

Phases of Childhood in Early Mycenaean Greece

Judit Lebegyev

Abstract

The paper examines the question of whether or not it is possible to distinguish age grades within childhood in Early Mycenaean Greece. The analysis centres upon burial evidence from the Argolid, the core-area of Mycenaean civilisation, from where the largest amount of material suitable for such an analysis is available. The study concludes that on the basis of the available evidence three major phases can be identified within childhood – up until 1–2 years; 1–2 to 5–6 years and post 5–6 years. These approximate age grades, however, appear to have been somewhat fluid and changed over time.

Keywords: CHILDHOOD, AGE PHASES, BURIALS, MYCENAEAN, ARGOLID

Introduction

A question, hoped to be resolved by future research, was raised by Jeremy Rutter in 2003 in his article on children in Aegean prehistory:

The exact age at which a child was no longer given a spatially and sometimes formally discrete kind of burial, and how this age may have varied through space and time throughout Aegean prehistory, are questions that cannot yet be answered but are certainly capable of being resolved. So, too, is the issue of what kinds of burial goods may have been considered particularly appropriate for children at various ages, to what extent such goods were gendered and hence when gender was officially recognized by Aegean societies, and also perhaps how status was marked among children as opposed to the world of adults (Rutter 2003, 35).

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to undertake an analysis of a substantial number of intact, and anthropologically studied, burials from different periods of Aegean prehistory. In this study I intend to examine one aspect of the questions that

Author's address: **Judit Lebegyev**, Mauritskade 31B, 2514 HD, The Hague, The Netherlands, Email: ljudit@citromail.hu

J. Rutter (2003) raised – whether it is possible to distinguish certain age grades from the burial evidence on the basis of which the funerary treatment of children in the earlier periods of Mycenaean Greece was defined. As age is an important aspect of identity, the definition of age-based categories throughout the life-cycle enables a better understanding of how identities were constructed in the past (Baxter 2008, 171).

It was recently suggested by Georgina Muskett (2008, 38, 46) that the stages of childhood in Mycenaean Greece were marked by comparable rites of passage as evidenced in Classical Athens (*Amphidromia*, *Anthesteria*). She based this assumption mostly on the traditional nature of ancient Greek cultic practices since, according to her, the scarcity of evidence does not permit more than speculation concerning the nature of such ceremonies (Muskett 2008, 46). With a thorough study of the burial evidence, however, we might go further than speculating about the possible existence of such rituals. By reviewing the available burial data, with the objective of distinguishing age grades on the basis of differential burial treatment, the possibility that rites of passage marked important status changes within childhood will also be considered.

The Phases of Childhood as Reflected in the Burial Record

Childhood and its phases are determined by the members of society, therefore its definition in cultural/social terms can greatly differ cross-culturally in time and space (Kamp 2001, 4). From the initial acceptance by the community until the transition to adulthood, childhood usually comprises several phases – also expressed in language by a variety of different terms – which are not always clearly differentiated and its limits, in terms of age categories, can be fluid. The age thresholds, including the one which occurs at the transition from childhood to adulthood and is sometimes marked by complex rites of passage, can be reflected to some degree in burial customs. The few analyses undertaken to date with the aim of identifying age phases in past societies on the basis of the burial record have already obtained positive results. An examination of the burial data of ancient Athens during the City-State period undertaken by S. Houby-Nielsen (2000) was able to distinguish three age groups within childhood (infants: birth to one year; small children: one to 3–4 years and older children: 3–4 to 8–10 years) through the choice of burial type and the nature of the accompanying grave goods (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 152–3). An analysis of Etruscan child burials in Tarquinia enabled M. J. Becker (2007) to conclude that the absence of children below the age of 5.5 years from the principal cemeteries was suggestive of a major shift at that age (Becker 2007, 292). In Roman Britain infants below six month of age were usually buried within settlements, while children older than six months of age were interred in cemeteries together with adults. On the basis of their grave good associations two main phases of childhood were identified by Rebecca Gowland (2001) – 1–3 years: gender neutral grave goods; 4–12 years: gender-specific grave goods associated with a greater expression of gendered identity (Gowland 2001, 157–60, 163). Sally Crawford (2000) demonstrated that in Early Anglo-Saxon England the threshold from childhood to adulthood occurred at the age of 10–12 years and was clearly reflected in the choice of grave goods afforded to individuals of this age (Crawford 2000, 172).

Name of period	Abbreviation	Absolute dates
Shaft grave period	MH III–LH I	c. 1750/20–1600/1550 BCE
Early Mycenaean period	LH II	c. 1600/1550–1435 BCE
Palatial period	LH IIIA–IIIB	c. 1435–1200 BCE
Post Palatial period	LH IIIC	c. 1200–1100/1090 BCE

Table 1: Details of the four main phases of the Mycenaean period.

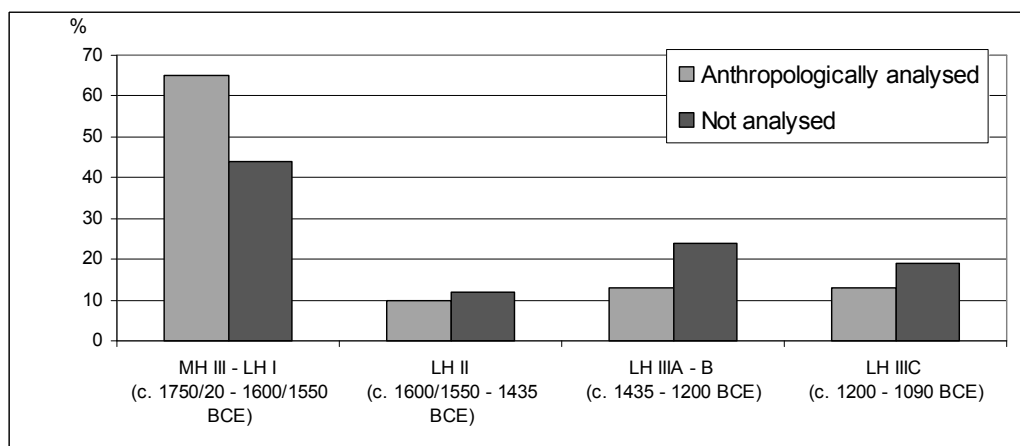


Figure 1: Chronological distribution of intact child burials in the Mycenaean period.

