

THE MISSING DEAD: LATE GEOMETRIC BURIALS AT LEFKANDI

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Lefkandi and Zagora share some notable similarities with regard to their Early Iron Age history. Neither site survived after the end of the Late Geometric period, and perhaps for this reason neither has preserved its ancient toponym. Their earlier history was, however, quite different. According to the present evidence, Zagora was founded during the Geometric period, while Lefkandi's first inhabitants already occupied the tell of Xeropolis in the Early Bronze Age, if not earlier. In fact, Xeropolis remains, at present at least, one of the few sites in the Euboean Gulf with such a long period of continuous occupation.¹

The two sites also shared an interesting gap in our knowledge, in that until recently no Late Geometric burials had been discovered at either of them. This deficiency has recently been remedied at Lefkandi with the finding of two burials dated to this period. They were accidentally discovered during an investigation into the environmental history of the area.²

* Note the following abbreviations in addition to the usual ones:

Aegean Iron Age	N. Stampolidis–A. Giannikouri (eds.), <i>Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος 1–4 Νοεμβρίου 2002</i> (2004).
Eretria III	C. Bérard, <i>Eretria III. L'Hérôon à la Porte de l'Ouest</i> (1970).
Eretria XIV	S. Huber, <i>Eretria XIV: L'aire sacrificielle au nord du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros. Un rituel des époques géométrique et archaïque</i> (2003).
Eretria XVII	B. Blandin, <i>Eretria XVII. Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Erétrie. Espace des vivants, demeures des morts</i> (2007).
Eretria XX	S. Verdan–A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer–C. Léderrey, <i>Eretria XX. Céramique géométrique d'Erétrie</i> (2008).
Euboica	M. Bats–B. D'Agostino (eds.), <i>Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996. CJB 16/ AIONArchStAnt Quad. 12</i> (1998).
GG	J. N. Coldstream, <i>Geometric Greece, 900–700 BC</i> (2003).
GGP	J. N. Coldstream, <i>Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Local Styles and Their Chronology</i> (2nd rev. ed., 2008).
Lefkandi I	M. R. Popham–L. H. Sackett–P. Themelis (eds.), <i>Lefkandi I. The Iron Age, BSA Suppl. 11</i> (1980).

Lefkandi III	M. Popham–I. S. Lemos (eds.), <i>Lefkandi III. The Toumba Cemetery: The Excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992–4, Plates. BSA Suppl. 29</i> (1996).
Lefkandi IV	D. Evely (ed.), <i>Lefkandi IV. The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis. BSA Suppl. 39</i> (2006).
L'Enfant et la mort	A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets–Y. Morizot (eds.), <i>L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité, I. Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques. Le signalement des tombes d'enfants. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Athènes, Ecole française d'Athènes, 29–30 mai 2008</i> (2010).
Oropos and Euboea	A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), <i>Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age. Acts of an International Round Table, University of Thessaly, June 18–20, 2004</i> (2007).
Zagora 2	A. Cambitoglou <i>et al.</i> , <i>Zagora 2. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros. Excavation Season 1969; Study Season 1969–1970</i> (1988).

¹ A. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: the present state and future scope of a discipline* (1987) 187–209; I. S. Lemos, *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC* (2002) 195–7.

² For this project we collaborated with Donald Davidson and Clare Wilson of the University of Sterling. The main purpose of the project was to assess the nature of soil erosion from the tell and to examine the shape of the ancient coastline around Xeropolis. One of the aims was to investigate whether there was a natural harbour to the east and an



Figure 1. Map of Xeropolis/Lefkandi (after *Lefkandi II*).

THE BURIALS AND THEIR OFFERINGS

The Late Geometric burials were discovered some 2 m below the modern surface in a level that slopes down from the end of the tell to the lagoon area in the north which formed the eastern harbour of the site (**fig. 1**). The earlier burial is the inhumation of a child (Burial 1). The child was placed in a shallow grave-pit with an E/W orientation measuring 110 x 60 x 70 cm with a depth of 30 cm (**figs. 2–3**). The sides of the pit were quite vertical and the floor rather flat. It is possible that a grey clay lining was laid on the floor. The body was supine, extended, with the arms by the sides, and the head to the east. On the upper left side of the torso a seal was found. The tomb was filled with a mixture of grey and brown soils, immediately distinguishable from the earth surrounding the grave. No marker was detected.

The second burial was apparently later and is an *enchytrismos* (Burial 2). The amphora was placed in a pit dug just above the north-eastern corner of Burial 1. The pit, orientated WNW/ESE, measured at the top some 90 cm E/W by 70 cm N/S. The amphora was missing its base (presumably to facilitate the positioning of the burial within) and lay on its side with the neck to the south-east. Here as in the other burial no marker was discovered over the pit, and nothing was found which might have served to close the mouth of the amphora.³

Study of the skeletal remains of the two burials revealed that Burial 1 is of a child between 5 and 6 years old, while the *enchytrismos* is of a newborn baby.⁴

isthmus to the west of the area under question. A preliminary report of this investigation has now been published: D. Davidson *et al.*, 'Tell formation processes as indicated from geoarchaeological and geochemical investigations at Xeropolis, Euboea, Greece', *JASc* 37, 2010, 1564–71.

³ I would like to thank Don Evelyn for supplying me with information from the excavation notebook and for drawing the plans of the burials. The area was not investigated further

and thus we did not locate more burials, but the possibility of a more extended cemetery is indicated by the finding of skull fragments of other burials in the filling soils around Burial 1.

⁴ The study was conducted by Jonathan Musgrave who noted that the gender of the buried is unknown as sexing children is almost impossible. I thank Dr Musgrave for providing me with the results of his examination.



Figure 2. Section showing the position of the burials (D. Evely). 1:25.

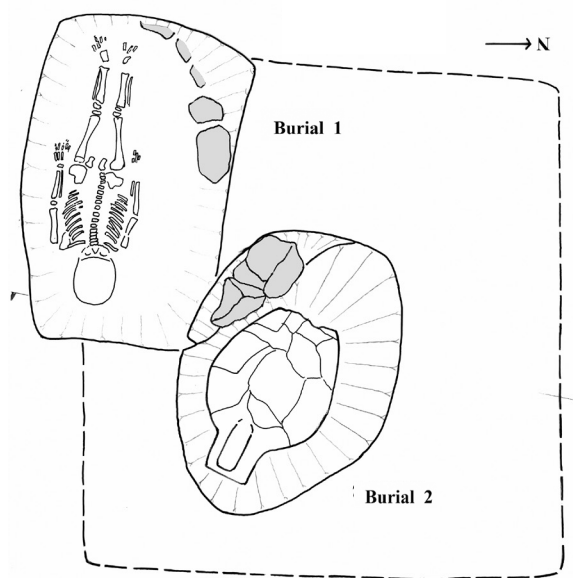


Figure 3. Schematic plan of the two burials (D. Evely). 1:25.

