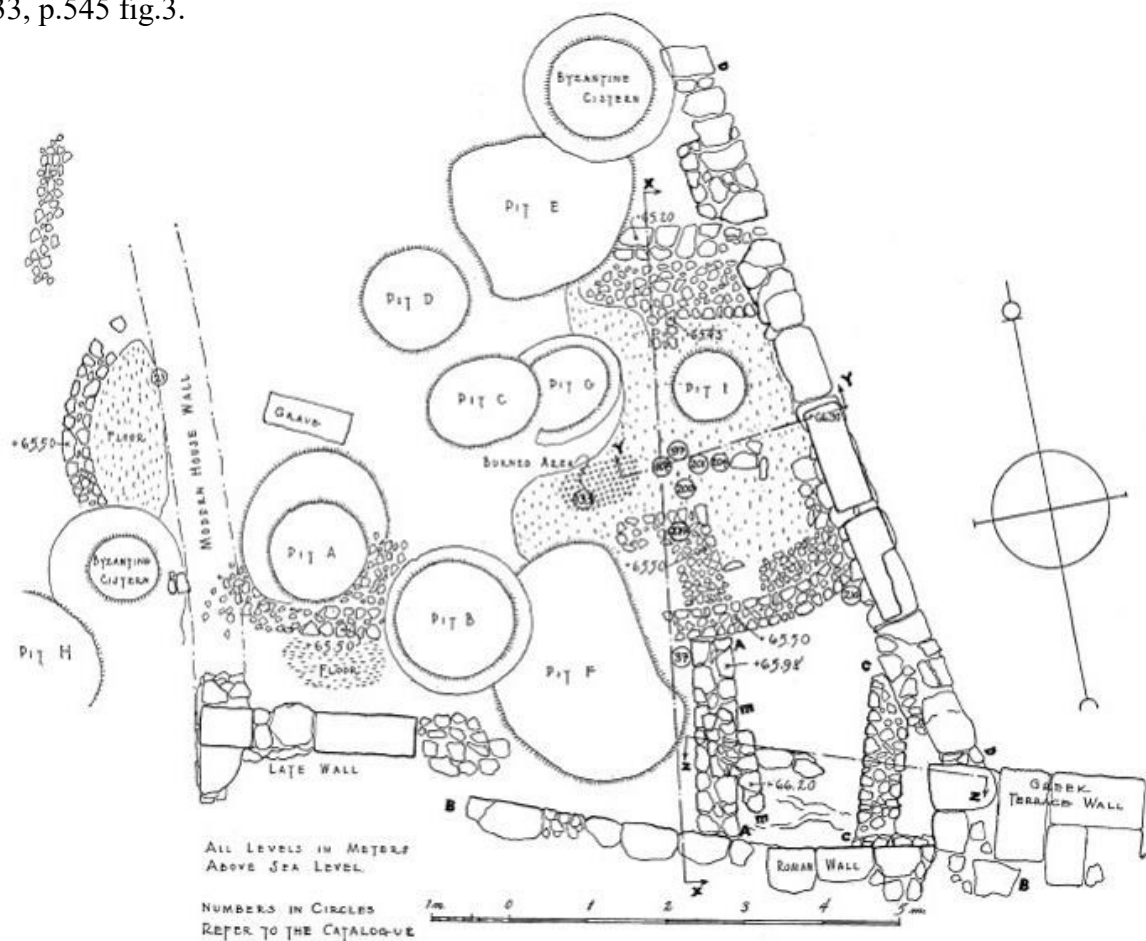


Fig. 3.9. State plan of the area of the Geometric oval building on the northern slope of the Areopagus. Burr 1933 p.544 fig.2.

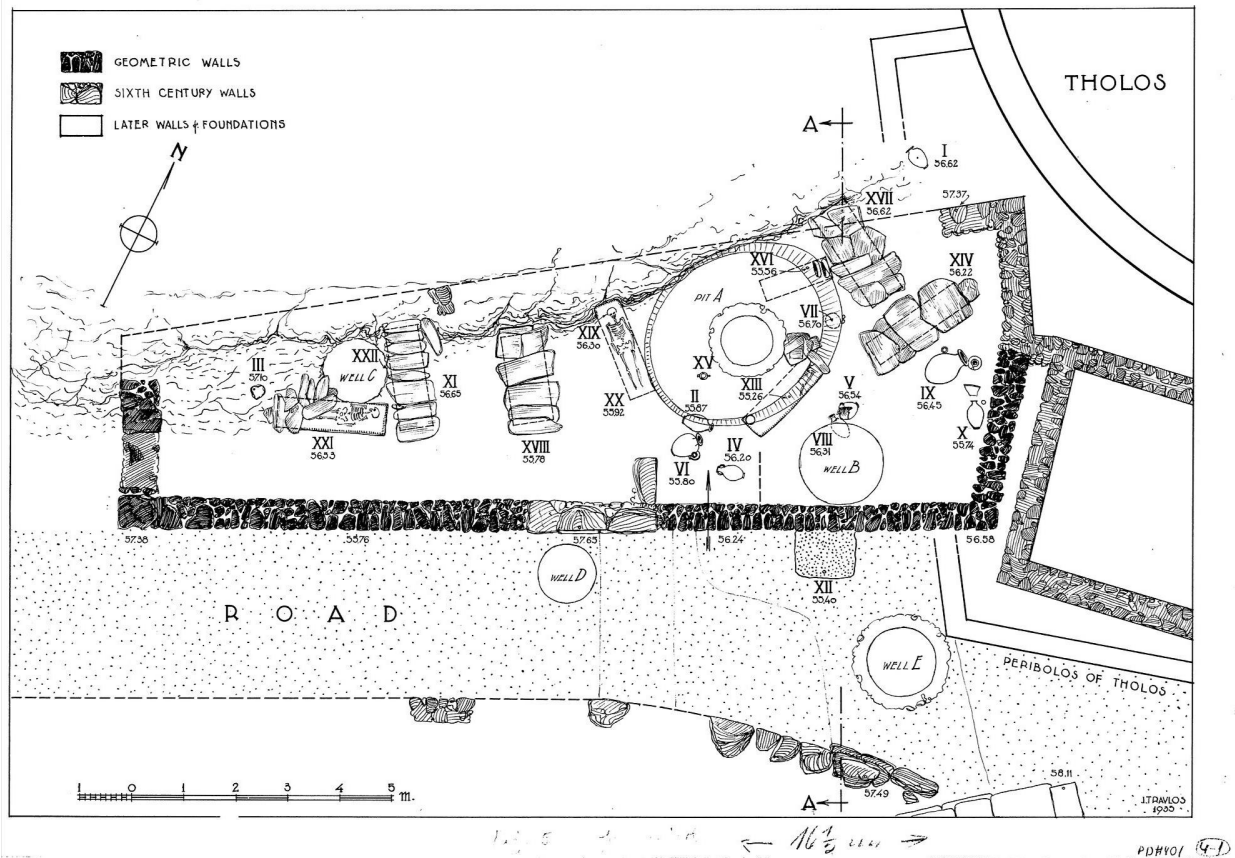


Fig. 3.10. Geometric burial plot to the south of the Tholos. Young, 1939, p. 7, fig. 1.

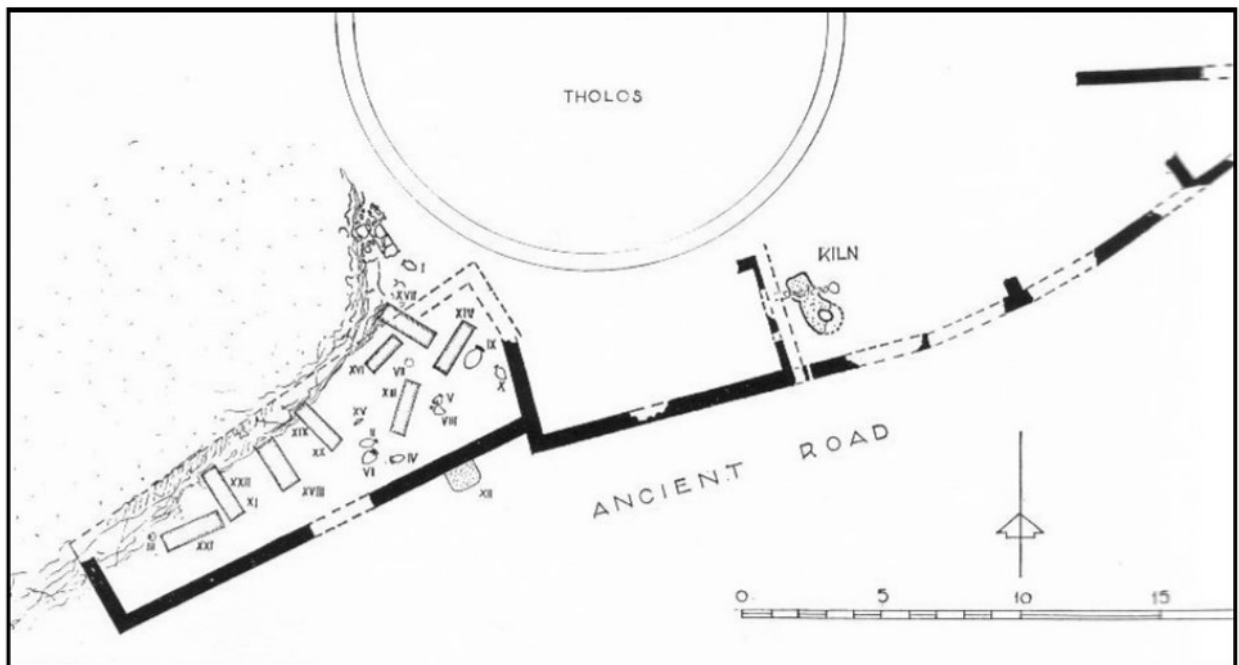


Fig. 3.11. Geometric burial plot and "Building A" to the south of the Tholos. Brann, 1962, fig. 9.

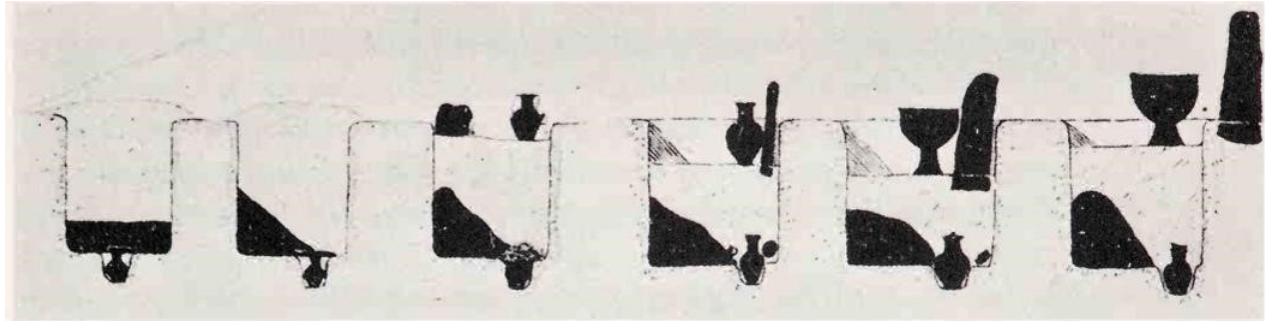


Fig. 3.12. Cross-sections of typical cremation graves at the Kerameikos through the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Black deposits inside the graves indicate pyre refuse. Snodgrass 1971, p. 149 fig.59

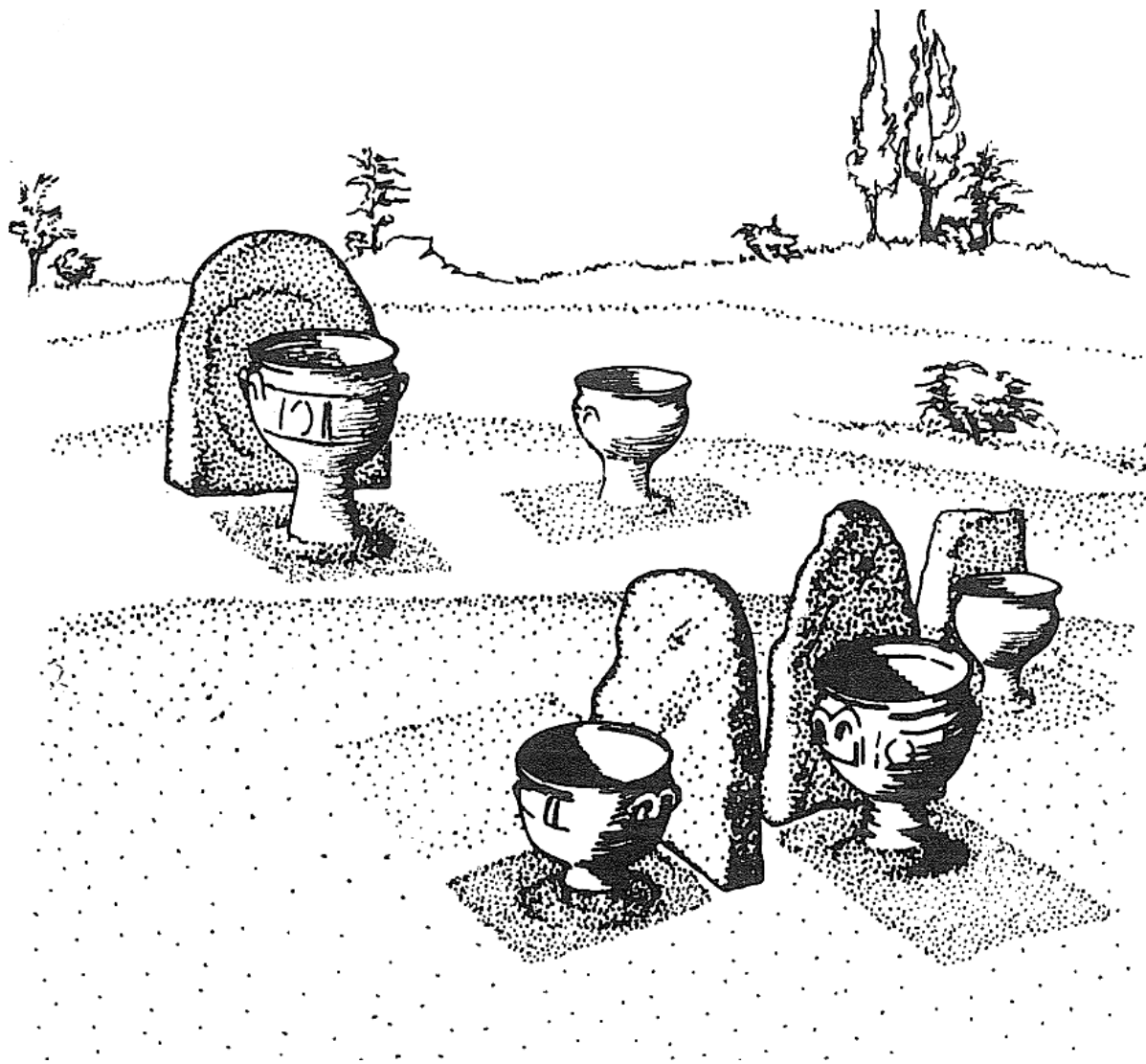


Fig. 3.13. A reconstruction of Geometric markers (900-800 B.C.) at the Kerameikos. Bohen 1997 p.50 fig.4



Fig. 3.14. Excavation photo of the offering trenches (center) at the Kerameikos. Kerameikos VI:1 pl.5.

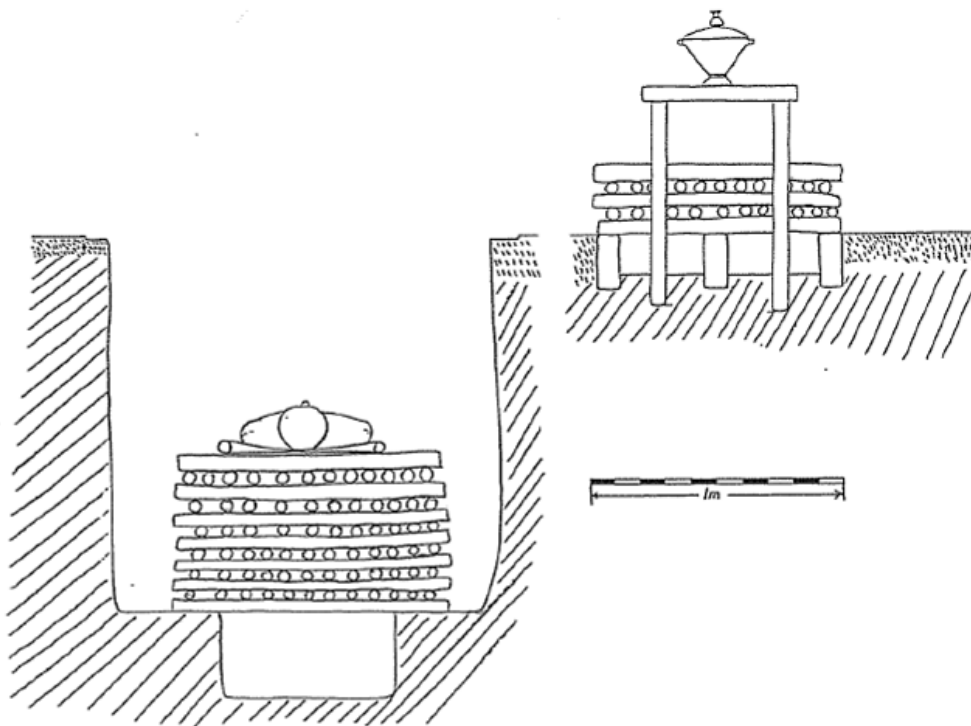


Fig. 3.15. Reconstruction of the cross-section of a 7th-century primary cremation and offering trench during the funeral. Houby-Nielsen 1996a, p. 45, fig.1.

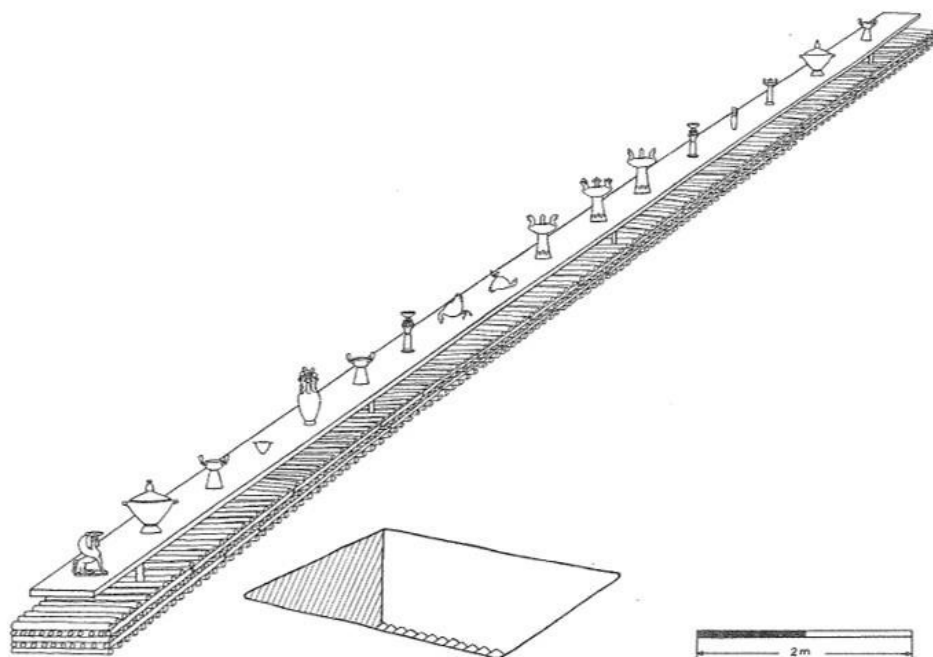
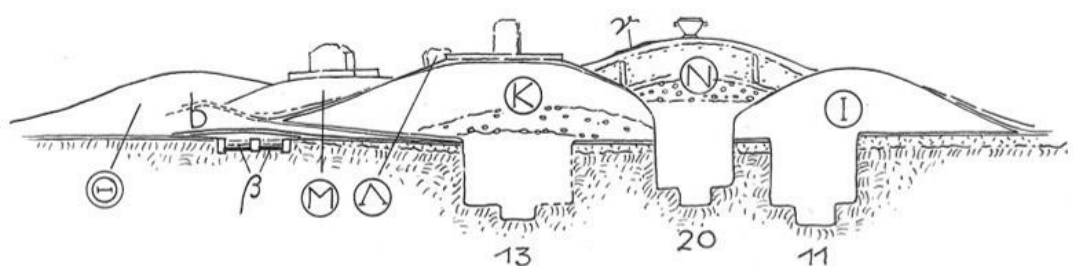


Fig. 3.16. Reconstruction of a 7th-century primary cremation and offering trench during the funeral. Houby-Nielsen 1996a, p. 53, fig.5.



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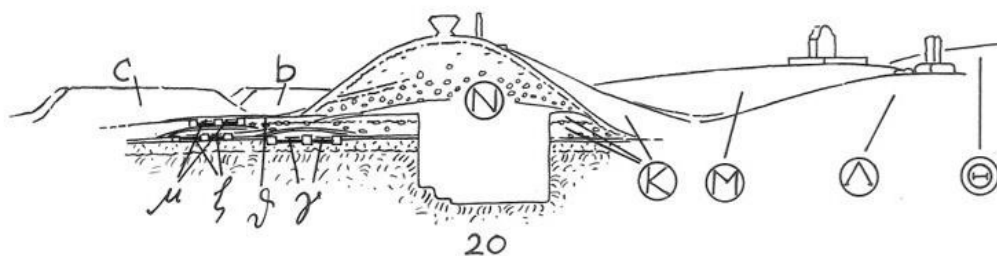


Fig. 3.17. Cross-section and partial reconstruction of 7th century mounds at the Kerameikos. Kerameikos VI:1 Beilage 19.

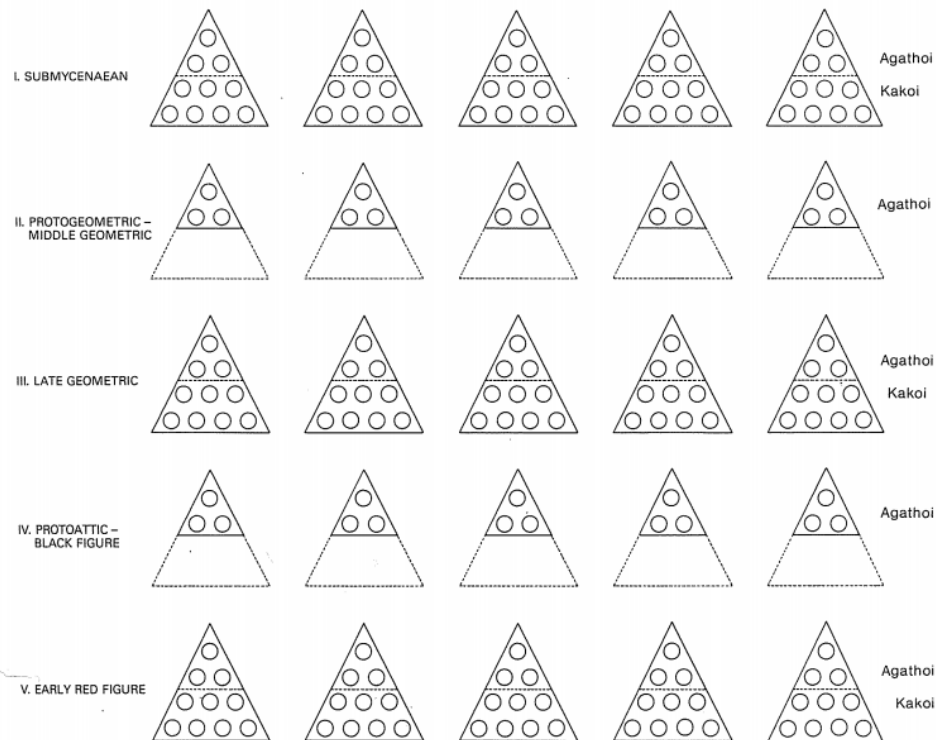


Fig. 3.18. Morris' interpretation of patterns in admittance into and exclusion from cemeteries between the *agathoi* and *kakoi* in Athens. Morris 1987, fig. 29.

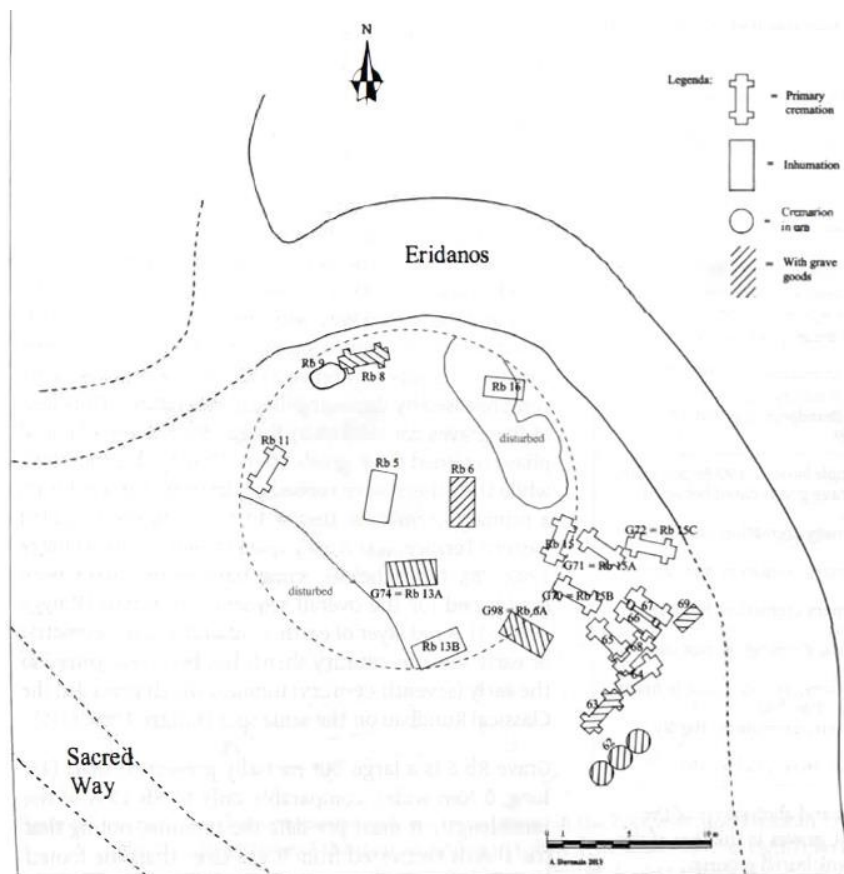


Fig. 3.19. Burial group dated to c. 720-580 on the southern bank of the Eridanos River at the Kerameikos, at the later site of the Rundbau. D'Onofrio 2017 p.264 fig.24.6.

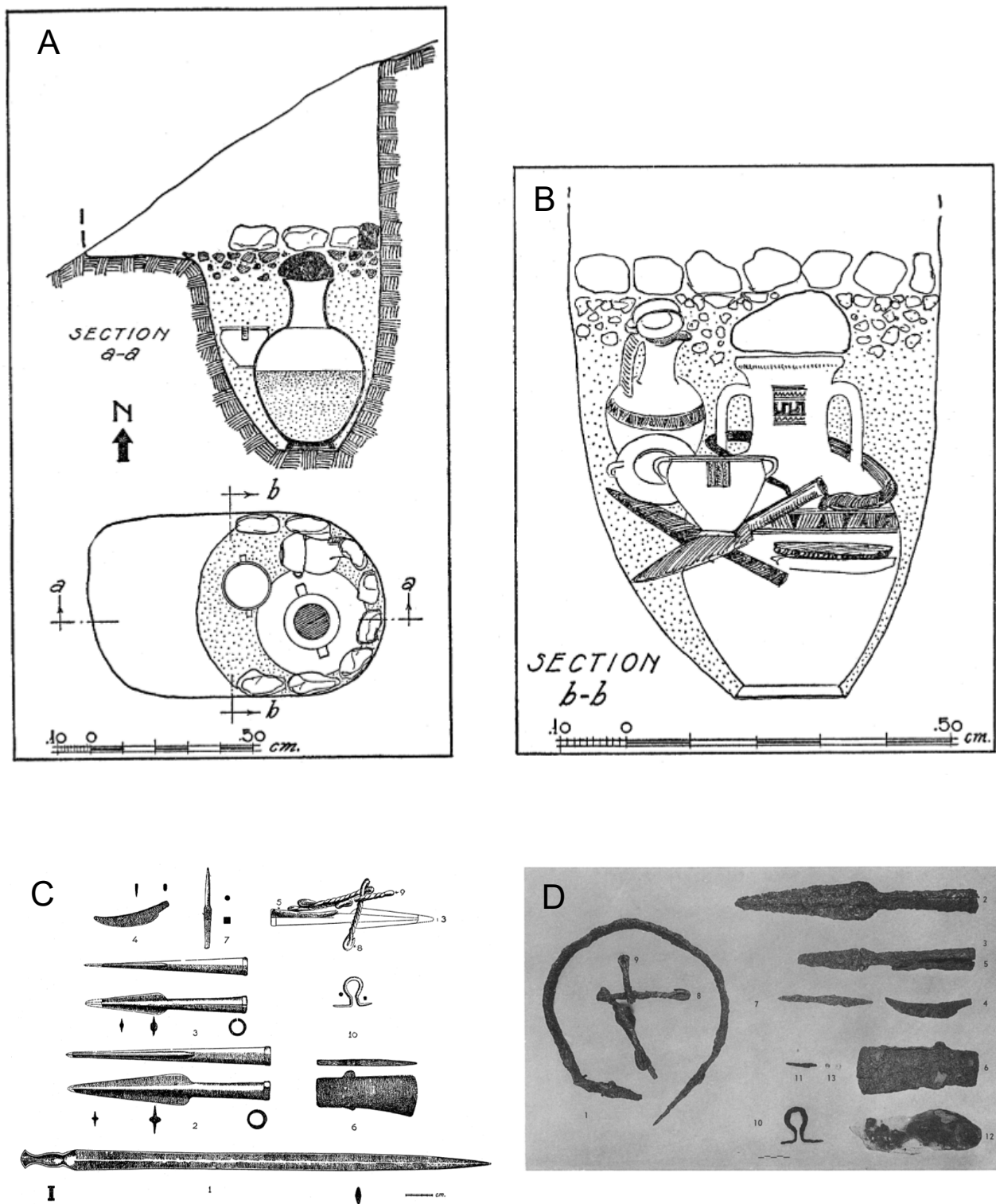


Fig. 3.20. The Areopagus "Warrior" grave (Agora D 16:4). A-B: plan and section of the grave, showing the finds and the "killed" sword C: Iron objects from the grave. Blegen 1952, p.281 fig. 3 and pl.75c.

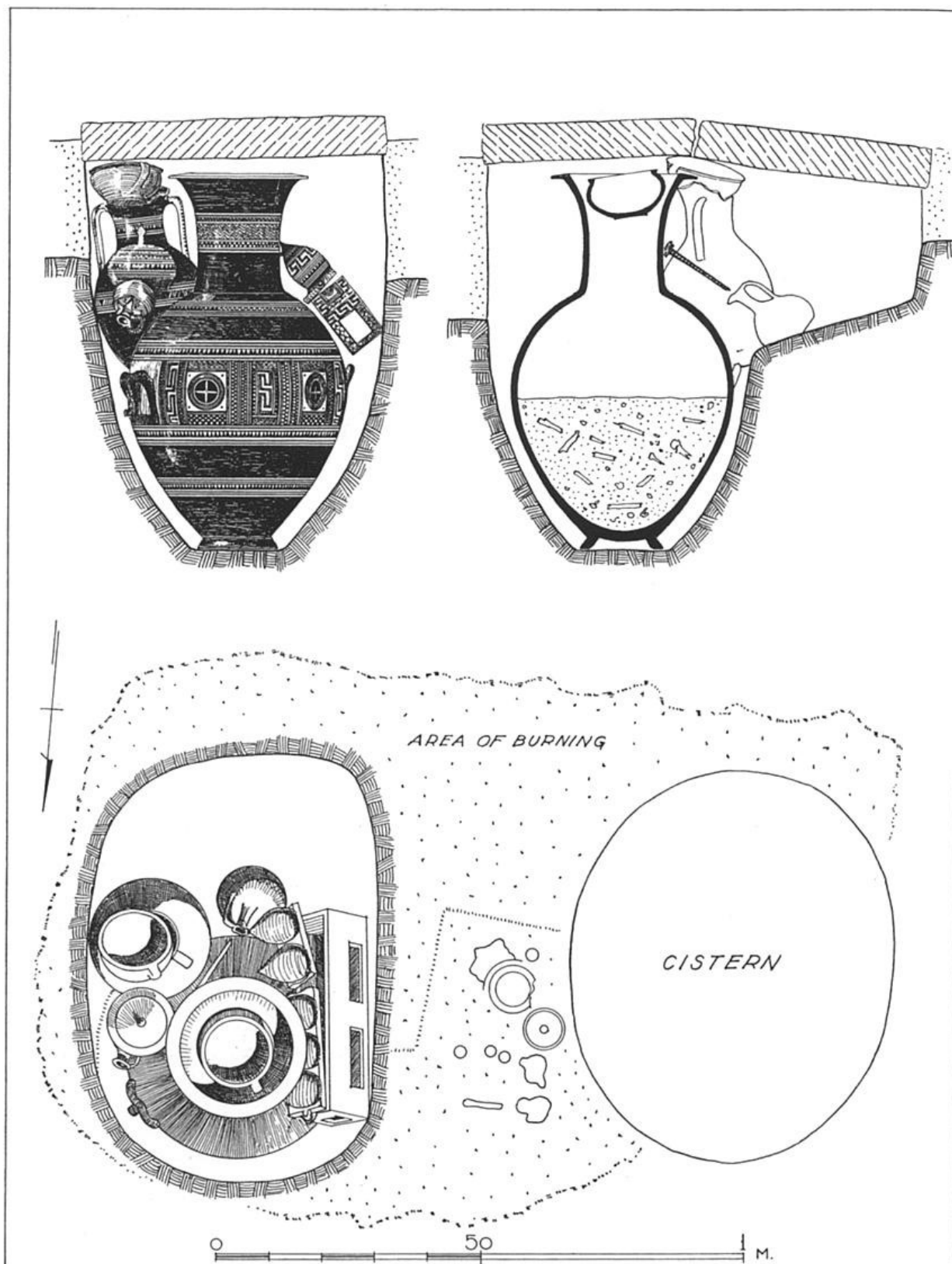


Fig. 3.21. Plan and section of the grave of the “Rich Athenian Lady,” (Agora H 16:6) ca. 850 B.C. Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, p. 11, fig. 4.

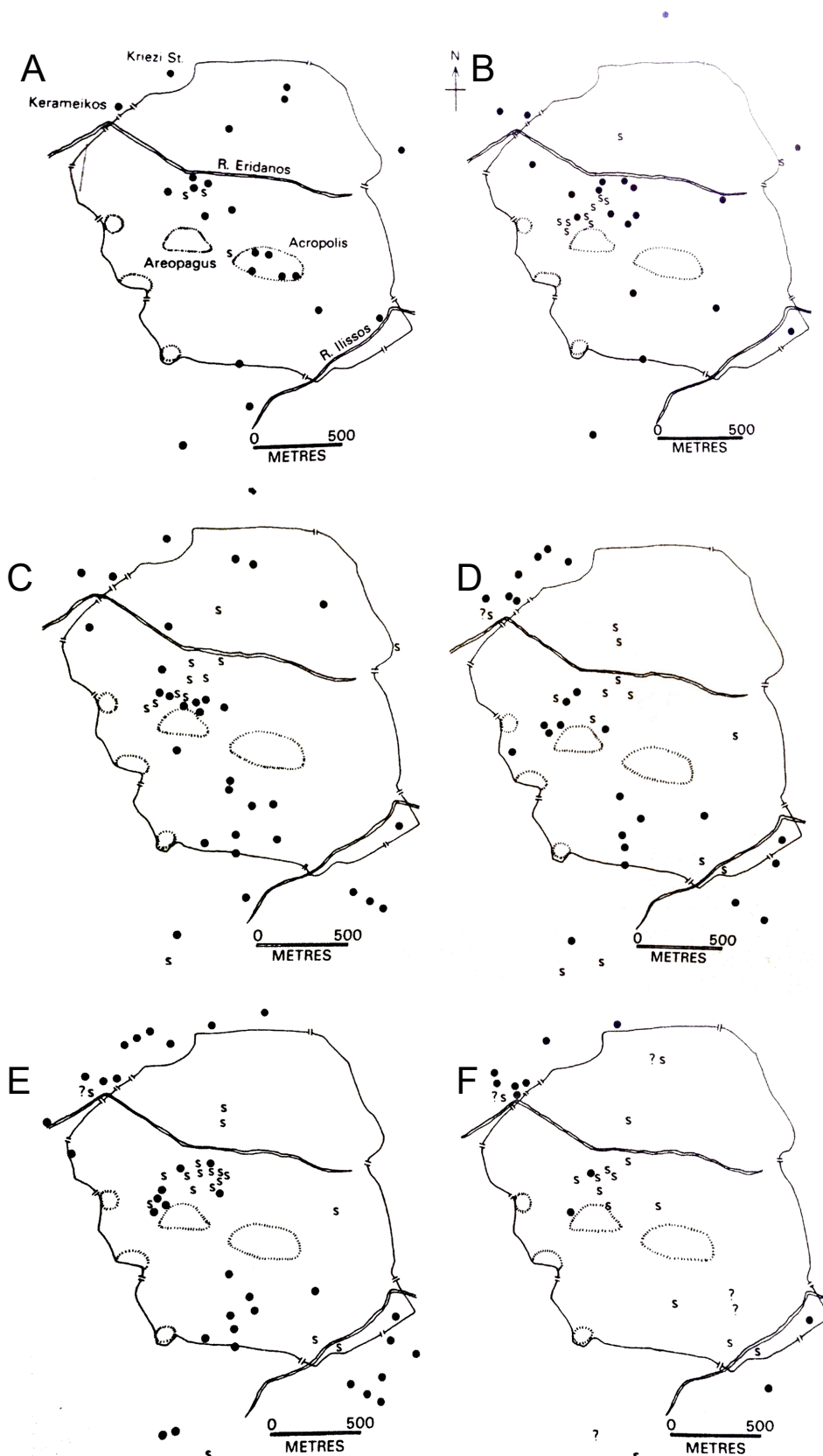


Fig. 3.22. The spatial distribution of burials and settlement data in Athens, after Morris 1987, figs.17-18. A: Submycenaean; B: Protogeometric; C: Early and Middle Geometric; D: Late Geometric I. E: Late Geometric II; F: Protoattic and Transitional.

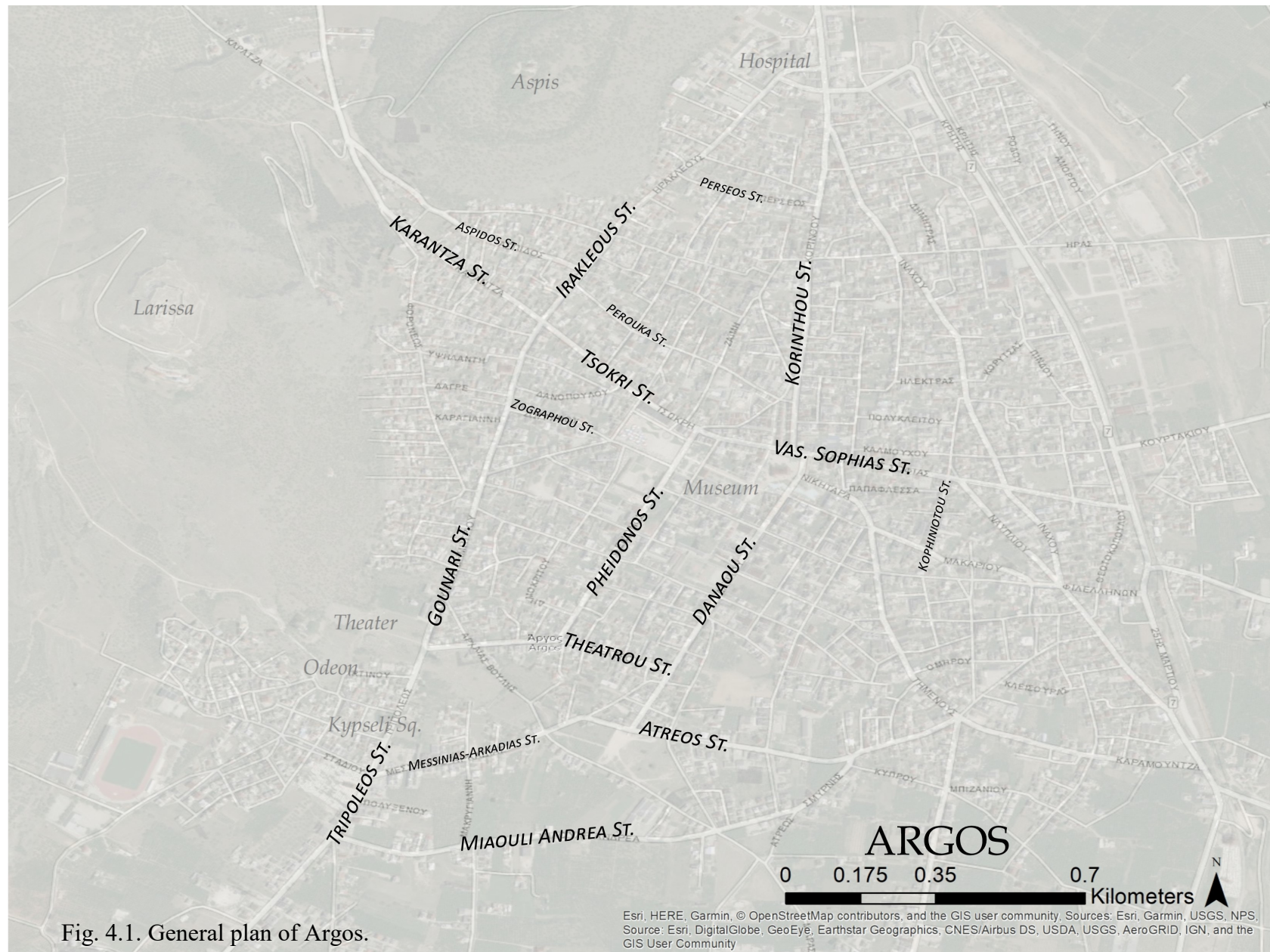


Fig. 4.1. General plan of Argos.

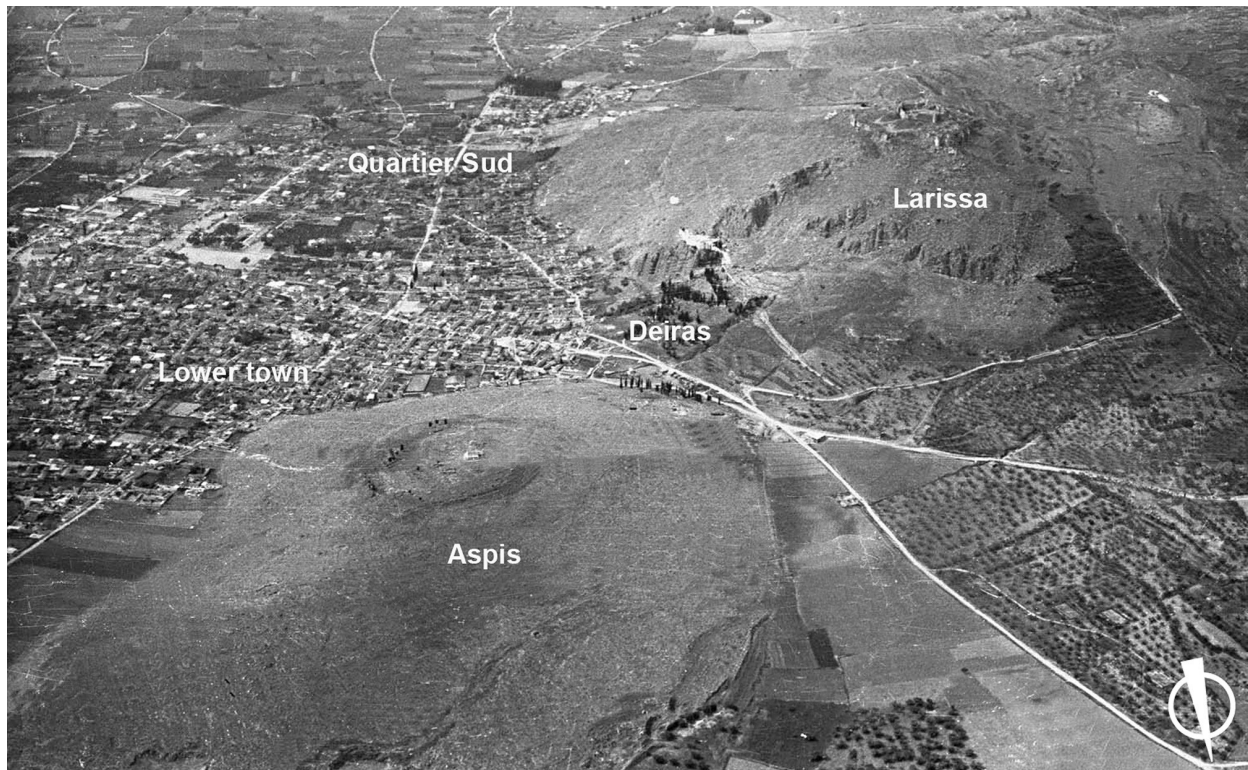


Fig. 4.2. Aerial view of Argos from the north. Papadimitriou et al. 2015, Fig 1.

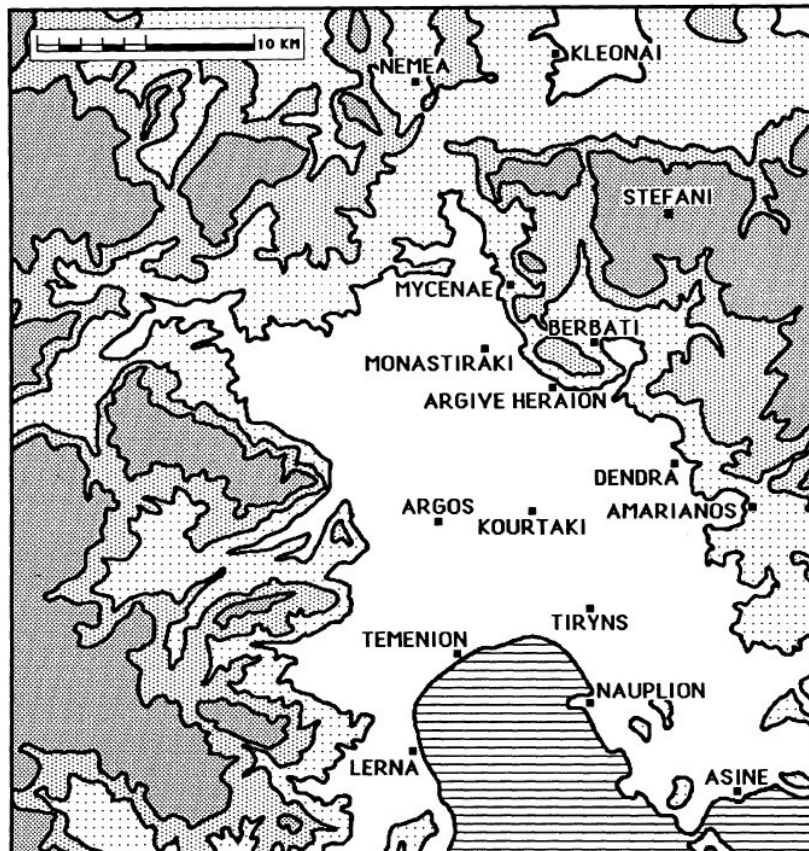


Fig. 4.3. Major sites of Early Iron Age Argolis. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, fig.1 p.80.

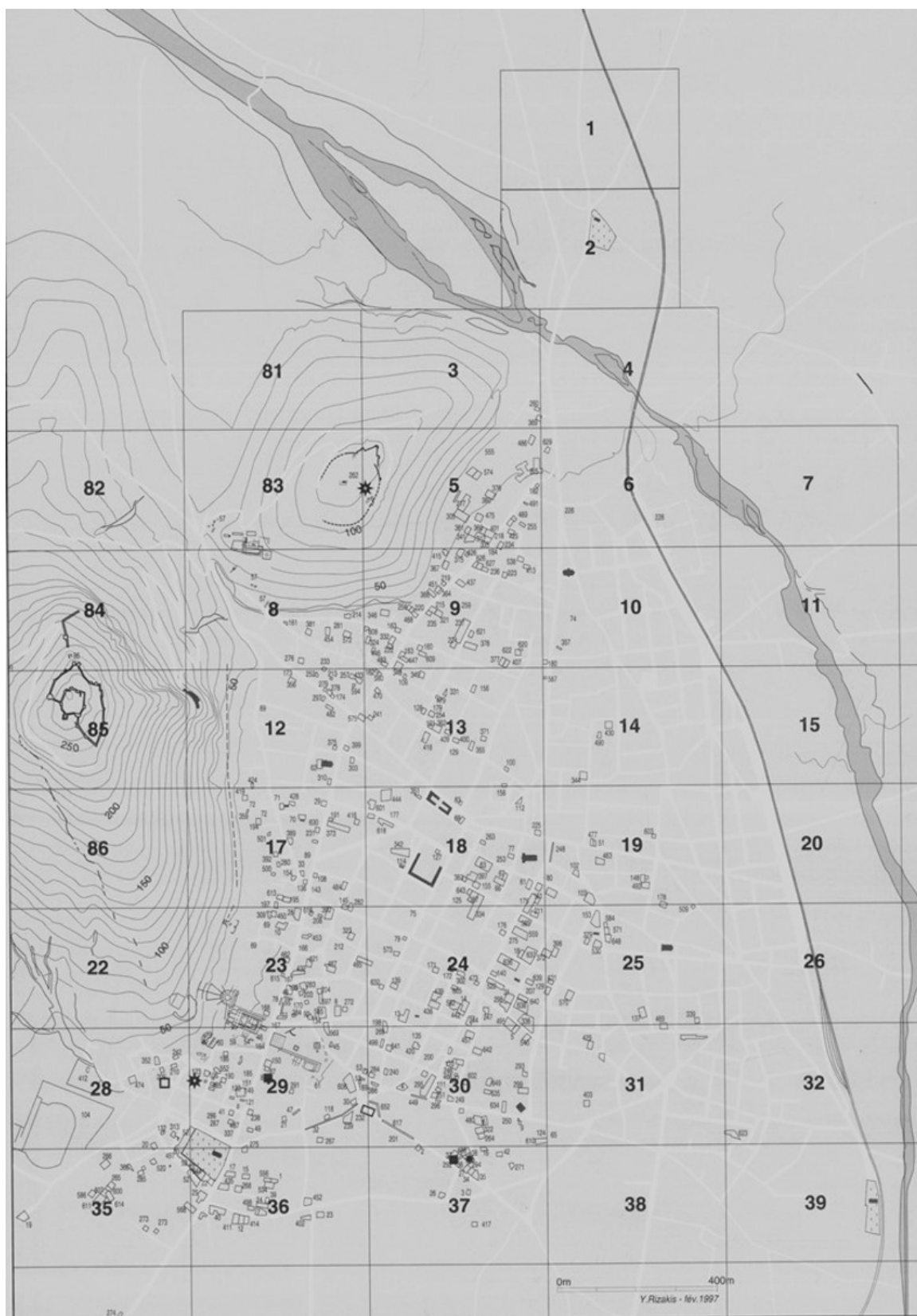


Fig. 4.4. Map of systematic and rescue excavations across the city. Pariente and Touchais 1998.

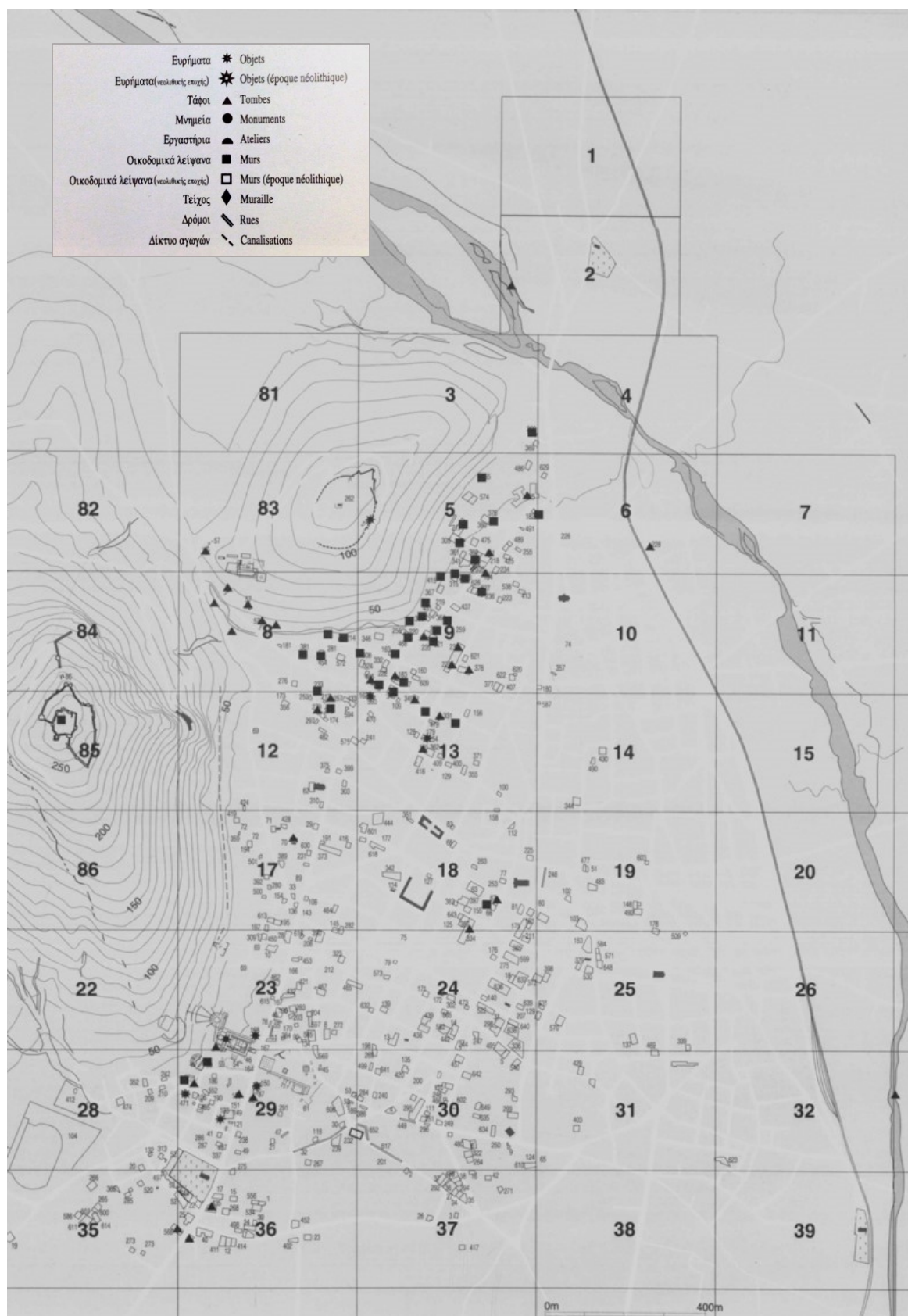


Fig. 4.5. LH remains at Argos. After Pariente and Touchais 1998.



Fig. 4.6. PG-G remains at Argos. After Pariente and Touchais 1998.

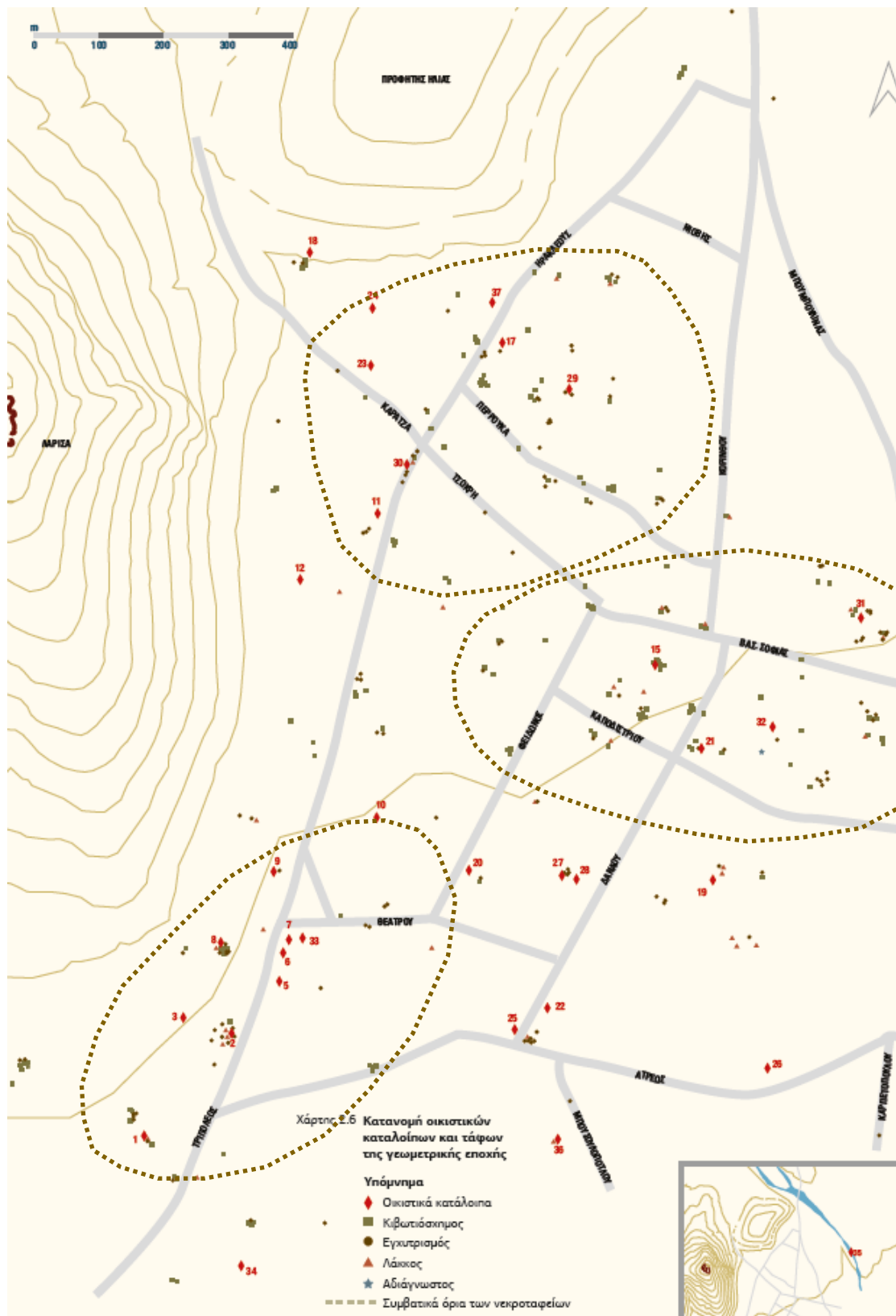


Fig. 4.7. Geometric period remains at Argos, according to Pappi 2014, p. 59. The dotted circles represent Pappi's boundaries for the northwestern, central/eastern, and southern clusters after Pappi 2014, pp. 55-58.

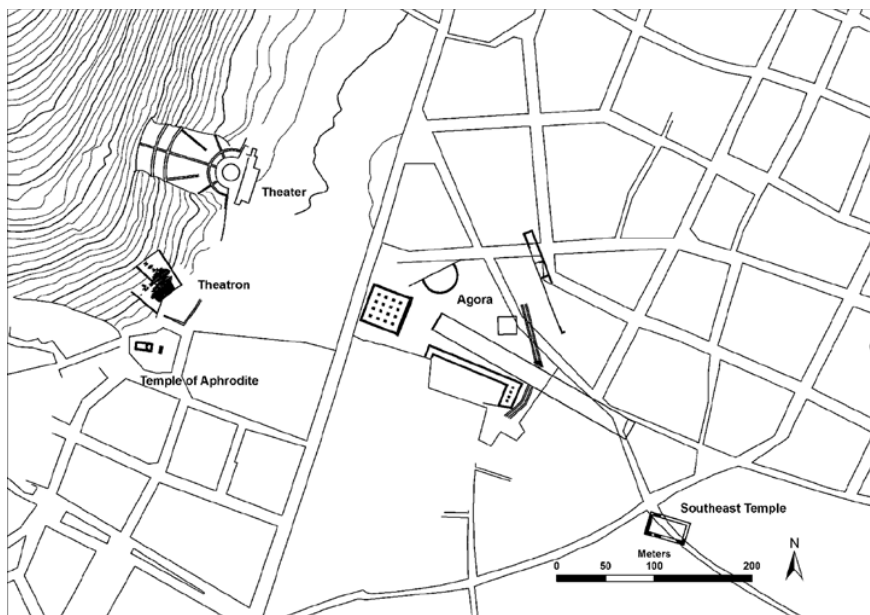


Fig. 4.8. Plan of southern Argos, showing the classical Agora and its environs. Donati 2015, p. 187, fig. 8.4.

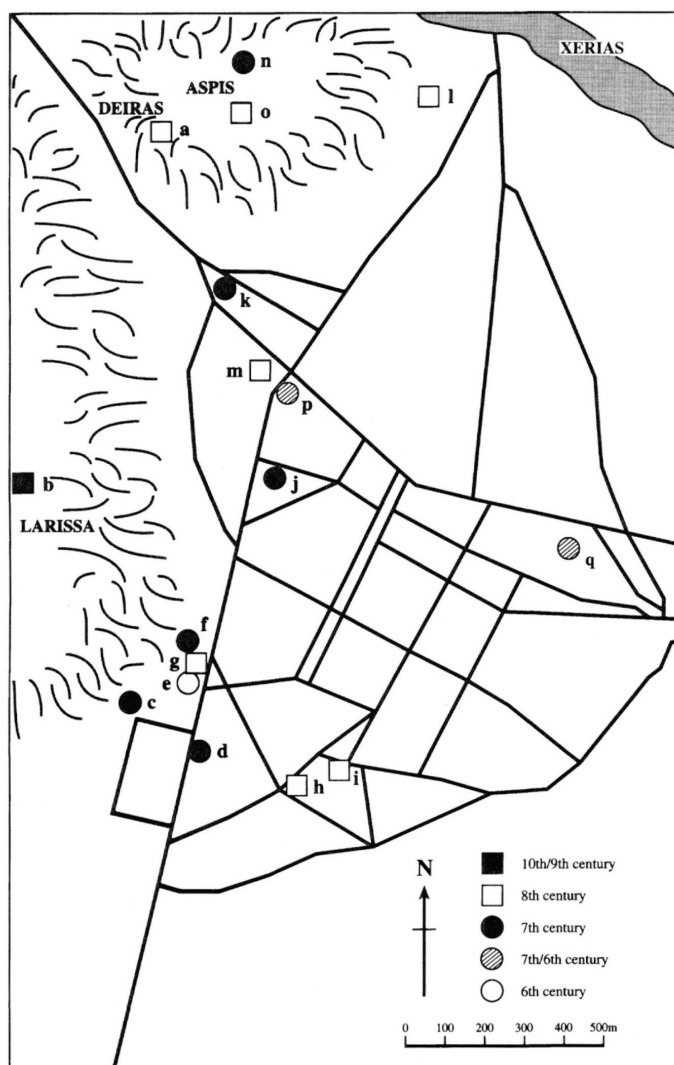


Fig. 4.9. Votive contexts of Early Iron Age-Archaic Argos. Hall 1997, p.102.

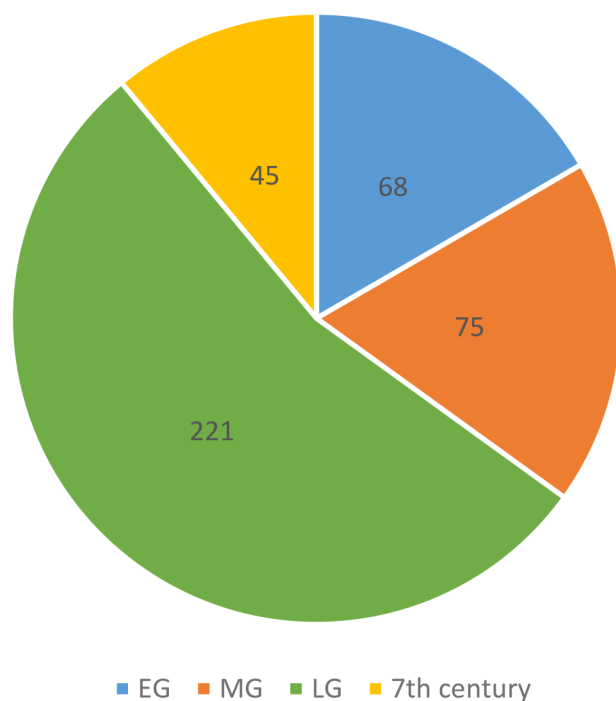


Fig. 4.10. Overall distribution of interments across periods under study.