The Mycenaean Burial Evidence

Any attempt to identify age groups within childhood has to be based on a large number of intact and anthropologically analysed burials. From the entire length of the Mycenaean period c. 150 intact child burials (with an age range of between birth and fourteen years) have been analysed anthropologically. This figure can be partially supplemented with around 130 intact burials which have not been studied anthropologically. These burials, however, are not distributed evenly among the four main phases of the Mycenaean period (Table 1; Figure 1).

The largest number of intact burials dates to the Shaft Grave period, which together with the Early Mycenaean period was characterised by single burials in simple grave types. This is in contrast to the Palatial era (LH IIIA–B period) when burial in collective tomb types, particularly within chamber tombs, was the norm, with the routine disturbance of earlier burials by later burial activity.

The intact, analysed and published child burials also display an unbalanced spatial distribution pattern – the majority derive from the Argolid, especially from four sites – Argos, Asine, Lerna and Mycenae (Figure 2). This distribution pattern is partly

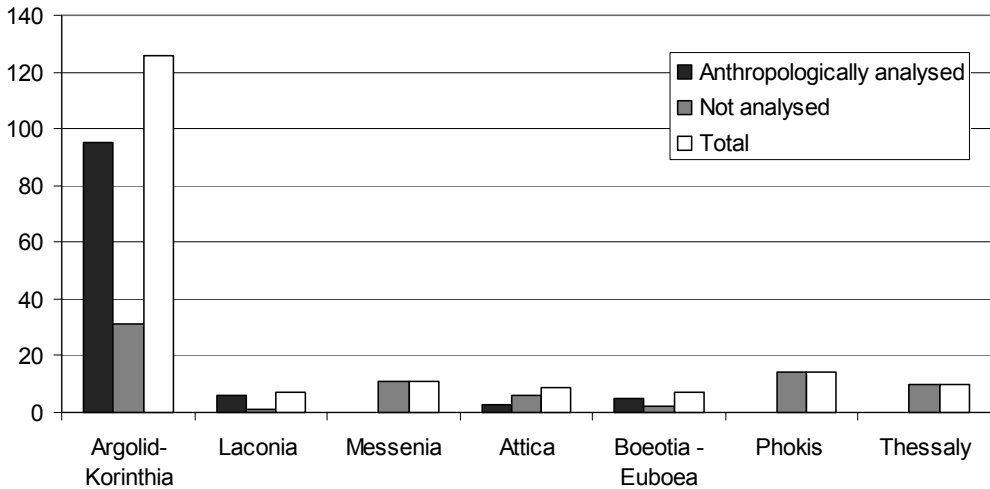


Figure 2: Regional distribution of Shaft Grave period and Early Mycenaean period intact child burials.

explainable by historical reasons since the Argolid is one of the central and most densely settled areas of Mycenaean Greece. In addition, the imbalance may also arise because extensive excavation and research, which has involved the scientific study of the burials, has taken place at these four sites.

In pre-industrial societies the mortality rate generally shows a U-shaped curve, with the highest values arising for neonates (from birth to *c.* one month) and infants (below the age of one year), and the lowest between the ages of ten and eighteen years, with a gradual increase starting at the age of around 25–30 years (Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 87). As shown in Figure 3, the age distribution of the anthropologically analysed child burials from the MH III – LH II period corresponds to the expected mortality rate. The implication from this finding is that, since the different age categories are not represented equally, the conclusions drawn from the burial data regarding possible age groups within childhood cannot be used with the same weight.

The constructions of childhood in Mycenaean Greece, as in any other society, reflect adult behaviours and perceptions which could have been manifested in various ways in the burials – in the location and context of the grave, in the grave type and in the objects placed within the graves. As the concept of childhood is culturally variable and can significantly change through time and space (Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 11–12), the analysis will focus on the MH III – LH II period (which for the sake of brevity will henceforth be termed here as Early Mycenaean), which provides the most detailed archaeological information, and on the Argolid, the best known region of Early Mycenaean Greece. In this way it is hoped that any age related differences in the burial treatment of children can be revealed in as much detail as possible.

This period was a time of major structural changes within society, which were also reflected in the great diversity of burial practices. The differences are manifested in the location and types of the graves, as well as in the nature of the grave goods placed

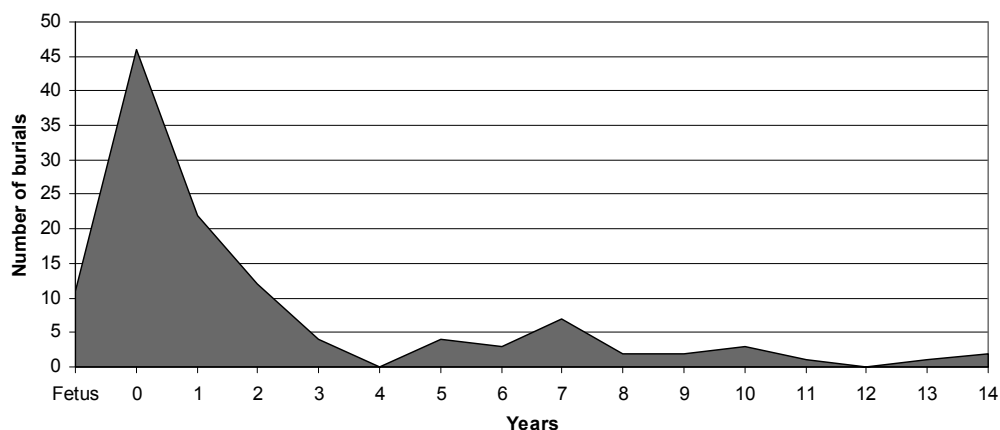


Figure 3: Age-at-death of anthropologically analysed child burials in the Shaft Grave and Early Mycenaean periods.

in or above them, which were related to the age, sex, kin-group and social status of the dead.

Grave Locations and Contexts

Three types of grave contexts can be distinguished during the Early Mycenaean period:

- 1 Intramural – graves dug within the habitation area, inside or between houses.
- 2 Graves dug outside, but close to the inhabited area, sometimes in the ruins of abandoned structures, and usually forming small grave groups.
- 3 Extramural – graves dug outside, and at a greater distance from the settlement area, usually in the formation of organised cemeteries or grave groups.

Sometimes, however, and particularly with respect to the first two types of context, it can be difficult to identify the exact contextual position and relation of the grave to a settlement site since these may have been associated with a changing habitation area and several building phases (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 24).

