A Social Outcast in Early Iron Age Athens

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A SOCIAL OUTCAST IN EARLY IRON AGE ATHENS

PLATES 65–69

αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·
φολκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τὼ δέ οἱ ὤμω
κυρτώ, ἐπὶ στῆθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλήν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.
ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ' ἦν ἠδ' Ὀδυσῆϊ.[1]

J. Lawrence Angel and Evelyn Lord Smithson, in memoriam.

ON MAY 14, 1959, Eugene Vanderpool came across an unusual Early Iron Age burial in the upper fill of a well in the area of the later City Eleusinion, not far from the Athenian Agora (Pl. 65).[2] Not only were the circumstances of the burial, described below, extraordinary,

[1] Homer, *Il.* 2.216–220: "Evil-favored was he beyond all men that came to Ilios: he was bandy-legged and lame in the one foot, and his two shoulders were rounded, stooping together over his chest, and above them his head was warpen, and a scant stubble grew thereon. Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus" (trans. A. T. Murray).

In restudying the material from the Early Iron Age tombs in the area of the later Athenian Agora and going through the surviving notes by Evelyn Lord Smithson on the graves, one of the authors (J. K. Papadopoulos) found some notes by Smithson, including information supplied by J. Lawrence Angel, on tomb and well U–V 19:1[a]. The unusual and unique circumstances of the tomb seemed to warrant its separate publication, prior to the full presentation of all the Early Iron Age deposits from the area of the later Athenian Agora. To this end Lisa M. Little was invited to collaborate and reexamine the skeletal remains of the interred individual. She is largely responsible for the section on the physical anthropology of the deceased, and John K. Papadopoulos is responsible for the remainder, but both authors read each other's section and worked closely together on the paper as a whole. In the preparation of this paper we were especially mindful to incorporate the physical anthropology with the archaeology in the main body of the text, rather than as an appendix at the end.

In presenting this paper, we are grateful to a good many friends and colleagues for various types of assistance. We gratefully acknowledge our debt to John McK. Camp II as Director of the Agora excavations for facilitating our work in the Stoa of Attalos. Among other members of the Agora staff we are grateful to Jan Jordan and Sylvie Dumont for help at every turn and for bearing with us. The general plan of the area of the City Eleusinion, prepared by Bill Dinsmoor Jr. (Fig. 1), as well as the photograph on Plate 65 is courtesy of Margaret Miles. The drawing of what appears in Fig. 2 was ultimately prepared and inked by Richard Anderson, to whom we are most grateful; he worked from an earlier plan of the area by Bill Dinsmoor Jr. and a sketch section of the same by Eugene Vanderpool in the excavation notebook. Thanks are also due to Anne Hooton for the drawing of P 26434 (Fig. 3) and the illustration of the skeletal specimen (Fig. 4) and to Craig and Marie Mauzy for overseeing the preparation of the photographs published here. For discussion and help on a wide variety of matters we are grateful to Della Cook, Sandra Garvie-Lok, Nota Kourou, Charalambos Kritzas, Anna Lagia, Margaret Miles, Ian Morris, Sarah Morris, Susan Rotroff, and Nikos Stampolides. We are especially grateful to Julie Laskaris for reading a draft of this paper and for her astute comments, especially on epilepsy (the *Sacred Disease*); she has shared with us her knowledge of the subject and has provided much enlightening bibliography on the philological aspects of the disease. Her study on the sources of Hippokratic theory and practice is well in hand. Little's analysis of the skeletal remains was carried out during her tenure as 1996 Summer Research Associate of the Wiener Laboratory at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Special thanks are due to the former Acting Director of the lab, Scott Pike, and all its members for constant encouragement and the great enthusiasm shown for this and her other work. Without the work of our predecessors this paper would not have been possible; in dedicating this small contribution to them, we acknowledge our enormous debt to Larry Angel and Evelyn Smithson.

[2] The burial was originally listed as "Section ΕΛ: Burial in PG Well South of the Yellow Poros Foundation." The relevant information is described in Agora notebook ΕΛ I (see below). The area of the Eleusinion was first published in a preliminary report in Thompson 1960, pp. 334–338; for the area and a restored plan, see Travlos 1971, pp. 198–203, esp. p. 200, fig. 260. The Eleusinion and the immediate vicinity, as well as a brief account of the history of the area before the Archaic and Classical periods, will be published in *Agora* XXXI. The authors are grateful to Margaret Miles for placing her manuscript at their disposal prior to its publication.

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but the grave was located on the North Slope of the Akropolis in an area otherwise relatively free of burials (Pl. 65).[3] Designated tomb U–V 19:1a (in well U–V 19:1), the burial was studied soon after its discovery by Evelyn Lord Smithson, and the skeletal remains were closely examined a few years later by J. Lawrence Angel.[4] Their results, however, were never written up, and the grave was ultimately to be published in the forthcoming volume on the Submycenaean through Middle Geometric deposits in the *Athenian Agora* series, which Smithson did not complete before her untimely death. Given the continued interest in Early Iron Age burial customs, particularly in Athens,[5] tomb U–V 19:1a represents a method of disposal of the dead not previously recorded for the period and one that should be more widely known to scholars working in the field. For these reasons an account of the grave and a reexamination of the skeletal remains are presented here.

Close examination of the skeletal remains reveals that the individual buried in tomb U–V 19:1a sustained severe cranial trauma during life; as a result, he may have suffered from some type of post-traumatic neurologic impairment. It is suggested here that the "life events" evident in the bones may have contributed to the unusual burial treatment and thus that tomb U–V 19:1a represents an expression of social role and deviancy in mortuary behavior.[6]

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The burial in question can be described only as an inhumation in the fill of a well. About 1.0 m to the south of the foundations referred to as the Classical Monument Base (perhaps used for the display of stelai),[7] Vanderpool encountered an Early Iron Age well (U–V 19:1), in addition to a tile-lined well of the Roman period and a Byzantine pithos (Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 66:a). At a depth of approximately 1.50 m below the exposed top, and within the dumped fill of well U–V 19:1, were found the fragmentary skeletal remains of a middle-aged adult male with an estimated mean height (living stature) of 169 cm (Figs. 2, 4).[8] The femora were found close to, and parallel with, the

[3] Contrary to the traditional view that the Early Iron Age tombs in the area of the later Athenian Agora represent burials associated with individual hamlets of the period (e.g., Desborough 1952, p. 1; 1972, p. 265; Snodgrass 1971, pp. 145, 363; Morris 1987, pp. 62–69; Whitley 1991, pp. 61–64; see also *Kerameikos* I, p. 132), the graves are in fact part of several large cemeteries that dominate the area. There are at least three, and probably four, well-defined Early Iron Age burial grounds of the period: one on the north slopes of the Areiopagos, another on the Kolonos Agoraios, and a third along the south bank of the Eridanos River. A fourth cemetery, thus far known from only a handful of tombs, is probably located immediately north of the Eridanos. The density of tombs here, coupled with the overlooked evidence of potters' activity in this area, essentially leaves no room for the assumed hamlets. Rather, the cemeteries in the area of the later Athenian Agora, like those of the "Kerameikos," and other Early Iron Age burial grounds on all sides of the Akropolis, belonged to various social groups within the Early Iron Age settlement of Athens, which is located on the Akropolis; this is fully discussed in Papadopoulos 1996. These burial grounds will be further described and discussed in the forthcoming volume in the *Athenian Agora* series by J. K. Papadopoulos and E. L. Smithson, which will publish the Early Iron Age remains in the area of the later Athenian Agora.

[4] The skeletal remains were designated AA 288 and were studied by Angel in 1965. For the principal publications of Angel, see Grmek 1989, p. 372, note 30. Angel's bibliography was published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 51, 1979, pp. 509–516; a more complete version was published, with his obituary, in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 75, 1988, pp. 291–301. For a review of Angel's work in the eastern Mediterranean, see Jacobsen and Cullen 1990. For an appreciation of Smithson, see Papadopoulos 1994.

[5] See, among others, Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 21–67; Krause 1975; Cavanagh 1977; Morris 1987; 1992; Whitley 1991; Papadopoulos 1993; Strömberg 1993; Houby-Nielsen 1995.

[6] Some useful anthropological overviews of social deviance include Wilkins 1964, Lofland 1969, Glaser 1971, and Erikson 1975. There is also a growing literature on evidence for social deviancy in the archaeological record; see especially Binford 1972 and Shay 1985 (with references).

[7] Also referred to as the "Soft Yellow Poros Foundations"; see Thompson 1960, pp. 338; *Agora* XXXI.

[8] The determinations of the age, sex, and stature of specimen AA 288 cited here are the product of the recent reanalysis of the remains by Little. The estimation of age at death was based on age changes observable on the right *os pubis* and the degree of ectocranial suture closure. The results of these analyses combined provide an age range of 38–56 years. For aging standards, see Brooks and Suchey 1990; Meindl and Lovejoy 1985. Owing to the fragmentary and

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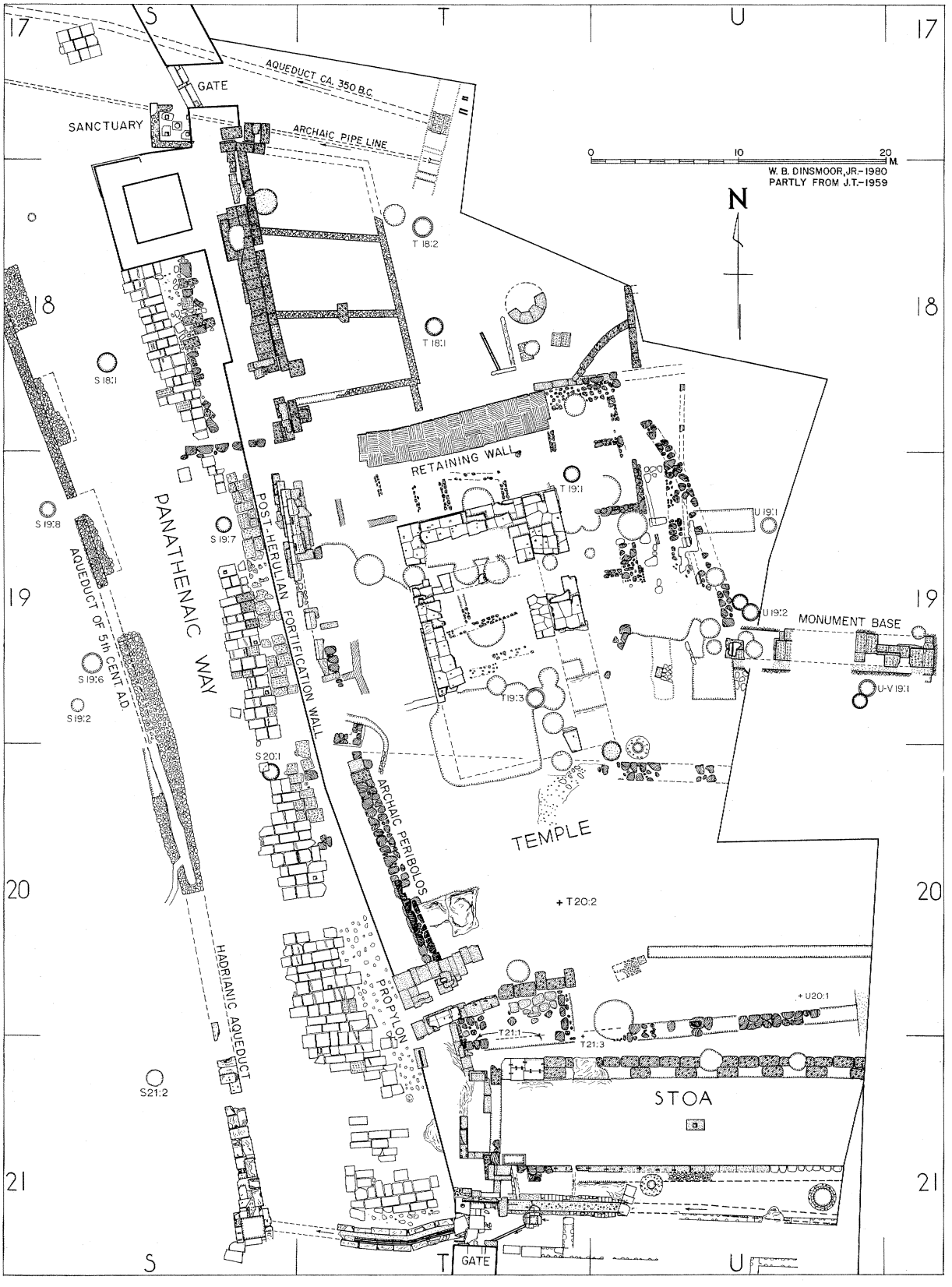

Fig. 1. Plan of the general area of the City Eleusinion, Athenian Agora. Plan by William B. Dinsmoor Jr.

