



The Most Discouraged Mycenaeans: Performing Emotion and Death in Late Bronze Age Tanagra, Greece

Anastasia Dakouri-Hild

To cite this article: Anastasia Dakouri-Hild (2021) The Most Discouraged Mycenaeans: Performing Emotion and Death in Late Bronze Age Tanagra, Greece, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 46:6, 349-381, DOI: [10.1080/00934690.2021.1929702](https://doi.org/10.1080/00934690.2021.1929702)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00934690.2021.1929702>

 View supplementary material 

 Published online: 16 Jun 2021.

 Submit your article to this journal 

 Article views: 632

 View related articles 

 View Crossmark data 



The Most Discouraged Mycenaeans: Performing Emotion and Death in Late Bronze Age Tanagra, Greece

Anastasia Dakouri-Hild

University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the famous Tanagra terracotta coffins (larnakes) as loci of enduring memory that contributed to the construction of funerary place and sought to prescribe affect within the heterotopic spaces of tombs. Their complex materialities, which allude to different media, elite and vernacular, local and distant, as well as their evocative iconography, rendered them powerful resources by which to remember ancestors and normatively prescribed affect on the occasion of death. Based on a new synthesis, the study discusses the material and iconographic characteristics of the larnakes and their spatial contexts from the perspective of affect. The larnakes are then cast against broader affective practices, concepts, and visual traditions of the Bronze Age and the later Greek world, and a tentative affective script for death at Tanagra is proposed.

KEYWORDS

affect; gesture; materiality; lament; gender; Mycenaean; prehistory

Introduction

The terracotta coffins (larnakes) from Late Bronze Age Tanagra in central Greece are notable for their painted decoration, depicting a variety of funerary scenes. They uniquely illuminate artistic connections between Crete and the Mycenaean Mainland, cast light on regional funerary beliefs and practices beyond the Mycenaean metropolitan centers, and offer glimpses of artistic production outside the realm of elite, programmatic iconography produced by the palaces. Paradoxically, the most striking quality of the Tanagra larnakes is one that is frequently paid lip service to but rarely discussed in depth: the scenes are deemed to be “energetic,” “remarkable and moving,” “unrestrained and raw,” “grim,” filled with the “poignancy of real-life experience,” “dignity,” and “despair” (e.g. Vermeule 1965, 140; Immerwahr 1995, 110; Burke 2008, 72; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 643). Emotions are strongly cued by arguably instinctive expressions and characteristic gestures of grief, such as the clutching of heads, the thumping of brows, the pulling of hair, the scratching of faces which bleed, the lifting of arms, and the weeping and streaming of tears down contorted faces. Auditory and tactile cues, such as open mouths emitting cries and hands touching the deceased, remain lively despite their necessary relegation to the visual. It is this overt, ceremonial even, display of emotional experience represented through techniques of the body that led Emily Vermeule (1965, 132) to famously describe one of the Tanagran figures as “the most discouraged Mycenaean to last beyond the Bronze Age.”

Recognizing the power of these images means being touched by their affective potential, to allow oneself to be moved and empathetically tap into the human experience of death as depicted by prehistoric artists. However, the ability of Tanagran iconography to express the suffering of others and of art in general to engender emotions within viewers has been minimally addressed or problematized: this is because emotions are seen either as transparent or

inversely as inaccessible to cultural analysis (Lutz and White 1986, 405). Is it possible to share the emotions of others as the result of encountering a representation (Matravers 1998, 25), and if so, how? How are we as contemporary viewers to receive and interpret the emotions of prehistoric others, especially emotions mediated through iconography? If we agree that gestures are ways to create as well as express emotion *inter alia*, are they transparent, cross-cultural, and universal? If not, how can we best access their culture-specific meanings?

Experiencing and reading emotions

The iconography of suffering has a long pedigree in visual culture. It has been suggested that pleasure can be derived from images of pain (Sontag 2003, 40–41; Di Bella and Elkins 2013) or that they serve to canalize emotions, especially in “primitive” societies (Gombrich 1966, 397). Images are asserted to make emotions visible and communicable to others (Wagner-Durand 2017, 81), in part because emotion affects perception and modulates attention (Sheth and Pham 2008, 2422). It has also been posited that reading art is intrinsically about empathy, with “the dialectic of art’s evocative power and the viewer’s empathic intricacies [...]” founded upon “the ability to feel another one [...] in the transitional space between self and other” (Oremland 1984, 239–240, 257). Whereas neuroaesthetics have explored the ways in which the experience of art integrates the neural ensembles of emotional and cognitive systems (Chatterjee 2014, 181–182), rarely is the following paradox considered: how is it that people “see” the emotions of others effortlessly, although the emotions cannot be localized in the brain (Minissale 2013, 90)? According to the mirror neuron approach, empathic emotion is founded upon mechanical readings of facial features, expression, and body movements conveying universal emotions. There are some problems with this theory.

First, empathy is not a single emotion but consists of various affective modulations and nuances. A visual scene can offer different cues, assessed independently or in combination, creating highly nuanced emotional experiences that may blend anger and sadness, surprise and startlement, distress and anguish (Minissale 2013, 84–91). Emotions are not experienced by humans as discrete programs (“basic emotions,” Lutz and White 1986, 410; Colombetti 2014, 26–29, 39–49). The dimensional approach, or circumplex model of affect, instead posits that two underlying neurophysiological systems work in tandem to subserve all affective states: valence (pleasure-displeasure) and arousal (activation-deactivation). It is upon this universal neurophysiological substratum that cognitive processes molding and refining emotional experience are grafted based on cultural scripts (Posner, Russell, and Peterson 2005, 14). By virtue of its focus on arousal and valence, the circumplex model is a more flexible tool in examining affect. Since this model presumes the utilization of culture-specific scripts to intersubjectively organize and give meaning to emotional experience, it also invites a deeper engagement with the culture at hand rather than taking “the emotions” at face value.

Secondly, empathy is not distinct from analytical aspects of cognition, as it arises from rational inference on cause and effect regarding the emotional state of others. These offline, “feeling with” emotions imply some access to culturally determined rules governing the emotional lives of others. They involve beliefs about how a social world may have affected them and can be mediated through representation, for instance photography, film, art, text, and material objects (cf. Matt 2013, 50). Thus, the emotion of a grieving person stems from awareness of the death of a loved one, but ours derives from the awareness of their sadness, our sense of pity, and an understanding of how grief was articulated normatively in their society. Such intellectual empathy does not entail assuming another person’s experience, but does require having a theory of other people’s minds (Matravers 1998, 25–26; Minissale 2013, 87–107; Colombetti 2014, 37–42, 185).

Finally, empathy is not an automatic response to universally legible percepts, but a socially and culturally mediated process of phenomenal understanding (Reckwitz 2012, 251; Minissale 2013, 87–96). What we see is already framed by what we think goes on in a scene (top-down model of cognition). While empathy does entail a response to a trigger, it is not produced by a passive, bottom-up reading of it; it also relies on a stock of prior concepts or paradigm scenarios which, when activated, can have a concrete effect on perception and produce emotion. This is why we tend to attribute emotions to inanimate things, such as cars and dolls: they reproduce features similar to those we have experienced to express emotional states (Colombetti 2014, 178–179). That said, emotions are more than just cultural formulas (Beatty 2013, 419). A combination of the biological and constructivist model, whereby body and culture both matter, seems useful in archaeology, since “bodies are part of the way in which emotion is culturally enacted, experienced and represented” (Tarlow 2000, 717–718). While it is reasonable to expect that all humans experience a range of emotions and that certain responses are pan-cultural (cf. Cairns 2008, 44), the content of such emotionality is not transparent and universal. To assert that the inner world of humans, in general, can be transparently read off from people’s faces and gestures—whether in

art or in real life—is problematic (e.g. Freedberg 2014, 298–307; Kipfer 2017, 11; Barrett et al. 2019).

Both the expression and the reading of emotion are skills relying on cultural competence, practice, and habitus. They are intrinsic parts of broader narratives of self and other, of cultural meanings and knowledge about the social world (Lutz and White 1986, 409, 413; Smith, Wetherell, and Campbell 2018). The ontologies of affect, i.e. the ways in which emotions are termed, elicited, and manifested, are part and parcel of the structure of feeling under scrutiny: they can be revealed through language as well as non-linguistic expressions (Cairns 2008, 46; Cairns and Fulkerson 2015, 19; Jaques 2017, 186, 203; Sonik 2017, 228). The study of “emotionology” entails consideration of such an affective field or emotional regime, i.e. the broader, intersubjective constellations of belief that create emotional norms and prescribe affect in certain social contexts (cf. Matt 2013, 45; Chaniotis 2018, 57). It also involves consideration of the specific emotional community, i.e. the social group(s) that produced these social contexts (Masségia 2012, 139; Chaniotis 2011, 265; 2018, 57). Studying emotions from this perspective has been likened to learning the vocabulary of a new language or script (Cairns 2008, 46; Lippke 2017, 160). The task at hand is priming interpretation with an understanding of how affective scenarios are formed and how responses to such scenarios are conditioned within that culture by means of bodies and things within specific performative frames (Rosenwein 2006; Harris and Flohr Sørensen 2010, 150; Swenson 2010, 183; Tarlow 2012, 180; Fleisher and Norman 2015, 5–7). Needless to say, this process of approximation, interpretation, and translation does not suffice to fully reconstruct the emotional experiences of cultural others. We can only access the “peaks and troughs of the emotional landscape” (Cairns 2008, 58; cf. Masségia 2012, 141; DeMarrais 2013, 106), i.e. general conventions, emotional practices, or affective ideals, rather than individual reactions to such prescriptions (Matt 2013, 45–47).

The feeling and expressive body

Gestures are key in the study of emotions. They are defined as actions or representations thereof that are manifestly expressive and social, even when communication is unintended (Matthews 2005a, 3, 15). Certain gestures, called emblems, are intentionally expressive and deliberately performed to communicate meaning. These are distinct from spontaneous symptoms of emotive states in that they express, rather than just betray, emotions (cf. Collingwood 1911, 121). Gestures are not necessarily universal and can be polysemous (Kendon 2004, 15, 107). Some gestures seem universal because they are highly conventionalized. Yet even these can be shaped by cultural conditioning and, while some are physiological in nature (spontaneous gestures), their potential meanings are infinite (Matthews 2005a, 15; 2005b, 9–10; cf. Lecoq 2006, 8). The classification of gestures is bewildering, but of particular interest to the study of visual culture are affective gestures (relating to states of mind), indicative gestures (entangling or pointing out objects), social gestures (involving others), and conventional gestures (symbolic/stereotyped versions of spontaneous ones) (Kendon 2004, 89, 97; Matthews 2005b, 2). Overall, the categories may overlap: for example, spontaneous gestures can also be molded by culture, whereas conventional

gestures may also be charged with emotion (Gombrich 1966, 393–399; cf. Morgan 1988, 117).

Gestures as represented in art are emblematic distillations or markers of embodied meaning, achieved through a process of reduction (cf. Morris 2001, 247). However, such distillations are not unmotivated or based on pure observation. Rather, they are founded upon preformed mental schemata and frames (Gombrich 1966, 395–396). Nevertheless, the expressive content of imagery should not be understood as a series of gestures alone. While the gestures can be purposefully stereotypical to facilitate interpretation by a knowledgeable viewer, looking only at these salient features means ignoring tension or looseness throughout the body and subtle aggregates and complementarities across entire scenes, both of which may communicate affect (Minissale 2013, 91–92; Masségla 2014, 314; 2015, 6). A smile invites further interpretation, for instance, when juxtaposed with incongruent facial features or body language. Gestures are just one component of emotional expression, with facial characteristics, voice, posture, and movement all potentially playing important roles in expressing both gross and finer affect (Lhommet and Marsella 2015, 276, 279). Furthermore, movement, body arrangement, setting, and context can elucidate relationships between social groups and social functions and communicate narrative, which predicates affect (Bobou 2013, 275; Masségla 2015, 7; Sonik 2017, 242). Thus, a broader set of contextual elements, overall composition, and the play of differences and similarities must be taken into account.

Crucially, holistic body configurations do not only have the capacity to express, but have also been shown to reproduce actual emotional states. When experimental subjects were asked to recall a memory in which they experienced an emotion, they experienced a similar range of emotions through mere recall of the memory (Gross, Crane, and Fredrickson 2010; Steel 2020, 7). Facial expressions are often used to induce emotions through the phenomenon of “emotion contagion,” although this effect can be tinted by cultural, gender, and other factors (Adolph and Alpers 2010, 209, 217). Kinesthetic action may bring about emotions through the reproduction of movements, posture, and body sensations analogous to those experienced when certain emotions were felt at a prior time. For instance, “a piece of music feels angry because it evokes the kinesthetic character of anger with the impulse to shake and kick” (Colombetti 2014, 119; cf. Reynolds and Reason 2012, 20; in an Aegean context, Morris and Peatfield 2002). Gesturing and other body techniques do not only (re-)produce emotional effects, but are also linked to the construction of memory (Noland 2009, 4). Material triggers can further shape emotion, given their connection with the body and the senses, both of which are sites of emotional experience (Kus 2010, 168–169; Kipfer 2017, 9; Chaniotis 2018, 57; Wagner-Durand 2020, 235). Further, materiality may continue to tint emotional perception outside of an initial encounter with an object or image (Matravers 1998, 6, 17; Minissale 2013, 105–106).

Approaching emotion at Tanagra

To sum up thus far, responding to the emotions of others neither entails assuming another’s subjective experience (“feeling as” empathy), nor is it based on a mechanical reading of physical characteristics neatly corresponding to

universal, programmatic emotions. Representations of emotions reflect paradigmatic scenarios of the relevant emotional community (Cairns and Nelis 2017, 10), which can be accessed through cultural knowledge of the affective field at hand (“feeling with” empathy). Approaching affect as mediated through visual culture, i.e. emotion phenomenology through representation (Cairns 2019, 9), is distinct from studying living gestures (Morris 2001, 257), but should be possible provided the affective habitus of the community in question is knowable to some extent. It is helpful, in addition, if the imagery in question has affective presence, e.g. it deploys purposely communicative emblems, including indicative, social, and conventional gestures. Funerary images, in particular, tend to have a stronger affective presence contending with the drama and social rift of death.

My goal in this paper is not to decipher what the Tanagran images connote in terms of crystalline (basic) emotions. Instead, I attempt to gain a “perspective on their perspective” (Cairns and Fulkerson 2015, 19) by exploring several directions. First, the larnakes are not just carriers of two-dimensional images, but also crafted objects that contributed to the construction of place and memory through funerary performances (cf. Tarlow 2012, 174; Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013, 7; Dakouri-Hild 2016, 14–18). Their materiality and ritual usage—what Masségla (2012, 142) calls the “emotions of physicality and use”—informs how they represented and cued affective responses to death. Continuing with a discussion of dress largely determining gender identifications, I look at multiple embodied characteristics. These include kinesthetics (body disposition and movement), proxemics (relationships among figures), and haptics (gestures toward the self, other individuals, or emically meaningful objects, cf. Morris 2001, 247), as well as facial characteristics, vocality, and insignia of physical pain. Subsequently, I examine compositional relationships linking up multiple figures in narrative to contextualize individual elements. I then entertain the material and iconographic heritage of the larnakes, since the contexts mediating reception of this funerary form may elucidate affective responses and cultural knowledge pertaining to death. Finally, I cast the Tanagran iconography against affective practices, concepts, and visual traditions in the Bronze Age world. In tandem, I discuss later parallels to place the larnakes in enhanced perspective. Against this combined background, I interpret the iconography utilizing a circumplex model of affect, identifying general affective modulations pertinent to each gender in response to death. In addition, I explore the affective potential of several larnakes accumulated in the physical space of tombs and propose a tentative script for death and affect at Tanagra.

The analysis is based on a new inventory of larnakes produced through detailed synthesis of published reports (Spyropoulos 1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1973a, 1973b, 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b, 1976a, 1976b, 1977a, 1977b, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b, 1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b, 1984a, 1984b; Spyropoulos *in press*) and museum guides (Demakopoulou and Konsola 1981; Aravantinos 2010). Close examination of published excavation photographs helped identify the larnakes (some, provisionally) and clarify their spatial context. The inventory includes 93 coffins (possibly 95, with tentative nos. 66 and 93), at least 48 of which are decorated. It excludes three likely erroneous cases (Kramer-Hajos 2015, three of nos. 47–51). It also excludes 19 unprovenanced coffins

known exclusively from the art market as the result of illicit excavations from the 1950s onwards (Kramer-Hajos 2015, nos. 10–14, 16–20, 22, 25–26, 34–35, 39–40, 43, 46; cf. Vermeule 1965; Iakovidis 1966, esp. 46–50; Spyropoulos 1970a, 185). The latter are not included in the present study for practical and ethical reasons, as they are completely lacking context and reduced to objets d’art. It is possible that additional plain and decorated examples will become known when full publication of the archaeological assemblage at Tanagra is completed (cf. Aravantinos et al. 2018, 440, n. 40).

Tanagra and the Larnakes

The settlement, the cemeteries, and the tombs

Larnax burial is a strikingly localized phenomenon at Tanagra. Larnakes of the chest type especially, whether painted or plain, are rare elsewhere on the Mainland (cf. Rutkowski 1966, 126–127, 130; Demakopoulou 1987, 74; Vlachopoulos 2018, 560, n. 23; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 628; Pliatsika 2004, 748–750, pls. 39–40). True larnakes made solely for funerary use are unattested elsewhere in Boeotia. Though Thebes was an opulent community as the seat of a palatial state (Dakouri-Hild 2005, 208), and bathtub larnakes are attested both in the settlement and the cemeteries there (Demakopoulou 1987, n. 37; Aravantinos, Dakouri-Hild, and Fappas *in prep*), no chest larnax has been found at that site to date.

The Tanagra larnakes originate from two cemeteries, Dendro (or Grava) and Gephyra (or Ledeza) (Figure 1),

situated on a series of low hills east of the contemporary village of Tanagra. Dendro is situated about 700 m from the village, while Gephyra is at about 400 m, on either side and in part underneath the Tanagra-Asopia road (Spyropoulos 1969b, 6; Spyropoulos *in press*, 1). The cemeteries seem to be associated with two distinct settlements. The Dendro settlement is located on a knoll in the plain, south of an airfield (Spyropoulos 1974a, 14–17), whereas Gephyra is 100 m east of its cemetery (Spyropoulos 1974b, 11; 1975a, 420). While additional Mycenaean settlements are known in the area, including at Grimada (Classical Tanagra), Dendro and Gephyra were the principal ones (Bintliff et al. 2004–2005, 54–55). Both produced evidence of at least two habitation horizons in LH IIIB (1300–1200 B.C.), one terminating early, the other one late in the same era (Spyropoulos 1973a, 17–18; 1974a, 14–18), suggesting they were partly contemporaneous. Cemetery use is longer, spanning the LH IIIA to the early LH IIIC period (ca. 1400–1180 B.C.). Dendro was in use from LH IIIA1 until LH IIIB2 (1400–1200 B.C.), whereas Gephyra was used from LH IIIA2 onwards (from 1380 B.C.; Spyropoulos 1971a, 10; 1974a, 18, 28). However, a LH IIA–B assemblage in Dendro tomb 115 (1550–1450 B.C.; Spyropoulos 1979a, pls. 18–19; Mountjoy 1999, 651:8, 652:22, 656:36; Supplemental Material 1) suggests earlier use in that cemetery. The larnakes are stylistically dated to a late phase, probably to the LH IIIB or transitional LH IIIB–C period (Vermeule 1965, 134–135; Phialon and Farrugia 2005, table 1). At least two larnakes contained *in situ* artifacts datable to LH IIIA2–B1 (no. 42 from Gephyra) and LH

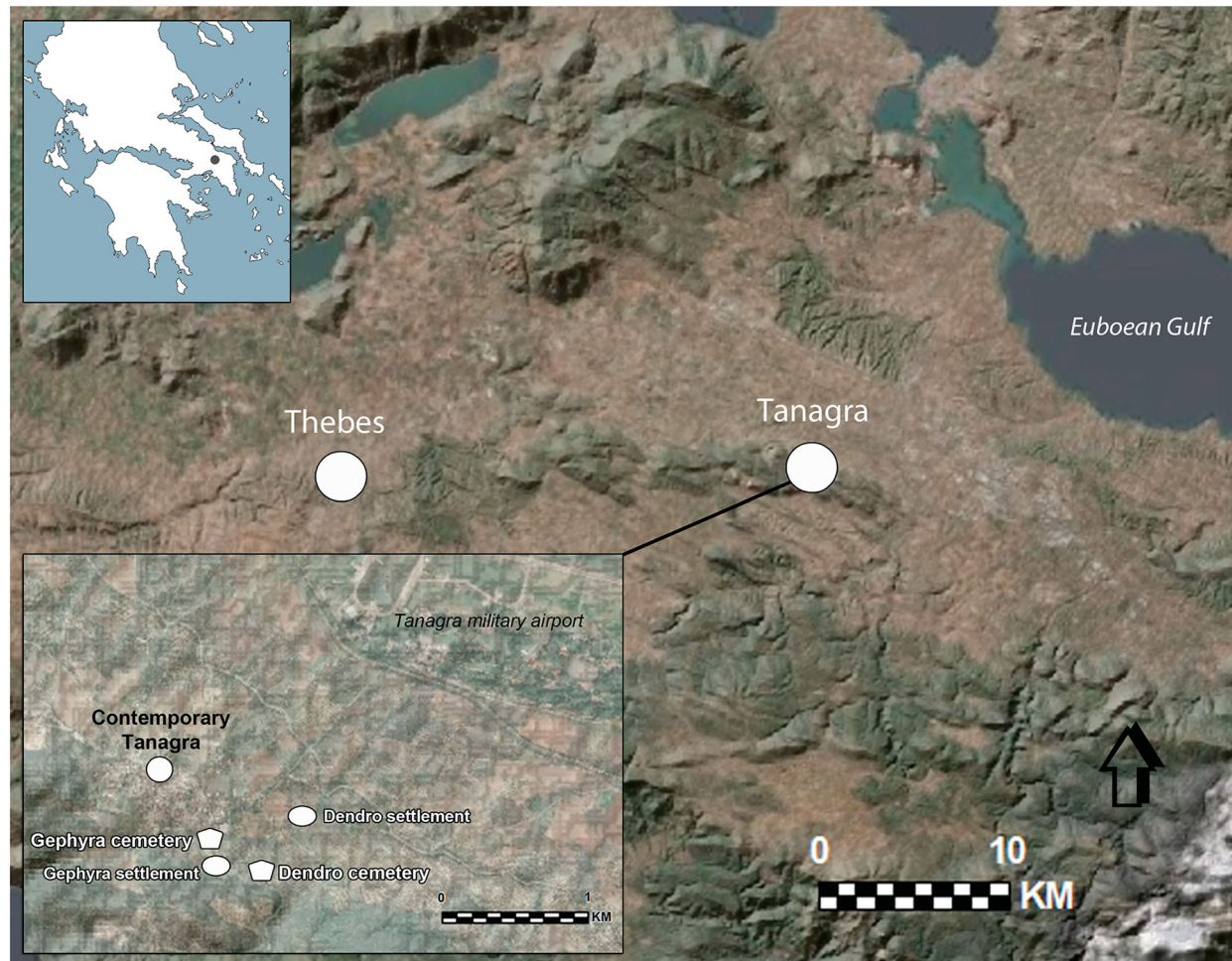


Figure 1. Map of Tanagra in eastern Boeotia, noting the approximate location of the Dendro and Gephyra settlements and cemeteries (by author).

