The Kerameikos cemetery as an historical source

The Kerameikos cemetery is the most renown burial site of the long term, multi-focal settlement of Athens since the Late Bronze Age (final phase) and the start of the Early Iron Age (Stroszek 2014). It is located in the north-western sector of the city, not far from the Agora (c. 800m North-West of that site), in a flat and wide extension of land collecting the flowing waters from the Lykabettus and from the northern side of the Acropolis; it is furthermore, marked by the course of the Eridanos river, which occasionally flooded it. The cemetery has been systematically dug since 1913 under the patronage of the Athenian Department of the German Archaeological Institute.

Recently, during the works for the realization of the Underground Railway, the Director of the Kerameikos excavations, J. Stroszeck - altogether with the Greek Archaeological Service - intervened for preventing serious damage to this extraordinary site, succeeding in stopping the original project; the Kerameikos Station was delocalized and new evidence came to light in the digs for the Station, in the area south-west of the church of Agia Triada where the course of the river in the Protogeometric and Geometric times was detected for c.14m (Baziotopoulou-Valavani & Tzirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 264-275).
Apart from an earlier, tenuous evidence (Pantelidou 1975), a continuous use of the site can be traced back to the final phases of the Late Bronze Age (Mountjoy 1988) or to the Submycenaean period (Ruppenstein 2007), when the necropolis excavated under the Classical building of the *Pompeion*, started to contribute its earlier burials (Kraiker, Kübler 1939). At the Transition to the Early Iron Age (the absolute date is disputed and highly conjectural (Dalsoglio 2014), the evidence becomes most relevant and it constitutes the backbone of the chronological and cultural sequence of Athens⁴, developing into the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, giving birth to a style which is considered as the model for a number of other Hellenic sites (Kübler 1943; Kübler 1954; Desborough 1952; Coldstream 1968; Lemos 2002).

The burial grounds extend on both the Eridanos river banks, the earlier evidence on the northern one (the so-called *Pompeion* cemetery), overlapping with the evidence of the opposite bank (Knigge 1988, fig. 4; cf. Dalsoglio 2014, *infra*, fig. 1) (Fig. 1).

It is not clear which settlement sites they refer to: whether they are connected to one village/hamlet and the distinction among the burial plots corresponds with the various “family” groups (descent groups) or the distance between the funerary areas mirrors the membership to different - even though neighboring - communities⁵. The research about the plots is hampered by the lack of thematic maps of the site, showing the sequences of the burials. The plans published in the *Kerameikos* volumes dedicated to the Early Iron Age evidence are partial; a general plan which is useful to observing the development of the necropolis is that made by Hoepfner (Hoepfner 1970), but the bulk of information represented on it makes it impossible to work upon a diachronic pattern. On the other side, it is well

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⁵ On the settlement pattern of early Athens see D’Onofrio 2009, with bibliography. The relationship between a funerary area and the settlement site contributing to it is of fundamental importance to contextualize the archaeological data (Tronchetti 2003, 136), but in the case of Early Iron Age Athens, the information is never so full. Hachmann proposed to recognize two different cemeteries in the *Pompeion* and the southern bank burial ground; Krause thought of three principal cemeteries belonging to a major complex (Hachmann 1963, 66; Krause 1975, 7, pl. 1).
known that there are only a few graves which cut each other giving a chronological fixed point (Krause 1975, pl. 30; Morris 1993; Papadopoulos 1993). In general, the chronology of the graves remains a disputed matter especially for the Transitional and Protogeometric phases, while the Geometric period has been treated according to the stylistic approach established by N. Coldstream (Coldstream 1968).

In the frame of a wider research conducted upon the Transitional and Early Iron Age phases of the Kerameikos cemetery, on the methods applied to the study of the funerary evidence in the last fifty years⁶, and particularly on the thorny question of the “Zeitstufen”⁷, I personally investigated the well-known series of burials with weapons (swords, daggers, spearheads, shield bosses)⁸ excavated in the cemetery, mostly by K. Kübler in the 30s and 40s, and edited in the volumes of the Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen⁹. They represent a restricted minority among the male graves, as the privilege of the ritual of weapons is reserved to the elite (Strömberg 1993, 83; D’Onofrio 2011, 647, with further bibliography). Within the limits of the anthropological data available for the Kerameikos

