Senior Independent Study Theses

2018

Zero to Hero: Elite Burials and Hero Cults in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus

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Recommended Citation

Zero to Hero: Elite Burials and Hero Cults in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment of the

Requirements of Independent Study

in Archaeology and Classical Studies at

The College of Wooster

Archaeology 451-452

Classical Studies 451-452

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and Dr. Josephine Shaya

March 12, 2018

Abstract

Adulation of heroes, including the flawed, militaristic, authoritative men of Homeric epic, was an important feature of ancient Hellenic culture. This phenomenon is reflected in cults and shrines built in the Archaic period. How did these so-called "hero cults" form, and can Early Iron Age (EIA) elite burials form a connection between the tomb cults of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and the hero cults of the Archaic and later Classical periods? The purpose of this study is to examine EIA burials whose elite goods and archaeologically visible tombs reflect the burial of a "heroic" person. In doing so, I draw connections between the elaborate LBA burials and the less ornate EIA interments of Greece and Cyprus that contain references to the LBA past. To examine this phenomenon, I consult theories of state formation, the cyclical nature of changing levels of social complexity, and cultural memory. In order to draw connections between Archaic hero cults and earlier EIA tombs, the study examines burials at the following sites in Greece and Cyprus: Athens, Lefkandi, Pylos, Nichoria, Portes, Grotta, Paroikia, Knossos, Vrokastro, Kavousi, Mochlos, Kourion, Amathus, and Salamis. Additionally, Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* provide documentary evidence to accompany the archaeological material.

Acknowledgements

I would foremost like to thank my wonderful advisors, Professors Kardulias and Shaya, who worked tirelessly with me throughout this year-long process in order to help me complete the most grueling project I have ever undertaken. I additionally would like to thank Professor Kardulias for being the best mentor I could have possibly asked for these last four years. I also want to acknowledge the hard work and dedication of my fellow archaeology majors—we really have kept each other sane throughout this entire process. I would also like to thank JAFB Brewery in Wooster, OH for providing me not only with some delicious brews, but also an excellent environment for me to work on my networking skills. Lastly, I must give a special thanks to all my family and friends who supported me throughout the year, especially my parents and my incredible partner. Thank you to everyone who believed I could write this no matter how many times I said I could not.

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List of Abbreviations

BA	Bronze Age
EBA	Early Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
EH	Early Helladic
MH	Middle Helladic
LH	Late Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
MM	Middle Minoan
LM	Late Minoan
EC	Early Cypriot
MC	Middle Cypriot
LC	Late Cypriot
EPG	Early Proto-geometric
PG	Proto-geometric
G	Geometric
MG	Middle Geometric
LG	Late Geometric
EO	Early Orientalizing
O	Orientalizing

Chapter One

Introduction

The Early Iron Age (EIA) in Greece was characterized by a dispersed and depleted

population recovering from the collapse of the palatial systems at the end of the Late Bronze Age

(LBA). Writing was lost, trade routes were disrupted, there was a mass migration of peoples, and

a strong degree of regionalism. However, the EIA is not devoid of social complexity as its

popular name, The Dark Ages, would imply. In fact, the Eastern Mediterranean continued to be

an active place in production and trade even after the broader system collapsed at the end of the

LBA. However, these activities occurred on a much smaller scale with a greater focus on

localized production centers. Funerary contexts offer the best opportunity to gain insight into

EIA communities and their increasing levels of social complexity during this transitional period.

The purpose of the present study is to examine EIA burials whose elite goods and

archaeologically visible tombs reflect the interment of a "heroic" person. In doing so, I draw

connections between the elaborate LBA burials of Greece and Cyprus and the less elaborate EIA

burials containing references to the LBA past. In addition, this study discusses EIA burials that

include metal goods such as weaponry or other prestige items (such as imported goods) in order

to ascertain the mortuary practices that led to the eventual development of hero cults in the

Archaic period. Contemporary primary sources such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* enhance the

understanding of hero cults.

Early in the EIA, evidence exists of burials in Greece and Cyprus that reference the

power and influence of the palatial systems of the LBA past. Many burials in the mountains of

Eastern Crete recall Mycenaean and Minoan burials. These burials, primarily inhumations,

although evidence of cremations does exist, include weaponry and other prestige items made of

bronze, such as fibulae and rings. The tombs themselves vary in style from tholos tombs, to

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chamber tombs, to simple shaft graves. While the tomb styles, especially tholos tombs, recall Mycenaean burials, generally, they are much smaller in size, more poorly constructed, and contain fewer elaborate burial goods than their Mycenaean and Minoan predecessors. Similarly, in the Cyclades, on islands such as Naxos and Paros, we see examples of EIA tombs that are less elaborate than those of the LBA, but still are semi-permanent structures. Additionally, burials that include prestige items made of bronze or even iron (later in the EIA) are also found. On the mainland, we see a similar situation in addition to evidence for the EIA re-use of the LBA palatial centers and their surrounding areas at Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae. In Cyprus, the re-use of LBA tombs occurs at many sites such as Kourion and Kalavasos-Agios Dimitrios, as well as the construction of new tombs of more permanent materials with prestige burial goods at sites like Salamis and Amathus (Keswani 2012: 318).

During the EIA in Greece and Cyprus there was an increase in the number of tombs that contain only one burial, a trend that contrasts sharply with the communal burials that are characteristic prior to the foundation of the Bronze Age palatial centers. In other words, the archaeological record shows burials in the EIA that contain few individuals, many holding only a single individual, in archaeologically conspicuous tombs, with grave goods that are reflective of varying levels of prestige and wealth. As the EIA progresses, there is increasing evidence (although still a relatively small amount) of ritual activities associated with the tombs of these prestigious persons. While these activities, which include making burnt offerings or leaving material offerings near tombs, are not as conspicuous as those associated with the hero cults at the end of the Archaic and later, it is possible to see the beginnings of the later practice of hero cults. Additionally, these burials are indicative of increasing levels of social complexity throughout the EIA, leading eventually to the rise of the polis in the Archaic.

While the heroic burials and cults described in the Homeric epics are not entirely consistent with the evidence presented in the archaeological record, these texts are nevertheless important in gaining insight into how heroic burials and their associated cults functioned and what they looked like at the time these texts were written. From this insight, one can see the relationship between the elaborate LBA burials and associated rituals, the scaled-down EIA burials of regional elites, and the cults to these "heroes of the past" that developed in the Archaic and later. To summarize, this study explores the following questions: What did EIA elite burials look like in Greece and Cyprus? What goods accompanied these burials, how were the tombs constructed, and what, if any, ritual activity accompanied them? What do EIA burials tell us about social complexity in Greece and Cyprus at that time? How do EIA burials act as predecessors to the development of hero cults in the Archaic, and how do they compare to the hero cults and heroic burials mentioned in the texts of Homer? In order to address these queries, I examine burials at the following sites in Greece and Cyprus: Athens, Lefkandi, Nichoria, Portes, Pylos, Grotta (Naxos), Paroikia (Paros), Kavousi, Knossos, Mochlos, Vrokastro, Amathus, Kourion, and Salamis. Additionally, Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* provide documentary evidence to accompany the archaeological material. For the primary sources, I wished to remain as close as possible in date to the archaeological material pertinent to this study. As such, I chose to avoid classical sources and instead opt for Homer, who wrote sometime around the 8th century.

Review of Literature

The complexity of examining the rise of hero cults in Greece and Cyprus merits having an extensive review of literature. For this reason, I have divided the following discussion into five themes: the lasting legacy of hero cults; mortuary practices and cultural memory; tomb cult in Late Bronze Age Greece and Cyprus; mortuary practices and social complexity in Early Iron

Age Greece and Cyprus; and Homer's hero cults. These themes are present throughout the chapters of this study as I discuss each in more detail, with continuous references to the sites selected as the focus of the data chapter.

The Lasting Legacy of Hero Cults

While the present study examines the development of hero cults in EIA Greece and Cyprus, hero cults are far from being merely a matter of ancient history. On the contrary, their importance and relevance have permeated societies around the world and across time through the practice of mortuary rituals associated with the deaths and burials of different nations' heroes. The construction of monumental structures (especially tombs) and associated rituals honoring past heroic figures gained increasing ground in Greece and other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean from the Archaic to the Classical period, and were even more aggrandized during the Hellenistic.

Later, the Romans would adopt heroic figures and cults from the Greeks. Karl Galinksy and Kenneth Lapatin's (2015) edited volume offers an examination of the concept of memory in the Roman Empire. Roman memory (*memoria Romana*), especially following the lead of the Julio-Claudians, was predominantly preserved through the construction of funerary and public monuments; these monuments held political importance, serving as the means for legitimating power and transferring it from one elite to the next (Galinsky and Lapatin 2015: 33-39). Military motifs were commonly included on the tombs and monuments of Roman elites, as well as references to famous Greek myths and heroes. Roman elites, therefore, were instrumental in creating the standards of shared memory for the Roman Empire by incorporating Greek cultural traditions and history into their own. Even Greek heroes and their associated cults found a home in the Roman Empire, as Romans during the Imperial period participated in the ritual worship of

Hellenistic kings such as Alexander the Great (Galinsky and Lapatin 2015: 86). Homeric heroes and deities were particularly utilized by Roman elites to justify their own power by establishing a connection between themselves and the Greek heroic past. Countless emperors (notably Augustus) and generals throughout the Late Republic and the Imperial period visited the alleged site of Troy (Illion) and left tributes at the burial mounds of the Homeric heroes like Hector and Ajax (Galinsky and Lapatin 2015: 137-142).

Due to their close interactions with Greece, the Romans are a rather obvious example of the idea of the hero cult spanning across cultural lines. However, similar ideas of heroic burials and worship can be seen in Scandinavian, particularly Viking, ship burials such as the famous Sutton Hoo site. Hundreds of ship burials have been discovered, containing valuable items of metal, particularly weapons, and other luxury goods made from precious materials. The Vikings believed these items were necessary for burial with the hero himself because they were everything the warrior would need in Valhalla (Cederlund 2011: 8; Christensen 2017: 549-559). The Viking warrior enjoys a modern "cult" following in popular culture and media, leading Cederlund (2011: 11) to refer to the Viking warrior as "the hero of commercialism." The legacy of heroic men and their impressive burials and associated cults is long-lasting; this quality is something also seen with the construction in the 20th century of tombs dedicated to unknown soldiers.

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is not a new concept by any means. Thucydides, in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, gave an account of a similar practice in Athens where an empty coffin was used to ceremoniously represent those Athenian soldiers who went missing during the wars with Sparta (see Inglis 1993: 8). The modern concept of having a permanent monument to honor a country's missing soldiers came about after WWI, with Britain

constructing the first, even referring to the unknown soldier as a "warrior" (Inglis 1993: 15). Other countries quickly followed, and soon, entire cults were developed around these different tombs to unknown soldiers. The "cult" of the Unknown Soldier includes a physical monument: a tomb made of stone, often marble, or some other permanent material, engraved with words that recall the heroic age of Greece. The tombs receive 24/7 protection by elite guards who often are clothed in special uniforms; these guards also watch over the "eternal flame" that many countries include as a way to symbolize the ever-burning strength of the country's military and its tenacity in the face of outside threats. Finally, many of the tombs include a special ceremony called the "changing of the guards," to which tourists flock to watch the minutely timed and practiced marching as the guards switch at precise intervals and with great ceremony (Inglis 1993).

Figure 1. This photo, taken in 1984, shows the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Syntagma Square, Athens (photo from Stathakopoulos 2009: 78).

Thucydides' account has had a direct lasting impact on Greece's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Athens (see Figure 1). The tomb, located in Syntagma Square directly outside the Parliament building, is guarded by presidential guards called the Evzones. Excerpts from Pericles' funeral oration are carved into the monument on either side of the tomb; the tomb also contains a depiction of a fallen hoplite warrior (Inglis 1993: 16-19). These direct references to the heroic past of ancient Greece suggest a tie between the soldiers of modern Greece and the heroic, fallen warriors of past legends and cult (Voutsaki and Cartledge 2017: 169-173). Considering the details above, Inglis (1993: 20) for sound reasons refers to the modern Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as the "Cult of the Unknown Soldier."

It is clear that the idea of heroic burials and their associated cults, including the construction of permanent, built tombs that receive repeated visitation and offerings is an idea that has persisted through time and across cultural lines. Since these ancient hero cults have had such a lasting impact on modern Greece and countless other countries, the examination of their origins is both important and relevant in a modern context. However, it is a daunting task due to the complexity of the subject matter and the ambiguity that plagues the origins of hero cults as one delves further into the past, beyond the Archaic period. Examining mortuary practices, specifically burials, and their relation to cultural memory is a good place to begin this investigation due to the intimate connection between hero cults and the mortuary record.

Mortuary Practices and Cultural Memory

It is important at the outset to provide definitions for concepts central to this thesis, especially since the literature offers varying interpretations. First, I do believe it necessary to separate cult and ritual as two different concepts. Antonaccio's (1994: 391-392) definition of cult as "the burial rites and the ceremonies after it," while appealing for its simplicity, negates

defining cult and ritual separately. For this reason, I agree with Keswani's (2012: 314) definition of ritual as "a religious or solemn ceremony involving a series of actions performed according to a set order." Adding to this (and thus giving it a definition useful for mortuary analysis), I want to clarify that in defining ritual, I include all actions associated with the treatment of the remains of an individual, including both primary interment and secondary reburial (Branigan 1998: 44). This also includes initial sacrifices made during the primary burial. The definition of cult as "a system of religious worship directed towards a particular figure or object" provided by Keswani (2012: 314) is also sound. Bringing this definition specifically into the mortuary sphere, I define cult as any religious or ritual activity that involves the deceased individual after burial or the memory of them. This includes sacrifices or offerings made in honor of the deceased at a place separate from the burial site (such as a shrine) or at the physical burial site of the deceased; I also include tomb re-use as a form of tomb cult because it signifies a deliberate recollection of a previously deceased member of the community through the re-use of the tomb (Keswani 2012:318; Sherratt and Bennet 2017: 80). I do agree with Antonaccio (1995: 6) in separating tomb cult from hero cult; the former involves occasional offerings that are made by a small group of people within the kinship group of the deceased. Hero cult, on the other hand, involves repeated offerings or other rituals made at shrines or other places associated with a particular named deceased heroic figure (Salapata 2014: 3-4). Hero cult involves a wider community of followers than tomb cult—in other words, the deceased hero is transformed through repeated ritual acts into a public cult figure as opposed to belonging to an ancestor cult (Mirto 2012: 119). Ian Morris (see Antonaccio 1995: 8) further divides hero cults into cults of local heroes and cults of Homeric heroes. This is an important distinction to make specifically for the EIA due to the nature of hero cults developing locally first and becoming more widespread later in the EIA.

The ways in which any given society approaches death has a profound influence on how that culture views and utilizes the past. The treatment of the dead reflects a society's view on death and the afterlife, but it also serves an important political purpose for those still living who conduct the burial and associated rites (Antoncaccio 1994, 1995; Ben Shlomo 2012; Branigan 1998; Keswani 2004, 2012; Morris 1992; Sherratt and Bennet 2017). For example, through the construction of and interment in large tombs made from materials with a high degree of permanence (such as stone), the living ancestors of the deceased individual create a physical link to their ancestral past, and thus to the social and economic status and power of the deceased. The physical permanence of the monument is a conspicuous connection to the past (Voutsaki and Cartledge 2017: 2).

Furthermore, both the burial goods and later offerings left at the tomb reflect the status and wealth of the individual buried and link the living to that person's status and wealth (Janes 2013; Smith 2009; Mirto 2012; Morris 1992). Wealthy burial goods, especially metal objects and imported products, can reflect a high-status, wealthy individual (Ben-Shlomo 2012: 204; Dickinson 2006: 181; Keswani 2004: 34-35, 142). Overall, wealthy burials reflect efforts by the living to create a permanent and conspicuous link to the deceased in order to strengthen or further improve their own position in society; this link then enters the collective memory of the living society (Branigan 1998: 41, 116-117; Sherratt and Bennet 2017: 75-76). Elaborate funerary rituals, especially funerary feasting and wealthy sacrifices and offerings, further assert in the collective memory the past position and power of the deceased and the current position and power of the ancestors in the living society (Branigan 1998: 115-123). Additionally, the re-use of items in later burials or rituals physically incorporates an earlier object (an antique, so to

speak) into a new context, giving the individual utilizing the object yet another link to the past (Langdon 2012: 108).

Tomb Cult in Late Bronze Age Greece and Cyprus

This section first establishes a chronology for and a brief overview of the Late Bronze Age. The LBA in Greece and Cyprus, beginning around 1500 BCE, was a time of increasing complexity—populations steadily rose, mortuary practices became more elaborate, and trade networks throughout the eastern Mediterranean were established and/or expanded (Branigan 1998: chapter 3; Keswani 2004: chapter 5). On Crete, palatial centers appeared in the Middle Minoan (MM) period and expanded at the beginning of the Late Minoan (LM) period (the beginning of the LBA, in Crete was ca. 1600—see Table 1) (Hatzaki 2012). Minoan influence spread throughout the Aegean, until eventually their power waned and collapsed due to the rise of mainland palatial centers. As a result, the Minoan palaces on Crete deteriorated throughout the 16th and 15th centuries. This power switch led to the increase in Mycenaean exports as seen in the archaeological record in the Cyclades and Cyprus (Cline 2010: 163-165).

Table 1. Chronology for the Late Bronze Age, adapted from Cline 2010: Table 2.2, Dickinson 2006: Figure 1.1; Mee 2011: Table 1.2.

Mainland	Dates BCE	Cyclades	Dates BCE	Crete	Dates BCE	Cyprus	Dates BCE
LH I	1700/1675-1635/00	LC I	1700/1675-1625/00	LM IA	1700/1675-1625/00	LC IA	1650-1550
				LM IB	1625/00-1470/60	LC IB	1550-1450
LH IIA	1635/00-1480/70	LC II	1625/00-	LM II	1470/60-1420/10	LC IIA	1450-1375
LH IIB	1480/70-1420/10					LC IIB	1375-1300
						LC IIC	1340/15-1200
LH IIIA$_1$	1420/10-1390/70	LC III	1420/1400-	LM IIIA$_1$	1420/10-1390/70	LC IIIA	1200-1100
LH IIIA$_2$	1390/70-1330/15			LM IIIA$_2$	1390/70-1330/15		
LH IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190			LM IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190	LC IIIB	1100-1050
LH IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50			LM IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50		

On mainland Greece, ancestor worship developed around important individuals in palatial systems, particularly the head of a palace center, called the *wanax* in the Linear B tablets. The *wanax* functioned as an influential economic figure and possessed some military and religious power (Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006; Palaima 2004). Cline (2010: 264-265) discusses ways that the archaeological record reflects elite power in the religious sphere. For example, there is evidence of ritual activity (such as secondary burial and funerary offerings) at burial sites of Mycenaean elites in the pre-palatial period. Religious activity was centered at the *megaron* in the palatial center, which also served as the center of the *wanax's* power (Lupack 2014: 166-169). The *wanax* was responsible for hosting and partially funding religious feasts and festivals, as well as being the recipient of offerings, such as oil (Dickinson 2006; Lupack 2014). While the *wanax* himself was not worshipped as a divinity, there is a strong indication that the institution of the *wanax* included the use of ancestor cult worship, in which offerings were made to the *wanax* while living and upon death due to the important position the individual held as head of the palatial center (Cline 2010; Lupack 2014; Wright 2004).

