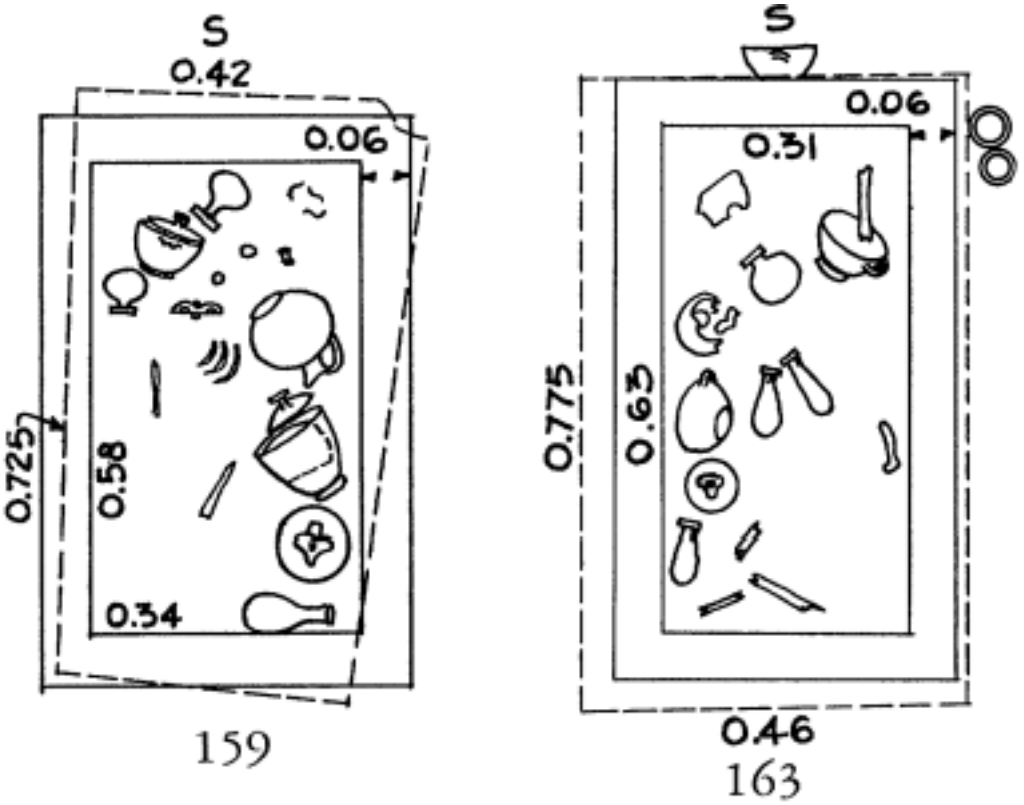
Child Mortality; an insight into society?

A diachronic comparative analysis of child graves from The North Cemetery at Corinth, 700-400 BC



Martine Petlund Breiby

Master Thesis in Archaeology

Department of Archaeology, Conservation and history

Faculty of Humanities

University of Oslo

Spring 2018

Year 2018

Title: Child Mortality; an insight into society?

http://www.duo.uio.no

Press: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Front page illustration

Drawing of child graves 159 and 163. Corinth, Vol. 13, The North Cemetery. (Blegen et al. 1964: Plate 104).

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people I would like to thank, now that I have reached the end of this project. First of all, a huge thanks to my supervisor, Søren Handberg, for challenging and pushing me, and even believing in my project when I did not. I would also like to thank the Norwegian Institute at Athens, for giving me financial support during my stay in Athens in October-November 2017. A special thanks to Zarko Tunasic, for great company and encouragement during my stay. I would also like to thank the University of Oslo and IAKH and my co-students at B11; its been a good five years!

A huge thanks to my mom, dad and brother. My interest in archaeology would never have blossomed if it weren´t for you.

Most of all I would like to thank you, Tobias, it would never have been possible without you. I am eternally grateful for having you in my life, love you.

4th of May 2018

Martine Petlund Breiby

Content

List of figures

List of tables

Figures and tables are made by the author if not stated otherwise.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In archaeological contexts, children are typically discussed as a single undifferentiated group. The primary goal of this thesis is to try to recreate sub-divisions of children within mortuary practices in The North Cemetery at Corinth from 700-400 BC. The recreation of sub-divisions of children has been done with success by Sanne Houby-Nielsen (1995) with the material remains from Kerameikos in Athens. The necropolis of Kerameikos is located just outside the city walls, by the Dipylon Gate. The divisions she found is now widely accepted as the Athenian division of children at death. This study is, however, the only one where the ancient ´Greek´ child has been systematically divided into sub-groups. I believe these sub-groups were not just an Athenian phenomenon, and can, at least in part, be found elsewhere in Greece as well. Performing a similar division of the buried individuals in another Greek city-state, from the same period, could perhaps help us in the understanding of the ´universal´ Greek attitudes towards children. I chose The North Cemetery at Corinth as it has a good sample size of child burials, and differs to some degree in burial practice from that found in Kerameikos in Athens. I will divide the individuals into four age groups, based on interment. Thereafter compare the deposition of grave goods in these age groups, so to be able to find objects or combination of objects directly connected to age.

Children, and especially infants, had a poor chance of survival in the ancient Greek world. Tim Parkin (2013:3) estimates that in an ancient society roughly one-third of the population would have been under the age of fifteen at any one time. In Hellenistic times children became more frequently portrayed in art and literature (Garland 1985:78-80; Houby-Nielsen 1995:146). The combination of high death rates and the lack of children in art and literature may have led to the widely held opinion that the Greek population´s interest in the child´s earliest development lacked until Hellenistic times, and that the death of a child was treated lightly (Kurtz & Broadman 1971:331). The last decade has brought to light an abundance of new material regarding infant and child burials, which I believe will challenge these set ideas concerning the ´adult´s´ attitudes towards child mortality in the ancient Greek world.

The most spectacular evidence is found on the island of Astypalaia, one of the fifteen larger islands in the Dodecanese. Since 1996, the 22nd Ephorate of the Greek Archaeological Service has excavated the two *necropoleis* Kalathos and Kylindra, both associated with the ancient city

of Astypalaia (Hillson 2009:138). Kalathos, located on a neighbouring hill of the city, contained the remains of individuals of all ages, dating from the Late Geometric (ca. 750 BC) until Roman times (ca. 200 AD). Kylindra, however, dating from Late Archaic (ca. 600 BC) to Early Classical times (ca. 400 BC), located on a southwest slope directly below the citadel, was reserved for the burial of new-born babies and a number of young children (Clement et al. 2009:17). Consisting of at least 2,400 children, it is the most prominent concentration of child burials ever uncovered. This evidence shows that a selective separation, based on age at death, was performed on the island. Excavation of these two sites is still ongoing. The publication is pending, and only preliminary reports are published (Clement et al. 2009; Hillson 2002, 2009). The cemeteries of Astypalaia will, hence, just function as examples in this thesis.

Houby-Nielsen (1995, 2000) found that in Athens the accompanying grave goods changed character according to the child´s age; the older the child was at death, the more similar the grave gifts became to that found in adult burials. She also emphasised that the chances of being given five or more grave gifts also became higher the older the child was at death. But was this the case in other city-states in Greece as well, or is this an Athenian phenomenon? As most in-depth research on the topic of child burials in ancient Greece have concentrated on the Athenian burial ground (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 2000; Lagia 2007; Morris 1992), the burial traditions of children often considered ´universal´ for the ancient Greek world stem from these. As one normally find the same tendencies, it is easy to just accept this approach. However, societies within the Greek world could be completely different in political strategy, warfare and social norms. Underlining the importance of studying city-state as independent from one another. If one wishes to find the ´universal´ Greek attitude towards child mortality, one needs to find not just the likenesses but also the differences from city-state to city-state.

The *necropolis* Kylindra, together with the separation of children from adults found in the necropolis of Phaleron in Attica (Killgrove 2016) and the child necropolis of *Südhügel* (*Ker.* IX, 64/Sw 149) and *Grabhügel G* (*Ker.* IX, 10) in Kerameikos, Athens, invite us to look for new patterns regarding infant- and children´s mortuary practices. These concentrate mainly on infants, however, and children older than 1 to 2 years are usually not focused on in the discussion of patterns within child burials. As I will come back to in chapter 2, the explanation for this could be that the differentiation in the treatment of infants is evident through placement and interment, while older children are less visible. Anna Lagia (2007:205) argues that a longstanding bias in preserving burials of eminent adults and adolescents, combined with the

selective collection of best-preserved skeletons, appears to be at least partially responsible for the poor preservation and focus on juvenile remains. Going back, and looking again at the archaeological material already excavated and documented, could, thus, be very fruitful; could there be significant information not emphasised, and forgotten by time?

Houby-Nielsen (2000:151) points out the paradox of the silence regarding child mortality and childhood in early Greek art and literature, as she claims infants and small children were among the most carefully buried individuals in ancient Athens. There was an apparent separation of the infants and very young children from others through grave goods, burial method, and placement. The separation of infants and young children from adults found in Astypalaia is a prime example, but it also existed in Kerameikos in Athens. In Athens, the clusters of child burials are often accompanied by a few adult burials usually quite poor in grave goods (Houby-Nielsen 1995:133). In The North Cemetery at Corinth, however, children and adults were often buried together, and the few instances were we have child-burials-clusters, they usually lay close to or connected with adult burials rich in grave goods (Blegen et al. 1964:68). In most ancient Greek necropoleis the tradition of *enchytrismos burials* – a ceramic pot used as the container for the body – also separates these very young individuals. The *enchytrismos* burial appears in The North Cemetery at Corinth as well, but the use of sarcophagi burials for even the youngest and smallest children outnumber the enchytrismos burials by quite a lot (will be presented and discussed in chapter 4.4.). It will, hence, be of interest to compare the enchytrismos burials and the sarcophagi burials both in regards of placement and grave gifts attested to them throughout 700-400 BC.

1.1. Problem statement

Is it possible to identify age categories for child burials on differentiated treatment at death in The North Cemetery at Corinth?

Underlining research questions will be: 1) Is separation of children from adults present in The North Cemetery at Corinth? 2) Are the traditions in grave gifts accompanying the child burials changing over time? 3) Is there any way of determining social identity or concepts of ´childhood´ through the treatment at death?

1.2. Structure of thesis

In chapter 2, *Research history,* I will discuss how the ´child´ has been treated previously in archaeological research, with a specific focus on child burials and funerary contexts where the relationship between gender and children have been a focal point. I will also discuss how the child typically is identified, and how their treatment at death has been interpreted. The methodological and theoretical framework will be presented in chapter 3. The sub-groups of children and the terms of identification will be explained in this chapter as well, with a short statement of how the diachronic comparative analysis will be used. The main theoretical framework of van Gennep´s (1909) *rites de passage* will function as an explanation of the Greek funeral, together with a discussion of how the diachronic differences found in the material can be explained through Anthony Giddens´ (1984) *theory of structuration*. Followed by a discussion of identity. In chapter 4 I will present the excavation history of The North Cemetery; after that discuss the child versus adult burials; the possible sarcophagi workshops and the implications such workshops have on my determining factor for age; the topography of the cemetery from 700-400 BC; and lastly the aspects of interment. Chapter 5 is devoted to the comparative analysis of the grave goods found in the different age groups. The chapter is twofold, where I first will discuss the number of grave gifts in the different age groups throughout 700-400 BC. Followed by the presentation of the different types of object or combination of objects that clearly can be related to an age group. The possible interpretations of the results and the construction of age categories for children in mortuary practices will be presented in chapter 6, together with the comparison of the Corinthian and Athenian view of child mortality. Chapter 7 will provide a short conclusion.

Chapter 2 Research history

The study of children and childhood within the field of archaeology is a rather new phenomenon (Baxter 2005a; Grubbs & Parkin 2013; Halcrow & Tyles 2008) and is only now beginning to reach maturity. Before the end of the 1980s, very little work had been done on the archaeology of children. Children were often regarded as passive beings with little impact on the surrounding society, and therefore of little interest to the archaeologist. The emergence of social history as a respectable sub-discipline in the 1970s suddenly put the child on the map. Works of, among others, Philippe Ariés (1962), Mark Golden (1988), Robin Moore (1986), and Cynthia Patterson (1985) led to an increase in research regarding the *family* as something more than the recitation of formal legal definitions (Grubbs & Parkin 2013:2-3).

The archaeologist, however, struggled to find the child and its childhood through the archaeological record. The breaking point where the study of children in their own right, and not just as a way of understanding the adult world better, came with Grete Lillehammer´s (1989) article *´A Child is Born: The Child´s World in an Archaeological Perspective´*. In this article, she discussed classification and the problems of distinguishing children in the material record. Making her the first to look systematically at methods and theories to study children in the archaeological record. This firebrand of an article led to an abundance of literature published rapidly on the topic (Baxter 2005a, 2005b; Chamberlain 1997; Dixon 1992; Golden 1993; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 2000; Kamp 2001; Kamp et al. 1999; Lillehammer 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 1997, 2000). The need to include the child in the archaeological research was probably already realised, but Grete Lillehammer proved it possible, and the flood of articles and books published on the topic since, has made the study of children and childhood a respectable sub-division within archaeology.

Even though we now have an abundance of literature on the topic of children and childhood within archaeology, the ´child´ is still an elusive part of the material record. First of all, age categories are culturally defined, and the way children and childhood were viewed in different cultures can vary enormously. James and Prout (1990:220) argue that transitions are particularly important for the study of childhood, as a transition indicates a symbolic representation of past, present, and future. Transitions are, however, often quite difficult to detect archaeologically, with one exception: the funeral. As the mortality of children in the past is reckoned to be high,

we would perhaps expect the child to be a common occurrence in burial contexts. Interestingly enough, this is often not the case. In European pre-Roman, to Iron Age cemeteries child burials normally never rise above 30 percent (Houby-Nielsen 1995:147). In Archaic and Classical Greece, however, children are a common occurrence in cemeteries, often occupying between 40 to 50 percent (Ian Morris 1992: 77-86). It still does not equate to demographic estimations, indicating a complex idea of burial traditions and why and when a child could be granted a ´formal´ burial. So, even though the child still perhaps is one of the least represented social groups in the material record from Ancient Greece, they make up a much more significant part of it than in other historical periods.

2.1. The child in the Archaic and Classical Kerameikos in Athens

In Athens, the burial of children in a fashion detectable for us archaeologically shifted quite drastically in some periods. At the end of the eighth century BC, a profound social transformation began to take place in Athens (Morris 1987; Polignac 1995), where a new pattern in burial traditions suddenly was established, lasting until the end of the fifth century BC. Burial grounds, which previously had been adult only, now became scattered with child burials (Morris 1992:78). The drastic rise in child burials in Athens was explained by Ian Morris (1992:78-80) as an early indication of democratisation of society, and that a shift in how children were viewed in burial contexts was a consequence of this. He (Morris 1992:80) argues that before the eight century BC Athenians (and Argives) chose to dispose of dead children with rather little ceremony, which consequently left few recognizable material remains. Ian Morris treated child burials as a single undifferentiated group and did not address the temporal changes in spatial distribution of child burials (Houby-Nielsen 2000:155). It was, in fact, the formal burial of infants and small children that now increased.

Sanne Houby-Nielsen (2000:62) has linked this increase in the formal burial of infants and small children with the increased political significance children now had for the survival of society. In the mid-fifth century BC, Pericles introduced a reform stating that only a child born to Athenian citizens could become Athenians themselves (Plut. Per. 37.2-5). Morris (1992: 77-81) suggested that infants and small children became a symbol of political power and status. However, as mentioned in the introduction, children were still treated quite differently based on their age in the mortuary context.

2.2. The Greek child grave

Houby-Nielsen (1995, 2000) established that there were, at least in Athens, three subdivisions in child burials. As the child grew older, the accompanying grave goods mirror the traditions found in adult burials. Children were traditionally inhumed rather than cremated, even in places where cremation was the routine treatment of adults; Athens is an example of this (Shepherd 2013:3). Gillian B. Shepherd (2007:94 n. 4) has suggested that this might be related to the practical difficulties of incinerating a small body with low body fat. Pliny the Elder states; ´The teeth are the only parts of the body which resists the action of fire … it is the custom of most nations not to burn bodies of children who die before they have cut the teeth´ (Plin. Nat. 7.15). Regardless of the reason not to incinerate the young, it was a tradition upheld in both Greek and Roman antiquity. The use of the enchytrismos burial for infants – another tradition found throughout both Greek and Roman antiquity – was probably not just based on practicality. The lack of ´grandeur´ given to these containers – normally being coarse-ware *pithoi, hydrai* or *amphorai* – could give the impression that almost any container was acceptable for the body of an infant (Garland 1985:78). Contradicting this is the use of a container in the first place; it would be easier to just perform an earth burial, an acceptable form of burial, used for adults and children older than infancy. It has been suggested that the enchytrismos burial was used as a metaphor for the womb (Hillson 2009:142), as the woman was seen analogous to the fertile, receptive earth (deBois 1988:39). Robert Hertz (1960:82) argues that within the same society the emotions provoked by death varies widely in intensity according to the social character of the diseased. The individuals who are not fully integrated into society at the time of death require fewer rites of incorporation into the ´invisible society´ (Binford 1971:7). The metaphor for the womb seems to fit quite nicely, as the infant would be more part of the world before birth, than the world of the living society. What more would an infant need for the ´journey´ to the underworld than the womb that had nourished it to life in the first place? In some cases, at Kalathos in Astypalaia, two infants are found within the same vessel, indicating that this period was the burial of twins (Hillson 2009:142). These infant burial urns are typically closed carefully with either a large potsherd, a stone or a vase, making the distinction between an enchytrismos burial and a grave gift deposit easier to detect for the archaeologist (Houby-Nielsen 2000:153).

Children older than one year, but still considered young, perhaps not older than four or five years can be found within enchytrismos burials, but the use of earth burials or sarcophagi seems to be the preferred way of burial for all children over the age of one year. Important to remember is the fact that this is in the case of formal burials, how children older than one year was treated outside of cemeteries is hard to say. As we have many instances of burial grounds exclusively for infants, we can say that the use of enchytrismos was the usual way of burial for infants. We do not have these exclusive cemeteries for older children, however, and what is then considered the ´normal´ treatment of children older than one year are based solely on the few given a formal burial within cemeteries. It might be that children between the age of one and four or five years were in fact buried in enchytrismos burials to a higher degree than what the surviving material is showing.

The practice of exposure

An important issue to raise in the discussion of child graves, and especially that of infants is the practice of exposure. At birth, the guardian of the new-born infant, usually being the father of the child, had the right to decide whether to accept it into the household *oikos* and raise it or to expose it (Demand 1994:6). It is widely excepted that this practice would only be performed before the ceremony *amphidromia*, the naming ceremony, occurring between the fifth and tenth day after birth, where the child would be officially accepted into the family (Demand 1994:8; Garland 1985:80; Hope 2010:28-29). The Spartan practice of exposure is often used as an example of the extremeness of it, where every father of a male child was obliged by law to present his new-born before a council of elders for examination. If the child was of good health, the father was required to raise it; if not, he would have to expose his child at the foot of Mount Taygetos (Garland 1985:82).

Was the child of good health, the father was required to raise it, if not, he would have to expose his child at the foot of Mount Taygetos (Garland 1985:82). In *Lycurgus* Plutarch (*Lyk.* 16. 1-2) describes the practice as a foreign one. This might, however, not have as much to do with the practice of exposure itself, but rather that it was not the decision of the father whether to include a member into his family or not. The thought, for a law-obeying citizen, not to have the full right to decide who to incorporate into his family, was probably what made the Spartan way of practising exposure so strange and almost alien for the readers. The infant buried, I would argue, is therefore given a lot of consideration at death, as they were considered worthy of getting a

burial. The fact that infant burials frequently outnumber burials of children older than one year in cemeteries, even in societies practising exposure, makes the argument even stronger.

The exposure of a child was only legal and moral *before* the child was given a name, and hence, was a part of the oikos. The act of exposing a child was still not completely free from religious pollution, and the need for purification was required (Patterson 1985:106). It does not, however, mean that the action of exposure was morally wrong, as sexual intercourse and childbirth also needed purification, acts that were when done in the right context, moral and encouraged. It is still important not to regard all these acts as the same. The need for purification for other acts do no indicate that exposure was unproblematic or not a traumatic act for the ones involved (Patterson 1985:107). I will come back to the practice of exposure and discuss the impact it might have had on the mortuary evidence of infant burials in chapter 3.6.

Clusters of child burials – indications of epidemic or placement based on age?

There has been a tendency to conclude that clusters of child burials found in cemeteries were the results of an epidemic (Blegen et al. 1964; Houby-Nielsen 1995:132). We have, however, more and more evidence pointing to a conscious choice of placement, where the clusters instead of being a way of dealing with rapid death rates, was a creation of places for child burials. Houby-Nielsen (1995:158) found a link between child-burial-clusters and the roads leading to important chthonic cults in Athens. Another example from Athens is the discontinued well G5:3 from the Athenian Agora. Here, 499 MNI infants and very young children were found, together with dogs and ceramic pots. When the well was discovered in the 1937 and 1938 American excavations in the Athenian Agora the deposition of the infants in the discontinued well was viewed as a consequence of an epidemic, as the remains accumulated over a short period (Liston & Rotroff 2013:4). Maria A. Liston and Susan L. Rotroff (2013:14-15) restudied the material in depth, concluding that the well had been used by midwives when children died either in childbirth or shortly thereafter.

Both Houby-Nielsen (1995) and Liston and Rotroff (2013) has proved that in-depth investigations of material already discussed and published can introduce not just new results, but also a new understanding of the Ancient Greek society on the whole. The discovery of the Kylindra cemetery in Astypalaia further proves the theory of child-clusters being a conscious choice of placement, as this cemetery includes over 2,000 MNI infants and small children spanning several centuries. The North Cemetery at Corinth has not been given a lot of attention

since it was excavated, and, a re-study of the child burial practices in Corinth is warranted. In the publication of The North Cemetery, the discussion of child-burial-clusters is stated as being the result of an epidemic (Blegen et al. 1964:217). But, as will be presented in chapter 4, the little tendencies of child-burial-clusters found in The North Cemetery, is more likely linked to a conscious choice of placement. Of course, there still probably were periods of illness that killed many young people, and clusters may be remaining evidence of such epidemics, but as the examples above show, there might be other explanations for this phenomenon as well.

Chapter 3 Methodological and theoretical framework

I have decided to present both the theoretical and methodological framework in this chapter because the two are intertwined. The choice of age groups and comparative analysis presented lays the fundament for the choice of *rites of passage*, the theory of structuration and the expectations of future identity and *vice versa.* There is, hence, no clear divide between the use of theory and method in this thesis.

3.1. Child mortality

In today´s western society the death of a child is perhaps the greatest tragedy a family can go through. With regards to the development of the medical world, the growing understanding of biology, birth, and problems that can occur, we now expect pregnancy to go as planned, and our children to grow up and function in society as adults. These expectations are, however, entirely new.

There were an awful lot of children in antiquity, at least as a proportion of the overall population. As mentioned in the introduction, roughly one-third of the population would have been under the age of fifteen at any one time. This estimation bases itself on a stable population, where the death rate balances the birth rate, so if the population were growing, the proportion of young would be even higher (Parkin 2013:3). The paradox is that these estimations are not reflected in the burial context. When considering that the infant mortality rates perhaps was between 30 to 40 percent in the first year of life (Golden 1988:155) or that probably 42,47 percent of the population would die before the age of fifteen (Weiss & Wobst 1973), it is evident that there is a substantial lack of infant and child burials in the Mediterranean, especially concerning those under the age of three years (Lagia 2007:293). The estimated death rates for this age group is not reflected in the material record, giving us a problem of interpreting the archaeological remains. The lack of children is often explained by the preservation of these fragile bones – the material unfortunately just does not survive – which is, of course, both accurate and thoroughly documented (Baxter 2005a; Blegen et al. 1964; Hillson 2009; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 2000; Kamp 2001; Lagia 2007). It is, however, too simplistic as an explanation; the use of containers or coffins for the body was normal, and these do often survive. It is, hence, possible to identify an infant or child burial without surviving bones. Nevertheless, even when

including these graves in the total estimation, we still lack a considerable number of infants and children. It is stated in the publication that fine distinctions, as between children and infants, were not possible. And, when counting all urn burials and graves under 1.25 m. in length, the graves of children amounted to about 37 percent. I was able to determine 148 out of the 369 burials from 700-400 BC as belonging to children (see figure 1) equating to 40 percent. It was, as this thesis shows, also possible to find the finer distinctions between age groups of children. (The full overview of graves, age categories and accompanying grave goods can be found in Appendices 1 and 2).

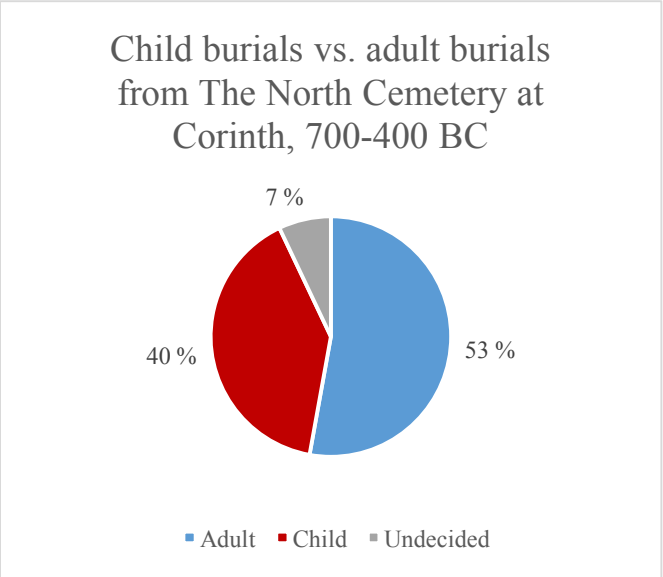


Figure 1. Distribution of child vs. adult burials in The North Cemetery, 700-400 BC.

There was a higher percentage of children buried in The North Cemetery at Corinth, than what has previously been shown. Why children seem to be missing from other necropoleis, is by no means the goal of this thesis. The examination of the differences among children given a formal burial might still help towards a future understanding. It has been suggested that infants were not recognized as full members of society until some intervals after birth (Lagia 2007) and that they, as a result, did not require the same burial practice as older children did. Sanne Houby-Nielsen (1995) was able to show that infants and young children often were given a formal burial in Athens, at least in comparison to the number of older children given the same. It hence seems unlikely that their lack of ´membership´ in society is the main reason for the lack of the ´child´ in burial contexts. The first step in trying to understand the difference in burial practice given children is to understand who the ´child´ was.

