

MYCENAEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A VIEW FROM SIMPLE GRAVES *

The most common type of Mycenaean sepulchre was of course the chamber tomb. During the whole Late Bronze Age, however, the Mycenaeans also buried their dead in graves and tombs of different types. These were pit and cist graves, simple shaft graves, built tombs and pit-caves ¹. I will call these types 'simple graves' for convenience. Pit and cist graves prevailed among them. I have been able to collect data on ca. 1000 such graves, one third of them well preserved and published. The simple graves can be found in intramural or extramural contexts ². The extramural graves formed sometimes separate cemeteries, in other cases they were found together with chamber tombs in mixed cemeteries ³.

Simple graves are especially useful for the study of Mycenaean burial customs, because they usually contain single burials and were not reopened after the funeral. Thus, the contents of unlooted and undestroyed graves are frequently not disturbed - in contrary to the chamber tombs ⁴. However, before we try to extend any conclusion resulting from analyses of simple graves to the whole Mycenaean population, we have to compare both groups of sepulchres in order to understand the similarities and differences between them - one can suspect that people buried in simple graves belonged to another social, wealth or even ethnical group than those from the chamber tombs ⁵. The following comparison will be drawn on a rather general, statistical level what means that the results will illustrate general tendencies and not individual cases. When possible, changes through time and local differences will be analysed, but it must be stressed here that the data usually do not allow for such detailed study. Various numbers of simple graves and chamber tomb interments will be taken into consideration according to the state of preservation of

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1 O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, *BSA* 78 (1983), 53-58 (definitions of types of tombs).

2 See J. Maran's paper in this volume for the problem of intramural burials.

3 I exclude from this paper burials found in dromoi of chamber tombs, which I consider to be a very special category of interments, and which I analysed elsewhere (*Atti del 2° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 1991* [forthcoming]).

4 Problems of analysis of the chamber tombs were fully discussed by S. VOUTSAKI, *Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World: an Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese* (Diss. Cambridge [1993]), 1-10, 65-66 (I am much grateful to Dr E. French for letting me know about this thesis and read it, and to Dr S. Voutsaki for permission to quote it); also the same author in this volume.

5 See different opinions on this subject: Ch. TSOUNTAS and J.I. MANATT, *The Mycenaean Age* (1897), 131-132, 151; E.T. VERMEULE, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (1966), 156-157; D.C. KURTZ and J. BOARDMAN, *Greek burial customs* (1971), 30; DICKINSON (*supra* n. 1), 62-63; J.L. BINTLIFF, *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece* (BAR Suppl. Series 28, 1977), 288-289; I. OZANNE, *Les Mycéniens. Pillards, paysans et poètes* (1990), 191.

particular features of individual burials - the reader must not be surprised that the tables will represent quite different totals.

The similarity or dissimilarity of the two groups of sepulchres can be tested on the basis of their typological or ritual features.

Construction. The most obvious difference is, of course, the construction itself. Clearly, the chamber tombs were generally much more energy-consuming than the simple graves, although the energy needed for digging pit-caves was probably equal to the energy spent for cutting smaller chamber tombs⁶. The situation changes when considering the energy needed for the funeral. Burying parties wanting to place their dead in an already existing chamber tomb had to dig small shaft in loose earth of the dromos, to unblock the entrance, to block it again and to refill the shaft⁷. Surely this task was easier than cutting down a new pit-cave or shaft grave in a hard surface. I think also that building of a new built tomb or cist grave could consume more labour than such a simple funeral in an existing chamber tomb.

Number of Burials (Table 1). Another main difference between chamber tombs and simple graves lies in the number of burials. The simple graves normally contain only one body, very rarely more than two. This means that, in contrary to the chamber tombs, the simple graves were basically intended for single use.

No. of graves	No. of burials
509	1
60	2
10	3
8	4
3	5
6	>5

Table 1. Number of burials in simple graves

When putting together both observations we can draw the following conclusions: individuals buried in simple graves belonged to a community capable of spending quite a lot of energy for building of the sepulchres but this community did not feel any necessity for communal sepulchres built with intention of use during a long time span, by members of present and future generations⁸. In contrary, they built their graves in response to a present need without having the preservation of family traditions for the future on mind. Some of the simple graves found besides the chamber tombs in mixed cemeteries can be interpreted differently, as burials of individuals excluded for some reasons from the main community or similarly, as belonging to another social or ethnical group.