Archaeological evidence supports the idea that BA burials of elite individuals in both Greece and Cyprus were sites of tomb cult (Ainian 2007; Sherrat and Bennet 2017). In Cyprus, *dromoi* offerings and the occasional visitation and maintenance of tombs is evident at some LBA sites (Keswani 2012: 314). Re-use of tombs is also evident throughout the LBA, indicating a conscious decision to reference the power of a lineage or ancestral group through new burials in the tomb of an ancestor (Antonaccio 1995; Branigan 1998; Dickinson 2006; Keswani 2004). Additionally, as mentioned above, the re-use of items from the BA in funerary rituals is also indicative of ancestor worship and tomb cult during the final phases of the LBA (Langdon 2012; Mirto 2012).

The final stages of the Bronze Age in Greece witnessed the end of the mainland palatial systems, an event now referred to as the Bronze Age "collapse," which resulted in the "Dark Age" of Greece. Similar collapses occurred throughout the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 13th century). Much scholarly debate on system collapse and subsequent regeneration has occurred for decades (see Chew 2007; Railey and Reycraft 2008; Schwartz and Nichols 2006; Snodgrass 2006; Tainter 1988). What is generally agreed upon is that systems collapse for a variety of reasons and eventually regenerate in a somewhat predictable way. When a collapse occurs, a society returns to a simpler form in an attempt to find stability, because the more complex a society is, the more unstable it is (Schwartz and Nichols 2006). Over time, due to countless factors, that same society can grow in complexity again. Chew (2007) lists many reasons for the BA collapses, stressing ecological (such as land degradation due to agriculture) and natural causes (primarily climate change) as playing major roles. Blackwell (2010) lists similar causes, criticizing theories that give "barbarian invasions" and internal discord as the sole reasons for the Mycenaean collapse.

During the disintegration of major centers of power in the eastern Mediterranean during the LBA, mortuary rituals and cults became increasingly important to the maintenance of social power and structure. References to the palatial powers of the recent past were important to those living in the turbulent final stages of the LBA (Dickinson 2006; Kramer-Hajos 2016; Langdon 2012; Murphy 2011). Some abandoned palatial centers became locales of religious significance and even of new burials. For example, evidence exists of cult practices at the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns (Branigan 1998). Additionally, large population movements during the LBA led to the construction of conspicuous tombs in new places. Population movements in the LBA and into the EIA created an emphasis on mobility which made it difficult for local elites to

reestablish or establish themselves in these shifting communities. Ties to the past became increasingly important, and the mortuary sphere was vital to the efforts by competing elites to establish dominance (Dickinson 2006: 66).

Mortuary Practices and Social Complexity in EIA Greece and Cyprus

Many indicators of social complexity have been discussed for decades by archaeologists and theorists such as Tainter (1988), Snodgrass (2006), and Renfrew (1984). One of these signs is monumental architecture. In the mortuary sphere, monumental architecture includes the construction of large tombs that were clearly intended to become a permanent part of the local landscape. Additionally, elaborate burials that include wealthy grave goods stand in stark contrast to less-elaborate burials, and are a sign that some members of a community possessed more wealth than others. This indicates some degree of social stratification, which in turn reflects increasing levels of social complexity (Branigan 1998; Dickinson 2006; Keswani 2004, 2012; Morris 1992). Another indicator of increasing social complexity is the enhanced emphasis on and use of religion, which in the mortuary sphere, includes various forms of cults and the enactment of different mortuary rituals (Morris 1992). If all these indicators of rising social complexity are present to varying degrees in the archaeological record throughout Greece and Cyprus in the EIA, then it is not unreasonable to suggest that communities in the EIA were becoming increasingly complex. Furthermore, as social complexity continued to rise in the earlier part of the EIA, communities were making conscious references back to the wealth, power, and prestige of BA societies (Coldstream 2003; Dickinson 2006; Keswani 2012; Mee 2011; Sherratt and Bennet 2017).

Table 2. Chronology for the EIA, adapted from Janes 2013: Table 1; Mee 2011: Table 1.2.

Greece	Dates BCE	Cyprus	Dates BCE
SM/EPG	1050/1025-950	CG I	1100/1050-950
MPG	950-900	CG II	950-850
LPG	900-850	CG III	850-750
EG I-II	850-800	CA I	750-600
MG	800-750	CA II	600-475
LG	750-700		

In the EIA, as newly formed communities recovered from the devastating effects of the palatial collapses, there were local manifestations of mortuary practices that mimicked those of the palatial BA past (Cline 2010; Coldstream 2003; Dickinson 2006; Mee 2011). For example, in Crete, we see the construction of new *tholos* tombs, built as smaller, less elaborate versions of the Mycenaean *tholoi* (Eaby 2007; Murphy 2011). In Cyprus, archaeologists have found evidence for the local production of pottery that stylistically closely resembled Mycenaean pottery. Additionally, at a few sites in EIA Cyprus, there are local tombs that mimic the Mycenaean chamber and *tholos* tombs with *dromoi*. The same continuation of Mycenaean tomb types is seen on the mainland as well (Dickinson 2006: 75). However, we find some instances, most notably the Royal Tombs at Salamis, where these tomb types are elevated to an even higher level of grandeur, with longer and wider *dromoi* filled with offerings and sacrifices of all kinds and massive communal funeral feasting (Keswani 2012). Antonaccio (1995: 199-220) notes the existence of stone platforms constructed near LBA tombs on the mainland and in the Cyclades. These platforms were used as places to make offerings to those buried in the BA tombs; Antonaccio even refers to them as "tomb altars." In summation, in the EIA, burials were attempting to mimic those of the LBA; these elite burials were later treated by people as heroic in nature. Additionally, as in the LBA, evidence supports the existence of tomb cult in the form

of re-use and post-burial offerings, but little evidence has been found for the existence of any true hero cults (Keswani 2012: 323). The connection between particular structures related to ritual and mortuary practices and social complexity is examined further in the theory chapter.

Homer's Hero Cults

When scholarly literature examines hero cults using archaeological and Homeric evidence, it tends to emphasize a link between the formation of hero cults and the spread of Homeric epic late in the EIA. Snodgrass (2006) disagreed with this link that implies that Homer was responsible for the rise of hero cults, and he criticized those who upheld this connection initially proposed by those like Farnell (1921). Snodgrass bases his denouncements on several lines of reasoning. First, that Homer was much more concerned with the heroes while they were still alive, rather than detailing the ways in which the heroes became subjects of cult upon their deaths (see also Nagy 1999 and Salapata 2014). Second, Homer was not concerned much with the process of hero cult or even ancestor worship, and his descriptions rarely go much beyond describing the funerals of heroes. Even when Homer does include scenes of funeral, the rituals seem to directly contradict what the archaeological record shows for the end of the Bronze Age.

The majority of LBA burials in both Greece and Cyprus are inhumations; cremation is present in the archaeological record, but it remains in the minority with a few regional exceptions (Antonaccio 1995; Cline 2010; Dickinson 2006; Janes 2013; Sherratt and Bennet 2017). This contradicts Homer's emphasis on heroic cremation burials—Homer's descriptions, however, were written in the 8th century and are thus anachronistic to the majority of EIA burials. There is also heavy use of multiple burials or long periods of tomb re-use in LBA tombs, even in the tombs of elites, unlike the single burials of elites apparent in Homeric epic. Additionally, LBA elites were typically interred either in built or rock-cut stone chambers tombs or *tholoi*—the

massive tumuli described in the Homeric epics are incredibly rare in the archaeological record. So, while the Homeric epics detail the events in the lives of LBA elites, it is clear that they do not accurately represent the reality of their mortuary practices in the LBA. In other words, Homer describes the mortuary practices of his period and has projected them onto the heroic Bronze Age past. However, following the LBA collapses, the changes in mortuary practices in the EIA meant that they better reflected the descriptions in Homeric epic, but at a much earlier time than the production and circulation of the written epics (Janes 2013; Keswani 2012; Mirto 2012; Salapata 2014).

There is evidence in the archaeological record for burials relatively early in the EIA that provide a better image of the Homeric heroic burial. For example, there is a steadily increasing use of cremation throughout the EIA. Additionally, as the EIA progressed, there was an increasing emphasis on individual burials; this could suggest that there was reduction in, but not the complete removal of, emphasis on kinship relations (Mee 2011: 240). The re-use of BA sites, even tombs, or the physical references to the BA past, does suggest that there was instead an increasing emphasis on connections to a heroic lineage—connections to the heroic BA past. These connections were made by competing elites largely through mortuary display and ritual. The living descendants of the deceased elite used the mortuary sphere to assert their own wealth, prestige, and power in the living society (Branigan 1998; Wees 1992). They constructed monumental tombs nearby or at abandoned BA sites and tombs (or even re-used LBA tombs), and hosted elaborate public funerals with large communal feasts, wealthy sacrifices, and elaborate offerings. The physical references to the BA past, as well as the use of surviving BA mortuary aspects (including feasting, sacrifices, and monumental tombs), demonstrate that elites

in the turbulent EIA were using ancestor cult in order to stake claims to the status of the BA heroes.

It is clear to most scholars now that Homer's ideas about heroes, heroic burials, and hero cults were all informed by these EIA mortuary practices that were already in place and growing in strength throughout Greece and Cyprus long before the epics were written. However, the perspective of Homeric epic is still an important tool for examining the origins of hero cults—if one looks for the details in the epics that we see clearly mirrored in the archeological record. Additionally, Homer potentially lends insight into the lives of these heroic, elite individuals in the EIA (as opposed necessarily to those in the BA) while they were still alive (Antonaccio 1995; Kramer-Hajos 2016; Mirto 2012; Nagy 1999; Snodgrass 2006). This is important because the archaeological record of the EIA lacks key data and our best surviving information is found in the mortuary record. The mortuary record does not offer a true representation of social reality, but it does present an alternative reality that gives us clues into the social structures of the society that produced the mortuary remains (Morris 1992). Similarly, Homer does not offer us a true representation of LBA society; however, he does offer a sort of alternative version of reality that combines the heroic BA past (as preserved in his time by mortuary remains) and the changing norms of the EIA (Mirto 2012).

<div align="center">**Chapter Two**</div>

<div align="center">**Theory**</div>

The application of theory is vital to any archaeological study in order to make sense of the material record, to produce broader statements that can aid in conducting cross-cultural comparisons, and to find general patterns in human behavior. The following chapter discusses some of the theories appropriate to employ when examining the origins of hero cults. I discuss theories of mortuary analysis, cultural memory, and collapse and regeneration. I then propose a general model that is usable in studies, beyond the present one. In the analysis chapter, I apply the model to the three geographic and chronological time periods of concern in this study.

<div align="center">**Mortuary Analysis**</div>

Prior to the rise of processualism in archaeology in the 1960s, the discipline did not recognize mortuary archaeology's power to inform us about much more than the remains themselves. However, with processualism, theorists like Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970) led the way in creating theories of mortuary analysis with a holistic anthropological focus. Others, such as Tainter (1988), Brown (1971), and O'Shea (1984), applied these theories to the archaeological record (as opposed to only the ethnographic one). Post-processualists later countered and modified the processualist theories. I discuss below various theoretical positions for mortuary analysis.

Processual Theories

The processualists criticized the cultural-historical method because they thought that it did not value the potential of mortuary analysis for gaining information about the contemporary living society (see Keswani 2004 for a concise summary and discussion of the evolution of mortuary archaeology in the discipline). Processualists instead viewed cultural material not as

static, but as capable of informing us on the living society that conducted the mortuary rituals, of which burial is one part. Processualists also emphasized making cross-cultural comparisons. Binford (1971) suggested there was a direct connection between mortuary remains and levels of social complexity in the living society that produced the remains. He theorized that the mortuary sphere mirrors the social structure of the living society and has the ability to affect social structures (see also O'Shea 1984: chapter 1, and Anderson Beck 1995: 8-12). Saxe (1970) supported Binford's theories, emphasizing cross-cultural comparisons and the role of mortuary practice in the living society. Saxe, however, created a set of eight hypotheses of mortuary practice, and Hypothesis 8 became the most influential on later work by both archaeologists and anthropologists (see Morris 1991). The hypothesis basically stated that the living use mortuary practices to create ancestral lineages that legitimate the power that the living lineage holds over resources with restricted access. It further states that corporate groups maintained power by burying the dead in "formal disposal areas" used exclusively for the dead (Brown 1971). The key problem with this hypothesis was that it failed to take into account the fact that mortuary practices are incredibly varied, and that the living could legitimate corporate power over restricted access to resources in ways other than rituals involving formal burial areas (Morris 1991). In response to Saxe's and Binford's work, mortuary variability became the cornerstone for post-processual debates on mortuary analysis.

Post-processual Theories

While processual theories for mortuary analysis were influential on later studies, post-processualists criticized processualists for not giving enough consideration to mortuary variability, and for implying that mortuary practices were direct reflections of the social structures of the living society. Instead, Chapman (1981), Morris (1992), and others argued that

the archaeological record reflects social structures and social status in a variety of ways. Additionally, they emphasized that mortuary practices are not a mirror image of the living society, but instead offer an idealized, alternate version of social reality. These arguments became and have remained the dominant theoretical perspectives applied to archaeological studies of the mortuary sphere (Anderson Beck 1995; Antonaccio 1995; Chapman 2003; Pearson 2000). Additionally, archaeologists emphasize that the mortuary record is incomplete, and the wide array of mortuary rituals that the contemporary living society uses to legitimate and negotiate social roles and power is not fully visible in the archeological record. Instead, what mostly survives is the physical burial and archaeologists must account for this discrepancy.

Cultural Memory

Concepts and theories on cultural memory are intimately tied into theories on mortuary analysis. Spurred on by the processualist movement in archaeology that placed greater emphasis on social identities and the relationship between mortuary remains and social structures and roles, post-processualists began incorporating theories of cultural memory into their research. Jan Assmann (2011) criticizes archaeologists for not transferring sociological theories on memory into archaeological theory sooner. While Assmann focuses primarily on the written record and oral traditions, he does provide an excellent theoretical framework for archaeologists to apply memory theories to the material record.

Defining Cultural Memory and Its Purpose

It is important to make a distinction between personal or individual memory versus cultural (or collective) memory. Individual memory is only utilized by one individual and only serves that individual's purpose. Assmann (2011:5) defines, on the other hand, cultural memory as, "the exterior dimensions of the human memory…imposed by society and cultural contexts."

He stresses that cultural memory is "the handing down of meaning" in a particular culture, and ritual is a primary tool utilized to accomplish this. Central to cultural memory is the idea of group identity, which is both created and maintained through various "systems of communication" (Assmann 2011: 5-7). While ritual is the primary tool of cultural memory, writing is another tool (the focus of Assmann's attention), and material items are yet another important tool that groups utilize to create and maintain social structures and identities.

Cultural Memory and Mortuary Archaeology

Central to the successful creation and maintenance of a group identity through cultural memory is the idea of referencing the past. Assmann posits that mortuary rituals, which have the advantage of the emotionally charged atmosphere surrounding a burial, provide the platform to make elaborate references to the past (Antonaccio 1995; Assmann 2011). The mortuary sphere served several vital functions; for one, funerary rituals allowed for the creation and maintenance of a group identity through cultural memory. Mortuary rituals also provided an opportunity for referencing the past by specifically pointing to the deceased ancestors that are a part of the group's shared memory and identity. Additionally, the mortuary sphere is the place where the living members of the community are able to use cultural memory and specific references to the past to legitimate or negotiate their own power, status, and social role with the living society (see also Antonaccio 1995; Keswani 2004).

Collapse and Regeneration

For decades, archaeologists discussed the process of collapse, attempting to both define and give reasons for it. The following section examines two different ways archaeologists have in the past created theoretical models for the process of collapse: the gradualist model and the cyclical model. The section goes on to explain the "trait-list" approach to describing changing

levels of social complexity. It then proposes a new model that incorporates the "trait-list"

approach (Figure 1). The section concludes by applying this more generalized model to three

different geographic areas within the Eastern Mediterranean and by examining specifically the

rise and fall of societies in those regions during the Bronze Age.

Gradualist Model

In the 1970s, archaeologists studied collapse in terms of a gradualist (or linear

progression) model—a model which was popularized by scholars such as Anthony Snodgrass

(1971)*,* who applied the gradualist model to Ancient Greece. This model describes the process of

collapse as part of a linear movement: collapse, a "dark age" or period of depression, and

regeneration (see Schwartz and Nichols 2006: 3-17, and Snodgrass 1971). The linear model,

however, appeared too confining—too black-and-white—for many later archaeologists who

began to question it. In the 1980s, Tainter (1988), Renfrew (1984), and Yoffee and Cowgill

(1988) published intensive studies on the collapse of complex societies. In their attempts to

characterize this process, they formed theoretical models describing the pattern in the process of

collapse; their models, showing the inherent complexity of collapse, began to deviate from the

popular gradualist model of the previous decade.

The Rise of the Cyclical Model

Each author uses what Morris (2006: 73) refers to as a "trait-list approach" in which they

discuss factors and features of collapse, using examples drawn from various cases of collapse

throughout history. They lay out these factors in a list or table format. Renfrew (1984) describes

four general features of system collapse: collapse of central administrative organization,

disappearance of the traditional elite class, collapse of centralized economy, and settlement shift

and population decline. Within these broad features, Renfrew lists the specific traits

characteristic of each feature (Railey and Reycraft 2008: 3, Table 1). Many archaeologists have

noted that some of these specific traits are more important to point out than others. For example,

population decrease generally accompanies system collapse—a point emphasized by both

Snodgrass and Tainter, and mentioned in less detail by Morris (see Schwartz and Nichols 2006:

72-84) and Chew (2007). A few other important characteristics of collapse are the abandonment

of many settlements, loss of literacy, disappearance or severe drop in the amount of luxury goods

in the archaeological record, and the abandonment of public and religious buildings (Renfrew

1984: 367-369).

Similarly, Tainter's (1988: 38) approach revolves around his definition of collapse as "a

matter of rapid, substantial decline in an established level of complexity." Societies grow and

collapse as their level of complexity increases and decreases; complexity changes due to many

factors, which Tainter organizes into two broad categories: internal and external. Tainter

additionally describes the characteristics of a collapsed society, listing features such as decreased

population, less social differentiation, a lower capability for defense, smaller surpluses, and

others (Tainter 1988: 38). Tainter gives many characteristics of collapse, but he stresses

economic ones as the most important—as societies increase in complexity, they create more

economic investments and networks, requiring a higher degree of "hierarchical control" in order

to regulate said networks, which in turn requires a higher degree of resource-input. As the

degree of investment of resources increases, "the support costs levied on each individual will

also rise, so that the population as a whole must allocate increasing portions of its energy budget

to maintaining [its] organizational institutions" (Tainter 1988: 91-94). Tainter's discussions on

investment of resources is just one example of the approach that analyzes features of collapse.

