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Early Iron Age deathscapes: a case study of the cemeteries at Lefkandi

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, a landscape analysis of Early Iron Age funerary contexts is proposed. For this purpose, the five cemeteries found in Lefkandi, Euboea, will be used as a case study. Furthermore, the methodology of Landscape Archaeology will be implemented in order to examine the relationships and impact the landscape had upon the living community of the area. As well as possible social constructions associated to the cemeteries and their surrounding landscape. All this, in an attempt to understand the materiality of death in the Early Iron Age, in other words the perceptions that these past societies had regarding death and the dead.

Some expected results are to identify a conscious use of the image and position of the dead, as well as of the cemeteries in which they were buried, by the community or, at least, some of the groups in it. Such an outcome would be related to the need to claim a disputed territory or/and to impose power and control over it. Secondly, a division of funerary spaces due to differences in status or kin, and relevance to the memory of the community is expected to be observed. As well as the identification or potential recognition of further deathscapes, which have not been considered because of their low imprint in the archaeological record.

KEY WORDS: Deathscapes, Early Iron Age, Euboea, territory, spatial analysis.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study of Landscape and Death are two main topics of interest in the current archaeological research. Both have been deeply developed in the discipline at least for the last thirty years[1], if not further into the past[2]. The reason behind it having to do with the opportunities they offer. The two of them enable an attempt to gain an understanding of the social, economic, and even mental aspects of ancient societies. However, on their own, they provide different scales of approach to these dimensions. Therefore, throughout this paper a study of the archaeological record is proposed from a combined perspective, based on the analysis of deathscapes.

The term deathscape comes from geography where it was first used to define roadside memorials by Hartig and Dunn, and later to identify the interpretation of mortuary landscapes, the social constructs and other topics emanating from their study, by Kong[3]. It was, then, introduced in both archaeology by Rainville and his analysis of the mortuary practices in Hanover, New Hampshire[4]; and social anthropology by Farrer and his study of Malay martial artists culture[5]. Deathscapes, as recently defined in the field of archaeology, are a mental and physical construct that links various ideas and representations of death within a specific landscape, alongside their profound social significance[6]. Thereby, the analysis of deathscapes allow to understand the materiality of death, as well as its relationship with the landscape. The significance of funerary landscapes goes beyond the material sense; they are a repository of memory and identity. In this way, they are sites of remembrance and reflection, where the memories of the deceased continue into the living community. Moreover, deathscapes are actively shaped by the socio-political circumstances surrounding them[7]. They are places engaged with the lives of individuals, manipulated by them while shaping their relationship with the landscape, their history and their shared experiences.

As will be seen throughout this work, together with landscape studies, the study of deathscapes allow for a deeper understanding of archaeological sites. An approach to sites as a whole is facilitated through them, enabling the study of settlements in relation to their

[1] Knapp & Ashmore, 1999.
[2] Chapman & Randsborg 1981, 1-2.
[3] Hartig & Dunn 1998; Kong 1999.
[4] Rainville 1999.
[5] Farrer 2006.
[6] Dimakis 2015, 27-8.
[7] Brouma 2020, 119.

cemeteries, the dead, and other significant places situated across the landscape. This allows scholars to recreate and address the networks of mental perspectives and visual basins that may have conditioned the societies of the past[8].

Therefore, through the implementation of the theoretical framework of landscape archaeology and the concept of deathscapes, a study is carried out focusing on the Early Iron Age cemeteries found in Lefkandi, Euboea. In addition, the surrounding territory, which includes the site of Xeropolis and other natural spaces, will be studied. Spatial relationships will be analysed between sites of archaeological value. As well as those geographical spaces inscribed in the landscape which may have been of economic, social or symbolic importance.

The aim is to gain an understanding of Early Iron Age death contexts from a broader perspective. Increase the overall knowledge had of these places as well as the functions associated with them without overlooking the temporal and cultural context in which they are inscribed. In this sense, the objective is to achieve an overview of some of the aspects that shaped the Protogeometric society established at Lefkandi. Such as the socio-cultural, economic, and political dimensions; in an attempt to obtain a clearer picture of the dynamics that influenced life and death in this ancient community. Thereby, contributing to a more complete understanding of the early stages of Greek civilization. A period which remains relatively obscure within the field of Greek archaeology.

In order to obtain these results, the work is structured as follows. First, an overview of the framework and methodology is given, discussing terms, approaches, and methods. The second section of the paper deals with the case study, which begins with the contextualisation of the geography of Euboea and, finally, Lefkandi. This is followed by a review of the archaeological record recovered from the settlement and cemeteries. Next, a analysis of burial customs and spatial arrangement of the cemeteries is carried out. The end of the section revolves around the study of the landscape through a formal analysis of space which is divided in six subsections defined in the methodology. Subsequently, the results obtained in the case study are presented and then discussed to fulfil the aims presented beforehand. The work ends with some conclusions and general considerations, as well as remarks on future research on the topic.

[8] Insoll 2004, 70-92.

2. FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The framework of this paper establishes itself in the study of landscape, a concept that has gathered significant attention across various academic disciplines. The study of landscape first emerged from social theory[9] drawing concepts from diverse areas such as geography, history or anthropology. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the definition of the term "landscape" has evolved over time, shifting in meaning depending on the theoretical approach adopted by researchers and scholars[10]. Whether from an empirical, sociological or socio-cultural position; it can be argued that landscape is a given reality but also a construct shaped by human interaction. Taking Ingold's "negative" description[11] for example, the landscape is not simply environment or space. Rather, the conjunction of those in addition to the multiple experiences and processes that individuals undergo as they inhabit them. This perspective emphasizes the role of humans and their mental constructs in the formation and understanding of landscape.

In archaeology, however, the study of the cognitive sphere of past societies has been a convoluted issue[12]. When exploring archaeological landscapes emphasis has been put in the economic and social aspects of space. Thus, many of the approaches that are considered landscape studies stem from spatial archaeology and the "New Archaeology". Mainly focused on the identification of spaces, connections and relationships linked to them based on material evidence[13]. Nevertheless, on the last thirty years the "socio-symbolic" aspects have also been addressed[14]. Such approaches enable to explore how landscape affected past societies in a more conceptual way. For example, how the image of a tomb of an individual from a community could shaped that community's perception of identity, memory or belonging based on the visual experience of observing it within the landscape.

One of the main figures of authority on the field of Landscape Archaeology is David L. Clarke. In his book on *Spatial Archaeology*[15], Clarke identifies three levels of resolution. These categories were based not so much on the geographical scale, but on three

[9] Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 3; Daly & Lock 2004, 349.
[10] Criado-Boado 1993, 11.
[11] Ingold 2000, 190-3.
[12] Renfrew 1994, 3-5.
[13] Clarke 1977, 9.
[14] Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 1-19.
[15] Clarke 1977.

dimensions of analysis within social relations: micro, semi-micro and macro levels[16]. This work, although vague methodological guidelines, served as a base line for future research on the field by linking socio-economic models to different kinds of archaeological context or evidence and the significance of such relationships.

On the other hand, Christopher Tilley focused on an approach to landscape through the understanding of natural features, places or locales and the significance installed in them[17]. In his book A phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments, Tilley defines different matters within the topic of landscape[18] and proceeds to display them by means of several case studies[19]. By doing so Tilley provides examples of the benefits of engaging with the landscape in order to understand the archaeological spaces and the concepts they held in the past.

Nevertheless, it was Criado-Boado, another scholar in the field of Prehistory, which developed a thorough method of analysis for the study of landscape[20]. The method he proposed achieved a description of the landscape through the isolation of the elements that constitute it, as well as the formal relationships that existed between them[21].Such approach to landscape falls inside those that focus on the complete study of the environment and cultural spaces of past societies through a regional archaeological analysis[22].

In that regard, the methodology used for this paper on the Protogeometric deathscapes at Lefkandi comes from the "Process of analysis" proposed by Criado-Boado in 1997[23]. The method was originally developed as a tool to analyse archaeological sites, especially those from the Galician Prehistory. Nevertheless, it may be used in other contexts and elements related to social practices[24]. The method by Criado-Boado focuses on the analysis of space through seven different sections or steps, which serve to "deconstruct the entity" studied. These have been understood and applied in the paper to approach Lefkandi's

[16] Clarke 1977, 11-5.
[17] Tilley 1994.
[18] Tilley 1994, 7-34. He does so on the basis of the philosophical movement of phenomenology. For more information on phenomenology, its beginnings and applications see Luft & Overgaard 2012.
[19] Tilley 1994, 34-201.
[20] Criado-Boado 1997.
[21] Criado-Boado 1997, 9-10.
[22] Wandsnider 1992, 286-7. The landscape is addressed from the most general perspective and later filled with element from the archaeological record, which enable a reconstruction of the organization of ancient societies.
[23] Criado-Boado 1997, 18-9.
[24] Criado-Boado 1997, 19.

landscape and create a spatial organization of it. Therefore, the definition of Criado-Boado's process and the modifications made to it to suit the characteristics of the case study are specified below:

1. Natural and human spaces. This section focuses on the main shapes and elements, both of natural and human origin, that make up the landscape.
2. Visibility and visuality. After the definition of the spaces that make up the landscape, the visibility and visualization of those elements is considered. However, during the case study of Lefkandi's landscape this section was merged with the section on visual basins and panoramic views (see step 5 of the analysis).
3. Transit places and routes. Through topography, mainly, locations that create access and organize the territory can be identified. In addition, potential the pathways can also be considered, which would have enabled transit and communication within the area of study and the locations known in it.
4. Significant places. A network of individual places is defined in the landscape. Their significance may arise from their location, visibility or/and accessibility, meaning these are sites that stand out and shape the landscape in one way or another.
5. Visual basins and panoramic views. For Criado-Boado these are the topographic basins, and the visual basins created by archaeological elements and sites respectively[25]. In this paper, however, the section considers both at the same time based on the significant places described above. At the same time, the discussion of visibility and visuality is integrated. In the case study, "Visual basins and visibility" is the title given to the section, thereby, reducing the overall seven to six.
6. Occupation basins or areas of settlement. They represent sites better fitted for settlement in the territory being studied. The term "occupation basins" comes from the Galician context, where valleys are the typical topographic model in which the settlements are organized throughout the land[26]. In this case, "Areas of settlement" was considered a better title for the section and work done, as the context is a different one.

[25] Criado-Boado 1997, 18-9.
[26] Criado-Boado 1997, 19.

7. Hierarchy of places. The previous steps are considered all together to obtain a reconstruction of the space and the landscape. In that regard a conclusive analysis of the previous steps is made and several sites in the landscape defined as a whole.

Consequently, using both Clarke's levels of resolution and Tilley approach to landscape, on top of Criado-Boado's analysis of space, a complete understanding of the landscape of Lefkandi is sought. In order to achieve this, the identification of the spaces that made it up was considered. However, as mentioned above the analysis was carried out throughout six sections instead of seven (*Natural and human spaces*; *Transit places and routes*; *Significant places*; *Visual basins and visibility*; *Areas of settlement and occupation*; and *Hierarchy of places*). In addition, the material evidence recovered at the cemeteries was analysed to gain insight into the economic, social and symbolic aspects that conformed the landscape during the Early Iron Age at Lefkandi. On that basis, it was deemed feasible to make an approximation and recreation of the landscape, particularly the deathscapes.

3. THE CASE STUDY

According to the discussed methodology, a deconstruction of the analysed entity must be carried out[27]. Therefore, throughout this section, the different levels that make up the Lefkandi landscape are studied. First, a description and analysis of the territory in which it is inscribed is made. This is followed by a study of the variety of the archaeological record found in Lefkandi. Finally, the spaces that constitute the area and those in the immediate vicinity are identified using Criado-Boado's method.

3.1. Geographical context

Lefkandi is a coastal town situated on the island of Euboea or Evia. This modern village is located in the south of the island, at the eastern end of the Lelantine plain and facing the southern Gulf of Euboea (figure 1). In order to understand its geographical position, it is necessary to know the orographic and topographical characteristics of the island of Euboea.

[27] Criado-Boado 1997, 19.

Thereby, the island is a large land mass[28] almost attached to the mainland by the straits of Euripos, nowadays connected by two bridges. Its coastline runs opposite the regions of Attica, Boeotia, East Lokris and Thessaly[29]. The terrain in Euboea is steep, mountainous and sparsely flat (figure 2). To be precise, only five or six main plains can be identified[30], while any other flat areas are rather small. The largest and richest of the five is known as the Lelantine Plain. An area through which the Lelantos or Lilas river flows. It is located in the south-central part of the island, "reaching out" into the southern Gulf of Euboea and surrounded by the Makistos, Dirphys and Kotylaion mountains[31]. Secondary to this, is the plain of Eretria, an extension of the former to the east. Wedged between Mount Olympus and its ridges[32], which extend southwards towards the sea.

Besides these two, other two are located to the northwest[33]. One is the coastal plain of Histiaia at the northwesternmost tip of the island. It is a plain demarcated by the foothills of Mount Telethrion to the south and by Cape Artemision and the mountains that form it to the east. Directly to the south of Cape Artemision is the other plain, the Kerinthos plain. An alluvial plain formed by both the Boudoro River and the Neleus. It lies between ridges and hills stretching to the west and south.

Towards the east of the island, by contrast, only one of the two main plains there is coastal, that of Karystia. This one is located at the south-eastern end of the island. It lies south of Mount Okhe and is relatively small in size[34]. The last "great" plain of the island consist of a plateau located at the central east area of Euboea, which stretches from the western slopes of Mount Okhthonia southwards to the Gulf of Aliveri. It is part of the territory known as the "Eretrias" as it belonged to the polis during the Late Classical period[35]. Through most of the plain flows the river Avlonari until it flows into the Aegean up north[36].

[28] Walker 2004, 1-2. The island length is 220 km, which carry on parallel to the mainland coastline. Its width is in between 60 km at the most extensive parts and 3.2 km in the narrowest points. The total area of the island is 3,770 km².
[29] Knodell 2017, 195-6.
[30] Walker 2004, 6.
[31] Walker 2004, 4-6.
[32] Walker 2004, 4-6.
[33] Walker 2004, 7.
[34] Walker 2004, 7.
[35] Chatzidimitriou 2009, 78.
[36] Walker 2004, 8.

The streams of rivers are not very strong. The exception to the norm being the Lelas river, which has cut off communications between the east and west of the Lelantine plain during some winter periods when the torrent raised[37]. However, during summer, the flow of many of the island's rivers dries up, even that of the Lelas river. Thus, activities like agriculture may be affected by such changes regarding water supply. However, the mountains provide Euboea and its communities a constant space for livestock farming and mining regardless of the season.

