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Warriors, Traders, and Ancestors: the "Heroes" of Lefkandi

Carla Antonaccio

As living ancestors, aristocrats are, by definition, no longer associated solely with the cosmological here-and-now of conventional life even though they are physically alive in this time and place. Instead they reach beyond the immediate and ordinary to be contained within the more distant or more encompassing realms of the cosmological there-and-then. It follows, then, that to understand aristocracies and the nature of hierarchical and centralized polities, such as chiefdoms, we must extend the context of our investigations to include not just the polity per se or even neighboring groups but the entire cosmos within which it is centered and contained. Similarly, if aristocrats are to be regarded as qualitatively distinct living ancestors, it would be advisable to investigate the nature of ancestors in order to better understand the nature of aristocrats.¹

Through their lives and their deaths, the *basileis* of Homer, "kings", or "chieftains" who received honors from their communities and fought at Troy, gained the immortality of epic celebration. Later cities and prominent houses traced their origins to these heroes, and cults were devoted to them. The title of *basileus* may be traced back to the Bronze Age: with the *wanax* and *lawagetas*, *basileis* were the top-ranked individuals in the Mycenaean palatial hierarchy as recorded in contemporary Linear B texts. *Basileis* are not, then, an invention of Homer: they emerged at the apex of Iron Age social hierarchy in the aftermath of the destructions of mainland palace centers at the end of the Bronze Age and the accompanying disappearance of the *wanax*. The power of the *basileis* in Homer was based on consensus, the use of coercion, personal charisma and achievements, inherited status, and wealth in objects, land, and commodities with which they attracted followers and allies through feasting and gift-giving, and personal charisma. The Iron Age is inevitably viewed through the lens of Homer. Homeric *basileia* is sometimes equated with monarchy, as recently by M.L. West; the term "kingship" is less dissatisfactory, but has unfortunate connotations, and chief or chief-

tain has been favored of late. Although in epic the *basileis* might boast of their lineages, descent only reinforced and naturalized claims to power: *basileia* as seen through Homer was not strictly an inherited status, but based on competition and a certain degree of shared power. Though it sounds somewhat comical to contemporary ears, the term "Big Man" as defined by anthropologists for Melanesian political leadership best fits both Homeric *basileia* and, it will be argued below, the structuring of authority in some Iron Age Greek communities as archaeology has recovered them.²

Actual Iron Age *basileis* are almost certainly identifiable in a few exceptional archaeological contexts in Iron Age Greece, confirming that in the period after about 1200 BCE, economic and a great deal of social or political power and control shifted from the vanished palaces and their *wanaktes* to the *basileis* presiding over a very different type and level of society.³

This paper argues that during the earlier Iron Age (ca. 1000 to 800 BCE), the *basileis* used long distance trade to establish and sustain their positions in at least some Greek communities. Moreover, some of the objects obtained through trade not only originated from afar, but were antiques at the time of their deposition in graves. Such objects suggest the importance of controlling time and space in early Iron Age society. Antiques, whose unfamiliar origins made them mysterious, validated claims to power by leading individuals who because of the Mycenaean collapse probably could not point to long and unbroken lineages; in effect, such objects helped make them ancestors. Continuities in trading routes and relationships, in material culture, and in ritual forms between the Bronze and Iron Ages appear to be important in this transitional period.⁴ Eric Cline's study of the variety of roles that some Mycenaeans may have played in the east in the late Bronze Age provides some basis for concluding that a variety of roles were played out by the *basileis* (possibly supported by agents working on their behalf) in the aftermath of the Bronze Age which included those of warrior, trader, and ultimately ancestor.⁵ Continuity with the Bronze Age and the complexity and instability of the situation that pertained after its end contributed to this system, in which elites in different parts of Greece participated in the early Iron Age. An oft-discussed place, Lefkandi, serves again here as the example, especially one of its cemeteries, Toumba. Here, as in most places in Iron Age Greece, hierarchy and its supporting apparatus are best seen through burials: relationships were created among the community of the dead, and ancestors created.

Lefkandi is a place that can bear the attention that has been lavished on it in the past decade and a half, because of what it has already done to change our view of the Greek Iron Age, and because what can be learned from it has not been exhausted;⁶ and the very recent analysis by Ian Morris (2000) has also returned Lefkandi to center stage. Other recent discussions, however, have become mired in disputes about the primacy of Euboians vs.

Phoenicians or other easterners in Iron Age trade, the ethnic identity of those carrying different objects in the Aegean and wider Mediterranean, and ceramic style as an indicator of ethnic identity. These discussions have lost the trees in attempting to explore the forest, and the relationships of details which combine to form context will return to front and center in this paper.

Trade, before and after the fall

In the Linear B tablets which recorded transactions in the Late Bronze Age palaces of Greece, both *wanax* and *basileus* possessed *temenê*, some kind of landholding, surely one basis for wealth and power. Although the functions of the *wanakes* are disputed, it seems clear that they were preeminent in economic matters.⁷ The various Bronze Age palaces organized long-distance trade directly through gift exchange; trade was also conducted by independent merchants, but still involved rulers who sponsored important trading voyages.⁸ The best-known illustration of this trade takes the form of the Uluburun wreck, a ship of the late 13th c. BCE that went down off the coast of southern Turkey carrying a diverse and informative cargo (see below). Specific imports were targeted to particular sites in the Aegean, and thereafter redistributed by gifts and trade between the major centers. Some imports found in smaller centers may also have arrived via independent short-haul vessels. In LH IIIB-C, a northern route still carried this "directional trade" to some destinations, and the northern route may have continued in use into the early Iron Age.⁹ Yet, while *wanax* and *basileus* are among the few functionaries mentioned in the Linear B texts whose names survived into later Greek, nearly the entire system of terms involving landholding went out of use, which probably reflects the crash of the population and of the settlement hierarchy. The *wanax* vanished as a political, economic, or ritual role and became an honorific (*anax*); *basileus* ultimately became the regular word for king.¹⁰

In the early Iron Age, seagoing trade was plying a north Aegean route, either continuing to use the old Bronze Age path or reviving it by the 10th century. Attika's silver and Euboia's iron were perhaps already exploited at this time.¹¹ As early as the 11th c. iron weapons and gold jewelry appear in some of the graves at Lefkandi, as well as Syro-Palestinian, Cypriot, and Cretan imports. The gold ceases to be offered around 1050, as do most of the imports, to reappear again in the 10th c.¹² The importance of Euboian Lefkandi's relations with the north Aegean is evidenced in metalwork and pottery from its cemeteries demonstrating ties to Skyros, Lokris, Boiotia, Phokis, the Chalkidike and Macedonia, and as Irene Lemos has recently shown, Lefkandi was at the center of innovation in a north Aegean "koine". Lemos points to the sanctuary of Poseidi on the eastern Chalkidike as a possible intermediary in the north Aegean for the Euboian sphere, observing

that it occupied "the most obvious place for seamen who approach the area from the south and was already visited in the Submycenaean period".¹³ Cline observes: "Such "gateway communities" act as entrances to or from an area, are characterized by long distance trade connections, and are located on sites of transportation significance."¹⁴ Lefkandi is on the wrong side of the island to be a gateway to Euboia from the north Aegean; Kyme would perhaps be a better candidate, but Lefkandi may have had a relationship to some other center (like Mycenae and Tiryns in the Bronze Age), or mediated trade with the mainland of Boiotia and Attika. For in Attika, too, Levantine and Cypriot metalwork, ceramics, and other objects are found, though fewer than in Euboia and mostly later. In turn, in Cyprus and the Levant, Athenian and Euboian ceramics make their appearances.¹⁵ In an article published before all the tombs now known had been excavated, Jan Paul Crielaard claimed that ca. 70% of burials at Lefkandi that had imported objects belonged to the aristocracy, or that 70% of the tombs which he believed to be aristocratic contained imports. According to his interpretation, both Lefkandiots and easterners may have brought foreign goods to Lefkandi, but in either case the access to them was controlled locally. In his words, "For without a mechanism that controlled the circulation of imports, every member of the Lefkandi community would in principle have had the possibility to acquire foreign goods," and he draws a negative comparison with Pithekoussai, where he thinks resident foreigners were responsible for the more widely distributed orientalia.¹⁶ Irene Lemos, meanwhile, has argued that in a Euboian cultural *koine*, imported items were shared among elites at Lefkandi, Skyros, Atalante and possibly Marmariani and Homolion in Thessaly (see table 1 for tombs with both weapons and imports from the Toumba burial ground).¹⁷ It is likely that the entire community did not have direct or unrestricted access to orientalia, exotica, and luxury goods, even perhaps large ceramic vessels, but depended on well-connected individuals to obtain or distribute them.

Because of the provenance of many items found at Lefkandi, Cyprus is important to understanding the social and economic dynamics of trade at the site. Crielaard has suggested that finds of Euboian material on Cyprus illustrate the reciprocity of exchange between the two islands, though he admits that many of the Cypriot tombs he cites are later than those at Lefkandi with Cypriote materials. Nevertheless, he concludes: "The general impression is that there were direct contacts between Euboea and Cyprus, probably between members of the élite, who shared a similar life-style." Following Nicholas Coldstream, he thinks the mechanism was gift-exchange, which was, in essence, directional: "...there existed gift-relations between Euboea and only certain places in the East; as in Homer, these gift-exchange networks could last for several generations."¹⁸ Gift exchange alone is unlikely to account for all of the material in the archaeological record; the

ceramics in particular were not as valuable as metalwork and many other types of materials or commodities that usually do not leave any archaeological trace, and pots may be the kind of incidental trade that accompanied the more structured exchanges of high-status goods, as Cline argues for the late Bronze Age.¹⁹ On the other hand, such exchanges may also have enabled the transfer of elite customs, such as drinking practices, between different regions, and Cyprus might have served as a route for the introduction of eastern drinking paraphernalia and ideologies.

