

Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt



Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio,  
Vincenzo Capozzoli (eds.)

## **Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars**

Proceedings of the International  
Workshop at the Ludwig-  
Maximilians-Universität München  
(Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)

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## Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt

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## Foreword

The Munich workshop, *Rethinking Athens – The Polis Before the Persian Wars: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, organised by a team of young scholars who also edited this book, remains unforgettable. The reasons are manifold. One was the choice of the period, the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, in which *Wilder Ursprung* (Walter Burkert) of Greek people was one of the anthropological catalysts for the development of the *polis*, namely that of Athens. Another was the group of people invited to participate: a vivid mix of passionate young and senior academics mainly from Europe, predominantly Greece. Here, an important driving force was the generous willingness to share new data about key sites in Athens and Attica, now published in this volume. This openness not only resulted in furthering knowledge but also provided new insights into the meandering process of how the city's spatial, material, religious, political, social and economic fabric was woven and constantly rewoven over a long period of time. This process came about in quite the opposite way to clear-cut modern categories as it bound together (seemingly) conflicting concepts, such as myth with history, religion with politics, life with death, aesthetics with brutality, glory with violence, success with failure, and agreement with contradiction. Unforgettable was also the constructive discussion and Mediterranean atmosphere of the workshop propelled by a plurality of hermeneutics, original thought, productive criticism, mutual respect, and a lot of enthusiasm and fun. Fortunately for us this book will keep some of the Munich conference spirit alive, in particular Athens' heritage as an exceptional workshop of all aspects of human life.

Prof. Dr. Rolf Michael Schneider  
*Professor Emeritus for Classical Archaeology*



# Some Thoughts on the Pre-Classical Athenian Society\*

ANNA MARIA D'ONOFRIO

The scale, structure and organization of the Athenian society during the EIA (ca. 1100–700 B.C.) remains widely conjectural<sup>1</sup>. The meagreness of the settlement data, the dearth of evidence about resources and economy, the absence of writing and also of figurative art until the late phase of the period, force researchers to address the grave contexts as the most relevant testimony to the period. Only with the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and the flourishing of cult practices in the sanctuaries does a further field of social competition and a considerable source for archaeological analysis become available<sup>2</sup>.

From the 70s of the last century onwards, social archaeology – starting from the pio-

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\* I am most grateful to the organizers of this conference for their kind invitation to present the session about burial customs. It is a theme that I have been dealing with since the 80s, with a great debt of knowledge to the school of Naples “L’Orientale”, to the Centre Louis-Gernet de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes – CRCSA of Paris, and to the Cambridge school as well. It is a field of study in continuous evolution and the debate remains alive, interesting and stimulating.

1 “There is currently little agreement over EIA economic structures, and no quantitative estimates of performance.” (Morris 2007, 211). Dickinson offers a wide range of incompatible interpretations (on economy, demography, society) based on the same archaeological record (Dickinson 2006).

2 Mazarakis Ainian 2017b, 40.

neering studies of the Cambridge school, based on innovative quantitative studies as well as on an anthropological perspective – has provided a theoretical approach that has produced a great deal of significant literature<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, post-processual and cognitive archaeologies, promoting an active view of the material culture, have also provided a wide range of new concepts that are of use in interpreting the evidence, including gender, agency, object biography and entanglement<sup>4</sup>. Due to the complexity of the matter, the multiplication of theoretical studies and, last but not least, its importance for the identification of the mechanism of inequality and ranking<sup>5</sup>, mortuary archaeology is gradually becoming one of the main battlefields on which to oppose culturally specific interpretive paradigms<sup>6</sup>. The

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3 D. L. Clarke and A. Snodgrass are the most representative of the “processual” season of the Cambridge school. The anthropologist E. Leach (1910–1989) inspired a new season of archaeological research, and the so-called Dark Age has become an experimental field for researches aiming at understanding the complexity of the social dynamics.

4 Langdon 2001; Langdon 2005; Whitley 2002; Whitley 2013; Whitley 2015. On the practice-theory approach, see Ekengren 2013, 179 f. The search for “identities” (age, gender, ethnicity) is a central theme in current research, see Shepherd 2013.

5 Ames 2007, 508.

6 For a critical approach to the theoretical archaeology, see Bintliff – Pearce 2011. On

difficulty remains of making the complex of information derived from the archaeological record interpretable according to the current categories of historical thought. We must try to identify the archaeological correlates of the *polis* formation mechanism, revisiting a topic widely debated in the scientific literature<sup>7</sup>.

One of the novelties that these studies have involved at the level of the study of funeral evidence is the formulation of a full (though preliminary) catalog of Athenian tombs, drawn up according to a topographical and/or chronological criterion. The “big contexts” that have been systematically excavated (with the methods current at the time) and published, such as the Kerameikos and the *agora*, have provided most of the chronologically relevant grave-groups, but a number of sites which have produced significant finds have contributed as well, though the material is known only from preliminary reports<sup>8</sup>.

The basis for this census of the tombs is the ceramic sequence, as established in the current main works on the matter. For the earlier period (Submycenaean and Transitional), the stylistic analysis of Attic ceramics proposed by Ruppenstein represents an important step forward in

defining detailed chronologies<sup>9</sup>. For the Geometric period, the studies Coldstream dedicated to the vase style have provided scholars with the fundamental chronological sequence<sup>10</sup>. For the evidence not included in Coldstream’s taxonomy, the uncertainty about the precise date of not a few findings has sometimes led to the unification of phases and of different periods in the placement of the tombs along the chronological axis; as such, it remains challenging to construct a truly uniform, homogeneous data set<sup>11</sup>. The most useful

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9 Kerameikos 18, 41–200. Unfortunately, the volume is not equipped with an iconographic apparatus of the pottery, whose typology and chronology is thoroughly discussed in the text, apart from the vases deposited in the burials 115–146, which are published in it. The evidence is articulated in “Zeitstufe” I–IV, according to the traditional Kerameikos sequence. For the controversial definition of the period and its chronology, see Dalsoglio 2014. A volume dedicated to the Submycenaean and Transitional amphorae from the same cemetery is forthcoming (Dalsoglio, [forthcoming]). Lemos reviewed the Athenian Transitional and Protogeometric evidence in the wider Aegean context (Lemos 2002).

10 Coldstream 2008. Bohen 2017 published the systematic study of the krater fragments from the Kerameikos. For the *agora* finds see *Agora* 36, with an updated overview of the material from Athens.