Archaeologists began to build on these studies, leading to the idea that the process of collapse and regeneration is not linear, but cyclical. Societies grow and regress in levels of complexity due to countless factors—some more influential than others. Railey and Reycraft (2008: 3-4) discuss the importance of describing features of *complexity* more than features of collapse or regeneration. Stressing complexity as the key concept to the process of collapse and regeneration, they recall Tainter's (1988) arguments, namely that with the collapse or rise of complexity, comes the collapse or rise of civilization. The rise and fall of complexity is cyclical, while the specific characteristics of this cycle vary from society to society, but, a general model of collapse and regeneration can be drawn (e.g. Schwartz 2006: 3-17). Regardless of the *causes* of collapse, the definition remains the same: collapse is a return to a lower level of social complexity that allows for greater stability. Once a society achieves and maintains stability, it can begin the process of rebuilding a higher level of complexity—which, in turn, creates a higher level of instability. At this crucial stage, displays of wealth and power by competing elites are common, and references to the ancestral (heroic) past are important for legitimating power and status. Higher instability then leads, eventually, to a need to return to a lower level of complexity and thus a level of higher stability.

The Cyclical Model in Greece and Cyprus

This cycle of collapse and regeneration manifests itself in the archaeological record in various ways. Before addressing this point, however, there is a need to form a model of collapse and regeneration that is applied specifically to the various geographic regions that are the focus of this study, with an emphasis on mortuary practices (Figure 2). The model shows that there are general mortuary trends that seem to occur across the Eastern Mediterranean during the cyclical rise and fall of the Bronze Age societies and the associated changing levels of social complexity.

I then apply this model to more specific geographic areas pertinent to this study, beginning with

Cyprus (Figure 3), then Crete (Figure 4), and finally mainland Greece (Figure 5). While the

general model works for much of the Eastern Mediterranean, applying the model to smaller

regions allows one to see the importance of regional differences and of mortuary variation

between regions. I chose not to create a separate model for the Cyclades, because they were

heavily influenced by Minoan civilization and later by the mainland palatial powers, and as such,

the model leading up to the EIA on the Cyclades closely resembles that of the mainland.

Although the model uses burial customs, any other aspect of the living societies could be inserted

into it (such as population, religious practices, and economic and political systems). While this

model does show how burial practices reflect levels of increasing and decreasing complexity, it

does not show the reasons behind the changing levels of complexity.

The Causes of the Collapse of Palatial Centers

The end of the Bronze Age witnessed the collapse of the palatial systems on Crete, the

mainland, and throughout much of the eastern Mediterranean. The reasons for these collapses are

numerous, but, upon examining many sources, the ones I deem most important for this study are

described below. I use the cyclical model of collapse and regeneration, adding description by

incorporating the trait-list approach used by Renfrew, Tainter, and others.

Ecological

The Bronze Age palatial centers exercised control over large economies that depended a

great deal on agriculture. Extensive farming led to land-degradation. Heavy deforestation,

evident in the pollen record, occurred on Crete, leading the Minoans to eventually import wood

from the mainland, which led to the gradual deforestation of these areas as well. Deforestation

affects farming in that it also causes soil erosion which in turn increases the occurrence of flash

flooding (Chew 2007: 82-84; D'Agata et. al. 2009: 241-249; Moody 1997: 61-72). This, along with climatic warming trends, created dry, eroded land that was inimical to extensive farming. As a result, exports would have decreased and the economy, as a consequence, would have suffered.

Environmental

Climatic changes have, in recent years, garnered more attention amongst scholars. Warming and cooling trends have impressive effects on societies. During the last stages of the LBA and most of the EIA, the Eastern Mediterranean experienced a warming trend that led to problems such as droughts and the spread of disease (Chew 2007: 79-84; Schwartz and Nichols 2006: 10-17). The arid climate affected agricultural production and mortality rates due to diseases, contributing to an overall decline in population. Besides this, natural disasters played an important role in the palatial collapses. Greece's plate tectonic setting near convergent and strike-slip boundaries (especially Crete and the Cyclades) means that the area is subject to frequent earthquakes (Cyprus also suffers from earthquakes); additionally, the Thera eruption in the last half of the 17th century BCE, caused a massive amount of destruction in the region (D'Agata et al. 2009; Doumas 2009; Friedrich et. al. 2009; Railey and Reycraft 2008). A large area of land east and southeast of the Thera volcano, including the eastern half of Crete contains ash deposits from the eruption; the ash most likely caused increases in soil acidity, which would have affected agricultural yield (D'Agata et al. 2009: 241-249). Ash projected into the atmosphere also circulated throughout the region, and acidic rainfall would have plagued much of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus, again affecting agriculture. Earthquakes following the eruption (and preceding it) caused tsunamis, some hitting the coast of Crete and other islands in the Aegean; tsunamis would have been detrimental to island economies, which

were heavily dependent on sea-trade (Doumas 2009; Moody 2009; Railey and Reycraft 2008; Schwartz and Nichols 2006).

Economic and Political

As discussed above, the palatial economies depended greatly on agriculture. Due to ecological crises and natural disasters, the agricultural aspects of the economy collapsed. The main mode of trade for the islands was by sea—which due to natural disasters was severely weakened, especially after the Thera eruption. On Crete, the increasing political and economic strength of palatial systems on the mainland, especially Mycenae, exacerbated the effects on the weakening economy due to land-degradation and climatic changes (Chew 2007). Mainland powers increased their influence in trading networks while expanding their population size and territory significantly, as the increase in Mycenaean imports found in Cyprus shows. Mycenaean influence on Crete, in an economic and political sense, becomes more evident from the 15th century BCE onwards (Cline 2010: 140-146; Willetts 2004).

The EIA in Greece and Cyprus

While the popular theories of "sea-peoples" and barbaric invasions sound exciting, the reality is that the collapse of the palatial systems was due more to ecological and environmental reasons than the fantastical invasion theories. However, most archaeologists believe raiding occurred throughout the LBA and EIA in the Eastern Mediterranean, as evident by the construction of fortification walls around settlements (Cline 2010; Keswani 2012). The result of all these factors on the Eastern Mediterranean was a decreased population that had broken into smaller communities, which dispersed to areas of higher elevation where geographically possible. In Crete, mountaintop settlements became the norm due to their defensible nature. In Greece and Cyprus, communities that were nearer the coast or in lower-lying areas built

fortifications (as stated above). Regionalism was prevalent during the EIA—architecture, ceramics, and burial practices best embody this idea of distinction by region (Cline 2010: 170-180; Eaby 2007: 197-205; Murphy 2011: 165-194).

Social Complexity, Mortuary Archaeology, and Cultural Memory

A Social Approach

As I stated above, the cycle of collapse and regeneration manifests itself in the archaeological record in various ways; of importance to this study is how mortuary practices and monumental architecture reflect this cyclical process. Mortuary practices can be indicative of times of changing complexity; generally, in times of increasing social complexity, religion and burial gain more importance and thus more prominence in the archaeological record (Morris 1987: 140-155). The increasing importance of religious and mortuary practices manifests itself in cult-buildings, shrines, and monumental tombs (Chew 2007; Herrero 2014). These types of evidence in the archaeological record allow us to make inferences about the social concepts and beliefs of a given society.

Social approaches to mortuary analyses were not always popular within the field of archaeology, but Lewis Binford (1971) argued for the value of mortuary practices in studying social complexity. Binford refuted the "historical reconstruction" method, which was the popular approach used by archaeologists and historians prior to his publication (Binford 1971: 9; Chapman et al. 1981: 6-10). Using a social approach means that mortuary remains "should be analyzed within the context of variations in society and social complexity" (Chapman et al. 1981: 7). This method allows archaeologists to find indicators of increasing social complexity, such as social stratification and increase in religious or cult activities (Binford 1971: 21). Mike Pearson (2000) discusses the various aspects of burials that archaeologists should consider when

examining mortuary remains. He describes the following aspects: the grave itself (both type and physical location), body arrangement, grave goods, and cemetery organization (Pearson 2000: 21-27). Pearson argues that studying these elements for each burial allows for the type of in-depth analyses possible when using a social approach. The examination of these mortuary aspects is applied to the study of elite tombs from EIA Greece and Cyprus in the following chapters.

Referencing the Past: Group Cohesion and Legitimating Power

Often, after a collapse, societies make references back to the past, using mostly architecture as well as mortuary and religious practices to do so (Cline 2010: 149-158; Murphy 2011: 165-194). This idea of referencing the past was discussed for decades in literature on collapse and regeneration by scholars such as Tainter and Renfrew (see Railey and Reycraft 2008: 12). The big question is why societies reference the past following times of collapse— what is the sociological purpose behind the physical remains? Ian Morris argued that when and how an individual is buried represents the social status and wealth of the individual. However, it also reflects the beliefs and customs of the society of which the individual was a part (Morris 1987). The purpose of referencing past architectural styles, especially in regard to burials, is usually an attempt by the living to legitimize their own status and power within the community (Herrero 2014; Morris 1987: 32). Due to the fragmented nature of post-collapse societies, the need to legitimize power in order to bring some sort of group cohesion or union is pressing. EIA Crete is no exception. Assmann (2011) also discusses this in great detail, relating memory and cultural development as represented in the archaeological record.

Collapse and the Rise of Hero Cults

Theories of collapse and regeneration are integral to studying the rise of hero cults in EIA Greece and Cyprus, because the first hero cults arose after major episodes of collapse around the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the LBA. Following these collapses, local elites competed for power and control of key resources in an attempt to regrow higher levels of complexity. In order to attain and secure power, competing elites utilized mortuary rituals to both elevate and legitimate having an elevated status over others. Tomb cult and ancestor worship were key tools individuals utilized to achieve status. As their communities slowly grew in social complexity, the elites needed to incorporate a larger portion of the community in these mortuary rituals in order to maintain their status in the community. As interaction and competition between growing communities increased, elites had a greater need to create a collective memory inclusive of the entire community in order to secure their collective success over others in the region. Towards the end of the EIA, there was greater interaction between regions as old trade routes and new ones were established, as evidenced by the presence of imported items in burial goods throughout Greece and Cyprus. For this reason, it is important to examine the mortuary record from various regions in order to recognize larger trends of increasing social complexity, including the establishment and spread of hero cults, and to potentially even determine their precise origin of development and subsequent geographic diffusion. The regeneration of complex societies on mainland Greece is connected with the regeneration of those on Cyprus, with the Cyclades and Crete serving as integral points on the trade routes that tied Greece to the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.

Summary

       This chapter illustrates that one cannot discuss the process of the collapse of complex societies without also discussing the process of regeneration of social complexity. A cyclical model of collapse and regeneration best expresses the inherent instability that accompanies societies with a higher level of complexity. Using the trait-list approach on a case-by-case basis allows for a more in-depth study of the factors at play in any given society's collapse and regeneration. Additionally, using Binford's social approach when studying the archaeological record, especially concerning mortuary archaeology, aids in studying how a society experienced its own collapse and regeneration of social complexity. The transition from tomb cults to hero cults during the EIA is an important part of the regeneration of complexity in societies throughout the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greece and Cyprus. Finally, cultural memory creates a sense of a shared group identity; the creation of this identity has profound effects on mortuary practices and is vital to driving the cyclical model. Hero cults intimately tie into theories of cultural memory because they involve the creation of a collective identity and a shared ancestral past that is used to legitimate the power of the community over others in a particular region.

- Fewer burials per tomb (focus on familial tombs), richer burial goods
- Highest degree of homogeny in burial practices
- Emphasis on ritual space in addition to mortuary space

- Burial practices become increasingly homogenous
- Increasing size/quality of tomb construction
- More visible in archaeological record

Height of Complexity

Increasing Complexity

Decreasing Complexity

- Increasing regionalism in burial practices
- Further decreasing number of burials per tomb (move towards single interments)
- Decreasing quality of tomb construction

"Collapse" (Lowest level Of complexity)

- Regionalism in tomb type/burial style
- Poor tomb construction (less permanent materials too)
- Few burial goods
- Less visible in the archaeological record
- Little associated ritual activity

Figure 2. Cyclical model of the process of collapse and regeneration specific to mortuary evidence.

MC (MBA):
Rock-cut chamber tombs (larger); weapon burials; children and women burials with wealthy grave goods; metal goods (especially copper); imported grave goods; tomb re-use common; funerary feasting

LC (LBA):
Monumental tombs; secondary burial/tomb re-use; ancestral/collective burials; great grave wealth; evidence of funerary feasting; imported grave goods

EC (EBA):
Extramural cemeteries; pit/rock-cut chamber tombs; secondary treatment; tomb re-use; collective burial

Height of Complexity

LBA/EIA Transition:
Intramural burials increase; decreasing collective burial size; fewer female burials visible; imports persist but less common; decrease in wealthy burial goods

Increasing Complexity

Decreasing Complexity

Neolithic:
Single inhumations; intramural pit graves; few grave goods; little evidence of ritual (including secondary treatment)

"Collapse"
(Lowest level Of complexity)

Beginning of EIA:
Tomb variation more regional; Mycenaean influence on style of tombs/goods persists but in very limited numbers; spread of cremation burials; further decrease in burial size group; re-use of older tombs more than the construction of new monumental tombs; evidence of funeral feasting persists, but limited

Figure 3. Cyclical model for Cyprus (Keswani 2004, 2012)

MM II/IIII:
Pthoi and larnakes cemeteries are dominant; association with large cult buildings; secondary burial present; wealthy burial goods (including imports)

LM I-IIIA:
Abandonment of cemeteries; very little archaeological visibility (see Murphy 2011)

EM II/II-MM I:
Large tholos cemeteries with richer burial goods, including seals (Mesara Valley)

Height of Complexity

LM IIIB/early LMIIC:
Increasing regionalism; mortuary variability: cave burials, pithoi and larnaxes burials, rock-cut tombs, cist graves, tholoi cremation, inhumation

Increasing Complexity

Decreasing Complexity

FN-EM I:
Uncorbelled tholoi in small cemeteries with communal burials, intramural burials, stone-lined cist graves, ceramic vessels, cave burials; increase in grave goods

"Collapse" (Lowest level of complexity)

EIA:
Few new tombs constructed; tomb re-use; low number of burials or individual burials dominate; little wealth in grave goods (mostly ceramics; fewer imports)

Neolithic:
Cave burials, burial in coarse ceramic-ware, cist graves (some lined), rock-cut chamber tombs, both inhumation and cremation but inhumation dominates

Figure 4. Cyclical model for Crete (Eaby 2007; Hatzaki 2012; Murphy 2011).

MH (MBA):
Cemeteries out of use; tumuli persist; still few grave goods; cist graves and inhumation dominate; some metal grave goods (including weapons); two shaft grave circles at Mycenae in use

LH (LBA):
Monumental stone tombs; restoration on older tombs, and re-use; elaborate weapon burials; all sexes present in record; wealthy grave goods; shaft graves, tholoi with dromoi, chamber tombs; regional variation; children more underrepresented; funeral scenes on vases; funerary feasting

Height of Complexity

EH (EBA):
More stone-built/stone lined pit/cist tombs; some rudimentary ossuaries found; few grave goods (pottery, some obsidian blades); a few wealthy grave goods; chamber tombs, shaft graves; tumuli

Increasing Complexity

Decreasing Complexity

LBA-EIA Transition:
Fewer new tombs built; older tombs re-used; fewer burials per tomb; cremation more visible in record again

"Collapse"
(Lowest level Of complexity)

Neolithic:
Some cave burials; intramural children burials; some evidence for secondary burial; small cemeteries far from settlements; cremation evidence, inhumation dominates; very few grave goods

Beginning of EIA:
Individual burials more common; wider use of cremation; tomb re-use persists; mostly ceramic grave goods; a few wealthy individual burials

Figure 5. Cyclical model for Mainland Greece (Cline 2010).

Chapter Three

Methods

For this study, I utilized various resource types for each chapter. The introduction and theory chapters drew from books from the College of Wooster's libraries as well as other libraries, achieved through using the College's OhioLink and CONSORT systems. Additionally, Journal Storage (JSTOR) provided access, granted through the College of Wooster, to countless electronic articles; JSTOR additionally provided access to survey and excavation reports from the various sites included in this study.

A main source of data for Early Iron Age tombs on Crete derives from Melissa Eaby's dissertation; free access to the dissertation was provided through UNC's digital database. The tables in her dissertation provide detailed information on EIA burials in Crete. For mainland Greece, I utilize Antonaccio's (1995) study on the origins of hero cults on the mainland as an accompaniment to my own data gathered through site reports and publications. In order to present the collection of sites I use in this study in a clear way, I created GIS maps using ArcMap for desktops (version 10.3.1). I utilize the program's symbology tools in order to represent the sites used in this study (represented by red points with white labels) and a few additional key archaeological sites purely for reference (blue points).

For the primary sources in this study, I also utilized different resource types. I obtained the original Greek texts provided online through Loeb Classical Library with access granted through The College of Wooster. Loeb online provides excellent texts that also include the ability to search for key words in both Greek and English. This function allowed me to search the original texts for specific words in Greek that are relevant to this study in various grammatical forms in order to facilitate my research and in selecting what passages to use. The translations are my own, with the aid of a Homeric dictionary (Cunliffe's *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*).

Chapter Four

Data

The present chapter presents the data selected for this study; the data are divided into two

sections: archaeological and literary. The archaeological data, presented first, provides

summaries of sites selected from Greece and Cyprus. These sites were chosen based on the

strength of the material for supporting the burial rites that can be seen as important in the

development of hero cult, including: tomb reuse, secondary burial, offerings deposited during

and after burial, altars and offering platforms in the vicinity of or with tombs, funerary feasting,

and any known associated sanctuaries or cult sites nearby. The sites are arranged by region:

Cyprus, Crete and the Cycladic Islands, and mainland Greece. When available, the details of the

burials themselves are given in data tables inserted after each the text for each region.

Figure 6. Map showing the archaeological sites included in the data for this study. The sites are indicated by a red circle, and the names are indicated with white labels. Map created by author using ArcMap 10.3.1 (ESRI 2016).

The second part of this chapter presents literary evidence, consisting of passages selected from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that contain important information on elite warrior figures in the epics. Funeral scenes, particularly those of Achilles, Patroklos, and Hektor, are the primary focus because they are the most pertinent to the archaeological data in the first section.

