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The cover illustration depicts a Bronze Statuette
of a Horse found at the Argive Heraion. NM 13943.
Drawing by Niels Levinsen. See p. 55, Fig. 19.

“Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos

Sanne Helene
Houby-Nielsen

Abstract

In this article I attempt to present main tendencies in the archaeological record of Kerameikos 700-400 B.C. In Part I, I seek to clarify the general principles of family self-representation. Changing conceptions of age groups and the male and female sex in Athenian society will be seen to play a dominant role and be responsible for a general lack of family burial plots, but also for the difficulty of deciding whether Attic burial customs reflect the existence of larger kinship organizations. Main structuring principles in vase painting are seen as useful analogies to the way gender roles were expressed in the actual burial contexts.

In Part II, I deal with the several large tumuli excavated in Kerameikos and in the Attic countryside. Contrary to current scholarly opinion, which regards these tumuli as some of the few certain cases of true family burial plots, I interpret them as extreme examples of the will to express gender roles in burial practice. I thus argue that some of these tumuli rather commemorate socio-political associations such as sympotic and priestly associations.

Finally, in Part III, I briefly comment upon the relation between the archaeology of Kerameikos and the reforms of Kleisthenes.

Introduction

The main purpose of the present article is to show some of the vast possibilities which the study of Archaic and Classical burials may afford for augmenting our knowledge of Athenian society.¹

There is a long archaeological tradition

for studying the relationship between mortuary practice and social structure. The theoretical basis has been formulated in particular by Anglo-Saxon archaeologists. For many years, the underlying belief was that social structure is mirrored in burial practice: the more complex the burial customs, the more complex was the burying society.²

In classical archaeology, interest in the relation between burial customs and the rise of the Greek city-state is linked to this debate.³ In other connections, ancient Greek burial practice has sometimes been used as a direct source for elucidating kinship relations and genealogies.⁴

Recently, I. Morris has, among other things, demonstrated how the ritual and symbolic aspects of burial customs in some cases impede a direct decoding of aspects of the burying society (e.g. demography, invasions, trade, health conditions).⁵ In this he follows recent criticism of former “processual” archaeology put forward by “contextual” archaeologists.⁶ Still, Morris also sees a rather direct relationship between mortuary practice in Attica 1100–500 and social organization. This is particularly apparent in his argumentation for “law-like” relations between certain social groups (*agathoi* and *kakoi*) and certain funerary practices.⁷

J. Whitley has lately presented a study on the relation between ceramic style, funerary ritual and social organization in Greece 1100–700, in which he focuses especially on Athens.⁸ In this work, he emphasizes among other things how in Athens differences in ceramic style and funerary practice are in several periods clearly related to age and sex.⁹ On the other hand, he also correlates variations over

NOTE 1

Unless stated otherwise, all dates in this article are B.C.

NOTE 2

Binford 1971; Saxe 1970; for a history of archaeological thought, Trigger 1989, 289–263.

NOTE 3

Snodgrass 1977.

NOTE 4

Ker. VI.1, 16 and VII.1, 199–201; Bourriot 1976, 831–1039.

NOTE 5

Morris 1987, 57–71 and 1992, 70–102.

NOTE 6

Hodder 1985 and 1986, 18–33.

NOTE 7

Morris 1987, 57–155, esp. 94–95.

NOTE 8

Whitley 1991b.

NOTE 9

Whitley 1991b, 96, 105, 110–111, 132–136, 156–158.

time in grave assemblages (e.g. wealth) to a development from a less institutionalized hierarchical organization to a firmly established one with a well-defined élite.¹⁰

The present study focuses on Kerameikos 700–400. I hope to show that in this period the relation “burial customs – living society” is very indirect. I will argue that a burial procedure was mainly perceived as an occasion to elaborate upon the reputation of the burying group, the close family. For this reason, burial practice was defined by the society’s changing moral *concepts* pertaining to age and sex. The implications of my argumentation are i.a. that not only do burials not mirror genealogy, but they are also most difficult to use in reconstructing the size of family units and the strength of family ties. Moreover, ancient age concepts and gender roles impede the reconstruction of social hierarchies and property classes. On the other hand, burials are found to offer valuable information on *aspects* and *expressions* of family self-representation and of élite status.

My argument that burial practice – in ways very similar to funerary art and epitaphs – serves to express and formulate mental images pertaining to age and sex does not make material remains of funerary rituals stand apart from other aspects of material culture in Athenian society – on the contrary. For instance, several scholars have emphasized a lack of concrete actions or instantaneous situations in Attic vase painting and instead pointed to their reference to superior notions relating to notions of womanliness, manliness, legitimate marriage, and uncivilized and animal-like behaviour.¹¹

All in all, the result of my research has been an insight into what I think can best be called a “burial language”.

Part I. Family self-representation in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos

For a long time, early Greek society was thought to have been dominated by few,

but large kinship groups (*gené*), who referred to a common mythical ancestor, possessed their own cults and based their power on hereditary, extensive landed property. These powerful families were thought to bury their dead in private cemeteries, situated on their estates in order to create a more profound sense of property and attachment to the land. F. Bourriot has delivered a 1421-page-long study of this conception.¹² In a critical analysis of written sources and historiography he argues that our notion of *genos* is anachronistic, being coloured by the role *genos* plays in 4th cent. and later sources. To strengthen his argument, he devotes about 200 pages to a survey of funerary practice – including that of Kerameikos – in which he attempts to prove a lack of evidence for kinship burial plots extending over more than one or two generations, exceptionally four generations, before the 4th cent. Generally, scholars working within funerary archaeology seem to accept Bourriot’s conclusions on Attic burial practice.¹³ Nevertheless, as pointed out by S. Humphreys¹⁴, even (nuclear) family burial groups are not easily identified before the 4th cent. in Attica. Burials, especially in the Archaic period, tend to be individually marked by a tumulus or grave building. Such burials often lie in groups, within which it is most difficult to distinguish family units. And for reasons discussed in Part II, I do not think huge mounds covering many burials necessarily are traditional family tombs. Homer never mentions family tombs. On the contrary, we hear of *sema*, a mound heaped up over an individual or over friends.¹⁵ Also the many Archaic funerary inscriptions and the iconography of grave monuments (*kouroi*, *korai* and grave steles) never stress family ties of the deceased, but rather commemorate the deceased in terms of public values (which I will discuss in more detail later on). Even in the 4th cent., when rows of grave enclosures (*periboloi*)¹⁶ and the iconography of grave monuments do stress family unity,¹⁷ we still find isolated burials in between grave enclosures.¹⁸

This impression of a recurring lack of

NOTE 10
Whitley 1991b, 96–97, 136–137; see also Whitley 1991a, 357.

NOTE 11
Hoffmann 1977; Sourvinou-Inwood 1987; Meyer 1988.

NOTE 12
Bourriot 1976.

NOTE 13
Humphreys 1980, 123 warns against the concept of “squirearchy”; Morris 1987, 90; Whitley 1991b, 67; for some reservation towards Bourriot’s study, see D’Agostino/D’Onofrio 1993, 42.

NOTE 14
Humphreys 1980.

NOTE 15
Od xi 75–6; *Il.* xxiii 245–248; xxiv 797–801

NOTE 16
Garland 1982.

NOTE 17
Humphreys 1980, 112–121.

NOTE 18
For non-periboloi burials, see AM 1966:1, 77 and Garland 1982, n.s 37, 63, 68.

NOTE 19
Littman 1978; Ober 1989, 56.

NOTE 20
Littman 1978, 18; Just
1991(2), 55.

NOTE 21
Bourriot 1976, 831-1039.

NOTE 22
Bourriot 1976, 984

NOTE 23
Bourriot 1976, 933-934,
948, 978, 982

NOTE 24
Bourriot 1976, 934, 944,
948-949

NOTE 25
Bourriot 1976, 955-956,
n. 237

NOTE 26
Ker. VI.1, 16.

NOTE 27
Ker. IX, 10.

NOTE 28
See above n. ...

NOTE 29
Desborough 1952, 5-6;
Krause 1975, 45-47.

NOTE 30
Whitley 1991a, 356-357
and 1991b, 131, 160.

NOTE 31
Boardman 1988.

NOTE 32
Kokula 1984, 13, 146-148.

NOTE 33
Boardman 1988, 178, has
some doubts.

NOTE 34
Mastrokostas 1972.

NOTE 35
Morris 1987, 57-71.

interest in stressing kinship in burial customs certainly conflicts with a historic line of research that emphasizes the importance of *oikos* and inter-*oikos* co-operation as a social and political factor in Archaic and Classical Athens, and sees the *oikos* of Periclean Athens as the foundation stone of the *polis*.¹⁹ If the *oikoi* died out, so would the city-state.²⁰

It is certainly not my intention to argue against Bourriot's general conclusions about *genos*. On the other hand, I do hope to show that a closer look at the structuring principles of family self-representation in Kerameikos can solve some of the problems outlined above and also to show that it is not appropriate to use burial customs to argue against the existence of larger kinship organizations.

Age and gender: the main structuring principles

Bourriot found, as mentioned above, no evidence for kinship burial plots extending over more than one or two, exceptionally four, generations before the 4th cent.²¹ It appears from his study that in order to speak of a *genos* burial plot, Bourriot required one or more of the following conditions to be fulfilled. Firstly, all members of the *genos* should be represented generation after generation. Secondly, a certain formal similarity between burials of the family members should obtain with respect to interment-forms and body-orientation.²² Thirdly, the genealogy of the *genos* should be commemorated in inscriptions.²³ Fourthly, members should be buried in the same tumulus or enclosure.²⁴ In fact Bourriot is sceptical towards the idea that a family may have been represented through a group of individually marked graves²⁵, as K. Kübler had suggested.²⁶

U. Knigge, the excavator of the *Südhügel* in Kerameikos appears to share some of Bourriot's views. Thus, she believes that *Grabhügel G* is possibly a family burial plot, since several of its burials are formally very similar.²⁷

In my opinion, however, Bourriot's re-

jection of evidence for *gené* burial plots lacks a consideration of the general principles of family self-representation in Archaic and Classical burial practice.

As immediately appears from a quick survey of various studies of Attic burial practice in the Archaic and Classical periods, burial practice appears to be related to age and sex. It has, for instance, been shown that Iron Age burial customs in the Kerameikos were often organized along lines of age and sex in terms of choice of grave gifts, grave form, vessel type used as container for the remains of the deceased and choice of grave marker.²⁸

In the earlier Iron Age the neck-handled *amphora* generally marked male burials and the belly- (or shoulder-) handled *amphora* female burials.²⁹ In the later part of the Iron Age (Late Geometric) *craters* marked male burials and *amphorae* female burials. Stylistic features in the Geometric period apparently also played an increasing role in expressing differences in sex and age.³⁰ This strict sex-determined use of marker-vases characteristic of the Iron Age in fact persisted in Archaic and Classical times in the shape of the funerary *loutrophoros-amphora* (male) and the *loutrophoros-hydria* (female).³¹ These vase shapes have been connected with a remark made by pseudo-Demosthenes (*contra Leochrem* XLIV 18) and later lexicographers stating that a *loutrophoros* marked the grave of a young man or woman who had died unwed.³² Whether or not the archaeological *loutrophoros* is the same as the literary one,³³ these remarks correlate nicely with the Phrasikleia-epitaph commemorating an unwed girl of the 6th cent.³⁴ and show that certain publicly defined age groups and gender roles could define burial customs.

I. Morris has pointed out the remarkable fluctuation in Attica of burial plots and cemeteries, which sometimes exclude (Protogeometric to Middle Geometric), sometimes include children (Sub-Mycenaean, Late Geometric and Early Red Figure).³⁵ Certainly, this fluctuation must be caused by differing attitudes to children in the society as a whole.

The extent to which sex, or rather concepts of sex and age, determined burial customs is especially striking in the choice of grave monument and funerary inscriptions in the Archaic and Classical periods. Thus grave monuments were primarily erected to honour the young man in the shape of *kouroi* and grave steles. Inscriptions of the latter render the young man anonymous (without *patrinomikon*), and he is commemorated for public virtues, not private (or family) ones: *kalos*, *agathos*, *sophrosyne*, *pistos*, *euksunetos*, *eudokos*, *promaxos*, and notions of “beautiful death”.³⁶ Probably, funerary inscriptions were regarded as a public (here in the sense of “state”) medium, since this was how writing on stone markers in general was conceived of.³⁷ As women had no place in politics, this circumstance could certainly help to explain why 6th cent. Attic funerary epigrams almost exclusively concern men, while representations of female *prothesis* scenes are more common than male ones on funerary plaques.³⁸ Still, in the 4th cent. epitaphs still commemorate men twice as often as women,³⁹ while representations of women outnumber those of men on contemporary steles.⁴⁰ Already A. Brueckner drew attention to this principle of commemorating men through name inscriptions on fairly plain steles and women through iconography on elaborate reliefs.⁴¹

Finally, in an entertaining study on tragedies, N. Loraux has shown how in these, men died violent, bloody – and thus heroic – deaths (usually by the sword), while women died “private”, unbloody and thus un-heroic deaths (usually by hanging) inside the house. And when women died “virile” deaths and men “female” deaths, this had a special significance.⁴²

In the following description of main tendencies in the archaeological record of Kerameikos 700–400, I hope to show in more detail the extent to which society’s concepts regarding age and sex determined burial customs.

Main tendencies in the archaeological record of Kerameikos 700–400 B.C.

Age⁴³

Certainly, social evaluation of age plays a significant role in burial customs in Kerameikos. As becomes evident from Table 1, the frequency of adult burials ranges between 60.0 and 85.6% (exceptionally 50.0%) in the 7th and 6th cent. Around 500, the picture suddenly changes, and child burials outnumber adult burials, being slightly over 50%. This change accompanies a drastic increase in the number of burials per annum (Table 2).⁴⁴ Suddenly, adult burial activity doubles, while child burial activity almost quadruples as part of a continuously rising curve culminating between 475 and 450. Morris has argued convincingly that when children are not represented (or heavily under-represented) in formal, archaeologically manifested burial plots, this cannot be a matter of poor preservation, but must be due to exclusion of children on the basis of rank within age group.⁴⁵ In other words, children were buried elsewhere.⁴⁶ Child necropoleis and child burials within settlements support this view.⁴⁷ Conversely, I think a sudden “over-representation” of children testifies to a different notion of children in the burying society. I will discuss this in more detail below.

Even when children were buried in Kerameikos, they often seem to have been buried apart from adults: between 700 and 560, child burials tend to cluster at the fringe of groups of tumuli and grave buildings each marking a single adult burial, or in separate areas towards the west and north-west of the Ay. Triadha hill and in a burial plot (“F”) situated north of the Eridanos (Figs. 1–3). They certainly may be mixed with some adult burials, but interestingly enough in several cases such not marked by a tumulus or a grave building, just as child burials were never marked by such monuments. In other words, child burials seem to be grouped with adult burials of a certain (low?) status making status a major organizing principle

NOTE 36

In general, see Humphreys 1980, esp. 92; for 6th cent. B.C. Attic funerary epigrams containing the quoted virtues: Peek 1960, 50; Richter 1961, no. 34, no. 36, Willemsen 1963, no. 2, no. 4, no. 11, no. 12; Jeffery 1962, 118 no. 3, 120 nos. 8 and 9, 121 no. 12, 130 no. 23, 130 no. 25, 132 no. 31, 136 no. 41, 137 no. 45, 140 nos. 49 and 50, 141 no. 51, 143 no. 56, 147 nos. 66–68. For the over-representation of funerary *kouroi* in relation to funerary *korai*, see Ducat 1976.

NOTE 37

Thomas 1989, esp. 45–47, 55.

NOTE 38

Shapiro 1991, 639 n. 55 based on Brooklyn 1981, 162–219.

NOTE 39

Hansen et al. 1990, 26, n. 11.

NOTE 40

Shapiro 1991, 158 based on a rough tabulation of Conze 1890–1922; see also Garland 1985, 87.

NOTE 41

Brueckner 1909, 106

NOTE 42

Loraux 1991, 7–30, esp. 14.

NOTE 43

For convenience I use the term “adults”, although in reality I deal with non-children. For definitions of age groups, I refer to Appendix 2.

NOTE 44

Compare Morris 1987, 73, fig. 22.

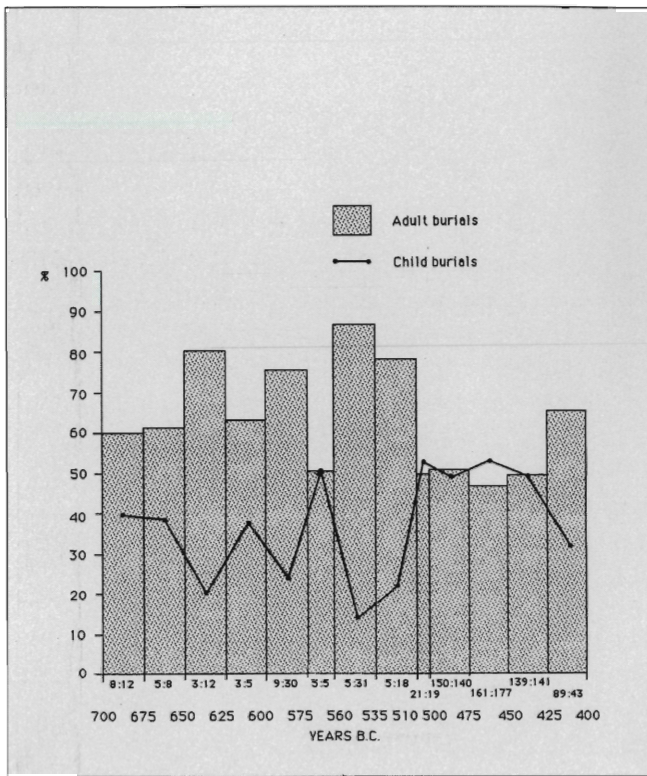


Table 1 The frequency of child and adult burials in Kerameikos 710/700-400 B.C.

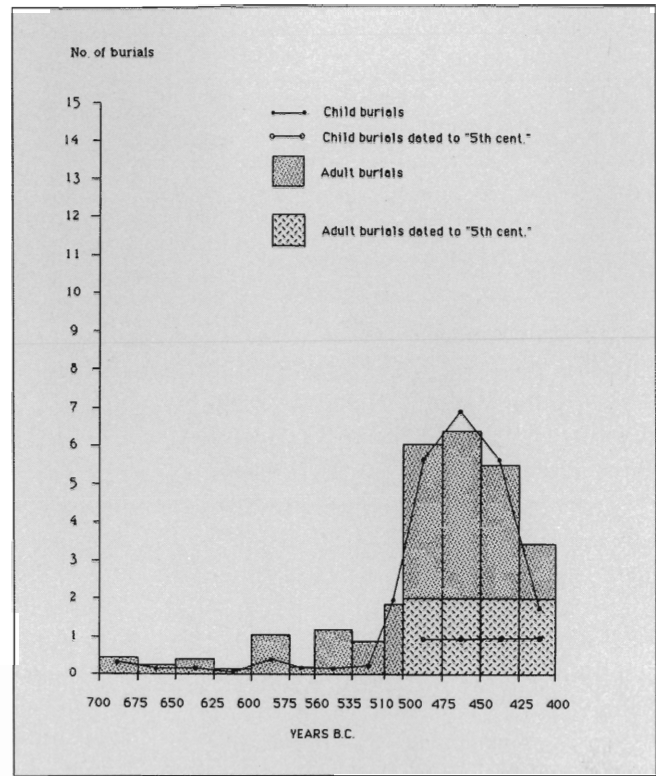


Table 2 The number of child and adult burials per annum in Kerameikos 710/700-400 B.C.

NOTE 45
Morris 1987, 57-109, esp. 93.

NOTE 46
For "invisible" burials, see
Morris 1987, 62, 93, 94, 105.

NOTE 47
Young 1942 and 1951;
Morris 1987, 62-71.

NOTE 48
Olynthus XI, no. 364.

even within family groupings. This tendency to separate adults and children (or perhaps to group children with adults of a similar - possibly lower - status as that of children) also characterizes Kerameikos in the remaining part of the 6th cent. and in the 5th cent. For apart from area "D" - to be discussed below - child burials are grouped with rather simple adult burials in the period 560-500 (Figs. 4-6). Again, like the child burials, these adult burials were almost never marked individually by a tumulus or grave building and their grave contexts were rarely gender-specific. Turning to the 5th cent., we now see a clear tendency to keep child burials away from groups or series of tumuli and grave buildings. Instead they tend to be grouped with "poor" adult burials or sub-adults (many of these skeletons were not fully preserved nor the length of the appurtenant grave), and they are buried at some distance from the road. Moreover, Kerameikos develops a true child necropolis situated in *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* (Fig.7).

With some exceptions - treated below - it is therefore a somewhat fruitless task to attempt to trace "true" family plots. The general pattern is characterized by burials grouped together on principles of common age groups and status, that is to say according to public - not family - concepts. Perhaps we have a parallel case in Olynthus. Here 26 persons (25 adults and 1 child) were buried together in a shallow pit.⁴⁸ They lay next to one another, facing in the same direction. Near some of the persons a few grave gifts were deposited, which were very similar from person to person. Judging from these grave gifts, most of the persons were male and only one female (grave gifts consisted mostly of *strigils*, *skyphoi*, bowls and in one case a *pyxis*). Certainly a general (low?) social value must be responsible for this collective burial.

The community's notions of age also structures means of interment and grave furnishings. In the 7th and 6th cent., child-graves were never marked by a tu-

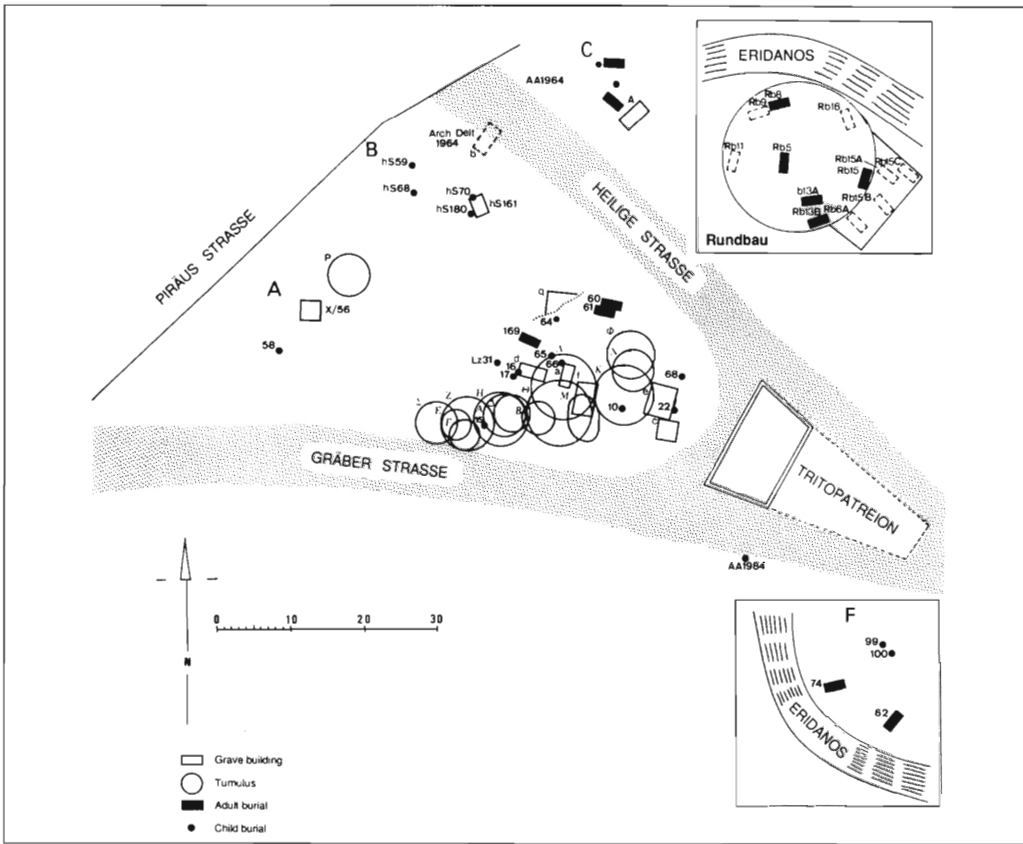


Fig.1 Kerameikos 710/700-600 B.C.
(drawn by B. Petterson).

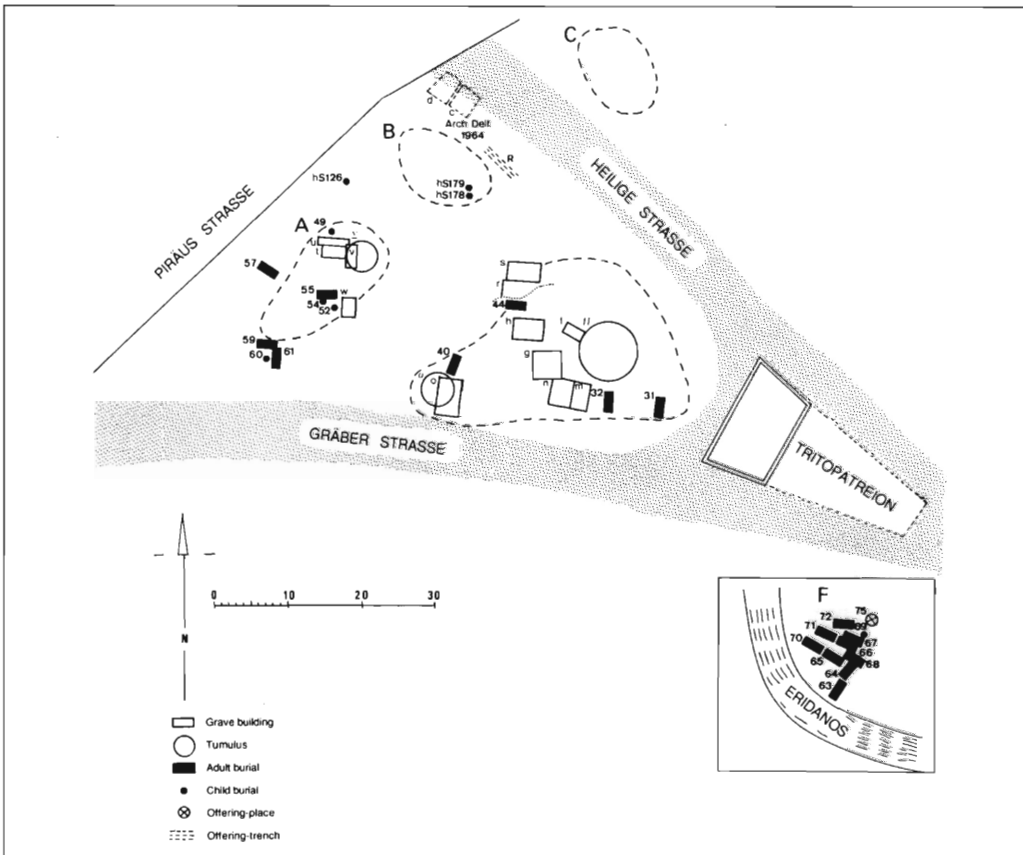


Fig.2 Kerameikos 600-575 B.C.
(drawn by B. Petterson).