IIIB1 (no. 11 from Gephyra; Supplemental Material 1). A possible experimental phase starting in LH IIIA1 is envisaged (Mylonas 1984, 53), although it is not evidenced. A full study of the tomb assemblages, including all larnax contents, is needed to date larnax use precisely; unfortunately, contextual information for many larnakes is lacking (Supplemental Material 1).

Estimates in the literature have varied because of the lack of a comprehensive catalog to date (Dakouri-Hild 2010, 623; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 627). Further difficulty is caused by count inconsistencies in the reports (Supplemental Material 2). A recent draft report has produced additional information on Dendro prior to 1974 (Spyropoulos *in press*). A minimum of 230 tombs are evidenced, with a relatively small percentage containing larnakes (49, 21.3%). A minimum of 93 larnakes are known (Supplemental Material 3), at least 48 (51.4%) of which are decorated. Subscription to the larnax custom seems rare at both cemeteries, with only 17.7% and 23.5% of tombs at Gephyra and Dendro, respectively, containing larnakes (Table 1). Thus, the social dictates prompting this burial type affected both sub-communities similarly, with Dendro somewhat more invested in the custom. More larnakes are decorated at Dendro (50% vs. 47.3%), although the difference is not enormous (Table 1). Most pictorial larnakes also originate from Dendro (50% vs. 39.4% from Gephyra) (Table 2). A 2×2 contingency and Fisher exact probability test suggest that differences between the cemeteries in terms of larnax use are not statistically significant (i.e. $p \leq 0.05$, Table 3).

The larnakes were found in rock-carved chamber tombs, a type with inherent liminal qualities (Boyd 2016, 74; Papadimitriou 2016, 210) and house-like features, such as a formal entrance with threshold and lintel reached via a long entryway, carved benches, niches and secondary rooms inside, and a flat, domed, or gabled roof (cf. Galanakis 2016). The

larnakes were found in small numbers (one to three per tomb), with the notable exception of Gephyra tomb 6, which contained 16. They were not buried once inside the tomb but placed on the floor with no predetermined orientation, remaining prominent in the funerary assemblage and visible to intermittent tomb visitors. Larnax burial does not negate other forms of burial in the same tomb: sometimes larnakes are found side-by-side with regular inhumations (e.g. Spyropoulos 1969a, 23; 1969b, 13; 1971a, pls. 12a, 15). Their drainage perforations and in situ remains show that they were used mostly for primary single burials, both adults and children (of unknown gender), although they functioned as ossuaries on occasion (Spyropoulos 1970a, 187, 190; Spyropoulos *in press*, fig. 13).

Furnishings, mostly ceramic vessels, jewelry, and weapons, have been found in tombs that survived looting (e.g. Spyropoulos 1969a, 1969b, 1970a; cf. Phialon 2001). There are indications of social ranking within the funerary community, both in terms of the quality of furnishings and the size, location, and quality of graves. For example, the Gephyra graves are arranged in dense rows, with the larger and more richly furnished ones positioned higher up on the slopes (Spyropoulos 1969b). While Dendro has produced a relatively higher quality of smaller furnishings, consistently with the earlier use-span of that cemetery, Gephyra is associated with “higher quality” larnakes (i.e. “official style,” Spyropoulos 1971a, 9). Tomb 6 at Gephyra, with its high larnax concentration, is one of the largest tombs in that cemetery and positioned higher up on the hill (Spyropoulos 1970a, 185). However, not all larnakes originate from the larger, better built, or better furnished tombs (Spyropoulos *in press*, 3). Conclusive answers as to the nature of the assemblages, details of the architecture, and correlations between larnax burial and social status markers must await full publication of the finds.

Table 1. Summary of evidenced tombs and larnakes from Tanagra by provenance, based on data in Supplemental Material 2.

Cemetery	Evidenced Tombs	Tombs with Larnakes	% of Tombs with Larnakes/Within Each Cemetery	Minimum Larnax Count	% of Total Larnakes	Evidently Decorated Larnakes	Decorated % of Total Larnakes /Within Each Cemetery
Dendro	140	33	14.3% / 23.5%	50	53.7%	25	26.8% / 50%
Gephyra	90	16	6.9% / 17.7%	38	40.8%	18	19.3% / 47.3%
Indeterminate	-	-	-	5	5.3%	5	-
Total	230	49	21.3%	93	100%	48	51.4%

Table 2. Surface treatment of larnakes by provenance; italics = possible cases.

Provenance	Decorated				Other		Total
	Pictorial	Motifs Only	Unknown Decoration	Total Decorated	Plain	Unknown Surface Treatment	
Dendro	19	2	4	25	13 (+7)	11	50
Gephyra	15	3	0	18	5 (+4)	11	38
Indeterminate	4	1	0	5	0	0	5
Total	38	6	4	48	18 (+5)	22	93

Table 3. Comparison of Dendro and Gephyra data using 2×2 contingency tables and Fisher exact probability (one-tailed); larnakes of indeterminate provenance excluded.

Cemetery	Tombs with Larnakes	Tombs Without Larnakes	Total	Fisher Exact Probability Test P-value
Dendro	33	107	140	0.1893
Gephyra	16	74	90	
Total	49	181	230	
	Decorated Larnakes	Other Larnakes	Total	Fisher Exact Probability Test P-value
Dendro	25	25	50	0.4883
Gephyra	18	20	38	
Total	43	45	88	



Figure 2. Views of larnax no. 21, Gephyra tomb 22 (adapted from Aravantinos 2010, 101–107; approximate scale).

Larnax materialities

The Tanagra larnakes are rectangular, of the Cretan chest type (Rutkowski 1968, fig. 2:1–5) with four short legs (Figure 2). With the exception of an example with a small vertical handle on each side (no. 75) and another one with a handled gabled lid (no. 81), they are usually handleless, unlike their Cretan counterparts. Their corner posts, recessed panels, legs, and boxy design allude to household furniture such as wooden chests (Morgan 1987, 171; Demakopoulou 1987, 73; Watrous 1991, 288; in model form, cf. Pliatsika 2004, 772, n. 419, pls. 45–46). They may be more elaborate and durable versions of wooden coffins, traces of which survive in other Mainland sites and which may have carried elite connotations themselves (Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 184; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 659). They have perforated sides to permit better firing (a technological connection with pottery), as well as holes on their bases to allow proper drainage (Spyropoulos *in press* fig. 5). They are a distinctly funerary type that finds no parallels in settlements.

Their lids, when they survive, are flat, unlike Cretan coffins (with the exception of no. 81), and were found shattered inside or around the larnakes. Some lids were made of separate terracotta slabs allowing partial opening, and some show evidence of mending. They are usually plain, but sometimes they are elaborately painted with abstract motifs (nos. 64 and 67, possibly also no. 21). In a few cases, only at Gephyra, the lids carried finials or figural attachments (nos. 11–13 and 37). They were found frequently on the floors next to the larnakes (e.g. Spyropoulos 1969b, 9, pl. 2a), but appear to have been attached originally on each corner of the lid. These zoomorphic finials are shaped like winged demons or birds facing away from the centerline of the larnax. They are perched atop decorated round discs, which are in turn placed inside horns of consecration; their X- and cross patterns resemble paint work on stirrup-jars from nearby Thebes (cf. Raison 1968) (Figure 3). Pieces of wire survive on some finials, indicating suspension during some stage of their use (Spyropoulos 1969b, 13; 1971a, 9; cf. Gallou 2005, 40). When in place, the finials likely held an apotropaic or protective function, given that the demons or birds are positioned prominently on top of the coffin and

have clearly demarcated, staring eyes. While the idea of animals embedded in the lid and birds depicted perching on double axes are both attested on Minoan larnakes (Morgan 1987, 174, 183), parallels for these winged creatures are only known from later contexts in Greece, namely an Archaic terracotta model of a coffin being transported on a wheeled cart on top of which a winged creature is attached (Garland 1985, 33, fig. 9) and an 8th century B.C. funerary stele (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 222, n. 455). The later date of these parallels echoes the “forward looking” iconography of the larnakes (cf. “Death with feeling,” below).

The larnakes are made from fired coarse clay similar to that used for ceramic wares (e.g. utilitarian pottery and domestic bathtubs), although no petrographic analysis has been attempted to date. The surface is slipped in a manner reminiscent of pottery, and the paints are also comparable (Vermeule 1965, 126; Rutkowski 1966, 131). A similar dialog of larnax and pottery production is documented in Crete (Merosis 2018, 345–351). The decorated larnakes carry designs in red or black/gray and are frequently bichrome; a white wash is sometimes seen as background (e.g. nos. 5 and 53). The paint is directly applied on the smoothed/slipped ceramic surface. Larnax morphology, size variation, and irregularities suggest that they were built by hand, but partial wooden molds or planks may have helped keep the sides from warping or collapsing during drying (Spyropoulos 1971a, 11). Their dimensions vary, ranging from 0.43–1.13 m long, 0.20–0.38 m wide, and 0.32–0.78 m high. Their average volume (including the legs) is small, about 0.15 m³ in both cemeteries; some larnakes are so small that they could have only accommodated small children or functioned as ossuaries. A scatterplot of measurement data for larnakes with a known cemetery provenance indicates that some comprise a distinct sub-group across both cemeteries, being longer, wider, and taller than usual (nos. 5, 14–15, and 36 from Gephyra and nos. 24 and 76 from Dendro) (Figure 4). Container dimensions (length and width) do not seem to correlate with a particular style (cf. “The question of style and affect,” below). For instance, while some of the larger ones bear “official style” iconography (nos. 5 and 14–15), at least one of them (no. 24) is painted in the so-called



Figure 3. Larnax no. 11, Gephyra tomb 6, with bird finials attached (after Aravantinos 2010, 100; approximate scale), the Perati bowl (after Demakopoulou 1988, fig. 177, upper right, not to scale), and transport stirrup jar BE 944 adapted from (image has been digitally altered) the House of Kadmos, Thebes (by author, not to scale).

“amateuristic” style (Kramer-Hajos 2015, 638–650, groups 1 and 4, see below). Moreover, several other “official style” coffins and the most impressive one (no. 21) in terms of iconographic repertoire and composition are of average container size. Thus, differences in these dimensions are probably due to practical dictates. In terms of proportions and overall height (including the legs), there is a spatial dimension to the data: the Gephyra larnakes have about average length-to-width ratios and lower length-to-height ratios (i.e. they are taller), while at Dendro they tend to be narrower and shorter. “Official style” larnakes, largely found at Gephyra, also tend to be taller (on average, 0.59 m high vs. 0.55 m high with provenanced larnakes of known dimensions) (Table 4). These differences could be due to particular workshop practices or preferences in each sub-community. Building larnakes and painting them may not necessarily have been a streamlined, single-workshop process.

The general form of the Tanagra larnakes is best paralleled in central and western Crete, where the chest type with lid is more common (Merousis 2018, 342) (Figure 5). The limestone sarcophagus of Agia Triada is morphologically comparable, despite the iconographic and construction differences (Long 1974; Watrous 1991, 291). Such links have been interpreted as an indication of population influx in the later 13th century B.C. and the emergence of a new kind of mortuary identity at Tanagra (Spyropoulos 1971a, 10; cf. Phialon 2001) alien to LH IIIB Boeotia. Standard Mycenaean customs, such as a pit and floor inhumations, attested side by side with the larnax burials in the tombs, complicate such ethnic interpretations. If the larnakes are the work of itinerant craftsmen who “caught the fancy of town” (Vermeule 1965, 137), they must have worked with established pottery workshops, as the slip technique, the colors, and other morphological traits suggest a close link with local ceramic

traditions. Regardless of the actual ethnic identity of the makers or their patrons, the larnakes as material objects appear to encode notions of social difference and distance in the direction of Crete.

Larnakes and ritual

The larnakes were the foci of complex funerary rituals, both primary and secondary, within the tomb and prior to deposition in the settlement, as evidenced by material remains of practices in the tombs and the iconography itself: prothesis scenes involving larnax facsimiles can be seen on two larnakes (nos. 21 and 23), supporting the idea that the coffins

Table 4. Comparison of larnax proportions from Dendro and Gephyra; average length to width is generally 2.48, at Gephyra 2.47 (about average), at Dendro 2.50 (narrower); average length to height is generally 1.46, at Gephyra 1.38 (taller), at Dendro 1.67 (shorter); ^ = “official style” larnakes; ~ = schematic and abstract style larnakes; italics = narrower or shorter (relative to length) than average; * = unknown.

Cemetery	Tomb	Larnax	L/W Ratio	L/H Ratio
Gephyra	6	5^	2.91	1.54
Gephyra	6	6^	2	1.5
Gephyra	6	8	2.15	1.16
Gephyra	6	11^	2.17	1.4
Gephyra	6	14^	2.69	1.44
Gephyra	6	15^	2.76	1.4
Gephyra	6	19^	2.52	1.26
Gephyra	22	21~	2.35	1.23
Gephyra	51	33^	2.87	1.35
Gephyra	60	36	2.83	1.64
Gephyra	60	37^	2.42	1.23
Gephyra	17	41	2.48	1.22
Gephyra	32	42	2.2	1.48
Gephyra	49	43	2.31	1.48
Dendro	3	23~	2.14	1.41
Dendro	32	24~	2.96	1.4
Dendro	*	75	2.35	2.06
Dendro	*	76	2.55	2.12
Dendro	5	78	2.5	1.37

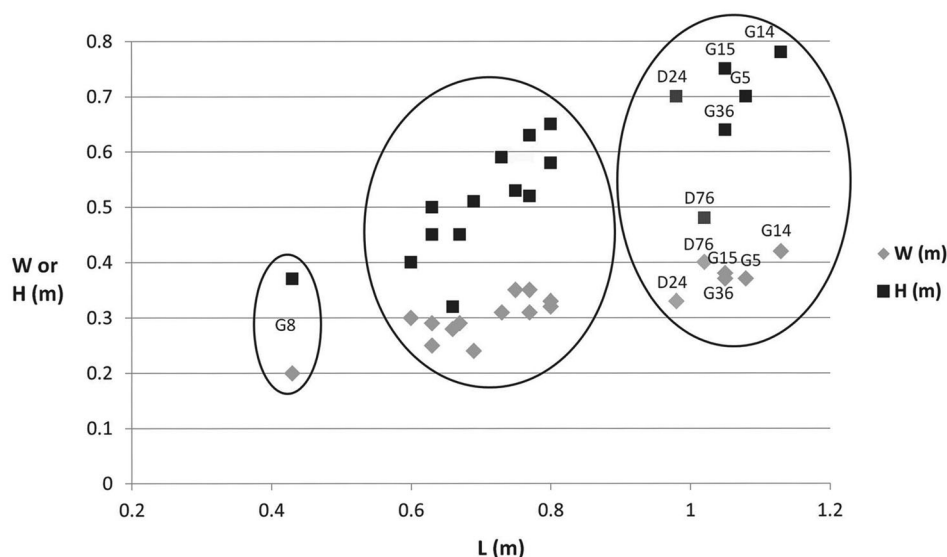


Figure 4. Scatterplot of larnax measurements (width and height plotted vs. length); the outlier tombs within the left and right groups are labelled by cemetery (D = Dendro, G = Gephyra) and identifying number; coffins with known cemetery provenance only.

were used as stages for funerary rituals prior to burial. The deposition of the deceased was likely preceded by a procession that traversed the life-space of the community (cf. Boyd 2016; Papadimitriou 2016). A heavy weight, the usually absent handles, and an unwieldy design make it unlikely that they were used to directly transport the dead from the settlement, and were probably loaded on animal-drawn carts (cf. Garland 1985, 32–33, fig. 9). Rituals in tombs included the

deposition of furnishings, such as jewelry and small ceramic vessels placed inside the coffins on the body or on the lid (Vermeule 1965, 123, 148). Figurines, drinking vessels, and traces of funerary meals in the tombs also suggest a host of ritual and social activities during and/or after funerals. Notably, the bird- or demon-like finials (cf. “Larnax materialities,” below) are detachable: they were fitted into slots and attached with unbaked clay on the lids (Spyropoulos 1971a, 8). The

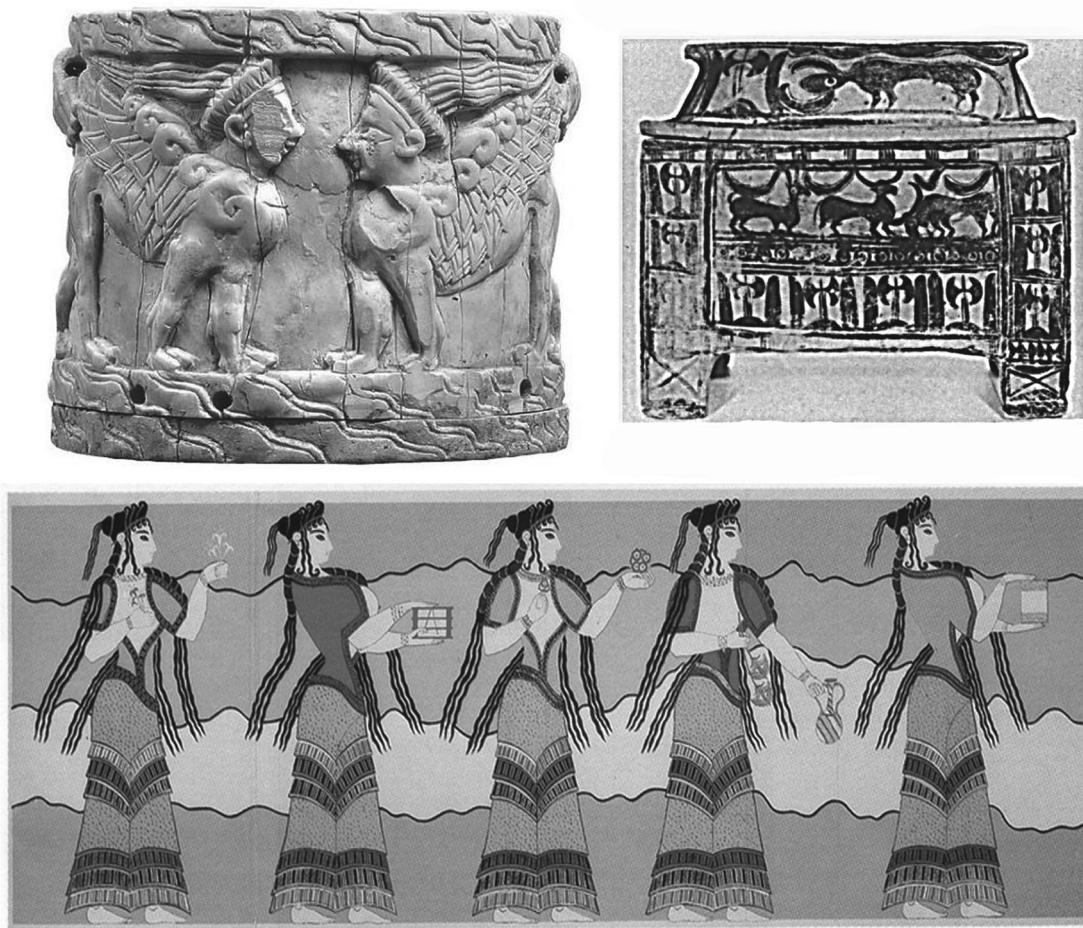


Figure 5. The sphinx ivory pyxis from the Kastellia cemetery, Thebes (upper left, after Aravantinos 2010, 88), a larnax from the Armenoi cemetery, Crete (upper right, after Watrous 1991, pl. 88a), and the Procession of Ladies fresco adapted from the House of Kadmos, Thebes (after Reusch 1956, pl. 15); not to scale.

fact that they are removable, their attachment perforations, and the partially opening lids of the coffins suggest repeated interactions and periodic ritual curation of the dead after the funeral.

