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Funerary Variability in Late Eighth-Century B.C.E. Attica (Late Geometric II)

ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU

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Attic mortuary practices of the last three decades of the eighth century B.C.E. (Late Geometric [LG] II) are principally marked by the dominance for adults of inhumation over cremation. Nevertheless, this transformation was not universally applied at all burial sites in Attica. Instead, funerary rites present a high degree of variability unprecedented in earlier periods. The Late Geometric burial record has been considered in certain quarters to be a reflection of the changes in contemporary social structures affected by the emergence of the polis. The collection and study of all LG II funerary evidence, not only that from Athens or the well-excavated and published necropoleis of Attica, lead to several interesting observations that demand a reconsideration of the attested funerary variability and the proposed interpretations. The treatment of the deceased seems to have largely depended on their age, with all age groups represented in the organized necropoleis. Thus, the discerned horizontal dimension of the mortuary rites needs to be addressed within the framework of contemporary Attic social developments.¹

INTRODUCTION

Philios wrote of late eighth-century B.C.E. funerary rites in Attica that “ταφή δε και ουχί καύσις των νεκρών ην εν εκείνοις τοις χρόνοις το επικρατέστερον έθος.”² His observation, penned in the late 19th century, has been often repeated by scholars, since the excavated necropoleis and burial plots, especially in Athens, verified it to a large extent.³ Even though the introduction of inhumation after almost two-and-a-half centuries was gradual, without fully replacing cremation,⁴ scholars have largely ignored late eighth-century secondary cremations; only those in bronze cauldrons have received some attention.⁵

On the contrary, variety has been rightly recognized as the main characteristic of Attic burial rites in the Late Geometric period.⁶ Inhumation may

¹ This article was written during my postdoctoral research fellowship at the Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine of the Université libre de Bruxelles, granted by the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique–FNRS. I am grateful to John Papadopoulos for reading earlier drafts, to Donald Haggis for his views on particular issues, and to the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA* for their valuable comments. I would also like to warmly thank Chrysostomos Apostolou for the preparation of the maps and Olga Kaklamani for her assistance in practical matters. This article took its final form, now printed in paper, just before the birth of Electra, to whom it is dedicated. A free, downloadable appendix can be found under this article’s abstract on AJA Online (www.ajaonline.org).

² Philios 1889, 186.

³ See, e.g., Whitley 1991, 162–63; Laughy 2010, 32.

⁴ Cavanagh 1977, 332.

⁵ See, e.g., Whitley 1991, 163.

⁶ Cavanagh 1977, 343; Morris 1987, 5, 64–5; Laughy 2010; Vlachou 2012, 367.

have been exclusively used for adults in particular burial plots, but diverse burial forms, including secondary or primary cremations, are well-attested at many sites.

The reintroduction of inhumation in Late Geometric (LG) II Athens and Attica has not been regarded as problematic,⁷ but neither has it been satisfactorily explained.⁸ More importantly, although inhumation was widely adopted all over Attica, adults continued to be cremated. Which factors, then, dictated the choice of burial type? How did age, gender, and social status influence the different burial treatments? How can the identity of the individuals be studied through their burials?

Late Geometric funerary evidence has been widely employed as a medium for examining contemporaneous social changes, and it has been linked to the rise of the polis.⁹ Since the majority of the necropoleis, especially those in the Attic countryside, remain unpublished, scholars have mostly relied on the well-excavated and widely published burial sites, such as the Kerameikos, or on the plots briefly reported in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*. Nevertheless, it is crucial to put an emphasis on the entire range of evidence, incorporating the rich new material from the numerous rescue excavations of the last two decades in Attica. Focusing on the burials of the last third of the eighth century from Attica as a whole, a thorough discussion of the transformations in contemporaneous necropoleis is attempted here. The principal aim of this article is to clarify their implications for the social realities of the LG II period.

ATTIC LG II BURIAL CUSTOMS

Since the Protogeometric period, the rite of cremation had been used for almost the entire adult population in Athens and Attica. The earliest inhumations date to the Middle Geometric (MG) I period and the second half of the ninth century B.C.E. They are attested in the Kerameikos and the Areiopagos.¹⁰ Except for a single example of an adult in the Kerameikos (Grave hS 109), the rest of the inhumations are of subadults. The 1.25 m long skeleton of the Kerameikos

Grave G 20 indicates a child, referred to by the excavator as female,¹¹ while the Areiopagos burial belongs to an older child 12–14 years old.¹²

The change from cremation to inhumation took place primarily during the transition from MG II to LG I.¹³ LG II saw a marked rise in the number of burials,¹⁴ which was initially interpreted as the result of a striking population increase.¹⁵ At the same time, enclosures were used in an attempt to clearly demarcate the space of the dead from that of the living.¹⁶

In the late eighth century, the phenomenon of the “rich female Attic grave” almost ceased to exist.¹⁷ Dipylon Burial 13, furnished with many vases, as well as faience and ivory figurines, is the sole LG IIb exception.¹⁸ In contrast to those of older females, maiden burials are the richest in the burial record for this period. Although examples of rich graves of young females can be traced back to the Protogeometric period, their funerary equipment went through important changes in the middle of the eighth century.¹⁹

Children, nearly absent from the burial record since the Early Geometric period, systematically reappeared in the Attic burial grounds in LG I, almost exclusively inhumed in the same burial areas as adults.²⁰ Inhumation inside a pot (*enchytrismos*) was the most common burial type for infants, with the earliest appearing already in Late Protogeometric Attica.²¹ Their number significantly increased in the second half of the eighth century.²² Toward the end of the century, adult burials

¹¹ Kübler 1954, 28.

¹² A reanalysis of the human remains in 2000 led to the reevaluation of the results of Angel's (1939) first analysis. I warmly thank John Papadopoulos for this information. The results will appear in Papadopoulos and Smithson (forthcoming).

¹³ Kübler 1954, 8; Cavanagh 1977, 343, 345; Morris 1987, 122–23.

¹⁴ Morris 1987, 128; Whitley 1991, 166.

¹⁵ Snodgrass 1977; 1980, 22–4.

¹⁶ Morris 1987, 65.

¹⁷ Whitley 1996; Langdon 2005.

¹⁸ Brückner and Pernice 1893, 127–31; Coldstream 2003, 130–32.

¹⁹ Langdon 2005, 19–20; 2008, 139–42.

²⁰ Pomadère 2005.

²¹ Styrenius 1967, 89, 91, 178 (Athenian Agora Graves IX [B 10:1], XVIII [C 10:2], XXXVIII [O 7:6]). For the *enchytrismos* burials in Athens, see Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002 (with further bibliography).

²² Haentjens 1999, 183; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002, 184–85; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, 27. For the definition of child age groups, see also Houby-Nielsen 2000, 152; Papadopoulos 2000, 111; Shepherd 2013, 544–45.

⁷ Smithson 1974, 331.

⁸ Cavanagh 1977, 391.

⁹ Morris 1987.

¹⁰ Kerameikos: Kübler 1954, 28, 209, 221–22 (Grave 20); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 4, 7–8 (Grave hS 109). Areiopagos: Thompson 1948, 158–59, pl. 41.1 (Grave I 18:1); Smithson 1974, 352–59.

were gradually replaced by child graves in several Attic necropoleis, such as those of Anavyssos and Eleusis.²³

Sacrificial pyres and offering trenches, attached to particular burials, appeared for the first time during this period. Sacrificial pyres were not limited to Athens but are attested in the Ayios Panteleimon cemetery at Anavyssos and at Labrika in the Mesogeia Plain as well. In contrast, offering trenches were found almost exclusively in the Kerameikos, with a single exception known from modern Chalandri.²⁴ The pyres contained many clay vases, as well as figurines. Open shapes attached to supports were characteristic features of the pottery from the offering trenches in the Kerameikos.²⁵

By the last decades of the eighth century, monumental grave markers were abandoned in Athens and subsequently in the rest of Attica.²⁶ Smaller vases were placed inside the graves. Attention had moved from the exterior of the grave to the interior, lowering the visibility of the tomb once interment was complete. Although neck-handled amphoras continued to be used as urns for secondary cremations, bronze cauldrons served the same role. Shapes such as pitchers and high-rimmed bowls were absent from contemporary domestic and sacred contexts, even though most of the extant forms were not exclusively destined for graves. A general tendency toward grave offerings of lower quality and quantity can be observed. Metal objects were rarely deposited in the burials of this period, while iron weapons, with the exception of knives, almost entirely disappeared.²⁷

BURYING OR BURNING? DISTRIBUTION OF FUNERARY PATTERNS

Burials can be studied not only as biological but also as cultural entities, as the various treatments of the corpse can carry different symbolic meanings.²⁸ Even though both inhumation and cremation could indicate that the deceased belonged to different social strata, the shift from one rite to another is not easily explained, since it must have been dependent on several factors, such as regional variations and prevailing

personal or family fashions.²⁹ The burying communities in Athens and Attica reacted in various ways to the new custom. Although inhumation had been widely adopted and largely employed for adults, secondary and primary cremations did not cease to exist. They could prevail at certain sites or be combined with inhumations. The burial record is sorted here on the basis of the funerary patterns adopted in the burial grounds of Athens and wider Attica (figs. 1, 2), following a regional order. This classification allows for clearer presentation of the possible existing variations.

Previous scholars have established different categories of burial groups based on size. Morris employed the terms “cemetery” and “plot.” In Morris’ categorization, the spatially well-defined cemetery consisted of smaller plots. Because the connections between the excavated groups of graves could not always be clearly defined, it was necessary to treat a number of the plots independently.³⁰ The more detailed scheme proposed by Whitley seems to better reflect the variations in the size of the excavated burial groups: he recognized large cemeteries, medium-sized cemeteries, small grave plots, and isolated graves. Large cemeteries included more than 20 graves, medium-sized cemeteries 6–20, and grave plots 2–5.³¹ Whitley’s categories are adopted in this study, even though according to recent evidence the size of some burial groups needs to be reevaluated.

Inhumation

North Athens. With very few exceptions, inhumation seems to have been almost fully adopted for adults in large and medium-sized necropoleis as well as in family funerary plots of northern Athens in the last third of the eighth century (online appx., table 1, on AJA Online). The examination of the skeletal remains from the LG II graves of the burial group in the Areiopagos and the Tholos Cemetery in the later Athenian Agora shows that the custom applied equally to male and female adults, even though the number of male burials was higher.³² Older children (6–10 years old) were also inhumed in the Areiopagos (Graves E 19:2, N 11:1). In this plot, only one possible female burial (Grave B 21:2) was found; the rest of the graves contained

²³ Morris 1987, 82, 85.

²⁴ Pologiorgi 2003–2009, 186 (E II 1-Cremation 1).

²⁵ For offering trenches, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 75, 145; Houby-Nielsen 1992, 1995, 1996a; D’Onofrio 1993; Kistler 1998, 31–77, 147–71; Alexandridou 2009; 2011, 34–8; 2013.

²⁶ Coldstream 1968, 86; Morris 1987, 151–52; Whitley 1991, 163.

²⁷ Whitley 1991, 161, 165–66, 178.

²⁸ Rebay-Salisbury 2012; Tarlow and Stutz 2013.

²⁹ McHugh 1999, 54–5.

³⁰ Morris 1987, 73–4.

³¹ Whitley 1991, 166.

³² Areiopagos: Brann 1960. The graves on the north slopes of the Areiopagos have been understood as part of an extensive necropolis (Papadopoulos 2003, 273) and not of a grave plot (Whitley 1991, 66). Athenian Agora: Young 1939.



FIG. 1. LG II burials in Athens: 1, Areiopagos; 2, Athenian Agora Tholos Cemetery; 3, 5 Ayion Anargyron Street (Koumoundourou Square); 4, Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets; 5, 32 Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets; 6, 5 Dimophontos Street; 7, 24 Aktaiou Street; 8, Kerameikos; 9, Dipylon plot; 10, 59 Peiraios Street and Kalogirou Samouil; 11, 25 Eleutherias Square; 12, 23–24 Kriezī Street; 13, 10 Sapphous Street; 14, 12 Sapphous Street; 15, Kotzia Square; 16, 55 Kastorias Street and Iera Odos; 17, Academy of Plato; 18, Mitrodorou and Geminou Streets; 19, Acropolis, south slope; 20, Dionysiou Areopagitou, Parthenonos, and Kallisperi Streets; 21, Kavalotti Street; 22, 20 Erechteiou Street; 23, 21–23 Erechteiou Street (1965); 24, 25 Erechteiou Street; 25, Garivaldi, Sofroniskou, and Fenaretis Streets; 26, 15–17 Makriyanni, Porinou, and Athanasiou Diakou Streets; 27, 95 Dimitrakopoulou Street; 28, 110 Dimitrakopoulou Street; 29, 116 Dimitrakopoulou and Aglaurou Streets; 30, 12–14 Meidani Street; 31, Athanasiou Diakou and Anapauseos Streets; 32, Vouliagmenis, Trivonianou, and Eupompou Streets; 33, 23–25 Aristonikou and Charvouri Streets; 34, 16 Theophilopoulou Street (C. Apostolou).

males or older children (fig. 3 shows a male adult burial from this group). The adult inhumations of the Tholos Cemetery, placed inside long shaft graves, were followed by some child urn burials.

The complete dominance of inhumation is also attested in the medium-sized necropolis excavated in 1966 at the juncture of Erisychtonos and Nileos

Streets (fig. 4), north of the Athenian Agora.³³ A Late Protogeometric neck-handled amphora, which was not, however, securely linked to a particular grave, is the earliest evidence from the site. The Geometric

³³ Alexandri 1967a.

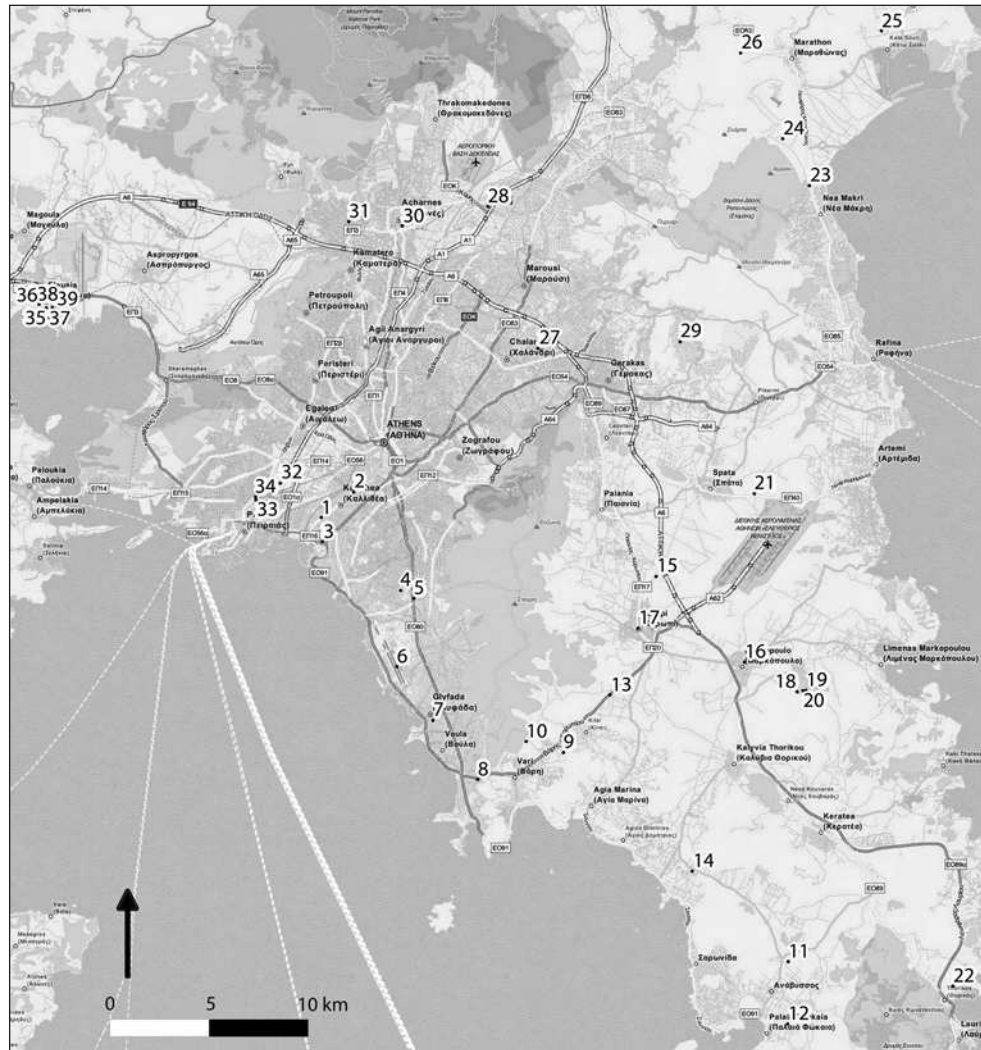


FIG. 2. LG II burials in Attica: 1, Kallithea (240 Thiseos Street); 2, Kallithea (Thiseos and Kalypsous Streets); 3, Palaia Phaleron; 4, Trachones-Alimos; 5, Argyroupoli; 6, Elliniko; 7, Glyfada (Kyprou and Iras Streets); 8, Voula (Athinon and Igoumenitsis Streets); 9, Vari (Southeast Necropolis); 10, Vari (500 m north of North Necropolis); 11, Anavyssos (Ayios Panteleimon); 12, Palaia Phokaia (site of Agricultural Bank); 13, Mesogeia (Labrika, Tamvakis plot); 14, Kalyvia Phoinikia; 15, Mesogeia-Koropi (Athinon and Ercheias Streets); 16, Mesogeia-Markopoulo (30 Papavasileiou Street); 17, Mesogeia-Markopoulo (3 Papasideri Street); 18, Merenda (Geometric Necropolis); 19, Merenda (Southeast Necropolis); 20, Merenda ("lake of equestrian games"); 21, Spata (Kolioukrep); 22, Thorikos (West Necropolis); 23, Nea Makri (Marathonos Avenue); 24, Marathon (Vranas-Skorpio Potami); 25, Marathon (Kato Souli); 26, Marathonos (Oinoe); 27, Chalandri; 28, Kephisia (Central Necropolis, West Quarter); 29, Draphi; 30, Acharnai (Dekeleias and Dimosthenous Streets); 31, Acharnai (35 Salaminos Street); 32, Palaia Kokkinia (Thessalonikis Street/Vareloustra); 33, Palaia Kokkinia (Ayion Anargyron and Mantos Maurogenous Street); 34, Palaia Kokkinia (Thivon Avenue); 35, Eleusis (South Necropolis); 36, Eleusis (West Necropolis); 37, Eleusis ("Sacred House"); 38, Eleusis (Thivon Avenue, Tzaferi and Syrmali Streets); 39, Eleusis (Chatzidaki Street) (C. Apostolou).

burials were all placed in deep pit graves of large dimensions. Based on their furnishings, some can be securely placed in the Late Geometric period. With a sole exception—a possible secondary cremation (Grave 1)—the rest of the contemporary adult burials were inhumations. Pitchers and high-rimmed bowls dominate among the clay grave offerings. Apart from

pottery, three graves contained a single gold band each (Graves 4, 7, 9).³⁴

The richest burial of the plot was an inhumation assigned to a young female on the basis of its furnishing

³⁴ For gold bands and their uses, see Ohly 1953.