11 E.g. Whitley 1991b, Appendix: grave index 2. Graves in Athens (201–205). 2.1 Submycenaean. 2.2 Protogeometric. 2.3 9<sup>th</sup> century (EG–MG I). 2.4 Early 8<sup>th</sup> century (MG II–LG I). 2.5 Late 8<sup>th</sup> century (LG II). In this case, the MG I and MG II evidence falls in different groups. Morris’ list is topographical: Appendix 2, B. Athens, 228–233 (Morris 1987). His “Classification of Attic cemeteries by age structure” (Morris 1987, 218–221) is presented according to a simplified chronology: Submycenaean. Protogeometric. Early and Middle Geometric. Late Geometric I. Late Geometric II. The dearth of evidence in some phases could suggest some problem in the

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theoretical perspectives and methodological implications see Ekengren 2013.

7 Giangiulio 2000.

8 The Irodou Attikou cemetery is under study by M. Kontopanagou (see in this volume). The Odos Kriezī burials await publication: Morris 1987, 231 (with bibl.). A valuable collection of the evidence in the south-western *asty* is Poulou’s article, but the meagreness of the data is as bleak here as in the majority of old excavations (Poulou 2013).

and most cited lists of burials, have so far been those published in the appendix to Morris, Whitley, and in the catalogue by Strömberg; for a more limited chronological span we also have Kalaitzoglou (EG I–MG I: 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) and Alexandridou (LG II: ca. 735–700 B.C.)<sup>12</sup>. We also have minor lists of burials related to specific phenomena, like the “kimilia” investigated by Whitley, or the Athenian graves with *orientalia* collected by Duplouy or the burials with weapons re-examined by myself<sup>13</sup>. This list of lists could be enriched with the many studies dealing with specific pottery shapes or with the banquet, a major theme in the current research<sup>14</sup>. Finally, the PhD theses of Dimitriadou and Vizyinou systematically collect all the mortuary evidence considered here, greatly benefitting future research<sup>15</sup>.

A very important step towards a new season of studies on the (not only) Athenian mortuary evidence has been made by Mazarakis Ainian with the realization of the web-based database ARISTEIA<sup>16</sup>.

The transition from the lists to a database offers a better approach to the basic information, the ease of retrieving data quickly and according to a range of selected categories, and the ability to update the information: it will help greatly in reinvigorating the research. I hope that a further step towards the consultation of the “graves archives” of Athens will be realized with the publication of another database, centred on the burials, the “Atlas of the Athenian Funerary Evidence (11<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)”, which is under construction<sup>17</sup>. This project should grant more detailed information about the exact location of the graves and their (eventual) relation with the other burials in the same context<sup>18</sup>. After the first stage of cataloguing the tombs of Athens and the initial online publication of the database, its implementation could be further enriched thanks to the detailed formulation of the data sheets of the tombs and burial areas; also the museum materials from the tombs could be treated<sup>19</sup>.

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established correspondence of stylistic versus chronological phase: more than 50 years after the publication of the current reference studies, it seems reasonable to put the chronological grid to test.

12 Morris 1987; Whitley 1991b; Strömberg 1993; Kalaitzoglou 2010; Alexandridou 2016.

13 Whitley 2002; Duplouy 2006, 162–169; D’Onofrio 2011, 659–662.

14 Wecowski 2014; Dalsoglio – D’Onofrio 2016. Cf. *infra* n. 74.

15 Dimitriadou 2012; Dimitriadou 2017, 985–989; Vizyinou 2011.

16 The ARISTEIA database gathers “all the available evidence concerning the archaeology of the Greek World in the Early Iron and Early Archaic Age, from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. down to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The emphasis is on the study of

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settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries” (<http://aristeia.ha.uth.gr/>). Mazarakis Ainian 2017a.

17 The data entry is being produced by A. Doronzio under my own direction for the scientific aspect, financed by the University of Naples “L’Orientale”. The database project (Filemaker, RDBMS) has been carried out by A. Duplouy, V. Capozzoli and A. Doronzio, as part of an agreement between the University Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne and “L’Orientale”. The Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Service of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, grants its precious scientific support to the project thanks to an agreement with “L’Orientale”, and I am most grateful to Eleni S. Banou for this.

18 The lists as well as the ARISTEIA PROJECT database do not contain detailed information for all entries.

19 The ATLAS project is limited to the graves from central Athens. Annarita Doronzio, who is

## Formal Burial, Formal Cemeteries and the Role of Kinship in the Burial Practice

Morris' book of 1987 "Burial and Ancient Society" put forward the theory of selectivity of the formal burial, that is of an opposition between formal and informal disposal of the dead. The energy expenditure of the funeral rite, measured through the mortuary variability (the differences among burials within a coherent funerary area), has been taken as the basic measure of inclusion or exclusion related to a position of social relevance or irrelevance – that is inequality related to ranking<sup>20</sup>. How can it be established that the low number of burials is the expression of the "selective exclusion from burial" and does not correspond rather to the low population density? When a society adopts this kind of strategy with regard to burial practice, there is no direct correspondence between the graves (number and age classes as well) and its demographic layout. According to Morris, in some periods of the Greek history, only the *agathoi* – those who enjoyed full membership – were buried in an archaeologically visible manner, while the *kakoi* – the many – did not receive the honour of a mortuary treatment that aimed at keeping the memory of the dead in the conscience of their kinship-group and of a wider community<sup>21</sup>. Snodgrass

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developing it, is focusing on the location of each grave-context and on the aspects related to the chronology.

20 Morris 1987, 97–109.

21 Morris 1987, 97–109; Dickinson 2006, 174–190. Snodgrass 2016, 191: "Not all the arguments in his book [Morris 1987] may have carried conviction, but on this point I think his case is unanswerable". On the terminology (*agathoi* and *kakoi*), borrowed from Vilfredo Pareto: Morris 1987, 1; cf. Duplouy

noticed that the formal burial theory implies a high degree of social differentiation, and this phenomenon is typical of wider societies; nevertheless, he thinks that Athens – and the other settlements where the formal burial seems to have been adopted – did so by playing a role of vanguard of the new social organization<sup>22</sup>.

