

The Burial Rite of Enchytrismos in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia
during the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods.
Towards an Understanding of its Social Significance.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Table of Contents	3
Abstract	7
I. INTRODUCTION	9
Research topic and material	10
Research questions and objectives	12
Previous research on enchytrismos burials	13
Methodology: theoretical approaches to mortuary practices and the study of children ..	18
Thesis structure	30
II. THE BURIAL RITE OF ENCHYTRISMOS	33
Etymology and references in ancient and modern scholarship.....	34
Origins of the practice and geographic expansion in the Aegean world	36
Enchytrismoι in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia prior to the Late Geometric period.....	39
III. ENCHYTRISMOI AND THE FUNERARY LANDSCAPE	41
IN ATTICA, EUBOEA AND BOEOTIA	41
A. ATTICA	43
i. The wider mortuary context.....	43
ii. Attic Enchytrismoι.....	55
B. Euboea and Oropos	87
i. The wider mortuary context.....	87
ii. Enchytrismoι in Euboea and Oropos	92
C. Boeotia	96
i. The wider funerary context.....	96
iii. Boeotian enchytrismoι.....	103
IV. THE DECEASED INDIVIDUALS	112
A. Direct Evidence	113
i. The human remains.....	113
B. Other sources of evidence for the deceased	125

i. The state of preservation of skeletal remains.....	125
ii. The size of the funerary recipients.....	126
C. Discussion.....	128
i. Criteria for the choice of enchytrismos as a mode of disposal	128
ii. The right to an archaeologically visible mode of disposal	129
iii. The choice of enchytrismos for the identified age groups.....	132
V. THE VASES USED AS FUNERARY CONTAINERS	138
A. Presentation of the Evidence.....	139
Attica.....	140
Euboea and Oropos	153
Boeotia	160
B. Discussion.....	165
i. The primary function of the funerary containers	165
ii. The choice of vases.....	176
VI. THE FUNERARY OFFERINGS.....	185
A. The archaeological data.....	187
Attica.....	187
Euboea and Oropos	191
Boeotia	192
B. Discussion.....	196
i. Number of grave goods: an indication of social status?	196
ii. The choice of grave good types	198
iii. Miniature and small-sized offerings	207
iv. Offering deposition: placement of offerings within the grave.....	211
VII. THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF ENCHYTRISMOS BURIALS.....	215
A. Sites and burial grounds accommodating enchytrismos burials.....	216
B. Relative placement of enchytrismoi.....	217
i. Spatial relationship of enchytrismoi to other burial types of children and adults	217
ii. Spatial relationship between enchytrismoi and settlement areas.....	232
C. Discussion.....	236

VIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	244
Abbreviations	258
Bibliography	258

Abstract

Inhumation inside ceramic vessels, conventionally termed “enchytrismos” in modern scholarship, is a long-lasting practice attested in the Aegean world and beyond. The present study examines in detail the evidence relating to enchytrismos burials from the regions of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods (760-480 BC), which it uses as case studies. During this time frame, enchytrismos becomes the prevalent burial rite for young individuals in all three regions, significantly enriching the archaeological record and thus offering plentiful material for a comprehensive study of this funerary ritual.

The decision to provide any distinct mortuary treatment is an active decision of the living when confronted with the death of a particular group of individuals. Based on the above premise, the present study focuses on illuminating three distinct but mutually dependent aspects of the rite of enchytrismos: the acts entailed when practicing an enchytrismos, the individuals chosen to be interred inside these burials, and, finally, how these individuals were treated by the living in the event of their death.

The systematic examination which has been undertaken clearly demonstrates that the rite of enchytrismos was a time-consuming and carefully thought social act that placed particular emphasis on the protection and preservation of the dead body. Since the rite of enchytrismos concerned mainly the biologically youngest members of Attic, Euboean and Boeotian communities, the present study brings this—often largely neglected—age category to the foreground. The choice of affording such an attentive funerary treatment to the young, who have for long been considered as an “insignificant” social category, clearly suggests that

their untimely demise did not provoke a minor social reaction. Therefore, in the context of the present study, “non-adults” emerge as a complex social category whose death could initiate a series of social reactions that emphasised the need for protection and connection to their family in perpetuity and which were largely imbued with sentimental value.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, the archaeology of death and burial has largely focused on the social dimensions of funerary practices. Saxe and Binford were among the pioneers of this approach; using role theory they argued that variability in mortuary treatment depended on the decisions of the living on the “social persona” of the deceased, namely, on “the social identities maintained in life and recognised as appropriate for consideration at death”.¹ These identities were in their turn interpreted as indices of the complexity of social organisation and hierarchy. A decade later, adherents of post-processual archaeology strongly criticised the view that “patterns in death directly and fairly simply reflect patterns in the life of society”² arguing that burial ritual need not necessarily constitute an unambiguous reflection of social organisation. In this view, funerary rites are meaningfully constructed symbolic enactments of ideal social structure, intertwined with ideation and ideology. Therefore, mortuary contexts are not simply a ground for the display of identities that the deceased held in life but one where social relations are transformed and negotiated. Gradually, post-processual views on agency and identity opened the way for a more explicit engagement with concepts such as those of personhood and embodiment, as well as for the study of burials as the product of human encounter with death itself.³

In the context of the Aegean world, the social dimensions of funerary practices have attracted the attention of researchers since the 1980s. Among the seminal studies in this respect

¹ Saxe 1970. See also Binford 1971, 23.

² Hodder 1980, 13.

³ For an overview of the theoretical approaches to mortuary practices and their main representatives, see below p. 21-29.

are those by Morris and Whitley who employed mortuary data, mostly from Athens, to detect changes in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic society.⁴ Although fundamentally different in a number of aspects, both studies recognise that mortuary practices are a dynamic creation of the living, rather than a direct reflection of social structure.

Research topic and material

Using these premises as a foundation, the present thesis examines the burial rite of enchytrismos in the regions of Attica, Euboea, and Boeotia (**Map 1**) during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, that is from the late 8th to the early 5th centuries BC (760-480 BC). The burial rite of enchytrismos first drew my attention during my Master's degree at the University of Oxford. During this time, I became increasingly aware of the multitude of enchytrismoι in the Aegean world and beyond, as well as the lack of comprehensive approaches as regards their symbolic and social significance based on firm archaeological evidence.

Enchytrismoι make their first appearance in the Early Neolithic period but are only sporadically practiced throughout the Bronze and the first centuries of the Iron Age.⁵ It is however in the final stages of the Geometric and during the entire Archaic period, that the rite experiences its greatest popularity by becoming the prevailing burial practice for foetuses, infants and young children in most sites of the Greek world. It is thus during this time that the archaeological record relevant to enchytrismoι becomes particularly rich, offering itself to a consequential investigation of the funerary rite.⁶ The available evidence has allowed for the

⁴ Morris 1987; Whitley 1991. The aim of both studies was to explain the rise of the Athenian polis.

⁵ See below, p. 36-38 (Chapter II).

⁶ It needs to be noted that the present study does not include unpublished burials vaguely dated to the "Geometric" period in preliminary reports.

cataloguing of more than 300 enchytrismoι from Attica during this period, 113 from Euboea and Oropos, and 138 from Boeotia. To this number we should add at least 150 enchytrismoι that could not be catalogued due to the insufficient information on their individual characteristics. However, the total count is in reality much larger since numerous are the cases where enchytrismoι are mentioned in preliminary reports and articles without any indication on their number.

The reasons for choosing the regions of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia as the focus of my study are radically different. It was my initial intention to focus on the rite of enchytrismos based on the available evidence throughout the Greek world as well as from the first *apoikiai* in the Western Mediterranean. It was only while compiling this evidence that I came to realise, firstly, the extremely large number of burials of this type that have so far been excavated, and secondly, that their vast majority remained unpublished. To the present day, my consultation of preliminary reports has revealed the existence of at least 2500 Late Geometric and Archaic enchytrismoι from sites spread all over the Greek world and from the first Greek *apoikiai*.⁷ It was therefore not considered feasible to comprehensively study this assemblage within the time period allotted to a D.Phil. thesis. I consequently decided to narrow down the scope of my study, focusing on a much more limited number of regions. Attica was chosen because of the abundance of excavated and published material coming from a very diverse and large number of burial grounds. Euboea on the other hand was selected due to its immediate proximity to Attica, as well as for the fruitful comparisons which could be made between the

⁷ Enchytrismos burials of all periods reach 7500 cases (Neolithic–Roman). It is important to note that 3400 of these burials come from the world’s largest known child cemetery, namely that of Kylindra on Astypalaia, in use from 750 BC to 100 AD. See Clement, Hillson and Michalaki-Kollia 2009; Hillson 2009; Michalaki-Kollia 2010a; 2010b; 2013.

two regions in such a study. As is often the case for the Early Iron Age, the present study chooses to treat Euboea and Oropos as a single cultural entity despite the latter's location in western Attica, on the other side of the Euboean Gulf.⁸ Boeotia was also chosen due to its immediate proximity to the first two regions, but most importantly, due to the fact that it has brought to light numerous enchytrismoi which belong to adults, unlike the two other regions where enchytrismoi accommodate, almost exclusively, the biologically youngest.

In order to provide a synthesis and comparative study of the available evidence of enchytrismoi for the period and areas under study, my research drew mainly upon preliminary reports, and to a lesser extent, articles, monographs and final publications of sites accommodating enchytrismoi. In these sources, enchytrismos burials were in most cases summarily presented. My request for permission to study the relevant excavation diaries in order to enrich my dataset was only in handful of cases met positively by the excavators.

Research questions and objectives

Since mortuary behaviour is a versatile arena of social expression and negotiation, my thesis explores questions pertaining to the significance of enchytrismos for the Attic, Euboean and Boeotian communities choosing to adopt it. My primary objective in this respect is to examine the criteria used for the selection of individuals accorded this funerary rite such as age, gender, and social status. Furthermore, I intend to investigate the reasons motivating the choice of this particular burial ritual for the identified categories of individuals. Finally, I also

⁸ See e.g. articles in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) 2007a.

wish to explore whether the spatial distribution of enchytrismoι was motivated by social or symbolic factors.

By addressing the aforementioned questions, the aim of this study is twofold: firstly, to shed light on the unexplored symbolic and social connotations of this mortuary rite and secondly on the attitudes of the living towards the death and burial of the individuals accorded this mode of disposal. Taking into account that enchytrismos was the predominant practice for the interment of infants and young children and that their evidence from non-mortuary contexts of this period is scarce, this thesis will also shed light on largely unknown aspects of contemporary social structures, bring children to the foreground, and also place them within the adult world. Although infant and child burials have been increasingly addressed in publications, their fragmentary picture from the Late Geometric and Archaic period has barely been addressed.

Previous research on enchytrismos burials

The practice of burying young individuals inside ceramic vessels is not a particularity of the Aegean world. The rite of enchytrismos appears in various socio-cultural contexts during the Neolithic period, largely spreading within the Mediterranean basin and beyond, and remains in use until Roman times.⁹ Despite the popularity of this practice for many centuries and its distinct characteristics, enchytrismoι have attracted conspicuously little attention outside the context of broader archaeological investigations.

⁹ See Chapter II.

Outside the Graeco-Roman world, a small number of studies has brought enchytrismoι to the foreground. Such works usually examine the individual characteristics of enchytrismoι in selected sites in an attempt to apprehend the symbolism of using such a burial rite exclusively for young individuals. Examples of such studies include those of Ilan for the Neolithic and Bronze Age Levant, of Orelle also for the southern Levant in the Neolithic period, of Bacvarov for the Neolithic southeast Europe, and of Naumov more particularly for the Northern Balkans.¹⁰ Invariably, the interpretations of these scholars have essentially followed the same line of thought considering infant and child enchytrismoι as representative of a symbolic return to the uterus. This analogy has been supported by ethnographic parallels of African peoples comparing vase openings to vulvas, as well as by individual characteristics of the burials, as these were observed in each of the sites under study.

For example, newborns and infants in the Neolithic Levant were buried inside vases with wide or completely cut-off necks and bases, which were seen as indicative of their recent birth. On the other hand, vessels with narrow openings and long necks used for interring older children, were taken as suggestive of the uterus' post-birth state. For the Bronze Age Levant on the other hand, the "pot as womb" analogy has been supported by the normal delivery position of the deceased inside containers which are configured comparably to the human uterus (mouth=cervix, neck=birth canal, belly=womb).¹¹ Neolithic burials from the Northern Balkans have also received similar interpretations, due to the connection of a number of vases from these regions to female entities.¹² The emblematic return of a dead infant or child to its

¹⁰ Ilan 1995; Orelle 2008; Bacvarov 2006; Naumov 2008.

¹¹ Foetal position with the head towards the vase's opening. See Ilan 1995, 135-136.

¹² Naumov 2008, 93-97.

mother's womb, i.e. to the environment in which it originally gained life and form, has also been associated to ideas of rebirth and to the connection between fertility and death.¹³

Despite the very large number of enchytrismoι which have been excavated in the Aegean, these burials have benefited from surprisingly little attention. Most cemetery publications usually supply mere descriptions of the excavated pot burials, disregarding their status as cultural entities which can illuminate important aspects of past societies.¹⁴ The same is true for most regional studies on mortuary customs focusing on particular time periods.¹⁵ In the rare instances where enchytrismoι have benefited from brief commentaries, these were exclusively relegated on the sidelines of broader funerary studies. In such contexts, enchytrismoι were accorded only a few lines, which invariably highlighted their use as an inexpensive and careless mode of disposal, quite appropriate for “insignificant” young individuals.¹⁶

A limited number of recent works has briefly discussed the symbolism of the rite of enchytrismos. These studies have all followed the same line of reasoning, understanding the practice of burial inside vases as a symbolic return to the uterus. The main argument in support of this view has been the observed analogy between vases and wombs found in medical texts

¹³ Ilan 1995, 136; Naumov 2008, 97-98. Bacvarov 2006, 102 further emphasises these ideas by insisting on the primary storage function of the vases.

¹⁴ Indicative examples of such publications include those of the cemeteries at Stamna in Aetolia-Acarnania (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009); Akanthos (Kaltsas 1998); Pithekoussai (Buchner and Ridgway 1993).

¹⁵ See e.g. Hägg 1974 (Early Iron Age burial customs in the Argolid); Luce 2009 (Early Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnese); Eaby 2007 (mortuary variability in Early Iron Age Crete).

¹⁶ See e.g. Garland 1985, 78; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 55.

of the Hippocratic Corpus such as the “Epidemics”, “Generation” and “On Diseases of Women”.¹⁷

Other than these general remarks, very few studies have focused on enchytrismoι from individual sites or regions based on firm excavated evidence. Among the first synthetic approaches which attempted to provide more detailed remarks on the rite of enchytrismos is that of Frodin and Persson published in 1938. Based on the excavated Helladic finds from Asine, Persson was the first to attempt to investigate the origins of the rite, placing its roots in Early Bronze Age Anatolia from where it spread to the Greek world and southeast Europe. Nevertheless, the scholar did not attribute particular focus on the individual characteristics of the excavated enchytrismoι. He concentrated instead on the myth of Glaukos, son of Minos, who fell inside a honey-filled pithos while chasing a mouse, only to meet his fatal death. Persson used this myth, in juxtaposition to his knowledge of Homeric funerary customs, to support the existence of embalming funerary techniques using honey, as well as the pre-Mycenaean origins of the myth.¹⁸ It was only in 1976 that Korres provided the first general commentary on the rite of enchytrismos itself, once again with reference to the Helladic period. Korres noticed the strong presence of adult enchytrismoι in Messene and contrasted this evidence to the rest of Mainland Greece where most enchytrismoι belonged to infants and children.¹⁹ Some years later, based on this observation, Dietz distinguished the existence of what he considered two separate burial customs for the Helladic period: double burials of adults

¹⁷ Baills-Talbi and Dasen 2008, 599; Kallintzi and Papaikononou 2010, 139-140; Michalaki-Kollia 2010a, 164. For a detailed discussion of the “vase as uterus” analogy in ancient sources, see Dasen 2002, 172-3; Dasen and Ducate-Paarmann 2006, 240-241; Baills-Talbi and Dasen 2008, 599.

¹⁸ Frodin and Persson 1938, 349-352; Persson 1942, 9-15.

¹⁹ Korres 1976, 344.

inhumed inside large pithoi and placed inside tumuli, and enchytrismoι of infants and children buried inside smaller vases in the vicinity of residential areas.²⁰

The most recent and systematic examination of the rite of enchytrismoι within a broader funerary discussion is found in Boyd's study of Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean burial customs of western and southern Peloponnese. In this work, among others, Boyd focused on particular characteristics of enchytrismoι from these regions, emphasising the burial processes and mainly, the type of human action preceding the burial and the main act of inhumation itself, offering fresh opinions concerning the nature and function of enchytrismoι as well as their burial locations in the regions under study.²¹ A brief commentary on the symbolic significance of the vases used for enchytrismoι burials in Macedonia is also provided by Zahra Chemsseddoha in her recently published Ph.D. thesis on Early Iron Age burial customs of the region.²²

Works focusing exclusively on Aegean enchytrismoι burials are equally few. To my knowledge, the only works which have so far treated enchytrismoι as a subject on its own rite are an MA dissertation by Maniki on Early Bronze Age Aegean enchytrismoι that uses as a case study those excavated at Akrotiri on Thera, submitted at the University of Athens,²³ as well as an unpublished Ph.D. thesis focusing on the Bronze Age enchytrismoι from the Peloponnese, Central Greece, the Ionian islands and the Argo-Saronic Gulf, submitted at the University of Ioannina by Angeletopoulos.²⁴ Pot burials from individual sites have also benefited from a small number of articles exclusively dedicated to them. Such studies include

²⁰ Dietz 1980, 79.

²¹ Boyd 2002.

²² Zahra Chemsseddoha 2019.

²³ Maniki 2006.

²⁴ Angeletopoulos 2013.

those of Blandin on the enchytrismoï from Eretria in Euboea, Michalaki-Kollia for the island of Astypalaia in the Dodecanese, Caminneci for Akragas on the Sicilian southwest shore and, most recently, Lambrugo for Jazzo Fornasiello in Puglia.²⁵

Methodology: theoretical approaches to mortuary practices and the study of children

Until the last decade of the 20th century, archaeological research focused on interpreting and reconstructing the past of an essentially adult world. Adults were not only regarded as the predominant social category but also as essentially the only one which could contribute to a better understanding of past societies. Despite the advent of post-processualism in the 1970s, which encouraged more inclusive social archaeologies, non-adult individuals for long remained neglected in archaeological research. Rather than being treated as an underlying principle of social organisation, age was regarded as a variable, preventing investigations of the social position of the young and their construction as a social category.²⁶ It was only in the early 1990s when scholars finally acknowledged that since children and infants were undoubtedly present in any given society, attempts to reconstruct the past without actively recognising them would remain incomplete.²⁷ Their study in mortuary contexts was one of the areas which immensely benefited from this development, providing the basis for creating a theoretical framework apt for such investigations.

In order to understand how the investigation of children in funerary studies came to be

²⁵ Blandin 2007b; Michalaki-Kollia 2010a; 2010b; 2013; Caminneci 2012; Lambrugo 2018.

²⁶ Sofaer-Derevensky 1994, 8.

²⁷ Idem., 3.

considered as subject in its own right and subsequently how this framework was created, it is necessary to examine the different sociological and archaeological approaches towards the study of mortuary practices and the place that young individuals have occupied within them.

Early mortuary studies and the place of children

Since the beginning of the previous century, a number of theoretical approaches towards the study of funerary practices have emerged within the disciplines of sociology and archaeology.²⁸ These schools of thought primarily differ from one another in the degree and ways that social organisation and/or philosophical-religious beliefs influence mortuary rites. For the most part of the 20th century, the attitudes towards the investigation of children's mortuary treatment have varied in accordance with these theoretical viewpoints.

The first studies approaching death and funerals as social phenomena can be attributed to members of the *L'Année Sociologique* school of Durkheim such as Hertz and Van Gennep. The works of these scholars markedly contrasted with the previously prevalent "animist" interpretations studying disposal of the dead in the context of "primitive religion" and philosophy, overlooking its potential relation to other institutions of the social system.²⁹ The revolutionary ethnographic studies of these early 20th century sociologists were the first to recognise that mortuary rites were influenced not only by institutionalised beliefs and worldviews, but also by different social variables such as age, sex and social rank.³⁰

²⁸ For an articulate summary of the different sociological and archaeological approaches to mortuary practices until the 1990s and their points of divergence, see Carr 1995, 108-112.

²⁹ See e.g. Tylor 1871; Frazer 1886.

³⁰ Hertz 1907 (1960), 29-30, 76; Van Gennep 1909 (1960), 148; Durkheim 1915, esp. 392.

Hertz's influential essay "La Représentation collective de la mort", first published in 1907, provides the earliest application of this theoretical viewpoint to child and infant burials, which is relevant to the present discussion. One of Hertz's main arguments was that within a social unit "the emotion aroused by death varies extremely in intensity according to the social character of the deceased, and may even in certain cases be entirely lacking".³¹ Consequently, the social standing of an individual would be echoed in the form and scale of mortuary rites which he or she would be afforded in death.

According to Hertz, in death, as allegedly in life, children and infants made a minimal social impact. Since they were not yet fully integrated in the community of the living, their death would only provoke a minor and instantaneously completed social reaction. In his words: "The death of a newborn child is, at most, an infra-social event; since society has not given anything of itself to the child, it is not affected by its disappearance and remains indifferent".³² For example, with reference to the Dayak peoples of Borneo, Hertz noted that children were invariably excluded from the normal practice of the so-called "double burial"³³ accorded to adults which entailed not only considerable time and energy but also the involvement of a large number of people.³⁴ On the contrary, the mortuary treatment of children was much less elaborate. Among the Olo Maanyan tribe, for example, a simple burial on the day of their death

³¹ Hertz 1907 (1960), 76.

³² Hertz 1907 (1960), 76, 84.

³³ Among the Dayak, the body of the deceased was initially deposited in a temporary burial location (first burial) and later in its permanent one (second burial).

³⁴ The period during which the corpse remained in the first provisional location ranged from seven or eight to 10 years. The final burial that followed was accompanied by a feast requiring a complex material preparation and involving the entire community, sometimes even including members of the nearby villages. This immense delay before paying the deceased his last homage was not only related to the time needed for the feast preparations but also to the mystical importance attached to the disintegration of the dead body. For a more detailed description of the practice of "double burial", see Hertz 1907 (1960), 29-76.

and a sacrifice on the next day were sufficient to enable the soul to join the world of spirits. Moreover, the mourning period was equally brief and did not exceed a full week, even for the parents of the deceased child. This sharply contrasted with the obligatory mourning period for adult individuals which was 49 days.³⁵

In addition to social factors, Hertz also recognised the influence of beliefs and worldviews on the form of mortuary practices. The most common funerary treatment of children among the Dayak³⁶ was the placement of their dead bodies inside trees or branches. This practice clearly related to the Dayak belief that “men come from trees and must return to them”. It was therefore hoped that by delivering children directly to their origins (trees), their soul would soon be reincarnated and re-introduced to the living world.³⁷ This example, however, was used by the French sociologist to show a lot more than the mere influence of beliefs on the mortuary treatment of children. By contrasting it with the much more elaborate “double burial” afforded to adults, he also illustrated how these beliefs acted as the framework for expressing social roles and relations associated to the age of the deceased.

It should here be noted that the *raison d'être* of Hertz's comments on child burials was to distinguish between “rule” and “exception”, that is, between the customary ritual for adults (“double burial”) and the aberrant funerary rites accorded to children. It comes therefore as no surprise that such observations occupied only several lines in a study of almost 90 pages.

As regards archaeological research, the first attempts to approach death and burial as social occasions can be credited to the birth of Processual Archaeology (also known as New Archaeology) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In contrast to the earlier sociological views,

³⁵ Hertz 1907 (1960), 84 and n. 328.

³⁶ With the exception of the Olo Maanyan tribe mentioned above.

³⁷ Hertz 1907 (1960), 84.

this school of thought almost entirely discredited the influence of philosophical-religious factors on mortuary practices, anticipating instead that social circumstances were their sole determinant. Saxe and Binford were among the pioneers of this approach. They viewed mortuary assemblages as a direct reflection of social organisation and therefore as presenting the possibility to reconstruct real life social roles and relationships.³⁸ They advocated in particular for two distinct components of social structure as the prime determinants of mortuary practices.

The first was the “social persona” of the deceased, that is, “the composite of the social identities maintained in life and recognised as appropriate for consideration at death”.³⁹ The identities of the deceased were assumed to be automatically and universally acknowledged in their funerary treatment. Consequently, forms of burial varied according to “the following characteristics of the deceased: age, sex, relative social rank within the social unit, and social affiliation within membership units within a society”.⁴⁰ Binford supported this principle by cross-cultural ethnographic examples from 40 non-state organised societies drawn from the Human Relations Area Files.⁴¹ Among other things, he correlated certain funerary treatments with some of the primary dimensions of the “social persona”. For example, with relevance to the present discussion, the age of an individual was found to be a factor that influenced not

³⁸ Saxe 1970; Binford 1972. See also Tainter 1978; O’Shea 1984; papers in Brown (ed.) 1971 and Chapman *et al.* (eds.) 1981.

³⁹ Binford 1972, 225. The same idea had already appeared in Saxe (1970, 7). Both authors drew on Goodenough’s work in which he employed the concept of “social persona” to refer to the set of “identities” (social positions) selected as appropriate to a given interaction. See Goodenough 1965, 7.

⁴⁰ Binford 1972, 225.

⁴¹ The HRAF is a consortium of schools and research institutions collecting ethnographic information for cross-cultural research. For more details, visit: www.hraf.yale.edu.

only the way that the body was disposed, but also the type and location of an individual's grave.⁴²

The "composition and size of the social unit recognising status responsibilities to the deceased" was the second component influencing mortuary treatment due to the expected correlation between the status of the deceased and his level of corporate involvement. Individuals of higher social standing would participate in more "duty-status relationships" than those of a lower rank and vice versa.⁴³ Much like their sociologist predecessors, processual archaeologists regarded children and infants as individuals of low social standing and thus as participating in few reciprocal relations with the living.⁴⁴ This minimal engagement in social networks was in its turn reflected in their mortuary treatment. In Binford's sample, for example, infant and child graves were commonly placed under house floors or in the outskirts of the inhabited area, whereas adults were buried in cemeteries or other public locations within the settlement. This differentiation in the locus of mortuary ritual was considered as a reflection of the low level of corporate involvement of this category of individuals and, consequently, of the minimal social disruption engendered by their death.⁴⁵ Simply put, the funerary treatment of children and infants in processual thought was considered a direct reflection of their minimal inconsequentiality as a social category with respect to their adult counterparts.

⁴² Binford 1972, 223, 233-234, Table IV. Binford's article does not provide indications for all societies in his sample regarding how exactly the body was disposed, what type of grave was used and where the latter was located.

⁴³ Saxe 1970, 4-5. Cf. Binford 1972, 226.

⁴⁴ Saxe 1970, 8; Binford 1972, 232.

⁴⁵ "When a child dies...very few duty-status relationships outside the immediate family are severed. The level of corporate involvement in the mortuary rites is thus largely at the familial level; the rites are performed either within the precincts of the family's "life space" or outside the life space of the wider society, which therefore remains uninvolved in the mortuary rites". See Binford 1970, 233-234.

An alternative view to the analysis and interpretation of mortuary practices emerged in the early 1980s, owing much to the belated translation of Hertz's work into English. The adherents of Post-processual Archaeology, strongly criticising processual thinking, reinstated the determining influence of ideology on funerary practices, arguing that burial rituals need not necessarily constitute an unambiguous reflection of social organisation.⁴⁶ From this perspective, mortuary rites were practices actively chosen by the living in relation to institutionalised beliefs and symbolic systems.⁴⁷ Because of their ambiguity, such ideological factors could easily be used, manipulated and negotiated by the living according to their intentions. Thus, as conscious and meaningfully constructed symbolic enactments intertwined with ideation and ideology, funerary practices could become part of active social strategies.⁴⁸ Accordingly, post-processual thinking regarded mortuary contexts not simply as a ground for the display of real social structure but as an ideal opportunity for social relations to be transformed and renegotiated. This engagement with agency and the individual gradually smoothed the way for the concurrent exploration of aspects such as those of personhood and embodiment and their transformation in funerary rites.⁴⁹ Recent research stemming from post-processual thinking has also emphasised the importance of studying burials to investigate the attitudes of the living towards death, the transition to the world of the dead, emotion and experience, as well as the formation of new relationships between the buriers and the buried.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See e.g. Hodder 1980, 13; 1982a, 146; Pader 1982, 54; Parker Pearson 1982.

⁴⁷ Hodder 1982; 1984; Parker Pearson 1982; 2000; Morris 1992.

⁴⁸ Okely 1979, 87; Hodder 1982, 185-186, 200; 1982b, 141; Parker Pearson 1982, 110; Little *et al.* 1992.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Fowler 2004; 2010; 2013 and papers in Mina, Triandaphyllou and Papadatos 2016, (esp. Robb 2016).

⁵⁰ Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013, 2, with further bibliography.

While Post-processual perspectives rapidly gained appreciation, their symbolic and interpretative theoretical framework did not simply replace processual approaches. The archaeology of death and burial remained—and perhaps still remains—fragmented. Already by the last decade of the 20th century, a number of mortuary studies pointed out that processual and post-processual viewpoints in fact provide two aspects of symbolic representation that are not mutually exclusive. This potential coexistence was first recognised by Brown and Carr. These scholars effectively argued that burial rites may well represent the existing social order but also reflect the intentions of the living who can manipulate it to idealise, conceal or distort real life social relations. In this view, both social factors and institutionalised beliefs and worldviews are of prime importance for the form and scale of mortuary practices.⁵¹

As regards the mortuary treatment of children, Carr's cross-cultural survey in particular showed that age, and especially the distinction between "child" and "adult", was one of the determining social factors of mortuary practices. Age was specifically pinpointed as a critical determinant for the preparation of the dead body, energy expenditure, number of socially recognised burial types, form of disposal, grave location and types of offerings.⁵² Nevertheless, age was never found to be the *sole* determinant of such variables; institutionalised beliefs were also of prime importance. For example, the spatial pattern of differential locations of child and adult graves observed by Binford was also observed in Carr's survey among the Tallensi of northern Ghana; adults were buried within the settlement while infants were always found outside but in proximity to the inhabited area. While in this case age was certainly a factor influencing grave location, the placement of burials in the outskirts of the settlement was

⁵¹ Brown 1995; Carr 1995, 152-156.

⁵² Carr 1995, 161-165 and table XIV.

related to the belief that children should be buried in locations from which they would be able to find their way back home to obtain nourishment.

As observed, the different theoretical approaches to mortuary practices have generated diverse viewpoints towards the study of child and infant burials. Nevertheless, in all these studies the investigation of the funerary treatment of this category of individuals has occupied only a marginal position within research devoted to adults. It should also be noted that all of these works have drawn on contemporary ethnographic studies of mortuary practices in order to make inferences about past societies and not merely on archaeological evidence.

Children in the spotlight

In the early 1990s, a number of researchers began to notice the lack of attention devoted to the study of children, setting the ground for an archaeology of childhood. The primary reason identified for the previously rare consideration of the young as an important social category was their perceived “invisibility” in the archaeological record. In particular, the difficulty in identifying material deposits resulting from their everyday life and activities rendered them entirely absent from studies focusing on settlements, or household space.⁵³ While the evidence of children in mortuary contexts was more readily identifiable, their frequent under-representation in traditional funerary zones still relegated them to a secondary position within research primarily devoted to adults.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ibid.; Kamp 2001b, 2; Baxter 2005; 2008, 162.

⁵⁴ Sofaer Derevensky 1994, 8; 1997, 193; Chamberlain 2000, 209; Baxter 2008, 162.

The notions of “children” and “childhood” were determined as the second reason behind the marginalisation of young individuals in early archaeological studies. In the modern Western world the term “child” is applied to human beings of a variety of ages, failing to distinguish between individuals at different stages of development.⁵⁵ Consequently, early scholarship treated children as members of a single and uniform social category.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the inextricable link between the notions of “children” and “childhood” and those of “adults” and “maturity”,⁵⁷ implicitly designated as passive and dependent individuals which existed only *in relation to* their adult counterparts. As a result, the few studies that did not sideline the investigation of children in archaeological contexts, primarily exploited it as a springboard to answering questions on adults’ identities and social hierarchy.⁵⁸

It was only with the recognition of such issues that the archaeology of children and childhood began to emerge as a field of interest in its own right. Young individuals ceased to be considered as a uniform social category existing only *in relation to* adults. Following Lillehammer’s seminal article “A Child is Born. The Child’s World in an Archaeological Perspective”, a vast number of publications began to appear, mostly in the form of edited thematic volumes,⁵⁹ but also as monographs⁶⁰ and articles,⁶¹ finally placing the child in

⁵⁵ Sofaer Derevensky 1994, 8-9; 1997, 193.

⁵⁶ Early cemetery studies provided an exception to this rule with the category of “children” often being broken down into smaller sub-groupings such as “infants”, “young children”, “adolescents” etc. Nevertheless, the criteria used to create these age subdivisions were arbitrarily chosen by each scholar and rarely were they explicitly articulated and explained in publications. See, Crawford 1991; Lucy 1994, 22-3; Kamp 2001a, 8.

⁵⁷ Sofaer Derevensky 1997, 193; Baxter 2005, 96.

⁵⁸ Sofaer Derevensky 2000; Perry 2006; Baxter 2008, 164.

⁵⁹ See e.g. Sofaer Derevensky 1994; Moore and Scott 1997; Sofaer Derevensky 2000 (also including discussions on modern children); Kamp 2002; Dasen 2004; Ardren and Hutson 2006; Baxter 2006; Crawford and Shepherd 2007; Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2010; Hermary and Dubois 2012; Nenna 2012; Gruubs and Parkin 2013; Coşkunsu 2015; Beaumont *et al.* forthcoming.

⁶⁰ Scott 1999; Baxter 2000; 2005; Wileman 2005; Beaumont 2012.

⁶¹ Park 1998; Crown 1999; 2001; Kamp 2001a; 2001b; Roveland 2001.

Antiquity in the centre of attention. Among the areas which benefited from this blossoming of archaeological literature dedicated to young individuals was their study in mortuary contexts.⁶² Conjointly, these works recognised mortuary analyses as a promising field for the study of children as an important social category and contributed the premises for creating a solid theoretical framework for such archaeological investigations.

Investigating children's funerary treatment in any given society is a particularly acute task. Archaeologists are seldom confronted with more than a fraction of what constituted a burial practice in ancient times. Particularly with respect to periods for which ancient sources remain silent, they have to rely exclusively on the material manifestations of mortuary rites which survived the ravages of time.

The traces of burial practices in the archaeological record, including the grave itself, particular funerary treatments and associated artefacts, do not have any inherent meaning. For example, the flexed foetal position of an individual in his grave does not in itself indicate anything for the deceased. Nevertheless, as all other ritual enactments, mortuary rites are imbued with meaning which is *socially and culturally constructed*.⁶³ This meaning may only be approached through the concurrent consideration of all surviving elements of a burial since they are products of a single ritual enactment and constitute the material manifestation of the interaction between child and society.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the observation of patterns—or the lack

⁶² Multiple studies were devoted exclusively to the investigation of children's mortuary treatment. See, e.g. Lucy 1994; Meskell 1994; Crawford 2000; Janik 2000; Mizoguchi 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Bradley 2002; McCafferty and McCafferty 2006; Perry 2006; Storey and McAnany 2006. These studies are exclusively devoted to investigating children's funerary treatment. Fruitful discussions of this category of individuals as one worth investigating in mortuary contexts were also included within research focusing more broadly on children and childhood. See e.g. Baxter 2005; 2008.

⁶³ Hodder 1982; 1987; Barrett 1991, 3; Sørensen 1987; 1991, 121; Lucy 1994, 25.

⁶⁴ Sofaer Derevenski 2000, 10.

thereof—in the funerary treatment of children, as well as the comparison of child graves to those of individuals of other social categories may lead to further meaningful inferences regarding their social and symbolic status.⁶⁵

The way an individual is treated in death, i.e. the burial rites which he/she is afforded, is a form of social activity in response to this death. Seen from this perspective, it is mainly the behaviour of the living that is examined in any study of mortuary remains. This is especially true for the burials of individuals below a certain age, namely those conventionally termed “infants” and “children”, since their untimely death most likely denied them participation in decisions concerning their funerary treatment. Therefore, as has saliently been pointed out, we can only approach children as manipulated entities within the world of the mourners, i.e. through “the external filter of those doing the burying”.⁶⁶

A very frequent phenomenon among ancient societies, as shown by both ethnographic and archeological data, is the differential burial of children and infants with respect to adults. The treatment of the biologically youngest as a separate group can be seen as indicating the will of the living to emphasise the distinction between age groups, and this is accomplished by manipulating burial practices.⁶⁷ As an active choice of the mourners, this distinction is related to social structure; however the kind of relationship between the two is rarely straightforward. We cannot exclude the possibility of the differential burial of the young being a reflection of real social circumstances, highlighting their differential status within their community. At the same time however, it is equally possible that this distinction is an ideological construct echoing institutionalised beliefs towards this category of individuals. Rather than reflecting

⁶⁵ Hodder 1987; Lucy 1994, 25.

⁶⁶ Lucy 1994, 24-25.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

social organisation, this construct may idealise, mask or transform real social roles. In order to efficiently reconstruct these co-occurring social and symbolic systems, researchers must attempt to discern between the aspects of burial practices which potentially reflect real life social organisation and those relating to symbolic representations that can be negotiated by the living.⁶⁸ It is only by such an investigation that we may gain a better understanding of the place of children in their respective communities. It should here be stressed however, that such studies of children in mortuary contexts do not reflect upon all children of a given society, but only on those whose premature death prevented them from reaching adulthood.

Thesis structure

The present thesis has been organised in nine chapters. The current introductory chapter (**Chapter I**) has so far presented the research topic, the chronological and geographic limits of the study, the material used for the compilation of our dataset, as well as the current state of research on enchytrismos burials. This was followed by an articulate summary of the different sociological and archaeological approaches towards the study of mortuary practices. This section has placed special focus on the category conventionally known as “children” emphasising their marginalisation in scholarship prior to the emergence of an archaeology of childhood and the subsequent creation of a methodological framework for their investigation. Chapter I concludes with the presentation of the structure of the thesis.

Chapter II focuses on the rite of enchytrismos and begins by examining the etymology of the term and its references in ancient and modern scholarship. The second section of the chapter discusses the origins of the practice and its geographic expansion in the Aegean world. The

⁶⁸ Lillie 1997; Baxter 2005, 95, 97, 106.

ensuing section makes a brief note on enchytrismos burials from Attica, Euboea and Boeotia prior to the starting point of the present study, that is the Late Geometric period.

As any other burial custom, the rite of enchytrismos can only be understood when integrated within their wider funerary environment. For this reason, **Chapter III** is organised into three region-specific sections, each commencing by providing the background against which enchytrismoï will be examined. For each region, this is followed by a comprehensive overview of the evidence for contemporary enchytrismoï. The presentation of each site in which enchytrismoï have been unearthed includes the primary references relevant to the pot burials, their number and relative chronology as well as a short description of their main characteristics. The remaining archaeological evidence from each site is also briefly reported. This chapter is complemented by Appendices A-C (vol. 2), which include detailed catalogues of the enchytrismoï whose individual characteristics are sufficiently described in publications.

Each of the remaining chapters of this thesis examines individual characteristics of the enchytrismoï under study. The first among them, namely **Chapter IV**, focuses on the individuals buried inside the enchytrismoï under study. Its first section is devoted to the osteological material, which constitutes the only direct source of information for the deceased; particular focus is drawn to its frequently poor state of preservation and the reasons behind this circumstance. The inferences that can be made from the study of the available skeletal remains are also presented. The second section focuses on other possible sources of information for the deceased. The chapter concludes with a general commentary on the attitudes of the living towards the death and burial of the individuals chosen to be buried inside enchytrismoï, attempting to address the reasons for which they were afforded a distinct mode of disposal.

Chapters V discusses the vases used as funerary containers for enchytrismoι, identifying the main types of vessels used, as well as their main elements of decoration. The primary function of the vases is also discussed, distinguishing between vases specifically intended for funerary use and those with a primary domestic function. Based on these observations, the discussion of this chapter investigates the possible reasons motivating the choice of these funerary vessels in particular in an attempt to illuminate social and symbolic aspects of the burial rite under study.

The ensuing **Chapter VI** is dedicated to the grave offerings associated to the burials under study, beginning by identifying the main categories of objects prevailing during each period. The meaning intended through the use of the observed types of artefacts is also investigated, concurrently emphasising on their acknowledgement, or not, as age, sex and/or status indicators.

The last element which will be examined is the spatial distribution of the burials under study. In this context, **Chapter VII** investigates the spatial relationship between enchytrismoι and non-enchytrismoι burials which can provide meaningful indications on the attitudes of the communities under study as regards the separation or merging of different age groups in death. The second point which will be examined is the spatial relationship of enchytrismoι to residential areas in an attempt to determine principles of inclusion/exclusion from formal cemeteries and from areas with a residential character.

Chapter VIII presents the concluding remarks of the present study. Its first section focuses on a reconstruction of the burial ritual, as this may be recreated through the examined archaeological evidence. This is followed by a summary of the most important observations which have been made in previous chapters, always integrating enchytrismoι in their wider

mortuary context, but also highlighting the limitations and major challenges of the present work. The chapter concludes with a brief section presenting the social connotations of the rite of enchytrismos that emerged throughout the present study, also presenting directions for future research.

II. THE BURIAL RITE OF ENCHYTRISMOS

In the Greek world, the most prominent example of differential mortuary treatment on the basis of age is the rite of enchytrismos reserved mainly, yet not exclusively, to the youngest individuals of each community. As has already been noted in Chapter I, despite the popularity of this practice for many centuries and its distinct characteristics, enchytrismoι have rarely attracted the attention of researchers outside the context of broader archaeological studies.⁶⁹ While the practice sporadically appears in the Aegean since the Neolithic, it is not until the Late Geometric and Archaic periods that it becomes the prevailing burial rite for young individuals in numerous Greek communities. Questions as regards the symbolism, social and cultural implications of this funerary rite are therefore especially pertinent with respect to this period.

⁶⁹ For the few studies focusing on enchytrismoι based on firm archaeological evidence, see above pp.15-17.

In order to respond to such questions, we will commence by defining the term enchytrismos, making a brief note of its use and meaning in ancient and modern scholarship. We will then proceed to a brief overview as regards the origins of the rite of enchytrismos and its geographic expansion in the Aegean world. The chapter will conclude with a brief note on enchytrismos burials from the three regions under study prior to the Late Geometric period.

Etymology and references in ancient and modern scholarship

As the word itself indicates, the practice of «ἐγχυτρισμός» refers to the placement of an individual inside (ἐν-) a pot or marmite (χύτρα). Nevertheless, ancient sources and modern scholarship seem to have assigned different meanings and definitions to this term as well as to its derivatives.

The earliest known use of a word related to the practice in question is to be found in Aristophanes' *Wasps* where the Chorus urges the *phileliastes* (trialophile) Philocleon to come out of his house and “pot” a man who had betrayed the Thracian front:

«...καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ παχὺς ἤκει τῶν προδόντων τὰ πὶ Θράκης· ὃν ὅπως ἐγχυτρίεις»⁷⁰

The meaning intended by the playwright may only be understood in correlation to later Hellenistic and Byzantine *lexica* and *scholia*. In his *Lexikon Atticum*, Aelius Moeris (2nd c. AD), defines «ἐγχυτρισμός» as the practice of child exposure, since children were often left to die “by exposure” inside *chytrai*.⁷¹ Four centuries later, Hesychius of Alexandria accords four *lemmata* in his *lexicon* to words related to the practice under discussion, all defined in relation

⁷⁰ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 289.

⁷¹ Moer. Att. s.v. «ἐγχυτρισμός».

to the custom of exposure inside *chytrai*. In particular, the grammarian makes special reference to Aristophanes' use of «ἐγχυτρίεις», which is presented as a synonym to «ἀποκτείνω» (to kill) owing precisely to the aforementioned practice of infanticide.⁷² Byzantine *scholia* on Aristophanes explain the verb «ἐγχυτρίεω/ῶ» in the exact same way, referring to Hesychius' definition.⁷³

In ancient sources, the only other use of a word related to «ἐγχυτρισμός» can be found in Plato's *Minos*. There, the philosopher refers to an «ἐγχυτ(ρ)ίστρια» to describe a woman partaking in funeral processions:

«ἱερεῖά τε προσφάπτοντες πρὸ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐγχυτιστρίας μεταπεμπόμενοι»⁷⁴

The 10th c. Byzantine Greek encyclopaedia of Suda defines «ἐγχυτρίστριαι» in a number of ways, namely as those who bring the drinks-offerings (*choai*) to the dead, those who purify the unclean by pouring over them the blood of sacrifices⁷⁵ and those who sing the dirges; but also as the midwives who expose infants in urns. While we cannot be certain of the meaning intended by Plato when referring to «ἐγχυτ(ρ)ίστριαι», one of these definitions could have been what he had in mind.⁷⁶

In modern archaeological research the word «ἐγχυτρίζειν» was first introduced in 1885 by Orsi. While the scholar acknowledges the meaning of the term as the exposure of illegitimate children inside *chytrai*, but also Plato's and Aristophanes' uses, he chooses to

⁷² Hesych. s.v. «ἐγχυτρίεις»; «ἐγχυτρίζειν»; «χυτρίζειν»; «χυτρισμός».

⁷³ Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 289. It is interesting to note that 289e refers to a now lost fragment of one of Sophocles' tragedies where the poet uses the word *χυτρίζειν* in the place of *ἀποκτείνειν*.

⁷⁴ Plat. *Min.* 315d.

⁷⁵ Cf. Plat. *Tim.* s.v. «ἐγχυτρίστρια».

⁷⁶ The encyclopaedia also refers to Aristophanes' use of «ἐγχυτρίεις» to describe “doing harm” to someone. *Su.* s.v. «ἐγχυτρίστριαι».

employ it in a context entirely unrelated to any of its ancient definitions: to describe simple inhumations made inside earthenware vessels.⁷⁷ While this definition finds no foundation in ancient sources, it is since then that the term enchytrismos is commonly used to refer to pot burials of non-cremated individuals.⁷⁸ The present study will not constitute an exception in this respect.

From the information presented above, it becomes evident that written sources are completely silent regarding the custom of inhumation inside ceramic vessels. Considering that the funerary treatment of the young is rarely described by ancient authors, this lack of textual evidence on the particular burial rite under study is hardly surprising.⁷⁹

Origins of the practice and geographic expansion in the Aegean world

Burial inside ceramic vessels has an impressively long lineage within the Mediterranean basin since the Early Neolithic period. The earliest enchytrismoι occur within settlement areas, while from the Chalcolithic onwards, the custom was also transferred from residential areas to cemeteries outside the limits of the settlement. Due to the wide use of the rite over many millennia in various geographic and cultural environments, tracing the flow of ideas and its expansion in the Mediterranean is a particularly acute task. Nevertheless, the practice seems to

⁷⁷ Orsi 1885, 111 and n. 2.

⁷⁸ It needs to be noted that, albeit rarely, the Anglicised term “enchytrism” is also encountered in modern scholarship.

⁷⁹ The absence of iconographic evidence regarding pot burials conforms to the paucity of depictions of the underground part of graves and of the burial procedure (with the sole exception of the Sappho Painter’s black-figure loutrophoros in the National Archaeological Museum, NM 450, where the coffin containing the deceased is being placed into the burial pit).

have had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia, quickly spreading to the neighbouring Aegean.⁸⁰

In the Aegean world, pot burials first make their appearance in Mainland Greece in the Early Neolithic period, with a number of examples from Macedonia and Thessaly. Enchytrismoi are also known from Middle and Late Neolithic Boeotia but also from Late Neolithic Thessaly. On the other hand, the earliest known examples from the Cyclades only date to the Final Neolithic. A single pithos burial dated to the same period is also known from the Peloponnese.⁸¹ Invariably, these enchytrismoi belong to “non-adult” individuals.

The Early Bronze Age witnesses more numerous yet still sporadic examples of “non-adult” enchytrismoi, which appear in a number of sites in Mainland Greece (Attica, Phocis, the Peloponnese, Aetolia-Acarmania and Chalkidiki), and also Aegina, Euboea, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, the Northeast Aegean, Crete, and the Ionian islands. The practice not only continues uninterrupted into the Middle Bronze Age, but also experiences a wider and more frequent occurrence, especially in some areas of Mainland Greece and the Peloponnese but also in the Cyclades and Crete.⁸² It is during this period too that adult enchytrismoi make their first appearance in the Aegean world, namely in the western Peloponnese.⁸³ Despite the proliferation of enchytrismoi during the Middle Bronze Age, this is followed by their

⁸⁰ McGeorge 2013, 1-2, 6-7.

⁸¹ For all Neolithic enchytrismoi presented, see Maniki 2006, 7-9, with primary references; McGeorge 2013, 2.

⁸² For Early and Middle Bronze Age enchytrismoi, see Maniki 2006, 10-37; Angeletopoulos 2013, both with references. For a review of Early Bronze Age enchytrismoi from Crete in particular, see also Eaby 2007, 318 and n. 191, with references.

⁸³ Selekou 2014, 263.

conspicuous absence during Late Helladic IIIA-IIIB⁸⁴ and by only a limited number of examples dated to LH IIIC which come from Tiryns, Mycenae,⁸⁵ and Crete.⁸⁶

The Protogeometric period witnesses a proliferation of enchytrismoι yet specimens remain scattered and sporadic. Three pot burials are known from Athens, while a single example has been found in Phocis. Another two enchytrismoι unearthed in Argos also belong to this period. Atalanti in East Locris presents a relatively larger concentration, with 14 examples dated to Late Protogeometric or Sub-Protogeometric.⁸⁷ So far however, it is the cemetery of Stamna in Aetolia-Acarnania which has provided the largest number of Protogeometric enchytrismoι, with a total of 320 burials.⁸⁸ Occasional interments inside amphorae or small coarse ware vessels have also been unearthed on the islands of Kos and Rhodes in the Dodecanese.⁸⁹ Pot burials of this date are also known from various sites in Macedonia.⁹⁰ Finally, a Protogeometric amphora from Chios in the eastern Aegean has also been deemed as possibly belonging to a pot burial.⁹¹ The majority of these enchytrismoι belong to young individuals. Adults buried inside ceramic vessels during the Protogeometric period are few and come from a very small number of sites located in Eastern Locris and the Peloponnese as well as from the cemetery of Stamna in Aetolia-Acarnania.⁹²

⁸⁴ Maniki (2006, 41) mistakenly notes a proliferation of enchytrismoι also in the Late Bronze Age which is not substantiated by the evidence she has previously presented.

⁸⁵ Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 98; Angeletopoulos 2013, 70-71, both with references. Four enchytrismoι from Elis may also date to this period. See Angeletopoulos 2013, 49-51.

⁸⁶ Eaby 2007, 318.

⁸⁷ Lemos 2002, 154, 158, 171-172, with primary references for all cited sites and regions.

⁸⁸ Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1047, 1056.

⁸⁹ Lemos 2002, 181 and n. 337 (Kos), 182 and n. 352 (Rhodes), with primary references,

⁹⁰ Zahra Chemsseddoha 2019.

⁹¹ Tsaravopoulos 1986, 127, pl. 27.1 with references.

⁹² Selekou 2014, 245 Table 1 for Eastern Locris, 257-258 for the Peloponnese.

The Geometric period and especially the later decades of the 8th c. BC provide the starting point for the establishment of enchytrismos as the prevalent burial rite for young individuals, and as such, for its much more frequent occurrence in the Aegean and the first *apoikiai* in the Western Mediterranean. As in the Protogeometric period, during the Geometric era, enchytrismoi of adults are still attested but are not exceedingly common. The rite is systematically applied to the adult population only in a small number of sites in the Western Peloponnese, the Argolid, Aetolia-Acarnania, and Crete.⁹³

Enchytrismoi in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia prior to the Late Geometric period

The first known examples of enchytrismoi in Attica date to the Early Bronze Age. An unknown number of child pithos burials, as well as one which accommodated the skeletal remains of an old woman, have been discovered inside the dwellings of the settlement excavated at Kolona in Aegina.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, no more information is provided for the exact number of these enchytrismoi, or for the individual characteristics of the burials. One more example which may tentatively be considered as an Early Bronze Age enchytrismos comes from the site of Askitario in Rafina. There, a single child burial was found covered by large sherds of a pithos over a house floor.⁹⁵ More enchytrismoi dating to the Middle Bronze Age

⁹³ Selekou 2014, 247-279. For pithos burials in Crete, see also Eaby 2007, *passim*.

⁹⁴ Welter 1938, 510-511.

⁹⁵ Theocharis 1953-1954, 115.

are known from sites such as Aghios Nikolaos at Anavyssos,⁹⁶ Afidna,⁹⁷ Eleusis,⁹⁸ Thorikos,⁹⁹ and Marathon.¹⁰⁰

The earliest Euboean enchytrismoι seem to be contemporary to those from Attica. Both known examples come from the area of Manika and were discovered among the 170 chamber tombs of the Early Bronze Age cemetery. Their excavator considers both enchytrismoι as secondary burials, yet this suggestion is not corroborated by the archaeological evidence. The first of these burials accommodated the bodies of two deceased children, placed inside a small pithos-shaped vessel which the excavator characterises as a *hydria*. Three small pins made of bone were found together with the remains of the two child skeletons. The second burial also belonged to a child but was discovered inside a chamber tomb reportedly full of sparsely scattered child bones and offerings. The vase used for the interment was a *phiale*.¹⁰¹ No more Bronze Age enchytrismoι are known from Euboea.

Boeotian enchytrismoι are first attested in the Middle Bronze Age. The earliest known examples come from within the excavated settlements at Thebes,¹⁰² Eutresis,¹⁰³ and Orchomenos.¹⁰⁴ With the exception of one possible adult enchytrismoι from the site of Orchomenos, all other pot burials belonged to infants and children. Pithoi were the exclusive

⁹⁶ Oikonomakou 1980, 76; 2010, 238; Lohmann 1993, 60-66.

⁹⁷ Wide 1896; Pelon 1976, 80-82; Muller 1989, 17, 22; Hielte-Stavropoulou and Wedde 2002, 21-24; Forsen 2010.

⁹⁸ Mylonas 1975.

⁹⁹ Stais 1893, 16; 1895.

¹⁰⁰ Oikonomakou 2010, 236.

¹⁰¹ For the enchytrismoι from Manika, see Sampson 1988, 28, 32-33, 48, 58.

¹⁰² Spyropoulos 1970, 211; Demakopoulou 1974, 435; 1975a, 130; 1975b; 1979, 165; Demakopoulou and Konsola 1975, 54; Andrikou 1995, 294; Aravantinos and Psaraki 2010, 380-384.

¹⁰³ Goldman 1931, 222-223.

¹⁰⁴ Bulle 1907, 62.

vessel shape used to contain the interments. Some of the enchytrismoι were unfurnished, while others contained vases, spindle whorls, as well as jewellery.

III. ENCHYTRISMOI AND THE FUNERARY LANDSCAPE IN ATTICA, EUBOEA AND BOEOTIA

As has been noted in the introduction, the social and symbolic significance of a burial custom may only be apprehended when integrated in its wider mortuary context, through

comparisons and contrasts to other burial types.¹⁰⁵ For this reason, the present chapter is organised into three region-specific sections (A. Attica, B. Euboea and Oropos, C. Boeotia), each commencing with a survey of the broader funerary environment in which the enchytrismoi comprising our dataset took form. This presentation is not meant to be exhaustive and does not derive from a detailed study of all known burial customs in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia, which would fall outside the scope of this thesis. Rather, by providing selective examples, it aims to provide the general background against which the enchytrismoi under study may be fruitfully analysed. This brief overview bespeaks of the variability which characterises the funerary customs of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods. What is common between the communities of all three regions, however, is their consistent practice of the rite of enchytrismos.

Within each section, the presentation of the wider mortuary context is followed by an overview of the evidence for contemporary enchytrismoi. The presentation of burials follows a regional division¹⁰⁶ and includes the number and dating of enchytrismoi excavated at different burial grounds as well as a brief summary of their main characteristics.¹⁰⁷ This section is complemented by detailed catalogues of enchytrismoi from Attica, Euboea and Boeotia (Volume III: Appendices A-C). These lists provide further details on the individual characteristics of enchytrismoi including the configuration of the graves, the shapes, types and

¹⁰⁵ Due to their rich material evidence, mortuary customs (including graves and their associated finds) have been the main element used for understanding early societies. This is particularly evident in the case of Attica. See n. 108 below.