Fig.3 Kerameikos 575-560
B.C.
(drawn by B. Petterson).

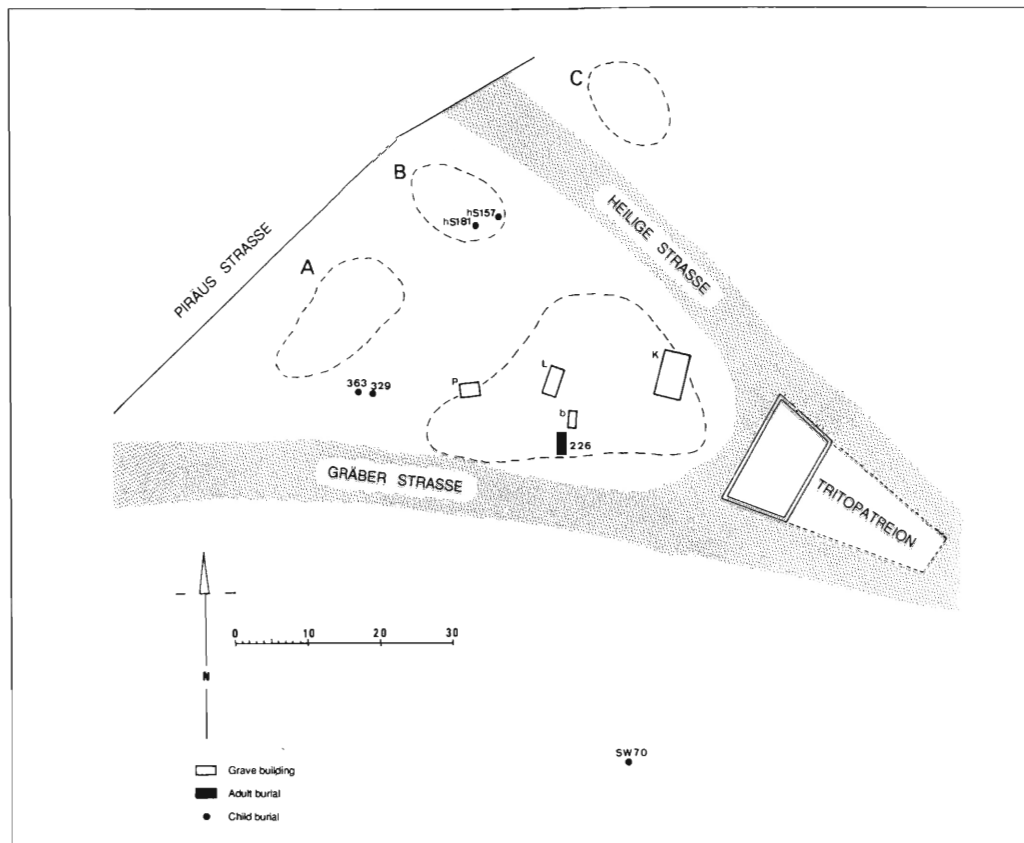
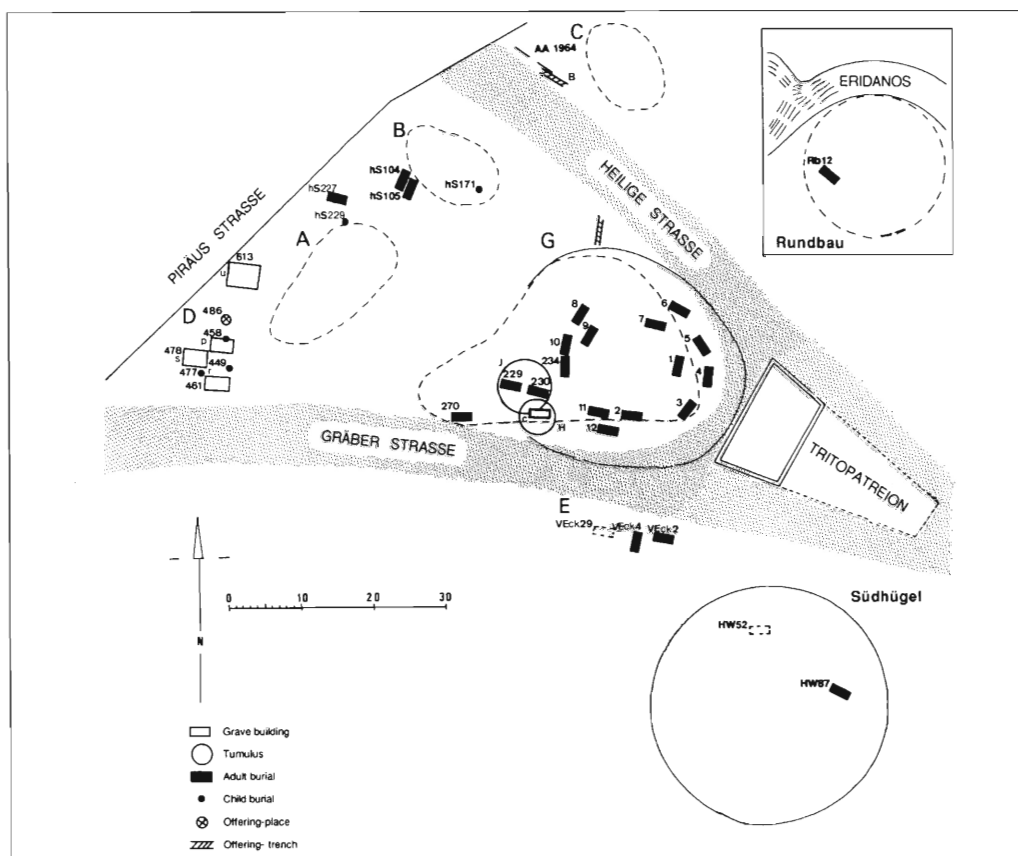


Fig.4 Kerameikos 560-535
B.C.
(drawn by B. Petterson).



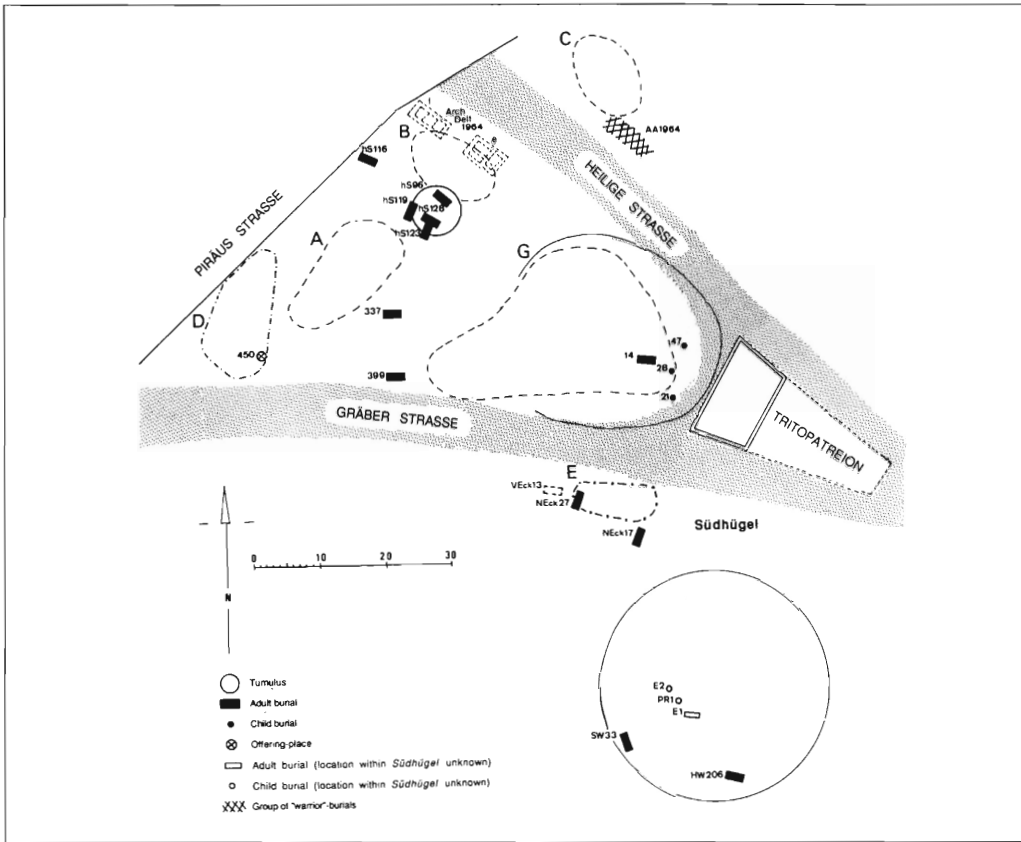


Fig.5 Kerameikos 535-510 B.C. (drawn by B. Petterson).

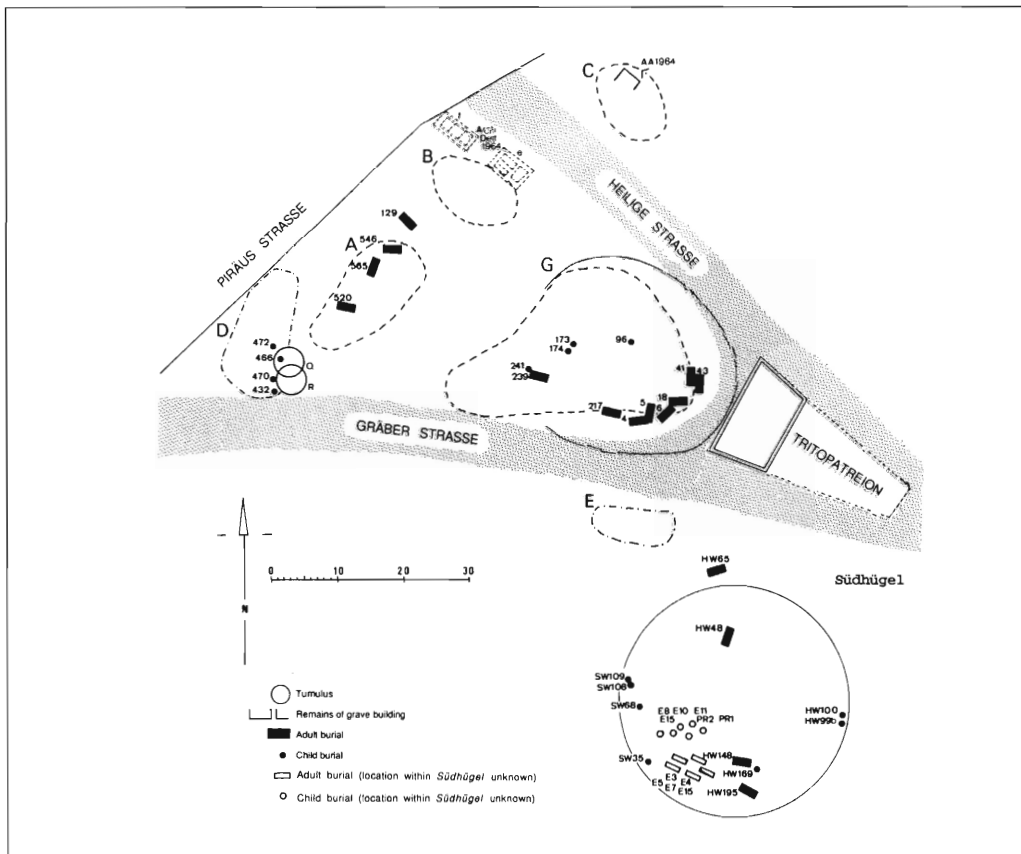
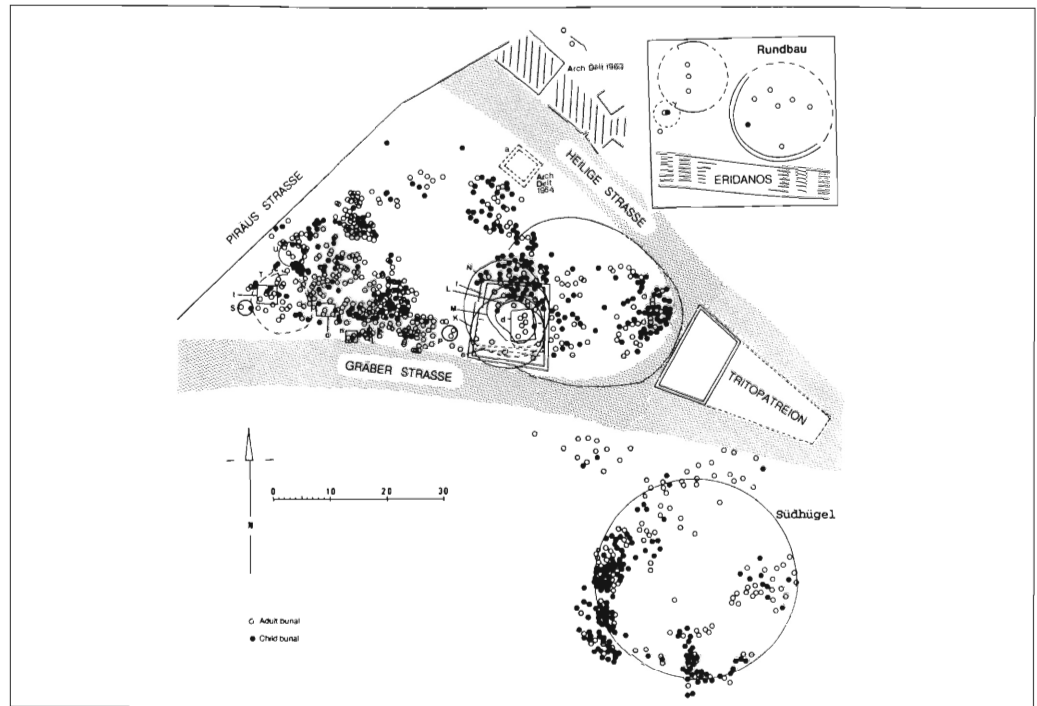


Fig.6 Kerameikos 510-500 B.C. (drawn by B. Petterson).

Fig. 7 Kerameikos 500-400
B.C.
(drawn by B. Petterson).



NOTE 49
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1964.

NOTE 50
See Catalogue 1 and Appendix 2 for age-group definitions.

NOTE 51
For exceptions to this rule, see n. 348

NOTE 52
Ker. IX, 29-30.

NOTE 53
I have discussed this in more detail in a previous article, Houby-Nielsen 1992.

NOTE 54
AM 1966:1, 65/hS 175 and 91/hS 97.

NOTE 55
Houby-Nielsen 1992, table 8.

mulus or grave building, unless the child was buried together with an adult. In the 5th cent., we have evidence for only two (older) children who were commemorated above ground (through grave steles).⁴⁹ Adults, however, were frequently individually marked by a tumulus or grave building in the 7th and early 6th cent. Hereafter this custom declines (Table 3).

Between 700 and 560, adults were primarily cremated, while inhumation was preferred throughout the rest of the 6th and in the 5th cent. (Table 4). In the 7th, 6th and 5th cent., infants and small children were generally inhumed in vases and thus form a distinct age group in terms of burial customs (age group 1).⁵⁰ Older children, aged 3/4-12/14 (age group 3), seem to have been treated rather like adults, since they were buried directly in the ground or in wooden coffins in the manner of adults. The main difference between adults and children seems to be that children were only very rarely cremated.⁵¹

From around 500, the older baby and up to 3 or 4 year old child (age group 2) also became formally expressed through standardized forms of interment. This

happened through the introduction of 80-100 cm long terracotta basins used as coffins.⁵² The length of these basins and the few cases of preserved skeletons indicate that the basins were used for the 1 to 3 or 4 year old children.

Regarding grave gifts there is one major difference between adult and child burials in the 7th and early 6th cent. Adults primarily receive gifts placed in separate offering-trenches or offering-places and rarely grave gifts (Table 5) while children receive only gifts placed inside the grave.⁵³ However, two Classical child burials may be connected with offering-places.⁵⁴ This difference persists even after 560, when the ritual of the offering-trenches (and -places) declines. Until 560, both adults and children mainly receive vases for drinking and eating. Hereafter drinking- and eating-vases disappear abruptly as gifts to adults in favour of *lekythoi* placed inside the grave.⁵⁵ Children, however, continue to receive many drinking- and eating-vases until around 500 (Table 6 x-line). In the 5th cent., when the number of child burials, and accordingly the number of grave gifts, are much higher, it is possible to obtain a clearer idea of the relation

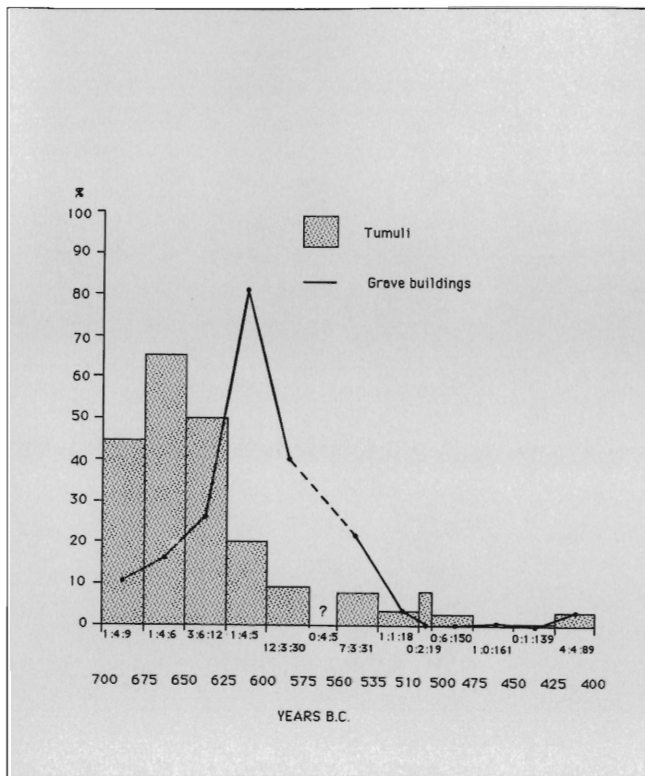


Table 3 The frequency of tumuli and grave buildings in relation to the total number of adult burials

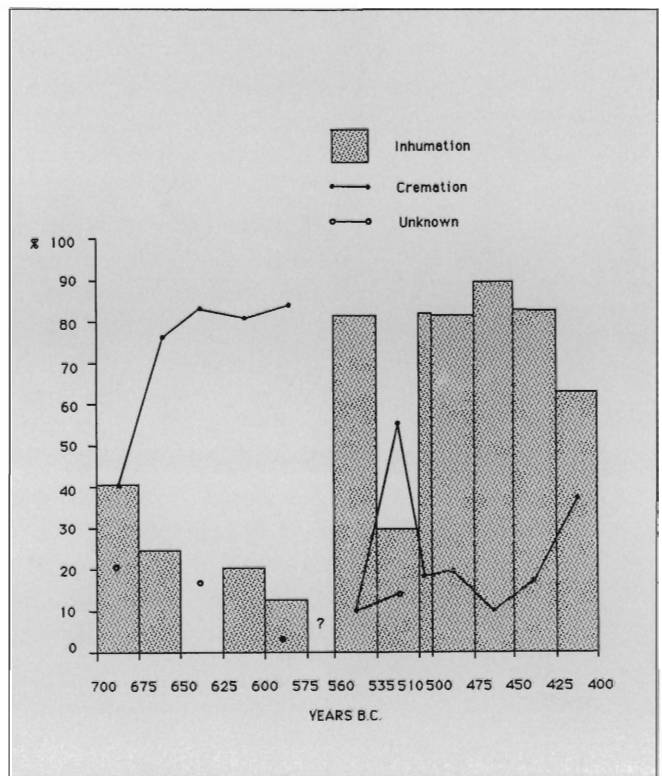


Table 4 The frequency of adult inhumation and cremation burials 710/700-400 B.C.

between categories of grave gifts and age groups. As is shown in Table 7, the number of *lekythoi* clearly increases with age, while the number of drinking-, eating- and pouring-vases declines. Even within the large category called “other gifts”, a pattern is detectable, as demonstrated in Table 8. The older the person, the fewer the special child vases, toys and small bowls with lid, while *pyxides* (with cylindrical body) and terracottas and “various” increase with age. And in the latter category we find many objects which are especially connected with gender roles (soap, make-up, *lebes*, *strigil*) (see Appendices 4-5), as are *pyxides*.

Gender and the structural principles of the burial context

It is common in grave archaeology to consider certain objects or features as specific for either the male or the female sex. For this reason, burials which have not

been analysed osteologically are often identified as male or female through the presence of such apparently sex-specific features.⁵⁶ However, burial contexts are always the product of the social values of the burying group. These contexts (choice of interment, of grave gifts, of modes of depositing grave gifts) therefore cannot express *the* biological sex, but rather *conceptions* of the biological sex, that is the cultural gender.⁵⁷ Since gender categories sometimes overlap, similar burial contexts, and even so-called “sex-specific” objects, are sometimes found in connection with both male and female burials. This lack of a sharp distinction between grave contexts of osteologically male and female burials has therefore often puzzled archaeologists, and it is common in such cases to assume that it was unimportant to distinguish between males and females.⁵⁸ This is also the conclusion which A. Strömberg reaches in her recent study on sex-identification in Iron Age burials in Athens between 1100 and 700, since the majority

NOTE 56

See recently Strömberg 1993, whose identification of burials as either male or female rests on an attempt to isolate grave goods as male or female.

NOTE 57

For the importance of distinguishing between sex and gender in archaeology, see recently Gero & Conkey (eds.) 1991; Sørensen 1992.

NOTE 58

See recently Whitley 1991b, 96, 105, 110, 158.

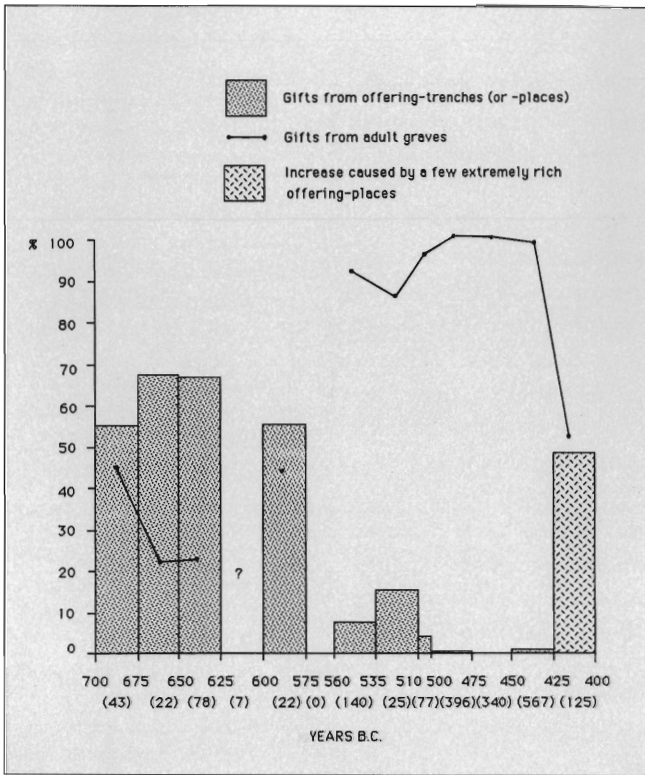


Table 5 The frequency of gifts from respectively offering-trenches (and -places) and adult graves.

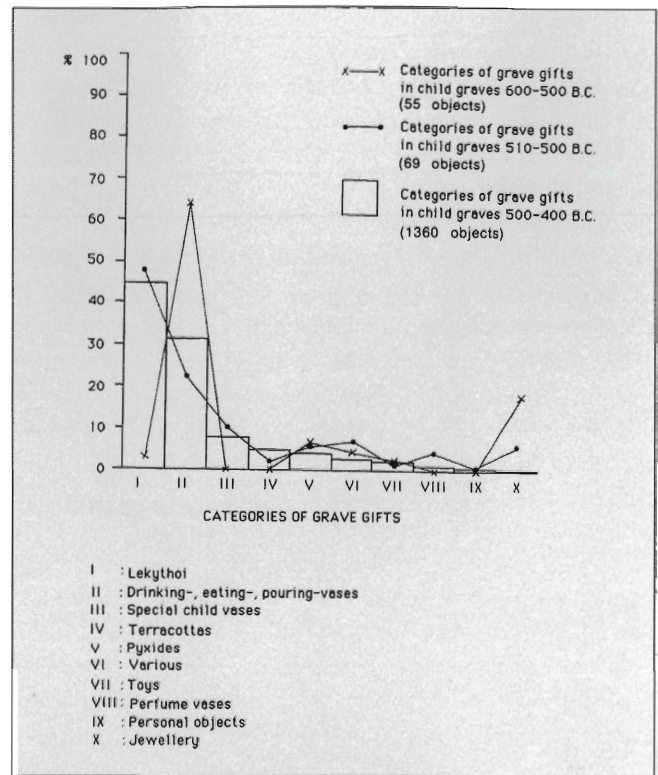


Table 6 A comparison between the frequency of categories of grave gifts in child graves 600-510, 510-500 and 500-400 B.C.

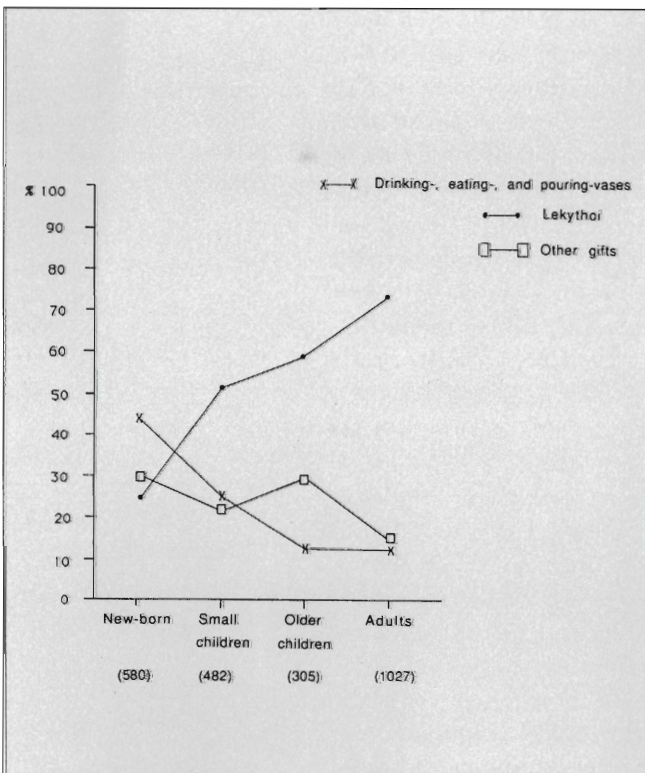


Table 7 The relationship between categories of gifts and age groups in the 5th cent. B.C. (The actual number of gifts is shown in brackets.)

