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WORKING TOOLS, TOILET IMPLEMENTS, AND PERSONAL ADORNMENTS IN WEAPON BURIALS AT EARLY IRON AGE ATHENS AND LEFKANDI

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Summary

In this article, an attempt is made to enrich the conventional archaeological picture of the much-discussed Early Iron Age (EIA) weapon burials at Athens and Lefkandi, largely reverting to a comparative approach. The presence in some of these burials of working tools that can be connected with carpentry, raises the question of the relationship of the Greek evidence with that of the European koine of the period, where the hybridization of the system of symbols referring to war and to carpentry spread in the cemeteries according to differentiated geographic models, and culminated in the course of the 8th century BC, in parallel with the emerging of a new social order determined by the urban phenomenon. On the other hand, the occurrences of toilet implements, and personal adornments of various kinds point to the weapon bearers beautifying themselves, following an earlier Bronze Age tradition. In the mortuary contexts examined here, there is some evidence for sub-adult individuals receiving the honour of the weapon ritual: an uncommon legged vessel from Lefkandi as well as a unique bronze pin ending with a booted foot from Athens are discussed, to uncover the significance of this symbolism in connection with the male sphere and with adolescence. The analysis of the evidence, and the valorisation of objects rather neglected until now, led to the tracing of multiple male identities, and shows the complexity of the social background behind what was once called 'warrior graves'.

TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Gift Exchange between Athens and Lefkandi from MPG onwards

Thanks to the investigations conducted by the British School at Athens from the 1960s onwards, the Euboean site of Lefkandi has become a cornerstone for the study of Aegean prehistory in the period ranging between the 11th and the 8th centuries BC. Knowledge of the site turns out to be fundamental for the re-examination of the Athenian cemeteries of this period, particularly those of the Kerameikos and Agora, but also of the numerous burial grounds brought to light by rescue excavations carried out by the Athenian Ephorate of Antiquities, a mass of evidence known from preliminary reports (cf. Lemos 2006). The publication of the excavations in the ancient settlement of Lefkandi, along with that of its cemeteries, highlighted the close relationship that the site – whose ancient name is unknown (Lefkandi I, 423-427) – had with Athens. Irene Lemos has come to hypothesize "that part of the population which resettled Lefkandi in the SM period may have actually come from Attica…" (Lemos 1998, 48). A relevant number of Athenian imported vases dating from LPG onwards was found in the graves, in association with local pottery and an important series of orientalia (Kourou 2008; cf. Marini 2009). It is worth noting that some high-quality Athenian products of even earlier date come from the monumental PG building at Toumba. I refer to the MPG belly-handled amphora 898 (Lefkandi II.1, 88 [135]; pls. 44 and 80) which is "by far the largest of all known Attic belly amphoras (83 cm high, 63 cm broad)" (for the stratigraphy, see Antonaccio 2002, 21). A systematic survey of the Attic imports in the Toumba cemetery is offered by Marini (Marini 2009, 78-81, pl. 1), but the great amount of Athenian imports at Lefkandi calls for an explanation. Considering that pottery production at the site is stylistically independent from that of Athens, the phenomenon cannot be interpreted as a dependency on function of imitation. Mervin Popham (*et al.* 1982a, 170) stressed the close relationship between the Athenians and the 'royal clan' of Toumba, while Hector Catling recognised the basis of a lasting network of relationships, attested by the archaeological evidence, in the gift exchange and in the prestige sphere. The case of the large amphora mentioned above appears emblematic (Lefkandi II.1, 86). Nicholas Coldstream in turn proposed that Athenian immigrants should be identified as the occupants of some of the burials of Lefkandi, on the basis

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of the comparison between both the ritual and the grave goods (Coldstream 2007; Marini 2003, 43; D'Onofrio 2011, 651). This is the case of the 'warrior' from the double grave T 14 of Toumba, and of his 'wife', dating from LPG (SPGIIIa; the couple should be related in some way to the 'royal clan'). Another case of the identification of an immigrant proposed by Coldstream is that of the 'Athenian' hole in trench urn cremation T 50 (LPG/SPGI). On the other hand, Euboean imports have not yet been identified in Athenian funerary sites. Here ceramic grave goods are of local production, while a series of well-known oriental products have been recognized among the metal objects (Coldstream 2003; Kourou 2008, 326-27, fig. 12, for G 42, a MG I context).

Warriors and traders

The Lefkandian elites were involved in seafaring and trade with Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean and represented the pivot of the Euboean koine established under their aegis in the North Aegean from the 11th century BC onwards (Mazarakis Ainian 2012, 83-89). "After the decline of Lefkandi, the growing involvement of Euboeans in the North Aegean, in the Cyclades, and in the western and eastern Mediterranean appears to have reached its climax by 700 BCE" (Vlachou 2015). The typical Euboean pottery, whose emblematic product is the pendent semi-circle skyphos, reached many sites in the Aegean and even the Levant in remarkable quantities. Despite the difficulty of establishing the historical nature of the phenomenon, and of determining to what degree the Euboeans themselves were the carriers of their own products, their direct involvement appears the most probable hypothesis (Crielaard 1999; 2006; Vlachou 2015; Kourou 2016; contra Papadopoulos 1997; 2011). Around the first half of the 8th century BC, the Euboeans turned to the western Mediterranean, where they began an early form of colonization, ahead of the Assyrian conquest of Cyprus, which – after Sargon II's victory – unsettled the equilibrium of the Eastern Mediterranean (Kourou 2012, 173-177). A whole epoch – that of the recovery of contacts with the East and of a wider scale of trade – sees Euboea as the core of social and cultural phenomena typical of the time, such as 'conspicuous consumption' in the funerary sphere, ushered in by the couple buried in the so-called Heroon at Toumba, and the development of the Greek epics (Cassio 1998; Lemos 2009).

It is not easy to define the role of the Athenians in the enterprises and exchanges – as well as in piracy – which characterised this period, and allowed the formation of the fortune of Kastor son of Hylax recounted in *Od.* XIV, 199-234 (cf. Marini 2009, 51; Crielaard 2012, 146-148). In the first half of the 8th century BC (MG II), sets of banqueting vessels produced at Athens appear to be scattered throughout the Aegean, and bear witness to a period of great expansion of gift economy, also shown in the Homeric poems. Bearers of symposium values and of its 'egalitarian' culture, these banqueting items enshrine a system of high impact symbols and were destined for local elites (Marini 2009, 51; Wecowski 2014, 288). On the other hand, the diffusion of shipwreck scenes, and more generally of ships with armed men on LG Athenian vases, reflects the importance that the memory of these travels, through which the Athenian elite had forged itself, had assumed in the formation of the image of the city (Snodgrass 2008).

It is probable that Euboeans and Athenians, who most likely cohabited at Lefkandi, also travelled together, and on the same ships. The presence of Athenians at Lefkandi is suggested, as mentioned above, by some grave goods, and also by the great diffusion of their pottery at the site; their integration in the community of the 'royal clan' is indicated by the inclusion of graves attributed to them amongst local burials. They seem to be the most likely medium for the flow of orientalia at Athens. A bronze hemispherical cup of Cypriot type was found on the Attic island of Salamis, in the Submycenaean cemetery of the Arsenal (Kourou 2009, 362, fig. 1); the type occurs in the 'ruler' burial at Lefkandi (MPG, Lefkandi II.2, 20; Popham *et al.* 1982a, 173); hereafter, in the Geometric period it is present in a certain number of Athenian burials, male and female, and at Lefkandi in the warrior trader grave Toumba T 79, which will be examined below (cf. Kourou 2008, 329-30 for the evidence in the Aegean world in general).

Through comparative analysis of the main male funerary ritual of weapons deposition at Athens and at Lefkandi, my aim in this article is to identify the distinctive traits of the social persona of the armed man, with its various emerging aspects specific to both contexts.[1]

1 A full list of the graves in Marini 2003, *Appendix* I, 48-52; for Athens, cf. D'Onofrio 2011, 659-652; D'Onofrio 2015, 110-112. A

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THE WEAPON RITUAL IN THE BURIALS OF ATHENS AND LEFKANDI: COMPARING MALE SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Weapons and other objects related to male identities

It is beyond the scope of this article to offer an overview of the exchanges, and/or of the interactions between the ritual behaviours, of Athens and Lefkandi. Neither does this article aim to offer a parallel analysis of the series of burials with weapons from the two sites (cf. Marini 2003). Instead, we shall examine a specific group of grave equipment pertaining to individuals who were honoured by the weapon ritual, and characterized by the presence of different and specific objects, recurring in the two funerary contexts. Their attribution to the male gender can be ascertained through comparisons in the archaeological record (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 152-159, who includes tables of associations of objects found in graves with weapons at Athens, Lefkandi, Vergina, and Crete). Recent analyses have stressed the need to abandon the biographical model in the interpretation of the 'warrior graves', showing that the weapon ritual was enacted even for individuals too young to have used them in their lives. The presence of weapons in female burials cannot also be excluded due to the limited anthropological studies conducted on human remains (Whitley 2002; cf. D'Onofrio 2012, 138; D'Agata 2014, 129; contra Lemos 2009, 16). Here, however, we shall deal with some burials identifiable as belonging to high-ranking male individuals at both sites, within the limits of the evidence available for the human remains (D'Onofrio forthcoming). The investigation, which has to be considered preliminary,[2] moves from the recognition of attributes that refer to 'manliness' in the grave groups: working tools, but also toilet implements, such as the razor or tweezers, and metal personal adornments (fibulae, pins, etc.) associated with the male charis, and more specifically that of the warrior (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; D'Onofrio 2012). These kinds of objects occur in the burials with weapons of the period under examination in a non-systematic manner, and they are better understood through a comparative perspective (Treherne 1995; Vandkilde 2006); they prove to be a useful way of shedding light onto cultural affinities and also onto the kind of synergy between Athens and Lefkandi, a synergy which has already been recognized in more general terms.

Offensive weapons are traditionally connected with the male sphere (Lemos 2002, 125). At Athens, the sword prevails: the iron Naue II gradually supersedes the variety of Mycenaean types across the whole Greek world, and in the majority of occurrences it represents the sole weapon, the 'warrior's attribute' par excellence. It goes through a variety of rituals: deposited in the scabbard beside the right arm of the inhumed body, or beside the urn; put in fragments in an urn among the ashes; and finally, as in most of the Athenian examples, bent around the shoulder of the urn, treated with the reverse quenching procedure, or *tempra inversa* (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2013; D'Onofrio 2011, 650-53; forthcoming). The spear follows in second place, usually as a single item, except for the so-called Dipylon cemetery, whose grave contexts are mainly lost or dispersed. Even more rare are the daggers or dirks (D'Onofrio 2011, 654; 662, cat. 3). At Lefkandi, by contrast, the association of the sword, or of the dagger/dirk, with the spear is frequent. In some cases, an axe is present (Toumba T 54; Pyre 31: axe?): it is generally thought to be a weapon, but it could, more properly, be considered as a working tool, as will be argued below. Arrowheads are rare both at Athens (PG 28) and Lefkandi (Toumba T 26; T 79). With respect to the knife, its (prejudicial) attribution to the male sphere is frequent (Strömberg 1993, 22; cf. Lemos 2002, 123), but it is not obvious: not only does it constitute the only 'weapon' in some of the graves at Lefkandi, for which the sex of the deceased has not yet been determined, but there are similar cases in Athens, and sometimes there are occurrences of it in female and child graves.[3] What we still

table with the finds from all the burials of the Toumba cemetery, showing the distribution of the orientalia and of the Attic pottery as well, is given by Marini 2009, 82-84.