¹⁰⁶ Note to the reader: Within these regional divisions, the presentation of enchytrismoi is arranged according to the number of burials excavated in each site, from highest to lowest.

¹⁰⁷ The spatial organisation of the burials is analysed in Chapter VII. Nevertheless, brief references to the burial grounds are made throughout the present chapter in order to contextualise the enchytrismoi.

decoration of the funerary vessels, the skeletal material and grave offerings associated to each burial as well as their relative positioning inside the grave. It should be noted that not all burials presented in this chapter are included in these appendices due to the insufficient information available for their individual characteristics.

A. ATTICA

i. The wider mortuary context

The evidence for funerary customs from Attica during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods is plentiful when compared to the other two regions. This is due, firstly, to the large number of sites which have provided mortuary data for the periods in question and, secondly, to the number of comprehensive publications focusing on Attic burial customs and their bearing on social structure.¹⁰⁸

Late Geometric (760-700 BC)

During the Late Geometric period, Attic mortuary evidence testifies to a number of notable developments when compared to earlier times. While for the most part of the Early Iron Age the number of excavated graves remains relatively low, the late 8th c. BC sees a sudden increase in the overall burial count. Furthermore, infant and child burials, scarce since

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Cavanagh 1977; Morris 1985; 1987; Whitley 1991; Houby-Nielsen 1992; 1995; 1996; D’Onofrio 1993; Alexandridou 2016 and, most recently, Vyziinou 2019.

the Early Geometric period, make a systematic reappearance alongside adults in distinctly funerary areas such as the Kerameikos.¹⁰⁹

Another development is the re-establishment of enclosures to delimitate the space of the dead and separate it from the world of the living, a practice that remained virtually absent since the end of the Protogeometric period. Examples of this kind are the Tholos cemetery in the area of the later Athenian Agora and the Aghios Panteleimon cemetery at Anavyssos.¹¹⁰ This increasing formalisation and boundedness—mainly concerning burial grounds located within or nearby settlement areas—has also been linked to another development of the period in question, namely the significant increase in the number of cemeteries completely outside habitation areas.¹¹¹ This rise can clearly be seen in the establishment of many new cemeteries which were not in any way related to settlement areas such as those at Kynosarges and Phaleron.¹¹²

During the Late Geometric period most newborns, infants and young children¹¹³ were provided a distinct type of burial rite, that of an inhumation inside a terracotta container (enchytrismos).¹¹⁴ However, similarly aged individuals were also buried inside simple

¹⁰⁹ Pomadère 2005, 157. Cf. Alexandridou 2016, 334. For the infant and child burials at Kerameikos South and especially in the so-called “Plattenbau”, see Kübler 1954. The reasons behind this increase will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

¹¹⁰ See Young 1939, 6 for the Tholos cemetery and Verdelis and Davaras 1966, 97 for Aghios Panteleimon. Cf. Morris 1987, 20.

¹¹¹ Morris 1987, 65.

¹¹² See Iliopoulos 2001-2004, 213 for Kynosarges; Alexandropoulou 2019 for Phaleron.

¹¹³ The current chapter makes use of these terms as they appear in archaeological literature. It needs to be noted that the precise cut-off boundaries between these different age groups are arbitrarily chosen by researchers and very rarely articulated in reports or publications. For more details on the pitfalls of these categorisations, see Chapter IV, pp. 119-120.

¹¹⁴ The particular details of this burial custom will not be discussed further in this section since they are explored in detail throughout the remaining chapters of this thesis.

inhumation pits without the use of a funerary container (e.g. at the Phaleron cemetery).¹¹⁵ Older children were also mainly inhumed inside pits or cists. Such burials are known, for example, from the area of the “Plattenbau” at Kerameikos South (Graves 51-63),¹¹⁶ as well as from Palaia Kokkinia at Piraeus.¹¹⁷ A much smaller number of older children were inhumed inside enchytrismoι.¹¹⁸ Overall, the youngest individuals of Attic Late Geometric communities were buried and not burnt; cases of child cremations are not only extremely rare but their validity—almost without exception—raises considerable doubts.¹¹⁹ Adolescents could be both inhumed or cremated, although the former mode of disposal seems to prevail during this period.¹²⁰

After almost two and a half centuries during which cremation had been the predominant burial rite for adults, the late 8th c. BC witnesses the large-scale revival of inhumation.¹²¹ Recent studies highlight that this transformation was not universally applied in all Attic sites.¹²² Inhumation indeed became the prevalent burial rite for adults in most burial grounds in Athens

¹¹⁵ Inhumations of “non-adults” are usually simply reported as belonging to “children” without further indications of their age. However, recent osteological research on the new finds from the Phaleron cemetery clearly demonstrated that during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods infants and young children were not only placed inside enchytrismoι but were also inhumed. See Alexandropoulou 2009, 275.

¹¹⁶ Kübler 1954, 17-18; Coldstream 1977 (2003), 120.

¹¹⁷ Theocharis 1951, 116-118: Grave η, where the skeleton recovered measured 1.30m in height, indicating a child between eight and 12 years-old.

¹¹⁸ Most examples come from Eleusis, namely from the West Cemetery (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 194, 199), from the South Cemetery (Appendix A: Cat. No. 227).

¹¹⁹ See e.g. the cemetery at Anavyssos for which Morris (1992, 18) mentions that children were cremated. Nevertheless, the reports from the early 20th c. excavations (Kastriotis and Philadelfeus 1911, 113) clearly mention that “small babies” were found inhumed inside vases since cremation for such young individuals was “forbidden”. Furthermore, the preliminary reports from the second excavations by Themelis (1973-1974, 108-110) make no mention of child cremations. Cf. Pomadère 2005 154 n.7. The only cremation which may, with more certainty, be identified as that of a child is Tomb ζ in Sector Γ of the West Cemetery of Eleusis (Mylonas 1975, 260). For a summary of all claimed cases of child cremations in Attica, with primary references, see Vyzinou 2019, 19.

¹²⁰ Morris 1987, 20. Maidens in particular are almost exclusively inhumed: see Langdon 2008, 132-133.

¹²¹ Snodgrass 1971, 149; Cavanagh 1977, 332; Coldstream 1977 (2003), 98; Morris 1987, 20; Osborne 1989, 299; Whitley 1991, 162.

¹²² Cavanagh 1977, 343; Morris 1987, 5, 64-65; Laughy 2010; Vlachou 2012, 367.

(e.g. Areopagus, Tholos cemetery, Erisycthonos and Nileos St., Dipylon cemetery, Kotzia Square).¹²³ At the same time, adult cremations still occur in a number of cemeteries including the Dipylon and the cemetery at Kavalotti St (**Map 2**).¹²⁴ While the evidence from the rest of Attica is frequently cited as more diverse,¹²⁵ the available body of data is partially or summarily published. Inhumation indeed became the exclusive burial rite for adults in several necropoleis of the Attic countryside such as those at Vari, Merenda, the West Necropolis of Thorikos, and the West and South cemeteries of Eleusis (**Map 3**).¹²⁶ On the contrary, evidence from most burial grounds for which an insistence on cremation is claimed, raises considerable doubt.

Regardless of the age of the deceased, inhumations were placed mostly inside simple rectangular pits of various sizes.¹²⁷ In some cemeteries, such as those in northern Markopoulo, at Kyprou St. in Moschato and at Lathouriza in Vari, these pits were covered, and sometimes also lined, by stone slabs.¹²⁸ While less common, cist graves were also employed to contain inhumations in the cemeteries at Anavyssos, Thorikos, Vari, Phaleron, Palaia Kokkinia, Eleusis and Marathon (**Maps 2-3**).¹²⁹ At the bottom of the inhumation pits, the bodies of the deceased were usually found lying on their backs in a supine extended position.¹³⁰ Less frequently, the

¹²³ In her collection and study of all Late Geometric II funerary evidence from Attica, Alexandridou (2016, 335-340) notes that inhumation for adults is almost fully adopted in northern Athens, whereas a greater flexibility may be observed in the southern part of the city. There, cremation largely persists in several sites as, for example, at the necropolis at Kavalotti St.

¹²⁴ For the cremations of the Dipylon cemetery excavated at Kriezī and Theophilopoulou Sts, see Alexandri 1967d; 1968g, 1968h. For those at Eleutherias Square, see Brückner and Pernice 1983, 132. For more examples see Alexandridou 2016, 343-347, with primary references.

¹²⁵ Morris 1995, 64-65; Vlachou 2012, 367.

¹²⁶ Alexandridou 2016, 339-343 and table 1.

¹²⁷ Morris 1987, 20; Whitley 1991, 163; Vlachou 2012, 367.

¹²⁸ Kakavogianni 1971, 38 for Markopoulo; Petritaki 2006, 204-205 for Moschato; Kazazaki 2008, 182-185 for Lathouriza.

¹²⁹ Snodgrass 1971, 149; Morris 1987, 20. Late Geometric cist-graves were also found in the area of the Agora: Young 1939, 276.

¹³⁰ Morris 1987, 20; Vlachou 2012, 367.

skeletons were placed inside the pits in a contracted position.¹³¹ Traces of coffins were also encountered inside a number of graves. Numerous examples are known, for example, from the cemetery of the Kerameikos.¹³²

During the Late Geometric period, both primary and secondary cremation were practiced although the latter type was considerably more common.¹³³ Traces of fire and ashes were found directly on the bottom of the pits used for the primary cremations.¹³⁴ On the other hand, neck-handled amphorae and bronze cauldrons were used to contain the ashes of the deceased inside the pits of secondary cremations.¹³⁵ Examples of such neck-amphorae come from the cemetery at Kavalotti St. while bronze cauldrons are known from the Dipylon cemetery and the necropolis at Merenda.¹³⁶ The cinerary urns were usually found in an upright position, covered by lids or smaller intact vessels. Sometimes, pyre debris was encountered in the vicinity of the tomb indicating that cremation had taken place nearby.

Offerings in inhumation graves were deposited mainly unburnt and intact over and around the bodies of the deceased.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the pits used for primary cremations

¹³¹ Whitley 1991, 162.

¹³² Graves 10, 26, 50, 99 at the Kerameikos. Cf. Alexandridou 2016, 355. Coldstream 1977 (2003), 98; Vlachou 2012, 367.

¹³³ Alexandridou 2016, esp. 346 and table 1. It needs to be noted that a certain confusion surrounds the few primary cremations dated to the Late Geometric period. Excavators frequently make use of the term «πυρά» when presenting the burials excavated in a particular plot. In many cases, however, no bones or ashes are reported from the interior of these «πυρές», rendering their identification as “primary cremations” extremely doubtful; their function as sacrificial pyres is equally plausible. See e.g. Chatzipouliou 1992, 30 mentioning a pyre at Erisycthonos and Nileos St.; the pyres reported by Kourouniotis (1911) and Pelekidis (1916) at Phaleron. Conversely, the pyres ε and η from Sector Γ in the West cemetery of Eleusis, which are described as containing both ashes and burnt vases, are not listed as cremations by the excavator (Mylonas 1975, 135-136, 138-139).

¹³⁴ Vyziiinou 2011, 148.

¹³⁵ Morris 1987, 20, 61; Whitley 1991, 163; Vyziiinou 2011, 147; Alexandridou 2016, 335.

¹³⁶ Alexandridou 2016, 338 (Dipylon Grave III), 345 (Merenda Graves 5, 23, 37) and Table 1 with all primary references.

¹³⁷ Coldstream 1977 (2003), 99.

contained large amounts of fragmentary burnt pottery and fewer intact vessels demonstrating that offerings were placed both before the body was set on fire and after cremation was completed.¹³⁸ Finally, grave goods associated to secondary cremations could be placed both inside the cinerary urns and around them, with a preference to the latter.¹³⁹ In the Kerameikos cemetery, a number of burials was also associated to “offering trenches” (“Opferinne”) which make their first appearance during this period. A single example is also known from Chalandri. These narrow trenches containing dense accumulations of pottery were usually associated to adult graves. Only one example was found in association to a child inhumation.¹⁴⁰

Before the end of the late 8th c. BC, a general tendency towards pottery offerings of lower quantity and quality has been observed.¹⁴¹ Exceptionally rich burials, both inhumations and cremations, containing more than 40 objects are still occasionally encountered.¹⁴² In most graves, considerable variation may be observed in the number of offerings deposited.¹⁴³ It is interesting to note that inhumation graves almost always contained grave goods (from one to 10 objects).¹⁴⁴ The inhumations of pre-adolescent and adolescent females, the so-called “maidens” (ἀγαμέξ κόρες), have been identified as the richest graves in the burial record during this period.¹⁴⁵ Child inhumations could also receive many grave offerings and are in many

¹³⁸ Vyziiinou 2011, 148.

¹³⁹ Vyziiinou 2011, 147-150.

¹⁴⁰ Kerameikos Tomb 57. Vlachou 2012, 374 and n. 75 with examples; Alexandridou 2016, 334-335, 338.

¹⁴¹ Morris 1987, 20-21; Alexandridou 2016, 335.

¹⁴² E.g. Kerameikos Grave VDak1 (inhumation): von Freytag 1974, 4-5 and Merenda Grave 5 (secondary cremation): Xagorari-Gleissner 2005, 60–61. Cf. Alexandridou 2016, Appendix A.

¹⁴³ Alexandridou 2016, Appendix A which individually presents all known Attic Late Geometric II burials and their associated offerings.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., with primary references for each burial. See e.g. the cemeteries at the Areopagus, the Agora Tholos cemetery, Erisycthonos and Nileos St. and the Dipylon cemetery.

¹⁴⁵ Whitley 1996; Langdon 2005, 19-20; 2008, 139-142. Cf. Alexandridou 2016, 210. For a detailed catalogue of such graves see Langdon 2008, table 3.1. It needs to be noted that the identification of a burial as belonging to a maiden (“unmarried” girl) relies on subjective criteria and has given rise to

cases the richest in their burial plots. This is the case, for example, at the Areopagus, the Plattenbau in the Kerameikos, at Palaia Kokkinia at Piraeus and at the South cemetery of Eleusis (**Maps 2-3**).¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, cremations could be both furnished and unfurnished.

In comparison to the previous period, a sharp decline has been observed in the deposition of metal objects inside Late Geometric burials.¹⁴⁷ The very few metal objects attested include weapons, jewellery and other ornaments which are found inside both inhumations and cremations.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, vases are the most common type of grave good and are encountered in all burial types of both children and adults. These include mainly skyphoi, kotylai, coarse ware pitchers, oinochoai and pyxides. Amphorae were also used as offerings inside both inhumation and cremation graves.¹⁴⁹ None of these objects seems to have been specifically intended for the grave.¹⁵⁰

The use of grave markers in Late Geometric Attica is limited to a few monumental vases marking some of the richest adult inhumations in the early stages of the Late Geometric period (Ia-Ib) which have been considered as special commissions by the Athenian elite.¹⁵¹ The best known examples of such vases are those of the “Dipylon Painter” from the homonymous cemetery.¹⁵² Such monumental markers were abandoned by the last decades of the 8th

much scholarly debate. See, most recently, Margariti 2017 with references to previous discussions. An example of a grave identified as that of a maiden is Grave 1 at Kavalotti St. See Alexandridou 2016, 344-345.

¹⁴⁶ Areopagus: inhumation inside deposit E 19:2; Plattenbau: Grave 56; Palaia Kokkinia: Grave η; Eleusis South cemetery: Grave 21. For the contents of these burials, see Alexandridou 2016, Tables 1-2, with primary references.

¹⁴⁷ Whitley 1991, 161, 165-166.

¹⁴⁸ Vyzinou 2011, *passim*.

¹⁴⁹ Vyzinou 2011, 169-170.

¹⁵⁰ Whitley 1991, 161; Alexandridou 2016, 337.

¹⁵¹ Coldstream 1968, 350; 1996-1997, 2; Bohen 1997, 48-50. Williams 1999, 33. Cf. also Vlachou 2012, 378.

¹⁵² Coldstream 1968, 29-41.

century.¹⁵³ Traces of funeral feasting have also been found in proximity to some of the burials.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, at the end of the Late Geometric period, sacrificial pyres associated to particular graves also appear for the first time in some cemeteries such as those of Aghios Panteleimon at Anavyssos and Labrika in the plain of Mesogeia.¹⁵⁵

Seventh c. BC (700-600 BC)

When compared to the previous period, the number of Attic sites which have yielded 7th c. burial evidence is much more limited. At the same time, a fall in the total number of adult burials has also been observed.¹⁵⁶ This is particularly striking in the larger cemeteries of Athens such as the Kerameikos and Kynosarges. This decline has mainly been interpreted as resulting from the exclusion of *kakoi* (“inferiors”) from formal disposal; in this view, only individuals of a higher social rank were considered “worthy” of receiving an archaeologically visible burial.¹⁵⁷

As in the previous century, infants and children are still buried inside enchytrismoi, or—less frequently—in simple inhumation pits. Such burials have been identified with certainty at the cemeteries of Phaleron and the West Cemetery of Eleusis.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, from the beginning of the 7th c., inhumation gives way to cremation as the predominant burial rite for adults. Unlike the previous century when most cremations were secondary, primary cremation becomes the preferred form of incineration. At the same time, however, adult

¹⁵³ Coldstream 1968, 86; Morris 1987, 151–52; Whitley 1991, 163.

¹⁵⁴ Vlachou 2012, 367.

¹⁵⁵ Alexandridou 2016, 335.

¹⁵⁶ Morris 1987, 67, 85–86, 128–131, 134–137; Osborne 1989, 303, 308, 320; Houby-Nielsen 1992, 345; Doronzio 2018, 55–162. Cf. Vyzinou 2019, 14.

¹⁵⁷ Morris 1987, 97–109.

¹⁵⁸ Alexandropoulou 2019, 275 for Phaleron; Mylonas 1975, *passim*. for Eleusis.

inhumations do not completely cease. During this century, the best evidence for adult burials of both types comes from the excavations at the Kerameikos.¹⁵⁹

The bodies of the deceased in primary cremations were burned directly inside the grave shaft, which in the 7th c. attains significant dimensions.¹⁶⁰ These cremation pits were frequently equipped with air ventilation channels cut into the bottom of the shaft to ensure complete cremation of the dead body.¹⁶¹ The fewer secondary cremations and inhumations do not testify to a significant change in form when compared to the previous century. However, after the first decades of the 7th c. BC, the stone-lined or covered pits used for adult inhumations become rare. Traces of coffins and, less frequently, of funerary biers are still occasionally encountered. The skeletal evidence available from inhumation burials indicates that adults and children were usually buried in an extended supine position while the latter could also be inhumed contracted.¹⁶²

A significant change may be observed during the 7th c. in offering deposition patterns. With a few exceptions, grave goods stop being placed inside the graves and are found in special areas nearby, called “offering places” (“Opferplätze”), or inside “offering trenches” (“Opferinnen”). The grave goods were positioned on shelf-like constructions that were set on fire and subsequently collapsed inside these offering places or trenches.¹⁶³ “Offering trenches” do not occur in all Attic cemeteries. The best known Attic examples come from the Kerameikos

¹⁵⁹ Vlachou 2012, 373; Morris 1987, 21, 61, 97-109; 1991.

¹⁶⁰ Vlachou 2012, 367.

¹⁶¹ For examples of such graves, see Kübler 1959, e.g. 76 (LXIII. Brandgrab 63), 77 (LXIV Brandgrab 64). Cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 73 and Morris 1987, 21.

¹⁶² Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 71.

¹⁶³ For the numerous thoroughly published and studied examples of “Opferinnen” and “Opferplätze” from the Kerameikos, see Kübler 1959, 87-88, 93. For discussions on “offering trenches” and their associated rituals, see Kistler 1998, 31-77; Houby-Nielsen 1996; Alexandridou 2013, 272; 2015, 123.

and the North necropolis of Vari where they were associated almost exclusively to primary adult cremations and exceptionally to adult inhumations.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, “offering trenches” associated to child burials remain unknown to the present day.

Both cremations and inhumations were associated to a greatly varied number of offerings, or were completely unfurnished.¹⁶⁵ It needs to be noted that the few adult inhumations dated to this period frequently contained large quantities of grave goods,¹⁶⁶ indicating that inhumation was not necessarily chosen as an inexpensive alternative for the less wealthy families. Pottery constitutes the most common category of grave goods, found in all types of graves, and is represented mainly by eating and drinking vases, as well as small animal figurines. A pattern which meets few exceptions may be observed: most burials, whether cremations or inhumations, were accompanied by at least one pouring vessel. Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra also frequently accompanied the deceased.¹⁶⁷ Other types of grave goods, such as weapons, jewellery and objects made of precious metals, abruptly cease after ca. 700 BC.¹⁶⁸ More particularly, graves associated with the simpler “Opferplätze” were provided with only a few drinking and pouring vessels, or were completely unfurnished.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, the types of objects found inside the “Opferinne”, as those encountered at the

¹⁶⁴ See Alexandridou 2013, 274.

¹⁶⁵ See e.g. Doronzio 2018, Table 14 including lists of both cremations and inhumations as well as their associated grave goods.

¹⁶⁶ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 71.

¹⁶⁷ Numerous examples can be found throughout the Doronzio’s comprehensive study of 7th c. burials from Athens (2018, *passim*, e.g. 34-35 for the Acropolis area; 81 table 7, 86 table 9, 107 table 14, 123 table 16, 141, 147 table 21, 150 table 24 for burials from the Kerameikos). Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra are also found elsewhere in Attica, as e.g. in Grave 30 (pit inhumation) excavated at Chalkidiki and Iera Odos (Stoupa 1995, 42).

¹⁶⁸ These remain rare until the end of the Archaic period. Ibid. 1971, 75; Morris 1987, 22; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 137; Georgoulaki 1996, 101; Von Hershberg *et al.* 2015, 239.

¹⁶⁹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 75. For examples of Attic “Opferplätze” and their generally poor associated offerings, see Doronzio 2018, *passim*.

cemeteries of the Kerameikos and Vari, were elaborate feasting and dining vessels, or vases and votives of cultic character such as cauldrons and impressive *thymiateria*.¹⁷⁰ These elaborate offerings—combined with the features of the ritual involved—are generally accepted as indicative of the aristocratic status of the deceased and as an attempt for their introduction to the heroic (sometimes even Homeric) realm.¹⁷¹ Since these vases were found in a largely fragmentary state, destruction seems to be highlighted as an important focal point of Attic elite funerary practices of the 7th c., connected to the expression of power and wealth and even possibly acting against the *miasma* caused by the dead body and towards the cure of the pain of the relatives of the deceased.¹⁷²

Cremation burials, especially those associated to “Opferinnen”, are sometimes marked by low earthen tumuli.¹⁷³ Stone markers distinguishing individual adult burials also appear during the 7th c. as an alternative to the monumental vases of the Late Geometric period.¹⁷⁴ Their shape becomes standardised by the late 7th c. BC in the form of grave *stelai* and sculptures which usually represent lions or sphinxes.¹⁷⁵ Both mounds and monumental markers exhibit an emphasis on an increased visibility of the graves’ outward appearance.

Sixth-early 5th c. BC (600-480 BC)

¹⁷⁰ The purpose of these shapes as grave offerings (Kübler 1959, 87-88; 1970, 87-92) or as remains of actual or symbolic meals (D’Onofrio 1993; Houby-Nielsen 1992; Kistler 1998) remains a matter of debate among scholars. For the different shapes encountered, see Kistler 1998, 31-77.

¹⁷¹ Murray 1983, 198; Helbig 1900; D’ Onofrio 1993; Houby-Nielsen 1992, 358; 1996: 48-49; Whitley 1994a; Kistler 1998, 152-161. For the most recent discussions on offering trenches from Attica and previous bibliography on the subject, see Alexandridou 2013 and 2015.

¹⁷² Alexandridou 2013, 280.

¹⁷³ Whitley 1994a, 54; 1994b, 217 with reference to burials from the Kerameikos.

¹⁷⁴ For the earliest examples, see Walter-Karydi 2015, 51.

¹⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of Archaic Attic gravestones and their development, see Richter 1994 and more recently, Walter-Karydi 2015, 49-111.

During the 6th c., the number of excavated burials in Attica considerably outnumbers those of earlier periods.¹⁷⁶ This rise coincides with a sudden increase in child burials in the period ca. 500 BC, at least in some cemeteries such as the Kerameikos.¹⁷⁷ This development has generally been attributed to a change in the way children were perceived in the period leading to the reforms of Kleisthenes.¹⁷⁸

As in the previous periods, infants and young children were buried inside vases or simply inhumed inside pits. Prominent examples of cemeteries which include such burials are Phaleron and Eleusis. From the end of the 6th c., infants and children were also buried inside clay basins and graves made of roof tiles. Numerous examples of both types of graves come from the Kerameikos, yet they are not unknown from wider Attica (e.g. at the North necropolis of Vari).¹⁷⁹ Older children are still mainly inhumed inside pits. Examples of wooden coffins used for child graves are also found in some large cemeteries such as the Kerameikos.¹⁸⁰ Already by the end of the 7th c., cremation ceases to be the preferred burial rite for adults and is gradually replaced by inhumation which starts to predominate from the middle of the 6th c. BC.

The configuration of inhumation and cremation graves does not witness any significant change from the previous period. A change is however observable in offering deposition with grave goods being placed again inside the pits used for cremations and inhumations.¹⁸¹ The

¹⁷⁶ Morris 1987, 22, 73, figs 22, 87.

¹⁷⁷ Morris 1987, 73, Fig. 22, 87; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 132. Cf. Vyzinou 2019, 18.

¹⁷⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1995.

¹⁷⁹ Morris 1987, 22. For the Kerameikos, see Houby-Nielsen 1995, 137, 147 and Appendix B where she also identifies the upper age limit of individuals buried inside terracotta basins as around four years old based on the length of the basins. For the child tile grave from Vari, see Alexandridou 2012a, 50.

¹⁸⁰ Houby-Nielsen 1995, 137, 147 and Appendix B.

¹⁸¹ Vlachou 2012, 374.

previously prevalent “Opferinnen” become rare after ca. 600 BC and, even more so, after the middle of the century. This decline in popularity is observable in the number and quality of offerings found inside the latest examples.¹⁸² While this change had originally been linked to the reforms of Solon,¹⁸³ recent scholarship recognises it instead as reflecting changing attitudes towards death.¹⁸⁴ The offerings deposited inside 6th c. inhumations and cremations of both of adults and children are generally similar to those of the previous century consisting mainly of vases for eating and drinking. However, such vessels become considerably rare in adult burials towards the end of the 6th c., giving their pride of place to lekythoi. Child inhumations, although not excluded from the deposition of lekythoi, continue to receive drinking and eating vessels until at least the end of the century.¹⁸⁵

Earth mounds, marking single or multiple grave groups, are more frequently erected above selected adult burials during the 6th c. BC. The most prominent examples of such tumuli come from the Kerameikos, the North Necropolis of Vari and Vourva at Marathon.¹⁸⁶ Finally, stelai and sculptures marking individual graves reach a peak of magnificence by the third quarter of the 6th c. and sharply decline thereafter.¹⁸⁷

ii. Attic Enchytrismoι

Central Athens

¹⁸² Kübler 1959, 87; 1976, 4, 187–188. Cf. Vlachou 2012, 375; Alexandridou 2015, 144.

¹⁸³ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 121-122; Garland 1985, 22; van Wees 1998, 30-31; Vlachou 2012, 374.

¹⁸⁴ D’Onofrio 1993, 169; Morris 1989; 1992; Houby-Nielsen 1995. Cf. Alexandridou 2013, 280.

¹⁸⁵ Houby-Nielsen 1992, 137-138 and Table 8.

¹⁸⁶ For the Kerameikos cemetery: Houby-Nielsen 1992, esp. 130. For Vari: Alexandridou 2012b. For Vourva: Stais 1890, 318-329.

¹⁸⁷ Alexandridou 2013, 280. Please note that references for enchytrismoι from each site are given at the beginning of their presentation. All information that follows derives from these sources.

Agora-Areopagus

A considerable number of enchytrismoι have been unearthed in the area which was later to become the civic centre of the Athenian polis. The largest group comes from the so-called Tholos cemetery, an enclosed precinct a few metres south of the classical Tholos (**Plan 1**).¹⁸⁸ More particularly, 10 enchytrismoι are known from this cemetery and span its entire period of use, that is from the Late Geometric to the 6th c. (Appendix A: Cat Nos 1-10). Their vast majority, however, dates to the Late Geometric period. The enchytrismoι were found inside pits cut in the natural bedrock. At the bottom of these pits the burial vases were set on their sides without following any rule of orientation (**Figs 1-4**). Amphorae were the most common funerary containers (**Fig. 5**), while hydriae (**Fig. 6**) a coarse ware pithos (**Fig. 7**) and a deep bowl were also employed. Flat stones (**Figs 1, 3**), large coarse sherds or, more rarely, intact vessels, were used to seal the vases' mouths. Only one enchytrismoι was covered by two stone slabs which were placed directly over the funerary vessel, with a mass of small stones thrown over them (Appendix A: Cat. No. 1). According to the excavator, all enchytrismoι belonged to "small children" who were buried on their sides in foetal position.¹⁸⁹ With the exception of Appendix A: Cat. No. 4 containing two interments inside a single pithos (**Fig. 7**), all other enchytrismoι were individual burials. Offerings were limited to small and miniature vases, mainly drinking and pouring vessels (**Fig. 8**). Such artefacts were placed mainly inside the burial vessel and, more rarely, in the fill of the burial pits. Regular-sized coarse ware pitchers were also found with most enchytrismoι in an upright position beside the funerary vases (**Figs**

¹⁸⁸ Young 1939.

¹⁸⁹ This observation seems to derive exclusively from the sufficiently preserved bones of Appendix A: Cat. Nos 1, 4-6 (Agora). In all other cases the skeletons were found almost entirely disintegrated.

1, 3). Carbonised remains, possibly from food offerings, were also occasionally found inside them.

Two more enchytrismoι come from the “Archaic cemetery” excavated within the so-called “Industrial District” (**Plan 2**).¹⁹⁰ The earlier burial (Appendix A: Cat. No. 11) dates to the first period of use of the cemetery, that is the Late Geometric period. The amphora used for the interment was found in an extremely fragmentary state and contained the remains of an 18-month-old individual (**Fig. 9**). The second enchytrismos dates to the 6th c. BC (Appendix A: Cat. No. 12). According to the excavator, the burial amphora used for this burial contained the remains of a young child who was furnished with a single pyxis.

Another Late Geometric enchytrismos (Appendix A: Cat. No. 13) has been excavated at the northwest foot of the Areopagus.¹⁹¹ The pithos serving as a funerary container (**Fig. 10b**) was set on its side inside the burial pit with its mouth sealed using a stone slab (**Fig. 10c**). The urn contained a number of small and miniature decorated vessels (**Fig. 11**) and the skeletal remains of a 10 to 16-month-old infant. A coarse ware pitcher (**Figs 10a, 11 far left**) was found standing upright inside the fill of the pit, in immediate proximity to the pithos used for the interment.

All other enchytrismoι from the area of the later Agora constitute isolated finds. Among them are a Late Geometric and a 7th/6th c. burial unearthed in the “Industrial District” (outside the limits of the “Archaic cemetery”).¹⁹² An amphora was used for the Late Geometric enchytrismos (Appendix A: Cat. No. 14). A skull and finger-bones constituted the only remains of the child who was buried inside it. The 7th/6th c. enchytrismos (Appendix A: Cat. No. 15)

¹⁹⁰ Young 1951.

¹⁹¹ Thompson 1949, 330 pl. 104; Immerwahr 1973 no. 52.

¹⁹² Young 1951, 69, 72, pl. 33, 35b (Grave A).

consisted of a pithos that contained the skull and the leg-bones of a young child buried in a contracted position. The head of the deceased was oriented towards the vessel's mouth (**Fig. 12**). Another enchytrismos dated to ca. 700 BC (Appendix A: Cat. No. 16) comes from the area immediately to the south of the Classical Tholos.¹⁹³ The amphora was set on its side inside a pit cut in the bedrock. The funerary vessel contained the remains of an infant (**Fig. 13**) and a number of grave offerings. Additional grave goods were found inside the burial pit. A contemporary enchytrismos was found during the excavation of the north aisle of the "Middle Stoa" (Appendix A: Cat. No. 17).¹⁹⁴ A large amphora decorated with Geometric motifs was used for this burial (**Fig. 14**). No information is provided by the excavator for any associated osteological material.

Finally, two enchytrismoi were found at distinct locations on the northern slope of the Areopagus (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 18-19). The Late Geometric burial belonged to a one-month old individual and was made inside a pithos, of which only fragments have been preserved. A base of a bowl must have been used as a lid of the pithos. Funerary offerings were placed inside the fill of the burial pit and consisted in drinking and pouring vessels (a skyphos, a cup, an oinochoe and a juglet). The pithos used for the 6th c. enchytrismos (**Fig. 15a**) contained a few remains of bones and a skull which, according to the excavator, belonged to a child. The deceased was provided with a black-figure lekythos, drinking and tableware vessels of miniature size (**Fig. 15b-d**)

Athenian Acropolis area

¹⁹³ Agora Notebook 1978 B-15-45 and 46, B-15-53.

¹⁹⁴ Camp 1999. No information is provided for any associated osteological material.

The excavations carried out on the south slope of the Acropolis¹⁹⁵ have revealed 14 enchytrismoι (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 20-33) as well as another eight disturbed burials that probably belong to the same type (**Plan 3**). While the individual characteristics of these enchytrismoι are not always reported by the excavator, most urns seem to have been positioned on their sides at the bottom of pits that were cut in the bedrock. Only one pit was covered by a marble plaque (Appendix A: Cat. No. 33). The burial vases were mostly amphorae (**Figs 16-17, 19-20**), pithoi (**Fig. 18**) and, in one case, a hydria. Their mouths were sealed with stones, a stone slab and, in one case, with an intact plate. Most enchytrismoι were accompanied by offerings whose positioning is rarely inferred. From the few available indications, however, it seems that these were found both inside the burial vessels and inside the funerary pits. Decorated drinking and pouring vessels (**Fig. 21**) such as one-handled cups, skyphoi and oinochoai were the most frequently attested types of artefacts. Other grave goods included aryballoi, juglets, dinoi, and an amphora. Coarse ware pitchers also accompanied four of the enchytrismoι (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 21-22, 27-28). Only a small number of the enchytrismoι contained osteological material. Nevertheless, the excavator clearly identified all enchytrismoι from this cemetery as having belonged to infants and young children.

Makrygianni area

Two Late Geometric enchytrismoι have also been excavated at the Makrygianni area. One example comes from the so-called Makrygianni plot (Appendix A: Cat. No. 34).¹⁹⁶ The enchytrismoι was placed inside a handmade amphora which was retained in place by small

¹⁹⁵ Charitonidis 1973, 1-63.

¹⁹⁶ Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2006, 613.

unworked stones (**Fig. 22**). No offerings were found inside the grave. The second enchytrismos has been unearthed in the immediate vicinity, at 23-25-27 Makrygianni & Porinou St. (Appendix A: Cat. No. 35).¹⁹⁷ The burial amphora contained a few bone remains that had almost entirely disintegrated. Grave goods were found outside the amphora and included two juglets. A coarse ware jug was found standing upright beside the funerary amphora (**Figs 23-24**).

Three more Late Geometric enchytrismoι are known from the extended cemetery East of the Philopappos Hill (Appendix A: Cat. Nos. 36-38).¹⁹⁸ All burial urns were found on their sides inside pits cut in the natural bedrock. A banded hydria (**Fig. 25**), a decorated neck-amphora (**Fig. 26**) and a plain coarse ware amphora, all found in an extremely fragmentary state, were used to contain the interments. Grave offerings only accompanied the enchytrismoι made inside the fine-ware vessels. More particularly, fragments of small undecorated vases were found inside the hydria while a miniature oinochoe, several miniature drinking vessels, a second amphora and a bronze hemispherical vase were unearthed near the neck-amphora. No osteological material is not reported for any of these burials.

Theseion

¹⁹⁷ Alexandri 1968d, 73-74.

¹⁹⁸ The cemetery is believed to have occupied the area between the modern streets M. Botsari, R. Galli and Veikou. For the excavations of this cemetery, see Stavropoulos 1965b, 87; 1966, 71 (Erechtheiou St. 21-23); Stavropoulos 1965a, 75 (Kavalotti St.); Andreiomenou 1966, 85 mentioning one “Geometric” enchytrismos and Alexandri 1967b, 102 (Mitsaion and Zitrou St.); Alexandri 1967a, 106: one Late Geometric enchytrismos as well as another undated burial which is most likely contemporary (Parthenonos 12); Alexandri 1968e, 55-56 (Erechtheiou 20); Alexandri 1968a-c (Promachou 5, Erechtheiou 30 and Kavalotti, Garibaldi-Sofroniskou and Fainaretis St., respectively).

Four Late Geometric enchytrismoι come from the burial plot excavated at 40 Herakleidon St. (Plan 4).¹⁹⁹ All were found inside pits cut in the bedrock. The funerary vases did not seem to follow a fixed rule of orientation. According to the excavator, belly-handled amphorae with banded decoration were used for these interments. Small vessels such as kyathoi, jugs and oinochoai bearing typical Late Geometric decoration were found inside the vases. Osteological material was entirely lacking from all four burials. The enchytrismoι were found in immediate proximity to an area with traces of intense burning, which has been interpreted by the excavator as representing remains of ritual pyres. Furthermore, two of these enchytrismoι (Tombs 3 and 4) were encircled by small stone walls that met at right angle, possibly part of a funerary *peribolos*.²⁰⁰

Kerameikos

The Kerameikos has provided evidence of a substantial number of enchytrismoι excavated at various zones within the vast necropolis. Most Late Geometric and Early Archaic examples come from the Aghia Triada cemetery on the south bank of the Eridanos river, also known as the Kerameikos South.²⁰¹ More particularly, six or seven Late Geometric enchytrismoι have been excavated in the so-called “Plattenbau” (**Plan 5**), while three more, dated to the 7th and early 6th c., come from the area immediate to its north (Appendix A: Cat.

¹⁹⁹ Iliopoulos, 2001-2004, 213–215 as well as a personal communication with the excavator, K. Papayannakis.

²⁰⁰ A fifth enchytrismos from this area is dated vaguely to the “Geometric period” and comes from the junction of Nileos & Aktaiou St. The large vase used as a funerary container, possibly a crater, was sealed at the mouth with a smaller vessel and contained few bones of an infant or young child, described as a «νήπιος». A number of small vessels were also found inside the fill of the pit. See Lygkouri-Tolia 1994, 40.

²⁰¹ Kübler 1954; 1959; 1970.

Nos 39-48). The much smaller burial ground the north of the river (Kerameikos North) has also provided evidence for one Late Geometric enchytrismos (Appendix A: Cat. No. 49). All of these burials have been reported by their excavators as belonging to children and infants. The vessels used for the interments were mainly decorated neck-amphorae (**Figs 27-28**). A number of coarse ware vases, mostly pithoi (**Fig. 29**), but also a jug and a chytra, were also employed for the interments. The mouths of the funerary vessels were occasionally sealed with other vessels or fragments thereof. One vase only was sealed using a plaque made by stone and wood. Most burials were accompanied by grave offerings, mainly miniature drinking and pouring vessels (**Figs 30-31**).

The largest number of enchytrismoi known from the Kerameikos dates to the late 6th and early 5th c. and comes from the area south of the Eridanos river. With only six exceptions which were not associated to mounds (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 50-55), the remaining enchytrismoi (more than 50) were found on or nearby the following Kerameikos tumuli: Südhügel,²⁰² Hügel G, Hügel J, Hügel T (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 56-111).²⁰³ Few of the funerary vessels have provided evidence of skeletal remains which, according to the excavators, belonged to children. Amphorae of different types and qualities prevail as funerary containers (**Figs 32-36**). Figured decoration is limited to the few examples of belly-amphorae which belong to the well-known “Horsehead” series (**Fig. 35**). A similar amphora depicting a horse-taming scene was also employed for one enchytrismos (**Fig. 36**). Two pithoi and one hydria were also attested. Most enchytrismoi were accompanied by an array of ceramic vessels including drinking and pouring vessels, pyxides and black-figure lekythoi (**Figs 37-39**).

²⁰² Knigge 1976.

²⁰³ Kübler 1976, *passim*.

Terracotta figurines were also discovered with two of the burials. Non-ceramic offerings were limited to five beads, a fragment of a bronze ring, and 21 knucklebones.

Eleutherias (Koumoundourou Square)

At least two enchytrismoi have been excavated at the so-called Dipylon cemetery (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 112-113).²⁰⁴ These burials date to the Late Geometric period and the 7th c. respectively. Both enchytrismoi were made inside pithoi with elaborate relief and incised decoration (**Figs 40, 42**). According to their excavators, the Late Geometric enchytrismos (Cat. No. 112) belonged to an adult placed in a contracted position inside the vessel. The burial did not contain any grave goods. On the contrary, the 7th c. enchytrismos (Cat. No. 113) accommodated a child skeleton provided with miniature drinking and pouring vessels as well as a regular-sized coarse ware jug (**Fig. 41**). Without exception, all grave offerings were found inside the fill of the burial pit. Three more enchytrismoi come from the excavations at Kriezi St. which probably form part of the same cemetery (Cat. Nos 114-116).²⁰⁵ These interments date to the Late Geometric, the 7th, and the 6th c. respectively. The late 8th c. burial (Appendix A: Cat. No. 114) was made inside a jug with incised decoration and contained a few child bones. A skyphos and an oinochoe, found next to the funerary vessel, were given as grave goods to the deceased. On the contrary, the 7th c. burial (Appendix A: Cat. No. 115), did not contain any offerings. The vase used for the interment was a coarse ware amphora bearing the

²⁰⁴ This extended cemetery roughly occupies the area between the modern Piraeus St., Dipylon and Eleutherias Sts. Both enchytrismoi were excavated by Brückner and Pernice (1893) at the Sapountzaki plot.

²⁰⁵ Two enchytrismoi from the excavations at 22 Kriezi and Psaromiliggou Sts (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 114-115); one more from 25 Kriezi St. (Cat. No 116). For these excavations, see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979a, 24-26; Excavation Diary AA 184a.III.6: 1977-1978 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens); 1979b, 23 and Alexandri 1968g, 26 figs 12-13, respectively.

incision M N E. Finally, the enchytrismos dated to the end of the 6th c. (Appendix A: Cat. No. 116) was made inside a hydria and contained a few human bones. Grave offerings were also reported from the burial but their number and type is not reported by the excavator.

Varvakeios-Omonoia Square

The cemetery unearthed during the excavations at 12 Sapphous St. revealed seven Late Geometric and one Late Archaic enchytrismos burials (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 117-124) (**Plan 6**).²⁰⁶ Invariably, the vases used for the burials were set on their sides at the bottom of pits cuts in the natural bedrock (**Figs 43-45**). The main types of vessels employed for the Late Geometric enchytrismoι were decorated neck-amphorae (**Figs 46-48**) and pithoi. A single example of a banded hydria and an incised coarse ware jug (**Fig. 49**) were also attested. Some of the funerary vessels were found with traces of large openings on their bodies for the insertion of the body of the deceased. Most Late Geometric enchytrismoι were furnished with miniature and small-sized drinking and pouring vessels such as oinochoai and jugs, kantharoi and cups, all with typical geometric decoration. Larger vessels were also found as offerings in some of the burials (**Figs 50-51**). On the other hand, the single Late Archaic enchytrismos (Appendix A: Cat. No. 124) was made inside a transport amphora (**Fig. 52**) and did not contain any grave goods. Unfortunately, no information is provided in the preliminary reports as regards the presence or absence of skeletal remains associated to these burials. Despite thorough search, the excavation diaries as well as the osteological material itself could not be located in the storage rooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens.

²⁰⁶ Alexandri 1968f, 89-92. The Late Archaic enchytrismos Cat. No. 124 (Appendix A) is mistakenly included in the preliminary reports among the Late Geometric burials. Although the diaries from these excavations could not be located, I was able to study the material in person.

Kotzia Square

An unknown number of enchytrismoι dating to the 7th. and 6th c. BC come from the excavations at Kotzia Square, yet no further information is provided by the excavators.²⁰⁷

Academy Area

Academy of Plato

The site of the Academy of Plato,²⁰⁸ has also provided ample evidence for enchytrismos burials (**Plan 7**).²⁰⁹ More particularly, seven Late Geometric urn burials have been discovered on a low mound erected on top of the so-called “Early Helladic building” excavated at the site. At the time of their discovery, these burials were described as child cremations. However, their distinct characteristics rather point to their identification as enchytrismoι. Furthermore, Alexandridou, who is currently studying the material from these excavations, notes that the photograph of the skull found inside Grave “UB8” is clearly unburnt, despite Stavropoulos’ indication of being partly cremated. While this is not enough to discredit the excavator’s account regarding all seven urn burials found on over the “Early Helladic building”, at least some of them were enchytrismoι. The funerary vessels were invariably set on their sides, facing north or south (**Figs 53-54**) and consisted mainly in neck-amphorae with banded decoration

²⁰⁷ Zachariadou-Kyriakou 1988, 24; Orfanou 1998, 68 Table 1.

²⁰⁸ Stavropoulos 1956; 1958; Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010; Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011a; Alexandridou *et al.*, with references to the excavation diaries.

²⁰⁹ As Alexandridou rightly notes, Stavropoulos’ reports on the graves do not always allow to securely identify whether he is describing cremations or inhumations. The absence of bones has further hindered their identification. I would like to thank Associate Professor A. Alexandridou for providing me all the information on the unpublished enchytrismoι from the site of the Academy as this will appear in the volume she is currently preparing with M. Chountasi, A. Livieratou and A. Mazarakis Ainian.

(Fig. 56). A “SOS” type amphora and a vase decorated with horse protomes were also used as funerary containers. Most burial urns were sealed with drinking vases such as cups, lids or bases of other fragmentary vessels. Grave offerings were placed mainly inside the amphorae whilst a handmade cooking pot was usually found in an upright position near their foot. Two of the urn burials also contained artefacts positioned outside the funerary vessels. The grave goods comprised exclusively of vases, mostly of miniature size, such as cups, skyphoi, oinochoai, Argive monochrome juglets and a tankard. One of the cups contained burnt animal bones which have been interpreted as remains of “enagismoi”. More possible enchytrismoi have been excavated inside and in proximity to the Sacred House.²¹⁰

More enchytrismoi have been discovered at the site of the Academy inside two deep pits interpreted as “collective” child graves.²¹¹ The first pit, the so-called “deep deposit”, was located next to the “Early Helladic building” and contained 40 enchytrismoi. The second pit was found 47 metres to its southwest and contained 12 enchytrismoi. Inside the first pit, the vases were placed carefully on their sides in nine subsequent layers. Neck-amphorae prevailed as funerary containers and provide a dating for the burials to the final decades of the 8th c. and the transition to the 7th c. BC. Possible offerings may be identified in the fragments of smaller vases found among the layers of the burials. The enchytrismoi of the second pit are roughly contemporary and seem to have been deposited over a period of two or three decades. The vases, also mainly banded amphorae and coarse ware cooking pots, were carelessly thrown inside the pit. The vessels lacked any kind of break for the insertion of the deceased.

²¹⁰ Alexandridou *et al.* forthcoming.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

Consequently, based on their size and mouth diameter, Alexandridou interprets them as belonging to late-term foetuses or newborns.

Rouf

A single 6th c. enchytrismos is reported from the rescue excavations at the Old Vegetable Market in the area of Rouf (Appendix A: Cat. No. 125).²¹² According to the excavator, a “child” skeleton was found inside a relief pithos, together with a lekythos and an amphoriskos bearing black-figured decoration.

Votanikos

Two enchytrismoι dating to the Late Geometric and the 7th c. respectively are mentioned from the excavations at Kastorias St. in the area of Votanikos (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 126-127).²¹³ Each of these burials is reported by the excavator as consisting of more than one funerary vessel. However, since the vases used for each burial do not seem to be joint in any way (**Fig. 57**), it is not clear why each vessel has not been considered as separate enchytrismos. It seems, therefore, much more likely that these “two” enchytrismoι in reality represent four or five separate burials. The offerings reported by the excavator include drinking and pouring vessels such as skyphoi, kantharoi, cups, an oinochoe and a jug. Another two 7th c. enchytrismoι are known from Chalkidikis St. & Iera Odos in the same area (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 128-129).²¹⁴ The first was accompanied by a necklace made of a bronze chain and an

²¹² Kallipolitis 1965, pl. 72ε.

²¹³ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1987, 22-23.

²¹⁴ Stoupa 1995, 42.

incised faience miniature aryballos while the second was unfurnished. The proximity of the enchytrismoι at Votanikos cannot exclude the possibility that they belong to a single cemetery.

Kolonos

A number of enchytrismoι has been unearthed during rescue excavations in the wider area of Kolonos. An unspecified number of enchytrismos burials, vaguely dated to the Geometric and Classical periods, comes from 127 Lenorman St.²¹⁵ Unfortunately no more information is provided for these interments. One more 7th c. enchytrismos is known from the same area, namely from the junction between Achilleos, M. Alexandrou & Kolonou St (Appendix A: Cat. No. 130).²¹⁶ A “SOS” amphora was used for the interment (**Fig. 57**). A few child bones and a skyphos were recovered from inside the amphora. Enchytrismoι are also mentioned among the late 6th c. BC infant burials excavated on Skouze Hill,²¹⁷ yet no further details are provided by the excavator. Unfortunately, neither the diaries nor the material from this excavation could be located.²¹⁸

Kynosarges

Numerous enchytrismoι seem to have been discovered during the excavations at 10 Diamantopoulou St at Kynosarges.²¹⁹ The earliest among them dates to the Late Geometric period (Appendix A: Cat. No. 131) and was made inside a banded amphora. A few remains of

²¹⁵ Stoupa 2006, 116.

²¹⁶ Alexandri 1973-1974, 123; Excavation Diary AA 162.III.4 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens).

²¹⁷ Kourouniotis 1899, 33.

²¹⁸ The finds from these excavations are included in the relevant inventories of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens but could not be located in the storage rooms. Furthermore, the excavation diaries could not be found in the archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens which holds most of Kourouniotis' writings, or at the National Archive of Monuments (ΔΕΑΜ).

²¹⁹ Iliopoulos 2001-2004, 213.

child bones were found inside the amphora. Drinking and pouring vases were given to the deceased as grave offerings. All others seem to date in the Archaic period: a “Horseman” belly-amphora contained the remains of child bones, drinking and pouring vessels (Appendix A: Cat. No. 132). Trade amphorae were used for at least two other enchytrismoι. The first was completely unfurnished while the second reportedly contained the decayed bones of a “baby” who was furnished with an aryballos-lekythos and a miniature olpe. The preliminary report suggests the existence of more enchytrismoι from the same cemetery, yet no dating or photographs of the associated finds are provided.

Southern Athens

Tavros

A single enchytrismoι has so far been unearthed in the modern area of Tavros, during excavations carried out on 25th March St (Appendix A: Cat. No. 133).²²⁰ The burial amphora reportedly dates to the beginning of the 6th. BC and was found without grave offerings or osteological material.

Kallithea

Two enchytrismoι come from a small Late Geometric burial plot excavated at 240 Theseos St at Kallithea (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 134-135).²²¹ Neck-amphorae were used as funerary vessels while a small number of miniature drinking and pouring vessels were found

²²⁰ Petritaki 2001-2004, 457; Excavation Diary No. 1544,1561 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Western Attica).

²²¹ Kallipolitis 1964s, 65, 67.

inside them (**Fig. 58**). Another seven enchytrismoι have been unearthed at 239 Andromachis St.²²² According to the excavator, pithos-shaped vessels and amphorae were employed to contain the deceased individuals. The only enchytrismoς which is clearly dated by the excavator (Appendix A: Cat. No. 136) was placed inside a “Horsehead” amphora of ca. 600-575 BC (**Fig. 60**). Very few bone remains were found inside this vase. The burial was furnished with a lidded pyxis, an oinochoe and two miniature kyathoi.

Moschato

Two Late Geometric enchytrismoι come from 4 Kyprou St. in the area of Moschato (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 137-138).²²³ Amphorae containing only a few bones were used for both burials. Offerings accompanied only one of these interments and included a number of drinking and pouring vessels. Three more Late Geometric enchytrismoι, without further details, are mentioned in the preliminary report from the excavations at 2 Korai St.²²⁴ Personal consultation of the excavation diaries revealed the presence of a fourth undated enchytrismoς from this particular plot. Since no traces of previous or later funerary activity were identified in the plot and all four enchytrismoι form a coherent cluster, it seems likely that they are all contemporary (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 139-142). The funerary vessels included two amphorae, a pithos-amphora as well as a vessel of unclear identification. This vase was reportedly found in an inverted position inside a pyre. One of the amphorae was sealed using a stone (Appendix A Cat. No. 141). Bones were reported from only two of the burials (Appendix A: Cat. Nos. 139

²²² Petritaki 2009, 259- 260.

²²³ Petritaki 2006, 204-205; Excavation Diary No. 1235 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Western Attica).

²²⁴ Petritaki 2007, 241; Excavation Diary No. 1547 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Western Attica).

and 142). The offerings associated to the enchytrismoi included small-sized skyphoi, an aryballos-lekythos and pottery fragments.

Argyroupolis

A single Late Geometric enchytrismos comes from the Air Force Base at Vouliagmenis Avenue in Argyroupolis (Appendix A: Cat. No. 143).²²⁵ The neck-amphora used as a funerary container (**Fig. 61**) was sealed with a phiale and contained only a few bones. The discovery of a largely destroyed pithos nearby, may indicate the existence of one more possible enchytrismos within the limits of the plot.

Phaleron

A very large number of enchytrismos burials has been excavated in the cemetery at Phaleron at the locality of Voidolivadon.²²⁶ While their exact number remains unclear, the available evidence suggests at least 300 burials of this type dating from the early 7th c. to the first half of the 5th c. BC.²²⁷ Only the enchytrismoi from the 1916 excavations have allowed for their detailed cataloguing (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 144-190). The available information suggests that the funerary vessels employed for the enchytrismoi at Phaleron were set on their

²²⁵ Tsirivakos 1968, 112–113.

²²⁶ For the early 20th c. excavations, see Kourouniotis 1911; Pelekidis 1916; Young 1942. For the recent excavations at the same cemetery, see Alexandropoulou 2019 who particularly focuses on enchytrismos burials. Further information for these excavations derives from the lecture given by Chryssoulaki, the cemetery's excavator, at the Acropolis Museum (<https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-arhaiko-nekrotafeio-sto-delta-falirou/>, accessed July 2019).

²²⁶ Alexandropoulou 2019, 261-285.

²²⁷ Kourouniotis reports 44 Late Geometric/Early Archaic enchytrismoi from the first excavations at Voidolivadon (1911). Some years later, another 47 enchytrismoi were discovered by Pelekidis (1916) of which 25 were republished by Young (1942). Alexandropoulou reports another 238 enchytrismoi from the new excavations (2019).

sides and were sometimes retained in place by stones. Their mouths were sealed with stone slabs, fragments or whole other vessels. When the vessel's mouth was not large enough for the insertion of the body, a part of the belly was carefully cut-off to introduce the skeleton. The categories of funerary containers included coarse ware undecorated pots, neck-amphorae (**Fig. 61-62, 66**), transport amphorae (**Fig. 67**), and belly-amphorae. Pithoi were also commonly used for the interments (**Fig. 63**). A single pithos-amphora was also employed (**Figs 69**). Most of the vessels were undecorated although a smaller number of decorated vases was also attested. The latter include mainly "SOS" type amphorae as well as a smaller number of vases with figured decoration. For example, a running dog is depicted inside the panel of a black-glazed belly-amphora (**Fig. 68**) while a pair of confronted bearded sphinxes decorates the Protoattic pithos-amphora mentioned above (**Fig. 70**). Quite frequently, the vases were found blackened on one side and repaired. Osteological analyses which have so far been carried out on some of the skeletons from the most recent excavations have demonstrated that the enchytrismoι at Phaleron belonged to foetuses, newborns, infants, and to a lesser extent, young children (1.5 - 4 years-old).

Most enchytrismoι from Phaleron were furnished with two to nine or 11 objects. These were mainly miniature vessels such as cups, skyphoi, oinochoai, lekythoi, pyxides and aryballoi (**Figs 65**). In the Late Archaic period, black-figure lekythoi also formed part of the funerary assemblage. A small number of figurines as well as pendants were also found as grave goods.