⁶ The research “The necropolis of Kerameikos revisited” was financed by L’Orientale in the years 2011-2013 (Ricerche di aggregazione su Fondi di Ateneo 60%); it has been directed by the author in collaboration with Prof. Dr Johannes Bergemann, Archäologisches Institut, Universität Göttingen. Collaborators: Dr Giuseppina Torella, who took part in the mission of 2011, supporting the photographic campaign of the grave-goods; Mrs. Simona Dalsoglio, PhD candidate of Archaeology: East and West, at the University L’Orientale, a joint PhD with the Göttingen University, which is bringing on her own research (see here, Dalsoglio 2014) and has cooperated in the implementation of the database.

⁷ The articulation of the funerary site into “Zeitstufen” or “chronological steps” - an hybrid interpretive category, mixing up anthropological, typological, stylistic, cultural and chronological insights - was formerly proposed by Kübler, revised by Hachmann and by his pupil Krause and lately by Ruppenstein. It is used exclusively by the German scholars and the correspondence with the universally referred system of the Submycenaean, Transitional, Protogeometric and Geometric phases (and their tripartite model) results difficult and quite unhappy. The matter is highly complex and relevant and cannot be discussed here (cf. Papadopoulos 1993; Dalsoglio 2014).

⁸ As Kübler rightly observed (Kübler 1954, 23 f.), knives are tools found both in the female and male graves, even though the big killed exemplar from PG 28 clearly falls into a special typology and represents a weapon rather than a multifunctional tool.

⁹ Inhumation hS 109, was excavated in a northern sector of the southern bank of the cemetery (Schlöb-Vierneisel 1966, 7f).
graves, the research shows that the weapons were given both to adult men and to adolescents, thus revealing - as J. Whitley rightly pointed out (Whitley 2002) - that the weapons were not always a biographical attribute but, at least in certain cases, the weapon burial ritual was an honor paid to the dead for some special reason, probably due to the feeling of a premature death in the frame of a ranked group. This is why I refer to these burials as to “burials with weapons” instead of “warrior graves”, the traditional formula widely spread in the archaeological literature.10

The research develops from my first approach to the theme of the burials with weapons in the Athenian context, presented in the Conference “The Dark Ages Revisited”, organized in Volos by A. Mazarakis-Ainian and dedicated to W.D.E. Coulson (Mazarakis Ainian 2011; D’Onofrio 2011).11

Thanks to the kind permit of the German Institute and of the 3rd Ephorate for Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities of Athens, I could study the grave equipment of the graves, dated from the Transitional to the Middle Geometric periods (c. 1050-800 BC), having direct access to the finds, kept in the Museum of Kerameikos, partly on display, mostly in the Museum stores. The results of the missions at Athens in 2011 and 2012 and of the subsequent researches are summed up in this paper.

The state of the material and the aim of the research

The finds from the graves were excavated long time ago, and many of them had to be protected from the World War II damage. A few number of them went lost. The pottery was published in the original edition illustrated by photos (usually only the front face of the vase) but not by drawings; only a few fragments or minor finds went lost. The metal finds suffered more than the vases the difficulties of the war and of the storage in

10 Cf. particularly (Marini 2003, 28-38, and n. 69, 30) where the author discusses the evidence from Athens and Lefkandi and her article is rich of data and relevant critical observations; never the less she prefers maintaining a traditional approach to the Warrior graves, which are read within a strictly “Homeric” perspective.

11 For a general approach to the archeological evidence dated between the fall of the Mycenaean Palaces and the rise of the Greek city-state (1200-700 BC), often referred to as the “Dark Age”, see the full illustrated volume (Katalog 2008).
the small structure of the Kerameikos Museum, and especially the iron weapons are badly attacked by corrosion, but Dr Bournias announced me in 2012 the start of a new project for the their restoring and keeping in a new deposit, projected for this scope.

All the finds were published in the original edition according to their class instead of as a grave-group. Kübler published the drawings of the shield bosses while the other weapons were illustrated by other scholars (Snodgrass 1964; Avila 1983; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993). In the early 60s Müller-Karpe published a series of illustrations with the content of most of the graves with weapons in the context of a general evaluation of the metal finds on the point of view of typology and chronology (1962); the objects are shown at different scales and the pottery is drawn without the section profile.

