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FROM POLIS TO COLONIA

Death, Burial, and Society in Hellenistic and Roman Patras

T.M. Dijkstra

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university of
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From Polis to Colonia

Death, Burial, and Society in Hellenistic and Roman Patras

PhD thesis

to obtain the degree of PhD at the
University of Groningen
on the authority of the
Rector Magnificus Prof. C. Wijmenga
and in accordance with
the decision by the College of Deans.

This thesis will be defended in public on

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Contents

List of Figures	v
List of Tables	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction	1
1. Expanding Empires and Local Cultures: Theoretical Considerations and Approach	4
1.1 Culture contact and cultural change.....	4
1.1.1 From Romanization to identity	4
1.1.2 Identity and agency.....	6
1.1.3 Imperialism, globalization, or both?.....	8
1.1.4 Globalization's cultural consequences	9
1.1.5 Agents of change	11
1.2 Death and identity	11
1.2.1 Archaeology of death.....	11
1.2.2 Social structure and identity in death.....	11
1.2.3 Death as an opportunity	13
1.2.4 Dealing with the dead in a changing world.....	13
1.3 The case study: Patras	14
1.3.1 Location of the site	14
1.3.2 A community in constant flux.....	15
1.4 Approaching society and culture in Hellenistic and Roman Patras	16
2. Death and Social Change in Patras: Data and Methodology	18
2.1 The burial of Digna	18
2.2 Death and burial in the ancient world	19
2.3 Death and burial in Patras	21
2.3.1 The main publications	21
2.3.2 The state of research	22
2.3.3 Research aims.....	25
2.4 The data.....	25
2.4.1 Legacy data	25
2.4.2 Limitations and caveats	26
2.5 Methodology	30
2.5.1 Data collection and organization	30
2.5.2 Data analysis and design of the thesis	34
3. Patras in the Classical and Early Hellenistic Era: A Community in the Shadow of Macedon	36
3.1 Introduction	36
3.2 The data and their distribution	38
3.3 Grave architecture.....	40
3.4 Garments and ornaments.....	41
3.4.1 Dressing the dead	41
3.4.2 Adorning the dead	43
3.4.3 The origins of the new adornment practices.....	43

3.4.4 Adornment and identity	45
3.5 Grave provisions	46
3.5.1 Grave goods: types	46
3.5.2 Depositional patterns.....	46
3.5.3 Grave goods, culture, identity	47
3.6 Tombstones and epitaphs	48
3.7 Classical-Early Hellenistic Patras: death, identity, society	50
4. Patras and the Coming of Rome: From ‘Unspeakable Disasters’ to a Thriving Polis	53
4.1 Introduction	53
4.2 A history of Hellenistic Patras.....	53
4.2.1 The 3rd century BCE	53
4.2.2 Rome and the Achaian League	54
4.2.3 Patras in the 2nd century BCE	55
4.2.4 Hellenistic Patras: the questions.....	57
4.3 The data and their distribution	57
4.4 Graves and treatment of the body	59
4.4.1 Inhumation graves	59
4.4.2 Cremation and secondary burial.....	60
4.4.3 Disposal of the dead: continuity and change	62
4.5 The introduction of tomb architecture.....	63
4.6 Marking the burial site	64
4.6.1 Tombstones	64
4.6.2 Epitaphs	64
4.6.3 Tombstones and identity.....	67
4.7 Burial assemblages: data and patterns	68
4.8 Dressing and adorning the dead	71
4.8.1 Burials with few ornaments.....	71
4.8.2 Burials with gold wreaths.....	71
4.8.3 Burials with funerary jewellery	73
4.8.4 Decking the dead in gold: discussion	75
4.9 Grave goods	77
4.9.1 Shifting priorities.....	78
4.9.2 Burials furnished with silver objects	79
4.9.3 Simple grave goods	80
4.9.4 Grave goods, wealth, and status	81
4.9.5 Grave goods and gender	81
4.10 The emergence of a stratified society	82
5. Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis: The Social Consequences of Colonization	86
5.1 Introduction	86
5.2 Patras in the 1st centuries BCE and CE	87
5.3 The evidence and its spatial distribution	91
5.4 Tomb architecture.....	93
5.4.1 The data: a caveat	93
5.4.2 Early monumental tombs.....	94
5.4.3 Columbaria	100
5.4.4 Masonry house and peribolos tombs.....	106
5.4.5 Conspicuous tombs of the Early Roman era	110
5.4.6 The mausoleum of the Aequani.....	114
5.4.7 A cenotaph?	118
5.4.8 Tomb architecture: observations	119

5.5 Late Hellenistic-Early Roman depositions.....	120
5.5.1 The data.....	120
5.5.2 Inhumation graves	121
5.5.3 Cremations.....	121
5.5.4 Simple depositions: observations.....	124
5.6 Burial assemblages.....	124
5.6.1 The data.....	124
5.6.2 Ornaments	128
5.6.3 Grave goods	129
5.6.4 Grave goods, identity, and connectivity	132
5.7 Tombstones and epitaphs	133
5.7.1 The larger patterns	133
5.7.2 Tombstones	133
5.7.3 Epitaphs	136
5.8 The social consequences of colonization.....	138
6. Roman Patras: A Cosmopolitan Colonial Community	143
6.1 Introduction	143
6.2 Patras in the imperial period	144
6.3 The archaeological evidence.....	147
6.4 Tomb architecture.....	152
6.4.1 The basic data.....	152
6.4.2 The organization of the cemeteries	152
6.4.3 Tomb types	156
6.4.4 New choices in building for the dead.....	160
6.5 Depositions of the Roman era	163
6.5.1 Spatial distribution	163
6.5.2 Grave types and treatment of the body.....	163
6.5.3 Single, double, and communal burial.....	166
6.6 Burial assemblages.....	168
6.6.1 Corpse adornment: turning to simplicity.....	168
6.6.2 Grave goods	170
6.6.3 Burial assemblages: observations	176
6.7 Inscribing identity in Roman Patras.....	176
6.7.1 The basic data.....	176
6.7.2 Epitaphs and identity	178
6.7.3 Epitaphs and society: observations	192
6.8 Cemetery and society in Roman Patras	193
7. Patras in Late Roman-Early Christian Times: The End of an Era.....	197
7.1 Introduction	197
7.2 Late Roman and Early Christian Patras	197
7.3 The data and their distribution	198
7.4 Placing the dead.....	200
7.4.1 The reuse of Roman tombs and graves	200
7.4.2 Burial among Roman ruins.....	200
7.4.3 New tombs and new cemeteries	203
7.4.4 Grave types and mortuary treatment	204
7.4.5 Observations	205
7.5 Burial assemblages.....	206
7.5.1 Adornment of the corpse.....	206
7.5.2 Grave goods	206

7.5.3. Grave goods and identity.....	208
7.5.4 Observations	208
7.6 Tombstones and epitaphs	210
7.7 Death and burial in the 4th-6th century	210
8. From Polis to Colonia: A Social Analysis of Death Practices	212
8.1 Death and burial in a changing world.....	212
8.2 The space of the dead.....	213
8.2.1 The development of the mortuary locale.....	213
8.2.2 The organization of the mortuary locale.....	215
8.2.3 The spatial segregation of social groups	216
8.2.4 Death and space.....	217
8.3 Dressing and adorning the dead	218
8.3.1 Funerary garments and shrouds.....	218
8.3.2 Wreaths, jewellery, and ostentation.....	219
8.3.3 Adornment and identity	220
8.4 The provision of grave goods	221
8.4.1 Types of grave goods.....	221
8.4.2 Quantity, value, and provenance.....	223
8.4.3 Grave goods and identity.....	224
8.4.4 Grave goods, rituals, and afterlife beliefs	225
8.4.6 Grave goods and society	227
8.5 Tomb variability and social diversity	227
8.5.1 Burials of Classical and Hellenistic times.....	227
8.5.2 Disposing of the dead in Early Roman times.....	229
8.5.3 Disposing of the dead in the Roman era.....	230
8.5.4 Burial in Late Roman-Early Christian times	231
8.5.5 Tombs, graves, and society.....	231
8.6 In summary.....	232
Summary.....	234
Samenvatting	237
Περίληψη	240
Appendix A Literary Sources	244
Appendix B Epigraphic Testimonia.....	253
Appendix C The Ferryman's Fee.....	259
Catalogue A Burial Sites	263
Catalogue B Funerary Architecture.....	347
Catalogue C Graves.....	398
Catalogue D Burial Markers and Epitaphs	449
Bibliography.....	503

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	The location of Patras and the landscape of the Northwest Peloponnese	15
Figure 2.1	The selected burial sites and their spatial distribution	27
Figure 2.2	Graves: weighted estimation of their distribution through time	33
Figure 3.1	Distribution of the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic burial sites	39
Figure 3.2	Classical-Early Hellenistic grave types	40
Figure 3.3	The skull of the young girl buried in grave G215.2	44
Figure 3.4	Late Classical-Early Hellenistic grave assemblages: categories	46
Figure 3.5	The tombstones for Timarchis and Euphanes	50
Figure 4.1	Distribution of the Hellenistic burial sites	58
Figure 4.2	Hellenistic grave types	59
Figure 4.3	Burial Site 18: Agion Saranta 13. Plan of the excavation	61
Figure 4.4	Burial Site 236: Solomou 53. Plan of the excavation (Hellenistic phase)	63
Figure 4.5	Limestone cist grave G12.3	74
Figure 4.6	The source material of the objects in the Hellenistic grave assemblages	76
Figure 4.7	Hellenistic grave assemblages: categories	78
Figure 5.1	Bronze coin from Patras depicting Cleopatra (32-31 BCE)	88
Figure 5.2	Bronze coin from Patras depicting the standards of <i>Legio X</i> and <i>XII</i> (41-54 CE)	89
Figure 5.3	Distribution of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman burial sites	92
Figure 5.4	Distribution of burial sites, tombs, and burials per cemetery	93
Figure 5.5	Burial Site 101: Kanakari 90-92. Plan of the excavation	95
Figure 5.6	Burial Site 99: Kanakari 80-82. Top view of tombs T99C-E	96
Figure 5.7	Burial Site 146: Korinthou 221-223. Plan of the excavation	97
Figure 5.8	Burial Site 29: Amerikis and Thermopylon. Plan of columbarium T29.B	102
Figure 5.9.	An example of a plastered monumental tomb in Pompeii	102
Figure 5.10	Burial Site 54: Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28. Plan of the excavation	103
Figure 5.11	Burial Site 54: Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28. Columbarium T54.B	104
Figure 5.12	Burial Site 176: Mikinon 6. Columbarium T176.A	104
Figure 5.13	Burial Site 103: Kanakari 121. Plan of peribolos T103.B	106
Figure 5.14	Burial Site 65: Ermou 85-87. Plan of the excavation	108
Figure 5.15	Portraits of Pavia and Marcia Maxima (Augustan period)	109
Figure 5.16	Burial Site 116: Karaïskaki 136. Plan of the excavation	110
Figure 5.17	Burial Site 80: Gerokostopoulou 31. Photograph of the excavation	112
Figure 5.18	Burial Site 107: Kanakari 133. Top plan of tomb T107.A	112
Figure 5.19	Burial Site 64: Ermou 80-82. Plan of the excavation	113
Figure 5.20	Burial Site 64: Ermou 80-82. The mausoleum of the Aequani	114
Figure 5.21	Mortuary treatment in the tombs of the 1st centuries BCE and CE	119
Figure 5.22	Depositions of the 1st centuries BCE and CE: types of graves and receptacles	120
Figure 5.23	Mortuary treatment in the graves of the 1st centuries BCE and CE	121
Figure 5.24	Mortuary treatment in the graves and tombs of the 1st centuries BCE and CE	124
Figure 5.25	Furnished burials: distribution per burial location	125
Figure 5.26	Furnished burials: treatment of the human remains	125
Figure 5.27	Material of the artefacts in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman grave assemblages	129
Figure 5.28	Late Hellenistic-Early Roman grave assemblages: categories	130
Figure 5.29	Approximation of the number of tombstones per century	135
Figure 5.30	The ratio between the number of depositions and tombstones through time	135

Figure 5.31	The ratio between Greek and Latin epitaphs per century.....	135
Figure 5.32	The number of depositions in Patras through time.....	139
Figure 5.33	The number of depositions per cemetery through time.....	139
Figure 5.34	The ratio between inhumations and cremations through time.....	140
Figure 6.1	Schematic plan of Roman Patras and four of its main zones.....	145
Figure 6.2a	Distribution of Roman burial sites.....	148
Figure 6.2b	Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: North Cemetery).....	149
Figure 6.2c	Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: South Cemetery).....	150
Figure 6.2d	Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: East Cemetery).....	151
Figure 6.3	Tombs of the Roman period: number per burial location.....	152
Figure 6.4	Funerary architecture: number of tombs per period.....	153
Figure 6.5	Burial Site 80: Gerokostopoulou 31. Plan of the excavation.....	154
Figure 6.6	Burial Sites 103 and 105: Top plan of the excavations.....	155
Figure 6.7	Burial Site 206: Petmeza 3. Top plan of house tomb T206.A.....	156
Figure 6.8	Burial Site 79: Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141. Top plan of tombs T79.B-C.....	157
Figure 6.9	Burial Site 119: Katerinis 14-16, Konstantinoupoleos 75. Plan of the excavation.....	159
Figure 6.10	Mortuary treatment in the tombs of the Roman era.....	160
Figure 6.11	The Isola Sacra Necropolis of Portus.....	162
Figure 6.12	Graves of the Roman period: types.....	164
Figure 6.13	Burial Site 254: Vasiliadou 9. Plan of the excavation and brick-built cist G254.25.....	165
Figure 6.14	Number of individuals buried in the Roman inhumation graves of Patras.....	166
Figure 6.15	Roman grave assemblages: the main functional categories.....	175
Figure 6.16	The number and material of ornaments through time.....	177
Figure 6.17	The material of artefacts in the grave assemblages through time.....	177
Figure 6.18	The gender of the named individuals on Roman tombstones.....	178
Figure 6.19	The age of the deceased as recorded on the Roman tombstones of Patras.....	179
Figure 6.20	The tombstone of a gladiator who fought 22 battles (BM71).....	191
Figure 6.21	Tombstone of the gladiator Trypheros, erected by his son Alexandros (BM78).....	191
Figure 7.1	Distribution of Late Roman-Early Christian burial sites.....	199
Figure 7.2	Distribution of Late Roman-Early Christian mortuary remains per burial location.....	200
Figure 7.3	Burial Site 186: Panachaïkou 4-8. Plan of the excavation.....	201
Figure 7.4	Burial Site 179: Nikita 60-66. Photograph of the excavation.....	202
Figure 7.5	Burial Site 171: Mesologgiou 9. Plan of the excavation.....	203
Figure 7.6	Burial Site 208: Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 28. Plan of the excavation.....	204
Figure 7.7	Graves of the 4th-6th centuries CE: types.....	205
Figure 7.8	Late Roman-Early Christian grave assemblages: functional categories.....	206
Figure B.1	Epigraphic testimonia on Patras pre 146 BCE: distribution map.....	254
Figure B.2	Epigraphic testimonia on Patras after 146 BCE: distribution map.....	256
Figure C.1	Grave assemblages with and without a coin/danake per period.....	260
Figure C.2	The ratio between graves with 1, 2, or 3 or more coins per period.....	260
Figure C.3	The ratio between coins/danakes of different materials per period.....	261

List of Tables

Table 2.1	The amount of mortuary data per period.....	34
Table 3.1	Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Classical-Early Hellenistic era.....	42
Table 3.2	Grave goods of the Classical-Early Hellenistic period: types and frequency.....	43
Table 3.3	Tombstones of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period.....	49
Table 4.1	Tombstones of the Hellenistic period.....	65
Table 4.2	Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Hellenistic era.....	69
Table 4.3	Grave assemblages of the Hellenistic era: types and frequency.....	77
Table 5.1	The Patraean columbaria and their basic characteristics.....	101
Table 5.2	Furnished and/or adorned burials of the 1st centuries BCE and CE.....	126
Table 5.3	Grave assemblages of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman era.....	128
Table 5.4	Tombstones of the Early Roman period.....	134
Table 5.5	Tombstones: types and their popularity per period.....	135
Table 5.6	Tombstones: source material per period.....	135
Table 6.1	Roman graves with evidence for the adornment of the dead.....	169
Table 6.2	Garments, wreaths, and jewellery: number and material per period.....	170
Table 6.3.	Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Roman period.....	171
Table 6.4	Grave assemblages of the Roman era: Artefact types and their frequency.....	174
Table 6.5	Epitaphs of the Roman period.....	180
Table 7.1	Furnished graves of the Late Roman-Early Christian period.....	207
Table 7.2.	Grave assemblages of the late Roman-early Christian era: types and frequency.....	208
Table 7.3	Tombstones and epitaphs of the Late Roman and Early Christian period.....	209

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‘οὐδέν τῶν μεγάλων ἄφνω γίνεται’
no great thing is created suddenly
Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 1.15

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Introduction

How do people deal with the loss of their political autonomy, and how do they negotiate their position in a globalizing world? Although this may sound like a modern dilemma, these questions were also of crucial importance in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when the city states of Greece were gradually relegated to a marginal position in a new global order. The Greek poleis first became subjugated to the Macedonians, then got caught in the wars between Hellenistic kingdoms, and subsequently fell victim to the encroaching Roman power. When Greece was incorporated into the Roman Empire as the province of Achaëa, the poleis not only lost their political independence, but the Greeks were also forced to rethink who they were, and what their place in the world of Rome was and could be. While some cities and towns never fully recovered from this turmoil, for others the contrary was true: far from falling to obscurity, Greek cities such as Athens, Corinth, Messene, and Patras became bustling centres of the Roman Empire. The latter city, Patras, is the subject of this thesis.

The question that underlies this study is if and how the rise and demise of the Macedonian and Roman empires affected the society and culture of Patras. Over the course of the Hellenistic and Roman periods Patras was subjugated to external political powers, was incorporated into growing networks of contact and exchange, and its population was continuously confronted with foreign cultures, habits, and materials due to the increased connectivity of the time. This thesis aims to identify whether or not these processes had consequences on the local community and its cultural identity, and if so, what these consequences were.

These questions are not new. Debates about social and cultural change in the Hellenistic world and the Roman provinces have dominated archaeological research for more than a century and consequently there is a wealth of theoretical and methodological discussion on how best to tackle the issue. The debate has made it clear

that the traditional view of cultural change as a uniform process towards cultural convergence - with the imperial power as its singular driving force - can no longer be held. Recent theories of globalization and glocalization form a useful conceptual framework for understanding that various forces were at play - be they political, economic, social, and/or cultural - and that imperial pressures and globalizing processes are inextricably linked to the actions of individuals in local communities. It is now recognized that local communities and individuals had an active role in their integration in the ancient empires; they had a choice in how to deal with foreign rule. Responses to empire could - and indeed did, so proves the extant archaeological and epigraphic record - vary not only from region to region, but also on a local, group or individual level. Therefore, it is necessary to study processes of socio-cultural change on a small scale, to analyse them in their local context, and to be attentive to minor variations. Such context-specific analyses, focused on the quotidian actions and experiences of communities and individuals, are instrumental in understanding how the expansionist developments of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were felt and dealt with on a local level.

This study should be placed in this intellectual tradition. It is a site-specific, holistic, contextual analysis that takes one polis as its case study, and that explores social and cultural change by tracing transformations in the way people dealt with their dead. This approach is based on the conviction that individual agency is best sought in the burial record, because funerary ritual and commemorative practices take place on the boundary between public and private life, and are used in conscious and unconscious acts of self-definition and self-representation. Tradition and innovations in the mortuary record are, therefore, highly informative about the minds of the people of the past; they inform us about changing social hierarchies, civic identities, cultural orientations, as well as communal values, beliefs, and ideologies. In addition - and perhaps

most importantly - mortuary practices can be examined across the social body, allowing us to see past the dominant (male) elite perspective; a study of burials brings the wider population into view, and includes families and individuals, men, women, and children, from the city and from the countryside, be they rich or poor. The aspects of mortuary practices that are included in the analysis are the funerary landscape, tomb and grave architecture, tombstones and epitaphs, the dress and jewels worn by the dead, the grave goods that they were provided with, and the human remains and the way they were treated. In order to identify continuity and change through time, local mortuary practices are studied from the 5th century BCE to the 5th century CE.

This study, therefore, aims to do two things: 1) to offer a thorough reconstruction of mortuary behaviour in Patras, and b) to show that evidence from burials, when it is contextualized and interpreted within the local and global historical framework, allows us to come closer to reconstructing and understanding the continuous process of reconfiguration that the Patraean community underwent.

The analysis is structured in a diachronic manner, but the first two chapters serve to introduce the topic, approach, and data in more detail.

Chapter 1 seeks to contextualize the thesis and its theoretical point of departure within the historical debate on cultural change in expansionist contexts (i.e. Hellenization, Romanization, and ancient globalization), to explain why the use of mortuary evidence provides a unique insight into ancient communities, and to explain why Patras was selected as the thesis' case study.

In Chapter 2 the methodology of the research is outlined and the available archaeological and epigraphic funerary data are presented. The chapter sets out the current state of research on Patraean mortuary practices and poses the questions that guide the analysis. It describes the *legacy data* that form the basis for the analysis, discusses the potential and limitations of working with such *legacy data*, sets out the criteria for data selection, methods of data organization, and discusses the methods of analysis. The analysis, then, is presented in five chapters. Each of the chapters covers a period of roughly two centuries. Chapter 3 deals with Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras (ca. 450-275 BCE) and discusses mortuary behaviour from the emer-

gence of the polis and in the world of Macedon, Chapter 4 discusses the Hellenistic era (ca. 275-75 BCE) and deals with the period in which Patras was a member of the powerful Achaian League and Rome was rising to power in the Mediterranean. Chapter 5 deals with the period of ca. 75 BCE-100 CE, when Patras witnessed its dramatic transformation from a Greek *polis* into a Roman *colonia*, and Chapter 6 presents the material from Patras' Roman history (ca. 100-300 CE). Chapter 7 contains a brief discussion of the period during which Christianity started to affect and reshape the culture and society of the Greek world (post-300 CE).

In order to contextualize the analyses of mortuary behaviour, each of these five chapters starts with a brief overview of the local and regional history as it can be reconstructed from literary, documentary, numismatic, and archaeological sources. Since the number and type of sources vary widely per period, these overviews all take a somewhat different form, but nonetheless form important starting points for analyses of mortuary behaviour. After the historical framework is sketched, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the cemeteries is systematically presented and analysed, and patterns and deviations in the way that Patraeans dealt with their dead are reconstructed. Each chapter ends with an exploration of the evidence from burials in relation to the historical developments in order to see what mortuary behaviour can tell us about the local community of the time, its culture, and its identity.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main observations of the period-specific analyses and discusses developments in the mortuary record from a diachronic perspective. By tying the evidence together, this chapter attempts to shed new light on how the community of Patras developed over time, how social hierarchies were determined and renegotiated, and how communal and personal identities were shaped and reshaped in the context of imperialism and globalization.

The data that are at the heart of this study are organized in four catalogues. Catalogue A lists the burial sites that were selected for this study and provides a brief discussion of the available information for each of these, with bibliography. Catalogues B and C list the tombs and graves in standardized and tabulated form, and Catalogue D lists the primary data about tombstones and

epitaphs, with limited references. Selections of literary sources and epigraphic testimonia about Patras' history are presented in Appendices A

and B; Appendix C contains a diachronic analysis of coin provision in the burials of Patras.

1. Expanding Empires and Local Cultures

theoretical considerations and approach

1.1 Culture contact and cultural change¹

1.1.1 From Romanization to identity

The earliest theoretical approaches to cultural change in the ancient world were formulated in the early 20th century, when British historian and archaeologist Haverfield developed the concept of Romanization in order to explain the presence of Roman cultural traits in the western Roman provinces.² In its original definition, Romanization referred to the process whereby the Roman Empire provided the provinces with a civilization by replacing indigenous cultural traits with those of the dominating power. Or, in Haverfield's own words:

'It has been said that Greece taught men to be human and Rome made mankind civilized. That was the work of the Empire; the form it took was Romanization.'³

This notion of granting civilization to the 'uncivilized' reflected the sentiments of Rome itself as formulated in classical Latin literature. Pliny, for instance, described Rome and her empire as divinely sanctioned with a mission to civilize the barbarians:

'I am well aware that I may with justice be considered ungrateful and lazy if I describe

in this casual and cursory manner a land [sc. Italy] which is at once the nursling and the mother of all other lands, chosen by the providence of the gods to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to soften their customs, to bring together the harsh and coarse tongues of so many nations into contact by community of language, to give mankind civilization, and in a word, to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all peoples.'⁴

In its essence, Romanization was thus seen as an imperial duty, and its goal was the complete replacement of the Empire's barbaric cultures with a uniform and civilized (Roman) culture. Not surprisingly, this view found fertile ground in the imperialist and colonialist milieu of the early twentieth century, when many of the western countries had colonies in other continents and sent missionaries across the globe to spread Christianity and other forms of Western civilization to the so-called less fortunate regions of the world.⁵ Although the debate has mostly revolved around Romanization, the concept of Hellenization has been used in a similar fashion to describe events during the Hellenistic period, when the Macedonian kings brought Greek culture to the far ends of the then known world. The agent behind these civilizing processes was the ruling power, and it was implicitly assumed that the local population passively and even gratefully accepted the newly introduced culture, and that they changed their ways accordingly. With the coming of Greece and Rome local cultures were transformed and they were thought to have *become* Greek (Hellenized), or Roman (Romanized).

¹ The bibliography on this topic is exhaustive, and it is worth referring to the following useful summaries of the Romanization debate (with references) and/or important critiques: e.g. Hingley 1996, 2003; Freeman 1997; Barrett 1997; Forcey 1997; Woolf 1998, 1-23; Webster 2001; Mattingly 2004. See also the relatively recent article on the theoretical debate by Gardner (2013), as well as the 2014 issue of *Archaeological Dialogues* in which some of the main proponents in these theoretical discussions offer a recapitulation of the debate and deliberate on new ways of moving forward, on which more below (e.g. Versluys 2014; Hingley 2014; Hodos 2014; Stek 2014; van Dommelen 2014; Woolf 2014).

² Haverfield 1912 [1905]: The Romanization of Roman Britain.

³ Haverfield 1912 [1905], 11.

⁴ Plin., NH 3.39, transl. Isaac 2004, 169. Cf. Woolf 1994; 1997, 339.

⁵ Cf. Hingley 1996; Freeman 1997.

Despite some early criticisms of the concept⁶, the colonialist model of cultural contact dominated studies of cultural change and went unchallenged for a long time. Over time, however, it has undergone radical questioning. The first of the so-called postcolonial critiques were fuelled by shifting attitudes towards imperialism and colonialism; unsympathetic views of imperialist actions and interventions led to the abandonment of the assumption that the dominant culture was inherently superior, always welcome, and happily taken on by indigenous populations.⁷ Moreover, it was recognized that the Romanization-model had a major weakness in that it greatly oversimplified the process by which cultural change took place. The Romanization-model was based on a strict dichotomy between Roman and local, it saw the process of cultural change as a teleological one (the end goal of which was to be fully Romanized), and it seemed to assume that the process was of an undifferentiated nature (i.e. the mechanisms behind cultural change were the same everywhere).

Postcolonial theoretical debates led to the realization that processes of cultural change could not be explained simply as the replacement of an inferior culture with a dominant other, and scholars made significant progress in the study of social and cultural change in the ancient world.⁸

⁶ Collingwood (1932, 92) argued against a simplified dichotomy of Roman and local culture and instead posed that the culture of Roman Britain was syncretistic: 'The civilization that we have found existing in even the most Romanized parts of Britain is by no means a pure, or even approximately pure, Roman civilization bodily taken over by the conquered race. What we have found is a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements. In a sense it might be said that the civilization of Roman Britain is neither Roman nor British, but Romano-British, a fusion of the two things into a single thing different from either.' Redfield and his associates took a similar stance, but preferred a theory of acculturation in which 'groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups' (Redfield et al. 1936, quoted in Hall 2012, 363).

⁷ As seen in nativist theories of resistance (cf. Reece 1988), and in theories that saw acculturation as a tactical move whereby the subject people would take on characteristics of the dominator in public, but adhered to local customs in private (cf. Forcey 1997).

⁸ Influential work includes Brandt and Slofstra 1983; Blagg and Millett 1990; Wood and Queiroga 1992; Woolf 1994; 1997; 1998; Webster and Cooper 1996; Hingley 1996; 1997; Mattingly 1997. Millett's *The Romanization of Britain*. An essay in archaeological interpretation (1990) should be singled out as the first to propose a model for the mechanisms of Romanization. He described Romanization as a native-led process of adoption and adaptation of the symbols of Romanitas. The process was initiated by the provincial elite, who emulated the Roman way as a strategy to streng-

One of the most important contentions of these critiques was that subject communities, too, had the power to play an active role in their integration into the Empire. Indigenous or local populations were active participants in processes of change, because they had a choice in how to deal with and respond to cultural confrontations and imperialist pressures. Such responses could range anywhere from active resistance by the wider community to elite-led strategic adoption, or to practical adaptation. The recognition that cultural change could - and indeed did - vary among regions and cities, led to a proliferation of region- and site-specific analyses, and inspired the development of such models as creolization⁹ and hybridization¹⁰ that regard cultural change

then their social position. Over time, Romanization would trickle down to the native populace: a self-generating process of progressive emulation (1990, 38). The central and important contribution of Millett's thesis was that Romanization might not have been a deliberate state policy. In Millett's view Rome was not the driving force behind cultural change, but the local elites were. Millett's model was a crucial contribution to the debate on the nature of cultural change within the provinces, but it has been criticised on two main accounts. First, because it perpetuates many problems of the imperialist/colonialist model of change, including the opposition between Roman and native, the idea that Roman influence was always welcome, the focus on the elite, and the assumption that the masses will always follow the example of the elites. Secondly, it downplays the unequal relation between the imperial authorities and the conquered peoples: it makes Rome seem less powerful than it actually was (cf. Hingley 2005, 40-46; Mattingly 2006, 13-16).

⁹ Creolization, a concept derived from linguistics, was introduced to the field of archaeology by Webster (2001). The concept refers to 'the processes of multicultural adjustment through which [new, mixed] societies were created' (Webster 2001, 217). Creolization of material culture means that, rather than gradually replacing one culture with another, a blending of both arises. The creolization model focused on artefacts from daily use. Contrary to older approaches (e.g. Millett 1990, see above), which focused on products of the state or the elite (texts, public architecture, burial monuments) and provided a top-down perspective on cultural change, creolization allowed for a bottom-up approach, in which the agency of the lower classes could be taken into account. From an archaeological point of view, the most interesting point that Webster made is that artefacts could be actively used in a dialogue with the ruling power, because they could be instrumental in acts of resistance, negotiation or adaptation, all in order to serve indigenous agendas. Another strength of the model was that it recognized that cultural change can occur at varying speeds at different points in time, and that empires had variable impact across regions and social groups: empires did not affect every region, every city and every individual in the same way.

¹⁰ Cf. Hall 2012, 363. Hybridity or hybridization has also been regularly employed in the archaeology of the Hellenistic and Roman world. Hybridity, just as creolization, refers to the creation of new 'transcultural forms' arising in colonial situations where the local community adopts and adapts ideas of the colonizer. The result is a hybrid culture, distinct from the cultural traditions of the original social groups involved in the colonial encounter (Hall 2012, 363).

as the result of a process of blending ingredients from two separate cultures into a new, unique culture.¹¹

Despite the significant developments in the debate - the move away from a top-down approach to cultural change towards models that recognize variation in space and through time and the role of local agency - some problems still remained. One of the most persistent issues was the tendency to view cultures as unitary and monolithic, which left little (if any) room for the recognition of variation between the actions of different communities, social groups, different families, or even individuals within such a culture.¹² In an attempt to bring back agency to individual actors, scholars have systematically applied the concept of identity in archaeological studies of cultural change.

Drawing upon postcolonial theories, identities are seen as locally variable and consequently case studies about Greek, Roman, provincial and local identities abound. Identity studies have appeared in such numbers, that some unease with the concept has risen, and it has been criticized as too vague and undertheorized. Its application, especially in studies of the Roman Empire, has been dubbed as merely fashionable, and as a relatively unproblematic 'way of transcending the tired issue of Romanization'.¹³ Despite a growing sense of adversity towards identity studies, in the analysis of cultural change that is the subject of this thesis, we simply cannot do away with identity, nor should we want to. The application of the concept of identity is simply fundamental

in studies of cultural change, because it brings both individuals and social groups into focus, and allows the identification of variation in their actions.¹⁴ Let me clarify this by explaining how identity is defined and understood in the present thesis.

1.1.2 Identity and agency

Following a definition by Hall, identity is here regarded as:

'[A] self-conceptualization, predicated on perceptions of similarity and difference, that conveys a distinctive sense of being to the subject. It is often, though not universally and not always in the same ways, recognized by others and in some cases it may even be an internalization of the perceptions of outsiders.'¹⁵

In other words, identity is comprised both of characteristics that people would use to describe themselves (self-representation) and of characteristics that are ascribed to these same people by others. While the chosen and ascribed characteristics can be the same, they certainly do not need to be.

It is imperative to differentiate between personal and social identity. While personal identity refers to a set of characteristics that is applicable to one person only, social identity refers to the membership of a social group. Social groups can consist of people with shared biological factors (e.g. sex, age), situational factors (e.g. place of birth and habitation), or behavioural factors (e.g. political or religious activities, occupation).¹⁶ An individual will always belong to multiple social groups; which groups these are depends on the circumstances that (s)he finds oneself in.

¹¹ Note that these ideas are not dissimilar to those proposed by Collingwood and Redfield decades earlier, see n.6 above.

¹² The conceptualization of cultures as geographically bounded, uniform entities is grounded in the culture-historical paradigm of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, when cultures were identified on the basis of distinctive patterns in material culture, produced by the reiteration of certain actions (cf. Hall 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 2012, 369). As cultures were assumed to be monolithic, people were thought to only be able to belong to a single culture (be it Egyptian, Greek, Roman, etc.). While models of creolization and hybridity do recognize the existence of mixed cultures and accept that cultures are dynamic and can change over time, they still seem to perpetuate the idea of bounded cultural entities: the models still rely on the identification of the creole or hybrid culture as yet another distinct, unitary cultural group. Therefore, it results in the problem of having a lack of recognition for the multiplicity of responses by different social groups and individual agents within societies.

¹³ Cf. Pitts 2007, 693; cf. Mairs 2010, 1. See Pitts 2007 in general for a relatively recent overview and critique of the application of the concept of identity as a central research theme in Roman archaeology. Mairs 2010 offers a review of the use of the concept in Hellenistic archaeology.

¹⁴ E.g. Mattingly 2006; 2009; 2011; Revell 2009.

¹⁵ Hall 2012: 351.

¹⁶ Specific dimensions of social identity that are deeply bound up with questions of large-scale processes of changing power relations - and which appear in this thesis with some frequency - are ethnicity, civic identity, and cultural identity. Ethnicity uses criteria in the form of common ancestry, kinship or descent (real or contrived) and territorial homeland to articulate its specific boundaries (cf. Antonaccio 2010). Civic identity is the degree to which people feel that they are citizens or part of a political system, whose laws, rules and rights have an influence of their daily lives (Bruter 2003, 1155). A cultural identity, on the other hand, is the perception that someone belongs to a group with shared habits, norms and values, be they moral, religious, philosophical, but may also lie in expressions of art, preferences in clothing, aesthetics or food (Bruter 2003, 1169). Cultural identity is not (necessarily) related to a political system someone is in, nor to the place where one lives or comes from.

Identity, therefore, is not static. Instead, it is multi-layered, fluid and situational, active and performative.¹⁷ Identity is created and maintained through social performances. These performances can be repeated again and again in the same way, but since people do not live in a vacuum these performances often have to be adapted when one's (personal, social, political, or economic) circumstances change. Given that such situational factors are in a constant state of flux - especially so in periods of intense intercultural contact - identity needs to be worked at continuously. Moreover, not all aspects of identity are equally important to any person at all times and in all circumstances, but these aspects tend to assume different degrees of significance in different contexts.¹⁸ Identity, thus, is an ongoing discourse that is carried out through the routines of everyday life.

If we understand identity in this way, then the concept retains its value and proves useful in helping to identify the actions of individual agents in processes of cultural change and to recognize variations between actions and responses. In short, the main strength of an identity-based approach is that it brings the agency of individuals and groups into focus, and that it allows us to disentangle the varying ways in which people adopted, adapted, or negotiated their culture in the context of expansionism.

One of the often cited risks of a focus on identity and individuality, however, is that by zooming too far into local specificities and particularities we lose sight of the global perspective, of the broader processes of change.¹⁹ As was just described, identity formation does not occur in a social vacuum; it is formed in a dialogue with the wider world and hence an informed consideration of the processes at play in the wider world is imperative in any study of cultural change. With this point in mind, the model labelled *discrepant identity* offered by Mattingly is particularly useful, especially for our current study of

a Greek *polis* turned Roman *colonia*.²⁰ In Mattingly's approach to cultural change the study of local and individual identities are counterbalanced by an examination of influences and constraints by political power structures. Mattingly distinguishes between 'imperial impacts on subjects through *intentional acts*, through *systemic aspects/effects* of the imperial system and *consequential behaviours* of imperial subjects'.²¹ He emphasizes that different subject people(s) will experience empire differently. Sociocultural behaviour and responses are heterogeneous, precisely because every group or individual will respond to imperializing forces in the way best befitting their own situation. The result is significant variability in patterns of communal and individual behaviour.²² What is advocated, therefore, is a multi-angled approach that includes global and local perspectives, both top-down and bottom-up, and takes the perspective of groups and individuals into account in order to identify and understand this variability. But since such holistic approaches are an inherently ambitious undertaking, it can only be done for one locality at a time.

Mattingly's multi-faceted approach informs the present study to a significant extent. However, it should be noted that it does seem to put a rather disproportionate focus on the negative aspects of empires. This view comes to the fore already in the definition of empire in Mattingly's introduction:

'An empire is the geopolitical manifestation of relationships of control imposed by a state on the sovereignty of others. Empires generally combine a core, often metropolitan-controlled territory, with peripheral territories and have multi-ethnic or multinational dimensions. Empire can thus be defined as rule over very wide territories and many peoples, largely without their consent.'²³

Although this definition is accurate in pointing out how the incorporation of territories and peoples within a single empire is deeply connected to unequal power relations (relationships of control), that entails interregional and cross-cultural interaction (core-periphery, multiple

¹⁷ Revell 2009, 9. See also Butler's book *Gender Trouble* (1999 [1990]), which is the seminal study on the performativity of identity. Butler analyses gender roles and gender identity, and states that it ultimately depends on the performance of repeated acts and experiences which adhere to a set of socially established meanings. These meanings have in themselves become legitimized over time through the reiteration of the acts. This process thus creates and maintains an identity.

¹⁸ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008 on the notion of code-switching.

¹⁹ Cf. Woolf 2003; Pitts 2007.

²⁰ Mattingly 2011, 216.

²¹ Mattingly 2011, 218 and table 8.1.

²² Cf. Mattingly 2004; 2006.

²³ Mattingly 2011, 6.

ethnicities), Mattingly adds that imperialism was mostly considered a hostile act (non-consenting subjects). Certainly, however (as is also argued later in Mattingly's book), it was not that simple, because the consequences of empire and the resulting opinions and actions varied widely over space and time. A more neutral framework is appropriate; this is offered by globalization-theory.

1.1.3 Imperialism, globalization, or both?

Globalization-theory was introduced to the study of the ancient world in order to offer scholars a more value-free and nuanced framework for approaching cultural change that, although it took place in an imperial context, was also deeply bound up with intercultural networks of contact.²⁴ The concept of globalization, broadly defined as a process of growing global consciousness and increasing worldwide connectivity²⁵, was initially developed to describe the rapidly developing and intensifying network of interconnections and interdependence between nations, corporations, and individuals on political, economic, and cultural levels that characterize the modern world.²⁶ The intensification of mobility

and contact accelerated at an exceptional pace because of technological developments in transportation (air travel) and telecommunication (internet). But in addition to such technological advances connectivity is also heavily dependent on political circumstances, general conditions of peace and security, and developments in infrastructure that by and large determine the possibilities for contact: when circumstances are optimal, interregional contacts and dependency are likely going to accelerate, while in times of distress these connections can be hampered or even severed.²⁷ Seen this way, globalization is not merely a modern phenomenon, but one that has occurred in waves of varying degrees of intensity throughout human history.

The Hellenistic and Roman periods witnessed one of these waves of globalization.²⁸ The application of globalization-theory to the ancient world is theoretically supported by the fact that the two main tiers of globalization, global consciousness and global connectivity, were both present in the past. That the first, a sentiment of global consciousness or the awareness of the world as a single entity, existed in Antiquity can be seen in expressions by proponents of the philosophical schools of thought in the ancient Greek world: Socrates, for example, identified himself as a citizen of the world²⁹ and Diogenes coined the term κοσμοπολίτης.³⁰ The idea of cosmopolitanism spread in the Hellenistic era and Greek social elites tended to increasingly regard themselves as being part of a Hellenic universe, in addition to being a citizen of a particular *polis*.³¹ That the second point, global connectivity, was valid for the ancient world, too, hardly needs demonstration.

Connectivity and interdependence between Mediterranean regions and regions and cities further afield intensified with the process of large-scale state formation that was first set in by Alexander the Great's conquests in the East, and was later continued by the expansionist Ro-

²⁴ The earliest studies of 'ancient globalization' were primarily concerned with trade and commerce: a pre-modern era or society would be labelled as globalizing based on the presence or importance of international trade relations (Nederveen Pieterse 2012). These studies include Ehret 1998; Hobson 2004; Manning 2005; Flynn and Giraldez 2006; Mair 1998; 2006; and Goody 2006; 2010. Hingley (2003; 2005) was the first to systematically evaluate the importance of globalization for the Roman world. In his book *Globalizing Roman Culture* Hingley analyses the emergence of an elite Roman culture that was more or less uniform throughout the Roman Empire and compares this phenomenon to the effects of Empire on the lower classes, which were much more differentiated. He interprets the variability of the responses to those that have been noted for the modern world, ranging from active opposition, via negotiations, to adoption and adaptation. Since then the concept has been applied with increasing frequency in studies of both Greece and Rome, and has proven to be very enlightening, e.g. Witcher 2000; Sweetman 2007; Geraghty 2007; Hitchner 2008; Versluys 2014; and the papers collected in Pitts and Versluys 2014 and Hodos 2017.

²⁵ Cf. Robertson and White 2008, 56; Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 43; 2012, 13.

²⁶ The concept of globalization was most often been used in economic discussions about modern capitalism, trade, and global investments and is commonly thought of as an economic phenomenon. It should be noted, however, that in its original conception it was developed to encompass political and cultural trends as well: in addition to the emergence of a globalized economy, these include the rise of supra-national political institutions and treaties, cultural patterns spanning continents and further, the unprecedented movement of people around the world, and the rise of relations of power

and inequality in the global system as a whole (cf. Robinson 2008, 125).

²⁷ Nederveen Pieterse 2012, 12-13.

²⁸ E.g. Robertson and Inglis 2004, but see also Nederveen-Pieterse 2012, who argues for a *longue durée* approach to globalization and traces the process back as far as the Bronze Age.

²⁹ Plut. *De exil.* 5: 'ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδ' Ἑλλήν ἀλλὰ κόσμιος εἶναι φήσας'.

³⁰ Diog. Laert. *Vit. Phil.* 6.63.

³¹ Cf. Robertson and Inglis 2004, 40.

man state. Polybius' description of the growing interdependence between regions, dating to ca. 220 BCE, is telling³²:

'Now in earlier times the world's history had consisted, so to speak, of a series of unrelated episodes, the origins and results of each being as widely separated as their localities, but from this point onwards, history becomes an organic whole: the affairs of Italy and Africa are connected with those of Asia and Greece, and all events bear a relationship and contribute to a single end.'

Referring to the world as an organic whole (σῶμα τοῦ ἐοῦς) in which all events are connected, Polybius seems to emphasize a shared experience by individuals scattered throughout its different regions.³³ It was during the Roman imperial period, when the Romans had conquered or brought into indirect submission most of the then known world, that ancient globalization culminated. The infrastructure of land and sea routes throughout the Roman Empire combined with the peaceful circumstances of the *Pax Romana* provided the ideal conditions for an exponential increase in global connectivity. This connectivity entailed cross-cultural contact between regions, cities, and individuals, incremental political and economic interdependence, the intensification of trade and flows of movement and migration, and the rapid spread of goods and ideas. All the while, however, there were also marked power imbalances at play between the imperial centre and the subjugated periphery. In many ways, then, the complex set of interrelations and developments that characterized the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean is not that dissimilar from those that shape our modern world.

In the last decade an increasing amount of scholars have acknowledged the similarities between ancient and modern processes of increased contacts and theories of globalization have begun to be applied in studies of the Roman Empire in particular.³⁴ Bentley has aptly described the strengths of the approach:

'[Ancient globalization] does not authorize rigid theoretical positions or teleological narratives, but rather emphasizes shifting patterns of cross-cultural connections, relationships, networks, interactions and exchanges. This approach maintains that the world has never been the site of discrete, unconnected communities, that cross-cultural interactions and exchanges have taken place since the earliest days of human existence on planet earth, [...] that identities have always been multiple and malleable, subject to minor tweaking or radical change as individuals and communities have adjusted their self-conceptions to the circumstances of their existence.'³⁵

Globalization is a useful conceptual tool in studies of the Hellenistic and Roman world because it allows us to see large- and small-scale processes of change as dialectic. It helps us transcend the dichotomies that hindered studies of cultural change in the past: those between the global and the local, between dominator and subjugated, and between the empire's (global) culture and a society's (local) culture. Moreover, it keeps both imperial powers, global processes of change, and individual agency into focus.

1.1.4 Globalization's cultural consequences

Although globalization is perhaps an abstract term to some, it refers to a very real situation and has very tangible consequences. People who live in globalizing societies are continually faced with others who (can) have vastly different political systems, cultural traditions, and contending definitions of morally just and ethical behaviour raises cultural awareness. Being confronted by other ways of life and thought, the awareness of one's own culture (and the potential shortcomings therein) and that of others grows, and the opportunity (or need) to rethink and reshape traditional systems, mentalities and preconceptions arises.³⁶ This often results in reconfigurations of political institutions and transformations in economy, society, culture, and ideology. Globalization, therefore, also refers to a process of social and cultural change that is directly related to increased connectivity.

³² Polyb. 1.3.3-4, transl. Walbank 1979.

³³ Cf. Robertson and Inglis 2004; Isayev 2014.

³⁴ Cf. Witcher 2000; Hingley 2003, 2005; Sweetman 2007; Hitchner 2008; Pitts and Versluis 2014.

³⁵ Bentley 2006, 28-29.

³⁶ Cf. Robinson 2008, 127; Hopkins 2006, 3.

In studies of modern globalization much scholarly attention has been directed towards the effects of the process on local cultures. Sociological theorists originally saw the process of cultural change in the wake of globalization in a negative light. Frequently employed terms to describe the process include *McDonaldization* (the ultimate outcome of which would be a 'McWorld') and *Coca-colonization*, and they give us a taste of the disdain felt among scholars for the homogenized consumer culture of today. This view of globalization saw the process as one of cultural imperialism, in which the Western world threatened cultural diversity around the world and would ultimately lead to global cultural convergence and uniformity.³⁷ The mechanisms behind this process of homogenization are essentially the same as those identified in the imperialist and colonialist explanations of Hellenization and Romanization: the dominant culture would become the world culture. A distinct weakness, of course, is that this model carries the implicit assumption that a political or economic vulnerability is matched by a cultural vulnerability; that local culture is at risk when local political or economic autonomy breaks down.³⁸ But the adoption of certain aspects of cultures is not the same as succumbing to that culture, as Tomlinson has poignantly stated:

'We have to be careful not to confuse mere cultural goods with the practice of culture itself - which involves the interpretation and the appropriation of meanings in relation to such goods. Eating McDonald's hamburgers, smoking Marlboro cigarettes, drinking Coke and playing computer games may be bad for you in all sorts of ways. But they do not in themselves provide much solid evidence of a capitulation to deeper Western cultural values.'³⁹

And the same is of course true for local cultures under Greece and Rome. Symposia, baths, togas and amphitheatres are intricately linked with Greek and respectively Roman culture, but when a 'barbarian' enjoyed a drink with friends, took a bath, or attended a game of blood sports in the theatre, this did not mean that they had effect-

ively given up their own cultural identity and capitulated to Greek or Roman culture.

Interestingly, the debate on modern globalization has developed along similar lines as the debate on ancient cultural change. After the weaknesses in the homogenization-model were pointed out, a polarization thesis was proposed that revolves around the idea of active cultural resistance, a rejection of uniformity and of cultural wars between the globalizing forces and their opponents. In addition, there were theories of hybridization or syncretism that adhere to the idea that globalization encourages a blending of cultural repertoires.⁴⁰ The polarization-model closely resembles the ideas of those scholars who argued that local communities rejected and fiercely opposed imperial influences in Antiquity, and the hybridization-thesis is closely related to theories of ancient hybridity and creolization. In much the same ways as the Romanization-theorists had an initial tendency to overlook local and individual agency and to not pay sufficient attention to finer variations in the transformations throughout the world, so did the sociologists that adhered to these three models of cultural change.

By now, it is widely recognized that local communities and individuals have their own say in adopting, adapting, or rejecting cultural impulses from outside. And in fact, rather than seeing globalization as a threat to local identities, it is now seen as a driving force behind the creation, maintenance and proliferation of identities, precisely because local communities and individuals increasingly appreciate and emphasize their own traditions and cultural expressions in response to global phenomena.⁴¹ Often, this results in the creation of unique local cultural expressions. This process has been labelled *glocalization*.⁴² The central importance of the concept that requires emphasis is that *glocalization* underscores the 'co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies (homogenization *and* heterogenization) in globalization', and it acknowledges the agency that groups and individuals have in these processes.⁴³

³⁷ Cf. Ritzer 1993; 2002; Robinson 2008; Holton 2000; Sengupta 2001; Lieber and Weisberg 2002.

³⁸ Cf. Robertson 1992; 1995; Tomlinson 2003, 270.

³⁹ Tomlinson 2008, 356.

⁴⁰ Cf. Tomlinson 1999; 2003; 2008; Robinson 2008.

⁴¹ Tomlinson 2003, 270.

⁴² *Glocalization* as a concept in social theory was developed by Robertson 1992; 1994; 1995; Robertson and White 2003; 2004; 2005; see also Tomlinson 1999; and Ritzer 2003.

⁴³ Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 134.

1.1.5 Agents of change

To conclude, cultural confrontations in imperialist and globalizing contexts will inevitably result in transformations of local social structures and the cultural identity of communities and individuals. These transformations can and will vary between nations, regions, social groups, and individuals because they will all respond to the imperialist and globalizing pressures from their own standpoint, in the ways that best befit their specific situation and caters best to local needs. Therefore, any examination of the social and cultural consequences of wider processes of change are best studied via micro-analyses, by analysing the effects of world-wide forces and pressures as they are felt within particular localities and among different individuals.⁴⁴

This is where globalization-theory and identity-approaches in archaeology converge: in both cases local, individual experiences, motivations, and responses - in a word, agency - are taken into account while recognizing global phenomena and pressures in the political, economic, and cultural sphere. The 'global' or the 'empire' is not seen as the instigator of change, but as the context in which cultural change took place, and the choice to change or to resist change is placed where it belongs: in the hands of individuals.

A final point that should be stressed is that in addition to imperial, political and globalizing pressures, social norms and expectations also play a central role in mechanisms of shifting cultural identities. The relation between individual agency and external factors, known under the terms *routinized action* (Giddens) and *habitus* (Bourdieu), is well explained by Woolf:

'[W]hen individuals exercise agency they do so freely *in the sense that their choices are not predetermined*, yet they are also constrained *by the circumstances in which they make these choices*. These constraints are partly external and mundane, such as the limitations of the resources and technology available. Yet there are also constraints on the imagination, those imposed by the lack of particular models or those introduced by particular habits of thought or practice

variously internalized or inculcated through socialization. As a result, humans do not generally exercise their agency in wildly unpredictable fashions.'⁴⁵

For the study of social and cultural change in the communities of Hellenistic and Roman Greece this means that transformations in local, individual expressions of identity were conditioned not only by the political and economic networks that operated in the ancient Mediterranean, but were also deeply dependent upon and structured by local norms, values, traditions, and expectations. The fact that the funerary realm combines all these factors - individual agency, traditions, and external influences - makes it so suitable a subject for studying sociocultural change. Let me explain this in more detail.

1.2 Death and identity

1.2.1 Archaeology of death

The act of burial and commemoration has left a wealth of archaeological and epigraphic evidence in the worlds of ancient Greece and Rome. It has been the subject of interest to scholars of the ancient world from the very beginnings of archaeology; the archaeology of death has its roots in the excavations of the 18th and 19th century, when monumental burials in northwestern Europe, the shaft graves of Mycenae, and the pyramids of Egypt yielded spectacular finds. In these early times archaeologists were focused on producing chronologies, ascribing burial customs to certain cultures and primitive religions and, perhaps most importantly, collecting material for display in museums. Interest in the human aspect of burials arose at the end of the 19th century when material stemming from cemeteries started to be used as indicators of social stratification and social roles; the underlying assumption was that hierarchy and social identities were represented through grave goods.⁴⁶ The discipline has come a long way since then. Let me briefly summarize some main points of interest.

1.2.2 Social structure and identity in death

Theoretical debates about the interpretation of funerary material made their entry in the 1970s,

⁴⁴ Cf. Tomlinson 2008, 360 and compare to Mattingly 2011 for the Roman Empire.

⁴⁵ Woolf 2003, 159.

⁴⁶ Cf. Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Tarlow 1999, 9.

when Saxe and Binford proposed the idea that funerary material could be used to answer questions about the organization of the society to which the deceased had belonged in life.⁴⁷ Binford argued that formal differentiation in mortuary rites were the expression of differences in the status of the deceased in the social group, but also to his or her social persona - age, sex, social position, social affiliation and so forth. In other words, the variation and complexity observed in the cemetery was determined by and hence a direct reflection of the social complexity of the society it belonged to. Saxe's work also revolved around the identification of a relationship between treatment in death and social roles during life, and was complementary to that of Binford. Binford and Saxe's work, although criticized, was of major importance in funerary archaeology - but less so in Classical archaeology - as it shifted scholarly attention from the identification of cultural groups towards the identification of social differentiation within one society. Material from cemeteries was now increasingly being used to answer questions about social organization, status and ranking, trade and economy, and gender roles and social relationships in past societies.⁴⁸

One significant problem with the processual approach to mortuary data was its assumption that social status in life was unambiguously translated to treatment and death, and that it was thus possible to infer social hierarchies simply from a consideration of differentiation in expenditure on burials. This one to one relationship between status and ostentation simply does not exist.⁴⁹ Indeed, it was already known that not all burials were equally likely to be found in the archaeological record, that not all grave goods actually reach the grave, or that an absence of grave goods necessarily signifies poverty or low status. For the Graeco-Roman world in particular - which has the benefit of literary and epigraphic sources on social structure organization that are lacking in prehistoric archaeology - the existence of a possible disconnect between social status in life and treatment and commemoration after death was well-known from multiple examples. Some of the most grandiose tombs of the

Roman era, for instance, did not belong to esteemed politicians or other high-ranking members of society, but to freedmen: the tomb of Eurysaces the baker, who was tentatively identified as a freedman, still stands tall just outside the Porta Maggiore in Rome and is one of the most striking examples of the fact that as long as one had money, one could simply buy the treatment they desired. The implication is obvious: a conspicuous tomb after death does not *need* to equal an important role in life, although of course, it *can*; oversimplification leads to misinterpretation.

The point that burials can invert, disguise, misrepresent or idealise the social relationships that characterized a living society was most effectively argued by Hodder and Parker Pearson.⁵⁰ They made it clear that mortuary practices should be seen as a form of symbolic communication, and what they have to say is not simply reality, but a version of reality that is imbued with meaning, based on beliefs and ideologies. Therefore, varying mortuary practices cannot be explained by social patterns alone; they also reflect certain ideas and beliefs, for example about pollution (*miasma*), the afterlife, or about power relations in society. These ideas and beliefs are an important factor in the way people deal with death. The relationship between burial and society depends on attitudes to death, but also on the rules and concepts that order and give meaning to the social system; a consideration of current beliefs and ideology need to be included in the study of the mortuary record in order to understand how a cemetery relates to a society. In order to come closer to understanding the reasoning behind mortuary practices and differentiation therein, mortuary data can only be approached through a contextual analysis that takes into account other archaeological data, but also literary, epigraphic, and other sources of available information.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Hodder 1981; Parker Pearson 1982; 1993; 1999.

⁵¹ Parker Pearson 1993, 227: 'The archaeology of mortuary practices is no longer confined to the bounds of the cemetery. It requires a study of the changing relationships that the living create with the dead in general, as much as those differences that are created between the dead. The analysis of variability between individual funerary deposits remains an integral part of the methodology but a contextual appreciation of those deposits requires analysis of other archaeological data. (...) Rather than using burial groups as microcosmic descriptions and analogues of how societies might have been organized, archaeologists should perceive that past societies' treatment and placing of the dead was integral to their development and change.'

⁴⁷ Saxe 1970; Binford 1971.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tarlow 1999, 12.

⁴⁹ Cf. Tarlow 1999, 11.

1.2.3 Death as an opportunity

A highly influential study on the relation between social structure and mortuary practices in the ancient world was written by Morris.⁵² Morris emphasized the distinction between *social organization*, i.e. the reality, and *social structure*, which is constituted by the rules, norms, and principles that underlie social life. The funeral should be seen as ritual action that is deeply guided by and reflects the *social structure* of a society, not the social organization per se. At the same time, so Morris showed, each stage of the funeral ritual leaves sufficient room for the individual (the deceased and/or the burying group) to adapt or manipulate the accepted norms to better fit their own specific situation. This is true for the rites that immediately followed a death, the dressing and adorning of the corpse, the lying-in-state, the procession to the site of disposal, the treatment of the human remains (inhumation, cremation, mummification, excarnation, etc.), the provision of grave goods, the grave or tomb design, the text and image on the tombstone, and post-funerary commemorative ritual. It is important to emphasize that while individual choices could indeed be made, the available options were not infinite, but guided and restricted by practical, economic, social, and ideological considerations: some things were simply not available or attainable, others were simply not proper. For the purposes of this thesis, the crucial point is that mortuary variability is the result of thought processes that are informed by these three interrelated spheres: global change, local norms, and individual choices.

To understand this point better, we should think of the cemetery as an arena for communication and of the death of an individual, his or her funeral, and subsequent commemorative actions as opportunities to make statements.⁵³ These statements can relate both to the deceased him or herself, but also to the wider burying group, and also to the society that they inhabit. To give a few examples: the funeral process provides an occasion for the affirmation or rejection of communal ideologies⁵⁴ and religious values⁵⁵, it

allows the proclamation of deference to political entities⁵⁶ and of social status (aspirations)⁵⁷, and they also provide an opportunity for the display of particular aspects of the personal identity of the deceased, and of the social identities to which (s)he ascribes. Thus, by adhering to established mortuary practices the deceased and the burying group can follow and reaffirm the general rules and norms of a society, while the divergence from the norm allows for a funeral that is better tailored to their specific situation, ideas, beliefs, emotions⁵⁸, or perhaps even their political or social aims. This means that mortuary practices are inherently powerful and can be used in social strategies and social processes of continuity and change. In other words, the cemetery is not a passive reflection of social hierarchies and personal and social identities, but a place where social relationships, values, and identities were actively negotiated on a day to day basis. It is through detailed, diachronic, and contextual analyses of the material traces of past mortuary behaviour that we can come closer to understanding how mortuary practices were used in the expression, maintenance and negotiation of personal and social identities.