Glyfada

Eight enchytrismoι have been unearthed during the excavations at Artemidos and Themistokleous St. in Glyfada.²²⁸ The dating provided for these burials ranges from the second half of the 6th to the first quarter of the 5th c. BC. Transport amphorae, a “Horseman” belly-amphora (**Fig. 70**), a pithos and a *kados* (amphora?) were used as funerary containers. Very few remains of bones were reportedly discovered inside these vases. Grave offerings included black-figure lekythoi and black glazed vases such as skyphoi, pyxides, lekanidai, and olpai.

Northern Athens

Chalandri

The cemetery excavated at Herakleidon and Roubesi St. in Chalandri, has provided evidence of five enchytrismoι dating to the Late Geometric and the turn of the 7th c. BC (**Fig. 71**).²²⁹ Although osteological material was not recovered from any these burials, the size of the funerary vases has led to identify their occupants as newborns and infants. The burial urns were set on their side with their mouths sealed with plates and/or flat stone slabs. Coarse ware vessels (mainly chytrai), a single pithos and an amphora were employed for the enchytrismoι. Without exception, these enchytrismoι were furnished with vases that were placed outside the burial vessels. The main types attested are miniature drinking and pouring vessels. Regular-sized coarse ware jugs, blackened on one side, were found in an upright position beside the funerary vases.

²²⁸ Antonopoulou 2007, 254-255.

²²⁹ Pologiorgi 2003-2009, 143-210.

Kephissia-Dionysos

Numerous enchytrismoι are reported from the excavations of the large cemetery at Sophokleous and Acharnon St. at Kato Kephissia.²³⁰ Although the cemetery was in use from the Late Geometric period to the 4th c. AD, most enchytrismoι are reported as dating to the Archaic period. The material from these excavations remains unpublished and no information is provided for the individual characteristics of the interments. The only other enchytrismoι from Northern Athens comes from Rapentosa in the area of Dionysos.²³¹ This Late Archaic burial reportedly forms part of a wide unexcavated cemetery. A pithos was used for this enchytrismoι and was accompanied by an unguent vessel.

West Attica

Eleusis

The West Cemetery at Eleusis has provided evidence of more than 30 enchytrismoι dating to the period covered by the present study.²³² Five of these burials date to the Late Geometric (**Plan 8**), while all others date in the Archaic period (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 191-219). Additional undated burials of the same type are also known from the cemetery. All enchytrismoι have been identified as belonging to children. The funerary vessels used for the interments were set on their sides inside the bottom of pits (**Fig. 75-79**). Only in one case was the lower part of a pithos found standing upright on its base (Appendix A: Cat. No. 209). The funerary vessels were sealed at the mouth using stone plaques or stones, intact vessels, or, more rarely, a clay plaque or tile. During the late 8th c. BC, pithoi (**Fig. 80**), sometimes bearing

²³⁰ Schilardi 2009.

²³¹ Christodoulou 1995, 67.

²³² Mylonas 1975.

incised decoration, and, to a lesser extent, amphorae were the prevalent types of funerary containers. From the 7th c. onwards the vases used to contain the interments were more varied, including elaborately decorated amphorae (**Fig. 81**), pithoi and other vessel types. One funerary container in particular stands out among the rest (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 196): the colossal Protoattic amphora of Eleusis by the Polyphemus Painter, a masterpiece of Protoattic pottery depicting mythological scenes (**Fig. 82**). From the end of the 6th c. BC, transport amphorae (**Fig. 83**) become the most frequently employed type of container, a practice which continues throughout the Classical period.

Grave goods accompanied almost all the enchytrismoι from the West Cemetery of Eleusis. Miniature or small-sized drinking and pouring vessels including skyphoi, kantharoi, kyathoi and oinochoai (**Fig. 84**) constitute the most commonly encountered artefacts. Black-figure lekythoi were also deposited inside Late Archaic enchytrismoι (**Fig. 85**) Surprisingly, the enchytrismoι placed inside the most impressive funerary vessels were not accompanied by any grave goods (e.g. Appendix A: Cat. No. 196). An interesting case may be presented by Cat. No. 199, dating to the 7th c. BC. Near the mouth of the amphora used as a burial container, traces of a pyre with tiny fragments of burnt sheep bones and an intact, but completely burnt, jug were located. According to the excavator, these remains represent evidence of animal sacrifice in honour of the deceased.

The early 20th c. excavations at the South cemetery at Eleusis revealed an unspecified number of enchytrismoι in “simple” large vessels of the “Dipylon” kind. These finds may tentatively be understood as belonging to the Late Geometric period and the early decades of the 7th c. BC.²³³ More Late Geometric enchytrismoι were found during the second excavation

²³³ Filios 1889, 174-175, 177.

season.²³⁴ Among them, only four could be catalogued (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 220-223). Their excavator reports that the funerary containers were usually found on their sides, sometimes retained by stones, plaques or raw bricks. Their mouths were occasionally sealed with other vessels. The vases used for these interments were pithoi (**Fig. 74**), amphorae (**Fig. 72**) and jugs (**Fig. 73**), but also “lagynoi”, a hydria and a stamnos. Another 14 enchytrismoι of a vaguely “Geometric” dating were unearthed in the excavation season of 1912, yet no further information is provided by their excavator.²³⁵

A substantial number of Late Geometric and Archaic enchytrismoι have also been unearthed during the numerous rescue excavations conducted in various locations of the modern town of Eleusis.²³⁶ All this material remains unpublished and no access was granted to consult the excavation diaries. Information from the preliminary reports on the exact number of graves and the individual characteristics of these burials is meagre or absent. The only enchytrismoι which have been clearly dated to the Late Geometric period come from the excavations at Thivon St. (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 224-226).²³⁷ According to their excavator, these enchytrismoι were made exclusively inside amphorae.

Enchytrismoι of the Early Archaic period seem to be more numerous. The largest sample of Early Archaic enchytrismoι from Eleusis comes from the partially excavated cemetery at Dimitros St.²³⁸ According to the excavator, 31 infants and children were buried inside undecorated pithoi, other incised coarse ware vases and amphorae with Sub-Geometric

²³⁴ Skias 1898, 29-122.

²³⁵ Skias 1912, 1-39. Unfortunately, the daybooks from these excavations could not be located and access was not granted to examine the material.

²³⁶ Unfortunately, none of these burials have so far been published and illustrations are entirely lacking from the preliminary reports.

²³⁷ Alexandri 1967c, 122.

²³⁸ Papangeli 1988b, 47.

decoration. The few skeletons found in a good state of preservation indicate that the deceased was placed in a contracted position with the head towards the opening of the burial vessels. The enchytrismoι from Dimitros St. were both furnished and unfurnished. Grave goods included Protocorinthian vases, contemporary “Phaleron type” pottery and local imitations of small jugs of the Argive monochrome ware. Six more enchytrismoι dating to the 7th c. have been unearthed near the archaeological site of Eleusis, namely at 20 Kimonos St.²³⁹ All have been reported as belonging to infants and children buried inside undecorated pithos-amphorae that were placed on their sides inside the burial pits. The enchytrismoι were furnished with a small number of small-sized vases such as cups, jugs, a pyxis and one lekaneis.²⁴⁰ More enchytrismoι of the Late Geometric/Early Archaic period are reported from the partially excavated cemetery revealed on Ethnikis Antistaseos St.²⁴¹ and Tsoka St.²⁴² Pithoi and amphorae were used as funerary containers for these burials while Attic and imported Protocorinthian vases constituted their funerary assemblage. More enchytrismoι placed inside amphorae dating from the 6th c. to the of the Classical period are reported.

Aspropyrgos and Megara

Information for enchytrismoι from the rest of western Attica is fragmentary and remains unpublished. Among them, two enchytrismoι come from the area of Moulki at Aspropyrgos

²³⁹ Papangeli 1998, 78.

²⁴⁰ More enchytrismoι are known from excavations within the modern city of Eleusis without, however, being accurately dated. See e.g. the 18 enchytrismoι from Kouyioumtzoglou St. found in a cemetery whose use is attested from the Late Geometric to the Classical period (Papangeli 1985, 36-37; Manoliadis and Angelou plots; 1992, 35; Dallios plot). Also, the eight enchytrismoι from the partially excavated cemetery at Heroon Polytechniou St. (Papangeli 1999, 87-88) used from the Sub-Geometric to the Classical period.

²⁴¹ Papangeli 1991, 36. Only one enchytrismoι from these excavations was sufficiently described by its excavator allowing for its cataloguing (Appendix A: Cat. No. 226)

²⁴² Papangeli 1989, 31.

(Appendix A: Cat Nos 228-229).²⁴³ These interments, dated to the 7th and to the end of the 6th c. respectively, were placed inside a coarse ware hydria and an amphora. Both were furnished with drinking vessels and a lekythos. Two more enchytrismoï are reported among burials dating from the Late Geometric to the Late Archaic period, excavated at Pagkalou and Sofokleous St. in the area of Megara.²⁴⁴ A pithos and a transport amphora were used to contain the interments. The pithos was sealed with a large stone slab and contained bone fragments reported to belong to an adult skeleton. No information is provided for the discovery of skeletal remains inside the trade amphora. Both enchytrismoï lacked grave offerings.²⁴⁵

East Attica

Thorikos

Published evidence for enchytrismoï from east Attica is limited to the cemeteries at Thorikos. More particularly, four Late Geometric/7th c. enchytrismoï have been excavated at the “Necropolis D1” (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 230-232).²⁴⁶ At least 11 more come from the so-called “South Necropolis” (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 233-243) and date to the early 7th c. BC.²⁴⁷ Finally, another 24 enchytrismoï dated to the same century come from the “West Necropolis”

²⁴³ Kyriakou-Zapheirou 1998, 77.

²⁴⁴ Zoridis 1991, 51.

²⁴⁵ Another two enchytrismoï are reported from Mykinon St., also in Megara, among burials dated from the Late Geometric to the first half of the 5th c. BC (Zoridis 1987, 36).

²⁴⁶ <http://thorikos.be/overzicht/necropoliszuid/necropoliszuidmain.html>.

²⁴⁷ Kallipolitis 1963; 1965; Bingen 1968b, 51 provides a catalogue of the Corinthian pottery associated to the graves without explicitly mentioning which objects were associated to each grave. This is because the catalogue focuses on the Corinthian pottery from the graves and is not an exhausting publication of the excavated material. More information for the individual characteristics of the burials was derived from <http://thorikos.be/overzicht/necropoliszuid/necropoliszuidmain.html>.

(**Plan 9**). Another three enchytrismoï which date to the 6th c. were also found in the latter cemetery (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 244-269).²⁴⁸

All enchytrismoï from Thorikos are reported as belonging to infants and young children. However, osteological material has been recovered and reported from only a small number of the excavated burials. The vases used for the interments were set on their sides and were sometimes retained by small stones. Frequently, two or three stone slabs were placed in an upright position on the sides of the vases forming a partial individual enclosure (**Fig. 86**). The funerary containers were mainly pithoi, sometimes with incised decoration (**Figs 89**), other coarse ware pots such as jugs and chytrai (**Figs 87-88**), and to a lesser extent, hydriae and amphorae (**Figs 90-92**). When furnished, enchytrismoï were provided with drinking and pouring vessels, mostly of miniature and small size (**Figs 93-94**). From the 6th c. onwards, lekythoi and pyxides were also found among the funerary offerings (**Fig. 95**).

More enchytrismoï from Thorikos are known from the site of Foinikia in the area of Kalyvia.²⁴⁹ These burials, dated to the 7th c. BC, remain unpublished. According to the excavator, the funerary vessels employed were pithoi of various sizes accompanied by vases deposited as grave offerings.

Vari (Anagyrous)

Eleven enchytrismoï of the Late Geometric period are mentioned in the preliminary report from the excavations at the site of Lathouriza in Vari.²⁵⁰ The vases used for these interments were positioned on their sides. Their mouths were sealed using small schist plaques,

²⁴⁸ Bingen 1967a 35-36; 1967b, 43; 1968b, 60-73; 1969, 99-108; 1984, 81-143.

²⁴⁹ Tsaravopoulos 1997, 86.

²⁵⁰ Kazazaki 2008, 182-185.

fragments of vessels and earth or small phialai. Amphorae of various sizes, “without much decoration” are reported as funerary containers. Grave offerings were placed mainly inside the burial vases and included miniature vases such as one-handled cups, phialai, oinochoai and jugs. In the few cases where the enchytrismoι were found inside larger burial pits, the offerings were also placed outside the funerary vessels in their immediate proximity.

The so-called Southeast Necropolis of Vari has provided evidence of 16 enchytrismoι dating to the Late Geometric and Archaic periods (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 270-285).²⁵¹ The vases used for the burials were invariably set on their sides with their mouths sealed using stones, intact or fragmentary vessels (**Fig. 96**). Coarse ware amphorae (**Fig. 97**), pithoi, and in one case a panel belly-amphora depicting a panther (**Fig. 98**) were employed as funerary containers. Many of the enchytrismoι were found entirely empty of bones. The meagre osteological material recovered has been interpreted as belonging to newborns and infants. Funerary offerings accompanied most of the enchytrismoι. These included mainly miniature vases, such as Attic and Corinthian aryballoi, skyphoi, kotylai, and olpai (**Fig. 99**). A single 6th c. enchytrismos was surmounted by an unworked stone placed in an upright-position, in all likelihood functioning as a grave marker.

Enchytrismoι are also known from the “North Necropolis” of Vari”.²⁵² Seven such burials dating to the Late Geometric, or, more likely, to the early 7th c. BC, were excavated south of Tumulus 2 (Plan 10). The funerary vessels were placed on their sides inside pits and were retained by river stones. Only two of these enchytrismoι contained a few remains of bones. Amphorae, mainly undecorated, were used as funerary containers. A relief pithos was

²⁵¹ Kallipolitis 1963, 115-132; 1965, 11; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1984; 1985.

²⁵² Alexandridou 2012a; 2012b, with primary references (including the excavation reports and the excavation diaries of Stavropoulos).

also used for one enchytrismos. Most vases were found without any evidence of lids, while two were sealed at the mouth using stones. When furnished, the grave offerings found in enchytrismoi included miniature cups and oinochoai. Another three enchytrismoi, dating to the 6th c. BC were covered by Tumulus 3 (**Plan 11**) of the same necropolis. Information regarding their individual characteristics is fragmentary: two were made inside trade amphorae with black-figure lekythoi mentioned as the associated grave offerings. Tumulus 5 covered two separate enclosures both of which have brought to light child enchytrismos burials. *Enclosure I* contained two enchytrismoi inside a hydria and a stamnos (nos 10 and 14). The enchytrismos inside the hydria was furnished with a miniature drinking cup and an oinochoe. *Enclosure II* included another six enchytrismoi (numbered 32 and 34-38 by the excavator) (**Plan 12**). Among the funerary vessels, a *kalpis*, a large oinochoe and a hydria were reported. Bone remains were found only inside the *kalpis*. Some of the vases were sealed at the mouth with stones. When furnished, the enchytrismoi accommodated miniature drinking vessels and at least one oinochoe. One more enchytrismos comes from *Enclosure III* (Appendix A: Cat. No. 286) (**Plan 13**). The burial pithos employed for this interment was placed against the head of a semi-cremated adult. Despite the absence of funerary offerings from inside the pithos, these two burials have been interpreted as belonging to a child and its mother. The pithos was furnished with aryballoi of Corinthian provenance, found together with miniature vessels such as kotylai, a pyxis, an oinochoe, a support, two *louteria* and a *lekane*.

Eight more enchytrismoi have been excavated at Sokratous and Herakleiou St. in the area of Vlachika at Vari (**Plan 14**).²⁵³ Of these four can be dated to the 6th c. BC. The remaining enchytrismoi cannot be dated with certainty due to the extremely poor state of preservation of

²⁵³ Kourinou 1981, 54.

their coarse ware funerary recipients and the absence of associated funerary offerings. However, since no funerary activity in the plot dates earlier or later than the late 6th/early 5th c. BC, it is likely that all eight enchytrismoι are roughly contemporary (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 287-294).²⁵⁴ The burial vases were set on their sides and sealed with bases of other vessels, or in one case with a mudbrick (**Figs 100-101**). Coarse ware chytrai, hydriai and a pithos were used for the interments. When furnished (e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 287-288, 292), enchytrismoι were mainly associated with drinking vessels, mainly placed inside the funerary vases (**Fig. 104**).

Marathon

A part of the necropolis at Vranas in Marathon, excavated in the early 20th c. has been reported as exclusively dedicated to the burial of young children.²⁵⁵ The vast majority among them consisted of enchytrismoι placed inside pithoi. The mouth of these vases was sealed by stone slabs. The grave goods associated to these enchytrismoι offerings were miniature and small-sized vases that were placed inside or nearby the funerary vessels.

Excavations at Oinoe at Marathon have revealed at least 10 more enchytrismoι dated from the early 7th to the beginning of the 6th c (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 295-304).²⁵⁶ The funerary urns were set on their sides with their mouths sealed by schist slabs or stones (**Fig. 102**). Stones were also occasionally used to retain the vases in place. Coarse ware pithoi (**Fig. 103**), amphorae (**Fig. 104**) and a single hydria were all used to contain the bodies of the deceased. Most burials were furnished with miniature vessels such as skyphoi, cups, oinochoai

²⁵⁴ For this reason, all four enchytrismoι have been included in our catalogue.

²⁵⁵ Sotiriadis 1934, 37-38.

²⁵⁶ Arapogianni 1985, 214-219.

and aryballoi (**Fig. 106-106**). These were placed either inside the vases or inside the fill of the burial pits. One miniature terracotta horse figurine, a small steatite loom weight and small bronze ring were also found as grave goods.

One more enchytrismos is known from the cemetery of Nea Makri (Appendix A: Cat. No. 305).²⁵⁷ This Late Geometric interment was placed inside a handmade jug which reportedly contained the skeleton of the deceased (**Fig. 107a**). A four-legged terracotta animal figurine was also found inside the burial vessel (**Fig. 107b**). An unknown number of Late Archaic enchytrismoï without further details is also reported from the area of Skaleza.²⁵⁸ Finally, enchytrismoï inside amphorae, pithoi, *lekanai*, hydriae, dating from the late 7th c. to the end of the Archaic period are reported from the cemetery at Kato Souli–Schinias.²⁵⁹

Markopoulo

At least 19 possible enchytrismoï dating in the period between 560 and 510 BC come from the Archaic Cemetery at Merenda.²⁶⁰ The poor state of preservation of the pottery cannot confirm whether all these burials were enchytrismoï or both enchytrismoï and secondary cremations. It should be noted, however, that some of the funerary vessels were found standing upright, as is commonly the case for the urns used for secondary cremations. On the other hand, other funerary containers were found lying on their sides, a positioning which is usually indicative of enchytrismoï.

²⁵⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 2011a, 704.

²⁵⁸ Theocharaki 1980, 84.

²⁵⁹ The cemetery was found during the excavations prompted by the construction of the Olympic Rowing Centre: Oikonomakou 2001-2004, 374; 2009, 275, fig. 12.

²⁶⁰ Excavated at the area of the modern Olympic Equestrian Centre and new Race-course: Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 334; Anetakis *et. al* 2009.

The cemetery which developed on the northern side of Markopoulo has so far brought to light two Late Geometric enchytrismoi, both excavated at 30 Papavasileiou St (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 306-307).²⁶¹ The pithos-shaped vessels used for the interments were retained by small stones. Miniature vases such as oinochoai and drinking vases were found as grave offerings (**Fig. 108**). These vessels were carefully positioned among the small stones which retained the funerary vessels in place.

Pallene

Excavations at Stavros Geraka (19 & 23 Marathonos Avenue)²⁶² revealed four enchytrismoi of the 6th c. all concentrated in the northern part of the cemetery (**Plan 15**). Another six enchytrismoi, dated ca. 500 BC, were found to the south and southeast. From the earliest enchytrismoi, only a spherical decorated chytra-shaped vessel was found intact. The vases used for the enchytrismoi dated to the turn of the 6th c. were found in a better state of preservation. These were mainly pithoi that were set on their sides, sealed at the mouth and retained by stones (**Fig. 109**). One of the pithoi was decorated with a repeated relief scene on its shoulder depicting a Scythian archer holding his horse. This enchytrismos contained the bones of the young child and numerous offerings. Of the remaining pithoi, three are reported as richly furnished with no more details for the types of offerings.

²⁶¹ Kakavogianni 1983, 61.

²⁶² Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 314; Antonopoulou and Manganioti 2009, 373-382.

Spata and Paiania

Enchytrismoi dating from the 7th to the 5th c. BC without any further details have been reported from Kykladon St. at the locality of Fouresi at Glyka Nera.²⁶³ Furthermore, a single pithos burial of the Late Archaic period has been excavated at Spata-Petsa (Appendix A: Cat. No. 308).²⁶⁴ The skeleton of the young child found inside the pithos was accompanied by miniature vessels including a skyphos and three black-figure lekythoi.

Porto Rafti

One more enchytrismos, dating to the 6th c. BC, has been discovered at the locality of Tarde in the area of Porto Rafti (Appendix A: Cat. No. 309).²⁶⁵ The burial was furnished with black-figure lekythoi, a miniature skyphos and a pyxis.

Acharnai (Auliza - Gerovouno)

Three or four Late Geometric enchytrismoi are reported from Mela St. at Acharnai.²⁶⁶ The preliminary report, however, reveals that the excavators of these grounds employ the term “enchytrismos” to describe both enchytrismoi and secondary cremations. Therefore, the exact number of pot burials containing inhumations cannot not be discerned. The funerary containers of the interments reported as “enchytrismoi” were amphorae, only a number of which contained

²⁶³ 3 Kykladon St. (Kontaxi plot): Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 320; Kykladon and Sifnou St: Kakavogianni 2001-2004b, 320; Kakavogianni and Koutroumpi-Ntouni 2008, 391-398; Kakavogianni *et. al.* 2009, 427, Fig. 7.

²⁶⁴ Kallipolitis 1964b, 72.

²⁶⁵ Alexandri 1975, 38.

²⁶⁶ Platonos and Panousopoulos 2007, 178-179.

osteological material. Only the offerings from a single burial are reported by the excavators as an oinochoe, a skyphos, a pyxis and a jug, all of which were placed outside the funerary vase.

One more enchytrismos of the 7th c. BC, as well as more undated burials of the same type are known from the area of Aghios Athanasios in Acharnai, namely from Saggariou St.²⁶⁷ Information on the characteristics of these burials is entirely lacking. The same is true for the 6th c. enchytrismoι from Ritsou & Chalkidikis St., from 4 Themistokleous St.,²⁶⁸ and from the junction of Mornou and Dimokratias Ave. in the area of Pyrgouthi.²⁶⁹ No information is provided for these burials with the exception of their dating which is placed in the 6th c. BC.

Anavyssos and Old Phokaia

An unknown number of enchytrismos burials was reportedly revealed during the early 20th c. excavations of the low tumuli at Anavyssos.²⁷⁰ Hydriai, pithoi and amphorae were reported as the funerary containers employed for these burials. According to the excavator, many of the funerary vessels were broken and mended before their funerary use. Although no precise dating is provided for these burials, vases of a vaguely “Geometric” date as well as black-figure vases are reported in the preliminary report. It is therefore likely that at least some of the enchytrismoι from Anavyssos date to the period covered by the present study. The shapes of the “Geometric” vases found inside the graves include pithoi, amphorae, hydriai as well as cups, miniature jugs, kyathoi, skyphoi, lekythoi, phialai, plates, kylikes, and alabastra. More enchytrismoι from Anavyssos include a single “Geometric” and four 7th c. BC enchytrismoι

²⁶⁷ Platonos 2006, 148-149.

²⁶⁸ Platonos 1987, 64.

²⁶⁹ Petritaki 2001-2004, 457.

²⁷⁰ Kastriotis and Philadelphus 1911, 110-130.

excavated at the site of the ATE Housing Development, for which no further details are provided.²⁷¹

Three more enchytrismoι of a vaguely “Geometric” dating come from the area of Katafiki. These were revealed during the excavations carried out at Vryoulon St. which brought to light the western part of a looted funerary tumulus.²⁷² Pithos-shaped vases and an amphora were used as funerary containers. Another two enchytrismoι of the Archaic period were also excavated inside the tumulus.

Sounion

Two Late Geometric enchytrismoι come from the large cemetery which is believed to occupy the area west of Cape Sounion.²⁷³ No information is provided for the funerary vessels or osteological material from these interments. Both enchytrismoι were furnished with vases such as skyphoi, oinochoai, kantharoi, cups and pyxides.²⁷⁴

B. Euboea and Oropos

i. The wider mortuary context

Available evidence for Late Geometric and Archaic burial customs in Euboea and Oropos is much more limited when compared to Attica. Firstly, most information comes from

²⁷¹ Kakavogianni 1984, 43-44.

²⁷² Kakavogianni 1987, 96; Kakavogianni and Petrocheilos 2013, 72.

²⁷³ Oikonomakou 1997, 89.

²⁷⁴ Due to their disturbed nature, it is not possible to know which offerings were associated to each burial.

the sites of Eretria and Oropos (**Map 4**), located on opposite sides of the Euboean Gulf.²⁷⁵ For this reason, the following section is not necessarily representative of the mortuary practices of the entire region; future research and publications may considerably alter the observations presented below. Furthermore, funerary evidence from Euboea and Oropos for the period in question dates mainly to the late 8th c. and early 7th c. BC.²⁷⁶ With the exception of the enchytrismos burials that will be presented in the following section, Archaic interments are limited to two burials from Oropos. Therefore, Archaic funerary customs of the region remain unknown.

Late Geometric

Throughout the Geometric period, the funerary evidence from Eretria seems homogenous.²⁷⁷ The last decades of the 8th c. are only diversified by a considerable increase in the number of enchytrismoι which become the prevalent mode of disposal for the biologically youngest individuals.²⁷⁸ Most known exceptions come from the Heroon necropolis in Eretria which has yielded inhumations of a newborn, infants and young children, all of which were buried inside pits without the use of a funerary container.²⁷⁹ A young child was also

²⁷⁵ A necropolis in use from the Late Geometric period to the 1st c. BC has also been located in Karystos (Papachatzis plot). See Chidioglou 2012, 125-126 and n. 586 with references to the preliminary reports. Unfortunately, the cemetery has not yet been published.

²⁷⁶ See most notably the exhaustive publication on burial customs of Geometric Eretria by Blandin (2007a), combined with other important works focusing on burial evidence, such as Bérard (1970) for the so-called “Heroon” necropolis, south of the West Gate of Eretria, and Vlachou (2007) for the funerary pits excavated at Oropos.

²⁷⁷ With the exception of the two child burials discussed below, all other graves from Lefkandi date prior to the Late Geometric period. It is thus not possible to make fruitful comparisons between the Protogeometric/Geometric periods and the late 8th c. BC. During the earlier part of the Early Iron Age both inhumation and cremation were practiced. See e.g. Popham and Sackett 1980; Lemos 2002, 161-168; Lemos 2006, 521.

²⁷⁸ These burials will be discussed in detail below.

²⁷⁹ Blandin 2007a (II), 49-53 (Graves 11-12); 53-55 (Graves 14-16), 58 (Grave 23).

inhumed at Lefkandi.²⁸⁰ The evidence from the Central Quarter of Oropos suggests that older children were also inhumed.²⁸¹

At least in Eretria, cremation appears as the most common burial rite used for adults although a small number of inhumations has also been discovered. Primary and secondary cremation seem to have been practiced simultaneously for adults belonging to both sexes.²⁸² The only evidence for adult burials from Oropos is an inhumation excavated in the Central Quarter (Grave Xia).²⁸³

Primary cremations are known mainly from the Hygionomeion cemetery,²⁸⁴ with a single example from plot O.T.107 in Eretria.²⁸⁵ Whether the funerary pyres of primary cremations were placed inside or over the burial pits has not been clarified. The pits used for primary cremations had the same dimensions as an average adult skeleton, with one exception of a much larger burial pit. Unlike Attica, no ventilation channels have been found inside the pits.²⁸⁶ Almost all secondary cremations from Eretria come from the Heroon necropolis near the West Gate of the city, which is widely accepted as having belonged to members of the local elite.²⁸⁷ Invariably, bronze cauldrons were used to containing the ashes of the deceased from these burials. These cauldrons were found in an upright position, sometimes standing on stones. Stones were also occasionally used to retain and cover the burial urns. Remains of fabrics were

²⁸⁰ Lemos 2005-2006, 62-63; 2012, 2-3.

²⁸¹ Vlachou 2007, 216, 224-225 (shaft graves XXa and XXIII, cist grave VI).

²⁸² Blandin 2007a, 42-52.

²⁸³ Mazarakis Ainian 1996, 94, 108.

²⁸⁴ Kourouniotis 1903; Crielaard 2007.

²⁸⁵ Blandin 2007 (II), 105.

²⁸⁶ Blandin 2007, 42-43.

²⁸⁷ See mainly Bérard 1970; Blandin 2007. One more burial excavated near the West Gate by Kourouniotis, most likely belongs to the same necropolis, according to Blandin (2007, 49). See also Crielaard 1998, 441 and 2007 for the status of the Hygionomeion cemetery.

found inside three of the urns of the Heroon cemetery. These were in all likelihood used to wrap the ashes of the deceased before being placed inside the vases.²⁸⁸

The very few inhumations from Late Geometric Eretria as well as the single inhumation from Oropos were placed inside pits. The graves were not necessarily proportionated to the age of the deceased found inside them. In most cases, the skeletal remains were found in an extremely fragmentary state of preservation and thus prohibited the understanding of the positioning of the deceased buried inside them. Evidence deriving from only two inhumation graves suggests that the deceased were placed in a supine position with the head oriented towards the west.²⁸⁹

The number and types of grave goods found inside Late Geometric Euboean burials vary greatly. Primary cremations were furnished mainly with small open vases, especially skyphoi, but also craters, oinochoai and pyxides. According to the excavator, some of these grave goods were broken and thrown in the pyre while others were deposited intact inside the graves.²⁹⁰ This indicates a diverse manipulation of offerings within burials of the same type.²⁹¹ On the other hand, the offerings of secondary cremations were found intact inside the burial urns and consisted exclusively of metal objects, including weapons and jewellery. No pottery offerings were associated to these burials.²⁹² The inhumations that belonged to children were furnished with pottery including small open vases, mainly skyphoi, feeding bottles, oinochoai and jugs. The vessels seem to have been deposited intact and did not bear any traces of fire.

²⁸⁸ Bérard 1970; Blandin 2007a, 49-52.

²⁸⁹ Blandin 2007, 53.

²⁹⁰ Kourouniotis 1903.

²⁹¹ Blandin 2007a, 85-86. On the other hand, Coldstream (1977, 196) notes the absence of unburnt offerings inside cremation graves, without, however, including examples of references.

²⁹² Blandin 2007a, 52. For a detailed description of the burials at the Heroon see Bérard 1970; Blandin 2007 (II), 49-53.

On the other hand, the two adult inhumations from Eretria and Oropos were found entirely unfurnished.²⁹³

Evidence of grave markers is scarce in Late Geometric Euboea. Some of the craters discovered in the Hygionomeion cemetery have been suggested as having served to mark the primary cremations discovered in the excavations of the early 20th c.²⁹⁴ Interestingly enough, no grave markers surmounted the lavish secondary cremations found at the Heroon necropolis nor the humbler unfurnished inhumations in Eretria.²⁹⁵ In Oropos on the other hand, an unworked or partly dressed stone standing upright may have functioned as a *sema* for the adult inhumed inside Grave Xia.²⁹⁶

Archaic period

As already mentioned, funerary evidence for the Archaic period is limited to two cremation tumuli from Oropos. These low earthen mounds contained one secondary adult cremation each. One of the cremations contained intact drinking and dining vessels of both regular and small (or miniature) size. On the other hand, the second cremation pit contained exclusively pottery sherds, alongside charcoals, small stones and the burnt bones of the deceased. Both tumuli were marked by large rectangular stone slabs.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Blandin 2007a (II), 58 (Grave 24); Mazarakis Ainian 1996, 94 for the inhumation from Oropos (Grave Xia).

²⁹⁴ Kourouniotis (1903, 7-8) reports that the cremations were not marked by *semata*. See *contra* Andronikos (1961-1962, 185). As has been rightly suggested by Blandin, however, we cannot exclude the possibility of some of these craters serving as grave offerings (Blandin 2007a, 42, 70), a suggestion which also implies the possibility of others having served as *semata*.

²⁹⁵ Blandin 2007a, 65, 87.

²⁹⁶ Mazarakis Ainian 1996, 94, 108.

²⁹⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 1996, 85-88; 108; 1997, 37. Mazarakis Ainian (1996, 108) also reports that one more tumulus could have served to mark an adult cremation (Tumulus V).

ii. Enchytrismoι in Euboea and Oropos

Central Euboea

Eretria

A large number of Late Geometric and early 7th c. BC enchytrismoι (Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1-44) is known from the excavations of numerous plots within the modern city of Eretria (**Plan 15**), namely plots: Bouratza, Roussos (**Plan 17**), C/7, Eratonymou, SWTor, House of the Mosaics, OT.29β (**Plan 18**), OT.97 (**Plan 19**), OT.98, OT.295, OT.671, OT. 740 (**Plan 20**).²⁹⁸ Within these plots, enchytrismoι burials consisted of funerary vessels that were invariably set on their sides at the bottom of pits of various sizes (**Fig. 110-112**). While individual interments constituted the norm at the site, two enchytrismoι contained the bodies of two individuals identified as twins by osteological analyses (Appendix B: Cat. Nos 4 and 19). Most burials belonged to newborns and infants up to one-year old, while a smaller number of interments belonged to fetuses. The skeletal material was usually found in a poor state of preservation. The few examples of better preserved skeletons indicate that the deceased was placed with the head either towards the opening of the burial vessel (**Fig. 110**) or towards its base (**Fig. 112**). Various types of vases, were used to contain the burials. Coarse ware vessels, namely amphorae (**Figs 113-114**) and pithoi (**Fig. 115**), outnumber finer wheel-made ware. Rarely were the enchytrismoι under discussion accompanied by grave offerings. The few examples were usually found in singletons or at most in groups of three. These consisted mainly of drinking

²⁹⁸ Blandin 2007 (II), 82-88 (Roussos plot), 96-101 (OT.29b), 102-103 (O.T.97), 113-120 (O.T.740 plot); 9-26 (Bouratza plot), 27-28 (C/7), 29-34 (Eratonymou St.), 79-81 (“House of the Mosaics”), 93 (SWtor), 104 (OT.98).

and pouring vessels of small and miniature size (**Fig. 116**) and were placed either inside or outside the funerary vessels. The only example of a non-ceramic grave offering was a bronze unidentified object (Appendix B: Cat. No. 37).

The Hygionomeion cemetery²⁹⁹ at the west of the site (**Plan 17**), has provided evidence of a total of 40/50 enchytrismos burials dating from ca. 700 BC to the middle of the 6th c. BC.³⁰⁰ Unfortunately, nothing is known for the configuration of the burials; plans, photographs and individual descriptions were not provided in the excavator's brief account. All enchytrismoi are reported as belonging to infants and young children although no information is provided for the absence or presence of skeletal remains from their interior. With the exception of a small number of the vases used for these enchytrismoi that were published in 1952,³⁰¹ the remainder of this material was never fully published. A small number of vases and fragments thereof were also recently located in the storage rooms of the National Museum of Athens and have been included in the present study.³⁰² The available information which has been collected suggests that painted amphorae of the so-called "Eretrian" type (**Figs 117-129**) and, to a lesser extent, pithoi with incised decoration (**Fig. 130**) were used for most of the

²⁹⁹ These enchytrismoi were only summarily presented by Kourouniotis (1897, 21-22; 1898, 95-98; 1903) without details on their individual characteristics. Unfortunately, the excavator's notes from the Hygionomeion excavation are said to have been destroyed during the fire of Smyrna in 1922, where Kourouniotis served as Director of Antiquities. See Blandin 2007a (2), 59 and n. 257 with references. For a summary of the enchytrismoi from the Hygionomeion, see also Blandin 2007a (2), 59-67.

³⁰⁰ While Kourouniotis (1903) initially mentions the discovery of 40 burials from the «πρό τῶν χρόνων τῶν μελανομόρφων ἀγγείων», it is unclear whether the ca. 15 amphorae «ἐκ τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἀσιατιζόντων ἀγγείων» he refers to later on are part of this group. This is most likely the reason for the discrepancy between Blandin (2007 [2], 59) and Crielaard (2007, 170), mentioning 40 and 50 enchytrismoi respectively. Kourouniotis (1903, 2) also mentions one further "Orientalising" enchytrismos from Lizos plot.

³⁰¹ Boardman 1952.

³⁰² Although nothing more is known for the individual characteristics of these burials, the published vessels have been catalogued under Appendix B as representing one enchytrismos each (Cat. Nos 45-91). The main reason behind this choice was to allow for the description of the rather elaborate decoration of these vases.

burials at the Hygionomeion. With the exception of one enchytrismos reportedly associated to three vases (Appendix B: Cat. No. 69), the excavator makes no other mention of grave goods. Personal research was not fruitful in this respect and no artefacts which could have served as grave goods were found in the storage rooms of the National Museum.

An unknown number of enchytrismoι has been discovered during the excavations at the West cemetery of Eretria,³⁰³ some of which date to the very end of the Archaic period (right before 480 BC).³⁰⁴ It is thus not unlikely that at least some of the excavated enchytrismoι at this cemetery could date to the period covered by this study. These enchytrismoι were made inside single pithoi and amphorae but also inside pairs of pithoi which were joint at the mouth to form a single container (**Fig. 131**).

Lefkandi

Only one enchytrismos, dating to the Late Geometric period, has so far been unearthed at Lefkandi in the area of the east harbour of Xeropolis (Appendix B: Cat. No. 92) (**Plan 21**).³⁰⁵ An imported coarse ware neck-handled amphora, imported from Samos, was used as a burial vessel for this interment (**Fig. 132**). The burial urn contained the remains of a newborn and a small jug with incised decoration. According to the excavator, the fragments of pottery which have been discovered in the area may also belong to the interment (or to the child inhumation found in the immediate proximity), or to vases involved in the funerary ritual.

³⁰³ Andreiomenou 1974, 235, Fig. 7, 236 dr. 1.

³⁰⁴ It needs to be noted, however, that I have not seen this material in person.

³⁰⁵ Lemos 2005-2006, 62-63; 2012, 2, figs 1-2, pl. 2.

Oropos

Oropos has so far provided evidence of at least 18 enchytrismoι dated between the late 8th and the first decade of the 7th c. BC (Appendix B: Cat. Nos 93-113). All were excavated in the so-called Central and West Quarters of the site (**Plans 22-23**).³⁰⁶ Many of these interments were found without any skeletal material. Others contained only a few poorly preserved bones that the excavators empirically identified them as belonging to infants and children. The relatively few osteological analyses carried out on the better-preserved remains demonstrated that most of the individuals were indeed infants below the age of one year while a smaller number of interments belonged to foetuses and to children around four or five years old.

Invariably, the funerary containers were set on their sides at the bottom of small shallow or sizeable deep pits (**Fig. 133**). Their mouths were sealed with stones or bases of other vessels (**Figs 134-136**). Coarse ware undecorated jugs were the prevalent type of funerary vessel employed (**Fig. 137**). Amphorae (**Figs 138-139**) and pithoi (**Fig. 140**) were also used, albeit in a much smaller number. The majority of vessels were undecorated. Decorated vases were limited to a spherical oinochoe, a trade amphora from Samos, and an incised pithos, all of which were associated to the site's latest period of use (first decade of the 7th c. BC). The majority of the enchytrismoι from Oropos did not contain any offerings. The few examples of grave goods were placed either inside the funerary vessels or within the fill of the burial pits. These consisted mainly of drinking and pouring vessels of small, or even miniature, size (**Fig. 141**). An elongated object resembling a spearhead, a horn belonging to a small animal and an ivory spectacle fibula were also discovered.

³⁰⁶ Mazarakis Ainian 1996; 1998; 1999; 2001; 2009; 2010; 2011b; Vlachou 2007.

Karystos

At least 15 enchytrismoι dated to the 6th c. BC are reported from Karystos.³⁰⁷ With the exception of one amphora which served as a funerary container,³⁰⁸ the remainder of this material remains unknown.

C. Boeotia

i. The wider funerary context

With the exception of Thebes and its immediate surroundings,³⁰⁹ the funerary customs of Boeotia during the period under study have not been sufficiently presented in comprehensive discussions. Using the available bibliographic evidence and publications, the following section has attempted to bridge this gap in the research of the region. It should be reminded, however, that this is only a very brief presentation of the available funerary data, often based on evidence which has been only summarily presented. It also needs to be noted that, with the exception of the cemeteries in and around Thebes, funerary evidence from the rest of Boeotia dates exclusively to the Archaic period.

Late Geometric period

During the Late Geometric period, infants and children in Boeotia were buried mainly inside enchytrismoι.³¹⁰ Children were also inhumed inside pits without the use of a funerary

³⁰⁷ Chidioglou 2012.

³⁰⁸ Chidioglou 2012, 698 (Museum of Karystos 1550).

³⁰⁹ Kountouri 2008; 2014.

³¹⁰ Kountouri 2008 and 2014 (Thebes Northeast cemetery); Aravantinos 1993; 1994; 1997 (Tachi, ancient Potniai); Andreiomenou 1995 (Aghia Eleousa); Andrikou 1993 (Boeotian Kephissos); Burrows and Ure 1907-1908 and Ure 1934 (Rhitsona).

container, as for example in the cemetery of Aghia Eleousa.³¹¹ Unlike contemporary Attica and Euboea, cremation was not practiced for adults in Late Geometric Boeotia; almost without exception, all known adult burials are inhumations.³¹² Two adult enchytrismoi dated to this period have been reported from the cemetery at Tachi, yet their identification as such is highly problematic. Most probably, these burials belong to older children.³¹³

The meagre available information suggests that inhumations of both children and adults were placed inside rectangular pits cut in the natural bedrock which were sometimes provided with ledges. These pits were usually covered by stone slabs.³¹⁴ Shaft graves with ledges were also occasionally attested as, for example, in the cemetery at Rhitsona. On the other hand, cist graves prevailed among the burials excavated at the bank of the Boeotian Kephissos, while a small number is also known from Rhitsona.³¹⁵ Remains of biers or coffins have not been discovered in any of the so far excavated cemeteries. A stone sarcophagus contained an adult inhumation at Tachi.³¹⁶ The available osteological evidence suggests that the deceased were usually placed inside inhumation graves in a supine extended position.³¹⁷ A smaller number of contracted adult skeletons has also been reported from Rhitsona.³¹⁸ The occasional discovery

³¹¹ Andreiomenou 1995, 144-146 (Grave 9).

³¹² Kountouri 2008, 670; 2014, 218; Aravantinos 1993; 1994; 1997 (Tachi); Andreiomenou 1995 (Aghia Eleousa); Andrikou 1993 (Boeotian Kephissos); Ure 1934 (Rhitsona).

³¹³ Aravantinos 1994, 270. Their identification as adult burials is based on the size of the funerary vessels (0.90 and 1.10m respectively). However, the height of these vases does not seem adequate to contain an adult skeleton and similarly sized vessels in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia contain infant and child burials. Secondly, the funerary vessels were found empty of skeletal remains, a circumstance consistent with child burials. See Chapter IV, 114-115.

³¹⁴ Andrikou 1993; Aravantinos 1993; 1994; 1997; Andreiomenou 1995 (simple pits as well as pits with ledges); Kountouri 2008; 2014.

³¹⁵ Andrikou 1993, 183-186; Ure 1934, 5-6.

³¹⁶ Aravantinos 1993, 169 (Grave 27).

³¹⁷ This information derives exclusively from the Northeast cemetery of Thebes: Kountouri 1999a; 2008; 2014; Aghia Eleousa: Aravantinos 1993; 1994; 1997; Rhitsona: Ure 1934. The positioning of the deceased is not reported for any of the other Boeotian sites.

³¹⁸ Ure 1934.

of pairs of bronze pins over the chest of the deceased in the Northeast cemetery of Thebes and at Aghia Eleousa may suggest that, in some instances, the deceased were clothed or shrouded.³¹⁹ Unfortunately, nothing is known for the positioning of the skeletons of children inside inhumation graves.

Offerings in Late Geometric inhumations of both adults and children were mostly placed inside the burial pits.³²⁰ Not much is known for the placement of objects inside the grave. Exceptions are the two cist graves from Rhitsona for which their excavator clearly states that the grave goods were positioned both on and around the body of the deceased.³²¹ It is interesting to note that in one of these graves, two vases were also placed over the lid of the cist.³²² Pottery prevails among the offerings associated to the burials of all attested age groups. The main shapes encountered include skyphoi, kantharoi, oinochoai, jugs, Argive juglets, one-handed cups, aryballoi, kotylai, and pyxides, and a small number of horseman figurines. Metal finds are significantly fewer and consist of bracelets, rings, pins and fibulae, tweezers, as well as beads of various materials.³²³

Grave markers were infrequent in Late Geometric Boeotia, yet not entirely absent. For example, at least two adult inhumations were marked by piles of stones that were carefully

³¹⁹ Northeast cemetery of Thebes: Kountouri 2014, 218-219 (based on the evidence from the Tsallas plot); Aghia Eleousa: Aravantinos 1993; 1994; 1997. For the discovery of pins and fibulae as suggestive of shrouds for the deceased, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 60.

³²⁰ Kountouri 2014, 220 for Thebes and surrounding sites; Aravantinos 1994, 269 for Tachi; Ure 1934 for Rhitsona.

³²¹ Ure 1934, 8 (Grave 88) and 14 (Grave 134).

³²² Grave 134.

³²³ Kountouri 2008, 671; 2014, 220 for Thebes and surrounding sites; Aravantinos 1993, 169 for Tachi; Andreiomenou 1995 for Aghia Eleousa; Ure 1934 for Rhitsona.

placed on the slabs serving to seal the graves.³²⁴ Traces of funerary ceremonies associated to Boeotian graves during this period are not known to the present day.³²⁵

Archaic period ³²⁶

During the Archaic period, infants and children in Boeotia are still buried in enchytrismoι and simple inhumation pits. Burials of the latter type are, for example, found in the cemetery at Eleon.³²⁷ A very small number of child cremations is also known from the Northeast cemetery of Thebes.³²⁸ Until the very end of the Archaic period, adults remain predominantly inhumed. At the same time, however, adult enchytrismoι become increasingly common. A very small number of adult primary cremations, mainly dating to the 6th c., is also encountered.³²⁹

Overall, inhumation burials were made mostly inside pits or cists similar to those of the Late Geometric period.³³⁰ Shaft graves were also used to contain inhumations at the cemetery of Rhitsona.³³¹ A new type of inhumation grave consisting of roof-tiles also appears during this

³²⁴ Kountouri 2008, 670; 2014, 220 (Tsallas plot T149: Northeast cemetery of Thebes); Aravantinos 1994, 269 (Tachi Grave 43).

³²⁵ Kountouri 2014, 221.

³²⁶ Due to the fragmentary information provided by the excavators, the Archaic period will not be discussed by century, unless when pointing out particularities that do not characterise the entire period.

³²⁷ Aravantinos 2001, 162.

³²⁸ Northeast cemetery of Thebes: Kountouri 1999a (Tomb 66-Tsallas plot); Tachi: Aravantinos 1994, 270-271 (no grave number).

³²⁹ Kountouri 2008, 672 and 2014 for the Northeast and Northwest cemeteries of Thebes, with primary references; Andreiomenou 1995 for Aghia Eleousa; Burrows and Ure 1907-1908, as well as Ure 1934 for Rhitsona); Andreiomenou 2007 for Tanagra.

³³⁰ Kountouri 2008. See also more specifically for the Northwest cemetery of Thebes: Pharaklas 1967, 236 (Papadimitriou plot); Aravantinos 2001-2004, 157-159 (Liakopoulos plot). For Aghia Eleousa, see Andreiomenou 1995. For Rhitsona, see Ure 1907-1908. For Tanagra, see Andreiomenou 2007. For the clusters of graves excavated at the bank of the Boeotian Kephissos, see Andrikou 1993. Finally, for Akraiphia, see mainly Andreiomenou 1989; 1990; 1991b; 1994; Sabetai 1996, 273; Vlachogianni 1998.

³³¹ Andreiomenou 2007; Ure 1934 respectively.

period exclusively employed for the burials of children. Numerous such examples come from the cemetery of Akraiphia.³³² The discovery of metal nails in some graves at Rhitsona indicates that the deceased could also be laid on a bier or inside a coffin.³³³ Both children and adults were buried in an extended supine position as in the previous century.³³⁴

Fewer details are provided for the burial pits of primary cremations. Most of the information comes from Thebes. There, cremation pits consisted of rounded rectangular trenches provided with ledges without any evidence of ventilation channels. The cremation pits were usually lined with clay.³³⁵ Metal nails indicating the existence of some kind of bier or coffin on which the deceased was laid on before being cremated were also found in some of the primary cremations.³³⁶

Grave goods associated to inhumations could be placed exclusively inside the burial pits, around the deceased or near the head and feet.³³⁷ However, offerings could also be placed both inside and outside the grave. This may be observed, for example, at the cemeteries at Eleon, Aghia Eleousa, Rhitsona and Akraiphia.³³⁸ In the cemetery at Eleon, many of the offerings were deliberately broken along the long sides of the grave.³³⁹ It is interesting to that in Rhitsona in particular, offerings were either positioned in a way to form masses at the

³³² Sabetai 2000.

³³³ Burrows and Ure 1907-1908, 242-245.

³³⁴ For the Northeast cemetery of Thebes, see Kountouri 1999a; 1999b. For Aghia Eleousa, see Andreiomenou 1995. For the cemetery at Eleon, see Aravantinos 2001, 162. Finally for Akraiphia, see mainly Sabetai 1996; Sabetai 2000.

³³⁵ Kountouri 2008, 673-674. Nevertheless, Touloupa and Symeonoglou (1965, 240) mention that the cremation pits at the Northwest cemetery of Thebes at the Northwest cemetery of Thebes.

³³⁶ Kountouri 1999, 318-322 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes: Tsallas plot).

³³⁷ As for e.g. in Thebes: Kountouri 2014, 673. Also in Tanagra: Andreiomenou 2007.

³³⁸ Aravantinos 2001 (Eleon); Andreiomenou 1995 (Aghia Eleousa); Ure 1934, 14 (Rhitsona: Grave 134); Sabetai 1996 (Akraiphia).

³³⁹ Aravantinos 2001, 162.

extremities of the grave, scattered along its entire length, or positioned on and around the body of the deceased.³⁴⁰

The number of offerings found inside Archaic inhumations of both adults and children varies greatly and may sometimes reach hundreds of objects. Unfurnished inhumations have also been excavated, as for example in Aghia Eleousa.³⁴¹ As in the Late Geometric period, vases remain the most popular offering type. These include typical Boeotian pottery such as “bird-bowls” and kantharoi, Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra, as well as figurines of the type frequently dubbed “Papades”, horses and horsemen.³⁴² Other animal figurines have also been discovered but are exclusively associated to the graves of children.³⁴³ Metal finds are rare inside inhumations and come from only a few cemeteries. For example, no metal objects are known from the Northeast and Northwest cemeteries of Thebes, Rhitsona and Tanagra. On the other hand, bronze and iron grave goods are reported from Eleon,³⁴⁴ while strigils and a few jewellery items are known from the cemeteries of Aghia Eleousa³⁴⁵ and Akraiphia.³⁴⁶ There seems to be no sharp differentiation between the grave offerings provided to children and adults with the

³⁴⁰ Ure 1934, 8-15, pl. II (showing the skull and the east vase mass of Grave 86 and east vase mass of Grave 145).

³⁴¹ Andreiomenou 1995.

³⁴² See e.g. Kountouri 1999a; 1999b; 2003; 2008; 2014 for the Northeast cemetery of Thebes; Pharaklas 1967, 236-237; 1969 and Spyropoulos 1971, 211-213 for the Northwest cemetery of Thebes in the modern suburb of Pyri (Tzoumanekas plot and Papadimitriou plot); Aravantinos 1994, 285 for Provatari (Moreokampos) Vagion; Aravantinos 2001, 162 for the cemetery at Eleon; Andreiomenou 1995 for Aghia Eleousa; Ure 1907-1908 and Ure 1934 for Rhitsona; Andreiomenou 2007 for Tanagra; Sabetai 1996, 272-274; 2000, 495-535 for Akraiphia.

³⁴³ Kountouri, Charami and Vivliodetis 2016, 184.

³⁴⁴ Aravantinos 2001, 162.

³⁴⁵ Andreiomenou 1995.

³⁴⁶ Sabetai 1996; 2000; Vlachogianni 1998.

exception of animal figurines. It is interesting to note that miniature and small-sized vases occur most commonly in child graves but are not entirely absent from those of adults.³⁴⁷

Offerings inside the few cremations were placed both inside the cremation pits and around the graves. The fragmentary and burnt state of many of the grave goods suggests that they were deposited before the body was set on fire. Vases found inside cremations are similar to those from inhumations and included alabastra, aryballoi, aryballos-lekythoi, black glazed kantharoi, Boeotian kylixes, kotylai. Figurines of horses, horsemen, and animals (birds, dogs, turtles, and rams) are also attested. Jewellery items are rare, yet iron and bronze strigils are frequently deposited as grave goods.³⁴⁸ Food offerings, such as figs, were also occasionally found inside the pyres.³⁴⁹ At Pyri, the excavators also mention the discovery of small pithoi containing even smaller vases found near the cremation graves. These pithoi have been interpreted as additional offerings to the dead.³⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it is also likely that these smaller pithoi were used to contain child enchytrismoι.

³⁴⁷ E.g. miniature vessels are found in some of the adult inhumations at Aghia Eleousa (Andreiomenou 1995, 139-243).

³⁴⁸ Kountouri 2008, 674.

³⁴⁹ E.g. Northeast cemetery of Thebes (Tsallas plot: Kountouri 1999A). Also in the Northwest cemetery of Thebes (Liakopoulos plot): Aravantinos 2001-2004, 159. Cf. Kountouri 2008, 673.

³⁵⁰ See e.g. Touloupa and Symeonoglou 1965a, 240 (Pyri-Aerogefyra).

iii. Boeotian enchytrismoι³⁵¹

Thebes

A considerable number of enchytrismoι is known from the Northeast cemetery of Thebes.³⁵² Among them, at least seven date between the late 8th and the middle of the 7th c and accommodated both child and adult skeletons. Invariably, the enchytrismoι were placed inside small shallow pits cut in the natural bedrock. Inside these pits, the funerary vessels could be set on their sides (**Fig. 142**), or less frequently, standing upright. The mouth of the vessels was usually covered with small schist plaques or vases. Small unworked stones retained some of the vases in place. The funerary vessels used for the interments were single amphorae or pithoi. Enchytrismoι inside pairs of pithoi joint at the mouth were also attested (**Fig. 143**). Not much is known for the age of the deceased or the offerings associated to these burials. Exceptions are the mid-late 7th c. child enchytrismoι (Appendix C: Cat. No 2) which was furnished with eight Corinthian aryballoι and alabastra. An almost contemporary adult enchytrismoι (Appendix C: Cat. No 1) placed inside a pair of pithoi was also furnished with an alabastron and Protocorinthian aryballoι (**Fig. 144**).

A larger number of enchytrismoι from the Northeast cemetery dates to the 6th c. BC, none of which has been fully published.³⁵³ Infants, children and adults have all been identified as the occupants of these graves. Amphorae were reportedly used for the infant and child

³⁵¹ It needs to be noted that all enchytrismoι from Boeotia remain unpublished. Consequently, the information presented here derives exclusively from preliminary reports, the two articles published by Kountouri (2008; 2014) and the consultation of a few excavation diaries to which access was granted.

³⁵² For the individual excavations of plots belonging to this cemetery, see Touloupa 1966, 196-197 (Agricultural Cooperative Unit); Kountouri 1999a, 318-323 (Tsallas); Kountouri 1999b, 324 (Aulidos St.); Aravantinos 2004, 233-236 (Subpass connecting Thebes with the National Road). For an overview of the cemetery see Kountouri 2008, 666-668; 2014, 216-221.

³⁵³ Enchytrismoι of this date come mainly from Tsallas plot (Kountouri 1999a, 318-323).

enchytrismoi while adults were buried inside large pithoi. No further information is provided for the infant burials. Small rectangular *periboloi* were sometimes built around the pithoi using stone slabs. The mouth of these vessels was sealed with stones, or, more rarely, with intact vessels. Their base and neck could also be additionally retained by stones. The deceased buried inside the pithoi were clearly positioned with the heads towards the mouth. A single enchytrismos, however, contained an adult skeleton placed in an extended supine position with the arms alongside the body. The body was bent at the waist in order to better fit inside the pithos. A number of vessels exhibit evident traces of openings to facilitate body insertion. Such openings were made on the vases' belly, shoulder, neck, or mouth. Almost all Archaic enchytrismoi from the Northeast cemetery of Thebes were furnished. Grave goods were found both inside and outside the funerary vessels. Vases in particular were frequently placed in an inverted position outside the funerary containers. The main types of offerings deposited were aryballoi, miniature kotylai, Boeotian kylikes as well as figurines, mainly of animals.