The human remains from the graves were studied at the time of their recovery, mostly by E. Breitinger, with the methods of that time (1939); the results are reported carefully in Krause’s study (1975, vol. I, 86f.). Only a few cases related to the graves of the Submycenaean and Transitional phase have been studied recently (Lagia 2007)\textsuperscript{12}.

Krause published a series of tables summing up both the different features and the content of each grave, but this kind of schematic representation does not provide a substitute for the real aspect and consistency of the burial-contexts. Finally a few grave-groups have been presented as a whole by I.S. Lemos (2002)\textsuperscript{13}.

My aim is then to gather in a publication all these burial contexts in best detail, reproducing and commenting the material, illustrated by my own photos and compared with those of the original edition; when necessary, the information will be also integrated by the researches in the photographic archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

A good reason to realize this project is the advancement of the knowledge about the once called Dark Ages of Greece, which will give me the possibility of analyze this evidence in the light of the current state of the discipline, opening a series of interpretive perspectives.

\textsuperscript{12} I have still to ask formally both the German Institute and the Greek Ephorate whether these human remains are still kept, at least in some cases, in the Museum stores or elsewhere or they went lost.

\textsuperscript{13} PGB pl. 1.1-3; PGA pl. 6.1-8 (the two burials altogether); PG 34 pl. 21. 7-11; PG 43, pl. 33.1-2; PG 40, pl. 34.1-11; weapons on pl. 103.1-5.
The distribution of the burials with the weapons

In the spatial analysis following herewith I do not mention the bibliographical references of the graves, for which I refer to the Appendix following the text.

The position of the seven graves with weapons discovered on the northern bank of Eridanos in the so-called Pompeion cemetery is shown (Fig. 2). Apart from the earlier grave, the inhumation grave 128, with its bronze spearhead, dug in the middle of the Submycenean cemetery, the other burials occupy a marginal position. This is particularly evident in the case of the Transitional cist Tomb PG 2 N, which yielded a sword with remains of a wooden sheath on the blade being “one of the very earliest all-iron weapons from Greece” (Snodgrass 2000, 222-24 and fig. 79a; Müller-Karpe 1962, 62; Ruppenstein 2007, 202f). I show here the typological sequence of the swords published by Kilian-Dirlmeier with the nodal position held by this weapon - Type 1 iron Griffzugschwerter - in the transition from the bronze to the iron types (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 106, n. 273) (Fig. 3). Apart from the weapon, the grave also contained two lekythoi, small vases for perfume oil. This outstanding burial appears to be closely connected with the nearby grave PG1N and with the deposit PG3N, which contained an accumulation of “Branderde, Asche, verbrannten Scherben, dazwischen Reste wohl mehrerer eiserner Ringe aus breiten Blechstreifen”, possibly from the wheels of a carriage (Kübler 1943, 47; Ruppenstein 2007, 252f) (Krause 1975, vol. I, 62). The burial group was identified as a late contribution to the cemetery, dated to Krause’s “Zeitstufe III”, that is to the 11th century BC, in term of absolute chronology, as far as it is possible to propose an absolute date in this period (Krause 1975, vol. II, pl. 11; cf. Snodgrass 2000, 222). The Transitional series of graves continues with the double burial PGA, consisting of two cinerary amphoras with the cremated remains of an adolescent and of a young male; they both are given their bronze spearheads and, in case of the elder dead, a dagger with a bone handle. The rare object occurs again in the contemporary PGB, another cremation grave dug not far from PGA, probably of an adolescent male.

14 The length of the skeletal remains in PG1 (1.31m) seems to indicate a young dead (Jugendliche). The attribution to female gender of PG3N on the base of “eisernen Blechringen” call for further examination of the contexts.
Southernmost, the tenth-century tomb PGE, a cremation in an earth-cut pit datable to the Middle Protogeometric period, yielded a sword with remains of a wooden scabbard, placed intact on the floor of the pit, a ritual which has been observed in the male burial in the Heroon of Toumba, dating back to the final phase of the same period: here the cremated remains were stored in a large Cypriot-made bronze amphoroid crater, beside which an iron sword was laid, associated with a spear and a whetstone (*Lefkandi II*, 2, 17-22, pls. 12-13; Lemos 2007, 276).