The Archaeological Data

This section of the data reviews the various archaeological sites that have been selected as examples that attest to various funerary practices that seem to be important predecessors to the development of hero cult in Greece and Cyprus. This section begins with Cyprus, then turns to Crete and the Cycladic islands, and finally examines the mainland of Greece. The type of funerary rituals of importance to the origins of hero cults are tomb reuse, secondary burial, funerary offerings and libations, evidence of altars or offering tables, and the consideration of any sanctuaries or cult sites within the vicinity of the tomb. The characteristics of the tombs and the burials that are considered in the appended data tables are the following: tomb date, type and size, number of burials, cremation (vessel contained in) versus inhumation (orientation/positioning of body), grave goods, presence of imported goods, presence of metal (especially precious metals and weapons), and evidence of funeral feasting. These characteristics are given when the data in the publications are available and detailed enough to provide them.
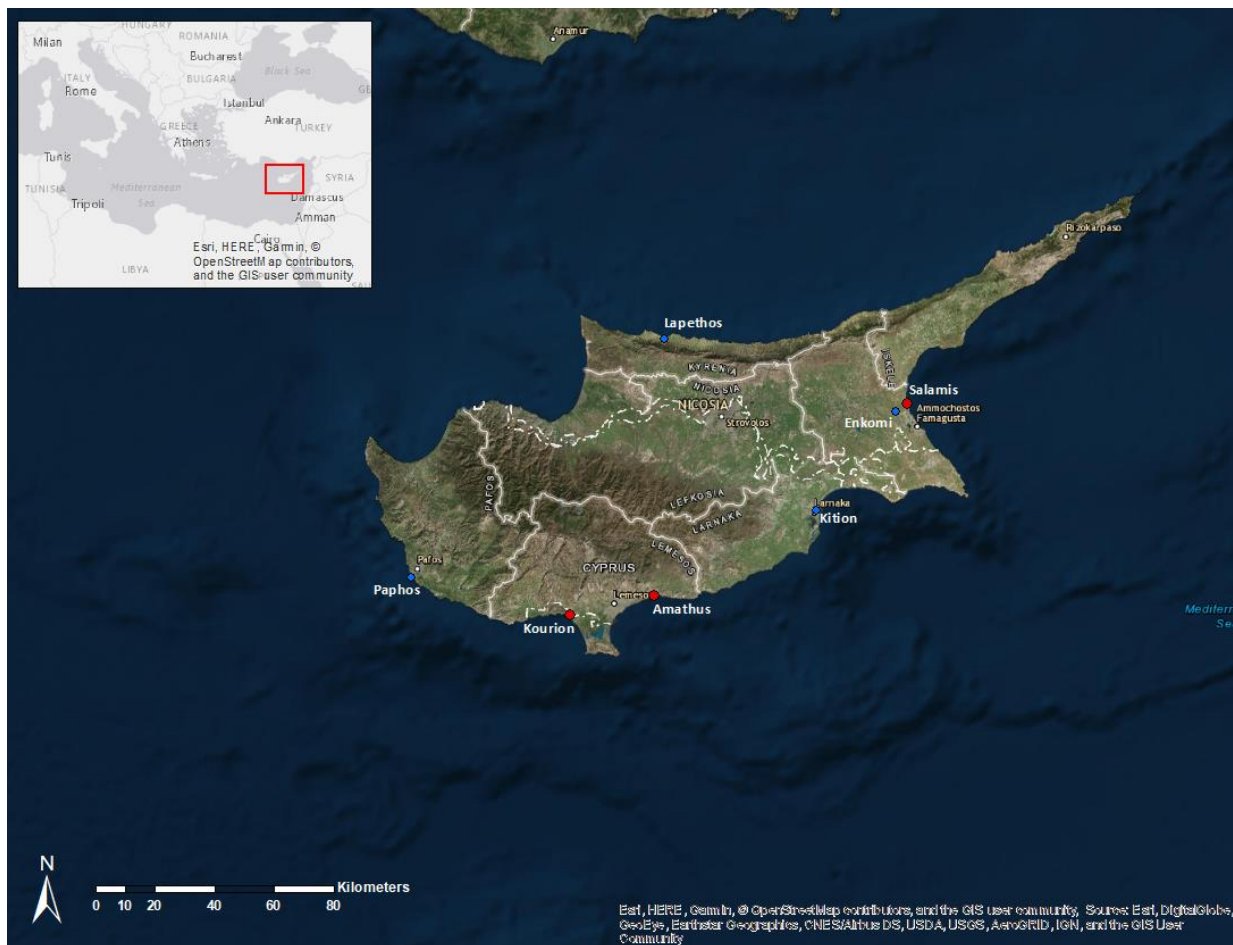
Figure 7. Map of Cyprus. The sites used in this chapter are indicated by red circles; those in blue are other important sites on the island for reference. Map created by author using ArcMap 10.3.1 (ESRI 2016).

Cyprus

I. Salamis. The EIA settlement at Salamis was impressive to say the least. The earliest tomb found that dates to the EIA is T.1, an inhumation burial beneath the Temple of Zeus that dates to CG I (11th century) (Janes 2013: 155, 159). I was not able to attain the report on this tomb by Yon (1971); as such, the data table entry is based on Janes (2013) and Blackwell (2010). This tomb provides an important EIA example of a wealthy burial with evidence of a large funerary feast at the elite burial of a warrior of sorts (considering the bronze and iron weapons) in the transition between the LBA and EIA (Janes 2013: 159). Additionally, two Archaic vessels and

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three lamps serve as offerings that were made at T.1 500 years after the original burial (Hatzaki and Keswani 2012: 318).

The Royal Tombs (used from the 8th-6th centuries BCE) are renowned for their rich burial goods and elaborate sacrifices that greatly recall Homeric epic (see Appendix B). The nine Royal Tombs are built chamber tombs, containing sixteen burials, and seven of the nine were reused for interments after the primary burials (Blackwell 2010: 143-167). The chambers of all nine tombs were looted for the most part prior to excavations, while the *dromoi* were better preserved and largely un-looted. Some of the impressive offerings found in the *dromoi* include ceramic vessels, entire chariots, furniture with metal decorations, weapons, donkey and horse sacrifices, gold leaf fragments, incense burners, bronze vessels (including massive bronze kraters), iron tools, imports from Egypt, Greece, and the Middle East, wagons, scarabs made of precious materials, remains of horse bits and blinkers, and the remains of funeral pyres (T.3, T.19, T.31) (Blackwell 2010: 155, 158; Rupp 1988: 116, 120).

Figure 8. Photo of MG krater imported from Greece (either Attica or Euboea) found in Royal T.1 (Karageorghis 1969: Plate 5).

Additionally, five of the tombs had what Rupp (1988: 117) calls a *propylaeum* or a "formal display area" that was a rectangular platform in front of the *stomion* that was slightly elevated above the level of the *dromos*, and paved in a few instances. The Salamis tombs included in the data table below are only those dated to the 8th century or earlier; for the information on all of the tombs and burials, see Rupp (1988) and Blackwell (2010).

The nearby Cellarka cemetery has ten tombs that were constructed at slightly later date than the Royal Tombs, but their dates (Cypro-Archaic I and II, 7th-6th centuries) overlap with the period of reuse at the Royal Cemetery. Some of the Cellarka tombs have *dromoi* with fairly rich offerings (including mule sacrifices, imported ceramics, and metal goods), and a few even imitate the orientation of the Royal Tombs (Blackwell 2010: 156). The Cellarka tombs are not well-dated, but most are estimated to be after the 8th century, and thus are not included in this thesis (for a summary of the Cellarka cemetery, see Blackwell 2010).
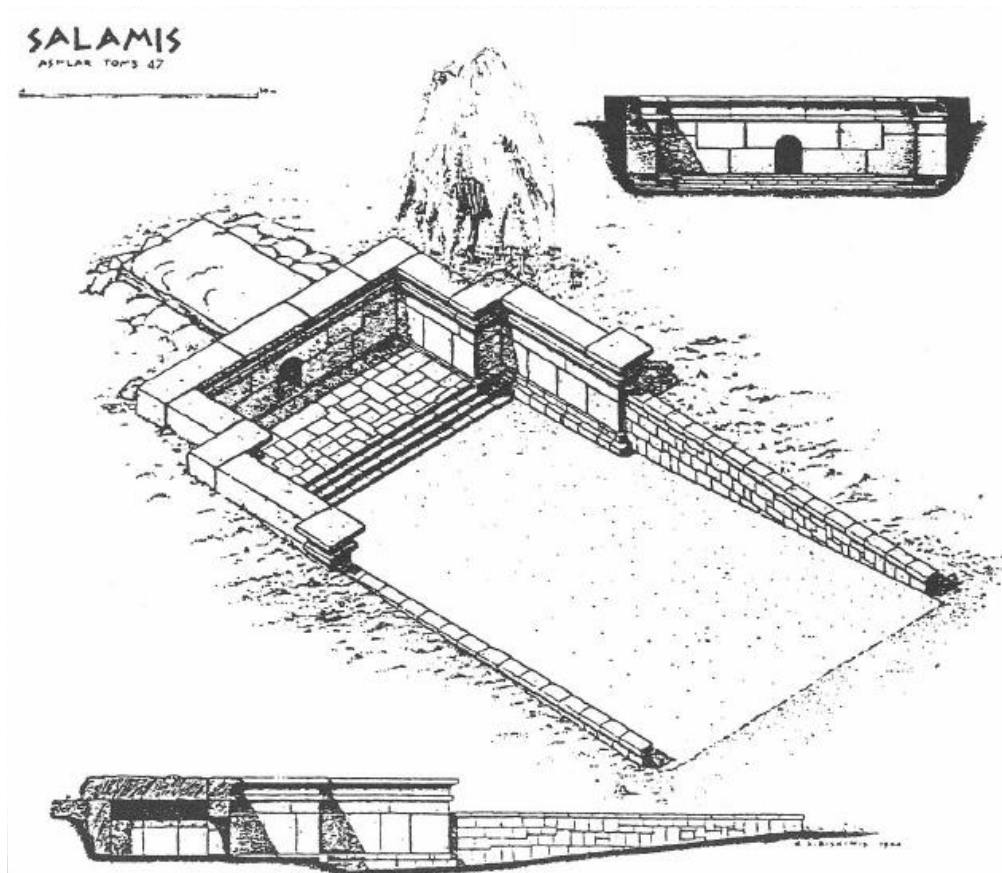
Figure 9. Reconstruction drawing of the dromos and the chamber of Royal Tomb 47 (Rupp 1988: Figure 4).

II. Amathus. The settlement at Amathus began in the 11th century and grew into a city by the mid Cypro-Geometric (CG) (10th-9th centuries). The earliest tombs date to CG I (11th century) and there is evidence for later reuse of these earlier tombs in CG II-III (Aupert 1997: 1-25). The final

phase of the CG period at Amathus also witnessed a noticeable increase in the number of weapon burials compared to previous phases, as well as an increase in the amount of metal grave goods (Janes 2013: 158). Tomb 109 at Amathus-*Diplostrati* contained bronze grave goods, notably a miniature bronze tripod that dates to the LBA and was placed with the primary burial in the tomb (Demand 2004: 259-260; Janes 2013: 163). This suggests that the tripod served as some sort of heirloom or was looted from an LBA tomb and reused purposefully in a CG burial. In another tomb, chamber tomb 306, there were remains of horses and bronze trappings associated with them (Mrva-Montoya 2013: 182). Additionally, Tomb 2 is of later date (ca. 750/725 BCE) and is located on the slopes of the Anemos hill where a cemetery containing burials from the Geometric to Roman periods was explored by the Swedish Cyprus Excavations (Aupert 2000: 97). This chamber tomb contained not only remains of armor and weaponry, but also an offering table and a sarcophagus. Amathus also had a large cremation cemetery in the 8th century, where 230 cremation urns were found (Demand 2004: 260).

III. Kourion. The site of Kourion lies to the west of Amathus, with its earliest occupation evidenced by LH IIIB (11th century) ceramics in tombs in the *Kaloriziki* cemetery (Buitron-Oliver 1997: 27). By the 9th century, Kourion grew into a large urban center; inhumation was the primary burial type on Cyprus in the EIA, but the earliest cremation example from the EIA is a tomb at Kourion-*Kaloriziki* dating to the 11th century (Janes 2013: 151, 158). While most of the tombs from the *Kaloriziki* cemetery date to the CG I period (ca. 1050-950 BCE), the cemetery was used for burials throughout the EIA and into the Classical period (Buitron-Oliver 1997: 27-29). Arguably the most

Figure 10. Bronze spearhead from Tomb 40 at Kourion (McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954: Plate 27, Figure 37).

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famous burial from the site comes from Tomb 40; a gold and enamel scepter that was looted in

1903 is now widely accepted to have come from Tomb 40 (Demand 2004: 262). Additionally,

the rim and handles of a bronze cauldron and two bronze tripods were also looted (Buitron-

Oliver 1997: 27; Demand 2004: 262; Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 1-6). Tomb 40,

dating to around 1200-1075 BCE, provides an example of a wealthy warrior cremation burial in

the important transition between the LBA and EIA.

Figure 11. Bronze tripod from Tomb 40 at Kourion (McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954: Plate 27: Figure 37).
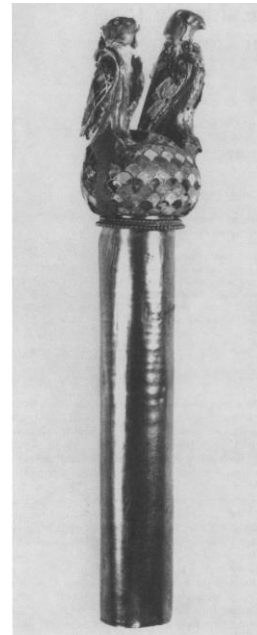
Figure 12. Scepter made of gold and enamel found in Tomb 40 at Kourion (Buitron-Oliver 1997: Figure 1).

Table 3. Data table for sites on Cyprus.

Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Salamis	Royal Tomb 1	CG III (ca. 775-700); CA I (ca. 635-600)	Stone chamber tomb with dromos; cremation burial	2	Yes	Aegean imported vessels (20 Attic *skyphoi*, 1 Attic *krater*, 10 Euboean plates), 1 bronze bowl, Cypriot ceramics (>50 vessels for burial 1 and >90 for burial 2), gold and crystal necklace, 2 ivory combs, purple cloth, 1 inscription	Propylaeum; evidence of funeral pyre	Hatzaki 2012: 318; Karageorghis 2006; Rupp 1988: 116, 120
	Royal Tomb 2	CG III (ca. 760-740); CA I (ca. 625-600)	Inhumation in a built stone chamber tomb with a *dromos*	2	Yes	Cypriot ceramics (around 90 vessels), tinned surfaces of vessels, iron knife, silver bowl, 30 Cypriot ceramic vessels	2 donkey skeletons in dromos w/a hearse, metal blinkers/headband, iron tools; evidence for slave sacrifice?	Karageorghis 2006; Rupp 1988: 116, 120
	Royal Tomb 31	CA I (ca. 750-725); late CA I (650-625)	One inhumation and one cremation (in an amphora-urn) in a built chamber tomb with a *dromos*	2	Yes	Iron knife, Cypriot ceramics, 2 faience beads, >30 gold leaf fragments, gold diadems, 2 unyoked donkeys in *dromos*	Evidence of funerary pyre in dromos	Blackwell 2010: 155; Karageorghis 2006; Rupp 1988: 116, 120
	Royal Tomb 47	CA I (ca. 740-710); CA I (ca. 690-660)	Built chamber tomb with ashlar façade and *dromos*; inhumation or cremation is unclear	2	Yes	29 vessels, white steatite scarab, silver-covered wooden box, gold leaf fragments, 2 yoked horse skeletons, incense burner, iron tools	Propylaeum (stepped)	Blackwell 2010: 155, 158; Karageorghis 2006; Rupp 1988: 116, 120
	Royal Tomb 50	CA I (ca. 750-700); CA II (600-575)	Chamber tomb with *dromos*; inhumation or cremation is unclear	2	Yes	Possible cart/hearse	Propylaeum	

Table 3, continued.

| Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Salamis	Royal Tomb 79	CG III/CA I (ca. 760-740); CA I (ca. 675-625)	Built chamber tomb with *dromos* (possibly 1 inhumation and 1 cremation)	2	Yes	4-horse chariot, 2-horse wagon w/breastplates, blinkers, headbands, side-pendent ornaments, iron knife, silver shield boss, wood bow, 2 ivory sword toggles, 2 bronze cauldrons, iron fire dogs, 12 iron spits, faience beads, Cypriot ceramics (over 300 plain, 64 tin-encrusted), 94 murex shells, 3 ivory stands for incense burners	Propylaeum; evidence of funeral pyre	Karageorghis 2006; Rupp 1988: 116, 120
	Tomb 1 (Beneath the Temple of Zeus)	CG I (11th cent)	Single inhumation in a rock-cut chamber tomb	1	No	30 items of precious metal—jewelry, decorative ornaments, a golden scarab, seals, amulets, bronze and iron weapons—over 70 ceramic (feasting?) cups (over 200 vessels total)	2 Archaic vessels and 3 lamps deposited 500 years after original burial	Blackwell 2010: 150; Hatzaki and Keswani 2012: 318; Janes 2013: 159
Amathus	Tomb 2 (Swedish Cyprus Excavations)	CA I (ca. 750/725)	Chamber tomb inhumation with 2 chambers and flight of stairs leading to tomb	1	No	Libation table, sarcophagus, iron swords, iron projectile and spear points, 16,000 fragments of metal-studded leather, items of faience, glass, and alabaster		Aupert 2000: 97
Kourion	Tomb 40	LC III (ca. 1200-1075)	Rock-cut chamber tomb with shaft with 2 cremation burials in bronze amphoroid kraters	At least 2	Yes	Gold scepter with enamel in-lays, bronze items (amphoroid kraters, strainer, fibulae, ring, cup, rod, spear point, phalarons, 2 tripods, baldric fasteners, cheek-pieces of a helmet, rims and handles of amphorae), iron dagger, whetstone, thin gold discs, ceramics (at least 10 vessels)	Cremated remains found in bronze krater	Buitron-Oliver 1997: 27-36; Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015: 1-112; McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954: 131-142
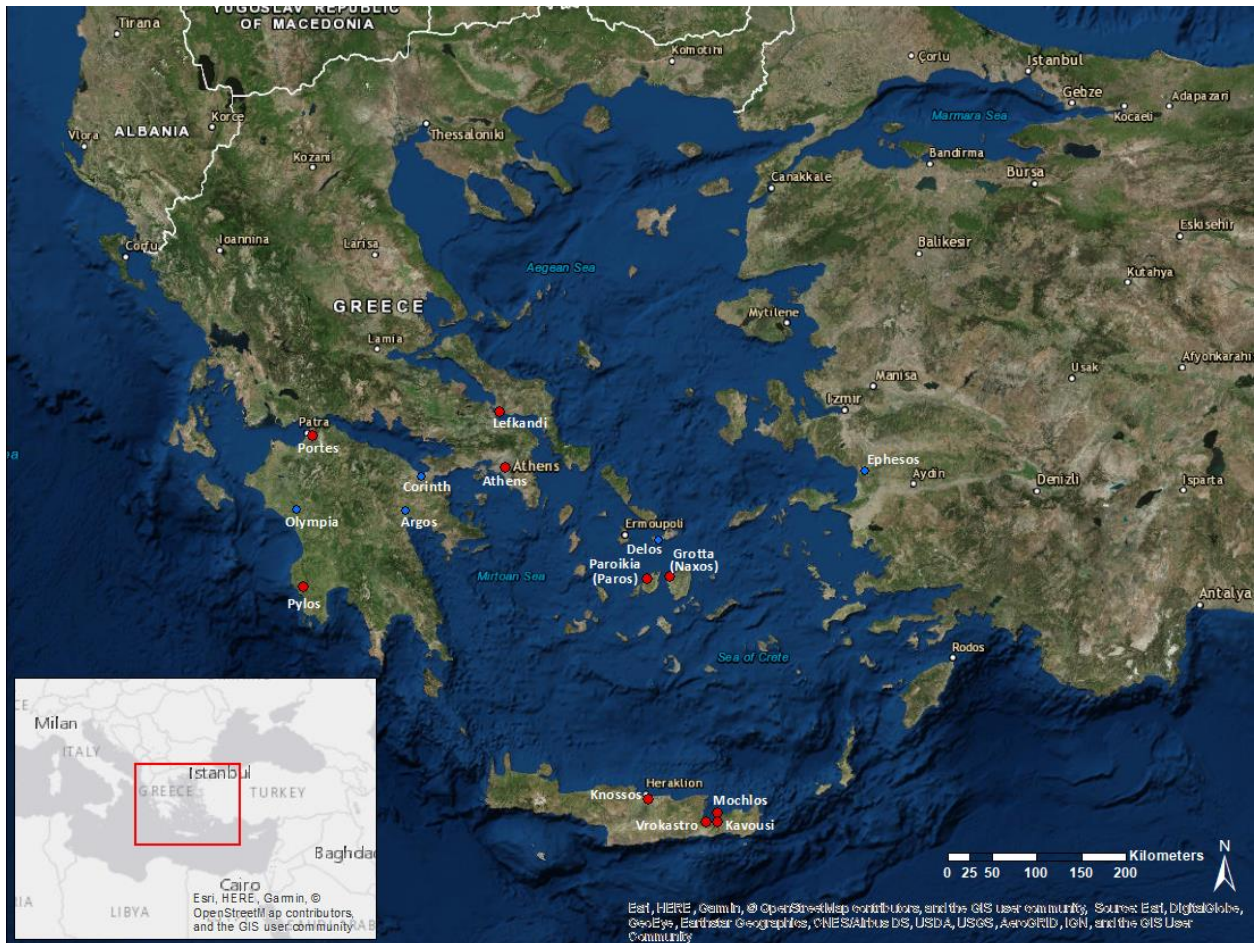
Figure 13. Map of Greece. The sites used in this chapter are indicated by red circles; those in blue are other important sites on the island for reference. Map created by author using ArcMap 10.3.1 (ESRI 2016).