As Snodgrass recently pointed out, both followers and opponents of this model did not dedicate much attention to general development of the burial phenomenon that is the re-establishment of flat cemeteries<sup>23</sup>. This modality of treating the dead, gathering the graves in communal, formal burial grounds, is comparable with the Bronze Age *Gräberfelder* of Central Europe, where it represents an enduring custom<sup>24</sup>. In Athens and Attica it disappeared with the Middle Helladic period, and is attested again for the first time in the post-palatial necropolis at Perati, an example of a real/formal cemetery of the new type in which, however, the Mycenaean typology of multiple burials is maintained<sup>25</sup>. A further step towards this model

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2006, 25 f. The critical discussion goes on about the "full membership of the community" of these *agathoi*, i.e. the group with citizen rights within the *polis* (*contra* Wecowski 2014, 250).

22 Snodgrass 1996, 204.

23 Snodgrass 2016. In the Middle Helladic period, the practice of burial in collective cemeteries (e.g. the West cemetery at Eleusis) coexisted with the use of domestic property for the same purpose (e.g. burials in the spaces between the houses in the Argolid).

24 Snodgrass 2016, 195. They represent the burial site of the communities of the villages, separated by the warriors' barrows, reserved to the elite (Kristiansen 1999).

25 Perati is described as "[...] a very late Mycenaean cemetery whose 192 chamber-tombs are densely spaced, so densely that as to make

is represented by the Arsenal cemetery of Salamis, and in Athens by the Kerameikos and the Irodou Attikou cemeteries<sup>26</sup>.

In the Mycenaean period the custom was to bury the members of the family in chamber tombs (“the prerogative of a restricted class”)<sup>27</sup>, and clusters of tombs could represent larger kinship groups – “extended family or clan (*genos*)” – but these clusters did not arise in formal and bounded areas and they do not represent real, separate cemeteries: “...they could instead illustrate the quite different factor of land ownership” and this custom prevailed for some four centuries<sup>28</sup>.

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it difficult [...] to make out the kind of internal grouping that we saw before” (Snodgrass 2016, 197 and fig. 12.5). In Thessaly, the phenomenon seems to appear at an earlier date: “at Voulokaliya, some 40 tumuli have been identified but only a few have so far been excavated. In the same area extended flat cemeteries of mostly single burials were also found, ranging in date from LH IIB to the Geometric period” (Lemos 2014, 181, with bibl.).

26 Snodgrass 2016, 195. 196 fig. 12.6 (the ‘Pompeion’ cemetery). About the Arsenal cemetery of Salamis, see Styrenius 1962, 103, mentioning Kavvadias’ report of 1894 (“more than one hundred graves, arranged in seven parallel rows”). For Irodou Attikou cemetery, see Kontopanagou in this volume. The Skoubris cemetery in Euboea (see Lemos 2002, 8. 11) also falls in the first generation of post-palatial flat cemeteries, and the graves “could readily be grouped into family plots” (Snodgrass 2016, 195).

27 The principle of exclusion played a role in this period as well. Snodgrass argues that the single burials belonged to the smaller property owners, while the landless (or servants) probably did not receive a formal burial at all (Snodgrass 2016, 194). Similarly, in the EIA, formal burial was given – according to this school of thought – to people above the lower orders (Morris 2007, 232).

28 Snodgrass 2016, 193. 197 (“I see the establishment of a chamber tomb as a conspicuous statement of private, inherited wealth, in the

This main difference between the Mycenaean burial custom and the Dark Age one hints at a heavy change in the social order. I would also stress that, with the advent of the flat burials, we are not able to recognize the grouping of the members of a “family” within the wider community<sup>29</sup>. This is due to the fact that the study of the human remains from the Iron Age burials, as far as it concerns the Athenian context and with some few notable exceptions, has never been undertaken: either the bones were lost or the methods of analysis were inadequate. We therefore lack the material for this fundamental chapter of the mortuary archaeology<sup>30</sup>. The dearth of biological material hampers the establishment of genetic connections among the individuals in a period (before the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) when infants and children are scarcely represented and the “familial” pattern corresponding to our present mentality is not obvious<sup>31</sup>. We face mortuary systems

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firm expectation that the continuing hereditary process would justify the labour needed for the initial task of excavation”). On the tholos tombs as the attribute of a ruler (Argolid and Messenia being the regions with most of the evidence), see Snodgrass 2016, 194.

29 The big flat cemeteries can allow family grouping without losing their essentially public function (Snodgrass 2016, 189 f. 195), but identifying and delimiting such plots remains highly subjective.

30 Alexandridou 2016, 348. Lagia published five cremations and five inhumations of the Pompeion cemetery (in Kerameikos 18, 273–281). There she announces the project of a volume dedicated to the rest of the SM material from the site. For the human skeletal remains from the *agora*, see Liston in *Agora 36*, 503–560; Ruscillo on the faunal remains (*Agora 36*, 561–573).

31 See Morris 1987, 57 f., for the “rather arbitrary division between the child and youth categories” at the 10<sup>th</sup> birthday. D’Onofrio 2017a, 261. The



of adult individuals whose biological ties are neither evident nor ascertainable. In general, the relationship between cemeteries and descent is most relevant, though problematic<sup>32</sup>. Considering that patterns of kinship evolve and change along with societies (which transform themselves as well), then the need for adequate (and culturally specific) strategies of approaching these “kinship-patterns” is obvious<sup>33</sup>.

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recurrent projection of “our” current values on ancient Greek societies has been stigmatized by Detienne, among others (Detienne 2005).

32 Morris 1987, 52–55. He notices that “The most important ideas to look for are the tomb’s location as a symbol of descent, and the use of corporate descent groups to control vital resources.” (Morris 1987, 53). *Contra* Patterson 1998, 65 (with bibl.). About the familial metaphor of political ideology and on the fundamental father-son nexus, see Strauss 1993 (e.g. “oikos and polis in practice”, 41–53, and “patrios and pater”, 57–60). Manakidou 2008 explores the father-son relationship in Homeric epics and in the Persian literature. About the role of kin in death and burial in Athens, see also Humphreys 1980.