The last burial with weapon in this part of the Kerameikos site is the trench-and-hole grave G 74, dated to the Early Geometric II (circa 875-850 BC): in this grave, which follows the typical Geometric burial custom, the fragments of the sword and of the iron spearhead were recovered from the pyre; a bronze, plain hemispherical bowl was used as stopper for the urn: it derives from an Oriental class of cultic objects, possibly products of Cypriot workshops, equally represented both in male and female graves (Kourou 2008, 329-335) and it also occurs in some of the graves on the southern, with or without weapons. The dead was also given a full banqueting equipment (an amphora, an oinochoe - the vase for pouring wine - put on a tripod stand, a kantharos as well as a one-handled cup).

On the opposite bank of the Eridanos river, in the denser southern necropolis (Fig. 4), at the transition to the Protogeometric, the series of the graves with weapons is opened by PG24, a Submycenaean or Transitional cremation in a belly-handled amphora closed by an object which has been interpreted as a shield boss. The same type of object was the lid of the Late Protogeometric grave PG43: traces of leather on the lower surface of the boss provide precious evidence that it belonged indeed to a shield (Kübler 1943, 2; 42; pl. 38). Not far from it, the contemporary trench-and-

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15 The earliest burial in this sector of the site, next to the southern bank of the Eridanos, dated to the Submycenaean or Transitional period, is Grave 147, disturbed: a juvenile (8.5-11.5 years) found with an arrowhead on the left shoulder point, probably the cause of a serious injury determining the death along with other *perimortem* injuries (Ruppenstein 2007, 35; Lagia 2007, 277). Dr Lagia kindly explained me her analysis, which I had misunderstood, interpreting the arrowhead as belonging to the grave equipment, as well as one *lekythos* (D’Onofrio 2011, 648).

16 Cf. for *Phalara* or shield bosses D’Onofrio (2011, 649) with discussion and bibliography. For the chronology of the amphora as Submycenaean see Kourou (2002, 74); as Transitional see Ruppenstein (2007, 117f; 243 tab. 40a) following Desborough (1952, 21).
hole grave PG40 contained a more elaborate burial equipment, including an axe and an asymmetrical bow fibula with a swelling recalling the Euboean series (Kübler 1943, 27, 41, pl. 37; Lemos 2002, 109-112; Lemos 2003, 188). I recently analyzed this context in relationship to the tools (the axe and an iron chisel), a rare occurrence in Early Iron Age Greece, but finding comparison in other prehistoric horizons (D’Onofrio, in press a). It is worth noting that the tombs with the shield bosses are concentrated in this sector of the cemetery, as shown in the map reproduced here. They all allude to a particular role of their owners which will be object of further investigations17.

I will not analyze in detail the numerous graves which yielded weapons in the southern necropolis in this short presentation of my research; I just note that, if in the northern necropolis it was brought to light “one of the very earliest all-iron weapons from Greece” this southern ground revealed, according to A. Snodgrass, “possibly the earliest iron spearhead in Greece” (Snodgrass 1964, cat. A8, 118). Another feature which is worth noting is the practice of the weapon rite for adolescent people, yet observed in the Pompeion necropolis, probably occurring here in the richly equipped grave G 13, a burial which I examined in detail in the contribution presented to the conference Investigating Gender in Mediterranean Archaeology, organized by the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome in 2012 (D’Onofrio, in press a).

Conclusions

The concentration of the graves with weapons in the Kerameikos site is notable, considering their rarity in the overall area of the city of Athens, and attest to the belonging of the burials to a restricted male elite18. The Kerameikos series of the burials with weapons shows the relevance of the site thanks to the presence of a series of very early exemplars of iron weapons made with the new, praised technology. Here we also find some

17 All the three burials were sex-determined as male by Breitinger, independently from the grave-goods (Kübler 1943, 2 f.). Correcting myself on this point (D’Onofrio 2011, 649) I am grateful to F. Ruppenstein who recalled the attention upon this problem.

18 The implications of such concentration are examined by Marini 2003, 31, with bibliography; D’Onofrio, in press b.
rare objects as the iron daggers with the bone handle, the bronze shield bosses and unique tools as the iron chisel in PG40.

The male community contributing the site was not a second-order social group: on the contrary they were evidently in the mainstream of transactions and affairs which led the Protogeometric Aegean in the foreground of the Greek civilization.