Crete and the Cyclades

I. Vrokastro. Located off the Bay of Mirabello in eastern Crete, the Vrokastro site had

continuous occupation from the Late Minoan (LM) IIIC period through the succeeding EIA

(12th-8th centuries). The main settlement on the summit of the site occupies a naturally defensive

spot on the landscape. EIA tombs in the surrounding area include chamber and tholos tombs with

evidence of reuse and secondary burial (Hayden 2003: 1-19). Tomb 1 at Vrokastro-*Karakovilia*

is a rectangular tholos tomb with rich burial goods, including bronze items (25 weapons and a

bronze tripod support), a gold ring, and imported items. Eaby also notes the presence of a

potential circular stone offering table in the *dromos* and a "rectangular depression in the

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northeast corner, which may have been used for libations" (Eaby 2007: 43). Near Tomb 1, there were five "bone enclosures," which Eaby describes as chambers constructed of low, stone walls that contain some cremation burials, evidence of pyres in some, and grave goods of various sorts, including iron weapons. An additional small structure was found near Tomb 1, and it "contained a clay tripod and krater…and just outside this building were found terracotta figurines of humans, ducks, and horses" (Eaby 2007: 43). This structure could potentially be a site of tomb cult or ancestor worship. At Vrokastro-*Mazichortia* Tholos Tomb 2, the skulls of the 24 inhumations in the tholos tomb "were arranged in rows around the outside of the tomb," showing clear evidence of secondary treatment (Eaby 2007: 44).

II. Kavousi. There are several important archaeological sites in the area around the modern village of Kavousi, which is also located off of the Bay of Mirabello in east Crete. The site Kavousi-*Aloni* (*Skala*) had four tholos tombs, two of which had short *dromoi* (Haggis 2005: 134-135). Some of the inhumations in the tombs had skulls that were placed in bronze bowls separated from the body, another example of secondary treatment evident on Crete (Eaby 2007: 51-52). Kavousi-*Plai tou Kastrou* has a large tholos tomb that included a large amount of ceramic vessels, as well as many bronze items including a bowl, weapons, tools, a small wheel, and an iron double axe. The most interesting burial good are the four iron firedogs shaped like warships (Eaby 2007: 54-55). At Kavousi-*Skouriasmenos*, a tholos tomb was found just 500 meters away from the Kastro site, which had continuous occupation from the LM IIIC throughout the EIA (Haggis 2005:136). The tholos had rich grave goods such as iron weapons, gold leaf, a vase decorated with warrior motifs and a funeral scene, and a bronze plate that had relief decorations of men with helmets and wild animals (Haggis 2005: 136). Additionally, one

of the ceramic vessels had a decorative scene of a man in a chariot on one side and three female mourners on the other (Eaby 2007: 55).

III. Mochlos. The site is located on the northeastern side of the Bay of Mirabello. It is believed that the site, now an island, used to be connected to the shore at one point, so excavations have taken place on both the island and along the opposite shore (Soles and Davaras 1992: 413-445). Twenty-six rock-cut chamber tombs were excavated, dating to the transition period from the end of the BA to the start of the IA (LM III) (Soles 2008). A cluster of tombs (T.18, 26, 27, and 28) at the same elevation and orientation lie just two meters apart from each other. Above the cluster, a pit was dug and lined with stones, and stone cairn was built to cover a large amphoroid krater that could have served as a grave marker or as a place for offerings (or both) (Soles 2008: 175-176). T.27, a small, circular chamber tomb of a LM IIIC date, is particularly interesting due to evidence that it was reopened in the Early Orientalizing (EO) period (7th century) (Eaby 2007: 78-79). The people who opened the tomb removed the human remains from the pithos (where the individual must have been inhumed based on the way the pithos was purposefully cut), and replaced the skeletons with new offerings (an EO aryballos and a hydria), having re-filled the pithos with soil (Soles 2008: 178). They then filled in the tomb with soil from lower down the slopes of the site, took the schist covering from the pithos burial, and re-erected it on top of the filled-in tomb, creating an altar of sorts; two sherds of the burial pithos were placed on the schist slab (Soles 2008:177-178). Soles (2008) believes that the EO activity at T.27 is an example of an early form of hero cult. Additionally, in T.15, there appears to be evidence of the ritual "killing" of an entire set of drinking vessels. According to the excavator, the fractures in the vessels were created by being struck by something sharp, like a weapon (Soles 2008: 159-160).

IV. Knossos. The North Cemetery at Knossos is rich in burials from the LM IIIC through the

EIA (Eaby 2007: 155-161). The site has a large number of tholos and chamber tombs, many of

which were built prior to the 9th century and were reused in the latter part of the EIA (Murphy

2011: 141-145). There are a great number of rich burials at the North Cemetery that included

grave goods such as gold leaf, imported ceramic vessels, iron and bronze weapons, jewelry,

evidence of animal sacrifice, and more. An example of a particularly wealthy burial is Tomb

202, which included three inhumations (male, female, and child) and prestige burial goods,

including "a bronze Naue II-type sword, elements of a shield, a spearhead, an iron knife, six

arrowheads, an ivory handle, a boar's tusk helmet, a gold ring, a bronze stand, an ivory comb,

and a bone inlay" (Murphy 2011: 144). Other such "warrior tombs" are present at the North

Cemetery, such as Tomb F which had two horses and two dogs sacrificed in a pit in the *dromos*;

Tombs 79 and 152 also had horse and dog sacrifices (Eaby 2007: 158-160).

V. Paros. Excavations at the site of Paroikia on Paros have revealed an EIA segment of the

cemetery at there. The EIA part of the necropolis contains a mass burial of "warriors," dating to

the late 8th century BCE (Langdon 2012: 107-118). Archaeologists unearthed two rectangular

enclosures, lined with schist with "urn cremations in neck-handled amphorae [that] were tightly

packed, and in places piled in two layers" (Coldstream 2003: 398). The mass grave contains an

estimated 120 of these "warrior" burials (all male), with 140 or so ceramic vessels, the majority

of which are either plain or decorated with the simplistic designs of the Geometric style. Two of

these vessels, however, depict human figures; one shows a battle scene (complete with

charioteers, footmen, and fallen warriors), while the other vessel depicts the funeral of a fallen

warrior (see Coldstream 2003: 398-399 for a discussion of the scenes on the vessels). The mass

burial has been interpreted by some as a sort of monument to honor local warrior-heroes (Langdon 2012; Zafeiropoulou and Agelarakis 2005: 30-35).

VI. Naxos. The island played an important role in trade routes around the eastern Mediterranean since the MBA; the site of Grotta had nearly uninterrupted occupation during the LBA-EIA transition, excepting a short period of abandonment and re-occupation between LH IIIB and LH IIIC (Vlachopoulos 2016: 123-127). Two different cemeteries occupied two hilltops near Grotta: *Aplomata* and *Kamini*. Mycenaean-style chamber tombs and other LH III burials were found in each (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162; Vlachopoulos 2016: 127-128). Tomb A in the *Kamini* cemetery contained a single inhumation in a chamber tomb, with a Naue II-type sword and other bronze objects that are "interpreted as parts of a curry-comb for horses" (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162). Another notable grave is the open-air burial near chamber Tomb D of the *Kamini* cemetery; the burial consisted of a single inhumation placed on top of a small platform that was beneath a layer of burnt earth and animal offerings, covered by an earthen mound (Senn 2013: 73; Vlachopoulos 2008: 483). The grave goods included weapons (two spearheads), gold, silver, and bronze jewelry, a seal, and many ceramic vessels (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162). Other burials also included seal-stones that were "antiques" from the 14th century being reused in 12th and 11th century burials (Vlachopoulos 2016: 127-128). Additionally, there are a number of clay and pebble platforms associated with EIA burials; later in the EIA, circles of stones and pebbles were built on top of the earlier platforms (Antonaccio 1995: 201-202). The exact use of these circles is unclear, but their use as offering platforms associated with tomb cult or ancestor worship is a possibility. While Grotta was abandoned sometime in the 11th century, the cemeteries continued to grow and remained in use throughout the EIA (Vlachopoulos 2016: 127-128).

Table 4. Data table for sites in Crete and the Cyclades.

Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Vrokastro	Karakovilia Tomb I	SM-PG	Rectangular stone tholos tomb with 5 adult cremations and 1 child inhumation	At least 6	Yes	>33 ceramic vessels, 25 iron weapons, bronze tripod support, gold ring, 6 faience seals (a few with pseudo-hieroglyphics), 250 beads (mostly faience)	Circular stone opposite the *dromos* (possible offering table); rectangular depression in NE corner (also for offerings/libations?); 5 bone enclosures nearby	Eaby 2007: 42-43
Kavousi	Plai tou Kastrou Tholos Tomb	SM-EO	Large square/rectangular tholos tomb	At least 2	Yes	117 ceramic vessels, a bronze bowl, bronze weapons and tools, four iron firedogs in shape of warships, a bronze wheel (miniature), an iron double axe		Eaby 2007: 254
	Skouriasmenos Tholos Tomb	LG-EO	Large tholos tomb (round), with a *dromos,* and a large façade	Unknown	Possibly	A bronze plate (with a relief of helmeted men in between lions, sphinxes, and griffins), a gold button, gold leaf fragments, glass beads, weapons (7 iron swords, 7 iron spear heads, stone axe head, bronze arrowhead), at least 7 ceramic vessels (one with man in a chariot decoration and female mourners), boar's tusks, animal bones (sheep/goat), a possible scepter, 18 sheath fragments, fish hook		Eaby 2007: 55, 250, 255; Haggis 2005: 136
Mochlos	Tomb 27	LM IIIA; EO	Small chamber tomb with inhumation in pithos	1	No	Burial pithos, skyphos (EO), aryballos (EO), perforated kylix (LM IIIA), hydria (EO)	Green schist slab with offerings, erected on top of tomb in EO— possible hero cult?	Eaby 2007: 78-79; Soles 2008: 177-179

Table 4, continued.

Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Knossos	North Cemetery Tomb 202	SM	3 cremation burials in a pit-cave	3	Yes	Shield fragments, bronze sword (Naue II-type), bronze spearhead, iron knife, 6 arrowheads, boar's tusk helmet, gold ring, ivory handle, bronze stand, ivory comb, bone inlay	Circular stone opposite the *dromos* (possible offering table); rectangular depression in NE corner (also for offerings/libations?); 5 bone enclosures nearby	Murphy 2011: 144
Paroikia (on Paros)	Mass Warrior Burial	Late 8th cent (ca. 730)	Schist lined, rectangular pits with cremation burials (all male, signs of trauma)	At least 120		140 ceramic vessels (mostly neck-handled amphorae), 2 painted vessels, iron weapon fragments, other smaller ceramic vessels		Coldstream 2003: 398; Zafeiropoulou and Agelarakis 2005: 30-35
Grotta (on Naxos)	Tomb A	LH IIIC	Chamber tomb with single inhumation	1	No	Naue II sword, 7 bronze objects with indentations (curry-comb for horses?); ceramic vessels (including decorated stirrup jars)		Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 162; Vlachopoulos 2008: 482-487
	Warrior burial near Tomb D	LH IIIC	Open-air inhumation on top of pyre remains lying on top of a small platform	1		2 spearheads, butt-spike, seal-stone, gold jewelry, silver ring, bronze rings, ceramic vessels, animal remains		Deger-Jalkotzy 2006:162, Table 9.3

Mainland Greece

I. Athens. While Athens has a rich archaeological record from the Classical period on, evidence of EIA occupation is sparse and difficult to piece together. The mortuary record provides our best picture of Athens during the EIA, especially the Geometric burials from the Kerameikos (excavated by the German Archaeological Institute of Athens) and the Areopagus (excavated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Cremation burials seem to enjoy greater popularity in Athens earlier than elsewhere in Greece, considering their prevalence in the Early Geometric (EG) (Coldstream 2003: 30). Grave 17, found in the Aeropagus, contained a cremation burial in a two-handled amphora that was placed into a pit grave and covered by a stone slab (Blegen 1952: 279-281). Blegen notes that there were still traces of the cloth that had encased the weapons which were burned on the cremation pyre, bundled up, and placed inside the grave. The most important feature of Grave 17 is the iron sword that had been ritually "killed" by bending it around the neck of the amphora; a sword bent in a similar loop-fashion was found in Grave 28 in the Kerameikos (Blegen 1952: 286). Signs of burning are evident on some of the ceramics and metal goods in addition to the presence of carbonized pieces of grapes and figs (Blegen 1952).

Another notable burial in Athens is Kerameikos Grave 2, also a cremation pit-burial. Grave 2 had a large EG Krater above the burial pit that served as a marker for the grave as well as a receptacle for libation offerings. Coldstream (2003:33) claims this is the earliest known example of a ceramic grave marker that had a hole deliberately pierced in its base to allow for the libation offerings to seep into the earth of the warrior's burial. Grave 2 also contained an undecorated, bronze bowl that served as a covering for the amphora-urn (as opposed to a stone slab as in the Areopagus grave) of the type that "was introduced from Cyprus during the late

tenth century" (Coldstream 2003: 32). Additionally, the burial included a sword with some remains of the sheath still intact (Smithson 1974: 341). Weapon burials occurred in Athens more frequently in the Geometric period and then declined in the 8th century and after (Smithson 1974: 341-342).

Additionally, a *peribolos* was constructed in the 8th century around parts of a cemetery south of the Acropolis that was used from the BA through the EIA (Antonaccio 1995:121-124). Furthermore, a triangular enclosure, referred to as the "triangular monument" was found in the vicinity; this structure might have functioned as a hieron of sorts based on a 5th century boundary stone found in one of the corners. Pottery finds and a small rectangular platform within the triangle dating to the LG suggest that this area was used during the EIA, potentially as a site for ritual activities related to the EIA graves (Antonaccio 1995: 122).

II. Lefkandi: Located in Euboea, the area around this site was occupied from at least the MBA; the BA settlement of Xeropolis at Lefkandi thrived in the LH III period, and the site remained in use into the EIA until its abandonment in ca. 700 BCE (Lemos 2011-2012: 22; 2012). A fairly populous settlement occupied the large earthen tell, with a *megaron* on top constructed in LH IIIC and used into the EIA; the strategic location of Xeropolis between two harbors on the Euboean Gulf made it an important site for trade, explaining the prevalence of eastern imports found in the archaeological record (Lemos 2011-2012: 22-24). In the Toumba cemetery, remains of a large wooden structure built over two EIA cremation burials were discovered (Antonaccio 1995: 236). This primary PG-G cemetery is just one of multiple cemeteries in the area outside of Xeropolis; it contained around 70 burials (mostly in shaft or pit graves) with evidence of over 20 cremation pyres (Popham, Calligas, and Sackett 1988-1989: 120; Lemos 2006a, 2006b). Weapon burials were found in at least 10 of the graves as well as many imported items from the East,
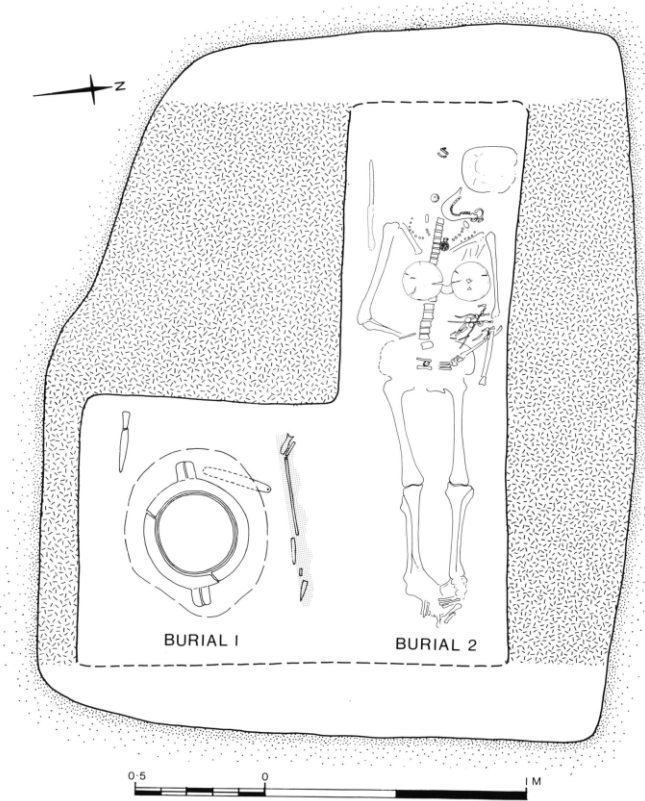
Figure 14. Cremation and inhumation burial in the heroon at
Lefkandi (Popham et. al. 1993: Plate13).

including Egyptian faience items. These burials were arranged in an arc of sorts around the PG monumental structure dubbed a heroon; Popham et. al. (1988-1989: 123) supposes this is due to the tumulus that was erected over the heroon.