Herding seems to have been a common and well-established practice among the different communities that inhabited Euboea since prehistoric times[38]. Of particular interest is the importance of horse breeding in the early Iron Age which can be known by epithets surviving into the Archaic period[39]. Likewise, the name Chalcis has been linked to copper production, although it is not the only ore in the area. In addition, mines rich in iron, copper, marble and asbestos are found at various points on the island[40]. Therefore, broadly speaking, it can be assumed that mining was another major source of wealth for the island's population throughout history.

Evidently, being an island, the sea is an agent which has defined the societies settled on the island. Despite the fact the morphology of its shores may have varied over time. [41]. Due to the island's orography, much of its coastline, mainly the north coast, is abrupt and irregular. Stormy weather is also a common occurrence. Especially known around Cape Artemision in the north and Kaphareus and the Leuke Akte in the south [42]. Nevertheless, the south coast is entirely different, the Gulfs of Euboea provide a sheltered space from strong storms, as well as good natural harbours. In particular, this region, together with the Straits of Euripos, played an important role in the politics of the area over time[43]. Its strategic position and access to resources, unmatched anywhere else on the island, gave

[37] Walker 2004, 8.
[38] Walker 2004, 12-4. The herding of goats, sheep, pigs, cows or dogs is attested in sources or through numismatic finds. Likewise, the sources also mention agricultural productions such as the northern wine, as well as chestnuts and olives or even cabbages.
[39] Walker 2004, 12. The *Hippobotai* and *Hippeis* were the name by which the elite social groups of Chalcis and Eretria, respectively, were known. The terms translate as “horse rearers” and “cavalrymen”. Therefore, it is sensible to consider that horse breeding had a certain importance in the area.
[40] Walker 2004, 14-5; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2009, 44. Among them were the aforementioned industries at Chalcis, as well as Aidepsos to the north. This two were the main centres of iron and copper mining. To the south, Karystia was known for its source of marble and asbestos.
[41] Ghilardi *et al.* 2014; 2018; 2022. The shoreline of Eretria, Amarynthos and the delta of the Lelas river have been subject to change in different periods, by natural and human means.
[42] Walker 2004, 8.
[43] Walker 2004, 8-9.

an advantage to the communities established around it. Thus, the settlements of the south and southeast shores were closely linked to marine activities. From fishing, to trade, to the manufacture of products such as purple dye from murex shells[44].

Consequently, the geographical situation of Lefkandi is very relevant to understand its evolution and landscapes. It is nestled in the east of the Lelantine plain, in a coastal setting (figure 3). It faces south and has several bays that function as natural harbours into the southern gulf of Euboea. As well as a series of hills stretching north-eastwards from the sea to the Voudochi mountains. To the west, across the Lelas River, lies Chalcis and the straits of Euripos. As such, the surrounding territory provides access to the various raw materials the island has to offer, making it a rich area for agriculture, pastoralism and even mining[45]. In addition to the products made from all of them. Furthermore, it provides access to the sea from a favourable position, making possible the development of maritime activities and the control of trade coming from the Aegean and beyond.

3.2. The settlement and the cemeteries

Lefkandi is a small village that has undergone intensive urbanisation in the last 40 years or so. Since the 1960's the road connection to Athens improved and allowed the island in general to become a place for weekend and summer getaways[46]. Therefore, the hills that make up its landscape are nowadays taken over by tall residential buildings that compete for the best view of the beachfront.

The ancient settlement of Lefkandi was located to the east of the modern town (figure 4). The main area of occupation was a narrow promontory projecting towards the sea with an elevation of 17 m above sea level[47]. This hill, also known as Xeropolis, is flat on top as a result of occupation, agriculture and erosion. Moreover, on its southern face it has cliffs overlooking the sea, while a steep slope descends inland on the north side[48]. At both ends east and west ends of the 500 m long hill, the terrain descends more gently into two

[44]Walker 2004, 14.
[45] Popham *et al.* 1980, 1. As an example, around 1975 Lefkandi was in the latest moments of its golden days of brickmaking. Industry that was exported mainly from its harbour to the Cyclades.
[46] Sackett & Popham 1972, 9-11.
[47] Popham & Sackett 1968, 3; Popham *et al.* 1980, 1-12.
[48] Popham *et al.* 1980, 1-12.

bays (figure 5). The western one is larger and deeper than the eastern one. Although it is likely that the latter extended more inland, as the terrain is now marshy in this area[49].

The large level surface on top of the hill was not part of the original morphology of the hillock. To the north, the slope would have been much slighter and progressive. However, it was filled in by the successive phases of occupation evidenced at Xeropolis[50]. Similarly, the eastern and western ends were also filled in. The flat area of the hill was much smaller than it is today, thus, the promontory was irregular[51]. To the south, however, the upper part of the cliffs seems to have been extended and levelled beyond the present edge during the Mycenaean period by the use of terracing[52].

As such, the site of Xeropolis has material evidence of habitation dating back to the end of the Early Bronze Age or even earlier, as remains of Neolithic pottery have been found on it[53]. The Bronze Age settlement was extensive especially in the Middle Helladic (MH) and Late Helladic (LH) IIIB/C. Evidence suggests that during this period, the settlement extended beyond Xeropolis hill and was a highly densely populated area[54]. During the Late Bronze Age, in LH IIIC, the settlement flourished, and several superimposed occupation levels can be observed showing construction, destruction, repair and abandonment[55]. Intramural burials have also been found during this period[56].

Just after the beginning of the Iron Age, around 1100 BC, it was believed that there was a hiatus in the occupation of the Xeropolis hill. During the Submycenaean (SM) and Early Protogeometric (EPG) periods[57]. Nevertheless, in recent years harder evidence has been

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[49] Popham & Sackett 1968, 3; Popham *et al.* 1980, 1-12.
[50] Sackett & Popham 1972, 11-14.
[51] Lemos 2006; Davidson et al. 2010. Because of the superposition of phases that modify its morphology, some authors call the Xeropolis hill a tell. Therefore, this term will also be used in this work to refer exclusively to Xeropolis.
[52] Popham *et al.* 1980, 1-12.
[53] Popham *et al.* 1980, 6.
[54] Lemos 2006, 517-9.
[55] Sackett & Popham 1972, 13-4; Lemos 2006, 517-18. Three phases can be distinguished in this period, the first with an extensive network of buildings that would have been two storeys high. A second phase in which, after the destruction of the buildings of the previous phase, the foundations were levelled, and a new city was built on top with a completely new plan and orientation. Finally, a third phase in which the city seems to have fallen into decay, since apart from a small neighbourhood of houses in the east of the Xeropolis promontory only one other building has been found for this phase.
[56] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 41-54.
[57] Popham *et al.* 1980, 1-12. The chronology for the EIA at the site differs from the chronology of Attica, which is usually adopted globally for the period. Thus, at Lefkandi it is organised as follows (Popham and Sackett 1980/Lefkandi I, Abbreviations):

SM Submycenaean (approximately 1100-1050 BC)
EPG Early Protogeometric
MPG Middle Protogeometric

found which indicates that Xeropolis maintained at least some population[58]. By the end of the Protogeometric (PG) period the settlement is extensively used, even expanding beyond the hill area[59]. Supporting proof of this is the partly maintained remains of an apsidal house dated to the E/MPG, as well as SM and EPG walls and rooms found to the south-west of the Late Geometric (LG) structures[60]. In addition, outside Xeropolis ceramic remains dating to the Late Protogeometric (LPG)/Sub-Protogeometric (SPG) periods have been found on the small promontory to the east, the south slope of the hill opposite to Xeropolis and the flat space in between[61]. Finally, the "proto-urban" settlement[62] collapsed in the SPG III after its destruction. The space remained sparsely inhabited until the LG and then completely abandoned[63].

During the time that the settlement was wrongly believed to have been totally 'uninhabited' (SM and EPG), occupation was attested by the evidence recovered from several cemeteries that were in use until the SPG III period[64]. These burial spaces were located on the hillside to the north of Lefkandi, 600 m from Xeropolis. At least 6 burial grounds have been identified[65]. Located north is the Cemetery of Skoubris, which came into use earlier together with the graves found in the fields of A. Khaliotis. The latter was a burial ground that laid to the east, outside the boundaries of the hill[66]. To the south of Skoubris, the Cemetery of Palia Perivolia was established. a well-defined burial ground with a surface area of 30x15 m[67]. Twenty metres away, directly to the east, another cemetery was uncovered and named "East Cemetery". Likewise, further to the south, some tombs made up an area named the "South Cemetery"[68]. Finally, 50 m west of Palia

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LPG Late Protogeometric
(The whole Protogeometric phase being approximately 1050-950 BC)
SPG Sub-Protogeometric
(Phase I roughly equated with Attic Early Geometric I approximately
(Phase II roughly equated with Attic Early Geometric II 850 BC)
(Phase III roughly equated with Attic Middle Geometric I and II approximately 850-750 BC)
LG Late Geometric (approximately 750-700 BC)

[58] Lemos 2006, 519-21.
[59] Popham & Sackett 1968, 23. Possible settlement organisation and areas of occupation will be discussed below. However, as the authors suggest, this could be due to both population growth and a wider spacing between household structures common to the EIA economy (Lemos 2022, 19-23).
[60] Lemos 2006, n. 58.
[61] Popham *et al.* 1980, 11-2.
[62] Lemos 2019.
[63] Popham *et al.* 1980, 8-12.
[64] Popham *et al.* 1980, 7; 101-2.
[65] Popham *et al.* 1980, 101-8; Lemos 2002, 161.
[66] Popham *et al.* 1980, 102-3; 106.
[67] Popham *et al.* 1980, 103-4; Lemos 2002, 161.
[68] Lemos 2002, 161.

Perivolia, near the highest point of the hill, is the Toumba Cemetery. Moreover, between the two cemeteries of Palia Perivolia and the South Cemetery, a group of isolated tombs were excavated. The wall of a possible peribolos was also discovered near the south-eastern part of the hill.[69]. Thus, these discoveries seem to suggest that the hilltop terrain must have been fully or almost completely taken over by burial grounds (figure 6).

A total of 302 burials and 106 funeral pyres have been identified within all the cemeteries[70]. In terms of their chronology, the earliest tombs are generally found in the burial grounds to the north and east. On the other hand, the later ones were those near the south and west area of the hill[71].

According to the excavation reports it is known that 2 cist tombs were recovered in the field of A. Khaliotis. Both were empty but were dated to LH IIIC based on the materials recovered by the owner of the field[72]. In their vicinity there was evidence of funerary pyres which could suggest that the cemetery extended eastwards into the "valley" created between the hill of Lefkandi and the hill opposite Xeropolis. Fifty meters to the west, in the Skoubris cemetery, 64 tombs and 21 pyres or remnants of pyres were excavated (figures 7-8), which belonged to the SM-MPG periods[73].

At Palia Perivolia, the limits or peribolos of the cemetery were discovered. The burial ground contained a total of 40 tombs and 47 pyres[74]. many of them grouped around the centre of it. During the excavations trenches were dug to the east which resulted in the discovery of the East Cemetery, of which only 4 tombs were excavated (figures 9-11). Two of which were inhumation tombs. In addition, 3 pyres were identified[75]. This cemetery was the only one in which no stratigraphy of tombs or pyres could be observed[76]. Both cemeteries appear to have been contemporary with each other with the earliest graves dating to the MPG and showing traces of use up to the SPG III[77].

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[69] Lemos 2002, 161 n. 127; 129.
[70] Popham *et al.* 1980, 101-8; Popham & Lemos 1996; Lemos 2002, 161 n. 130; 2007, fig. 1.
[71] Popham *et al.* 1980, 101.
[72] Popham *et al.* 1980, 102-3.
[73]Lemos 2002, 161.
[74] Popham *et al.* 1980, 104. To the south and west the terrain shows no evidence of use, while to the north an east-west channel appears to have served as a boundary along with a rocky space to the east of the cemetery.
[75] Popham *et al.* 1980,104-5.
[76] Popham *et al.* 1980, 107.
[77] Lemos 2002, 161.

Finally, in the South Cemetery, 5 inhumation tombs and a few pyres were excavated, for which no precise chronology. But almost certainly belonging to the Protogeometric period[78]. In contrast, the Toumba cemetery came into use in the MPG. The start of the burial ground has been identified with the destruction of an apsidal building into a funerary tumulus, in which a couple was lavishly buried[79]. It was mainly used during the LPG, although it continued to be used in the different phases of the SPG. Right until there were no more burials in this or any of the other cemeteries after 825 BC[80]. A total of 83 tombs and 35 pyres were arranged to the east of the burial mound[81] (figure 12). The stratigraphy of the tombs and pyres is far more complicated than in any cemetery at Lefkandi, as several of the tombs and pyres were layered one on top of the other. As far as surface area is concerned, it does not seem to extend either to the north, south or east. However, to the west the finds were unclear[82].

In 1983 Snodgrass conducted a reassessment of Lefkandi demography during the EIA based on the cemetery data[83]. He had already conducted a previous one in 1980[84]. The demographic data that was gathered was surprisingly low, for what was considered to have been a settlement of notable importance as Lefkandi. According to the calculations and assumptions the numbers of the population size represented by the four cemeteries surveyed by Snodgrass were the following. Submycenaean, about 40 people; Early and Middle Protogeometric, about 35 people; Late Protogeometric and transition to SPG I, about 20 people; Sub-Protogeometric I - early III, about 55 people[85]. After a discussion Snodgrass suggested that the maximum number that could be expected for the population in Lefkandi during EIA is 200 individuals, if not 100 inhabitants per period[86]. Population that was not achievable through the burial grounds discovered.

On the other hand, although occupation in the area continued until the LG, no archaeological evidence was recovered in the area of the cemeteries that belongs to that

[78] Lemos 2002, 161.
[79] Popham et al. 1982a, 246-7; Lemos 2002, 166-8.
[80] Popham *et al.* 1980, 8; Popham et al. 1982a, 246-7.
[81] Popham & Lemos 1996; Lemos 2002, 166-8.
[82] Popham *et al.* 1980, 105. Some stone slabs were recovered 50-80 metres to the west, which could mean a new groups of tombs or most probably the identification of a PG wall (Popham *et al.* 1980, 379 n. 105.10).
[83] Snodgrass 1983, 167-71.
[84] Snodgrass 1980, 18.
[85] Snodgrass 1983, 168.
[86] Snodgrass 1983, 169. Snodgrass considered Colin Renfrew's studies for nucleated settlements of the Bronze Age Neolithic periods (Renfrew 1972, 251). In that work Renfrew suggested a figure of 300 people per hectare for the former and 200 for the latter. Taking that into account and observing the wide spacing of households at Lefkandi, Snodgrass stated that the 200 figure was to be expected, even a lower one.

period. However, near the tell of Xeropolis two LG burials were found which were identified to contain children remains[87]. The burials were located to the north-east of Xeropolis, close to where the eastern harbour of the settlement would have been. One of them consisted of an inhumation of a child in a grave-pit without any grave markers or goods. The second one, later than the first, was an *enchytrismos* type burial enclosing the remains of a neonate[88]. The pit was excavated to the north-east of the previous one and cutting through its corner. Inside the burial a handmade jug was found, while no grave marker identified. Their location near the harbour and the findings of pottery has been associated with the possibility of a LG cemetery dedicated to children to preserve arable land[89]. Be that as it may, so far, these two burials represent the only recovered evidence of funerary spaces for the Geometric at Lefkandi. Together with the sparce intramural burials of the Bronze Age found in the tell, they are proof of the change in burial customs undergone in the area.