2 A volume dedicated to the Iron Age burials in the Agora of Athens by Papadopoulos and Smithson is forthcoming; in preparation is a volume edited by Lemos on the Toumba cemetery, of which presently only the plates of the grave goods are published (Lefkandi III), and a series of articles on specific aspects, such as its spatial organization (Lemos, Mitchell 2011).

3 Cf. Cultraro 2009, 176, n. 12; D'Onofrio 2011, 655. Knives in female graves: *e.g.* Strömberg 1993, 70 and cat. 96, 125 (LG). In child tombs: Strömberg 1993, cat. 342, 343 (MG-LG), and also from EG-MG cremation graves of individuals whose sex remains undetermined

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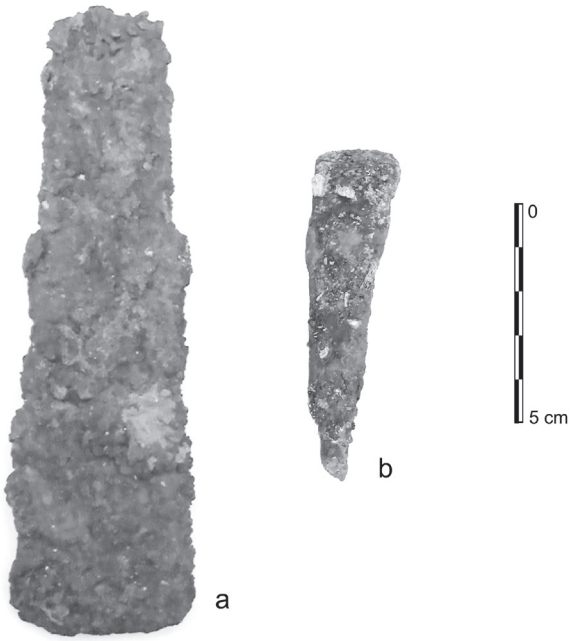

Fig. 1.a-b. Iron working tools from Athens, Kerameikos cemetery, tomb PG 40. a. Axe, inv. M 9. b. Chisel, inv. M 10 (photos by the author) © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

lack are proper considerations of the archaeological contexts where the knife was found: almost always, in fact, it was collected among the pyre refuse. Thus, rather than linking it to the social persona of the dead tout-court, it should be considered as an object used in the funeral banquet, or the ceremonial practices preceding the burial (Dalsoglio, D'Onofrio 2016).

Axes, saws, chisels and awls: the techne of carpentry, or Odysseus' virtue

Working tools are found, albeit rarely, in association with weapons, hybridizing the figures of the 'warrior' and the 'artisan'. However, until now this relationship has been highlighted only in the case of grave Agora D 16:4 (Blegen 1952), while in Italian and European prehistory, working tools from mortuary contexts of the Bronze Age and Iron Age have been thoroughly investigated (cf. Speciale, Zanini 2010). In the Aegean, only the Bronze Age evidence has been classified (Deshayes 1960; Evely 1993), while that of the Iron Age requires updating. Snodgrass observes that "we lack evidence for industrial and agricultural tools in Greece at this critical time [the initial 'Dark Age'], and one can only say that, from analogies further east, the iron was probably pressed into service for weapons earlier than for tools" (Snodgrass 2000, 224; for a concise review of the finds from the graves, Bräuning 1995, 69).

At Athens, the earliest evidence here examined is Kerameikos PG 40, a typical LPG trench and hole cremation grave of a male individual.[4] An amphora containing ashes had been put at the easternmost side of a circular cavity and covered by a stone slab. A bronze shield-boss was found on the mouth of the vase with the spike turned downwards and partially pushed into the urn.[5] In the SE corner of the grave, a skyphos covered the mouth of an oinochoe. On the slabs covering the grave and on the bottom of the trench there was a filling of earth from the pyre where a series of vessels was found: a trefoil oinochoe, a couple of rim-handled amphorae, one with a lid, a skyphos, and nine lekythoi. Inside the urn, among the ashes of the dead, an arched bronze fibula, and an extraordinary set of two tools were recovered ("Werkzeuge Inv. M 9, 10"; Kerameikos IV, 29, pl. 38) (Fig. 1.a-b). The latter were described by Kübler as chisels, and more precisely as an "Eisenmeißel [Inv. M 9, length 13.4 cm] und ein klein meißelartiges gebogenes Eisenwerkzeug", or a little iron tool (M 10, length 7.5 cm) in the shape of a chisel whose

(cf. Strömberg 1993, cat. 336, 360, 401). The knife occurs in both female and male graves, *e.g.*, in the cemetery of Pithekoussai (Cerchiai, Lubtchansky 1999, 662). I share the approach adopted by Marini 2003, 43 and n. 189, waiting for the typological and contextual study by Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier on the Toumba material (cf. Lemos 2009, 17).

4 Kerameikos IV, 27, 41, s.; pl. 37. I am most grateful to F. Ruppenstein who pointed me to Kübler's mention of the assignation of all the graves with the shield bosses to male individuals (including PG 40, in spite of the fibula which could associated it, according to the scholar, with the female series) by Breitinger, in Kerameikos IV, 3. In D'Onofrio 2011, 649, I drew attention to the possible ritual value of the axe, related to the priestly sphere and perhaps to female identity.

5 Kerameikos IV, 2. In the Athenian Kerameikos, the shield boss, never associated with offensive weapons, is used as an urn-lid in three cases: PG 24 at the transition to EPG; PG 40 (mentioned above); and PG 43, both LPG burials. The example from PG 43 preserved leather traces on the inner surface, a tangible clue to the functional interpretation of the find. For a full discussion of the material, see Snodgrass 2000, 224 and n. 16; D'Onofrio 2011, 649.

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iron grip had been damaged by a blow and was called a "knife" by Lemos (Lemos 2002, fig. 34.11). The measurements indicated in the caption by Lemos are those of the larger tool, or the broad, single blade axe (trunnion) M 9, connected by the scholar to the sphere of war, following Catling's interpretation (Lefkandi I, 256; Lemos 2002, 121, fig. 34.10; drawing at fig. 5.8).[6]

One find from the earliest excavations at the Dipylon cemetery, which has been neglected until now, is a number of iron axes, associated with weapons – swords, daggers, and spearheads, these last occurring in this context only in twin sets (Dümmler 1888, 297-298, fig. 5; Poulsen 1905, 39) (Fig. 2.a). The iron "Beile" are of two types. The first has a quadrangular body, elongated for insertion into a grip (Dümmler 1888, 297-298, fig. 6. Height of body 9 cm; width 4 cm; height of the extension 4 cm) (Fig. 2.b). Being of an extremely small size and very manageable, in my opinion it has to be related more to working tools than to weapons. A second type of axe is that with an eye, double cutting edge, and orthogonal blades (Dümmler 1888, 297-298, fig. 7. Length. 11.5 cm; height 1.4 cm; width max. 2.3 cm) (Fig. 2.c). Poulsen, quoting Dümmler, connects the first type to the Homeric *skeparnon*, the second to the *amphoterothen akachmenos*, or *pelekys*, which was suitable for tougher uses, and also for war and hunting (Poulsen 1905, 40).[7] To this evidence, one could add the group of iron objects said to come from a tomb of the same cemetery, and kept at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, that includes a small "axe-adze", a sword, and two small spearheads (Snodgrass 1964, 166; cf. Lefkandi I, 256).

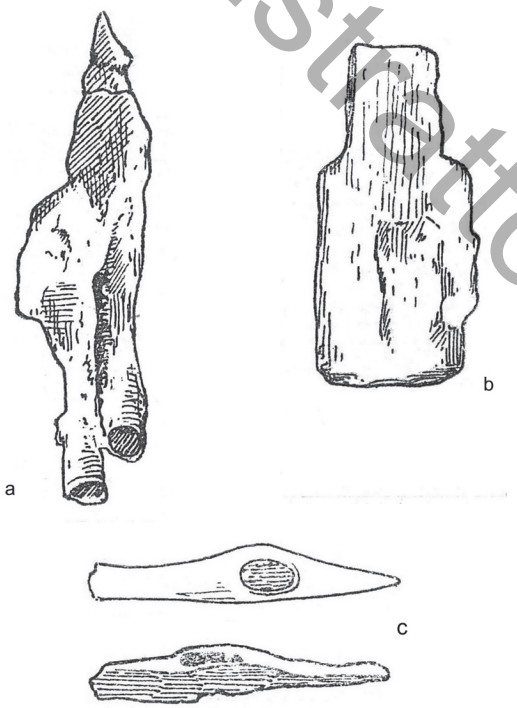

Fig 2.a-b-c. Iron finds from the Dipylon cemetery, Athens. a. A pair of spearheads, oxidised. b. Flat axe. c. Double blade axe (after Dümmler 1888, 298, figs. 5-6-7).

To sum up, the Athenian evidence re-examined here suggests the adoption of a more flexible interpretation of the function of the axe, which appears in tune with Carancini's proposal concerning the Italian continental series (Carancini 1984, 236-245, especially 237). He highlights how – independently from the determination of the way the axes were used on the basis of their structure – the problem of their effective function as a weapon for hunting or fighting, or as sacrificial, ceremonial and symbolic implements, should be addressed mainly on the basis of the grave context to which they belong. In particular, the evidence from PG 40 requires a wider perspective: an axe and chisel make up a working set which could be used in several fields, i.e. woodworking, carving, carpentry, metal or stone and bone working.

In Iron Age Italy, the iron axes, especially flat ones, are very often associated with chisels and other tools for woodworking. The occurrence of the trunnion axe – the "Ärmchenbeil" of German scholarship, attributable to the

6 H.V. and E. Catling, writing about two double axes found in the LG Panoply Tomb at Argos, observed that "…[they] have given rise to a rather frivolous comment that the warrior would have found them useful for hewing logs for his fire. Even in this context, which included fire-dogs and spits, it is unlikely that the axes buried with the warrior were anything but weapons" (Lefkandi I, 256). On the context, see Snodgrass 1964, 166, who observes that according to scholiasts on Homer "they were used, though not exclusively, for breaking up the beached ships of the Greeks". For the type, cf. Carancini 1984, 235: "aspetto alquanto slanciato, con tallone sviluppato, di forma trapezoidale; due appendici laterali aculeate all'attacco della lama; lama di forma trapezoidale, a margini diritti e taglio espanso". It spread throughout Sicily, Sardinia and the western Mediterranean, but it is rare in the Italian peninsula.

7 The terms occurring in the Homeric poems and the archaeological finds are not easy to be put in correlation. In the *Iliad* (XXIII, 851 and 882) we find also the *hemipelekkon* (half axe), and both the *pelekeis* and the *hemipelekka* are given as prizes in the funeral games for Patroclus. I owe this observation to my colleague Tommaso Raiola, and I am most grateful for it.