The Toumba Heroon was a large wooden structure, roughly rectangular in shape with a presumed apse on the western end; evidence also exists for a porch on the eastern side, as well as a tri-part division of the interior space (Popham et. al. 1982). In the largest, central space, there were two shafts, one of which contained four horse skeletons with iron bits in the mouths of two of them, and the other contained two burials (1 female, 1 male) (Antonaccio 1995:237). The female inhumation included items of gold, faience, iron, and bronze (see data table); the male cremation burial in a bronze amphora-urn. The amphora could easily have been an heirloom import from Cyprus due to the hunting scenes decorating the outside which are most similar to those found in Cyprus (Antonaccio 1995: 237-238). A bronze bowl was covering the opening of the amphora, and the remains of a folded, long linen garment of sorts was still preserved inside the urn. Buried next to the amphora-urn was found an iron sword, a whetstone, and an iron spearhead (Popham et. al. 1982: 172-174). The cremation took place within the building based on the evidence of a pyre (with postholes around the scorched earth) to the east of

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the burials (Antonaccio 1995: 238). The heroon was dismantled and covered with an earthen

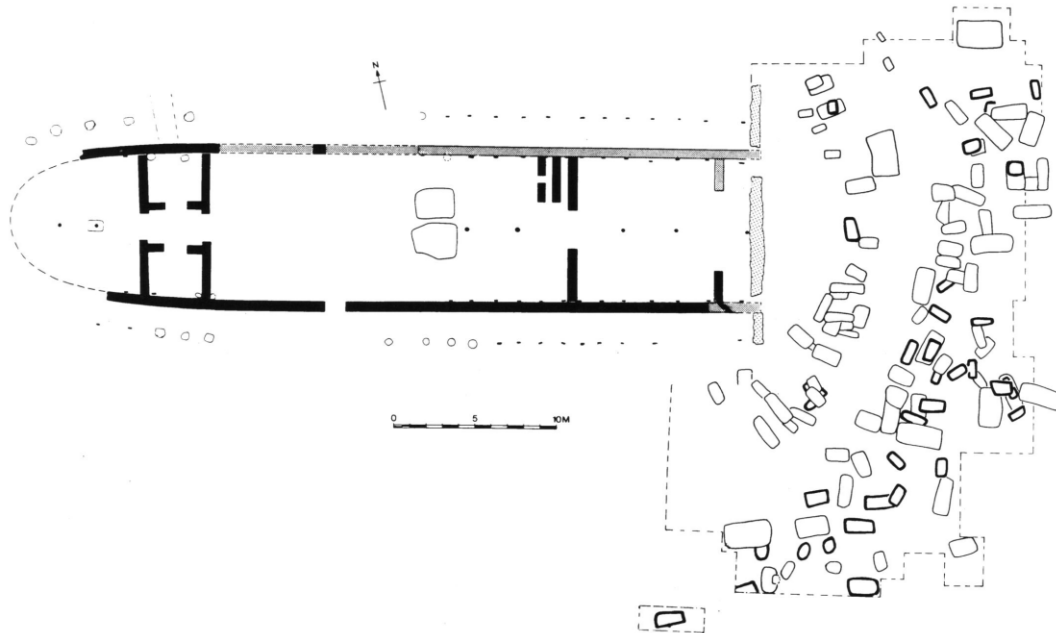tumulus sometime between 1000 and 950 BCE, not long after its construction and use.

Figure 15. Plan of the Toumba Cemetery, with the heroon on the left, at Lefkandi (Popham and Lemos 1996: Plate 4).

III. Pylos. The BA settlement of Pylos exhibited the greatest wealth and expenditure of resources

and labor in the mortuary sphere in the periods leading up to the zenith of palatial power at

Pylos. Following the decline and collapse of the palace at Pylos, the mortuary sphere apparently

became important once again for elite competition (Murphy et. al. 2018). The two latest tombs

constructed were Tholos III and the K-2 chamber tomb; both tombs are farther away from the

BA palace than the other tombs at Pylos (with K-2 being 3 km away from the palace and the

tholos 1 km away) (Murphy 2014: 212-214, 2016a: 441). Tholos III was possibly constructed in

LH II (the exact date is unclear), but was reused for some 500 years, with its final use being in

LH IIIC (Murphy et. al. 2018: 6-7). The most interesting find is the presence of cups with

exteriors coated in tin, dating to LH IIIA (14th century) as powerful individuals in the palace

were still in the stages of solidifying their power before it reached its zenith and subsequent

deterioration in LH IIIB-C (13th century) (Murphy 2014: 215-216). Chamber tomb K-2 was

constructed in LH IIIA and was used through LH IIIC (Murphy 2016a: 441, 2016b). The wealth of the tomb is indicated by the bronze objects (spearhead and bowl), gold beads, a lentoid seal, and a silver ring. Additionally, the remains of three decorated kraters in the *dromos* suggest a funerary offering of sorts, which Murphy (2016a: 442) suggests might have been a "communal drinking activity."

V. Nichoria. Located not far from Pylos, Nichoria's population grew in the 11th century on, as the population surrounding the abandoned palace center at Pylos sharply declined. A few EIA burials are worth noting from the site: a pithos burial dating to the LG contained a single inhumation; a stone cairn was built on top of the burial pit as a sort of stone tumulus to mark the location of the grave (McDonald et. al. 1983: 260-263). Some bronze items, an iron sword, and an iron spearhead accompanied the burial. Nikitopoulos tomb 6 was a built stone tholos tomb constructed in the 11th-10th century; the tholos was built into an existing Mycenaean tumulus (McDonald et. al. 1983: 266). Lastly, a cist grave showed signs of secondary burial and tomb reuse, where the bones of the previous inhumations were swept off to the side (McDonald et. al. 1983: 266-268).

V. Portes-*Kephalovryso*. Located in Achaea, this site includes a cemetery with three Early Mycenaean tumuli (17th-15th centuries) with LH III chamber tombs built into them. Tomb 3, which lies underneath the earlier Tumulus C, was particularly wealthy (Moschos 2000: 12). The LH IIIC chamber tomb (12th century) held some impressive burial goods, especially "warrior" items including a sword, a spearhead, a knife, a pair of greaves, and a bronze helmet of sorts that still had fragments of the lining preserved on the inside (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 159). The helmet is open on the top and thus likely served more a ceremonial purpose to denote status or military rank rather than a functional, protective helmet.

Table 5. Data table for Mainland sites.

Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Athens	Agora Grave 17 ("Areopagus Warrior Grave")	c. 900 BCE	Cremation burial in amphora in pit-grave	1	No	Sword, spearheads (2), knife, axe, javelin point or small chisel, snaffle bits (2), pin fragment, whetstone, bone rings (2), amphora-urn, 6 ceramic vessels, iron loop, clay ball (from pyxis lid?)		Blegen 1952: 289-293.
	Kerameikos Grave 2	EG II	Cremation	1	No	Iron weapons, plain bronze bowl, pierced krater grave-marker		Coldstream 2003: 31-33
Lefkandi	Toumba Heroon burials	PG	1 inhumation (female); 1 cremation (male) in bronze amphora; both in shaft grave; shaft partly lined with wood, partly with clay bricks	2	Possible (not likely)	Male cremation: decorated bronze amphora-urn with cloths of various types/colors inside; iron spearhead; whetstone; iron sword and sheath remains. Female inhumation: 2 gilt coils, a necklace (gold, faience, and crystal), 2 large golden discs and a crescent-shaped gold sheet, 1 gold ring, 1 electron ring, pins (iron, gold, bronze, bone), iron knife with ivory handle.	4 horse burials in shaft grave, 2 with iron bits in mouths	Popham et. al. 1982: 169-174; 1988-1989: 117-129; 1993: 17-22.
Pylos	Tholos III	LH II – LH IIIC	Tholos tomb with dromos	Unknown (2 subadults at least)	Yes	Boar's tusks, 1 seal, tinned kylixes (LH IIIA), 3 braziers (possible imports from Lakonia)	Highly fragmented nature of bones and pottery suggests it was cleared in antiquity; some evidence of secondary burials in pithoi	Murphy 2016a, 2016b; Murphy et. al. 2018: 12-13, 15-17.

Table 5, continued.

Site	Burial or Tomb no.	Primary dates of use	Burial Type (and tomb type if applicable)	No. of burials	Tomb re-use	Grave Goods	Other offerings/notable funerary rites	References
Nichoria	K-2	LH IIIA – LH IIIC	Chamber tomb with dromos		Yes	A lentoid seal, gold beads, mirror, bronze 3-handled bowl, bronze projectile point, silver ring, 3 decorated kraters in dromos	Potential communal feasting/drinking represented by *dromos* vessels	Murphy 2016: 441-442
	Pithos Burial	LG (8th cent)	Inhumation in ceramic pithos in a pit; stone cairn built above	1	No	Iron sword, 2 ceramic vases, 2 bronze phiales, iron spear point, bronze ring	Limestone cairn, 3m x 1.7m (3 courses preserved)	McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983: 260-263
	Nikitopoulos no. 6	LH IIIB-PG (11th-10th cent)	Stone built tholos tomb in a Mycenaean tumulus; EIA inhumation in tholos with low wall of stones separating it	At least 1 (MNI not given)	Yes	With EIA inhumation: two vases, two bronze rings, iron pin fragments, a clay whorl	Pithos burial in dromos (also EIA); bones of earlier burials pushed to sides of tomb (secondary treatment)	McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983: 266
	Cist Grave	PG (10th-11th cent)	Inhumations in an apsidal cist grave, built with flat stones (potentially re-used from Mycenaean buildings)	2	Yes	Bronze ring, a twisted coil, clay whirl	Bones of earlier burials pushed to sides of tomb (secondary treatment)	McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983: 266
Portes	Kephalovryso Chamber Tomb 3	LH IIIC (12th cent)	Stone chamber tomb with single inhumation within a MH tumulus	1	No	Bronze Bowl, bronze headgear/helmet (ceremonial?), bronze greaves, bronze weapons (sword, knife, spear head)		Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 159; Ministry of Culture and Sports 2012; Moschos 2007: 31

The Literary Evidence

The following Homeric passages are preceded by brief summaries of their context, followed by the original Greek (taken from Loeb Classical Library Online) and my own translations. Words of particular importance to this study are bolded in the Greek.

Passages from the Iliad

In Book 6, Andromache shares an intimate moment with her husband, Hektor, who has just returned from the battlefield. He finds Andromache near the gates, where she fearfully waited for news from the battlefield. In their conversation, Andromache recounts to Hektor how Achilles killed her father, Eetion, and her brothers upon raiding her home of Thebes. She is fearful of losing Hektor because he is all she has left. Andromache describes what Achilles did upon killing her father:

…κατὰ δ᾿ ἔκτανεν Ἠετίωνα,

οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,

ἀλλ᾿ ἄρα μιν κατέκηε σὺν **ἔντεσι** δαιδαλέοισιν

ἠδ᾿ ἐπὶ **σῆμ**᾿ ἔχεεν· περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν

νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο [*Il.* 6.416-420].

…and he slew Eetion,

but he did not strip him of his armor, for he feared this in his mind,

but he did indeed burn him with all his finely-crafted armor

and he heaped a burial mound upon him as a sign; and all around this

nymphs of the mountains, maidens of aegis-bearing Zeus, planted elms.

In Book 7, Hektor challenges one of the Argives to a duel, encouraged by the gods Apollo and Athena as a way to temporarily cease the battle. Hektor speaks to the gathered armies and lays out the conditions of the duel and what should happen to his body or his enemy's body depending on the outcome of the combat. Whoever wins shall strip the armor of the loser and the body must be given back to the losing side so that the fallen warrior can receive a proper burial. Hektor notes that a burial mound will be erected as part of the funeral rites for the following purpose:

καί **ποτέ** τις εἴπησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,

νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·

'ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε **σῆμα** πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,

ὅν **ποτ**' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.'

ὥς **ποτέ** τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν **κλέος** οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται" [*Il.* 7.81-91].

And some day someone of men yet to be born will say,

sailing their many-benched ship upon the wine-dark sea:

"This is the funeral mound of a man who died long-ago,

who, being the best at one time long ago, radiant Hektor killed."

So thus one day someone will say; and my fame will never perish.

In the same book, Agamemnon calls for a temporary pause in the battle so that both sides can bury their dead. The following lines are an excerpt from Nestor's description of how the Achaean mass burial will proceed:

…αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς

βουσὶ καὶ ἡμιόνοισιν· ἀτὰρ κατακήομεν αὐτοὺς

τυτθὸν ἀποπρὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ᾿ ὀστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος

οἴκαδ᾿ ἄγῃ, ὅτ᾿ ἂν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.

τύμβον δ᾿ ἀμφὶ **πυρὴν** ἕνα χεύομεν ἐξαγαγόντες

ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου. [*Il.* 7.332-337].

…and having assembled, we will collect the dead there

with the bulls and mules; we shall burn them there

a short distance from the ships, so that each man may bring the

bones home to the dead man's children, for when we return again to the fatherland.

And at the place of the pyre, let us heap a single burial mound

having led away the dead indiscriminately from the battlefield.

Book 23 gives the funeral scene of Patroklos, which is a rather long passage. As such, I have

selected certain parts from within the entire funeral scene:

θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνυσαν, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον

κειρόμενοι· ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἀχνύμενος· ἕταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπ᾿ Ἄιδόσδε [*Il.* 23.135-137].

And they all covered the corpse with their hair, that which

they had cut and threw down; and behind them god-like Achilles was

grieving; for he was sending his noble companion to Hades.

…ποίησαν δὲ **πυρὴν** ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,

ἐν δὲ **πυρῇ** ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ.

πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς

πρόσθε **πυρῆς** ἔδερόν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον· ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα πάντων

δημὸν ἑλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νήει.

ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει **μέλιτος** καὶ **ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας**,

πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ᾽ ἐριαύχενας **ἵππους**

ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε **πυρῇ** μεγάλα στεναχίζων [*Il*. 13.164-173].

…and they built a pyre a hundred feet long this way and that,

and they placed the body on top of the pyre, their hearts grieving.

And they were going about and skinning the many fat sheep and shambling curved-

horned oxen before the fire; and having grasped

the fat from all, great-hearted Achilles covered the corpse

in the fat from head to foot, and he piled up the skinned bodies all about it.

And he placed honey and oil in large jars

resting them against the bier; and hastening four strong-necked horses,

he quickly threw them on the pyre, wailing greatly.

…ὁ δὲ πάννυχος ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς

χρυσέου ἐκ **κρητῆρος**, ἑλὼν δέπας **ἀμφικύπελλον**,

οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν,

ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο [*Il*. 13.218-221].

…and all night long swift-footed Achilles,

out of a golden mixing vessel, grasping a two-handled goblet,

drew out wine and was pouring it on the ground, and he drenched the earth

calling upon the wretched soul of Patroklos.

πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνῳ,

ὅσσον ἐπὶ φλὸξ ἦλθε, βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε **τέφρη**·

κλαίοντες δ᾽ ἑτάροιο ἐνηέος ὀστέα λευκὰ

ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην **φιάλην** καὶ δίπλακα δημόν,

ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν·

τορνώσαντο δὲ **σῆμα** θεμείλιά τε προβάλοντο

ἀμφὶ **πυρήν**· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν,

χεύαντες δὲ τὸ **σῆμα** πάλιν κίον [*Il.* 13.250-257].

First they put out the funeral pyre with gleaming wine,

as much as was still aflame, and the thick ashes dropped down

and wailing, they gathered up the white bones of their kind companion

and the double-folded fat in a golden jar,

placing it in a shelter they enshrouded it in a fine-woven cloth;

and they marked off the area of the burial ground and set forth the foundation

around the pyre; and at once they heaped up earth upon the pyre,

and, having piled up the mound, they turned to leave.

The funeral scene of Hektor (while much shorter) bears many similarities to that of Patroklos, as seen in the excerpt below from Book 24:

καὶ τά γε χρυσείην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἑλόντες,

πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν·

αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐς κοίλην κάπετον θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε

πυκνοῖσιν λάεσσι κατεστόρεσαν μεγάλοισι·

ῥίμφα δὲ **σῆμ**᾽ ἔχεαν, περὶ δὲ σκοποὶ ἥατο πάντῃ,… [*Il.* 24.795-799].

And having gathered up the remains, they laid them in a golden chest,

and wrapped this with soft, shimmering woven cloth;

and at once they laid it in the hollow grave

and they laid out massive, closely-set stones about it;

and they quickly piled up the burial mound, and watchmen sat around it on all sides…

Passages from the Odyssey

In Book 4, when Menelaus is holding an audience with Telemachus, he relates to Odysseus' son about his journey home from Troy and what he did after learning of Agamemnon's death:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατέπαυσα θεῶν χόλον αἰὲν ἐόντων,

χεῦ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνονι **τύμβον**, ἵν᾽ ἄσβεστον κλέος εἴη [*Od.* 4.583-584].

Nevertheless after I appeased the anger of the ever-living gods,

I piled up a burial mound for Agamemnon there, so that his fame might be

inextinguishable.

Book 11 offers insight into how offerings to the dead were conducted, according to Homer. Odysseus visits the underworld in order to speak to the shade of the prophet Tiresias; upon his arrival, Odysseus makes an offering to the dead in order to appease them and entreat their help:

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…ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἄορ ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ

βόθρον ὄρυξ᾽ ὅσσον τε πυγούσιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,

ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ δὲ χοὴν χεόμην πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι,

πρῶτα μελικρήτῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέι οἴνῳ,

τὸ τρίτον αὖθ᾽ ὕδατι· ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνον [*Od.* 11.24-28].

…and I, having drawn the sharp sword from the sheath hanging at my thigh,

there I dug a pit about a cubit's length,

and by myself I was pouring out libations for all the dead,

first libations of honey and milk, and then of a sweet wine,

and third I again poured an offering of water, and upon that I sprinkled white barley.

In the same book, Odysseus meets the shade of his recently deceased companion and oarsman, Elpenor. Elpenor recounts his death to Odysseus and requests that he be given a proper burial so that he can be at peace:

…ἀλλά με κακκῆαι σὺν **τεύχεσιν**, ἄσσα μοι ἔστιν,

σῆμά τέ μοι χεῦαι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης,

ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

ταῦτά τέ μοι τελέσαι πῆξαί τ᾽ ἐπὶ **τύμβῳ** ἐρετμόν... [*Od.* 11.74-77].

…but burn me with my armor, which belongs to me,

and as a marker build for me a burial mound beside the gray sea,

for me, a wretched man, and for those who will be after to know of me.

Fulfill these things for me and place my oar upon the burial mound…

The last funeral scene this chapter includes is that of Achilles, as recounted by the shade of Agamemnon when the shades of the slain suitors enter the underworld. First, they burn Achilles' body upon the fire and make sacrifices as offerings:

ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα μέν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ

κλαίομεν ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοί τ᾿ ἄνθρωποι·

ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ δ᾿ ἔδομεν **πυρί**, πολλὰ δέ σ᾿ ἀμφὶ

μῆλα κατεκτάνομεν μάλα πίονα καὶ ἕλικας βοῦς.