The larnakes were arranged carefully in an apparent effort to preserve them as much as possible over the course of time, especially when multiple ones have been found in the same tomb (Spyropoulos 1969b, 8–9), implying longer-term curation in physical space. During secondary treatment or tomb reuse, previously deposited remains were partly cleared and furnishings were removed and placed on the lids or elsewhere in the tomb (Spyropoulos 1969b, 10). As part of that process, some coffins were used as ossuaries (Spyropoulos 1970a, 190; cf. Spyropoulos *in press*, fig. 13). While some evidently broke over the course of time, the effort to maintain furnishings with corresponding larnakes, the careful arrangement of surviving ones, and evidence of mending further suggest attentive mindfulness towards them. Their physical presence and persistent materiality in the tombs cannot be overstated. If death defamiliarizes the dead by creating a “second body” (bones) and secondary ritual centers on what is not there (Seremetakis 1991, 188, 220; cf. Masségli 2012, 140), the larnakes can be seen as “third bodies” demarcating the disarticulated dead in the tomb for the longer term, functioning as aide-mémoires for past events and perished bodies (cf. Boyd 2016, 63). Even though the coffins are never anthropomorphic, their possible function as metaphorical projections of being would be consistent with the general usage of certain furnishings as somatic extensions and technologies of commemoration in the Mycenaean world (Malafouris 2016, 305). This notion also finds some support in the Homeric usage of material culture, especially bespoke artifacts, as memory-triggers evoking specific dead persons and their burial ceremonies (Palaima 2019, 391).

Affect and materiality

Larnax materiality points to many symbolic directions through relationships of contiguity, metonymy, synecdoche, and analogy/isomorphism with other crafted objects,

persons/entities, places, and events (Table 5). The coffins are immediately associated with the corpse and funerary items contained within them, the funerary care-takers who handled the corpses and the coffins, and the tombs that accommodated them. They can also be metonymically and synecdochally linked to the funeral, bodies/ancestors buried nearby in the tomb, the extended family/kin, the cemetery, and its broader community, all of which helped transform the dead into ancestors. Their material characteristics betray isomorphic analogies with household goods and ritual objects that are not exclusively funerary. While some of these may be explained by common production practices, others are accordant with the domesticizing microcosm of the tomb itself. Their movable components show that they were subjected to ritualistic practices and manipulations in the tombs upon deposition. Being of Cretan inspiration while also local in execution, the larnakes straddle the divide between the distant and the indigenous. The use of a larnax is culturally unusual and conveys social difference. Given that subscription to larnax burial is rare even at Tanagra and is attested side-by-side with standard forms of burial, such differentiation may have been asserted even within the tomb/kin group.

Thus, the larnakes seem to operate in the liminal space between the public and the private, life and death, the household and the tomb, physical existence and the lack thereof, artifact and body, and the distant and the local. This liminality appears to signal metaphysical anxieties in response to death, especially in regards to the separation of the dead from the living community and the household (a common site of collective memory), the cessation of their physical existence, the discontinuation of their social identity, a desire to connect the dead to distant progenitors (actual or imagined), and possibly to collective memory of migration (cf. Wright 2020, 5, 7). Once placed in the tombs, the larnakes became long-term funerary resources, anchoring cumulative signification, collective memory, and the performance of funerary rites, which materialized, honored, and tended to the dead for the long term. Like other furnishings, they extended the familial or kin-based duty of care from the

Table 5. A possible field of larnax semantic connections; C = contiguity; M = metonymy; S = synecdoche; R = resemblance; D = depiction.

Indexical Symbolism	Iconic Symbolism
Contiguity, metonymy, synecdoche	Resemblance, depiction
Things	
Funerary furnishings C	Larnax D
Funerary shrouds C	Shroud D
Cultic implements/paraphernalia M	Furniture R
	Pottery R, D
	Terracotta figurines R, D
	Idols D
	Elite media (ivories, wall paintings, etc.) R
Persons or entities	
Deceased body/person C	Deceased body/person D
Funerary caretaker/family/kin C, M, S	Funerary caretaker/family/kin D
	Sphinxes D
	Spirits/demons/birds D (3D, finials)
Places	
The tomb C	The townscape?/buildings D
The cemetery M, S	Metaphysical transitory spaces (columns/pillars, other boundaries) D
The originating community/household M, S	The underworld? D
The palatial community of Thebes M, S	
A distant community (Crete) M, S	
Events	
The funeral/witnessing M, S	The funeral/witnessing/procession D
Secondary rites M, S	Agons, hunts D

living community, the settlement, and the household into the deathscape and the world of ancestors; in this capacity, they are inherently attentive, intimate, and affective. Unlike other furnishings, however, they are also carriers of specialized funerary imagery that supercharged their affective potential.

The Iconography

Visual elements

Coffin burial at Tanagra is strongly correlated with painted decoration: 51.6% of the larnakes are painted (Table 1), with a possibly unfinished example painted only with frames (no. 80). Their multiple large surfaces are ideal for displaying narrative iconography, accentuating their visibility and sensorial impact during rites. A similar point has been made for larger pictorial vessels, noting their potential for rotating visual narratives and unfolding “side chapters,” as well as their ability to arrest attention in physical space (Vlachopoulos 2018, 561, 567). While pictorial vessels were vehicles for the display of iconography in settlements and cemeteries alike, the larnax is distinctive in its potential as tableau mort: broadcasting images related to death appears to have been one of its primary purposes. Unsurprisingly, pictorial compositions are more common than just motifs (79.1%) (Table 2). Larnax iconography is always externally oriented, towards the gaze of the living; unlike bathtubs (Von Rüdén 2020, 400) or Egyptian coffins, they are never painted inside.

Larnakes with human figures, animals, or sphinxes are common (Table 6). Chariots, a boat, coffins, weapons, the kylix, and an idol (?) enhance narrative or serve as focal points. Architectural elements, floral motifs (palm, lily, ivy, and papyrus), or outdoor landscape features (rock pattern or boulder) abstractly establish a *mise en scène*. Windows, central metopes, checkered posts, timber-beam ends, running spirals, horns of consecration, and columns/pillars imply physical boundaries that encase or set figures apart. Several of these also project the idea of elite architecture and sacred space onto the physicality and structural parts of the larnakes (legs, sideposts, tops, and bottoms; cf. Immerwahr 1995, 113). Geometric or abstract motifs usually complement pictorial scenes and rarely occur on their own. Larnakes with female figures occur most frequently, in

Table 6. Iconographic elements by provenance (the counts represent larnakes, not individual element attestations); italics = secondary motifs (not in main panels); underlined text = 3D iconographic elements (finials).

Iconographic Elements	Cemeteries			All Sites	Total
	Dendro	Gephyra	Indeterminate		
Women	11	13	3	27	27
Men		4		4	4
Other figures (gender unidentified)	3		2	5	5
Sphinxes	5	1		6	6
Corpses	1	1		2	2
Bulls leaped or processed	1	1		2	2
Bulls/dogs?		1		1	1
Horses		1		1	1
Goats		1		1	1
Griffins?	1			1	1
Birds	1	1	1	1, 1, 1	3
Sepias	1			1	1
Windows		2, 1		2, 1	3
Columns/pillars		1		1	1
Chariots		1		1	1
Boats	1			1	1
Coffins	1	1		2	2
Swords		1		1	1
Kylikes	1			1	1
Idols/palladia			1	1	1
Horns FM36	2, 2	1		2, 2, 1	5
Palm FM14–15	5	2		7	7
Lily FM9	1			1	1
Ivy FM12	1	1, 2		2, 2	4
Papyrus FM11, 18	1, 1			1, 1	2
Other floral	3, 1	4	2, 1	9, 2	11
Rock pattern FM33–34	1	1		2	2
Boulder		1	1	1, 1	2
Spiral FM46, 51	5, 6	2	1, 1	8, 7	15
Other spiral	1			1	1
Adder FM69		1		1	1
U-pattern FM48		1		1	1
Semicircle FM42, 43	2, 1	3		5, 1	6
Circle FM41	3, 1	2		5, 1	6
Other circle	2			2	2
Quirk FM48	1, 4	4		5, 4	9
Stripe FM67	3			3	3
Checker FM56	2, 8	12	2	4, 20	24
Foliate FM64	4	6		10	10
Stem/tongue FM19	2, 3	3		5, 3	8
Tassel FM72	1			1	1
Lozenge FM73	1	1, 1		1, 2	3
Wavy line FM53	4, 1	1		5, 1	6
Cross FM17, 54	1, 1	4		1, 5	6
Other cross	1			1	1
Horizontal lines	1	1		2	1

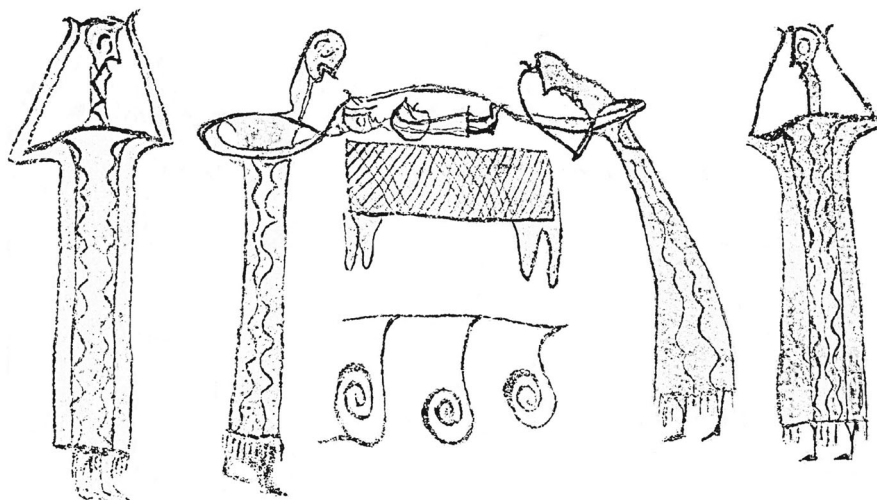


Figure 6. View of larnax no. 23, Dendro tomb 3 (digital rendering, adapted from Aravantinos 2010, fig. 114; not to scale).

both cemeteries. However, there are some iconographic differences across the two cemeteries. Larnakes with sphinxes and horns are more common at Dendro, where a wider variety of floral and geometric/abstract elements is attested. Elements such as sepia, boats, and kylix are only attested at Dendro. Inversely, men, chariots, horses, goats, columns, windows, and weapons occur only at Gephyra, where a wider variety of animal motifs is also attested. What seems to be driving the latter picture is that some elements are co-present in male imagery from Gephyra (e.g. hunting, fighting, and bull-leaping). The lack of male figures from Dendro is striking, considering that most pictorial larnakes originate from this cemetery (Table 2).

Dress and gender identity

Dress is of key significance in the analysis of Tanagran imagery, since gender is constructed primarily by means of costume as “social skin” (cf. Ahlberg 1971, 73; Steel 2006, 149; Pliatsika 2012, 613–614; Poole 2020, 19; Steel 2020, 5, 10). The women wear ankle-length dresses of three main styles. The first is plank-like and straight with a simple torso (Figure 6). The second is long with black semicircles, a pattern resembling a hide (nos. 62 and 64, right, Figure 9). The third and most common dress type is flounced and inspired by elite Creto-Mycenaean costumes seen in glyptic and wall-painting art. While sometimes solid-painted (Figure 2) or plain, this usually features elaborate patterns, waistbands, and trims (Figure 7). The upper body can be integrated with the lower (Figures 8, 9) or be separate from it, with a triangular (no. 24, Table 7), lunette-shaped (Figures 3, 11) or corset-like torso (Figure 7). Some versions of this type expose the breasts frontally, resembling figurines and demonstrating a further link with terracotta traditions (Figure 8). The women frequently have their heads uncovered, showing a puffy hairdo or loop-like curls in imitation of elite coiffures (e.g. Figure 5; cf. Morgan 1987, fig. 4) which can be hard to distinguish from a polos cap; sometimes a braid or plait hangs in the back (Figure 7). Other women have no hair (Figures 6, 9) but can nevertheless retain the schematic plait (Figure 11). Rarely, a wind-swept crest or tuft of hair is depicted on top of their heads (no. 71, Table 8). Some of these features (curls and windswept crests/hair) are shared with sphinxes (nos. 52 and 70, Table 8, Figure 12) and are paralleled in ivories (Figure 5).

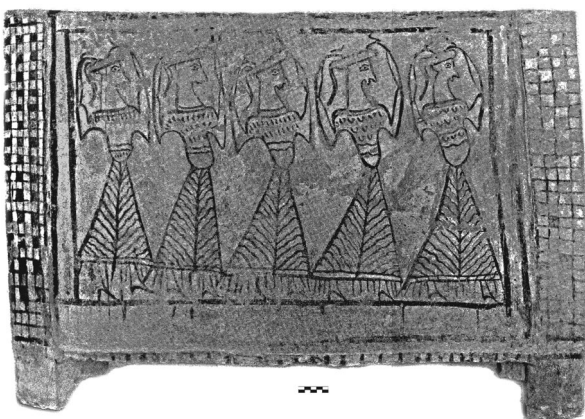


Figure 7. Larnax no. 15, Gephyra tomb 6 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1970a, fig. 9; approximate scale).



Figure 8. Larnax no. 51, Dendro tomb 36 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1973a, pl. 10b; scale unavailable).

The men, when garbed, are depicted as warriors or “civil mourners in status” (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 46–47, 54). They may wear a long tunic or chiton with a diagonal fold, tied on one shoulder (Figures 12, 14). A possible second type appears only once: it is plain, with a waistband instead of a diagonal fold (Figure 12), but is distinct from the women’s garments within the same artistic style (“official”) in its simplicity. Other men don a heavier tunic, with a thick folded sleeve and a baggy appearance that conceals both arms (Figure 13). None of these garment types are fringed, solid-painted, or elaborate. At least one of the men wears a cap that resembles a boar tusk helmet (cf. Marinatos 1997, 283–284, figs. 4–5; Figure 14, far left). On another larnax, the men are nude (cf. Baxevani 1995, 26) or presumed to wear loincloths (Figure 2). This is probably justified by their nature as youthful active figures (bull-leapers, warriors/duelers, and hunters), a further trait linking the Tanagra iconography with Creto-Mycenaean wall-paintings. In both genders, garments worn are generally similar, despite differences in coloring or pattern, creating an atmosphere of uniformity.

Body disposition, arrangement, and movement

Processing, an inherently performative activity putting the “collective body” on public display and encouraging social integration (Wedde 2004, 151; Boyd 2016, 64; Dabney 2016, 232), is the default for both male and female figures (Table 9, Supplemental Material 4). Most human figures are depicted in full, processing in single or opposite



Figure 9. Larnax no. 62, unclear provenance (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1974a, pl. 10a; scale unavailable).

Table 7. Human gestures attested on the Tanagra larnakes; * = unknown.

Gesture	Description	Cat. No.	Cemetery	Tomb
	Hands on head (female)	5	Gephyra	6
	Hands on head (female)	62	*	*
	Hands on head (ungendered)	50	Dendro	47
	Hands beside head (female)	24	Dendro	32
	Hands beside head (female)	42	Gephyra	32
	Hands beside head (ungendered)	50	Dendro	47
	One hand on head, other forward (female)	24	Dendro	32
	One hand on head, one on forehead (female)	24	Dendro	32
	One hand on head, one on forehead (female)	23	Dendro	3
	Extend one arm forward (female)	62	*	*
	Arms tucked (male)	37	Gephyra	60
Touching boundaries				
	One hand waves or touches boundary (female?)	6	Gephyra	6
	One hand waves or touches boundary (male)	7	Gephyra	6
	One hand waves or touches boundary (male)	33	Gephyra	51
Touching other humans				
	Touch each other (male)	33	Gephyra	51
	Touch corpse (female)	21	Gephyra	22
	Touch corpse/shroud (female)	23	Dendro	3
Interacting with animals				
	Attack animal, hunt (male)	21	Gephyra	22

(Continued)

Table 7. Continued.

Gesture	Description	Cat. No.	Cemetery	Tomb
	Touch bull's back and horns, bull-leap (male)	21	Gephyra	22
	Hold bull by horns (ungendered)	21	Gephyra	22
	Drive horse-drawn chariot (ungendered)	21	Gephyra	22
Interacting with supernatural creatures				
	Pull a leashed sphinx with waist (female)	24	Dendro	32
	Interact with sphinx (male)	33	Gephyra	51
Handling objects				
	Brandish sword	21	Gephyra	22
	Hold oar (ungendered)	50	Dendro	47
	Display figurine (female)	62	*	*
	Hold kylix (female)	51	Dendro	36

directions. They traverse abstract pictorial space or landscapes (sometimes with architectural facades seen in the background or rock/pebble patterns beneath their feet, [Figures 9, 13](#)). Interior spaces are implied when figures are arranged heraldically on either side of a central element (e.g. metope or column, [Figure 12](#)). The processions consist mostly of women, although sometimes men are shown (nos. 7, 8, 21, and 37, [Figures 12–14](#)). Only in one case are processing figures exclusively male (no. 37, [Figure 13](#)). When both male and female figures are depicted (nos. 7, 8, and 21, [Figure 2](#)), there is clear separation, with women in different registers or on different larnax sides. In some cases, human bodies display a slight forward or backward tilt, which endows them with a dance-like attitude, especially when they are arranged in groups. In one example, the women's hips seem to sway in contrapposto, in addition to the tilt (no. 24, one hand on forehead, [Table 7](#); cf. [Wedde 2004, 180](#)). In another processional scene (no. 41), the women's heads are thrust backward, while their bodies are tilted forward, introducing somatic tension and a sense of live motion ([Spyropoulos 1971a, 13](#); cf. [Poole 2020, 162, fig. 914a–b](#)). The female corpse handlers lean deeply into the prothesis (nos. 21 and 23, [Figures 2, 6](#)), engaging strongly with the task at hand, the coffin, and the deceased. While males also display a slight forward or backward tilt during processing (nos. 7–8, 33, and 37, [Figure 12](#)), the most active males are prone bull-leapers (no. 21, [Figure 2](#)), hunters, or duelers (no. 21, [Figure 2](#)).

Proxemics, haptics, and gestures

Both genders are engaged in actions and gestures oriented towards the self and/or other entities (objects or boundaries, sphinxes, or animals) (Supplemental Materials 4, 5). Interacting with one's own body is rare with male figures, and certain actions appear to be strictly gender-coded. Only women touch their head or raise both arms beside the head, place a corpse in a larnax or display objects ([Figures 8, 9](#); cf. [Mala-fouris 2016, 312](#)). Only women bring one hand to the forehead (no. 24, [Table 7](#); cf. [Morgan 1987, fig. 4](#); [Wedde 1999, G4–G5](#); [Poole 2020, 162, fig. 914a–b](#)) or both arms beside the head (nos. 24 and 42, [Table 7](#); [Wedde 1999, G13, G15](#)). Touching one's head with both hands ([Wedde 1999, G16](#)) seems a strong cultural imperative that is nearly coterminous with the female gender (cf. [Ahlberg 1971, 78](#)). A woman (no. 24, [Table 7](#)) is even “made” to pull a leashed sphinx by her waist to permit her to do so, a portrayal that also emphasizes the narrative bond between the two figures (cf. [Tournavitou 2018, 508](#); Supplemental Material 5). The handful of women who do not engage in this particular action have both hands occupied by a corpse or appear to hold some kind of key performative role, for instance displaying objects. In one scene, an officiant raises a kylix with her left hand, her right one on her waist as another woman with both arms on her head processes behind her across a divide; she is making a toast or about to perform a libation ([Figure 8](#)). In another scene,

four processing women face a female officiant on whose outstretched arm rests a smaller figure, either a statuette or tokenized human (Spyropoulos 1974a, 12). The officiant raises one arm towards the others as if she addresses them, while the “idol” wears a dress and raises the arms above its head, echoing the women’s gestures (Figure 9). Both these gestures and the entangled objects/figures are paralleled in ritualistic imagery in wall-paintings, although not in funerary contexts, at Knossos, Ierapetra, Mycenae, and Tiryns (e.g. Merousis 1998, 217; Wright 2004, 164–165, fig. 15; Jones 2009, fig. 4; Maran, Papadimitriou, and Thaler 2015, fig. 7). However, there is abundant evidence on the funerary usage of kylikes, which are frequently found smashed at tomb entrances (e.g. Aravantinos, Dakouri-Hild, and Fappas *in prep*; cf. Wright 2004, 169). Other gestures include both arms raised beside the head, one hand brought to the face or the forehead, and interacting with objects (Table 7). The women do not touch each other, which is consistent with the rare homosocial tactility among women in Aegean iconography (Poole 2020, 125–126, figs. 7.20–23).