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Eastern Halstatt zone and to the Lausitz facies – in graves containing working tools, seems to suggest that they were used as weapons as well as tools (Iaia 2006, 192-194).

A male attribute, the chisel is regularly associated with axes in the Italian hoards, which indicates that its prevalent use was for woodworking. The association with weapons suggests a parallel connection with war activities carried out by a shipwright or carpenter. The association of weapons and chisels could indirectly mirror "la stretta relazione funzionale e sociale fra metallurghi e gruppi di armati", becoming more effective from the end of the Bronze Age and culminating in Italy in northern Etruria (Speciale, Zanini 2010, 188).

The twin set of axe-and-chisel makes its appearance also in 'Hellenized' contexts at Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano at the end of the 8th century BC. Here the occurrence of working tools has been generally interpreted as attributable to "fasce sociali distinte dall'ambito aristocratico, presso le quali l'attività lavorativa poteva tramandarsi ereditariamente, come mostra il fatto che [a Pitecusa] ben due delle tre sepolture sono riferibili a bambini: una divisione del lavoro, dunque che sembra preludere alla formazione di ceti specializzati in determinate attività, secondo un modello proprio di situazioni urbane" (Iaia 2006, 197). Nevertheless, such a broad generalization can be mitigated. Teresa Cinquantaquattro, for example, holds that the dead (an adult) of T 4890 in Pontecagnano-Casella, who was accompanied by a spear, an axe with broad quadrangular blade and a set of chisels (Fig. 3.a-b), "facesse parte di un gruppo socialmente elevato, in accordo con quanto rilevato in ambiente etrusco e italico, dove gli utensili ricollegabili ad attività lavorative costituiscono una prerogativa di tombe emergenti; diversamente, nell'insediamento di Pithekoussai, la loro presenza si riscontra in sepolture di inumati che, in quanto allogeni, occupano un gradino modesto della scala sociale (T 678) o che, in quanto bambini (TT 515 e 557) non sono ancora integrati a pieno titolo nella comunità" (Cinquantaquattro 2001, 68-69, and pl. 19 at p. 156).

In Pithekoussai, in the cemetery of San Montano, grave T 678, known as the 'Carpenter's tomb' (Fig. 4), shows an assemblage alluding to the technical abilities of the dead, an individual of about 21 years old, buried with a complete tool kit for working wood and leather, a very special set of grave equipment defining his social persona.[8] According to the current opinion, the graves of the children carpenters of Pithekoussai, dated to the end of the 8th century BC (T 515: c. 11 years old; T 557; c. eight years old)[9] (Fig. 5), should prove "la sostanziale estraneità agli usi funerari euboici, tanto che si è parlato di deposizioni riferibili a non greci" (Iaia 2006, 197 and catalogue; 198, nos. 21ff.). However, the opposition between Greeks and non-Greeks as regards the value attributed to the technical abilities of the members of two different groups, has been artificially constructed, moving from an interpretation of the funerary ritual (Cerchiai, Lubtchanski 1999) that turns out to be ill-founded, considering what has been observed above.

At Lefkandi, a set of objects possibly related to artisanal activities appears in the equipment of the LPG inhumation grave T 39 in the Toumba cemetery, although no skeletal material allowing a determination of the sex and age of the dead was found (Fig. 6) (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 217-220). An iron object was collected next to an axe (length 14.3 cm; width (at cutting edge) 4.6, (at butt) c. 2.5 cm) (Fig. 7.a, corresponding on the plan to no. 33): the object (length 11 cm) was hesitantly interpreted as a spear butt ("tapers to narrow butt, blade?" Popham *et al.* 1982b, 219, cat. 34; Lefkandi III, pl. 43.34) (Fig. 7.b, no. 34 on the plan). The absence of a spearhead in the same grave, as well as the lack of similar butts in the case of the six spearheads found in other burials, raised doubts as to its identification. The alternative explanation proposed was that of "an offensive weapon in its own right?" (Popham

8 d'Agostino 2005, 192. T 678, Pithekoussai I, 657-660: inhumation in a trench; a heap of stones of almost quadrangular shape over half of the grave. Apart from the ceramic equipment, the grave yielded two bronze fibulae centered on the stomach and nine iron tools beside and above the legs, the working tools of a carpenter: axe, chisel (three examples), awl (two examples), knife, pole, iron blade. For the axe and the chisel, cf. Nizzo 2007, 115-115, pl. 4.

9 Pithekoussai I, 554, T 557: inhumation of a male sub-adult, eight years old (LG II); apart from the pottery and a scaraboid seal of the Lyre-Player Group, the grave yielded a small iron carpenter's axe, found beside the femur. *Ibid.*, 515-518, T 515: inhumation in a trench with a small heap of stones; a male sub-adult about 11 years old, LG II; apart from the pottery, an axe was found beside the left hip, transversally. On the right side, more or less at the height of the pelvis, were the remains of the pole, traces of textile (it is not clear if it was from the garment worn by the dead or from a cloth in which the chisel had been wrapped).

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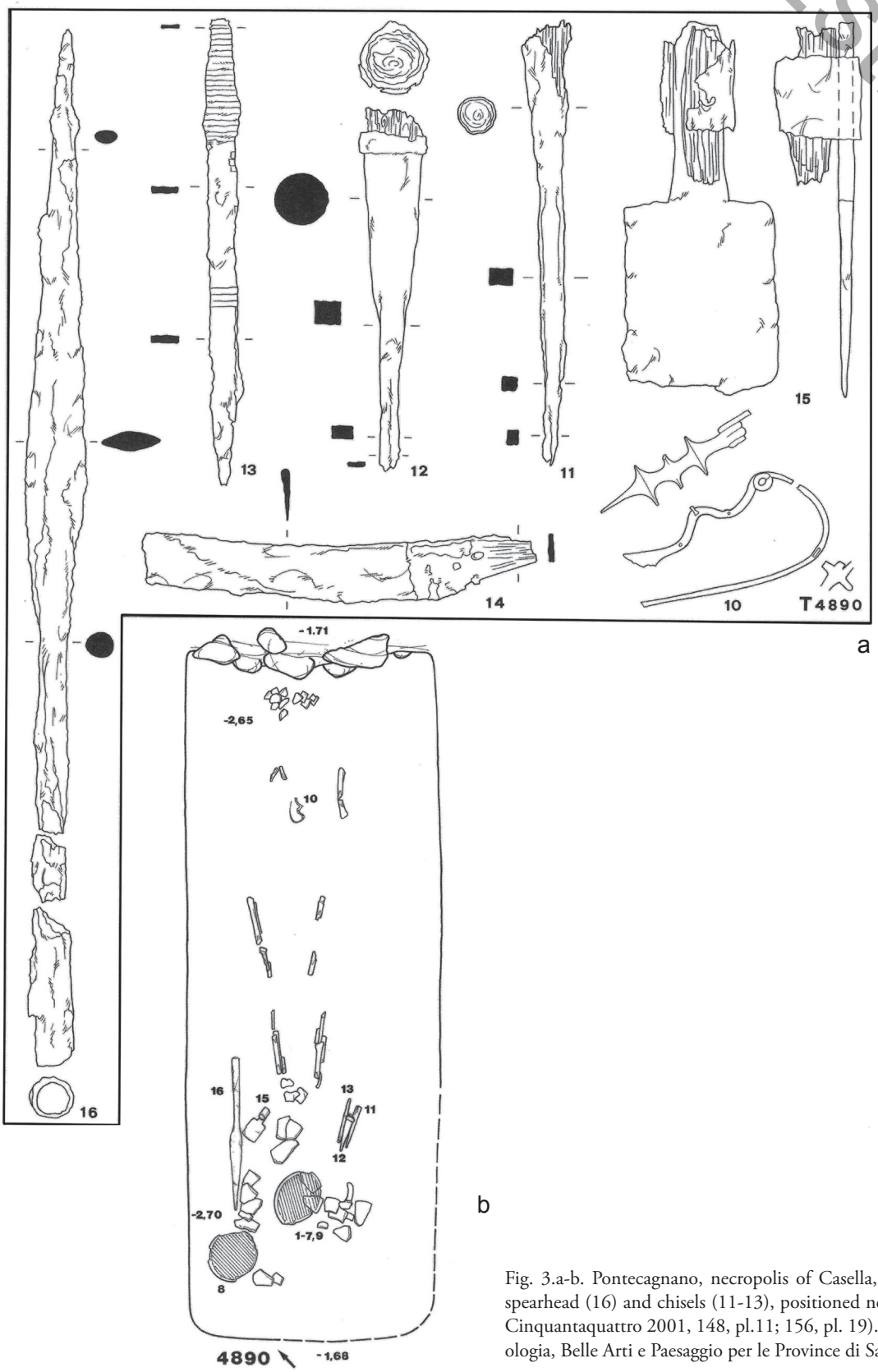

Fig. 3.a-b. Pontecagnano, necropolis of Casella, tomb 4890. Axe (15), spearhead (16) and chisels (11-13), positioned near the dead's feet (after Cinquantaquattro 2001, 148, pl.11; 156, pl. 19). Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Salerno e Avellino.

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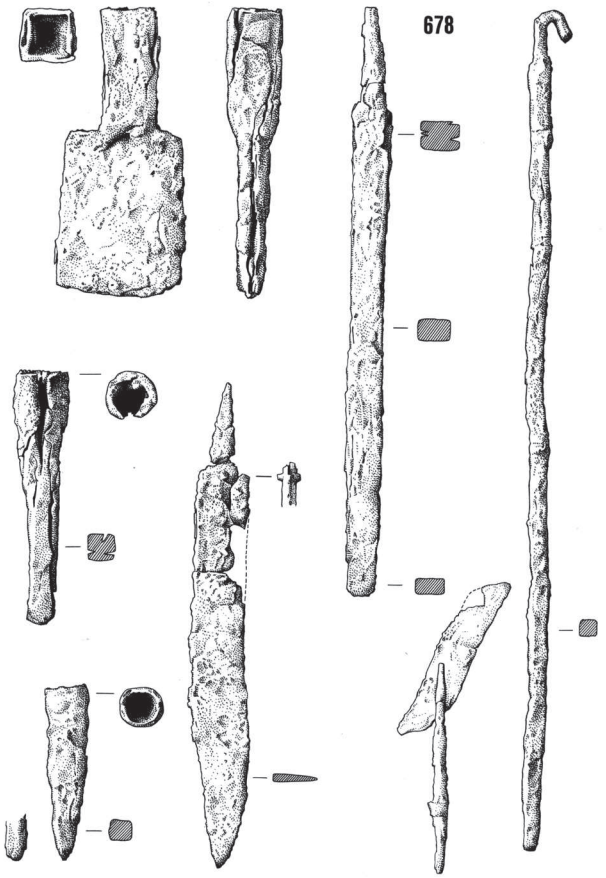

Fig. 4. Iron working tool set from Pithekoussai, T 678, the 'Carpenter's tomb' (after Pithekoussai I, pl. 190). Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Salerno e Avellino.