1.2.4 Dealing with the dead in a changing world

(Ideally,) a burial is an undisturbed deposit that is the result of deliberate past action, that took

⁵² E.g. the use of Christian iconographies or biblical references on tombstones, or the clustering of burials around churches in Christian communities.

⁵⁶ E.g. stating citizenship of a particular Greek polis through the inclusion of a *demotikon* or *ethnikon* in the inscription, or marking Roman citizenship by the use of the *tria nomina*.

⁵⁷ E.g. through the construction of conspicuous monumental tombs.

⁵⁸ See Tarlow 1999. In this book, Tarlow makes the important point that one crucial aspect of death is missing from many archaeological studies of mortuary practices: an awareness of the powerful emotions that the death of a loved one brings about. She pointedly argues that 'people do not necessarily try to act with the primary aim of maintaining or overturning the social order', instead, they are burying someone that they will deeply miss. As such they will act in a way that best befits their particular situation and their beliefs and values and 'these are not necessarily the same as their class interests' (1999, 26). Tarlow advocates a deeper consideration of the minds of people in the past, the emotions and thoughts of the bereaved in the investigations of mortuary remains; she proves her point through an in-depth examination of funerary monuments because these are put up by the bereaved and, however standardised they might be, are personal and adapted to the specific situation of each specific death through their style, size, location, iconography, and inscription. For studies that do include explicit attention for mourning, e.g. Himmelman 1956; Merthen 2005; Sojc 2005; Schreiber-Schermutzki 2008.

⁵² Morris 1992.

⁵³ Dubisch 1989.

⁵⁴ E.g. *isonomia* as reflected in non-differential burial practices of 5th century BCE Athens, see Morris 1992, 103-127.

place in a specific historical moment in specific political and economic circumstances, and that reflects the tensions between the ideas of the buried individual, those of the burying group, and those of the wider social groups - on the local, regional, or supra-regional level - that they are affiliated with. Each and every burial, therefore, is the result of individual actions and choices. These actions and choices were guided by traditions, by belief systems and ideologies that characterized the local society, but were also influenced by external factors such as the political, economic, and social processes that took place on the world stage. The result of all these individual and differing choices is mortuary variability, a mix of different practices used by one and the same society. As such, burials give unique testimonies about the differing thought processes at play in the minds of the people of the past; this is what makes the funerary realm the ideal subject for a study of social and cultural change.

It should be emphasized that while each individual burial is in many ways reflective of personal and social identities and of the wider social structure and circumstances in which it came into being, the rationale that lies behind each burial can only be extracted when the evidence from multiple burials is combined and contextualised within the realities of daily life that characterized the period under study. If mortuary practices are studied from a holistic perspective, then mortuary variability can be examined across the social body, from the elite to the urban masses, including the rich and the poor, locals and migrants, men, women, and children. Moreover, when mortuary practices are traced through time, they allow the examination of shifts and developments in patterns of behaviour. Again, the ultimate goal of identifying patterns, exceptions, and changes in mortuary practices is to discern how they were used in the expression, maintenance and negotiation of personal and social identities in the rapidly changing worlds of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The funerary realm, in short, is the subject *par excellence* for a multi-angled approach towards sociocultural change.

I repeat that such holistic approaches are an inherently ambitious undertaking, and, therefore, in-depth diachronic analyses that cross the social body can only be done for one locality at a

time. Not only because of the amount of time such a study takes, but also and more so because each site is subjected to its own specific historical trajectory, and because each site has its own possibilities and limitations with regards to the available archaeological material.

1.3 The case study: Patras

1.3.1 Location of the site

The case study chosen for this thesis is Patras. Patras is located in the northwest Peloponnese, in the ancient geographical region known as Achaia.^{59,60} Achaia was separated from Elis in the west by the river Larisos, Cape Araxos was the northwest corner of the region⁶¹, and on its east Achaia was bordered by the river Sythas.⁶² To the south, the mountain ranges of Erymanthos and Aroania marked the boundary between Achaia and the neighbouring region of Arkadia. Mount Panachaikon, with summits measuring up to 2000 meters, is located in the centre of Achaia and its dominating height forms a natural divide between the east and the west. Limestone rises extend towards the north and divide the coastal zone of Achaia into different plains. The geography of the area has led to the natural development of twelve separate districts (μέρεια) in Antiquity that ultimately developed into poleis, of which Patras was one.⁶³

Patras developed on an outlying spur of Mount Panachaikon, above the fertile coastal plain known as the Patraike (Fig. 1.1). The ancient town had a natural harbour on the Gulf of Patras, with an open horizon to the west. The polis' acropolis provided an excellent view over the harbour, the gulf, and even the region of Aetolia to the north. Because of its location on the edge of Greece and its proximity to Italy, Patras was a

⁵⁹ In this thesis I use 'Achaia' for the geographical region in the Northwest Peloponnese that is described here, and 'Achaëa' for the Roman province. In scholarship on Patras, the name of the city is variously spelled Patrai, Patrae, Patra, and Patras. I use Patras throughout this thesis to designate the ancient Greek polis, the Roman colony, and the modern town, except in those instances where I quote other sources, or refer explicitly to an ancient text or ancient spelling.

⁶⁰ Pausanias informs us that the original name of the area was Aigialeia, because it consisted mostly of coast (εἶναι γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς αἰγιαλόν), or because the first local king was named Aigialeus; see Paus. 2.5.6, 5.1.1, 7.1.1-4. Cf. Strab. 8.7.1; Hom., *Il.* 2.573-575 and Apollod. 2.1.1.

⁶¹ Paus. 6.26.10; 6.17.5.

⁶² Paus. 7.27.12.

⁶³ Hdt. 1.145.

Fig. 1.1 Patras is situated on the northwestern coast of the Peloponnese, on an outlying spur of Mount Panachaikon, in the region of Achaia.

natural crossroad between the eastern and western Mediterranean and thanks to its safe anchorage Patras was able to play an important role as one of the crucial nodes on the major sea routes of the ancient world. Patras was - and still is - an important stop-over in the communication between east and west, thus earning its modern nickname 'η Πύλη της Ελλάδας προς τη Δύση' (Greece's gate to the West).

1.3.2 A community in constant flux

Its strategic location ensured the continued habitation of Patras from the at least Early Bronze Age down until the present day⁶⁴, but it was also

the reason that the town repeatedly attracted the attention from foreign powers who sought to take control of the city and its harbour in order to take or keep control over the wider Peloponnese.⁶⁵ Patras' colonization by Augustus in the last decades of the 1st century BCE was the one imperialist action with the most far-reaching effects, but the local society was deeply affected by external political, economic, and social pres-

⁶⁴ The earliest habitation in the region dates to the Stone Age: Palaeolithic and Neolithic remains have been found at various sites in western Achaia, such as Chalandritsa. The proximity of these sites to Patras suggest that there may also have been habitation at the site in this period, but Rizakis and Petropoulos state that no conclusive evidence for this has been found yet (Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 6). For Mycenaean Achaia, see Papadopoulos 1978; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 6-7: A cemetery of the Mycenaean era has been excavated in Odos Germanou, and it has been suggested that the accompanying Mycenaean citadel was located on the acropolis. Such finds are of major interest, because they indicate that from as early as Middle Helladic times onwards the people in the northwest Peloponnese were part of networks of regional and long distance contact and trade. Various Mycenaean sites in the vicinity of Patras, including

Drepano, Kato Sychaina, Ortos, and Voudeni, yielded imported artefacts from areas as far away as Cyprus, Crete and the Middle East.

⁶⁵ A recent overview of the history and archaeology of Patras is published by Papapostolou in 2014 (in Greek); Rizakis and Petropoulos (2006) provide a similar overview of 'ancient Patras', from prehistoric to Roman times in English, albeit with limited bibliography and references. A detailed history of Achaia and a collection of the written and documentary sources concerning the region (with extensive bibliography) can be found in Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, 1995 (esp. pages 21-61). For a collection of epigraphic sources on and from Patras, see Rizakis, *Achaïe II* (pages 20-52 for a history based on the sources); for similar treatment of the other Achaian poleis see Rizakis, *Achaïe III*. Together, the three volumes of Rizakis' *Achaïe*-series (1995, 1998, 2005) are an invaluable resource for the study of Achaia and its *poleis*. Because an in-depth review of secondary literature falls outside the scope of this thesis, the ancient sources themselves and the publications mentioned in this footnote form the basis for the history presented in this study; references to additional literature can be found in the works cited and are here kept to a minimum. Lists of selected literary and epigraphic testimonia on Patras are provided in Appendices A and B.

asures and developments already from the Classical period onwards (as the overviews of local history that are provided at the beginning of Chapters 3-7 show in more detail). It is known that Athens interfered in local decision-making during the Peloponnesian war, that Macedonian forces repeatedly traversed, occupied, and/or ravaged the polis and its hinterland, that conflicts with the Aitolians had a damning effect on local demography, and that the advancement of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean had - reportedly - resulted in Patras becoming the most pitiable of all Greek poleis. The ancient literary sources on the Hellenistic period paint a picture of near continuous political unrest, which resulted in severe hardships for the local community. Archaeological evidence on the other hand, which remains limited due to current habitation of the city, suggests that the town in fact witnessed a slow but steady growth from Hellenistic times onwards, and epigraphic testimonia indicate that Patras participated in current mechanisms of proxeny and interstate arbitration. The latter not only reflects the polis' supra-regional activities and contacts, but also attests to the local community's ascription to a shared Hellenic cultural identity.

After the Romans had conquered Greece in the mid-2nd century BCE, the political, economic, and social connectivity between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean intensified. Patras benefitted greatly from this new reality, and its economic prosperity grew in accordance with its increased importance in networks of trade and communication. The flourishing Late Hellenistic polis was colonized by Augustus shortly after the Battle of Actium. Colonization entailed major interferences in the local society, including the replacement of the old political system by Roman rule, the installation of Roman citizens in the highest political offices, the settlements of colonists of Roman and Greek descent in the town and its territory, and the introduction of a new patron deity. These imperialist actions must have had significant psychological effects on the original inhabitants of the polis, for they suddenly had to deal with the fact that they were now living in a Roman colony, in which they arguably occupied a second-rate social position. Despite the initial upheaval, though, it is clear that Patras became one of the most important cities of Roman Greece where social life flourished; when

Pausanias visited the colony in the 2nd century CE, he saw a community that lived mainly off commercial activities, that entertained itself with festivals and games, that worshipped local and foreign gods, and that embraced both Greek and Roman cultural identities.

This cursory overview of the ancient history of Patras should make it clear that this *polis* turned *colonia* is an excellent case study for an analysis of the effects of global processes of change on a local level, precisely because the local society was continually, but in varying ways and with different degrees of intensity, subjected to and affected by expansionist pressures, the globalization process, and the mobility that characterized the Hellenistic and Roman world.

Another reason that makes Patras uniquely suited for the present study is that it offers a veritable wealth of funerary evidence that allows for the multi-angled approach advocated above. Hundreds of rescue excavations in and around the modern city have brought to light a multitude of archaeological remains and epitaphs from the cemeteries of the Hellenistic and Roman city. As will be explained in more detail in the following chapter, the majority of the material has so far only been subjected to preliminary study and publication. This means that we have a treasure trove of relatively unexploited data at our disposal that can inform us about the people that made up the Patraean community in Hellenistic and Roman times, and that offer us insights into how they viewed and represented themselves.

1.4 Approaching society and culture in Hellenistic and Roman Patras

To conclude, the question that lies at the heart of this thesis is how the rise and demise of the Macedonian and Roman empires affected societies, social groups, families, and individuals in Hellenistic and Roman Greece. This study explores the consequences of processes of imperialism and globalization on the local social structure and culture of Patras, and aims to identify how the local community changed when they were incorporated into a new power structure and into ever growing networks of contact and exchange. The approach taken in this thesis is informed and shaped by the scholarly debates on Romanization and globalization. Both debates con-

verge in their assessment that local communities and individuals had an active role in their integration in a wider world and that responses to imperialism and increased connectivity could vary not only from region to region, but also on a local, group or even individual level. Therefore, it is necessary to study processes of social and cultural change on a small scale, to take into account individual agency, and to consider this agency in its specific local geographical and historical context. Only such context-specific analyses, focused on the experiences and actions of communities and individuals, can tell us how the wider expansionist developments of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were felt and dealt with by the people of the past. Patras is chosen as the main case study because decades of scholarly research have made us well aware of the fact that this site was both directly and indirectly subjected to forces of Macedonian and Roman expansionism, but was also deeply affected by the process of globalization that characterized the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

Since social and cultural transformations are the result of individual actions, this study traces agency in the way people dealt with their dead. Archaeological theory has shown that the funerary realm offers an excellent - perhaps the best - window into the minds of the people of the past, especially when it comes to their personal and social identities, because funerary ritual and commemorative practices were crucial acts of self-definition and self-representation. In ideal archaeological circumstances each burial represents an undisturbed deposit that is the result of deliberate past action that a) took place in a specific historical moment, b) in specific politi-

cal, economic, and social circumstances, and that c) reflects the tensions between the ideas of the buried individual, those of the burying group, and those of the local, regional, or supra-regional social groups that they are affiliated with. Each and every burial, therefore, is the result of individual actions and choices. These actions and choices were guided and constrained by traditions, belief systems, and ideologies that characterized the local society, but were also influenced by external factors, including processes of change that took place on the world stage. The result of all these individual and differing choices is mortuary variability, a mix of different practices that was used by one and the same society; burials, thus, offer unique testimonies about the differing thought processes that could be at play in the ancient world.

The mortuary data are studied from a diachronic perspective in a holistic, contextual manner. The analysis takes the development of the polis around 450 BCE as its point of departure, and reconstructs local mortuary behaviour in Classical times, in the Hellenistic period, during Patras' transformation into a Roman colony, over the course of the city's Roman history, and in the 4th-6th centuries CE. By analyzing the available evidence from the cemeteries - tombs, graves, burial markers, grave goods, ornaments, and the bodies themselves - from a multi-angled perspective, we can identify patterns of continuity and change, of tradition and innovation, we can reconstruct norms, and identify exceptions and deviations in the treatment of the dead. Let me explain this in more detail in the following chapter.

2. Death and Social Change in Patras

data and methodology

2.1 The burial of Digna

Sometime in the 3rd or 4th century CE a young girl named Digna died in Patras, having only reached the young age of three.⁶⁶ The toddler was laid to rest with the utmost care. She wore a fine gold ring around one of her little fingers and her body was placed in a wooden coffin, and two bird-shaped glass unguentaria and a terracotta figurine of a pig were placed beside her. After the journey to the burial site, her coffin was deposited inside a brick-built cist grave. The floor of the grave had been paved with tile sherds; its cover consisted of a pair of Laconian tiles over which a brick vault was built. A solid concrete structure (dim. 1.55x1.05x1.30 m), faced with a layer of plaster, was built to carefully encase the grave. Finally, a marble stele inscribed with Digna's name and her age written in Latin was erected over her burial site in order to preserve her memory.

Digna's grave was discovered in the North Cemetery of Patras during rescue excavations in 1978. It is one of only few graves in the ancient world, let alone Patras, where a burial was found undisturbed and with a grave marker preserved *in situ*. In this rare occasion we are not only able to reconstruct the funeral process in quite some detail, but we also get to know certain aspects of the identity of the person buried here. We learn her name, age, gender, and the language that she and her family spoke, while also getting a sense of the emotions of the bereaved (her parents, we may presume) at the loss of their child, and the care they put into burying her.

Overall, however, mortuary evidence is much more dispersed. It is well-known that the disturbance and/or reuse of graves, the dismantling of tombs for their building material, acts of looting, etc. have separated the majority of ancient

memorials, artefacts and even human remains from their burial site. As such, there has been a significant loss of contextual information for a lot of burials. But it is also important to realize that even if they remained undisturbed, not all burials would have been able to provide equal information in the first place, since there are considerable differences in how people were treated after death. All that we can learn about Digna – through her grave, the objects she was buried with, and her epitaph – contrasts sharply with what we can learn about the people buried in unfurnished and unmarked graves; the personal and social identities of those people buried without personal items, without grave goods, and whose burial sites were not marked with an inscribed memorial are forever lost to us.⁶⁷

Coming closer to understanding ancient communities through their mortuary behaviour is not only (or even necessarily) dependent on the reconstruction of individual stories, but more so on the identification and interpretation of wider patterns and correlations in large bodies of data. It is when we reconstruct the general norms that we can identify deviations, exceptions, and single occurrences, which themselves are highly informative in their own right. Therefore, even if the archaeological data from cemeteries is of uneven quality – as we shall see is certainly the case with the material from Patras – it can still be used to shed light on social structure and identities when all data are combined, when the varying quality is carefully weighed, and when it is subjected to a contextual analysis.

This chapter outlines the methodology of my research. It starts with a – perhaps redundant for some of the readers – generalizing description of what we know of the death rituals in ancient

⁶⁶ See Catalogue A, BS106 for a description of the excavation and the finds; see Catalogue C, G106.15 for the basic data about the burial, and see Catalogue D, BM65 for the burial marker.

⁶⁷ Although skeletal analyses would of course be able to provide information about their biological identities through sex and age estimations, and about their lifestyles through analyses of diet and provenance. A biological identity is however only one aspect of a personal identity and markedly different from (yet closely related to) one's social identity.

Greece. This description serves to illustrate the theoretical standpoint taken in the previous chapter, namely that while people could choose to adhere to a wider norm, all aspects of the funerary process could also be tweaked and manipulated to suit individual preferences and circumstances. After this, we shall turn our attention to Patras. First, an overview of the main publications that have appeared on local mortuary practices is provided. The patterns and observations that were made in earlier research are summarized, and the questions that still remain and are the topic of this thesis are posed thereafter. The chapter ends with a discussion of methodology that sets out the available data, the limitations and potential of the material and of working with *legacy data*, the criteria for data selection, and a brief explanation on data organization and the methods of analysis that were used.

2.2 Death and burial in the ancient world

Literary testimonies, iconographic representations, and archaeological discoveries offer us a good, but generic picture of the practical and ritual actions that followed the death of an individual in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds.⁶⁸ In the Greek world the burial process consisted of three main parts: the rites carried out at the home, the procession to the burial site, and the deposition of the corpse. Subsequent commemorative rites would be enacted for months and years after the funeral had concluded.

After a death had occurred, the first step of the canonical funeral process was the washing and anointing of the corpse by the women of the family. The deceased was dressed in white garments or simply swathed in linen shrouds, was crowned with flowers, and in some cases adorned with jewellery. A coin (*danake*) could be placed in the mouth to serve the symbolic purpose of paying Charon for the crossing of the river Styx. The body was then laid out (*prothesis*) in the family home, where private mourning took place. Mourners dressed in black garments, and would often abstain from eating and performing regular household activities. Mourning

further involved the emotionally provocative lamentation by the women of the family: they wailed and wept, tore their hair and clothing, beat their chests, and scratched their cheeks and breasts. The behaviour of the bereaved men was much more restrained. They could join in the formal lament, but they do not seem to have participated in the wailing and self-abuse that was practiced by the women. While the deceased was laid out, the house was generally open for visitation. There are differing testimonies on the duration of the lying in state, but it seems that the funeral customarily took place on the second or third day of death – before, that is, decomposition became a problem.⁶⁹

The funeral itself started with a procession (*ekphora*⁷⁰) that involved the transportation of the corpse from the family home to the burial site, whilst being escorted by the mourners. Moving through the urban area, the funeral was a public event and these processions drew many spectators, especially in the case of lavish funerals of people with a high social status.⁷¹ As such, the procession provided an opportunity for display: the deceased, dressed in opulent garments and decked with jewellery, was transported on a bier or in a(n open) coffin, which was either carried on the shoulders or placed on a cart or wagon, and was visible throughout the journey. Carried in the procession, too, were the grave goods and provisions that were to be deposited in the tomb or grave, or used during the rites of interment. Both the clothing and objects worn by the deceased and the objects and provisions carried to the grave could have personal significance for the deceased, or merely served a funerary pur-

⁶⁸ For general overviews of Greek mortuary rites, e.g. Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Garland 2001 [1985]; and Rife 1999. For death and burial in the Roman world, e.g. Toynbee 1971; Hope 2009.

⁶⁹ A notable exception seems to have applied to the case of infants and young children, who were buried soon after death and possibly without a *prothesis*: see Plut. *Cons. ad ux.* 612A, where Plutarch refers to an ancient prohibition of the *prothesis* of infants. This is presumably related to the different social status of very young children compared to adolescents and adults. Rapid burial might also be preferred in cases of mutilated bodies. On the other hand, elite individuals could be subjected to a prolonged period of lying in repose, cf. Toynbee 1971, 45 and n. 129 for the Roman world. For the *prothesis* and *ekphora* in Geometric iconography see Ahlberg-Cornell 1971; for lamentation in Greece see Alexiou 1974.

⁷⁰ Known in the Roman world as the *pompa funebris*.

⁷¹ In late Archaic Athens the statesman and lawmaker Solon laid down regulations against such conspicuous processions. By stipulating that they had to take place before sunrise, he tried to limit the ostentatious display that apparently characterized (aristocratic) funerals of the time. Cf. Blok 2006. For regulations against funerary display see Cic. *De leg.* 2.23 and Engels 1998.

pose. Either way, they were representative of the identity and the social and economic status not only of the person who had died, but also of the bereaved family.

The procession ended at the site of disposal. The dead were disposed of outside the urban area, as was stipulated by moral custom or even law⁷²; only in exceptional cases would the local ruling council grant someone an intramural burial site by way of civic honour.⁷³ Burial in urbanized settings usually took place within organized cemeteries that were situated just outside the city gates⁷⁴; the rural population, on the other hand, would either dispose of their dead in small-scale cemeteries, or in designated areas on their own plots of land. Well-to-do landowners would sometimes choose to erect a tomb for themselves and their dependants on their own estates.

Having arrived at the burial site, the bodies were usually either buried or burned. The nature and timing of graveside rituals during the deposition is unclear. In more elaborate or elite funerals, rituals might include a public funeral oration, conflagration of the deceased's belongings, animal sacrifice and/or feasting. More commonly, however, the acts are thought to have been much simpler.

Inhumation, in its most simplistic form, involved the lowering of the body into the grave. Ointments were poured over the body, grave goods were placed beside the deceased, libations were carried out, and surely a word of farewell was spoken. If a coffin was used for the burial, this was the moment when it was closed. Finally, the burial was covered with tiles, stone slabs, and/or earth. In other cases inhumation did not involve interment, but took place in aboveground (communal) tombs or grave types such as sarcophagi; the rituals, presumably, were largely the same.

Information about the rite of cremation in the ancient world stems mostly from Roman sources, since - for the historical periods at least - cremation was much more widely practised in Italy than it was in Greece. When bodies were

cremated, the corpse and the bier were placed on a pyre.⁷⁵ In some cases, pyres were associated with large tombs or placed within funerary enclosures, but in other cases, cremation would take place in a designated area of the cemetery (*ustrina*). Pyres could also be built at the exact place of burial (*bustum*), with the remains falling into a grave dug beneath. Grave goods were often placed on the pyre, too, or were thrown into the flames while it was burning. In order to secure the adequate cremation of the corpse, the fire would have to be kept burning and tended to for several hours. When the process was completed and the fire had burned down, the pyre was drenched with wine. The bereaved then collected the ashes and remnants of burnt objects and placed them in receptacles of various kinds, ranging from simple cloth or reused household pottery to lead, glass, or earthenware urns, and even elaborately decorated marble ash chests. The ash container was then buried directly in the ground, deposited in a niche in a columbarium, house tomb or peribolos, or encased in a conspicuous funerary monument.

Once the inhumation or cremation process was concluded, the mourners returned home. A ritual cleansing was enacted to purify both the family members and the home, and a funeral meal (*perideipnon*⁷⁶) was shared by the bereaved that marked the end of the period of fasting. After the funeral, the tombs and graves of the dead were regularly visited. In the Greek world, grave visits were part of *ta nomizomena*, the obligations that the living had vis-à-vis the deceased. Commemorative rituals were carried out on the third, ninth and thirtieth day after death (*trita, enata, triakostia*), and subsequent visits would follow at the anniversaries of the death and the funeral, at birthdays, and at annual festivals of the *Genesia* and the *Nemeseia*. Additional visits could take place on an irregular basis. The iconography on ancient vases, notably whiteground lekythoi, suggests that women were primarily responsible for tending to the grave.⁷⁷ Commemorative rites enacted at the grave included the offering of food and drink to the deceased, but also involved the

⁷² Cf. Cic. *De leg.* 2.23; Cicero here refers to a law in the Twelve Tables that orders that the deceased cannot be buried nor burned within the city. This, of course, concerns the Roman world, but similar regulations are likely to have applied in Greece as well.

⁷³ E.g. the burial of Herodas Atticus in the stadium of Roman Athens, cf. Rife 2008.

⁷⁴ Intramural burial, however, occurred as well. For discussions of the phenomenon e.g. Schörner 2007; Henry 2013; Christesen 2018.

⁷⁵ For pyres in the Roman era, e.g. Nock 1932; Toynbee 1971, 49-50 with notes; Noy 2000. For cremation in Hellenistic Greece: Musgrave 2013 with bibliography.

⁷⁶ Known in the Roman world as the *silicernium*.

⁷⁷ Oakley 2004. For the role of women in funerary ritual, see e.g. Houby-Nielsen 1996; Stears 1998.

anointment of the tombstone and its decoration with wreaths and ribbons (*tainiai*). This ritual shows that tombstones served not simply as markers of a burial site and a testament to the identity of the deceased, but became tangible substitutes for the person buried below.

In the Roman world, commemorative practices were much the same: commemorative rituals were enacted at the ninth day after death, including the *cena novendialis*, a meal eaten at the grave, and a libation offering to the spirits of the departed. Other commemorative meals were prepared on the birthdays of the dead, on the anniversaries of their passing, and during the annual festivals of the dead (*Parentalia*, *Rosalia*); the dead were thought to partake in the meals by consuming the smells of the food and/or by the pouring of food and drink onto the deceased's final resting place.

Although the death process in the ancient world followed a strict pattern, the particular ways in which the process was enacted underwent several adaptations over time. Some well-known examples of changes in mortuary practices include the abandonment of lavish and ostentatious funerals in 6th century BCE Athens after the imposition of restrictive funerary legislation by Solon⁷⁸ and the widespread transition from cremation to inhumation in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE in the Roman period. But in addition to such community or even empire-wide transformations through time, the way people dealt with their dead also differed among regions, communities, social groups (e.g. rich and poor, adults and children, men and women), and even among individuals.

The above overview is useful because it gives us an idea of the general cultural framework that guided and delineated the agency of the burying group. Yet, each and every element of the funeral process allowed for variation in its execution - some elements much more than others. In other words, while people did have a range of options in how to deal with their dead, they had to work within the limits of propriety and adhere to various established habitual and moral norms. Still, they were free to pick and choose, to alter, and to manipulate the funeral process in such a

way that it better suited their own ideas about what treatment their deceased loved one deserved or needed. The rationale behind choosing to stick to tradition or, instead, to try and do something a little bit different could be motivated by practical, economic, religious, political, or social concerns, restraints, opportunities, and aims, but it could also be driven by particular emotional responses (in the case of untimely or violent death, for example). This is why cemeteries of ancient Greece are marked by variability. I hope to have made it clear by now that this variability is what provides us with unique insights into how the people of the past thought about and represented themselves.

2.3 Death and burial in Patras

2.3.1 The main publications

Although no systematic analysis of death and burial in Classical, Hellenistic, or Roman Patras has been attempted, a number of valuable studies on various aspects of the topic have appeared since the 1970s. Papapostolou published a study of the Classical and Hellenistic tombstones from the region of Achaia⁷⁹, and the inscriptions from Patras and Achaia - funerary and other - have been collected in the *Achaïe*-series by Rizakis.⁸⁰ In the second volume, which is dedicated to the epigraphy of Patras, a brief overview of the cemeteries of Patras is provided, with a focus on the epitaphs found there.⁸¹ Our archaeological knowledge about the cemeteries of Patras is based almost exclusively on excavations that were carried out by the local department of the Greek Archaeological Service. The majority of the archaeological material has so far only been published through preliminary publications in the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*-series (on which more below; translations/summaries are found in Catalogue A). A number of exceptional tombs, graves, and grave goods have been published in more detail. These include two rich graves of the Hellenistic period⁸², two *polyandria* belonging to gladiators⁸³, an Early Roman mausoleum and a sarcophagus burial that was found within it⁸⁴,

⁷⁸ See n. 71 above; see also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 90; Garland 2001 [1985], 22; 1989; Blok 2006; Engels 1998; Small 2015.

⁷⁹ Papapostolou 1993, with epigraphical notes by Rizakis.

⁸⁰ Rizakis, *Achaïe I-III*.

⁸¹ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48-49.

⁸² Papapostolou 1977; 1978.

⁸³ Papapostolou 1989.

⁸⁴ Dekoulakou 1980; Papapostolou 1983.

and jewellery from graves of the 4th-1st century BCE.⁸⁵

A few discussions about the cemeteries have a more synthesizing character: the burial practices of the Classical and/or Hellenistic period are described in articles by Papapostolou and Petropoulos.⁸⁶ The latter, in an article that principally addresses farmhouses and *villae* in and around Patras, also provided a brief overview of tombs and graves that were related to these rural dwellings.⁸⁷ In the 2006 volume that celebrates Patras as the European Capital of Culture Rizakis and Petropoulos give an overview of the ancient history of the city that includes references to the cemeteries; they discuss the dates of their creation, discuss changes that occurred in the Roman period, and offer a brief description of some of the more remarkable Roman tombs.⁸⁸ Another description of changes in the Roman period is provided by Petropoulos in an article that, among other things, discusses the find of an Early Roman tomb on Odos Samou.⁸⁹ Flämig, in her study of Roman tomb architecture in Greece, identified Patras as the site where the earliest examples and the majority of Roman tombs were found, and the site features prominently in her analysis.⁹⁰ The most recent discussion of the material - also with a focus on the Roman period - is provided by Dekoulakou. She discusses the emergence of a wide variety of tombs in Roman Patras and connects the phenomenon to the development of a colonial upper class.⁹¹

In the following section I provide a summary of the current knowledge about the cemeteries of Patras that is primarily based on the aforementioned synthesizing works by Petropoulos, Rizakis, Dekoulakou, and Flämig. A summary of their main observations and arguments follows.

2.3.2 The state of research

The majority of the archaeological remnants of mortuary practices have been excavated in three main areas in the north, south, and east sections of the modern city. The burial clusters formed three separate cemeteries, and they have aptly been dubbed the North, South, and East Ceme-

ries. In all three of the cemeteries the tombs and graves were situated along a central road that led into the urban area.⁹² The North Cemetery extended along the road towards Aigion and Corinth, the South Cemetery developed along the road to Dyme, and the East Cemetery was located on the road to Pharai and other inland villages of Achaia. The lack of residential remains in these excavations indicate that - as was true for most cities in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman worlds - the inhabitants of Patras strictly separated their dead from the living community by burying them outside the limits of the polis.

The road along which the North Cemetery is found has been traced for a length for 2200 meters, measured from the place where it exits the urban environment near the modern intersection of Odos Karaïskaki and Odos Patreos, near the ancient stadium.⁹³ It follows the natural course of the terrain, winding between the western slope of the acropolis and the wetlands that stretched down to the sea.⁹⁴ The width of the road was impressive: in the Roman period it measured between 5.80 to 8.30 meters wide.⁹⁵ The remains of the North Cemetery were found along the first 1500 meters or so of the road; a secondary road running through the cemetery was located closer to the coast, and was identified in excavations in Odos Ellinos Stratiotou, Odos Notara, and the Aguias-area.⁹⁶

The archaeological evidence has shown that the North Cemetery was in continuous use from the middle of the 5th century BCE to the 6th-7th century CE.⁹⁷ The majority of the material found in the North Cemetery, however, dates from the 1st to the 3rd centuries CE, at which time the cemetery was massively expanded and received a new layout; evidence for the widening of the road in Early Roman times has been encountered in several excavations.⁹⁸ Three different

⁸⁵ Papapostolou 1990a.

⁸⁶ Papapostolou 1990b, 466-68; Petropoulos 2005a; 2005b.

⁸⁷ Petropoulos 1994.

⁸⁸ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16, 17, 46.

⁸⁹ Petropoulos 2007, 183-84, 193-95.

⁹⁰ Flämig 2007, 8-9, and catalogue numbers 90-166.

⁹¹ Dekoulakou 2009.

⁹² Petropoulos 1994, 414-415 and σελ. 1; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48 and σελ. 1; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16, 17, 46 and maps 3 and 4; Flämig 2007, 8-9; Dekoulakou 2009, 163-168 and fig. 1.

⁹³ Dekoulakou 2009, 163.

⁹⁴ Dekoulakou 1980, 556; 2009, 164.

⁹⁵ Dekoulakou 2009, 164.

⁹⁶ Petropoulos 1994, 414-415; Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

⁹⁷ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 46; Dekoulakou 2009, 164. Rizakis (*Achaïe II*, 48) and Flämig (2007, 8) also refer to the presence of funerary roads that run parallel to the main road, but they do not specify their courses.

⁹⁸ Petropoulos 1994, 414; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48; Flämig 2007, 8; Petropoulos 2007, 184; Dekoulakou 2009, 164-165.

street levels, all made up of soil and gravel, that were identified in a number of excavations point to repeated efforts of road maintenance and attest to its intense use.⁹⁹ The excavation of a section of the North Cemetery situated close to the city boundary yielded the remnants of a colonnade that lined the eastern side of the funerary road and that ran in front of the tombs.¹⁰⁰ Both the widening of the road and the erection of the colonnade are evidence of an intention to give the North Cemetery a monumental appearance in Roman times.

The South Cemetery of Patras was situated along the ancient road to Dyme. The road has been exposed at several places, and the length of the road along which tombs and graves were found measures about 650 meters. The road had a compact surface of earth and pebbles, and its width varied from 1.60 to 4 meters.¹⁰¹ The local archaeologists suggest that this cemetery, too, had a secondary road; it ran in the direction of the coast.¹⁰² The South Cemetery came into use later than the North Cemetery, probably in the early 3rd century BCE, and the last burials taking place in this area date to the Early Christian period.¹⁰³

Compared to the other two cemeteries, the East Cemetery has only seen relatively few excavations, and because of that less is known about its extent and appearance. The East Cemetery was situated along the ancient road leading towards inner Achaia. The starting point of this road is found in the southeast sector of the modern city in the neighbourhood known as Tabachana.¹⁰⁴ From here it continued to Pharai, more or less following the route of the modern Odos Patron-Klaous. One section of the road, excavated at a plot on Odos Kalavryton, measured an impressive 8.5 meters in width.¹⁰⁵ The East cemetery was the last of the formal cemeteries to be formed; the earliest tombs and graves date shortly after the foundation of the colony.¹⁰⁶ It is not mentioned when the cemetery was last used.

In addition to the three main cemeteries, a number of small organized cemeteries and rural burial sites have been identified. The first is situated to the east of the city, in the area around the Ghirocomeiou Monastery. This cemetery was not identified on the basis of archaeological excavation, but because of the presence of a number of tombstones recorded there.¹⁰⁷ A second example dates to the end of the Roman period and developed in the area of Odos Germanou.¹⁰⁸ A third cemetery, referred to as the South-East Cemetery, is mentioned by Rizakis and Petropoulos as developing in the Early Roman period, but the location and the extent of it are not specified.¹⁰⁹ In addition, various isolated tombs on private plots dotted the countryside around Patras and are thought to farmhouses or *villae*.¹¹⁰

Thus far, scholarship has pointed to four main patterns and developments in the cemeteries and burial practices in Patras: the first is the general development of the mortuary locale, the second is a hierarchical difference between the cemeteries, the third concerns an abrupt transformation of mortuary practices during the Early Roman period, and the fourth is that these changes display a significant closeness to Roman mortuary culture. Let me summarize the main observations.

As mentioned above, the North Cemetery was created in the second half of the 5th century BCE. It was the first organized cemetery of the town and the time of its creation coincides with the evidence for the emergence of a *polis* centre at Patras.¹¹¹ In the Early Hellenistic period the South Cemetery was created, while the North Cemetery remained in use; Rizakis and Petropoulos have connected the development of the second cemetery to population growth.¹¹² The East Cemetery, as well as most of the smaller cemeteries and isolated tombs, can be dated from the late 1st century BCE onwards. Their emergence is generally considered to be a direct result of Augustus' colonization of Patras and the

⁹⁹ Flämig 2007, 8; Dekoulakou 2009, 164.

¹⁰⁰ Dekoulakou 2009, 165; cf. BS80 and Fig. 6.5 below.

¹⁰¹ Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

¹⁰² Petropoulos 1994, 415; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 17; Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

¹⁰³ Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

¹⁰⁴ Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

¹⁰⁵ Dekoulakou 2009, 166.

¹⁰⁶ Petropoulos 1994, 414-415; Petropoulos 1999, 39; 2007, 183-184; Dekoulakou 2009, 167.

¹⁰⁷ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 49.

¹⁰⁸ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 49.

¹⁰⁹ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 46.

¹¹⁰ Petropoulos 1994 provides a list of these isolated burial sites; a more recent find on Odos Samou is discussed by Rizakis and Petropoulos (2006, 46) and more extensively in a later article by Petropoulos (2007, 193-195). Dekoulakou (2009) refers to this tomb as well.

¹¹¹ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16.

¹¹² Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 17.

population increase that was inherent to the settlement of veterans and other colonists in the area.¹¹³

Scholars have noted a marked hierarchical differentiation between the cemeteries of Patras in terms of frequency of use and types of tombs. The number and density of the archaeological remains of tombs and graves in the respective cemeteries make it clear that the North Cemetery was the largest and the most heavily populated of the three.¹¹⁴ This cemetery not only had the highest number of tombs and graves, but also the most conspicuous examples of tomb architecture.¹¹⁵ Both Flämig and Dekoulakou provided an overview of the different tomb types that lined the North Cemetery road, which include temple tombs, brick-built house tombs, periboloi, and columbaria.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the aforementioned evidence for the repeated restoration of the road surface indicates that the North Cemetery road was so frequently used that it needed regular upkeep; Dekoulakou has pointed out that this route must have been the most important and frequently travelled of the three roads, because it led to the large cities of Aigion and Corinth.¹¹⁷

Around the same time that the East Cemetery came into use - upon colonization, that is - various distinct changes have been noted to occur in the mortuary locale of Patras, especially in the North Cemetery. The most remarkable of these changes is the introduction of new tomb types and the reorganization of the cemetery in such a way that it gained the appearance of a monumental *Gräberstraße*.¹¹⁸ In addition, there was a sudden and largescale introduction of the rite of cremation. Cremation was so common, in fact, that cremation burials outnumbered inhumation graves in the 1st and early 2nd century CE according to Petropoulos.¹¹⁹ The specific types of monuments that were built, as well as the widespread use of the rite of cremation betray a

strong influence of Roman mortuary culture: the tombs resemble those in the necropoleis of Rome and its neighbouring cities, and cremation was the preferred way to deal with human remains in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy. A contemporary, dramatic increase in the use of Latin inscriptions - including epitaphs - has already been noted by Rizakis¹²⁰, and it is clear that there is a strong correlation between the creation of the Roman colony at Patras and the changes in the cemeteries of the time.

Several interpretations regarding these changes have been offered in previous research. Petropoulos connects the import of Roman mortuary practices, especially cremation, to the immigration of Italian settlers and sees it as a clear sign that the number of Italians in Patras must have been very large, implying that they outnumbered the local population.¹²¹ Rizakis has shown on onomastic grounds that the Latin epitaphs can be connected to both veteran-colonists and Italian immigrants and their descendants. He has suggested that the use of monumental tombs should be attributed to the latter group, which he identified as the provincial aristocracy of Patras who used their tombs to show off their wealth and advertise their Roman origins by adhering to Roman models.¹²²

Flämig, on the other hand, remains hesitant to connect the Romanness of the mortuary practices directly to Roman immigrants of elite status. In her discussion of Roman tomb architecture in wider Greece she shows that there are, in fact, several examples where people of Greek descent were the ones who chose to erect Roman-style tombs. Moreover, she warns against correlating conspicuous tombs with elite status, reminding us of the fact that especially in the Roman world many monumental tombs in fact belonged to freedmen.¹²³ Dekoulakou refers to this point as well when she highlights a number of inscriptions that attest to the social mobility of freedmen in Patras.¹²⁴ Dekoulakou, just as Flämig, remains relatively cautious in the connection of the monumental Roman tombs to a specific social or ethnic group, but does emphasize that the Roman presence in Patras is responsible for the

¹¹³ Rizakis (*Achaïe II*, 49) suggests that the cemetery at the Ghirocomeio Monastery that was mentioned above was used by colonists and their descendants who were settled in this area; he argues that a *vicus* of the colony must have been located here.

¹¹⁴ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16; Flämig 2007, 8; Dekoulakou 2009, 164-165.

¹¹⁵ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48; Flämig 2007, 8; Dekoulakou 2009.

¹¹⁶ Flämig 2007, nos. 90-166, Dekoulakou 2009.

¹¹⁷ Dekoulakou 2009, 167.

¹¹⁸ On the phenomenon of *Gräberstraßen* see von Hesberg and Zanker 1987.

¹¹⁹ Petropoulos 2007, 183 and 193-195.

¹²⁰ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 55 (fig. 5).

¹²¹ Petropoulos 2007, 194.

¹²² Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 48-49.

¹²³ Flämig 2007, 110-115.

¹²⁴ Dekoulakou 2009, 204-205.

marked changes in the cemetery, and does suggest that the use of conspicuous tomb architecture indicates that there was an elite that probably held administrative offices in the colony.

2.3.3 Research aims

As was stated in the introduction, the goal of this study is to gain a closer understanding of whether and how the society of Patras was affected by the expansionism and globalization that marked the Hellenistic and Roman world. The supposition of the thesis was that if such effects were indeed present, then they are likely to have left marks in the funerary realm. And indeed, previous research on the cemeteries of Patras has already made it clear that (Roman) imperialist actions did indeed have a dramatic impact on the local community and that this is reflected by significant transformations that took place upon colonization. The explanations that have been offered include mass-immigration of Roman settlers and the display of wealth and status by elite citizens of Roman identity, although some caution has been uttered about ascribing the changes to one specific ethnic and social group. These explanations are entirely plausible and largely convincing, and it is not my purpose to disprove them. What I intend to do, rather, is to expand and refine the picture, and to show that archaeological and epigraphic remains of burials can be used to assess social and cultural change in Patras in much more detail. For while the previous studies have tended to focus on the better preserved and/or monumental remains, the present study attempts to include all the material that is published and available to date. And while the previous studies were particularly interested in the direct effects of Roman colonization, the present work takes a wider temporal frame in order to assess processes of continuity, change, and innovation over a long period of time.

The first aim of this thesis is, therefore, to reconstruct Patraean funerary behaviour from Classical to Early Christian times in a holistic manner and across the social body. This is done by means of a multi-layered, contextual analysis that takes into account all types of available mortuary evidence, including simple graves and monumental tombs, cremations and inhumations, poorly furnished as well as gold-adorned

burials, and simple inscriptions and metric epitaphs in the analysis. By assessing the available data holistically and diachronically, we can identify burial norms, variations and exceptions, and we can identify continuity and change in local habits through time and across the different social groups and individuals. The second aim of this thesis is to use the observed patterns to assess the impact of global developments on the community of Patras. By contextualizing the mortuary behaviour with the historical circumstances in which the burials came into being, I hope to show that the cemeteries of Patras can not only inform us about the influx of foreigners with foreign habits, but can also provide us with invaluable insights into such aspects as shifting local hierarchies, ideologies, religious beliefs, cultural change, and personal and social identities.

2.4 The data

2.4.1 Legacy data

The material on which this study is based consists of material remains of mortuary practices and of epigraphic evidence, both from Patras itself and from its immediate surroundings. The data are all compiled from published reports and studies (*legacy data*); none of the remains could be studied in further detail. While the use of *legacy data* on the one hand hinders finer analyses, it was a conscious methodological decision because a focus on published data allows the adoption of a broader research angle. In addition, this study hopes to show that archaeological data from old and rescue excavations are a source of tremendous value for modern research questions, and that *legacy data* are worthy of more scholarly attention than they are usually awarded.

The data consist of burial sites, tomb and grave architecture, tombstones, epitaphs, ornaments, grave provisions, and human remains. The data on tombstones and epitaphs have been collected from the two aforementioned corpora by Papapostolou and Rizakis.¹²⁵ I have only been able to find three additional inscriptions in later publications: one epitaph was discovered *in situ* attached to the wall of a house tomb and pub-

¹²⁵ Papapostolou 1990; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*.

lished by Petropoulos¹²⁶, and two inscriptions are briefly mentioned in *l'Année Épigraphique*.¹²⁷ Together, this has resulted in a collection of 219 burial markers (not all inscribed) and epitaphs (not all on tombstones) that stem from Patras and its territory (see Catalogue D).

Some publications on archaeological remains from Patras' cemeteries were already mentioned above, but the bulk of the collected archaeological data stems from preliminary reports on rescue excavations. The remains of the ancient site and its burial grounds are situated directly beneath the modern city, and Patras' growth and development from the 1960s onwards meant that a myriad of rescue excavations had to be performed. The work was carried out by the local Archaeological Service, and reports about the investigations were published on a regular basis in the *Χρονικά* of the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*-series. When reading these reports, it becomes clear that the rapid expansion of the city led to major strains on the local archaeologists, who have had to work under enormous pressures to keep up despite limited resources and time restraints; it should be noted that there were years when hundreds (!) of such investigations took place. In almost all cases the excavated plots were built over soon after the excavators had left the site, thus leaving them without opportunity for re-examination of the remains. An unfortunate side-effect of these less than ideal circumstances is, thus, that much of the excavated material has had to be left un(der)studied. As a consequence, the state of publication varies significantly between the individual excavations, and they range from brief notes and general, broad overviews to detailed descriptions and analyses.

Despite these obstacles, the rescue excavations and subsequent reports have resulted in an impressive body of data on the ancient city that provides information about public buildings, domestic architecture, infrastructure, and the cemeteries. Having gone through all of the reports in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* published between 1915 (Volume 1) and 2014 (Volume 61 = 2006), a total of 259 excavated plots could be selected for the present study (for their approximate locations see Fig. 2.1). The selection crite-

ria were quite straightforward: 1) the site had to be located either in Patras itself or in its immediate surroundings, 2) the published report had to refer to the recovery of any type of remains from mortuary contexts, and 3) the remains have to be reliably dated between roughly the 5th century BCE and the 5th century CE. Overall, the reports are of a modest nature and describe the excavated remains in general terms. Some, however, provide more detailed information and include plans and photographs of the plots, the tombs, graves, and/or the smaller finds. Some finds - often the more spectacular ones - have received attention in subsequent articles.

Together, these 259 burial sites (see Catalogue A) yielded information on hundreds of communal and/or monumental tombs (see Catalogue B), on thousands of inhumation and cremation burials situated both in- and outside the tombs, and on grave goods too many to count (see Catalogue C). It should be stressed once more that all data were compiled from published information and none of the sites, tombs, graves, or artefacts could be studied in further detail; I therefore rely entirely on the identifications and interpretations made by the excavators. Before moving on to explaining the employed methodology in more detail, the limitations and caveats of working with this type of material have to be explicitly addressed.

2.4.2 Limitations and caveats

The distribution of excavation sites

First, it has to be acknowledged that we can only achieve an incomplete and uneven picture of the funerary landscape in Patras. Due to the salvatory nature of the archaeological research many more sites have been excavated within the heavily developed centre of the modern urban area than in the suburbs or further afield in the countryside. Within the city itself, the excavations are not evenly or randomly distributed either, but they are clustered in those areas where modern construction works took place. To get an impression of just how uneven our knowledge about the individual cemeteries is, it is worth noting that of the 259 excavated sites selected for this study, a total of 109 were situated in the North Cemetery, 61 in the South Cemetery, while only 21 were situated in the East

¹²⁶ Petropoulos 2007.

¹²⁷ *AE* 2014 (*Année* 2011), nos. 1235 and 1236.

Fig. 2.1 The selected burial sites and their spatial distribution.

Cemetery and the remaining burial sites were located elsewhere in the urban fabric or in the rural area around Patras. It should be noted that some burial sites could not be placed due to the non-specificity of the reference to its location. It should also be realized that, again due to the salvatory nature of the excavations, there are many cases in which tombs and graves could only be excavated in part because they tended to extend beyond the boundaries of the building plot or the excavation trench.

The quality of the data

A key disadvantage of working with preliminary data is the lack of detailed descriptions, plans, drawings, and photographs for most of the sites and the material. Moreover, the excavation reports often list archaeological remains collectively per site. Some reports, for example, simply state that burials (their number not always mentioned) of various types (not necessarily specified) were discovered at a given site, and that these burials yielded various grave goods (not always described or dated, nor assigned to a particular grave). Site plans or tomb drawings were published for 66 out of the 259 selected burial sites. Photographs of the site, architectural remains, burials, or some of the artefacts were only available for 77 of them. For the majority of the burial sites, thus, we have to rely on the written report only.

Apart from the difficulties concerned with the varying quality of publications, the usual problems of mortuary evidence are encountered in Patras as well. These include the reuse of tombs and graves, destruction of burial sites by building activities in later times, looting, as well as other post-depositional processes that have led to the disturbance of the original burial. Especially the tombs of the Roman era, since these were aboveground structures, have been subjected to frequent reuse and/or to dismantling so that the building material (marble, limestone) could be put to other uses. This practice of dismantling already occurred in Antiquity itself.

Despite this variability in quality, almost all data are suitable for basic statistical analyses with regards to wider patterns in mortuary behaviour. This includes the spatial organization of cemeteries, developments in preferences in tomb and grave architecture, and patterns in the treatment of the dead. For other analyses - of adornment

practices, for example - some data have had to be excluded, because the large body of 'uncertain' information would necessarily obscure significant patterns. Therefore, a careful selection of the main body of data is used per question addressed; in each case the selected data are specified.

Dating

A crucial problem posed by the nature of the data relates to the dating of the excavated material. The dates as published are generally based on preliminary observations in the field and less often on systematic studies of the archaeological remains. Moreover, precise dating of contexts and objects can often be difficult due to a lack of pronounced and dateable characteristics (in the case of non-furnished simple graves, for example). This means that burial sites, funerary architecture, burial markers, graves and other depositions have most often been dated either in the general historical periods (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Christian, or a particular phase thereof) or in a range of centuries. There are only a few cases, usually when archaeological remains had been subjected to further study, where a narrower date has been proposed; the narrowest time frame is a decade or two.

In order to overcome the problem of imprecise and uneven information on dates, they were standardized and converted. How this was done is explained in the following section. One issue that standardization cannot deal with, however, is the following: since much of the material was dated to the main historical periods, analyses based on these data will inevitably be biased, somewhat circular in reasoning, and they will inevitably obscure processes of continuity and change through time. The dating bias is evident in those cases where archaeological remains were assigned to a certain period on the basis of their general characteristics rather than stratigraphy or dateable peculiarities (it should be noted that the reports are often silent on how material was dated). Although the assigned date may well be accurate, it does reinforce existing patterns and ideas, and can mask variability per period and transformation through time. The latter is particularly unfortunate, precisely because developments in mortuary practices and the mechanisms behind them will be most visible at transition points from one period to the

next; the choice to assign remains to either Hellenistic or Roman times instead of to, say, the 1st centuries BCE and CE will thus skew analyses of diachronic patterns and make changes through time seem much more abrupt than they actually were.

Finally, it has to be acknowledged that the lack of secure dating for the bulk of the material makes it difficult to address finer questions of diachronic development in mortuary behaviour. Yet, I hope to demonstrate that the sheer amount of information, the selection of suitable data per question, and a careful weighing of the dating quality does allow the reconstruction of general patterns in how people dealt with their dead in Classical to Early Christian Patras.

Skeletal remains

It is important to state that although this study deals with death, skeletal remains are not prominently featured. Traditionally, human remains have received little attention in archaeological publications and this is especially true in reports of a preliminary nature. In the case of Patras, many reports refer to a burial only by its grave type, while no mention is made of the presence or absence of human remains, the treatment or positioning of the body, or the state of preservation. Cremated remains, which make up a significant part of the data, are usually not commented on either. This means that a few basic assumptions have had to be made in order to be able to conduct analyses of mortuary treatment. To be more precise, in those cases where treatment of the body is not explicitly stated, a type of treatment had to be inferred on the basis of the grave type. This means that - unless stated or indicated otherwise - pit, tile, and cist graves are assumed to have held single inhumations, and urns are assumed to have contained the cremated remains of a single individual. Although these inferences are based on known patterns of mortuary behaviour, the analyses of mortuary treatment presented in this study are to be approached with a certain amount of caution, and the patterns arising from these analyses are admittedly tentative.

Although thousands of graves were excavated at Patras and we may assume that most of them have yielded skeletal remains, it should be realized that - to my knowledge - none of the skeletons have been subjected to in-depth bio-

archaeological or scientific analyses. This means that secure biological data on such aspects as sex, age, and pathologies are not available. There are a few instances where the excavators do provide sex and age identifications based on their observations in the field. These identifications, however, are inherently problematic. In the case of sex (or rather gender¹²⁸), items of adornment and/or grave goods buried alongside the human remains have generally been used for differentiation between men and women. Without confirmation from skeletal data these identifications are by definition biased and based on circular argumentation. In the case of age, the determinations are usually limited to infant, child or adult, and can be based on the size of the skeleton, on grave size, or the types of grave goods that accompanied the deceased. In some cases burials have even been interpreted as infant or child graves on the basis of the *absence* of skeletal remains, because the bones of children are known to preserve less well.¹²⁹ Often, the basis of the age identification is not reported.

In addition to basic demographic patterns, systematic analyses of skeletal remains can offer a wealth of information on the identities and life-paths and of the buried individuals. Skeletons, for example, can inform us about such aspects as health, diet, and even provenance. These are all of major importance for the questions asked in this study, because they relate to the social persona of the deceased; skeletons not only let us differentiate men from women and adults from children, but can also give indications about local and migrant-identities, or about elite individuals versus the wider urban population (e.g. based on signs of manual labour). The lack of skeletal data, however, should not be seen as inherently problematic, since the primary concern of this study is not who people biologically were, but how people *regarded and defined themselves* - i.e. the self-conceptualization and self-representation that was discussed in the theoretical frame-

¹²⁸ As the identifications are based on cultural expressions and not on biological traits of the skeleton, it is more appropriate to use the term 'gender' rather than 'sex' in the discussion.

¹²⁹ Cf. BS228. It is acknowledged that the smaller and more porous skeletal remains of infants and children are less likely to preserve in good condition compared to the larger and denser bones of adults (cf. Angel 1969, 434; Angel 1971, 71; Bello and Andrews 2006; Guy, Masset, and Baud 1997). An estimation of age based on the absence of human remains is, however, problematic.

work. This presented and constructed identity is found not in the skeleton, but in the practices that were acted out in the cemetery. Since these practices were the result of unconscious and conscious deliberations by the deceased and/or the burying group, these are the things that give us insight into what the people of Patras themselves considered to be important aspects of their identity, and which aspects needed to be presented, emphasized, and preserved after death. While these aspects *can* be related to sex or age, to health, or provenance, they do not *need* to be. Thus, a lack of secure skeletal data does not hinder an analysis of culture and identity *per se*, but it is unfortunate that we cannot compare or test the presented and constructed identities with actual knowledge about the biological identity of the deceased. Future research on the human remains is highly desirable.

2.5 Methodology

Having described the limitations and caveats of utilizing *legacy data*, the remainder of the thesis is aimed at proving its potential. For despite the aforementioned restraints, many avenues for study lie wide open as long as the approach is tailored both to the nature of the evidence and to the questions that are posed. The method in which the data were approached consists of four steps: 1. the collection and systematic organization of data, 2. the reconstruction of patterns of mortuary behaviour and deviations per period by means of an integrated analysis, 3. the contextualization of the mortuary behaviour within its historical context, and 4. the social interpretation of the patterns and deviations observed in the cemeteries per period and through time.

2.5.1 Data collection and organization

In order to overcome the inherent problems of variation in the quality of information, the first, crucial step of the research is the systematic collection and organization of data in a relational database (Access). The database is structured on four hierarchical levels: the site, the tomb, the grave (subdivided in grave architecture, the human remains, and the artefacts deposited in the grave), and the burial marker.

Burial sites

The primary level of the database is the burial site. For each of the 259 selected burial sites I

recorded the location (modern address, usually), mapped them in a GIS, and recorded whether they were part of one of the main cemeteries or not (North, South, East, or Other). All publications about the site were collected and recorded. While this was often merely the preliminary report in the *Δελτίον*-series with an occasional reference in that year's *Archaeological Reports*, but in other cases a tomb, grave, artefact, or burial marker had received additional scholarly attention and publication. It was also noted whether or not site plans or photographs were available; if they were, they were added to the database. A comprehensive report on the site was then written, based on all available information. In some cases this report is not much more than an English translation (but in standardized form) of the original Greek publication due to a lack of additional evidence. In those cases where more information was available the site report also includes some interpretation and initial discussion. In addition to the main description of the site and the archaeological finds, the presence or absence of tombs, graves, and burial markers was recorded for each burial site; when possible I also recorded the number and nature of tombs, graves, grave goods, and burial markers.

This level of the database was converted to Catalogue A. Here, the entries are alphabetically organized following the address or location of the excavated plot. Each burial site has been assigned a number (**BS1-BS259**); when a site is discussed or presented on a map, it is referred to by this number so that the reader can choose to look up additional information on the site in the catalogue. It should be noted that a 260th 'burial site' that was not in fact a site was added to this catalogue for one simple reason: published sarcophagi and ash chests for which no contextual information was available needed to be recorded and included in the analyses. **BS260**, thus, lists finds from unspecified contexts; it is excluded from spatial analyses and analyses on site-level, but included in analyses on for instance grave types or mortuary treatment.

Tombs

The second level is that of the tomb. A tomb is here understood to be a built structure that is meant to contain one or multiple burials, and that serves to architecturally demarcate the

boundary between those within the burial cluster and those outside it. These structures can – but do not need to be – of a monumental nature, and include simple periboloi, enclosure tombs, house tombs, funerary altars, columbaria, and other types of structures.

A total of 277 tombs could be identified from the reports on the burial sites.¹³⁰ Although the published data on the Patraean cemeteries include references to dozens of additional tombs, the reported information was not sufficient to include them in the analysis as individual funerary structures and had to be excluded from this level of analysis.¹³¹ Each tomb was assigned a tomb ID that includes the number of the burial site where it was excavated, followed by a letter. **T93.A**, for example, is a Roman burial chamber that was unearthed at the junction of Kalavryton and Fokaias = **BS93**.

Basic characteristics about the tombs were recorded in a systematic manner (when known). These characteristics are the tomb type, the assigned date, its location, the dimensions, construction materials and building technique, information about the depositions associated with the tomb (type and number), and a general, brief description of the appearance of the tomb. When no dimensions were recorded in the published report but a site plan was provided, then the tomb dimensions were approximated by measuring the drawings. This level of the database was converted to Catalogue B in simplified and tabulated form.