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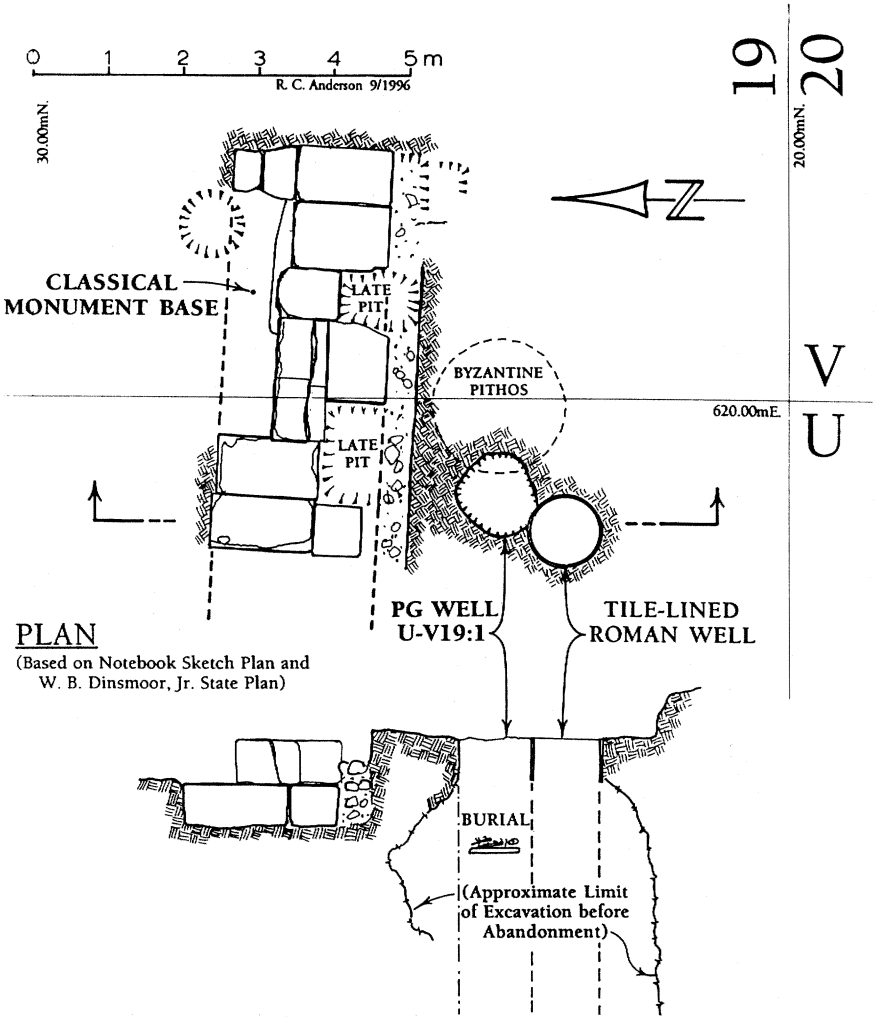

FIG. 2. Plan and section of portion of area of the City Eleusinion, Athenian Agora, sector U–V 19, showing position of well U–V 19:1. Plan prepared by Richard Anderson.

vertebral column; the skull was located to the southeast. Although the deceased appeared, on first impression, to have been crammed into the upper fill of the well with a minimum of formalities, the skeleton was in fact neatly laid in a contracted position on a stone slab, a sketch section of which was made by the excavator (Fig. 2); the diameter of the well at the level of the burial was about 1.0 m. No photograph of the burial was taken at the time of excavation, nor was any plan prepared,

incomplete condition of this skeletal specimen, the age at death has been stated in conservative terms (i.e., middle aged), rather than as a specific age range. The determination of the sex of specimen AA 288 was based on morphological characteristics of the right *os coxa* and the robusticity of the cranium. Despite the fact that postmortem damage to the specimen prohibits the use of postcranial metric sexing standards, the overall size and robusticity of the postcranial remains are consistent with the identification of this individual as male. The estimate of living stature cited here must be considered a slightly understated approximation owing to postmortem damage to the distal right femur. Per the Trotter and Gleser stature estimation formula for white males (see Stewart 1979, p. 203), the uncorrected maximum length of the right femur (45.3 cm) resulted in a stature estimate of 169.22 ± 3.27 cm (5′ 6.6″ ± 1.3″). Relative to the Early Iron Age mean male stature value of 166.7 cm (5′ 5.2″; n = 42), published by Bisel and Angel (1985, p. 203), the living stature of individual AA 288 is "above average for the period" by less than 3 cm. During Angel's 1965 analysis of the specimen, the individual was identified as a 44-year-old male with a height of ca. 170 cm.

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but it is evident from the notebook description that the body of the deceased was articulated at the time of deposition, a fact corroborated by the reexamination of the skeletal remains, and there is therefore no possibility that the burial represents a secondary interment.[9] The fill of well U–V 19:1 was excavated to a depth of 2.50 m, that is, a full 1.0 m below the level of the burial, at which point the excavator encountered the modern water table. The fill below the burial was comprised largely of stones. In the course of excavation, the north side of the shaft collapsed, creating what the excavator described as a "great cavern." The collapse reached the edge of, and in part extended underneath, the foundations of the Classical Monument Base to the north. This, along with the fact that the Roman well to the south also collapsed, made further excavation hazardous, with the result that the bottom of well U–V 19:1 was never reached.

There were no certain grave goods associated with the burial, but the cup (P 26434) published below (Fig. 3; Pl. 66:b), found near the feet of the skeleton to the northwest, would have been appropriate; its location,[10] coupled with the fact that it was the only complete vessel recovered from the well, makes it a highly likely *kterisma*. Stylistically, the cup is best accommodated in the Early Geometric phase and was considered by Smithson to be a good example of Athenian Early Geometric II. As for the other material recovered from the well, both above and below the burial,[11] the deposit as a whole was very small. The latest diagnostic material is clearly Early Geometric, including two joining fragments of a cup very similar to P 26434 and twelve joining and nonjoining fragments of an oinochoe.[12] In addition to the Early Geometric material, the deposit yielded quite a number of pieces of developed Protogeometric (at least eight sherds, and probably more), as well as three fragments of Mycenaean vessels and two small pieces of Middle Helladic Minyan.[13] Since the well was never completely excavated, the possibility remains that the Early Geometric material is stratified above an earlier, say Protogeometric or even Bronze Age, deposit(s). This is speculative, however, and the only firm statement that can be made on the basis of the small quantity of material recovered from the deposit is that there is nothing clearly later than Early Geometric II. Such caution as to the date of the deposit may seem pedantic, but if the burial does date to the Early Geometric period, as it seems reasonable to conclude, then not only the contracted body position but also the rite of adult inhumation itself are exceptional, since both are virtually unheard of in Athens at this time.[14] Indeed, a

[9] Since an essential element of the argument presented in this paper depends on the claim that the bones from U–V 19:1a were articulated and belonged to a deliberately buried individual, rather than to a secondary dump of bones, it is important to cite the relevant passage of the excavation notebook (notebook EΛ I, pp. 110–111), which reads:

May 13, 1959: "Just north of the Roman well, however, the foreman detects a patch of brown earth in the bedrock. It produces a few Proto-Geometric sherds, and appears to be a well. Diam. ca. 1.00 [m]. It is cut both by the Roman well and by the Byz[antine] pithos."

May 14, 1959: "BURIAL. We go down in the well. At a depth of ca. 1.50 m. we find a skeleton lying in a contracted position, head to the SE. There is a small BG [black-glaze] cup [P 26434] at the NW. It is impossible to clean and expose the whole skeleton as water runs in so quickly. Note that the thigh bones lie close to and about parallel with the back-bone, indicating a contracted position. The well is too narrow for a stretched out burial. Under the skeleton we find a rough slab lying in the well. This would appear to be the 'floor' of the grave. Soft fill goes down under it."

[10] The placement of pots, including cups, at the feet of the deceased is common in Athenian Early Iron Age burials; see, among others, the position of the cup C 8:7–1 (unpublished). See also *Asine* II, iv, part 1, p. 22 (with reference to Protzmann 1966, pp. 150–151).

[11] During excavation, the material from above the burial was not kept separate from that below but was all placed together in the same lot.

[12] Oinochoai are often found in the fill of Early Iron Age wells, particularly in the period-of-use deposits, since they are ideal for drawing water from deep shafts.

[13] The deposit is stored in the basement of the Stoa of Attalos and is labeled "Section EΛ: Well south of Soft Yellow Poros Foundations" (Tin 56 [S]). A more detailed summary of its contents is presented in the forthcoming *Agora* XXXI.

[14] See, among others, Snodgrass 1971, pp. 147–151, 202; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 34–55; Desborough 1972, pp. 270–271; Coldstream 1977, p. 30; Morris 1987, pp. 79–81; Whitley 1991, pp. 116–137. The whole question will be more fully discussed, particularly with regard to the rich sequence of Early Geometric tombs from the area of the later

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contracted body posture, as opposed to a fully extended supine position, is rare in all phases of the Early Iron Age.[15]

The circumstances of the burial preclude the possibility that the individual fell into the well and perished. Moreover, it is clear from the anatomical arrangement of the bones on the stone slab, and the likelihood of a carefully placed offering in the form of a cup, that the burial in its final form was intentional; this was not a corpse hastily dropped into a well but rather an individual interred in a fashion not customary for the time. The cup associated with the burial may be described as follows:

Athenian Agora, in the forthcoming volume in the *Athenian Agora* series. During the Early Geometric period, cremation is generally standard for adults, while inhumation is known only for children. There are a few exceptions to this rule in Attica (outside Athens) that are close in date to Early Geometric. For example, Tomb VIII at Oinoe-Marathon, the oldest and richest of those excavated, consisted of a female inhumation in a cist grave inside a peribolos, dated by the excavator to Middle Geometric (I–II): Arapogianne 1985, pp. 221–223, pls. 95–97; 1987, p. 100 (Middle Geometric I). Another cist tomb, containing vases, ornaments, and weapons, was discovered at Marathon inside a "Protogeometric" house; the tomb is briefly noted in *AR* 1984–1985, p. 11, where mention is also made of Early and Middle Helladic pottery, as well as of Classical material. The exact date of this tomb is uncertain. There is, in addition, preliminary notice of six pit tombs, five cist graves, two pyres, and two urn cremations from the region of Τσάμη on Salamis. On the basis of associated grave goods, several of the inhumations can be dated to the Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric period; see Dekoulakou 1991. Another burial that is worth noting in this context is the inhumation h[eiligen] S[trasse] 109 in the Athenian Kerameikos: Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 7–8, Tomb 7, Beil. 6, no. 3; Beil. 12–13, assigned to the Middle Geometric period (either Middle Geometric I or early Middle Geometric II). The burial is unusual, as it combines grave goods normally considered to be for males (sword, spear) with others thought to be for females (pyxis), in a type of tomb often used for children.

[15] Exceptions to this rule are very few: at least two unusual burial positions were found among the Geometric burials excavated by Andreas Skias at Eleusis, both in tombs of otherwise orthodox design. One, Grave α, is of Middle Geometric I date and only a little later than tomb U–V 19:1a (see Skias 1898, col. 103; for other tombs at Eleusis excavated by Skias, see Skias 1912). The tomb, a simple pit, was, after the Isis Grave, the richest in the cemetery, both in quantity of pottery and in its jewelry of gold, electrum, bronze, and ivory. The deceased, apparently a female, was in a seated or squatting position, her legs drawn up so that they were next to the head, with the spinal column and ribs behind them and the arms behind these in turn. The designation of sex is, as far as we know, not based on anthropological examination of the skeletal remains but rather on the grave goods. It should be stressed that determining the sex of an individual on the basis of grave goods alone is highly subjective. Moreover, there is no published photograph or plan of the tomb, and the details as given are based purely on Skias's published description. Although not explicitly stated, Skias's description begs the question: was the deceased bound? Another tomb, built of brick and stone and covered with slabs, was among the largest excavated by Skias in the Eleusis necropolis. Despite its size, the tomb contained only the bones of a sheep or goat at one end, and perhaps (or presumably) at the other end the deceased, in what appeared to be a squatting position, for the tibiae and femora were found together (see Skias 1898, col. 96). Both of the Eleusis graves, however, resemble tomb U–V 19:1a only insofar as their charges were found in positions that were not fully extended. Otherwise, both were canonical burials located within a cemetery and not an isolated tomb like U–V 19:1a. To the idiosyncratic tombs from Eleusis should be added the more recently discovered Pyre A at Eleutherna on Crete, dated by Nikos Stampolides on the evidence of the associated funerary gifts to around 670 B.C. (see Stampolides 1995, p. 289; see also Stampolides 1994, esp. pp. 25–32, figs. β–γ; the tomb has been presented most recently in Stampolides 1996). The unusual burial included an individual, considered to have been decapitated, described as "a man aged 35–40, robust in stature and over 1.70 m tall, with osteophytes on the lumbar vertebrae" (Stampolides 1995, pp. 296–298). The excavator goes on to speculate (pp. 299–307) about the identity of the "decapitated" male and ends by comparing the circumstances of this extraordinary tomb with the literary descriptions in Homer of, among other things, pyres, *nekrodeipna*, the binding of enemies, and decapitation (see also Stampolides 1996, esp. pp. 93–148, also pp. 149–203; for cremation in Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, see Mavriyannaki 1967–1968). Nevertheless, Pyre A at Eleutherna, along with those of Eleusis mentioned above, is quite different from tomb U–V 19:1a.

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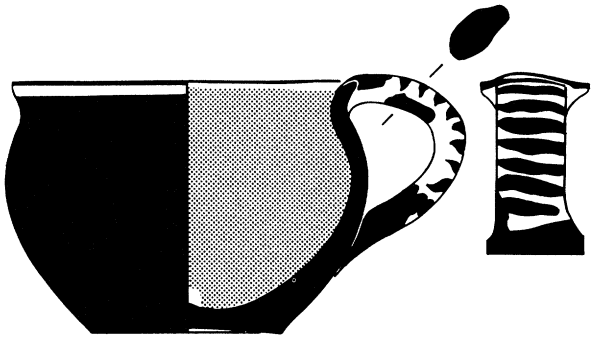

FIG. 3. Early Geometric one-handled cup, Agora P 26434. Drawing by Anne Hooton.

P 26434 Fig. 3; Pl. 66:b

One-handled cup.

H. 0.070; Diam. base 0.051–0.054; Diam. rim 0.092–0.095.

Almost intact. Reconstructed from two joining fragments; complete except for chips at rim.

Flat disk base, very slightly pushed up on underside; minor nipple at center of underside, corresponding to a slightly more pronounced nipple on the interior. Lower wall rising steeply to vertical, slightly incurved upper wall; gently flaring rim, with rounded lip. Vertical handle attached from midpoint of body directly to lip, rising fractionally above the level of the rim.

Reserved surfaces and clay at break evenly fired, close to pink (7.5YR 7/4).

Paint applied consistently and mostly adheres well, though slightly cracked in areas on interior and exterior. Paint mostly fired dark brown, approaching black at points, reddish brown elsewhere. Exterior painted solid except for reserved band on rim. Handle barred; lower attachment heavily ringed. Interior painted solid except for small reserved dot at center of floor and thin reserved band at rim.