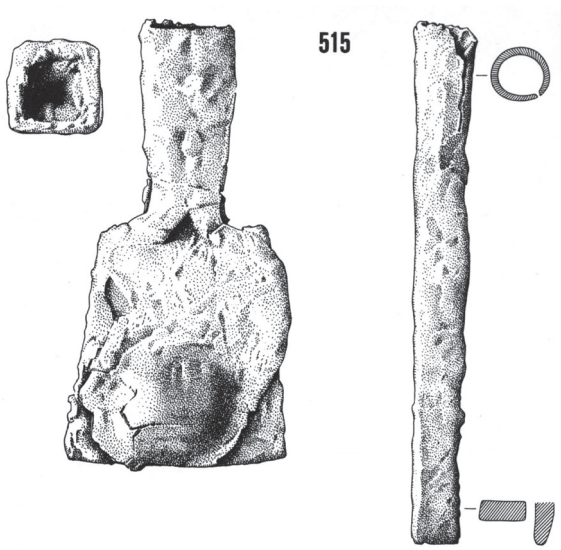

Fig. 5. Iron axe and chisel from Pithekoussai, T 515 (after Pithekoussai I, pl. 154.11-12). Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Salerno e Avellino.

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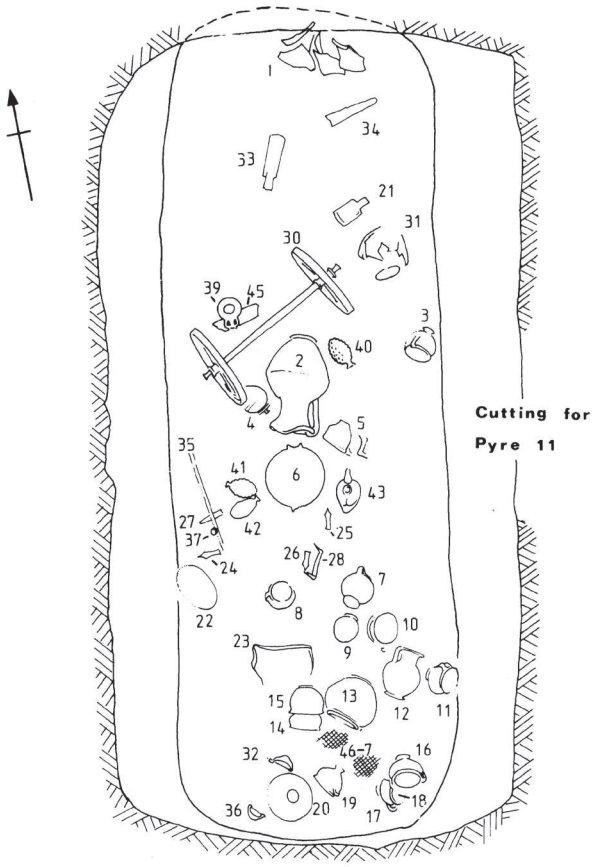

Fig. 6. Plan of tomb T 39 at Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi. Iron axe and socket chisel at nos. 33-34 (after Popham *et al.* 1982b, 216, fig. 2). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

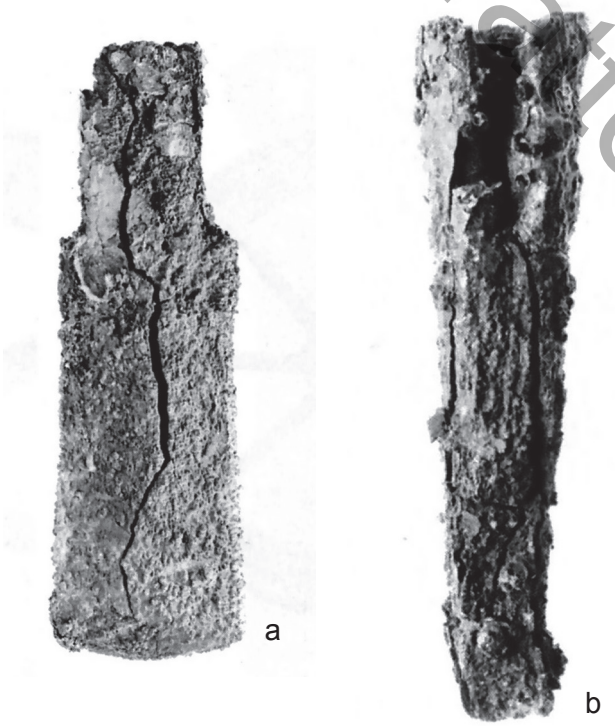

Fig. 7.a-b. Iron axe and socket chisel from tomb T 39 at Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi (after Lefkandi III, pl. 43). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

et al. 1982b, 241). The object is hollow on top for receiving and holding the grip, while on the opposite end it tapers to a narrow blade. Its shape looks like that of a socketed chisel, particularly suitable for working soft materials, like wood (Iaia 2006, 192, fig. 3, cf. in particular nos. 13-14, from the 'Carpenter's tomb' at Pithekoussai). If the identification of the object proposed here is correct,[10] then we have an element of comparison, and a forerunner, for the Pithekoussan evidence mentioned above, considering the Euboean connections of the settlement.

Regarding the axes, apart from the already mentioned example from T 39 in the Toumba cemetery, axes dating to the LPG and SPG, were found together with a varied array of weaponry (T 54, Pyre 1, 13, 31; cf. Marini 2003, 43 and 51, with bibliography). In Pyre 13, two or three examples (Fig. 8.a-b) are associated with spear, dirk and knife, as well as with a shield boss, an unicum at Lefkandi (cf. Popham *et al.* 1982b, 227-229; Lefkandi III, pl. 48; Marini 2003, 52). Only SPG grave P 13 of Palia Perivolia yielded an axe not associated with weapons (Marini 2003, 43, n. 188; Lefkandi I, 146), and this circumstance explains Lemos' inclination to refer the whole series of the axes of Lefkandi to the sphere of war.[11] However, the function of axes in war was limited, according to Snodgrass

10 Such a hypothesis is formulated here on the basis of the above mentioned bibliography. I did not have the occasion to view the find, which is undergoing study for the forthcoming publication of the Toumba cemetery edited by I. Lemos.

11 Lemos 2002, 122. Cf. Bräuning 1995, 43, who rejects *a priori* and systematically the function of working tool for every metal implement found in the graves of Athens, Argos and Lefkandi.

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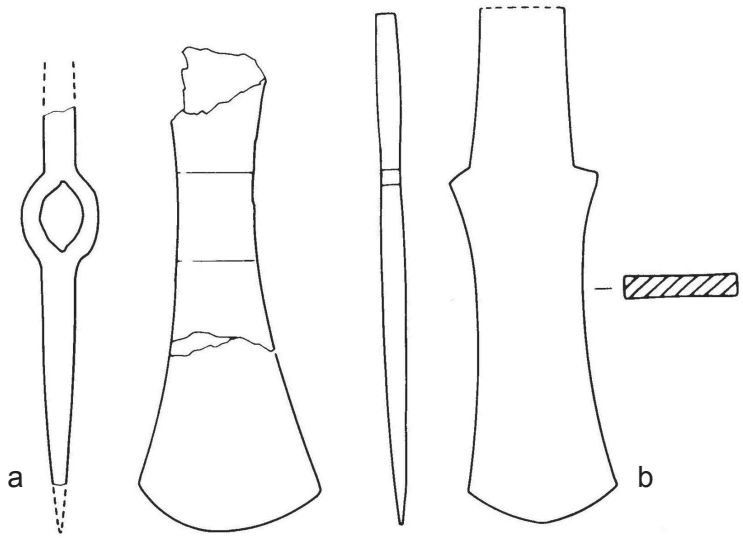

Fig. 8.a-b. Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, Pyre 13. a. Iron double axe, length 8.5 cm.; height 2.2 cm. b. Iron trunnion axe, length 14.5 cm (after Popham *et al.* 1982b, 238, fig. 8). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

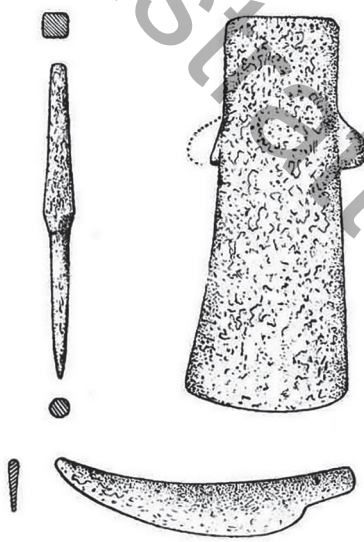

Fig. 9. Iron axe, knife and awl from Athens, Agora, grave D 16:4 (after Müller-Karpe 1962, 110, fig. 28).

(Snodgrass 1964, 156), and the framework of the associations traced above could better support the opinion that the axe was mainly used as a working tool, although, if needed, it could also be attributed with a warlike value.[12]

The series of working tools can be further expanded in the case of Athens, where an object described as a small chisel (length 15.2 cm), associated with an axe and a small knife with a blade of slightly lunate shape with convex cutting edge, has been found in grave Agora D 16:4, perhaps the most renowned and often mentioned among those with weapons (Fig. 9). However, its pointed tip connects it rather to the class of the awls used to make holes.[13] This is a cremation grave of a man about 34 years old; the long iron sword was found 'killed' and bent around the neck of the urn amphora deposited in the cavity of the pit at the end of a rectangular trench. Dated to the transition from LPG to EGI, c. 900 BC (Blegen 1952; cf. D'Onofrio 2011, 656), the grave yielded an axe, a couple of light spearheads, used for throwing, two rusted knives (one of them found completely adhering to one of the spearheads), a couple of iron horse bits, the tip of a needle or a pin and a loop or hasp with traces of wood for fixing it, and a whetstone. All these objects were collected together in a cloth – whose impression has been recognized on the metal ware – which was inserted into the cavity beside the urn (Blegen 1952, 281; 286-287). Near the shoulder of the urn amphora, an oinochoe and three kantharoi "for his posthumous refreshment" were also found (Coldstream 2003, 8). In this case, the axe is associated with a knife, as in burials T 54 and Pyre 13 at Toumba, but also with another tool, the awl. Offerings of figs and grapes complete the picture of this singular burial, whose occupant has been defined by Blegen as "a warrior and perhaps also a craftsman" because of the association of weapons and working tools (Blegen 1952, 282).

12 In the Homeric poems we find the following use of the *pelekys*. To combat: *Il.* XV, 612; 711. To cut wood: *Il.* XIII, 391 and XVI, 488 (to build a ship); *Od.* V, 234 and 244 (for Odysseus' raft); *Il.*XXIII, 114 (for Patroclus' pyre). To sacrifice an ox: *Il.* XVII, 520; *Od.* III, 442, 449. For games: *Il.* XXIII, 851; *Od.* XIX, 573 and 578; XXI, 76, 120, 260, 421. Made by a smith, along with a *skeparnon*: *Od.* IX 391. I owe this list to the courtesy of Tommaso Raiola.