Intramural Burials

From the late Middle Helladic period onwards intramural burial was practiced in a gradually decreasing frequency. At the settlement of the Aspis hill in Argos the practice had completely ceased by the MH IIIA phase (Touchais 1998, 78), while in the Lower Town of Asine and Lerna only a few graves containing the remains of both children and adults could be dated with certainty – on the basis of their grave goods – to the MH III period. In Asine two adults (MH.4, MH.20) and a child burial (MH.18) were dated to MH IIIB (Dietz 1991, 146–7; Nordquist 1987, 135). In Lerna, which was settled until MH IIIB, and then again from the end of LH I onwards (Dietz 1991, 285), as a consequence of the small number of burials with datable grave goods, and to the difficulties of

associating the graves with specific houses, it is often impossible to differentiate the MH IIIA intramural burials from those placed there during MH IIIB, i.e. the period of abandonment (Dietz 1991, 286). Only a burial of a young female could be dated with certainty to MH IIIA (Grave BC 1; Zerner 1990, 33), but it is quite probable that several other burials without grave goods had also belonged to this phase.

From the Late Helladic I period onwards the number of intramural burials decreased further, and was usually restricted to infants and children. Although most of the burials were not analysed anthropologically, in the reports these burials were invariably described as having belonged to infants or small children: two infant burials are reported from Argos (LH I: Divari-Valakou 1998; LH II: Psarra 2006, 335), while in the Lower Town of Asine nine child burials were found (Frödin and Persson 1938, 128–9; the only burial with grave goods (Grave LH 11) dates to the LH IIIA1 period). A LH I child burial found within the settlement of Midea (Demakopoulou *et al.* 2002, 36–8), and another in the Lower Citadel (Unterburg) of Tiryns (Kilian 1982, 420), could also have been intramural, but since no other contemporary remains were associated with them, their exact chronological position cannot be established. The only anthropologically analysed burial from the LH II period is of two infants, both less than one year old, and a child buried in Grave DE-1 in Lerna (dated to LH IIB; Wiencke 1998, 125, 127, 193–201) – the presence of a grave-marker, however, may indicate that the grave had been dug outside the habitation area.

Outside the Argolid the burial evidence is comparable: from the Korinthia three intramural child burials are known from Korakou (Blegen 1921, 102); and several intramural burials were reported from Tsoungiza, which are said to belong exclusively to neonates and infants (Mary Dabney 2007, pers. comm.). A large number of intramural graves mostly containing infant and child burials were found within the fortified settlement of Malthi in Messenia, but only three burials of infants under one year old could be dated more precisely to the LH I–II period on the basis of their grave goods (Graves I, XXIII, XXIV; Valmin 1938, 195–6, 226–8).

Extramural Burials

Burials outside the habitation areas, usually in the formation of grave groups, could have been placed near the settlement, often in abandoned structures or in organised cemeteries located further away from the settlement. In addition to age the choice of burial location appears to have been largely determined by kinship (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 130).

In the MH III period scattered groups of simple graves were placed in the immediate vicinity of the settlements, sometimes within the ruins of abandoned structures. At the southern flank of the Larissa hill at Argos, a large group of simple graves had been dug upon the ruins of a MH I–II period settlement (Touchais 1998, 74); among the burials every age group, from neonates to adults, were represented (Charles 1958; Charlier 2007, 310–12). On the Barbouna hill at Asine, during MH IIIA graves were dug near the settlement and later, in MH IIIB, upon the ruins of abandoned houses (Nordquist 1987, 91, 98); both phases of use were represented by infant-, child- and adult burials. During its abandonment in MH IIIB and LH I the settlement mound of Lerna was used as a burial ground with graves placed upon the abandoned houses (Dietz 1991, 285).

Most burials did not contain datable grave goods and it is therefore not possible to determine whether they are of intramural (MH IIIA) or extramural context (MH IIIB – LH I). On the basis of grave goods, nine graves with child burials (two neonates: DB1, DB3; two 2–3 year old children: DC2, DE21; three *c.* six year old children: D5, DE39, A10 and two of unknown age: DC3, DC4), and two with adult burials (DC1, BC3) can be securely dated to this period (Dietz 1991, 285–6).

Outside the Argolid, comparable evidence for graves dug upon abandoned structures is known from the site of Ayios Stephanos in Laconia where a large number of burials of every age group from neonates to adults were found (+Taylour and Janko 2008).

The nature of the burials and their age distribution pattern (with infants and children represented in a higher number in accordance with the high infant mortality rates of the period) suggest that these burial grounds belonged to family groups of probably lower social status.

Burial in organised cemeteries had already begun in the earlier Middle Helladic period, but the practice became widespread only from the MH III phase onwards. The large cemetery excavated in several plots along the modern Herakleous Street in Argos was in extensive use during the MH III – LHI period (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980). The anthropological examination of the surviving skeletal material derived from the excavations of E. Protonotariou-Deilaki revealed that only children greater than six years of age were represented among the burials (Triantaphyllou 2007). Later, in the LH II period, at the time when the chamber tomb cemetery was established at the Deiras hill, the cemetery at Herakleous Street gradually went out of use. Among the few burials dated to this period was a rich burial of a *c.* 2.5–3.5 year old child (Kaza-Papageorgiou 1985). From the Deiras cemetery no intact burials are known from the Early Mycenaean period; the youngest analysed burial from this cemetery was a disturbed burial of a *c.* three year old child dated to LH IIIA – IIIB (Grave XXX; Charles 1963, 13–18; Deshayes 1966, 93–8).

The formal extramural East cemetery of Asine, in use between MH II and LH I, contained two burials of *c.* one year old children buried with adults (a *c.* 11 month old infant in Grave 1972–5 and a *c.* 12–18 month old child in Grave 1972–7); a 3–4 year old child (Grave 1970–7); an eleven year old child (Grave 1971–12) and a child of 10–15 years (Grave 1970–8) – none of the graves held datable grave goods (Dietz 1980; Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 169), but on stratigraphical grounds they were dated to MH II and MH II/III (Dietz 1980, 88).

A small part of the extramural cemetery of Lerna situated approximately 400 m north of the prehistoric settlement was found in the Lerna–Myloi, Manti property (Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990). None of the nine published graves dated to between MH IIIA – LH IB seemed to contain infant or child burials, although the skeletal remains have not been studied anthropologically.