Thus, while there could no longer be palace-to-palace exchanges in the Iron Age, and despite the uncertainties regarding Lefkandi's position, directional trade and gift exchange are both possibilities. As noted above, in the Bronze Age even though trade was represented as gift exchange among the elite, traders or personal envoys undertook trading ventures on behalf of a king or other ruler. Gifts exchange is also the model suggested for Iron Age trade. Iron Age trade may also have been directional. Were the *basileis* themselves sailing east or north, or were intermediaries (traders or others) or personal envoys conducting it, as during the late Bronze Age? And more importantly, how did trade function socially and politically? It is clear that Greek polities in the Iron Age were small and peripheral with respect to the far larger, complex empires in the near east. Thus gift exchange between rulers, Greek and Eastern, on the model of brothers and sons as in the Bronze Age, is unlikely. David Small has explored several cases in the ethnographic and archaeological record in which external trade is not "captured", or integrated into a coherent economy. In this case "external economic systems" – like those of the near east, in this case – provide "an alternative power base that works against the development of a strong hierarchy and centrality". The term heterarchy is used to describe such a situation, and might help explain the temporary and contested nature of power in places like Lefkandi.²⁰

The most extensive evidence available for the structure of trade and the roles of individuals in it during the Iron Age is from cemeteries. Of particular interest and significance are near eastern imports in Lefkandi's graves, especially those that were luxury items in their original contexts. Some were emblematic of power or force, and others were more trivial and common, but still exotic. Some were both exotic and already old when deposited in graves. At Lefkandi, antiques began to appear in tombs in the 10th c., possibly reviving the pattern of use of such items, such as Early Minoan stone vessels and old seals, recovered from Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece.²¹ The deployment of such objects created or sustained links with the past, and ancestors, or could be argued to usurp the past, when in fact continuity with the Bronze Age had been ruptured in fundamental ways.²² In a type of prestige goods economy that existed at Lefkandi and some other Iron Age communities, imported metal objects and antiques were the top categories of possession.²³ It may be argued that the types and sources of imports, and of

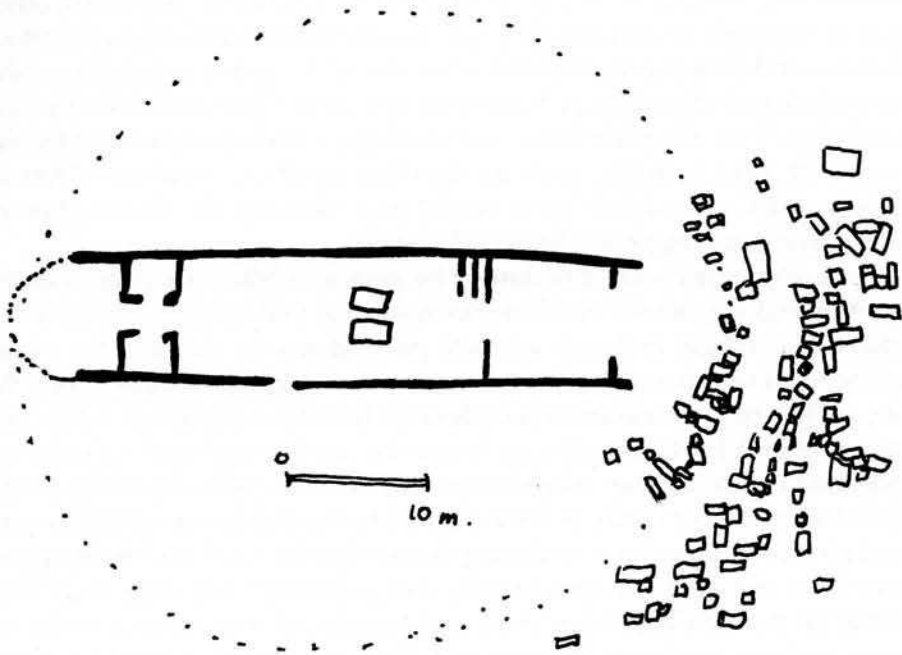


Fig. 1. Plan of Toumba burial building; restored tumulus indicated by dotted line. (Author's drawing after Kalligas, P. 1988. "Hero-cult in Early Iron Age Greece", in Hägg, R. (ed.), *Early Greek Cult Practice*. Stockholm, 231, fig. 1.)

antiques that might have had their own pedigrees as in Homer (and hence would more properly be called heirlooms) within local contexts is significant in constructing and expressing social hierarchy.²⁴ We should also not lose sight of the motivations for "why people want goods": as Lynn Foxhall has recently noted, desire better describes the informed choices that lead to trade, and desire is predicated on direct access to a thing, or to its representation in speech or poetry. She also notes that exotic objects are often incorporated into a society's ideas about what is correct or fitting for a particular use, and leads to definitions of both individuals and of groups.²⁵

The prime examples of metal antiques at Toumba are first and foremost those found with two celebrated burials at the center of the cemetery. These are of a male warrior sometimes regarded as a hero and a *basileus*; a woman whose status is controversial; and four horses. The graves they occupied were located beneath a gigantic house, all buried at the center of the cemetery perhaps ca. 950 BCE (fig. 1). The male's cremation was contained in a Cypriot bronze amphora, probably of the 12th c., and was buried with weapons and a whetstone. The female inhumation was richly adorned with jewelry that included a gold pendant possibly from 2nd millennium

Babylonia.²⁶ Cyprus may have provided not only the bronze amphora but also served as a transfer point for the pendant and other eastern antiques (though Coldstream has recently suggested that the jewelry came through Tyre: see below).²⁷ Except for the whetstone with the male burial these graves contained only metal, no pottery or faience, glass, or other material (unless as embellishment to metal). The links these antiques established to the past and to the far reaches of the known world through their histories could have been a major factor in their status and motivated their pursuit and acquisition (see below).²⁸

Many of the graves in the cemetery that surrounded these central

burials contained lesser imports, as well as heirlooms, and shared aspects of their construction and accompanying rituals with the burial building's graves (fig. 2). By analogy with later Iron Age Europe, one may argue that the imports and heirlooms of the other burials comprise a distribution, perhaps through gift-giving, of privileged objects to followers or dependents, or to peers whose support the *basileus* would have required. Striking parallels from northwest Europe with Halstatt burials suggest how the Lefkandi cemetery may have been structured. One example is the Magdalenenburg, a 7th c. tumulus in Baden-Württemberg, where the chieftain was buried in a wealthy grave at the center of a tumulus and his followers were buried around him (fig. 3). The Hallstatt chief controlled trade in luxury items and exotica, some of which were included with his burial, and distributed to

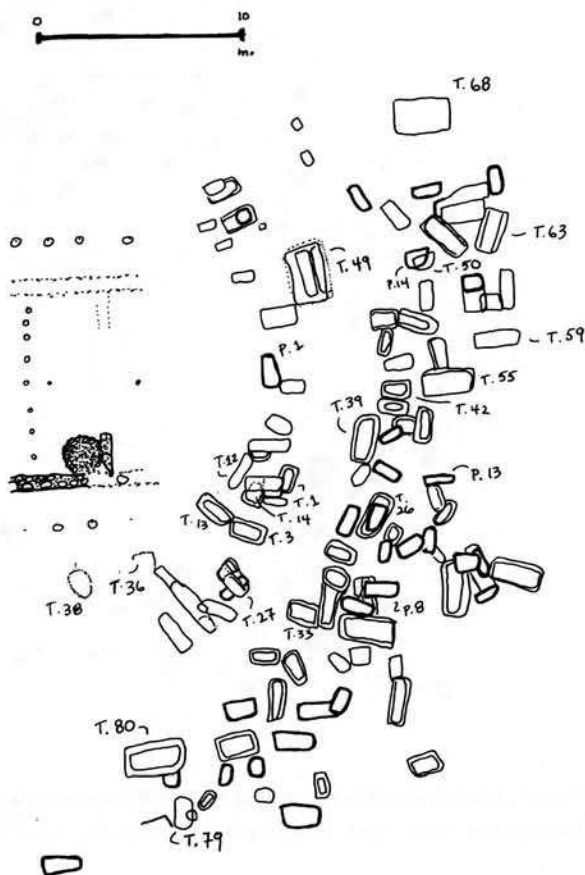


Fig. 2. Graves and east end of Toumba burial building. (Author's drawing after *Archaeological Reports* 1988-89, 117, fig. 1.)

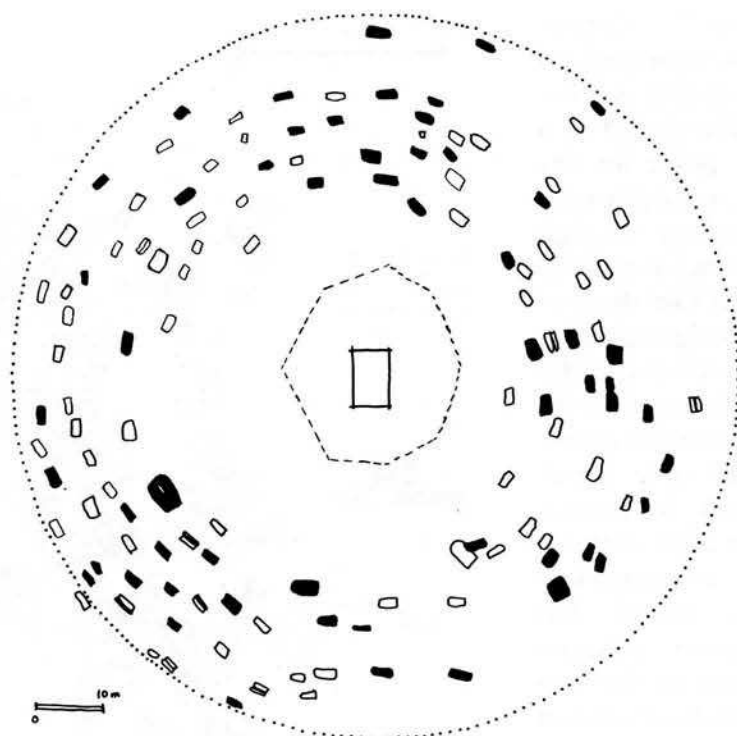


Fig. 3. *Magdalenenburg tumulus.* (Author's drawing after Collins, J. 1984. *The European Iron Age.* London/New York, 85, fig. 21.)

other graves in the mound around his tomb.²⁹ The apparent parallel in the organization of these cemeteries is more than fortuitous, as will be seen.