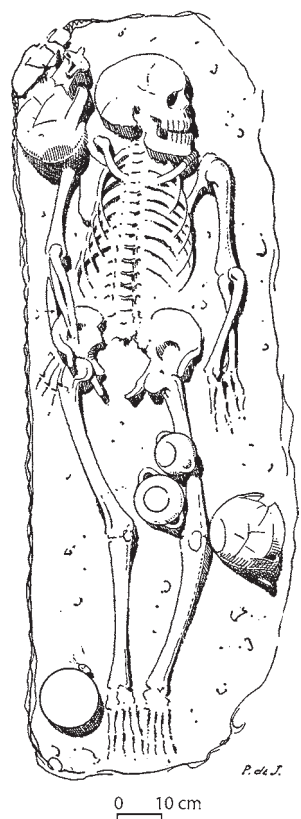


FIG. 3. The Areiopagos inhumation Grave E 19:3 (after Brann 1960, fig. 1).

(Grave 5/6).³⁵ The lower part of the shaft was rectangular and contained the vases of a sacrificial pyre. Grave 7 shared a similar plan. In this case, however, the upper part of the shaft over the head of the deceased was made into a long rectangle, even though the contents of the sacrificial pyre occupied the lower part of the shaft below the feet of the dead.

A partly explored Late Geometric pyre detected at the corner of 32 Erisychthonos and Nileos Streets, which yielded six vases, belonged to the same necropolis. The pyre, identified by the excavator as a primary cremation, may actually have been a sacrificial pyre like those described just above.³⁶ If correctly interpreted, these three pyres together with an example from the Kerameikos are the earliest known pyres in Athens.

Three Late Geometric plundered graves, all in rectangular shafts, were detected at 24 Aktaiou Street.³⁷ It cannot be said whether they contained cremations or

inhumations. In one case, the length of a LG IIB grave (2.20 m) pointed to an adult.

In the well-excavated, large necropolis of the Kerameikos, the appearance of inhumation in the MG I period led gradually to its wider adoption in subsequent periods, with the rite almost exclusively prevailing in LG II. Secondary and primary cremations did not cease to exist, but they were limited. Both male and female adults, as well as children and adolescents, were inhumed (Graves G50, G54, G56). The necropolis preserved the remains of wooden coffins in a few cases (Graves G10, G26, G50, G99). The graves were not particularly richly furnished. The richest burials belonged to children. In one case, an offering trench was found in association with a child's grave (Grave G 57). The slightly earlier (LG Ib/Ila) grave excavated south of the Sacred Way (Grave VDAk 1) belonged to a maiden. It contained many clay shapes and was accompanied by metal and ivory objects.³⁸

The rich adult inhumations of the Dipylon plot belong to an extended necropolis, parts of which were excavated in Eleutherias Square, at the corner of Peiraios and Kriezti Streets.³⁹ The earliest of the 18 Late Geometric graves of the plot date to the middle of the eighth century (LG Ia–Ib). They were marked by monumental figure-decorated vases. Some of the earliest burials contain not only clay vases but also metal objects, gold bands, or iron weapons. The richest LG IIB grave (Grave 13) was furnished with vases but also contained three ivory female figurines and three lions.⁴⁰ The presence of a clay pitcher might indicate a young female.⁴¹ In this part of the necropolis, from the beginning of its use until the end of the eighth century nearly all the burials were inhumations. A secondary cremation inside a bronze cauldron is the only exception. Interestingly, this metal vase was placed inside a shaft with the same dimensions as those containing inhumation burials (Grave III).⁴² The contemporary

³⁸ von Freytag 1974.

³⁹ Brückner and Pernice 1893. Based on the new evidence from Eleutherias Square and Kriezti Street, this necropolis should be considered rather large (Dimitriadou 2012, 189–92 [with further bibliography]).

⁴⁰ Brückner and Pernice 1893, 127–31.

⁴¹ The identification of this shape as a gender indicator is discussed below.

⁴² Brückner and Pernice 1893, 132. When describing the inhumation of Grave XV, Brückner and Pernice mention a bronze lebes belonging to another grave. The lebes contained cremated remains comparable to that of Grave III.

³⁵ Langdon 2008, 132–33, table 3.1, no. 33.

³⁶ Chatzipouliou 1992, 30.

³⁷ Tsouklidou-Penna 1981.

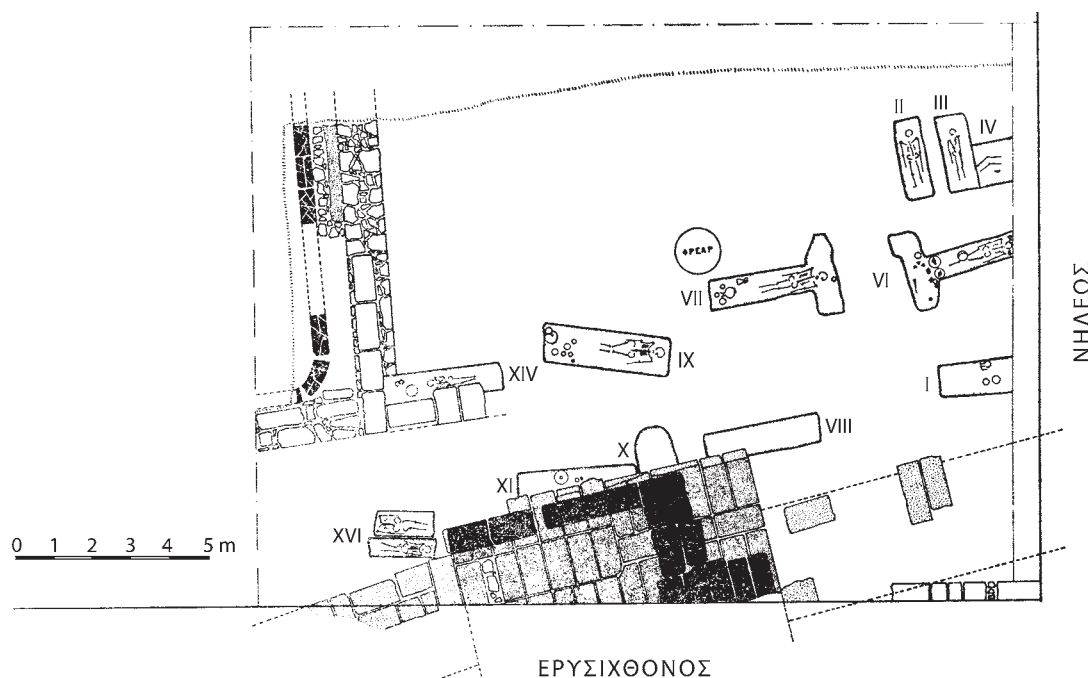


FIG. 4. Plan of the necropolis at Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets, with grave numbers marked (after a drawing by E. Spathari; Alexandri 1967a, fig. 34).

adult inhumations, detected in the south part of Eleutherias Square, farther northeast of the Dipylon plot, belong to the same extended necropolis.⁴³ This is also the case of the disturbed burial at Kalogirou Samouil and 59 Peiraios Street, whose type is not known.⁴⁴

Another medium-sized necropolis, occupying the area between the Eriai and the Archarnikai Gates, is located close to the above-mentioned cemetery (12 Sapphous Street). Two Late Geometric adult inhumations were found together with 10 contemporary child *enchytrismoι*.⁴⁵ Three Late Geometric adult inhumations are reported among the 498 graves of the large necropolis of Kotzia Square.⁴⁶ Finally, an isolated, disturbed, richly furnished inhumation was detected at 5 Ayion Anargyron Street in the area of Koumoundourou Square.⁴⁷

South Athens. Whereas in north Athens the evidence from LG II seemed rather uniform, in the southern part of the city a greater degree of flexibility in the choice of the funerary rite was observed for the same

period, and cremation largely persisted (see online appx., table 1). The medium-sized necropolis, excavated along the south slope of the Acropolis, was the only case where almost all the Late Geometric adult burials were inhumations placed in simple deep pits. An undated disturbed secondary cremation and a possible adult urn burial are the only exceptions.⁴⁸ A LG II adult inhumation came to light near this necropolis, at the junction of Dionysiou Areopagitou, Parthenonos, and Kallisperi Streets, together with two secondary cremations of the MG II and LG I periods, respectively.⁴⁹

Attica. Despite the great variability attested in wider Attica, inhumation was almost exclusively employed in several Attic necropoleis (see online appx., table 2).

In Kallithea, a few kilometers south of central Athens, two Late Geometric burial plots came to light. In the first (240 Thiseos Street), two *enchytrismoι* were found together with three adult burials in shaft graves, whose type is not, however, specified. Two of these LG IIa graves were presented in detail. One contained a lidded pitcher and the other a lidded banded amphora,

⁴³ Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979b.

⁴⁴ Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979a, 23.

⁴⁵ Alexandri 1968a.

⁴⁶ Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1988, 24; 2001–2004; Orphanou 1998.

⁴⁷ Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979c.

⁴⁸ Charitonidis 1973, 1, 41–2.

⁴⁹ Dontas 1961–1962, 86.

which could indicate inhumations, although it is possible that they served as urns for cremated remains.⁵⁰

All the graves of the second funerary plot (Thiseos and Kalypsous Streets) were found disturbed. The graves ranged in date from the third quarter of the eighth to the transition to the seventh century and were poorly furnished, with only a few high-rimmed bowls each.⁵¹ They could be inhumations.

An extensive necropolis in the area of Palaio Phaleron was excavated in the early 20th century.⁵² Since 2012, part of this necropolis has been under further excavation.⁵³ Child urns, mostly dating to the seventh century, dominate among the excavated graves. Sixteen adult inhumations, two secondary cremations, and three primary cremations were also reported. Eight inhumations were placed in cist graves, but these were mostly unfurnished and therefore undated. Two LG II graves, each containing a kotyle, have been identified as belonging to adult males.⁵⁴ Two adults were placed in simple shafts covered with large clay tiles. Most of the skeletons were found lying on the sand with no offerings other than in a few cases a single small Geometric vase. Some of the child urns were placed on top of adult graves. This must have been the case with Grave 8: the child *enchytrismos* was initially placed on the upper surface of the grave before breaking the tiles of its cover and falling into its interior. A photograph of another burial shows an urn placed just next to the adult's skeleton so that together they formed a single burial.⁵⁵ A late eighth-century adult inhumation inside a cist grave was detected in Glyphada.⁵⁶

The richest Late Geometric burial evidence comes from Vari, along the southern coast of Attica, from the systematically excavated and published Southeast Necropolis.⁵⁷ The earliest burials date to the last quarter of the eighth century or the transition to the seventh; they were placed in cist graves in the southeast part of

the necropolis. Two adult inhumations (Graves 41β, 44α) were found together with a primary (Grave 37α) and a secondary cremation (Grave 38). Remains of sacrificial pyres were detected over the cover slabs of both inhumations.

A small group of six Late Geometric cist graves were found 500 m north of the North Necropolis of Vari.⁵⁸ Grave 2 can be placed in the late eighth century on the basis of its furnishing.⁵⁹ The amphora must have served as an offering for an inhumation rather than as an urn for a secondary cremation.

Inhumations prevail in the case of the extended necropolis of Ayios Panteleimon in Anavyssos, 3 km north of the shore of Palaia Phokaia. The cemetery was in use from Early Geometric (EG) II to the end of the eighth century, and it seems to have closely followed the funerary practices of Early Iron Age Athens.⁶⁰ Even though the cemetery has not been published in detail, the available information allows, to a certain degree, the study of the late eighth-century burial rites practiced there.⁶¹

More than 100 graves have been explored. The earliest of the trench-and-hole secondary cremation-type burials date to EG II and the transition to MG I.⁶² The transition from cremation to inhumation in Anavyssos took place in MG II. The LG I period saw a notable increase in the number of burials, which continued into LG II.⁶³ It seems that the LG I adult burials were all inhumations, except for a secondary cremation (Grave 22/73). In spite of a few secondary cremations, inhumations also prevailed in LG II.

Outside the Ayios Panteleimon necropolis, inhumations have been detected in other areas of Anavyssos. Two Late Geometric examples were covered by a large tumulus explored at the plot of the Agricultural Bank of Greece.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Daux 1958, 672–73, figs. 7, 8.

⁵⁹ Coldstream 1968, 77, no. 4; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984, 27 n. 3. The grave contained an amphora by the Empedocles Painter (LG IIb), an Early Protocorinthian kotyle, and a plate.

⁶⁰ Morris 1987, 80.

⁶¹ Verdelis and Davaras 1966; Themelis 1973–1974; Morris 1987, 84, fig. 26.

⁶² Morris 1987, 79; Themelis 1991, 37.

⁶³ Themelis 1991, 38. Note that Morris (1987, 85) observed a slight decline in LG II.

⁶⁴ Kakavogianni 1984; Kakavogianni and Petrocheilos 2013. I would like to warmly thank N. Petrocheilos for the additional information on the graves at Anavyssos.

⁵⁰ Kallipolitis 1964, 65–6.

⁵¹ Callipolitis-Feytmans 1963, 404, 430.

⁵² Kourouniotis 1911; Pelekidis 1916.

⁵³ The ongoing excavation at the construction site of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center revealed 1,069 graves dating from the late eighth to the early fifth century B.C.E. For a preliminary report, see Chrysoulaki et al. 2015.

⁵⁴ Strömberg 1993.

⁵⁵ Kourouniotis 1911, 247, fig. 5.

⁵⁶ Kaza 1987.

⁵⁷ Kallipolitis 1963, 1965; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984.

The organized, extended necropolis of Merenda in Markopoulo of the Attic Mesogeia was in use from the Geometric to the Classical period. It has been excavated in different periods.⁶⁵ Because of the lack of detailed publication and the disturbed state of many graves, their burial type cannot be discerned. An Early Geometric amphora from Pyre B1 is the earliest find from the necropolis.⁶⁶ Some 80 or more graves are Late Geometric, but a more specific date cannot be provided in all cases. Vavritsas grouped his finds according to burial types.⁶⁷ Inhumations, placed inside simple rectangular pits of large dimensions, prevail, even though secondary cremations are not absent.

Inhumations have been also uncovered in the area of Markopoulo.⁶⁸ Four LG II adult inhumations are reported from Spata. Grave 3 contained many vases, a gold necklace, and two bronze bracelets.⁶⁹

As at the large necropoleis of Anavyssos and Merenda, adult males, adult females, and children were inhumed in the well-excavated West Necropolis of Thorikos in southeast Attica.⁷⁰ The earliest burial dates to the LG Ib period (Grave 56), while the rest belong to the last quarter of the eighth century.

Unlike the evidence from Thorikos and Anavyssos, the funerary evidence from northeast Attica and in particular Marathon is varied. Early Iron Age burials are known from Vranas, Plasi, Oinoe, Souli, and Nea Makri.⁷¹ Sotiriadis excavated the extended necropolis of Vranas near Skorpio Potami in 1934 and 1939. Twenty-four burials belong to the Geometric era, but only those excavated in 1939 were described in more detail.⁷² All the Late Geometric adult burials of the third quarter of the eighth century were inhumations in simple shafts.⁷³ Geometric cist graves with inhumations have been excavated over the ruins of the Bronze Age fortification wall at Plasi.⁷⁴

Part of a medium-sized Geometric necropolis was explored at Nea Makri along Marathon Avenue (fig. 5).⁷⁵ It must have been in use from MG II to LG IIB. Many of the graves were found disturbed. Three burials dating to the middle of the eighth century—an *enchytrismos* and two pit burials containing youths—extended into the periphery of the excavated burial group (Graves 5, 6). Three LG II burials were detected 80 m south of it. The inhumation was the richest and contained a pitcher together with two silver rings and a high-rimmed bowl on a fenestrated support (Grave 15). The disturbed Grave 14 may have contained an inhumation as well, combined with a sacrificial pyre.⁷⁶ The latest burial (Grave 16), which marks the transition from the eighth to the seventh century, is a secondary cremation with the remains placed inside a pyxis-krater found together with a fenestrated stand. According to the anthropological study, the deceased was an adolescent aged 10–20 years old. Four more Late Geometric burials, detected 80–90 m north of Graves 5–7, belong to the same necropolis. Two LG IIA cists contained inhumations (Graves 1, 2). An inhumation might be assumed for the third cist, too (Grave 3). A single primary cremation was placed inside a shaft.⁷⁷

In north Attica, inhumations are combined equally with secondary cremations in the large central necropolis of Kephisia, which was in use from the ninth century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E.⁷⁸ Bronze cauldrons, as well as clay vases, served as urns. The necropolis preserved one of the latest cases of a warrior's burial (Grave 78)—an inhumation rather than a cremation. All Late Geometric burials were placed in shafts, which exceeded 2 m in length, while an inhumation was marked by a stone block (Grave 54).⁷⁹

The burial ground excavated in the early 1950s in the area of modern Palaia Kokkinia in northeastern Piraeus contained 11 graves dating from the ninth to the early third quarter of the eighth century B.C.E. They have not been published in detail.⁸⁰ Inhumations and secondary cremations seem to be equally represented. Some of the latter might be Late Geometric (Graves ε, ζ, θ). The latest inhumation of LG IIA seems to belong to a child (Grave η).

⁶⁵Orlandos 1960; Vavritsas 1970b; Xagorari-Gleissner 2005. For an overview of the excavation of the necropolis, see Vivliodetis 2007, 111, 166–76.

⁶⁶Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 77, cat. no. 192, pl. 1a.