33 Littman 1990, 1–12; Patterson 1998, esp. 1–69. Avezù 1991a, 29: “[...] il criterio biologico, che a tutta prima sembrerebbe il criterio portante della parentela, in realtà è tratto secondario e forse non del tutto pertinente ad essa e costitutivo di essa. Il livello della riproduzione infatti si mostra altamente manipolabile [...]”. Sahlins, inspired by Viveiros de Castro, argued in favour of a more provocative approach to the study of kinship, warning against the insides of the mechanisms of identification between the observers and the others: “A modest proposal for solving the 150-year-old problem of what kinship is, its specific quality, viz. mutuality of being: persons who are members of one another, who participate intrinsically in each other’s existence. “Mutuality of being” applies both to the constitution of kinship by social construction and by procreation, even as it accounts for “the mysterious effectiveness of relationality” (Viveiros de Castro), i.e. how it is that relatives live each other’s lives and die each other’s deaths. Involving such transpersonal relations of being

The literature on the argument is relatively recent and largely inspired by an evolutionary anthropological approach, but some studies show the complexity of the kinship patterns in the Homeric poems and the limits of an approach exclusively centred on the opposition between nuclear and extended family<sup>34</sup>. A definition of the *oikos* as a mononuclear family, eventually including only the grandfathers and grandmothers, is a reductive concept and a modern construct<sup>35</sup>.

Returning to archaeology, Whitley underlines the importance of kinship in the early Athenian and Attic mortuary practice, observing how this factor is not overthrown by Bourriot’s and Russel’s critique of the role of aristocracy as a class before the late Classical times, a critique

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and experience, kinship takes its place in the same ontological regime as magic, gift exchange, sorcery, and witchcraft.” (Sahlins 2011).

34 Avezù 1991b; see especially 58–61, summing up the comparison between the Trojan and Achaean model. Miller 1953 offered a first map of the terminological range of Greek kinship. About *gnothoi* and *nothoi* in epic poetry, see Avezù 1991b, 51 and n. 13; Pizzocaro 1993.

35 Duplouy 2006, 19; Morris 1987, 91. For the *oikoi* as units of kin and dependents, see Morris 1987, 178 (“a ‘patriarchal’ household system, without large scale chattel slavery of the Classical time”). Morris 2007, 232; Roussel 1976, 51–61, 55 (grand “maisons”); Patterson 1998, 46–62. A distinction between nuclear family (buried in the single chamber tombs) and extended family or clan (*genos*) (buried in each cluster of tombs) has been inferred in the Mycenaean burial sites (Snodgrass 2016, 192 f.), though I wonder how reductive the definition of “nuclear family” might be. The problem remains, in my opinion, of defining kinship as a historical, and not an absolute category. See Avezù 1991a, 34–40; Avezù 1991b, 58.

he accepts as well<sup>36</sup>. Alexandridou, in turn, recently conducted a comprehensive analysis, which enhanced the role of kinship in shaping Attic LG II funerary evidence, which “might conceal an increased fear for the conservation and continuation of these lineage groups within the new social reality [i. e. the rising *polis*]”<sup>37</sup>. Both literary and archaeological contexts call for a wide range of *oikos* models, and for local and diachronic adaptation. The burial grounds reflect the social (not the demographic) factor of the group (*oikos*) contributing the burial, through the filter of social visibility. Such groupings existed, and have been empirically identified inside the cemeteries: this happens at post-palatial Perati as well as in the Submycenaean Pompeion necropolis and in the other burial grounds in the Kerameikos funerary site<sup>38</sup>. As observed by Whitley, “the age and sex profiles of the Pompeion cemetery are what one would expect from a loosely based, non exclusive-kin-grouping”<sup>39</sup>. If this is so, what were the criteria for including individuals in the burying group? Interestingly, the Homeric *oikos*, like the Iron Age burying group, is “often conceived as an extended group three generations deep” and “might be built up through alliances, with subsidiary individ-

uals and households becoming apparently attached to more powerful households in patron-client relationship, expressed by the poet in the language of kinship”<sup>40</sup>. A valuable approach to the pseudo-kinship groupings of early Athens and to the sense of shared ancestry developed through this kinship pattern (“The state itself was known as *Athenai*”) is offered by Whitley<sup>41</sup>. On the other hand, an enduring legacy of the early Greek “family” in historical times is the difficult management of bastardy, an obvious by-product of the multiple marriages men were permitted in this pre-state society. The death ritual is practiced and organized within these “family groups”, where the family adapts its shape through the various historical and contextual horizons. If one looks to Homer, the tomb attests to the glory of the dead hero as well as to that of his sons. On the other hand, in the Archaic funerary dedications it is often stated who took care of dedicating the monument<sup>42</sup>. The burial duties are normally a family affair and are carried out by the sons in honour of their father; the thought of remaining *áthaptos* is so terri-

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36 Bourriot 1976; Roussel 1976. Whitley 1991b, 66 f.: “It is safer to assume that, up until the formation of the State in the eighth or seventh century, kinship organisation remained an important part of social organisation, and that the various units of kinship are, imperfectly, reflected in the spatial distribution and size of the grave plots” (66).

37 Alexandridou 2016, esp. 354 f.; Alexandridou 2017b, 157 f.

38 Snodgrass 2016, 189–195.

39 Whitley 1991b, 97.

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40 Morris 1987, 91. For the standard of one to three generations of families recorded on Attic funerary monuments (exceptionally four and five) in historical time, see Cavanagh 1991, 102 f., tab. 1. According to the author, “the genealogical model was the means whereby the individual established his place in a free society” and “people and families would move from one village to another according to the vagaries of inheritance, fission and survival” (Cavanagh 1991, 100). Osborne 1996, 74–77, recognizes “kinship as the fundamental structuring factor in the communities’ burial practices”.

41 Whitley 1991b, 58. For a constructivist view of ethnicity and identity, supported by the archaeological evidence, see Franchi – Proietti 2015, 55 (with bibl.). Cf. also *infra* n. 97.

42 D’Onofrio 1998. Cf. Duploux 2006, 122–126.

fying that in Classical Athens men without sons adopted somebody who could carry out the funeral ceremony for him<sup>43</sup>.

