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PAST AND MEMORY IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

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Edited by Elisabetta BORGNA, Ilaria CALOI, Filippo Maria CARINCI and Robert LAFFINEUR

PEETERS
LEUVEN - LIÈGE
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MEMORIALIZING THE FIRST MYCENAEANS AT ELEON*

A unique burial complex lies at the center of the Greek-Canadian excavations at the site of ancient Eleon (Boeotia).¹ Stone walls enclose a select group of Early Mycenaean burials, separating them from a larger cemetery that began in the Middle Helladic period,² while at the same time clustering them together. This large rectangular structure, measuring 10 by 17m, is distinguished from other constructions in the same area by the slabs of naturally polished blue limestone capping the walls and inspiring the name the Blue Stone Structure (BSS). While the perimeter wall defines a larger burial plot, within its boundaries numerous tombs were indicated by rings of stone around the grave cuttings; cobbled surfaces were laid at several elevations above; and two stelai, roughly carved markers *ca* 1.3-1.5m high, stood *in situ*. After burials ceased, the subsequent creation of a tumulus over the Blue Stone Structure further unified the monumental complex by residents who still remembered those buried within. Excavations have revealed numerous aspects of the mound's construction, including its fabrication from slabs of unbaked clay (likely bricks) and multiple surfaces that all date within the Shaft Grave era (MH III-LH I/II).

These repeated acts of commemoration during the Early Mycenaean period were followed by a long period of respect throughout the remainder of the Mycenaean age. In the subsequent phases of activity at Eleon, the tumulus survived as a visible memorial. The LH IIIB-IIIC settlement extended into areas adjacent to the mound, but the boundary walls built along the edge of the tumulus suggest respect for the earlier burial site. Votive deposits of the 6th and 5th cent. BCE are similarly kept distinct by walls that create an entrance to the elevated site, to the south of the tumulus. The concentration of cult activity in the vicinity of the burial mound may suggest reverence for this space and perhaps a new conception of the site's heritage. The deposition of hundreds of seated and standing terracotta figurines of Archaic through Classical periods indicate a focus on female figures, and one possible identity is provided by Plutarch's description of a cult at Eleon dedicated to the maiden daughters of the local river god, although we have no material contemporary with the Roman biographer.

Eleon

The site is located on an elevated plateau overlooking the agricultural plain that runs between Thebes and the Euboean Gulf. The important sites of Aulis, Chalkis, Dhramesi, Glypha and Lefkandi are within a day's walk from ancient Eleon. The identification of the archaeological site with the ancient place name of Eleon is based on topographical accounts of historical eras, such as Strabo (9.2.14), and important evidence about the status of Mycenaean Eleon derives from the Linear B

* We appreciate the input of all our colleagues participating in the excavations at Eleon, especially Nicholas Herrmann's preliminary assessment of the human remains, and that of Bartek Lis and Trevor Van Damme on the ceramics. We also thank Trevor Van Damme for feedback on this paper.

¹ This paper discusses results of excavations conducted by the authors as part of the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP), a collaboration between the Canadian Institute in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia under the direction of Dr. Alexandra Charami with B. Burns and B. Burke as co-directors. Excavations of the tombs were conducted from 2015-2018 and thus what follows is our preliminary assessment of the evidence. Study seasons are planned for 2019 and 2020. See also B. BURNS, B. BURKE and A. CHARAMI, "Mycenaean Eleon and Eastern Boeotia during the Bronze Age," in D.W. RUPP and J.E. TOMLINSON (eds), *From Maple to Olive. A Colloquium to celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the Canadian Institute in Greece* (2017) 177-191; B. BURKE, B. BURNS and A. CHARAMI, "Archaic and Classical Eleon in Eastern Boeotia: Excavations from 2011-2015," in RUPP and TOMLINSON (*supra*) 385-399.