⁶⁷Vavritsas 1970b, 127.

⁶⁸For the inhumations at Papasideri Street, see Papachristodoulou 1971, 38, pl. 46γ.

⁶⁹Philadelphus 1920–1921, 136–38. On the basis of its furnishing, it has been assigned to a young female (Langdon 2008, 132–33, table 3.1, no. 38).

⁷⁰Mussche et al. 1968, 1969, 1984, 1990.

⁷¹Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 706.

⁷²Sotiriadis 1932, 1934, 1939.

⁷³Sotiriadis 1939, 29.

⁷⁴Marinatos 1970, 153–54; Mastrokostas 1970, 17; Petrakos

1995, 55–7.

⁷⁵Mazarakis Ainian 2011.

⁷⁶Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704.

⁷⁷Eustratiou 1985.

⁷⁸Skilardi 2009, 2011.

⁷⁹Skilardi 2011.

⁸⁰Theocharis 1951.

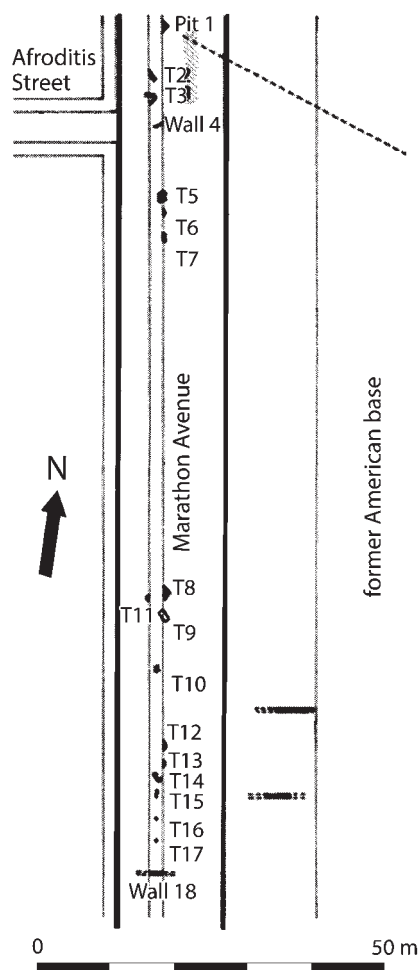


FIG. 5. Plan of the necropolis at Nea Makri along Marathon Avenue, with graves (T1–T17) marked (after Mazarakis Ainian 2011, fig. 1).

Inhumation predominated among the Late Geometric burials of the recently excavated medium-sized necropolis a few kilometers away from Theocharis' burial ground. On the basis of a short preliminary publication, some of the graves can be dated to the third quarter of the eighth century.⁸¹ The secondary cremations are of the trench-and-hole type and must be earlier. The richest inhumations are LG I (Graves 14, 15). A LG IIa inhumation was richly furnished with 27 vessels and was marked by a rectangular stone slab (Grave 3).

In LG II, most of the adult burials in the large South Necropolis of Eleusis were inhumations, following the

tradition already in use in the early Middle Geometric period (Grave 1898/19).⁸² Unfortunately, the necropolis has not been published in detail. The majority of the burials are simply mentioned as Geometric. Many child urns, child inhumations, and child cremations, one inside an urn (Grave 6), were found.⁸³ Some of the Late Geometric inhumations belong to children (e.g., Grave 1898/21).

According to the excavator, burials occupied subsequent layers with a total thickness of 1.50–2.00 m, which could contain three or four deceased. Although all types of burials were represented in the different layers, almost all the secondary cremations occupied the lowest levels, which suggests that they may have been the earliest. This distinctive burial arrangement may have resulted from the disturbance of small tumuli possibly set over each burial.

Most of the putative Geometric burials were inhumations in pits or cist graves. A sacrificial pyre was associated with an inhumation (Grave L).⁸⁴ More Geometric pyres with remains of animal or human bones were reported (e.g., Grave 1898/B7). Secondary cremations, which might be Late Geometric, were few (Graves 1898/56, 1898/A5). An early seventh-century cremation of this type had a peculiar form (Grave 6): a small shaft containing ashes and Geometric sherds, possibly remains of a sacrificial pyre, was placed in the interior of the larger burial shaft.

With the exception of a secondary cremation of a child inside a pitcher (Grave Γζ/36),⁸⁵ all the Late Geometric adult burials of the West Necropolis of Eleusis were inhumations furnished with a few clay vases.⁸⁶ Inhumation was also chosen for the 30-year-old male adult who was the focus of an ancestor cult associated with the "Sacred House" of Eleusis.⁸⁷ Three Late Geometric shaft graves, which may have contained inhumations, were found together with a number of child *enchytrismoi* in the area of modern Eleusis.⁸⁸ The

⁸² Skias 1898, 1912; Papageli 2004, 3–6.

⁸³ Skias 1898, 77; 1912, 33.

⁸⁴ Skias 1912, 37.

⁸⁵ Burials Γε and Γη are described as pyres containing ash remains and burned vases, but it is not clearly stated whether they represent primary cremations. They have been dated to the second half of the eighth century.

⁸⁶ Mylonas 1975.

⁸⁷ Lauter 1985, 163–69, 333–36; Antonaccio 1995, 190–91; Mazarakis Ainian 1999; Boehringer 2001, 60–3.

⁸⁸ Recent rescue excavations brought to light Late Geometric graves and plots. A Late Geometric to Early Proto-Attic necropolis was excavated in Dimitros Street (Tomlinson 1994–1995).

⁸¹ Mazarakos et al. 2008. I would like to thank the archaeologists A. Tsaravopoulos, T. Mazarakos, and M. Litsa for providing me with the relevant information.

size of the poorly furnished shafts points to subadults.⁸⁹ A Late Geometric burial with 22 vases and a model pomegranate forms an exception.⁹⁰

Adult Enchytrismoi

Adult inhumations placed inside large vessels are very rare in LG II Attica. The only two known cases were attested in Athens. In particular, a coarse pithos from Dipylon (ht. 1.40 m; mouth diam. 0.50 m) dating to the transition from the eighth to the seventh century could have contained an adult in a contracted position (Grave 19). A large amphora with depictions of warriors on the neck found northeast of the Early Helladic structure in the area of the Academy of Plato was mentioned by the excavator as an adult urn burial, too.⁹¹ The vessel finds an exact parallel among the urns excavated in the necropolis on the south slope of the Acropolis (Grave VIII). Although the burial on the south slope has been disturbed, it has been thought of as a possible adult inhumation because of its size.⁹² Adult inhumations inside vessels were uncommon not only in Attica but also in the wider Greek world. Eastern Lokris, the western Peloponnese, and Aitolokarnania are the only areas where the rite was more systematically applied during the Early Iron Age.⁹³

Secondary Cremation

North Athens. Cremation had not been completely abandoned in the Kerameikos in LG II, as evidence suggests that it had been in the Agora and the Areiopagos (see online appx., table 1). There were a few secondary as well as primary cremations. Grave G 6 seems to have been a double burial, containing a skeleton of an adult together with a metal vase that held cremated bones. There may also have been a double burial in Grave G 55: a poorly preserved adult skeleton, accompanied by a lead vessel with remains of small bones, was placed inside an 11 cm deep hole between the skull and the grave's sidewall. Under the lead vase, a clay vessel was placed upside down together with ashes.

The secondary cremations, detected in Kriez Street, formed part of the extended necropolis over Dipylon and Eleutherias Square.⁹⁴ Most of the Kriezi Late Geometric burials placed in simple shafts were found disturbed, and therefore their type could not be determined. An adult secondary cremation with a bronze cauldron serving as an urn is the only unlooted LG IIB burial (Grave 45). A bronze cauldron was found inside a shaft of the first half of the eighth century, which also contained an iron sword (Grave 26). A third example was mentioned in association with Grave 67.

An isolated, disturbed secondary cremation placed inside a neck-handled amphora sealed by a plate was excavated at Dimophontos Street.⁹⁵

Seven urns came to light 2 km northwest of Dipylon, in the space adjacent to the "Sacred House" at the site of the Academy of Plato. According to the excavator, one of them contained the cremated remains of an adult. Northeast of this edifice, the excavator reported another adult secondary cremation inside a large krater found in association with the adult *enchytrismos* mentioned above. A secondary cremation and two inhumations were included among the group of Late Geometric adult burials along the "teichion," south of the "Sacred House."⁹⁶

In the wider area of the Academy of Plato, at Mitrodorou and Geminou Streets, two Late Geometric graves were discovered within a necropolis with 21 later burials (Graves T8, K4). A fragmentary krater containing cremated remains was found lying on its side, together with a pithos urn sealed with a louterion.⁹⁷

South Athens. Whereas inhumations predominated in north Athens, the record from particular burial sites in south Athens shows an insistence on cremation (see online appx., table 1). The still-unpublished necropolis at Kavalotti Street forms a characteristic case (fig. 6).⁹⁸ The excavation reports published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* provide the main information, while the archives kept in the Athens Archaeological Society offer additional valuable details.⁹⁹ An ancient road leading

Late Geometric graves were found in Tsoka Street (Papageli 1997, 58), as well as 400 m from the sanctuary (Whitley 2003–2004, 7).

⁸⁹ Alexandri 1967b.

⁹⁰ Papageli 1992. The clay pomegranate might point to a maiden (Vizyinou 2010, 313).

⁹¹ Stavropoulos 1958, 9.

⁹² Vizyinou 2010, 58.

⁹³ Seleku 2014, esp. 278–79.

⁹⁴ Alexandri 1968d, 1968f.

⁹⁵ Alexandri 1969.

⁹⁶ Stavropoulos 1958, 9; 1959, 9–10.

⁹⁷ Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978.

⁹⁸ Stavropoulos 1965a; Vizyinou 2010, 186–92.

⁹⁹ The information provided here derives from Vizyinou (2010), who consulted the archives of the Athens Archaeological Society.

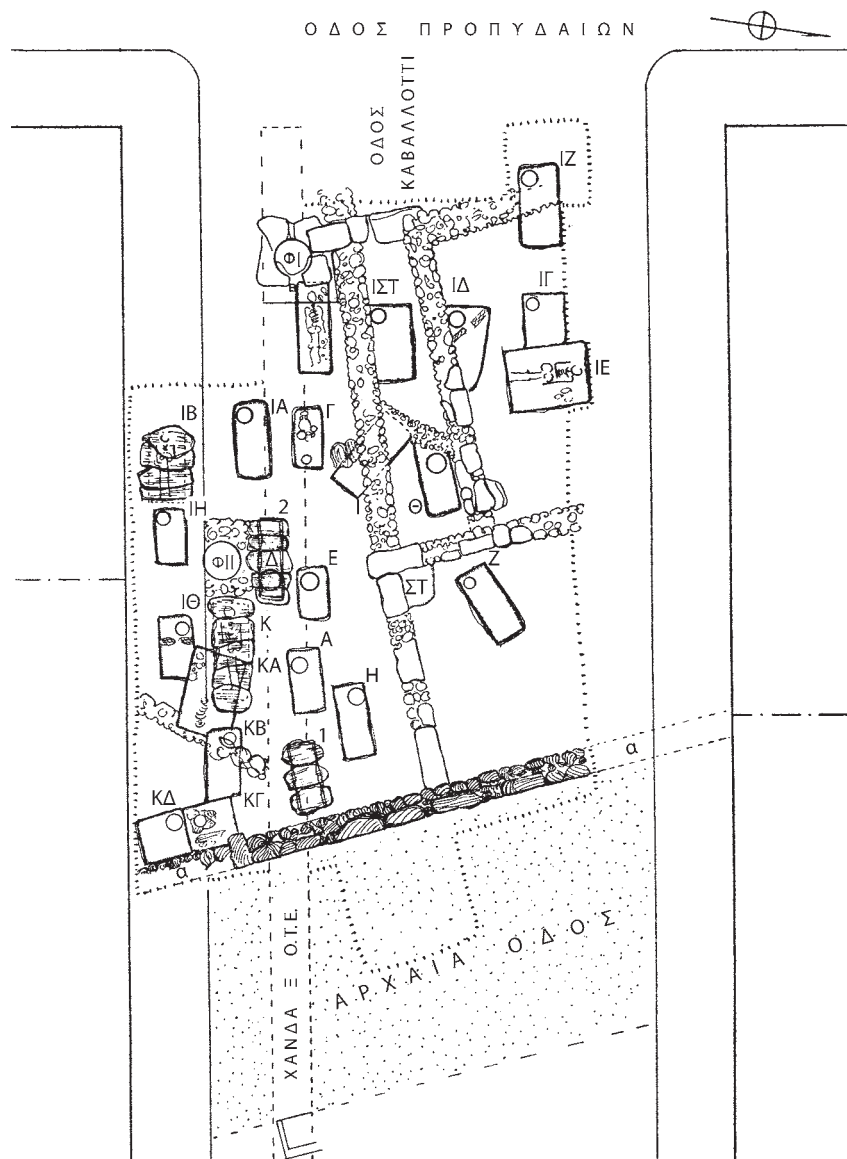


FIG. 6. Plan of the necropolis at Kavalotti Street, with grave numbers marked (after a drawing by E. Spathari; Stavropoulos 1965a, fig. 25).

from the Acropolis to the Alade Gates and the Phaleron port bordered the necropolis to the east.¹⁰⁰ The earliest burials are Early Geometric and the latest Late Geometric.¹⁰¹ Five out of the seven Late Geometric burials were secondary cremations inside neck-handled amphoras, while in one case a shoulder-handled amphora was used. The urns were placed inside long shafts furnished almost exclusively with vases.

The explored part of the necropolis contained only two Late Geometric inhumations (Graves K, 1).¹⁰² Grave 1 preserved no skeletal remains. Instead, the lower part of an amphora, not placed inside a separate trench or a hole, contained weathered bones together with soil and a bone seal depicting men taming a horse, but no ashes. Its upper part has been carefully removed. According to the excavator, if the bones were human,

¹⁰⁰ Miliadis 1955, 43–4; Stavropoulos 1965a, 79.

¹⁰¹ Stavropoulos 1965a, 76.

¹⁰² Viziinou 2010, 192.

they could represent a redeposition.¹⁰³ The exceptional furnishing of the grave points to a young maiden.

Part of the necropolis extending along Erechtheiou Street contained adult secondary cremations.¹⁰⁴ Two Late Geometric inhumations included metal jewelry (Graves A, B).¹⁰⁵ Four additional burials (Graves A, B, Γ, Δ) were found farther southwest of that group, but they have not been published in any detail. Except for a Sub-Mycenaean inhumation (Grave Γ), the rest are dated by the excavator to the Geometric period. According to the published plan, Graves A and B are secondary cremations inside shafts of small dimensions, possibly indicating an earlier rather than a Late Geometric date, while Grave Δ was a disturbed secondary cremation placed in a longer shaft.¹⁰⁶ An imprecisely dated, richly furnished Late Geometric inhumation (Grave Θ2), found together with another possibly Late Geometric disturbed burial, should belong to the same medium-sized necropolis.¹⁰⁷ This must also be the case of the isolated LG Ib/Ia secondary cremation found at the neighboring Garivaldi, Sofroniskou, and Fenaretis Streets (Grave 6).¹⁰⁸ Part of the same necropolis was detected at Parthenonos Street. Most of the discovered nine Geometric burials were, however, destroyed.¹⁰⁹

Farther southeast of the Acropolis, a number of Late Geometric burials, possibly part of a small plot and not a medium-sized necropolis,¹¹⁰ came to light in Dimitrakopoulou Street (fig. 7).¹¹¹ Most of the LG IIB burials were disturbed. Based on the published plan and the available information, some secondary cremations are Late Geometric. Grave XI is a secondary cremation, but the burial types of the other graves cannot be determined.¹¹² Two secondary cremations found near the Dimitrakopoulou Street plot should belong to the same necropolis (Grave III).¹¹³

Another plot, formed of three Late Geometric burials, was discovered at 12–14 Meidani Street.¹¹⁴ A secondary cremation (Grave 11) was exceptional in its furnishing.¹¹⁵ It is unknown whether two richly furnished long shafts contained inhumations or secondary cremations (Graves 8, 10). Cremation seems to have been favored also for the adult deceased of the burial groups excavated in the area of Kynosarges. Primary cremations dominate, but some secondary cremations exist as well.

Attica. The insistence on secondary cremation is attested at several sites in wider Attica (see online appx., table 2). In Phaleron, for example, although primary cremations are more numerous, a LG IIB amphora served as an urn for an adult cremation.¹¹⁶

In southern Attica, the necropolis of Trachones in the area of modern Alimos is of special interest because of the types of cremation employed there.¹¹⁷ The excavator describes it as an adult necropolis where all the deceased have been cremated. Except for several primary cremations that are unusual in that the bodies were not fully cremated, the rest are secondary cremations. Their characteristics point to child *enchytrismoι*, but their contents raise doubts.¹¹⁸ Except for a single case that the excavator linked to an adult,¹¹⁹ no information is provided on the age of the cremated deceased in the rest of the urns.

In Argyroupoli, excavations uncovered five eighth-century secondary cremations that seem to represent a family group.¹²⁰ Only Grave 3 might belong to LG II.

An extended necropolis in use from the Geometric period to the fourth century B.C.E. came to light in the area of Elliniko. The preliminary report mentions two bronze cauldrons, which might represent Late Geometric adult secondary cremations.¹²¹

In Mesogeia, a few secondary cremations are included among the dominant LG II inhumations of the extended necropolis of Merenda discussed above. The remains of three of the cremations were placed inside bronze cauldrons (Graves 5, 23, 37). The evidence from the Southeast Necropolis differs in several important

¹⁰³ Stavropoulos 1965a, 79.

¹⁰⁴ Alexandri 1968b.

¹⁰⁵ Stavropoulos 1965b.

¹⁰⁶ Philippaki 1966.

¹⁰⁷ Miliadis 1955.

¹⁰⁸ Alexandri 1968c.

¹⁰⁹ Alexandri 1967c.

¹¹⁰ Whitley 1991, 66.

¹¹¹ Alexandri 1970; Nikopoulou 1970.

¹¹² According to the published plan (Alexandri 1970, 56, fig. 14), Graves XI, VII, and VIII are long shafts each containing a pit for the placement of the urn. However, Grave VIII appears on the plan a second time to show that it is an irregular pit with bones and that it is located inside the rectangular Grave VII.

¹¹³ Vavritsas 1970a, fig. 14; Penna 1981.