3.3. Social organization in death: burial customs and spatial analysis of the cemeteries

In Lefkandi two main types of graves can be discerned, cist and shaft. The former were most commonly used in the SM and EPG, while the latter were the norm from the MPG onwards[90]. Less frequently found were pit graves, built mudbrick shaft graves[91], and urn burials. In some cases where graves cut into other pre-existing graves, it has been observed that separating walls were built in order to avoid further disturbance of the older grave[92]. Further evidence suggests that some of the pyres may also have been used as tombs in some cases[93].

The situation inside the tombs is very particular. At Lefkandi it is known that both burial and cremation of the deceased were practised. However, most tombs were built with a morphology typical of an inhumation burial, but very few skeletal remains could be found

[87] Lemos 2012, 160-2.
[88] Lemos 2012, 160-2.
[89] Lemos 2012, 170.
[90] Lemos 2002, 163.
[91] Lemos 2002, 163. Usually shaft graves are simple in construction. Cuts in the rock leave a rim in the last third of the grave to support a cover of stone slabs, although it also happens that no cover is found, suggesting that it was vegetal in nature. In addition, tombs have also been found using mudbrick and wood/timber which have been considered as materials to add support to the roof and embellish the interior of the grave.
[92] Popham *et al.* 1980, 105-8.
[93] Popham *et al.* 1980, 134-38, 161-7, 192-5.

in the interior of the graves. In addition, in most of the tombs the grave goods were found arranged as if they followed the body of the deceased[94]. A first proposal considered that this to be a complex funerary rite in which the grave goods were buried as a substitute for the cremated body, since chemical analyses did not indicate that the soil was sufficiently acid to decompose the skeletal remains completely[95]. Nevertheless, findings such as those in the South Cemetery, as well as bone fragments found other tombs throughout the cemeteries have led researchers to reject that hypothesis. Thus, accepting that the skeletal remains had decayed over time and a common inhumation was practised[96].

On the other hand, the pyres show an in-situ cremation on a rectangular pit. The fill is made up of ash, among which there are skeletal remains, ceramic fragments and personal objects of the deceased [97]. Many funerary pyres have unburnt ceramic remains in the upper part of their fill, probably from large vessels (amphorae and craters) which have been suggested to be the remains of *sema* or grave markers[98].

There are, also, exceptional cases of secondary cremations placed in ceramic urns, all but one in amphorae[99]. At Skoubris cemetery such burial was found in a pit surrounded by stones. On the other hand, at Toumba, they were deposited in shafts where a deeper space was dug to deposit the urn. This design resembles the Athenian "trench-and-hole" typology[100]. The only tombs where this did not apply were Tomb 14, where two urns were found, one of a man and the other of a woman, without the remains of ashes. Likewise, Tomb 55, where one burial was in an urn and the other was an inhumation[101].

Individuals of all ages and sexes are buried in the different cemeteries. The evidence indicates that the entire population is represented and there were no age groups to which burial was refused[102]. The difference between the use of inhumation or cremation of an individual is not entirely clear, since both are represented in the cemeteries, mixed indiscriminately. Furthermore, the grave goods found in both types do not seem to indicate social differences within the same cemetery. For example, iron weapons are

[94] Lemos 2002, 161-2.
[95] Popham *et al.* 1980, 209-16.
[96] Lemos, 2002, 162.
[97] Popham *et al.* 1980, 200-201; Lemos 2002, 163.
[98] Popham *et al.* 1980, 215.
[99] Lemos 2002, 163-4.
[100] Lemos 2002, 163.
[101] Lemos 2002, 164. This tomb follows the model of the burial found in the centre of the tumulus of Toumba, explained in detail below.
[102] Snodgrass 1983, 167-8; Lemos 2012, 170.

found in both inhumation and cremation graves. Nonetheless, it is true that they are more common in the latter type, which might indicate a greater degree of "exclusiveness" of this burial rite[103].

Among cemeteries, however, there are differences in wealth of grave goods and grave size. The Toumba Cemetery has been identified as the richest of all the burial grounds in Lefkandi and has been associated with the “elite” of the community living in this area during the EIA[104]. At this cemetery the tombs are larger, and the grave goods are vast[105]. It should be highlighted that some of the tombs at Toumba have been suggested as possible double burials due to their complex collection of objects[106]. In addition, in this cemetery there are several graves which are noteworthy for their information regarding burial customs and the continuity of what are known as heroic burials[107].

The first one is that which has received the most attention from the academic community, not only because of the characteristics of the burial, but also due to what it must have entailed back then. It was located in the cemetery of Toumba, under a funerary mound that covered the foundations of an apsidal building 50 metres long. The building is from the MPG and contained within it, in the central room, a double burial. The shaft to the north, 2.40 x 1.90 x 2.23 m, enclosed the skeletons of four horses, while the other, 2.70 x 2.20 x 2.63 m, concealed the funerary urn of a warrior and, next to it, the buried body of a woman[108]. The latter was buried with a very rich group of grave goods, as she was dressed in a gold medallion, a gold and porcelain bead necklace, two gold discs with a crescent moon between them, as well as other objects[109]. The urn, on the other hand, was a bronze amphora from Cyprus which contained the ashes of a warrior and, next to it, an iron sword, a spearhead and a whetstone (figure 13)[110]. This rich burial has been considered an example of the heroic funerary rites narrated by Homer in his stories[111].

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[103] Lloyd 2015, 17.
[104] Mazarakis-Ainian 1985, 9; Lemos 2002, 164; Giamakis 2023, 5.
[105] Lemos 2002, 164-5.
[106] Popham et al. 1982a, 230; Lemos 2007, 277-8. Their grave goods are extensive and represent objects associated with both sexes. Likewise, some tombs can be found in which there is a combination of typical child offerings with those commonly found within adult burials.
[107] Antonaccio 1995, 221-43.
[108] Crielaard & Driessen 1994, 253.
[109] Popham et al. 1982b, 172-73; Popham *et al.* 1993, 19-22.
[110] Popham et al. 1982b, 172-73; Popham *et al.* 1993, 19-22.
[111] *Il.* 23.170-176. In the funeral celebrations in honour of Patroclus, a pyre is made to burn the body of the deceased. In addition, Achilles makes animal and human sacrifices to his dear friend, as is the case at Lefkandi with the burial of the horses and the buried woman. It also happens to coincide in terms of tumuli being built to indicate the resting place of the fallen hero.

Along the same fashion, there were other double burials of inhumation and cremation, as described above. However, there are also others in which the burial and grave goods are identical to the ones found under the tumulus of Toumba. A first example is the MPG burial of Tomb 49, also a double burial. It has an almost the identical design in terms of size and shaft construction, and the jewellery dedicated to the female figure inside it is close to that found in the shaft grave inside Toumba[112]. Furthermore, Tomb 68, found to the north-east of Tomb 49, has been associated with it, in which two sacrificed horses were found and, thus, the same funerary ritual could be identified. A second example may be Tomb 79, also known as the tomb of the "warrior-trader". An SPGII burial in which an individual was cremated and placed in a bronze cauldron[113]. Offerings of iron weapons and other objects were placed in the shaft next to the bronze vessel or buried under earth and ashes in the shaft fill. Among these objects were found several objects of Near Eastern provenance such as Cypriot and Phoenician jugs or a Syrian cylinder[114].

In addition to the information provided by the material culture, it is also worth considering the spatial and horizontal relationships between cemeteries and tombs found at Lefkandi. Thereby it is feasible to formulate theories about burial groups within the same cemetery or the existence of burial grounds for a single group. Furthermore, how important kinship was in the development of these cemeteries and burial plots[115]. Above all, Lefkandi has a comprehensive body of evidence, through the discovery of the 6 cemeteries the diversity of the cemeteries is known. Moreover, the existence of the cemetery of Palia Perivolia allows to understand the possible division and boundaries between the cemeteries.

Based on the Toumba Cemetery and the spatial organisation of the tombs in it, a hierarchy of burial based on kinship was at work on the site[116]. Individuals from the same family (*genos*) or with family ties acquired access and shared a burial space. According to Popham it is very difficult to reject this idea due to the immediate use of the area of Toumba as a cemetery (Tomb 12) after the burial and destruction of the building which

[112] Lemos & Mitchell 2011, 635-6. These relationships with burial under the mound and the greater wealth associated with the female figure have resulted in new approaches to the role of women in EIA society, and the reality that might be represented in double burials (Harrell 2014).
[113] Popham & Lemos 1995, 151.
[114] Popham & Lemos 1995, 152-6. Therefore, despite already visible in the central burial at the Toumba mound, this tomb's grave goods evidence that there was access to the markets of the eastern Mediterranean and even a possible commercial activity from Lefkandi itself.
[115] Morris 1988, 89-93.
[116] Lemos 2010, 89.

lead to the creation of the tumulus in the MPG[117]. This grave was located just in front of the entrance of the buried building, thus, a connection between both burials was created. Subsequently, family members would have continued to be buried in the area while respecting the tumulus. The burial ground would have stretched out across a road that ran through it from SW to NE. Whether this separation by the road represents a differentiation of two burial groups is unclear. Although recent studies on the spatial and temporal organisation of the cemetery suggest that such a reality could be valid, even including a third group to the south of the cemetery[118].

In the cemeteries of Palia Perivolia and East at least two burial groups can be distinguished. In the case of Palia Perivolia, the burial ground boundaries are marked, and within them a group of tombs can be distinguished. The area of graves that can be observed to the north-west may have comprised a second group, however, further research should be carried out in order to provide confirmation. In the East cemetery the few burials found along with the lack of evidence suggesting that cemetery extended in any other direction, almost certainly indicate a space dedicated to a single burial group. The same could be expected for the South cemetery.

In contrast, at the Skoubris cemetery at least two plots are recognisable, one to the north and one to the south. In the north, the burials are scattered and could indicate more than a single burial group. To the south of the cemetery the tombs cluster together from the SM period and cover the entire excavated area which makes the differentiation of burial groups, if there is more than one, difficult. This burial plot to the south of Skoubris cemetery together with the tombs found in the field of A. Khaliotis, started to be used already in the Mycenaean or SM period and continued to be used in the PG without any evident break. This seems to indicate, at least at Skoubris, the existence of a kin or group established since the Mycenaean or SM period which maintained their presence during the EIA.

The boundaries of the cemeteries other than Palia Perivolia are unknown. It is safe to assume that the accepted convention proposing the whole use of the hill as a burial area

[117] Popham et al 1982, 246-8.

[118] Lemos & Mitchell 2011, 638. In the figures (Lemos & Mitchell 2011, 642-644) it can be seen how in the MPG after the construction of the tumulus, the cemetery is arranged close to the old entrance of the building. Only Tomb 68 is located apart from the rest. In the LPG, however, tombs and pyres appear between the ancient burials. In addition, a division is made via the 'road' and a second area of tombs appears within the burial ground. Two more pyres were laid out to the south, separate from the previous groups. These were in the area where several rich burials, including Tomb 79, took place during the SPG.

is the most accurate one[119]. However, the actual division of the cemeteries within the hill, their layout or access to them is unknown. For this reason, it is considered that through landscape analysis, an approximation can be made to those aspects that have not been discussed so far in the literature.

3.4. Analysis of the space

The area of Lefkandi has changed considerably in the last 3000 years. However, an attempt will be made to approach the EIA landscape through the methodology and study of the already introduced archaeological record. The aim of this landscape study is to define the different spaces existing in the area, the important places in them, the access, as well as their visualisation and visibility. Moreover, the main objective is to define possible spaces of occupation, as these play an important role in the perception of deathscapes. The analysis will be based on the use of photographs, planimetries, geographical studies of the area and, obviously, the archaeological evidence recovered at the area.

3.4.1. Natural and human spaces

The natural and human elements of the landscape have been described in the previous sections (3.1. Geographical context and 3.2. The settlement and the cemeteries) of the case study in a basic and general way. Thus, this section takes a more specific approach to these spaces in the EIA. Therefore, in terms of morphology, it is interesting to pay more attention to the coastline and the changes that this would have brought about for the communities settled in the area. In that regard, an approach to the space of the Lelantine plain and other human spaces related to resource exploitation should also be included.

The shoreline during the EIA at Lefkandi was not very different from today. As previously mentioned, on either side of the tell or hill of Xeropolis there are two bays, to the west a larger and deeper one, while to the east a much smaller and shallower one (figure 14-15). The latter could have been wider, at least by expanding inland, providing a reduced space but well sheltered from winds or storms. Thus, making the north-east of Xeropolis marshy, lagoon like[120]. The western bay (Limanaki beach), on the other hand,

[119] Lemos 2002, 161.
[120] Ghilardi et al. 2018, 108-10.

corresponds to the morphology of the EIA. Thus, the beach line would have broadly followed the present one. Undoubtedly, a good natural harbour that is still used today for small fishing boats.

Broadening the scope of the analysis, towards the east there is a wide bay. It is now the site of a subsidiary of the Shelman company, which has modified its shore to create an industrial harbour. In the past it would have been a long beach, with a marked arc, which would have made it suitable for cabotage. To the west, still in the village of Lefkandi, a beach of the same name, extends to the south. Geoarchaeological studies of the coastal landscape in the area indicate that the present beach line would have been under the sea and instead a bay would have been found in this area[121]. The northern part of the bay would have 'surrounded' the hill on which the cemeteries are located, creating another sheltered area, although probably of shallow waters. These same studies also show that the mouth of the Lelas River would have shifted further west in the Mycenaean period and the EIA[122]. Partly reducing the south-eastern extension of the Lelantine plain (figure 16).

Thereby, the Lelantine plain, although slightly different, was the main area of productive interest. It is nowadays taken over by agricultural fields, which occupy it entirely. The farming would have been less intense in the past and could also have been used for horse breeding or other livestock activities. However, it was an area of great importance, so much so that it became a contested landscape in the Geometric period[123].