Hierarchy at Toumba: Creating ancestors

Before discussing the cemetery as a whole, more must be said about the two burials under the building at the center of the Toumba cemetery, already mentioned above. These were of a cremated middle-aged male warrior and a female inhumed beside him in the same shaft. As noted, their graves have been argued to constitute an early example of heroization, so the building under which they were found would then be a heroon.³⁰ Since any double burial requires an explanation or narrative that accounts for two simultaneous deaths, initial reports speculated on the possibility of a human sacrifice, the woman slaughtered to accompany the male, presumably her husband. The scanty evidence of a knife included with her burial was invoked to support this explanation. This scenario has been criticized but no other has been

proposed.³¹ Neither burial has been published fully, and further discussion of the individuals and most of their gravegoods must await the final publication.³² I have argued, however, that the male burial is that of a powerful *basileus* whose funeral almost certainly established the cemetery, as is indicated in the chronology of the other burials, though the woman has not received enough attention and will be considered further below. The building was deliberately destroyed and covered by a tumulus into which some graves were later cut. It cannot have been a dwelling or *anaktoron* ("palace") before the burials, a view held by several scholars but not supported by the archaeological evidence (faulty though it is).³³ While the building is essentially a domestic structure writ large, it is located in an area reserved for burials and lacking conclusive evidence for habitation at any period. The building had a funerary function and was built after the central burials were made, and stood for a short time before being put out of use by deliberate demolition and burial.

In addition, the building burials are impossible to date precisely because of the presence of heirlooms, the absence of pottery, and the loss of stratigraphic evidence to illegal construction activities on the site prior to excavation. A definite date for the building is similarly elusive, since the tens of thousands of sherds recovered from the mound were dumped there deliberately to fill it in. Only a few vessels may be assignable to the building's use. The excavators place the building in the Middle Protogeometric period (1000-950 BCE), but it is possible that a fragmentary krater which may have been positioned above the shaft graves beneath the building dates to Late Protogeometric or early in Subprotogeometric, and other sherds similarly suggest its fill might be brought down to ca. 900, thus lowering the date for the burial of the building.³⁴ Nicholas Coldstream makes the very interesting suggestion that this great local krater may have had an Attic MPG companion in the form of an equally massive belly-handled amphora also found shattered in the fill, which he suggests marked the woman's burial.³⁵ Coldstream's suggestion is predicated on the use of such amphorai solely for burials in Attika. He admits that its fragments were scattered in the fill, unlike the local krater, whose sherds were gathered from the area of the shaft; this fact makes the Attic krater's association with the burials unprovable. If Coldstream is right, however, then a lower dating of the local krater would be at odds with that of this import, and possibly otherwise affect the interpretation of events.

A terminus ante quem for the tumulus, and the destruction of the building is available, however, in the form of burials set into the tumulus: Tombs 13, 36, 38, are SPG II or later, and lend some support for a slightly later date for the building than MPG.³⁶ The earliest graves of the Toumba cemetery as a whole are Early to Middle Protogeometric in date. The Early to Middle Protogeometric graves, which predate the lowered date of the fill suggested

here, also support the possibility that the building still stood when a few of the first other burials were made. I suggest that the burials on the site of the building were made before 900, the cemetery established at nearly the same time, and the building constructed (no other burials are found under the building); the structure was then in use for a very brief period, destroyed by the early 9th c. and further burials were placed in the cemetery around the mound (and a few in the east edge of the mound itself).

Certainly after the mound had been constructed, both inhumations and cremations of adult males and females and of children were placed in the cemetery that grew up at Toumba and other, nearby Iron Age burial grounds that belonged to the settlement.³⁷ Many of these graves are also very rich, and in some cases the grave goods resemble those from the graves under the building (see table 1 for summary of imports and antiques in burials with weapons and fig. 1 for plan). This is significant because of the very unusual character of many of these grave goods. Besides the appearance of antiques, imports and luxuries, a shared feature is the warrior persona embodied by the cremated male under the building. At the Toumba burial ground itself, Tombs 14 and 26, and Pyres 1 and 8 held weapons. So did Tomb 46 at Skoubris, Tombs 47, 13, 31, and 47 and Pyres 1 and 16 at Palia Perivolia (adjacent burial grounds). At times, other specific and standard objects accompany the weaponry. Toumba Pyre 13 (SPG II, 875-850) produced a bronze dagger and iron spits, a *phalaron* (shield boss),³⁸ whetstone and grater, and another grater came from Tomb 79, also Subprotogeometric II in date. A total of three graters have been found in graves with weapons. The graters and spits have recently been discussed by David Ridgway, who quite rightly connects their presence with the Homeric drinking custom of grating cheese into wine; the spits for roasting meat are complements for the feasting.³⁹ Pyre 13's assemblage of shield boss, whetstone, and weapons, also calls to mind Subminoan and other early Iron Age warrior burials recently discussed by Hector Catling. Catling points to Cypriot parallels for the whetstones and other goods, but for the total assemblage he identifies three parallels: especially important is the mid-11th c. Kaloriziki Tomb 40 on Cyprus, which contained the cremations of a man and woman in bronze amphorai, two bronze tripod stands, three shield bosses, a bronze spearhead, other bronze vessels and a gold and cloisonné enamel mace or scepter head.⁴⁰ Another parallel not noted by Coldstream comes from the Euboian orbit: a late Protogeometric grave on Skyros that held an iron spearhead, *phalaron*, gold leaf rosettes, blue glass beads, four bronze fibulae, and a bronze bracelet. Moreover, the gold and beads are said to be Mycenaean heirlooms.⁴¹

Opposite: Table 1. Summary of finds and dates of selected Toumba burials (based on information from Popham et al. 1993 & 1996).

Tomb	Antique/other	Beads	Other faience	Sword	Spear	Arrow	Boss	Grater	Whet stone	Date
T. 1	Centaur figurine, 2 gold earrings	293								LPG
T. 13	4 gold rings, 2 earrings, fibula	246								SPG II
T. 17		13	2 pendants							SPG I
T. 12a		3								LPG
T. 22	7 gold rings, 2 beads; 107 glass veads	c.2350	53 pendants							SPG II
T. 26				1	1	14				LPG
T. 27	21 glass, 4 amber beads	c.2000								SPG/II
T. 33	3 gold bands, 1 attachment, 12 beads		1 pendant							SPG IIIa
T. 36	2 gold rings, 2 bands, 10 attachments	c. 50								SPG IIIa
T. 38	1 gold pendant, 6 pendants, 2 earrings; 2 glass beads; 15 kalathoi	700 +	1 scarab							SPG/II/IIIa
T. 39	Br. Wheels (stand); 59 shells,	c. 123	1 ring, 6 vessels	Iron, + axe						LPG
T. 40	2 glass beads	65		1 knife						LPG/SPGI
T. 41		29		1 knife						LPG/SPGI
T. 42	1 gold band, 6 attachments	c.9250	1 vessel							LPG/SPGI
T. 44		16								LPG
T. 45	18 kalathoi, 18 shells	413 +	1 pendant							SPG I
T. 46	33 glass beads, 21 stone balls, 25 shells	150	1 scarab	1 + knife	1				1	LPG
T. 50										LPG/SPGI
T. 51	2 gold rings, 1 bead	32	1 vessel							SPG I-II
T. 52	2 gold bands	12	4 pendants							LPG/SPG
T. 59	17 pyxides, 1 gold pendant, 2 rings, 2 attachments, earrings; 62+ glass beads, 1 amber	5525	2 vessels, 1 ring, 1 scarab							
T. 63	8 gold discs, Canaanite pendant, spiral beads	420								LPG
T. 70	9 gold rings, 2 att.; 30 glass beads		1 ring							LPG
T. 74	13 gold rings, 2 earrings	474				28		3		SPG IIIa
T. 79a				1						SPG III
T. 79b	Cylinder seal + weights			1 + 2 knives	1			1		SPG II
T. 80	9 cooking pots; 7 gold rings, 3 pendants, 23 beads, 2 earrings, 138 shells	120	3 rings							SPG/II/IIIa
P. 8				1 axe	1				1	SPG I-II
P. 13	8 + spits			1 + x axes	1 + 1 knife		1	1	1	SPG II
P. 14				1				1		SPG IIIa

These Cypriot and Cretan tombs with weapons and equine burials and their Lefkandiot parallels point to a kind of warrior identity that was, apparently, shared in widely scattered early Greek Iron Age (and European) societies. The Toumba graves discussed above belonged to several warriors who were buried near the Lefkandi *basileus* in the generation or two after his death, and their grave goods included not only weapons but objects necessary to the social and ritual life of a man of rank in this society. Other such burials that can be isolated in the record of the early Greek Iron Age include examples from Tiryns, Knossos, and Skyros. They provide a context in which to assess Ian Morris's recent claim that the Toumba *basileus's* burial is "the earliest known example of a ritual package which was to define heroic status for more than a millennium."⁴² For not only the Toumba burials, but Submycenaean and early Protogeometric burials with similar characteristics have recently been discussed by Hector Catling and Nicholas Coldstream. Focusing on Subminoan burials from the Knossos area that include weapons of bronze and iron, shield bosses, whetstones, and pottery, Catling cites a Submycenaean inhumation at Tiryns with two iron knives, a bronze spearhead, bronze shield boss, and a bronze helmet, and a tomb in Knossos's North Cemetery with a similar assemblage; finally, he adduces the central warrior burial from Lefkandi which he considers to be about fifty years later. (Pyre 13, discussed above, is left out of his account.) Of these, North Cemetery Tomb 201 is the most interesting; this double cremation included fragments of a four-sided stand with figured decoration, as in Toumba's Tomb 39. Moreover, the tomb also produced sections of boar tusk that Catling is certain belonged to a helmet. The latest Bronze Age context for a boar's tusk helmet is an early 12th c. grave in Achaia; the example from Knossos is later.⁴³ (Also noteworthy is the fact that this tomb was among the earliest in the North Cemetery, just as the Toumba *basileus* was the first burial in that cemetery.) The Knossos North Cemetery excavators shun the term "elite" for such individuals, preferring "grandee" – for which they cite John Boardman's description of a later group of warrior burials with spits and firedogs as the "four samurai of the Mediterranean World".⁴⁴

Warrior identity is not in doubt at Lefkandi, then, despite the recent challenge of John Papadopoulos, who questioned archaeologists' simple equation of weapons with warrior status.⁴⁵ Some of these warriors may have been rivals to the Toumba Big Man-*basileus*, his kinsmen, or both; that they were not his equal is clear from the simpler forms of their burial, objects of lesser order, and the subordination of their spatial positions to the tumulus.