A large amount of Late Geometric pottery was found in the excavated area but most of the fragmentary vessels cannot be closely associated with either burial.⁵ The exception is one handmade vessel which was found at the bottom of the pit with the *enchytrismos* burial. This is a small jug or amphoriskos (428.1) which belongs to a category of handmade vessels found usually in funerary assemblages (pl. 19: 2). Handmade vessels with distinctive incised decoration are deposited with burials at Lefkandi in the Sub-Protogeometric period, and later during the Late Geometric in Eretria. What is unusual, however, if not unique, is the shape of this vessel since most of the known examples are open shapes (plates, bowls, and kalathoi).⁶

The *enchytrismos* vessel is a neck-handled amphora (420.1). Both fabric and formal characteristics strongly suggest that the amphora is Samian (pl. 19: 1). Its closest parallel is another example used also for a burial at Eretria. Two more fragments from Eretria found in the area of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros were also thought to be of East Greek provenance, and were included in a recent NAA project which has indeed identified them as imports from Samos.⁷ The Xeropolis amphora has three signs on one handle made after firing and two more on the other handle which were most probably drilled before firing.⁸

The vessels from Lefkandi and Eretria are further confirmation that Samian transport amphorae were already in circulation in the 8th century. This is further validated with the discovery of Samian examples from the so-called *Ypogeio* at Methone which have been dated mostly to the late 8th century.⁹

In my view the examples found in Euboea are somewhat earlier because of their more globular shape and the absence of certain features found on late 8th- and early 7th-century examples.¹⁰

Early Samian amphorae were also found in Pithekoussai, Carthage, and Toscanos. It is noteworthy that those at Pithekoussai are used for *enchytrismos* burials as on Euboea.¹¹

⁵ See the catalogue of all the pottery discussed here at the end of the paper.

⁶ The earliest examples are found in Sub-Protogeometric II–III tombs and are usually either lugged bowls or, rarely, tripod bowls (Lefkandi I pl. 284: 9; M. Popham–E. Touloupa–L. H. Sackett, ‘Further Excavations of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, 1981’, BSA 77, 1982, 231; Lefkandi III pls. 38: 12–6; 71: 71.1; 108: 38. 13–4 [A1][II.2]. For similar vases from Eretria: K. Reber, Untersuchungen zur handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protogeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit (1991) 70–2; A. K. Andreiomenou, ‘Αψιδωτά οικοδομήματα και κεραμική του 8^{ου} και 7^{ου} αι. π.Χ. εν Ερετρία’, ASAtene 59, n.s. 43, 1981, 193 figs. 14–5; p. 196 n. 27; Eretria XVII.1 pp. 84–5; Eretria XVII.2 p. 33. All these examples are locally made and are different from the so-called Argive Monochrome Ware, examples of which have been also found in Eretria: N. Kourou, ‘A propos de quelques ateliers de céramique fine, non tournée du type “Argien Monochrome”’, BCH 112, 1987, 3–53, and C. Léderrey, ‘Handmade fine ware from the West Quarter of Eretria and its context’, in Oropos and Euboea 267–73.

⁷ Eretria XVII.2 p. 25 pls. 39–40; A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer–T. Theurillat–S. Verdan, ‘Graffiti d’époque géométrique provenant du sanctuaire d’Apollon Daphnéphoros à Érétrie’, ZPE 151, 2005, 81–3; id., ‘Euboean Pottery from Early Iron Age Eretria in the Light of the Neutron Activation Analysis’, in: M. Kerschner–I. S. Lemos (eds.), Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery: New Results

and Their Interpretations. Proceedings of the round table conference held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens, 15 and 16 April 2011 (2014). For the fabric, I. K. Whitbread, Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study (1995) 195. For a full discussion on the various production centres of such vessels on Samos and on the Ionian coast, M. Bessios–Y. Tzifopoulos–A. Kotsonas, Μεθώνη Πιερίας, I. Επιγραφές, χαράγματα και εμπορικά σύμβολα στη Γεωμετρική και Αρχαϊκή κεραμική από το ‘Υπόγειο’ της Μεθώνης Πιερίας στη Μακεδονία (2012) 195.

⁸ The Samian amphorae found in Eretria also have both pre- and post-firing marks, as indeed did the examples found in Methone: Bessios–Tzifopoulos–Kotsonas op. cit. 198–9.

⁹ Ibid. 194–9 with detailed discussion of the typology of the amphorae and their distribution.

¹⁰ P. Dupont, ‘Archaic East Greek trade amphorae’, in: R. M. Cook–P. Dupont (eds.), East Greek Pottery (1998) 142–91, 196–8.

¹¹ D. Ridgway, The First Western Greeks (1992) 111–3, for the amphora 575–1 which bears a number of graffiti. This amphora might be also Samian rather than Rhodian. For early Samian amphorae at Carthage and Toscanos: R. F. Docter, ‘East Greek fine wares and transport amphorae of the 8th–5th century B.C. from Carthage and Toscanos’, in: P. Cabrera Bonet–M. Santos Retolaza (eds.), Ceràmiques jonies di època arcaica: Centres de producció i comercialització al Mediterrani occidental. Actes de la Taula Rodona celebrada a Empúries, els dies 26 al 28 de maig de 1999 (2000) 63–88.

The seal which was found in the inhumation burial (Burial 1) is of great interest (pl. 19: 3). It belongs to a type with a recumbent lion on the back, cut in the round. These seals are usually made of bone, with a few of ivory. J. Boardman has discussed the class and assigned them to his East Greek ivory seals group which he suggested were manufactured in Rhodes. The largest number of such seals were found in the sanctuary north of the temple of Apollo in Eretria (7 examples) which S. Huber has argued to belong to Artemis.¹²

The type is found usually in sanctuaries and only occasionally in graves. The seal found in the burial at Lefkandi was made of bone and shares the main features of the group as defined by Boardman. Huber noted that the location of the workshop is not yet known. The fact, however, that most examples come from Euboea suggests that the island might be considered as a possible place of their production.¹³

In Lefkandi, seals and scarabs are deposited with burials, and several have been found on Xeropolis. In Eretria, too, they were found in tombs, but not with the burials of children.¹⁴ Finally, D. Ridgway has stressed the amuletic significance of seals and scarabs found in the cemetery of San Montano in Pithekoussai, most of which were associated with child burials.¹⁵

Fragmentary LG pottery of good quality was also found in the area excavated around the child burials. Some of it was retrieved when the body of Burial 1 was removed and includes the rim of an open vessel (425.1), a fragment from a skyphos (425.2), and one from a closed vessel (425.3). The high banded rim of 425.1, decorated with dots, could belong to either a skyphos or a kantharos (pl. 19: 4). Similar vessels decorated with a quatrefoil motive on the handle zone are also found in Eretria and date from the Middle to the Late Geometric I period.¹⁶

425.2 is from a skyphos with a banded lip (pl. 19: 5). The shape and decoration are closely comparable to LG I and II vessels found in Euboea and also in Zagora.¹⁷

Fragment 425.3 comes from a jug or oinochoe and provides a welcome addition to local vases decorated with Atticizing motifs, in this case with a meander (pl. 20: 1). Similar Atticizing decoration (usually on small skyphoi) is known from Xeropolis and also from Eretria. Such motifs are employed from MG I to LG I.¹⁸

¹² I should like to thank Nota Kourou for her comments at the conference which prompted me to examine the seal more closely. Thanks are also due to Sandrine Huber for her comments based on her detailed study of this class of seals: S. Huber–F. Poplin, ‘Les sceaux en os dans la glyptique égéenne à l’époque archaïque’, BCH 133, 2009, 627–32. On ivory gems from the islands, see J. Boardman, *Island Gems. A Study of Greek Seals in the Geometric and Early Archaic Periods* (1963) 154–5; id. ‘Island Gems Aftermath’, JHS 88, 1968, 9–12; S. Huber, ‘Erétrie et la Méditerranée à la lumière des trouvailles provenant d’une aire sacrificielle au nord du sanctuaire d’Apollon Daphnéphoros’, in *Euboica* 119–28; Eretria XIV.2 pp. 93–6 pls. 129, 140.