¹¹⁴ Stavropoulos 1964, 60.

¹¹⁵ Xagorari 1996, 86, 92–3.

¹¹⁶ Kourouniotis 1911, 246–48.

¹¹⁷ Geroulanos 1973.

¹¹⁸ Cavanagh 1977, 383; Alexandridou 2012, 47.

¹¹⁹ Burial Ξ10 (Geroulanos 1973, 7–9).

¹²⁰ Tsirivakos 1968, 112, pl. 58a.

¹²¹ Whitley 2003–2004, 8.

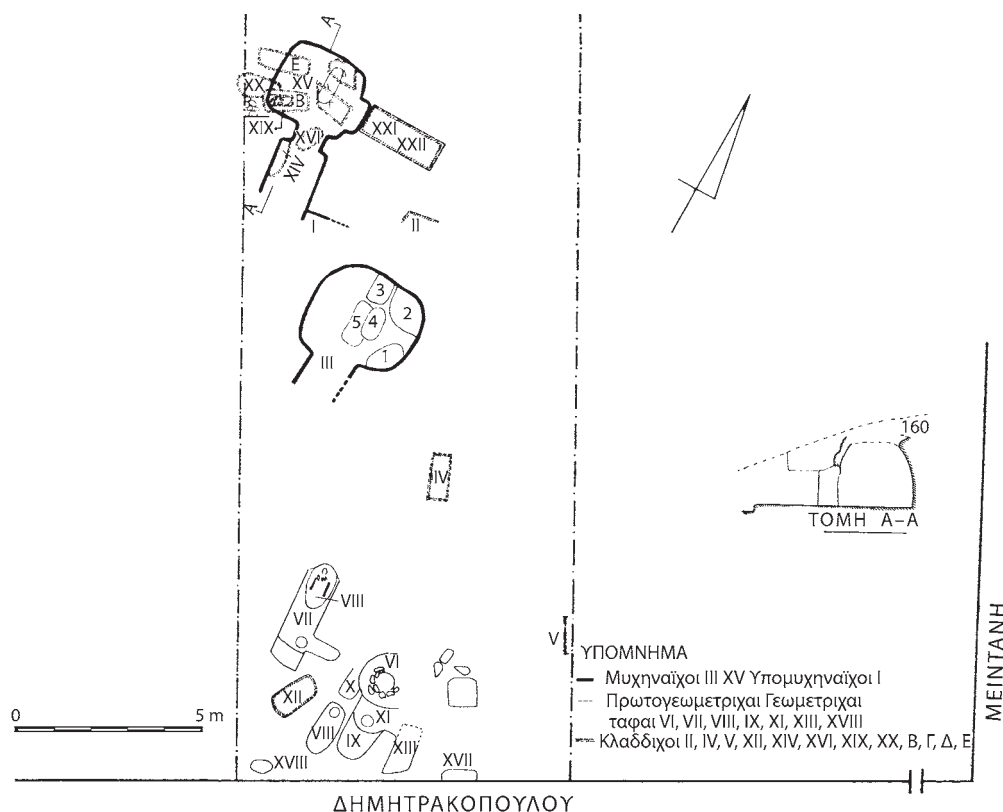


FIG. 7. Plan of the necropolis at Dimitrakopoulou Street (after Alexandri 1970, fig. 14).

respects. No inhumations were reported, but it is possible that some of the vases contained cremated remains. The earliest five have been roughly dated to the eighth century.¹²² Secondary cremation is also attested in the necropolis that extends west of the modern “lake of equestrian games” in the same area.¹²³

Despite the almost complete dominance of inhumations, a few LG IIB secondary cremations were reported in Thorikos (Graves 121, 122, 139).

At the site of Souli in Marathon, 200 m south of an archaic cemetery, 26 graves dating from the eighth to the fifth century B.C.E. have been explored. Late Geometric *enchytrismoι* and secondary cremations were attested, but no specific details on the number, type, chronology, or finds from the burials were provided.¹²⁴ Geometric secondary cremations came to light along Marathonos Avenue in the area of Nea Makri. Specific details on their chronology are also lacking.¹²⁵

Finally, in Palaia Kokkinia, a recently explored plot contained six secondary cremations inside shaft graves; no other burials were mentioned by the excavator.¹²⁶

Primary Cremation

Athens. Unlike inhumations and secondary cremations, the number of primary cremations is rather limited (see online appx., table 1). A few examples can be found among the dominant inhumations in the large necropoleis. Some are known from the Kerameikos (Graves G 5, G 34, hS 207), even though their type has not been clearly determined in all cases. An isolated primary cremation is known from the cemetery at the corner of Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets, while one more is reported to be situated below a later archaic burial (Grave 7) in Sapphous Street.¹²⁷

¹²² Argyropoulos and Sklavos 2003.

¹²³ Petrou and Pitsikoulis 2003.

¹²⁴ Pitt 2011, 44.

¹²⁵ Oikonomakou 2001–2004, 388.

¹²⁶ Y. Sykka, “Το αρχαίο νεκροταφείο Πειραιά αποκαλύπτεται,” *Kathimerini*, 13 January 2012, www.kathimerini.gr/447737/article/politismos/arxeio-politismoy/to-arxaio-nekrotafeio-peiraia-apokalyptetai.

¹²⁷ Alexandri 1977.

But apart from these isolated cases, an exclusive use of primary cremation for adults within the same burial plot is not commonly attested in Athens and Attica. An exception can be found in part of the Kynosarges necropolis, excavated in Theophilopoulou Street, where some burials have been described as primary cremations.¹²⁸ Since all were found plundered, their dating is insecure.¹²⁹ Only one seems to belong to the very end of the eighth century (Grave 7). In the wider area of Kynosarges, even though a number of LG I inhumations have been detected, those of the second half of the eighth century are described by the excavator as primary cremations.¹³⁰

Attica. In the rest of Attica, the widespread use of this type of cremation is attested at only a few burial sites, often in combination with secondary cremations (see online appx., table 2). Adult primary cremations are almost equal in number to inhumations in the necropolis of Palaio Phaleron.¹³¹ The prevalence of primary cremation is attested at Kalyvia in the Mesogeia Plain,¹³² as well as in the large necropolis of Oinoe in Marathon, where primary cremations date to the transition from the eighth to the seventh century.¹³³ The only contemporary inhumation belongs to an old adult male and was marked by a heap of stones (Grave 6). The same type of evidence comes from a plot in Acharnai, which revealed many poorly furnished primary cremations (fig. 8).¹³⁴

In the necropolis of Trachones, a peculiar type of primary cremation was employed.¹³⁵ Some of the graves contained the remains of bodies that had not been fully cremated. The corpses had been cremated outside the graves and then were placed in the graves in an attempt to reconstruct the form of the dead body; the arms and legs, however, were missing. This type of primary cremation is not attested elsewhere in Attica.

Isolated primary cremations, often not securely identified as such, are reported from the Southeast Ne-



FIG. 8. Plan of the primary cremations in the plot at Dekeleias and Dimosthenous Streets at Acharnai (after Platonos-Giota 2004, plan 2).

cropolis of Vari (Grave 37a),¹³⁶ from Ayios Panteleimon at Anavyssos (Graves 12/73, 20/73), and from Nea Makri (Grave 4). A primary cremation linked to an offering trench (E I 1/Cremation 1) is the earliest of the 10 primary cremations explored at Chalandri, a few kilometers north of Athens. The rest span the seventh century B.C.E. A LG IIb sacrificial pyre was also found in the same plot.¹³⁷

Close examination of all available LG II evidence shows that in burial groups in the northern part of Athens the adult deceased were almost always inhumed. The same burial treatment was used for the adults of the large LG II necropoleis of Anavyssos, Merenda, Thorikos, and Eleusis in the Attic countryside, as well as for adults in medium-sized cemeteries or smaller plots, such as those at Merenda and Palaia Kokkinia. A greater variation is observed in the burial grounds of southern Athens—except on the south slope of the Acropolis—as well as in the Attic countryside, even though the evidence is often incomplete or summarily published. Cremation continued to be widely used for adult deceased in several burial sites even within Athens. Secondary cremations predominated, but there were some rare cases of burial grounds where primary cremation was selected.

¹²⁸ Alexandri 1968g, 1972c. For the most recent finds from the area, see also Eliopoulos 2010.

¹²⁹ Alexandri 1972a.

¹³⁰ For Grave VI at Vouliagmenis, Trivonianiou, and Eupomou Streets, see Alexandri 1972b. For a grave at 23–25 Aristonikou and Charvouri Streets, see Alexandri 1973–1974.

¹³¹ Pelekidis 1916, 17–18.

¹³² Tsaravopoulos 2001–2004; Tsaravopoulos and Papathanasiou 2009, 2013.

¹³³ Arapogianni 1985, 1987.

¹³⁴ Platonos-Giota 2004, 119.

¹³⁵ Geroulanos 1973.

¹³⁶ The type of the burial is assumed on the basis of the vases found burned and broken in its interior (Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984, 30).

¹³⁷ Pologgiorgi 2003–2009, 182–92.

IDENTIFYING THE DECEASED

The identification of the age and gender of the deceased is a complicated task, mainly because of the lack of osteological analysis of the excavated burials included in this study.¹³⁸ The physical remains from only a few sites have been examined: the graves of the Areiopagos,¹³⁹ those of the Tholos Cemetery in the Agora,¹⁴⁰ and some in the Kerameikos.¹⁴¹ In wider Attica, osteological studies have been carried out on some graves from Thorikos¹⁴² and the West Necropolis of Eleusis.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, these studies, done many decades ago, present problems because of the reliability of the methods used by physical anthropologists at the time. Thus, it is uncertain whether the estimated age and gender are accurate, so that the social structure of the Early Iron Age plots is difficult to determine.¹⁴⁴ For these reasons, the human remains of the Early Iron Age burials of the Athenian Agora have been reexamined.¹⁴⁵ The most recent osteological analyses concern the burials of the necropolis at Oinoe, published in detail in 1985,¹⁴⁶ as well as those found in 1995 in the medium-sized necropolis of Nea Makri.¹⁴⁷

Except in the few cases when osteological information is available, the gender and age of the deceased are often assumed by the excavators on the basis of various criteria, including the dimensions of the grave or the scenes decorating the offered vases. In many cases,

the identification of the deceased is not justified and remains problematic.¹⁴⁸

Kterismata have emerged as one of the main tools for determining the identity of the dead.¹⁴⁹ The identification of males or females on the basis of the grave assemblages was commonplace in older research, and these identifications are still retained in modern scholarship, even though the relevant methodological issues have been addressed.¹⁵⁰ A recent study is characteristic in this regard: after an evaluation of all the earlier relevant studies¹⁵¹ and all the applicable parameters, grave offerings are still used as a method for determining the gender and the age of the deceased in an attempt to offer a more secure result.¹⁵² The choice of the grave offerings is thought to have been determined by a variety of factors related to the “social persona” of the deceased, which cannot be securely identified when the osteological analysis is lacking and the archaeological data remain incomplete.¹⁵³ Despite the problems with the evidence, there have been a number of serious scholarly attempts aimed at defining a “gender exclusive symbolic grave assemblage,”¹⁵⁴ such as Langdon’s contribution to the identification of young females on the basis of a specially chosen funerary assemblage.¹⁵⁵ However, the identity of the deceased cannot be based solely on grave offerings. And even though problems concerning the reliability of the results of early physical analysis remain,¹⁵⁶ recent studies have rightly underlined the importance of osteological studies.¹⁵⁷

Within the framework of this attempt to explain the variability of the Late Geometric burial record in Athens and Attica, the identification of the deceased is crucial. Unfortunately, the available osteological data are limited, but I have tried to use them in the most

¹³⁸ For a brief discussion of the available osteological data from Early Iron Age Attic graves and the problems of interpretation, see Whitley 1991, 64–5. On the use of osteological studies in archaeology, see MacKinnon 2007.

¹³⁹ The osteological remains have been examined by Angel (Brann 1960, 402 n. 1).

¹⁴⁰ Angel 1939, 1945.

¹⁴¹ Graves G 10, G 21, G 26, G 28, G 59, G 61, G 62, G 79, G 80, G 83, G 90, G 93, G 94, G 95. The bones have been examined by E. Breitingner (Kübler 1954, 26). Von Freytag (1974) gives the impression, but does not explicitly state, that the bone remains of Graves VDak 1 and VDak 2 have also been analyzed.

¹⁴² Graves 84, 91, 136.

¹⁴³ Angel examined the bones of Burial A1 (Mylonas 1975, 176–77, 257–58, 306).

¹⁴⁴ Whitley 1991, 64–5.

¹⁴⁵ Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, 15 n. 25. The new results will be published by Liston (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁶ The anthropological study has been done by S. Manolis, a biologist from the University of Athens (Arapogianni 1985, 221 n. 40).

¹⁴⁷ A. Papathanasiou examined the bones (Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704 n. 3).

¹⁴⁸ Stavropoulos’ (1956, 49–50) identification of the deceased in the Academy of Plato is characteristic of this approach.

¹⁴⁹ For the history of research related to *kterismata*, see Viziinou 2010, 15–29.

¹⁵⁰ Langdon 2005, 2; Shepherd 2013, 547–49 (with detailed bibliography). For the study of gender in mortuary archaeology, see Foxhall 2013, 61–4; Sofaer and Sørensen 2013.

¹⁵¹ See, e.g., Strömberg 1993.

¹⁵² Viziinou 2010.

¹⁵³ For the definition of the term “social persona,” see Binford 1971, 17.

¹⁵⁴ Langdon 2005, 20.

¹⁵⁵ Langdon 2005; 2008, 130–43.

¹⁵⁶ Morris 1992, 72–90.

¹⁵⁷ Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, esp. 32–3.

productive way possible. That is, when physical information is missing, the grave assemblage is used as an indicator of the identity of the deceased, but only in very particular cases, such as burials of young women. In some instances, the information provided by the excavators is combined with the burial's characteristics. On this basis, a series of observations can be made.

Children/Subadults/Adolescents

The application of secondary cremation could have been dictated by the age of the deceased. This seems to be implied by the cremated remains placed inside a skyphos-krater found in the Nea Makri necropolis, which according to the osteological analysis belongs to an adolescent (Grave 16).¹⁵⁸ The criterion of age seems to have also been employed in the case of the cremated deceased in Meidani Street.¹⁵⁹ Despite the lack of bioarchaeological study in the latter case, the furnishing of the urn amphora, including some clay figurines, seems to indicate a subadult rather than an adult.¹⁶⁰

The evidence from other sites is more complicated to assess because of the incompleteness of the archaeological record and the lack of scientific analysis. Nevertheless, some observations can be attempted. In the Anavyssos necropolis, amphoras with cremated remains were put outside a few graves (Graves 3α, 9α).¹⁶¹ The amphoras were lying on their sides, and one was surrounded by stones (Grave 3α/73). A pitcher, serving as a cremation urn, was placed over a grave with multiple burials (Grave 9α/73). The peculiar position of these urns outside graves brings to mind child *enchytrismoι*. They contained, however, cremations, and they seem to refer to deceased of a particular age class, most likely older children or adolescents. As far as the gender is concerned, the pitcher of Grave 9α/73 could contain a young female, if indeed this shape carried the assumed gender connotations.¹⁶²

The Anavyssos urns should be discussed in relation to the richest evidence from Trachones. The lack of osteological analysis does not allow for identifying the age of the dead in this necropolis. But the application

of secondary cremation, while the urns were furnished with shapes typical for child *enchytrismoι*, is not suggestive of neonates. This could also be the case of the six urns with secondary cremations detected on a low mound northeast of the "Sacred House" at the site of the later Academy of Plato.¹⁶³

In Attica, children could be cremated when they reached the age of 7 or 9 years old.¹⁶⁴ It is then possible that the above-mentioned secondary cremations represent young deceased in the transition from childhood to adulthood receiving a burial treatment that combined elements of child and adult rites. Although only in the case of the Nea Makri plot is the use of secondary cremation for subadults osteologically confirmed, the extensive necropoleis of Anavyssos and Trachones seem to provide positive evidence for a similar application of this rite.

The above assumptions further strengthen the view that in Early Iron Age Attica the rite of cremation was aimed not at distinguishing males from females or individuals of different social classes but rather at differentiating ages, since young children were very rarely cremated.¹⁶⁵ In the period under consideration, age rather than gender seems to have determined the choice of secondary cremation. Thus, age must have been largely responsible for the variability observed within the same necropolis or plot (e.g., Kerameikos, Anavyssos, Kephisia). The secondary cremations of Kriezi Street should be reconsidered in this new light. They did not belong to a separate plot of "a noble clan with a conservative outlook";¹⁶⁶ rather, they were part of an extensive necropolis that included the Dipylon plot and the graves of Eleutherias Square and must have contained subadults.

The use of secondary cremation for subadults was not exclusive. Several plots and necropoleis provide evidence that adolescents, like adults, were also inhumed. The maidens are the most characteristic cases.¹⁶⁷ Since the middle of the eighth century, their graves contained large quantities of clay vases, gold bands, hair spirals, horse pyxides, and specific clay objects, such as model pomegranates and baskets. This furnishing

¹⁵⁸ Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704.

¹⁵⁹ Stavropoulos 1964, 60.

¹⁶⁰ Vizinou 2010, 403.

¹⁶¹ According to the published photograph (Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 83α), two amphoras have been placed in a comparable way outside Grave VII/73.

¹⁶² On the association of this shape with young unmarried females, see Vlachou (forthcoming).

¹⁶³ Stavropoulos 1956.

¹⁶⁴ Pomadère 2005, 159.

¹⁶⁵ De Polignac 2005, 175, 179; Etienne 2005, 188.

¹⁶⁶ Coldstream 2003, 98.