² The significant quantity of EH III sherds redeposited throughout the structure indicate a thriving community on the site prior to its conversion into a formal cemetery.

tablets of Thebes (especially Ft 140) that demonstrate Eleon's role as a significant contributor to the regional economy.³ Although the form of structures dating to the palatial period is not clear on account of later overbuilding, the floor levels of this period include evidence for various craft activities, such as textile production, based on loom weights and spindle whorls, plus a stone mold for jewelry manufacture.⁴ A sustained, thriving settlement that endured in subsequent years is made clear from the multiple periods of activity and several phases of construction in LH IIIC Early and Middle periods. The burnt destruction of one household complex of the LH IIIC Early 2 period provides exceptionally good evidence for a well built home with significant storage, dining, and industrial activities.⁵

After a considerable period of inactivity, Eleon is refashioned in the Archaic period with the construction of an elaborate polygonal wall along the eastern approach to the acropolis.⁶ This unusual construction is more like a terrace wall in character rather than a fortification, although it has traditionally been identified as the latter on account of its monumental nature (preserved over 5m tall at the south tower). It follows a curving path that runs 85m, forming an arc approximately one third of a circle, between two rectangular towers. The exterior face consists of well-cut stones of local dark limestone cut irregularly to fit the neighboring blocks. Most measure more than one square-meter, with many exceeding two meters in length. When the blocks were in place, the face of the wall was decorated with diagonal scoring. This massive, curved form required a major investment of architectural planning and labor, resting on a course of blocks at least three meters wide. Deep foundations were exposed in test trenches indicating a construction date in the latter half of the 6th cent. BCE (*ca* 530 BCE). Indeed, the closest parallel to this construction, both in terms of geography and chronology is the monumental polygonal temple terrace wall built at Delphi in the decades after 548 BC.⁷ Contemporary with the wall construction are large deposits of votive material and drinking vessels in secondary contexts, recovered in a well-built ramped entry area and monumental gateway that shows multiple phases of remodeling.

Blue Stone Structure

On the elevated low plateau above and to the north of the polygonal wall is the Blue Stone Structure. Located in the center of our excavation area, three joining walls form the west, south, and east sides of the rectangular enclosure (Pl. CII). The east wall is oriented roughly north-south with a length of approximately 17m, making it one of the largest Shaft Grave era constructions known in central Greece. The form of the wall is somewhat unusual, with a number of orthostates forming the base course. They are inconsistent in size and material, but make an impressive façade, beginning with the large orthostate measuring at least 1.57m high at the southern end. The northern end of this eastern wall was similarly marked with an orthostate, 0.98m high. Because the orthostates tapered towards their tops, irregularly shaped stones and finally slabs were used to fill the resultant caps. It is possible that the blue limestone slabs were added as a later phase to further elaborate and level the top of the perimeter wall.

³ V. ARAVANTINOS *et al.*, "Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2007-2010: The Intensive Surface Survey – Eleon," *Museion* 13 (2016) 293-357.

⁴ B. BURKE and B. BURNS, "Crafting Before and After the Collapse: Mycenaean Eleon in Boeotia," in J. DRIESSEN (ed.), *RA-PI-NE-U. Studies on the Mycenaean World Offered to Robert Laffineur for his 70th Birthday* (2016) 85-93.

⁵ T. VAN DAMME, *Life after the Palaces: A Household Archaeology Approach to Mainland Greece during Late Helladic IIIC* (2017).

⁶ B. BURKE, B. BURNS and A. CHARAMI, "The Polygonal Wall at Ancient Eleon and the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project," in D.W. RUPP and J.E. TOMLINSON (eds), *Meditations on the Diversity of the Built Environment in the Aegean Basin: A Colloquium in Memory of Frederick E. Winter, June 22-23 2012* (2014) 249-264.

⁷ F. COURBY, *Fouilles de Delphes II, Topographie et architecture, la Terrasse du Temple* (1915-1927).

Within the BSS, we have excavated eleven built tombs, of diverse construction types. These were positioned at various levels within the structure, perhaps indicative of chronology. Although individual tombs range from a small clay cist (Tomb 2) to a large built chamber tomb (Tomb 5), each tomb is covered by one or more capping stones. For most tombs, the capstones could be lifted for repeated access but Tomb 5 preserves what seems to be a dromos, providing a horizontal re-entry point. Four of the BSS Tombs (2, 6, 8, and 9) preserve only one individual, three of whom died during childhood. Tomb 6 was positioned between the two stelai at a high level, suggesting that it was one of the last tombs built within the BSS. A relatively small cist, 0.80 x 0.47m, was formed by four solid slabs of limestone. It contained the articulated remains of a single child with an approximate age of 9.5 years (Pl. CIIIa). Our bioanthropologist Nicholas Herrmann (Texas State University) has also observed that the individual's small dimensions could suggest malnutrition. The body was positioned with the skull in the northeast corner, where three copper alloy ringlets were found surrounding the head. Also included in the grave were two small vessels: a Grey Minyan pyxis with two sets of two holes pierced through prior to firing below the rim and a Grey Minyan Vapheio cup, both at miniature scale. The presence of these finds is significant, given that many other individuals were buried without grave goods at Eleon, as is the usual case across central Greece at this time. Furthermore, that a child should receive such offerings, indicates a status ascribed at birth rather than through personal achievement.