In Mycenae a large extramural burial ground, the so-called Prehistoric Cemetery, was located in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, around the western and northern part of the acropolis, both inside and outside the later citadel wall. It was in use from the MH until at least the LH IIB period (Alden 2000). The majority of the widely scattered simple graves, usually without grave goods, contained the burials of neonates, infants and small children younger than five years of age (forty-three burials);

thirteen belonged to individuals of 5–14 years and only nine were adults (mostly females). A separate, spatially demarcated burial ground was formed within Grave Circle B and Grave Circle A. In Grave Circle B, in use between the MH IIIA and LH I periods, out of the thirty-five burials only six were of children (Angel 1973; Mylonas 1973). From the three intact burials the earliest (dated to MH IIIA; Dietz 1991, 123) was that of a *c.* five year old child interred together with an adult male in Pit Grave Λ -2. A *c.* two year old child (identified as 'definite male' by ancient DNA analysis, Brown *et al.* 2000, 117–18) was buried alone in Pit Grave Ξ -1 (dated to MH IIIB–LH I; Dietz 1991, 128). The third was a rich burial of a *c.* five year old child (according to the excavator's age estimation) placed in Shaft Grave Ξ (dated to MH IIIB; Dietz 1991, 128). In Grave Circle A no child burials were found although indirect evidence, in the form of pieces of thin gold sheets shaped to cover an infant body, indicate that in Grave III – one of the latest graves of the Grave Circle (dated to LH I; Dietz 1991, 250, fig. 78) – together with three adult females at least one infant had also been buried (Dickinson 1977, 48, note 31 – the presence of an extra sheet of gold from part of a right foot may indicate that another child had also been buried in the grave). At Mycenae interment in chamber tombs had already begun in LH I, but due to their continuous use no intact burials are known from this period. The first child burial, found at the site of Mycenae-Aspria belonging to the Alepothrypa chamber tomb cemetery, dates to LH IIB but it is unusual in several respects – the small chamber tomb was used only for the interment of a *c.* 6–7 year old child and was placed at a distance from other chamber tombs known from the area (Demakopoulou 1981, 99, fig. 9 – the skeletal remains were not analysed anthropologically and the approximate age determination is based upon a drawing of the burial).

To summarise, from the end of the MH III period burial within settlements was gradually restricted to those of children, and from the Early Mycenaean period onwards probably only to infants of less than one year of age (due to the few aged burials the exact upper age limit cannot be determined). This differentiation is paralleled by the exclusion of infants below one year of age from formal extramural cemeteries, where burial was generally restricted to adults and children greater than two years but more frequently older than 5–6 years of age. By the Early Mycenaean period younger children were being included in greater numbers in extramural cemeteries, but still only those who had survived until at least one year of age.

Grave Types

In the Shaft Grave and Early Mycenaean periods the most common type of disposal was single interment in pit and cist graves which were widely used in every burial context. Shaft graves of complex construction, intended for multiple burials, show a more restricted distribution, short popularity and limited social access, as their use was usually confined to the upper segments of society. From the LH I – IIA period they were gradually superseded by the tholos tombs which, through their monumentality and high visibility in the landscape, were more suitable for the competing elite who wanted to display and legitimise their position both within and outside their communities. During this period the use of the chamber tombs also began; in their initial phase these may

have served as burial places for the more affluent members of the local communities and it is only from the LH IIIA period onwards that they became the most widely used grave type of Mycenaean society (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 123; Dickinson 1983, 63). Only simple graves were used in intramural contexts and in burials created near settlements, often in abandoned structures, usually irrespective of age- and sex groups. More complex grave types, such as cist and shaft graves, are only found within organised extramural cemeteries.

In the Argos – Herakleous cemetery the use of different grave types between grave groups indicates that the choice of a particular grave type served to emphasise group identity: in the southern part of the cemetery several burials – both of children and adults – were placed in clay lined pit graves ('Tumulus A'; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 17; Gordonos-Kolokotronis Street; Papadimitriou 1994, 130), while in the central part of the cemetery, in 'Tumulus Γ', a group of simple burials of children and adults (T. 35 and 39 and T. 75, 78, 79 in the Prokopiou plot) were interred in simple pits. Another group, located further to the east, comprised more complex cist graves (lined with upright stone slabs) and built-cist graves (lined with walls made of dry masonry) which were used for the burial of both children (T. X (10), T. 61, T. XXI (22)) and adults (T. 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 21, 71, 83) (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980). The few children (all those subject to anthropological analysis were above six years) who were buried in the cemetery were not differentiated from the adults in terms of the type of grave. In the case of the built-cist graves, however, social status may also have been a determining factor as the children who were buried in these types of graves were all rich burials (Grave XXI (22) in 'Tumulus Γ'; Grave 5 (92) in 'Tumulus E' – both of MH IIIB date; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 46–9, 115–9; and the Early Mycenaean grave at Giannaki plot of a 2.5–3.5 year old child; Kaza-Papageorgiou 1985). Although, one of the richest burials of the cemetery, the burial of a *c.* 6–7 year old child in Grave 1(140) in 'Tumulus Δ', had been placed in a stone lined pit grave (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 91–101).

In Grave Circle B at Mycenae two of the intact child burials were interred in simple pit graves (Grave Λ-2 contained the remains of a *c.* five year old child buried together with an adult male and Grave Ξ-1 contained the remains of a *c.* two year old child; Mylonas 1973, 145–7, 185–6). Oliver Dickinson (1977, 42) has provided a chronological reason to explain the burial in Pit Grave Ξ-1: 'it looks like an early grave, constructed before the burial of children in shaft-graves became general practice'. It clearly belongs, however, to the later series of graves dated to the MH IIIB – LHI period (Dietz 1991, 128, 250, fig. 78); the choice of the grave type in this case may be more likely related to the age and/or social status of the buried individual. As the youngest child identified in Grave Circle B, his (identified as a male by ancient DNA analysis) burial with only a few vases and within a simple grave, may be an indication that the child was considered too young for burial in a shaft grave. In the case of the MH IIIA date Pit Grave Λ-2, the chronological explanation for the choice of grave type is more likely, although the simple nature of the grave goods, may indicate that status differences could also have played a role. The third intact burial identified in Grave Circle B was that of a richly equipped *c.* five year old child who had been placed in a shaft grave (Grave Ξ; Mylonas 1973, 177).