Second Burial Custom. Another feature typical of the chamber tombs - the second burial custom - was very rare in the simple graves⁹. Among 280 well preserved simple graves only 10 did not contain any primary burial. Swept aside or heaped bones were found in ca. 25 well preserved graves - the result of freeing space for new burials. This

6 See DICKINSON (*supra* n. 1), 62, 64-65; P.L.J. HALSTEAD, *Strategies for Survival: an Ecological Approach to Social and Economic Change in the Early Farming Communities of Thessaly, N. Greece* (Diss. Cambridge, 1984), 184-185 on estimations of the amount of labour needed for construction of tombs and on use of skilled labour.

7 G.E. MYLONAS, *AJA* 52 (1948), 69-70; S. IAKOVIDIS, *ArchAnAth* 2 (1969), 124-126.

8 Cf. DICKINSON (*supra* n. 1), 65-66 (burials in chamber tombs were not real multiple burials).

9 R. HUNTINGTON and P. METCALF, *Celebrations of Death: the Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual* (1979), 81-92 on the meaning of the secondary treatment of the body.

makes of course sharp contrast with the chamber tombs where the second burial habit was much more frequent ¹⁰.

Position of the Bodies (Table 2). There were four main positions of the bodies deposited in graves and tombs: crouched, contracted, supine (body lying on its back with contracted legs - usually with knees drawn up), and extended ¹¹. Generally, there is visible difference between the simple graves and chamber tombs: in chamber tombs extended and supine positions prevail, while extended and contracted positions prevail in simple graves. This general rule applies also to adults in both groups of tombs and children in simple graves. Children in chamber tombs were buried mostly in supine and contracted positions. The comparison gives different results when considering the evolution through time: in the Early Mycenaean period the tendencies in both groups of tombs are similar: contracted and supine positions dominate; in the Late Mycenaean period we can observe a change: in the chamber tombs supine and extended positions began to prevail and in the simple graves there was strong dominance of the extended position over supine and contracted ones with a marginal role of the crouched position. The same changes are observable among adults in both groups of tombs. It is more difficult to compare the children's burials because of the shortage of data on the chamber tombs but it seems that there was no change at all. It means that for children in the simple graves extended and contracted positions were preferred and for children in the chamber tombs supine and contracted in both periods.

a. Chamber tombs

Position	General			Early Mycenaean			Late Mycenaean		
	Total	Adults	Children	Total	Adults	Children	Total	Adults	Children
crouched	5	2	1	1	0	0	3	1	1
contracted	57	41	7	10	6	3	33	24	4
supine	106	85	8	8	7	3	57	46	4
extended	102	81	2	29	26	1	57	42	0

b. Simple graves

Position	General			Early Mycenaean			Late Mycenaean		
	Total	Adults	Children	Total	Adults	Children	Total	Adults	Children
crouched	41	20	12	26	16	8	9	3	4
contracted	98	41	25	50	25	12	35	16	8
supine	56	30	7	16	4	4	37	24	3
extended	132	56	29	38	20	11	78	34	11

Table 2. Position of the bodies

It is not easy to study such problems in a regional context because the numbers of recorded interments are too low. What can be done is comparison of totals between the Argolid and Attica. We see that the distributions of the positions of the Argive interments are very similar to the totals for the whole of Mycenaean Greece with exception of the

10 W.C. CAVANAGH, *BICS* 25 (1978), 171-172. R. HERTZ, *Death and the Right Hand* (1960), 52-53 points out that existence or not of the second burial habit among various groups does not mean necessarily that there was any difference in belief on souls between those groups.

11 The excavators confuse sometimes contracted and supine positions or describe the bones in such a way that it is impossible to understand what the real position was. I assume that in all cases, when photographs or drawings are supplied, the supine position is characterised by straight or almost straight spine and arms lying on both sides of the body in contrary to the contracted position where the line of the spine is curved and both arms are usually in front of the body.

extended position which was more important in the chamber tombs in the Argolid. We can see some local peculiarities in Attica: a much larger than usual number of interments in supine position in the chamber tombs and a smaller role played by crouched and contracted positions in the local simple graves.

Generally, we can say that the most notable difference between the two groups of tombs lies in the much greater importance of the supine position in the chamber tombs and growing importance of the extended position through time in the simple graves. On the basis of the bodies' positions we can say that there were similarities of the burial behaviour between the two communities (especially as concerns changes through time) but also quite obvious differences which cannot be explained simply as the result of placing the bodies in different tomb types (we could expect the contracted and crouched positions to be the most popular in the simple graves, just to fit their smaller dimensions, but this is not the case and we know quite a lot of instances where not only were the bodies deposited in extended or supine positions but also there was still a lot of free space left between heads or feet and the ends of the graves).