Cf. P 6675 (from Agora grave C 9:8), classified as the earliest of the Early Geometric (EG) I deposits in Coldstream 1968, p. 10; cf. *Kerameikos* I, pl. 33, inv. 582. Cups of similar form and decoration begin as early as the transition from Late Protogeometric to Early Geometric I and continue into the Middle Geometric period; cf. *Kerameikos* V, i, pl. 15:6, inv. 952; pl. 105, inv. 2157 (EG I); and esp. pl. 105, inv. 250, 933, 934 (EG II). For further discussion of the shape, see Desborough 1952, pp. 101–102; Coldstream 1968, pp. 11, 14, 18, 23. See further Smithson 1974, p. 365, discussion under I 18:3–10; also the comments in Smithson 1961, p. 166, discussion under no. 43; 1968, p. 98, no. 27.

The idiosyncratic character of tomb U–V 19:1a lies not only in the fact that the details of the manner of inhumation are exceptional, such as the contracted body position, but also that the individual was interred in a well. Before turning to the physical anthropology of the deceased, it is important to review earlier and later instances of skeletons in wells and to explore the possible reasons behind such a disposal of the dead.

SKELETONS IN WELLS

Whatever the reason(s) behind the evidently singular treatment of the individual interred in well U–V 19:1, the fact remains that it is the only Early Iron Age burial in Athens in the fill of a well known thus far. Occasionally, the close proximity of wells and tombs, particularly in the area north of the Areiopagos and south of the Eridanos,[16] has resulted in their stratigraphic interrelation. One such instance, tomb N 11:1, dating to the Late Geometric period, was published by Eva Brann.[17] In this case the tomb, a normal, shallow pit grave, was superimposed over the

[16] See esp. *Agora* VIII, pl. 45.

[17] Brann 1960, pp. 413–414, pl. 88; the tomb was first noted in Thompson 1953, p. 39.

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slightly earlier well N 11:5 (also assigned to Late Geometric);[18] although the sequence of these deposits is interesting, their relationship is straightforward.

One of the closest parallels for tomb U–V 19:1a is the solitary pre-Mycenaean burial uncovered in the area of the later Athenian Agora. Most notable is the fact that the shaft of the tomb was considered to have been originally cut as a well. The tomb is well known from various publications.[19] Designated tomb I 9:2, the published description by Sara Immerwahr is worth quoting in part: "The only pre-Mycenaean burial discovered intact in the Agora was found in April, 1935, during the excavations to the east of the Metroon. The grave was of an unusual type: a small side-chamber at the bottom of a circular shaft 0.73 m. in diameter which reached a depth of 3.00 m. below the surface of the bedrock. . . . This shaft was apparently originally cut as a well, since it tapped a generous vein of water. The side-chamber extending 0.80 m. from the side of the shaft to the southeast seems to have been an afterthought, as it was much more roughly and irregularly cut. Within this chamber, his head toward the main shaft, lay an adult male skeleton in crouching position, much crushed and disarranged by the stones and earth. The only grave offerings were two simple handmade pots: 385 [P 6073] by the head and 384 [P 6072] by the feet. The shaft had been filled with clay and rocks and broken pottery, which is uniformly of Middle Helladic date. It also contained the small obsidian arrow tip, 386 [ST 103]."[20]

Immerwahr goes on to present evidence for the Middle Helladic date of the material associated with the tomb, which corrects the earlier, Neolithic, date originally suggested by the excavator, and she dutifully notes that the grave is not the characteristic Middle Helladic cist tomb.[21] Indeed, the only close parallel she cites is an Early Helladic tomb excavated at Corinth in the last century.[22] The latter consists of an almost square shaft (0.90 × 0.84 m) dug to a depth of 2.25 m, with two chambers, one to the north and one to the south, cut in order to receive the burials;[23] two similar tombs, each with a single chamber cut into the west side of a short, vertical shaft, were excavated at Corinth in 1953.[24]

Another unusual burial deposit in the area of the later Athenian Agora is that designated "Grave XLI: Burial in Mouth of Well (N 14:3)."[25] The fact that the tomb was in a well and that the the only offering was a pot brings it particularly close to the circumstances of tomb U–V 19:1a. Nevertheless, although presented as a burial, it was uncertain at the time of the excavation of N 14:3 whether the skeletal remains had been deposited as bones or as a body.[26] The single offering assigned to the tomb, a Mycenaean conical-bowled kylix (P 27430), was found at a level

[18] The tomb was oriented north–south, with the head of the deceased, evidently a child aged approximately ten years at death, to the north. Two other skulls were found nearby, above tomb N 11:1. These were thought to derive from graves in the immediate vicinity that had been disturbed; see Brann 1960, p. 413.

[19] Shear 1936, pp. 20–21, figs. 17, 18; 1935a, p. 441, fig. 3; 1935b, fig. 2; *Agora* XIII, pp. 92–93, pls. 27, 28, 71, 78; Immerwahr 1973, p. 4, figs. 3, 4.

[20] *Agora* XIII, p. 92.

[21] *Agora* XIII, p. 93; Immerwahr lists Goldman 1931, p. 22, figs. 292–294 and Caskey 1955, pl. 14:d (from Lerna) as typical Middle Helladic tombs but adds that the contracted posture of tomb I 9:2 agrees with Middle Helladic practice.

[22] *Agora* XIII, p. 93; Heermance and Lord 1897, figs. 1, 2; cf. Richardson 1897, p. 461, fig. 2.

[23] Pullen 1985, pp. 110–112; the north chamber (1.55 × 1.40 m) contained a single body, whereas the south chamber (1.75 × 1.32 m) may have held two. Richardson (1897, p. 465) describes two more shafts at Corinth, which, it is suggested, were also used as burials, even though their chambers contained no human remains or grave goods. The shaft of this tomb does not appear to have ever been cut as a well.

[24] These two tombs, published in Morgan 1953, p. 134, were originally assigned to the Geometric period on the basis of material in the fill, but they were later reassigned, in Williams and Fisher 1973, p. 1, note 2, to the Early Bronze Age, on account of their similarity to the tomb published in 1897; see further Pullen 1985, p. 113.

[25] *Agora* XIII, pp. 104, 247.

[26] According to Homer Thompson, this burial does not necessarily represent a primary interment; see *Agora* XIII, p. 247, note 1. For human remains in Neolithic wells on the North Slope of the Akropolis, see *Agora* XIII, p. 2; Angel 1945, pp. 291–293.

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significantly higher than the bones and is not clearly associated with them.[27] Closer examination of the skeletal remains by Lisa Little confirms that the bones most likely represent a secondary interment,[28] a circumstance very different from that of the burial in well U–V 19:1.

In the Bronze Age, however, the occurrence of *multiple* burials in well shafts is documented at a number of sites, including Corinth (Early Helladic),[29] Eleusis (Middle Helladic),[30] Argos,[31] and Mycenae (Late Helladic).[32] In discussing the well at Corinth, Daniel Pullen states that its interpretation is "problematical. As the majority of the skeletal remains were found as a 'mass of bones jumbled together,' with the jawbones still articulated to the skull, within a space of less than one cubic meter, they must be considered as a multiple burial, not in a feature prepared specifically for interment, but as a secondary usage of the feature."[33] Apart from these notes, Pullen was reluctant to speculate about the nature and social identity of the individuals found in

[27] For the kylix, see *Agora* XIII, p. 247, pl. 61, grave XLI-1. In *Agora* XIII p. 247, note 1, quoting a letter from Homer Thompson, it is stated: "To a depth of *ca.* 0.60 m. the mouth of the well had been filled with large fieldstones. From among these stones came the fragments of the kylix (P 27430) and a handful of other L.H. III sherds. Below the stones, at a depth of *ca.* 1.50 m., lay many of the bones of a human skeleton; the remains had apparently been deposited as bones rather than as a body." On the basis of these notes, the kylix was found at a level at least 0.90 m higher than the skeletal remains.

[28] A preliminary examination of the skeletal remains by Little confirms that they belong to one individual; the study has also brought to light evidence that this individual had been decapitated. The specimen will be published in detail in a forthcoming study by Little.

[29] The well, located at Cheliotomylos, was excavated in 1930 and briefly noted in a preliminary report published in the same year; see Shear 1930, esp. pp. 404–406. The deposit was more fully published in Waage 1949, which includes the results of the study of the human remains by Aleš Hrdlička; see Waage 1949, pp. 421–422, as well as a brief note on the animal remains by George G. Goodwin (p. 421); see also Pullen 1985, pp. 113–115. The well (1.0 m in diameter and 16.65 m deep) contained a deposit of Early Bronze II material, as well as the remains of "close to thirty individuals" (Waage 1949, pp. 421–422), mostly concentrated at a depth of 10.00 to 10.75 m, though human remains were sporadically encountered at depths above ten meters. The age and/or sex of some of the identified remains are given as follows: five males (two additional possibly males?), nine females, four children (aged 6–12 years at death), five adolescents/subadults, three young adults, five middle-aged individuals, three old individuals.

[30] Mylonas 1956, p. 58, pl. 9:β; 1975, II, pp. 158–160, fig. 125; III, pls. 168, 169; Kritzas 1976–1978, pp. 178–179. Two well shafts were uncovered at Eleusis, both without constructed shafts. One of these wells, dated to the end of the Middle Helladic period, contained the skeletons of three individuals at a depth of 6.10–7.90 m.

[31] Kritzas 1976–1978. The well, built of dry rubble masonry (the wall averaging 0.74 m in thickness), had an internal diameter of 1.35–1.40 m and a depth of 7.35 m. It was used as a well and was subsequently filled at the end of LH IIIB or the beginning of LH IIIC. The top 1.60 m of the fill comprised soil with occasional sherds; from 1.60 m to a depth of 4.0 m, the fill was largely stones with abundant sherds. The first human remains were encountered at a depth of 4.0 m and continued to a depth of over 7.0 m. The well yielded the skeletons of about twenty individuals, as well as the skeletons of numerous animals. Ares Poulianos, who studied the human remains, was able to identify ten males and six females; there were three infants (aged 1–5 years at death); the remainder varied in age from 26 to 80 years at death. The animal remains were not studied at the time of publication, but special mention is made (Kritzas 1976–1978, p. 174) of the skeleton of a horse (including its very well preserved skull), as well as the bovine skeletons and skeletons of pig, perhaps sheep or goat, and one dog.

[32] Wace 1954, p. 273, with an appendix by Angel on the human skeletal material (pp. 288–289). The excavation report dealing with the discovery of the well shaft is worth quoting (p. 273): "The shaft is roughly oval in plan and measures about 1.10 m by 1.25 m. The heavy fill came right down to its opening, but just above it in the fill were the skeletons of three women, one with a bronze ring, and of a very large dog. In the shaft itself at a depth of 1.10 m were two other skeletons, one with a bronze ring, apparently not laid out, and below them the remains of eight other skeletons at various depths. Fragments of a bronze brooch and a pair of bronze tweezers were found with these skeletons. The shaft continued downwards to a depth of 6.25 m, and has not been entirely cleared, though at this depth the soil and the rock sides of the shaft seemed to indicate that the winter water level had been reached. The pottery from the shaft was remarkably uniform, being LH IIIA and LH IIIB at all levels. It would therefore seem that this shaft was filled in at one time and not allowed to fill up gradually over a considerable period. The presence of so many skeletons substantiates this conclusion. It is possible that it was dug in search of water (for the great depth precludes the likelihood of its being purely a *bothros*), but perhaps insufficient was found and the cutting was filled up at the time of the construction of the Cyclopean Terrace Building itself."

[33] Pullen 1985, pp. 114–115; Pullen notes (p. 110) that it may not even be a tomb *sensu strictu*.

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the well at Corinth. In his thorough account of the well at Argos, Charalambos Kritzas, who also discussed the wells at Corinth and Eleusis, in addition to the small circular stone pit or "Little Circle" adjacent to the tholos tomb at Nichoria,[34] enumerated a number of possible explanations for why about twenty individuals, in addition to numerous animals, made their way into the well at Argos. These include the possibility that the well was used, instead of a more normal tomb, for the burial of paupers or slaves, although this was quickly dismissed by Kritzas because of the presence of the animals, the manner in which the skeletons were found, and the total lack of any offerings, however poor; similarly dismissed was the possibility that the well served as a sacrificial pit (βόθρος θυσιῶν).[35] Other possible explanations discussed, but also ruled out, include those in which the deceased were casualties of war, earthquake, or famine.[36] The possibility of a plague or pestilence was considered by Kritzas as somewhat more likely, but here, too, the presence of the animals was worrying.[37] The final possibility, and that preferred over the others by Kritzas at the time of publication (although with some reservations), was that the deceased, both humans and animals, were the victims of a flood.[38]

Although the incidence of burials in wells in the Bronze Age is not uncommon (as it also appears to be in later, post–Early Iron Age times),[39] the fact that all are multiple inhumations, often with animals, only serves to accentuate an important difference between them and

[34] Kritzas 1976–1978, p. 179, note 1; Shay 1975.

[35] Kritzas 1976–1978, p. 175. Kritzas's objection to the skeletons representing sacrificial victims rests largely on the lack of any solid evidence for human sacrifice in the Aegean Bronze Age, coupled with the nature and configuration of the multiple burials in wells. For the lack of evidence for human sacrifice in ancient Greece, see Hughes 1991. It is worth noting, however, that even in cultures that practice some sort of ritual killing, it is often difficult to identify the causes behind the sacrifice, or even whether "sacrifice" was the intention. The recent remarks by Paul Bahn on the fate that befell the bog bodies of northwest Europe are worth quoting: "Most scholars now agree that bog bodies are not the remains of ill-fated people who fell into stagnant pools after losing their way home. There is simply too much evidence pointing to the involvement of others. But if they were killed, who killed them? And why? Sacrifices to ensure good crops, to celebrate military victories, to recover from illness, or as punishment for crimes or perceived social imperfections such as homosexuality (as Heinrich Himmler believed) have all been proposed": Bahn 1997, p. 62 (with references); see further van der Sanden 1996.