Pyri

Numerous enchytrismoi are also known from the Northwest cemetery of Thebes at the modern suburb of Pyri.³⁵⁴ At least 13 of these burials date between the late 8th and the middle of the 7th c. BC (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 3-15). Their vast majority was placed inside pithoi that were sealed at the mouth with stone plaques. More rarely, amphorae (**Fig. 145**) and pithos-amphorae (**Fig. 146**) were employed as funerary containers. Double pithoi joint at the mouth

³⁵⁴ For excavations of individual burial plots belonging to this cemetery, see Pharaklas 1967, 236; 1969, 175-177 and Spyropoulos 1971, 211-213 (Papadimitriou plot); Aravantinos, 2000, 391 (Kalaitzi St.); Touloupa 1966, 197-198 and Aravantinos 2001-2004, 157-159; 2003, 740-741 (Liakopoulos plot); Touloupa and Symeonoglou 1964a-b (Aerogefyra Pyriou and Bassiakos Bridge). For general information on the cemetery, see Kountouri 2008, 669; 2014, 218.

to form a single container (**Fig. 147**), or pithoi joint with other types of vessels (**Fig. 148**), were also attested. Unfortunately, not much is known for the offerings associated to these burials. Two Late Geometric enchytrismoi are reported as having contained drinking vases, including cups and kalathoi, as well as lekanai (Appendix C: cat. Nos 14-15). A 7th c. pithos burial was associated to figurines and aryballoi placed exclusively around the funerary vessel (Appendix C: Cat. No. 12). Fragments of a smaller empty pithos and two broken Geometric vases containing carbon remains were found in immediate proximity to this enchytrismos and were thus interpreted as additional grave offerings. An unknown number of Archaic enchytrismoi has also been discovered in the same cemetery. Of these, only six could be catalogued (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 16-21). These burials reportedly contained excellent quality Corinthian vases (aryballoi, alabastra and kotylai), Boeotian kantharoi, flat-bodied and animal figurines.³⁵⁵ Unfortunately, any other type of information regarding these enchytrismoi is missing from the preliminary report.

Another 20 enchytrismoi have been excavated at the cemetery of Aghia Eleousa also at Pyri (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 22-40).³⁵⁶ Only one of these burials dates to the Late Geometric period and reportedly belonged to a child (Appendix C: Cat. No. 22). A decorated amphora of the “Eretrian type” (**Fig. 149**) was used to contain the body of the deceased who was furnished with three cups. Another four child enchytrismoi date to the first half of the 7th c. and were made inside similar Eretrian type amphorae (two of these have been catalogued under

³⁵⁵ One more randomly discovered burial pithos, dating to the 6th c. BC, comes from the near vicinity of the Northwest cemetery of Thebes. See Touloupa and Symeonoglou 1965b, 244. Since the limits of the latter cemetery are not known, it cannot be ascertained whether this find also belongs to the cemetery.

³⁵⁶ Andreiomenou 1995, with references to the preliminary reports. See also Kountouri 2014, 219 (referring to the Geometric enchytrismos).

Appendix C: Cat. Nos 47-48). A much larger number of enchytrismoι from Aghia Eleousa dates to the 6th c. (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 23-40). From this time onwards, both children and adults were accommodated inside enchytrismoι that were placed inside single and double pithoi. Overall, it seems that until the first half of the 7th c. BC children were interred inside single funerary vessels with double pithoi becoming the norm in the following century (e.g. Appendix C: Cat. No.26). Adult enchytrismoι on the other hand, encountered mainly during the 6th c. (Early Corinthian period) are made at first in pairs of funerary vessels and later, inside single pithoi.³⁵⁷ The available information on early 6th c. BC burials indicates that the deceased was placed in an extended position. From the Middle Corinthian (590-570 BC) onwards, contracted skeletons are also attested. All enchytrismoι were furnished with numerous vessels such as Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi, drinking vessels and figurines (**Figs 151-152**). The offerings were placed either inside the vases or also inside the burial pits.

Tachi

Excavations in the area of Tachi³⁵⁸ at ancient Potniai revealed 39 Late Geometric and early Archaic enchytrismoι (of these, only 20 could be catalogued: See Appendix C: Cat. Nos 41-60) (**Plan 24**, including only the graves of the first excavation season). Amphorae, pithoi and pithos-amphorae were used as funerary containers. Offerings were placed both inside and outside the vases. These most frequently included drinking vessels such as cups, kalathoi and kotylai (**Figs 153-154**), but also pouring vessels such as jugs and oinochoai. A number of aryballoi and alabastra (**Fig. 155**) as well as an unguent, are also reported. Metal finds were

³⁵⁷ The exceptionally rich burial Cat. No. 37 (Appendix B) constitutes an exception since it was made inside a double pithos.

³⁵⁸ Aravantinos 1993, 169-170.

also associated to some of the enchytrismoι and included an iron dagger, a bronze ring, a fragment of a bronze fibula and a pin. Glass beads were also associated with one enchytrismos.

Northeast of Thebes

A number of Archaic enchytrismoι were unearthed at the cemetery of Eleon (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 61-63).³⁵⁹ The burial vessels employed for the interments were amphorae, pithos-amphorae and pairs of pithoi joint at the mouth (**Fig. 152**). Grave offerings were associated to all enchytrismoι from this cemetery and included aryballoi, miniature kotylai, kantharoi and figurines. One more looted enchytrismos of the 6th c. has been found in the area of the later Agora of Thebes (Appendix C: Cat. No. 64).³⁶⁰ A few skull fragments were recovered from this burial. Human flat-bodied figurines, one animal figurine and fragments of decorated vases were found as grave offerings.

Rhitsona

The cemetery at Rhitsona³⁶¹ has provided evidence of 32 pithos burials dating to the 7th and 6th c. BC. More particularly, 22 pithos burials are reported from the first excavations of 1907-1908, “none of which have rich contents”. Among them, only one, dating to the 6th c., has been fully published (Appendix C: Cat. No. 75). Another 10 enchytrismoι were discovered during the following excavation season of 1921-1922 (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 65-74). These interments belonged mainly to children while a smaller number contained adult skeletons. Burial vases included pithoi, mostly placed in pairs joint at the mouth (**Figs 156-158**). Fewer

³⁵⁹ Aravantinos 2001, 162-163.

³⁶⁰ Aravantinos 2007, 567.

³⁶¹ Burrows and Ure 1907-1908; Ure 1934.

examples of single pithoi were also attested. Most enchytrismoι from Rhitsona were richly furnished with pottery, primarily including Corinthian vessels such as aryballoι and juglets (**Fig. 159**). Boeotian terracotta plank- and animal figurines (**Figs 160a-b**), figurines representing horses and horsemen, were also found in some of the burials. Although significantly fewer when compared to other grave goods, alabastra and cups were also associated to enchytrismoι. The same is true for bronze spiral rings. Offerings were placed both inside the burial vessels as well as around them.

Tanagra

At least 17 enchytrismoι of the 6th c. and early 5th c. BC are known from the cemetery of Tanagra (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 76-91).³⁶² Single pithoi and a smaller number of amphorae were the main types of vases used for the interments. After the second quarter of the 6th c, double pithoi joint at the mouth also appear as funerary containers (**Fig. 161**). None of these vases were described or illustrated by the excavator in the cemetery's publication. The enchytrismoι from Tanagra were furnished with numerous offerings such as Corinthian aryballoι, alabastra and figurines of both animal and human form (**Fig. 162**). Miniature drinking vessels of Boeotian production such as kantharoi and kylikes were also found in some of the burials (**Fig. 163**). No information is provided for the deceased and the size of the funerary containers is rarely reported. The meagre information suggests that children were certainly the occupants of some of the excavated enchytrismoι (e.g. Appendix C: Cat. No 77: the pithos measures 0.88m in height; Cat. No. 91: the combined length of the pithoi used as an urn does not exceed 1.20m; Cat. No 87: the urn was placed inside a shaft no longer than 1.10m).

³⁶² Andreiomenou 2007.

Larger pits or vases (e.g. Appendix C: Cat. No. 90: the burial pit measures 2.0m in length) are not as easily interpretable since they could contain both children and adult individuals. More enchytrismoι of the Archaic period have been unearthed during rescue excavations in the modern city of Tanagra without further information.³⁶³

Akraiphnion

The cemetery of Akraiphia has brought to light a very large number of enchytrismoι (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 92-136). The vast majority of these burials has been summarily presented in preliminary reports and remains unpublished. Only a few burials have been discussed more comprehensively within articles devoted to the cemetery and its finds.³⁶⁴ The information presented here derives from such sources as well as from a personal communication with the most recent excavator of Akraiphia who is currently studying the material from these excavations.³⁶⁵

The enchytrismoι from Akraiphia date between the 7th and the 5th c. although their majority belongs to the 6th and early 5th c. BC. Osteological material was recovered from only a few of the enchytrismoι and was usually found in a very fragmentary state. The available information suggests that these remains belonged to both children and adult individuals,

³⁶³ Andreiomenou 1976a, 121; Charami 1997, 372.

³⁶⁴ These observations concern primarily the earliest excavations by Andreiomenou. Due to insufficient information, only a very small number of the enchytrismoι excavated by A. K. Andreiomenou have been included in our catalogue. For these excavations, see 1976, 119; 1977, 95-97; 1981b, 187-188; 1985, 149-152; 1989a, 134-138; 1989b; 1990a, 124; 1990b; 1991, 132; 1992, 130-132; 1992b, 53; 1994).

³⁶⁵ Sabetai 1996; 2000; Vlachogianni 1996; 1998. This material is currently under study within the scope of a monograph on the cemetery at Akraiphia by Sabetai who very kindly agreed to provide me not only with a general commentary on the enchytrismoι but also with the individual characteristics of the excavated burials. The following summary derives from both this personal communication as well as from the numerous reports of all excavations of the cemetery.

although the former seems considerably more common. These burials were generally placed directly inside pits cut in the natural bedrock. In the rare occasions where the limits of the funerary pits could be detected, they were of quadrilateral or irregular oval shape. Only a small number of the funerary vessels have so far been cleaned and conserved. These are mainly undecorated vessels such as coarse ware undecorated pithoi (**Fig. 164**), sometimes joint to form a single container (**Fig. 165**) or amphorae (**Figs 166-167**). The latter type of vases were frequently opened on one side of the body to facilitate the insertion of the corpse. Almost all funerary vessels were found broken (**Figs 164-167**) due to the frequent flooding of Lake Kopais until its drainage in the 19th c. Most of the enchytrismoι at Akraiphia were furnished. Offerings included mainly drinking vessels (**Fig. 168**) such as cups, kantharoi, skyphoi, kotylai and kylikes, as well as juglets, aryballoi (**Fig. 169**) and alabastra. Many of the enchytrismoι also contained plank and horse figurines (**Figs 170**). Metal objects were more plentiful than in other cemeteries and included fibulae (**Fig. 171**), bronze sheet rosettes (**Fig. 172**), bronze spirals, as well as rings (**Fig. 173**), necklaces (**Fig. 184**) and bracelets. A single fragment belonging to a wreath and a fragmentary diadem were also found in two enchytrismoι.

Boeotian Kephissos River

A total of 11 enchytrismoι vaguely dated to the Late Geometric/Archaic periods have been discovered on the bank of the Boeotian Kephissos River,³⁶⁶ one km southwest of the village Akontio. These burials were unevenly distributed within two separate clusters alongside other types of graves. Three enchytrismoι were found in Cluster 1 while eight more were

³⁶⁶ Andrikou 1993, 183-186; Sarantopoulou 2000, 459-493.

excavated in Cluster 2. The burial vessels employed are reported as pithoi of large size. A pair of pithoi joint at the mouth and a single large amphora were also reported as funerary containers. The mouths of the burial vases were sealed by flat stones and, in one case, with a small vase. Offerings were either entirely lacking or limited to a few vases that were placed inside and outside the burial vases. Grave goods included drinking vessels such as cups and kotylai as well as a single iron dagger.

Levadeia

An individual example of a Late Geometric enchytrismos has been excavated at the site of Dauleia in Levadeia (Appendix C: Cat. No. 137).³⁶⁷ The burial pithos contained a child skeleton provided with iron and bronze fibulae, bronze armbands as well as a bronze-beaded necklace.

Neochoraki and Mavroneri

One Late Archaic enchytrismos furnished with aryballoi and animal figurines is known from Neochoraki (Appendix C: Cat. No 138).³⁶⁸ Finally, a group of Geometric bronze objects found in immediate proximity to a pithos base at Mavroneri³⁶⁹ have also been considered as remains of the grave offerings and funerary vessels of a destroyed enchytrismos.

³⁶⁷ Kalliga 2007, 576-577.

³⁶⁸ Charami 1996, 284.

³⁶⁹ Kountouri 2001-2004, 189-190.

IV. THE DECEASED INDIVIDUALS

The enchytrismos burials under study constitute the material manifestation of the funerary rites that were afforded to a specific group of individuals and which have survived in the archaeological record. It is the focus of the present chapter to discuss the individuals buried inside enchytrismoι and examine the reasons for which they were accorded such a distinct and intriguing burial custom.

Identifying the deceased through funerary contexts is all but a straightforward task. The physical remains of the individuals themselves constitute the most explicit and direct source of information. This type of evidence, however, is not ubiquitous in burial contexts. Furthermore, even when skeletal material has indeed survived to the present day, it cannot always be meaningfully exploited. The first part of this chapter focuses on the human remains from the enchytrismos burials in each of the regions under study, discussing the available evidence as well as its limitations and potential value for the identification of the deceased. As we shall see, the age of the deceased is most frequently the only factor which researchers have been able to deduce from the study of the human remains.

The second part of this chapter discusses other sources of evidence which may help identify the occupants of enchytrismos burials in the cases when skeletal material is either lacking or unspecified by the excavators. As we shall see in Chapters V and VI, the types of funerary vessels and offerings from enchytrismos burials cannot serve as reliable indicators for the age, sex, or social rank of the deceased. On the other hand, the height of the vases which served as recipients for the dead bodies, can provide some general indications as to the length of the skeletons, and thus the age groups, of the deceased. Furthermore, since age is an

important factor influencing the processes of post-mortem decomposition, the state of preservation of the skeletal material can also suggest the age of the deceased.

The symbolic significance of enchytrismos, as for any other burial rite, is inextricably connected to the individuals chosen to be buried this way. Therefore, the final section attempts to illuminate the criteria employed for the choice of enchytrismos for these individuals in particular based on the presented evidence which has just been presented.

A. Direct Evidence

i. The human remains

The archaeological data

Attica

More than 300 Attic enchytrismoι dating to the Late Geometric and Archaic periods have been catalogued in Appendix A (Cat. Nos 1-309). If one adds the numerous enchytrismoι which have not been catalogued (at least 150 burials as well as many others which are reported without any indication on their number), then the total number of such burials dating to these periods must have been much higher.

Unfortunately, less than half of the catalogued burials have been reported as unquestionably containing human remains (41%) (**Chart 1**). Furthermore, the state of preservation of this skeletal material is rarely reported by the excavators of the interments. The brief descriptions available reveal that the majority of burials contained a small number of bones, or fragments thereof, usually in a severely decomposed state (**Figs 12, 43-44, 76**). A much more limited number of enchytrismoι contained better preserved remains and even, in

some cases, complete skeletons (**Figs 2, 4, 76-77**). With the exception of one vase containing two individuals,³⁷⁰ all others were individual burials. Of the remaining Attic enchytrismoi included in Appendix A, a considerable 34% (**Chart 1**) is known to have been found entirely devoid of human remains at the time of discovery (**Figs 23, 46, 101**). The reasons behind this lack of skeletal material in such a significant proportion of the burials will be explored later on in this chapter. Unfortunately, no information is provided on the skeletal material from the remaining 25% of the catalogued Attic enchytrismoi (**Chart 1**). On the one hand, these burials could have been found without any remains of bones in their interior. On the other hand, this paucity of information could also be due to the limited attention frequently devoted to skeletal remains.³⁷¹

Due to this fragmentary picture of the skeletal remains, not much is known as regards the positioning and orientation of the body of the deceased inside the funerary vessels. Information derives from an extremely limited number of burials: Six enchytrismoi were discovered with the bodies placed in a contracted position (**Fig. 4**).³⁷² In the equally very few cases where the orientation of the deceased is reported by the excavators, the head seems to have been oriented towards the mouth of the recipients while the legs towards its base (**Figs 4, 77**).³⁷³ Exceptions, however, are not lacking. For example, the skeleton inside the famous Eleusis amphora was clearly placed with the legs towards the mouth of the vessel (**Fig. 76**).³⁷⁴

³⁷⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 4 (Agora).

³⁷¹ The pre-eminence of the study of material culture over that of the dead body will be discussed in detail in the section examining the limitations which the available skeletal evidence presents.

³⁷² Appendix A: Cat. Nos 5, 6 and 15 (Agora); Cat. Nos 49 and 111 (Kerameikos); 113 (Dipylon).

³⁷³ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 5, 6 and 15 (Agora); Cat. Nos 49 and 111 (Kerameikos); Cat. Nos 228 and 217 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

³⁷⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No. 196 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

Euboea and Oropos

The largest number of enchytrismoï so far excavated in Euboea comes from Eretria and more particularly from the Hygionomeion cemetery.³⁷⁵ Unfortunately, due to its early excavation date and the very partial 1903 publication by Kourouniotis,³⁷⁶ nothing is known about the human remains of these burials. Considerably more information derives from the enchytrismoï which have been excavated within and around the settlements of Eretria and Oropos. At least one third of the burials included in Appendix B have provided evidence of skeletal remains (39%).³⁷⁷ It remains unclear whether the remaining enchytrismoï from the two sites were found empty or whether they have been insufficiently discussed by their excavators.

The state of preservation of the skeletal remains recovered was generally poor, most often comprising a few decayed bones,³⁷⁸ although better preserved skeletal material was also attested in some cases (**Figs 110, 112**).³⁷⁹ Here too, many burials were found completely empty of bone remains.³⁸⁰ As in Attica, due to the poorly preserved skeletal material, information on the positioning of the deceased is meagre. Only three enchytrismoï of the extensive dataset have been able to provide such indications, all of which were placed in a crouching position (**Fig. 110**).³⁸¹ The available bibliography suggests that most skeletons were placed with the head towards the vases' openings.³⁸² Nevertheless, the study of the individual characteristics of the burials has shown that skeletal material was sufficiently well preserved in only three

³⁷⁵ Chapter III, pp. 92-93.

³⁷⁶ Kourouniotis 1903.

³⁷⁷ As in Attica, the majority of these are the most recently excavated burials. See Vlachou 2007, *passim*.

³⁷⁸ E.g. Appendix B: Cat. Nos. 11, 14, 38, 41-41, 44 (Eretria); Cat. No. 106 (Oropos).

³⁷⁹ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1 and 10 (Eretria).

³⁸⁰ E.g. Appendix B: Cat. Nos 3, 6 (Eretria); Cat. Nos 93, 101, 111 (Oropos).

³⁸¹ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1 and 10 (Eretria); Cat. No. 110 (Oropos).

³⁸² Kourouniotis 1903, 5; Blandin 2007a, 58.

burials, questioning the validity of such inferences. Only two skeletons are reported with certainty as having had the head oriented towards the vessels' mouths (**Fig. 110**) while one had the head oriented towards the base of the vase and the legs towards its opening (**Fig. 112**).³⁸³

Boeotia

Boeotia is the richest area in terms of information on the human remains from Late Geometric and Archaic enchytrismoι. In the Northeast and the Northwest cemeteries of Thebes as well as in those of Aghia Eleousa, Rhitsona and Akraiphia, most burials seem to have contained at least some osteological material.³⁸⁴ In Tanagra, on the other hand, despite the recent and comprehensive publication of all graves by Andreiomenou,³⁸⁵ information on the presence or absence of human remains from enchytrismos burials is almost entirely lacking.

The overall picture which emerges as regards the state of preservation of the osteological material is diverse, from only a few decayed bone fragments to almost entirely preserved skeletons (**Fig. 143**).³⁸⁶ Burials lacking bones are also attested (**Fig. 161**).³⁸⁷ Unlike Attica and Euboea, Boeotia offers significantly more data on the positioning of the deceased inside the funerary vessels. Enchytrismos burials made inside single vases reportedly contained skeletons in a supine position with the arms resting alongside the body. The bodies were either

³⁸³ Appendix B: Cat. No. 1 (Eretria).

³⁸⁴ In the cemetery of Akraiphion, however, Dr Sabetai notes the very fragmentary state of preservation of the anthropological remains of most burials (*pers. com.*).

³⁸⁵ Andreiomenou 2007.

³⁸⁶ For burials containing only bone fragments, see e.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 1, 12-13, 14 (Thebes Northeast cemetery); Cat. No. 45 (Tachi); Cat. No. 27, 35-36 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. No. 70 (Rhitsona). For burials containing entire (or almost entire) skeletons, see e.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 2 (Thebes Northeast cemetery); Cat. No. 28, 30, 37 all poorly preserved but almost complete (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos. 67-68 (Rhitsona). Unfortunately, preliminary reports and publications entirely lack illustrations that show the deceased as discovered inside the funerary vessels and access was not granted for their consultation.

³⁸⁷ E.g. Appendix C: Cat. No. 69 (Rhitsona); Cat. No. 129 (Akraiphia).

fully extended³⁸⁸ or with their legs or upper bodies bent.³⁸⁹ A smaller number of burials contained skeletons placed in a crouching position.³⁹⁰ The orientation of the dead bodies inside the funerary vases was not consistent, with the head of the deceased facing either towards the mouth or the base of the vessels.³⁹¹

During the Archaic period, a frequent phenomenon in Boeotia are enchytrismoι made inside pairs of terracotta vessels that are joined at the mouth to form a single container (**Figs 143, 147-148, 158, 161, 165**). The available information suggests that the individuals interred inside these burials were placed with the skull, and sometimes also parts of the upper body and arms, inside one of the pithoi. The rest of the skeleton, including the legs, was laid inside a second burial vase (**Figs 143, 158**).³⁹² The unique case of an enchytrismos made inside three vessels deserves special mention.³⁹³ The first pithos was used to contain the individual's legs, the second the ribs and arm bones, while the skull of the deceased was placed inside the third pithos.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁸ Appendix C: Cat. Nos 29 and 32 (Aghia Eleousa); 66, 68 and 70 (Rhitsona).

³⁸⁹ Tomb 10 of the Tsallas plot which forms part of the Northeast cemetery of Thebes: Kountouri 1999. Also Appendix C: Cat. No 107 (Akraiphia).

³⁹⁰ Northeast cemetery of Thebes: (Aulidos St.: no grave no.); Appendix C: Cat. Nos 33, 38, 40 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 67, 71-72, 74 (Rhitsona).

³⁹¹ For burials where the skeletons' heads were oriented towards the vases; mouths: see e.g. Appendix C: Cat. No 1 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes). Also, the burials excavated in the same cemetery by Kountouri (1999a, 318-322, not catalogued). The same is true for Appendix C: Cat. No 19 (Northwest Cemetery of Thebes); Cat. No. 66 (Rhitsona); Cat. Nos 32 and 37 (Aghia Eleousa). On the other hand, burials where the skull was oriented towards the vases' base include: Appendix C: Cat. No. 14 (Northwest cemetery); Cat. No. 26 (Aghia Eleousa). The heads of the deceased could be oriented towards the east, west-east, and north-east.

³⁹² See indicatively Appendix C: Cat. Nos 19 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes); Cat. Nos 73-74 (Rhitsona).

³⁹³ Appendix C: Cat. No. 70 (Rhitsona).

³⁹⁴ The first two pithoi were joint at the mouth while the base of the second pithos was broken-off in order to fit to the mouth of the third pithos.

Limitations and potential of the dataset

Human remains from burial contexts have the ability to provide a considerable amount of biological information for the deceased individuals including age and sex, and also illuminate other aspects of past biology such as growth and development, biological affinities between individuals, dietary habits, diseases, trauma etc.³⁹⁵ As has already become evident from the presentation of the skeletal material from the enchytrismoï under study, only a very limited proportion among them can be meaningfully exploited in this respect.

Firstly, the enchytrismoï which were found empty of osteological material are, by definition, incapable of providing any firm biological evidence.³⁹⁶ The same is true for the interments for which excavators are silent as regards the discovery, or absence, of skeletal material. Therefore, a large part of the burials compiling our dataset is regrettably unusable in the context of the present chapter.

Unfortunately, the enchytrismoï which have provided evidence of human remains have not always been able to serve as a fruitful source of information either. This is partly due to the prevailing attitudes governing archaeological research towards the study of skeletal remains. Until at least some decades ago, burial contexts were studied mainly as assemblages of artefacts while human bones were frequently disregarded or even intentionally discarded. It should be here noted that the majority of burials in our dataset comes from such excavations.

³⁹⁵ For such studies, see e.g. Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Hillson 1996; Larsen 1997; Brickley and McKinley 2004; Roberts and Manchester 2005; Waldron 2008; Roberts 2009.

³⁹⁶ This particularity does not relate to any specificities of the ritual in question but rather to the young age of the individuals for whom these burials were intended. See below, pp. 124-125.

Although recent research strives for more comprehensive approaches,³⁹⁷ human bones remain an underrepresented field of study.³⁹⁸ This is especially true for enchytrismoι, whose “unimpressive” associated finds and poorly preserved skeletal remains deprive them of adequate scientific attention. Moreover, it should be noted that the vast majority of the burials under study comes from rescue excavations, which, especially in Greece, are time-limited, poorly funded and rarely benefit from further study and detailed publications.

The inadequate state of preservation of the human remains is another factor impeding their study. There is no reason to suggest that the generally poor state of preservation of the osteological material from enchytrismoι relates to particularities of the burial ritual. The long-term survival of bones in any burial context depends on various factors, both intrinsic to the skeleton (pathologies, injuries, age) but also extrinsic (including environmental and human influences).³⁹⁹ As has been noted above, with the exception of Boeotia, the enchytrismoι comprising the present dataset rarely accommodated more than a few badly preserved bones. This has hindered the possibility of determining most aspects of past biology for the deceased individuals. The sex of the deceased has also not been ascertained for most of them.⁴⁰⁰ The main biological characteristic which has been possible to determine from this material is the age of the individuals at the time of their death. It should, however, be noted that, using modern bioarchaeological methods, specialists studying human remains have the ability to extract more

³⁹⁷ For the development of human osteoarchaeology in Greece, see, most recently, Nikita-Triandaphyllou 2016-2017, with previous references.

³⁹⁸ This is also quite frequently the case for most other types of biofacts, such as animal bones, charcoal, plants, pollen grains etc.

³⁹⁹ For a detailed presentation and discussion of the factors influencing survival of bones in archaeological contexts, see e.g., Gordon and Buikstra 1981 and, more recently, Manifold 2012.

⁴⁰⁰ This is both due to the general neglect of the study of human remains but also due to the general absence of bones that may provide indications for the sex of the deceased.

information on past biology and pathology even through the analysis of poorly preserved skeletal material, thus providing a better reconstruction of skeletal biographies. Among the best examples of this kind in the Aegean, demonstrating the full potential of osteological studies on infant and child remains, are the ongoing projects of the cemeteries at Phaleron in southern Athens and at Kyllindra on the island of Astypalaia where an astonishing number of enchytrismoι has been unearthed.⁴⁰¹

The identification of the age of the deceased has, in most cases, been achieved through first-hand observations and not scientific analyses. In these instances, the excavators themselves, based on bone size and appearance, have made distinctions between “infant”, “child” and “adult” enchytrismoι. Infant and child graves are also frequently grouped together under the category of “sub-adult” or “non-adult”. Although such inferences are certainly useful in the context of the present study, one needs to always take into consideration their lack of accuracy. The first and most obvious reason lies in the customarily limited knowledge of archaeologists as regards the understanding of skeletal biographies. The second reason is connected to the terminology used to distinguish between age groups. Notions such as those of “infancy” and “childhood” are social constructions with fluid age boundaries which do not necessarily correspond to biological development.⁴⁰² Finally, the cut-off boundaries between the specified age categories are arbitrarily chosen by each researcher and almost never

⁴⁰¹ Both these projects are currently ongoing and only parts of the material have been subjected to analyses. For the preliminary results from the cemetery of Phaleron, see Alexandropoulou 2019 and Chapter III, p. 70. For Astypalaia, see Clement, Hillson and Michalaki-Kollia 2008; Hillson 2009; 2017. In both cases, however, the results published so far have only focused on the age of the deceased and any other aspects of their pathological profiling remain to be presented. Outside the confines of the Aegean world, the only study which has so far investigated and published the pathological profiles of individuals buried inside enchytrismoι is that of Lambrugo for Jazzo Fornasiello in Puglia (2018).

⁴⁰² Halcrow and Tayles 2011, 335.

explicitly articulated in reports or publications. Therefore, age estimates in the absence of osteological analysis, are only indicative and have to be used cautiously.

On the other hand, osteological analysis provides the most accurate tool for the identification of the age of the deceased. As has already been noted, very few of the enchytrismoι in our dataset have benefited from such scientific examination. In particular, anthropological analyses have been carried out on only a small number of burials from the systematic excavations of the cemeteries of the Kerameikos, the Athenian Agora, the West Cemetery of Eleusis and Thorikos and Oropos. Most of these studies were carried out decades ago, during a time of sometimes debatable reliability of the methods employed by physical anthropologists.⁴⁰³

Despite the lack of accuracy that may surround the methods used for determining the age of the deceased, their value for the present study is irrefutable. In this context, the following section presents the age groups which have been determined through the empirical and scientific examination of the physical remains, for each of the regions under study.

The age of the deceased

Before proceeding to a presentation of the age of the deceased buried inside enchytrismoι, a brief note should be made with respect to the terminology employed. As mentioned above, first-hand observations by the excavators, which vaguely distinguish between “infants”, “children” and “adults”, do not provide a clear categorisation based on biological development with clear-cut boundaries between the different age groups. For

⁴⁰³ See e.g. Whitley 1991, 64-65 with reference to Angel’s study of the osteological material from the Tholos cemetery in the area of the later Agora. The questionable reliability of the methods used by anthropologists in previous decades is also highlighted by Alexandridou (2016, 348, 354).

reasons of clarity, when not referring to the terms employed by excavators, the present study defines the age groups of the deceased as follows. A “foetus” is taken to indicate an unborn individual from its conception to the completion of the normal length of pregnancy (ca. nine months), while “stillborn” refers to a born-dead individual after the completion of the full length of pregnancy. Furthermore, the term “infant”, “young child” and “older child” designate individuals from the time of birth to the age of one year, from one to six years old, and from six to 12 years, respectively. Finally, individuals termed “adolescents” are those aged between twelve and 18-20 years and “adults” those over the age of 18-20.⁴⁰⁴

Attica

The combination of empirical considerations and scientific analyses of the human remains recovered from Attic enchytrismoi have clearly indicated that nearly all Attic pot burials belong to “non-adult” individuals. First-hand considerations by the burials’ excavators have identified the occupants of these burials as “newborns”,⁴⁰⁵ “infants”,⁴⁰⁶ “young children”⁴⁰⁷ as well as “children”.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ These categories have been chosen using as a starting point the study of Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994). In archaeological literature, different scholars employ different definitions of age groups that present both similarities and differences to the categories used in the present study. See e.g. Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Houby-Nielsen 2000, 152; Shepherd 2013, 544-545; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2018, 111.

⁴⁰⁵ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 20-33 (South Slope Acropolis). Also Cat. No. 281 (Anagyrous); Cat. Nos 263-264 (Thorikos West Necropolis). Possibly also Cat. Nos 265, 267 (Thorikos West Necropolis) mentioned as graves belonging to “nourrisons” (Bingen 1968b, 66-70).

⁴⁰⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 8 (Agora); 202 (Eleusis West Cemetery), mentioned as a grave of «νήπιον» by Mylonas (1975, 128-129); 284 (Vari Southeast Necropolis); 266, 268 (Thorikos Necropolis West).

⁴⁰⁷ E.g. Appendix A: Cat Nos 1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 15 (Agora); Cat. No. 230 (Thorikos Necropolis D1); Cat. No. 259 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁴⁰⁸ See e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 8 (Agora); most of the enchytrismoi from the Kerameikos for which information is available on their human remains (e.g. Cat. Nos 39-40, 47-48, 49, 52, 54-55, 70, 73, 77, 82, 84, 87, 100, 104, 107-109, 110-111); 112 (Dipylon); Cat. Nos. 144, 146-149, 151, 153, 156, 158-

The extremely limited anthropological analyses which have been carried out seem to corroborate these age groups. In particular, the human remains examined have been deemed as belonging to individuals who died during the first month of their life—categorised in the context of the present study as newborns,⁴⁰⁹ as well as between one and eighteen months of age—categorised as infants.⁴¹⁰ Fewer examples of individuals can be grouped under the category of children since they died at the age of five, 10 and 12 years.⁴¹¹ Adult enchytrismos burials from Attica are limited to three examples. The first dates to the Late Geometric period and comes from the Dipylon cemetery.⁴¹² The other two, both dating to the 6th c. BC, come from the Kerameikos and Megara respectively.⁴¹³

Euboea and Oropos

In Euboea, much like Attica, empirical considerations by the burials' excavators far outnumber osteological analyses. The vast majority of enchytrismoι have been reported as belonging to “newborns”, “infants” and “children. The few analyses which have been carried out corroborate these age groups and also add foetuses to the attested age groups. More particularly, the examined skeletal remains have been reported as belonging to embryos who

159, 162, 166, 169-172, 175-177, 181-186, 188 (Phaleron), with references to child bones and small bones; Cat. No. 269 (Thorikos South Necropolis).

⁴⁰⁹ E.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 83, 86, 90, 96 (Kerameikos).

⁴¹⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No 11, 13 and 18 (Agora); Cat. No 268 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁴¹¹ Appendix A: Cat. No 17 from the Agora; Cat. Nos 196 and 198 (Eleusis West Cemetery); Cat. No 220 (Eleusis South cemetery).

⁴¹² Appendix A: Cat. No 113 (Dipylon). Another two possible adult enchytrismoι are mentioned by Alexandridou (2016, 343) based on the size of their funerary vessels (H. ca. 1.035m) and the depictions of shielded warriors on their neck. However, similarly sized vases are known to accommodate non-adult individuals, as seen for e.g. in Cat. Nos 220-221 (Eleusis South Cemetery).

⁴¹³ For the Kerameikos pithos burial, see Kübler 1974, 1, 75. Cf. Doronzio 2018, 127-128. For the enchytrismos at Pagkalou and Sofokleous St. in the area of Megara, see Zoridis 1991, 51.

died before reaching full-term as well as to full-term foetuses.⁴¹⁴ Newborns and infants who did not survive past their first year as well as two five-year-old children have also been attested.⁴¹⁵

Boeotia

As already mentioned, Boeotia has provided the most abundant evidence of skeletal material recovered from enchytrismos burials. Nevertheless, since most burials come from excavations which took place in the 20th c., osteological analyses of the human remains are virtually absent.⁴¹⁶ First-hand observations by the excavators, on the other hand, are plentiful.

According to these, enchytrismoι of the Late Geometric period belong exclusively to “newborns”, “infants” and “young children”.⁴¹⁷ A significant development, however, is observed from the beginning of the 7th c. until the end of the Archaic period. During this time, Boeotia witnesses the appearance of numerous enchytrismoι which are clearly reported as belonging to adults, alongside those of younger individuals.⁴¹⁸ Adult enchytrismoι come

⁴¹⁴ E.g. Appendix B: Cat. Nos 2, 4, 8, 20 (Eretria); 105 (Oropos).

⁴¹⁵ Appendix B: Cat. No 106, 111 (Oropos).

⁴¹⁶ Among the few exceptions are Cat. Nos 117 and 127 (Appendix C, Akraiphia). See Sabetai 1996, 273; 2000, 500-501 for more details.

⁴¹⁷ For example, late 8th/early 7th c. BC enchytrismoι belonging to children are reported from the Northeast cemetery of Thebes (Kountouri 1999, 318-322: Tsallas plot; 2003, 42-43; 2006, 735-749: Sub-pass connecting Thebes with the National Road). A child and a “baby” («βρεφικός») enchytrismos of the same date are reported from the Northwest cemetery by Touloupa (1966, 197-198: Liakopoulos plot) and Aravantinos (2000, 391: Kallatzi St). Aravantinos also reports 16 enchytrismoι belonging to infants, described by the excavator as νήπια from Tachi. See Aravantinos 1994, 269-271; 1997, 370. Kalliga also reports a “child” enchytrismos at the site of Dauleia in Levadeia based on the absence of bones from its interior (2007, 576-577).

⁴¹⁸ For example, Kountouri reports Archaic enchytrismoι of both adults and infants in the Northeast cemetery of Thebes as well as one enchytrismos of a child: Kountouri 1999a, 318-322 (Tsallas plot); 1999b, 324 (Papacharalampous plot). At Aghia Eleousa and Akraiphia, Andreiomenou also reports both children and adult enchytrismoι. See Andreiomenou 1995, 146-185 for Aghia Eleousa, and 1990, 1991b, 1994 for Akraiphia. Ure also reports Archaic child and adult enchytrismoι from Rhitsona (1934, 13-14, 87).

mainly from the Northeast and Northwest cemeteries of Thebes, as well as from the extended cemeteries at Tachi and Aghia Eleousa (**Map 5**). Their absence is conspicuous, on the other hand, from the cemetery of Tanagra.⁴¹⁹

Unfortunately, although the skeletal remains from these adult enchytrismoï were in all likelihood discovered in a much better state of preservation than those of children,⁴²⁰ the absence of scientific analyses has hindered the acquirement of information as regards their exact age or sex.

B. Other sources of evidence for the deceased

i. The state of preservation of skeletal remains

As has been noted, the state of preservation of the human remains found inside the enchytrismoï under study is very diverse. However, a significant proportion of the interments, especially in Attica and Euboea, were found without any evidence of bones, or with skeletal material in an extremely fragmentary state (**Figs 12, 23, 43-45, 75, 101**). Among the various intrinsic and extrinsic taphonomic factors that influence the long-term survival of bones and the potential for recognisable bones in funerary contexts,⁴²¹ is age at death. Age is directly correlated to bone size, density and porosity, all of which influence the post-mortem processes of decomposition. Bones belonging to young individuals are smaller and less dense than those

⁴¹⁹ Their absence from smaller burial grounds, as for example, those at the bank of the Boeotian Kephissos river could simply be due to small number of graves so far excavated within them.

⁴²⁰ See below.

⁴²¹ Gordon and Buikstra 1981; Jans *et. al* 2002, 344, with further bibliography for each of the factors that influence the preservation of bones.

of adults, requiring much less time to decompose. Furthermore, they are characterised by a richer organic content and increased porosity, which also renders them more liable to decay.⁴²²

Therefore, the attested fragmentary preservation of skeletal material in these regions may be seen as an indirect indication of the young age of the deceased who were originally buried inside them. This corroborates the age groups which have already been inferred by the examination of skeletal remains. It is therefore hardly surprising that more information is available for the skeletal remains from Boeotian enchytrismoι, at least a portion of which belonged to adults whose bones are less prone to decomposition.

ii. The size of the funerary recipients

The size of the funerary vases is another element which may help determine the age of the deceased. In Attica, regardless of the individual shapes attested, most vessels used as funerary recipients measure between 0.40m and 0.80m in height, with a maximum diameter no larger than 0.25m (e.g. **Figs 6-7, 19-21, 29, 32-33, 35-36, 47, 49, 59, 61-62, 81, 87-88, 91-92, 97, 103-104**).⁴²³ Therefore, due to their size, these vases could have only accommodated foetuses, newborns, infants, and young children. Older children could have also been interred inside these vessels if placed in a contracted position.⁴²⁴

The smaller number of vessels reaching and even exceeding 1.0m in height, whose maximum diameter may surpass 0.30m, is not easily interpretable (e.g. **Figs 14, 19, 49, 72, 81**). On the one hand, the dimensions of these vases render them suitable for adult inhumations if

⁴²² Ibid.; Manifold 2012; Liston 2018, 503.

⁴²³ See Chapter V, p. 139.

⁴²⁴ Reference to table with heights or to Houby-Nielsen 1995. For e.g., the cross-back size (shoulder to shoulder) of a 10-year-old in modern industrial societies is estimated as ca. 28.5m (<https://www.craftyarcouncil.com/standards/child-youth-sizes>).

placed in a crouching position. On the other, younger—and thus smaller in size—individuals could have equally well been accommodated inside them. Both possibilities are illustrated by the colossal pithos from the Dipylon cemetery and the Eleusis amphora used for burials Cat. No. 113 and 199 (**Figs 42, 83**). While both measuring 1.40m in height with a maximum diameter reaching 0.76 and 0.82m respectively, the first was used for an adult buried in a contracted position in order to fit inside the vessel, while the second accommodated the corpse of a 10 or 12-year-old boy. In the South cemetery of Eleusis, the burial vases used for Cat. Nos 227 and 228 also exceed 1.0m in height, with a maximum diameter of 0.66m and 0.58m respectively, but are explicitly mentioned as belonging to children.⁴²⁵

The size of the vases used for enchytrismoi in Euboea and Oropos, which will be discussed in detail the following chapter, never exceeds 0.80m in height and 0.37m in diameter (**Figs 110-115, 117-130, 132, 137-140**).⁴²⁶ It thus seems to be in accordance with the age groups determined from the study of skeletal material. Funerary containers that could accommodate adult enchytrismoi, that is, standing over 1.20m tall, are not attested.

The size of the funerary vessels from Boeotia also corroborates the first-hand considerations of the excavators regarding the age of the deceased, which have been presented above. Although information for the size of the vessels used for Late Geometric interments is meagre, it seems that these rarely exceed 0.90m in height,⁴²⁷ indicating that they too belonged to “non-adults”, mainly infants and children. The same is true for the enchytrismoi made in

⁴²⁵ Skias 1989, 89.

⁴²⁶ See Chapter V, pp. 153-159.

⁴²⁷ Chapter V, pp. 160-164 (*passim*). The only exception seems to be a pithos measuring just over 1.0m comes from Cat. No. 26 (Tachi).

many similarly sized vessels during the Archaic period.⁴²⁸ The larger vases used as funerary containers at the same time, reaching up to 1.60m in height for single vases, or even over 2.00m when two vessels were used as a single container, have all been securely identified as belonging to adults.⁴²⁹

C. Discussion

The evidence presented above has amply demonstrated that the enchytrismos burials of our dataset present a problematic case group when it comes to the identification of the deceased from their physical remains. Albeit limited, the available information is crucial for understanding the social attitudes towards the death of particular groups of individuals, and by consequence, for the communities that chose to bury them this way. The few indications for the age of the deceased derived from other sources of evidence seem to corroborate the results obtained from the study of skeletal remains.

i. Criteria for the choice of enchytrismos as a mode of disposal

The skeletal material from Attica and Euboea has clearly demonstrated the use of enchytrismos almost exclusively for the burial of young individuals. In both regions, therefore, and throughout the periods covered by the present study, age was undoubtedly a factor dictating the choice of enchytrismos as a mode of disposal.

⁴²⁸ As for e.g. the funerary vessels from Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 22-23 (Tachi). See also Chapter V, pp. 160-164 (*passim*).

⁴²⁹ As for e.g. the funerary vessels from Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 28, 30 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 98-99 (Akraiphia). See also Chapter V, pp. 160-164 (*passim*).

The picture which emerges from Boeotia, on the other hand, is not as consistent. As in Attica and Euboea, enchytrismoι dating to the Late Geometric period concern exclusively “newborns”, “young infants”⁴³⁰ and “young children”. This demonstrates that the age of the deceased played a primary role for the choice of enchytrismos as a burial rite in Boeotia during this period. On the other hand, from the early 7th c. and until the end of the Archaic period, adult enchytrismoι become increasingly common alongside those of infants and children. It seems therefore, that the beginning of the 7th c. marks the time when age ceases to be a prominent factor for the selection of enchytrismos as a disposal method in Boeotia.

Other criteria which could have been in operation for the choice of enchytrismos instead of any other burial treatment are sex and social status. As mentioned above, indications as regards the sex of the deceased from the study of bones recovered from enchytrismoι are virtually absent. The material culture associated to funerary contexts is another element which is frequently used for the identification of the sex, and even the social status of the deceased. The following two chapters which will focus on the funerary vessels and grave offerings associated to enchytrismoι will also discuss their value, or not, as sex or status indicators.

ii. The right to an archaeologically visible mode of disposal

Another remark that needs to be made relates to the attitudes of the communities in question towards the death of their youngest members. In the three regions under study, during both the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, the majority of enchytrismoι belong to the biologically youngest individuals.

⁴³⁰ The term «βρέφη» which is used in many excavation reports may be translated either way. In any case it denotes the youngest individuals of a community.

As is commonly acknowledged for Attica, but also observed in Euboea and Boeotia, the Late Geometric period is marked by a drastic increase in the number of child burials when compared to the previous periods. Taking into consideration that the rite of enchytrismos, from the late 8th c. BC onwards, becomes the predominant funerary rite for the young, the burials of our dataset constitute the embodiment of this increase. With reference to Attica in particular, the re-appearance of young individuals in the burial record, when compared to the earlier Geometric period,⁴³¹ has been mainly understood as indicating that children were no longer systematically excluded from an archaeologically visible mode of disposal on the basis of age.⁴³² According to Morris, who was the first to advance this viewpoint, the presence of individuals of all age groups and genders in formal burial grounds from the Late Geometric is indicative of a developing *isonomia* which relates to the rise of the Athenian polis.⁴³³ An alternative viewpoint was recently put forward by Alexandridou who suggested that this evidence should rather be examined within the context of kinship groups. These extended families would now choose to afford special care and attention to the burial treatment of all their individual members, regardless of their age.⁴³⁴

Although both perspectives are particularly appealing, the archaeological evidence available to the present day cannot adequately verify or deny any of these suggestions. Nevertheless, both viewpoints share a common underlying principle which is extremely

⁴³¹ Chapter III, pp. 43 and n. 109.

⁴³² Morris 1987, esp. 67. See *contra*, Sallares 1991, 122-129 who suggests that the low number of child burials excavated in Attica between 900-725 BC reflects high living standards. However, such a low mortality rate is not paralleled in any pre-modern society (Morris 1998, 31).

⁴³³ Morris 1987, 57-155, especially 93-96; 1995. Mortuary complexity/funerary variability has for long been commonly accepted by most scholars as a prime characteristic of Late Geometric burial rites in Attica. See for e.g. Cavanagh 1977, 343; Morris 1987, 5, 64-65; Laughy 2010; Vlachou 2012, 367.

⁴³⁴ Alexandridou 2016, 353-355.

important in the context of the present study: the drastic rise in the number of “non-adult” burials marks a break-off with earlier mortuary practices which excluded young persons from formal disposal on the basis of age.⁴³⁵ This observation sharply comes into contrast with their frequent consideration as “social-non persons” of a lower rank whose death initiated a minimal social reaction. Furthermore, in Attica, as well as in Euboea and Oropos, a number of the enchytrismoι belonged to fetuses who died before reaching full-term, as well as to stillborns.⁴³⁶ These burials clearly indicate that, at least in these regions, formal burial rights could be acquired even before birth. Even the lifeless entrance of an individual into the world of the living seems to have been sufficient for his/her ritualised integration into the world of the dead. Considering the few chances of embryonic bone survival in the archaeological record and the complete absence of osteological analyses on Boeotian enchytrismoι, we cannot exclude the possibility that such burials could have existed there too.

Nevertheless, considering the high perinatal, infant and child mortality in Antiquity,⁴³⁷ the number of interments in our dataset belonging to young individuals of all attested age categories cannot have been representative of the death rate at that time.⁴³⁸ The few contemporary non-enchytrismos burials (inhumations inside pits, cists and shafts), also

⁴³⁵ Morris 1985; 1987, 57-155, especially 93-96; Alexandridou 2016, 353-354. Morris even went on to suggest that infant and child burials were absent from the burial record since the Early Geometric period (1985; 1987, 128). Yet the recent publication of the Agora Early Iron Age cemeteries (2019, *passim*) has clearly shown that at least some children were buried there before the Late Geometric.

⁴³⁶ Alexandropoulou 2019, 275 for the Phaleron cemetery in Attica. For Euboea, see Appendix B: Cat. Nos 2, 4, 6, 8, 20 (Eretria) and Cat. No 105 (Oropos).

⁴³⁷ See e.g. Golden 1988, 155, n. 27 with references.

⁴³⁸ It is commonly acknowledged that Early Iron Age burials (much like those of any other pre-modern society) cannot be considered a direct reflection of demography. Most prominently, see Morris 1987, 62; 1998, 31 with references to other scholars. See *contra*, Sallares 1991, 122-129 who understands the number of child burials as a direct reflection of living standards. However, as Morris has rightly pointed out (1998, 31), Sallares’ does not provide any parallel for such low mortality rates in any pre-modern society.

belonging to individuals of the same age groups,⁴³⁹ do not alter this observation. Therefore, throughout both the Late Geometric and the Archaic periods, *not all* similarly aged individuals were afforded an archaeologically visible mode of disposal. The decision to afford a formal burial must have thus operated on an individual or family level and not as a uniform communal custom while it could have also been affected by other social factors such as sex or social status.⁴⁴⁰ As has already been mentioned, indications for the sex of the deceased inside enchytrismoi through the study of skeletal material remain inconclusive and thus no further inferences may be made in this respect. As regards the status of the deceased, it would be tempting to see the individuals buried inside enchytrismoi as members of families which could afford the expense of a burial treatment which involves a carefully selected material culture as will be demonstrated by Chapters V and VI.

iii. The choice of enchytrismos for the identified age groups

The social and symbolic significance of a burial custom is inextricably linked to the individuals for whom it is intended. With the exception of the evidence from Archaic Boeotia,⁴⁴¹ the vast majority of enchytrismoi in our dataset belong to the youngest individuals of their respective communities. As has been highlighted in Chapters I and II, infant and child pot burials are a phenomenon encountered in a very wide geographic area which surpasses the borders of the Aegean world. Interpretations of scholars working on various socio-cultural

⁴³⁹ See below.

⁴⁴⁰ It should be here noted that this is not a particularity of the young but is also true for the adult population.

⁴⁴¹ Chapter IV, pp. 123-124.

contexts have essentially followed the same line of thought considering such enchytrismoι as representations of a symbolic return to the uterus.⁴⁴²

As has been discussed in our introduction, in the Graeco-Roman world, enchytrismoι belonging to the biologically youngest have also frequently been understood as symbolic allusions of the return to the womb. This suggestion has found its main support in the analogy between vases and wombs that appears in various medical texts of the Hippocratic Corpus.⁴⁴³ With reference to the uterus, the authors of these texts make repeated use both of the generic term for a vase, ἄγγος, but also others describing distinct vessel shapes such as λήκυθος, ἀσκός, and ἀρντήρ. Scholars have further elaborated this analogy using observable distinct characteristics of enchytrismoι. These have included the placement of the funerary recipients in a lying-down position inside the burial pits as well as the foetal position of the deceased inside ceramic recipients which are configured comparably to the human uterus (mouth=cervix, neck=birth canal, belly=womb).⁴⁴⁴

The morphological similarities between vases and human uteri are indeed easily perceptible (**Fig. 175-176**). However, this observation alone is certainly not sufficient to substantiate the “pot as womb” analogy. The reasons for which the individuals under discussion were chosen to be buried inside vases may only be understood with reference to the individual characteristics of the burials and their integration in their wider mortuary context.

⁴⁴² See p. 14 with references.

⁴⁴³ Baills-Talbi and Dasen 2008, 599; Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2010, 139-140, Michalaki-Kollia 2010a, 164. For a detailed discussion of the “vase as uterus” analogy in ancient sources, see Dasen 2002, 172-173; Dasen and Ducate-Paarmann 2006, 240-241.

⁴⁴⁴ Hillson 2009, 142 and Michalaki-Kollia 2010a, 170 for the cemetery of Kylyndra on Astypalaia; Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2010, 140 for Abdera.

In all three regions and during all periods covered by the present study, the position of the funerary vases inside the burial pits clearly imply that the deceased was placed in a lying down position onto the ground (see e.g. **Figs 1-4, 9, 12, 26, 43-45, 53-54, 56, 71, 75-79, 86, 96, 100-102, 109, 110-112, 131, 134-136, 142, 164-167**). Although this element has, in some instances, been used in support of the “pot as womb” analogy, one should not forget that skeletons, when inhumed, regardless of the type or burial, are always placed lying down. There is therefore no obvious reason to interpret the placement of the funerary vessels, and by consequence of the skeletons, as somehow related to the symbolic significance of the burial ritual. The foetal position of the deceased inside the vases is also frequently claimed as indicative of the symbolic return of the untimely deceased to their mother’s uterus. However, this position is certainly not a particularity of enchytrismos burials and is quite common in other burial types belonging to both children and adults.⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, as has been discussed, not all individuals buried inside the enchytrismoι of our dataset were placed in a contracted “embryonic” position. Finally, the limited evidence available regarding the orientation of the deceased inside the funerary recipients demonstrates the absence of a fixed principle that could indicate the normal delivery position of babies at birth (**Figs 175-176**). Although more burials indicate that the deceased was placed with the head towards the opening of the burial vases and the legs towards the base, the opposite is also encountered. It seems, therefore, more likely that the way the dead body was placed inside the funerary vases was dictated by the space available inside the burial vase and the size of the skeleton.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ See e.g. Chapter III, p. 46 and n. 131, 96 and n. 318.

⁴⁴⁶ Other elements which have been used to support a pot as womb in other socio-cultural contexts (Chapter I, pp. 12-13) are also entirely absent from our dataset. For example, newborns and infants in the Neolithic Levant were buried inside vases with wide or completely cut-off necks and bases, seen as indicative of their recent birth. See Ilan 1995, 135-136. On the other hand, vessels with narrow openings

One more element further contradicting the significance of pot burials as a symbolic allusion of the return to the womb is the wider contemporary mortuary context of the regions under study. Throughout both the Late Geometric and the Archaic periods, not all deceased infants and children were afforded the rite of enchytrismos. For example, in Attica, newborns, infants and children were also buried inside pit inhumation graves as clearly demonstrated by the recent osteological analyses carried out on the new material from the Phaleron cemetery.⁴⁴⁷ Furthermore, in Central Euboea, and more specifically at Eretria, at least six individuals below the age of five,⁴⁴⁸ including one baby of only a few months old, were found inhumed in pits.⁴⁴⁹ The same is true for Oropos where two shaft- and possibly also two cist graves contained burials of young children.⁴⁵⁰ At Lefkandi too, a pit inhumation of a young child was found next to the enchytrismos at the site of Xeropolis.⁴⁵¹ Children buried inside simple pits, without further indications on their age, are also attested in Archaic Boeotia.⁴⁵² If the burial of infants and young children inside vases was indeed related to their symbolic return to their mother's womb, why were not all individuals of these age groups buried inside vases?

The final point which further contradicts the symbolic interpretation of earthenware vessels as maternal uteri are the enchytrismoi which belong to adults. In the Greek world, adult enchytrismoi are much less common than those belonging to non-adult individuals, with the exception of a few distinct regions or sites where they are applied more systematically. Unlike

and long necks used for older children, were taken as suggestive of the uterus' post-birth state. Neolithic burials from the Northern Balkans have also received similar interpretations, due to the connection of a number of vases from these regions to women. See Naumov 2008, 93-97.

⁴⁴⁷ Alexandropoulou 2019, 175. Cf. Chapter III, p. 70.

⁴⁴⁸ So far, the oldest individual found inside a Euboean enchytrismos is also five years old. See Appendix B: Cat. No 110 (Oropos).

⁴⁴⁹ Blandin 1998, 140-141; 2007, 57. Also Chapter III, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁵⁰ Chapter III, p. 87.

⁴⁵¹ Chapter III, p. 87.