3.2. What defines a child?

Even the term ´child´ is not without controversy. The apparent simplicity of its terminology can be misleading, as there are strong connotations to this word. Every legal system has clear and explicit definitions of the term; the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989)

defines the term as ´child means every human being below the age of eighteen years…´ (UNHCHR Resolution 44/25, 20 November 1989, part 1, article 1). Unfortunately, the term ´child´ varies significantly in different legal systems both past and present, and it can begin at any time between conception and approximately three years of age, and end at almost any age between twelve and twenty-one years of age (in some cases even earlier or later) (Crawford & Lewis 2008:7). Even if we overlook the immense problem of using modern political definitions when trying to define the past, this definition is constructed so to protect all that falls under it and becomes too broad and not specific enough for any study concerning the socially bound concepts of children and childhood. A two-year-old would be regarded as the same as a seventeen-year-old. Most societies have different attitudes to and expectations of children of different ages, but how do we reconstruct these attitudes and expectations?

The polar opposite of the generalised definitions of law can be found within the disciplines of biological anthropology (bioarchaeology) and psychology (Crawford & Lewis 2008:7). The young human goes through several stages before reaching the state of ´adult´, where biological anthropology uses the *physical development* and psychology the *cognitive development*. Both of these sets of developmental stages, combined with the chronological age of the child, can be termed as the ones defining the *social age* of the human; the culturally constructed norms of appropriate behaviour and status of individuals within an age category (Halcrow & Tyles 2008:192).

So, we can identify three different ´types´ of age of an individual:

1. Physical or biological age
2. Chronological age
3. Social age

From the skeletal remains, one is restricted to the physical developmental stages, as there is no way of determining the individual´s cognitive abilities through skeletal remains. Unfortunately, this is in reality too simplistic when trying to assess the way ´adults´ define ´children´, as the cognitive development of the ´child´ most likely weighed as heavily as the physical development. Let us consider our definition of young children in their first years of life; in Norway, a mandatory one-year control is performed, where the child´s ability to both walk and their emotional reaction to speech is checked (helsenett.no 2008). We consider both physical and cognitive development as important, and why would this be any different in earlier

societies? The child´s ability to function as normal physically is of little use for the ancient farmer if his successor lacks the ability to understand and learn the skills of farming. So, the cognitive abilities of a child probably weighed as heavy as its physical abilities when considering the child´s growth, and consequently the child´s growth, and consequently the child´s *social age.*

The definition of age of an individual through skeletal remains relies on one crucial assumption; that there is a correlation between the chronological and biological age (Lynnerup et al. 2008:69). As the biological age can be affected, not only by genetics but also lifestyle, this assumption is problematic. Malnutrition and extensive hard labour, for example, will most likely leave its marks and consequently push the biological age higher than the chronological. With young children, however, we are faced with the opposite problem, as illnesses and malnutrition can disrupt the growth. Fortunately, developmental stages occur frequently in sub-adults, which minimises the margins of uncertainty, when the skeletal remains are readily available. These children could, still, have been given burial treatment as if they were younger or older than their biological age.

The ´child´ is a complex term, and the definition of it is not easy. The identified three different ´types´ of age are all intimately linked to each other and are all ideally needed if one is to determine the socially bound subdivisions of a ´child´. The skeletal remains from The North Cemetery at Corinth was disintegrated to such a degree when excavated that only 16 individuals were anthropologically age-determined (Blegen et al. 1964:70 note 23; MacKinnon 2007:476). So, the opportunity to determine the subdivisions of the ´child´ through the skeletal remains is unfortunately lost. Sanne Houby-Nielsen (1995:177-178 Appendix 2) was confronted with the same problem with the material from Kerameikos, and dealt with it in a delicate manner. She divided the material into four different age groups:

Table 1. Age groups found in Kerameikos (Houby-Nielsen 1995:177-178 Appendix 2).

Group 1	Infant (0-1 years) Found as urn-burials
Group 2	Small child (1-3 or 4 years) Found in terracotta-basins measuring 80-95 cm used as a container, or coffin and earth burials measuring less than or equal to approximately 100 cm.
Group 3	Older child (3 or 4 – 8 or 10 years) Found as inhumation-burials in which the length of the grave-pit or coffin was between approximately 100 cm and 150 cm.

Group 4	Adult "non-child" (older than 8 or 10 years) Including all burials where the length of the grave is equal to or exceeds 150 cm and all cremation burials.

As is painfully obvious, these four different age groups will leave some error in the statistical results. In the child-necropolis of *Südhügel* in Kerameikos, a skeleton measuring the length of 137 cm was found inside a basin measuring 80-95 cm (*Ker.* IX 64/Sw 149). This individual is obviously older than 1-3 or 4 years. And even though this is, most likely, a rare example, it is probably not the only one where the treatment of the diseased does not match the criteria set for its age group. It is therefore important to remember that the statistical results presented throughout this thesis only function as guidance and not as hard fact. This instance may also be an example of the differentiated treatment of individuals with the same physical development where the cognitive development is lacking, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. And the placement of this individual within age group 2 may not be as wrong as it first seems.

The three groups of children used in this thesis can easily be criticised as being too wide in age gaps. In skeletal remains of infants, many different growth stages can be determined, for example through the approximate femur length (Fazekas & Kósa 1978) (see table 2).

Table 2. Dry bone fetal measurement of the femur (Fazekas & Kósa 1978).

Dry Bone Fetal Measurements-Femur					
		Max length (mm)		**Distal width (mm)**	
Prenatal Age (weeks)	***n***	**Mean**	**Range**	**Mean**	**Range**
12	2	8.8	7.0-10.0	1.9	1.8-2.0
14	3	12.4	11.5-13.0	2.2	2.0-2.5
16	9	20.7	18.0-24.0	4.7	3.4-6.2
18	15	26.4	24.0-29.0	6.2	5.6-7.0
20	13	32.6	29.0-36.2	8.0	6.2-9.2
22	11	35.7	32.6-39.7	8.8	8.3-10.0
24	12	40.3	37.2-45-0	9.8	9.0-11.1
26	12	41.9	38.5-46.2	10.6	9.2-12.1
28	12	47.0	44.5-49.0	11.8	10.5-13.0
30	12	48.7	45.0-54.0	12.3	11.0-14.0
32	8	55.5	52.5-59.0	14.3	13.0-15.6
34	7	59.8	57.0-66.0	15.3	14.0-19.0
36	5	62.5	60.0-67.5	16.4	15.0-18.0
38	7	68.9	64.0-73.5	18.7	17.0-20.5
49	10	74.3	69.0-79.0	19.9	18.0-22.0

Cox (2000:61-81) has stressed that the present ´obsession´ with age has driven us to try to determine the accurate age at death for past populations regardless of what meaning this may have had at the time. For much of the past historical period the majority of people would have been illiterate and innumerate; consequently, age was probably not precisely known or relevant (Sheuer & Black 2004:7). And as mentioned above, the critical phases of life would have been cognitive and physical. In 1997 Bogin created a guideline (see table 3) where these crucial phases are emphasised. This table is similar to the one used by both Houby-Nielsen (table 1) and the one created for this thesis (see below). The definition of age varies, but the premise is still the same. The goal is not to determine the exact age at death, but rather how the society defined the individual who had died.

Table 3. Terms used by behavioral biologists, created by Bogin (1997) (Sheuer & Black 2004:8).

Infancy	Period of time when the young is dependent on the mother for nourishment via lactation – duration may vary from a few months to about 3 years depending on the society.
Childhood	Period after weaning when the child is still dependent on adults for feeding and protection. This coincides with the period or rapid brain growth, a relatively small gut and immature dentition.
Juvenility	Period at the completion of brain growth and the beginning of eruption of the permanent dentition.
Adolescence	Beginning at puberty and including the adolescent growth spurt.
Adulthood	From the end of the growth spurt, the completion of permanent dentition, the attainment of adult stature and reproductive maturity.

As can be seen in table 3 there are five age groups; the adolescence is given its own group, which in many societies, would, no doubt, be accurate. In the Greek world, this defined age groups seems to be missing in mortuary practice. Houby-Nielsen was unable to find any signs determining this age group, and as will be presented in chapter 5, I found no signs of this age group either. In Corinth, even the age group before adolescence was suspiciously challenging to detect (see chapter 4.2.). Age groups 1-3 represent the age before puberty, and age group 4 represent adulthood. It might mirror ancient Greek perception of childhood, ending rather abruptly at the age of 14 for boys and the age of 12 for girls, when they were considered as sexually mature (Houby-Nielsen 1995:177 Appendix 2). So, the adolescent individual is in some sense ´hidden´ in group 4, the adults. The ancient Greek society probably viewed an individual as an adult when it became able to reproduce.

With this said, I am basing my definitions of age on Houby-Nielsen´s. I will tweak the definitions in some sense, as the treatment of the skeletal remains and the burial method performed in The North Cemetery at Corinth differs from that in Kerameikos in Athens. As I intend to compare the results I find in Corinth to Houby-Nielsen´s results from Athens, it is imperative that the definitions do not entirely stray away from hers. Otherwise, the results would not be comparable. My age groups will be as followed:

Age group 1: Infant (0-1 years)

Houby-Nielsen (1995:177 Appendix 2) has only one criterion for this age group; urn-burial. In Corinth, the use of sarcophagi for infants as well as older children were the norm. I will, therefore, in addition to the urn-burial, have to use the average stature to define this age group as well, as Houby-Nielsen has done in other age groups. Grave 258, the smallest sarcophagi found in the cemetery, measures mere 36 cm in length and 18 cm in width (Blegen et al. 1964:214). This sarcophagus was probably the grave of a prenatal baby, but will in this thesis be included in this age group. Even if this in some ways is misleading, as there might be a difference in treatment of prenatal and postnatal babies, it is essential to set some boundaries. Houby-Nielsen does not have prenatal as an age-group but includes all pot-burials in Kerameikos in her Age Group 1. So, if I wish to compare my results with hers, I will have to de the same. The maximum internal length of a sarcophagus to be included in this age group will be 50 cm in length. The average stature of a one-year-old is between 72 and 76 cm today (babycenter.com, 2016: last visited 23.02.2018). As infants naturally lie in a contracted position, the crown-rump length will most likely not exceed 50 cm. The average stature of modern infants is also most likely higher than what it was in Antiquity.

The definition of this age group is **urn-burials and sarcophagi that do not exceed 50 cm in length.**

Age group 2: Small child (1-3 or 4 years)

As there are no studies on the average stature of children in antiquity, I will, as Houby-Nielsen (1995:177 Appendix 2) did, use the modern stature to define this age group. Many children were probably undersized, owing to chronic illness and/or malnutrition, and the average height of children may also be somewhat different than what is found today. But, as the average stature of adult women and men in Classical Greece do not lie significantly below the one from early modern times (*Ker.*. XIV, 159, table 7; Bennike 1985:49-53, fig.

15; Persson & Persson 1981:155, table 4), I would argue that it is justifiable to use these standards.

The average stature of children between 3-4 years, including both sexes, in modern Europe, is between 85-100 cm (Houby-Nielsen 1995:177 Appendix 2). Houby-Nielsen concludes that all inhumation burials shorter than 1 m, therefore, belongs to a small child. As cremation was the standard treatment of adults in Kerameikos, this seems reasonable. In Corinth, however, all individuals of all ages were inhumed, and up until sixth century BC, the normal position of the individual was contracted (Blegen et al. 1964:69). The length of the grave is not automatically a reflection of the individual´s stature. It still seems like the supine position was normal for children**, and all graves between the internal length of 50 cm to 90 cm, where the skeletal position is not determined, is therefore categorised as belonging to a small child.** Basins measuring between 80-95 cm, as is included in Houby-Nielsen´s age group, is not a criterion in The North Cemetery at Corinth, as all basins used for pot-burials measures under 80 cm.

Age group 3: Older child (3 or 4-8 or 10 years)

The same problem found in age group 2 is present in age group 3; Houby-Nielsen places all inhumation-burials measuring between 100 cm and 150 cm as belonging to older children. In The North Cemetery, many graves measuring between 125 cm and 150 m belong to adults. I have therefore decided to shorten the maximum length of the grave from 150 cm to 125 cm. Internal length less than 125-150 cm is usually categorised as belonging to children were the extended position can safely be assumed. As the decay of the skeletal material in Corinth is high, it is often not possible to determine the position of the skeleton. There are instances from the seventh century BC, where graves measuring less than 125 cm contained preserved skeletal material of adults but also instances from all three centuries where burials measuring between 125-150 cm contained the skeletal remains of children. **So, all graves between the length of 90 to 125 cm where the position of the skeleton can be determined are considered belonging to this age group.**

Age group 4: Adults, "non-child" (older than 8-10 years)

All graves over the length of 125 cm, where the extended position could not be determined, will belong to this age group. As explained above we have instances where graves shorter

than 150 cm belong to adults. For example, Grave 92 which is a sarcophagus-burial has the internal length of 132 cm and is identified as an adult male skeleton (Blegen et al. 1964:59). Exceptions to the rule, where grave length and description of skeletal remains do not match the criteria set, can be found in Appendix 1.

3.3. Diachronic comparative analysis

Archaeology is inherently comparative

Smith & Peregrine (2012:4)

Comparing archaeological material is necessary when trying to understand the society the material belongs to; it is impossible to understand or identify an object that has never before been seen if it is not compared to a known object (Smith & Peregrine 2012:4). But also in the search for the changes in human behaviour comparative analysis is necessary. Comparative analysis is the only way to identify regularities or variations in human behaviour; by comparing traditions over time, *diachronic comparative analysis*, the changes in society will mark themselves out.

So, it is easy to understand that comparative analysis is necessary, but the application of it is not that simple. There are many different approaches to comparative analysis, which often is described as belonging between two polar opposite methods; *systematic* and *intensive* comparative analysis. *Systematic* studies often called ´large-scale´ studies, employ large sample sizes and typically use formal statistical methods of inference (Smith & Peregrine 2012:7). So, it uses a high number of cases with either just one or very few variables. *Intensive* studies, often called ´small-scale´ studies, can be found on the other end of the scale, as it focuses on a small number of cases, where each is studied in depth and with greater contextualisation (Smith & Peregrine 2012:7).

First, I am performing a diachronic comparative analysis closer to the systematic studies (´large-scale´), as I include all graves from The North Cemetery at Corinth from 700-400 BC. The reason I have constricted the timeframe to 700-400 BC is that I wish to compare the results with Houby-Nielsen´s (1995). The selection of samples is therefore quite basic, as I will include all graves possible to include in the age groups described above. I am looking at a specific

phenomenon in The North Cemetery at Corinth but also comparing it to a broader context. The first step in this comparison will be based simply on the number of individuals in the different age groups in different periods. I have decided to divide the centuries into four per annum when possible. The results of this comparative analysis are presented in chapter 4.2. and will function as a ´backdrop´ for the more *intensive* study (´small-scale´) of the deposition of grave goods in the different age groups in chapter 5. With this, I will try to determine if the Corinthian society differentiated between children based on age at death. The goal of this study is not just to map the changes or continuity in burial traditions of children in Corinth, but also to contribute to why and how. As stated by Smith & Peregrine (2012:12) a whole-society comparison can be interesting, but at the stage of our understanding of the complex ancient society, they may not be as productive. The narrow investigations may contribute more to the overall picture of the society in the end.

3.4. Rites of passage

> *A burial is part of a funeral, and a funeral is part of a set of rituals by which the living deal with death.*
>
> Ian Morris (1992:1)

This, perhaps, obvious statement, as Morris himself calls it, is still incredibly important to keep in mind when trying to determine the burial traditions of a set period. No matter the chosen approach, the analysis of burials is the analysis of symbolic action (Morris 1992:1). Customs vary enormously, not only around the world but even within the same society, as factors such as sex, gender, age, status and wealth will influence the grandeur of the actions performed.

With this said, the ´Greek´ funeral had a ritual structure, which in general seems to be practised throughout antiquity (Vlachou 2012:264). This structure can be related to van Gennep´s (1909) *Les rites de passage*. He (1960) argues that a profound change in social structure – such as the death of an individual – will lead to a prolonged social process. This prolonged social process can be divided into three observable phases; *the rites of separation, rites of marginality,* and *rites of aggregation* (Morris 1992:9). In other words, we have observable ritual behaviour taking place. But what *are* rituals, and how can one observe them? Ian Morris (1992:8) describes it as one of those words we all know what means, but no one can define. Rituals do,

however, involve some sort of action governed by rules of who should do what. Van Gennep (1960:1-2) separates the secular and the religious world; the profane and the sacred. This separation is in the modern western world sharp, as most of our passages from one stage to another have its basis in either economic or intellectual advance (van Gennep 1960:2). The sacred world is in a simplistic view given its own frame within where it is acted out and is not a part of everyday life. It is acted out on ´special´ occasions or by ´special´ individuals (such as priests, imams, rabbi, etc.). In earlier societies, however, ritual behaviour entered nearly every phase of an individual´s life (van Gennep 1960:2). The ´Greek´ society was no exception. But how does one then identify the more profane ritual behaviour? This is where *rites de passage* play an important role. Van Gennep (1960:10-11) describes these three observable phases as a special category, where the main purpose of the performance is to indicate a social change. The three main phases that are observable in a ´Greek´ funeral is the *prothesis, ekphora,* and lastly the deposition of the body.

The ritual structure of the Greek funeral

The funeral arrangements were considered to be a woman´s job. Following death, the women in the family would prepare the diseased for the laying out of the body, the *prothesis*. The body was washed, anointed with oil and perfume, and then wrapped in a shroud before it was laid out on a funeral *kline* (Vlachou 2012:365). Family members and other mourners accompanied the dead to the grave, followed by a fest after the body was deposited. The funeral process was designed to honour the diseased but also gave the society the opportunity to re-establish their social identity and status. Even though there is no archaeological evidence as to the length of the prothesis, it probably varied based on the impact the death had on the society. The death of a ´big-man´ in a ´big-man´-society would impact the whole group enormously.

In Athens, in the early sixth century BC, Solon passed laws which regulated the excess of the funeral; the *prothesis* was given a time restriction, and could not last longer than a single day (Vlachou 2012:365). Indicating that a long and extravagant *prothesis* no longer benefitted the society, and had instead become a showcase of wealth and status. The *ekphora* was also affected by the restrictions given in the early sixth century BC. The number of participants, the number of garments worn, the amount of food and drink consumed during the burial, as well as time and order of the procession, became controlled. With the restrictions came new traditions; massive blocked-out *kouroi* (grave markers) seems to replace the extravagance of the prothesis and ekphora ´… in fact, we have found almost as many sixth-century funeral sculptures as

graves´ (Morris 1992:128). An exaggerated statement, which I would argue no longer holds its merit; but do prove a point. The large number of grave monuments from the sixth century BC in Athens in noteworthy. It seems like the society was adapting, and finding new ways of showing wealth and power, establishing a more permanent form of highlighting a family legacy. This practice is not found in Corinth, however, as grave markers almost entirely disappear after the eighth century BC (Blegen et al. 1964:66). So, the practice of setting up grave markers in Corinth must have been very limited at best. The restrictions found in Athens were probably not enforced in Corinth. And if they were, they played out differently.

3.5. Theory of structuration

E. P. Thompson (1977:501) claimed that ´Feelings may be **more**, rather than less, tender or intense **because** relations are ´economic´ and critical to mutual survival´. It may sound convincing; the more parents need children, the more they mourn their loss. But, as Mark Golden (1988:154) suggests; in a world where such early death and burial were ´routine´ the intensity and duration of the emotional responses were probably unlike modern reactions. There are, of course, no way to measure or identify intensity or duration of an individual´s grief through archaeological remains. But the archaeological material does suggest that children were not given the same lengthy and rich ceremony as adults were.

Anthony Giddens (1984) has developed what he calls a ´theory of structuration´. The social structure we are born into and socialised within is a set of assumptions about what we should say, do and think in given situations, but does not determine our behaviour (Morris 1992:6). We act through what we are informed by learned social structure, but the structure itself is not unchangeable. It is transmitted through time and space by real people, as they repeat or perhaps react against what they have learned. It has no independent existence beyond the human mind, and our input into the process will affect it. In the course of just a few years, entirely new ways of thinking about society may appear, or it can be glacially slow and seem stagnant (Morris 1992:6). Either way, the society is a combination of pre-existing rules and individual actions based on those rules.

In Athens, there is an undoubtable link to the chosen burying place of infants and small children and roads leading to important chthonic and female cults (Houby-Nielsen 1995:161). As

women had a natural and vital role in the burying of close kin, it is not surprising to find the infants and small children at these sites, primarily because the rising number of child burials that appear in the Geometric period is found to start at these sites (Houby-Nielsen 1995:158). I believe that a former notion of children not necessarily needing a formal burial may have been met with resistance from women feeling the need to bury their children. As the adult burials became more and more formalised with time, this may have created a reaction influencing the burial traditions of children as well. As society created rules to how, where and when to bury their adults, this may have led to a different way of thinking about burial as a whole. The lack of burial, could thus, become a stronger statement than an actual burial. Not giving a formal rightful burial was a strong statement, as very evident in Sophocles´ tragedy *Antigone*, from the fifth century BC (Sophocles 1939). Here, Antigone would risk her own life so to be able to give her brother, Polyneicês, a rightful burial (Sophocles 1939:1.15-30). The tragedy *Antigone* is of course fiction, but it must have created a reaction in the audience, where the aim of the author was for the audience to find sympathy for Antigone, who is trying to honour her brother rightfully. Antigone is not just honouring her brother but is fulfilling her duty as a woman. As described above in chapter 3.4., the funeral arrangements were a woman´s job. If Antigone did not perform her duty right, it would probably reflect badly on her, and bring shame to the *oikos* she was a part of. So, as the focus of rightful burials seems to become stronger, both in law and tragedy, giving your child a burial, could become more important as well. Making the raised number of children buried, an ´after-effect´ of the changes in adult burial traditions.

As the women´s job primarily was to take care of the oikos, they must have been housebound most of the time. Every opportunity to ´get out of the house´ was probably seized: burial being such an opportunity. As rightful burial became important, it would also be easier to argue that the death of a child also needed to be marked. It might sound cynical to say that women used the death of children as a temporary escape from the house, but seizing an opportunity does not take away the grief felt for the death of a family member.

3.6. The creation and expression of identity

The child mortality rates of ancient Greece were not sexually discriminating in itself – your sex did not influence your chances of dying young of natural causes. Your identity, and therefore also placement within society, however, definitely was sexually discriminating. Only a son

could carry the family traditions, as only men were considered full members of the city-state (Robinson 2004:3). Consequently, I would suggest that the incredible luck of getting a son, and then losing him, either to illness, premature delivery, or other instances, would grief the family to a greater degree than if losing a daughter. It sounds crude, but when considering that women merely were the man´s property, and therefore not in any position to create wealth or political impact (at least theoretically), the preference in gender was socially bound. Losing a son gave not just inconsolable grief, but also a financial worry. As there is a substantial lack of infant- and child burials, I believe the sex of the child buried could be extremely telling. As child mortality rates were not sexually discriminating, but your placement in society was, it is plausible that selective burial determined by sex was performed.

It has been argued that girls were usually exposed at a much higher rate than boys (Donald 1980; Golden 1981; Pomeroy 1983). This conclusion seems reasonable, as raising a girl was considered riskier than raising a boy. But, as Patterson (1985:107-108) argues, the exposure might not have been such a massive part of everyday life in Greece as we might think. Even though we know exposure was accepted, and regarded, at least partially, as a ´common´ event, it does not equate to high numbers of exposed infants. Infant exposure would have had a far broader impact on Greek society than what is reflected in calculations of the number of infants exposed or killed (Patterson 1985:108). So, even though girls might have been exposed more often than boys, this does not necessarily mean that this would have consequences for the boys-versus-girls-ratio in the population. It is also reasonable to assume that most of the infants exposed were as Patterson (1985:113) puts it ´physically defective´, and their chances of survival was limited. If there existed a selective burial determined by sex, this could not be written off as being a consequence of exposure.

Children, like women, exist at the weaker end of the dichotomised dimensions of male/female, adult/child. Children are feminised, in the sense of being other-than-male and consequently other-than-powerful. They exist in a category that includes the elderly, the enslaved, and other weak, muted, and marginalised groups (Crawford & Lewis 2008:6-7). Still, children occupy a uniquely ambiguous position in any society because of the undeniable nature of their potential capacity as an adult. This imbalance between actual and potential capabilities is, of course, experienced by many marginalised social groups (Crawford & Lewis 2008:6). The unique position children have is the certainty that their situation of imbalance will change, as they grow out of their role as children and into adults. So, the imbalance of expectations found in a child

is still somewhat different than those found in other feminised groups, as they are expected to become more capable, instead of not being capable because of their difference. But what about when the child dies? Is the child then ´out´ in the same category as the other marginalised groups, or is it still rewarded with the possibility it once had while alive? As will be presented in chapter 5, children older than 3 or 4, seems to be rewarded with grave gifts of an adult character, while children younger than 3 or 4 do not.

The ancient Greek vocabulary seems to be unconcerned with the growing child, both in early Greek art and literature, there is a notable silence (Houby-Nielsen 2000:151). Houby-Nielsen (1995:129-191) was able to make distinctions between different age groups through the burial treatment from Kerameikos, and as will be presented in chapter 5, I did as well in The North Cemetery. Why are the subdivisions so apparent through the burial treatment, but not concerning the living child? I believe this might rely on the potential capacity the child had while alive. The primary purpose of ´childhood´ was to grow into your potential capacity: adulthood. Once the child died, this capacity is no longer possible to reach, and its age becomes relevant. So, the subdivisions found in graves mirror in some way the subdivisions of the living child. The difference lies in the fact that a child is never in a stagnant place, it is always growing, while when it, unfortunately, dies before it has grown into an adult, the stagnant position of the child becomes extremely important.

The best possible way of determining social roles of adulthood is through the gender of the adult; there are entirely different expectations to males and females. In burials, we also seem to have ´gendered´ grave goods, normally connected to either male or female graves. But when does a child become ´gendered´? At birth the sex of the child was immediately recognised and publicly announced by hanging either a wreath of olive-braches for a boy or a wreath of wool for a girl (Hesychius s.v. *stephanon ekpherein* in Beaumont 2013:198), quite obviously intended to symbolise the child´s *future* gender potential as either a male athletic victor or an industrious textile-producing wife (Beaumont 2013:198). Houby-Nielsen (1995), however, was not able to find gender-specific objects among the infant burials, giving a seemingly gender-neutral status for the infant. The older children were attested a number of objects such as weapons, athletic equipment or vessels connected to the *symposium* for boys, and wool-working equipment, mirrors, jewellery or cosmetics and their containers for girls (Houby-Nielsen 1995:129-191). Houby-Nielsen´s results made Leslie A. Beaumont (2013:198) determine that infants were regarded gender neutral, while the engendering of the child had begun in the child´s

third year and was well underway by the age of seven. As I will come back to in chapter 6, this does not, however, seem to be the case in Corinth. Infants, do, in fact, seem to be the age group attested with most gender-specific grave gifts, at least from 599-500 BC.