Though numerous and in-depth studies have supported an Iron Age burial practice managed within the kinship-group, since the 1990s the strategy of interpretation is increasingly oriented towards the recognition of functional groups (symposiasts, warrior-traders or others), while the role of the kinship-based approach appears to be dwindling by comparison<sup>44</sup>. The *polyandria* at Paroikia on Paros, ca. 700 B.C., commemorating a local clash probably associated with the process of political unification, can be recalled as one of the earliest true examples of this kind, and it is interpreted as a testimony of the phalanx revolution<sup>45</sup>. Here, at the close of the EIA, when the social rules are dramatically changing, the men who fell in the same clash are buried together and the metaphor of brotherhood is on the rise in the mortuary scene<sup>46</sup>. Houby-Nielsen extended a functional interpretation to the Archaic Athenian and Attic burial mounds, interpreted as commemorative of socio-political associations; an example of this practice was sought in the group of

dead buried with sumptuous *klinai* in the Tumulus G of Kerameikos, at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., attributed to a sympotic *thiasos*<sup>47</sup>. Considering the well-known fact that the burial plots rarely extend over more than one or two generations, and adopting Bourriot's thesis that our notion of *genos* is inspired by the role that it plays in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and later sources, she hence concluded that generally there is no genealogical thinking behind the grave plots<sup>48</sup>. In spite of the lack of anthropological data supporting this interpretation of Archaic group burials, which in itself rejected *in toto* the role of kin in the rite, the proposal was very well received by critics<sup>49</sup>. Duplouy, who fully developed the thesis of the non-existence of the aristocracy before the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., which nowadays is widely accepted by historians, makes it the key example for the explanation of a series of Athenian contexts of Archaic and Classical age<sup>50</sup>. In Euboea, at Toumba,

43 Longo 1991, 79, points out the threefold function of the children: to provide for the sustenance of the parents in old age, to ensure their burial and traditional funerary rites, and to keep alive the practice of the cult of parents and ancestors after death.

44 Houby-Nielsen 1995.

45 Zapheiroupolou 1999; ThesCRA 8 (2012) 363–384 s. v. Death and Burial in the Greek World (V. Vlachou), 373; Wecowski 2014, 329 f.; Mazarakis Ainian 2017b, 47; Agelarakis 2017.

46 For the city as the most extended functional association see, among others, Duplouy 2006, 147.

47 Houby-Nielsen 1995. I cannot analyze here the many problems risen by this proposal. I limit myself to observe that the author's statement that "Main structuring principles in vase painting are seen as useful analogies to the way gender roles were expressed in the actual burial contexts", calls for further reflections both on the role of the iconographic series painted on the vases and on the role of kinship in the burial rites. About the long lasting relevance of kinship, I express some thoughts in this paper.

48 Houby-Nielsen 1995: The author insists upon the individual aspect of the Archaic burials. Further on, she considers the Kerameikos cemetery as being used by the same burying group/groups from the EIA to the Classical times, which is not demonstrable (cf. D'Onofrio 2017a).

49 ThesCRA 8 (2012) 363–384 s. v. Death and Burial in the Greek World (V. Vlachou), 376 and n. 97.

50 Duplouy 2006, 143 f.; Giangiulio 2016.

Lemos' explanation of the cemetery as a *phylon* of several *oikoi* who recognized the hero buried in the *megaron* along with his "wife" as their common ancestors, started the series of the graves, and were ruled by the principle of *syngeneia*<sup>51</sup>, is not universally accepted. Duplouy rather suggests that it could represent a functional group, where the individuals shared the activity of seafarers and traders<sup>52</sup>. These men would then be the "captains" of Homeric ancestry described by Malkin<sup>53</sup>. Once more, the absence of osteological data hampers the ascertainment of the nature of the relationship among the people buried in the cemetery.

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51 Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 9; Lemos 2002, 140–146; 218–219; Lemos – Mitchell 2011, 635; the authors speculate that the cemetery was used by two or even three elite groups, *ibid.* 638. Lemos 2014, 173 (with *bibl.*), on the possibility that the *megaron* was the seat of a *qa-si-re-u*. Duplouy 2006, 318 note 36: "Aucune étude anthropologique n'a toutefois à ce jour démontré ou infirmé un quelconque lien génétique entre les défunts". The observation of Duplouy stems from the fact that Toumba cemetery did not return human remains in such quantities as to be adequately analysed.

52 Duplouy 2006, 158, and notes 35–36. "Cependant, en se ménageant un accès presque exclusif à ces biens [les objets orientaux], les marins de Toumba élaborèrent rapidement l'image d'un groupe social particulier, justifiant – sinon contribuant à créer – une position prééminente à Lefkandi, qu'il leur suffit ensuite d'entretenir et de conforter" (Duplouy 2006, 183). Similarly, Antonaccio thinks that "Lefkandi may be an attempt to found a lineage or a 'house', constituted by feasting and gifts and creating a different kind of kinship than one based strictly on descent" (Antonaccio 2016a, 110, with previous *bibl.*).

53 Malkin 1998, 88–92 (Hom. Od. 8, 159–164, discussed on p. 162: Odysseus is asked whether he is a "captain of sailors who were traders").

It would therefore be important to re-examine in detail these opposed interpretive models of burial grouping and discuss them in the light of the context at work in the background. This aim cannot be pursued in this paper, where I limit myself to stressing the relevance of the topic, and the deadlock to which we have come. My point of view is that the common burial of individuals associated in a communal enterprise or united by a special bond is exceptional, and requires the responsibility of the family in managing the funeral to be overcome, which represents the norm throughout the entire period, as the literary sources widely attest<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand, we may find ourselves faced with clans with some specialized profile (e.g. warrior-traders) who attract and accept individuals from outside, when they can help increase the wealth of the group<sup>55</sup>.

## Rise and Decline of the EIA Lifestyle

Niemeier stressed the economic implications of the breakdown of the palace-system and the over-exploitation of useful agricultural land, which provoked lasting damage<sup>56</sup>. Snodgrass in turn drew attention to the scarcity of population characteristic of the dawn of the new era

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54 Morris 1987, 90, expresses the same point of view. On the formal duty of the *gnesioi* to perform the ritual burial for their relatives see Longo 1991. On the kinship lexicon adopted for the political system of relationships see Strauss 1993, esp. 13–17 (Father-son tension in the Greek tradition); 21–56.

55 The relationship of these outsiders with the *oikoi* of the clan can vary from peer to peer (*metoikoi*) to lower statuses. About Anaxilas of Naxos and metics in Archaic age, see Bournias 2017.

56 Niemeier 1996, 102. On the collapse, Dickinson 2006, 242, among others.

(deduced from the low visibility of the archaeological remains) and proposed a shift towards pastoralism; the emphasis indeed is rather on the regionalism of the new order than on the type of prevailing means of production, which could differ by area and depend on its specific characteristics<sup>57</sup>. The EIA is a long span of time (ca. 1100–700 B.C.), and it would therefore be misleading to assert something positive about the post-palatial economy as a whole, apart from the absence of a central power which could take over the exchange of goods and the balance of services among the communities<sup>58</sup>.