⁴⁵² Kountouri 2008, 666.

enchytrismoι of infants and young children, which are certainly attested since the Early Neolithic, adult enchytrismoι reluctantly begin to appear in the Middle Helladic period.⁴⁵³ From this period onwards, their appearance is sporadic in a limited number of areas, among which are also Attica and Boeotia but not Euboea.⁴⁵⁴ Only in some regions is the rite more systematically applied to the adult population, even occasionally becoming the majority burial rite for adults. Among the most prominent examples are Aetolia-Acarnania in the Protogeometric period, the western Peloponnese from the Early Geometric to the Early Hellenistic periods and, to a lesser extent, the Argolid (especially Mycenae and Tiryns)—mainly from the Early Geometric to the Late Geometric period—Eastern Lokris from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic period, Asia Minor (e.g. Klazomenai and Assos) in the Archaic period.⁴⁵⁵

As regards the regions and periods covered by the present study, adult enchytrismoι are certainly attested in Attica,⁴⁵⁶ and even more so in Archaic Boeotia.⁴⁵⁷ A small number of adult enchytrismoι which could date to the very end of the Archaic, or the beginning of the Classical period, are also known from Eretria in Euboea.⁴⁵⁸ The existence of these burials, therefore, does not corroborate a straightforward “pot-as-womb” analogy when it comes to enchytrismoι. The choice of a final resting place symbolising the maternal womb for adult individuals would

⁴⁵³ Selekou 2014, 259-263.

⁴⁵⁴ Sporadic appearance of enchytrismoι is also attested in Abdera, Mytilene, Ialysos in Rhodes, Nisyros, and Eleutherna in Crete. See Selekou 2014, 247-263, and esp. 277-279.

⁴⁵⁵ See Selekou 2014, 247-263, and esp. 277-279. The more extensive appearance of adult enchytrismoι in areas of Central and Southern Greece has been suggested as indicating a common descent and racial homogeneity of the inhabitants of these regions. See Selekou 2014, 279-281. Nevertheless, the use of a burial practice in distinct regions is for no reason indicative of racial homogeneity or common racial descent.

⁴⁵⁶ See above p. 122.

⁴⁵⁷ See above pp. 123-124.

⁴⁵⁸ See above p. 93 and n. 303 with references.

seem contradictory and paradoxical.⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, one needs to look in other directions in order to understand why the individuals identified as the occupants of the enchytrismoι under study were chosen to be buried inside them. In my opinion, the most important element which needs to be considered are the containers chosen to serve for the burials which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁵⁹ A similar case could also be made for the few enchytrismoι of older children.

V. THE VASES USED AS FUNERARY CONTAINERS

The present chapter focuses on the vases used as funerary containers for enchytrismoι in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia. The information presented derives from the study of numerous daybooks from rescue excavations and, when access was granted, also on a personal examination of the excavated material. When this has not been possible, the discussion relies on preliminary reports as well as on the few publications in which enchytrismos burials are adequately presented. As will become clear, evidence for the individual characteristics of the vases used for Attic and Euboean enchytrismoι is more plentiful. In Boeotia, since all material relevant to enchytrismos burials remains unpublished, not many details are known for the funerary containers.

It should be clarified that this is not a morphological and typological study of pottery. Rather, this chapter discusses the main characteristics of the funerary vessels, identifying vessel shapes, general morphology, size, and main decorative elements. This information will then be used to distinguish between vases specifically intended for funerary use and those with a different primary function in an attempt to identify the reasons motivating the choice of each as containers for enchytrismoι.

Before proceeding to such considerations, a brief note should be made with respect to the limitations of the dataset. The distribution of sites in which enchytrismoι have been unearthed (**Maps 2-3** and **Tables 1-3** for Attica; **Map 4** and **Tables 4-5** for Euboea; **Map 5** and **Tables 6-10** for Boeotia) as well as their relative frequency within each site is a construct dictated by the heterogeneous state of archaeological research. Furthermore, while excavation reports, articles and monographs abound with references to enchytrismoι of the Late Geometric

and Archaic periods, the evidence that can be meaningfully exploited is in reality far more limited; a substantial number of these burials remains unpublished and may thus be used exclusively for general considerations on the funerary ritual. These burials have been briefly discussed in Chapter III but have not been included in Appendices A, B and C due to insufficient information as regards their individual characteristics. Naturally, any statistical considerations which will be presented in the following chapter rely exclusively upon the catalogued burials.

A. Presentation of the Evidence

Enchytrismoi in Attica and Euboea were made inside vases of various shapes and sizes, and of very differing qualities, both in terms of make and decoration. The frequency with which different vessel types are employed varies both throughout time and between regions, but also sometimes even across nearby cemeteries. Since the vases used for the interments are a main component of the rite of enchytrismos, the study of their individual characteristics and of the frequency with which they are used may shed further light on the symbolic and social connotations of this intriguing burial ritual.

Attica (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 1-309)

Amphorae

In the majority of Attic cemeteries and burial plots, amphorae constitute the most common vessel type used for enchytrismos burials (**Chart 2**).⁴⁶⁰ During the Late Geometric period as well as in the 7th c. BC, these are mostly decorated neck-amphorae, characterised by a neck which is sharply set off from the shoulder and body.⁴⁶¹ Their use as funerary containers almost entirely ceases in the 6th c. BC when decorated amphorae with a continuous profile from lip to foot, commonly known as belly amphorae,⁴⁶² become exceedingly common. Coarse ware commercial (transport) amphorae⁴⁶³ are also frequently employed in Attic cemeteries during this period, as well as in the early 5th c. BC, a practice which continues throughout the Classical period.

Neck-amphorae

The neck amphorae used for Late Geometric enchytrismoι in Attica are in their vast majority vessels of regular size⁴⁶⁴ with a cylindrical narrow neck, ovoid body, ring foot and vertical handles attached on the neck and shoulder (**Figs 5, 16-17, 26, 27-28, 46-47, 55, 57**). A small number of belly-handled amphorae has also been reported to have served as funerary

⁴⁶⁰ The relative percentages provided in Chart 2 derive from the burials which have been catalogued in Appendix A. The available information regarding the funerary vessels used for the burials which have not been individually catalogued seem to be in overall accordance with these figures.

⁴⁶¹ For the shape and variations of neck amphorae, especially from the late 7th c. BC onwards, see Moore and Philippides 1986, 7.

⁴⁶² For the shape and variations of these vessels, also termed “one-piece amphorae”, see Moore and Philippides 1986, 4-7.

⁴⁶³ For an overview of this category of amphorae, see Grace 1979, 1 and, more recently, Panagou 2016, 313-334.

⁴⁶⁴ H. 0.40m-0.75m, Lip diam. 0.10m-0.24m.

containers.⁴⁶⁵ A number of these vases bear traces of large openings on one side of the body (Figs 5, 47, 67).⁴⁶⁶ Larger vessels are also attested, but are significantly fewer: two amphorae stand almost 0.90m tall (Figs 14, 48),⁴⁶⁷ while three examples exceed 1.0m (Fig. 19).⁴⁶⁸

The majority of these amphorae bears linear motifs on the neck, while their body is glazed, occasionally with a few reserved bands placed just below the shoulder. The most commonly occurring motif is a double triangle enclosing a St. Andrew's cross, flanked on either side by wheels,⁴⁶⁹ concentric circles,⁴⁷⁰ vertical wavy lines⁴⁷¹ or water birds (Figs 5, 16, 46).⁴⁷² Wheels enclosing a St. Andrews cross are also attested (Fig. 17).⁴⁷³ Furthermore, an unusual linear motif resembling a ship's mast (*stylis*) or an ideogram appears on two examples (Fig. 47).⁴⁷⁴

A smaller number of amphorae presents neck decoration organised into panels, filled with various geometric motifs (Figs 14, 26, 49). Among them one singles out spoked wheels, stylised birds, and hatched meanders,⁴⁷⁵ hatched quatrefoils and M-chevrons,⁴⁷⁶ spoked concentric circles and lozenged

⁴⁶⁵ Mr. Papayannakis (*pers. com.*) regarding the enchytrismoï from Herakleidon St. at Theseion. Other than these unpublished vessels, however, no other belly-handled amphorae have been reported for enchytrismoï during this period.

⁴⁶⁶ E.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 117-118, 123 (Sapphous St.); Cat. No 131 (Diamantopoulou St); Cat. Nos 145, 148, 159, 169 (base broken), 178, 83 (Phaleron). The fragmentary state of discovery of many other amphorae does not allow to discern whether other vases too possessed this particularity.

⁴⁶⁷ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 12 (Agora) and 117 (Sapphous St.).

⁴⁶⁸ Appendix A: Cat. No 25 (Acropolis South Slope); 220-221 (Eleusis South Cemetery).

⁴⁶⁹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 22 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁴⁷⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No 123 (Sapphous St.)

⁴⁷¹ Appendix A: Cat. No 7 (Agora).

⁴⁷² Appendix A: Cat. No 33 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁴⁷³ Appendix A: Cat. No 21, 27 and 30 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁴⁷⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No 118 (Sapphous St.) and 35 (Makrygianni & Porinou St). Other types of linear motifs are only encountered on individual examples. See Cat. No. 3 (Agora) and 134 (Thesseos St).

⁴⁷⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No. 117 (Sapphous St.).

⁴⁷⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 38 (Erechtheiou St.).

lines,⁴⁷⁷ as well as vertical meanders, circles surrounded by dots and vertical logenized bands.⁴⁷⁸

Figured decoration occurs on fewer vessels, and is again found on their necks. Human figures appear on two amphorae with identical decoration, used as funerary urns in the cemetery on the South Slope of the Acropolis and in the site of the Academy of Plato respectively.⁴⁷⁹ On these vases, panels with armed warriors, standing over a small bird, are separated by M-chevrons (**Fig. 19**). Animals also appear on two vessels: a pair of horses tethered at the manger is depicted on another amphora from the South Slope of the Acropolis (**Fig. 20**)⁴⁸⁰ while a long-necked bird, standing over a double triangle, decorates the neck of an amphora from the South cemetery of Eleusis.⁴⁸¹

The class of “banded ware”, whose simple decoration consists of a few thin glaze bands on the base of the neck and body (**Figs 27, 55**), is represented by numerous examples.⁴⁸² Strikingly opposed to these vessels are two isolated amphorae decorated with typical Late Geometric motifs which cover either the entire vessel, or only its neck and a rectangular panel on the shoulder.⁴⁸³

The neck-amphorae used for 7th c. BC enchytrismoi are of a similar form and size as those of the Late Geometric period. The vast majority are Attic “SOS” amphorae with a narrow

⁴⁷⁷ Appendix A: Cat. No. 12 (Agora).

⁴⁷⁸ Appendix A: Cat. No. 220 (Eleusis South cemetery).

⁴⁷⁹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 25 (Acropolis South Slope); Alexandridou 2016, 343; Alexandridou forthcoming.

⁴⁸⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 20.

⁴⁸¹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 220 (Eleusis South cemetery).

⁴⁸² Appendix A: Cat. No. 1 (Agora); Appendix A: Cat. No. 39-40 (Kerameikos Plattenbau). “Banded” amphorae also used as funerary vessels for enchytrismoi in the Academy of Plato: Alexandridou forthcoming. For the class of “banded” ware, see *CVA Greece* 8, 15-16.

⁴⁸³ Appendix A: Cat. No. 222-223 (Eleusis South Cemetery).

neck, balloon-shaped body, conical narrow base, and cylindrical handles (**Figs 57, 61**).⁴⁸⁴ One vessel only is decorated in Cook's "Florid style of Early Protoattic";⁴⁸⁵ its entire body and neck are covered with rays, loops alternating with trefoils, lozenges and spirals (**Fig. 62**).⁴⁸⁶ More figured vessels come from the new excavations of the Phaleron cemetery, yet only one has so far been published. This banded vessel bears panels depicting a sphinx on either side of the neck (**Fig. 66**).⁴⁸⁷

In sharp contrast to all previously discussed vessels comes the "Eleusis amphora" by the Polyphemus Painter, a masterpiece of Protoattic pottery, used as a funerary container at the West cemetery of Eleusis (**Fig. 82**).⁴⁸⁸ Of monumental proportions, this vessel measures 1.40m in height, with a maximum diameter of 0.76m and a mouth opening reaching almost 0.60m. Standing on a very narrow ring foot, its tall ovoid body reaches to a tall and wide neck flanked by elaborate fretwork handles. Figured decoration is confined to one side of the vase: On the neck, Polyphemus, holding a drinking cup, is blinded by Odysseus and one of his companions, while on the belly, Medusa, decapitated, "floats" behind her two sisters who escape Perseus. Between the hero and the two gorgons stands his patron goddess Athena. The vase's shoulder is occupied by a lion attacking a boar. The other side, the vessel is decorated exclusively with linear and floral Protoattic motifs.

⁴⁸⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No 130 (Achilleos St.); Cat. Nos 145, 144, 147, 155, 159-160, 162, 174, 177, 179, 181, 183, also possibly 151 and 170 (Phaleron); Cat. No. 251 (Thorikos West Necropolis) For this class of amphorae, see Johnston and Jones 1978, 103-141; Pratt 2015 with previous references.

⁴⁸⁵ Cook 1934-1935, 170-171.

⁴⁸⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 156 (Phaleron).

⁴⁸⁷ Alexandropoulou 2019, 273 and pl. 75. 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Appendix A: Cat. No. 196. For the "Eleusis Amphora" (Inv. 2630) see mainly, Mylonas 1957a; 1975, 91-92; Mannack 2002, 96-97.

During the 6th and early 5th c. BC, in contrast to earlier periods, only three examples of decorated neck-amphorae are known to have been used for enchytrismoι in Attica. All standing between 0.59m and 0.66m tall,⁴⁸⁹ their bodies and lips are glazed while their necks may be reserved,⁴⁹⁰ decorated with the typical “SOS” marking,⁴⁹¹ or with a pair of concentric circles.⁴⁹²

Coarse ware neck-amphorae used for Attic enchytrismoι are limited to three examples throughout the period of this study. The first is a poorly preserved Late Geometric vessel.⁴⁹³ The second comes from a 7th c. grave and bears on its shoulder the only published inscription found on an enchytrismoι vessel, reading “MNE”, identified by the excavator as an abbreviation for the word M N E M A (sepulchre).⁴⁹⁴ The last example is an undecorated 6th c. vase, similar in shape to its decorated counterparts.⁴⁹⁵

One-piece amphorae

Unlike neck-amphorae, one-piece amphorae (also named belly-amphorae) have a continuous profile from lip to foot and short, relatively wider necks. Prior to the 6th c. BC, only two such Protoattic vessels are attested. The first, standing 0.53m tall, has an entirely glazed body and a reserved panel on the shoulder which depicts a single rosette (**Fig. 104**).⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁹ Diam. lip up to 0.18m.

⁴⁹⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 4 (Agora).

⁴⁹¹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 54 (Kerameikos).

⁴⁹² Appendix A: Cat. No. 55 (Kerameikos).

⁴⁹³ Appendix A: Cat. No. 37 (Parthenonos St.).

⁴⁹⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No. 115 (25 Kriezī St.). More vases with inscriptions are reported from the new excavations at Phaleron, with no further information as to their types or inscriptions (<https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-arhaiko-nekrotafeio-sto-delta-falirou/>, accessed July 2019).

⁴⁹⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No. 12 (Agora).

⁴⁹⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 295 (Oinoe): Diam. lip 0.22m.

The second amphora of this type is quite similar but depicts a dog on its reserved panel (**Fig. 68**).⁴⁹⁷

On the contrary, during the 6th and early 5th c. BC, one-piece amphorae are much more frequently used as funerary containers. These belong to the most typically occurring form, termed “Type B”, which is characterised by a straight lip, ovoid body, echinus foot, and round handles (**Figs 38-39, 70, 81, 98**).⁴⁹⁸ Although the size of most vessels is not reported by their excavators, the available information is consistent with the standard size of this type of amphorae (H. 0.55m-0.60m).⁴⁹⁹

One of the earliest examples is a Protoattic amphora attributed to the Chimaera Painter;⁵⁰⁰ a large sphinx covers almost its entire body while antithetical foreparts of panthers are depicted on its neck (**Fig. 81**). All other belly amphorae used for enchytrismoι date later in the 6th c. These are, without exception, black-figure vases with decoration set in reserved panels on either side of the body, and date later in the 6th c.⁵⁰¹ At least two of these vessels belong to the class of “Horseman” amphorae⁵⁰² while another two to the well-known “Horsehead” series (**Figs 35, 59, 70**).⁵⁰³ The recent excavations at Phaleron have also revealed an unknown number of enchytrismoι deposited in “Horsehead” amphorae.⁵⁰⁴ Other examples

⁴⁹⁷ Alexandropoulou 2019, pl. 75. 2 (Grab 58).

⁴⁹⁸ For the shape, name, and variations of the one-piece amphora type B, see the bibliographical references in *CVA Greece* 10, 15.

⁴⁹⁹ Scheibler 1987, 63.

⁵⁰⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 204 (Eleusis West cemetery). For the vase see also Mylonas 1957b. For the Chimaera Painter, see Beazley 1944, 40 no.1; Beazley 1956, 14; *ABV*, 3 no.1; *Para.* 1-3.

⁵⁰¹ For this class of amphorae, see Moore and Philippides 1986, 5-7.

⁵⁰² These are the vessels from Appendix A: Cat. No. 131 at Diamantopoulou St. (Kynosarges) and from Artemidos & Themistokleous St. (Glyfada) which is attributed to Lydos (Antonopoulou 2007, 254-255). For this series of amphorae, see Beazley 1951, 39; Scheibler 1987, 78.

⁵⁰³ These are the amphorae from Cat. No. 65 (Kerameikos) and from Tomb XXV at Andromachis St. in Kallithea (Chapter III, pp. 69 and n. 222 with references). For this series of amphorae, see Beazley 1951, 39; *CVA Rhodes* 10 (2007), 15-16 with further bibliography.

⁵⁰⁴ <https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-arhaiko-nekrotafeio-sto-delta-falirou/> (accessed July 2019).

present different decoration on each of their panels. For example, a horse taming scene is found on one side of an amphora from the Kerameikos (**Fig. 36**), while komasts accompanied by a flute player are depicted on the other side.⁵⁰⁵ A single vessel from Phaleron depicts a four-spoked wheel on its reserved panel.⁵⁰⁶ More similar amphorae are also reported among the new finds of the cemetery.⁵⁰⁷

At least two examples of coarse ware one-piece amphorae of unknown size were also used to contain enchytrismoι during this period. The first is an undecorated vessel (**Fig. 97**), while the second, according to the excavator, bears simple incised linear motifs and mastoid protrusions on the shoulder.⁵⁰⁸

Transport amphorae (commercial/trade amphorae)

Transport amphorae characterised by a narrow mouth, long body and, most often, a small pointed toe were produced in the Greek world from the 7th c. onwards.⁵⁰⁹ Their use for enchytrismos burials in Attica also begins in the 7th c. BC, with all known examples found in the cemetery of Phaleron.⁵¹⁰ Of these, only two have been published and belong to the class of Corinthian transport amphorae “Type A”, characterised by an elongated cylindrical flat-bottomed toe, spherical body, heavy vertical handles and broad overhanging rim.⁵¹¹ Their large

⁵⁰⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No 108 (Kerameikos).

⁵⁰⁶ Alexandropoulou 2019, 273 and pl. 75.3 (Grab 66).

⁵⁰⁷ Alexandropoulou 2019, *passim*.

⁵⁰⁸ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 274 and 273 respectively (Vari Southeast Necropolis).

⁵⁰⁹ Grace 1979, 9. A transport amphora at Sapphous St. is reported as a container for a Late Geometric burial, but most likely dates in the Late Archaic and Classical period. See Appendix A: Cat. No. 124, with references.

⁵¹⁰ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 148 and 153 (Phaleron). More transport amphorae used as funerary containers for 7th (and 6th c.) BC in the same cemetery are mentioned by Alexandropoulou 2019, 272-273.

⁵¹¹ The production of this type of vessels began in the early 7th c. BC, although their form clearly takes after 9th and 8th c. examples. See mainly Koehler 1981, 449-458; Lawall 1995, 57-58; Savelli 2006;

size, not uncommon for this type of amphora,⁵¹² comes into sharp contrast with their extremely narrow necks and mouths which do not surpass 0.11m in diameter.

A rise in the use of trade amphorae for enchytrismoι is observed in 6th and early 5th c. burials. This is especially notable in the Kerameikos where such vessels constitute the *quasi* exclusive funerary container.⁵¹³ Numerous transport amphorae used for enchytrismoι also come from Eleusis and Phaleron.⁵¹⁴ These vessels belong to Samian, Chian and other island productions. Mostly of uniform size (H. 0.50m-0.69m), they are all characterised by very narrow necks whose diameter never exceeds 0.15m (**Figs 32-34, 52, 67, 83, 92**). It is for this reason that many of these vessels bear traces of large openings having been made on their body for the insertion of the corpse (e.g **Figs 33-34, 52**).⁵¹⁵ As is usually the case with commercial amphorae, most examples are undecorated (**Fig. 32**),⁵¹⁶ while others have a glazed lip and a small circle painted right below it, typical of Chian productions (**Fig. 33**).⁵¹⁷ Albeit more rarely, simple banded decoration is also attested (**Fig. 34**).⁵¹⁸

Sourisseau 2006. See also Bessios, Tzifopoulos and Kotsonas 2012, 186, esp. n.1034 for further bibliography.

⁵¹² H. 0.71m and 1.0m in height respectively. Type A amphorae are usually much larger than other Greek amphora series; the smallest hold about 18ltr, the largest 70, and the majority above 40. See Koehler 1992, 266.

⁵¹³ Transport amphorae are also reported from Artemidos & Themistokleous St. in Glyfada (Chapter III, p. 72 and n. 228 with references, Tsoka St. in Eleusis (Papangeli 1989, 31) as well as Appendix A: Cat. No. 264 (Thorikos West Necropolis); Cat. Nos 283, 285 (Vari Southeast Necropolis).

⁵¹⁴ For Eleusis, see Mylonas 1975, *passim*. For Phaleron, see Alexandropoulou 2019, 273.

⁵¹⁵ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 59-60 (opened on both sides); Cat. Nos 83, 87-88, 102 (Kerameikos Südhügel).

⁵¹⁶ All “Form B” examples. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 56, 68, 61-62, 71, 76, 78-79, 82, 97, 87, 93, 100-101. (Kerameikos Südhügel).

⁵¹⁷ All “Form C” examples. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 57, 62, 66, 72, 77, 87, 89, 95, 101-102, 105, 111 (Kerameikos).

⁵¹⁸ “Form A” examples. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 64, 100 (Kerameikos Südhügel).

Pithoi

In most Attic cemeteries and burial plots, pithoi are the second most popular container used for enchytrismos burials (**Chart 2**). During the Late Geometric period, the West and South cemeteries of Eleusis, as well as possibly that of Vranas in Marathon, constitute an exception since pithoi outnumber the amphorae. A similar situation may be observed at Thorikos, Oinoe and Sounion for the 7th c. BC and again at the West Cemetery of Eleusis for the 6th and early 5th c. BC. Overall, during all the periods covered by this study, coarse ware pithoi with incised decoration outnumber undecorated vessels.

During the Late Geometric, the pithoi used for Attic enchytrismoi have an ovoid body with a slightly concave wide neck (**Figs 7, 12, 18**).⁵¹⁹ A single pithos stands out due to its stump-like base, bulging body and almost invisible neck (**Fig. 10b**).⁵²⁰ The size of the pithoi presents considerable variation with examples from 0.40m to 0.88m tall,⁵²¹ while a single example reach 1.31m (**Fig. 40**).⁵²²

Although undecorated examples are also attested, the majority of pithoi is decorated. Some vessels bear simple incised motifs such as zigzags⁵²³ and schematic branches with leaves under the lip (**Fig. 18**).⁵²⁴ Incision is also combined with relief mastoid protrusions on one example.⁵²⁵ Impressed decoration in the form of small leaves also occurs bordering a relief ring on the neck of a single vase (**Fig. 80**).⁵²⁶ The large pithos from the Dipylon cemetery bears the

⁵¹⁹ Diam. lip: 0.22-0.34m. The width of the necks is analogous to the size of the vessels.

⁵²⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 13 (Agora).

⁵²¹ See e.g. Cat. No 191 from Eleusis West Cemetery (H. 0.88m); Cat. No. 230 from Thorikos Necropolis D1 (H. 0.47m); Cat. No. 252 from Thorikos West Necropolis (H. 0.567m).

⁵²² Appendix A: Cat. No. 112 (Dipylon).

⁵²³ Appendix A: Cat. No. 18 (Agora); Cat. No. 43 (Kerameikos).

⁵²⁴ Cat. No. 29 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁵²⁵ Cat. No. 26 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁵²⁶ Cat. No. 191 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

most elaborate decoration of all, consisting of three relief rings with oblique incisions placed on its belly and large hatched meanders and swastikas incised above and below it (**Fig. 40**).⁵²⁷

During the 7th c. BC, most pithoi used for enchytrismos burials have a concave neck, ovoid body and flat base. Their size is generally similar to those of the Late Geometric period.⁵²⁸ The colossal pithos, once again from the Dipylon cemetery, standing 1.40m tall, constitutes the only exception (**Fig. 42**).⁵²⁹ The most common decoration of these vessels, occurring on at least 11 examples, consists of a moulded ring below the lip, flanked above and below by incised leaves⁵³⁰ or small impressed grains (**Fig. 90**).⁵³¹ Linear incised motifs combined with mastoid protrusions are encountered only once.⁵³² The decoration of the monumental Dipylon relief pithos is much more elaborate consisting of incised spirals and a relief band with impressed “circle and line” motifs (**Fig. 42**).

Pithoi decorated solely with incision are also encountered during the 7th c. BC but are significantly fewer. Among their motifs one finds lozenges, chevrons, swastikas, and meanders (**Fig. 89**),⁵³³ and in one case with an additional schematised four-legged animal and a snake.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁷ Cat. No. 112 (Dipylon). Another Late Geometric relief pithos is also reported from the North Necropolis of Vari, yet further information is not provided. See Chapter III, p. 80.

⁵²⁸ Unfortunately, the dimensions of the Phaleron pithoi are not provided by Pelekidis (1916) or Young (1942).

⁵²⁹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 113 (Dipylon).

⁵³⁰ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 149, 157-158, 164, 182, 188-189, possibly also 154 (Phaleron); Cat. No 198 (Eleusis West Cemetery; Cat. No. 230 (Thorikos Necropolis D1); Cat. No. 233 (Thorikos South); Cat. No. 296 (Oinoe).

⁵³¹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 231 (Thorikos Necropolis D1); Cat. No 260, 262 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁵³² Appendix A: Cat. No. 150 (Phaleron).

⁵³³ Appendix A: Cat. No. 252, 260 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁵³⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No. 272 (Vari Southeast Necropolis).

A small number of glazed pithoi are also reported from Phaleron.⁵³⁵ Undecorated pithoi on the other hand are limited to four examples.⁵³⁶

Unfortunately, not much is known for the numerous pithoi used for 6th/early 5th c. enchytrismoi in Attica. From the available information, their height ranges between 0.60m and 0.90m. The pithos from the Agora is the only vessel whose form and decoration can be described; its body is ovoid, while its short neck terminates in a heavy projecting rim. The whole vessel is glazed, while three pairs of moulded ridges encircle its body (**Fig. 15a**).⁵³⁷ Information regarding the rest of the pithoi used for 6th/early 5th c. burials is meagre. Three relief pithoi are known from Vari,⁵³⁸ Rouf,⁵³⁹ and Gerakas⁵⁴⁰ respectively. The unpublished pithos from Rouf is reportedly glazed and bears moulded rings on its shoulder. The vessel from Gerakas bears the unique subject of a Scythian archer holding his horse, continuously repeated around its shoulder, and incised “circle and line” motifs on its belly. Finally, an undecorated pithos was used for an enchytrismos at Anagyrous.⁵⁴¹

Hydriae

After amphorae and pithoi, hydriae are the next most popular vessel used for enchytrismos burials in Attica. Their use, however, is remarkably less frequent (**Chart 2**).

⁵³⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No 165 (Phaleron) as well as a number of others reported from Kourouniotis' excavations (1911).

⁵³⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 15 (Agora); Cat. Nos 255, 258-259 (Thorikos West Necropolis). Undecorated pithoi are also reported from the unpublished excavations at Dimitros and Kimonos St. at Eleusis. See Papangeli 1988, 47 and 1998, 78 respectively.

⁵³⁷ Appendix A: Cat. No 19 (Agora).

⁵³⁸ Appendix A: Cat. No. 286 (Vari North Necropolis).

⁵³⁹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 125 (Rouf).

⁵⁴⁰ Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 314; Antonopoulou and Manganioti 2009, 373-382.

⁵⁴¹ Appendix A: Cat. No 284 (Vari Southeast Necropolis).

During the Late Geometric period, only decorated examples are attested, while in the 7th c. BC both plain coarse and fine ware painted hydriae are used as funerary containers. During the 6th c. on the other hand, the only two examples of hydriae from Attica are undecorated coarse ware vessels.

The form of the Late Geometric hydriae⁵⁴² is similar to that of most contemporary neck-amphorae. Their size on the other hand is considerably smaller with few examples exceeding 0.50m.⁵⁴³ All Late Geometric hydriae belong to the class of “banded ware” (Figs 6, 28, 91), sometimes with an added wavy line on the horizontal handle-zone⁵⁴⁴ and on the shoulder.⁵⁴⁵ The whole or the upper part of the neck and the lip, and occasionally their foot are glazed. During the 7th c. BC, the very few hydriae attested are similar in shape, size and decoration to those of the late 8th c. BC.⁵⁴⁶ Occasionally, one side of these vessels has been carefully broken for the insertion of the dead body.⁵⁴⁷

Coarse ware jugs

Jugs also occasionally serve as funerary containers for a few Attic enchytrismoι (**Chart 2**). These are most common in the late 8th c. BC, while only two examples date to the 7th. c. BC. The jugs used for Late Geometric burials come from various cemeteries in Athens as well as from Marathon.⁵⁴⁸ Information regarding their individual characteristics derives only from

⁵⁴² Appendix A: Cat. Nos 5-6 (Agora); Cat. No 28 (Acropolis South Slope); Cat. No. 120 (Sapphous St.).

⁵⁴³ H. 0.35m-0.52m; Diam. lip never exceeding 0.12m.

⁵⁴⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No. 6 (Agora); Cat. No. 28 (Acropolis South Slope).

⁵⁴⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No. 120 (Sapphous St.).

⁵⁴⁶ Appendix A: Cat. No. 146 (Phaleron); Cat. No. 242 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁵⁴⁷ See, e.g., Cat. No. 146 (Phaleron).

⁵⁴⁸ Appendix A: Cat. No. 41 (Kerameikos); Cat. No. 114 (Kriezi & Psaromiliggou); Cat. No. 122 (Sapphous St.); Cat. No. 126 (Kastorias St.); Cat. No. 305 (Nea Makri).

three examples, barely over 0.35m in height, with a relatively wide neck (up to 0.19m in diameter), ovoid body, flat base and a flat handle.⁵⁴⁹ All are similarly decorated with an incised double wavy line under the lip and another two that join with two mastoid protrusions to form a swastika on the shoulder (**Fig. 49**). Traces of fire are visible on the front side of these vases, opposite their strap handle (**Fig. 49**).⁵⁵⁰

Both jugs used for 7th c. BC pot burials come from Thorikos.⁵⁵¹ The first resembles, in both shape and size, those of the late 8th c.; its front side is also blackened from fire (**Fig. 88**). The second jug on the other hand is slightly larger and has an exceptionally high vertical handle.⁵⁵² Insofar, no jugs seem to have been used as funerary vessels for Attic enchytrismo during the 6th and early 5th c. BC.

Chytrai and other minor categories of vessels

A very small number of chytrai also served to contain enchytrismo burials in Attica (**Chart 2**). All are coarse ware vessels dating to the 7th c. and 6th c. BC. The three small 7th c. chytrai have an wide neck, which is barely distinguishable, as well as a rounded body and base (**Fig. 88**).⁵⁵³ Among them, only one is decorated with incised vertical strokes on the neck.⁵⁵⁴ Not much is known for the shape and size of the other three chytrai used for 6th c. BC burials.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁴⁹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 114 (Kriezi & Psaromiliggou); Cat. No. 122 (Sapphus St.).

⁵⁵⁰ On this, see below.

⁵⁵¹ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 246 and 248 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁵⁵² H. 0.428m; Lip diam. 0.149m.

⁵⁵³ H. 0.23m-0.30m. See Appendix A: Cat. Nos 253, 256 (Thorikos West Necropolis); Cat. No 46 (Kerameikos).

⁵⁵⁴ Appendix A: Cat. No. 253 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁵⁵⁵ Artemidos and Themistokleous St. (Antonopoulou 2007, 254-255); Cat. No. 267 (Thorikos West Necropolis); 19 & 23 Marathonos Ave. (Antonopoulou and Manganioti 2009, 373-382). The chytra

Other vase shapes were also used to contain enchytrismoι in Attica, yet their occurrence is rarer. For example, during the Late Geometric period, pithos-shaped vessels⁵⁵⁶ and what is referred to as “lagynoi”,⁵⁵⁷ were used for a very small number of pot burials, while a single stamnos⁵⁵⁸ has also been reported. Minor categories of vases used for 7th c. BC enchytrismoι on the other hand include lekanai and pithos-shaped vessels,⁵⁵⁹ a spouted basin⁵⁶⁰ and a kalpis.⁵⁶¹

Euboea and Oropos (Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1-113)

Amphorae

In Eretrian cemeteries and burial plots, as in most of their Attic counterparts, amphorae are the predominant funerary vessel from the Late Geometric period to the 6th c. BC (**Chart 3**). During the late 8th/early 7th c. BC decorated neck-amphorae are few, while coarse ware one-piece vessels predominate. From the 7th c. onwards, neck-amphorae of the so-called

from the latter cemetery is described as having a spherical body and a flat handle bearing red lines on its reserved surface.

⁵⁵⁶ Two examples from Papavasileiou St. at Markopoulo (Appendix A: Cat. Nos. 306-307); another two from Old Phokaia (Kakavogianni 1987, 96; Kakavogianni and Petrocheilos 2013, 72). Enchytrismoι in pithos-shaped vessels dating from the late 8th to the 5th c. BC are also known from Andromachis St. at Kallithea (Chapter III, pp. 69 and n. 222 with references) and from Cemetery 2 at Kato Souli-Schinias (Oikonomakou 2001-2004 (2002), 374).

⁵⁵⁷ South Cemetery of Eleusis (Chapter III, p. 75 and n. 234 with references). Nevertheless, lagynoi do not appear before the Hellenistic period.

⁵⁵⁸ South Cemetery of Eleusis (Chapter III, p. 74-75 and n. 233-234 with references).

⁵⁵⁹ Pithos-shaped vessels were used for the burials at Thorikos West Necropolis (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 265-266, 268); Eleusis West Cemetery (Appendix A: Cat. No. 201). See also the vessels from Andromachis St. Kallithea and Cemetery 2 at Kato Souli, Marathon (Oikonomakou 2001-2004, 374). Two pithos-shaped jugs are also reported from Eleusis West Cemetery (Cat. No. 205-206). None of the above-mentioned vessels is described or illustrated.

⁵⁶⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 8 (Agora).

⁵⁶¹ Appendix A: Cat. No. 114 (Kriezī and Psaromiligou St.).

“Eretrian” class⁵⁶² seem to become the norm.⁵⁶³ Though belonging to the same cultural milieu, Oropos has yielded only three examples of enchytrismoι in amphorae, all of which are dated to the late 8th and the first decades of the 7th c. BC.⁵⁶⁴

Neck-amphorae

Among Late Geometric/early 7th c. BC vessels used for enchytrismoι in Euboea and Oropos only a small number can be identified with certainty as neck-amphorae. Of these, two are decorated neck-handled ovoid vessels with simple linear motifs on their neck; the first is an Attic “SOS” amphora, while the second a small (H. 0.35m) vessel, possibly local, with a double circle on its neck and glaze bands on its body (**Fig. 139**).⁵⁶⁵ The only other example of a Late Geometric neck-amphora used for an enchytrismoι in Euboea comes from Lefkandi and is an import from Samos.⁵⁶⁶ This coarse ware vessel stands 0.63m tall, and is decorated with horizontal incised lines on one of the handles. A thumb impression and two small drilled holes, are also visible under the same handle (**Fig. 133**).

Most amphorae used for 7th c. burials in Eretria belong to the richly decorated and long-lived class of “Eretrian” amphorae which will be discussed below. Only two specimens do not belong to this class and are simple neck-handled vessels dating early in the 7th c. BC.⁵⁶⁷ The first is partially preserved but bears traces of glazing on its body. The second is a medium-

⁵⁶² For this class of amphorae, see mainly Boardman 1952; Blandin 2007, 59-60; Verdan 2015.

⁵⁶³ This is the case at least for the Hygionomeion cemetery which provides our main source of information for this period.

⁵⁶⁴ Appendix B: Cat. No. 93, 95, 103 (Oropos Central Quarter).

⁵⁶⁵ Appendix B: Cat. No 38 (Eretria); Cat. No. 103 (Oropos Central Quarter).

⁵⁶⁶ Appendix B: Cat. No. 92 (Xeropolis).

⁵⁶⁷ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1 and 3 (Eretria).

sized coarse ware amphora⁵⁶⁸ with a graffito (?) and two small drilled holes under one of its handles. A small hole, evidently made after firing, is also pierced on its bottom (**Fig. 113**).

The imposing “Eretrian amphorae” (**Figs 117-129**) sharply contrast with these simple vessels. Their shape, characterised by a tall cylindrical neck, deep ovoid body, and high conical foot, remains almost unchanged from the Late Geometric to the middle of the 6th c. BC. The earliest vessel of this class, standing 0.55m tall, is entirely covered by typical Geometric motifs such as chequer-boards, meanders and lozenges (**Fig. 117**).⁵⁶⁹

The Sub-Geometric examples, which may reach up to 0.67m in height, are also entirely covered with motifs, now typical of the early 7th c. BC.⁵⁷⁰ Among them one singles out upright and horizontal wavy bands, butterfly and diamond patterns, herring-bones and concentric circles, as well as silhouette birds (**Figs 118-120**).⁵⁷¹ Horses are also encountered on two occasions: on one vessel, the animal is tethered at the manger, while legs of a horse also appear on a fragment which belongs to another amphora.⁵⁷²

Orientalising “Eretrian amphorae” are larger than their Sub-Geometric counterparts.⁵⁷³ One of these vessels has a hole on its bottom, evidently made after firing.⁵⁷⁴ Figured decoration is invariably limited to one side of the vases, whereas the other is covered with the characteristic Eretrian loop ornament. The necks of the majority of these vessels are decorated with female figures holding branches or wreaths. Lions are depicted on their bodies and shoulders (**Figs**

⁵⁶⁸ H. 0.675m, Diam. lip 0.16m.

⁵⁶⁹ Appendix B: Cat. No. 18 (Eretria) (Lip diam. 0.23m). A contemporary Eretrian amphora is also reported as the funerary vessel of a late 8th/early 7th c. BC burial found in Appendix B: Cat. No. 39 (Eretria).

⁵⁷⁰ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 42, 45-57 (Eretria).

⁵⁷¹ Birds only on Cat. Nos 42 and 45 (Eretria).

⁵⁷² Appendix B: Cat. No. 45, 47 (Eretria).

⁵⁷³ H. 0.75m- 0.81m, Diam. lip ca. 0.254m.

⁵⁷⁴ Appendix B: Cat. No 61 (NM 12077) (Eretria).

121-123).⁵⁷⁵ Only one example does not depict female figures on its neck but a scene which has plausibly been identified as an encounter or abduction (**Fig. 124**).⁵⁷⁶ On another vessel standing female figures in a file occupy all the main decorative surfaces. Behind the last woman on the body of the vase appears an inscription which reads Θ E A.⁵⁷⁷

The evidence for enchytrismoι of the early 6th c. BC from Euboea comes mostly from the Hygionomeion cemetery,⁵⁷⁸ and from the single published funerary container from Karystos. “Eretrian amphorae”, similar to those of earlier periods, continue to predominate as funerary containers. The decoration of the necks and bodies of the early 6th c. examples mainly consists of lions, swans and sphinxes, grouped heraldically in pairs, frequently on either side of a rosette or half palmette (**Figs 125-126**). Figured decoration once again remains concentrated on one side of the vase while the other is decorated by upright wavy lines on the neck and loop patterns and dots on the body. The foot of these vessels is decorated with large hanging hooks (**Fig. 125**) or, on a single example, by upright wavy lines.⁵⁷⁹ A small pithos-amphora from Karystos, dated to the second quarter of the 6th c. BC, should also be grouped together with these vessels.⁵⁸⁰ It depicts a poorly preserved siren with spread wings wearing a polos.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁵ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 60 (NM 12130), 63 (NM 12129), 61 (NM 12077), 62 (NM 75245) (Eretria).

⁵⁷⁶ Charalambidou 2017, 147.

⁵⁷⁷ Appendix B: Cat. No 59 (NM 12128) (Eretria).

⁵⁷⁸ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 77 (NM 12436γ), 78 (NM 1008), 79 (NM 12436δ), 80-81 (NM 12436α-β), 85 (12436), 86 (NM 1006), 84 (NM 31913) (Eretria). See also the uninventoried fragments in the National Museum (from Cat. No. 83) and in the Eretria Museum (from Cat. No. 83).

⁵⁷⁹ Cat. No. 86 (NM 1006) (Eretria).

⁵⁸⁰ H. 0.305m, Diam. lip 0.13m.

⁵⁸¹ Karystos MK 1550. See Chidirolou 2012, 698.

The meagre evidence of Eretrian amphorae dating to the middle of the 6th c. BC consists of three black-figure examples, all measuring between 0.736 and 0.785m in height.⁵⁸² On one side of the “Heracles Amphora” (**Fig. 127**),⁵⁸³ the neck is decorated with a charioteer in his quadriga, flanked on either side by armed male figures. A mythological scene occupies the body of this vessel: Heracles, with the aid of Iolaos decapitates the Lernaian Hydra under the protection of Athena and Hermes. On the other side, the neck and shoulder depict a pair of panthers and rams respectively, each separated by a lotus bud. The body is decorated with a lion and a bull facing each other. Large sirens with open wings are placed below the handles while a continuous animal frieze with repeated bulls, lions, and rams is painted below the main figured scene. The foot is also decorated with a continuous file of animals, i.e. sirens, bulls, lions, snakes and rams.

The decoration of the “Wedding Amphora” (**Fig. 128**) is equally rich.⁵⁸⁴ On the main side of the vase the Judgment of Paris is depicted on the neck, while the body illustrates the nuptial procession of Zeus and Hera. Dionysos, Aphrodite, Artemis and the *Horai* accompany the divine couple. A row of bulls is painted just below this scene. An antithetical pair of lions decorates the neck of the vase on the opposite side, while a large siren is depicted on the body. The foot of the vase also bears figured decoration consisting of a pair of sirens flanked by lions on the one side, as well as two heraldic boars on the other. On both this vase as well as on the “Heracles Amphora” figured decoration appears on both sides.

⁵⁸² H. 0.736m - 0.785m, Diam. lip 0.230m - 0.29m. No information is provided regarding other 6th c. BC amphorae.

⁵⁸³ Appendix B: Cat. No. 89 (NM 12075) (Eretria). See Boardman 1952, 35-39, figs 21b, f, 22, 23a, pls 10-11, with previous bibliography.

⁵⁸⁴ Appendix B: Cat. No. 90 (NM 1004) (Eretria). See Boardman 1952, 32-35, pls 9, 11, with previous bibliography.

A wedding scene is also the main focus of the third black-figured vessel from the Hygionomeion, the “Peleus Amphora” (Fig. 129).⁵⁸⁵ Only one side of the vessel bears figured decoration: the neck depicts standing male and female figures. The body is decorated with a scene from the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis.⁵⁸⁶ Inscriptions identify the couple, as well as Zeus who is facing them. Another three unidentified female figures are also depicted. The foot of the vase is covered with multiple rows of animals such as sirens, lions and birds. A single male figure is also depicted at the far left of the second file of animals.

One-piece (belly) amphorae

One-piece amphorae are the most common type of amphora used for Late Geometric enchytrismoi in Eretria. A smaller number of examples are also attested in Oropos. These are all coarse ware undecorated vessels of relatively small size, with a wide neck and a flat base (Figs 114, 138).⁵⁸⁷ Among them, a few bear traces of fire on their surface or internally.⁵⁸⁸ The handles of one vessel were evidently broken prior to its use as a funerary container.⁵⁸⁹ One-piece amphorae are not attested as enchytrismos containers after the Late Geometric period, when the class of “Eretrian” amphorae becomes the norm.

⁵⁸⁵ Appendix B: Cat. No. 91 (NM 12076) (Eretria). The foot was previously inventoried as NM 16184. See Boardman 1952, 38-39 with previous bibliography, pls 9-10.

⁵⁸⁶ The other side is covered in black glaze.

⁵⁸⁷ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 4-5, 7, 9-10, 17, 23, 40. (H. 0.300m - 0.410m; Diam. lip 0.100m - 0.200m). The funerary vessel of Cat. No 16 is also a one-piece amphora but with a much narrower and elongated body (H. 0.52m).

⁵⁸⁸ E.g. Appendix B: Cat. Nos 16, 34-35, 40, 43 (Eretria); 93, 95 (Oropos). On the traces of fire as indications of previous use of the vessels, see below.

⁵⁸⁹ Appendix B: Cat. No. 16, 40 (Eretria).

Coarse ware pithoi

In Eretria and Oropos, as in most Attic cemeteries, coarse ware pithoi, occasionally with incised decoration, are the second most popular funerary container (**Chart 3**). During the Late Geometric period only a small number of pithoi are attested. Of various sizes (H. 0.45m - 0.70m), these vases have a tall cylindrical neck, ovoid body and flat base (**Figs 115, 140**).⁵⁹⁰ Two of these vessels are undecorated,⁵⁹¹ while the others are either incised with wavy lines and zigzags,⁵⁹² or combine incised decoration with mastoid protrusions.⁵⁹³

At the end of the 8th as well as in the 7th c. BC, the pithoi from Eretria are much different in shape and resemble instead the contemporary “Eretrian” amphorae (**Figs 111, 131**).⁵⁹⁴ Once again, their height varies considerably from 0.57m to 0.75m.⁵⁹⁵ Most of these vessels are decorated with mastoid protrusions combined with various incised motifs.⁵⁹⁶ These include herring-bone tinsels which may be accompanied by a swastika or by a swastika, stylised branches and vertical wavy lines (**Fig. 131**).⁵⁹⁷ Another two pithoi are decorated only with incision consisting of schematic branches,⁵⁹⁸ or zigzags (**Fig. 131**).⁵⁹⁹ Only one example among these pithoi is undecorated.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁰Cat. No. 33-35 (Eretria); 106-107 (Oropos Central Quarter). No information is provided as to the shape of the two pithoi from Cat. Nos 34-35 (Eretria).

⁵⁹¹ Unfortunately, no information is given for the decoration of the pithos from Cat. No. 35 (Eretria).

⁵⁹² Cat. No. 33 (Eretria).

⁵⁹³ Cat. No. 34 (Eretria).

⁵⁹⁴ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 15, 20-22, 70 (Eretria).

⁵⁹⁵ Lip diam. 0.322m-0.330m.

⁵⁹⁶ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 69, 70-74 (Eretria).

⁵⁹⁷ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 69, 71, 72, 74 (Eretria).

⁵⁹⁸ Appendix B: Cat. No. 21 (Eretria).

⁵⁹⁹ Appendix B: Cat. No. 20, 22 (Eretria).

⁶⁰⁰ Appendix B: Cat. No. 73 (Eretria).

Coarse ware jugs

Jugs are also frequently used as funerary containers in Euboea and Oropos (**Chart 3**). Most of these vessels come from Oropos where they are the predominant type of vase for enchytrismoι from the late 8th to the first decade of the 7th c.⁶⁰¹ In Eretria on the other hand, only two examples are attested, both dating to the late 8th c. BC. All are small coarse undecorated vessels with a flat base and ovoid body, rarely measuring over 0.30m in height (**Figs 137a-c**). Most of these vases have visible fire traces on one side of their body and lip (**Fig. 137b**).⁶⁰²

Oinochoe

Other vessel shapes used for Euboean enchytrismoι are almost entirely absent (**Chart 3**). are limited to a small oinochoe from the Central Quarter of Oropos.⁶⁰³ This fragmentary vase has an ovoid body covered by wide glaze bands and a low ring foot.

Boeotia (Appendix C: Cat. Nos 1-138)

Since all enchytrismoι from Boeotia remain unpublished the information presented below is fragmentary and lacks detail when compared to the regions of Attica and Euboea. Preliminary reports provide only general information for the vases used in each burial ground while, much less frequently, the vessel type employed for each individual burial may also be

⁶⁰¹ Appendix B: Cat. Nos. 94, 96-100, 102, 104-105, 108-109, 111-113 (Oropos).

⁶⁰² See below.

⁶⁰³ Appendix B: Cat. No 101 (Oropos).

mentioned. Furthermore, information on the individual characteristic of the vases (e.g. ware, shape, size, and decoration), is almost always entirely lacking.⁶⁰⁴

Pithoi

Pithoi seem to prevail in most Boeotian burial grounds during both the Geometric and Archaic periods (**Chart 4**). For both periods, not much is known for the individual characteristics of these vessels, in particular for their shape and size. During the Late Geometric period, it seems that single pithoi were the most common type of funerary containers for enchytrismoi.⁶⁰⁵ Unfortunately, not much is known for the form of these pithoi either, the only exceptions being the vague references to a conical-shaped and a cylindrical vessel from the Northwest cemetery of Thebes in the modern suburb of Pyri.⁶⁰⁶ Information on the size of Late Geometric pithoi is also meagre, yet it appears that the pithoi employed were of various sizes.

During the Archaic period, pithoi remain the most commonly used type of vessel for Boeotian enchytrismoi in all cemeteries and burial plots. However, apart from individual pithoi, pairs of pithoi joint at the mouth to form a single funerary container were also used to contain individual skeletons (**Figs 143, 147, 161, 165**).⁶⁰⁷ A single example of a burial for

⁶⁰⁴ An exception are the most recently excavated burials from Akraiphnion. The material from these excavations is currently being studied by Sabetai who has been generous enough in providing me with all the details available regarding the shapes, sizes and decoration of the funerary vessels as well as their dimensions. It should be mentioned that most of the material has not yet been conserved and the study is thus at a preliminary stage.

⁶⁰⁵ The enchytrismoi from the Northwest cemetery of Thebes (Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 120-122), among which are also found pairs of pithoi joint at the mouth are unfortunately only generally dated to the 8th and 7th c. BC.

⁶⁰⁶ Appendix C: Cat. Nos 125-126 (Thebes Northwest cemetery-Pyri). These burials had near them a Geometric vase each, and thus may date in the Geometric period. The relation between these vases and the pithoi used for the enchytrismoi is however uncertain.

⁶⁰⁷ E.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 8-9, 19 (Thebes Northwest cemetery); Cat. No. 61 (Eleon); Cat. No. 27-30, 34-37 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 66-68, 73-74 (Rhitsona); Cat. Nos 82-84, 91 (Tanagra); Cat. Nos 92, 98, 100, 105-106 (Akraiphia).

which three pithoi were employed to contain the deceased individual deserves special mention. The first two of these pithoi were joint at the mouth while one of their bases was broken in order to be joint to the third and smallest pithos. The legs of the deceased were found inside the first pithos, while the second contained his/her upper body; the head of the deceased was placed to rest inside the third smallest vessel.⁶⁰⁸ Once again, we are provided with very few indications for the shape and size of the pithoi from the available preliminary reports, photographs and publications. An Archaic pithos from the Northwest cemetery of Thebes is reported as having an almost spherical body and a pointed elevated base.⁶⁰⁹ Furthermore, a number of pithoi from Akraiphia, seem to have had wide cylindrical necks terminating to flat rims and spherical bodies (**Figs 142, 147**). A cylindrical very elongated conical pithos is also attested (**Fig. 148**).⁶¹⁰ Occasionally, a number of relief bands decorated the pithoi at the junction of the neck and shoulder, as well as on the body (**Fig. 154**).⁶¹¹

From the available information, the size of the pithoi seems to vary greatly with “small”, “large”, “gigantic” and “colossal” pithoi, reported. More details for the dimensions of these vases are provided for only a few among them. Albeit meagre, the available information suggests that the height of individual pithoi varies between 0.70m and 1.10m.⁶¹² Fewer examples of pithoi reaching up to 1.70m are also attested.⁶¹³ On the other hand, pairs (or triplets) of pithoi used to form a single container may reach from 0.90m to over 2.0m in

⁶⁰⁸ Appendix C: Cat. No. 183 (Rhitsona).

⁶⁰⁹ Aravantinos 2001-2004, 157-159.

⁶¹⁰ Appendix C: Cat. No. 12 (Northwest cemetery of Thebes).

⁶¹¹ For e.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 93, 95, and 98, both with relief bands.

⁶¹² E.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 17 (Northwest cemetery of Thebes); Cat. Nos 45-47, 41 (Tachi); Cat. Nos 71, 75 (Rhitsona); Cat. Nos 107-111, 115 (Akraiphia)

⁶¹³ Appendix C: Cat. Nos 33, 39-40 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. No. 71 (Rhitsona); Cat. No. 104 (Akraiphia).

height.⁶¹⁴ In these cases, the largest pithos is usually used to contain the body of the deceased, while the smallest, usually containing the skull, comes to “fit” on the mouth of the first pithos.⁶¹⁵

Amphorae

Amphorae are the second most popular container for Boeotian enchytrismoi, but are far less common than pithoi (**Chart 4**). Unfortunately, no further information is provided for the amphorae used for Late Geometric burials, while information for the few amphorae used in the Archaic period is meagre. Most burials inside amphorae made use of a single vessel. An exception is the enchytrismos of a child made inside two amphorae which were joint at the mouth, unearthed at the Northeast cemetery of Thebes.⁶¹⁶

Once again, what is known for the individual characteristics of the amphorae is scarce with information mostly coming from the burials excavated at Akraiphia. These vases were mostly coarse ware undecorated vessels of various sizes, with their height ranging from 0.44m to 0.87m.⁶¹⁷ Further details are provided for only a small number of vessels. For example, the amphora from Akraiphia (Appendix C: Cat. No. 132) has twisted handles while those from Cat. No. 112 and 131 from the same cemetery are trade amphorae. Another amphora of the latter type is attested from an Archaic enchytrismos at the cemetery of Tanagra.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁴ E.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 19 (Northwest cemetery of Thebes); Cat. Nos 57-28, 30, 34-37 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 66-68, 70 (Rhitsona); Cat. No. 91 (Tanagra); Cat. No. 106 (Akraiphia).

⁶¹⁵ See Chapter IV, p. 116.

⁶¹⁶ Kountouri 1999a, 318-323 (Tsallas plot Tomb 18).

⁶¹⁷ Since it is common to mention decoration of vases, it seems that coarse ware amphorae must have been the norm throughout Boeotia.

⁶¹⁸ Appendix C: Cat. No 88 (Tanagra).

Few examples of decorated amphorae are attested, all dating likely to the 7th c. BC. All are similar in shape to the “Eretrian Amphorae” but with a lower conical foot.⁶¹⁹ Only two of these vessels have been published: their whole body is covered by various geometric motifs, much like the “Sub-Geometric” Eretrian amphorae (**Fig. 146**).⁶²⁰ Unfortunately, the dimensions of these vessels are not reported.

Other types of vases.

Other vessel shapes used for Boeotian enchytrismoι are very rarely encountered (**Chart 4**). Most of these vases are reported as “pithos-amphorae”. The term pithos-amphora points to a vessel which morphologically resembles a pithos but which is equipped with handles as is the case for amphorae. Only a single vase from our dataset described as a “pithos-amphora” certainly merits to be characterised as such.⁶²¹ Terminating to an invisible neck, its body resembles a kalathos and its base is flat. Decoration covers the entire vessel: on one side of the shoulder, a male figure is depicted holding a phorminx, while being accompanied by a female dance as well and two children. Various geometric motifs such as meanders and vertical zigzags cover the rest of the body (**Fig. 146**).⁶²² The size of the vessel is unfortunately not reported by its excavator. Nothing is known for the form of the remaining vessels which are reported as “pithos-amphorae”.

⁶¹⁹ Appendix C: Cat. No. 10 (Thebes Northwest cemetery); Cat. No. 57 (Tachi); Cat. Nos 22-25 (Aghia Eleousa).

⁶²⁰ Appendix C: Cat. No. 10 (Thebes Northwest cemetery); Cat. No. 57 (Tachi).

⁶²¹ In her publications, Andreiomenou alternatively refers to a number of funerary vessels from her excavations as pithoi and pithos-amphorae. From the available descriptions and excavation photographs, it is evident that most of these vases are clearly simply pithoi (and not pithoi with handles), and have thus been discussed in the sub-section of pithoi. One more vase in the dataset has been described by its excavator as a “pithos-amphora”, namely Appendix C: Cat. No. 135 (Tachi) without any further details.