Here, I have to repeat and specify some of the problems with quality of the data that were already referred to above. The spatial information regarding the tombs is quite high. For most tombs we know where they stood in the landscape (if the burial site could be located that is), whether they belonged to one of the main cemeteries, and in many cases we even know their spatial relation to the roads and the urban area. In sharp contrast, however, information regarding the appearance and internal organization of the tombs is overall low. This is due not only to issues of publication, but also – and even

more so – due to centuries of reuse, alterations, disturbance, and dismantling of these tombs. Continuous subsequent habitation and building activities in the area have reduced the majority of the tombs to no more than bare foundations. Not much is left of their superstructures, and it is often difficult to reconstruct their former appearance in any detail, or even to assess the general tomb type to which the structures belonged. This hampers discussions on finer variations in tomb design and monumentality; an analysis of tomb hierarchy based on labour investment and expenditure thus necessarily remains rather broad. The overall poor preservation of the tombs also inhibits an accurate estimation of the construction date and the period of use for most of the structures; the majority can only be ascribed to a general historical period, i.e. either Hellenistic, Early Roman, Roman, or Late Roman. Because types can only be roughly described and dating is broad, this means that the diachronic reconstruction of preferences in tomb architecture, including the introduction and disappearance of particular types, also remains generalized.

Graves

The third level is that of the grave. The grave is here understood to be the actual place in which the human remains are buried or collected; a tomb, therefore, can contain either one or multiple graves.¹³² Gathered under this category are all individual units of deposition, including inhumations in pit, tile, and cist graves, as well as containers for cremated remains, be they buried individually or placed inside one of the tombs (a reference to the tomb is given when this is the case).

From the reports on the burial sites and additional publications (listed in **BS260**, as explained above) a total of 3432 graves could be identified. The graves may contain inhumations, cremations, and secondary depositions. Most graves seem to have contained the remains of a single individual, but double and multiple burials are not uncommon. In addition to the 3432 graves that could be individually counted, there were many, many more. But since the excavation reports often merely record the presence of graves and not their nature or number (as was the case for the tombs as well), these had to be excluded

¹³⁰ Flämig included 86 of these tombs in her catalogue of Roman tomb architecture in Greece; a concordance to her work is provided at the end of Catalogue B (see Flämig 2007, nos. 90–176).

¹³¹ This is the case for architectural remnants at BS16, 19, 22, 42, 71, 80, 88, 89, 95, 98, 110, 115, 116, 118, 133, 149, 150, 219, 232, and 252.

¹³² It should be noted that the difference between a tomb and a grave is not always clear-cut.

from this level of analysis. Each grave was assigned a unique grave ID that consists of the ID of the burial site where the grave was excavated followed by a number (e.g. **G71.1** is a marble ash chest with relief decoration, unearthed at Favie-rou 43 = **BS71**).

For each grave the basic characteristics of its construction and its content were recorded. These include the grave type, the cemetery that the grave was situated in, its assigned date, the orientation of the grave, information about its construction, the number of individuals whose remains were found inside, the treatment of the body, age and gender estimations by the excavator, the presence or absence of artefacts and grave goods, and a description of the grave goods (when known). This level of the database was simplified and converted to a table in Catalogue C, but throughout the thesis the reader will find tables that list the graves with the better quality information.

Since one of the central aims of this thesis is the identification and interpretation of diachronic trends and contemporary variability in mortuary behaviour, dating is of the utmost importance. The problems with imprecise and uneven information on dates are particularly pressing on the level of the grave and its contents. Above, problems with dating were already addressed, and it was already mentioned that dates had to be converted and/or standardized in order to allow for statistical analyses. Let me explain this here further. Standardization refers to the fact that that all dates were rounded off to fit quarter-century time-frames. The 25-year period was chosen as the standard because this was the most common minimum among the more precisely dated contexts. This means that in those cases where periodization was used as a date these had to be converted to fit these standardized quarter-century timeframes. Periodization is always a matter of debate, but choices had to be made. Therefore - for statistical reasons only - Classical is considered here as 500-325 BCE, Hellenistic as 325-25 BCE, Roman as 25 BCE-300 CE, and the Late Roman-Early Christian period is defined as 300-600 CE. It should be emphasized that throughout the main text and in the catalogues the date of the grave is recorded as proposed by the excavator in the original or in the most detailed publication - be they periods or centuries - without standardization or

conversion. In those instances where instances when no date was provided, I have proposed a date myself and indicated this with a question mark. My suggested dates are of course tentative and biased, since I am basing them solely on the published description of the remains.

The fact that some remains are accurately dated and others have only been given a rough date estimation is problematic. But in an attempt to overcome the unevenness between high quality data and information of low(er) quality or greater uncertainty, the data have been weighted in the analyses in such a way that uncertain data contribute less to the calculations than those that are more certain. For example: **G119.2** could only be dated as Roman, while **G119.13** at the same site has been accurately dated to 375-350 BCE. When these graves are subjected to a diachronic analysis, the dates of **G119.2** are converted and standardized to 25 BCE-300 CE. Then, because **G119.13** is dated to a single quarter-century, it counts as full (or is weighted as 1) in the period 375-350 BCE. **G119.2**, on the other hand, belongs to any one of thirteen quarter-century time-frames and therefore counts as 0.077 in each of these periods. The application of these calculations to the total body of 3432 graves collected for this study allows for an estimation of the number of graves per period. As will become clear in the following chapters, these calculations were carried out at multiple levels (historical period, century, and quarter-century) in order to determine the best approach for each of the questions that this thesis deals with (Fig. 2.2). A similar approach was taken for the number of individuals buried per period (which is higher than the number of graves due to double and multiple burials). It is important to explain this in the beginning of the thesis, because these calculations form the starting point for all temporal analyses on the level of the grave (and the people and artefacts buried within).

Burial markers and epitaphs

The final level of analysis is formed by burial markers and epitaphs. This level is (ideally) related to the burial site, the tomb, and the grave, but it is also very much a different source of material since most of it derives from *ex situ* find contexts. As was mentioned above, the majority of the burial markers and epitaphs are fully

Fig. 2.2a-c. Distribution of the number of graves through time: weighted estimations (N=3432).

Table 2.1 Distribution of data per period.

	N (total)	LCl-EHel	Hel	LHel-ER	R	LR-EChr
Burial Sites	259	16	37	41	216	66
Tombs	277	0	10	43	210	14
Graves (dated to period)	2473	23	106	170*	1626*	548
Graves (weighted est. of total)	3432	79	302	1074	1389	588
Individuals (weighted est. of total)	3592	79	302	1098	1477	636
Tombstones	219	6	30	20**	152**	11

* Since many graves are broadly dated as 'Roman' (i.e. ca. 0-300 CE), the corpus of R graves inevitably includes burials from the 1st century CE that actually belong to the LHel-ER corpus (cf. the weighted estimation of graves).

** Note that sixty-nine of the R tombstones were in fact dated to the 1st-2nd/1st-3rd century CE, so the actual number of tombstones in the LHel-ER period should probably be somewhat higher, and the R corpus somewhat smaller.

published by Papapostolou and Rizakis. The available data include descriptions of the monuments and their find locations, a date estimation, full editions and translations (in French) of the inscriptions, discussions of the contents of the texts, photographs and/or drawings of the material. After a critical review of the publications, the data were entered in a relational database and, when possible, they were correlated to burial sites, tombs, or even individual graves.

Even though the vast majority of burial markers were found away from their original locations, the find spots of burial markers were mapped.

Each burial marker or epitaph received an ID (BM + number). Those burial markers that were associated with burial sites, tombs, or graves were listed first; the others are alphabetically ordered on the basis of their find locations. The characteristics that were recorded include the general type of tombstone, the material it was made of, its dimensions, a note on the presence or absence of inscriptions and decorative features, and descriptions thereof when they were indeed present. Inscriptions were recorded in the original Greek or Latin with an English translation. Based on the information provided in the texts it was sometimes possible to determine gender and/or age of the deceased, the identity of dedicators and their relation to the deceased, or information about the deceased's life such as occupations and so forth. This information was also recorded in the relational database in order to allow for content-specific searches and analyses. The catalogue of burial markers was simplified and converted to Catalogue D.

2.5.2 Data analysis and design of the thesis

The first step of the methodology entailed the collection and organization of all available mortuary data - on the burial site, the tomb, the grave, the body, the grave goods, the tombstone, and the epitaph - in a relational database and GIS. The next step entailed the reconstruction of patterns and the identification of variation and deviations in these material aspects of the local mortuary behaviour. This study adopts an integrative approach in which all types of evidence are subjected to the same four lines of enquiry - temporal, spatial, quantitative, and qualitative - in order to reconstruct norms and exception in the main facets of death and burial. These main facets are: 1. the dressing and adorning of the dead body, 2. the disposal of the corpse, 3. the construction of a tomb and/or grave for the deceased to be placed in, 4. the grave goods that were deposited in the grave, and 5. the erection of a tombstone and/or epitaph that presented and preserved the identity of the deceased for future generations.

The data are divided into five corpora, each of which covers a time frame of ca. 200 years, in order to facilitate comprehensive period-specific and diachronic analyses (see Table 2.1). In an attempt to overcome some of the dating biases that were described above, these timeframes were consciously chosen to not correspond to the main historical periods, but to cover the periods that written sources indicate as transitional periods.

As explained earlier, the five bodies of data are treated separately in five chapters: Chapter 3 deals with Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras

(ca. 450-275 BCE), Chapter 4 discusses the Hellenistic era (ca. 275-75 BCE), Chapter 5 deals with the period of ca. 75 BCE-100 CE, Chapter 6 contains an analysis of the material from Patras' Roman history (ca. 100-300 CE), and Chapter 7 is a short discussion of the period post-300 CE. For each period, the archaeological data and the epitaphs are systematically analysed and discussed. The questions that guide the analysis are:

1. Where were the dead buried, and how was the mortuary landscape organized?
2. In which types of tombs, graves, or receptacles were people buried?
3. How was the body prepared for the funeral and what kind of treatment did the body receive during the deposition?
4. What types of artefacts were provided to the dead?
5. Which types of tombstones were chosen to mark the burial site?
6. What information did people convey about themselves on their tombstones by means of text and image?
7. How do the various aspects of mortuary behaviour relate to the culture and identity of the society in which and the people by whom they were performed?

Answers to these questions are sought by utilizing quantitative methods and mapping, and by comparison and correlation of the various qualitative aspects of the mortuary evidence. In order to interpret the observed patterns of mortuary behaviour, they are correlated to the local and regional history as it has been reconstructed from literary, documentary, numismatic, and archaeological sources. Since we are not equally well-informed about the history of Patras for all

of the periods under study, not all of the discussions are able to reach the same level of depth.

To conclude, the main question that guides the analysis is what mortuary behaviour can tell us about a) the identities of the deceased and the burying groups, b) local society and local culture, and c) how society, culture, and identity were affected by external processes of change. Above, it was explained that mortuary behaviour is here viewed as a tool for self-definition and self-representation that reflects social norms, values and beliefs surrounding death on the one hand, and individual and communal expressions and thoughts about identity on the other. I repeat once more that the identification of patterns of common behaviour, transformations therein, and deviations from the norm are informative about the society in which the behaviour took place, because they are the result of motivated actions by social groups, families, and individuals. By reconstructing mortuary behaviour through time, we can come closer to understanding what the community was like, how local society was structured, who the inhabitants of Patras were, how they related to one another, and how they viewed and presented themselves, their status, and their identities. By tying the five period-specific analyses together in a diachronic discussion of continuity and change, tradition and innovation, shifts and fluctuations, of norms and deviations in the mortuary record, and by contextualizing these patterns in their socio-historical circumstances, this work attempts to shed new light on how the community of Patras developed over time, how social hierarchies were determined and renegotiated, and how ethnic, civic, cultural, and personal identities were shaped and reshaped in the wake of imperialism and globalization.

3. Patras in the Classical and Early Hellenistic Era

a small community in the shadow of Macedon

3.1 Introduction

Patras, or *Patrai*¹³³, came into existence during the 5th century BCE as the result of a gradual process of unification of small villages.¹³⁴ Archaeological evidence indicates that Classical Patras was but a small settlement¹³⁵: some remains of the Classical acropolis have been found underneath the medieval castle, foundations of Classical houses have been unearthed at Plateia Ipsilon Alonion, and the site has yielded a small number of Classical burials.¹³⁶ We are not particularly well-informed about the polis in the first two centuries or so of its existence, but there are some literary and documentary that allow us to sketch the history of the polis in broad strokes. We know that by 450 BCE Patras and the other eleven Achaian poleis were joined together in a political coalition that was known as the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν*.¹³⁷ As a member of this Achaian Confederacy, Patras' Classical and Early Hellenistic history is intricately interwoven with that of the koinon. This can be seen during the Peloponnesian War, for example, when Achaian - and thus Patraean - loyalty shifted between Sparta and Athens: sources tell us that Patras was used as a dockyard for the Spartan fleet in 429 BCE

during a naval battle at Rhion and that after their defeat, the Peloponnesians retreated to Patras and Dyme in order to regroup for further combat.¹³⁸ In the years that followed, while the Achaian Confederacy sided with Sparta, it did not actively engage in any of the battles that were fought. The koinon changed sides after the Peace of Nikias (421 BCE), and soon after, in 419 BCE, Athenian interest in Patras as a strategic site was ignited. Alcibiades pushed the people of Patras to build long walls from the urban centre to its port (just as in Athens) in order to ensure free passage to the sea and to protect the communication between the area and the wider Mediterranean.¹³⁹ Plutarch's passage about this event hints to internal discord about whether or not to abide to Athens' will:

'In like manner he [sc. Alcibiades] persuaded the people of Patrae to attach their city to the sea by long walls. Thereupon someone said to the Patrensiens: 'Athens will swallow you up!' 'Perhaps so,' said Alcibiades, 'but you will go slowly, and feet first; whereas Sparta will swallow you head first, and at one gulp.'¹⁴⁰

It was only two years after this that the Lakedaemonians retook power over Achaia and forced the poleis of the region to reorganize themselves as oligarchies; we may suppose that this was true for Patras as well.¹⁴¹ There is not a lot of information about Achaian affairs in the final stages of the Peloponnesian War, but the region seems to have escaped the period relatively unscathed.

The following decades, however, were more tumultuous. Achaia remained loyal to Sparta during its power struggle with Thebes, and the

¹³³ For the name of the polis, see Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 5: 'Modern scholars (...) take the view that the place-name is connected with the noble clans called patrai (=phratrai) that took part in the synoecism which created the city (...). The choice of this neutral name is accounted for by the absence of any powerful settlement that might have imposed its own name.'

¹³⁴ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 10-13. Pausanias (7.6.2) relates the foundation of the polis to the time of the Spartan invasion of the region, and writes that when the Spartan leaders Preuges and his son Patreus came to the area, they synoecised three existing settlements, known as Aroe, Antheia, and Mesatis; Strabo, on the other hand, states that the polis came into existence after the end of the Persian Wars through a synoecism of seven rural communities located in the plain (Strab. 8.3.2: 'συνεπολίσθη [...] Πάτραι δὲ ἐξ ἑπτά').

¹³⁵ It should be noted that the extent of the Classical polis is not known due to the scarcity of archaeological remains from the era.

¹³⁶ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16.

¹³⁷ Polyb. 2.41.3-10.

¹³⁸ Thuc. 2.83-84; Diod. Sic. 12.48.

¹³⁹ Thuc. 5.52.2; Plut. *Alc.* 15.3. A part of a defensive wall has been excavated in Odos Philopoimenos and Odos Maizonos. Because this wall is located between the agora and the harbour, it has been argued that it must be the defensive wall that Thucydides and Plutarchus refer to. See Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 16.

¹⁴⁰ Plut. *Alc.* 15.3, transl. Perrin 1916.

¹⁴¹ Thuc. 5.82.2; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.

confederacy joined in several battles, including the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BCE.¹⁴² General Epaminondas invaded Achaia with the combined forces of the Theban alliance in 367 BCE, after which the Achaian oligarchs were exiled from their poleis and democracies were set up.¹⁴³ This situation was only short lived, as the outdriven oligarchs joined forces and restored the old situation in one city after another. That not everyone simply acquiesced in this situation is clear from the revolt by the common people of Pellene.¹⁴⁴ The revolt was quickly struck down, the aristocrats retained power, and Achaia once again allied with the Spartans against Thebes. Sparta, as we know, was defeated at the Battle of Mantinea.

During the next major conflict of the period, the wars with Macedonia, the Achaian Confederacy fought alongside the allied Greek poleis against Philip II. Ultimately, these struggles resulted in a decisive victory for the Macedonians at the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE. Noteworthy in this respect is a 4th century BCE funerary epigram for the wrestler Chilon of Patras that is recorded by Pausanias.¹⁴⁵ The inscription was erected by the Achaian people (λαός 'Αχαιῶν) in honour of the Chilon not (only) for his athletic prowess, but because he showed great valour in the war in which he lost his life. According to Pausanias, this must either refer to the battle of Chaeronea, when the Achaian Confederacy went to battle against Philip II, 'or else his personal courage and daring led him alone of the Achaians to fight against the Macedonians under Antipater at the battle of Lamia in Thessaly' in 323 BCE.¹⁴⁶ The latter option (arguably the more glorious one) was deemed the correct one by the local guide who showed Pausanias around when he visited Patras in the 2nd century CE.¹⁴⁷

Apart from Pellene, which declared its loyalty to Macedon, the Achaian poleis remained free after the Battle of Chaeronea.¹⁴⁸ They later willingly joined in the war against the Macedonians that was declared by King Agis III of Sparta, but after Antipater's troops defeated the Greeks at the

Battle of Megalopolis (331 BCE) the entire Peloponnese came under Macedonian control.¹⁴⁹

The region of Achaia, however, was not very much affected by this until the time that Alexander's successors engaged in their struggle over the empire and the region was caught in the war between Polyperchon, Kassandros, and Antigonos I Monophthalmos. This had serious effects on the local communities, because the local poleis were subjected to various forms of Macedonian control, including the presence of garrisons and rule by pro-Macedonian tyrants.

Patras was one of the towns that fell into the hands of Kassandros, who installed a garrison there soon after the death of Alexander. Aristodemos, the general of Antigonos, drove Kassandros' troops out of Patras in 314 BCE.¹⁵⁰ In 307 BCE it was Kratesipolis, the widow of Polyperchon's son Alexander and commander of his troops, who based herself in Patras hoping to secure control over the rest of the Peloponnese.¹⁵¹ Although their individual stories differed, all Achaian communities were subjected to and deeply affected by the pressures of Macedonian imperialism, even after the Antigonid dynasty had established long-term control of the region. The circumstances caused severe social unrest and discord within and between the different poleis, and ultimately these strains led to the dissolution of the Achaian Confederacy around 300 BCE.¹⁵²

Clearly, the few written sources on the history of Patras are focussed on political and military

¹⁴⁹ Curt. 6.1-2; Diod. Sic. 17.62-3.

¹⁵⁰ Diod. Sic. 19.66. It is worth noting that Aristodemos' attempt to the neighbouring polis of Aigion was a traumatic affair, because his soldiers pillaged the city, killed many of its inhabitants, and destroyed many buildings. Patras' other neighbour Dyme endured its own hardships: it was taken by Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, in 314/313 BCE at which time slaughtered part of its population, and imprisoned and exiled others, and installed a garrison. Shortly afterwards, the Dymeans also enlisted the help of Aristodemos and launched an attack on the garrison; not only were they able to free the city, but the record states that they also massacred those Dymeans citizens who had sided with Alexander (Diod. Sic. 19.66.4-6).

¹⁵¹ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 17; Plut. *Dem.* 9.3-4.

¹⁵² Polyb. *Hist.* 2.41: 'After the time of Alexander and before the 124th Olympiad they fell, chiefly thanks to the kings of Macedon, into such a state of discord and ill-feeling that all the cities separated from the League and began to act against each others' interests. The consequence was that some of them were garrisoned by Demetrios and Kassander and afterwards by Antigonos Gonatas, and some even had tyrants imposed on them by the latter, who planted more monarchs in Greece than any other king.' Transl. adapted from Paton 1922-7. Cf. Diod. Sic. 19.66; 20.103.

¹⁴² Thuc. 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.18, 6.2.3, 6.4.4; Diod. Sic. 15.31.

¹⁴³ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43.

¹⁴⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17-18.

¹⁴⁵ Paus. 6.4.6; App. *Anth.* 249; see Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, nos. 31 and 217 with bibliography.

¹⁴⁶ Paus. 6.4.7.

¹⁴⁷ Paus. 7.7.5.

¹⁴⁸ Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, 30; *Achaïe II*, 254.

affairs, and we are poorly informed about life in the Classical and Early Hellenistic polis itself. Other sources provide only a little bit of information: the only attestation of Patras in the 4th century BCE Greek epigraphic record simply lists it as one of the members of the Achaian Confederacy in a treaty between the league and Korooneia¹⁵³, and an absence of numismatic evidence indicates that Patras had not started minting its own coins in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, in contrast to other Achaian towns¹⁵⁴; both suggest that the town was of minor importance.

Inscriptions retrieved from the polis itself attest to the presence of a cult for Aphrodite in the 5th century BCE¹⁵⁵ and for Asklepios in the 4th century BCE¹⁵⁶, while another inscription refers to an unknown sanctuary.¹⁵⁷ A statue for Philip II¹⁵⁸ that was set up in the centre of the town is a tangible testimony to some of the impact that the rise of the Macedonian kingdom had had on the local community.

Although we only have snippets of historical information about Patras in the 5th and 4th century BCE, the abovementioned sources do make it clear that the polis - albeit a minor one - was actively involved in the forging and maintenance of interstate relations and alliances, was directly and indirectly involved in regional and supra-regional conflict, and was subjected to external expansionist pressures and foreign occupation. Direct effects of these circumstances apparently included the participation and death of Patraean men in the wars, the alternation of the local political system between democracy and oligarchy, and repeated periods of Macedonian military occupation with which the local population had to deal.

The question that is central to this chapter, is whether an in-depth analysis of the mortuary record of the 5th and 4th century BCE can shed light on local society and culture. Can mortuary evidence inform us about the development of the polis, about continuity and change in the local social structure, about the personal and social identities of the people that lived and died here, and on the social consequences of the aforemen-

tioned circumstances and pressures? Thus far, no systematic analysis of the Classical and Early Hellenistic funerary evidence has been attempted, and it is the aim of this chapter to do so. The chapter starts with a brief overview of the data and a discussion of the mortuary locale, and continues with a discussion of the architecture of the graves, the treatment of the body, the ornaments used to beautify the corpse, and the grave goods that were provided to the dead. A discussion of tombstones and epitaphs follows. By reconstructing the ways in which people dealt with their dead between ca. 450 and 275 BCE, this chapter attempts to come closer to understanding the Classical-Early Hellenistic community of Patras and to explore whether social and cultural change occurred in the wake of global processes of political and cultural transformation.

3.2 The data and their distribution

The corpus of Classical-Early Hellenistic funerary evidence consists of six tombstones and/or epitaphs and nineteen burial sites. The tombstones were studied and published by Papapostolou and Rizakis¹⁵⁹, and preliminary reports about the burial sites were published by various local archaeologists; only some of the archaeological remains have received further attention in subsequent publications.¹⁶⁰

Most of the sites that yielded the burials of the 5th century BCE were situated to the north of the polis (Fig. 3.1); the tombstones of the Classical period, although found *ex situ*, were discovered in the same general area as well.¹⁶¹

Only few burials of the Classical period were discovered at other locations: some were situated to the south of the polis where they lay on

¹⁵³ See Appendix B, no. 1 = Rizakis, *Achaïe III*, no. 120.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 23.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 7.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 229.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 19.

¹⁵⁹ Papapostolou 1993; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*.

¹⁶⁰ BS19, 39, 55, 99-101, 110, 119, 124, 127, 146, 149-151, 169, 204, 215, 216, and 251. For references to the excavation reports and subsequent studies see Catalogue A.

¹⁶¹ The burials were found at Kanakari 80-82, 84-86, and 90-92 (BS99-101), at Katerinis 14-16 (BS119), and at Poukevil 17-19 and 25-27 (BS149, 215). The two Classical tombstones of Patras were unearthed at Kanari 88 (BS110, BM68) and at the junction of Riga Feraïou and Aratou (BM165). As mentioned above (see n. 135), the extent of the polis is not known, but the lack of archaeological remains of a domestic nature in these excavations show that these sites lay outside the inhabited area of the Classical period.

Fig. 3.1 Distribution of the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic burial sites.

Fig. 3.2 Classical-Early Hellenistic grave types (N=24).

either side of the road to Dyme¹⁶², some lay to the west of the urban core in the area towards the sea¹⁶³, and a few were found at rural locations further removed from the town.¹⁶⁴

Towards the end of the 4th century BCE the number of burials increased, as did the number of burial sites; depositions continued at the previously mentioned locations to the north and south of the polis, but additional burial sites were laid out as well.¹⁶⁵ Burial markers of the period, however, were found only in the general area of the North Cemetery, albeit once again *ex situ*.¹⁶⁶ The increase in the number of burial sites and burials hints to a process of demographic growth, but the evidence is currently too meagre to go into more detail.

The distribution of the burial sites indicates that the area to the north of the polis had been an organized cemetery from the Classical period onwards (the North Cemetery). It seems that the area to south of the polis had developed into a formal cemetery by the end of the 4th century BCE (the South Cemetery). Figure 3.1 shows that both cemeteries were organized along the roads that led into and out of the town.

3.3 Grave architecture

A weighted estimation of the number of graves per period suggested that the nineteen burial sites must have yielded at least 79 burials of Classical and Early Hellenistic date. However, since most of the excavation reports do not state how many graves of the period were found at each site¹⁶⁷, the sample of well-documented graves consists of only 24 examples. Two of these were situated at a rural location in the hinterland of the polis, five were situated in the South Cemetery, and seventeen were part of the North Cemetery.¹⁶⁸

Grave types of the period include pit and tile-covered graves, tile-built cists, limestone cists, and limestone sarcophagi (Fig. 3.2). Most popular was the pit grave, a simple grave that was dug into the natural soil, with nothing but soil used to cover the body of the deceased. Nine pit graves were dated to the period, making up 38 percent of our current sample.¹⁶⁹ In a few cases the depositions in simple pits were covered with Laconian roof tiles, after which the pit was closed with soil. As we shall see in the following chapters, such tile-covered graves were to become the most common grave type in Hellenistic and Roman Patras, but only two of these were identified among the 5th and 4th century BCE burials (=8%).¹⁷⁰ Seven of the graves belonged

¹⁶² At Agion Saranta (BS19).

¹⁶³ At Maizonos 157 and Filopoimenos (BS169); some of the burials at this site were later disturbed by the construction of fortification walls.

¹⁶⁴ At Korydalleos 20 (BS151), at Tsoukaleika (BS251) and possibly at Pavlokaastro (BS204).

¹⁶⁵ Burials of the Early Hellenistic period were found at the junction of Kefallinias and Thermopylon (BS124) and at Kolokotroni 29-35 (BS127) in the area to the north of the polis, and to its south at Asimaki Fotila 4-6 (BS39), Charilaou Trikoupi 32-36 (BS55) and Koritsas (BS150).

¹⁶⁶ Tombstones of the period were unearthed at Korinthou 221-223 (BS146: BM82, 88 and 89), where they were reused as road fill in the Early Roman period; they are likely to have originated from cleared Early Hellenistic graves in the area.

¹⁶⁷ See BS19 (richly furnished cist and pit graves), BS39 (burials date from Early Hellenistic to Late Roman times), BS99 (Late Classical tile-built cist graves and Hellenistic pit graves), BS100 (burials date from Late Classical to Late Roman times), and BS127 (burials of Early Hellenistic to Roman date).

¹⁶⁸ Rural burials: G151.1 and 251.1; burials in the South Cemetery: G55.1, 150.1-4; and burials in the North Cemetery: G99.8, 99.19-21, 100.43, 101.4, 119.13-17, 124.13, 127.26, 149.1, 149.18, and 215.1-2.

¹⁶⁹ G119.13-14, 119.17, 150.1-4, and 215.1-2.

¹⁷⁰ G149.1 and G151.1.

to a different type of tile grave: the tile-built cist.¹⁷¹ These cists were built from Corinthian tiles that were used to line the walls of a rectangular pit and to cover the burial before the grave was filled up with soil. Tile-built cists make up 29 percent of the present sample. It seems that the more elaborate stone-built graves were only introduced in the late 4th century BCE: three monolithic limestone sarcophagi¹⁷² (=13%) and one limestone cist grave¹⁷³ (=4%) were dated to the Early Hellenistic period.

Despite the differentiation in grave types, the way in which the dead were treated was homogeneous: the well-documented graves are all said to have contained the remains of a single inhumed individual who had been buried in supine position.¹⁷⁴ If we include the data of lesser quality, then it still seems that no cremations, secondary burials, or other forms of treatment of the corpse were attested among the 5th-4th century BCE burials. This indicates that primary single inhumation was the established burial norm. A similar pattern is known from the wider Classical-Early Hellenistic Peloponnese: single inhumation was the norm throughout the region, with the cemetery at Staphidokampos in Elis being the notable exception because it yielded several cremations.¹⁷⁵ Patras, thus, conformed to the wider Peloponnesian norm.

Although the graves are only few in number, they do show that the local population had a variety of options when it came to grave architecture and that this variety increased over the course of the 4th century BCE with the introduction of higher quality (and more expensive) stone grave types. The question is why one grave type was chosen over another, especially if the treatment of the dead was the same? Was the choice related to the identity of the deceased? Due to the lack of skeletal data we cannot answer the question whether or not biological facets of identity (age, sex, health, etc.) were a motivating factor. The lack of site plans inhibits the reconstruction of the internal organization mortuary landscape and hinders an analysis of the spatial distribution of the graves. This means

that we cannot ask whether different grave types were clustered, and if so, whether these clusters could possibly represent kinship or other social relations. The graves themselves, on the other hand, do give a hint as to why they may have been chosen: the fact that the used types can be placed along a scale of quality, energy investment, and expenditure suggests that the variability in grave types could be related to the wealth of the deceased and his or her burying group. The introduction of higher quality graves during the 4th century BCE may point to a process of subtle social differentiation, and may indicate that the wealthier stratum of the local population became more interested in emphasizing their social status in the funerary realm. Since the evidence from graves alone is not enough to substantiate these hypotheses, let us turn to the other mortuary evidence to see if the pattern is replicated.

3.4 Garments and ornaments

The full burial assemblage is known for fifteen graves of the Classical-Early Hellenistic era; the objects recovered from these burials number ≥90 in total (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Twenty percent of the objects are items of dress and adornment that inform us on how the dead were clothed when they were put to rest in their graves and the other eighty percent can be characterized as grave provisions (discussed in Section 3.5).

3.4.1 Dressing the dead

The archaeological evidence for funerary dress is restricted, because the soil conditions in Patras – as is true for Greece in general – are not suitable for the preservation of woven fabrics and leather, which were the materials commonly used for clothing and footwear in the ancient world.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the evidence consists solely of items made of durable materials such as bone or metals, and include buttons, dress pins, or buckles, and any reconstruction of funerary dress is thus primarily indirect. Unfortunately, dress items in Classical-Early Hellenistic-burials are limited to a mere two pins, one made of bone

¹⁷¹ G99.8, 99.19-21, 119.15-16, and 251.1.

¹⁷² G100.43, 124.14, and 127.26.

¹⁷³ G101.4.

¹⁷⁴ It should be noted, though, that human remains are only referred to in the excavation report on ten of the graves. These are: G100.43, 119.13-17, 149.1, 215.1-2, and 251.1.

¹⁷⁵ Dimakis 2016, 37-40 (with bibliography) and Figure 63.

¹⁷⁶ See Andrianou 2012 for a discussion of the archaeological and iconographical evidence for textiles in funerary contexts in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece. For the adornment of the dead in Antiquity in general, see Carroll and Wild 2012.

Table 3.1 Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Classical-Early Hellenistic era (N=15)

Grave ID	Cemetery	Grave type	Date (BCE)	No. of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age estimation	Gender estimation	Total no. of objects	Dress items Ornaments	Provisions
119.13	N	pit grave	375-350	1	inhumation	-	-	4	1 gold ring	1 lamp, 1 skyphos, and 1 lekythos
119.14	N	pit grave	350-325	1		-	-	4		1 shell, 1 skyphos, 1 skyphidion, and 1 silver coin (in mouth)
119.15	N	tile-built cist	l. 4th-e. 3rd c.	1		-	-	≥5		1 strigil, fragments of ivory and iron nails (box or chest?), 1 lamp, 1 kotyle base, and 1 silver coin
119.16	N	tile-built cist	e. 3rd c.	1		-	f	6	1 gold wreath	1 bronze mirror, 1 marble alabastron, 1 black-glazed lekanis with lid, 1 plain lekanis, and 1 pyxis
119.17	N	pit grave	l. 4th-e. 3rd c.	1		-	f	3		1 bronze mirror and 2 ceramic unguentaria
127.26	N	limestone sarcophagus	EHel	-		-	-	5	1 gold ring	1 amphoriskos, 1 lekythion, 1 lamp, and 1 transport amphora outside the grave
149.1	N	tile grave	4th c.	1		-	f	20	1 pair of bronze earrings (pyramidal)	1 bronze mirror, 4 ivory doves, 1 glass alabastron, 1 lamp, 4 red-figured lekythia, 1 black-glazed plain lekythion, 1 black-glazed kantharos, 1 kyathion, 1 krateriskos, 2 phialai, and 2 cylindrical pyxides
149.18	N	unspec.	EHel	-		-	-	1	1 gilded bronze wreath	-
151.1	•	tile grave	LCl-Hel	-		-	-	3	1 pin	1 ceramic vessel, 1 silver obol (Kleitorea, 362-300 BCE)
215.1	N	pit grave	325-275	1		-	f	6	1 gilded bronze wreath	1 kantharos, 1 kotyle, 2 lekythia, and 1 thilastro
215.2	N	pit grave	300-275	1		6-8	f	6	1 gilded bronze wreath (myrtle), 1 pair of gold earrings (lions)	2 skyphidia, 1 bronze egg-container with hen's egg inside, and 1 silver hemiobol (Aigina, l. 4th-e. 3rd c. BCE; in mouth)
BS100, grave 4	N	unspec.	mid-4th c.	-		-	f	≥12	1 pair of gilded clay earrings, silver jewellery, 1 bone pin	2 figurines and 7 vessels, including a miniature hydria and kalathos
BS100, grave 5	N	unspec.	350-300	-		-	f	≥8	1 pair of gold earrings (Erotes), 1 gold and 3 bronze links (chain?)	1 silver strigil, 1 bronze mirror, 1 lamp, 1 hydriskos, and 2 pyxides
BS100, grave 6	N	unspec.	300-275	-		-	f	3	1 gilded bronze wreath, 1 pair of gold earrings (lions),	1 small phiale
BS100, grave 7	N	unspec.	325-300	-		-	f	4	1 gilded bronze wreath, 1 snake-shaped earring	1 bronze mirror, 1 silver coin (Aigina, l. 4th-e. 3rd c. BCE)

Table 3.2 Grave goods of the Classical-Early Hellenistic period:
Artefact types and their frequency (N objects = 90, N burials = 15).

jewellery/dress item	12	kantharos	2
lekythos/lekythion	9	kotyle	2
wreath	6	lekanis	2
ceramic vessel (unspec.)	6	phiale	2
coin/danake	5	strigil	2
lamp	5	unguentarium	2
mirror	5	egg shell	1
pyxis	5	kalathos	1
skyphos/skyphidion	5	krater/krateriskos	1
alabastron	2	kyathion	1
amphora/amphoriskos	2	sea shell	1
figurine	2	thilastro	1
hydria/hydriskos	2	miscellaneous	6

and one made of an unspecified material¹⁷⁷, and we are not able to reconstruct the way the dead were clothed.

3.4.2 Adorning the dead

The burials give better insights into local habits in beautification of the body. Items of adornment were found in eleven graves of the period, and include wreaths, rings, earrings and unspecified items of jewellery. The oldest burials in which jewellery was discovered date to the Late Classical era and the amount of jewellery within them was only limited: one individual wore a gold ring¹⁷⁸, another person wore a pair of bronze pyramidal earrings¹⁷⁹, and a third individual was adorned with gilded ceramic earrings and an unidentifiable piece of silver jewellery.¹⁸⁰

One Early Hellenistic grave contained similar ornaments - the person buried in a limestone sarcophagus wore one gold ring¹⁸¹ - but overall, the burials of the late 4th-early 3rd century BCE are characterized by new adornment practices: metal funerary wreaths were introduced and the deposited jewellery became more valuable. Jewellery of the period includes one pair of gold earrings with Eros as dangles and two pairs of gold earrings with finials in the shape of lion's heads.¹⁸² The two individuals wearing the lion-shaped earrings were both crowned with bronze gilded funerary wreaths with gilded ceramic

myrtle fruits. These two individuals were plausibly identified as female¹⁸³, one of whom was a child aged about six to eight years old (Fig. 3.3).¹⁸⁴ Bronze gilded wreaths of similar design were found in at least three more burials of the period.¹⁸⁵ In addition to the bronze gilded wreaths one gold funerary wreath was found; it crowned a person buried in an Early Hellenistic tile-built cist grave.¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, it seems that the bronze gilded wreaths were only used between 325 and 275 BCE after which they completely disappear from the local archaeological record; gold wreaths, on the other hand, would remain in use for centuries to come.

3.4.3 The origins of the new adornment practices

The available archaeological data thus suggest that the use of funerary wreaths in Patras started in the late 4th century BCE. Rather than interpreting this as the introduction of an entirely new burial practice that was restricted to a specific social group, the data more likely reflect developments in an existing practice.

¹⁷⁷ For a discussion of gender identification on the basis of ornaments and grave goods, see Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁸ Petropoulos (2005a; 2005b) published this burial in detail, focussing particularly on the grave assemblage. He has plausibly identified the child as a girl based on the jewellery (earrings) and the grave goods (a silver hemiobol of Aigina (l. 4th-e. 3rd century BCE) was clenched between the teeth, two locally produced skyphidia and a bronze egg container with a hen's egg preserved inside). The two publications by Petropoulos include a photograph of the child's skull, which is also on permanent display in the Archaeological Museum of Patras. I thank bioarchaeologist O.A. Jones for providing me with an age estimation of this child based on the photographs and the displayed skull itself.

¹⁷⁹ G149.18, G215.1, and BS100, grave 7.

¹⁸⁰ G119.16.

¹⁷⁷ G151.1 and BS100, grave 4.

¹⁷⁸ G119.13.

¹⁷⁹ G149.1.

¹⁸⁰ BS100, grave 4.

¹⁸¹ G127.26.

¹⁸² BS100, grave 5; G215.2 and BS100, grave 6.

Fig. 3.3 The skull of the young girl buried in grave G215.2 at Poukevil 25-27 in the North Cemetery is on permanent display in the Archaeological Museum of Patras. Photograph by author; cf. Petropoulos 2005, Fig. 9.

According to written and iconographic sources the crowning of the dead with wreaths made from natural branches, leaves, fruits, and flowers was an important part of the death rites in ancient Greece, evidently from as early as Geometric times onwards.¹⁸⁷ It is likely that in Patras, too, such floral wreaths were used by the local population from as early as the Classical era, but this would not have left any archaeological traces.¹⁸⁸ During the late 4th century BCE, however, it seems that some of the people in Patras became interested in the use of durable and valuable materials in the manufacture of their funerary crowns. That these earliest crowns mimicked an existing natural model is suggested by the fact that the golden and bronze gilded leaves, as well as the painted and gilded terracotta fruits and flowers closely resemble their natural counterparts - something that is increasingly less true for later wreaths, which became more stylized over time. The craftsmanship displayed in the Early Hellenistic wreaths proves that significant amounts of time,

effort, and skill went into their production, and they must have been luxury items.

In the wider region of the Northern Peloponnese such non-perishable funerary wreaths were introduced around the middle of the 4th century BCE. Dimakis has shown that, while they appeared in multiple regions, they were particularly popular in the western part of the Peloponnese, notably in Achaia and Elis.¹⁸⁹ In fact, a closer inspection of the material shows that such wreaths were heavily concentrated in Patras.¹⁹⁰ While this pattern may in some ways reflect an excavation and publication bias, it certainly suggests that adornment practices in Patras were different from those in its immediate surroundings. The question is why.

¹⁸⁷ For literary, iconographic, and archaeological evidence on the practice of using wreaths for the dead, e.g. Blech 1982, 81-108 with bibliography. Cf. Tsigarida 2010, 213-14; Kyriakou 2014, 272-73.

¹⁸⁸ Or to be more precise, no traces that have been detected with the traditional archaeological methods utilized during rescue excavations. Archaeobotanical studies of newly excavated Classical and Hellenistic burials are necessary to prove or disprove this hypothesis.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Dimakis 2016, 51-2 and 60-61, with bibliography. Funerary wreaths were found in Classical and Hellenistic burials in Achaia (many of which were found in Patras and are listed here and in the following chapter; other examples come from Dyme (Kato Achaia), Aigion, and Keryneia), in Elis, and one in Arcadia and one in Argos. Dimakis points out that there was a marked differentiation in the distribution in graves of metal wreaths and other metal items including jewellery between the west and east Peloponnese, and interprets the pattern as 'a reflection of the radically altering political balances' in the Peloponnese (52).

¹⁹⁰ While Dimakis identified five metal wreaths for the entire Northern Peloponnese in the Classical period and seventeen for the Hellenistic period, the material from Patras collected in this study includes six wreaths of 5th-4th century BCE date, twenty wreaths of the 3rd-2nd century BCE, and an additional eight of either Late Hellenistic or Early Roman date (see Chapters 4 and 5).

There is evidence to suggest that the introduction and popularity of this practice in Patras was related to the rise of the Macedonian empire and to the increased connectivity and spread of Macedonian material culture that it entailed; Patras' strategic location would have played a crucial role in this process. Seeing Macedonia as the provenance for the practice has several reasons. First, since no gold mines were present in the Peloponnese, gold had to be imported. In this period the most likely source for the material seems to be Macedonia, since we know that the gold mines in the territory were intensively exploited under Philip II.¹⁹¹ In Macedonia itself the increased availability of gold led to its use for wreaths in the funerary realm. Indeed, the closest parallels of the Patraean wreaths have been found in burials of the mid/late 4th century BCE in the Macedonian heartland.¹⁹² The similarities are so strong, in fact, that it is not implausible to suggest that the wreaths used for Patraean burials were imports from Macedonian workshops that had found their way to the local market. The Macedonian connection is further strengthened by the gold earrings found in the graves of this period: although this type of earring is known from the entire Hellenistic world, they are found in exceptionally large numbers in Macedonia, where they must have been produced on a large scale.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Diod. Sic. 16.8.6-7.

¹⁹² Examples can be seen in the museums of e.g. Thessaloniki, Kavala, Abdera, and Komotini; note that the burnt remnants of a bronze gilded crown with gilded ceramic fruits were discovered in the funeral pyre that was associated with Tomb II in Aigai. See Tsigarida 2010 for a discussion of an intricate gold myrtle wreath and parallels. The most impressive of the Patraean crowns, not fully published and hence not included in this study's database, is on display in the Archaeological Museum of Patras; a photograph and brief discussion were recently published in the museum's catalogue (Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 157-58). This crown, worn by a young girl, was excavated in the same plot as the abovementioned and depicted burial of the 6-8 year old girl at Poukevil 25-27 in the North Cemetery (BS215); the excavation report about this excavation does not provide information about this specific find. Nonetheless, it is important to refer to a striking parallel of this crown, which is on display in the archaeological museum of Pella (unpublished?). There, it was found as one of the objects from a burial of 350-325 BCE. The two wreaths with painted terracotta flowers are so similar in their design and manufacture that we may pose the question whether they were made in the same workshop. It is noteworthy that the grave goods of this particular burial from Pella also correspond to those that were common in the Patraean graves of the period: an Attic red-figure pyxis, a lead pyxis, a gold danake, a bronze coin (of Alexander III), and bone elements that decorated a wooden box.

¹⁹³ Papapostolou 1990, 120.

3.4.4 Adornment and identity

Since written sources inform us of the presence of Macedonian individuals in Early Hellenistic Patras - first the garrisons of Kassandros and later Kratesipolis with her entourage - we should consider the possibility that the Early Hellenistic burials with bronze gilded wreaths belonged to Macedonian immigrants who took these items with them or had them imported when they resided in the Achaian polis. A similar hypothesis has been posed by Petropoulos, who tentatively identified a cluster of graves that contained these types of ornaments as the burial ground of immigrant Macedonians.¹⁹⁴ It should be stressed, however, that there is no corroborating evidence from skeletal analyses, nor can we distill any information about identity from tombstones, from grave types, or from the mortuary treatment that the wreathed deceased received. A Macedonian provenance and identity, thus, cannot be proven. While the apparent fact that the use of bronze gilded wreaths was limited to the period of Macedonian occupation may be an argument in favour of connecting them to immigrants, it may be just as that the Macedonian presence in Patras simply led to increased connectivity and trade with northern Greece and, hence, an increased availability of Macedonian prestige goods - wreaths and jewellery - on the Patraean market. If indeed these artefacts were simply on sale at the local agora, they could have been procured just as easily by migrant Macedonians as by well-to-do local individuals who were interested in using these luxury and durable versions of funerary wreaths for the adornment of their dead.

Although - on the basis of our present evidence, that is - we cannot be sure of the provenance or ethnic identity of the people who chose to adorn their dead in this new way, the introduction of divergent, more expensive, practices of adornment coincides with the piecemeal introduction of new, higher quality grave types. Although they do not correlate (the higher quality ornaments are not found in higher quality graves, see Table 3.1), these patterns do point to the emergence of a need to emphasize social differentiation in death. Let us now turn to the grave goods to see whether a similar pattern can be discerned.

¹⁹⁴ BS215: cf. Petropoulos 2005a, 2005b and n. 192 above.

Fig. 3.4 Late Classical-Early Hellenistic grave assemblages: The main functional categories (N=75; 15 objects are excluded).

3.5 Grave provisions

3.5.1 Grave goods: types

If we exclude the items of adornment, the total number of grave goods in our sample of fifteen well-documented furnished graves is 72. The number of objects per grave ranged from one to nineteen, and the average number of provisions per grave lay around five (Table 3.1). Ceramic vessels form the main artefact category among the grave goods (43 items). Most of the ceramic vessels can be assigned to two main groups based on their function: a) types associated with the storing, pouring, and drinking of water and/or wine, and b) types that primarily serve as the containers for scented oils and other toiletries. Seventeen vessels of varied shapes, including skyphoi/skyphidia, kantharoi, and kotylai, belong to the first group (Fig. 3.4). Exceptional was one thilastro, a feeding bottle that is used by children during the weaning process. To the second group belong eighteen vessels. These include oil flasks (lekythoi/lekythia and unguentaria), and pyxides and lekanides that were often used for cosmetic powders and ointments or as jewellery containers. Two alabastra, one marble and one glass, can also be ascribed to the category of toiletry vessels. Other objects related to bodily care are five bronze mirrors and two strigils, one of which was made of silver. The inclusion of metal artefacts seems to have increased over the course of the 4th century BCE.

Coins were found in five of the graves.¹⁹⁵ All five burials contained a single silver coin, and in at least two cases the coins had been placed in the mouth of the deceased. Two were minted in Aigina, one in Kleitoria, the provenance of the other two coins is not mentioned. The grave goods further include five ceramic lamps, one miniature kalathos, and two terracotta figurines of unknown shape. One grave contained four ivory doves among its furnishings. Fragments of ivory and iron nails in another burial may represent the remnants of a small box or chest. Of particular interest was a small bronze vessel with two moveable handles - a sort of miniature stam-noid situla - that could be identified as an egg-cup since one hen's egg was preserved inside.

3.5.2 Depositional patterns

A few patterns may be discerned in the provision of grave goods in this period. We may note the variation between the individual sets of grave goods, both in numbers of items deposited per grave, in their value, and in the composition of the assemblages. The fact that no two burials contained the exact same collection of items is noteworthy, and shows that there were no fixed rules concerning the needs of the dead in this period. We can, however, discern a tendency to deposit items that belong to two main spheres of activity in daily life: drinking practices and practices surrounding bodily care.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of coin provision in Patras through time, see Appendix C.

Items for grooming often appear as sets. Bronze mirrors tend to be associated with oil flasks and/or cosmetics containers, and one grave contained both a mirror, a strigil, and two pyxides.¹⁹⁶ There was only one burial in which a grooming tool was not associated with any other objects related to bodily care.¹⁹⁷ It is notable, but perhaps not surprising, that in seven out of the nine burials that held grooming items the deceased were adorned with jewellery and/or wreaths. The prevalence of this combination suggests that the Patraeans valued care for one's external appearance, both during life and - by providing the dead with jewels and grooming tools - after death.

Vessels for the pouring and drinking of water and wine can be provided by themselves, but appear as sets as well. Moreover, they are generally combined with other types of provisions, such as lamps or coins. Only one grave in our present corpus contained a single phiale and no other grave goods.^{198,199}

A similar pattern of two main functional groups was identified for burials in the wider Northern Peloponnese by Dimakis, who based this observation primarily on pottery.²⁰⁰ He found that drinking vessels far outnumbered those for ointments and cosmetics during the Classical period, and that combinations of the two distinct functional groups hardly ever occurred. Interestingly, it seems that neither of these two patterns are replicated in the known burial assemblages of Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras. The numbers of pottery objects in both categories are about the same (17 vs. 18), and if we include the non-ceramic grave goods, then the objects related to drinking are in fact outnumbered by those related to grooming (17 vs. 27).

¹⁹⁶ G149.1.

¹⁹⁷ G119.15.

¹⁹⁸ Here, phialai are counted as 'drinking, pouring, and storing vessels', as opposed to containers for oils and ointments. However, the primary function of a phiale is of course that of a libation bowl. Whether a phiale should therefore be seen as representing drinking practices (or even the symposium), or is better interpreted as the remnant of a libation poured into the grave is up for discussion. It is also entirely possible that we need not differentiate between a practical and ritual function, but that the two were combined.

¹⁹⁹ BS100, grave 6; the grave did contain items of corpse adornment.

²⁰⁰ Dimakis 2016, 49-51 and figs. 77a, b. Dimakis relates the deposition of drinking and pouring vessels in Classical burials to interactions between the dead and the living 'in the form of formal gatherings involving drinking at the grave site' (p. 49).

Some burials do adhere to Dimakis' model of mutual exclusivity: three graves contain items related to bodily adornment, but no drinking vessels²⁰¹, while four graves do contain drinking or pouring vessels, but no grooming tools or containers for cosmetics.²⁰² It is worth noting, however, that in three out of the latter four burials the bodies of the deceased were adorned with wreaths and jewellery.

There are also instances where the two spheres are explicitly combined, the most notable example of which is **G149.1**. In this 4th century BCE tile grave an individual, most likely a woman given her jewellery, wore bronze pyramidal earrings, and was provided with a bronze mirror, two pyxides, one glass alabastron, five lekythia, as well as a drinking set consisting of a black-glazed kantharos, a kyathion, a krateriskos, and two phialai. The grave further contained one ceramic lamp and four ivory doves. In the past, artefacts related to drinking practices have often been considered as grave goods suited only for men, while artefacts related to grooming were considered to be grave goods for women. While there may well be some truth to this (see Section 4.9.5), the burial assemblage of tile grave **G149.1** proves that this strict gender division certainly does not always hold.

3.5.3 Grave goods, culture, identity

The similarities and differences between the wider Peloponnesian patterns observed by Dimakis and those arising from the local Patraean material are of great interest. They indicate that while mortuary practices in the Classical and Early Hellenistic Peloponnese followed a general notion of the proper types of objects that should be given to the dead, there was also room for variation on a local and even on an individual level. This variation could exist in preferences for certain pottery shapes and designs, in the combination of different types of objects, but also in the provision of personal objects. These 'personal touches' that a burying group could give to a funeral are perhaps best represented by those items that are unique to one grave.

For Patras, this can be illustrated with graves **G215.1** and **G215.2**. The former was a late 4th-early 3rd century BCE pit grave that contained

²⁰¹ G119.16, 119.17 and BS100, grave 7.

²⁰² G119.14, 215.2, and BS100, graves 4 and 6.

the skeletal remains of one individual, who was crowned with a bronze gilded wreath, and was provided with one kantharos, one kotyle, two lekythia, and a thilastro. Petropoulos established that the kantharos, kotyle and lekythia were all produced in the same Dymeian workshop.²⁰³ These four vessels show no signs of use, which suggests that they were bought - probably at the local market where the workshop must have sold its products - for the sole purpose of their deposition in the grave. The thilastro, however, did show clear signs of use. The fact that it was used during life and not simply bought for the funeral, suggests that it carried a specific meaning to either the deceased or to the people burying her (the earrings suggest the deceased was a woman). Of course, we can only guess what this meaning might have been. Since the buried individual was not a child of weaning age, we may wonder whether the thilastro was a keepsake from her own childhood years, whether it represented her parenthood, or that the thilastro was a gift to the deceased given by a child or grandchild. Whatever the exact motivations behind their provision were, the grave goods in this burial give us a fascinating example of a burial assemblage that consisted of artefacts that were specifically purchased for the funeral, and those that had been used during life. The second grave with an exceptional item was **G215.2**, the grave of the young girl that was mentioned above. The girl, a child still, wore a pair of fine gold earrings and a bronze gilded myrtle wreath, she had a silver coin clenched between her teeth and beside her lay two skyphoi and a bronze egg-cup with an egg inside. We may wonder whether the provision of an egg - symbolic of notions of fertility, birth, life and rebirth - may be related to the young age of the girl who died before being able to bear children, or whether it is reflective of afterlife ideologies. The presence of the silver coin, placed in the mouth as a fee for Charos, strengthens the latter interpretation. Whatever the case may be, the provision of the egg was an unusual practice and sets the grave apart from the rest.

To conclude, despite the observation that no two graves of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period contained the exact same set of grave goods, it is clear that Patras generally conformed to

wider Greek burial culture when it came to the deposition of grave goods. Nourishment and grooming were important aspects of life, and apparently remained so after death. Gender and age may have been a factor in determining the exact types of grave goods were appropriate for a specific individual, and the use of imported or expensive goods (e.g. ivory artefacts or a silver strigil) indicates that wealth also started to play a role in deciding who was provided with what. It should be stressed, however, that variation in terms of expenditure and quantity is still rather limited, and we cannot speak of explicit attempts at emphasizing social differentiation by means of grave goods. Tombstones, however, may have been used for this purpose.

3.6 Tombstones and epitaphs

A few graves of the Classical-Early Hellenistic era were marked with tombstones. Six burial markers of the period have been discovered thus far (Table 3.3). Although they were all found in the general area of the North Cemetery, none was found *in situ* and associated with an actual burial

One of the tombstones is no longer preserved. While the inscription has been recorded and published - the text commemorates a certain Σάρτυρος Αίσχίνα and is dated to the 4th or 3rd century BCE - no information is available about the size, design or material of the monument.²⁰⁴

The five remaining

burial markers belong to varying types. The oldest is a simple, undecorated pillar stele of the 5th century BCE.²⁰⁵ It is made of limestone and although it is broken, still measures over a meter in height. The tombstone carries a vertically written, partially preserved inscription along its front face that reads: [---]θεος. A limestone stele with crown moulding dates to the 4th century BCE; the name Ἀγῆμων is inscribed on its front.²⁰⁶ The other three tombstones, all discovered at the same site in the North Cemetery, date to the late 4th-early 3rd century BCE.²⁰⁷ These are a limestone stele with a simple crown

²⁰⁴ BM186; see Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 57.

²⁰⁵ BM165, unearthed at BS110.

²⁰⁶ BM68, unearthed at the junction of Riga Pheraiou and Aratou.

²⁰⁷ BM82, 88 and 89, unearthed at BS146.

²⁰³ Petropoulos 2005a, 2005b.

Table 3.3 Tombstones of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period (N=6).

Burial Marker ID	Date BCE	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Inscription	Comments
BM68	4th c.	Pillar stele	Limestone	104.5x50.5x12	Ἀγήμων	
BM82	325-275	Palmette stele	Marble	184x35x10 (incompl.)	-	Anthemion finial with traces of paint, Two rosettes/phialai on the upper shaft, and possible traces of a knotted ribbon in red paint. Imported from Attica.
BM88	325-275	Pedimental stele	Limestone	64x35.9x10.3	Εὐφάνης/ Αἰσχρίωνος	Knotted ribbon in red paint on the mid-section of the shaft, below the inscription.
BM89	4th-3rd c.	Stele with crown moulding	Limestone	41x30.5x9.5 (incompl.)	Τιμαρχίς/ Τιμοδάμου	Poor quality inscription.
BM165	5th c.	Pillar stele	Limestone	106x40.5x17.5 (incompl.)	[---]θεός	The inscription is carved vertically along the front face of the stone.
BM186	4th-3rd c.	-	-	-	Σάτυρος/ Αἰσχίνα	The stone is now lost.

moulding that commemorates a woman named Τιμαρχίς Τιμοδάμου (Fig. 3.5)²⁰⁸, a limestone pedimental stele with a red-painted ribbon on its shaft and the name Εὐφάνης Αἰσχρίωνος inscribed above it (Fig. 3.5)²⁰⁹, and an uninscribed marble palmette stele.²¹⁰ The latter measures 1.84 m in height, has an elaborate anthemion finial, and has two sculpted rosettes on the upper section of the shaft. The anthemion was painted in lush colours and the shaft shows possible traces of a red-painted ribbon. According to Papapostolou, who published this tombstone in detail, this stele was imported from Attica, while all other tombstones of the period were locally produced.²¹¹ This is noteworthy, because it shows that a certain burying group put significant expense of both effort and money towards the marking of a specific burial site, by importing an impressive, high quality tombstone from a manufacturing site more than 200 kilometres away. The stele does not carry an epitaph; it may have once had a painted text, but no traces are preserved. The lack of an inscription on this tombstone is disappointing, for if the name of the deceased had been preserved we might have been able to gain a closer understanding of why he or she was commemorated with such an exceptional stele.

Despite the fact that none of the Classical-Early Hellenistic tombstones and epitaphs could be associated with specific burials, they do provide us with some information on differentiation in elaboration of the burial site. The palmette stele was exceptional for its size, design, material, quality, and the fact that it was imported; the other four were all locally produced and relatively simple, but still showed variation in their overall quality and designs. While this may be a reflection the economic status of the burying group (i.e. they had enough disposable funds to erect a tombstone), the tombstones themselves and the epitaphs provide little information about the identity, status, or wealth of the deceased that they commemorated. We can ascertain, however, that the commemorated dead were Greek²¹², that four of them were men ([---]θεός,

²⁰⁸ BM89.

²⁰⁹ BM88.

²¹⁰ BM82.

²¹¹ Papapostolou 1993, 36-38 (no. 12).

²¹² No clear regional patterns emerge from the names. Ἀγήμων appears in the Dodecanese, the Peloponnese, and Western Greece, Εὐφάνης is common in the Dodecanese, the Peloponnese, mainland Greece and is attested in the northern regions of Greece. Αἰσχρίων is attested throughout the Greek world, including in southern Italy and Sicily, Cyprus, and the islands along the coast of modern Turkey. Σάτυρος is a very common name (530 attestations in *LGP*); in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period it is common on Thasos, in Kallatis, and in Attica; six people with the name are known from Early Hellenistic Achaia. Αἰσχίνας is primarily used in the northern Peloponnese, Boeotia, and the Dodecanese. The name Τιμαρχίς is uncommon and its attestations are concentrated in the Peloponnese; the male variant was very common throughout the Greek world. The name of Timarchis' father, Τιμόδαμος, is relatively uncommon as well, with its attestations being concentrated in the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Epirus, and Kos and Rhodes.

Fig. 3.5 BM88 (r) and 89 (l): The tombstones for Timarchis and Euphanes.
Source: Papapostolou 1993, figures 3 and 4.

Ἀγῆμων, Εὐφάνης Αἰσχυρίωνος²¹³, and Σάτυρος Αἰσχίνα), and that one of them was a woman (Τιμαρχίς Τιμοδάμου). This indicates that men were more likely to be commemorated with a tombstone. We can also see that the inclusion of the patronymic occurs only in the later epitaphs (inasmuch as they are accurately dated). The use of one's patronymic serves as a means of social differentiation, and the introduction of its use hints to an increasing importance of kinship relations and descent. As such, this ties in well with the emerging emphasis on differentiation that was identified in other aspects of the funerary behaviour of the late 4th-early 3rd century BCE. Further inferences about social identity or social status of the deceased on the basis of their tombstones lack a solid basis and are best kept to a minimum.