The first intact and documented child burial placed in a chamber tomb dates to LH IIB, and this was also a peculiar case, since the small chamber tomb at Mycenae-Aspria

had been used for the single interment of a *c.* 6–7 year old child (Demakopoulou 1981, 99). In the chamber tomb cemetery of the Athenian Agora the reason for the burial of a *c.* 1.5 year old child in a pit grave (Grave XVI of LH IIB date; Immerwahr 1971, 205–8) might have been the same as for the case of the *c.* two year old child placed in Pit Grave E-1 in Grave Circle B at Mycenae – the child may have been considered to have been too young to be interred in a chamber tomb. The current evidence would tend to suggest that children only began to be buried with adults in chamber tombs from the LH IIIA period onwards, and only when they reached 2–3 years (e.g. Argos – Deiras cemetery, Grave XXX; Deshayes 1966, 93–8; Athens – Agora cemetery, Grave X; Immerwahr 1971, 194–5).

Based on the above, the choice of a particular grave type in the Shaft Grave period seems to have been not so much dependent on age as on other factors, such as kin group or social status. Burial in complex grave constructions, however, seems to have also been determined by age: children were only buried in shaft graves at an age greater than 5–6 years (with the possible exception of Grave III in Grave Circle A at Mycenae). In Argos, burial in built cist graves may also have been reserved only for children older than 5–6 years of age. From the Early Mycenaean period, however, this age limit appears to have decreased to *c.* two years (Giannaki plot), or even to less than one year of age in Lerna (Grave DE-1). Similarly, in the Early Mycenaean period, the right to burial within a chamber tomb seems to have been linked to an age limit of 5–6 years which gradually decreased to *c.* 2–3 years from the LH IIIA period onwards. The observation that burial in complex grave types during their initial phase of use was restricted to children above five years of age, and that younger children greater than 1–2 years were only buried in these grave types at a later phase, may indicate a gradual inclusion of children as members of the groups who were burying their dead in these grave types. This would appear to suggest that children became an important element in the expression of group identity at a later stage of use of these tomb types, and only after they had reached a certain age. The burial of children in chamber tombs from the LH IIIA period is paralleled by the increasing numbers of poorer adult burials. This may be interpreted as part of the same process of the gradual inclusion of individuals in chamber tombs who, on the basis of their age or lower social status, had previously been excluded from this type of burial (Voutsaki 1993, 102).

Grave Goods

In the Shaft Grave and Early Mycenaean period the distinct burial locations; the differing complexity of grave constructions and the quantity, quality and variety of goods placed in the graves reflects increasing horizontal differences between settlements and communities and vertical differences in social structure, which is an indication of major structural changes within the society at large. The diversity of grave goods culminated in the Early Mycenaean period. The display and deposition of large amounts of grave goods in a number of burials, similarly to the increasing monumentality of the graves, was aimed at strengthening and establishing the competing elites in their positions. From the LH IIIA period onwards the quantity and quality of the objects placed in the graves decreased and their distribution became more balanced, which can be

interpreted as the manifestation of socio-political stability. As well as being indicators of status differences the types of grave goods were also differentiated along age and gender categories the extent of which, however, varied through time.

During the Shaft Grave and Early Mycenaean period child burials, especially those dug within or near habitation areas, were rarely equipped with grave goods. Among the burials of the Barbouna hill cemetery in Asine only two child burials were furnished with grave goods: a grave of two *c.* two month old infants (Grave B 33) contained some bronze fragments and a shell, while the burial of a 10–12 year old (Grave B 15) was equipped with drinking vessels, bronze earrings, a necklace and two strings of shells (Nordquist 1987, 135).

In Lerna during the Shaft Grave period infants below one year of age were given only beads (Graves DE 10, DE 42, BE 10) or fragmentary coarse vessels (Graves BE 3, BE 12). Complete vases were only found with children older than 1.5–2 years of age (Graves D 5, DC 2, DE 21, DE 39, BE 6, A 10; Blackburn 1970). In the LH IIB Grave DE-1, however, already infants less than one year of age were being buried with vases, but mostly of miniature size (Wiencke 1998, 196–8).

In the Prehistoric Cemetery of Mycenae most child burials were interred without grave goods, and those who were accompanied by some offerings displayed a similar picture to that observed at Lerna – children below two years of age were only provided with beads, while pottery was only included in the graves of children greater than two years of age (Alden 2000).

The same phenomenon can also be observed outside the Argolid at Ayios Stephanos in Laconia, where only two children above three years of age had received pottery offerings during the Shaft Grave period (Graves Eta 15 and Lambda 2; †Taylour and Janko 2008, 125–6, 132). Later in the Early Mycenaean period, however, two miniature vases and a peculiar vase in the form of a four-legged animal had been placed in the grave of a child less than one year old (Grave Beta 28; †Taylour and Janko 2008, 129–30).

Child burials in organised extramural cemeteries more frequently contained offerings which usually did not differ from those given to adults. In the Argos – Herakleous cemetery both children (older than six years) and adults received normal sized vases; mostly jugs, cups and *kantharoi*. Only a few burials contained precious items, such as jewellery and weapons. The two richest graves of the cemetery were those of two *c.* 6–7 year old children; along with numerous vases, the burial in ‘Tumulus Δ’, Grave 1 (140) included a whole set of jewellery with two earrings, necklaces, bracelets, a ring and a pin (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 91–101), while the burial in ‘Tumulus E’, Grave 5 (92) was furnished with an adult sized sword, two daggers and two gold bands (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 115–19). None of the adult graves in the cemetery contained such an array of grave goods. Only a jug with a goat head shaped spout found in ‘Tumulus Δ’, Grave 1 (140) can be regarded as an object related to childhood, and E. Protonotariou-Deilaki (1980, 98) suggested that it may have been made especially for child use, and on the basis of the presence of two small openings suggested that it could have served as a feeding-bottle. In view of the age of the child, however, if the vase had indeed been used for feeding then it is likely that it was a souvenir of early childhood rather than an object actually used by the 6–7 year old child unless he/she had suffered from some form of disability which is not discernable from his/her

remains. The Early Mycenaean burial of a 2.5–3.5 year old child in the same cemetery contained offerings which had been specially made and adapted to the age of the child – dozens of miniature vases of different shape, small feeding vessels (*askos*, fragmentary side-spouted jug), and items with probable amuletic properties (an amethyst necklace with beads in the shape of figure-of-eight shields and a three-sided prism) (Kaza-Papageorgiou 1985; Muskett 2008, 45).