Female burials, too, feature metal objects, especially of gold.⁴⁶ Some prosaic, others more interesting, these also display similarities in material, design, and origin, with items from the central female burial. As an example of the former, jewelry from the central burial included ten pins of varied decoration, besides the gold jewelry already mentioned and an ivory-hilted

knife.⁴⁷ Such pins, some with gold decoration, are also known from various other wealthy burials. Tomb 63 provides more unusual items for consideration: it produced gold discs with a spiral design resembling those on the woman beneath the building, with parallels from Skyros. The same tomb also produced an elaborate necklace with a parallel in west Asiatic jewelry from the late Bronze Age, e.g. the design of Canaanite gold medallions, an example of which came from the Uluburun wreck.⁴⁸ Its quatrefoil spiral beads also have parallels not only on Skyros but at 3rd millennium Troy as well, and from Pylos and Mycenae in the 2nd millennium, although such beads have a long history, and can be found in contexts dating as late as the end of the 2nd millennium. It is, however, possible that both the medallion and the beads in Tomb 63 are all antiques.⁴⁹ (Another wealthy female burial, Tomb 80, will be discussed below.)

The double central burial also shares some characteristics of ritual and construction with other burials in the Toumba cemetery. For example, there are several double burials to parallel that under the building. Tomb 49 held two inhumations, and it is one of the earliest in the cemetery (late Middle Protogeometric to early Late Protogeometric, 10th c). It is interesting to note that this burial was positioned just off center, i.e. slightly to the north, of the main door of the burial building. As in the central building, the burials were deposited in a deep shaft that had been lined with mudbrick and wood; a pot was also used to mark its position.⁵⁰ This is one of the burials that may have been made while the building still stood. The deep central burial shaft under the building is therefore not unique at this site, nor is the reuse or crosscutting of one grave by another; Tomb 49, at 4.5 m. is, however, notably deep. Another double burial, a cremation and inhumation, were found in Tomb 55, dated to LPG/SPG I. Moreover, such double burials can be found at other Lefkandi burial grounds: Palia Perivolia, less than 50 m. to the east, produced another shaft grave with double burial and weapons dating to ca. 880/70.⁵¹ Together with Tomb 49, these show that the double burial in the building is not entirely unique, nor is human sacrifice a necessary explanation for the burial of the woman next to the *basileus*.⁵² Four horses were buried in a shaft next to the human burials under the building, and another, undatable horse grave was made outside the building (Tomb 68 which, unfortunately, cannot be clearly associated with a particular human burial).⁵³ In addition to evidence for further warrior burials, it is clear from the foregoing that several of the tombs in the cemetery share some characteristics with the central burials under the building, though as noted the central burials are unique.

Imports already noted from the Near East and elsewhere, including heirlooms or antiques of metal and other materials, deserve special attention. Very few of the graves besides the central burials in the Toumba mound have antiques; their appearance in this place and time is remarkable.⁵⁴ The

antique bronze amphora from the cremation under the building is exceptional among the objects displaced in time and space. Others are much more trivial, but still noteworthy. Two glass paste seals from the MPG Tomb 12 B (cut early in the use of this burial ground) have been identified as LH IIIA relics.⁵⁵ Another, heirloom foreign seal from Tomb 79 will be discussed below, but these Late Helladic examples are interesting in part because they are perhaps the only heirlooms that are not of foreign origin. It is striking and must be significant that Mycenaean antiques were not the usual antiques, though they should have been more ready to hand. Skoubris Tomb 59, of the early 9th c. (LPG/SPG I), contained another remarkable relic: a single scale from a Bronze Age suit of armor, possibly from Cyprus, at least 12th or possibly 11th c. in date.⁵⁶ The value of this antique at Lefkandi can be seen in the fact that a fragment was deemed important enough to be deposited, reminiscent of the way that the famous Lefkandi terracotta centaur (among the earliest depictions of this mythical being) was broken and parts of it deposited in different graves. It is also evocative of later dedications in Greek sanctuaries, the best known of which is the pair of North Syrian bronze horse blinkers found in Eretria, and a bronze horse forehead ornament from Samos. These objects were inscribed in Aramaic and identified as booty given to Hazael, an Assyrian king, by a certain Hadad from the sack of Umqi in the latter part of the 9th c. They were deposited in two different and foreign sanctuaries, displaced in time as well as space: the inscriptions date them to the 9th c., but their contexts were late 8th c. at Eretria and early 6th at Samos.⁵⁷

Toumba Tomb 39 (LPG) contained among many other things quite a bit of orientalia, including a set of bronze wheels that may have come from a wheeled stand typical of the eastern Mediterranean in the late Bronze Age. These stands were probably intended to support a wine amphora at a feast.⁵⁸ It is not at all certain, in spite of the tantalizing connections, that the entire wheeled stand was ever at Lefkandi or used in the same way and on the same occasions as in the East, but it should be noted that Knossos Tomb 201 also produced fragments of such a stand (see above). Catling doubted that the Knossos tomb could belong to a woman (the burial was double), but the Lefkandi find suggests this is not impossible (this tomb will be discussed further below).⁵⁹ The weapons in Tomb 39 signal another warrior burial, but the only human remains were a child's incisor. This is puzzling, but social identities were clearly cross-referenced in different ways at Lefkandi: the centaur's head was deposited probably in a child's grave, its body in an adult's. These fragmentary objects as well as the distributions of objects point to how some individuals were linked.

Jane Carter has identified an entire class of imported heirloom at Lefkandi (and elsewhere in the Aegean): small bronze jugs of Egyptian manufacture. They are distinguished by their handles, which take the form of a

lotus bud, and were originally parts of drinking sets for personal use, completed by a bronze strainer and bowl.⁶⁰ Two have been found at Toumba: one from T. 33, dated to SPG III, ca. 850-750; and the second from T. 39, the same tomb which produced the wheels, and dated to LPG or 950-900. The parallels for these jugs are from the 18th and 19th Dynasties, i.e. 1552-1305 and 1305-1186 BCE, at least two hundred fifty and as much as five hundred years old at the time of deposition. Carter considers, but effectively refutes, the idea that these Iron Age finds were objects produced into the 10th and 9th centuries. In other words, they appear to be more examples of bona fide antiques. Catling doubts that there was a trade in these jugs, and thinks they are gifts from eastern visitors or by Cretans who had been to the east.⁶¹ It is particularly noteworthy, however, that T. 39 held a lotus-handled jug together with a bronze bowl that might have been its companion drinking vessel, as well as the wheels from the Cypriot stand, an object with connections to another tradition of drinking and feasting.⁶² In another study, Carter has traced the possible connections of feasting and recitations of epic in early Greek society with the Levantine institution of the *marzeah*, a feasting group that met to honor ancestors, an issue to which this paper returns at the end.⁶³

To summarize thus far: pedigreed objects of exotic origin were so valued or evocative that even fragments were deposited in tombs.⁶⁴ Examples noted can be matched in Cyprus, Crete, and Egypt, as well as elsewhere. A definite hierarchy of possession can be seen, with complete, large metal objects comprising a very tightly held category. Following a suggestion of Ian Morris, Susan Sherratt has proposed that the deposition of antique bronzes was a strategy to increase the value of the metal by taking old bronze out of circulation. Of the Lefkandi *basileus* and his bronze amphora, she says: "...the hero, – who could clearly get hold of anything he wanted, and who was nothing if not concerned with making spectacularly pretentious statements at the time of his funeral and after [!] – seems quite happy, unlike his Homeric successors, to have been seen to be buried with an iron sword and spear, together with the whetstone which kept them ready for action."⁶⁵ She then suggests that the antique qualities of the buried bronzes do not matter. If the Hallstatt connection and other northern and central European parallels are valid, however, the small number of individuals who owned, acquired, or were given antiques and exotica may have been especially favored by someone whose power extended (directly or indirectly) to the places in which these things originated. An alternative explanation is that they were souvenirs or mere curiosities picked up on travels, raids, or trading expeditions, but this seems unlikely in view of the patterns discussed here.

For the boar's tusk helmet from Knossos, Catling invokes the famous passage in the *Iliad* (10.261-71) where Meriones's helmet is traced from hand to hand until it is on Odysseus' head, and thus concludes that such items are

guest gifts, the fruit of their owners' wanderings.⁶⁶ Some of the Lefkandi antiques have been explained as ancient guest gifts from Egypt and the Levant, the property of families who retained them in their possession from the Bronze Age. Because some items as much as a thousand years old would have to have been retained in families for centuries, this is improbable for the oldest objects at Lefkandi, though it might explain the items of lesser age.