Orientation of the Bodies (Graph 1, Pl. XVI-XVII). Generally the situation is quite clear: in the chamber tombs bodies were oriented mostly to East, South and North; in the simple graves the most frequent orientations are North-East, North-West and North. The bodies in the chamber tombs tend to face mostly North and West and in the simple graves there is strong tendency to face South-West. It is necessary to split all the interments into two categories according to the body's positions: skeletons lying on their backs, and skeletons lying on their sides. If we try to find a similar feature of both groups of burials we see that the main orientation of heads of extended and supine skeletons coincides with the dominating orientation of faces of the contracted and crouched bodies. Thus, I think that in simple graves the orientation of the heads for those lying on their backs and orientation of the faces for those lying on their sides was decisive: the dominating orientation for both groups is North-East. In the chamber tombs the situation is much more complicated and it is rather difficult to find a general rule. Orientation of the tombs themselves had some influence since *ca.* one third of the bodies were placed parallel to the main axis of the tombs. But the others seem to be deposited randomly. There are some differences between the regions but because of the scarcity of the data we are able to compare only the Argolid and Attica: interestingly enough we find that there was a much larger variety of orientations in the Argolid (both in the chamber tombs and in the simple graves) than in Attica. In both regions orientation of the interments is more varied in the chamber tombs than in the simple graves. It seems that in the simple graves the dominating orientation of heads of extended or supine skeletons (North and East in the Argolid and North-East in Attica) coincides with the main orientation of faces of contracted and crouched skeletons (North and East respectively). Generally, we can suppose that the people burying their dead in simple graves found the proper orientation of the bodies much more important than the community of the chamber tombs did.

Grave Offerings (Tables 3 and 4). Here the difference between the chamber tombs and the simple graves is more evident. 40% of all well preserved simple graves did not contain any offering at all in contrast to only 21% of the chamber tomb burials. But if we take into consideration only graves from cemeteries without chamber tombs the proportion of furnished (72%) to bare burials (28%) is much better and more similar to the chamber tombs. The intramural graves mostly belonged to children (80%) and were obviously very poorly furnished ¹². Generally the distribution of grave goods in simple graves and

12 See HERTZ (*supra* n. 10), 84; J. GOODY, *Death, Property and the Ancestors. A Study of the Mortuary Customs of the Lodagaas of West Africa* (1962), 90, 149 on children's burials.

chamber tombs is quite similar (we take into account only furnished burials). Main differences are: more skeletons accompanied by weapons, tools, mirrors, seals and buttons were found in the chamber tombs; and on the other hand more skeletons were accompanied by dress fasteners, jewellery (by this term I mean beads, spirals, rings and other personal adornments) and pottery in the simple graves¹³. When we exclude all LH III C and Submycenaean graves from our analysis (periods with very large number of interments in simple graves and very low number of burials in chamber tombs) the difference in dress fasteners and jewellery disappears¹⁴. It is obvious that burials found in the chamber tombs were much richer (when judging from the inventories of finds from whole tombs) - but there is problem of attribution of the grave goods to individuals. About a sixth of the chamber tomb burials analysed here was constituted by the last interments, which are usually poorer than the earlier ones. My impression is that the chamber tombs were much richer than is suggested by the burials preserved *in situ* together with their offerings. For this reason it does not make sense to continue here consideration of this problem, with one exception: spindle-whorl-like objects called 'buttons'. They were much more frequent in the chamber tombs (ca. 20% of skeletons compared with 9% in the simple graves). The average number of buttons per skeleton in the chamber tombs is 2.64 and in well preserved simple graves 1.73. Buttons appear mostly in rich simple graves¹⁵. If we accept the hypothesis that they were connected with the costume of the deceased¹⁶ it does not point to distinct burial habits of the two communities but rather shows that only richer people of the simple graves used the same kind of costume so popular among the chamber tombs users.

Context	Total	With offerings		Without offerings	
		Abs. no.	%	Abs. no.	%
Cemeteries without chamber tombs	133	96	72	37	28
Mixed cemeteries	141	71	50	70	50
in dromoi	78	35	45	37	55
out of dromoi	63	36	57	27	43
Extramural	274	167	61	107	39
Intramural	36	17	47	19	53
Chamber tombs	304	239	67	65	33

Table 3. Burials with and without offerings (only well preserved graves)