13 Blegen 1952, 289, no 7. Cf. D'Onofrio 2011, 653 n. 11 (I was inclined to accept C. Giardino's suggestion that it could be a goad). "Ein Eisenpfriem" for Müller-Karpe 1962, 127; "eiserner Stichel" for Kalaitzoglou 2010, 64, cat. 2. Two very small bone rings are of uncertain function (Blegen 1952, 290, n. 13 and pl. 75c). For the mortuary evidence from the Agora, including D16:4, we await for the volume by Papadopoulos and Smithson, forthcoming.

Estratto

An exceptional find dating to LPG comes from grave Agora N:16:4 (Thompson 1956, 48-49), a cremation in amphora, lacking any anthropological data. The urn contained, among the ashes, a fragment of an iron saw and a toothed knife of the same metal (Müller-Karpe 1962, 126, fig. 27, 5-6; cf. Bräuning 1995, 69; D'Onofrio 2011, 661). Fragments of an oinochoe, a kantharos and a pyxis were found beside the amphora. All the objects had been placed on the pyre, and a sword had been deposited in the trench with the pyre refuse, the hilt being tangential to the urn-hole. The saw is a working tool that is not common in graves, and I do not know a comparable find dated to the EIA in the Greek world (for fragmentary, small saw blades from the LH IIIC settlement of Xeropolis, see Lefkandi IV, 282); it is also extremely rare in the mortuary evidence from Italy (Iaia 2006, 191: only from northern sites such as Este and Bologna).

In conclusion, I would like to call to mind the passage in which Eumaeus describes the *demiourgoi*, and among them the carpenters (*tektona douron*), in *Od.* XVII, 382-385. These verses leave no doubts about the social relevance of the itinerant artisans and craftsmen in a world which is not so distant from the archaeological contexts considered here.[14] In Book IX, dedicated to the adventure with the Cyclops, naval metaphors follow one after another, and Odysseus, the hero of the *metis*, triumphs over Polyphemus by working an olive trunk "as large as the mast of a black ship of twenty oars, a merchantman, broad of beam, which crosses over the great gulf" (ll. 319-324) and rotating it into the monster's eye like a drill on a plank of a ship (ll. 384-388). His ability in working wood is inseparable from his nature as a seaman.[15]

The variety of working tools that occur in the burials with weapons considered here suggests a male pattern characterized by the prominence of the woodworking *techne*. It is worth recalling the suggestive catalogue of the 'Daedalic' crafts compiled by David Ridgway for Pithekoussai, in which the author draws our attention to the connection of this *techne* with shipbuilding, obviously indispensable for a society like the Euboean, but surely for the Athenians as well, which used ships as the principal source for accumulating wealth and power through trading enterprises (Ridgway 1994, 73; cf. Speciale, Zanini 2010, 169; Mele 1979).

Tweezers and razors: the warrior's beauty

Some objects typical of LBA elite burials, and obsolete in those of the EIA, rarely occur in the metal ware of the tombs of Athens and Lefkandi. This is the case for tweezers and razors, toilet implements for the personal care and beauty of the warrior (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 172-173; Vandkilde 2006). Their persistence betrays the slow process of transformation of the male ideal.

At Athens, in cremation grave Odos Kriezi T LXXIX, dated by Alexandri to the Submycenaean period (Alexandri 1967, 93), apart from a sword and personal adornments, a pair of tweezers was found (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 155). Similarly, a cremation grave on Odos Mitsaion/Zitrou (EG II), characterized by the ritual of the 'killed' weapon, produced tweezers in an urn vase along with a fibula and the hilt of a second weapon of unclassifiable shape (Alexandri 1967, 102; Strömberg 1993, cat. 173a). Cremation Grave XVIII from excavations at Odos Dimitrakopoulou 110 (Alexandri 1970, 57; cf. Nikopoulou 1970, 177, figs. 12-13) yielded two bronze razors along with an iron sword, an iron spearhead and a bronze shallow bowl (*lopas*) used as a lid for the urn vase.[16] The date

14 Eumaeus, defending Odysseus, who was in disguise begging for food at the table of the suitors in his own home, pronounces to Antinous: "Who, pray, of himself ever seeks out and bids a stranger from abroad, unless it be one of those that are masters of some public craft, a prophet, or a healer of ills, or a builder (*tektona douron*), aye, or a divine minstrel, who gives delight with his song? For these men are bidden all over the boundless earth." (*Od.* XVII, 382-385). On the terminology connected with carpentry used by the poet, cf. Bertolini 1988.

15 It is with the qualities of a seaman and a sailor, in a technical sense, that Odysseus defeats the Cyclops, whose *sauvagerie* is derived, among other things, from his inability to sail, although he lives on an island. He appears to Polyphemus as a man far from being sizeable nor handsome (*Od.* IX, 513-16: *oligos, outidanos, akikys*). "Lontano dagli eroi iliadici, Odisseo si configura piuttosto come un eroe di tipo diverso, connesso alla *metis*, al mare, allo scambio, all'artigianato, richiamando in un certo senso la contraddizione e l'ambiguità di fondo che connota lo statuto dell'artigiano mitico per eccellenza che è Efesto, combattuto tra la sua sapienza e la deformità del suo corpo". In Etruria, Odysseus is perceived as the mythical paradeigma of the artisan (Bonaudo 2009, especially 147).

16 A couple of razors have been found in the so-called warrior grave from the southern slopes of the Acropolis (Weber 1996, no. 327A-B). This kind of object belongs to the final phases of the Mycenaean civilization, so the items from Grave XVIII could be *keimelia*.

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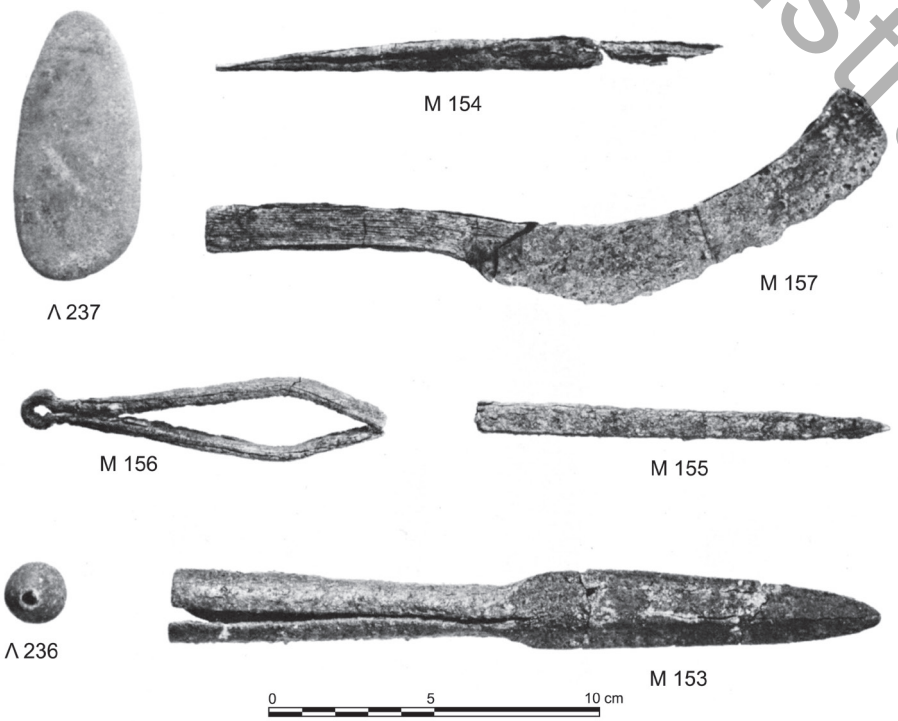

Fig. 10. Perati, T 123. Bronze spearhead M 153, whetstone Λ 237, bronze tweezers M 156, razor M 157, and working tools M 154, M 155 (after Iakovidis 1970, pl. 128γ).

proposed in the preliminary report is the end of the 8th century BC, but the grave assemblage, if studied properly, could be earlier (D'Onofrio forthcoming).

At Lefkandi, the razor occurs only once, among the grave goods of the MPG 'ruler' (Lefkandi II.2, 19; Lemos 2002, 167), together with a sword, a spearhead and a whetstone (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 156). To my knowledge, the find has never been illustrated. One could wonder whether the implement used for shaving did not go through such consistent modifications that it is not possible to recognize it. I refer to the possible use of multipurpose knives, which could be – according to Catling's observation – used for shaving (Lefkandi I, 257, about examples P 16,7 e P 31,7, "small knives … ideal general purpose implements that would be equally useful for cutting food, clearing game, whittling, pruning and – conceivably – shaving"; cf. Lefkandi IV, 282). The better-preserved knife from Agora D 16:4 (Agora Museum IL 1061, length 14.3 cm) has a "blade of slightly lunate shape with convex cutting edge" comparable with the knife from grave T 50 at Lefkandi (Lefkandi III, pls. 14; 57). One could add that in the typological sequence elaborated by Weber, the Subminoan razor-knives from Karphi (Weber 1996, Type V) seem comparable with the above-mentioned examples; furthermore, their dimensions fall within 10-15 cm, smaller than the BA examples.

I would like to conclude this short review by mentioning a relatively earlier context from Attica: a grave assemblage that is of great interest for the assessment of the Athenian model. Perati grave T 123 (LHIIIC:1) (Iakovidis 1970, 426-430, grave assemblage at pl. 128, α, γ), yielded a spearhead, a chisel apt for metalworking, an awl, a pair of tweezers, and a razor (Weber 1996, 151, no. 340; cf. Lefkandi IV, 282-285, 287), as well as a whetstone (Iakovidis 1980, 78-98) (Fig. 10). This assemblage (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154-157, 171; D'Onofrio 2011, 647) represents a relevant antecedent for the definition of the emerging role of individuals who distinguish themselves on the basis of their technical abilities. At the same time, they are perfectly integrated into the social system they belong to, and not touched by the bias affecting their banausic activities according to the traditional view characteristic of the Classical period (cf. Iaia 2006, 190).

Estratto

Personal adornments: looking back to the old time style / looking aside to the Easterner

In Mycenaean and Late Minoan burials, jewellery, especially necklaces and bracelets, underlined the high rank of some of the individuals buried with the weapon ritual (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; 1988; D'Onofrio 2012, 146-148). The EIA repertory of male personal adornments is much simpler. Fibulae, pins, and especially rings prevail in the Final Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age; gold bands – only exceptionally silver ones – could be also worn by the dead (D'Onofrio 2012, 141-148; Poulsen 1905, 38). Only two fibulae are known from a grave with weapons in Athens: an unpublished bronze example comes from Odos Kriezi's cremation T LXXIX, still datable, according to Alexandri (1967, 93), within the Submycenaean period; a second example, also in bronze and fragmentary, of the arched type, comes from cremation PG 40 of the Kerameikos, examined above (Inv. M 11, Kerameikos IV, 26, 42; cf. Lemos 2002, 112). The rarity of fibulae is a feature that occurs also in the Attic cemetery of Perati and in Late Mycenaean Greece more generally, where they are often an imported product. At Perati "they seem to have been pinned not to the dress itself but to a shawl like that worn by the figures of the ivory group from Mycenae" (Iakovidis 1980, 78). Odysseus' golden fibula, which pinned his chlaina (*Od.* XIX, 225-235; 257), is the only male jewellery known from the epics, and it remains unparalleled in Greek contexts, while similar objects appear as Etruscan grave equipment of the early 7th century BC (Ridgway 1994, 72). The hero's cloak is represented on the Protoattic amphora New York 21.88.18, where a man is painted with a richly decorated cloak, apparently pinned at the chest (D'Onofrio 2012, 145). Recently, Molloy has traced the emergence of the bow-fibulae to the later 13th century BC, and discussed the development of types in the Aegean and further north, suggesting their association with specific forms of dress (cloaks?) and their role in the definition of "a larger, more visible social 'statement' than their small size in itself implies" (Molloy 2016, 362).