¹³ For the distribution of the type, see Eretria XIV.2 pp. 91–2: it has been found primarily in sanctuaries, such as Delos, Kameiros, Emporio, and Kato Phana on Chios, Eretria, Heraion of Samos, Aetos on Ithaca, Delion on Paros, Tachi in Boeotia; interestingly two examples come from Zagora. The fact that lion bones have been identified on Xeropolis perhaps further supports my suggestion (the bones have been identified by Alex Mulhall; they were found in Iron Age contexts).

¹⁴ In tombs: Lefkandi I 224–5; Lefkandi III pl. 142. On Xeropolis: Lefkandi I pl. 67 (for a Lyre-Player example);

Lefkandi IV 281; more examples of both Late Bronze and Iron Age types have been discovered in the recent excavations. In Eretria, in addition to those seals found in the sanctuary of Artemis, examples come from one cremation burial in the cemetery at the West Gate, and two were found with adult cremations dated to MG II: Eretria XVII.2 pp. 107–8.

¹⁵ Ridgway op. cit. (n. 11) 65–7; id., ‘Seals, Scarabs and People in Pithekoussai I’, in: G. R. Tsetskhladze–A. J. N. W. Prag–A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Periplus. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman* (2000) 235–43.

¹⁶ Coldstream (GGP 48) noted that both the skyphos and the kantharos developed in a similar way during MG II, while by LG Ib both acquired high lips. For similar vases from Eretria: Eretria XX pl. 44: 185 (kantharos); 55 pl. 50: 226 (for the quatrefoil motif); p. 85 (for the dating).

¹⁷ GGP 193; Lefkandi I pl. 36: 3. From Eretria: A. K. Andreiomenou, ‘Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμική εξ Ερετρίας, III (σκύφοι)’, *AEphem* 1981, pl. 33: 267; Eretria XX 80 pl. 33: 132. Zagora 2 pl. 165c.

¹⁸ Lefkandi from the Levelling Material: Lefkandi I pl. 21. Eretria dated to LG I: A. K. Andreiomenou, ‘Keramik aus Eretria, II. Attisch-Mittelgeometrisch II und Euboiisch-

A selection of LG fragments found in the area surrounding the burials is also presented here, including a krater fragment (413.1) with both shape and decoration typical of Euboean LG I–II (**fig. 4; pl. 20: 2**).¹⁹

Among the most interesting pieces is the skyphos 413.3, decorated with two birds in the main handle zone (**fig. 5; pl. 20: 3**). The birds were most probably solid-painted and facing each other. The shape of the skyphos and the solid-painted antithetical birds find parallels with examples from Eretria, Athens, and Pontecagnano. In single panels, solid-painted birds are rare in comparison to hatched birds.²⁰

The new skyphos from Lefkandi cannot contribute much to the discussion about the dating of the introduction of birds on LG ceramics because it comes from mixed soils used to fill in the area of the burial pits. In any case, it seems that most scholars agree on a date during the transition from MG II to LG I at least for the production of J. N. Coldstream's 'one-bird metope skyphos'.²¹

Fragment 413.2 comes from the neck of a jug decorated with an octofoil motif which is common on the neck or the shoulders of closed vases in both Lefkandi and Eretria (**fig. 6; pl. 20: 4**). Quatrefoil motifs on open vessels appear in Eretria in LG I.²²

Another welcome addition to the Euboean repertoire of shapes is the plate 412.1. Its conical shape with a flat base and carinated lip is unusual, but the decoration of a row of small sets of circles is typical of LG Euboean ceramics (**fig. 7; pl. 20: 5**). Plates are in general rare in Euboea, compared to Attica where they were often given as grave offerings.²³

The plates from Eretria and Zagora copy more closely Attic prototypes and date to LG I–II. A similar date could be proposed for 412.1 because of the decoration of the sets of concentric circles on the body which first appeared in Euboean pottery during LG I.²⁴

Finally, the krater fragment (411.2) can be traced to the workshop of the Cesnola painter since the preserved decoration of a horse at the manger with a bird is considered to be prevalent in the repertoire of this particular workshop (**fig. 8; pl. 20: 6**). The Cesnola painter and his workshop are well represented in Lefkandi, Eretria, and Chalcis.²⁵

It has also been suggested that the painter/s and their workshop generated a particular style which affected the production of Late Geometric ceramics, especially in the Cyclades but also

Subprotogeometrisch III', AM 101, 1986, pl. 15: 7–9. MG II–LG I: Eretria XX 75–8, 99 pl. 12: 33 (on an oinochoe). LG I–II: *ibid.* pl. 17: 59 (on a krater); pl. 39: 155 (on an amphora); pl. 65: 319, 321 (on two LG II skyphoi).

¹⁹ Comparative material comes from Lefkandi (Lefkandi I pl. 53: 235) and Eretria: A. K. Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμική εξ Ερετρίας, IV', AEphem 1982, 169–78 (for the shape in Late Geometric and Sub-Geometric); Eretria XX 62 pl. 69: 337; Zagora 2 pl. 196: a–b.

²⁰ GGP 464; J. N. Coldstream, 'Some problems of Eighth-Century Pottery in the West seen from the Greek Angle', in: *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII^e siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale*. CJB 3 (1982) 24–39. Eretria: Eretria XX 44, 65 pls. 22: 78; 30: 115. Chalcis: A. K. Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμική εξ Ερετρίας', AEphem 1975, pl. 57 (single bird in panel). Athens (from Erechtheiou Street): M. Brouskari, *Από τον Αθηναϊκό Κεραμικό του 8^{ου} π.Χ. αιώνα* (1979) pl. 29. Pontecagnano: G. Baialo Modesti–P. Gastaldi (eds.), *Prima di Pithecusa. I più antichi materiali greci del golfo di Salerno* (1999) 33 fig. 5: 7738.2.

²¹ For a full discussion, see Eretria XX 79–81, with references.

²² Lefkandi I pl. 61: 35 (with quatrefoil). Eretria: A. K. Andreiomenou, 'Γεωμετρική και υπογεωμετρική κεραμική εξ Ερετρίας, V', AEphem 1983, 175–6 figs. 5–6 pl. 59: 98–9; Eretria XX 94.