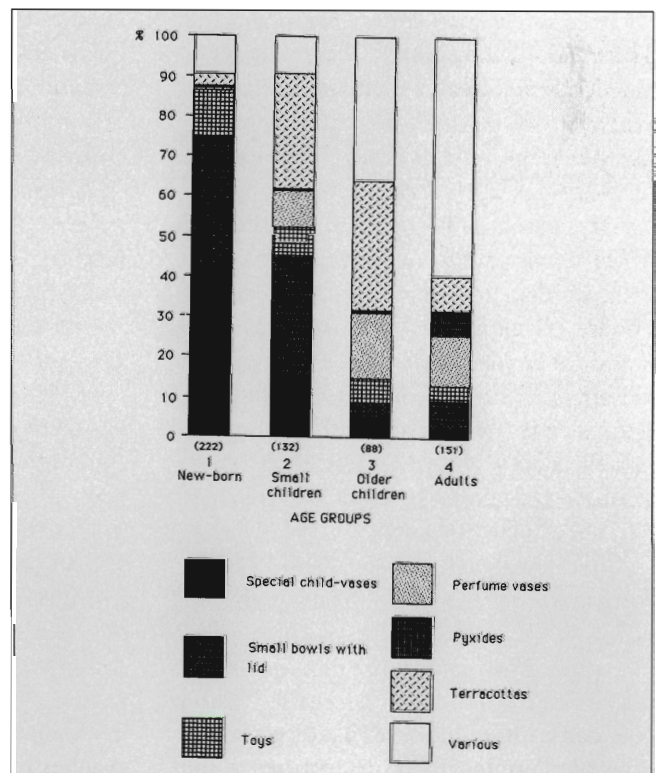


Table 8 The relationship between categories of grave gifts and age groups in the 5th cent. (lekythoi and vases for drinking, eating and pouring are excluded).

of the burials could not be sex-determined according to her own methodology.⁵⁹ It is, however, interesting to note that around 23.4% of the burials which did not contain sex-specific objects are infant or child burials, as against 0.5% of the sex-determinable burials.⁶⁰ In the Iron Age, children often belong to a low-status group in burial contexts⁶¹ and are therefore seldom given grave equipment, which again makes sex or gender identification difficult. And in the Classical period, as we shall see below, gender appears to be less expressed in graves of infants and small children than in graves of older children and adults. Such a concept of small children as “gender-less” – which is well-known from other cultures⁶² – is certainly also an expression of gender attitude.

A clear example of the importance of working with gender rather than sex in studies on burial customs is a 4th cent. burial in the *Eckterrasse* in Kerameikos.⁶³ The skeleton is that of a young man, but among the numerous grave gifts several objects are represented that are normally considered to be unambiguous indicators of a female grave (*pyxides*, mirror, make-up). This touch of feminism has convincingly been interpreted as an indication that the deceased was an actor. Perhaps it is the actor Makareus, who is commemorated in a funerary inscription found nearby.⁶⁴ The burial is certainly an unusual one, but it is a nice example of how grave contexts express gender roles (here “actor”), which sometimes cannot be categorized as strictly female or male – though in this case the presence of an ivory object decorated with aggressive scenes of antithetical pairs of male animals (lions, panthers, bulls) and griffins⁶⁵ may conform with a more traditional male gender role.

Interestingly enough, we find a similar complex of problems attending Attic vase painting. Here, only the total composition of elements indicates what gender roles (or settings, buildings,) are meant.⁶⁶ Often, imagery consists of recurring compositions of elements, formulas: for instance “woman sitting on a stool holding a mirror, behind her an *alabastron* on the wall,

in front of her columns with part of the architrave visible”, altogether signalling “Frauengemach”. With this formula, varying elements may be associated, thereby giving the scene its specific meaning. In our example, it can be a man holding a purse towards the woman, thereby placing her in the category of *hetairai* – or simply emphasizing the role of women as desirable sexual objects.⁶⁷ These formulas may be extended or reduced, the latter recalling the former, and different elements may be added, which changes the meaning of the formula. If, for instance, a young woman holds a baby towards a sitting woman, the woman’s role as mother or rather the mental image of “chastity” is stressed. The interdependency of imagery causes scenes of daily life to overlap with mythological scenes with respect to formal similarity as well as to meaning.⁶⁸ And, as noted in the introduction, vase painting with genre scenes seems less concerned to depict concrete actions or instantaneous situations, but rather refers to superior notions of gender roles.⁶⁹

My approach to the problem of gender identification has therefore been to regard burial contexts as structured according to principles similar to those which apply to vase paintings. I thus seek to define materialized expressions of gender roles. In Attic funerary epigrams the range of virtues is rather narrow and intimately connected with social values of respectively the male and female sex. For this reason we may expect a similar restricted repertoire of materialized conceptions in burial customs, and funerary objects and rituals linked to these conceptions may therefore appear to be “sex-specific”. We ought, however, to be aware that conceptions of the female and male sex change over time and according to context. For instance a so-called “sex-specific” object may be connected with materialized expressions of the male sex in a certain period and in a certain situation (here funerary), while in other periods and/or situations (for instance domestic) it may form part of expressions of the female sex. But as long as we keep this problem in mind, it is very

NOTE 59
Strömberg 1993, 108–109. Strömberg’s catalogue C registering burials that did not contain sex-specific grave gifts comprises several (around 25) grave contexts that express gender: cremations in neck-handled or belly-handled amphorae, one of which (no. 400) is a neck-handled amphora with a sword wrapped around its shoulder (nos. 336, 410, 411, 413, 417, 440, 442, 443, 448, 459, 460, 462, 474, 483, 490, 494, 504, 508 possibly more); cremations in bronze urns (that is Homeric “heroic” style) one of which was marked by a crater with an *ekphora*-motif (nos. 217, 351, 363); double burials consisting of an adult and an infant, where the infant may signal a “mother role” or of the adult (nos. 344, 346).

NOTE 60
Strömberg 1993, catalogue C.

NOTE 61
Morris 1987, 57–69.

NOTE 62
Whelan 1991.

NOTE 63
Ker. XIV, no. 24/Eck 64.

NOTE 64
Ker. XIV, 31–33.

NOTE 65
Ker. XIV, 37 fig. 26.

NOTE 66
Bérard et al. 1989, 23–37, with further references.

NOTE 67
Compare Meyer 1988.

NOTE 68
Lissaraque & Schnapp 1981.

NOTE 69
See n. 11

NOTE 70

Beazley 1927/28, 196.

NOTE 71

Gericke 1970, 75-77;
Koch-Harnach 1983, 155;
Schreibler 1983, 22-23.

NOTE 72

Metr. Mus. 11. 185 (Rich-
ter 1961, no. 37); Metr.
Mus. 23.160.38.; ADelt 29,
1973/74 B, pin. 52d.

NOTE 73

Gol. Czart. 83 Warschau
142313; CVA Polen 1,
Goluchow, Mus. Czartory-
ski, pl. 36, figs. a-d. Ge-
ricke 1970, 75.

NOTE 74

Kreuzer 1992, no. 125.

NOTE 75

Ker. VII.1, no. 5 (p.17),
nos. 234, 478.

NOTE 76

Wehgartner 1983, 112
with references (do not in-
clude the examples from
Kerameikos).

NOTE 77

Agora P 12628; ABV 155, 64.

NOTE 78

Berlin, Antikenmus.
31390; Koch-Harnack
1983, 110-112, fig. 48.

NOTE 79

Fogg Art Museum 1925.
30.50: CVA Cambridge (1)
Hoppin Collection pl. 19.2.

NOTE 80

Gericke 1970, 72-75;
Schreibler 1983, 24; Keuls
1985, 120; Meyer 1988,
esp. 90; Reilly 1989, 414, 420.

NOTE 81

Athen, Kerameikos Mu-
seum, without number;
Koch-Harnach 1983, fig. 1.

NOTE 82

Gericke 1970, 77-82;
Wehgartner 1983, 102.

often possible to identify the sex of the deceased by recognizing the expressed gender role of the burial context, as I hope to show below.

On analogy with vase painting, I consider burial contexts to consist of different elements, each of which is meaningful only when viewed in relation to the total grave context. Recurring combinations of elements I call formulas. As I have shown in Excursus 1-3, a formula can be either completely or partly "quoted". A "reduced" formula recalls an "extended" formula. However, the formula obtains a specific meaning only through the addition of extra elements, be they objects or rituals, which may indicate to us the sex of the deceased. These may also form formulas which can be extended or reduced. It is, I hope, needless to say that I regard this burial practice to have worked at an unconscious level.

It was outside the limit of this work to identify gender roles systematically in all burials. Instead, I have attempted to look more closely for the principles of expressing gender roles by selecting burials containing *aryballos* and/or *alabastron* and/or *lekythos*. The reason for this choice was that these vases were the commonest ones in burials. They are also known to change "sex" according to context, as the following summary may serve to illustrate, and which makes it especially interesting to analyse the grave contexts in which they are found.

The *aryballos* first appeared in Attic vase painting about 550⁷⁰ and was mostly associated with men, being a conventional *palaestra*-attribute and an erotic gift, given by the mature man (*erastes*) to his younger lover (*eromenos*).⁷¹ The same associations are implied when it appears in funerary iconography.⁷² However, on an Early Classical bowl it was used by bathing women.⁷³ And on a *skyphos*-sherd, likewise Early Classical, women in a procession carry *aryballoi*, *alabastra* and bowls with eggs.⁷⁴

Alabastra made of glass and alabaster - as are the earliest ones in Kerameikos⁷⁵ - were made since the middle of the 6th



Fig. 8 *Lekythos* found as a stray find in the Kerameikos. (Neg. no. Ker. 6730, courtesy The German Institute in Athens.)

cent., but little is known of their context.⁷⁶ The Attic terracotta *alabastron* did not appear until the last quarter of the 6th cent. (with the exception of the one by the Amasis-painter from around 550⁷⁷). At this time it could be connected with men, since it could carry motifs alluding to the *erastes-eromenos* relationship mentioned above.⁷⁸ And one carries a scene of men offering money to a woman.⁷⁹ But Classical *alabastra* are commonly regarded as typical female vases, owing to their frequent presence in female scenes in vase painting.⁸⁰

A *lekythos* of the early type - a stray find in Kerameikos - carries the earliest known representation of an *erastes-eromenos* scene⁸¹ (Fig. 8), and therefore an original association with a male context is highly possible. However, in the 5th cent., "*Bauchlekythen*" and shoulder *lekythoi*, especially those with white ground, are often thought of as exclusively female vases, since they mostly carry female scenes and often appear in scenes of "Frauengemach".⁸²

Apart from burials containing these vase shapes, I have also looked at burials containing soap, mirror or *strigil*.

Below follows a summary of the general conclusions I have reached, while I refer to Excursus 1-3 for a detailed argumentation.

Gender

From 700 to 575/60, adult burial contexts are primarily cremations sometimes connected with offering-trenches (or -places) containing a reference to an elaborate banquet set, and often marked by a tumulus or grave building. The combination and nature of these features appear to recall Homeric heroic values.⁸³ For this reason, the adult burial population seems to be dominated by men in this period. And an analysis of those burials which contained an *aryballos* even indicates the expression of different social values of the male sex, one of which appears heroic, the other non-heroic (see Excursus 1).

Between 560 and 535, a most interesting situation arises. The enormous mound *Grabhügel G*, with a diameter of 36 m, was raised above a monumental shaft grave. Within the next 10-20 years, 11 burials, all adults,⁸⁴ were dug into the mound, forming a circle (Fig. 4).⁸⁵ From now on, I shall refer to these burials as "circle-burials". These 12 burials were separated in the south-west from the tumuli J and H and their successors (Fig. 4) by a huge earth fill, the so-called "peisistratische Auffüllung".⁸⁶ The interesting thing about the circle-burials is that their grave contexts on the whole appear very similar. With one exception, all burial contexts appear to express a certain male gender role related to the luxurious Lydian lifestyle known to the Greeks as *truphé*. The *Süd Hügel*, erected around 540 and measuring 40 m in diameter, covered a shaft grave with a male inhumation whose grave context expressed a notion similar to that of the circle-burials⁸⁷ (see Excursus 2).

In contrast, the series of tumuli bordering on *Grabhügel G* in the south-west and grave buildings situated in area D mark

both "feminine" and "masculine" grave contexts, which are therefore anything but uniform. The same is true of these two areas in the latter part of the 6th cent. and in the 5th cent. (Figs. 4-7). Thus, the earthen building "c" to the south-west of *Grabhügel G* appears to mark a male burial⁸⁸ (Fig. 4), while "d" rather marks a female burial⁸⁹ (Fig. 7). The big tumulus "K" was erected over a well-appointed female burial.⁹⁰ Tumulus "L" marked a cremation burial, and a secondary female burial.⁹¹ Tumulus "N" marked a female burial,⁹² while its secondary burial is male.⁹³ The tumulus "O" marked an extremely fine bronze cauldron which contained the cremation ashes wrapped in a fine purple cloth in a Homeric heroic way.⁹⁴

In area D, grave buildings "s" and "u" marked a female burial⁹⁵ (Fig. 4). In the last decade of the 6th cent., two tumuli were erected, "Q" and "R", which appear to have marked female burials⁹⁶ (Fig. 6), and likewise the grave building "o" of the 5th cent.⁹⁷ (Fig. 7). The burials of the remaining tumuli and grave buildings were too badly disturbed to give information about gender.

As appears from this survey, feminine qualities begin to be highly stressed in burial practice after about 560.

The many burials which lay outside clusters of tumuli and grave buildings appeared to be "neutral" in terms of gender expressions. However, as stated earlier, we should be aware that even a lack of interest in expressing specific gender roles may be connected with certain gender roles that are not found worthy of expression in a burial context.

Family groups

K. Kübler and S. Humphreys have suggested that some of the very closely situated or superimposed tumuli and grave buildings formed family groups.⁹⁸ This may be so, but in general there seem to me to be no immediately clear groupings with the exception of the tumuli and grave buildings in my Figs. 1-2 area A. Humphreys also regarded the burials

NOTE 83
See n. 53.

NOTE 84
Compare Appendix 4, especially for Ker. VII.1, no. 9.

NOTE 85
Ker. VII.1, nos. 2-12.

NOTE 86
Ker. VII.1, 63.

NOTE 87
In Part II, I will discuss *Grabhügel G* and *Süd Hügel* separately

NOTE 88
Ker. VII.1, no. 243

NOTE 89
Ker. VII.1, no. 256

NOTE 90
Ker. VII.1, no. 242

NOTE 91
Ker. VII.1, no. 247

NOTE 92
Ker. VII.1, no. 261

NOTE 93
Ker. VII.1, no. 262

NOTE 94
Ker. VII.1, no. 264

NOTE 95
Ker. VII.1, nos. 478, 613

NOTE 96
Ker. VII.1, nos. 465, 475

NOTE 97
Ker. VII.1, no. 443

NOTE 98
Ker. VI.1, 16; Humphreys 1980, 106-108.

NOTE 99
Humphreys 1980, 106.

NOTE 100
Ker. VII.1, nos. 465 (with
no.466), 475 (with no.457).

NOTE 101
Ker. VII.1, nos. 450, 451,
486.

NOTE 102
Ker. VII.1, 63

NOTE 103
Ker. VII.1, 7-9

NOTE 104
Davies 1971, 16.

forming a circle in *Grabhügel G* as a possible family plot.⁹⁹ She thus acknowledges two very different burial principles as means of family self-representation. On the one hand is a series of adult burials marked *individually* by a smallish tumulus or grave building, near which child burials may be found. All of these grave contexts are *dissimilar*, owing to different gender and age groups. On the other hand, we have a huge tumulus serving as a *common* grave marker for several burials belonging more or less to a single age group and almost expressing the same gender role, for which reason grave contexts are rather *similar*. For reasons discussed in Part II, I do not believe the latter tradition manifests a true family burial plot, while the former certainly does. Such “true” family plots are distinguishable in three areas in Kerameikos.

The first one is formed by area A (Figs. 1-2). Here grave buildings and tumuli are closely united in the northern part while – as pointed out earlier – child burials and adults not marked by a grave building or a tumulus are kept to the south. Perhaps men are in the majority among the adults, as argued in Excursus 1.

The second plot is in area D (Figs. 4-6). As mentioned above, tumuli and grave buildings here mark both adult male and female burials. And child burials form part of this burial plot. In fact two child burials belonged to two of the adult burials.¹⁰⁰ We even find evidence for tomb cult in the form of three offering-areas.¹⁰¹

A third family plot, this time partly confirmed by the find of funerary inscriptions, is constituted by the series of 6th and 5th cent. tumuli and grave buildings and grave enclosures bordering on the southwest edge of *Grabhügel G* (Fig. 7). Again – as described above – the tumuli and grave buildings mark single adult burials representing both sexes, perhaps with one or two secondary burials. Towards the end of the 5th cent., a huge grave building of mudbrick (“e”) with an eastern fill (“o”) was built which neatly covered all the previous tumuli, and which was later replaced by a slightly larger one (“f”) (Fig.

7). This remarkable series of 6th and 5th cent. tumuli and grave buildings (starting with “J” and “H”) is situated on top of the so-called “peisistratische Auffüllung” and not on the actual “*Grabhügel G*”,¹⁰² since the western edge of the latter makes an awkward eastward digression in this area.¹⁰³ It is therefore due to the “peisistratische Auffüllung” that “*Grabhügel G*” appears circular. For this reason the burials of the actual “*Grabhügel G*” should perhaps be understood as in some way separate from the series of tumuli and grave buildings just mentioned. And the latter should rather be associated with the 7th cent. and early 6th cent. tumuli and grave buildings below the “peisistratische Auffüllung” and to the east of this. A funerary inscription was found in connection with the latest grave building. It carries an inscription mentioning a certain Hipparete (ii (2) 7400), who can be identified as the daughter of Alkibiades IV.¹⁰⁴ The late Classical grave building has therefore been interpreted as part of an Alkmaionid burial plot, an interpretation I will discuss in Part II.

The analysis above of the role of age and gender in burial practice and the three fairly secure cases of family plots leave us with the possibility of drawing the following conclusions as to how a family disposed of its deceased members:

I: The family primarily buries important members in a formal necropolis (between 700 and 560, certain men seem to be preferred). These burials are marked individually by a tumulus or grave building and may form intimate groups. Grave contexts may be somewhat similar. However, this is solely due to the circumstance that the buried persons share a social status in terms of age, gender and rank – not a family status. Since the spatial distribution of burials tends to be structured by principles of social values related to age and gender, groups of tumuli or grave buildings may not always belong to one kinship group. Instead we may be faced with different kinship groups who bury selected family members in the same area, since they share a social value.

II: The family buries its adult members, now of both sexes, together with several of its deceased child members. These grave contexts are *not* similar, since the society's concepts of age and gender define their appearance. These family burials are *not* united by a common grave marker (before the end of the 5th cent.) Instead, adult burials tend to be individually marked by a tumulus or grave building.

III: The family buries (some of?) its adult members with few grave goods and no tumulus or grave building. These adults seem to be buried with adults of a similar (low?) status belonging to other families (compare Fig. 7 for the huge number of simple burials between the two plots with series of tumuli).

IV: The family buries (some of?) its child members in a child necropolis together with children of other families (Fig. 7: Grabhügel G, Südhügel).

It follows from this summary that one family may bury its members according to different principles and combine for instance I or II with III-IV.

In other words, all members of a kinship group are only occasionally buried formally in a necropolis and only occasionally united in a plot, and there is no such thing as a family tradition in burial practice. One could argue that this supports the theory of a lack of interest in kinship relations which some scholars have advanced. On the other hand, we saw that there is strong evidence for a family burial plot in use for over three hundred years. In the following section, I hope to explain this apparent contradiction.

Family self-representation: the Archaic period

At this juncture I find it worth attempting to summarize the impression gained from written and various archaeological sources about the self-representation of the family in early Athens. For as we shall see, this impression appears to be structurally related to Archaic burial customs in Kerameikos.

It has recently been (re-)argued that the

Homeric epics afford no evidence of well-defined social classes, as is sometimes thought.¹⁰⁵ Instead, the *Odyssey* gives us the impression of a two-tiered society: a status-élite and the people who served it. Clearly, the *oikos* (household) was the fundamental unit in Homeric society. The extent of its property and its reputation defined the status of its male leader, the *basileus*.¹⁰⁶ Conversely, an *oikos* depended on the behaviour of its male leader. In order to maintain or enlarge the wealth and power of his *oikos*, a *basileus* would engage in a number of competitive activities with other *basileis*, activities such as holding lavish banquets, exchanging splendid gifts and participating in war raids.¹⁰⁷ Common adjectives applied to a successful *basileus* were *agathos*, *esthlos* and *aristos*, all of which mainly referred to bellicose exploits.¹⁰⁸ These adjectives seem to undergo a development from being narrowly connected with actual actions ("Leistungsbegriffe") – describing a man who is engaged in a bellicose action or has just performed one – to becoming superior concepts ("Wesensbegriffe") detached from the action itself. Thus, in the *Odyssey*, *agathos* is for the first time used in the plural to express social contrasts in a peaceful context (that is distinguish between social groups, namely those who are *agathoi* and those who are not).¹⁰⁹ And a son may command respect merely by referring to his father as an *agathos*.¹¹⁰ A *basileus* thus had to have a good reputation, if his household was to marry into and establish ritualized friendships¹¹¹ with other powerful families. Noble birth was at no time sufficient to maintain membership of the élite. Public recognition of a man's abilities and virtues was equally, if not more important.¹¹² Perhaps partly for this reason the *kakoi* (the rich, but not noble-born) came to constitute a serious threat to the *eupatridae* (those born of noble fathers) in the 7th cent.¹¹³

In 6th cent. Athens, written as well as archaeological sources are much more varied. As before, the power and influence of the *oikoi* are still dependent on the social reputation of male family members. When earlier the *basileus* struggled to ob-

NOTE 105
Donlan 1980, 18-25, esp. 25; Halverson 1985.

NOTE 106
Halverson 1985.

NOTE 107
Donlan 1980, 1-34, esp. 23; Murray 1983b.

NOTE 108
Schulz 1981, 68-81.

NOTE 109
Od. 15,324; Schulz 1981, 73.

NOTE 110
Schulz 1981, 72.

NOTE 111
For ritualized friendships (*xenia*), see Herman 1987.

NOTE 112
Donlan 1980, 16-17.

NOTE 113
Ober 1989, 58-60.

NOTE 114
Schmitt Pantel 1990a-b.

NOTE 115
Ober 1989, 249.

NOTE 116
Ober 1989, 249-250.

NOTE 117
Ober 1989, 249-250.

NOTE 118
Ober 1989, 251.

NOTE 119
See recently Thomas 1989,
95-123, esp. 99, 111.

NOTE 120
Thomas 1989, 104-112.

NOTE 121
See n. 36

NOTE 122
Humphreys 1980, 126

tain individual *kleos* to maintain his *oikos*, the Athenian citizen fought anonymously in the phalanx to protect his city. But he also struggled to demonstrate good social behaviour in times of peace by participating in various social practices: hunting, ephebe and hoplite life, symposia and banquets.¹¹⁴

With this background, it is hardly surprising that much later Aristotle clearly conflates two very different categories when he defines *eugeneis* (the well-born), namely a genetic and a moral category.¹¹⁵ According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1301b-4), the well-born are on the one hand those of good birth, and on the other hand those who possess *areté*.¹¹⁶ In J. Ober's words, the implication is "that high birth often leads to moral excellence but also that the two attributes were distinct. An individual with good blood might not be regarded as truly well born if his behaviour was incompatible with his ancestry. The Greek aristocrat must have the right bloodlines, but he must also act the part".¹¹⁷ Thus there existed a widespread belief in the heritability of moral qualities.¹¹⁸ In accordance with this belief, speakers in courts in the late 5th and 4th cent., who wished to assert family patriotism, referred to civic duties fulfilled by male ancestors.¹¹⁹ These civic duties were never meant as biographical references, but simply to extol the general virtue of the ancestors and thus of the present *oikos* of the speaker. These virtues mainly consisted of military achievements, death in battle, liturgical generosity, and victories in games.¹²⁰

To summarize, at no time is the *oikos* politically unimportant, but it manifests itself in society through the social qualities of its male members. Burial customs in Archaic Kerameikos fit very well into this picture. Here too, the burying family is concerned with expressing a socially defined status or quality of a deceased male family member. Women and children have little place in this ideology. And for this reason, Attic Archaic grave monuments and funerary inscriptions almost exclusively commemorate male family members who have fulfilled certain civic

duties.¹²¹ On analogy with these monuments and in view of the general heroic character of adult burial contexts in Kerameikos, we may be faced with a translation into funerary "object language" of social qualities such as *agathos*, *areté* or *esthlos*.

Contrary to prevailing scholarly opinion, burial customs are far from concerned with expressing genealogies, but they are certainly deeply concerned to *maintain* and *elaborate* upon the reputation of the burying *oikos*, and that is something quite different. In S. Humphreys' words: "Paying visits to the tomb of famous ancestors was not a pious duty, but a way of reminding contemporaries of the glory of one's own family".¹²² For this reason, burial customs constitute a complex symbolic language, which clearly expresses certain social qualities of some family members, while it neglects those of other members (e.g. women and children). It is a "language" which pays greater attention to social than family qualities, since the former were believed to be heritable. Due to this burial "language", burials are an inadequate source for reconstructing burial generations. One male burial commemorated the remaining family, the size of which it is impossible to estimate. Groups of tumuli or grave buildings may represent certain members of one nuclear family, but they may also represent selected members of several nuclear families belonging to a larger kinship organization. Or they may represent several unrelated nuclear families who buried certain family members together, because the latter shared a social status. Moreover, social hierarchies are difficult to reconstruct, since "poor" burial does not necessarily represent a low-status person in daily life, but a person of a certain age and gender role which it was not thought important to manifest in a burial context.

So much for the 7th and earlier 6th cent. In three cases it was possible to identify "true" family plots. Between 560 and 535, women appear to have played a bigger role in these family plots. And around 500, the number of child burials increased explosively. Do these circum-

tances imply that the *oikoi* no longer represented themselves through male qualities?

In the following sections, I hope to show that a detailed discussion of the child burials in 5th cent. Kerameikos can throw some light on this question.

The role of children in 5th cent. Kerameikos

It is a widely held opinion that interest in the child's earliest development was lacking in Greek culture until Hellenistic times, and that this attitude may have been due to the infant's poor chances of survival.¹²³ And recently, in a chapter dealing with the representation of children in Greek art and literature, C. Müller concluded that children were not understood as children until very late in the 5th cent.¹²⁴

Here I will not enter into the discussion of whether or not demography governs emotional responses, such as caring and love for babies and small children,¹²⁵ but instead show that infant and child burials in Kerameikos from the years around 500 and throughout the 5th cent. speak strongly against the afore-mentioned commonly held opinion. Firstly, my argumentation is based on a discussion of the increase in the number of infant and child burials and secondly, on the complexity of their grave contexts.

Child burials and demography

The most striking change in mortuary practice in the years around 500 was the sudden increase in the number of infant and smaller child burials (age groups 1 and 2 in Appendix 3) which now outnumbered adult burials. In order to interpret this change, it is necessary to know its relationship to demography.