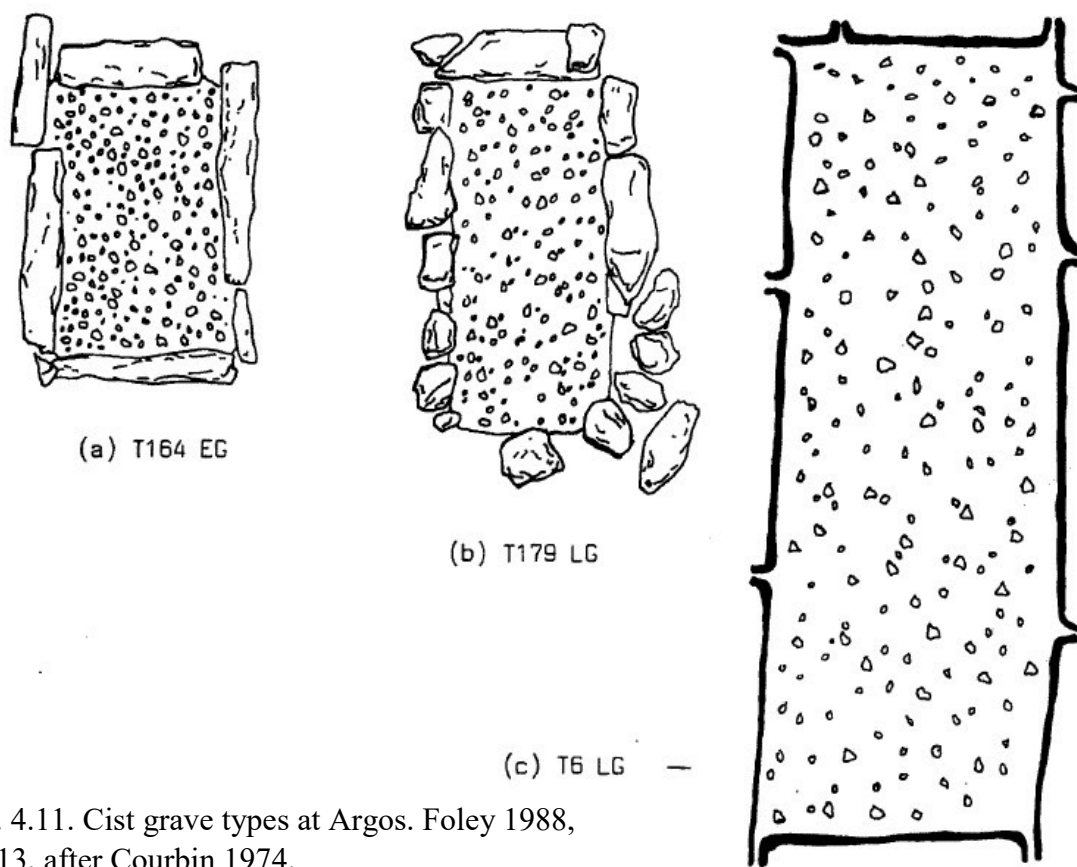


Fig. 4.11. Cist grave types at Argos. Foley 1988, fig.13, after Courbin 1974.

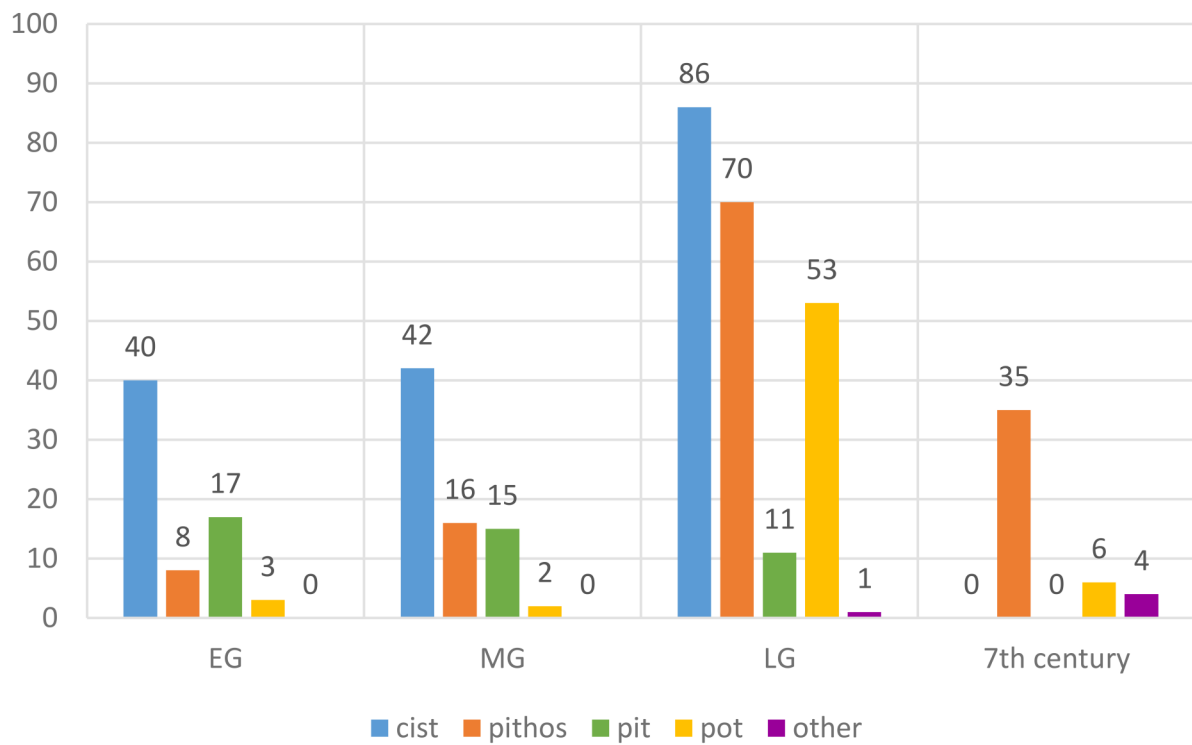


Fig. 4.12. Burial types through the Geometric and early Archaic periods.

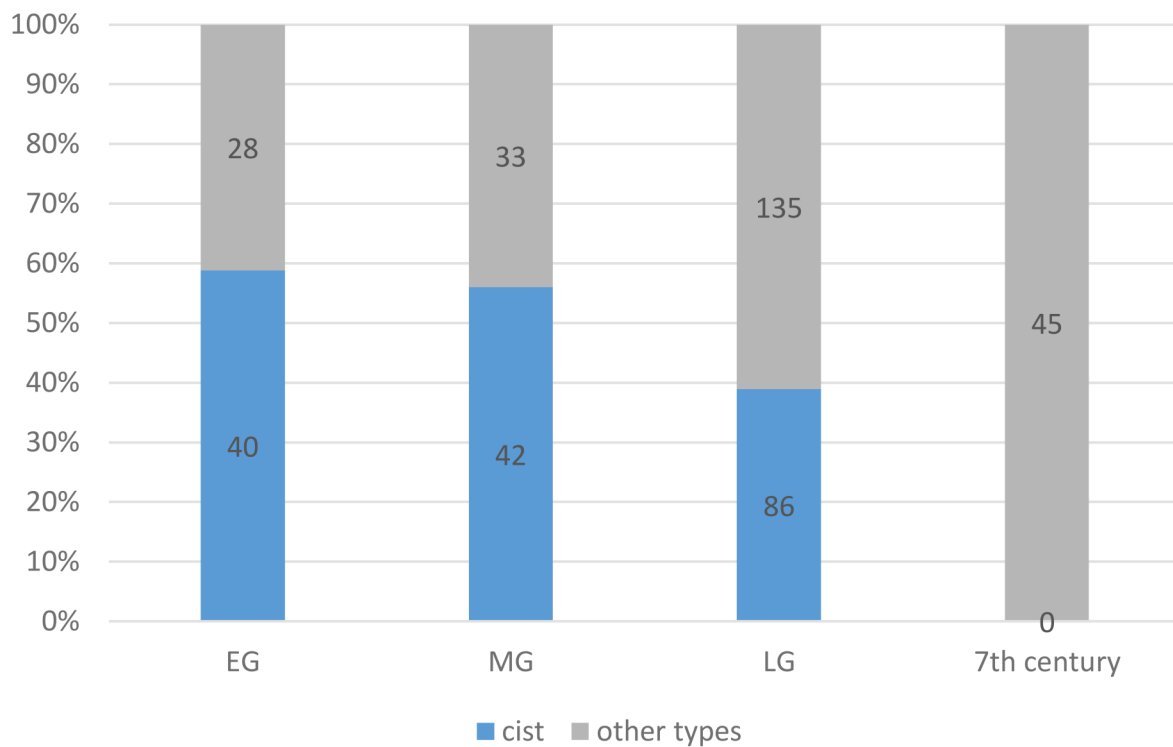


Fig. 4.13. Cists versus other burial types through the Geometric and early Archaic periods.

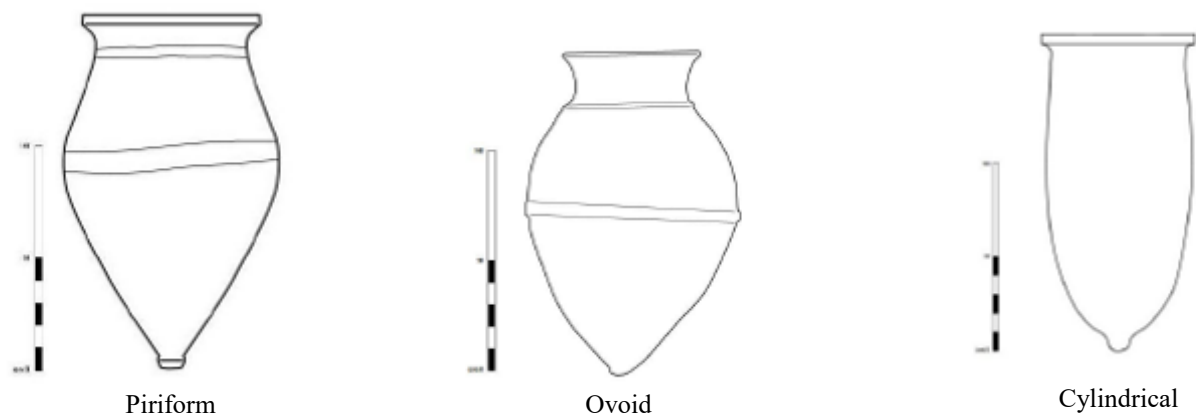


Fig. 4.14. Funerary pithos shapes at Argos. After Souza 2010, p. 62.

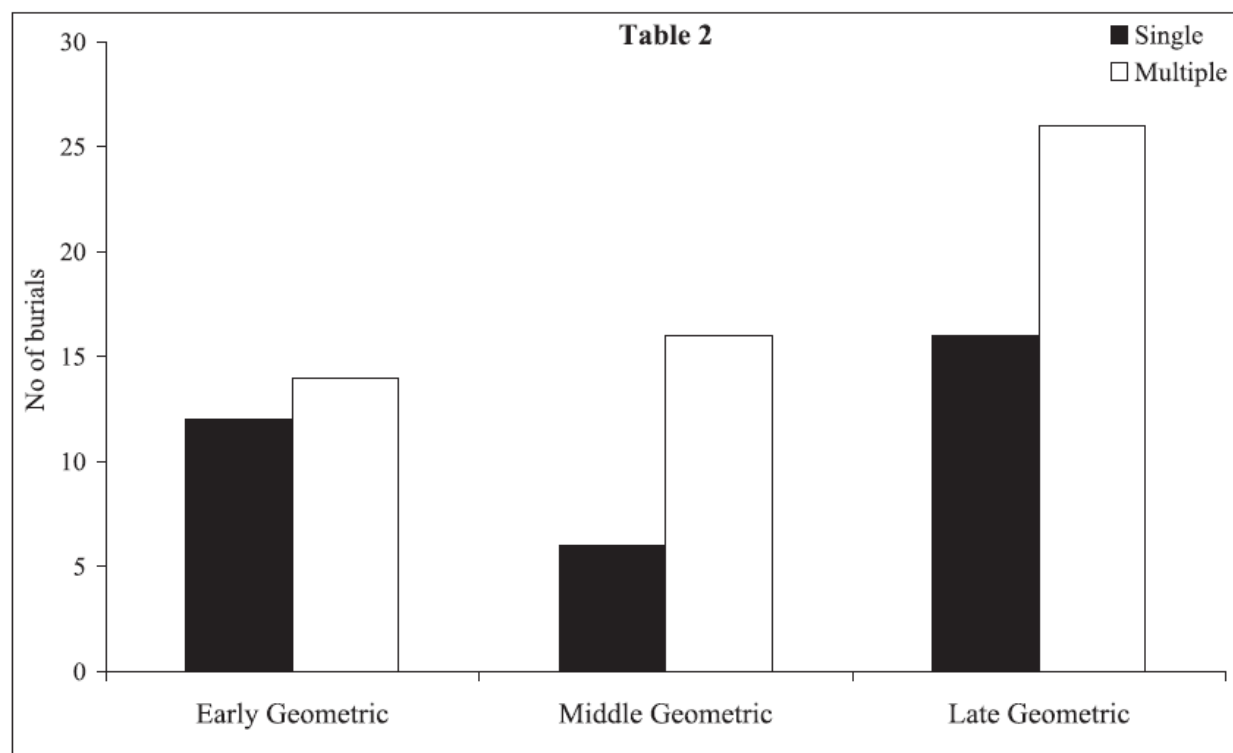


Fig. 4.15. Single versus multiple burials at Geometric Argos. Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, table 2.

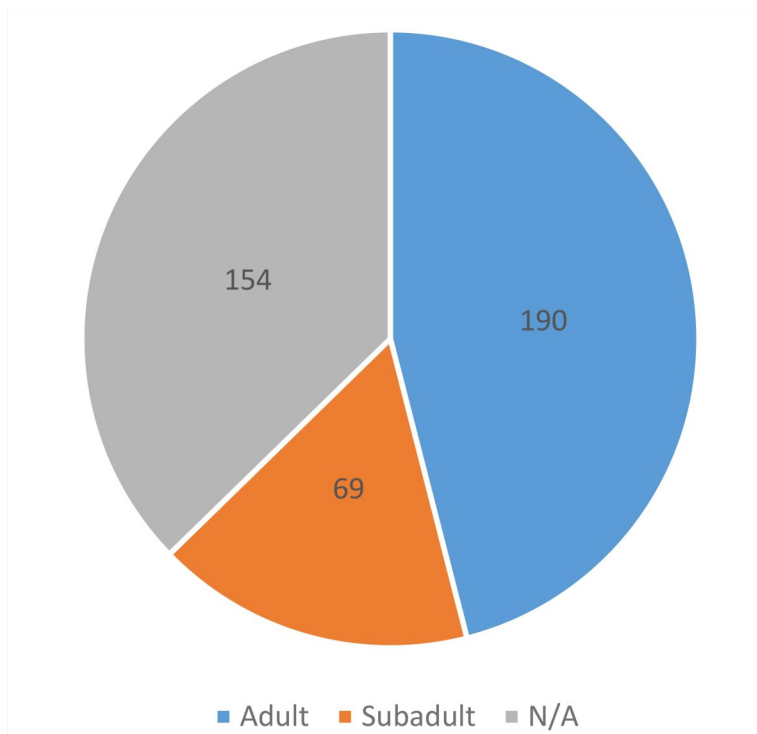


Fig. 4.16. Adults versus subadults in Geometric-early Archaic Argos.

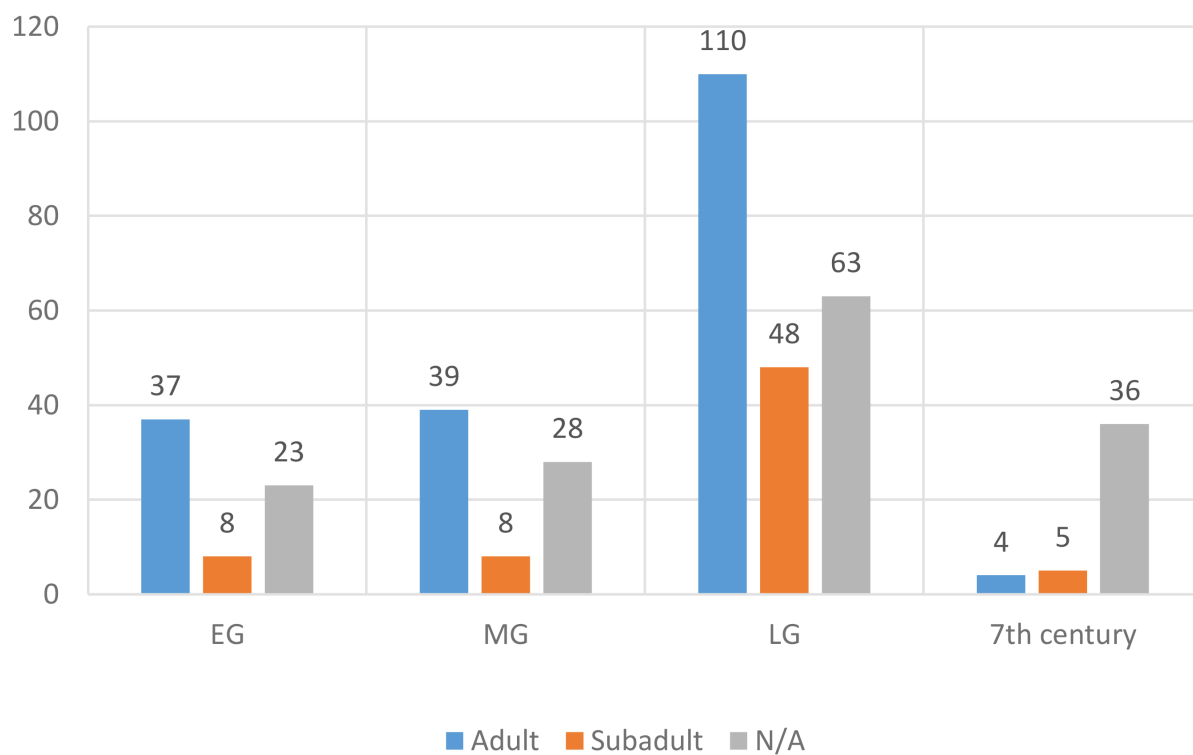


Fig. 4.17. Adults versus subadults across chronological breakdown.

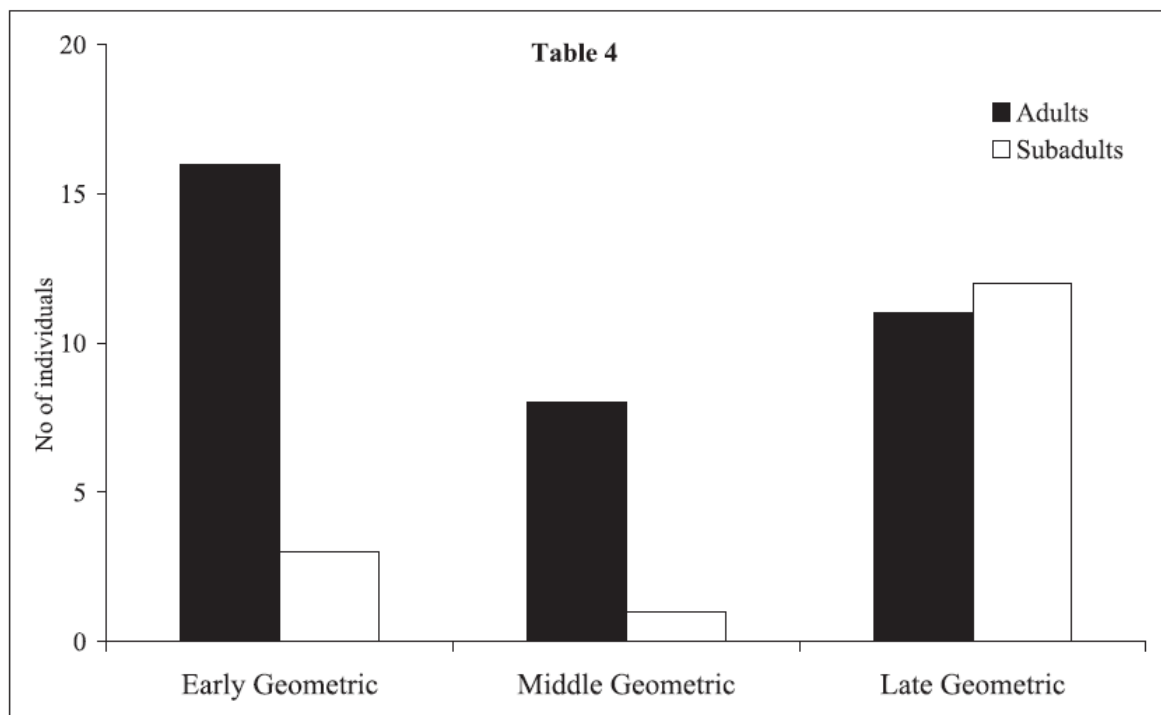


Fig. 4.18. Adults versus subadults in the skeletal assemblage studied by Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, table 2.

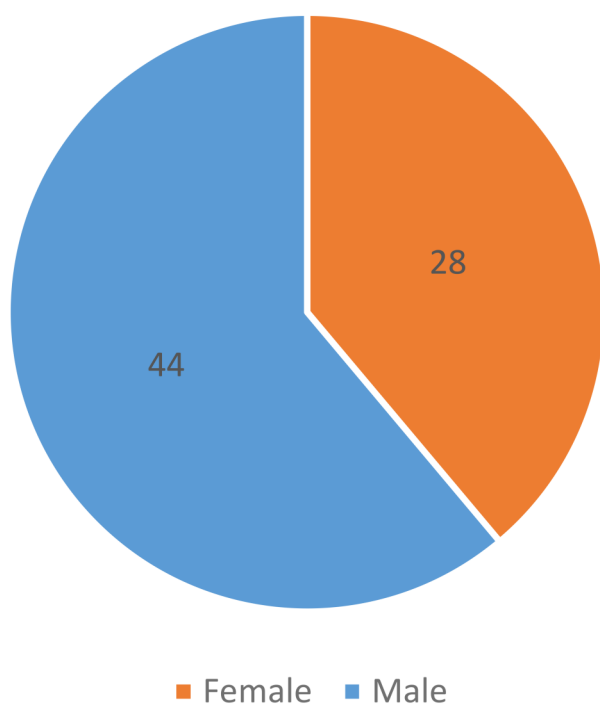


Fig. 4.19. The ratio of females versus males in the assemblages that were subjected to osteological study.

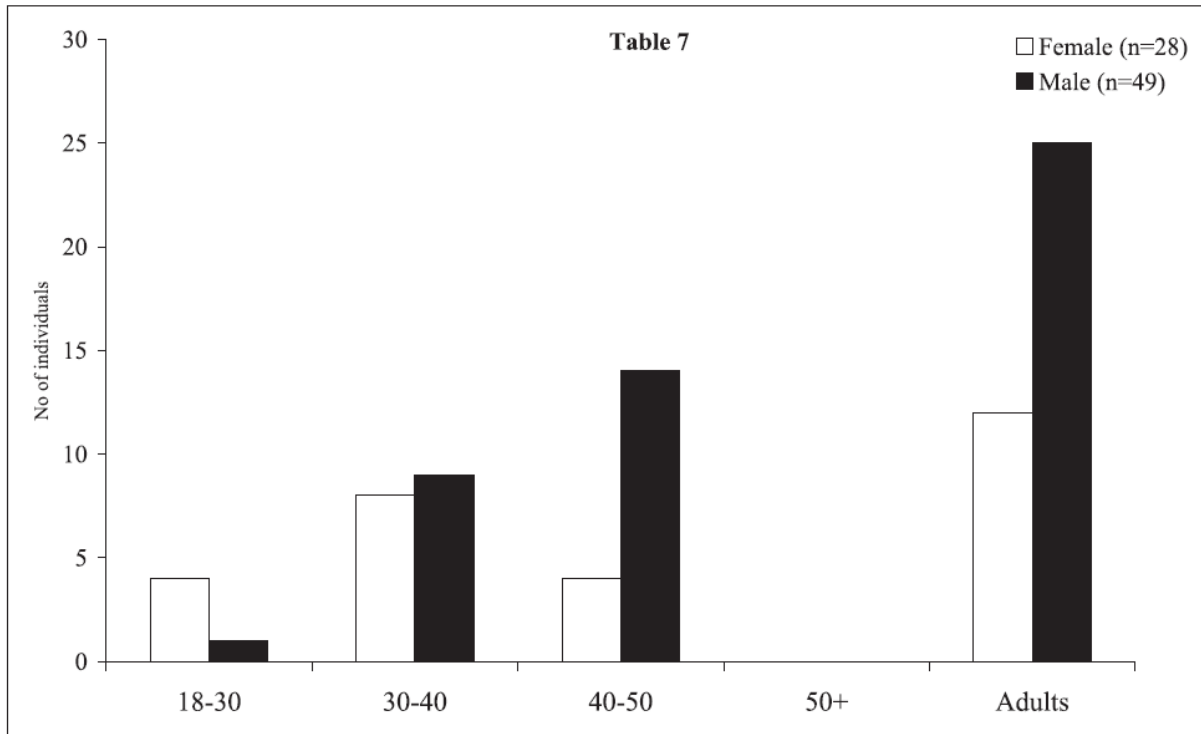


Fig. 4.20. Females versus males in the skeletal assemblage studied by Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011, table 7.

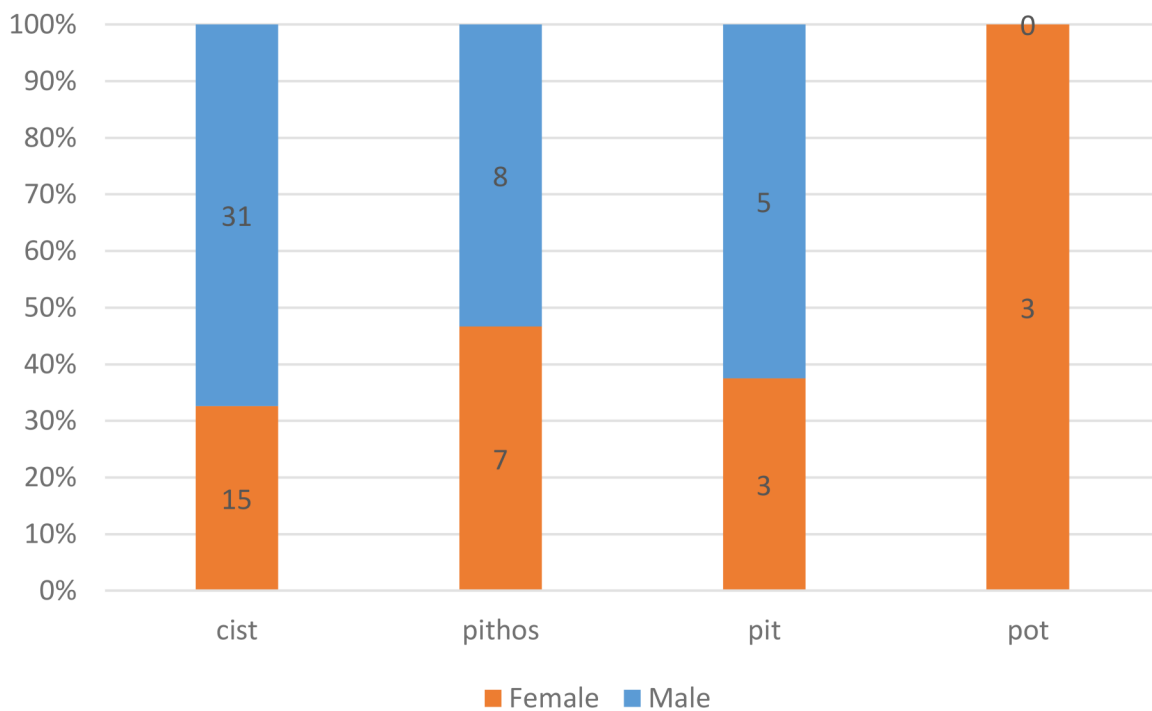


Fig. 4.21. Distribution of females versus males across burial types.

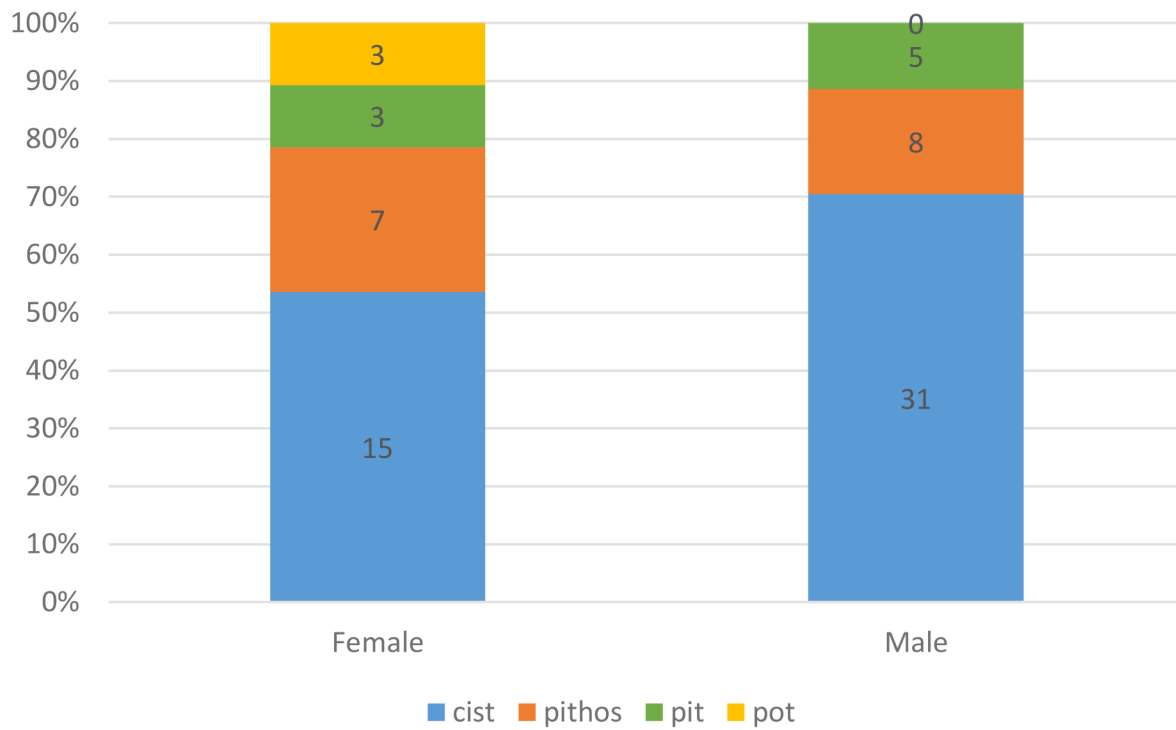


Fig. 4.22. The representation of females and males in different types of burials, according to percentage.

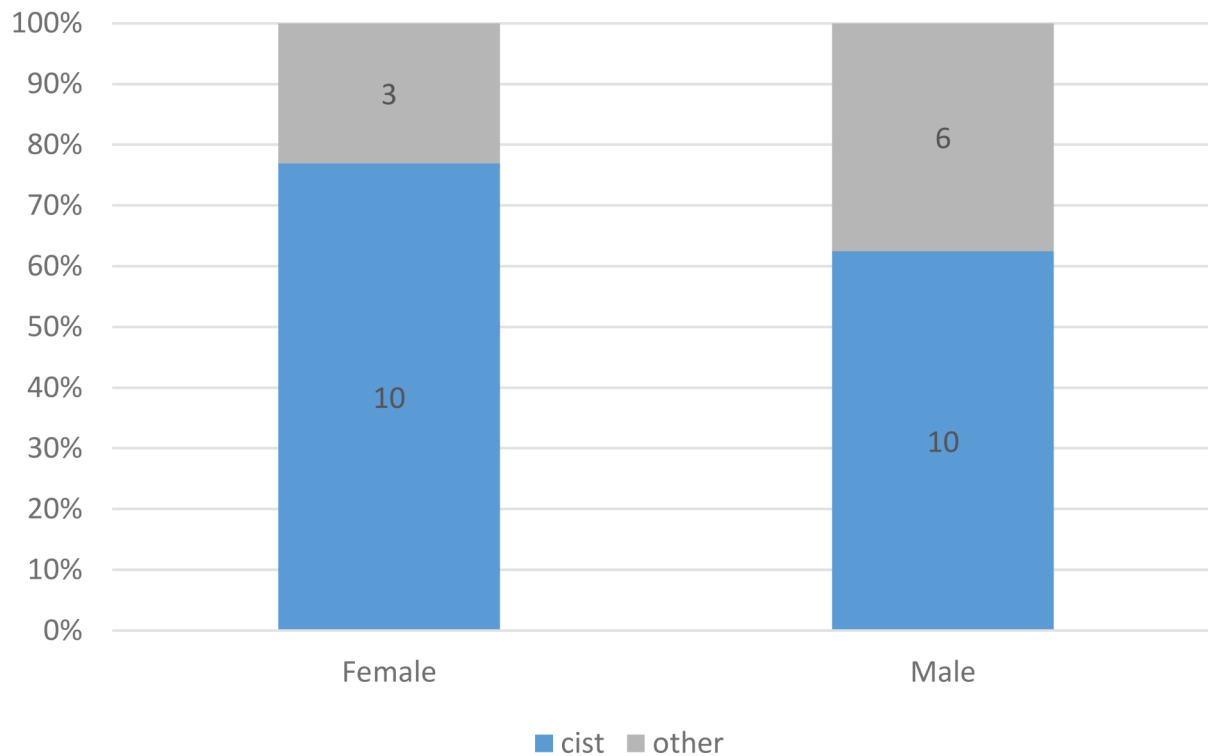


Fig. 4.23. Burial type preference for female and male interments in EG and MG.

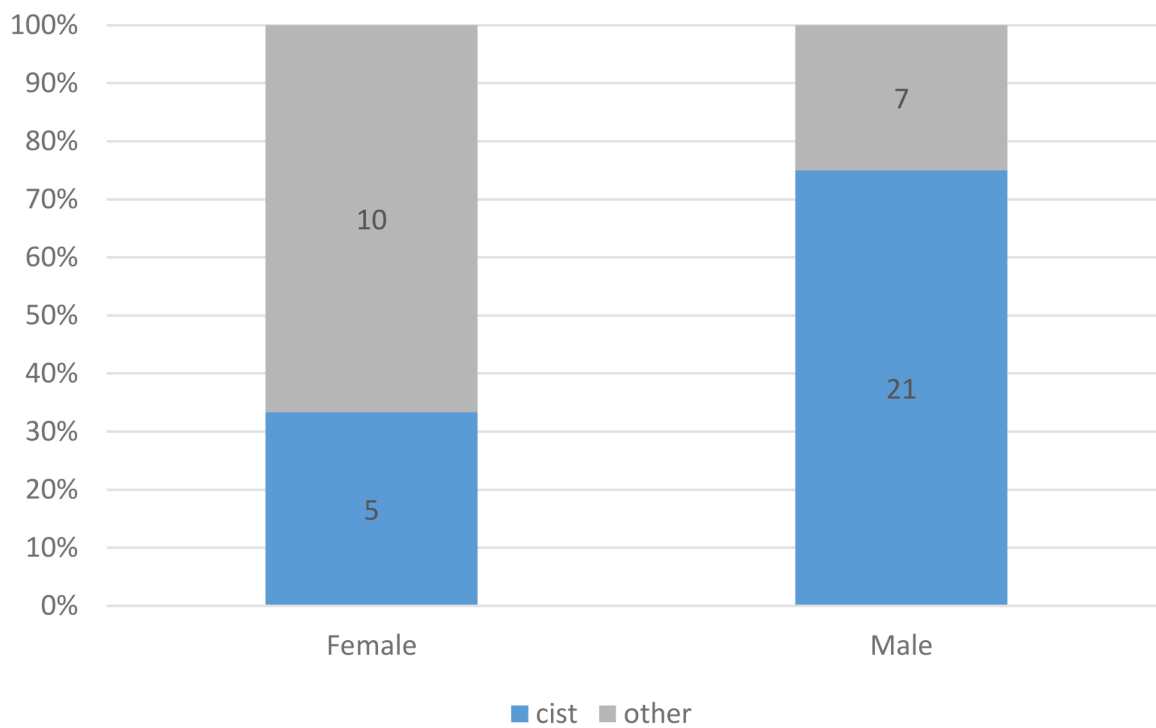
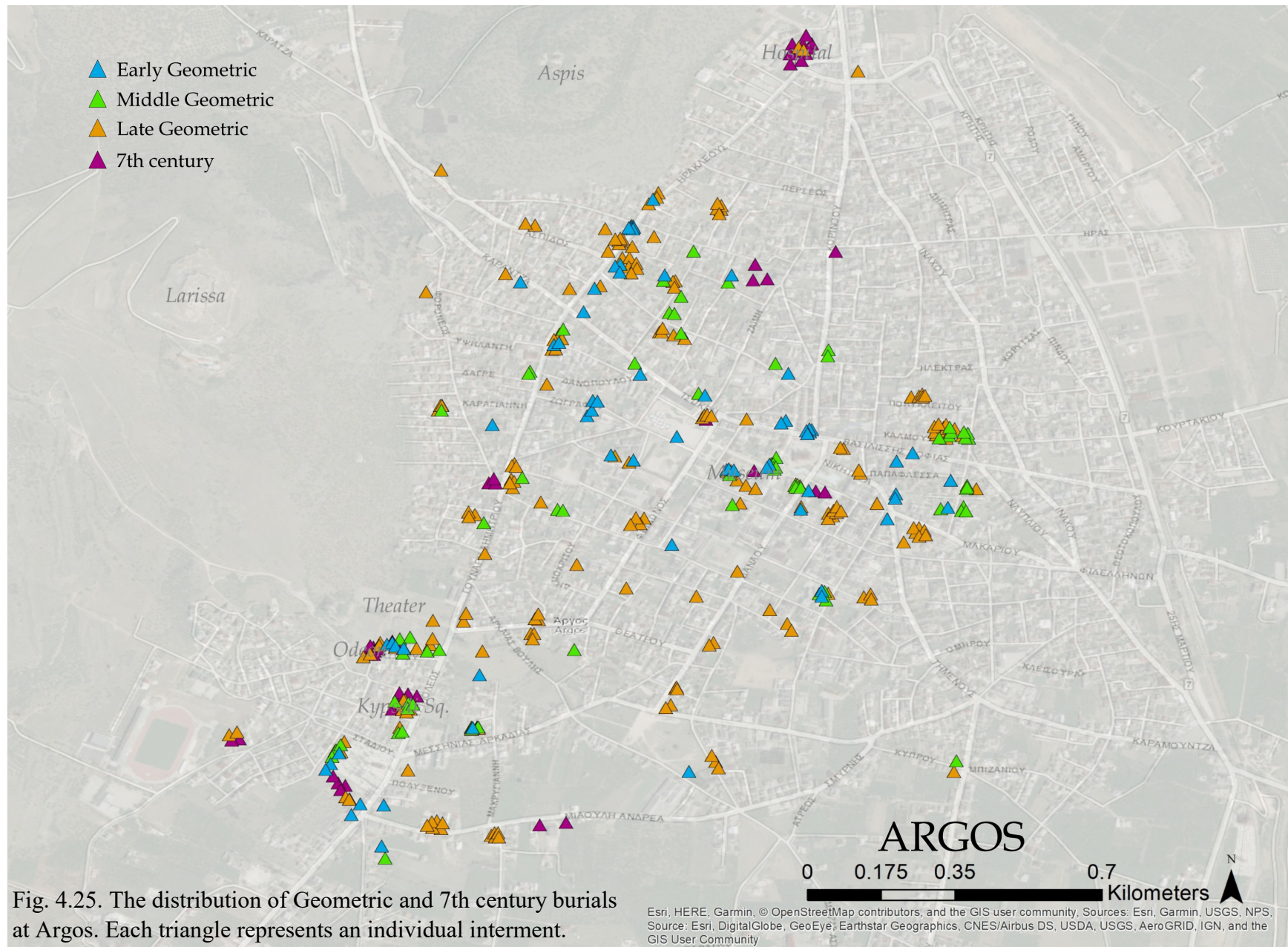
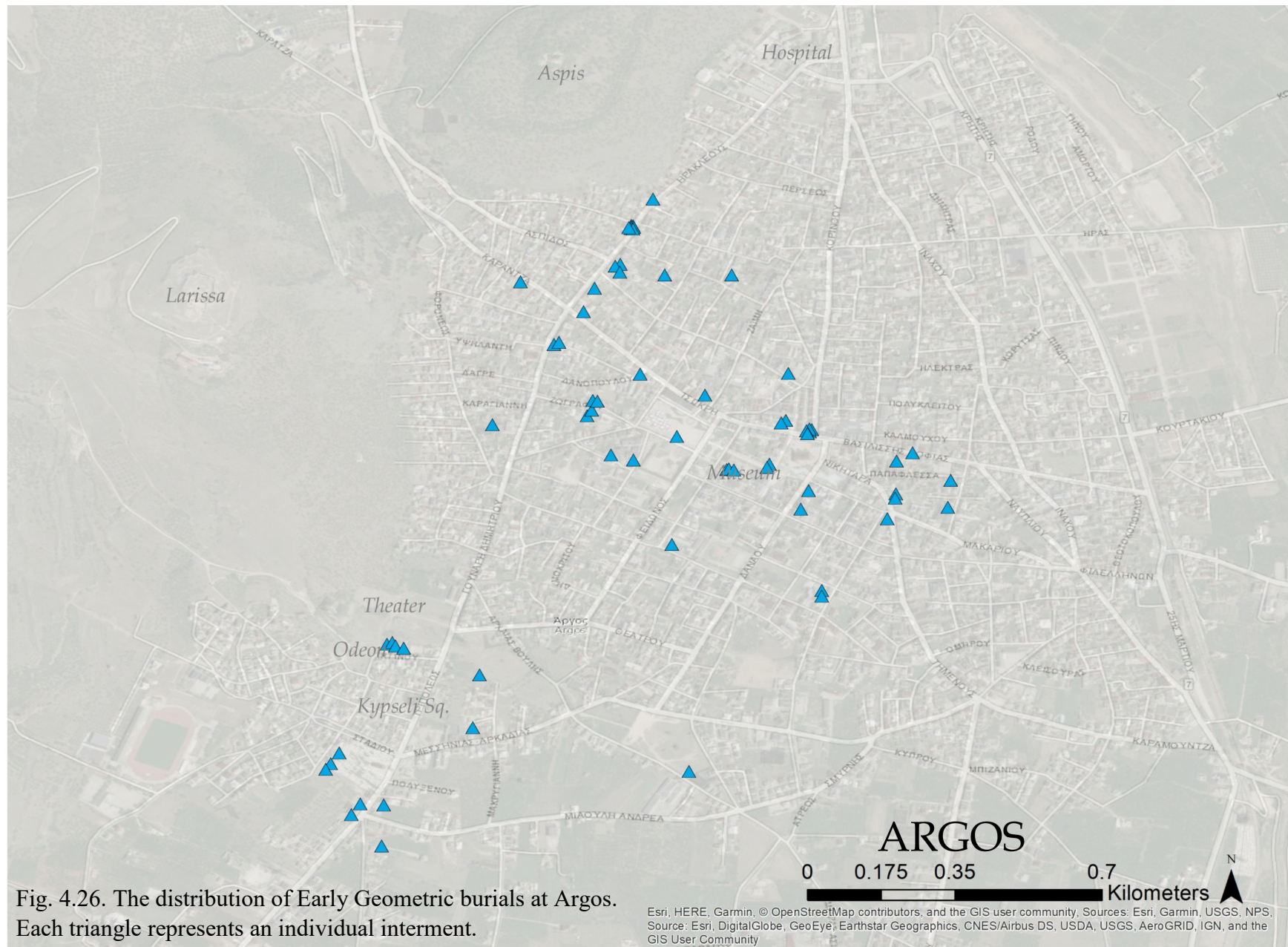


Fig. 4.24. Burial type preference for female and male interments in LG.





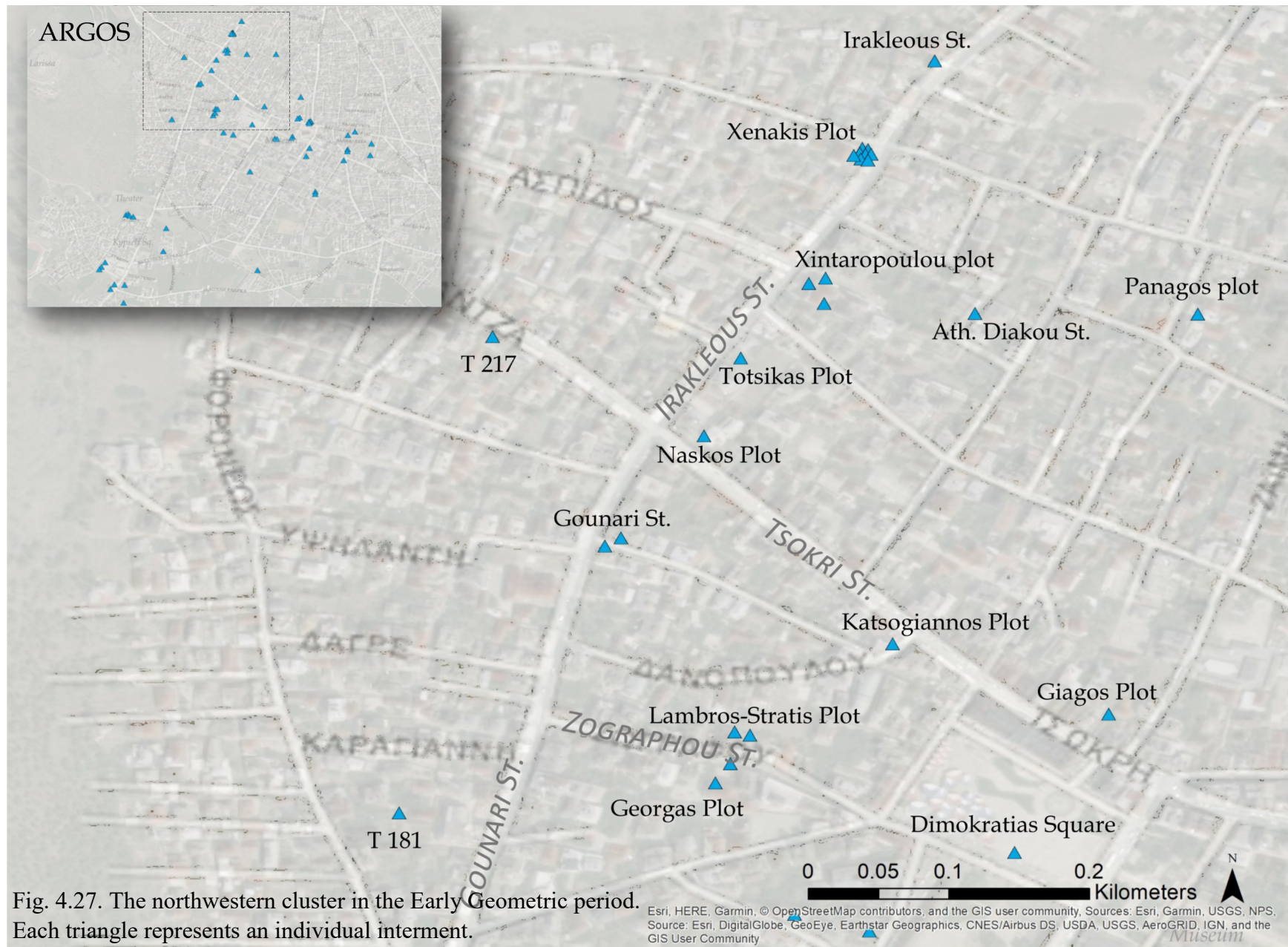
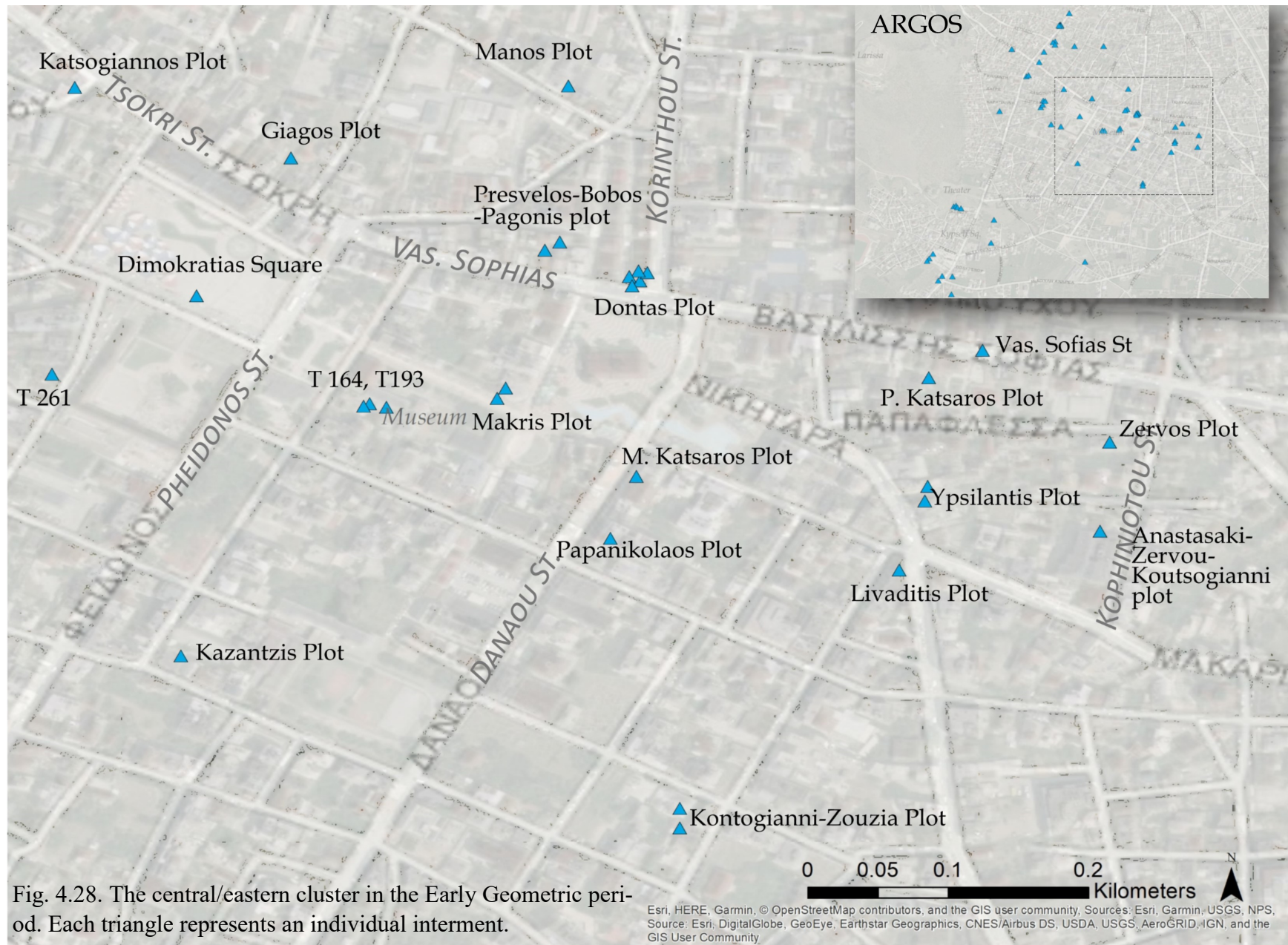
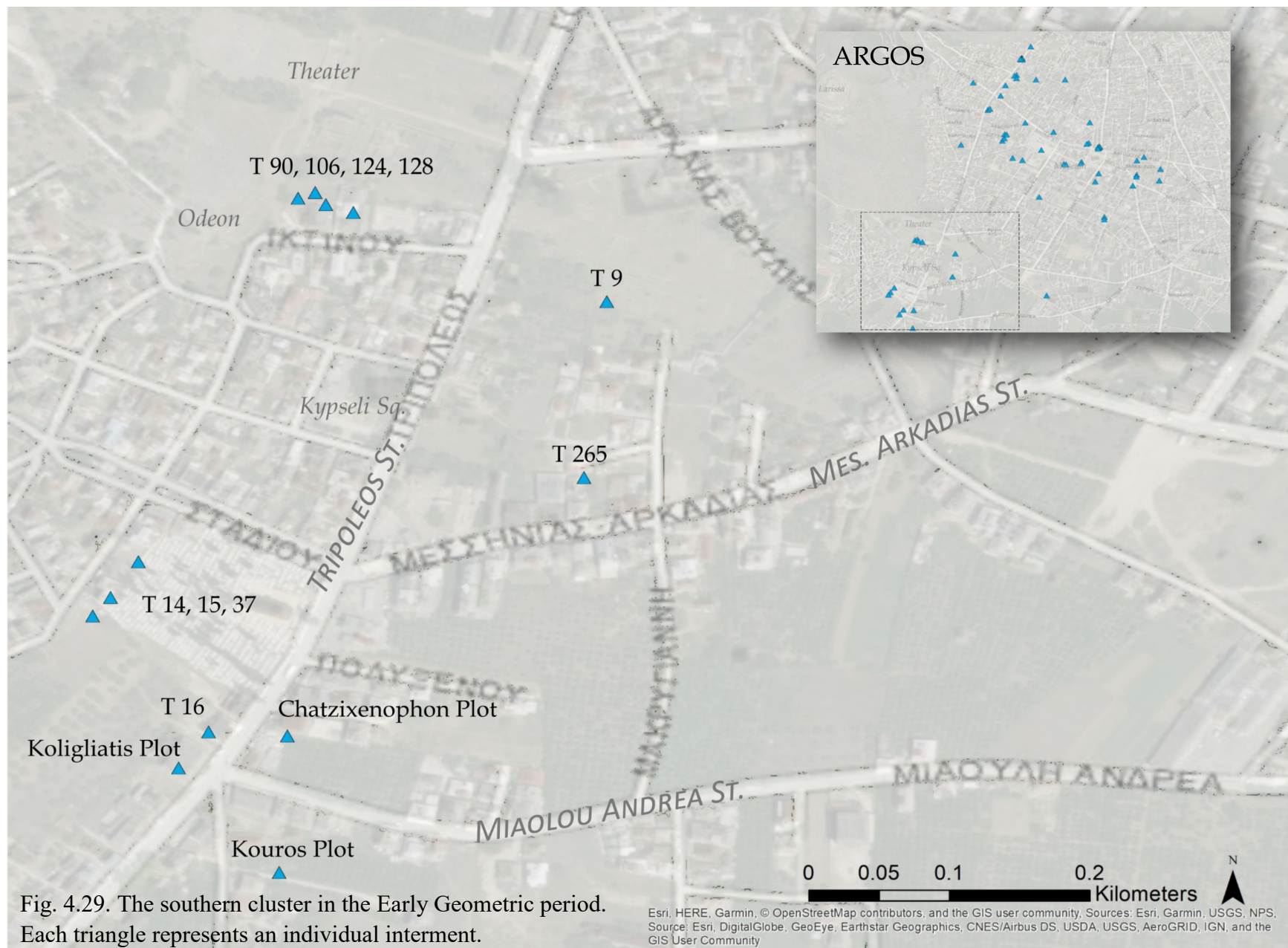


Fig. 4.27. The northwestern cluster in the Early Geometric period. Each triangle represents an individual interment.





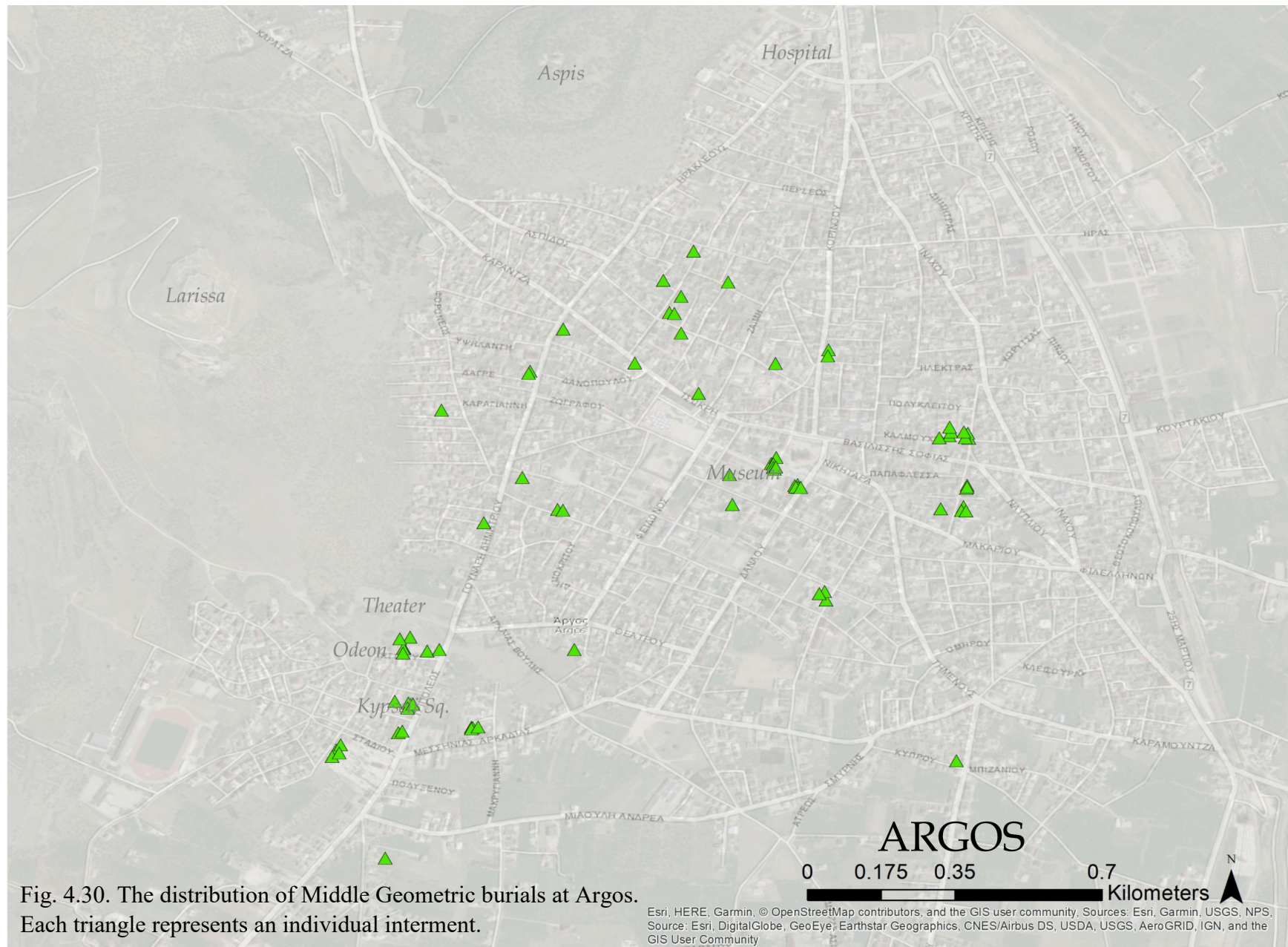
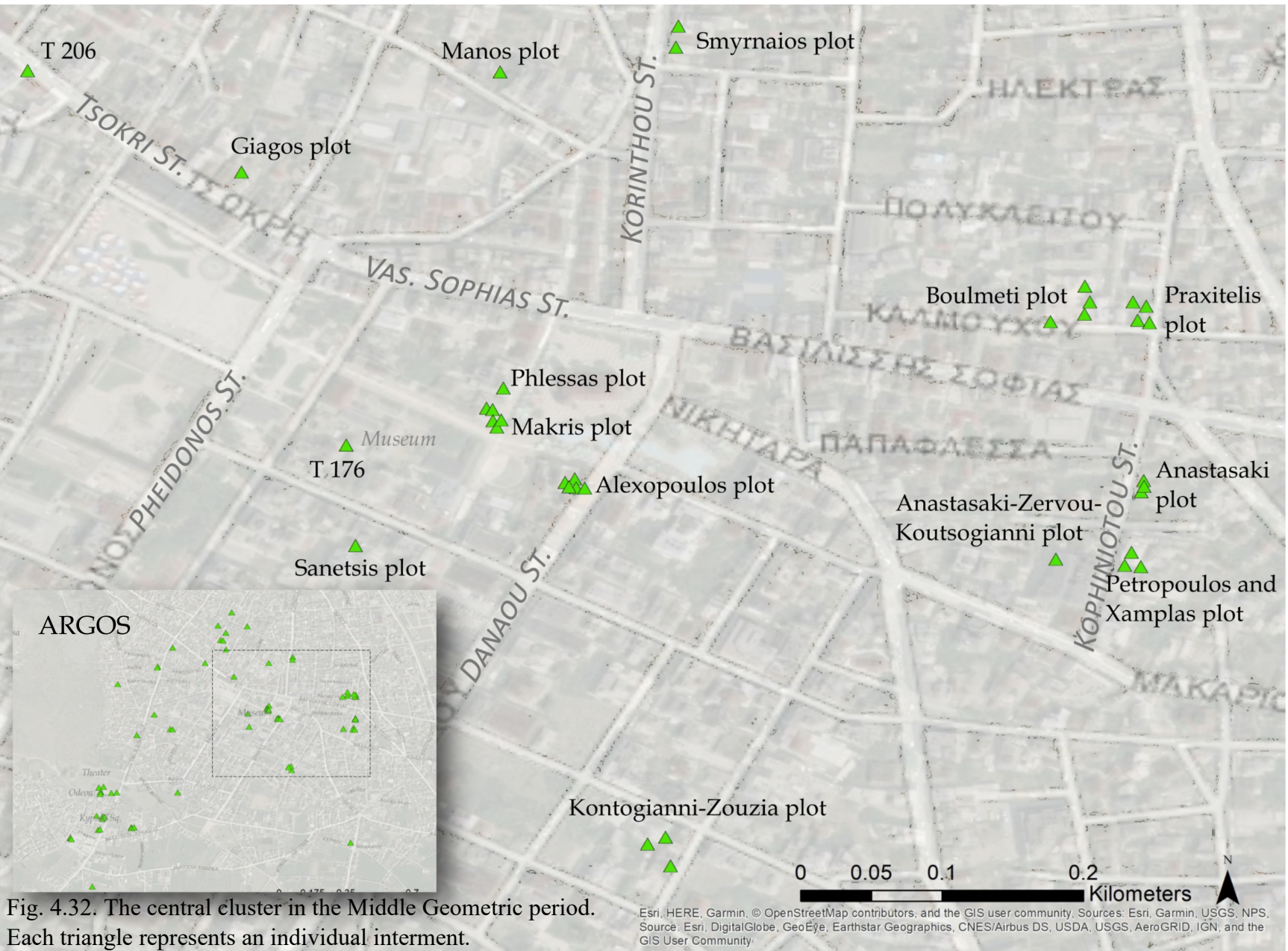
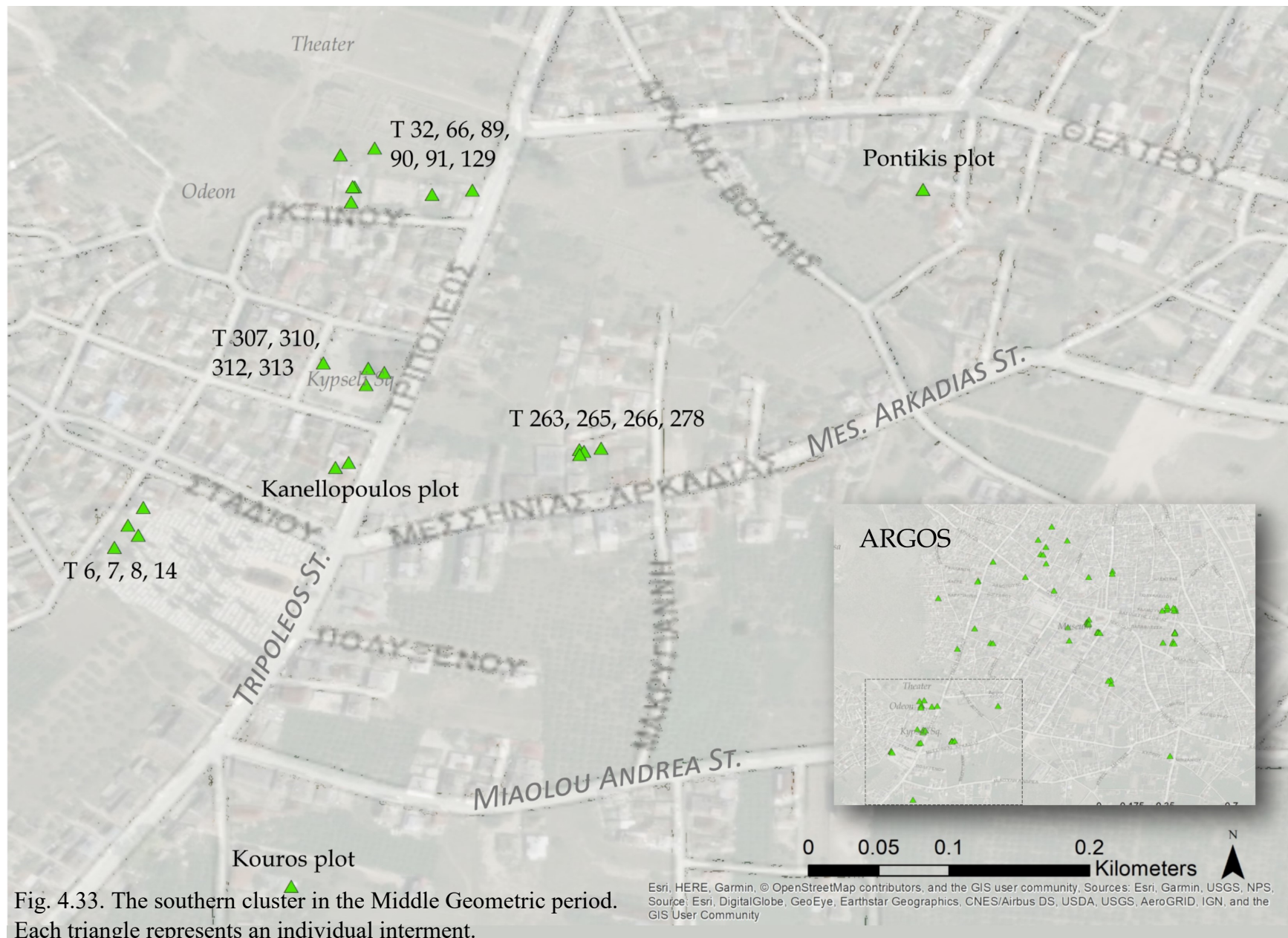


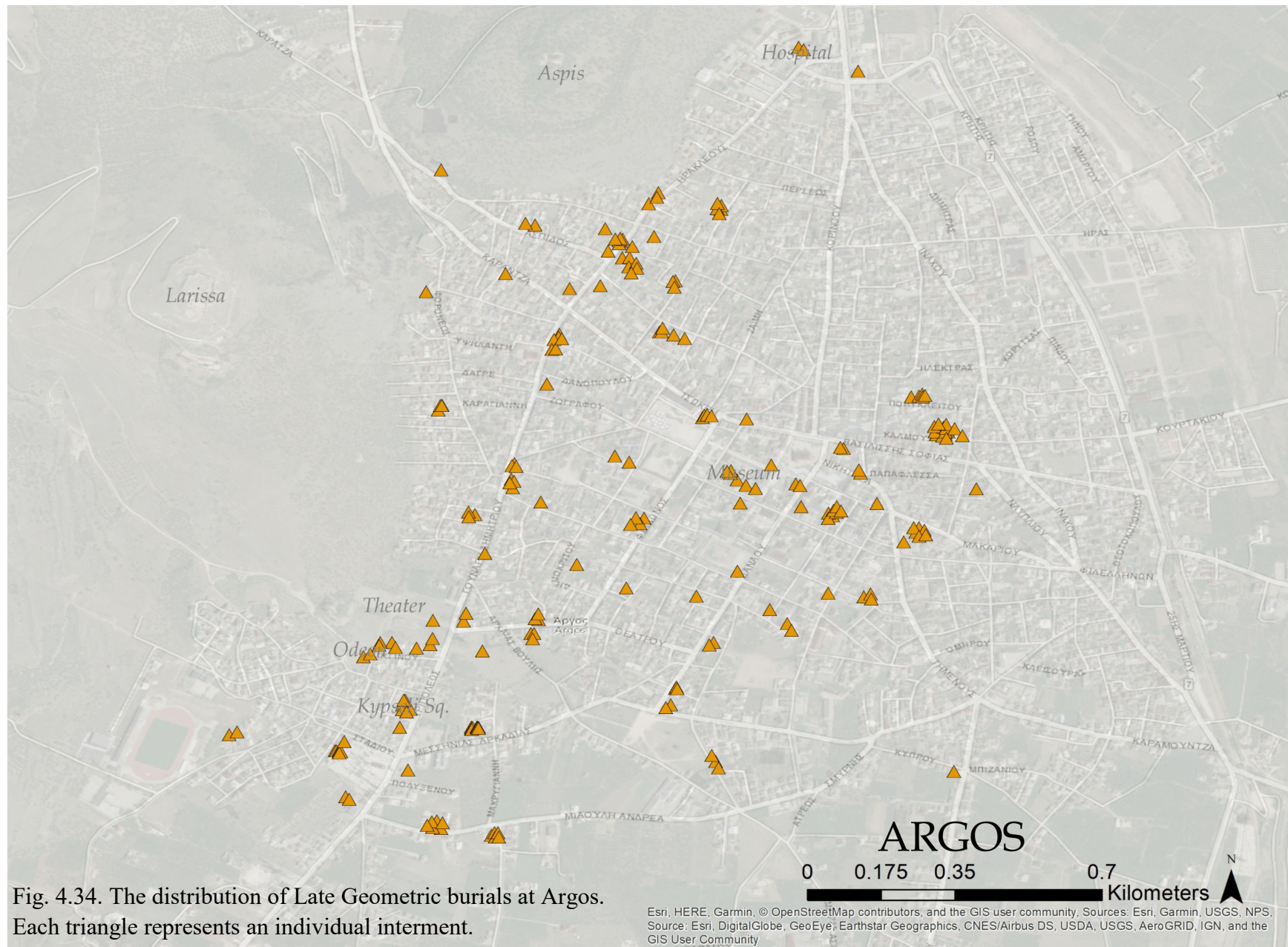
Fig. 4.30. The distribution of Middle Geometric burials at Argos.
Each triangle represents an individual interment.