As noted, one particular tomb perhaps holds the key to much of the foregoing discussion. Tomb 79, reported in 1994, dates to around 875, and thus to the generation after the central burials, if not later.⁶⁷ This important burial included an heirloom North Syrian cylinder seal dated to ca. 1800, along with a set of balance weights, weapons (including arrowheads) and other gravegoods, among them Phoenician pottery and a set of bronze earrings with parallels from the Near East.⁶⁸ The cremation burial (contained in a bronze vessel with bolster handles paralleled by examples from Knossos⁶⁹) was identified as that of a "warrior trader" by Mervin Popham and Irene Lemos, but John Papadopoulos has suggested that the individual, because of the orientalia, might be an easterner resident at Lefkandi: "...a tomb richly furnished with *Levantine* offerings (North Syrian, Cypriot and Phoenician) found in Greece can only equal an *Euboian* trader. The more straightforward and elegant interpretation - that of an Easterner buried in Greek lands - is not only overlooked, but denied."⁷⁰ Papadopoulos, however, privileges the orientalia, and overlooks the context of this tomb as well as its connections to both earlier and later Euboian and other Iron Age burials. For one thing, the tomb has strong connections with Crete. Besides the bronze bowl, the arrows have a parallel in Knossos North Cemetery Tomb 201, already discussed. Among the things Papadopoulos passes over are the weights, which are unique so far in Iron Age contexts. A possible parallel is again supplied by the late 14th c. Uluburun wreck, which produced weights that apparently belonged to different systems of measure, perhaps carried by individual traders of various origins travelling together on the ship. (Some of the Lefkandi weights are sphendonoid, and probably made of hematite, like examples on the wreck.)⁷¹ Different types of weapons were also found on the Uluburun boat and might have been carried by warriors who were envoys of various rulers. Swords include Canaanite, Mycenaean, and possibly Sicilian examples, and other weapons - daggers and knives - may be companion pieces. There are also six or more spearheads which are, or are at least derived from, Balkan models. Other signs of rank include a Mycenaean drinking service and two pairs of glass beads "usually...associated with individuals of some rank or nobility," according to Cemal Pulak.⁷² A very unusual stone scepter from the Uluburun wreck with a northern Balkan origin was "an object that in all likelihood was entrusted to an individual of rank or power"⁷³ - or perhaps was personally carried by a northern ruler, rather than an emissary.

Pulak thinks that the warriors who carried the weapons on the ship did not also bring or use the weights. The Lefkandi weights, however, suggest that warriors and traders might have been one and the same, and also high-ranking, or that at least in the Iron Age two formerly distinct roles had collapsed into one, and the occupant of Tomb 79 thus indeed was a "warrior trader" as suggested by Popham and Lemos. Tomb 79 might also belong to someone who acted as an intermediary in trade between an elite group or individual and the east, in other words a *proxenos*, whose existence and role has been suggested on other grounds by Clayton Lehmann.⁷⁴ Seals were designed and originally used to stamp an owner's sign and to protect property and also protected their owners.⁷⁵ Perhaps the heirloom seal, a type of antique unique to this burial at Lefkandi, symbolized this individual's activities and implied his control of space and time.⁷⁶ It is, if nothing else, an extraordinary coincidence that the Cape Gelidonya wreck of the 12th c. also produced a Syrian cylinder seal, and the Uluburun wreck yielded two seals as well as a scarab, possibly supporting this interpretation.

To conclude this discussion: the use of antiques of exotic origin at this point in time was probably grounded in several historical and social conditions. One was the instability of the *basileis*, which created a desire to make their positions seem rooted in the past, and hence more inevitable. Foreign antiques would perhaps serve to mystify the past, to make it into something not remembered and familiar. As David Lowenthal notes, "History and memory usually come in the guise of stories which the mind must purposefully filter; physical relics remain directly available to our senses" – hence their power. But as he also points out, "Awareness of relic forms requires not only actual differences between survivals and present-day materials, but the capacity and willingness to recognize those differences. Whether we see the past in things also depends on when and how frequently we have seen them or their like before. To recognize features as relics we must recall circumstances unlike those of the present, yet not too dissimilar."⁷⁷ An Iron Age traffic in antiques may have arisen to supply the items used for such a purpose, possibly supplied by looting of tombs in Egypt and the Near East, or even Cyprus, as suggested by Carter for the bronze lotiform handled jugs.⁷⁸ It is possible that the call went out from Lefkandi for such items, which were acquired specifically for display in burial, and perhaps this is the case for objects like the bronze amphora. Another route for the acquisition of such items is marriage. As already noted, Coldstream has suggestion that the Babylonian necklace on the woman under the Toumba building might have been obtained at Tyre by whomever was carrying the first Euboian imported pottery to the site, or even through intermarriage with Tyrians. (The Tyrians' long retention or obtaining of the object is not discussed.)⁷⁹ Or, more simply, perhaps they were acquired by the *basileis* themselves, as symbols of trading ventures, and at home expressed the power of these individuals to

extend their connections eastward beyond their communities and backward in time. It seems likely that such objects, strangers to Iron Age Greece in style, material, origin and function and age, are talismans betokening mastery of space and time. This also perhaps explains why Mycenaean heirlooms were not as attractive – they were too familiar – and provides an interesting vantage point to view the Iron Age practice of visiting and reusing Mycenaean graves, which reaches a peak in the 8th c., but in which relics were often left in the tombs that were opened.⁸⁰

Malkin has suggested that the term *archoi*, used by Homer to describe Mentès, the Taphian visitor to Ithaka, may be applied to those aristocrats who were trading entrepreneurs, rather than the more traditional practitioners of the arts of hunting and feasting.⁸¹ Lefkandi's cemeteries, however, may instead show that the *basileis* who were captains were also lords of the feast, as well as *archegetai* (founders), warriors and Big Men.⁸²

Revisiting the Toumba burial building: Feasting the ancestors

The construction, use, and destruction of the Toumba burial building and subsequent events also speak of power in this society, and help in understanding another salient aspect of the tombs under discussion here: the evidence for feasting. The intended use of the building, it can be argued, was for funerary feasting and possibly for the recitation of epic at that occasion, as suggested some time ago by Barry Powell. Hesiod reveals that in the late 8th or 7th funerals provided an occasion for poetry, since he sang at the contests for Amphidamas in Chalkis (*Op.* 650-660). I have argued elsewhere that the building itself may never have been intended to be a permanent monument or facility, although it must have required the labor of most of the community to build (and to bury). The singing could have taken place at the occasion of the *basileus's* funeral itself, or for a limited time thereafter.

As mentioned above, Jane Carter has studied a Levantine institution called the *marzeah*, an association based on kinship which feasted in honor of heroic ancestors. Reaching back to the Bronze and Dark Ages, she argued for early Greek practices which adopted some of the *marzeah's* – including feasting and song. The Near Eastern sources show that this took place in a house, the *bet marzeah*.⁸³ Carter proposed that celebrations of ancestor cult may also have provided an occasion for epic performance in Greece. Thus, although epic is frequently associated specifically with hero cult, an earlier or underlying set of concepts about ancestors and ancestor cult may be on view here.⁸⁴

While Carter did not include Lefkandi in her discussion, focussing instead on Crete, the connections with Crete traced by Catling and others could have provided a means of transmission for this nexus of ideas about ancestors. The Toumba building may have served a purpose similar to the

bet marzeah (which in the eastern Mediterranean is not connected with a cemetery, however). The work of Mary Helms again suggests an interesting perspective on the house, in the context of kinship and ancestors, as a concept: "a fundamental social, political, ideological, and moral domain that in many ways functions structurally and organizationally as a distinctive entity definition, protecting, and sustaining its members."⁸⁵ Thus in addition to feasting, songs might have been sung at the Lefkandi burial building, perhaps in honor of ancestors, similar to the *klea andron* sung by Achilles (*Iliad* 9.185-189). The impermanence of the Toumba building might then argue for its short-term use for poetic performance and feasting, and subsequent destruction as part of the burial rite, or to close an extended period of mourning. As de Polignac has recently emphasized, the conversion of the house to a *sema* (or monument, i.e. the tumulus), which he views as "une signe de mémoire ... substitué à un rituel effectif de perpétuation du souvenir", not only placed the occupants of the graves beneath in an even more exalted status, but expanded the participation in the rite of commemoration beyond an inner circle of feasters, "à tous ceux qui, dans la suite des générations, seraient autorisés à se faire ensevelir à proximité du tumulus abritant ou censé abriter la sépulture de l'ancêtre, de l'archétype."⁸⁶

Taking into account all the evidence, though, the building defies easy explanation. There are numerous features that show it was never finished or much used. Perhaps the solidarity and consensus that motivated the group of Lefkandiots who built the building over the two burials beneath it was not sustainable. Perhaps the community could not rally around a successor *basileus* and there was a stalemate about the use of the building, resolved, ultimately, by its destruction. It is even possible to argue that the burial of the building might have been connected with the ascension to power of the next *basileus* who became *primus inter pares*, – perhaps the incumbent of Tomb 79.

Tomb 79's warrior-trader was buried in the southern end of the cemetery, where the graves were on the whole later than those directly to the east of the burial.⁸⁷ Along with its heirloom seal, weights, and a bronze grater, it also contained Cypriot and Phoenician ceramics, as well as local pottery, including six plates with double handles and pendant semicircle decoration, and two monumental kraters, one comparable in size to that from the building. As already noted, the cremation urn was covered by a bronze basin with loop handles threaded through bolster attachments at the rim for which parallels are available from the North Cemetery at Knossos. The resemblances of this burial to the central burials under the building are noteworthy and were so noted by the excavators. The date of ca. 875 places it close in time to the building's destruction. Perhaps the man in Tomb 79 was able to assume the power previously held by the *basileus* under the building. He, too, traded successfully and was a warrior, and was buried with the items that aided

his success, in a manner similar to that of the powerful founder of the cemetery, at the edge of the tumulus which his authority, perhaps, was able to bring about. He is a better candidate for successor than the individual in Pyre 13 (with a grater, shield boss and weapons and a krater of similar size), or other warriors in the cemetery.

Tomb 80, slightly later in date and adjacent to his, and very wealthy in ceramic offerings including many Attic imports, could belong to his wife. The abundant Athenian pots have led to the suggestion that she could have been an Athenian, and her social status is of particular interest partly in light of the female inhumation under the burial building. Therefore, before considering Tomb 80's incumbent, a review of the central female grave is in order; her social position has never been thoroughly considered.