It has recently been stressed in archaeological and anthropological studies that variations within burial populations may not necessarily be demographical in origin, but rather social manifestations.¹²⁶ And certainly, the number of child and

adult burials in the early city-state of Athens is much too low in relation to the estimated size of the resident population to represent a demographic reality, while in Classical Athens the number of tombs may be proportional to the estimated population.¹²⁷ The fact that only a maximum of around 14 burials per annum (including child burials) took place in the Kerameikos in the Classical period raises speculations about who was allowed to be buried there,¹²⁸ which again impedes demographic speculations (Table 2). To this could be added that the number of child and adult burials per annum actually falls in the early 420s when a plague caused the death of thousands of Athenians (*Thuk.* II, XLVII-LIII.), and apparently continued to fall during the years of the Peloponnesian War as already noted by Kübler.¹²⁹

The high frequency of child burials is also unconnected with the practice of exposing unwanted babies. As C. Patterson has pointed out, the terminology of acts, which cause the death of a baby or child, is closely linked to concepts of status in ancient Greece. Exposure of babies was a common and accepted practice as long as it involved new-born babies, which were not yet formally recognized and named members of a household. However, it appears to have been seen as morally abhorrent to kill a child which was already an accepted family member.¹³⁰ Kerameikos was regarded as the most prominent cemetery of Athens already in antiquity, since famous politicians and citizens who had fallen in war became buried here. It is therefore hard to believe that the Athenians would place a cemetery for unwanted babies here, and the many urn burials in Kerameikos represent the largest cemetery for small children excavated so far in Athens. Moreover, as I shall argue below, the frequency and character of grave gifts of these urn burials also rule out such an assumption. Ancient literary sources, in particular Plato (*Theaetetus* 160C-161E), Aristophanes (*Clouds* 530-532) and Aristotle (*Politics* 7.16), leave us in no doubt that exposure of unwanted babies was a general phenomenon of Greek society.

NOTE 123
Garland 1985, 78-80 and 1990, 108-111.

NOTE 124
Müller 1990, 47-54.

NOTE 125
Golden 1988; Morris 1989.

NOTE 126
Sellevold et al. 1984, 210-211; Morris 1987, 93-96, 99-104; Morris 1992, 70-91; Arcini 1992.

NOTE 127
Morris 1987, 57-71, esp. 62, 100-101.

NOTE 128
Morris 1987, 93-96, esp. 94, concludes in a rather general way that in periods with large burial-plots and cemeteries and a high number of total burials, restrictions on access to formal, archaeologically visible burial were lifted, and "commoner" households were allowed to bury with "higher-status" houses within their descent line.

NOTE 129
Ker. VII.1, 199.

NOTE 130
Patterson 1985, 104-105.

NOTE 131
Young 1951, 68, 110-130;
Garland 1985, 82.

NOTE 132
Based on Olynthus XI,
146.

NOTE 133
Based on the burials published in Corinth XIII; compare also the 5th cent. child cemetery excavated in Eretria, Vlavianou-Tsaliki 1981.

NOTE 134
Bennike 1985, 44; Gejwall 1960, 35-43.

NOTE 135
Hofsten & Lundström 1976, 45-55.

NOTE 136
In undeveloped countries, mortality rates among new-born babies and infants of 50%, sometimes even 70-80%, are not unusual.

NOTE 137
Bennike 1985, 44-45 figs. 13-14.

NOTE 138
Selleveid et al. 1984, 210, table 9-2-1.

NOTE 139
Gejwall 1960, 35; Arcini 1992, 57.

NOTE 140
Hopkins 1983, 217-226.

NOTE 141
Selleveid et al. 1984, 21.

NOTE 142
For this discussion and references, see Golden 1988, 155.

However, with the (rather unlikely) exception of 4th cent. infant cremations in the southwest quarter of the Athenian agora,¹³¹ there is no archaeological evidence for this practice in Athens. Nor can an unusually high infant mortality be held responsible for the increase in infant burials. First of all, the high frequency of infant burials persists until the last quarter of the 5th cent., and there is no reason to believe that the flourishing Classical period should have experienced an unusually high mortality among infants. Secondly, an increase in infant burials around 500 seems to be a time phenomenon, since it also characterized other Greek city-states. In Olynthus, the frequency of child burials between late 6th cent. and 338 is 54.2%, if burials of unknown age are excluded, and 49.8%, if burials of unknown age are counted as adults.¹³² In Corinth, the frequency of child burials (all ages) is 43.6% between 510 and 475 (though we should note that of these burials most were dated after 500) and 46.4% between 510 and 450, while in the 6th cent. it was 39.1%.¹³³ Thirdly, frequencies of infant burials around 50% and even above are not unnatural in terms of demography. On the contrary, this is the kind of frequency we should expect if the burial population in Kerameikos mirrored a demographically representative population.¹³⁴ And even though my argumentation so far exemplifies the difficulties of this theory, it is interesting that on the doorstep to democratic Athens, we are suddenly faced with frequencies of infant, child, and adult burials which closely correspond to early modern mortality rates of similar age groups.¹³⁵ Furthermore, it is interesting that the only standardized forms of interment for children were *amphorae* and basins fitting respectively the new-born to approximately 1 year old baby and the 1-3 or 4 year old child, and these are the age groups which in demographically representative populations have the highest mortality rates.¹³⁶

I will, however, be content to state that from the point of view of *social behaviour*, the frequency of infant burials in Kera-

meikos is high, if we compare it with frequencies in burial populations of other cultures. In Denmark, the frequency of all child burials (0-13 years old) from prehistoric times to the 18th cent. A.D. never rises above 30%.¹³⁷ The same is true of pre-Roman to Iron Age cemeteries in general in Europe - with the exception of Poland.¹³⁸ In the Medieval city of Lund (Sweden), when religious belief required that all baptized persons be formally buried, the frequency of child burials (0-6 years) in various churchyards seldom rises above 35%. It often hovers around 10-20%. Only in the Medieval countryside do new-born babies alone constitute 50.3%.¹³⁹

The conclusion must be that no matter whether the population of Kerameikos is demographically representative or not, the explosive increase in infant burials must reflect a changed *attitude* towards the burying of children in Kerameikos. This change is likely to be linked with the following concern.

Burial customs and the concern to express age groups of children

5th cent. mortuary practice with respect to babies and small children was unusually complex, in spite of the high infant mortality, which no doubt prevailed, not only compared to earlier practice in Athens, but also in comparison with other cultures. Roman funerary inscriptions and laws tell us that mourning was not thought appropriate for the new-born baby and small child up to the age of three.¹⁴⁰ In Iron Age Denmark, the age of the deceased child determined the number of gifts, so that gifts were never given to new-born babies and a maximum of two gifts were given to children up to the age of three.¹⁴¹ And regarding early modern England, it has been maintained that there was a certain indifference towards infants until the age of two.¹⁴²

In Kerameikos, however, children in the 6th and 5th cent. were not "mourned" decidedly less than many adults, if we use the word "mourning" in a rational

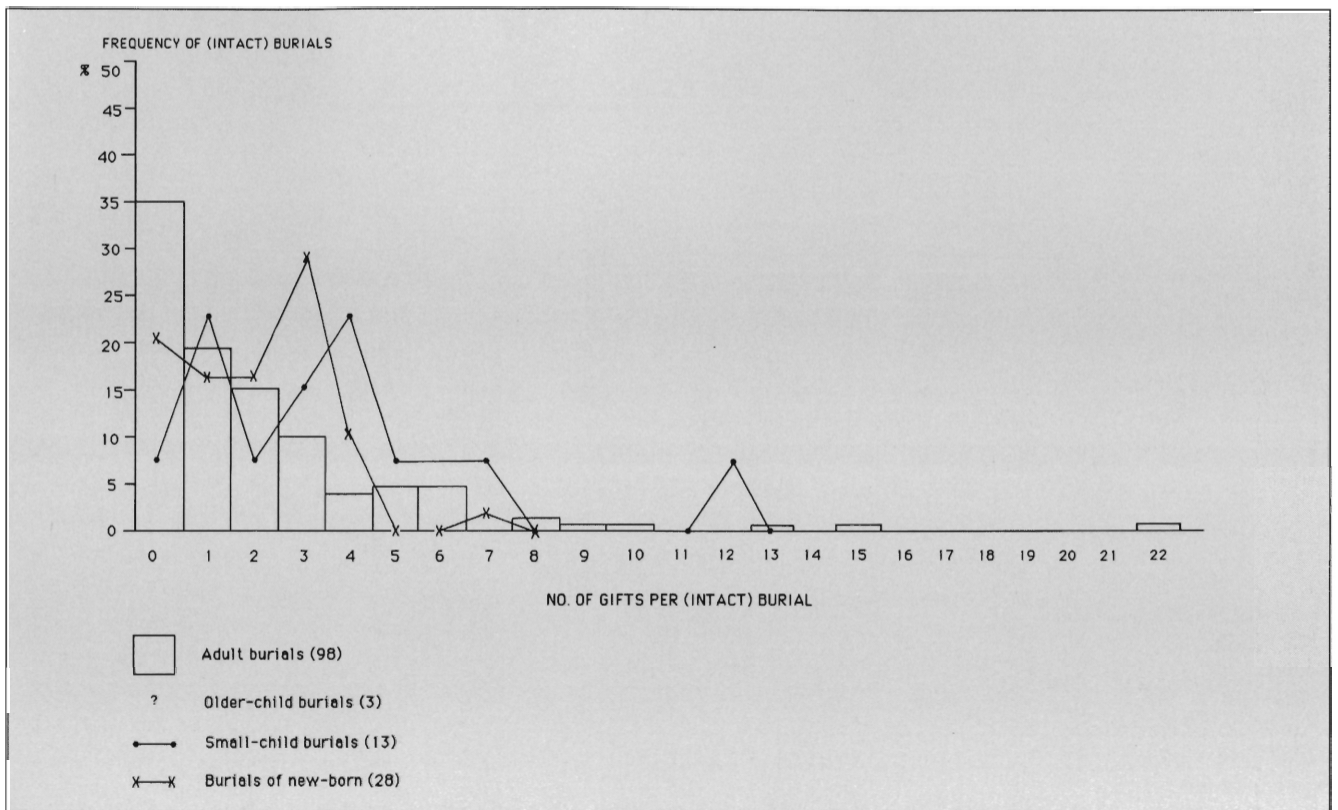


Table 9 The frequency of grave gifts per (intact) burial in relation to age groups 600-500 B.C.

way and relate it to “unrepresentative” rituals such as grave gifts which are invisible for passers by. Thus, the number of grave gifts per burial did not vary significantly between age groups 1 and 4, the main difference being that the will to deposit more than 5 gifts and certainly more than 10 gifts increased with the age of the deceased, though cases of more than 10 gifts were on the whole very rare (Tables 9-10). Since funerary vases in general were not high quality products, but mainly represented a symbolic value, the question of difference in quality between vases for adults and children need not be taken into consideration.

The overall impression of grave gifts for children around 500 and in the 5th cent. is that they constituted a complex symbolic expression of the growing child from its earliest years and onwards. For, as shown in Tables 7-8, the more *lekythoi* and terracottas and “various objects” in relation to small bowls with lid and vases for drinking

and eating, the older the child. A closer analysis of the grave gifts can give us further information of the “message” which was expressed.

Vases for drinking and eating were in the majority in burials of age group 1 (Table 7). The repertoire of vases within this category was already around 500 very extensive, and in the rest of the 5th cent. it corresponded narrowly to that of adults (Appendices 4-5).¹⁴³ It cannot suffice simply to consider this category as representing provisions of food and drink in the afterlife, i.a. for the obvious reason that babies younger than one year cannot use any of the shapes in this group. It is much more likely that the vases for drinking and eating referred to aspects of adult life which the infant never experienced.

With the appearance of “special child-vases” around 510 (compare Appendix 4), infancy and childhood up to the age of around 3 or 4, perhaps 5 or 6 years (age groups 1 and 2), was clearly expressed. By

NOTE 143

All vase shapes have been categorized according to the function in daily life to which they refer and which they symbolize, regardless of size (if full size, small or miniature).

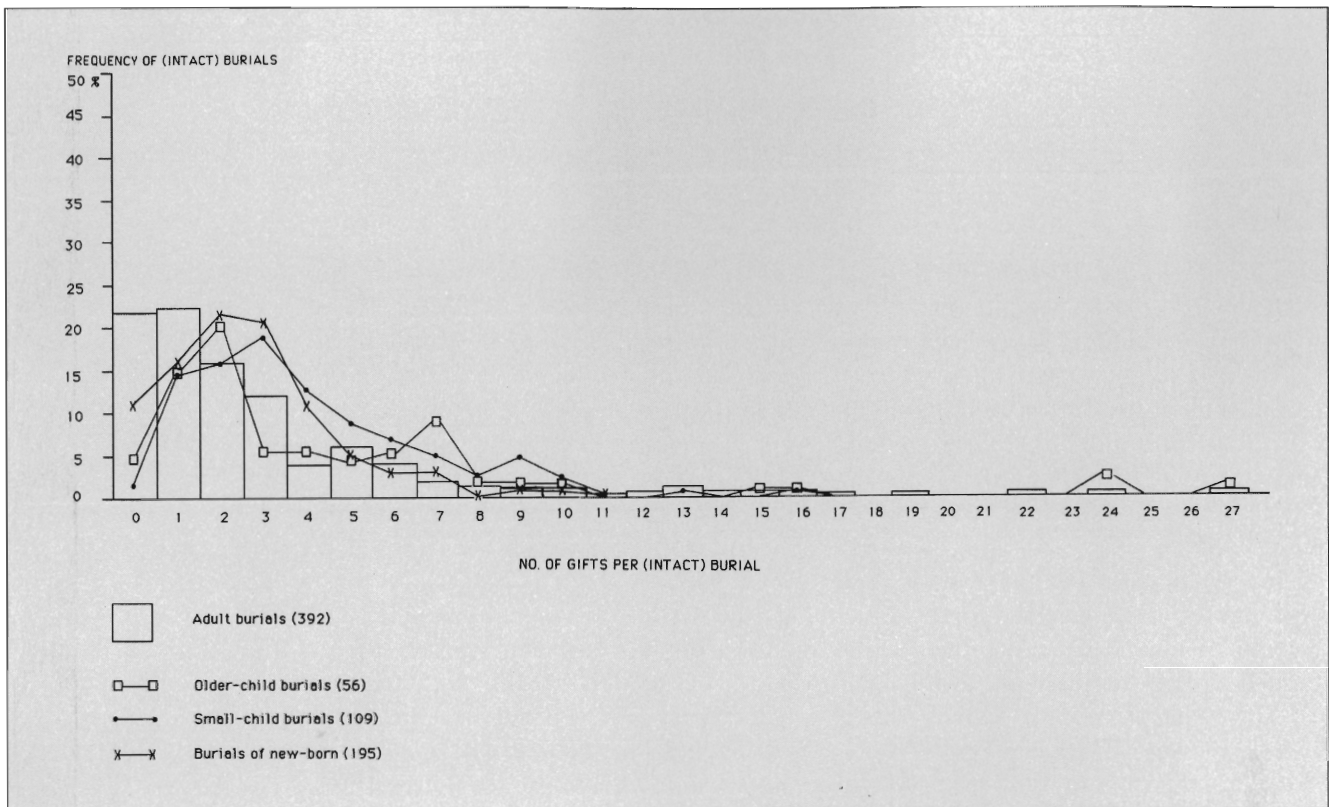


Table 10 The frequency of grave gifts per (intact) burial in relation to age groups 500-400 B.C.

NOTE 144
Kübler's *child jug* ("Kinderkännchen") may be the same as *chous*, and his "*Schnabeltasse*" may be the same as "*Saugtasse*". Such overlapping is, however, of no major importance for the present study.

NOTE 145
(Hoorn 1951.

NOTE 146
Burkert 1985, 237-242; Garland 1985, 82 and 1990, 121.

"special child-vases"¹⁴⁴ I mean vase shapes specially shaped for the feeding of small children, or shapes known to be connected with children, such as the *chous*. The *small olpe* - thus named by Kübler, but not yet published - has also been placed in this category, since it is probably identical with the *chous*. "Special child-vases" are almost only found in burials for infants and small children (age groups 1-2). For instance, 63 small jugs (*choës*, *olpai* and child jugs) were found in infant burials (age group 1), 9 in small-child burials (age group 2), only three in burials of older children (age group 3), and none in adult burials (age group 4). These small jugs seem therefore to have been produced specially for infants and small children. It was G. van Hoorn who originally connected the group of small *oinochoai* decorated with child themes with the ceremony known as the *choës*. This ceremony was held on the second day of *Anthesteria*.¹⁴⁵ At this ceremony, children aged between three and four

took part in drinking contests using the little juglet. At the same time they were introduced to the *phratry*, the family association, for which reason the ceremony perhaps was regarded as the end of infancy and certainly marked the child's first appearance in public as a civic person opposed to merely an intrafamilial person.¹⁴⁶ The iconography of the *choës* represents children, mainly boys, from toddlers to adolescents. Most numerous are toddlers and small children, that is children a little younger than 1 year up to the age of 4-5 years, hereby corresponding to age groups 1 and 2 in Kerameikos. This is worth remembering, when we turn to the category of the terracottas and toys (compare Appendices 4-5). The former category was shown to be most frequent in burials of age groups 2-3, the latter in age group 1 and hereafter 2-3 (Table 8). And in these categories are represented the same animals and playthings which frequently occur in scenes of playing children -

mostly boys – on the *choës*, namely dogs, monkeys, pigeons, cocks, balls and astragals.¹⁴⁷ Among the terracottas, we also find the egg, which also occurs on the *chous*.¹⁴⁸ This was in antiquity often a symbol of fertility, and again fertility was a main theme in the Anthesteria festival.¹⁴⁹ It therefore seems that the categories “special child-vases”, “terracottas” and “toys” especially focused on the age group of the *choës*.

Furthermore, we must allow for the possibility that these subjects, together with the remaining types of statuettes from child graves, not mentioned so far, possessed a multitude of associations. For instance, they are likely to have referred to everyday gender roles as well as to rituals and religious feasts which prepared the child for its later role as a citizen or citizen’s wife. Thus, it is possible that *silene*¹⁵⁰ and *kline* terracottas referred to participation in symposia; that boar terracottas referred to initiation rites;¹⁵¹ astragals and dog, hare, and cock terracottas to paederastic relationships;¹⁵² horse and rider terracottas to the cavalry; pig (piglet?) and pigeon terracottas to participation in various religious feasts,¹⁵³ and that the terracotta basket referred to the ritual of the *katachysmata*, the pouring of dried fruits and nuts over the bride, as well as to numerous religious feasts.¹⁵⁴ With respect to “perfume vases”, *pyxides* (with cylindrical body) and objects called “various objects”, we should note that both categories increased with age (Table 7). This is noteworthy, since we are now primarily dealing with objects which directly signal gender roles characteristic of the adolescent and adult world, and not, as the terracottas, just referring to this world in a rather abstract way. Thus, the *strigil* and soap have been placed in the category “various objects”. And in Excursus 3 (Table 16), I will show how *strigil* and soap are connected with a separate range of objects which signal gender roles of respectively the adult man and woman.

Mirror, make-up, *lebes*, *exaleiptron* and *kalathos* are also included in the category “various” – all objects which are closely

connected with notions of the female sex. In particular, they pertain to important occasions in the life of the respectable woman, such as her wedding and maternal role.¹⁵⁵ The presence of *exaleiptron* solely in a (few) child graves in the 5th cent. (and in only one adult grave in the 6th cent.) should be noted, since this rare use of the vase as a grave gift is incompatible with the interpretation given to its common representation in scenes of “mistress and maid” and “visits to the grave” on (funerary) white-ground *lekythoi*. It has been customary to regard *exaleiptra* in these scenes as gifts to the dead. But it has recently been pointed out that scenes of “mistress and maid” are much better understood as wedding scenes, used as a fitting image for a young woman who died unwed, or more generally for someone who – like the bride – was leaving a known world for one unknown.¹⁵⁶ The rare use of *exaleiptra* as grave gifts supports this interpretation.

The picture which emerges of burial customs for children around 500 and in the 5th cent. shows a differentiated concept of the stages of childhood. It is a picture which strongly contradicts current opinion of a lack of interest in the small child until late in the 5th cent. The stages of childhood which are expressed correspond to the well-known inscription listing the milestones of life in antiquity: “Birth, *choës*, *epebeia* and marriage”.¹⁵⁷ They also correspond to our knowledge in general of the ancient Greek concept of stages in childhood, since rituals and religious festivals in which children participated centred on the birth of a child, on children aged 3–4 years and on children aged 7–14 years.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the analysis showed that children were represented as potential future citizens/wives of such (or as Athenians behaving as citizens).

Family self-representation: the Classical period

Various written and archaeological sources from the 5th and 4th cent. directly or indirectly show us that the prime virtue of a

NOTE 147
For the scenes on *choës*, see van Hoorn 1951.

NOTE 148
van Hoorn 1951, 21.

NOTE 149
Hoorn 1951, 21; Burkert 1985, 237–242.

NOTE 150
Recently treated by Lissar-raque 1990.

NOTE 151
Bremmer 1990.

NOTE 152
Hampe 1951; Koch-Har-nack 1983, 63, 97–105, 155.

NOTE 153
For the use of piglets in in-itation rites in Eleusis and at the Thesmophoria festi-val: Burkert 1985, 242–246, 286.

NOTE 154
For *katachysmata*, see re-cently Reilly 1989, 417.

NOTE 155
Schreibler 1964; Meyer 1988, 109 n. 92; Reilly 1989, esp. 420.

NOTE 156
Reilly 1989; Kurtz 1988 also sees a link between “mistress and maid” and wedding scenes.

NOTE 157
IG II/III(2) 1368, 130.

NOTE 158
Garland 1990, 59–199.

NOTE 159
Pomeroy 1975, 62–65.

NOTE 160
Sutton 1981, 217.

NOTE 161
Sutton 1981, 235, table W.2.

NOTE 162
Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4.

NOTE 163
Just 1989, 44-51, esp. 45.

NOTE 164
Just 1989, 50-51.

NOTE 165
Loraux 1981; Vedder 1988.

NOTE 166
Eur. Medea V, 248-251

NOTE 167
North 1966, 76 n. 105;
Pircher 1979, 22; for *sophrosune* in Greek funerary inscriptions, see Peek 1960.

NOTE 168
Anth.Pal., VII, 331; Peek 1955, no. 1404; Charneux 1956, 614-615; VÉrilhac 1985, 90-91.

NOTE 169
Peek 1955, no. 1158;
VÉrilhac 1985, 90.

NOTE 170
Pfuhl-Möbius 1977, I, 8
no.I pl.I; for further refer-
ences, see Vedder 1988,
177 n. 73.

NOTE 171
North 1966, 76 n. 105;
Pircher 1979, 15; Carson
1990, 142.

NOTE 172
Naturally, Kleisthenes' re-
forms from 507 immedi-
ately spring to mind, but I
have chosen to deal with
this correlation separately
in Part III.

NOTE 173
See n. 95-97, 332.

NOTE 174
Just 1989, 55.

NOTE 175
Littman 1978, 17.

married woman was to bear legitimate children.¹⁵⁹ A certain genre within Attic vase painting often depicts women together with small children, almost always infants. Such scenes are most likely to be family scenes.¹⁶⁰ Family scenes and wedding scenes enjoyed their greatest popularity between 475 and 425.¹⁶¹ Perhaps there is a connection between this interest and the growing concern of the city-state to define *oikos* and limit the conditions for obtaining citizenship. As is well-known, Pericles issued a law in 451-450 ordaining that only children born of two citizen parents could become citizens themselves.¹⁶² Later on, in Demosthenes (43, 46), laws are quoted which clearly define which children are legitimate and which are not. Only women who were married by a special form of contract, *engue*, and daughters (*epikleroi*) married to their father's closest kin could produce legitimate children.¹⁶³ Illegitimate children could not belong to the nearest kin (*anchisteia*), who stood to inherit a man's property if there were no direct descendants.¹⁶⁴ Thus legitimate children secured the maintainance of an *oikos*' property, and possibly only legitimate children could obtain citizenship.

It is therefore not surprising that the most respectable death a married woman could experience was death in childbirth, a death which was thought to match the most respectable death for a citizen, death in war.¹⁶⁵ In a well-known Medea passage¹⁶⁶ we meet the opposition "birth of children - warrior in action". Medea here contrasts war with childbirth, not warrior-death with death in childbirth. So, what she compares is the will to fight for one's city with the will and capacity to bear children.

4th cent. Greek funerary epigrams stress again and again a woman's sexual self-control, her chastity, through the praise *sophrosune*.¹⁶⁷ In later Greek funerary epigrams, this praise seems to refer more specifically to the reproductive role of the married woman, and some inscriptions even present children as proofs of a woman's *sophrosune* and *areté*.¹⁶⁸ Sometimes this aspect reaches extremes, as when the

deceased woman herself completely disappears in the inscription in favour of a long and detailed description of the children she leaves behind.¹⁶⁹

The ideology just summarized certainly belongs for the most part to the 4th cent. and later. Nevertheless, I think, we have evidence for something like a forerunner to this ideology in the Archaic period. Thus, the motive "death in childbirth" occurs already on an Archaic grave relief from Chalkedon in Asia Minor showing a woman in labour.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, the earliest known true praise on a funerary stele for a woman (Lampito) was *aidoien*. And this praise seems to denote a moral qualification close to the later *sophrosune*.¹⁷¹ Interestingly, this stele was found in Athens and is dated to 510/500, that is contemporaneous with the sudden increase in child burials in Kerameikos.

For this reason, I suggest that the sudden changed attitude towards children in Kerameikos was the result of a new ideology that emphasized the married woman's will and capacity to bear children and thus secure the maintainance of the *oikos*.¹⁷² Furthermore, we ought to bear this ideology in mind when faced with multiple or closely united burials of women and children, as was the case in area "D".¹⁷³ In fact, area "D" is situated opposite the group of warrior burials on the north side of the *Heilige Strasse*, mentioned above (Fig. 5 cross-hatched area), a position which offers a striking parallel to the "childbirth-war" ideology just discussed.