The gender roles are often connected to sexuality. In the contemporary Western world, sexuality is perceived in terms of object preference, defining personal identity on a very basic level (Skinner 2010:71). In the ancient Greek world, however, the erotic attraction was probably more diffuse, and ´normal´ sexuality was based upon the notional genders of active and passive, respectively associated with ´masculine´ and ´feminine´ roles (Skinner 2010:71). The passive partner could be both girls and women, boys and men, even though adult men being submissive were not just frowned upon but despised, as the masculine role indicated power (Skinner 2010:71-72). The gender-neutral status of very young children may be connected to their lack of participation in the sexual world. The gendered objects found among grave goods, do not necessarily correlate with either the male or female sex. Burial contexts are the product of the social value of the burying group (Houby-Nielsen 1995:138). Consequently, the burial context does not express *the* biological sex, but rather conceptions of gender (Houby-Nielsen 1995:138).

Chapter 4 The distribution of age groups in The North Cemetery

With the theoretical issues of rituals, sex, gender, and age in mind, this chapter will discuss the distribution of age groups, the topology of the cemetery and the aspects of interment. I will not refer to the publication of the graves from 700-400 BC throughout the text, as the graves attested an age group containing grave goods are to be found in Appendix 1, and the graves found empty, or undecided can be found in Appendix 2.

Figure 2. Map over Ancient Corinth (made from original drawing by Peck 1976).

The North Cemetery lies about one kilometre northwest of the ancient Corinthian Theatre on the plain just north of the precipitous edge of the lower of the two plateaus occupied by the city of Corinth (see figure 2 and 3) (Blegen et al. 1964: v). The cemetery consists of graves from the Middle Helladic period until Roman times (ca. 2000/1900 BC – ca. 200 AD).

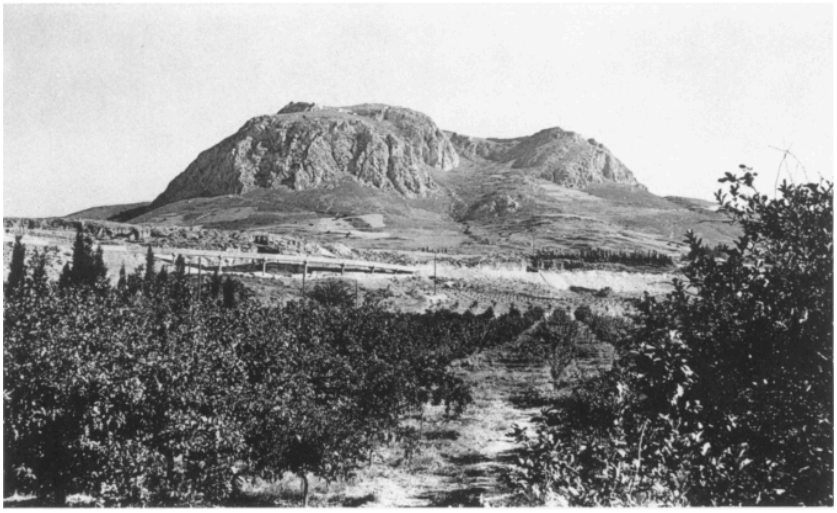


Figure 3. View of the Acrocorinth from site of North Cemetery, 1962 (Blegen et al. 1964: Plate 1).

In this thesis, I will only include the graves dating from 700 until 400 BC, which consists of 369 graves from all age groups. I will also discuss the preceding burials and their meaning for the burial ground from 700 until 400 BC. The following description of the burial ground is hence restricted to the 700-400 BC period unless stated otherwise.

Table 4. All burials from the Middle Helladic until 400 BC from The North Cemetery.

Time Period	Number of graves	Type of interment
Middle Helladic Period (ca. 2000/1900-1650 BC)	13 graves	Earth-burial – 13 burials
The Geometric Period (ca. 900 – 700 BC)	51 graves	Earth-burial – 35 burials Sarcophagus – 12 burials Enchytrismos – 4 burials
700-600 BC	66 graves	Sarcophagus – 62 burials Earth-burial – 2 burials Enchytrismos – 2 burials
599-500 BC	131 graves	Sarcophagus – 118 burials Enchytrismos – 13 burials
499-400 BC	172 graves	Sarcophagus – 124 burials Earth-burial – 48 burials

In Athens, adults were, as I described in chapter 3.2., cremated while children were inhumed. All burials in The North Cemetery from 700-400 BC are inhumation burials, so there is no evident differential treatment of adult and child skeletons at death. The earliest period of the cemetery is dominated by earth burials (see table 4), while in the seventh century BC the sarcophagi take over as the primary burial form. It still seems to be an uninterrupted continuation of the practices from Geometric times, as orientation and skeletal position are unaltered (Blegen et al. 1964:50-51). There is a steady increase in the use of the burial ground throughout its active periods. It can be explained in two ways; both in the population growth of the city and in the choice of who was being buried there. Only thirteen graves have been found from the Middle Helladic period, all adult earth-burials (Blegen et al. 1964:6-12). In the

Geometric period, this increase to fifty-one graves, where eight were child burials (graves 14B, 15B, 27, 28, 40, 43, 44 and 54, in Blegen et al. 1964:21-37). The burial ground was probably in the Helladic period a family or kinship burial ground, which in the Geometric period expanded to include citizens of Corinth. As the Helladic graves were quite rich in grave goods (only two out of thirteen were empty), and the burials from the following period were not, a change in who used the cemetery seems likely – it became a necropolis. Also supporting this theory is the fact that no graves were possible to date between 749-700 BC, creating a substantial chronological gap in the use of the burial ground (Blegen et al. 1964:52). The burial of both children and adults in The North Cemetery continued throughout the rest of its active period.

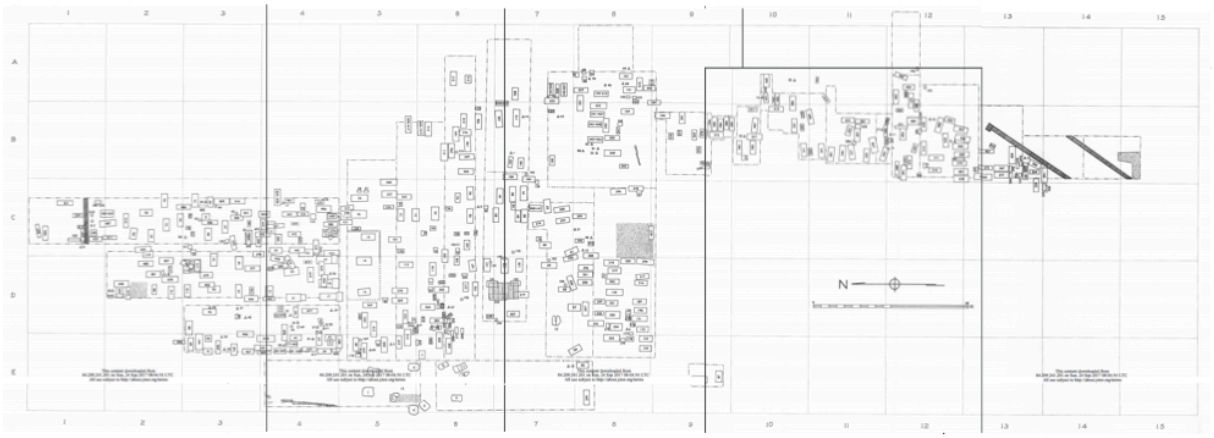


Figure 4. Original drawing of The North Cemetery (Blegen et al. 1964: Plan 1).

The original size of the cemetery is not determined, but the ancient cemetery was probably not much bigger than the excavated area (Blegen et al. 1964:65). The cemetery´s size up until 600 BC is quite sure, but it might have been larger in the rest of its active period. Clear lines of demarcation were found to the west, to the east blank areas suggest that the outer limits of the cemetery were reached in that direction as well. To the north, a stone wall created a boundary, beyond which only Roman burials were found. To the south, a road with connecting walls is described as almost certainly the boundary at the southeast corner (Blegen et al. 1964:65-66). So, the only area left undug that could contain large numbers of classical burials is to the southwest (see figure 4).

From 700-600 BC in The North Cemetery, the diseased was placed in a contracted position. From 599-550 BC both contacted and extended position of the diseased was practised, while

from 549-400 BC extended position became the new tradition, taking entirely over from the contracted (Blegen et al. 1964:69).

4.1. The North Cemetery´s research history

The North Cemetery was discovered in 1915 by Bert Hodge Hill (Blegen et al. 1964: v). Only three graves containing sarcophagi burials was opened in this initial exploration. In 1916 Hill together with William B. Dinsmoor resumed the excavations which resulted in at least 60 additional graves. Full records were kept of the burials and the objects found, and detailed plans of each grave were drawn by Dinsmoor. The material record was assigned to Dr Stephen Luce for publication, who unfortunately was prevented from publishing the material due to progressive ill health. These graves are therefore not included in this thesis.

From 1919 until 1928 no work was done in the cemetery. In 1928 a new team, led by Professor T. Leslie Shear, Josephine Shear Harwood, and Angela Johnston, began a thorough investigation of the whole burial ground. Leading to three seasons of excavations, comprising a total of 530 graves and 54 deposits from the Helladic period until Roman times. The skeletal remains of sixteen individuals were studied by John Lawrence Angel (McKinnon 2007:476), where twelve belonged to adult males between the ages of 25 and 60, three belonged to adult females between the ages of 21 and 40, and one skeleton belonged to a child between the age of 12 and 14 years (Blegen et al. 1964:70 note 23). The grave goods accompanying the individuals´ given an age and sex are for the most part regarded as ´standard´; occurring in both female and male burials with no connotations to age at death. There is no way of gendering the grave goods from this small handful of individuals, neither is it possible to determine grave goods as connected explicitly to an age. The skeletal examinations done by John Lawrence Angel is therefore unhelpful for this thesis.

The work was published in the *Corinth* series by *The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* in 1964 (Blegen et al. 1964). The work behind this publication was divided between three different authors – Carl W. Blegen, Rodney S. Young, and Hazel Palmer – as Professor Shear, unfortunately, died before he could prepare the final publication (Blegen et al. 1964: vii). Josephine Shear Harwood took the responsibility of carrying the project to its completion. The various sections were drafted independently, and the editor, Professor Lucy Shoe, sat with the

responsibility of creating a degree of consistency in the treatment of the material (Blegen et al. 1964: vii). She was successful to some degree, but there are some inconsistencies, making the comparison of the graves from different periods challenging.

A great deal of work and thought was put into this excavation, and the publication is, no doubt, a great work of its time. Unfortunately, as described above, children were not a priority of the time, which led to an obvious lack of consideration regarding the publication of the children´s graves. In a number of cases, the child graves lack descriptions and drawings. A determination of age based on skeletal remains from the child burials have only been done for one skeleton (see above). The terms child and infant seems to be haphazardly applied in all the other cases. I, therefore, performed a systematic study of grave-size; the criteria of given age groups described above, in chapter 3.2., and the results are presented below, in chapter 4.3. The subdivisions of ´child´ assigned to the different graves in this thesis do, hence, not always correspond with those given in the publication. The statistics and tables presented throughout the thesis are based on this study of grave-size.

4.2. Established sarcophagi-workshops?

As sarcophagi burials are the norm in The North Cemetery at Corinth from 700-400 BC for both adults and children, it most likely existed established sarcophagi-workshops. This opens for the opportunity that set length x width measurements on sarcophagi produced existed; that mass production, instead of order on demand, was the standard procedure. If mass production was the norm, using the grave-length for determining if the grave was for a child or an adult could become misleading. I, therefore, needed to compare all length x width on sarcophagi in the different time periods, to know for sure that no set measurements existed (see figure 5).

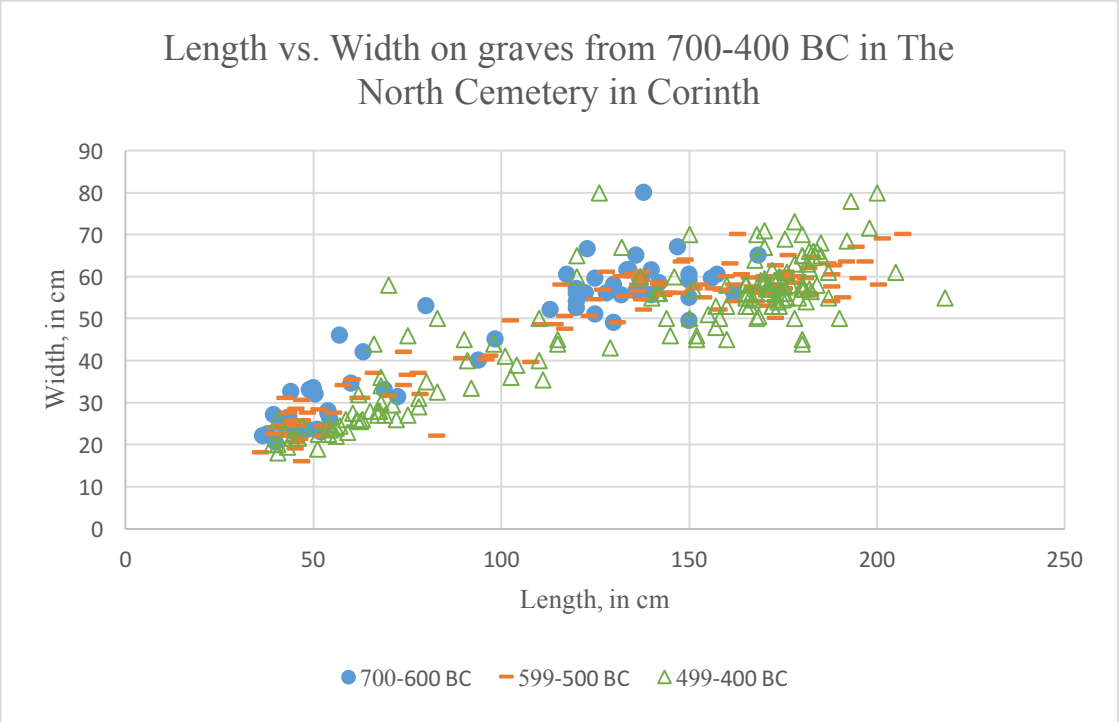


Figure 5. All sarcophagi burials with inside measurements from 700-400 BC, The North Cemetery at Corinth.

We do have clusters, which of course is to be expected, as human beings have a maximum height reachable, and that the average height within a population would mark itself out. There still, however, exist a quite high variation in the sarcophagi measurements, indicating that there was no set of stipulated measurements. But, 70 percent of all sarcophagi dated after 625 BC seems to fit into two categories; large sarcophagi (between 163-190 cm in length) and small sarcophagi (between 40-85 cm in length) (Blegen et al. 1964:72). This could indicate that it existed a compromise between the mass-production and the order-on-demand, where the average sizes most needed were produced. Perhaps explaining the lack of burials for age group 3 – will be discussed in chapter 5 and 6 – as they then likely were buried either in adult-sized sarcophagi or perhaps in uncovered earth-burials, leaving little archaeological trace.

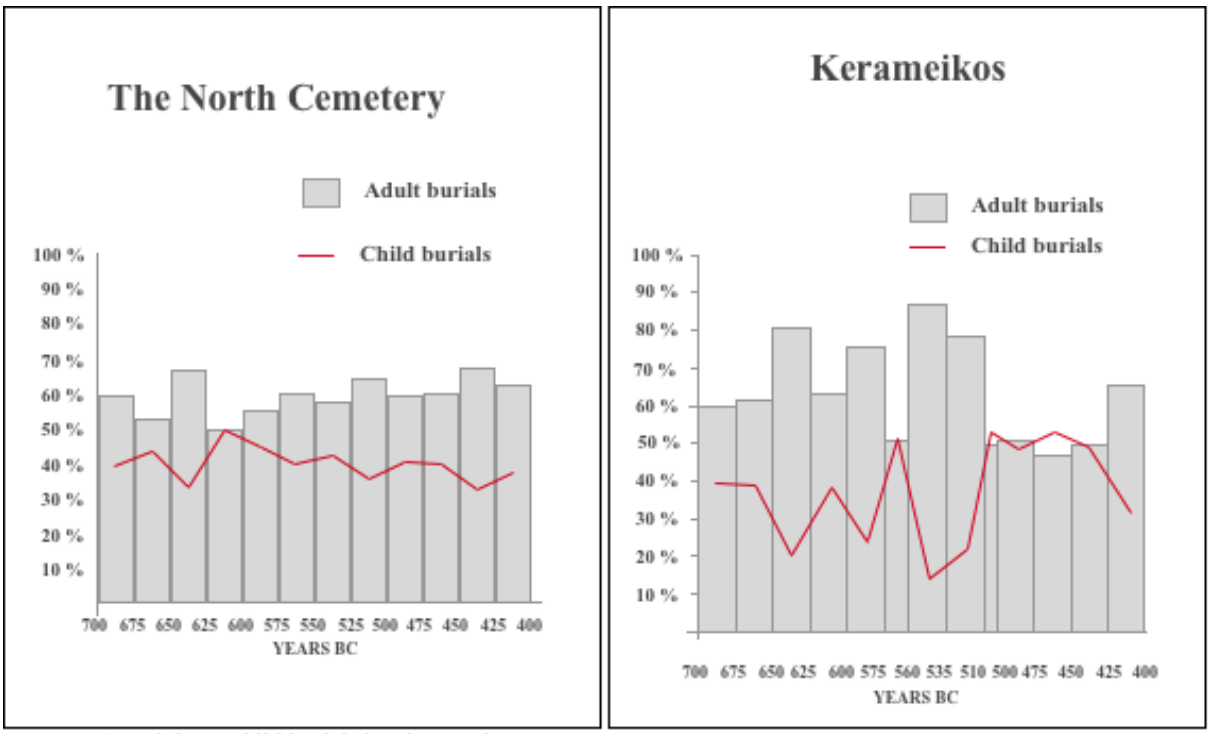
Even though we find indications of some pre-produced sizes, I still think it is reasonable to assume that the length of the sarcophagi can represent the different ages at death. As there is no way of relying completely on skeletal remains, being either too disintegrated or not described well enough, I will use the size of the graves as the primary factor in determining the different age groups in the archaeological material from The North Cemetery at Corinth. The two most common categories, could, perhaps, instead of being an indication of pre-produced sizes, be the

average height of the age groups most often given a burial, and hence, the people the Corinthian population felt the most inclined to give a formal burial.

4.3. Child burials versus adult burials

To be able to see the main tendencies in adult versus child burials in The North Cemetery at Corinth, I divided the 700-400 BC period into 25-year-brackets (see figure 6). This proved to be a challenge, as most of the early graves were poor in grave goods, and therefore difficult to date accurately (Blegen et al. 1964:50). I have used the estimated dating of the graves given in the publication (see Appendix 1 and 2). The estimate presented below is given in percentage, but does not give an accurate account, as the graves dated to a whole century is given a 25 percent value in each of the four brackets within a century, and the graves dated to first/second half or middle of century is given a 50 percent in two of the brackets within a century.

In Corinth, the child burials start to appear in the eighth century BC, just as they do in Kerameikos in Athens (Houby-Nielsen 1995:129). The rise in adult and child burials match quite well, and in no period do we actually have more child burials then adult burials, as can be seen in figure 6.



6a. Adult vs. child burials in The North Cemetery in Corinth

6b. Adult vs. child burials in Kerameikos in Athens (Houby-Nieslen 1995: 133, Table 1)

Figure 6. Adult vs. child burials in The North Cemetery and Kerameikos.

From around 500 to 450 BC the child burials outnumber the adult burials, as can be seen in figure 6b. (Houby-Nielsen 1995:132). In Corinth, the rise in child and adult burials match quite well (see figure 6a). There is no dramatic rise, as there is in Athens during the fifth century BC, but rather the opposite; the number of child burials in comparison to adult burials sink (compare figure 6a to 6b).

In The North Cemetery at Corinth from 700-400 BC, the percentage of adult burials ranges between 50.00 and 67.39 (see figure 6a). The average percentage lies at 59.99. There is, in other words, no extreme changes in the number of adults versus children buried in the cemetery. Among the different age groups for children, however, we do have some quite drastic changes (see table 5).

Table 5. Graves attested to different age groups, 700-400 BC.

	700-600 BC	599-500 BC	499-400 BC	700-400 BC
Age group 1 Infant burials	**13**	**30**	**10**	**53**
Enchytrismos	2	13	0	15
Sarcophagi	11	17	10	38
Age group 2 Small child burials	**13**	**18**	**36**	**67**
Sarcophagi	13	18	30	61
Earth-burial	0	0	6	6
Age group 3 Older child burials	**1**	**7**	**20**	**28**
Sarcophagi	1	7	11	19
Earth-burial	0	0	9	9
Age group 4 Adult burial	**35**	**71**	**89**	**195**
Sarcophagi	33	71	70	174
Earth-burial	2	0	19	21
Undecided burial	**4**	**6**	**16**	**26**
Sarcophagi	4	6	2	12
Earth-burial	0	0	14	14

Age group 4 dominate the burial ground throughout 700-400 BC, but let us now consider only the sub-groups of children. From 700-500 BC age group 1 and 2 are quite evident, while age group 3 seem to be lacking. From 499-400 BC, the picture changes, and age group 3 are given formal burials in a much higher number than earlier (table 5). As illustrated in figure 7 below, we have two periods from 599-400 BC where it seems like the motivation to bury children

formally was higher. Unfortunately, most of the burials dating to 700-600 BC could not be dated more accurately than as belonging to the century, so they are not included in figure 7. The distribution of child burials from 700-600 BC is discussed partly in chapter 4.4 and chapter 5 below, as figure 7 only includes child graves more accurately datable.

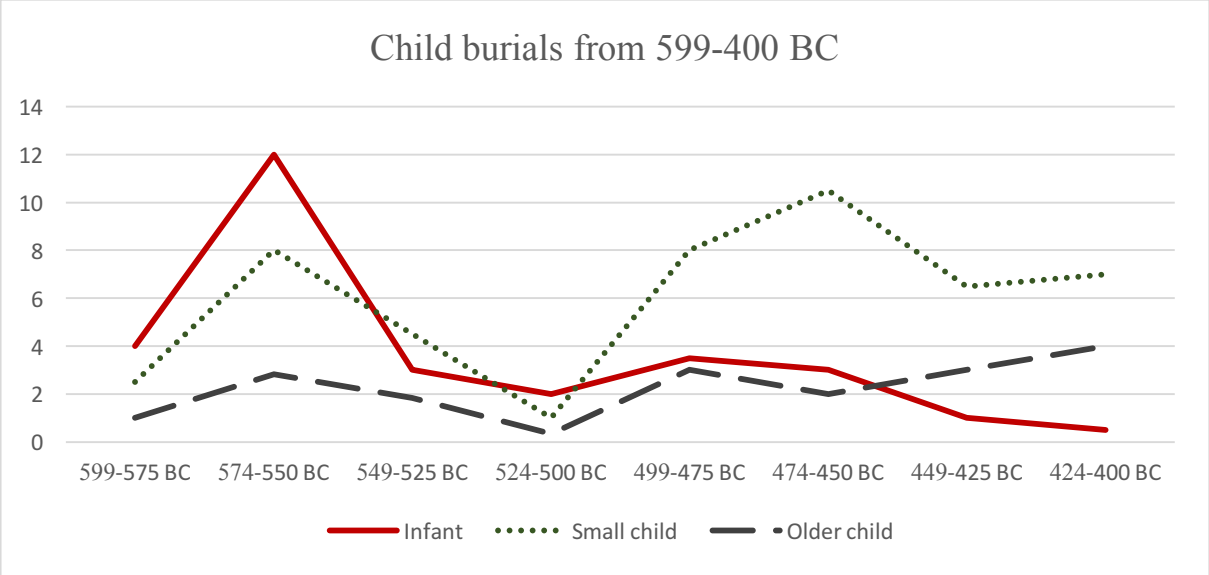


Figure 7. Distribution of child burials from 599-400 BC. The North Cemetery at Corinth.

The sudden rise in burials of age groups 1 and 2 in 574-550 BC is quite interesting, as it is followed by a drastic drop. The adult burials, age group 4, also increase quite drastically in this period (see figure 6a). The cause of the high frequency of burials in 574-550 BC is unknown and could be the result of an epidemic. The burials are, however, scattered around the burial ground, and no clusters of burials from this century were visible. Perhaps it is not the reason behind the increase in death that is interesting, but the number of individuals given a formal burial. There have probably been many periods of high death rates which are not visible to us archaeologically. This is a period where the population was motivated to give formal burials to all age groups. There might even not have been a higher death rate in this period, but only a higher motivation to give formal burials.

From 649-625 BC (see figure 6a), a sudden rise in the age group 4 (adults) is evident. It does not, however, seem to be followed by a rise in child burials. This could, of course, be explained by the lack of accurate dating among both adult and child burials. But, as I will come back to in chapter 5, there seems to have existed established norms in grave gifts appropriate for the different age groups from 600-400 BC. From 700-600 BC, however, this was not as easily detectable. Even though there is no surviving literary evidence of laws regarding burial

traditions from Corinth, burial traditions do seem to become more formalised from 600-400 BC. Perhaps, as stated in chapter 3.5., not giving a formal rightful burial became a strong statement, making all social classes feel the need to do so, even when a child died.

The number of formal burials of age group 1 steadily declines from 549-400 BC, while the number of formal burials of age groups 2 and 3 rises (see figure 7). From 599-500 BC, a pattern in grave gifts is quite evident among age group 1 (see chapter 5.2., *Age group 1: Infants*). From 499-400 BC, this pattern is no longer as visible, indicating that the grave gifts appropriate for age group 1 no longer were as formalised. In the burials of age groups 2 and 3 the opposite seems to be occurring (see chapter 5.2. *Age group 2: Small children* and *Age group 3: Older children*). So, more graves equal a more definite pattern in the formalisation of grave gifts.

4.4. Topography

The graves in The North Cemetery at Corinth were dug on a strict north-south or east-west axis, with the body oriented so that the head was at the east or south (Blegen et al. 1964:69). The uniformity in orientation is quite exceptional, and only the *necropoleis* from Olynthus shows similar conformity in layout (Robinson et al. 1942:139-142). Olynthus was the ancient city of Chalcidice and lies about 264 kilometres in a straight airline from Corinth. It is, hence, not proximity that makes the two cities share uniformity in orientation. In Olynthus, the practice of both inhumation and cremation was found side by side, and the use of either earth-burials or wooden coffins was regular (Robinson et al. 1942: viii).