Esri, HERE, Garmin, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community, Sources: Esri, Garmin, USGS, NPS, Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community









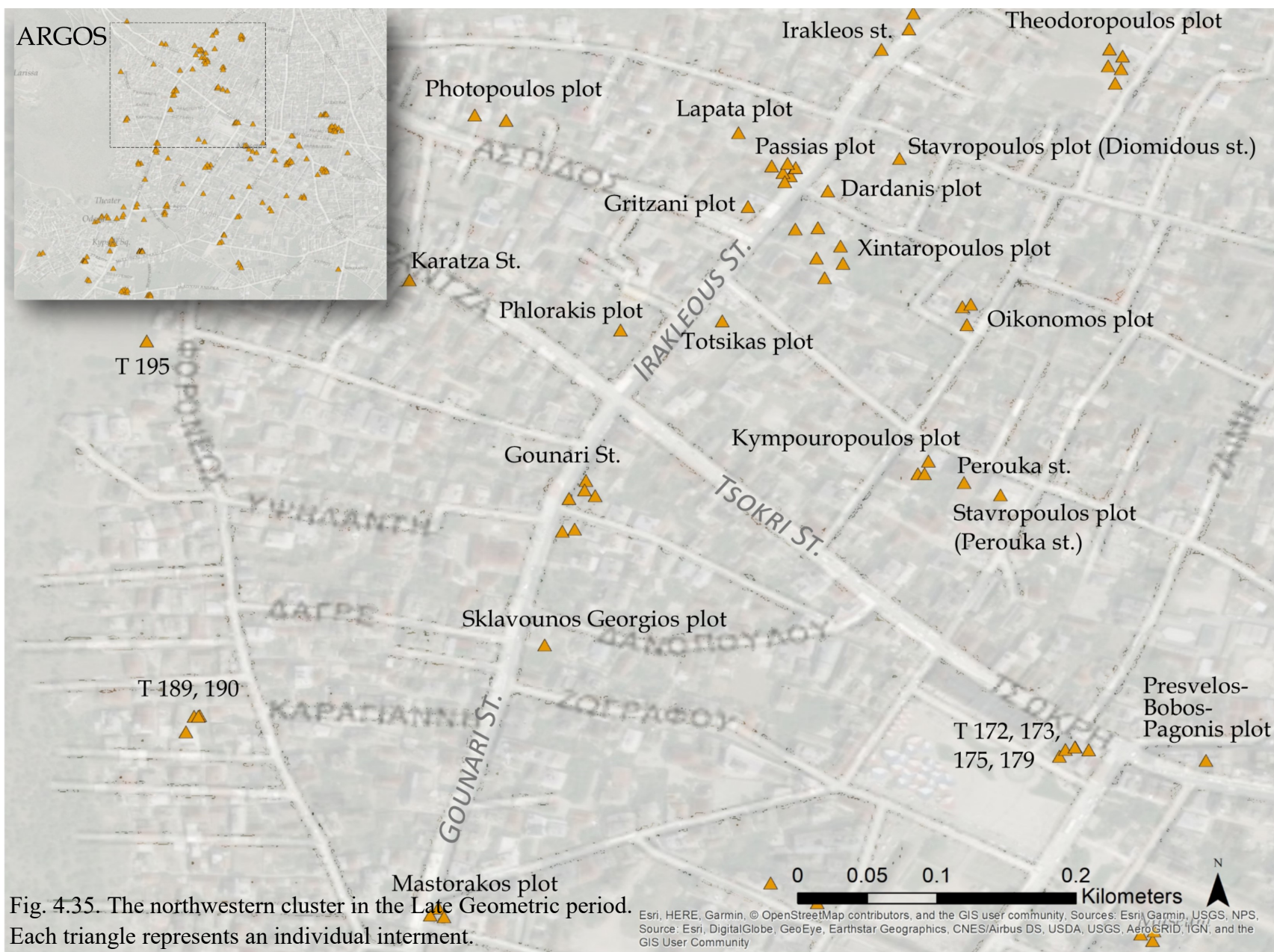
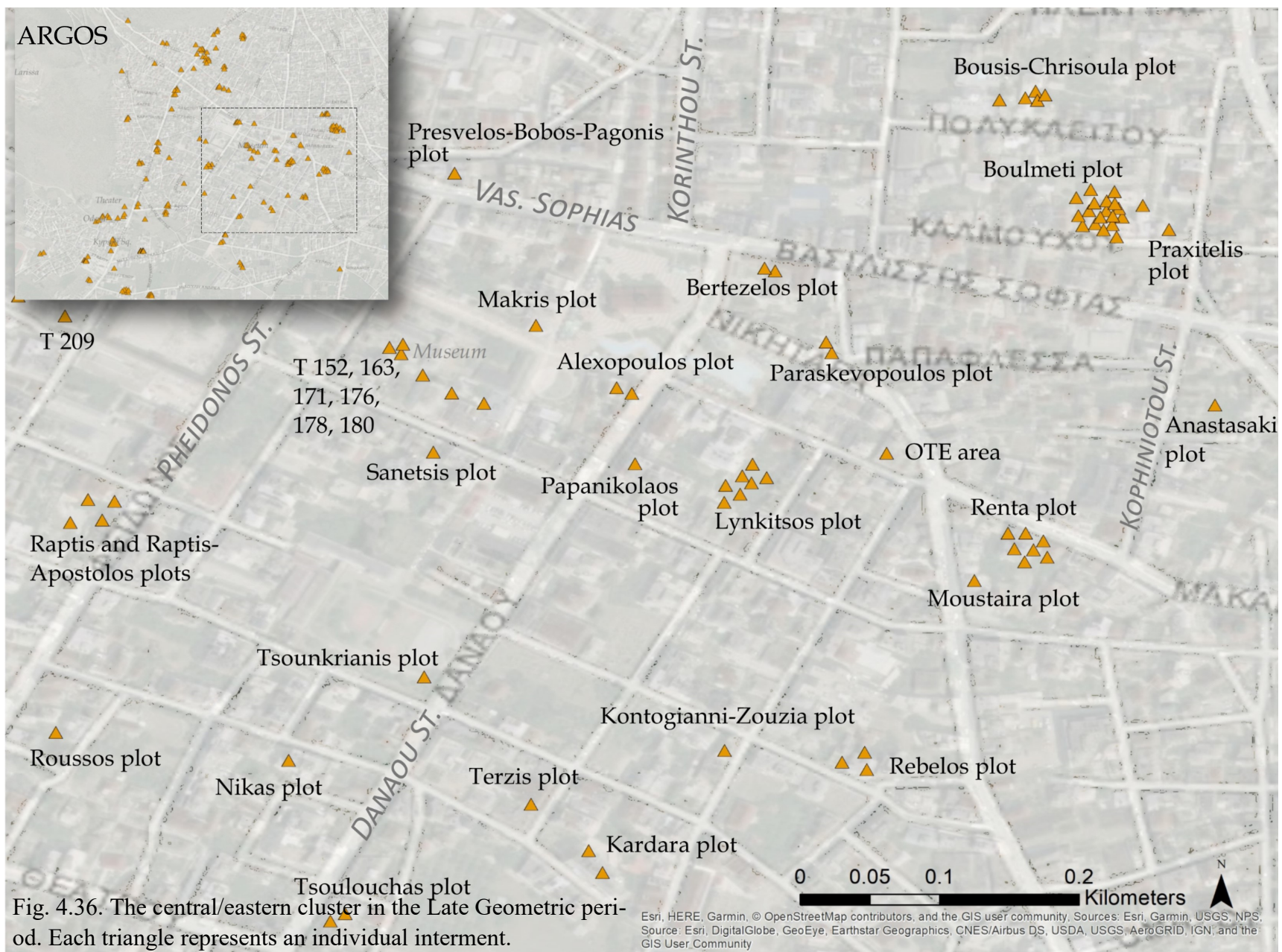


Fig. 4.35. The northwestern cluster in the Late Geometric period. Each triangle represents an individual interment.



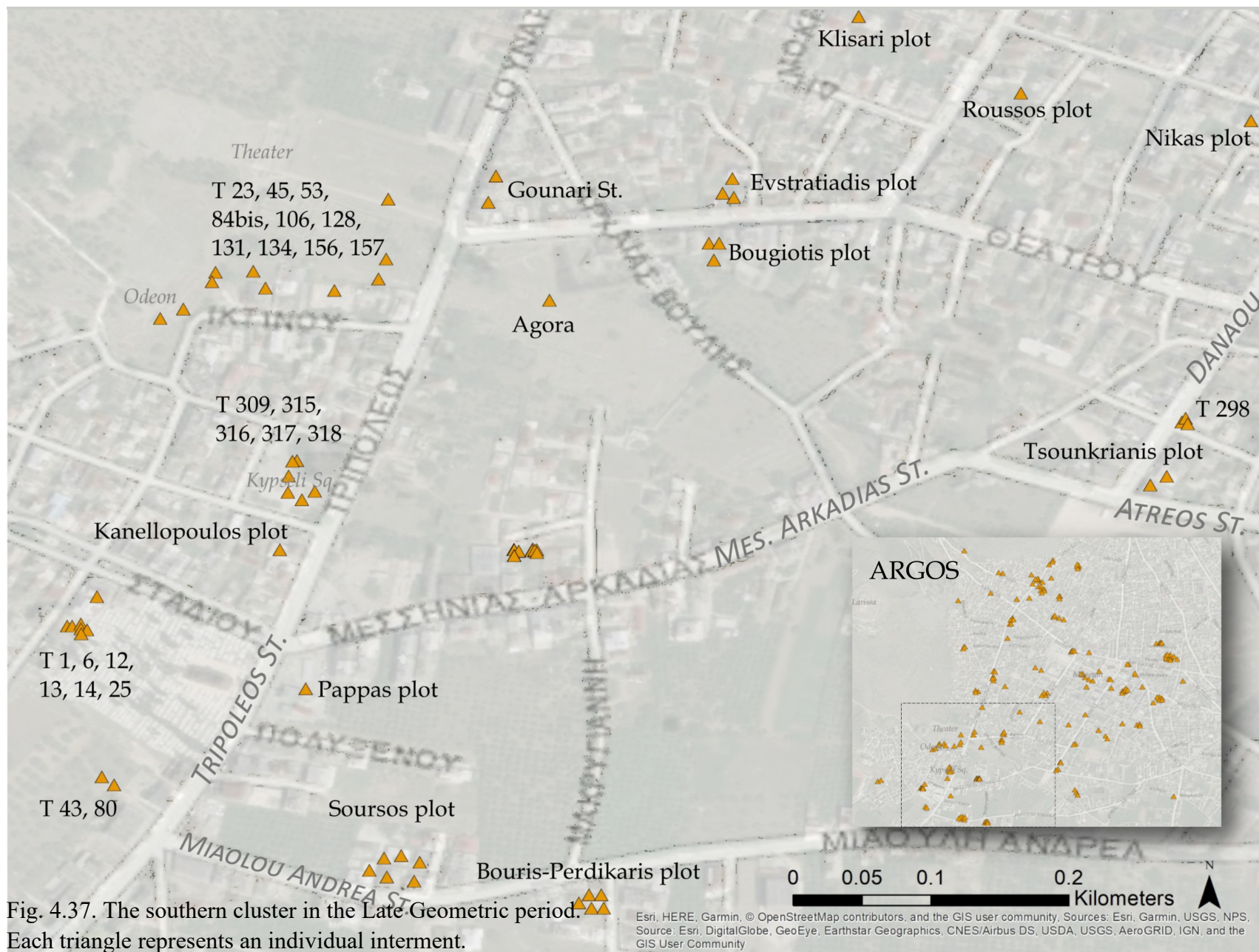


Fig. 4.37. The southern cluster in the Late Geometric period. Each triangle represents an individual interment.

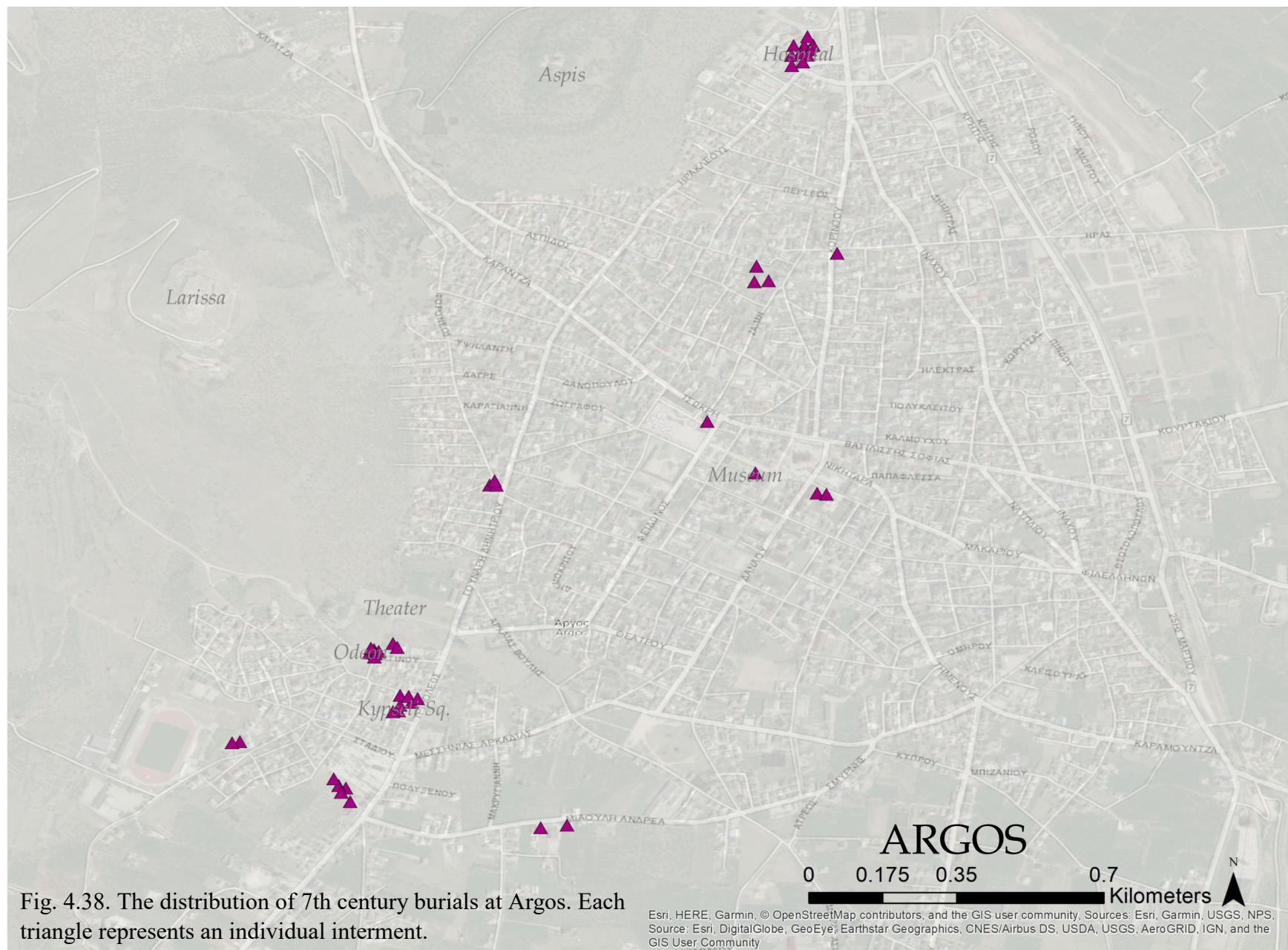




Fig. 4.39. The northwestern cluster in the 7th century. Each triangle represents an individual interment.

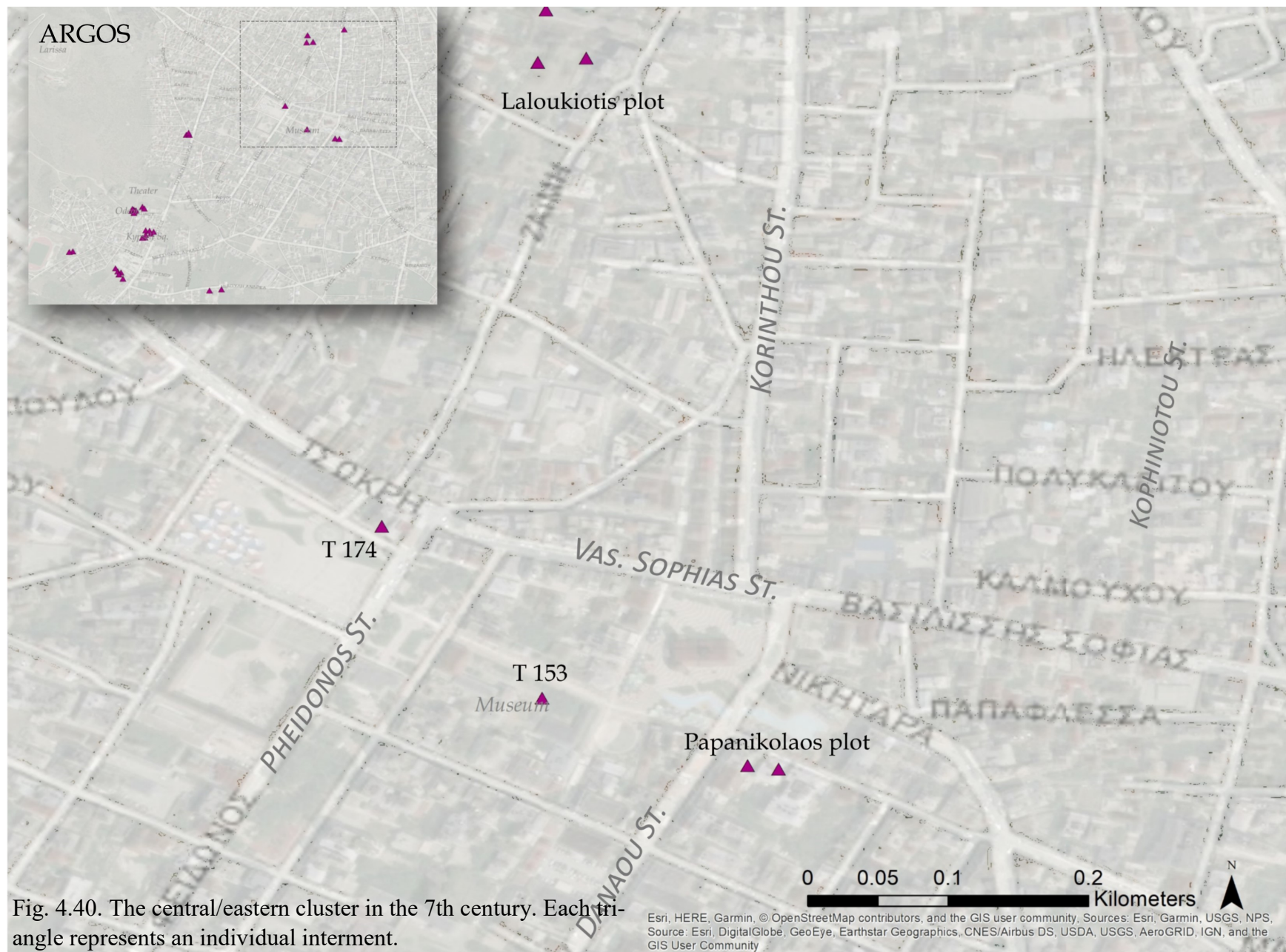
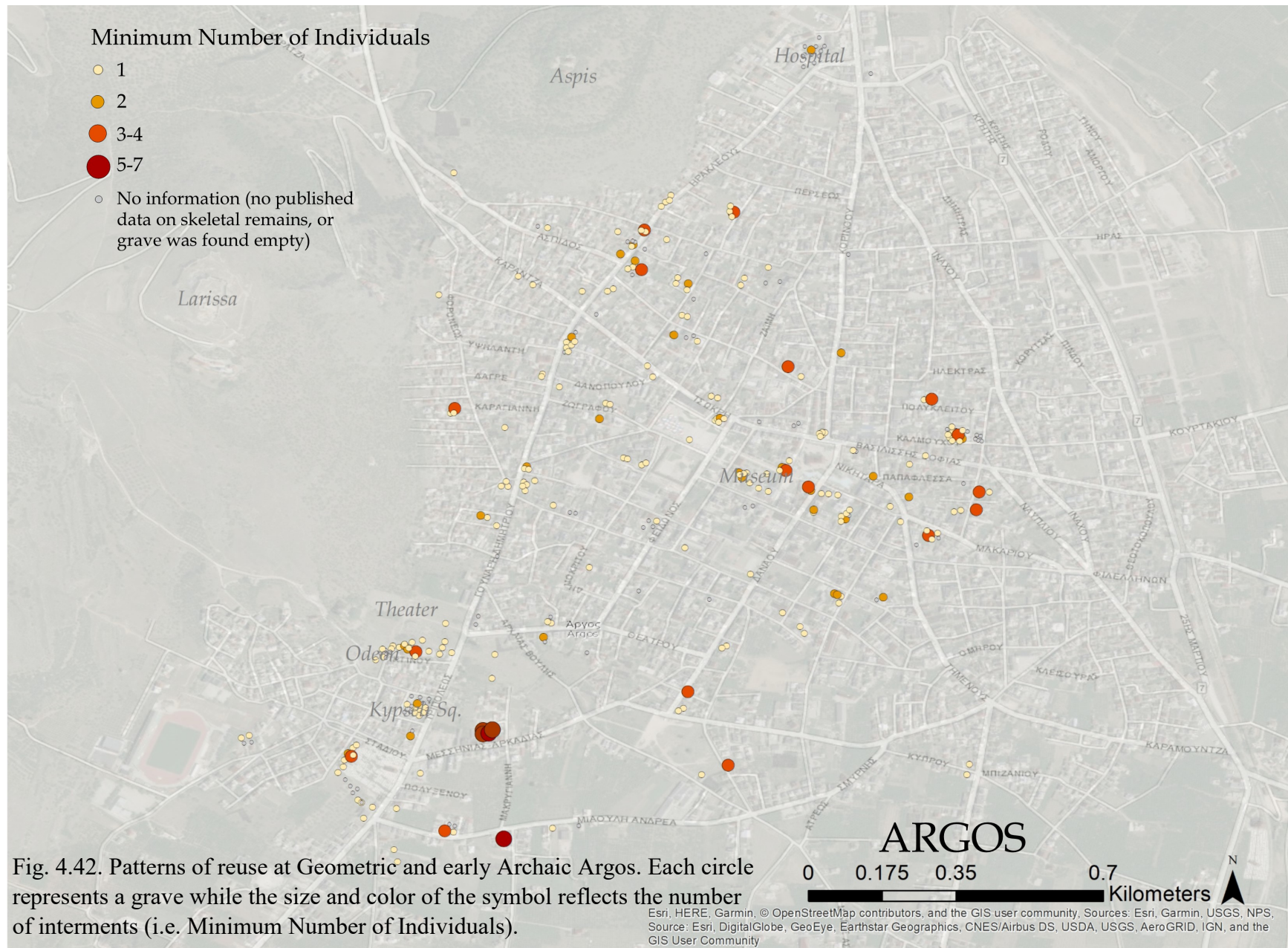
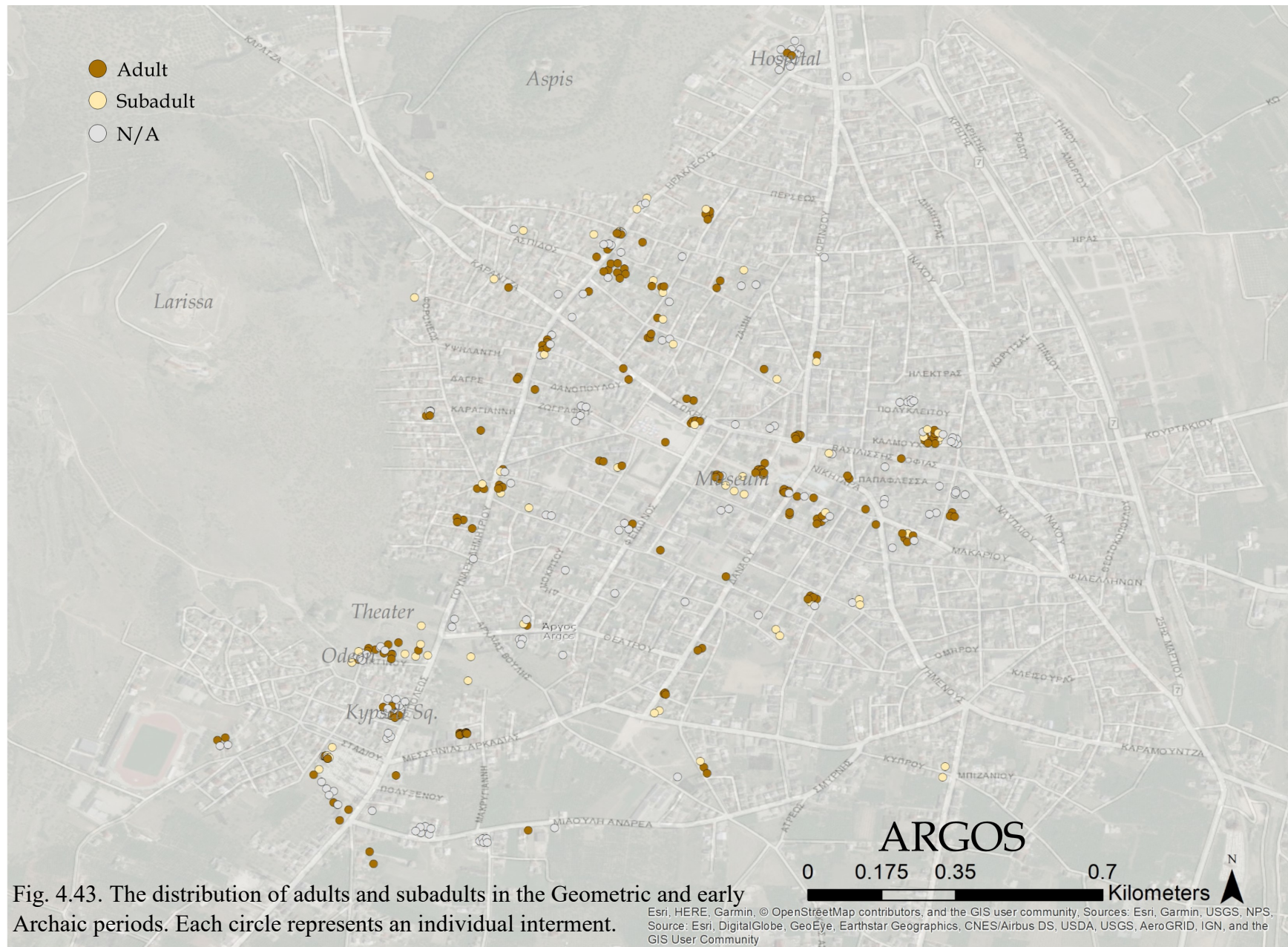
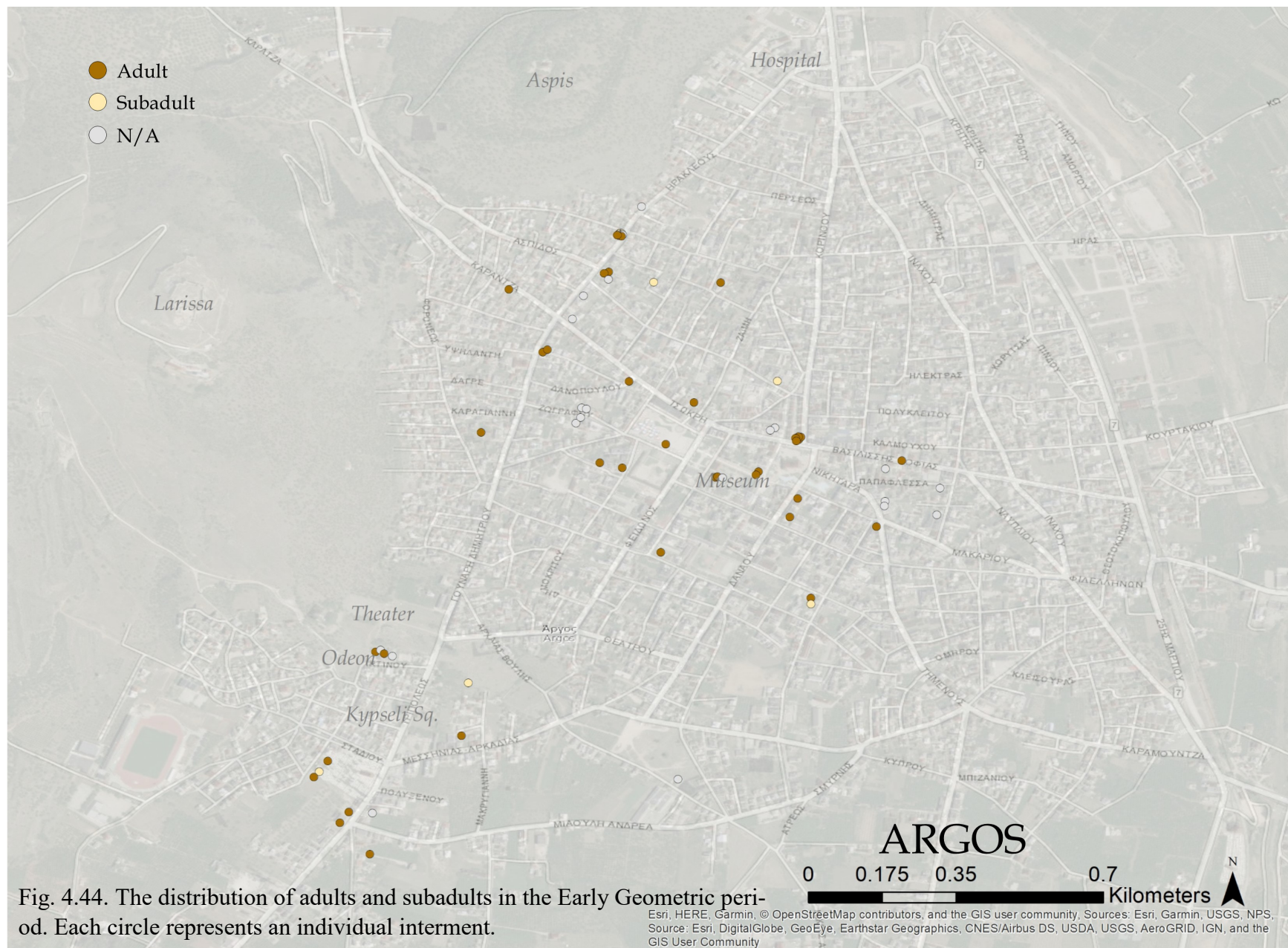




Fig. 4.41. The southern cluster in the 7th century. Each triangle represents an individual interment.







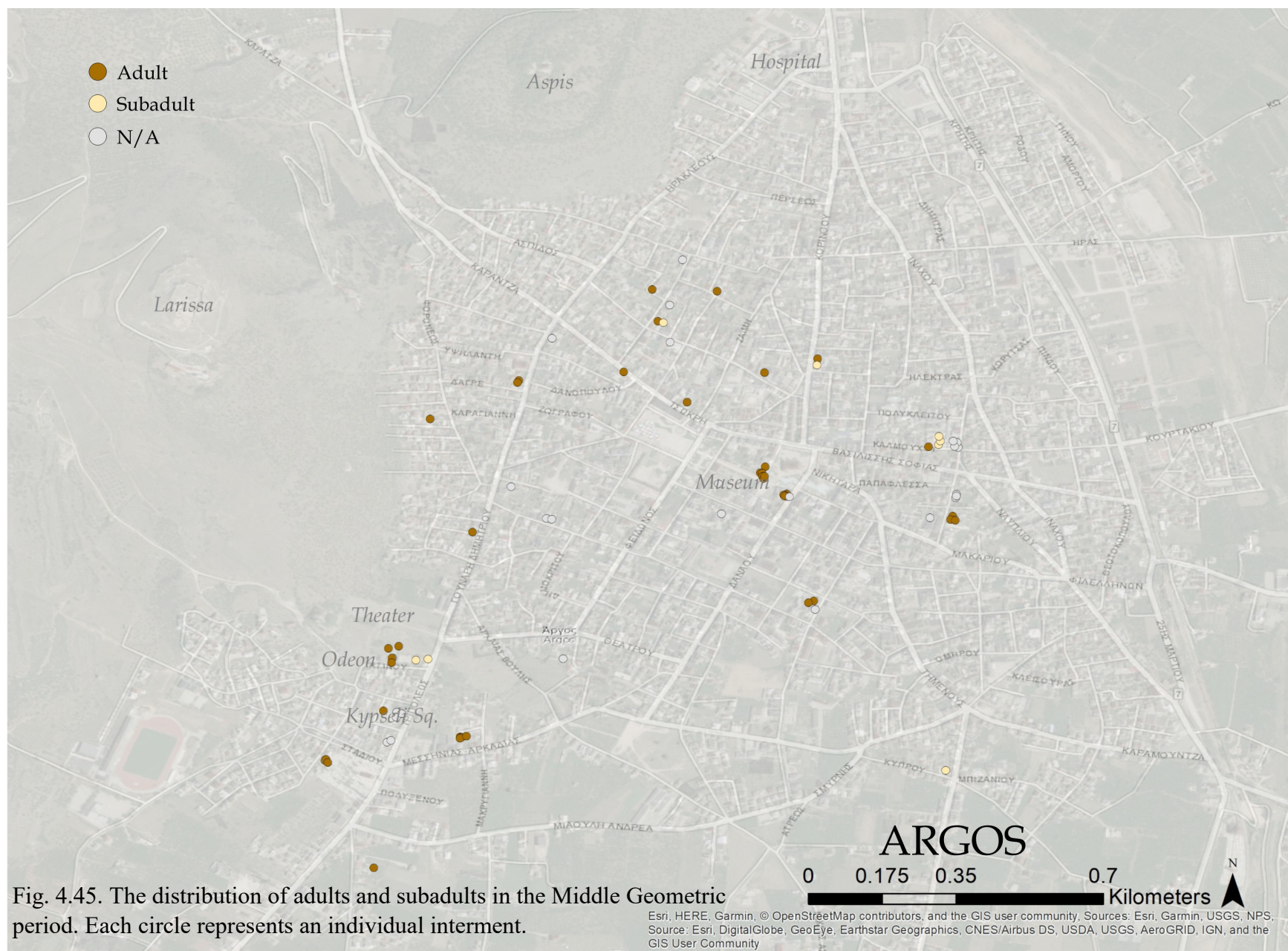
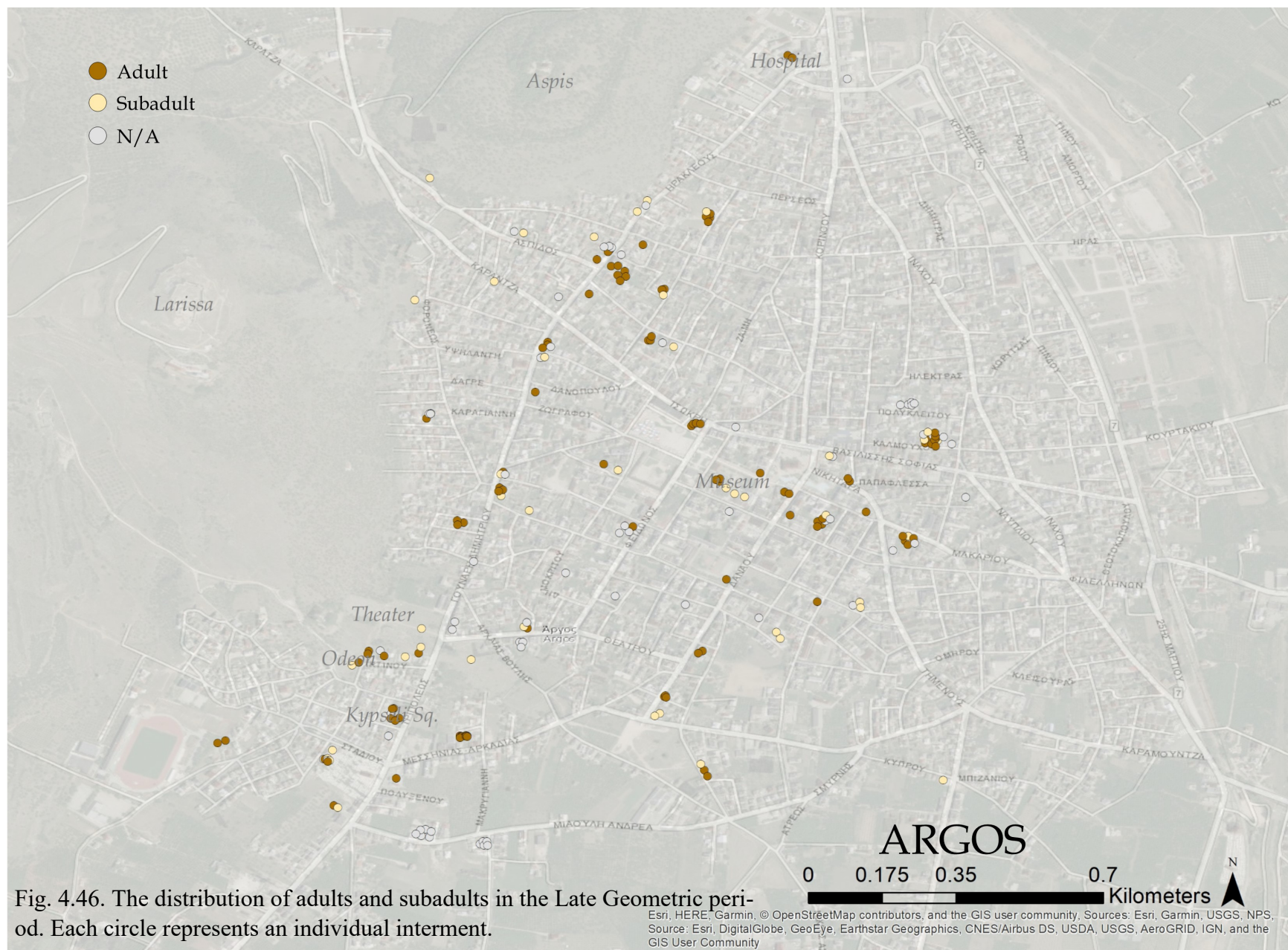
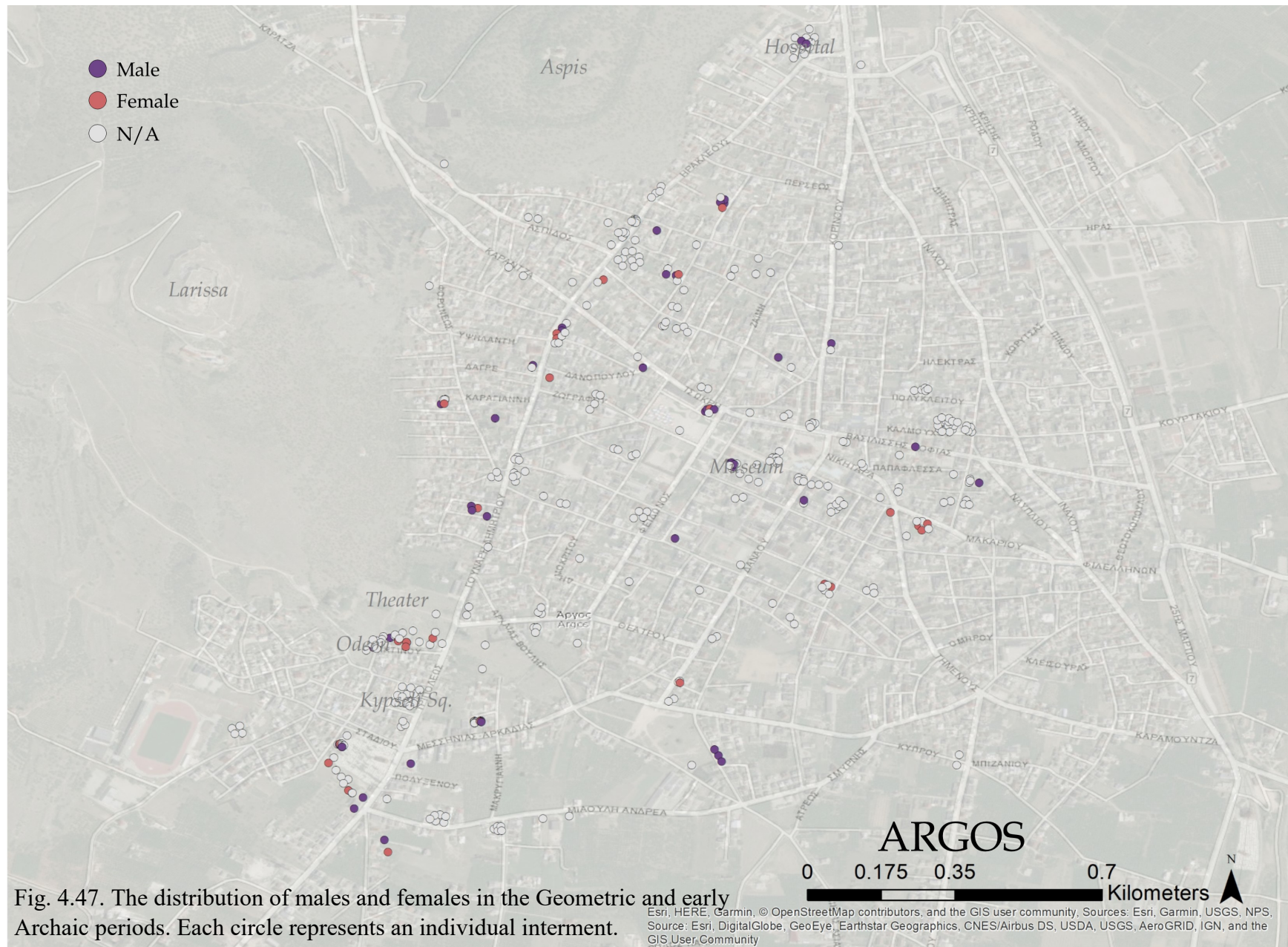
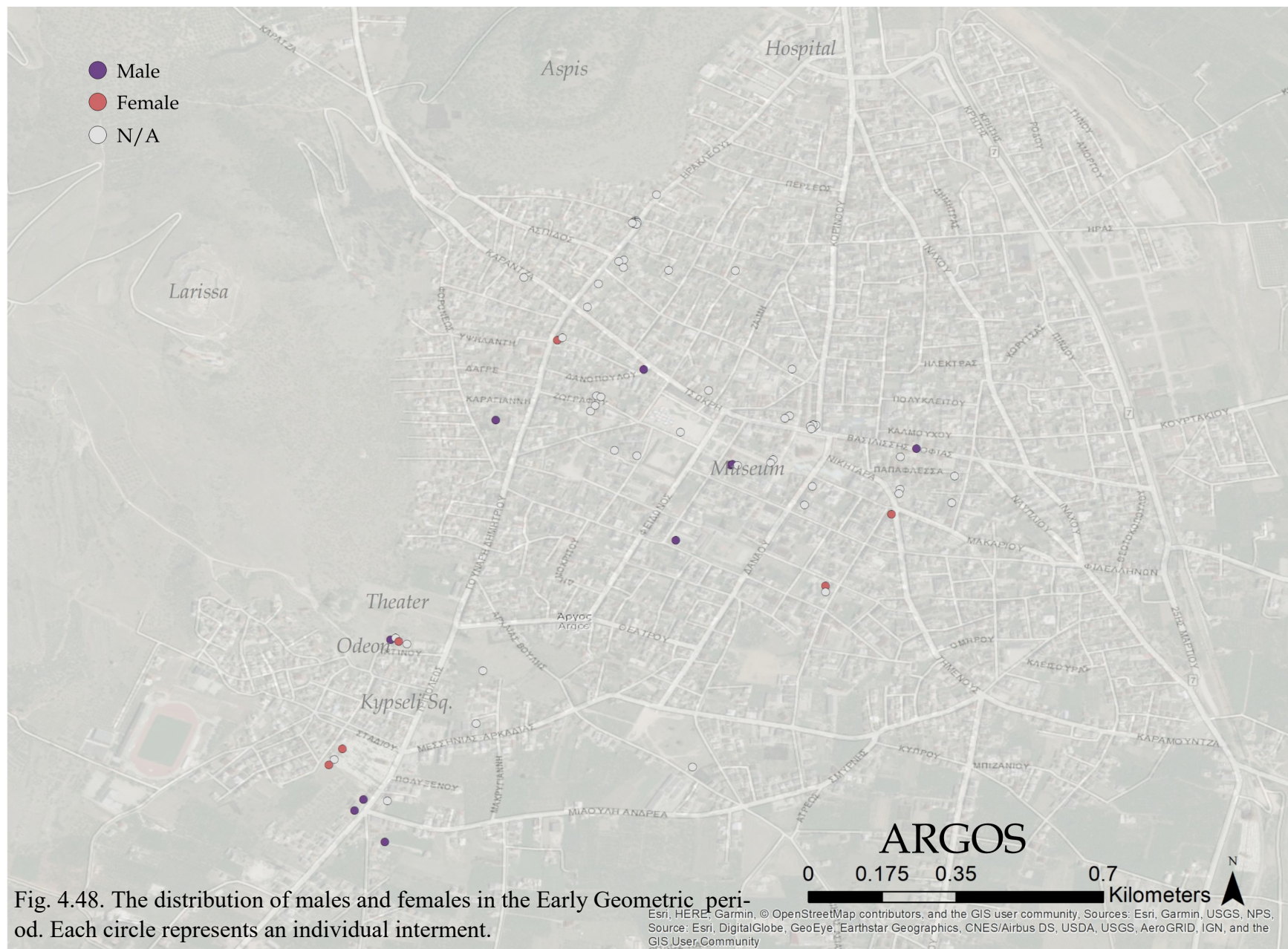
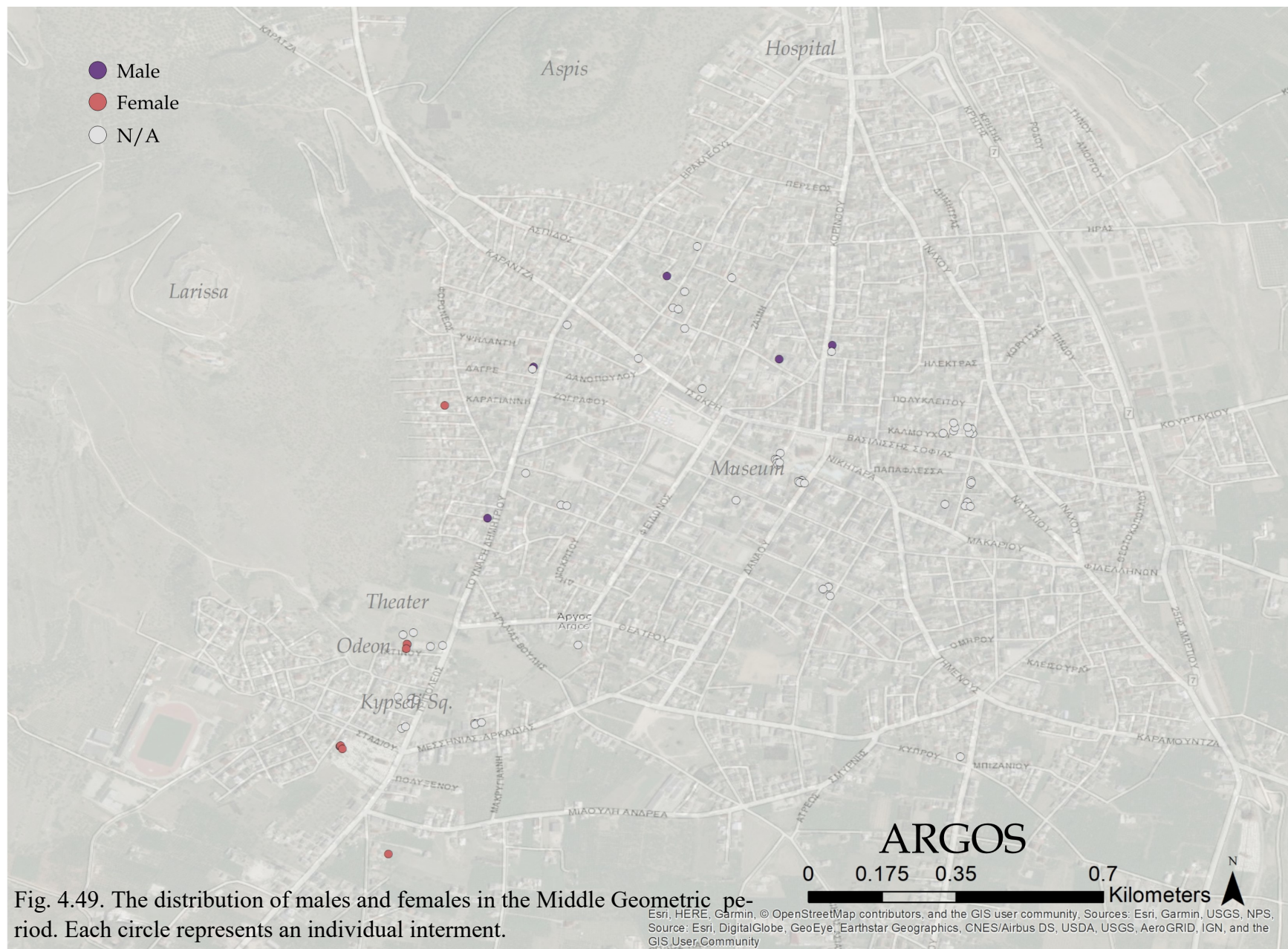


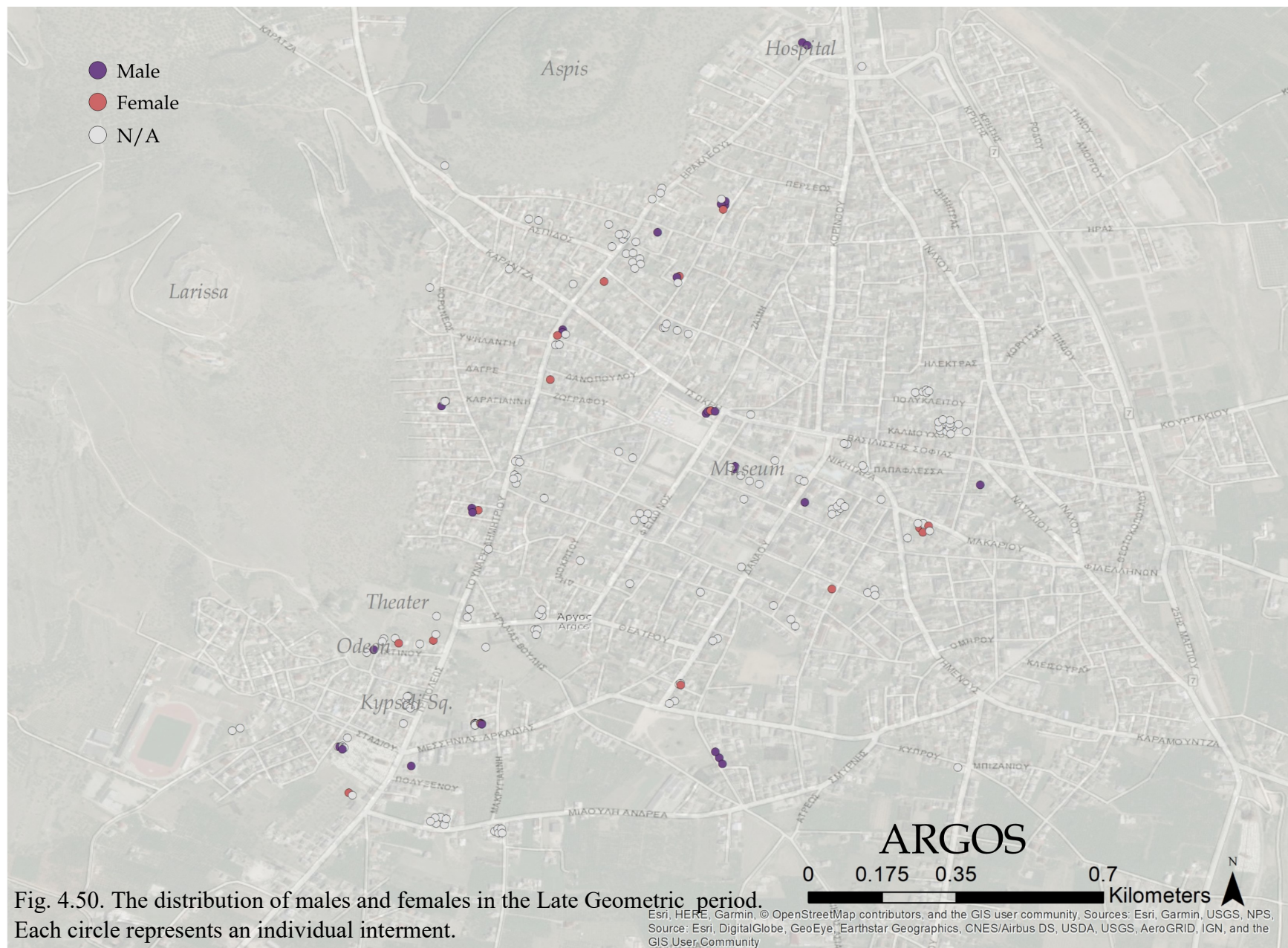
Fig. 4.45. The distribution of adults and subadults in the Middle Geometric period. Each circle represents an individual interment.