καίεο δ᾿ ἔν τ᾿ ἐσθῆτι θεῶν καὶ ἀλείφατι πολλῷ

καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῷ· πολλοὶ δ᾿ **ἥρωες** Ἀχαιοὶ

τεύχεσιν ἐρρώσαντο **πυρὴν** πέρι καιομένοιο,

πεζοί θ᾿ ἱππῆές τε· πολὺς δ᾿ ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει [*Od.* 24.63-70].

And for seven and ten days both night and day we

lamented you, both the immortal gods and mortal men;

and on the eighteenth we gave you to the fire, and on all sides of you

we sacrificed exceedingly fat sheep and curvy-horned oxen.

And you were burned in the clothing of the gods and in many oils

and sweet-smelling honey; and the many Achaean warriors, both footmen and charioteers

having built up the pyre moved rhythmically about the pyre

as you were being burned; and a great noise arose.

Then, the Achaeans gathered the ashes at dawn and made offerings to accompany the funerary urn:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή σε φλὸξ ἤνυσεν Ἡφαίστοιο,

ἠῶθεν δή τοι λέγομεν λεύκ᾿ ὀστέ᾿, Ἀχιλλεῦ,

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οἴνῳ ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι· δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ

χρύσεον **ἀμφιφορῆα**· Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον

φάσκ᾽ ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο.

ἐν τῷ τοι κεῖται λεύκ᾽ ὀστέα, φαίδιμ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῦ,

μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος... [*Od.* 24.63-77].

But when the flame of Hephaistos had consumed you,

then at dawn we gathered your white bones, Achilles,

(and placed them) in unmixed wine and anointing oils; and your mother gave a

golden two-handled jar, and said that it was a gift from Dionysus and the work of

renowned Hephaistos.

And in this urn your white bones lie, radiant Achilles,

and mingled with those of the dead Patroklos son of Menoetius…

The Achaeans then construct a massive funeral mound for the fallen warriors:

ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοῖσι δ᾽ ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον

χεύαμεν Ἀργείων **ἱερὸς στρατὸς** αἰχμητάων

ἀκτῇ ἔπι προὐχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,

ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη

τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται [Od. 24.80-84].

And over them we then heaped up a great and noble burial

mound, we the sacred host of Argive warriors,

upon a protruding headland upon the wide Hellespont,

so that it might be seen from afar from the sea both by men that live

now and those that are born in posterity.

Finally, Agamemnon tells about the rich and plentiful prizes that were available for the funeral games in honor of Achilles. He relates the importance of the funeral games as part of the funeral rites:

… οἳ᾽ ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ᾽ ἄεθλα,

ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις· μάλα γὰρ φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν.

ὣς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανὼν ὄνομ᾽ ὤλεσας, ἀλλά τοι αἰεὶ

πάντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους **κλέος** ἔσσεται ἐσθλόν, Ἀχιλλεῦ… [*Od.* 24.91-94].

…such very beautiful contest prizes the goddess, silver-footed Thetis, placed

down in your honor; for you were exceedingly beloved by the gods.

So that despite having died, you have not yet lost your name, but always

over all men your fame will be great, Achilles…

Chapter Five

Analysis

This chapter examines the two lines of evidence previously presented, in a way that accounts for both differences and similarities between them. In other words, this chapter examines where Homer and the archaeological evidence agree and disagree with each other, while exploring reasons for overlap and gaps. The themes from the literature review and the theoretical models from the theory chapter contribute to this analysis. A discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of utilizing Homer alongside archaeological evidence, as well as an examination of the level of influence each had on the development of hero cults follows. It is important to recollect the idea that hero cults eventually developed out of certain funerary rituals and practices that were important in the EIA for competition amongst emerging elites, and included construction of monumental tombs, evidence of secondary burial and tomb re-use, funerary feasting, and evidence of offerings made both during burial and after.

This chapter argues that both the archaeological record and Homer (stemming from the oral tradition) reflect the idea that elite power is intimately related to a warrior identity, and in times of increasing social complexity is legitimated through the material record. The mortuary sphere is particularly important for the expression of warrior ideology, the display of wealth, and the legitimation of power. Mortuary rituals are driven by the idea of memory; the power of a warrior-hero's ancestral past is incorporated into a localized collective memory in order to elevate the status of an elite member of the community. The material record provides insight into the mortuary rituals used by emerging elites in the EIA, and where the archaeological evidence is lacking, Homer and the oral tradition are able to fill in the gaps to some degree.

Monumentality and the Display of Wealth

Monumental architecture in the funerary landscape was an important stage for elite competition. In Homer, the idea of heaping up a large tomb over the fallen warrior-hero is prevalent. In the passages that describe the funeral scenes of heroes like Eetion, Achilles, and Patroklus, there are two different words used to mean the burial mound itself: σῆμα and τύμβος. Σῆμα means a sign or mark to distinguish something, and is rather vague in the sense that it does not distinguish a particular type of tomb construction. Τύμβος, on the other hand, brings to mind the type of monumental burials seen in the archaeological record. A τύμβος is "a mound of earth or stones erected over and marking a grave, a gravemound, or barrow" (Cunliffe 1977: 392). While earthen mounds do appear in the archaeological record from the EIA, such as those erected over the Royal Tombs at Salamis and some in Athens, tumuli are not common. Re-use of BA tumuli, however, does occur in the EIA, such as Portes Chamber Tomb 3, which was built into a MH tumulus during the LH IIIC (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 159; Moschos 2007: 31). If, however, τύμβος can also refer to a mound of stones erected over a grave, then perhaps it could refer to built stone tombs, i.e. chamber and tholos tombs which are much more common in the archaeological record. The verb most commonly used in the burial scenes selected in the previous chapter is χέω, which means "to pour"—often used in the sense of pouring liquids, which could give the verb a ritualistic quality. In terms of solid objects like stones, χέω can also mean "to arrange, place, or put," which could imply a built stone tomb when used with τύμβος.

In the post-palatial and proto-geometric periods, there is not much evidence for the construction of many new tombs; instead, there are some instances of re-use of BA tombs, but most burials occurred in simple cist or pit graves (Athens is a good example of this practice—see Coldstream 2003; Lemos 2006: 505-530). Later in the EIA, beginning in the Geometric in some places, we see the construction of new tholos and chamber tombs. Crete has quite a few

examples of built stone tombs as early as the Late Minoan IIIC period and continuing throughout the Geometric period, such as at Knossos's North Cemetery, Vrokastro, and Kavousi (particularly Kavousi-*Vronda*) (Eaby 2007: 43-55, 155-161; Haggis 2005: 134-136; Hayden 2003: 1-19; Murphy 2011: 141-145).

Another practice prevalent in Homeric literature is cremation and the construction of massive pyres such as Achilles's funeral pyre, which according to Homer was 100 by 100 feet in size (*Il.* 13.164). While the archaeological record has not preserved any pyres quite on that scale, we expect myth, of course, to be exaggerated to some degree for the sake of heightening drama. However, there is evidence of pyres in the archaeological record; some of the best preserved examples were found in the *dromoi* of chamber and tholos tombs such as at Salamis (Blackwell 2010; Rupp 1988). In regard to the burial of the cremated remains, the archaeological evidence seems to resemble Homeric descriptions. The cremated remains were often found in an urn, such as the two-handled amphora-urn (recall Thetis's golden two-handled urn, ἀμφιφορῆα, for Achilles in *Od.* 24.66) from the Areopagus warrior burial in Athens (Blegen 1952; Coldstream 2003: 30). Additionally, as in the *Iliad*, there is some evidence of burial offerings that were placed on the pyre first and then buried in the same cist or pit as the cremation urn. Some examples of this are seen in Kerameikos burials 2, 38, and 74, where the weapons buried with the cremation had signs of being heavily burned (see Coldstream 2003: 31-33).

The Display of Wealth in the Mortuary Sphere

The archaeological record contains clear evidence of the conspicuous consumption of prestige goods by elites in burials, echoing the Homeric Epics. The rich funerary offerings in Homer do have some analogs with EIA burials. Wealth expenditure can be represented by sacrificing animals in honor of the deceased; this is seen when Achilles leads four horses, in

addition to slaughtering sheep and oxen, onto Patroklos's funeral pyre (*Il.* 13.164-173). This

scene recalls the horse sacrifices in the *dromoi* of the Royal Tombs at Salamis (Blackwell 2010;

Rupp 1988). In the shaft graves in the Heroon at Lefkandi, four horses were found as offerings

accompanying the burials (Popham et. al. 1982, 1988-1989, 1993). When the deceased could not

match that level of prestigious offering, they instead sacrificed smaller animals, such as donkeys

or even dogs. For example, the later burials in the Cellarka cemetery at Salamis attempt to mimic

the burials of the wealthy and powerful individuals buried in the nearby Royal Cemetery, but

they must make adjustments by burying less expensive animals (like donkeys and dogs)

(Blackwell 2010). Because the Cellarka burials date later than the original Royal Cemetery

burials, those that buried their dead there also created deliberate links with the past by accessing

and utilizing a local, collective memory. Examples of sheep and goat offerings are also evident

in the archaeological record, such as the tholos tomb at Kavousi-*Skouriasmenos* (Eaby 2007: 55,

250, 255).

Additionally, the consumption of prestige objects, especially those made of metal, is

another way the mortuary sphere is utilized by elites to display their wealth, status, and power.

The golden scepter from Tomb 40 at Kourion, in additional to the bronze weapons, armor

fragments, and vessels, is an example of an exceptionally wealthy elite burial (Buitron-Oliver

1997: 27-36). Tomb 202 in the North Cemetery at Knossos also contained many prestige burial

goods, especially bronze armor fragments and weapons, a gold ring, and a boar's tusk helmet

(Murphy 2011: 144). Additionally, just as was seen with the donkey offerings in lieu of horse

offerings, when someone did not have the means to bury items of precious metals like gold and

silver, they instead created items from less expensive materials in an attempt to mimic the wealth

of more prestigious elite burials. Tholos Tomb III at Pylos comes to mind, where the presence of

ceramic drinking vessels coated in tin was clearly an attempt to mimic silver or gold-foiled

vessels of the sort described in Homeric Epic (recall, again, the gold amphora urn in the

Odyssey) (Murphy 2016a, 2016b; Murphy et. al. 2018).

Besides offerings and prestige grave goods, the burial structure itself is also an important

contributor to the efficacy of the mortuary rituals in creating and legitimating power. The

massive burial monuments described in Homer consist of massive funeral pyres and tumuli; in

the archaeological record, the monumental stone tholoi and chamber tombs, such as those at

Salamis, Kavousi-*Skouriasmenos*, Vrokastro, Knossos, Pylos, Nichoria, Portes, and others, are

definitive displays of elite wealth and power. The cost of materials and the level of control of

labor needed to construct such tombs demonstrates the wealth and social and economic power of

the individual conducting the burial, as well as the status of the person being buried. Even when

the form of interment is not monumental, such as the cist-grave burial of the "Areopagus

warrior," the wealth and prestige of the individual and their successors is evident in the grave

goods instead. For example, the cist-grave burial of the "Areopagus warrior" contained valuable

bronze and iron weapons, including the ritually "killed" sword (Blegen 1952: 289-293).

Some Gaps between Homer and Archaeology

While there are some similarities, the Homeric descriptions of heroic warriors and their

associated funeral rites do not align completely with the archaeological record. For example, the

dominant funeral rite in Homer is cremation, whereas the archaeological record clearly shows

that inhumation was practiced in tandem with cremation, sometimes even within the same tomb

(see Eaby 2007 for an example on Crete). In fact, inhumation was the dominant burial form of

the LH IIIC through Geometric periods, and it gained popularity throughout Greece and Cyprus

later in the EIA. The fact that the cremation burial at Lefkandi occurred so early on in the EIA is more of an outlier than the norm.

Additionally, Homer seems to emphasize the notion of burying a warrior in all his accoutrements, including his armor. Armor is rarely found in EIA burials, although looting probably has played a major role in its absence. When armor is found in an archaeological context, it is often very fragmented and ill-preserved. For example, only fragments of a shield survived in Tomb 202 at Knossos (Murphy 2011: 144). In Tomb 2 at Amathus, around 16,000 fragments of metal-studded leather armor were all that survived (Aupert 2000: 97). Homer describes scenes in which the warrior-hero was burned in his armor, such as the burial of Eetion (*Il.* 6.416-420) and the request made by Elpenor in *Il.* 11.74-77. However, Homer interestingly contradicts himself when he describes the lineage of various warrior's armor. For example, Nestor describes the lineage of the armor of a past hero named Lykourgos, who, upon dying, passed his armor to his *therapon* (translated as henchmen or follower), rather than being buried in it (*Il.* 7.135-149). This implies (in direct contradiction of the funeral scenes in the data chapter) that armor instead was meant to be passed down to surviving relatives, rather than be included as a grave good. If this were the case in the EIA, it could also explain why EIA burials lack armor. What we do find plenty of evidence for in the archaeological record are weapon burials; this could be due to the simple fact that armor is much more costly to make than a sword or spearhead, and so taking armor out of circulation by making it a burial good would certainly be a strong statement of personal wealth.

In regards to weapon burials, the archaeological record does include some interesting examples of the "ritual killing" of the weapon, meaning the weapon was destroyed by being burned and/or bent and included as a burial offering. For example, the Areopagus warrior burial

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included a sword that was bent and wrapped around the neck of the funerary amphora-urn. While the ritual killing of a weapon is not as much of a statement of wealth as if an entire suit of armor were included in the grave goods, it still is a ritual act that ensures that a valuable, metal good was permanently taken out of circulation and instead entered the mortuary sphere; it became an important part of the deceased individual's statement of power and wealth. While in the funeral scenes Homer does describe weapons being thrown on the pyre, he does not offer any examples quite to the extreme of bending a weapon, completely mangling it and literally encompassing the dead's cremated remains.

Besides being a statement of wealth and power, the ritual killing of weapons could be associated with the idea that the weapons were an integral part of the warrior-hero's identity and power. For example, spears are used in epithets of some of the warrior heroes in Homer, such as Priam "of the ashen spear" (ἐυμμελίω) (*Il.* 8.552), and Aias "famed for the spear" (δουρικλυτὸς) (*Il.* 14.446; see also Diomedes in *Il.*10.109). Weapons were (in a way) personified throughout the *Iliad.* For example, we see spears continue to shake after they were firmly implanted in either the ground or the pierced enemy, as if the weapon were a living entity or an extension of the warrior-hero themselves. For example, in *Il.* 13. 502-505, the spear misses its target and lies quivering (κραδαινομένη) in the ground. While Homer could just be describing the physics behind the spear stuck in the ground, the personification of weapons as living entities with a desire to make impact with human flesh (for example, "..ἱεμένη χροὸς ἄμεναι ἀνδρομέοιο" in *Il.* 21.70) suggests the weapons of warriors were more than mere inanimate objects in the minds of those living in the EIA. Weapons are even given humanistic adjectives such as valiant (*Il.* 14.12) and mighty (*Il.* 10.135); Cunliffe (1977: 97) refers to these as the epithets of the weapons, just as warriors in the epic tradition are given epithets. The importance of weapons to the hero's identity is seen in

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epithets or even the history of the weapon's service to the warrior who wields it. If indeed

weapons were seen as not only integral to the warrior's identity, but as an extension of the hero

himself, then the ritual killing of that weapon would further attest to the personal connection

between a warrior's status and the weapon he used to attain that status. This is seen when a

warrior is killed or nearly killed in battle and Homer states that the spear fell from his hands as

the warrior also fell to the ground (for examples see *Il.* 14.419 and 21.115).

An important funerary feature that Homer leaves out is the notion of tomb re-use and

secondary burial. The archaeological record shows that the re-use of BA tombs as well as the re-

use of tombs built in the EIA occurred across Greece and Cyprus. Tomb re-use was an important

way for emerging elites to, once again, tap into a localized collective memory and utilize the

power of a past warrior-hero by being buried in the same physical location. Whether the

individual from the earlier burial was actually related to the person re-using the tomb is not really

what matters. Rather, the individual's claim to have a link to an ancestral, heroic past through the

appropriation of the physical tomb was another way for emerging elites to compete with each

other in the mortuary sphere. Secondary burial serves a similar purpose as tomb re-use. The

physical remains of the past "ancestor" were displaced in order to allow for the newly deceased

individual to use the tomb without inciting the wrath of the dead whose bones they are moving.

Sometimes, the bones were even taken out altogether, as is seen at Mochlos, where offerings

were left in the robbed tomb, presumably to appease and honor the deceased whose remains were

taken in order to be utilized elsewhere (perhaps in a completely different burial) (Eaby 2007: 78-

79; Soles 2008: 177-179).

Funerary Rituals and κλέος ἄφθιτον

As shown above, the archaeological record and the Homeric evidence clearly demonstrate how elite ideology is negotiated and legitimated using the mortuary sphere. Monumental tombs and the conspicuous consumption of wealth during the burial contribute to the efficacy of the funerary rituals in legitimating elite power and ideology, as well as the ability of that power to enter and remain in the collective memory of the community. Intimately tied into the legitimation of power and cultural memory is the concept of κλέος as a part of warrior-hero identity and ideology. Nagy (2013) offers two definitions of κλέος: "glory, fame, that which is heard" and "the poem or song that conveys glory, fame, [and] that which is heard" (2013: 26). Nagy explains that κλέος was a vital part of the oral tradition and of the "song culture" of ancient Greece; it was through the oral tradition and the singing of epic poetry that the κλέος of warrior-hero was immortalized in the Greek collective memory (Nagy 2013: 26-31). The use of the word κλέος in Homer, as in the funeral scene of Achilles in Book 24 of the *Odyssey*, immortalized the fame of the warrior-heroes in Greek thought and memory. The funerary rituals described in Homer (and the oral tradition), provided a mechanism by which the fame and glory of the warrior-hero could become imperishable—κλέος ἄφθιτον. The archaeological record demonstrates that people in Greece and Cyprus in the EIA also used the mortuary sphere to legitimate and immortalize their own κλέος.

Utilizing Homer alongside Archaeology: the Benefits and Drawbacks

The archaeological record provides crucial evidence of ancient practices through the examination of the material record left *in situ* by past peoples. While this information is not completely unbiased (due to the biases of the archaeologists conducting the excavations), there is some degree of objective, scientific interpretations. The literary record can also be tricky to

utilize due to the biases of the person who wrote any specific text, but written texts are still given legitimacy because they are sometimes as close to a first-hand account of a past event that the archaeologist has access to. The oral record, on the other hand, is often discredited as being less reliable to use as a legitimate line of evidence due to the many individual biases that are collected throughout an oral tradition's history, as well as the often dramatic and fantastical nature of some oral records, such as mythological stories or foundation myths. This does not mean, however, that oral histories should be completely ignored or discredited.

In the case of studying the EIA, the Homeric epics are two of the best surviving texts from that era (granted, from later on in the EIA). However, the epics were based on a written record of the oral histories of the Bronze Age that were undoubtedly in circulation throughout the Eastern Mediterranean following the LBA collapses. The funerary rituals described in Homer seem to correlate, for the most part, with examples found in the mortuary record. However, in some cases, such as the massive scale of the funerals of Patroklos and Achilles, or the wrapping of the body in fat, or the supremacy of cremation as the primary burial rite, various explanations come to mind. For example, poor preservation in the archaeological record of cremation rites could be one reason why we do not see cremation burials really gaining supremacy in the EIA, whereas inhumation burials can have better preservation (especially if the inhumation took place in a stone-lined cist or even a built stone tomb).