Finally, in the late Mycenaean period and EIA, the landscape was open woodland[124]. This would have facilitated the use of other adjacent spaces, such as the hills, for agriculture, but also for pastoral activities. Thus, the anthropic landscape immediately around Lefkandi should not only focus on the plain and the bays described above but should also be imagined inland towards the Voudochi mountains.

3.4.2. Transit places and routes

Little can be said with certainty about the roads and transit points that may have existed in Lefkandi during the EIA. However, by paying attention to the terrain, it is feasible to

[121] Ghilardi et al. 2018; 2022.
[122] Ghilardi et al. 2022, fig. 11.
[123] Bradeen 1947, 223-5; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 648; 652.
[124] Ghilardi et al. 2022, 19.

distinguish spaces suitable for the movement of people in the area (figure 17). In addition, the layout of current streets, whether roads or dirt tracks, can be helpful in identifying easily accessible areas where the terrain is favourable. Spaces which, due to their characteristics, become transit spots regardless of the chronological moment, since they are the only or the best route to reach a destination. The grid of a community can be infinitely intricate. They are arranged in the landscape to allow the permeability of individuals to the different spaces that comprise it.

At a general level, the first thing that can be determined is that the sea was a key space for mobility. Therefore, the various bays around Lefkandi and Xeropolis are identified as access points to the area. From them a series of roads permeated and connected them to the surrounding landscape. Thus, at least one route can be defined that extended from east to west in between the proposed harbours of the settlement. The most suitable space to connect the two is the plain that lies between the north side of Xeropolis and the opposite hills. On either side, the terrain is flat allowing connection to any desired location.

Similarly, at Lefkandi the situation is the same. To access the Lelantine plain from the west harbour of Xeropolis one of the options is to go around the foot of the Lefkandi hill through the intersection created between the streets of Itias, Aggeletou and Paraliaki Posidonos. Later following the curve of the hill along Paraliaki Posidonos Street towards Eucalyptou. By linking all the above-mentioned places all the way to the eastern bay (Shelman), we obtain a road that practically follows the layout of the present streets, but which fulfils the idea of one or more routes connecting the bays of the area.

Inland, some transit areas can also be suggested. Starting with the Lefkandi hill, where the cemeteries are located, we have evidence that there was at least one road which crossed the Toumba Cemetery in a NE-SW direction. At least in use since the MPG, given that the cemetery followed its axis. This road must have descended towards the SW following the gentle slope of the hill to about where Chrysanthemon Street and Acacias Street meet today. In the NE direction, also following the slope, the road must have ascended and turned northwards where the intersection of Aggeletou Street is today. The layout of the known cemeteries and the topography suggest an access from the sea to the interior, via the Mavrogenous Street, since it is a gradual and easy ascent. The road would have continued northwards, joining the Toumba road at what is now the bifurcation of Aggeletou Street.

Beyond Lefkandi hill, to the east, another area of passage can be defined. From Limanaki beach a small "valley" opens between Lefkandi hill, and the hill opposite Xeropolis. This valley rises gradually towards the interior of the island and is the area where the cemetery/s to which belong the remains found in the field of A. Khaliotis. The archaeological remains, particularly of a funerary nature, indicates continued movement through the area. Furthermore, topographically it provides a natural access inland, which makes it a place of interest for traffic from the sea or to the sea. It is also the area which nowadays gives access to the hill of Lekandi following Aggeletou Street from the west.

Other accesses from the interior could have been from the hill opposite Xeropolis. Directly from the north, as the hill is flat at the top, or in the direction of Shelman Bay, where another small "valley" opens inland.

3.4.3. Significant places

This section discusses several places in the surroundings of Lefkandi. Individual forms of the landscape, which are relevant compared to the surrounding area. The first one of these is the hill of Xeropolis, which rises alone facing the sea. It controls the transit of the surrounding space, whether by sea or by land. Its significance stems from its location, between two bays, but also from its height. It is a visible site with great standout visibility, which will be discussed in the next section. It is also noteworthy as it was the location of the settlement. The small mound to the east of Xeropolis has similar characteristics. Although to a lesser extent as it is of a smaller size.

Further west, we find the hill of Lefkandi which, although not very high, is notable for "running" practically into the sea. It is also the part of the eastern boundary of the Lellantine plain. Similarly to Xeropolis, it is of great importance in terms of visibility. In the EIA it must have been considered a significant site for its funerary use as will be discussed previously.

Other places that could be considered noteworthy are the hill opposite Xeropolis. As well as the ridge extending northwards from Lefkandi hill along what is now Aggeletou Street. Due to the fact, that these two spaces control the hinterland of the Lefkandi area as well as the sea. On the other hand, both bays to either side of Xeropolis must be considered. Their function as the harbours of the settlement enable access to the resources of southern Euboean Gulf and the Aegean beyond.

From another point of view, significant places are also the Lelantine plain and the southern gulf of Euboea. These "flat" areas, although they do not stand out in the landscape because of their elevation, they do because of their lack of it. In addition, they are and were sites with considerable weight on transit, and the procurement of raw materials. As such, they must be taken into account in the discourse and analysis of the landscape, since access to them is key to understanding how human communities act and organise themselves. Furthermore, they were spaces that had a great influence on how the human groups perceived the landscape. The sea is a constant mass, although always in motion and unclear. Its depths and the things that lurk under the waves a mystery[125]. Moreover, activities such as seafaring or agriculture were subject to seasons and cycles, a major factor in the structuring and understanding of the cosmos. Therefore, the significance of plains and the sea could be potentially linked to the location of spaces such as the settlement or the cemeteries, as well as burial practices[126].

3.4.4. Visual basins and visibility

In the same way the sea and the plains are important places for their significance to the human groups that interact with them, they also make up the largest visual basins. Thus, from certain "observation points" such as Xeropolis or the hill of Lefkandi, the visible terrain is vast. Likewise, these two observation points are visible from a wide variety of locations (figure 18). On this basis, the main observation sites, their visibility in the landscape and the visual basins that are created from them will be defined further below.

In the area, the hill of Toumba (hill of Lefkandi) and the tell of Xeropolis stand out. The visibility held of these points and their surroundings from the sea is to be taken into consideration. For example, from the western harbour (Limanaki beach), as it was a viewpoint from where the ships arriving at Xeropolis or passing nearby would have perceived the landscape. Similarly, visibility from the plain and from the hinterland must be taken into account.

Thus, from the top of Xeropolis one can overlook, to the north, the surface of the nearby hills, and on the horizon the various mountain ranges of Voudochi and the peak of Dyphris mountain (figure 19). It also has a view of the east and west coast, as well as the south of

[125] Georgiadis 2003, 29-30.
[126] Georgiadis 2003, 30-1.

the Lellantine plain. Nevertheless, part of the plain is obscured by the hill of Lefkandi to the west. Yet the Acropolis of Chalcis (Mount Vatrovounia) can be seen above it. In addition, the coast and the mountain ranges running along Boeotia and Attica across the southern Gulf of Euboea can also be seen. Just as Xeropolis has a great peripheric view of the terrain, the tell is visible from many other places. Mainly from the sea and even from the opposite coast of the southern gulf of Euboea, from where its cliffs are easily identified (figure 20). From inland, on the other hand, it would go unnoticed as an extension of land, although it would still be visible from a close distance. Even more so if one considers that there were buildings on its summit.

The hill of Lefkandi has quite a similar panoramic view. In its case, the eastern coast of Euboea is more obscured by Xeropolis and the opposite hill to the north, but it gains visibility of the Lellantine plain. The hill visually controls the south of the plain, as well as its inland extension. Moreover, it has a similar view to Xeropolis of the coast of Boeotia and Attica across the southern Euboean Gulf (figure 21-22). On the contrary, the hill is visible from the sea and from the plain. Although in its case, the hill of Lefkandi does not possess any natural features that make it stand out from the rest of the landscape from long distances. However, during the EIA seen from a closer distance the grave markers and burial mound, on its southern slope and hilltop respectively, would undoubtedly have attracted the attention of observers.

3.4.5. Areas of settlement and occupation

The settlement areas known by Archaeology have been discussed beforehand (*3.2. The settlement and the cemeteries*). Xeropolis is known as the main settlement site in the area. However, some remarks should be made about the temporality of Xeropolis and the human occupation of the area of Lefkandi during EIA (figure 23). Especially when compared to the morphology of the terrain and the identification of ideal areas for the establishment of human groups.

From about the SM until its destruction (SPG III), the hill of Xeropolis and its surroundings were occupied. Especially from the LPG onwards, intensive archaeological evidence of settlement (ceramic evidence) is found on Xeropolis, the slopes of the opposite hill, the plain between the two hills and the small promontory to the east. All these spaces together result in a large area of occupation that can be defined as ‘proto-

urban', in the sense that it agglomerated several houses and possibly public/communal spaces of the community. This supports what is known about the EIA settlements, which were extensive with open space between the different domestic units[127]. The eastward expansion of the settlement would be explained by the presence of cemeteries[128].

However, the hill of Lefkandi had been suggested as settlement before its excavation based on similar ceramic evidence as the one found in the hill opposite Xeropolis and the east promontory[129]. Therefore, these areas must be seen as occupation spaces but without the guarantee of them being part of the settlement. There is even the possibility that they represent part of the EIA burial grounds of Xeropolis.

Nonetheless, during the SM and EPG phases Xeropolis is almost abandoned and few archaeological remains are preserved from its occupation. In these periods, however, there is strong evidence of occupation through the cemeteries. Tombs from MPG period seem to be the first established in some of them. It is at this time that the monumental building of the Toumba was built. This building has given rise to several hypotheses about the political situation at the time[130]. As far as the settlement is concerned, it seems to give clues to a movement of the population, or part of it, to the west, towards the hinterland. Thus, it is feasible to suggest a movement to high spaces[131], which would control access to the sea and areas of greater agricultural productive interest. As such, the location of the Toumba building fits this description as well as the hilly area to the north of Lefkandi. Another optimal space for settlement, is a small area north-west of the hill of Lefkandi located between hills and slopes, which could have sheltered a modest settlement[132]. Nevertheless, no evidence has been found to support such places as potential living spaces during the SM and EPG periods at Lefkandi.

Other households were probably scattered throughout the landscape individually, occupying small plots on the plain or hillsides. Similarly, part of the landscape can be expected to have been occupied by other burial spaces from previous periods. These

[127] Lemos 2022, 19-20.
[128] Snodgrass 1983, 169. The cemeteries, to the west, provide a limit to the direction in which the living space can expand.
[129] Popham *et al.* 1980, 12.
[130] Whitley 1991, 348-50; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 358-62.
[131] Calligas 1988, 230. He suggested that in this period the settlement pattern was based on single oikos built on hilltops, taking the Toumba building as an example. However, there has not been further archaeological evidence in any of the other hills at Lefkandi to support this theory.
[132] Criado-Boado 1997, 19.

burial grounds, although they have not been located by archaeologist, would have still been in the collective memory of the community or were still visible at that time.

3.4.6. Hierarchy of places

This section synthesises all the information discussed previously to create a combined "picture" of the area of Lefkandi and the territory in which it is embedded. Considering factors such as accessibility and visibility, it is feasible to obtain the existing hierarchy between the places that made up the landscape of the EIA in Lefkandi.

Therefore, among all these places, certain locations stood out prominently in the landscape, influencing how an observer would perceive and interact with their surroundings. The settlement and cemeteries were the primary human-made spaces which played a significant role in shaping social and cultural activities. On the other hand, the Lelantine plain and the southern Euboean Gulf, as the key natural features, framed the environment and shaped economic activities, such as agriculture, trade, and fishing.

To define them as such, it has been taken into account how the roads and other access points where structured around them. Roads and paths, on their own, shape greatly the way an individual perceives the landscape, even transforming the topography to grant access to humans and their ways of transport. Thus, they are easily noticed against the natural landscape. From an observer's point of view, the of roads are distinguishable lines against the landscape. They serve as paths, but they are also valuable as features that help to direct the attention of individuals towards certain points in it. They are a representation of hierarchy within a territory, representing importance in use, time and organisation as there are main paths from which other smaller ones are projected[133].

Furthermore, the visibility of this places has also been considered. These locations were the most visually noticeable and held the greatest significance for the individuals who, in one way or another, inhabited the area of Lefkandi. Through visual relation they connected the landscape to the community, allowing interaction with close up locations as well as far away ones.

Therefore, between the settlement area and the hill of the cemeteries, the settlement should be considered first when analysing their hierarchy in the landscape. As discussed,

[133] Tilley 1994, 29-31.

its visibility was much higher, at least from the sea. Moreover, it was connected not only by roads, but by sea as well. The harbours located at each side of the tell gave it access and control over the resources coming from the sea. Finally, it was a living space, meaning the lives of several individuals revolved around this site. Their connections and activities made the settlement the centre of the landscape in which they dwelled.

The cemeteries undoubtedly were second in the hierarchy. They entailed another space lived and modified by humans. Their significance came from the interaction and meaning given by them as a space in which the dead of the community were buried. They were on a selected position, hovering over the Lelantine plain, the southern Gulf of Euboea, the west harbour and the settlement. Thereby, the hill represented a symbol of memory and identity for the community, that also controlled access between the area of the settlement and the plain. The several access points and paths identified in the hill would also indicate the importance of the space and its connection with the territory. If the evidence on the hill opposite Xeropolis and the east promontory are to be considered of funerary nature, these spaces could be placed hierarchically in a close position to the hill of the cemeteries. In location related to the territory and the access to the settlement area; thus, having similar significance to the community.

Respectably, the Lelantine plain and the southern Euboean Gulf would have also been spaces of high hierarchy in the area. Mainly due to their role as resource procurement sites. However, they were equally relevant because the connectivity opportunities they offered. Hence, the Lelantine plain represented the richest and largest arable land of the island, as well as a space that gave easy access to the sea to the south and the mountainous interior to the north. Similarly, the southern Euboean Gulf enabled the people of Xeropolis the exploit and production of maritime resources; most importantly it gave them access to the Aegean Sea and the trade networks inscribed in it.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

As presented beforehand, deathscapes are a construct of death created upon the interaction of individuals with the landscape. Until now an analysis of the geography, the archaeological record and the landscape have been carried out. On the other hand, this section will approach the definition of Lefakndi's EIA deathscapes, their symbolism and

functions during the PG period. To do so, all the above data has been taken into account in order to render a recreation akin to the complex reality that undoubtedly existed in the past.

4.1. A space for diversity

It is safe to assume that at EIA Lefkandi the most visible deathscapes are comprised by the cemeteries. However, as it has been discussed the landscape of the cemeteries is that of plurality. Several burial plots conformed them and inside them burial groups and tombs could be regarded individually.