3.7 Classical-Early Hellenistic Patras: death, identity, society

Let us summarize the main observations about the Classical-Early Hellenistic mortuary record of Patras. Funerary remains of the period were excavated at nineteen sites in and around the modern city. They would have originally been si-

tuated outside the town; most of them to its north, fewer to its south, and even fewer to its west and in rural locations. The North Cemetery developed into a formal cemetery from as early as the mid-5th century BCE when the polis was first established, while the South Cemetery developed later, probably towards the end of the 4th century BCE. As was true for most cemeteries of the Classical world, the space of the dead lay beyond the inhabited area, thus separating the landscapes of the living and the dead.²¹⁴ While the number of burial sites was low, it is clear that they were situated along the main land routes to Aigion and Dyme respectively. Burial clusters within the cemeteries could not be attested due to a lack of published site plans, but may have existed nonetheless.²¹⁵

Graves existed in various types: pit and tile graves, tile-built cists, limestone cist graves, and monolithic limestone sarcophagi. The latter two types required higher amounts of investment and appear to have been introduced during the 4th century BCE. The variety of grave types makes it clear that people had a choice in the form that their grave took, but disposal methods seem to have been limited to only one option:

²¹³ Despite a wide temporal gap, it is worth noting that the name Αἰσχυρίων is known from Hellenistic coinage minted in Patras: BM coin 1887 6-6-11 and *BMC Pelop.* p. 22 no. 1 (both of 146-32 BCE).

²¹⁴ In the Peloponnese Argos is one of few exceptions, cf. Dimakis 2016.

²¹⁵ See Petropoulos 2005a, 2005b, who hypothesized that the burial site at Poukevil 25-27 contained a cluster of burials belonging to Macedonian immigrants. Cf. n. 192 above.

primary single inhumation in supine position. There are no attested cremations, no recorded double or multiple burials (although these were attested at other 5th-4th century BCE burial sites in the wider Peloponnese²¹⁶), and there is no evidence for the re-opening of graves for secondary treatment of any sort. Overall, therefore, the way in which the dead were treated during this period was very homogeneous.

The lack of available data on skeletal remains did not allow for an analysis of the relation between the age, sex, and other biological aspects of the deceased and the type of grave they were buried in. It can be noted, however, that none of the excavation reports explicitly refer to any burials of infants or very young children; the youngest child (and the only individual whose age could be determined with relative certainty) was six to eight years old. We might infer from this that infants and very young children received a sort of mortuary treatment that made them less visible in the mortuary record. Since the amount of available data for this period is quite limited overall, however, we should approach this issue with caution.

The spatial distribution of the grave types among the different burial locations reveals a noteworthy pattern: all but one of the graves of more elaborate construction - i.e. the tile-built cists, the limestone cist, and the limestone sarcophagi - are situated in the North Cemetery; the one exception is a tile-built cist that was found at the rural site of Tsoukaleika. The five well-documented graves from the South Cemetery were simple pit graves and one cist of unspecified type and construction; the second rural grave was a tile grave. This pattern indicates that the North Cemetery not only received the highest number of depositions, it also received the graves of the best construction. Moreover, the North Cemetery had the highest number of furnished burials, and the tombstones of the period also seem to have come from the area - although I repeat that none were found *in situ*. These converging patterns indicate that burials of higher expenditure were situated in the North Cemetery, and they testify to a degree of differentiation between the two urban cemeteries that, as we shall see in the following chapters,

persisted and increased over time. The pattern suggests that people of better means generally chose to bury their dead in the North Cemetery. It does not seem likely that wealth was in itself a determining factor in the choice for a particular burial location, but the available data do not allow us to identify to other motivations that may have been at play in the process of choosing a burial site.

The analysis of the grave assemblages showed that some variability existed in the way the dead were dressed and adorned, as well as in the grave goods that they were provided with. The majority of the ornaments were wreaths, rings, or earrings, and the majority of the grave goods were either related to drinking practices or to care for and beautification of the body. Despite these general similarities, a degree of differentiation was identified in the types and amount of ornaments and grave goods that were deposited, and in the value that the deposited items represented. This variability could have been motivated by various considerations. Eschatological beliefs could be one of the factors in the provision of grave goods and differences therein: the coins found in the mouths of the deceased may be representative of ideas about crossing the river Styx, while artefacts for drinking and grooming could point to ideas about feasting and bodily care in an afterlife. Variability in grave goods may also be related to the personal or social identity of the deceased; as an example we noted the presence of a baby feeder that showed signs of use in the grave of a woman and we addressed the possibility that the gilded funerary wreaths were used either by a group of migrant Macedonians, or by a well-to-do layer of the local population. The age and gender of the deceased may have been a determining factor in the choice for certain types grave goods. A plausible case can be made for identifying earrings, mirrors, and possibly even pyxides and lekani-*nides* as gendered (female) objects, for example, but the lack of skeletal analyses inhibits a test of this hypothesis. This issue is discussed further in the following chapter. The names that are recorded on the tombstones show that men and women could receive similar treatment when it came to the marking of their graves and their commemoration in stone.

If we place the various burial assemblages - but also the grave types and the tombstones - along

²¹⁶ Dimakis 2016, 37-48 (with bibliography) and Figs. 48 and 63.

a scale of estimated monetary value, then we can see evidence for the emergence of variation in investment on burials. This seems to be an indication that the period witnessed increasing wealth differentiation among the inhabitants of Patras. It is possible that wealth was related to social status, and that the more valuable grave types, burial assemblages, and tombstones thus belonged to a social elite. The data, however, cannot be directly correlated to one another and are, therefore, not robust enough to substantiate this.

A final aspect that became clear from the analysis of the Classical and Early Hellenistic mortuary record, is that Patras was connected with various regions from where items were imported that found their way into the local cemeteries. Imports include pottery from a nearby Dymean workshop, a marble palmette stele from a workshop in Attica, silver coins that had been minted in Aigina and Kleitoria, gold jewellery and gilded wreaths that may have come from workshops in Macedonia, a strigil made of silver that may have been mined in Laurion or Asia Minor, and ivory objects for which the source material would have originated either in Africa or in India. Although the number of imports is not necessarily striking, it is quite clear that Patras was part of a wide network of contact and exchange.

In conclusion, the picture of Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras that emerges from its burials is that of a growing polis that was inhabited by people of Greek cultural identity, who adhered

to regional norms in dealing with their dead, but that stood out from the wider region in adornment practices. Over the course of the 4th century BCE, the local community seems to have witnessed growing prosperity and the emergence of social differentiation, as is suggested by an increase in mortuary variability and investment on the funeral. Social differentiation was also emphasized by the use of patronymics in funerary inscriptions.

The developments in Patras correspond with patterns that have been observed in other regions of the Greek world, where social change also revolved around an increasing importance of the individual and the family and an abandonment of isonomic values. The mortuary evidence further shows that Patras was part of regional and supra-regional networks of trade and connectivity. It must therefore have been frequented by itinerant tradesmen, and may even have been home to migrants. The polis' strategic location along these traderoutes may well have been a factor in the differences that were observed between the mortuary record of Patras and that of the less well-connected poleis in its surrounding region. To be sure, Patras did not mint its own coins and is virtually absent in the written and epigraphic record of the time, which suggests that the town was a regional backwater. The mortuary evidence, however, shows that it while Patras was perhaps a small polis indeed, it was certainly not isolated and was very much part of the Mediterranean world.

4. Patras and the Coming of Rome

from 'unspeakable disasters' to a thriving polis

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we have seen that Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras was a minor polis that was of marginal political importance, but was nonetheless part of networks of connectivity and trade due to its strategic location on the Mediterranean sea routes. The mortuary evidence indicated that the polis was inhabited by people of Greek cultural identity, with Greek names and writing in the Greek alphabet, and who adhered to Greek norms in how they dealt with their dead. Newly introduced practices from the late 4th century BCE might be related to changing fashions and newly available commodities, or may even have been brought in by migrants. The cemeteries showed signs of variability: there was subtle differentiation in grave types and their quality, in the ornaments worn by the dead, in the number and types of grave goods provided; only a handful of graves were marked and elaborated with tombstones. Although the available data were limited and dispersed, they nonetheless indicated that variation in mortuary treatment became more pronounced over time. This suggested that the community of Patras underwent a process of change whereby social differentiation - and the wish to emphasize this in the cemetery - started to increase.

In this chapter we shall see how the local community developed over the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. The Hellenistic era is known for interstate connectivity, interstate relations and strife, but was also marked by the coming of Rome. The chapter starts with an overview of Patras' Hellenistic history as it is known from literary, documentary, and (where possible) archaeological sources, after which we turn to the mortuary record. We will discuss the mortuary landscape, funerary architecture, tombstones and epitaphs, burials and the artefacts deposited in the graves in order to a) reconstruct how the people of Patras dealt with their dead in the

Hellenistic era, to b) see how the Patraeans used the mortuary realm to define and portray themselves, and c) to tease out if and how the coming of Rome affected the local community in ways that are reflected in the cemetery.

4.2 A history of Hellenistic Patras

4.2.1 The 3rd century BCE

By 281/280 BCE Patras, Dyme, Tritaia and Pharaï had been able to free themselves from Macedonian rule and, at Patras' initiative, they instigated the foundation of a new Achaian League after the first koinon had dissolved under the pressures of the late 4th century BCE.²¹⁷ The other Achaian poleis were able to join the League soon after, and the whole region was once again politically united. We know from literary and documentary sources that the League became embroiled in conflicts with the Macedonians, the Aitolians, and with Sparta over the course of the 3rd century BCE. While the entire region was severely affected by these wars, Patras was hit particularly hard, or so the sources suggest. For when they joined the Aitolians in their war with the Galatians, the Patraean contingent was utterly defeated at Kallipolis (279 BCE)²¹⁸, and taking this blow while reportedly poverty-stricken, the polis is said to have been all but abandoned in the aftermath of this defeat, with people moving to the countryside and neighbouring towns.²¹⁹

Half a century later, Patras is known to have played a role of major strategic importance during the Social War of 220-217 BCE. Its port was repeatedly used as a place of landing or departure by foreign powers, but also served as one of

²¹⁷ Polyb. 2.41; Strab. 8.7.1.

²¹⁸ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 17; Paus. 7.18.6, 10.22.6.

²¹⁹ Paus. 7.18.6: '(...) But suffering unspeakable disasters in the fighting, and most of them being also crushed by poverty, all with the exception of a few left Patrae, and scattered, owing to their love of agriculture, up and down the country, dwelling in, besides Patrae, the following towns: Mesatis, Antheia, Bolina, Argyra and Arba.' Transl. Jones and Ornerod 1918.

the main defensive locations for the region. In 218 BCE, for instance, Philip V used Patras as a point of entry to the Peloponnese for himself and 7200 of his men²²⁰, and later in the same year he landed here when a truce was offered by the Aitolians.²²¹ During an Achaian conflict with the Aitolians, Aratos led 3000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and ‘the division under Taurion’ to Patras so that they could keep an eye on the retreating Aitolian forces from there.²²² And in 217 BCE, when Aratos initiated the installation of new infantry, cavalry, and ships to combat the Aitolians, he ordered three of the ships to patrol the harbour of Patras.²²³ The literary record reports that the frequent traversing of large troops of men through the area, often wreaking havoc wherever they went, had a deep impact on the welfare of the people living in the northwest Peloponnese.²²⁴ It was in the spring of 220 BCE that the Aitolians, instilled with an ‘inveterate passion for plunder’, ransacked the territories of Patras, Pharai and Tritaia.²²⁵ Two years later a group of 3000 Aitolian men pitched their camps on the acropolis of Patras, raided the surrounding *poleis*, and wasted the entire territory²²⁶, and even more plundering took place by the hands of the Aitolians in 210/9 BCE.²²⁷ It is said that these frequent raids resulted in grave economic disaster and, since Patras could no longer pay its membership fees to the League, this ultimately meant that the local community went unprotected at a time of serious political instability and intense warfare; a situation that must have left the local population in utter despair.²²⁸

²²⁰ Polyb. 5.2.11.

²²¹ Polyb. 5.28.1-3.

²²² Polyb. 4.10.1-9.

²²³ Polyb. 5.91.4-8.

²²⁴ Cf. Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 17.

²²⁵ Polyb. 4.6.9-10, 4.7.2-3, 4.25.4, transl. Shuckburg 1962 [1889].

²²⁶ Polyb. 5.30.2-4: ‘[...] He [sc. Pyrrhios, an Aetolian commander] had under him a force of thirteen hundred Aetolians, and the mercenaries hired by the Eleans, as well as a thousand Elean infantry and two hundred Elean cavalry, amounting in all to three thousand: and he now began committing frequent raids, not only upon the territories of Dyme and Pharae, but upon that of Patrae also. Finally he pitched his camp on what is called the Panachaeon Mountain, which commands the town of Patrae, and began wasting the whole district towards Rhium and Aegium.’ Transl. Shuckburg 1962 [1889].

²²⁷ Liv. 27.29.9.

²²⁸ Polyb. 5.30.5-6: ‘The result was that the cities, being exposed to much suffering, and unable to obtain any assistance, began to make difficulties about paying their contribution to the league; and the soldiers finding their pay always in arrear and never paid at the right time acted in the

A funerary epigram by Damagetos, dated to ca. 220 BCE, offers a striking testimony about the direct social consequences that these political and military affairs had on the local community:

ὦλεο δὴ Πατρέων περὶ λήϊδα καὶ σύ Μαχάτα
δριμὺν ἐπ’ Αἰτωλοῖς ἀντιφέρων πόλεμον
πρωθήβας χαλεπὸν γὰρ Ἀχαικὸν ἄνδρα νοῆσαι
ἄλκιμον, εἰς πολιὰν ὅστις ἔμεινε τρίχα.²²⁹

The epigram commemorates one of the many young men that died in a confrontation with the Aitolians, and brings home the point that war has very real social effects. By the end of the 3rd century BCE the entire region of Achaia, or so the poet laments, was all but completely bereft of adult men because the continuous strife of the period had taken away all local youths and men before they had had a chance to grow old. The loss of a generation of young men would have had a deep impact on local families, and - if this attestation indeed refers to a real situation - then a significant change would have taken place in the local demography, which would have had a major effect on local social structure.

As we shall see below, a dearth of (datable) burials from the third century BCE may be an indication that the situation was as dire as Damagetos’ epigram and the other sources suggest.²³⁰ Nonetheless, the fact that Kleitor in Arkadia, Thermon in Aitolia, and Delphi in Phokis issued proxeny decrees for citizens of Patras during the 3rd century BCE is clear evidence that it was at this time a functioning polis that continued to be involved in interstate affairs.²³¹

4.2.2 Rome and the Achaian League

On the global level, in the meantime, Rome had risen as one of the main players in the Mediter-

same way about going to the relief of the towns. Both parties thus mutually retaliating on each other, affairs went from bad to worse, and at last the foreign contingent broke up altogether.’ Transl. Shuckburg 1962 [1889].

²²⁹ *Anth. Pal.* 7.438: ‘Perish among the spoils of Patras, you did too, Machatas, waging grim war against the Aitolians in the prime of your youth; for it is difficult to think of any brave Achaean man who survived until his hairs were grey.’ See Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 25 for a brief commentary.

²³⁰ As was also noted by Rizakis (1998, 23). In a later article, however, Rizakis and Petropoulos (2006, 17) give a general overview of the Hellenistic archaeology and suggest that the town may in fact have been growing in this period and that Pausanias may thus have referred to events in a different point in time.

²³¹ See Appendix B, nos. 3-5 = Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, nos. 682, 671, and 662.

anean. By the end of the 3rd century BCE Rome was seeking alliances with Greek states against the Macedonian king, and in 200 BCE Rome formally declared war on Philip V of Macedon. The latter was decisively defeated at the Battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BCE), and was forced to surrender all of his possessions outside of Macedon. Greece was proclaimed free in a famous declaration by the Roman Senate held at the Isthmian Games of 196 BCE.²³² This so-called 'freedom of the Greeks' signalled the start of a new era in the history of the Achaian League. After having suffered severely during the past few decades, the League managed to recover and prospered to such an extent that it grew to incorporate the entire Peloponnese. Uprisings arose at various places and times, e.g. at Sparta in the 180s BCE, but despite these upheavals the Achaian League was an important political power throughout the first half of the second century BCE.²³³

A major factor in the success of the Achaian League was its close relationship with Rome.²³⁴ While the relationship was ad hoc and informal at first, eventually the League and Rome were joined in a *foedus aequum*, a treaty between equals.²³⁵ The Achaeans interpreted the arrangement in a literal sense: that they were equal associates of Rome. Thus convinced, the League acted as an independent political power, and settled internal affairs and conducted foreign policies without including Rome in each and every decision. Rome, on the other hand, did not share this interpretation of the treaty, and

instead considered the League as a client state with the unwritten, moral obligation that it was to act only in compliance with Roman views.²³⁶ In practice, though, Roman interferences with local politics in the Peloponnese were kept to a minimum, although Rome did place certain limits on the League's foreign relations and supported local political factions when this suited Rome's own best interest.²³⁷

4.2.3 Patras in the 2nd century BCE

While we know quite a lot about the affairs of the Achaian League in this period, there are not a lot of sources on Patras itself. Nonetheless, a hand-ful of epigraphic sources do provide us with some bits of information. Two Patraeans are known to have held important positions in the Achaian League and were honoured abroad: one Archon, son of Aristokrates, was honoured as a *proxenos* and *euergetes* by Delphi²³⁸ and one Teison of Patras, admiral of the fleet in 192 BCE, was bestowed with proxeny by the polis of Aptera on Crete.²³⁹ Patras was involved in the arbitration of interpolis disputes in the Peloponnese²⁴⁰, and further afield: the polis is known to have sent officials to Anatolia to bear witness to the signing of a peace treaty between Miletos and Magnesia.²⁴¹ Two further proxeny-decrees, one from Thermon in Aitolia and the other erected by the koinon of the Akarnanians, record the names of Patraean citizens who are otherwise unknown to us.²⁴² The epigraphic record, albeit small, attests to Patras' activity on the political and civic stage of the Hellenistic world, but we remain largely in the dark about how things fared in the polis itself, especially with regard to internal political structures, the economic state of affairs, and the social organization and social structure of the community.

Patras is mentioned again in the literary record after relations between the Achaian League and Rome had soured, for when the two went to war it was Patras that was once again badly affected.

²³² Polyb. 18.46.5; cf. Plut. *Flam.* 10.4; Liv. 33.32.5; App. *Mac.* 9.2; Val. Max. 4.8.5. That 'free' was only a relative term, can be seen from the fact that Rome enforced Greek allegiance on various occasions, see for instance Plut. *Flam.* or *Cat. Ma.* 12.3-4 on Cato bringing over Corinth, Patras, and Aigion to Rome.

²³³ It is worth noting that the Achaian League was not only considered a political unity of separate city-states at the time, but could be considered as one community, sharing a sense of a common ethnic (or civic) identity. 'The Achaeans', so says Polybius, 'have in our time made extraordinary progress in material prosperity and internal unity (...) [N]ot only is there in the Peloponnese a community of interests such as exists between allies or friends, but an absolute identity: of laws, weights, measures, and currency. All the States have the same magistrates, senate, and judges. Nor is there any difference between the entire Peloponnese and a single city, except in the fact that its inhabitants are not included within the same wall; in other respects, both as a whole and in their individual cities, there is a nearly absolute assimilation of institutions.' (Polyb. 2.37.10-11, transl. Shuckburg 1962 [1889]).

²³⁴ See Eckstein 2008.

²³⁵ Liv. 39.37.9-10.

²³⁶ cf. Liv. 36.31-2 on Rome's intervention in the League's incorporation of Zakynthos, Elis and Messene; Liv. 36.35.

²³⁷ cf. Briscoe 1967; Gruen 1984; Dmitriev 2011.

²³⁸ Polyb. 28.6 and Appendix B, no. 10 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 663.

²³⁹ Liv. 35.26.2-10 and Appendix B, no. 7 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 683.

²⁴⁰ See Appendix B, no. 11 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 699.

²⁴¹ See Appendix B, no. 9 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 697.

²⁴² See Appendix B, nos. 8 and 12 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, nos. 672 and 679.

After a devastating defeat during the battle against the Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus at Skarpheia in 146 BCE, the Patraeans are said to have suffered so deeply that Polybius refers to them as ‘the most pitiable’ of all Peloponnesian poleis:

‘The people of Patrae, and of the towns which were leagued with it, had a short time before suffered disasters in Phocis; and their case was much the most pitiable one of all the Peloponnesian cities: for some of them sought a voluntary death; others fled from their towns through deserted parts of the country, with no definite aim in their wanderings, from the panic prevailing in the towns. Some arrested and delivered each other to the enemy as having been hostile to Rome; others hurried to give information and bring accusations, although no one asked for any such service as yet; while others went to meet the Romans with suppliant branches, confessing their treason, and asking what penance they were to pay, although as yet no one was asking for any account of such things.’²⁴³

It was in the same year that the revolt of the Peloponnesian cities was notoriously struck down by Lucius Mummius, who, after taking Corinth, executed all Corinthian men and sold the women and children into slavery. The sack of Corinth marked the end of Greece’s independence and the Peloponnese was put under the administration of the provincial governor of Macedonia.²⁴⁴

In the immediate aftermath of the war the cities of the Peloponnese were in severe political, military and economic distress.²⁴⁵ A new *politeia* and laws were imposed on the region, and it reportedly took the Achaians some time to acquiesce to them.²⁴⁶ In Dyme the unrest led to a revolt in 144/3 BCE during which the local archives were set ablaze and an attempt was made to overthrow the new constitution; upon request of the pro-Roman faction of the Dymaeon elite the matter was adjudicated by Quintus Fabius Maximus who presided over the matter in Patras, which apparently functioned as a seat of Roman power for at least that brief period in time.²⁴⁷ Fabius, giving the Achaians a stern warning against this

kind of behaviour, sentenced two of the leaders of the revolt to death.²⁴⁸

After the dust had settled, the official Roman attitude towards Greek cities was for the most part that they should remain free and autonomous; Rome stayed away from the local political affairs and played only a minor role when they were asked to do so.²⁴⁹ As a consequence, Roman political interventions in the area around Patras also remained relatively limited for the next century or so. More active involvement started with the forced settlement of Cilician pirates in Dyme that took place in 67 BCE at the orders of Pompey; Plutarch explains that the choice for Dyme was motivated by the fact that much good land was available here, because the area was still bereft of men.²⁵⁰

This passage in Plutarch and others cited above give the impression that the northwest Peloponnese was largely left in a deplorable state after the many conflicts of the preceding years, both demographically and economically. But even if this was the case for the wider region, it was certainly not so in Patras itself, for the town witnessed growing prosperity from the middle of the 2nd century BCE onwards. The destruction of Corinth and the political devaluation of Aigion left Patras as the prime polis of the region, and its port became the main crossing point to Italy from the Greek mainland.²⁵¹ Patras was actively used as an intermediate stage in the communication between east and west, on the political and military level, but also for commercial activities and travel of a personal nature.²⁵² Epigraphic testimonia of the period show that Patraeans were still active beyond its boundaries, even further afield than before: prominent men from Patras were being granted various honours in places such as Delphi and Olympia²⁵³, Patraean citizens participated and were victorious in athletic festivals in Larisa and Oro-

²⁴⁸ Cf. Kallet-Marx 1995b on Syll.3 684.

²⁴⁹ Liv. 33.31.7-11, 33.32.5-10; Gruen 1984; Rizakis 2010.

²⁵⁰ Plut. *Pomp.* 28.6-7: ‘τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οἰκητήριον ἔδωκε Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαΐδα, χηρεύουσιν ἀνδρῶν τότε, γῆν δὲ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχουσιν’; cf. App. *Mithr.* 14.96; Str. 8.7.5.

²⁵¹ Rizakis 1988a; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 18.

²⁵² Rizakis 1988b; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 19: ‘diplomats, politicians, exiles, businessmen and merchants preferred the swifter and less dangerous sea route to the East that passed through the Corinthian Gulf’.

²⁵³ See Appendix B, nos. 15-17 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, nos. 598, 625 and 624.

²⁴³ Polyb. 38.16.4-9 = Polyb. 39.9 transl. Shuckburgh 1962 [1889]

²⁴⁴ Syll.³ 683; SEG 3.378; IGR 1.118

²⁴⁵ Cf. Fuks 1970; Kallet-Marx 1995a.

²⁴⁶ Polyb. 39.5.3.

²⁴⁷ See Appendix B, no. 14 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 5.

pos²⁵⁴, the polis was among those that recognized the *asylia* of the temple of Hekate at Lagina²⁵⁵, and a certain Achaïos from Patras²⁵⁶ made a living as a sculptor in Egypt. That Patras fared quite well in this period is also evident from archaeological sources: domestic architecture and burials attest to demographic growth²⁵⁷, while the local activity of jewellery workshops and the import of expensive commodities such as silver vessels testify to economic prosperity and to intensive trade.²⁵⁸

4.2.4 Hellenistic Patras: the questions

To conclude, the literary sources indicate that Patras was plagued by rampant warfare and grave misfortunes in the Hellenistic era, but epigraphic testimonia show that the polis nonetheless remained invested in interstate relations and networks of diplomacy. Archaeological and epigraphic sources further show that Rome's conquest of Greece ushered in a new era during which the polis and its prosperity grew. Since we are quite uninformed about the social history of Hellenistic Patras, the question that is central to this chapter, is whether an in-depth analysis of the Hellenistic mortuary record can shed light on how the polis, its community, families, and individuals fared and developed under these circumstances. What can the mortuary record tell us the demographic changes that the sources attest to? What does it say about the noted fluctuations in prosperity? Does the mortuary record reflect changes in networks of connectivity and does it attest to a change in the polis' position in the Mediterranean world? What can the burials of the period tell us about local social structure and social hierarchies? And what do the cemeteries communicate about the personal and social identities of the people that made up the society of Hellenistic Patras?

The analysis starts with a brief overview of the data that are available for this period. It continues with an analysis of the architecture of the graves and the tombstones that were used to

mark the burial sites. A discussion of burial assemblages follows. By reconstructing the ways in which people dealt with their dead between ca. 275 and 75 BCE, this chapter attempts to come closer to understanding the Hellenistic community and to explore how local society and culture developed and transformed in this period of intense global change.

4.3 The data and their distribution

Mortuary evidence for the Hellenistic period was excavated at (at least) 37 sites in and around modern Patras, and consists of funerary architecture and graves, tombstones and epitaphs, burial assemblages, and human remains.²⁵⁹ The distribution map of burial sites (Fig. 4.1) shows that the burials were concentrated along the roads to Aigion in the North and to Dyme in the South, and that the course of the road through the North Cemetery followed the natural route between the foothills of the Panachaiko and the coast. The map further shows that the number of burial sites in the North Cemetery was significantly higher than it was for the South Cemetery, and that only four of the burial sites were situated further away from the polis and may have been associated with the rural population.²⁶⁰ A weighted estimation based on high and

²⁵⁴ See Appendix B, no. 18 and 20 = IG IX,2 528 and Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 709.

²⁵⁵ See Appendix B, no. 19 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 693.

²⁵⁶ See Appendix B, no. 21 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 720.

²⁵⁷ As was true for the preceding centuries, the salvatory nature of archaeological research in Patras does not allow a reconstruction of the extent and organization of the settlement in this period.

²⁵⁸ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 21.

²⁵⁹ Tombstones and gold jewellery from burial contexts have been studied by Papapostolou (1990; 1993), the epitaphs were published and discussed by Rizakis (*Achaïe II*), and 37 (or 47, if *ex situ* material and remains of uncertain date are included) excavation reports published in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* by various archaeologists of the local Ephorate discuss funerary remains of the period, some of which have received further attention in subsequent publications. These are the reports for BS9, 12, 17-19, 39, 55, 59, 99-101, 105, 119, 124, 126-127, 136, 142-143, 145-146, 149, 150-151, 181, 191, 197, 204, 215-217, 221, 227-228, 236, 238, and 247. The ten sites that yielded *ex situ* burial markers or remains of possible Hellenistic date are: BS65, 80, 102, 128, 132, 134, 141, 219, 222, and 226. For references to each of the excavation reports and subsequent studies on the material see Catalogue A.

²⁶⁰ The 26 Hellenistic sites in the North Cemetery are BS9, 12, 99-101, 105, 119, 124, 127-128, 136, 142-143, 145-146, 149, 181, 197, 215-217, 221-222, 227-228, and 247. The seven Hellenistic sites in the South Cemetery are BS17-19, 39, 55, 150, and 236. The four Hellenistic sites in the countryside are BS126, 191, 219, and 238. Note that the preliminary reports lists BS126 and 238 preliminary reports as being situated in the South Cemetery.

Fig. 4.1 Distribution of the Hellenistic burial sites.

Inhumation graves

Cremation graves/Secondary burials

Fig. 4.2a, b Hellenistic grave types (N inhumation graves = 81, N cremations/secondary burials = 25).

low quality data suggests that at least 300 Hellenistic burials were excavated at these 37 burial sites, and that the North Cemetery received at least twice as many burials as the South Cemetery in this period (see Fig. 5.33 in the following chapter). Of these, only 106 burials were well-documented enough to be included in the analyses in this chapter, since many of the excavation reports merely record the presence of Hellenistic burials at a given site, but do not specify their number or provide any other details. The graves that form our current sample were found in the North Cemetery (68 graves = 64%), the South Cemetery (22 graves = 21%), and in three clusters outside the main necropoleis (16 graves = 15%). Despite significant variability in the quality of the data, can be considered as a good representation of the Hellenistic mortuary record.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ The 68 well-documented graves in the North Cemetery were situated at 21 different burial sites: G9.2, 12.3, 101.20, 101.30, 105.10-14, 119.11-12, 119.18-19, 128.17, 136.7, 136.16-17, 142.1-2, 145.1-8, 146.1-3, 149.2-3, 181.1-6, 197.1, 215.4, 216.1-18, 227.3, 228.1-7, 247.1-2. The well-documented graves of the South Cemetery are situated at five different sites: G18.13-14, 39.154, 126.1-4, 150.5-15, and 236.1-4. The well-documented graves outside the main necropoleis are: G151.1-3, 191.1-9, 204.1-3.

4.4 Graves and treatment of the body

4.4.1 Inhumation graves

An analysis of grave architecture shows that while pit graves had been the most used grave type in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, the tile grave took over as the most popular type in the Hellenistic era: tile graves form 35 percent of our current sample, whereas pit graves constitute a mere 13 percent (Fig. 4.2).²⁶² The tile-built cist, which had been a common type among the earlier material, had all but disappeared from the repertoire of grave types in the Hellenistic era: only one tile-built cist was dated to the period (Fig. 4.3: **G18.13**).²⁶³

²⁶² Tile graves: G101.20, 101.30, 105.12, 105.14, 119.11-12, 119.19, 145.1-8, 149.3, 151.1-3, 191.1-9, 204.1-3, 216.8-10, and 228.1-3. Pit graves: G119.18, 126.4, 136.7, 136.16-17, 216.1-7, 236.4, and 247.2.

²⁶³ Grave G18.13 was situated in the South Cemetery and was found among a cluster of Early Roman depositions and below one limestone cist grave of 125-75 BCE (G18.14). The tile-built cist was partly destroyed, but contained piled human remains and a ceramic unguentarium of the 2nd century BCE. The fact that this burial was a disturbed deposition brings up the question whether the grave did in fact date to the Hellenistic era, or was actually an older (Classical-Early Hellenistic) burial that had been disturbed during the construction of G18.14. It is possible that the human remains from the disturbed grave were piled up after this disturbance and then provided with an unguentarium.

The abandonment of the tile-built cist more or less coincided with the growing popularity of the limestone cist grave (Fig. 4.3: **G18.14**). These graves required significant investment: their walls and covers were made of large, heavy, locally quarried limestone slabs that were linked together by means of iron clamps that were sealed with lead. In at least one case both the cover slabs and the joints had been coated with plaster in order to carefully seal the burial inside.²⁶⁴ In the previous chapter we saw that one grave of this type was dated to the late 4th century BCE, but the limestone cist only became common in the Hellenistic period proper, when they were used for about ten percent of the depositions.²⁶⁵ Since only two of these were given a more precise date, it is not possible to trace their introduction and use more accurately.²⁶⁶ Nine limestone cists were situated in the North Cemetery and two were situated in the South Cemetery; it is noteworthy that the only cist grave that was reportedly associated with aboveground funerary architecture (a peribolos built of large limestone blocks) was situated in the South Cemetery (Fig. 4.4).²⁶⁷

Simple monolithic sarcophagi, all cut from local limestone, were only discovered in the North Cemetery and make up four percent of our current sample.²⁶⁸

Explicit information about human remains was only available for about half of the pit graves, tile graves, tile-built cists, limestone cists, and sarcophagi in our sample. They were all said to contain the remains of a single individual - adults, children, and even infants²⁶⁹ - inhumed in

supine position. It is not unreasonable to assume that the people buried in the other graves of these types received the same form of treatment. Together, these grave types make up the vast majority of the Hellenistic depositions²⁷⁰, thus suggesting that single supine inhumation remained the norm in mortuary treatment, just as it had been in Classical-Early Hellenistic times.

4.4.2 Cremation and secondary burial

While inhumation had been the only (recognizable) mortuary rite in 5th and 4th century BCE Patras, the Hellenistic polis witnessed the introduction of the rites of cremation and secondary burial. Twenty-two burials contained cremated remains, while bone piles (so-called secondary burials) were found in five graves. Cremations and secondary burials were situated both in the North and South Cemeteries, but thus far none have been found farther afield. The lack of site plans does not allow a reconstruction of their spatial relation vis-à-vis one another and vis-à-vis inhumation graves.

Overall, cremated remains and secondary burials were deposited in small, often square, versions of the inhumation graves: in pits²⁷¹, tile-covered pits²⁷², tile-built thekai²⁷³, and limestone thekai.²⁷⁴ In some cases the cremated remains had been placed in urns before being lowered into the ground²⁷⁵; in those cases where no container was preserved, the ashes may have been wrapped in a perishable material such as textile after they had been collected from the pyre.

In addition to these secondary cremations the Hellenistic material also included primary cre-

²⁶⁴ G9.2.

²⁶⁵ Limestone cist graves: G9.2, 12.3, 18.14, 146.1-3, 215.4, 228.4-6, and 236.1. Seven additional graves of the Hellenistic era are described in the preliminary reports as cist graves, but there is no specification of the construction method and materials used. It is possible that these were limestone cists, but they could also be tile-built, or even built from river stones or other materials. These are G105.13, 126.1-3, 142.1-2, and 204.4.

²⁶⁶ G12.3 was dated to 150-125 BCE and G18.14 was dated to 125-75 BCE.

²⁶⁷ G236.1 and T236.A. Associated with the same peribolos were a pit grave (G236.4) and two limestone thekai (G236.2-3) that were created from the remains of the limestone cist grave after it had been disturbed.

²⁶⁸ Sarcophagi: G105.11, 128.17, 228.7, and 247.1.

²⁶⁹ Age estimations were provided for thirteen graves: G101.20 and 216.3-10 were occupied by infants and children, G18.14 supposedly contained the remains of a young adult, and G12.3 and 216.1-2 belonged to adults. Eight of the infant/child burials in pit and tile graves were found together at the same plot in the North Cemetery (G217.3-10).

This cluster is of particular interest, for it suggests that deliberate action was taken to bury these young children together. Whether this represents a family cluster or a child burial site that was used by a wider group of the population is an important question, but not one that can be answered on the basis of the currently available data.

²⁷⁰ They add up to 63 percent if we exclude the inhumation graves of unspecified type, and to 76 percent if we include them.

²⁷¹ G216.18.

²⁷² G216.11-14.

²⁷³ G216.17.

²⁷⁴ G236.2-3.

²⁷⁵ Urn G197.1 was found in the corner of peribolos T197.A in a pit covered with two tiles, urn G105.10 was deposited in a simple pit; the find context of urns G216.15-16 was unspecified.

Fig. 4.3 Burial Site 18: Agion Saranta 13. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1979, Σχέδ. 4.

mation graves or pyres.²⁷⁶ Graves of this type were unearthed at only one location: a cluster of eleven pyres was found at the site of the Skagiopoleios Orphanage on Koritsas in the South Cemetery.²⁷⁷ These were rectangular pits dug into the soil, with average dimensions of 2.05x1.70x0.93 m; the pyre would have been built inside the pit and set alight after the bier, the shrouded corpse, and possibly grave goods had been placed on top of it. After the cremation process was completed, the burnt remains would have fallen into the grave, which was subsequently covered with earth. In the case of these eleven graves, the clay soil of the walls of the pits was baked due to the extreme heat of the pyre and the duration of the cremation process. The pyres are roughly dated between the late 3rd and 1st century BCE, but it is not clear whether they span multiple generations or whether they were laid out in a short period of time. Thus far, this cluster of eleven pyres is the only Patraean burial site where this type of treatment was attested.²⁷⁸ Who, then, were the people who were disposed of in this way? The fact that the pyres average 2.05 in length could be an indication that these were intended for adult individuals, but such an inference is clearly based on rather simplistic assumptions. Nonetheless, the clustering of the pyres on a single plot combined with the absence of this type of mortuary behaviour from the rest of the burial landscape shows that the people buried here were deliberately placed together, thus suggesting that they formed a cohesive social group during life. What it was that bonded these individuals in life is difficult to say in the absence of skeletal data, burial markers and grave goods, but it is clear that they at least shared a common

- divergent - notion on how the dead ought to be dealt with.

4.4.3 Disposal of the dead: continuity and change

The analysis of grave types and their popularity makes it clear that local preferences shifted and that the options for grave architecture and corpse disposal multiplied in the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic era. While inhumation graves make up the vast majority of the Hellenistic depositions²⁷⁹ the types that were used testify to a widening gap in differentiation in expenditure on the grave. The skeletal data, as far as available, indicates that single supine inhumation remained the normative mortuary treatment, just as it had been in Classical-Early Hellenistic times. But although the norm may not have changed, the introduction of new methods of corpse disposal - cremation and secondary burial - constitutes a major change in local mortuary behaviour. This innovation in the treatment of the dead is of great interest, and it is crucial to explore whether we can identify the provenance of the practices, the motivations behind their application, to reconstruct the identity of the people that were cremated or received secondary burial, and to explore why these particular people were subjected to such a different method of disposal? Once again, the lack of analyses on the human remains do not let us identify the age or sex of the cremated individuals, nor do we have any skeletal evidence for provenance, diet, or other aspects of their lives that could be related to their different treatment. The fact that cremations require significant investment of time, labour, and money, on the other hand, may be an indication that the cremated individuals or their burying groups had a considerable amount of disposable wealth. Let us now turn to the other aspects of Hellenistic funerary behaviour to see whether they can shed more light on the motivations that guided the marked changes in grave architecture and mortuary treatment.

²⁷⁶ The term secondary cremations refers to the process whereby cremated human remains are collected from the extinguished pyre and are subsequently deposited elsewhere. Primary cremations are those in which the cremated remains are buried on the site of the pyre, without having been collected or otherwise manipulated.

²⁷⁷ BS150, G150.5-15; another possible primary cremation grave is G145.2, a tile grave which is reported to contain 'burnt bones'. It dates to the late Hellenistic period. A Roman-era example may be G123.10, although the report only states this to be a pyre and no mention is made of cremated remains.

²⁷⁸ A possible primary cremation of the Hellenistic era is attested at BS145 in the North Cemetery, where tile grave G145.2 was reported to have contained 'charred remains'. Even if this is indeed a primary cremation (which is not entirely clear from the publication), the grave is still very different from the ones in the Skagiopoleios-cluster.

²⁷⁹ They add up to 63 percent if we exclude the inhumation graves of unspecified type, and to 76 percent if we include them.

Fig. 4.4 Burial Site 236: Solomou 53.
Plan of the excavation (Hellenistic phase).
After Papapostolou 1973, Σχέδ. 9.

4.5 The introduction of tomb architecture

In addition to new grave types and new modes of corpse disposal, the Hellenistic cemeteries of Patras also witnessed the introduction of above-ground funerary architecture in the form of stone-built periboloi. Eight Hellenistic periboloi have been excavated so far; six were situated in the North Cemetery and two were situated in the South Cemetery; none have been identified outside the cemeteries.²⁸⁰

The simplest of these periboloi were of a stone and soil-built construction, but a number of Pi-shaped periboloi built of large limestone blocks were of a more monumental nature.²⁸¹ The only limestone peribolos that was fully excavated

measured ca. 1.90x4.20 m in size. Unfortunately, the state of preservation and publication hinder the reconstruction of the original sizes and height of the rest of the Hellenistic periboloi, which makes it impossible to assess differentiation between them, but also to assess their overall monumentality and the visual impact that these structures would have made on the cemeteries of the time.²⁸²

The primary purpose of these stone-built enclosures was the demarcation and delineation of a burial plot in order to group together the graves of specific individuals. Often - or so it is generally assumed - these individuals were members of the same family. Unfortunately, the reports only give information on the burials for one peribolos. Peribolos **T236A** (Fig. 4.4) could not be fully investigated because it was situated on the border of the excavation plot, but nonetheless enclosed the remains of four graves: a limestone cist grave that was later disturbed and transformed into two *thekai* and an undisturbed pit grave.²⁸³ The pit grave contained the inhumation of an adult male individual wearing a gold oak-leaf wreath, a gold ring with a representation of a spearhead, and garments or a shroud made of gold-threaded textile.²⁸⁴ The correlation between the stone-built peribolos, a limestone cist grave, and the rich ornaments worn by the individual in the pit grave show that significant investments had gone towards the burials of the people buried in this enclosure. These correlating facets are a strong indication that the burying group possessed enough disposable wealth for it to be spent on the dead. We may hypothesize that the people who owned this monumental burial plot were a local family with an elevated social status, but we cannot corroborate this on the basis of the available evidence. Whether similar interpretations could apply to the other funerary periboloi cannot be ascertained either; the overall lack of information about the periboloi themselves and the associated depositions inhibits their further analysis.

²⁸⁰ These are T149.A (?), 197.A, 217.A, 221.A, 222.A (?), 227.B, 236.A, and 238.A. Stone-built periboloi T134.A and 222.A may date to Hellenistic times too, but this is less certain. In addition, T226.A-D which are built from makeshift materials and Pi-shaped periboloi T244.A that surrounded two burials may also be Hellenistic, but for these seven tombs a Roman date seems more or just as likely.

²⁸¹ The latter are: T149.A, 227.B, and 236.A.

²⁸² T227.B.

²⁸³ G236.1-4.

²⁸⁴ For the gender assignment, see Section 4.9.5.

4.6 Marking the burial site

4.6.1 Tombstones

While the construction of stone-built periboloi was a new phenomenon that remained relatively rare throughout the period, the erection of tombstones for the marking and elaboration of a burial site was more common and became increasingly popular. Thirty Hellenistic tombstones were recovered from Patras, the majority of which date to the 2nd century BCE (Table 4.1).²⁸⁵ None of these were found *in situ* and none could be associated with a specific burial. Nonetheless, many tombstones were recovered from the areas to the north and south of the polis centre, and it is not unlikely that the tombstones were originally associated with burials in the North and South Cemeteries.

The tombstones were made of locally quarried limestone, poros, or sandstone and they belong to various types, ranging significantly in their size and elaboration.²⁸⁶ The simple, undecorated burial markers include one inscribed unworked stone, a roughly worked square plaque or slab, a pillar stele, and two simple stelai. More elaborate tombstones include one stele with a crown moulding, pedimental stelai with and without an inset panel, naiskos-stelai, and composite naiskoi, which was a type unique to the region of western Achaia. The sculpted decoration on the stelai consists almost exclusively of architectural and floral designs.²⁸⁷ Apart from one naiskos with lions and a bucranium on its frieze, none of the tombstones bear any representations of humans, animals, or recognizable artefacts. That is not to say that figurative representations were entirely absent from the tombstones; it is very likely that the inset panels on the pedimental stelai originally carried painted scenes, but these were not preserved.²⁸⁸

4.6.2 Epitaphs

On twenty-three of the tombstones (part of) an inscription has been preserved. The inscriptions are all short and simple. They state the first

name and, in most cases, the patronymic of the deceased in the vocative; the invocation *χαῖρε* or *χαίρετε* follows the name(s). Two inscriptions include the - foreign - ethnics of the deceased, but omit the customary *χαῖρε*. The latter two epitaphs commemorate men who were buried in Patras, but came from elsewhere: a rough, unworked stone commemorates a Lokrian named Kallilochos, son of Nikagoras, and a simple pillar stele was erected in the memory of one Psamonnios, son of Thrasymachos, who came from the polis of Boura in eastern Achaia.²⁸⁹

Four epitaphs - all on pedimental stelai with inset panels - commemorate two individuals. One of the stelai was erected in honour of Ἀριστῶ and Ἀρίστων, who, judging from their names, were probably siblings.²⁹⁰ Another commemorated a woman named Παμφίλα Ἀριστωνύμου and a man named Λύκων Λύκωνος who may have been a married couple.²⁹¹ The third commemorates a certain son/daughter of Sarapion and a son(?) of Philagros²⁹², and while the fourth inscription bears two names, Θέων Τιμάνδρου and Νεόλλι, these were inscribed at different points in time, thus suggesting that the two people were not necessarily related to each other.²⁹³

The other tombstones all bore a single name. At least four of the tombstones were erected in honour of women: an elaborate composite naiskos commemorates one Xenoklea, daughter of Hagesilaos²⁹⁴, a simple limestone stele from the North Cemetery was erected in memory of one Ἐρμιόνη²⁹⁵, while two pedimental stelai commemorate Sofia, daughter of Euthykrates, and Nostia, daughter of Aristodamos, respectively.²⁹⁶ While it is worth noting that the latter two stelai were both recovered from the same

²⁸⁹ BM81 and 93.

²⁹⁰ BM5.

²⁹¹ BM111.

²⁹² BM144.

²⁹³ BM189; cf. Papapostolou 1993, 91 (No. 5) who dates the two inscriptions to the 3rd and late 3rd century BCE and Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 140 (No. 62), who dates the former inscription to the 3rd century BCE and the latter to the late 2nd century BCE or even the 1st century BCE.

²⁹⁴ BM36; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 141 (No. 64), who identifies this individual as a man ('Xénocleas, fils d'Agésilaos'). LGPN, on the other hand, lists this particular instance as a female name. Both options are possible, while it should be noted that the male variant does occur more often than the female.

²⁹⁵ BM51.

²⁹⁶ BM75 and BM76.

²⁸⁵ These are: BM5, 36, 46, 50-51, 57, 75, 76-77, 79, 81, 83, 87, 93, 104, 111, 134, 144, 148-150, 153, 155, 187-192, and 204 (the tombstone itself is not preserved, but the epitaph as well as a comment on the type (cippus) were recorded).

²⁸⁶ For an extensive typological discussion of the Achaian tombstones see Papapostolou 1993.

²⁸⁷ See Papapostolou 1993, 68-89.

²⁸⁸ Papapostolou 1993, 45.

Table 4.1 Tombstones of the Hellenistic period (N=30).

Burial Marker ID	Date	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Inscription	Comments
BM5	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Limestone	51x37x6.5 (incompl.)	Ἀριστῶ καὶ Ἀρίστων/ χαίρετε	Three simple akroteria adorn the pediment. A figurative scene may have been painted in the inset panel, but no traces of paint are preserved.
BM36	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Limestone	43x38x12 (incompl.)	Ξενοκλέα Ἀγεσιλάου/ χ[αῖρε]	Possible traces of a painted figurative scene.
BM46	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Limestone	25x18.4x7.4 (incompl.)	[--- Ἡρ]ακλείτου/ [χαῖρ]ε	The inset panel may have had a painted figurative scene, but no traces of paint are preserved.
BM50	2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Limestone	27x23x10 (incompl.)	[---]α Ἐχεσθ[ένεος χαῖρε]	The frieze is decorated with a floral pattern. The inscription is written on the architrave.
BM51	2nd-1st c. BCE	Stele (type indet.)	Limestone	37x30x11.5 (incompl.)	Ἑρμιόνη/ χαῖρε	
BM57	2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Unknown	32x24x11 (incompl.)		
BM75	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele	Limestone	85x40x8.5	Σοφία Εὐθυκράτεος/ χαῖρε	Three akroteria top the pediment. The base of stele is preserved; h. 71.5 cm.
BM76	2nd-1st c. BCE	Pedimental stele	Limestone	68x42.5x9 (incompl.)	Νοστία/Ἀριστοδάμου/ χαῖρε	Simple akroteria adorn the pediment. A knotted ribbon in red paint is preserved on the mid-section of the shaft, below the inscription.
BM77	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Stele (type indet.)	Limestone	41.5x18x11 (incompl.)	[---]χου	
BM79	2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Unknown	37x26x8 (incompl.)		Floral decoration on the frieze.
BM81	3rd c. BCE	Unworked stone	Limestone	53x33.5x19	Καλλί/λοχος/ Νικαγό/ρα Λοκ/ρός	Only one side of the limestone block is flattened. Poorly carved inscription.
BM83	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele	Unknown	37x18.5x6.5 (incompl.)		Knotted ribbon in red paint.
BM87	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Unknown	21x20.5x2.5 (incompl.)		Knotted ribbon in red paint.
BM88	325-275 BCE	Pedimental stele	Limestone	64x35.9-33.8x10.3-9.3	Εὐφάνης/ Αἰσχρίωνος	Knotted ribbon in red paint on the mid-section of the shaft, below the inscription.
BM93	4th-2nd c. BCE	Pillar stele	Limestone	93x50x22	Ψαμώνιος/ Θρασυμάχ/ου/ Βούριος	
BM104	2nd c. BCE	Naiskos	Limestone	59x45x10	Ἀριστέα Ἀριστοδάμου χαῖρε	
BM111	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Limestone	65x31.8-27.5x5	Παμφίλα Ἀριστωνύμου/ Λύκων Λύκωνος χαίρετε	A painted scene is likely to have adorned the inset panel, but no traces of paint are reported.

BM134	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Unknown	22x21x11.5 (incompl.)		
BM144	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Sandstone	42x30x6.2-5 (incompl.)	[---] Σαραπίωνος/ [---]ν Φιλάγγρου χαίρετε	The pediment is adorned with simple akroteria. A figurative scene may have been painted in the inset panel, but no traces of paint are reported.
BM148	2nd-1st c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Unknown	76x27x11.5	Στράτιε Μουτίου χαίρε	Three simple akroteria adorn the pediment. The inset panel is likely to have originally had a painted figurative scene, but no traces of paint are reported.
BM149	3rd c. BCE	Stele with crown moulding	Limestone	46x30.7x6	ΠQ[---]ATH/ [χα]ίρε	
BM150	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Unknown	25.5x17x7 (incompl.)		
BM153	2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Limestone	48x33x8 (incompl.)	Κλεόπολι Τρύφωνος/ χαίρε	A painted figurative scene may have adorned the inset panel, but no traces of paint are preserved. The inscription is written on the architrave.
BM155	2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Limestone	14.6x11.9x6.8 (incompl.)	[---]δρεα χ[αι]ρε	
BM187	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Unknown	36x25x7.5 (incompl.)		
BM188	2nd c. BCE	Naiskos	Limestone	57.5x59.5x11 (incompl.)	Διόφαντε Διοφάντου χαίρε	Elaborate akroteria adorn the pediment. Two lions face a bucranium on the frieze. The inscription is written on the architrave.
BM189	3rd c. BCE	Plaque	Sandstone	43x43x10	a. Θέων Τιμάνδρου/ χαίρε b. Νεόλλι/ χαίρε	Inscription a. dates to the 3rd c. BCE, and inscription b. to 150-100 BCE.
BM190	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Composite naiskos	Limestone	69x58x10 (incompl.)	Σατυρίων Ἀριστοτίμου χαίρε	Possible traces of a painted scene.
BM191	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele with inset panel	Limestone	72x37x19 (incompl.)	[---]να [---]χ[---]ος χαίρε	The frieze is decorated with a simple floral pattern. The inset panel may have had a painted figurative scene, but no traces are preserved.
BM192	2nd c. BCE	Pedimental stele	Limestone	43x57x13 (incompl.)	Ἄνδρων Εὐρέα/ χαίρε	
BM204	2nd c. BCE	Cippus	Limestone	Unknown (unpres.)	[---] Χάριτος χαίρε	

plot in the North Cemetery²⁹⁷, they were not found *in situ* and the lack of contextual information does not allow any inferences about the relation between the two stelai or the two women commemorated on them.

In addition to the two tombstones of the men from Lokris and Boura, at least five others were erected in the memory of male individuals. A naiskos-stele commemorates Aristetas, the son of Aristodamos²⁹⁸, a pedimental stele with inset panel was erected for one Stratios, the son of Moutios²⁹⁹, Diophantos, the son of Diophantos was commemorated with a naiskos³⁰⁰, Satyrion, son of Aristotimos had an elaborate composite naiskos erected in his memory³⁰¹, and the name of one Andron, son of Eureas, was inscribed on a pedimental stele.³⁰² A final inscription, on a composite naiskos, reads Κλεόπολι Τρύφωνος χαῖρε; since the name Kleopolis is used for both men and women, we cannot ascertain the gender of the deceased.³⁰³ The remaining seven epitaphs are too fragmentary to allow for a reconstruction of the deceased's first name, and consequently no gender can be ascribed.³⁰⁴

4.6.3 Tombstones and identity

Together with the introduction of stone-built periboloi, the marked increase in the use of tombstones for the marking of burial sites and the commemoration of the dead testifies to the emergence of a new emphasis on visibility and display of the dead and their continued presence in the world of the living. By extension, this points to an increased importance of the individual and the family. The question is whether this phenomenon was community-wide or whether it was limited to specific social groups or individuals and if so, who these people were.

Despite the fact that the information recorded in the epitaphs is only limited, we can tease out some information about the identity of the deceased for whom these tombstones were erected. From the names we learn that both men and women could receive a stone burial marker, but

men were commemorated with a tombstone more often than women, as had been the case during the Classical-Early Hellenistic era.³⁰⁵ The types of tombstones did not vary according to gender, neither qua type nor qua elaboration. In other words, men did receive tombstones more often than women, but when women were commemorated in stone, their tombstones were not of lesser quality than those for men.

Other than the patronymic, no epigraphic formulae are used to state family relations, nor social relations of another type. Relations may be inferred when two names are recorded on a single tombstone (e.g. brother and sister, husband and wife), but without iconographic representations or contextual evidence such hypotheses cannot be tested. Nonetheless, the increasing use of the patronymic, the introduction of tombstones for multiple individuals, and the abovementioned introduction of (family) periboloi are strong indications that the importance of kinship relations were on the rise in the Hellenistic era.

Kallilochos from Lokris and Psamonios from Boura are two non-local individuals who met their end while they were in Patras. They received simple, unelaborated tombstones. Why these men were in Patras, how long they had been there (were they itinerant tradesmen or resident foreigners?), and who set up these tombstones for them are questions of interest, but not ones that can be answered on the basis of the available evidence. No matter why or how long they had been in Patras, however, the inclusion of their ethnic on their tombstones makes it overtly clear that their provenance was and remained a crucial aspect of their identity.

Another inscription that may be indicative of a foreign provenance is the one for Στράτιος, son of Μούτιος.³⁰⁶ While Stratios is a common name in the Hellenistic Greek world, especially in the southern mainland, Moutios - or Mutius - is a Roman *nomen gentilicium* that is rarely used in Greece.³⁰⁷ His name may thus tell us that Stratios was of Roman descent. Dating to the 2nd or 1st century BCE, this inscription may offer the

²⁹⁷ BS132.

²⁹⁸ BM104.

²⁹⁹ BM148.

³⁰⁰ BM188.

³⁰¹ BM190.

³⁰² BM192.

³⁰³ BM153; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 145 (No. 71), who identifies Kleopolis as male: 'Cléopolis, fils de Tryphôn'.

³⁰⁴ BM46, 50, 77, 149, 155, 191, and 204.

³⁰⁵ Eleven male names were recorded versus seven female names.

³⁰⁶ BM148.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 148-149 (No. 78), with references; only one Μούτιος - the father of this Stratios - is listed in *LGPn*.

earliest tangible mortuary evidence of Roman migration to Patras. Together, these three epitaphs for non-local individuals form ten percent of the epitaphs recovered from the Hellenistic cemeteries, and while the sample is admittedly small, it nonetheless testifies to the movement of people in the period.

Inferences about the social status of the individuals who received the Patraean tombstones are fraught with difficulty. Since the tombstones were all found in secondary contexts, it is impossible to say whether there was a correlation between the tombstones and funerary architecture, between tombstones and specific grave types and mortuary treatment, or between specific types of tombstones and grave goods. There is a clear range in the quality of the tombstones, and we may presume that their cost varied accordingly. However, we cannot simply assume that higher quality burial markers were reserved for the elite, given that funerary expenditure does not necessarily equal wealth or social status.

The names in themselves are not informative about social status either; while the use of the single name only (i.e. without patronymic) is usually taken as indicative of servile status in the Roman period, the same cannot be said for Hellenistic examples.³⁰⁸ It is worth noting that two names in the epitaphs, Aristodamos and Lykon, appear more than once in the Hellenistic onomastic record from Patras. In addition to Lykon, son of Lykon who is commemorated on **BM111**, one Lykon, son of Damotimos appears on Hellenistic Patraean coinage.³⁰⁹ Although there is no strong reason to assume a familial connection between the two since the name Lykon is quite common, the possibility should not be excluded. The same is true for Aristodamos. The epitaphs refer to one Aristodamos as the father of Nostia, and one as the father of Aristreas.³¹⁰ An Aristodamos, father of Aristomenes is mentioned on Hellenistic coinage minted in the polis between 146 and 32 BCE.³¹¹ Two inscriptions found at Delphi also refer to an Aristodamos from Patras: Aristodamos, the son of Lykinos, was declared a proxenos and benefactor of Delphi around 121-108 BCE for having

been of use to Delphi when it requested his help. The decree was published on the monument for Aemilius Paullus. The same Aristodamos also received a statue at Delphi; among the dedicators are two citizens of Patras, including Aristodamos' son, Lykinos. Although all attestations of the name do date to the later 2nd-early 1st century BCE, we cannot ascertain whether we can equate or relate any of these Aristodamoi to each other. It is clear, however, that several individuals with this name belonged to the local governing class in the period and that people with this name received tombstones.

4.7 Burial assemblages: data and patterns

Thus far, we have seen that over the course of the Hellenistic period variability in grave types and mortuary treatment grew, that the number, variety, and quality of tombstones increased, and that some burial plots were demarcated and/or monumentalized by means of stone-built periboloi. The range in investment on the grave, on commemorative architecture, tombstones, and on corpse disposal expanded, and it is clear that some of the people in Hellenistic Patras were interested in setting themselves apart in the cemetery by means of elaborate mortuary behaviour. While the analysis of the epitaphs showed that the cemetery housed both men and women, locals and migrants, the absence of contextual evidence for the tombstones inhibits the correlation of tombstones, the names inscribed on them, and the burial that it once marked. Let us now turn to the burial assemblages and explore if these testify to the same processes of innovation, of incremental variability and differentiation, of an increase in investment, and whether they testify to a new emphasis on visibility and display.

The burial assemblage can be reconstructed for 35 Hellenistic graves (Table 4.2). These graves follow a strong spatial pattern, since 29 of these were situated in the North Cemetery, as opposed to five in the South Cemetery, and one in the rural area far north of the ancient polis.³¹²

³⁰⁸ Cf. Rizakis in Papapostolou 1993, p. 111.

³⁰⁹ BMC Pelop. 22 no. 6; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 147 (No. 75).

³¹⁰ BM76 and BM104.

³¹¹ SNG Cop. *Phliasia--Laconia* 157; *Coll. Photiades* 1012; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 142-143 (No. 66).