Does all of this mean that the principle of "referring to a male value" has been abandoned? On the contrary, at least from the point of view of late Classical ideology. Since preferably legitimate children could obtain citizenship, the maintainance of the polis depended on the *oikoi's* capability to procreate them.¹⁷⁴ The system of unilineal descent groups was a very vulnerable one. An *oikos* often lost its sons in wars before they had entered marriage and produced legitimate offspring.¹⁷⁵ And Pericles directly exhorted married women to bear more children, in his funeral oration delivered in the first year of the Peloponne-

sian War.¹⁷⁶ Therefore it was regarded as a citizen's duty toward the *polis* not only to secure the maintenance of his own *oikos* – if necessary through the system of *epikleroi* – but also to marry off all girls for which he had responsibility in order to promote the reproduction of other *oikoi*.¹⁷⁷ Just as the *oikos* head was held responsible for the general “correct” conduct of household members,¹⁷⁸ the onus was on the citizen to ensure the legitimacy of his children, since he was held responsible for his wife's chastity. Thus, Aristotle considered a man to possess a special male *sophrosune*, namely a quality characterized by rational self-control and resistance to excess. Women, on the other hand, possessed no natural *sophrosune*. They had to be taught this quality by the men in charge of them. Therefore female *sophrosune* implied dutifulness and obedience, the result of which was chastity.¹⁷⁹ If a man failed to control his wife, the animal in the woman would break loose and she would let herself go in *eros*, and the man in charge of her was thought a disgrace.¹⁸⁰

Of course, one must again be cautious about projecting back this situation into the years around 500. However, the available sources do leave the impression that the marked distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children in the late 5th and 4th cent. was in part the result of Athen's growing democratization from the time of Solon onwards.¹⁸¹ Moreover, we have plenty of evidence from Homer and Archaic and Early Classical poets (Arkhi-lokhos, Semonides, Pindar) that the conception of women as wild animals in need of taming went back a long way.¹⁸²

In conclusion, it cannot surprise us that children and apparently women came to play an important role in the family's self-representation at death and burial. The burial plot in area “D” was the first sign of this new ideology, and the explosive increase of child burials around 500 indicates its sudden strengthening. Each burial of a child or a woman signalled the respectability of the *oikos* and thereby presented the male person in charge of it as a good polis-man. Not to put too fine a

point on it, children and women were not buried formally for their own sake, but primarily to serve the image of the man in charge of their *oikos*. Perhaps this view is worth keeping in mind even when dealing with the extremely rich female graves of Iron Age Athens which have often puzzled archaeologists.¹⁸³ Burial customs of late Archaic and Classical Kerameikos may be said to anticipate the spirit of 4th cent. and Hellenistic grave monuments. For as mentioned above, funerary inscriptions and iconography here combine to portray the chastity of the deceased woman, but at the same time hasten to mention the name of the man in charge of her.

PART II. Tumuli and Social Associations

The date of the beginning of “state burials” in Athens has been the subject of much scholarly dispute.¹⁸⁴ According to Thucydides (2.34), *patrios nomos* required that war-dead be transferred to Athens and buried there collectively on a certain day each year and that the city-state provide for their burials and hold a funeral speech in their honour. Apart from the families of the dead (including women), other citizens and metics could attend the funeral. In the funeral speeches, the warriors are repeatedly celebrated as *andres agathoi*, solely because they gave their lives for the city-state. During the 5th cent., funeral orations became one of the most important means of stimulating and cultivating patriotism, while this genre died out at the end of the 4th cent.¹⁸⁵ The beginning of national funerals as described by Thucydides has been linked with the rise of Athenian democracy, either in connection with Kleisthenes' reforms in 507¹⁸⁶ or with Kimon's policy in the 470s.¹⁸⁷ Thus the earliest reference to a collective burial of Athenian soldiers, *polyandrion*, outside Athens stems from around 510.¹⁸⁸ And the earliest epigraphical evidence for *polyandria* inside Athens dates to around 500.¹⁸⁹ However, from an archaeological point of view, it is of interest that a group

NOTE 176
Thuc. 2.44.3–4.

NOTE 177
Daube 1977; Just 1989, 40–41.

NOTE 178
Humphreys 1983, 5.

NOTE 179
North 1966, 76 n. 105;
Carson 1990, 142.

NOTE 180
Dover 1973, 65; 1978, 88.

NOTE 181
Just 1989, 53.

NOTE 182
Carson 1990, 144 n. 23.

NOTE 183
See recently Whitley
1991b, 112, 131, 156–57.

NOTE 184
See Stupperich 1977;
Clairmont 1983; Loraux
1986, 28–30 for references.

NOTE 185
Loraux 1986, 4, 98–118.

NOTE 186
Stupperich 1977, 200–224;
Loraux 1986, 30.

NOTE 187
Clairmont 1983, 7–15.

NOTE 188
Stupperich 1977, 206–214;
Clairmont 1983, 9.

NOTE 189
Stupperich 1977, 207 no. 3.

NOTE 190
Vierneisel 1964, 445.

NOTE 191
Morris 1987, 90.

NOTE 192
Ker. VI.1, 96; Ker. VII, 15;
Ker. IX, 10; Kübler dates
the sequence of graves in
Velanideza and Vourva ac-
cording to their similarity
to Grabhügel G.

NOTE 193
AA 1936, cols. 123-125;
AA 1937, cols. 121-124;
AA 1940 cols. 177-178;
BCH 1937, 450-451; Stais
1891, 28-32.

NOTE 194
AA 1936, cols. 123-125.

NOTE 195
Lauter 1985b, 64-65, fig. 9.

NOTE 196
Ker. XII, 57-84.

NOTE 197
Prakt 1911, 110-131; Stais
1890a, 29, 49, 100.

NOTE 198
Stais 1890a, 16-28, 105-112.

NOTE 199
Ker. XII, 57-84.

of four warrior burials – at least – and dat-
ing to shortly after 540 have been excavat-
ed in Kerameikos.¹⁹⁰

It is not my intention to enter into a
discussion of the earliest evidence for the
whole set of customs implied by *patrios no-
mos*. I will, however, argue that one of its
main principles, viz. the practice of bury-
ing collectively men who were not blood
relations, but shared an equal social value,
was based on an Early Archaic (if not older)
firmly established elite practice in Attica,
one which produces extreme examples
of the inclination of families not to bury
all their members in a family plot, as
argued in Part I. I thus oppose a current
conception that kinship was more or less
the sole organizing principle behind the
majority of burial groups in Attica until
Hellenistic and Roman times.¹⁹¹

Huge tumuli: exceptions to the rule

In Part I, tumuli and grave buildings were
seen to be very common in Kerameikos
700-575/560 (Table 3). They exclusively
marked adult burials, and the diameter of
the tumuli never exceeded 10 m. However,
three outstanding exceptions to this
rule exist, clearly visible in Fig. 1 and Fig.
4. The earliest exception is *Rundbau* (7th
cent.) followed by *Grabhügel G*, erected
between 560 and 550, and *Südhügel*,
which was raised around 540. Common
to all three tumuli is the extreme diam-
eter, ranging from 18-20 to 40 m. More-
over, *Rundbau* and *Grabhügel G* mark sev-
eral more or less contemporary adult bur-
ials forming a circle and – as I will argue
later on – *Südhügel* was probably intended
to commemorate several adult burials as
well. As already pointed out by Kübler
and Knigge, these tumuli have close par-
allels in the Attic countryside.¹⁹² At Vari,
several huge tumuli have been excavated,
but thorough descriptions are lacking.¹⁹³
One mound measuring approximately 20
m in diameter apparently covered only
one burial dating to 620,¹⁹⁴ but another
mound (no. III) appears to be of the same
size as *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* and held

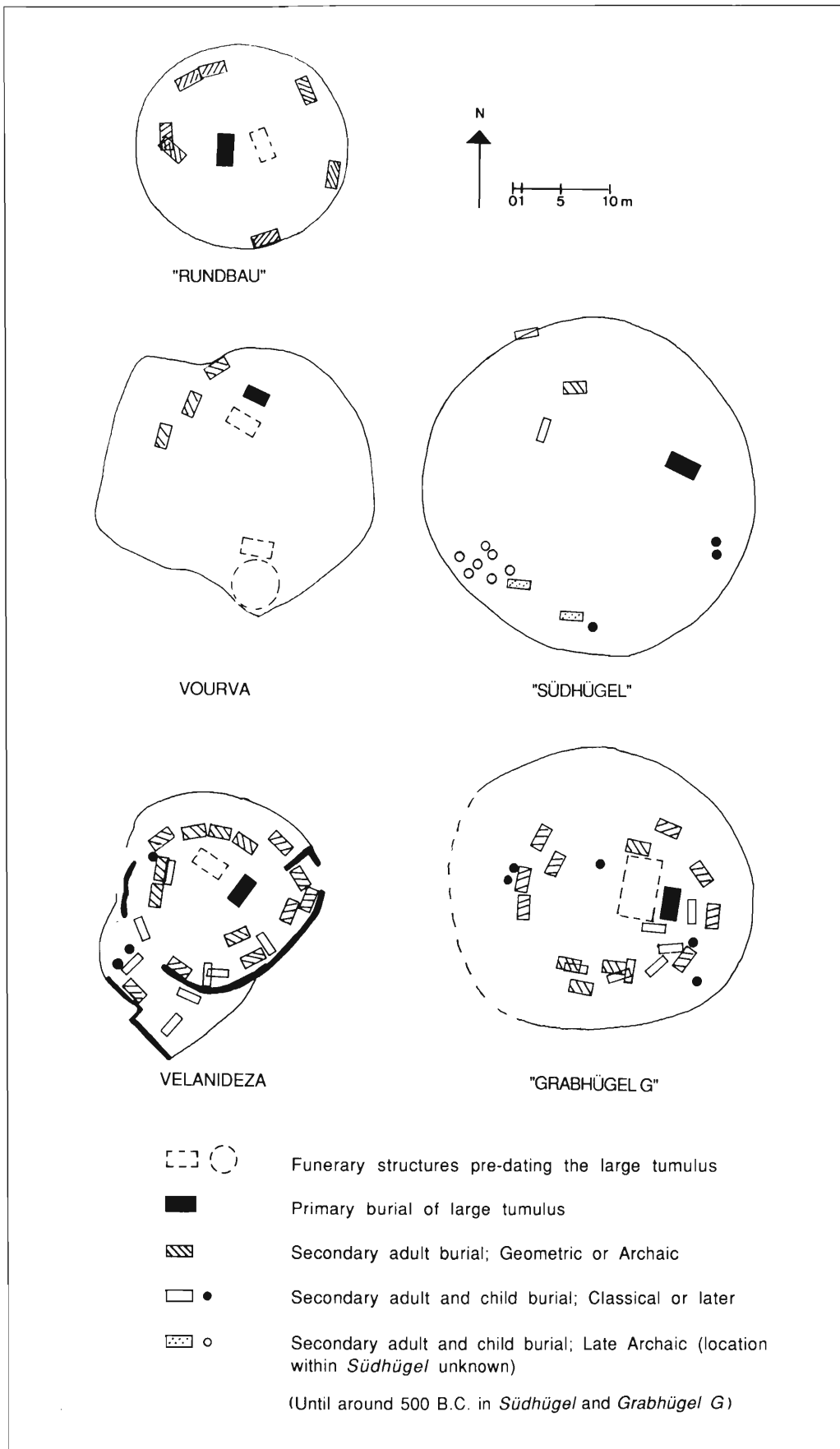
seven graves coeval with or a little later
than the “circle-burials” of *Grabhügel G*.
Mound V also marked several burials dat-
ing from 550-450. In the vicinity of Vari,
yet another tumulus of approximately the
size of the *Rundbau* (17 m) has been not-
ed. It was very badly disturbed, and no
graves are reported. However, in front of
this tumulus shallow pits containing
burned remains were found,¹⁹⁵ an ar-
rangement which recalls the “Terrassenan-
lage” in front of the *Rundbau*¹⁹⁶ and the
enclosure in front of the tumulus at Velan-
ideza (see below).

Two large tumuli are known from Ana-
vyssos and one from Petreza, but detailed
information is lacking.¹⁹⁷ One of the Ana-
vyssos mounds marked more than 25 bur-
ials, some of which were Late Geomet-
ric.

The tumuli in Velanideza and Vourva
are more fully described,¹⁹⁸ and it is in-
teresting to note that they form close par-
allels to *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel*. An
enormous tumulus was erected at the site
of earlier grave buildings on the occasion
of one burial. Some time later, more adult
burials in large shaft graves followed,
forming a circle or semicircle around the
primary burial (Fig. 9). Moreover, child
burials do not appear until Late Archaic or
Classical times, as was the case in Kera-
meikos.

Of all these tumuli, the ones in the
Kerameikos are best known archaeologi-
cally. A short summary of their archaeo-
logical history is therefore warranted.

To the north-east of the Ay. Triadha
hill, a group of 22 burials was excavated
by U. Knigge.¹⁹⁹ At least five of these
could be dated to between the end of the
8th and the middle of the 6th cent. Sev-
eral burials were clearly arranged in a circle
and covered by red soil. For this reason
Knigge suggested that a large mound,
with a diameter of 18-20 m, had covered
these burials, the *Rundbau*. To the east of
this mound, several burials lay parallel to
each other, perhaps on a sort of terrace.
By the third quarter of the 6th cent., the
mound was no longer visible. The theory
of a large tumulus in the 7th cent. is



560-535 B.C.	Adult cremation	Adult inhumation
Huge tumuli	1	17
Other burials	2 (3?)	7

Table 11

560-535 B.C.	No. of gifts from offering -trenches (or -places)	No. of grave gifts
Huge tumuli	3 (3.5%)	82 (96.5%)
Other burials	7 (12.8%)	48 (87.3%)

Table 12

greatly supported by the site's later history. Thus another circle of burials could be identified among the 22 burials, which dated to soon after a regulation of the Eridanos river in 479. This circle was surrounded by remains of a foundation wall, which no doubt had supported a large earth mound.²⁰⁰

Grabhügel G was erected at some time between 560 and 550. It largely covered the old 7th cent. adult grave plot (Figs. 1,4). *Grabhügel G* was app. 4m high and measured 36 m in diameter.²⁰¹ It was raised above an extremely monumental shaft grave (3.80 x 2.40 m) with walls covered by gaily painted wooden boards (only small pieces of an abstract design were preserved). An (empty) offering-trench was also connected with the grave. Kübler regarded the earliest known figured grave stele, found at some distance to the west, as having belonged to this shaft grave. This may still be true, even though this stele does not belong to the base that was found on the western part of *Grabhügel G*, and even though this base does not belong to the primary shaft grave of *Grabhügel G*, as Kübler argued.²⁰² Within the next 10-20 years, after the erection of *Grabhügel G*, 11 burials were dug into the tumulus, forming a circle.²⁰³ As mentioned above, I refer to these burials as "circle-burials".

The *Südhügel* was erected at the same

time as the youngest "circle-burials". It measured app. 40 m in diameter and covered a huge shaft grave similar to the primary burial in *Grabhügel G*, that is with walls covered by wooden boards. A secondary burial in a huge shaft grave was excavated close to this grave, but was unfortunately disturbed and emptied in later times.

In view of the obvious special character of the huge tumuli, it is interesting to note that *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* seem to initiate certain burial customs. Thus, cremation was the preferred practice for adults until 575/560, after which inhumation took over (Table 4). This reversed situation seems to be intimately connected with the huge tumuli, which is indicated by a comparison of the number of inhumations and cremations in the huge tumuli and outside them, respectively (Table 11). Furthermore, one of the characteristic features of 7th and early 6th cent. burial customs was the preference for depositing gifts in offering-trenches and/or -places instead of inside the graves. But after 560, almost all gifts were placed inside the grave (Table 5). Most gifts consist of *lekythoi* and not - as in the trenches - of drinking- and eating- vessels. From then on, and throughout most of the 5th cent., grave gifts are by far the most common types of gifts to the dead and mostly consist of *lekythoi*.²⁰⁴ Perhaps the change-over to grave gifts was also initiated by the bur-

NOTE 200
Ker. XII, 60-71.

NOTE 201
Ker. VII.1, 7-9, Beil.1.

NOTE 202
Kübler 1973 and Ker. VII.1, 5-16 and 207-218. Against a connection between base and shaft grave no. I, see Freytag 1975, 49-52.

NOTE 203
Ker. VII.1, nos. 2-12.

NOTE 204
Houby-Nielsen 1992, table 8.

ying groups of the huge tumuli,²⁰⁵ since the frequency of grave gifts was somewhat higher here than among the other contemporary burials (Table 12). Last, but certainly not least, the sex and status of the deceased in the huge mounds deserves special attention. The sex or gender of the *Rundbau* burials is not possible to discern. Due to the lack of detailed information regarding the huge tumuli in the Attic countryside, it is not possible to speculate in terms of sex and gender of the buried population here either. Turning to *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* we have, however, much more to go by.

As I have argued in Excursus 2, the circle-burials and the *Südhügel* burial are very uniform in terms of means of interment and burial context as a whole. And the latter as well as (the few) available osteological analyses combine to show us that of 13 burials 7 were possibly male, 1 possibly female and 5 undeterminable. In fact the grave contexts express a specific concept related to the Lydian luxury lifestyle *truphé*.

To sum up, the burial pattern of the huge tumuli strongly contrasts with that of "true" family plots such as the one in area "D" and the one south-west of *Grabhügel G*, discussed in Part I. "True" family plots were characterized by different age groups representing both sexes, for which reason grave contexts were very dissimilar. And the burials were not united by a common grave marker.²⁰⁶ By contrast, the huge tumuli constitute a *common* grave marker in which the burying group belongs to the same age group, and - in *Grabhügel G* - to a high degree to the same sex and has a *common* social status, so grave contexts appear rather uniform.

True enough, the organizing principle of sex and age group also applied to family burials. And as we have seen, this may have caused members of the same family to be buried with members of other families of the same age or status. There is nevertheless an important difference in that here tumuli and grave buildings were used only to mark individual burials, perhaps followed by one or two secondary burials.

Earlier interpretations of *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel*

Before I continue my discourse, I should like briefly to comment upon earlier interpretations of *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel*.

In an article from 1973, K. Kübler interpreted *Grabhügel G* and the figured stele found in its western part as together forming the grave of Solon. As a kind of culminating treat, he quoted a passage by Aelian (V.H. VIII, 16),²⁰⁷ since the location of Solon's grave given in this passage could be shown to fit *Grabhügel G*. Kübler furthermore regarded *Grabhügel G* as a *state* burial, owing to its lack of respect for earlier burials, which is otherwise a common feature on the Ay. Triadha hill.²⁰⁸ And Kübler interpreted the "Ieron Tritopatreion" enclosure, situated just east of *Grabhügel G*, as a "Kultstätte" for the "Schöpfer und Wahrer der attischen Grabgesetze".²⁰⁹ R. Stupperich was not convinced by this theory and rightly questioned i.a. the monumentality of *Grabhügel G* in the 3rd cent. A.D. and thus Aelian's chance of recognizing it as a state burial for Solon, the more so since the grave stele allegedly representing Solon had according to Kübler been buried in *Grabhügel G* for centuries.²¹⁰ Apart from contradictory information regarding the fate of Solon's body,²¹¹ a correlation of the date of the tumulus and the patchwork reconstruction of Solon's life story seems to fit neatly. The erection of *Grabhügel G* is dated archaeologically to the early 550s,²¹² and most historians now date Solon's death to 560/559.²¹³

Nevertheless, in his eagerness to make historically narrated events fit with the archaeological evidence, Kübler disregarded major historical and archaeological problems, which I think have to be considered: 1) can we expect a commemorative burial of Solon in the middle of the 6th cent?, and 2) what does a *state* burial imply at this time?

1). It was characteristic of Solon that he used the power of the word instead of the sword to express his political ideas.²¹⁴ His

NOTE 205

The earliest lekythos in a burial context was, however, found in a burial dated to 575-560: Ker. VI.1, L/50.

NOTE 206

until the last part of the 5th cent.

NOTE 207

Kübler 1973.

NOTE 208

Kübler 1973, 189 and 192.

NOTE 209

Kübler 1973, 189, 193.

NOTE 210

Stupperich 1977, 85 n. 1.

NOTE 211

according to Plutarch, the corpse was burned and the ash strewn over the sea (Plut., Solon 32; see also Stupperich 1977, 85 n. 1.)

NOTE 212

Ker. VII.1, 14-15; Ker. IX, 10.

NOTE 213

Davies 1971, 324.

NOTE 214

Stahl 1987, 230-231.

NOTE 215

For references, see Oliva 1988, 71-78, 86-91.

NOTE 216

M. Stahl, Solon F 3D: The Birth of Democratic Ideas (a lecture held at the symposium on "Culture et Cité. L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque", Bruxelles Avril 25-27, 1991.

NOTE 217

Stroud 1978, 3-6; Plut. Solon 25.1

NOTE 218

Hansen 1990, 77-78.

NOTE 219

Ruschenbusch 1966, 53-58.

NOTE 220

Shapiro 1991, 645.

NOTE 221

Rosivach 1988, 43-61.

NOTE 222

Steuben 1989.

NOTE 223

Brock 1991.

NOTE 224

Stahl 1987, 56-104; 138-197.

poems are known to us from many different later authors.²¹⁵ We find most of them in Plutarch's life of Solon, some in the works of Diogenes Laertios and others in the anthologies of the early Christian author, Clemens of Alexandria. Especially in *Solon* fr. 3D, we notice for the first time an incipient state-consciousness in which the state is viewed as a whole. The well-being of the state (*eunomia*) is dependent on the well-being of *all* its members, and these must serve the state rather than themselves)²¹⁶. As an elected *archon*, Solon was commissioned to pen regulations for public display.²¹⁷ However, the extreme worship of Solon as the founder of democracy was a late 5th to 4th cent. phenomenon brought about by the growing interest in and consciousness of political theory.²¹⁸ A by product of this worship was, for example, the almost customary ascription of laws to Solon.²¹⁹ On this basis, the idea of a grandiose 6th cent. burial and "Kultstätte" commemorating Solon as the founder of democracy and creator of laws prohibiting funerary luxury does not seem very convincing. And A. Shapiro suggested that the description of Solon's grave in Aelian could be an invention of the 5th to 4th cent. projecting back to Solon's time the Classical practice of public burials in Kerameikos.²²⁰

"State burials" following the scheme described by Thucydides (2.34) and commented upon above were exclusively for those who died in battle and need thus not be discussed here. Instead it is necessary to examine more closely the *nature* of "state" in Archaic Athens in order to discuss Kübler's theory of *Grabhügel* G. Regarding this problem, the latest research in the social and political history of Archaic Athens tends to emphasize the lack of a fully developed state-consciousness until the tyrannies of Peisistratos, covering most of the second half of the 6th cent. And there is a tendency to tone down Kleisthenes' importance for the development of democracy and rather see politics in the first half of the 5th cent. as highly dependent on Peisistratid policy and separated from the fully developed Athenian

democracy of the late 5th and especially 4th cent. For instance, it has recently been pointed out that no constitutional change followed in the wake of the expulsion of the tyrants, but rather changed conditions for the realization of Solon's reforms, and moreover, that *isonomia* was not originally a Kleisthenic slogan, but referred to equality among already selected citizens (aristocrats) in pre-Kleisthenic Athens and was therefore opposed to tyranny.²²¹ In his recent book on Peisistratid Athens, Shapiro also concludes that it was the Peisistratids' cultural and religious policy which laid the foundation for early 5th cent. policy. Into this picture fits recent study on the Agora, which shows the monumentalization of the Athenian Agora to be a Peisistratid achievement and not due to Kleisthenes.²²² A decidedly democratic ideology does not seem to appear until the second half of the 5th cent.²²³ As a matter of fact, Stahl's recent thorough analysis of the Archaic Athenian "state" shows it to be very much dependent on earlier chieftain-society.²²⁴ Thus, without doubt, the establishment in Athens of various *archons* in the 7th cent. was an important step in the development of state-consciousness. But in fact, the offices were nothing but the institutionalization of the functions that each of the chieftains (*basileis*) had possessed during the Dark Age. Furthermore, the way the offices were conducted and the way the *archons* defined their tasks show that the *archons* were still behaving according to the Homeric *aristie*-ideal. They followed an aristocratic individualistic competitive ethic. Consequently, the offices were used mainly to promote the *archon's* own reputation and prestige, on the pretext of solving problems for the community. This concern for prestige was rooted in the aristocrats' dependence on their own ability to form *stasis* (bodies of followers) when striving for power. In this tense competition to win followers, first one group of aristocrats and then another appeared the strongest before the *demos*, and owing - among other things - to this circumstance, the *stasis* were never homogeneous, but constantly changed character

and structure.²²⁵ This again caused “state” decisions to be casual and unpredictable, since they were issued at the sweet will of the ever changing body of *archons*. Apparently, Solon realized that the *stasis* were the main hindrance for a true state-conduct to emerge. At least his reforms were designed to vitiate concern with *stasis*, claiming that they promoted *dysnomia* and prevented *eunomia*. But his attack had little success. On the contrary, Peisistratos came into power as a tyrant mainly owing to his strong ability to form *stasis*. In fact his tyranny can be seen as the result of a still existing Homeric *aristie*-ideal. Nevertheless, it seems to have been during Peisistratos’ tyrannies that the Solonian reforms were first applied. Not due to a *demos*-friendly or anti-aristocratic conviction, but because they were a convenient tool for strengthening the power of Peisistratos and his sons.

In this context, a “state-burial” can imply only an activity serving one ambitious citizen’s struggle to promote his own image and not an institution in the later, Classical sense of the term.

This (historical) line of thought in fact echoes an *archaeologically* based argumentation. Already in 1977 F. Kolb²²⁶ sought to rebut current attempts to see Archaic building, religious and cultural activities in Athens as part of a determined social and political programme developed by Peisistratos and his sons. He concluded that none of the activities ascribable to the tyrant and his sons embodied an anti-aristocratic policy, but were on the contrary “eine Variante der Adelserschaft”.²²⁷ Shapiro, in his aforementioned study, has re-examined all the evidence for Peisistratid internal and external political activities and shown the enormous growth and expansion which Athenian cult underwent during the time of the tyrannies. However, the extent to which Peisistratos and his descendants encouraged this increased cultic activity remains uncertain, since much of the Peisistratid cult activity had begun before Peisistratos and continued after his death.²²⁸

Another mainly archaeological objec-

tion against Kübler’s theory is formed by *Grabhügel G* itself. If *Grabhügel G* did commemorate Solon, it is most surprising that the tumulus was neglected as a monument (turned into a children’s cemetery) in those centuries, that – as we saw above – were most likely to have revived his memory, namely the 5th and 4th. We should also note that Kübler does not identify the persons buried in the secondary burials forming a circle and resembling “Solon’s grave”, as also pointed out by R. Stupperich.²²⁹ Finally, his theory does not take into account the formal similarities between the circle-burials of *Grabhügel G* and the primary burial of *Südhügel*.

U. Knigge has advanced another theory concerning *Grabhügel G*. In her publication of *Südhügel*, she suggests, cautiously in a footnote, that the 7th cent. “core” area (Fig. 1), *Grabhügel G*, and the huge Late Classical grave building south-west of *Grabhügel G* (Fig. 7) all form part of an Alkmaionid kinship burial plot, and repeats this interpretation in a later work.²³⁰ The main argument rests on a funerary trapeza which was found in the just mentioned grave building. It carries an inscription mentioning a certain Hipparete, (ii (2) 7400) who can be identified as the daughter of Alkibiades IV. Alkibiades again was related to the Alkmaionid family on his mother’s side.²³¹ The history (and genealogy) of this family, which is comparatively well documented in the Archaic period as opposed to later periods,²³² is narrowly connected with the social and political history of Athens. Thus, the family counts among its members famous personalities such as Megakles II (who alternately opposed Peisistratos politically and sided with him), Kleisthenes (the reformer), and Perikles (the famous politician).²³³ Kübler disagreed with this interpretation, since in his opinion some of the graves date to the period in which the Alkmaionids, according to written sources, were cursed and then expelled from Attica.²³⁴ It has, however, recently been argued that the details about the Alkmaionid curse and exile are heavily coloured by the Alk-

NOTE 225

In Homer’s time, *demos* seems to have referred to all free members of a community, including those powerful men who for the time being or in a particular situation were not in command, while powerful men who were in command in a particular situation were not part of the *demos*. This definition, at least, can be inferred from Donlan 1970, 385; such antion-determined concept of status seems to characterize the Athenian social system even much later and be partly responsible for the fact that most social group designations (including *stasis*) seldom refer to homogeneous classes. Compare Austin & Vidal-Naquet 1986, 21–22; Vernant 1982, 1–18.