Pins are more common, but generally highly corroded and not ascribable to a precise typology. Two examples come from the cemetery on Odos Kriezi, both unpublished. The first, of iron, was found in T X, dated to EG, a cremation in amphora lidded by a bronze bowl which contained a fibula and a spearhead (Alexandri 1968, 21, 30; Strömberg 1993, 168); the second example, in bronze (only the head is preserved), comes from the LG cremation T XXVI, which, besides ceramic vessels, yielded a bronze lebes, a fragment of a silver band with figured decoration, and a sword fragment (Alexandri 1967, 95, pls. 86 β, 87 β, δ). In the Kerameikos cemetery, a bronze pin ending in the shape of a boot was found in cremation grave G 13 (MG I), mentioned below when discussing the boot symbol occurring in the mortuary equipment of the period. A "part of a shaft and point of a nail or pin" are fragmentary and poorly preserved from the cremation Agora D 16:4, of the so-called "warrior and craftsman", at the transition between LPG and EG I (Blegen 1952, 287, 290, cat. 11, pl. 75c). An even more uncertain case is represented by "the shaft of a pin?" from the EG II cremation Agora R 20:1 (Thompson 1947, 196, fig. 1, pl. XLI). Pins (and rings) were found in the double burial of a "warrior and lady" on Odos Agiou Markou, whose grave goods, as yet unpublished, appear to be mixed together (*ArchDelt* 19: B1, 1964, 55-57, pl. 51α; cf. Strömberg 1993, cat. 400; material dated between LPG and EG II). Finally, an iron pin, placed in the urn vase with a pair of tweezers, is mentioned from the EG II cremation grave excavated at Odos Mitsaion/Zitrou (Alexandri 1967, 102, pl. 94β; Strömberg 1993, cat. 173a). With regards to the function of the pins, in the case of a blunt point one should exclude its use for pinning garments and think of them more as hair ornaments, but obviously this particular feature of the 'pins' can be observed only when they are well preserved and on the basis of adequate documentation (cf. Iakovidis 1980, 81).

Concluding this section on adornments, at Athens, rings represent a rather common male attribute, in line with many other sites not considered in this article:[17] one could mention, from the cemetery of Odos Kriezi, the bronze examples from grave T LXXIX and from the coeval T LXX, and the example – in gold, as is the associated band – from T II, dated to MG I (Alexandri 1968, 22, fig. 6). In the Kerameikos, two iron examples were found placed on the tip of the sword in cremation grave PG 28, dated to LPG (Kerameikos IV, 34; cf. Kilian-Dirmeier

17 A well-known case is the 'warrior grave' T 45 at Argos: the occupant is buried with his armor and adorned with many rings of gold and bronze. In Macedonia, the finding of bronze rings in male burials is rather common (cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 155; Bräuning 1995, 35; 49).

Estratto

Fig. 11. Bronze earrings and fibula from tomb T 79 at Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi (after Lefkandi III, pl. 79). 1:1. Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

1993, cat. 274, on pl. 40 the rings are illustrated). Rings are reported from the double grave on Odos Agiou Markou, mentioned above, but the mixing of the grave goods hampers any conclusion about the association of the 'warrior's' items, while the two bone rings from Agora D 16:4 are too small to be considered as personal adornments (Blegen 1952, 287, 290 cat. 13, pl. 75c; diam. 1.1 cm.).

In general, at Lefkandi, adornments recur more frequently in the burials with weapons: fibulae (Lemos 2002, 12, from T39; Lefkandi III, pl. 43), pins, and diadems, along with the gold attachments typical of the site (Lemos 2007, 277 and note 25: 2 cases), whose function remains unclear. One extraordinary ring of Egyptian manufacture with a ram-headed Amun comes from Toumba grave T 39, already discussed for the presence of a set of working tools: it remains the only occurrence of rings from this site (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 219, cat. 37). Lemos notices the presence of some peculiar pins "…made of an iron shaft with beads threaded onto it. In each case the beads are made of different material – faience on one pin, amber on another, and ivory or bone on the third…it is tempting to suggest that these pins were used to indicate the rank of the warrior" (Lemos 2002, 125-126; Nightingale 2010, 139). In the grave of the 'warrior trader' T 79 at Toumba (SPG II, c. 875-850 BC), within an extraordinary complex of grave goods, well-furnished with orientalia of Cypriot and Levantine origin (Lemos 2003; Marini 2009, 60) – in primis the series of the stone weights, the Babylonian seal (a keimelion dated about 1800 BC), but also a pair of bichrome jugs recognized as the earliest Phoenician imports of the type (Lemos 2003, 190; Kourou 2008, 313-314, and fig. 5.1 at p. 316) – an "arched fibula with wire wrapped around each terminal" and a parure of earrings of the same style, "lunate-shaped, with wire wrapped around each terminal and linking them" were found. The definition earrings is in quotation marks in the figure caption, evidently to denote the oddity of this kind of find in a male tomb (Popham, Lemos 1995, 152-154, fig. 7; cf. Lefkandi III, pl. 79, A15 and B5; Kourou 2008, 314, 318, fig. 7.9) (Fig. 11). Popham and Lemos (1995, 156) comment: "Finally, on a possibly, but not necessarily lighter vein, did the earrings, if such they are, belong to the warrior and did he wear them?". Despite the excavators' scepticism, the stratigraphic layout of the grave confirms that the earrings belong to the grave context and therefore one can safely state that – whether of local production, or not – this jewellery, the earrings along with the fibula, characterize the attire of the occupant of T 79. In fact, recently, first Nijboer, then Crielaard recognized in this context the markers of an eastern Mediterranean elite lifestyle in which the earrings were a normal male attribute (Nijboer 2008; Crielaard 2012, 148-151) pointing to a Phoenician or Near Eastern horizon. Nijboer drew attention to the functional resemblance of the funerary assemblage of T 79 and the Phoenician family Tomb N. 1 at Achziv (northern Israel), both high status warrior tombs, even if Achziv N. 1 include at least three inhumation burials dated to the 10th-9th centuries BC (Mazar 2004, 21), and the scales and the fine jewellery are assigned by Mazar to the burial of a jewellery-maker, while the weapons are assigned to the burial of "a great warrior" (Mazar 2004, 91; cf. Nijboer 2008, 367-369). Crielaard in turn looked at the Palaeopaphou-Skales T 67, dated 1050-900 BC, as a further representative of a "high status tomb containing scale, pans and weights" (not weapons), and it is worth noticing that all these contexts yielded gold (Achziv, Palaeopaphou-Skales) or bronze (Toumba T 79) earrings (Crielaard 2012, 148-151, with a table of the comparable finds). In addition, Eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern male figures are currently represented on paintings and reliefs wearing different types of earrings, whose typologies cannot be dealt with here (Fig. 12).[18]

18 For the earrings of the Achziv tomb, see Mazar 2004, 100-103. For the Assyrian evidence, see Curtis 2013, 111-113 and pl. LXXXVI. See also Madhloom 1970, 90-92: Type A, "Earring of crescent shape", used in the Middle Assyrian period, it also continued into later Assyrian times. Cf. the figures of the dignitaries on a wall painting in the governor's palace at Til Barsip (Strommenger, Hirmer 1962, pl. XXXVIII). In Lycia, the custom lasts into the Classical period, cf. the so-called dynast of Elmali, c. 490 BC (Mellink 1998, Karaburun T. II, 95, fig. 29). For the earring worn by the *revelers* on Athenian red-figure vases, De Vries 1973.

Esempio

Fig. 12. Detail of a wall painting from the governor's palace at Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar, Syria). Two dignitaries. Around the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727 BC, Aleppo Museum (Strommenger, Hirmer 1962, pl. XXXVIII) © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Albert Hirmer/Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer.

Grave T 79 raised many discussions among archaeologists, starting with Papadopoulos' proposal to identify the occupant as a forerunner of the *xenoi* of historical times, a man who had received lavish burial for his ties with the 'royal clan' and for his rank, finding his place among the burials of the community that hosted him (Papadopoulos 1997). Antonaccio proposed to recognize in the occupant of the grave a *proxenos*, "someone who acted as an intermediary in trade between an elite group or individuals and the east" – highlighting the analogies of the rite (the niche) with Cretan contexts (Antonaccio 2002, 28-32). Lemos took this second interpretation into account as a possibility, categorically rejecting the hypothesis of a foreigner; the warrior-trader is considered an eminent member of the local community, in the belief that burial within the cemetery of the native population was not allowed to foreigners (Lemos 2003, 190-192). Discussions on the ethnic origin of the dead buried in T 79 have reached different conclusions: the majority of archaeologists consider the dead a Lefkandian man, "one of those wandering adventurers who would have been away from home long enough to acquaint himself with the customs of men in faraway places" (Crielaard 2012, 151, who adopts the category of "creolization"; cf. Mazarakis-Ainian 2012, 79), while Papadopoulos seems to remain the lone champion of a Phoenician origin (Papadopoulos 1997). It should also be recalled the discussion on the origin of the couple buried in the Heroon of Toumba, which saw John Boardman suggesting an eastern origin for the deceased (Boardman 2002, 72; Mazarakis-Ainian 2012, 77). As for the assessment of ethnicity, and the criteria to be followed for the identification of immigrants in the archaeological record, I accept Papadopoulos' considerations (2011), and I would not be certain (as Lemos, Crielaard and others are) that the occupant of grave T 79 was born in Lefkandi, from Lefkandian parents, rather than from elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, or born in Lefkandi to foreign parents (or at least one). The fact remains that the earring-bearer of T 79 is still unparalleled in the Greek mortuary record and more generally in the material evidence of the period. The topic requires a wider and more systematic methodological approach (cf. Nijboer 2008, 368).

Another unusual adornment, certainly rare in a male tomb, is the necklace, an item occurring in T 39 of the Toumba cemetery and in grave P 47 of the East Cemetery at Lefkandi (for both see Nightingale 2010, 138). In T 39, already examined with regards to its working tools (an axe and chisel), an Egyptian ring was found along with elements of two necklaces of faïence beads, and one made of shells (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 220, cat. 44-46, faience beads; cat. 47, pierced shells), as well as a group of gold adornments (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 219, cat. 23-29; Lefkandi III, pl. 40; Kourou 2008, in part. 342-343; Marini 2009, 55) (Fig. 13.a-b). The pottery included an amphora with vertical handles, one-handled cups and footed skyphoi, an amphoriskos with vertical handles, a large pyxis without lid and one with lid (Lefkandi III, pl. 41), a group of five skyphoi with conical feet, and other vessels, including a kalathos. A unicum is represented by a pair of bronze wheels (diam. 25 cm).[19] Grave T 39 also

19 Lefkandi III, pl. 43, no 30; cf. Kourou 2008, 341. Scanty remains of fragmentary wheels and other elements of a small wagon were found in Athenian grave G13 examined above. A synthesis of the votive carts reconstructed from the remains of wheels and on the EIA tripod carts in Armbruster 2004, 57, starting from the complex of Baiões, Viseu Portugal, 9th-8th centuries BC, interpreted as Atlantic products after oriental models or attributable to the contact zone of the Mediterranean (p. 61).