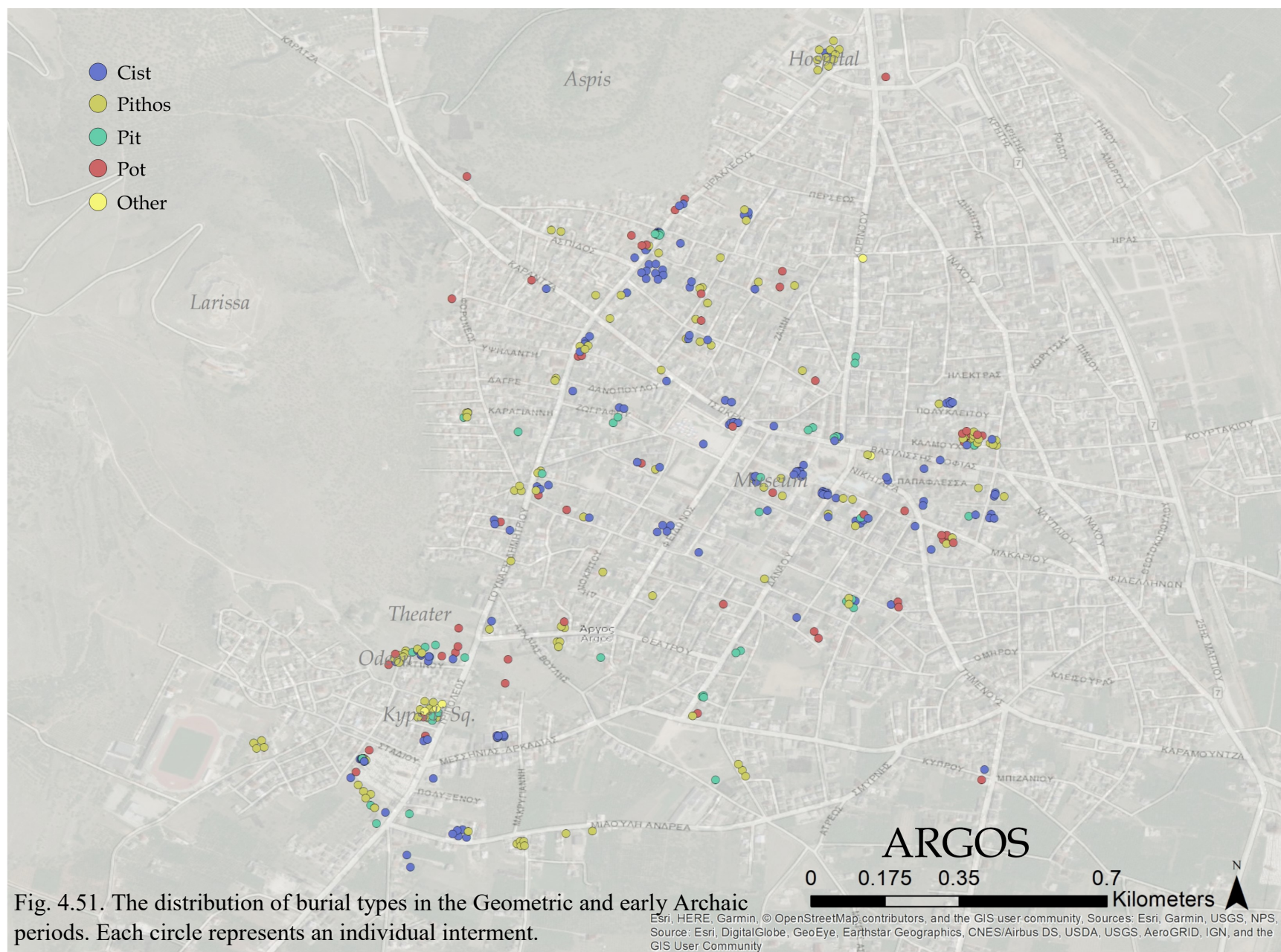


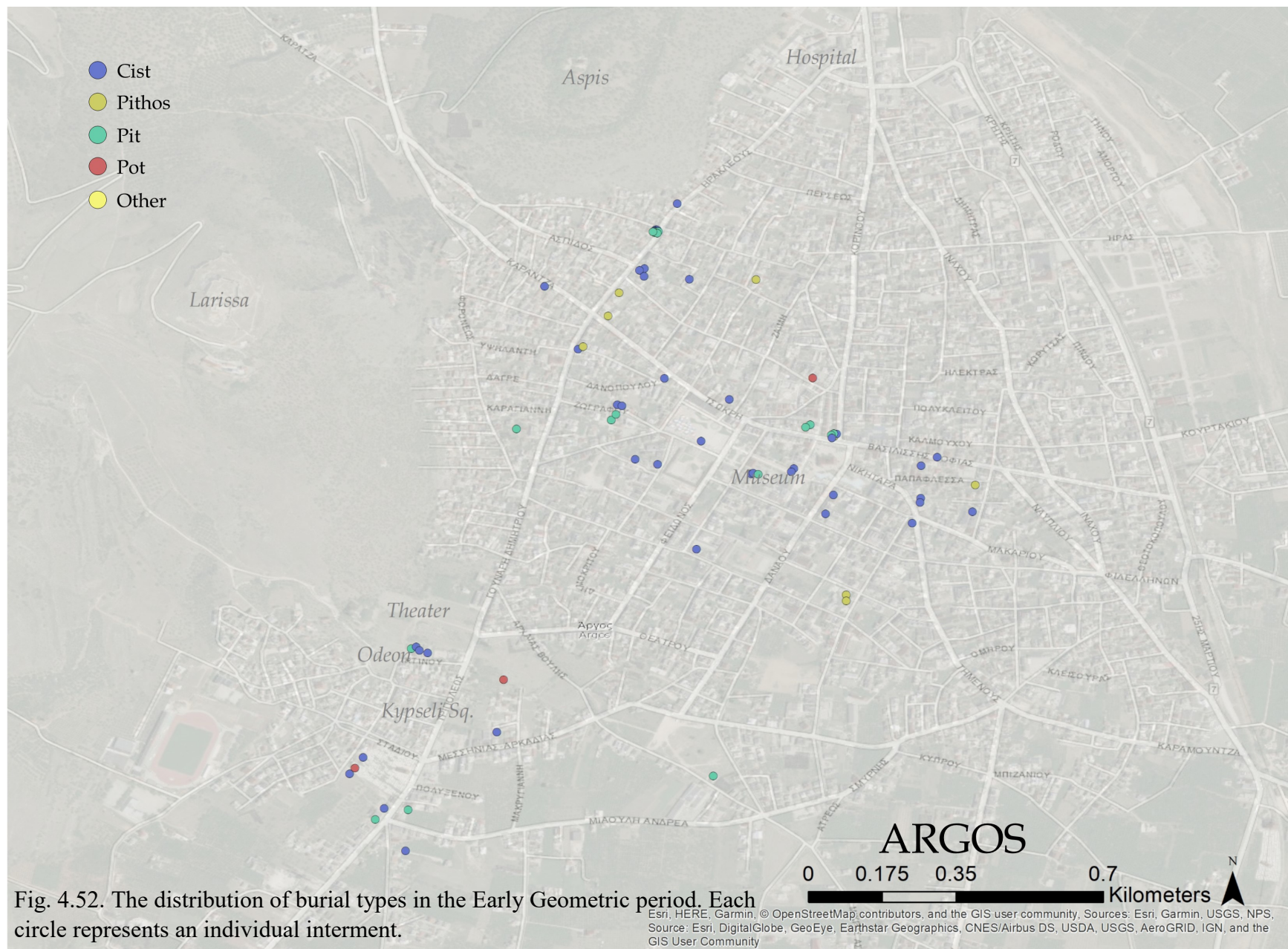


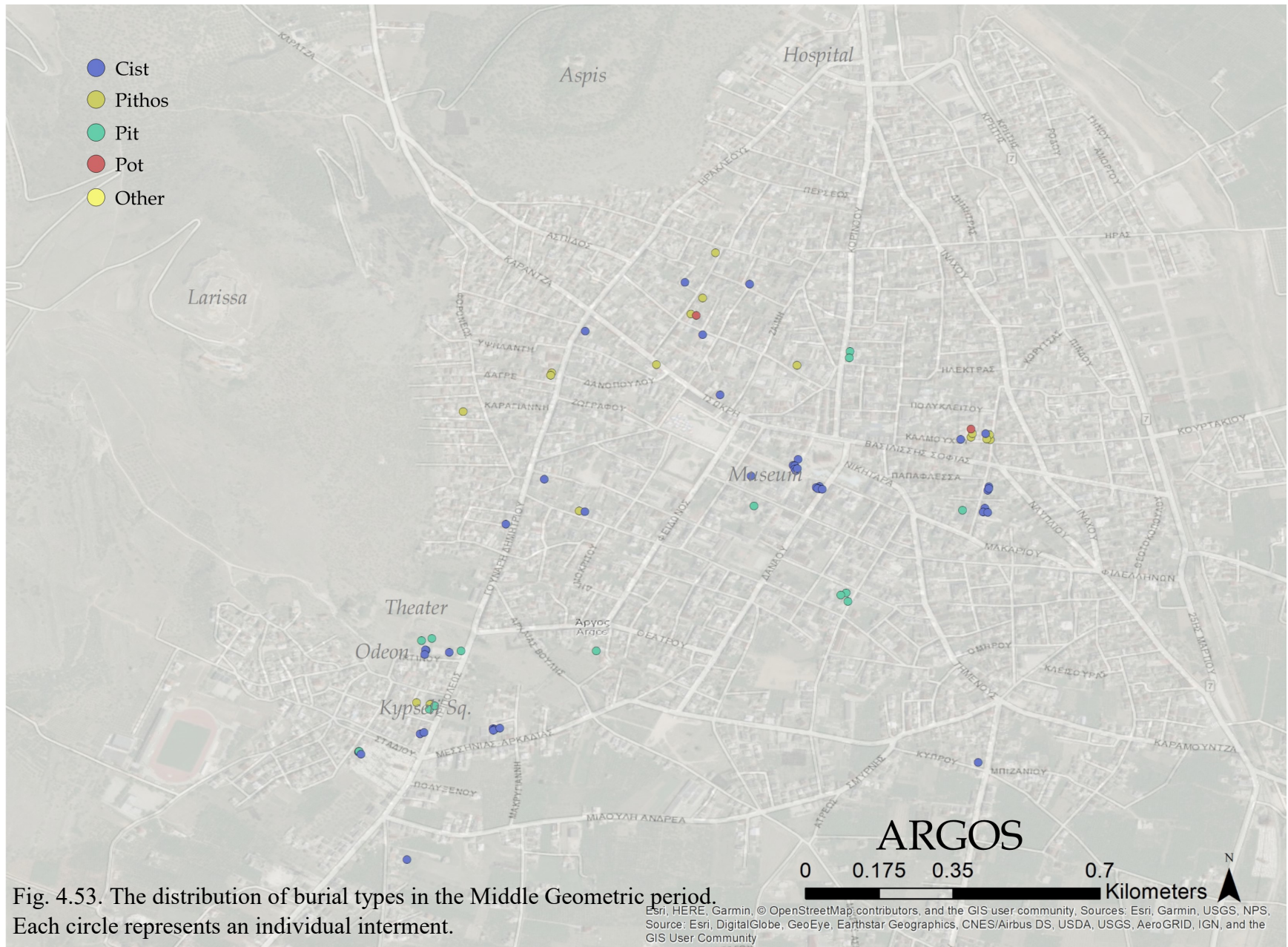


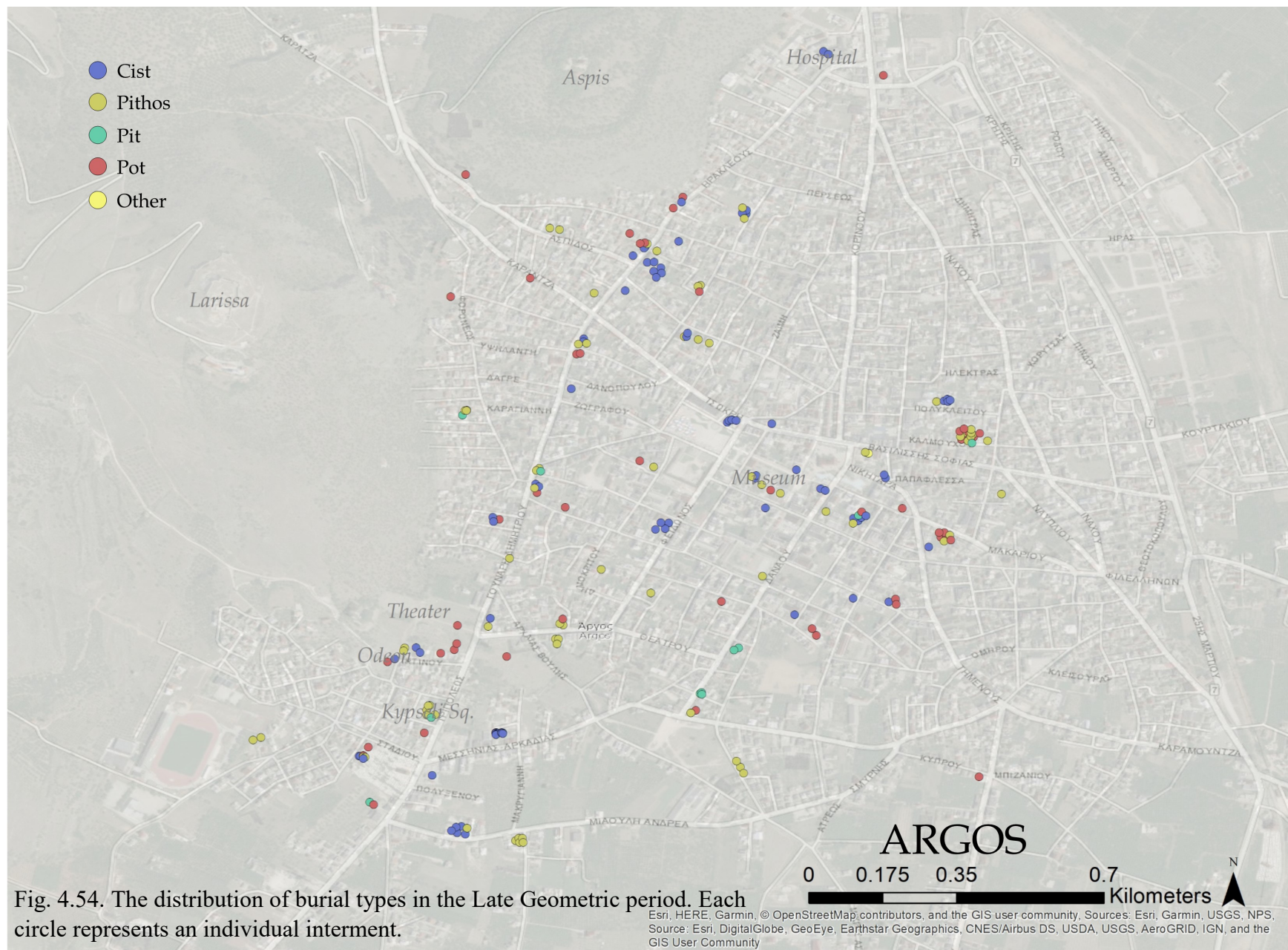


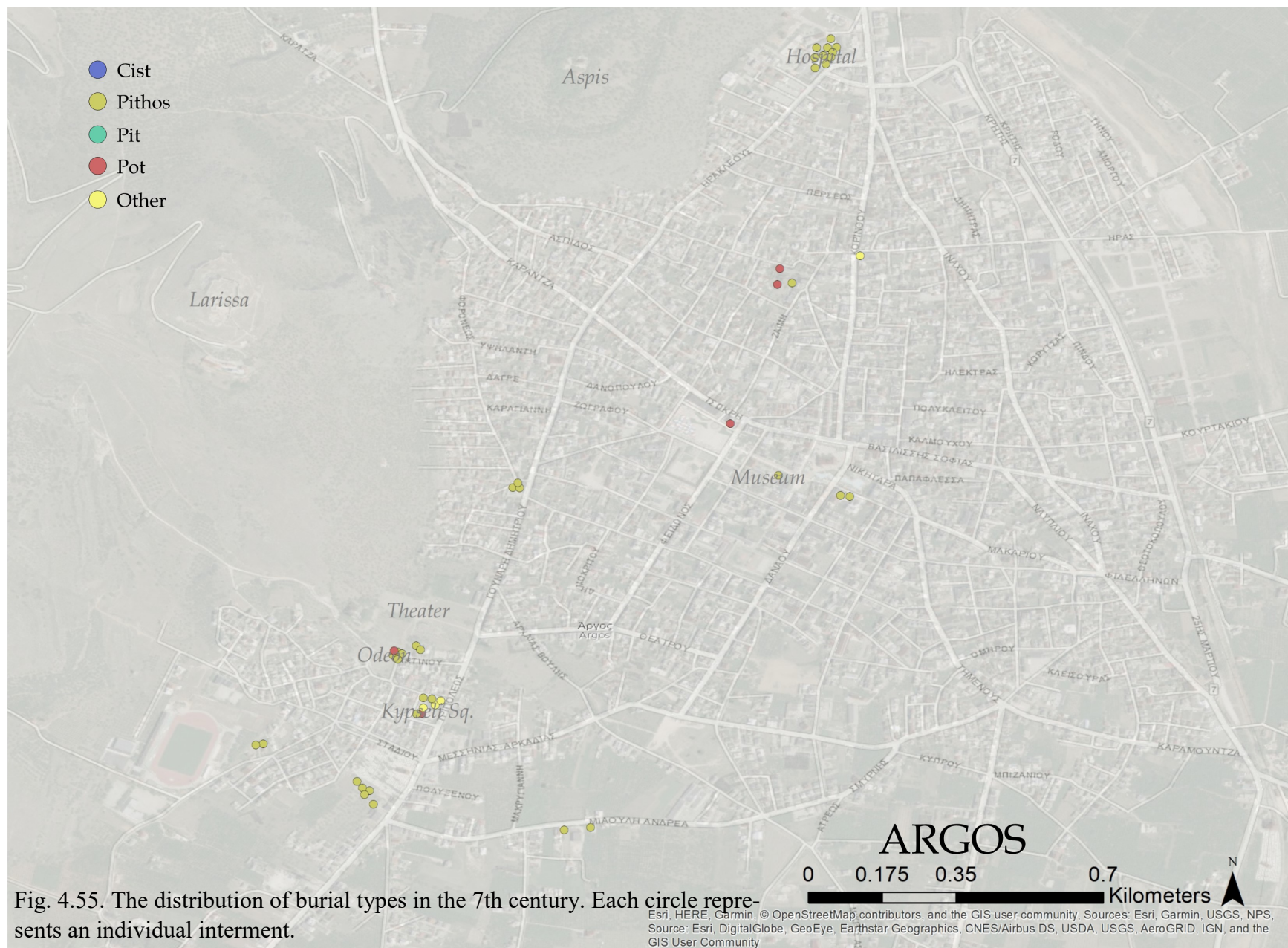


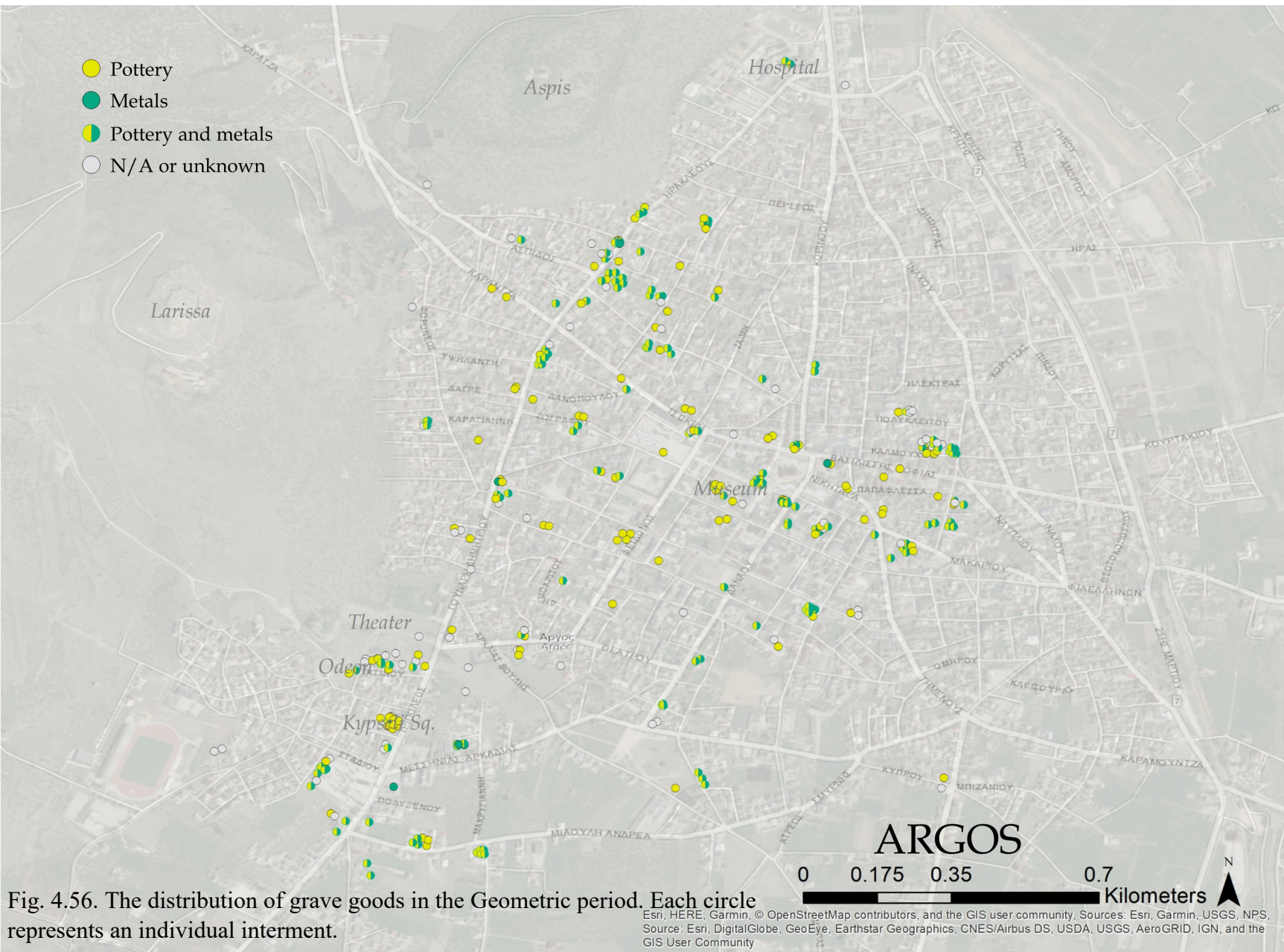


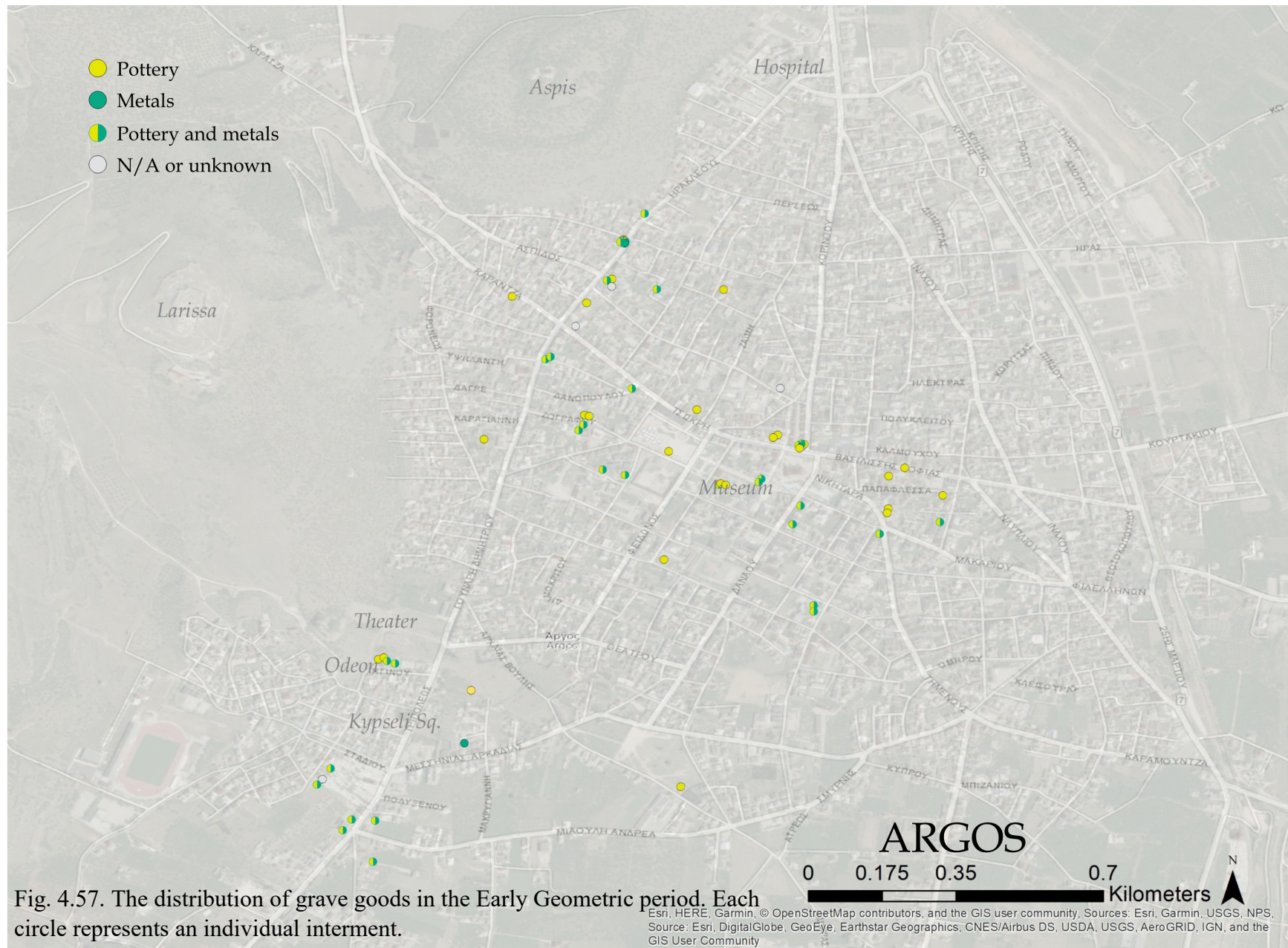


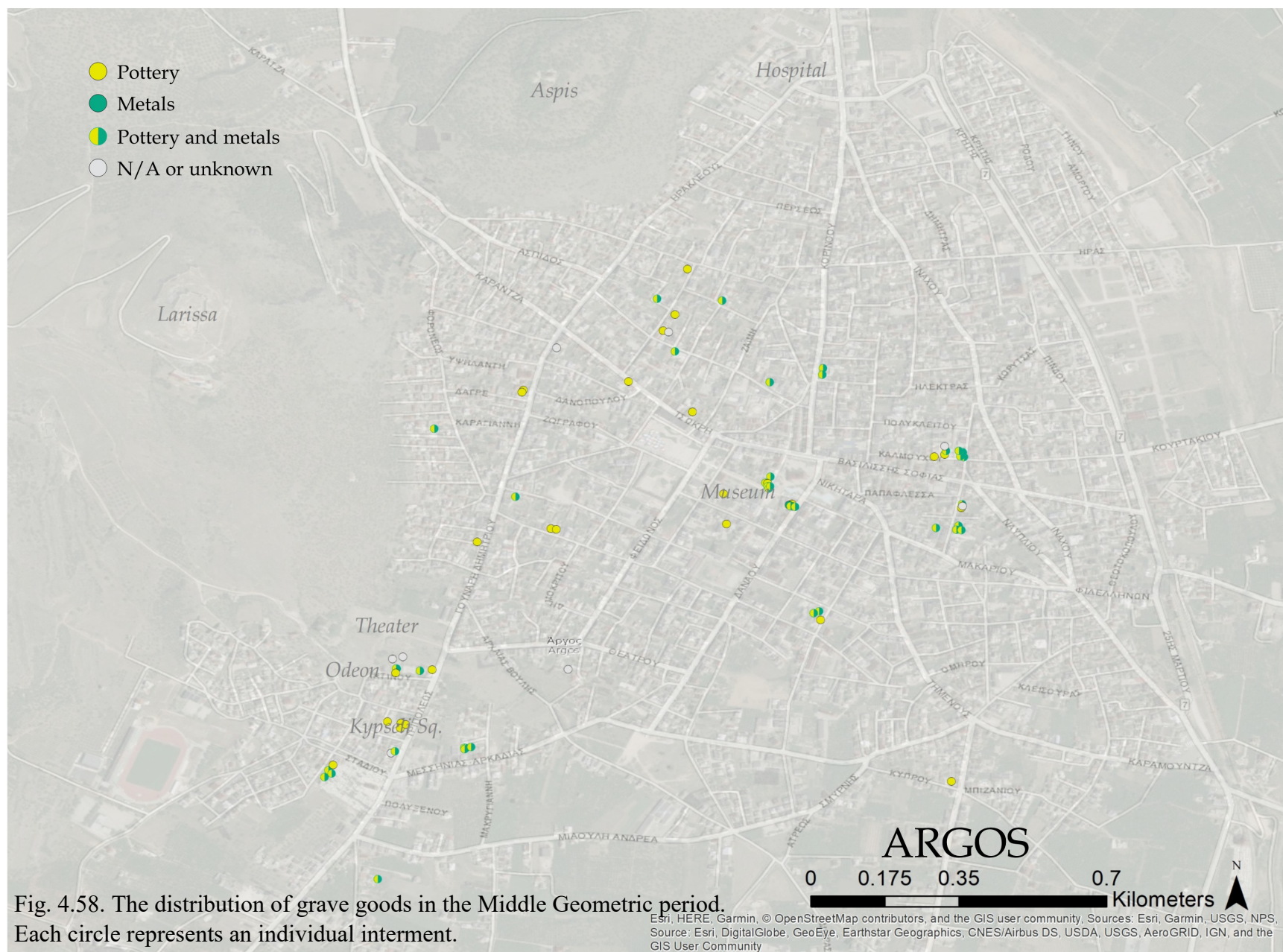


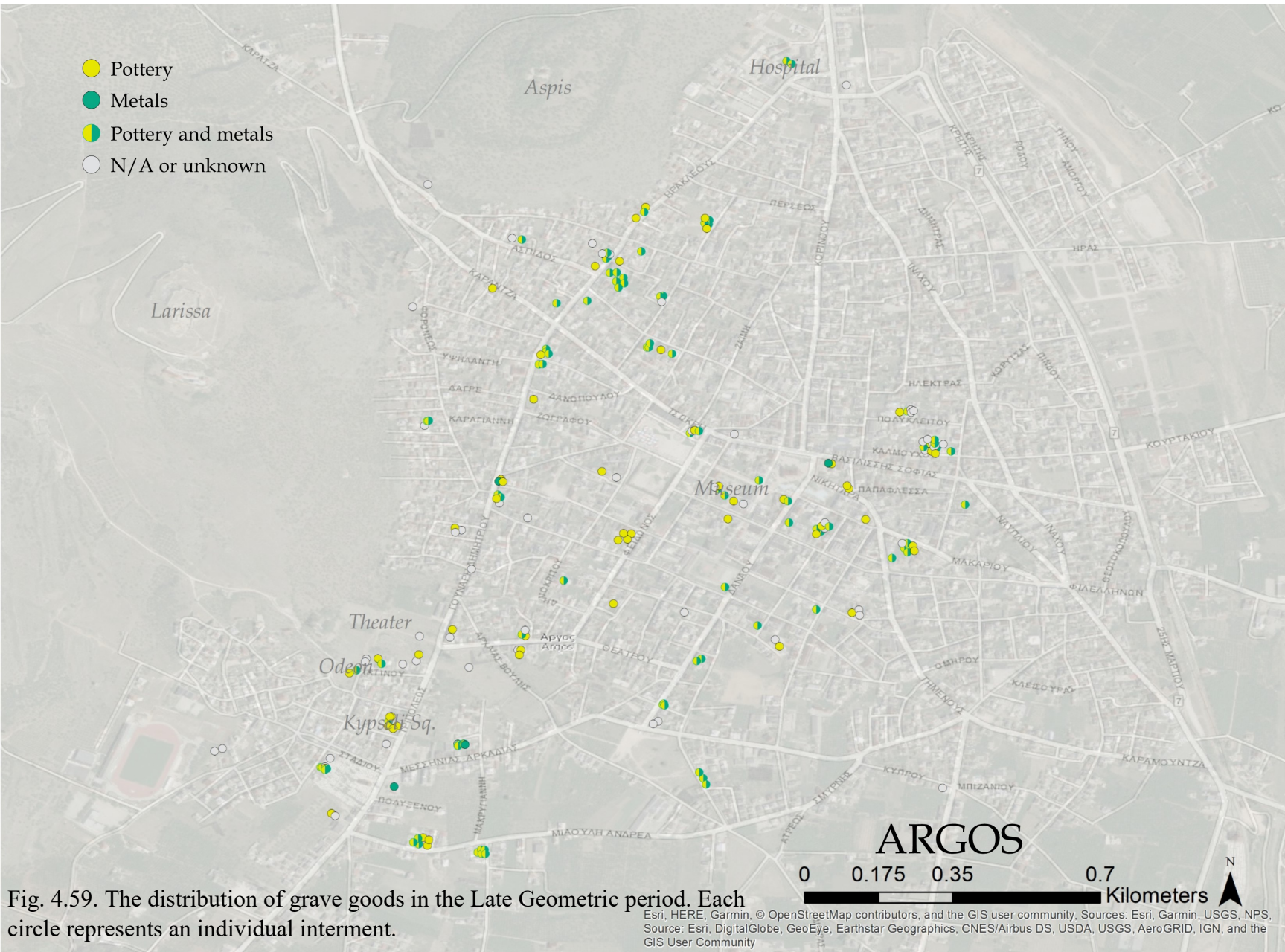


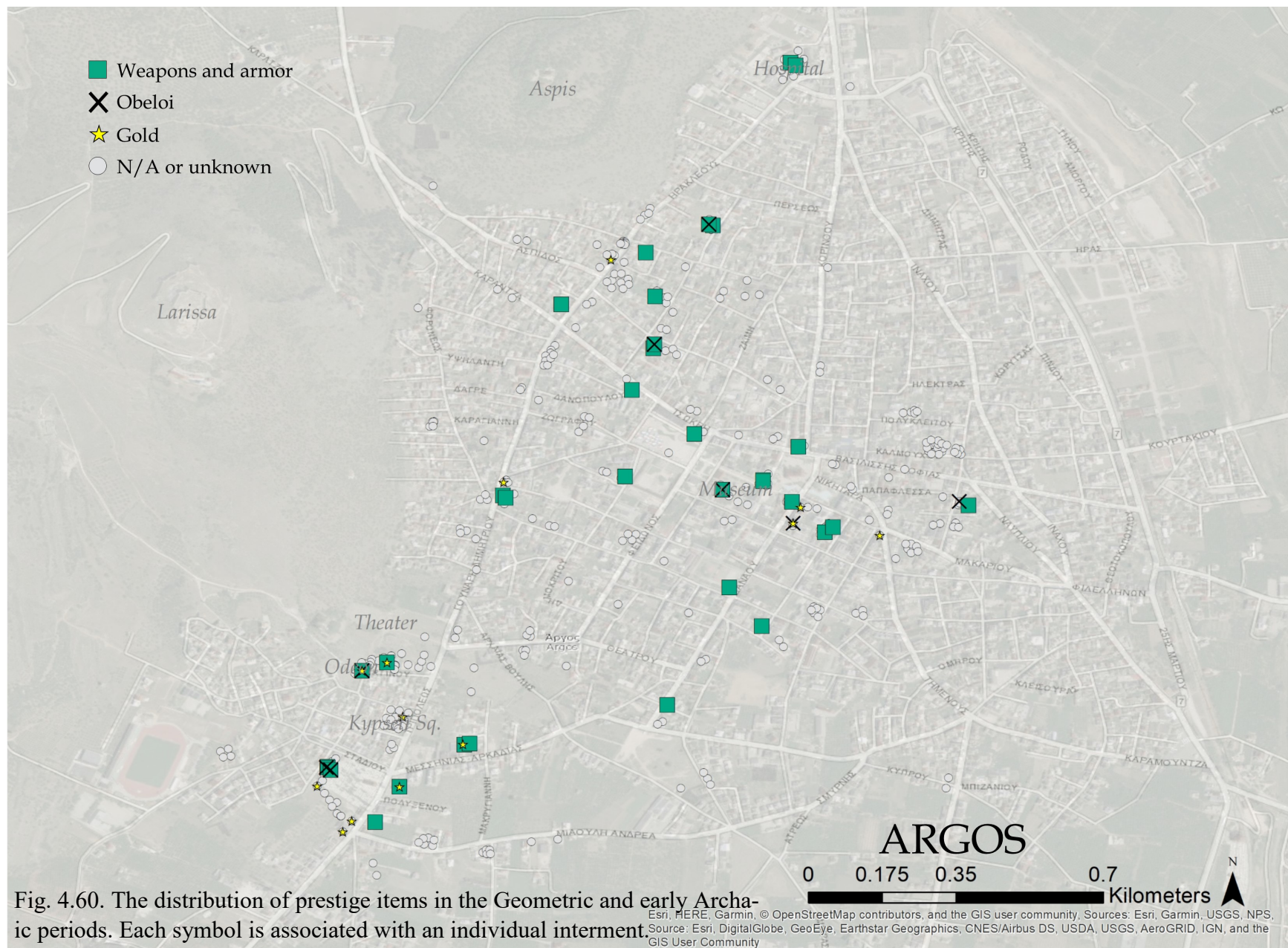












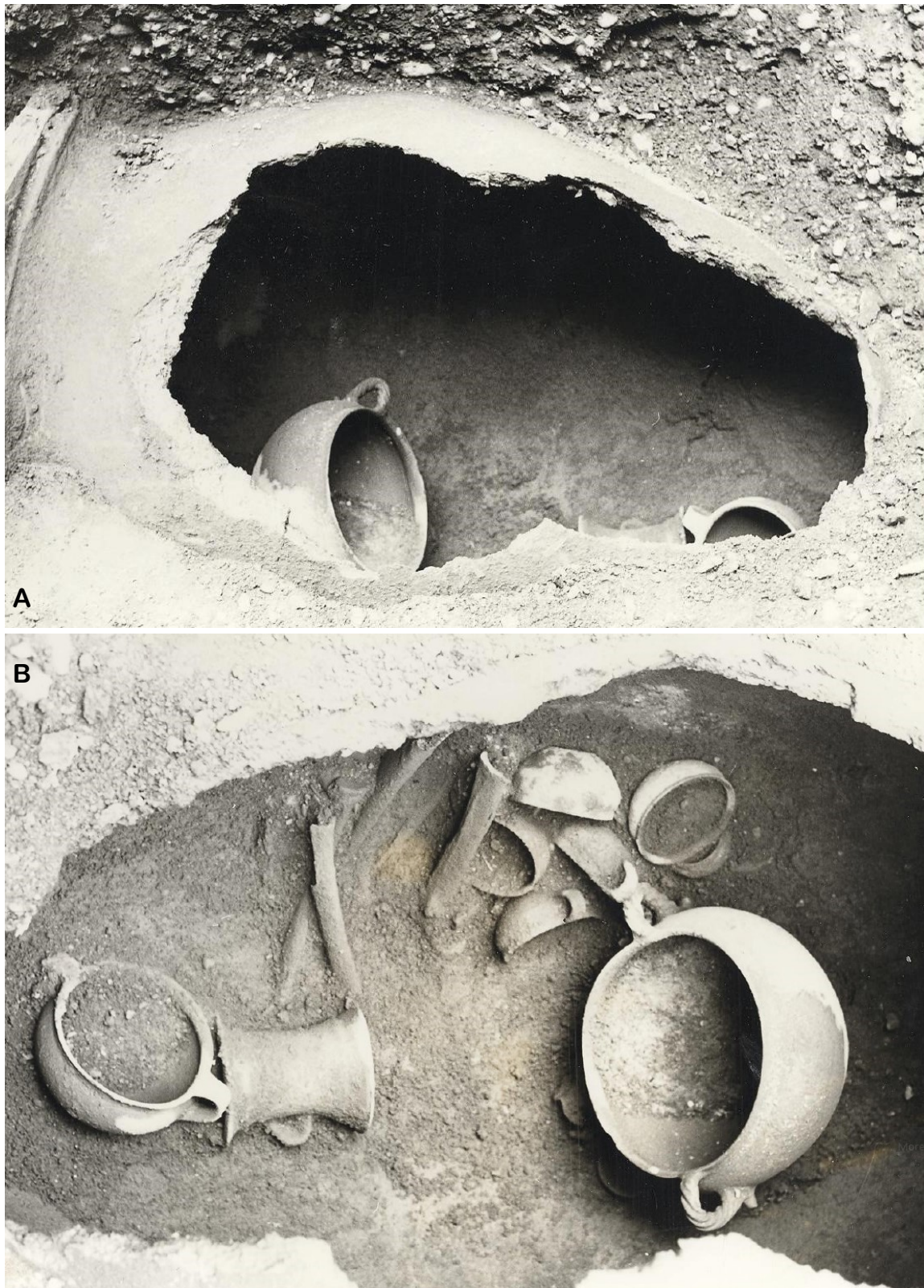
The following figures for Chapter 4 (Figs. 4.61-4.97) represent an addendum of relevant burial contexts from Argos. They are organized according to the area in which they were found (according to names of plots in alphabetical order, followed by those that are generally referred to with the “T” [i.e. tomb] designation in publications).

FIG. 4.61. ANASTASAKI PLOT



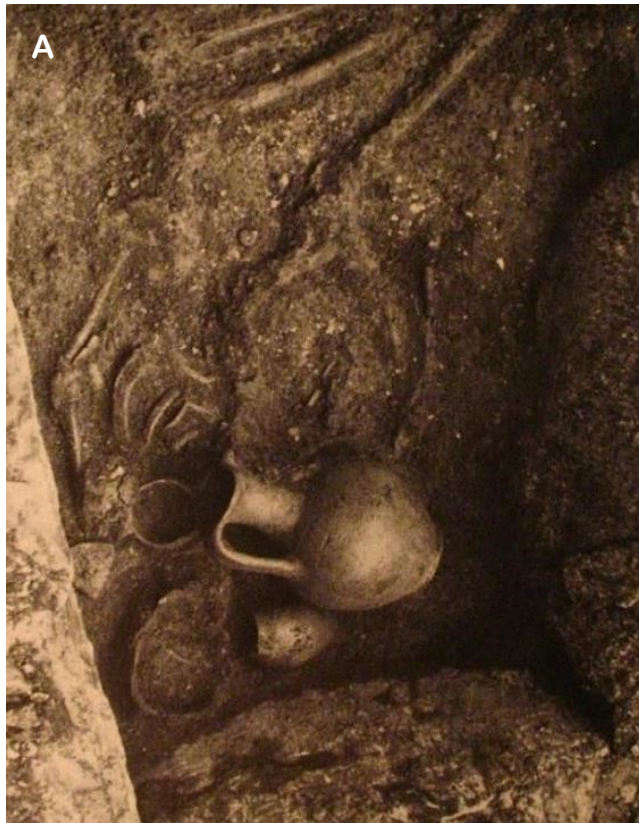
Grave 2 of Anastasaki plot. A-B: plans; C-E: excavation photos. Pappi 2014, 68, 115.

FIG. 4.62. DARDANIS PLOT



Dardanis plot, no grave number (a). A-B: excavation photos of the contents of the grave. Pappi 2014, p. 229.

FIG. 4.63. DONTAS PLOT



A: Grave 1 of Dontas plot. Excavation photo.
ArchDelt 28, fig. 113α.



B: Grave 4 of Dontas plot. Excavation photo.
ArchDelt 28, fig. 113β.

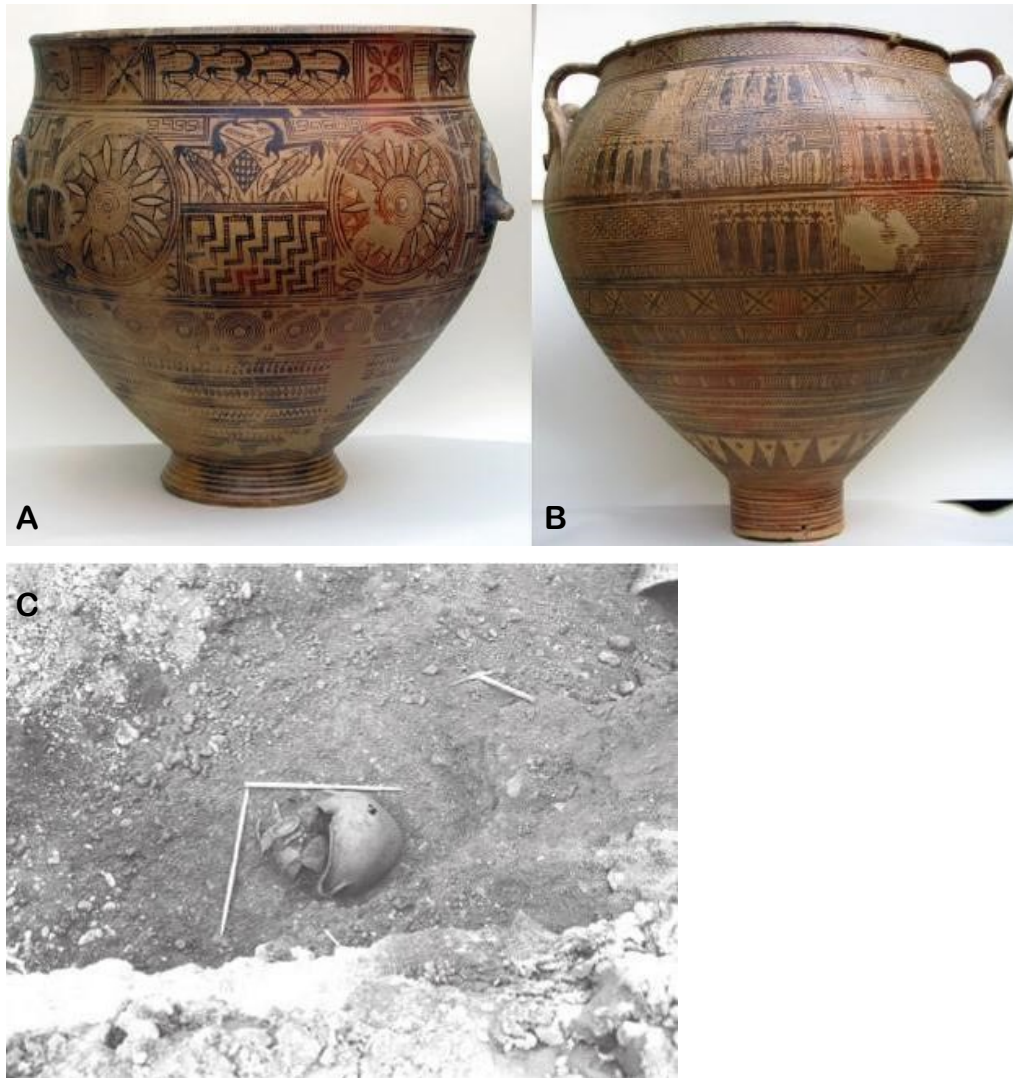
FIG. 4.64. GEORGAS PLOT



Grave 4 of Georgas plot. A: excavation photo of the cover slabs with votive offering (phiale); B: Phiale from the cover slabs; C: Excavation photo of the contents of the grave. Pappi 2014, p.225.

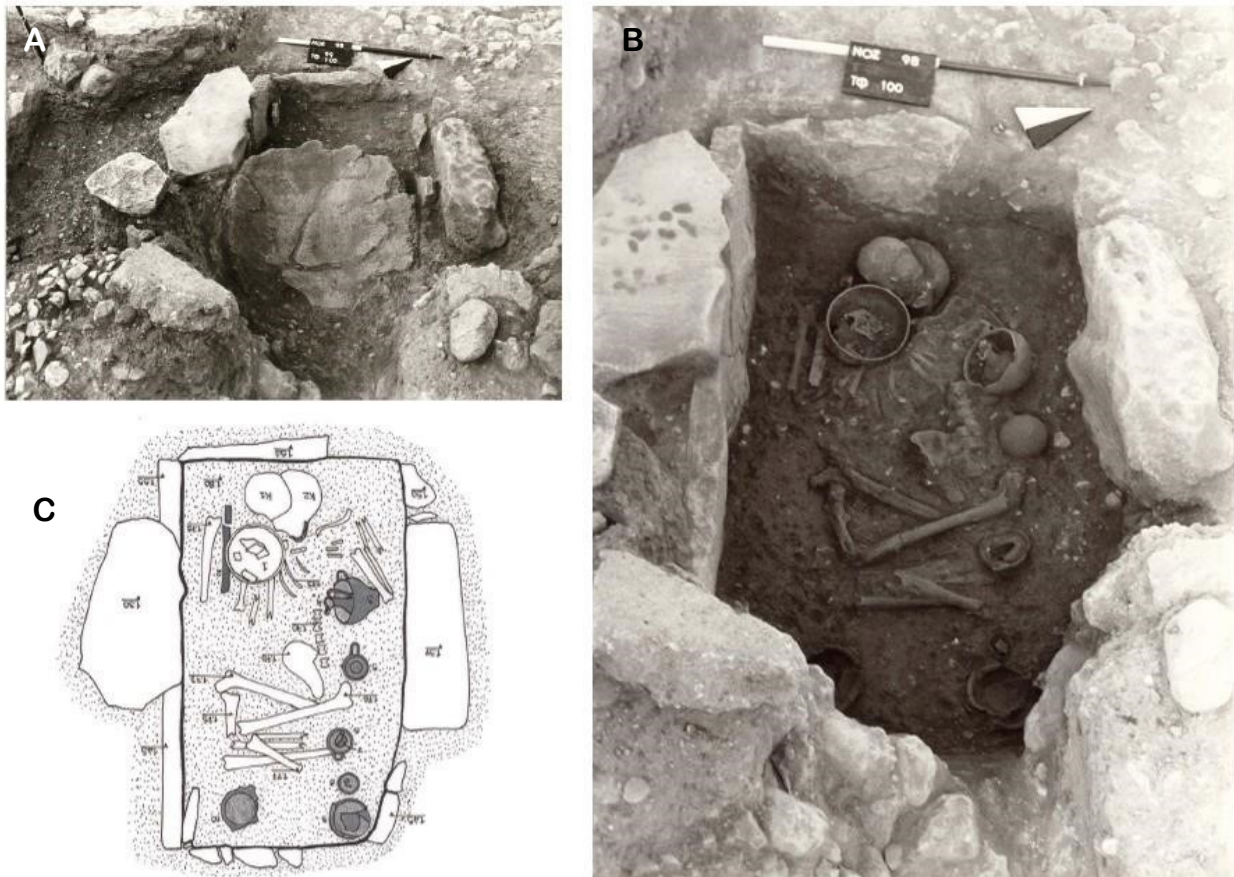


FIG. 4.65. GIARENTIS AND DIDACHOU PLOT



Grave 3 of Giarentis and Didachou plot. A-B: krater, C: excavation photo. Pappi 2014, p.66.

FIG. 4.66. HOSPITAL AREA



Grave 100 of the hospital area. A-B: excavation photos, C: plan. Pappi 2014, p.296.

FIG. 4.67. KARDARA PLOT



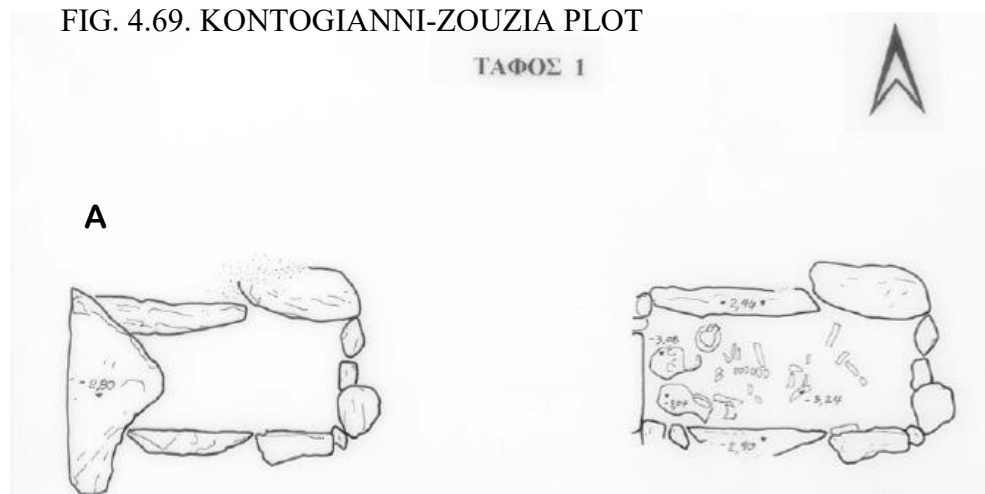
Grave 1 of Kardara plot. A: excavation photo, B: burial amphora. Pappi 2014, p.66.

FIG. 4.68. KAZANTZIS PLOT

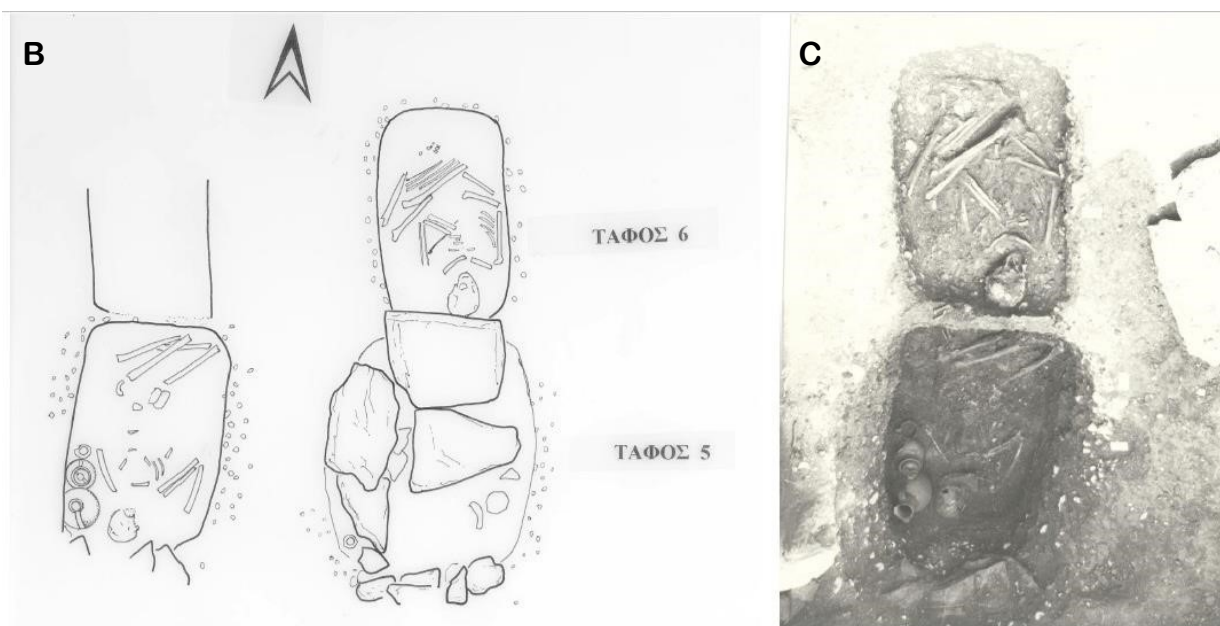


Kazantzis Plot. Graves of note: pink= Submycenaean/PG, yellow=PG/EG, orange=EG, hash=multiple uses with primary color as the date of the earliest interment. Circular pits are later intrusions (Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine). After *ArchDelt* 54, p.143.

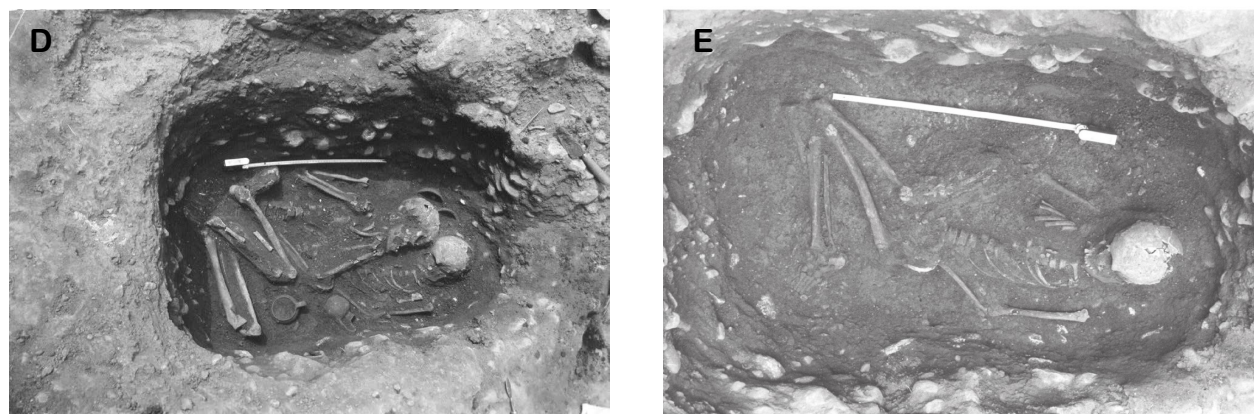
FIG. 4.69. KONTOGIANNI-ZOUIZIA PLOT



Grave 1 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot. A: plan. After Pappi 2014, p.263.

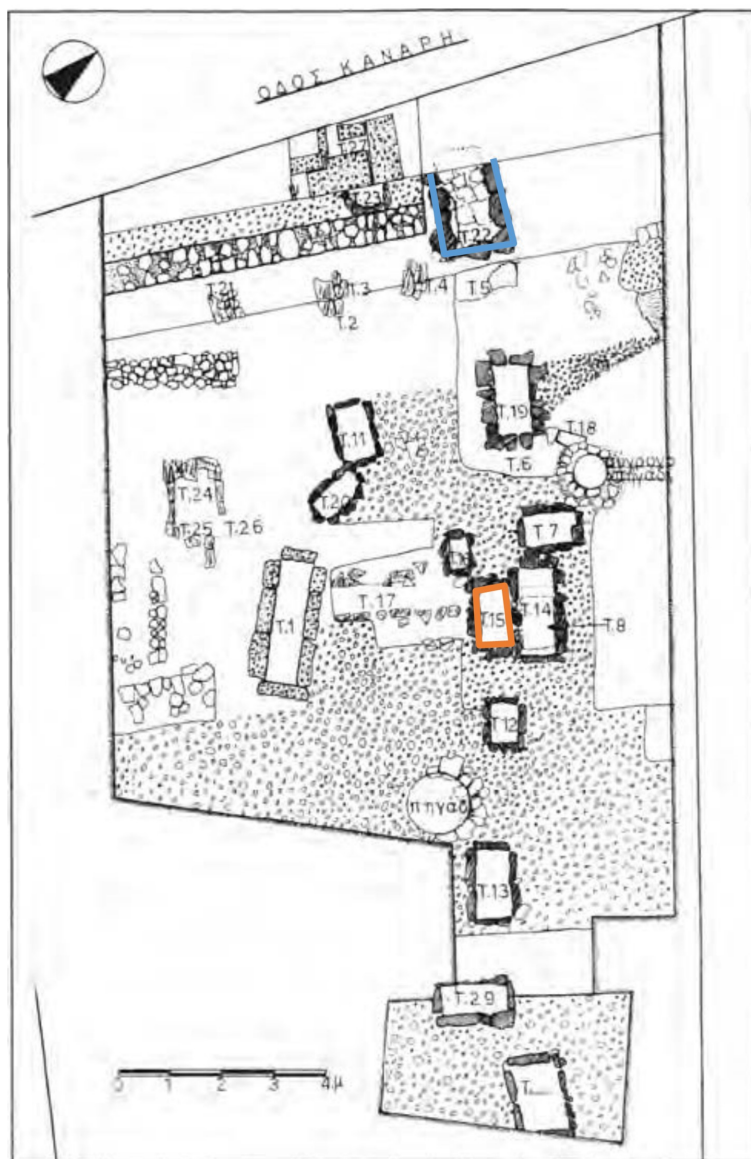


Graves 5 and 6 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot. B: plans, C: excavation photo. Pappi 2014, p.264.



Grave 7 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot. D-E: excavation photos. Pappi 2014, p.72.

FIG. 4.70. KOUROS PLOT

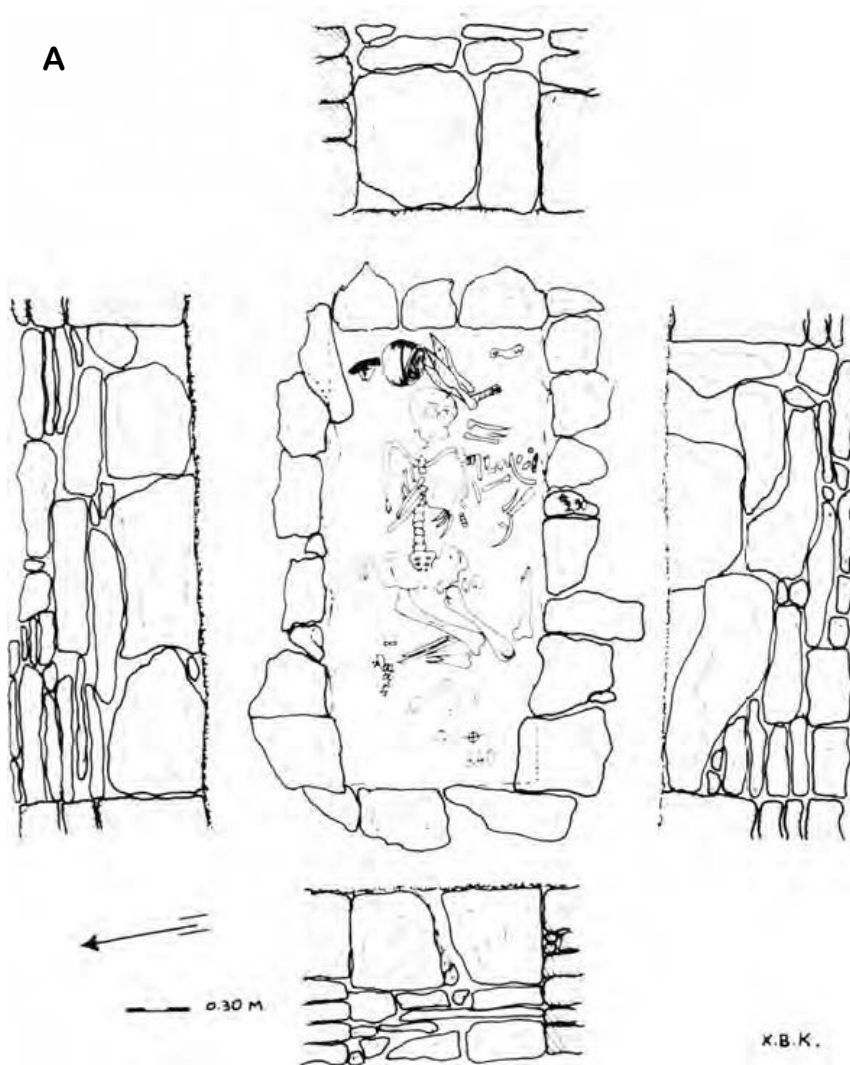


Kouros Plot. Graves of note: *ArchDelt* 55 (pp. 165-166) reports that the area yielded 29 cist graves, most of which were PG or Geometric, but the precise dates of individual graves are not mentioned. Grave 1 is Hellenistic to Early Roman, Grave 11 is Submycenaean. Pappi (2014) dates Grave 22 to MG II (blue) and Grave 15 to EG I (orange).

FIG. 4.71. LIVADITIS PLOT



FIG. 4.72. LYNKITSOS PLOT



Grave 1 of Lynkitsos plot,. A:
plan. *ArchDelt* 28, p.129.



Lynkitsos plot no grave number (b).
B: krater for the enchytrismos of a
child, *ArchDelt* 28, fig. 115γ.

FIG. 4.73. MAKRIS PLOT

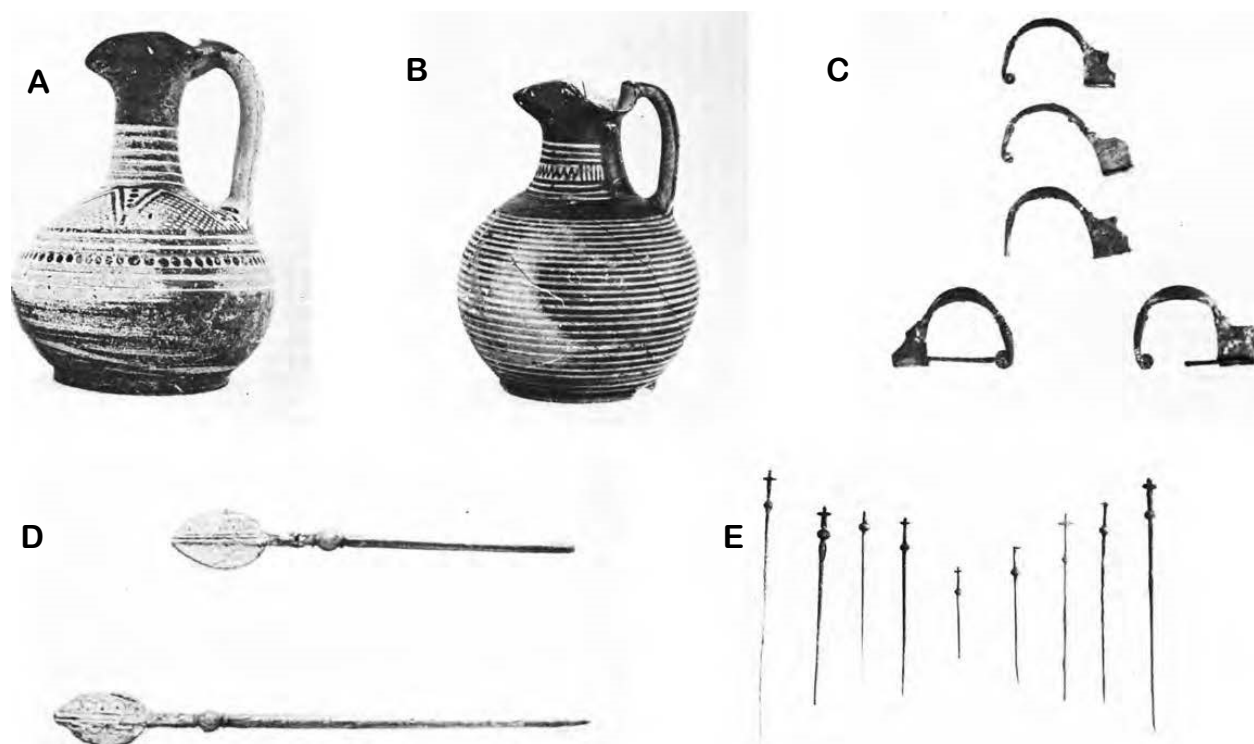


A-B: Grave 1 of Makris plot, excavation photos. *ArchDelt* 18, fig.69α-β.



C-E: Grave 1 of Makris plot, iron swords. Pappi 2014, p.89.

FIG. 4.74. MAKRIS PLOT

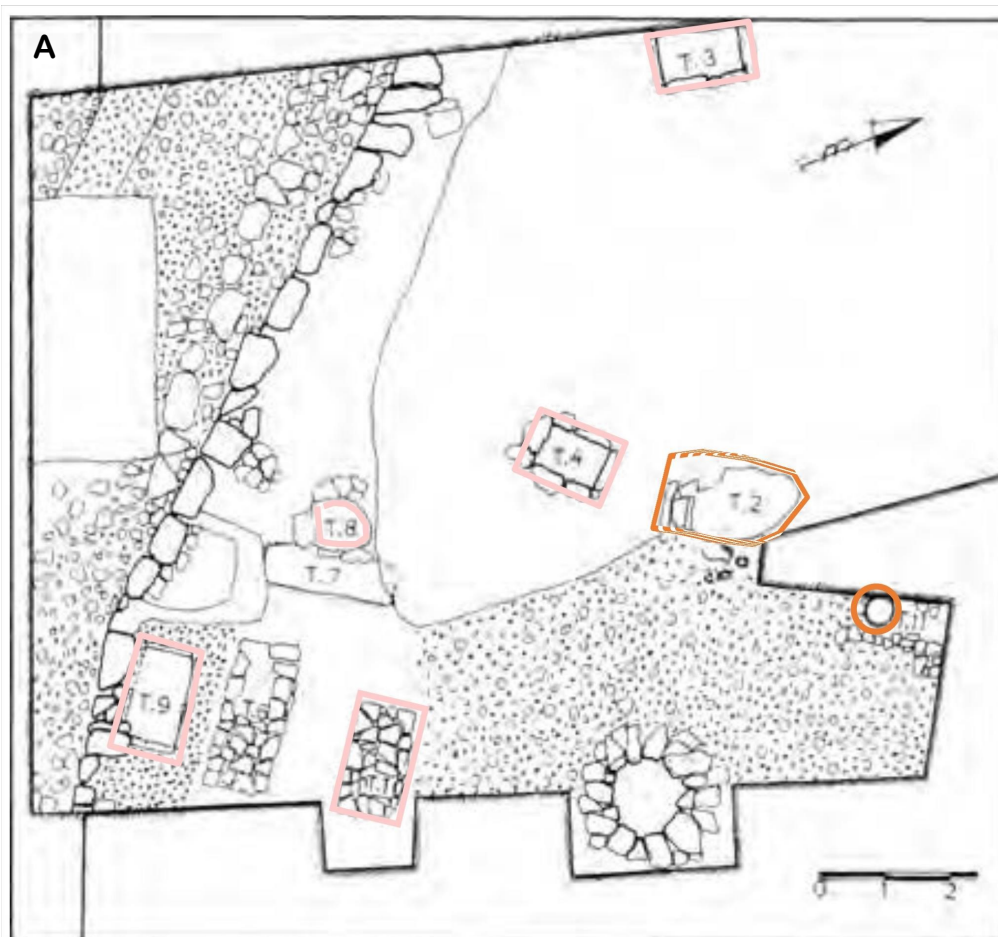


A-E: Grave 2 of Makris plot, finds, including fibulae (top right), *obeloi* (bottom left), and pins (bottom right). *ArchDelt* 18, fig.71.

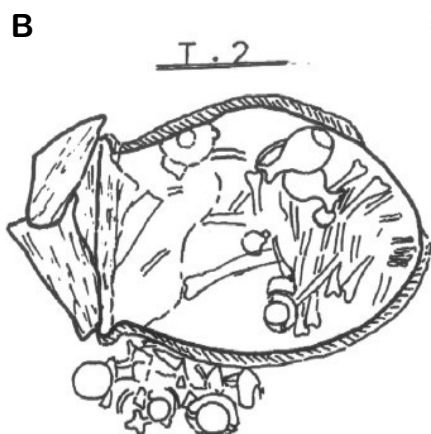


F: Grave 3 of Makris plot, excavation photo. *ArchDelt* 18, fig.72a.

FIG. 4.75. MANOS PLOT

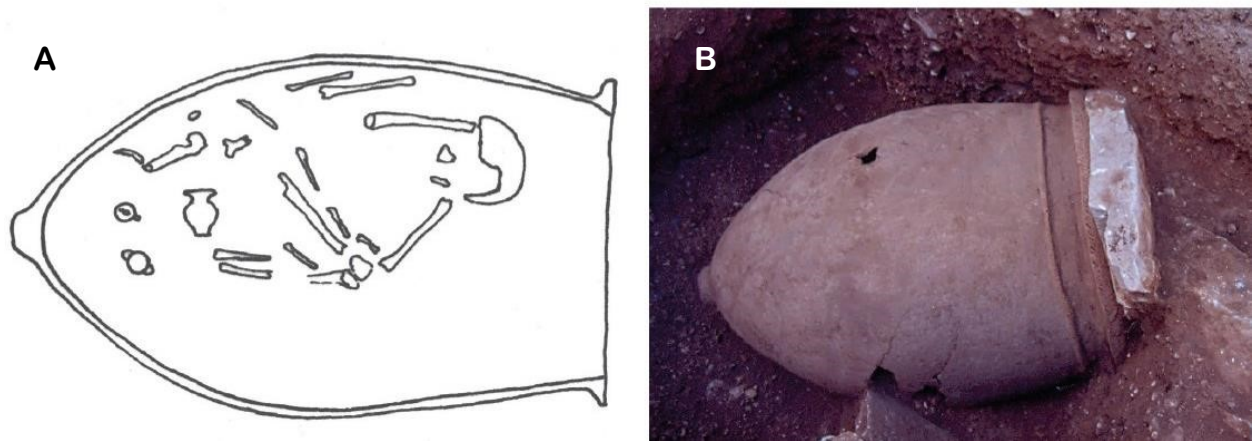


A: Manos Plot, overall plan. Graves of note: pink=PG or PG/beginning of EG I; orange=EG; orange hash=first interment is EG but reused later. After *ArchDelt* 51, p.87.

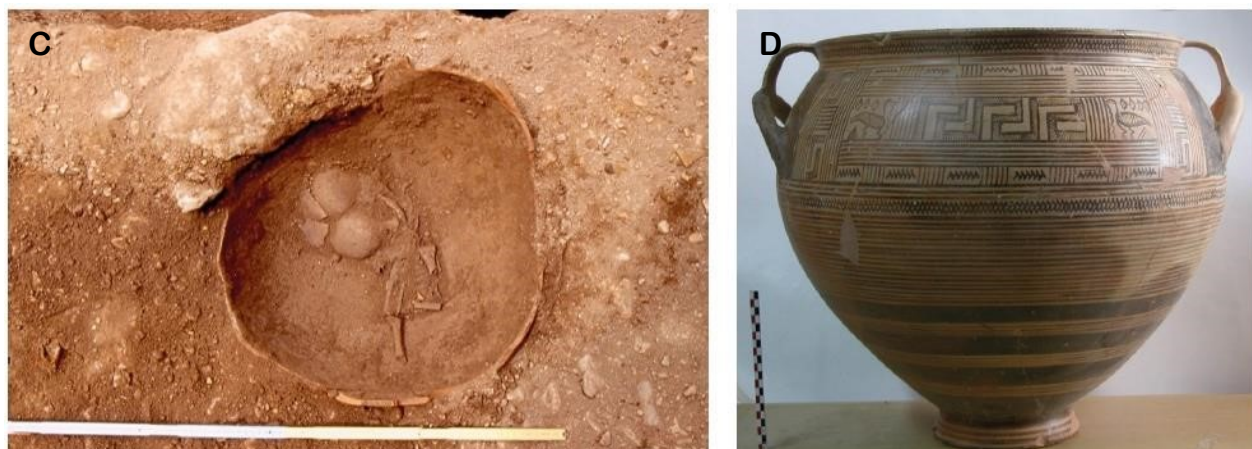


Grave 2 of Manos plot. B: Drawing of the pithos contents and the deposit immediately outside. C: Excavation photo of the deposit immediately outside the pithos. Pappi 2014, p. 275.

FIG. 4.76. OIKONOMOS PLOT



Grave 1 of Oikonomos plot. A: drawing of the contents, B: excavation photo. Pappi 2014, p. 138.



Grave 3 of Oikonomos plot. C: excavation photo of the krater and contents, D: burial krater. Pappi 2014, p. 303.