When describing burial customs, it was displayed the difference in wealth between some of the cemeteries, as well as specific burial practices present in some of them. It is of interest, then, to regard the situation at Toumba in comparison to the other burial grounds, as is where almost all the rich finds of the cemeteries were gathered. Moreover, it is the cemetery which has double burials, warrior type burials and, even, burials resembling "external" fashions, such as the Athenian "trench-and-hole". Things such as this inform us about a social and political circumstance at hand which would have intervened in the perception and function given to the cemeteries and the mortuary landscape by the community. Most probably, as scholarship has suggested, having to do with the beginning of a competition between the local elites[134].

It must be also considered that in Lefkandi the cemeteries held the entirety of the community's deceased. All ages and sexes were given proper burial inside them[135]. This meant that, as they were a defined geographical area, they were also a defined space in the landscape which purpose was that of dividing the dead from the living. Secondly, that every individual born in the community was part of it and was buried or cremated among the other deceased individuals in the burial grounds.

As it was discussed in the section *3.3. Social organization in death: burial customs and spatial analysis of the cemeteries* when analysing the spatial analysis of the cemeteries it was suggested the possibility to discern the kinship within the different burial grounds. First proposed by Popham in a study of the Toumba cemetery, it was accepted that individuals of a same genos had access to a common burial space. However, another event

[134] Foxhall 1995, 246-7.
[135] Snodgrass 1983, 167-8; Lemos 2012, 170.

common to all cemeteries further supports this theory. Grave markers existed for each tomb. Nevertheless, every cemetery had a stratification of graves and pyres. As far as is known, space was not an issue at Lefkandi, since there were still enough unused areas at the hill. Hence, the agglomeration of burials must be related with a choice of the living to be buried near their family relatives and their ancestors.

Therefore, the cemeteries at Lefkandi conform a deathscape that enables to discuss several issues about the EIA community that lived at Xeropolis and their "worldview". The external and defined location of the cemeteries away of the settlement proposes an idea and perception of the dead as the "other" by the living. Despite the distance, a connection between the two landscapes was maintained through pathways. In that regard, several roads and paths have been suggested to give access to the cemeteries from different directions. A "grid of streets" that served as link to the world of the living and the other way around. Moreover, a road had a strong symbolic meaning to the society in relation to the dead. When an individual from the community died it was transported publicly from the household to the tomb in a procession known as *ekphora*[136]. Thus, any path to the cemeteries at Lefkandi can as well be defined as a deathscape. Overall, perceived as liminal spaces within the landscape that connected the living and the dead, acquiring death-related connotations.

However, the dead also served a social purpose for the community. Through them and their spatial arrangement, the living claimed a connection to their ancestors and, thus, the social status and power that may have been associated with them[137]. An example of it is the case of Toumba were the MPG burial mound persisted as a funerary monument during the PG, a deathscape of its own. The tumulus was certainly perceived as a place related to ancestry, power and social status in the community and probably even in the surrounding territory.

4.2. Territory, the dead, and their image

From what it is known by the archaeological findings at least six cemeteries were located on a defined geographical area outside the settlement. They were located on a privileged position at the hill of Lefkandi, taking over the slopes, hilltop and the north-west area of

[136] Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 143-5.
[137] Antonaccio 1994; 1995.

the adjacent eastern valley. On the other hand, the settlement extended further east occupying the hill of Xeropolis the flat area and slopes to the north, and most probably the small bay and the promontory to the east. Thus, the cemeteries were at the edge of the landscape of the living, properly defined and separated from the settlement.

It should be considered how the geographical situation of Xeropolis forces its control over land resources to be directed to the west, since to the east the land is less fertile and hilly. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the expansion of the settlement was, as far as we know, mainly focused on the easternmost area. The cemeteries, on the other hand, were on an elevated and dominant position of the Lelantine plain, as well as the western harbour of Xeropolis[138] to which they had both visual and spatial connection.

From the location of the oldest cemetery known, the fields of A. Khaliotis, and the intramural burials it can be assumed that the need to secure the resources of the plain or the sea during the end of the Bronze Age would not have been entirely necessary. This could be due to Xeropolis possessing total control of the surrounding territory, that no other centre would have been competing for it, or both. Nevertheless, during the SM a visual relationship between the community and the western territory is created through the nearby position of the dead on the north of the hill of Lefkandi. Although the connection with the territory was not as clear as later on, the presence of burial grounds outside the settlement instead of intramural burials signifies a change in the society and their perception of the landscape. Furthermore, in the PG, especially the MPG, the cemeteries of Toumba, Palia Perivolia, East Cemetery and South Cemetery were established. These occupied the top of the hill and the southern slope, positions that indicate an interest to the west and south, off to the Lelantine plain, the southern Euboean Gulf and the coast of Attica and Boeotia[139].

The foundation of these cemeteries, particularly the Toumba burial mound, have been associated with a feasible change in the politics and social organization of the human group[140]. However, it may, as well, be due to the emergence of competition in the

[138] Still, I reiterate on the idea that those potential settlement spaces close the hill of Xeropolis, the opposite hill and the western promontory, could as well be regarded as potential funerary spaces. Reducing the settlement area to Xeropolis, the flat space to the north and the two bays.
[139] Mazarakis-Ainian 2012.
[140] Foxhall 1995, 246-7; Lemos & Mitchell 2011, 638-9. The establishment of several cemeteries in a small area has been suggested to represent competing elite families during the transition between the LH IIIC and the MPG. In a similar way, the distinction of three possible burial groups within Toumba, might represent the same situation during PG times.

surrounding territory, especially to the west. On the area the ancient texts mention a conflict endued between Chalcis and Eretria from around the 720 to the 660 BC[141]. The two neighbouring settlements, in between which Lefkandi found itself, wound have fought in order to gain full control of the territory of the Lelantine plain and the surrounding territory. Related to this war seems that at Eretria fortification walls were built, the latest one enclosing an elite cemetery with warrior tombs from the LG[142]. The burial ground was to the north-west of the settlement near the gate of the city that leads to Chalcis. Overall, the presence of these structures, in addition to the continued used, could be understood as an effort by the inhabitants of Eretria to strengthen and maintain the defences and the claim of the polis to the west.

Competition over resources, however, might be able to be traced back to the PG. As mentioned beforehand, the political and social situation at Lefkandi after the Bronze Age was complicated. For instance, the presence of weaponry in the graves could be comprehended as an indicator of conflict or, at the very least, the threat to contest. The association of the weapons with the individuals a symbol of the military capability of the group or their warrior deeds while alive. This connection suggests that weapons were more than just tools; they were an emblem of strength, authority and battle prowess. However, this does not necessarily imply that they were in constant conflict with their surroundings. Instead, it reflects a society that had the capacity to wage war when needed and used their military prowess as a means for dissuasion.

Moreover, based on Snodgrass demographic study, Lefkandi's community gradually decreased from the SM period to the LP-SPG I period[143]. Thereby, although Xeropolis demography declined, it maintained a "well-stablished" position on the region during the EIA. However, the transition between the Palatial period to the PG, plus any possible inner competition[144], most probably loosened the control over the territory and its resources. The danger of new and emerging settlements as a result would have triggered new methods of claiming ownership over the Lelantine plain, the Southern Euboean Gulf and even control of the opposite shores. Thus, protecting the settlements gathering power.

[141] Bradeen 1947, 223-5; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 648; 652.
[142] On the fortifications and general context of the West gate cemetery see Mazarakis-Ainian 1987, 14-6. In specific information on the burials and burial ground see Crieelard 1998, 44-7: Blandin 2007, 42-58.
[143] Snodgrass 1983, 169.
[144] Foxhall 1995, 246-7.

In an agricultural, pastoral and maritime society, where access and land were key to hold such power, consolidating and maintaining authority would have involved several methods. One of them would be the association of the community with their ancestors through the positioning of the newly dead close to them, in non-arable, privileged spots in the landscape. The dead, in this context symbolized the effort of generations, the labour put into the cultivation and sustenance of the region. The cemeteries transformed in territory markers that reinforced the community's sense of ownership and entitlement over the land and sea[145]. Allowing the living to claim the territory as their own and assert their socio-economic presence.

Overall, the cemeteries at Lefkandi must not only be understood as places of social interest for the close-up community. These were spaces in which the image and figure of the dead were used for economic and political purposes on a regional level. At Lefkandi no evidence of fortifications has been recovered in the settlement for the PG period. Furthermore, in the whole Island of Euboea, the use of fortifications was scarce[146]. However, an explanation might be the use of cemeteries as territory or frontier markers, functioning as symbols of their military superiority and connections with Eastern Mediterranean powers[147]. Possibly as a conscious or unconscious reaction to a threatening scenario facing the community. Hence their position on an elevated space, near the harbour and the access to the arable land, which granted them control and protection from external threats. This argument would also apply in the case that the eastern promontory and the opposite hill to the north of Xeropolis would to be identified as cemeteries in the future. The cemeteries on the eastern promontory would function as a territorial marker especially for the southern Gulf of Euboea and thus for all those who reached Xeropolis by sea. In contrast, those on the hill opposite Xeropolis would represent a symbol of the hinterland. But they would also impose their presence on observers located in Xeropolis and the harbours.

To that extent, similar deathscapes may be identified in Euboea, or even in other EIA Greek territories which had parallel contexts of competition or confrontation between settlements. In addition, other deathscapes types that have been described for the Archaic and Classical period such as natural spaces or war monuments, may have also flooded the

[145] Goldstein 2002, 203-4.
[146] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 376.
[147] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 376.

landscape during the EIA, shaping the territory and the observer perception of it. Nevertheless, these later ones, as pathways may be considered, are supposed realities from which little is known apart from their existence in later tradition. Their original purpose and significance lost or slightly modified, as palimpsests embedded in the landscape and collective memory[148].

4.3. The liminality of the cemeteries: a position for the collection of memory and social identity

So far, a definition and proposed functions of deathscapes, especially cemeteries, have been presented for the ancient community settled at Xeropolis. Nevertheless, little has been discussed upon the cognitive dimensions of spatiality. The position of the cemeteries has been agued from an economical point of view, but their liminality and its effect on the surrounding community due to their location has not yet been adequately addressed. Moreover, other scales of landscape in relation to their perception such as memory or identity have not been fully targeted.

Burial grounds have been considered as sites of transition, meaning they were intermediate locations between the world of the living and the dead[149]. Spaces where rituals occurred in order to enable groups or individuals to accept the dead of a person, for example by placing their body on a tomb. In addition to their identification as places of change, where is possible for an individual or a collective to redefine their identity[150] after the departure of a loved one or significant figure in society. Deathscapes, and other liminal places in general, are defined places outside the settlement areas, isolated from them, or in transition zones[151].

It has been argued that Lefkandi cemeteries served as economic and political markers used to secure resources and consolidate power on a regional scale. Despite this, their location can also be understood related to the cosmological beliefs and metaphysical meanings given to them by of the community that lived at Xeropolis[152]. Their liminal

[148] Goldstein 2002, 203-4.
[149] Vlachou 2020, 14.
[150] Vlachou 2020, 14.
[151] Ahlrichs *et al.* 2015, 231.
[152] The proximity of some cemeteries to the sea has been raised in relation to the liminal character associated with this space, as well as pollution issues (see Georgiadis 2003, 47 and Lemos 2012, 170). In this case the cemeteries are on higher ground. However, the liminal aspect of it could still be supported by their visual connection.

position allows to perceive them not only as places exclusive to a few, but rather as symbolical places inclusive of both the community of Xeropolis, as well as the inhabitants of the region. Even if they had different meaning for each. Thus, the cemeteries can be comprehended as culturally constructed spaces that are deeply embedded in the landscape[153]. Their presence modified the way in which observers perceived the landscape, as these sites were charged with a multitude of meanings and associations.

Is in this context that the tombs, in particular, functioned as powerful symbols of connection to the past. Their presence represented the position of the bones of past individuals, functioning as agents of social memory that linked the community to the landscape and its history[154]. Consequently, gravestones and cemeteries as a whole played a crucial role in establishing and enhancing group cohesion between present, past and future[155]. They were important in both preserving and shaping the social constructions and identities of those connected to them. Besides, at Lefkandi they seem to have served as a symbol by which social ties were maintained and renewed over time.

Moreover, the imagery of these burials constantly reminded the living of their ancestors, their social status and their power. The presence of these signs also reminded the individuals of funerary customs, rites and ceremonies that had personal or collective significance. Thus, even if some considerations had varied over time, cemeteries were part of the cultural consciousness of the community[156]. Their position in visible areas around the settlement[157] created a greater connection between the living and the territory they inhabited, allowing a sense of prevenance when observing the landscape of which their dead were part of.

Hence, Lefkandi's deathscapes should be seen as rich contexts in which memory and identity were deeply intertwined. As mentioned in the case study, this is particularly evident in the Toumba cemetery, where ancestry and kinship seem to have provided the basis for the organisation of the cemeteries. When looking closely at the burial mound at Toumba, the memory of the individuals buried there is particularly relevant to the understanding of the subsequent layout and use of the burial grounds. Nevertheless, the

[153] Ahlrichs *et al.* 2015, 231.
[154] Goldstein 2002, 203-4.
[155] Alcock 2002, 28.
[156] Alcock 2002, 28-30.
[157] In this case not only considering the reality of the hill of Lefkandi but also considering the possibility of the eastern promontory and hill opposite to Xeropolis as potencial burial grounds.

decision to use a monumental structure, probably the former dwelling of a ruler[158], as the foundation of a burial mound was the key factor in establishing and perpetuating social memory within the community[159]. The transformation of an important structure into a tumulus, in relation to the burial customs and the socio-political context, served to create a symbol for collective identity and inheritance for the community at Xeropolis[160].

Therefore, the landscape created by the burial grounds could be regarded as a materialization of the collective memory of the human groups based near Xeropolis[161]. These represented a space in which the history of the region was fixed and relived through the visual experience and the continuous usage of the grounds in funerary rituals and ceremonies. Furthermore, such practices, as well as the symbolism inscribed in them, would let us consider them as spaces for the expression of individual or collective identities of the community[162]. Such meanings are also created and maintained by their spatial liminality. Their position in the landscape as places of reference allow for the social identification of the human groups and individuals in their surroundings[163].

5. CONCLUSIONS

This work has sought to explore the funerary spaces of the Early Iron Age using landscape-based approaches. To achieve this, it focused on the Protogeometric burial grounds identified in Lefkandi as a case study. The research has examined their geographical context, material culture, and burial practices, along with the surrounding spaces that constituted Xeropolis settlement immediate territory.