[36] Kritzas 1976–1978, p. 175. The possibility of warfare has not received the attention it deserves. In a recent study Lawrence Keeley has convincingly demonstrated that prehistoric warfare was in fact more deadly and more frequent than is currently conceded, and he cites evidence of ancient massacres in many areas of the world; see Keeley 1996.

[37] Kritzas 1976–1978, pp. 175–176; Kritzas notes (p. 176) that of the eighty-two diseases listed by the World Health Organization that can be passed on to humans by or from animals, the only one that can cause death in both humans and a variety of animals, and that can reach epidemic proportions, is rabies (λύσσα in modern Greek, not to be confused with the Homeric meaning of the word; see note 106 below). Here it is worth citing the evidence of Thucydides 2.50: in describing the plague of Athens, Thucydides notes that birds and four-footed animals, including dogs, which usually feed upon human bodies, either would not come near the many corpses that lay unburied or, if they happened to taste the corpses of plague victims, would die.

[38] Kritzas 1976–1978, pp. 176–178. The possibility of flood is further discussed against the backdrop of the geomorphology of the region and using the evidence of both ancient and modern literary sources. Of the ancient sources, Kritzas (1976–1978, p. 178, notes 1–4) specifically cites the scholiast to Euripides, *Orestes* 932; Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.14 (352a, 10); Strabo 8.6.7 (C 370); and Paus. 2.22.4. The latter passage deals with the Sanctuary of Poseidon Prosklytios (the *Flooder*): "ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνος ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Προσκλυστίου· τῆς γὰρ χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φασιν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν πολλήν, ὅτι Ἥρας εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀυτοῦ τὴν γῆν Ἴναχος καὶ οἱ συνδικάσαντες ἔγνωσαν. Ἥρα μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος εὕρετο ἀπελθεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν θάλασσαν· Ἀργεῖοι δέ, ὅθεν τὸ κῦμα ἀνεχώρησεν, ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνι ἐποίησαν Προσκλυστίῳ." Kritzas cannot help but raise the possibility that this story ultimately may refer to the possible flooding of the plain of Argos by the tidal wave associated with the Thera eruption. For floods, dykes, and dams in the Argolid, see Zangger 1992, esp. pp. 6–7, 81–86; 1993 (with references).

[39] A more thorough study of human remains in wells (especially from the area of the Athenian Agora), an important but neglected area of research on the disposal of human remains, is being prepared by Little. Among the more significant deposits is the Mycenaean secondary burial in the mouth of the disused well already referred to above (notes 25–28), as well as a Hellenistic well on the north side of Kolonos Agoraios (well G 5:3) that contained the human remains of one adult male, one child ca. eleven years old at death (see Angel 1945, p. 311), and 450 fetuses/neonates/infants; this well also contained the faunal remains of more than 130 dogs. Well G 5:3 is being studied by Susan Rotroff, Lynn Snyder, and Little.

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tomb U–V 19:1a. Nevertheless, the fact that those cast into or interred in Bronze Age wells did not receive normal burial for their time highlights a fundamental similarity with our tomb. The example of the Argos well and the others noted above bring to the fore the problem of establishing the social identity of those encountered. In rare cases, evidence of events in life that may have played a role in establishing the position of an individual in society may be preserved in the physical remains. One such case is the individual interred in tomb U–V 19:1a; analysis of his remains may provide insight into his life history.

IT'S ALL IN THE SKELETON: THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF INDIVIDUAL AA 288

The analysis of the skeletal remains recovered from tomb U–V 19:1a was originally carried out by Angel in 1965, and many of his observations, known to us from Smithson's notes, have been confirmed by more recent examination.[40] The following account of the skeleton was found in the notes of Smithson: "In early adulthood the body sustained critical injuries: the skull was deeply fractured on the left side, and the backbone had been broken, as if when in a jack-knifed position. The man, though crippled, recovered, and well-developed tendons attached to his knees and hips indicate strenuous activity throughout his life. His height, ca. 170 cm, is above average for the period." In her notes, Smithson also muses: "Manhandled stranger, prisoner or slave?" Elsewhere she notes that the corpse was possibly bound.

The dramatic description in the account above evokes a vivid picture of the arduous life endured by this individual. Although the recent reanalysis of the remains has corroborated many of Angel's basic osteological observations, the severity of the vertebral trauma and its post-traumatic effect have been overstated, while the implications of the cranial trauma were left unaddressed. The following description of each lesion makes it evident that the trauma to the head was far more life threatening than was that to the vertebral column, and its potential post-traumatic sequelae would have been far more debilitating.

On the left side of the cranium at pterion, the area commonly called the temple, a well-healed depression fracture is evident (Figs. 4, 5; Pl. 66:c). The margins of the four cranial bones that articulate at this point had been crushed inward by a traumatic blow to the head. Two healed fractures, oriented at approximately a right angle, are discernible. The anterior fracture ran obliquely through pterion and is now represented by a 29 × 9 mm depression with a maximum depth of 10.3 mm. A fracture in which the bone is depressed into the cranial cavity to a depth equal to or greater than the thickness of the skull (ca. 5 mm) is classified as a depression fracture.[41] From its superior limit, a second depression fracture extended 26 mm inferoposteriorly over the temporal bone. The fracture site is surrounded by a 7 × 5 cm area of thickened sclerotic bone, which resulted from the healing of the wound (Pl. 67:a). This process also produced an anomalous bony groove superior to the junction of the two fractures. Anteriorly and posteriorly projecting spicules on either side of the groove canalized the posterior branches of the deep temporal artery and nerve.[42] Healing of fragments crushed into the cranial cavity by the anterior depression fracture resulted in an irregular endocranial surface and the formation of three small bony spicules (Pl. 67:b). Postmortem damage to the skull prohibits observation of the full extent of the trauma. The orientation of the lesion, however, suggests that the left cheek bone (zygomatic arch) may also have sustained injury. There is no evidence of any type of medical intervention, including

[40] All of Angel's unpublished field notes and data sheets are now housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Time and financial constraints did not allow us to review these documents for this article. It should be noted that Smithson was very careful in recording any information, whether written or oral, provided by Angel.

[41] Miller and Jennett 1968, p. 991; Pitts and Perkins 1991, p. 804.

[42] Gray 1989, pp. 741, 1104.

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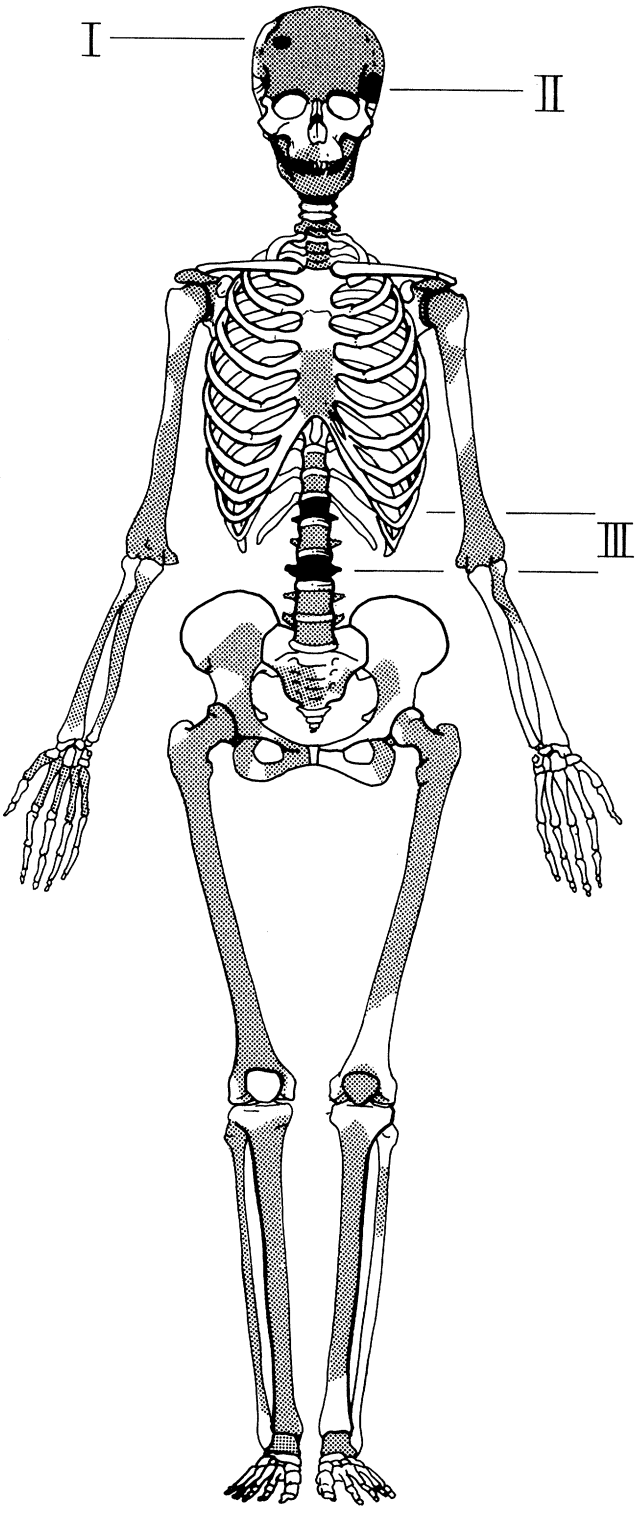

Fig. 4. Athenian Agora skeletal specimen AA 288: illustration of skeletal remains available for study. Stippled areas indicate preserved remains (rib fragments and unsided phalanges of the hands have been omitted). Black areas indicate location of traumatic lesions: (I) shallow elliptical depression fracture; (II) healed compound depression fracture at pterion; (III) compression fractures of the 1st and 3rd lumbar vertebrae. Drawing by Anne Hooton.

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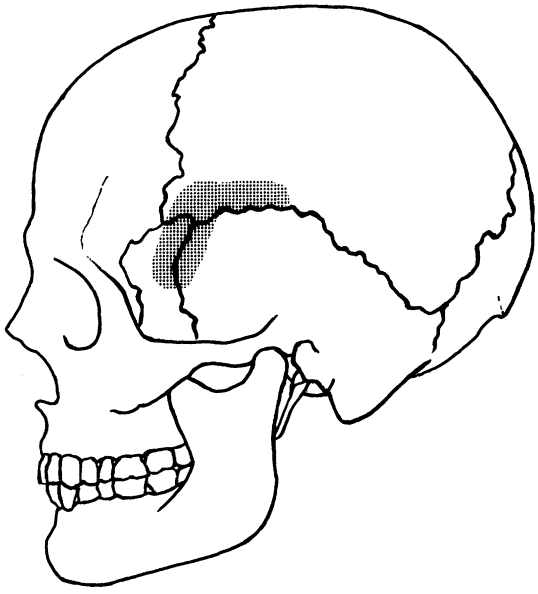

FIG. 5. Reconstructed skull of skeletal specimen AA 288. Stippled area indicates location of pterion and extent of depression fracture.

trepanation. The morphology of the fracture callus suggests that the individual not only survived the traumatic event but lived for a substantial number of years following it.

A second healed wound is observable on the right side of the frontal bone, 7.6 cm above the orbit (Fig. 4). This lesion can be described as an elliptical depression with a depth of 1 mm and a maximum diameter of 9 mm (Pl. 68:a). The lesion is surrounded by a thickened area of dense bone. Like the fracture at pterion, this lesion was the result of a blow to the head by a blunt object. In the case of this second wound, however, the force of the blow was not sufficient to fracture the entire thickness of the cranial bone. The blow fractured the outer table of the bone and compressed the inner spongy diploic layer, creating a shallow depression without penetrating into the cranial cavity.

In the modern clinical setting, depression fractures are frequently the result of a blow to the head by a blunt object. Such a blow is not limited to that associated with interpersonal violence. Striking the head as a result of a fall can also produce a similar fracture. In a 1968 study of depression fractures, the major causes of this type of head injury are identified as motor vehicle accidents (37.5%), domestic mishaps, including falls (23.5%), industrial accidents (15.25%), assaults (14.5%), and sporting accidents (9.25%).[43] The figures cited above obviously do not apply to the cultural milieu of the Early Iron Age. They are meant to emphasize the fact that the etiology of the head wounds observed in this Early Iron Age individual cannot be assumed *a priori* to have been warfare or some other type of interpersonal violence. In a more recent study, Nancy Lovell stresses that clinical evidence overwhelmingly indicates that most fractures are due to daily activity rather than to interpersonal violence or unusual events.[44] The etiology of the cranial fractures and other post-cranial injuries will be explored below.

In addition to the bony damage observable on the cranial remains, extensive soft tissue damage, both ecto- and endocranial, may have been associated with the fractures, especially that at pterion.

[43] Miller and Jennett 1968, p. 992, table II.
[44] Lovell 1997, p. 166.

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Unfortunately, the full extent of the soft tissue damage cannot be realized when studying an archaeological specimen. Much of the potential endocranial damage would not have produced alterations to the bone tissue. Skeletal evidence, coupled with the data derived from modern clinical literature, can be used to hypothesize about a limited range of possible soft tissue injuries. The implications of such craniocerebral damage, both to the physical and mental health of the individual, may shed light on the unusual funerary treatment he received. For this reason, a detailed review of the possible complications and sequelae associated with an injury of this type will be presented.