As there was a tendency to bury individuals in lines in The North Cemetery (see figure 8 below), the individuals being buried was probably placed in a line of graves that in some way was connected to it. I was not able to find any objects or age groups affiliated the orientation, so the determining factors for placement were not possible to determine. But as we have burials buried outside of a line, seemingly alone, the orientation of the grave probably had some meaning connected to it. Rarely does one find patterns as evident as these, if no rules or guidelines were in place to protect them. The socially accepted norms of orientation seem to have been strict in both Corinth and Olynthus, seemingly sharing the same construction of ideal placement.

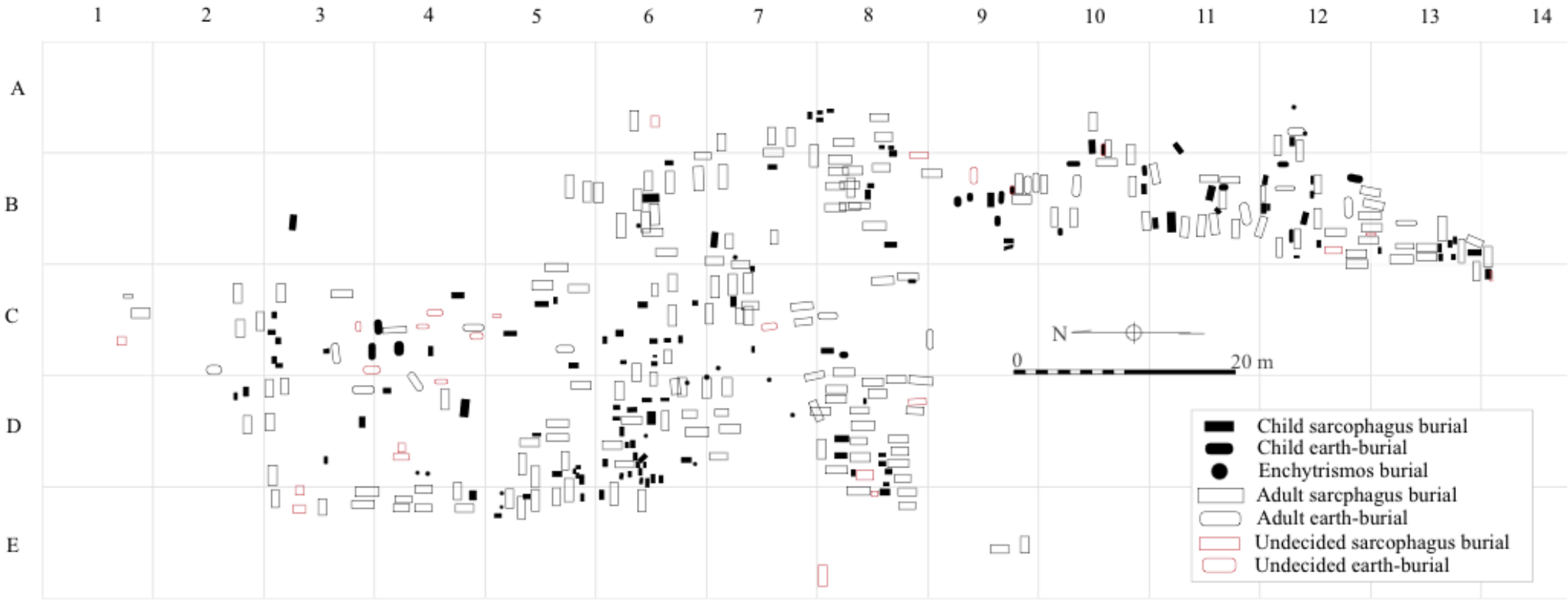


Figure 8. Map over graves from The North Cemetery at Corinth, 700-400 BC.

700-600 BC

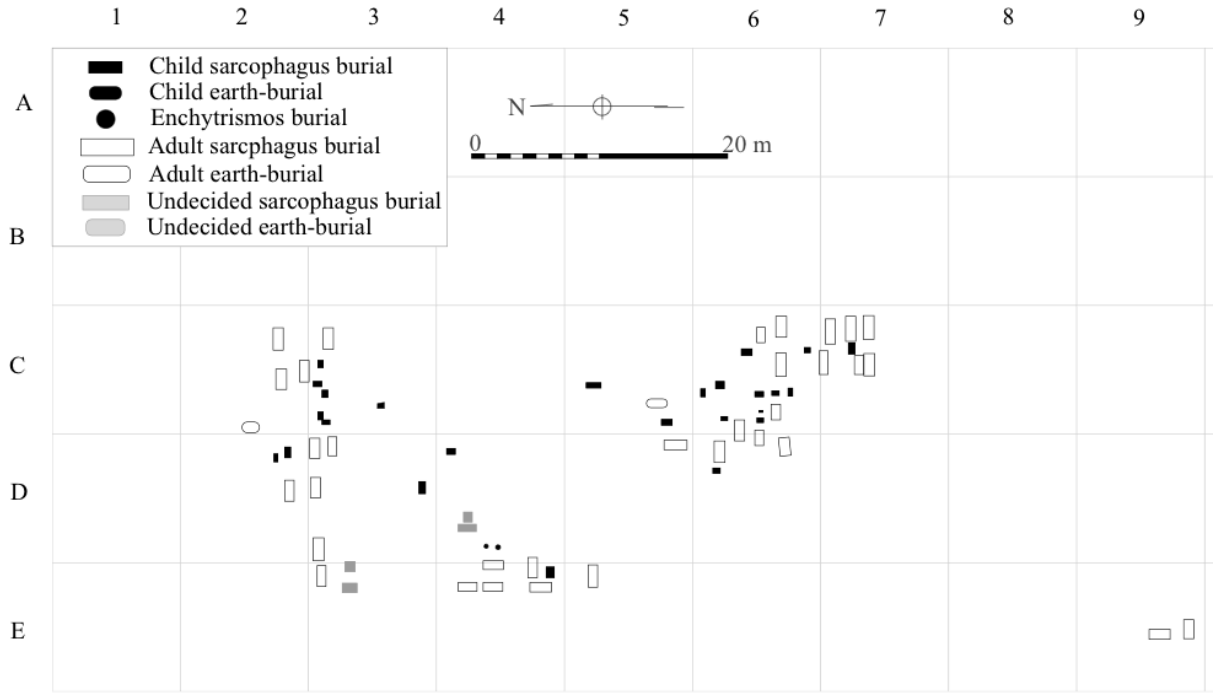


Figure 9. Map over graves datable to 700-600 BC, The North Cemetery.

As shown in figure 9, we have three different areas of density (C-D – 2-3, D-E - 4-5, and C-D - 5-7) including both child and adult graves. The layout pattern seems to orientate from the late Geometric/early Archaic period. If these groupings mark different kinship groups or *oikos*, they might have established the trend of layout that was continued in later periods. Only eight of the seventh century BC burials could be dated to either first or second half of the century. Graves 63, 65, 69 and 70 belonged to the first half, and graves 78, 87, 113 and 129 belong to the second half, see figure 10.: Graves inside red polygon dated to the first half, graves inside red circles dated to the second half.

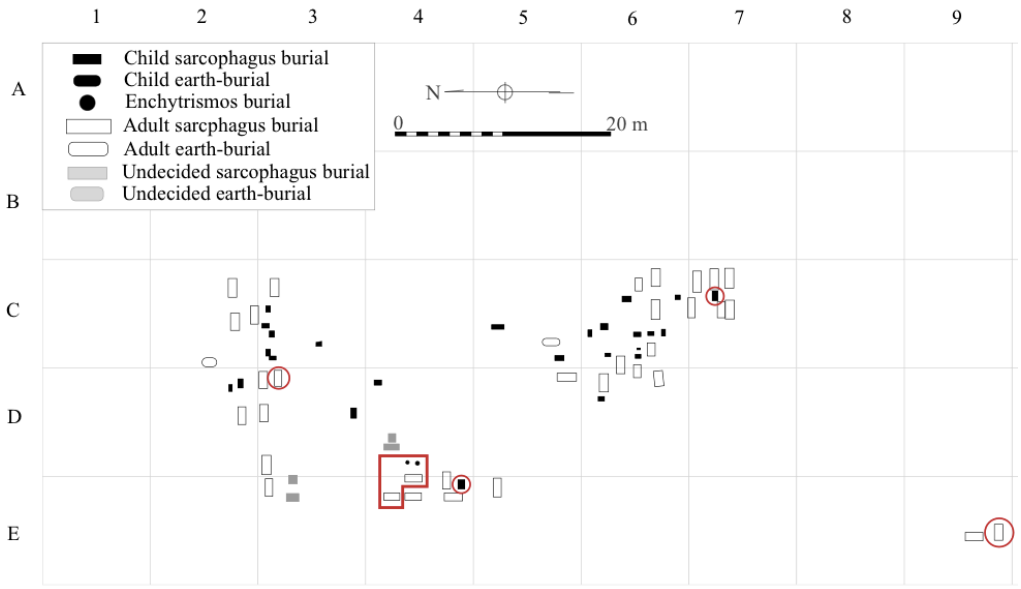


Figure 10. Graves either dated to 700-650 BC (inside red polygon), or 649-600 BC (inside red circles, The North Cemetery.

The first datable graves from 700-600 BC start to appear not far from the earlier Geometric and Helladic burials (see figure 11, all graves filled in with green belong to earlier periods). The Helladic burials were respected in all subsequent periods, while the Geometric graves were not (Blegen et al. 1964:1). This only seems reasonable if the Helladic burials were marked in some way visible to Classical times, while the Geometric graves had no such markings (Blegen et al. 1964:1). No burials dating from 850-800 BC were found (Blegen et al. 1964:52), so the reason the early graves from 700-600 BC encroach on the Geometric burials, lies I believe rather in the wish to bury close to the Helladic graves, than as a continuation of orientation from Geometric times.

Rodney S. Young (Blegen et al. 1964: 50) concluded that there was no central focal point from which later burials spread outward in this period. These Helladic burials must, however, have had a significant role, at least from 900-600 BC, as the graves from these periods are placed close, but still far enough away so to respect their boundaries. As re-use of sarcophagus burials is a common event in The North Cemetery (Blegen et al. 1964:76-78), there must have been a profound reason to not only respect the graves from the Helladic period but also the area around them. I would, hence, suggest that these Helladic burials were the focal point Young (Blegen et al. 1964:50) states as missing from this century. (I believe these Helladic burials initially were tumulus burials, levelled with the ground at some point in earlier history, and therefore undetectable for the excavator).

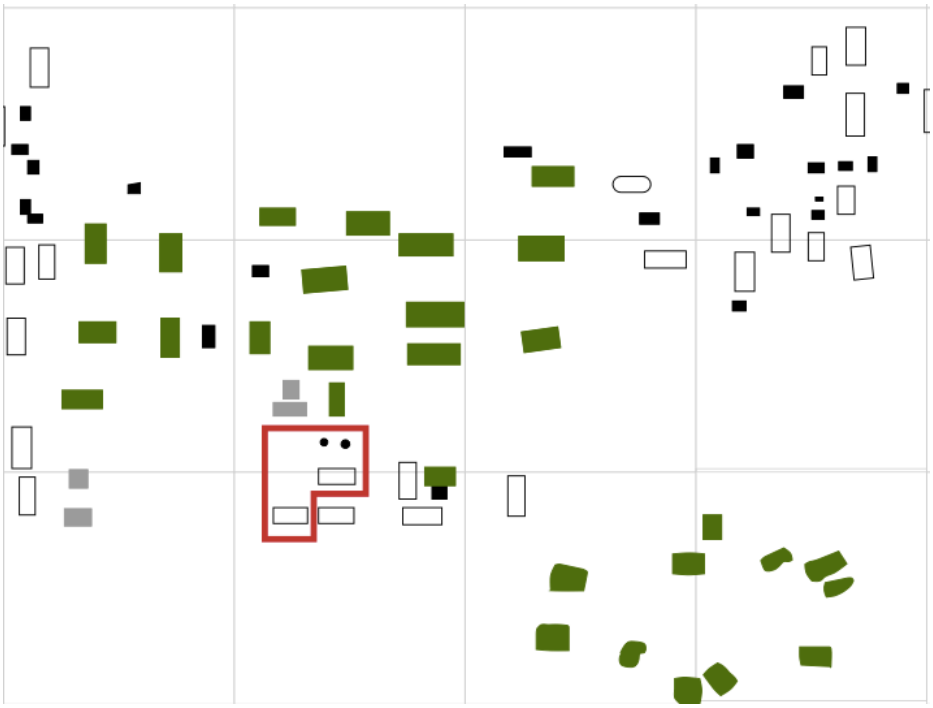


Figure 11. The first datable graves from 700-600 BC (inside red polygon), together with earlier graves (filled in with green).

There are only three child graves from 700-600 BC found close to the Helladic burials. These, graves 69, 70 and 129, all seem to be connected to adult graves. Grave 69 and 70 are both enchytrismos burials of infants, while grave 129 is a sarcophagus burial of a small child. Graves 70 and 129 are among the richest burials of the century.

The child graves found in the two other dense areas from 700-600 BC have no visible connection to adult burials and seem rather to be a part of the ´cluster-phenomenon´ (see figure 9). They are for the most part poor or empty in grave goods.

In the second half of the century, we find datable graves in all three of the denser areas. Here again, the child burials containing grave goods seem to be connected to adult burials, while the clusters of child burials remain empty. To further prove the significance of the topography of the cemetery from 700-600 BC, I will briefly discuss the deposition of grave goods.

There is no detectable pattern as to the placement of grave goods from 700-600 BC. There is, however, a pattern as to the deposition of different kinds of grave gifts. Wearable items, such as iron pins and jewellery is most often found in graves without pottery, with only two exceptions; small child grave 129 and adult grave 63. The adult sarcophagi grave 63 seems to be connected to the two enchytrismos graves 69 and 70 and lies close to the Helladic burials. Grave 129, dating to 624-600 BC is among the richest burials from this century. It seems to be

connected with adult sarcophagi burials 66, 67 and 68 and also lies close to the Helladic burials. The proximity to each other must have been of some importance. This area is the densest part of the cemetery in this century, and six out of nine contained grave goods. The overall percentage of graves containing grave goods from 700-600 BC is 24.24, while for this dense area, close to the Helladic burials, 66.67 percent contained grave goods. I would, therefore, argue that is safe to assume that this area is of special meaning and that the individuals buried here can be determined as belonging to a particular social class (elite?).

As for the child-burial-clusters, debated above in chapter 2.2., we do have a tendency of denser areas of child burials in this century. They are, however, buried together with the adult clusters (C-D - 2-3 and C-D - 5-7, figure 9). So, whether or not they actually can be classed as child-burial-clusters is debatable. As we have no accurate dating of these graves, it is not possible to determine whether they accumulated over a short period or not. It seems unlikely, however, that only the child burials in these clusters could be the result of rapid death over a short period. And if such a conclusion where to be made, it should perhaps also include the adult graves buried closely together with the children.

599-500 BC

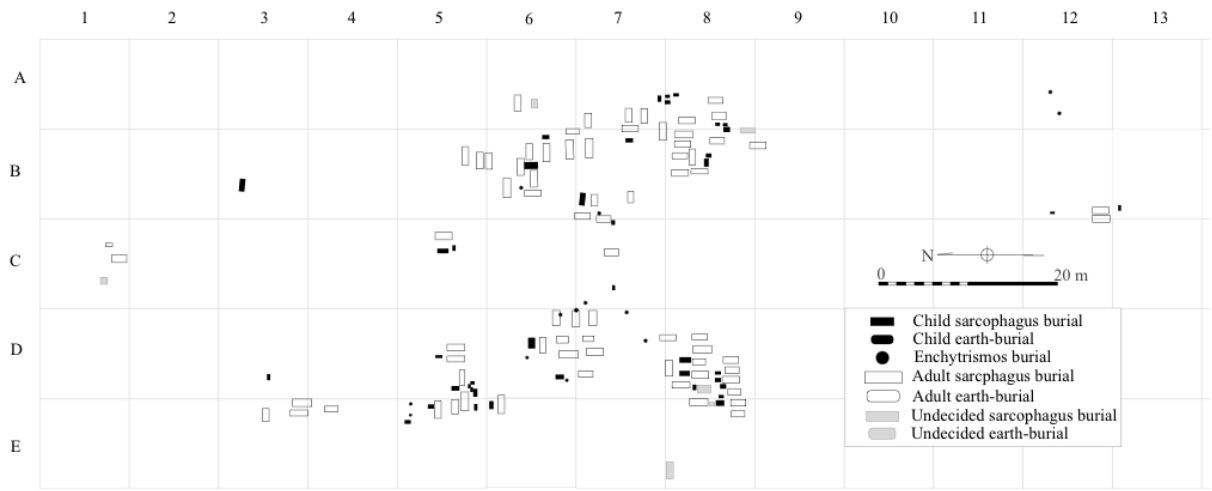


Figure 12. Map over graves datable to 599-500 BC, The North Cemetery.

The activity of the site began to increase quite drastically from 599-500 BC (Table 5 above). The graves from 599-500 BC are approximately double the number of all graves assigned to the previous century (Blegen et al. 1964:65). The graves dated to 599-500 BC mainly follow the patterns of the past century. Eighty-five out of the 132 graves contained grave goods (see

below, Table 7 and Appendix 1), and as is clear from figure 14, there do not seem to be a concentrated area where the density of grave goods is higher than in the rest of the cemetery, as could be found among the graves dated to 700-600 BC.

In the previous century, we had denser areas of burials, while for this century the graves fill out the gaps between these denser areas (see figure 9 compared to figure 12). In other words, there is a tendency to bury the diseased either east or west of the previous burials from 700-600 BC, creating narrow strips of graves (Blegen et al. 1964:65). The placement of the child burials (see figure 12) follow the same pattern as the adults. In this century we do have a large number of datable graves, but the ones containing grave gifts do not seem to follow any significant pattern as of placement and lay quite scattered. Unfortunately, the only suspicious dense area of child burials, found in D-E - 8 on figure 12, only had one datable child grave, grave 174 dated between 599-575 BC. This cluster might be the result of the epidemic mentioned above in chapter 4.3., but as the surrounding child burials are not detectable, and closely related to adult burials, we can by no means be sure. The excavators concluded that they belonged to a family group (Blegen et al. 1964:192). The datable adult burials surrounding the child clusters have accumulated over a period of 75 years, making it even more unlikely that the child-burial-clusters were a result of an epidemic.

499-400 BC

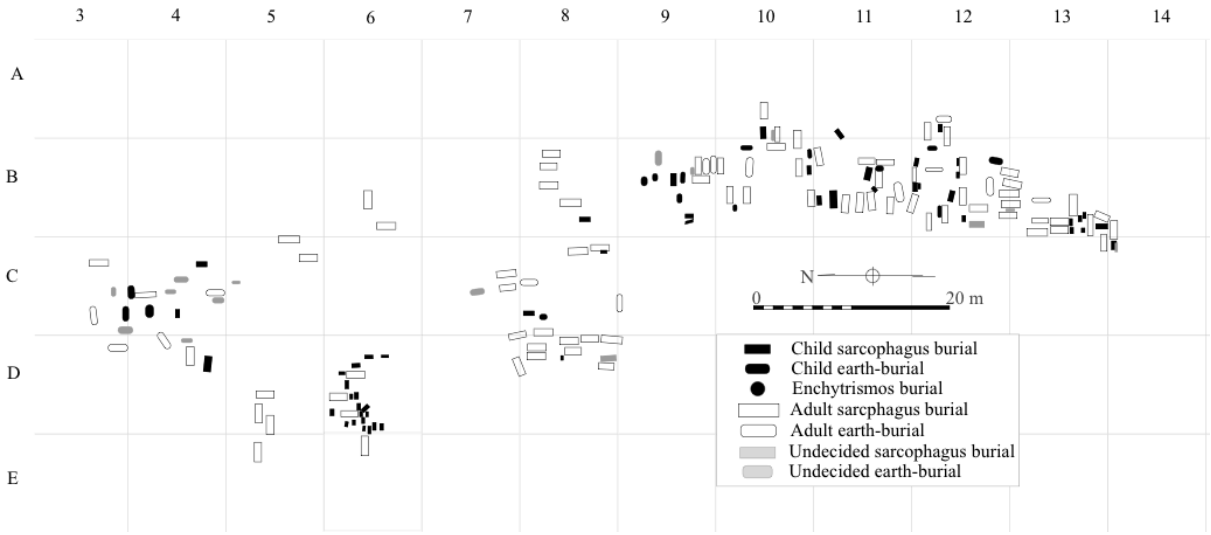


Figure 13. Map over graves datable to 499-400 BC, The North Cemetery.

The new sections of the cemetery created in 599-500 BC continues to be developed from 499-400 BC, contributed with a new extension made in the south (Blegen et al. 1964:65). The most

notable child-burial-cluster is to be found in this century (D-E – 6 on figure 13). It consists of eighteen child burials, clustered around four adult burials. Interestingly enough seven of the ten age group 1 burials from this century are found in this cluster (Graves 266, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293 and 303). The remaining eleven child burials belong to age group 2 (Graves 271, 284, 285, 286, 287, 298, 299, 322, 336 and 344). The four adult burials found in this cluster (Graves 264, 265, 283 and 302), were all given grave goods but were not rich in the number of offerings. Two were given bronze and iron objects. In Kerameikos in Athens, children seemed to be grouped with adults of a specific (low?) status (Houby-Nielsen 1995:132). The adult burials buried together with child clusters in The North Cemetery do not seem to all belong to a specific (either low or high) status. Only five of the sixty-six child burials from this century were empty, and many of them contained metal objects or five or more objects.

4.5. Aspects of interment

The primary form of interment throughout the three centuries was sarcophagus burial. From 700-600 BC we only have four exceptions. These were two empty adult earth-burials, graves 101 and 119, which might as well have been from the Geometric as the Protocorinthian period (Blegen et al. 1964:50). I have still decided to include these two graves in the 700-600 BC group, as they lay isolated from the Geometric burials, and that their placement within the cemetery is more in line with this period. The other two exceptions from 700-600 BC are enchytrismos graves 69 and 70, dating to the first half of the century. In the previous century, all age group 1 burials were enchytrismos burials (Blegen et al. 1964:14-15). The tradition of burying infants in urns seems to go out of fashion, being replaced by poros-sarcophagi with little or no grave goods; age group 1 are buried like age group 4 in this period.

As with the previous century, the contracted position of the skeleton and the orientation east-west or north-south was preferred in 700-600 BC. This indicates that there was an uninterrupted continuation of the practices from the Geometric period (Blegen et al. 1964:50). So the change to the sarcophagi as the primary burial form was probably a development of social structure within the same society, and not a sudden turnover of the population. The earliest sarcophagi burials consisted of slabs of stone set together, evolving into the hollowed single-block sarcophagi. There was also a change in the material used for the sarcophagi but in this instance a more gradual one, from the use of sandstone to poros limestone (Blegen et al. 1964:51). The

use of stucco also makes its first appearance from 700-600 BC and seems to mainly have a practical purpose. The stucco is only found in the slab-sarcophagi, and probably function to seal the slabs together, and to seal the interior from infiltration of earth (Blegen et al. 1964:51). Among the hollowed sarcophagi, many have rough-picked inner walls, as if intended to be stuccoed, puzzling the excavators (Blegen et al. 1964:51). This could perhaps be explained by the introduction of the compromise between the pre-produced and order-on-demand sarcophagi discussed above in chapter 4.2. The sarcophagi were made with rough-picked inner walls, and the choice of stucco or not was the decision of the family of the deceased. But, as none of the hollowed-out sarcophagi with rough-picked walls from 700-600 BC was stuccoed, this seems unlikely. The explanation could, perhaps, instead be that one of the sarcophagi workshops came from elsewhere, where stuccoed inner walls were the norm, and the rough-picking of the walls merely functioned as a routine for the stone-workers.

From 599-500 BC all age group 2, 3 and 4 burials were sarcophagi. We do, however, again have the use of *enchytrismos* burials for age group 1. In this century we have thirteen enchytrismos burials and seventeen sarcophagi burials for age group 1. Twelve of the seventeen sarcophagi burials and eight of the fourteen enchytrismos burials were found with grave goods. I will discuss the different types of objects found in sarcophagi and enchytrismos burials below in chapter 5.2. *Age group 1: Infants.*

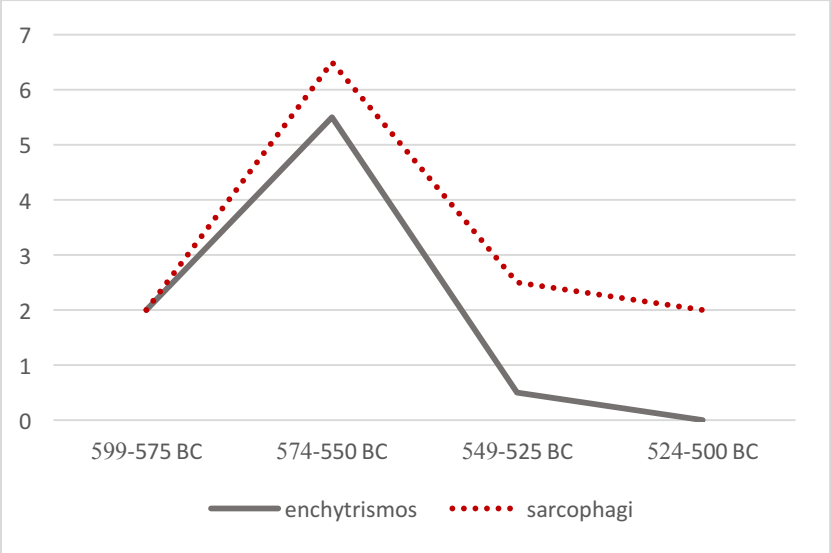


Figure 14. Infant burials given accurate date from 599-500 BC, The North Cemetery.

The enchytrismos burials consisted of two craters, too small to be considered belonging to age group 2 (Graves 135 and 153), three amphorae (Graves 154, 194 and 197), three jars which were not inventoried (Graves 152, 168 and 196), and one bronze *lebes* (Grave 239). Eight of the enchytrismos burials could be dated more accurately than as belonging to the entire century. The use of enchytrismos burials seems to lose its popularity again in the second half of the century, as the latest datable enchytrismos

burial, grave 196, was dated as belonging to 574-525 BC. The five burials not accurately datable could, of course, all belong to 549-500 BC. There is a significant decrease in the age group 1 burials from 549-500 BC (figure 14). But as age group 1 continue to appear in low numbers throughout 499-400 BC, together with the rising number of age group 2 burials (see figure 7 in chapter 4.3 above), it seems more likely to be a consequence of societies´ attitudes towards child burials. The urgency to give age group 1 a formal burial decrease.