Most of the other tombs are a single chamber (cist) formed by drystone walls and average *ca* 1.5 x 1m in size. Two tombs within the BSS have more complex design: Tomb 7 with a southern extension and Tomb 5 with a lateral entrance at its northeast corner.

Tomb 5 has a main chamber measuring 2.78 x 1.33m, with walls built of vertically placed cut stones. The northern wall of Tomb 5 continues as a consistent form across the burial chamber and antechamber, indicating that both were built as a single construction, rather than the result on a smaller cist built up against a previous structure. This is the largest tomb excavated thus far at Eleon, and it was covered by massive capstones that had fractured and began crumbling when uncovered. It seems that repeated access to the burial chamber was made by removing a separate capstone positioned over the antechamber to the east, freeing the family of the deceased from the laborious winching of a several ton stone that covered the main chamber. From here, a vertical stone was slid open acting as a door into the main chamber of Tomb 5. Traces of the abrasion of this slab can still be observed on the orthostates forming the sides of the dromos.

Tomb 5 serves as an excellent example of the repeated use of the larger Eleon tombs, within a relatively constrained period of time. The articulated remains of three individuals lay on the tomb floor indicative of the final deceased placed in the tomb. A large accumulation of additional skeletal material indicates that those entering the tomb from the dromos would reposition prior burials to the corner furthest from the entrance. The deposition of bones was found interspersed with the grave goods laid out with the previous deceased. Of particular interest is an ivory sword pommel found without an associated blade. Perhaps the bronze was removed by someone rearranging earlier remains, or perhaps the pommel was offered as a token symbolic of a complete weapon. Over the course of eight consecutive days of excavation in 2016, Herrmann and his team carefully mapped the skeletal material across the burial chamber. In total, they recorded, and identified 619 units of human remains in the field. A preliminary assessment of the commingled remains suggests that a minimum count of eleven individuals are represented. The parallel nature of an assemblage of long bones from several individuals shows that these bones were gathered together intentionally.

Several interesting grave goods were found associated with the burials. The various ceramic vessels could all date to the Late Helladic IA period, though we cannot exclude that they represent a longer span of time, perhaps as great as MH III-LH IB. For this reason it seems safest to assign the grave to the height of the Shaft Grave Period. The vessel types present in this tomb offer a fairly comprehensive overview of Shave Grave ceramics, including a Grey Minyan footed cup with everted rim, two matt painted vertical ring handled cups, and a bichrome cup which is of local technique, but

finds a close parallel on Kythera (Pl. CIIIb).⁸ Like the other tomb assemblages from the Blue Stone Structure, the repeated use of the tomb complicates any attempt to connect the vessels with a sequence of deposition, or association with particular buried individuals. That is also true of numerous other finds from Tomb 5 (one of the richest uncovered so far), including the aforementioned ivory sword pommel, spindle whorls, and several bronze artifacts: rivets, rings, and a dagger. These items are consistent with a very early Mycenaean date, as the Type I tangless dagger is similar to other tombs of the transitional MH-LH period, mostly in the Peloponnese.⁹ The ivory pommel suggests that a sword was deposited along with one of the burials, but was removed at a later date, or that the ivory was valued for symbolic reasons, perhaps because of the material's foreign origin.¹⁰ The presence of weaponry or ostentatious levels of wealth is rare in Boeotian graves of this era, and the assemblage of Tomb 5 matches the character of contemporary tombs of Thebes.¹¹