Euboea is an island with limited arable land. Xeropolis and its cemeteries, however, were strategically located in a sheltered area that provided access to the larger plain of the island and the sea. This favourable geographic positioning facilitated both trade and production. The material culture recovered from these burial grounds suggests that they

[158] There are two sides to the identification of the building (Crieelard & Driessen 1994, 254-64; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 353). The excavators and other scholars believe the structure to be a funerary monument built after the burials. Nonetheless, others have suggested that the building was first a household or "palace" of some short and then re-used as a funerary monument. The latter is the current accepted theory (see Lemos 2002, 167-8).
[159] Knapp 2009, 47-9.
[160] Harrell 2016, 299-308.
[161] Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 13-4.
[162] Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 14-6.
[163] Ahlrichs *et al.* 2015, 231.

were established during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, reflecting a period of both continuity and change in burial practices and social organization. In addition, the burial practices at Lefkandi provide evidence of shared funerary customs. Nevertheless, they also emphasize significant disparities between the cemeteries and the distribution of wealth within the community. Moreover, the differentiation of burial groups within the same ground points to a complex social hierarchy, where kin, and possibly status, played a significant role in the placement of the dead and their graves.

The spatial analysis of the area of Lefkandi allowed for the identification of the cemeteries as prominent and meaningful spaces within the broader landscape. Their visibility and accessibility, on top of the hill, positioned them as significant landmarks that would have been seen from afar, serving as both physical and symbolic markers in the landscape. This prominence, combined with their proximity to key locations such as Xeropolis, the Lelantine plain, and the southern Euboean Gulf, stresses their importance not only as places of burial but also as spaces of social and political significance.

From the analysis of the above evidence, insights into the deathscapes of Lefkandi were obtained, clarifying the roles and meanings embedded in these landscapes throughout their period of use, up until the settlement was abandoned. The cemeteries, the paths leading to them, as well as the monumental burial mound at Toumba arose as the main deathscapes. In general, they were spaces of social significance, separated from the sphere of the living and used as contexts of competition between the groups of the community. Furthermore, they fulfilled a socio-economic function as territory markers for the individuals living in Xeropolis to claim and maintain their power over the region. The spatial arrangement of the cemeteries, atop the hill, did not only provide them with a powerful view but also imbued them with a sense of stability and command. Thus, symbolizing the community's presence and its control over the physical landscape. This elevated positioning also allowed them to become collective symbols of memory and identity for the community of Xeropolis and the surrounding territory. Thereby, shaping their cultural landscape as well. Both relating or differentiating them from other human groups settled near Lefkandi.

Overall, it can be concluded that Lefkandi’s deathscapes were complex in nature. They certainly were a mechanism that modified the perception of landscape. Through their location on the territory, they controlled the experience the observer had of the landscape.

Deathscapes implied the perception of time, meaning that the past and present were merged into a single space. Hence, recalling memories of the past but also modifying those based on the present. Therefore, the location of the cemeteries on a visual and privileged position, the recollection of the ancestors buried in them, and the roads leading to them from all around, worked as symbols of power and control over the territory, its resources and the people. Moreover, they served as a point of reference in the collective memory of the individuals, strengthening their identity and belonging. All these factors allow us to understand Lefkandi's deathscapes as more than burial grounds; they were landscapes where social relations, power dynamics, and identities were established and reaffirmed constantly.

The conclusions drawn at Lefkandi offer new perspectives on the study of Early Iron Age territories in Greece. Funerary spaces can be understood as places beyond the communal sphere of a settlement; thus, they can be analysed as spaces of regional reach. Moreover, the case of the cemeteries of Lefkandi provides an example of territorial organisation that can be applied to all those Early Iron Age communities located on islands or areas of limited resources and gathering competition. The establishment of cemeteries or monumental tombs in prominent locations during this period can be seen as clues to those contested landscapes. Through these, social, economic, ideological or political dimensions that would otherwise be beyond our reach can be approached. Furthermore, by taking into account the material culture, one could identify analogous patterns in the use and perception of the dead. Therefore, enabling a better understanding of the archaeological sites studied and their communities.

Moreover, due to the completion of this work, several feasible threads for future research in and around the area of Lefkandi have been identified. These may apply to other contexts as well. In terms of funerary archaeology, the analysis carried out by Lemos and Mitchell in 2011 is of great advantage in understanding the spatial organisation of burial groups. Such analysis allows for the study of social issues, such as status, relationships between buried individuals and the ideologies of the living community. In that respect, approaching the rest of the cemeteries under the same light would provide a better understanding of the society and political structure of Lefkandi. Besides that, the present study has also highlighted how little information is available regarding previous, contemporary and later burial grounds. Their identification and study would, as well,

allow for a better understanding of the evolution of the site, the population and their set of beliefs.

All in all, it can be said that Xeropolis was a place of continuity, its cemeteries included. The material culture of the cemeteries and their location within the landscape are evidence of a modification to fit the social changes and the political situation of the period while maintaining the settlement's connections and power. With this, the aims stated in the introduction have been resolved in their majority. An approach has been made to Early Iron Age deathscapes and the perceptions that the Protogeometric society had regarding death and the dead. Thereby, the different funerary landscapes and their functions have been defined. Through it all, it is expected to have broadened or at least elucidated previous knowledge of this period and the site.

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FIGURES

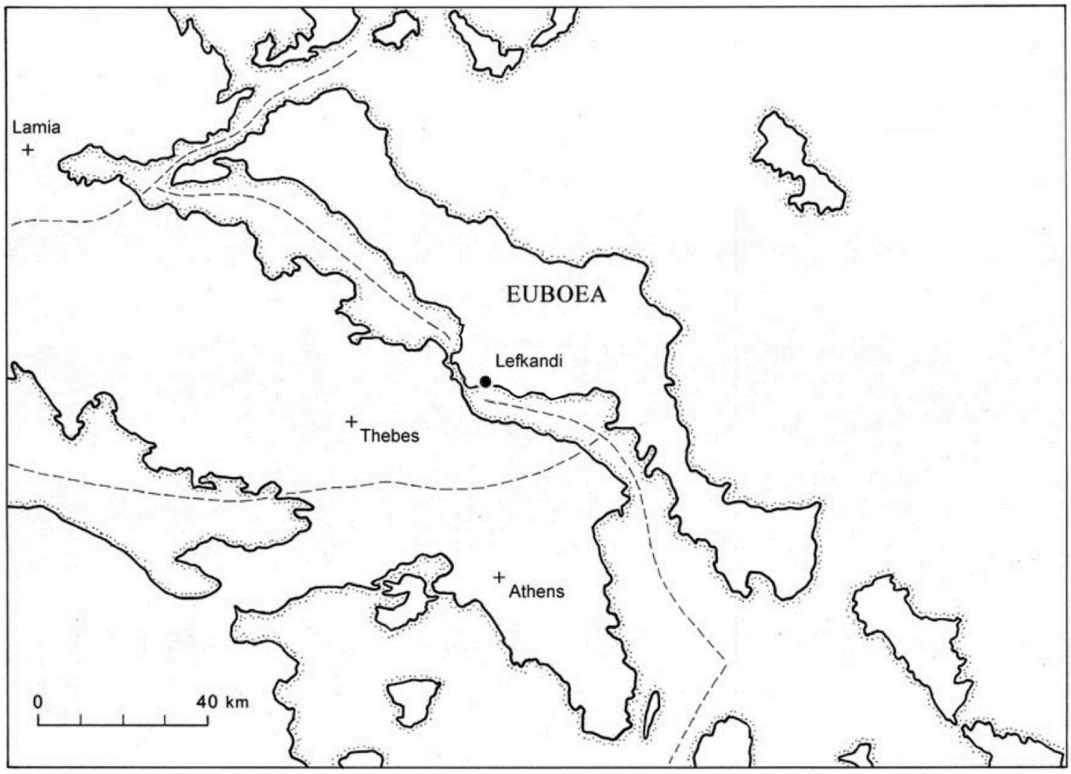

Figure 1. Geographical context of Lefkandi and Euboea. *Modified from French & Dickinson 2023, fig. 44*.

Figure 2. Satelite view of the island of Euboea, Attica and Boeotia. *From Google Earth*.

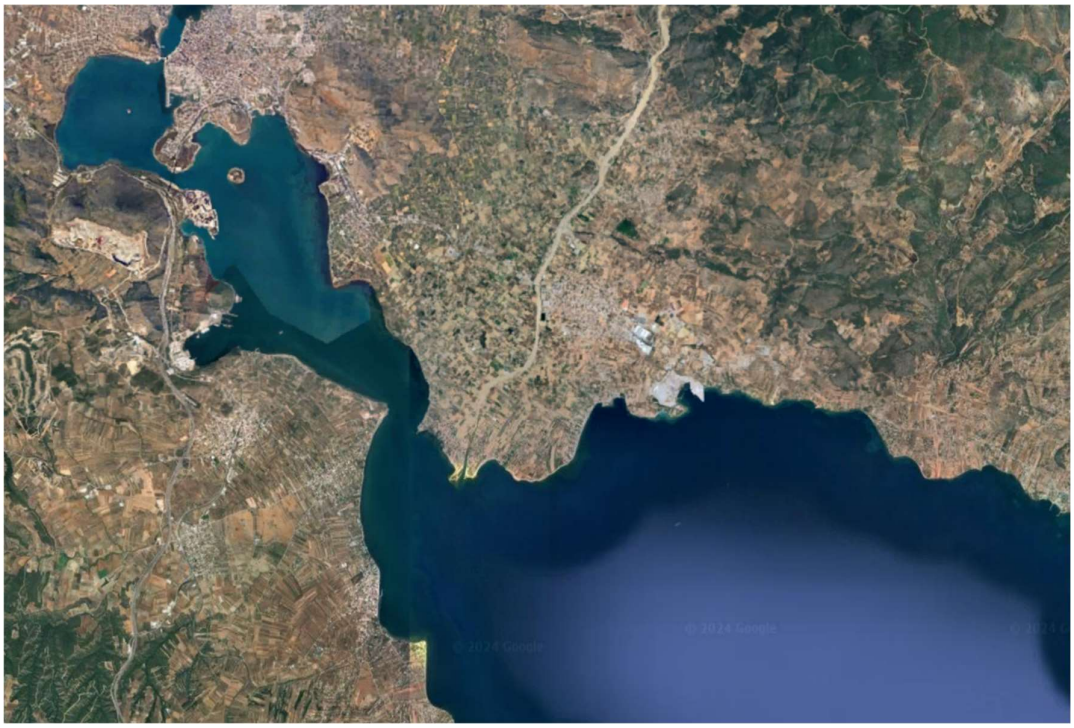

Figure 3. Satellite view of the Lelantine plain and Lefkandi. *From Google Earth*.

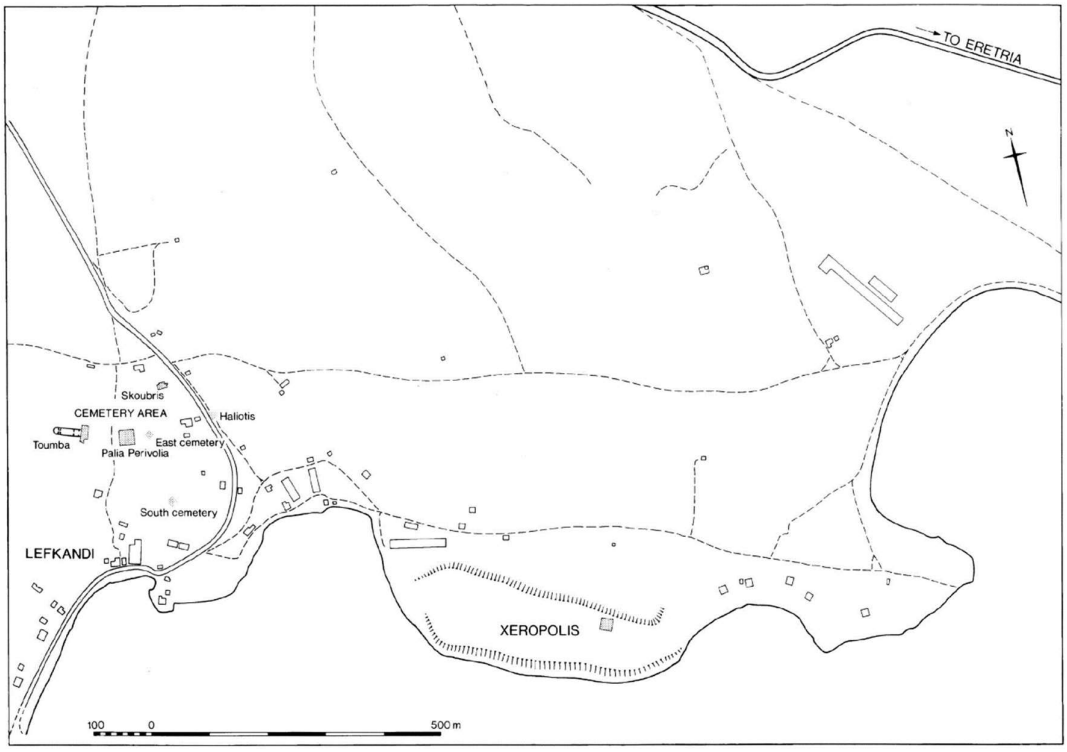

Figure 4. Plan of the area of Lefkandi showcasing the position of Xeropolis and the cemeteries. *Popham & Lemos 1996, plate 1*.

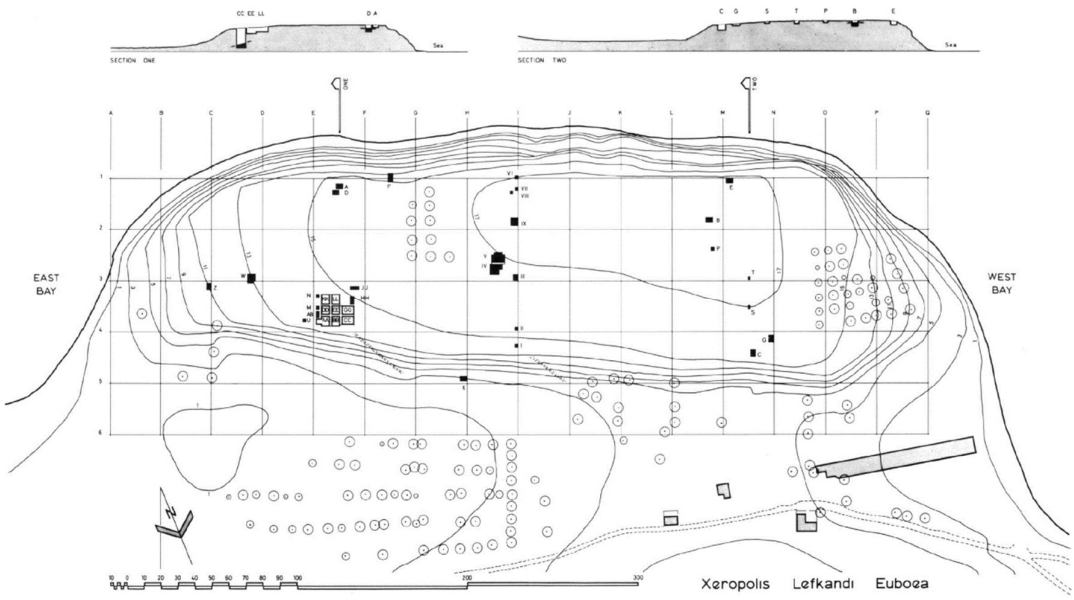

Figure 5. Plan of the excavations at Xeropolis hill. *Popham et al. 1980, plate 4*.