FIG. 4.77. OTE AREA

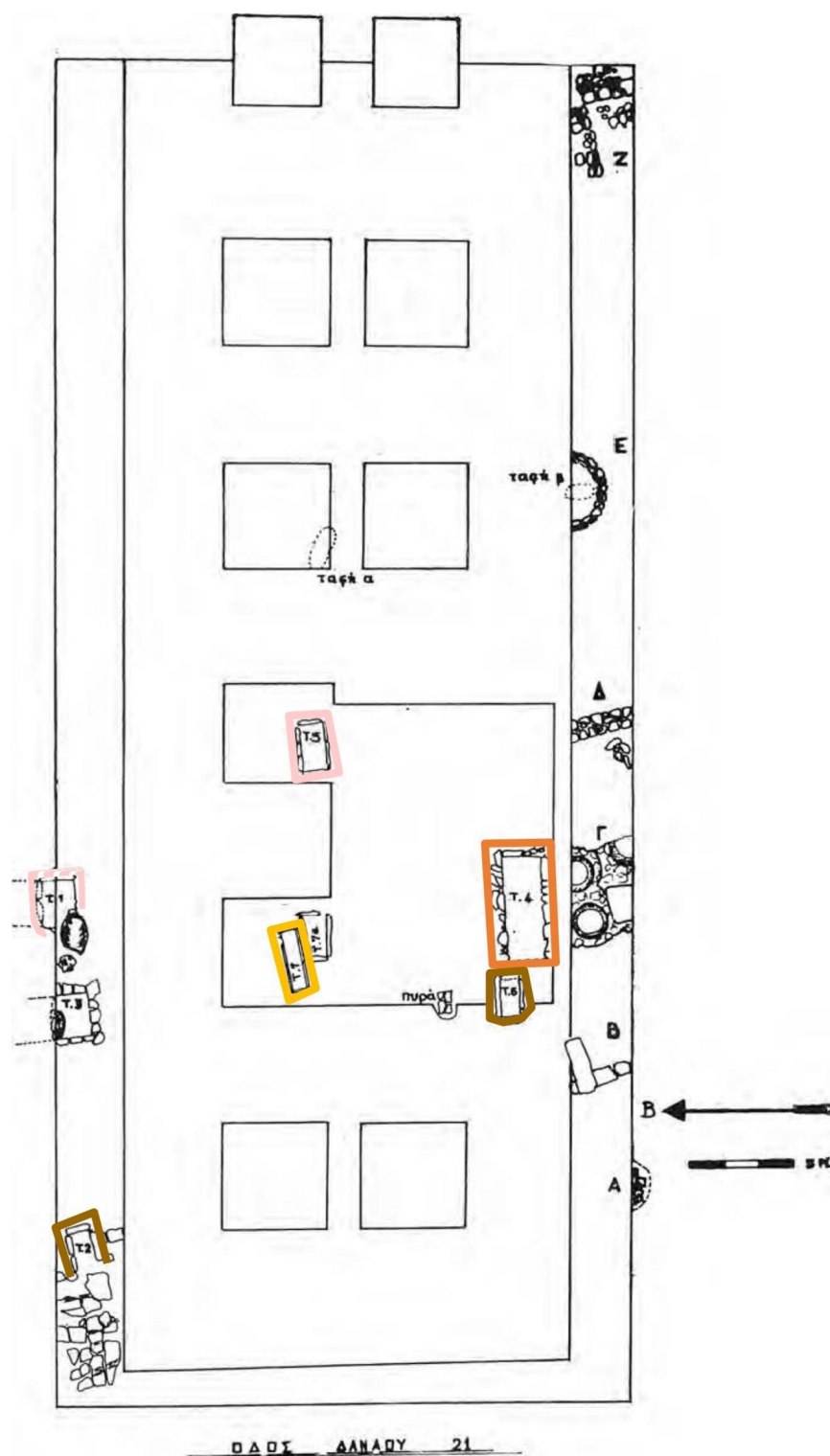


KA. I: 20



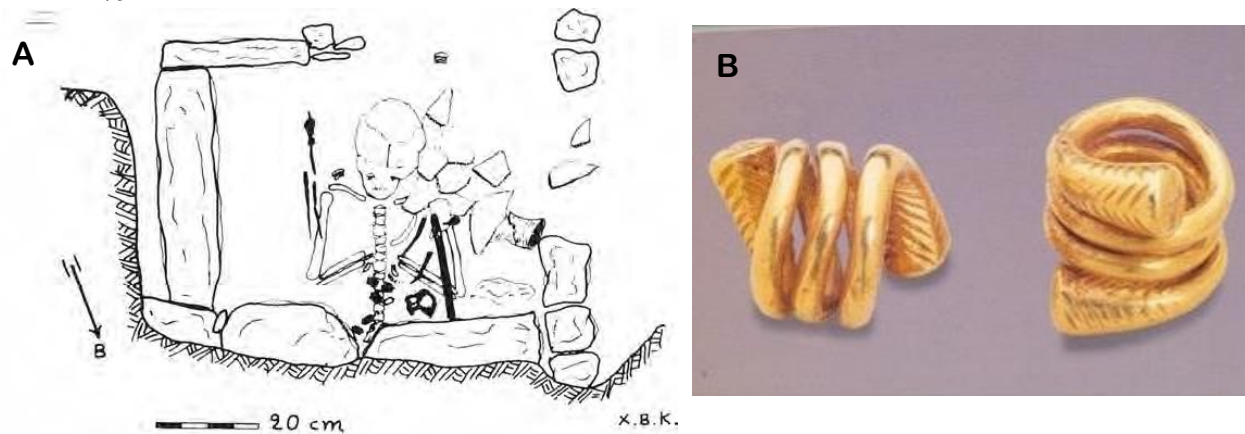
Grave 4 of the OTE area. A: excavation photo of the pithos and the krater that is used to block its mouth; B: drawing of the grave, C: krater that was used as a cover; D: burial pithos. All images are Pappi 2014, p. 304.

FIG. 4.78. PAPANIKOLAOS PLOT

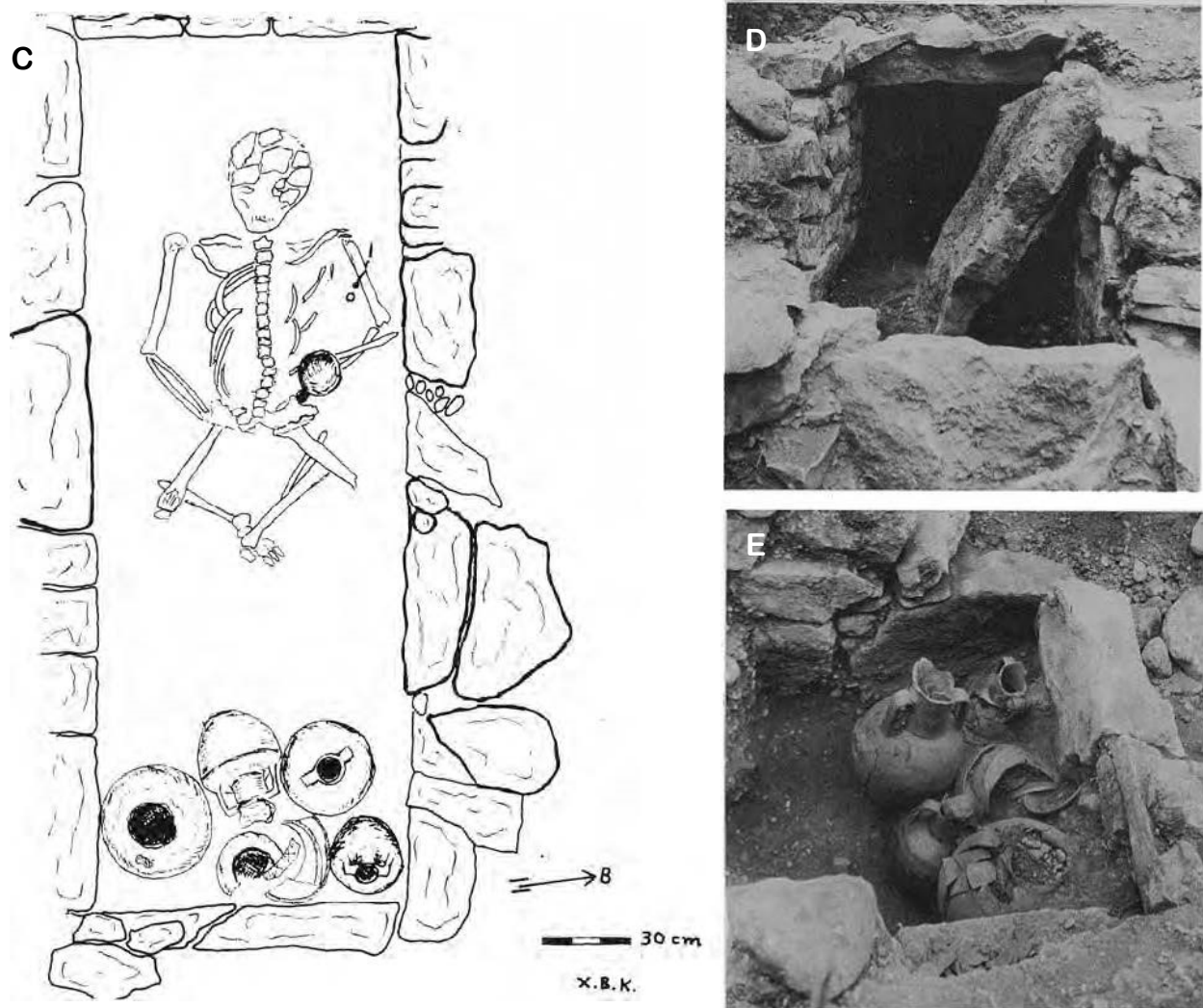


Papanikolaos plot, overall plan. Graves of note: pink hash=earliest material dates to PG, but reused (second interment in LG); Pink= PG, yellow= PG/EGI, orange=EG; brown= geometric (no precise date available). After *ArchDelt* 27, p.193.

FIG. 4.79. PAPANIKOLAOS PLOT

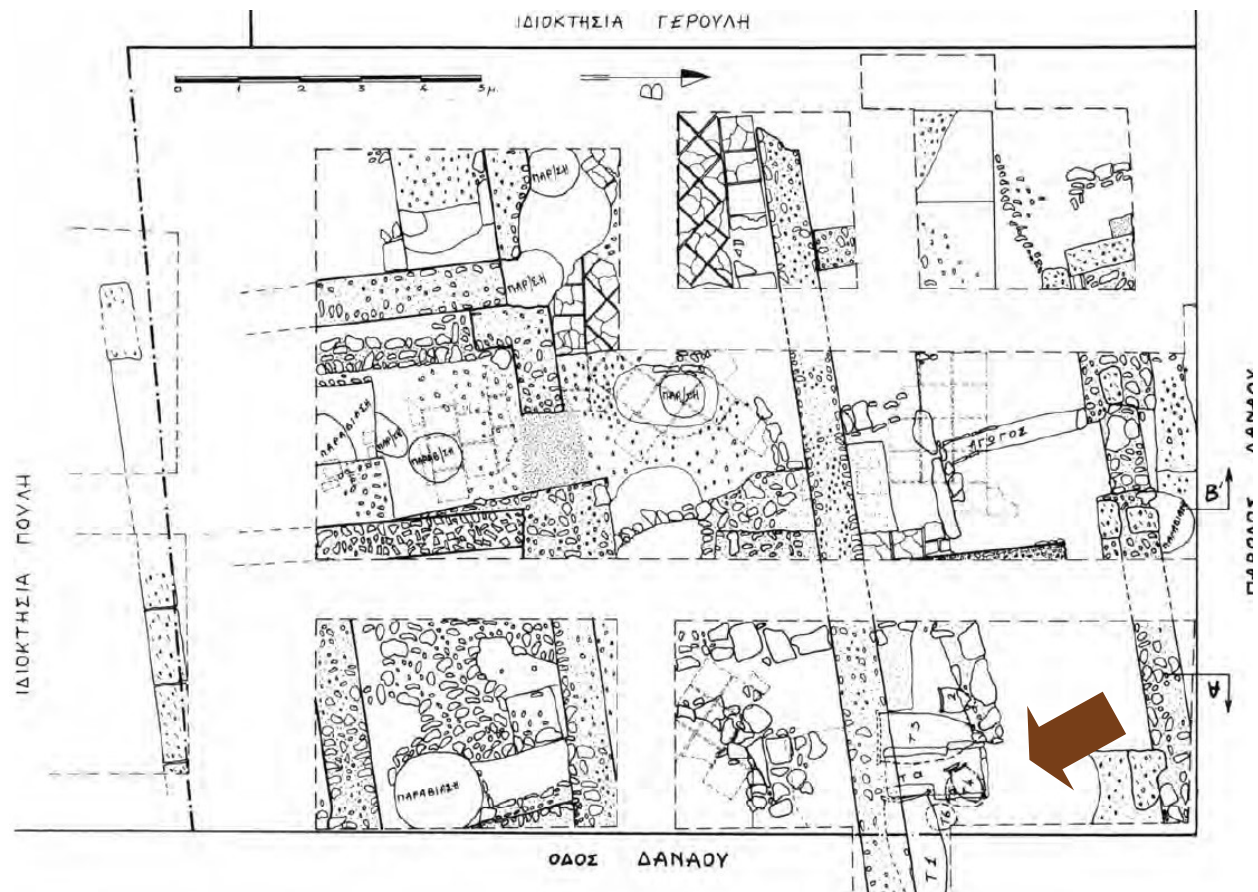


Grave 1 of Papanikolaos plot. A: plan. *ArchDelt* 27, p.194; B: gold spirals from the grave. Pappi 2014, p.311.



Grave 4 of Papanikolaos plot. C: plan. *ArchDelt* 27, p.195; D-E: excavation photos. After *ArchDelt* 27, fig. 135α-β.

FIG. 4.80. PAPOULESIS PLOT



Papoulesis plot, overall plan. The arrow points to the superimposed burials and the scattered bone deposit. *ArchDelt* 36, p.112.

FIG. 4.81. PASSIAS PLOT

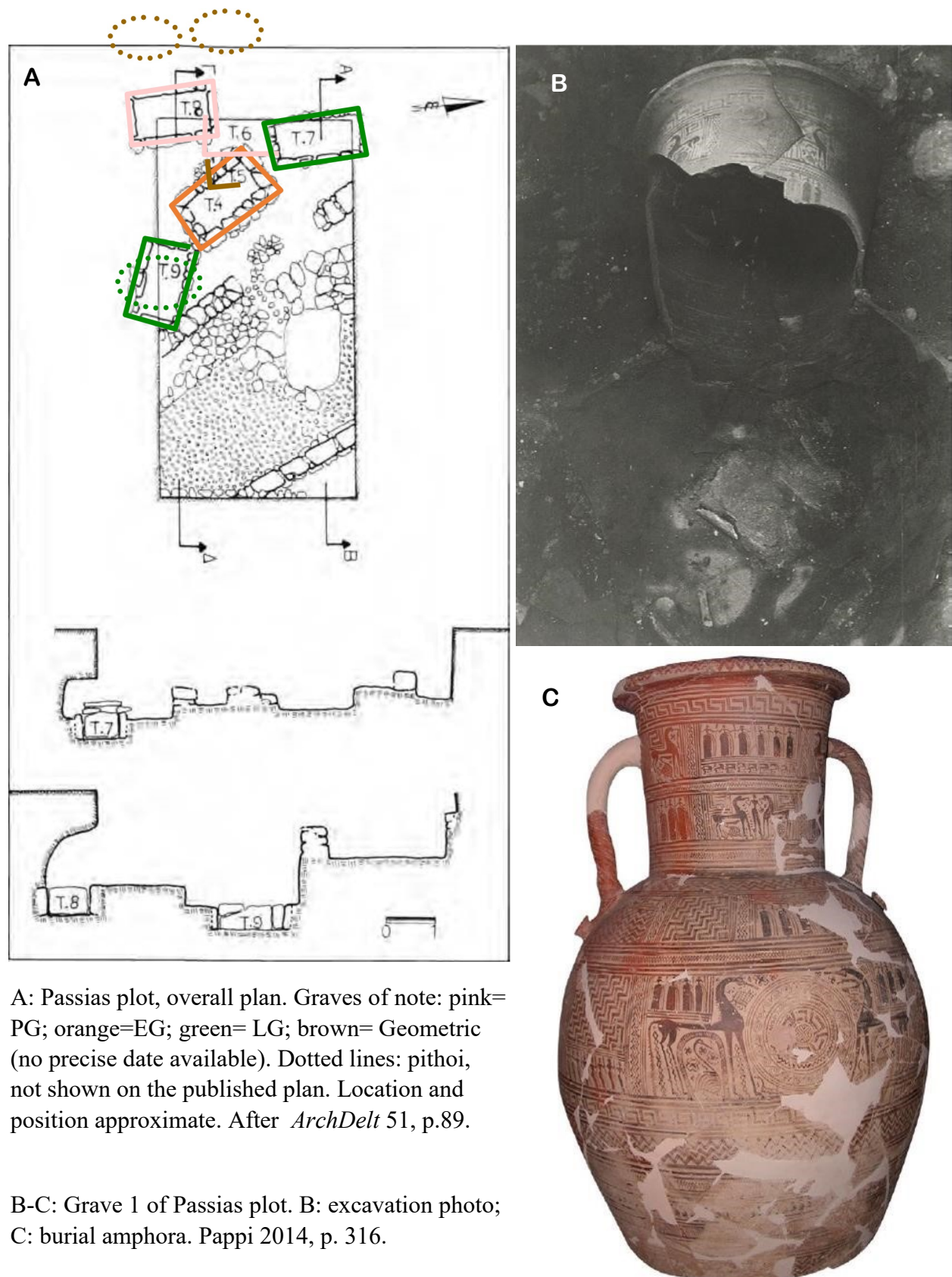
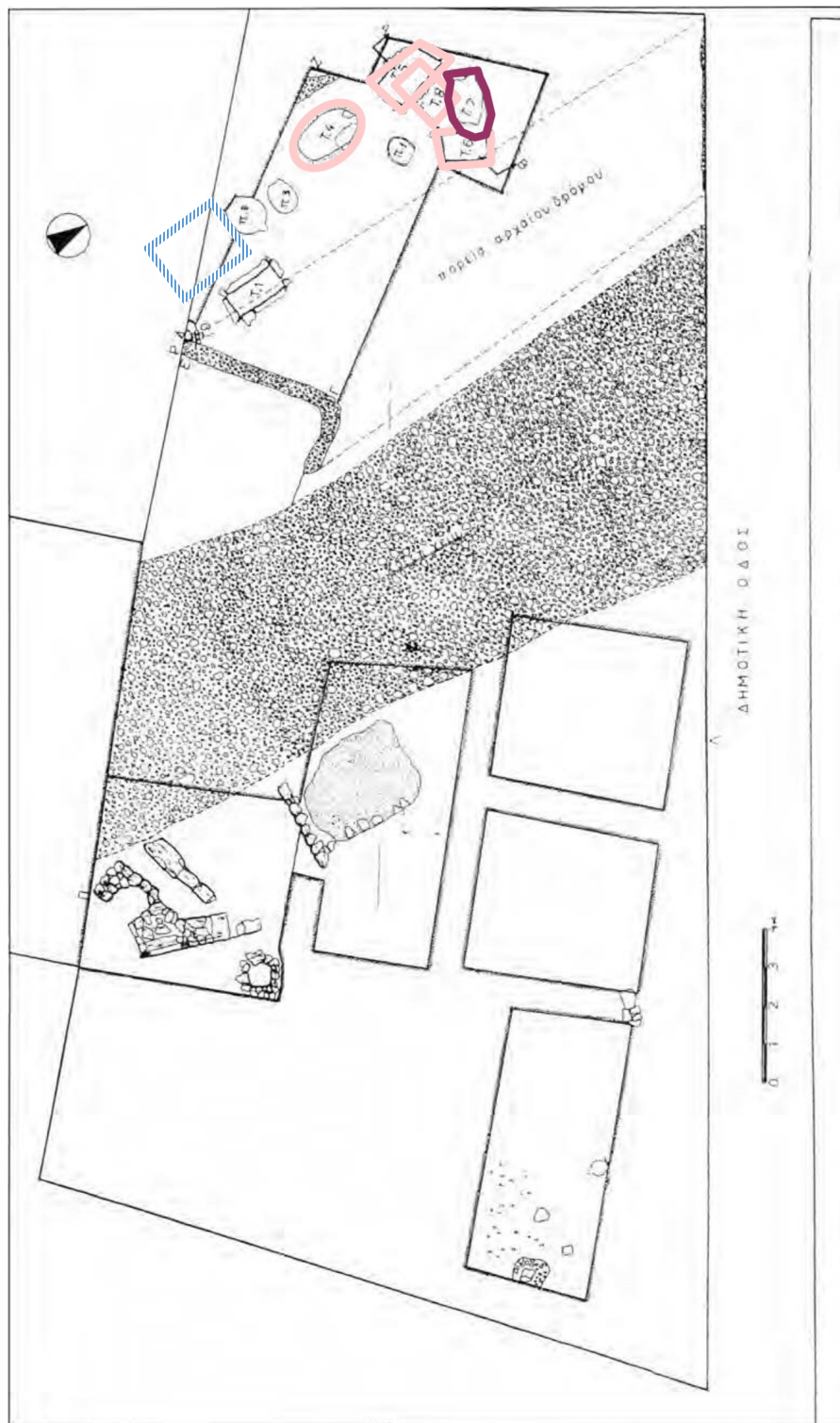
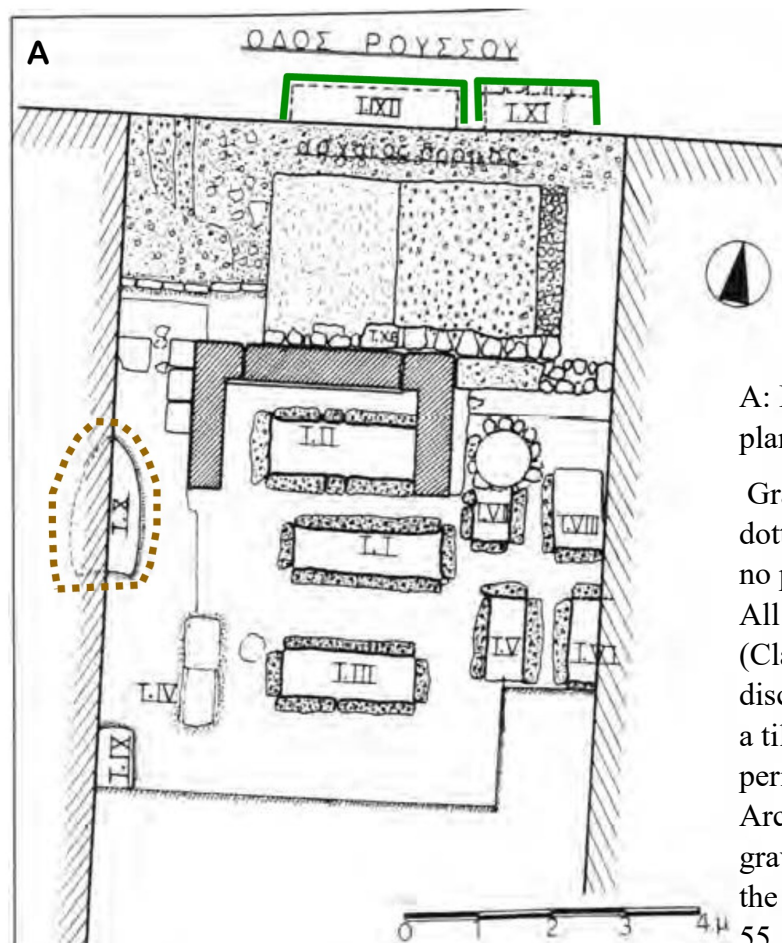


FIG. 4.82. PETROPOULOS AND XAMPLAS PLOT



Petropoulos and Xamplas plot, overall plan. Pink=PG; blue hash=first interment in MG but re-used later; purple=Archaic, but precise date not possible. After *ArchDelt* 53, p.113.

FIG. 4.83. RAPTIS-APOSTOLOS PLOT



A: Raptis-Apostolos plot, overall plan.

Graves of note: green=LG, brown dotted line=possibly Geometric, but no precise date is given in the report. All others are either later graves (Classical-Hellenistic) or not discussed in publications. Grave IV is a tile grave (typical of the Hellenistic period) but yielded Late Geometric to Archaic sherds. It may be an earlier grave that was cleared and reused in the Hellenistic period. After *ArchDelt* 55, p. 175.



B: Grave XII (2000) of Raptis-Apostolos plot. LGII krater, attributed to the Fence workshop. *ArchDelt* 55, p. 178.

FIG. 4.84. REBELOS PLOT

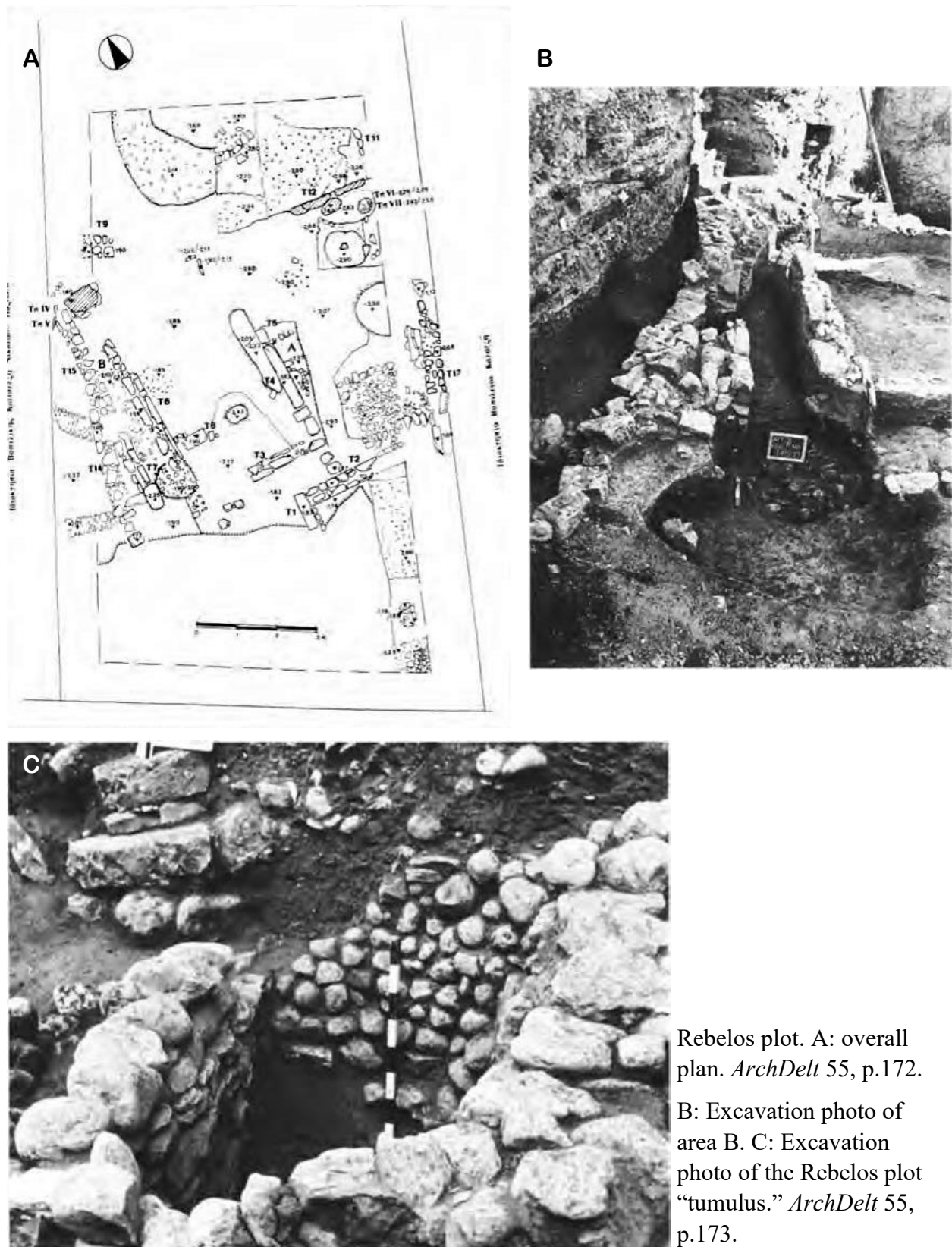
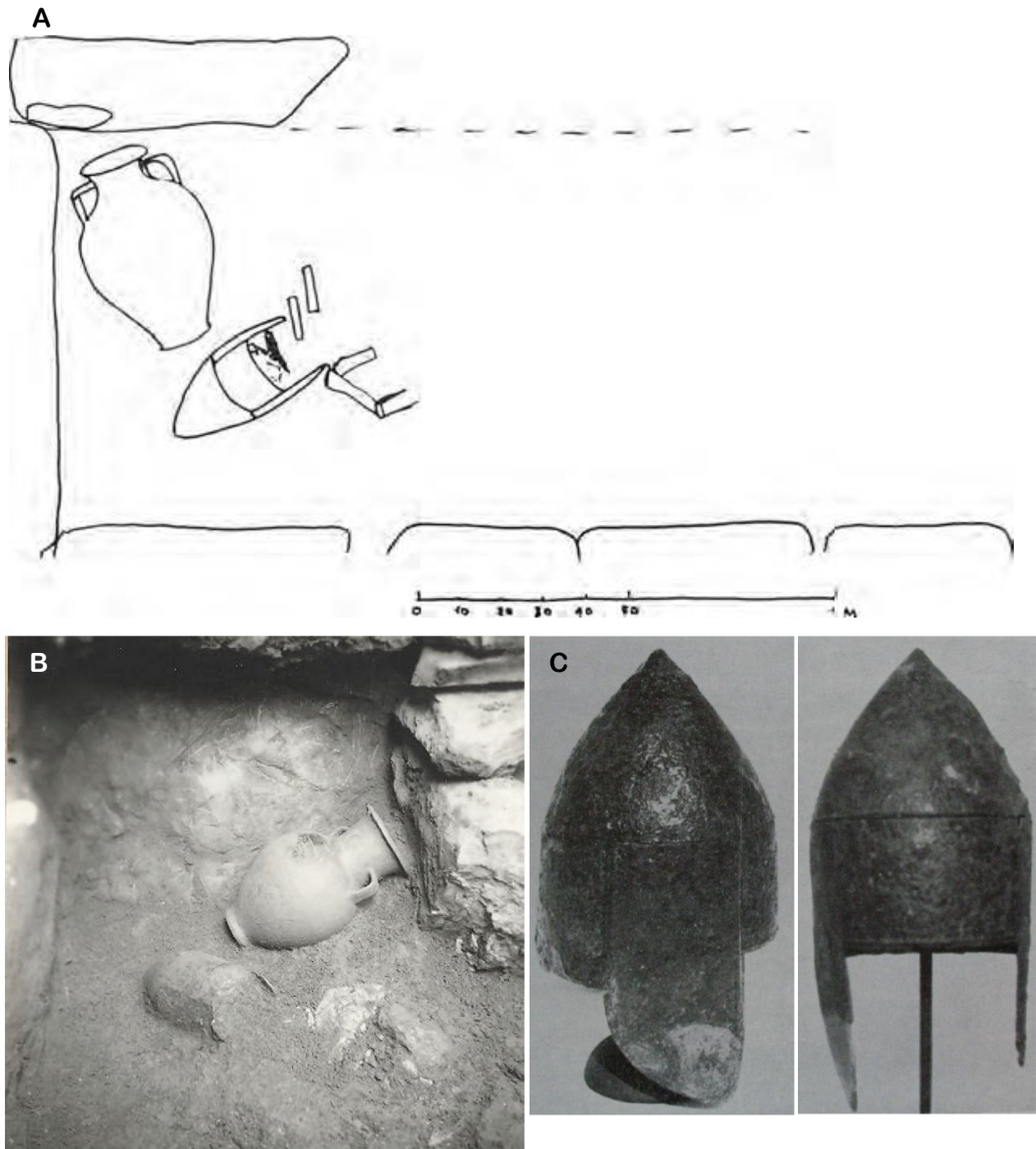
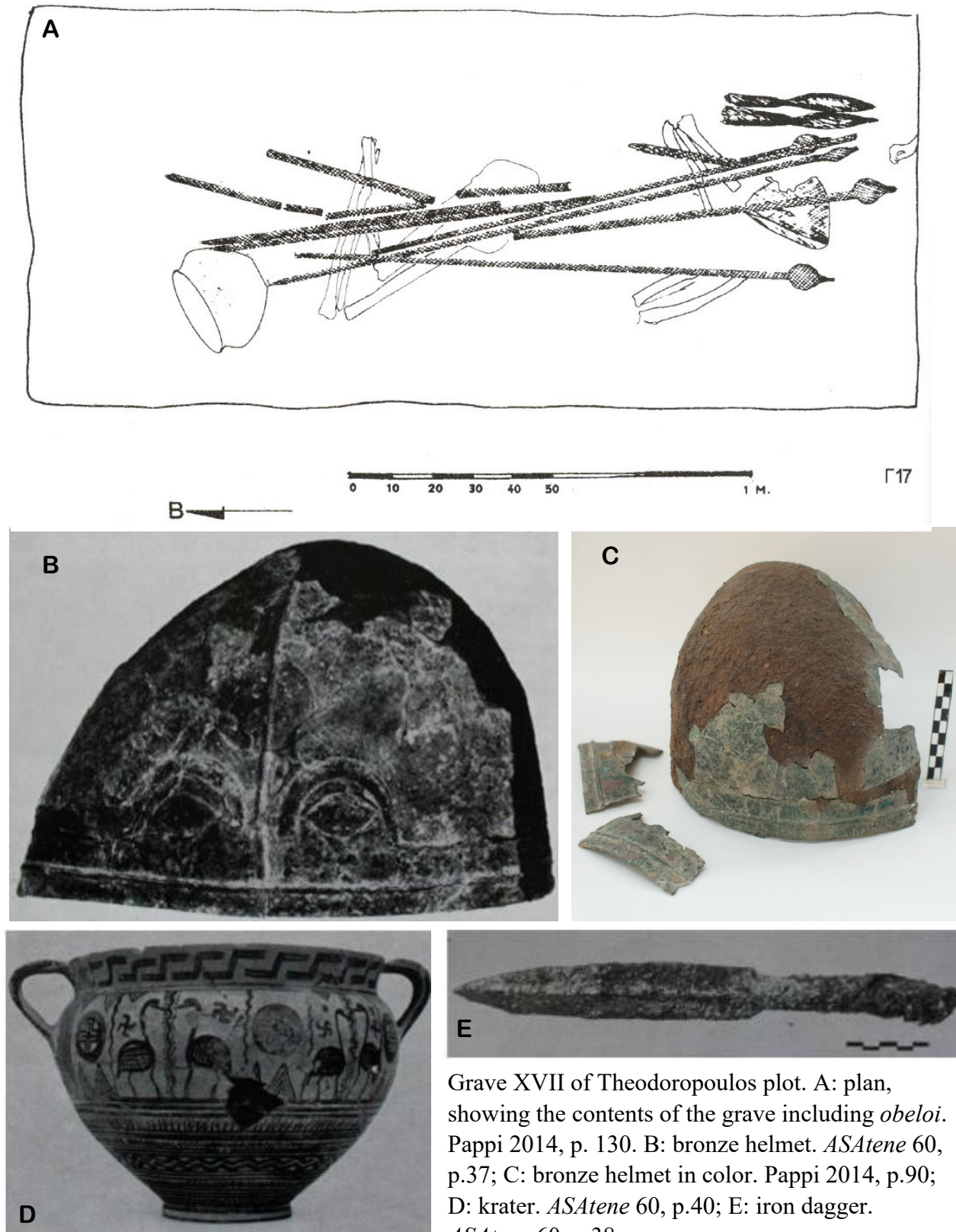


FIG. 4.85. STAVROPOULOS PLOT (DIOMIDOUS ST.)



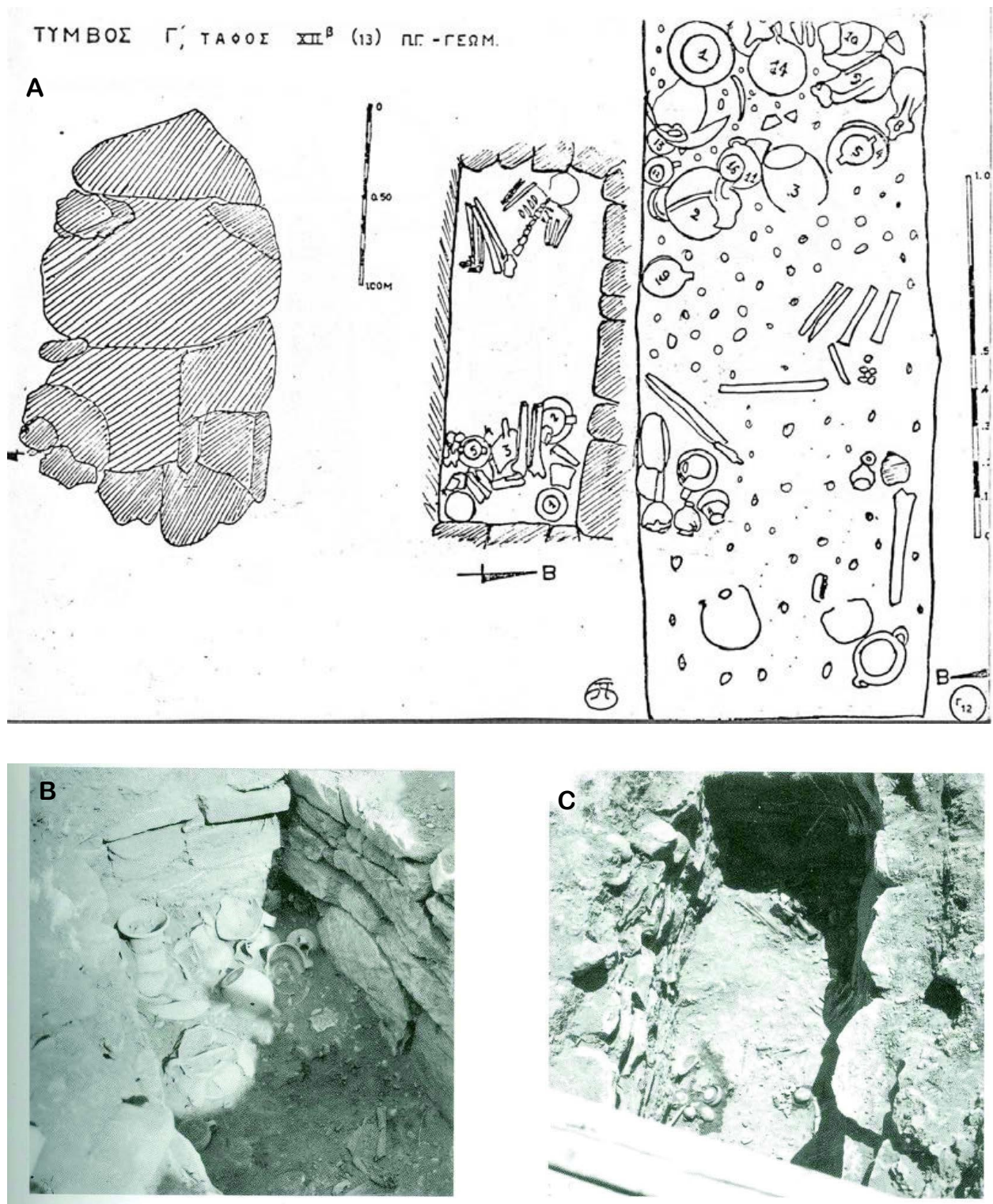
Grave 1 of Stavropoulos plot (Diomidous St.). A: plan, B: excavation photo. *ArchDelt* 26, p.82. C: bronze helmet. *ASatene* 60, p.39.

FIG. 4.86. THEODOROPOULOS PLOT



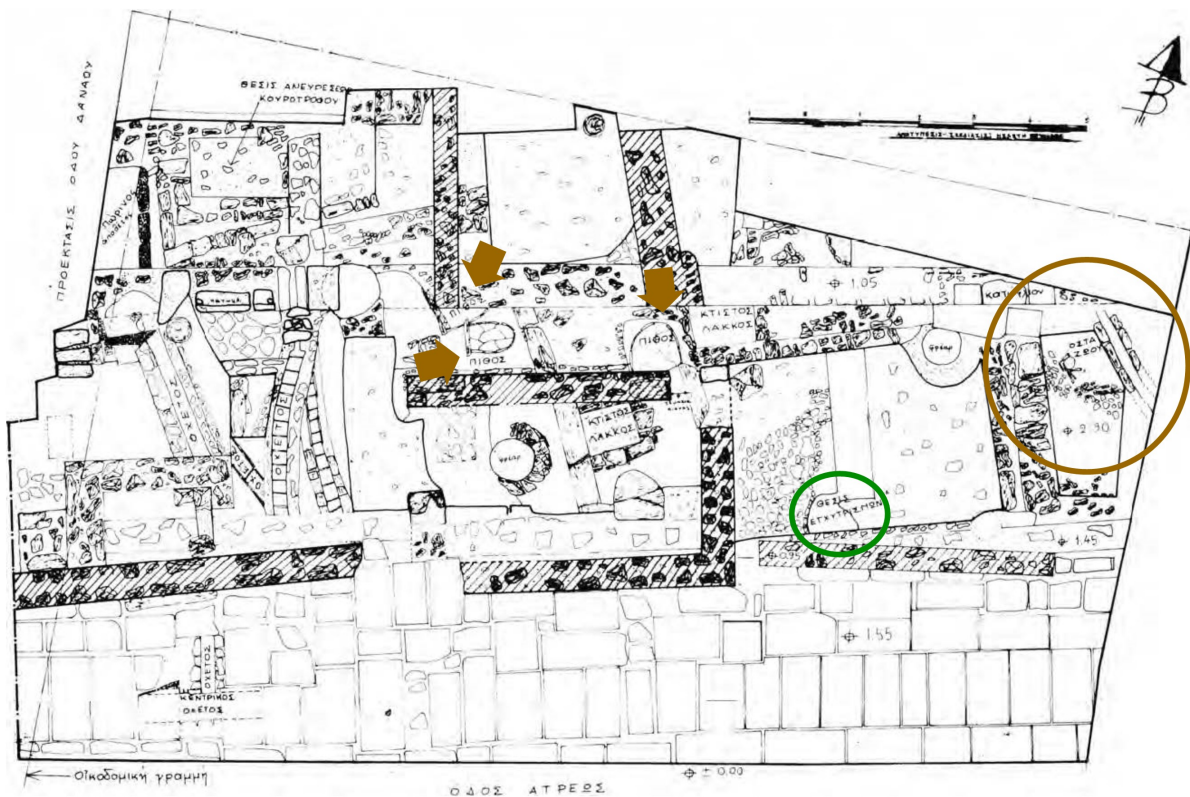
Grave XVII of Theodoropoulos plot. A: plan, showing the contents of the grave including *obeloi*. Pappi 2014, p. 130. B: bronze helmet. *ASAtene* 60, p.37; C: bronze helmet in color. Pappi 2014, p.90; D: krater. *ASAtene* 60, p.40; E: iron dagger. *ASAtene* 60, p.38.

FIG. 4.87. THEODOROPOULOS PLOT



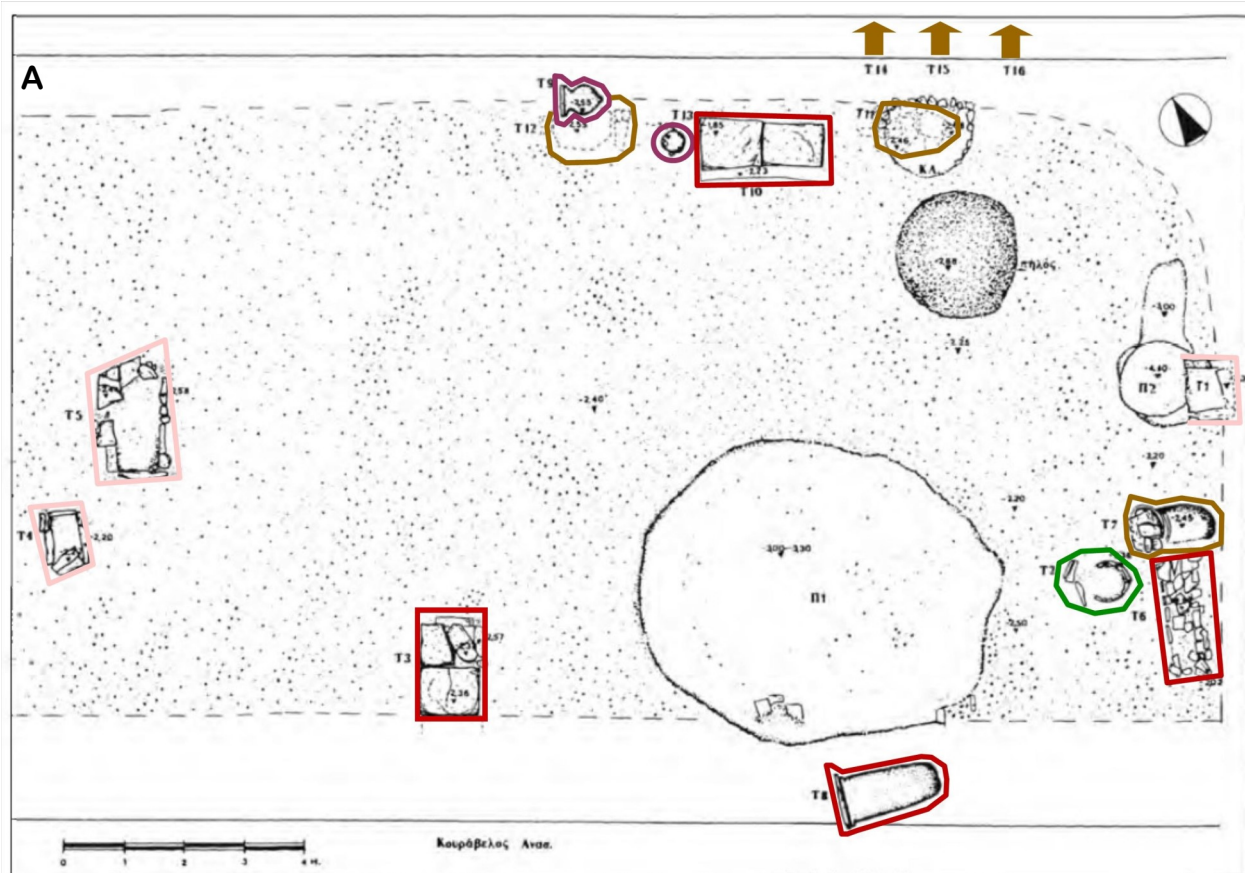
Grave XII-beta of Theodoropoulos plot. A: plans, showing the cover slabs and the contents; B-C: excavation photos. Pappi 2014, p. 247.

FIG. 4.88. TSOUNKRIANIS PLOT



Tsoukrianis plot, overall plan. Brown arrows: Geometric pithoi (not numbered in the report or the plan); brown circle: concentration of animal bones and other finds. Green circle: LG enchytrismoi (two mentioned in the report, but not individually drawn on the plan). After *ArchDelt* 29, p. 229.

FIG. 4.89. VLOGIARIS PLOT

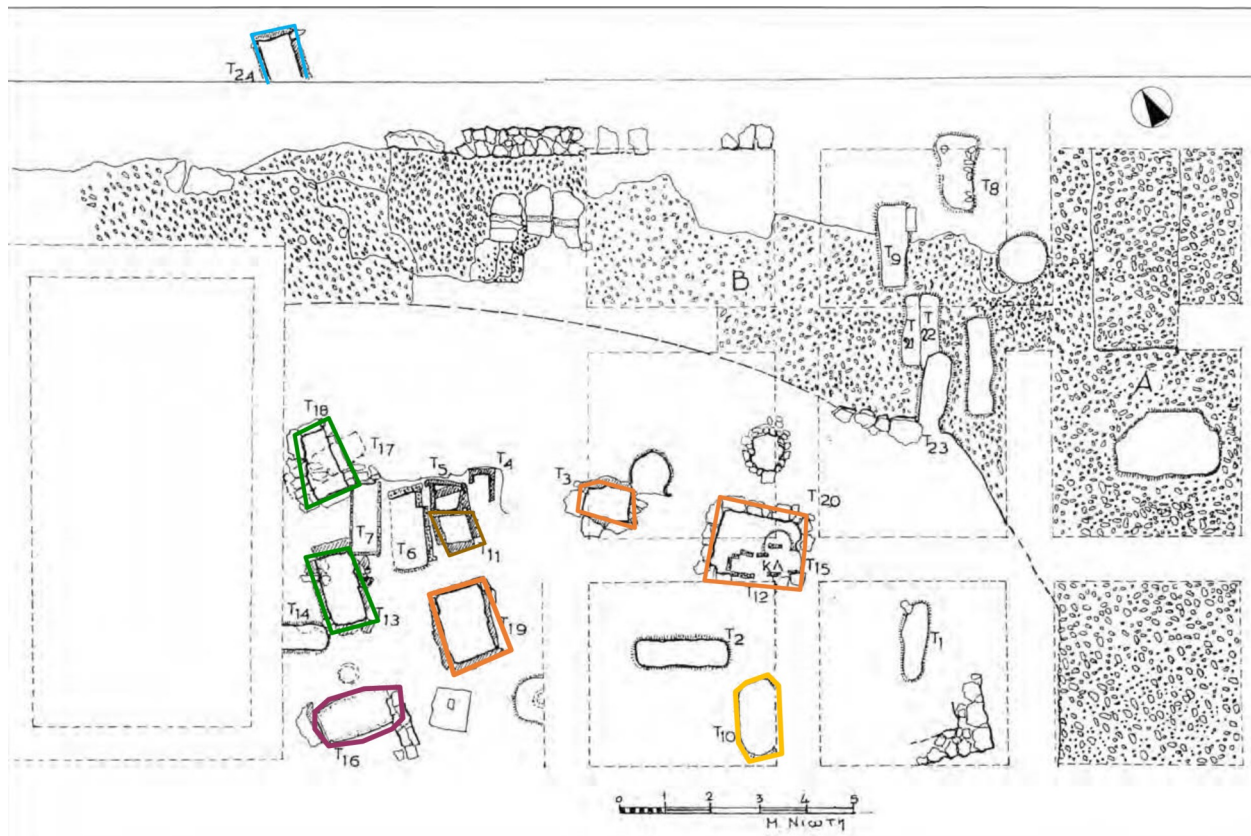


A: Vlogiaris Plot, overall plan. Graves of note: pink= PG, brown= Geometric (no precise date available), green=LG, purple=Archaic (no precise date available), red=Classical (no precise date available). After *ArchDelt* 53, p. 116.

B: Grave 2 of Vlogiaris plot. Burial amphora. Pappi 2014, p. 149.



FIG. 4.90. XINTAROPOULOS PLOT



Xintaropoulos plot, overall plan. Graves of note: yellow= Submycenaean; orange=EG; blue= MGII/LGI; green=LG; brown=geometric (no specific date possible); purple= LG/early Archaic pithos. The graves not highlighted here are either Hellenistic in date or a specific date was not discussed in the report. After *ArchDelt* 53, p. 110.

FIG. 4.91. Overall plan of southern, central, and northwestern Argos, showing the locations of Geometric graves excavated by the EFA. Courbin 1974.

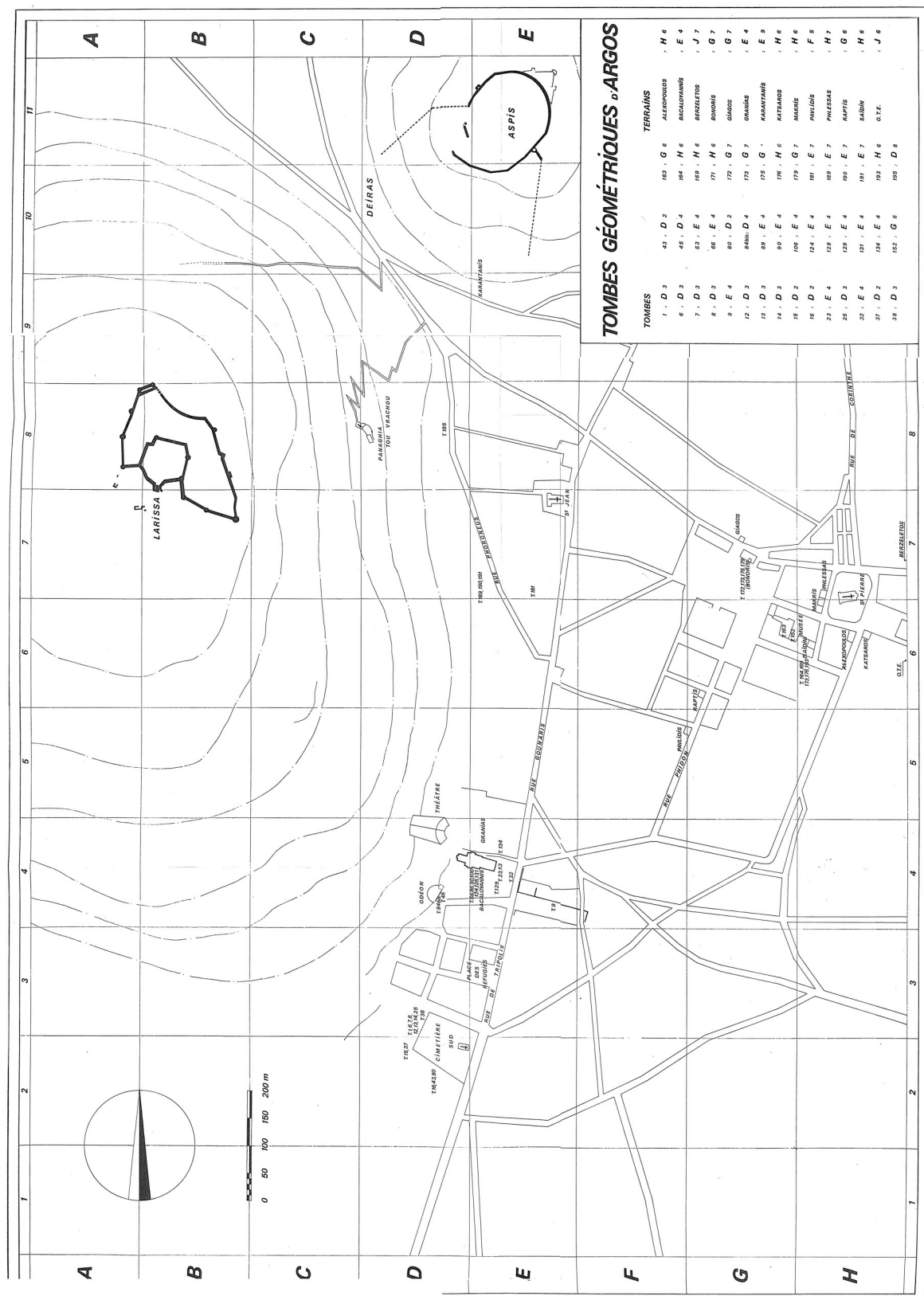
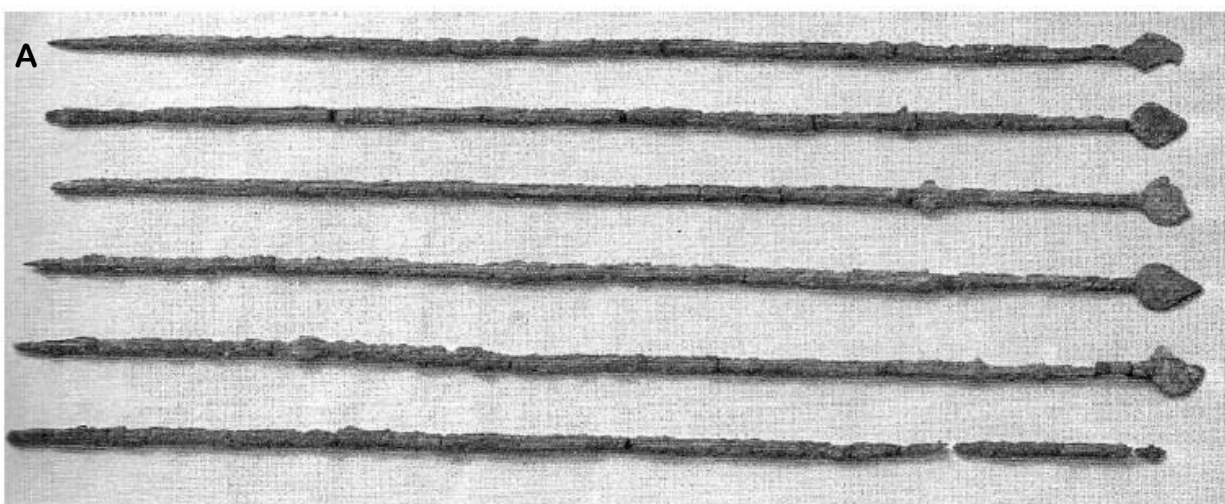


FIG. 4.92. T 1



B



C



D



E



F



G

T 1. Finds from the grave. A: obeloi. Courbin 1974, pl.20. B-G: pottery from the grave. Courbin 1974, pl. 20, 58.

FIG. 4.93. T 6



A-D: Excavation photos of cist T 6 in multiple phases. Courbin 1974, pl. 21.

E-I: metals associated with T 6/1. Courbin 1974, pl. 22.

J: Iron sword, associated with T 6/2. Courbin 1974, pl. 23.

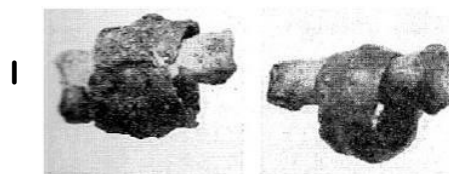
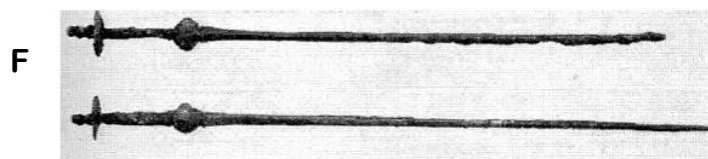
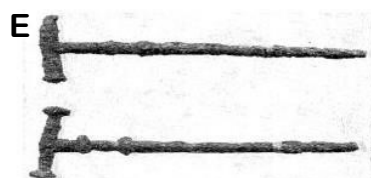
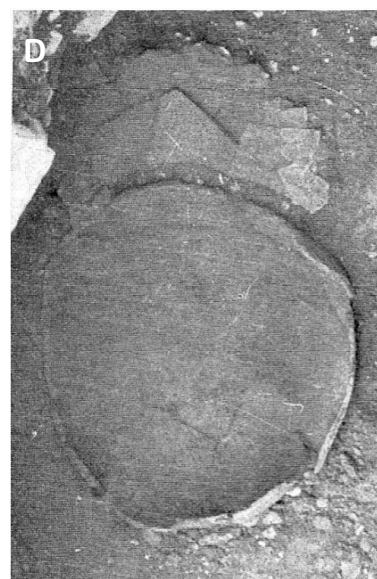
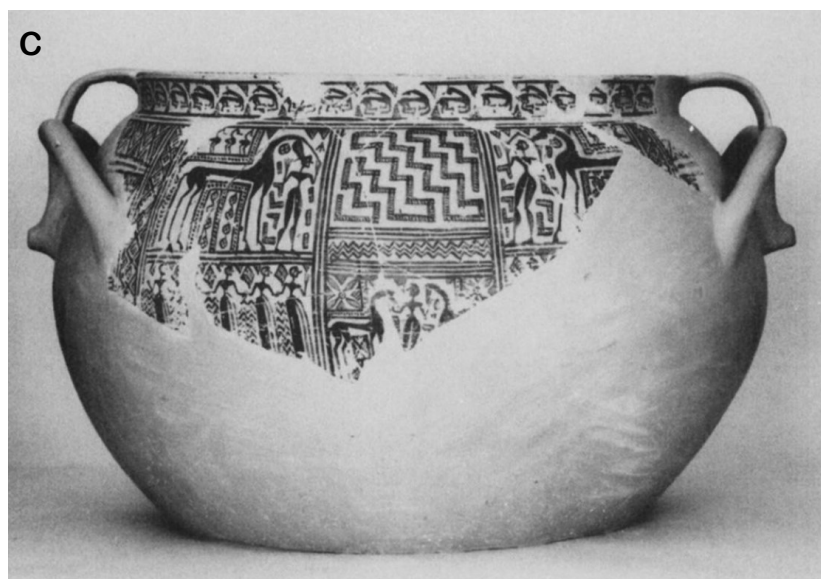
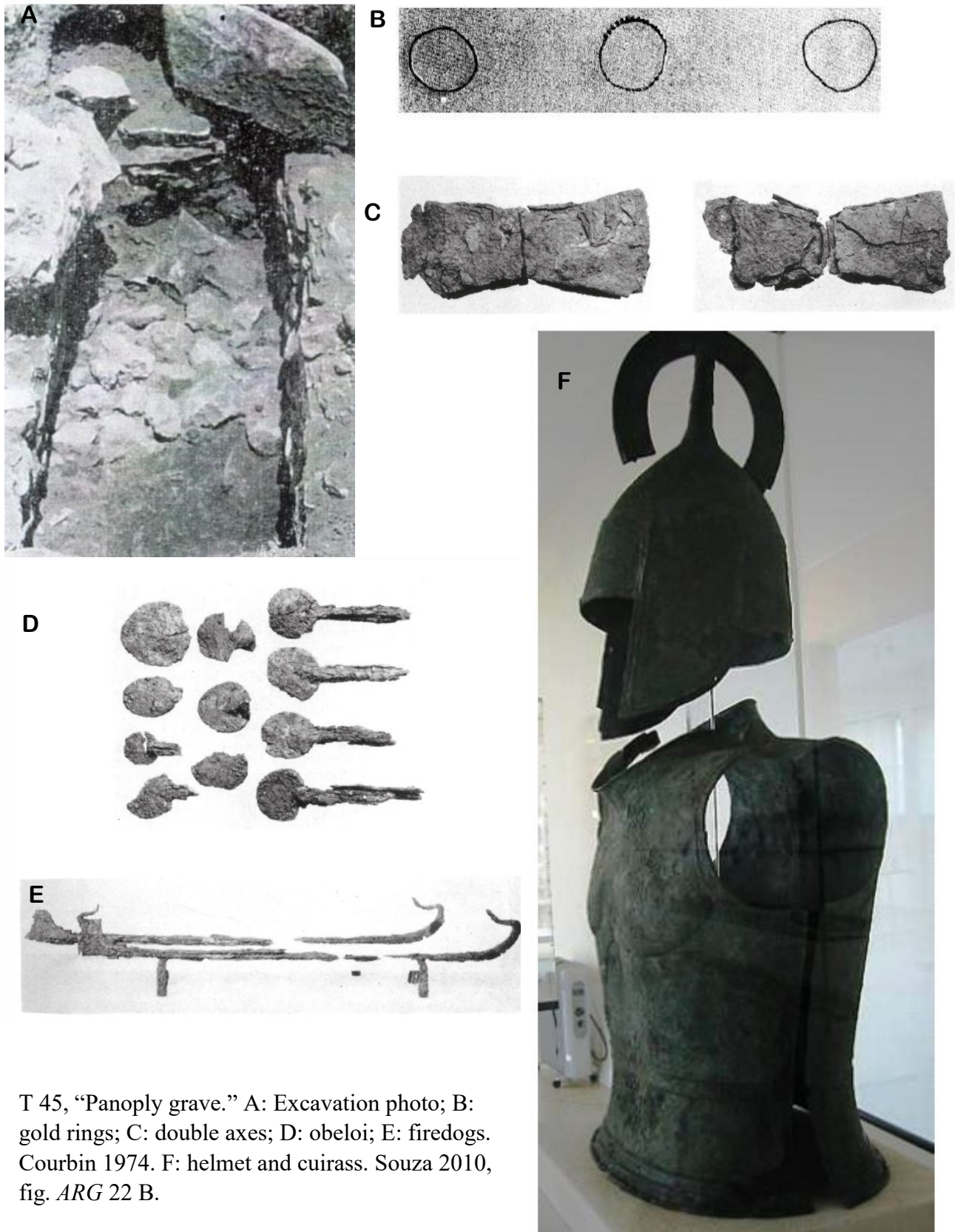


FIG. 4.94. T 23



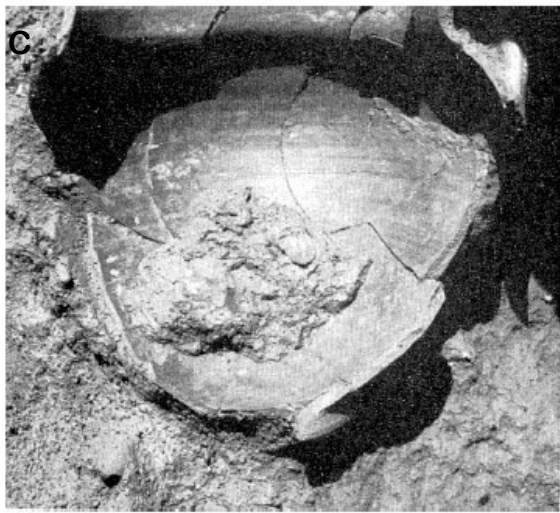
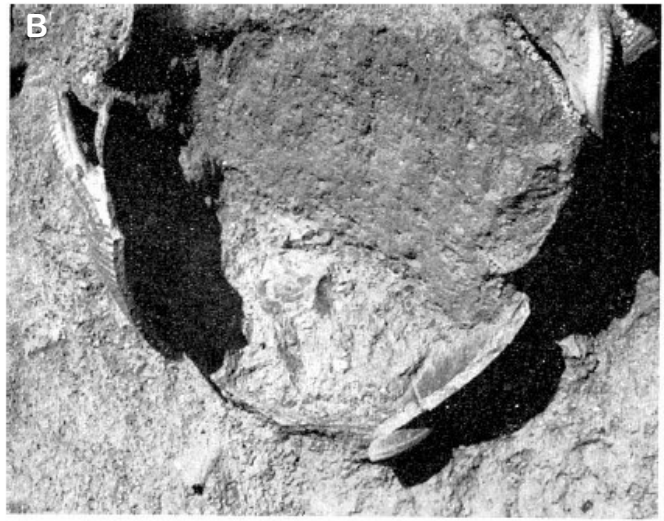
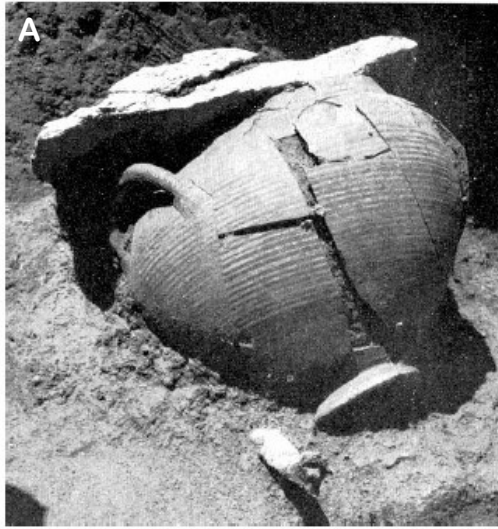
T 23. A: Monumental pyxis, view from the front. Langdon 2001, fig.2, p. 584. B: Monumental pyxis, showing wrestler figures under the handle. Souza 2010, fig. ARG14 D. C: LG krater that was used as a stopper for the pyxis. Langdon 2001 fig.4, p. 586. D: Excavation photo of T 23.