The two children (of *c.* two and five years of age) buried in pit graves in Grave Circle B at Mycenae had received only vases (cup and jug) as grave goods. In contrast, the *c.* five year old child buried in Shaft Grave Ξ , had not only been buried with a large number of vases but also gold ornaments, a silver pin, bracelets made of stone beads, a faience relief-pendant and a small rattling ‘walnut shaped, hollow gold object with a small stone(?) inside’ (Mylonas 1973, 184), which may have served as an amulet or had been a valuable plaything.

During the Shaft Grave period no types of grave goods can be distinguished which may be considered to have been characteristic to the age group of children in general. Only the two unique objects cited above found in the rich burials of children of five years or older – the jug with the goat head shaped spout from Grave 1 (140) in ‘Tumulus Δ ’ at Argos, and the rattling gold object from Shaft Grave Ξ in Grave Circle B at Mycenae – could be interpreted as objects made especially for a child. Some very rich burials of children above 5–6 years of age were accompanied by high-status items only known from comparable adult burials: weapons, large storage jars and a gold band had been placed in Grave 5 (92), ‘Tumulus E’ at Argos, and gold ornaments in Grave Ξ in Grave Circle B at Mycenae. Younger children usually received only vases and jewellery made of less precious materials such as bronze or stone. Complete vases are generally absent from the graves of children less than one year of age; they were given only beads or fragmentary vases.

A major difference in the Early Mycenaean period compared to the Shaft Grave period is the appearance of child specific grave goods i.e. types of objects which are exclusively known from child burials. During the Early Mycenaean period and later, miniature vases (vases with a height of less than half of the normal size) and seashells, which had been previously found occasionally with adults as well (e.g. in Lerna; Zerner 1990, 31–3), are only known from burials of children less than 5–6 years old. In addition, a new, child specific vase type – the bird shaped *askos* (Furumark Shape 194) – also appeared during this period. Throughout its use until LH IIIC it is also only found in the burials of children younger than five years of age and it would appear to have had a special function related to their age (feeding?) (LH IIB: Grave XVI at Athens – Agora; Immerwahr 1971, 205–8; LH IIIA2 – IIIB: Methana – Ayios Konstantinos, Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, 257–84; Grave Beta 26 at Ayios Stephanos, †Taylour and Janko 2008, 129, fig. 6.22). Variants of this shape are also only known from burials of children less than five years of age – a small rounded *askos* from Grave 4 at Argos – Herakleous, Giannaki plot (Kaza-Papageorgiou 1985, fig. 20) and an animal-shaped askoid-rhyton from Grave Beta 28 at Ayios Stephanos (Mountjoy 1988, 187, fig. 1; †Taylour and Janko 2008, 130, 330, figs. 2.5 and 6.18, pl. 40). The presence of vases, usually of small or miniature size, in burials of *c.* 6–7 month old infants (Grave DE 1 at Lerna; Grave Beta 28 at Ayios Stephanos in Laconia) provides an indication that the age when a child was permitted to have been

buried with complete vases also became gradually lower during this period. Only normal, 'adult-sized' vases are found in the burials of children greater than 5–6 years of age, as shown by the chamber tomb burial of a c. 6–7 year old child at Mycenae – Aspria, who was accompanied by a large piriform jar, an *alabastron* and two *kylikes* (Demakopoulou 1981, pl. 37d). Lavish burials with gold ornaments, comparable in richness to the two burials from the Shaft Grave period described above, were still probably restricted to adults and children greater than 5–6 years of age, as shown by the LH IIB–IIIA1 burial of the 'little princess' in the tholos tomb at Dendra (Persson 1931, 13–14, 23, 39–40; not analysed anthropologically), and by a comparably rich burial of a c. 5–6 year old child from Messenia in Tholos Tomb 2 at Koukounara – Phyties (Marinatos 1958, 190–2; the age was estimated by the excavator). In the Early Mycenaean period rich, but slightly modestly equipped burials lacking gold ornaments, already occur from above one year of age. In addition to their numerous child-specific grave goods (miniature vases, *askoi*, seashells) the children buried in Grave 4 at Argos – Herakleous, Giannaki plot, and in Grave XVI at Athens – Agora, were accompanied by a larger sized vase and objects otherwise only known from adult burials (a three sided prism in the Argos burial and an ivory comb in the Athens burial). These artefacts probably served as general markers of status and were not necessarily related to the age of the child.

Conclusions

Phases of Childhood in Early Mycenaean Greece

On the basis of the burial evidence discussed above, age clearly determined the placement of the grave, the choice of grave goods and, among the elite, the right to be buried in complex grave types during the earlier periods of the Mycenaean culture. Differences in the age-related burial treatment would tend to suggest the existence of two age thresholds: a clear age limit can be seen around 5–6 years and a less clear differentiation at around 1–2 years. These age divisions, however, had different manifestations in the burial record and changed over time.

During the Shaft Grave period (MH III – LH I) infants of less than one year of age were differentiated by their total exclusion from organised extramural cemetery areas and by the absence of complete vases in their graves. They were buried only in intramural contexts or close to settlement areas within the ruins of abandoned structures. Children of between 1–2 and 5–6 years of age were still only included in formal extramural cemeteries in exceptional cases (e.g. Grave E-1 in Grave Circle B at Mycenae) and were not buried in complex grave types, such as shaft graves and built-cists. Among their grave goods complete vases were already included, but high-status items were absent in their graves. Children older than 5–6 years of age were buried in greater numbers in formal, organised cemeteries and, among the grave goods of some burials, objects usually associated with adults are also present (pins, finger rings). Moreover, children of the elite were further differentiated by burial in complex grave types and by the lavish deposition of grave goods comprising several high-status objects (weapons, gold ornaments) comparable in size and quality to those found with adults.

In the Early Mycenaean period (LH II) children below one year of age were still

excluded from organised extramural cemeteries and were buried within, or near, the settlement. In contrast to the previous period, however, complete vases, mostly of small size, are also found in their graves. It continued to be the case that only children older than one year of age were buried in formal extramural burial grounds and, in some cases, in more complex grave types, such as built-cists. This age group of one to 5–6 year old children (occasionally including even 6–7 month old infants), became differentiated by a special set of objects: miniature vases, seashells and bird shaped *askoi*, exemplifying the increasing individualisation attested in the burial practices of the period. In some richer burials objects, otherwise only known from adult burials, such as seal stones, pins and ivory combs were also included. Similarly to the Shaft Grave period, only children greater than 5–6 years of age were buried in monumental grave types, now chamber and tholos tombs, and were accorded comparable burial treatment to adults, including the provision of ornaments of gold and large vases.