From 499-400 BC we have some changes in the burial type; the earth-burial is re-introduced, and the enchytrismos burials disappear entirely. The sarcophagus is still the primary burial form for all age groups. A new method of protecting the earth-burial by covering the grave with terracotta roof tiles is introduced in this century (Blegen et al. 1964:73). Age group 3 burials start to make an appearance in the previous century, imitating the traditions found among age group 4 burials. From 499-400 BC this practice is even more apparent. I was able to determine twenty burials as belonging to age group 3, and they were all found with grave goods. Nine of them were earth-burials, and the new trend of covering the earth-burials with terracotta roof tiles is probably quite important. The rising number of age group 3 burials found in this century could at least in part be explained by the fact that this new trend made the graves easier to be detected by the archaeologist. But, as I will come back to in chapter 5.2. *Age group 3: Older children*, there are some distinct changes to the deposition of grave gifts, both in types of objects and in the number of objects deposited. The change in cover cannot be the only reason age group 3 is more visible from 499-400 BC.

The infants are from 499-400 BC the least represented age group, with only ten burials detectable. They were also quite poor in grave goods, which I will come back to in chapter 5.2. *Age group 1: Infants*. Important to note is the eight urns, X134 to X140 and X264, categorised in the publication as being stray finds (Blegen et al. 1964:326). These could, perhaps, have been enchytrismos burials, but as no remains of bone or covers were found, I have decided not to include them in this thesis.

Chapter 5 Analysis of grave goods

Chapter 5 will be divided into two part that will present different aspects of the deposition of grave goods. First, in chapter 5.1. I will look at the number of grave gifts given in the different age groups throughout 700-400 BC, while in chapter 5.2. I will look at the distribution of different kind of objects within the age groups. For Kerameikos, Houby-Nielsen (1995) concluded that the will to give more than five gifts increased with the age of the deceased. I will in chapter 5.1. present if this is the case in The North Cemetery as well. Thereafter, in chapter 5.2. I will look at the distribution of different kinds of objects in age groups, where objects directly connected to age groups will be presented. With regards to the deposition of different kind of objects, Houby-Nielsen (1995) concluded that the older the child was, the more alike the deposition became that of adults. I will not include the grave goods found among the undecided graves. I will use the terms ´rich´ and ´poor´ only as an indication of the number of objects found among the graves, and hence do not directly state the economic or political power of the deceased. Terms like ´trend´ and ´tradition´ relate to the continuity in objects occurring in different age groups.

Disturbed burials

Some of the empty burials from the seventh and sixth centuries BC had obvious signs of disturbance, giving a false number of empty graves. From the seventh century BC, ten of the sixty-six graves were disturbed, either by later burials (Graves 64. 65 and 119) or broken, displaced or cut where the reason is unknown (Graves 70, 90, 91, 122 and 123). The disturbed burials do not seem to be so due to grave robbery, as they contained grave goods and the skeleton was in many cases pushed to one side of the sarcophagi, indicating that the purpose was re-use. Graves 90, 91, 122 and 123 were disturbed to such a degree that determining them into an age category was impossible.

In the sixth century BC, twenty-eight of the empty burials had signs of disturbance. In age group 1, five of the thirteen enchytrismos burials were empty, none of them showed any signs of disturbance and was therefore probably empty when buried. Among the seventeen sarcophagi burials, we also find five empty burials, but only two (Graves 176 and 177) had no signs of disturbance. The other three (Graves 210, 230 and 232) were probably robbed in later times. Out of the four empty burials from age group 2, two had no signs of disturbance, while graves

229 and 259 were probably robbed. In age group 3, two out of three of the empty burials had no signs of disturbance, while the third (Grave 209) was again probably robbed. Out of the twenty-three empty age group 4 burials, only seven had no signs of disturbance (Graves 133, 136, 137, 138, 150, 151 and 223), the rest were either reused or probably robbed. All of the undecided burials were found disturbed, and could all have contained grave goods.

The number of graves containing grave goods was in reality probably higher than what is presented throughout this chapter. The absolute number of burials that were buried without grave goods detectable for us from 700-500 BC is fifty-nine, the other thirty-eight burials found empty, but without signs of disturbance, could have been given grave goods, which at a later time was displaced. With this said, the disturbed burials are presented in this thesis as graves found without grave goods. There is no way of knowing for sure if the thirty-eight burials that were disturbed contained grave goods or not. There might also have been depositions of organic material in all of the graves considered in this thesis, which was not recorded or detectable for the excavators. All of the numbers presented in this thesis are based on the surviving material presented in the publication as belonging to the graves included.

5.1. Number of grave gifts

The custom of supplying the diseased with grave gifts was practised as extensively in Corinth from 599-400 BC as in most ancient Greek necropoleis (Blegen et al. 1964:78). The most common kind of offering was pottery, considerably outnumbering other types of offerings. From 700-600 BC, however, grave goods were scarce, and only seventeen of the sixty-six graves contained any form of objects (see figure 15). Out of these seventeen, the graves containing pottery commonly contained nothing else, while the graves containing wearable items, either jewellery or iron pins were otherwise empty.

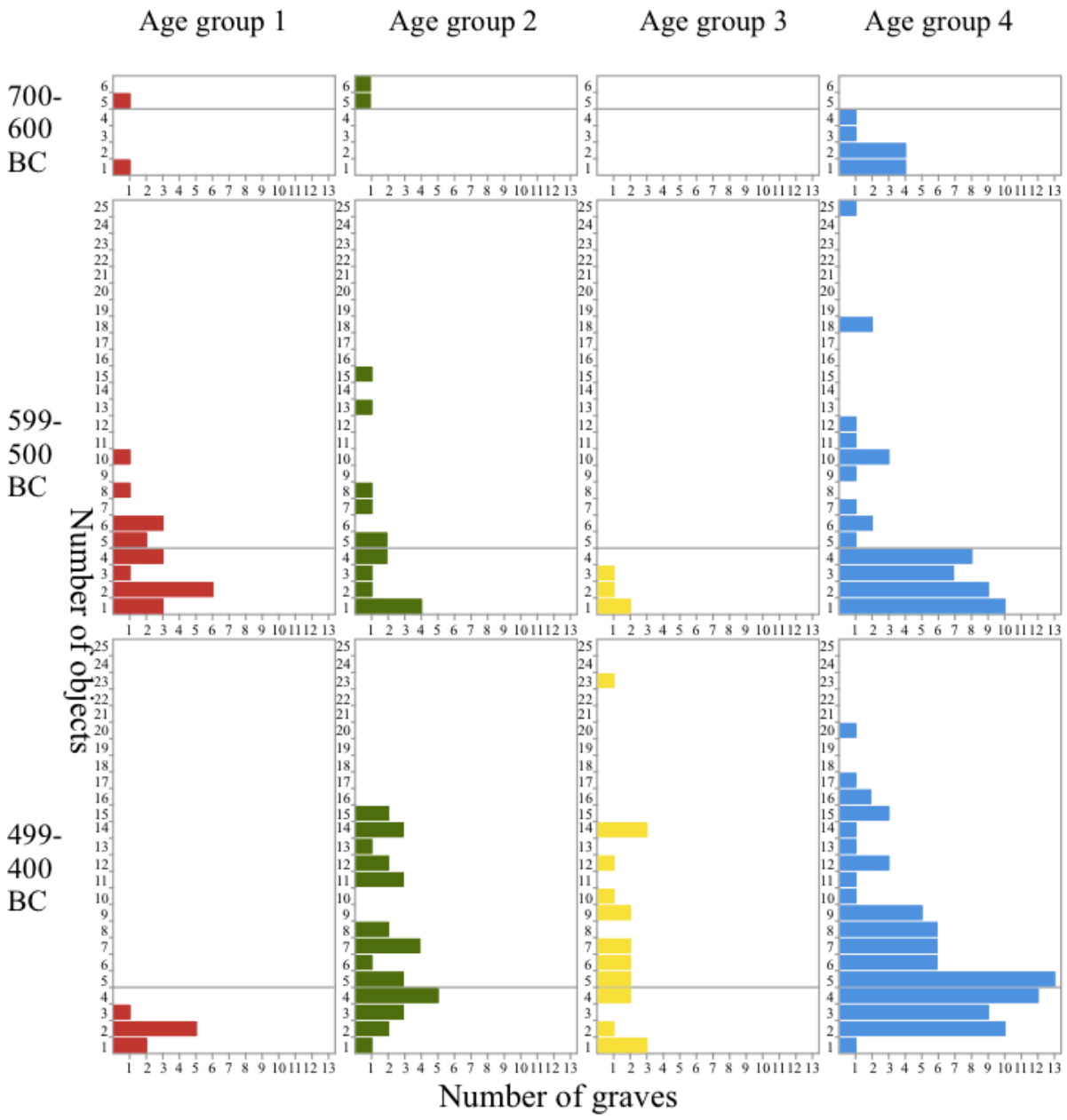


Figure 15. Number of objects in the different age groups; 700-400 BC. The grey line between 4 and 5 separates the graves containing 5 or more objects from the ones that do not.

700-600 BC

Table 6. Number of graves with or without grave goods, 700-600 BC.

	With Grave Goods	Without Grave Goods	Total
Age group 1	2	11	13
Age group 2	2	11	13
Age group 3	0	1	1
Age group 4	10	25	35
Undecided	2	2	4
Total	16	50	66

Most of the graves from this period were empty, with the adult burials seemingly being paid most attention. As seen in table 6, only 14.81 percent of the child burials contained grave goods, while 28.75 percent of the adult burials contained grave goods. Iron pins were included in table 6, which can give a misleading number, as they most likely had the practical function of fastening the clothing of the dead on either side of the body (Blegen et al. 1964:49). If we exclude the graves containing iron pins or iron objects too corroded for identification, we are left with three out of twenty-seven child burials, and five out of thirty-five adult burials. Suddenly, the percentage of adult burials containing grave goods drop to 14.29 and child burials containing grave goods to 11.11. So, both adults and children have about the same statistical chance of getting grave goods.

Let us then also consider the number of grave gifts deposited. I will, from now on, include the iron pins and iron objects too corroded for identification as grave goods. The average number of objects deposited in child burials containing grave goods is 5.33. While for adults the average is only 1,8 (see figure 15). Even though the age of the deceased did not seem to affect the chances of getting grave gifts, the amount of grave gifts differs according to age. Remarkably, the few child burials with grave goods are exceedingly richer in the number of objects. This is, however, a very small number of graves. The very few rich child burials found in the cemetery from 700-600 BC could easily be explained as being from a higher social class (elite?). And, as discussed above, in chapter 4.4., the topography suggests the same.

All of the pottery found deposited in graves from this period are of Corinthian production. There have not been performed any examinations of the metal-works´ origin, but the simplicity of the products makes import unlikely. Only one objects, a Green Faience Scarab, found in grave 109, can safely be assumed as imported goods. Grave 109 also contained three iron pins, making it one of the richest burials from 700-600 BC.

599-500 BC

Table 7. Number of graves with or without grave goods, 599-500 BC.

	With Grave Goods	Without Grave Goods	Total
Infant	20	10	30
Small Child	14	4	18
Older Child	4	3	7
Adult	47	24	71

Undecided	0	6	6
Total	85	47	132

The number of burials containing grave goods has increased quite drastically in this century; 67.46 percent of all burials contained grave goods. 69.09 percent of the child burials contained grave goods, and 66.20 percent of the adult burials contained grave goods (see table 7). The average number of objects deposited in the graves containing grave goods has changed as well. In the previous century, there was no point in differentiating the sub-groups of children, as only four graves were found with grave goods. From 599-500 BC, however, we have a larger set of samples to compare, giving a more reliable result.

Age group 1: Infants: As mentioned in chapter 4.5., we have two different types of burials in age group 1; sarcophagi and enchytrismos. Thirteen of the thirty age group 1 burials were enchytrismos burials, while the remaining seventeen were sarcophagi burials (see Appendices 1 and 2). The sarcophagus has an obvious connection to the adult world, being the main form of interment for adults, the enchytrismos, however, does not. Interpreted as being a metaphor for the womb, it seems to be a last attempt to care for the dead child by metaphorically keeping it safe and happy. The differentiated treatment sends quite different messages; the sarcophagi hinting at what could have been, and the enchytrismos to what was. Eight out of the thirteen (61.54 %) enchytrismos burials and twelve of the seventeen (70.59 %) sarcophagi burials were found with grave goods. Only one of the eight (12.5 %) enchytrismos burials containing gave goods, while six of the twelve (50.00 %) sarcophagi burials containing grave goods were given five or more objects (see figure 15 above). The sarcophagi burials were obviously richer in grave goods than the enchytrismos burials were.

Age Group 2: Small children: All of the eighteen age group 2 burials were sarcophagi burials, and 77.77 percent of them contained grave goods. As can be seen in figure 15, six of the fourteen (42.86 %) age group 2 burials were found with five or more objects.

Age group 3: Older children: I was only able to identify seven burials as belonging to age group 3, where four of these contained grave goods (57.14 %). None of them contained more than three objects (see figure 15).

Age group 4: Adults: Forty-seven of the seventy-one (66.20 %) burials belonging to age group 4 contained grave goods (see table 7). The adult burials were quite poor in the number of grave gifts deposited (see figure 15 above) as only thirteen of the forty-seven (27.66 %) burials contained five or more objects. Comparing this to age group 1 and 2, where 35.00 percent and 42.86 percent of the burials containing grave goods were given five or more objects, it is clear that young children, between 0 - 3 and 4 years, fared better concerning the number of grave gifts given. While age group 3, with 0.00 percent given five or more objects, apparently were not given the same consideration at death.

499-400 BC

We have some noticeable changes in not just the number of graves given gifts in the different age groups from 499-400 BC, but also a visible difference in the number of offerings attested to the different age groups.

Table 8. Number of graves with and without grave goods, 499-400 BC.

	With Grave Goods	Without Grave Goods	Total
Infant	9	1	10
Small Child	32	4	36
Older Child	20	0	20
Adult	82	7	89
Undecided	15	1	16
Total	158	13	171

Age group 1: Infants: As can be seen in table 8, age group 1 is suddenly very underrepresented, as we suddenly only have ten age group 1 burials. Nine of these ten (90.00 %) contained grave goods. However, none of them had more than three objects. They were all sarcophagi burials.

Age group 2: Small children: From 499-400 BC age group 2 is quite rich in the number of gifts, as 65.63 percent of them contained five or more objects (see table 15 above). Even more interesting is the fact that among these graves given five or more objects, 52.38 percent were given more than ten objects. It was apparently seen as important to give young children rich burials. This was, as we have seen above, the case from 599-500 BC as well, but for 499-400 BC this does no longer include age group 1.

Age group 3: Older children: Age group 3, which was very underrepresented from 500-500 BC, is from 499-400 BC considerably rich in grave goods. As discussed in chapter 4.5., age

group 3 start showing up in quite a number from 499-400 BC. The introduction of the terracotta roof tiles as cover probably made the graves easier to detect, but it is not just the number of burials that change in this century. First of all, all of the twenty burials attested to this age group were found with grave goods. Secondly, fourteen of these (70.00 %) contained five or more objects (see figure 15). From 599-500 BC none of the age group 3 burials was given more than three objects, and suddenly in this century, we find an abundance of grave gifts. I would, therefore, argue that the high number of age group 3 burials from this century not only can be explained through the burial form becoming easier to detect for the archaeologist. If this was the case, one would expect more of the burials to have been empty, especially the sarcophagi burials. But, as the sarcophagi burials of age group 3 are richer in the number of objects than the earth burials, this explanation does not suit the material. It could be said that age group 3 in some way takes the place of age group 1; it suddenly is quite well represented in the cemetery, and age group 1 is no longer easily found.

Age group 4: Adults: Eighty-two age group 4 burials contained grave goods from 499-400 BC, among these 60.90 percent had 5 or more objects (see figure 15 above). There is, however, normal to find many of the same object, so only 36.59 percent of the adult burials actually contained five or more objects of different types. This does occur in age groups 2 and 3 as well, but not to this degree; among age group 2 66.63 percent were given five or more objects, where 50.00 percent were given five or more different types of objects. Among age group 3 burials, 70.00 percent were given five or more objects, and 55.00 percent contained five or more different types of objects. There seems to have existed some social rules as to what was considered the appropriate grave gifts from 499-400 BC, which were, perhaps followed to a higher degree in age group 4.

5.2. The objects

Age group 1: Infants

As we have established above, we only have two burials from 700-600 BC containing grave goods. One enchytrismos burial, grave 70, containing one crater, one kalathos, one small kotyle and two small kylikes, dated to the second quarter of the seventh century BC. The other was a sarcophagus burial, grave 82, only containing one iron implement too corroded for

identification. Obviously, it is not possible to determine any patterns in deposition form these two burials.

From 599-500 BC, however, we find two visible patterns from the twenty burials containing grave goods. Among the objects deposited two combinations of objects became visible; either *skyphos+pyxis* found in four burials or *skyphos+pyxis+oinochoe* found in six burials (including miniature versions. The *pyxis*, a small container (often described as a powder-box), is typically regarded as an indication of a female burial. The *skyphos,* a cup, and the *oinochoe*, a pitcher, are separately quite genderless in expression. When they are found together, however, as a cup+pitcher combination, they can possibly be connected with the symposium, a *very* masculine activity. This interpretation cannot be directly transferred to the age group 1 burials from 599-500 BC in The North Cemetery, as the pyxis occurs together with the cup+pitcher combination. Hazel Palmer (Blegen et al. 1964:70), who treated children as one undifferentiated group, concluded that the pyxis, instead of indicating gender, indicated age. A conclusion rightfully made, as the pyxis treated isolated does indicate age. But as I will argue, can in its combination with other objects indicate *gender roles* as well.

Table 9. Number of graves the pyxis, skyphos and oinochoe appears in, 599-500 BC.

599-500 BC			
	Pyxis	**Skyphos**	**Oinochoe**
Age group 1	13 of 20 (65.00 %)	16 of 20 (80.00 %)	9 of 20 (45.00 %)
Age group 2	3 of 14 (21.43 %)	13 of 14 (92.86 %)	8 of 14 (57.14 %)
Age group 3	0 of 4 (00.00 %)	2 of 4 (50.00 %)	2 of 4 (50.00 %)
Age group 4	5 of 47 (10.64 %)	33 of 47 (70.21 %)	33 of 47 (70.21 %)

As can be seen in table 9, the pyxis is undeniably an object connected with age group 1, while the skyphos and oinochoe are objects standard for all age groups. Let us then consider the combination of the different objects and what they may indicate.

It was while analysing the age group 1 burials containing the pyxis I discovered that there was a difference in the combination of objects accompanying the pyxis. The skyphos+pyxis combination appears in one enchytrismos burial (Grave 154) and three sarcophagi burials (Graves 128, 165 and 186). The skyphos+pyxis+oinochoe combination appear in one enchytrismos burial (Grave 168) and five sarcophagi burials (Graves 170, 188, 224, 253 and 258). When I separated these two groups, it became apparent that the other objects found

together with them seemed to send two quite different messages. The skyphos+pyxis combination will from now on be called the feminine group, while the skyphos+pyxis+oinochoe combination will be called the masculine group.

The four burials attested to the feminine group had, apart from the skyphos and pyxis, typical feminine objects or neutral objects, and none of them contained typical masculine objects or combinations. The six infant burials attested to the masculine group contained the exact opposite.

Then, considering the other burials, without the strict skyphos+pyxis or skyphos+pyxis+oinochoe combinations, I found two more burials that could be included in the feminine group (Graves 153 and 225). These two burials each contained only one single pyxis. I also found three burials (Graves 169, 194 and 231) which could be connected to the masculine group. Two of these were enchytrismos burials, where grave 196 contained one skyphos and one oinochoe and 194 contained one miniature skyphos, one pyxis, and one miniature olpe (also a form of a pitcher). The third, grave 231, was a sarcophagi burials containing one skyphos and one oinochoe.

The *aryballos* and *amphoriskos*, both being perfume or oil containers, symbolising the athlete, and the *olpe*, skyphos, oinochoe and bowl symbolising the symposium. While the *kalathos, phiale,* spindle whorl and jewellery found in the feminine group, symbolise the homebound dutiful wife. All activities connected with the aristocracy.

We have some objects in both of the groups, determined neutral for the sake of discussion, this including the defining objects for the masculine and feminine groups (see figure 16). Five of the burials containing grave goods were not possible to place in either the feminine or masculine group (Graves 135, 142, 152, 169 and 191), as they were rather poor graves, and none contained a pyxis nor an oinochoe. The masculine and feminine groups are accompanied with grave gifts almost stereotypical male or female in character (see figure 16). The *aryballos* and *amphoriskos*, both being perfume or oil containers, symbolising the athlete, and the *olpe*, *skyphos, oinochoe* and bowl symbolising the *symposium*. While the *kalathos*, *phiale*, spindle whorl and jewellery found in the feminine group, symbolise the homebound dutiful wife. All activities connected with the aristocracy.

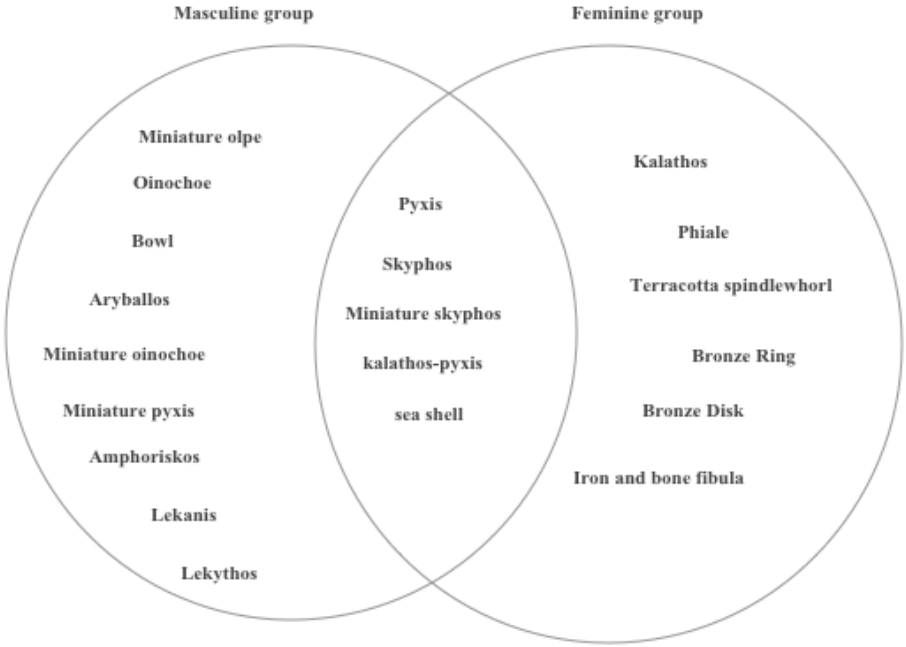


Figure 16. Objects occurring in the` masculine` and `feminine group`, 599-500 BC.

It is very tempting to conclude that the feminine group represents the graves of girls, and the masculine represents the graves of boys. This would be very convenient, as we would then also have a higher number of boys being buried in a formal way than girls, strengthening the proposal made in chapter 3.5., that boys were probably mourned publicly to a greater extent than girls. But, as I also discussed in the same chapter, the gender roles may have been more fluid in Archaic Greece. And, as will be shown below, we do not find as visibly gendered graves among the other age groups. Still, the tradition of manifesting the sex of the new-born child, by hanging either wool or an olive branch outside the family´s home, could explain the two ´gendered´ groups among the infants.

The masculine group are richer in grave goods, as five of the eight (62.50 %) burials had five or more objects. In the feminine group, only two of the six (33.33 %) burials had five or more objects. The patterns of masculine or feminine grave gifts might instead of symbolising the gender of the individual buried, be a statement of power. Perhaps the richer and more aristocratic the family, the more masculine the gifts given were, even in the graves of girls. As both gender roles and sexuality was fluid, the symbolic value of the gender might take on its own meaning. Especially in the graves of sexually immature children, as they perhaps were not yet gendered by society. Another explanation, I find quite thrilling, could be that the grave

goods symbolise the gender of the burying group, instead of the gender of the diseased. We have already established that the funeral was a woman´s job and that the increase of child burials in Athens from 800 BC and onwards probably started with the women´s desire to bury their children. The feminine and neutral group of age group 1 burials are poor in grave gifts. Perhaps this can be explained by the women participating in the funeral giving the gifts they had available to give and that these burials, in fact, were not the evidence of a proper formal funeral. While the richer ´masculine´ group, is the result of a larger ceremony, where men also participated in the funeral. The pyxis, occurring in both groups, could perhaps have been the traditional offering from a mother to her deceased child. Explaining why a typical feminine object occurred in both male and female graves. This could, then, again be linked to the sex of the child, perhaps the bigger ceremony, where men also participated, most often were given to infant boys. The objects deposited do not reflect the infant´s sex, but the adult participants´ gender and the gender of the participants would differ according to the sex of the infant who had died. If the death of a child was an opportunity for the women to get ´out of the house´ as discussed in chapter 3.5., the feminine group could be the result of this. The women gave their children a burial, even though the *oikos* had decided not to give a formal funeral to the diseased.

No matter the explanation, there is a pattern among the infant burials not possible to obtain at any level for the other age groups from 599-500 BC. All of the pottery found among age group 1 was of local Corinthian production, and seven of the twenty infant burials containing grave goods were given miniature vases (see table 12), which I will come back to under *Age group 2: Small children.*

Table 10. Number of graves containing pyxis, 499-400 BC.

499 – 400 BC	
	Pyxis
Age group 1	3 of 9 (33.33 %)
Age group 2	6 of 32 (18.75 %)
Age group 3	0 of 20 (00.00 %)
Age group 4	0 of 82 (00.00 %)

From 499-400 BC I could, as stated above, only find ten burials attested to age group 1, where nine contained grave goods. The pyxis, which was so clearly connected to age group 1 from 599-500 BC, still seems to have a connection to child burials, but in this century they appear in more age group 2 burials then in age group 1 burials. It only appears in three of the nine age group 1 burials containing grave goods (Graves 288, 290 and 293) while it appears in six of the age group 2 burials (Graves 271, 286, 292, 333, 334 and 338). The pyxis seems to have lost the firm connection it had from 599-500 BC to infants. But as it is neither found in age group 3 nor age group 4 burials, it still has

a symbolic connection to young children (see table 10). The younger the child, the higher the chance it would be given a pyxis.

Another object is introduced among the age group 1 burials from 499-400 BC; the *lekanis*, a low bowl with two horizontal handles and a broad low foot. It appears in 55.55 percent of the burials and is the object most frequently occurring in this age group. The lekanis is often decorated with wedding-scenes (Boardman 2001:256-257) and could have been a typical feminine object. Perhaps serving precisely the same function as the pyxis did from 599-500 BC, as the traditional offering from a mother to her dead child. It is, however, even more apparent in age group 2, as I will discuss below. All of the pottery from 700-500 BC found in age group 1 was of Corinthian production.