³¹² It is not entirely clear whether this represents an actual pattern (i.e. furnished burials are concentrated in the North Cemetery), or whether it is the result of an excavation and publication bias.

Table 4.2 Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Hellenistic era (N=35).

Grave ID	Cemetery	Grave type	Date (BCE)	No. of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age estimation	Gender estimation	Total no. of objects	Dress items Ornaments	Provisions
9.2	N	limestone cist	Hel	1	inh	-	f	5	1 gold wreath of three-pointed gold leaves, 1 gold necklace with pearls and a green gemstone, 1 pair of gold earrings, and 1 gold ring with a red stone	1 gold leaf with engraved inscription (text unpublished)
12.3	N	limestone cist	150-125	1	inh	a	f	>28	1 wreath of 285 gold myrtle and olive leaves, gold thread of clothing or a shroud, silver sandals, 1 pair of gold earrings (Erotes), 1 gold ring with inset rock crystal (ivy leaves and bird), and gold funerary jewellery: 1 diadem (Nike slaying bull), 2 necklaces (Gorgoneia, female heads and rosettes), 1 cruciform pectoral (Herakles with Hydra, Gorgoneia), 1 gold ribbon (Hermes Psychopompos), 2 spiral armlets (snakes), 2 bracelets (animal finials), and 6 rings (4 snakes, Telephos, Sphinx)	1 gold simulacrum of an Aitolian coin placed in the mouth as danake, 2 silver combs, 1 silver shell, silver plating for wooden boxes, 1 iron strigil was placed by the right hand, 1 bronze mirror lay over the pelvis, and 1 clay unguentarium lay by the feet
18.13	S	tile-built cist	2nd c.	-	inh	a	-	1		1 clay unguentarium (2nd c. BCE)
18.14	S	limestone cist	125-75	1	inh	a	f	>27	ca. 130 gold leaves of one or more wreaths, 1 gold necklace, 1 pair of gold earrings (doves), 2 gold rings with gemstones (1 with engraving of Isis), and gold funerary jewellery: 2 bracelets, 1 brooch, 1 pin, and 5 rings	silverware: 1 spouted lamp, 2 bell-shaped pyxides, 1 jug, 1 phiale, 1 cup with separate pedestal, and 1 spoon, silver needles, silver disks and a ribbon (plating?), silver combs, the ivory hinges of a box, and 3 unguentaria
39.154	S	unspec.	Hel	-	cr	-	-	1	1 gold wreath	
59.39	S	urn	1st c.	-	cr	-	f	4	1 gold wreath and gold funerary jewellery: 1 pair of earrings (Nikes), and 1 ring (female bust in profile)	1 gold danake (dove, Sikyon 196-160 BCE)
105.10	N	urn	Hel	-	cr	-	f	≥3	silver jewellery	1 bronze mirror, 1 gold danake
119.11	N	tile grave	Hel	1	inh	-	-	2		2 skyphoi
119.12	N	tile grave	Hel	1	inh	-	-	6	1 bronze gilded ribbon	1 kantharos (on the cover tiles of the grave), astragaloi, 1 shell, 1 skyphidion, and 1 bronze coin
119.18	N	pit grave	l. 2nd -e. 1st c.	1	inh	-	-	7	1 gold wreath, 1 gold ring	1 laginos, 1 large lamp, and 3 bronze coins
119.19	N	tile grave	l. 2nd -e. 1st c.	1	inh	-	-	1		1 lamp
145.1	N	tile grave	LHel	-	inh	-	-	3	5 gold leaves (wreath)	1 clay unguentarium (2nd-1st c. BCE), 1 large vessel (fragm.)
145.2	N	tile grave	LHel	-	cr(?)	-	-	4		1 laginos, 3 clay unguentaria
145.3	N	tile grave	LHel	1	inh	-	-	4	2 gold wreaths (on head and abdomen)	1 strigil, and 1 transport amphora (2nd-1st c. BCE)
145.5	N	tile grave	LHel	-	inh	-	f	1		1 small bronze mirror

145.7	N	tile grave	LHel	1	inh	-	-	1		1 bronze coin
145.8	N	tile grave	LHel	1	inh	-	-	1		1 clay unguentarium
146.1	N	limestone cist	Hel	-	inh	-	-	3?	1 gold wreath	1 silver vessel, fragments of bronze and lead plating
146.2	N	limestone cist	Hel	-	inh	-	-	>4	1 gold wreath, gold thread and gold fruit-shaped beads (clothing/shroud)	1 gold danake, 1 silver vessel
146.3	N	limestone cist	Hel	1	inh	-	-	≥7	2 gold wreaths (on head and abdomen)	silver vessels and 3 bronze coins (146-31 BCE)
149.2	N	unspec.	Hel	-	cr	-	-	1	1 gold wreath	
149.3	N	tile grave	2nd c.	-	inh	-	f	≥5	1 necklace with gold pendants and glass and stone beads, 1 silver ring,	clay unguentaria, 1 pyxis
181.4	N	unspec.	2nd c.	-	inh	-	f	4	1 pair of gold earrings	1 bronze mirror (3rd c. BCE), 1 tripod pyxis (200-175 BCE), and 1 unguentarium (300-275 BCE)
191.1	•	tile grave	Hel	-	inh	-	-	1		1 coin (Ptolemy III Euergetes)
227.3	N	unspec.	2nd c.	1	inh	-	f	10	2 gold leaves of a wreath, 1 pair of gold funerary earrings (Sirens), and 1 gold funerary ring (female bust)	7 clay unguentaria
236.4	S	pit grave	2nd c.	1	inh	-	m	3	1 wreath of gold oak leaves, 1 gold ring (spearhead), and gold thread (clothing/shroud)	
247.1	N	limestone sarcophagus	Hel	-	inh	-	-	1		1 lamp (Hel)
247.2	N	pit grave	Hel	1	inh	-	-	1		1 iron strigil
BS100, grave 1	N	unspec.	125-75	-	inh	-	m	23	1 gold wreath, 1 gold diadem, 1 gold ring, 1 Illyrian-type silver pin	1 gold danake (Sikyon), silverware f ca. 150-100 BCE: 1 cup, 2 mastoid cups, 1 aryballos, and 1 laginos, 1 silver ladle, 6 silver strigils on a ring, 1 lamp (l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE), 2 unguentaria, and 3 worn bronze coins
BS100, grave 2	N	unspec.	125-75	-	inh	-	f	≥13	1 gold wreath, 1 gold necklace, 1 pair of gold earrings with gold, gem, and pearl dangles (amphoriskoi), 3 gold snake-shaped bracelets, and 1 silver diadem	1 bronze mirror, bronze and iron instruments, 1 bronze handle, 1 unguentarium and 1 stamnoid pyxis (l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE)
BS100, grave 3	N	unspec.	150-100	-	inh	-	f	16	1 gold wreath, 1 gold necklace and 2 gold bracelets, gold funerary jewellery: 1 pair of earrings (Sphinxes), 4 snake-shaped rings, 3 rings with stone or glass bezels (Aphrodite, Athena Promachos, and Apollo), and 1 unidentified item of funerary jewellery,	1 bronze mirror, 2 unguentaria (150-100 BCE)
BS100, grave 8	N	unspec.	125-75	-	inh	-	m	19	1 wreath of gold myrtle and oak leaves (or 2 wreaths?), 1 gold funerary ring (winged lightning bolt), and 1 silver Illyrian-type pin	1 inscribed gold myrtle leaf (ΜΥΣΤΑ), 1 gold danake, silverware of ca. 150-100 BCE: 1 pyxis, 1 laginos, 1 mastoid cup, 1 cup on a pedestal, and 1 silver ladle, 1 ceramic lamp with silver decorative plating, 1 silver loop or ring, a ring with 4 silver strigils and 1 silver aryballos (125-75 BCE), 1 lamp and 1 unguentarium
BS100, grave 9	N	unspec.	2nd c.	-	inh	-	f	7	1 pair of gold funerary earrings (Nikes), 1 gold funerary ring (Gorgon)	1 bronze mirror, 1 bronze cylindrical vessel, 1 iron knife, 1 lead pyxis, and 1 unguentarium
BS100, grave 10	N	unspec.	Hel	-	inh	-	f	3	1 pair of gold funerary earrings (Erotes), 1 gold funerary ring (snake)	1 tripod pyxis (200-150 BCE)
BS100, context 11	N	unspec.	l. 3rd c.	-	cr	-	f	3	1 pair of gold earrings (Sirens)	1 bronze mirror, 1 figurine of a woman (250-225 BCE)

The furnished depositions include 29 inhumations and six (possible) cremations. The inhumations were placed in varying grave types, including pit and tile graves, a tile-built cist, limestone cist graves, and a limestone sarcophagus. Two cremations were placed in ash urns, one was a possible primary cremation in a tile grave, and the others remain unspecified. Fourteen of the inhumation graves were reported to contain skeletal remains of one individual, three of whom were identified as adults; no information about skeletal remains was provided for the remaining graves. The depositions at **BS105** and **BS146** may be associated with Hellenistic burial markers found at these sites, but since the tombstones were all found *ex situ* this correlation remains tentative at best.

The number of objects deposited in the Hellenistic graves totals to ≥ 223 . Forty-three percent of the objects are items of dress and adornment (96 artefacts), while the rest (57% = 127 artefacts) can be described as provisions for the dead (see Table 4.3). In the previous chapter we saw that dress and adornment items only made up twenty percent of the burial assemblages of the 5th-4th century BCE, and the dramatic rise in their use is a clear indication of a marked shift in funerary behaviour. Let us, therefore, first have a look at how the dead were dressed and beautified in Hellenistic Patras, and then turn to the grave goods they were provided with.

4.8 Dressing and adorning the dead

4.8.1 Burials with few ornaments

Twenty-five burials were reported to have contained dress or adornment items.³¹³ Five of these, two cremations and three inhumations, contained relatively few and simple pieces of jewellery: one of the three inhumed individuals was provided with a simple bronze gilded ribbon³¹⁴, the second individual wore a silver ring and a necklace of glass and stone beads with three gold pendants³¹⁵, and the third individual had a pair of gold earrings.³¹⁶ Associated with the two cremations were silver jewellery³¹⁷ and

gold earrings, respectively.³¹⁸ These burials were all situated in the North Cemetery, and they all contained grave goods in addition to the ornaments (see Table 4.2).

4.8.2 Burials with gold wreaths

Funerary wreaths were found in at least eighteen Hellenistic burials.³¹⁹ While the funerary wreaths of the late 4th-early 3rd century BCE were made of gilded bronze leaves and terracotta flowers and fruits, this type was abandoned in the early 3rd century BCE and was not used again. The Hellenistic wreaths instead consisted of thin, gold leaves that may in some cases have been combined with plant material. Gold leaves - sometimes with their bronze stems preserved, but usually no longer attached to a frame - were found alongside inhumed and cremated individuals. Most individuals were provided with a single wreath, but there were two inhumation burials that contained two; in both cases the first wreath was placed on the head of the deceased, and the second was placed over the pelvis. The number of gold leaves per grave ranges from a mere two to a staggering 285, and especially in those cases where only few leaves were recovered it is likely that they were originally combined with natural leaves, fruits, and/or flowers to form a proper wreath. The huge variation in the number of gold leaves used per crown not only reflects a wide range in expenditure, but it is also indicative of a significant differentiation in the measure of visual impact that the wreaths made on whoever laid eyes on (the deceased wearing) them.

The typology of the leaves varies. The excavation reports are usually silent on the iconography of the gold leaves, but some specify that oak, myrtle, and olive leaves were used. The oak tree is generally associated with masculinity because of the phallic connotations of acorns, while myrtle is often considered as a feminine plant; in funerary archaeology burials with wreaths of these types of leaves have sometimes been gendered accordingly.³²⁰

³¹³ These are: G9.2, 12.3, 18.14, 39.154, 59.39, 105.10, 119.12, 119.18, 145.1, 145.3, 146.1-3, 149.2-3, 181.4, 227.3, 236.4, and BS100, graves 1-3 and 8-11.

³¹⁴ G119.12.

³¹⁵ G149.3.

³¹⁶ G181.4.

³¹⁷ G105.10: the jewellery was deposited below the urn.

³¹⁸ BS100, context 11: the earrings were found in a layer with traces of burning.

³¹⁹ I.e. G9.2, 12.3 (285 myrtle and olive leaves), 18.14 (ca. 130 leaves), 59.39, 39.154, 119.18, 145.1 (5 leaves), 145.3 (two wreaths), 146.1-2, 146.3 (two wreaths), 149.2, 227.3 (2 leaves), 236.4 (oak leaves), and BS100, graves 1, 2, 3, and 8.

³²⁰ For oak wreaths, e.g. Kyriakou 2014 (with references). Kyriakou discusses a gold oak wreath that accompanied the

If this gender differentiation is taken as true, this would mean that the individual buried in pit grave **G236.1** was male, and that the richly adorned deceased person in limestone cist grave **G12.3** was female. In both cases, we may argue that the pieces of jewellery and/or grave furnishings associated with the individuals seem to support the gender identification. The burial in **BS100, grave 8**, on the other hand, proves that it really is not that straightforward because it yielded both myrtle and oak leaves that were likely part of the same wreath.³²¹ The fact that the latter grave also included an inscribed *lamella* suggests that we may, in fact, be dealing with an initiate in one of the mystery cults, since *mystai* are known to have worn myrtle wreaths.³²² While funerary wreaths in themselves may not be terribly informative about the identity of the deceased, a contextual analysis may provide us

remains of an individual aged 14-18, who was identified as a boy by means of skeletal analyses. She discusses the wreath and its parallels in detail, and proposes a correlation between gold oak wreaths (and, in her examples, gold and purple textiles and gold or silver bone receptacles) and men of high status. Significant in this respect is also the fact that the oak-tree was sacred to Zeus, i.e. a male divinity of the highest possible status. For myrtle wreaths, e.g. Dimakis 2016, 60-61 (with references). Dimakis argues that myrtle wreaths were given to deceased women or girls who 'had not had the chance to get married or give birth to children and thus before their purpose as women had been, one way or the other, fulfilled; they had died before their 'time' (*aoroi*)'. He thereby follows Petropoulos' proposed identification of the inhumed individual in G215.2 that was discussed above as a young girl. This particular burial might indeed be interpreted as that of an unwed girl, since the age of 6-8 was clearly too young to be married and bear children. However, the lack of skeletal analysis for the wreathed burials in Patras - and for most others in Dimakis' sample - makes it problematic to assign gender and age in the first place (as Dimakis acknowledges), but the inference of social status from the presence of a myrtle wreath is fraught with even more difficulty - let alone the extrapolation of the argument to other burials with myrtle wreaths. Nonetheless, the suggestion is interesting and bears some merit, since myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite, was worn at weddings, and myrtle wreaths were given as wedding presents (Tsigarida 2010, 313-14 with references). But note that the burial in the antechamber of Tomb II in Vergina, either identified as belonging to Euridike, wife of Philippos III Arridhaeos, or to Meda, wife of Philippos II, was accompanied by a myrtle wreath; whichever identification one prefers, in neither case the burial was that of an unmarried woman. See also Blech 1982, 94 who points out that Euripides' Elektra decries the fact that no one has honoured Agamemnon's grave with myrtle branches yet, upon which a servant does indeed do so (Eur. *El.* 323f; 512). Therefore, myrtle wreaths are more likely to have a general association with death and perhaps funerary cult, rather than with gender or marital status (e.g. Dickie 1995).

³²¹ Cf. Kyriakou 2014, 27. Kyriakou refers to a burial in ancient Pydna that was also accompanied by leaves of both the oak and the myrtle tree.

³²² E.g. Dickie 1995, with references.

with more insights in the question who were crowned with a gold wreath, and why. If we look at the full burial assemblages, we may note a strong correlation between the use of gold wreaths and the presence of other objects in the grave. In only two out of the eighteen crowned burials - both cremations - gold wreaths were the only artefacts, while in the other sixteen graves - fifteen inhumations in pit, tile, limestone cist graves or unspecified graves, and one cremation in an urn - the wreaths were coupled with other ornaments and/or with grave provisions such as mirrors or strigils, coins or *dana-kes*, lamps, unguentaria or lekythoi, pyxides, and/or drinking vessels.

The correlation between gold wreaths and jewellery and dress items is strong as well: twelve of the eighteen crowned dead were also bejewelled and/or dressed with a gold-threaded textile.³²³ Examples include an inhumation in a late 2nd-early 1st century BCE pit grave in which the deceased was adorned with a gold wreath and a gold ring³²⁴, an inhumation in a limestone cist grave in which the crowned individual was buried in opulent textiles adorned with gold thread and beads³²⁵, and a second limestone cist grave in which the deceased wore a wreath of three-pointed gold leaves, a pair of gold earrings, a gold and pearl necklace with a green gemstone, and a gold ring with an inset red gemstone.³²⁶ That wreaths, dress items, and jewellery often appear together is obviously not surprising, since these artefacts all played central roles in the practice of corpse adornment.

Taking into account the fact that one of the crowned dead was buried in a grave that was associated with a monumental peribolos³²⁷ and that at least six of the crowned dead were buried in well-built limestone cist graves³²⁸ (three of which may be related to inscribed burial markers³²⁹), it seems that there was a correlation - albeit not exclusive - between the use of gold wreaths, the construction of elaborate grave types, the use of valuable clothing and jewellery,

³²³ These are: G9.2, 12.3, 18.14, 59.39 (cremation), 119.18, 227.3, 236.4, and BS100, graves 1, 2, 3, and 8; G146.2 contained no jewellery, but gold thread and possibly beads of clothing or a shroud.

³²⁴ G119.18.

³²⁵ G146.2.

³²⁶ G9.2.

³²⁷ G236.4.

³²⁸ G9.2, 12.3, 18.14, and 146.1-3.

³²⁹ G146.1-3.

and the provision of grave goods. This convergence of patterns is reflective of a significant expense on the entire funeral process and suggests that these burials belonged to a group of people who not only had access to a significant amount of disposable wealth, but were also interested in spending it on a funeral. It is tempting to think of these people as belonging to the upper segments of the local community, at least in terms of wealth, if not in terms of social status. That Hellenistic Patras was indeed home to a group of very rich people becomes clear when we look at a specific subset of the adorned dead: those who were provided with gold jewellery that was made specifically for its disposal in the grave.

4.8.3 Burials with funerary jewellery

The increasing use of gold for the adornment of the dead culminated in a remarkable phenomenon: the local production of gold funerary jewellery. While the golden wreaths are generally assumed to have been used exclusively for the funeral, the jewellery worn by the dead was normally not of a strictly funerary nature. In most cases the jewellery in the Patraean graves had been in possession of and was worn by the deceased in daily life (or was at least sturdy enough that it could be worn regularly).³³⁰ However, in the Hellenistic period a small number of individuals were adorned with flimsy jewellery that was made of thinly hammered gold foils and was certainly not suitable for daily use³³¹; this so-called funerary jewellery must have bought or commissioned for the deceased by his or her next of kin, either at the time of an imminent death or immediately after a death had occurred.³³²

Funerary jewellery was recovered from (at least) ten burials in Patras.³³³ In one case it was deposited below an ash urn, in all others it adorned inhumed individuals in limestone cist graves

or graves of unspecified type. It seems that none of these depositions were associated with periboloi. Two burials, the urn and one of the limestone cists, were situated in the South Cemetery, while all others were located in the North Cemetery. Thus far, no rural burials in Patras' territory have yielded funerary jewellery (nor non-funerary jewellery or gold wreaths, for that matter). It is noteworthy that six of the burials in the North Cemetery were excavated at the same plot at Kanakari 84-86 (**BS100**; see Fig. 4.1 above). This site occupied a central position by the side of the main road that was used from Late Classical to Roman times onwards. The close spatial relation between these six burials combined with the fact that they all contained funerary jewellery may be a reflection of a close social relationship - kinship, for example - that was shared by the deceased during life. Unfortunately, a current lack of published information about these burials and the skeletal remains inhibits further study of this question.

A closer look at the burial assemblages in these ten graves shows that funerary jewellery was combined with gold wreaths in eight of them, while the other two contained funerary jewellery (two items each), but no gold wreaths. In five cases the deceased had been provided with funerary jewellery as well as jewellery for normal use. The amount of funerary jewellery varied from one to fifteen items per burial, while the maximum number of normal pieces of jewellery per grave was four. All graves with funerary jewellery were furnished with grave goods, their number ranging from one to nineteen artefacts per burial.

Examples from the lower end of the range in terms of quantity and value of the burial assemblages include the burial of an individual who wore a pair of gold funerary earrings in the shape of Eros and a snake-shaped funerary ring and was provided with a tripod pyxis³³⁴, a second individual was provided with seven ceramic unguentaria and wore gold funerary earrings with Siren-shaped dangles, a funerary ring with an embossed representation of a female bust, and a wreath with two gold leaves³³⁵, and below ash urn **G59.39** lay one pair of gold funerary earrings with dangles in the shape of

³³⁰ Eight Hellenistic graves contain 'real' jewellery only. These are: G9.2, 105.10, 119.12, 119.18, 149.3, 181.4, 236.4, and BS100, context 111. Five Hellenistic graves contain both 'real' jewellery and funerary jewellery: G12.3, 18.14, and BS100, graves 1-3. And five Hellenistic graves contain only funerary jewellery: 59.39, 227.3, and BS100, graves 8-10.

³³¹ Cf. Papapostolou 1990, 84-85.

³³² It should be noted that, since I was not able to study the jewellery itself, the differentiation between funerary and non-funerary jewellery is based on the information recorded in the preliminary reports or in later publications of the material.

³³³ Urn: G59.39; limestone cists: G12.3 and G18.14; unspecified depositions: G227.3 and BS100, graves 1-3 and 8-10.

³³⁴ BS100, grave 10.

³³⁵ G227.3.

Nikes, a funerary ring with the representation of a female bust in profile, the gold leaves of a funerary wreath, and one gold danake. Considering the presence of earrings in all three of these burials, it is tempting to identify the occupants of the graves as females. While jewellery in itself is hardly indicative of gender, it can be argued that the specific items of jewellery were more gendered than others. The iconography on Greek and Roman sculpture and vases offer good reasons to believe that earrings, necklaces, and even bracelets were usually beholden to women, while rings (and wreaths) were worn by men and women alike. If we accept this gendered identification of jewellery items, then five other burials with funerary jewellery belonged to women as well, while only two more likely belonged to men; this means that 80 percent of the graves with funerary jewellery belonged to women.³³⁶

The most extravagant examples of corpse adornment are found in graves **G12.3** and **G18.14**, both limestone cist graves, and both tentatively identified as containing the remains of adult women. The first grave is situated in the North Cemetery at Agias Sofias 44 and dates to ca. 150-125 BCE, and the latter was discovered at Agion Saranta 13 in the South Cemetery and dates slightly later, between 125-75 BCE.³³⁷ It is worth listing the contents of these graves in full in order to get an idea of just how sumptuously these two individuals were adorned.

In the first grave the deceased was dressed with fine gold-threaded garments (or a shroud) and silver-plated sandals and was decked in gold and silver jewellery and funerary jewellery that was largely preserved *in situ* (Fig. 4.5). A funerary wreath of 285 gold olive and myrtle leaves that were attached to a bronze frame was placed on the head, and a gold diadem, embossed with a floral decoration and a depiction of Nike slaying a bull, adorned the brow. The remnants of a wooden comb covered in sheet silver lay beside the head, and may have been used to dress the hair. The deceased had worn a pair of gold earrings with dangles in the shape of Erotes,

Fig. 4.5 Limestone cist grave G12.3.
Source: Papapostolou 1977, σελ. 1.

and a gold danake (a simulacrum of a coin of Aitolia of 279-168 BCE) had been placed in the mouth. Around the neck lay two gold necklaces. Each had seven roundels with embossed depictions of Gorgoneia, female heads, and stylized rosettes or suns. A cruciform pectoral was laid over the torso. It had a central roundel with an embossed representation of Herakles and the Hydra, and four smaller terminal roundels with Gorgoneia. Over top of the pectoral a gold ribbon was placed, which had a central panel bearing a representation of Hermes Psychopompos. Two spiral armlets in the shape of serpents were worn around the upper arms, and simple bracelets with animal head terminals adorned the wrists. On the right hand, the deceased wore

³³⁶ G12.3, 18.14, and BS100, graves 2, 3, and 9; the other two graves, BS100 graves 1 and 8, are plausibly interpreted as male burials.

³³⁷ Cf. Papapostolou 1977 and 1978 for the full publication and detailed analyses of the items recovered from these two burials.

four gold spiral snake-shaped rings. On the ring finger of the left hand was a ring with a knotted design, with an inset sheer rock crystal set within a granulated border that covered a bezel that was decorated with gold and enamel ivy leaves and a bird. A ring with a representation of Telephos was worn on the index finger, and one with a sphinx on the thumb. Of all the jewellery adorning this individual, only the earrings, the rock-crystal ring, and possibly the comb could have been used in daily life; the rest – the diadem, the necklaces, the pectoral, the ribbon, six rings – were made specifically for their use in the burial rites. In addition to these items of bodily adornment, the grave was furnished with multiple items. A shell made of a thin sheet of silver placed by the shoulder, a second silver comb lay by the left hand, a strigil by the right hand, and a bronze mirror had been placed over the pelvis. Strips of silver plating were likely the remnants of wooden boxes, and one clay unguentarium lay by the feet.

The individual buried in the second grave was also covered in gold jewellery. Circa 130 gold leaves of different types constitute the remnants of one or more wreaths. The four pieces of 'normal' jewellery that were used for this burial include a gold necklace consisting of 44 reel-shaped beads with lynx-head clasps, a pair of gold earrings with dangles in the shape of perching doves, and two gold rings with red gemstones, one of which carried an engraved representation of Isis. Made of sheet gold, and thus of a funerary nature, were snake-shaped bracelets, a brooch with an embossed representation of a winged lightning, a pin, as well as five rings. One of these rings was embossed with a female portrait, another with an Eros, a third ring was snake-shaped, while the fourth and fifth were plain and undecorated. The grave further contained a set of silverware, silver needles, several fragments of silver sheeting with embossed decoration, the ivory hinges of an unpreserved small wooden box, and three simple clay unguentaria lay in the grave.

4.8.4 Decking the dead in gold: discussion

In the previous chapter we have seen that late 4th century BCE Patras witnessed the introduction of metal funerary wreaths and gold jewellery in local practices of corpse adornment. Yet,

only one burial with these items was confidently dated to the 3rd century BCE, while almost all of the Hellenistic burials with gold ornaments date to the 2nd and early 1st century BCE (see Table 4.2). This temporal pattern is striking, and it suggests that we should divide the Hellenistic era in two periods as far as mortuary practices are concerned: an earlier phase during which attention for and expenditure on the appearance of the deceased was rather limited (ca. 275-150 BCE), and a later phase during which the beautified body took centre stage (ca. 150-75 BCE).

The fact that only one burial of the 3rd century BCE was reported to contain metal items of adornment suggests that the habit was suddenly abandoned not long after it was initially brought in. In some ways, this may be seen as a reinforcement of the abovementioned hypothesis that these items were perhaps (primarily) used by Macedonian immigrants, who, as we know from written sources, were driven out of Patras during the early 3rd century BCE. If the deposition of metal crowns and gold jewellery was indeed limited to these Macedonians, then their disappearance from Patras could be seen as an explanation for the disappearance of the practice in the same period. Another, perhaps more likely, explanation for the abandonment of costly corpse adornment practices – and a general dearth of valuable grave goods, as we shall see below – in the 3rd century BCE, is that it was the result of people making other choices in the funerary realm; since written sources speak of major political and economic hardships hitting Patras in this period, it might well be that people were unable or less inclined to invest more in a funeral than was necessary.

Whatever the reason for their disappearance may have been, the use of gold wreaths and gold jewellery for the adornment of the dead was reintroduced to Patras during the 2nd century BCE. In a short period of time, the use of gold ornaments became so popular that gold became the primary source material that found its way into the graves, surpassing silver, bronze, and even ceramics (Fig. 4.6). It should be noted that this pattern is clearly heavily skewed by publication bias (i.e. gold objects tend to be reported on more often than simple grave goods), but the sheer amount of gold ornaments is striking nonetheless.

Fig. 4.6 The source material of the objects (ornaments and grave goods) in the Hellenistic grave assemblages (N= 223).

The gold-adorned burials show notable variations: some individuals only wore one piece of jewellery, while others were completely decked in gold, there were differences in the types of jewellery used, and there was a wide range of options when it came to the iconography of the jewels. Despite this variation, we can identify a number of patterns that help us understand the Hellenistic practices of corpse adornment better. One clue as to the importance of gold ornaments may lie in the phenomenon of funerary jewellery itself. As we have seen, the deceased could be adorned both with jewellery that was likely owned and worn during life, as well as with funerary jewellery that was bought or commissioned specifically for the burial. It is possible that these two types of adornment had different, perhaps complementary meanings: - while the regular jewellery may have been deposited primarily because it was owned by the deceased and thus represented and perpetuated who they had been during their lifetime, the funerary ornaments may have had a primarily symbolic meaning.

That funerary ornaments were of symbolic importance can be gleaned from the fact that several of them bore imagery that refers to beliefs about the soul and the afterlife (e.g. Hermes Psychopompos, Sirens), and about birth, rebirth or immortality (e.g. snakes). Such imagery can be seen as a source of hope and comfort for both the deceased and the bereaved. Common, too, were representations of gods, sphinxes, Gorgoneia, and heroes slaying monsters that may have carried an apotropaic function; wearing imagery

of gods and divine creatures would help protect the deceased from the evil that is death.³³⁸

Moreover, it is important to realize that gold itself was also highly symbolic. Gold is known to carry the symbolic value of divinity because of its 'divine' characteristics: gold radiates (as do gods), it does not decay with age (nor do gods), and it is everlasting (as are gods).³³⁹ The placement of sumptuous amounts of gold on the dead bodies would facilitate the transfer of the innate characteristics of gold onto the deceased, and as such the gold ornaments - especially those items with apotropaic symbolism - would have served to protect the deceased from death and decay, while at the same time immortalising and glorifying his or her persona.³⁴⁰

But in addition to the symbolic, comforting, and apotropaic function that the gold ornaments may have had, the sumptuous adornment of the dead also - perhaps more importantly so - served the purpose of social display. In order to understand the potency of this strategic funerary behaviour, we need to remember that the dead body was on

³³⁸ Cf. De Jong (2017, 83), who suggests that items of personal adornment may have carried an apotropaic and gives some of examples from Roman Syria.

³³⁹ For the intrinsic value of gold, especially when attached to the body see Voutsaki 2012, 172. Voutsaki argues that the placing of gold diadems, armbands, necklaces, or belts on dead bodies would have fused the innate characteristics of gold with the personality of the deceased.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Voutsaki 2012, 172: 'Gold in the mortuary context may have been chosen not only because of its sensory qualities, or its suitability as a medium of display, but also because of its durability. (...) [T]he use of bands and diadems to cover the body, and especially the use of gold masks placed on the face of the deceased (...), must have been intended to hide, and ultimately to deny, decay and the decomposition of the body.'

Table 4.3 Grave assemblages of the Hellenistic era:
Artefact types and their frequency (N objects=223, N burials=35).

jewellery/dress items	76	sea-shell	2
unguentarium	27	comb	>2
wreath	20	needles	≥2
coin/danake	18	amphora	1
strigil	13	astragaloi (set)	1
mirror	8	figurine	1
pyxis	8	jug	1
lamp	7	kantharos	1
cup	6	knife	1
lagynos	4	phiale	1
silver vessel (unspec.)	≥4	spoon	1
skyphos/skyphidion	3	bronze vessel (unspec.)	1
aryballos	2	ceramic vessel (unspec.)	1
inscribed gold leaf	>2	miscellaneous	≥7
ladle	2		

view for the major part of the funerary proceedings, both during the *prothesis* at the home and during the *ekphora* that led from the home, through the polis centre, to the burial site outside the urban area.³⁴¹ The *prothesis* and *ekphora* represented the final moments that a deceased person's body was present in the world of the living; it was the last time that people could look upon the deceased and reminisce about who (s)he had been and what (s)he had meant during life. Up to this day these final moments are laden with powerful emotions, and the viewing of a dead body will inevitably be imprinted upon the minds of the onlookers. It was of crucial importance that the dead looked as best they could, precisely because the weight of these moments meant that the dead body could be used to communicate a carefully constructed narrative about the deceased that would leave a lasting memory. If, as was the case with several of our adorned dead, his or her corpse was decked in copious amounts of gold, then this constructed narrative undoubtedly revolved around the glorification of the deceased. By extension, however, the narrative also revolved

around the public proclamation and promotion of the wealth and status of the burying group.

In this respect it might be significant that the two most excessively adorned individuals were buried at the far ends of the North and South Cemetery respectively (see **BS12** and **BS18** on Fig. 4.1), which suggests that the routes and durations of their processions and thus the time that the bodies were on public view would have been very long - if indeed the processions departed from the urban centre. While the correlation between wealth and distance holds for these two burials, it is not generally valid. The most ostentatious funerals ended both at burial sites that were situated quite close to the urban core and at burial locations further down the funerary roads of the North and South Cemeteries. It is of note, however, that none of the burials in the Patraean countryside showed any signs of display during the funeral process; this reinforces the idea that funerary ostentation was a performance that required a large (urban) audience.

We shall delve into the motivations behind funerary display further below, but let us first turn to the grave goods to see how depositional patterns in grave provisions relate to the observations that were made thus far.

4.9 Grave goods

It was already mentioned that burial assemblages could be reconstructed for 35 depositions (listed in Table 4.2). Twenty-five of these yielded

³⁴¹ Knowledge about the *ekphora* in the Greek and Roman world comes almost exclusively from literary and iconographic sources, cf. Garland 2001 [1985] 31-34; Toynbee 1971, 46-48. Actual evidence for the enactment of funeral processions in Patras is extremely limited and problematic, because the *ekphora* itself leaves very few archaeological traces. We can only point to a small number of graves contained iron nails that may (but do not need to) have belonged to coffins or biers upon which the body lay on route to the cemetery (G64.47, 112.1, 119.15, 174.8).

Fig. 4.7 Hellenistic grave assemblages:
The main functional categories (N=204; 19 objects are excluded).

grave goods and/or items of dress and adornment, while the other ten only included grave goods. The number of provisions, excluding the ornaments, ranges from one to nineteen per grave, while the average number of provisions lies between three and four. This is a slight reduction from the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period, when the average lay around five.

While the number of well-documented burial assemblages is low and there is an obvious bias towards the richer sets, they do give interesting insights into the depositional practices of Hellenistic Patras. The grave goods of the period include gold danakes and bronze coins, bronze mirrors, silver and iron strigils, combs, various types of utensils, metal and ceramic containers of various shapes and functions, as well as one large set of gaming pebbles. Miscellaneous objects include fragments of silver, bronze and lead plating as well as a bronze handle and ivory hinges that are likely the remnants of wooden boxes or chests (listed in Table 4.3 in order of commonness).

4.9.1 Shifting priorities

As was true for the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, most of the Hellenistic grave furnishings can be assigned to two main functional categories: those related to drinking practices and those related to grooming practices. Although the types of artefacts remained largely the same as those that were deposited before, the evidence indicates that there were marked differences in their depositional patterns.

First, the numerical gap between the two categories widened significantly: seventeen vessels

were meant for the drinking, pouring, and storing of water and wine, while at least sixty objects were related to bodily care. In addition, the frequency with which the items appeared in graves changed as well: while objects for grooming were provided in about as large a percentage of burials in the Classical-Early Hellenistic era (60%) as in the Hellenistic period (57%), the percentage of burials provided with drinking paraphernalia dropped drastically from 67 percent in the 5th and 4th centuries to merely 23 percent in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Both developments are reflective of a clear shift in priorities in the death ritual, whereby concerns for the nourishment of the dead gave way to concerns about the external appearance of the deceased.³⁴² This shift corresponds well with the transformations we have seen in the way that the dead were adorned.

In addition to the shift in their relative importance, the grave provisions of these two categories also witnessed a dramatic change in material and value. In contrast to the previous period, when all drinking, pouring and storing vessels were made of clay, about half of the Hellenistic vessels of this category were made of silver (but remember the publication bias!). Silver was also used for oil and cosmetics containers: three out of eight Hellenistic pyxides were made of silver (one was lead, the other four were ceramic), as were the two aryballoi that were found in the graves of this period. Both silver aryballoi were combined with a set of silver strigils attached to

³⁴² Dimakis (2016, 50) identified the same pattern for the wider Northern Peloponnese on the basis of an analysis of pottery shapes and functions.

a ring.³⁴³ Other items made of or plated with silver include lamps, combs, a shell (possibly used as a makeup container), and utensils such as needles and a spoon. I remind the reader that only one silver grooming tool, a strigil, was present among the grave goods of the previous period, while other silver items of the period were limited to one piece of silver jewellery and five coins. The surge in silverware, therefore, is striking.

4.9.2 Burials furnished with silver objects

It is important to realize that this wealth of silver grave provisions came from only seven of the well-documented graves.³⁴⁴ In fact, the vast majority of the silver objects (35 out of ca. 42) were clustered in a mere three depositions, only one of which has been fully published. Each of these three graves contained more than ten silver items, as well as copious amounts of gold ornaments. Let us have a closer look at the inventories of these graves.

The first grave, **G18.14**, was already mentioned above. It is the limestone cist grave from the South Cemetery, dating to ca. 125-75 BCE that contained one of the two most sumptuously adorned individuals from the Hellenistic period. In addition to being decked in gold, the woman in buried in this grave was provided with one silver jug, a silver mastoid cup with an unattached pedestal, and a silver phiale. Of silver, too, were a spoon, a spouted lamp, two bell-shaped pyxides, combs, needles, and relief decorated disks and a ribbon that may have been attached either to a fabric or to a box. This grave further contained the ivory hinges of a box as well as three ceramic unguentaria.

The other two burials, **BS100, graves 1 and 8**, date to the period 125-75 BCE as well. The former was furnished with one silver cup, two silver mastoid cups, one lagnos and a silver ladle, while the grave also contained a set of six silver strigils and one aryballos on a ring, one ceramic lamp, and two ceramic unguentaria. The deceased had been crowned with a gold wreath and a diadem, wore one gold ring, one Illyrian-type silver clothing pin, and was provided with one gold danake and three bronze coins. The

other grave was furnished with a drinking set consisting of one silver lagnos, one silver mastoid cup, and one silver cup on an unattached pedestal, as well as a silver ladle. The grave further contained a set of four silver strigils and one silver aryballos on a ring, as well as one ceramic lamp with silver decorative plating, one plain ceramic lamp and one ceramic unguentarium. One gold danake and a gold *lamella* inscribed with the word or name ΜΥΣΤΑ, tentatively identifying the deceased as an initiate in a Dionysiac cult, completed the furnishings.³⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, this individual had also been decked with valuable items of adornment, namely a wreath of gold myrtle and oak leaves (see Section 4.6), an Illyrian-type silver clothing pin, and one gold funerary ring with the representation of a winged lightning bolt. The individuals buried in these two graves

³⁴⁵ A second inscribed gold leaf was found in G9.2. Although these two inscribed leaves have not been fully published, their brief descriptions and find context suggest that they should be assigned to the collection of the so-called Orphic gold tablets. The one from BS100, grave 8 is said to be inscribed with the word or name ΜΥΣΤΑ, and thus belongs to Edmonds' Group F that consists of lamellae and epistomia with only the deceased's name and/or a form of the word *mystes* (Edmonds 2011, 39 and Table 2.7; cf. Table 2.1 for references to earlier editions of the texts). Edmonds' Group F includes thirteen lamellae that were found in inhumation burials from Northern Greece and the Peloponnese: four were found in the Pieria-region (Methone (F3), Pydna (F8-9), and Dion (F12)), two are from Pella (F6, F11), one is from Macedonian Europos (F10), and six are from the Peloponnese (Aigion (F2, F4-5; dated 3rd-1st c. BCE), Elis (F1, F7), and Daphniotissa in the Elis-region (F13)). All lamellae were found in Hellenistic-period inhumation graves (ten cist graves, one pit grave, one pithos burial, and one unknown), furnished with rich and varied grave goods. It is worth noting that the ones from the best dated contexts are all Early Hellenistic, while the best-dated context from Patras dates to 125-75 BCE and are thus later. The Peloponnesian examples were inscribed with the following texts: ΕΥΞΕΝΑ (F1), ΜΥΣΤΗΣ (F2), ΔΕΞΙΛΑΟΣ ΜΥΣΤΑΣ (F4), ΦΙΛΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΑΣ (F5), ΦΙΛΗΜΗΝΑ (F7), and ΠΑΛΛΑΘΑ (F13). Scholars have associated such simple gold lamellae with mystery cults (e.g. Dickie 1995, Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, Graf and Johnston, 2013 [2007]), and they are generally interpreted as 'Totenpässe' or 'passports' that professed the deceased's identity and his or her status as an initiate of the Mysteries, in order to ascertain better treatment in the afterlife (e.g. Dickie 1995, Graf and Johnston 2013, Torjussen 2008). In this respect, it is worth pointing to the fact that the individual buried in BS100, grave 8 was said to have worn wreath of gold oak and myrtle leaves, because myrtle has been associated with initiates in the cult of Demeter and Kore (Blech 1982, 94 and Dickie 1995, 60, both with references). For a discussion of Bacchic funerary rituals, see Graf and Johnston 2013, 158-165]. For Dionysos-worship in Patras, see Paus. 7.18.4, 7.19.10, 7.21.1-5, and 7.21.6; for Demeter and Kore in Patras, see Pausanias 7.21.11-12. For cults in Patras in general, see Herbillon 1929.

³⁴³ BS100, grave 1 (with six strigils) and BS100, grave 8 (with four strigils).

³⁴⁴ G12.3, 18.14, 146.1-3, and BS100, graves 1 and 8.

may tentatively be identified as men.³⁴⁶ They were buried on the same plot in the North Cemetery, which - together with the parallels in their grave provisions - may be an indication that these two men were bonded kinship ties, or were connected in some other way, perhaps through a common social standing or a shared religious affiliation.

Despite some differentiation in the particular types of provisions, these burial assemblages have a number of clear similarities. Not only are they all extremely rich, they also contain a similar set of objects. In each of these burials the silver drinking and pouring vessels formed what we may call a 'symposium-set'; in two burials the set was completed with a silver ladle, in the other one with a silver spoon with a swan-head finial.³⁴⁷ In all three graves the symposium-sets were accompanied by one or two lamps, a correlation that can also be noted for the previous period. The symposium-paraphernalia were also combined with multiple silver vessels and tools related to grooming practices and with unguentaria that would have contained scented oils.³⁴⁸ In addition, all three deceased were sumptuously adorned with gold wreaths and jewellery - in fact, the latter is true for all seven burials that contained silver vessels or utensils. Finally, it is worth noting that each of the burials contains hints to afterlife ideologies: the woman wore a ring with a representation of Isis that may identify her as an initiate in the goddess' mysteries, the two men were provided with *danakes* that can be interpreted as the payment for Charon³⁴⁹; the inscribed gold leaf that was

found with one of the men was probably a *Totenpass* that served to identify the deceased as an initiate in a mystery-cult, and was thus aimed at securing the deceased a privileged position in the afterlife. Taking these hints into account, we may wonder whether the provision of objects for eating, drinking, self-care and beautification was related to beliefs about an afterlife that included such elitist social activities as banquets and symposia, for which one needed their own drinking cups, and for which one needed to look good.

But while the inclusion of these items may indeed be seen as provisions for the afterlife, they are more than that. As was true for the way the dead were dressed and adorned, the objects that were chosen to accompany the dead in the grave were deliberately selected in order to communicate a narrative about the deceased and the bereaved that buried them - albeit not a very personalized one. In the case of these three burials the narrative involves statements on personal wealth and privilege that allowed the deceased to obtain gold and silver riches and to participate in pleasurable activities such as banqueting, sports, or self-care; as such, the deceased and the burying group represent themselves as being part of the local social elite.

4.9.3 Simple grave goods

It is obvious that these three burials - along with four others that include silver vessels and/or copious amounts of gold jewellery - formed an exception to the rule. The graves that do not contain any items of pure gold or silver may be a more accurate representation of the depositional norms of the period.³⁵⁰ Table 4.2 includes eleven of such burials. The simpler burial assemblages were found in one limestone sarcophagus, one tile-built cist, one simple pit grave, and eight tile graves; nine are situated in the North Cemetery, one in the South Cemetery, and one is rural. This distribution pattern is similar to that of the richer burials, which were also predominantly found in the North Cemetery.

³⁴⁶ The gender identification is based on a contextual consideration of the burial assemblages. Both contained a set of silver strigils with a silver *aryballos*, which may be indicative of athletic activities. These sets cannot be taken as representative of gender by themselves, of course, but in combination with the fact that the grave furnishings were incredibly rich and the bodies were adorned with gold jewellery, the lack of any 'female' items of jewellery - which were so common in the period - leads me to believe that these two individuals are male.

³⁴⁷ For other sets of silverware from the Hellenistic world, e.g. Strong 1966, 91 and Appendix IV, Oliver 1980 with bibliography; Von Bothmer 1984, 49. For ladles, cf. Kent Hill 1942; Crosby 1943; Strong 91-92, 115-116. For a drawing and discussion of the spoon in the Patraean grave with bibliography, cf. Papapostolou 1978, 374-5.

³⁴⁸ Note that these examples therefore also counter Dimakis' model of mutual exclusivity. For silver grooming tools and sets, e.g. Strong 1966, 103-105 and 117-119.

³⁴⁹ See Appendix C for a diachronic discussion of coin provision in Patras. For an wider discussion of the practice, see Stevens 1991 with extensive bibliography. For a literary

reference, e.g. Juv. 3.267. General commentaries on the practice: Toynbee 1971, 44; Kurtz and Boardman 1977, 166; Garland 2001 [1985], 23; Hope 2009, 71. For coin finds in Peloponnesian burials, e.g. Dimakis 2016, 51-53, Warner Slane 2017, 215-17.

³⁵⁰ These are G18.13, 119.11-12, 119.19, 145.2, 145.5, 145.7-8, 191.1, and 247.1-2.

Eight of the simpler burials contained only a single object, one grave held two objects, and two graves were furnished with four grave goods. In one of the latter cases, however, a kantharos had also been placed on top of the cover tiles of the grave and constitutes a fifth grave good.³⁵¹ If we look at the types of grave goods provided, it becomes clear that the items are similar to those in the richer graves: pouring vessels (one lagynos), drinking vessels (one kantharos, three skyphoi), oil flasks (five unguentaria), lamps (two), grooming tools (one bronze mirror, one iron strigil), and bronze coins (three). Burial **G119.12**, the grave that had the kantharos placed over it, contained additional remarkable objects: a set of astragaloï and a sea shell. This is also the only one of the simpler burials that contained an object that might be interpreted as an item of adornment: a bronze gilded ribbon.

4.9.4 Grave goods, wealth, and status

The similarities between the grave goods in the opulent graves and those in the simple graves offer good indications that the beliefs and notions on what types of provisions the dead ought to receive were shared by the members of the wider community. All received the same types of grave goods that were used for the same basic functions, but there was marked differentiation in the number and value of the items deposited. By substituting ceramic vessels or iron or bronze implements with their silver counterparts, a certain portion of the local population set themselves apart from the wider community, while still adhering to local practices in dealing with the dead. If we compare the differentiation in expenditure in the Hellenistic period with that of the preceding era, we see that the divide between so-called 'rich' and 'poor' burials increased dramatically. The development of this massive gap is reflective of a society that had moved away from a relatively egalitarian funerary ethos towards one that became more stratified and complex. That wealth, image, and kinship were aspects of major importance in the discourse on who stood where in the local social hierarchy is evident from the fact that precisely these aspects were being empha-

sized and advertised in the cemeteries of the time.

4.9.5 Grave goods and gender

In addition to differential treatment of the dead that was based on wealth, other aspects of identity may also have guided choices in burial provisions in Hellenistic Patras. It is generally believed that the gender of the deceased was a crucial factor in picking out the things that would accompany the dead. Let us have a closer look at the material to see if this was indeed the case. Gender differentiation in the provision of grave goods is difficult to prove when skeletal analyses lack. One tends to fall back on established gender-biases, whereby burials with weapons, symposium-vessels, or athletic instruments must have belonged to men, while burials with objects relating to bodily care and beautification, or to household activities such as spinning or weaving must have belonged to women. Our gender-assumptions are primarily based on knowledge of ancient societies as portrayed in contemporary literary sources. These, as is well-known, were written from a male, urban elite perspective that was in many ways vastly different from the lived experience of the wider Greek population. Nonetheless, there might well be truth to these assumptions, and the question is worth exploring by means of a contextual analysis of the grave goods.

Above it was argued that certain types of jewellery - earrings, necklaces, and bracelets - appear to be gendered and may therefore be used to tentatively ascribe female gender to the deceased that wear these items. Based on this hypothesis, it was suggested that the majority of the gold-adorned burials belonged to women (see Table 4.2). If we accept that the earrings with dangles in the shape of Sirens, Nikes, Erotes, and doves were indeed beholden to women, and we then take a closer look at the burials they were found in, we see that in addition to being finely dressed and adorned, these women were often provided with mirrors, unguentaria, pyxides, and grooming instruments, and less often with storing, pouring, and drinking vessels or lamps. The correlation between mirrors and jewellery is especially evident, both in the Hellenistic period but also in the Classical-Early

³⁵¹ G119.12.

Hellenistic period³⁵²; the correlation is so strong, in fact, that we may be confident about the identification of mirrors as a gendered grave provision.³⁵³

One Hellenistic grave - as well as one of the Classical-Early Hellenistic era - contained both a mirror and a strigil.³⁵⁴ This is an important observation, for strigils have in the past been considered as representative of athletic activities and therefore interpreted as strictly male grave goods. The inclusion of strigils in female graves indicates that strigils in themselves cannot be taken as an indicator of gender, but they should rather be seen as a grooming tool in their own right, that could be used for practices of bodily care by men and women alike.

In discussing gendered depositional practices, it is worth pointing out that the graves of Hellenistic Patras do not contain any weapons whatsoever. This is noteworthy, because the polis was embroiled in many wars in this period and, or so the poet Damagetos wrote, many of the local youths and men died in combat and were praised by the local community for doing so. Nonetheless, the lack of weapons in the graves indicates that military prowess was not considered an important aspect of someone's identity, at least not in the sense that it was worthy of perpetuation in death. The absence of armour and weaponry in Hellenistic burials has been noted for the rest of the Peloponnese and Greece as well, indicating that the sentiment was widely shared.³⁵⁵

³⁵² Out of all fourteen Patraean burials with mirrors, there are only four cases where they are not combined with jewellery. Here, the mirrors are either the only artefact in the grave (G145.5), are paired only with unguentaria (G119.17), or are paired with a larger set of grave goods (G119.16: a gold wreath, a marble alabastron, two lekanides and one pyxis; G130.10: a wooden chest, seven glass unguentaria, and a gold danake).

³⁵³ If we accept that mirrors are gendered, then this inevitably leads to the question why women, and not men, were considered in need of mirrors in their graves. Although there is some merit to the idea that women were buried with mirrors because their external appearance was important, this clearly it is too simplistic an explanation. We have seen that the corpses of both men and women were lavishly adorned and that both men and women were provided with grooming tools and perfumes (e.g. strigils and perfume flasks); care for external appearance was clearly not something that set apart women from men *per se*. While the question is certainly interesting, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve into it any further.

³⁵⁴ G12.3 and BS100, grave 5.

³⁵⁵ Dimakis (2016, 58-59), for example, states that among all 1767 burials that form his corpus of Classical and Hellenistic

4.10 The emergence of a stratified society

This chapter aimed to reconstruct mortuary behaviour for the period of ca. 275-75 BCE in an attempt to come closer to understanding how the local community developed and was organized in this period. The historical overview presented at the beginning of this chapter showed that Hellenistic Patras was plagued by rampant warfare and grave misfortunes in the 3rd century BCE, but that it nonetheless remained invested in interstate relations and networks of diplomacy. The sources further showed that Rome's conquest of Greece ushered in a new era for the polis, during which the regional importance of the town grew, as did its population and local prosperity. Since we are quite uninformed about the social history of Hellenistic Patras, the question that was central to this chapter, is whether an in-depth analysis of the mortuary record could help shed light on how the polis and its community fared and developed in this period. We asked what the mortuary record can tell us about the demographic changes that the written sources attest to, whether it reflects fluctuations in prosperity, whether it points to changes in networks of connectivity, or whether it attests to a change in the polis' position in the Mediterranean world. We also asked what the burials of the period can tell us about the local social structure and social hierarchies, and what they communicate about the personal and social identities of the people that made up the Hellenistic society of Patras.

Hellenistic funerary remains were recovered from 37 burial sites in and around the polis. These burial sites yielded eight Hellenistic periboloi and an estimated 300+ graves, of which only 106 were relatively well-documented, and for only 35 of which the burial assemblage could be reconstructed; there were also thirty Hellenistic tombstones, but these could not be associated with any of the periboloi or graves. While the published information about the periboloi and the graves (their typology, dimensions, construction method and material, elaboration, etc.) was quite limited and/or general, the tombstones and some of the burial assemblages were published in full detail. Despite the varying quality of the data, when taken together they show

burials in the Northern Peloponnese a mere two contained armour; both date to the late 6th-early 5th century BCE.

that the Hellenistic cemeteries of Patras witnessed a dramatic increase in mortuary variability that was characterized by innovation, an increased desire for the marking of burial sites, a new emphasis on the external appearance of the dead, a steep rise in funerary investment by a certain part of the population, and, as a result of the latter, a widening of the gap between 'rich' and 'poor' (or, probably better, normal) burials. These trends all seem to take place from the middle of the 2nd century BCE onwards.

The introduction of aboveground funerary architecture, new grave types, new types of tombstones, and new ways of dealing with the body provided the local population with a wide spectrum of innovative as well as traditional options for their funeral proceedings. Inhumation in simple pit and tile graves was the simplest option to dispose of the dead; inhumation in a tile-built cist graves required some more effort and a slightly higher investment, but this grave type seems to have been abandoned in favour of the sturdier limestone cist graves. Together with monolithic limestone sarcophagi, these limestone cist graves formed the top of the range in terms of construction quality and elaboration among the inhumation graves; the rise in their popularity attests to a growing interest in providing better graves for the dead. The newly introduced practice of cremation also required significant investment, albeit in terms of time, energy, and the cost of wood and not with regard to the quality of the grave: cremated remains were either buried on the spot of the pyre, or were collected, sometimes in an urn, and deposited in small tile-covered pits.

While the graves that were used in the cemeteries of Hellenistic Patras varied in design, construction, and quality, and while they contained different types of depositions (inhumations, cremations, and secondary burials), all graves shared one important feature: they were all situated belowground, outside the space of the polis, thus creating a physical boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Nonetheless, the visible, aboveground elaboration of graves, which had been limited in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, did become more common in the Hellenistic era. Graves could be marked and elaborated with tombstones that ranged from rough, nearly unworked inscribed slabs to pedimental stelai with

painted scenes and to elaborate composite naiskoi, while periboloi were built to monumentalize and demarcate burials or burial plots. As such, the external appearance of the burial landscape underwent a significant transformation since the 5th-4th century BCE, when the cemeteries were seemingly devoid of aboveground funerary architecture and tombstones had been rare.

The spatial analysis of the Hellenistic burial sites and the number of depositions at these sites indicated that the local community had a distinct preference for burial in the North Cemetery, as had been the case in the previous period. Periboloi and higher quality graves (limestone cist graves and sarcophagi) were mostly - but not exclusively - concentrated in the North Cemetery, as were the burials with the most ornaments and grave goods. While tombstones were not found *in situ*, a spatial analysis of their find locations did indicate that most were found within the general area of the North Cemetery, and we may at least hypothesize that they originally belonged to burials there. Interestingly, secondary cremations were most prevalent in the North Cemetery as well, while primary cremations were all but limited to the South Cemetery, where one cluster of eleven pyres was discovered. It is noteworthy that no periboloi, limestone sarcophagi or cist graves, cremations, or richly adorned or furnished burials have been recovered from rural burial sites (but we should keep in mind that this area was much less archaeologically investigated). Taken together, the data show that there was a clear differentiation between the burial locations, not only in the number of depositions that were placed there, but also in the form that the funerals took. The patterns in funerary architecture, tombstones, the adornment of the dead and the provision of grave goods all testify to an interest in social display; the fact that these graves were concentrated in the North Cemetery is likely related to the fact that it was situated along the primary land route to and from the polis, and would thus have provided the largest audience to witness the mortuary display.

The analysis of Hellenistic mortuary practices showed that variability increased in all aspects of mortuary behaviour, but some of the most striking changes were observed in adornment practices and in the provision of grave goods. Since the dressing and adorning of the dead and

the provision of grave goods were the result of conscious choices made by the burying group - the bereaved were responsible for picking out the objects that were to dress and accompany their loved ones in their graves - changes in these habits are of great interest. The items that were chosen were apparently considered as essential for the death process, either because of their symbolic value, because they were used during the funerary ritual, because they were provisions for the afterlife, or because they represented an important aspect of the deceased's persona that was to be perpetuated in death. The analysis of the burial assemblages showed that, while some traditions continued from the Classical period onwards, some members of the local population made new choices. These new choices can be summarized as a) an increase in the use of gold ornaments, b) a shift away from nourishment to grooming in the types of grave provisions, and c) the deposition of valuable gold, silver, and bronze variants of standard, often ceramic, grave provisions. All three patterns are indicative of a process whereby the carefully curated image of the deceased became a focal point during the funerary proceedings. It is clear that the creation of this image came at a high cost, and the question is what motivated certain people in Hellenistic Patras to spend so much money on the appearance of dead bodies and on artefacts that were to be deposited in the ground.

The timing of the phenomenon offers an important clue. After an apparent lull in expenditure on burials between ca. 275-150 BCE, which, as was noted above, may have been related to the political, economic, and social hardships of the period, the archaeological data show that investment on the funerals soared from around 150 BCE. This is the period when certain people were buried in opulent gold-threaded garments, with silver-plated sandals, with golden crowns on their heads, with jewellery of gold, silver, pearl, rock crystal, and gemstones, and with lavish sets of silverware as their grave goods. This was also the period when a local workshop produced gold funerary jewellery that was specifically destined for its deposition in the grave³⁵⁶ and when the

local production of tombstones rose³⁵⁷, both pointing to existence of a thriving local market surrounding death and burial. The mortuary record of the period 150-75 BCE proves that there was a group of affluent people who made the conscious choice to put significant funds towards their dead; funds that could surely have been useful in several other ways as well (for the normal expenses or even luxuries in daily life, for example, or for public benefactions for that matter). It can be argued that it is precisely because this sumptuous mortuary behaviour entailed the conspicuous and seemingly pointless destruction of wealth that it was an all the more effective strategy of social display; the measure of a family's wealth was shown and possibly even exaggerated by flaunting how much they could actually afford to put into the ground.

That we can date the introduction of this form of display to just after 150 BCE, to the period that Rome had defeated the Achaean League and utterly destroyed Corinth, is of crucial importance for understanding the phenomenon, for Patras had taken on a new role on the regional and supra-regional stage due to the relegation of Corinth and the growing importance of connectivity with the West. This new situation formed the climate in which funerary ostentation could thrive. Patras' elevated status resulted in greater affluence in the polis and rising wealth among its residents, thus allowing people to spend their disposable funds on funerals; at the same time, the intensification of trade networks entailed an increased availability of gold, silver and other imported commodities.³⁵⁸ It is crucial to be aware of the fact that the new reality would also have provoked the need for a communal discourse on the local social hierarchy. Patras' rise on the world stage would have opened up fresh opportunities for social, economic, and political advancement for a wider group of people than before (likely including immigrants), and the social *status quo* had to be renegotiated as a result. Evidently this discourse was,

wore gold funerary earrings (Nikes) and a gold funerary ring (Gorgon?), but the grave is dated to the mid-3rd century on the basis of an unguentarium. However, the jewellery suggests that a 2nd c. BCE date seems more likely and cannot be excluded on the basis of the published information.