It is clearly apparent from the preceding chronological comparison that the lower age limit for burial within organised extramural cemeteries and complex grave types, and for the association with particular types of grave goods, gradually decreased over time. This would appear to be a reflection of a shifting perception of childhood during the formative stages of Mycenaean culture and suggests that, by the Early Mycenaean period, the social persona of children had become recognised at an earlier stage than during the preceding Shaft Grave period. Foremost by the elite, this implies that children could have received lavish burials at a gradually younger age, in a period experiencing rapid socio-political changes and when the display of status among the competing elite was an important concern. It appears to be the case that within the burial arena this concern was also extended to their children and at an increasingly younger age.

Age Thresholds and Rites of Passage

From birth until around one year of age children were usually buried within or at the settlement, which may indicate that they were not yet fully incorporated within the society. The fact that even neonates received formal burials, however, would tend to suggest that already they were regarded as embodied individuals, and it may have been through initiation rites carried out after birth that they became accepted by the family (Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 142–3). Burial within the household suggests that children below one year of age were still in a liminal state: their death and burial remained within the domestic sphere; it was a family affair where competitive display did not play a role. In the few burials where grave goods are included it is more the personal and emotional, than the social aspect which is emphasised. The change in burial treatment at around one year of age thus denotes a change in the status of the child from the domestic to the community sphere. From this age onwards children, presumably through initiation rites, became accepted by the community as its members, and thus were entitled to be buried outside the settlement area in organised cemeteries along with adults.

The next change in status occurred at around 5–6 years of age and was more clearly defined in both the Shaft Grave and Early Mycenaean periods and it would seem to indicate a major shift in social status around that age. From the Early Mycenaean period onwards children below this age were accompanied by a special set of grave goods denoting their genderless child status. In the burials of children greater than

5–6 years, and especially among the children of the elite, gender-laden grave goods otherwise restricted to adult burials, start to appear. Thus the age limit evident at 5–6 years can most likely be interpreted as a threshold relating to the gendered identity of older childhood, following the asexual status of infancy and early childhood, and preceding adulthood. Children from 5–6 years of age in pre-industrial societies begin to participate more actively in the life of the community and contribute economically, both by undertaking tasks suited to their age (e.g. collecting firewood, herding, taking care of younger siblings) and also commencing training in several crafts (Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 144–5; Kamp 2001, 14–18). As such, the age threshold at 5–6 years may also signify the beginning of economic productivity and it is possible that this major shift of status could have been celebrated with an important rite of passage.

It might also be possible that the age threshold seen at 5–6 years of age signifies the transition between childhood and adulthood; in most ancient societies, however, the threshold between childhood and adulthood appears to have occurred at a later age – between the age of ten and twenty years – the age range which is usually the least well represented in the burial data. In this context, the weapons buried with the *c.* six year old boy in Grave 5 (92) in ‘Tumulus E’ at Argos could symbolise his inherited wealth and status as a warrior (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 109; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 79), but together with A. Ingvarsson-Sundström (2003, 148) I find it more likely that the presence of weapons and large storage vases in the grave indicate an already attained status, and (not dissimilar to the practice known by royal families of more recent times) the child could have, despite his biological immaturity, already been regarded as an adult (it must also be noted that the age of the child was only estimated by the excavator and not determined by an anthropologist). Weapons generally appear in the burials of individuals greater than twenty years of age (the youngest analysed burial with a knife was a *c.* twenty-one year old male from Grave 1971–10 in the Asine – East cemetery; Dietz 1980, 58–60) and the youngest burials with daggers and swords were *c.* twenty-eight years old in Shaft Graves Γ and H in Grave Circle B at Mycenae (Mylonas 1973, 43–79, 106–9) and clearly represented adult members of the community. Therefore, as a consequence of the paucity of burials representing the age category of ten to twenty years, and in the absence of textual sources which would refer to these exact age categories, the age of the transition between childhood and adulthood and the possible initiation rites which may have been celebrated on this occasion in Early Mycenaean Greece cannot be established.

To conclude, the approximate age thresholds within childhood defined on the basis of differential burial treatment indicate that in the earlier periods of Mycenaean culture children were gradually incorporated into society through a series of rites of passage. The age categories indicating status changes, however, were not always clearly defined and appear to have changed through time.

Acknowledgements

This study forms part of my Ph.D. dissertation on ‘Child Burials in Mycenaean Greece’, which is being undertaken in the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University Budapest, Hungary, and has been supported by a Hungarian State Eötvös

Scholarship. An earlier version of this paper with the title: 'Materializing Childhood in Mycenaean Greece' was presented in the session, 'The Materialization of Childhood: Embracing Liminal Bodies' at the 6th World Archaeological Congress, University College Dublin, 30 June 2008. I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions and the journal editor, Dr Eileen Murphy, who kindly corrected my use of English.

Received March 2009, revised manuscript accepted May 2009.

References

- Alden, M. 2000. *Well Built Mycenae. Fasc. 7: The Prehistoric Cemetery. Pre-Mycenaean and Early Mycenaean Graves*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Angel, J. L. 1973. Human skeletons from Grave Circles at Mycenae, pp. 379–97 in Mylonas, G. E. (ed.), *Ο ταφικός κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών*. Athens: Archaiologike Hetaireia.
- Baxter, J. E. 2008. The archaeology of childhood. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37, 159–75.
- Becker, M. J. 2007. Childhood among the Etruscans: mortuary programs at Tarquinia as indicators of the transition to adult status, pp. 281–92 in Cohen, A. and Rutter, J. (eds.), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy* (Hesperia Supplement 41). Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Blackburn, E. T. 1970. *Middle Helladic Graves and Burial Customs with Special Reference to Lerna in the Argolid*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cincinnati.
- Blegen, C. 1921. *Korakou. A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*. New York: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Brown, T. A., Brown, K. A., Flaherty, C. E., Little, L. M. and Prag, A. J. N. W. 2000. DNA analysis of bones from Grave Circle B at Mycenae: a first report. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 95, 115–19.
- Cavanagh, W. and Mee, C. 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 125). Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Charles, R. P. 1958. Étude anthropologique des Nécropoles d'Argos. Contribution à l'étude des populations de la Grèce antique. *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 82, 268–313.
- Charles, R. P. 1963. *Étude Anthropologique des Nécropoles d'Argos* (Études Peloponésiennes 3). Paris: Boccard.
- Charlier, Ph. 2007. Aspects anthropologiques et paléopathologiques de la malnutrition à Argos, pp. 297–312 in Mee, Ch. and Renard, R. (eds.), *Cooking up the Past. Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Crawford, S. 2000. Children, grave goods and social status in Early Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 169–79 in Sofaer Derevenski, J. (ed.), *Children and Material Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Demakopoulou, K. 1981. Μυκηνες – Ασπριά. *Archaeologikon Deltion* 36 B1, 99.
- Demakopoulou, K., Divari-Valakou, N., Schallin, A.-L., Ekroth, G., Lindblom, A., Nilsson, M. and Sjögren, L. 2002. Excavations in Midea 2000 and 2001. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 27, 27–58.
- Deshayes, J. 1966. *Argos. Les fouilles de la Deiras* (Études Peloponésiennes). Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1977. *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 49). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1983. Cist graves and chamber tombs. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78, 55–67.
- Dietz, S. 1980. Asine II.2. *Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970–1974. Fasc. 2. The*