On the other hand, only males interact with animals in the form of hunting, bull-leaping or controlling bulls; only they fight or touch each other (Figures 2, 12). The latter action (a pat or light rest on the figure in front; cf. a similar gesture at Akrotiri: Poole 2020, 114, fig. 7.1), combined with the small number of men in the relevant groups, creates an atmosphere of intimate, homosocial, or familial affinity in these scenes. Placement of a hand on the waist is seen mostly on men (nos. 7–8 and 37?, Figure 14); only a single female, the kylix-raiser (no. 51), is depicted in this stance (Figure 8). Furthermore, it is usually men who lift their front arm forward, reaching for or touching boundaries in pictorial space (Figure 12). The only exception is a group of figures shown waving or touching windows of appearance, a proxy for elite architecture (Figure 10). Two of the figures (probably women, given the presence of braids) raise one arm forward across the face in a salute-like gesture towards an implied, unseen spectacle beyond. The scene is reminiscent of the “window krater” from Kourion (Rystedt 2018, 517, fig. 3). Usually pillars/columns (no. 33) or checkerboard panels (nos. 7–8) separate the men, but these boundaries are negotiated and bridged through tactile gestures. For instance, the “prehistoric Oedipus” (Figure 12) encounters a sphinx through the intervening liminal device of a sacred pillar or column touched by both figures, a possible



Figure 10. Larnax no. 6, Gephyra tomb 6 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1969b, pl. 6b; approximate scale).

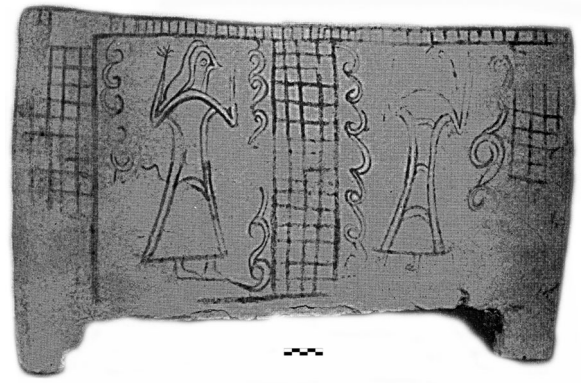


Figure 11. Larnax no. 42, Gephyra tomb 32 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1971a, pl. 19b; approximate scale).

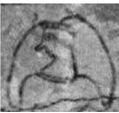
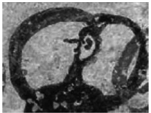
metaphysical topos for the tomb’s sanctity (Tournavitou 2018, 507). Unconventionally, the sphinx receives six limbs in the same scene in order to match this gesture from the “other side.” The reciprocation itself seems important and may relate to the sphinx’s role as attendant, snatcher, or guard of the dead in later Greek tradition (*ker*, Vermeule 1981, 69). Elsewhere, the men defy empaneling by touching the checkered “wall” that divides them (Figure 14). The general impression conveyed by raising the arm forward is either waving across the boundary or touching it as a means to bridge the perceived divide. Other figures emanate from the earth with upraised arms (“souls”) (Figure 15) or drive chariots (Figure 2). While these are too schematic to assign gender, at least the “souls” could be female, judging from their arm position and aforementioned similarities with female terracotta figurines. While ambiguous, the charioteers need not be regarded as male by default (cf. Steel 2006, 150).

With almost all human figures, regardless of gender, special attention is given to the hand details, in particular fingers. The fingers are usually depicted as two-pronged, extended tentacles (cf. Morgan 1987, fig. 5). This convention is applied to the only gesturing, six-limbed sphinx as well (no. 33), suggesting that this characteristic is integral to the act and meaning of gesturing itself rather than a necessity of human representation. Indeed, a few human figures are fingerless or even armless (Figure 13). Some are simply too abstract and small-scale to afford such details (Figure 2). Only a few larnakes depict figures with more than two fingers (three to four, nos. 24 and 71; five, no. 42). Regardless of such stylistic differences, the schematic fingers are shown extended, contributing somatic tension to the figures. They draw further attention to the points of contact that their tactile actions and gestures initiate: usually their own heads, objects displayed, corpses handled (women); and swords, animals, boundaries, and each other (men).

Facial characteristics and vocality

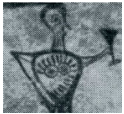
Looking closer at facial characteristics, there is considerable variety. The eyes, always depicted in profile view, are rendered as a full or split circle (e.g. no. 11, Table 8), vertical or horizontal semicircle (e.g. no. 37, Table 8), or full or split oval (e.g. no. 15, Table 8). The oval versions seem to imitate almond-shaped eyes depicted in wall-paintings (Figures 5, 7). Some of the variants can overlap, possibly indicating more than one hand at work (e.g. no. 5, 14–15,

Table 8. Combined stylistic classification of painted larnakes: ~ = included only in the first iteration (no females); ^ = not included in either cluster analysis iteration (sphinxes and humans missing some traits, e.g. excluding partial, armless, and very abstract figures); * = unknown.

Cemetery	Tomb	Cat. No.	Stylistic Group	Kramer-Hajos Classification	Notes	Image
Pictorializing						
Gephyra	6	5	A-a	1—Official	Outlined arms	
Gephyra	6	15	A-a	1—Official	Outlined arms	
Gephyra	6	6^	A-a	1—Official	Outlined arms	
Gephyra	6	7	A-b1	1—Official	Outlined arms, double outlined neck	
Gephyra	6	11	A-b2	1—Official	Outlined arms, double outlined neck, poorer execution	
Gephyra	6	19	A-c	1—Official	Splindly lower arms	
Gephyra	51	33~	A-c	1—Official	Splindly lower arms	
Gephyra	6	14	A-d	1—Official	Splindly lower arms, more compressed proportions	
Gephyra	60	37^	A-e	1—Official	Armless, solid/outline fills juxtaposed on figures, simpler facial and hair outlines	
Schematic						
Gephyra	22	21	B-a1	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean	Complex orderly composition, smaller scale, reserve faces, pointed noses, solid rounder females	
Dendro	16	53	B-a2	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean	Simpler composition, larger scale, reserve faces, pointed noses, solid slimmer females	
Dendro	*	64	B-b	4—Amateuristic/clumsy	Solid slim females, Cyclops eye, simplified profile, long neck, hairless	

(Continued)

Table 8. Continued.

Cemetery	Tomb	Cat. No.	Stylistic Group	Kramer-Hajos Classification	Notes	Image
Dendro	32	25	B-c	N/A	Solid slim female, Cyclops eye, simplified profile (not well preserved)	
Dendro	32	24	B-d	4—Amateuristic/clumsy	Cyclops eye, simplified profile, curly hair, long neck, “sway”	
Dendro	15	52^	B-e	3—Professional stringy/emotional	Cyclops eye, simplified profile, curly hair, shorter neck	
Dendro	105	70^	B-f	2—Official hesitant	Cyclops eye, simplified profile, short neck, windswept hair/crest	
Very schematic/abstract						
Gephyra	32	42	C-a	4—Amateuristic/clumsy	Assured lines, figurine-like, double neck outline, “official”-like torso	
Dendro	36	51	C-b	4—Amateuristic/clumsy	Assured lines, figurine-like, breasts	
Dendro	115	71	C-c1	3—Professional stringy/emotional	Imprecise thinner lines, short necks, plank dresses, windswept hair/crest	
Dendro	3	23	C-c2	3—Professional stringy/emotional	Imprecise thinner lines, long necks, plank dresses	
*	*	62	C-d	4—Amateuristic/clumsy	Imprecise heavier lines, long necks	
Dendro	47	50^	C-e	N/A	Complex, chaotic composition, smaller scale, faceless	

23, 33, and 62). A central pupil can be added for emphasis but is frequently missing (or not fully visible, e.g. no. 50, Table 8). Generally speaking, the eyes endow the figures with an aloof or stunned gaze. This trait is consistent with general rules of representation in both Mycenaean pictorial pottery and figurines (e.g. Pliatsika 2004, 746–749, 773; cf. Pliatsika 2012, 612; Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 213, fig. 16.2). Some figures, women in particular, display insignia of pain in tandem: namely blood or red-painted tears streaming down their eyes, faces, necks, and dresses (Figure 9). These

marks are paralleled by a well-known larnax in the Kassel museum (Vermeule 1965, 127–128).

Most human figures have pursed mouths outlined in profile. All the male figures and most females have their mouths closed (e.g. Figures 7, 12). Some females are actually mouthless (nos. 24, 42, and 62), but several figures open their mouths to emit song or cries (nos. 23, 51, 53, and 71, see e.g. Figure 6). These are of the familiar processing and hands-on-the-head type and have been interpreted as professional threnodists (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 47). Another figure may

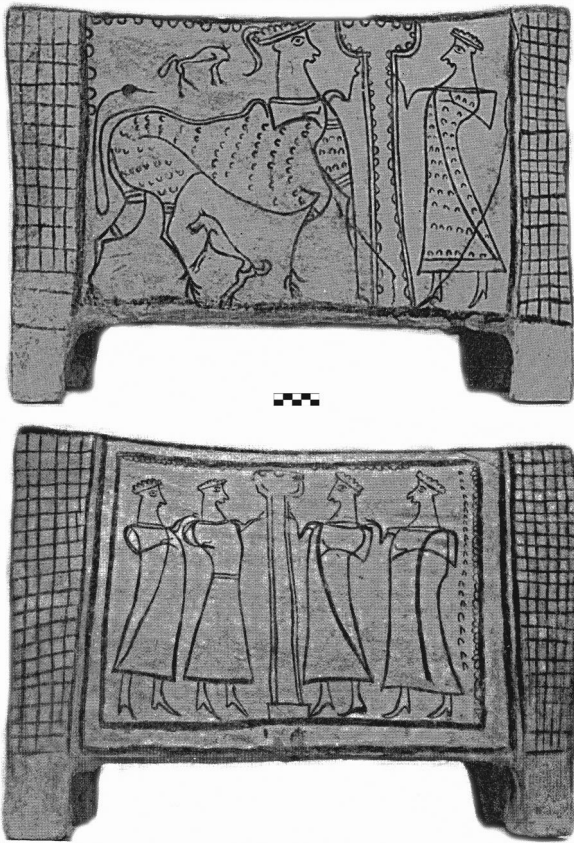


Figure 12. Larnax no. 33, Gephyra tomb 51 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1971a, pls. 18b–19a; approximate scale).

vocalize a cultic uttering while raising the kylix described earlier (no. 51, Figure 8). Professional or not, it is important to note that the women are not generally vocal: they are the exceptions rather than the norm. Interestingly, while some corpse handlers can share the hands-on-head gesture, they are illustrated as silent and solemn, as if vocalization might detract from the sanctity and intimacy of the moment or be inconsistent with their specific role. Vocalization regardless of intent does seem to be the pastime or prerogative of women—some women, to be exact. The only allegedly male vocal figure is depicted on a larnax fragment acquired by the Greek Archaeological Service prior to the excavations (Vermeule 1965, 132, b). This figure wears an ankle-long,



Figure 13. Larnax no. 37, Gephyra tomb 60 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1971a, pl. 17a; approximate scale).



Figure 14. Larnax no. 7, Gephyra tomb 6 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1969b, pl. 4b; approximate scale).

plank-like dress. The hands, fingers extended, are placed on its head, where a few strands of hair (schematic crest?) fly in the wind. A gash-shaped mouth grants the figure a distorted, dissonant expression. He “is the most discouraged Mycenaean to last beyond the Bronze Age” (Vermeule 1965, 132; Kramer-Hajos 2015, 632, regarded as an anomalous grieving male). However, he is more likely a *she* based on dress and other similarities with female figures (Immerwahr 1995, 112; cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 46).

Structure, composition, and narrative

As discussed previously, the actions and gestures of human or fantastical creatures are not just self-directed, but frequently involve other figures or objects forming subtle narratives spanning all four sides of the coffins. The compositions tend to be orderly, structured through formal linear or decorative frames, horizontal registers, and vertical bipartite or tripartite panels. Despite these divisions, the clustering and rhythmic juxtaposition of figures, arranged symmetrically within these spatial devices in smaller or larger continuous groups, convey a sense of solidarity, collectivity, and coordination. Thematic continuity connects the main panels with the short sides, with single processing figures (usually women) extending the procession around the larnax, even though the direction of movement is not necessarily uniform across all sides. While these figures stand alone, they are not isolated but allow the viewer to gaze upon snapshots of individual experience within the “collective body” of the overall procession. Other times, group procession continues on an upper register, with the prothesis depicted on the lower register of the short sides (Figure 2). When abstract motifs are combined with pictorial scenes, the motifs are usually painted on the short sides and coordinate with patterns on the main sides (e.g. no. 5) and sometimes the lids (no. 64); rarely do motifs take over the main sides (Figure 3). Because of the way the themes interconnect, the larnakes do not just represent bodies in action: they also inspire kinetic action by encouraging viewers to move around them and mentally connect the iconographic dots.

The pictorial scenes depict select funerary episodes, namely the prothesis (Figures 2, 6), processions, libations and/or the ceremonial consumption of food/drink (Figure 8), and the display of possible statuettes (Figure 9). Some scenes have a heroic or aristocratic dimension (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 50; Immerwahr 1995, 116), such as

Table 9. Body disposition repertoire of human figures on the Tanagra larnakes.

Body	Action	Gesture	Fingers	Eyes	Tears	Vocality
Involving self						
	Stand	Hand(s) beside body				
	Emerge	Hand on waist				
	Process	Hand in front of chest				
	Touch waist	Hands beside head				
	Arms beside body	Hand on forehead				
	Touch head	Hands on head				
Involving other entities						
Upright	Touch boundary/wave	Hand on column/panel/window	Fingerless	Minimal (dot)	Absent	Absent
Tilt fwd/bwd	Touch other figure	Hand on front figure	Tensed/extended	Emphasized	Present	(pursed mouth/mouthless)
Sway hips	Raise/display kylix	Hand on kylix		(semicircle, oval, circle)		Present
Lean over	Raise/display idol	Arm upholding idol				(open mouth)
Prone (leap)	Steer boat (?)	Hand on rudder (?)				
	Place corpse in larnax	Hand(s) on corpse				
	Pull sphinx (no hands)	Hands on reins				
	Drive chariot	Hand on weapon				
	Kill stag	Hand on bull's back				
	Fight/duel	Hand(s) on bull horns				
	Bull leap					
	Hold bulls					

duomachies, chariot scenes (possibly, though not necessarily, races), and hunting and bull-leaping scenes (Figure 2). The bull-leaping in particular probably reflects “memorial actions” (Platon 2020, 391), i.e. an emblematic Minoan past or visual tropes distilled through Mycenaean palatial iconography rather than social reality. Further, the depiction of bulls outside of leaping contexts (nos. 21, 33, and 53) in larger or complementary forms may allude to funerary sacrifices (Figure 2). The ekphora per se, i.e. the processional transportation of the body, is absent (Immerwahr 1995, 113). However, unspecified spectacles witnessed by people inside a building (Figure 10) and the processions themselves, especially those in outdoor terrain (Figures 9, 13), probably allude to this custom without the need to depict the transported coffin itself (Boyd 2016, 64; cf. Spyropoulos *in press*, 11). This is explained, at least in part, by the emphasis on the funeral-related actions of the living and the gaze and participatory experience of the community.

A larnax from Gephyra tomb 22 (no. 21) depicts rows of processing women on an upper register (Figure 2). With both arms lifted, their hands placed on their heads, they strike a continuous affective tone for other funerary events depicted on the larnax. On the lower register of each of the

short sides, there is a prothesis scene: in the first one, two women are placing a small, impersonal, bundled-up body into an “x-rayed” coffin. The body is so small that it looks like a small child and so wrapped up that it is not recognizable as a person of specific gender. The transparency of the coffin, the bodies of the women attentively bent forward, their reaching arms, and their faces gazing towards each other allow us to witness an unusual scene in which a corpse is carefully manipulated during placement in the coffin. The second prothesis on the other short side is similarly arranged. The coffin is also “x-rayed,” but the body appears to be wearing a dress. A wide-eyed female mourner intrudes in the intimate scene, contrasting the attitude of the other two women. The location of these scenes on the bottom part of the sides gives them a rather private feel. By comparison, a chariot and a dueling scene with interspersed animals occupies the lower half of one long side, while hunting and bull-leaping scenes cover the other long side. The public, competitive scenes involving male figures are not combined with the domain and activities of women.

A sketchier prothesis on a larnax from Dendro tomb 3 (no. 23) centrally occupies one of the main sides. Two female figures lower a body into a larnax (Figure 6), depicted with



Figure 15. Larnax no. 50, Dendro tomb 47 (digital rendering, adapted from Spyropoulos 1973a, pl. 10a, left; scale unavailable), a Mycenaean Psi figurine (upper right, by author), and close-up of the figurines attached on the Perati bowl (lower right, after Demakopoulou 1988, fig. 177).

closed eyes and hands possibly clasped on the chest. A curious round design over the body's chest may indicate the roundness of folded arms. The deceased is shown in the "traumatic moment" (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 50) before placement in the heterotopic space of the coffin, which is not transparent but filled with cross-hatching; below, a possible schematic bier is shown. A linear element above connecting the hands of the handlers is probably an abstract representation of a cloth (cf. Ahlberg 1971, 60, figs. 31a, 34, 45c–d; Hiller 2006, 186). Narrative emphasis is given both to placement in the coffin and covering or containing the body. The dynamics of the gaze (seeing vs. not seeing) and timing are noteworthy in this scene: we are able to gaze upon the dead moments before the corpse is placed in the coffin and becoming "unseeable" in death. Behind the two corpse handlers are wide-eyed females with long dresses or tunics and both hands on their heads. Processing women on the other three sides create thematic unity, linking the prothesis to other dimensions of the funeral, as well as a sense of cohesion amidst the community of women. One of the corpse handlers carefully cradles the head of the corpse, while the other thumps her forehead with one hand. While the corpse can be seen as a crafted and curated resource in general (Boyd 2016, 61), there is intimacy akin to tending to a child here. Whether or not a child is actually depicted (cf. Hiller 2006, 185), the liminal body requires utmost care in passing from the orderly domain of the living to the dangerous domain of the dead: death and birth are symbolically analogous as key rites of passage (e.g. Van Genep 1960; cf. Seremetakis 1991, 70; Stears 1998, 117).

Finally, a larnax from Dendro tomb 47 (no. 50) has one of its main sides painted with an unusual scene. Schematic figures exhibit the familiar upraised arms and arms circled over the head, some of whom look like Psi figurines and those attached to the Perati bowl (Figures 3, 15). They inhabit a hybrid terrestrial landscape and waterscape, undefined by registers or other spatial frames: there is no indication where solid earth lies and where water begins, no panels neatly separating the figures in the composition, and no specific clustering amidst the figures except with reference to a boat on the right. Most figures are connected to the ground line of the composition at the center and to the left: some emanate from below, and others emerge from a possible chasm in front of the boat. Other figures are completely detached from the ground line and appear airborne. To the right, the masted and oared boat is possibly steered by a larger figure. The atmosphere is chaotic and impersonal, demonstrating no immediate connection with the funeral and the experience of the living community within it. The scene has been interpreted as a representation of souls crossing to Hades and the world of "shades," a prehistoric prelude to later Greek eschatological notions (Immerwahr 1995, 117; Gallou 2005, 46). Problematically, Charon seems unknown to the Greek literary tradition prior to the 5th century B.C. (Garland 1985, 54–56; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 20); the scene could point to the general idea of funerary travel in the underworld, indirectly paralleled by the boat offerings on the Agia Triada sarcophagus (Long 1974). Additional larnakes that probably pertain to metaphysical notions include those with sphinxes (nos. 24, 26, 33, 52, and 70–71, Figure 12) and sacred symbols such as pillars/columns and horns of consecration (nos. 33, 70, and 75, Figure 12) (Rutkowski 1979).

The question of style and affect

Matters of style can complicate the interpretation of the iconography in the direction of affect, due to the fact that style may tint how or indeed whether cues are represented (Cornelius 2017, 126; cf. Prioux 2013, 136–137). The larnakes are thought to fall into several stylistic groups, some corresponding to emotional expression. According to the most recent stylistic classification (Kramer-Hajos 2015, 638–650), groups 1, 2, and 5 are conventional and formulaic in terms of both emotional display and gender roles. The first group, which depicts both men and women, is described as a confident, accomplished, professional/official style. While still local and folk in nature, it looks to the Mainland wall-painting traditions; it is also seen as unemotional or at least solemn and introspective, filtering grief through the requirements of "dignified," measured, public behavior toward death. The second group, which contains only one provenanced example (no. 70), is also regarded as a professional style, although it is seen as more hesitant in execution and less dependent on mural art. The fifth group includes narratively rich, formalistic scenes, such as the bull-leaping and hunting scenes discussed earlier, and exemplifies a hybrid Minoan-Mycenaean style. The third group, Immerwahr's (1990, 156) "stringy" style, is seen as abstract and minimalist, made by professional non-pictorial painters. This style is seen as raw, visceral, and vocal in visual terms; mostly depicting women, with a "man" (cf. "Facial characteristics and vocalicity") included as an anomalous case. The fourth group is defined as idiosyncratic and amateuristic at best ("awkward," "clumsy," and "childish,") having no real iconographic parallels either in wall- or vase-painting. This group includes females in a variety of officiating roles, such as the kylix toasting, leading a sphinx, or holding up a possible idol; problematically, this group is attributed to female household producers in part by virtue of its perceived lack of technical competence (Kramer-Hajos 2015, 658).