³⁵⁷ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 64-69.

³⁵⁸ The most likely source for the silver that came to Patras in the late 2nd-early 1st century BCE was Asia Minor, or perhaps Laurion in Attika, cf. Strong 1966, Panagopoulou 2007.

³⁵⁶ The dates of the burials with funerary jewellery cluster to such an extent that they indicate that the manufacture of the funerary jewellery was limited to the period 150-75 BCE. The only exception is BS100, grave 9. The buried individual

at least in part, played out in the polis' cemeteries. That wealth and image, as well as kinship and descent, were of major importance in the debate is evident from the fact that precisely these aspects were being emphasized and advertised in the cemeteries of the time through a) the use of periboloi and tombstones, b) the inclusion of patronymics in the epitaphs, and c) the display of an awe-inspiring, glorified version of the deceased during the funeral. The central objective of funerary ostentation was, of course, the claiming of public attention in order to claim, promote, and secure superior social status for the deceased and for the bereaved family. The development of this phenomenon reflects the emergence of a society that had become stratified, complex, and mobile.

The patterns of growing variability in mortuary treatment, of a widening differentiation in mor-

tuary expenditure, and of the surge in attention for the image of the dead are replicated in the burials of the wider Northern Peloponnese and in Greece in general.³⁵⁹ This indicates that we are dealing with a trend that was not specific to Patras, but one that was reflective of wider social and economic transformations that characterized the Hellenistic world. Scholars tend to relate this phenomenon to the abandonment of the Classical isonomic ethos and a rising importance of families and the individual; a similar explanation seems valid for Patras. But while these transformations may have been felt across a vast territory and are reflective of global developments, the specific timing and the precise forms that they took in Patras seem to be locally specific, and are directly related to the polis' own history and its place on the Mediterranean map.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Dimakis 2016, 49-62.

5. Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis

the social consequences of colonization

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that Patras was a minor polis of marginal political importance during the first two centuries of its existence, but that did participate in supra-regional networks of trade and connectivity. The evidence from the cemeteries indicated that the community of the time dealt with their dead in a rather homogeneous manner. During the late 4th century BCE, however, a few new mortuary practices were introduced and variability increased as a result. There was some differentiation in grave types and their quality of construction, in the ornaments worn by the dead, in the number and types of grave goods provided, and in the fact that only a handful of graves were elaborated with tombstones. While this variation in mortuary treatment could not be related directly to the identity of the deceased due to a lack of skeletal analyses and limited contextual information, we could observe an emerging need for differentiation in the burials of the local community in the Late Classical- Early Hellenistic era.

We have seen that burials of the 3rd century BCE could hardly be identified in the local mortuary record. This could be an indication of various things. It may point to demographic decline in the period, it may be that economic hardships meant that people could no longer afford to deposit artefacts in their graves, people could also simply have become less inclined to provide the dead with grave goods³⁶⁰, or it may be the result of a change in mortuary customs that entailed people being buried in archaeologically less visible ways. Whatever the case may be, the fact that there are hardly any identifiable burials of 3rd century BCE date corresponds well with the picture that written sources paint of Patras in

the period, namely as a polis that was plagued by warfare and raids and that suffered severe economic and social malaise as a consequence.

This all changed during the middle of 2nd century BCE after Rome conquered the Peloponnese and Patras gained a new role in the Mediterranean world. We have seen that the cemeteries of the period were characterized by growth, by a drastic increase in mortuary variability, a massive influx of wealth, and by adornment practices and the provision of grave goods that aimed to enhance the image of the deceased. The patterns indicate that Patras' new status resulted in population growth, in greater affluence in the polis and growing wealth among its residents, and in an intensification of connectivity that entailed the wide availability of imported commodities. The fact that funerary richness was concentrated in a small number of graves indicated that certain people made the conscious choice to put significant funds towards the deposition of the dead, and in particular towards the presentation of an awe-inspiring, polished and glorified version of the deceased individual, and by extension, to his or her family. This form of funerary display and ostentation was interpreted as a strategy of distinction that served in the struggle for status recognition and in negotiations of the local social hierarchy. Growing variation in mortuary treatment, rising expenditure on the funeral, and the increased attention for the image of the dead, thus, are reflective of social change that revolved around the emergence of a more overtly differentiated society.

Let us now turn to the period during which Patras underwent the single most invasive event in its history: its transformation from an autonomous Greek polis into a colony of Rome. The chapter starts with an overview of Patras' history in the final decades of the Hellenistic era and in its first century or so as a colony of Rome as it can be sketched from literary, documentary, numismatic, and archaeological sources. After this, we turn to the mortuary record and explore

³⁶⁰ And if for one reason or other no grave goods were provided, a burial is often difficult to date. It may, therefore, be the case that there were 3rd century BCE burials, but that we simply cannot identify them due to a lack of dateable characteristics or finds.

how the people of Patras dealt with their dead in the period between ca. 75 BCE and 100 CE. As the previous chapters have shown, a contextual analysis of the mortuary record will allow us to gain insights into the local community of the time, and to gain a better understanding of the impact of colonization and its social and cultural consequences.

5.2 Patras in the 1st centuries BCE and CE

That Late Hellenistic Patras was a bustling harbour town is evident from Cicero's correspondence with his friends and clients at Patras.³⁶¹ His writings attest to the regular contacts between Patras and Italian ports around the middle of the 1st century BCE, when ships were apparently arriving to and departing from the Greek port on a daily basis.³⁶² The letters also provide some other bits and pieces of information about life in Patras at the time. The letters, for example, make it clear that several Roman citizens and businessmen resided among the Greek population in Patras. One of them is Manius Curius, in whose care Cicero left his servant Tiro when the latter suffered from malaria and could not accompany his master on his way back to Italy.³⁶³ Another Roman individual in Patras was Caius Maenius Gemellus, a client of Cicero's who was exiled from Rome and chose to move to and become a citizen of Patras.³⁶⁴ The fact that the same Caius Maenius Gemellus adopted the young son of Lyson, a prominent local citizen and close friend of Cicero's, is a testimony to the close personal relationships that were forged between Greek and Roman elites during this period. It is noteworthy, too, that Cicero alludes to the bad reputation that the polis seems to have had in this period, by stating his surprise that a respectable Roman would choose to relocate to Patras, since it was not very suitable for a man of culture and refinement; in fact, there was no place worse in the entire Peloponnese.³⁶⁵ Since port cities are generally known to have been places where vices reigned supreme, we may wonder whether that is what Cicero alluded to with his comment.

Whether Patras was a place of high culture or not, Cicero's letters make it clear that Rome was very much part of the quotidian reality in the Patraean society of the time: not only did trade and contacts with the Italian peninsula take place on a daily basis, but the community also consisted of resident Romans³⁶⁶; on a political level, too, Patras and Rome had become increasingly entangled.³⁶⁷ Patras was first caught up in the Roman civil wars in 48 BCE, when Cato and his followers sailed to Patras after the Battle of Pharsalos and the death of Pompey with the intention of occupying the Peloponnese from there. Cato seized Patras and Pompey's son-in-law Faustus, the son of Sulla, and his general Petreius who were at Patras at the time, joined Cato. Cato's occupation of Patras was only short-lived, because soon afterwards Calenus, a general of Caesar's troops, marched on the polis and overtook it easily; Cato and his entourage had already fled to Africa by then.³⁶⁸

In 32/31 BCE, Antony and Cleopatra spent the winter in Patras while preparing for their battle against Octavian.³⁶⁹ Antony and the Egyptian queen could count Patras among their allies or clients, along with many other Peloponnesian cities.³⁷⁰ That the alliance between Patras and the Roman general had already existed for a while can be inferred from an honorary inscription that was erected by the polis for Censorina, who was the daughter of Lucius Marcius Censorinus (governor of Greece in 42-40 BCE) and the wife of Lucius Sempronius Atratinus (a general and fleet commander in Antony's legions and *legatus pro praetore* of Achaia in 39 BCE).³⁷¹

A more direct expression of loyalty to Antony dates to the time when he and Cleopatra resided

³⁶¹ See Appendix A, Cicero.

³⁶² E.g. Cic. *Att.* 5.9; 11.20; 16.6; *Fam.* 13.19; 16.1; 16.5; 16.6; cf. Rizakis 1988 and *Achaïe I*, nos. 72-93.

³⁶³ Cic. *Fam.* 16.4; 16.6; 16.9; 16.11; *Att.* 7.2.

³⁶⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 13.19.

³⁶⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 7.28.

³⁶⁶ Although Roman citizens may well have settled in Patras long before Cicero's time, to my knowledge there is no clear-cut evidence for Roman migration to Patras that predates the letters from the Roman statesman.

³⁶⁷ In addition to Cicero's letters, see Appendix B, no. 15 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 598. This equestrian monument honoured one Damon, son of Alkisthenes, of Patras, who served as the commander of an Achaian contingent that joined the forces under the Roman consul Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus in a battle against the Galatians in 122 BCE. Cf. Schwertfeger 1974, 27-40.

³⁶⁸ Cass. Dio 42.13-14.

³⁶⁹ Cass. Dio 50.9. Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 60, which describes the bad omens that preceded the battle at Actium and foreboded a bad outcome for Antony. One of these omens occurred in Patras when he and Cleopatra were staying there: a local temple of Herakles was supposedly struck by lightning and caught fire.

³⁷⁰ Rizakis 1990.

³⁷¹ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 33.

Fig. 5.1 Bronze coin from Patras, dating to 32-31 BCE. It depicts Cleopatra (ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΚΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ) on its obverse and the headdress of Isis on its reverse. The coin was issued by the local magistrate Agias, the son of Lyson (ΑΓΙΑΣ ΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ), *RPC I* 1245. Source: <https://mq.edu.au/> (australian-centre-for-ancient-numismatic-studies).

in the polis: the local mint issued a hemiobol that bore the image of Cleopatra and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΚΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ on the obverse and the crown of Isis on the reverse, together with the name of Agias, son of Lyson, the local magistrate responsible for the coinage (Fig. 5.1).^{372,373}

We should realize that when Antony and Cleopatra stayed in Patras they were not alone; thousands of soldiers that accompanied the royal couple were distributed across the territory around the polis, not only in order to protect strategic points, but also to make sure they could get their hands on enough provisions for their sustenance.³⁷⁴ The local society must surely have felt their presence. Antony, Cleopatra and their entourage abandoned the area after the winter had passed. Soon after, when Antony and Octavian were at a standoff at Actium, Patras was taken by Marcus Agrippa.³⁷⁵ Agrippa's seizure of the polis and Octavian's subsequent defeat of Antony paved the way for the most far-reaching event in the Patras' history: its refoundation as a Roman colony.

Already under Caesar the Roman state had been taking active measures to reinvigorate Greece so that it could better serve the political and economic interests of Rome. Greece was reorganised

by founding colonies on strategic points on sea and land routes in order to stimulate connectivity between the colonies themselves and with Rome, and to integrate these sites in the Mediterranean-wide network of contact and exchange.³⁷⁶ In the Peloponnese, Corinth and Dyme were colonized under Caesar; both were reportedly underpopulated at the time.³⁷⁷ The third Roman colony in the Peloponnese - the one at Patras - was established by Octavian after his decisive victory at Actium.³⁷⁸ The foundation of the colony at Patras indicates that Dyme, its direct neighbour, did not suffice. Patras' strategic advantage for naval communication were undoubtedly the primary reason for establishing the colony here³⁷⁹, but we may suppose that the polis' active support of Mark Antony made the decision to colonize this thriving polis - rather than an abandoned or underpopulated site - much easier.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Rizakis 1990; 1997, 15; *Achaïe II*, 27.

³⁷⁷ Rizakis (1990, 327) suggests that the colonization of Patras may have already been envisioned by Caesar, and that Cicero played an important role in staving off this plan; Dyme was chosen as the alternative. The colony was consecutively known under the names Colonia Iulia Dymaeorum and Colonia Iulia Augusta Dymaeorum, but not a lot is known about the Julian colony at Dyme, since it only existed for a few decades. Sources have been compiled by Amandry (1981, 1983 - coinage) and Rizakis (*Achaïe I* - literature; *Achaïe III* - epigraphy, see pp. 25-35 for a history of Dyme). See also Rizakis 1997, 18 and Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004, 26-27. More on the archaeology and history of Dyme and its territory can be found in Rizakis 1992, esp. 77-100, and in Rizakis 2000.

³⁷⁸ For a discussion on the precise foundation date of the colony, see Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 24-28.

³⁷⁹ Paus. 7.18.7.

³⁸⁰ Octavian's sentiments towards local governments that aligned themselves with Mark Antony are made clear by Cassius Dio (51.4.6) who tells us that in order to settle his own veterans in Italy, Octavian expelled entire communities

³⁷² *RPC I*, 1245, BMC 9; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 24; Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 99.

³⁷³ Note that one son of Lyson was said to have been adopted by Caius Maenius Gemellus; the dates of these two testimonia do not exclude the possibility that these two sons of Lyson are in fact one and the same. If so, this would provide an interesting look into shifting alliances, for while both Lyson and Caius Maenius Gemellus had had a close relationship with Cicero, about fifteen years later their son/adopted son issued coinage in honour of Cleopatra in a pledge of fealty to Mark Antony and his Egyptian queen.

³⁷⁴ Cass. Dio 50.9.

³⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 50.13.

Fig. 5.2 Bronze coin from Patras dating to 41-54 CE. The obverse depicts the head of the emperor Claudius (TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM). And the reverse depicts a legionary eagle between two standards that represent the Xth and XIIth legions that were settled in the colony at Patras (COL A A PATR), RPC I 1256.

Source: <https://coinproject.com/> (Achaia, Patras).

Patras was renamed *Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis*³⁸¹, but the transformation of this Greek polis into a Roman colony entailed much more than just a name change; radical interventions were undertaken in many aspects of daily life. Colonization entailed the settlement of droves of Roman veteran-colonists, former soldiers of *Legio X Equestris* and *Legio XII Fulminata* (Fig. 5.2), who were sent to live out their lives in the

which had supported Antony and settled them abroad. In this context, it is notable that - if the epitaphs indeed date to colonial times - the veterans who were settled at Patras had served under Mark Antony. *Legio X* and *XII* had been in Antony's ranks for over a decade, and had been in the East with him ever since the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE (Keppie 2000, 75). After Antony's defeat and the surrender of his troops, Octavian was faced with the problem of what to do with his opponent's men - they were Roman soldiers, after all. According to Cassius Dio (51.3.1) most of these soldiers were distributed among and incorporated in Octavian's own legions, and those too old to continue to serve, were settled in colonies. It has been estimated that Antony's veterans alone would have numbered between 30,000 and 35,000 men (Keppie 2000, 82); Patras was only one of their destinations. So despite having fought on the losing side, Antony's men were rewarded with the standard soldier's pension as a reward for their service. Treating Antony's men fairly would obviously help secure their future loyalty. A notable difference, however, was that Antony's troops seem to have been given a plot of land in the provinces, while Octavian's own men were provided with land in Italy. This suggests that Augustus, while respecting the norm of providing all veterans with a military pension, made sure that a status distinction was made among his and Antony's men, and at the same time securing a physical distance between himself and his former opponents. A similar distinction had been made in earlier civil wars; cf. Keppie 2000, 81: 'Pompey had found land for the defeated pirates in 66-65 BC, in Cilicia, and at Dyme in Achaia. Colonies founded by Caesar on the south coast of the Black Sea could have been intended to house Pompeian veterans after Pharsalus. Lepidus' veterans in 36 BC were most probably accommodated in Sicily or Africa.' But cf. Hyg. Grom. *De Limit. Constit.* 177.8-13, where Augustus is noted to have treated his own veterans and those of Antony and Lepidus in an equal manner by settling them either in Italy or in the provinces.

³⁸¹ Cf. Agalopoulou 1989.

colony.³⁸² Traces of centuriation around Patras show that the land was distributed among the colonists for them to exploit.³⁸³ In addition to the Roman veteran-colonists who came to Patras, Augustus also forced inhabitants of neighbouring poleis in Achaia to relocate to the newly established colony.³⁸⁴ Together, these groups of newcomers are estimated to have numbered in the thousands, and the population size would have dramatically increased in a short period of time.

In order to sustain the enlarged population - but also to reflect Patras' new status as an important centre of Roman power in the Peloponnese - the territory of the colony was massively expanded.³⁸⁵ It included large tracts of land both in Achaia itself, but also across the gulf in Aitolia and Lokris.³⁸⁶ The poleis that were situated in the territory (and had not been drained of its inhabitants) were relegated to the status of *komai* or *civitates adtributae* that had to pay taxes to Patras.³⁸⁷

On the local political level the traditional polis institutions - the *demos*, the *boulè*, and the various political offices - were abolished and Roman rule was installed.³⁸⁸ Epigraphic evidence shows that the political organisation of the

³⁸² See RPC I, 1256; for epitaphs for veterans see Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, nos. 151-156, ?161.

³⁸³ Rizakis 1992, 125-35; Rizakis and Petropoulos 1994.

³⁸⁴ Paus. 7.18.7.

³⁸⁵ Rizakis 1997, 19.

³⁸⁶ Str. 10.2.21. The Roman colony at Dyme was eventually also absorbed by Patras. The last colonial coinage produced at Dyme dates to the reign of Tiberius, cf. Amandry 1981; 1983; Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004.

³⁸⁷ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 21.

³⁸⁸ For a detailed description of the colony's political institutions see Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 28-32.

colony copied that of Rome and consisted of the *populus*, the council (*ordo decurionum*), and multiple elected officials of which the *duoviri iure dicundo* (with judicial power) and the *duoviri aediles* (with financial duties) were the most important, followed by the *aediles* who were responsible for public buildings and festivals and the *quaestores* who oversaw the treasury.³⁸⁹ Moreover, *duumviri quinquennales* were appointed once every five years to conduct a census of the population, to inspect the list of members of the *ordo decurionum*, to balance the financial records, and to set up a budget for the following five years.³⁹⁰

Roman interventions in Patras also affected the religious domain, where new cults, including the imperial cult and that of Artemis Laphria, were introduced and promoted with the aim of anchoring Roman rule in the area.³⁹¹ Augustus is said to have installed the cult statue (and temple?³⁹²) for Artemis Laphria on the acropolis immediately upon colonization, but this is not archaeologically attested. While the political and social interventions enforced by Rome were severe, the archaeological remains of the period show that transformations in the built environment were kept to a minimum and were mostly of a practical nature: the city grid underwent augmentation and expansion, existing buildings were modified to suit new needs, a third cemetery was taken into use, while the other two expanded substantially.³⁹³

In short, Roman colonization of Patras entailed direct interferences in the political, religious, social, and territorial domains. Mass-immigration and the complete overhaul of the political system in particular utterly uprooted the local social structure. The local population - including the pre-colonial ruling elite - was relegated to a marginal position in society, while the Roman immigrant community enjoyed full citizenship and the benefits that came with it. Surely, the

new situation must have caused serious social tensions at the time, and the question is how the newly formed colonial community responded to and dealt with all these dramatic interventions.

This question has been addressed by several scholars already, and on the basis of literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological sources they have shown that the society and culture of Patras underwent radical transformations that, if we put it simply, can be described as a process of Romanization.³⁹⁴ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these transformations in detail, but the epigraphic record of the period, for example, shows that Latin was introduced as the language for official documents, and that it was used for private inscriptions alongside Greek.³⁹⁵ The epigraphic record further shows that the people who obtained the highest official offices in the earliest decades of the colony were always of Roman descent, thus indicating that the immigrant Romans held a higher social status than members of the local community.³⁹⁶

In addition to epigraphic evidence, the mortuary record has also been used to assess the impact of colonization. Scholars have pinpointed the creation of a third formal cemetery to the Early Roman era, presumably intended to accommodate the surging number of urban dead upon the immigration of colonists. Scholars further noted various distinct changes in the cemeteries of the time: the introduction of monumental tomb architecture³⁹⁷, of Latin epitaphs³⁹⁸, a surge in the number of cremations³⁹⁹, and the reorganization of the North Cemetery into a typical *Gräberstraße*.⁴⁰⁰ It has already been established that these newly introduced practices are closely related to Roman mortuary culture: the tombs resemble those in the contemporary necropoleis of Rome and its neighbouring cities, Latin of course was the language of Rome, and cremation was the preferred method of corpse disposal in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy. Current interpretations about these transforma-

³⁸⁹ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 27.

³⁹⁰ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 27.

³⁹¹ Paus. 7.18.8; cf. Alcock 1993, 141; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 37; 2009, 24-27; 2010, 132-33; Dijkstra 2017.

³⁹² Although Pausanias (7.18.8-9) refers only to the relocation of the cult statue of Artemis Laphria from Kalydon to Patras, Rizakis (2009, 24-27) suggests that architectural members of the Kalydonian temple may also have been transported from their original location to the acropolis of Patras.

³⁹³ Rizakis 2010, 131-132 with bibliography; Papapostolou 2014, 264-266.

³⁹⁴ The fullest discussions of Patras' Roman history can be found in Rizakis, *Achaïe II* and Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006.

³⁹⁵ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 54-56; cf. Section 5.7.

³⁹⁶ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 28-32 and 49-52.

³⁹⁷ E.g. Flämig 2007; Dekoulakou 2009.

³⁹⁸ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 55 (fig. 5).

³⁹⁹ Petropoulos 2007, 183 and 193-195.

⁴⁰⁰ On the phenomenon of *Gräberstraßen* see von Hesberg and Zanker 1987.

tions have already been discussed in Chapter 2, but let us briefly bring them back to mind here. Petropoulos connected the introduction of Roman cremation to the immigration of Italian settlers and posited that the abundance of cremations indicates that Italians may have outnumbered the local population⁴⁰¹; Rizakis has shown that the Latin epitaphs belonged to both veteran-colonists and to non-military Italian immigrants and their descendants, and suggested that the monumental tombs of the period should be attributed to the latter group, which he identified as the aristocracy of Patras who used their tombs to show their wealth and to advertise their Roman origins by adhering to Roman models⁴⁰²; Flämig, on the other hand, remained hesitant to connect the introduction of the Roman tomb types directly to Roman immigrants, let alone those of elite status because her analysis of Roman tomb architecture in Greece indicated that people of Greek descent, too, would erect Roman-style tombs⁴⁰³; Dekoulakou, who published the most recent analysis of the Roman cemeteries of Patras, also remained relatively cautious in connecting the monumental Roman tombs to a specific social or ethnic group, but does emphasize that the Roman presence in Patras was clearly the driving force behind the changes in the cemetery.⁴⁰⁴

Previous research on the mortuary evidence of Early Roman Patras has, thus, already made it clear that colonization had a dramatic impact on the local community that was reflected in the cemeteries. The explanations for the transformations in the funerary realm that have been offered thus far are a) the mass-immigration of Roman settlers who brought their own funerary traditions with them, and b) the display of wealth and elite status by Roman citizens, although some caution has been uttered about ascribing the changes to one specific ethnic or social group. These hypotheses are plausible and largely convincing, and my intention, therefore, is to both expand and refine the picture. The previous studies were primarily based on monumental tombs and epitaphs, but a systematic and holistic study that takes into account all types of mortuary evidence - tombs, graves,

tombstones, epitaphs, grave goods, ornaments, and, where possible, human remains - does not only allow us to identify the influx of foreigners with foreign habits and the presence of a Roman elite, but also to assess the impact of colonization on the local community and social structure in more detail.

5.3 The evidence and its spatial distribution

Mortuary evidence of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE was excavated at 44 sites in and around Patras, and consists of (at least) 20 inscribed tombstones, 43 tombs, and an estimated 1247 depositions in an estimated 1208 graves, of which only 170 are well-documented enough to allow for an analysis of grave types and mortuary treatment, and of which only 35 provide good quality data about ornaments and grave provisions.⁴⁰⁵

These numbers in themselves already testify to marked changes that took place in Patras during the 1st centuries BCE and CE. First, the fact that the number of monumental tombs rose from 8 periboloi in the Hellenistic period to 43 in the Early Roman era indicates that the appearance of the mortuary landscape transformed in major ways. And second, the fact that the number of dead increased by an estimated 400 percent⁴⁰⁶ from Hellenistic to Early Roman times not only shows that the cemeteries significantly filled up, but it also gives a rough idea of just how much the population of Patras may have grown in early colonial times.

The spatial analysis of burial sites shows that despite the creation of a new cemetery - the East Cemetery - burial continued to be concentrated

⁴⁰⁵ The epitaphs have been published and studied by Rizakis (1998), studies of the tomb architecture were carried out by Flämig (2007) and Dekoulakou (2009), and 44 (or 45, if *ex situ* material is included) excavation reports published in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* by various archaeologists of the local Ephorate discuss funerary remains of the period, some of which have received further attention in subsequent publications. These are the reports for BS2, 11, 12, 18, 29, 36, 54, 62, 64-65, 70-71, 90, 99-105, 107, 115-116, 118, 124, 130, 133, 139, 140, 145-146, 148, 174, 176, 181, 195, 213-215, 220, 222, 224, and 243. The one site that yielded an *ex situ* burial markers of Early Roman date is BS8. For references to each of the excavation reports and subsequent studies on the material see Catalogue A.

⁴⁰⁶ From an estimated ca. 300 depositions in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE to an estimated ca. 1247 depositions in the 1st centuries BCE and the 1st century CE.

⁴⁰¹ Petropoulos 2007, 194.

⁴⁰² Rizakis, *Achaie II*, 48-49.

⁴⁰³ Flämig 2007, 110-115.

⁴⁰⁴ Dekoulakou 2009, 204-205.

Fig. 5.3 Distribution of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman burial sites.

Fig. 5.4 Distribution of burial sites (N=44), tombs (N=43), and burials (N graves = 1208, N depositions = 1247) per cemetery.

in the North and South Cemeteries (Fig. 5.3).⁴⁰⁷ A cluster of burials in the area to the west of the acropolis probably represents the core of the Early Roman North Cemetery.⁴⁰⁸ As can be seen in Figure 5.4 the relative popularity of the North Cemetery vis-à-vis the South Cemetery was particularly notable for the number of burial sites and tombs: Early Roman burials were attested at 34 sites in the North Cemetery (i.e. 79%) versus four sites in the South Cemetery, while 36 out of the 43 Early Roman tombs (i.e. 84%) were situated in the North Cemetery and only two were erected in the South Cemetery. The difference in the estimated number of graves and depositions, however, was much less pronounced: burial took place in the North Cemetery only about one and a half times as often as it did in the South Cemetery (666 vs. 413 individuals). The fact that Early Roman monumental tomb architecture was concentrated in the North Cemetery ties in well with what we have seen for the preceding period, namely that the North Cemetery was the preferred burial site for mortuary display. Let us first turn to these Early Roman tombs and monuments and explore what they communicate about the people that were buried inside them.

⁴⁰⁷ Burials of this period in the North Cemetery are attested at 34 sites: BS8, 11-12, 29, 36, 62, 64-65, 70-71, 81, 99-105, 107, 115-116, 118, 124, 130, 133, 139-140, 146, 148, 181, 214-215, 222, and 243; in the South Cemetery they are attested at 4 sites: BS18, 54, 174, 195; in the East Cemetery burials of this date were unearthed at BS2, 90, and 179; BS220 and 224 were situated outside the organized cemeteries and were probably associated with rural habitation.

⁴⁰⁸ This cluster includes BS64, 99-101-105, 107, and 115.

5.4 Tomb architecture

5.4.1 The data: a caveat

Before we delve into a discussion of tomb architecture, it seems wise to repeat an important caveat about the quality of the data. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, almost all of the Roman funerary structures that have been unearthed in and around Patras are very poorly preserved. Centuries of intensive use of the cemeteries and the subsequent habitation of and building activities in the area have reduced many tombs to no more than their bare foundations and not much is left of their superstructures. Therefore, it is often difficult to reconstruct their former appearance in any detail, or - as we shall see in this and the following chapter - to even assess with any measure of certainty the general tomb type to which the structure can be ascribed. We should also keep in mind that aboveground tombs were very prone to reuse and alterations through time. Therefore, the remains that the archaeologists have dug up may be significantly different from how the structure was initially designed. Moreover, the assemblages of human remains and artefacts that lay within the tombs - if they are recorded and published at all - do not necessarily represent a single, undisturbed deposit, but are more likely to have been the result of several instances of adding bodies and artefacts and taking them away. We should also keep in mind that the individuals whose remains are found within the tombs need not have been (related to) the ones who had had the tombs erected.

It should further be noted that the poor preservation of the tombs inhibits an accurate estimation of their construction date. It is, therefore, not always easy or possible to differentiate between earlier and later Roman material. While some tombs and burials could be dated to the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd century CE with relative certainty, the majority were dated to the broader Roman era.⁴⁰⁹ While the material that was plausibly dated to the late 1st century BCE and 1st century CE date is treated separately in the current chapter, the lack of secure dating for the majority of the tombs means that the following chapter (that discusses the mortuary record of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE) will unavoidably include remains of the early colonial period as well.

Despite these issues, a contextual analysis of the tombs and burials does allow the identification of general patterns, trends, and developments in tomb architecture and the mortuary behaviour acted out within these structures. It also allows an assessment of differences between developments that took place in the first decades after the creation of the colony (i.e. the direct impact of colonization), which are the topic of this chapter, and those that took place during the centuries that followed, which are discussed in the following chapter.

5.4.2 Early monumental tombs

Although aboveground funerary architecture in the form of periboloi was introduced to Patras during the Hellenistic era, the construction of properly monumental tombs and memorials only started in the last decades of the 1st century BCE.⁴¹⁰ The earliest of these monumental funerary structures were built in the North Cemetery, in the area to the west of the acropolis and further down the funerary road. Although we cannot reconstruct these in much detail, the following descriptions (organized in order of

their distance from the urban perimeter) will show that these earliest monuments shared a similar design, similar elaboration, and similar mortuary treatment.

The remnants

One of the earliest monumental tombs of Patras, dating to the first decades of the city's colonial existence, is a circular memorial that was unearthed at Odos Karaïskaki 132 (**BS115: T115.E**). The material, size and elaboration of the tomb are not specified in the report, and no drawing or photo of the remains is published; no human remains or grave goods were recovered from the tomb either, but an inscribed convex marble plaque that identified the tomb owners was found nearby.⁴¹¹ The inscription states that the monument was erected in commemoration of two Roman brothers, Lucius and Publius Aemilius, who were both centurions in the Roman army and can almost certainly be identified as colonists who were settled in Patras:

L(ucio) Aemilio L(uci) f(ilio) Qui(rina)
cent(urioni) l[eg]ionis X Eq(uestris) l[ivir](o)
P(ublio) Aem[ilio] L(uci) f(ilio) Qui(rina)]
cent(urioni) l[eg]ionis eiusdem?
[---]

The inscription further relates that one of the brothers had served as a duumvir of the colony; since this inscription is dated to the final decades of the 1st century BCE, we may assume that Lucius Aemilius must have been among the first Roman magistrates that governed Patras.

A second circular funerary monument stood a few hundred metres down the funerary road at Kanakari 90-92 (**BS101: T101.E**), where it was built among some of the richest burials of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Fig. 5.5). Sporting a podium with a diameter of 5.30 meters, this monument must have been quite impressive, but unfortunately all that remained was the *opus caementicium* core of the podium and some remnants of its limestone revetment. No human remains, grave goods, or inscriptions were preserved and we have no direct information about the identity of the tomb owners. The monument cannot be dated with any accuracy on the basis of the available information, but its archaeological context suggests that an early 1st

⁴⁰⁹ Out of the 253 tombs and memorials built in the imperial period a total of 43 monuments could be dated to the 1st CE, 21 were dated to the 1st-2nd century CE, ten to the 2nd century CE, nineteen to the 2nd-3rd century CE, while only three were securely dated to the 3rd century CE. The remaining 157 tombs have been ascribed a general Roman date by their excavators.

⁴¹⁰ For in-depth descriptions and discussion of the Roman funerary architecture of Patras as well as a consideration of parallels, see Flämig 2007 and Dekoulakou 2009. For preliminary reports and other literature on individual tombs, see Catalogue A and the references listed there.

⁴¹¹ BM69.

Fig. 5.5 Burial Site 101: Kanakari 90-92. Plan of the excavation.
After Petropoulos 1982, Σχέδ. 6.

Fig. 5.6 Burial Site 99: Kanakari 80-82. Top view of tombs T99C-E (l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE).
After Georgopoulou 1997, Σχέδ. 6.

century CE date is likely.

Two additional monuments of Early Roman date stood on the same plot.⁴¹² Both had a square ground plan and were a bit smaller than the circular tomb, but they were of the same *opus caementicium* and limestone construction. One of the monuments covered a single cinerary urn without associated grave goods.⁴¹³

Over the course of the next 25 meters or so of the North Cemetery another four funerary monuments of the same date and the same general design were excavated. These include architectural remnants at Kanakari 84-86 (**BS100: T100.A**) that are described as an *opus caementicium* podium with a limestone revetment, as well as three square monuments that were built side by side at Kanakari 80-82 (**BS99: T99.C-E**), two of which were structurally connected to each other by means of iron clamps (Fig. 5.6).⁴¹⁴ These memorials had a modest size, measuring only about 5 meters long together. In only one of the monuments human remains were preserved: a lead urn with cremated remains, inserted into half an amphora, had been embedded into the core of **T99.E**. It is not unlikely that similar depositions were once present in the other two monuments as well. Unfortunately, no inscriptions were associated with any of these six monuments, and we have no direct evidence about the identity of the tomb owners. We may presume, however, that the structural relationship between monuments **T99.C-E** is a reflection

of a close familial or social relationship between the tomb owners.

Even farther down the northern funerary road, at Korinthou 221-223, stood four more Early Roman funerary monuments; they were situated opposite the road from a cluster of rich burials of the Hellenistic era (Fig. 5.7: **T146.A-D**). **T146.A** and **T146.D** were square constructions that, as far as can be discerned from the sparse remnants, were similar to the abovementioned memorials: the smallest one, measuring only about 1.50x1.50 m, had one cinerary stamnos encased in it, while the other was slightly larger and held two urns in its *opus caementicium* core.⁴¹⁵ **T146.B** was a rather strange funerary structure; it consisted of a mortar and tile-built cone-shaped tumulus (diam. 1 m, h. 0.50 m) that was erected over a lead ash urn, and was surrounded by a small peribolos in *opus quasi reticulatum* with *opus testaceum* corners (ext. dim. 2.40x3

⁴¹² T101.D and T101.A.

⁴¹³ G101.3.

⁴¹⁴ T100.A, T99.C-E.

⁴¹⁵ Four additional Patraean monuments of the (early?) 1st century CE may have been of a similar type as well. In the North Cemetery these are (in order of distance from the city): T118.A of which only the lowest step of the krepis was preserved, T105.C of which a five-stepped krepis without any associated depositions was preserved, and T70.A, a small stone monument (dim. 1.04x1.08x0.84 m) with a cinerary kalpe in its core. The *opus caementicium* core of a monument with a stone krepis in the East Cemetery had a small crypt in which a lead ash urn had been placed (T199.B). The remnants of two other monuments, T101.B and 104.B were small square podia as well, yet these had a brick facing instead of limestone cladding. Two glass ash urns were buried against the back of the former, and the latter had a solid core of stones, sherds, and mortar in which an ash urn had been inserted; its exterior was faced with *opus reticulatum* brickwork with corners in *opus testaceum*.

m).⁴¹⁶ The fact that the monument was built in Roman brickwork-technique and that the tumulus covered an ash urn suggests that the inspiration for its design might be sought in the West, but I am not aware of any close parallels in the West nor the East. **T146.C** was yet another monument of the late 1st century BCE-early 1st century CE. This monument, too, was erected on a rectangular krepis; a small, poorly preserved burial chamber (int. dim. ca. 0.80x1.20 m) with an entrance at the back formed its superstructure. The interior layout cannot be reconstructed, but the small size of the burial chamber is a clear indication that the tomb could only have been used for cremations. No depositions are preserved, however, and neither are grave goods or an inscription. The poor state of preservation inhibits a reconstruction of the tomb, but we may wonder if this tomb is an elaborated version of the tombs described above.

Assessment of the tomb type

It should be clear from these descriptions that the remnants are too poorly preserved to reconstruct the tombs or their superstructures in any detail or with any amount of certainty. Therefore, it is better to refrain from comparing these monuments amongst each other in terms of size, design, and elaboration. It is worth, however, to use their similarities to hypothesize about the tomb type. What (most of) these early monuments have in common is a) their general construction method, b) their stepped limestone base, c) the fact that (when preserved) they contained or covered cremated remains in urns, and d) that these cremations were seemingly unfurnished.⁴¹⁷ These features suggest that these structures could have been the podia of funerary altars, a popular type of memorial in the cemeteries of the Early Roman world.⁴¹⁸ Monuments of this type were generally meant to contain the remains of and commemorate one or

two individuals, as seems to have been the case for the examples from Patras as well. To my knowledge, similar tombs have not been attested in Greece thus far⁴¹⁹, but parallels can be found in the cemeteries of late 1st century BCE Italy, for instance in Ostia or Pompeii.⁴²⁰ In Pompeii, such altar tombs include Kockels *Nord 3*, *Nord 37*, and *Süd 3* which belonged to Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, *aedile* and *duumvir quinquennialis* of Pompeii, and his seventeen year old son; one Marcus Porcius, who had also been a *duumvir* of the Italian town⁴²¹. These solid structures that covered or encased one or two ash urns later developed into memorials with small burial chambers meant for repeated depositions, thus gaining the character of a modest family tomb (*Nord 1*, which has a hidden entrance to the burial chamber, *Süd 16*⁴²², *Süd 17*⁴²³, *Süd 20*⁴²⁴, and *Süd 22*⁴²⁵; compare to **T146.C**).⁴²⁶ Preserved epitaphs on the Pompeian parallels show that this type of tomb was invariably used by people of the social upper class, and it has thus been suggested that the altar tomb may have been beholden to magisterial elites.⁴²⁷

The identity of the tomb owners

Together, the architecture of the monuments with parallels in Italy, the rite of cremation (the *Mos Romanus*), and the one preserved Latin inscription indicate that the people who introduced the abovedescribed tombs adhered to Roman mortuary culture. Since the appearance of these monuments coincides with Augustus' colonization of Patras, we may correlate the two and attribute the introduction of the new monumental tombs to Roman migrants.

⁴¹⁶ Another peribolos that surrounded (only?) a buried ash urn was discovered at the junction of Aratou and Korinthou (BS36, T36.A). It is of very different construction though: it was built from well-crafted large slabs and measured 1.90x3.75 m, with a preserved height of 0.70 m. It dates to the late 1st or early 2nd century CE. The urn, made of glass, has close parallels in Italy and is probably imported from there (see Kockel 1983, 100-101 (Aschenurne 5-7) with references; Tafel 30).

⁴¹⁷ It should be noted though, that the excavation reports do not always make it clear whether the content of the urns was studied.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Kockel 1983, 22-26, Von Hesberg 1992, 171-81.

⁴¹⁹ Flämig (2007) does not refer to any parallels in her survey of Roman tomb architecture in Greece, and the Roman cemetery at Nikopolis does not seem to have the similar tombs either (see Zachos and Karampa 2015).

⁴²⁰ Cf. Floriani Squarcapino 1955 for Ostia, Kockel 1983 for Pompeii. Similar tombs have not been found at the well-preserved Isola Sacra cemetery that dates primarily to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, reinforcing the early imperial date of these monuments.

⁴²¹ Kockel 1983, *Süd 3*: 53ff., *Nord 1*: 111ff, and *Nord 3*: 117ff.

⁴²² This is the tomb of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, duumvir of Pompeii and son of a wealthy *garum*-producer.

⁴²³ This tomb belonged to the benefactor Numerius Festus Ampliatus.

⁴²⁴ The tomb of Caius Calventius Quietus, Augustalis and *bisellarius*.

⁴²⁵ This is the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche and a cenotaph for her husband Caius Munatius Faustus, an Augustalis.

⁴²⁶ Kockel 1983, 23.

⁴²⁷ Kockel 1983, 24.

Although there was only one Patraean monument with a related funerary inscription, it did indicate that the tomb was erected in commemoration of two brothers of Roman citizenship, who had served in the Roman army, and of which at least one rose to serve in the highest office of the colony. If, as was posed by Kockel, the altar tombs were indeed used only by the upper class in Late Republican Italy, then the tomb type would have had an inherent connotation of elite status that was known and recognized by everyone who came from (or had been to) an Italian town. As such, the erection of this type of monument suited and proclaimed the status of the Aemilii, and by erecting it in a prominent location very close to the urban perimeter, they made sure that their tomb was seen and noticed by members of the living community.

Whether all Patraean tombs of this type in Patras belonged to members of this social group - immigrant Romans who held prominence in the colony - cannot be ascertained due to lack of inscriptions and contextual information, but given that these monuments required a significant investment of time and money to erect, and that they occupied prominent sites in the North Cemetery it is certainly a possibility that the tomb owners held (or aspired to) an elevated position in the early colonial society.

The strategic placement of early colonial tombs

The early colonial funerary structures were tentatively ascribed to Roman newcomers, of which at least the Aemilii belonged to the colonial elite. The tomb of the Aemilii stood right outside the urban perimeter, but not all monuments of the same date and design were placed so close to the city. The majority, in fact, were placed some way down the funerary road (see Figs. 5.3 (**BS99-101** and **146**), 5.4, and 5.7). Since the choice for burial location is not random, let us briefly delve into the question why these early colonial funerary monuments were concentrated in this section of the cemetery, despite the creation of the new East Cemetery, despite the expansion of the South Cemetery, and despite availability of space closer to the urban perimeter in the North Cemetery. In order to answer this question, let us have a look at the burials at Korinthou 221-223 (**BS146**), one of the few sites for which we

have a site plan (Fig. 5.7) and a rather extensive excavation report.⁴²⁸

According to the excavation report, this site was used from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this site yielded some of the richest graves of later Hellenistic date: well-built limestone cist graves that contained gold funerary wreaths, items of gold jewellery, gold-threaded textiles, silver vessels, and other grave provisions. Also of Hellenistic date is the material found in the street that consists of grave stelai and architectural blocks; according to the excavator of the site this heap of material resulted from a clearing of the area in the Early Roman period. The combination of well-built graves, tombstones, and rich burial assemblages indicates that this section of the cemetery housed the burials of members of the social elite of pre-colonial Patras.

Stratigraphy and grave goods indicate that the four Early Roman monumental tombs were constructed not long after the last Hellenistic-type burial took place⁴²⁹; the new tombs were built directly across the street from the Hellenistic graves, presumably while the tombstones of the latter were still standing. Both the Hellenistic graves and the Early Roman tombs testify to significant investment on the burial and/or commemorative architecture, and as such, both were tentatively ascribed to people of wealth and elevated social status. The spatial relation between the earlier and later elite tombs is noteworthy, and it is worth asking whether it simply reflects a process of burial continuity in the core of the existing cemetery, or whether the choice for this location was perhaps deliberate and meaningful.⁴³⁰

To understand why the Roman newcomers chose to erect their funerary monuments among the graves of the pre-colonial elite, we need to take the value of the place into account.⁴³¹ In the

⁴²⁸ The site descriptions for BS99-101 suggest that the pattern holds for these sites as well, but without site plans and better information about the tombs and graves at these sites, this has to remain tentative.

⁴²⁹ As far as can be ascertained from the published data, that is. A more in-depth study of the original documentation of the excavation is needed for a sounder estimation of the time that had elapsed between the depositions of Hellenistic type and the construction of the early colonial monuments.

⁴³⁰ Cf. Dijkstra 2017.

⁴³¹ For the importance of *place* in mortuary practices see Parker Pearson 2005, esp. 124-141: 'Where to put the

previous chapters it was already argued that one of the main reasons for burial in the North Cemetery was that it was strategically expedient for tomb owners who aimed at commemorative display since this burial ground ensured the highest number of passers-by. While this was already valid for the Classical and Hellenistic periods, this was even more so in the Roman era, because the road through the North Cemetery, as the main land route between Patras and Corinth, connected the two colonies of Rome that were the two major centres of the Roman Peloponnese. That both the Hellenistic graves and early colonial tombs at **BS146** were concerned with funerary and/or commemorative display is evident from the investment that was made towards the marking and monumentalization of the burial site.

In addition to this rather practical motivation for burial in the North Cemetery, it is possible that the forging of a spatial relation with graves of the pre-colonial elite was also motivated by the symbolic value of this place. Since burial sites constitute the place where the ancestors of a community are found, cemeteries are places where local history is written into the landscape. As such, the space of the dead is imbued with meaning, and burial sites or cemeteries can be considered as powerful symbols of ethnic or civic identity. In the case of Patras, we can hypothesize that the graves of the Hellenistic elite symbolized the city's pre-Roman past as a thriving Greek polis, and that the place where they were situated was pervaded by an aura of status and grandeur. It can be argued that Roman newcomers consciously drew from this powerful symbolic value, because by anchoring their tombs among those of the old elite, they not only presented themselves as elite individuals as well, but - by adhering to Roman mortuary customs - also as the Roman successors and replacements of the Greek elite.⁴³² The fact

that the new tombs were built opposite the road from the old graves may perhaps be seen as a respectful recognition of the past, but at the same time the construction of tombs in this specific place that carried important ethnic and civic meaning for the indigenous population was also an act of usurpation of a place.

The mortuary remains from this specific burial site offer a striking testament to the direct effects of Patras' transformation into a Roman colony, and in a way the fact that the early colonial, Roman tombs overtook the Hellenistic, Greek burial site can be seen as a metaphor for the social consequences of colonization. For in the same way that the graves of the pre-colonial, Greek elite were - quite literally - overshadowed by the tombs of the Roman newcomers, the Greek population in the living society, too, was relegated to an inferior position, due to the implementation of a new socio-political elite.

5.4.3 Columbaria

Thus far, we have focused our attention on those examples of funerary architecture that were dated to the earliest decades of the colony, i.e. to the late 1st century BCE and the early 1st century CE. Over the course of the early colonial period, however, other types of funerary architecture were introduced as well. One of these types can be characterized as a columbarium, at least six of which were identified in the cemeteries of Patras (see Table 5.1). Although the dating of the columbaria is fraught with difficulty due to their poor state of preservation and an overall lack of datable features and finds, it seems that these tombs appeared in Patras a bit later than the monuments described up till now.⁴³³ As the following descriptions will show, these tombs were communal cremation tombs that shared a common construction method, similar designs and interior layout, and a similar number of burial spots.

remains of the dead is generally not a matter of functional expediency. The place of the dead in any society will have significant and powerful connotations within people's perceived social geographies. (...) [T]he fixing of the dead in the land is a social and political act which ensures access and rights over natural resources. Placing the dead is one of the most visible activities through which human societies map out and express their relationships to ancestors, land and the living' (141).

⁴³² The graves of the Hellenistic period were destroyed during the widening of the funerary road during a later point in the 1st century CE. If indeed this burial site represented

Patras' pre-Roman past and was a symbol of Greek civic identity, then it is worth asking if the 1st century CE destruction of the Hellenistic graves by the hands of the colonizer and the use of the remains as road fill were felt as and/or were meant as a form of symbolic violence. It is also possible, of course, that the Hellenistic graves had dilapidated and lost their importance by the time they were cleared.

⁴³³ Cf. Dekoulakou 2009, 185-191.

Table 5.1 The Patraean columbaria and their basic characteristics.

Tomb ID	Type	Cemetery	Date CE	Dimensions (m)	No. of niches/urns	Comments
29.B	columbarium	N	1st c.	ext. dim.: 3.40x3.60 int. dim.: 1.70x1.50	6	revetted and plastered exterior
54.A	columbarium with peribolos	S	1st-e. 2nd c.	ext. dim.: ca. 2.40x2.50 int. dim.: ca. 1.40x1.40 ext. dim. peribolos: ca. 7.50x8.70	7	semi-subterranean burial chamber
54.B	columbarium with peribolos	S	1st-e. 2nd c.	ext. dim.: ca. 3x3.50 int. dim.: ca. 1.10x1.30 ext. dim. peribolos (exc.): ca. 6.40x7	10	semi-subterranean burial chamber libation pipe
100.D	columbarium with peribolos	N	1st-e. 2nd c.	ext. dim.: 2.35x2.25 int. dim.: 1.70x0.75	7	six clay urns, one lead urn
100.F	subterranean columbarium	N	1st-e. 2nd c.	int. dim.: 2.09x2.67	unspec.	painted interior walls and ceiling
176.A	columbarium with peribolos	E	ER	ext. dim.: ca. 3.70x4.10 int. dim.: 1.66x2	6 or 7	five libation pipes

The remnants

One of the earliest examples, probably built during the mid-late first century CE, was tomb **T100.D** (no site or tomb plan available). It was found in the North Cemetery at Kanakari 84-86, where it was situated on the west side of the funerary road inside a peribolos (see Fig. 5.3, **BS100**). The columbarium was of a modest size, measuring only 2.35x2.25 meters, and had a small burial chamber (int. dim. 1.70x0.75 m) that was entered through a single door. It had two niches in its sidewalls and three niches in the back wall, each of which contained one immured ash urn. The urn in the central niche in the back wall, opposite the entrance, was made of lead while all the others were simple clay pots. The differentiation in receptacles combined with the centrality of the lead urn seems to mark out this particular deposition as being of special status, and we may wonder whether it is a reflection of the social hierarchy of the people buried inside the tomb.

The neighbouring burial plot was occupied by a second columbarium (**T100.F**); it was apparently situated within or below a masonry house tomb.⁴³⁴ The small barrel-vaulted subterranean

columbarium was well preserved and measured 2.09x2.67 m, with a preserved height of 2.03 m. A scale of nine descending steps led into the burial chamber. The plastered walls and ceiling bore painted geometric patterns in black and red, and niches in the walls (their number unspecified) were reserved for the deposition of ash containers. Columbaria of the first century CE were also situated further away from the core of the North Cemetery. One stood about two kilometres north of the monuments described so far, at the junction of Thermopylon and Amerikis (see Fig. 5.3, **BS29**). This burial site yielded a columbarium, a peribolos, 39 tile graves, seven cist graves, and a fragmentary tombstone, and while it lay on the main road between Patras and Aigion it is not entirely clear whether the site was a direct continuation of the North Cemetery, or whether the burials instead belonged to people living in the countryside here. Whatever the case may be, columbarium **T29.B** stood on the west side of the road, with its eastern façade directed towards it (Fig. 5.8). It had an almost square ground plan that measured ca. 3.60x3.50 m, and it had a preserved height of 1.10 m. The tomb façade consisted of a limestone krepis and an *opus caementicium* wall that was revetted

⁴³⁴ T100.E-F; there is no site plan available. It is not clear from the excavation reports how these two funerary structures relate to each other, whether the columbarium

predates the house tomb, or whether the columbarium was accessible when the house tomb was in use.

Fig. 5.8 Burial Site 29: Amerikis and Thermopylon. Plan of columbarium T29.B.
After Alexopoulou 1995, Σχέδ. 15.

Fig. 5.9. An example of a plastered monumental tomb in Pompeii.
Photograph by author.

Fig. 5.10 Burial Site 54: Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28. Plan of the excavation.
After Dekoulakou 1976, Σχέδ. 4.

Fig. 5.11 Burial Site 54: Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28. Cross-sections and top plan of columbarium T54.B.
After Dekoulakou 1980, Ευκ. 6.

Fig. 5.12 Burial Site 176: Mikinon 6. Section and top plan of columbarium T176.A.
After Kotsaki 1984, Σχέδ. 8.

with limestone orthostats; iron clamps connected the slabs. The brick-built side and back walls of the tomb were coated with plaster. The plaster was decorated with incised lines and iron joints in imitation of the limestone orthostats of the façade, so that the tomb was given a monumental appearance by minimizing the expense paid on construction material. This cost-effective architectural trick is well-known; we may look to a Pompeian tomb as an illustrative example (Fig. 5.9). The entrance to the burial chamber was situated at the back of the monument. It was 0.90 m wide, and the stone threshold preserved *in situ* shows that it was closed with a single door. The burial chamber was small (int. dim. 1.70x1.50 m) and its floor was paved with square clay tiles. The fact that interior side and back walls each contained two niches for the deposition of freestanding ash urns - none of which had been preserved - suggests that the tomb was intended for a small social group of about six individuals.

Two additional Early Roman columbaria, both semi-subterranean and both surrounded by periboloi, stood side by side in the South Cemetery on the west side of the road to Dyme (**T54A-B**, Fig. 5.10). The first was made in *opus caementicium*, and both the interior and exterior of the structure were plastered. The burial chamber was entered via two descending steps; seven cavities in the tomb floor each contained one cinerary urn.⁴³⁵ **T54B** on the neighbouring burial plot also had steps leading down into a small vaulted burial chamber that had traces of paint on its walls (Fig. 5.11). Ten cinerary urns were sunken into niches in the interior walls⁴³⁶; a large niche in the centre of the back wall, opposite the entrance, contained a clay libation pipe that led down into the floor. In addition to enclosing the columbaria, both periboloi also surrounded several cist and tile graves, of which at least some were contemporary with the use of the columbaria and some were furnished with simple grave goods.⁴³⁷

T176A, the final Early Roman columbarium was also enclosed within a peribolos wall. It was situated in the East Cemetery (see Figs. 5.3 and

5.12). The peribolos and the tomb were both built in *opus reticulatum*. As was true for the other columbaria described so far, the burial chamber was quite small. It measured only 2x1.66 m and its vaulted ceiling was 2.10 m high. Square compartments built against the side walls of the burial chamber were probably intended for the deposition of cremated remains in urns⁴³⁸, and a bench in front of the back wall had five libation pipes that led down into the floor of the tomb.

The occupants of the columbaria

Although these six tombs differed in their details, they can be considered as a single category of funerary architecture due to their distinct similarities. They were all of a relatively modest size, they roughly correspond in their interior layout, all were intended for the deposition of cremated remains, and the number of people the tombs could accommodate (about 6-10 individuals) was more or less the same. The columbaria are dramatically different from the previously established burial norm in Patras, in the sense that: a) they were (partly) aboveground, visible, and accessible, b) they were intended for the communal and repeated depositions of deceased individuals, c) they housed cremated remains, which d) were not closed off or shielded from view. Moreover, two of the columbaria were fitted with clay libation pipes, which also testify to a very different way of funerary and commemorative behaviour. All these aspects contrast sharply with the belowground, sealed, individual inhumations that were the Greek norm, but correspond well with mortuary behaviour in the cemeteries of the Roman heartland. It is, therefore, plausible to ascribe the introduction of this tomb type to migrants of a Roman cultural identity.

In addition to hinting to a foreign cultural identity, the architectural characteristics of these columbaria provide us with some other insights into the tomb occupants as well. Their design indicates that they were intended to house the remains of small social groups. Since the number of burial spots per tomb ranges only from six to ten, it seems plausible that they were intended to house nuclear families. In those

⁴³⁵ G54.1-7; cremated remains were only preserved in one of the urns, but they were not subjected to further study. No grave goods were reported.

⁴³⁶ G54.16-25.

⁴³⁷ See G54.8-10 in Table 5.2.

⁴³⁸ Or for secondary burials, but this seems less likely. The excavation report does not refer to the discovery of any cinerary urns or human remains.

Fig. 5.13 Burial Site 103: Kanakari 121. Plan of peribolos tomb T103.B (T103.A was built in the courtyard of T103.B during the 2nd century CE). After Dekoulakou 1974, Σχέδ. 1

cases where the columbaria were surrounded by periboloi, we may hypothesize that the inhumation graves in the periboloi belonged to members of the extended *familiae/oikoi*, who, while being buried on the same plot, received different mortuary treatment. Together, the evidence suggests that we can identify the occupants of the columbaria as families who were (descendants of) colonists or migrants, with roots in the Italian peninsula. Unfortunately, the tombs do not have *in situ* inscriptions, no analyses of human remains have been undertaken, and grave goods were apparently entirely lacking (or were unpublished). It is therefore somewhat problematic to make inferences about the social status of these families. Nonetheless, the modest size and elaboration of these monuments combined with the fact that the majority was not situated at particularly prominent burial site do suggest that we are not dealing with the colonial elite, but rather members of the middle classes.

5.4.4 Masonry house and peribolos tombs

Two tomb types that were probably meant for families from the same social layer are masonry

house tombs (also referred to as *gemauerte Kammergräber* or chamber tombs) and peribolos tombs (also referred to as *umfriedete Bezirke* or courtyard tombs). While these became particularly popular in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE as we shall see in the following chapter (where they are discussed in more detail), the tomb types were already introduced to Patras during the 1st century CE. Although the evidence is somewhat difficult to interpret, it seems that the earliest examples of these tombs were designed to house cremations, while later tombs were intended for inhumation burials; since these house and peribolos tombs were used over a long period of time, many of them have both cremations and inhumations placed inside them. Let us have a closer look at some of the tombs that belong to this category.

Peribolos tomb T103.B: remnants and occupants

T103.B, excavated at Kanakari 121, seems to be the earliest example of a masonry peribolos tomb in Patras and dates to the late 1st century CE (see Figs. 5.3 and 5.13).⁴³⁹ This was a high-

⁴³⁹ Two neighbouring periboloi (T103.C and T103.E) were both built in *opus quasi reticulatum* and *opus testaceum* and

walled *opus quasi reticulatum* funerary enclosure of significant dimensions, measuring about 8.80x12.90 meters (ext. dim.). The tomb was situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery, and stood closer to the urban perimeter than the Classical and Hellenistic burials and the majority of the earliest memorials of the Roman era described in Section 5.4.2. This suggests that the North Cemetery not only expanded outward and away from the city, but also grew closer to it.

The peribolos was subdivided into three spaces: a spacious open-air area (int. dim. 7.70x9.90 m) gave access to a vaulted chamber or anteroom via three doorways that were placed side by side (int. dim. 5.05-5.20x1.80 m), and from this room one could enter a second room - the primary burial chamber - of modest proportions (int. dim. 2.10-2.20x1.80). The walls of the burial chamber had niches that together contained seven immured ash urns⁴⁴⁰; a larger and architecturally elaborated niche in the back wall opposite the entrance may have been intended for a freestanding urn or a funerary portrait. There were also two niches in the back wall of the anteroom: a semi-circular niche was situated opposite the central doorway, and opposite the southernmost doorway there was a small rectangular niche; both were empty. Four cinerary amphorai, however, had been buried into the floor side by side against the southern wall of the anteroom.⁴⁴¹ Many burials - both cremations and inhumations - had been placed in the courtyard of the peribolos, and while the majority date to later phases of use, some of these must have been contemporary with the depositions in the burial chamber and the anteroom.

As was true for the columbaria surrounded by peribolos walls, we may hypothesize that the

contained tile graves and brick-built cist graves; they postdate T103.B, but the excavation report mentions that the stratigraphy of the funerary road indicates that they were also erected in the late 1st century or early 2nd CE. These, however, lack the spatial divisions noted for T103.B. It is also worth referring to, a second peribolos that dates to roughly the same period. Situated in the North Cemetery as well, but almost one kilometre down the funerary road, this was an enclosure wall with strong foundations that surrounded eight cremations, buried mainly in transport amphorai (G70.23-20). An elliptical pit in the centre of the peribolos with traces of fire contained burnt wood and various small items must have been probably used for cultic activity.

⁴⁴⁰ G103.9-15.

⁴⁴¹ G103.16-19.

spatial divisions within the tomb were intended to be reflective of social divisions between the people who were buried in the burial chamber and in the courtyard. While the seven immured urns in the burial chamber likely contained the remains of the nuclear family who owned the tomb, the depositions in the antechamber and the courtyard are more likely to have belonged to their subordinates.