In addition to the artifacts deposited in burials, there are material traces of activities connecting the living community with the deceased. Our ceramics analysts, Bartek Lis and Trevor Van Damme, have identified a deposit of predominantly open shapes in a stratum above the built tombs, distinguished by the presence of mendable to near-complete vessels and its chronological and functional homogeneity. Like the pottery deposited in the tombs, these vessels as a defined stratum can be assigned to a developed stage of the LH I period. The vessels inventoried, so far are almost exclusively drinking vessels with occasional fragments of small closed shapes including the enigmatic *pyxides* found in several of the tombs. The range of wares is consistent with the underlying tombs: Grey Minyan footed cups with everted rims, Vapheio cups, and pedestalled and footed goblets not identified within the graves themselves, plus matt painted Vapheio cups and a panel cup decorated with running spiral, and two very large bichrome goblets with wide strap handles and everted rims. A bichrome krater, ideal for mixing wine, complements the set. If not an *in situ* deposit, it can be interpreted as deliberately dumped material perhaps close in date to the erection of the overlying first phase of tumulus construction. The selection of shapes strongly hints at a drinking event, perhaps feasting in association with rituals taking place around the tombs and/or grave stele.

The walls of the Blue Stone Structure physically separated these burials and their associated commemorative activities from the larger cemetery area that extended at least 13m beyond the limits of the BSS to the west and an unknown distance to the north, south and east. This follows a pattern well known from the grave circles at Mycenae where demarcated spaces helped structure a much larger zone of prehistoric burials.¹² While the BSS is not circular, the rectangular form at Eleon finds exceptionally close parallels at Paralimni in Boeotia, and a later example at Eleusis.¹³ Indeed, these appear to attest to a larger community of practice perhaps responding directly to the circular burial enclosures of the Argive constructions. The variation in constructions typify the Shaft Grave era as a time of experimentation in the formative period of Mycenaean culture and practices.¹⁴ Yet, the repeated actions to elaborate the BSS during this period stand out as a concentrated effort to reshape and monumentalize the burial environment at a thriving East Boeotian community. The burying

⁸ J.N. COLDSTREAM and G.L. HUXLEY, *Kythera: Excavations and Studies* (1972) 179, no 19.

⁹ Th. J. PAPADOPOULOS, *The Late Bronze Age Daggers of the Aegean I: The Greek Mainland* (1998) 4-9.

¹⁰ B. BURNS, *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* (2010) esp. 98-100.

¹¹ M. KASIMI-SOTOU, "Μεσοελλαδικός τάφος πολεμιστή από τη Θήβα," *ArchDelt* 35 A (1980) 88-101; A. CHRISTOPOULOU, "Δύο πρώιμοι μυκηναϊκοί τάφοι στη Θήβα," in V. ARAVANTINOS (ed.), *Proceedings of the Society for Boeotian Studies, 1st International Conference, Thebes, 1986* (1988) abstract.

¹² M. ALDEN, *Well Built Mycenae 7, The Prehistoric Cemetery: Pre-Mycenaean and Early Mycenaean Graves* (2000).

¹³ Th. SPYROPOULOS, "Παραλίμνη," *ArchDelt* 28 B1 (1973) 265-266; N. PAPADIMITRIOU, *Built Chamber Tombs of Middle and Late Bronze Age Date in Mainland Greece and the Islands* (2001) 94-107.

¹⁴ G. GRAZIADO, "The Process of Social Stratification at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave Period: A Comparative Example of the Evidence," *AJA* 95 (1991) 403-440; M.J. BOYD, "Becoming Mycenaean? The Living, the Dead, and the Ancestors in the Transformation of Society in Second Millennium BC Southern Greece," in C. RENFREW, M. BOYD and I. MORLEY (eds), *Death Rituals, Social Order and the Archaeology of Immortality in the Ancient World* (2016) 200-220.

population that utilized the BSS at Eleon clearly sought to establish for themselves a discrete mortuary landscape, working to distinguish themselves from their forebears and contemporaries through their burial architecture and attendant ceremonies, while simultaneously connecting them with areas as disparate as Mycenae. Such connections may underpin the development of emergent ideologies that can be seen as the first steps towards state formation in the Central Greek region.

The monumentalization and, indeed, memorialization of the enclosed space of the BSS began during the period of the tombs' use with the erection of two large stelai. The southernmost one seems to have marked the special status for those buried in Tomb 5, standing 1.36m high above the center of the tomb chamber's western wall. The stele shaft is roughly carved by flat chisel, but the stone, at least as preserved today, bears no traces of sculpted or painted decoration. The second upright shaft is found 3.5m to its north, and measures 1.67m. This second stone does not seem to mark an individual tomb, but nicely counterbalances the first stele, as they are oriented along the N-S axis of the BSS.