In the modern clinical setting, 84–90 percent of depression fractures are associated with scalp lacerations.[45] A cranial fracture that is accompanied by a scalp laceration is referred to as a "compound" fracture. The laceration of the scalp introduces a number of potential complications. The rich vascular supply of the tissue leads to substantial blood loss but also promotes rapid healing. Scalp lacerations also have the potential of introducing infection into the ectocranial tissues and, when accompanied by a depression fracture, into the endocranial tissues. In an archaeological specimen, the morphology of the fracture callus may provide insight into the degree of ectocranial tissue trauma. The membranous covering of the bone, the periosteum, responds to various types of assaults with the production of fine woven bone.[46] Unfortunately, the production of periosteal bone is a nonspecific response, that is, the characteristics of the bony deposit do not vary according to specific etiology, whether traumatic or infectious. The stripping of the periosteum from the bone surface, as might be associated with a scalp laceration, stimulates the same response as does the presence of infection. In time, the periosteal bone deposit will become thickened and sclerotic. The deposit of smooth, dense bone surrounding both the fracture site on the left side of the cranium and the lesion on the right frontal have been identified as remodeled periosteal bone (Pls. 67:a, 68:a). It is evident from these bony deposits that scalp lacerations were associated with the cranial trauma. The nonspecific nature of the periosteal response, however, does not allow speculation about the complication of the wounds by infection. Nevertheless, from the limited distribution of the periosteal bone deposits, it can confidently be stated that extensive infection was not associated with the scalp lacerations. The temporalis muscle may also have been lacerated by the injury at pterion. The temporalis is a fan-shaped muscle that originates on the side of the cranium, passes over pterion, and inserts on the coronoid process of the mandible. It functions in closing the mouth by raising the lower jaw. Laceration of the muscle and the subsequent development of scar tissue would have reduced the strength of the temporalis and affected mastication. Asymmetrical dental wear, with more advanced wear observable on the left mandibular dentition, suggests that this may have been the case for individual AA 288. Unfortunately, the absence of both mandibular coronoid processes and all the left maxillary dentition prohibits full exploration of this soft tissue injury.

A number of intracranial lesions can result from a blow to the head by a blunt object. The location of such damage is not limited to the point of impact. Cerebral contusions (bruising) or lacerations can be found at a point opposite the point of impact, or where the brain has moved over the irregular surfaces of the cranial cavity.[47] Rupturing of blood vessels can result in intracranial hemorrhaging into the epidural or subdural spaces, as well as intracerebral bleeding into the brain tissue itself. The accumulation of blood in the form of a hematoma can produce brain compression, and if bleeding continues unchecked, herniation of the brain will result in death. Intracerebral hemorrhages are associated with brain cell necrosis and edema.[48] Relative to linear skull fractures, depression fractures have a greater potential of producing cerebral tissue damage. Fragments that are forced into the cranial cavity by a depression fracture can lacerate the dural lining of the brain

[45] Ballantyne et al. 1986, p. 63; Miller and Jennett 1968, p. 992.
[46] Ortner and Putschar 1985, p. 129.
[47] Pitts and Perkins 1991, p. 800.
[48] Pons 1992, p. 352.

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or the cerebral tissue. All these types of intracranial trauma increase the likelihood of permanent neurologic damage.

Although the extent of the soft tissue injury suffered by the individual studied here cannot be determined from the cranial remains alone, observation of the endocranial surface provides some clues as to the severity of the soft tissue trauma. A common complication of a blow to pterion is the rupturing of the middle meningeal artery and vein, which lie on the endocranial surface of the bone. In Plate 67:b, a bony canal that enclosed the vessels can be observed just anterior to the fracture site. The existence of such a bony canal increases the probability that the vessels will be severed by a blow.[49] The groove for the middle meningeal vessels, after emerging from this roofed canal, turns posteriorly and crosses the fracture site. It is clear from this evidence that the vessels were lacerated by the trauma. Intracranial hemorrhaging and the development of an epidural hematoma would have resulted from the vessel damage. The compound nature of the depression fracture may have reduced the potential cerebral compression by allowing blood to escape to the ectocranial surface. The morphology of the healed endocranial surface suggests that bone fragments were not simply depressed into the endocranial cavity. The broken edges of the fractured bone entered the cranial cavity at an angle, thereby creating the potential for endocranial soft tissue tears. From this observation it can be hypothesized that laceration of the dural lining and/or the cerebral tissue was likely to have accompanied this cranial trauma.

All types of intracranial damage have the potential to cause a focal neurologic deficit, which can be transitory or permanent. Individuals who sustain injury to the left hemisphere of the brain, the dominant hemisphere in right-handed individuals, often suffer from aphasia. Aphasia associated with cerebral damage to the tissue underlying pterion is characterized by impairment of the power of communication by speaking, writing, or signing.[50] Another potential sequela of craniocerebral trauma is the development of post-traumatic epilepsy. Depression fractures often induce seizures in victims, which are limited to the period immediately following the traumatic event. In victims whose injuries are more severe, however, as well as those complicated by infection or intracranial hematoma, a long-term pattern of seizures can develop. In the clinical literature, the reported incidence of post-traumatic epilepsy in patients who sustained depression fractures ranges from 18 to 39 percent.[51] The seizures vary in frequency and duration.[52] Seizures associated with damage to the temporal lobe can be manifested as involuntary action or speech, uncontrolled displays of anger or fear, and motor or psychic disturbances.[53]

From the skeletal evidence alone it cannot be stated with certainty that individual AA 288 suffered from either permanent neurologic damage or post-traumatic epilepsy. The skeletal evidence does, however, point to the severity of the trauma. It is clear from the clinical literature that there is a strong relationship between the severity of a head wound and the development of permanent neurologic disturbances. Consideration of such long-term consequences of trauma may contribute to our understanding of the life experience of this Early Iron Age individual and, perhaps, the unusual treatment he received after death.

In addition to the cranial traumata, an injury to the vertebral column also had a long-term effect on the physical well-being of this individual. The description in Smithson's notes evokes the tragic image of a man who suffered a severe back injury that left him handicapped. In a technical sense he did suffer a broken back, which may have resulted in post-traumatic postural changes. However, the type of vertebral fracture he sustained and from which he recovered—a compression fracture—is rarely life threatening and is generally not associated with acute neurologic damage.[54]

[49] Moore 1992, p. 642.
[50] Stedman 1990, p. 104.
[51] Caveness 1976, p. 209, table 2; Miller and Jennett 1968, p. 994, table V.
[52] Caveness 1976, p. 211.
[53] Stedman 1990, p. 524.
[54] Pathria 1995, p. 2870.

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The first (L1) and third (L3) lumbar vertebrae of the lower back of the individual show evidence of vertical compression force trauma (Fig. 4). The vertebrae sustained compression fractures, which resulted in the depression of a portion of the superior aspect of the anterior vertebral body, giving the vertebrae a wedgelike shape (Pl. 68:b). The middle and posterior heights of the vertebral bodies are unaffected. The fracture to L1 involves the entire anterior margin of the vertebral body and resulted in approximately a 15 percent compression of its height (Pl. 68:b). L3 sustained a lateral compression fracture to the right side of the vertebral body, which reduced its height by 25 percent (Pl. 68:c). Both fractures are well healed. Vertebral compression fractures are commonly seen in individuals who travel over rough terrain while in a seated position, such as on a snowmobile, sled, or cart, as well as in individuals who have fallen from some height.[55] Compression fractures do occur in association with a number of pathologic conditions, including thalassemia, osteoporosis, Paget's disease, and metastatic carcinoma.[56] Each of these conditions is associated with extravertebral lesions, which aid in their identification in a dry bone specimen. None of these extravertebral lesions has been observed in the remains of AA 288. A traumatic etiology is the most parsimonious interpretation based on the skeletal evidence. Compression fractures are generally not associated with neurologic damage but manifest themselves as localized back pain and the potential development of scoliotic or kyphotic posture deformity (that is, a lateral- or forward-bending posture).[57] The fact that, in the modern clinical setting, vertebral compression fractures are commonly detected on radiographs taken for other reasons emphasizes the non-life-threatening nature of this injury.[58] Modern medical treatment for such injuries may involve surgical stabilization, especially when a fracture has resulted in more than a 40 percent loss of vertebral body height.[59]

In an injury such as this, the vertical force that causes the vertebral compression fracture may also result in displacement of the intervertebral disc. This may lead to superior or inferior herniation of the disc into the adjacent vertebral body, a condition known as Schmorl's, or cartilaginous, nodes. On a dry bone specimen, Schmorl's nodes can be identified by areas of pressure erosion on the superior or inferior surfaces of the vertebral body (Pl. 69:a).[60] Evidence of disc herniation in individual AA 288 is extensive. Seven vertebrae, the ninth thoracic through the third lumbar, have Schmorl's nodes in the inferior vertebral bodies. Nodes are also present in the superior surface of the second lumbar vertebra. In addition to occurring as a result of trauma, the presence of superior and inferior discal displacement is observable in a number of disease processes, including intervertebral osteochondrosis, Scheuermann's disease (juvenile kyphosis), hyperparathyroidism, osteoporosis, infection, and neoplasm.[61] For the case at hand, the majority of these differential diagnostic alternatives are unlikely, owing to the absence of other associated vertebral and extravertebral lesions. The numerous lesions observable in individual AA 288 are best identified as acute traumatic Schmorl's nodes resulting from the same traumatic event that caused the compression fractures of L1 and L3.

In addition to the traumatic lesions, there is evidence of two degenerative disease processes in the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae of the specimen. Osteoarthritic lesions, characterized by articular surface porosity and marginal lipping, can be observed in a large number of the costovertebral joints (the joints formed by the articulation of the heads of the ribs and the thoracic vertebral bodies). Similar osteoarthritic lesions are present in the zygapophyseal joints (the joints of the vertebral arch) of the eighth, ninth, and tenth thoracic vertebrae. A second degenerative process, known as osteophytosis or spondylosis deformans, is indicated by small bony outgrowths,

[55] Merbs 1989, p. 168.
[56] Ortner and Putschar 1985, pp. 253, 289, 314, 294.
[57] Pathria 1995, p. 2870.
[58] Pathria 1995, p. 2870.
[59] Pathria 1995, p. 2876.
[60] Ortner and Putschar 1985, p. 430.
[61] Resnick and Niwayama 1995, p. 1420.

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or osteophytes, along the margins of the vertebral bodies. Such lesions are observable in thoracic vertebrae T8–T10 plus several of the lumbar vertebrae (Pl. 68:c). These bony excrescences result from tears, either degenerative or traumatic in etiology, in the fibrous outer margin of the intervertebral disc.[62] In individual AA 288, the small size of the osteophytes suggests an early stage of osteophytosis. In more advanced cases, fusion of adjacent vertebral bodies can occur. Vertebral osteoarthritis and osteophytosis are common in both archaeological and modern populations. Initial osteophyte development begins during the third decade of life.[63] By the sixth decade, osteophytosis is evident in 80 percent of males and 60 percent of females, while some degree of zygapophyseal osteoarthritis is detectable in all individuals.[64] Individuals with either condition may experience back pain, stiffness, and/or restricted movement. Degenerative joint diseases can be classified either as primary, resulting from the wear and tear associated with aging, or as secondary, premature degenerative changes in joints subjected to unusual mechanical stress owing to habitual physical activity or trauma.[65] Given that individual AA 288 died during middle age, the observable lesions may represent primary joint degeneration. A diagnosis of secondary degenerative joint disease, however, better synthesizes the available skeletal evidence and acknowledges both the immediate and long-term effects of vertebral trauma. As a result of the trauma, the distribution of mechanical stress through the vertebral column was transmitted to areas of the back structurally or functionally not suited for such stress. This led to the development of post-traumatic degenerative changes in the form of secondary osteoarthritis and osteophytosis. The gradual nature of these degenerative changes provides some insight, albeit imprecise, into the age of the traumatic injury. Osteoarthritis develops at a slow pace, and many years of soft tissue changes precede any identifiable bony alterations.[66] From modern clinical studies it has been suggested that the onset of osteophytosis antedates its radiographic recognition by one to three years.[67] On the basis of this evidence it can be suggested that individual AA 288 lived for several years following the injury to his back.

From the preceding discussion it is evident that the vertebral trauma sustained to the back of individual AA 288 did not render this man an invalid. An examination of his bony muscle attachments indicates that he was, as Angel suggested, involved in strenuous physical activity throughout his life. The incomplete nature of this skeletal specimen does not allow a thorough analysis of musculoskeletal stress markers. A brief review of the available evidence, however, does provide some insight into his habitual activity patterns. Robust bony muscle attachments and osteoarthritic lesions in the shoulders and neck may indicate strenuous upper body activity (Pl. 69:b). Unfortunately, the bones of the arms are too incomplete and fragmentary to allow for a reconstruction of specific activity patterns. Rugose gluteus maximus muscle attachments, located on the posterior surfaces of the proximal femoral diaphyses, can be characterized as deep gluteal ridges with rough, irregular surfaces. These enthesopathic lesions, in addition to the platymeric shape (antero-posterior flattening) of the proximal femoral shafts,[68] suggest a relatively high level of medio-lateral mechanical loading to the area. This would be expected during frequent extension of the thigh from a flexed position, as when climbing, running, or standing from a sitting or squatting position. A habitual squatting body posture is suggested by accessory articular facets

[62] Resnick and Niwayama 1995, pp. 1390–1391.
[63] Ortner and Putschar 1985, p. 421.
[64] Ortner and Putschar 1985, p. 421; Resnick and Niwayama 1995, pp. 1386, 1396.
[65] Ortner and Putschar 1985, pp. 419–422; Resnick and Niwayama 1995, pp. 1386, 1396.
[66] Ortner and Putschar 1985, p. 419.
[67] Resnick and Niwayama 1995, p. 1391.
[68] The platymeric indexes for the right and left femora of individual AA 288 are 76.5 and 69.4, respectively. A mean platymeric index of 77.1 (n = 93) for the Early Iron Age (sexes combined) was reported by Bisel and Angel (1985, p. 203). The authors noted a general trend toward rounder proximal femoral diaphyses, or an increase in the mean platymeric index, from the Neolithic to the Byzantine period in Greece.

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on the superior lateral necks of the tali, the bones of the ankles.[69] The analysis of musculoskeletal stress markers in this specimen must remain incomplete. A general examination of the skeletal remains indicates that he was a robust man who remained physically active despite having suffered and survived severe cranial and vertebral trauma.