In this period the so-called warrior graves flourished, especially in northern and central Greece as well as in Crete. The relevant evidence from Cyprus is excluded from the studies concerning the Greek world, but this gap should be filled, when looking for a better comprehension of the phenomenon<sup>59</sup>. Through the weapon burial ritual a new symbolic order was created<sup>60</sup>, but one should not

underestimate the regional variability: so great are the differences in the war equipment and in the ratio between men who were honoured with the weapon ritual and the others<sup>61</sup>. Athens is the most active community in forging the “warrior grave” pattern in central Greece, while it is worth noting that weapons are not frequently found in the graves of Mycenaean Attica, showing that the region underwent a big cultural change<sup>62</sup>. It is doubtful whether the symbolic pack of the EIA warrior was motivated by wars for land or rather in raids for booty or in actions of sea pirates, and we should once again distinguish between different ages and contexts<sup>63</sup>.

The 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. marks the transition to the use of the new technology of iron. Iron was to take the place of bronze in weaponry at different speeds: for daggers and swords it was used earlier than for spearheads, where its advent took a longer

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57 Snodgrass 1980, 32–34; Snodgrass 1996, with strong arguments. On the regional diversities of pre-state societies and the conflation of social models behind the Homeric poems see Whitley 1991a, 344 f.; Whitley 1991b, 197. Crie-laard 2011. Dickinson 2006, 224 f., insists on the generalized lack of reliable evidence. Scepticism about the representativeness of data from Nichoria and other Dark Age archaeological evidence is expressed by Foxhall 1995, recurring to “Homeric epics which takes farming, including tree crops, for granted”; see also Foxhall 2007, 16–18.

58 Dickinson 2006, 252 f. Lemos emphasizes the variety and diversity of the responses implemented by the post-palatial communities (Lemos 2014).

59 Snodgrass 1996, 221.

60 The first post-palatial weapons in the Athenian burials are dated to Ruppenstein's Stufe III and

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IV (cf. D'Onofrio 2011, 646–650. About the chronology of Kerameikos “Stufen”, cf. Dalsoglio 2014, 43, with bibliography).

61 The custom is widespread in some regions of central Greece (Argolid, Attica, Euboea) and its periphery (Epirus and Macedonia) as well as in the island of Crete since the EIA (Lemos 2002, *passim*; Bräuning 1995). Weapon burials are represented neither in the Aegean Islands nor in the Ionian Islands. In most regions of Greece, it is limited by the end of the Geometric period. For Athens and Attica, see D'Onofrio 2011 (list: 659–662), and D'Onofrio (forthcoming). About the nature (functional or not) of the weaponry in the graves, I do share Molloy's theoretical approach (Molloy 2010).

62 SATAA 7, 44, tab. 4.

63 Wecowski 2014, 323 and note 48, emphasized the lack of war over land in the Homeric poems, and the repeated reference to conflicts over herds. On the problem, from a different perspective, see Jackson 1993.

time<sup>64</sup>. I would like to draw attention to the well-known fact that the adoption of iron implements (weapons, tools, adornments) was progressive, and the markers of the increasing use of the iron technology – offering the advantage of self-sufficiency and abundance regarding the supply of raw material – progressed through various stages<sup>65</sup>. Both Lefkandi and Athens, two major EIA sites, attest to an early use of the iron technology, which is well illustrated by the grave equipments<sup>66</sup>. Worthy of note is the fact that the tools used to work iron make their appearance among the finds in the sanctuaries only from the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and as lost objects rather than as votives. They attest to the use of the new technology to construct large-scale and/or solid buildings in a well-structured sacred place, visited by many people<sup>67</sup>. This is the period when the number of the burials in Athens and Attica reached a peak never registered before: the total number of LG graves (ca. 760–700 B.C.: 60 years) exceeds the total of graves occurring from PG to the end of MG (ca. 1050–760 B.C.: 290 years)<sup>68</sup>.

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64 D’Onofrio 2011, 653–657. 662.

65 Snodgrass 2000, 213–239; Agora 36, 974–978. A reappraisal to the problem of the introduction of the new technology is offered by Verčik, who draws attention to the role of Ionia (Verčik 2017).

66 Lemos 2002; D’Onofrio 2017b, focused on the manufacturing tools.

67 Kilian 1983; Baitinger – Völling 2007; Morris 2007, 234 (“metal tools were expensive and carefully conserved”).

68 Morris 1987, 218 f. (the appendix includes only cemeteries with at least four published graves). On the details of Morris’ analysis, see d’Agostino – D’Onofrio 1993. See also Whitley 1991b (Grave index, 199–205). Alexandridou gives an updated list of the LG II evidence (Alexandridou 2016, tab. 1. List of Late Geometric II burials in Athens,

The phenomenon can only partly be due to the inclusion of individuals of age groups or status previously excluded from formal burial, and the global intensification of the funerary record indicates that the settlement was taking off in the region<sup>69</sup>. It has also been noted that in Athens “the peak is reached in LG I, contemporaneously with the first increase of the new Attic nucleus, while the entire peak in LG II is absorbed by the new sites”<sup>70</sup>. The widely accepted explanation is that after the struggles among the local elites of Attica, Athens took the dominion of the vast region (ca. 2.500 km<sup>2</sup>), with the so-called internal revolution, a phenomenon associated by most scholars with the development of agriculture<sup>71</sup>.

Starting from the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C., one observes a major structuring of the banquet service found in the burials, accompanied by its enrichment with valuable items (such as the bronze hemispherical cups); the phenomenon is accompanied by

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2–16; Attica, 17–34). New calculations will be done when the Atlas project is completed.

69 Whitehead 1986, 5–10 (esp. 6 and n. 14). The fact that the region was filled in with permanent settlements cannot be denied, and “the argument for population growth is compelling” (Morris 1987, 158). The trend of growth is observed in the entire Mediterranean basin; in Attica, the population probably doubled (Morris 2007, 236; see also 216. 219). Mazarakis Ainian 2017b, 50: “Il semblerait que le grand « boom » démographique de la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ait joué un rôle-clé dans le processus de la création des cités”.

70 d’Agostino – D’Onofrio 1993, 47; Morris 1987, 72–96. 73 fig. 22. 157 fig. 54.