Age group 2: Small children

From 700-600 BC, as we had with age group 1, we only have two age group 2 burials containing grave gifts (Grave 78 and 129), both sarcophagi burials. Grave 78 contained five aryballoi and one alabastron (also a perfume or oil container), and dates to the third quarter of the seventh century BC. Grave 129 contained one bronze ring, one skyphos, one aryballos and two alabastra, and dates to the end of the seventh century BC. For the two age group 1 burials no patterns could be found among the grave gifts, these two, however, can be related to a pattern. The aryballos connected to age group 2 from 599-500 BC. And, as both graves were dated in the second half of the seventh century BC, they could indicate the beginning of this tradition.

From 599-500 BC we have the skyphos+oinochoe combination among age group 2, as we found in age group 1, occurring in nine of the fourteen (64.29 %) age group 2 burials found with grave goods. The pyxis appears in only three graves (see table 9), and can, hence, not be regarded as part of the ´normal´ deposit of gifts for age group 2. The third most occurring object after the skyphos and oinochoe is, as mentioned above, the aryballos. The aryballos, an oil flask, generally connected with young men or athletes, was a typical masculine object. The costly oil they contained was used as perfume, for cleaning the body after exercise, in the prothesis, or as a sexual lubricant (Neer 2013: 105).

Table 11. Number of graves containing the aryballos, 599-500 BC.

599 – 500 BC		
	Aryballos	
Age group 1	2 of 20	(10.00 %)
Age group 2	6 of 14	(42.86 %)
Age group 3	0 of 4	(00.00 %)
Age group 4	3 of 47	(06.38 %)

The aryballos is quite evidently connected with age group 2, but not in such an obvious way as the pyxis is in age group 1 (see table 11 compared to table 9). This, I would argue, is because the pyxis alone represent the infant, while the combination of the pyxis with other objects indicate a social identity not connected to age. There is, however, no combinations among age group 2 that as obvious indicated social identity not connected with age. The skyphos+oinochoe combination do not seem to have the same symbolic masculine character for the age groups 2, 3 and 4, as it did for age group 1. Instead the combination acts, for these age groups, as the standard grave gifts. For further discussion, see below under *Age group 3: Older children* and *Age group 4: Adults.*

The six age group 2 burials containing the aryballos all had five or more objects (Graves 142, 159, 163, 172, 180 and 182). The two age group 4 burials (Graves 147, 156 and 157) all also had five or more objects. The aryballos was never found alone, or in ´poor´ graves, perhaps not being seen as a necessity in burial tradition, but rather as a luxury item.

Both age group 1 and 2 contained only pottery of Corinthian production from 700-500 BC. There is also one more object that appears to be related to both age group 1 and 2; miniature vases (see table 12).

Table 12. Number of graves containing miniature vases, 599-500 BC.

599-500 BC		
	Miniature vases	
Age group 1	7 of 20	(35.00 %)
Age group 2	5 of 14	(35.71 %)
Age group 3	0 of 4	(00.00 %)
Age group 4	3 of 47	(06.38 %)

Miniature vases, together with seashells and figurines, are usually found in high numbers of child burials throughout the Archaic and Classical Greece (Pilz 2011: Stroszeck 2012). In The North Cemetery, these objects are quite rare. Only four graves from 700-400 BC had sea shells; three belong to age group 1 (Graves 165, 224 and 291) and one belong to age group 2 (Grave 239). Figurines are only found in grave 420 from 700-400 BC, an age group 3 burial.

So, the typical grave gifts for children in Archaic and Classical Greece on the whole, was not as usual in Corinth.

Table 13. Number of graves containing lekanis, 499-400 BC

499 – 400 BC		
	Lekanis	
Age group 1	5 of 9	(55.55 %)
Age group 2	22 of 32	(68.75 %)
Age group 3	1 of 20	(05.00 %)
Age group 4	8 of 82	(09.76 %)

From 499-400 BC the aryballos disappears completely from the cemetery but seems to be replaced by the lekanis as the defining grave gift for age group 2 (table 13). It was found in 68.75 percent of age group 2 burials but in less than 10 percent of age group 3 and 4 burials.

It was, as mentioned under *Age group 1: Infants*, found in five of the nine age group 1 burials from 499-400 BC, making up 55.55 percent. It is actually the object occurring most frequently in age group 1. It could be argued that age group 1 and 2 were defined by the same grave gifts, and therefore not differentiated in treatment at death. The amount of detectable individuals belonging to age group 1 given a formal burial drops quite drastically in this century, and none of them was given more than three objects (see figure 15 above). While both the number of graves and grave gifts in age group 2 increase quite drastically, as twenty-one out of the thirty-two (65.63 %) age group 2 burials from 499-400 BC with grave goods had five or more objects (figure 15). I would argue that the few infants given a formal burial rather followed the pattern of age group 2, as they lacked their own defining burial rites. The infants are from 499-400 BC not just underrepresented, but also neglected; age group 2 takes the place age group 1 previously had.

Age group 3: Older children

From 700-600 BC, I could only find one empty age group 3 burial. It might either be because this age group was buried somewhere else or in a fashion not detectable for us archaeologically. It could be that some of the age group 4 burials, in fact, belonged to age group 3, and that the size of the grave was not distinguishable between these two age group from 700-600 BC.

From 599-500 BC I was able to identify seven burials as belonging to age group 3, four of which contained grave gifts. None of them had more than three objects (see figure 15). Even though we have such a low number of these burials, and the few given grave gifts were given so few, they still tell us quite a lot. First of all, none contained a pyxis nor an aryballos (see

table 9 and 11). Three of the four age group 3 burials with grave goods were given pottery of Attic production.

This age group is more alike age group 4, then it is alike age group 1 and 2. These individuals, between the proximate age of three to ten years, are treated in the same fashion as adults in mortuary practices. One burial, in particular, shows this wish to give an impression of ´adulthood´ in age group 3 (Grave 201). This burial contained two *kylikes* of Attic production and one iron pin. It is the only burial in the cemetery containing only Attic production with more than one vessel. No age group 1 or 2 burials were found with the *kylix*, while two of the four age group 3 burials were. The *kylix* if often found alone, as one single offering in age group 4 burials (see table 15 below). The excavators´ states that the *kylix* was strictly found in adult burials (Blegen et al. 1964:79). Two of the age group 3 burials (Grave 201 and 246) were, hence, thought to belong to adults. As the sarcophagi of grave 201 measure 131 cm, and the skeleton only had a slight bend in the knees, the individual must have been shorter or not much taller than 150 cm, and hence included in age group 3 (see figure 17). Grave 246 measured 136 cm, and the skeleton lay in an extended position, obviously the skeleton of an older child.

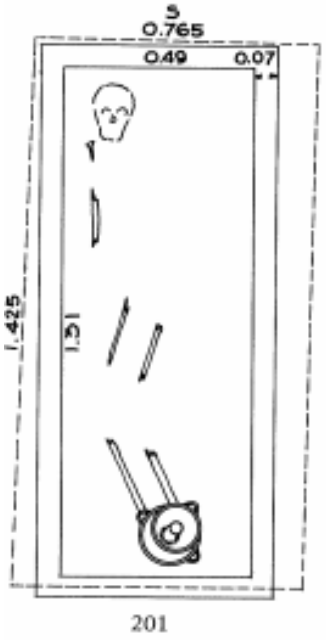


Figure 17. Grave 201 (Blegen et al. 1964: Plate 106).

That the *kylix*, a drinking cup, which can be connected to the *symposium*, represent adulthood from 599-500 BC is, however, probably still accurate. The symbolic value of giving an older child gifts customarily connected to adults seem to lie in the potential capacity of the individual buried. Age group 3 is buried as an adult from 599-500 BC and perhaps remembered by the living as the adult it unfortunately never became.

As discussed above in chapter 4.5., age group 3 burials start showing up in quite a number from 499-400 BC. The introduction of the terracotta roof tiles as cover probably made the graves easier to detect, but it is not just the number of burials that change in this century; fourteen of the twenty (70.00 %) age groups 3 burials found with grave goods were given five or more objects (see figure 15). From 599-500 BC none of the burials were given more than three objects, and suddenly from 499-400 BC, we find an abundance of grave gifts. As I stated above,

the high number of age group 3 burials from 499-400 BC cannot only be explained by the graves becoming easier to detect for the archaeologists. Age group 3 could have been hidden within age group 4 burials from 700-500 BC, and, hence, could have in reality contained more grave gifts than what was detectable. What is then evident is that a change in burial practice for this age group was gradually happening. From 700-600 BC I only found one age group 3 burial, from 599-500 BC I found seven comparatively poor burials. While for 499-400 BC, I found twenty age group 3 burials all containing grave gifts. Undeniably, age group 3 were now at least differentiated from the adults by giving them smaller graves, fitted to the size of the individual buried. So, even if my argument that age group 3 were from 499-400 BC more often buried in the cemetery is not accurate, the Corinthian society has at least started to give more consideration to this age group at death. If the age group 3 are hidden in age group 4 burials, the population did not consider the size of the interment important as a separator for age group 3 and 4 from 700-500 BC. While from 499-400 BC, the size of interment was made to fit the size of its intended. They are from 499-400 BC separated from the adults by giving them smaller sarcophagi or earth-burials.

From 499-400 BC it could be said that age group 3 burials in some way takes the place age group 1 burials had from 599-500 BC; it suddenly is quite well represented in the cemetery, and the age group 1 burials are no longer easily detectable. Interestingly enough, the age group 3 burials still mimic the typical grave gifts found in age group 4 but is now also attested with different objects that from 700-500 BC were considered more suitable for age group 1 and 2. The skyphos+oinochoe together with the *lekythos*, a perfume container often connected with the act of purification, are the most frequent objects in this age group from 499-400 BC, as it was for adults (see table 14, discussed below under *Age group 4: Adults).*

Table 14. Number of graves containing oinochoe, skyphos and lekythos, 499-400 BC.

	499-400 BC					
	Oinochoe		**Skyphos**		**Lekythos**	
Age group 1	0 of 9	(00.00 %)	5 of 9	(55.56 %)	1 of 9	(11.11 %)
Age group 2	22 of 32	(68.75 %)	27 of 32	(84.38 %)	23 of 32	(71.88 %)
Age group 3	15 of 20	(75.00 %)	15 of 20	(75.00 %)	15 of 20	(75.00 %)
Age group 4	78 of 82	(95.12 %)	65 of 82	(79.27 %)	58 of 82	(70.73 %)

Age group 4: Adults

From 700-600 BC I found thirty-five age group 4 burials, where ten contained grave goods (see figure 15). The iron pin is the only object frequently occurring, found in eight of the ten burials (Graves 63, 66, 68, 71, 88, 109, 110 and 113). The only other object found in more than one grave is the aryballos, occurring in two graves (Graves 63 and 65). As mentioned in chapter 4.3., there still seems to have been some sort of pattern in the deposition of grave goods; metal objects and ceramic vessels seem not to be mixed. Out of the eight burials found with iron pins, three contained other objects as well (Graves 63, 109 and 113). But only one of these (Grave 63) contained ceramic vessels. Grave 109 contained three iron pins and one green Faience Scarab, and grave 113 contained one iron pin and one ivory brooch. The two graves not containing any iron pins, contained one single ceramic vessel each; grave 65 with one aryballos and grave 112 with one jug.

As discussed above, all of the pottery from 700-600 BC were of Corinthian production, and the age group 4 burials were poor in number of objects. At least in comparison to the child burials. The iron pin could perhaps be the clue to this puzzle; the clothing of the adult was of higher importance than the objects. Only in one child burial is the iron pin found, age group 1 (Grave 82) and it is found as the only grave gifts. The other three child burials with grave goods had five or more objects.

From 599-500 BC I was able to determine seventy-one burials as belonging to age group 4, forty-seven of these contained grave goods. As mentioned earlier, the age group 4 burials were quite poor in the number of gifts deposited (see figure 15). This could perhaps be explained by the origin of the objects. Twenty-five of the forty-seven (53.19 %) age group 4 burials with grave goods had only Corinthian pottery, where seven of them (28.00 %) were given five or more objects. Fourteen (29.79 %) had both Corinthian and Attic pottery, where six (42.86 %) of them contained five or more objects. Five of the forty-seven (10.64 %) contained only one single Attic vessel. The remaining three burials had only metal objects. As the Attic pottery was imported, and this would no doubt make it more exotic and exclusive than the Corinthian, I would argue that the choice of depositing Attic pottery as grave gifts was a way of showing off wealth and power. Consequently, the burials containing both Corinthian and Attic pottery can be seen as being of a higher class (elite?) than the burials containing only Corinthian pottery. But what about the five burials containing only one Attic vessel? Four (Graves 198, 199, 211 and 244) of them contained one singly kylix, and one (Grave 269) contained a lekythos. All five objects were of excellent quality. From 599-500 BC there seems not to exist

strict social rules as to what was considered as a correct number of gifts deposited for age group 4. The choice of giving one object, imported and of excellent quality, seem in some way to be more important than giving more objects of lesser quality and of local production. The richest burials from this century, both in the number of objects and in the quality of the objects, grave 250, had five Attic vessels, the highest number in the century.

Table 15. Number of objects containing kylix or iron pins, 599-500 BC.

599-500 BC		
	Kylix	**Iron Pin**
Age Group 1	0 of 20 (00.00 %)	0 of 20 (00.00 %)
Age Group 2	0 of 14 (00.00 %)	0 of 14 (00.00 %)
Age Group 3	2 of 4 (50.00 %)	1 of 4 (25.00 %)
Age Group 4	15 of 47 (31.91 %)	21 of 47 (55.68 %)

Age group 4 burials still had a high number of graves containing iron pins from 599-500 BC, not seen in the other age groups. The clothing of the individual buried seem to have been of importance, and this could perhaps explain why adults buried were given fewer objects than children. From 599-500 BC only two burials (Grave 132 and 134) contained only iron pins, the other nineteen burials with iron pins had pottery as well. So, the separation of iron pins and ceramic vessels found in the seventh century BC seem to not continue in the sixth century BC. It still is an object associated with age group 3, as shown in table 15.

From 499-400 BC the social rules as to what was considered appropriate grave gifts for age group 4 changes quite drastically. The iron pin, which was so obviously separating age group 4 from the other age groups from 700-500 BC, has lost is merit (see table 16). Objects associated with clothing can now be found in age groups 2, 3 and 4, and in a higher percentage in age groups 2 and 3, than in age group 4.

Table 16. Number of graves containing pins or strigils, 499-400 BC.

499 – 400 BC				
	Iron Pin	**Bronze Pin**	**Iron Strigil**	**Bronze Strigil**
Age group 1	0 of 9 (00.00 %)	0 of 9 (00.00 %)	0 of 9 (00.00 %)	0 of 9 (00.00 %)
Age group 2	0 of 32 (00.00 %)	1 of 32 (05.00 %)	0 of 32 (00.00 %)	8 of 32 (25.00 %)
Age group 3	0 of 20 (00.00 %)	0 of 20 (00.00 %)	2 of 20 (10.00 %)	5 of 20 (25.00 %)
Age group 4	4 of 82 (04.88 %)	1 of 82 (01.22 %)	3 of 82 (03.66 %)	12 of 82 (14.63 %)

The tradition of items related to clothing being mainly considered appropriate for adults do not continue in the fifth century BC. The skyphos was, as evident from table 14, an essential object for all age groups, while the oinochoe and lekythos became more appropriate as the individual grows older. The combination of skyphos+oinochoe+lekythos becomes the ´standard set´ of grave gifts for age groups 2, 3, and 4 from 499-400 BC, found in 51,49 percent of them. None of the nine age group 1 burials had this combination. I have already established that the lekanis was the determining object for age group 2 from 499-400 BC. Strengthening this assumption is that the lekanis is found in thirteen of the fifteen (86.66 %) age group 2 burials found with the combination skyphos+oinochoe+lekythos. In the previous centuries, I found different combinations and trends in the different age groups, while for the fifth century BC, the main combination is the same, and adding on elements to this combination changed the meaning of them. The other objects deposited together with the combination skyphos+oinochoe+lekythos seems to be picked based on the age of the individual. The younger the diseased was, the more standard the grave gifts were. We have a uniformity in grave gifts for all age groups not found in any previous century. The creation of standardised grave gifts reaches its high point from 499-400 BC, and the ideas around what should accompany the diseased are formed, regardless of age.

Reasoning with this assumption is the occurrence of the *lekythos* in this ´standard set´. The *lekythos*, a special type of perfume container, was often placed around the corpse of the adult, as a means of purification during the prothesis (Houby-Nielsen 2000:154). After the body had been carried to its final resting place, it was usually placed evenly around the corpse, again as a purification device. From 599-500 BC we only have six burials containing the lekythos; one age group 1 burial and five age group 4 burials. From 499-400 BC all age groups are found with the lekythos, and apart from age group 1, they appear in between 70.00 and 75.00 percent of the graves found with grave goods (see table 14 above). The lekythos is apparently an object regarded as a necessary grave gift for age groups 2, 3 and 4 in this century.

As it had a purifying effect, the number of them within one grave could be connected with the pollution the death was conceived to cause. There was only one grave with one lekythos among age group 1, so either the death of an infant did not need as much purification, or the purification was done in a different way (most likely the second explanation, as both childbirth and death was considered to be very polluted, and the death of an infant was connected to both). Interestingly enough, it seems that age group 2 was the one in need of most purification. Among

the twenty-three graves given a lekythos, 78.26 percent were given more than one. In age group 3, it comes to 66.66 percent and 62.07 percent for age group 4.

It might seem puzzling that the uniformity of the grave gifts from 499-400 BC is discussed under age group 4. But, as the ancient Greek world was, regardless how visible the differentiation of burial traditions based on age was, mainly a patriarchal society. The society was built to suit the adult Greek male. The traditions similar for age groups 2, 3 and 4 from 499-400 BC, must have started somewhere, and I would argue that this was with the adult burials. The obvious differentiation or striking similarities was made so to either disassociate or associate the diseased with the adult. As stated in chapter 3.3., it is impossible to understand or identify an object that never before has been seen, if it is not compared to known objects (Smith & Peregrine 2012:4). It can be transferred to the message burial traditions try to tell: the objects and combinations of objects found among child burials would not be acknowledged as specially connected to children if they were not compared to the typical objects or combination of objects found among the adult burials. The uniformity found among the burials from 499-400 BC is an example of how the society is a combination of pre-existing rules and individual actions based on those rules. The standardised traditions of how to give a proper burial found in age group 4, is copied when one is forced to bury children. But, the need to still differentiate the youngest from the oldest, is evident. Age group 1 is not given the same consideration as the other age groups, as none of the burials contained the standardised grave gifts. Age group 2 is given an additional object, making the message clear; the individual is by no means an adult. Age group 3 is not altering the traditions found in age group 4, as they most likely were conceived as a sort of ´mini-adult´, and hence treated in the same way.

Summary of the patterns found in The North Cemetery

From 700-600 BC the lack of grave goods, in both adult and child burials, made it hard to determine any trends. Interesting to note is still the fact that almost none of the adult burials contained any pottery, while the child burials had quite a range of different types of ceramic vessels. There was a difference in the deposition, as children were mainly given pottery, while the adults were given metal objects connected to their clothing.

From 599-500 BC we do have patterns occurring in the different age groups. Age group 1 is customarily given a skyphos+pyxis or a skyphos+pyxis+oinochoe. The enchytrismos burials follow this pattern to a lesser extent than the sarcophagi burials. It can be explained in two ways; the sarcophagi burials were probably more expensive than the enchytrismos burials, so it was richer families that buried their infants in these, also explaining the higher number in grave goods. It can also be explained through the metaphorical meaning connected to the burial form; the infants buried in a sarcophagus is in some way copying the traditions of the adult burials form, it, therefore, becomes more important to point out the differences between an adult and an infant through grave goods. The ´feminine´ and ´masculine´ groups of grave gifts could, as I discussed in chapter 5.2., either be connected with the sex of the infant, the power connected to the masculine gender role, or reflect the gender of the burying group.

Among age group 2, the most occurring combination is the skyphos+oinochoe together with the aryballos. That there is such an evident difference between age group 1 and 2 from 599-500 BC, I would argue, proves that the small child was viewed in a different way than infants. Age group 3 is perhaps the most interesting age group in this century. Even though it is very underrepresented, it seems to be sending quite a strong message. It is very evidently not associated with age group 1 or 2. As we only have four older child burials containing grave goods, it is not possible to determine any patterns in combinations of grave gifts. But, the objects found connected to age group 1 and 2 are not present in age group 3, and the objects found connected to age group 4 was. Age group 4, the adults, have the combination skyphos+oinochoe, together with iron pins and/or kylix. The iron pin and kylix are not to be found among age group 1 or 2.

From 499-400 BC the so obvious patterns found in age groups 1, 2 and 4 changes. The infant burials are suddenly very underrepresented, the pyxis still occurs, but no longer as consequently. The aryballos disappears entirely, being replaced by the lekanis in the small child burials. The older children still seem to copy adult burials, but contain objects often associated with children as well. Combination of objects deposited together is quite evident in this century. All age groups are also given Corinthian and Attic pottery from 499-450 BC, but from 449-400 BC the Attic pottery begins to disappear as grave goods. As this is the period of the Peloponnesian war, it is not that surprising. Interestingly enough, the Corinthian pottery-makers start to copy the typical style of the Attic pottery, and the trends in deposition do not change. From 499-450 BC the lekythos was usually imported. From 449-400 BC, it still occurs as frequently but is now customarily made in Corinth. That the burial tradition of including the lekythos most likely had its out spring in Attica and consequently was an adaptation of Attic traditions, seems not to have worried the Corinthian population. The Peloponnesian war halted the import, but not the traditions already established.

The sub groups of children at death in Athens

From 700-400 BC in Athens, definitions of age through mortuary practice became quite distinct and specific. The interment of the three sub-groups infant, small child and older child, clearly separated them from the adults (Houby-Nielsen 2000:153). First of all, as mentioned several times throughout the thesis, children were inhumed rather than cremated, with only a few exceptions (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966: 23/hS 181, 54/hS 170, 79/hS 156, 158/hS 87; *Kerameikos* VII.1 nos. 106, 141). Infants were buried in enchytrismos burials, while the trend of placing the small child in household terracotta basins became extremely common from 500 BC (Houby-Nielsen 2000:153), making the infants and small children easily detectable as their own group in mortuary practice. The older child holds a more indistinct role regarding grave type. Their interment in pits or coffins imitates the rituals of adults. But, they are still distinguishable, as they usually were inhumed rather than cremated, and as their graves were fitted for a small body (Houby-Nielsen 2000:153).

The grave goods accompanying the different age groups in Athens were quite stable, and Houby-Nielsen (2000:154) argues that the concepts regarding the needs of children at death and burial characteristics stayed more or less unchanged over a period of 700 years. Throughout 700-400 BC the infant was provided with vases for food, the small and older child with toys, and the older child with items to its unattainable adult gender (Houby-Nielsen 2000:155).

The sub groups of the child at death in Corinth

First of all, we do not have the same differentiation of interment, separating the children from adults in Corinth. All ages were customarily given a sarcophagi burial, and the only way to identify them as being children based on interment was by the size of the grave. It does not, however, mean that the Corinthian population did not differentiate between adults and children. The grave goods accompanying the diseased are separating the age groups to a much higher degree in Corinth than what is found in Athens. Interestingly enough the objects accompanying the different age groups change character over time, indicating that the Corinthian population´s attitude towards burial traditions for the different age groups changed several times from 700-400 BC.

From 700-400 BC we do not have any obvious sub-divisions of children, and the accompanying grave goods do not differ from that found among adults in such a high degree as it does for the later centuries. Before 700 BC we only have a handful of child burials in The North Cemetery, making it likely that burying children somewhere else or differently than adults were normal. I believe that the increase in child burials from 700-600 BC is an indication of a change in mortuary practices; a standardisation of how and where the Corinthian population should be buried was formed. In the Geometric period (ca. 900-700 BC) 68.63 percent of the burials in The North Cemetery were earth burials, while 23.53 were sarcophagi burials. From 700-600 BC, suddenly 93.94 percent were sarcophagi burials, dominating in all age groups as the main burial form. The sarcophagi seem to have been the acceptable way of interment, and this change came quite abruptly. If the interment was the main way of differentiating age before 700 BC in Corinth, as it was in Athens throughout 700-400 BC, the Corinthian population needed to find new ways of differentiating age, which by 600 BC were established.

The infant can be identified from 599-500 BC by the pyxis and by only being given locally produced pottery. The small child by the aryballos, again just given locally produced pottery. The older child is not possible to determine as its own age group based on grave goods, as they unmistakably were treated as adults in mortuary practice. Houby-Nielsen found the same pattern in Athens, but perhaps not to such a degree as in Corinth.

The imported Attic pottery is introduced as grave gifts in the first half of the sixth century BC and continues to be a standard part of the grave gifts until the fourth quarter of the fifth century

BC. In the sixth century BC, only age group 3 and 4 are given Attic pottery, while in the fifth century BC, it no longer seems to be restricted to only individuals viewed as adults. Among the nine age group 1 burials, one is found with an Attic lekythos. Unfortunately, this grave was not possible to date more accurately than as belonging to the fifth century BC. Among age group 2, sixteen burials were found with Attic pottery. The imported pottery could be argued as losing the exclusivity it ones had in the sixth century BC and became readily available for everyone in the fifth century BC.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The results found in this thesis, are no doubt debatable. Trying to answer questions regarding emotional response to death through the remaining burial evidence, can in itself be criticised. However, as my aim, in no way, was to find the individual emotional response, but the societies´ changing attitude towards child mortality over time, I believe the results found in The North Cemetery still tell a story.

First of all, we do in fact find the same age groups of childhood among the burial evidence from Corinth as Houby-Nielsen found in Athens. But they are expressed differently. The main difference in treatment of adults versus children in Athens was the interment. In Corinth, inhumation in sarcophagi burials was the main form for all age groups. Another critical factor Houby-Nielsen found was that the will to give more objects as the child grew older was very evident throughout 700-400 BC in Athens. In Corinth, however, this is only the case from 499-400 BC, from 700-500 BC, age groups 1 and 2 were usually given more objects than age groups 3 and 4.

For Athens, a more or less stable reaction to child mortality seems to have dominated from 700-400 BC. As the results from this thesis makes clear, the same can not be said for Corinth. The need to express reactions to death for the different age groups vary over time. From 700-500 BC, it seems to have been more critical to emphasise the death of age groups 1 and 2, than the death of age group 3. From 499-400 BC, this changes, and the death of age groups 2 and 3 seems to be more important to emphasise than the death of age group 1. Age group 3 could, of course, have been buried at the same rate from 700-500 BC as was found for 499-400 BC, but was ´hidden´ in age group 4. The steady decrease in age group 1 from 550-400 BC could also be explained by it being ´hidden´ in age group 2; perhaps bigger sarcophagi became normal for small children. Either way, the patterns in mortuary practice, and the attitudes towards child mortality is changing through time.