- 13 Cf. E. LEACH, Discussion, in B.C. BURNHAM and J. KINGSBURY (eds.), *Space, Hierarchy and Society* (BAR, Int. Series 59, 1979), 121-122 against inferring from the grave offerings.
- 14 K. LEWARTOWSKI, *The Decline of the Mycenaean Civilisation. An Archaeological Study of Events in the Greek Mainland* (1989), 147-157.
- 15 The method used here to compute the status index of graves is described in I. SCOLLAR, I. HERZOG, J. REHMET, M.J. GREENACRE, *The Bonn Archaeological Statistics Package. Version 4.5* (n.d.), 191-193. The resulting status indices for the simple graves with buttons are 2-3 times higher than the mean for all furnished graves. This index of grave goods and graves is a measure of "the redundancy of the expression of status" and of "the hierarchy of wealth items" (R. PEARSON, J. LEE, W. KOH and A. UNDERHILL, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 8 [1989], 5) or "expressive redundancy" (A. CANNON, *Current Anthropology* 30 [1989], 437-438) rather than so much criticised energy expenditure (recently S. VOUTSAKI, *Hydra* 10 [1992]).
- 16 C.W. BLEGEN, *Prosymna. The Helladic Settlement preceeding the Argive Heraeum* (1937), 256-257; S. IMMERWAHR, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XIII: *the Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (1971), 109; S. IAKOVIDIS, *BSA* 72 (1977), 113-119; W. TAYLOUR, *The Mycenaeans* (1990), 118.

Types	Chamber tombs		Simple graves	
	Total	Adults	Total	Adults
Buttons	19	9	23	2
Dress fast.	6	8	21	19
Figurines	4	3	4	0
Jewellery	28	26	33	28
Pottery	82	88	90	82
Seals	5	6	2	0
Tools	9	12	6	3
Weapons	15	17	13	14

Table 4. Grave offerings (in percentage of skeletons)

Composition of Offerings. The composition of offerings accompanying the dead shows also some differences in the funerary rituals and beliefs or customs. They cannot be explained just as the result of various wealth levels. Especially interesting from this point of view is the pottery. Although, generally, in both groups of burials the most common forms were storage vessels (or containers), followed by drinking and pouring vessels, and finally alabastra (containers for unguents - alabastra were more frequent in chamber tombs which agrees with their greater richness)¹⁷, there is a dissimilarity in compositions of vase sets. Generally, drinking vases appear more frequently together with containers than pouring vessels in the chamber tombs. In simple graves the situation changes through time: in the Early Mycenaean phase drinking vessels appear very frequently together with pouring vessels (such a combination seems quite logical) but in the Late Mycenaean period both combinations are almost equally popular. The difference cannot be explained as a result of a much larger number of storage vases deposited in chamber tombs because their share in the whole amount of pottery is only 3% higher in chamber tombs than in simple graves. The cause of the difference lies in the more even distribution of storage vases in chamber tombs. It seems that offerings in storage vessels were more customary or 'obligatory' among the community of the chamber tombs. Combinations of all three main categories of vases (drinking, pouring and storage) appear very rarely: in 8% of simple graves and in 12% of chamber tomb burials. We can quote two more observations on the combinations of types of offerings: weapons in chamber tombs reveal a strong relation to tools and dress fasteners which does not appear in simple graves; seals in simple graves tend to be deposited together with personal adornments¹⁸.

The general impression is that both communities had somewhat different burial habits and their social roles were different too. Seals were considered more as jewellery among the simple grave users and more as real seals among the other ones. Perhaps this also mirrors the different role of these objects in the everyday life of both communities and closer relation of the community of the chamber tombs to the bureaucratic system and formal ownership¹⁹.

Distribution of Offerings along the Body (Tables 5 and 6; Graph 2, Pl. XVIII). In general, goods were deposited in simple graves and chamber tombs similarly, they are

17 See I. TOURNAVITOU, *BSA* 87 (1992), 181-210 and P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Pottery. An Introduction* (1993), 125-162 for the function of the Mycenaean pottery in the funerary context.

18 See I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, *Πελοποννησιακά Παράρτημα* 13.2 (1987-88), 289-296 (analysis of the association of weapons and jewellery in men's burials).