71 Coldstream 2008, 135; 362. Attica was very sparsely inhabited in the EIA, until the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. when “a veritable rural “gentry” was taking shape, and the growth in the population as a whole was being successfully absorbed by the Attic countryside itself”: Whitehead 1986, 8.

the placement of monumental wine containers as memorials<sup>72</sup>. However, attention should also be drawn to the position of these vases in the funerary context: they were the epicentre of funeral celebrations and symbol of sharing the banquet not only among the participants in the funeral ritual but also, symbolically, with the deceased through holes for libations to the burial below<sup>73</sup>. The burial customs attest to the rise of a form of wine consumption that represents a more specialized ritual of conviviality compared to the *dais*<sup>74</sup>. Then the emergence of the *symposion* practices, with emphasis on equality and turn-taking, plays a specific role in the structuring of the political community, a phenomenon which has been read through the evidence

of literary sources<sup>75</sup>. The decline of the EIA society – with the warriors at the top of the social pyramid – starts with the population increase and the multiplication of villages in the *chora*, and is provoked by an elite promoting new values<sup>76</sup>. The weapon ritual in burials lasts in Athens until the late 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>77</sup>. The Dipylon cemetery represents an extraordinary example of the coexistence of the custom of celebrating the warlike male through the weapon ritual and the representation of a banqueting elite through the figured scenes on the large vase-*semata*<sup>78</sup>.

Leaving the dead for the living, the limits of the lower city are not signalled by fortifications (not any that are archaeologically visible, at least)<sup>79</sup>. According to Snodgrass and (many) others, the inhabitants settled in scattered homesteads or villages, contributing to a network of burial grounds of different types – isolated graves, small plots, flat cemeteries – clustered all around the Acropolis<sup>80</sup>. This model corresponds

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72 The earliest evidence is dated to the Late Protogeometric (late 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), but the phenomenon fully develops in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: Wecowski 2014, 271–275.

73 Amphoras and kraters with a memorial function, sometimes placed beside the stone stele, could serve “as a receptacle for libation to the dead” (Coldstream 1977, 33). The function of the holes as libation devices is widely accepted, though not ascertainable (Wecowski 2014, 272, n. 68). Bohlen explains the holes as a device to protect *epitymbion* kraters from water damage (Bohlen 2017, 124 f.). The bottom of the kraters from the Hagia Triada necropolis of the Orientalizing phase is never preserved (D’Onofrio 1993, esp. 150–153).

74 In Kerameikos burials in the period ca. 850–880 B.C. tableware accounts for 40 % of the pottery; this figure grows to 70 % at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> and in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Belletier 2003). Wecowski 2014, 280 f.; Dalsoglio – D’Onofrio 2016. A symbolic act of dining beside the grave is reproduced through the services found in the offering ditches (Kistler 1998; Doronzio 2018, 154–157). On the ritual, see also D’Onofrio 1993.

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75 Murray reads the *symposion* as an evolution of earlier military feasts (Murray 1983; cf. Wecowski 2014, 238 and n. 204). Wecowski 2014, 121–124, recognizes in the circulation of cups, speech and drinking games “to the right” the hallmark of the symposium.

76 Wecowski 2014, 275 f.: the elite representing the rich manor that grows wheat and raises horses.

77 D’Onofrio (forthcoming).

78 Coulié 2013, 61–64; Wecowski 2014, 273–275.

79 For the distribution of the cemeteries in central Athens in the Mycenaean and Submycenaean times, see Mountjoy 1995.

80 D’Onofrio 2008; Mazarakis Ainian 2009; Mazarakis Ainian 2017b. The terraces LH IIIB represent the scanty traces of the Mycenaean building phase: a palace, according to Niemeier 1996; Étienne 2004, 13. Doubts on the function of the “putative Mycenaean ‘palace’ on the

to Mazarakis Ainian's multifocal settlement (the most dynamic and successful one in the EIA, giving birth to the *polis* development), as opposed to the central settlement pattern, destined to achieve only minor success, where one extensive cemetery is used by the whole community<sup>81</sup>. In central Athens, the whole period is characterized by the close connection between the graves, and the inhabited and productive areas<sup>82</sup>.

### Anthropology, Burial Customs and the Early Athenian Society

Since the 1980s the ethnographic comparison between the Melanesian big-man and the *basileus* of the Dark Age Greece conquered the scene<sup>83</sup>. Whitley however, in a memorable article dedicated to "Social

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Acropolis" have been expressed, among others, by Papadopoulos (Agora 36, 980 and n. 54). For the graves, see Gauss – Ruppenstein 1998. One cannot exclude that the SM tombs were associated with a residential area, which is not preserved (Papadopoulos 2014).

81 Mazarakis Ainian 2009; Mazarakis Ainian 2017b: the association of productive activities and residential areas is a paradigm of early Greek settlement history, pace Papadopoulos, who maintains his dissent and reasserts his approach to the *agora* site as a necropolis and productive area, excluding the residential function (Agora 36, 10–18. 981–984).

82 Mazarakis Ainian 2017b, 34; D'Onofrio 2008. *Contra* Papadopoulos (e. g. Agora 36, 10-12).

83 Donlan traces the profile of a Dark Age society with a sparse population of pastoral and farming families, organized in numerous small, independent bands, centred around local "big men" (*basileis*); *phylai* are described as "free followers of a leading man" and not a corporate kinship group (Donlan 1985). Cf. Giangiulio 2016, 306 f. About the diversity in terminology of power during the EIA and the need of a critical assessment of the 'wanax to basileus model' based on the archaeological record, see Crielaard 2011.

diversity in Dark Age Greece", identified two main types of Dark Age sites: the stable ones, often urban foci of later city states, like Athens, and unstable sites, a catch-all category to which the model can be approximated, though not applied in a strict sense, given the great difference in ecological (tropical) background<sup>84</sup>. Athens, along with the other sites of the stable sites category, is more closely compatible with another ethnographic model, the Nuristan one, that of the Afghan "men of influence": according to this model, the Athenians were "kin groups of roughly equivalent size and status, and [...] Athens was a community where some kind of status could be passed down between the generations"<sup>85</sup>. In conclusion, he clearly defines the limits of the use of the big-man model in the case of early Athens, a model widely abused by modern critics<sup>86</sup>. Whitley insists upon the fact that big-man societies, common in the earlier Dark Age, became uncommon and unimportant from the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>87</sup> Other scholars assign a lower chronology (950–850 B.C.) to the phenomenon, imaging the Athenian society dominated by small and rather egalitarian groups under the informal leadership of local big-

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84 Whitley 1991a. Cf. Snodgrass 1996, 224 f. (who points out that the model does not apply to "stable sites"). On the anthropological correlates of the different types of societies and on the existence of a tribal aristocracy in the tribal societies "à chefferies", see Godelier 1999.