Because of her burial at the same time as the cremated male in the same shaft, with a knife at her head and her hands and feet crossed, suggesting she had been bound, this woman has been considered a human sacrifice offered at her husband's burial. While Homer and myth know of human sacrifice under extraordinary circumstances, and various aspects of the two central burials suggest links to the same tradition as epic, there are some other factors and possibilities for the meaning of the woman's burial to consider besides human sacrifice or (on analogy to Indian wife-burning) a kind of suttee. It is clear, for instance, that women were accorded wealth in death in the Lefkandi cemeteries; the central inhumation is by far the richest of all Lefkandi burials with more gold than any other and an exceedingly old heirloom that matches or even surpasses the bronze amphora of the cremated warrior. The question should then be asked if this woman was merely a pendant to her male companion or could have been the focus of all the attention, rather than the male, and if the burial building was erected to celebrate her, or celebrate her equally. Given the androcentricity of much of Greek history, the understandable impulse is to reject this possibility out of hand. The example of Arete on Scheria, however (*Odyssey* book 7), suggests that powerful women were not outside Greek imagination, at the very least.⁸⁸

There is some evidence to support a central role for and the authoritative status of the woman. While it is possible that she was not buried at the same time as the male, but before or after, both burials were made at the same level, on the very floor of the tomb, in one shaft that was not altered in any way, unlike the double shaft burial of Tomb 49. These facts suggest that the tomb was cut with the two burials in mind. The destruction of much of the upper shaft and especially the floor level of the building in this area makes it impossible to determine any difference in time of the burials.⁸⁹ The fill in the shaft holding the two central burials is not uniform, however, which may indicate that the burials were made at different times. The position of the horse burial in an adjacent shaft, and the absence of any other burial, however, support the notion that these graves were privileged and planned

together. The difference in the fills could then be the result of efforts of filling in the trench from different sides.

This leaves open the possibility that the male died earlier, was cremated, and his ashes gathered and set aside until his female companion died and they could be buried together, much as Achilles intended that Patroklos's ashes be mixed with his own. Of course, in Homer there was no delay in raising Patroklos's burial mound. The horses could have been buried at either occasion: though horses would seem to be identified with warriors, there is some evidence, however, to suggest that women were associated with horses in Iron Age Greece (and prehistoric Europe).⁹⁰ In other words, only the woman's death at a subsequent time set in motion the grand funeral and extended mourning, as well as the 100 years of further burials, that *Toumba* represents.

The other spectacular pair of burials, 79 and 80, now return to consideration. These are not a double burial, but are directly adjacent to each other and of unusual type (his a shaft with niche, hers a cist with massive cover slabs).⁹¹ Tomb 79 resembles the central cremation (metal container for the ashes, weapons, heirloom) and both the burial format and the warrior (or archer) kit suggests an identity very like the central male's. Tomb 80, unlike the central female burial or Tomb 48, did not share a grave with 79, but the extraordinary furnishings of both and their dates make them comparable. Tomb 80 held one of the richest burials in the entire cemetery, just as the central inhumation was incomparably rich, and also contained an abundance of Attic pyxides and numerous drinking vessels of different types. The grave goods included nine standed cooking pots, an unparalleled find.⁹² The cooking vessels might symbolize the role of this woman as host, a feast-giver, complementing the role and feasting equipment (spits, graters, and kraters) of the men.⁹³

Taken together, these burials indicate an important identity for women and perhaps the centrally important identity of two women in particular, as partners in trade – as hinted at by Athenian burial customs and imports in the Lefkandi cemeteries and the suggested Tyrian origin of the Babylonian pendant.

Euboian warriors and ancestors abroad

Further inheritances of the Lefkandi ancestors may be traced. Lefkandi is likely to be the predecessor to Eretria, founded at the end of the 8th century; in any event Lefkandi was abandoned and all burials ended around 700.⁹⁴ There are some tantalizing similarities between *Toumba's* cemetery and burials at Eretria's West Gate, which have also been characterized as "heroic".⁹⁵ Leaving aside the question of heroization or the practice of hero cult, the Eretria burials feature continued use of cauldron burial into the 6th c. An

old scarab and a possibly heirloom Mycenaean spearhead are tantalizing connections to practices observed at Lefkandi.⁹⁶ Moreover, Malkin among others has recently considered the spread of such customs (absent the heirlooms, but with Near Eastern imports and feasting equipment) to the west with Euboian activities at Pithekoussai and in the Bay of Naples; ultimately, Italian elites picked up some aspects of this type of burial.⁹⁷

Finally, a brief glance at Attika, which has clear connections to Lefkandi as seen above. Both warrior identity and high status female burials with imported pottery, metalwork, and other luxury items and imitations are attested in Athens. A system of "symbolic rationing", which reserved oriental and orientalizing materials to an elite, has been suggested by James Whitley for Athens. This may parallel the restricted redistribution of orientalia seen at Lefkandi.⁹⁸ Aside from the access to metals, additional clues to the basis of trade (and local power and hierarchy) may exist in the symbolism of such graves. Weapons represent access to force, heirlooms legitimacy, and in Attika, model granaries may represent landholding (the most famous example, it should be noted, comes from a wealthy female grave). At Lefkandi a box-shaped pyxis of Athenian manufacture is perhaps related to these models, though it is of earlier date than the one from the Agora.⁹⁹ The granaries' association with rich female burials which also contain imports may suggest that at Athens, women were involved in securing trading partnerships through marriage; in this connection Athenian-type burials at Lefkandi are notable. Besides Attic ceramic imports, there are also some instances of Attic-type cremations. The connections may indicate the presence of Athenian residents, Athenian spouses, Athenian trading partners, political or military alliances.¹⁰⁰ There are reciprocal effects of this connection at Athens, too. Burials in cauldrons occur there as well, and some evidence for at least symbolic horse sacrifice, and the use of Cypriot antiques. These connections, and the exact nature of the Cypriot connection, need more thought.¹⁰¹

Still for all the similarities, while Lefkandi fits the "Big Man" model well, Athens may represent a different type of social hierarchy.¹⁰² It also seems clear that Attika and Lefkandi have a different relationship than other areas from which the Euboian community gets its imports.

Ian Morris concluded concerning the Toumba building and its burials, that "to someone used to elite funerals around 1000 BC, the behavior of the Lefkandi buriers would have been shocking. This funeral tore the fabric of time and space."¹⁰³ While the Lefkandi building and cemetery remain the most impressive examples of the rituals and elements discussed here, they are not as singular as Morris claims. Even earlier examples of such burials are known from Crete, from Cyprus, and elsewhere. Their Lefkandiot context also enables us to attempt to understand more fully the symbolic system deployed at Lefkandi.¹⁰⁴ The *basileis* of Lefkandi perhaps enjoyed a particu-

larly privileged relationship with the past because of the continuity of life in this non-palatial place from the Bronze Age to the Iron. The past was already theirs, and the ability to turn trade to their political and personal benefit was the catalyst for the Toumba developments.

Perhaps what linked Athens, Crete, Lefkandi and possibly other places together is that all shared an unbroken sense of place, and though they make different use of the East and the past, both could convert them to the advantage of the present.¹⁰⁵ Through their actions, which control the discourses of space and time, a few individuals become ancestors with power of their own which resonates for centuries.

*My approach to the theme of this conference, "Images of Ancestors", is from the direction of the protohistorical Greek period of the 10th to 8th centuries BCE, the images created from song and ritual and the few examples of representational art found in Greece at this time. Thanks to Eric Cline, Harriet Flowers, Donald Haggis, Lise Hannestad, Gregory Nagy, Annette Rathje, David Ridgway, Ingrid Strøm, and others who heard (or read) and commented on versions of this paper at Harvard, Århus, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. This paper was substantially revised while I was a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina during 1999-2000. Thanks to the Center's librarians, Jean Houston and Eliza Robertson, for all their invaluable help, and fellows in the Material Culture reading group for their comments. I am especially grateful to Susan Langdon for her generosity, many ideas and references, during the year together. Finally, I thank Ann Gunter for sharing her unpublished work with me; I am most gratified to find we have been thinking along the same lines about some things.

Notes

1. Helms 1998, 6.
2. West 1997, 14-19. See the papers in van Bakel et al. (eds.) 1986, esp. the introduction by the editors, and Earle (ed.) 1991 and below.
3. See Knorrige 1926 [1987], 7, who claims that Homer did not have a special word for trader, *emporos* being used for "passenger". He does refer to captains of *prekteres*. Malkin 1998a and 1998b, 88-92 on another term, *archoi*, which will also be discussed below. On reciprocity, van Wees 1998.
4. Cf. Antonaccio 1995b.
5. Cline 1995.
6. Similar comments by Morris 2000, 256.
7. Palaima 1995 for emphasis on the *wanax* as a religious figure; on archaeological evidence for *wanakes* see Rehak (ed.) 1995.
8. Cline 1994, 85; see also Sherratt & Sherratt 1991.
9. Cline 1994, 12; cf. xvii: "Only the major Mycenaean and Minoan centers...

report extensive quantities of *Orientalia* and *Occidentalia*. This indicates a directional trade, aimed at specific points of entry. This distribution pattern suggests that these major centers initially received the foreign goods, and subsequently distributed some to the surrounding villages and smaller communities. We can also see differential distribution patterns... Such distribution patterns indicate not only directional trade but also suggest that there may have been special relationships between specific Aegean sites and individual Near Eastern areas... We may also note that the commercial ports-of-entry (e.g. Kommos, Tiryns) retained the "practical" goods or containers, while the interior centers (e.g. Knossos, Mycenae) received the "luxury" goods."