⁶²² Appendix C: Cat. No. 15 (Thebes Northwest cemetery).

The only other vessel types employed for Boeotian enchytrismoι are a 7th c. BC crater decorated with two horses standing in front of a manger, separated by the “tree of life” and two coarse ware chytrai joint at the mouth to form a single container.⁶²³

B. Discussion

Most of the vases that have just been described served as containers for the bodies of individuals who died at an early age. A smaller number of vessels from Archaic Boeotia was used to contain the skeletal remains of adults. Like many other types of artefacts, these vessels may have served different purposes throughout their life, including those for which they were not initially designed.⁶²⁴ The inevitable question which therefore arises is whether these vases were made exclusively for burial purposes, or re-used from a different primary context. Answering this question may shed further light on the reasons behind their choice and consequently to symbolic and social aspects of the burial ritual under study.

i. The primary function of the funerary containers

As already underlined, the find context of the presented vases only informs us as to the final destination of their journey. Their morphological and physical attributes on the other hand are of prime importance for understanding their functional properties.⁶²⁵ Signs of use on their surface or their interior, as well as remains of organic material could also suggest their primary function. Furthermore, the context of discovery of similar vessels, may also be particularly

⁶²³ E.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 26 (Aghia Eleousa) and 136 (Akraiphia).

⁶²⁴ The concept of complex cultural biographies of objects was initiated by Kopytoff (1986) and has become popular within the currents of Post-processual archaeology. See, for example, Gosden and Marshall 1999.

⁶²⁵ Braun 1983.

illuminating in this respect. While more rarely, iconographic sources and additional archaeological data may complement the above information, leading to a better understanding of the originally intended function of these vases.⁶²⁶

i. Fine ware decorated vessels

Neck-amphorae and hydriae

Amphorae are vessels commonly associated with the transport and storage of liquid and solid foodstuffs. Nevertheless, this type of vases, and especially those with painted decoration, were also frequently used for funerary purposes, serving as grave markers, as containers for the ashes of the dead, or, in the case of enchytrismos burials, as receptacles for inhumations.

The shape and size of most decorated neck-amphorae used for burials in Attica is consistent with their primary utilitarian function. One feature of their morphology in particular further highlights that these vessels were not explicitly produced for funerary purposes: their necks are often too narrow to allow the introduction of the corpse of the deceased. Therefore, openings had to be made on one side of the amphorae's body which, after placing the cadaver, were carefully covered with the removed fragment (e.g. **Figs 33-34, 52**).⁶²⁷ This was not only a time-consuming process, but also one during which the container risked being shattered to pieces. Furthermore, the simple linear decoration of these vessels seems purely ornamental (**Figs 5, 16-17, 26**), further highlighting that they were not necessarily intended for the grave. The same considerations apply for the small number of decorated hydriae (**Figs 6, 25**).⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ Christakis 2005, 46.

⁶²⁷ As seen on the amphorae from Appendix A: Cat. Nos 117-118 (Sapphous St.); 131 (Diamantopoulou St.); 140, 143, 151, 164 (base broken), 173; Also on the hydria from Cat. No 141 (Phaleron).

⁶²⁸ See e.g. the hydria from Appendix A: Cat. No 141 (Phaleron) for evident traces of an opening on one side of its body.

The discovery of similar vessels in non-funerary contexts further supports their primary utilitarian function. For example, Attic “SOS” amphorae (e.g. **Figs 57, 61**) have been discovered at a large number of sites throughout the Mediterranean.⁶²⁹ This extensive distribution, in combination with their form⁶³⁰ which makes them particularly suitable for transport, has led to their identification as transport containers. Attic olive oil has traditionally been considered as the main intended content of these vessels.⁶³¹ A number of scholars, however, has also argued that “SOS” amphorae were also—or exclusively—employed for the transport of wine. This suggestion has been mainly based on their frequent discovery together with Corinthian kotylai in the Western Mediterranean as well as by iconographic evidence.⁶³² Other contents have also been suggested on the basis of graffiti and inscriptions on a number of “SOS” amphorae from Pithekoussai and Megara Hyblaea.⁶³³

On the other hand, “banded” amphorae and hydriae (**Figs 25, 27, 55, 91**) have been primarily found in wells and have thus been plausibly identified as water containers.⁶³⁴ Other

⁶²⁹ Brann 1962, 34-35 with examples from wells in the Agora; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 200. Alexandridou 2010, nos 868-88; Alexandridou forthcoming.

⁶²⁹ Outside Attica, “SOS” amphorae have also been found in numerous sites in Euboea, Crete, Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt, the North Coast of Africa, Sicily, Italy, Sardinia as well the Western Mediterranean: Pratt 2015, 220-224, figs 7-10. Attic “SOS” amphorae have also been found at Methone (Kotsonas 2012a, 188-194; Kotsonas *et. al* 2017, esp. 15-16) and other sites of the Thermaic Gulf such as Sindos, Karabournaki and Mende (Kotsonas 2012, 194, with references for each site). Organic Residue Analyses (ORA) carried out on five “SOS” amphorae from Methone revealed evidence of beeswax residues, in all likelihood used as a coating medium for the preservation of the amphorae’s contents (Kotsonas *et. al* 2017, 16). For ORA, see below n. 639.

⁶³⁰ Narrow neck, balloon-shaped body, conical narrow base and cylindrical handles.

⁶³¹ Gras 1987; Baccarin 1990; Descat 1993; Brun 2003; Johnston 2006, 28.

⁶³² The most notable examples of this iconographic evidence is the depiction of a “SOS” amphora on a 7th c. Attic oinochoe, as well as in the hands of Dionysos on the famous “François Vase”. See mainly Young 1938, 417, fig. 5; Docter 1991; Lund 2004, 213-214. Cf. Moore 2011, 5 for a summary of the aforementioned arguments. More recently, see Kotsonas 2012a, 194; Pratt 2015, 17.

⁶³³ Kotsonas 2012a, 194; Kotsonas *et. al* 2017, both with references.

⁶³⁴ Brann 1962, 34-35 with examples from wells in the Agora; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 200 (See e.g. P 12124); Alexandridou 2010, nos 868-88; Alexandridou forthcoming.

archaeological findings can also confirm the utilitarian function of these simply decorated neck-amphorae prior to their use for enchytrismoι. For example, the representation of “banded” amphorae on a miniature cart from Euboea demonstrates that such vessels were also used for hauling (**Fig. 177**).⁶³⁵ A terracotta mule loaded with four amphorae with glazed bodies and double triangles on their necks also demonstrates the use of such vessels for everyday functions (**Fig. 178**).⁶³⁶

The identification of the primary function of the few large and more elaborately decorated neck-amphorae (**Figs 14, 19, 48, 73**)⁶³⁷ is not as straightforward. While their form is similar to the plainer neck-amphorae, their sheer size, from ca. 0.90m to over 1.0m tall, renders them unsuitable for transport. Their large capacity on the other hand, suggests a possible storage function for these vases. This, combined with their carefully executed and elaborate decoration, may suggest that these vessels simultaneously acted as symbols of wealth and abundance. Unfortunately, traces of use which would have certainly occurred prior to their funerary use, such as traces of ancient repairs, are lacking.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, residue analysis which could determine whether these vessels had indeed been used for storage has not been carried out until now.⁶³⁹ Therefore, it cannot be determined if the choice of these vessels for enchytrismoι demonstrates a specific investment towards child burials or their reuse from a

⁶³⁵ Athens, NM 14481. Brann, *ibid.*; Boardman 1957, pl. 3.

⁶³⁶ Athens, Kerameikos Museum Inv. 1311. See Chatzidimitriou 2008 with previous bibliography.

⁶³⁷ See indicatively the amphorae from Appendix A: Cat. No. 12 (Agora); Cat. No. 117 (Sapphous St.); Cat. nos 220-221 (Eleusis South cemetery).

⁶³⁸ The most frequent type of ancient repair from the Bronze Age onwards consists of metal staples placed inside holes purposefully drilled along the breakages. See Dooijes and Nieuwenhuys 2007, 16-17.

⁶³⁹ Organic Residue Analysis (ORA) uses analytical and chemical techniques to identify the nature and origins of organic remains that are not traceable with traditional techniques of archaeological investigations. See Evershed 2008. In this way ORA can help recognise what food products were contained in ancient vessels but also address wider social questions regarding ancient trade, resource exploitation, ritual and dietary practices etc.

previous domestic context.

The same is true for the few amphorae with figured decoration used as funerary containers. With the exception of the Protoattic amphora from Eleusis which will be discussed below, the form of these amphorae does not contradict a primary utilitarian function. Moreover, their figural decoration is not inherently funerary. For example armed warriors, like those decorating the neck panels of the identically decorated enchytrismos amphorae from Appendix A: Cat. No 25 of the South Slope of the Acropolis (**Fig. 19**) and from the Academy of Plato, appear frequently on Attic Late Geometric pottery.⁶⁴⁰ It is commonly acknowledged that such depictions exalt the world of aristocracy⁶⁴¹ and are thus particularly appropriate for the display of wealth and social status. Horses are also a symbol of aristocratic wealth⁶⁴² and frequently appear on Late Geometric vases, isolated in panels, engaged in funerary scenes, tamed by their masters, or tethered at the manger as on the amphora from Cat. No 20 of the South Slope of the Acropolis (**Fig. 20**).⁶⁴³

The only Attic neck-amphora for which a primary utilitarian function cannot easily be substantiated is the Protoattic amphora from Eleusis (**Fig. 82**). The colossal size of the vessel, standing 1.40m tall whose perimeter reaches 2.40m, as well as its ornate design and fretwork filled handles with no practical use, exclude its use as a utilitarian container and at the same time suggest the high social standing of its purchasers. Furthermore, its iconographic themes,

⁶⁴⁰ Similar warriors isolated in panels and armed with round shields also on Heidelberg G 140; Trachones 390; (Rombos 1988, cat. nos 132-133, with bibliography for each vase). Warriors, armed with round or Dipylon shields, are even more frequently found in files as part of battle or funerary scenes. See e.g. Louvre A 519+, Louvre A 527+; Athens NM 802, Brussels A3474 (Rombos 1988, cat. nos 16, 8, 17, 144 with bibliography for each vase).

⁶⁴¹ Rombos 1988. See also Giuliani 2013.

⁶⁴² Vogt 1991; Simon and Verdan 2014 with previous bibliography.

⁶⁴³ Horses in such way appear frequently on Attic Late Geometric II pottery. See Rombos 1988, 64-77, 214-221, 261-283. Also, on numerous other vessels from Euboea and the Cyclades, and on a single vase from Boeotia. See Simon and Verdan 2013, pl. 89 cat. 257 with bibliography.

both exalting triumphing heroes, as well as the confinement of the figured decoration to one side of the vase only, are both suitable to its funerary use. A vessel like the Eleusis amphora would have required a minimum of two and a maximum of four months to be completed.⁶⁴⁴ It is therefore unlikely that it would have been especially commissioned to serve as a coffin for the 12-year-old boy found inside it. It seems more plausible to suggest that this imposing vessel stood ready in the potter's workshop, or at the house of the family of the deceased, and was chosen as particularly appropriate for the burial of a young aristocratic child.⁶⁴⁵

Eretrian neck-amphorae

Eretrian amphorae are a class which merits to be considered separately (**Figs 117-129**). The primary function of these vessels has been greatly debated; scholars have been divided between considering them as originally having a domestic function or having been specifically intended for funerary use.⁶⁴⁶ Their primary function as *semata* which were subsequently removed from their original context has also been suggested.⁶⁴⁷

The form of Eretrian amphorae strongly resembles that of contemporary Eretrian pithoi whose storage function cannot be contested (compare for e.g. **Figs 117-129** with **Fig. 131**).⁶⁴⁸ These morphological similarities led Verdan to suggest a similar primary function for the

⁶⁴⁴ The vase was composed by four separately made pieces which were joined and left to dry. The period needed for this colossal vessel to dry before being fired would range from one to three months depending on the season of manufacturing. The time needed for its decoration on the other hand would depend on the number of people engaged in this task and can thus not be calculated (Thomas Kotsiyannis, officially certified painter of the Ministry of Culture for ancient Greek art replicas, *pers. com.*).

⁶⁴⁵ For the Eleusis amphora and its use for social history, see below.

⁶⁴⁶ For the former view, see Verdan 2015. For the latter, see Kourouniotis 1903, 29; Bérard 1970, 28, 49, 52; Boardman 1952, 13; Blandin 2007a, 59-60; Crielaard 2007, 178-181.

⁶⁴⁷ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 213; Huber 2003, 135-136.

⁶⁴⁸ See below, p. 175.

amphorae as well. In his view, the high, frequently perforated, foot of the pithoi was considered ideal to protect against humidity and thus particularly suitable for the storage of grain.⁶⁴⁹ Furthermore, due to their large size, such vessels would have controlled the surplus of agricultural production by the long-term protection of the grain needed for the survival of the *oikos*.

The consistent production and conservative form of these amphorae for almost two centuries as well as their morphological affinities to Attic *lebetes gamikoi* type 1 (**Fig. 179**),⁶⁵⁰ have led scholars to further propose their association to the nuptial sphere. This has also been supported by the frequently feminine iconography of Eretrian amphorae.⁶⁵¹ It is therefore convincing to accept that like the *lebetes*, Eretrian amphorae would enter the household together with the bride, possibly as part of her dowry, alluding to her protection and managing of food supplies which were important female virtues and essential skills for the perpetuation of the *oikos*.⁶⁵² The hole found at the bottom of at least two of the Eretrian amphorae⁶⁵³ further corroborates that these vases were not explicitly produced for the grave. While the presence of the holes may relate to a possible funerary function, as for e.g. the pouring of libations⁶⁵⁴ or to

⁶⁴⁹ The commodity *par excellence* that needs to be kept in dry environments. See Verdan 2015, 131 with bibliography.

⁶⁵⁰ The similarities between these two types of vases were first noted by Boardman 1952, 13-16. For the types of nuptial lebetes, see Sgourou 1994, 11-16 with previous bibliography.

⁶⁵¹ Verdan 2015, 132. For Eretrian amphorae with feminine iconography, see above, p. 154-155.

⁶⁵² Sabetai 2014, 53-54; Verdan 2015, 134.

⁶⁵³ Appendix B: Cat. No 61 (NM 12077) (Eretria); Cat. No (NM add no). Most of the Eretrian amphorae studied in the National Museum of Athens are entirely covered in plaster on the inside as well as under their foot. We can therefore not exclude the possibility that other vessels also possessed such holes which have been masked by the use of plaster during their conservation in the early 20th c.

⁶⁵⁴ See e.g. Late Geometric grave markers. See e.g. Kübler 1954, 211. Cf. Coldstream 2003, 33, 35; Morris 1987, 150. *ThesCRA Add.* vol. 1, 279 n. 112 with further examples and bibliography.

drain the fluids of the dead body during decomposition, their opening *after* firing suggests that this use was not originally intended.⁶⁵⁵

Belly-amphorae

The form of the decorated belly amphorae used for enchytrismoι resembles their coarse ware counterparts⁶⁵⁶ and is thus consistent with their primary utilitarian function for transport or storage. With the exception of the 7th c. vessel from Oinoe decorated with a rosette (**Fig. 104**), all other vases of this type bear figural decoration. Among the earliest examples is the Protoattic belly amphora from Eleusis attributed to the Chimaera Painter (**Fig. 81**). Although sphinxes are frequently connected to the funerary sphere, their purely ornamental use in the iconographic repertoire of the 7th c. BC has also been convincingly demonstrated and discussed.⁶⁵⁷

During the 6th c. BC, most belly-amphorae employed as containers for enchytrismoι belong to the thematically related classes of “Horseman” and “Horsehead” amphorae (e.g. **Figs 35-36, 70**). However, both their decoration and their find contexts suggest that these were not everyday vessels. Amphorae of both classes have been found as grave goods and as cinerary urns in cemeteries, but also as dedications in sanctuaries.⁶⁵⁸ Numerous examples have also been unearthed in the Agora.⁶⁵⁹ On the contrary, to the present day no examples derive from domestic contexts. Much ink has been shed on the meaning of the decoration of these vessels.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁵ For example, the openings found on the bottom of vases used as *semata*, were made before firing. See e.g. Coldstream 1991, 46.

⁶⁵⁶ See below, p.172.

⁶⁵⁷ Kourou 1979, 186; Kourou *et al.* 1997, 1165.

⁶⁵⁸ *CVA* Greece 10, 16.

⁶⁵⁹ E.g. Moore and Philippides 1986, nos 13-24.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; Scheibler 1987, both with previous bibliography.

The most prevalent opinion interprets the horse protomes, as well as the horsemen, as symbols of the Athenian social class of *hippeis*.⁶⁶¹ Therefore, the use of such vessels, in any given context, most likely affirms the aristocratic status of their users.

Coarse ware vessels

Amphorae and jugs

The primary use of coarse ware vessels, namely neck- and belly amphorae as well as jugs, is much easier to detect. Of quality that makes them especially resistant when it comes to everyday usage, undecorated or bearing simple ornamental incised motifs, these vases most certainly had a primary utilitarian function. This is further supported by their narrow necks which are particularly unsuitable for the insertion of a dead body, requiring to break open the belly of the vessel to introduce the deceased. Furthermore, traces of usage are frequently observed on the surface of such vessels. For example, the small holes used to receive metal staples on some of the coarse ware amphorae testify to their primary utilitarian function before serving as funerary containers.⁶⁶² Furthermore, jugs, as a principal shape of cooking ware, demonstrate their primary function by the blackened surface of their front side where they would have stood on the edge of the hearth (**Figs 49, 87, 137b**).⁶⁶³ Traces of fire in their interior are also attested.⁶⁶⁴ The frequent finding of such coarse ware vessels in various domestic contexts such as storage pits and wells further demonstrates their primary domestic function.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶¹ Most recently, see Schäfer 2002.

⁶⁶² E.g. Appendix A: Cat. No 119 (Sapphous St.); Cat. No. 295 (Oinoe).

⁶⁶³ E.g. Appendix A: Cat. No 122 (Sapphous St.); Cat. No. 154 (Phaleron).

⁶⁶⁴ E.g. Appendix A: Cat. No. 154 (Phaleron).

⁶⁶⁵ Brann 1962, 55, nos 195-210.

A single inscribed coarse ware amphora, used for a 7th c. burial at Kriezī St. merits special consideration.⁶⁶⁶ The inscription MNE, clearly inscribed after firing, has tentatively be read as MNE-MA by the excavator, identifying this vase as the final resting place of the deceased.⁶⁶⁷ If this interpretation is accepted, this unique inscription bears witness to the parents' wish to redefine the primary utilitarian use of this vessel which would now serve as a coffin for their untimely child.⁶⁶⁸

Transport amphorae

The frequent discovery of trade amphorae throughout the Mediterranean and especially in shipwrecks, together with their distinctive form, were among the prime factors which led to their identification as the transport vessel *par excellence* in the Mediterranean.⁶⁶⁹ In particular, the knob-like toe of these vessels enables them to stand in a vertical position and thus makes them ideal for the secure transport of liquids and foodstuffs. In modern scholarship, transport amphorae are customarily regarded as containers of wine, and to a lesser extent, olive oil.⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, their extremely narrow neck openings, rarely over 0.015m in diameter, are ideal to prevent spilling but entirely unsuitable for the insertion of a dead body. This is testified by the frequent traces of an opening on the bodies of these vessels to facilitate the introduction of

⁶⁶⁶ Inscribed coarse ware amphorae used for enchytrismoī are also reported among the recently discovered urns from Phaleron <https://www.blod.gr/lectures/to-arhaiko-nekrotafeio-sto-delta-falirou/> (accessed July 2019).

⁶⁶⁷ Alexandri 1968g, 26, figs 12-13.

⁶⁶⁸ I have not seen this vase in person and the illustration provided (Alexandri 1968g, figs 12-13) is of very poor quality.

⁶⁶⁹ Grace 1965; 1979; Panagou 2016, 313.

⁶⁷⁰ Foley *et al.* 2012, 391. However, fairly recently, Panagou 2016, 314-334 has argued that such vessels were used for various other contents as well, especially fish products. This suggestion is convincingly corroborated by a combination of factors such as analysis of residue and resinous matter, by the *dipinti*, *graffiti* and *tituli picti* found on some of the amphorae, as well as by written sources and amphora representations on vase-painting.

the cadaver (**Figs 34-35, 52**). Thus, it seems certain that, these vases, emptied of their original content, were later re-used to contain the bodies of deceased individuals.⁶⁷¹

Pithoi

Throughout antiquity, pithoi frequently served for uses of a symbolic, religious and funerary character. Nevertheless, their basic purpose was the bulk long-term storage of wine, oil, grain and other foodstuffs. The shape of pithoi is thus most frequently determined by the two main requirements of a storage vessel: easy access to their contents and large capacity, while their appearance is of secondary importance.⁶⁷² Most pithoi used for enchytrismoι in Attica, Euboea and Oropos, and Boeotia (e.g. **Figs 7, 10b, 63, 89a, 90, 112, 131, 142-143, 147-148 165**) are consistent with such observations. Their large maximum diameter as well as their wide mouth openings allow the storage of large quantities of products and ensure easy access to their contents. Additionally, their coarse ware quality renders them resistant for everyday usage. Their decoration, when they are not left plain, is simple and exclusively ornamental, consisting of incised and impressed linear motifs, sometimes combined with mastoid protrusions (**Figs 18, 89a, 90, 131**). Similar pithoi, in both form and decoration, are frequently attested in domestic and cultic contexts.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ For the reuse of transport amphorae -among others- as urns or small coffins, see Lawall 2011.

⁶⁷² Ebbinghaus 2005, 52.

⁶⁷³ For Attic pithoi from non-funerary contexts, see MacNeil Bogess 1979. Eretrian pithoi with a high conical foot and incised decoration have are also attested in the Roussos plot at Eretria (domestic context), as well as in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. See Verdan 2015, 131 n. 32.

ii. The choice of vases

This chapter has presented in detail the vessels which were chosen to serve as the final resting place for the categories of individuals identified in Chapter IV. Therefore, the examination of these vessels and the identification of their primary function is an important step towards the understanding of the rite of enchytrismos. As has already been mentioned, the symbolism of a burial custom is inextricably linked to the individuals to whom it is devoted. Therefore, the choice of using ceramic vessels for “non-adults” and “adults” deserves to be discussed separately.

Burial inside vases for the biologically youngest

The first remark that emerges is that, almost without exception, these vases were not produced explicitly for burial purposes; nothing in their form or decoration is inherently funerary. Furthermore, similar vases abound in non-funerary contexts further corroborating this suggestion. The reuse of utilitarian vessels for funerary purposes, and especially for the burials of young individuals, has traditionally been understood in the past as an “economic” solution. In this view, the families of the deceased were using what was readily available in the household for the burials of such “insignificant” individuals who did not merit a more elaborate burial.⁶⁷⁴

In my view, the use of vessels as funerary containers should rather be related to their material and originally intended function. As is evident by their abundance in the archaeological record, ceramic vessels are characterised by a high durability when compared

⁶⁷⁴ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 55; Garland 1985, 78.

to other materials, even when broken. The use of such objects as funerary containers is therefore indicative of a particular attention devoted to the protection and preservation of the dead body. Secondly, due to their main primary function as receptacles for commodities and other products, they have the ability to envelop and enclose the dead body providing a clear delimitation of the space which is allocated to the dead. The transportation of objects important for sustaining the *oikos* and the community to the funerary sphere may thus be tentatively understood as a token of the connection of the deceased to the household. This circumstance further highlights that young individuals were not neglected members of society. On the contrary, not only were they granted the rights to formal disposal, but considerable care and attention was devoted to their burial treatment through the use of vases as funerary containers.

Considering enchytrismoι as a careless and inexpensive mode of disposal is even further contradicted by the types of vases chosen to serve as funerary containers. During the Late Geometric period as well as in the 7th c. BC, decorated neck-amphorae with simple linear decoration, originally designed for everyday purposes, predominate in Attica (e.g. **Figs 5, 216-17, 25-27, 30, 55, 57, 61, 91**). While the form and capacity of the few larger and more elaborately decorated examples (e.g. **Figs 14, 19, 48, 73**) are consistent with their use for storage, their size and decoration distinguish them as vases suitable also for more noteworthy occasions. These vessels could have alluded to the higher social standing of the deceased when compared to their simpler counterparts and even more so to the fewer coarse ware vessels also used for enchytrismos burials.

The small number of vessels bearing figured decoration deserves special mention. Although not inherently funerary, their iconographic themes seem particularly suitable for such as use. For example, the iconography of the neck-amphorae depicting warriors and horses (**Figs**

19-20), when employed to serve as a child's grave, could come to affirm the elite status of the family of the deceased and the aristocratic ideals that death deprived them from. Also quite suitable for funerary purposes is the Protoattic amphora from Eleusis attributed to the Chimaera Painter (**Fig. 81**). Besides the ornamental use of sphinxes in iconography, their ambiguous nature which places them "in-between" worlds has also led to their plausible identification as companions in the crossing of boundaries and as protectors of rites of passages.⁶⁷⁵ It is precisely because of this "transitional" territory which they occupy, that the mortuary aspect of sphinxes is very frequently emphasised. This is particularly evident in the Archaic period where sphinxes are found as prominent crowning markers of funerary *stelai* and also depicted on clay *semata* and grave offerings.⁶⁷⁶ While there is no reason to claim that the amphora by the Chimaera Painter was originally conceived as a coffin, choosing to bury a young individual inside a vase almost entirely dominated by such a hybrid creature, must certainly have been intentional.

The vase which most prominently demonstrates its careful selection as a funerary container is, most probably, the colossal Protoattic amphora from Eleusis. As has already been noted, its sheer size and elaborate construction would certainly emphasise the high social standing of the family of the deceased, while its iconography seems particularly fit for burial usage. For Osborne, all figured scenes of the vessel were chosen to reflect the deprivation of senses caused by death.⁶⁷⁷ While particularly appealing, this interpretation does not seem to truly link the individual character of each iconographic scene to the occupant of the grave: the 10/12-year-old boy for whom it was chosen. The adventures of Odysseus on his way home

⁶⁷⁵ Woysch Méautis 1982, 84-85; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 271-273; Hoffman 1997.

⁶⁷⁶ For Attic gravestones crowned by sphinxes, see Richter 1994 with numerous examples.

⁶⁷⁷ For Osborne's view on the Eleusis amphora and its use for reconstructing social history, see 1988, esp. 4; 1998, 57-61. For a critique of this interpretation, see Morris 1993, 28-32; Whitley 1994a, 63-65.

from Troy, including the blinding of Polyphemus depicted on the neck of the Eleusis amphora, are widely accepted as mythical trials of maturation (or initiation).⁶⁷⁸ The young Perseus decapitating Medusa is also interpreted in a similar manner as an ephebic paradigm.⁶⁷⁹ Therefore, the decoration of the Eleusis amphora—in the eyes of the parents of the prematurely deceased boy—is more likely to have alluded to the feats he never had the chance to accomplish and to his unachieved passage to adulthood. It should therefore not be considered a coincidence that such a vessel was used as a coffin for a prepubescent boy whereas most other Attic vases contained much younger children and infants.

On the other hand, the majority of decorated amphorae used for 7th and 6th c. Attic enchytrismoi belong to the special class of belly-amphorae with panel decoration (**Figs 35-36, 70**). While morphologically suitable for an everyday usage, their iconography, focusing on horses and horsemen which have been connected to the social class of *hippeis*, as well as their frequent discovery in burial contexts and in sanctuaries, suggest that these were no ordinary vases. When employed for the burials of young children in particular, “Horseman” and “Horsehead” (e.g **Figs 35, 70**) amphorae could also hint at the elite status of which they had been deprived due to their premature death. The horse taming scene depicted on another panel amphora (**Fig. 36**) may further corroborate such a suggestion since it may have been chosen as an allusion to the ephebic transition the buried child never had the chance to achieve.⁶⁸⁰

The even more prominent use of non-Attic commercial amphorae as containers for enchytrismoi during the same period comes into sharp contrast with the previously discussed vessels. Could these transport containers simply be a more “economic” and convenient solution

⁶⁷⁸ Avronidaki 2007, 128 n. 826 including all previous bibliography.

⁶⁷⁹ Ogden 2008, 65 and 159 n. 42 with previous bibliography.

⁶⁸⁰ For horse taming as a pre-adult trial for youths, see Langdon 2008, 162-164, 173-174.

for less affluent families? Several factors contradict such a suggestion. Firstly, commercial amphorae, such as those used for the burials of the “Südhügel” at the Kerameikos, or those from Phaleron the West Cemetery of Eleusis, are not more poorly furnished when compared to burials made in more elaborately decorated vessels. Moreover, their use as funerary containers for reasons of convenience seems even more unlikely; as already stressed, their necks are, without exception, too narrow to allow for the body of the deceased to be inserted. This necessitated the effort of making an opening on the vessel’s body, which, after placing the cadaver was re-sealed with the removed fragment (e.g. **Figs 32-34, 52**).

Since neither economy nor convenience can explain the use of transport amphorae as funerary containers, the reasons motivating this choice must be sought elsewhere. Despite the main function of these vessels for long-distance trade, a simplistic interpretation of the enchytrismoι placed inside them as belonging to families of traders should be excluded since it cannot explain their sudden popularity all over Attica during the 6th c. BC. Moreover, trade amphorae have also been discovered in domestic contexts,⁶⁸¹ clearly demonstrating that they could also be included as a storage vessel in the household equipment.

The peculiar choice of deliberately using such impractical vessels as funerary containers may rather be sought in the symbolic significance which they acquired during the 6th c. BC. As the main vessels used to carry olive oil (the basic product of Athenian exchange), transport amphorae are frequently depicted on early Athenian coins as prominent allusions to

⁶⁸¹ The discovery of transport amphorae in household cellars is first mentioned by Grace (1979, 3), without any firm examples. For examples of such amphorae in various domestic contexts throughout the Mediterranean, see indicatively Lawall 1995, *passim.*, with numerous examples. Also, Sezgin 2004 for Klazomenai (esp. 74 for Type III amphorae, 175 for Type V).

the city's prosperity.⁶⁸² It seems plausible, therefore, that these vases were explicitly chosen by the families of the deceased as symbols of affluence.

The second most popular vessel used for Attic enchytrismoι throughout the periods covered by this study, is the coarse ware pithos, the storage vessel *par excellence* throughout antiquity. In Boeotia, on the other hand, during both the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, pithoi hold pride of place. Although found in various different contexts, due to their ability to store large quantities of foodstuffs, pithoi are commonly accepted as valued vessels, symbolising abundance and wealth in the household.⁶⁸³ Therefore, their use to contain infant and child inhumations must have been a deliberate choice.⁶⁸⁴ The transportation of an object so important for the continuation of the *oikos* to the funerary sphere may thus be tentatively understood as a token of the connection of the prematurely lost child to the family and household. Not surprisingly, burials inside pithoi are frequently accompanied by numerous grave offerings.⁶⁸⁵

Unlike Attica, during the Late Geometric period, coarse ware amphorae and jugs of relatively small size and of a primary daily domestic function are the most frequently encountered types of containers in both Euboea and Oropos. However, this does not necessarily indicate a difference in the way young individuals were treated in these regions. The spatial dimension of the burials which will be discussed in Chapter VII may prove particularly important: all enchytrismoι from Eretria and Oropos during this period were found in close

⁶⁸² Themelis 2007, 25, esp. n. 28 with previous references for the symbolism of such vessels.

⁶⁸³ Cullen and Keller 1990, 193.

⁶⁸⁴ Pithoi are used as funerary containers for child burials in the Greek world since the Neolithic period. See Maniki 2006, 7-9 with references for individual graves.

⁶⁸⁵ See indicatively: Appendix A: Cat. No. 149 (Phaleron); Cat. No. 194 (Eleusis West Cemetery); Cat. No. 307 (Markopoulo). Also, Appendix C: Cat. No. 17 (Thebes Northwest cemetery); Cat. No. 107 (Akraiphia).

proximity to dwellings and not in formal disposal areas as is the case in Attica. There are therefore other aspects of the burial ritual that need to be explored before understanding this distinction.

A change in Euboean practice may be observed from the 7th c. BC onwards with the prominent use of imposing and more valuable “Eretrian” amphorae (**Figs 117-129**), as well as morphologically similar pithoi (**Figs 112, 131**). The previous absence of such elaborate containers does not imply the absence of such elite families, but rather a change in attitudes towards the burial of the youngest and in the means employed for status proclamation. As discussed above, Eretrian amphorae have been considered as vessels particularly suitable for long-term storage purposes. In their ability to control the surplus of agricultural production such vessels have also been recognised as symbols of wealth and abundance in the household.⁶⁸⁶ Consequently, both the Eretrian amphorae and the pithoi have been interpreted as essentially emblematising women; these vases would have protected the grain needed for the survival of the *oikos*, very much like women would guarantee its continuation by bearing the family’s offspring. The death of a child would instigate the use of such valuable vessels in a funerary context, not only symbolising the high status of the deceased and the magnitude of the family’s loss but also restoring the child in a vessel comparable to its mother’s belly.⁶⁸⁷

Besides, one should bear in mind that women were the ones responsible for managing the storage of food in the *oikos*. The frequently feminine iconography of the amphorae, *viz.* women brandishing branches and wreaths on the “Orientalising” examples (**Figs 121-123**).⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁶ Much like the 7th c. BC relief pithoi from the Cyclades, Rhodes and Crete. See Verdan 2015, 132, esp. n. 38-39 with bibliography.

⁶⁸⁷ Verdan 2015, 130-5.

⁶⁸⁸ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 59-61, 63-66 (Eretria).

as well as the nuptial processions of the “Wedding” and the “Peleus” amphorae (**Figs 128-129**),⁶⁸⁹ were also employed to support this suggestion. The recently published amphora from the Spanos plot at Eretria, dating to the late 7th or early 6th c. BC, has come to further substantiate such arguments (**Fig. 124**).⁶⁹⁰ Abduction scenes, like the one found on its neck, employ gestures to establish the act of a man taking possession of a maiden and are thus recognised as exemplifying her transition to married adult status.⁶⁹¹ The depiction of Heracles killing the Lernaian Hydra on the homonymous vase (**Fig. 127**)⁶⁹² should not seem unsuitable within such an iconographic repertoire. Much like nuptial processions exemplify the transitional rites by which the maiden becomes a woman, the life and works of Heracles symbolise his transition to immortality.⁶⁹³

Burial inside vases for adults

Unlike the “pot as womb” analogy, the use of vases, firstly as a means of protection of the dead body and, secondly, as symbols of the sustenance and prosperity relating to their primary function, is also suitable for the fewer adult individuals who were also buried inside enchytrismoi. In the Greek world, adult enchytrismoi are much less common than those belonging to non-adult individuals in most regions of the Greek world and appear much later than the pot burials of younger individuals.⁶⁹⁴ The main question which arises, therefore, is

⁶⁸⁹ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 90 and 91 respectively (Eretria).

⁶⁹⁰ Charalambidou 2017, 147 Fig. 14.29.

⁶⁹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; Langdon 2008, 20; Charalambidou 2017, 147.

⁶⁹² Appendix B: Cat. No. 89 (Eretria).

⁶⁹³ Jourdain-Annequin 1986, 307-318; 1989, 389-405; Dacosta 1991, 106-112.

⁶⁹⁴ Selekou 2014, 259-263.

why a burial custom originally devoted to the young was, in some cases, transposed to the adult sphere.

Reasons of convenience and economy are even harder to imagine in the case of adult enchytrismoi. The vases employed for these burials were almost exclusively pithoi, either single or joint at the mouth to form a single container (**Figs 143, 147-48, 165**), whose construction required a considerable investment of time and labour.⁶⁹⁵ Furthermore, their sheer size, and thus weight, would render them particularly inconvenient for their transportation to the location of the burial. Finally, the commonly accepted opinion which regards pithoi as symbols of wealth and abundance in the household has already been presented. It seems, therefore, more likely that a burial custom which emphasised the protection and delimitation of the dead body was transposed to the adult sphere by using an everyday but valued vessel as an alternative to conspicuous consumption.

Overall, this chapter has clearly demonstrated the diversity of evidence as regards the vases used for enchytrismos burials. As has been abundantly noted, the use of vases for reasons of economy and convenience seems improbable. Rather, their choice seems to have been a carefully thought social act, emphasising the protection of the dead body and, sometimes, also the social standing of the family of the deceased.

⁶⁹⁵ Pappi and Triandaphyllou 2011, 676 with reference to pithoi used for enchytrismoi at Argos.

VI. THE FUNERARY OFFERINGS

In Homeric poetry, the term «κτέρεα» is used for describing more than one element related to the burial ritual, namely, the funerary honours for the deceased, the individuals present at the funeral, as well as the sacrifices which take place in honour of the dead.⁶⁹⁶ Throughout the centuries, however, «κτερίσματα» or «κτέρεα» came to exclusively describe the artefacts that are deposited inside a grave alongside the body of the deceased.⁶⁹⁷ No ancient text mentions the motivations which guided the decision of placing artefacts inside the grave. As was already suggested by Kurtz and Boardman in their study of Greek burial customs published in 1971, various reasons may have been behind the necessity to deposit offerings. These include the need to fill a feeling of loss caused by the death, or even the refusal to accept a total separation with the deceased. The artefacts themselves have also been explained in various ways. Some of them could have been personal possessions of the deceased, chosen to accompany him in his final journey, while others could have simply been given by the participants of the funeral on the occasion of his/her death and burial.⁶⁹⁸ The latter could have been simply brought to the grave as symbolic gifts or used during the funeral before their final deposition.

The present chapter focuses on the offerings which were deposited inside Late Geometric and Archaic enchytrismos burials in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia. The first section presents the available evidence for each of the three regions under study, highlighting the number or artefacts found inside the graves, the categories of objects attested, their size, as well as their

⁶⁹⁶ E.g. *Odyssea* 1.291, 2.222; 3.285; *Iliad* 24.38.

⁶⁹⁷ Chantraine 1968-1980 s.v. κτέρεα. For offerings to the dead, see also Rudhardt 1992, 113, 238, 239, 240, 248. Cf. also Blandin 2007a, 75.

⁶⁹⁸ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 206.

positioning inside the grave. The ensuing part of this chapter focuses on the interpretation of the different elements that have been emphasised, aiming to better apprehend the social and symbolic background which could have operated behind the observed patterns of offering deposition.

Before proceeding to such considerations, it has been deemed necessary to briefly present the categories of artefacts found as grave offerings as well as the means used for their distinction.⁶⁹⁹ Overall, four large groupings have been identified: terracotta vessels, terracotta figurines, and metal objects. These have been further divided into sub-categories. Firstly, vases have been classified according to their respective uses/functions into: drinking and pouring vessels,⁷⁰⁰ other types of tableware⁷⁰¹ transport and storage vessels⁷⁰² and containers for oil and/or perfume.⁷⁰³ Metal objects have also been grouped according to their assumed primary function. The main categories identified are garment accessories,⁷⁰⁴ head and hair ornaments,⁷⁰⁵ jewellery,⁷⁰⁶ knives and weapons.⁷⁰⁷ Since terracotta figurines are not utilitarian objects, these have been classified according to their form into human⁷⁰⁸ and animal

⁶⁹⁹ See Appendices A-C.

⁷⁰⁰ Drinking vessels include various types of cups, skyphoi and kotylai, kantharoi and also feeding bottles. The category of pouring vessels, on the other hand, comprises all shapes whose main purpose was for decanting liquids such as round-mouthed jugs, trefoil-mouthed oinochoai, olpai, juglets etc.

⁷⁰¹ This comprises vessels that form part of a household's tableware such as plates, bowls, salt-cellars etc.

⁷⁰² This category includes vessels whose main purpose is transport, storage, or both, such as amphorae, pithoi, hydriae.

⁷⁰³ The main shapes which represent this category are lekythoi, aryballoi, alabastra, and, to a lesser extent, exaleiptra and a single askos.

⁷⁰⁴ This category includes bronze and iron objects used to fasten and/or decorate garments such as fibulae, pins and cut-out bronze sheet rosettes.

⁷⁰⁵ This category is mainly represented by spiral tubes, usually interpreted as hair spirals, as well as by a single fragmentary diadem and fragments of a wreath.

⁷⁰⁶ Mainly bronze and iron bracelets, rings, and necklaces.

⁷⁰⁷ The only weapons attested are a few iron daggers.

⁷⁰⁸ This category includes almost exclusively anthropomorphic flat-bodied (plank) female figurines, of the type frequently dubbed "Papades". See below, p. 194.

representations.⁷⁰⁹ The fourth and final grouping includes a very small number of grave goods which do not belong in any of the aforementioned categories and includes objects made of faience,⁷¹⁰ stone,⁷¹¹ and glass, but also flints, knucklebones⁷¹² and seashells.⁷¹³

A. The archaeological data

Attica

In Attica, throughout all periods covered by the present study, furnished enchytrismois outnumber their unfurnished counterparts (**Chart 5**). During the Late Geometric period, one to nine artefacts are found inside each burial⁷¹⁴ with the vast majority of interments being associated with at least three or four objects. Only one interment stands out in this respect with a funerary assemblage consisting of 18 artefacts.⁷¹⁵ It is interesting to note that this comparatively much larger number of grave goods accompanied two young individuals who were interred in the same vessel.

⁷⁰⁹ This category includes representations of both real animals such as dogs, monkeys, horses, as well as hybrid animals such as griffins, sphinxes, and sirens.

⁷¹⁰ This category is comprised by a single faience aryballos from Appendix A: Cat. No 128 (Chalkidikis St.) and two faience scarabs from Cat. no. 52 (Kerameikos).

⁷¹¹ This category comprises of three stone spindle whorls from the Northwest cemetery of Thebes (Grave 19, Liakopoulos plot) and from Akraiphia (Graves 130 and 240 from Koliai plot).

⁷¹² These are only attested in a single burial, namely Appendix A: Cat. No 84 (Kerameikos).

⁷¹³ Found only in two burials, namely Appendix A: Cat. Nos 107 and 109 (Kerameikos). Isolated seashells in graves may have served as food offerings for the deceased, or as objects of decorative or symbolic value. Stroszeck 2012, 70 and, most recently, Theodoropoulou 2017, 674-675. However, especially when considering infant and child burials, such artefacts were not necessarily possessions of the deceased, as suggested by Theodoropoulou 2017, 675.

⁷¹⁴ Such considerations concern all offerings found inside an enchytrismos, both inside the funerary vessel and inside the burial pit.

⁷¹⁵ Appendix A: Cat. No 4 (Agora).

Drinking vessels constitute the most commonly encountered vases in Late Geometric enchytrismoi with pouring vessels forming the second most popular category (**Chart 6**). A pattern, which meets few exceptions, can be detected in the choice of vases deposited: a drinking vessel, usually a one-handled cup or, less frequently, a skyphos or kantharos (e.g. **Figs 8, 11, 21, 41, 50, 58, 84, 108**), seems to be the ubiquitous component of the funerary assemblage. In addition, most Late Geometric enchytrismoi contain some sort of pouring vessel. This is usually an oinochoe, which may be substituted in some burials by a juglet or coarse ware pitcher (e.g. **Figs 8, 11, 21, 41, 50, 84, 108**). Only a small number of Attic enchytrismoi of the late 8th c. BC contain *either* pouring *or* drinking vessels.⁷¹⁶ Other types of objects⁷¹⁷ are only occasionally encountered (**Chart 6**), and when so, are placed alongside the more popular categories of vessels.⁷¹⁸

Most of these artefacts are miniature or, at least, smaller than standard-size vessels.⁷¹⁹ Regular-sized vases, on the other hand, are significantly fewer and limited to pouring vessels, namely coarse ware pitchers and oinochoai (**Figs 10a, 11, 21a, 24a, 41b**). These vases, and especially the pitchers, frequently bear prominent traces of previous use, mainly due to their contact with fire (**Fig. 11, 24a, 41b**). Interestingly enough, they present a consistent pattern of deposition within the grave, being invariably placed inside the fill of the funerary pits. They

⁷¹⁶ Exceptions of burials entirely lacking drinking vessels: Appendix A: Cat. Nos 3 (Agora); 35 (Makrygianni & Porinou St.); Cat. No. 191 (Eleusis West Cemetery). For burials lacking pouring vessels, see per e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 6 and 17 (Agora); Cat. No. 134 (Thesseos St.); Cat. No. 192 and 195 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

⁷¹⁷ Such as other types of tableware (e.g. plates), transport and storage vessels (e.g. amphorae), cosmetic boxes (pyxides), terracotta figurines and jewellery.

⁷¹⁸ Such objects are found in an extremely small number of burials, namely Appendix A: Cat. Nos 21 (Acropolis South Slope); Cat. Nos 43-44 (Kerameikos); Cat. No. 119 and 122 (Sapphos St.).

⁷¹⁹ The distinction between miniature and small-sized vases is a grey area of the relevant scholarship and to the present day remains debatable. See p. 207 for more details.

may occur both as the only artefact associated to the burial,⁷²⁰ but also together with other offerings.⁷²¹ When further details are provided by the excavators, these vases demonstrate signs of deliberate placement within the graves in an upright position and in close proximity to the burial vase (**Figs 23, 78**).⁷²² All other categories of miniature and small-scale grave goods are found both inside the funerary recipients and inside the fill of the burial pits.⁷²³

Before presenting the artefacts deposited in 7th c. BC enchytrismoi in Attica, one must be reminded that our information derives from only a handful of sites, the most important of which are Phaleron and Thorikos and, to a lesser extent, Eleusis.⁷²⁴ The evidence from these extended cemeteries demonstrates that, as in the previous century, graves entirely lacking grave goods were few. On the other hand, furnished interments, comprising between one and 16 artefacts are much more common. The majority of burials, however, include a minimum of three objects. It is important to note that the number of grave goods associated to each burial also varies greatly between contemporary cemeteries, with the burials of Phaleron and Eleusis containing significantly more grave goods than those of Thorikos.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁰ Appendix A: Cat. No. 3 (Agora).

⁷²¹ Appendix A: Cat. Nos 4-5, 7, 11, 13 (Agora); Cat. Nos 21-22, 27-28 (Acropolis South Slope); Cat. No. 35 (Makrygianni & Porinou); Cat. No. 45 (Kerameikos South); Cat. No. 112 (Dipylon); Cat. No. 121 (Sapphous St); Cat. No. 305 (Nea Makri).

⁷²² Appendix A: Cat. Nos 3-5, 13 (Agora). Coarse ware pitchers standing upright beside the funerary vessels also mentioned at the site of the Academy, namely on the low mound found on top of the "Early Helladic house" (Alexandridou forthcoming).

⁷²³ In Kerameikos Cat. No. 43, the plate was found inside the pithos, on its base, alongside the child skeleton. In Kerameikos Cat. No. 44, on the other hand, both the plate and pyxis were found inside the pit filling. Unfortunately, the offerings from Appendix A: Cat. No. 20 (Acropolis South Slope); Cat. No. 119 and 122 (Sapphous St.) is not reported by the excavators.

⁷²⁴ Enchytrismoi from smaller burial plots are virtually absent across Attica.

⁷²⁵ The enchytrismoi from Thorikos are most frequently associated to two or three objects (e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 250, 257-261 (Thorikos Necropolis West). Only a small number of burials contain a larger number of objects as e.g. in Cat. Nos 230-232 (Thorikos Necropolis D1); Cat. Nos. 249, 252 and 255 with up to eight vases (Thorikos Necropolis West). This comes into sharp contrast with the contemporary enchytrismoi from Phaleron and Eleusis which could comprise up to 16 artefacts. See e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos. 144-190 (Phaleron); Cat. Nos 196-201 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

During the 7th c. BC, drinking and pouring vessels (**Figs 93-94, 99c-d, 105**) remain the most essential components of the funeral furniture (**Chart 7**). Alongside the popular one-handed cups of the previous century, Protocorinthian kotylai (**Fig. 99c**) and their Attic imitations are also commonly attested. As in the Late Geometric period, the most popular pouring vessel is the oinochoe, and to a lesser extent, the jug. At the same time, Protocorinthian pyxides and aryballoi (**Figs 65, 99a-b**) become a common, but not necessary, addition to the funerary assemblage (**Chart 7**).⁷²⁶ Most of these vases are still miniature and small-sized, occasionally accompanied by a single standard-sized drinking or pouring vessel. While much less frequently than in the Late Geometric period, coarse ware pitchers of standard-size are still found inside the filling of the burial pits in an upright position (**Fig. 78**).⁷²⁷

During the 6th c. BC and until the end of the Archaic period, Attic enchytrismoι lacking grave offerings become even more scarce. The furnished burials, however, contain fewer objects than in the previous centuries: the available evidence suggests that no enchytrismos contained more than ten artefacts while the majority rarely included more than four objects.⁷²⁸

Drinking and pouring vessels, mainly of small format (**Figs 15b, 38-39, 95**), remain the most frequently deposited categories inside 6th and early 5th c. enchytrismos burials (**Chart 8**). One-handed cups are now almost entirely replaced by Attic skyphoi, Corinthian kotylai and their Attic imitations. Similarly, oinochoai become much less common while olpai begin to appear as the most commonly encountered pouring vessel. Towards the end of the century, lekythoi start being deposited as grave offerings (**Figs 15b, 85**). From this time onwards and at

⁷²⁶ See indicatively Appendix A: Cat. Nos 148-149, 154, 156, 167, 182 (Phaleron).

⁷²⁷ E.g. Appendix A: Cat Nos 250, 252 and 259 (Thorikos West Necropolis).

⁷²⁸ This count does not include ring pearls and knucklebones which are deposited in multiples. See for e.g. Appendix A: Cat. No 84 (Kerameikos) containing 21 knucklebones.

least until the end of the Archaic period, most enchytrismoι include at least one perfume/oil container (**Chart 8**), most commonly a lekythos. Unlike most other vases used as offerings in Attic enchytrismoι, the lekythoi are standard-sized vessels. The lekythos is the only vessel shape at this time which seems to hold a steady position inside the filling of the burial pits. All other offerings may be placed both inside the pit and inside the burial vases.

Eufoea and Oropos

Much unlike Attica, offering deposition as part of the burial custom of enchytrismoι does not witness the same popularity in Eufoea (**Chart 5**).⁷²⁹ The very few burials containing grave goods, all of a Late Geometric and early 7th c. BC date,⁷³⁰ accommodate terracotta vessels found in singletons or in pairs. The limited information available suggests that these were predominantly drinking vases, such as cups and kalathoi (**Figs 116, 141**) with only two examples of pouring vessels. These very few grave offerings are invariably miniature and small-scale vessels deposited both inside the funerary recipients and inside the fill of the funerary pits. Metal objects are limited to one example found in an extremely poor state of preservation to be identified.⁷³¹ The only other offering type known from Eufoean enchytrismoι is a single ivory spectacle fibula from Oropos.⁷³²

⁷²⁹ Since the evidence for grave goods from Eufoean enchytrismoι does not come from more than a handful of enchytrismoι, the use of graphs for statistical considerations on the types of offerings attested has not been considered in any way constructive.

⁷³⁰ Appendix B: Cat. Nos 1-2, 7, 16, 25, 42 and 69 (Eretria). It should, however, be reminded that our information for Archaic enchytrismoι from Eufoea is fragmented and thus, the picture which emerges relates, at least partly, to the current state of research and to the incomplete publications of early 20th c. excavations such as those of the cemetery of the Hygionomeion at Eretria. See Kourouniotis 1903.

⁷³¹ Appendix B: Cat No. 37 (Eretria).

⁷³² Appendix B: Cat. No. 106 (Oropos).

With the exception of a single burial from the Hygionomeion cemetery at Eretria reportedly containing three vases,⁷³³ nothing more is known about the grave offerings of 7th c. enchytrismoi from Euboea and Oropos. Furthermore, other 6th and early 5th c. BC enchytrismoi from these regions, to our current knowledge, are virtually absent. The single enchytrismos from Karystos, which can be dated with certainty to the 6th c., was furnished with one drinking and one pouring vessel, a skyphos and an olpe respectively, both of miniature size.⁷³⁴

Boeotia

In Boeotia, the custom of depositing grave offerings inside enchytrismos burials was practiced during all periods covered by this study. With the exceptions of graves that were looted or disturbed by later interments, almost all enchytrismoi included in our dataset seem to have been furnished (**Chart 5**). Though fully published enchytrismoi of the Late Geometric period are extremely few,⁷³⁵ the available evidence suggests the deposition of one to seven intact artefacts inside each grave, frequently accompanied by fragments of other vessels. One burial stands out in this respect with a funerary assemblage consisting of at least 29 objects, all offered to a single individual.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ Kourouniotis 1903. To the present day, no other offerings from the Hygionomeion enchytrismoi have been located in the Museum of Eretria or the National Museum of Athens. It remains therefore unclear whether the excavator mentions this particular burial as an example of typical offering deposition in the cemetery or whether he highlights it as a rarity. Nevertheless, considering the scarcity of offerings of earlier Eretrian enchytrismoi which have been fully published, it is not unlikely that these burials indeed lacked or were poor in furnishings.

⁷³⁴ Chidioglou 2012, 591.

⁷³⁵ Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 15 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes); 22 (Aghia Eleousa); 41-45 (Tachi); 137 (Dauleia).

⁷³⁶ Appendix C: Cat No. 43 (Tachi).

Since published burials of this date are limited to handful, the use of charts to represent the frequency of object types found as grave goods has not been considered necessary. Vases seem to be the most common type of artefact deposited, with drinking vessels, especially kantharoi and one-handled cups (**Fig. 153**) holding pride of place. Two oinochoai and an iron dagger are the only other reported offering types from late 8th c. Boeotian enchytrismoi.⁷³⁷ Much like Attica, these offerings seem to be placed both inside the funerary recipients and inside the filling of the burial pits.

Early Archaic enchytrismoi in Boeotia were significantly more affluent in the number of grave goods deposited, containing up to 19 artefacts.⁷³⁸ The vast majority of interments, however, contained between three and seven objects.⁷³⁹ Two burials, both from the cemetery at Akraiphnion, constitute an exception in this respect since they were associated to more than 30 objects.⁷⁴⁰

A drastic change is observable in the 7th c. BC, with perfume and oil containers, mainly aryballoi but also alabastra (**Figs 144, 155, 159**), becoming the essential components of funeral furniture of Boeotian enchytrismoi (**Chart 9**).⁷⁴¹ Drinking vessels such as cups, kantharoi and kotylai (**Figs 154**), were also frequently attested (**Chart 9**), but were only occasionally combined with pouring vessels.⁷⁴² Metal objects destined for dress or body ornamentation such as fibulae and bronze sheet rosettes, as well as—to a lesser extent—jewellery items such as

⁷³⁷ The oinochoai were found inside Cat. Nos 44-45 (Tachi). The iron dagger was part of the burial assemblage of Appendix C: Cat No. 46 (Tachi).

⁷³⁸ E.g. Appendix C: Cat No. 46 (Tachi); Cat. No. 92 (Akraiphia).

⁷³⁹ E.g. Appendix C: Cat No. 2 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes); Cat. No. 54 (Tachi); Cat. Nos 65 and 68 (Rhitsona); Cat. No. 123 (Akraiphia).

⁷⁴⁰ Appendix C: Cat. No 99 and 104 (Akraiphia).

⁷⁴¹ See indicatively Appendix C: Cat. Nos. 1-2 (Thebes Northeast Cemetery); 47 (Tachi); all 7th c. enchytrismoi from Rhitsona, e.g. Cat. Nos 67-75.

⁷⁴² See e.g. Cat. Nos 46-47, 49, 53, 55 (Tachi).

rings, and a few iron daggers which classify as weapons, also make a firm appearance at this time (**Chart 9**).⁷⁴³

The quantity of offerings deposited in Boeotian enchytrismoι witnesses a further increase in the 6th and in the early decades of the 5th c. BC, with burials comprising up to 63 grave goods.⁷⁴⁴ It should be noted that significant differences may be observed amongst the Boeotian cemeteries of this period. For example, most enchytrismoι from Tanagra contain one to six objects with a considerable proportion including up to 18 and only a single burial with more than fifty artefacts.⁷⁴⁵ While the age of the deceased in the latter burial is not specified by the excavator, the height of the funerary recipient, which barely reaches 0.90m, surely indicates that the deceased was not an adult. The burials at Aghia Eleousa were overall wealthier in terms of the number of artefacts deposited: most contained between twenty-five and forty objects.⁷⁴⁶ A smaller number of graves contained up to 60 grave goods, all of which belonged to adults.⁷⁴⁷ Finally, in Akraiphia, an almost equal number of enchytrismoι contained fewer than 10, between 10 and 20, between 20 and 30, and between 30 and 49 objects.⁷⁴⁸ The enchytrismoι with the largest number of offerings belonged to both children and adults.