¹⁶⁷ For a detailed catalogue of these graves, see Langdon 2008, 132–33, table 3.1.

alluded to their age, elite class, and unfulfilled marital status.¹⁶⁸ On this basis, some LG II burials can be assigned to maidens.¹⁶⁹ A similar identification can be suggested for the inhumations containing large pitchers. This particular vase form has been similarly recognized as a female gender indicator with a nuptial use comparable to that of the *loutrophoros*.¹⁷⁰

Unlike adults and adolescents and like maidens, children were buried and not burned. Clay figurines are distinctive offerings for children. Their burials could receive many grave gifts, including jewelry, which in many cases marked them as the richest in their plots. This reality clearly underlines the well-discussed polarity between adults and children within the frame of the observed fall in quality and quantity of *kterismata* in the latter part of the eighth century.¹⁷¹

Whereas the secondary cremations and inhumations discussed above correspond with specific age groups, it is more difficult to conclude whether the extremely rare cases of inhumations inside vessels were dependent on age criteria. The large pithos from Dipylon is among the latest burials of the plot, marking the transition from the Geometric to the Early Archaic period. Its date could provide a hint as to why this burial type was chosen if the evidence from Nea Makri is taken into consideration, but this would be sheer speculation. The amphoras from the Academy of Plato and south of the Acropolis seem to have been carefully chosen, bearing a particular iconographic theme on their necks. The warriors might allude to a male deceased. But the burials lack any other relevant references. The size of the amphoras excludes the possibility that they accommodated adults, unless they contained inhumed remains in a secondary deposition. Especially given that many child *enchytrismo*i were discovered in the same plots, it is more probable that the amphoras contained subadults. In that case, the iconography of the vessels could refer to a potential, imaginative identity that because of an early death was not fulfilled, as in the case of the maiden burials.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Langdon 2005; 2008, 139–42.

¹⁶⁹ Athens: Kerameikos, Graves G 50, VDak 1; Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets, Grave V/VI; Kotzia Square, Grave 72; Kynosarges, Vouliagmenis, Trivonianou, and Eupompou Streets, Grave XII. Attica: Spata, Grave 3; Eleusis, South Necropolis, Graves 21, 37; Chatzidaki Street, Grave 2.

¹⁷⁰ Vlachou (forthcoming).

¹⁷¹ De Polignac 1996, 203; Whitley 1996, 2015.

¹⁷² Whitley 1996, 2002.

Adults

Inhumed adults can be identified on the basis of the dimensions of their graves.¹⁷³ If a physical examination is lacking, their gender can be determined only in very particular cases on the basis of the grave offerings and urns. More specifically, weapons have been considered indicators of male deceased. “Warrior graves” characterized by the deposition of armor as grave offerings ceased to exist in Athens from the second quarter of the eighth century.¹⁷⁴ The disappearance of armor at that time has been interpreted as reflecting a change in funerary rituals or in the mentality of the elite within the frame of the new polis ideology.¹⁷⁵

A MG II grave is the latest of this type in the Kerameikos (G 23).¹⁷⁶ A sword belongs to a Late Geometric secondary cremation in Kriez Street (Grave 26). The latest “warrior grave” has been detected in the necropolis of Kephisia (fig. 9), where the sword accompanies an inhumed adult. Inhumations with armor are rare in Athens. Two instances date to the Middle Geometric period,¹⁷⁷ while a sword has been found in a LG Ia inhumation in the Dipylon plot (Grave 4). Unlike the swords found “killed” around the necks of urns from earlier periods, the weaponry in Late Geometric inhumations is placed together with the deceased.

The Kephisia burial is unique as the latest known example of this type in Athens and Attica. The sword may not have necessarily referred to the military activities of the departed.¹⁷⁸ The presence of a Mycenaean heirloom in one of the burials of the necropolis could imply that the sword was a family relic chosen to follow a male member of the community.¹⁷⁹ In any case, the weapon must have incorporated particular funerary symbolism with strong gender connotations.¹⁸⁰ The deposition of an iron blade inside another inhumation of the same necropolis seems to have carried compa-

¹⁷³ The length of the adult graves is more than 1.50 m. On the definition of age groups in association with grave measurements, see Houby-Nielsen 1995, 177–78, appx. 2; 2000, 152.

¹⁷⁴ Whitley 2002; Marini 2003; D’Onofrio 2011.

¹⁷⁵ Snodgrass 1980, 100; Marini 2003, 39.

¹⁷⁶ Marini 2003, 38.

¹⁷⁷ A sword is known from a Middle to Late Geometric burial, possibly an inhumation, from Kavalotti Street (Stavropoulos 1965a, 78), and another has been found in a MG I grave (hS 109) in the Kerameikos (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 4, 7–8).

¹⁷⁸ Whitley 2002, esp. 217–19.

¹⁷⁹ Weapons were moving from generation to generation, as attested in the Homeric epics (Marini 2003, 25).

¹⁸⁰ Whitley 2002; Marini 2003, 26.

rable symbolism (Grave 53). The exceptional contents of these two burials could mirror the conservatism of the local elite at that time residing in Kephisia.

Iron knives accompanied several LG II burials.¹⁸¹ They could be offered to adult males, as indicated by the Areiopagos and Agora burials,¹⁸² as well as to children.¹⁸³ Two iron knives were found in the grave of a young woman in the Kerameikos.¹⁸⁴ This evidence shows that knives included in grave assemblages were not necessarily age or gender indicators.¹⁸⁵ However, when found inside or more securely outside cremation urns, knives have been considered to indicate male burials.¹⁸⁶ On this basis, Graves IΓ, IΔ, and possibly IZ, all secondary cremations, have been assigned to male adults.¹⁸⁷

Like weapons, bronze cauldrons used as urns have been considered gender indicators. Unlike in Eretria, where the cremated remains in cauldrons belonged to both men and women,¹⁸⁸ in Athens they have been thought of as belonging solely to men.¹⁸⁹ The number of cauldrons is limited, with the majority coming from Athens. The evidence is scarcer in the rest of Attica, where only four examples are known, all discovered in large necropoleis.

The choice of this burial type bears strong heroic connotations rooted in the Homeric narrations.¹⁹⁰ The bronze cauldron is a prestigious object that asserts the aristocratic status of the deceased.¹⁹¹ Returning to the role of age in defining the application of a particular rite, one wonders whether the deposition of the cremated remains inside a cauldron could denote older adult males who were respected and therefore were recognized as ancestors by their descendants.

Although they have attracted much scholarly attention,¹⁹² bronze cauldrons are scarce in compari-

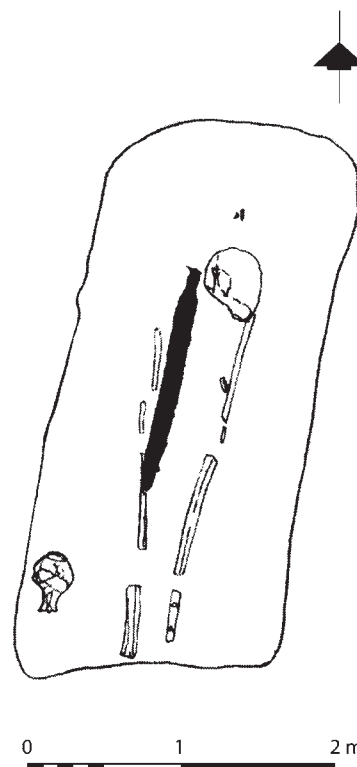


FIG. 9. The “warrior’s grave” of the Kephisia necropolis (after Skilardi 2011, fig. 18).

son with neck-handled amphoras, which were largely favored as urns for secondary cremations in the LG II period. The neck-handled amphoras for which osteological data are available have been found to contain the remains of males, with the exception of a single female (Kerameikos Grave G 18). Based on this evidence and on the ratio of female to male burials at the time (1:2), the neck amphora has been accepted as a gender indicator for male deceased.¹⁹³ However, when placed inside inhumations as grave offerings, neck amphoras may appear in either male or female adult burials.¹⁹⁴ It has been argued that when this type of urn is combined with a kantharos, it belongs to a male deceased.¹⁹⁵ However, its interpretation as a male sex identifier is called into question by the lack of bioarchaeological analysis in the majority of the cases and the dominant use of this clay form as a *kerisma* for both males and females.

¹⁸¹ Unlike swords, knives are not considered weapons (Kübler 1954, 351; Strömberg 1993, 70).

¹⁸² Grave E 19:3 in the Areiopagos belongs to a 24-year-old male; Graves X and XIX of the Tholos Cemetery both belong to males, the latter being 30–35 years old.

¹⁸³ Kerameikos Grave G 50.

¹⁸⁴ Kerameikos VDak 1.

¹⁸⁵ Xagorari 1996, 64; Viziinou 2010, 300.

¹⁸⁶ Viziinou 2010, 336, 347–48.

¹⁸⁷ Viziinou 2010, 336, 347–48.

¹⁸⁸ Blandin 2007, 51–2.

¹⁸⁹ Morris 1987, 61.

¹⁹⁰ For the uses of the cauldron in Homer, see Coldstream 2011, 801.

¹⁹¹ Valenza Mele 1982; Blandin 2007, 49–51.

¹⁹² See, e.g., Whitley 1991, 163.

¹⁹³ Viziinou 2010, 324.

¹⁹⁴ Viziinou 2010, 301, 309.

¹⁹⁵ Viziinou 2010, 326.

Unlike the amphoras, the bronze cauldrons reveal a larger wealth investment combined with a heroic flavor. This does not necessarily link the clay urns of the Athenian necropoleis with deceased of low social status. Rather, the dedication of cauldrons on the Acropolis at the time indicates a change in the provision of wealth.¹⁹⁶ However, the use of bronze cauldrons for a few individuals in the distant Attic cemeteries may have been relevant to their importance for the local communities.

Old Adults

Age did not serve as a criterion solely for the burial treatment of adolescents. The single inhumation found at the necropolis of Oinoe belonged to an old adult. Dating to the late eighth or early seventh century B.C.E., it was found together with a significant number of contemporary primary cremations. The advanced age of the individual must have been the reason for its differentiation from the rest of the cremated dead, who, on the basis of the largely accepted interpretation of the seventh-century primary cremations, could have been adult men.¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, the earliest burial of the plot was a Middle Geometric inhumation. The deceased has been identified as a middle-aged female adult. The grave was marked by an enclosure formed of slabs, suggesting that special respect and attention were paid to her by her descendants. If the LG II older adult was a female, too, it might be possible that the choice of inhumation was dictated not only by her age but also by her gender.

Mothers Who Died in Childbirth(?)

Leaving aside age criteria, some burials with interesting—and not easily interpreted—characteristics allow the type of burial rite to be related to the circumstances of the individual's death. This is the case with the adult secondary cremation found together with six child urns at the site of the Academy of Plato.¹⁹⁸ Although the excavator's criteria for the identification of the adult deceased remain unknown, indeed this *enchytrismos* differs in its characteristics from the rest. The remains seem to have been inserted from the body of the amphora, whose broken part was thereafter covered with a basin. Interestingly, this burial finds

an exact counterpart in the necropolis of Trachones. Grave $\Xi 10$, an urn burial, contained ashes, as well as the remains of a skull, which allowed the deceased to be identified as an adult. It seems that the individual was partly cremated and inserted through the amphora's body.¹⁹⁹

If these two urns did not actually contain cremated subadults, as suggested for the rest of the examples from the same burial groups, then another possibility should be considered. If indeed the urns from the Academy of Plato and Trachones contained adults, they may have contained young mothers who died in childbirth or slightly after and were therefore laid to rest together with children. Although examples of burials of this type are not known from Attica, the case of the "Rich Athenian Lady" is relevant, even though the cremated remains of the mother were placed together in the urn with those of the fetus.²⁰⁰

It cannot be determined whether the deceased of Trachones who were not fully cremated could represent mothers who did not survive childbirth. The evidence of an early sixth-century grave of the North Necropolis of Vari might be an additional argument for the recognition of the partly cremated individuals of Trachones as mothers: it contained the remains of a partially cremated adult and a relief pithos furnished with miniature vessels and has been ascribed to a mother and child.²⁰¹

A few more cases from Athens and in particular the wider area of the Academy of Plato could be applicable to this line of interpretation. A simple shaft of small dimensions (1.68 x 0.95 m) excavated in Mitrodou and Geminou Streets contained a fragmentary krater (Grave K4) with cremated remains together with an *enchytrismos* inside a pithos (Grave T8). The pithos was lying on its side with its bottom cut and covered with a pyxis. A louterion with its handles and spout intentionally removed sealed its mouth.²⁰² If the pithos contained an infant, the krater may have held its mother, who could have died at birth. The louterion with the removed parts might be a further indication that the special conditions of their deaths demanded extra purification. The presence of four louteria inside

¹⁹⁹ Geroulanos 1973, 7–9.

²⁰⁰ Liston and Papadopoulos 2004.

²⁰¹ Alexandridou 2012, 48–9.

²⁰² Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978.

¹⁹⁶ Touloupa 1972; Scholl 2006, 49–61.

¹⁹⁷ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 357–59; D'Onofrio 1993, 150–51.

¹⁹⁸ Stavropoulos 1956, 50.

the archaic double burial of Vari points in the same direction.²⁰³

The urn burial of Kastorias Street is a more problematic case. The plot contained four child *enchytrismoi*. Three urns are mentioned as having been found together inside a simple shaft (Grave 22). A fragmentary hydria with bone remains was found together with a large amphora that contained seven drinking forms, as well as a third vessel representing a child's urn burial. The lower part of the hydria was broken and covered with a basin, like the urns with adults from the Academy of Plato and Trachones.²⁰⁴ The hydria could have held a mother buried together with an infant, but the large amphora cannot be easily explained. It can be assumed that more members of the same family were placed inside this shaft. The amphora could have held the corpse of an older child, who followed his mother and the infant in death.

Deceased of Particular Importance

If the age of the departed or the circumstances of death defined the choice of secondary cremation, it is more difficult to explain why only some of the burials in the same plots or necropoleis were primary cremations. Primary cremation became the dominant funerary rite for the adult population of Athens and Attica after ca. 700 B.C.E. Seventh-century cremations, mostly associated with offering trenches, have been interpreted as males.²⁰⁵ The observed "masculinization" of seventh-century Attic mortuary practices was followed by an absence of distinctive elements pointing to female graves.²⁰⁶ Since the adoption of this rite seems to have been relevant to the social status of the deceased, however, it is possible that male and female members of the elite were treated comparably.²⁰⁷

The primary cremations of the second half of the eighth century seem to be a prelude to the almost exclusive shift from inhumation to primary cremation by the early seventh. In particular cases, the latter might indicate a tendency for differentiation, which may have been linked to the status of the deceased. The primary cremation inside a long, deep shaft followed by an offering trench and a sacrificial pyre in

Chalandri strengthens this point. In contrast to the contemporary trenches from the Kerameikos, which were associated with inhumations, the scheme, which would prevail in seventh-century Athens, had already been adopted here.

Offering trenches were limited in the late eighth century. The Chalandri case is one example. Only two examples are known from the Kerameikos, one of which was linked to a child burial (G 57), unlike its seventh-century counterparts, which were always associated with adults. Sacrificial pyres were more common than trenches, with examples attested in both Athens and Attica.²⁰⁸ The pyres seem to have been chosen to accompany both male and female deceased, as indicated by the relevant evidence from the Tholos Cemetery in the Agora and from the necropolis at Erisychtonos and Nileos Streets. These special funerary ceremonies were addressed to deceased who deserved special attention independent of their gender and age.

SEEKING ANSWERS

Social complexity has been proposed as one of the main reasons behind funerary variability.²⁰⁹ According to the Saxe-Binford approach (sometimes called the Saxe-Goldstein approach), the degree of complexity of a community's sociopolitical organization is mirrored in its mortuary practice.²¹⁰ This model has also been applied to Late Geometric Athens.²¹¹ Indeed, changes in the mortuary record must reflect deeper changes in contemporary social forms rather than resulting from particular social tendencies and trends or ephemeral "fashions" rooted in emotional responses to death.²¹²

Morris employed mortuary variability as a medium for discerning the various social personae of the deceased.²¹³ According to Morris, the rise in the number of LG II burials and the inclusion of deceased of all age groups and of both genders in the burial grounds, combined with the increase in mortuary complexity, are suggestive of the genesis of the Athenian polis. The system of exclusion of *kakoi* from formal burial since the Protogeometric period greatly decreased in

²⁰³ Alexandridou 2012, 48–9.

²⁰⁴ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1987.

²⁰⁵ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 357–59; D'Onofrio 1993, 150–51.

²⁰⁶ De Polignac 1996, 202–4.

²⁰⁷ De Polignac 2005, 178–79.

²⁰⁸ E.g., at Labrika (Kakavogianni and Ntouni 2001–2004; Kakavogianni et al. 2009), Nea Makri, Thorikos, and Eleusis.

²⁰⁹ O'Shea 1984, 256–85.

²¹⁰ Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Rakita and Buikstra 2005.

²¹¹ Cavanagh 1977, 395.

²¹² Snodgrass 1971, 144–48.

²¹³ Morris 1987, 111–18.

the Late Geometric period, during which members of the lower classes were also receiving archaeologically visible burial.²¹⁴ For Morris, burial presupposed citizenship,²¹⁵ an assumption that has been heavily criticized.²¹⁶ These vivid transformations, repeated in the seventh century, although in a different form, cannot have simply resulted from dramatic social changes such as the rise and fall of the contemporary elite.²¹⁷

When compared with the historical evidence from Victorian England, the high number of LG II burials has been seen as the result of the adoption of elite burial methods by Attic nonelites and consequently of the introduction of mortuary innovations by the elite in an attempt to differentiate themselves.²¹⁸

Can the rise of LG II burials, however, signify that a larger part of the population was claiming formal burial by imitating the rite already imposed by some leading families?²¹⁹ The issue of expenditure for the burial rite is, as has already been discussed, more complex. Although poorly furnished inhumations with only a few clay vases are attested, in particular in the Attic countryside, it cannot be determined that they really belonged to individuals who were not members of the elite classes. In the case of several burial plots in Athens and in particular in its northern part, the drop in the number and quality of the furnishings in late eighth-century burials cannot be considered to indicate graves of deceased of low social status. This change should rather be connected with contemporary depositional practices and in particular with the appearance of dedications in the sanctuaries.²²⁰ The initiation of cult practices on the Acropolis since the beginning of the Late Geometric period, followed by the dedication of precious votives, such as bronze cauldrons,²²¹ are relevant to developments in the mortuary evidence. The sanctuary may have provided new conventions

to the elite groups living in its vicinity, aiming at their self-identification and the display of their status and wealth.²²²

It seems that the evidence from the Attic necropoleis allows insight into the horizontal dimension of the mortuary rites, which is often difficult to define or distinguish from vertical differentiations. The term is broad, but it has been mostly applied to kinship groups, clans, and various linear groupings.²²³ If the burial data have been correctly interpreted, the LG II funerary variability seems to reflect the impact of horizontal divisions on the burial rites, which should be taken into serious consideration and juxtaposed with the interpretations based on the vertical status dimension. Therefore, inclusive burial practices combined with variations in the treatment of the deceased should not be examined within the framework of the wider society but rather within the confines of kinship groups, which seem to have been seeking a wider representation of their members in their necropoleis.²²⁴

Kinship has been considered the basis for the organization of burial groups in Early Iron Age Attica. A kin group should be here understood as a unit of social organization that expanded beyond the borders of a nuclear family. Every elite member belonged to an *oikos*, which Homer described as an extended unit formed of more than one generation and related to a wider network of several *oikoi* interconnected via lineage.²²⁵ The Tholos Cemetery in the Agora has been considered the most securely identified case of a family grave plot,²²⁶ one whose funerary space is clearly delimited.²²⁷ A group of burials of the second half of the eighth century on the south bank of the Eridanos offers comparable evidence.²²⁸ Although the intentional assemblage of burials has been questioned,²²⁹ it seems

²¹⁴ The term "formal burial" has been applied by Morris (1987, 104–9) to archaeologically recognizable burials. "Informal burials," then, are not necessarily improperly made interments but ones that are archaeologically invisible.