In regards to the grand scale of the funerals in Homer, one reason we do not see that level of wealth expenditure in the archaeological record could be as simple as that oral myths exaggerated mortuary rituals to add drama in order to maintain the attention of the audience. The closest the archaeological record comes to matching the wealth of Homeric funerals is the Royal Cemetery at Salamis, and these burials are late in the EIA age (8th century). Another potential

explanation for lack of wealth (compared to Homer) in EIA burials could be the prevalence of looting, both in antiquity (such as at Mochlos) and modern times. The wealthiest surviving grave goods from the relatively few elaborate EIA burials tend to survive in the *dromoi* of chamber and tholos tombs, because the burial chamber itself often experienced looting while the *dromoi* were spared for the most part (as is the case at Salamis).

Summary

This chapter has illustrated the importance of utilizing both archaeological and Homeric lines of evidence, particularly its importance to the mortuary sphere, elite competition, and cultural memory. During the EIA, increasing levels of social complexity following the BA collapse led to the use of the mortuary sphere by emerging elites to legitimate and secure their power. The expenditure of wealth in funerary rituals cemented the power and status of elites in the collective localized memory of their community. On a wider geographic scale, first the oral tradition, followed by written Homeric epic, solidified the connection between power, wealth, and status and the warrior-hero in the broader Greek collective memory. Elite competition in the EIA resulted in the heroic warrior burials seen in the archaeological record in order to legitimate the status of elite individuals during a time of increasing social complexity. Furthermore, the oral tradition, Homer, and the mortuary record served as vessels for the heroic burial tradition to endure in the collective Greek memory, resulting in the development of true hero cults in the Archaic and later periods.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Zero to Hero Cult?

The purpose of this study was to examine the origins of hero cults in Greece and Cyprus. True hero cults really arose in the Archaic, following a long period during the EIA when elite competition drove the advent of the sort of heroic burials seen in the archaeological record and in Homer. The theory employed in this study explores the intersection of social complexity, mortuary archaeology, and cultural memory. From this intersection, we can create a cyclical model of increasing and decreasing complexity based on changes in mortuary practices. Changes in complexity reflect the increasing use of the mortuary sphere by emerging elites to legitimate power. Mortuary practices such as monumental tombs, ostentatious burials, and funerary rituals (like tomb and hero cult), allow the legitimation of power to enter the collective memory of a community, thus ensuring the power of that individual is given longevity. Cultural memory, then, is the underlying method that reinforces changes in social complexity.

Applying this model to the EIA, we see that elite warrior-heroes used the mortuary sphere to legitimate their power in a time of increasing social complexity following the LBA episodes of collapse. Monumental chamber and tholos tombs, wealthy grave goods, and evidence of sustained activity of funerary offerings at burial sites, were all methods used by warrior-elites in the EIA to solidify and legitimate their power. The epic tradition and the monumentality of the burials evident in the archaeological record contributed to the cementing of heroic ideology in the collective memory of EIA peoples in Greece and Cyprus. From this process, the concept of worshipping heroes was born and continues to this day, as demonstrated by the "cult" of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, found in countless countries. The next time you find yourself in Arlington National Cemetery or Syntagma Square, recognize that the Tomb of the Unknown

Soldier is, in a way, a modern-day imitation of the heroic warrior-burials seen in EIA Greece and Cyprus.

The present study had the ambitious goal of undertaking an inter-regional investigation of elite burials and their relation to the origins of hero cult in Greece and Cyprus. Conducting these sorts of broader comparative analyses is important in order to ascertain how, where, and when various cultural processes came about. Due to temporal and financial constraints, I chose to restrict the number of sites included in the data to a limited number of elite and/or "warrior" burials that serve to represent the use of the mortuary sphere by competing elites in the EIA, which contributed to the subsequent formation of hero cults in the Archaic. Given more time and resources, the best way to conduct this cross-regional study would be to include a more exhaustive data set of elite EIA burials in order to better learn how, where, and when hero cults first developed out of the elite EIA warrior burials. However, the research still shows a clear link between the use of the mortuary sphere in EIA burials by competing elites to consolidate and legitimate power, which would later lead to the development of true hero cults.

Beyond the Hero Cult: Criticisms and Further Research

Along the journey of this study, I learned many lessons about some prevalent issues within the disciplines of archaeology and classical studies. To begin, research into the EIA occupation levels within Greece and Cyprus, particularly in the mortuary sphere, deserves more attention from scholars. Using excavations to probe below the Classical and Archaic layers at sites is vital to expanding our knowledge and understanding of EIA society. Additionally, it is important to allocate resources and attention to restudying the material from sites where the EIA remains were disregarded in order to reach the wealth of the BA palatial layers. For example, Joanne Murphy's project dedicating a great deal of time and money to restudying the tombs at

Pylos proved to be useful for my own research, and will certainly be of great to our entire discipline moving forward, as more archaeologists are paying closer attention to the less archaeologically visible layers of ancient cultures. Beyond the retrieval of data through field work, it is critical that archaeologists take the time to publish their research. Otherwise, what is the point of conducting it in the first place if only a limited number of people can have access to the information acquired? This leads into another point, which is the necessity and importance of making information as widely and freely accessible as possible to a broad audience. Site reports and data should be made available online, freely accessible when possible, in order to promote the use of the material for research.

A final point I wish to make is that classicists and archaeologists must do a better job of utilizing as many lines of evidence as possible when conducting research. To fall into the rut of using only archaeological data, or only literary evidence, is to ignore entire bodies of data that could otherwise better inform our efforts to understand the past. The present study illustrates how the various lines of evidence can work in tandem with each other. Additionally, it is irresponsible to dismiss a line of evidence completely because it appears to be unrealistic or untrue on the surface. Oral histories are vital storehouses of information that often are dismissed as being mere mythological "tall-tales." This study has demonstrated, however, that the oral tradition was a vital way that information was stored and passed down through the generations as part of the collective memory of a community—despite the lack of writing (as seen in the EIA). Moving forward, scholars must acknowledge that interdisciplinary work is incredibly important and worthwhile. Employing all available forms of evidence will facilitate the development of more nuanced interpretations of the past.

Appendix A

Table 1. Chronology for the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, adapted from the British Museum Online, Cline 2010: Table 2.2, Dickinson 2006: Figure 1.1; Janes 2013: Table 1; Mee 2011: Table 1.2.

Mainland	Dates BCE	Cyclades	Dates BCE	Crete	Dates BCE	Cyprus	Dates BCE
EH I	3100-3000	EC I	3100-3000	EM I	3100-3000	EC I	2400-2150
		Kampos Phase	2900-2650	(EM IB)	(2900-2650)		
EH II	2650-2500	EC II	2650-2500	EM IIA	2650-2450/00	EC II	2150-2100
Later EH II	2500-2200	Kastri Phase	2500-2250	EM IIB	2450/00-2200		
EH III	2250-2100/2050	"b" and into Phylakopi I Phase	2400-2200	EM III	2200-2100/2050	EC III	2100-2000/1950
MH I	2000-1900	MC I	ca. 2200-2000	MM IA	2100/50-1925/00	MC I	2000/1950-1850
				MM IB	1920/00-1875/50		
MH II	1900-1800	MC II	ca. 2000-1900	MM II	1875/50-1750/00	MC II	1850-1750
MH III	1800-1700	MC III	ca. 1900-1700	MM III (A-B)	1750/00-1700/1675	MC III	1750-1650
LH I	1700/1675-1635/00	LC I	1700/1675-1625/00	LM IA	1700/1675-1625/00	LC IA	1650-1550
				LM IB	1625/00-1470/60	LC IB	1550-1450
LH IIA	1635/00-1480/70	LC II	1625/00-	LM II	1470/60-1420/10	LC IIA	1450-1375
LH IIB	1480/70-1420/10					LC IIB	1375-1300
						LC IIC	1340/15-1200
LH IIIA$_1$	1420/10-1390/70	LC III	1420/1400-	LM IIIA$_1$	1420/10-1390/70	LC IIIA	1200-1100
LH IIIA$_2$	1390/70-1330/15			LM IIIA$_2$	1390/70-1330/15		
LH IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190			LM IIIB	1330/15-1200/1190	LC IIIB	1100-1050
LH IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50			LM IIIC	1200/1190-1075/50		
SM/EPG	1050/1025-950					CG I	1100/1050-950
MPG	950-900					CG II	950-850
LPG	900-850					CG III	850-750
EG I-II	850-800					CA I	750-600
MG	800-750					CA II	600-475
LG	750-700						

Appendix B

Images of various artifacts, features, and site plans from the excavations at Salamis. Images taken from Karageorghis (1969) (plate and figure numbers are indicated in the captions).
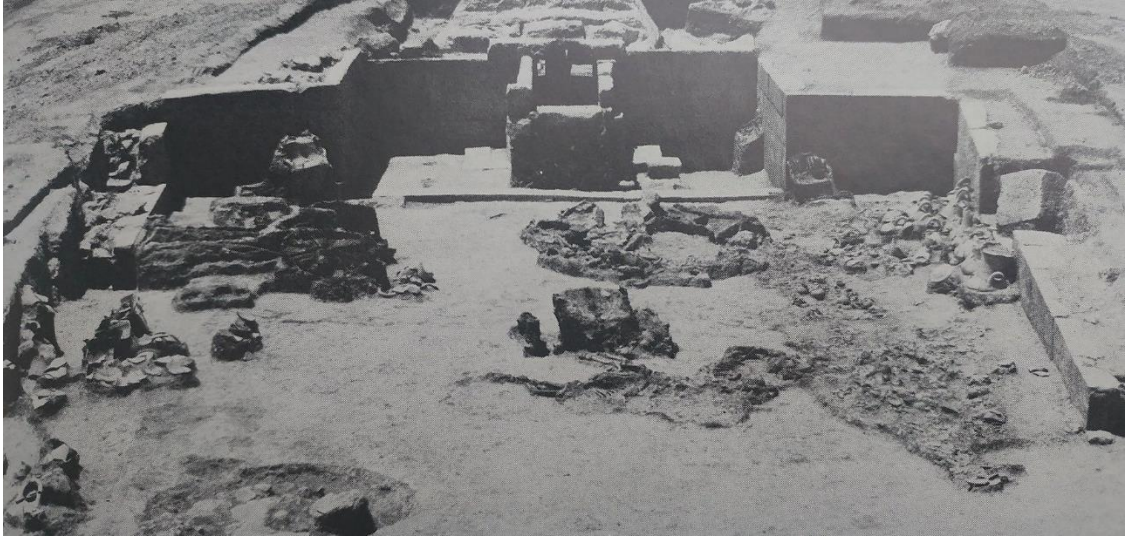

B.1. A ceramic incense burner (left) and an incised animal bone depicting a face of sorts (right) (Plates 61-62).

B.2. An iron lynch pin from the quadriga in the *dromos* of T.79. The pin has a figure of a fully-armed warrior on top (Plate 45).

B.3. Remains of a chair made of ivory in the *dromos* of T.79 (Plate 42).

B.4. Photo of the wealth of grave offerings found in the *dromos* of Royal T.79 (Plate 33).
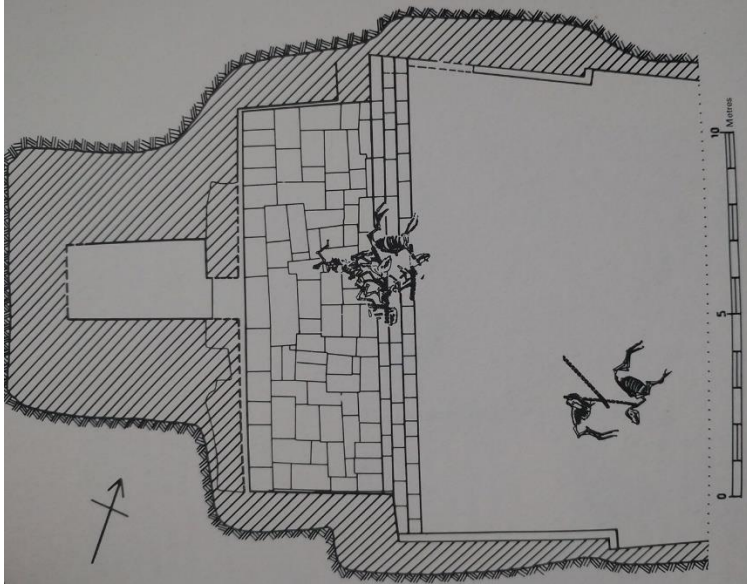

B.5. Ivory chair, the same from B.3 (above) after having been restored (Plate 6).
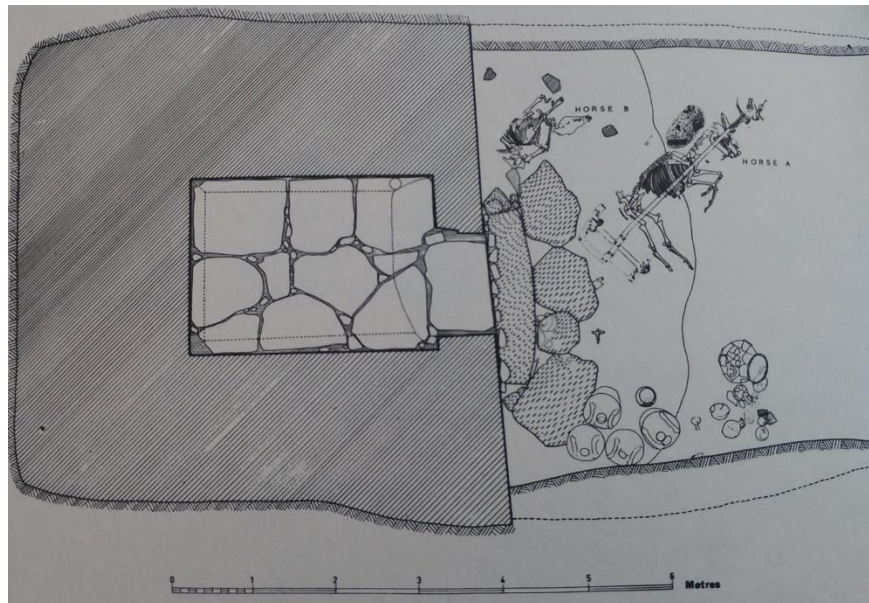

B.6. Photo of the *dromos* of Royal T.2 (Plate 9).

B.7. Bronze cauldron filled with ceramic vessels found in the *dromos* of T.79 (Plate 41).

B.8. Plan of T.47, showing the remains of 8 horse in the *dromos* and the *propylaeum,* two in *dromos* from the first burial, and six on the *propylaeum* from the second burial (Figure 5).

B.9. Plan of Cellarka T.2, showing the remains of 2 donkeys, a hearse, and ceramic vessels in the *dromos* (Figure 4).

B.10. An iron sword with silver studs found in Royal T.3. Remnants of wood and leather from the sheath were still preserved when excavated (Plate 25).
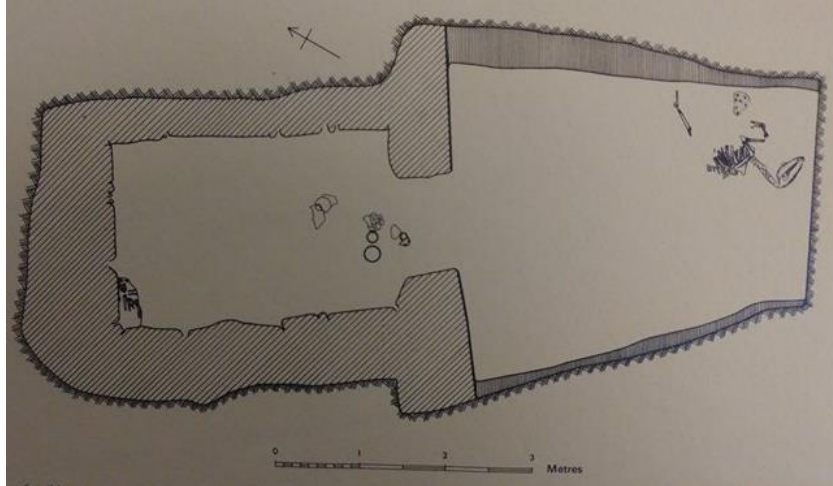
B.11. Plan of Royal T.19, with a donkey burial in the *dromos*; the cremated remains
of the individual buried in a pit in the corner of the chamber (Figure 16).

B.12. Ceramic votive offering in the form
of a shield with a lion head in the center.
Found in Royal T.13 (Plate 81).

B.13. Drawing of a bronze breastplate fragment found in
Royal T.79, near the façade (Figure 22).

Appendix C

Images of artifacts from Kourion Tomb 40. Images taken from McFadden and Sjöqvist (1954) (figure numbers given in captions).
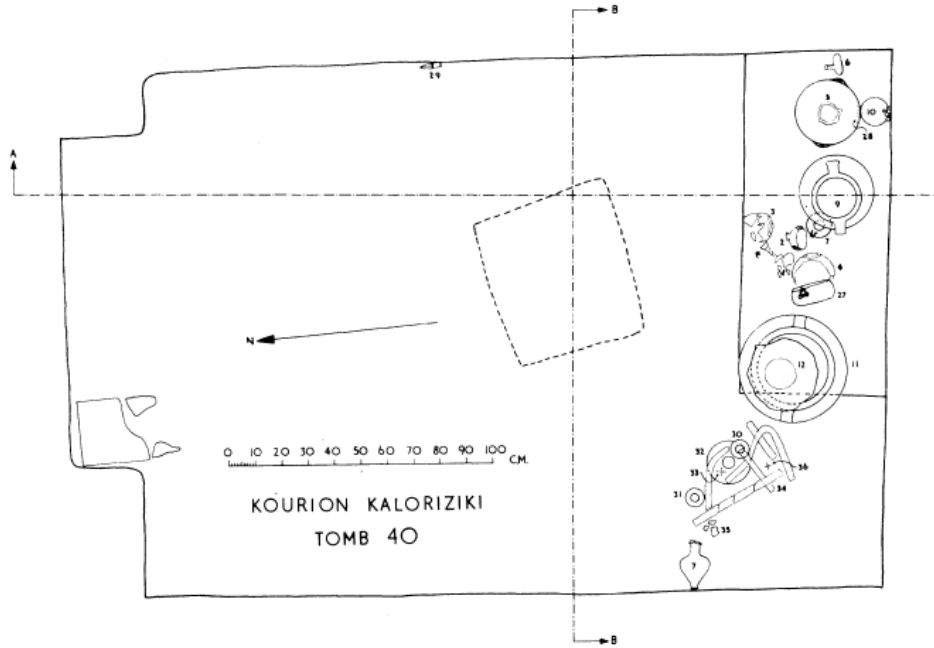
C.1. Plan of Tomb 40 at Kourion (Figure 7).

C.1. Grave goods found in north corner of the burial chamber (Figure 4).

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