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yielded a terracotta model wagon, a toy well in tune with the osteological finds, attributed to a child of uncertain gender.[20] The extraordinary collection of faïence items, of generically oriental production (Nightingale 2007) – apart from the Egyptian ring with ram-headed Amun – recently re-examined by Kourou along with the whole orientalising evidence and the Phoenician imports (Kourou 2008), bears witness to the connection between the elites of Lefkandi and Tyre. This circumstance brought Coldstream to speculate about the possibility that one of the individuals buried in this 'multiple burial' is a foreign woman, probably of oriental origin (Coldstream 1998, 356; Coldstream 2007, 137; cf. Lemos 2002,165; Lemos 2007, 278). The question of the determination of the number, age and sex of the individual or individuals buried in T 39 appears, as for now, unsolvable: at the time of the excavation the possible (ephemeral) remains of a skull were detected, and a tooth was recovered by sifting the fill of the grave; finally, there was a trace of organic material, perhaps from a wooden coffin (?), which made the archaeologists who discovered it inclined to assign it to the rite of inhumation (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 218; Marini 2003, 42 and n. 181). According to Lemos, we could have here a double burial, male and female (though the sex of the sub-adult occupant cannot be fixed), despite the limited information available from the sole osteological find, a child's tooth.[21] The conjecture seems to originate from the difficulty of assigning a gender value to the grave goods, combining objects thought to be more appropriate for a female individual (the jewellery, particularly the necklaces and the items of Near Eastern origin) along with others typical of the male sphere: the sword and the axe and – if my own proposal is correct – a socketed chisel rather than a spear butt.[22] A possibility which has not been taken into account is that the lavishness of this burial is related to the premature death of the male occupant, suggested also by the legged vessel in Red Slip Ware, which will be discussed below (cf. Lemos 2002, pl. 99.2; Kourou 2008, 342, fig. 24.19). On the other hand, the abundance of oriental objects, though representing an exception among the 'warrior graves', is in line with the child graves, especially in SPG. Lemos herself indeed observes that "if this was not a double burial but rather that of a boy who was given the status of a warrior, the implications for the status of children among the rulers buried in the Toumba cemetery are important" (Lemos 2002, 165 and n.169).

Summing up this contextual analysis, attention has to be drawn to the fact that the faïence beads and the necklaces formed from them should not necessarily be considered as markers of female gender (as noticed by Nightingale 2010, 138); support is given to this statement by their recovery beside one of the pyxides of the adult male inhumation P 47 of the East Cemetery (Lefkandi I, 160-161). This comparison – however internal to the site evidence – supersedes the assumption that a female burial is necessary to explain the necklace and the various adornments, and is in favour of the proposal, presented here, of attributing the grave to a sub-adult, probably a male, buried with weapons and a set of tools for woodworking, like the children of Pithekoussai (see *supra*), a *techne* to which he would have been acquainted, along with war, had he lived longer. Regarding the necklaces found in male burials with weapons, scholars have usually highlighted their pertinence to the sphere of orientalia (Marini 2009, 62). I prefer to stress their old-fashioned function of signalling the high-rank of male figures, which sinks its roots in the Minoan-Mycenaean tradition to which this attribute can be connected.

As for the already mentioned burial of tomb P 47, SPG I/II (Lefkandi I, 160-161, pls. 149, 219), pertaining to a male individual, a spearhead and sword were placed on the right side of the body. A couple of gold attachments were collected by the left thigh and the groin of the dead; however, the use of these items, which are typical of the site,

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20 Terracotta cart: Popham *et al.* 1982b, 218, cat. 21; Lefkandi III, pl. 126.b. To the other objects not in tune with the male gender of the dead I would add the loom weights, which were found in the grave as well. The presence of items of the female world in a child or sub-adult burial has been interpreted as a marker of rites of passage in the case of grave 3711 at Pontecagnano, dated to the Classical age; the authors propose to recognize among the mortuary offerings the "offerte personali di due adulti, forse i genitori del fanciullo" (Mancusi, Serritella 2005, 293-296).

21 The tooth is of an individual whose age has been lowered to 6 years from the initial hypothesis of 10 years, cf. Lemos, Mitchell 2011, 636, 638; Lemos 2003, 192, n. 4: "il dente di bambina/o di 10 anni fu trovato insieme alle armi" (but in the original report it is clearly stated that it came from the sifting of the soil).

22 For this contentious context, see Marini 2009, 55-56 (with bibliography): "Si tratta di un contesto che per molti aspetti rappresenta una "deviazione"rispetto alla norma: la presenza nel corredo di elementi maschili (armi) e femminili (gioielli e pesi da telaio) ha indotto I.S. Lemos ad ipotizzare la deposizione di due individui di sesso differente". Nightingale 2012, 138, suggests the possibility of a double grave of a man and a child.

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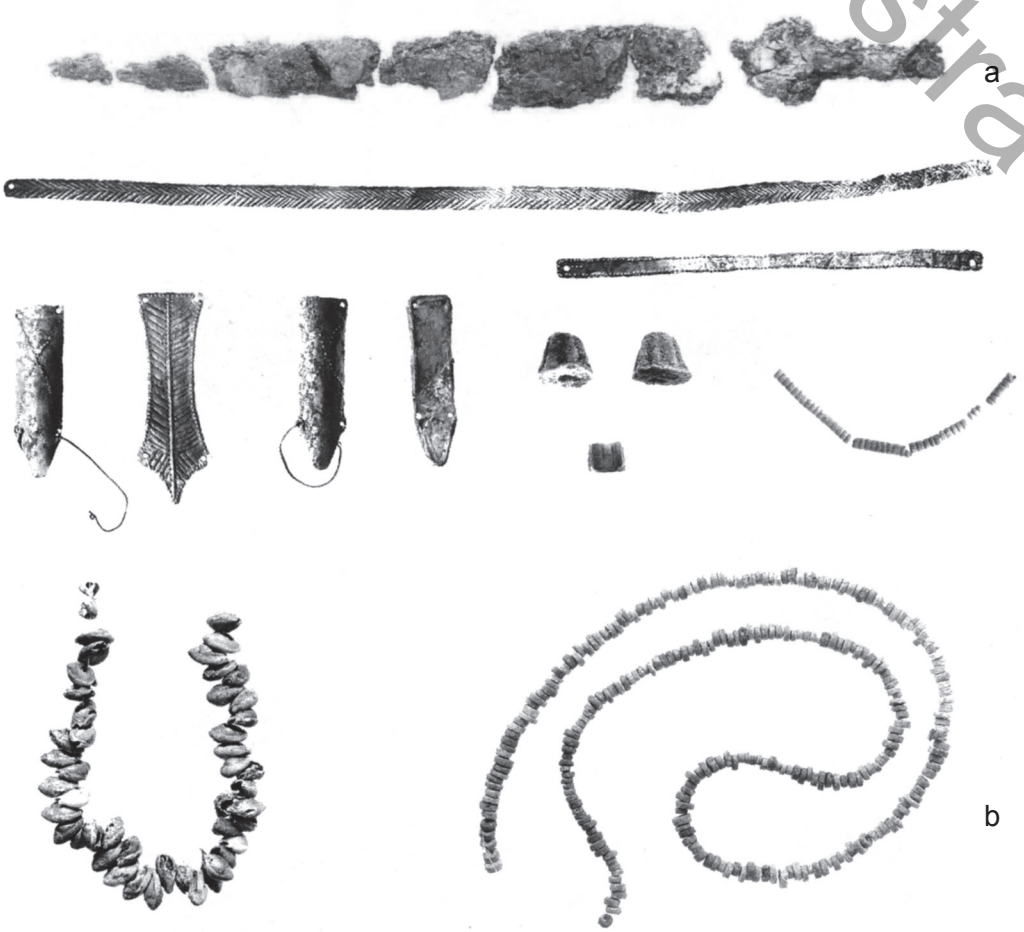

Fig. 13.a-b. Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, tomb T 39. a. Sword. b. Necklaces and other adornments (after Lefkandi III, pls. 43 and 40). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

is not clear. There were also the faïence beads of a necklace spread beside a pyxis with the lid off, which would have held them (Lefkandi I, pl. 149, no. 13 on the plan) (Figs. 14-15). A group of seven pyxides was found in the same tomb, for most of which the content is unknown. However, the use of the pyxis as a container for jewellery is attested in the Cretan tholos tomb of Tekke, which is nearly contemporary (Kotsonas 2006, PGB, 840-810 BC). Pyxides should then be considered as multifunctional vessels, destined for deceased of both sexes (Kerameikos XIII, 7),[23] used to contain perfumed essences related to the burial ritual – judging from the many fragments of pyxides largely burnt with the pyre and then scattered in the pyre refuse – and to hold personal adornments as well, as in the case of P 47.

Boots and male adolescents

In some of the burials analysed here, clay legs wearing a boot occur in various shapes. At Athens, a vessel with a single handle ending in a modelled leg with a boot was found in grave VII of Odos Kriezi, an EG cremation whose urn vase yielded fragments of a sword and a gold band; the grave goods consisted of an oinochoe, a couple of skyphoi and the legged vessel (Alexandri 1968, 22-25; cf. Cultraro 2009, 181) (Fig. 16). This is a cup of local production, with a metope decorated with a meander on the upper half of the body, recalling the legged vessel in Red Slip Ware

23 A specific link with female graves is observable only for the handmade incised pyxides (cf. Lemos 2002, 95).

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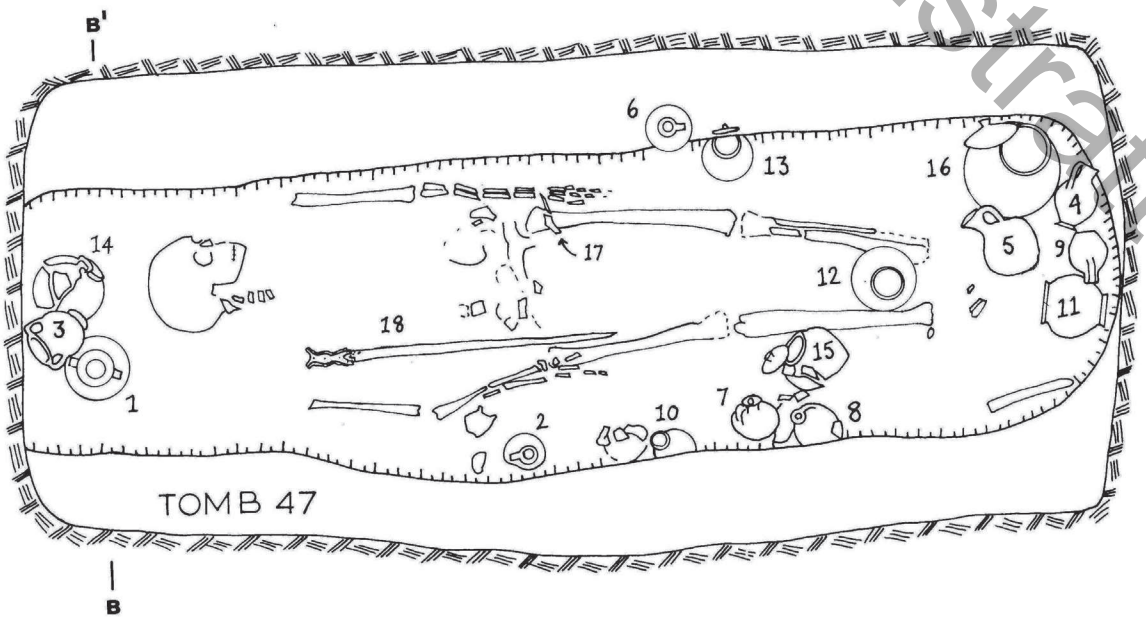