House tombs: remnants and occupants

Eight house tombs have been dated to the Early Roman period.⁴⁴² One of these stood in the East Cemetery and consisted of at least three interconnected burial chambers⁴⁴³, two were situated in the rural area to the south of Patras⁴⁴⁴, and five stood in the North Cemetery: three were situated quite close to the urban perimeter⁴⁴⁵, the fourth stood nearly one kilometre down the road⁴⁴⁶, while the fifth⁴⁴⁷ was situated even further north and stood at a distance of ca. 120 meters away from the road. This latter tomb and those in the countryside were likely associated with a rural population, rather than with the city itself.

The best preserved Early Roman house tomb in the North Cemetery is **T65.A** (Fig. 5.14). It measured 5x6.50 m and had walls in *opus testaceum* and an *opus reticulatum* façade, a doorway in its western long wall, and it consisted of two burial chambers.⁴⁴⁸ Seven rectangular niches in the interior walls (originally there were probably nine) each contained two immured ash urns⁴⁴⁹; a semi-circular niche that was centrally located in the back wall of the second burial chamber,

⁴⁴² These are T2A, 65.A, 107.B, 124.A, 148.B, 181.A, and 220A-B.

⁴⁴³ T2.A.

⁴⁴⁴ T220-A-B.

⁴⁴⁵ T65.A, T107.B, and T148.B. The latter seems to have been a rather monumental example of a house tomb. It was built in *opus testaceum* and had brick-built pilasters. It was set on a podium that was revetted with a limestone krepis. Preserved inside the burial chamber were faint traces of brick-built cist graves.

⁴⁴⁶ T181.A. This house tomb was built in *opus reticulatum* and measured 3.10x4.40 meters (pres. h. 1.82 m). It contained a built cist grave and a tile grave, but also had clay and lead ash urns buried in its floor. It is not clear which depositions belonged to the original phase of the tombs and which were later.

⁴⁴⁷ T124.A. This masonry house tomb contained cist and tile graves, but also had niches for ash urns in its interior walls; it is possible that the graves were later additions to the tomb. Flämig did not include this tomb in her catalogue.

⁴⁴⁸ It is not clear whether the dividing wall was an original element of the tomb, or whether it was added at a later stage.

⁴⁴⁹ G65.1-14.

Fig. 5.14 Burial Site 65: Ermou 85-87. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1979, Σχέδ. 3.

Fig. 5.15a and b. Portraits of Pavia and Marcia Maxima (Augustan period).
Archaeological Museum of Patras. Photographs by author, with permission of dr. M. Petropoulos, the excavator.

opposite the doorway, did not contain an immured ash urn, but must have once contained either a freestanding urn or a portrait bust. Two adjoining tombs, both in *opus reticulatum* and *opus testaceum* and with their roofs preserved intact, were situated at the junction of Samou and Aristomenous and were likely associated with an Early Roman suburban villa that was unearthed nearby.⁴⁵⁰ One of these tombs had an *in situ* inscription - the only one of the period - that identifies the tomb commissioner to us. The inscription was attached to the tomb façade and informs us (in Latin) that a woman named Pavia had had the tomb erected in honour of her daughter Marcia Maxima, the wife of one Caius Laetilius Clemens:

Marciae Maximae
C(aii) Laetili Clementis
uxori
Pavia fecit mater⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ T220.A-B; see Catalogue A, BS220 for references.

⁴⁵¹ BM106. It is worth noting that additional Marcii - who may or may not have had a relation with Marcia Maxima - have been attested in the epigraphic record of Patras as well (BM115: Marcia Antiochis, BM140: Marcia Secunda, and

The tomb was divided into an antechamber and a burial chamber, separated from each other by a door. Two female portraits of the Augustan period (Fig. 5.15), thought to represent Pavia and Marcia Maxima, stood in two niches in the back wall of the tomb, while simple frescoes adorned the walls. The only grave that was preserved in the tomb was a (looted) vaulted cist grave, built below the floor of the burial chamber, that contained multiple skulls and some objects, mainly lamps, of the late 1st-early 2nd century CE.⁴⁵² It is not clear if the grave and these depositions belonged to the original phase of the tomb or if they are latter additions.

Based on the inscription, the portraits, and the tomb's correlation with a suburban villa, Petropoulos, under whose direction the tomb excavated, identified the tomb owners as a family of Roman colonists who migrated to Patras in the Augustan period.⁴⁵³ This is highly plausible, al-

BM207: Lucius Marcius). The names Pavia and Laetilius are not otherwise attested in Patras or even in the Peloponnese.

⁴⁵² G220.1.

⁴⁵³ Petropoulos 2007. 193-195.

Fig. 5.16 Burial Site 116: Karaïskaki 136. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1978, Σχέδ. 5.

though the apparent lack of cremation burials in the tomb is somewhat surprising. Since it cannot be ascertained whether the skeletal re-mains included those of Marcia Maxima and her relatives, this should not be taken as an argument against Petropoulos' hypothesis. Whatever the case may be, the tomb type itself, the style of the portraits, the Latin inscription, and the Roman names of the deceased clearly portrayed the tomb owners as Roman citizens.

As was true for the 'altar tombs' and the columbaria, the closest parallels of both the brick-built peribolos tombs and the brick-built house tombs can be found in contemporaneous cemeteries of Rome and its surroundings, and in particular in the Isola Sacra Necropolis at Portus.⁴⁵⁴ The rich epigraphic record from the Isola Sacra Necropolis shows that tombs of this type belonged to the local middle class. Even though we only have epigraphic evidence for one of the tombs from Patras, the architectural evidence itself as well as the spatial distribution of the monuments indicates that the Early Roman peribolos and house tombs, too, belonged to Roman families who certainly had significant means, but did not necessarily occupy the highest tiers of the colonial hierarchy.

5.4.5 Conspicuous tombs of the Early Roman era

Thus far, we have discussed the introduction of four types of tomb architecture in early colonial Patras: the 'altar tombs', the columbaria, the masonry house tombs, and the brick-built periboloi. All four types were tentatively ascribed to Roman colonists or migrants: the first were intended for only one or two individuals and were thought to have belonged to first wave colonists that were part of the highest socio-political echelons, while the latter three types were more likely erected by (upper) middle class Roman families. In addition to the tombs discussed thus far, the Early Roman cemeteries of Patras housed two aediculae, a large funerary altar, and one temple tomb that were discovered along the first 200 meters or so of the North Cemetery.⁴⁵⁵ Let us have a closer look at these tombs (the temple tomb is discussed in Section 5.4.6) to see what they communicate about the identity of the people who owned them.

Aedicula T116.C

The monument that stood closest to the urban perimeter was **T116.C**.⁴⁵⁶ It stood at Karaïskaki 136 on the west side of the funerary road (see Figs. 5.3 and 5.16). It originally flanked the road,

⁴⁵⁵ These are: T107.A and T116.C; T80.D (cf. Fig. 6.5); T64.A.

⁴⁵⁶ See Flämig 2007, No. 93. She ascribes this tomb to the type of 'Mehrstöckige Grabbauten', of which only few have been attested in Roman Greece.

⁴⁵⁴ Calza 1940; Baldassare 1987.

but sometime during the 2nd or 3rd century CE two tombs were built directly in front of it and obscured it from view.⁴⁵⁷ The tomb is very poorly preserved, because it was already built over in Antiquity. Nonetheless, it can be dated to the 1st century CE on the basis of stratigraphy and tomb design. The tomb remnants consist of an *opus caementicium* podium with dimensions of 6.85x6.85 meters and an *opus caementicium* pedestal with dimensions of 4.70x4.70 meters. The podium was revetted with a krepis of limestone blocks; the upper step was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate for limestone orthostats (1.17m high) that faced the core of the pedestal. A niche in the centre of the tomb façade may have once housed a funerary statue. Columns, architraves, and Ionian bases and capitals of red and white stone were recovered in the immediate vicinity of the tomb and probably originated from it. Despite the poor state of preservation, the nature of the remnants does allow a plausible reconstruction of this structure as an ostentatious aedícula-tomb.⁴⁵⁸

Funerary altar T80.D

Of possible Early Roman date, too, is altar (?) tomb **T80.D** that stood about 60 meters further down the road from aedícula **T116.C** (Figs. 5.3, 5.17, and 6.5).⁴⁵⁹ The tomb was erected on a three-stepped stone podium, and the burial chamber was entered through a single door at the back of the monument. Cist graves stood on either side of the entrance and two square *thekai* were placed in the centre of the tomb; it is not clear whether these graves and *thekai* been part of the tomb's original design. Although the tomb can-not be reconstructed in much detail, both the preserved remnants themselves and the location where it stood do testify to its monumental character.

Aedícula T107.A

The third monumental tomb was discovered close by at Kanakari 133, where it stood on the west side of the funerary road (see Figs. 5.3 and

Fig. 5.18).⁴⁶⁰ The tomb has external dimensions of 5.35x4.65 meters, with a preserved height of 1.10 meters. The remnants of the superstructure, built in *opus caementicium* and clad in limestone slabs, stood on a three-stepped limestone krepis. The tomb façade consisted of a semi-circular exedra with lion's feet that supported a bench. Originally, two Ionic half-columns flanked the exedra and two rectangular pilasters stood at the corners of the tomb façade. Together, the columnar arrangement and the exedra gave the tomb the appearance of an aedícula. The tomb was entered from the back through a single door; a limestone threshold was preserved *in situ*. The burial chamber (int. dim. 1.77x1.05 m) had four niches in its interior walls. Since no immured urns were discovered, it is likely that these niches were intended for the deposition of freestanding ash urns. One lead ash urn with cremated remains had been inserted into the rubble core of the monument. Since this deposition was an integral part of the structure, the monument must have been erected upon the death of the individual whose remains these are; it seems very likely that the four niches in the burial chamber were intended for his or her family members.

The owners of the monumental tombs

The urn in the core of **T107.A** was the only undisturbed deposition that was preserved in these three monumental tombs. Combined with a lack of inscriptions and a lack of grave goods, the absence of burials severely hinders the identification of the tomb owners. A comparison with the other tomb types of the period, however, does provide some useful insights. In contrast to the small 'altar tombs', the columbaria, the house tombs and the periboloi that were all relatively uniform and modest in size and elaboration, aedículae **T116.C**, **T107.A** and funerary altar **T80.D** are truly monumental: their sheer size, their designs, as well as the quality of the construction materials used reflect the significant investment that had gone towards the erection of the tomb. In addition, these conspicuous tombs were erected in the first few meters of the North Cemetery, just outside the

⁴⁵⁷ T116.A-B.

⁴⁵⁸ See Von Hesberg 1992, 121-159 for a general discussion of aedícula-tombs in the Roman Empire.

⁴⁵⁹ It is worth noting that opposite the funerary road from T80.D, at BS79 on Gerokostopoulou 27 and Kanakari 141 (see Fig. 6.2b), a small section of a large krepis was excavated (T79.A). Despite the sparsity of the remains, the tomb's location in the cemetery and the size and construction of the excavated remnants suggest that it, too, was of a monumental character; its date is uncertain.

⁴⁶⁰ T107.A; See Flämig 2007, No. 118. She ascribes this tomb to the type of 'Mehrstöckige Grabbauten'. The Patraean tomb bears some similarities to the funerary exedra of Eumachia in Pompeii, e.g. Von Hesberg 1992, 164-170.

Fig. 5.17 Burial Site 80: Gerokostopoulou 31. Photograph of the excavation.
The remnants of T80.D are seen on the left. After Papapostolou 1973, Πίv. 172δ.

Fig. 5.18 Burial Site 107: Kanakari 133. Top plan of tomb T107.A.
After Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1988, Σχέδ. 10.

Fig. 5.19 Burial Site 64: Ermou 80-82. Plan of the excavation.
After Dekoulakou 1976, Σχέδ. 2.

Fig. 5.20 Burial Site 64: Ermou 80-82. Reconstructed top plan of tomb T64.A and its burial chamber, and cross-section of the tomb. After Dekoulakou 1976, Σχέδ. 2 and Dekoulakou 1980, Ευκ. 3 and 8.

urban perimeter - a prominent location known from other *Gräberstraßen* to be reserved for eminent individuals and families. Combined, these aspects of the tombs are strong evidence that they had been erected by members of the highest echelons of the early colonial society.

5.4.6 The mausoleum of the Aequani

Although the remnants of the abovedescribed tombs were very sparse, it is nonetheless clear that they all drew from Hellenistic and Roman honorific and religious architecture in their design. Tombs that were modelled after honorific monuments, altars, and temples did so in order to provide an aura of esteem or even divinity to

the deceased that were buried in and commemorated with this monument.⁴⁶¹ The final Early Roman monumental tomb from Patras, the so-called mausoleum of the Aequani, was a temple tomb that took this strategy to the extreme (Figs. 5.19 and 5.20).⁴⁶²

Location

The mausoleum of the Aequani is the most well-known tomb that has been excavated at Patras, and it is one of the few tombs that has received significant scholarly attention after it was first

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Von Hesberg (1992, 170f.), who characterizes the use of this type of funerary architecture as 'streben nach sakraler Aura'.

⁴⁶² T64.A.

published upon its excavation in 1976.⁴⁶³ The tomb was discovered at Ermou 80-82, where it stood on the east side of the funerary road (see Fig. 5.3, **BS64**). It was situated more or less opposite the street from tomb **T107.A** that we just discussed, and right next to **T64.F**, a 1st century CE tomb of which only a section of an impressive krepis was unearthed.

It would be of great interest to reconstruct the order in which the monumental tombs in this section of the cemetery were erected, but this is not possible because the abovedescribed tombs could only be broadly dated to the 1st century CE due to a lack of datable characteristics. Since the mausoleum of the Aequani contained an undisturbed, richly furnished burial (see below), this tomb could be dated a little more accurately, namely to the earlier decades of the century. Although we cannot determine the order in which these monumental tombs were built, it is clear that when they were first erected, the tombs would have stood on spacious plots and that these, for the most part, were situated closer to the urban perimeter than the richly furnished Hellenistic depositions and the first examples of tomb architecture that were introduced during the late 1st century BCE or the early 1st century CE.

The remnants of the tomb

The mausoleum of the Aequani consists of a semi-subterranean barrel-vaulted burial chamber that was integrated in an *opus caementicium* podium that originally supported a superstructure in the form of a temple. The massive podium, measuring ca. 12.40x14.20 m and up to 2.50 m high, was revetted with limestone slabs. The tomb façade was directed towards the road. It consisted of an exedra with a bench that had five lion feet supports; two stone podia on either side of it may have originally sported funerary statuary. Pilasters decorated the tomb's side faces. The proposed reconstruction of the superstructure consists of a vestibule with a tetrastyle façade and a cella that was perhaps accessible from the back of the monument. Although the cella itself was not preserved, other Hellenistic and Roman temple tombs indicate that it could have been used for the deposition of human

remains and the display of funerary statuary⁴⁶⁴; it may also have been used for family gatherings during commemorative events.

A doorway at the back of the podium gave entrance to the semi-subterranean burial chamber. Although it was intact, the burial chamber had been transformed into a place of worship in Byzantine times and no human remains are reported to have been found.⁴⁶⁵ The chamber had internal dimensions of 5.60x3.80 meters, and the room had a height of 3.60 meters. Brickwork faced the interior walls. Fourteen niches held either two or four immured ash urns, indicating that the tomb had been designed to contain the cremated remains of at least 44 individuals.⁴⁶⁶

A monolithic sarcophagus was encased within the core of the podium.⁴⁶⁷ The sarcophagus was placed in a well-built rectangular pit that was lined with *opus testaceum* brickwork, and it was covered by two neatly cut stone slabs. A small extension at the head of the sarcophagus contained a marble box. Three marble slabs, in turn, slabs covered both the marble box and the sarcophagus; square tiles covered the slabs, and covering these was a 15 cm thick layer of soil and stones. A 90 cm thick layer of loose masonry finally sealed off the entire construction. The remains of one individual, accompanied by impressive gold, silver, ivory, and rock crystal grave goods, lay buried inside the sarcophagus; hen's eggs were found inside the marble box that stood at its top end. The manner in which this burial was made an integral part of the tomb design is very similar to how cinerary urns had been encased in some of the tombs discussed above; it is striking, however, that the individual in this grave was inhumed rather than cremated.⁴⁶⁸ To date, this is the only deposition of this type discovered in Patras. The burial is discussed in further detail below, but let us first

⁴⁶³ Dekoulakou 1976; 1980; Papapostolou 1983; Von Hesberg 1992; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*; Flämig 2003; 2007 (No. 107); Lolos 2016; Dijkstra 2017.

⁴⁶⁴ E.g. Fedak 1990; Von Hesberg 1992, 182-201; see Flämig 2007, 45-51 for a discussion of temple tombs in Roman Greece (although the tomb from Patras is not included there, for she refrains from ascribing it to a particular tomb type).

⁴⁶⁵ Later still, a Byzantine church was erected in the area, and a new cemetery was erected around it. It consisted primarily of tile graves, haphazardly organized but almost exclusively oriented towards the West in Christian tradition (cf. Dekoulakou 1976, 102).

⁴⁶⁶ G64.1-44.

⁴⁶⁷ G64.45.

⁴⁶⁸ An example of a similar deposition (but in an altar tomb) was that of the Vestal virgin Cossinia in Tivoli. Cf. Eisner 1986, 142-46.

have a look at the epigraphic evidence that was found close to the tomb (but not *in situ*).

Epitaphs

Two inscriptions found during the excavation of this plot refer to the Aequani-family: **BM19** is very fragmentary but preserves traces of the family-name and **BM17** is a funerary epigram in Latin that commemorates the freedman Sextus Aequanus Astius:

Sex(to) Aequ[ano]
Sex(ti) l(iberto) Astio a[ug(ustali)]
nemo me lachrimet [nemo]
pectora plan[gat]
anxius hic iaceo q[ui vixi]
annis [---]
set mihi de[f]uncto levi[t]er pre[cor ossa]
quiescant
quatinus explevi n[atales]
[fat]a dederunt

To Sextus Aequanus Astius, freedman of Sextus, the Augustal. May nobody cry for me, may no-one strike his chest. Anxiously I lay here, having lived for [---] years. But now that I am dead, I pray that my bones will rest lightly. I have completed my life to the extent that the fates have given me at birth.

Dekoulakou, under whose direction this site was excavated, was the first to correlate the inscriptions to the tomb in identification of the tomb owners. She suggested that the mausoleum must have been commissioned by Sextus Aequanus, the former master of Astius⁴⁶⁹, and that the rich grave inside its podium could have been that of his daughter Aequana Musa, whom we know from the local epigraphic record as a priestess of Diana Laphria and Emperor Augustus.⁴⁷⁰ The latter hypothesis was disproven soon thereafter, when a preliminary skeletal analysis showed that the individual was most likely a young man.⁴⁷¹ Papapostolou, Rizakis, and Flämig have subsequently suggested that the burial - and by extension the tomb - was that of Sextus Aequanus himself or belonged to the freedman Asti-

us.⁴⁷² Let us now turn our attention to this burial to see what information it provides about the identity of the deceased.

The grave inside the podium

The man whose sarcophagus was entombed in the mausoleum of the Aequani had been crowned with a funerary wreath that had nine gold leaves and a second wreath with 41 gold leaves had been placed over his pelvis. A gold fibula and two perforated bronze coins adorned his clothing, and he wore six gold rings around his fingers. One of the rings had a rotatable stone, while the other five had inset gemstones with incised representations. Four rings were of Augustan date and bore imagery of Herakles, Hermes, Eros, and a tripod. The fifth ring portrays a naked, helmeted warrior and a female head that seems to be rising from the ground. This latter ring is Etruscan and dates to the 2nd century BCE; perhaps it was an heirloom.⁴⁷³ The deceased was provided with two gold *danakes*, one silver rattle decorated with a floral pattern, two silver *astragaloi*, a rock-crystal *dodecahedron* inscribed with Greek letters that represent a numerical value⁴⁷⁴, various ivory objects that

⁴⁷² Papapostolou (1983, 31-32) has suggested that the burial was that of Sextus Aequanus, father of the Aequana Musa and former owner of Astius, or if not him, then at least someone who may have been a *quindecimvir* of the colony, because the iconography on one of the rings that he wore (a tripod) identified him as such. Rizakis (*Achaie II*, 197 n. 1) later rejected this identification because the skeletal analysis had suggested that the deceased had not reached a very advanced age (although the age range remains unclear) implying that in his opinion the fact that Sextus Aequanus was the father of a priestess is indicative of old age. He proposes that the tomb may have belonged to the freedman Sextus Aequanus Astius instead (but he himself remains sceptical). Flämig (2003, 567) accepts the identification of Astius as the grave occupant and the tomb commissioner. While freedmen are indeed known to have erected conspicuous tombs in the cemeteries of the Roman Empire, to my mind the identification of Astius as the commissioner of the mausoleum must be rejected. Not only do the size and quality of the epitaph not correspond with the size, quality, and design of the mausoleum (thus indicating that the inscription was not an integral part of it), but also - and perhaps more importantly so - because A.D. Rizakis himself dates the inscription to the late 1st-early 2nd century CE, while the tomb was dated to the early 1st century CE (thus suggesting that the freedman Astius was commemorated in stone decades after the mausoleum had already been constructed). Therefore, Rizakis' alternative suggestion that Astius' grave may simply have been situated nearby that of his patron seems more likely (*op. cit.*).

⁴⁷³ Although these rings were functional and not of a merely funerary nature, some of the imagery may be interpreted as symbolisms related to death and the afterlife: cf. Papapostolou 1983.

⁴⁷⁴ Upon the examination of this thesis, professor J. Fabricius brought it to my attention that ancient polyhedra, including

⁴⁶⁹ Dekoulakou 1980, 575.

⁴⁷⁰ Dekoulakou 1980, 567. See Rizakis, *Achaie II*, no. 5: Aequanae/ Sex(ti) f(iliae) Musae/ sacerdoti Dianae/ Aug(ustae) Laphriae et/ sacerdoti Aug(usti) imagin[e] et statu[s] II [h]on(orata)/ d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)/ Sex(tus) A(equa)nus/ pa[tr]is - 'A Aequana Musa, fille de Sextus, prêtresse de Diana Augusta Laphria et prêtresse d'Auguste, honorée d'une image et de deux statues, par décret des décurions, son père Sextus Aequanus.' See also Rizakis, *Achaie II*, nos. 118 (=BM127) and 330.

⁴⁷¹ Papapostolou 1983, 31-32.

include a diptych, a sculpted plaque, and a statuette of a crippled individual in Alexandrian tradition, one glass cup, and fourteen glass unguentaria. As was mentioned above, a marble chest with a multitude of hen's eggs inside was placed in a niche at the top end of the sarcophagus.

The silver rattle and astragaloi, the inscribed rock-crystal *dodecahedron*, and the ivory diptych are all unique grave goods among the known Patraean burial assemblages. These artefacts might be seen as a set of play-things that represent the deceased's fondness for gaming and/or gambling, and if so, this could be an indication as to his age or to a social status that allowed him to be occupied with such activities. If the gaming-set indeed refers to the deceased's age, then this might correspond well with the provision of eggs. While eggs are a symbol of birth and rebirth in general, they have been thought to be primarily provided to people of young age, who died before they had had a change to bring forth any children. Indeed, the physical anthropologist that looked at the bones had tentatively suggested that the individual was of a young age (unspecified).⁴⁷⁵

On the other hand, we may also wonder whether the same items could be seen as related to divination or as priestly paraphernalia. It is worth repeating that members of the Aequanus-*familia* have been epigraphically attested as priests in the imperial cult: Aequana Musa was a priestess of Diana Augusta Laphria and of Augustus⁴⁷⁶, and the freedman Sextus Aequanus Astius was an Augustal. It does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that the individual buried in the sarcophagus, too, could have held a priestly office during the early existence of the colony. Another possible hint of the man's elevated status in early colonial Patras was his ring with an engraved tripod, which Papapostolou has sug-

gested represents the office of the *quindecimvir*. Whether this was an office held by the deceased (or was an office aspired to but unattained) is not something that can be established on the basis of this ring alone.

The Aequani: tomb and identity

Compared to the other tombs of early colonial Patras the mausoleum of the Aequani was truly exceptional, as was the primary burial within its podium.⁴⁷⁷ The quality of the tomb and the care with which the grave was built inside its podium, the nature and quality of the grave provisions, and richness of the ornaments that the deceased wore all make it overtly clear that the man buried here was singled out for extraordinary treatment in death. The remarkable nature of his burial may reflect an exceptional role that the deceased held during his lifetime, but we should also keep in mind that - especially in the Roman period - tombs were often used to not simply reflect, but to manipulate and elevate the social prestige of the person or people buried within. The construction date of the mausoleum and the date of Sextus Aequanus' honorary inscription for his priestess daughter coincide to such an extent that we may plausibly correlate Sextus Aequanus with the construction of this tomb. Whether the man buried in the sarcophagus was Sextus Aequanus himself, or - if indeed we are dealing with a younger individual - was perhaps a son of his (and thus a brother of the priestess) is something that future skeletal analyses might help us understand. Whatever the case may be with regard to identity of the primary occupant, the epigraphic evidence shows that this tomb belonged to a family of Roman citizenship; on onomastic grounds it has been suggested that the family had roots in Italy, or even more specifically in Beneventum in Campania.⁴⁷⁸ The

the one from the mausoleum of the Aequani, are discussed in detail in a recent article by Platz-Horster (2017). Unfortunately, however, I was not able to access and read this article before the printing and defense of this research.

⁴⁷⁵ In this respect it is important to note that, to my knowledge, when the skeletal analysis was carried out in the early 1980s, this was done solely on the basis of photographs of the skeleton, and was not a study of the actual remains. Without an in-depth analysis of the skeletal remains we should be careful not to place too much weight on the age identification.

⁴⁷⁶ Note also the 2nd c. CE epitaph for one Antas, a freedman of Aequana (BM127). Whether the two Aequanae are one and the same is a definite possibility, but cannot be proven.

⁴⁷⁷ But see Lolos (2016) who discusses a tomb documented in 1829 by Blouet and its relation to the Mausoleum of the Aequani, which had previously been thought to be one and the same monument. However, despite some clear similarities, Lolos' detailed comparison proves that it cannot in fact be the same tomb. Lolos therefore proposes that a 'twin monument' may have existed in the North Cemetery of Patras, and that these belonged to 'two of the highest officials of the city and their families' (356). It should be noted though that Blouet did not refer to, or draw, a superstructure, and Lolos' reconstruction of the upper storey as a temple tomb is merely a suggestion. Whatever the case may be, since the Blouet-tomb has not been archaeologically recovered, it is impossible to determine its stylistic, temporal or spatial relation to the Mausoleum of the Aequani.

⁴⁷⁸ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 85.

Patraean epigraphic record further shows that the Aequani were clearly of local social prominence, that members of this family were serving in higher offices, and that they employed and freed several slaves over the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. The date of the earliest epigraphic attestation suggests that the family came to Patras in the wake of its colonization, and that Aequana Musa soon took up the position of priestess in the imperial cult and the cult for Artemis Laphria that Augustus had transplanted from Kalydon to Patras.

It is noteworthy that, while they were a Roman family, the Aequani did not represent themselves as Romans *per se*, but rather as members of a cosmopolitan elite. They did so by combining architectural styles with roots in different parts of the Mediterranean world⁴⁷⁹, by combining different modes of mortuary treatment (inhumation and cremation), and by using ornaments and grave goods from all over the Mediterranean and beyond, including from the Italian peninsula, the Greek East, and Egypt. Their decision to erect a temple tomb should be seen in the light of self-representation as well. By making use of an architectural style that was usually reserved for religious structures should be seen as significant and strategic, because its innate association with divinity would have elicited feelings of reverence and esteem in onlookers. As such, the architecture of the tomb worked as a status enhancer for the family.⁴⁸⁰

Tomb architecture and status

To conclude, while the Aequani family-tomb was one of a kind, it was also in many ways similar to the three monumental tombs of the Early Roman era that were discussed above. These conspicuous tombs served the practical purpose of providing a communal burial location for the family dead, but with their prominent locations, their impressive size, and their designs - all drawing from religious architecture to lesser or

greater extent - they also were intended to make boastful statements about the identity and status of the family who had erected these tombs, and about their place in living society.⁴⁸¹ As such, the choices in tomb placement and architecture should be seen as forms of strategic funerary behaviour that took place in the context of social competition. This competition revolved around the ascension to and maintenance of social prominence that was brought forth by the colonization of the polis and the subsequent uprooting of the local community and hierarchy; local and immigrant families had to vie amongst each other for their position in the social hierarchy of the newly formed colony. The Aequani seem to have been particularly adamant of using their tomb in this process of status negotiation. Its strategic utilization of space (it stood just outside the city), its impressive size (it towered over the other Early Roman tombs in the area), and its use of temple architecture (implying a sense of divinity and even, perhaps, apotheosis), worked together to maximize the impact that the tomb had on its audience; as the most conspicuous tomb of the period the mausoleum would have dominated the first section of the North Cemetery, and it would certainly have made an impact on the people exiting and entering the city. By claiming prominence in the cemetery, therefore, the Aequani and the other families who constructed conspicuous tombs claimed prominence in the living community as well.

5.4.7 A cenotaph?

One final monument of the 1st century CE that deserves mention before we summarize the observations on tomb architecture, is the exceptionally well-preserved freestanding exedra that stood on the west side of the ancient road through the North cemetery, at about 1 kilometre from the urban perimeter (**T181.B**). The exedra is Pi-shaped, has a core made of earth and limestone chips, and is clad in a revetment of limestone slabs. The two antae are decorated with bucrania in relief. The monument is rather small. Its rectangular floor plan had dimensions of 3.10x2.50 meters, while its height - fully preserved - was 1.62 meters. The exedra did not

⁴⁷⁹ The tomb displays a blend of cultural influences: the subterranean burial chamber in the form of a columbarium is clearly derived from Italian examples, whereas the upper storey in the form of a tetrastyle temple rather seems to draw from religious architecture and tomb types from the Hellenistic East. Cf. Flämig 2003, 567; 2007, 45-51. See Fedak 1990, Von Hesberg 1992, Berns 2003, and Cormack 2004 for temple tombs in the Hellenistic and Roman world; the type became rather popular in the Roman world, but primarily so in the Eastern part of the Empire.

⁴⁸⁰ Fedak 1990, 66; Von Hesberg 1992, 182.

⁴⁸¹ See Dijkstra 2017. Erecting tombs as a means of social competition has been noted for Rome and surroundings by Von Hesberg and Zanker (1987, 12-13) and Heinzelmänn (2000, 80).

Fig. 5.21 Mortuary treatment in the tombs of the 1st centuries BCE and CE (N depositions = 96).

bear any traces of an inscription and no burials were associated with the structure either. Flämig has therefore interpreted the monument as a cenotaph, while Dekoulakou suggests it may not have had a funerary or commemorative function at all, but served simply as a resting place for travellers to and from Patras or for visitors to the tombs in the area.⁴⁸²

5.4.8 Tomb architecture: observations

While periboloi had already been employed in the Hellenistic era, the analysis of tomb architecture has shown that the aboveground elaboration of burial sites really took off in the early colonial era, when various tomb types were introduced to the cemeteries of Patras. The earliest of these dated to the late 1st century BCE or the early 1st century CE and were solid, stepped monuments that were tentatively identified as funerary altars. In those few cases where depositions were preserved, we saw that one or two cinerary urns were encased in the solid core of these monuments. Over the course of the 1st century CE, the use of these structures that were meant for the deposition of one or two individuals was abandoned in favour of communal tombs that belonged to a variety of shapes and sizes. These tombs included columbaria that could be surrounded by periboloi, masonry house tombs and masonry enclosure tombs, but they also included tombs of a much more conspicuous nature, namely aediculae, a large funerary altar, and a temple tomb.

Despite an overall dearth of information about depositions in these tombs, the architecture itself indicates that the columbaria were intended to receive the cremated remains of about 6 to 10 people, as was the internal burial chamber enclosure tomb **T103.B**; evidence was less clear-cut for the house tombs, but they seem to have had more or less the same capacity. The peribo-

loi that surrounded many of the columbaria and the courtyard of **T103.B** contained multiple depositions, but it is not entirely clear how many of these would have been contemporaneous with the depositions inside the burial chambers. Depositions in the monumental tombs were limited to two empty (?) cist graves in the funerary altar, an encased urn in the podium of one of the aediculae, 44 immured ash urns in the burial chamber of the mausoleum of the Aequani, and a richly furnished inhumation grave in the podium of the same tomb.

There is evidence to suggest that the introduction of these tomb types can be attributed to the arrival of Roman settlers in the newly founded colony. The Roman identity of tomb owners need not be doubted in those few cases where Latin inscriptions commemorating Roman magistrates, citizens and/or freedmen could be associated with the tombs. Even though we may not exclude the possibility that these tomb types were adopted by Greeks, and even when direct evidence is lacking, it seems likely that the tomb owners were migrants given the fact that the mortuary traditions displayed in these tombs contrasted so sharply with local norms. For while the locally established practice had for centuries been single inhumation in relatively simple subterranean graves, the new tombs were for the most part a) aboveground, accessible structures that b) had their the closest parallels in Italian cities, and that c) were intended primarily for the communal deposition of cremated individuals; as can be seen in Figure 5.21 a staggering 90 percent of the depositions in the tombs of the period were cremations.

The contextual evidence, thus, seems to indicate that the newly introduced tombs were erected by non-local patrons of a Roman identity. The variation between the tombs in terms of type, location in the cemetery, size, and elaboration may be interpreted as a reflection of the social differentiation between these migrants. It was

⁴⁸² Cf. Flämig 2007, 39-42 and no. 155; Dekoulakou 196-202.

Inhumations **Cremations/Secondary burials**

Fig. 5.22 Depositions of the 1st centuries BCE and CE: types of graves and receptacles
(N inhumations = 69 and N cremations/secondary burials = 103).

hypothesized that the monuments built during the first decades of the colony's existence, the 'altar tombs' for individual or double burial, may have belonged to the initial members of the local magisterial elite; they erected tombs that followed Italian models that had inherent connotations of elite status. The evidence suggested that, over time, members of this same social upper class chose to erect increasingly conspicuous funerary monuments - aediculae, a funerary altar, and a temple tomb - that were built ever closer to the urban perimeter in an obvious attempt to attract public attention and to proclaim the tomb owners' elevated status in the colony. The columbaria, house tombs, and enclosure tombs, on the other hand, were more modest in size, simpler in design, and were mostly situated further away from the prominent burial sites; these tombs were tentatively ascribed to migrant families of the (upper) middle classes, some of whom must have inhabited farmsteads or villas in the countryside around the colony.

To conclude, the evidence from tomb architecture indicates that major changes occurred in the cemeteries of the early colonial period. Since these changes occurred in the period following Roman colonization and since the nature of the

newly introduced tombs - communal and/or monumental tombs that were primarily intended for the deposition of cremated remains, and the Latin epitaphs that were associated with some of them - is distinctly Roman, there is a strong argument to be made in favour of ascribing the new practice to Roman settlers. These settlers seem to have come from different social layers, and some were first wave colonists, while others were migrants who came later. Let us now turn to the simpler burials of the period, to see whether these attest to such major transformations as well.

5.5 Late Hellenistic-Early Roman depositions

5.5.1 The data

Out of the 3432 graves that were collected for this study, it was estimated that around 1200 depositions dated to the 1st centuries BCE and CE. Nonetheless, only 170 burials were relatively well dated and/or documented. Of these, 96 burials were placed in the abovedescribed tombs and periboloi, while the other 74 burials were individually placed in the cemeteries and were

Fig. 5.23 Mortuary treatment in the graves of the 1st centuries BCE and CE (N graves = 74).

not associated with monumental and/or communal funerary architecture.⁴⁸³

Before moving on to discussing the individual graves, it is worth repeating for the sake of comparison that the depositions of the first category, i.e. those inside the Early Roman tombs, were for the most part cremations in ceramic, glass, or lead urns, but also consisted of a few inhumations in pit, tile, cist graves, and sarcophagi, as well as one possible secondary burial in a tile-covered pit covered by a solid cast masonry construction⁴⁸⁴ (see Fig. 5.22). The cremations were mostly found inside the primary burial chambers of the tombs, while the inhumations (and the one secondary burial) were primarily situated in the courtyards or periboloi associated with them. Let us now turn to the graves that were not associated with funerary architecture.

5.5.2 Inhumation graves

As can be seen in Figures 5.22 and 5.23 the majority of the people deposited in the well-documented individual graves were inhumed, while only a minority was cremated; there were no secondary burials. This contrasts sharply with the pattern noted for the contemporaneous depositions that were placed inside the tombs. Figure 5.22 further shows that the tile grave was the preferred type for the simple burials, as it had been in the Hellenistic period. The tile grave is followed in popularity by pit graves, and simple limestone sarcophagi were used for only a minority of the burials. It seems that tile-built and limestone cist graves disappeared from the available repertoire of grave types in the

transition to the colonial era, and were replaced with a new type of cist: the brick-built cist grave. Brick-built cists were rectangular graves with walls that were made of bricks, with floors made of soil, gravel or tile - sometimes with a headrest - and with covers from stone slabs, (roof) tiles, or with tile and brick vaults; the interior and/or exterior walls were sometimes plastered. In some cases architectural elements in secondary use were incorporated in the construction of the cists, although the data seem to suggest that this was mostly done in later Roman times (see Chapters 6 and 7). The inhumation graves of the period also include a few *enchytrismo*i in pithoi.⁴⁸⁵

5.5.3 Cremations

About twenty percent of the well-documented individual depositions were cremations. These included secondary cremations in various ash containers, as well as one possible primary cremation⁴⁸⁶ in a 1st century BCE tile grave. This percentage is roughly the same percentage as it had been in the previous period (see Section 4.4.2), but it is noteworthy that there was a strong increase in the relative number of secondary cremations and primary cremations all but disappeared from the mortuary record.

The Roman ash containers took multiple forms: they could be items of reused pottery such as (transport) amphorai, stamnoi, or hydriai, but more often they were urns that were produced specifically for a funerary purpose. Most ash

⁴⁸³ To the former group belong G54.1-25, 62.2, 64.1-45, 65.1-14, 99.9, 101.1-3, 107.1-4, 130.8-10, 146.4-7, and 174.1; and to the latter group belong G11.2, 12.1-2, 18.1-12, 29.1, 64.56, 65.33, 71.1, 90.2, 100.19-24, 104.31, 124.14, 131.21, 133.1, 139.1-8, 140.12-13, 140.15-16, 145.1-8, 195.1-2, 214.2, 215.3, 222.3, 224.1, 243.1-17, and 260.4-7.

⁴⁸⁴ I.e. G174.1.

⁴⁸⁵ A group of fourteen pithos burials has been excavated in Saravali, a modern village in the countryside of Patras (BS224, G224.1-14). The pithoi were placed on their sides, and after the individuals had been placed inside the openings were closed off by a pile of stones, a stone slab, or a clay tile. Only one of these contained dateable artefacts: G224.1 held a lekane of the 1st century BCE-1st century CE and a coin of Domitian that was minted in Patras. While it is plausible that entire group of burials dates to the same period, this is not certain.

⁴⁸⁶ I.e., G145.2.

urns were simply made of clay, but lead, glass, and stone urns existed as well. Although contextual information for most of the ash containers is lacking, it seems that they could either be simply buried in the ground or could be placed inside another grave (or, as discussed above, in a tomb). While most of the urns have not received any subsequent attention after their excavation, the stone urns were recently studied by Petropoulos and it is worth discussing this group in more detail.

Stone urns and the identity of their owners

Eight stone ash containers have been recovered from the cemeteries of Patras. These include seven marble urns and chests, as well as one urn that was made from Egyptian alabaster.⁴⁸⁷ The stone urns form a cohesive typological and temporal group, and stylistic analyses have shown that all eight originate from workshops in Rome where they were produced there in Claudian, Neronian, and Flavian times. From Rome, they must have been imported to Patras sometime during the middle and late 1st century CE.

Three urns were reported to have contained cremated remains and/or objects when they were discovered. One marble ash chest contained the cremated remains of a child and a few artefacts, including a gold ring with an inset emerald, a bronze cosmetic tool (a so-called ear spoon), a bronze and a silver needle, and a bone button or gaming piece.⁴⁸⁸ An ovoid urn contained unidentifiable bronze nuggets as well as broken egg shells.⁴⁸⁹ A second ash chest - found within a sarcophagus alongside two inhumations - contained a fragmentary cylindrical object of ivory.⁴⁹⁰ The other five ash chests were apparently found empty.

According to Petropoulos such marble or alabaster urns from Roman workshops have not been found in other cities or regions of Greece, and certainly not in these numbers. This begs the question why this type of urn was so popular in Patras. Petropoulos proposed that the stone urns could either have been ordered by a

specific group of inhabitants of Patras at a single point in time, or that a group of Roman immigrants who settled in Patras around the middle of the 1st century CE brought the ash containers with them from Rome. Petropoulos seems to favour the latter interpretation, and connects the import of the urns to a tentative third wave of colonist settlement that must have occurred during the time of Nero (the first wave dating directly after Actium, the second to 14 BCE). He does not deem as problematic the fact that one of the urns contained the skeletal remains of a child, because the child could have simply been a child or grandchild of the veteran-colonist.⁴⁹¹ In Petropoulos' explanation, therefore, these stone ash urns were used either by veteran-colonists themselves or by their direct descendants. Although this interpretation might well be plausible, it is very difficult to test due to the overall lack of contextual information: none of the urns were inscribed, none contained human remains that were identifiable as a veteran soldier, nor did any of the urns contain grave goods that are indicative of a veteran or colonist status (whatever that would be). Ash chest **G139.4**, found inside a sarcophagus alongside two inhumations, does have some contextual information that can be looked into further.

The sarcophagus, made of local poros limestone and measuring 2.20x0.63x0.70 meters (int. dim.), was discovered in the early 1960s at Korinthou 125 in the North Cemetery (see Fig. 5.3, **BS139**). The grave dates to the mid-late 1st century CE, and contained the skeletons of an adult and a child. The two individuals had been placed side by side in supine position, and both had been provided with a gold danake. The danake of the adult carried an embossed representation of a female head, and the danake of the child had a representation of a dove. The adult wore a gold ring with an inlaid stone that was engraved with a crescent moon and a hexagonal star, four glass lekythia lay by the chest of the individual, and at the feet lay a monochrome shallow vessel (a plate?). The excavator, Mastrokostas, relates the symbolism of the ring to the god Men, whose worship was taken to Greece from Asia Minor in Hellenistic times as the god

⁴⁸⁷ These are: G11.2 (= Petropoulos 2018, no. 8), 71.1 (= Petropoulos 2018, no. 1), 124.14 (=Petropoulos 2018, no. 2), 139.4 (= Petropoulos 2018, no. 7), and 260.4-7 (= Petropoulos 2018, nos. 3-6). See Petropoulos 2018 and Sinn 1987; see Catalogue A for references to the original excavation reports (if available).

⁴⁸⁸ G124.14.

⁴⁸⁹ G206.7.

⁴⁹⁰ Ash chest: G139.4, sarcophagus: G139.3.

⁴⁹¹ Petropoulos 2018, 548-550.

of slaves.⁴⁹² The child wore a wreath of fifteen gold myrtle leaves; a juglet in the shape of a seated lion lay at the feet. Based on the artefacts, ornaments, and their iconography we may tentatively identify the inhumed individuals as a woman and a girl.

The marble ash chest stood at the bottom end of the grave, by the feet of the woman and the girl. As was mentioned above, the ash chest contained cremated remains as well as an unidentified fragmented cylindrical ivory object. The chest bears elaborate sculpted decoration: it has a symmetrical design of ivy leaves and birds, a small krater is depicted below a rectangular frame intended for an inscription (not preserved), and flowers adorn the front of the pedimental-shaped cover. The ash chest was produced in Rome during the Claudian era.⁴⁹³

This communal deposition is unique for its combination of local and non-local mortuary practices, and it is worth considering for a moment how it came into being and the three individuals ended up in the same grave. There are four scenarios for the order of the depositions: a) all three individuals could have died at or around the same time and were deposited during a single event (the cremation would then have taken place shortly before the burial), b) the two inhumations were simultaneous and the grave was reopened for the deposition of the ash chest after the third individual had passed away, c) the cremated remains had already been in the possession of the deceased woman and girl, and were buried together with them when they died, or d) all three individuals died at different points in time, and the grave was reopened twice for the subsequent depositions to take place. Whatever the temporal relation between the burials may have been, the fact that these three individuals were buried together should be taken as the reflection of a close relationship during life; a nuclear family perhaps. Despite their apparent closeness, it is tantalizing that the variety of mortuary rites (inhumation and cremation), of artefacts, ornaments and their symbolism suggests that the three individuals had different cultural backgrounds and/or belief systems: the choice for cremation and the imported ash chest from

Rome seem to indicate that the cremated individual had roots in Italy (following Petropoulos, we could identify this individual as a veteran-colonist, but it could also be someone of Roman descent who migrated to Patras on a voluntary basis), the woman and the girl, on the other hand, were buried in Greek tradition, provided with a funerary wreath, jewellery, and/or *danakes*, in similar fashion as other women in Patras. It is tempting to propose that this grave was a family grave that contained the cremated remains of a man who was a migrant from Rome, his wife of Greek identity, and their young daughter. This interpretation is based on a number of assumptions and has to remain tentative – skeletal analyses are required and welcomed to confirm or counter it. But even if their relationship was a different one, the combination of mortuary practices in this one grave represents a fascinating example of how colonization and the intense connectivity between Patras and Rome affected the mortuary realm and the society of Early Roman Patras.

Let us now return to the question why the imported stone urns were present in Patras and not in other Greek cities. While it is plausible to connect the use of stone urns to immigrants from the Italian peninsula who were interested in being buried in an ash chest from back home, it is more problematic to ascribe them to veteran-colonists *per se*, especially since we know that many Romans without a military history chose to live in Patras as well. It seems unlikely that these people brought these urns with them when they moved to their new domicile, however, for surely other luggage would be more important when starting a new life abroad. The continuous contact between Rome and Patras would have meant that the stone urns could quite easily make their way to the local market, either by special order from an inhabitant of Patras, or because a tradesman travelling from West to East thought that he could make a good deal with these urns, knowing that there were plenty of Romans in Patras who might be interested in purchasing a properly Roman ash container for themselves. Whatever the case may be, the combination of a significant number of Roman settlers and the colony's proximity to and contact and trade with Rome seem to be the reasons for their popularity here.

⁴⁹² See Catalogue A, BS124 for references.

⁴⁹³ The date was first proposed by Sinn 1987, no. 70.

Fig. 5.24 Mortuary treatment in the individual graves (N=74) and the tombs (N=96) of the 1st centuries BCE and CE.

5.5.4 Simple depositions: observations

The most dramatic transformation in the cemeteries of Early Roman Patras was the introduction of aboveground tomb architecture for the deposition of cremated remains, but the analysis of the body of simple graves, too, testifies to marked changes in local mortuary behaviour. In contrast to the tomb architecture, however, the simpler burials also attested to continuity. Just as in the Hellenistic period, single inhumation remained the norm in mortuary treatment among the simple graves, and the tile grave remained the most popular type. Tile-built and limestone cist graves were apparently no longer part of the grave repertoire, but a new type of cist - the brick-built cist - was introduced in their place. The percentage of cremations among the simple depositions seems to have remained more or less the same as it had been in the previous era, but while the Hellenistic period saw a large number of primary cremations, those of the early colonial period were all but limited to secondary cremations in ceramic, lead, glass, and stone urns, as well as in reused household pottery.

Secondary cremations were situated in tombs, were placed in simple graves, or were simply buried into the ground; they were recovered from both the North and the South Cemeteries.⁴⁹⁴ It was hypothesized that the secondary cremations could, at least for the most part, be ascribed to migrants with a Roman background or a background in the Roman army, for cremation was the common rite in Italy and among soldiers. If we compare the percentage of cremations in the tombs and among the simple depositions,

then it becomes clear that the cremations were overwhelmingly associated with the new tomb types (Fig. 5.24). In contrast, cremations were only a minority among the simple burials, where single inhumation remained the norm.

Together these patterns indicate that the majority of the people who chose to be cremated were subsequently buried in aboveground, communal tombs. The people who were inhumed, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly buried according to the local custom of individual inhumation in relatively simple grave types. As such, the patterns observed for the simple burials reinforce the hypothesis that the tombs were erected by people who adhered to a different mortuary culture than the local population, and who can tentatively identified as Roman settlers.

5.6 Burial assemblages

5.6.1 The data

Thus far, we have seen that the mortuary landscape of Patras underwent major transformations in the Early Roman era due to the creation of a third urban cemetery, the largescale introduction of aboveground tombs, and the rise in popularity of the rite of secondary cremation. Let us now turn to the burial assemblages to see if innovations were also introduced in practices surrounding the adornment of the dead and in the objects that the dead were provided with.

The burial assemblage is known for 35 graves of the 1st centuries BCE and CE; eight of these were found in depositions that were associated with tomb architecture (Table 5.2). Together, the 35 burials yielded a total of ≥161 artefacts. The total number of objects per grave ranged from one to ≥36, but most graves contained only one or two artefacts. When compared to the preceding period, this reflects an overall decline in the

⁴⁹⁴ No secondary cremations of the Early Roman period were explicitly reported for the East Cemetery, but this is more likely to be the result of an excavation and publication bias than an actual absence of the practice there.

Fig. 5.25 Furnished burials: distribution per burial location (N=35).

Fig. 5.26 Furnished burials: treatment of the human remains (N=35).

number of artefacts that were deposited with the deceased.

Thirty-six of the deposited artefacts were used for corpse adornment; the other 125 objects may be described as grave provisions (Table 5.3). The ratio between these two functional groups is remarkably different from that in the previous era: it had been 43 vs. 57 percent of ornaments versus grave goods in the Hellenistic period, but it became 22 vs. 78 percent in the 1st centuries BCE and CE. This already is a clear indication that both adornment practices and depositional habits had changed.

Before discussing the nature of the assemblages in more detail, let us first have a look at the burials with which they were found. The spatial pattern established in the preceding centuries, i.e. that the majority of the furnished burials were situated in the North Cemetery, persisted in this period, despite the creation of the East Cemetery (Fig. 5.25). The furnished depositions include 27 inhumations, seven cremations, and one secondary burial (Fig. 5.26). Information about human remains is limited, but six burials were reported to have been those of children, and two were explicitly stated to have contained the remains of adults. Two graves had received a double burial: one held the skeletal remains of an adult and a child (and the cremated remains of a third individual, see Section 5.6.3 above), and the other contained the remains of an adult and a person of unspecified age.

The variety of tombs, graves or vessels in which the assemblages were found is remarkable. The furnished secondary burial was deposited in a

small tile-covered pit covered by a solid cast masonry construction (dim. 1.65x2x1.10 m; no cladding preserved), which may have been a funerary monument or altar of sorts. The furnished cremations were found in marble ash chests, in glass, lead, and ceramic urns, as well as in one amphora. The furnished inhumations were found in graves of nearly all the known types, including pit, tile, and brick-built cist graves, limestone sarcophagi, and one pithos. Eight furnished depositions, seven inhumations and the one secondary burial, were associated with aboveground funerary architecture: **G54.8-10** were situated within the above described peribolos that enclosed cist and tile graves and a subterranean columbarium; **G62.2** lay inside a house tomb; **G64.45** is the inhumation in the podium of the Mausoleum of the Aequani; **G130.8-9** were situated within a high-walled masonry peribolos, and **G174.1** was enclosed by a peribolos together with eleven other depositions that were apparently later in date.

Together, these contextual observations seem to indicate that there was no one to one relation between the tomb or grave type, mortuary treatment, corpse adornment, and the provision of grave goods. In other words, although people were subjected to different mortuary rites and were placed in different sorts of graves or tombs, they could all be provided with ornaments and/or artefacts. The question is, of course, whether they would all be provided with the same types of artefacts, or whether we can identify differences in the burial assemblages among the various depositions. In order to

Table 5.2 Furnished and/or adorned burials of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE.

Grave ID	Tomb ID	Cemetery	Grave type	Date	No. of individuals	Treatment of body	Age estimation	Gender estimation	Total no. of objects	Ornaments	Provisions
12.2	-	N	pit grave	1st c. CE	1	inh	-	-	4	1 gold wreath	1 lamp, 1 ceramic unguentarium, and 1 bronze coin
18.1	-	S	tile grave	1st c. CE	1	inh	a (?)	-	2	-	1 glass unguentarium, and 1 bronze coin (Nero)
29.1	-	N	tile grave	ER	1	inh	c	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (Claudius)
54.8	54.A	S	built cist/ tile grave	ER	-	inh	-	-	1	-	1 glass vessel
54.9	54.A	S	built cist/ tile grave	LHel-ER	-	inh	-	-	2	-	1 kantharos, and 1 ceramic unguentarium
54.10	54.A	S	built cist/ tile grave	ER	-	inh	-	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (Augustus, Patras)
62.2	62.A	N	tile grave	ER	1(?)	inh	-	-	2	-	1 plate, 1 bronze coin (Nero, Rome)
64.45	64.A	N	limestone sarcophagus	ER	1	inh	a	m	>36	2 gold wreaths (9 leaves, skull; 41 leaves, pelvis), 1 gold fibula, 2 bronze coins with suspension holes (part of clothing?), 6 gold rings (Herakles, Hermes, Eros, tripod, and a naked, helmeted warrior)	1 marble chest with hen's eggs, 1 silver rattle, 2 silver astragaloi, 1 rock-crystal dodecahedron with inscribed numerals, 1 ivory diptych, 1 ivory plaque, 1 ivory statuette (crippled individual), 1 glass cup, 14 glass unguentaria, and 2 gold danakes (4th BCE Sykion; 40-30 BCE Corinth)
65.33	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	LHel-ER	2	inh	a, -	f	8	1 gold wreath (16 leaves), 1 pair of gold earrings, 4 gold rings	2 gold danakes
90.2	-	E	tile grave	LHel-ER	1	inh	-	-	1	-	1 silver danake
124.14	-	N	marble ash urn	40-55 CE	1	cr	c	-	6	1 gold ring with an inset emerald	1 bone button or gaming piece, 1 bronze and 1 silver needle (possibly used as hairpins), 1 bronze grooming tool, and bronze fragments
130.8	130.B	N	pit grave (?)	LHel-ER	1	inh	c	f	11	1 pair of gold earrings, 1 glass-bead necklace, 1 gold ring	3 ceramic and 5 glass unguentaria
130.9	130.B	N	tile grave	0-50 CE	1	inh	c	-	10	1 gilded silver buckle	1 silver pen, 1 glass bowl with ribbed decoration, 1 glass cup, 1 glass and 5 ceramic unguentaria
130.10	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	ER	1	inh	-	f	10	-	1 bronze folding mirror, the locking mechanism of a chest, 7 glass unguentaria, and 1 gold danake (dove)
133.1	-	N	tile grave	ER(?)	-	inh	-	-	1	1 gold wreath	-

139.1	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	ER	1	inh	-	-	3	-	2 glass lekythia, 1 gold danake (dove; on the chest)
139.2	-	N	built cist grave	ER	1	inh	-	f	5	1 bronze earring (?), 1 gold pendant (naked female)	1 cup and 1 phiale (imports from Italy), and 1 glass lekythion
139.3	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	ER	2*	inh	a, c	f, f	10	1 gold wreath (15 myrtle leaves), 1 gold ring with inset gem (crescent moon, star)	1 lion-shaped ceramic vessel, 1 plate (?), 4 glass lekythia, and 2 gold danakes; ash chest 139.4 stood at the feet of the deceased
139.4	-	N	marble ash chest	40-55 CE	-	cr	-	-	1	-	1 ivory object
139.5	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	ER	-	inh	-	-	2	-	1 lekythion, 1 phiale
139.6	-	N	amphora	ER	-	cr	-	-	1	-	1 coin (Tiberius, 34-36 CE)
139.7	-	N	glass urn	ER	-	cr	-	-	3	-	3 coins (Sikyon, 3rd c. BCE; Elis, 271-191 BCE; Patras, Domitian)
139.8	-	N	lead urn	ER	-	cr	-	-	1	1 scarab set in a silver wire ring	-
141.33	-	N	urn	Hel-R	-	cr	-	-	1	1 gold wreath	-
165.1	-	•	tile grave	1-150 CE	1	inh	c(?)	f	15	2 gold rings, 1 bronze pendant, 1 bronze ring, and bronze studded standals	2 iron spoons, 6 glass vessels, and 2 lead bell-shaped objects
174.1	174.A	S	tile-covered pit	ER(?)	-	sec bur	-	-	4	1 gold wreath	3 glass unguentaria
214.2	-	N	tile grave	ER(?)	1	inh	-	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
215.3	-	N	tile grave	ER	1	inh	-	-	3	-	3 bronze coins (in the mouth)
222.3	-	N	pit grave	ER(?)	1	inh	-	-	6	1 glass bead, 1 glass ring	4 glass unguentaria
224.1	-	•	pithos	ER	-	inh	-	-	2	-	1 lekane, 1 coin (Domitian, Patras)
227.2	-	N	tile grave	Hel-R	1	inh	-	-	2	-	2 ceramic unguentaria
239.1	-	N	tile grave	Hel-R	1	inh	c	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
239.2	-	N	tile grave	Hel-R	1	inh	c	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
239.3	-	N	tile grave	Hel-R	1	inh	c	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
260.7	-	N/A	marble ash chest	50-60 CE	-	cr	-	-	>2	-	bronze fragments, eggs

Table 5.3 Grave assemblages of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman era:
Artefact types and their frequency (N objects = 161, N burials = 35).

unguentarium	48	bowl	1
jewellery/dress items	28	diptych	1
coin/danake	25	dodecahedron	1
lekythion	8	kantharos	1
wreath	8	lamp	1
glass vessel (unspec.)	7	marble chest	1
cup	3	mirror	1
astragalos	2	pen	1
phiale	2	rattle	1
plate	2	egg shell	>2
spoon	2	miscellaneous	>15

answer this question, let us first turn to the ornaments, and then to the grave goods.

5.6.2 Ornaments

Fourteen well-documented burials of the period yielded evidence for the dressing and adorning of the dead. Only two of these burials contained jewellery of materials other than gold⁴⁹⁵: **G139.8** was a lead ash urn in which a silver ring with inset scarab was mixed with the cremated remains, and **G222.3** was a pit grave in which the deceased was adorned with one glass bead (a simple necklace?) and a glass ring. A third burial did not contain jewellery, but a gilded silver buckle (**G130.9**).

The other eleven burials either contained gold wreaths, gold pieces of jewellery, or a combination of both.⁴⁹⁶ These burials include one cremation in a simple urn (unassociated with tomb architecture) and the one secondary burial of the period that both contained a gold-leaf funerary wreath, as well as one cremation in a marble urn that contained a gold ring.⁴⁹⁷ The other eight gold-adorned burials were single inhumations in simple pit and tile graves and a brick-built cist⁴⁹⁸, as well as a single⁴⁹⁹ and two double⁵⁰⁰ inhumations in three limestone sarcophagi. The three sarcophagi were all situated in the North Cemetery; one was the burial in the podium of

the mausoleum of the Aequani, while the other two sarcophagi were not associated with tomb architecture. The latter two are the burial with an inhumed adult and child and a cremated individual that was already discussed above, as well as a sarcophagus that held the remains of two inhumed individuals, who between them were adorned with one or two gold funerary wreaths, one pair of gold earrings, and four gold finger rings. It is noteworthy that none of the gold-adorned burials of the period were reported to have contained funerary jewellery, even though this was a common feature in the graves of the previous era.

Although the evidence is sparse and the analysis of the ways in which the dead were dressed and adorned is consequently limited, it does show that secondary burials, cremations, and inhumations could all be furnished with ornaments, despite the different treatment that the human bodies received. It is important to note that there is no evidence for any of the cremations in the new tomb types being provided with such objects. This reinforces, once more, the exceptionality of the depositions within these tombs.