²³ GGP 49, 87 with references for plates found in the Agora, the Kerameikos, and Thorikos. For Merenda: M. Xagorari-Gleisser, *Die geometrische Nekropole von Merenda: die Funde aus der Grabung von I. Papadimitriou, 1960–61* (2005) 52 pls. 26–7.

²⁴ Eretria XX 70 pl. 99; Zagora 2 pp. 201–03 pls. 260–1. I thank Samuel Verdan for commenting on this piece. Decoration of sets of concentric circles on the body rather than the lip do appear on skyphoi and kantharoi in Eretria: Eretria XX pls. 64: 311; 65: 316.

²⁵ See most recently I. S. Lemos, 'The Cesnola Painter, again', in: P. Valavanis–E. Manakidou (eds.), *ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ*. Essays on Greek Pottery and Iconography in Honour of Professor Michalis Tiverios (2014) 47–53.

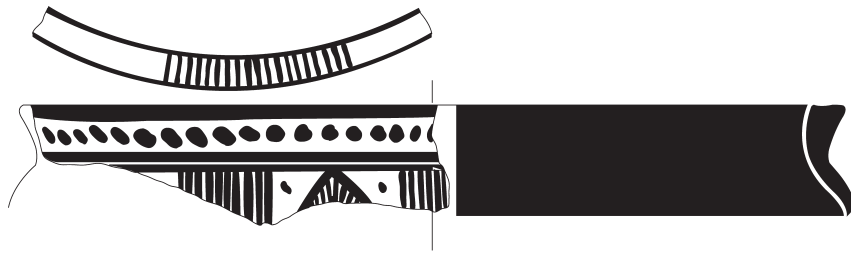


Figure 4. Krater fragment 413.1.1:3.



Figure 5. Skyphos 413.3.1:2.



Figure 6. Fragment from closed vase 413.2. 1:2.

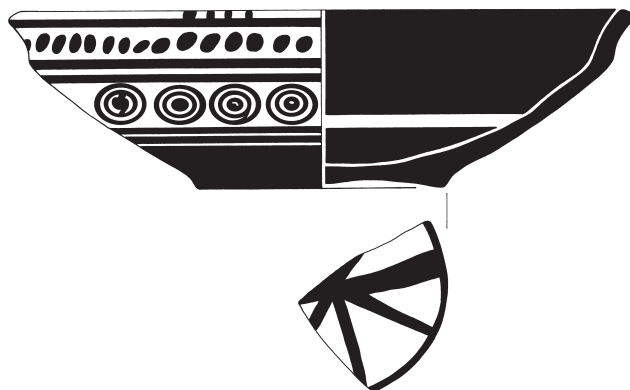


Figure 7. Plate 412.1. 1:2.

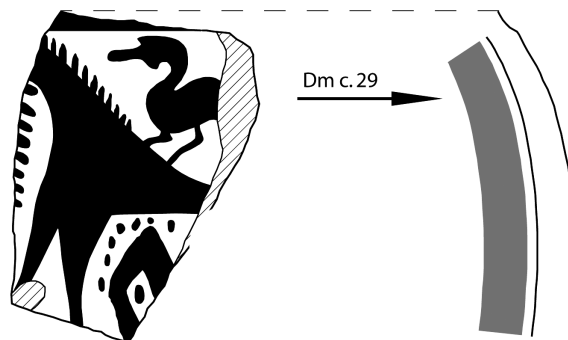


Figure 8. Krater fragment 411.2. 2:3.

in Attica and Boeotia.²⁶ The impact that the workshop had in the West has been established by both G. Buchner and Coldstream.²⁷

The combination of a horse and a bird is often represented on pottery related with the Cesnola workshops and their widely disseminated style. In most cases, however, the bird is depicted under the horse and only rarely resting on the back of the horse as is the case here. Similar depictions of a horse at the manger with a bird on its back can be seen on vases in Eretria and Naxos. The same combination is also depicted on the neck of the Euboean oinochoe found in Cyprus and now in New York.²⁸

BURYING CHILDREN IN THE LATE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

The two burials from Xeropolis provide interesting evidence for the study of funerary rites for children during the LG period. First, they can be compared to those from Eretria and Oropos dated to the same period.

At Eretria, foetuses and neonates were given an *enchytrismos* burial, while older children and sub-adults were inhumed in graves.²⁹ The two child burials from Lefkandi follow the same rites, with the neonate buried in the Samian amphora and the older child in a pit grave. It is noteworthy that in the *enchytrismos* burial in Lefkandi the body was placed in a transport amphora, as is the case with a burial in Eretria for which a Samian amphora was used.³⁰

What is, however, different in Eretria during the early part of the 8th century is that *enchytrismoι* are mostly placed within domestic space and not in separate burial plots. Moreover, most of those burials were found in coarse vessels such as pithoi and jugs, apart from the two found in transport amphorae. B. Blandin quite convincingly suggested that this was because of their close association with the household where such vessels were commonly in use.³¹

This practice, however, changed towards the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century when a burial plot—located by the harbour—came into use for the burial of children. This cemetery was excavated by K. Kourouniotis and is usually referred to as the Hygeionomeion cemetery.³² While children continued to be buried in vessels, these were now more elaborate in terms of their size and decoration. It has been argued that these vessels were not reused, but were most probably manufactured only for burial or cult use.

Blandin noted that the burial of young children in more costly pots and the fact that they are no longer buried within the domestic space but in separate locations are clear signs of changes regarding both the status of the children and the society to which they belonged.³³

²⁶ N. Kourou, 'Euboea and Naxos in the Late Geometric Period: the Cesnola Style', in *Euboica* 167–79.

²⁷ J. N. Coldstream, 'Pithekoussai, Cyprus and the Cesnola Painter', in: B. d'Agostino–D. Ridgway (eds.), *Apoikia. I più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: Funzione e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di G. Buchner* (1994) 77–86.

²⁸ Gisler art. cit. (n. 15) 28–36 fig. 5; Eretria XX 53 pl. 44: 189. Naxos: Kourou art. cit. (n. 26) 172 fig. 8. Cyprus: CVA New York Metr. Mus. 5 pp. 85–6 pl. 50: 3–4.

²⁹ Our knowledge of burial rites in Eretria during this period has benefited from B. Blandin's meticulous study: 'Recherches sur les tombes à inhumation de l'Hérôon d'Eretrie', in *Euboica* 135–46; ead., 'Les enfants et la mort en Eubée au début de l'Age du Fer', in *L'Enfant et la mort* 47–65; ead. in Eretria XVII.1 pp. 1–2.

³⁰ Eretria XVII.1 p. 25 pls. 39–40 (in a Samian vessel); for another burial in an SOS amphora: *ibid.* 106.

³¹ Eretria XVII.2 pp. 53–64 (with references to all burials known at the time in Eretria).

³² K. Kourouniotis, 'Ἀγγεῖα Ερετρίας', *AEphem* 1913, 1–38. The *enchytrismos* vessels have been studied by J. Boardman, 'Pottery from Eretria', *BSA* 47, 1952, 1–48; GG 88, 190; Andreiomenou art. cit. (n. 6) 186–9, 196–8. Scholars have also noted the significance of this cemetery which was first established as the burial ground for élite adults who were cremated from the end of the MG I to the beginning of the LG period: J.-P. Crielaard, 'Eretria's West Cemetery Revisited: Burial Plots, Social Structure and Settlement Organization during the 8th and 7th centuries BC', in *Oropos and Euboea* 169–94; Eretria XVII.1 pp. 59–71.