At this point it seems appropriate to explore the possible etiology or mechanisms of the cranial and vertebral injuries. First, however, the question of whether the injuries were the result of a single event or multiple traumatic events must be addressed. The osteological evidence provides some support for the former interpretation. Both fractures are well healed and remodeled. In addition, there is evidence of gradual physiological response to the skeletal and soft tissue traumata. This evidence not only suggests that the man survived both injuries by a number of years but that the injuries may have been sustained concurrently. The complexities of the healing process, however, do not allow for speculation about the exact amount of time that elapsed from the moment when each injury was sustained until the moment of death. Thus, although simultaneous injury to the head and back is likely, multiple traumatic events during early adulthood cannot be ruled out. Accidental mishaps and intentional aggression should be considered in the search for the possible cause(s) of these injuries. It has been noted above that in modern industrial societies both types of injuries, cranial depression fractures and vertebral compression fractures, are frequently the result of falls. A plausible scenario might be that this individual received the injuries to his head and back in a single traumatic event, such as a fall from a height (for example, down a hill or from a tree, a horse, or even the roof of his house). To produce both injuries, the fall would have involved a direct cranial trauma, such as the individual striking his head on a blunt object, for instance a rock, and an indirect trauma to the back when the vertical force of impact was transmitted through the vertebral column, as when landing in a seated position.[70] Accidental injury to the head can also result from being struck by a falling object. Such an event might well account for the cranial depression fractures but would not easily account for the injury to the vertebral column.

An alternative hypothesis is that this Early Iron Age man received the injuries to his head as the result of some type of interpersonal violence. In such a case, the event that resulted in the trauma to the vertebral column may or may not have been related. Based on the morphology of the fractures at pterion, it is possible to hypothesize about the angle from which an aggressor's blow may have been delivered. In a face-to-face encounter with a right-handed assailant, the blow may have been struck, in a forehand lateral motion, to the left side of the head; this would have resulted in the depression fracture at pterion and, likely, a fracture of the left cheek bone. Another possibility is that a right-handed opponent struck the blow in a backhand motion, from behind and to the left of individual AA 288. The less severe depression fracture on the right frontal would likely have been sustained during a face-to-face confrontation. The weapons of war commonly associated with blunt force trauma are clubs and maces. It should be pointed out, however, that during an act of aggression, whether on the battlefield or elsewhere, many naturally occurring objects, such as sticks and rocks, can provide sufficient force to produce the cranial injuries discussed here.[71] With either an accidental injury or an interpersonal violence etiological interpretation, elaborate scenarios can be developed to explain how these injuries were sustained. Unfortunately, the nature of the available skeletal and archaeological evidence allows only for speculation about the cause(s) of the injuries.

[69] This morphological variation has been used in several studies to suggest a habitual squatting position. Some debate remains, however, as to the etiology of these facets. See Kennedy 1989, p. 151; St. Hoyme and İşcan 1989, pp. 79–80.

[70] Lovell 1997, pp. 141–144.

[71] See similar discussion in Jurmain and Bellifemine 1997, p. 48; cf. Walker 1989.

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SOCIAL DEVIANCY IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD AND IN THE GREEK WORLD

It has been stressed in the preceding sections that tomb U–V 19:1a is unusual among its contemporaries not only in its details but also in its location, and it may be an example of a type of grave that scholars in the Aegean have generally neglected: that of a social outcast. By "social outcast" we essentially mean what Talia Shay refers to as a *deviant social persona*.[72] Such individuals are distinguished from "normal social personae" in any given social group by virtue of a variety of definitions, which may include various forms of social marginality.[73] In attempting to define social deviancy, Shay states, "As deviancy is not a property inherent in any particular kind of behavior, but is a property conferred upon a behavior by the people who come into direct or indirect contact with it, many sociologists define deviancy as any extreme conduct that elicits explicit sanctions from the people of a group, who consider it to threaten them or to produce ambiguity regarding the limits of conduct."[74] In order to distinguish normal from deviant social personae in the archaeological record, especially tombs, Shay formulated and tested a set of hypotheses on ethnographic examples of burial customs. Building on the work of Lewis Binford, Arthur Saxe, and others,[75] Shay's first hypothesis suggests that mortuary practices reflect nonhomogeneous definitions of deviancy in different societies. Her second hypothesis proposes that there is a correlation between the different evaluations of deviant actions and circumstances and the level of complexity of the social persona of the deceased. Her third hypothesis asserts that because in traditional, simple societies volitional and nonvolitional forms of deviancy are not distinguished, the individuals in question can be expected to be treated similarly at death.[76] In testing these hypotheses, Shay distinguished between the particular conduct, behavior, or attributes of individuals in life (e.g., deviant attributes, perpetration of crimes, being an alien, participating in public service),[77] on the one hand, and persons dying under special conditions (e.g., as a result of violence, disease, suicide, or battle), on the other.[78] In her conclusions, Shay noted that as a result of insufficient data and the fact that "the property of deviancy" was conferred upon a small minority of the population, coupled with the fact that archaeological material fails to reflect directly the behavioral context, not all the archaeological cases examined could support the proposed hypotheses.[79] Nevertheless, Shay was able to show, on the basis of a broad crosscultural sample, that some of the archaeological cases seemed to support the second hypothesis in particular and that all three hypotheses were confirmed by anthropological and ethnographic material relating to burial customs.[80] In so doing, Shay added an important dimension to the study of ancient social systems.

In any attempt to detect deviant social behavior in the archaeological record, Classical antiquity in general, and the Greek world in particular, offers a potential wealth of information, often complemented by literary and iconographic testimonia. Focusing on tomb U–V 19:1a in its Early Iron Age setting, Smithson's phrase "manhandled stranger, prisoner or slave" covers a wide range of possibilities regarding the nature and social identity of the individual who made his way into the fill of a well in a quiet corner on the North Slope of the Akropolis. The process of determining the identity of any individual on the basis of mortuary data alone, however, involves a series of slippery assumptions.[81] Determining ethnicity, for example, in the archaeological record

[72] Shay 1985, pp. 221–222.

[73] Dentler and Erikson 1959, p. 98; Shay 1985, p. 222.

[74] Shay 1985, p. 222; cf. Erikson 1966, p. 6; Lofland 1969, p. 17.

[75] Binford 1972; Saxe 1970, esp. pp. 11, 118–119; cf. Wilkins 1964; Scarpiti and McFarlane 1975, *passim*, esp. pp. 5–8.

[76] Shay 1985, p. 236.

[77] Shay 1985, p. 223; cf. Glaser 1971.

[78] Binford 1972, p. 226; Shay 1985, p. 223.

[79] Shay 1985, p. 236.

[80] Shay 1985, p. 236.

[81] This is well treated in Metcalf and Huntington 1991, pp. 14–19.

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is always fraught with problems, as Jonathan Hall has recently stressed.[82] Even in the study of tombs it is unclear whether there exists any systematic link between mortuary practices and cultural affinity that might permit the archaeologist to discriminate between groups.[83] In his study of the relationship between ethnic group affiliations and mortuary patterning, John O'Shea illustrated many of the pitfalls and difficulties associated with ethnicity, concluding that ethnic distinctions could not be distinguished reliably.[84] Similarly, the identification of a "prisoner" is not straightforward: many scholars thought they could recognize the identity of those evidently bound in the Phaleron cemetery—the so-called σιδερόδετοι[85]—but Rodney Young was quick to question both their identity and date.[86] In a similar vein, the more recently discovered Hellenistic tombs of eight males buried in the cemetery of Akanthos in Chalkidike, each with iron fetters on his feet, have prompted a variety of interpretations as to the identity of the men. The possibilities put forward include slaves, lunatics or epileptics, and prisoners or convicts, as well as prisoners of war condemned to work all their lives with shackles on their feet.[87] Moreover, we know from our literary sources that in Athens the corpses of criminals who died in captivity or those who were executed were either given to their relatives to be buried or were cast unceremoniously into the infamous pit (whether alive or dead), the βάραθρον; those who were sacrilegious or traitors to their country were denied burial in the ground of that country.[88] Short of the discovery of the *barathron* itself, and the recovery of the bodies of those cast into it,[89] by what criteria might we recognize the tomb of a prisoner or criminal, such as Sokrates, whose corpse was decently and privately buried by relatives and/or friends? In the Spartan version of the *barathron*, state prisoners, or their corpses, were thrown into the pit or underground cavern known as Καιάδας.[90] The cave near the modern village of Trypi to the west of Sparta, tentatively identified by Petros Themelis and his collaborators as the *Kaiadas*, is thought to have been used by the Spartans mainly for the bodies of Messenian captives, as well as for condemned criminals.[91] Whether the site discussed by Themelis is the *Kaiadas* (and the evidence he musters is compelling) is a moot point, but as is the case with Athens, it is clear that certain malefactors in Lakedaimon were spared the pit and received proper burial.[92]

[82] Hall (1997, esp. pp. 111–142), who concludes (p. 142) "that there needs to be a radical reconsideration of archaeology's role within the study of ethnicity. . . . It is, therefore, hopeless to believe that archaeological evidence can *identify* ethnic groups in the past." See further Jones 1997; Papadopoulos 1997.

[83] See, for example, O'Shea 1984, p. 286; Hall 1997.

[84] O'Shea 1984, pp. 286–301, esp. p. 299.

[85] See esp. Kourouniotes 1911, pp. 246–251; Pelekides 1916, esp. pp. 49–64 (with full discussion and references); see also Keramopoullos 1923, esp. pp. 19–20.

[86] Young 1942, p. 24, note 8.

[87] Phaklares 1986; Savvopoulou 1987. See also Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1993, esp. p. 414. Savvopoulou, who presented her paper in 1984, suggested that the fettered males were either slaves, lunatics, or epileptics or else prisoners/convicts. To this list Phaklares (1986) added and preferred the possibility that the deceased were prisoners of war.

[88] One of the earliest and fullest discussions of the *barathron,* and other ways of disposing of the bodies of criminals, is in Hager 1879; see also Rohde 1925, pp. 163, 187, note 32.

[89] For the location of the *barathron*, see Hager (1879, p. 12), who states that it is on the west side of the Hill of the Nymphs. For further discussion, particularly with regard to the city gate by which the *barathron* was reached, see Travlos 1971, p. 121.

[90] Themelis 1982; 1985; see also Rohde 1925, p. 187, note 32. In *LSJ*, s.v. καιάδας (also καιάτας and καιέτας); in Strabo (8.5.7), καιέτος refers to a fissure produced by earthquake, and it is this that has led most scholars to conclude that the term Λακεδαίμονα καιετάεσσαν, read by Zenodotus Grammaticus for Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν in the better-known passage in the *Odyssey* (4.1), refers to the "hollow land of Lakedaimon, with its many ravines." For an alternative and more convincing reading of "hollow Lakedaimon," see S. P. Morris 1984.

[91] Themelis 1982.

[92] Even if Themelis is correct in his identification of the *Kaiadas*, there are nevertheless interesting cases, such as that of a certain Pausanias, related by Thucydides (1.134). The corpse of this Pausanias was originally to have been cast into the *Kaiadas*, but the Spartans in the end decided to bury him somewhere near the city.

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As for the funerary identity of slaves, this has exercised scholars, as Ian Morris has recently shown.[93] Without entering the quagmire of trying to distinguish between "serfs," "peasants," "slaves," and "*kakoi*" in the Early Iron Age,[94] it is difficult enough, even for a period as rich in archaeological, epigraphical, and historical information as the Roman, to see or recognize slaves in the archaeological record, whether in life or in death, as the recent debate between Ramsay MacMullen and Ross Samson bears witness.[95] Moreover, distinguishing archaeologically between slaves, freedmen, and the general civilian population in the Roman world is not so straightforward as it would initially seem.[96] In a similar vein, recent discussions by historical archaeologists of slave cemeteries in the United States have brought into focus a number of interesting problems.[97] In one such study, James Garman argued that although the physical separation of burial places for Euroamericans and African Americans remained fixed, it was the gravestones that carried the crucial information and that allowed an exploration of race, class, gender, and death—and their intersection—in American society.[98] In dealing with the messages carried by the tombstones, Garman showed that as texts they generated a wide range of meanings for those who stopped to read them.[99] Trying to understand these ranges of meanings not only provided a powerful avenue of inquiry but also raised a series of questions for further research. In looking at a broader sample of African-American burials and burial practices, both contextually and diachronically, Ross Jamieson pointed to rapid shifts toward more European practices in various African-American communities at widely varying periods in their history, whereas in other communities, African Americans continued customs that were not of Euroamerican origin.[100]

In the case of the individual interred in tomb U–V 19:1a, the possibility that his head wound, especially that on his left side, led to intracranial damage, with the potential to cause a transitory or permanent neurologic deficit, is very high. As noted above, individuals sustaining such an injury can often suffer from what is today referred to as aphasia, an impairment of the power of communication, especially speaking.[101] Aphasia in the ancient, as opposed to the modern, sense of the word, and particularly in Homer, refers to difficulty in speaking when one is the victim of violent emotion.[102] In the *Iliad* (17.694–696), Antilochos, upon hearing the news of Patroklos' death, is striken with horror and seized with *aphasia*:[103]

> Ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας·
> δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε, τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
> δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.
>
> So he spoke, and Antilochos hated his word as he listened.
> He stayed for a long time without a word, speechless, and his eyes
> filled with tears, the springing voice was held still within him.[104]

[93] See, for example, Morris 1987, pp. 93–96, 173–179.

[94] Morris 1987; see also Finley 1968; 1980; 1981, esp. pp. 97–115; 1985, esp. pp. 62–94; Starr 1977, esp. pp. 123–128; and, generally, de Ste. Croix 1981.

[95] MacMullen 1987; Samson 1989; see also Morris 1992, pp. 160–161.

[96] See, for example, Saller and Shaw 1984. In attempting to distinguish or separate servile commemorative practice from the evidence of Roman tombstones, Saller and Shaw (p. 131) state: "In Rome and most Italian districts, however, it was futile and, in any event, unjustifiable, arbitrarily to separate slaves and freedmen from the general civilian population, so integral were they to its make-up." See further Kleiner 1977; Kampen 1981.

[97] See, among others, Harrington 1993; Garman 1994; Jamieson 1995; see also Patterson 1982.

[98] Garman 1994; cf. Tashijan and Tashijan 1988, p. 190.

[99] Garman 1994, p. 89; in his paper Garman drew heavily on the reception theory of Wolfgang Iser (1978).