²¹⁵ Morris 1987, 1995.

²¹⁶ See, e.g., Garland 1989; Humphreys 1990; Bintliff 1992; D'Onofrio and D'Agostino 1993; Papadopoulos 1993; Patterson 2006.

²¹⁷ Cavanagh 1977, 392.

²¹⁸ Laughy 2010, 43–50.

²¹⁹ Laughy 2010, 47.

²²⁰ Whitley 1991, 165.

²²¹ Touloupa 1972; Scholl 2006, 49–61.

²²² Scholl 2006, 129–30. On the issue of the early cult on the Acropolis, see van den Eijnde 2010, 343–53.

²²³ McHugh 1999, 40, 50.

²²⁴ For reflections of kinship groups in the distribution of burial space, see Whitley 1991, 66.

²²⁵ Morris 1987, 90–1; Ober 1989, 56; Whitley 1991, 66–7. For its association with the *genos*, see Bourriot 1976, 831; Whitley 1991, 66.

²²⁶ Despite the issues raised with regard to the reliability of the results of Angel's osteological analysis (Whitley 1991, 65).

²²⁷ Breder 2013, 6–7, 19.

²²⁸ Graves G 51–63 (Kübler 1954, 4, 13, 17–9, 21, 30; Humphreys 1980, 105; Breder 2013, 7–8).

²²⁹ Humphreys 1993, esp. 131.

rather safe to assume that their spatial distribution depended on kinship units even if they did not contain corporate descent groups.²³⁰

In the Attic Late Geometric burial sites, the choice of burial rite seems to have been primarily dictated by age, while in the cases of maidens and children it also defined the types of offerings. The circumstances of death may have been related to the funerary treatment of a particular deceased. However, gender did not play a role in this process, even though it influenced the selection of grave gifts or urns. In all cases, the distinction between adults and children, also emphasized by the reappearance of urn burials in the mortuary record, seems to have been of greater interest. Therefore, the variability in the types of burials attested in the extended reserved necropoleis in Athens and in particular in the Attic countryside reflects the various members of the kin groups, including not only adults but also subadults, children, and neonates.

Moving away from these large necropoleis, several burial sites, mostly in Athens (Kavalotti Street, Kynosarges), as well as in Attica (Acharnai), are characterized by an insistence on a specific rite—primary or secondary cremation—for all or almost all the deceased, without variation. The evidence from these sites might express the desire of particular lineage groups for differentiation.

The mortuary evidence shows that it was important for all members of late eighth-century households to receive formal burial. This full age structure characterizes the Sub-Mycenaean period, too.²³¹ The polarity between children and adults rather than males and females was prevalent during these periods.²³² The second peak in formal funerary “inclusiveness” is attested during the period that followed the Kleisthenic reforms.²³³ The funerary plan shows that in the early fifth century all members of the household were considered important for the preservation of the polis.²³⁴ Likewise, in the eighth century each person who received formal burial was thought crucial for the maintenance and further development of his or her kin.

The large necropoleis in Athens and Attica reflect the attention paid to the articulation of identity and the cohesion of kinship groups. The wide represen-

tation of their members seems to have been of high importance, with special care provided for particular deceased, such as young females. Their archaeological visibility in combination with the reappearance of small children in the burial groups reflects the recognition of their crucial role in the reproduction and continuity of the kin as generational links.²³⁵ It is interesting that the rite of inhumation was first used for women.²³⁶ The inhumation of women may reflect an attempt to preserve the female body as “eternally activated,”²³⁷ underlining the importance of the deceased. The fact that children are treated in the same way suggests that women must have held the main responsibility for the choice of burial rite, at least for the younger members of the community.²³⁸

It is tempting to place the increased visibility of burials and greater funerary variability (i.e., the presence of infants, subadults, and females in the burial groups) within the framework of the contemporaneous social transformations related to the birth of the polis. Both phenomena might represent the reaction on the part of elite kinship groups toward the changing social structure. The LG II funerary evidence might conceal an increased fear for the conservation and continuation of these lineage groups within the new social reality. Interestingly, the burial groups were competing within the framework of a particular, coherent ideological system without seeking to introduce alternative burial behaviors that could undermine it.²³⁹

By the early seventh century, this extended funerary representation of the members of a kin group came to an end. Females became invisible in the Attic mortuary record, and male adults, reappearing as rich banqueters with Homeric characteristics, were the only “survivals.”²⁴⁰ But that is yet another story.

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²³⁰ Whitley 1991, 66.

²³¹ Morris 1987, 61; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998.

²³² Whitley 2002, 227; 2015, 111–13.

²³³ Whitley 2001, 187.

²³⁴ Houby-Nielsen 1996b, 253.

²³⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 34–5.

²³⁶ Langdon 2008, 142; Kalaitzoglou 2010, 52.

²³⁷ Langdon 2008, 142.

²³⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1996b, 237–44; Whitley 1996, 230; Stears 1998; van Wees 1998; Golden 2004, 156–57.

²³⁹ The same pattern is attested during the ninth century (Whitley 1991, 162).

²⁴⁰ Houby-Nielsen 1992; 1995, 144–45; 1996b.

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Supplementary Content: Appendix

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Funerary Variability in Late Eighth-Century B.C.E. Attica (Late Geometric II)

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Appendix: Late Geometric II Burials in Athens and Attica

Table 1. List of Late Geometric II burials in Athens.

NORTHERN ATHENS														
	BURIAL	GRAVE TYPE	OT/SP	CONDITION	SEX/AGE	DATE	CLAY OR METAL VESSELS	FIGURINES	JEWELRY	ARMOR	OTHER FINDS	TOTAL JEWELRY	TOTAL POTTERY	REFERENCE
Areiopagos														
	E 19:3	I			M 24	LG IIa	trefoil oinochoe, oinochoe, 2 skyphoi, 2 kantharoi			i knife	scarab		6	Brann 1960, 403–7, fig. 1, pl. 88.
	E 19:2	I			child 6	LG IIa	skyphos	horse	br armlets		riveted i binding, glass bead		1	Brann 1960, 409–1, fig. 5, pl. 88.
	E 18:1	I			M 50	LG Ib/II	lid						1	Brann 1960, 411–12, fig. 6, pl. 88; 1962, 126.
	E 19:1	I			M 40	LG IIa	skyphos, kotyle						2	Brann 1960, 408–9, fig. 3, pl. 88; 1962, 126.
	N 21:6	I		D		LG IIa	lidded pyxis, pyxis, lid						3	Brann 1960, 412–13, pl. 88.
	N 11:1	I			F 10	LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, jug, three-handled cup						3	Brann 1960, 413–14, pl. 88.
	N 21-22:1	I		D		LG Ib/IIa								Shear 1940, 292, fig. 15; Brann 1962, 130.
	B 21:2	I		D	F?	LG IIb	olpe, skyphos, one-handled cup						3	Young 1951, 85–6, fig. 5, pl. 37b; Brann 1962, 125.
Tholos Cemetery Athenian Agora														
	XI	I	SP		M	LG IIb	2 neck-handled amphoras, 2 high-rimmed bowls, kantharos SP: hydria, 2 standed high-rimmed bowls,	SP: mourning woman, figurine		i knife			4	Young 1939, 44–55.

XII		SP	D		LG IIb	bowl, 2 cups, 2 skyphoi, jug, 2 oinochoai 3 standed bowls, 2 standed one- handled cups, skyphos, standed saucer, 4 lekythoi, askos	SP: bird, 2 dogs, horse, seated figure, arm, enthroned seated figure, chariot with charioteer, chariot	br bracelet		Young 1939, 55–67.
XIII	I		D	M	LG IIa	oinochoe			1	Young 1939, 67–71.
XIV	I			M young	LG IIa	oinochoe, skyphos			2	Young 1939, 71–3.
XV	I?		D		LG IIa	nh amphora, kantharos			2	Young 1939, 73–5.
XIX	I		D	M 30–35	LG IIb			i knife		Young 1939, 93–4.
XXI	I		D	F 50–55	LG IIb					Young 1939, 98.
XXIII	I		D		LG IIb	skyphos			1	Young 1939, 99.
XXIV	I		D	F	LG IIb					Young 1939, 100.
XXV	I				LG IIa	lidded oinochoe, tankard, skyphos, Argive monochrome aryballos			3	Young 1939, 101–3.

**Erisychtonos & Nileos
Str.**

I	SC?		D		LG IIa	2 high-rimmed bowls, trefoil oinochoe, amphora lekythos				Alexandri 1967a, 80, pl. 80γ.
II	I		D		LG					Alexandri 1967a, 80.
III	I		D		LG	sherds				Alexandri 1967a, 80.
IV	I		D		LG			g band		Alexandri 1967a, 80, pl. 78γ.

V-VI	I	SP		F*	LG IIa	3 pitchers, lidded pyxis (grave) 3 oinochoai, vase, baskets (SP)	2 g hair spirals, g ring	clay pomegranate (grave) 2 objects of triangular shape (SP)	3	9+	Alexandri 1967a, 80, pls. 80α, β, δ, ε, 81α.
VII	I	SP			LG IIa	2 plain skyphoi, 5 high-rimmed bowls, coarse jug, oinochoe, amphora	g band			10	Alexandri 1967a, 80, pls. 78δ, 79α, β, 80ζ.
XI	?		D		LG IIa	amphora, 2 high-rimmed bowls, skyphos, one-handled cup				5	Alexandri 1967a, 80, pls. 78β, 79δ, ε, 81γ.
XIV	I		D	F*	LG IIa	pitcher				1	Alexandri 1967a, 80, pl. 81δ.
32 Erisychtonos & Nileos Str.											
no.no.	?	SP?			LG	vases				6	Chatzipouliou 1992.
5 Dimophontos Str.											
no.no.	SC		D		LG IIb	nh amphora (urn), plate				1	Alexandri 1969.
24 Aktaiou Str.											
1	?		D		LG IIb	high-rimmed bowl, b oinochoe				2	Tsouklidou-Penna 1981.
2	?		D		LG IIb						Tsouklidou-Penna 1981.
3	?		D		G						Tsouklidou-Penna 1981.
Kerameikos											
G 5	PC		D		LG IIb	3 high-rimmed bowls				3	Kübler 1954, 213.

G 6	SC/I		D		LG IIb	b cauldron (urn), standed krater, plate		2	Kübler 1954, 214.
G 8	I?		D		LG				Kübler 1954, 215.
G 10	I		D	M	LG IIb	2 lidded high- rimmed bowls		2	Kübler 1954, 215.
G 16	I		D		LG IIb	pitcher, high- rimmed bowl		2	Kübler 1954, 220– 21.
G 17	I			child	LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, skyphos		2	Kübler 1954, 221.
G 21	I		D	M	LG IIa	kantharos, plate		2	Kübler 1954, 222.
G 26	I			F	LG IIa	skyphos, 2 plates		3	Kübler 1954, 227.
G 28	I			M	LG IIa	nh amphora, kantharos, 2 skyphoi, plate		5	Kübler 1954, 227– 28.
G 32	SC			F?	LG IIa	pitcher (urn), trefoil oinochoe, 2 lidded pyxides, 5 skyphoi		8	Kübler 1954, 230– 31.
G 33	I				LG IIb	lidded pitcher, high-rimmed skyphos		2	Kübler 1954, 231.
G 34	PC?				LG	2 nh amphoras, 4 skyphoi, kantharos		7	Kübler 1954, 231– 32.
G 35	SC			M?	LG	nh amphora (urn), skyphos (seal), trefoil oinochoe, 3 skyphoi, kantharos		6	Kübler 1954, 209, 232–33.
G 45	I		D	adult/adolescent	LG IIa	coarse jug, trefoil oinochoe		2	Kübler 1954, 239.
G 47	I	OF 1	D		LG IIa	4 standed lebetes, 2 kotylai, 2 trefoil oinochoai, 3 standed one- handled cups, 2 lids, standed plate		14	Kübler 1954, 240– 42.
G 49	?		D		LG IIa	3 kantharoi, 3 kalathoi, 2 high- rimmed bowls, trefoil oinochoe,	b bracelet, i knife	13	Kübler 1954, 242– 43.

G 50	I		child/F young	LG IIa	one-handed cup, 3 askoi pyxis, tankard, kalathos (coffin), tankard, nh amphora, kantharos, 3 skyphoi, pitcher, 3 high- rimmed bowls	2 birds (coffin), 3 horses	g band (coffin)	i knife	clay pomegranate, astragalos	9	Kübler 1954, 243– 45.
G 51	I	D	F	LG IIa						4	Kübler 1954, 244– 47.
G 53	I	D		LG IIb	high-rimmed bowl, krater				2 i plaques	2	Kübler 1954, 209, 248.
G 54	I	D	child/adolescent	LG IIb	2 high-rimmed bowls					2	Kübler 1954, 248– 49.
G 55	SC/I	D			lidded lead cauldron, high- rimmed bowl					2	Kübler 1954, 209, 249.
G 56	I		child	LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, 3 stande high- rimmed bowls, 6 one-handed cups, kantharos	bird			s chain	11	Kübler 1954, 249– 50.
G 57	I	OF 2	child	LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, 2 kantharoi					3	Kübler 1954, 250– 51.
					OF 2: 2 trefoil oinochoai, 3 one- handled cups, stande plate, nh amphora. Possibly: 4 stande dinoi, high-rimmed bowl, skyphos					13	Kübler 1954, 250– 51.
G 58	SC	D	M	LG IIb	b cauldron (urn) , nh amphora, 2 high-rimmed bowls, one- handled cup				i & b clamp, 6 i nails & clamps	4	Kübler 1954, 251– 52.
G 59	SC	D	M	LG IIa/b	nh amphora (urn), amphora, 2 high-rimmed bowls, trefoil oinochoe, lidded pyxis, b phiale					6	Kübler 1954, 252– 53.
G 60	I			LG							Kübler 1954, 253.
G 61	I		M	LG IIb							Kübler 1954, 253.

G 62	I		child	LG			Kübler 1954, 253.
G 63	I			LG IIb	2 standed high-rimmed bowls, skyphos	3	Kübler 1954, 254.
G 67	?	D	child?	LG IIb	2 high-rimmed bowls	2	Kübler 1954, 256.
G 73	PC?	D	child	LG IIb	oinochoe-lekythos, 2 skyphoi	3	Kübler 1954, 260.
G 78	I	D		LG IIb	lidded high-rimmed bowl	1	Kübler 1954, 262.
G 79	I		F	LG IIa	lidded pitcher, 2 skyphoi, lid, lidded high-rimmed bowl	5	Kübler 1954, 263.
G 80	I		F adolescent	LG		i pin	Kübler 1954, 263.
G 83	I		M	LG IIa	amphora or pitcher, high-rimmed bowl	2	Kübler 1954, 264.
G 90	I		M	LG IIa	lidded nh amphora, trefoil oinochoe, high-rimmed bowl, kantharos, skyphos	5	Kübler 1954, 268.
G 91	I			LG IIa	trefoil oinochoe, 2 skyphoi, krater fragment, coarse jug	5	Kübler 1954, 269.
G 93	I		F	LG IIa	pitcher, skyphos	2	Kübler 1954, 269.
G 94	I	D	F	LG IIb	skyphos, lidded standed high-rimmed bowl	2	Kübler 1954, 269–70.
G 95	I		M	LG IIa	trefoil oinochoe, one-handled cup, amphora body	4	Kübler 1954, 270.
G 98	I	D		LG IIb	coarse hydria, kotyle, 2 standed high-rimmed bowls	4	Kübler 1954, 271.
G 99	I	D	child	LG IIb	2 kotylai, trefoil oinochoe, aryballos	4	Kübler 1954, 271.

hS 205	I			LG Ib/Iia	nh amphora, kantharos					2	Knigge 1966, 114, pl. 65.2.
hS 225	I			LG							Knigge 1966, 114–15, pl. 64.1.
hS 207	PC?			LG II	coarse jug						Knigge 1966, 115–16.
VDAk 1	I	D	F young	LG Ib/Iia	nh amphora, oinochoe, 6 oinochoai, 9 tankards, 11 one-handled cups, 2 kantharoi, skyphos, 5 pyxides, 5 plates, 2 Argive monochrome aryballoi	6 fibulae	2 i knives	ivory seal, amulet		43	von Freytag 1974, 4–5, fig. 3, pls. 1–10.
VDAk 2	I	D	F	LG							von Freytag 1974, 4.

Dipylon Cemetery

VII	I		F young*	LG IIa	lidded pitcher, oinochoe, aryballos, 2 skyphoi					5	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 111–15; Wide 1899, 190, fig. 75.
VIII	I			LG IIb	skyphos, kalathos, pyxis, plate, 2 high-rimmed bowls, 2 kraters					8	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 115–17, pl. VIII, 1.
IX	I			LG IIb	3 trefoil oinochoai, tankard, coarse jug, pitcher skyphos, 7 one-handled cups, kantharos, 3 aryballoi	horse				18	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 117–18, pl. VIII, 2.
XI	I	D		LG				ivory plaques and objects			Brückner and Pernice 1893, 120–25.
XII	I	D		LG	pitcher		g band				Brückner and Pernice 1893, 125–27.
XIII	I	D	F young*	LG IIb	lidded pitcher, 5 high-rimmed bowls, amphora	6 ivory females, 3 lions		bone plaques		7	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 127–21.
XV	I	D	F young*	LG	lidded pitcher, 2 pyxides					3	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 132.