³³ Eretria XVII 64–5; Crielaard art. cit. 178–9.

Older children or sub-adults in Eretria were usually inhumed in graves, close to or with adult burials, and outside the domestic space. One of the most interesting of such burial plots is that of the West Gate cemetery where most of the adults were cremated.³⁴

While the *enchytrismos* burials in Eretria were usually found without grave-goods, some offerings were given to older children buried with adults. These often include miniature vases and sometimes richer items such as, in one case, amber beads and gold jewellery. In contrast with the case at Xeropolis, however, seals were not deposited with burials of young children.

At Oropos, A. Mazarakis Ainian reported that about thirty burials were discovered on the fringes of domestic space. Most of these belonged to children who were buried with similar rites to those in Eretria. They include burials in shaft or pit graves and *enchytrismos* burials placed in shallow pits. Here as in Eretria, most of the vessels used for *enchytrismoι* are coarse-ware vases such as jugs and pithoi.³⁶

The Oropos *enchytrismos* burials of the earlier period (assigned to Phases 3–4 dated from around 760 to 710) are generally without offerings, but V. Vlachou observed that in some cases sherds discovered nearby might belong to the burials or to vessels involved in the funerary rites. These observations recall the discovery of fragmentary pottery in the area of the Xeropolis burials and suggest a similar interpretation. At Oropos, burials which are assigned to Phase 5 (dated to 720–690) were found with pottery of good quality; in one case an ivory spectacle fibula was found together with open vases.³⁷

The close connection between Eretria and Oropos has been noted by the excavators of both sites. In contrast with both sites, at Lefkandi the available evidence presented here suggests that during the LG period child burials were placed outside the limits of the settlement on the tell.³⁸

Both old and new evidence have shown that similar rites were used for child burials in the rest of the Greek world in the 8th century. In most sites children inhumed in vessels or graves were found together with adult burials (the latter either inhumed or cremated). Also noticeable is the spread of the rite of *enchytrismos*: in Athens, Corinth, at sites in central Greece, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and in Ionia. In Crete, children are buried with adults but, in the central part of the island, they are mostly interred in vessels.³⁹

³⁴ Eretria III; Blandin art. cit. (n. 29); Crielaard art. cit. 179. Blandin comments on the skeletal analysis of the child in Tomb 14, revealing that it was between 3 and 9 months old: Eretria XVII.1 pp. 40–58. This burial is among the richest in Eretria: Eretria XVII.2 p. 148. The status of this particular burial was then decisive in the rite used which was inhumation because of its age and its location in the same cemetery with adult burials and not within domestic space.

³⁵ See above and also Eretria XVII.2 pp. 88–9, 97–8, 101–2.

³⁶ A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Tombes d’enfants à l’intérieur d’habitats au début de l’Age du Fer: l’indice d’une nouvelle structuration sociale?’, in *L’Enfant et la mort* 67–73; V. Vlachou, ‘Oropos: the infant and child inhumations from the settlement (late 8th–early 7th centuries BC)’, in Oropos and Euboea 213–40.

³⁷ Ibid. 222–3; A. Mazarakis Ainian, ‘Oropos in the Early Iron Age’, in Euboica 204–6 fig. 24.

³⁸ See full discussion for similarities and some differences in Eretria XVII.2 pp. 58–63; Vlachou loc. cit.

³⁹ Athens: GG 120–2 (with references for the burials in the Agora, Kerameikos, Phaleron). See also J. K. Papadopoulos–E. L. Smithson, ‘The cultural biography of a Cycladic

amphora. Islanders in Athens and the prehistory of Metics’, *Hesperia* 71, 2002, 184–5. For the Phaleron: R. S. Young, ‘Graves from the Phaleron cemetery’, *AJA* 46, 1942, 23–67, where 7th-century *enchytrismos* burials of children are discussed. For the *enchytrismoι* at the Academy of Plato, see A. Mazarakis Ainian–A. Livieratou, ‘The Academy of Plato in the Early Iron Age’, in: H. Lohmann–T. Mattern (eds.), *Attika: Archäologie einer ‘zentralen’ Kulturlandschaft. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18. bis 20. Mai 2007* (2010) 87–100. The rite is also attested in the area of the south slope of the Acropolis, where it is used mostly from LG II on for children: S. I. Charitonidis, ‘Εὐρύματα Πρωτογεωμετρικῆς καὶ γεωμετρικῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως’, *ADelt A* 28, 1973, 1–63. At Eleusis *enchytrismoι* are also attested in the West cemetery where such burials are particularly common from the LG period onwards: G. E. Mylonas, *Τὸ δυτικὸν νεκροταφεῖον τῆς Ἐλευσίνος*, II (1975) 259 and table III for the Geometric burials; also P. Papageli, ‘Ἡ Ἐλευσίνα στὴν Πρώιμη Ἐποχὴ τοῦ Σιδήρου’, in *Aegean Iron Age* 406–8. For later burials in Attica: A. Alexandridou, ‘Le traitement funéraire des immatures dans la nécropole archaïque de Vari’, in: A. Hermay *et al.* (eds.), *L’Enfant et la mort dans l’Antiquité*, III. Le matériel associé aux

Similar practices were emulated by the Greek settlements in the West. The earliest appearance of such rites can be found in the Valle San Montano cemetery at Pithekoussai, where 131 *enchytrismoi* represent the second largest category of interments in the whole cemetery so far published and/or excavated. Once again it was neonates and foetuses that were interred in vessels, mostly in locally-made, rarely in imported, amphorae, sometimes in coarse vases. Older children were inhumed, apart from the well-known exception of one male sub-adult which was cremated. *Enchytrismos* burials are also common in Sicily, especially in Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea.⁴⁰

There are, however, some cemeteries, or parts of cemeteries, reserved exclusively or in part for the burial of children. Indeed, if the Hygeionomeion cemetery in Eretria was, in the last part of LG, dedicated to *enchytrismos* burials, then it finds a counterpart on Astypalaia which offers, with some 2,754 *enchytrismos* burials of foetuses, neonates, and infants, one of the most interesting burial grounds dedicated to children. The burials began in the Geometric period and continued until Roman times. During the Geometric period a variety of vessels were used for the rite (hydriai, cooking pots, pyxides, and amphorae), while in the later periods mostly amphorae were used. The excavator associates this remarkable discovery with the nearby location of a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Locheia and Eileithya.⁴¹