FIG. 4.95. T 45



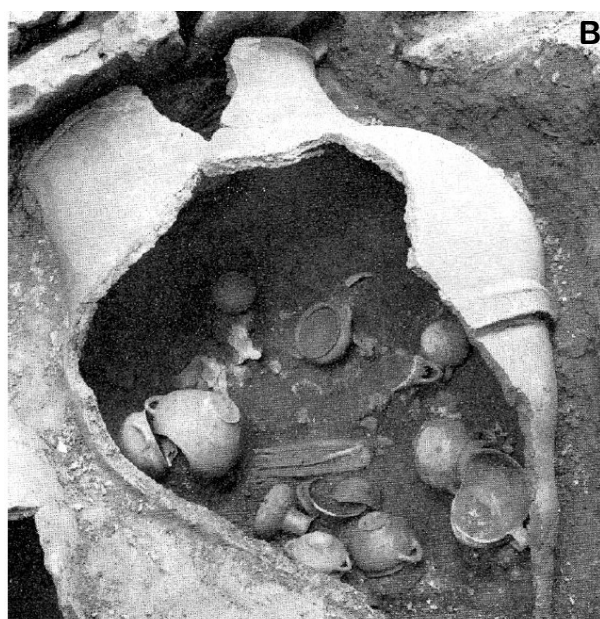
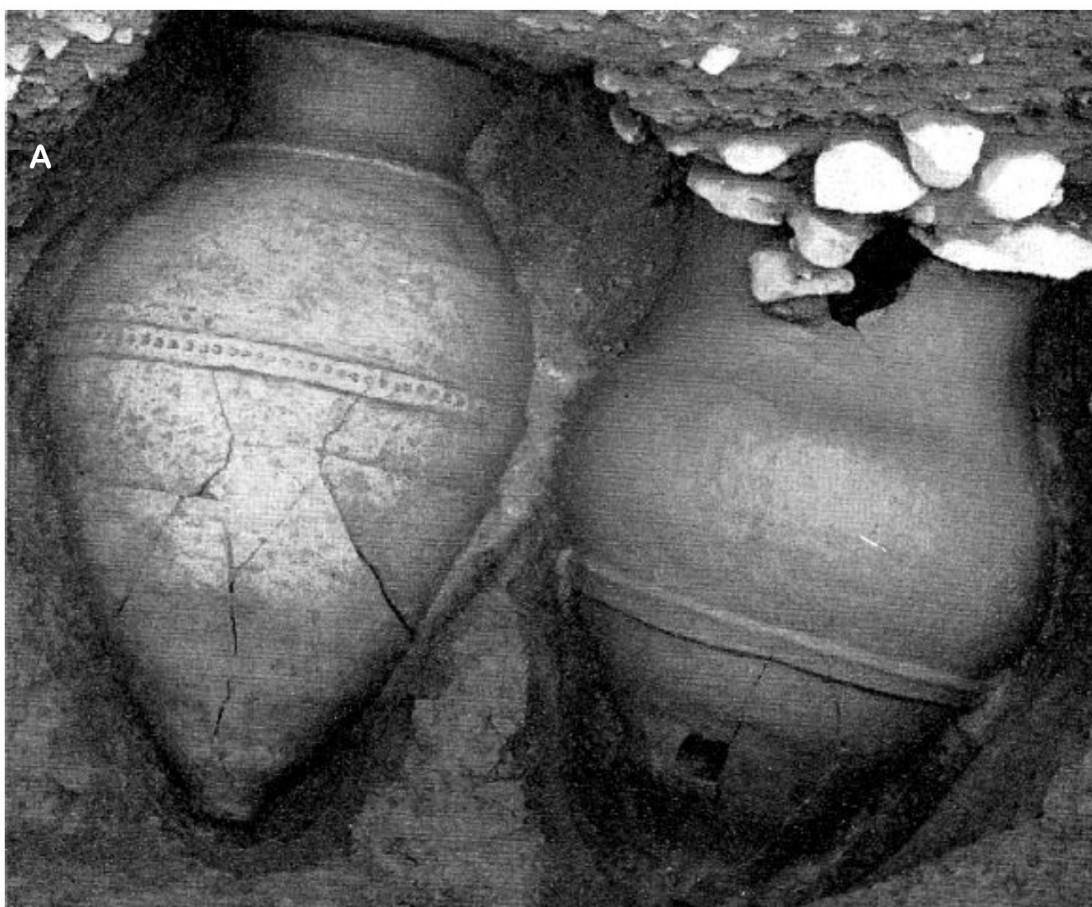
T 45, "Panoply grave." A: Excavation photo; B: gold rings; C: double axes; D: obeloi; E: firedogs. Courbin 1974. F: helmet and cuirass. Souza 2010, fig. ARG 22 B.

FIG. 4.96. T 131



T 131, LG II enchytrismos of a child in a krater. A-C: phases of excavation. D: restored vessel. Courbin 1974, pl. 40.

FIG. 4.97. T 190 AND T 191



T 190 and T 191. A: excavation photo of T 190 (on the right) and T 191 (on the left). B: Excavation photo of T 190. C: Excavation photo of T 191.

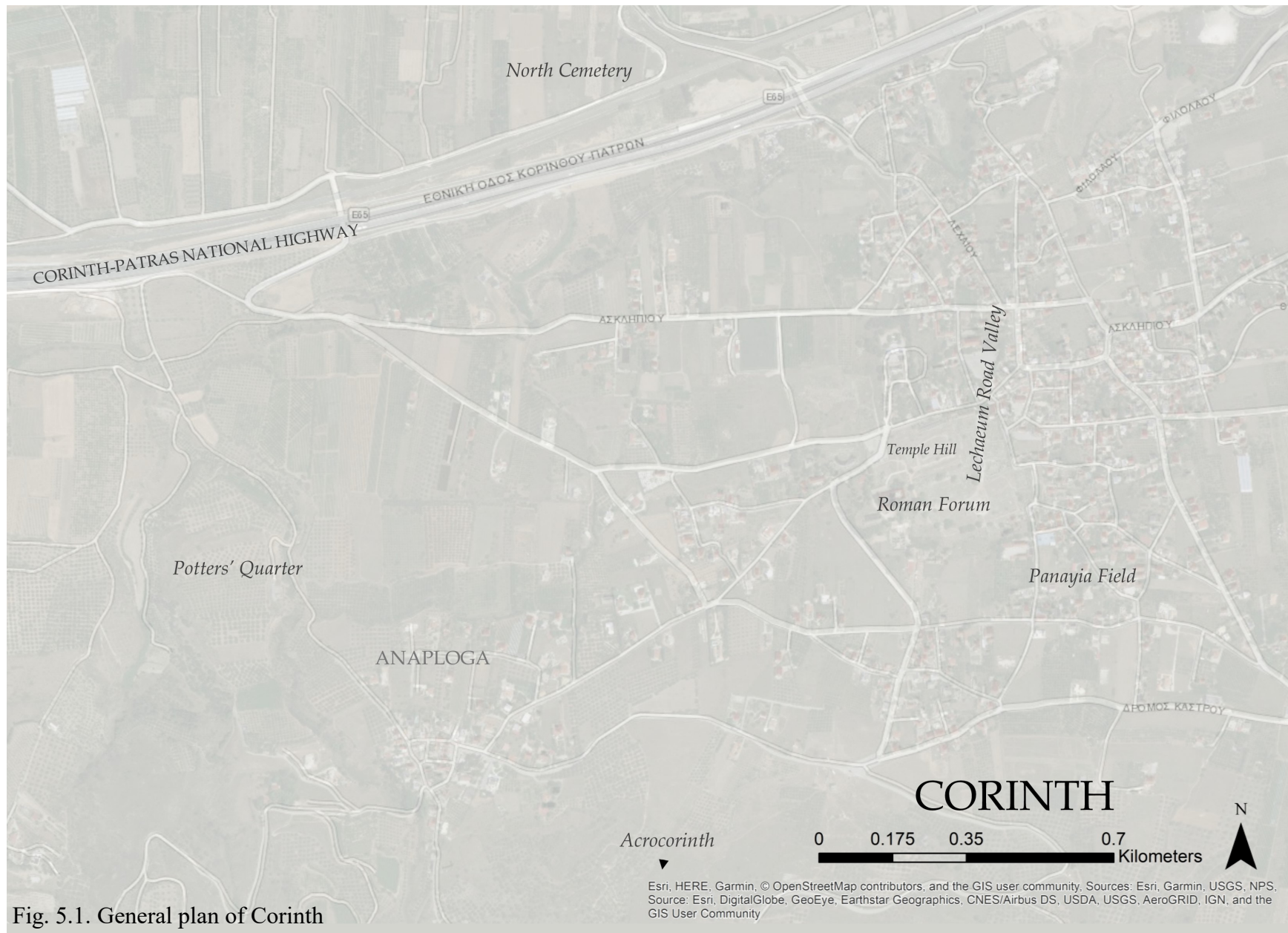


Fig. 5.1. General plan of Corinth



Fig. 5.2. (above) Aerial view of Corinth, looking north. Base image from Google earth, accessed April 2019.

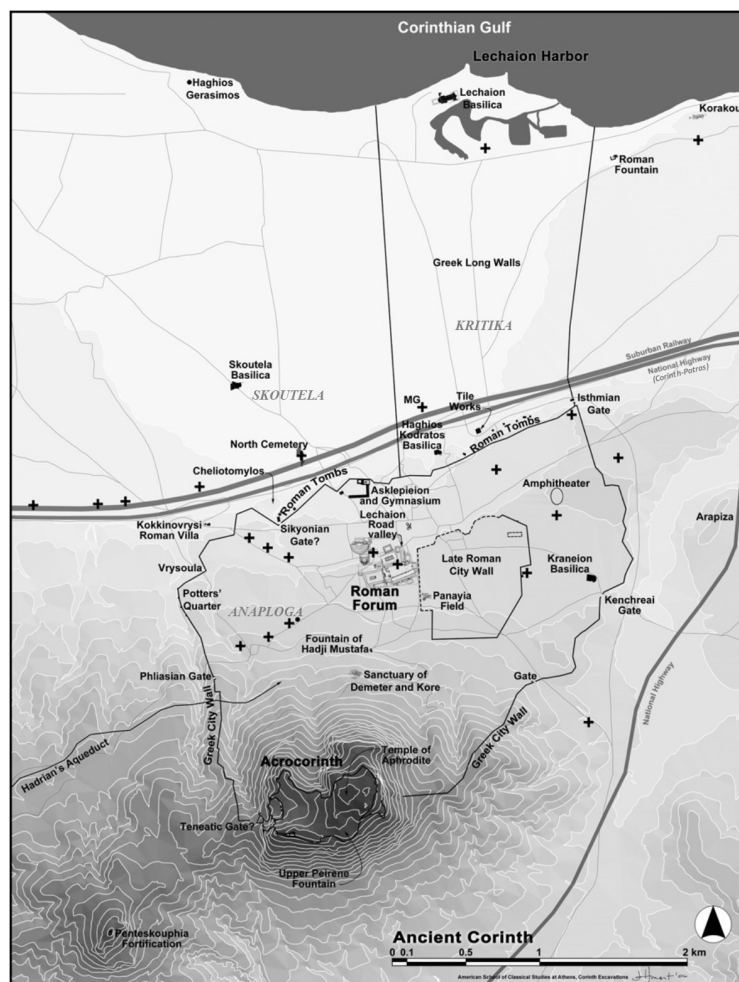


Fig. 5.3. (left) General plan of Corinth, with selected grave contexts marked in cross. After Sanders et al. 2014, fig.2 p.4.

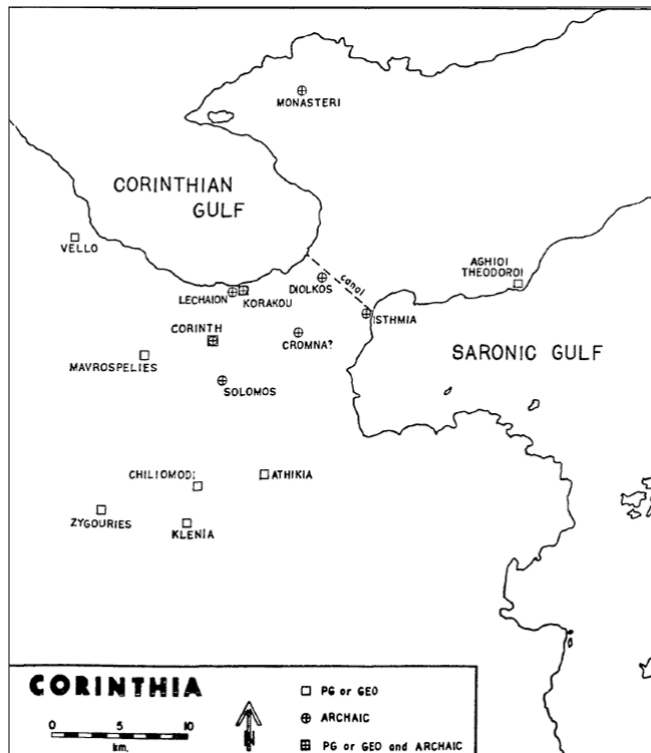


Fig. 5.4. Map of Corinthia. Dickey 1992, plan 1.

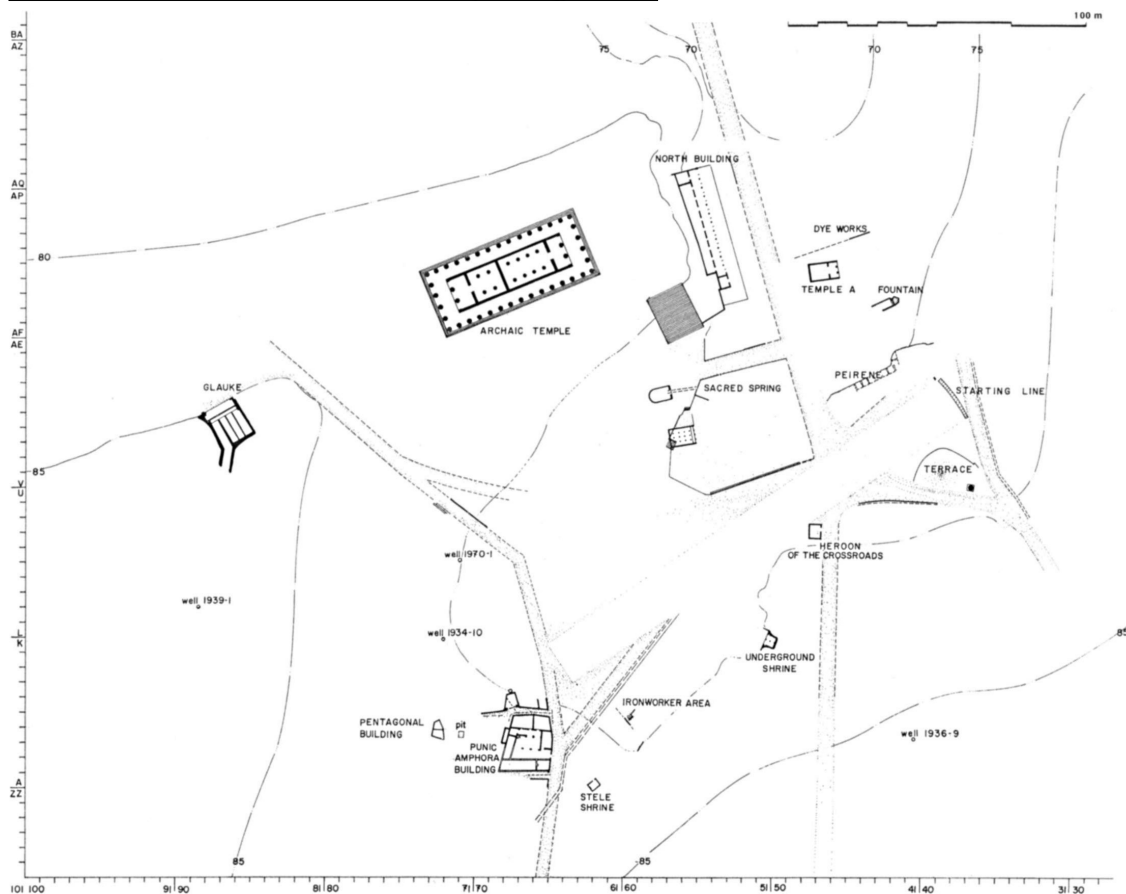


Fig. 5.5. Corinth, forum area, second half of the 5th century B.C. Williams and Bookidis 2003, plan II, p.XXV.

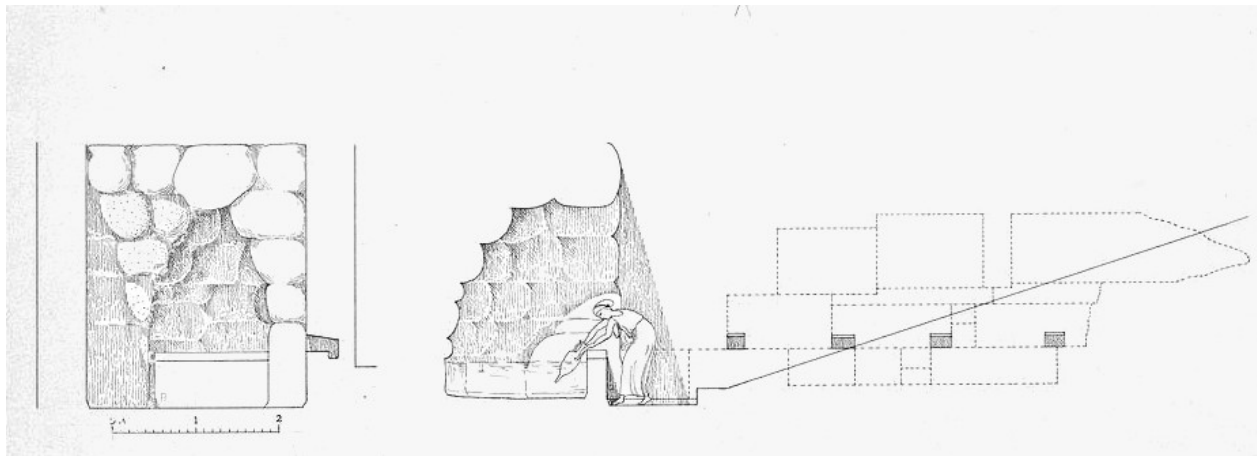


Fig. 5.6. The "Cyclopean fountain." After Hill 1964, p. 47, fig.24.

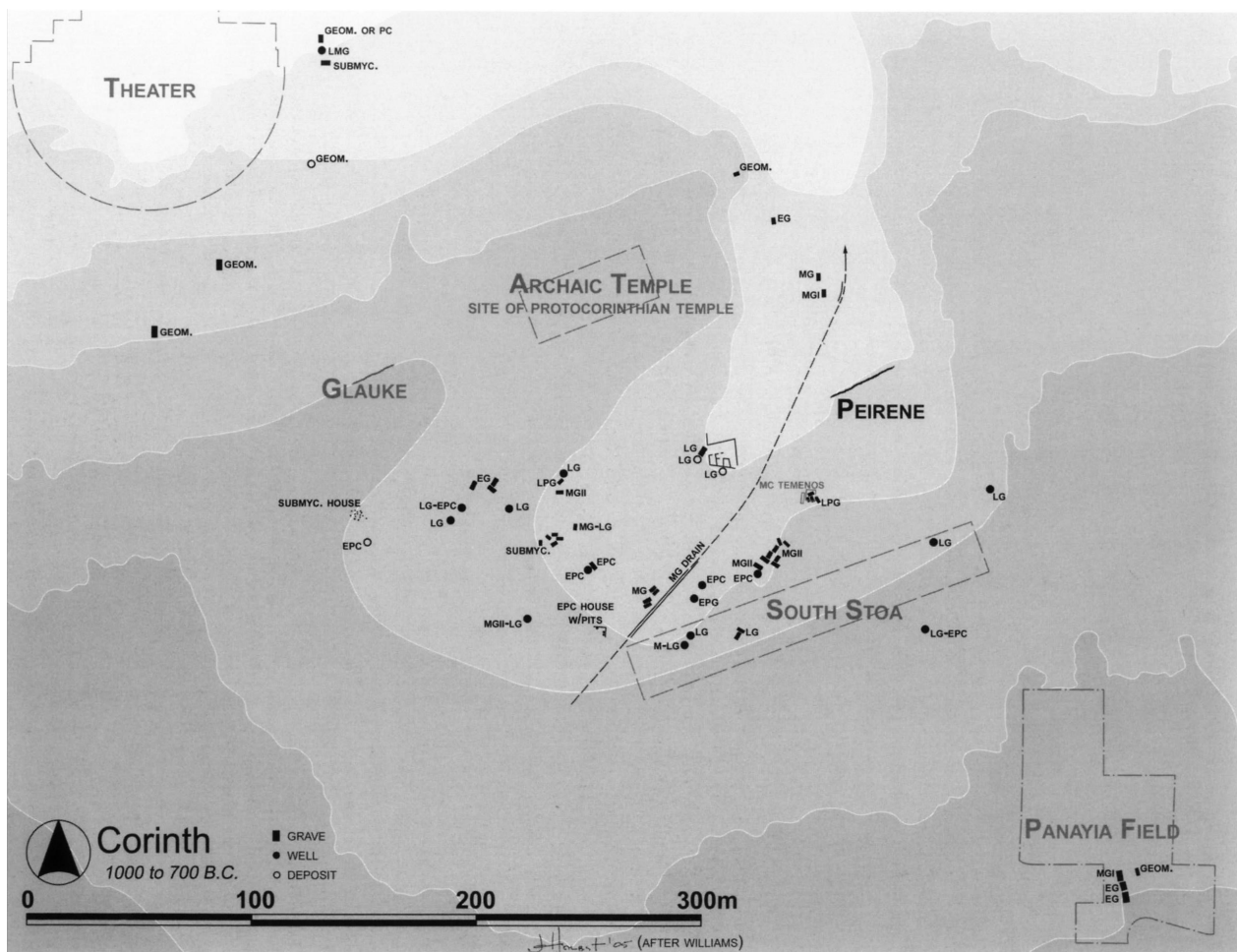


Fig. 5.7. Graves and wells in the Temple Hill area, later forum, and the Panayia Field in central Corinth, 1000-700 BC. Pfaff 2007, p. 445, fig.1.

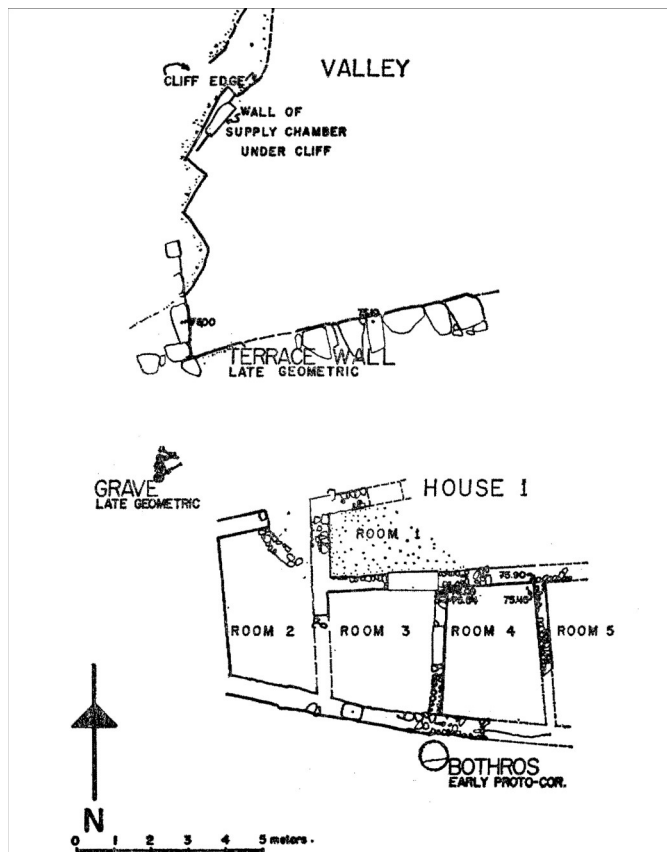


Fig. 5.8. LG terrace and PC house to the southeast of Temple Hill. After Williams and Fisher 1971, p.4 fig.2.

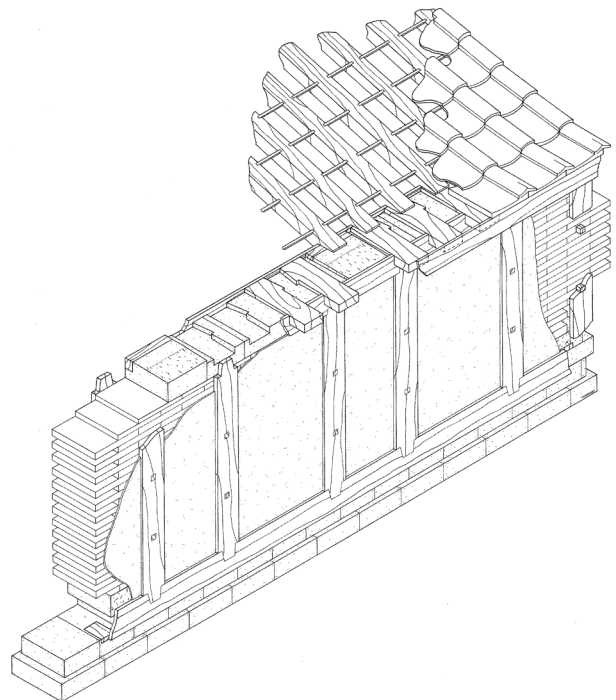


Fig. 5.9. A reconstruction of the superstructure of the early temple at Corinth. Rhodes 2003, p. 86, fig. 6.10.

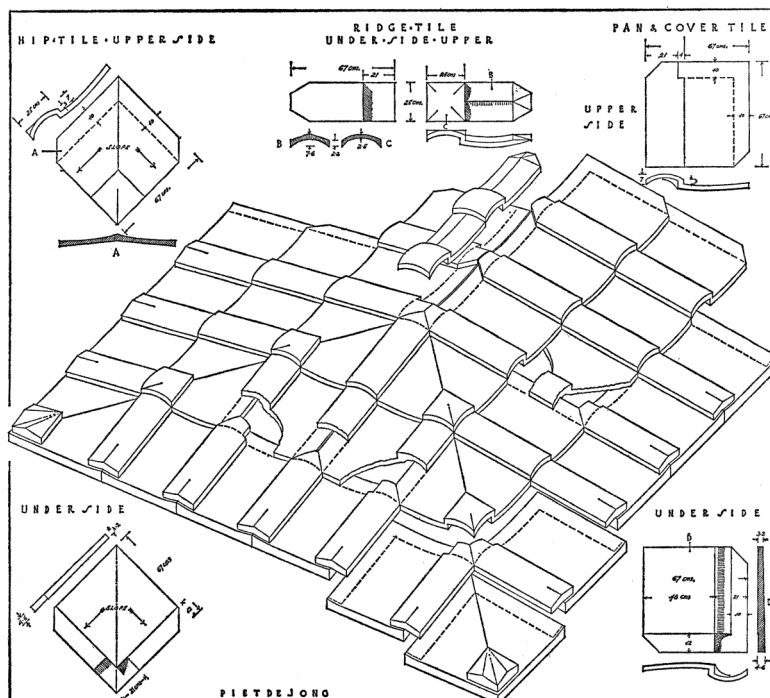


Fig. 5.10. Partial reconstruction of the roofing system of the early temple at Corinth. Robinson 1976, p. 232, fig. 9.

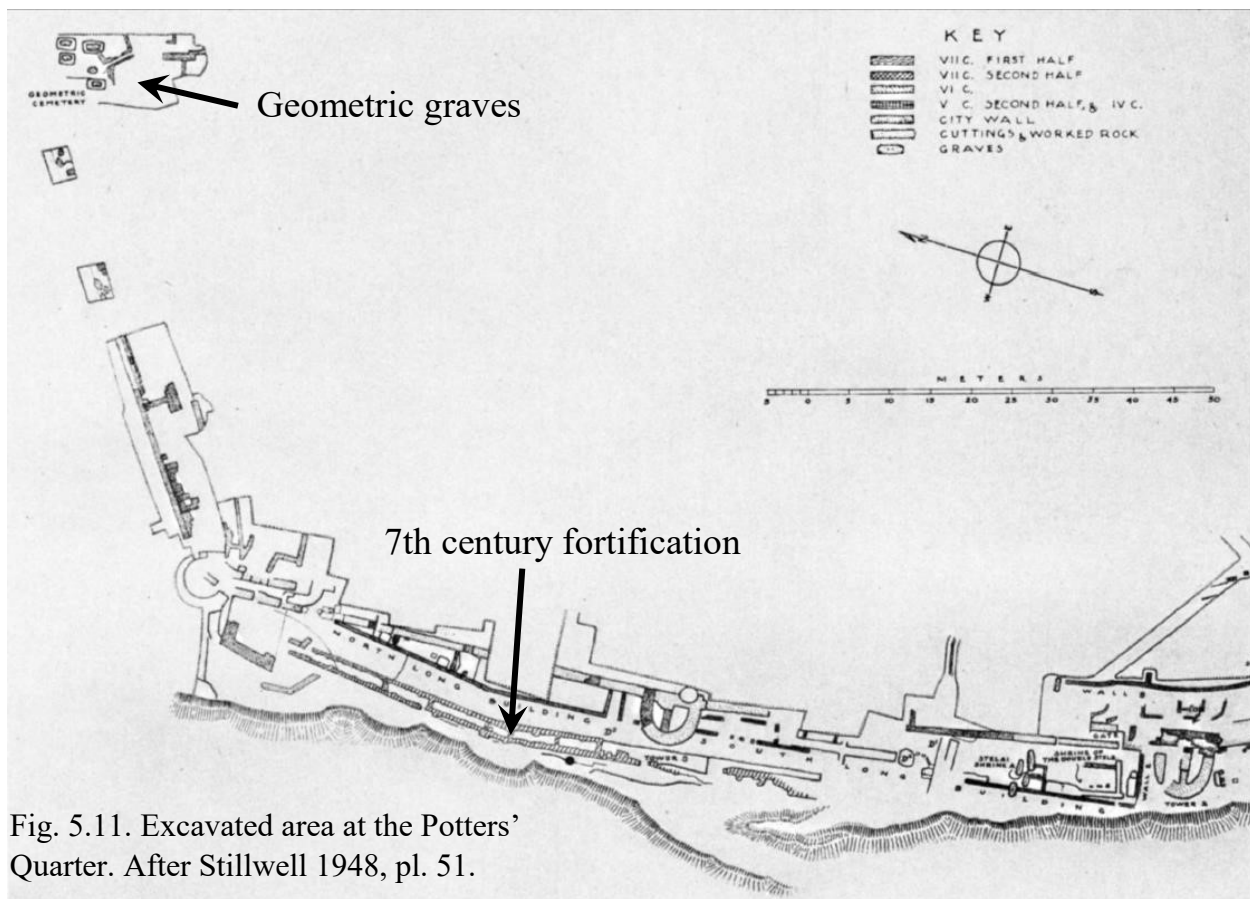


Fig. 5.11. Excavated area at the Potters' Quarter. After Stillwell 1948, pl. 51.

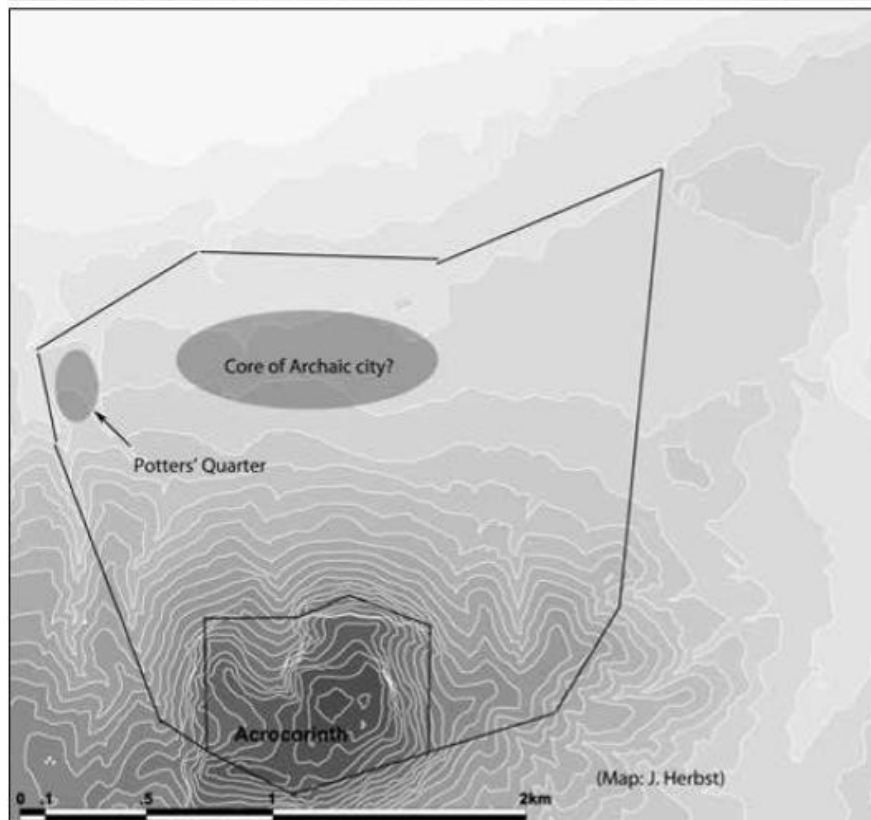


Fig. 5.12. Possible course of the 7th-century circuit wall at Corinth. Frederiksen 2013, p.88 fig. 8.

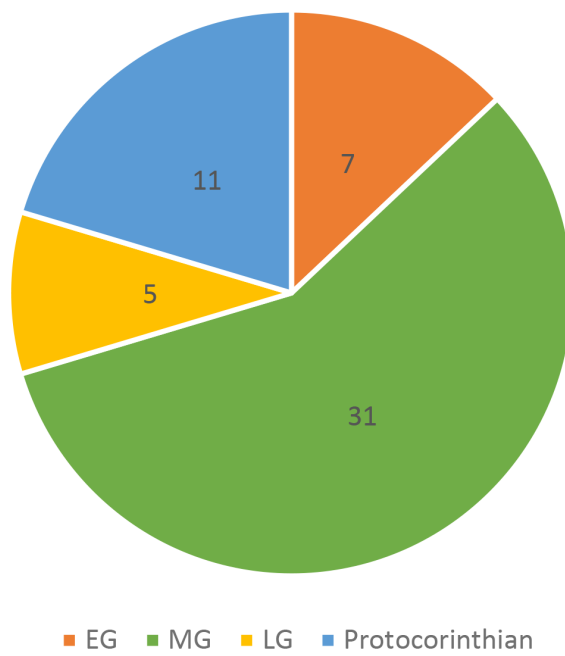


Fig. 5.13. Overall distribution of interments under study at Corinth across periods.

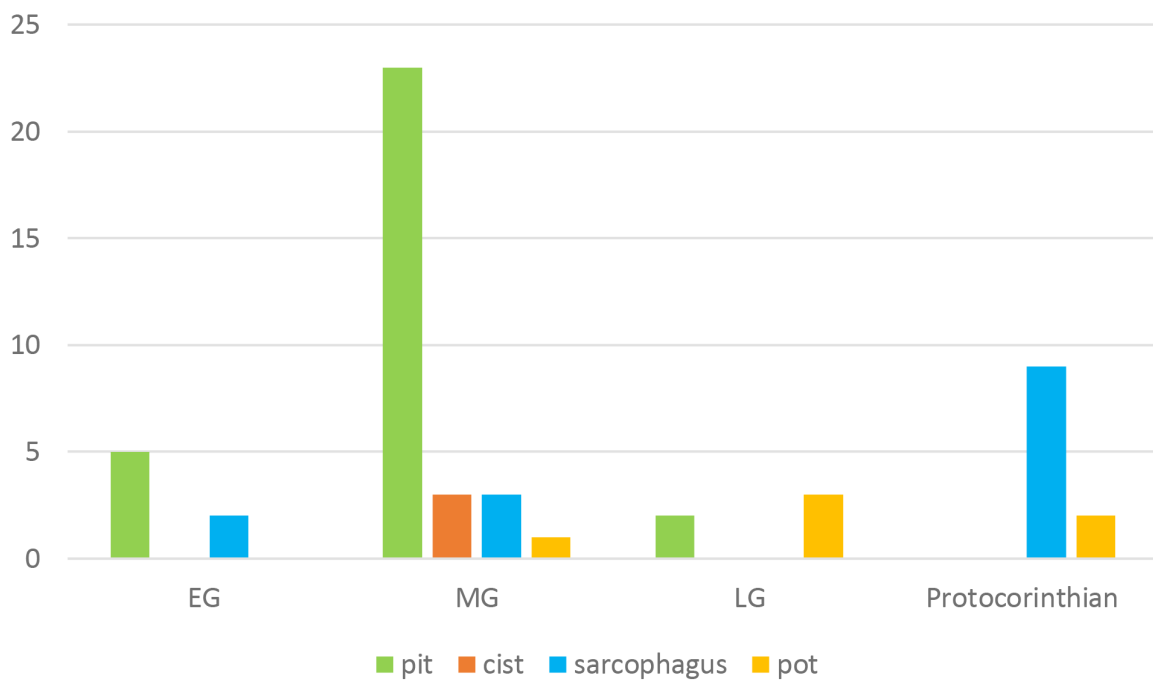


Fig. 5.14. Burial types through the Geometric and Archaic periods at Corinth.

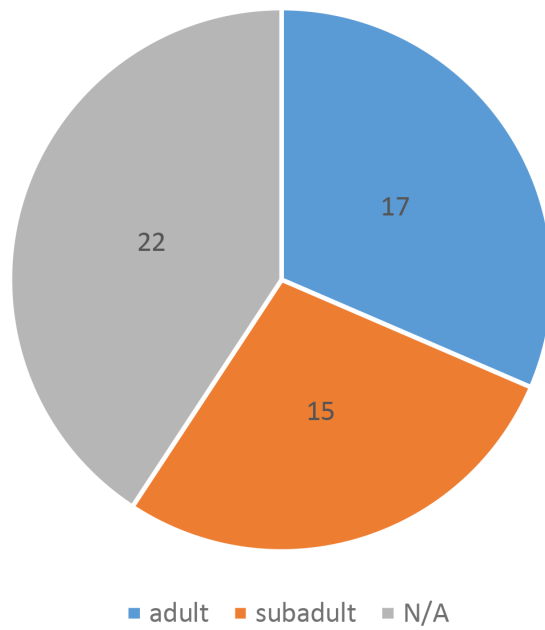


Fig. 5.15. Adults versus subadults in Geometric-early Archaic Corinth.

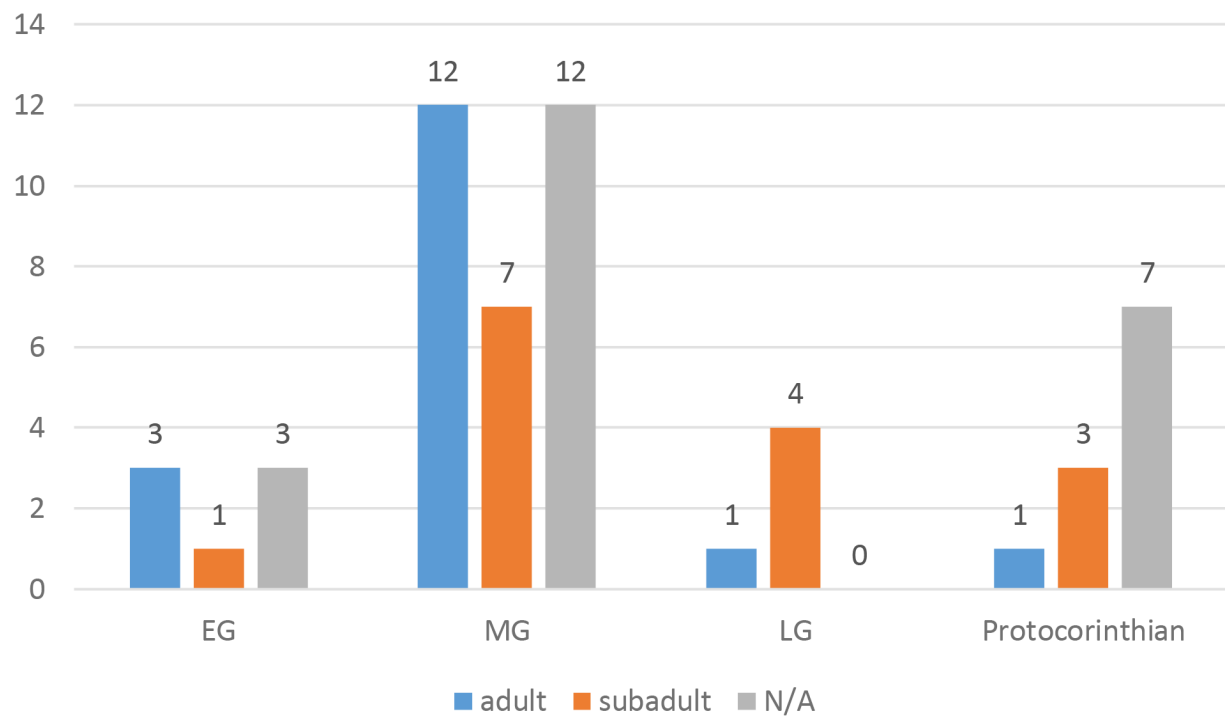


Fig. 5.16. Chronological breakdown of adult and subadult burials at Corinth.

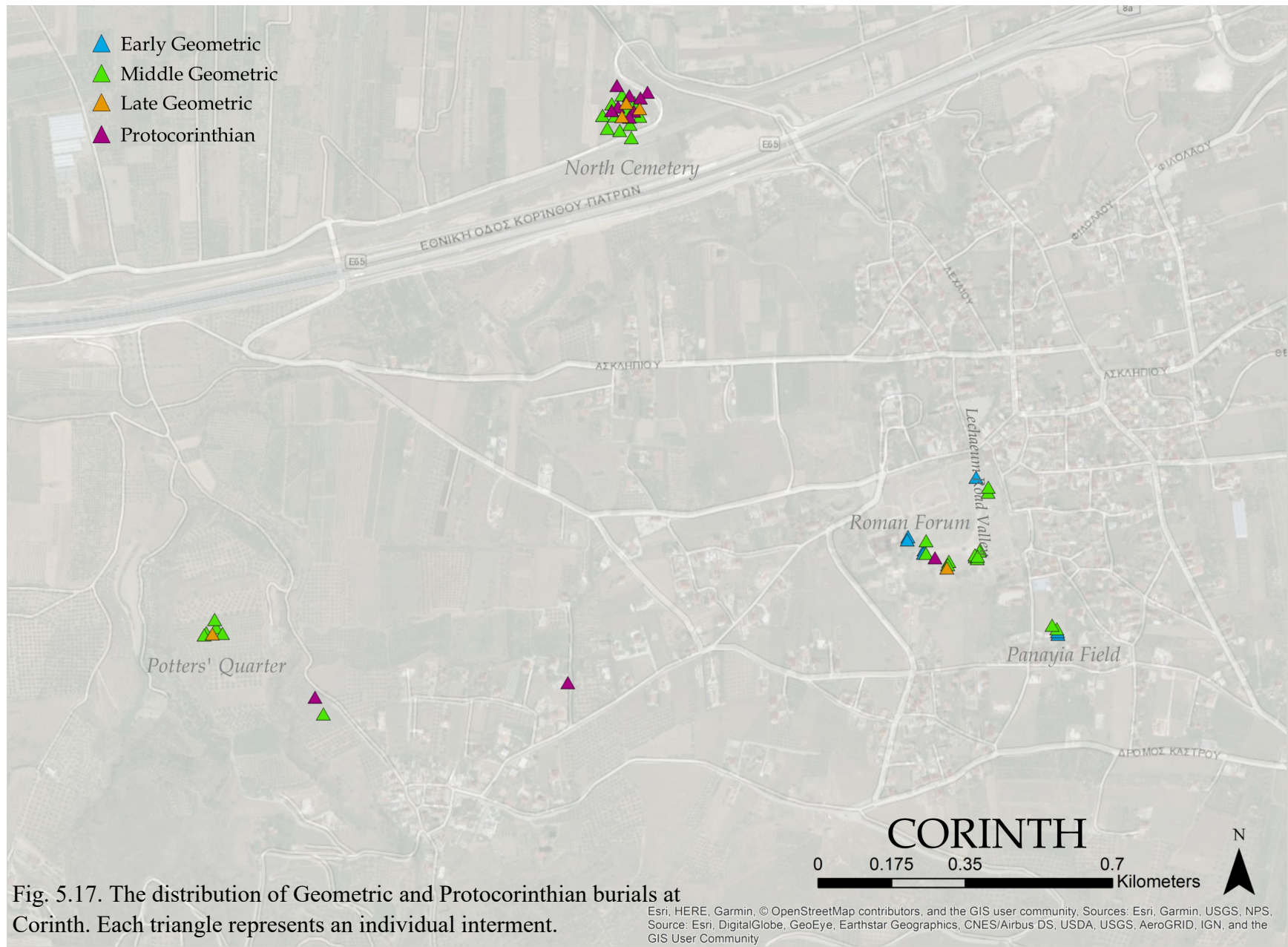


Fig. 5.17. The distribution of Geometric and Protocorinthian burials at Corinth. Each triangle represents an individual interment.

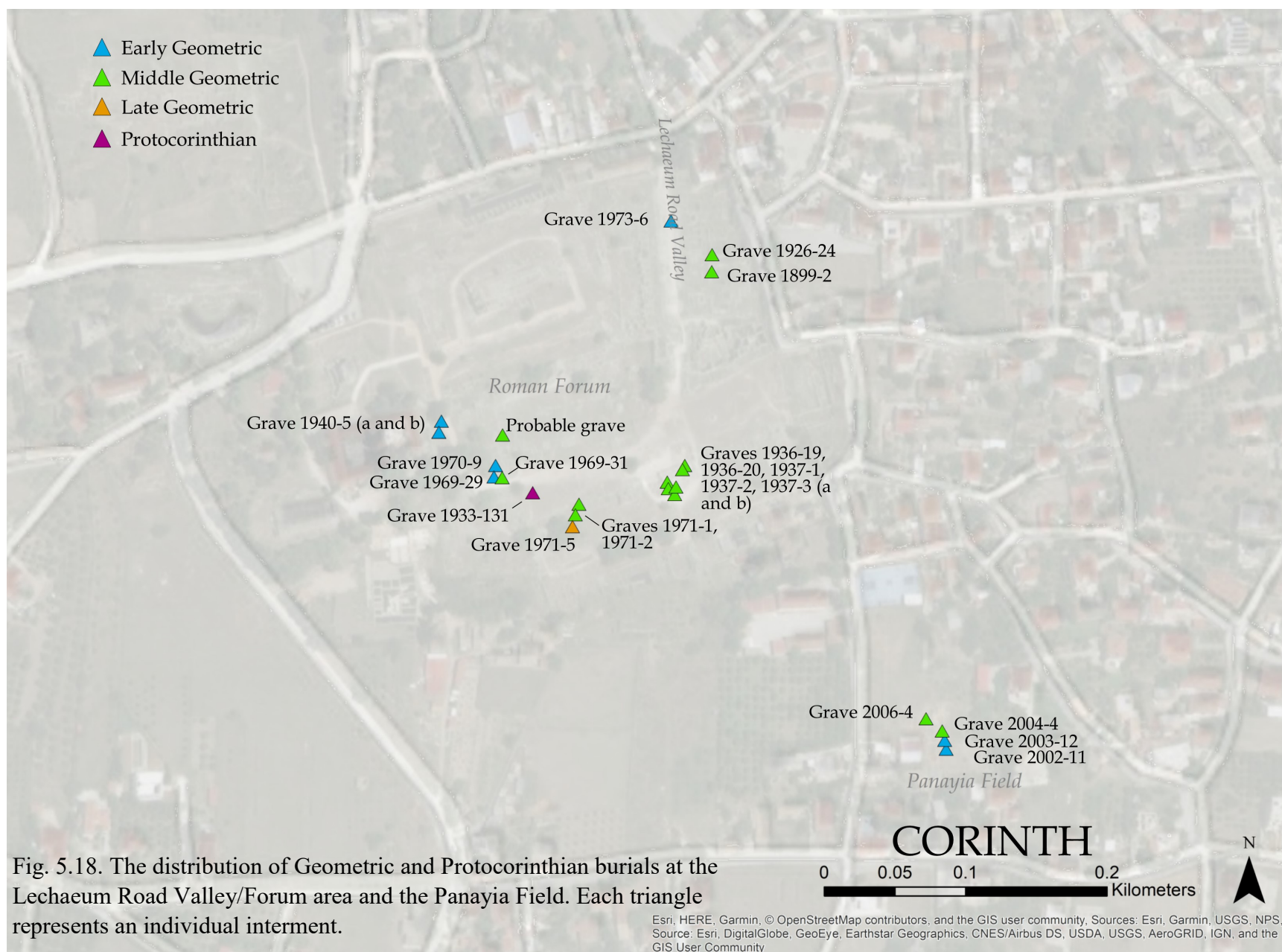
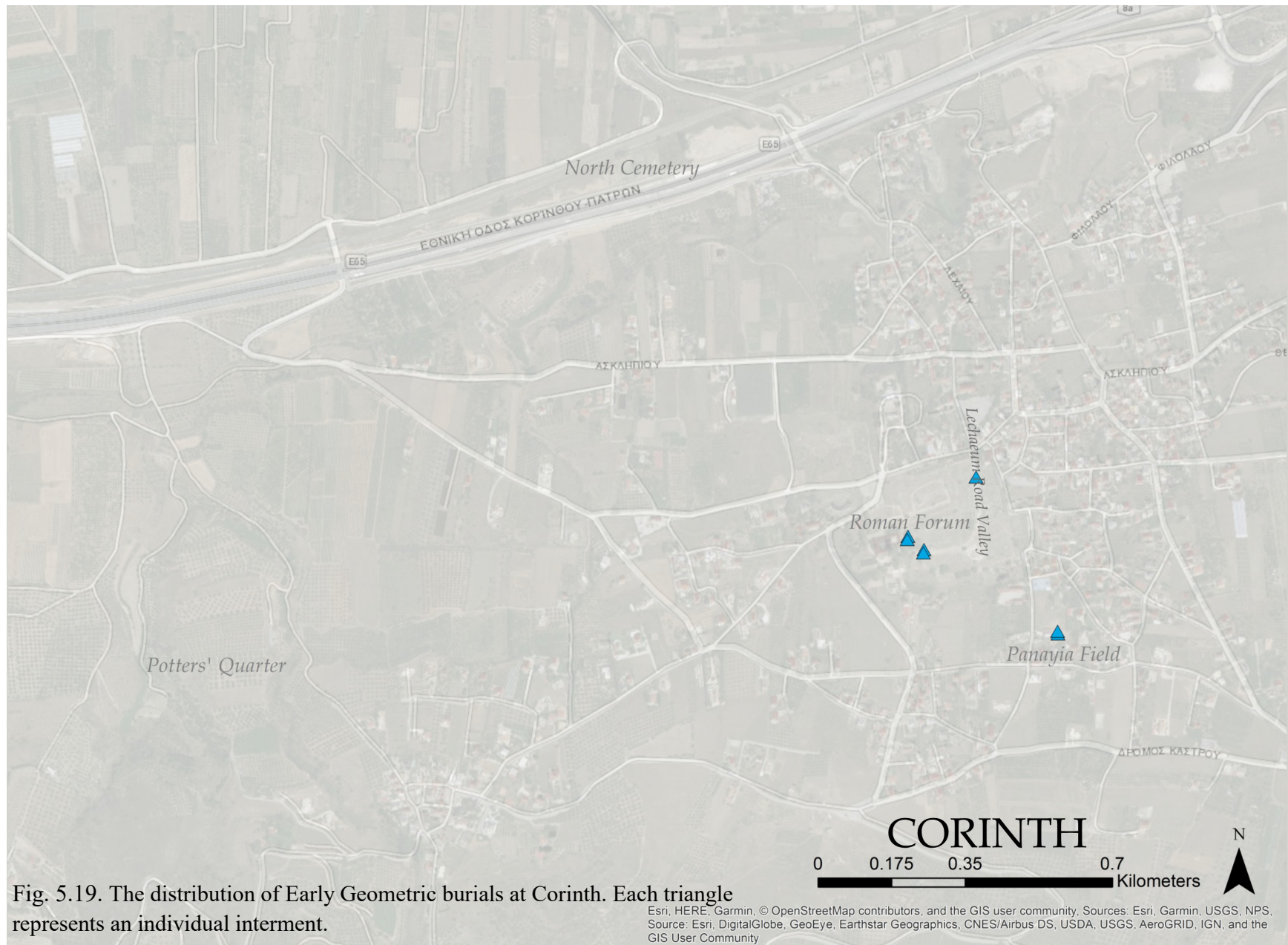
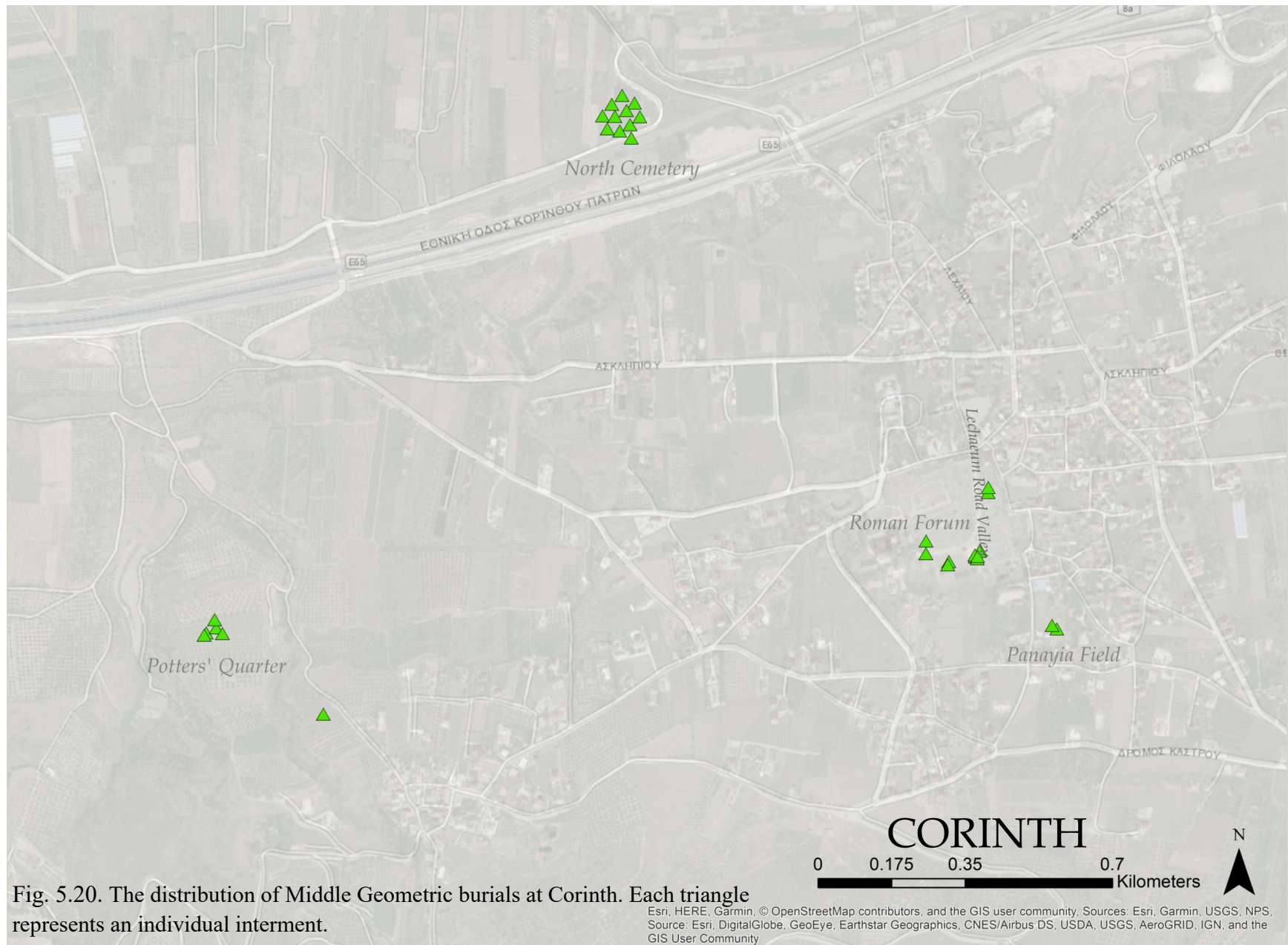
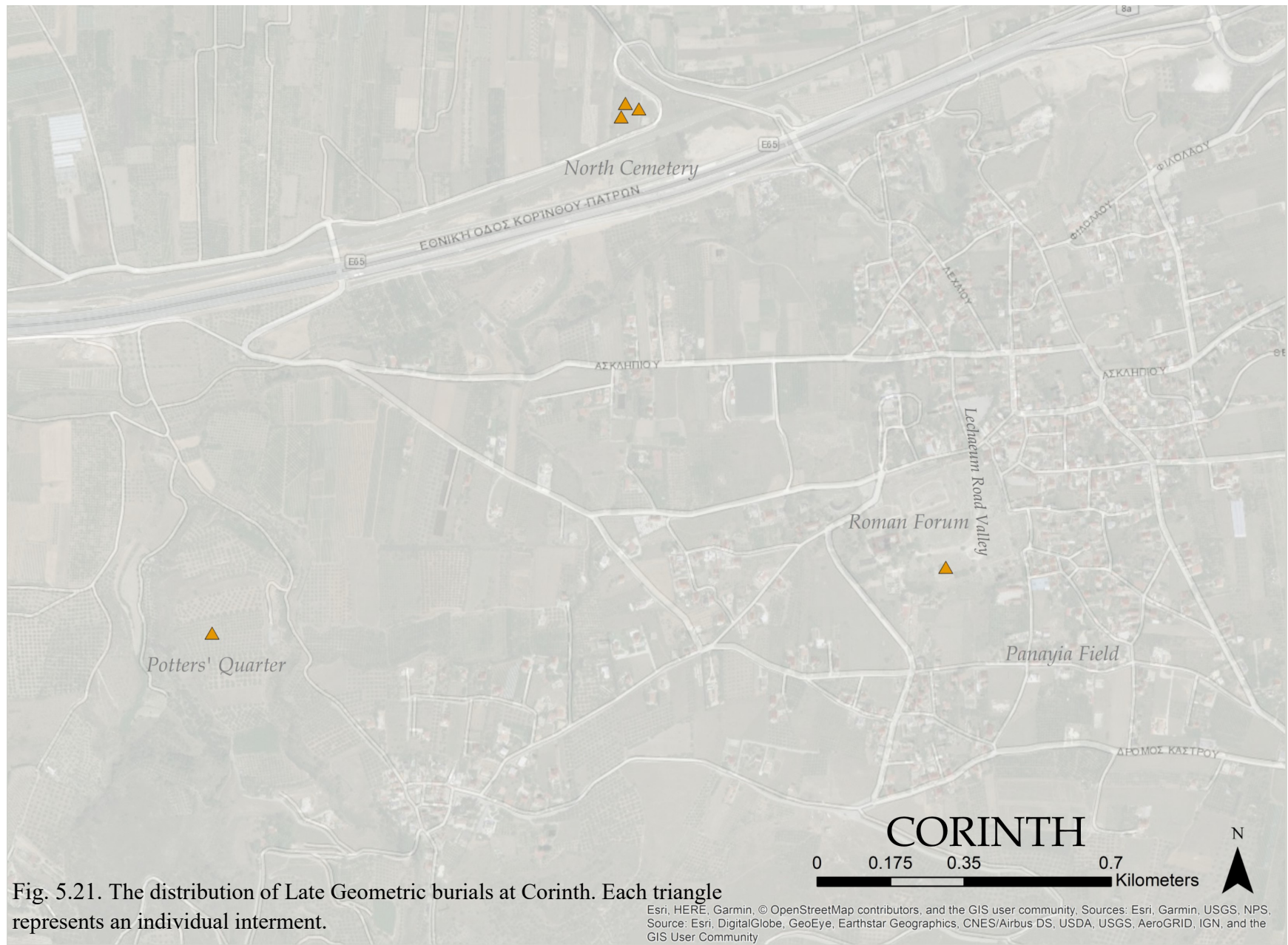


Fig. 5.18. The distribution of Geometric and Protocorinthian burials at the Lechaem Road Valley/Forum area and the Panayia Field. Each triangle represents an individual interment.

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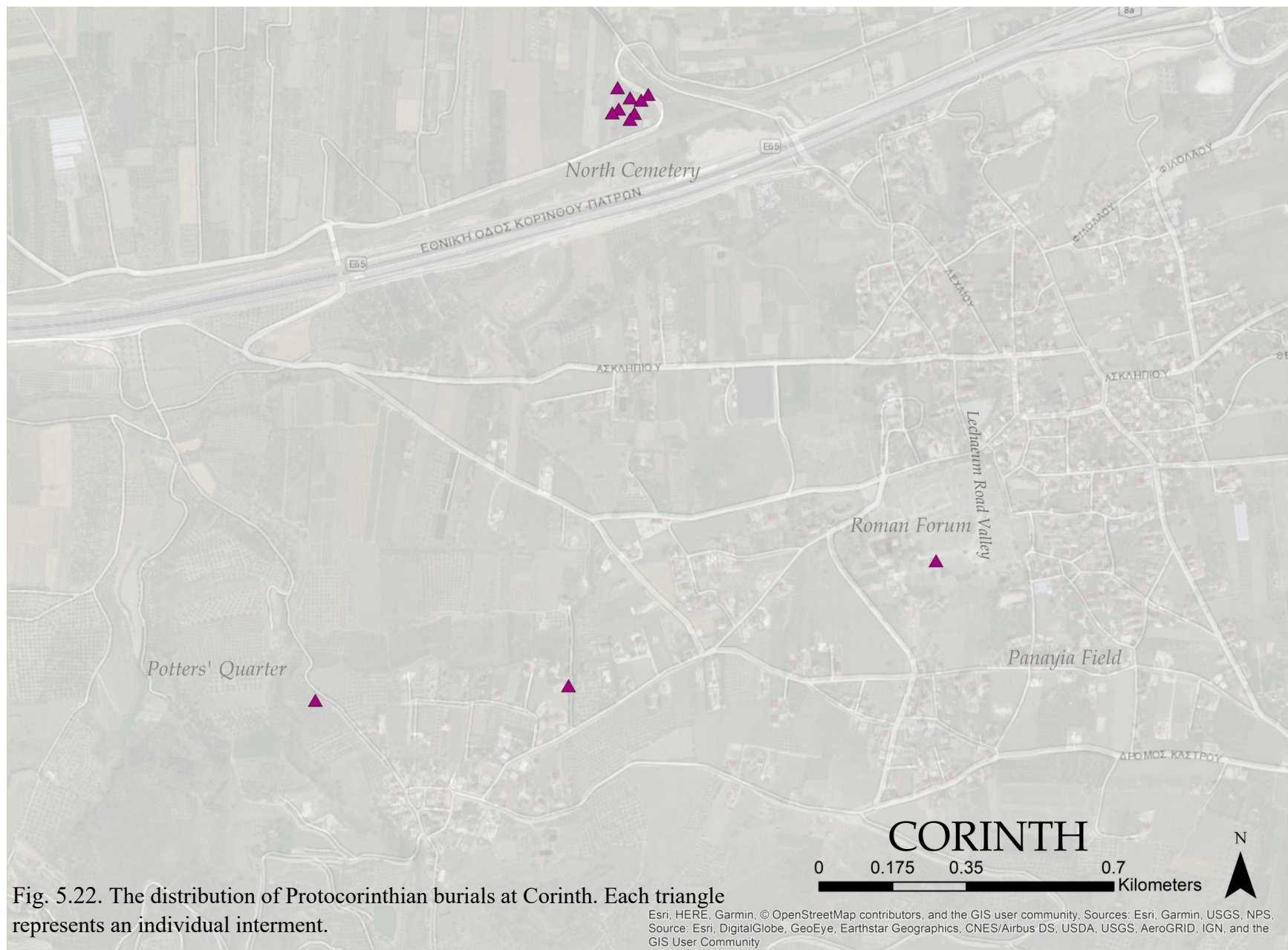
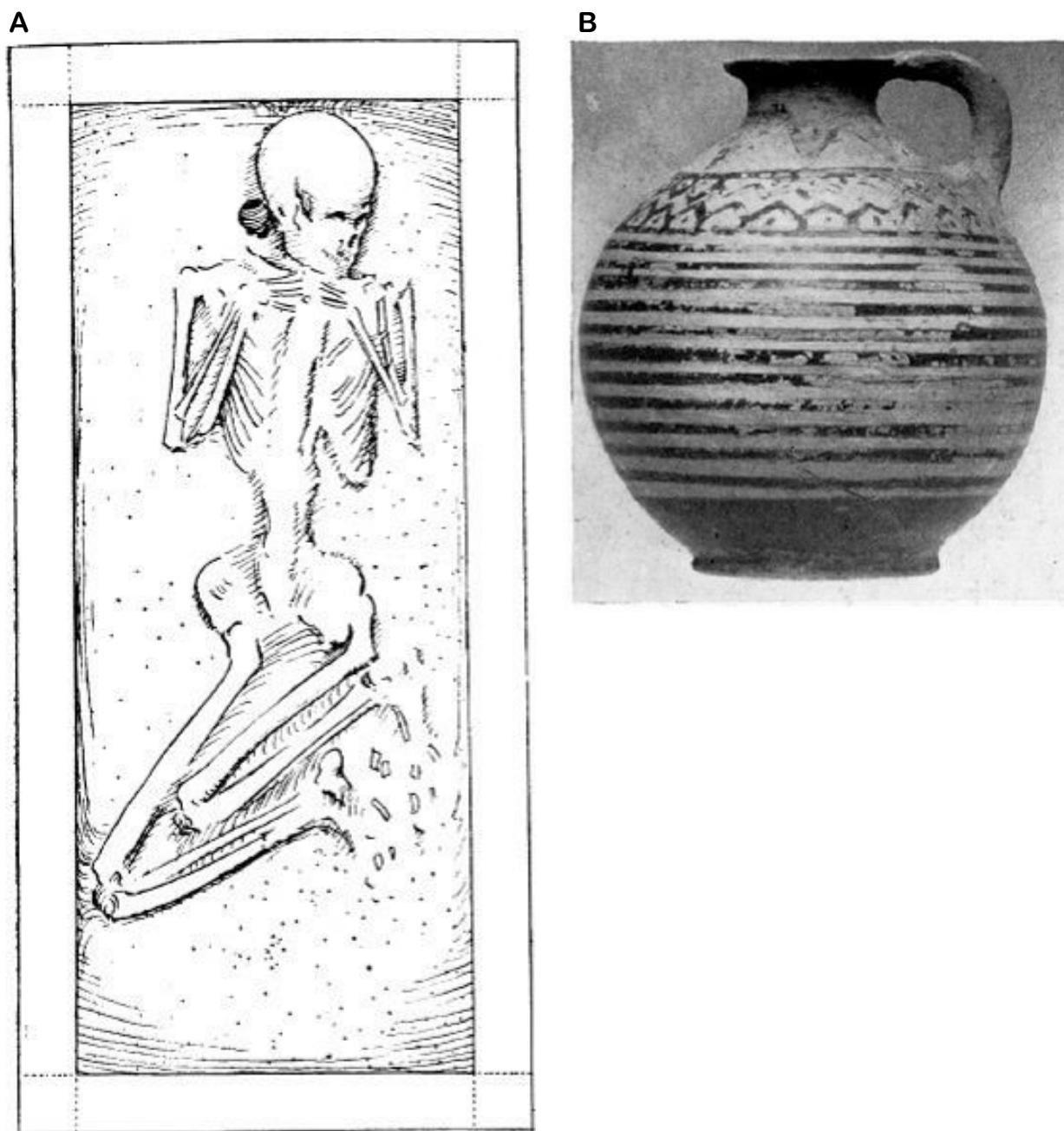


Fig. 5.22. The distribution of Protocorinthian burials at Corinth. Each triangle represents an individual interment.