10. Morpurgo-Davies 1979, 98; Yamagata 1997 and see discussion and references in Tandy 1997, 91-92, 110-11.
11. Sherratt & Sherratt 1991, 375 + n. 23, and 1993, 364; Popham 1994, 17; Coldstream 1995, 399-400 on silver at Laurion. On trade and society in general, see Tandy 1997 (with speculations about the importance of iron; I do not agree with all aspects of his analysis, however).
12. See Popham et al. 1980, as referred to and discussed recently by Thomas & Conant 1999, 93-94.
13. Lemos 1998, 56. See below for Attika; for the important Iron Age site of Skala Oropou in Boiotia, cf. Mazarakis 1998. Kyme, on the coast facing the north Aegean, has recently been investigated and may ultimately prove to be important in this regard: see Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1998 and below.
14. Cline 1994, 87; on Euboian connections to Skyros, Catling, 1996, with references, and Lemos 1998.
15. Popham 1994.
16. Crielaard 1993, 141. A similar conclusion is attributed to V. Desborough in Popham et al. 1980, 283-93, by Thomas & Conant 1999, 93-94.
17. Lemos 1998, 56. She further suggests that those sharing in this *koine* (or trading relationship?) were using the sanctuary of Kalapodi in Phokis from as early as LH IIIc to late Protogeometric.
18. Crielaard 1993, 143-44; cf. van Wees 1998.
19. Cline 1995, 149-50.
20. Small 1995, 71-72. Small is examining alternative ways in which societies become complex, challenging the usual evolutionary model of increasing hierarchy. See Cline 1995 on Bronze Age trading relationships; Sherratt & Sherratt 1993 for an overview of Bronze and Iron Age trade; and Whitley 1991 on Iron Age societies.
21. As discussed, for example, by Susan Hofstra at the 1999 meeting of the AIA (the abstract in *AJA* 103, 1999, 297 does not mention this aspect). For exotic antiquities in the Late Bronze Age, cf. the cache of lapis cylinder seals including Cypriot and Babylonian examples from the palace at Thebes: Porada 1981-82 and below.
22. See on this Helms 1988, 1993 and below for discussion.
23. For a challenge to prestige goods economic models, see Arafat & Morgan 1994 and below.
24. See Antonaccio 1995a, b for my previous work on this; on pedigreed objects in Homer, Higbie 1995, 195-203 and the comments of the excavators of the North Cemetery at Knossos (n. 44).

25. Foxhall 1998; see Douglas & Isherwood 1979 for "why people want goods: consumption decisions become the vital source of the culture of the moment. Choices express and generate culture. Ultimately, they are moral judgements about what a man is, what a woman is" (57-58).
26. On the burials, Popham et al. 1993, 19-21; for the latest on the building itself, see Mazarakis 1997, 54-57 and add de Waele 1998; see also the comments of Lemos 1998, 54-55. Coldstream 1989, 91, identified the pendant as an Old Babylonian antique. A parallel to the medallion with its granulated decoration comes from Dilbat in Iraq and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and dated to the 18th or 17th c.
27. For Cypriot metalwork, see Sherratt 1994, and Karageorghis & Kassianidou 1999; on Cyprus in this period generally, Gitin et al. (eds.) 1998.
28. The approach taken here parallels that of Knapp 1998, which came into my hands after this paper was drafted. We were both inspired by the work of Mary Helms (see below), and my focus here is on the Iron Age, complementing Knapp's on the Bronze Age. I also find that Ann Gunter is working in a similar vein.
29. Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978; on the Magdalenenburg, Pare 1992, 173-74 with references, and see Kilian 1985 for further comparisons of Greek, Balkan, and Italian burials in the Iron Age. Olivier 1999 is an important discussion of another Hallstatt tumulus (Hochdorf). Further discussion follows below.
30. I have argued against a hero cult per se, and my position is newly criticized by Morris 2000, 229-36, but does not notice my arguments in Antonaccio 1994. I concede some rituals cannot be completely excluded because they would leave no archaeologically detectable traces, and I agree with Morris that ritual and religious concepts and practices are dynamic and changing, but prefer to see hero cult as established, repeated ritual on a given site. Despite the possibility of evidence lost to erosion of the mound, the basic fact is that the Toumba complex was a burial ground, not a *temenos*. See Antonaccio 1995a, and 1995b, with recent comments in de Polignac 1998, 94-95 and below.
31. Blome 1984, Hughes 1991, 46-47; criticized by Papadopoulos 1996b (review of Antonaccio 1995b).
32. See Popham et al. 1993 for the building and partial publication of the burial goods (e.g. bronze cremation amphora).
33. See Antonaccio 1995b for summaries and bibliography, to which add Crielaard & Driessen 1995 and see the latest comments by one of the excavators in Lemos 1998, 54.
34. Antonaccio 1995b, 10 for discussion.
35. Coldstream 1996, 142; he suggests that the Attic example at Lefkandi perhaps indicates special orders for the Euboian market. De Polignac points out that the krater (or equally, kraters) may have been placed above the central burials at any time during the building's use (1998, 96 + n. 10).
36. Tomb 35 and 36: Popham et al., 1980, 188-93, pls. 228 c-d, 229 dated to Sub Protogeometric II-III; for Tomb 38, Popham et al., 1982, 214-17 with pls. 15-17, Popham & Lemos 1996 pls. 6 (plan) 38, 39, 40 (finds, Late Protogeometric II) and Popham et al., 1988-89, 120. These tombs, first thought to be lined with mudbrick as others at Toumba, were actually cut into tumulus fill which incorporates mudbrick. Curiously, T. 38 was not indicated on the plan published at

- the end of Popham & Lemos 1996, though it is shown in earlier published versions; it is located just to the southwest of T. 26, at the southern limits of the excavation.
37. Popham et al. 1988-89, 118; reports on graves east and southeast of the building excavated in 1992: *Archaeological Reports* 1992, 38; in 1993: *Archaeological Reports* 1993, 40-41, and illustrated in Popham & Lemos 1996 (the accompanying text has yet to appear as of this writing). A retaining wall, possibly associated with the tumulus heaped up over the building, was also mentioned in the preliminary reports.
 38. A debate has raged as to the function of these objects, with shield boss being the usual identification and belt fitting the other. Kristiansen 1998, 182, shows an illustration of phalara as ornaments on horse harnesses (fig. 96) and see Pare, 1992, 186-88, etc. for phalara on harnesses, with fig. 131 (no. 4): one of 12 from a hoard from Denmark. Coldstream et al., eds 1996, 523-24 discuss the identification further, upholding the shield boss interpretation but not ruling out belt ornaments for some.
 39. Popham et al., 1982, 227-29, fig. 235 + pl. 25c-d, 26; cf. 240, with further illustrations in Popham & Lemos 1996. Tomb 14 held an iron sword and spear, and dates to LPG; Tomb 26 had a sword and arrows, and is of the same date. Pyre 1, with an iron spear, belongs in LPG, Pyre 8, a spear and sword, is SPG I. In other cemeteries at Lefkandi, an iron knife was recovered from Skoubris Tomb 46 (PG). At Palia Perivolia, Tomb 47 (SPG I-II): sword and spear; Pyre 1: spear; and Pyre 16: spear, blade and whetstone (?), neither datable. Tombs 13 (LPG), 31 (SPG I), and 47 (SPG I-II) also held weapons. Cf. Popham et al. 1980, Tables 3-4, pls. 420-21. Tomb 79: Popham & Lemos 1995, fig. 6; 1996, pl. 78. On feasting equipment in Pyre 13 and Tomb 79, cf. Ridgway 1997, West 1998, and van Wees 1995 in general on dining. On possible analogues for women, see below.
 40. Catling 1995; on Kaloriziki, McFadden 1953.
 41. Snodgrass 1971, 241-42 (cited by V. Webb in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 599 n. 1238)
 42. Morris 2000, 235.
 43. H. Catling 1996, 534-35, fig. 64, pl. 279; cf. Catling in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 517-35, 646.
 44. Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 715, cf. 646 on T. 201: "Our warrior was a flamboyant figure, in the light of his possessions – at least in terms of the Greek Dark Ages." See on spits and firedogs Hoffman 1997, 144-45, 259, Ridgway 1998; on so-called "cart burials" and horse equipment in graves in Iron Age Europe, Pare 1992, 177-216. Wagons have connections with northern Greece that extend to 4th c. Thessaly (184-85). Among the interesting Greek data from this study should be noted Athens Kerameikos Gr. 13, with parts of wheel fittings with parallels from Hallstatt Europe (166-67) and similar fittings from Cyprus and Italy. Pare also discusses "pars pro toto" burials of horsetappings in 8th c. graves (e.g. lynchpins or harness fittings) which suggests what is behind finds of horse bits in graves, without the horse. The Lefkandi horses, which were buried with bits in their mouths, may have been ridden horses, not draft horses; there were no wagon or harness fittings buried with them (see 122-23 and 176).
 45. Papadopoulos 1996a; see the comments of Ridgway 1998, 315-16.

46. Lemos 1998, 53 with nn. 55, 56, observes that gold is relatively common in graves of the "koine" shared by Lefkandi and Skyros and attributes them to a local workshop.
47. The central burial pins are unpublished, but see Lemos 1998, 53, and the illustration in Popham et al. 1982 and Popham & Lemos 1996 pl. 158 (d).
48. The present writer once thought this pendant's design rephrased that on the central burial (Antonaccio 1995b) but before I came across the Canaanite parallels: Pulak 1996, 244, fig.12; in the 14th c. tomb of Kenamun at Thebes, he recognizes this kind of pendant in the depictions of crew on a Canaanite ship which porters are unloading (p. 251 with references. The illustrations are not detailed enough for close comparison). A better example is from the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, which shows "Syrian" children wearing both round and lunate pendants: Davies 1953, 47-48, pl. 56. The Lefkandi example combines dots around the edge of the piece with a flat rolled suspension loop and a very simple quatrefoil pattern (degenerate star?). For illustrations of other parallels, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 135 pl. 100 (Alalakh); 140-41, pl. 108, 109 (Syria), 144, pl. 115 (Late Bronze Age, not particularly close); 162, pl. 125 (15/1400-1000 BCE); cf. Musche 1992, 189 pl. 66.8, from Kamid el-Loz (Lebanon), Egyptian in origin, 1500-1200/1000 BCE.
49. On such beads from the eastern Mediterranean and further east, however, the spirals take up the entire length of the tube on which they are fixed, unlike the Lefkandi examples. Eastern examples' spirals also spring from the vertical on the outer edges of the bead and curl inward. The Lefkandi examples are formed like two running spirals, except for the two that terminate the necklace, which are separate spirals springing outward from the center of the bead. See examples in Musche 1992, 53, fig. 37 b + pl. 39 (Troy, 3rd millennium) and 199-89, pl. 145 (Marlik, dated 1200-1000).
50. Popham et al. 1988-89, 118-19 with fig. 3; Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 11-13, 31-32, 56 (including amphora).
51. Cited by Thomas & Conant 1999, 91.
52. The iron knife that figures in the human sacrifice hypothesis is not unique: Blome 1984, and H. Catling 1996. T. 55: Popham et al. 1988-89, 118-20, figs. 5-6 (inhumation is presumed); cf. Popham et al. 1996, pls. 62-63.
53. Tomb 68: Popham et al. 1988-89, 119; Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 21, 22, 35 a-b.
54. Cf. Iron Age ceramic heirlooms at Lefkandi: R. Catling 1996.
55. Popham et al. 1980, 225, pls. 173, 235 (b), noted by Morris 2000, 249. Minoan seals were deposited in several Knossos North Cemetery Tombs, but one stands out: a MMII-LMI amethyst example in a gold setting dating to ca. 800 (Tomb 18).
56. Popham et al. 1980, pl. 239 (I), discussion on 251, 263; it may also be Egyptian. See Morris 1998, 285 + n. 23 for bronze armor scales, together with boar's tusk helmet plaque, from the Nile delta site of Quantir.
57. See Lembessi 1996 for an intriguing hypothesis about the breaking and deposit of the centaur. On the horse blinkers, Burkert 1992, 12 + n. 15, 16 + n. 14, illustrated in fig. 2 on 18. Inscription discussed in Eph'al and Naveh 1989.
58. T. 39: Popham et al., 1982, 217-20; fig. 2, p. 216, pl. 27a-b, finds pls. 17-20 + pl. 34 (wheels, on which see also Crouwel 1992, 34 n. 104). See also Popham 1994, 19; Carter 1995, fig. 18.10A to E, illustrating a 12th c. example probably from