The categories of vases encountered in 6th and early 5th c. BC enchytrismoι witness few changes when compared to the previous centuries (**Chart 10**). The prevalent miniature and small-sized aryballoι and alabastra (**Figs 150, 163, 168-169**) are now attested in even larger

⁷⁴³ See e.g. Cat. Nos 51 (Tachi) and Cat. No. 67 (Rhitsona) including bronze rings and Cat. Nos 95,99 (Akraiphia) with iron daggers.

⁷⁴⁴ See e.g. enchytrismoι Cat. No. 77 (Tanagra); Cat. Nos. 96-97, 104, 106 (Akraiphia).

⁷⁴⁵ Cat. No. 77 (Tanagra). The same is true for Cat. No. 91 (Tanagra) which is the burial with the immediately smaller number of grave goods (18 artefacts). The latter cannot possibly belong to an adult individual either since the length of the two funerary vessels used does not exceed 1.20m.

⁷⁴⁶ These belonged to individuals of all attested age groups. E.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 28 and 32 (Aghia Eleousa).

⁷⁴⁷ E.g. Cat Nos 37-38, 40 (Aghia Eleousa).

⁷⁴⁸ Cat Nos. 96-136 (Akraiphia).

quantities than before. At the same time, standard-sized vessels remain very rarely used. At least in the cemetery of Akraiphia, metal objects become more common than in the Early Archaic period (**Chart 10**). These include items destined for garment ornamentation such as fibulae (**Fig. 171**) bronze rosettes (**Fig. 172**), head and hair accessories such as spiral tubes, a fragmentary diadem and fragments of a wreath, jewellery including rings (**Fig. 173**), necklaces (**Fig. 174**), bracelets, as well daggers and an iron knife.⁷⁴⁹ These artefacts hold a steady position inside enchytrismos burials being regularly placed inside the funerary recipients and not inside the fill of the pits. Figurines, virtually unknown in earlier enchytrismoι, appear very prominently in 6th c. BC Boeotian burials. Not only are they encountered in the vast majority of the so far excavated enchytrismoι (**Chart 10**) but are also frequently deposited in multiples.⁷⁵⁰ These are mainly anthropomorphic plank figurines, of the type frequently dubbed “Papades” as well as animal figurines of various types (**Figs 151a-b, 160, 162, 170**). The size of these figurines usually exceeded that of the miniature and small vases which were found as grave offerings as well as that of the metal finds, all of which were of small size, reaching up to 0.17m in height.

⁷⁴⁹ Bronze rosettes for e.g. in Appendix C: Cat. Nos 96, 99, 106-108 (Akraiphia). Spiral tubes for e.g. in Cat Nos: 97, 98-110, 117, 120 (Akraiphia). Diadem found inside Cat. No. 97 (Akraiphia), wreath in Cat. No. 127 (Akraiphia). Necklace in Cat. No 94 (Akraiphia). Bronze rings in Cat. Nos. 105 and 107. A dagger and a knife were found in Cat. Nos 96 and 106 (Akraiphia).

⁷⁵⁰ E.g. Appendix C: Cat Nos 95-96, 118 (Akraiphia); Cat. Nos 76 and 79 (Tanagra) all of which contain a single figurine. See also Cat. Nos. 110, 116-117 (Akraiphia); 138 (Neochoraki); Cat. Nos 77 and 91 (Tanagra) with more than one figurines.

B. Discussion

i. Number of grave goods: an indication of social status?

The earliest archaeological studies approaching death and funerals as social phenomena recognised a direct analogy between the importance of the individual to society and the elaborateness of their burial.⁷⁵¹ Among others, the quantity of grave goods was considered as indicative of the social status of the deceased individual. In this view, burials with few or no offerings were implicitly understood as belonging to individuals of lower social status.⁷⁵² Conversely, those containing a larger number were taken to indicate individuals of a higher rank. While post-processual archaeology rightly denied such straightforward equations,⁷⁵³ one cannot completely eliminate the possibility that the individuals responsible for these particular burials either had fewer resources at their disposal or purposefully chose to limit the scale of funerary consumption for the deceased chosen to be buried this way.

In order to determine whether the enchytrismoi of our dataset include “small” or “large” quantities of offerings, one needs first to compare them with non-enchytrismos burials of similarly aged individuals. The second comparison which needs to be made is with the number of offerings found in graves of individuals of different age groups. Such comparisons have been made with reference to Chapter III, which focused on the wider funerary context of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the periods under study. It needs to be noted, however, that Chapter III provides a brief overview of the mortuary customs attested in each region without specifying the exact numbers of artefacts associated to each burial type. Therefore, the following section

⁷⁵¹ See Chapter I, p. 22-23 with references.

⁷⁵² See e.g. Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Tainter 1975; Chapman *et. al.* 1981.

⁷⁵³ The main reason behind this denial is that such suggestions entirely disregard variables beyond the burial itself such as social and religious beliefs and worldviews. Chapter I, p. 23-24 with references.

provides only general observations as to whether enchytrismoι can be considered "rich" or "poor" in grave goods. A detailed study of all mortuary data from Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, including statistical considerations for the number of offerings found inside the graves, could corroborate or disprove the following considerations.

With the exception of those from Archaic Boeotia, most other enchytrismoι do not include particularly large quantities of offerings. It would be tempting to see these graves as belonging to individuals who were considered unworthy of receiving a more elaborate funerary assemblage.⁷⁵⁴ Since the enchytrismoι under study belong mainly to infants and children, such an observation would confirm the alleged lack of attention towards this age category in death when compared to older individuals.⁷⁵⁵ Nevertheless, this is largely contradicted by the broader funerary context of the present study. When compared to the bulk of contemporary burials of both children and adults, enchytrismoι do not contain fewer grave offerings.⁷⁵⁶ Therefore, the relative number of grave goods deposited inside them does not seem to have been related to the perception of the biologically youngest as "insignificant" social members. This also holds true for Archaic Boeotia where the large number of offerings found inside enchytrismoι is also attested in other contemporary burials, both inhumations and cremations.

⁷⁵⁴ The space limitation provided by enchytrismos as a mode of disposal (size of funerary vessels and size of funerary pits) could also at first sight be easily considered as one of the factors limiting the quantity of offerings deposited. Nevertheless, there seems to be no direct correlation between the size of the vases or the dimensions of the graves and the quantity of grave goods. The most prominent examples are Appendix A: Cat. Nos 113 (Dipylon) and 196 (Eleusis West Cemetery), both made inside colossal vessels (H. 1.40m; Diam. max. 2.40m) and lacking grave offerings.

⁷⁵⁵ See Chapter I, p. 21-23 (processual thinking). See also Bobou 2015 with references to Roman literary sources.

⁷⁵⁶ Chapter III, *passim*.

ii. The choice of grave good types

As already discussed in Chapter I, the choice of the grave goods deposited falls upon the living and relates to their perception of how the deceased should be treated in death. The repertoire of grave goods, therefore, represents a conscious selection which may be particularly informative for understanding funerary practices and their associated social beliefs. The following section discusses the possible reasons behind the deposition of the categories of offerings that are most commonly encountered. As has been mentioned above, grave goods could have either been personal possessions of the deceased and/or simply chosen to be placed inside the grave by the participants of the funeral. Their use by the living as part of the rites in honour of the deceased is also plausible for some artefacts. Furthermore, grave goods have emerged in modern scholarship as an important element for determining the social identity of the deceased, as possible sex, age and status indicators.⁷⁵⁷ Therefore, this section also evaluates whether the offerings from enchytrismoι may serve as such indicators, emphasising the pitfalls of correlating particular types of graves with the “identity” of the deceased.

Before proceeding to such considerations, a general remark needs to be made. Excavated archaeological contexts only bring to light what has survived throughout the centuries. Any type of offering made of perishable materials is thus ordinarily concealed from the archaeologist. As has already been noted in Chapter IV, most of the enchytrismoι that have been discussed belonged to non-adult individuals. Since many types of children’s toys that could have been associated to their graves are accepted as having been made of perishable

⁷⁵⁷ Most recently, Vyziinou 2011, who also provides a thorough evaluation of all earlier studies which focus on grave goods used as sex, age and status indicators. Cf. also Graepler 1997, 150-194 who supports that grave goods must be understood as contextually differentiated marks of the social rank, age, sex, with reference to the Hellenistic necropolis of Taranto.

materials,⁷⁵⁸ it seems very likely that excavated archaeological contexts exclude a lot of information on what was originally deposited in the graves.⁷⁵⁹ A second point which needs to be highlighted is that, throughout the periods covered by the present study, in all three regions, vases far outnumber all other types of grave goods. This prevalence of terracotta vessels as offerings is certainly not a particularity of enchytrismos burials but is rather customary throughout the Greek world in most known burial types.

The distinct categories of vases identified, are, on the other hand, of paramount importance for understanding the rite under study.⁷⁶⁰ The first observation that needs to be made in this respect relates to the recurrent presence inside enchytrismoi of both drinking and pouring vessels in all three regions (e.g. **Figs 8, 11, 21, 41, 50, 84, 93-94, 108, 141, 153-154, 163**).⁷⁶¹ This choice demonstrates an attempt to create “drinking sets” which are deposited together with the deceased in his final resting place. The same emphasis placed on drinking can be claimed for those few burials which only include drinking vases without the addition of

⁷⁵⁸ Dasen 2010, 9; Bobou 2015, 139, quoting later literary sources.

⁷⁵⁹ See, for e.g., Adrymi-Sismani 1983 for the late 5th c. burials at the locality Thymarakia in the northern cemetery of Pherai which preserved abundant organic material such as the dress of the deceased, food offerings and other tomb furnishings. Also, papers in Rocconi (ed.) 2013, on the preserved organic contents of the classical “Tomb of the Musician” at the site of Daphne in Athens.

⁷⁶⁰ The individual shapes identified within each category do not seem to have any particular relevance for the burial ritual. Their relative frequency seems to follow the popularity of vessel shapes during each period. For example, the prevalence of one-handled cups among drinking vessels inside Late Geometric enchytrismoi can be explained by their popularity during this period. The same is true for kotylai in the 7th c. BC.

⁷⁶¹ For Late Geometric burials in Attica containing mainly drinking and pouring vessels see e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 2, 4, 18 (Agora); Cat. No. 22 (Acropolis South Slope); Cat. No. 38 (Erechtheiou St.); Cat. No. 39 (Kerameikos); Cat. No. 118 (Sapphous St.); Cat. No. 134 (Thesseos St.); Cat. No. 138 (Kyprou St.); Cat. No 197 (Eleusis West Cemetery); Cat. No. 307 (Markopoulo). For Archaic Attic enchytrismoi with similar types of offerings see e.g. Cat. Nos 144, 145 and 147 (Phaleron); Cat. No. 197 (Eleusis West Cemetery); Cat. No. 249 (Thorikos South Necropolis) dating to the 7th c. BC. Finally, Cat. Nos 10 (Agora); Cat. Nos 60 and 87 (Kerameikos); Cat. No. 208 (Eleusis West Cemetery) dating to the 6th and early 5th c. BC. For Boeotia, see Chapter II, *passim*. for the Late Geometric period and Cat. Nos 77 and 79 (Tanagra); Cat. Nos 93 and 125 (Akraiphia) for the Archaic period.

decanters (e.g. **Fig. 58**).⁷⁶² The deposition of such vessels may be related to the real or symbolic drink offered to the deceased as a provision for the afterlife. Alternatively, drinking and pouring vessels could have played an active role in the funerary ritual, being used for ceremonial drinking by the participants at the funeral. However, the small and miniature size of most of these vases challenges their potential use by those attending the funeral, who were mainly adults. The deposition of vases related to drinking activities should thus, in all likelihood, be linked to the deceased inhumed inside enchytrismos burials. No Organic Residue Analyses (ORA) have so far been carried out on any of the offerings of our dataset and it is therefore impossible to know whether they were actually used as liquid containers or as symbolic allusions to drinking activities. In any case, it is clear that vessels related to drinking were considered an important and appropriate provision for the deceased buried inside enchytrismo.

Another point to be considered is the deposition of pouring vessels alone, i.e. without the addition of drinking vases.⁷⁶³ The absence of the latter suggests that in these cases neither real nor symbolic drinking was offered to the deceased. Therefore, these pouring vessels must have been used for libations that were poured on the ground.⁷⁶⁴ This suggestion is further supported by the fact that such pouring vessels were invariably placed outside the recipients used to contain the bodies of the deceased, within the fill of the burial pits.

As already pointed out, in Attica, during the 7th c. BC, alongside the prevalent drinking and pouring vessels, pyxides (**Figs 65, 99**) are also frequently encountered inside

⁷⁶² See above n. 716.

⁷⁶³ See above n. 716.

⁷⁶⁴ We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that some of the “drinking sets” found outside the funerary vases could have also served for libations which were poured inside cups instead of on the ground.

enchytrismoι.⁷⁶⁵ Pyxides have for long been considered as vases connected to women and thus their deposition inside graves has frequently been explained as related to the female sex of the deceased. However, as has rightly been suggested, there is no reason to see pyxides as gender-specific before the beginning of the Classical period.⁷⁶⁶ Therefore, in the case of the enchytrismos burials under study, such objects could have been deposited as gifts to both sexes.

Pyxides are known from archaeological and literary evidence as boxes used for storing trinkets (including jewellery) and other small objects, as well as cosmetics, ointments and incense.⁷⁶⁷ Pyxides are also frequently used as grave offerings. The absence of objects from inside the pyxides may tentatively suggest that they may have been containers for unguent which could have been used on the deceased or on the participants of the funerary ritual. Unfortunately, once again, no residue analyses have been carried out to identify possible contents that have perished. An alternative explanation for the deposition of pyxides could be their symbolic value as small boxes which would accompany the deceased in his journey to the other world. Nevertheless, all of these suggestions are only speculative and remain to be verified by future research.

Aryballoi, exclusively Protocorinthian, also constitute part of the funerary assemblage of many of the 7th c. Attic enchytrismoι (**Figs 65, 99**). Such vases were frequently deposited in multiples inside a single grave.⁷⁶⁸ While their function as oil or perfumed-oil flasks is commonly accepted, their exclusive connection to the male sphere (ref) has been convincingly

⁷⁶⁵ See above n. 726.

⁷⁶⁶ Schmidt 2005 (cf. Oakley 2009, 62); Hatzivasileiou 2009; Vivliodetis 2016, n. 67.

⁷⁶⁷ Roberts 1978, 2-4; Schmidt 2005, 92-93, 105-107; Oakley 2009, 63 (with previous references and also focus on Type D pyxides as trinket boxes). For pyxides used for incense, see also Milne 1939, 247-254.

⁷⁶⁸ See above n. 726.

contested on the basis of their widespread presence in the entire Mediterranean basin. Furthermore, accepting that Protocorinthian aryballoi were used exclusively by males would consequently imply that the Corinthians did not produce perfumes for women until the mid-7th c. when their “female counterparts”, the Protocorinthian alabastra, make their first appearance.⁷⁶⁹ There is therefore no reason to believe that Protocorinthian aryballoi mark burials of young boys. The exact reason behind the deposition of such objects as grave offerings is not easy to discern. However, considering their function as oil or perfumed-oil flasks, it seems plausible to suggest that they played an active role in the funerary ritual, regardless of the sex of deceased. In this context, they could have been used to pour libations, or to anoint the dead body, or even, the participants of the funeral, in a similar way as late 6th c. lekythoi that will be discussed right below.⁷⁷⁰

The inclusion of lekythoi from the end of the 6th c. BC in enchytrismois also deserves a brief comment (**Figs 15b, 85**). In Attica, from this time onwards, the lekythos becomes the perfume vase par excellence.⁷⁷¹ Archaeology has confirmed the presence of these vases in domestic contexts,⁷⁷² as well as in sanctuaries where they were used as offerings and/or utilitarian vases for cultic rituals.⁷⁷³ At the same time, the accumulation of lekythoi in graves

⁷⁶⁹ D’Acunto 2012, 213-214. *Contra* Brisart 2011, 179-201.

⁷⁷⁰ Unfortunately, nothing is known for the positioning of these aryballoi inside the graves that could help lean towards one or the other suggestion.

⁷⁷¹ It is from this time as well that the lekythos is depicted on vases as having an active role in scenes of perfume sale. See Algrain, Brisart and Jubier Galinier 2008, 150.

⁷⁷² Stissi 2002, 212-225; Schmidt 2005, 31-32. However, as it has rightly been pointed out, their discovery mainly in pits and wells does not allow for precise inferences as to their uses within the household. See Algrain, Brisart and Jubier Galinier 2008, 151. Scholars which have attempted to clarify the use of lekythoi in domestic contexts include, for example, Hannestad 1988, 226; Houby-Nielsen 1996, 239-240; Stansbury-O’Donnell 2006, 41; Lynch 2011, 139-140 who even suggests that the domestic role of the lekythos is responsible for its appropriateness as a grave offering in the Archaic period; van de Put 2011, 175-198.

⁷⁷³ Algrain, Brisart and Jubier Galinier 2008, 151, with examples of sanctuaries and references.

is a well-known phenomenon, especially in Athens, which evidently extends to enchytrismos burials and thus to non-adult individuals.⁷⁷⁴ As testified by ancient sources and vase painting, lekythoi were not simply deposited in graves as offerings but were also used in the funeral as oil containers, once again to pour libations,⁷⁷⁵ or to anoint the body of the deceased and/or that of the participants of the funeral.⁷⁷⁶ What is important to note for the discovery of such lekythoi inside enchytrismos burials is that the infants and children buried inside them were treated in death much like adults.

As regards Boeotia, drinking and pouring vessels seem to have been frequently deposited in Late Geometric enchytrismoi, indicating, as in Attica, an emphasis placed on drinking (**Fig. 153**). A drastic change in funerary practice may be observed from the 7th c. BC onwards and until the end of the Archaic period with the predominance of perfume and oil containers, namely, aryballoi, alabastra and juglets (**Figs 144, 155, 145b-c**).⁷⁷⁷ To a lesser extent, drinking vessels complement the funerary assemblage of enchytrismoi at this time (e.g. **Figs 150, 154, 168**). Both categories of vessels (drinking and perfume vases) seem to be associated to both adult and child graves and are not a specificity of enchytrismos burials. Rather, from the 7th. c. onwards they constitute the rule in Boeotian grave furnishings diachronically.⁷⁷⁸

As already discussed, such objects should not be considered as gender specific during

⁷⁷⁴ The decoration of the lekythoi from the enchytrismoi included Dionysian themes, scenes with Heracles and the lion but also chariot and warrior scenes. Similar decoration is also found on the lekythoi discovered in domestic contexts but also on black-figure drinking vessels (See Lynch 2011, 140). It seems therefore that the lekythoi were not selected as offerings on the basis of their imagery.

⁷⁷⁵ Gaifman 2018, 99-100.

⁷⁷⁶ Jubier Galinier 2014.

⁷⁷⁷ Their function as perfume containers is verified by both archaeological contexts and literary sources. See Algrain, Brisart and Jubier Galinier 2008, 153.

⁷⁷⁸ Sabetai 2012, 311 for the Classical period.

the period covered by the present study. In their function as perfume and oil containers, aryballoi and alabastra may have held an active role in anointing the dead body or for the pouring of libations.⁷⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the deposition of aryballoi and alabastra in Boeotian enchytrismoι in very large quantities, sometimes reaching up to 60 vessels, eliminates the possibility of their purely active role in the funerary ritual. Therefore, some of these vessels must have served as accompaniments of the deceased in his journey to the otherworld while others could have been used for ceremonial purposes.

The next category of offerings which merits to be examined are metal finds whose deposition inside Boeotian enchytrismoι starts in the 7th c. BC and becomes more prominent during the following century (**Figs 171-173**). With the exception of very few objects which may be considered as tools and weapons (knives and daggers), all others relate to dress or body ornamentation. These are items used to fasten or decorate garments, head and hair accessories, as well as jewellery. It is interesting to note that such objects were found in enchytrismoι of both children and adults.⁷⁸⁰ Furthermore, similar artefacts were also associated to non-enchytrismoι burials in Boeotia. The poor state of preservation of the enchytrismoι in our dataset does not allow for safe inferences as regards the placement of offerings inside the graves. In other types of burials, however, these objects were customarily placed in proximity or on the body of the deceased, or on his/her shroud. The deposition of such personal objects demonstrates the considerable care invested by the living on the treatment of these individuals in death. Furthermore, these items were always placed alongside numerous other offerings

⁷⁷⁹ Gaifman 2018, 109-110. See e.g. the 4th c. BC white-ground lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (NY 07.286.45) depicting an alabastron being used to pour libations in front of the grave.

⁷⁸⁰ E.g. Appendix A: Cat. No. 108-110 (Akraiphia) which all belong to adults, and Cat. Nos. 104, 107, 129 which are reported as child burials.

demonstrating a funerary consumption of increased scale when compared to the 8th and 7th c. BC, but also to the other two regions under study, Attica and Euboea.

The final category of Boeotian offerings which will be analysed are terracotta figurines (**Figs 151a-b, 160, 162, 170**). As already noted, figurines accompanying enchytrismos burials seem to be a particularity of Boeotia, while they are almost entirely absent from both Attica and Euboea. This comes as no surprise given the well-known presence in the region of thriving coroplastic workshops from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.⁷⁸¹

As has been mentioned, two main types of figurines were deposited inside enchytrismoι. The first category consists of flat-bodied female figurines, commonly found in Boeotian funerary contexts (**Figs 161a, 171a**). Throughout the years, scholars have identified these figurines as clay reproductions of "daidala", that is wooden effigies dressed as brides, or as figures associated to the worship of Demeter and Kore.⁷⁸² It has also been suggested that the very diverse painted and handmade accessories of these figurines, especially in the later Archaic period, might be an indication that they represent divinities.⁷⁸³ Nevertheless, none of these suggestions has been sufficiently substantiated and the interpretation of these figurines remains, to the present day, unclear.⁷⁸⁴ What is important to note is that this type of figurines is exclusively found in graves,⁷⁸⁵ frequently together with animal figurines. This combination

⁷⁸¹ Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2017, 57. See also Kountouri, Charami and Vivliodetis (2016, 187) more particularly for Thebes and Andreiomenou (2015; 2016) for Akraiphia.

⁷⁸² Georgoula 2005, 49 with previous bibliography. According to ancient literary sources, such "daidala" were used in rituals on Mt Kithairon in Boeotia, to honour Hera, the wife of Zeus and patron goddess of marriage.

⁷⁸³ Jeammet 2010, 45.

⁷⁸⁴ See, however, Georgoula 2005, 49.

⁷⁸⁵ Idem.

is common in Boeotian grave assemblages of both children and adults alike,⁷⁸⁶ and should thus not be considered a particularity of enchytrismoi.

Animals form the second category of figurines from Boeotian enchytrismoi (**Figs 160b, 162, 170b-c**). Among the most frequently represented are horses, horses with riders, as well as birds, dogs, monkeys and bovines. During the Archaic period, animals represent a considerable proportion of figurines from Boeotian graves. This comes to sharp contrast with other areas of the Greek world, where animals constitute only a small proportion of the figurines found in funerary contexts.⁷⁸⁷ Animal figurines are generally thought to be found mainly in child burials, although they are not entirely absent from the graves of adults.⁷⁸⁸ Taking into account the recurrent depiction of animals alongside children in Archaic and Classical iconography, mainly acting as their companions and guardians both in life and death, animal figurines in graves have been suggested to evoke youth while also highlighting the fragility of existence.⁷⁸⁹

Such observations are especially pertinent in the cases of the death of young individuals, like those buried inside many of the Boeotian enchytrismoi. However, unlike other burial types where animal figurines are found mainly in child graves, such objects are equally represented inside both child and adult enchytrismoi. It should however be noted that no anthropological analyses have so far been carried out on any of the Boeotian enchytrismoi and thus the exact age of the “adult” individuals reported remains unknown. Since such age

⁷⁸⁶ Avronidaki and Sabetai 2016, 15.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁸⁸ For animal figurines as a special category mainly associated to children, see Avronidaki and Sabetai 2016, 15 (Classical period), 17 (Archaic period); Kountouri, Charami and Vivliodetis 2016, 184 with reference to Thebes in particular. In her study of figurines from various contexts in the Mediterranean Basin, Huysecom (2003, 97) makes abundantly clear that animal representations are also found in adult burials, although much less frequently. For the previously prevalent view that animal figurines constitute a particularity of child graves only, see Dremsizova and Tontcheva 1971, 109.

⁷⁸⁹ For the details of such interpretations and the arguments employed, see Huysecom 2003.

estimates are based exclusively on first-hand observations of the burials' excavators, it is not unlikely, that these individuals were not necessarily adults but, rather, adolescents or sub-adults. On the other hand, if these interments really belong to adults, the presence of numerous animal figurines inside their graves may at first hand seem peculiar. However, as has already been discussed, adult enchytrismoi are a later development, which, in all likelihood, originated in the more prevalent custom of enchytrismoi of children. Therefore, in some regions, a portion of the adult population chooses to appropriate a burial custom which was originally intended for the biologically youngest. This appropriation need not necessarily concern exclusively the choice of burial inside ceramic vessels but could also extend to the types of offerings customarily deposited in child enchytrismoi.

iii. Miniature and small-sized offerings

Another point which needs to be discussed is the size of the offerings chosen for enchytrismos burials. From the information presented above, it becomes evident that in all three regions and during all periods covered by this study, miniature and small-sized objects are much more commonly deposited inside enchytrismoi than artefacts of regular size. It needs to be noted that a large part of the vases of small-format, in particular the numerous aryballoi and alabastra so commonly found in Boeotia but also in Attica during the 7th c., is small by definition. The same holds true for the metal objects and figurines accompanying Boeotian enchytrismoi, all of which are small-sized.

In order to discuss and understand the prevalent use of miniature and small sized vessels—instead of vases of regular size—as grave offerings, one needs firstly to define “miniature” and small-scale objects, pointing out their differences from regularly-sized vessels. The definition

of the term “miniature” has been greatly debated among scholars throughout the past decades.⁷⁹⁰ There are two types of miniatures: The first includes those modelled from other vessels but on a reduced scale, and, the second, vessels of small size which do not have corresponding larger models.⁷⁹¹ In the case of enchytrismos burials, some miniature offerings closely imitate or replicate larger-scale vessels, while others are vaguely reminiscent of known vessel shapes.⁷⁹² While size is definitely a determining factor in defining miniatures, the cut-off point for when a vessel can be considered a miniature is subjective and depends on its scale in relation to the model vessel.

A second point which should be discussed is the distinction between miniature and small-sized pottery, which still remains a grey area in archaeological research. Both categories are represented by vessels of small format that have been chosen to be deposited inside enchytrismoi instead of objects of regular size. The true criterion for differentiating between one and the other is whether the vase was produced for a practical use or not. In other words, whether it was made as a content-holding vase that could have served a similar function as its larger counterparts, or merely as a representation of a vessel in reduced format.⁷⁹³ Nevertheless, this study does not sharply distinguish between the two since both were chosen to serve as offerings for the deceased inside enchytrismoi. It is this choice in particular which merits further discussion.

⁷⁹⁰ For a history of the appearance of the term “miniature pottery” and its previous definitions, see Barfoed 2015a, 9-11; 2018, 112-113; Baxter 2005, 47, all with references.

⁷⁹¹ This viewpoint was first put forward by Hammond (1998, 14-18). Hammond considers a height equal to 0.10m or less as the break-off point for miniature vessels.

⁷⁹² One example of this type are the popular Phaleron cups which do not replicate any known type of cup but are still vaguely similar in shape to known one-handled cups which may occur in miniature and regular sizes. On Phaleron cups, see most recently Fragopoulou and Zosi 2017, 151, with previous references.

⁷⁹³ Definition adapted from Stillwell *et al.*, 1984, 309 where it is however used to differentiate between miniatures and regular-sized objects.

While miniature pottery has been found in abundance in various archaeological contexts, it had for long been regarded as a group of material of no significant use. Most discussions downplayed the role of miniature objects by interpreting them as low quality, mass-produced, cheap votives of the lower social classes or, when found in funerary contexts, as children's toys.⁷⁹⁴ In recent years, some scholars recognised the problems of such interpretations and attempted to discuss miniatures found in sanctuary contexts under a new light.⁷⁹⁵ The evidence of this type of pottery from funerary contexts, on the other hand, has not been explored.

The following section addresses the use of miniature and small-scale vessels as grave offerings inside enchytrismos burials. If one accepts the identification of miniatures as cheaper substitutes for their full-sized counterparts, as had first been suggested for those discovered in sanctuaries,⁷⁹⁶ one would consequently agree with the prevalent suggestion of young individuals as social non-persons of a lower rank. Nevertheless, as has been discussed in earlier chapters, various characteristics of the burial custom of enchytrismos refute the alleged unimportance of young individuals in death. Furthermore, recent studies focusing on miniature objects dedicated in sanctuaries have suggested that these reduced-scale vessels were not used as cheaper alternatives to their regular-sized counterparts but have distinct material qualities.⁷⁹⁷ Also, as it is evident from many of the grave offerings in our dataset, a considerable proportion among them is meticulously made and, sometimes, also carefully decorated.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁴ For sanctuary contexts, see e.g. Boehringer 2001, 92. For funerary contexts, see e.g. Richter 1904-1905, 234; Dunbabin 1962, 290; Di Stefano 2003, 38-45.

⁷⁹⁵ See e.g. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002; Ekroth 2003; Pilz 2011; Barfoed on multiple occasions (e.g. 2015a; 2015b, 2017, 2018)

⁷⁹⁶ Barfoed 2015a; Pilz 2011, 4 n. 14 with references.

⁷⁹⁷ E.g. Barfoed 2015a; 2015b.

⁷⁹⁸ The suggestion of miniatures as creations of children themselves (Langdon 2013, 172-194) has been entirely excluded from this discussion since it is solely based on the subjective criterion which categorises forms of "substandard" work as created by the hands of children or by the hands of careless

The identification of miniatures as toys, first used by the child and then deposited with it in its final resting place, cannot be unequivocally applied to all miniatures either. Firstly, it should be pointed out that miniature vases are not an exclusivity of child graves but are frequently found in burials of adults.⁷⁹⁹ This observation also extends to a number of the adult enchytrismoι from our dataset.⁸⁰⁰ Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter IV, many of the enchytrismoι under study belonged to foetuses, stillborn babies, newborns and very young infants for whom the miniatures discussed above could not have served as toys prior to their untimely death. Secondly, the frequent presence of miniatures in sanctuaries which has been abundantly discussed in scholarship,⁸⁰¹ virtually rules out their exclusive function as children's toys; such objects would not have a place as votives in so many sanctuaries dedicated to different deities. At the same time, the presence of miniatures in domestic contexts, which would support their principal function as toys, is quite rare.⁸⁰²

Therefore, the reasons for the presence of miniatures inside enchytrismos burials are not straightforward. The first possible explanation is a practical one, inextricably connected to the find context of these artefacts. As already mentioned, the grave offerings in question can be found both inside and outside the funerary vessels. With the exception of the adult enchytrismoι discovered in Boeotia,⁸⁰³ rarely would the vases used for the interments be large enough to accommodate standard-sized objects, especially in multiples. The same is true for the burial

experts. Furthermore, such examples of "substandard" work are extremely few in the context of the present study in which most objects seem to have been made and decorated with a great deal of attention.⁷⁹⁹ This is the case, for e.g., at the North cemetery of Corinth. See Blegen *et. al* 1964, 169-300. Cf. Barfoed 1017b, 133.

⁸⁰⁰ Even some of the adult enchytrismoι included miniature objects. See e.g. those at the Northeast cemetery of Thebes (Kountouri 1999a) and Cat. Nos 117, 131 (Akraiphia).

⁸⁰¹ See above n. 796.

⁸⁰² See Barfoed 2018, 111 n.2.

⁸⁰³ See Chapter IV, pp. 123-124.

pits, whose size never surpasses 1.00m in depth and 0.50m in diameter, most of the space of which was occupied by the funerary vessel. Miniature but also small sized vessels were thus most appropriate to be used as grave offerings in such burials.

This practical reason alone is not sufficient for understanding such a distinct category of offerings when it comes to a burial custom with such well-defined characteristics as the enchytrismos. The type of offerings deposited inside the burials must also be connected to the individuals buried inside these graves. In the cases of burials of non-adults (foetuses, stillborn babies, newborns, infants and children) the explanation is simple: the small size of the offering vases corresponds well to the age of the deceased, who are themselves of small size. In this context, the deposition of miniatures also inside adult enchytrismoι in Archaic Boeotia may again seem peculiar. Nevertheless, as has already been discussed, the appropriation of a burial custom originally devoted to the young by adults could have incorporated all its distinct individual characteristics, including the miniature and small-size of grave offerings.

iv. Offering deposition: placement of offerings within the grave

The first observation to be made when discussing how offerings were deposited inside the grave is that in all three regions under study most artefacts were deposited intact. The ritual fragmentation of pottery, a practice widely associated with offerings to deceased individuals, seems to be absent in the case of enchytrismos burials.⁸⁰⁴ There seems, therefore, to be no effort to incapacitate the objects deposited, but rather, to preserve their original state and thus their functions, intact.

⁸⁰⁴ For the relevant bibliography, see Papadopoulos and Smithson 2018, 641 n. 282. On the other hand, in Boeotia and Euboea some cases of fragments of vessels which could have been purposefully deposited may be detected, as for e.g. in Appendix C: Cat. Nos 47 and 59 (Tachi).

The second important point regarding the deposition of offerings is their placement within the grave. As already mentioned, in all areas and periods covered by the present study, enchytrismos burials consisted of a funerary vessel, usually set on its side, which contained the body of the deceased individual. This vase was in its turn placed inside a burial pit that was usually cut in the natural bedrock. The available evidence for enchytrismoι from Attica, Euboea and Boeotia demonstrates that the grave offerings were deposited *either* inside the funerary vessels, *or* inside the filling of the burial pit; grave goods *both* inside and outside the burial vases are also attested (**Figs 3, 23, 44-45, 56, 71, 78-79, 157, 167**).⁸⁰⁵

The placement of furnishings close to the body is common in most burials encountered in the Greek world. The additional placement of artefacts not in direct connection to the body, encountered in some of the enchytrismos burials may seem, at first glance, to be connected to space limitations caused by the size of the funerary vessels. However, the mere existence of burials including offerings *only* outside the burial vases eliminates such a suggestion, particularly since these could easily have fitted in the burial vases. The most prominent examples are the late 8th c. enchytrismoι from Appendix A: Cat. No. 112 of the Dipylon cemetery and Cat. No. 196 from the West cemetery at Eleusis, both made inside vessels of colossal size (**Figs 42, 82**).⁸⁰⁶ It seems therefore more plausible to suggest that the deposition of offerings inside and outside the burials vases was not connected to practical reasons related to space limitations but rather, that it reflects two distinct types of dedications offered to the deceased.

⁸⁰⁵ The relative positions of the offerings inside the grave and their relation to the body is almost never provided by the excavators.

⁸⁰⁶ See Chapter V, pp. 142, 147-148.

The offerings found inside the funerary recipients must have been placed there at the same time as the corpse. Although the precise reasons for their deposition cannot be understood, these artefacts should be considered as accompaniments of the deceased in the afterlife.⁸⁰⁷ On the other hand, offerings found outside the funerary vessels must have been deposited inside the graves after the funerary containers and are thus more likely to have also served an active role in the funerary ritual.

As already mentioned, most categories of grave goods are encountered both inside and outside the funerary vessels. It is therefore only the small number of objects which is systematically found in one *or* the other location that may lead to a better understanding of the reasons behind the deposition of different categories of objects.

Coarse ware pitchers or oinochoai of standard size are regularly found outside the funerary recipients in Attic enchytrismoi of the late 8th and 7th c. BC (**Figs 71, 78**).⁸⁰⁸ The use of such regular-sized household vessels, combined with their frequent upright position, suggests their differential use when compared to all other artefacts used as grave offerings. Considering their larger size, and thus capacity, as well as their function as pouring vessels, it seems reasonable to suggest their use for pouring libations. In a number of burials, coarse ware pitchers seem to have been substituted inside the pit fillings by regular-sized decorated oinochoai or jugs,⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁷ No ancient author gives any clear account of the principles involved and it is likely that differing reasons could have been behind the offering of many objects. These could have been personal possessions of the deceased or objects which he/she may need in the afterlife, artefacts valued by the living, recipients used in the funerary ritual which should not be reused etc. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 206.

⁸⁰⁸ See above n. 720-721 for late 8th c. examples and n. 727 for 7th c. BC graves.

⁸⁰⁹ For the Late Geometric, see Appendix A: Cat. Nos 38 (Erechtheiou St.); Cat. No. 32 (Acropolis South Slope). The numerous small and miniature oinochoai found inside the burial pits of Late Geometric enchytrismoi could have fulfilled a similar function. Alternatively, they could simply constitute part of the grave goods offered to the deceased. For the 7th c. BC, see Appendix A: Cat. Nos 197 and 199 (Eleusis West Cemetery).

most likely fulfilling the same function. One of these jugs, from Cat. No. 199 at the West cemetery at Eleusis (Appendix A), was found on or in immediate proximity to a pyre, suggesting its use in some sort of ritual taking place in honour of the deceased. These pitchers occurred with all types of funerary vessels and were associated to deceased individuals of all the ages attested inside enchytrismoi. Their deposition is therefore not linked to a particular age group. It is interesting to note that similar jugs are commonly found in an upright position in burials of various Greek cemeteries diachronically.⁸¹⁰

As has already been discussed, the lekythos was also regularly positioned outside the funerary vessels. More particularly, lekythoi are systematically found lying down at the bottom of the pits used for the burials indicating that they were emptied of their contents before the grave was sealed.⁸¹¹ Therefore, after their use to provide the final caring to the deceased, these vessels were either purposefully deposited as accompaniments or simply left there.⁸¹²

The last category of objects whose placement inside enchytrismoi presents some regularity are metal objects from 7th and 6th c. BC Boeotian burials. Their proximity to the dead body, i.e. inside the funerary recipient, comes as no surprise considering their functions for body and dress ornamentation. Such items could have been worn by the deceased or simply placed on or close to their bodies. Figurines, also a specificity of Boeotian enchytrismoi are chiefly found inside the funerary containers. These artefacts are also connected to the deceased, highlighting the fragility of his existence and premature loss.

⁸¹⁰ See for example 5th and 4th c. BC burials at the North cemetery of Corinth (Blegen *et al.* 1964, 82).

⁸¹¹ This is the case not only for enchytrismoi but also for all other Archaic burial types which included lekythoi among their offerings. See Knigge 1976, 16.

⁸¹² See, for e.g., vase paintings depicting lekythoi overturned on the tomb steps which have been taken to indicate that they were left there after use. See e.g. Kurtz 1975, pls 23.3 and 30.1. Cf. Roberts 2002, 11.

VII. THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF ENCHYTRISMOS

BURIALS

Placement of burials tends to be a conscious social act, by which the deceased are both remembered and forgotten, and through which the living declare their attitudes towards death and the dead, and towards place and social identity.⁸¹³ In this context, the present chapter will examine the spatial dimension of the enchytrismoι under study, attempting to create a landscape of the burial rite.⁸¹⁴

The first part of the chapter will focus on the burial grounds which have brought to light the enchytrismoι included in the present study and which are presented in **Tables 1-3** (Attica), **4-5** (Euboea), and **6-10** (Boeotia). The first point which will be discussed is the spatial relationship between enchytrismos and non-enchytrismos burials within these grounds. As we shall see, enchytrismoι may either constitute the exclusive type of burial attested, or may be found alongside other types of graves belonging to young individuals and/or adults. Since enchytrismos is primarily devoted to the biologically youngest (Chapter IV), this can provide meaningful indications for the separation or coexistence of different age groups within funerary areas. The second point which will be considered is the relationship between the burial grounds accommodating enchytrismoι and habitation areas, distinguishing between “formal” cemeteries and areas with non-distinctly funerary character that are found within, or near, residential zones.

⁸¹³ Parker Pearson 1999, 124.

⁸¹⁴ It should be here noted that current research demonstrates an increased emphasis on the social significance of the placement of burials. See, most recently, Tascioglu Beeby 2019 and parts of Rönnberg 2019 (*non vidi*).

The second part of Chapter VII will proceed to a discussion of the spatial relationships presented above. The first section will focus on examining the association of enchytrismoι to other burial types as a means for understanding the prevalent attitudes towards the separation or merging of different age groups in death. Furthermore, by determining whether the burials under study were subjected to principles of inclusion/exclusion from formal necropoleis and/or settlement areas, the second section will evaluate the degree of symbolic integration of the individuals afforded this burial rite in their respective communities.

A. Sites and burial grounds accommodating enchytrismoι burials

The available evidence for enchytrismoι burials which has been presented in Chapter III comes from sites which are unevenly distributed in the three regions under study (**Maps 2-5**). Before discussing the burial grounds accommodating enchytrismoι within these sites (**Tables 1-10**) it is important to note that the picture which emerges relates to the current—and constantly changing—state of archaeological research. As such, it is not reflective of the real distribution of areas where enchytrismoι were placed in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods.

Burial grounds may be categorised in numerous ways. One of the established methods is their classification according to size. For example, in his seminal study of the changing relationships between burial rituals and social structure in Early Iron Age Greece, Morris employed the terms “cemetery” and “burial plot”. In this classification, a cemetery is defined as a spatially defined area reserved for the disposal of the dead, which may occasionally consist

of smaller burial plots, but which is clearly separated from other cemeteries.⁸¹⁵ The more detailed scheme which was proposed some years later by Whitley better reflects the size differences between the excavated burial grounds by dividing them into four categories: large cemeteries, medium-sized cemeteries, smaller grave plots and isolated burials. Following this categorisation, areas with more than 20 interments are considered as a large cemetery while those with six to 20 burials form a cemetery of medium-size. Burial plots are defined as those containing between three and five interments.⁸¹⁶ The number of graves included in burial grounds used for extended periods may fluctuate considerably, leading to a different classification of the same burial ground from one period to another. As has been rightly pointed out, it is impractical to define an arbitrary distance as the boundary between separate cemeteries or between distinct burial plots of a single cemetery.⁸¹⁷ Therefore, burial plots are only considered as parts of the same cemetery when there are no elements (natural or man-made) which could have operated as boundaries between them or when there is sufficient archaeological evidence that they are indeed adjoining.

B. Relative placement of enchytrismoï

i. Spatial relationship of enchytrismoï to other burial types of children and adults

In the burial grounds listed in **Tables 1-19**, enchytrismoï may constitute the exclusive grave type or they may be found alongside non-enchytrismoï burials. As has been discussed in

⁸¹⁵ Morris 1987, 73-74.

⁸¹⁶ Whitley 1991, 166.

⁸¹⁷ Morris 1987, 72.

Chapter IV, within the regions under study, the rite of enchytrismos is mainly devoted to the biologically youngest.⁸¹⁸ On the other hand, the rite of cremation (both primary and secondary) concerns almost exclusively adults,⁸¹⁹ whereas inhumation, is used for children and adults alike. Therefore, the spatial relationship between enchytrismoι and other burial types can provide meaningful indications on the separation or the coexistence of different age groups within a burial ground.

Attica

A significant proportion of the evidence for Attic enchytrismoι comes from Athens and its immediate surroundings such as the Academy area and Kynosarges, as well as from sites located a few kilometres outside the city itself (e.g. Phaleron, Kallithea, Moschato, and Chalandri) (**Map 2**). Plentiful evidence also comes from burial grounds in the Attic countryside such as the necropoleis of Vari, Merenda, Marathon, Thorikos and Eleusis (**Map 3**). It needs to be noted that the layout of Attic burial grounds within these sites is not always easy to determine, especially in Athens. This is primarily due to the continued use of areas over extended periods of time, as, for example, the Kerameikos and the later Athenian Agora. Furthermore, especially in Athens and its immediate surroundings, much of the funerary evidence comes from urban rescue excavations of plots sometimes separated only by a few metres from one another, blurring the connections between the excavated grave groups.

⁸¹⁸ Apart from the adult enchytrismos from Late Geometric Attica, namely Appendix A: Cat. No. 113 (Dipylos) and those from Kerameikos and Megara, dated to the Late Archaic period (See Chapter III, p. 122, with references), the sole other exceptions come from Archaic Boeotia (pp. 123-124) For adult enchytrismoι outside the areas of the present study, see pp. 134-135 with references.

⁸¹⁹ During the entire period covered by this study, children were rarely cremated (Chapter III, *passim*). Therefore, in the absence of information on the age of the deceased, all cremations which will be discussed are conventionally understood as belonging to adults.

Enchytrismoι in “child” burial grounds

A number of burial grounds which have provided evidence of Attic enchytrismoι during the Late Geometric period can clearly classify as “child cemeteries or plots.” More particularly, enchytrismoι constitute the only attested type of grave in the medium-sized cemetery excavated on top of the “Early Helladic house” at the site of the Academy of Plato (**Plan 7**). The same is true for the small burial plot at Kastorias St. in the near vicinity.⁸²⁰ Late Geometric funerary evidence from the small burial plot at Herakleidon St. at Theseion also consists exclusively of four enchytrismoι (**Plan 7**).⁸²¹ Other possible examples of Late Geometric “child cemeteries” include the South cemetery of Eleusis⁸²² and possibly also that of Vranas at Marathon.⁸²³ Although the graves from these excavations have not been fully published, both their excavators suggest that they accommodated exclusively young individuals buried inside vases. Furthermore, a segment of the cemetery which developed on the northern side of Markopoulo, excavated at Papavasileiou St. may also classify as devoted exclusively to children. Although two contemporary pit inhumations possibly belong to the same burial ground, these are clearly placed at a distance from the two enchytrismoι.⁸²⁴ Special mention needs to be made with reference to the two deep pits excavated at the site of the Academy. In both cases, enchytrismoι were the only type of burial found inside them. Nevertheless, the deposition of multiple

⁸²⁰ Two enchytrismoι consisting of more than one funerary vessel each are reported by the excavator. See Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1987, 23. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that each of these vases represents a distinct enchytrismoι. Therefore, the evidence from this particular plot consists in four or five enchytrismoι.

⁸²¹ Iliopoulos, 2001-2004, 214–215.

⁸²² Filios 1889, 174-175, 177; Skias 1898, 29-122; 1912, 1-39.

⁸²³ Sotiriadis 1934, 37-38.

⁸²⁴ It is not clear from the preliminary reports, however, whether the area between the child and adult burials has been excavated. See Kakavogianni (1971, 38) for the inhumations excavated at Nikolou St. and (1983, 61) for the enchytrismoι burials.

enchytrismoι within a very short period of time identifies them as “communal child graves” rather than burial plots.⁸²⁵

The cemeteries at Sapphous St. (**Plan 6**), on the South Slope of the Acropolis (**Plan 3**), and in Lathouriza at Vari may also be classified as “child” cemeteries since enchytrismoι constitute the overwhelming majority of their interments. However, in all three cases, an extremely small number of contemporary adult inhumations was also dispersed among them.⁸²⁶ The West Cemetery of Eleusis⁸²⁷ presents an interesting case in this respect. Here, a segment of the cemetery seems to have been used mainly for enchytrismoι and contemporary child inhumations.⁸²⁸ However, a single adult inhumation was found in their immediate proximity (**Plan 8**).⁸²⁹ The presence of such adult graves within grounds otherwise dedicated to children deserves special note. Although there is not enough bioarchaeological evidence to firmly support ties of kinship between the individuals buried in these cemeteries, some sort of relationship among them cannot be denied. This is especially prominent in the case of Lathouriza where some of the enchytrismoι were intentionally placed inside the stone-lined pits which accommodated adult inhumations (**Figs 180-181**).⁸³⁰ The layout of the cemetery excludes the possibility of this being done for economy of space. Furthermore, the pot burials

⁸²⁵ The circumstances of the death of these individuals in large numbers have received numerous interpretations throughout the years (infanticide, epidemic, famine, high mortality rates or, most likely, a combination of such causes). See Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2007; Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011; Alexandridou 2017; forthcoming.

⁸²⁶ Alexandri 1968f, 89-92 for 12 Sapphous St.; Charitonidis 1973, 1-63 for the Acropolis South Slope cemetery. Similar examples possibly include Thorikos West (Bingen 1967a), Chalandri (Pologiorgi 2003-2009) and Thivon St. in Eleusis (Alexandri 1967c, 122).

⁸²⁷ Enchytrismoι: Cat. Nos 194-198. Child inhumations: Γ43, 46. See Mylonas 1975, 141-142, 144.

⁸²⁸ Three more adult cremations of the same date are also attested but are placed in a considerable distance, namely in sectors Θ (Grave 22), and Λ (Graves 1, 4). See Mylonas 1975(2), 94-95, 176-177, 180.

⁸²⁹ Sector Γ, Grave 25. See Mylonas 1975, 127-128.

⁸³⁰ Kazazaki 2008, 184. The remaining enchytrismoι were disseminated among the adult burials.

seem to have been very carefully placed right next to the head or legs of the adult deceased. Since only some of the Late Geometric enchytrismoι are cut inside inhumation graves, it is more likely to suggest some sort of family tie between the deceased inside the vase and the adult in whose burial pit it was placed.

From ca. 700BC onwards and throughout the 7th c. BC, Attic burial grounds dedicated exclusively to children prevail and even become more frequent.⁸³¹ Examples include the West cemetery of Eleusis,⁸³² the cemetery excavated near the Eleusinian acropolis,⁸³³ Thorikos South,⁸³⁴ and the small burial plot south of Tumulus 2 at the North Necropolis of Vari (**Plan 10**).⁸³⁵ Other possible examples include the cemeteries excavated at the Kerameikos Station⁸³⁶ and at Foinikia at Thorikos.⁸³⁷ The 7th c. evidence from the cemetery at Kotzia Square in Athens may also consist exclusively of enchytrismoι, yet the sample is way too small for its identification.⁸³⁸ The Early Archaic cemetery at Dimitros St. in Eleusis is a prime example of a “child cemetery” in the Attic countryside. The 31 enchytrismoι Sub-Geometric enchytrismoι excavated at this cemetery were accompanied by 14 pyres and three pit inhumations. The small size of the pyres has led their excavator to identify them as child cremations (despite the

⁸³¹ For the separation of children and adults in the Archaic period, see below. For the Classical period, see Houby-Nielsen 1992; Lagia 2007.

⁸³² At this date, the cemetery of Eleusis included exclusively enchytrismoι (Appendix A: Cat. Nos 198-204).

⁸³³ Excavated on Ethnikis Antistaseos and Tsoka St. (Thanos and Papaioannou plots). See Papangeli 1989, 31; 1991, 36.

⁸³⁴ It is interesting to note that these enchytrismoι are dated shortly after the rich adult inhumation furnished with a bronze phiale in the same cemetery: Bingen 1968a, 47-58.

⁸³⁵ Alexandridou 2012b, 41. The adult burials in their immediate proximity are not contemporary but date to the 6th c. BC.

⁸³⁶ Doronzio 2018, 60-61, with primary references.

⁸³⁷ Not much information is provided, yet the preliminary report mentions no other 7th c. graves. See Tsaravopoulos 1997, 86.

⁸³⁸ The only funerary evidence clearly dated to the 7th c. BC are three enchytrismoι. Nevertheless, the material from this important cemetery is only known from very brief preliminary reports where it is presented mainly in the form of tables. See Zachariadou-Kyriakou 1988; Orfanou 1998.

conspicuous lack of bones from their interior), or as remains of funerary rituals. Furthermore, while information on the age of the deceased or the size of the inhumation pits is lacking, the preliminary report explicitly mentions that the entire necropolis was exclusively reserved for infant and child burials.⁸³⁹

Other burial grounds which may also classify as primarily dedicated to children are the cemeteries at Oinoe at Marathon,⁸⁴⁰ the South cemetery of Eleusis,⁸⁴¹ Necropoleis D1 and West at Thorikos,⁸⁴² as well as Kimonos St. at Eleusis.⁸⁴³ These include an overwhelming majority of enchytrismoι but also very few contemporary adult inhumations or cremations. Much like the “child burial grounds” of the Late Geometric period that included a small number of adult burials as well, enchytrismoι are not spatially separated other burial types. This is especially evident, for example, at Oinoe and Thorikos D1.⁸⁴⁴ An interesting case is the Thorikos West Necropolis where some enchytrismoι even seem to form small groups with the few attested adult burials.⁸⁴⁵ The Enclosure II of the North Necropolis of Vari, presents a unique case. Here, most of the excavated burials belonged to children and consisted in five enchytrismoι and three child inhumations. Three adult graves were, however, also found in the same enclosure.⁸⁴⁶

⁸³⁹ Papangeli 1988b, 47. The identification of the pyres as remains of funerary rituals seems, in my view, more likely. Firstly, no bones have been recovered from their interior to corroborate their identification as cremations, and secondly, child cremations are overall extremely rare in Attica. On the other hand, “enagismoι” connected to child burials—and in particular enchytrismoι—are known from the West Cemetery of Eleusis (Mylonas 1975). For a definition of the term “enagismos” and its use in modern scholarship, see Ekroth 2013, 107-110.

⁸⁴⁰ Arapogianni 1985, 214-219.

⁸⁴¹ For the South Cemetery, see Filios 1889, 174-175, 177; Skias 1898, 29-122; 1912, 1-39.

⁸⁴² Bingen 1990 (Necropolis D1); Mussche 1967; Bingen 1984 (West Necropolis).

⁸⁴³ Papangeli 1998, 78.

⁸⁴⁴ No information is provided for the spatial organisation of graves within the cemetery at Kimonos St. in Eleusis but the excavator does not indicate differential placement of child and adult burials (Papangeli 1998, 78).

⁸⁴⁵ Bingen 1967b; 1969; 1984, *passim*.

⁸⁴⁶ Alexandridou 2012a; 2012b.

While placed within the same cemetery, and in immediate proximity to each other, the intention to organise burials according to age can clearly be observed: enchytrismoι form a tight cluster in the southern corner of the enclosure, while the three child inhumations form a second cluster in the immediate vicinity. One more cluster is formed by the adult burials which are placed right across of the child inhumations (**Plan 12**).

During the 6th c. BC, a proportion of Attic enchytrismoι are still found in cemeteries or parts of cemeteries dedicated to children. This is the case, for instance, of the medium-sized cemetery excavated at Thorikos West which has brought to light exclusively enchytrismoι and inhumations of infants and young children.⁸⁴⁷ The West cemetery of Eleusis also seems to retain its character as a “child cemetery” during this period. The single adult cremation that has been discovered, dating to the very end of the century, may, on the one hand, be interpreted as having a special relationship with the inhumed children. On the other hand, it could also mark the beginning of the new period of the cemetery’s use, during which adults and children start being buried together.⁸⁴⁸ Finally, while the cemetery at Vlachika (Sokratous and Herakleiou St.) has revealed evidence of both enchytrismoι and adult cremations, each category is clearly spatially separated from the other.⁸⁴⁹ All cremation burials were found clustered near its western limit, while enchytrismoι formed a separate cluster immediately to the east (**Plan 14**). Therefore, the latter segment of the cemetery seems to have operated as a child burial ground.

⁸⁴⁷ Bingen 1967b; 1984; 1990.

⁸⁴⁸ Apart from the enchytrismoι, the only other contemporary 7th c. BC burial is a child inhumation inside a clay sarcophagus. After the first decades of the 5th c. BC, the cemetery includes burials of both adults and children See Mylonas 1975, *passim*.

⁸⁴⁹ Ten to 12 cremations and six enchytrismoι. See Kourinou 1981, 54.

Enchytrismoι in cemeteries for both children and adults

Throughout the period covered by the present study, Attic enchytrismoι are also found in burial grounds which accommodated both children and adults. During the Late Geometric period, examples of large necropoleis where a full age structure is attested include the North Kerameikos,⁸⁵⁰ the cemetery East of the Philopappos Hill⁸⁵¹ and Thorikos West (**Plan 9**).⁸⁵² The same is true for the Agora Tholos cemetery (**Plan 1**) and the Plattenbau on the south bank of the Eridanos river at the Kerameikos (**Plan 5**). Enchytrismoι also occur together with contemporary adult inhumations in smaller burial plots such as those excavated at Thesseos St. in Kallithea, Kyprou St. in Moschato, and Thivon St. in Eleusis.⁸⁵³ Within these burial grounds, there seems to be a lack of separation between the different grave types, and by consequence, between the different age groups. For example, the 10 enchytrismoι of the Tholos cemetery are densely disseminated among the equally numerous adult inhumations (**Plan 1**). The Plattenbau presents a most interesting case in this respect: pot burials were not only placed contiguously to adult graves, but are also, occasionally, cut inside them. The six contemporary inhumations of older children from the same cemetery were also placed among the enchytrismoι and adult

⁸⁵⁰ Kübler 1954.