No less impressive are the extensive cemeteries discovered in the northern Aegean. One of the most notable is that at Mende which, according to tradition, was a Euboean colony (Thuc. IV 123: 1). An extensive cemetery was discovered by the sea in the south-east of the ancient town. Although the full extent of the cemetery was not investigated, its southern part revealed a large number of graves which were almost exclusively for the burial of children. The largest percentage of the excavated cemetery is given over to *enchytrismoi* of infants, while pit and shaft graves were also discovered and belonged to older children. S. Moschonisioti noted that, although offerings to the children buried at Mende were few and unimpressive, what is

tombes d'enfants. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à la Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme (MMSH) d'Aix-en-Provence, 20–22 janvier 2011 (2012) 39–56. Corinth: GG 174; K. Dickey, *Corinthian Burial Customs c. 1100 to 550 BC* (1992) 36–8. Argolid: GG 245, 392 where adults were also buried in pithoi. Boeotia: GG 202. Tragana: A. Onasoglou, 'Οι Γεωμετρικοί τάφοι της Τραγάνας στην Ανατολική Λοκρίδα', *AEphem* 1981, 36, where vessels were used for the burial of young individuals and pithoi for adult burials: art. cit. 51–4. Voulakalyva: Z. Malakasioti–A. Mousioni, 'Νέα ευρήματα της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού και της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Άλο', in *Aegean Iron Age 359–67*. Naxos and Paros: Ph. Zappeiropoulou, 'Une nécropole à Paros', in: J. de La Genière (ed.), *Nécropoles et sociétés antiques* (Grèce, Italie, Languedoc). Actes du colloque international du Centre des recherches archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III, Lille 2–3 décembre 1991 (1994) 127–52; ead., 'Tombes d'enfants dans les Cyclades: les cas de Naxos et de Paros', in *L'Enfant et la mort* 243–50. For the possibility that young children might have been buried in some of the coarse vessels found at Tsikalario on Naxos: GG 92; X. Charalambidou, 'Κεραμικά ευρήματα από τη νεκρόπολη του Τσικαλαρίου στη Νάξο: Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με το ταφικό περιβάλλον και τη χρήση των ευρημάτων', *Archaiognosia* 16, 2012, 149–86. On Amorgos, where one child burial was found among adult cremations:

L. I. Marangou, 'Ο ταφικός περίβολος πρώιμων ιστορικών χρόνων στη Μινώα Αμοργού', in: N. Stampolidis (ed.), *Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου, Ρόδος 29 Απριλίου–2 Μαΐου 1999* (2001) 214–5. Samos: M. Vligaki-Sofianou, 'Γεωμετρική νεκρόπολη αρχαίας Σάμου', in *Aegean Iron Age 189–96*. Rhodes: GG 250. Ionia: O. Mariaud, 'Rituel funéraire et transformations spatiales en Ionie archaïque: les cas des tombes d'enfant à Smyrne', *REA* 108, 2006, 173–202. Crete: A good summary of Iron Age child burials on the island may be found in M. Pomadère, 'La différenciation funéraire des enfants en Crète centrale au premier Age du Fer: l'indice d'une nouvelle structuration sociale?', in *L'Enfant et la mort* 97–108.

⁴⁰ Ridgway op. cit. (n. 11) 51–3; for the cremation in tomb 168, *ibid.* 55–7; G. Buchner–D. Ridgway (eds.), *Pithekoussai I. La Necropoli: Tombe 1–723 scavate del 1952 al 1961* (1993) 212–23. For a concise analysis of burial rites given to children in the West: G. Shepherd, 'Poor little rich kids? Status and Selection in Archaic Western Greece', in: S. Crawford–G. Shepherd (eds.), *Children, Childhood and Society* (2007) 93–106.

⁴¹ M. Michalaki-Kollia, 'Un ensemble exceptionnel d'enchytrismes de nouveau-nés, de fœtus et de nourrissons découvert dans l'île d'Astypalée en Grèce: cimetière de bébés ou sanctuaire? première approche', in *L'Enfant et la mort* 161–205.

remarkable is the quality of the vessels used for the *enchytrismoi*. This is similar to the case at Eretria and underlines the close connection between the two sites.⁴²

In the northern Aegean, *enchytrismos* burials continued into the later periods as is evinced by the discovery of extended cemeteries at Polychrono and Akanthos.⁴³ At Abdera, in eastern Macedonia, the extensive 7th-century cemetery, which was also located by the sea, offers another example of the *enchytrismos* rite used to bury neonates and young children. Here mostly locally-made coarse-wares are used for burial. The high mortality of infants and children has been attributed to the arduous conditions faced by the inhabitants, rather than the aggression of the Thracian tribes of the region.⁴⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The study of Late Geometric burials has focused—among other things—on the increase of child burials or at least of their visibility in the archaeological record. This has been particularly the case in Athens where the rise in child burials during the LG period and the implications for changes in society has been extensively explored.⁴⁵ The absence of settlement remains in Athens and elsewhere, however, prevents a more complete understanding of mortuary rites of neonates and young children, such as is possible at Eretria.⁴⁶

It has also been argued that in Athens the *enchytrismos* rite possibly started during LG II, whereas in Euboea it might already have appeared by the end of the Middle Geometric period. Again, however, due to the lack of domestic remains in Athens we cannot be certain that *enchytrismos* burials did not start there as early as in Eretria.⁴⁷

In any case children are more frequently buried in formal cemeteries in the Late Geometric period than earlier, especially in Athens. It has also been noted that age is a significant factor in the choice of rite (*enchytrismos* or inhumation in grave), in the location of the burial, and in the deposition of offerings.⁴⁸

⁴² S. Moschonisioti, 'Εγγόρια διακοσμημένη κεραμική από το νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Μένδης', in *Aegean Iron Age 277–93*; ead., 'Child-burials at the Seaside Cemetery of Ancient Mende', in *L'Enfant et la mort* 207–25. Moschonisioti has linked this practice with the tradition of the foundation of the site by Euboeans. Moreover, another common practice at Mende is the use of transport amphorae (mostly local but some imported) for *enchytrismoi*, as is also the case in Eretria and Lefkandi.

⁴³ At Polychrono most of the burials are dated to the 5th century but a few to the 6th: I. Vokotopoulou, 'Anciennes nécropoles de la Chalcidique', in: de La Genière (ed.) op. cit. (n. 39) 89–91; I. Vokotopoulou–M. Pappa–B. E. Tsigarida, 'Ανασκαφές στο Πολύχρονο Χαλκιδικής', *AErgoMak* 2, 1988, 320–2. At Akanthos the extensive cemetery is located near the sea. Most *enchytrismos* burials were in amphorae (mostly transport amphorae). The cemetery is dated from the 7th to the 4th centuries: N. Kaltsas, 'Ακανθος I: Η ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979 (1998) 20–1, 289, 291–9.

⁴⁴ E. Skaraltidou, *Το Αρχαϊκό Νεκροταφείο των Αβδήρων* (2010). The Archaic cemetery at Abdera is one of the very few fully published cemeteries in the northern Aegean.

⁴⁵ I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State* (1987) 57–71, 97–109; J. Whitley, *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece. The Changing Face of a*

Preliterate Society 1100–700 BC (1991) 64–7; S. Houby-Nielsen, 'Burial language in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos', *ProcDanInstAth* 1, 1995, 131–5; ead., 'Child burials in ancient Athens', in: J. Sofaer Derevenski (ed.), *Children and material culture* (2007) 151–66.