Esri, HERE, Garmin, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community, Sources: Esri, Garmin, USGS, NPS, Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community

The following figures (Figs. 5.23-5.51) represent an addendum of relevant burial contexts from Corinth. They are organized according to the area in which they were found (Lechaum Road Valley, North Cemetery, Panayia Field, Potters' Quarter, and wider Corinth). Following Dickey (1992), all graves in the vicinity of the Roman forum and Temple Hill fall under the Lechaum Road Valley category. When possible, graves are arranged in order of the grave identification number designated by Corinth excavations. The current Corinth identification system includes the year of discovery followed by a context number. During earlier excavation campaigns, some of these graves were assigned different labels (sometimes using letters or Roman numerals), but the new system was applied to them retrospectively. North Cemetery graves follow the published numbers in Blegen et al. 1964.

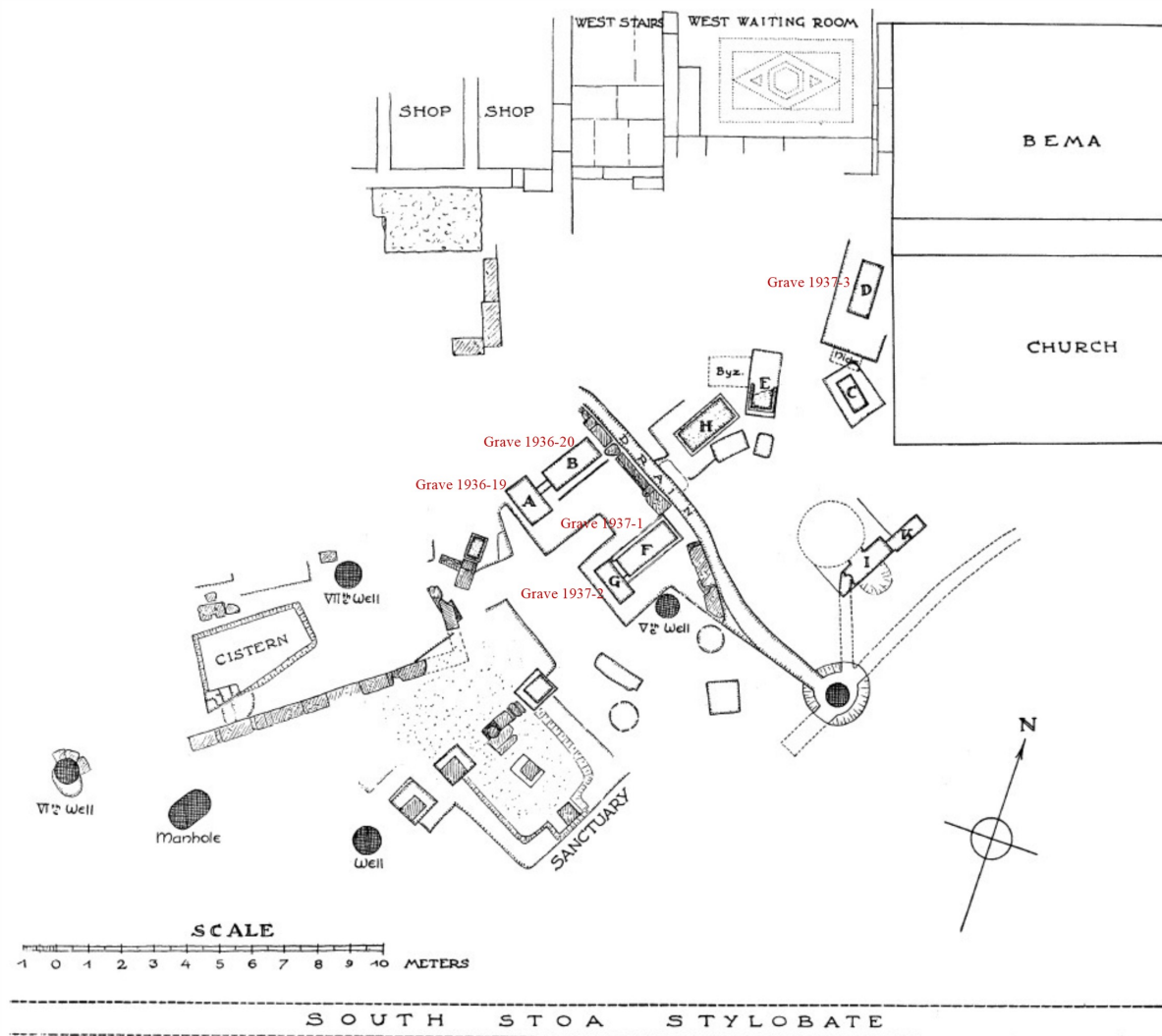
FIG. 5.23. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Grave 1933-131.



A: Plan of Grave 1933-131, showing the sarcophagus and its contents. Broneer 1933, p.567 fig.11.

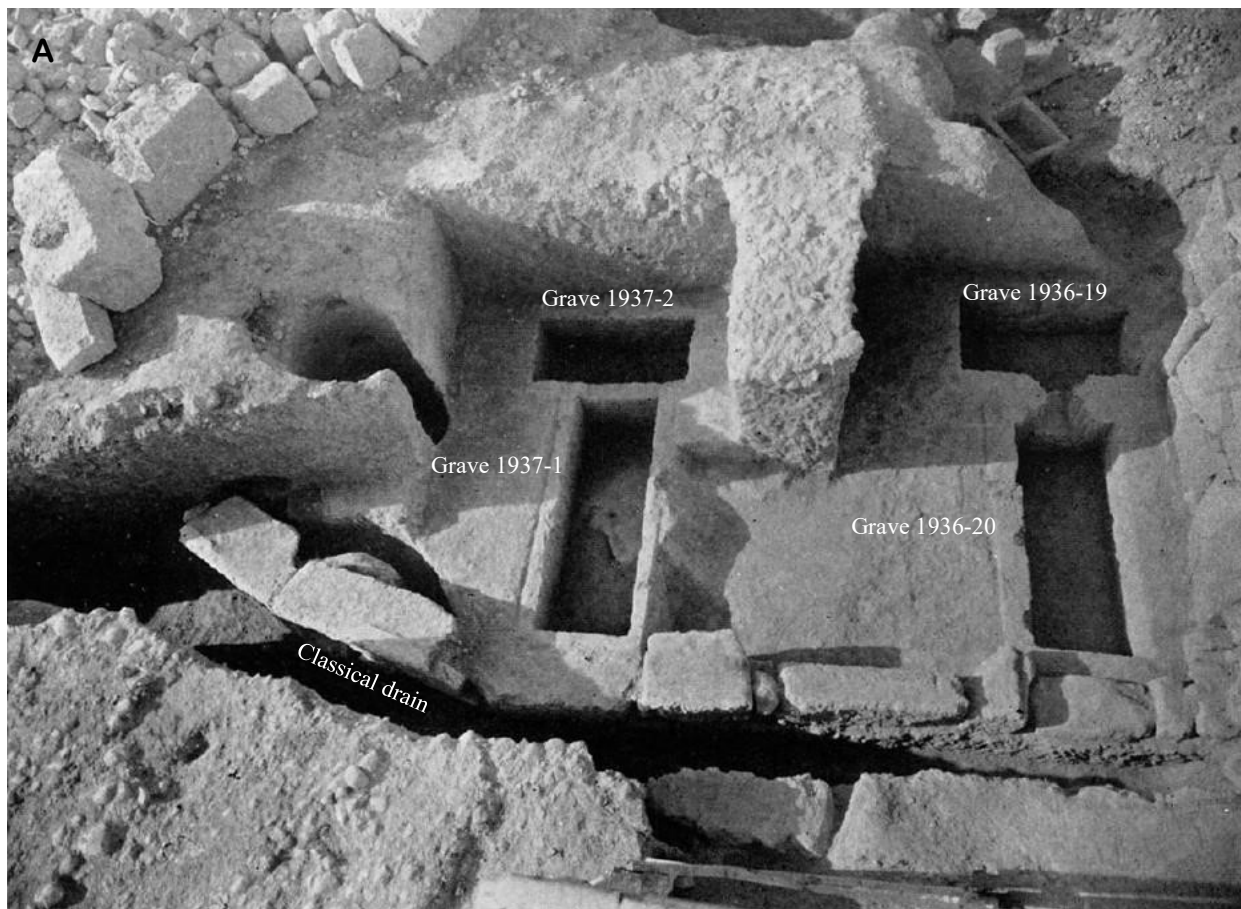
B: Protocorinthian aryballos from the grave. Broneer 1933, p.567 fig.12.

FIG. 5.24. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, grave group from the southern end of the later forum. Graves 1936-19, 1936-20, 1937-1, 1937-2, 1937-3, and the shrine.



Plan of the grave group from the southern end of the later forum and the associated shrine (marked “sanctuary”). Graves that are discussed in Chapter 5 are labeled in red. After Morgan 1937, pl.XIII.2.

FIG. 5.25. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, grave group from the southern end of the later forum. Graves 1936-19, 1936-20, 1937-1, 1937-2 and the shrine.

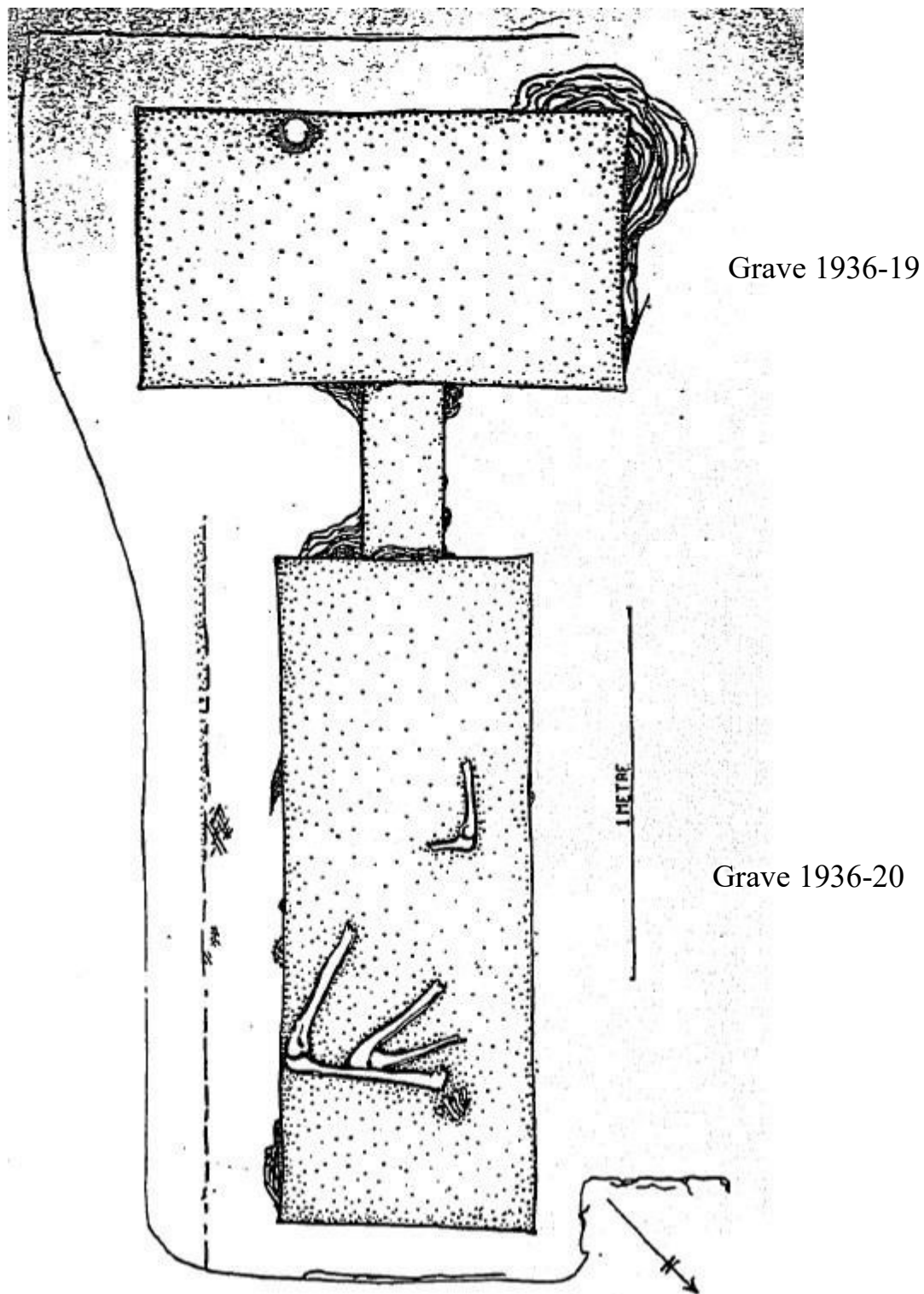


A: Compound graves of 1936-19, 1936-20, 1937-1, and 1937-2 from the north and the diverted course of the Classical drain. After Morgan 1937, pl.14.1.



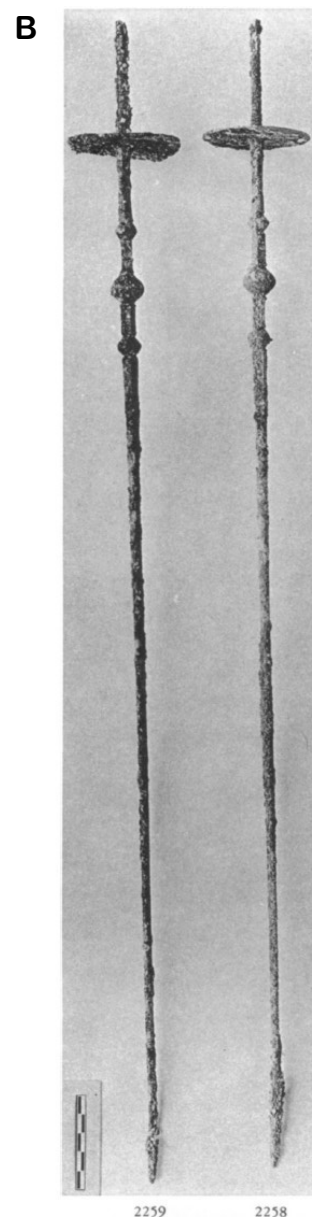
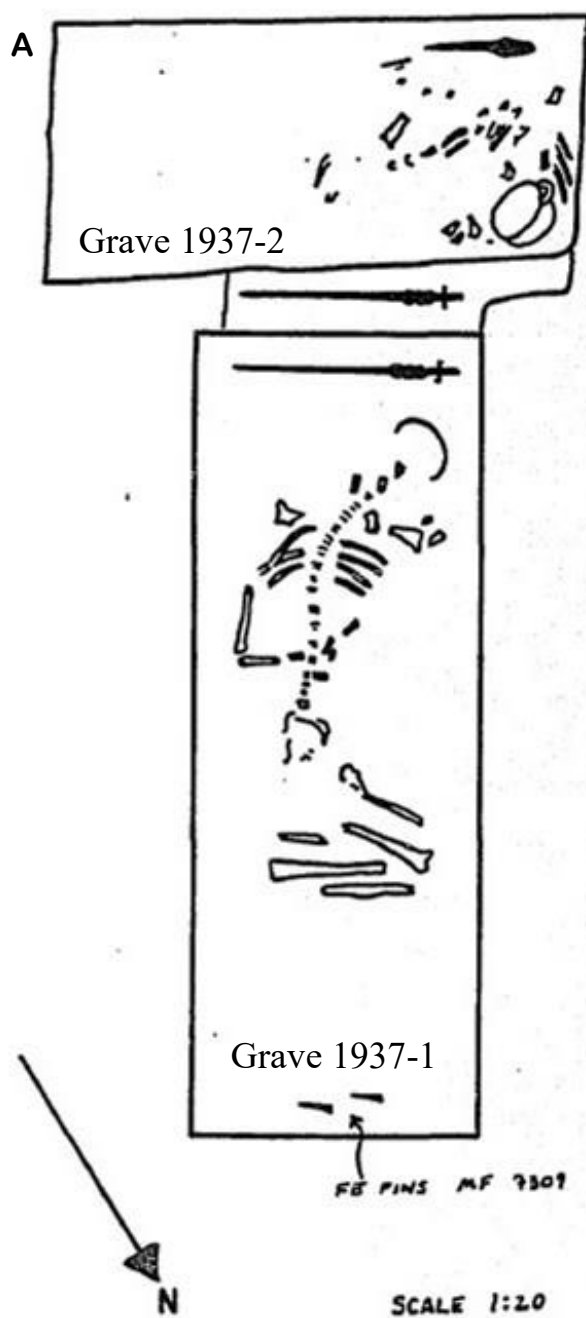
B: Pit shrine to the south of the grave group. View from the west. Morgan 1937, pl.14.2.

FIG. 5.26. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Graves 1936-19 and 1936-20.



Compound grave of 1936-19 and 1936-20 (pit graves). After Dickey 1992, pl. 17.

FIG. 5.27. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Graves 1937-1 and 1937-2.



A: Plan of compound grave of 1937-1 and 1937-2 (pit graves). After Dickey 1992, pl. 19a.

B: Pins from the shelf and Grave 1937-1. After Davidson 1952, pl.117.

C: Gold objects from Grave 1937-1. Morgan 1937, p.545 fig.7

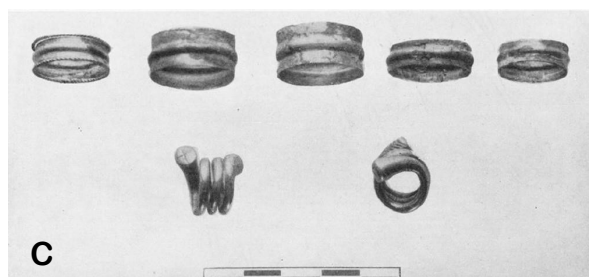
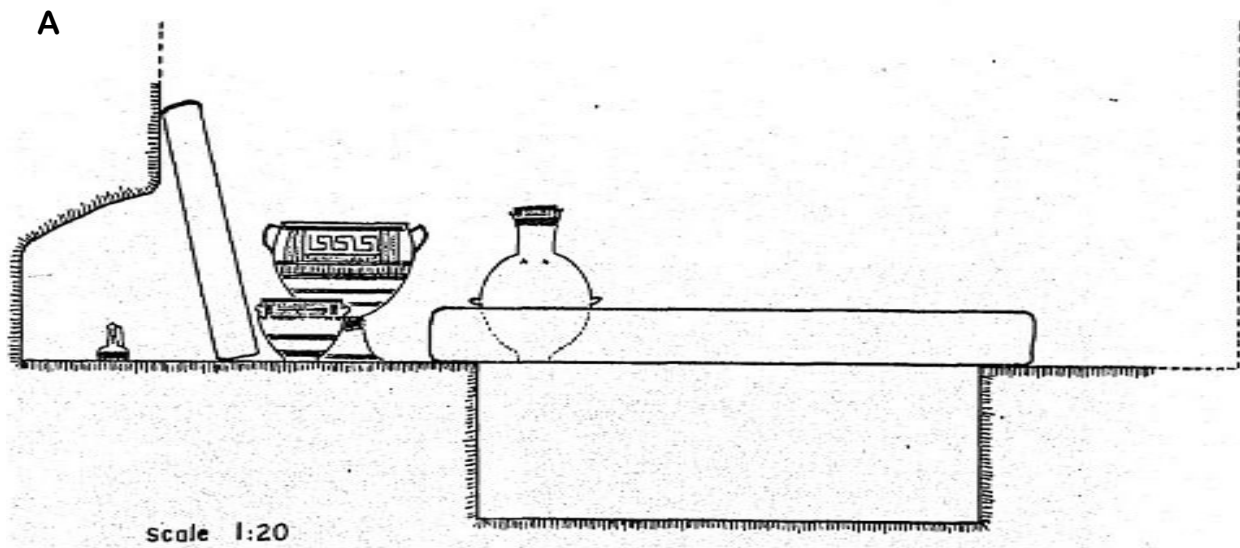


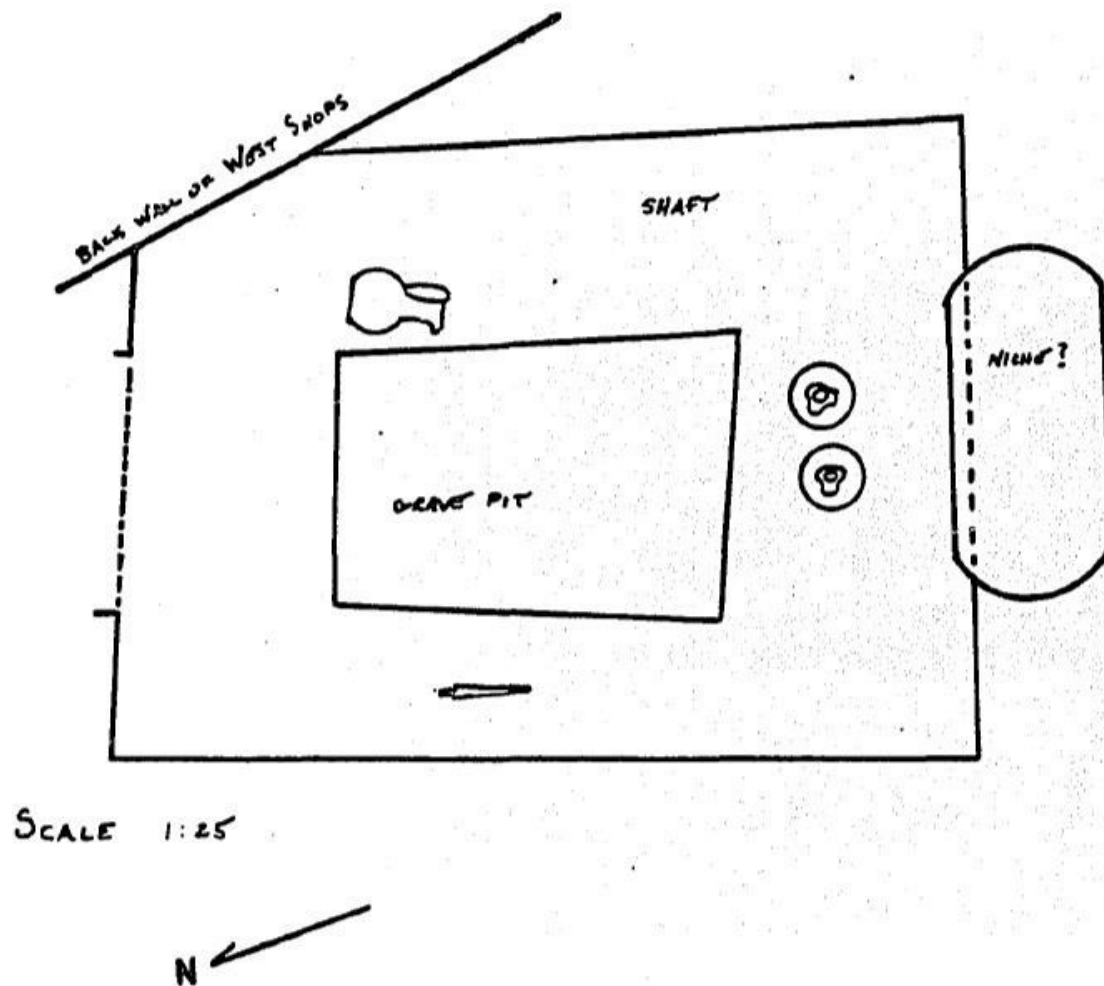
FIG. 5.28. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Grave 1937-3.



A: Section drawing of Grave 1937-3 (pit grave), showing the main pit and the subsidiary niche. Dickey 1992, pl.22bis.

B-E: Pottery from the grave shaft and the niche. Weinberg 1943, pl.12.

FIG. 5.29. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Grave 1940-5.



Basic plan of Grave 1940-5 (pit grave), showing the main grave pit and the subsidiary niche. After Dickey 1992, pl.1.

FIG. 5.30. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Grave 1969-29.



Excavation photo of Grave 1969-29, showing the skeletal remains and the “mud sarcophagus.”
Williams 1970, pl.7a

FIG. 5.31. LECHAEUM ROAD VALLEY, Grave 1969-31

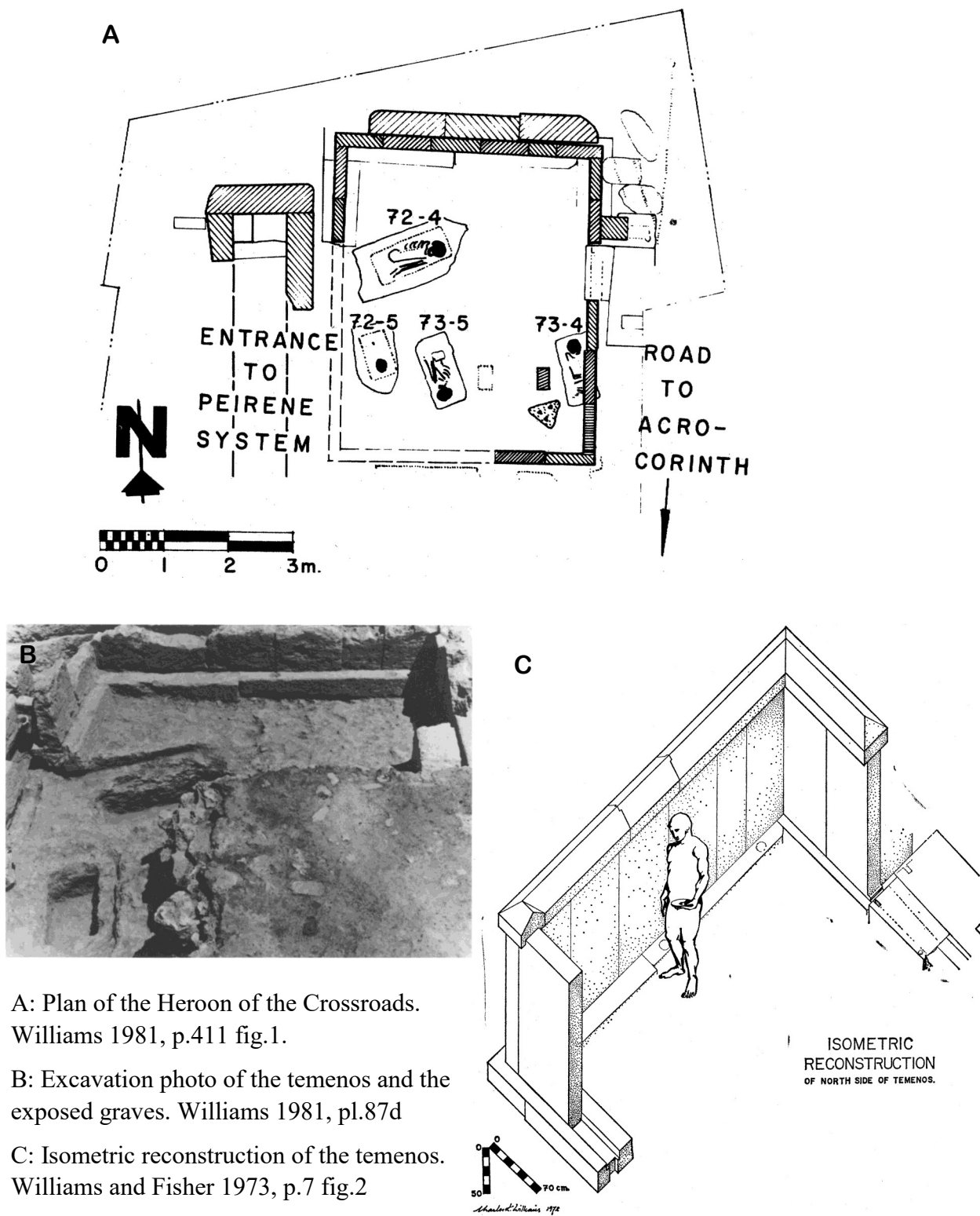


A: Excavation photo of Grave 1969-31, showing the burial pot (handmade amphora) and the stone slab cover. Williams 1970, pl.7b.

B: Handmade amphora from Grave 1969-31. Williams 1970, pl.7, no. 16.



FIG. 5.32. HEROON OF THE CROSSROADS

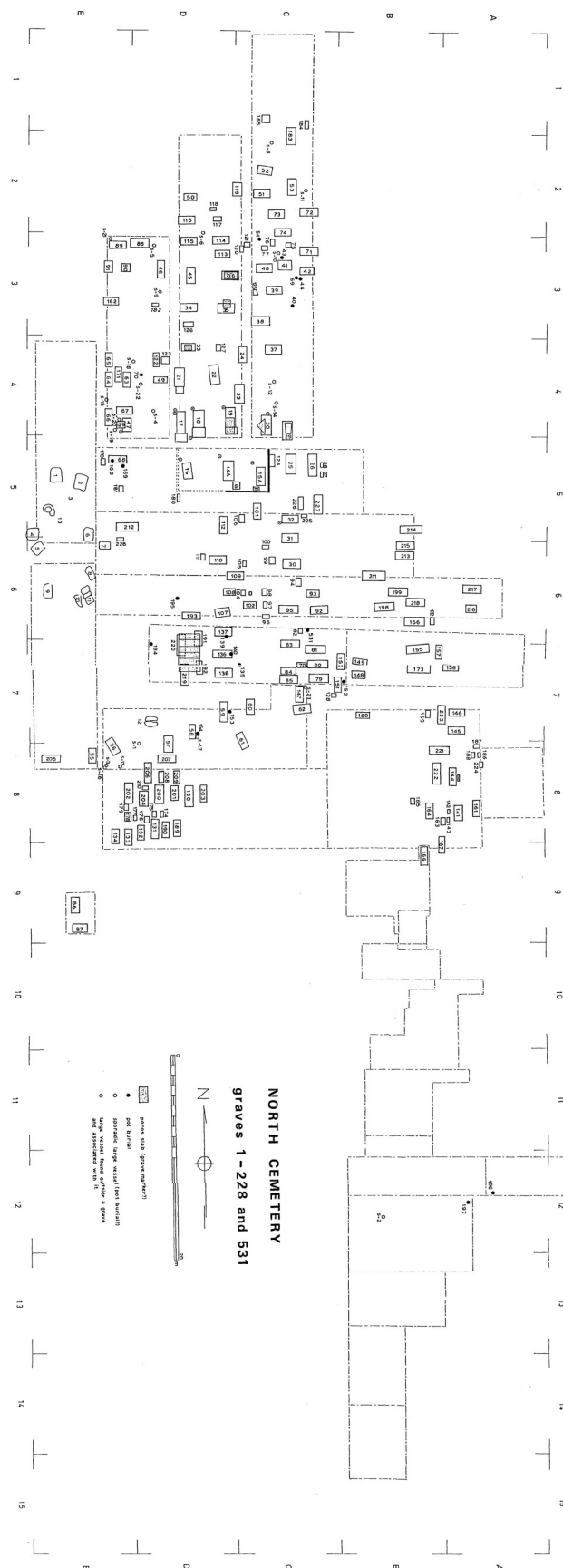


A: Plan of the Heroon of the Crossroads.
Williams 1981, p.411 fig.1.

B: Excavation photo of the temenos and the
exposed graves. Williams 1981, pl.87d

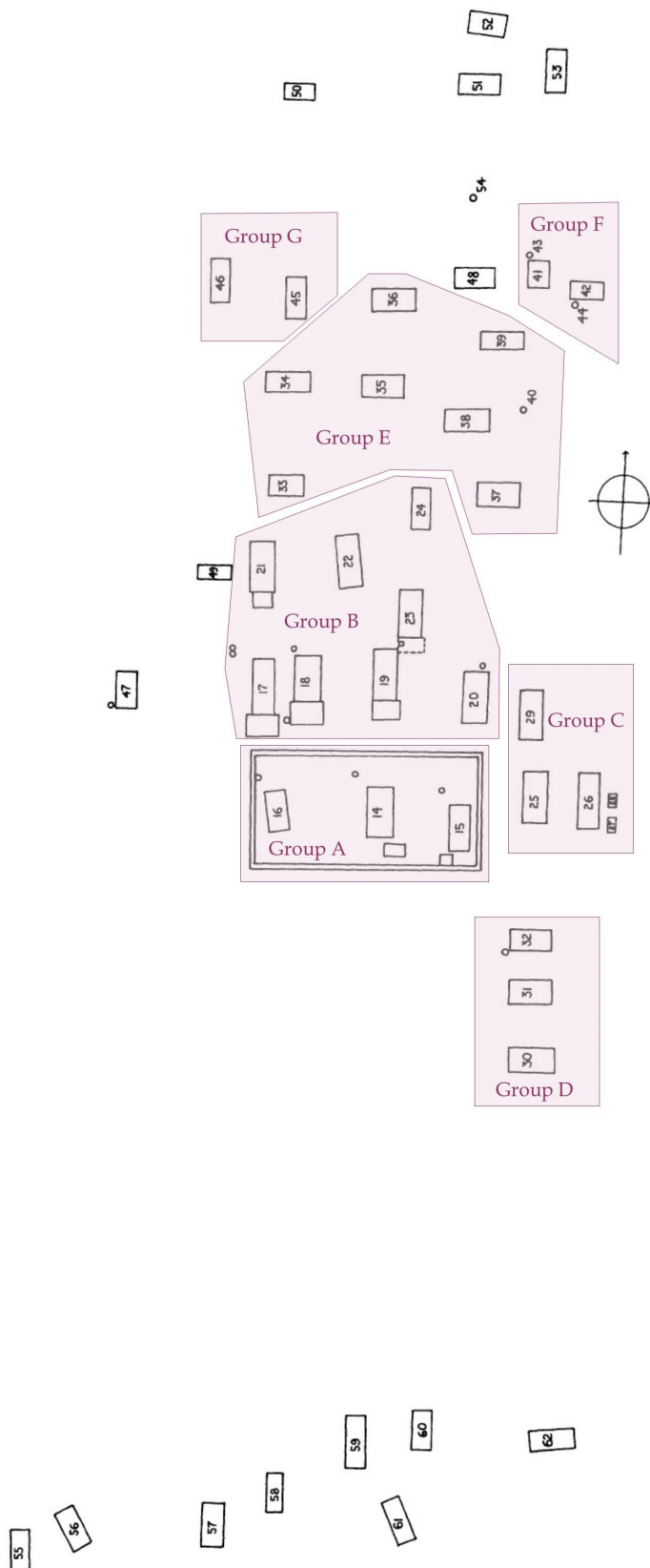
C: Isometric reconstruction of the temenos.
Williams and Fisher 1973, p.7 fig.2

FIG. 5.33. THE NORTH CEMETERY



Early Iron Age and Archaic graves at the North Cemetery. Graves 1-13 (grid 5E and 6E) are Middle Helladic. Plan is a simplified version of Blegen et al. 1964, plan 1, adapted by Dickey (1992, plan 5) to show graves from 1100 to 550 BC. Dickey's additions include a clarification of enchytrismoi, sporadic pots, and pots that are clearly associated with nearby graves.

FIG. 5.34. THE NORTH CEMETERY



Phase plan of the North Cemetery, showing only Geometric graves. Grave groups proposed by Young in Blegen et al. (1964) are shown in purple. After Blegen et al. 1964, plan 2.

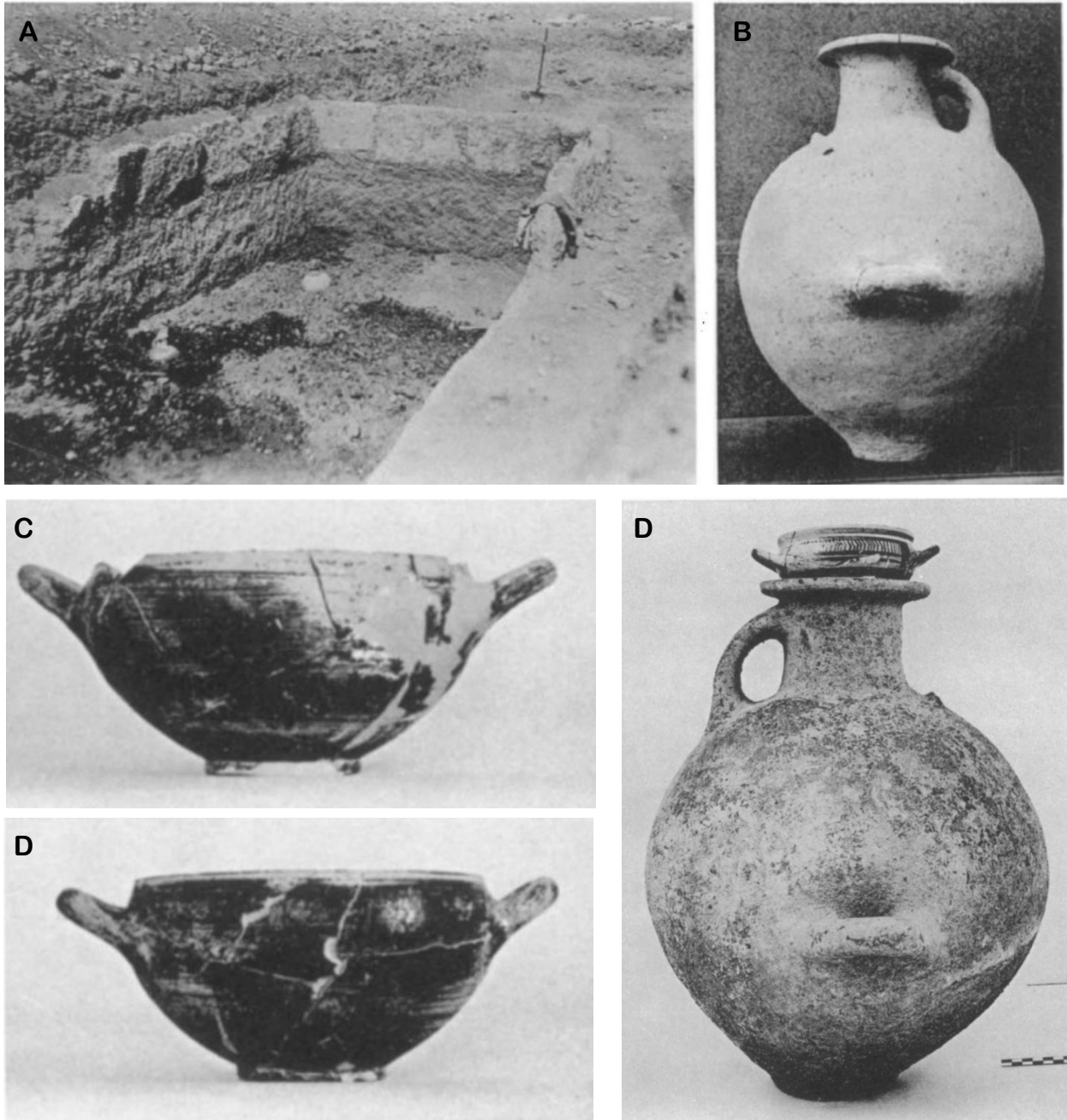
The map shows the archaeological site of Tell Fara, with various groups of structures labeled in red text. The structures are represented by rectangles of various sizes, some with numbers inside. The map is oriented with North at the top, indicated by a north arrow. A scale bar is located at the bottom left, showing a distance of 0 to 70 meters.

The groups and their locations are as follows:

- Group A:** Located in the upper right, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group B:** Located in the upper left, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group C:** Located in the middle right, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group D:** Located in the middle left, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group E:** Located in the lower right, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group F:** Located in the lower left, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group G:** Located in the center, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.
- Group H:** Located in the lower center, containing structures 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 15

Phase plan of the North Cemetery,
showing only Protocorinthian graves.
Grave groups proposed by Young in
Blegen et al. (1964) are shown in purple.
After Blegen et al. 1964, plan 3.

FIG. 5.36. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Graves 14A and 15A, and 16.



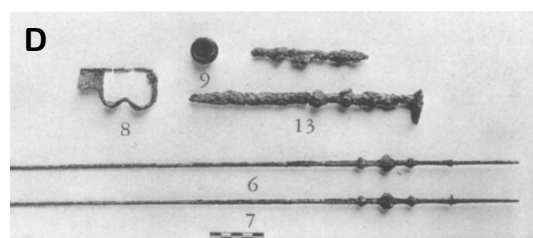
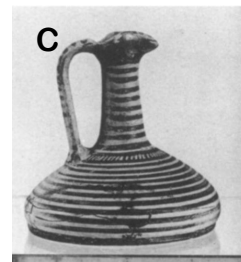
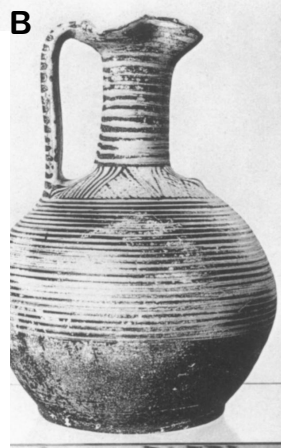
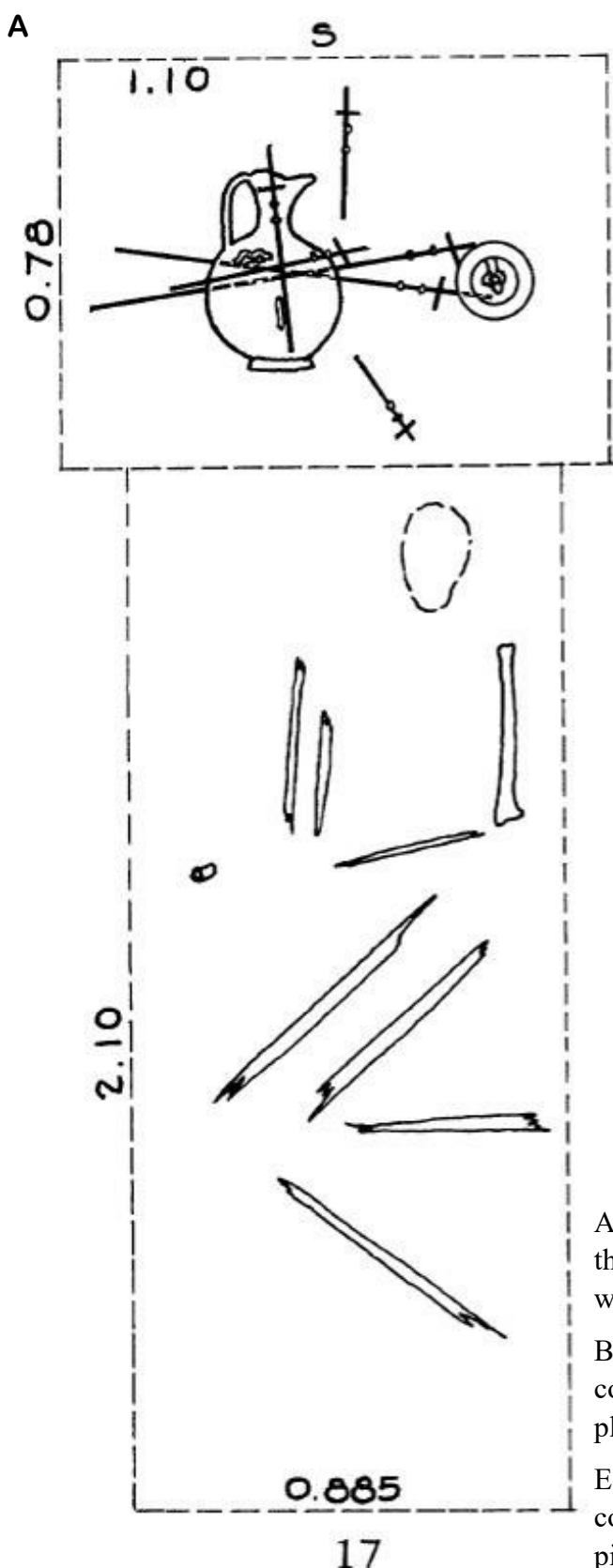
A: Excavation photo of Graves 14A and 15A, showing the Geometric peribolos and the hydriae that stood outside at the northwest corner of the graves. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.6.

B: Handmade hydria from the northwest corner of Grave 14A. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.6.

C-D: Skyphoi that capped the hydriae at the corner of Graves 14A and 15A. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.6.

E: Handmade hydria capped with skyphos from the northwest corner of Grave 16. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.6.

FIG. 5.37. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Grave 17.

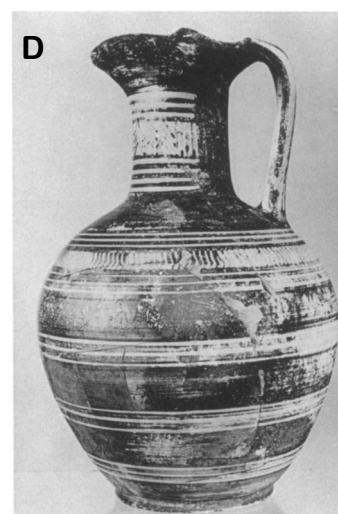
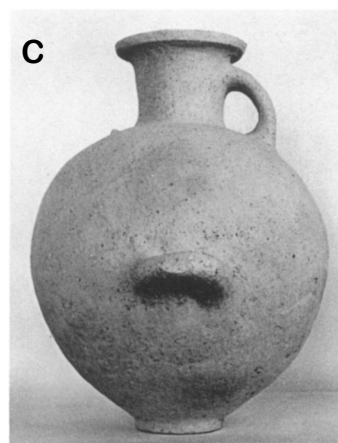
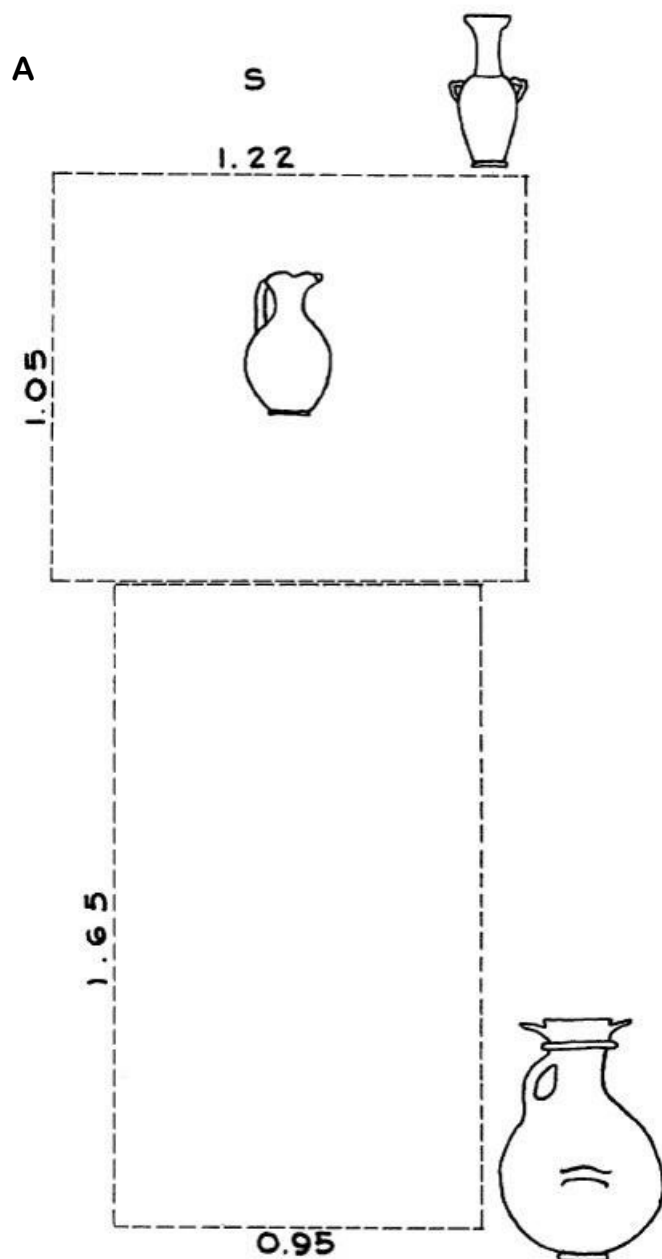


A: Drawing of Grave 17 (pit grave), showing the main pit and the subsidiary compartment with grave goods. Blegen et al 1964 pl.102.

B-D: Grave goods from the subsidiary compartment of Grave 17. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.7.

E: Krater that stood outside the northwest corner next to a handmade hydria (not pictured). Blegen et al. 1964, pl.7.

FIG. 5.38. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Grave 18.



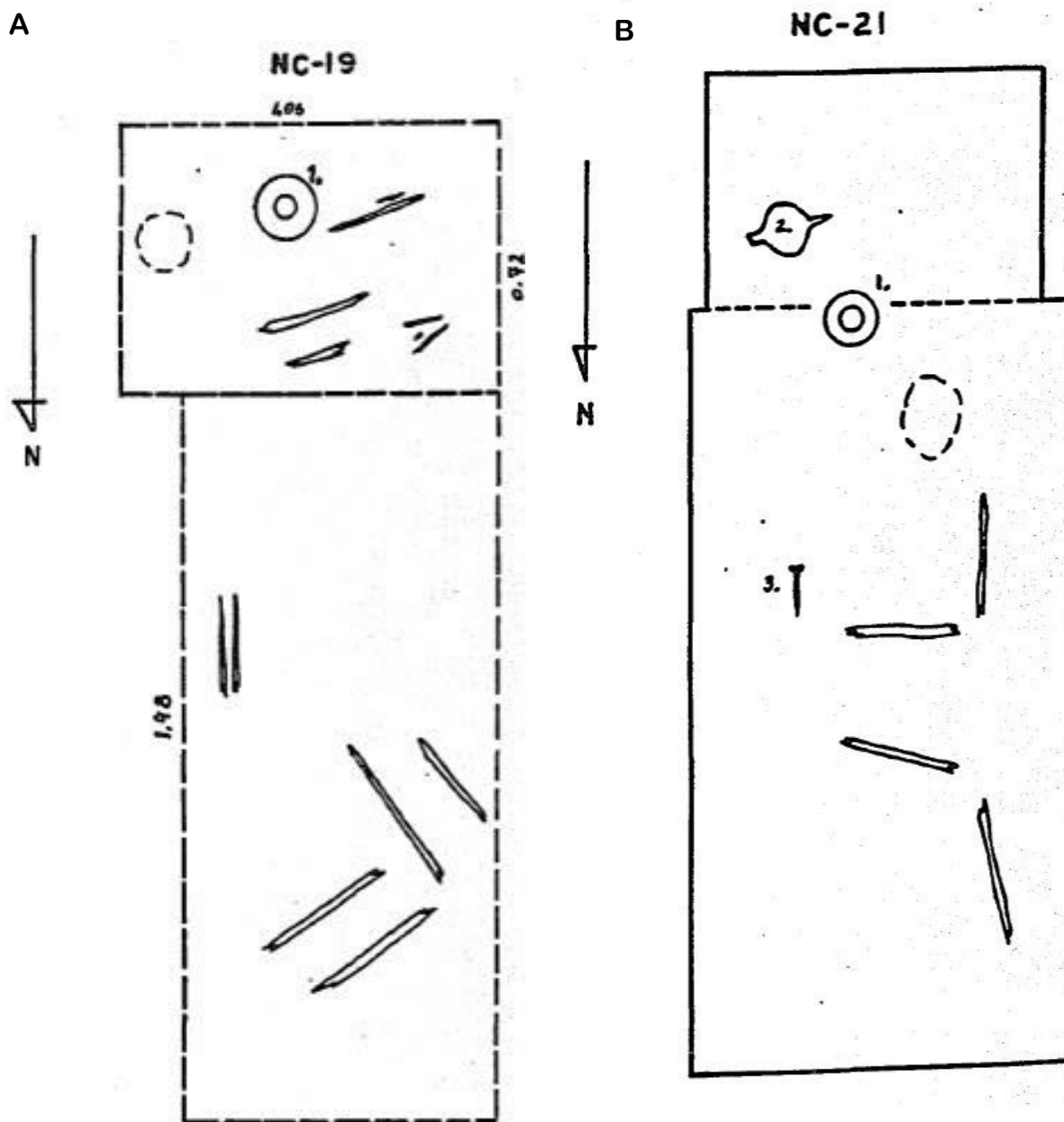
A: Drawing of Grave 18, showing the main pit, the subsidiary compartment, and the pottery from outside the grave. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.102.

B: Amphora that stood outside the southwest corner of the grave. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.8.

C: Handmade hydria that stood outside the northwest corner of the grave. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.8.

D: Oinochoe from the subsidiary compartment of the grave. Blegen et al. 1964, pl.8.

FIG. 5.39. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Graves 19 and 21.



A: Drawing of Grave 19 (pit grave), showing the main pit and the subsidiary compartment with grave goods. Dickey 1992, pl.30.

B: Drawing of Grave 21 (pit grave), showing the main pit and the subsidiary compartment with grave goods. Dickey 1992, pl.31.

FIG. 5.40. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Graves 43 and 44.

A



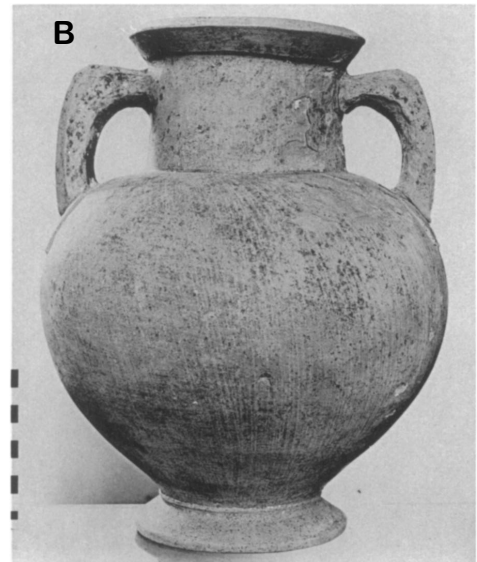
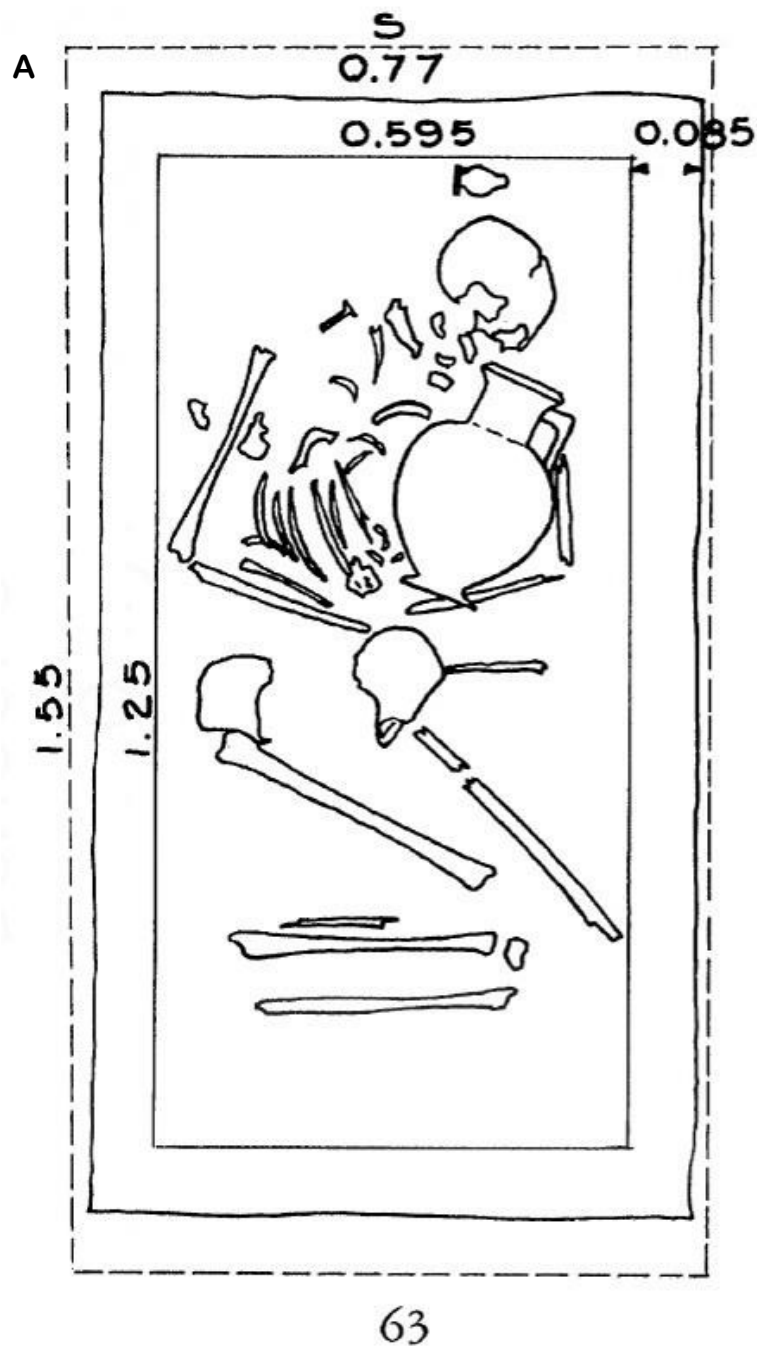
A: Grave 43: Geometric krater (Argive), found covered with a stone slab outside Grave 41. No bones were found inside, but the slab cover suggests an *enchytrismos*. Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 9.

B: Grave 44: Geometric krater, found covered with a stone slab outside Grave 42. Contained subadult bones. Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 9.

B



FIG. 5.41. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Grave 63.



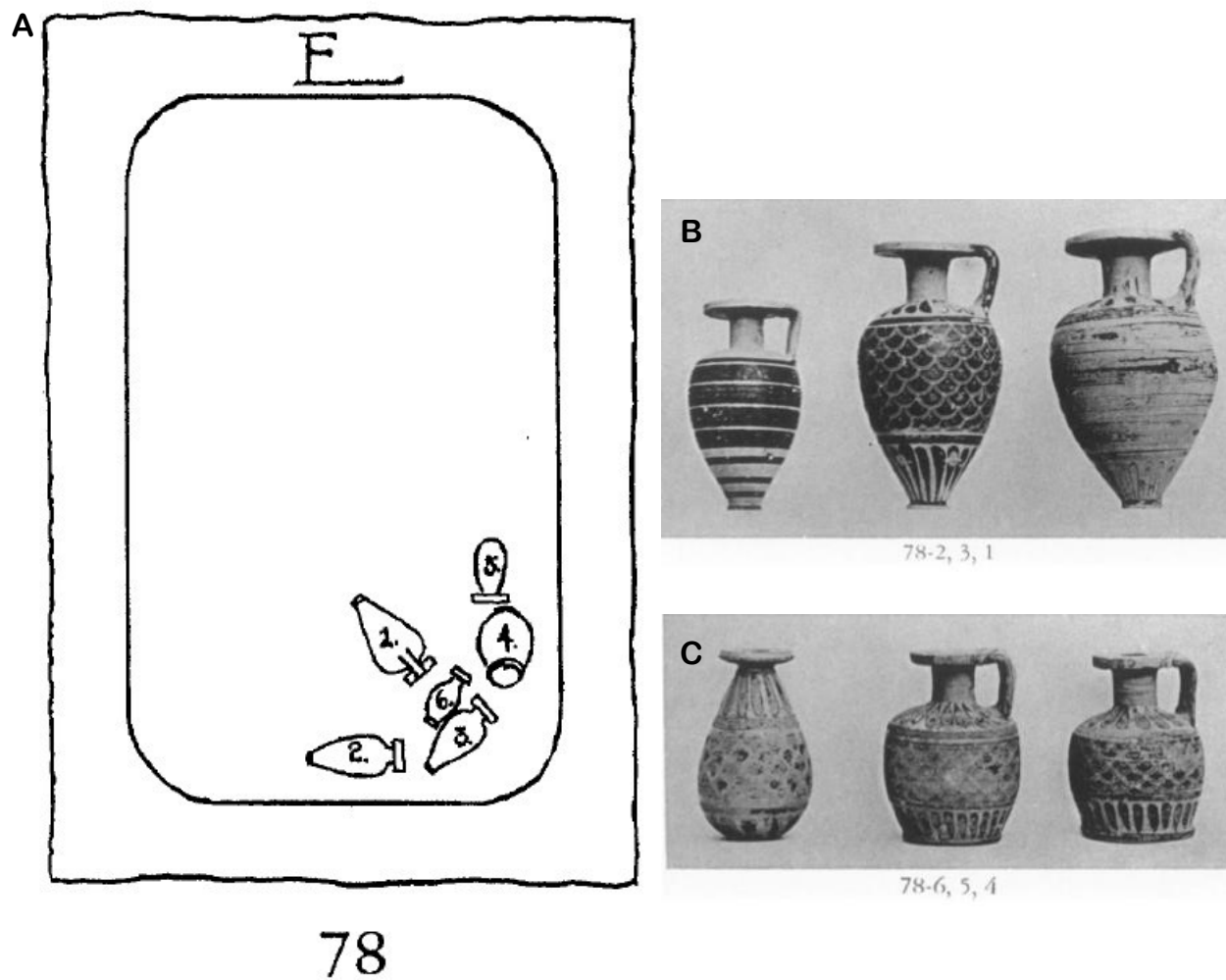
A: Drawing of Grave 63 (monolithic sarcophagus) and its contents.

Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 102.

B: Plain amphora from Grave 63.

Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 12.

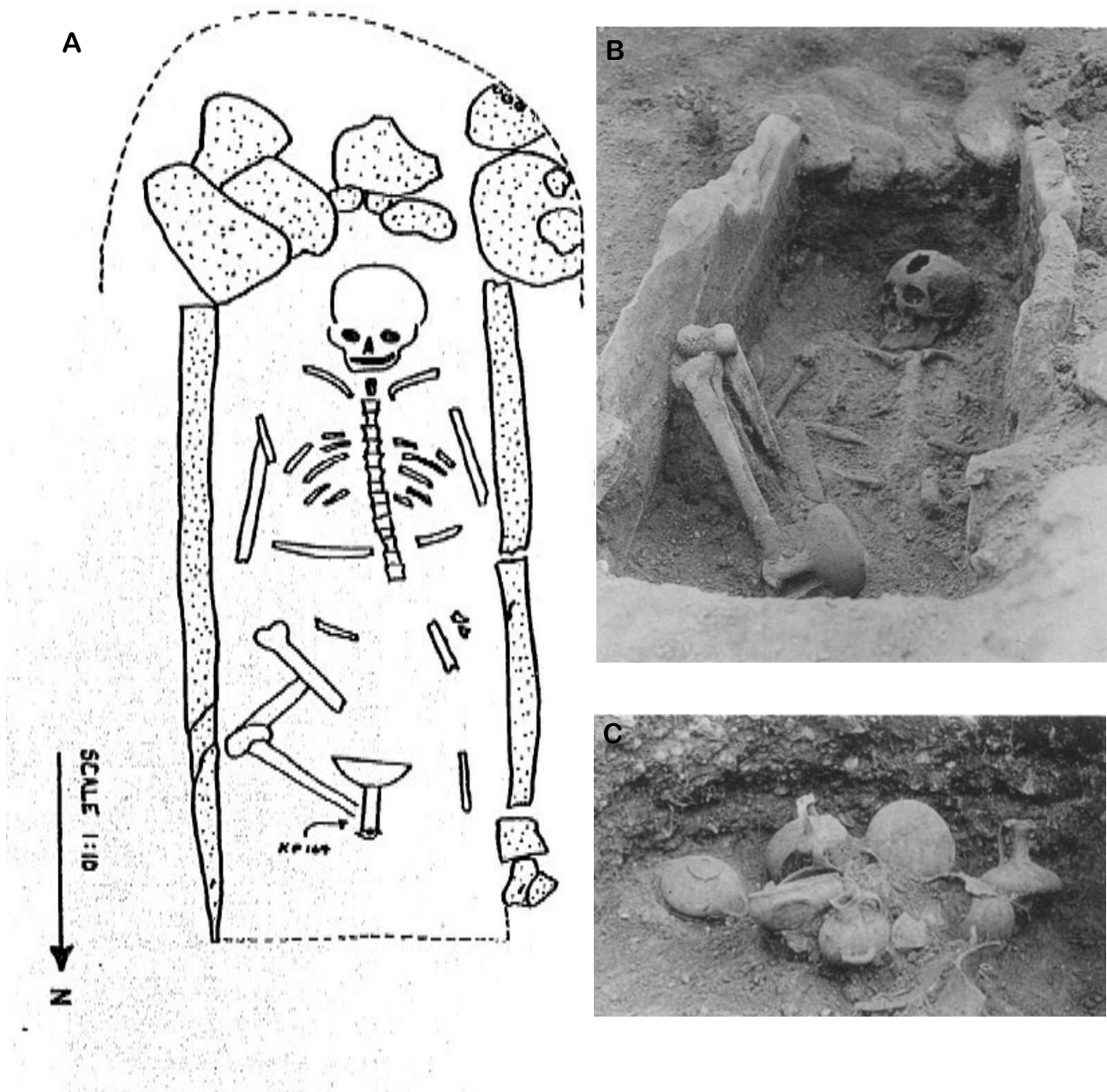
FIG. 5.42. THE NORTH CEMETERY, Grave 78.