The cremated remains of this outstanding series of graves are mainly kept in neck-handled amphoras, the type of vase usually reserved to the male dead (Desborough, 1952, 20; Boardman 1988)\(^9\). Significantly, apart from the weapons, only the urn-vase seems to be sex-determined, while the other objects given to the dead do not follow an engendered paradigm: a matter which will be developed in the research (D’Onofrio, in press b). The remains of the pyre, found in the filling of the trench, attests to the impressive cremation ritual, typical of this age, whose origin and explanation is still debated (Ruppenstein 2013).

Here I would call attention on the variability of the rites observed both in the weapon ritual (weapons are burnt, killed or buried intact into the grave) and in the choice of the objects given to the dead (from a simple cup to a wide range of banquet vases and other items, including personal ornaments) (D’Onofrio 2012, 146-148). The ritual of killing the sword and wrapping it around the shoulder of the urn, thanks to the technique procedure of the inverse chill, which represents a typical Athenian pattern, not exported in this particular form elsewhere (D’Onofrio 2011, 650-653), occurs here on graves PG6, G38, PG28. The “Agora Warrior Grave”, dug by Blegen in the 50s, is the most renown case of such a ritual (Blegen 1952), attested to also in Salamis, the island in front of Athens, which has recently revealed both its Late Bronze Age extensive settlement, the Dark Age citadels and the Early Iron Age rich necropolis\(^2\).

\(^9\) The neck-handled amphora is the rule, except for the cases of PG24 and PGB, where a belly-handled amphora was used; in one of the cremations of PGA, the urn is a rim-handled amphora.

\(^2\) The cremation in neck-handled amphora with the killed sword bent around the shoulder of the vase has been dug at Tsami, Grave 7 (Dekoulakou 1991, pl. 39; Steinhauer 1998, 36f). The recent researches on the island have been carried out by Y.G. Lolos, University of Ioanina (Lolos 2001) about the Dark Age evidence at Ginani; by Blackman (2001, 14f) about the extensive Mycenaean settlement discovered at Kanakia; by Whitley (2005, 11) on the Kanakia building complex with the double megaron and its abandonment phase.)
The vase represents a metaphor of the body of the dead “hero” and the wrapped sword - buried for ever with him as a lasting *symplegma* - alludes to an inimitable, unique destiny.

The research will give a contextual approach to these well known Athenian burials, gathering the grave material, analyzing the whole available finding data, illustrating the archaeological record according to the current criteria and comparing them with the Athenian evidence, in order to propose a better understanding of this relevant historical and cultural phenomenon.
Acknowledgements

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I owe a debt to Dr G. Torella for her precious assistance both in the photographic campaign of 2011 and in the organization of the photographic archive. A wide choice of the digital photos (circa 250) made until now, properly archived, have been delivered to the German Institute and to the Kerameikos Museum.
Appendix

List of the burials with weapons in the Kerameikos cemetery. The anthropological data and the ritual treatment of the weapons are indicated, when known. Personal ornaments, when found, are also indicated (D’Onofrio 2011, 659-661, revised).

Northern bank of Eridanos

1. Grave 128 N. Inhumation (Steinkistengrab), disturbed. SM („Stufe III“). Ruppenstein 2007, 17f, pl. 13. Bronze spearhead (Avila type IX) found in the left upper corner of the tomb. The point was directed towards the deceased's head (plan in Ker. X, pl. 21);


5. PGB. Cremation in bha. EPG. Probably male, adolescent (Jüngling). Ker. I, 103 f., 106, pl. 32. Bronze spearhead - tip broken - and iron dagger (Dolch). The blade is burnt in proximity of the point. Remains of the leather sheath and impressions of linen cloth have been recognized in the floor of the trench. Avila n. 883. KD, 180. Str. 148;

6. PGE. Cremation in earth-cut pit. MPG. Ker. I, 106f, fig. 8, pl. 36. The sword with its wooden sheath, slightly bent, struck at the hilt and broken in 8 pieces, had been deposited onto the
floor of the trench. KD n. 326. Str. 150. *EGAW*, 98, n. 2 (Type IA, short blades, considered as dirks);

7. G74. Cremation in nha. EGII. Ker. V,1, 1954, 260f, pls. 25-26, 68, 70, 84,105, 163. The hilt and the tip of the blade of a sword were found inside the amphora, along with a badly damaged fragment of an iron spearhead. Sword KD cat. 327A. *EGAW*, 103, n. 3. Str. 157.