⁴⁶ For the Protogeometric period, Lemos op. cit. (n. 1) chapter 5; Mazarakis Ainian art. cit. (n. 36), with a survey of intra-mural burials in the Early Iron Age showing that most of such burials are those of children.

⁴⁷ Eretria XVII.2 p. 63; the reference to the earliest *enchytrismos* burial in Athens being in a MG krater is incorrect. The burial is reported to be a cremation. As is the case with most of the burials in Athens found in rescue excavations, it has not yet been published, so we cannot be certain either about the date of the vase nor the age of the burial. The lack of publication of the excavated tombs from Athens hinders our knowledge and thus understanding of burial rites in Early Iron Age Athens. For the MG burial found in Drakou Street (tomb 11), see *ADelt* B 32, 1984, 19 (Alexandri). On the other hand an *enchytrismos* burial in a Protogeometric amphora has been mentioned, but again none of the finds are illustrated. According to the report the burial was found in mixed context: *ADelt* B 34, 1987, 16 (Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou).

⁴⁸ Houby-Nielsen art. cit. 152–3.

At the same time the status of the child can override customary burial rites, as is clear in the case of the baby buried in the West Cemetery in Eretria and of the boy who was cremated in Pithekoussai.

So although there are similarities in the way Iron Age communities buried their young, there are some sites which share more of these characteristics. One similarity is where cemeteries—or parts of them—appear to be allocated mostly to *enchytrismos* burials such as in Eretria (the Hygeionomeion cemetery); and such *enchytrismos* cemeteries are also found in the northern and eastern Aegean (see above).

Interesting observations can be made about the location of some of these cemeteries. Although the two burials found at Lefkandi may or may not have been part of a cemetery dedicated to children—only future investigation in the area will determine this—they were clearly situated near the eastern harbour and close to the sea, as are the burials at Hygeionomeion in Eretria, Mende, and at other cemeteries in the northern Aegean. It has been suggested that in the northern Aegean, such cemeteries are located by the seashore so that valuable arable land was not lost for burials.⁴⁹ This does not seem an adequate explanation, however, since the location and the spatial organization of cemeteries had both symbolic and social implications. For example, burials near the sea might be related to issues of pollution or, as is the case at Astypalaia, because of the nearby sanctuary. It is also interesting that some of the most active maritime communities in the Aegean and the West buried their young in transport amphorae (Lefkandi, Eretria, Mende, Akanthos, Pithekoussai, and Athens at the end of the Late Geometric period).⁵⁰

The popularity of the *enchytrismos* rite during this period is remarkable but what is the origin of such practice? Vessels have been used since the Late Helladic IIIC period as cremation urns but mostly for adult burials. Moreover, during the LH IIIC period on Xeropolis, we find that foetuses, babies, and young people were buried in pits covered by pithoi and other vessels. Twenty such burials were found among the remains of the LH IIIC houses. Since we have not yet located the Late Helladic IIIC burials at Lefkandi, we cannot comment further on whether the intra-mural burials on Xeropolis were intended mostly for young children and a few adults. We do know, however, that by the middle of the 11th century—if not a little earlier—separate burial plots were used for all ages and both sexes at Lefkandi. The location of the cemeteries, some 500 m away from the settlement on Xeropolis, is noteworthy as most cemeteries of the period are located close to the settlements to which they belonged. The decision to bury the dead at a distance from the settlement might have been mostly dictated by the fact that Xeropolis is a tell.⁵¹

These cemeteries ceased to receive burials by the end of the Sub-Protogeometric period. The reason for the abandonment of the rich cemeteries at Lefkandi could have been internal strife or local competition which might have driven some of the Lefkandiots to Eretria, Oropos, and certainly away from home to more promising lands.⁵²

⁴⁹ Moschonisioti art. cit. (n. 42) 207–08; Skarlatidou op. cit. (n. 44) 343.

⁵⁰ It can be argued that the Cycladic amphora found in the Athenian Agora—which, according to Papadopoulos, is most likely from Syros—was at first used as a transport amphora and reused most probably for an *enchytrismos* burial. See Papadopoulos–Smithson art. cit. (n. 39), where the origin of the amphora suggests to the authors the presence of islanders in Athens. In any case, transport vessels are used for *enchytrismos* burials in the cemetery on the south slope of the Acropolis and at Phaleron but they date later, to the

end of the LG period and the beginning of the 7th century: Young art. cit. (n. 39) 50–1; Papadopoulos–Smithson art. cit. (n. 39) 185, where such vessels quite rightly are considered predecessors of the SOS amphorae.

⁵¹ Late Helladic IIIC burials: Lefkandi IV, Appendix CD-3. More burials were found in the recent excavations. For the cemeteries: Lefkandi I; Lefkandi III; Lemos op. cit. (n. 1) 161–8.

⁵² I. S. Lemos, ‘Athens and Lefkandi: a tale of two sites’, in: S. Deger-Jalkotzy–I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece. From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer* (2006) 505–30.

Xeropolis, however, was not yet abandoned and the discovery of the two burials confirms that the site remained to its end prosperous and in touch with developments taking place elsewhere in the Aegean. This statement can be justified on the basis of evidence from both old and recent excavations. LG houses follow apsidal and/or oval plans as did houses in Eretria and Oropos, and used enclosures or periboloi to mark households, as in neighbouring sites. A rectangular structure found in recent excavations might be the latest known on the site and clearly shows that the change from an oval/apsidal to a rectangular plan appeared before the site was abandoned.⁵³

Moreover, the sample of ceramics presented above, found in the area of the two burials, and pottery discovered from earlier and recent excavations, clearly illustrate that Lefkandi played a role similar to that of Eretria and Chalcis in both the formation and the development of the Euboean LG style of pottery. Finally, the variety and manufacture of coarse wares, as presented in this volume by Ian Whitbread and Antonia Livieratou, show that this material is comparable with trends elsewhere in Euboea, Andros, and Oropos.⁵⁴ Other finds, for example the Samian amphora used for the *enchytrismos* burial, also suggest that Lefkandi maintained its networks to the end of its occupation.⁵⁵

There is no doubt that the site was abandoned, but sadly the remains of the latest occupation on the tell have been for the most part lost. This is because Xeropolis has been badly eroded, thus depriving us of evidence of its precise character during the Late Geometric period. However, by drawing together whatever is left we may be able to reconstruct aspects of the life and death of a community which at the very beginning of the 7th century decided to abandon such a prolific site for ever.

The reasons for this abandonment could be the subject of another paper, but while excavating the remains of this remarkable site, I have come to believe that Xeropolis was not suited to taking advantage of the developments which slowly started to emerge at the end of the 8th century and which offered opportunities for some settlements to be transformed into *poleis*. The implications are that those living on the tell could no longer support the new ideological changes or build on ties with the past but had to move on to old or new 'flat' sites in the Aegean and abroad.

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY DISCUSSED IN THE PAPER

Abbreviations: H = height; D = diameter; W = width; Th = thickness; L = length.

All dimensions are in cm.

Colour definitions according to Munsell *Soil Color Charts*. The photographs are by A. Mulhall (pls. 19: 1, 4; 20: 2–4) and I. Cartwright (pls. 19: 2, 3, 5, 6; 20: 1); the drawings by R. Doscan (figs. 4–7) and A. Vacek (fig. 8).