	XVI	I		D		LG	2 tankards			2	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 132.
	XVII	?		D	M*	LG	sherds		I sword		Brückner and Pernice 1893, 132.
	XVIII	I		D		LG	2 tankards			2	Brückner and Pernice 1893, 133.
	XIX	UB				LG IIb/SubG	pithos (urn)				Brückner and Pernice 1893, 133–34.
Kalogirou Samouil & 59 Peiraios Str.											
	no no.	?		D		LG IIb	amphora, lekane, kotyle			3	Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979a.
25 Eleutherias Square											
	(1)–(10)	I		D		LG	amphoras & kraters (markers)				Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979b.
23–24 Kriezi Str.											
	X	?	f	D		LG	2 oinochoai			2	Alexandri 1967c, 95.
	XII	?				LG	bh amphora, kalathos, pyxis			3	Alexandri 1967c, 95.
	XII (2)	SC				LG II	bh amphora (urn), b phiale (seal), oinochoe, skyphos, pyxis, 3 b vases	ring, fibula, 2 pins		4	Alexandri 1968d; 1968e, 26.
	XVI	I?				LG II	amphora, oinochoe	g band		1	Alexandri 1968e.
	XXVI	SC?			M*	LG	b cauldron (urn?), bh amphora, oinochoe, 5 skyphoi, tripod	s band, b fibula	i sword	2	Alexandri 1967c, 95, pl. 86β.
	XLV	SC			M*	LG IIb	b cauldron (urn), stand high-rimmed bowl, pyxis' lid			2	Alexandri 1967c, 95, pl. 88α.
	L	?		D		LG	high-rimmed bowl			1	Alexandri 1967c, 95.
	LXXII	?				LG Ib/IIa	coarse hydria, one-handled cup			2	Alexandri 1967c, 95, pl. 89.

CIV	?	D	LG	amphora	b pince	1	1	Alexandri 1967c, 95.
CVI	?		LG	skyphos, 3 high-rimmed bowls	g band	1	4	Alexandri 1967c, 95.

10 Sapphous Str.

no no.	PC		LG IIa	trefoil oinochoe, 2 one-handed cups			3	Alexandri 1977, 27–8.
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12 Sapphous Str.

XIII	I		LG					Alexandri 1968a, 91.
XXIX	I		LG	kotyle			1	Alexandri 1968a, 92.

Kotzia Square

(1)–(2)	I		LG					Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1988, 23–4.
72	I		LG IIa	5 tankards, trefoil oinochoe, lekythos, lid, one-handed cup	clay pomegranate		10	Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1988, pl. 31

5 Ay. Anargyron Str. (Koumoundourou Square)

no no.	I	D	LG IIa	8 kalathoi, 3 tankards, 4 pyxides, 2 skyphoi, 5 miniature vases			22	Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979c.
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ACADEMY AREA

55 Kastorias Str. & Iera Odos

	21	SC/UB		LG	pitcher & louterion (urns) inside pitcher: 3 one-handled cups, small oinochoe. Outside louterion: 4 one-handled cups	8	Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1987, 23.
	22	UB?		LG?	amphora (urn), 2 skyphoi, three-handled skyphos, tankard, kantharos, one-handled cup. Hydria (urn ?), basin, vase (urn)	8	Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1987, 23, pl. 25.
Academy of Plato							
	2	SC		LG IIb	SOS amphora (urn), basin 2 one-handled cups, 2 miniature oinochoai	5	Stavropoulos 1956, 50.
	1	UB	adult?*	LG IIa	amphora (urn), sherd, skyphos	2	Stavropoulos 1958, 9.
	4	SC?		LG	krater	1	Stavropoulos 1958, 9.
	51	I		G			Stavropoulos, 1959, 8.
	6	SC	M?*	G	amphora (urn)		Stavropoulos 1959, 8.
	4	I		LG IIb	3 standed high-rimmed bowls, trefoil oinochoe, tankard	5	Stavropoulos 1959, 9–10.
	6	I		LG IIb	cup, 2 skyphoi		Stavropoulos 1959, 9–10.
Mitrodorou & Geminou Str.							
	T8/K4	SC/UB		LG IIa	krater & pithos (urns), louterion, pyxis	2	Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, 24.

SOUTH ATHENS

Acropolis, South Slope

6 (VII)	SC			?	plain amphora (urn)			Charitonidis 1973, 11.
15 (XIII)	I			LG				Charitonidis 1973, 17.
16 (XIV)	I		D	LG				Charitonidis 1973, 17.
13 (XV)	I			LG Ib/Ila	3 tankards, round-mouthed oinochoe, trefoil olpe, lidded one-handled cup, skyphos	7		Charitonidis 1973, 17–19.
10 (XVIII)	I			LG II	3 skyphoi, plate	4		Charitonidis 1973, 21.
12 (XIX)	I			LG IIa	pitcher, lidded high-rimmed bowl, 2 plates	4		Charitonidis 1973, 21–2.
22 (XX)	I			LG				Charitonidis 1973, 23.
Θ (XXI)	I			LG IIa	trefoil oinochoe, skyphos	2		Charitonidis 1973, 23–4.
XLI (NA Φ2)	I			LG				Charitonidis 1973, 34.
XLVII	I		D	LG IIb/SubG				Charitonidis 1973, 39.
VIII	UB		adult?*	LG IIa	amphora (urn)			Charitonidis 1973, 11–14.

D. Areopagitou & Parthenonos & Kallisperi Str.

6	I		D	LG IIb/SubG	plate	1		Dontas 1961–1962, 86.
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Kavalotti Str.

	II'	SC		LG	nh amphora (urn), 3 skyphoi		i knife	3	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	IA	SC		LG	nh amphora (urn), 2 skyphoi, oinochoe		i knife	3	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	IZT	SC	F*	LG	sh amphora (urn), skyphos, pyxides, coarse jug, lekanai		clay wheels	4+	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	IZ	SC		LG	nh amphora (urn), oinochoe, skyphos-kantharos, small closed shape(?), 2 skyphoi, 8 pyxides		I knife	13	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	IH	SC		LG	nh amphora (urn), tankard, skyphos, 2 high-rimmed bowls			4	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	K	I		LG	high-rimmed bowl, skyphos			2	Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.
	1	I	D	LG	amphora, tankards, 2 oinochoai, 2 pyxides, tripod vase, lidded plate	bone bird, doll 2 b fibulae	3 spindle whorls (?), loom weight (?), I stringil, bone seal, 2 bone beads, 19 clay balls	2	7+ Stavropoulos 1965a, 78.

20 Erechteiou Str.

	IV	SC		LG Ib/Ila	nh amphora (urn), kantharos, skyphos, one-handled cup, amphora, oinochoe, b phiale			6	Alexandri 1968b, 55.
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21–23 Erechteiou Str. (1965)

	A	I?	D	LG	sherds	2 g earrings		2	Stavropoulos 1965b, 87.
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	B	I		LG II		b pin		Stavropoulos 1965b, 87.
21–23 Erechteiou Str. (1966)								
	A	SC		G				Philippaki 1966.
	B	SC		G				Philippaki 1966.
	Δ	SC	D	LG				Philippaki 1966.
25 Erechteiou Str.								
	Θ1	?	D	G	86 vases, 13 lids (possibly from both Θ1 & Θ2)			
	Θ2	I		LG	86 vases, 13 lids (possibly from both Θ1 & Θ2)	g band	1	Miliadis 1955, 43.
Garivaldi & Sofroniskou & Fenaretis Str.								
	VI	SC?		LG Ib/Iia	amphora (urn), high-rimmed bowl, kantharos		2	Alexandri 1968c.
15–17 Makriyanni & Porinou & A. Diakou Str.								
	1	I		LG IIb	skyphos		1	Alexandri 1968g.
	2	?	D	LG	b phiale		1	Alexandri 1968g.
95 Dimitrakopoulou Str.								
	III	SC?		M*	LG	b cauldron (urn)	2 female mourners	Vavritsas 1970a, 53.
110 Dimitrakopoulou Str.								
	VIII	?		LG	oinochoe, stande high-rimmed bowl, skyphos		3	Alexandri 1970, 57.

	X	?	D	LG	sherds			Alexandri 1970, 57.
	XI	SC	D	LG	sherds			Alexandri 1970, 57.
116 Dimitrakopoulou & Aglaourou Str.								
	no no.	SC?	D	LG Ib/Ia	nh amphora (urn?), two high-rimmed bowls	i and lead objects	2	Penna 1981.
12–14 Meidani Str.								
	1	I?		LG				Stavropoulos 1964, 60.
	2	I?		LG II	2 standed high-rimmed bowls (LG IIb), 2 round-mouthed oinochoai (LG I), kantharoi, coarse jug, feeder, one-handled cups		8+	Stavropoulos 1964, 60.
	3	SC		LG II	centaur, chariot with charioteer, horses			Stavropoulos 1964, 60.
KYNOSARGES AREA								
Diakou & Anapauseos Str.								
	1	SC	D	LG Ib/Ia	nh amphora (urn), oinochoe, askos.		2	Third Archaeological Periphery, 1963, pl. 38β.
	2	I	F young*	LG Ib/Ia	oinochoe, tankard, 3 skyphoi, one-handled cup, 2 horse pyxides, kantharos, 3 high-rimmed	g band	14	Third Archaeological Periphery, 1963, pl. 37δ, 38γ, δ, 39–41.

bowls, plate,
support

**Vouliagmenis &
Trivonianou &
Eupompou Str.**

VI	PC	D	LG IIa	3 skyphoi		3	Alexandri 1972b, 95.
XII	I		LG Ib/IIa	6 pyxides, horse pyxis, skyphos, basket, 3 plates, amphoriskos	g band, 2 g hair spirals	3 13	Alexandri 1972b, 95.

**23–25 Aristonikou &
Charvouri Str.**

no no.	PC?		LG IIb	2 standed high-rimmed bowls		2	Alexandri 1973–1974, pl. 73δ, ε.
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**16 Theophilopoulou
Str.**

VI	PC	D	G				Alexandri 1968f.
VII	C	D	SubG	coarse jug		1	Alexandri 1972a.
VIII	PC	D	G				Alexandri 1968f.
IX	PC	D	G	sherds			Alexandri 1972a.

Table 2. List of Late Geometric II burials in Attica.

BURIAL	GRAVE TYPE	OT/SP	CONDITION	SEX/AGE	DATE	CLAY/METAL VESSELS	FIGURINES	JEWELRY	ARMOR	OTHER FINDS	TOTAL JEWELRY	TOTAL POTTERY	REFERENCE
SOUTHERN ATTICA													
KALLITHEA													
240 Theseos Str.													
3	?				LG IIa	lidded pitcher, high- rimmed bowl, skyphos						3	Kallipolitis 1964, 65–6, pl. 62β–δ.
5	?				LG IIa	lidded amphora, 2 skyphoi						3	Kallipolitis 1964, 66, pl. 62β.
Theseos & Kalypsous Str.													
IV	?				LG IIb	2 standed high- rimmed bowls						2	Callipolitis-Feytmans 1963, 404, fig. 1.
V	?				LG IIb	2 standed high- rimmed bowls						2	
VI	?				LG IIb	2 standed high- rimmed bowls						2	Callipolitis-Feytmans 1963, 409, fig. 4.
PALAIIO PHALERON													
no no.	SC				LG IIb	nh amphora (urn), plate						1	Kourouniotis 1911, 247, fig. 4; CVA Athens 5, 58, pl. 70.

3	I	F?*	LG					Pelekidis 1916, 14–15.
8	I	F?*	LG					Pelekidis 1916, 15.
45	I	M?*	LG	kotyle		1		Pelekidis 1916, 16.
81 α	I	M?*	LG II	trefoil oinochoe, kotyle		2		Pelekidis 1916, 16.
23 & 23 α	I/UB		LG IIa	pithos-krater (urn), 3 skyphoi, oinochoe (UB)		4		Pelekidis 1916, 23–4, 30, fig. 17.
53	I	M?*	LG	kotyle, skyphos		2		Pelekidis 1916, 24.
3a	PC		LG IIb	standed high-rimmed bowl		1		Pelekidis 1916, 17, fig. 51.
40	PC		LG IIb	standed high-rimmed bowl		1		Pelekidis 1916, 18, fig. 52.
41	PC		LG IIb	standed high-rimmed bowl		1		Pelekidis 1916, 17, fig. 52.
42	PC	M?*	LG IIb/SubG	kotyle, lekythos		2		Pelekidis 1916, 17, fig. 52.
14a	PC		LG IIb	standed high-rimmed bowl		2		Pelekidis 1916, 17, fig. 53.

**TRACHONES
(ALIMOS)**

A8	SC	D	SubG	pithos (urn), trefoil oinochoe, lidded tankard, one-handled cup, 2 aryballoi		5		Geroulanos 1973, 22, 28–29, pls. 12.4, 20, 32. 2.
A12	SC	D	SubG	pithos (urn), nh amphora, tankard, 2 plates, 2 aryballoi		6		Geroulanos 1973, 22, 29–30, pls. 12.3, 19, 32.1.
A14	PC	D	LG IIa	nh amphora, standed high-rimmed bowl, kotyle, trefoil oinochoe, one handled-cup		5		Geroulanos 1973, 6, 7, 22, 30–1, pls. 4.3, 4.4, 10.
A23	SC		LG IIa	nh amphora (urn), tankard, oinochoe, 2 kotylai, Argive monochrome aryballos		5		Geroulanos 1973, 22, 31–2, pls. 11.3, 16.1–3.

A27	SC	D	LG	nh amphora (urn), 2 one-handled cups, Argive monochrome aryballos	3	Geroulanos 1973, 22, 32–4, pls. 11.1, 16.2–4, 30.1, 33.2.
A30	SC		SubG/EPA	lidded pithos-krater (urn), tankard, oinochoe, 2 PC aryballoi, kotyle, standed high-rimmed bowl, plain oinochoe	7	Geroulanos 1973, 10–11, 34–5, pls. 13.1–3, 18, 31.2, 36.2, 37–41.
A31	PC		LG IIa	lidded pitcher, skyphos, standed high-rimmed bowl	3	Geroulanos 1973, 7, 11, 22, 35, pls. 3.4, 4.1, 4.2, 9.2.
A32a	SC		LG IIb	coarse pitcher (urn), plate, coarse jug, 2 one handled-cups, 2 tankards, kotyle	7	Geroulanos 1973, 11, 22, 35–6, pls. 14.2–4, 22.6, 22.7, 33.3, 51.10.
A32b	SC		LG IIa/b	coarse hydria (urn), one handled-cup, 2 oinochoai	3	Geroulanos 1973, 22, 36–7, pls. 14.2–4, 22, 26.2, 33.1–4, 51.9–11.
A32 γ	SC		LG IIa	tripod pithos (urn), trefoil oinochoe, skyphos, one-handled cup, Argive monochrome aryballos	4	Geroulanos 1973, 22, 36–7, pls. 14.2–4, 22.1, 22.2, 51.9–11.
A34	PC		LG IIa	nh amphora, 2 kantharoi, tankard, oinochoe, 2 skyphoi	7	Geroulanos 1973, 22, 38–9, pls. 2.1–4, 6, 7.1, 29.2–7, 33.1.
A37	PC					Geroulanos 1973, 7, 40.
A39	PC		LG IIa	lidded pitcher, 4 high-rimmed bowls, skyphos	6	Geroulanos 1973, 6–7, 22, 40–1, pls. 1.1–3, 5.1, 5.2, 27.3, 28.

	Δ1	SC		LG IIa	nh amphora (urn), standed high-rimmed bowl, tankard, kotyle, one-handled cup	5	Geroulanos 1973, 22, 41–2, pls. 12.1, 12.2, 17, 31.1.
	K29	I	D	LG Ib/IIa	nh amphora, 2 high- rimmed bowls, trefoil oinochoe	4	Geroulanos 1973, 43–4, pls. 7, 36.
	K47	SC		LG Ib/IIa	nh amphora (urn), trefoil oinochoe, lekythos, 2 one- handled cups, 2 skyphoi	6	Geroulanos 1973, 44, pls. 11.2, 21.1.
	Ξ4	SC	D	LG IIb	amphora (urn)		Geroulanos 1973, 46, pls. 15.1, 23.1.
	Ξ6	PC	D	LG Ib/IIa	lidded pitcher, 2 skyphoi, one-handled cup, plate	5	Geroulanos 1973, 6–7, 47–8, pls. 3.3, 8.2.
	Ξ9	PC	D	LG IIa	oinochoe, kantharos, skyphos, 2 high- rimmed bowls	5	Geroulanos 1973, 6–7, 49–50, pls. 3.1, 3.2, 8.1, 51. 7.
	Ξ10	SC		LG IIb	SOS amphora (urn), oinochoe, lekane	2	Geroulanos 1973, 8, 50–1, pls. 14.1, 21.2.
	Ξ12	SC		SubG	amphora (urn), skyphos	1	Geroulanos 1973, 51, pls. 15.6, 23.3.
ARGYROUPOLI							
	III	SC		LG	pithos (urn)		Tsirivakos 1968, , 112, pl. 58a.
ELLINIKO							
	(1)+	SC		LG	2 bronze cauldrons (urns)		Whitley 2003–2004.
GLYPHADA							
Kyprou & Iras Str.	no no.	I		LG IIa	2 trefoil oinochoai, 4 skyphoi, kantharos	7	Kaza 1987.

VOULA									
Athinon & Igoumenitsis Str.	(1)-(3)	?		LG	skyphoi, high-rimmed bowls				Kassimi-Soutou 1984.
VARI									
SE Necropolis									
	37a	PC?	D	LG IIb	tankard, skyphos		2		Kallipolitis 1965, 113, pl. 79α; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984, 30, fig. 3.
	38	SC	M*	LG IIb/EPA	b cauldron (urn), kotyle		1		Kallipolitis 1965, 112–13, pl. 77; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984, 32–3.
	41β	I		LG IIb	pitcher		1		Kallipolitis 1965, 112–13, fig. 2, pl. 78α, β; Callipolitis Feytmans 1984, 28–30.
	44a	I		LG IIa/b	skyphos		1		Kallipolitis 1965, 112–13, pl. 77γ; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984, 32.
	40, 48, 59	?	D	LG IIb					Kallipolitis 1965, 112.
500 m N of North Necropolis									
	II	?		LG IIb					Daux 1958, 672–73, figs. 7, 8.
ANAVYSSOS									
Ay. Panteleimon									
	V/66	?		LG IIb	oinochoe or amphoriskos		1		Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pl. 92α.
	XIV/66	I		LG IIb	oinochoe, skyphos		2		Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pl. 93.