NOTE 226

Kolb 1977

NOTE 227

Kolb 1977, 136.

NOTE 228

Shapiro 1989.

NOTE 229

Stupperich 1977, 85 n. 1.

NOTE 230

Ker. IX, 10, n. 26; 1988, 105, 109–110.

NOTE 231

Davies 1971, 16. Two other gravestone inscriptions belonging to the Alkmaionid family have been found in Kerameikos. One was built into the Dipylon-tower, the other is said to have been found in the Gräberstrasse, which the Hipparete grave building faces, Ker. IX, 10, n. 26.

NOTE 232

Davies 1971, 381.

NOTE 233

Davies 1971, 368–381.

NOTE 234
Ker. VI.1, 197; Kübler
1973, 189 n. 38.

NOTE 235
Thomas 1989, 144-154.

NOTE 236
Davies 1971, 15.

NOTE 237
Ker. IX, 10.

NOTE 238
Stupperich 1977, 82 has a
similar view.

maionid family tradition's struggle to appear with an unblemished past in Classical, democratic Athens. This meant i.a. that the family did not wish to be connected with the tyrant Peisistratos.²³⁵ Accordingly, the coincidence of Peisistratos' tyrannies and the alleged Alkmaionid exile and curious return to Athens just in time to throw out the tyrant and thus be responsible for the introduction of democracy should perhaps not be taken as a historical fact.

Nevertheless, the identification of the huge Classical grave building as an Alkmaionid burial plot is problematic for other reasons, as has been pointed out to me by M.H. Hansen. It presupposes that the normal patrilinear principle has been broken, since Alkibiades IV's daughter should then have been buried together with the family on Alkibiades' mother's side. If anything, the burial plot ought to have belonged to Alkibiades' family on his father's side or the family into which Hipparete was married. And on Hipparete's gravestone Phanoukles Andromachou Leukonoieus is commemorated, who was probably Hipparete's husband.²³⁶

For reasons stated in Part I, I find the idea of ascribing the 7th cent. "core" area and the succeeding 6th and 5th cent. series of tumuli and grave buildings to the same family highly convincing. Due, however, to the striking difference in burial pattern between the circle-burials in *Grabhügel G* and the just mentioned series of tumuli marking individual burials, and due to the irregular western side of the actual *Grabhügel G*, which apparently avoids the area of the later huge Classical grave building, I do not think *Grabhügel G* forms part of this family plot. Moreover, the similarity between the circle-burials and the primary burial of *Südhügel* speaks against such a connection. Regarding *Südhügel*, Knigge interprets this mound as erected over a "Gesandtgrab" with the approval of Peisistratos.²³⁷

Huge tumuli: power-political monuments commemorating élite socio-political associations

There appear to be several indications that *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* possessed an unusual power-political dimension and that the original use and intention of *Südhügel* came to an abrupt end.

As shown in Table 2, burial activity in the periods 575-560 and 535-510 was unusually low. And as appears from my Catalogue of Burials, the dates of several of the burials placed in these periods are insecure (underlined dates). If these insecurely dated burials in reality belong to other periods, burial activity becomes even lower. No matter what is correct, we are faced with an unusually low burial activity, perhaps even next to no burial activity, in the period preceding *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel*. This circumstance may indicate conflicts concerning the erection of the huge tumuli. Similarly, one gets the impression of conflicts regarding further maintenance of the tumuli, if one combines the following three facts: 1) the low (or lack of) burial activity in the period 535-510, 2) the sudden replacement of the elaborate, gender-specific inhumation burials of the mounds with rather simple burials that did not signal a specific gender (discussed in Part I and more fully in Excursus 1-3), and 3) the sudden admittance of child burials²³⁸ (compare Figs. 1-4 with 5-7). If we moreover take into account the hugeness of the tumuli causing a spatial and visual dominance of the Kerameikos, and the fact that the circle-burials and the primary burial of *Südhügel* perhaps set a fashion when introducing the *lekkythos* as a grave gift, *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* acquire quite a power-political dimension. The development indicated is then:

Burial ground used by one or more families - conflicts - erection of power-political grave monuments - conflicts - tumuli used by different families.

Such a chain of events indicates that *Südhügel* is “unfinished”. That is, *Südhügel* was originally meant to mark deceased persons in some way or another related with the person for whom the mound was erected, if conflicts had not prevented this intention from being realized.

This view is supported by a comparison of *Südhügel* with other huge, early tumuli (Fig. 9), since the latter were erected for one burial, which, however, was shortly after followed by other burials (the same appears to be the case at Petreza, for which no drawing is available). Only on *Südhügel* did larger shaft graves stop abruptly.

Such an explanation would also account for the similarity between the primary burial of *Südhügel* and the circle-burials, since both mounds would then so to speak be of the same “genre”.

It is now time to attempt to identify the relations between the persons buried in the huge mounds. Between 560 and 535 a certain recurring combination of elements is characteristic of most adult burials in Kerameikos, both family burials and those in the huge mounds. These elements consist of *lekythos*, *lydion* and inhumation in a large shaft grave the walls of which may be covered with wooden boards. When attempting to trace the associations of these elements – as I have done in Excursus 2 – they proved to refer to the Lydian luxurious body culture called *truphé* by ancient writers. This lifestyle comprised not only exotic perfumes but also sumptuous drinking and eating habits. Moreover, *truphé* is commonly alluded to in Lydian grave iconography and in Lydian grave contexts that are similar to the Kerameikos burials: *lekythoi* associated with *lydia*, burial chambers of timber construction in huge tumuli.

The interesting thing here is the way in which the *truphé* concept has been emphasized in the burials of the two neighbouring mounds in Kerameikos. Only here (in two of the circle-burials and in the primary burial of *Südhügel*) do we also find fragments of ivory and amber *klinai*, the prime furniture of symposia and ban-

quets, and originally part of Lydian *truphé*. Clearly, the huge tumulus, the *klinai*, the *lekythoi*, *lydia*, and wooden boards on the walls of the shaft graves recalled Lydian burial practice expressing *truphé* in a much more grandiose way than contemporary family burials outside the huge mounds. And the presence of *klinai* stresses the symposium aspect of *truphé*.

In Archaic Athens, the symposium formed part of a whole series of civic (that is male) rituals of conviviality, such as reclining banquets, collective hunting, ephebe and hoplite life and participation in assemblies. All activities which combined to define the participants as true citizens, and activities which constituted the self-definition of the leisured class.²³⁹

In this context, it is significant that contemporaneous with the circle of burials in *Grabhügel G* and the *Südhügel* primary burial, a new type of grave monument appears in Athens and Attica, the Attic figured graverelief, and the wish to supplement the pictorial message through funerary epigrams. These grave monuments clearly recall the new self-definition of the leisured class by referring to hoplite and athlete activities (the deceased person may wear a helmet, armour or greaves or hold artefacts such as a shield, a lance, a sword, or a *strigil*, an *aryballos*, a *diskos* or a boxing glove).²⁴⁰ But even more general and likewise new ideological values are expressed in words and pictures.²⁴¹ One of these is *sophrosyne*, a virtue which was to become the most powerful of all Athenian virtues, perhaps initially due to Solon.²⁴² It was totally unrelated to war achievements, but instead stood for a certain restrained conduct (in times of peace) and intellectual insight. Of special interest to the present argumentation is its intimate relation to symposia, since wine was obviously thought to promote *sophrosyne*.²⁴³ In some funerary epigrams it appears together with *agathos* and *areté*, constituting a phrase²⁴⁴ indicating that these Homeric adjectives have now acquired a new meaning.²⁴⁵ Since the earliest known Attic figured graverelief was found on the western part of *Grabhügel G*,²⁴⁶ perhaps to be connected

NOTE 239
Schmitt Pantel 1990a-b,
1992, 53–113.

NOTE 240
Richter 1961, no. 23, nos.
25–27, no. 31, no. 33, no.
37, nos. 45–47, no. 51,
nos. 64–67, no. 76; Alex-
andris 1969, 89; Kallipo-
litis 1969, 394; ADelt 29,
1973/74, B, pin. 52d; Jant-
zen 1963, 433; compare
also the head (with a hel-
met?) from a statue,
Knigge 1983; D’Onofrio
1982 regards the Attic
kouroi as representing con-
servative epic virtues and
the Attic figured grave
steles as referring to civic
virtues.

NOTE 241
Both Day 1989 and
Steuernagel 1991 point
out the parallelism of the
iconographical and written
messages of Attic grave
monuments.

NOTE 242
North 1966, 14–16; M.
Stahl believes that *sophro-
sune* is proclaimed by
Solon in fr. 3D (see this
paper n. 216).

NOTE 243
North 1966, 15–16.

NOTE 244
6th cent. Attic funerary
epigrams, in which *sophros*
or *sophrosyne* is mentioned:
Jeffery 1962, 120 no. 9,
130 no. 23, 140 no. 49;
Willemsen 1963, no. 11.

NOTE 245
Adkins 1960, chapters 8, 9,
11. North 1966, 13. Com-
pare also the new meaning
of *agathos* and *areté*, when
these virtues become asso-
ciated with *kalos* in the 5th
cent., Donlan 1973, 365–
374.

NOTE 246
Ker. VII.1, 5–16.

NOTE 247
Schmitt Pantel 1990b, 14-33.

NOTE 248
Murray 1983a, 257-272
and 1983b.

NOTE 249
Murray 1990, 149-161.

NOTE 250
Rhodes 1986, 132-144.

NOTE 251
See references in Schmitt
Pantel 1990b, 20 n. 41.

NOTE 252
Murray 1983a, 266 who
relies Snell 1965, 64-79,
esp. 71 n. 22.

NOTE 253
Ker. IX, 10.

NOTE 254
Herman 1987, 12.

NOTE 255
Herman 1987, 150.

NOTE 256
Herman 1987, 26-27;
compare funerary monu-
ments set up by *hetairoi*:
Pfohl 1966 no. 75, no. 78.

NOTE 257
Herman 1987, 130-142.

with the primary shaft grave of this mound, it is tempting to interpret the appearance of Attic figured grave-reliefs and the funerary rituals introduced by the *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* as the result of a need for new means to express a new civic ideology.

We may however go further than that. Recently, P. Schmitt Pantel has pointed out that we ought not to speak in terms of *the banquet*, or *the symposium*.²⁴⁷ A symposium may be arranged after several different kinds of banquets or meals occurring in a public or private sphere (i.e. cultic festivals, *prytaneion*, private house as proof of hospitality) thereby taking very different shapes. Common, however, to these rituals of conviviality is that they formed part of a whole series of activities exercised by groups of men not primarily united by family ties, but by similar age and social status. But apart from being a general civic institution, rituals of commensality could also acquire power-political dimensions. Thus, O. Murray has demonstrated the potential role of the Archaic symposium as an organ of social control in the hands of the aristocracy of the city originating perhaps in the Homeric banquet²⁴⁸ and with offshoots in Classical aristocratic *hetaireia* that oppose the *demos*.²⁴⁹ The latter groups, the *hetaireia*, may also have fulfilled the role of supporter for various Classical politicians.²⁵⁰ Earlier in the present paper, the attention was drawn to how necessary it was for the Archaic citizen to pursue political power to form *stasis*. Considering the various roles that rituals of conviviality could play, symposiac associations may well have formed an important part in such a formation. Recent interpretations of Archaic poetry as being primarily composed for singing in particular symposia consisting of homogeneous citizens of similar opinions (i.e. the poems of Solon) point in the same direction.²⁵¹ This political dimension of symposiac associations is extremely important, since *Grabhügel G* (and huge tumuli in general) was interpreted above as an atypical family burial plot and since it manifests a power-political dimension.

Therefore, I propose that the circle-burials of *Grabhügel G* primarily consisted of members of a symposiac association which functioned as a political supporter group. In this way the new prevalence of *syn-* to emphasize the cohesion of the small, male, and non-family group in Archaic poetry (*synodos*, *symmachos*)²⁵² has found its material equivalent in the *circle* of burials. Some of the buried symposium members may be accompanied by family members, as indeed the presence of a female burial suggests - but it is the political, public role which is emphasized.

How does this theory fit in with *Südhügel*, *Rundbau* and their parallels in the Attic countryside? Beginning with *Südhügel*, U. Knigge interpreted its primary burial as a "Gesandtgrab", due to the Eastern origin of the burial gifts.²⁵³ In view of the formal similarity between this burial and the circle-burials of *Grabhügel G*, I would elaborate on this theory and suggest a *xenia*-relationship between the "circle-burials" in *Grabhügel G* and the primary burial of *Südhügel*. Partners involved in ritualized friendship of the *xenia* kind belonged to the upper class of different societies. In the Greek world, this meant that *xenia* never existed between men of the same city-state.²⁵⁴ Typically such coalitions consisted of a leader surrounded by a narrow circle of kinsmen and friends and of *xenoi* attached to the leader, also surrounded by kinsmen and friends.²⁵⁵ Apart from duties such as foster-parenthood and mutual protection and help, a *xenos* would also provide for the burial of a dead partner and celebrate his memory.²⁵⁶ The upper class, aristocratic nature of *xenia* contrasted deeply with the ideology of the city-state, since networks of such ritualized friendships were set above the common interest of the city-state. This opposition between *xenia* and the city-state would certainly fit my interpretation of *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* as being subjected to conflicts at the end of the 6th cent., shortly before Kleisthenes' reforms. Perhaps the civic institution *proxenia* is developed from *xenia*.²⁵⁷ If so, it is interesting that the city-state of Athens

buried Pythagoras of Selymbria at public expense immediately to the north of *Südhügel*, because Pythagoras and his ancestors were excellent *proxenoi*, as the inscription informs us.²⁵⁸

At this juncture it should not be forgotten that in the Late Archaic and Early Classical period the principle of the common grave marker was used to mark war-dead, that is to say men who were not related by blood, but by their common fulfillment of a certain civic virtue.²⁵⁹ It is also important to recall that there was a tradition later on for public non-family grave monuments opposite *Grabhügel G*. As mentioned earlier, a group of warriors were buried on the north side of the "Heilige Strasse" shortly after 540.

Turning to *Rundbau*, Knigge has interpreted this structure – in use for several centuries – as the burial plot of a priestly kinship group, the Kerykes. Her interpretation is based on a description by Pausanias (I.36,3),²⁶⁰ in which Pausanias on his way to Piraeus mentions a burial for Anthemokritos on the right side of the road shortly after he has left the Sacred Gate. And this Anthemokritos can be connected with the Kerykes family. It is an attractive theory, not least because *genos* in the sense of kinship group was found by F. Bourriot to have been used only about the Kerykes before the 5th cent. and in the 5th cent. mainly about royal or priestly families.²⁶¹ Now, the reason why the Kerykes are referred to as a priestly family is that all the Eleusinian sacred officials called *daduchs* (a male office) were drawn from them.²⁶² The choice of a grave marker common to several graves would then according to my line of thought be a natural consequence, since it would express yet another mutual public status of great political importance (a priestly office).

Regarding the tumuli at Velanideza and Vourva, these contained only few finds and are thus difficult to draw any conclusions from.²⁶³ However, a figured grave stele commemorating a certain Lyseas and dated to about the middle of the 6th cent. was found close to the mound at Velanideza.²⁶⁴ It has been interpreted as repre-

senting a priest, perhaps a priest of Dionysos, since Lyseas holds a *kantharos*, a bouquet (corn?, laurel?) and is dressed in a red chiton.²⁶⁵ K. Friis Johansen has argued at length against this interpretation. He rather considers the just mentioned attributes to be heroizing, depicting Lyseas as dead. His main argument is based on a comparison with Boiotian and Laconian reliefs depicting a procession of people (shown on a small scale) who approach enthroned persons (shown on a larger scale). The latter hold attributes similar to the ones held by Lyseas. Normally, the enthroned persons are interpreted as deceased persons who through death became heroized and thus worshipped as heroes.

The argument, though, is not convincing. As I mentioned earlier, Attic Archaic grave-reliefs generally depict the deceased with attributes which refer to a civic lifestyle: first and foremost war and athletics, just as funerary epigrams solely commemorate virtues and deeds of the person when alive. In this way the Archaic grave-reliefs anticipate Attic, Classical grave-reliefs on which the deceased is always depicted as a human being and is often shown in a domestic scene.²⁶⁶ Friis Johansen attempts to explain away the impression of human apparition on the Archaic funerary reliefs by referring to the "brother-and-sister-stele" in N.Y.²⁶⁷ On this grave stele the young athlete, in addition to an *aryballos*, also holds a pomegranate, and the young girl next to him a flower, and Friis Johansen refers to current interpretation of especially the pomegranate as a death-symbol.²⁶⁸ It is, however, important to remember that the pomegranate also had many non-funerary functions, which were hardly completely separate from its funerary symbolism. For instance, pomegranates were popular love gifts for both women and young men.²⁶⁹ On the "brother-and-sister-stele" the pomegranate may therefore simply underline the beauty of the young man and hereby emphasize the tragedy of his early death. Friis Johansen's comparison with the Boiotian and Laconian reliefs also seems unsatisfactory. When making this comparison Friis

NOTE 258
Herman 1987, 136; Knigge 1972; Knigge 1988, 97-101.

NOTE 259
Stupperich 1977, esp. 200-29; Clairmont 1983, 7-26.

NOTE 260
Ker.XII, 75-76.

NOTE 261
Bourriot 1976.

NOTE 262
Clinton 1974, 47.

NOTE 263
Stais 1890a, 16-28, 105-112.

NOTE 264
Conze 1890, pl. 1; Richter 1961, 48 no. 70.

NOTE 265
Loeschcke 1879, 37 and 44; see also Friis Johansen 1951, 112-113, for references to this discussion.

NOTE 266
Clairmont 1970, 64-71, argues convincingly against current interpretations of Classical grave-reliefs as the result of intended heroization. Referring to a sentence by Aristotle (quoted by Plutarch, *consol. ad. Apollonium* 27), Clairmont concludes that the deceased rather was conceived of as ethically speaking "better and mightier" than living people.

NOTE 267
Richter 1961, no. 37, figs. 73-74.

NOTE 268
Friis Johansen 1951, 117.

NOTE 269
Koch-Harnack 1983, 158; ADelt 18, 1963, pin. 33a.

NOTE 270
Conze 1890, no. 13; Richter 1961, no. 59; Richter 1968, no. 141; Willemsen 1970, 39, Taf.15.2, perhaps nos.9-11 (statues); Karousos 1961, no. A4 (statue).

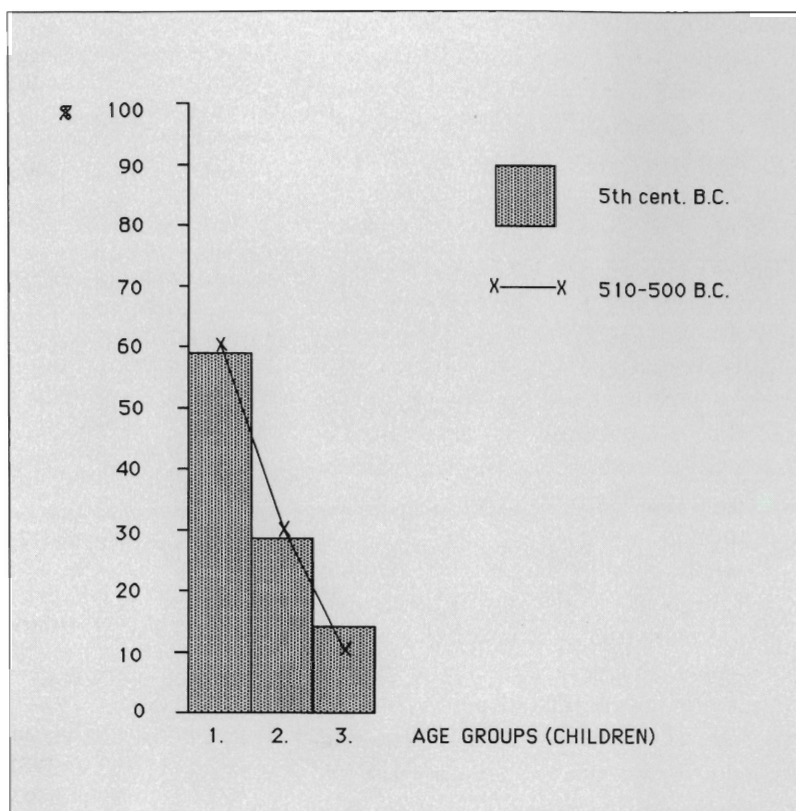


Table 13 The frequency of children's age groups between 510-500 and 500-400 B.C. (The total number of burials are respectively 20 and 505.)

Johansen compares similar attributes which, however, occur in two totally different types of representations. It is the combination of several elements (especially procession of people on a small scale towards enthroned persons on a large scale) which makes it likely that the *kantharos* and bouquet signal a heroic status on the Boiotian and Laconian reliefs. "Enthronement" is one of the commonest ways to signal divinity, whether above or below. But, on the Attic Archaic grave reliefs, the depicted persons are only very rarely shown seated or enthroned.²⁷⁰ In fact, one of the few exceptions is a fragmentary late 6th cent. relief found near Velanideza depicting a seated man who raises his right arm (his hand is not preserved).²⁷¹ However, as pointed out by I.A. Papapostolou, this relief must be viewed as a predecessor for the many Attic Classical grave reliefs showing the deceased as seated, rather than as influenced by the Laconian "hero" reliefs.²⁷²

For these reasons, I believe that Lyseas, is shown in one of the functions of life,

and that a priestly function is the most likely interpretation. Consequently, it is possible to argue that the Velanideza mound, like *Rundbau*, commemorated members of a priestly family.

To sum up, I have argued that contrary to current beliefs, groups of burials with very similar grave contexts and marked by a common grave marker are *not* rare examples of "true" family plots. The persons were buried together as a result of their social relations rather than of family ties. This principle of commemorating a common social value in burial practice also characterizes family self-representation and - I believe - elite burial practice elsewhere. In Corinth a platform consisting of re-used orthostats marked four carefully aligned sarcophagus-burials, all adults, and all with very similar grave equipment. The burials dated to 575-550.²⁷³ Only one skeleton has been sex-determined and this was male.²⁷⁴ Like the huge tumuli in Kerameikos, the platform burials differ from the general burial practice in the North Cemetery. Here, as in Kerameikos, family groups are difficult to identify, and children tend to be buried separately.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the platform burials are still interpreted as "the only certain evidence for a family burial plot".²⁷⁶

This burial plot and the burials of the huge mounds in Kerameikos and in the Attic countryside to my mind form close structural forerunners to state burials of war-dead in the Classical period. The collective burial of the Lacedaemonians in Kerameikos, the grave equipment of which is very similar,²⁷⁷ and the Marathon and Plataea tumuli naturally come to mind.

Part III.

The relation between history and archaeology in 6th cent. Kerameikos

My object so far has been to draw attention to certain "anonymous" aspects of Athenian social and political history mainly based on the archaeologically detectable

NOTE 271
Conze 1890, no. 13.

NOTE 272
Papapostolou 1966.

NOTE 273
Corinth XIII, 66-68, nos. 191, 192, 219, 220.

NOTE 274
Corinth XIII, no. 219.

NOTE 275
Corinth XIII, 68.

NOTE 276
Corinth XIII, 68.

NOTE 277
Willemsen 1977.

tendencies and patterns of Kerameikos. At this juncture I would like very briefly to comment upon an observance which may even widen our understanding of a major episode of Greek documented history.

One of the more revolutionary changes in the archaeology of Kerameikos was the explosive increase in the number of child burials around 500. Interestingly enough, the burial practice relating to children around 500 appears to anticipate closely the general burial practice regarding children in the 5th cent.

In Table 13 the frequency of different age groups of children in 510-500 is compared to the frequency generally prevalent in the 5th cent. It is apparent that the two patterns are almost identical.

The range of categories of grave gifts for children broadens considerably around 500 in comparison to 600-510. This is due to the addition of the categories "special child-vases", "terracottas", "perfume vases" (excl. *lekythoi*) and "personal objects". Also, already existing categories of grave gifts become differently valued. For around 500, *lekythoi* are suddenly much more popular than vases for drinking and eating (Table 6: dotted line in relation to x-line). This extended range of categories of grave gifts and their internal frequency almost exactly anticipates the general pattern of the 5th cent. (Table 6: bars).

All in all then, main characteristics of burial practice for children in the 5th cent. can be seen to begin abruptly in the last decade of the 6th cent. For this reason it is very tempting to connect this burial practice with the reforms of Kleisthenes 508/7. And indeed scholars have earlier held Kleisthenes responsible for a law prohibiting funerary luxury, which according to Cicero, was issued some time after Solon (*de Leg.* ii 64).²⁷⁸ The appearance of child burials in *Grabhügel G* and *Süd Hügel* has been connected indirectly with this law and with Kleisthenes.²⁷⁹ The date of this funerary law has been the subject of much discussion and has been correlated with various changes in the funerary archaeological record.²⁸⁰ But so far, this kind of correlation between documented

events of Greek history and archaeology has not proved very successful.²⁸¹ For instance, *kouroi* were still produced around 480, as the fine marble head found in the vicinity of the Sacred Gate shows.²⁸² Nor does the erection of tumuli or grave buildings cease abruptly around 500, but their erection declines gradually during the 6th cent. (Table 3). Some tumuli are quite large in the 5th cent. (see Fig. 7), and a rather large and very well-built grave building in the area of the Sacred Gate was crowned by a red-figured crater dating from around 480 in the manner of the crater-crowned 7th cent. grave buildings.²⁸³

What we know of Kleisthenes' reforms is that they seem mainly to be concerned with the definition of citizenship, with decision-making procedures and with securing equality among citizens in these processes, all of which greatly furthered the identity between the city-state and every one of its members.²⁸⁴ Kleisthenes' extensive reorganizations of Athens' political structure are themselves conceivable only as a result of all-embracing changes in intellectual, moral and political life, following in the wake of the political conflicts during Peisistratos' tyranny. Changes in burial practice must be the result of the same intellectual upheavals, rather than caused by Kleisthenes, just as the invention of the contra-post in sculpture between 510 and 490 has been regarded as mirroring current intellectual debates and thought.²⁸⁵ Altogether, these changes form part of the democratization process in Athens. Already in the period 560-535 children began to play an important role in family self-representation in Kerameikos, and already in the years 535-510 children were buried in the huge tumuli which had otherwise for a long time solely been used for adults (compare Fig. 5). It is therefore more in agreement with the archaeological record to conclude that the deposition of Hippias in 510 made possible the realization and further development of a multitude of existing ideas.