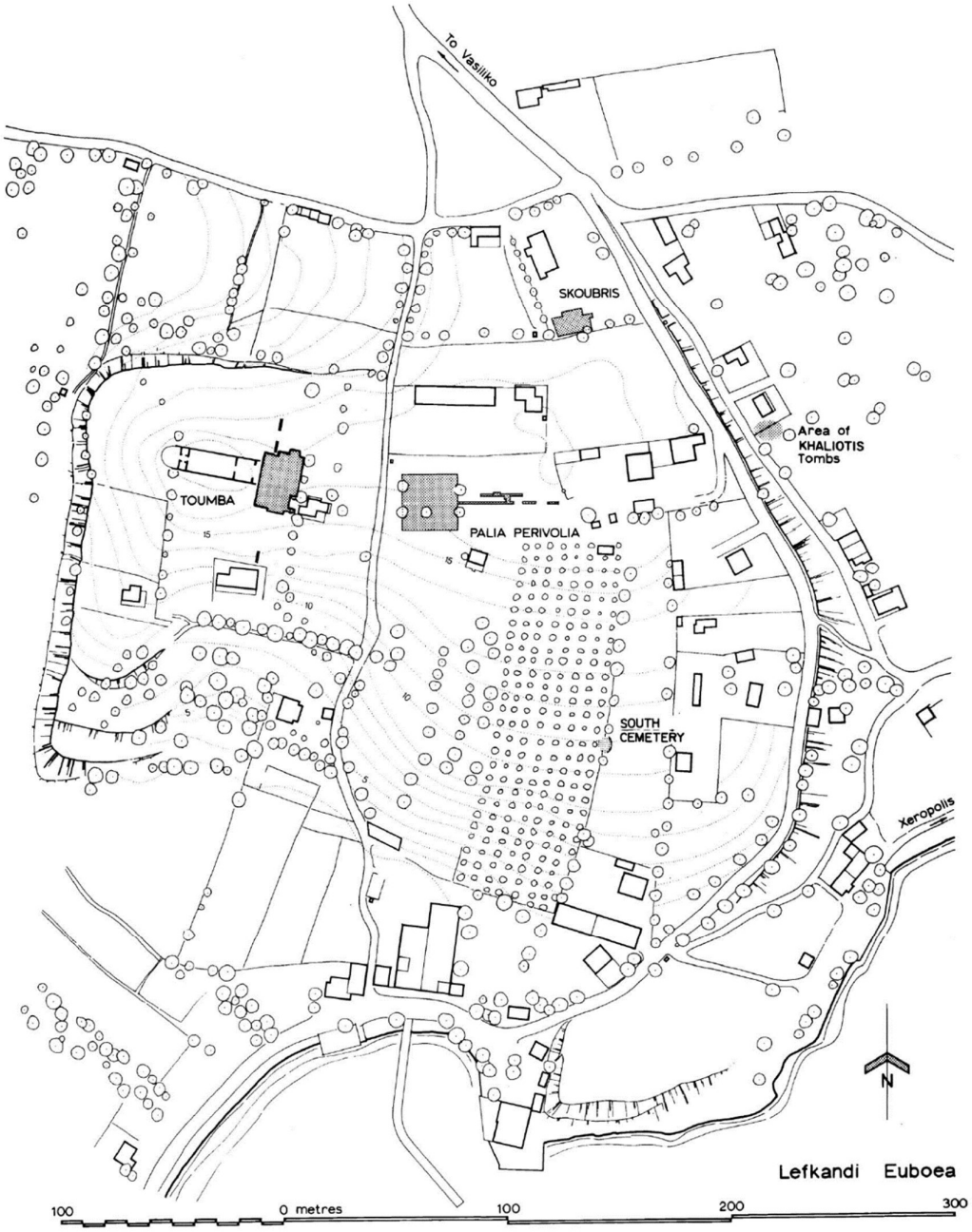

Figure 6. General plan of the hill of Lefkandi and the cemeteries within. *Popham & Lemos 1996, plate 2*.

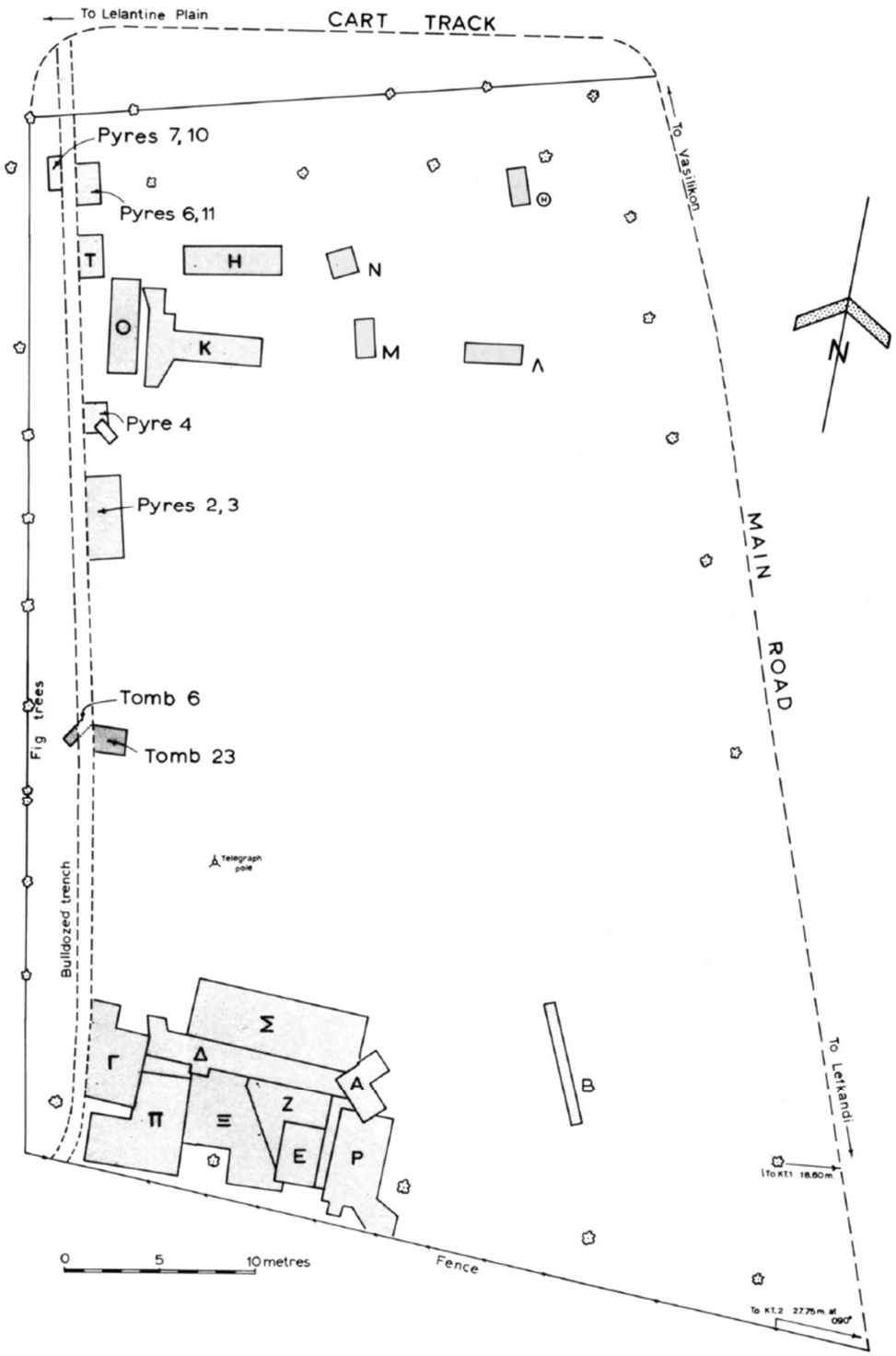

Figure 7. Trench plan of Skoubris cemetery. *Popham et al. 1980, plate 74*.

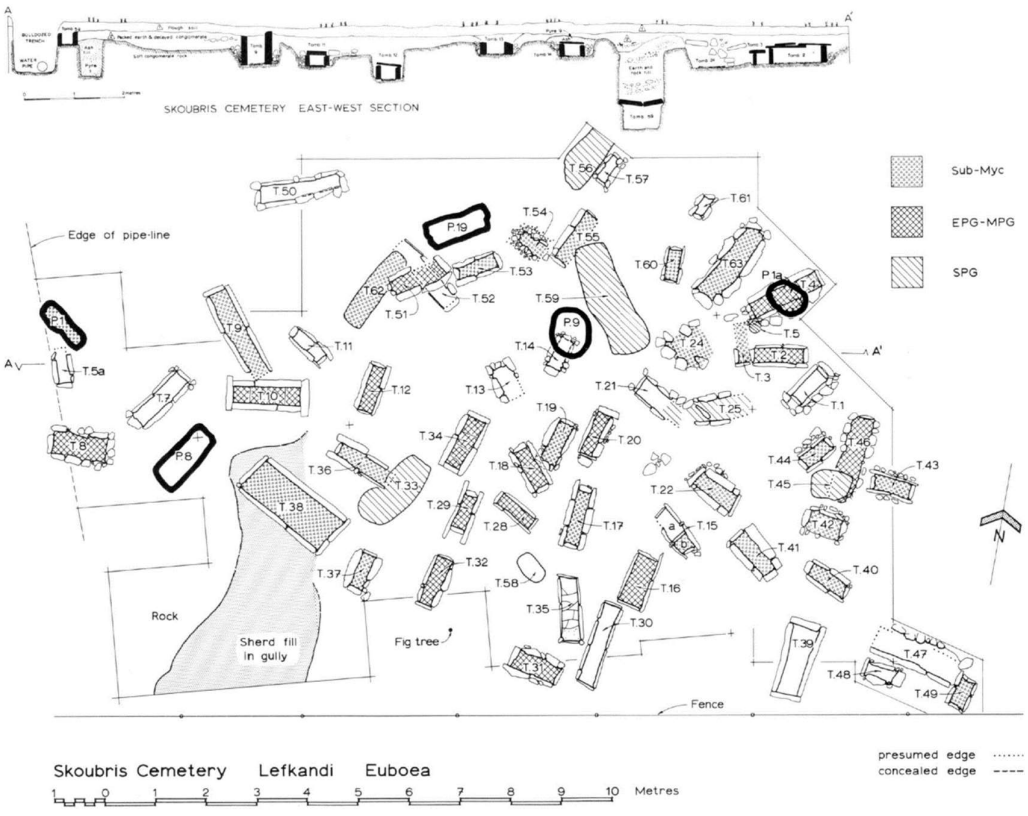

Figure 8. Tombs and pyres excavated at the southern area of Skoubris cemetery. *Popham et al. 1980, plate 75*.

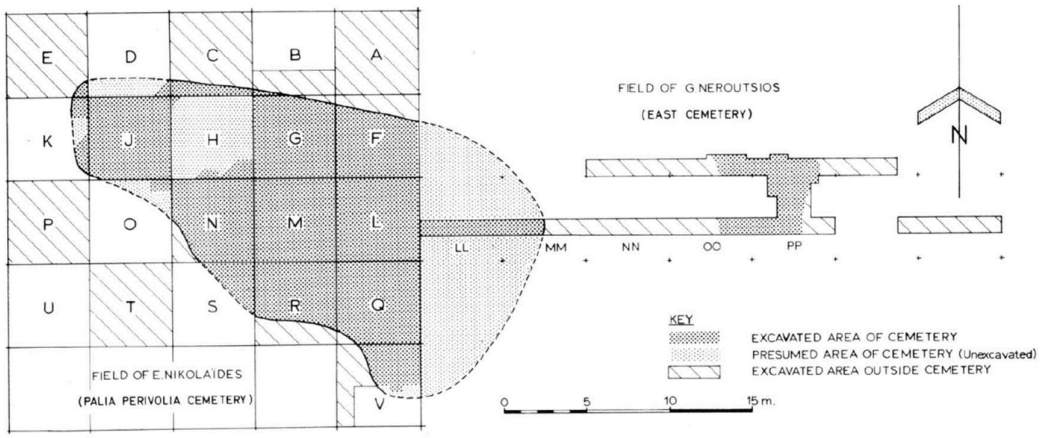

Figure 9. Trench plan of Palia Perivolia and the East cemetery. *Popham et al. 1980, plate 76a.*

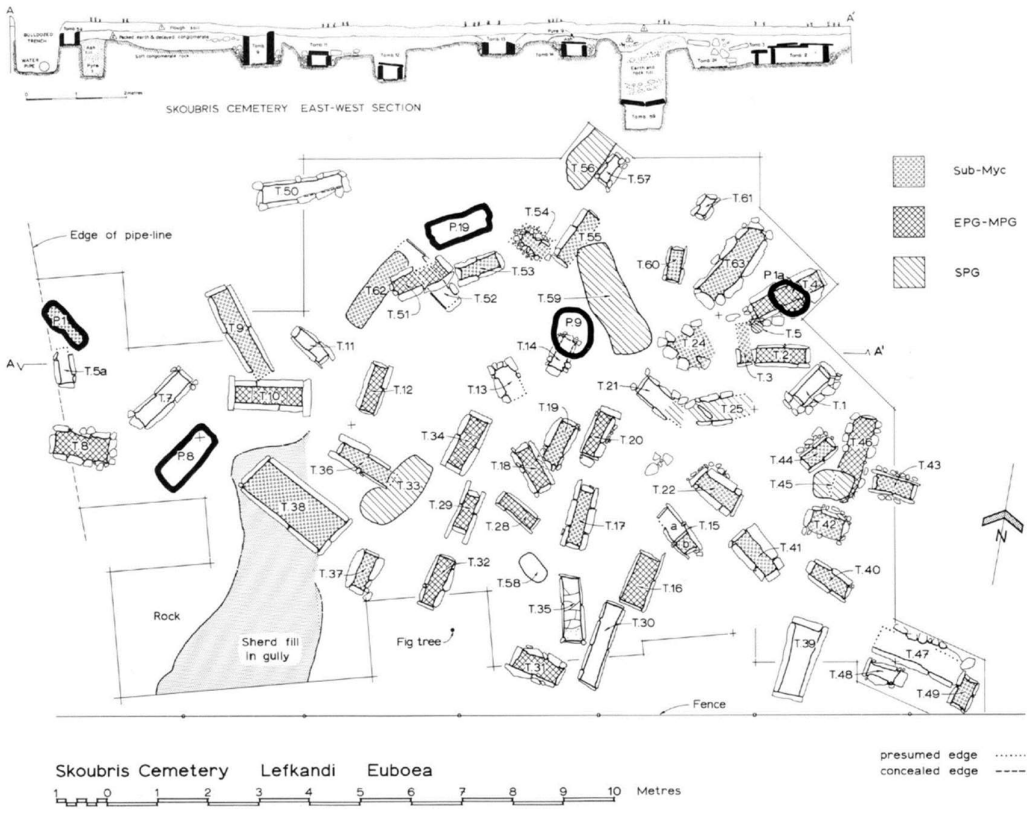

Figure 10. Graves and pyres recovered from Palia Perivolia cemetery excavations. *Popham et al. 1980, plate77*.