To test stylistic groupings and avoid circularity (i.e. viewing the presence or absence of overt affective cues as a stylistic trait and then identifying the related style[s] as more or less "emotional"), a multivariate analysis of 13 independent formal characteristics (Supplemental Material 6) was performed to examine how stylistic groups thus determined match up with high arousal/low valence traits (i.e. more overt expressions of emotion). The hierarchical cluster analysis proceeded in two separate iterations of the data: the first for characteristics shared by all human figures (Figure 16, Table 10), the second pertaining only to women (Figure 17, Table 11). The latter iteration is more reliable, since it is based on a broader array of traits, given that female characteristics are predominant in the data. The cluster analysis confirmed that group 1 larnakes form a cohesive group (nos. 5, 7, 15, and 19, with 33 and 11 as variants). Likewise, group 5 (nos. 21 and 53) is well-defined. However, cases classified as part of the "amateuristic group 4" and the "professional/emotional group 3" show considerable overlap in the cluster analysis.

A new classification (Table 8) combining insight from cluster analysis and more detailed visual inspection within each group suggests the existence of three major stylistic traditions (pictorializing, schematic, and very schematic/abstract styles), featuring at least five variants within the first, at least six within the second, and at least five within the third. Whether these variants are workshops or

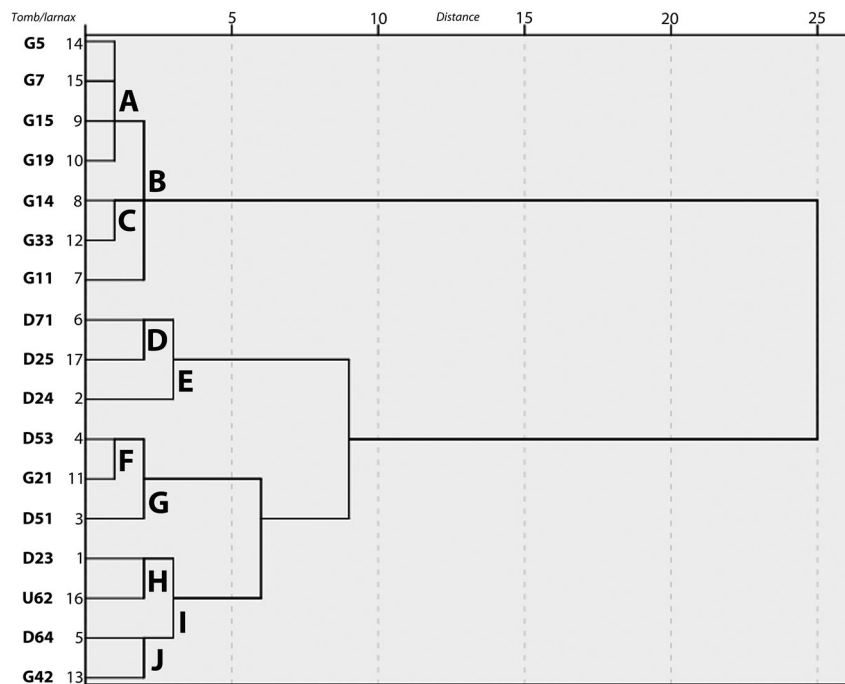


Figure 16. Stylistic clusters based on male and female traits (arms, fingers, neck, feet, hair, nose, eyes, and mouth details); distance of 1 (smaller boxes) suggests the cases in groups A, C, and F are more strongly correlated internally (squared Euclidean interval, Ward method); note that cases with incomplete information or those not meeting the criteria (sphinxes, armless men, or figures in windows; nos. 6, 37, 50, 52, and 70) are excluded from the dataset.

individuals within them (i.e. hands) is unclear. The three general styles have a distinct spatial dimension, with pictorializing attested only at Gephyra (with a strong concentration in tomb 6) and the schematic or very schematic styles attested mostly at Dendro (cf. Kramer-Hajos 2015, 655). Given that “emotional” characteristics occur in the “professional Creto-Mycenaean/group 5” (nos. 21 and 53), the “professional/emotional group 3” (nos. 23 and 71), and the “amateuristic group 4” alike (no. 62), equating any one style with monolithic emotionality or characterizing the emotive ethos and gender of corresponding artists is unsupported. That said, the schematic and abstract traditions do tend to be more expressive compared to the pictorializing one, lending support to the notion that the patrons and/or artists involved in the latter tradition were constrained by other cultural dictates, such as a need to emulate the visual decorum of the main centers and palaces (cf. Kramer-Hajos 2015, 640–658). If style can elicit affect, providing a framework for emotive experience through culturally

conditioned perception (cf. Winter 1998, 72–73), the question then becomes whether styles represent socially significant choices within the community of Mycenaean Tanagra and the sub-communities of Gephyra and Dendro.

Affect and image

To sum up, the larnakes are usually carriers of complex, especially pictorial and human-dominated, compositions. The painted ones present cohesive compositions of death that enhance their affective and semantic poignancy in a multitude of ways: through narrative relationships and compositional dynamics; the play of nested gazes (e.g. women gazing upon the deceased, spectators gazing upon unseen spectacles, and participants gazing upon each other or other entities); the distribution of bodies across multiple surfaces; group movement and rhythm punctuated by individual reactions; various degrees of physical engagement and somatic tension; silence juxtaposed with vocalicity; routinized versus impromptu action; gesture and haptic engagement of the figures with their own and other bodies, with objects, or with liminal structures; the separation and bridging of physical and/or symbolic divides by means of bodies; homosocial tactility or the lack thereof; and, gender-specific living-to-living or living-to-dead intimacies. Explicit insignia, such as tears, are rare. No one artistic style can be seen to exclusively align with emotionality, especially when affect is examined beyond the most overt emotive cues. That said, the pictorializing/official style tends to be more muted.

The imagery sets the participant experience of death within certain places and times which likely carried specific cultural resonances and cued appropriate affective responses to death. A hyper-focus on moments-in-time (e.g. lowering a person into a coffin, cradling the head, covering it with funerary cloth), dramaturgical occasions (e.g. toasting a kylix or exhibiting a cultic object), or funeral episodes with

Table 10. Comparison between groupings of first iteration of hierarchical cluster analysis (male and female traits) and art historical classifications; groups showing stronger internal similarity/correlation in bold; * = unknown.

Cemetery	Tomb	Cat. No.	Group	Kramer-Hajos Classification
Gephyra	6	5	A	1—Official
Gephyra	6	7	A	1—Official
Gephyra	6	15	A/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	19	A/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	14	C/B	1—Official
Gephyra	51	33	C/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	11	C	1—Official
Dendro	115	71	D/E	3—Professional stringy/emotional
Dendro	32	25	D/E	N/A
Dendro	32	24	E	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Dendro	16	53	F/G	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean
Gephyra	22	21	F/G	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean
Dendro	36	51	G	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
*	*	62	H/I	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Dendro	3	23	H/I	3—Professional stringy/emotional
Dendro	*	64	I	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Gephyra	32	42	J	4—Amateuristic/clumsy

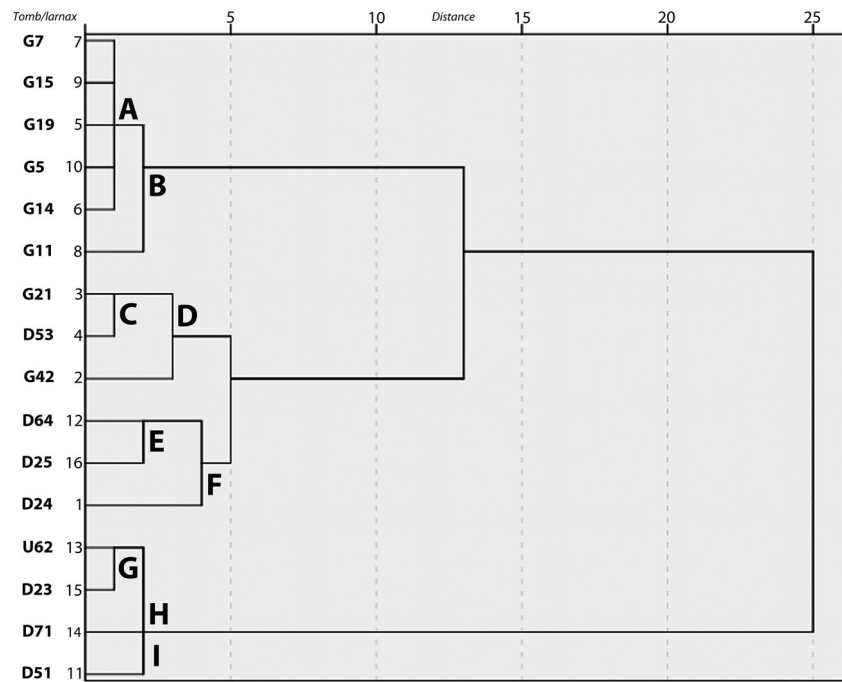


Figure 17. Stylistic clusters based on female traits (arms, fingers, neck, feet, hair, nose, eyes, and mouth, plus torso, waist, skirt, belt, and braid); squared Euclidean distance of 1 (smaller boxes) suggests the cases in groups A, C, and G are more strongly correlated internally (squared Euclidean interval, Ward method); note that cases with incomplete information or those not meeting the criteria (sphinxes, armless men, or figures in windows; nos. 6, 37, 50, 52, and 70) are excluded from the dataset.

strong spectatorial and public potential (e.g. procession, games, etc.) constructs a selective sense of time and place for experiencing the death of a community member. A sense of place is also created by means of subtle cues that position narrative within indoor/private/intimate or public/outdoor/community spaces (townscapes, outdoors, or meta-physical landscapes), sometimes in juxtaposition with each other. The painted scenes on the larnakes made death more visible and the “witnessing” of the dead more permanent and persistent in time and memory, encoding intimate prothesis viewings and public processional and game spectacles within the iconography. Narrativity seems instrumental in this process: remembering entails forming meaningful narrative sequences in one’s mind (Connerton 1989, 26). The iconography facilitated the normative characterization and memorialization of emotive experience in a visually arresting and enduring form. An Aristotelian cathartic effect may also be envisaged in tandem, given that mimesis of an action “serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude” evoking emotions can help purge them (cf. Bobou 2013,

298). Imagery and materiality combined to make the larnakes powerful resources for group “habit memory,” reproducing social performance once deposited in the tombs (cf. Connerton 1989, 22–23, 37; Morgan 2020, 371–372).

Further, the iconography clearly places the experience of death within the fabric of the living community: the funeral is constructed as an extended duty-of-care through collective participatory experience. Group solidarity, cohesion, and intimacy are conveyed through the rhythmic, tight-knit arrangement of most human-oriented scenes, physical engagement with the dead, interactions between participants, and comparable garments worn, as well as the spatial structures that encompass human figures. Notably, uniform dress may serve to temporarily conceal private identity and make bereavement ceremonial and public, communicating a loss of self (cf. Siebrecht 2013, 77). From a psychological perspective, emotion-sharing can facilitate group bonding (Chaniotis 2011, 265; Colombetti 2014, 182), while providing a framework for reasserting community in the face of death (Frisone 2011, 179). The viewer is invited to partake in both public and private performance by gazing at processions and other events, engaging in the double spectacle of other, depicted gazers, or through revelatory devices that “witness” the corpse in more private moments. Despite the overarching community context, the experience of death as portrayed by the Tanagran artists is gender-segregated. Officials, audience gaze, time and place are all crucial dimensions of social performance, including funerary rites (Dakouri-Hild 2016, 13). Thus, it would not be surprising to find mortuary and affective roles were prescribed in gender-specific ways through the meta-spectacle of funerary iconography.

The Artistic Milieu of the Larnakes

What does the heritage of the larnakes as a visual medium reveal about cultural knowledge pertaining to death and affect at Tanagra? Besides the material ancestry of the larnax

Table 11. Comparison between stylistic groupings of second iteration of hierarchical cluster analysis (female traits) and art historical classifications; groups showing stronger internal similarity/correlation in bold; * = unknown.

Cemetery	Tomb	Cat. No.	Group	Kramer-Hajos Classification
Gephyra	6	7	A	1—Official
Gephyra	6	15	A	1—Official
Gephyra	6	19	A/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	5	A/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	14	A/B	1—Official
Gephyra	6	11	B	1—Official
Gephyra	22	21	C/D	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean
Dendro	16	53	C/D	5—Professional Creto-Mycenaean
Gephyra	32	42	D	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Dendro	*	64	E/F	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Dendro	32	25	E/F	N/A
Dendro	32	24	F	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
*	*	62	G/H	4—Amateuristic/clumsy
Dendro	3	23	G/H	3—Professional stringy/emotional
Dendro	115	71	H	3—Professional stringy/emotional
Dendro	36	51	I	4—Amateuristic/clumsy

type previously discussed, the prothesis is depicted on a larnax from Rethymno (LH IIIA2, Baxevani 1995; Phialon and Farrugio 2005, fig. 9; Hiller 2006, 184). Gesturing human processions are known from larnakes at Episkopi (Watrous 1991, 301; Merousis 2018, 338, fig. 14), and Knossos (LM IIIA1, Morgan 1987). The iconography is generally Cretan-inspired, reflecting the overall impact of Minoan iconography and cult on Mycenaean culture and perhaps a more specific connection between Tanagra and central-west Crete. Undeniable though the Cretan connection may be, the Tanagran iconography is not Minoan in style or subject. There are important iconographic differences from Cretan larnakes (Merousis 2000, 268, 281). Thus, despite the artistic connections, a direct line of inspiration cannot be determined (Vermeule 1965, 142).

The Tanagra larnakes are also linked to wall-paintings and related media indirectly (Merousis 1998, 389). Waving women within architecture are paralleled at Akrotiri (Marinatos 1984, 53, fig. 32). Themes such as processions, chariot and hunting scenes, the display of idols, facades featuring windows of appearance, beam ends, and checkerboard walls appear in Mycenaean palatial wall-paintings, including Boeotia (Spyropoulos 1969b, 10–11; Immerwahr 1990, 154–158; 1995, 112–113; Boulotis 2000, 1102; Papadimitriou, Thaler, and Maran 2015; Aravantinos et al. 2018). A wall-painting from a Theban tomb (Aravantinos et al. 2018, 437–440, fig. 9) depicts women with both hands on their bowed heads, but the scene has an epiphanic rather than lamenting character (cf. Wedde 1999, G5, G16). Parallels in other Mycenaean elite media, such as ivories, further point to processes of creative assimilation and hybridity rather than imitation. A refurbished funerary stela from Mycenae depicts a procession of warriors and a (female?) seated figure (Burke 2008, 83, fig. 4.11). Despite some palatial inspiration, the abstract style and execution, the limited range of colors, the rigid empaneling of figures, and the intermixing of extraneous designs suggest a complicated relationship with palatial art (Vermeule 1965, 137).

Parallels are also seen on Mainland pictorial pottery and Mainland exports in Cyprus (Crouwel 2018, 92). Earlier examples include chariots and ladies standing within a building and raising their arms in adoration (Kourion, LH IIIA2; Crouwel 2018, 93, fig. 11); a procession of armless women (Kalavassos, Steel 2006, 152–153); a human on a ship (LH IIIA2, Pliatsika 2004, 761, pl. 3); pairs of humans greeting each other (Kopreza and Mycenae, LH IIIA2, Sakellarakis 1992, 20, fig. 1; LH IIIA2–B1); a bull-leaper (Mycenae, LH IIIA2–B1, Pliatsika 2018, 541, fig. 7); and, sphinxes (Mycenae and Thebes, LH IIIB/B2, Pliatsika 2004, 288–289, fig. 1, 825, pls. 65–67). Later examples include a procession of warriors and a woman raising one arm to touch her head (Mycenae, LH IIIB–C, Pliatsika 2004, 746–749, 773); a human with both hands raised to the head (Athens, LH IIIC, Sakellarakis 1992, 40, fig. 40); dueling men (Naxos, LH IIIC, Vlachopoulos 2018, 566, fig. 17a); and a sphinx (Lefkandi, LH IIIC, Tournavitu 2018, 511, fig. 9). Women, however, are rare on pictorial pottery (Pliatsika 2004, 771), although this may be partly due to identification bias (cf. Steel 2006, 150).

The most striking parallels in terms of affective expression and funerary content are two pictorial vessels from the western Peloponnese, relatively recently excavated in separate, late funerary contexts (late LH IIIC). The first example, a fragmentary krater from Agia Triada near Elis (Vikatu

2001; Phialon and Farrugio 2005, fig. 10; Hiller 2006, 185; Vlachopoulos 2018, 561, fig. 8), shows a prothesis: the coffin, with a similar cross-hatched base and arched transparent cover looks different from the larnakes depicted at Tanagra. The coffin contains the deceased, who has an eye open and brings one hand to their head, apparently lamenting their own death (a literal manifestation of the “inactive yet responsive corpse,” Boyd 2016, 61). On either side of the coffin, a group of people engage in animated gesturing: to the right, a figure raises both hands beside their head, holding an implement in one, and possibly vocalizing. A smaller figure closer to the coffin brings one arm to their head, extending the other towards the coffin. To the left of the coffin, a female with a long dress flails her arms; a second figure in front of her places one hand on their head, with the other arm extended inside the coffin arch. The second example, a fragmentary amphora from Trypes-Kladeos near Olympia (Vlachopoulos 2018, 561, fig. 7), depicts a mute procession of two figures, followed by a woman in long, fringed dress raising one arm to her head. The former carry on their shoulders a pole connected to a coffin of the same type as the previous example. The coffin has a cross-hatched body, an arched cover, and it is transparent, allowing the viewer to witness the deceased laid inside. This scene probably captures the moment when the prothesis ends, the coffin is being lifted, and the ekphora is about to begin. Despite these and other connections discussed above, the larnakes diverge from the pictorial vase tradition in their directional inconsistencies, the inclusion of frontal views, and their general expressiveness and complexity (Vermeule 1965, 134–142; Immerwahr 1995, 110).

Finally, there are connections with terracottas. The women who process with their hands on their heads strongly resemble figurines with arms looped over their heads, i.e. at Perati (Figure 3), Kamini, Ialysos, and Iolkos (Vermeule 1965, 142; Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 51; Burke 2008, 75–76). Tellingly, the Perati figurines face each other, as if they form a circular dance or procession. A figurine representing a human figure lying down on a miniature legged bed or couch has possible prothesis connotations (Baxevani 1995, fig. 17). The “souls” on larnax no. 50 are very similar to the Perati figurine type and the Psi type (Figure 15), which features arms raised on either side of the head. The latter gesture does not relate to lamentation exclusively (Wedde 1999, G13, G15; Steel 2020, 9): it can be seen on larger cultic idols (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 213, fig. 16.2), and Psi figurines outside funerary contexts (Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 2010). However, the Psi-gesture is further encountered at Tanagra on larnakes no. 24 and 42 (Figure 18). The painted representation of breasts as fully exposed and pellet-like with painted highlights (Figure 8) also resembles these figurines. The zoomorphic finials on the larnakes suggest further overlap between the terracotta medium and larnax art.

In general, the art on the Tanagra larnakes cannot be directly associated with any one visual tradition, but hovers between several (cf. Vermeule 1965, 142; Merousis 2000, 277; Chapin 2014, 57). This hybrid quality is also manifested in terms of larnax materialities, as discussed previously. While the imagery reflects some common topoi with Tanagra (waving, gesturing, touching the head, prothesis, games, departures, processions, human-to-human interactions, and community), very rarely are these directly connected to death. The iconography amalgamates elite-derived

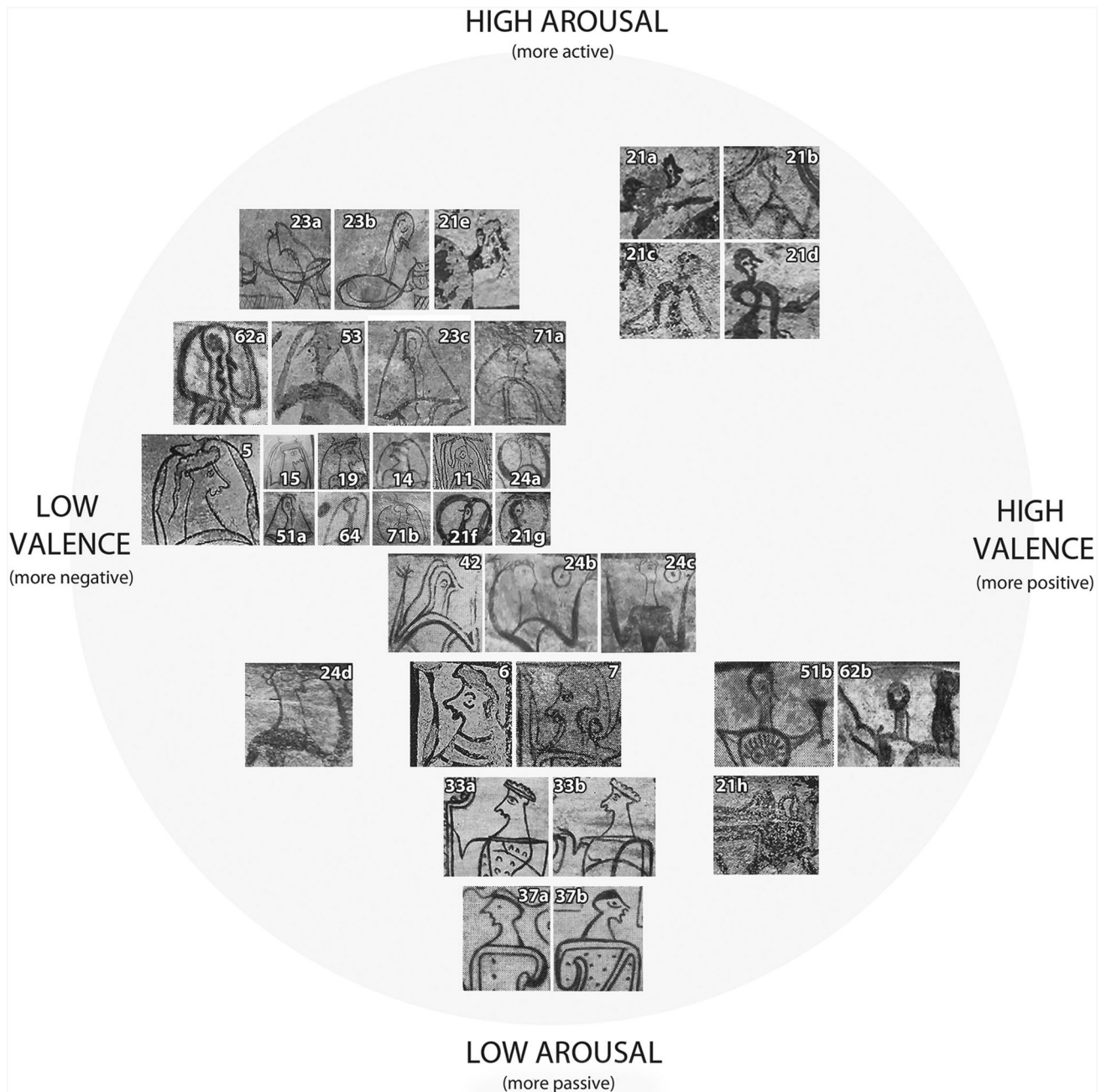


Figure 18. A tentative circumplex of affect at Tanagra: male = 21a–d, 7, 33a–b, 37a–b; unknown = 21h; all others are female figures.

elements with figural forms and themes known in other media such as figurines and pictorial pottery, where the best parallels are seen. The artists of Tanagra and their regional patrons adapted palatial iconography as a means to proclaim cultural competence, but reframed it to reflect local social values emphasizing community, sociality, and folk beliefs. The iconography operates in a liminal space between local and distant aesthetic, the elite and the quotidian. It calls attention to high/elite art while retaining a folk character; it has a flavor that is unique in its hybridity.