I would argue that age group 2, small children, were the age group given most attention throughout 700-400 BC. It is also the age group most stable in both numbers of graves, number of gifts deposited, and in patterns found among the gifts deposited. Interestingly we have a shift in which age groups were given most attention among children from 599-400 BC. From 599-

500 BC age group 1 was given the most attention, while from 499-400 BC age group 1 suddenly seems to be of less importance, and age group 3 starts to become very important. As we have an introduction of a more varied interment from 499-400 BC, while the infants buried within the cemetery follow a strict pattern, it could be that age group 1 was from 499-400 BC buried outside of the cemetery.

The tradition of separating children from adults is not as apparent in Corinth as in Athens. I was not able to securely determine if the child-burial-clusters were in fact just that, or if they were a part of bigger clusters including adults.

The social attitudes towards childhood in Corinth seem to have been quite similar to that in Athens. At least if we base it on mortuary practice. Even though the burials of children in Corinth seem, at first glance, to be more alike those of adults, it became quite evident that different traditions were attested to age. I found both objects and object groups directly connected to the different age groups, making it evident that the Corinthian population differentiated children of different ages. There is, therefore, no doubt that concepts of sub-groups within children existed in the Greek society. I would argue that there existed a ´childhood´ or an awareness of the stages the child was in among age groups 1 and 2, while age group 3 was considered, at least at death, to have reached ´adulthood´. Age group 1 and 2 are clearly separated from age groups 3 and 4, but also separated from one another in terms of grave gifts. The only aspect separating age group 3 from age group 4 was the size of the grave.

References sited

Aries, Philippe

1962 Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family life. Jonathan Cape, London.

Baxter, Jane Eva

2005a The Archaeology of Childhood. Children, Gender and Material Culture. Altamira Press, Oxford.

2005b Making Space for Children in Archaeological Interpretations. In *Children in Action: Perspectives on the Archaeology of Childhood.* Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropology Association 15.1.

Beaumont, Lesley A.

2013 Shifting Gender: Age and Social Status as Modifiers of Childhood Gender in Ancient Athens. In Grubbs, Judith E. & Parkin, Tim (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Bennike, Pia

1985 Paleopathology of Danish Skeletons. A Comparative Study of Demography, Disease and Injury. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen.

Binford, Lewis R.

1971 Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential. In *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology.* No. 25, Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices. Society for American Archaeology.

Blegen, Carl W.; Palmer, Hazel & Young, Rodney S.

1964 The North Cemetery. In Shoe, Lucy (ed.) *Corinth. Vol. 13.* The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens.

duBois, P.

1988 Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Broadman, John

2001 The History of Greek vases. Potters, Painters and Pictures. Thames & Hudson Ltd, London

Bogin, Barry

1997 Evolutionary Hypotheses for human childhood. In *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology Vol. 104, issue Supplement S25.*

Chamberlain, Andrew T.

1997 Missing Stages of Life: Towards the Perception of Children in Archaeology. In Moore and Scott (eds.) *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology.* Leicester University Press, London.

Clement, A.; Hillson, S., & Mickalaki-Kollia, M.

2009 The Ancient cemeteries of Astypalaia, Greece. *Archaeological International, Vol. 12.* Ubiquity Press.

Cox, M.

2000 Ageing adults from Skeletons. In Cox, M. & Mays, S. (eds.) *Human Osteology in Archaeological and Forensic Science.* Greenwich Medical Media, London.

Crawford, Sally & Lewis, Carenza
2008 Childhood Studies and the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past. *Childhood in the Past.* 1:1, 5-16.
Demand, Nancy
1994 Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece. The John Hopkins University Press Ltd., London.
Dixon, Suzanne
1992 The Roman Family. John Hopkins University Press, London.
Donald, Engels
1980 The Problem of Female Infanticide in the Greco-Roman World. *CP.* 75.
Fazekas, I. G. & Kósa, F
1978 Forensic Fetal Osteology, Akadémai Kidó, Budapest
Garland, Robert
1985 The Greek Way of Death. Duchworth & Co, Ltd, London.
Van Gennep, Arnold
1909 Les rites de passage. Mounton and Co et Maison des Sciences de l´homme, Paris
1960 The Rites of Passage. Vizedom, Monika B. & Caffee, Garbrielle L. (trans.). Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
Giddens, Anthony
1984 The Constitution of Society. University of California Press, California.
Golden, Mark
1981 The Exposure of Girls at Athens. *Pheonix* 35.
1988 Did the Ancient Care When Their Children Died? In *Greece & Rome* 35.2.
1993 Children and childhood in Classical Athens. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
Grubbs, Judith Evans & Parkin, Tim (eds.)
2013 The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Halcrow, Sian & Tyles, Nancy
2008 The Biological Investigation of Childhood and Social Age: Problems and Prospects. In *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, vol. 15. No. 2.* Springer.
Hertz, Robert
1960 Death and the Right Hand. Rodney and Claudia Needham (trans.). Routledge, London.
Hillson, Simon
2002 Investigating Ancient Cemeteries on the Island of Astypalaia, Greece. In *Archaeological International* 5:29-31.
2009 The Worlds Largest Infant Cemetery and Its Potential for Studying Growth and Development. In *Hespedia Supplement, Vol. 43.*
Hope, Valerie M.
2010 "The End is to the Beginning as the Beginning is to the End". Birth, Death, and the Classical Body. In Garrison, Daniel H (ed.) *A Cultural History of the Human Body in Antiquity.* Berg, Oxford.
Houby-Nielsen, Sanne

1995 “Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos. In Dietz, Søren (ed.) *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens, I.* The Danish Institute at Athens, Athens.
2000 Child Burials in Ancient Athens. In Sofaer Derevenski (ed.) *Children and Material Culture.* Routledge, London.

James, A., & Prout, A.
1990 Time and transition in the study of childhood. In James, A, and Prout, A (eds.) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood,* The Falmer Press, London.

Kamp, Kathryn A.
2001 Where Have All the Children Gone? The Archaeology of Childhood. In *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8.1:1-29.

Kamp, Kathryn A; Timberman, Nicole; Lind, Gregg; Greybill, Jules & Natowsky, Ian
1999 Discovering Childhood: Using Fingerprints to Find Children in the Archaeological Record. In *American Antiquity* 64.2.

Knigge, U.
1976 Kerameikos IX. Südhügel. Kerameikos. Ergebnise der Ausgrbugen. Bd. IX, Berlin.

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

Kurtz, Donna C. & Broadman, John
1971 Greek Burial Customs. H. H. Scullan (ed.). The Camelot Press Ltd, London.

Lagia, Anna
2007 Notions of Childhood in the Classical Polis: Evidence from the Bioarchaeological Record. *Hespedia Supplements, Vol. 41, Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy.*

Lillehammer, Grete
1989 A Child is Born: The Child´s World in an Archaeological Perspective. In *Norwegian Archaeological Review 22.2.*
2000 The World of Children. In Sofear Derevenski (ed.) *Children and Material Culture.* Routledge, London.

Liston, M. A. & Rotroff S. L.
2013 Babies in the Well: Archaeological Evidence for Newborn Disposal in Hellenistic Greece. In Grubbs, J. E.; Parkin, T. & Bell, R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Education in the Classical World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Lynnerup, N.; Solheim, T.; Boldsen, J. & Alexandersen, V.
2008 Alders- og Konsvurdering. Ingren, E.; Bennike, P. & Lynnerup, N. (eds.) *Biologisk antropologisk med human osteologi.* Gyldendal.

MacKinnon
2007 Osteological Research in Classical Archaeology. In *American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 111, No. 3*. Archaeological Institute of America.

Moore, Robin
1986 Childhood´s Domain: Play and Place in Child Development. N.H. Croon Helm, Dover.

Morris, Ian
1987 Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
1992 Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Morris, Ian & Powell, Barry
2014 The Greeks. History, Culture, and Society. Second Edition. Pearson Education Limited, Essex.
Neer, Richard T.
2013 Art & archaeology of the Greek world. A new history; c. 2500-c.150 BCE. Thames and Hudson Ltd, London.
Parkin, Tim
2013 The Demography of Infancy and Early Childhood in the Ancient World. In Grubbs, Judith Evans (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Patterson, Cynthia
1985 "Not Worth the Rearing": The cause of infant exposure in ancient Greece. In *Transactions of the American Philological Association 115*.
Peck, D.
1976 Ancient Corinth. (001-001, 001). Hill House drawer 01, Monument: Ancient Corinth. From http://corinth.ascsa.net/id/corinth/drawing/001%20001&q=&t=drawing&v=table&p=1&s=6&sort=&size=full.
Persson, E. & Persson, O.
1981 Medeltidsfolket från kvarteret Repslagaren. In Mårtensson, A. W. (ed.) *Stefan I Lund. Et monument ur tiden* 151-169, Lund.
Pilz, Oliver
2011 The use of small things and the semiotics of Greek miniature objects. In *Pallas, No. 86, The Gods of Small Things.* Presses Universitaires du Midi.
Polignac, Francois de
1995 Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Pomeroy, Sarah
1983 Infanticide in Hellenistic Greece. In Cameron, A. & Kuhrt, A. (eds.) *Images of Women in Antiquity,* London.
Ravnå, Per-Bjarne
2012 Gresk og romers politisk historie. 3. Opplag. Cappelen akademiske forlag, Oslo.
Robinson, David M; Albright, Frank P & Angel, John L.
1942 Excavations at Olynthus, Part XI Necrolynthia. A study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore.
Robinson, E. W.
2004 Ancient Greek Democracy. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
Schlörb-Vierneisel, B.

1966 Eridamos – Nekropole I. Gräber und Opferstellen hS 1-204, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung: Beiheft

Sheuer, L. J & Black, S.

2004 The Juvenile Skeleton. Elsevier Academic Press, London.

Shepherd, Gillian

2007 Poor little rich kids? Status and selection in Archaic Western Greece. In Crawford, S. & Shepherd, G. (eds.) *Children, Childhood and Society. IAA Interdisciplinary Series Vol. 1: Studies in Archaeology, History, Literature and Art* (BAR International Series 1696). Archaeopress, Oxford.

2013 Ancient Identities: Age, Gender, and Ethnicity in Ancient Greek Burials. In Stutz, Liv Nilsson & Tarlow, Sarah (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Skinner, Marilyn B.

2010 Sex. In Garrison, Daniel H. (ed.) *A cultural history of the human body in Antiquity.* Berg, Oxford.

Smith, M. E. & Peregrine, P.

2012 Approaches to Comparative Analysis in Archaeology. In Michael E. Smith (ed.) *the Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Sofaer Derevenski, Joanna

1994 Where are the Children? Accessing Children in the Past. In *Archaeological Review from Cambridge 13.2.*

1997 Engendering Children: Engendering Archaeology. In Moore and Scott (eds.) *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology.* Leicester University Press, London.

2000 Material Culture Shock. Confronting Expectations in the Material Culture of Children. In Sofaer Derevenski (ed.) *Children and Material Culture.* Routledge, London.

Stroszeck, Jutta

2012 Grave Gifts in Child Burials in the Athenian Kerameikos: The Evidence of Sea Shells. In Tzéziny, H. (ed.) *L´enfant et la mort dans l´antiquité III. Le Matériel associé aux tombes d´enfants.* Publications du Centre Camille Jullian, Paris.

Thompson, E. P.

1977 ´Happy Families´. In *New Society, Vol. 41.: 499-501.*

Vlachou, Vicky

2012 Death and burial in the Greek world; Greek funerary rituals in their archaeological context. In *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*. Getty Publications, California.

Weiss, Kenneth M, & Wobst, Martin H.

1973 Demographic Models for Anthropology. New York: Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. No. 27.

Primary sources

Pliny the Elder

1967 *Natural History*. Chapter 7. M. A. H. Racham (trans.). London

Plutarch.

1914 *Lycurgus*. Chapter 16. Bernadotte Perrin (trans.). Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

1916 *Plutarch´s Lives*. Bernadotte Perrin (trans.). Harvard University Press, London.

Sophocles

1939 *Antigone*. Dudley Fitts & Robert Fitsgerald (trans.). Harcourt Brace and Company, California.

Wed resources

Babycenter.com

2016 Your child´s size and growth timeline. Last updated October 2016. Retrieved 23.02.2018 from https://www.babycenter.com/0_your-childs-size-and-growth-timeline_10357633.bc

Helsenett.no

2008, 25th of June. Graviditet/fødsel: Kontroll: ett år. Retrieved 4th of May 2017 from https://www.helsenett.no/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1437:kontroll-ett-ar&catrid=198:pa-helsestasjonen&Itemid=516

Killgrove, Kristina

Archaeologists to Study Shackled Skeletons from Ancient Greece to Understand Rise of Athens. *Forbes*. Retrieved 11th of February 2018 from https://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/2016/03/24/archaeologists-to-study-shackled-skeletons-from-ancient-greece-to-understand-rise-of-athens/#439cc7bb7cbb.

Appendices

I have based all dates on the dates given in the publication. All graves included are firmly dated within the timeframe set for this thesis, 700-400 BC, of else is not stated. All descriptions of graves can be found in Corinth Vol. 13, The North Cemetery (Blegen et al. 1964). Appendix 1 includes only graves containing grave goods, while Appendix 2 includes all graves found empty or not possible to determine as belonging to an age group.

Appendix 1

700-600 BC – Age group 1				
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Grave goods**	**Date**	**Page**
70	Enchytrismos –Amphora (T2566)	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 small krater (T2569), 1 kalathos (T2570), 1 small kotyle (T2571), 2 small kylikes (T2567, T2568)	Second quarter	54
82	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** Iron implement too corroded for identification	Seventh century	57

700-600 BC – Age group 2				
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Grave goods**	**Date**	**Page**
78	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 5 aryballoi (T1466, T1468, T1467, T1471, T1469), 1 alabastron (T1470)	Third quarter	56
129	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze ring (T2550) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2546), 1 aryballos (T2547), 2 alabastra (T2549, T2548)	End of century	170-171

700-600 BC – Age group 4				
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Grave goods**	**Date**	**Page**
63	Sarcophagus	**Metal: 1** iron pin (T2596) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 amphora (T2594) 1 aryballos (T2595)	Mid Protocorinthian	52-53
65	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 aryballos (T2658)	Mid Protocorinthian	53
66	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin, too corroded for inventory	Seventh century	53
68	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T1579, T1580)	Seventh century	54
71	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin, too corroded for inventory	Seventh century	55
87	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 kotyle (T1090) 1 cup (T1092) 2 oinochoai (T1094, T1091) 1 jug (T1093)	Late Protocorinthian	58
88	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins, too corroded for inventory	Seventh century	58
109	Sarcophagus	**Stone:** green faience Scarab (T1866) **Metal:** 3 iron pins, too corroded for inventory	Seventh century	61
110	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 shapeless iron pins	Seventh century	61
112	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 jug (T1868)	Seventh century	62
113	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 ivory brooch (T2394), 1 iron pin too corroded for inventory	Mid of century	62

599-500 BC – Age group 1

Grave no.	Burial type	Grave goods	Date	Page
128	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 bronze rings (T1495, T1496), 2 bronze disks (T1493, T1494) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1501) 1 kalathos (T1490) 2 pyxides (T1492, T1491)	Early Corinthian	169-170
135	Enchytrismos – Krater (T1472)	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1473) 1 hydria (T1474)	About 600 BC or shortly after	172
143	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 one-handled cup (T3086) 1 oinochoe (T3087)	Mid Corinthian	175
152	Enchytrismos	**Organic material:** wood fragment **Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1882)	Sixth century	177
153	Enchytrismos – Krater (T2889)	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T2890)	First quarter	177-178
154	Enchytrismos – Amphora (T2783)	**Metal:** 1 fibula (T3594) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2786), 1 pyxis (T2785), 1 kalathos-pyxis (T2784)	Mid Corinthian	178
165	Sarcophagus	1 sea shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 spindlewhorl (T3097), 1 miniature skyphos (T3120), 1 pyxis (T3096)	Late first or second quarter	188-189
168	Enchytrismos	**Corinthian pottery:** 4 skyphoi (T1552, T1553, T1554, T1551) 1 miniature oinochoe (T1550), 1 oinochoe (T1555), 1 aryballos (T1556) 2 pyxides (T1557, T1559), 1 bowl (T1558)	Mid Corinthian	189-190
169	Enchytrismos	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1546), 1 oinochoe (T1547)	Mid Corinthian	190
170	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1534), 2 oinochoai (T1537, T1538), 1 aryballos (T1539), 1 pyxis (T1536), 1 pyxis-kalathos (T1535)	Mid Corinthian	190
181	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1548, T1549)	Mid of century	194
186	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T3050), 1 phiale (T3048), 2 pyxides (T3046, T3047), 1 kalathos (T3049)	Mid Corinthian	195-196
188	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3042), 2 miniature skyphoi (T3041, T3044), 1 oinochoe (T3040), 1 amphoriskos (T3045), 1 pyxis (T3043)	Second quarter	196
194	Enchytrismos	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1452), 1 miniature olpe (T1451), 1 pyxis (T1450)	Second quarter	198
195	Enchytrismos	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 Bowl (T1656)	Second quarter	198
224	Sarcophagus	1 mussel shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T3054, T3052), 1 oinochoe (T3051), 1 pyxis (T3055), 1 miniature pyxis (T3053)	Mid of century	204-205
225	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T1864)	Late second or early third quarter	205
231	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1783), 1 oinochoe (T1782)	Third quarter	206
253	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2902), 1 oinochoe (T2900), 1 pyxis (T2899), 1 bowl (T2901)	Fourth quarter	212
258	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1136), 1 oinochoe (T1134), 1 lekythos (T1135), 1 pyxis (T1138), 1 lekanis (T1137)	End of century	214

599-500 BC – Age group 2

Grave no.	Burial type	Grave goods	Date	Page
142	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T3083, T3085), 1 oinochoe (T3082), 1 aryballos (T3084), 1 lekanis (T3081)	Mid Corinthian	174
159	Sarcophagus	1 glass bead (T3234) **Metal:** 1 unidentified silver objects (G2358), 1 bronze eyelet (T3235), 1 fibula (T3233) **Corinthian pottery:** 1	First quarter	185-186

		skyphos (T3238) 2 oinochoai (T3236, T3239), 1 bottle (T3240), 2 aryballoi (T3230, T3232), 1 kotyle-pyxis (T3231), 2 pyxides (T3241, T3237)		
163	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T3070, T3075), 2 oinochoai (T3074, T3076), 1 aryballos (T3071), 3 alabastra (T3073, T3077, T3072)	Second quarter	187-188
172	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze mesomphalic phiale (T1733) **Corinthian pottery:** 4 skyphoi (T1734, T1736, T1737, T1742), 2 miniature skyphoi (T1747, T1870), 1 phiale (T1741), 1 oinochoe (T1738), 4 aryballoi (T1731, T1732, T1746, T1740), 1 alabastron (T1748)	First quarter	190-191
174	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2956, T2959), 2 oinochoai (T2957, T2958)	Mid Corinthian	192
180	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1560, T1565), 1 miniature skyphos (T1564), 1 oinochoe (T1563), 1 aryballos (T1561)	Second quarter	194
182	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T2629, T2630, T2632), 1 oinochoe (T2627), 2 aryballoi (T2631, T2626), 1 pyxis (T2628)	Late first of early second quarter	194-195
187	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T3037), 1 phiale (T3038), 1 oinochoe (T3036), 1 Olpe (T3039)	Second quarter	196
208	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2826)	Third quarter	200
228	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1778)	Second quarter	206
235	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis cover (T1856)	Third quarter	207
239	Sarcophagus	1 sea shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1872), 1 pyxis (T1371)	Third quarter	208
247	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3098), 1 miniature oinochoe (T3099)	Second half of century	209-210
248	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1453)	Late third or fourth quarter	210

599-500 BC – Age group 3

Grave no.	Burial type	Grave goods	Date	Page
201	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T2942) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T2940, T2941)	Second quarter or mid century	199
226	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1497)	Second quarter	205
237	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1661) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1660)	Second quarter	207
246	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1726) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1727)	Third quarter	209

599-500 BC – Age group 4

Grave no.	Burial type	Grave goods	Date	Page
130	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T2978) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2977), 1 oinochoe (T2976)	Mid century	171
131	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2972), 1 oinochoe (T2971)	Middle Corinthian	171
132	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T2979)	Early sixth century	171-172
134	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T3000)	Sixth century	172
141	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 4 iron pins (T3173) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3177), 2 oinochoai (T3174, T3175), 1 amphora (T3171), 2 pyxides (T3172, T3176)	Middle Corinthian	173-174
147	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 4 skyphoi (T2929, T2925, T2924, T2912), 3 oinochoai (T2936, T2926, T2921), 11 aryballoi (T2937, T2928, T2931, T2922, T2935, T2918, T2920, T2923, T2917, T2938, T2927)	Late Middle Corinthian	175-176
148	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 kylix (T1489) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1488)	About 585-575 BC	176-177

155	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze phiale (T1524), 2 iron pins (T1530, T1531), **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1527, T1528), 3 oinochoai (T1529, T1518, T1516), 1 oinochoe lid (T1517), 1 pyxis (T1519) **Attic Pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1525, T1526)	Full Middle Corinthian	178-180
156	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T1718, T1725) **Corinthian Pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1722, T1723), 1 kylix (T1720), 3 oinochoai (T1716, T1724, T1715), 1 aryballos (T1717), 2 pyxides (T1721, T1719)	Full Middle Corinthian	180-181
157	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 bowls (T1593, T1597) 1 skyphos (T1509), 1 kalathos (T1515), 1 kylix (T1589), 2 phialai (T1598, T1578), 2 oinochoai (T1510, T1590), 2 bottles (T1582, T1512), 3 aryballoi (T1592, T1584, T1585) 8 pyxides (T1513, T1587, T1596, T1599, T1580, T1511, T1586, T1588, T1592), 1 kotyle-pyxis (T1583) 1 pyxis lid (T1514), 1 vase (T1595)	580-570 BC	181-185
160	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** unidentified bronze object (T3204), 2 iron pins (T3205) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T3200, T3198) 1 miniature skyphos (T3201), 3 oinochoai (T3196, T3197, T3199), 1 hydria (T3202), 1 bowl (T3203)	Middle of first quarter	186-187
161	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T3138) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3089), 1 oinochoe (T3088)	Late first or early second quarter	187
162	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze ring (T2625), 2 iron pins (T2622) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2624) 2 oinochoai (T2621, T2623).	Early second quarter	187
164	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T3180) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3179), 1 oinochoe (T3178).	Second quarter	188
171	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2615) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2619)	Second quarter	190
173	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1521), 1 oinochoe (T1523), 1 pyxis (T1522) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1520)	Early second quarter	191-192
189	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 olpe (T2960)	First quarter	196-197
190	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 4 iron pins (T2975) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2974), 1 oinochoe (T2973)	Second quarter	197
191	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T1761) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1485), 1 oinochoe (T1486)	Second quarter	197
192	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T1458) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1465), 1 oinochoe (T1487)	Second quarter	197-198
193	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1659)	Second quarter	198
198	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1710)	Mid of century	198-199
199	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1714)	Second quarter	199
200	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2951) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T2950)	Second quarter	199
202	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2955) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T2953, T2954)	Late second quarter to mid century	199-200
203	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T2997) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2995), 1 oinochoe (T2996)	Mid century	199-200
206	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron spearhead (T2813) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2812)	Second quarter	200
211	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1816)	Second quarter	201
212	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 4 iron pins (T1769) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1767), 1 oinochoe (T1766) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1768)	Mid century	201
213	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron ring (T1839), 6 iron pins (T1840) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1837) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1836), 1 kylix (T1838)	Mid century	201-202
218	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1730), 1 oinochoe (T1728), 1 bowl (T1729)	Mid century	202-203

219	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1476), 1 lekythos (T1479) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (t1477), 1 lekythos (T1478)	Late second quarter	203
220	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1482), 2 lekythoi (T1483, T1484) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T1481, T1480)	Mid century	203-204
221	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T3092, T3091), 1 oinochoe (T3090)	Mid or third quarter century	204
222	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 kylix (T3093)	Mid century	204
227	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** iron instrument of weapon (T1498)	Early sixth century	205-206
238	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1294), 1 oinochoe (T1293)	Third quarter	207-208
240	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T3106) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3104), 1 oinochoe (T3105)	Middle or third quarter	208
244	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T2593)	Third quarter	209
249	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T1709) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1708), 1 miniature skyphos (T1708) 1 oinochoe (T1706)	Late third, early fourth quarter	210
250	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 gold ring (T2837), 1 gold pendant (T2844), 2 silver spiral hair coils or earring (T2841, T2842), 2 bronze clasps for necklace (T2840, T2839), 1 iron pin (T2843), glass beads (T2838) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphos (T2833, T2830), 1 oinochoe (T2832), 1 chytra (T2836) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T2827, T2828), 3 lekythoi (T2831, T2835, T2829)	Late third or early fourth quarter	210-211
251	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1272) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1273)	Fourth quarter	211-212
252	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron pin (T3103) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3101), 1 oinochoe (T3100) 1 lekanis (T3102)	Fourth quarter	212
254	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1541) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1540)	Fourth quarter	212-213
255	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1771), 1 oinochoe (T1770)	Late sixth century	213
257	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 silver ring (T1462), 1 bronze bead or pendant (T1464), 1 iron fibula (T1461), 1 iron pin (T1463) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1455), 1 oinochoe (T1454), 1 miniature olpe (T1460) 1 pattern lekanis (T1456) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T1459, T1457)	Late sixth century	214
269	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1634)	Mid century	218

499-400 BC – Age group 1

Grave no.	Interment	Grave goods	Date	Page
266	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1676) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1677)	Fifth century	217
288	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1678), 1 pyxis (T1679)	First half of century	225-226
289	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1786), 1 lekanis (T1785)	First quarter	226
290	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T1784)	Fifth century	226
291	Sarcophagus	1 sea shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1638), 1 lekanis (T1637)	First half of century	226
293	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T1820)	Second quarter	227
332	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 lekanides (T1330, T1331)	Mid century	240
380	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 lekanis (T687)	Third quarter	258
393	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1350), 1 lekanis (T1349)	Late third, early fourth quarter	261