- Middle Helladic Cemetery. The Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Deposits.* Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Dietz, S. 1991. *The Argolid at the Transition to the Mycenaean Age.* Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark – Århus University Press.
- Dietz, S. and Divari-Valakou, N. 1990. A Middle III/Late Helladic I grave group from Myloi in the Argolid (Oikopedon Manti). *Opuscula Atheniensia* 18, 45–62.
- Divari-Valakou, N. 1998. Ευρήματα απο το Μεσοελλαδικό οικισμό του Αργους. Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου Β. Τζάφα, pp. 85–101 in Pariente, A. and Touchais, G. (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et Urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale. Athènes – Argos 28/4–1/5/1990.* Paris: De Boccard.
- Frödin, O. and Persson, A. 1938. *Asine, Results of the Swedish Excavations.* Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag.
- Gowland, R. 2001. Playing dead: implications of mortuary evidence for the social construction of childhood in Roman Britain, pp. 152–68 in Davies, G., Gardner, A. and Lockyear, K. (eds.), *TRAC 2000. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology. University College London, 6th–7th April 2000.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Houby-Nielsen, S. 2000. Child burials in ancient Athens, pp. 151–66 in Sofaer Derevenski, J. (ed.), *Children and Material Culture.* London: Routledge.
- Immerwahr, S. A. 1971. *The Athenian Agora XIII. The Neolithic and Bronze Ages.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Ingvarsson-Sundström, A. 2003. *Children Lost and Found. A Bioarchaeological Study of Middle Helladic Children in Asine with a Comparison to Lerna.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Uppsala University.
- Kamp, K. A. 2001. Where have all the children gone?: the archaeology of childhood. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, 1–34.
- Kaza-Papageorgiou, D. 1985. An Early Mycenaean cist grave from Argos. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung* 100, 1–21.
- Kilian, K. 1982. Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1980. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3, 293–430.
- Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, E. 2003. Ταφές νηπίων στο μυκηναϊκό ιερό του Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου στα Μεθάνα, pp. 257–84 in Konsolaki-Giannopoulou, E. (ed.), *Αργοσαρωνικός. Πρακτικά 1ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού. Πόρος, 26–29 Ιουνίου 1998* T. A. Athens: Demos Porou.
- Marinatos, S. 1958. Ανασκαφή Πύλου. *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Hetaireias*, 184–93.
- Mountjoy, P. A. 1988. The LH IIIA pottery from Ayios Stephanos, Laconia, pp. 185–91 in French, E. B. and Wardle, K. A. (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at The Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986.* Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Muskett, G. 2008. Rites of passage for young children in Mycenaean Greece. *Childhood in the Past* 1, 38–48.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1973. *Ο ταφικός κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών.* Athens: Archaiologike Hetaireia.
- Nordquist, G. C. 1987. *A Middle Helladic Village. Asine in the Argolid* (Boreas 16). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Nordquist, G. C. and Ingvarsson-Sundström, A. 2005. Live hard, die young. Mortuary remains of Middle and Early Late Helladic children from the Argolid in social context, pp. 156–74 in Dakouri-Hild, A. and Sherratt, S. (eds.), *AUTOCHTON. Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the Occasion of his Retirement* (BAR International Series 1432). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papadimitriou, A. 1994. Άργος. Οδός Γόρδωνος και Κολοκοτρώνη (οικόπεδο Κωνσταντίνου Κολοβέντη). *Archaeologikon Deltion* 49 B1, 128–30.
- Persson, A. W. 1931. *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea.* Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.

- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E. 1980. *Οι τύμβοι του Άργους*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Athens.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E. 1990. Burial customs and funerary rites in the prehistoric Argolid, pp. 69–83 in Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Psarra, E. A. 2006. Ανασκαφή οικοπέδου Γ. Παναγιωτόπουλου στο Άργος: Χρήσεις του χώρου κατά την αρχαιότητα, pp. 335–44 in Kolonas, L., Georgopoulou, M., Petropoulos, M., Athanasoulis, D. (eds.), *Πρακτικά. Α΄ Αρχαιολογική Σύνοδος Νότιας και Δυτικής Ελλάδος*. Πάτρα 9–12 Ιουνίου 1996. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund.
- Rutter, J. B. 2003. Children in Aegean prehistory, pp. 31–57 in Neils, J. and Oakley, J. H. (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece. Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. London: Yale University Press.
- Sofaer Derevenski, J. 1994. Where are the children? *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13, 7–20.
- †Taylour, W. D. and Janko, R. 2008. *Ayios Stephanos: Excavation at a Bronze Age and Medieval Settlement in Southern Laconia* (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume No. 44). London: British School at Athens.
- Touchais, G. 1998. Argos à l'époque mésohelladique: Un habitat ou des habitats? pp. 71–84 in Pariente, A. and Touchais, G. (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et Urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale. Athènes – Argos 28/4–1/5/1990*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2007. *Strenuous Life Conditions in the Argive Plain during the MH Period: A Comparative Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains from Lerna, Argos and Mycenae*. Paper presented at the one-day conference entitled Middle Helladic Argolid Project. Social Change and Cultural Interaction in the Middle Helladic Argolid 2000–1500 BC, 19 December 2007, Danish Institute, Athens.
- Valmin, N. 1938. *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Voutsaki, S. 1993. *Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World: An Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge.
- Wiencke, M. H. 1998. Mycenaean Lerna. *Hesperia* 67, 125–214.
- Zerner, C. 1990. Ceramics and ceremony: pottery and burials from Lerna in the Middle and Early Late Bronze Ages, pp. 23–34 in Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.