Towards the Affective Field: Death and Emotion

Affect in the Bronze Age

As mentioned previously, approaching affect through the lens of visual culture entails some understanding of the paradigmatic scenarios or the affective field that endowed the relevant imagery with culture-specific nuances. The first

obstacle in this direction is that affect has received minimal explicit interest in Aegean scholarship to date (Cavanagh and Mee 1995; Morris and Peatfield 2002; Muskett 2007; Middleton 2017; Steel 2020). The obscurity or lack of emic concepts (e.g. emotion terms, labelling of physical symptoms, metaphors, and metonymies; e.g. Cairns 2017; Horn 2019) in the Linear B documents is a second complication. The third impediment is the scarcity of imagery pertaining directly to burial rites, where affect might be more discernible. Given that the larnakes are thought to borrow conventions from the visual traditions of the Near East and Egypt as part of Aegean artistic production (cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 56) and that there is a shared “deep structure of associations among [...] death, transgressing boundaries, lamentation, and propitiation” in the ancient Mediterranean (e.g. Bacharova 2008, 36–37), it is useful to consider this broader affective field first.

In the ancient Near East, grief is expressed through the proxies of silence, tears, sobbing, or lamentation (Jaques

2017, 196; Kipfer 2017, 3–4; cf. Delnero 2020). In the iconography, emotion is not normally represented through facial cues, with the exception of the occasional smile or a brooding visage. Affect is expressed through embodied action and gesture, distributed across the composition and narrative. For instance, positive emotions are conveyed as dance, celebration, music, embrace, or touch (Baines 2017, 271; Cornelius 2017, 127–139; Sonik 2017, 227–229; Zwickel 2017, 98–102). Grief is signaled by sitting on the ground, lifting the hands to the head, beating the head or the belly, exposing the breasts, or opening a mouth to vocalize. The latter seems reserved for women, but is sometimes projected to non-human entities (Cornelius 2017, 129–130; Zwickel 2017, 99–105). In general, the emotive atmosphere of Near Eastern iconography is filtered through the constraints and requirements of a power-art (*Machtkunst*) that purposefully avoided the ephemeral. Impassiveness was culturally valued, linked to high social status and the perpetual performance of solemnity in metaphysical cultic spaces, such as temples or tombs (e.g. Laneri 2007). Thus, when affective states are manifested, they served specific needs and operated transgressively outside the usual rules of representation, usually at death: emotions are then typically channeled through persons other than the deceased elite, such as dedicated mourners (Baines 2017, 265–277; cf. Sonik 2017, 237–238). Such depictions cannot be regarded as representations of personal, individual feelings. Rather, they are formulaic, ritualistic, collective, twice behaved behaviors crystallized in the form of visual media that themselves held a ceremonial, public, performative role in the context of funerary rites. They are cultural automatisms that prescribed emotions to actual or imagined audiences in these contexts (Jaques 2017, 189–190).

In the Aegean, gesture, embodied action, narrative, and sometimes facial characteristics are seemingly employed to express affect. To give a few examples, a seated female with parted lips places a hand on her forehead, touching her bleeding foot in probable distress (Marinatos 1985, 226; Doumas 1992, 129; Televantou 2000, 841); a group of agitated people (possibly women) within an embattled town wave their arms wildly, some touching their heads (Sakellariou 1975; Koehl 2006, 138–140, pl. 32). Other examples have a positive feel: for example, jubilant harvest singing (Koehl 2006, 90–91, pl. 12), “sardonic” smiles (e.g. Dessenne 1957, 140; Demakopoulou 1988, 152, 224–225; Tournavitou 1995, 171, frontispiece), the occasional flippant smirk (Karo 1930, pl. XLIX), and affection conveyed through intimate embrace (e.g. Mylonas 1983, 119, pl. 90; Pliatsika 2012, 617). Arguably, a combination of composition, form, and hue is used to convey affect as well (Chapin 2020, 374–375).

Possible glimpses of grief-related concepts in the Linear B documents are frustratingly ambiguous. For example, the male anthroponyms pe-te-u (KN As 603) and ta-ra-pe-se possibly share the root word for funerary sorrow (πένθος); ka-da-no (KN Dk 1065) may likewise stem from grief or tending/care (κηδος, cf. Alexiou 2002, 10); and, ru-*56-ra-so (KN Da 1172), rendered as ru-pa3-ra-so, may be linked to sadness (λύπη), whereas pi-ro-ka-te (PY Jn 832) may be partly derived from joy (γῆθος) (Aura Jorro 1993, 115, 126, 272, 316; 1999, 304; Neumann 1994, 151–152).

In terms of funerary imagery, the most compelling representations of affect besides Tanagra are female figurines with both hands on their heads, the prothesis scenes from Rethymno and Agia Triada in Elis, and the prothesis/

ekphora scene from Trypes Kladeos discussed previously. These corroborate the significance of community (procession and gathering around the coffin), gesture (lifting one or both arms to touch the head or raising both arms beside it), tactility towards the dead (touching or lifting the coffin), the collective witnessing/seeing the dead (through ekphora and prothesis), and vocalization or silence in the experience of death. However, in these, the role of women does not obviously prevail as at Tanagra. In the Aegean world, a social dictate for preserving solemnity in the afterlife is not evidenced, and depictions of final rites are rare, although non-funerary iconography is imbued with introspective solemnity and impassiveness by virtue of its strong cultic formality. Thus, it is befitting to witness affective display on visual culture that straddles the line between fine and folk art, such as larnakes or pictorial pottery. The emotionality of such imagery is not transgressive in this sense: it is simply unrestrained or less restrained by artistic dictates, which emanate directly from the palaces and are linked to the world of formal, elite-sponsored cults.

Death with feeling: the successors

The Tanagra larnakes are forward-looking in terms of their iconography and the customs represented (Chapin 2014, 57). Thus, paradoxically, they are much better paralleled by the funerary imagery of the Greek Geometric period, especially that of the 8th century B.C. A number of scholars have remarked that they “anticipate the troupes of black robed mourners on Geometric and Early Attic funerary vases,” suggesting iconographic and some cultural continuity (Vermeule 1965, 142; Immerwahr 1995, 110; Burke 2008, 75; Spyropoulos *in press*). Mycenaean visual tropes may have been bequeathed to the Geometric era by means of unpreserved visual culture, such as “story clothes” (embroidery or woven textiles) or painterly works on perishable media (Vlachopoulos 2018, 566). It is also possible that the later Greeks drew direct inspiration from prehistoric imagery, for instance by using ancestral burial grounds (e.g. Morgan 1987, 171; Hiller 2006, 187–188). Other scholars would prefer to see the commonalities as continuity of practice (e.g. O. Dickinson, personal communication 2020) or the effect of common external influences in the form of Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 56–58).

Even though the Geometric funeral as represented in vase iconography is a more populous affair than its Mycenaean counterpart (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 59), the commonalities are manifold (Ahlberg 1971, 303–304). The iconographic focus is on the public prothesis, involving participants of both sexes as they engage in different roles and forms of emotional expression. Affect is communicated through composition, body disposition, movement, action, and gesture, rather than facial expression. Funerary behavior is strictly gender-coded, and the segregation between men and women is heightened, especially in the Late Geometric II period (735–700 B.C.). The women, along with the corpse, are the essence of the prothesis. They process, stand, kneel, or sit near the coffin, usually by the head of the deceased, wearing long dresses. They raise both hands to their heads, thumping them or pulling their hair, and sometimes expose their breasts. Some touch the bier upon which the coffin is placed, arrange pillows under the corpse, or wave

branches/whisks nearby. Others engage more intimately with the deceased, seemingly feeding them, holding their shoulders, or cradling their head (Garland 1985, 28–29). While the ekphora is less common, generic processions are ubiquitous. The men process in pedestrian or equestrian form, or ride chariots. They raise one hand to their head, the other held down or extended towards the corpse. The men and women occupy different pictorial zones, with their spheres clearly separated (Van Wees 1998, 19–21, 34).

The spectacular affair of the Geometric funeral conceptually reflects the Homeric heroic burial (Shapiro 1991, 634). The epics, compiled in their final form in the 8th–7th century B.C., are likely the outcome of a long oral tradition initiated in the Late Bronze or the early Dark Age. As a result, they probably portray ahistorical collective attitudes towards death emanating from different eras; their affective atmosphere is also likely filtered through a distinctly aristocratic perspective (Horn 2019, 17). Nevertheless, they contain “stratifications,” allowing earlier values and stereotyped topoi of grief to seep through (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 16; cf. Perkell 2008, 96, 107). Grief is seen as an external force to be accepted: death is familiar and inevitable, described with some detachment (Koziak 1999, 1073; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 19; Horn 2019, 382). Death is above all a separation, departure, or destination: there is a definite division between the worlds of the dead and the living, established by limens, strict rules, and controlled communication (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 21–22; Horn 2019, 371). Mourning and sending off of the dead is accompanied by a wide variety of emotional expressions, to include intimate contact with the dead, self-harm (slapping one’s thigh, beating the chest, scratching the face or neck, or tearing out or cutting hair), crying, and writhing on the ground. The Homeric vocabulary of grief is impressively rich. It encompasses groaning (*σενάχω*), formal chanting/singing a dirge (*θρηνέω*) and improvised, sometimes antiphonic, lament (*γοῶ*) (cf. Alexiou 2002, 12), dissolving in tears (*μύρομαι*), crying (*κλαίω*), wailing (*κοκύω*), screaming in grief (*ὀλοφύρομαι*, *οἰμῶζω*), crying with self-harm (*ὀδύρομαι*), tearing one’s hair (*τίλλω*), and beating one’s body (*κόπτω*).

Of these, only wailing is reserved for women (Garland 1985, 29–30; Van Wees 1998, 12–15; cf. Tsagalis 2004, 3). Grief is externalized freely by both genders, and no difference in emotional style is attested (Koziak 1999, 1076). Gender differences emerge in regards to the context of lament: while men display emotionality in reaction to personal loss, women take the brunt of conspicuous display of grief during formal rites with a sharp division in “emotional labor” witnessed in this regard (Havelock 1982, 51; Van Wees 1998, 14–19). In public ritual, then, women’s role is first and foremost (Perkell 2008, 95). During prothesis, female kinswomen, accompanied by male professional singers, lament in high intensity rituals. The social persona of the dead is witnessed through praise and sorrow, while the chief mourner touches the body. Self-aggression serves as a regulated symbol, through which emotions are channeled, amplified, or created. During the ekphora, the body is processed through the public spaces of the living, engaging onlookers and connecting the household with community (cf. Kavoulaki 2005, 130–135). At the site of the tomb, the due of the dead includes libations, food offerings, drink, lament, and occasionally funeral games (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 25–30). Communal emotional expression, even if

stylized, satisfies the dead and endows them with honor: this “good death” is mediated by society and ensures the survival of the social identity in time. Moreover, the continuity of community against the discontinuity of the individual is ensured, while the emotional fallout of death is shared and alleviated (Garland 1985, 30–31; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 31–32).

A similar framework for articulating grief is attested in Protoattic and Early Archaic (700–580 B.C.) funerary iconography. Occasionally, women are depicted clawing their blood-stained faces (Van Wees 1998, 23–29; Stears 1998, 115), pointing to a continuum between physical pain and emotional pain and the lack of clear distinction between the two (Konstan 2006, 245). The early 6th century B.C. ushered in Solonian law and a new affective ethos, which specifically sought to constrain traditional conduct (Garland 1989). Ironically, the laws, which targeted female mourning behavior especially and transformed the public funeral into a male affair (Cairns 2009, 42; Frisone 2011, 196; Marincola 2018, 131), corroborate earlier emotive scripts witnessed in Geometric art or epic poetry, which arguably welled from a Bronze Age substratum (cf. Garland 1985, 26–28, 33; Stears 1998, 117). Even in black-figured vase painting of this era, however, affective scripts remain traditionally gendered: women tear their hair and cheeks with their hands, stand closest to the corpse’s head, and cradle the latter; men arranged in pairs stand by the corpse’s feet, grieving solemnly and upraising one hand in valediction. The iconographic similarities with the Tanagra larnakes, including the pre-Homeric division of gender roles and the chariot-related funerary games, have been specifically noted in this direction (Shapiro 1991, 634–639, 642–644).

Lamentation practices at 20th century Inner Mani offer further striking parallels to the ancient cultural attitudes described above, among other later survivals (Alexiou 2002, 36–51). The exclusively female mourners at Mani employ intense vocalizations (the screaming), sobbing, hair pulling, and self-laceration as a means to “re-audit the experience of death as passage and disorder on behalf of the now silent and immobile dead” (Seremetakis 1991, 67, 74). In one scene, a woman “mourned by hovering over the corpse, her palm almost touching the forehead of the dead [. . .] she did not scream, but displayed loss and tenderness for the dead and controlled movements and subdued tones” (Seremetakis 1991, 109). Multiple women participate in the rites, forming a chorus and a lead. While the lead takes center stage as the “soloist in pain,” the chorus validates with gestures and provides antiphonal interplay to the performance; the silence of men can also be understood as antiphony. The public screaming, a form of self-inflicted corporeal violence, is described as duty of care towards the dead, honoring them, affirming kin support, and serving as the final witnessing of their social persona (Seremetakis 1991, 99–105, 213–216).

A tentative script for Tanagran grief

Returning to the Tanagran iconography, human figures seem moderately aroused, with some outliers (Figure 18). Importantly, while the women can be engaged in high-arousal activities, not all do equally, with some emerging as leads. Further, only a few types of action can be regarded as both high arousal and low valence—a combination we may

associate with overt lament. The first is tending to the corpse with a sense of intimate care and responsibility, stooping over it, cradling its head, lowering it into a coffin, and covering it. The second is touching one's own head, a gesture also displayed by one of the corpse handlers. Finally, women who vocalize or cry/bleed place more comfortably in the top left quarter of the circumplex. Others are more ambiguous in terms of valence, for instance women with arms on either side of their heads, those with one hand in front of their head, and those waving or reaching out. With male imagery, there are two distinct affective modulations at play. The first portrays (youthful) men engaged in high-arousal competitive activities ancillary to but arguably flirting with death: athletic competitions, hunting, and fighting. The second modulation focuses on dispassionate, low arousal scenes. The emotive atmosphere in men's scenes is pensive, almost meditative: there is shared solemnity and a momentary bridging of divides through tactile gesture, both in the direction of "the other side" and the side of the living participants themselves. Some of these figures would be perfectly in place in non-funerary compositions (figures processing without any gestures, athletes, cultic performers, and charioteers).

Both genders are engaged in gesturing towards the self and/or other entities (ceremonial objects, boundaries, creatures or animals, and living or dead bodies), demonstrating the complex somatic engagements of women and men with the scenes in which they belong. Their hands, especially the fingers, appear to purposefully accentuate those gestures and the latter's points of contact. Nevertheless, the nature of arousal, the presence or absence of low valence cues, and the types of bodily entanglements are clearly gendered. Only women place hands on or near their heads, handle dead bodies, or display ceremonial objects. While most women are not, in fact, vocal and not all who vocalize are necessarily crying or howling, only female figures display visible insignia of pain and engage in vocality. Inversely, only men (and youthful men at that) engage in agons that seem to carry with them the potential of death. Male figures rarely and minimally interact with their own bodies, but homosocial, tactile intimacy appears to be reserved for them; touching physical boundaries or attempting to bridge them is also more common with these figures. While men's processing seems introspective and silent, it is not necessarily unemotional. As has been pointed out (Cairns 2009, 45–48; Räuchle 2019, 93–95), lack of crying, screaming, etc. does not necessarily signify lack of grief: similar to wearing a mourning veil, the concealment or repression of such conduct can be a demonstrative, self-conscious action that recalibrates the self to meet perceived standards of appropriateness. This division of the outward expressions of emotional labor is enhanced by the spatial segregation of women from men through the use of registers and other spatial frames. Such division of emotional space is aligned with the thematic content of certain scenes, such as the private female prothesis or the public male agon or hunt. It is also consistent with Linear B evidence on the division of economic and social life along gender lines and the inhabitation of distinct gender spaces by men and women (Olsen 2014, 48, 55).

To sum up, the dead are approached with a spirit of familial intimacy. The focus is on "witnessing" them through a gamut of embodied experiences of the living: prothesis, games, ekphora/procession, rituals (libations and ceremonial

displays), utterings/screaming, and self-harm, all of which can be construed as continuing duty of care extended by the community in question (town, kin, and/or family) to the dead. Women take center-stage in most of these activities, hinting at a possible equalizing and empowering function of funerary cult, consistently with the general observation that only religious roles could lend Mycenaean women social visibility (Olsen 2014, 241). Moreover, metaphorical anxieties about the dissolution of the physical body and the detachment of the person from the household and the community are hinted at by the domesticizing and liminal design of tombs, the curation of the dead through secondary rites which sustained social relations with the living, and the ceremonial processing marking the dead's transition and transformation (cf. Boyd 2016, 70). The use of larnakes further points to the existence of such preoccupations: morphologically and technologically, they allude to domestic items, while containing, differentiating, memorializing, and re-socializing the deceased within the ancestral and heterotopic space of tombs. Some larnakes appear to highlight specific eschatological ideas, such as protective spirits or deities accompanying the dead for at least part of their transition process (finals), encounters with or protection by sacred guards or psychopomps (sphinxes), and the notion of the underworld (or other deathscape) as a place reachable by boat.

Affect is not normally represented by means of facial expression, but rather through embodied action, including, but not only, gesture. Further, emotion seems to be distributed across multiple bodies participating in funeral events through movement, composition, and narrative. These characteristics are certainly to do with established visual tropes in Near Eastern and Egyptian art assimilated in Aegean art, but they also seem to construct emotion as collective, socially constituted, and distributed among the kin or community, rather than simply as an internal, individual experience (cf. Konstan 2006, 252). Overt insignia of strain are ascribed to women on occasion. These likely convey physical enactments of grief, such as crying, wailing, screaming, and other forms of self-harm, anticipating Geometric and Archaic lamentation scripts. However, they are by no means characteristic of all women. Set against the monotonic background of processions, these outbursts can be seen as either formal incantations or informal improvisations by "soloists in grief." They accentuate and punctuate other, more subtle modulations of affective display. In the world of women, individualistic forms of emotional work are juxtaposed with silent, collective solemnity in procession, or extending quiet care to dead bodies. In some cases, the emotional labor of women (silent or otherwise) is juxtaposed with that of men. The latter is not only coded differently (crossing boundaries, greeting or bidding farewell, participating in games, engaging in homosocial physical intimacy, and no vocality or self-harm), but additionally operates in distinct emotional spaces constructed by means of physical spatial structure or pictorial devices (frames, registers, larnax sides, etc.). This antiphonal or polyphonal effect would have been heightened by the collocation of multiple larnakes over time, as for example in tomb 6 at Gephyra.

If we agree that the above script illuminates a prehistoric emotional value set distilled in material and visual culture, it cannot be understood as a direct reflection of social realities. Rather, it sought to construct social realities by prescribing

proper responses to death (cf. Chaniotis 2017, 172). The imprinting of social codes based on collective activity is not limited to larnakes, but arguably encompassed pictorial pottery as well (Vlachopoulos 2018, 559). Thus, larnax iconography may not have been the only means of propagating affective norms. Indeed, it may not even reflect a mainstream value set on death. The larnax “cultural automatisms” on death and emotion may have been subscribed to only by a segment of the local population: they are rare even within Tanagra and represent one among many forms of burial. They also appear to have been further modulated by additional considerations at Gephyra, where stylistic choices possible reveal a social dictate to observe a more muted, palace-inspired decorum in witnessing the dead.