[100] Jamieson 1995, p. 55. The burial practices displaying little or no Euroamerican influence were present despite the immense pressure to adapt to Euroamerican cultural, religious, and economic domination. For further discussion, see various papers in Miller, Rowlands, and Tilley 1989.

[101] Stedman 1990, p. 104.

[102] Grmek 1989, p. 34.

[103] Cf. Grmek 1989, pp. 34, 366, note 113.

[104] R. Lattimore translation.

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The same formula is repeated in the *Odyssey* (4.703–705), where Penelope was for a long time left speechless upon hearing the intentions of the suitors to slay Telemachos on his return from Lakedaimon:

> Ὣς φάτο, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ,
> δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε· τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
> δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.
>
> So he spoke, and her knees gave way and the heart in her.
> She stayed a long time without a word, speechless, and her eyes
> filled with tears, the springing voice was held still within her.[105]

Another, more serious, potential result of the craniocerebral trauma sustained by the individual in tomb U–V 19:1a is the development of post-traumatic epilepsy. As noted above, in the case of severe injuries a long-term pattern of seizures can develop, and these can be manifested as involuntary action or speech, uncontrolled displays of anger or fear,[106] and motor or psychic disturbances.[107] Epilepsy was one of many ailments well known to Hippocratic doctors,[108] as it was to their Near Eastern predecessors.[109] As Owsei Temkin has shown, the allocation of the soul or of particular psychic functions to certain parts of the human body, such as the diaphragm (φρήν), the heart, or bile, was ingrained in Archaic Greek thought.[110] The notion of diseases, hallucinations, and even illusions and delusions springing from these bodily components and humors (vital liquids) includes φρενίτις (an inflammation of the brain) and φρενιτισμός (frenzy);[111] hence, *phrenitis* (from φρήν) became feverish hallucinations. Mania (μανία) and "melancholia" were associated with bile (χόλος) or black bile.[112] The "Sacred Disease," or the "Falling Sickness,"[113] manifested by seizures (ἐπιλήψιαι), became "epilepsy" (ἐπιληψία) and was attributed to a surplus of phlegm in the brain by the author of *On the Sacred Disease*.[114] Alternative causes of epilepsy include Hekate and heroes,[115] and even contact with goats.[116] In the 5th century B.C. and later there was a virtual industry of

[105] R. Lattimore translation. For *iterata* in Homer and early Greek epic, see Strasser 1984.

[106] The question of "rage" should also be noted. In Homer, λύσσα (λύττα) denotes a martial rage (see *Il.* 9.239, 305, 21.542); as Grmek (1989, p. 34) elaborates, the term does not refer to the disease (rabies) that is later to bear its name: see note 37 above; also Lincoln 1975. For the antiquity of rabies, Grmek (1989, p. 366, note 112) cites Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 604a and the vase, Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 00.346. The latter, a bell-krater by the Lykaon Painter, depicts, on side A, the death of Aktaion; see *ARV*^{2}, p. 1045, no. 7 (rabies is not explicitly represented). After Homer, λύσσα refers to a raging madness, or frenzy; see *LSJ*, s.v. λύσσα.

[107] Stedman 1990, p. 524; epilepsy (the "sacred disease") is fully treated in Temkin 1994; it is also well covered in Temkin 1991, pp. 10, 124, 183, 191, 199–201, 233, 236.

[108] Temkin 1991, p. 10; 1994.

[109] In addition to the literature cited in Temkin 1994, pp. 3–4, note 2, see, most recently, Kinnier Wilson and Reynolds 1990; Stol 1991–1992; 1993; Kinnier Wilson 1996. We are grateful to Julie Laskaris for these references.

[110] Temkin 1991, p. 10.

[111] *LSJ*, s.v. φρενιτιαῖος, φρήν.

[112] Temkin 1991, p. 10; see further von Staden (1992), who deals with epilepsy, "melancholia," and madness. For χόλος as bile as well as wrath, see Onians 1951, p. 84 and, generally, *LSJ*, s.v. χόλος; Smith (1966, p. 555) notes that the Homeric use of the word χόλος is for the emotion anger or for the cause of anger: κότος and μῆνις.

[113] Temkin 1994; Kotansky (1980, pp. 181–184), in discussing the gold amulet for Aurelia's epilepsy in the J. Paul Getty Museum, notes the passage, "ἐκ πάσης ἐπιληψίας καὶ πτωματισμοῦ," which differentiates between two types of epileptic fits; cf. Lesky and Waszink 1965. The word πτωματισμός (the "falling sickness") also occurs in a list of other maladies on a gold tablet in the Louvre published in Froehner 1867 and discussed by Kotansky (p. 183).

[114] Temkin 1991, p. 10. For the treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, see Lloyd 1979, esp. chapter 1; for a translation and commentary, see Roselli 1996.

[115] Johnston 1990; Chaniotis 1995. The latter demonstrates, by means of 2nd- and 3rd-century A.C. inscriptions, the belief that all sorts of illnesses could be divinely sent. For the ancient pathology of mental diseases, see Pigeaud 1981, pp. 7–138.

[116] Lanata 1967, pp. 58–60; cf. Wächter 1910, pp. 87–89. Note also the recommendations of the Magi as related by Pliny, *NH* 28.63.226.

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magic healers of epilepsy, including the *Elasioi* in Argos, the progenitors of Saint Valentine, and other Christian patrons of epileptics.[117] The social status of epileptics can be gleaned from the statements of ancient authors, and even from the Roman term for epilepsy, *morbus comitialis*, thus designated because an epileptic attack spoiled the day of the *comitia*.[118] Similarly, the fact that it was known as the *Sacred Disease* implies the existence of a divine or supernatural hand, whether that of the gods, demons, or evil spirits.[119] Theophrastos writes that when a superstitious man sees a madman or epileptic he shudders and spits down at his chest.[120] By the time of Pliny the Elder, spitting on epileptics while they were in a fit was one recommended way of averting infection.[121] Apuleius, in dealing with the epileptic slave Thallus, states that his fellow slaves used to spit when they saw him and that no one dared to eat with him from the same dish or to drink from the same cup.[122] The manner in which epileptics were treated in ancient society is well covered by Temkin, who writes, "The magic conception according to which epilepsy was a contagious disease was one of the factors which made the epileptic's life miserable and gave him a social stigma. For it was a disgraceful disease. . . . To the ancients the epileptic was an object of horror and disgust."[123] Furthermore, epilepsy, like madness, was a typical object of purification.[124] Even the behavior of the epileptic, in covering his or her head during a fit in order not to be seen, is likened to the behavior of another type of social outcast, the fleeing murderer, who also covered the head.[125]

CONCLUSIONS

From the skeletal evidence alone it is impossible to state with certainty whether the individual in tomb U–V 19:1a suffered either permanent neurologic damage or post-traumatic epilepsy, but the skeletal evidence does point clearly to the severity of the trauma. Whatever the exact damage to the motor or psychic well-being of individual AA 288, the post-traumatic effects of his head wound may very well have contributed to the unusual treatment he received after death. Following this line of thought, the individual buried in tomb U–V 19:1a probably was accorded special mortuary treatment, which was, in the terms of the framework laid down by Shay,[126] in recognition of the deviancy of his behavior in life, although it is possible that epilepsy, or some related malady, may have contributed to the particular circumstances of his death.[127]

Against this backdrop, a number of recent discussions focusing on the body and its ideology and symbolism gain resonance. Beginning with the premise that human societies are molded by their "dialogue with death," Ian Kinnes sees such dialogues as frameworks by which individuals and communities establish their world picture, and he believes that these frameworks can be stretched and then defined by the need to comprehend and incorporate mortality.[128] Taking this one step further, others have argued that mortuary ritual is a communication system and that, as such,

[117] Temkin 1994, pp. 14, 18; Parker 1983, esp. pp. 207–234; see further Dodds 1951, p. 145; Gruppe 1906, p. 537, note 3. For Christian saints, relics, and epileptics, see Temkin 1994, pp. 109–114, with fig. 2.

[118] Temkin 1994, p. 8.

[119] Temkin 1994, p. 3.

[120] *Characters* 16.14. The passage reads, "μαινόμενον δὲ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον φρίξας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι."

[121] *NH* 28.7.36. For further beliefs surrounding epilepsy and possible cures for it, especially the use of blood, see Parker 1983, pp. 233–234; Temkin 1994, pp. 22–23; for the use of blood, see further Eitrem 1915, esp. pp. 441–447.

[122] *Apologia* 44.11; Temkin 1994, p. 8.

[123] Temkin 1994, p. 9. It should be noted that Smith (1965) has argued that in pre-Christian Greece, as early as the 5th century B.C., epileptics were not considered to be possessed by gods or demons and were therefore not exorcised.

[124] Parker 1983, p. 208.

[125] Temkin 1994, p. 9; cf. Wächter 1910; Hölfer 1913.

[126] Shay 1985, esp. pp. 222–228.

[127] As is the case in the majority of human skeletal specimens, there is no available skeletal evidence from which a manner or cause of death can be inferred for individual AA 288.

[128] Kinnes 1981, p. 83.

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it tells us more about those who conducted the ritual than about those who were buried.[129] In this context, the work of Michel Foucault is much drawn upon, especially his idea of the way in which the body itself is invested with "power relations."[130] The application of Foucault's comments on the "punishment of the body" to mortuary practice, particularly with regard to his notion of hegemony, has been used by archaeologists in a variety of ways[131] that go beyond the interpretation of the use of body parts to symbolize social relations, as Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley argued.[132] "Hegemony," as used by Foucault and as followed by others, essentially constitutes a form of social cohesion, and this is most effectively achieved not by force but by methods that infiltrate human minds and bodies. Such methods, practices, and techniques cultivate behavior and beliefs and mold the tastes, desires, and needs of any individual or society.[133] They are crucial in determining what constitutes social marginality or deviancy in any given society.[134] Although some scholars have questioned whether the existence of various practices and beliefs can be accurately determined from the study of the material record alone, more particularly from the study of mortuary remains,[135] a number of archaeologists have successfully explored ways of treating the body as a category worthy of historical investigation.[136] It is in the context of this endeavor, and against the backdrop of social deviancy and marginality, that the individual interred in well U–V 19:1 provides a fleeting but evocative glimpse of the life and death of one such person.

But strangers or foreigners, lunatics or epileptics, criminals or sinners, prisoners and slaves are not the only social outcasts in Early Iron Age Greece. Homer himself provides us with a fighting man in the very heart of the heroic epic—not the best of the Achaians—hated and reviled among many of the Greeks, particularly the likes of Achilles and Odysseus.[137] The evil-favored, bandy-legged, stooped-shouldered, and pointed- or warpen-headed Thersites, cited at the beginning of this paper,[138] is only one example of the *other* that found his or her way to death and disposal in the Early Iron Age Aegean.

[129] See esp. Thomas 1991, pp. 104–107, with references.

[130] Foucault 1977, pp. 23–31.

[131] Foucault 1977, esp. pp. 23–25; cf. Thomas 1991, pp. 104–105. For Foucault's notion of hegemony, see esp. Smart 1986, esp. p. 160. Cf. also the comments of Thomas (1991, p. 140).

[132] Shanks and Tilley 1982.

[133] Smart 1986, p. 160; cf. I. Morris 1994, pp. 13–14. See further Foucault 1965. Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu's work on symbolic violence (1977) conceived domination as a more diffuse but penetrating condition that permeates day-to-day social encounters.

[134] Cf. Shay 1985.

[135] Cf. Flannery 1982; Deetz 1989, p. 432. Note also the comments in Renfrew 1994, pp. 3–4; Binford 1983, p. 233; 1986, p. 465; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1989, p. 13; Brown 1995.

[136] See, among others, Sørensen 1987; Yates 1993. From the perspective of Classical philology, see, most recently, Kurke 1997; cf. Dover 1989; Worman 1997; and now the various essays in Montserrat 1998.

[137] Indeed, he is considered the worst of the Achaians; see Nagy 1979, pp. 259–265, 279–281, 309, 313. This is a point well illustrated in the painting by Polygnotos, described by Pausanias (10.31.1), of the *Nekyia* in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi, where Thersites, as the worst of the Achaians, is contrasted with Odysseus, who, along with Achilles, represents the best of the Greeks; see Nagy 1979, pp. 253–264. For Thersites, see further Paton 1908; Kullmann 1960, pp. 102–103, 146–148, 303–306; Ebert 1969; Postlethwaite 1988; Rose 1988; Thalmann 1988. For the iconography of Thersites, see *LIMC* VIII Supplementum, s.v. *Thersites* (K. Zimmermann), with references.

[138] This passage (*Il.* 2.216–220), full of *hapax legomena* and true *hapaxes* (that is, lexical items occurring just once), is discussed in Kirk 1985, pp. 139–140: αἴσχιστος for physical ugliness as opposed to moral turpitude occurs only here; φολκός occurs only here in surviving Greek. Kirk (1985, p. 139) prefers "dragging the feet (or one foot)" rather than the conjecture "bandy-legged" given in *LSJ*, s.v. φολκός. For φοξός, Kirk (1985, pp. 139–140) prefers "pointed" (as in pointed-headed; cf. *LSJ*, s.v. φοξός: pointed, peaked in the head, had a *sugar-loaf* head), rather than "warpen," but the latter is not impossible in the sense of the suggestion, given by the grammarians Apollonios Sophistes and Pollux (see Kirk 1985, p. 140), that it means "over-baked" (as in warped, warpen), as of a pot. For *hapax legomena*, see Kumpf 1984; Pope 1985; Hainsworth 1993, pp. 6–7.

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Athenian Agora, southeast portion, including the area of the City Eleusinion. General view, looking southeast toward the Athenian Akropolis.