Fig. 14. Plan of tomb P 47, East Cemetery, Lefkandi (after Lefkandi I, pl. 123).Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

Fig. 15. Necklace and grave goods from tomb P 47, East Cemetery, Lefkandi (after Lefkandi I, pl. 219). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

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from grave T 39 of the Toumba cemetery (Popham *et al.* 1982b, 218, cat. 5; Lefkandi III, pl. 42.5) (Fig. 17) for which good reasons exist to attribute it to a sub-adult of male gender. At Athens, a handle in the shape of a leg wearing a boot (height 7.7 cm) was also found in child grave Agora H 17:2 (Burr 1933, 553, no. 6), evidently from a lost cup (Fig. 18). Even in this case, as in that from Odos Kriezi, the vessel is an adaptation of the type of the legged vessel in Red or Black Slip Ware. Recently, Karl Reber has identified a new fragment of the class from a grave on Naxos (Reber 2011, 912, fig. 21) (Fig. 19) and compared it with the vessel from T 39, rejecting its definition as a kantharos given by Lemos (2002, 94, pl. 99.2). In the case from Naxos, we are also dealing with a cup in Red Slip Ware, and the archaeometric analysis of the clay shows that it is an Euboean product. Furthermore, the author observes that the Black Slip Ware, equally attested at Lefkandi (Lefkandi I, 346, fig. 21), finds comparisons with the Anatolian Grey Ware of Troy (level VIIb), where he has noticed an unshod foot,[24] certainly from a handle (Blegen *et al.* 1958, 177, figs. 275. 8). Summing up, Reber does not exclude an Anatolian influence on the Euboean products found at Naxos, an island on the Euboean route towards Cyprus and the East.

To the evidence which links Athens and Lefkandi one can add the bronze pin ending with a leg and boot from Kerameikos cremation grave G 13[25] (Fig. 20), which did not escape the attention of Nota Kourou (1999, 64). The associated human remains were attributed by Breitinger to a male adolescent (Kerameikos V, 26) and not to a female individual, as Bohen affirmed (Kerameikos XIII, 8 and n. 40), referring to Breitinger's examination of the ashes from grave PG 13, not G 13 (Breitinger 1939, 259).

A picture of the occurrences of the 'male' group of boot vessels has been briefly traced by Cultraro (2009, 181 and n. 36). To his review, one should add the evidence from the Balkans and the Danubian area as well as from Etruria (Jankovits 2006), and also from the Iranian world (Kawami 1992, 151), which reveals the large diffusion of this trans-cultural feature that is formed in multiple shapes and goes through many contextual variations. With regard to the Greek world, Cultraro points out the differences existing between two groups of vessels representing boots. On the one side, the plastic vessels in the shape of a boot reproduce a real exemplar of footwear in a slightly smaller size than the true object; they are known from Attic burials dated to EG and MG, and are attributed to young girls between ten and fifteen years old. On the other side, the extremely circumscribed group of the legged vessels, that is cups with one handle in the shape of a booted leg, recur in graves of the same age-class, but probably referring to males. According to the author, these objects reintroduce an ancient ceremonial use that can be traced back to the Mycenaean period, and behind them a prototype of plastic vase of oriental origin is acknowledged.[26] The model of high neck shoe to which both the groups refer has been identified with the *akrosphyra* of the literary sources and, through a rich collection of iconographic and textual references, the relationship between the boots and a specific class of age has been clarified; in the case of young girls, the connection with the figure of Artemis is evident. To the iconographic corpus collected by Cultraro, one could add the winged demon holding birds – for Touloupa the male counterparts of winged Artemis – possibly wearing "soft boots with tips turned slightly upward" on a badly preserved bronze sheet attributed to the cladding of the tripod leg Acropolis NM 6956 (Touloupa 1991, 245, figs. 5-6) (Fig. 21): it constitutes, in my opinion, a male counterpart of the tripod Olympia B3600, with a winged Potnia/Artemis wearing boots (Willemsen 1961, 189, pl. 83; Cultraro 2009, 181) (Fig. 22).

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24 An unusual foot-shaped vessel, depicting an unshod foot and leg, from a burial of the Late Iron Age in North West Iran is presented in Kawami 1992, 153 (with bibliography). I am grateful to Dr. Giulio Maresca for this reference.

25 Kerameikos V.1, 219, pl. 161: *Bronzenadel* M 64, lenght preserved 15 cm, originally probably c. 16,5. The foot wears a tied boot with a lozenge incised decoration; the tip is much oxidized and worn. I do not know any matching object for comparison (cf. Jacobsthal 1956, 52, cat. 236).

26 In the Hittite world plastic vases in the shape of shoes reproduce shoes with an elongated point, which are also typical of Mycenaean rhyta. Boots with elongated, curved points make their appearance in scenes of ritual initiation and in hunting scenes, cf. Cultraro 2009, 181 and nn. 34-35.

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Fig. 16. Legged vessel from tomb VII at Kriezi cemetery, Athens (after Alexandri 1968, 23, fig. 3) © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 17. Legged vase in Red Slip Ware from tomb T 39 at Toumba cemetery, height 12.5 cm (after Lefkandi III, pl. 42.5). Reproduced with the permission of the British School at Athens.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. WEAPON BURIAL AND MULTIPLE MALE IDENTITIES

The great variability of the objects deposited in the graves discussed in this article is paralleled by the great variability of their associations as well as by that of their disposal and of the ritual practices connected to them. However, to recognize such variability does not prevent us from identifying patterns of occurrences; rather, it helps us not to overlook the specific value of the archaeological evidence. Some decades ago in their volume dedicated to Greek burial customs, Donna Kurtz and John Boardman reaffirmed the limits of modern classification concerning grave goods: "Any attempt to classify the grave offerings prejudges conclusions about their purpose. No ancient author gives any clear account of the principles involved and it is likely that the Greeks would have given widely different reasons for the offering of many objects – 'because it belonged to him', 'because he may need it', 'because I value it', 'because it served the ritual of death and cannot be reused', 'because we must honour the gods below." (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, 206). It is evident that the same object would acquire a different meaning according to the functional classification it receives, and this, in turn, depends heavily on the amount of information related to the provenance context and on the researcher's methodological rigour. Among the factors that potentially distort the interpretation of the mortuary data are both the claim to give a 'biographic' value to the grave goods and – in the case of the EIA society here considered – the application of a perspective derived from the Classical period (with regards also to gender) to contexts belonging to a pre-state social system. The misinterpretations deriving from this kind of approach could obliterate structural features of earlier societies. The goal pursued here has been the recovery of the relevant information from EIA funerary contexts of Athens and Lefkandi, and the reconstruction of the deceased's social persona on its basis avoiding any sort of historical anachronism.

In this article, an attempt has been made to enrich the conventional archaeological picture of the EIA weapon burials at Athens and Lefkandi – often discussed using the Homeric world as the absolute model for the funerary ritual – largely reverting to a comparative approach. In particular, the presence in some of these burials of working tools that can be connected with carpentry, has allowed us to draw a comparison between the Greek evidence and that of the European koine of the period, where the hybridization of the system of symbols referring to war and carpentry spread in the cemeteries according to differentiated geographic models, and culminated in the course of the 8th century BC, in parallel with the emerging of a new social order determined by the urban phenomenon (Iaia 2006, 196; Speciale-Zanini 2010, 187). For a long time, EIA rich graves of artisans have been recognized in Italy, the Balkans, and the Eastern Alps, and for them the Homeric model of "Helden-Handwerker-Künstler" has been evoked (Teržan 1994), while in Greece only grave Agora D 16:4 has been explained as belonging to a "warrior and craftsman" (Blegen 1952, 282). This sort of paradox has now been overcome: in fact, the early date of the evidence from Athens and Lefkandi has allowed us to identify the first stages of a social phenomenon otherwise relegated, as far as the Greek world is concerned, to the colonial milieu.

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Fig. 18. Clay vessels from Athens, Agora, grave H 17:2 (after Burr 1933, 553, fig. 11). Agora Excavations, The American School of Classical Studies.

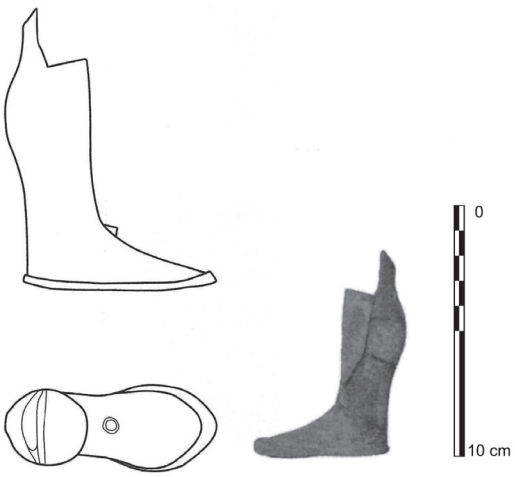

Fig. 19. Booted leg from a legged vase in Red Slip Ware from Naxos. Athens, National Museum, inv. 6984 (after Reber 2011, 942, fig. 21). Courtesy of the author.

Fig. 20. Bronze pin ending with a booted leg from Athens, Kerameikos cemetery, tomb G 13, inv. M 64 (photo by the author). Reproduced with the permission of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens – Kerameikos Museum © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund.

It has also been shown that the occurrence of toilet implements and personal adornments in the same contexts points to the weapon bearers beautifying themselves, following an earlier Bronze Age tradition. Together with perfumed essences and oils, deposited with the grave goods or thrown into the pyre along with a varied and composite banqueting set, they form a symbolic selection of goods without which, for the elites of the Greek EIA, life was not worth living.

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Fig. 21. Bronze sheet with winged daemon from tripod leg, Athens, National Museum, inv. 6956 (after Touloupa 1991, 245, fig. 5). Courtesy of the author.

Fig. 22. Bronze sheet with Potnia from tripod leg Olympia, B 3600 (after Willemsen 1961, pl. 83).

Abbreviations

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