NOTE 278
Eckstein 1958.

NOTE 279
Stupperich 1977, 82.

NOTE 280
Richter 1961, 38-39;
Boardman 1955; Kurtz-
Boardman 1971, 89-90.

NOTE 281
For this problem in general, see Snodgrass 1987, 36-66.

NOTE 282
Knigge 1983.

NOTE 283
Knigge 1983.

NOTE 284
Ober 1989, 68-75; Brook
Manville 1990, 157-209;
Hansen 1991, 34-36, 46-49.

NOTE 285
Borbein 1989.

Table 14 Graves or offering-trenches (or -places) which contain aryballoi.

	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, XIX.18	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, IV.4	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, LXII.62	<u>Ker.</u> XII, Rb 8	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, IX.9	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, XXXIV.33	<u>Ker.</u> VI.1, XLVIII.48
Aryballos	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Cremation	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Tumulus	•	•			•	•	
Drinking-, eating-, and/or pouring-vases (in off.-trench or -place)	•	•			•	•	
Drinking-, eating-, and/or pouring-vases (inside the grave)	•		•	•			•
Inhumation					•	•	•
Grave building							•
	Formula 1				2	3	

NOTE 286
Houby-Nielsen 1992

Excursus 1-3: Gender identification of burial contexts

1.
In Table 14 I have made a survey of the contexts which contained an *aryballos*. They date to the 7th and early 6th cent. I regard Ker. VI.1, XIX.18 as representing a "complete" formula (1), while Ker. VI.1, IV.4, and LXII.62 and Ker. XII, Rb8 manifest formula 1 partially. Formula 2 manifests 1, while formula 3 introduces so many new features that it seems to stand apart.

In an earlier article²⁸⁶ I have argued that the characteristic features of 7th cent. bu-

rials represented the deceased as heroic in a Homeric sense, for which reason it follows that I regard them as male. Thus, I argued that their most characteristic features (cremation, offering-trench (or -place) with drinking-, eating- and pouring-vases and tumulus) recalled Homeric heroic values. Cremation and tumulus are characteristic of Homeric heroic burials, and one of the cremations in Table 14 (LXII/62) was contained in a bronze cauldron in the Homeric fashion. Offering-trenches with elaborate drinking-, eating-, and pouring-vases probably referred to banquets, one of the most important political institutions in Homeric chieftain society. Furthermore, the offering-trench it-

self is likely to recall tremendous destructive *mnema*, like those at Patroklos' burial. The presence of a *loutrophoros-amphora* in an early 6th cent. offering-trench supports my interpretation. This vase-type is narrowly connected with male death and burial in Archaic and Classical times.²⁸⁷ Since the *aryballos* occurs together with these features in formulas 1 and 2, I regard the latter as expressing a Homeric heroic gender role. The main difference between 1 and 2 is the form of interment. In formula 3, however, dating from the first quarter of the 6th cent., all the Homeric heroic elements have been omitted. This circumstance does not make the formula 3 burial "female". I merely wish to point out that the *aryballos* occurs in three different formulas, two of which encompass heroic associations and one which does not. Whether the latter expresses yet another male gender role or a female one we cannot decide.

2.

The *lekythos* first appears in a cremation burial marked by a tumulus and without any other grave gifts.²⁸⁸ The grave dates to the first quarter of the 6th cent. Since, the *lekythos* functionally speaking seems to replace the *aryballos*, one could argue that the "lekythos-cremation-tumulus" formula is a reduced version of formula 1. I will, though, leave this open.

Between 550 and 535, the *alabastron* and especially the *lekythos* suddenly appear in great numbers, both in the burials of the huge tumuli (the primary burial of *Südhügel* contained "Samian" *lekythoi*) and in the burials situated outside these. As I have shown in Table 15, the appearance of the *lekythos* is narrowly connected with the appearance of *lydion* and with a change-over to inhumation practice in simple shaft graves as well as inhumation in a shaft grave the walls of which were covered by wooden boards ("Holzverschaltung"). I call this recurrent combination of objects and rituals formula 4. To this formula may be added other objects which also form formulas and which are "quoted". I will return to these later.

Formula 4 is especially interesting, since a digression into the origin of the Attic shoulder *lekythos* - as the majority of the *lekythoi* under discussion are²⁸⁹ - can give us a better idea of the symbolism of the whole formula.

It has been suggested that the Attic shoulder *lekythos* was directly inspired by the so-called "Samian" *lekythos*. And the history of the latter is connected with *lydia*.²⁹⁰ Thus, the production of "Samian" *lekythoi* and *lydia* can probably be localized to the territory of Sardis,²⁹¹ and since they are found together in many contexts in Asia Minor, they appear to have contained two different kinds of perfume.²⁹² Both types of perfume container formed part of the Lydian luxurious body culture often commented upon by ancient writers and called *truphé*.²⁹³ This *truphé* was a lifestyle which apart from the use of exotic perfumes also comprised lavish drinking and eating habits. At least, the word *truphé* is etymologically connected with eating habits.²⁹⁴ It is therefore not surprising that the use of perfume and participation in *kline* banquets coalesce in Lydian (and Etruscan) grave iconography,²⁹⁵ which obviously tried to show the high status of the deceased by referring to *truphé*.

In real life the two vase types were probably also connected, since "Samian" *lekythoi* and *lydia* are often found in habitation quarters in the East - like Attic *lekythoi* in Athens and Corinth.²⁹⁶ "Samian" *lekythoi* and *lydia* are also linked to the Lydian élite in other respects, since they were found in some of the huge tumuli at the "royal" necropolis of Sardis. These tumuli not only date roughly to the same period as *Grabhügel* G, but they also in some cases attain the same diameter (10-40 m).²⁹⁷ Finally, chambers built of timber and then covered with a tumulus have a long tradition in the Lydian and Phrygian regions.²⁹⁸

Consequently, all the elements of formula 4, namely the *lydia*, "Samian" *lekythoi* - and their Attic imitations - and the gaily painted wooden boards of the shaft graves may be associated with Lydian *truphé*. But also the huge tumulus and the

NOTE 287
ADelt 1964, pin. 37; Boardman 1988.

NOTE 288
Ker. VI.1, L/50.

NOTE 289
The *lekythoi* have not been published, but since Kübler distinguishes between "bauchige *Lekythos*" and "*Lekythos*", the latter must be of the "shoulder *lekythos*" type.

NOTE 290
Genière 1984, 95.

NOTE 291
Genière 1982.

NOTE 292
Genière 1984, 94.

NOTE 293
For references to ancient authors, see Nenci 1983.

NOTE 294
Nenci 1983, 1019-20.

NOTE 295
Karaburun: Mellink 1974, 355-359, pls. 67-70, with references.

NOTE 296
Vries, 1977, 544-548; Hannestad 1988, 226; Hannestad 1992, 159.

NOTE 297
Especially the Bin Tepe, but also "Alyattes' tomb", Hanfmann 1983, 53.

NOTE 298
Ker. VII.1, 21 (no references); Young 1981, esp. 263-264.

NOTE 299
The identification of the ivory and amber remains in the *Grabhügel* G burials remains insecure due to the lack of publication. In Ker. IX U. Knigge refers to these remains as furniture, and in Knigge 1988, 105, she refers to the remains in Ker. VII.1, no. I as a parallel to the ivory and amber remains found in the *Südhügel* shaft grave

	Ker. VII.1, no. 234 AM 1976, 2/VECK 4 Ker. VII.1, no. 613 Ker. VII.1, no. 10 AM 1966:2, 210/hs 227 Ker. VII.1, no. 478 Ker. VII.1, no. 230 Ker. VII.1, no. 3 Ker. VII.1, no. 8 Ker. VII.1, no. 270 AM 1976, 1/VECK 2 AM 1966:1 28/hs 104 Ker. VII.1, no. 461 Ker. VII.1, no. 458 Ker. VII.1, no. 5 Ker. IX, no. 3/HW 87 Ker. VII.1, no. 227 or 243 Ker. VII.1, no. 4 (compare p. 32, no. 51)		
Terracotta egg Loutrophoros Knife Kline			• • •
Lekythos Lydion Inhumation (* = "Holzverschalung")	• • • • • • • • • • • • * • • • • • • * • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • * • * • * • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • * • * • • • *
Cremation Wood-and-iron object Drinking-, eating-, and/or pouring-vases (inside the grave) Alabastron Grave building Drinking-, eating-, and/or pouring-vases (in off.-trench or -place)	• • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Soap Female statuettes Pyxis Terracotta basket	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		
	(F)	(U)	(M)

Formula 4

Table 15 Grave contexts in Kerameikos dated to 560-535 which contain lekythos and/or alabastron.

which definitely derive from a kline. No matter what kind of object the Grabhügel G remains represent, their material alone identifies them as luxury objects without later parallels in Kerameikos.

NOTE 300
Ker. VII.1 nos. 1, 2, 5;
Ker. IX, no. 3/HW 87.

NOTE 301
Fehr 1971, 3, 54, 129.

kline formed part of the funerary symbolism of Lydian *truphé*.²⁹⁹ This is especially interesting, since formula 4 is above all connected with the circle of burials in Grabhügel G and with the primary burial of Süd Hügel. And it is only in these burials that we find *klinai*³⁰⁰ (Table 15). Since the primary grave of Süd Hügel, apart from *kline*, contained only Eastern vases (*lydia*, "Samian" *lekythoi*), it must have expressed a notion very close to, if not identical with, *truphé*. The "circle-burials", however, translated formula 4 into an Attic ver-

sion, since all *lekythoi* in these burials are Attic shoulder-*lekythoi*. It is interesting to observe that this "translation" appeared at the same time as a snobbery for Ionian lifestyle became visible in various fields of élite Athenian culture. Around 550 the motif "*kline* banquet" suddenly becomes very popular in Attic vase painting. Probably, the *kline* banquet was introduced to the Ionians from Lydia and from the Ionians to the Greeks on the mainland.³⁰¹ And as stated by Athenaeus, the introduction of the couch to the Greeks meant the intro-

duction of Lydian *truphé*.³⁰² Sculpture belonging to the third part of the 6th cent. also clearly reveals a flirtation with Ionian élite ideals. This is especially evident in the case of the sophisticated *korai* from the Acropolis.³⁰³ Finally, it is a well-known fact that Peisistratos cultivated political connections with Ionian cities and i.a. introduced a taste for Ionian lyrics to his court.³⁰⁴ And the people who were buried in *Grabhügel G* had no doubt lived a comfortable life in Peisistratos' Athens.

In subsequent Attic vase painting and in architecture the *kline* is closely connected with the male world, being inseparable from the men's room, the *andron*,³⁰⁵ and being the principal item of furniture for a banquet and a symposium.³⁰⁶

This argumentation has far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the primary grave in *Grabhügel G*, the circle of burials around it, and *Südhügel*. Due to the origin of the *lekythos* just summarized, I find it justified to argue a) that formula 4 first appeared with *Grabhügel G* and b) that formula 4 alone, without any additions, expresses a notion relating to *truphé* in a general way. And for reasons I will discuss now, I will further argue c) that by adding objects of certain types to formula 4 it comes to express a specific male or female version of *truphé* and d) that *Grabhügel G* and *Südhügel* first and foremost express male *truphé*.

In Table 15 I summarized all the burials containing *lekythos* and/or *alabastron* dating to about 550-535. The burials can be divided into three groups: group M (male), group F (female), and group U (unspecific). Group M is characterized by objects which have been added to formula 4 and other "neutral" objects and which do not occur in groups F and U. Moreover, some of these added objects are perfectly understandable as alluding to a male world.

The *kline*, as I discussed above, had strong connections with the male world. The terracotta egg can be connected with women, as the above mentioned *skyphos* sherd shows,³⁰⁷ but terracotta eggs have also been found in slightly later so-called

"warrior"-graves and in a Classical grave containing a *strigil*.³⁰⁸ Regarding the *loutrophoros*, it is unfortunate that the exact shape is not described, whether of the *amphora*- or *hydria*-type, nor its figural representation, which could otherwise have given a valuable hint towards gender-determination. I will merely state that a male association with a *loutrophoros* is far from unthinkable at this time - on the contrary.³⁰⁹

On this basis, I will argue that the objects just discussed gave the "neutral" objects, among which we find the *lekythos* (part of formula 4) and the *alabastron* a male character.

These perspectives greatly affect the interpretation of the primary grave in *Grabhügel G*, the circle of burials around it, and the primary burial in *Südhügel*, since the latter and two of the former burials are hereby considered to express male *truphé*. But other circle-burials can be maintained to be male due either to the presence of *klinai* or to the lengths of the skeletons. One burial, though, as I will argue below, must be female. A summary is probably needed:

Grabhügel G

The primary burial and the "circle-burials":

2= male burials according to their context³¹⁰

2= probable male burials according to the presence of a *kline* combined with a reduced version of formula 4 that exclude *lekythoi*.³¹¹ The length of the skeleton in the latter burial was 1.90 m which also points towards a male person (see Appendix 2).

2= male burials according to the length of the skeleton (1.90 and 1.80 m).³¹² Their burial contexts expressed *truphé* (see Table 15).

5= undeterminable, since they were solely characterized by a reduced version of formula 4 that exclude *lekythoi*.³¹³ All burials were inhumations and all, except one, were contained in shaft

NOTE 302
Deipnosophtistae I 18B

NOTE 303
Schneider 1975; Sinn 1983, 43.

NOTE 304
Shapiro 1981 and 1989.

NOTE 305
Recently treated by Bergquist 1990.

NOTE 306
Boardman 1990.

NOTE 307
See n. 74.

NOTE 308
Vierneisel 1964, 445; Ker. VII.1, 96 no. 225.

NOTE 309
Kokula 1984, 146-148; for the frequency of male prothesis scenes on BF and early RF *loutrophoroi*, see Boardman 1988, 178; additionally, one of the BF *loutrophoroi* found as a stray find in Kerameikos likewise carries a male prothesis; a *loutrophoros-amphora* was found in an early 6th cent. offering-trench south of the Heilige Strasse (*ADelt* 1964, pin. 37).

NOTE 310
Ker. VII.1, nos. 4 and 5; see Table 15.

NOTE 311
Ker. VII.1, I and no. 2.

NOTE 312
Ker. VII.1, nos. 3 and 8.

NOTE 313
Ker. VII.1, nos. 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12.

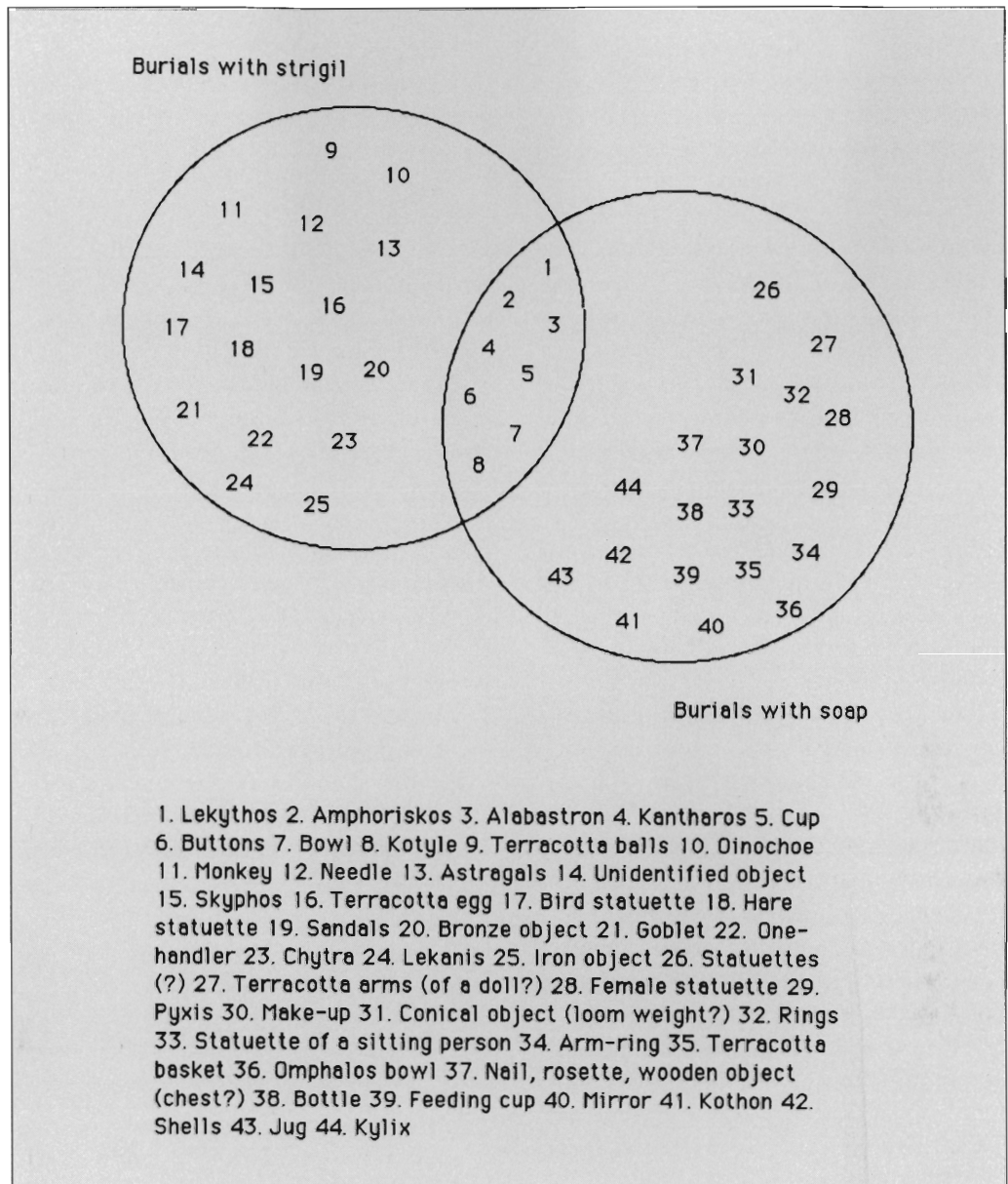


Table 16 Types of objects found in burials which contained either strigil or soap and which are dated 500-350 B.C.

graves with “Holzverschalung” and contained *lydia*.

1= female burial according to its context.³¹⁴

Südhügel:

The primary burial is male, both according to osteological analysis and according to its context (see Table 15).

This summary shows that when it is thought important to specify gender in the burials of the huge mounds, then it is male with only one exception. Moreover,

two of the unspecific burials in terms of gender are biologically speaking likely to be male.

3.

560-535 B.C.: Table 15 shows the composition of burial contexts containing *lekythos* or *alabastron* between 560 and 535. The objects connected with group F are: soap, female statuettes, *pyxis* and terracotta basket. A comparison with burials dated to 500-350 can show us that these objects

NOTE 314
 Ker. VII.1, no. 10; see Table 15.

may lend formula 4 and the other “neutral” objects of group F a female character. In Table 16³¹⁵ I have contrasted the types of objects which are found in burials containing *strigil*(s) with those found in burials containing soap. As appears from this comparison, the *alabastron* and *lekythos* occur in both groups of grave contexts, while the type of objects that are specific to group F are found only in the “soap”-containing burials. This is significant, since soap and *strigil* in 5th and early 4th cent. burials appear to be (rare) examples of respectively a female and a male gender-specific object³¹⁶ for the following reasons. First of all, *strigil* and soap never occur together in the same grave. Secondly, the *strigil* is combined with different types of grave gifts than soap. This distinction is without doubt caused by the wish to express different gender. Thus, among the objects which occurred in the *strigil*-containing burials, we find monkey-, bird-, egg- and hare-terracottas, and needle/pin³¹⁷ and astragals. In Part I, I showed that these objects are understandable as referring to notions of the male sex. Moreover, some of these objects have been found in connection with a juvenile, male skeleton (monkey-terracotta, needle, astragals).³¹⁸

Turning to the soap-containing burials, we are mostly faced with terracottas of sitting women, and in one case a terracotta basket. Jewellery also occurs and a wealth of objects and vase shapes that are associated with highly different concepts of women in iconography and in literature: make-up, conical objects (loom weights?), nails occurring together with a bronze rosette and wooden remains (a chest?), mirror, *kothon*, *pyxis*, and *omphalos* bowls. For instance, cleanliness (equivalent of soap in burial contexts) and the act of spinning (equivalent of loom weight in burial contexts) are often associated with the virtuous and thrifty woman in literature, as is the mirror in funerary iconography, while the use of make-up and perfume may be associated with a less dutiful woman.³¹⁹ In vase painting, bathing and spinning women, and women holding a mirror, may

form part of scenes, which recall “whorish” aspects of women.³²⁰

Common, however, to both *strigil*- and soap-containing burials are i.a. the *alabastron* and the *lekythos*. In other words, in the high Classical period the *alabastron* and the *lekythos* attain a female or male character only through the addition of other types of grave gifts. And some of these types were present already in the period 560-535, as specific to group F.

No doubt, the objects specific to group F made formula 4 and the other “neutral” objects connected with group F express certain notions of the female sex. With one exception, these female burials were either connected with the burial group on the south-west edge of *Grabhügel G*,³²¹ or they lay outside the huge tumuli.³²² The exception³²³ formed part of the “circle-burials” in *Grabhügel G*.

In two cases,³²⁴ *lekythoi* were placed in cremation graves with no *lydia* (Table 15). These burial contexts have therefore very little in common with the burials treated so far, and seem to express a notion which

NOTE 315

Table 16 is based on: Ker. VII.1, nos. 78, 147, 218, 235, 262, 282, 362, 431, 482, 521, 610, 630; Ker. IX, nos. 100, 128, 212; AM 1964, hS 202; AM 1966, nos. 56, 81, 111, 123, 210; AA 1972, 602 Abb. 26, GS 2; AM 1976, 41 nos. 2, 44 nos. 3; 52 no.10.

NOTE 316

However, the symbolic use of soap and *strigil* appears to change in the late 4th and 3rd cent., when the *strigil* may be associated with female burials, and soap may occur in men's burials. This situation is already present in the early 4th cent. in the Eckterrasse. I discuss this problem in greater detail in a forthcoming article. The mirror is almost certainly indicative of a female burial in the 5th cent., but only few 5th cent. burials contained one (Ker. VII.1, nos. 242, 247, 541; Ker. IX, no. 188; AM 1966, no. 49). In the 4th cent. the mirror can change symbolic value, since a mirror was found next to a male skeleton (Ker. XIV no. 24/Eck 64).

NOTE 317

Unfortunately, the description “Nadle” in Kübler's publication does not tell us whether a needle or a pin is meant.

NOTE 318

Schlörb-Vierneisel 1964.

NOTE 319

Compare Plutarch, *Coniug. praec.* 142A and *Mul.virt.* 257E; for mirror, see recently Hoffmann 1988, 77-78.

NOTE 320

Sutton 1981, 334, and 347-349 for a summary of the historiography of “spinning hetairai”; for a house for prostitutes and with weaving activities, see Lind 1988 with further references.

NOTE 321

Ker. VII.1, no. 234, Beil.7

NOTE 322

Ker. VII.1 nos. 478, 613; AM 1966:2, 210/hS 227; AM 1976 2/VECK 4

Table 17 "Rich" 5th cent. burials to the south-west of Grabhügel G and in area "D" which contain lekythos and/or alabastron.

	Ker.VII.1, nr. 256	Ker.VII.1, nr. 242	Ker.VII.1, nr. 475	Ker.VII.1, nr. 443	Ker.VII.1, nr. 261	Ker.VII.1, nr. 262
Strigil						•
Lekythos	•	•	•	•		•
Alabastron		•			•	
Kotyle				•		
Bowl				•		
Ivory statuette					•	
Amber objects						•
Pyxis	•	•		•	•	
Mirror		•				
Omphalos-bowl		•				
Soap	•	•	•		•	
Lebes				•		
Jewellery					•	
Conical obj. (loom weight?)					•	
Make-up					•	
Female statuette					•	
Iron box	•					
Bronze nails	•					
Attached childburial (no. 457)			•			
	(Female)					(Male)

is not immediately recognizable as either male or female.

Moreover, the comparison with Classical burial contexts shows us that the burying group which was active between c. 550 and 535 was the first to express a gender-ideology which came to be fundamental for Classical Athens. And the prime initiating group must be that responsible for the erection of *Grabhügel G* and *Süd Hügel*.

Finally, group U deserves some comment. One of the burials has been osteologically determined as female, one as

male. But as appears from Table 15, their context is not gender-specific. How are we to explain this phenomenon? Are un-specific burial contexts, in terms of gender, typical of a certain age group, a certain status group or even certain gender roles? It is also interesting that four out of six graves in the U group lay outside the huge tumuli.³²⁵

535-400 B.C.

Burials with gender-specific contexts appear to be concentrated in area "D" and the series of mounds south-west of

NOTE 323
Ker. VII.1, no. 10.

NOTE 324
Ker. VII.1, no. 458, 461.

NOTE 325
Ker. VII.1 nos. 230, 270;
AM 1976 1/VECK 2; AM
1966:1 28/hS 104.

Grabhügel G, as I have tried to summarize in Table 17.

Apart from these burials, a secondary cremation burial in mound L contained a burnt mirror.³²⁶ The likelihood that the cremated person was a woman is high, since the mirror in general in 5th cent. burials seems to be associated with women. Thus it may be found together with soap, *pyxis*, *omphalos* bowl, and jewelry,³²⁷ and it sometimes forms an attribute of women in funerary iconography.³²⁸ But since a mirror is found in an (osteologically speaking) male burial in 4th cent. Kerameikos,³²⁹ we cannot be absolutely certain. In connection with mound “o” and grave building “e”, an unusually fine bronze cauldron was found containing cremation ashes wrapped in fine silk.³³⁰ Homeric heroic associations are certainly striking, and the cauldron has been interpreted as belonging to the famous Alkibiades.³³¹ Finally, mound Q marked both an adult burial and an *amphora*-burial,³³² for which reason it is highly likely that the adult was a woman. It is here important to note that an offering-trench was associated with these two burials, a ritual which I have argued was earlier connected with male burials.³³³

Adult burials which were situated outside the groups of tumuli and grave buildings in area D and south-west of *Grabhügel* G were generally “neutral” in regard to gender, since they mostly contained only few *lekythoi* or no grave gifts at all, and were not marked by a tumulus or grave building. True enough, one inhumation burial which was not marked by a grave monument,³³⁴ contained *lekythoi*, *lydia*, *pyxis* and some drinking-, and eating-vases. It was situated outside, but near area D (Fig. 6). In 5th cent. burials, the *pyxis* is often combined with gifts which give a female impression (*lebes*, mirror, jewellery, female statuettes, soap, make-up and spindles). However, in one 5th cent. burial, a *pyxis* is combined i.a. with a terracotta *kline* and a large number of astragals as grave gifts to a young man, whose name, Lissos, was inscribed on a grave stele.³³⁵ In the 4th cent., an adult man was likewise buried with - i.a. - a *pyxis*.³³⁶ The *pyxis* in itself is therefore not sex- or gender-specific, and the combination *lekythoi* and *lydia* was seen in Table 15 to be “neutral”. Ker. VII.1, no. 520 therefore does not express an immediately recognizable gender.