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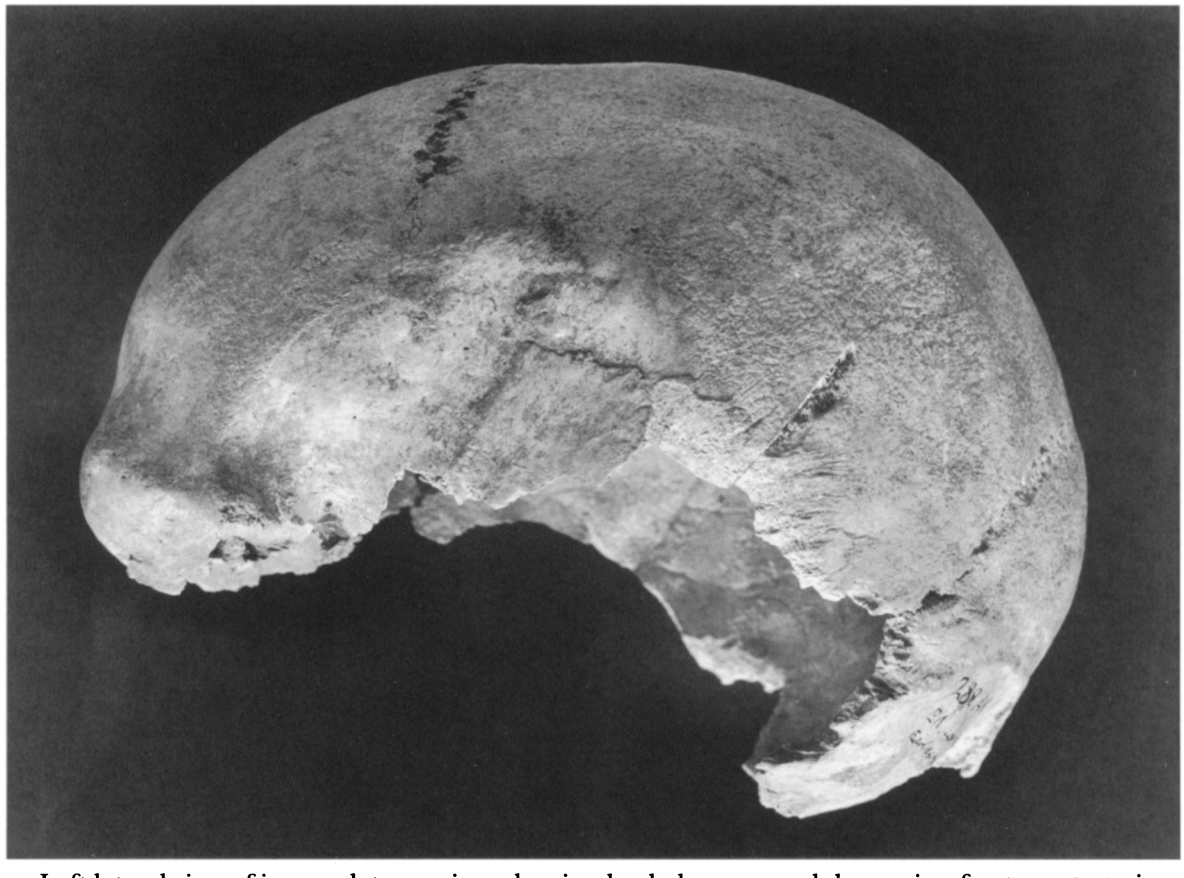
PLATE 66

a. Athenian Agora, area of City Eleusinion (sector U–V 19); view from south-southeast showing the Classical Monument Base. Circular depression visible at center left is the Byzantine pithos (cf. Figs. 1, 2), which overlapped well U–V 19:1 to its west.

b. Early Geometric one-handled cup, Agora P 26434.



c. Left lateral view of incomplete cranium showing healed compound depression fracture at pterion.

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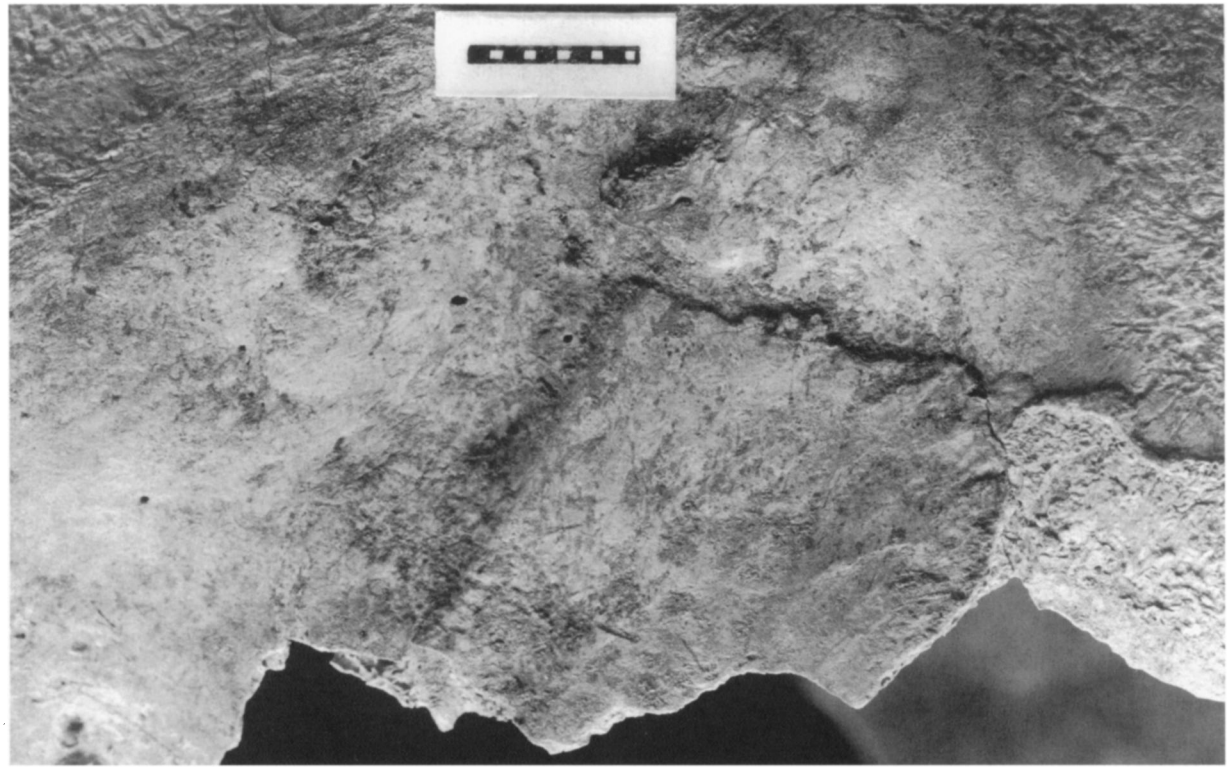
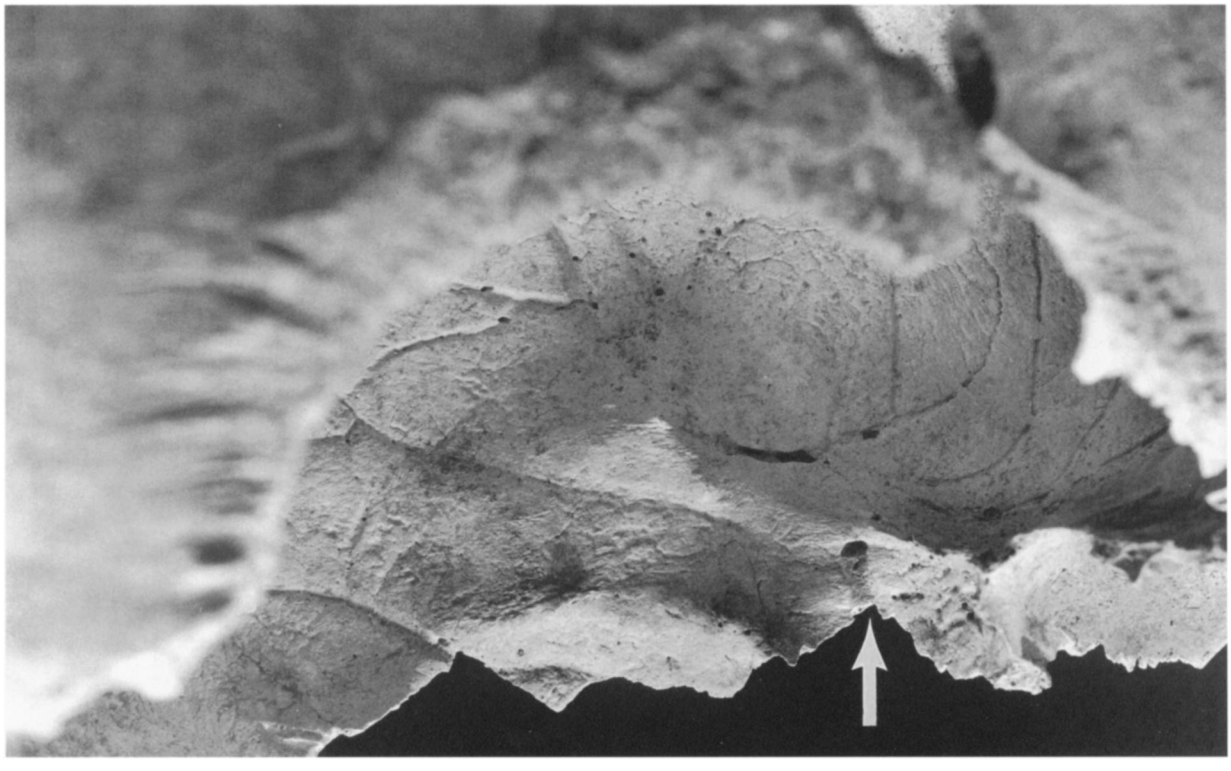


a. Detail of healed fracture at pterion. Note the area of remodeled periosteal bone surrounding the fracture site and the anomalous vessel canal at the superior margin (just below scale).



b. Detail of the endocranial surface on the left side of the cranium at pterion. Note the irregular surface of the fracture site. Arrow indicates the location of the canal for the middle meningeal artery and vein.

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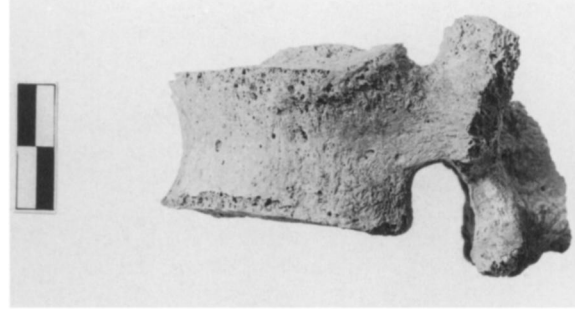
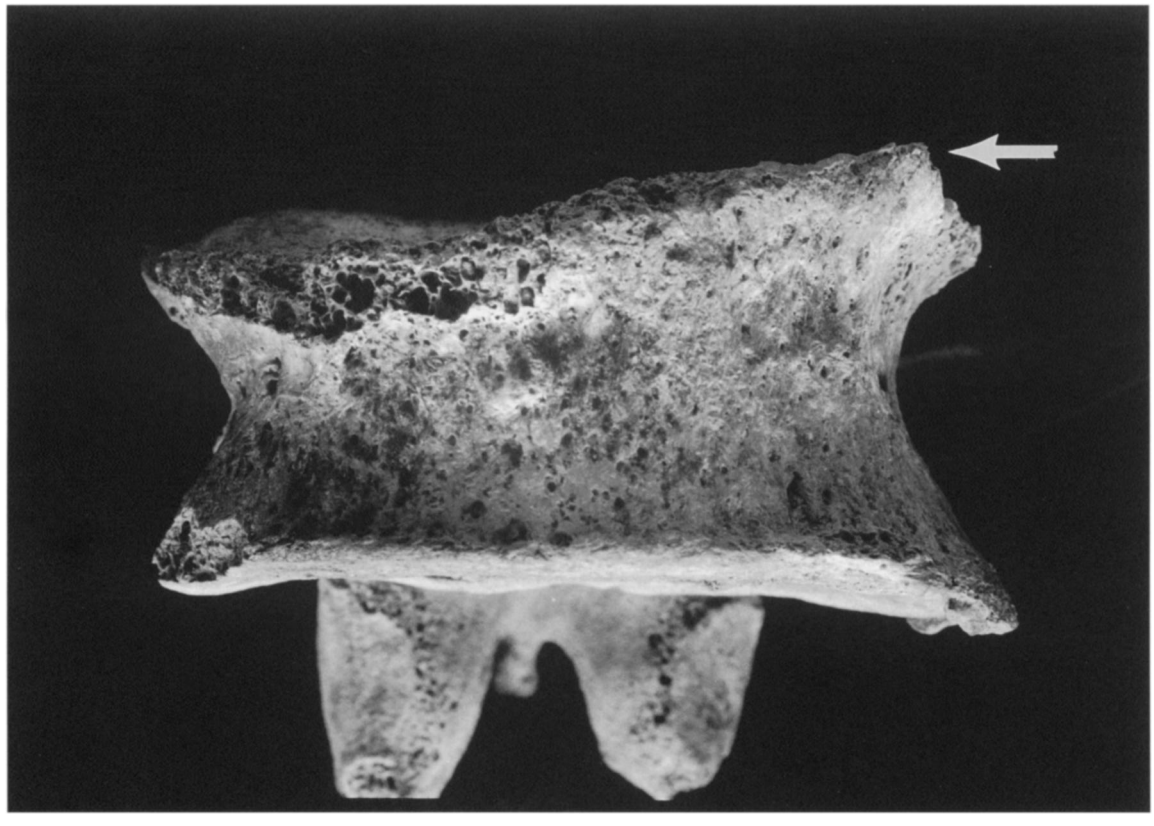
a. Detail of shallow elliptical depression fracture on the right frontal.



b. Left lateral view of the first lumbar vertebra showing the wedgelike shape that results from a compression fracture.



c. Anterior view of the third lumbar vertebra showing lateral compression fracture. Arrow indicates the location of a small bony outgrowth, or osteophyte, which is indicative of mild osteophytosis.

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a. Erosive lesions (Schmorl's nodes) suggestive of intervertebral disc herniation on the inferior 1st (right) and superior 2nd (left) lumbar vertebrae.

b. Posterior view of cranium showing robust muscle attachments along the nuchal crest.

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