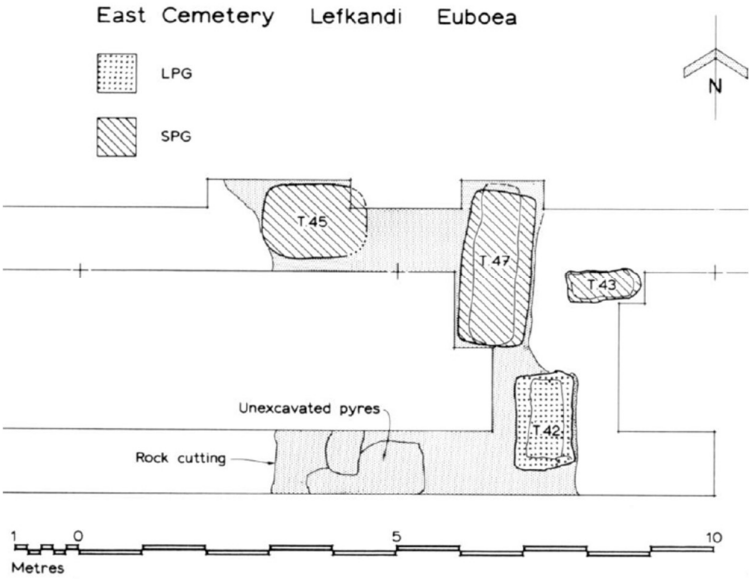

Figure 11. East cemetery plan of graves and pyres. *Popham et al. 1980, plate 78*.

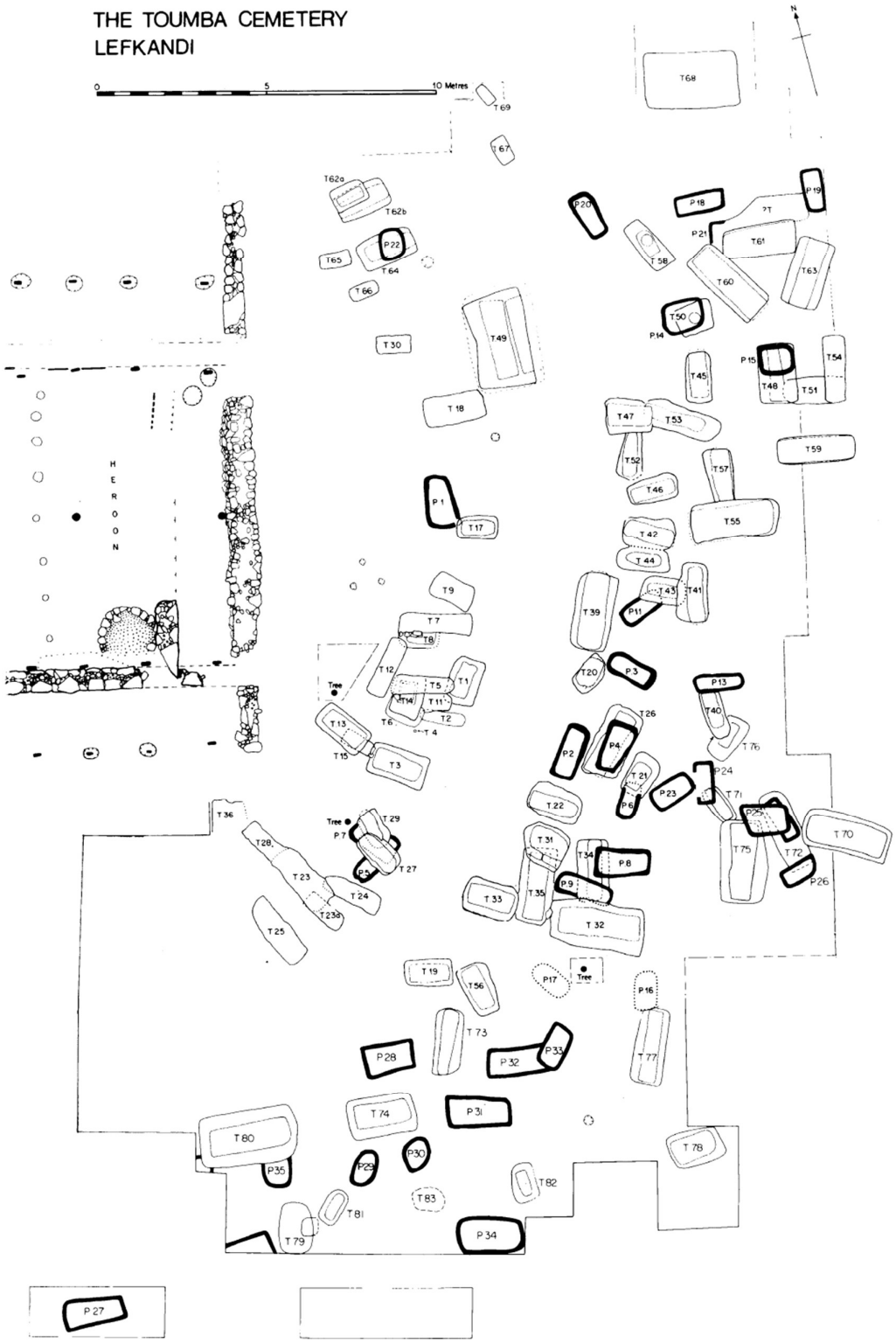

Figure 12. Plan of the excavated tombs and pyres at Toumba cemetery. *Popham & Lemos 1996, plate 3*.

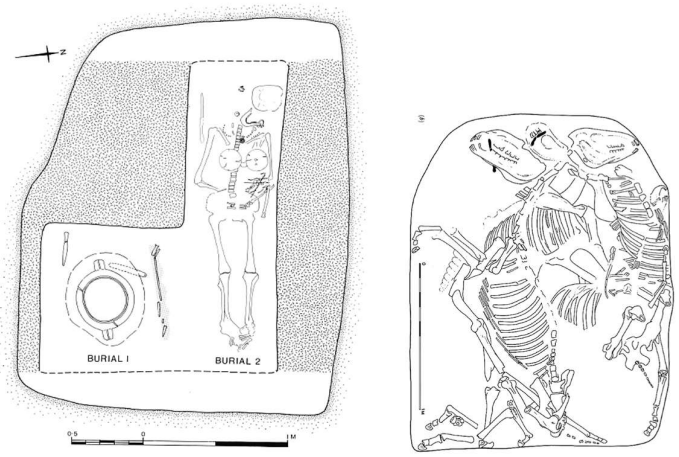

Figure 13. Burials of under the Toumba mound. On the left is the burial tomb which contains the inhumated corpse of a woman and the krater with the cremated remains of the "hero". On the right, the four skeletons of horses sacrificed alongside the dead. *Popham et al., 1993, 119-128.*

Figure 14. Lefkandi and Limanaki beach seen from the western side of Xeropolis. *Made by the author*.

Figure 15. Eastern beach and the east promontory viewed from Xeropolis. *Made by the author*.

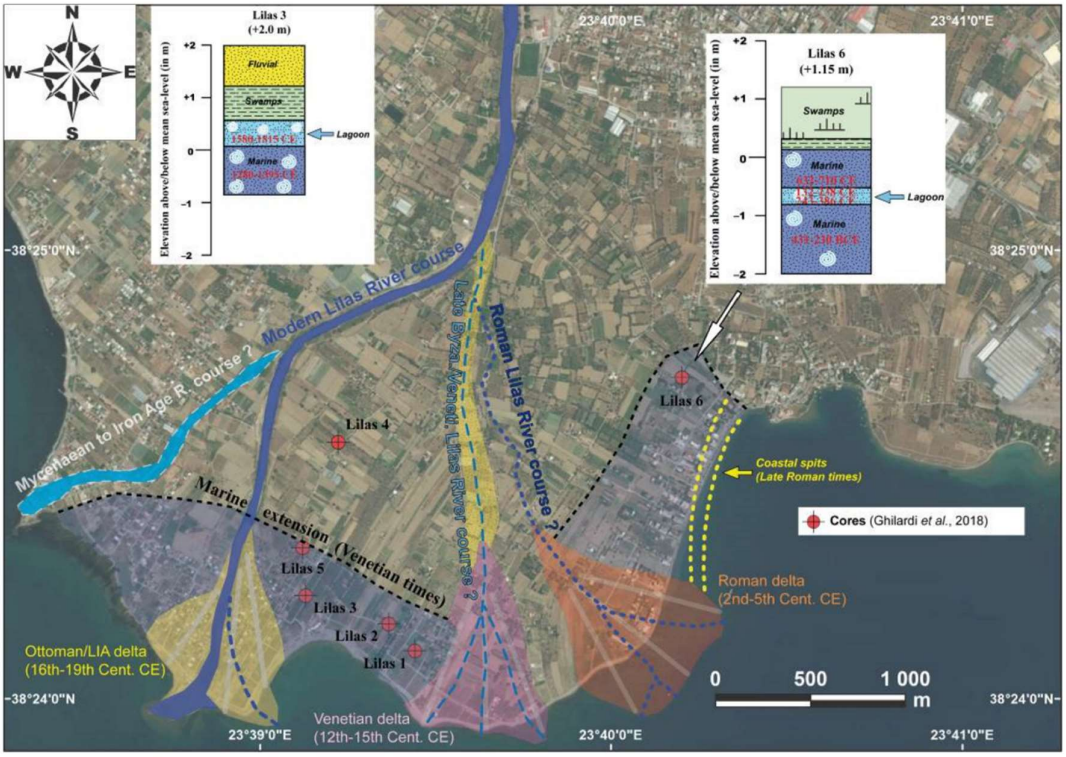

Figure 16. *Paleogeographical reconstructions of the Lilas river delta. Ghilardi et al. 2022, fig. 11.*

Figure 17. Topographic map of Lefkandi showcasing the PG pathways suggested for the area. *Made by the author*.

Figure 18. Old photograph taken of the hill of Xeropolis from the seaside of Lefkandi. *Sackett & Popham 1972, 10*.

Figure 19. View of the opposite hill and the north of central Euboea from the top of Xeropolis. *Made by the author*.

Figure 20. Lefkandi and Xeropolis seen from the opposite coast of the southern Euboean Gulf (Avlidas beach). *Made by the author.*

Figure 21. Photograph of the southern Euboean Gulf and the coast of Boeotia viewed form the hill of Lefkandi, slightly obscured by the modern buildings. *Made by the author*.

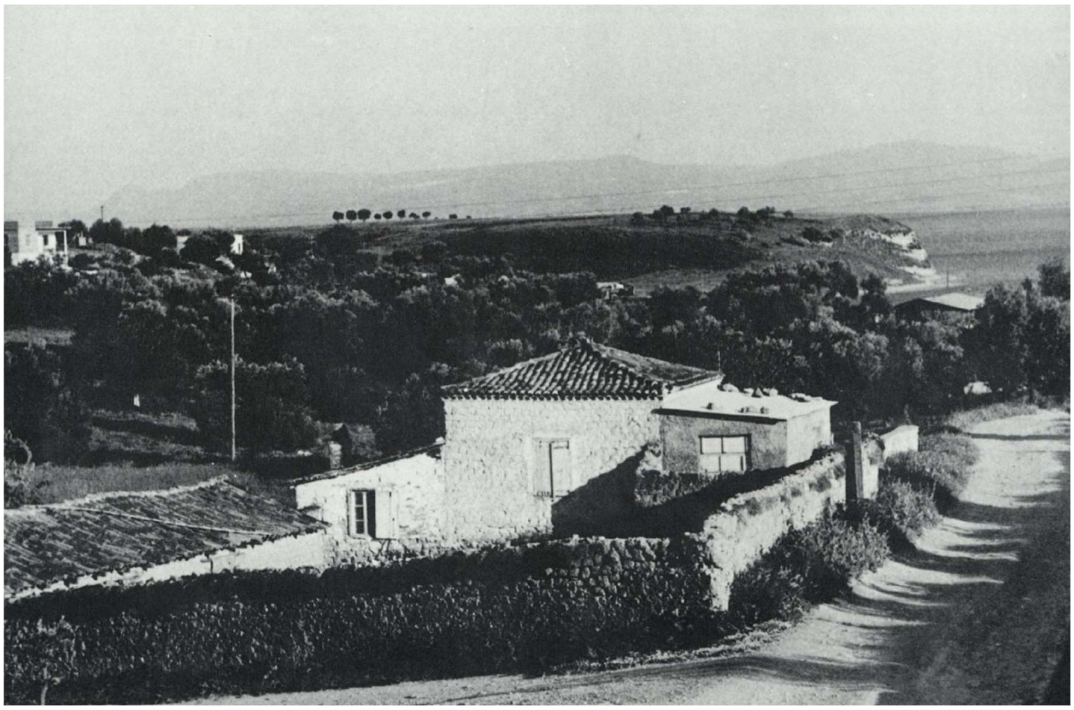

Figure 22. Old photograph taken from Aggeletou street, near A. Khaliotis fields. The small "valley" filled with trees and Xeropolis can be identified in the photo. *Sackett & Popham, 12*.

Figure 23. Topographic map of Lefkandi showcasing the pathways and areas that made up the PG landscape. *Made by the author*.