Surrounding these stelai were numerous other constructions that inhibited access to the tombs below them, and perhaps served as platforms for activity focused on the dead sealed below (Pl. CIIIc). It is worth asking what role the stelai themselves may have played in such rituals. At least one area of cobbles (covering the Tombs 4, 2, 10, and 9 below) seems to have utilized the two stele as its eastern demarcation, perhaps suggesting that they themselves were the focus of ritual activities inside the enclosure. One can only note that any activities carried out on top of the BSS would have been visible for anyone approaching the site from the gradually inclined eastern slope, but also to anyone passing along the northern slope of the site as well. This visibility may have helped in the placement of the structure in the initial design phase.

Platforms built of larger stones at different levels covered the central area (over Tombs 5, 6, 8, 14, and 7). Over these paved surfaces, a pair of long, rough walls ran north-south across the middle of the BSS, and actually incorporated and concealed the stelai into the construction. These platforms and walls are sometimes just two and three courses, but were poorly made and do not preserve a coherent form. It seems most likely that these were a kind of support spine intended to uphold the clay tumulus, which was then massed over the entire structure. Mud bricks are well documented in stacks above the paved levels within the BSS, and also in layers of the tumulus along the exterior of the BSS east wall.

Contrary to the pattern of many tumuli excavated elsewhere,¹⁵ the mound at Eleon did not attract burials in subsequent periods. Rather, the tumulus survived relatively undisturbed through the following centuries, despite the development of a sizable settlement around it in the LH IIIB and IIIC periods. The community encroached closest on the western side of the BSS, where a rough boulder construction (Wall 108) functioned as a boundary between the living and the dead. It is unclear how well the tumulus was preserved along the south of the BSS, but there are numerous support walls and stone platforms in this area that acted as a buffer between the mound and a pebble courtyard to the southwest. In contrast to the burials within the BSS tumulus, the large Tomb 12 outside and west of the mound was significantly disturbed at some point, then filled and covered in the LH IIIC period. Along the eastern edge of the tumulus, where its form remains well-preserved an ashy stratum rich in LH IIIB2-LH IIIC pottery may attest to at least sporadic attempts to connect with the ancestral community of ancient Eleon.

Classical Recognition

The Mycenaean settlement at Eleon did not last beyond the LH IIIC middle period. The site's presence in the post-Mycenaean landscape is suggested by two references in the *Iliad*; first, the Catalogue of Ships (2.500) lists Eleon as one of the 29 cities among the Boeotian contingent headed to Troy. The second passage offers more specific heroic connections: the boar's tusk helmet worn by

¹⁵ E.g., J. RAMBACH, "Investigations of two MH I Burial Mounds at Messenian Kastroulia (near Ellinika, Ancient Thouria)," in F. FELTEN, W. GAUSS and R. SMETANA (eds), *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st-November 2nd, 2004* (2007) 137-150.

Odysseus is given an elaborate genealogy that connects three generations through a series of exchanges back to Odysseus' own grandfather, Autolykos, who visited Eleon (10.266–267). Here, he stole the helmet from the well built house of Amyntor, the son of Ormenos. This family was also featured in a lost play of Euripides, *Phoenix*, with action unfolding in front of the palace of Amyntor at Eleon, according to some commentators.¹⁶

Throughout the Archaic and Classical age, reaching into the 5th cent., the BSS tumulus retained its Bronze Age form, among relatively little activity at the site. At the end of the Archaic period, contemporary with the construction of the site's massive polygonal wall, a ramped entryway was built to the south of the BSS mound. The ramp's plaster surface was framed by limestone walls that extend from the polygonal wall's northern tower. This entrance also makes use of earlier Mycenaean walls as a border for the plaster surface that leads to a large limestone threshold running 3.25m N-S. This sophisticated doorway element, with the cuttings for the wooden elements, and intact bronze pivots, was actually placed between earlier Mycenaean walls that extend along either side. Buried between several layers of plaster paving and accumulated in a large Medieval pit cut through them to the east of the limestone threshold were miniature vessels, terracotta figurines, and bronze items such as *phialai*, suggesting cultic activity dating from the 6th through 5th cent. Most common among this concentration of cult material are *kotylikai* in the usual Corinthian style (Pl. CIVa). These miniature vessels were found in great quantities in the area of the doorway, as were locally made Boeotian *kylix* ware (BKW) vessels that provide more specific chronological information (Pl. CIVb).¹⁷ Much more rare are a handful of black figure open shapes such as *kantharoi*, cups, and *lekanides* that allow further refinements. These drinking and miniature vessels are joined by a prolific number of terracotta figurines. The many thousands of fragmentary and intact figurines total nearly 57 kilograms in weight. Haley Bertram has produced a current minimum count of 550 figurines of the Archaic and Classical periods. The vast majority are moldmade, all representing seated and standing female figures (Pl. CIVc). The number of dedications of the figurines peaked in the mid-5th cent., some 50 years or more after the construction of the polygonal wall, and dwindled by the end of the same century.¹⁸