A: Drawing of Grave 78 (monolithic sarcophagus for subadult) and its contents. Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 102.

B-C: Aryballoi and alabastron from Grave 78. Blegen et al. 1964, pl. 12.

FIG. 5.43. THE POTTERS' QUARTER, Grave 1931-98

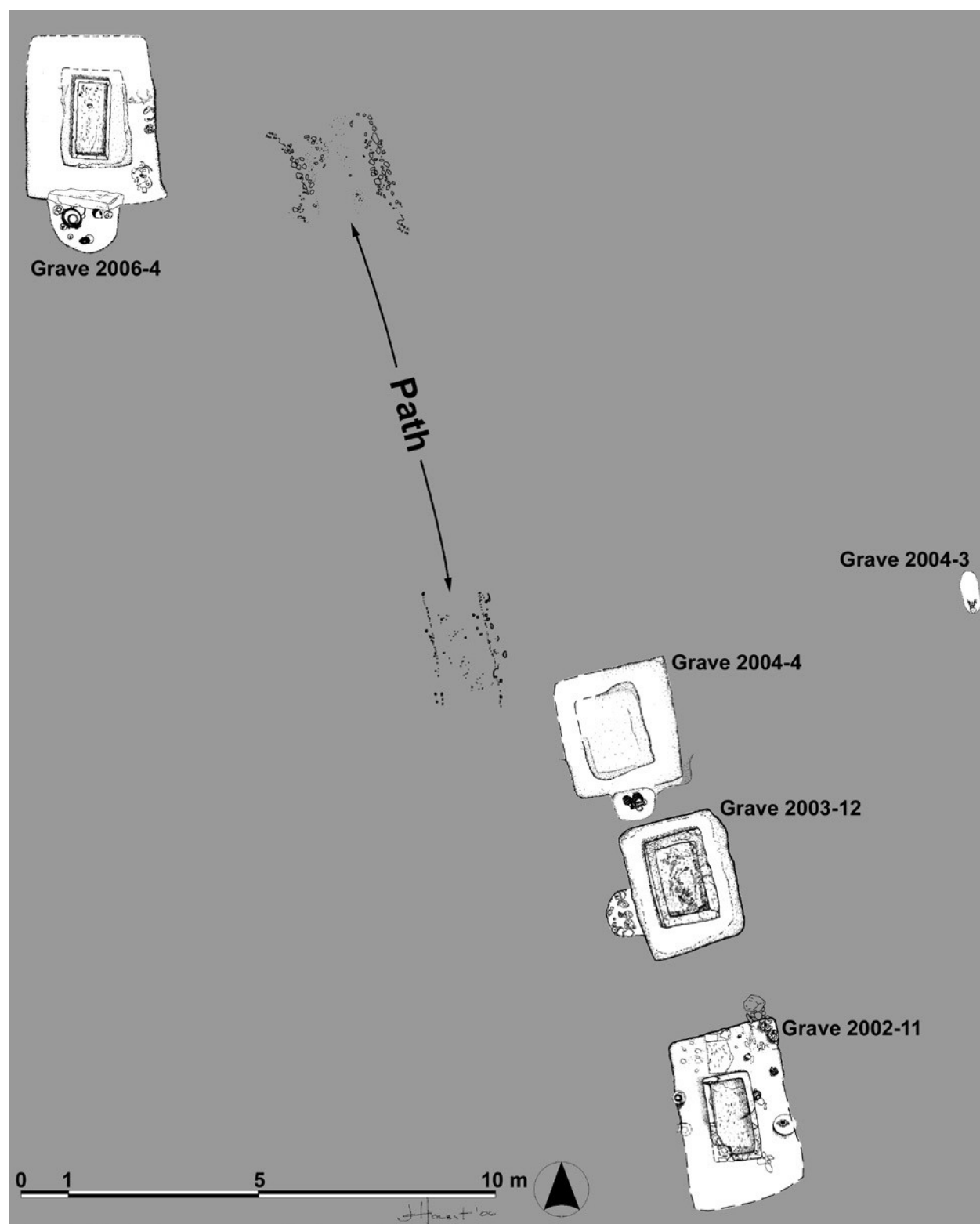


A: Drawing of Grave 1931-98 (combination cist grave with rubble-built short sides and slab-lined long sides) and its contents. After Dickey 1992 pl.26.

B: Excavation photo of Grave 1931-98. Stillwell 1948 pl.2C.

C: Vases outside Grave 1931-98. Stillwell 1948 pl.2A.

FIG. 5.44. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Graves 2002-11, 2003-12, 2004-4, 2006-4, and 2004-3.



Plan of the Panayia Field Geometric grave group (Graves 2002-11, 2003-12, 2004-4, 2006-4, and 2004-3) and the path that leads towards the Lechaëum Road Valley. Grave 2004-3 is Geometric, but a more precise date could not be ascertained.

FIG. 5.45. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Graves 2002-11, 2003-12, 2004-4, and 2004-3.

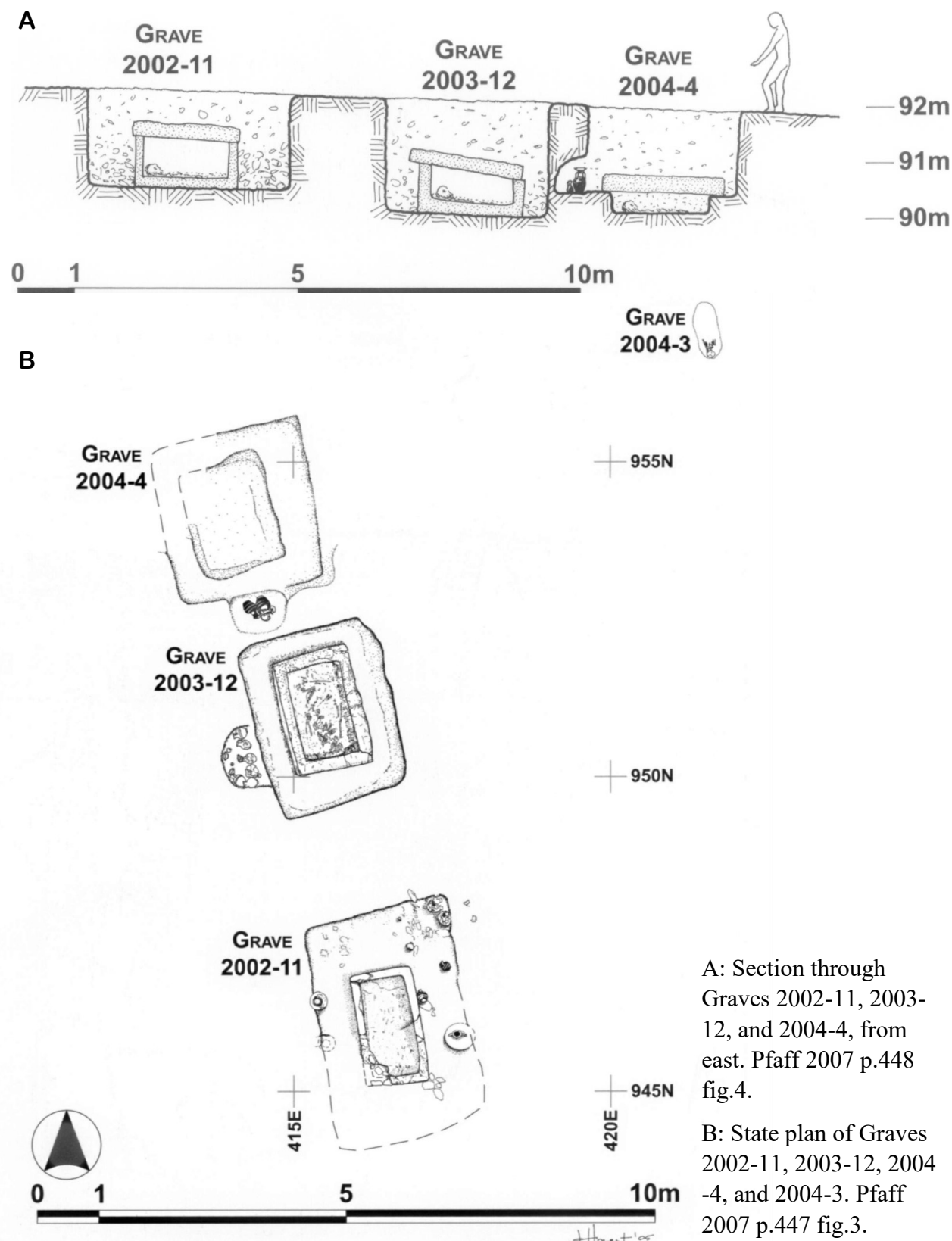
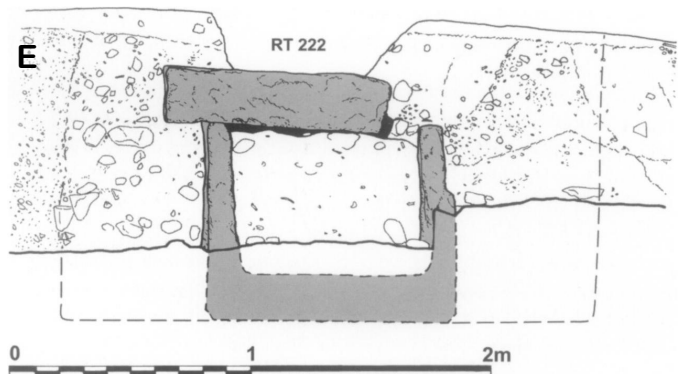
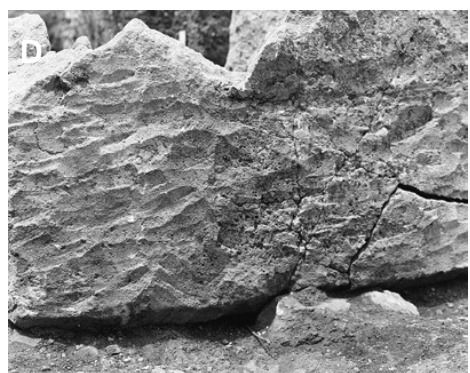
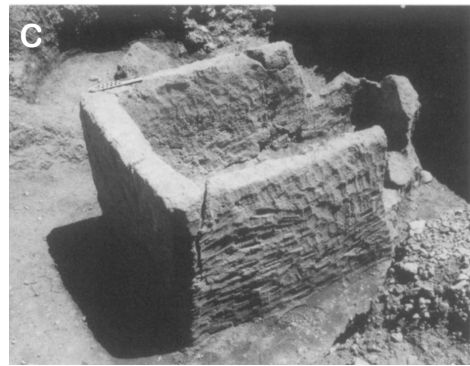
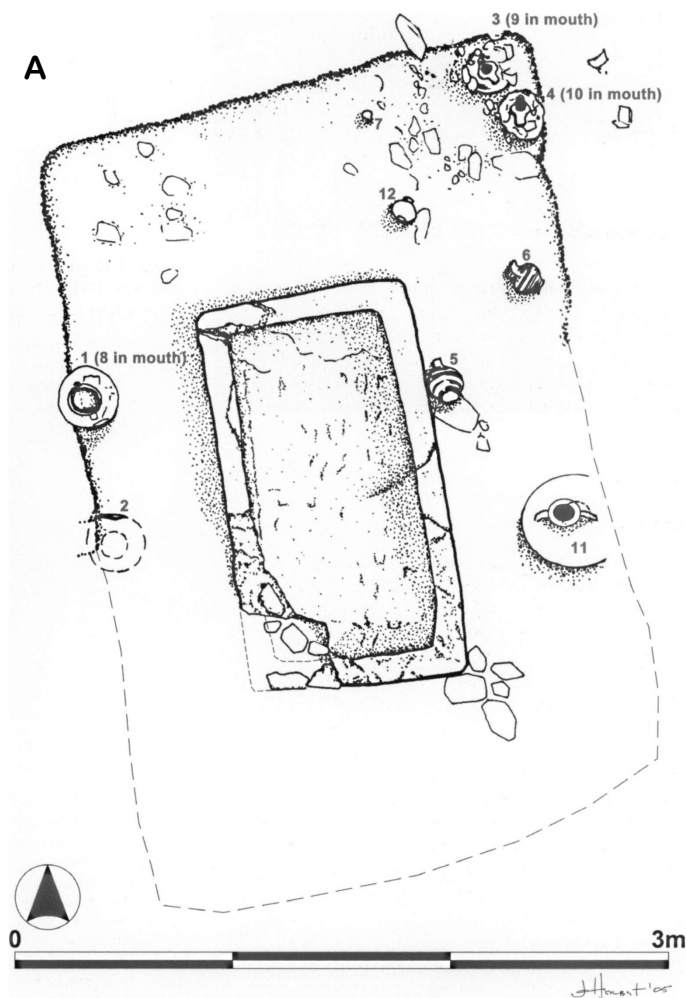


Fig. 5.46. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Grave 2002-11.



A: Drawing of Grave 2002-11 (monolithic sarcophagus) and its contents. Pfaff 2007 p.449 fig.5.

B: Excavation photo of Grave 2002-11, showing the sarcophagus and the surrounding cobble fill. View from the southeast. Pfaff 2007 p.450 fig.6.

C: The exposed sarcophagus of Grave 2002-11. Pfaff 2007 p.473 fig.24.

D: Details of toolmarks on the exterior of the sarcophagus. Sanders et al. 2014, p.37, fig. 31.

E: Section through the southern end of Grave 2002-11. Pfaff 2007 p.474 fig.26.

FIG. 5.47. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Grave 2003-12.

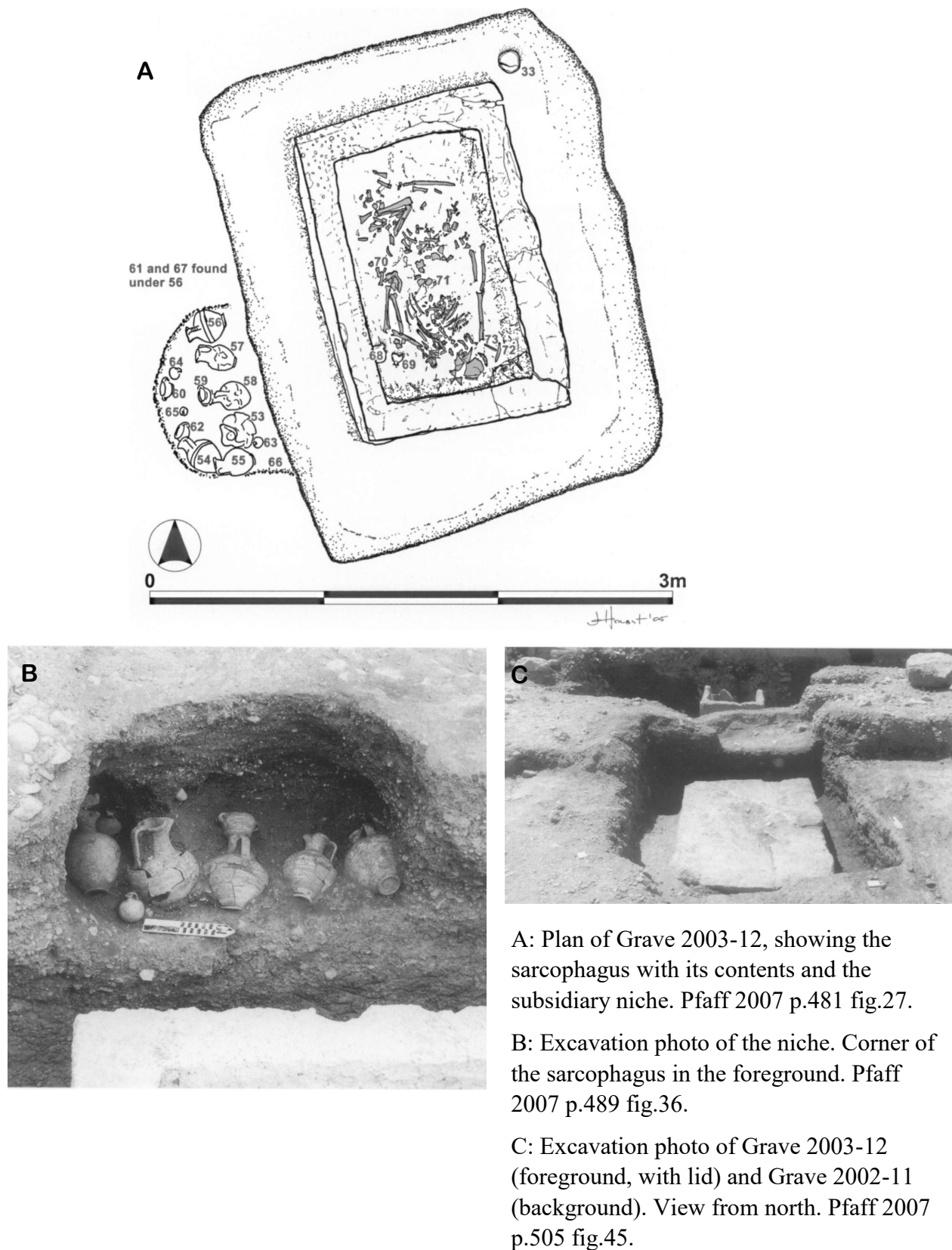


FIG. 5.48. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Grave 2004-4.

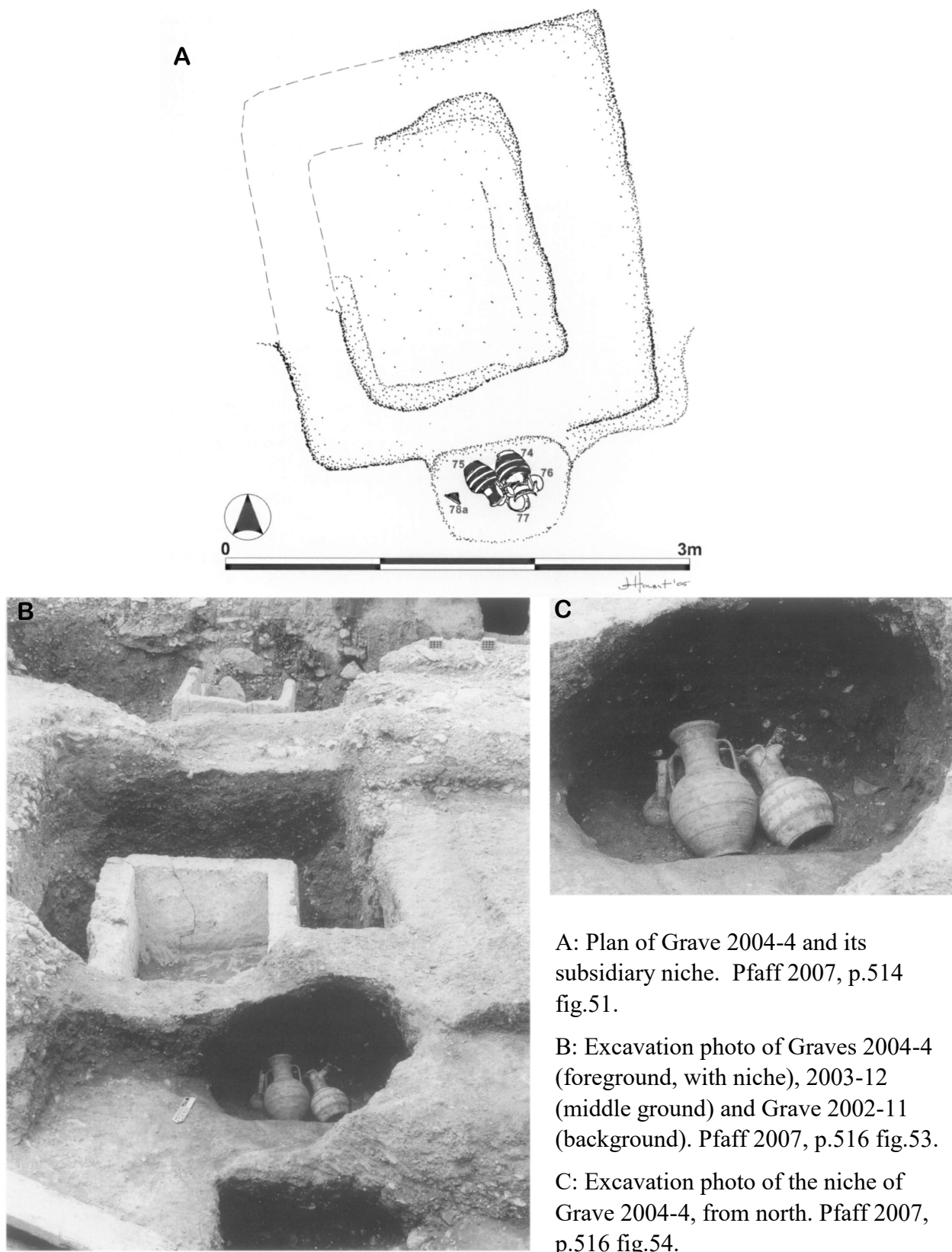


FIG. 5.49. THE PANAYIA FIELD, Grave 2006-4.

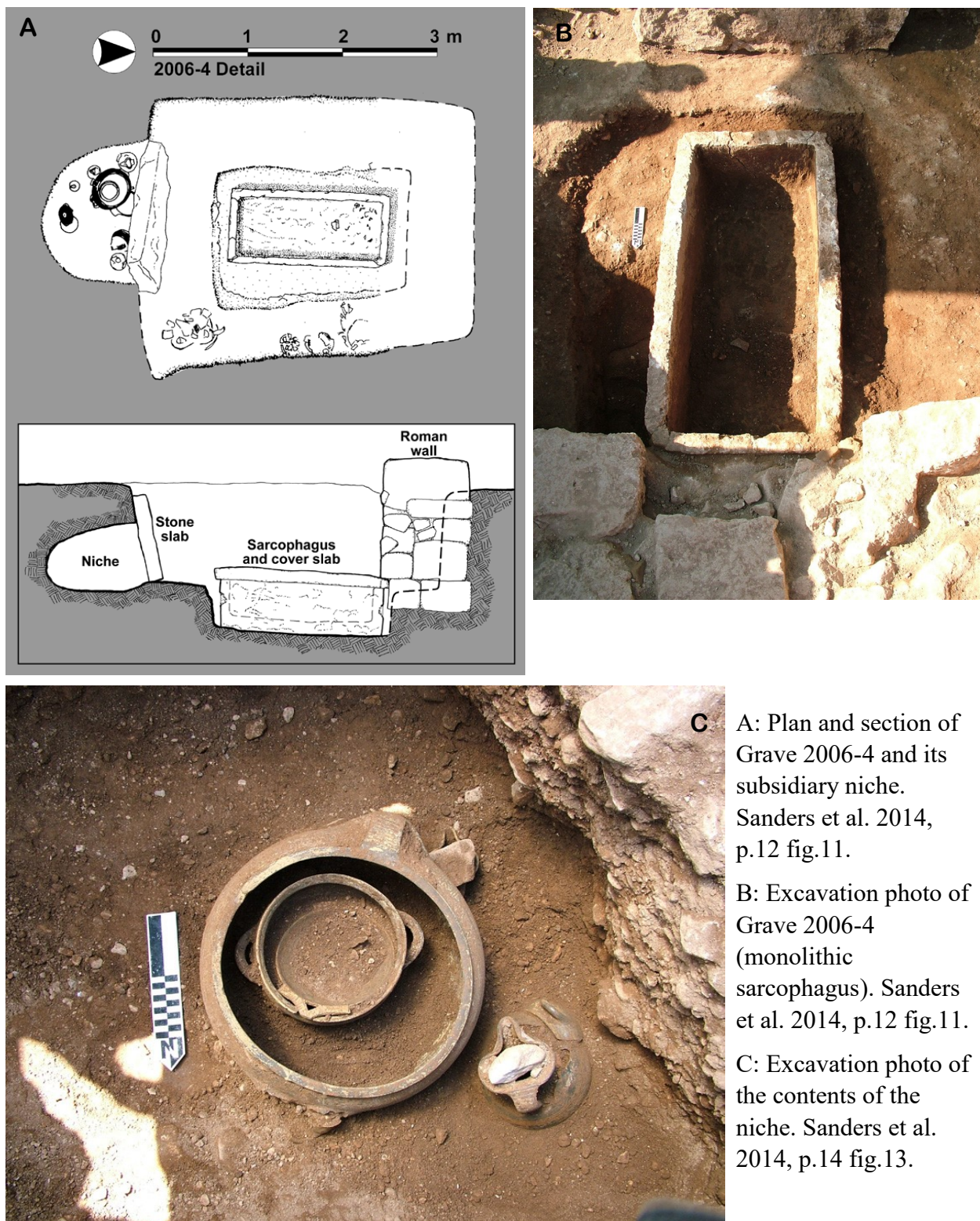
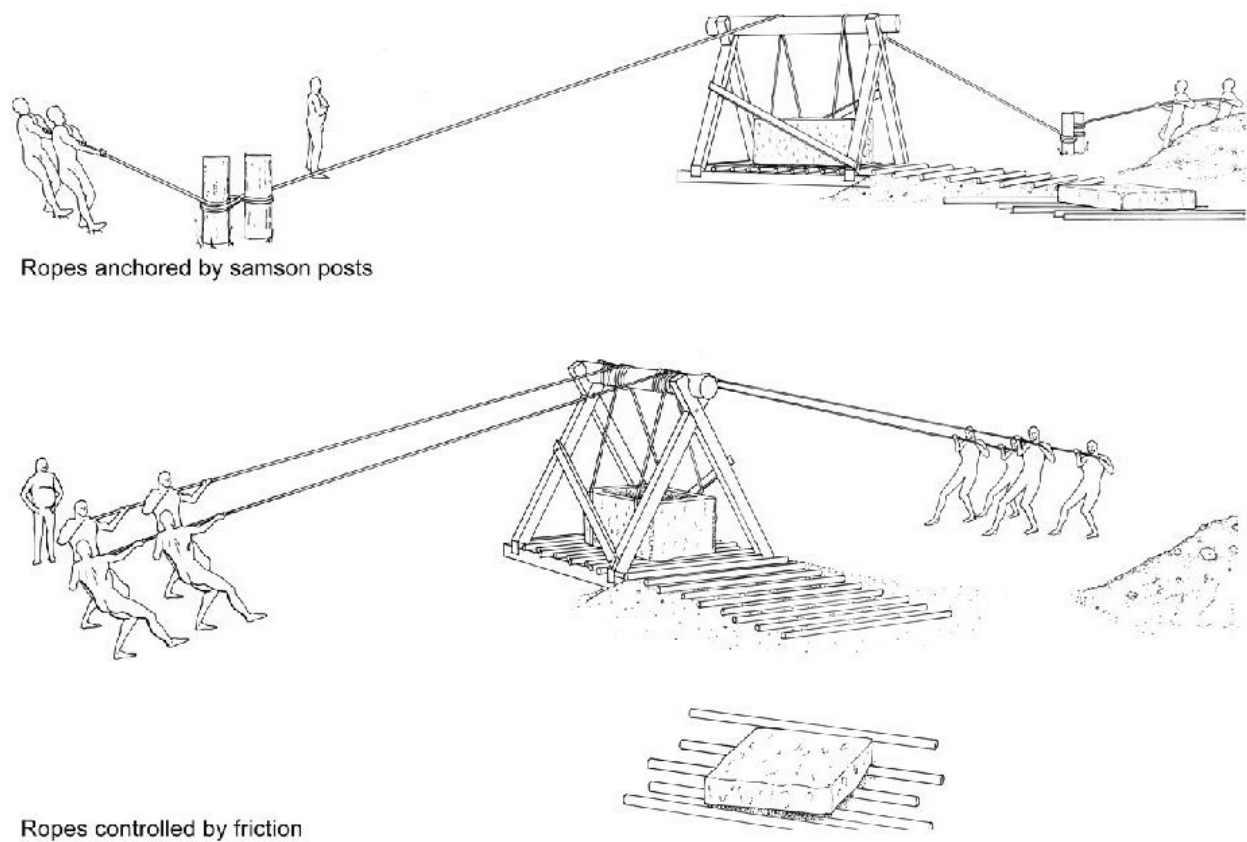


FIG. 5.50. THE PANAYIA FIELD.



A reconstruction of the possible techniques employed in the transportation and placement of a monolithic sarcophagus. Sanders et al. 2014, p.40 fig. 32.

FIG. 5.51. WIDER CORINTH. Archaic cemetery to the west of the North Cemetery.



A: General view of the area, from the northeast. Giannopoulou et al. 2013 p. 92 fig.1

B: Excavation photo of one of the monolithic sarcophagi (Grave 15) and its contents. Giannopoulou et al. 2013, p. 92 fig.2.

C: Excavated sarcophagi in the Archaic cemetery. *ArchDelt* 56-59 B4, pl.38a.

Table 3.1. Chronological divisions for the local sequence at Athens, adopted from Coldstream (1968).

EG I	900-875 B.C.
EG II	875-850 B.C.
MG I	850-800 B.C.
MG II	800-760 B.C.
LG Ia	760-750 B.C.
LG Ib	750-735 B.C.
LG IIa	735-720 B.C.
LG IIb	720-700 B.C.

Table 4.1. Chronological divisions for the local sequence at Argos, adopted from Courbin (1966).

EG	900-820 B.C.
MG	820-740 B.C.
LG I	740-720 B.C.
LG II	720-700 B.C.

TABLE 4.2. List of graves at Argos (n=413) in alphabetical order, according to plot name or location.

Grave IDs follow primary publications if possible. For multiple interments within a single grave, each interment is numbered individually after the grave ID (/1, /2, /3 etc.). If the grave is not assigned a designation or ID in primary publications, it is entered as “no grave number,” followed by a lower case letter (a, b, c, etc.). Bibliographical abbreviations follow *AJA* guidelines.

Grave ID	Property Name/location	Date	Burial Type	MNI	Age	Sex	offerings	reference
Agora (a)	Agora	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave Alpha of Alexopoulos plot	Alexopoulos	MG II	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Beta of Alexopoulos plot	Alexopoulos	MG II	cist	1	adult	N/A	metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Delta of Alexopoulos plot /1	Alexopoulos	MG I-II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Delta of Alexopoulos plot /2	Alexopoulos	MG I-II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Gamma of Alexopoulos plot /1	Alexopoulos	LG II	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Gamma of Alexopoulos plot /2	Alexopoulos	LG I	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave Gamma of Alexopoulos plot /3	Alexopoulos	MG II	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 55-56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave 2 of Anastasaki plot /1	Anastasaki	MG I-II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 216-219.
Grave 2 of Anastasaki plot /2	Anastasaki	MG I-II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 216-219.

Grave 2 of Anastasaki plot /3	Anastasaki	MG I-II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 216-219.
Grave 11 of Anastasaki plot	Anastasaki	LG II	pithos	1	N/A	M	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 216-219.
Grave 1 of Anastasaki-Zervou-Koutsogianni plot	Anastasaki-Zervou-Koutsogianni	EG II	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 219-220.
Grave 5 of Anastasaki-Zervou-Koutsogianni plot	Anastasaki-Zervou-Koutsogianni	MG I	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 219-220.
Grave 1 of Antonopoulos plot	Antonopoulos	MG I	cist	1	adult	M	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 49, 140; <i>BCH</i> 123, 678.
Grave 1 of Argiropoulos Konstantinos plot	Argiropoulos Konstantinos	MG I	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 220.
Grave 4 of Athanasiou Diakou street	Athanasiou Diakou St.	EG I	cist	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 230-231.
Grave 8 of Athanasiou Diakou street	Athanasiou Diakou St.	MG II	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 230-231.
Grave A of Bertezelos Plot	Bertezelos	LG II	pyre	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 77, 211; <i>BCH</i> 78, 411-426.
Grave B of Bertezelos Plot	Bertezelos	LG II	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	metals	<i>BCH</i> 77, 211; <i>BCH</i> 78, 411-426.
Grave 1 of Bougiotis plot/1	Bougiotis	LG	pithos	2	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 283.
Grave 1 of Bougiotis plot/2	Bougiotis	LG	pithos	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 283-284.
Grave 2 of Bougiotis plot	Bougiotis	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 283-284.

Grave 1 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 2 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 3 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 4 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 5 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 6 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 7 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 8 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 9 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 10 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 11 (1999) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 137-139; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 12 (2000) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 14 (2000) of Boulmeti plot /1	Boulmeti	LG	pithos	3	adult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 14 (2000) of Boulmeti plot /2	Boulmeti	LG	pithos	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 14 (2000) of Boulmeti plot /3	Boulmeti	LG	pithos	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.

Grave 16 (2000) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 17a (2000) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	MG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 18 (2001) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 19 (2000) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG I	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 19 (2001) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	MG II	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 7 (2000) of Boulmeti plot /1	Boulmeti	MG I-II	pithos	2	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 7 (2000) of Boulmeti plot /2	Boulmeti	MG I-II	pithos	2	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 8 (2000) of Boulmeti plot	Boulmeti	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/1)	Bouris-Perdikaris	LG	pithos	5	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 286-287.
Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/2)	Bouris-Perdikaris	LG	pithos	5	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 286-287.
Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/3)	Bouris-Perdikaris	LG	pithos	5	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 286-287.
Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/4)	Bouris-Perdikaris	LG	pithos	5	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 286-287.
Bouris-Perdikaris plot, no grave number (a/5)	Bouris-Perdikaris	LG	pithos	5	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 286-287.
Grave 6 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot	Bousis-Chrisoula	LG	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 85-86.

Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot /1	Bousis-Chrisoula	LG II	cist	4	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 85-86.
Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot /2	Bousis-Chrisoula	LG II	cist	4	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 85-86.
Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot /3	Bousis-Chrisoula	LG II	cist	4	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 85-86.
Grave 7 of Bousis-Chrisoula plot /4	Bousis-Chrisoula	LG II	cist	4	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 85-86.
Bousouloupoulou street, no grave number (a/1)	Bousouloupoulou	LG II	pithos	3	adult	M	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 239.
Bousouloupoulou street, no grave number (a/2)	Bousouloupoulou	LG II	pithos	3	adult	M	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 239.
Bousouloupoulou street, no grave number (a/3)	Bousouloupoulou	LG II	pithos	3	subadult	M	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 239.
Bozionelou plot, no grave number (a)	Bozionelou	early 7th	cremation	N/A	N/A	N/A	other	Foley 1988.
Bozonelos-Nassis plot, no grave number (a)	Bozonelos-Nassis	MG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 281-282.
Grave 1 of Chatzixenophon plot	Chatzixenophon	EG I	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 341-42.
Grave 1 of D. Skliris plot /1	D. Skliris	LG I	cist	2	adult	M	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 94-96.
Grave 1 of D. Skliris plot /2	D. Skliris	LG I	cist	2	adult	M	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 94-96.
Dardanis plot, no grave number (a)	Dardanis	LG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 229.

Grave III of Dimokratias Square	Dimokratias	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 24, 107.
Dontas plot, no grave number (a)	Dontas	EG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 125.
Grave 1 of Dontas plot	Dontas	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 125.
Grave 2 of Dontas plot	Dontas	EG	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 125.
Grave 3 of Dontas plot	Dontas	EG	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 125.
Grave 4 of Dontas plot	Dontas	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 125.
Grave Alpha of Evstratiadis plot	Evstratiadis	LG II	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 244; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 21.
Grave Delta of Evstratiadis plot	Evstratiadis	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 244; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, p. 21.
Grave Theta of Evstratiadis plot, A	Evstratiadis	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 244; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, p. 21.
Grave 4 of Georgas plot /1	Georgas	EG II	pit	2	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 198.
Grave 4 of Georgas plot /2	Georgas	EG II	pit	2	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 198.
Grave 1 of Giagos plot	Giagos	EG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 63.
Grave 2 of Giagos plot	Giagos	MG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 63.
Grave 2 of Giarentis and Didachou plot	Giarentis and Didachou	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 63.

Grave 3 of Giarentis and Didachou plot	Giarentis and Didachou	LG	pot (?)	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 63.
Grave 1 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 2 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 3 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 13 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG	pithos	1	adult	F	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 18 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG I-II	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 19 of Gounari Street /1	Gounari	LG	cist	2	adult	M	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 19 of Gounari Street /2	Gounari	LG	cist	2	adult	M	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 24 of Gounari Street	Gounari	EG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 25 of Gounari Street	Gounari	MG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 26 of Gounari Street	Gounari	EG II	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 30 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Grave 31 of Gounari Street	Gounari	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 50, 96-97; <i>BCH</i> 124, 799.
Gritzani plot, no grave number (a/2)	Gritzani	LG	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 299-301; <i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 111.

Grave 100 of the Hospital area /1	Hospital	LG I-II	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 166-168.
Grave 100 of the Hospital area /2	Hospital	LG I-II	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 166-168.
Hospital III8	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital III9	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa1	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa18	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa2	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa3	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa4	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa5	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa6	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Hospital IIIa7	Hospital	7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave 3 of Iliopoulos plot	Iliopoulos	MG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 246.
Grave 5 of Iliopoulos plot	Iliopoulos	MG I-II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 246.
Iliopoulos plot, no grave number (a)	Iliopoulos	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 25, 155.
Grave 2 of Irakleous street	Irakleous	EG I	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 90-91.
Grave 8 of Irakleous street	Irakleous	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 90-91.
Grave 9 of Irakleous street	Irakleous	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 90-91.
Grave 15 of Irakleous street	Irakleous	LG	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 47, 90-91.
Grave 2 of K. Skliris plot	K. Skliris	LG II	pot	1	adult	F	unknown	Pappi 2014, 331.

Kalogeropoulos Plot, no grave number (a)	Kalogeropoulos	MG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 228.
Kalogeropoulos Plot, no grave number (b)	Kalogeropoulos	MG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 228.
Grave 2 of Kanellopoulos plot/1	Kanellopoulos	MG II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 132.
Grave 2 of Kanellopoulos plot/2	Kanellopoulos	MG II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 132.
Kanellopoulos plot, no grave number (a)	Kanellopoulos	LG	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 132.
Karantanis plot no number (a), Deiras	Karantanis	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 16, 93; <i>BCH</i> 85, 675.
Grave 9 of Karatza street	Karatza	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 49, 133; <i>BCH</i> 123, 678.
Grave 1 of Kardara plot	Kardara	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 256-257.
Grave 2 of Kardara plot	Kardara	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 256-257.
Grave 2 of Karpetopoulou Street	Karpetopoulou	MG	cist	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 93.
Grave 4 of Karpetopoulou Street	Karpetopoulou	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 93.
Katsanos plot, no grave number (a)	Katsanos	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 257.

Grave 6 of Katsogiannos plot	Katsogiannos	EG II	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 49, 138; <i>BCH</i> 123, 678.
Grave 1 of Kazantzis plot	Kazantzis	EG I	cist	1	adult	M	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 54, 142-144. <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318;
Grave 1 of Klisari plot	Klisari	LG	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 259.
Grave 3 of Koligliatis plot	Koligliatis	EG II	pit	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 119-121.
Grave 1 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot	Kontogianni-Zouzia	LG I	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 97; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 2 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot /1	Kontogianni-Zouzia	EG II	pithos	2	adult	F	pottery, metals, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 97; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 2 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot /2	Kontogianni-Zouzia	EG II	pithos	2	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 97; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 5 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot	Kontogianni-Zouzia	MG I	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 97; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 7 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot /1	Kontogianni-Zouzia	MG I	pit	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 263-266.
Grave 7 of Kontogianni-Zouzia plot /2	Kontogianni-Zouzia	MG I	pit	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 263-266.
Kosma plot, no grave number (a)	Kosma	MG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 197.
Grave 15 of Kouros plot	Kouros	EG I	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 165-166.
Grave 22 of Kouros plot	Kouros	MG II	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 165-166.

Grave III of Kypouropoulos plot	Kypouropoulos	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 23, 127-28.
Grave VI of Kypouropoulos plot/1	Kypouropoulos	LG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 23, 127-28.
Grave VI of Kypouropoulos plot/2	Kypouropoulos	LG II	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 23, 127-28.
Kypseli Square, no grave number (a)	Kypseli Square	7th	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Kypseli Square, no grave number (b)	Kypseli Square	7th	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Laloukiotis plot, no grave number (a)	Laloukiotis	7th ?	cremation in krater?	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Laloukiotis plot, no grave number (b)	Laloukiotis	7th ?	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Laloukiotis plot, no grave number (c)	Laloukiotis	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	Foley 1988.
Grave 3 of Lambros-Stratis plot	Lambros-Stratis	EG I	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 268-269.
Grave 4 of Lambros-Stratis plot	Lambros-Stratis	EG I	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 268-269.
Lapata plot, no grave number (a)	Lapata	LG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 271; Pappi 2014, 269.

Grave 2 of Lembetzi plot	Lembetzi	EG II	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 270-271.
Livaditi plot, no grave number (a)	Livaditi	EG	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	AAA III, 180-183; <i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 74-76.
Grave 1 of Lynkitsos plot /1	Lynkitsos	LG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Grave 1 of Lynkitsos plot /2	Lynkitsos	LG I	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Grave 2 of Lynkitsos plot	Lynkitsos	LG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Grave 3 of Lynkitsos plot	Lynkitsos	LG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Grave 4 of Lynkitsos plot	Lynkitsos	LG	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Lynkitsos plot, no grave number (a)	Lynkitsos	LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
Lynkitsos plot, no grave number (b)	Lynkitsos	LG II	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 127-129.
M. Katsaros Plot, no grave number (a)	M. Katsaros	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 17, 56; <i>BCH</i> 86, 716.
Grave 1 of Makris plot	Makris	MG I-II	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 2 of Makris plot /1	Makris	MG II	cist	3	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 2 of Makris plot /2	Makris	MG II	cist	3	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 2 of Makris plot /3	Makris	MG II	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.

Grave 3 of Makris plot	Makris	LG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 4 of Makris plot/1	Makris	EG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 4 of Makris plot/2	Makris	MG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 5 of Makris plot	Makris	EG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18, 57-60; <i>BCH</i> 87, 751.
Grave 2 of Manos plot /4	Manos	MG II	pithos	4	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 51, 87-88; <i>BCH</i> 125, 827; Pappi 2014, 274-280.
Grave 11 of Manos plot	Manos	EG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 51, 87-88; <i>BCH</i> 125, 827; Pappi 2014, 274-280.
Grave 1 of Mastorakos plot/1	Mastorakos	LG	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 99; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 1 of Mastorakos plot/2	Mastorakos	LG	pithos	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 99; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 2 of Mastorakos plot	Mastorakos	LG	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 99; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 29 of Miaoulis Street	Miaoulis Street	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave 31 of Miaoulis Street	Miaoulis Street	7th	pithos	1	adult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave 1 of Moustaira plot	Moustaira	LG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 289,
Naskos plot, no grave number (a)	Naskos	EG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 219.
Nikas plot, no grave number (a)	Nikas	LG	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 49, 132.
Grave 1 of Nikolopoulos plot	Nikolopoulos	LG II	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 90-91; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.

Grave 2 of Nikolopoulos plot	Nikolopoulos	LG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 90-91; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Grave 3 of Nikolopoulos plot	Nikolopoulos	LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 46, 90-91; <i>BCH</i> 122, 754.
Odeion area, no grave number (a)	Odeion area	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Odeion area, no grave number (b)	Odeion area	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Odeion area, no grave number (c)	Odeion area	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Odeion area, no grave number (d)	Odeion area	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Odeion area, no grave number (e)	Odeion area	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave 1 of Oikonomos plot /1	Oikonomos	LG II	pithos	2	adult	F	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 302-303.
Grave 1 of Oikonomos plot /2	Oikonomos	LG II	pithos	2	adult	M	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 302-303.
Grave 3 of Oikonomos plot	Oikonomos	LG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 302-303.
Grave 4 of the OTE area	OTE	LG	pot	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 127.
Grave 1 of P. Katsaros plot	P. Katsaros	EG II	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 258.
Grave 1 of Panagos plot	Panagos	MG I-II	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 76.
Grave 3 of Panagos plot	Panagos	EG I-II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 76.
Grave 1 of Papanikolaos plot /1	Papanikolaos	LG	pithos	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 192.

Grave 4 of Papanikolaou plot	Papanikolaos	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 192.
Papanikolaou plot, no grave number (a)	Papanikolaos	7th	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 192.
Papanikolaou plot, no grave number (b)	Papanikolaos	7th	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 27, 192.
Pappas plot, no grave number, B	Pappas	LG	cist	1	adult	M	metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 36, 111-113, <i>BCH</i> 113, 602.
Grave 1 of Paraskevopoulos plot /1	Paraskevopoulos	LG	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 126.
Grave 1 of Paraskevopoulos plot /2	Paraskevopoulos	LG	cist	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 126.
Grave 1 of Passias plot	Passias	LG	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Grave 7 of Passias plot /1	Passias	LG II	cist	2	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Grave 7 of Passias plot /2	Passias	LG II	cist	2	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Grave 9 of Passias plot	Passias	LG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Passias plot, no grave number, (a), pithos C	Passias	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Passias plot, no grave number, (b)	Passias	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 316; <i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 88-89.
Grave 2 of Perouka street	Perouka	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 223-224.

Grave 5 of Perouka street	Perouka	MG I	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 223-224.
Grave 9 of Petropoulos and Xamplas plot /1	Petropoulos and Xamplas	MG	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 112-114; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-18.
Grave 9 of Petropoulos and Xamplas plot /2	Petropoulos and Xamplas	MG	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 112-114; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-18.
Grave 9 of Petropoulos and Xamplas plot /3	Petropoulos and Xamplas	MG	cist	3	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 112-114; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-18.
Grave 3 of Phlessas plot	Phlessas	MG II	cist	1	Adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 16, 93; <i>BCH</i> 85, 675.
Grave 1 of Phlorakis plot	Phlorakis	LG I	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 339.
Grave I of Photopoulos plot	Photopoulos	LG	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 35, 111-120; <i>BCH</i> 113, 602.
Grave II of Photopoulos plot	Photopoulos	LG	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 35, 111-120; <i>BCH</i> 113, 602.
Grave 7 of Pontikis plot	Pontikis	MG I	pit	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 320.
Grave 1 of Praxitelis plot	Praxitelis	MG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 321-322.
Grave 2 of Praxitelis plot	Praxitelis	MG I-II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 321-322.
Grave 4 of Praxitelis plot	Praxitelis	MG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 321-322.
Grave 5 of Praxitelis plot	Praxitelis	MG II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 321-322.
Grave 9 of Praxitelis plot	Praxitelis	LG I	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 321-322.

Grave I of Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot/1	Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis	EG I-II	pit	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 22, 170.
Grave I of Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot/2	Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis	EG I-II	pit	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 22, 170.
Grave II of Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot	Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis	LG I	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 22, 170.
Grave 3 of Raptis Plot	Raptis	LG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 16, 93; <i>BCH</i> 85, 675.
Grave 9 of Raptis plot	Raptis	LG I-II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 16, 93; <i>BCH</i> 85, 675.
Grave XI (2000) of Raptis-Apostolos plot	Raptis-Apostolos	LG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 172-174.
Grave XII (2000) of Raptis-Apostolos plot	Raptis-Apostolos	LG	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 172-174.
Rebelos plot, no grave number (a)	Rebelos	LG II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 172-174.
Rebelos plot, no grave number (b/1)	Rebelos	LG	pot	2	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 172-174.
Rebelos plot, no grave number (b/2)	Rebelos	LG	pot	2	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 172-174.
Grave 1A of Renta plot	Renta	LG II	pithos	1	adult	F	pottery	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Grave 2 of Renta plot /1	Renta	LG II	pot	3	adult	F	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 324-325.

Grave 2 of Renta plot /2	Renta	LG II	pot	3	subadult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Grave 2 of Renta plot /3	Renta	LG II	pot	3	subadult	N/A	see notes	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Grave 2A of Renta plot	Renta	LG	pithos	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Grave 3 of Renta plot	Renta	LG II	pot	1	adult	N/A	unknown	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Renta plot, no grave number (a)	Renta	LG II	pot	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 324-325.
Grave 2 of Roussos plot	Roussos	LG I	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 325-326.
Grave VIII of Sanetsis plot	Sanetsis	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 325-326.
Grave X of Sanetsis plot	Sanetsis	LG I	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 325-326.
Grave 2 of Sklavounos Georgios plot	Sklavounos Georgios	LG	cist	1	adult	F	pottery	Pappi 2014, 329-330.
Grave 1 of Smyrnaios plot /1	Smyrnaios	MG I-II	pit	2	Adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 1 of Smyrnaios plot /2	Smyrnaios	MG I-II	pit	2	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 55, 183-184.
Grave 4 of Soursos plot	Soursos	LG II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 332.
Grave 5 of Soursos plot	Soursos	LG II	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 332.
Grave 6 of Soursos plot /1	Soursos	LG II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 332.

Grave 6 of Soursos plot /2	Soursos	LG II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 332.
Grave 6 of Soursos plot /3	Soursos	LG II	cist	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Pappi 2014, 332.
Soursos plot, no grave number (a)	Soursos	LG II	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 332.
Stadium area grave B	Stadium	LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 129.
Stadium area grave C	Stadium	LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 21, 129.
Stadium area, no grave number (a)	Stadium	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Stadium area, no grave number (b)	Stadium	7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
Grave 1 of Stavropoulos plot (Diomidous St.)	Stavropoulos	LG	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81-82.
Grave 4 of Stavropoulos plot (Perouka St.)	Stavropoulos	LG II	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals, other	Pappi 2014, 334.
Grave A of Terzis plot	Terzis	LG	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals, other	Pappi 2014, 304.
Grave 48 (pithos IV) of Theodoropoulos plot	Theodoropoulos	LG I-II	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, other	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81; <i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 97-99.
Grave 53 of Theodoropoulos plot	Theodoropoulos	LG II	pithos	1	Adult	F	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81; <i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 97-99.

Grave XII-beta of Theodoropoulos plot/2	Theodoropoulos	LG	cist	3	adult	M	pottery, metals?	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81; <i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 97-99.
Grave XII-beta of Theodoropoulos plot/3	Theodoropoulos	LG	cist	3	adult	M	pottery, metals?	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81; <i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 97-99.
Grave XVII of Theodoropoulos plot	Theodoropoulos	LG I	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 26, 81; <i>ArchDelt</i> 28, 97-99.
Grave II of Totsikas plot	Totsikas	EG I-II	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 47-48.
Grave III of Totsikas plot	Totsikas	MG II	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 47-48.
Tsoulouchas plot, no grave number (a/1)	Tsoulouchas	LG I	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 220.
Tsoulouchas plot, no grave number (a/2)	Tsoulouchas	LG I	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 220.
Tsounkrianis plot, no grave number (a) pithos gamma	Tsounkrianis	LG II	pithos	1	Adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 228.
Tsounkrianis plot, no grave number (b)	Tsounkrianis	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 228.
Tsounkrianis plot, no grave number (c)	Tsounkrianis	LG	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29, 228.
Grave 3 of Vasilissis Sofias street	Vasilissis Sofias	EG	cist	1	adult	M	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 49, 134; <i>BCH</i> 123, 678.
Grave 2 of Vlogiaris plot	Vlogiaris	LG	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 115-117.

Grave 2 of Xenakis plot	Xenakis	EG	cist	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 3 of Xenakis plot	Xenakis	EG	cist	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 4 of Xenakis plot	Xenakis	EG	cist	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 5 of Xenakis plot/1	Xenakis	EG	pit	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals?	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 5 of Xenakis plot/2	Xenakis	EG	pit	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals?	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 5 of Xenakis plot/3	Xenakis	EG	pit	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals?	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 6 of Xenakis plot	Xenakis	EG	pit	1	adult	N/A	metals	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 7 of Xenakis plot	Xenakis	EG	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt 27, 200.</i>
Grave 3 of Xintaropoulos plot	Xintaropoulos	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>
Grave 13 of Xintaropoulos plot /1	Xintaropoulos	LG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>
Grave 13 of Xintaropoulos plot /2	Xintaropoulos	LG I	cist	2	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>
Grave 18 of Xintaropoulos plot /1	Xintaropoulos	LG II	cist	4	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>
Grave 18 of Xintaropoulos plot /2	Xintaropoulos	LG II	cist	4	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>
Grave 18 of Xintaropoulos plot /3	Xintaropoulos	LG II	cist	4	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt 53, 109-112; BCH 128-129, 1315-1318.</i>

Grave 18 of Xintaropoulos plot /4	Xintaropoulos	LG II	cist	4	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 109-112; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 19 of Xintaropoulos plot	Xintaropoulos	EG	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 109-112; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 20 of Xintaropoulos plot	Xintaropoulos	EG II	cist	N/A	N/A	N/A	none	<i>ArchDelt</i> 53, 109-112; <i>BCH</i> 128-129, 1315-1318.
Grave 1 of Ypsilantis plot /1	Ypsilantis	EG II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 338.
Grave 1 of Ypsilantis plot /2	Ypsilantis	EG II	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Pappi 2014, 338.
Zervos plot, no grave number (a)	Zervos	EG I	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>ArchDelt</i> 25, 155.
T 1		LG IIb	cist	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 11-13.
T 3		7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 4		7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 5		7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 6/1		MG II	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 14-22
T 6/2		LG IIb	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 14-22
T 7		MG I	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 23-24.
T 8		MG II	pit	1	adult	F	pottery	Courbin 1974, 23-25.
T 9		PG/EG I (?)	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 25.
T 11		7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 12		LG IIb	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 25.
T 13		LG IIa	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 26-27.

T 14/1		EG I	cist	3	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 27-32.
T 14/2		MG I	cist	3	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 27-32.
T 14/3		LG I	cist	3	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 27-32.
T 15		EG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 32.
T 16		EG II	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 32-34.
T 23		LG IIb	pot	1	adult	F	none	Courbin 1974, 34-35.
T 25		LG IIa	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 35-36.
T 32		MG II	pit	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, beads	Courbin 1974, 36-37.
T 37		EG II	cist	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 38-39.
T 38		LG IIc	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 39-40.
T 43		LG IIc	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 40.
T 43bis		7th	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 45		LG IIa	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 40-41.
T 53		LG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 41.
T 66		MG II	pit	1	adult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 42.
T 80		LG I	pit	1	adult	F	pottery	Courbin 1974, 42-43.
T 83		7th	poros grave	N/A	N/A	N/A	metals, other	Foley 1988.
T 84		late 7th	poros grave	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 84bis		LG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 43.
T 89		MG II	cist	1	adult	F	pottery	Courbin 1974, 43-45.
T 90/1		EG I	cist	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 45-52.

T 90/2		MG I	cist	3	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 45-52.
T 90/3		MG II	cist	3	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 45-52.
T 91		MG	pit	1	adult	N/A	none	Souza 2010, vol.2, 67.
T 101		7th	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 106/1		EG I	cist	2	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 52-58.
T 106/2		LG IIc	cist	2	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 52-58.
T 108		7th	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 124		EG II	pit	1	adult	M	pottery	Courbin 1974, 58-59.
T 128/1		EG I	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 59-61.
T 128/2		LG IIb	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 59-61.
T 129		MG I	cist	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 61-62.
T 131		LG II c	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 62.
T 134		LG II c	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 62-63.
T 152		LG I	pot	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 63-64.
T 153		early 7th	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 156 Pithos P.1		LG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 81, 683.
T 157 Pithos P.2		LG I	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 81, 683.
T 158		7th	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988. <i>BCH</i> 81, 683.
T 163		LG IIb	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 64-65.
T 164/1		EG I	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 65-67.
T 164/2		EG I	cist	2	adult	M	pottery	Courbin 1974, 65-67.
T 171		LG I	cist	1	adult	M	pottery	Courbin 1974, 68-70.

T 172		LG IIa	cist	1	adult	M	none	Courbin 1974, 70-71.
T 173/1		LG IIb	cist	2	adult	M	none	Courbin 1974, 71-72.
T 173/2		LG IIc	cist	2	adult	F	pottery	Courbin 1974, 71-72.
T 174		7th	pot	1	subadult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 175		LG IIa	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 72-74.
T 176/1		MG I	cist	2	N/A	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 75-84.
T 176/2		LG IIc	cist	2	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 75-84.
T 178		LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 83, 762, 766.
T 179		LG IIa	cist	1	adult	M	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 84-5.
T 180		LG II	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 83, 762-63.
T 181		EG II	pit	1	adult	M	pottery	Courbin 1974, 85-86.
T 189		LG IIa	pit	1	adult	M	none	Courbin 1974, 86-7.
T 190/1		LG I	pithos	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Courbin 1974, 87-93.
T 190/2		LG IIa	pithos	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Courbin 1974, 87-93.
T 190/3		LG IIa	pithos	3	N/A	N/A	finds mingled in grave	Courbin 1974, 87-93.
T 191		MG I	pithos	1	adult	F	pottery, metals	Courbin 1974, 93-96.
T 193		EG II	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	Courbin 1974, 96-97.
T 195		LG IIc	pot	1	subadult	N/A	none	Courbin 1974, 97.
T 206		MG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 91, 833.
T 209		LG	pithos	1	subadult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 91, 833.
T 213		MG II	pithos	1	adult	M	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 91, 834-835.
T 214		MG II	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 91, 834-835.

T 217		EG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 91, 834-835.
T 225/1		7th ?	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	Foley 1988.
T 225/2		7th ?	pithos	1	adult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 225/3		7th ?	pithos	1	adult	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 230		7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 254		7th ?	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.
T 261		EG I	cist	1	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>BCH</i> 91, 828.
T 263/1		MG II	cist	6	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 263/2		LG I	cist	6	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 263/3		LG I	cist	6	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 263/4		LG II	cist	6	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 263/5		LG II	cist	6	adult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 263/6		LG II	cist	6	adult	N/A	none	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 265/1		EG	cist	5	adult	N/A	metals, other?	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 265/2		MG II	cist	5	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 265/3		LG I- II	cist	5	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 265/4		LG I- II	cist	5	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 265/5		LG I- II	cist	5	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/1		MG II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/2		MG II- LG I/II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.

T 266/3		MG II- LG I/II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/4		MG II- LG I/II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/5		MG II- LG I/II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/6		LG II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 266/7		LG II	cist	7	adult	N/A	pottery, metals (?)	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/1		MG II	cist	7	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/2		LG I- II	cist	7	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/3		LG I- II	cist	7	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/4		LG I- II	cist	7	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/5		LG I- II	cist	7	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/6		LG I- II	cist	7	adult	F	pottery, metals	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 278/7		LG II	cist	7	adult	M	metals	<i>BCH</i> 91, 844-845.
T 298/1		LG I	pit	3	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 838.

T 298/2		LG II	pit	3	adult	N/A	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 838.
T 298/3		LG II	pit	3	adult	F	finds mingled in grave	<i>BCH</i> 91, 838.
T 307		MG I	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 94, 766-771.
T 309		LG I	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	<i>BCH</i> 94, 766-771.
T 310		MG II	pithos	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 94, 766-771.
T 312		MG	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 96, 162.
T 313		MG	pit	1	N/A	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 96, 163-67.
T 315		LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 95, 740; <i>BCH</i> 96, 163-167.
T 316/1		LG IIc	pithos	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 95, 740; <i>BCH</i> 96, 163-167.
T 316/2		LG IIc	pithos	2	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 95, 740; <i>BCH</i> 96, 163-167.
T 317		LG	pithos	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 95, 740; <i>BCH</i> 96, 163-167.
T 318		LG II	pit	1	adult	N/A	pottery	<i>BCH</i> 96, 167-68.
T 398		7th	pithos	N/A	N/A	N/A	unknown	Foley 1988.

Table 5.1. Chronological divisions for the local sequence at Corinth, adopted from Coldstream (1968) for Geometric Corinth and from Amyx (1988) for the Archaic period.

EG	875-825 B.C.
MG I	835/825-800 B.C.
MG II	800-750 B.C.
LG	750-720 B.C.
EPC	720-690 B.C.
MPC	690-650 B.C.
LPC	650-620/615 B.C.

Table 5.2. List of Corinthian graves under study (n=54), organized in order of Grave ID within each location (Lechaem Road Valley, North Cemetery, Panayia Field, Potters' Quarter, and Wider Corinth). For multiple interments within a single grave, each interment is numbered individually after the grave ID (/1, /2, /3 etc.).

Grave ID	Location	Date	Burial_Type	Age	Sex	offerings	reference
Grave 1899-2; "Apollo Peribolos Group"	Lechaem Road Valley	MG I	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	none	Stillwell et al. 1941, 4-6 fig. 3; Weinberg 1943, 16-19.
Grave 1926-24	Lechaem Road Valley	MG	cist	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Hill 1927, 73; Stillwell et al. 1941, 4.
Grave 1933-131	Lechaem Road Valley	EPC	sarcophagus	adult	M	pottery	Broneer 1933, 567; Weinberg 1943, 35; Williams 1970, 13.
Grave 1936-19; "Grave A"	Lechaem Road Valley	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery	Morgan 1937, 544; Weinberg 1943, 29.
Grave 1936-20; "Grave B"	Lechaem Road Valley	MG II	pit	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Morgan 1937, 544; Weinberg 1943, 29.
Grave 1937-1; "Grave F"	Lechaem Road Valley	MG II	pit	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Morgan 1937, 543-545; Weinberg 1943, 28-29.
Grave 1937-2; "Grave G"	Lechaem Road Valley	MG II	pit	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Morgan 1937, 543-545; Weinberg 1943, 28-29.
Grave 1937-3; "Grave D" /1	Lechaem Road Valley	MG II	pit	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Morgan 1937, 543; Weinberg 1943: 25-27.

Grave 1937-3; "Grave D" /2	Lechaeum Road Valley	MG II	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery	Morgan 1937, 543; Weinberg 1943: 25-27.
Grave 1940-5 /1	Lechaeum Road Valley	early EG	pit	adult	N/A	pottery, metals	Weinberg 1948, 198, 204-206.
Grave 1940-5 /2	Lechaeum Road Valley	early EG	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery	Weinberg 1948, 198, 204-206.
Grave 1969- 29	Lechaeum Road Valley	EG	pit	adult	F	pottery	Williams 1970, 20.
Grave 1969- 31	Lechaeum Road Valley	MG	pot	N/A	N/A	none	Williams 1970, 13.
Grave 1970-9	Lechaeum Road Valley	EG	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery	Dickey 1992, A-4.
Grave 1971-1	Lechaeum Road Valley	MG	cist	adult	F	pottery, metals	Williams and Fisher 1972, 145.
Grave 1971-2	Lechaeum Road Valley	MG	cist	adult	F	none	Williams and Fisher 1972, 145.
Grave 1971-5	Lechaeum Road Valley	LG	pit	adult	F	pottery, metals	Williams and Fisher 1972, 145.
Grave 1973-6	Lechaeum Road Valley	EG	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery	Williams et al. 1974, 24.
Probable grave 1935	Lechaeum Road Valley	MG II	N/A	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	R. Stillwell 1936, 43; Weinberg 1943: 29-30; Williams 1970, 12.

Grave 14A	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	adult?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 21.
Grave 14B	North Cemetery	MG II	pit?	subadult ?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 22.
Grave 15A	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	adult?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 22.
Grave 15B	North Cemetery	MG II	pit?	subadult ?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 22.
Grave 16	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	metals	Blegen et al. 1964, 22-23.
Grave 17	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Blegen et al. 1964, 24-26.
Grave 18	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	adult	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 26-27.
Grave 19	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals?	Blegen et al. 1964, 27-28.
Grave 20	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 28.
Grave 21	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Blegen et al. 1964, 28-29.
Grave 22	North Cemetery	MG II	pit	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Blegen et al. 1964, 29.
Grave 32	North Cemetery	EPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 31-32.
Grave 40	North Cemetery	LG	pot	subadult?	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 33.
Grave 43	North Cemetery	MPC	pot	subadult?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 34.
Grave 44	North Cemetery	LG	pot	subadult?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 34.
Grave 47	North Cemetery	EPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 35.

Grave 63	North Cemetery	MPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery, metals	Blegen et al. 1964, 52-53.
Grave 65	North Cemetery	MPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 53.
Grave 69	North Cemetery	LG	pot	subadult?	N/A	none	Blegen et al. 1964, 54.
Grave 70	North Cemetery	MPC	pot	subadult?	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 54-55.
Grave 78	North Cemetery	LPC	sarcophagus	subadult?	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 56.
Grave 87	North Cemetery	LPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery	Blegen et al. 1964, 58.
Grave 2002-11	Panayia Field	EG	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery	Sanders et al. 2014, 10-34.
Grave 2003-12	Panayia Field	EG	sarcophagus	adult	M	pottery	Sanders et al. 2014, 10-34.
Grave 2004-4	Panayia Field	MG I	pit	N/A	N/A	none	Sanders et al. 2014, 10-34.
Grave 2006-4	Panayia Field	late MG I/ early MG II	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery	Sanders et al. 2014, 10-34; Pfaff 2007, p. 448, n. 8.
Grave 1931-94; "Grave I" /1	Potters' Quarter	MG II	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery	Stillwell 1948, 7.
Grave 1931-94; "Grave I" /2	Potters' Quarter	MG II	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery	Stillwell 1948, 7.
Grave 1931-95; "Grave II"	Potters' Quarter	LG	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery, metals	Stillwell 1948, 7.

Grave 1931-96; "Grave III"	Potters' Quarter	MG II	pit	subadult	N/A	pottery	Stillwell 1948, 7-8.
Grave 1931-98; "Grave V"	Potters' Quarter	MG II	pit	adult	F	pottery, metals	Stillwell 1948, 8-9.
Grave 1933-207; "Grave VI"	Potters' Quarter	MG II	pit	adult	M?	pottery, metals	Stillwell 1948, 9-10.
Grave 1951-1	Wider Corinth	EPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery	Weinberg 1974, 527-534.
Grave 1969-18	Wider Corinth	NPD-Geo	sarcophagus	adult	M	pottery, metals	Robinson 1969, 35.
Grave 1969-19	Wider Corinth	EPC	sarcophagus	N/A	N/A	pottery?	Robinson 1969, 35.

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¹ Bibliography follows the *American Journal of Archaeology* guidelines.

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