- Cyprus in the British Museum (1946/10-17/1); cf. Carter 1997, fig. 23 (stand without wheels); fig. 24 (British Museum example, here dated to the 13th c.). The Lefkandi wheels are larger than Cypriot examples. See above for discussion of a parallel from Knossos.
59. Catling 1998, 125-26, published in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 517-18 with figures 165-6 + pl. 176 (noting the distribution of the stands and considering them to be antiques).
 60. Carter 1998; see earlier discussion in Popham et al. 1980, 249-50, and Catling 1996, 656, as well as Hoffman 1997, 123-25, with two examples from Fortetsa Tomb P; Catling notes others from Crete (Idaeon Cave, Amnisos etc. as well as the Fortetsa examples) as well as those from Lefkandi discussed here: Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 565.
 61. Catling in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 565.
 62. Not noticed by Carter. For possibly related situlate vessels at Knossos: Catling in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 566.
 63. Carter 1997; cf. van Wees 1995.
 64. On biographies for objects, see Kopytoff 1986 esp. 71-72. Aubet 1993, 106, 109 refers to the genealogies of some gifts in Homer, that is the stories that they accumulate, but does not make any connection with the archaeological record; see also Higbie 1995 (above n. 24).
 65. Sherratt 1994, 79 and now Morris (2000), who has rethought some aspects of the bronze to iron transition in his most recent writing.
 66. Catling 1995 and in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 534.
 67. For the original publication see Popham & Lemos 1995, with many more illustrations in Popham & Lemos 1996.
 68. Musche 1992, 79 with pl. 62 type 2, Middle Assyrian (gold), cf. p. 210, pl. 78 type 4, from Üçtepe, New Assyrian, and esp. pl. 99, type 2.2, New Elamite gold and silver examples, dating to the 1. 8th/7th c.
 69. Tekke Tomb G, inv. f.6, in use during PGB-EG, i.e. 950-850. Catling cites comparanda from the Idaeon Cave, Lindos, the Argive Heraion, Delphi, and Cyprus in Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 562 (no. 5), with fig. 156 and pl. 268.
 70. Papadopoulos 1997, 192 (emphasis in the original); see also Papadopoulos 1996, 151-57. See the comments of Ridgway 1998, 315-16.
 71. Pulak 1996, 246-48 and 1999. For the Lefkandi weights, see illustrations in Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 74 (bottom), 149, and caption p. 204.
 72. Pulak 1996, 256.
 73. Pulak 1996, 256.
 74. Lehmann 1994. Pulak also entertains the notion that the Mycenaeans on the Uluburun ship were mercenaries, or that high ranking individuals engaged in side trades of their own while still acting on behalf of the royal power that had put up the capital and supplied the majority of the cargo. Cf. Artzy 1996.
 75. Collon 1987, 135, illustrates the seals from the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun wrecks: nos. 569, 570, and 571 on p. 136. On the use of seals, see 113-19. In view of the stone scepter on the Uluburun wreck, and the cloisonné scepter from Kition, it is interesting to note a bronze macehead from Lefkandi, albeit from another burial ground, Skoubris Tomb 5, of SPG I or ca. 900-850 BCE, which may have merely been a weapon, or could have perhaps served as a scepter. It

- must be noted, though, that Mycenaean scepters resembled a long staff or spear, not a short wand with head. Popham 1994, 19 fig. 2.6 (h); see below and cf. Coldstream 1996, 144 n. 27; on the Mycenaean *skeptron*, see Palaima 1995. Cf. also the heirloom bronze spearhead from the West Gate at Eretria, which Bérard thought served as a scepter head: see below.
76. The seal is illustrated in Popham & Lemos 1995, 155, fig. 9; n. 9 for attribution; Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 135 (drawing) and 142 I (photograph) and caption p. 203. Cylinder seals are also known from late Iron Age contexts at Olympia, Samos, and Delos: Burkert 1992, 15 n. 8. "Well-travelled seals" are discussed by Collon 1987, 138-39; among the examples cited are a Syrian seal of ca. 1800 BCE from a Carthaginian grave of the 7th c. (no. 576, illustrated on p. 138). Collon also mentions the well-known hoard of lapis seals from Thebes discussed by Porada on p. 135; see also Aruz 1998.
 77. Lowenthal 1985, 241, 245.
 78. Carter 1998.
 79. Coldstream 1998. See Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 88-91 with illustration pl. 61, 64 a, b (before 1600?) eg. Found with early Kassite seals, possibly unrelated, and cf. Musche 1992, 147, pl. 51.
 80. See Antonaccio 1995a.
 81. Malkin 1998b, 88, citing Odyssey 8.159-64. Malkin suggests *archos* in a review of terms such as prince, big man, and chief.
 82. Cf. Van Wees 1995.
 83. Carter 1995, 1997; cf. West 1997, 1998.
 84. Antonaccio 1994, not cited by Morris 2000.
 85. Helms 1998, 19. See p. 18 for ethnographic comparanda for the house as a locus of cult activity centering on ancestors.
 86. De Polignac 1998, 96.
 87. It is interesting to note the presence of a door in the long southern side of the burial building. Though all are agreed that the building was destroyed by the time of the burials in this part of the cemetery, the door's presence indicates that access from the building to in this direction was envisaged.
 88. I owe a great deal to discussion of this burial with Sue Langdon, who challenged me to refine my ideas on the women in the Toumba cemetery and who referred me to essential recent bibliography.
 89. Discussion in Antonaccio 1995b; Crielaard 1995; Mazarakis 1997, 56.
 90. Kristiansen 1998, 177-78, 181-82; Pare 1992, 186 with references, 191, etc. Sue Langdon reminds me that the earliest figures in Greek Iron Age art include a horse on a belly-handled amphora (associated with female cremations), and a horse and female mourner on a MG amphora, and horse pyxides have been shown by Barbara Bohen to be associated with women as well.
 91. AR 1992, 38; 1993, 40-41; Popham & Lemos 1996, pl. 26-28, 37.
 92. Popham et al. 1996, pl. 27, 28, 37, 80-85, with brief comments on p. 147 and 200: Popham & Lemos note only one other example of the stand cooking pot, in Tomb 47 (pl. 108, no. 8).
 93. In this regard should be noted the 9th c. women's burials at Athens, complementing the wealthy men's burials as noted by de Polignac 1998, 97 (citing the work of James Whitley in n. 16).
 94. Popham et al. 1979-80, 8; 368-9; 423-7 (on the identification of Lefkandi and its

- relationship to Eretria).
95. Popham & Lemos 1995, 156 n. 15; cf. Crielaard 1993, 143. See Antonaccio 1995a for a summary of the West Gate complex, to which add Blandin 1998.
 96. See previous note. Scarab noted by Burkert 1992, 15 n. 7 (a Phoenician example, set in gold).
 97. Malkin 1998a, b, and see Ridway 1998. In Antonaccio 1995a I present an entire chapter on "heroic burials". Tandy's discussion of this phenomenon (1997, 140-65) takes little account of earlier analyses.
 98. Whitley 1994.
 99. On the Athenian examples, see Smithson 1968, 94-97. Lefkandi's example is from Palia Perivolia tomb 22, on which see Coldstream 1996, 139.
 100. See Coldstream 1996: he points out that all the graves with Attic pottery are wealthy, though not all wealthy graves have Attic pottery.
 101. Cf. Snodgrass 1994 on the northern connection; see Antonaccio 1995a for the rest: a Cypriot bronze rod tripod found in a Geometric grave on the Pnyx (cf. Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 518: "must have already have been four hundred years old at the time of burial"; cf. 568) and the offering of a bit with an EG I grave in the Agora (noted by Coldstream & Catling (eds.) 1996, 568).
 102. Whitley 1991; imports: Coldstream 1993, and 1996 on Attic imports.
 103. Morris 2000, 228.
 104. Even the celebrated house now has a (much smaller) later parallel, from the Eretrian site of Kyme (at Viglitsa); Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1998. It is not clear if the empty cists beneath this apsidal building with rich deposits of drinking cups and kraters, as well as animal bone, were actually burials; they were empty of human bone. The date is MG II, or a century or more after the Lefkandi burial building.
 105. See Morris 2000, 250: "putting the new symbols within the tradition begun by the Lefkandi Tomba hero burials, we can link the increase in bronze, ivory, and gold with the interest in heirlooms and appearance of altars, tumuli, and in one case even a cremation in a bronze urn, as elements of a single process, symbolically restructuring the relationships between present and past and Greece and the east."

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