19 For the function of Minoan-Mycenaean seals see e.g. *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration. Proceedings of the NEH-Dickson Conference of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin January 11-13, 1989*, *Aegaeum* 5 (1990), *passim* and I. PINI, *SMEA* 28 (1990), 107-116 against practical use of the Mycenaean seals found in tombs.

more frequently near heads and in the area of hips and along the middle part of the corpse. In chamber tombs relatively more objects were deposited near the feet of the deceased than in simple graves and in simple graves a very high percentage of offerings was placed by the legs of the deceased.

a. Chamber tombs

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	21	33	50	95	25	28	46
Trunk	41	42	30	5	32	41	34
Legs	33	17	20	0	12	20	6
Feet	6	8	0	0	30	10	13

b. Simple graves

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	50	43	50	39	48	16	48
Trunk	21	57	26	60	18	8	13
Legs	14	0	25	0	14	6	22
Feet	14	1	0	0	20	71	18

Table 5. Distribution of offerings along the bodies (in percentage of offerings)

a. Chambers tombs - Early Mycenaean

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	Not enough data			69	32	37	8
Trunk				31	19	0	92
Legs				0	14	36	0
Feet				0	36	27	0

b. Chambers tombs - Late Mycenaean

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	21	36	50	95	25	24	45
Trunk	40	46	30	5	33	64	31
Legs	33	9	20	0	12	12	5
Feet	6	9	0	0	30	0	19

c. Simple graves - Early Mycenaean

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	Not enough data			55	43	38	36
Trunk				45	19	37	36
Legs				0	7	0	28
Feet				0	31	25	0

d. Simple graves - Late Mycenaean

	Beads	Dress fast.	Figurines	Jewellery	Pottery	Tools	Weapons
Head	50	40	50	19	50	43	41
Trunk	30	60	25	81	17	14	47
Legs	10	0	0	0	14	43	6
Feet	20	0	25	0	19	0	6

Table 6. Distribution of offerings along the bodies (in percentage of offerings) - changes through time

Various kinds of objects show differences in their distributions. Buttons concentrate around the heads of the deceased in simple tombs whilst in the chamber tombs they are usually around the trunk and legs. It is possible that their usage was also different, which means that the types of costume worn by the deceased in both groups of sepulchres were not exactly the same.

The clearly different distribution of vessels (chamber tombs: mostly around the trunk, then head and feet; simple graves: mostly around the head, then feet) can be partly explained by the construction of the graves, mostly quite narrow, not leaving enough space near the trunk for the offerings, but also seems to point to some differences in burial customs, since 30% of all vessels in chamber tombs were deposited near the feet while only 20% in simple graves. It is interesting that all main types of pottery (pouring, containers, drinking and alabastra) are distributed very similarly in the ranges of both groups of sepulchres. The only exception are alabastra in the simple graves distributed in a way similar to the distribution of vessels in the chamber tombs.

The distribution of weapons, such as swords, daggers, knives, cleavers is very similar in both groups - the items grouped mostly in the area of heads and upper part of the trunks. The numbers reveal however some differences caused by a large number of axes deposited near the feet of a deceased in an unusual pit grave in Mycenae²⁰ and two early graves with large number of arrow-heads deposited in the area of the legs of the buried bodies²¹.

When considering changes through time, we can observe two opposite tendencies in the disposal of pottery: in chamber tombs less vessels were deposited near the feet and head of the deceased in the Late Mycenaean period than in the Early Mycenaean period; in simple graves the former Early Mycenaean concentration of vases around the feet of the bodies disappears - the vessels are now more evenly distributed along the whole legs and more of them are placed near the head instead of the trunk. The distribution of pottery in chamber tombs and simple graves is more similar in the Early Mycenaean period than in the Late Mycenaean. The changes must reflect growing differences in the funerary rituals of the two communities which coincides quite well with the transformation of the Mycenaean society and better development of the social stratification. In the simple graves it is also connected with changes of their dimensions: the average Early Mycenaean simple grave was 1.36 long and 0.77 wide and the Late Mycenaean one 1.40 long and 0.68 wide.

Conclusions. The picture outlined above shows that the two groups of burials and most probably two groups of people belonged beyond all doubt to the same society and the same culture - there are enough similarities between them to support such a statement.

However, the community of the simple graves represents an obviously lower wealth status. The lack of monumental forms of sepulchres can mean that these people did not care much about the future, or maybe their belief in the outer world and spirits or souls did not make them feel any need for such sepulchres²²; it is also possible that these people were not rich enough or not well organised and they simply were not able to undertake such activities²³.

We can note many minor differences in the funeral behaviour of the two groups. These differences cannot be explained just as a result of the use of different burial constructions. I think that they are rooted more deeply in the worlds of imagination and

20 Area of the New Museum (probably LH): G. MYLONAS, *Ergon* (1984), 116.

21 Thebes, Tamviskou site (MH III/LH I): M. KASIMI-SOUTOU, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) *Mel.*, 88-101 and the discussion of its chronology after the paper of I. Kilian-Dirlmaier, this volume; Volimidhia (MH III/LH I): S. MARINATOS, *PraktArchEt* (1964), 86-89.