The accumulation of votive material in the ramped entryway is enigmatic. Despite the repeated pavement of the surface leading up to the doorway, there is a remarkable shift in the material recovered on the other side. The pavement is not found, nor are the accumulated finds. A distinct deposit of Archaic drinking vessels was identified further to the west, but it lacks the miniature vessels and figurines characteristic of this deposit. Neither area has architecture distinctive of a shrine, and we are left with the tumulus mound as the most significant preserved feature. We therefore must ask ourselves to consider how the Early Mycenaean burials may have been recognized a thousand years later.

If we imagine the cultic activity was focused on those buried within the mound, we are then challenged to consider how worshippers of the Classical period might know the inhabitants of Mycenaean Eleon. Given the predominance of female figures among the assemblage of terracottas, it is tempting to invoke a mythological tradition distinct from the Homeric line of Amyntor. In a relatively late text, Plutarch (*Mor.* 301, *Quaest. Graec.* 41) describes the lineage of an eponymous figure Eleon, born to a Boeotian hero fighting with Herakles at Troy and a daughter of the local Skamander River. In time, a new Skamandros, son of Eleon, became king of his Boeotian homeland and gave his own name to the local Inachos river. Plutarch concludes his narrative with a statement that maiden daughters of Skamandros came to be worshipped at Eleon, and it is tempting to think of this identity linking the Classical figurines to the burials of the Blue Stone Structure. But we must acknowledge that

¹⁶ This is mentioned in H.D. JOCELYN, *The Tragedies of Ennius. The Fragments. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary* (1967) 389.

¹⁷ See T. VAN DAMME and S. LUPACK, "Archaic and Classical Ceramics of Eleon," in B. BURKE and B. BURNS (eds), *Ancient Eleon in Boeotia.: Historical and Archaeological Overview* (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Study of the figurines was the subject of Haley Bertram's MA thesis from the University of British Columbia. See H. BERTRAM, "The Archaic and Classical Figurines," in BURKE and BURNS (*supra* n. 17).

no specific features actually unite the narrative with the cultic deposits, nor with the tumulus and its burials. Furthermore, Plutarch relates that the *parthenoi* were honored still in his own era (“until now”), and none of the votive material we have recovered dates to the Hellenistic or Roman periods.

We are left to consider the long span of time between the burial depositions of the Blue Stone Structure and the renewal of Eleon in the Archaic and Classical periods. The people who built the polygonal wall adapted standing remains of the Mycenaean settlement but did not build over the surviving tumulus. Respecting this burial site, and perhaps invoking local myths to give it meaning, they deposited large numbers of votive cups and figurines. The fame of Amyntor or the allure of figures like the daughters of Skamandros may have helped these later occupants explain the visible remainders of Eleon’s Bronze Age heritage. Even if we cannot invoke these particular names, they suggest the possibilities for ancestral reverence and provide a possible echo for the ritual actions and respect accorded to the dead during Eleon’s Mycenaean periods.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. CII Schematic plan of the Blue Stone Structure area, by Giuliana Bianco.
Pl. CIIIa Tomb 6 remains and finds (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).
Pl. CIIIb Tomb 5 vessels (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).
Pl. CIIIc View of Tomb 6 between the two stelai (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).
Pl. CIVa Corinthian style miniature cups (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).
Pl. CIVb Boeotian *kylix* ware vessels (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).
Pl. CIVc Terracotta figurines (Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project photo).

CIII



a



b



c