499-400 BC – Age group 2

Grave no.	Interment	Grave goods	Date	Page

271	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T1673) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T1670, T1671), 1 lekythos (T1672)	About 490-480 BC	218-219
281	Sarcophagus	1 Egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1233), 1 miniature skyphos (T1234), 1 oinochoe (T1236), 1 lekythos (T1243), 1 lekanis (T1239) **Attic pottery:** 2 cup-skyphoi (T1232, T1235), 2 skyphoi (T1237, T1238), 3 lekythoi (T1240, T1241, T1242)	About 480-470 BC	223-224
282	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1246), 1 lekanis (T1248) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1245), 2 lekythoi (T1244, T1247)	About 480-470 BC	224
284	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1668), 1 oinochoe (T1669), 1 lekanis (T1667) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1666)	About 480-470 BC	224-225
285	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1674, T1675)	First half of century	225
286	Sarcophagus	1 mussel shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1788), 1 pyxis (T1787)	First quarter	225
287	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1757, T1760), 1 oinochoe (T1758), 1 kalathos (T1759)	First quarter	225
292	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 pyxis (T1772)	Early fifth century	226-227
298	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1825), 1 oinochoe (T1824), 1 lekanis (T1823) **Attic pottery:** 3 lekythoi (T1822, T2826, T2821)	About 480-470 BC	229
299	Sarcophagus	2 egg shells **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1846), 1 lekanis (T1845) **Attic pottery:** 4 skyphoi (T1847, T1850, T1799, T1800), 6 lekythoi (T1854, T1849, T1852, T1853, T1848, T1851)	About 475-465 BC	229-230
320	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T609), 1 oinochoe (T608), 1 lekanis (T604) **Attic pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T606, T605, T607) 2 lekythoi (T610, T611)	Second quarter	235
322	Sarcophagus	2 egg shells **Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T1708, T1705), 1 bronze strigil-cleaner **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1700) **Attic pottery:** 4 kylikes (T1699, T1705, T1701, T1702,), 1 lekythoi (T1704)	About 460-450 BC	236
327	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2013), 1 oinochoe (T3014), 1 lekanis (T3012) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T3011)	About 460-450 BC	238
329	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 bronze earring(s) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1612) **Attic Pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T1606, T1605, T1611), 1 kylix (T1608), 1 oinochoe (T1607), 3 lekythoi (T1609, T1610, T1613)	About 460-450 BC	239
333	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian Pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2984), 1 oinochoe (T2982), 1 lekythos (T2989), 1 pyxis (T2980), 1 lekanis (T2992) **Attic Pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T2983, T2991, T2985), 1 cup-skyphos (T2981), 1 kylix (T2994), 5 lekythoi (T2993, T2987, T2986, T2988, T2990)	About 455-445 BC	241
334	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1806, T1809), 1 cup-skyphos (T1812), 1 oinochoe (T1801), 1 pyxis (T1804), 1 lekanis (T1803) **Attic pottery:** 3 kylikes (T1808, T1811, T1815), 6 lekythoi (T1802, T1813, T1805, T1814, G1810, 1807)	About 455-445 BC	241-242
336	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 3 oinochoai (T1683, T1691, T1690), 2 skyphoi (T1663, T1692), 1 lekanis (T1682), 1 baby-feeder (T1662) **Attic Pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1680), 4 lekythoi (T1681, T1686, T1685, T1684)	Mid century. Shortly after	242-243
338	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1425), 1 oincohoe (T1426), 1 pyxis (T1427), 1 lekains (T1423) **Attic pottery:** 1 kalathos (T1424), 2 lekythoi (T1421, T1422)	Mid century	244
339	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2168), 1 lekanis (T2166) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T2167), 2 lekythoi (T2170, T2169)	Mid century	244
342	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T594) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T590), 1 miniature lekythos (T586) **Attic pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T593, T587, T589), 5 lekythoi (T585, T595, T591, T592, T588)	Mid century	245
344	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T1650) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1641), 1 one-handled cup (T1647), 1 oinochoe (T1645), 1	Mid century	246

		lekanis (T1643), 1 bowl (T1640) **Attic pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1639, T1644), 2 kylikes (T1648, T1646), 3 lekythoi (T1649, T1642, T1651)		
346	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 lekanis (T803), 1 bowl (T812) **Attic pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T805, T811, T804), 5 lekythoi (T808, T810, T809, T806, T807)	Mid century	247
349	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T822) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T823), 1 oinochoe (T821), 1 lekains (T820)	Middle or early third quarter	248
386	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 2 strigil (T786, T787) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T784), 2 lekythoi (T785, T783), 1 lekanis (T782)	Late third, early fourth quarter	259
389	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature skyphos (T1312), 1 lekanis (T1311)	Middle of second half of fifth century	260
390	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1313), 1 miniature lekythos (T1314), 1 lekanis (T1315)	Second half of fifth century	260
392	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze pin **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1341), 1 oinochoe (T1342), 2 lekythoi (T1339, T1340), 2 lekanides (T1344, T1343)	Late third, early fourth quarter	261
401	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T2949), 1 bronze button (T2946) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2945, T2943), 2 lekythoi (T2947, T2948), 1 lekanis (T2944)	Early fourth quarter	263-264
405	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T1114), **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1112, T1116), 1 lekythos (T1113), 1 lekanis (T1115), 1 oinochoe (T1109), 1 miniature lekythos (T1110)	Beginning of fourth quarter	265
408	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T766, T767), 1 oinochoe (T770), 1 miniature lekythos (T768), 1 lekanis (T769)	Fourth quarter	266
412	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 3 bronze strigil (T1198, T1202, T1207) **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T1197, T1204, T1203), 2 bolsal (T1199, T1201), 1 oinochoe (T1196), 4 lekythoi (T1194, T1200, T1205, T1195), 1 lekanis (T1206)	Fourth quarter	267-268
425	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1418), 1 oinochoe (T1419), 1 lekythos (T1420)	Fourth quarter	273

499-400 BC – Age group 3

Grave no.	Interment	Grave goods	Date	Page
262	Sarcophagus	small fragments of decayed cloth and leather **Metal:** 1 bronze helmet (T3164), 1 bronze lebes (T3156), 3 bronze eyelet (T3166), 1 iron strigil (T3159) **Corinthian pottery**: 1 oinochoe (T3165) **Attic pottery:** 2 cup-skyphoi (T3158, T3160), 2 kylikes (T3162, T3157), 2 lekythoi (t3163, T3161)	Early fifth century	215
273	Earth-burial	**Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1099)	Late first quarter	220
309	Sarcophagus	1 skyphos (T1064)	Mid century	233-234
330	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2175, T2179), 1 kantharos (T2176) **Attic Pottery:** 1 kylix (T2173) 4 lekythoi (T2174, T2177, T2178, T2171)	About 460-450 BC	239-240
341	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 5 skyphoi (T630, T631, T633, T634, T635), 1 oinochoe (T637) **Attic pottery:** 3 lekythoi (T636, T629, T632)	Mid century	245
347	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T574) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T575, T576), 1 kekythos (T577)	Mid century	247
358	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2288, T2290), 1 kylix (T2285, 1 oinochoe (T2387) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T2289, T2286)	Middle or early third quarter	251
362	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze instrument **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1433), 1 oinochoe (T1434), 1 bowl (T1436) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1436)	Third quarter	252
364	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 pair of bronze earrings (T1398), 1 pair of bronze pendants (T1399), fragment of bronze jewellery (T1397) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1393), 1 oinochoe (T1391) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1396), 3 lekythoi (T1392, T1394, T1395)	Third quarter	253

367	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T720, T721), 1 iron strigil (T731) **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T723, T724, T725), 1 oinochoe (T726), 5 lekythoi (T729, T718, T719, T722, T727, T728)	Third to fourth quarter	254-255
370	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T647) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T642), 1 one-handled cup (T644), 1 oinochoe (T643), 1 lekythos (T645)	Third quarter	255-256
374	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1442)	Third quarter	256-257
379	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2278, T2272), 1 oinochoe (T2280), 3 lekythoi (T2282, T2281, T2277)	Third quarter	257-258
395	Sarcophagus	2 egg shells **Metal:** 1 pair of bronze earrings (T2887) **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T2882, T2885, T2881), 1 oinochoe (T2878), 4 lekythoi (T2883, T2884, T2877, T2880), 1 amphoriskos (T22996), 1 miniature bowl (T2879)	Late third, early fourth quarter	262
400	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2310), 1 oinochoe (T2311), 3 lekythoi (T2308, T2307, T2309)	Early fourth quarter	263
406	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 lekanis (T1100), 1 miniature bowl (T1101)	Late fifth century	265
411	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T1187, T1180) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1180, T1186), 1 oinochoe (T1181), 3 lekythoi (T1184, T1185, T1182)	Fourth quarter	267
415	Sarcophagus	5 egg shells **Metal:** 10 bronze strigils (T664, T665, T663, T667, T668, T669, T672, T673, T674, T675) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T659, T666), 2 oinochoai (T660, T661), 3 lekythoi (T662, T658, T670), 1 bowl (T671)	Fourth quarter	268-269
420	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 coin **Terracotta:** 2 figurines (T2367, T2366) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2364), 1 oinochoe (T2365), 1 lamp (T2365)	Late fifth century	271-272
424	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T1277, T1274) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1276), 1 askos (T1275)	Early fourth quarter	273

499-400 BC – Age group 4

Grave no.	Interment	Grave goods	Date	Page
259	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1270) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1271), 1 cup-skyphos (T1268), 1 kylix (T1269)	Early fifth century	214
260	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1532) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1533)	Early fifth century	214-215
261	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2863), 1 oinochoe (T2862)	Early fifth century	215
263	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1842), 1 miniature skyphos (T1841), 1 oinochoe (T1843) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1844)	Second decade of century	216
264	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze and iron pin (T1819) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1817), 1 oinochoe (T1818)	Early fifth century	216-217
265	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1665), 1 oinochoe (T1664)	Early fifth century	217
267	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1323) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1324), 1 lekythos (T1325)	Middle of first quarter	217-218
268	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3135), 1 oinochoe (T3137) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T3136), 1 lekythos (T3133)	About 490-480 BC	218
272	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 mirror (T1032) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1076) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T1075, T1080), 6 lekythoi (T1077, T1074, T1081, T1084, T1078, T1083)	About 490-480 BC	219-220
275	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1216), 1 oinochoe (T1215), 1 lekythos (T1221) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1218), 1 kylix (1217), 3 lekythoi (T1222, T1219, T1220)	About 485-475 BC	221

277	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron strigil (T1322) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1320), 1 oinochoe (T1318), 2 lekythoi (T1317, T1321) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1319), 1 lekythos (T1316)	About 480-480 BC	222
278	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron brooch (T3017), 4 pins (T3018) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3016), 1 oinochoe (T3015)	First quarter	222
279	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1581)	Early fifth century	222
280	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1072), 1 oinochoe (T1071) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T1070, T1073)	About 485-475 BC	222-223
283	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T1774, 1 bronze object (T1775) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1773), 1 lekanis (1777) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1776)	About 480-470 BC	224
294	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 one-handled cup (T3025) **Attic pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T3021), 3 lekythoi (T3023, T3022, T3024)	About 480-470 BC	227
295	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2848), 1 one-handled cup (T2859), 1 oinochoe (T2845) **Attic pottery:** 3 cup-skyphoi (T2851, T2854, T2849), 3 kylikes (T2852, T2853, T2858), 6 lekythoi (T2846, T2857, T2855, T2856, T2847, T2850)	About 480-470 BC	227-228
296	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1713), 1 oinochoe (T1712)	Late first quarter	228
297	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 one-handled cup (T2808), 1 oinochoe (T2805), 1 lekythos (T2804) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T2809, T2803), 2 lekythoi (T2807, T2806)	About 475-465 BC	228-229
300	Sarcophagus	**Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3007), 1 cup-skyphos (T3010), 3 kylikes (T3008, T3009, T3005), 1 oinochoe (T3002), 3 lekythoi (T3003, T3006, T3004)	About 470-460 BC	230-231
302	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1694) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1695), 1 kylix (T1697), 2 lekythoi (T1698, T1696)	About 470-460 BC	231
304	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1657) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1658)	Second quarter	232
305	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1173), 1 oinochoe (T1170) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1171), 1 lekythos (T1172)	About 475-465 BC	232
306	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze button **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1253) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1255), 2 lekythoi (T1256, T1254)	About 465-455 BC	232-233
307	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1264) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1267), 3 lekythoi (T1263, T1265,T1266)	About 465-455 BC	232-233
308	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1258) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T1260, T1262), 2 lekythoi (T1261, T1259)	About 465-455 BC	233
321	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 3 one-handled cups (T568, T569, T572), 1 oinochoe (T573) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T571), 1 lekythos (T570)	About 465-455 BC	235-236
323	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 bronze pins (T1572, T1573) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1568) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T1566, T1567), 3 lekythoi (T1570, T1569, T1571)	About 460-450 BC	236-237
324	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T813) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T815, T816), 1 lekythos (T814)	About 460-450 BC	237
325	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T758) **Attic pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T763, T765), 1 cup-skyphos (T764), 1 kylix (T762), 3 lekythoi (T759, T760, T761)	About 460-450 BC	237-238
326	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 coin (G12) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T565) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T564), 2 kylikes (T562, T563), 2 lekythoi (T566, T561)	About 460-450 BC	238
328	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1603), 1 oinochoe (T1601) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T1602), 1 lekythos (T1604)	Mid century	238-239
331	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze fragment (T619) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 oinochoai (T618, T617), 1 lamp (T613) **Attic pottery:** 1 kylix (T612), 3 lekythoi (T616, T614, T615)	About 460-450 BC	240
335	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1126), 1 oinochoe (T1125) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1127)	Late second quarter	242

337	Sarcophagus	4-5 egg shells, 1 small branch of tree (T698) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T688), 1 oinochoe (T692) **Attic pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T691, T689), 2 kylikes (T693, T699), 4 lekythoi (T695, T697, T694, T696)	Mid century	243-244
340	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2799), 1 oinochoe (T2802) **Attic pottery:** 2 kylikes (T2798, T2301), 2 lekythoi (T2797, T2800)	Mid century	244-245
343	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 one-handled cup (T1168), 1 oinochoe (T1166) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1169), 1 lekythos (T1167)	Mid century	245-246
345	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T705), 1 oinochoe (T704) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T706)	Mid century	246-247
350	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2810), 1 oinochoe (T2811)	Third quarter	248
351	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T652, T658) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T650), 1 oinochoe (T651)	Early third quarter	248
352	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T578), 1 oinochoe (T579)	Early third quarter	248-249
353	Sarcophagus	Several pastilles of Psimythion **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T716, T711, T712) 1 oinochoe (710), 1 lekanis (T713), 1 lamp (T717) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T715, T714)	Mid-fifth century	249
354	Sarcophagus	1 carbonized wood fragment **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T817), 1 oinochoe (T819) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T818)	Middle to third quarter	249
355	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T678, T684), 2 oinochoai (T677, T676) **Attic pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T679, T680), 3 lekythoi (T682, T683, T631)	Early third quarter	249-250
356	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T790, T788) 1 oinochoe (T789) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T791)	Third quarter	250
357	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T777) **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T771, T776, T778), 1 oinochoe (T780), 1 miniature lekythos (T775), 3 kalathoi (T772, T773, T774) **Attic pottery:** 1 miniature bowl (T779)	Third quarter	250-251
359	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T646) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T639), 1 oinochoe (T638), 1 miniature lekythos (T641) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T640)	Early third quarter	251
361	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2241, T2244), 1 one-handled cup (T2240), 1 oinochoe (T2242) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T2243)	Third quarter	251-252
363	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1387, T1385), 2 oinochoai (T1386, T1390) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T1388, T1389)	Third quarter	252-253
365	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T622), 1 oinochoe (T621), 1 lekythos (T623), 2 miniature lekythoi (T624, T625) **Attic pottery:** 1 bowl	Third to fourth quarter	253-254
366	Sarcophagus	2 egg shells **Metal:** 5 bronze strigils (T1409, T1410, T1411, T1412, T1408), 1 iron spearhead (T1407), 1 iron object (T1413) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1402, T1405), 2 oinochoai (T1406, T1501), 1 miniature lekythos (T1400), 2 lekythoi (T1404, T1493)	Late third quarter	254
369	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T1576) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1577), 1 oinochoe (T1547), 1 lekythos (T1575)	Third quarter	255
371	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1085, T1086) 1 oinochoe (T1087), 1 lekythos (T1088)	Third quarter	256
372	Earth-burial	1 egg shell **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1348), 1 oinochoe (T1346), 1 miniature lekythos (T1347), 1 lekythos (T1345)	Late fifth century	256
373	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1444), 1 oinochoe (T1443), 1 miniature lekythos (T1445), 1 miniature bowl (T1446)	Third quarter	256
378	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T975), 1 one-handled cup (T801), 1 oinochoe (T801), 1 miniature lekythos (T797), 1 lekythos (T796), 1 bowl (T802), 2 miniature bowls (T798, T800)	Third quarter	257
381	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1370) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T1369)	Third quarter	258
384	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T746), 1 oinochoe (T748), 1 lamp (T747)	Third quarter	258-259
385	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2214), 1 oinochoe (T2216), 1 lamp (T2215)	Third to fourth quarter	259

387	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 miniature lekythos (T1793), 1 lekythos (T794)	Late third quarter	259
388	Earth-burial	2 egg shells **Metal:** 1 iron pin (T2873) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2867, T2864), 2 oinochoai (T2686, T2869), 2 miniature lekythoi (T2872, T2875), 3 lekythoi (T2874, T2876, T2866), 2 bowls (T2870, T2871), 1 lamp (T2865)	Late third quarter	259-260
391	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron nails(?) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1416), 1 oinochoe (T1417), 1 miniature lekythos (T1414), 1 lekythos (T1415)	Late third, early fourth quarter	260-261
396	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3027), 1 oinochoe (T3031), 3 lekythoi (T3026, T3029, T3028), 1 miniature bowl (T3030)	Late third, early fourth quarter	262
397	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T2399, T2400) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2398), 1 oinochoe (T2396), 1 lekythos (T2397)	Late third, early fourth quarter	262-263
399	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2910), 1 oinochoe (T2908), 1 lekythos (T2911) **Attic pottery:** 1 bowl (T2909)	Late third, early fourth quarter	263
402	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2824) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T2825)	Late fifth century	264
403	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T1118) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1121, T1122), 1 one-handled miniature cup (T1123), 1 oinochoe (T1117), 2 lekythoi (T1119, T1124)	Early fourth quarter	264
404	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 1 iron strigil (T1108) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 lekanis (T1102), 3 lekythoi (T1107, T1104, T1103) **Attic pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1105), 1 lekythos (T1106)	Early fourth quarter	264-265
407	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell **Metal:** 1 coin (G394), 4 bronze strigils (T1148, T1149, T1150, T1151) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T1154, T1155), 2 oinochoai (T1153, T1147), 1 lekythos (T1156), 1 lekanis (T1152)	Early fourth quarter	265-266
409	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 coin (G600), 3 bronze strigils (T1351, T1358, T1356) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1354), 1 one-handled cup (T1355), 1 oinochoe (T1353), 3 lekythoi (T1360, T1364, T1359), 1 lamp (T1352) **Attic pottery:** 1 bowl (T1357)	Early fourth quarter	266-267
410	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron strigil (T558) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T557), 1 oinochoe (T556)	Fourth quarter	267
416	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2192), 11 lekythoi (T2195, T2191, T2196, T2188, T2193, T2189, T2190, T2194, T2197, T2198, T2199)	Fourth quarter	269-270
417	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3035), 1 oinochoe (T3032), 2 lekythoi (T3033, T3034)	Fourth quarter	270
418	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2416), 1 oinochoe (T2417), 1 miniature lekythos (T2426), 8 lekythoi (T2424, T2421, T2425, T2418, T2419, T2423, T2420, T2422), 1 lekanis (T2414), 1 miniature crater (T2427)	Late fifth century	270
419	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 coin (G1438), 1 iron spearhead (T2390) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2382, T2389), 1 oinochoe (T2379), 9 lekythoi (T2383, T2377, T2386, T2381, T2378, T2387, T2385, T2384, T2376), 2 lamps (T2380, T2388)	Late fifth century	270-271
421	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1361), 1 oinochoe (T1362) **Attic pottery:** 1 amphoriskos (T1363)	Late fifth century	272
422	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T737, T742), 1 oinochoe (T743), 1 miniature lekythos (T745), 6 lekythoi (740, T733, T734, T739, T741, T738), 1 miniature bowl (T744), 1 lamp (T736)	End of fifth century	272-273
423	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T2217, T2218) **Corinthian pottery:** 2 skyphoi (T2219, T2223), 1 oinochoe (T2224), 2 lekythoi (T2220, T2221), 1 miniature lekanis (T2222), 1 lamp (T2225)	Fourth quarter	273
426	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 coin (G2267), 3 iron pins (T3155) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3149), 1 one-handled cup (T3154), 1 miniature lekythos (T3148) 11 lekythoi (T3141, T3146, T3143, T3145, T3153, T3140,	Middle of last quarter	274

		T3144, T3139, T3142, T3151, T3150) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T3147, T3152)		
427	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell, a number of small cubes of Psimyhion **Metal:** 1 coin (G2230), 1 pair of earrings (T3119) **Corinthian pottery:** 3 skyphoi (T3112, T3114, T3118), 1 one-handled cup (T3113), 1 oinochoe (T3107), 4 lekythoi (T3109, T3110, T3111, T3108), 2 miniature lekanis (T3116, T3115), 1 lamp (T3117)	Late fifth century	275
428	Sarcophagus	1 egg shell, 2 pieces of charcoal **Metal:** 2 bronze strigils (T3194, T3195) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T3191), 1 oinochoe (T3193), 1 lekanis (T3192)	Late fifth century	275-276
430	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1290), 1 oinochoe (T1288), 6 lekythoi (T1286, T1292, T1235, T1287, T1291, T1284), 1 miniature bowl (T1289)	Fourth quarter	276

Appendix 2

Age group 1											
700-600 BC				**599-500 BC**				**499-400 BC**			
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**
69	Enchytrismos	First half	54	139	Enchytrismos	6th cent.	173	303	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	231
76	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	140	Enchytrismos	6th cent.	173				
77	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	176	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	192				
98	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60	177	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	192				
103	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60	196	Enchytrismos	mid 6th cent.	198				
104	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60	197	Enchytrismos	6th cent.	198				
106	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	61	210	Sarcophagus	First half	201				
118	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	63	230	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	206				
120	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	63	232	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	206				
121	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	63	236	Enchytrismos	6th cent.	207				
125	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	64								

Age group 2											
700-600 BC				**599-500 BC**				**499-400 BC**			
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**
75	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	175	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	192	312	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	234
94	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59	178	Sarcophagus	6h cent.	194	375	Earth-burial	5th cent.	257
96	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59	229	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	206	376	Earth-burial	5th cent.	257
97	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59-60	256	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	213	377	Earth-burial	5th cent.	257
99	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60								
100	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60								
105	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60-61								
111	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	61-62								
124	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	64								
126	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	64								
127	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	64								

Age group 3							
700-600 BC				**599-500 BC**			
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**
117	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	63	149	Sarcophagus	Early 6th cent.	177
				209	Sarcophagus	mid 6th cent.	201

234	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	207

Age group 4											
700-600 BC				599-500 BC				499-400 BC			
Grave no.	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**	**Grave no.**	**Interment**	**Date**	**Page**
64	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	53	133	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	172	311	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	234
67	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	53-54	136	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	172	313	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	234
72	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	137	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	173	314	Sarcophagus	Early 5th cent.	234
73	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	138	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	173	315	Sarcophagus	First half	234
74	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	55	144	Sarcophagus	Early 6th cent.	175	316	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	234-235
79	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	56-57	145	Sarcophagus	First half	175	318	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	235
80	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57	146	Sarcophagus	First half	175	319	Sarcophagus	5th cent.	235
81	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57	150	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	177				
83	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57	151	Sarcophagus	Early 6th cent.	177				
84	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57	158	Sarcophagus	Early 6th cent.	185				
85	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57	166	Sarcophagus	mid 6th cent.	189				
86	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	57-58	183	Sarcophagus	First half	195				
89	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	58	184	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	195				
92	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59	207	Sarcophagus	Mid 6th cent.	200				
93	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59	214	Sarcophagus	mid 6th cent.	202				
95	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	59	215	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	202				
101	Earth-burial	7th cent.	60	217	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	202				
102	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	60	223	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	204				
107	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	61	241	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	208				
108	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	61	243	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	209				
114	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	62	245	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	209				
115	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	62	270	Sarcophagus	6th cent.	218				
116	Sarcophagus	7th cent.	62								
119	Earth-burial	7th cent.	63								

Undecided burials – 700-400 BC				
Grave no	**Interment**	**Grave goods**	**Date**	**Page**
90	Sarcophagus	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2670)	7th century	58-59
91	Sarcophagus		7th century	59
122	Sarcophagus		7th century	63
123	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 1 iron nail, shapeless from corrosion	7th century	63
167	Sarcophagus		6th century	189
179	Sarcophagus		6th century	194
185	Sarcophagus		6th century	195
204	Sarcophagus		6th century	200
205	Sarcophagus		6th century	200
216	Sarcophagus		6th century	202
274	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 2 bronze pins (T3255) **Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2915), 1 oinochoe (T2914), 1 miniature bowl (T2913) **Attic pottery:** 1 cup-skyphos (T2916), 1 lekythos (T2912)	About 485-475 BC	220-221

276	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2212), 1 oinochoe (T2211) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T2213)	About 485-475 BC	221
301	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1438), 1 one-handled cup (T1441), 1 oinochoe (T1440) **Attic pottery:** 1 lekythos (T1439)	About 470-460 BC	231
310	Sarcophagus		5th century	234
317	Sarcophagus	**Metal:** 2 iron pins (T3001)	Early 5th century	235
348	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1751), 1 one-handled cup (T1750), 1 oinochoe (T1752)	Third quarter of 5th century	247-248
360	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T1618), 1 miniature bowl (T1617) **Attic pottery:** 2 lekythoi (T1615, T1616), 1 skyphos (T1619)	Middle to third quarter of 5th century	251
368	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T560), 1 miniature lekythos (T559)	Third or fourth quarter of 5th century	255
382	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2253), 1 oinochoe (T2254)	Third quarter of 5th century	258
383	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T1278), 2 oinochoai (T1279, T1280)	Third quarter of 5th century	258
394	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 2 lekanides (T598, T599)	Early fourth quarter of 5th century	261
398	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2480)	Second half of 5th century	263
413	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 oinochoe (T2471), 2 lekythoi (T2472, T2473)	Fourth quarter of 5th century	268
414	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2251), 1 lekythos (T2252)	Fourth quarter of 5th century	268
436	Earth-burial	**Corinthian pottery:** 1 skyphos (T2269)	Second half of 5th century	277
438	Earth-burial	**Metal:** 1 bronze strigil (T597)	Third quarter of 5th century	278