22 G. WIESNER, *Grab und Jenseits. Untersuchungen im ägäischen Raum zur Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit* (1938), 190 suggests a symbolic meaning of the dromoi. If this hypothesis is correct the construction can be evidence of different beliefs of the two communities.

23 See *supra* n. 6.

belief. Such a diversity of belief and attitude towards the death among members of one society is nothing peculiar²⁴.

If the observation that similarities are larger in the Early Mycenaean period than in the Late Mycenaean is correct, it can mean that both communities had grown up from the same Middle Helladic trunk and then evolved differently during the formation processes of the Mycenaean society.

We can see that the evident uniformity of the Mycenaean culture at its material level covers interesting subdivisions of the Mycenaean society manifesting themselves on social and religious levels.

Kazimierz LEWARTOWSKI

24 *E.g.* the rites of cremation popular among the Protestants and inhumation among the Catholics in modern societies.

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DISCUSSION

P. Yule: The way that you structured your data suggests to me that there is very little differentiation between men and women in the two different kinds of graves; first of all. Secondly, what do you mean by children? Where do you have the cut-off?

K. Lewartowski: Well, nothing about sexes was said during my presentation, because there is the problem that we usually do not know the sex of the deceased. The situation in the simple graves is much better than in the chamber tombs according to my knowledge, so I was not able to compare these two groups of sepulchres. I am able to say something about differences between the sexes in simple graves only. The second question was what I meant by children. Well, of course, it was nothing anthropological. It was just common sense, I am afraid, because we do not know real age groups. Only a few skeletons were properly preserved and then analysed by anthropologists, so it is a very general category. Of course some of these skeletons can be considered to be youths or very young adults.

S. Voutsaki: You seem to be contrasting two groups of people, one using chamber tombs and one using cists / pits, but you do not talk much about regional variation. There is regional variation in the use of chamber tombs, but this is even more marked in the case of cists and pits. For instance, there aren't any in Messenia; in the Argolid they exist primarily in the earlier part of the period (but are found again in LHIII in Argos and probably Kokla); in Thessaly they are used throughout the period, etc. I wonder, therefore, whether you can really contrast these two groups.

K. Lewartowski: Yes, of course, you are right. But I selected the data a little bit. Certainly I did not compare all cist and pit graves from whole Greece with all chamber tombs. For example Thessaly was generally excluded from this paper because it is impossible to compare chamber tombs or pit graves or cist graves there. I will show it in the printed version which parts of Greece were taken into consideration, mainly Attica and the Argolid.

G. Kopcke: I just wondered: Is there any tomb that behaves erratically? That means: is there any exception to your rule let us say of modest to poor burial? My second question is about topography. I mean, apart from statistics and just general considerations is there a situation in which you see the cist tomb as presenting an intrusive population?

K. Lewartowski: All the simple graves taken into consideration contained exclusively Mycenaean objects, so they were not strange examples. But, of course, we have from Epirus very interesting cist graves which contain mixtures of Mycenaean and non-Mycenaean native pottery and other objects. And of course I did not want to say that there is a straight line: here we have cist graves, here we have chamber tombs. Of course, there are some slightly richer cist grave burials and then there are some extremely poor chamber tomb burials too.

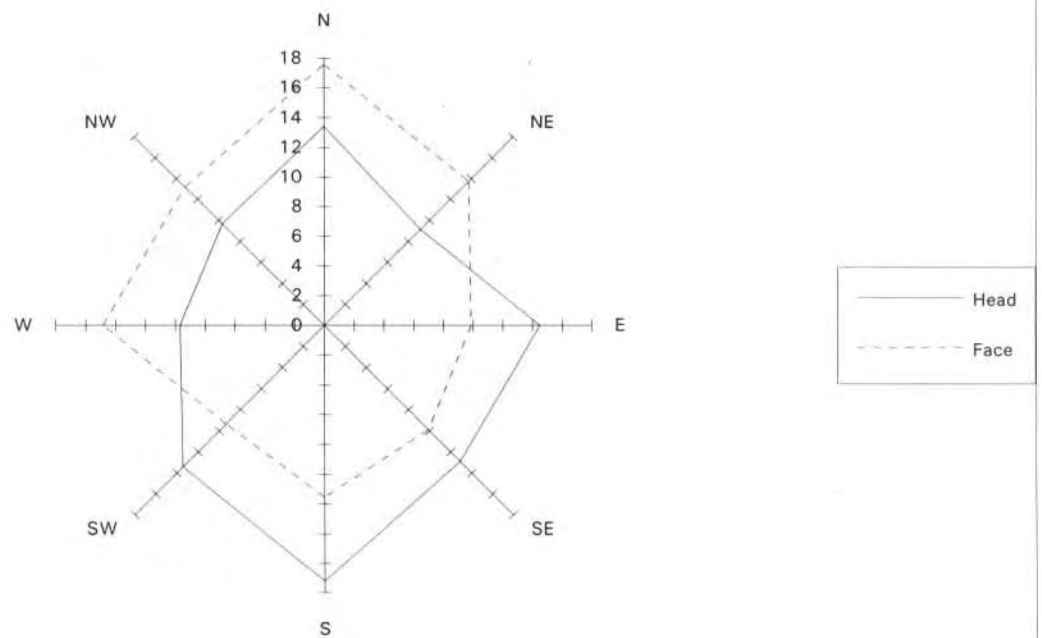
J.S. Soles: You mentioned finding tombs with offerings and tombs without offerings in your study. I was wondering if you have come across tombs without skeletons? I mention it because we have started excavating chamber tombs at Mochlos and last summer uncovered seven tombs, two of which had no skeletons whatsoever.