XVII/66	SC?		LG IIa?	nh amphora (urn), skyphos, trefoil oinochoe, kantharos, skyphoi			3+	Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pl. 94δ.
XXII/66	?		LG Ib/IIa	2 trefoil oinochoai, round-mouthed oinochoe, basket, 4 kantharoi, 8 one-handled cups, pyxides			17+	Verdelis and Davaras 1966, 97, pls. 92ε, 94γ.
XXXIII/66	?		LG IIa	oinochoai, tankards, skyphoi, kantharoi			4+	Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pls. 92στ, 93γ; Morris 1987, fig. 26.
XL/66	I		LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, plate, skyphoi			3+	Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pl. 93α.
LI	?		LG II?	oinochoai, amphoriskoi, pyxides, skyphoi			4+	Verdelis and Davaras 1966, pl. 93δ.
I/73	SC	M*	LG IIa	b cauldron (urn), 2 trefoil oinochoai, high-rimmed bowl, high-rimmed skyphos			4	Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 81α–ε.
II/73	I		LG IIa	3 skyphoi, pyxis, 2 pyxis' lids	g band	1	6	Themelis 1973–1974, 108, pl. 81στ, ζ; 1991, 41, 45; Morris 1987, fig. 26.
III/73	I		LG IIb	2 amphoras	g band	1	2	Themelis 1973–1974, 108, pl. 82α; 1991, 41, 45; Morris 1987, fig. 26.
IIIa/73	SC		LG	amphora (urn), 2 vases			2	Themelis 1973–1974, 109; 1991, 38.
VII/73	I		LG IIa	pitcher, high-rimmed skyphos			2	Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 83β.
VIII/73	I		LG Iia	kantharos, 2 high-rimmed skyphoi, tankard, a trefoil oinochoe			5	Themelis 1973–1974, 108, pl. 83ε, ζ.
IXa/73	SC		LG IIa	pitcher (urn)				

	IXβ/73	I		LG Ib/IIa	2 skyphoi, horse pyxis, kantharos, oinochoe	5	Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 84δ–ζ.
	X/73	I		LG IIa	oinochoe	1	Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 85α.
	XI/73	I	child*	LG IIa/b	kantharos, oinochoe, kalathos	3	Themelis 1973–1974, pl. 85β, γ.
	XII/73	PC		LG IIb			Themelis 1973–1974, 108; 1991, 40.
	XIV/73	I		LG IIb	nh amphora, kotyle	2	Themelis 1973–1974, 109, pl. 85στ, ζ.
	XX/73	PC		LG IIb	nh amphora, skyphos, kantharos	3	Themelis 1973–1974, 108, pl. 86στ–η; 1991, 40; Morris 1987, fig.26.
	XXII/73	I		LG IIa			Themelis 1973–1974, 108.
PALAI A PHOKAIA							
Site of Agricultural Bank							
	1	I		LG	tankard, skyphos		Kakavogianni 1984, 43.
	2	I	D	LG	amphora, plate		Kakavogianni 1984, 43.
MESOG EIA PLAIN							
Labrika (Tamvakis Plot)							
	1	?	SP	LG IIb/SubG			Kakavogianni and Ntouni 2001–2004.
Kalyvia-Phoinikia							
		PC/SC		LG			Tsaravopoulos 2001–2004; Tsaravopoulos and Papathanasiou 2009.

Koropi (Athinon Av. & Ercheias Str.)						
(1)-(5)	?		LG IIb	kotylai		Kakavogianni and Galiatsatou 2009, 400–2.
Markopoulo (30 Papavasileiou Str. A. Yannaki plot)						
1	?	D	G	pithoid vessel	1	Kakavogianni 1983.
2	SC?/UB?		LG IIb	pithoid vessel (urn), 2 trefoil oinochoai, 2 kantharoi, skyphos, coarse jug, spouted coarse amphoriskos	7	Kakavogianni 1983.
Markopoulo (3 Papasideri Str.)						
1	I?		LG IIa	nh amphora, 2 skyphoi	3	Papachristodoulou 1971, 40.
MERENDA NECROPOLIS						
1	?	D	LG IIb	hydria, 3 high-rimmed bowls, knobs	5+	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 39–40.

3	?	D	LG IIb	3 hydriai, Argive monochrome aryballos skyphos, one-handled cup, high-rimmed bowl, krater, large open shape	9	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 40–2.
4	?	D	SubG	trefoil oinochoe, coarse jug, PC aryballos, 2 closed shapes	5	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 42–3.
5	SC	M*	LG IIb	b cauldron (urn), nh amphora, trefoil oinochoe, 3 high-rimmed bowls, one-handled cup, 2 pyxides, 2 closed shapes, lid (+40 fragments)	51	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 43–5.
6	?		LG IIb	2 oinochoai, hydria, 5 closed shapes, lid, 2 skyphoi, stand bowl, kotyle, 3 plates, open shape (+66 fragments)	83	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 45–7.
9	PC?		LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe, 4 kotylai	5	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 47–8.
13 _a	?		LG IIb	5 trefoil oinochoai, 5 kantharoi, skyphos, skyphos with one vertical and one horizontal handle, one-handled cup, stand high-rimmed bowl, PC aryballos, Argive monochrome aryballos	16	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 53–6.
14	?		LG IIa	oinochoe, tankard, 2 skyphoi, kantharos	5	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 57–8.

17	?	D	LG IIb	trefoil oinochoe (+45 fragments)	46	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 60–1.
Γ	PC?		LG IIb	skyphos	1	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 77–8.
Z	?		LG IIb	nh amphora, one-handled cup	2	Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 77–8.
3	SC		LG IIa	nh amphora (urn), nh amphora, kantharos, high-rimmed bowl, plate, trefoil oinochoe, 2 skyphoi	7	Lazaridis 1968, 31, 33, fig. 1.
9	I		LG	3 skyphoi?	3	Lazaridis 1968, 31, 33, fig. 1.
16	I?		LG	5 tankards, high-rimmed bowl, lid	7	
9	I		LG IIa/b	kantharos	1	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl. 93δ.
16	I		LG	one-handled cup	1	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl.93γ.
23	SC	M*	LG	b cauldron (urn)		Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29.
28	I	D	LG IIa	bird-shaped askos, 2 pitchers	3	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl. 97β–δ.
33	I		LG	nh amphora or oinochoe, 2 skyphoi(?), plate	5	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl. 94α.
34	I		LG IIb	plate	1	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–9, pl. 98α.
37	SC	M*	LG	b cauldron (urn)		Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29
49	I		LG IIa	high-rimmed bowl, tankard	2	Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl. 97α, δ.
10, 13, 15, 22, 27	I		LG			Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29, pl. 93β–δ.
11, 12, 14, 25	SC		LG	pitcher, plates, skyphoi		Vavritsas 1970b, 128–29.

SE Necropolis

West of the lake of equestrian games	I-V	SC		LG	20 horse pyxides, oinochoai, skyphoi, cups, aryballoi			Argyropoulos and Sklavos 2003.
SPATA (KOLIOUKREP)		SC		LG				Petrou and Pitsikoulis 2003.
	1	I	F young*	LG IIa	pitcher, 3 tankards, lidded high-rimmed bowl, kotyle		6	Philadelphus 1920– 1921, 135, fig. 2.
	2	I		LG IIa/b	amphora, plate, 2 high-rimmed bowls, high-rimmed skyphos		5	Philadelphus 1920– 1921, 135–36, figs. 4, 5.
	3	I	F young*	LG IIa	pitcher, 3 horse pyxides, askos, 2 skyphoi, basket, tankard, 2 oinochoai, 2 Argive monochrome aryballoi	2 b bracelets, g necklace	2	13 Philadelphus 1920– 1921, 136–38, figs. 8– 10.
	4	I	F young*	LG IIa	pitcher, 3 tankards, high-rimmed skyphos, 2 high- rimmed bowls, aryballos, miniature trefoil oinochoe		9	Philadelphus 1920– 1921, 138, fig. 12.
SOUTHEASTERN ATTICA								

**THORIKOS
(WEST
NECROPOLIS)**

6	I			SubG	tankard, skyphos, bronze phiale	3	Mussche et al. 1968, 48–50.
83	I	D		LG	amphoriskos, skyphos	2	Mussche et al. 1969, 84–5.
84	I		M	LG IIa	pitcher, 3 tankards, skyphos	5	Mussche et al. 1969, 79–82.
85	I			LG IIb	pitcher, 3 oinochoai, 3 one-handled cups, 4 kantharoi, kalathos	12	Mussche et al. 1969, 86–92.
91	I		M	LG IIb	nh amphora, kantharos	2	Mussche et al. 1969, 72–5, figs. 34–41.
93	I		child	LG	oinochoe, coarse jug, tankard, 2 one- handled cups, kantharos, 2 kalathoi, krateriskos	9	Mussche et al. 1969, 93–8.
94	I	D		LG	One-handled cup	1	Mussche et al. 1969, 86.
104	I		M	LG II	tankard, 2 oinochoai, 2 one-handled cups	5	Mussche et al. 1969, 76–9.
105	?	D		LG IIb	hydria	1	Mussche et al. 1969, 83–4.
107, 114, 115a, 116, 119, 133, 134, 135, 150, 152	P			LG			Mussche et al. 1984, 106.
109	?	D		LG IIb	pithos, 2 one-handled cups, pyxis	4	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 117.
117	I			LG IIb	pitcher	1	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 122–23.
120	I			LG IIb	pitcher, skyphos	2	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 76–8.
121	SC			LG IIb	nh amphora(urn), kantharos	1	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 78–81.

122	SC		LG IIb	nh amphora(urn), kantharos	1	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 82–8.
125	I		LG IIb	hydria, skyphos, pyxis, aryballos, aryballoid jug	5	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 122–25.
129	I		LG IIb	skyphos	1	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 107.
130	I		LG IIb	nh amphora, 2 skyphoi	3	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 98–101.
136	I	F	LG IIb	nh amphora, skyphos, one- handled cup, 2 kantharoi	5	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 102–6.
137	?		LG II	Amphora or hydria, skyphos, pyxis	3	Mussche et al. 1984, 139–44.
138	?		LG II	pithos		Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 101.
139	SC	D	LG IIb	cooking pot(urn), sealed with a foot	1	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 101.
143	I		LG IIb	pitcher, skyphos	2	Mussche et al. 1984, 138–39.
144	?		LG IIb	pitcher, skyphos	2	Mussche et al. 1984 135–37.
148	I		LG IIb	pitcher, skyphos	2	Mussche et al. 1984, 73, 130–33.
153	P		LG	sherds		Mussche et al. 1984, 102.
202	P	D	LG	pitcher, hydria, one- handled cup, 2 skyphoi, standed one-handled cup, 2 kraters, tankard	9	Mussche et al. 1990, 73, 83–90.
210	?	D	LG			Mussche et al. 1990, 73, 83.
211	I		LG	hydria, tankard, krater (outside grave/pyre 202)	3	Mussche et al. 1990, 73, 74–9.

**NORTHEASTERN
ATTICA**

**Nea Makri
Marathonos Av.**

	I	I			LG II	plate, tankard, 2 kantharoi		4	Eustratiou 1985, 72.
	II	I			LG IIa	lidded pyxis		1	Eustratiou 1985, 73, pl. 20γ.
	III	?			G				Eustratiou 1985, 73.
	IV	PC?		D	LG IIa	2 kantharoi, plate, 2 skyphoi, part of an amphora		6	Eustratiou 1985, 73, pl. 21α.
Nea Makri Marathonos Av.									
	T14	?	SP	D	LG				Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704.
	T15	I			LG IIa	pitcher, high rimmed bowl with fenestrated stand	2 s rings	2	2 Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704.
	T16	SC		adolescent	LG IIb	pyxis-krater (urn)			Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704.
MARATHON									
Vranas-Skorpio Potami									
	4	I			LG II	skyphos		2	Soteriadis 1939, 33–4.
	6	I			LG II	skyphos, tankard		2	Soteriadis 1939, 35.
	8	I		old child /adolescent *	LG II	oinochoe, skyphos		2	Soteriadis 1939, 35, figs. 6, 8.
	9	I			LG	coarse pithos		1	Soteriadis 1939, 35.
Oinoe									
	1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18	PC			LG/EPA				Arapogianni 1985, 208, 212–3
	2	PC			LG/EPA	sherds			Arapogianni 1985, 208.

	4	PC		LG/EPA	amphora neck						Arapogianni 1985, 209.
	5	PC		LG/EPA	sherds						Arapogianni 1985, 209.
	19	PC		LG/EPA	skyphos						Arapogianni 1985, 213.
	VI	I	old adult	LG/EPA	amphora rim with plastic snake						Arapogianni 1985, 221.
Kato Souli											
	no no.	SC+									Pitt 2011, 44.
NORTH ATTICA											
CHALANDRI											
	E I 1	PC	OT & SP	LG IIb	sherds SP: trefoil oinochoe, high-rimmed bowl						Pologiorgi 2003–2009, 186–90, figs. 62, 65, 66.
KEPHISIA											
Central Necropolis West Quarter											
	53	I		M*	LG IIa	oinochoe, tankard	b pince	i blade, i object	1	2	Skilardi 2011, 677, fig. 5.
	54	I			LG IIa	nh amphora, kantharos, 2 oinochoai, plate, 2 lidded high-rimmed bowls				7	Skilardi 2011, 677–9, figs. 6–8.
	55	SC		M*	LG IIa	b cauldron (urn), amphora, oinochoe.				2	Skilardi 2011, 680–1, figs. 9–11.
	78	I		M*	LG IIa	oinochoe	b pince	i sword		1	Skilardi 2011, 682–3, figs. 17–21.
	126	C			LG IIb	hydria, lid, krateriskos				3	Skilardi 2011, 681–2, figs. 13–16.
	132	SC			LG	tripod pithos-krater (urn), standed krateriskos				1	Skilardi 2011, 681. Mycenaean conical steatite knob

DRAPHI							
	no no.	SC?		LG IIb	nh amphora		Daux 1958, 681, fig. 24.
ACHARNAI							
Dekeleias & Dimosthenous Str.							
	42	PC?		LG IIb	skyphos, oinochoe	2	Platonos-Giota 2004, 119, figs. 18α–20.
	44	PC?		LG IIb/SubG	coarse jug	1	Platonos-Giota 2004, 119, figs. 18β–20.
35 Salaminos Str.							
	V (5)	I		LG IIa	round-mouthed oinochoe, 2 skyphoi	3	Platonos-Giota 2004, 120, figs. 37, 38.
	IV	SC		LG IIb/SubG?	pithos (urn), basin	1	Platonos-Giota 2004, 120, fig. 47.
SOUTHWESTERN ATTICA							
PALAIA KOKKINIA							
Theocharis' Plot							
	α, β, δ	I		G			
	η	I	child*	LG IIa	double tankard, tankard, round-mouthed oinochoe, 2 trefoil oinochoai, 2 skyphoi	7	Theocharis 1951, 116–8, figs. 32–4.
	ε, ζ, θ	SC		LG I-II	pyxis, kantharos, trefoil oinochoe		Theocharis 1951, 119–21, fig. 42.

**Ayion Anargyron &
Maurogenous Str.**

3	I	LG II ?		27	Mazarakos et al. 2008, 154.
4	I	LG IIa	kantharos	1	Mazarakos et al. 2008, fig. 8.
17	I	LG IIa	2 trefoil oinochoai	2	Mazarakos et al. 2008, 154, fig. 9.
18	I	LG II ?			Mazarakos et al. 2008, 154.

Thivon Avenue

I–VI	SC	LG?			Y. Sykka, “Το αρχαίο νεκροταφείο Πειραιά αποκαλύπτεται,” <i>Kathimerini</i> (13 January 2012) www.kathimerini.gr/447737/article/politismos/arxeio-politismoy/to-arxaio-nekrotafeio-peiraia-apokalyptetai
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ELEUSIS

South Necropolis

21	I	child*	LG IIa/b	2 skyphoi, kantharoi, 2 one-handled cups	glass/electron necklace	clay pomegranate	1	5+	Skias 1898, 82–3, pl. 2.5.
37	I		LG I/II	pitcher, 10 tankards, 3 one-handled cups, pyxis				15	Skias 1898, 98–9, pls. 4.1,4.9.
B (6)	I		LG IIb	kytyle				1	Skias 1898, 79, pl. 2.11.
α (50)	I		LG IIb	krater		clay pomegranate, clay ball		1	Skias 1898, 105, fig. 24.
VI	SC		SubG/EPA	nh amphora (urn), plate				1	Skias 1912, 33, fig. 14.
XLVI	I		LG IIb	oinochoe, kantharos, tankard, lekythos, 2 one-handled cups				6	Skias 1912, 32, 34–5, 37, 39, figs. 15.1,15.3.

West Necropolis							
	Γ25	I		LG II	One-handled cup, oinochoe	2	Mylonas 1975, 135
	Γζ (36)	SC	child	LG	pitcher, skyphos, pyxis, kantharos	3	Mylonas 1975, 260
	Λ1	I	F middle	LG IIa	nh amphora, plate, high-rimmed bowl	3	Mylonas 1975, 176–77, 257–58, 306.
	Λ4	I		LG	sherds		Mylonas 1975, 180.
“Sacred House”							
	no no.	I	M/30	LG IIb			Travlos 1983.
Thivon Avenue & Tzaferi & Syrmali Str.							
	2	I		LG II	pyxis, plate	2	Alexandri 1967b, fig. 64.
	50	I?		LG IIb	kotyle	1	Alexandri 1967b, fig. 64.
	53	I?		LG			Alexandri 1967b, fig. 64.
Chatzidaki Str.							
	1	I	child*	LG	oinochoe, 5 skyphoi	6	Papaggeli 1992.
	2	I	F young*	LG	22 vases	22	Papaggeli 1992.
					clay pomegranate		

Abbreviations: b: bronze, bh: belly-handled, g: gold, D: disturbed, F: female, G: grave, I: inhumation, i: iron, LG: Late Geometric, M: male, nh: neck-handled, OT: offering trench, PC: primary cremation, SC: secondary cremation, s: silver, SP: sacrificial pyre. The symbol “*” denotes that the gender has been identified on the basis of the grave offerings or criteria other than an osteological analysis.

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