Southern bank of Eridanos

1. PG24. Cremation in bha. SM/EPG. Male. Ker. IV, 32f, pls. 9, 37. Bronze shield boss found with point turned downwards on the mouth of the amphora. Str. 72;


4. PG 34. Cremation in nha. MPG. Ker. IV, 37, pls. 5, 13, 22, 33, 38. Iron spearhead inside the amphora. Avila n. 885. KD, 180. Str. 79;

5. PG43. Cremation in nha. LPG. Male. Ker. IV, 42, pls. 6, 37. Bronze shield boss found with convex side turned downwards on the mouth of the amphora. Str. 85;

6. PG28. Cremation in nha. LPG. Male. Ker. IV, 34f, pls. 6, 8, 15, 20, 38. Sword (killed, burnt; “nahe der Spitze spiralig umgewickelter Eisendraht”, ibid. p. 35). One exceptional iron knife (L. 27), also killed. An iron arrowhead was found inside the amphora. Sword KD n. 274 (“two iron rings” on the tip of the blade; on pl. 40 the rings are illustrated). *EGAW*, 94, n. 5. Str. 75;

7. PG32. Cremation in nha. LPG. Ker. IV, pp. 13, 36, pl. 1. Iron spearhead found inside the amphora. Avila cat. 887. KD, 180. Str. 153;

8. PG40. Cremation in nha. LPG. Male. Ker. IV, 41ff, 27ff, fig. 5, pls. 5, 8, 18, 22, 37-38. Bronze shield boss found with point turned downwards on the mouth of the amphora. Bronze axe of trunnion type and bronze fibula found inside the amphora. Str. 83;
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9. G2. Cremation in nha. LPG/EGI. Male (Breitinger, Ker. IV, 208; Ker V.1, 26). Ker. V.1, 210-212, pl. 165. Iron spearhead found on top of one of the cups deposited aside the amphora. Avila n. 890. KD, 180. Str. 91;

10. G13. Cremation in nha. MGI. Male. (“Jugendliche” after Krause 1975, I, 86). Ker. V.1, 218-220, pls. 29, 51-52, 83, 89, 93, 110, 147, 155, 158, 161, 163, 165-167. Sword lying on the floor of the trench, beside the amphora (tip broken, top of hilt damaged) KD 323. EGAW, 96, n. 13. Curved iron knife, found in the filling of the shaft. A bronze pin (“Bronzestab, der auf einer Seite in einem Schuh endet”) was found in the same spot, and two gold bands inside the amphora. Str. 155;

11. 7, hS 109. Inhumation in wooden sarcophagus. MGI. Male, stout but poorly preserved skeleton (L. 1.80m). Schlorb-Vierneisel 1966, 7f, pls. 12-13. Near the right arm, iron sword with remains of wooden sheath; near right leg, iron spearhead with traces of the wooden staff (“aus Rosenholz?”). Gold band on right wrist. KD n. 322. Avila n. 891. Str. 123;


Abbreviations

Avila: Avila 1983
EGAW: Snodgrass 1964
KD: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993
Ker. I: Kraiker, Kübler1939
Ker. IV: Kübler 1943
Ker. V.1: Kübler 1954
Ker. X: Hoepfner 1976
Str.: Strömberg 1993
bha: belly-handled amphora
nha: neck-handled amphora
rha: rim-handled amphora

The chronological abbreviation (SM/Submycenaean, PG/Protogeometric, G/Geometric and their internal phases) correspond to the current use in the international bibliography.
REFERENCES


FIGURES
Fig. 1 - The *Kerameikos* burial site crossed by the Eridanos river in the prehistoric times, before the building of the channel in the Classical period (after Knigge 1988, fig. 4, reoriented)
Fig. 2 - The *Pompeion* necropolis. Burials with weapons are marked in red (plan after Ruppenstein 2007)
Fig. 3 - The evolution of the sword in the Hellenic world: the exemplar Kerameikos Inv. M 115, indicated by the blue arrow (added by the author), represents the start of the iron series of the “Naue II” type (after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, pl. 77)
Fig. 4 - The graves on the southern bank of the Eridanos river. The burial with weapons are marked in red, the ones with the shield bosses in orange (after Kübler 1943, fig. 1)