K. Lewartowski: Only one third of the simple graves was really well-researched and published. Among them I do not know any examples without skeletons. Of course, I know a lot of examples without any information about them.

B. Hallager: I understand that you are talking about tombs from the beginning of the Mycenaean period to the end – without making any distinction between the different periods. Could these tables not look different if you compared LM III A tombs to III B tombs or III C tombs?

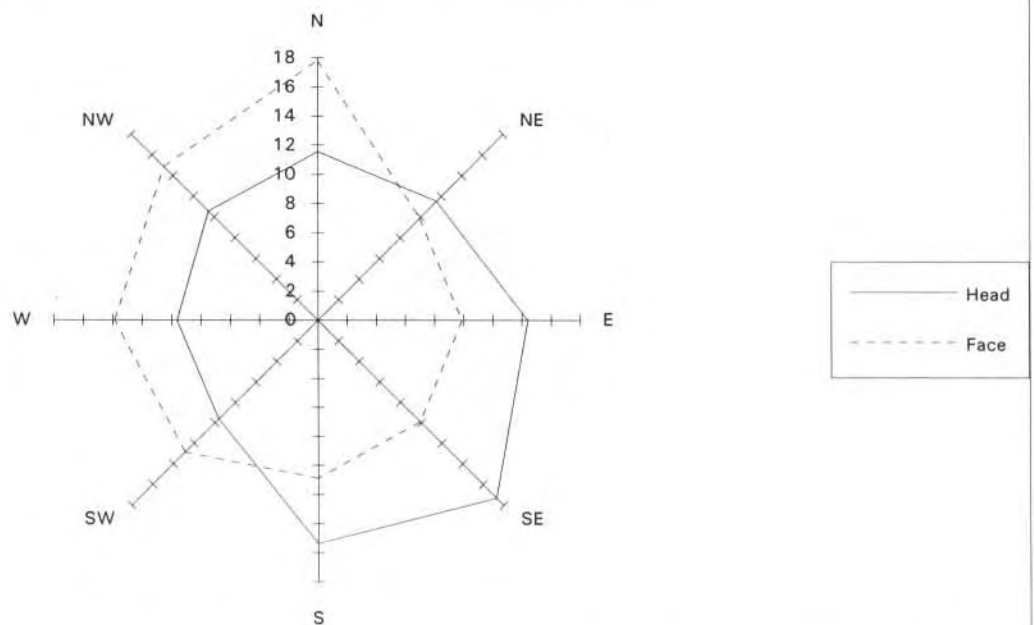
K. Lewartowski: I tried to make these distinctions. And I mentioned them in those cases where it was possible. I am not unconscious of changes in time. I do not think that the situation was inherently stable. When it is possible I distinguish the periods of course. But in some cases there is really no difference.