NOTE 326
Ker. VII.1 no. 247

NOTE 327
Ker. VII.1, nos. 242, 541;
Ker. IX, no. 188; AM
1966, no. 126.

NOTE 328
Compare Conze 1890-
1922, nos. 310, 360, 813;
Hoffmann 1988.

NOTE 329
Ker. XIV, no. 24/Eck 64.

NOTE 330
Ker. VII.1, no. 264

NOTE 331
Knigge 1988, 109.

NOTE 332
Ker. VII.1, no. 465, no.
466

NOTE 333
Houby-Nielsen 1992 and
in print.

NOTE 334
Ker. VII.1 no. 520

NOTE 335
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1964.

NOTE 336
Ker. XIV, no. 24/Eck 64.

Catalogue of burials³³⁷

(For a definition of age groups, see Appendix 2.)

NOTE 337

I generally follow the datings of the excavators and the corrections made by Knigge and Walter-Karydi 1974. In a few cases, the dates of burials were very broad. I have, however, found it worthwhile to incorporate these burials in the established periods on the grounds of average dating of highest and lowest date. These problematic burials are underlined in the catalogue.

7th cent. B.C. infant and child graves

Inhumations:

710/700-675 B.C.:

Ker. V.1: G64, G65, G66, G68, G99, G100; AA 1964, 441-442 (Abb. 29) (700-690 B.C.); 444 (Abb. 30) (700-675 B.C.).

675-650 B.C.:

Ker. VI.1: X.10 (660-650 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 12:17 (700-650 B.C.), 13:18 (700-650 B.C.); AM 1975, 77: LZB1 (670-660 B.C.); AA 1984, 32 no.6 (Abb. 11) (700-650 B.C.).

650-625 B.C.:

Ker. VI.1: XVI.15 (630-620 B.C.), XVII.16 (650-625 B.C.), XXIII.22 (650-600 B.C.).

625-600 B.C.:

Ker. VI.1: XVIII.17 (600 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 13:19 (625-600 B.C.).

Cremation: AM 1966:1: 16:27 (625-575 B.C.).

7th cent. adult graves

710/700-675 B.C.:

Primary cremation:

Ker. VI.1: II.2 (710 B.C.), III.3 (710 B.C.), IV.4 (690-680 B.C.), V.5 (680 B.C.), LXII.62 (690-680 B.C.).

Inhumation:

Ker. V.1: G60 (710-680 B.C.), G61 (710-680 B.C.); Ker. VI.1: LXXIV.74 (700-675 B.C.); Ker. XII: 77: 6/Rb5 (700-675 B.C.), adult?: 77: 5/Rb 13B (700-675 B.C.).

Grave type not determinable:

Ker. VI.1: adult?: I.1 (700-675 B.C.); Ker. XII: adult?: 77: 3/Rb 16.

675-650 B.C.:

Primary cremation:

Ker. VI.1: VII.7 (660 B.C.), VIII.8 (670-650 B.C.), XII.12 (660-650 B.C.); Ker. XII: 78:7/Rb 8; AA 1964: 441-442 (Abb. 28) (700-650 B.C.), 447-448 (Abb. 32) (700-650 B.C.).

Inhumation:

Ker. VI.1: IX.9 (665-660 B.C.); Ker. XII: adult?: 78:8/Rb9 (675-650 B.C.).

650-625 B.C.:

Primary cremation:

Ker. VI.1: XI.11 (650-630 B.C.), XIV.13 (650-630 B.C.), XV.14 (650-640 B.C.), XIX.18 (630-625 B.C.), XXI.20 (650-630 B.C.), XXII.21 (630 B.C.), XXIV.23 (650-630 B.C.), XLVI.46 (630-620 B.C.), LVI.56 (640-620 B.C.); AA 1964: 445-446 (Abb. 31) (650-625 B.C.); AM 1975, 160:169 (640-630 B.C.).

Grave type not determinable:

Ker. VI.1: adult?: XIII.13 (650 B.C.).

Finds presumably from an offering-trench:
AM 1975, 60-70, 1-17 (640-630 B.C.).

625-600 B.C.:

Primary cremation:

Ker. VI.1: XX.19 (610 B.C.), XXV.24 (600 B.C.), XXIX.28 (610-600 B.C.), XLII.42 (600 B.C.).

Inhumation:

AM 1966:1: 13:20 (600 B.C.).

700-580 B.C.

Primary cremation:

Ker. VI.1: LXX.70, LXXI.71, LXXII.72, LXXIII.73; Ker. XII: 78:9/Rb 15.

6th cent. B.C. child graves, age groups 1-3

600-575 B.C.:

AGE GROUP 1:

Urn-burials:

Ker. VI.1: LIV/54 (600-575 B.C.); LX/60 (580 B.C.) AM 1966:1: 21/hS 179 (600-575 B.C.); 22/hS 178 (600-550 B.C.); 26/hS 126 (600-575 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 2:

Inhumations:

Ker. VI.1: XXXI/30 (simple) (600-590 B.C.); XLIX/49 (wooden coffin)(590-580 B.C.); LXIX/69 (simple) (580 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 3?:

Ker. VI.1: LIII/ 52 (simple) (590 B.C.), age group uncertain.

575-560 B.C.:

AGE GROUP 1:

Urn-burials:

Ker. VII.1: 363 (575-550 B.C.). Ker. IX: 1/SW 70 (575-560 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 2:

Simple inhumations:

Ker. VII.1: 329 (575-550 B.C.) age uncertain; AM 1966:1: 24/hS 157 (575-550 B.C.).

Cremation:

AM 1966:1: 23/hS 181 (575-550 B.C.)

AGE GROUP 3:

0
560-535 B.C.

AGE GROUP 1:

Urn-burials:

Ker. VII.1: 446 (550 B.C.); 449 (550 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 25/hS 171 (600-500 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 2:

Inhumation in wooden coffin:

Ker. VII.1: 477 (550-540 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 3?:

Simple inhumation:

AM 1966:2: 211/229 (550-525 B.C.).

535-510 B.C.:

AGE GROUP 1:

Urn-burials:

Ker. VII.1: 21 (525-500 B.C.); 28 (550-500 B.C.); 47 (525-500 B.C.); Ker. IX: E2 (525-500 B.C.); Pr1 (525-500 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 2:

0

AGE GROUP 3:

0

510-500 B.C.:

AGE GROUP 1:

Urn-burials:

Ker. VII.1: 241 (510-500 B.C.); 466 (510-500 B.C.); Ker. IX: 5/HW 169 (510-500 B.C.); 7/SW 108 (500 B.C.); 8/SW 109 (500 B.C.); 9/SW 35 (500 B.C.); 13/HW 100 (500 B.C.); 90/HW 99b (520-490 B.C.); E8 (520-490 B.C.); E11 (500 B.C.); Pr2 (500 B.C.); Pr3 (500 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 2:

Basin-burials:

Ker. VII.1: 96 (500 B.C.); 174 (500 B.C.); Ker. IX: E10 (500 B.C.).

Inhumations:

Ker. VII.1: 173 (tile-cover) (500 B.C.); 452 (simple) (500 B.C.); 470 (simple) (510 B.C.).

AGE GROUP 3:

Inhumations:

Ker. VII.1: 472 (wooden coffin) (500 B.C.); Ker. IX: 6/SW 68 (simple)(500 B.C.)

TYPE OF BURIAL NOT KNOWN, PRESUMABLY CHILD GRAVE:

Ker. IX: E15 (510-490 B.C.).

6th cent. B.C. non-child graves, age group 4

600-575 B.C.:

Primary cremation burials:

Ker. VI.1: XXVI/25 (590 B.C.); XXVII/26 (590 B.C.); XXVIII/27 (590-580 B.C.); XXX/29 (600-590 B.C.); XXXII/31 (580 B.C.); XXXIII/32 (580 B.C.); XXXVII/36 (580-70 B.C.); XXXVIII/37 (580-570 B.C.); XXXIX/38 (590-580 B.C.); XL/40 (580-570 B.C.); XLIII/ 43 (590-580 B.C.); XLV/45 (580 B.C.); L/50 (580-570 B.C.); LI/51 (on a bier) (580-570 B.C.); LIII/53 (580 B.C.); LV/55 (590-580 B.C.); LVII/57 (580 B.C.); LIX/59 (580 B.C.); LXIII/63 (580 B.C.); LXIV/64 (580 B.C.); LXV/65 (580 B.C.); LXVI/66 (580 B.C.); LXVII/67 (580 B.C.); LXVIII/68 (580 B.C.).

Inhumations:

Ker. VI.1: XXXIV/33 (bier)(580 B.C.); XLVII/47 (wooden coffin) (600-590 B.C.); XLVIII/48 (wooden coffin) (600-580 B.C.); LXI/61 (pithos) (600-575 B.C.).

Offering-trench and -place, appurtenant graves not known:

Ker. VI.1: LXXV (590-580 B.C.)
ADelt 1964: 41, R (early 6th cent. B.C.).

575-560 B.C.:

Primary cremations:

Ker. VI.1: XXXV/34 (575-570 B.C.); XLI/41 (580-560 B.C.) Ker. VII: 226 (575-550 B.C.?), 228 (575-550 B.C.?).

Inhumation in wooden coffin:

Ker. VI.1: XXXVI/35 (570 B.C.).

560-535 B.C.:

Primary cremations:

Ker. VII.1: 229 (540 B.C.); 458 (550 B.C.); 461 (550-525 B.C.); Ker. XII: 79, 14/ Rb 12 (550-525 B.C.).

Various means of inhumation:

Ker. VII.1: remains of a kliné?: p. 5-16, I* (560-550 B.C.); p. 16, 2* (550 B.C.); p. 17, 5 (550 B.C.); definite remains of a kliné: Ker. IX: 3/HW87 (550-525 B.C.); remains of a bier: Ker. VII.1: p.19, 10* (540-530 B.C.); wooden coffin: AM 1966:2: 210/hS 227 (550-525 B.C.) Ker. VII.1: 227 (550-525 B.C.); 234 (540 B.C.); 243 (540 B.C.); 270 (540-530 B.C.); 478 (540 B.C.); Simple inhumations: Ker. VII.1: p. 16, 3* (540 B.C.);p. 17, 4* (540 B.C.); p. 18, 6* (540 B.C.); p. 18, 7* (540 B.C.); p. 18, 8* (540 B.C.); p. 19, 9* (540 B.C.) (For the placing of this burial among adults, see Appendix 2.) p. 20, 11 (540 B.C.); p. 20, 12 (540 B.C.); 230* (540 B.C.); 613 (550 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 28/hS 104 (540-530 B.C.); 29/hS 105 (540-530 B.C.); AM 1976: 1/VECK 2 (550 B.C.); 2/VECK 4 (540-530 B.C.); (For the placing of this burial among adults, see Appendix 2.) 17/VECK 29 (600-500 B.C.).

* The burial in question was contained in a shaft grave, the walls of which were covered with wooden boards.

Means of interment not described:

AA 1964: p. 443: Grave building B with an offering-trench (540 B.C.).

Offering-place, the belonging grave not known:

Ker. VII.1: 486 (550 B.C.); AA 1964, p. 462, Abb. 52 (550 B.C.).

535-510 B.C.:

Primary cremations:

Ker. VII.1: 14 (520-510 B.C.); 337 (520 B.C.); Ker. IX: E1 (525-500); AA 1964: p. 445: 4 warrior burials (shortly after 540 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 30/hS 116 (530-520 B.C.); 33/hS 128 (525-500 B.C.); 35/hS 119 (525-500 B.C.); AM 1976: 16/VECK 13 (before 470 B.C., probably still 6th cent. B.C.).

Simple inhumations:

Ker. VII.1: 299 (550-525 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 32/hS 96 (530-20 B.C.); 34/hS 123 (525-500 B.C.); AM 1976: 18/VECK 27 (late 6th to early 5th cent. B.C.); 19/NECK 17 (550-480 B.C.).

Means of interment not described:

AA 1964: p. 445 grave building Gamma (before the end of the 6th cent. B.C.).

Offering-place, appurtenant grave not known:

Ker. VII.1: 450 (530-520 B.C.).

510-500 B.C.:

Primary cremations:

Ker. VII.1: 565 (510 B.C.); Ker. IX: 4/HW 65 (520-500 B.C.); 10/HW 195 (500 B.C.); E5 (500 B.C.).

Inhumations in a wooden coffin:

Ker. VII.1: p. 23, 4 (500 B.C.); 239 (510 B.C.); 475 (500 B.C.); 520 (510-500 B.C.).

Plain inhumations:

Ker. VII.1: p. 23, 5 (500 B.C.); p. 23, 6 (500 B.C.); 18 (510-500 B.C.); 41 (510-500 B.C.); 43 (500 B.C.); 217 (510-500 B.C.); 546 (510-500 B.C.); 565 (500 B.C.); Ker. IX: 12/HW 148 (500 B.C.); 15/HW 48 (500 B.C.); AM 1966:1: 36/hS 129 (500 B.C.).

Means of interment not described (perhaps rather child graves):

Ker. IX: E3 (500 B.C.); E4 (500 B.C.); E7 (500 B.C.); E15 (510-490 B.C.).

NOTE 338

Since 5th cent. burials are mostly well published in the shape of catalogues and generally present no dating problems, I see no point in giving a detailed catalogue of these around 1,100 burials.

5th cent. burials have been published in the following publications:³³⁸

AA 1964

K. Vierneisel, Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos, AA 1964, 420-467.

AA 1972

U. Knigge, Untersuchungen bei den Gesandstelen im Kerameikos zu Athen, AA 1972, 584-629.

AA 1974

U. Knigge - B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos. Tätigkeitsbericht 1973/74, AA 1974, 181-198.

AA 1975

U. Knigge - B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, Kerameikos. Tätigkeitsbericht 1973/74, AA 1975, 456-468.

AM 1964

B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, Zwei Klassische Kindergräber im Kerameikos, AM 79, 1964, 85-104.

AM 1966:1

B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, Eridanos - Nekropole I. Gräber und Opferstellen hS 1-204, AM 81, 1966, 4-111.

AM 1966:2

U. Knigge, II. Gräber hS 205-230, AM 81, 1966, 112-135.

AM 1976

B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, Archaische und Klassische Grabfunde auf dem Hang nördlich der "Eckterrasse" im Kerameikos, AM 91, 1976, 31-61.

Ker. VII.1

K. Kübler, Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Die Nekropole der Mitte des 6. bis Ende des 5. Jhs., Bd. VII. T.1, 1976, Berlin.

Ker. IX

U. Knigge, Südhügel. Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, Bd. IX, 1976, Berlin.

Ker. XII U. Knigge, Der Rundbau am Eridanos. Mit Beiträgen von B. Bohlen und W. Koenigs, In: W. Koenigs - U. Knigge - A. Mallwitz, Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Rundbauten im Kerameikos, Bd. XII, 1980, Berlin.

Appendix 1

Survey of forms of interment of undated graves

Many of the graves published in Ker. VII.1, IX, XII, AM 1966 and 1976 could either not be dated more accurately than to the 5th cent., or could not be dated at all due to poor state of preservation and

lack of grave gifts. They therefore do not figure in my study, except for Fig. 7 and Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Forms of interment:

FORMS OF INTERMENT	ADULT	CHILD	AGE UNKNOWN
Amphora-burials	0	56	0
Other urn-burials (hydria, pithos cooking-pot)	0	4	2
Basin-burials	0	26	0
Inhumation, simple	29	6	88
Inhumation, coffin	8	2	3
Inhumation, tile-cover	5	4	3
Inhumation, shaft grave	0	0	3
Cremation in pit or shaft grave	59*	0	0
Not described	0	0	13
Total	101	98	112

NO. OF GRAVES: 311

* For the likelihood that cremation burials are adult burials, see Appendix 3.

Appendix 2

Criteria for the definition of age groups

NOTE 339

Ker. IX, 20. One urn-burial of the "Eckterrasse" has been anthropologically determined as containing remains of a 0-1 month old baby (Ker. XIV, p. 58 no. 56/Eck 48).

NOTE 340

Ker. IX, 196/SW2, 289/HW 35

NOTE 341

Ker. IX, 64/SW 149

NOTE 342

I thank Elisabeth Iregren for helping me to find these studies.

NOTE 343

Prokopec et al. 1982, 121, fig. 2; Greil & Sommer 1988, 223, fig. 1.

NOTE 344

Therefore the burial which contained a 1.55 m long skeleton and which was described by the excavators as "Kindergrab" (AM 1976, 41, 2-1), has here been treated as adult.

NOTE 345

Bisel in Ker. XIV, 159, table 7.

NOTE 346

Bennike 1985, 49-53, esp. fig. 15.

AGE GROUPS 1 AND 2:

Very few burials have been anthropologically age-determined. Normally, the age is simply described in terms of "new-born", "small" and "bigger child", and "adult". In the present study, I have defined age groups 1 and 2 according to the statement of the excavator of the child-necropolis of *Süd Hügel*, U. Knigge, that urns (mostly amphorae) served as coffins for new-born babies, while terracotta-basins served as coffins for bigger children.³³⁹ Since the length of the basins in most cases is 80-95 cm, and since in two instances the length of the child is described as 80 and 86 cm³⁴⁰ (in one case, however, 137 cm),³⁴¹ I have also placed burials in simple pits or coffins the length of which is less than or equal to approximately 1 m in age group 2, likewise burials of skeletons the length of which is less than or equal to approximately 1 m.

Owing to the poor number of age-determined child skeletons, I have used the length of the basins as a general indicator of the upper age limit for children buried in such basins. The 1.37 m long skeleton mentioned above seems to represent a rare example of a much bigger child being squeezed into a basin. In most cases the child is described as lying in the supine position in the basin. In the absence of studies on average stature of children in antiquity, I have turned to early modern and recent studies. This comparison seems justified, since the average stature for adult women and men in Classical Greece does not lie significantly below the one from early modern times (see below). In all studies I have come across,³⁴² the highest age of healthy children of both sexes in modern Europe having an average stature of between 85-100 cm is 3-4 years.³⁴³ The height of children from the same countries aged 6 years was between little less than 110 cm and approximately 118 cm, and going back to 1895, the stature of Czech boys aged 6 years was 110 cm. Compared with such studies the basins seem best fitted as a coffin for children aged maximum 4 years, if the reason for death was not a con-

dition which caused slow growth. Naturally, however, many children were grossly undersized, owing to chronic illness, for which reason even much older children could be buried in these basins, as is obviously the case in Ker. IX, 40/HW 111 and 289/HW 35, since the length of the skeleton was respectively 99 and 86 cm, and the age determination respectively 5 and 6 years old.

AGE GROUP 3:

In this group I have placed all inhumation-burials in which the length of the grave-pit or coffin was between approximately 1 m and 1.50 m and/or the length of the skeleton measured between 1 m and 1.35 m.

AGE GROUP 4:

In this study "adults" are defined as "non-children". That is "adults" are defined as all those burials which could not be placed in age group 1-3. Thus "adults" are all burials in which the length of the grave is equal to or exceeds 1.50 m and/or in which the length of the skeleton is equal to or exceeds 1.35 m.³⁴⁴ It should be noted, however, that almost all skeletons of which the length was preserved measured well over 1.50 m; exceptions are mentioned below. From anthropological examinations of Classical skeletal remains we get the following average stature for women and men:

"Eckterrasse" in Kerameikos:

The average stature of adult women was 159.2 cm. (In the rest of Greece in Hellenistic times it was 156.4 cm.) And the average stature of adult men was 171.3 cm. (In the rest of Greece in Hellenistic times it was 171.9 cm.).³⁴⁵

Other studies have produced the following average stature:

Denmark between Mesolithic times and 1850:

The average stature for women was in all periods between 154.0 cm and 163.7 cm, and for men between 161.5 cm and 177.4 cm.³⁴⁶

The Medieval population of St. Stefan in Lund, Sweden:

The average stature of women aged 20 or more belonging to different social classes was between 159.8 and 163.8 cm and for men, likewise aged 20 or more and belonging to different social classes, was between 171.4 and 175.4 cm.³⁴⁷

Since as a rule small children seldom seem to have been cremated³⁴⁸, ashurns and all primary cremation burials in pits or shaft-graves have been defined as adult burials.

From this survey of age-group definitions and average stature of men and women in antiquity and pre-industrial societies, it becomes obvious that adolescents are invisible in the present study. The age groups 1-3 seem to represent childhood until about 12 years. Thus it may be held that they mirror ancient Greek perception of childhood, according to which it ended rather abruptly for boys at the age of 14 and for girls at the age of 12, when both

were considered sexually mature.³⁴⁹ Girls and boys aged more than 12-14 years, the epehebs and young unmarried girls, are mixed with the "adult" burials. Two such cases may be AM 1966, 119, 210/hS 227 in which the length of the skeleton measured 150 cm, and AM 1976, 41, 2/VEck 4, mentioned above, since the excavators calls the burial a "child grave", but the length of the skeleton is close to that of adults (155 cm). A third case is no doubt Ker. VII.1, 19 no. 9. Here the approximate length of the skeleton (110 cm) - which had turned to dust - points towards a child. However, Kübler mentions this burial in his chapter on adult burials,³⁵⁰ and later on Kübler describes the state of preservation of this and other skeletons as very poor and describes no. 9 as "jugendlich", an adjective which normally indicates a person 14-18 years old.³⁵¹ An analysis of the composition of grave gifts may, however, lead to the identification of more adolescent burials, but is outside the scope of this study.

NOTE 347

Persson 1981, 155 table 4.

NOTE 348

Exceptions to this rule from the 6th-5th cent.: AM 1966:1: 23/hS 181; 54/hS 170; 79/hS 151 (adolescent); Ker. VII.1: grave 568; the following undated graves: 106; 141; 143; 154; 231; 233; 500.

NOTE 349

Deissmann-Merten 1986, 269.

NOTE 350

Ker. VII.1, 176

NOTE 351

Ker. VII.1, 177

Appendix 3

Categories of grave gifts for children in the 6th and 5th cent. B.C.

OBJECT CATEGORY	600-510 B.C	510-500 B.C	500-400 B.C
1. Lekythoi	x	x	x
2. Drinking-, eating-, and pouring vases			
cup	x	x	x
goblet	x		x
kantharos			x
kotyle	x	x	x
mug			x
skyphos	x	x	x
kylix			x
Rheneia cup			x
“Kelchgefäß”			x
bowl skyphos			x
bowl	x	x	x
plate			x
jug	x	x	x
oinochoe	x		x
3. Special child-vases			
“Saugtasse”			x
“Schnabel”		x	x
“Siebtasse”			x
one-handler			x
child-jug			x
chous			x
olpe (small)		x	x
4. Terracottas			
Sirene			x
Silene			x
bird			x
boar			x
cock			x
dog			x
monkey			x
pig			x
pigeon			x
horse			x

OBJECT CATEGORY	600-510 B.C	510-500 B.C	500-400 B.C
seated woman			x
statuette (?)		x	x
kore			x
female doll			x
mourning woman			x
rider			x
boy			x
child (sex?)			x
pomegranate			x
egg			x
kline			x
basket		x	x
lamp			x
5. Pyxis lekaneis	x	x	x
6. Various bones from animals and birds...			x
unidentifiable objects of glass			
wood, iron, bronze and gold...		x	x
omphalos		x	x
seal	x		
scarab	x		
small pan			x
chytra			x
cooking-pot			x
amphora			x
pelike			x
7. Toys			
astragals	x	x	x
ball			x
bell			x
phormiskos ¹			x
8. Perfume vases			
small bottle		x	
ring askos		x	
amphoriskos	x	x	x
alabastron			x
arybal	x		
exaleiptron	x		x
kothon	x		
9. Personal			
greasy substance (soap?)...		x	x
soap			x
make-up			x

NOTE 1
For the identification of the phormiskos as a container for astragals, see Hampe 1976, 192.

OBJECT CATEGORY	600-510 B.C	510-500 B.C	500-400 B.C
kalathos			x
lebes			x
arrow-head			x
needle or pin			x
strigil			x
10. Jewellery			
arm-ring		x	
ring(s)		x	x
ear-ring(s)			x
ear-pearl			x
bead(s) and pearl(s)			x

Appendix 4

Categories of grave gifts for children in relation to age groups of the 5th cent. B.C.

OBJECT CATEGORY	AGE GROUP 1	AGE GROUP 2	AGE GROUP 3	AGE GROUP 4
1. Lekythoi	x	x	x	x
2. Drinking-, eating-, and pouring-vases				
cup	x	x	x	x
goblet	x	x	x	x
kantharos	x	x	x	x
kotyle	x	x	x	x
mug	x	x		
skyphos	x	x	x	x
kylix	x		x	x
Rheneia cup	x		x	x
“Kelchgefäß”	x			
bowl skyphos	x			
bowl	x	x	x	x
plate	x	x		x
jug	x	x	x	x
oinochoe	x	x	x	x
3. Special child vases				
“Saugtasse”	x	x		
“Schnabeltasse”	x	x		
“Siebtasse”	x	x		
one-handler	x		x	x
child jug	x			
chous	x	x		
olpe	x	x	x	
4. Terracottas				
sirene		x		
silene		x	x	
bird		x	x	x
boar		x	x	
cock		x	x	
dog		x	x	
monkey	x		x	
pig		x		
pigeon			x	

OBJECT CATEGORY	AGE GROUP 1	AGE GROUP 2	AGE GROUP 3	AGE GROUP 4
horse	x	x		x
hare				x
seated woman	x	x	x	x
statuette	x	x	x	
kore	x			
female doll			x	
mourning woman		x		
rider			x	
male figure				x
negro head			x	
boy			x	x
child (sex?)		x		
pomegranate		x		
egg		x		x
kline			x	
basket			x	
lamp			x	x
stool				x
5. Pyxis	x	x	x	x
lekanis	x			x
6. Toys				
astragals	x	x	x	x
ball		x	x	
bell	x			
phormiskos	x			
shell	x	x		x
7. Perfume vases				
askos				x
amphoriskos		x	x	
alabastron		x	x	x
exaleiptron		x	x	
kothon	x			x
guttus				x
lydion		x		
8. Various				
(Personal)				
greasy substance (soap?)			x	x
soap			x	x
make-up	x		x	x
mirror	x			x
lebes		x		x
kalathos			x	
needle or pin	x	x	x	x
spindel-whorl				x

OBJECT CATEGORY	AGE GROUP 1	AGE GROUP 2	AGE GROUP 3	AGE GROUP 4
strigil		x	x	x
knife				x
weapon				x
arrow-head			x	x
(Jewellery)				
ring(s)	x	x	x	x
ear-ring(s)	x			
eye-pearls	x		x	
bead(s) and pearl(s)	x	x		
(Various vases and objekts)				
small pan		x		x
chytra		x		x
cooking-pot		x		
amphora	x		x	x
hydria				x
psykter				x
small crater				x
omphalos	x	x	x	x
offerings-plates		x		x
pelike				x
curse tablet				x
box				x
unidentified objekts of wood, glass, iron, bronze and gold...			x	x
bones from animals and birds	x	x		x

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