The polyphony of grief

Despite the gender differences discussed earlier, the artists achieved narrative continuity and an underlying cohesive tone across the different scenes by means of both formulaic repetition (processions, costumes, silence, and gestures in common) and interjecting, contrapuntal cues. While some figures engage visibly in emotional display through tears and vocality (“in the grip of confusion and despair,” Vermeule 1965, 134–141), others exude solemn malaise beyond the “heart scorching” emotions (cf. Kus 2010, 170; Beatty 2013, 419). Affect is manifested in various intensities: sometimes it involves direct contact with the dead, other times it is a distant attitude that does not (cf. Siebrecht 2013, 123). The affective qualities of a scene are not just dictated by individual elements, but also the play of differences between them, much like different voices in contrapuntal or antiphonal composition. For instance, seen against the monotone of hieratic processing and the touching/thumping of heads, which establishes a continuous rhythm, the acts of leaning into a corpse, lowering it into the coffin, howling or crying, and orating or interacting with cultic objects acquire further visual interest and affective poignancy. Some art forms depend on freeze framing, while others depend on a polyphonal and/or antiphonal play of a range of emotions metaphorically speaking, even when vocality per se is absent. Some scenes “explode visibly with emotion shown externally and with a variety of postures and gestures, while others implode and internalize their deepest emotional responses, betraying little or no body language,” following “individual rhythms of suffering” (Minissale 2013, 92–94, 99).

This effect can also be appreciated in the context of tombs that contained several painted larnakes in situ. Of the three relevant tombs (Dendro 32 and Gephyra 6 and 60), specific contextual information is only available for the latter two. Tomb 60 at Gephyra (Figure 19) contained two painted larnakes, lined up along one side of the grave (Spyropoulos 1971a, 8, 13, pls. 8b, 9). The longer larnax (no. 36) depicts processing women with their hands on their heads (four to five on the long sides and isolated women on the short ones, with no further details known). Immediately to its south, a shorter larnax (no. 37) depicts processing men (four to five on the long sides and isolated ones on the others). The men are mute and “armless” (i.e. with both arms tucked into their cloaks), traversing a rocky landscape with architectural windows schematically displayed in the background (Figure 13). One of the gesticulating women on the short side of the former larnax directly faces an

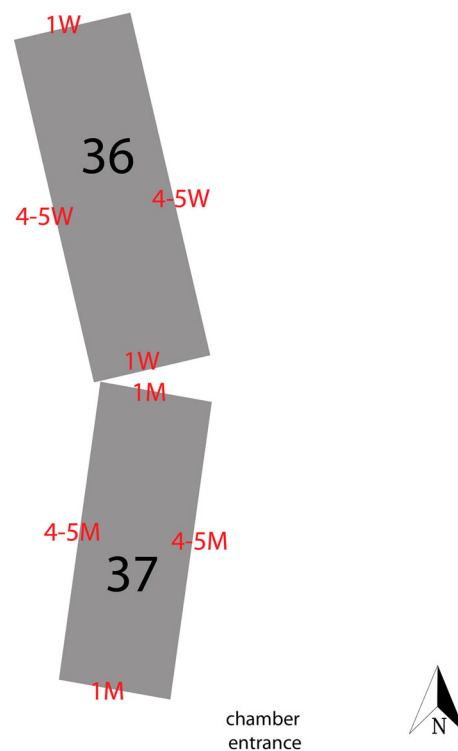


Figure 19. Approximate arrangement of the larnakes in Gephyra tomb 60; M = men, W = women; based on report photographs and descriptions; not to scale.

isolated gestureless man on the short side of the latter; the long sides of both larnakes oriented towards the center of the tomb presented tomb visitors with a segmented frieze-like vista of multiple animated women juxtaposed with multiple armless men.

Tomb 6 at Gephyra (Figure 20), which contained 16 larnakes—eight of them painted and in situ—further demonstrates the significance of spatial context in understanding how individual larnakes conversed with each other in the tomb. Four painted larnakes form a subgroup on the eastern side of the grave (nos. 5–8). No. 5 features a procession of four backward tilted women with their hands on their heads on the main sides. The women on its northern side face the three women on the southern side of larnax no. 6 within windows (Figure 10), two of which are waving or touching a window and the other armless. It is at present unclear what the other long side of no. 6 depicts; it faces four processing men on the adjacent larnax no. 7 with a hanging tongue motif FM 19 interspersed between them (Figure 14). On no. 7’s northern side, the men face nearly identical male figures on the southern side of larnax no. 8, as well as an isolated processing female with her hands on her head on the short side of no. 8. On the western side of the chamber stood at least four in situ painted larnakes (nos. 11, 14–15, and 19), all dominated by female compositions, specifically mute processing women with hands on their heads. Some of the latter scenes were probably partially occluded upon entry into the tomb by the large, plain larnakes positioned near the chamber center (no. 16–18), although glimpses of multiple processing females within the cluster of nos. 11 and 14–15 would have surely been possible by moving around within the tomb. These groups of larnakes presented tomb visitors with a composite iconography of sorts within the physical space of the tomb in the last use-phase of the tombs in question.



Figure 20. Approximate arrangement of the larnakes in Gephyra tomb 6; M = men, W = women; based on report photographs and descriptions; not to scale.

It is unlikely that such iconographic discourse in space was deliberately orchestrated and staged. Moreover, some of the connections described above are possibly to do with the similar time-frame of deposition and/or the producing workshop (e.g. close stylistic similarities between nos. 6–8). Nevertheless, looking at larnakes as iconographic sets compiled through social practice over time within certain tombs, we may note compositional dynamics created by their juxtaposition in space in the last use-phase of the tomb: men's emotional labor is juxtaposed with that of women, and the presence of expressive body language is contrasted with the absence thereof or with other, gendered forms of affect. Whether or not these differences are due to chronological nuances, particular stylistic choices, or pure chance, there is little doubt that the accumulation of multiple painted larnakes within a tomb produced a gallery of funerary images experienced by visitors during burials, secondary rites, and tomb maintenance. Witnessing this fortuitous, polyphonal theater of unfolding tableaux morts likely multiplied the visual impact of individual larnakes and augmented the tomb as a complex emotionscape and lieu de mémoire, i.e. as affective place constructed by means of images, artifacts, and bodies tied together in ritual practice (cf. French 2012, 340; Reckwitz 2012, 254).

Conclusions

In this paper, I have suggested that the larnakes prescribed affect and proper conduct on the occasion of death along gender lines, encapsulated a sense of place and time for the expression of grief, and reinforced the notion of the funeral as an opportunity for collective experience and mending the emotional community of the living. The depicted funerary performances with human or supernatural participants addressed actual and/or imagined publics that “brought with them constraints of proper comportment in the

performed and depicted contexts, in which expression of emotion would be regulated” (Baines 2017, 275). The semiotic affordances of the larnakes are complex and stem from their form and iconography alike. As material objects and carriers of iconography, they signaled social difference, evoked non-funerary social life within the grave and the cemetery, and amalgamated local, distant, elite/dominant, folk/quotidian, and public and private culture. It is precisely such semiotic richness that made them an ideal material and visual resource by which to commemorate the dead.

While the imagery of grief undoubtedly encourages an empathetic response, “feeling with” emotions emerging as a result of encountering representations are neither tapping into ancient emotions nor culturally unfiltered. A contemporary viewer can become aware of Tanagran bereavement in its overt or more subtle manifestations, even though they may never experience it directly. The universal pain of human loss can be simulated and related to in a general sense. Yet the ability to do so, i.e. to identify an image as a representation of grief, is predicated by culturally mediated readings of the iconography underpinned by implicit or explicit knowledge of the affective field at hand. Body techniques, conventional symbols, or other salient features chosen by the artists (such as raised arms, hands on the head, utterances and screaming, solemn processions, leaning into the dead, and touching other participants or objects), are not distillations of universal emotive symptoms (unlike crying); rather, they encode mental schemas meaningful to the society and culture in question. If some appear transparent today, it is because we filter them through a rich, historical understanding of descriptions, representations, and concepts in Homeric accounts and Geometric and later Greek funerary iconography, as well as the broader constellation of funerary practices and customs in the Aegean and Near Eastern world.

On the other hand, a Bronze Age viewer, steeped in the emotional atmosphere of the funeral and acquainted with

the deceased, would have been considerably more invested and susceptible to the affective agency of the larnakes: the imagery of death, a form of meta-performance (Baines 2017, 274), coupled with the materiality of the larnakes in the tomb, likely evoked specific emotions and memories about deceased ancestors or family members. Kinesthetic portrayals in the iconography may have further helped revive emotions felt during the funeral procession and other burial rites. In this context, the larnakes did not merely canalize or express emotions, but also constructed them in the tomb: the imagery did not just represent past affective states, but also reproduced and cued future ones. As “pivotal objects,” the larnakes triggered remembrance and reliving affective states (cf. DeMarrais 2013, 107). They served as paradigmatic scenarios establishing connections between past events, emotions, and socially desired behaviors (cf. Lutz and White 1986, 409, 147; Gosden 2004, 39). Were these emotions “real” or contrived? As Ernst Gombrich (1966, 397–398) noted, the relationship between emotion and performance is a complex one. To use his example, women in Egyptian funerary scenes represent not so much natural symptoms of personal grief, but rather the ritualistic enactment of (professional) wailing within a particular social context: “the tearing of hair, the scattering of ashes, the mutilations of garments and even of the body, all these are the appropriate ritual that not only expresses but also produces the emotion [...]. A good wailing woman learns to experience the grief she is paid to express and so does the artist who perpetuates the wailing in stone.” Thus, even if such representations were meant to capture the work of professional mourners and certain scenes were perhaps more programmatic than reflective of reality, such enactments (both in person and in representation) helped establish emotionally appropriate affect during and after the funeral. The display of “correct” emotion among the kin, even if not actually felt, can be a mediating social strategy (Stears 1998, 125).

The study has also permitted novel insights into the spatial distribution of the morphological and stylistic characteristics of the larnakes, which potentially has production, social, and/or chronological implications. The Dendro cemetery, representing an earlier use-span, is associated with proportionately narrower and shorter larnakes, a preference for schematic or abstract styles, and an exclusively female-oriented iconography. Whether Dendro produced higher-quality furnishings, as the excavator thought (Spyropoulos 1971a, 9), requires confirmation in a full publication of the finds. Gephyra, with a somewhat later use-span, has produced taller larnakes, evidence of a notable preference for the more muted “official/pictorializing” style, and some male iconography alongside the standard female-dominated scenes. While Dendro yielded relatively more decorated and pictorial larnakes than Gephyra, this difference does not seem to be statistically significant. On the other hand, the adoption of larnax burial seems rare and exceptional in both sub-communities. These patterns likely point to social differentiation practices within Tanagra, although they do not necessarily make all larnakes symbols of wealth or high social status. Based on the above observations, furthermore, it would be attractive to consider the possibility that taller (more visible?) larnakes, which were painted in palace-inspired styles and inserted male imagery in otherwise female-dominated iconography, represent a shift in emotive decorum in witnessing the dead at Gephyra. Whether this

shift represents a conscious social strategy by an in-group, a “moral and social transformation read through the visible signs of the body” (Seremetakis 1991, 64), or simply a new aesthetic framework for the emotive experience of death is unclear. At any rate, deciding whether certain expressions of grief suggest the absence or presence of high social status (the assumption being that restrained or hypercognized emotion is elite) seems a futile exercise, since the only means by which to judge “eliteness” would be restraint, echoing later western values that regard overt emotional expression as irrational, uncivilized, subjective, chaotic, and ultimately dismissible except in the most private of realms (cf. Lutz 1986, 288; Lutz and White 1986, 421).

Acknowledgments

A version of this paper was presented at the *Tracing Gestures: The Art and Archaeology of Bodily Communication* conference (UCL, London, 6 November 2014). I would like to thank the editor of the journal, Christina Luke, for her patience and kind help during the publication process. Special thanks for assistance, feedback, permissions, or materials are extended to V. Aravantinos, J. Bintliff, B. Burke, D. Cairns, W. Cavanagh, A. Chapin, A. Charami, O. Dickinson, K. Harrell, J. Heywood, M. Lane, S. Long, J. Masségia, L. Morgan, T. Palaima, V. Pliatsika, M. Schäffer, T. J. Smith, L. Steel, G. Spyropoulos, E. Tsota, and E. Wagner-Durand. Any errors remain my own.

Notes on Contributor

Anastasia Dakouri-Hild (Ph.D. 2005, University of Cambridge) is Associate Professor of Aegean and Near Eastern Art and Archaeology at the Department of Art and the Interdisciplinary Program of Archaeology, University of Virginia. Her research interests include Mycenaean archaeology, social aspects of technology, material culture and cognition, multisensorial approaches in archaeology, the politics of the past, and the uses of digital technology in the humanities.

References

- Adolph, D., and G. A. Alpers. 2010. “Valence and Arousal: A Comparison of Two Sets of Emotional Facial Expressions.” *American Journal of Psychology* 123 (2): 209–219.
- Ahlberg, G. 1971. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Göteborg: P. Åström.
- Alexiou, M. 2002. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition, Revised Edition* by D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Aravantinos, V. 2010. *The Archaeological Museum of Thebes*. Athens: Olkos and J.S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation.
- Aravantinos, V., A. Dakouri-Hild, and I. Fappas. In prep. *The Theban Cemeteries Publication Project*. (working draft). https://www.academia.edu/38843298/The_Theban_Cemeteries_Publication_Project.
- Aravantinos, V., I. Fappas, P. Angelidis, M. Louka, and N. Sepetzoglou. 2018. “The Female Figure in the Pictorial Tradition of Mycenaean Boeotia: Critical Overview and Technical Observations”. In *Paintbrushes/Χρυσήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24-26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 427–449. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Aura Jorro, F. 1993. *Diccionario Griego-Español Anejo I. Diccionario Micénico Volumen II*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Aura Jorro, F. 1999. *Diccionario Griego-Español Anejo I. Diccionario Micénico Volumen II*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Bacharova, M. R. 2008. “Sumerian Gala Priests and Eastern Mediterranean Returning Gods: Tragic Lamentation in Cross-Cultural Perspective.” In *Lament: Studies in the Ancient*