Graph 1.aa. Orientation of the bodies - chamber tombs (extended and supine)



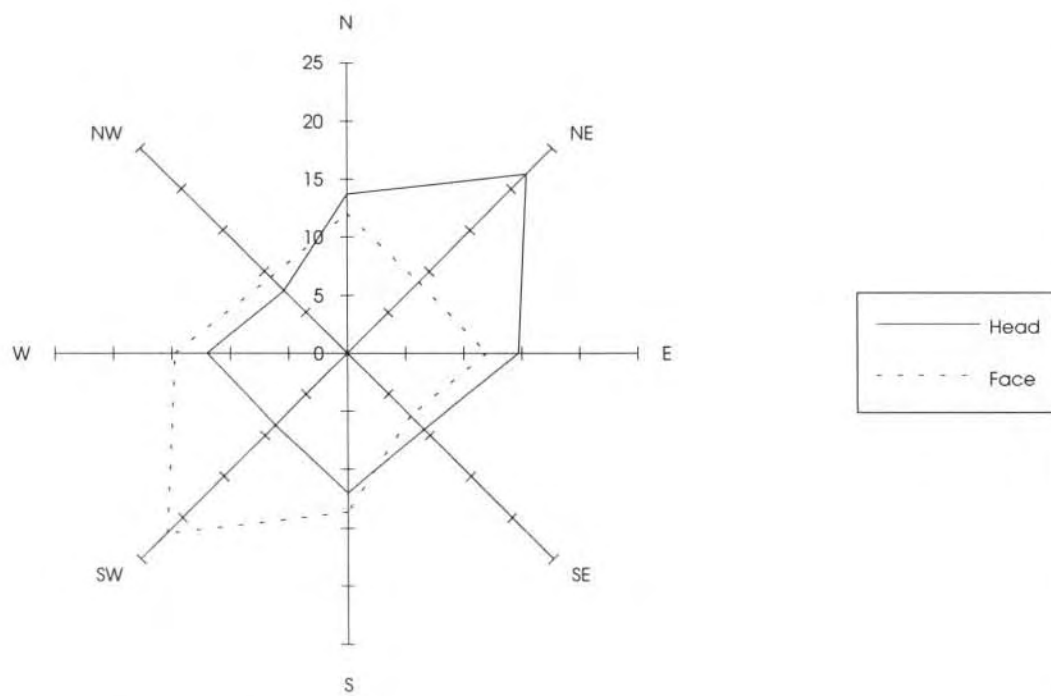
a

Graph 1.ab. Orientation of the bodies - chamber tombs (contracted and crouched)



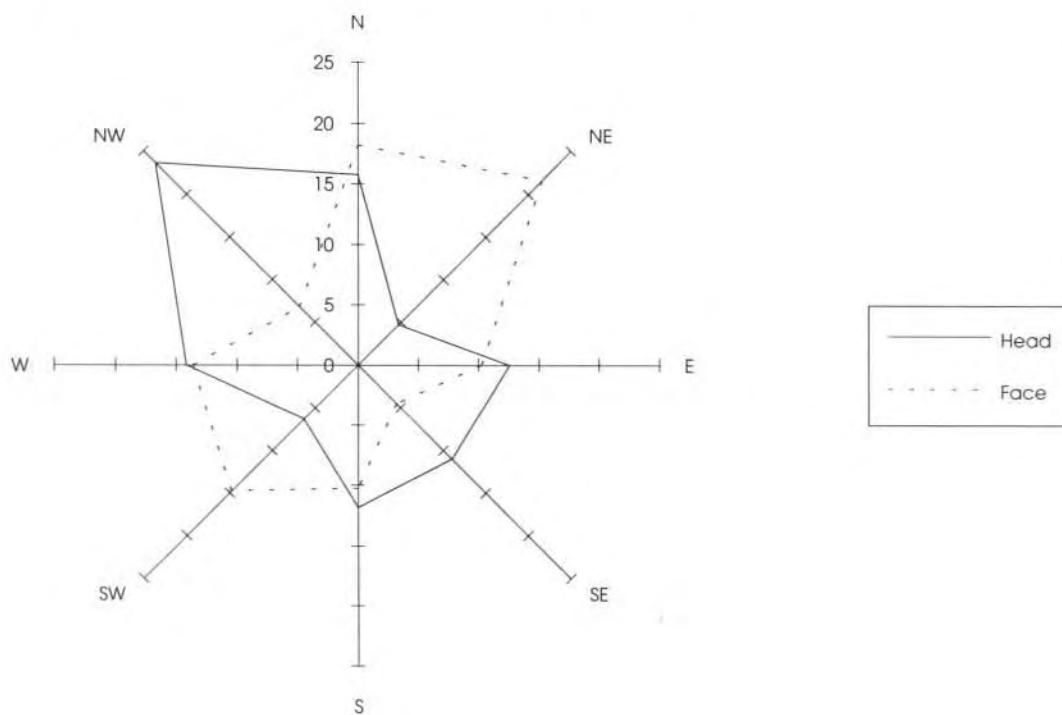
b

Graph 1.ba. Orientation of the bodies - simple graves (extended and supine)



a

Graph 1.bb. Orientation of the bodies - simple graves (contracted and crouched)



b