85 Whitley 1991b, 192–194.

86 According to Godelier 1999, 20 "les effets de concept de "Big Men" chez les archéologues sont parfois dévastateurs". And I fully agree. For an example of a broad comparative approach between anthropology and the Greek world, see Ulf 2009.

87 Whitley 1991a, 198.



men, whose competitive arena were the empowering feasts, until the end of Early Geometric (ca. 850 B.C.)<sup>88</sup>.

The major change indeed occurred between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., when *Athenai* “underwent a transition from a relatively egalitarian to a more hierarchical form of society, whose organizing principle was the social rationing of valued tokens, exotic artefacts, certain decorative features, and the right of formal burial”<sup>89</sup>.

The decline of the warrior-elite and the rise of an elite of leisure is a central theme of the actual researches. The elite of the *agathoi* is currently represented as an unstable group of men who fight to maintain the pole position in the society through a practice of “social promotion” (“modes de reconnaissance sociale”, according to Duploux)<sup>90</sup>. The traditional concept of a class of aristocrats modelled on the hereditary aristocracy of the modern European reigns has long been rejected by the French School; Roussel and Bourriot first advanced critiques on the traditional view of the aristocracy as a hereditary class and a dominant group on the basis of birth, wealth and power since an early age. The minimalist approach to the aristocracy is currently accepted among the historians<sup>91</sup>,

though there is nevertheless a tendency to retain the term aristocrats to describe the group of “more equal” people who possessed greater political and economic power in a given community<sup>92</sup>. It is worth noting that in the Cambridge school since the 1980s, the scholars largely avoided the use of terms like aristocracy/aristocrats for the period of rise of the *polis*, and Morris adopted Pareto’s terminology for describing the mechanism of ranking and exclusion from the “elite”<sup>93</sup>.

In sum, a global approach to the early Athenian elite-system remains widely based on the funerary arena as a means of promoting intra-elite differentiation<sup>94</sup>. The descent-groups receive a social reconnaissance from the organization of their burial grounds. This is why the performances played out in the funeral sphere grow in importance in this period, along with the conflicts over access to the upper levels of the community, from where the *agathoi/aristoi/esthloi*<sup>95</sup> could exercise their influence. The burial rites management comes to the foreground of the Athenian scene through various behaviours, some of

88 Kistler – Ulf 2005. Cf. Wecowski 2014, 323.

89 Whitley also states that, “following O. Murray [...], it seems that there are numerous structural similarities between Homeric society and the communities of present-day Nuristan” (Whitley 1991b, 192).

90 Duploux 2006, 29 f. 39–43 (“Noblesse des guerriers homériques”); Wecowski 2014, 282 f. (with bibl.).

91 Duploux 2006, 22 f.; Duploux 2015, 61–63; Giangiulio 2016. Wecowski observes that Duploux’s study “is excellent in descriptive terms, but its methodological approach obfuscates any

attempt to shed light on the origins of Greek aristocracy” (Wecowski 2014, 19 f.).

92 Bravo 1996. Cf. Duploux 2006, 3.

93 Morris 1987, 94–96; Dickinson 2006, 177.

94 Lemos 2014, 180 f. (mortuary archaeology and rite differentiation). The study of individuals is, of course, of fundamental importance for the knowledge of the societies. Individual behaviours are observed throughout the mortuary practice here considered.

95 Duploux 2006, 24–27. “La noblesse de naissance fut sans doute essentiellement en Grèce antique une donnée subjectivement perçue et socialement construite, bien avant d’être une réalité biologique reconnue institutionnellement” (75).

which spread to more groups, while others remained idiosyncratic: the Protogeometric and Geometric burials with weapons, the rich Geometric female graves, the Dipylon graves with the giant vase-*sema-ta*, the Orientalizing offering-ditches of Hagia Triada, the early Rundbau plot with the *orientalia*, etc.: much has been written about this extraordinary evidence, and it gets more relevance when observed in its genesis and its correlation, through a perspective related to the rise of the city-state and the emergence of the elite which managed it.

I would conclude here that we would learn much more about the society of this period if only we could ascertain from the archaeological record which kinship-ties (or the absence of such ties) are attributable to the individuals honoured in the burial plots, and if they were born in Athens or not<sup>96</sup>. Due to the importance of kinship, and the transformations that kinship groups have known in the Greek world, the impossibility of recovering traces of this “engine” in action behind the burial evidence is highly regrettable.

One interesting aspect of the struggle for social promotion is the manipulation of genealogies in order to adjust them to the needs of the moment, a phenomenon which cannot be valued according to actual categories of thought: the aptitude for invention in a field in which we mod-

erns are used to being precise does not diminish the importance and the validity of these forged genealogies. The theme of “competing memories” has recently been explored, revealing the mechanism of their social dimension, especially within the ethnological domain: not “fakes” but “products” corresponding to the cognitive system of the social group whom they are addressed to<sup>97</sup>.

Finally, one cannot forget that other kinds of relationship have been forged on the kinship model, tracing over its terminology: politics is the most obvious product of this mechanism<sup>98</sup>.

In conclusion, in spite of the obvious limits of the archaeological record and the theoretical and methodological difficulties, I believe that the researches being carried out in the mortuary field – reinvigorated by the current methods of analysis and retrieval and the inclusion of the study of human remains – will improve our knowledge of the structure and development of the Athenian ancient society.

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96 The current standard of bioarchaeological analysis on skeletal remains allows the retrieval of fundamental information about individuals (Roberts 2013; Bramanti 2013; Eriksson 2013). A brilliant example of a new deal in the study of the Attic burials is represented by the case of the Phaleron Delta necropolis, presented in this conference by Stella Chryssoulaki.

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97 Duploux 2015, 63–65. On competing memories, see Franchi – Proietti 2015: “La storia antica si è rivelata particolarmente sensibile al tema delle competing memories: a differenza che in altre discipline, esse vengono però osservate più a livello di gruppi sociali che non di singoli individui. In alcuni casi si aggiunge peraltro a una prospettiva sincronica delle competing memories una valutazione diacronica della misura in cui le memorie vengono manipolate nel tempo”. See also *supra* with note 41.

98 Strauss 1993. The use of the patronymic continues in Classical Athens, beside the demotic: Duploux 2015, 67–70.



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## SERIES/COMPENDIA/SHORT TITLE ABBREVIATIONS

### ABV

J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956).

### Agora 3

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