⁵³ A. Mazarakis Ainian, 'Les fouilles d'Oropos et la fonction des périboles dans les agglomérations du début de l'Age de Fer', in: J.-M. Luce (ed.), *Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde grec de la fin des palais mycéniens à la prise de Milet* (494 av. J.-C.): table ronde internationale organisée à Toulouse les 9–10 mars 2001. *Pallas* 58 (2002) 183–227; A. Gounaris, 'Curvilinear versus rectangular? A contribution to the interpretation of the evolution in architectural forms in Greece during the Protogeometric–Geometric–Archaic periods based on a study of the constructions at Oropos', in *Oropos and Euboea* 77–122. Also note the discovery of tiles on Xeropolis which suggest that there were more buildings of rectangular plan.

⁵⁴ It has been remarked (Eretria XX 105–8) that at Lefkandi the transition from MG II to LG I is not well represented or that evidence for that period has been overlooked. These

observations are based on the material published in Lefkandi I and especially the ceramics from the Levelling Material (Lefkandi I 16–7, 36–42). This deposit, as most deposits from the old excavations, could not be compared with material retrieved by the present excavations as every single fragment of pottery is now retained and studied. In addition, deposits from domestic and ritual contexts cannot be compared with ceramics found in graves. In any case, Attic vases have been found in the graves at Lefkandi since the Late Protogeometric period.

⁵⁵ Another amphora, this time from the northern Aegean, suggests that contacts with the northern Aegean also remain active to the end of the occupation of the site: I. S. Lemos, 'A Northern Aegean Amphora from Xeropolis, Lefkandi', in: P. Adam-Veleni *et al.* (eds.), *Δινηέσσα, τιμητικός τόμος για την Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου* (2012) 177–82.

411.2: Krater fragment. H 6.3; W 4.8; Th 0.71 (**fig. 8; pl. 20: 6**).

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Paint (interior): 7.5YR 2.5/1, black slip; 10YR 8/4, very pale brown.

Body fragment. Decoration preserved: horse with fringed mane; bird on the horse's back, solid-painted; below, lozenge. Band above horse and file of chevrons in front. Inside painted.

412.1: Plate. D 16 (base 6); H 4.9; Th 0.57–0.68 (**fig. 7; pl. 20: 5**).

Fabric: 5YR 6/6, reddish-yellow. Paint: 2.5YR 5/6, brown-red. Slip: 10YR 8/4, pale brown.

Conical body with flat base and high, carinated lip with flat top. On flat top groups of bars and band on the lip with chain of dots below. On the carination two bands. Main body decoration of sets of circles (each set of two circles with dot in the middle); on lower painted body two thin bands. Underside of base decorated with star motif. Interior monochrome with reserved band at mid-body.

413.1: Krater fragment. D 32; H 4.7; Th 0.45–0.64 (**fig. 4; pl. 20: 2**).

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/8, red. Paint: 2.5YR 3/2, dusky red.

Lip and body fragment. On the rim band and row of dots; broad band below. On the main body ten vertical lines drawn with multiple brush dividing panels filled with hatched lozenge and large dots on the four corners of the panel. On the flat rim 19 bars. Inside is monochrome painted.

413.2: Jug, part of neck. H 6 (**fig. 6; pl. 20: 4**).

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Paint: 7.5YR 2.5/2, very dark brown. Slip: 10YR 8/4, very pale brown.

Panel on the neck with hatched octofoil with small dotted lozenges between the foils.

413.3: Skyphos. D 9; H 6.0 (**fig. 5; pl. 20: 3**).

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Paint: 10YR 2/1, black.

Band on the rim with seven bars. Two bands on the lip. Panel of seven vertical lines and birds facing each other between vertical pile of chevrons. Birds, partially preserved, are solid-painted. Lower body painted monochrome with two thin reserved bands. Inside monochrome painted with reserved band at mid-body. Handle painted.

420.1: Neck-handled amphora. H 63; D 16 (**pl. 19: 1**).

Fabric: colour of the surface 7.5YR 7/4 (pink) to 7/6 (reddish-yellow). Micaceous.

On one of the handles three horizontal incised lines. Two are closer to each other, the third a few cm above them. All made after firing. Under the handle a thumb impression and two small drilled dots probably made before firing. Imported from Samos.

425.1: Fragment of open vase. D 9; H 3.6; W 4; Th 0.45 (**pl. 19: 4**).

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Paint: 7.5YR 3/3, dark brown.

High banded rim skyphos or kantharos with dots on the high rim. In the handle zone: hatched quatrefoil motif with dot rosette in the interspaces with lines preserved on one side. Four bands on the rim below lip. Inside painted apart from thin reserved line.

425.2: Rim and body of skyphos. H 3.3; D 11; W 3.8; Th 0.27 (**pl. 19: 5**).

Fabric: 2.5YR 5/8, red. Paint: 2.5YR 5/2, very dusky red.

Medium high lip, slightly offset. On the lip: three bands. In the handle zone: one small cross-hatched lozenge next to a group of five vertical lines painted by multiple brush. The lozenge because of its small size could have been only subsidiary to another motif. Inside painted apart from one reserved band on the rim.

425.3: Closed vessel (jug or oinochoe), neck fragment. H 3.3; L 2.2; Th 0.45–0.58 (**pl. 20: 1**).

Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown. Paint: 7.5YR 2.5/1, black.

Decoration on the neck of hatched meander; below, bands with a row of (?) dots.

428.1: Handmade small jug or amphoriskos, two wall/neck fr. H 4; W 3.1; Th 0.28–0.41 (**pl. 19: 2**).

Fabric: 5YR 5/6, yellow-red.

Fine handmade, miniature vessel, well burnished. On the upper body incised decoration of standing and fringed triangles.



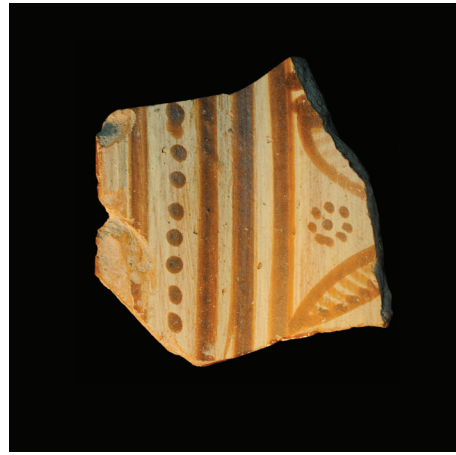
1. Amphora used for the *enchytrismos* burial. 1:5.



2. Handmade vessel 428.1. 1:1.



3. Bone seal found with Burial 1 (photo I. Cartwright). Approx. 1:1.



4. Skyphos or kantharos fr. 425.1. 1:1.



5. Skyphos fragment 425.2. 1:1.



1. Jug fragment 425.3.
1:1.



2. Krater fragment 413.1. 3:5.



3. Skyphos 413.3. 3:5.



4. Fragment from closed vase 413.2. 3:5.



5. Plate 412.1. 3:5.



6. Krater fragment 411.2. 1:1.