⁸⁵¹ For the excavations of this cemetery, see Miliadis 1955, 43 (Erechtheiou St., between Kavalotti and Tsami Karatasou St); Stavropoulos 1965b, 87; 1966, 71 (Erechtheiou 21-23); Kavalotti St. (Stavropoulos 1965a, 75); Mitsaion and Zitrou St. (Andreiomenou 1966, 85, one “Geometric” enchytrismos; 1967, 102); Parthenonos 12 (Alexandri 1967a, 106: Two enchytrismoι, one Late Geometric and one undated but possibly dating to the Late Geometric); Erechtheiou 20 (Alexandri 1968e, 55-56); Promachou 5 (1968a, 88-89), Erechtheiou 30 and Kavalotti (1968b, 57), Garibaldi-Sofroniskou-Fainaretis St. (1968c, 48-50).

⁸⁵² Bingen 1967b; 1968a; 1969b; 1984.

⁸⁵³ Kallipolitis 1964a, 65 (Thesseos St); Petritaki 2006, 204-205 (Kyprou St.); Alexandri 1967c, 122 (Thivon St). While the age of the deceased buried inside the inhumations graves is not always reported by their respective excavators, there is no mention of child burials.

burials (**Plan 5**). It is interesting to note that the Tholos cemetery and the Plattenbau constitute the only claimed cases of “family burial plots” from Late Geometric Attica.⁸⁵⁴

During the 7th c. BC, evidence for enchytrismoi in burial grounds that present a mixed age structure is still quite prominent. They are, however, fewer than those appropriated—mostly or exclusively—by children. Examples include the Tholos cemetery that continues to be used for child and adult burials during this period,⁸⁵⁵ but also the cemetery of the Kerameikos,⁸⁵⁶ the Southeast Necropolis of Vari,⁸⁵⁷ and the small plot at Chalkidikis & Iera Odos in Votanikos.⁸⁵⁸ No principle of spatial segregation is observable between enchytrismoi and other grave types. In some cases, enchytrismoi even form tight clusters with other burial types. This can be seen, for example, at the Southeast Necropolis of Vari where the two 7th c. enchytrismoi form a cluster with four other burials, of which at least two belong to adults.⁸⁵⁹

Enchytrismoi coming from burial grounds that do not demonstrate a spatial segregation of different age groups persist in the 6th and early 5th c. BC. Evidence from Athens comes mainly from the Kerameikos tumuli (Südhügel, Tumuli G, K and T).⁸⁶⁰ Without exception, the enchytrismoi associated to these mounds were found alongside numerous other child

⁸⁵⁴ Young 1939 (Tholos cemetery); Kübler 1954 (Plattenbau). Cf. Whitley 1991, 65-66 for a discussion of such “family burial plots”. A similar example may be that of the cemetery at Chalandri for which its different grave clusters have been interpreted as representing family burials. See Pologiorgi 2003-2009.

⁸⁵⁵ Young 1939, 139-194.

⁸⁵⁶ Kübler 1954; 1959. Nevertheless, as in other Attic cemeteries during the 7th c. BC, adults are severely under-represented. See Morris 1987, 67, 85-86, 128-131, 134-137

⁸⁵⁷ Two enchytrismoi forming a cluster with four other burials, of which at least two belong to adults. See Kallipolitis 1963, 115; 1965, 11; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1985.

⁸⁵⁸ Stoupa 1995, 42. The coexistence of burial types is also possible at the partially excavated cemetery at Heron Polytechniou St. in Eleusis and in the necropolis excavated close to the sanctuary, yet no precise dating is provided for the burials, all reported as Archaic-Classical.

⁸⁵⁹ Kallipolitis 1963, 115-132.

⁸⁶⁰ Knigge 1976 for the Südhügel; Kübler 1976 for Tumuli G, K and T.

inhumations as well as contemporary inhumations and cremations of adults.⁸⁶¹ The interweaving of burial types is especially prominent in the cemetery at Kynosarges where an enchytrismos was placed inside the pit of a contemporary secondary cremation, while one more enchytrismos seems to have formed a coherent cluster with them.⁸⁶²

Similar examples of cemeteries which accommodate both children and adults are known from the suburbs of Athens. The most interesting example among them is the cemetery at Phaleron. After almost 100 years during which this burial ground was considered the most prominent example of a 7th c. “child cemetery”, recent excavations and research have clearly demonstrated its use by all age groups. Despite the extremely large number of enchytrismoι excavated at this cemetery (which surpasses 250), more than 1700 other burials of both children and adults have been identified. Although the excavations have not yet been fully published, child enchytrismoι and inhumations were reportedly disseminated among the adult graves and not placed in distinct locations within the cemetery.⁸⁶³ Enchytrismoι were also found together with adult burials at the cemeteries at Glyfada⁸⁶⁴ and Stavros Geraka (**Plan 15**).⁸⁶⁵ Finally, in the Attic countryside, children and adults were placed side by side in the Merenda Archaic

⁸⁶¹ It is only after ca. 500 BC and throughout the 5th c. BC that the “Südhügel” and Tumulus G become necropoleis exclusively dedicated to children. See Houby-Nielsen 1995.

⁸⁶² Iliopoulos 2001-2004, 209 (cremation Grave 3 placed within the same pit as enchytrismos Grave 4, forming a cluster with enchytrismos Grave 12).

⁸⁶³ Alexandropoulou 2019, 275.

⁸⁶⁴ According to Antonopoulou 2007, 254, the cemetery at Glyfada included eight enchytrismoι, as well as six funerary pyres and three inhumations in pits which belonged to adults.

⁸⁶⁵ The cemetery at Stavros Geraka included six enchytrismoι, five funerary pyres and three more adult burials placed inside pits adult pit inhumations. See Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 314; Antonopoulou and Manganioti 2009, 373-382.

cemetery,⁸⁶⁶ inside Tumulus 3 of the North Necropolis of Vari (**Plan 11**),⁸⁶⁷ and in Tumulus A at Katafiki.⁸⁶⁸

Enchytrismoι in adult cemeteries

In very few cases, a small number of enchytrismoι (no more than one or two) were placed in cemeteries otherwise devoted to adults. All known examples date to the 6th c. BC and include the Agora “Archaic cemetery” where one enchytrismoι was placed among numerous adult inhumations and cremations,⁸⁶⁹ as well as the *Funerary Enclosures I and III* found under Tumulus 5 in the North necropolis of Vari (**Plan 12**).⁸⁷⁰

Other

During the Late Geometric period, the Dipylon cemetery cannot be grouped with any other burial ground since it contained the only enchytrismoι from Attica which certainly accommodated an adult skeleton. The other contemporary graves of the cemetery, mainly inhumations, but also two cremations, all belonged to adults as well.⁸⁷¹

Euboea and Oropos

The sequence of archaeological evidence regarding enchytrismoι from Euboea and Oropos comes from only a handful of sites, mainly Eretria and Oropos, but also Lefkandi and

⁸⁶⁶ Kakavogianni 2001-2004, 334; Anetakis *et. al* 2009.

⁸⁶⁷ Alexandridou (2012) reports three enchytrismoι, eight child inhumations and numerous adult burials.

⁸⁶⁸ Twenty-four cremations and two enchytrismoι are reported by Kakavogianni (1987, 96) and Kakavogianni and Petrocheilos (2013, 72).

⁸⁶⁹ Young 1951.

⁸⁷⁰ Alexandridou 2012b.

⁸⁷¹ Brückner and Pernice 1893, 101-134.

Karystos (**Map 4**). The burial grounds accommodating enchytrismoι (**Tables 4-5**) were unevenly distributed within the excavated areas of each site. Especially in Eretria, the excavations which have revealed enchytrismoι are numerous and have taken place in locations which are sometimes very close to each other (**Plan 16**). Therefore, as in Athens, it is not always clear whether each excavated Eretrian plot really constitutes a separate burial ground or if some of these plots form coherent entities. This is especially true for nearby plots which present similar features.⁸⁷²

Enchytrismoι in child burial grounds

All Euboean enchytrismoι have been discovered in burial grounds which were exclusively dedicated to children. During the Late Geometric period, enchytrismoι may constitute the only attested grave type or may occur together with a few child inhumations. For example, in Eretria, enchytrismoι constitute the exclusive funerary evidence of the Late Geometric period in the plots Bouratza, Eratonymou St. and OT.29β (**Plan 18**), OT.97 (**Plan 19**) and OT.740 (**Plan 20**).⁸⁷³ Another prominent example is the Roussos plot which has brought to light 12 enchytrismoι and a single pit inhumation of a young child (**Plan 17**).⁸⁷⁴ The same may be true for Lefkandi, where the single enchytrismoι was found near a contemporary child inhumation (**Plan 21**). Nevertheless, one should not forget that the area around these child

⁸⁷² For example, the plots: Roussos plot, OT.29b, OT.97, OT.98, OT.740 and possibly also Eratonymou St., which have provided both funerary evidence and remains of the Geometric nuclei of habitation. See Blandin 2007, 82-85 (Roussos plot); 96-98 (OT.29b); 104 (OT.98); 113-117 (OT.740).

⁸⁷³ Blandin 2007, 9-26 (Bouratza plot), 29-34 (Eratonymou St.), 82-85 (Roussos plot), 96-98 (OT.29b); 104 (OT.98), 113-117 (OT.740)

⁸⁷⁴ Contemporary adult burials seem to be lacking within the limits of these burial grounds. The primary cremations reported from Bouratza plot and Eratonymou St. date in the Middle Geometric period. The only "primary cremation" that dates to the Late Geometric comes from the Bouratza plot yet the absence of bones recovered from its interior rather suggests that its function was ritual.

burials still remains unexcavated.⁸⁷⁵ On the other side of the Euboean Gulf, the evidence from Oropos provides a similar picture. The enchytrismoï from Oropos Central Quarter were found together with two shaft- and two cist graves which also belonged to young children (**Plan 22**).⁸⁷⁶ On the other hand, enchytrismoï constitute the only Late Geometric funerary evidence in the so-called West Quarter of the site (**Plan 23**).⁸⁷⁷

Most evidence for Euboean enchytrismoï for the period after 700 BC comes from the Hygionomeion cemetery. During the Middle and Late Geometric periods, the cemetery was used to contain a small number of (elite?) adult cremations.⁸⁷⁸ While we do not know how much overlap there was between the latest of these burials and the earliest child enchytrismoï, it is clear that, from this time onwards, the plot was used exclusively for infants and small children, all of which were buried inside enchytrismoï.⁸⁷⁹ Finally, the early 7th c. funerary evidence from the Central and West Quarters of Oropos also consists exclusively of infant and child enchytrismoï (**Plans 22-23**).⁸⁸⁰

Boeotia

Much of the evidence for Boeotian enchytrismoï comes from excavations which took place within and around the modern city of Thebes (Pyri, Tachi, Aghia Eleousa). A significant number of pot burials also comes from cemeteries spread within the rest of Boeotia, namely Rhitsona, Tanagra, and Akraiphia (**Map 5**). Within these few sites, enchytrismoï have been

⁸⁷⁵ Lemos 2012, 170.

⁸⁷⁶ Chapter III, p. 88 and n. 281.

⁸⁷⁷ The enchytrismoï from Oropos date between Phases 2 and 5, that is from the second half of the 8th to the first decade of the 7th c. BC. See Vlachou 2007, 214.

⁸⁷⁸ Kourouniotis 1903, 1-38.

⁸⁷⁹ Crielaard 2007, 170-171; Blandin 2007.

⁸⁸⁰ Vlachou 2007 (Phase 5 burials).

discovered exclusively inside extended cemeteries evidently separated from one another which has allowed for a clear understanding of the layout of Boeotian burial grounds (**Tables 6-10**). It needs to be noted that, in many cases, these grounds could not be categorised by century as was done for the other two regions. Since most Boeotian enchytrismoι remain unpublished, the dating provided from their excavators is frequently rather vague, with burials simply being dated to the Late Geometric/Archaic periods,⁸⁸¹ or to the Archaic period as a whole.⁸⁸²

Enchytrismoι in child burial grounds

In Boeotia, the only example of a burial ground exclusively dedicated to children is the cemetery at Tachi during the 7th c. BC. During this period, the cemetery at Tachi included 12 enchytrismoι and a single contemporary child cremation. Adult burials of any type were entirely lacking.⁸⁸³

Enchytrismoι in burial grounds for both children and adults

During the entire period covered by this study, Boeotian enchytrismoι usually occur in the same burial grounds as adult burials. In the Late Geometric period, for example, enchytrismoι of infants and children are found together with adult inhumations in the Northeast cemetery of Thebes.⁸⁸⁴ This is also the case of the cemetery at Tachi, where enchytrismoι of both children and adults coexist with several adult inhumations.⁸⁸⁵ In both cases, grave types

⁸⁸¹ E.g. for the Clusters 1 and 2 excavated near the Boeotian Kephissos River, near the village Akontio, see Andrikou 1993, 183-186.

⁸⁸² E.g. The Northeast and Northwest cemeteries of Thebes. Chapter III, pp. 102-104 with references.

⁸⁸³ Aravantinos 1993, 169-170.

⁸⁸⁴ Touloupa 1966, 196-197; Kountouri 1999a, 318-323; 1999b, 324; Aravantinos 2004, 233-236.

⁸⁸⁵ Aravantinos 1993, 169-170.

age groups were placed in proximity to one another without any intention of separation (**Plan 24**). The grave clusters which are vaguely dated to the Late Geometric/Archaic period, excavated alongside the Boeotian Kephissos river, have also provided evidence of child enchytrismoι disseminated among several adult inhumation burials.⁸⁸⁶

Seventh c. enchytrismoι from Boeotia are known only from the cemeteries of Rhitsona and Akraiphia.⁸⁸⁷ Both burial grounds demonstrate the absence of a principle of segregation between the graves of different age groups: enchytrismoι of both children and adults are placed in immediate proximity to other types of contemporary burials which also belong to adults and children. A similar situation is observable in the 6th c. BC cemetery of Tanagra, where enchytrismoι occur together with both adult inhumations and cremations as well as with inhumations of children.⁸⁸⁸ Most enchytrismoι of the cemetery have been found in Sector Α where they are almost equally represented as other grave types and are not spatially distinguished.⁸⁸⁹ Other sectors have also provided evidence for enchytrismoι, dispersed among the other grave types. Enchytrismoι are also found alongside adult shaft graves in the cemetery at Rhitsona.⁸⁹⁰

The same picture emerges from those cemeteries whose funerary evidence has been more vaguely dated to the Archaic period. These include the Northeast and Northwest cemeteries of Thebes. It is interesting to note that at least in the Northwest cemetery,

⁸⁸⁶ Andrikou 1993, 183-186.

⁸⁸⁷ For Rhitsona, see Burrows and Ure 1907-1908; Ure 1934. For Akraiphia, see e.g. Sabetai 2000, 496.

⁸⁸⁸ Andreiomenou 2007, 3-133.

⁸⁸⁹ *Idem.*, 82-83.

⁸⁹⁰ See above n. 885.

enchytrismos constitutes the majority burial rite.⁸⁹¹ Unfortunately, information on the placement of enchytrismoι in relation to other burial types is not always clear. Nevertheless, in the Northeast cemetery, the excavator clearly reports that some of the vases containing enchytrismos burials were placed very close to each other creating smaller burial groups within the cemetery.⁸⁹² A tendency to group enchytrismoι may also be observed in the Northwest cemetery where the Archaic pithos burials have been suggested as having been covered by a tumulus.⁸⁹³ Finally, the vaguely dated Archaic/Classical burials of the cemetery also comprise four enchytrismoι, tile and pit inhumations of children, as well as adult inhumations and cremations.⁸⁹⁴

Enchytrismoι in adult burial grounds

During the Late Geometric period, the small burial plot excavated at the village of Dauleia, near Levadeia, contained a single child enchytrismos and one child inhumation as well as a much larger number of adult burials (one inhumation and numerous pyres).⁸⁹⁵

ii. Spatial relationship between enchytrismoι and settlement areas

The spatial relationship between a burial ground and its corresponding settlement or settlements is commonly accepted as of paramount importance for the understanding of

⁸⁹¹ Unfortunately, information on the exact number of burials of each burial type from the Northeast cemetery is not known. See Touloupa 1966, 196-197; Kountouri 1999a, 318-322; 1999b, 324; 2003, 42-43; 2006, 735-749.

⁸⁹² Kountouri 1999a, 322 (Graves 4, 10, 11, 12).

⁸⁹³ Pharaklas 1967, 236; 1969, 175-177.

⁸⁹⁴ Aravantinos 2001, 162-163.

⁸⁹⁵ It is interesting to note that all burials from Late Geometric Dauleia have been considered as belonging to children and females due to the nature of the associated offerings, which included mostly jewellery and other metal finds. See Kalliga 2007, 576-577.

funerary customs. Customarily, discussions on this theme have been conducted in terms of intra- and extra-mural burials, where the term “mural” implies the existence of a wall defining the city’s “purity” by separating funerary and domestic space.⁸⁹⁶ Nevertheless, due to the nature of the settlement pattern during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods such concepts seem particularly unfit. Much more suitable and consequential is the categorisation of burial grounds according to the degree of “reservation” of cemeteries, that is, the extent to which they were formal, bounded areas, exclusively dedicated to the disposal of the dead. In this context, “reserved” cemeteries and burial plots are understood as occupying localities between or beyond the clusters formed by the dwellings. On the other hand, smaller “unreserved”, and thus less formal, plots are those found in immediate proximity or even within these clusters.⁸⁹⁷ While this theme has meaningful implications for the social and symbolic connotations of burial placement,⁸⁹⁸ it may not always be easily explored for the periods under study either. In Attica, for example, since settlement remains are extremely scarce until at least the late 6th c. BC,⁸⁹⁹ the examination of the spatial relationship between burial grounds and dwellings proves complicated. The same can be said for most of Boeotia, with the exception maybe of Thebes.

Attica

In Attica, during the Late Geometric, the overwhelming majority of burial grounds which have provided evidence for enchytrismoι may be designated as formal reserved

⁸⁹⁶ Morris 1987, 62-63.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁸ See below.

⁸⁹⁹ See, most recently, Dimitriadou 2019 who presents and discusses settlement (and funerary) evidence from Athens in the period between 1100-480 BC. See esp. 71-76 for the Geometric period, 165-167 for the Archaic period.

cemeteries. Fewer enchytrismoï come from a rather limited number of “unreserved” cemeteries. The main example from Athens is the small burial plot excavated at Herakleidon St. at Theseion where a Late Geometric apsidal building, possibly of secular function, was revealed in immediate proximity to the four enchytrismos burials (**Plan 4**).⁹⁰⁰ The cemetery on the South Slope of the Acropolis which has provided evidence of numerous enchytrismoï has also been identified as “unreserved” in the Late Geometric period.⁹⁰¹ The Agora Tholos cemetery is also frequently mentioned as an example of an “unreserved” cemetery during this period, yet its identification as such is more problematic. On the one hand, possible settlement evidence from the immediate vicinity based on the presence of wells is claimed by a number of scholars. Nevertheless, the enclosure of the cemetery by a wall indicates that it was formally bounded (**Plan 1**).⁹⁰² Finally, the only prominent example of an “unreserved” cemetery in the Attic countryside is Thorikos West. The numerous late 8th c. enchytrismoï from this cemetery have been excavated within only a few meters from architectural remains identified as belonging to contemporary dwellings (**Plan 9**).⁹⁰³

In contrast to the Late Geometric period, from ca. 700 BC onwards, enchytrismoï come exclusively from reserved burial grounds, which have provided no evidence of settlement remains within their limits or in the immediate vicinity. The same observation holds true for the 6th c. and until the very end of the Archaic period.

⁹⁰⁰ Iliopoulos 2001-2004, 214-216.

⁹⁰¹ Charitonidis 1973.

⁹⁰² Morris 1987, 63-65. (cf. Whitley 1991, 62-643). Settlement activity in the area is suggested based on the discovery of wells dating from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period. See Dimitriadou 2019, 71-76, esp. 74-76 for the Late Geometric (with primary references for all excavated wells). For the subject of wells as remains of residential areas, see Brann 1962, 108; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 10, 16-17; Camp 1986, 53; Étienne 2004, 22; Valavanis 2008, 130 (cf. Dimitriadou 2012, 22; Papadopoulos 2003, 21).

⁹⁰³ <http://thorikos.be/overzicht/necropoliszuid/necropoliszuidmain.html>.

Euboea and Oropos

In Euboea, during the Late Geometric period, enchytrismoï come mainly from burial grounds found within or in immediate proximity to settlement areas. These include many of the plots excavated within the modern city of Eretria such as the Roussos plot (**Plan 17**), OT.29β (**Fig. 182, Plan 18**), OT.97 (**Plan 19**), OT.98, and OT.740 (**Plan 20**).⁹⁰⁴ Enchytrismoï in immediate proximity to contemporary dwellings are also known from the Central and West Quarter of Oropos (**Plans 22-23**).⁹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that the enchytrismoï of the Central Quarter, together with the four other contemporary child graves, were all found immediately outside the peribolos delimiting the inhabited area (**Plan 22**).⁹⁰⁶

During the early 7th c. a few enchytrismoï are still found in proximity to the Geometric nuclei of habitation or in other non-distinctly funerary zones.⁹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the evidence from the Hygionomeion cemetery seems to mark the transition of enchytrismoï towards areas with an exclusively funerary vocation. The Hygionomeion cemetery is clearly separated from all the plots discussed above, further to the west of the Geometric inhabited area.

Boeotia

The picture which emerges from Boeotia is more consistent. During the entire Late Geometric and the Archaic periods, enchytrismoï come exclusively from burial grounds which have provided no evidence of archaeological remains which could indicate a non-funerary

⁹⁰⁴ Blandin 2007 (II), 82-88 (Roussos plot), 96-101 (OT.29b), 102-103 (O.T.97), 104 (OT.98), 113-120 (O.T.740 plot).

⁹⁰⁵ Vlachou 2007, 213-240.

⁹⁰⁶ Vlachou 2007, 221.

⁹⁰⁷ Trial trench C/7 and OT.205 also presented evidence of walls. The plots at “SWTor” and “Maison des Mosaïques” which, at the time, possibly held an artisanal vocation. See Blandin 2007a, 80, with primary references.

function. Therefore, all burial grounds which accommodated enchytrismoι clearly classify as reserved cemeteries. Considering the scarcity of settlement remains, however, one cannot entirely exclude the possibility, that at least in the Late Geometric period—when burial in unreserved cemeteries is also attested in Attica and Euboea—enchytrismoι were also placed in proximity to dwellings.

C. Discussion

As has been demonstrated, enchytrismoι, in the cemeteries and plots where they occur, may either constitute the exclusive burial type or are found alongside non-enchytrismoι burials. Since enchytrismoι constitutes the most commonly encountered funerary rite for very young individuals, the examination of this spatial relationship can illuminate the attitudes of the communities under study as regards the separation or merging of different age groups in death.

In Attica, during the Late Geometric period, enchytrismoι most frequently occur in grounds used for the burial of both children and adults. There seems to be no intention of a spatial separation of age groups within these cemeteries. This evidence, therefore, is in support of the suggestion that children and adults were buried together in Late Geometric Attica.⁹⁰⁸ Child burials are most commonly thought as simply occupying the free space available among the “more important” adult burials.⁹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the available evidence from the examined cemeteries is not in any way demonstrative of the need for economy of space; burials are rarely densely arranged within the excavated burial grounds. The careful positioning of some

⁹⁰⁸ Cavanagh 1977, 327; Morris 1987.

⁹⁰⁹ See e.g., Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 55; Vlachou 2007, 226-227.

enchytrismoι adjacently and even inside the graves of adults, as for e.g. in the Plattenbau (**Plan 5**) and at Lathouriza (**Figs 180-181**), further highlights the fact that the placement of young burials was not haphazard. On the other hand, during the same period, enchytrismoι were also attested in cemeteries, or parts of cemeteries, exclusively dedicated to children. In these grounds, these burials may constitute the exclusive burial type (e.g. the two “collective” graves at the Academy of Plato (**Plan 7**), the burial plot excavated over the Early Helladic house at the same site (**Plan 7**), Kastorias St. in the wider area of the Academy, Herakleidon St. at Theseion (**Plan 4**), and finally, Vranas at Marathon), or may be found alongside child inhumations (e.g. West Cemetery of Eleusis). It seems therefore evident that the communities utilising these grounds buried their adult members in separate locations.⁹¹⁰ This must also be the case for the few cemeteries where an extremely small number of adult burials is found among numerous enchytrismoι. Overall, the placement of enchytrismoι in Late Geometric Attica does not seem to follow a consistent pattern; children and adults could be both merged and separated in death.

From ca. 700 BC onwards, more Attic cemeteries reveal the wish for spatial separation of the distinct age categories of children and adults. Cemeteries and plots devoted (mainly or exclusively) to children become more numerous and sometimes contain very large numbers of burials (e.g. Dimitros St. in Eleusis). Nevertheless, enchytrismoι continue to be largely found in burial grounds which present a full age structure. In sharp contrast to the previous century, enchytrismoι in 6th c. BC Attica have been found in very few “child” cemeteries. On the other hand, examples from grounds containing both child and adult burials are more numerous.

⁹¹⁰ For adult cemeteries in Athens and Attica during the Late Geometric period, see Morris 1987, 83-85; Whitley 1991.

Furthermore, a small number of enchytrismoι are for the first time found in cemeteries which are mainly destined for adults (e.g. the Agora “Archaic cemetery”, Funerary Enclosures I and III at the North Necropolis of Vari). It becomes clear, therefore, that the clear separation of adult and child burial grounds frequently suggested as a feature of Archaic Attica is not as clear-cut as previously thought.⁹¹¹

The evidence from Euboea is much more consistent. Considering that burial grounds with evidence of enchytrismoι are significantly fewer than those from Attica, this need not necessarily be understood as an indication of a smaller degree of variability in burial location. During the Late Geometric, all burial grounds containing enchytrismoι, classify as “unreserved” areas, which are located within or in immediate proximity to settlement remains. Without exception, these grounds exclusively accommodate burials of the biologically youngest (foetuses, newborns, infant and young children). These young individuals are mostly buried inside enchytrismoι, and less frequently, inside pit, cist or shaft graves. In the 7th c. BC, enchytrismoι remain separated from adult burials, as demonstrated by the cemetery of the Hygionomeion in Eretria, which constitutes our almost exclusive source of information for the period. While a contemporary example is lacking from Oropos, the close affinities between the two sites cannot exclude the existence of a similarly organised necropolis which would have been reserved for enchytrismoι and maybe even child inhumations.⁹¹² Nevertheless, such a suggestion remains speculative for the time being.

A completely different picture is formed by the Boeotian evidence. There, throughout the entire Late Geometric and Archaic periods, enchytrismoι are included within the limits of

⁹¹¹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 71, Morris 1989, 313; Whitley 1994a, 54.

⁹¹² Vlachou 2007, 228.

in cemeteries with both adults and children burials. There seems therefore to be no spatial distinction between enchytrismos and non-enchytrismos burials or between burials of different age classes. The only exception may be the cemetery of Tachi during the 7th c. BC, where all attested burials belong to children. Furthermore, the few adult enchytrismoι of the Archaic period, occur together with both child enchytrismoι and other types of child and adult burials. This almost complete absence of a separation sharply contrasts with the contemporary evidence from Attica and Euboea. This circumstance comes as no surprise given that Boeotia presents considerable differences with the other two regions as regards the individual characteristics of enchytrismoι. For example, adult enchytrismoι are only known from Boeotia, as well as enchytrismoι found inside two funerary vessels which are joint at the mouth.

The second part of this chapter has distinguished between “reserved” and “unreserved” cemeteries which have provided evidence for enchytrismoι. As we have seen, it is only in Late Geometric and early 7th c. BC Attica and Euboea that unreserved cemeteries accommodating enchytrismoι have been attested.⁹¹³ These enchytrismoι belong exclusively to the biologically youngest. Placing child and infant burials, close to or within secular spaces is a phenomenon frequently encountered in various areas of the Greek world since the Neolithic period.⁹¹⁴ This tradition, at least in some sites, seems to persist during the Early Iron Age, with child graves being placed in proximity to settlements, perhaps within the groups of dwellings or, occasionally, even under house floors.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹³ All enchytrismoι from Boeotia have been unearthed in formal “reserved” cemeteries.

⁹¹⁴ McGeorge 2011, 2-3.

⁹¹⁵ This is for example attested in the Agora (inside and near the apsidal structure of the Areiopagos which is considered as a residential quarter), as well as in Volos (Palia), Kynos, Mitrou, Viglatouri, Asine, Paros (Kounounaries), and finally, Klazomenai and Smyrna in Asia Minor. The phenomenon seems to be more widespread in the beginning of the Early Iron Age, although in sites such as Eretria it seems to prevail until the end of the Geometric period. See Mazarakis Ainian 2010, 69-72.

During the Late Geometric period in Attica, a few burial grounds adhere to the earlier tradition of placing burials in proximity to settlements. The cemetery excavated on Herakleidon St. at Theseion is the only example of such a burial ground devoted exclusively to children as testified by the four enchytrismoi revealed near the Geometric apsidal building (**Plan 4**). The few other “unreserved” grounds of the Late Geometric period, namely the Agora Tholos cemetery, the cemetery on the South Slope of the Acropolis, and Thorikos West, although primarily including enchytrismoi, also contained a few adult burials (**Plans 1, 3, 9**).

Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Attic Late Geometric burial grounds accommodating enchytrismoi is located outside the known areas of settlement. It has been suggested that this was due to the increasing formalisation and delimitation of cemeteries which were found in proximity to habitations.⁹¹⁶ The walling-off of the Agora Tholos cemetery despite its immediate proximity to settlement evidence, has been used in support of this suggestion.⁹¹⁷ This is a significant development foreshadowing the complete abandonment of unreserved areas accommodating enchytrismoi from ca. 700 BC onwards, which continues until the end of the Archaic period. It should be noted that these changes do not only concern the placement of enchytrismoi in particular but also that of any other burial type.⁹¹⁸ After the first decades of the 7th c. BC all burial grounds in Attica included in our study clearly classify as cemeteries reserved exclusively for the disposal of the dead.

The gradual move of enchytrismoi towards areas of a purely funerary character is also evident in Euboea and Oropos. During the Late Geometric, enchytrismoi from Eretria and

⁹¹⁶ Morris 1987, 65.

⁹¹⁷ Morris 1987, 65. The Aghios Pandeimon cemetery at Anavyssos (Themelis 1973-1974, 108-109), near the settlement, was enclosed during the Late Geometric after being used for more than 150 years.

⁹¹⁸ Morris 1987, 65.

Oropos are exclusively encountered in “unreserved” burial plots within the inhabited areas. The impression of a gradual inclusion of young individuals in formal community cemeteries outside the settlement, may be demonstrated by Lefkandi. Here, burials from within the core of the Geometric inhabited area are entirely lacking while the single enchytrismos and child inhumation which have been unearthed were located outside the limits of the settlement, near its east harbour. Although the area around them remains unexcavated, its function as a reserved necropolis seems most likely.⁹¹⁹

In Eretria and Oropos, until the early 7th c., enchytrismoi of children and infants in association to architectural remains do not entirely perish.⁹²⁰ Nevertheless, from ca. 700 BC onwards, the formal “reserved” cemetery of the Hygionomeion, south of the settlement, becomes exclusively reserved for enchytrismoi.⁹²¹ While a contemporary example is absent from Oropos, the close affinities between the two sites may tentatively suggest the existence of a similar organised necropolis in Oropos which would have included, or would even have been reserved for, the infant and child burials of the 7th c. BC.⁹²²

The proximity of infant and child burials to secular spaces is traditionally explained with reference to the ideas of sociologists and processual archaeologists such as Hertz and Binford as regards the differential treatment of children.⁹²³ As “social non persons” closely linked to the family, such individuals would have been deprived from a resting place alongside adults,

⁹¹⁹ However, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated until excavations resume.

⁹²⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 385.

⁹²¹ Crielaard (2007, 178) has also related the Hygionomeion enchytrismoi to the presence of earlier burials of the “powerful dead of a past generation”.

⁹²² Vlachou 2007, 228. For the time being, no 7th c. BC burials have been excavated at Oropos.

⁹²³ See *supra*.

being inhumed instead close to the familial residence.⁹²⁴ The minor pollution that “could proceed from such insignificant bones”⁹²⁵ has also been considered as a factor explaining burials of the young within settlements.

This commonplace interpretation as regards child burial within secular spaces ought to be treated with caution. While burying infants and children is indeed likely to have been a family affair, their interment in the precincts of the household is not necessarily related to their status as “social non-persons”, not fully incorporated into the existing social order. The presence of a small number of adult burials alongside enchytrismoι as seen for e.g. in Thorikos West during the Late Geometric period,⁹²⁶ further denies such viewpoints. Placing young burials near the domestic sphere may indicate much more than their insignificance within social hierarchy. As Golden already suggested in 1988, it may also be a “form of sympathetic magic, a statement that the household welcomes children; or a mark of the parents’ unwillingness to give up a treasured child completely”.⁹²⁷ While we cannot answer such questions with certainty, it seems more likely that parents would decide to bury a child lost too early near the household to keep it close for as long as possible. In this context, the few adults who were sometimes interred alongside enchytrismoι may also be understood as related to the household. Although no bioarchaeological evidence for kinship ties is available, it seems likely that these adults were somehow related to the young individuals with whom they were chosen to be buried with.

The increasing inclusion of the young in formal cemeteries from the 7th c. B.C. onwards is

⁹²⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 44-5; 1995, 430-431; Garland 1985, 77-88; Mazarakis Ainian 2007-2008, 386; Vlachou 2007, 221-223.

⁹²⁵ Parker 1983, 41.

⁹²⁶ See above.

⁹²⁷ Golden 1988. The idea that burial in proximity to houses reflects the parents’ wish to keep their child “close to the heart and hearth” also briefly appears in Langdon (2007, 173).

a noticeable change in the funeral ritual which deserves further discussion. This move of infant and child burials, which are mainly materialised in the form of enchytrismoi, away from the domestic and towards the strictly funerary sphere has been suggested as demonstrating a change in the position of young individuals within the social order.⁹²⁸ In this view, young burials are a social incident which no longer only concerns the immediate family of the deceased. Instead, they begin to acquire a broader social dimension and thus deserve to be made in more public locations. Nevertheless, much like burial in proximity to dwellings is not necessarily related to low social status, the change towards interment in formal disposal areas is not indicative of a higher (real or symbolic) social position either.

One should therefore search for other plausible reasons behind the centrifugal movement of infant and child burials. Exclusion of interments from secular spaces demands both the recognition and definition of selected areas as “residential”, reflective of a regularly organised spatial arrangement, but also some degree of collective decision-making and enforcement.⁹²⁹ It seems therefore plausible to associate the movement of young burials to the contemporary context of growing urbanisation and communality accompanying the gradual formation of the city-state. Poleis would necessitate the imposition of distinct boundaries between the world of the living and that of the dead and the enforcement of these boundaries would now concern the entire community and not only adult individuals.

⁹²⁸ Houby-Nielsen 2000, esp. 162; Blandin 2007a, 65; Langdon 2007, 173.

⁹²⁹ Osborne 1996, 83 with particular reference to the exclusion of adult burials from residential areas.

VIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Inhumation inside ceramic vessels, conventionally termed “enchytrismos” in modern scholarship, is a long-lasting practice attested from the Neolithic to the end of the Roman period. Its use in the Aegean world, most likely originating in Anatolia, witnesses differing degrees of popularity throughout the centuries and between the different regions choosing to adopt it. It has been the focus of the present study to examine in detail the evidence relating to enchytrismos burials from the regions of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods (760-480 BC). During this period, enchytrismos becomes the prevalent burial rite for young individuals in all three regions, significantly enriching the archaeological record and thus offering plentiful material for a comprehensive study of this ritual. Furthermore, as the majority burial rite for “non-adults”, the investigation of enchytrismos has also allowed a particular focus on this age group whose picture for the periods in question is rather fragmentary.

As has already been highlighted, the majority of enchytrismoι forming the backbone of this investigation come from unpublished rescue excavations, which have only summarily been presented in preliminary reports and articles. Furthermore, very few excavators allowed for a consultation of the relevant excavation diaries that would help acquire more data for the individual characteristics of the burials. Notwithstanding this constraint, I believe that the present study has succeeded in exploiting the available body of data in a most constructive way.

In all three regions under study and throughout the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, the main constituents of enchytrismoι are identical. These burials were placed in the bottom of shallow or deeper pits of various sizes. Close to the bottom of these pits, the funerary vessels

were usually placed on their sides, sometimes retained in place with small stones. Their mouths were carefully sealed using stone slabs, fragments or whole other vessels, and lids. Vases found without any evidence of covers were also attested, yet the possibility that they were originally sealed with some sort of perishable material cannot be excluded. The skeletons were placed inside the vases either through their mouth or by making a very careful opening on the vessel's body, usually on the belly. After placing the cadaver, this opening was resealed with the removed fragment. The grave goods associated to enchytrismoι seem to have been deposited intact, either within the funerary vessels or outside, in their immediate proximity. A number of enchytrismoι also contained offerings that were placed both inside and outside the burial urns. In only a few instances enchytrismoι were surmounted by grave markers mainly in the form of stone slabs or piles of stones. In exceptional cases, enchytrismoι were found associated to ritual pyres.

Burials may be studied not only as biological but also as cultural entities since each distinct funerary treatment is imbued with meanings, which are socially and culturally constructed. As any other kind of social act, a burial constitutes the material manifestation of the rites afforded to a particular group of individuals and may thus provide meaningful insight for the society in which it took form. The decision to provide any distinct mortuary treatment is an active decision of the living when confronted to the death of these individuals. As such, it is mainly the behaviour of the living towards the deceased that is explored in any investigation of burial rites. Based on the above premises, the present study has focused on three distinct aspects, inextricably linked and interconnected to one another: the identification and description of the rite of enchytrismos, the individuals chosen to be buried inside such burials, and, finally, how these individuals were treated in the event of their death.

Describing the process entailed when performing an enchytrismos is a particularly acute task, particularly since ancient sources are completely silent regarding the particular funerary rite. It is thus only through the available archaeological evidence that one may attempt to reconstruct and describe how an enchytrismos took place. As any other mortuary ritual, an enchytrismos consists of a series of actions initiated after the individual's death. These include the preparation of the deceased and their placement inside the funerary vase, the transportation from the household towards the burial ground, the placement of the vase inside the burial pit, the deposition of offerings, as well as all other ritual actions taking place at the grave. It needs to be noted, however, that at least some of the aspects of the burial ritual may have not favoured the creation of material testimonies or, at least, their preservation in the archaeological record. It is therefore very likely that some of the facets that constituted the burial ritual are concealed from the archaeologist.

In the present dataset, the only significant piece of information as regards the preparation of the deceased is their position inside the funerary vessel. Unfortunately, the evidence available in this respect is rather fragmentary (Chapter IV). However, as we have seen, in all three regions, at least some of the deceased were placed in a contracted position inside the burial vessels.⁹³⁰ This observation clearly indicates that the bodies were introduced inside the urns when they were not under the influence of *rigor mortis*.⁹³¹ This post-mortem rigidity, frequently identified as the third stage of death, commences two hours after dying, reaches its full development three to six hours post-mortem and lasts for a total of 24 to 36

⁹³⁰ As see for e.g. in Attica, Appendix A: Cat. Nos 5-6 and 17 (Agora). Also in Euboea, Appendix B: Cat. No. 110 (Oropos) and Boeotia, Appendix C: Cat. No. 2 (Northeast cemetery of Thebes); Cat. No. 33 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 62, 64, 67, 71, 72, 74 (Rhitsona).

⁹³¹ Angeletopoulos 2013, 163-164.

hours.⁹³² Therefore, the placement of the body of the deceased inside the funerary vessel must have taken place either within the first two or three hours after death, before the stiffening of the body, or after the effect of rigidity had worn out, i.e. 24-36 hours later.

In my view, the first possibility should be excluded, firstly, because of the time needed to confirm death, and secondly, because of the time-consuming process surrounding an enchytrismos. As the present study has demonstrated, particular types of vases were employed for the burials, some of which had to undergo a delicate procedure for the insertion of the corpse (Chapter V). In most cases, this was supplemented by an equally careful choice as regards the associated funerary offerings (Chapter VI). Finally, the majority of enchytrismoï were discovered in burial grounds that were located outside the limits of contemporary settlement areas (Chapter VII). Consequently, a certain amount of time would be necessary for the transportation of the deceased towards these burial locations. Taking into account the combination of the above factors, it is highly unlikely that the inhumation of the deceased could have occurred within the first two hours after the time of death.

The social and ritual acts which could have taken place until the time of burial cannot be clearly apprehended in the absence of written testimonies. Nevertheless, given the care and attention devoted to enchytrismoï and the time that intervened between death and burial, we cannot exclude the possibility of the body being washed and anointed, laid out on a bier and/or ritually mourned. Information on such preparations is abundant in written and pictorial sources of the Classical period, as well as from modern rural areas of the Greek world.⁹³³ Although the death of infants and young children, who constitute the vast majority of individuals found

⁹³² Tsokos 2005, 199-203.

⁹³³ Alexiou 1974, 39-42.

inside enchytrismoi (Chapter IV), would not have had an impact on the wider community, the immediate family of the deceased could have been involved in such acts. Since responsibilities of this kind fell primarily on women,⁹³⁴ it is not hard to imagine that the mothers and other female relatives of the prematurely lost individuals would hold pride of place in this respect.

The only other piece of information as regards the preparation of the deceased may be found in the few jewellery items, body, head and dress ornaments that were occasionally found alongside the dead body inside the funerary vessels. Such items are almost completely lacking from Attic and Euboean enchytrismoi but are abundant in their Boeotian counterparts, especially during the Archaic period (Chapter VI). It needs to be noted that such objects were found inside the enchytrismoi of both adults and children. The presence of pins and fibulae inside graves is commonly accepted as indicative of the clothing or shrouding of the deceased. The small number of jewellery items such as rings and necklaces, as well as other accessories such as spiral tubes and head ornaments, could also have been worn by the deceased before being placed inside the burial vases.

Another issue worth exploring is whether the deceased was placed inside the vase that would serve as their final resting place before being transported to the burial location or, afterwards, in the vicinity of the grave. Practical reasons argue for the second possibility. In this way, the weight of the deceased and of the vessel, which could sometimes be quite substantial,⁹³⁵ would be split among the persons responsible for transporting and placing the burial inside the grave.

⁹³⁴ Ibid., 4-6.

⁹³⁵ See, for example, the adult enchytrismoi in Chapter IV, and the burial vessels of considerable dimensions in Chapter V such as those exceeding 1.0m and even reaching 1.40m in Attica (e.g. Appendix A: Cat. Nos 25, 196, 220-221), the enchytrismoi inside pithoi from Boeotia reaching 1.60m,

Offering deposition must have taken place immediately after the deceased was introduced inside the burial vase, therefore, at the location of the grave. As we have seen in Chapter VI, a number of offerings was usually placed inside the funerary vessels alongside the dead body and, thus, before the container was sealed. On the other hand, the deposition of offerings outside and around the funerary container must have taken place after the funerary vase was deposited inside the pit. This is further corroborated by the pouring function of many of the artefacts found outside the urns which could have been used for libations poured onto the grave. The absence of grave markers from the overwhelming majority of the enchytrismoι under study⁹³⁶ may, on the one hand, indicate that the family of the deceased did not visit the grave after the funeral and did not return to perform further funerary rituals. On the other hand, the existence of some sort of marker made of perishable materials such as wood cannot be excluded.

As has already been stressed, the non-recovery and/or non-exploitability of osteoarchaeological material proved a major limitation for the present study. This may be resolved by future research if further emphasis is placed to the careful recovery of bone remains and on the use of scientific analyses as a means for reconstructing skeletal biographies. The potential of such studies when it comes to the study of the young has become abundantly clear in recent years. Prominent examples are the ongoing bioarchaeological projects of the cemeteries at Phaleron in the outskirts of Athens and Kylindra on the island of Astypalaia, both

as well as those inside double pithoi combined to form a single funerary container which could exceed 2.0m (e.g. Appendix C: Cat. Nos 28, 30 (Aghia Eleousa); Cat. Nos 98-99 (Akraiphia).

⁹³⁶ The only exceptions being Appendix A: Cat. No. 278 (Vari Southeast Necropolis); Cat. No. 286 (Vari North Necropolis); Appendix B: Cat. No. 6 (Eretria, Roussos plot); Cat. No. 102 (Oropos).

of which aim in illuminating aspects of past biology and pathology for the deceased buried within them.

Despite the constraints presented by the available skeletal evidence, the deceased buried inside enchytrismoι have been identified as belonging to distinct age groups (Chapter IV). Both similarities and differences have been observed in this respect between the three regions under study. In Attica and Euboea, the rite of enchytrismos almost exclusively concerned the biologically youngest, clearly indicating that age was an important criterion for its selection. The treatment of the young as a separate group in death indicates the will of the living to emphasise the distinction between “adults” and “non-adults” through the choice of a distinct burial treatment. This observation also holds true in the context of late 8th c. Boeotia. Nevertheless, from the early 7th c. BC onwards, age ceases to be a deciding parameter that influences the choice of enchytrismos as a mode of disposal in Boeotian cemeteries: alongside those of young individuals, enchytrismoι of adults become increasingly common.

Since enchytrismos becomes the predominant burial rite for young individuals from the late 8th to the early 5th c. BC, the burials under study are those that clearly mark the breach with earlier mortuary practices, which excluded the majority of young persons from formal disposal. However, despite the observed increase in enchytrismoι in the Late Geometric and their firm presence until the end of the Archaic period, their relatively small number can certainly not have been representative of infant and child mortality rate of a pre-industrial society.⁹³⁷ The same is true for the non-enchytrismos burials of infants and young children which are also extremely few. This observation further illuminates the complex attitudes of the living towards their youngest members: the choice of an archaeologically visible mode of

⁹³⁷ *Contra*, Sallares 1991, 122-129.

disposal for the young, whether in the form of an enchytrismos or a pit inhumation, was not universally practiced in the communities under study. It becomes apparent, therefore, that these individuals were not treated as a uniform and undemanding social category, but rather—much like adults—as a complex one, whose treatment in death was subjected to parameters other than age. Such factors could include sex and rank within the social unit, religious beliefs and worldviews, and even personal family choices. Unfortunately, as has been discussed, these factors cannot be more specifically identified in the current state of research.

Although the rite of enchytrismos was not a uniform social choice, the individuals chosen to be buried inside ceramic vessels seem to have acquired the right to an archaeologically visible mode of disposal at the moment of their first contact with the world of the living. The evidence of enchytrismoι belonging to foetuses and stillborns in Attica and Euboea may further suggest that this contact could have even been a lifeless one. This observation is particularly important for the understanding of how this particular segment of the population was perceived by their respective communities and clearly refutes the identification of all “non-adults” as social “non-members” who did not merit the honours of a formal burial.

The use of ceramic containers for the interment of the biologically youngest has received two remarkably dissimilar interpretations throughout the years, none of which may be adequately substantiated in the context of the present study. Firstly, the available evidence has made it abundantly clear that there is no reason to see enchytrismos as a careless and inexpensive mode of disposal suitable for the more “insignificant” and neglected members of society. The variety in the vases used for the interments as well as the types of vessels which were employed have clearly invalidated this claimed lack of attention devoted to enchytrismoι.

The decorative themes on some of the vases have also demonstrated that these were sometimes carefully selected to serve as receptacles for the bodies of “untimely children” (Chapter V). Their choice would emphasise the high social standing of their families and even the aristocratic ideals that death deprived them from. The second, more recent and highly elaborated, interpretation of inhumation of the young inside ceramic vessels recognises it as a symbolic allusion of the return to the maternal womb. Although imbued with intricate social and symbolic meanings, this analogy could not be corroborated by either the individual characteristics of the enchytrismoι which have been examined or by the wider mortuary context of Attica, Euboea and Boeotia during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods.

The present study has advanced an alternative suggestion for the understanding of the rite of enchytrismos that puts forward the distinct material and functional qualities of the objects chosen to serve as funerary containers. Resilient to the ravages of time, ceramic vessels would provide the way for protecting and preserving the fragile skeleton of the corpse. Furthermore, in their primary function as receptacles, vases would envelop and enclose the dead body providing a clear delimitation of the space appropriated by the deceased. As such, the rite of enchytrismos demonstrates a particular attention devoted to the protection and preservation of the dead body. In this respect, the vases employed should rather be understood as coffins, even more resistant than those made of wood. The choice of burying only a proportion of similarly aged individuals inside such containers should not be seen as problematic; in the same way as only some families chose to use wooden coffins, stone or clay sarcophagi when inhuming their deceased, others chose to bury their young inside ceramic vessels. Much unlike the “pot as womb” analogy, the desire to enclose and protect the dead body through the use of such vases is not contradicted by the existence of enchytrismoι which

belong to adults, as those from Boeotia. Furthermore, the funerary use of vases that were originally intended for the transport and storage of commodities could also demonstrate a desire to connect the deceased to the family household in perpetuity. This suggestion contradicts the generally accepted view that the death of young individuals only provoked a minor social reaction. On the contrary, their interment inside objects indispensable for sustaining the *oikos* further emphasises the care and attention devoted to their burial treatment. This need to remain connected with the household can also demonstrate an unwillingness of the living to be separated completely from the prematurely lost children, attempting to retain them symbolically within the family sphere.

The examination of other aspects of the funerary ritual such as the grave offerings (Chapter VI) has further corroborated the view that the rite of enchytrismos was a carefully conceived and materialised social act. Although the enchytrismoι under study systematically lack objects made of precious materials and can thus in no way be characterised as “affluent” burials, the choice of the associated grave goods clearly demonstrates that offering deposition patterns were not haphazard. This is especially evident in the recurrent placement inside enchytrismoι of small and miniature vessels related to drinking, sometimes forming complete “drinking sets” in a reduced scale. This pattern is common among all three regions under study and throughout the Late Geometric and Archaic periods. The regularity with which such vases were deposited indicates that they were considered an important and appropriate provision for the deceased buried inside enchytrismoι. There is no reason to interpret this restricted range of offering types as a sign of neglect, since infants and young children had not yet acquired distinct social roles that could easily be reflected in their funerary assemblages.

Alongside this systematic and uniform deposition, regional and chronological particularities have also been observed. Different types of vases which seem to have held an active role in the funerary ritual were placed inside enchytrismoi in each region during different time periods. For example, in Late Geometric and 7th c. Attica, coarse ware pitchers of regular size were found within the burial pits, while lekythoi became an indispensable part of the funerary assemblage during the 6th c. BC. Such vases could have held an active role in the funerary ritual for the pouring of libations, for anointing the bodies of the deceased or of the participants at the funeral, further demonstrating the care and attentiveness which was devoted to these burials. On the other hand, in Boeotia, during the Archaic period, enchytrismoi were regularly associated to large numbers of aryballoi and alabastra, terracotta figurines, and metal objects destined for the ornamentation of the body and dress of the deceased. This does not only demonstrate a funerary consumption of increased scale within the context of Archaic Boeotia but also an additional emphasis placed on the individualisation of the furnishings provided to the deceased.

Since placement of burials forms part of the funerary ritual, the spatial organisation of enchytrismoi has also illuminated aspects related to the symbolic integration or separation of the deceased from the existing social order. Attica has exhibited considerable variability in this respect: throughout the Late Geometric and Archaic periods adults and children were both merged and separated in death (Chapter VII). This lack of uniformity constitutes a novel observation for the Archaic period for which most scholars suggest a clear-cut separation between “adult” and “child” burial grounds.⁹³⁸ The spatial organisation of Attic enchytrismoi

⁹³⁸ E.g. Georgoulaki 1996, 104; Morris 1987; 1998, 27. On the other hand, the merging of children and adults in most Late Geometric cemeteries and plots, with the parallel existence of a smaller number of

during this period, however, demonstrates that although “child” cemeteries indeed become more numerous when compared to the Late Geometric period, it was more frequent for child and adult burials to coexist. Therefore, although the young were provided with a different funerary ritual (enchytrismos), they were not always buried in distinct locations. In comparison to Attica, the evidence from Euboea and Boeotia is characterised by a more consistent character throughout all periods covered by this study, with each region, however, standing on an opposite direction: in Euboea, “non-adults” and “adults” seem to have been mainly buried in separate locations whereas Boeotian cemeteries clearly present a full age structure.

The placement of enchytrismoι in relation to settlement areas has also helped determine the existence of principles of inclusion and/or exclusion of non-adults from traditional areas devoted exclusively to the dead. The centrifugal movement of infant and child burials towards formal disposal areas clearly located outside the limits of the settlement occurred at different times within each region under study (Chapter VII). While in Attica enchytrismoι in proximity to dwellings remain an infrequent phenomenon in the context of Late Geometric period, Euboea completely adheres to this principle of spatial organisation until the beginning of the 7th c. BC. On the other hand, in Boeotia, all burials, including enchytrismoι, were completely dissociated from settlement areas even before the beginning of the Late Geometric period. Much like burial in proximity to dwellings should not be related to the perception of the young as unworthy of a resting place alongside adults, their movement towards formal disposal areas is not indicative of a change in their social position. It seems much more plausible to interpret this development as connected to the increased formalisation and organisation of the urban

“child cemeteries”, has been observed from most scholars for the Late Geometric period. See e.g. Pomadère 2005; Morris 1987; 1988, 27.

space, which would eventually lead to the formation of the “city-state”, and the concurrent appearance of norms regulating social activities.

It needs to be underlined that the present investigation has functioned as a case study of a much broader phenomenon; an analysis of the evidence for enchytrismoι from other regions can provide a better understanding of the rite and of the reasons behind its use for distinct groups of individuals. Among the most interesting cases for comparison is the aforementioned site of Kylindra which constitutes the unique example of a cemetery exclusively reserved for enchytrismoι that thrived between the Late Geometric and the 1st c. AD. The number of such burials excavated to the present day surpasses 2750. According to the osteological analyses carried out so far, these enchytrismoι belong to foetuses, stillborns, infants, but also children up to the age of three years. Very few of the excavated enchytrismoι contained grave offerings. The cemetery at Kylindra has been interpreted as having a special cultic significance due to the nearby discovery of inscriptions mentioning the goddesses Eileithyia (the divine midwife) and Artemis Lochia (the protector of childbirth).⁹³⁹ Even through this short description it becomes evident that, despite the use of the same funerary custom, the burials at Kylindra diverge in many respects from the enchytrismoι which have been examined in this thesis. Therefore, through this comparison, the rite of enchytrismos emerges as a more multi-faceted burial custom than it appears in the context of the present study.

⁹³⁹ Clement, Hillson, and Michalaki-Kollia 2009; Michalaki-Kollia 2010a; 2010b; 2013. Although the study of osteological material from this cemetery as part of UCL’s bioarchaeological project is progressing at a rapid rate, despite the fact that 10 years have passed, the study of the material culture associated to the burials, mainly funerary vases and a few grave goods, has not commenced yet.

The discussion of the present study can also serve a fundamentally different purpose, namely as a means for illuminating aspects of cultural connections and links between different sites. A stimulating group for comparison in this respect can be formed by Euboea and the sites of Mende in Chalkidike and Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia in the Western Mediterranean, which have been plausibly identified as Euboean *emporía* (trading posts) or *apoikiai*.⁹⁴⁰ Since the evidence of mortuary rites is often featured in debates of Greek “colonisation”,⁹⁴¹ a comparison of the enchytrismoι from these two sites to those from Euboea could shed further light on their (similar or divergent) attitudes towards their youngest members and thus, on the nature of their relationship to the “motherland”.

Overall, the study which has been undertaken has contributed to the apprehension of a largely unexplored burial rite and its distinctive characteristics. Through the systematic examination of Attic, Euboean and Boeotian enchytrismoι and the place they occupied within the wider mortuary record, the often neglected category of the biologically youngest has been brought to the fore as one whose untimely demise could initiate a carefully planned and materialised funerary treatment.

⁹⁴⁰ For the graves excavated in the cemeteries of Mende and Pithekoussai, see Moschonissioti 2004; 2014 (mainly on the vessels used as funerary containers) and Buchner and Ridgway 1993 respectively. For discussions on their relationship to Euboea, see Moschonissioti 1998; 2004; 2014 (Mende). For Pithekoussai, see e.g. the discussions between d’Agostino 1994; 2009; 2011; Greco 1994; Mele 2003; 2014, 5-39. Cf. Kotsonas 2012b).

⁹⁴¹ Kotsonas 2012b, 246.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations for periodicals and book series are those of the American Journal of Archaeology (<https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/journals-series>)

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