- Mediterranean World and Beyond*, edited by A. Suter, 18–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baines, J. 2017. “Epilogue. On Ancient Pictorial Representations of Emotion: Concluding Comments with Examples from Egypt.” In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 263–286. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Barrett, L. F., R. Adolphs, S. Marsella, A. M. Martinez, and S. D. Pollak. 2019. “Emotional Expressions Reconsidered: Challenges to Inferring Emotion from Human Facial Movements.” *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* 20: 1–68.
- Baxevas, K. 1995. “A Minoan Larnax from Pigi Rethymnou with Religious and Funerary Iconography.” In *Klados: Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream*, edited by C. E. Morris, 15–33. London: British School at Athens.
- Beatty, A. 2013. “Current Emotion Research in Anthropology: Reporting the Field.” *Emotion Review* 5 (4): 414–422.
- Bintliff, J. L., E. Farinetti, K. Sbonias, J. Poblome, K. Sarri, A. Vionis, B. Music, and B. Slapsak. 2004–2005. “The Tanagra Project: Investigations at an Ancient Boeotian City and in Its Countryside (2000–2002).” *BCH* 128–129: 541–606.
- Bobou, O. 2013. “Emotionality in Greek Art.” In *Unveiling Emotions II. Emotions in Greece and Rome: Texts, Images, Material Culture*, edited by A. Chaniotis, and P. Ducrey, 273–311. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Boulotis, C. 2000. “Η τέχνη των τοιχογραφιών στη μυκηναϊκή Βοιωτία.” In *Γ' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών (Θήβα, 4–8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996)*, Γ:α, edited by V. Aravantinos, 1095–1149. Athens: Society of Boeotian Studies.
- Boyd, M. J. 2016. “Fields of Action in Mycenaean Funerary Practices.” In *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild, and M. J. Boyd, 57–87. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Burke, B. 2008. “Mycenaean Memory and Bronze Age Lament.” In *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Beyond*, edited by A. Suter, 70–92. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cairns, D. L. 2008. “Look Both Ways: Studying Emotion in Ancient Greek.” *Critical Quarterly* 50 (4): 43–62.
- Cairns, D. L. 2009. “Weeping and Veiling: Grief, Display, and Concealment in Ancient Greek Culture.” In *Tears in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by T. Fögen, 37–57. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Cairns, D. L. 2017. “Horror, Pity and the Visual in Ancient Greek Aesthetics.” In *Emotions in the Classical World: Methods, Approaches, and Directions*, edited by D. L. Cairns, and D. Neils, 53–77. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Cairns, D. L. 2019. “Introduction: Emotion History and the Classics.” In *A Cultural History of the Emotions in Antiquity*, edited by D. L. Cairns, 1–16. London: Bloomsbury.
- Cairns, D. L., and L. Fulkerson. 2015. “Introduction.” In *Emotions Between Greece and Rome*, edited by D. L. Cairns, and L. Fulkerson, 1–22. London: Institute of Classical Study.
- Cairns, D. L., and D. Neils. 2017. “Introduction.” In *Emotions in the Classical World: Methods, Approaches, and Directions*, edited by D. L. Cairns, and D. Neils, 7–30. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Cavanagh, W., and C. Mee. 1995. “Mourning Before and After the Dark Age.” In *Klados: Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream*, edited by C. Morris, 45–61. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- Chaniotis, A. 2011. “Emotional Community Through Ritual: Initiates, Citizens, and Pilgrims as Emotional Communities in the Greek World.” In *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*, edited by A. Chaniotis, 263–290. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Chaniotis, A. 2017. “The Public Face of Emotions.” In *A World of Emotions: Greece, 700 BC–200 AD*, edited by A. Chaniotis, N. Kaitsas, and I. Mylonopoulos, 162–175. New York: Onassis Foundation.
- Chaniotis, A. 2018. “The Social Construction of Emotion: A View from Ancient Greece.” *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 24: 56–61.
- Chapin, A. 2014. “Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age.” In *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World*, edited by J. J. Pollitt, 1–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chapin, A. 2020. “Iconography in Context: The Visual Elements of Aegean Art.” In *Current Approaches and New Perspectives in Aegean Iconography*, edited by F. Blakolmer, 369–384. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.
- Chatterjee, A. 2014. *The Aesthetic Brain: How We Evolved to Desire Beauty and Enjoy Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collingwood, R. G. 1911. *The Principles of Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Colombetti, G. 2014. *The Feeling Body: Affective Science Meets the Enactive Mind*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cornelius, I. 2017. “‘The Eyes Have It and the Benign Smile’-The Iconography of Emotions in the Ancient Near East: From Gestures to Facial Expressions?”. In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 123–148. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Crouwel, J. 2018. “Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery: Links With Wall-Painting?”. In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστικές: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24–26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 87–99. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Dabney, M. 2016. “Mycenaean Funerary Processions As Shared Ritual Experiences.” In *Metaphysis: Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Alram-Stern, F. Blakolmer, S. Deger-Jalkotzy, R. Laffineur, and J. Weilharter, 228–233. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Dakouri-Hild, A. 2005. “Breaking the Mould? Production and Economy in the Theban State.” In *Autochthon: Papers Presented to O. T. P. K. Dickinson on the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild, and S. Sherratt, 207–224. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Dakouri-Hild, A. 2010. “Boeotia.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. H. Cline, 614–630. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dakouri-Hild, A. 2016. “Getting to Funerary Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Death and Performance in the Prehistoric Aegean.” In *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild, and M. J. Boyd, 11–30. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Delnero, P. 2020. *How To Do Things with Tears: Ritual Lamenting in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Demakopoulou, K. 1987. “Πήλινη ζωγραφιστή λάρνακα από τη Βρασέρα Αργολίδας.” In *Ειλαπίνη: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Ν. Παύλου*, edited by L. Kastanaki, G. Orphanou, and N. Giannadakis, 69–78. Herakleion: Vikelaia Demotike Bibliothek.
- Demakopoulou, K. 1988. *The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture*. Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture and TAPA.
- Demakopoulou, K., and D. Konsola. 1981. *Archaeological Museum of Thebes Guide*. Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture and TAPA.
- DeMarrais, E. 2013. “Art As An Affecting Presence: Infant Funerary Urns in Pre-Hispanic Northwest Argentina.” *World Art* 3 (1), *Art Makes Society*: 101–119.
- Dessenne, A. 1957. *Le Sphinx: Étude Iconographique. I : Des Origines à la Fin du Second Millénaire*. Paris: de Boccard.
- Di Bella, M. P., and J. Elkins. 2013. *Representations of Pain in Art and Visual Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Doumas, C. 1992. *The Wall Paintings of Thera*. Athens: Thera Foundation.
- Fleisher, J., and N. Norman. 2015. “Archaeologies of Anxiety: The Materiality of Anxiousness, Worry, and Fear.” In *The Archaeology of Anxiety: The Materiality of Anxiousness, Worry, and Fear*, edited by J. Fleisher, and N. Norman, 1–20. New York: Springer.
- Freedberg, D. 2014. “Feelings On Faces: From Physiognomics to Neuroscience.” In *Rethinking Emotion: Interiority and Exteriority in Premodern, Modern and Contemporary Thought*, edited by R. Campe, and J. Weber, 289–323. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- French, B. M. 2012. “The Semiotics of Collective Memories.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 337–353.
- Frisone, F. 2011. “Construction of Consensus: Rules and Change in Greek Funerary Rituals.” In *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*, edited by A. Chaniotis, 179–202. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Galanakis, Y. 2016. “A Roof for the Dead: Tomb Design and the ‘Domestication of Death’ in Mycenaean Funerary Architecture.” In *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*, edited by A. Dakouri-Hild, and M. J. Boyd, 155–177. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Gallou, C. 2005. *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Garland, R. 1985. *The Greek Way of Death*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Garland, R. 1989. "The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation Into the Motives Behind Greek Funerary Legislation." *BICS* 36: 1–15.
- Gombrich, E. H. 1966. "Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B Biological Sciences* 251 (772): 393–401.
- Gosden, C. 2004. "Aesthetics, Intelligence, and Emotions. Implications for Archaeology." In *Rethinking Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World*, edited by E. DeMarrais, C. Gosden, and C. Renfrew, 33–40. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Gross, M. M., E. A. Crane, and B. L. Fredrickson. 2010. "Methodology for Assessing Bodily Expression of Emotion." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 34 (4): 223–248.
- Hägg, R., and F. Sieurin. 1982. "On the Origin of the Wooden Coffin in Late Bronze Age Greece." *BSA* 77: 177–186.
- Harris, O. J. T., and T. Flohr Sørensen. 2010. "Rethinking Emotion and Material Culture." *Archaeological Dialogues* 17 (2): 145–163.
- Havelock, C. M. 1982. "Mourners on Greek Vases: Remarks on the Social History of Women." In *Feminism And Art History: Questioning The Litany*, edited by N. Broude, and M. D. Garrard, 45–61. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hiller, S. 2006. "The Prothesis Scene: Bronze Age-Dark Age Relations." In *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*, edited by E. Rystedt, and B. Wells, 183–190. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Horn, F. 2019. "Dying is Hard to Describe: Metonymies and Metaphors of Death in the Iliad." *Classical Quarterly* 68 (2): 359–383.
- Iakovidis, S. E. 1966. "A Mycenaean Mourning Custom." *AJA* 70 (1): 43–50.
- Immerwahr, S. A. 1990. *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Immerwahr, S. A. 1995. "Death and the Tanagra Larnakes." In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, edited by J. B. Carter, and S. P. Morris, 109–121. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Jaques, M. 2017. "The Discourse of Emotion in Ancient Mesopotamia: A Theoretical Approach." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 185–207. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Jones, B. R. 2009. "New Reconstructions of the 'Mykenai' and A Seated Woman from Mycenae." *AJA* 113 (3): 309–338.
- Karo, G. 1930. *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai, Band 2*. Munich: Bruckmann.
- Kavoulaki, A. 2005. "Crossing Communal Space: The Classical Ekphora, 'Public' and 'Private'." In *Idia kai Dēmosia: Les Cadres 'Privés' et 'Publics' de la Religion Grecque Antique*, edited by V. Dasen, and M. Piérart, 129–145. Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège.
- Kendon, A. 2004. *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kipfer, S. 2017. "Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East: An Introduction." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 1–24. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Koehl, R. B. 2006. *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Konstan, D. 2006. *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Koziaik, B. 1999. "Homeric Thymos: The Early History of Gender, Emotion, and Politics." *Journal of Politics* 61 (4): 1068–1091.
- Kramer-Hajos, M. 2015. "Mourning on the Larnakes at Tanagra: Gender and Agency in Late Bronze Age Greece." *Hesperia* 84: 627–667.
- Kus, S. 2010. "The Matter With Emotions." *Archaeological Dialogues* 17 (2): 167–172.
- Laneri, N. 2007. *Performing Death: An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Lecoq, J. 2006. *Theatre of Movement and Gesture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lhomme, M., and S. C. Marsella. 2015. "Emotion Through Posture and Gesture." In *The Oxford Handbook of Affective Computing*, edited by R. A. Calvo, S. D'Mello, J. Gratch, and A. Kappas, 273–285. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lippke, F. 2017. "Analyzing 'Emotions' in Ancient Media: Between Skepticism and Conceptual Autonomy." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 159–184. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Long, C. R. 1974. *The Ayia Triada Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs*. Göteborg: P. Åström.
- Lutz, C. 1986. "Emotion, Thought, and Estrangement: Emotion As A Cultural Category." *Cultural Anthropology* 1 (3): 287–309.
- Lutz, C., and G. M. White. 1986. "The Anthropology of Emotions." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15: 405–436.
- Malafouris, L. 2016. "How Did the Mycenaeans Remember? Death, Matter, and Memory in the Early Mycenaean World." In *Death Rituals, Social Order and the Archaeology of Immortality in the Ancient World*, edited by C. Renfrew, M. J. Boyd, and I. Morley, 303–314. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maran, J., A. Papadimitriou, and U. Thaler. 2015. "Palatial Wall Paintings from Tiryns: New Finds and New Perspective." In *Mycenaeans Up to Date: The Archaeology of the North-Eastern Peloponnese-Current Concepts and New Directions*, edited by A.-L. Schallin, and I. Tournavitou, 99–116. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Marinatos, N. 1984. *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*. Athens: Mathioulakis.
- Marinatos, N. 1985. "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes." *BCH Supplément* 11: 219–230.
- Marinatos, N. 1997. "Minoan and Mycenaean Larnakes: A Comparison." *BCH Supplément* 30: 281–292.
- Marincola, J. 2018. "Manly Matters: Gender, Emotion, and the Writing of History." In *Kinesis: The Ancient Depiction of Gesture, Motion, and Emotion. Essays for Donald Lateiner*, edited by C. A. Clark, E. Foster, and J. P. Hallett, 127–139. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Masségli, J. 2012. "Emotion and Archaeological Sources: A Methodological Introduction." In *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, edited by A. Chaniotis, 131–150. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Masségli, J. 2014. "Feeling Low: Social Status and Emotional Display in Hellenistic Art." In *Unveiling Emotions II. Emotions in Greece and Rome: Texts, Images, Material Culture*, edited by A. Chaniotis, and P. Ducrey, 313–330. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Masségli, J. 2015. *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matravers, D. 1998. *Art and Emotion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Matt, S. J. 2013. "Recovering the Invisible: Methods for the Historical Study of the Emotions." In *Doing Emotions History*, edited by S. J. Matt, and P. N. Stearns, 41–54. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Matthews, S. 2005a. "The Materiality of Gesture: Intimacy, Emotion and Technique in the Archaeological Study of Body Communication." In *The Archaeology of Gesture: Reconstructing Prehistoric Technical and Symbolic Behaviour, 11th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, 5-11 September 2005, Cork, Ireland*. <https://semioticon.com/virtuals/archaeology/materiality.pdf>.
- Matthews, S. 2005b. "An Archaeology of Gesture: Symposium Review." In *The Archaeology of Gesture: Reconstructing Prehistoric Technical and Symbolic Behaviour, 11th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, 5-11 September 2005, Cork, Ireland*. <https://semioticon.com/virtuals/archaeology/review.pdf>.
- Merousis, N. 1998. "Οι Εικονογραφικοί Κύκλοι των ΥΜ ΙΙΙ Λαρνάκων: οι Διαστάσεις της Εικονογραφίας στα Πλαίσια των Ταφικών Πρακτικών." PhD diss., University of Thessaloniki.
- Merousis, N. 2000. "Iconography in the Framework of Burial Practices." In *Γ' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών (Θήβα, 4-8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996)*, Γ:α, edited by V. Aravantinos, 264–285. Athens: Society of Boeotian Studies.
- Merousis, N. 2018. "Larnax Painters and Vase-Painters: Vitae Parallelae in Late Minoan III Crete." In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24-26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 339–355. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Middleton, G. 2017. "'I Will Follow You Into the Dark': Death and Emotion in A Mycenaean Royal Funeral." *OJA* 36 (4): 395–412.

- Minissale, G. 2013. *The Psychology of Contemporary Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, L. 1987. "A Minoan Larnax from Knossos." *BSA* 82: 171–200.
- Morgan, L. 1988. *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, L. 2020. "Art, Culture and Memory." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Borgna, I. Caloi, F. M. Carinci, and R. Laffineur, 371–375. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Morris, C. 2001. "The Language of Gesture in Minoan Religion." In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by R. Laffineur, and R. Hägg, 245–251. Liège and Austin: PASP.
- Morris, C., and A. Peatfield. 2002. "Feeling Through the Body: Gesture in Cretan Bronze Age Religion." In *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, edited by Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik, and S. Tarlow, 105–120. New York: Kluwer and Plenum.
- Mountjoy, P. A. 1999. *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery, Vol II*. Rahden: M. Leidorf.
- Muskett, G. 2007. *Mycenaean Art: A Psychological Approach*. (BAR-IS 1636). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1983. *Mycenae, Rich in Gold*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1984. "Ανασκαφαί." *Ergon*: 51–53.
- Neumann, G. 1994. "Wervorstellungen und Ideologie in den Personennamen der Mykenischen Griechen." *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 131: 127–166.
- Nilsson Stutz, L. N., and S. Tarlow. 2013. "Beautiful Things and Bones of Desire: Emerging Issues in the Archaeology of Death and Ritual." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, edited by S. Tarlow, and L. N. Nilsson Stutz, 1–16. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Noland, C. 2009. *Agency and Embodiment: Performing Gestures/Producing Culture*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Olsen, B. A. 2014. *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Oremland, J. D. 1984. "Empathy and Its Relation to the Appreciation of Art." In *Empathy I*, edited by J. Lichtenberg, M. Bornstein, and D. Silver, 239–265. Hillsdale: Analytic Press.
- Palaima, T. G. 2019. "The Importance of Memory, Memory Triggers and Memory Agents in Mycenaean and Later Greek Culture: Some Linear B, Epic and Classical Evidence." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Borgna, I. Caloi, F. M. Carinci, and R. Laffineur, 591–599. Leuven: Peeters.
- Papadimitriou, A., U. Thaler, and J. Maran. 2015. "Bearing the Pomegranate Bearer: A New Wall-Painting Scene from Tiryns." In *Mycenaean Wall Painting in Context: New Discoveries, Old Finds Reconsidered*, edited by H. Brecoulaki, J. L. Davis, and S. R. Stocker, 173–211. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Papadimitriou, N. 2016. "Collective Selves and Funerary Rituals: Early Mycenaean *Dromoi* As Spaces of Negotiation and Embodiment of Social Identities." In *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by M. Mina, S. Triantafyllou, and Y. Papadatos, 204–214. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Perkell, C. 2008. "Reading the Laments of Iliad 24." In *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Beyond*, edited by A. Suter, 93–117. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phialon, L. 2001. "Les Larnakes de Tanagra: Une Présence Crétoise en Béotie?". PhD diss., University of Geneva.
- Phialon, L., and S. Farrugio. 2005. "Réflexions sur L'Usage des Larnakès et Cercueils en Grèce Mycénienne." *RA* 40 (2): 227–254.
- Platon, L. 2020. "The Uncertainties Inherent in Interpreting the Pictorial Memory and the Blend of Ideas and Actualities Drawn from a Glorious Past: The Case of Postpalatial Minoan Religious Iconography." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Borgna, I. Caloi, F. M. Carinci, and R. Laffineur, 389–394. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Pliatsika, V. 2004. "Ο Εικονιστικός Ρυθμός στην Κεραμική της ΥΕ ΙΙΙ Περίόδου από τις Μυκήνες". PhD diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.
- Pliatsika, V. 2012. "Simply Divine: The Jewellery, Dress and Body Adornment of the Mycenaean Clay Female Figures in Light of New Evidence from Mycenae." In *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by M.-L. Nosch, and R. Laffineur, 609–626. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Pliatsika, V. 2018. "The End Justifies the Means: Wall-Painting Reflections in the Pictorial Pottery from Mycenae." In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24–26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 535–545. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Poole, S. E. 2020. *A Consideration of Gender Roles and Relations in the Aegean Bronze Age Interpreted from Gestures and Proxemics in Art*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Posner, J., J. A. Russell, and B. S. Peterson. 2005. "The Circumplex Model of Affect: An Integrative Approach to Affective Neuroscience, Cognitive Development, and Psychopathology." *Development and Psychopathology* 17 (3): 715–734.
- Prioux, E. 2013. "Emotions in Ecphrasis and Art Criticism." In *Emotion, Genre, and Gender in Classical Antiquity*, edited by D. Lacourse Munteanu, 113–134. London: Bloomsbury.
- Raison, J. 1968. *Les Vases à Inscriptions Peintes de L'Âge Mycénien et Leur Contexte Archéologique*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Räuchle, V. 2019. "The Visual Arts." In *A Cultural History of the Emotions in Antiquity*, edited by D. L. Cairns, 85–108. London: Bloomsbury.
- Reckwitz, A. 2012. "Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook." *Rethinking History* 16 (2), *Emotional Styles: Concepts and Challenges*: 241–258.
- Reusch, H. 1956. *Die Zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Frauenfrieses im Boötischen Theben*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Reynolds, D., and M. Reason. 2012. "Introduction." In *Kinesthetic Empathy in Creative and Cultural Practices*, edited by D. Reynolds, M. Reason, 17–25. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect.
- Rosenwein, B. H. 2006. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Rutkowski, B. 1966. *Larnaksy Egejskie*. Wrocław: Polish Academy (with English summary).
- Rutkowski, B. 1968. "The Origin of the Minoan Coffin." *BSA* 63: 219–227.
- Rutkowski, B. 1979. "Mycenaean Pillar Cult in Boeotia." In *2nd International Boeotian Conference*, edited by J. M. Fossey, 35–36. Montreal: privately published.
- Rystedt, E. 2018. "The Early Mycenaean Chariot Kraters and the Ceramic Turn of a Presumptive Fresco Motif." In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24–26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 413–521. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Sakellarakis, J. A. 1992. *The Mycenaean Pictorial Style in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens*. Athens: Kapon Editions.
- Sakellariou, A. 1975. "La Scène du 'Siège' sur le Rhyton D'Argent de Mycènes D'Après une Nouvelle Reconstitution." *RA Nouvelle Série* 2: 195–208.
- Seremetakis, N. C. 1991. *The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shapiro, H. A. 1991. "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art." *AJA* 95 (4): 629–656.
- Sheth, B. R., and T. Pham. 2008. "How Emotional Arousal and Valence Influence Access to Awareness." *Vision Research* 48: 2415–2424.
- Siebrecht, C. 2013. *The Aesthetics of Loss: German Women's Art of the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, L., M. Wetherell, and G. Campbell. 2018. "Emotion, Affective Practices and the Past in the Present." In *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present*, edited by L. Smith, M. Wetherell, and G. Campbell. New York: Routledge (e-book).
- Sonik, K. 2017. "Emotion and the Ancient Arts: Visualizing, Materializing and Producing States of Being." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 219–262. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Sontag, S. 2003. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1995. *Reading Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 2011 (1981). "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After." In *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, edited by J. Whaley, 15–39. New York: Routledge.

- Spyropoulos, T. 1969a. "Τό μυκηναϊκόν νεκροταφείον τῆς Τανάγρας." *AAA* 2 (1): 20–25.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1969b. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 5–15.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1969c. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 5–11.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1970a. "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό μυκηναϊκόν νεκροταφείον Τανάγρας." *AAA* 3 (2): 185–197.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1970b. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 29–36.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1970c. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 13–22.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1971a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκού νεκροταφείου Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 7–14.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1971b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 11–21.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1973a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 11–21.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1973b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 11–14.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1974a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 9–33.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1974b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 10–16.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1975a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 415–427.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1975b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 17–26.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1976a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 61–68.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1976b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 8–14.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1977a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 25–31.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1977b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 14–19.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1979a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 27–36.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1979b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 5–6.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1980a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 50–67.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1980b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 21–22.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1981a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 96–117.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1981b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 38–40.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1982a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 109–122.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1982b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 33–34.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1983a. "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκῆς Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 102–108.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1983b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 49–53.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1984a. "Ανασκαφή Τανάγρας." *PAE*: 143–145.
- Spyropoulos, T. 1984b. "Τανάγρα." *Ergon*: 51–53.
- Spyropoulos, G. *in press*. "Η μυκηναϊκή Τανάγρα: χωροταξία και αρχιτεκτονική των νεκροταφείων, ταφική εθιμοτυπία και ερμηνευτική της εικονογραφίας των λαρνακῶν τῆς" (online draft). https://www.academia.edu/44114008/H_MYKHNAIKH_TANAGR_A_XOROTAEIA_KAI_ARXITEKTONIKH_TON_NEKROTAΦEI_ON_TAΦIKH_EΘIMOΤΥΠΙΑ_KAI_ERMHNEYTIKH_THΣ_EIKONOΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ_TON_LARNAKON_THΣ.
- Stears, K. 1998. "Death Becomes Her: Gender and Athenian Death Ritual." In *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, edited by S. Blundell, and M. Williamson, 113–127. London and New York: Routledge.
- Steel, L. 2006. "Women in Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting." In *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*, edited by E. Rystedt, and B. Wells, 147–158. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Steel, L. 2020. "'Little Women': Gender, Performance, and Gesture in Mycenaean Female Figurines." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 58: 1–15.
- Swenson, E. 2010. "Emotion Reified: Lessons from the Archaeology of Ritual." *Archaeological Dialogues* 17 (2): 176–183.
- Tarlow, S. 2000. "Emotion in Archaeology." *Current Anthropology* 41 (5): 713–746.
- Tarlow, S. 2012. "The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 169–185.
- Televantou, C. A. 2000. "Aegean Bronze Age Wall Painting: The Thera Workshop." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium (30 August–4 September 1997)*, edited by S. Sherratt, 831–843. Athens: Thera Foundation.
- Tournavitou, I. 1995. *The Ivory Houses' at Mycenae*. London: The British School at Athens.
- Tournavitou, I. 2018. "Unconditional Acceptance and Selective Rejection: Interactive Thematic Cycles in Mycenaean Painting. Tales of the Unexpected." In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24–26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 495–511. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Tsagalis, C. 2004. *Epic Grief: Personal Laments in Homer's Iliad*. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2009. "Trashing the Sacred: The Use-Life of Mycenaean Figurines." In *Encounters with Mycenaean Figures And Figurines*, edited by A.-L. Schallin, and P. Pakkanen, 161–175. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.
- Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2010. "Figurines." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by E. H. Cline, 210–222. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Gennep, A. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Wees, H. 1998. "A Brief History of Tears: Gender Differentiation in Archaic Greece." In *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, edited by L. Foxhall, and J. Salmon, 10–53. London and New York: Routledge.
- Vermeule, E. 1965. "Painted Mycenaean Larnakes." *JHS* 85: 123–148.
- Vermeule, E. 1981. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vikatu, O. 2001. "Σκηνή πρόθεσης από τό μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείον τῆς Αγίας Τριάδας." In *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier "100 Jahre österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, edited by V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, 273–284. Athens: Austrian Archaeological Institute.
- Vlachopoulos, A. 2018. "From 'Koine' to 'Void'? The Art of Paintbrushes in Postpalatial Greece and Their Social Implications." In *Paintbrushes/Χρωστήρες: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera (24–26 May 2013)*, edited by A. Vlachopoulos, 557–567. Athens: University of Ioannina and TAPA.
- Von Rüden, C. 2020. "The Fish in the Bathtub: Evoking Memory Through Post-Palatial Burial Practices." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Borgna, I. Caloi, F. M. Carinci, and R. Laffineur, 395–404. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Wagner-Durand, E. 2017. "Visualization of Emotions -Potentials and Obstacles." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 75–94. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Wagner-Durand, E. 2020. "I Am Walking About Shining and Radiant With Joy. Linking the Senses and Emotions in Mesopotamia." In *Sensing the Past: Detecting the Use of the Five Senses in Ancient Near Eastern Contexts (Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, Sapienza University June 4th, 2018)*, edited by D. Nadali, and F. Pinnock, 217–246. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Watrous, V. 1991. "The Origin and Iconography of the Late Minoan Painted Larnax." *Hesperia* 60 (3): 285–307.
- Wedde, M. 1999. "Talking Hands: A Study of Minoan and Mycenaean Ritual Gesture: Some Preliminary Notes." In *Meletmata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, edited by P. P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, 911–919. Liège and Austin: PASP.
- Wedde, M. 2004. "On the Road to the Godhead: Aegean Bronze Age Glyptic Procession Scenes." In *Celebrations, Sanctuaries and the Vestiges of Cult Activity*, edited by M. Wedde, 151–186. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens.
- Winter, I. J. 1998. "The Affective Properties of Styles: An Inquiry Into Analytical Process and the Inscription of Meaning in Art History." In *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, edited by C. A. Jones, and P. Gallison, 55–77. New York: Routledge.
- Wright, J. C. 2004. "A Survey of Evidence for Feasting in Mycenaean Society." *Hesperia* 73 (2), *The Mycenaean Feast*: 133–178.
- Wright, J. C. 2020. "Mnemonics for Archaeologists." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by E. Borgna, I. Caloi, F. M. Carinci, and R. Laffineur, 3–14. Leuven and Liège: Peeters.
- Zwickel, W. 2017. "The Iconography of Emotions in the Ancient Near East and in Ancient Egypt." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by S. Kipfer, 95–122. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.