The ornaments of the period were made of gold, silver, and glass. Gold was the most popular material for adorning the dead, as it had been in the Hellenistic period (although I repeat that we should be wary of the publication bias that plagues our data). The data indicate that the combination of a gold wreath with gold jewellery, i.e. the combination of two expensive methods of adornment, was found only in association with inhumations in sarcophagi, be they situated within a tomb or not. Although we only have a small sample, this does seem to point to a lingering practice from the Hellenistic period,

⁴⁹⁵ The fact that the majority of the well-documented graves were those with gold ornaments is an obvious result of publication bias.

⁴⁹⁶ Gold wreath and gold jewellery (3 graves): G64.45 (2 wreaths), 65.33, and 139.3. Gold wreaths (4 graves): G12.2, 133.1, 141.33, and 174.1. Gold jewellery (4 graves): G130.8, 139.2, 165.1, and 260.7.

⁴⁹⁷ G124.14, 141.33, and 174.1.

⁴⁹⁸ G12.2, 130.8, 133.1, 139.2, and 165.1.

⁴⁹⁹ G64.45.

⁵⁰⁰ G65.33 and 139.3.

Fig. 5.27 Material of the artefacts in the grave assemblages of the 1st centuries BCE and CE (N=161).

when the most sumptuously adorned bodies were found in the better quality graves.

Despite the noted persistence of the habit of adorning the dead with gold wreaths and/or gold jewellery, the evidence clearly shows that the practice was starting to decline. The people who did still choose to adorn their dead in this manner did so less lavishly and in more modest ways than before; the apparent absence of funerary jewellery – i.e. jewellery that was intended solely for its deposition in the grave – seems to indicate that the local production of disposable ornaments ceased towards the end of the 1st century BCE as a consequence. The loss of interest in the decking the dead body in gold intensified over the course of the Roman period, and shall be discussed further in the following chapter.

5.6.3 Grave goods

The value of grave provisions

The decline in the use of valuable ornaments was mirrored by an overall decline in the deposition of valuable grave provisions (see Fig. 5.27 and compare to Fig. 4.6). In striking contrast to the Hellenistic era, when several burials had been furnished with silver symposium sets, strigils, pyxides, and other objects, the burials of the 1st centuries BCE and CE were completely devoid of silver vessels and silver grooming tools. In addition to the gold and silver items of dress and adornment that were described above, gold was only used for eight danakes in five burials⁵⁰¹, while silver artefacts were limited to two astragaloi and one rattle in the Aequani-

sarcophagus, a silver pen and a silver needle that were each placed in the grave of a child, and one silver coin or danake from a simple tile grave in the East Cemetery.⁵⁰² Bronzes consisted primarily of coins, but also included one mirror, one needle, and one ear spoon.⁵⁰³ Other valuable materials, such as rock-crystal, ivory, or marble, were found in only two graves.⁵⁰⁴

Despite the overall low quantity of valuable artefacts, they do hint to a (non-exclusive, e.g. tile grave **G165.1**) correlation between the value of grave goods and the quality of the grave and/or tomb they were placed in. This correlation is particularly evident when we look at the danakes, for all gold danakes were found in limestone sarcophagi. Since this correlation was also noted for the ornaments, the combined patterns indicate that there were people that continued to spend significant funds on the adornment of the body, on the construction of the grave, and on the provision of grave goods, as had been the case in the Hellenistic era. This correlation did, however, become markedly less strong: save for the inhumation in the Aequani-sarcophagus, the depositions in the monumental tombs were apparently invariably unfurnished cremations. This indicates that the considerations concerning expenditure on the funeral were starting to change.

The introduction of glassware

The analysis of Late Hellenistic and Early Roman grave provisions further shows that there was a

⁵⁰¹ G64.45, 65.33, 130.10, 139.1, and 139.3.

⁵⁰² G64.45, 90.2, 124.14 and 130.9.

⁵⁰³ The mirror was part of the assemblage in G130.10, the needle and ear spoon of that in G124.14.

⁵⁰⁴ G64.45 and 139.4.

Fig. 5.28 Late Hellenistic-Early Roman grave assemblages:
The main functional categories (N=135; 26 objects are excluded).

dramatic increase in the deposition of glass artefacts (see Fig. 5.27 and compare to Fig. 4.6). While our sample of burials dating from the Classical and Hellenistic period yielded only a single glass vessel - one alabastron in **G149.1** - the graves of the 1st centuries BCE and CE yielded a total of 51 glass vessels, as well as three pieces of glass jewellery, and a number of glass urns. The vessels include two glass cups and one ribbed bowl, but the vast majority are glass unguentaria. Glass vessels occur in such high numbers that they far surpass the ceramic wares (51 versus 22 vessels). There is no evidence for glass workshops in Patras itself, and we should view the glass vessels as imports that were brought from elsewhere. Since the glassware from these burial contexts has largely remained unstudied and unpublished, it is not possible to ascertain from where the glass vessels would have originated. Nonetheless, we may identify the known production centres in Northern Italy and on the Levantine coast as likely places of origin.⁵⁰⁵ Exponential increases in the number of glass vessels in burials of the Early Roman era have also been noted at other locations, for instance in Thessaloniki and in the coastal cities of Roman Syria.⁵⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that in contrast

to Patras, the Roman graves from the North Cemetery of Corinth did not yield a lot of glass vessels, but yielded ceramic vessels instead.⁵⁰⁷ This difference is significant, and while it may be the case that the inhabitants of the two Roman colonies made different choices in their burial practices, it is not unlikely that the quantity of glass vessels in Patras is related to the colony's trade connections of the time, since glass vessels could easily be used to fill up the hold of a ship.

Types of grave goods

Having seen that significant changes took place in the value of individual artefacts and of the full grave assemblages, let us now have a closer look at the types of objects that were deposited to see whether these, too, are indicative of shifting sumptuary practices. As can be seen in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.28, oil containers formed the largest group of artefacts that were deposited in the burials of the 1st centuries BCE and CE. A total of 56 lekythia and unguentaria (ceramic and glass) came from fifteen of the furnished burials (45% of our current sample); the number of oil flasks per grave ranged from one to fourteen.

Although the oil containers were interpreted as related to grooming practices for the preceding centuries, it is questionable whether this is also valid for the material from this period. The

⁵⁰⁵ During the 1st c. BCE the Syro-Palestinian coast was the main production centre of glass, but during the reign of Augustus glassworking also took root in Italy, notably in Rome itself, around the port of Puteoli, and in northern cities including Aquileia (Stern 1995; Fleming 1999).

⁵⁰⁶ See Antonaras 2009 for the introduction of glass in Thessaloniki, also dated in the late 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE. See De Jong 2017, 83-84. De Jong identified a significant increase in the number of glass vessels deposited in the graves of Roman Syria during the late 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE; in later centuries glass almost entirely replaced ceramic vessels. De Jong argues that the sudden appearance

of the phenomenon is directly related to the invention of the glass-blowing technique on the Levantine coast, perhaps even in Roman Syria itself. This new technique made glass vessels easier to produce, more readily available, and cheaper. She further points to distinct differentiation in the depositional patterns of glassware between the more coastal regions and inland sites, which can arguably be related to the distance of these sites from the production centres.

⁵⁰⁷ Warner Slane 2017, 198-212.

hesitation to do so stems from the observation that other types of objects related to bodily care have all but disappeared from the period's assemblages: no pyxides or lekanides were provided to the dead, no strigils were given, only one individual was buried with a mirror, and one other was provided with an ear spoon. In addition to this decline in grooming instruments, the bejewelling of the dead, too, declined significantly as we have seen. These two trends mutually reinforce each other and they reflect a transformation in the way people dealt with their dead: the focus on the external appearance of the dead body - which was the defining characteristic of adornment and depositional practices in the Hellenistic era - was now redirected elsewhere. It is for this reason that we should at least ask whether the oil vessels and the perfumed oils that they contained could have served another purpose than being a provision to the deceased for their bodily care in the afterlife. We may ask, for instance, whether the oils were sprinkled in the grave as part of a ritual offering to appease the spirit of the deceased, whether it served the practical purpose of masking the smell of the corpse, or whether they constitute the remnants of the embalmment of the corpse during the first stage of the burial process. In the latter case, their use during the funeral may have left the unguentaria polluted and required their disposal in the grave.⁵⁰⁸ None of the hypotheses are necessarily mutually exclusive, and, moreover, they may well apply to the previous periods as well. Whatever the reason for their inclusion in the grave may have been, the unguentaria seem to have been present in only a minority of the burials, proving that the deposition of oil flasks was not an indispensable part of the funerary proceedings.

Coins and danakes follow the oil containers in popularity in terms of their number, but it should be noted that they were found in a higher percentage of the burials (45 versus 55%). The coins include eight gold simulacra that were made specifically for their use in the grave, as well as one silver and at least eleven bronze coins that were in circulation in the period. Although the excavation reports rarely elaborate on the types of coins that were found in the graves, they do make it clear that the coins

include three bronze coins that were locally minted in Patras under Augustus and Domitian, one that was minted in Rome under Nero, and others that come from Peloponnesian centres. The fact that one of the locally minted coins from the time of Domitian was found in a glass cinerary urn together with a 3rd century BCE coin from Sikyon and a coin from Elis minted between 271-191 BCE is remarkable and shows that coins could be in circulation for centuries on end.⁵⁰⁹ A contextual analysis of the coins shows that both inhumations and cremations could be provided with coins⁵¹⁰, that both adults and children could receive a coin, that one coin per individual was generally deemed sufficient⁵¹¹, and that - when noted - the coins tended to be found near the skull of the deceased. The latter suggests that they were often placed either in the mouth, on the forehead, or on the eyes of the deceased. While coins were the only grave provision in more than half of the burials, they were also coupled with other grave goods. No clear patterns can be discerned in the pairing of coins with specific grave goods, however. Given their contextual evidence it is tempting to identify the coin finds as examples of Charon's obol.

A final pattern that is noteworthy concerns the deposition of eating and drinking vessels. While vessels of this category were deposited in a few Late Hellenistic-Early Roman burials (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3 and Figure 5.28), their frequency declined as well. 'Symposium-sets' - be they silver or ceramic - that had been part of several burial assemblages in the previous centuries were no longer provided, and drinking vessels include only one kantharos, one bowl, and three cups. Other pottery shapes include two phialai, two plates, and one lekane. This pattern may indicate that the dead were no longer considered in need of nourishment. Given the complete absence of these types of vessels in cremation graves, we may wonder if the introduction and wider use of cremation and the differing attitude towards the body that is associated with the

⁵⁰⁹ G139.7.

⁵¹⁰ The cremations with coins are limited to two examples: G139.6-7.

⁵¹¹ Thirteen graves contained one coin, three contained two coins, and two contained three coins. It is noteworthy that two of the graves with two coins also contained two individuals, suggesting that one danake was provided for each of the deceased (G65.33, 139.3).

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. De Jong 2017, 83-87.

practice also had an impact on inhumation burials.

Observations

The analysis of grave goods showed that - as was true for the ornaments - the number and value of the deposited items declined. We noted a persisting correlation between the quality of tombs and graves and the quality and quantity of the grave goods, but it was markedly less strong than it had been in the Hellenistic era. The analysis further testified to the introduction of imported glassware in the graves of the period, and to a shift in depositional patterns whereby artefacts for both grooming and feasting became much less common. In contrast, the deposition of coins, tentatively identified as Charon's obol, became more common than it had been before.

5.6.4 Grave goods, identity, and connectivity

Let us tie together the abovementioned observations regarding the burial assemblages and discuss what the patterns of continuity and change can tell us about the impact of colonization. The analysis of the burial assemblages indicates that practices of corpse adornment and local habits of grave good provision persisted in some ways, but transformed in other ways. We witnessed a dwindling use of funerary wreaths and ornaments for the beautification of the dead, and the abandonment of the use of funerary jewellery. We also saw that - save for about a handful of exceptions - the sets of grave provisions were small and simple. These patterns are correlated and they indicate that people were less inclined to deposit significant amounts of their wealth in the grave. The patterns also show that people were less preoccupied with the appearance of the dead and the display of the gold-decked corpse and rich sets of grave goods than they had been in the preceding century or so. These developments are countered, as we have seen, by a contemporaneous steep increase in expenditure on tomb monumentality. Together, this suggests that the people of Patras did not become hesitant to spend money on their dead, but they chose to spend it in another way. As will be discussed in further detail in Section 5.8, this may reflect a change in strategies of ostentation (from the body to the tomb), that may have been related to Roman colonization.

At the same time that the value of local burial assemblages had started to decline, Patras also witnessed the largescale introduction of glass vessels, mainly unguentaria, in its cemeteries. As was noted above, these were not locally produced, but were imported, probably from production centres on the Levantine coast and/or in northern Italy. In addition to the massive amounts of glassware, there were some other objects of non-local origin that attest to wide-spreading networks of trade in the Early Roman period. Such imports included a cup and phiale from an Italian workshop and various ivory objects that hint to contacts with Egypt or wider North Africa. In addition, the graves contained coins from various localities in the Peloponnese, from wider Greece, and from Italy. Together with the group of 1st century CE ash chests that were imported from workshops in Rome, these artefacts all attest to intense trade relations with not only the Italian peninsula, but also the wider Mediterranean. It is not necessarily surprising that the number of imported grave goods rose in early colonial times, since we know that the Early Imperial period witnessed an intensification of connectivity, and since Patras occupied a crucial location on the trade routes between East and West. Nonetheless, the fact that locally made ceramics were substituted with imported glassware is a striking testimony to how local societies and practices could - in simple ways - be affected by the intensification of supra-regional connectivity and trade that characterized the Roman imperial period.

One final question to ask is whether we can identify individuals as colonists or migrants on the basis of their burial assemblages alone. The answer, it seems, is no. The burial assemblages are so varied and yet so similar that they do not allow us to differentiate between 'local' and 'non-local' practices with any amount of certainty. There were many graves that contained non-locally produced artefacts, of course, but imported items and their provenance cannot be assumed to bear a direct relation with the identity of the deceased.⁵¹² We should be

⁵¹² Imported artefacts in themselves do not testify to the provenance of the deceased, but contextual evidence may increase the possibility that they were, for example in the case of the stone ash chests from Rome which combine an imported artefact with the non-local mortuary rite of cremation.

especially wary of correlating imported items to migrant identity when the imports were mass-produced (i.e. glass unguentaria) and appear in a city as large and well-connected as Patras, where they would have been readily available at the local market. That is not to say that non-local artefacts are never indicative of the deceased's ties to other territories. In the case of rare or unique objects, the possibility that they were personal items owned by the deceased, and could thus have been brought in via migration, becomes higher. Two such artefacts may be identified among the Patraean material of Early Roman date. One is the Etruscan ring in the Aequani-sarcophagus that could be a family heirloom, and the other is the scarab that was found among the cremated remains in a lead urn.⁵¹³ The scarab was inscribed with the hieroglyphs for Shu the son of Ra, who is the Egyptian god of air. Combined with the fact that this individual was cremated, the ring may be an indication that the deceased was someone of non-Greek descent. Although I am not implying that there is nearly enough evidence to identify this individual as one of the original veteran colonists, it is worth remembering that Mark Antony's legions - veterans of which were settled at Patras - had spent time in Egypt and included soldiers that were recruited from there.⁵¹⁴ But despite these two tentative examples, the burial assemblages in themselves do not provide us with clear insights into the ethnic identity of the deceased. As we shall see next, however, the epitaphs certainly do.

5.7 Tombstones and epitaphs

5.7.1 The larger patterns

Twenty inscribed tombstones can be confidently dated to the 1st centuries BCE and CE (see Table 5.4). A weighted estimation of the tombstones, however, indicates that as many as 54 could in fact have dated to this period (see Fig. 5.29).⁵¹⁵ Before taking a closer look at the twenty tombstones of certain early colonial date, let us briefly

discuss the diachronic patterns that are presented in Figures 5.29 to 5.31.

A temporal analysis of the tombstones and epitaphs indicates that their use briefly decreased during the 1st century BCE, but increased significantly during the 1st century CE. Whether the decrease is reflective of an actual lull in the erection of tombstones or whether it is a reflection of dating biases is uncertain.⁵¹⁶ The rise in the number of tombstones during the 1st century CE, on the other hand, does correspond well with the contemporaneous increase in the number of depositions that we have seen, and with the creation of a third urban cemetery, and as such, we may plausibly correlate the rising number of tombstones to the population growth that occurred in the wake of Patras' colonization. It is worth noting that while the number of tombstones seems to have more or less doubled from the Hellenistic to the Early Roman period (30 Hellenistic tombstones vs. an estimated 54 of Early Roman date), the percentage of individuals who were commemorated with a tombstone in fact decreased (Fig. 5.30).

As can be seen in Figure 5.31, the epitaphs of the early colonial period were overwhelmingly written in Latin. A language shift in inscriptions upon colonization is to be expected for official, public inscriptions that were erected by the newly installed political body, but the fact that this language shift is noted in private, funerary inscriptions as well is highly significant, for it testifies to the presence of a large group of Latin-speakers in the colony. Since Latin epitaphs far outnumber those in Greek, we may wonder whether in the streets, too, Latin was heard more often than the local Greek language.

5.7.2 Tombstones

After setting out the main patterns, let us now focus our attention on the twenty tombstones that were accurately dated to early colonial times, to see what further information they relate about the community of the period. Above,

⁵¹³ G64.45 and 139.8.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Keppie 2000.

⁵¹⁵ Two tombstones that were dated to the Roman era in general and 65 tombstones that were dated to the 1st-2nd centuries CE are discussed in the following chapter, although is very likely that several of them were in fact of Late Hellenistic or Early Roman date.

⁵¹⁶ Many tombstones are dated either to the Hellenistic period or to the Roman period, and not to a specific century. The date is sometimes based on the language used, but this is somewhat problematic because at its heart it is based on a circular argument. It is not unlikely that some tombstones with Latin inscriptions that are dated to the Roman period would have actually been erected during the 1st century BCE already, for we know from written sources that many Romans resided in Patras at that time.

Table 5.4 Tombstones of the Early Roman period (N=20).

Burial Marker ID	Date	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Inscription
BM3	1st c. CE	Plaque	Limestone	33x44x4.5	M(arco) Fulvio/ Herophilo medico/ oclario/ Arescusa lib(erta) de s(ua) p(ecunia)
BM16	1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	52.5x53.5x3.5 (incompl.)	L(ucio) Sentio M(arci) f(ilio) Q(ui(rina) et]/ Vatiniae Fau [---]/ L(ucius) Sentius L(ucii) f(ilius) Qui(rina)]/ Vatinian[us-]/ parent[ibus]
BM47	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Stele	Limestone	61x37x11	[P. Do]mitius P(ublui) f(ilius)/ [---T]ro(mentina) Oriculo/ leg(ionis) XII
BM49	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Plaque with pedimental finial	Marble	42x89x6 (incompl.)	Q(uintum) Cassium/ Euprepetem aediles/ q(uaestorem) Ilvir(um) ann(or)um XXXIII
BM52	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	18x14x3 (incompl.)	a. C(aio) Vo[---]/ Quir(ina) c(enturioni) l[eg(ionis)---]; b. VXS
BM59	1st c. CE	Stele	Limestone	33x31x10 (incompl.)	M(ἄρκος) υἱὸς[---]/ [---] Ζω[---]
BM62	75-125 CE	Plaque	Limestone	31x46x6	V(ivus)/ T(itus) Pinarius T(iti) f(ilius)/ Quir(ina)/ Rufus
BM69	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	a. 56x102x3.8 b. h.57 (incompl.)	L(ucio) Aemilio L(uci) f(ilio) Qui(rina)/ cent(urioni) l[eg(ionis) X Eq(uestris) Ilvir(o)/ P(ublio) Aem[ilio L(uci) f(ilio) Qui(rina)]/ cent(urioni) l[eg(ionis) eiusdem?]/ [---]
BM103	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Stele	Limestone	89x72x9.5	P(ublius) Fulvius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Quir(ina) vet(eranus)/ leg(ionis) XII Medicus
BM106	1st c. CE	Plaque	Unknown	Unknown	Marciae Maximae/ C(aii) Laetili Clementis/ uxori/ Pavia fecit mater
BM109	1st c. CE	Plaque	Limestone	54x44x9 (incompl.)	Sal(vio) Vettio Sal(vii) l(iberto)/ Optato/ Mamilia Tyr[a]nnis/ uxor
BM117	1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	29x52x3.5 (incompl.)	[---]ΤΟΥΣΩ[---]/Ν ἐπέγραψα
BM164	1st c. CE	Stele	Marble	30x79.5x5.5 (incompl.)	Caetronia/ Veneria/ vix(it) annos XXVIII/ v(iva) Caetroniae Quintae/ matri
BM178	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Cippus	Limestone	68.5x77x30.5 (incompl.)	L(ucio) Veirio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina)/ Frontoni/ veter(ano) leg(ionis) XII Ful(minatae)
BM179	1st c. BCE-1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	27x29.5x3 (incompl.)	[--le]g X[---]/ [---]ario et[---]
BM196	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown (unpres.)	M(arco) Coelio P(ublui) f(ilio) vet[e(rano)]/ leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae)/ Felix lib(ertus)/ v(iva) Coelia M(arci) f(ilia)] Secunda
BM200	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown (unpres.)	C(aius) Vetellus M(arci) f(ilius)/ Qui(rina) signifer/ leg(ionis) X Equ(estris)
BM201	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Plaque	Marble	Unknown (unpres.)	C(aio) Aurelio P(ublui) f(ilio) Quir(ina) veter(ano) leg(ionis) X Eq(uestris) aedil(iciis) ornament(is)/ D I[---]DATIS vac. O C(aii) f(ilio)] Quir(ina) [P]rocu[---]/ CI[---]IAROVIV T aedi[l]i d(ecreto) d(ecurionem) [---]/ LINNAE [hon]orato [---] [h]onorato [---]/ FPRIQ E/ C(aio) Aurelio C(aii) f(ilio) IA [---] IRIX Prisco VI vir(o).
BM206	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown (unpres.)	M(arco) Doio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina)/ Balbo dec(urioni) arbitr(atu)/ L(ucii) Durcati Erotis
BM209	1st c. CE	Plaque	Limestone	Unknown (unpres.)	M(arco) Minucio C(aio) f(ilio)/ Quir(ina) Gallo/ Hyacinthus lib(ertus)

Fig. 5.29 Approximation of the number of tombstones per century (N=213).

Fig. 5.30 The ratio between the number of depositions and tombstones through time (N=3592 and 213).

Fig. 5.31 The ratio between Greek and Latin epitaphs per century (N=213).

Table 5.5 Tombstones: types and their popularity per period.

	LCI-EHel	Hel	LHel-ER	R	LR-EChr	TOTAL
Altar				2		2
Cippus		1	1	1	1	4
Composite naiskos		10				10
Naiskos		2			1	3
Palmette stele	1					1
Pedimental stele	1	4		4		9
Pedimental stele with inset panel		7		1		8
Pillar stele	1	1		6		8
Plaque		1	12	77	5	95
Stele		2	4	38	2	46
Stele with arched finial				1		1
Stele with crown moulding	2	1				3
Unworked stone		1				1
Indet.	1		3	17	1	22
TOTAL	6	30	20	147	10	213

Table 5.6 Tombstones: source material per period.

	LCI-EHel	Hel	LHel-ER	R	LR-EChr	TOTAL
Limestone	4	20	8	29		61
Sandstone		2		2	1	5
Marble	1		8	99	6	114
Indet.	1	8	4	17	3	33
TOTAL	6	30	20	147	10	213

we have seen that only the epitaph for Marcia Maxima was found *in situ*, and the epitaph for Lucius and Publius Aemilius was confidently correlated to a circular funerary monument. None of the other eighteen epitaphs could be associated with either a tomb or a simple grave. Nonetheless, the tombstones and epitaphs are very informative in their own right.

As can be seen in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 local preferences in types and material changed from Hellenistic to Roman times. Tombstones cut from local limestone had been the norm in Classical and Hellenistic times, but the use of marble became popular during the Early Roman period, and even more so in subsequent centuries. Since marble was not locally sourced and had to be imported from elsewhere, its increased use is indicative of intensified trade of the material.

The forms that the tombstones took also changed significantly. For while graves of the Hellenistic period had been topped with tombstones of a wide range of types, the tombstones of the early colonial era were characterized by their simplicity and uniformity. In sharp contrast to the Hellenistic tombstones, none of the Early Roman tombstones bear traces of sculpted or painted decoration, and the evidence indicates that the local production of elaborate naiskoi and (painted) pedimental stelai was abandoned. The majority of the Roman tombstones - of early and later date - were simple rectangular slabs, that were either meant to be attached to tomb walls or inserted into funerary monuments, or (in relatively few cases) were intended to serve as proper tombstones on top of simple graves. Despite the fact that hardly any tombstones were found *in situ*, their form nonetheless indicates that they were primarily associated with the newly introduced monumental and/or collective tombs.

5.7.3 Epitaphs

Greek epitaphs

The epitaphs that were carved on the tombstones of the period paint a fascinating picture of the early colonial society, albeit a fragmentary one. Out of the twenty inscribed tombstones of the period, a mere two were written in Greek, while the other eighteen were Latin. Both Greek inscriptions, **BM59** and **BM117**, are very fragmentary, but they are well-preserved enough to

show that neither adheres to the Hellenistic epigraphic habit of including a name, patronymic, and an invocation. One of them, in fact, displays a fascinating use of Roman epigraphic habits in the Greek language: it abbreviates the deceased's first name to a single letter (M for Markos/Marcus) and uses the word υἱὸς to signify descent in the same way as f(i)lius is used for this purpose in Latin inscriptions. Although the name of Markos' father cannot be reconstructed, the fact that it starts with Ζω[---] suggests that he - or his name, at least - was Greek (see Table 5.4, **BM59**).

Latin epitaphs

The Latin tombstones of the period are for the most part better preserved. They are very informative about the identity of the deceased, since many of them not only mention their names, but also record such things as age at death, family relations, offices held, occupation or profession, social status, or the name of the person who erected the tombstone in the deceased's honour. The use of the *tria nomina*, moreover, explicitly signifies the civic status of the deceased as citizens of Rome.

The Latin epitaphs record the names of eight women. Two epitaphs were erected by women for women: we have already seen that Pavia erected a tomb for her daughter Marcia Maxima, but in addition there was one Caetronia Veneria who had erected a marble stele for (herself and) her mother Caetronia Quinta.⁵¹⁷ Three others were erected by women for their partners or fathers: the freedwoman Arescusa commemorated the eye-doctor Marcus Fulvius Herophilus, Mamilia Tyrannis erected a tombstone for the freedman Salvius Vettius Optatus, while Coelia Secunda together with the freedman Felix erected a tombstone in honour of her father and his former owner Marcus Coelius.⁵¹⁸ Marcus Coelius is identified as a veteran of *Legio XII Fulminata*, and must have been one of the original settlers of the colony at Patras. One additional epitaph that records the name of a woman: a Lucius Sentius Vatinianus erected a marble plaque in commemoration of his parents, Lucius Sentius of the *tribus Quirina* and Vatinia Fau[sta?].⁵¹⁹ The reference to the *tribus Quirina* suggests that

⁵¹⁷ BM106, BM164.

⁵¹⁸ BM3, BM109, and BM201.

⁵¹⁹ BM16.

Lucius Sentius and his wife were among the original settlers of Patras as well. Lucius Sentius Vatinianus (i.e. the son) is known from another epitaph to have been married to Babbia Postuma, a woman who was given the honorary title of priestess.⁵²⁰ The fact that Babbia Postuma received this particular honour is an indication that she - and by extension her husband and his parents - were part of a social upper class.

A total of 24 men are named in the epitaphs of the period. While the information about women was mostly limited to their role within the family, it was the more common for men to state the role they had played within the society at large. In the inscriptions mentioned in this chapter thus far, we have already come across two Roman centurions, one of whom became a duumvir of the colony at Patras⁵²¹, one eye-doctor⁵²², one veteran soldier of the twelfth legion⁵²³, and two freedmen.⁵²⁴ The remaining epitaphs all include statements on the social roles of the deceased as well. The highest status was boasted by Quintus Cassius Euprepes. He was commemorated by the current aediles, and by the time he died aged 33 he had served as a quaestor and duumvir of the colony.⁵²⁵ Another tombstone speaks of the family of the Aurelii, which included a veteran of the twelfth legion who was honoured with the distinction of aedile, his son who served as a *sevir augustalis*, and another family member who had been an aedile and was honoured by decurions' decree.⁵²⁶ The other men commemorated on the tombstones were of a more modest social standing. They were veterans of the tenth and twelfth legions and can be readily identified as colonists that were settled in Patras. Several of the tombstones merely record that the deceased had been legionaries and/or list the *tribus* in which they were enrolled after their service⁵²⁷, but some

others specify the status of the deceased in more detail: one Caius Vo--- had been a centurion, Marcus Doius Balbus had served as a decurion, Caius Vetellus had been a sign-bearer, and Publius Fulvius was a doctor.⁵²⁸

Tombstones and epitaphs: observations

To conclude, although the corpus of epitaphs of the early colonial period is quite small, it does provide a striking testimony to the immediate and substantial impact of Roman colonization on the society of Patras. The tombstones and epitaphs show that a substantial number of Romans were settled in Patras, and the sheer number of Latin texts proves that these Roman newcomers became the most visible social group in the cemeteries of the period. The epitaphs further indicate that several of the veteran-colonists and/or their descendants attained important political positions within the colony. It is also clear that Roman men *and* women came to Patras in the wake of colonization. The difference in the epigraphic representation of the deceased in the Greek, Hellenistic epitaphs and in the Latin epitaphs is significant. The Greek epitaphs recorded only the name and patronymic of the deceased, and included a reference to their provenance in the case of a foreign civic identity. The Latin epitaphs of the early colonial era, on the other hand, tended to emphasize social and civic roles, as well as the status of the deceased. These differing habits are a testimony to differing thoughts about the significance of social roles and status and the need for it to be recorded after death. At the same time, however, both the Greek and the Latin epigraphic customs attest to the importance of family and kinship relations. It was further noted that Latin epitaphs tended to stress the public roles and status of men and the private roles of women, which is an unsurprising reflection of traditional gender roles. Nonetheless, while women were indeed most often portrayed as daughters, wives, mothers, or freedwomen, they clearly were agents in their own right who had the ability and funds to commemorate their loved ones with a tombstone.

⁵²⁰ BM2. The name Babbia is a tentative reconstruction (cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 179-180). This epitaph was included in the corpus of Roman tombstones, because it was dated to the 1st-2nd century CE (cf. Chapter 6).

⁵²¹ Lucius and Publius Aemilius, sons of Lucius Aemilius, members of the *tribus Quirina* and both among the primary settlers of the Augustan colony at Patras (BM69).

⁵²² BM3.

⁵²³ BM196.

⁵²⁴ BM109 and BM196.

⁵²⁵ BM49. The text is unclear, and it is possible that the deceased had been an aedile himself, rather than being commemorated by them (cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 192 (no. 142)).

⁵²⁶ BM157.

⁵²⁷ BM47, BM62, BM178, BM179, and BM209.

⁵²⁸ BM52, BM103, BM200, and BM206.

5.8 The social consequences of colonization

Let us sum up and draw together the arguments that were made thus far, and place them in their historical context. The creation of *Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis* was the single most transformative event in Patras' history. Roman colonization in Greece had started under Caesar, and was continued by Augustus after he had attained sole power. Many Roman colonies were founded near or on the western shore of the Balkan Peninsula, and the proximity of these foundations to Italy is a clear indication that it was Rome's intention to connect Greece more closely to the West. The main goals of planting colonies in Greece obviously included political control of the region through these hubs of Roman influence, but colonization also aimed at enhancing the demographic and economic position of the province, so that it could serve Roman goals better. Patras was colonized by Augustus sometime after he had decisively defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. Augustus' main reason for choosing Patras as the site of a new Roman colony may well have been its strategic location on the Mediterranean sea-routes, but we should also see his decision from a political viewpoint. Many Peloponnesian poleis had actively sided with Mark Antony against Octavian during the final war of the Roman Republic and especially Patras - having accommodated Mark Antony and Cleopatra with their troops in the winter of 32/31 BCE - had made its loyalties quite clear and Patras' obvious support for his adversary would have surely played a role in Augustus' choice to strip the polis of its autonomy. By doing so, Augustus took a firm grip of the region not only by creating a physical seat of Roman rule, but also by sending the politically expedient message that opposition to him would not go unnoticed.

We know from literary and documentary sources that in order to achieve the desired political control over Patras and to ensure its growth and strength, substantial top-down measures were taken in the city, its surroundings, and the community. These measures included the relegation of the local political elite and their replacement by a ruling class of Roman citizens, the settlement of Roman veteran-colonists, the forced migration of settlers from neighbouring poleis in Achaia that were razed to the ground in

order to prevent them from moving back⁵²⁹, a reorganization of the hinterland by means of centuriation⁵³⁰, as well as a massive enlargement of Patras' territory and the political subordination of the settlements therein. There was also interference in the local religious domain, where Augustus installed Artemis Laphria as the colony's patron deity after having taken the chryselephantine cult statue of the goddess from its original place of worship in Kalydon.⁵³¹ The latter was a particularly crucial act, because, as Alcock has observed, the relocation of religious architecture or cult objects not only served as a demonstration of the absolute power of Rome, but had an additional layer of significance as well: since cult objects 'as sacred things, contained and declared the history and identity of individual civic entities, as well as of the Greeks as a whole', their appropriation should be seen as a form of symbolic violence.⁵³² As such, so says Alcock, cult displacement 'worked effectively to undermine local loyalties, to shatter established relationships of authority and, above all, to weaken any pretense of independence'.⁵³³ But while the relocation of Artemis Laphria's cult could be seen as an attack on the cornerstones of the local Greek communities at the time of conquest, it was also used as a focal point for the creation of a communal colonial identity in Patras; if the varied social groups of the newly formed colony could come together in veneration of the goddess, this would help ensure the colony's future success.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁹ Paus. 7.18.5.

⁵³⁰ Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994.

⁵³¹ Paus. 7.18.8-9; for the relocation of the Kalydonian temple to Patras see Rizakis 2009, 24-27.

⁵³² Alcock 1993, 141 and 178.

⁵³³ Alcock 1993, 179-180.

⁵³⁴ Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 37; 2009, 24-27; 2010, 132-133. For the importance of religion in processes of unification under Augustus, e.g. Orlin 2007. See Malkin 1987, esp. chapter 4 on the introduction of gods and sanctuaries in colonies, and chapter 5 on oikist cults. Malkin (1983, 203), though speaking of Greek colonies of the Archaic and Classical period, highlights the need for a common colonial identity to ensure the success of a colony, and the crucial role that cults, in his case oikist cults, could play: 'The new polis needed an identity [...]. The identity of a colony set up as an independent polis was a composite matter. The sooner the settlers would have a common, independent tradition to share and the sooner they would have a common *hēros* as the focus of their worship (and, thus, as their own protector) – the sooner that identity would acquire a life of its own. One should not underestimate symbols; the oikist cult served as a common point of reference for settlers who were themselves not always of the same origin.' In this respect, it is worth noting that Augustus seems to have taken deliberate actions

Fig. 5.32 The number of depositions in Patras: weighted estimation per 25 years (N=3594).

Fig. 5.33 The number of depositions per cemetery: weighted estimation per 25 years (N=3594).

The interventions that were carried out in Patras when the polis was transformed into a Roman colony were major disruptions of the status quo, and they must have caused severe social unrest. The question with which we started this chapter is how the society of Patras changed in the wake of colonization; the answer was sought in the mortuary record. The analyses in this chapter were based on mortuary evidence from 44 sites in and around Patras and consists of 43 tombs and about 1200 depositions, of which only 170 graves were well-documented enough to allow for more in-depth analyses of their architecture and mortuary treatment; the burial assemblages were known for only 35 graves. The material further included twenty tombstones that could be confidently dated to the early colonial period.

to portray himself as a new oikist in Patras by using explicit and implicit measures to place himself among the original founding fathers of the colony, Eurypylos, Preugenes, and Patreus. This argument is laid out in more detail in Dijkstra 2017.

The mortuary record shows that dramatic transformations took place in the cemeteries of Patras over the course of the 1st centuries BCE and CE; it has been suggested here that many of these transformations were a direct result of colonization, and they offer a wealth of information about its impact on the local society. Let us briefly summarize the main observations.

The spatial analysis of burial sites testified to the expansion of the North Cemetery (both away from and closer to the urban perimeter), the continued use of the South Cemetery, and the creation of a new cemetery to the east of the urban area along the road that led to inland Achaia (the East Cemetery). The need for a third urban cemetery was surely related to the surging number of dead; a fourfold increase in the number of dead from Hellenistic to early colonial times was calculated (Figs. 5.32 and 5.33). This steep increase in the number of dead is a striking testimony to just how much the living population had grown due to the

Fig. 5.34 Approximation of the ratio between the number of inhumed and cremated individuals, based on grave type (N=3381).

immigration of veteran-colonists and other settlers. An increase in the number of rural burials combined with evidence for centuriation and the construction of farmsteads shows that settlement was not limited to the urban area itself, but extended to the hinterland.⁵³⁵

The most direct evidence for the identity of the people who were part of this new, enlarged society is found in the epitaphs of the period. The fact that a mere two epitaphs were written in Greek and all others were written in Latin is striking and represents a clear break with the Hellenistic period, when all epitaphs were written in the Greek language and alphabet. We should be wary of seeing a one to one relationship between language and ethnic identity, for the choice to use a specific language could also be dependent on the prospective readers, or on the message that someone wished to convey.⁵³⁶ Nonetheless, when we read the content of the epitaphs it becomes clear that the majority of the individuals - the epitaphs record the names of eight women and twenty-five men - can indeed be identified as citizens of Rome, for many of them sported the *tria nomina* and/or listed the *tribus* they were enrolled in. Moreover, for many of the (male) individuals the epitaphs not only testified to their Roman identity in general terms, but also to civic roles that they had performed during their lives, be they political offices or military ranks. As such, the tombstones also testify to a social hierarchy in which

male Roman citizens - often with a military background - occupied the highest tiers of the local political system. Besides eminent *duumviri* and *aediles*, we also encountered people of a more modest social standing, including doctors, veteran soldiers, freedmen, and freedwomen. Looking at the same texts from another angle, we could also identify husbands and wives, fathers and sons, and mothers and daughters. When these Roman individuals and families settled in Patras, they brought with them the practices that characterized Roman mortuary culture. This is evident from the introduction of Latin epitaphs and Roman epigraphic habits, from the introduction of tomb types that were fashionable on the Italian peninsula at the time, from the fact that these tombs were communal, aboveground constructions, and from the substantial increase in the number of cremations - the *Mos Romanus* (Fig. 5.34⁵³⁷). These practices

⁵³⁷ For this temporal analysis both well-documented and poorly documented graves were used. Note that treatment of the corpse was inferred from the receptacle the human remains were found in (i.e. inhumation graves versus urns), since explicit comments on the human remains are almost entirely lacking. If we indeed take grave type as an indicator for treatment of the body, then we have 3381 individuals for which treatment can be inferred. Secondary burials were excluded as uncertain, because the available evidence does not make it clear whether the heaps of human bones found in some graves were the result of an actual secondary burial, or rather the result of a disturbance and/or clearance of an older grave. It should also be noted that the pattern presented in Figure 5.34 should be taken with caution, because the pattern in large part reflects the imprecise nature of the data: almost all of the cremations are dated to the Hellenistic and/or Roman period in general, and only few were given a more precise date. An example of the disparity between better quality data and the wider pattern is this: while the weighted estimation of cremations indicates that cremations continued into the 3rd century CE and suddenly disappeared around 300 CE, only one cremation was actually

⁵³⁵ Cf. Rizakis and Petropoulos 1994; 2006.

⁵³⁶ The Greek and Latin epitaphs on the Monument of Philopappos provide a good example of how the language and content of epitaphs was catered to the audience. Cf. Kleiner 1983.

formed a marked contrast with the established burial norm in Patras (individual inhumation in underground graves that would never be opened again), and the new mode of deposition meant that the dead became a much more prominent and visible part of the world of the living. The fact that the dead were placed in aboveground tombs not only made the dead a much more visible feature of the landscape, it also indicates that the tomb owners saw much less need for a physical and permanent boundary between the dead and the living. This is especially noteworthy in the case of communal tombs, because the fact that they were intended for the deposition of multiple individuals through time meant that these tombs would be reopened multiple times and the remains of the previous dead would then be encountered. The two modes of dealing with the dead are reflective of varying thoughts about the dead and their remains, and as such, they should be seen as stemming from and reflective of different cultural traditions. If we were to identify each cremation as a Roman immigrant and each inhumation as a Greek individual, then we could hypothesize that Romans made up about twenty percent of the community in the 1st centuries BCE and CE. but of course this is much too simplistic. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see that while cremation was the minority practice in Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Patras, the people who chose to be cremated - be they Romans or not - did visually dominate the cemeteries of the time because their remains were overwhelmingly buried in conspicuous tombs. But the mortuary record was indicative of more than just the influx of Romans who did Roman things. The burial assemblages showed that locally produced ceramic wares were almost completely replaced by imported glassware, which, together with the use of imported marble for tombstones and the import of glass and stone urns from Italy for the deposition of cremated remains, reflects an intensification of trade relations. The burial assemblages also showed that there was a marked decline in the number of wreaths, jewels, and valuable grave goods, which indicates that people were losing interest in sumptuous corpse adornment and the depo-

sition of wealth inside the grave. It is noteworthy that, while there had been a clear correlation between the quality of the grave, the amount of adornment, and the value and number of grave goods in burials of the Hellenistic age, this correlation was declining in the early colonial period. There were some well-built sarcophagi with relatively rich burial assemblages, but with the sole exception of the inhumation in the mausoleum of the Aequani, none of the monumental Early Roman tombs seem to have contained any burials with evidence for conspicuous corpse adornment.

The abandonment of expenditure on the body and on grave goods was countered with an increase in the investment on commemorative architecture; these opposing shifts in expenditure patterns are of major interest for while they show that ostentatious funerary behaviour was practised during both the Hellenistic and the Early Roman periods, they make it clear that the ways in which public attention was sought and claimed differed in crucial ways. The people in Hellenistic Patras used the gold-decked bodies of their deceased and the display and disposal of riches during the funeral to make statements and claims about their wealth and status. The people who wanted to make similar statements in the Early Roman era, on the other hand, did so by building large and conspicuous tombs that stood in prominent sites in the cemetery and that drew from religious architecture in their design in order to elicit feelings of admiration. The fact that both types of ostentatious behaviour arose in periods that were marked by interaction, migration, social mobility, and/or dislocation suggests that both forms of mortuary display can be seen as strategic behaviour in the context of social competition and status negotiation. Both strategies revolved around the public glorification of the deceased and both strategies served to claim, promote, and secure an elevated status in the local community for the deceased him- or herself, but also for the burying group. Yet, the two strategies differ in one important aspect: while the strategy of displaying and disposing riches during the funeral itself functioned on the short term, the strategy of erecting monumental tombs for multi-generational use had a more long term effect, because it made a permanent imprint on the funerary landscape.

dated to the late 2nd-early 3rd century CE (G205.12). This suggests that it is more likely that the practice lost favour over the course of the 2nd century and was eventually abandoned in the 3rd century CE.

The timing of ostentatious behaviour as well as its contextual evidence may suggest that the two different modes of display were practiced by people of different ethnic identities: the original, Greek inhabitants of the Hellenistic polis used the funeral for their display, while the immigrant Romans used the tomb instead. But while the influx of Roman citizens may explain the introduction of a new form of ostentatious behaviour, it does not sufficiently explain the specific form that it took, nor does it explain why the traditional local ostentatious practices were abandoned around the same time.

It is of course possible that the abandonment was a direct result of the relegation of the local population to inferior social status. In other words, it is possible that the disappearance of 'Greek elite burials' reflects the actual disappearance of a Greek elite that was willing and able to participate in ostentatious funerary behaviour. But it is also possible that, rather than reflecting the dissolution of an entire social group, people made the conscious decision to abandon these practices. A possible reason might be that this form of ostentation had lost its strategic value and effectiveness. We may wonder whether the public display of the dead and their grave goods during the *ekphora* could not function in the Roman colony in the same way as it had done in the Hellenistic polis. For while the spectacle of an awe-inspiring, lavish funeral may have been an expedient manner to proclaim social standing and to reinforce local hierarchies at a time when people could, in fact, draw on established norms and social structures, the fact that colonization entailed the complete uprooting of the local social system would have meant that this crucial frame of reference had disappeared. The local, traditional hierarchies no longer mattered in the newly formed colonial society, and funerary display that drew on these traditional hierarchies could no longer function as an effective strategy for continued social distinction. If this was indeed the case, then the deposition of wealth inside the grave may have become an unnecessary expense.

In the early colonial society, in which people had to find their place and in which the social hierarchy was under fierce negotiation, the construction of communal, monumental tombs would have been useful for laying down roots and for

claiming, obtaining, and retaining social standing. Those people that settled in Patras had to make a home and a name for themselves in their new domicile, because - even if they were immediately propelled in to the highest colonial offices - they were new to the area and were not known to the wider population. The erection of family tombs that prominently displayed the name of the tomb owners and that stood on prime sites along the main route into and out of town would have been a potent way of making one's presence felt. Migrants, thus, may have used their tombs to anchor themselves, their families, and future generations in their new place of residence: by occupying the cemeteries in a bold and permanent way, they seem to have made a loud and lasting claim about their place in colonial Patras, and about their place on the social ladder.

To conclude, the mortuary record of the 1st centuries BCE and CE shows that Augustus' colonization of the Greek polis had a major impact on the local society. The population increased significantly due to mass-immigration, and from the two distinct modes of mortuary treatment that were used in the cemeteries of the period - inhumation in simple graves versus cremation in communal and/or monumental tombs - as well as the tombstones and epitaphs, we may tentatively deduce that the society consisted of two culturally distinct social groups, namely Greeks of local or regional provenance and colonists of Roman identity. Epitaphs made it clear that Roman men and women settled in Patras, that some settlers came as families, and that some may have come on their own. While some of the immigrant Romans occupied the higher colonial offices - and the most prominent burial sites - there were others who lived out their lives in more modest ways. It is worth pointing out, finally, that while the mortuary record showed plenty of evidence for continuity of local practices, there was a lack of evidence for the continued existence of a Greek elite. The contrast between Roman prominence and monumentality and Greek simplicity and obscurity is remarkable, and we may ask if this should be seen as evidence that the Greek population had, indeed, been relegated to a marginal position in the place that they could formerly call their own.

6. Roman Patras

a cosmopolitan colonial community

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that when Patras first developed it was a minor polis of marginal importance that was nonetheless part of wide networks of trade and connectivity. During the 2nd century BCE, the intensification of Rome's relations with the Eastern Mediterranean led to increased prosperity in the polis and among its residents. We have seen that the burial record of the period was characterized by a dramatic rise in funerary expenditure and an increase in mortuary variability in terms of funerary architecture, treatment and adornment of the body, and in the types, number and quality of the grave goods provided. We saw that many of the mortuary practices, especially in the richer graves, revolved around the enhancement of the image of the deceased; by decking them in gold and by burying them with silver artefacts, the dead were portrayed and displayed as glorious individuals worthy of admiration and esteem. The growing differentiation in mortuary behaviour shows that major social transformations took place over the course of the Hellenistic period. These transformations entailed a rise of individualism that was coupled with the development of a stratified society; it is clear that funerary ostentation was used as a negotiation tactic in the debate on who stood where on the ladder of the local social hierarchy. A similar debate on social structure ensued when Patras was forced to give up its status as an autonomous Greek polis and was made to be a colony of Rome.

During most of the 1st century BCE Patras was a thriving harbour town that was frequented by travelling merchants on a daily basis, and in which locals and resident foreigners lived and worked side by side, but we have seen that the local status quo was completely uprooted when Augustus decided to colonize the polis. A contextual analysis of the mortuary record of the 1st

centuries BCE and CE allowed us to gauge (some of) the social consequences of colonization. We have seen that Patras witnessed exponential demographic growth due to mass-immigration; epitaphs proved that the settlers consisted of Roman men and women, some of whom were apparently coming over as families. The epitaphs further showed that Romans occupied the higher colonial offices - and their tombs occupied the most prominent burial sites. The fact that the cemeteries of the period were broadly characterized by two distinct modes of mortuary treatment - inhumation in simple graves on the one hand and cremation in communal and/or monumental tombs on the other - suggested that in the period upon colonization the society consisted of (at least) two culturally distinct social groups: Greeks of local or regional provenance, and colonists and migrants of Roman identity and descent. The people of Roman identity were the most visible social group in the cemetery, and occupied the highest social and political echelons in the living community as well. The question is whether this dual community, if we may call it that, in which the Romans had the upper hand was a temporary state of affairs, or one that persisted throughout Patras' colonial history.

This chapter asks how people recovered from the colonizing event, how they adapted to life in a Roman colony in Greece, and how social structure and culture developed over the course of the Roman era. The chapter starts with a brief sketch of Patras' Roman history as it is known from literary, documentary, and archaeological sources. The focus of this historical overview diverges somewhat from that in the previous chapters, because the sources for this period - notably Pausanias - offer a different type of information. This is followed by an in-depth analysis of the mortuary record of the period and a discussion of what the mortuary evidence reveals about the society of Patras at the time.

6.2 Patras in the imperial period

Although colonization had taken place in the last decades of the 1st century BCE, the available corpus of archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic sources shows that imperial actions in Patras took place throughout the Roman era. Some of these actions took the form of major building initiatives. These include the stadium-theatre, which is thought to have been funded by Domitian to celebrate the centenary of the colony in 86 CE⁵³⁸, a bridge over the river Kallinaos that was built at Trajan's initiative in order to improve the suburban infrastructure⁵³⁹, an aqueduct for bringing fresh water into the city that is thought to have been sponsored by Hadrian⁵⁴⁰, and an odeon that was donated by either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius; the artificial harbour was likely also paid for from imperial funds as well.⁵⁴¹ Both archaeological remains and milestones show that road works were carried out on a regular basis.⁵⁴² The regular upkeep of the local infrastructure testifies once more to Patras' importance as a major node in the network of trade and communication, not only by sea, but also by land. The imperial acts in the colony and its hinterland attest to the close relationship between Rome and its colony, but also to Rome's continued efforts to make and keep Patras successful.

A very illustrative account of what Patras was like in this period is provided by Pausanias. When the traveller visited the colony in 173/4 CE, he wrote an extensive description of the local history and the sights worth seeing as he did for other places in Greece. Four chapters of his book on Achaia are dedicated to Patras, and they are

an invaluable source of information about life in the colony in the late 2nd century CE.⁵⁴³ Most of Pausanias' attention is directed towards religious architecture and works of art from the cultic domain, from whence we know that Patras could boast a rich religious landscape.⁵⁴⁴ Archaeological investigations as well as epigraphic and numismatic studies have allowed the verification of much of Pausanias' description, but also expand our knowledge about cultic life in the colony.⁵⁴⁵

Pausanias informs us that temples, sanctuaries, and other sacred places were situated in four sectors of the urban area: on the acropolis, on the agora/forum, around the agora and near the stadium-theatre, and in the area near the harbour (Fig. 6.1). Artemis Laphria - whom we encountered already as the new patron deity installed in Patras by Augustus - and Athena Panachaia were worshiped on the acropolis, and here too was the grave for the mythical hero Eurypylos.⁵⁴⁶ On the way down to the lower town there was a sanctuary for the Dindymenian Mother (Cybele) and Attis, whose cult may have spread to Patras either in Roman times or as early as the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴⁷ On the agora stood a temple for Olympian Zeus; statues of Athena and Hera accompanied that of the main

⁵⁴³ Paus. 7.18-21.

⁵⁴⁴ For the cults of Patras, see Herbillon 1929; Osanna 1996; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 35-41; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 28-37; Pirenne-Delforge 2004; 2006.

⁵⁴⁵ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 28-37.

⁵⁴⁶ Eurypylos was venerated as a hero in Patras for putting an end to human sacrifices, which, according to local myth, had been practised there to placate Artemis Triklaria (Paus. 7.19.1-10). In the mythical past, the local population had received an oracle promising them that 'a strange king would come to the land, bringing with him a strange divinity, and this king would put an end to the sacrifice to Triclaria' (Paus. 7.19.6, transl. Jones). When Eurypylos, a Thessalian nobleman, came to Patras (then still known as Aroë) and brought with him a chest containing the cult image of Dionysos Aisymnetes from the spoils of Troy, it was clear to the local population that the oracle had been fulfilled. Pausanias informs us that in his time Eurypylos received annual sacrifices at his tomb site during the festival of Dionysos Aisymnetes (Paus. 7.19.10); the veneration of the god was thus explicitly connected to that of the individual who brought the divinity's cult to Patras. A similar connection is seen between Preuges and Artemis Limnatis (see n. 549 below) and, arguably, between Augustus and Artemis Laphria (cf. Dijkstra 2017 with bibliography).

⁵⁴⁷ Rizakis and Petropoulos (2006, 31-32) presume that the cult was introduced in the Roman period. They further note that her 'cult was also known at Dyme. [...] Although her temple has not been located, Pausanias' information is correct, since large cult lamps made in the local workshop bear representations both of the goddess herself and of Attis, with whom she was jointly worshipped. Representations of her also adorn coins of Patrai'.

⁵³⁸ The stadium-theatre is oval in shape and measures ca. 200x90 m. It was the venue for the festival of the Kaisareia that consisted of athletic and artistic competitions, but was also used for gladiatorial combats. Cf. Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 43.

⁵³⁹ See Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 22-23. The bridge was later replaced by a second bridge that was sponsored by one Artemios of Mesatis (a local benefactor?); a third version of bridge was built in the 4th century CE - probably within the framework of road improvements by emperors Arcadius and Honorius in 397 CE - and has been preserved in a very good state.

⁵⁴⁰ See Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 24 for an inscription from Patras honouring Hadrian as saviour and founder.

⁵⁴¹ Papapostolou 1991; Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 37, 42-43. The monumental appearance of the harbour at Patras can be seen on depictions on the local coinage issued under Commodus and Geta (see Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004, 58 and figs. 35 and 36).

⁵⁴² See Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 23-25.

Fig. 6.1 Schematic plan of Roman Patras and four of its main zones. After Petropoulos 2018, Fig. 1.

deity.⁵⁴⁸ Here, too, was a sanctuary for Apollo. A statue for Athena was said to have stood in front of the grave of the hero Patreus, the mythical founder of the old polis.⁵⁴⁹ Pausanias further

⁵⁴⁸ This is probably the same temple that the Early Roman writers Vitruvius and Pliny have referred to as belonging to Jupiter (Vitr. 2.8.9; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.172); the addition of the two statues of Hera and Athena (i.e. Juno and Minerva) complete the Capitoline Triad. Vitruvius and Pliny also mention a temple for Hercules that is not referred to by Pausanias.

⁵⁴⁹ Pausanias writes that Preuges and his son Patreus, two leaders from Sparta, left their home territory and settled in Achaia. Here, Patreus was responsible for forcing the inhabitants of several small villages in the area to move to one settlement; the new polis was named *Patrai* after himself (Paus. 7.6.2). Together with Eurypylos (see n. 546 above), both Preuges and Patreus were regarded as local founding heroes and all three had a tomb in the centre of the city. While Eurypylos was venerated on the akropolis and the tomb of Patreus was located in the agora (Paus. 7.20.5), the tomb of Preuges was situated in the grove of Artemis Limnatis (Paus. 7.20.9). The spatial connection of Preuges' tomb with the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis is important and deliberate, for it stresses the origins of the cult in Patras: Preuges had introduced the cult here after having stolen the goddess' cult statue from its original sanctuary in Sparta with the help of his slaves (Paus 7.20.8). Interestingly, this cult statue was not kept in the grove but elsewhere, and it

refers to a temple for Artemis Limnatis that was situated in a precinct next to the agora. Inside the precinct stood the tomb of Preuges (who introduced the cult of Artemis Limnatis to Patras⁵⁵⁰), as well as an Asklepieion and a sanctuary for Athena. Near the stadium-theatre stood temples for Nemesis and Aphrodite.⁵⁵¹ Here, too, were sanctuaries for Kalydonian Dionysos and Dionysos Aisymnetes, as well as a 'precinct sacred to a native lady'. On route to the harbour Pausanias came across the sanctuary of Soteria.

Not surprisingly, Poseidon was worshiped in a temple at the harbour.⁵⁵² A sanctuary for Demeter was found here as well. Associated with the

was brought to the grove by slaves at the yearly festival for the goddess. It is very likely that this ritual was devised to commemorate the foundation of Patras and the original arrival of the goddess.

⁵⁵⁰ See n. 549.

⁵⁵¹ The cult of Nemesis is archaeologically attested by the find of a relief depicting her that was reused in a tomb of the North Cemetery (Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 34).

⁵⁵² Paus. 7.21.7.

latter was an oracular well, supposedly infallible, that diseased individuals could consult in order to find out whether they would survive their illness or not. Apollo and Aphrodite had their temples nearby, in a grove by the sea; the Graeco-Egyptian deity Sarapis and Aegyptos were worshiped in this area too.⁵⁵³ This grove, Pausanias writes, was a perfect place for a summer stroll. It is in the harbour district, too, that Pausanias situates a 'multitude of places where Aphrodite was worshiped'. He goes on to say that the local women are well-endowed in the arts of Aphrodite and that they, moreover, outnumber the local men by two to one; surely these are references to a vibrant erotic scene, possibly in the form of organized prostitution.⁵⁵⁴ Yet, Pausanias also notes that these women gained their livelihoods from weaving dresses and hairnets from flax produced in Elis. This may suggest that, rather than referring to formal prostitution, the local women were simply open to amorous adventures (with or without an exchange of gifts or fees) with seafarers who passed through the local port.

But let us return to the religious life in Patras. In addition to the cults named by Pausanias, other evidence points to the existence of cults for Hermes, the Naiads, the Nymphs, for Isis, and for Mithras, who was often revered by veteran soldiers.⁵⁵⁵ The local population celebrated various festivals in honour of many of the gods; those for Dionysos Aisymnetes, Artemis Limnatis, and Artemis Laphria seem to have been of the greatest civic importance, for they were all intrinsically linked to defining moments in local history. The festival for Artemis Laphria was the grandest of the festivals. It started with a splendid procession during which Artemis' priestess rode in a chariot drawn by deer, and it culminated in the gruesome sacrifice of living wild animals - including boars, hinds, deer, wolf and bear cubs, as well as fully grown beasts - that were thrown on a pyre. In his description of this

sacrifice, Pausanias does not shy away from mentioning the gory detail that animals that managed to escape the fire were recaptured and thrown back into the flames. This festival is said to have brought together the entire Patraean community - both the city and private individuals were eagerly participating in the offerings - and it was apparently a great source of local and civic pride.⁵⁵⁶

The sketched variety of locally celebrated cults shows that the religious domain of Roman Patras was characterized by influences from West and East, which were amalgamated into a complex, locally-specific pantheon.⁵⁵⁷ As such, it seems to be reflective of an amalgamated community that consisted of socially and culturally diverse individuals and social groups as well.

In addition to offering a rich cultic life, Patras is known to have functioned as a judicial centre⁵⁵⁸, it had a library⁵⁵⁹, and it offered a variety of Graeco-Roman cultural events, including gladiatorial games, musical performances, and the festival of the Kaisareia.⁵⁶⁰ Overall, however, Patras was best known for its commercial and business-character. Patras' importance in this field can be gaged from Plutarch, for example, who lists Patras alongside Corinth and Athens as one of the main financial centres of Roman Greece, referring to the local usurers or bankers as aggressive loan sharks.⁵⁶¹

According to Rizakis and Petropoulos much of Roman Patras' wealth and prosperity was attributable to the intensive exploitation of the

⁵⁵³ Paus. 7.21.13; cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 273 with references to reports about the archaeological discovery of a Sarapeion in Patras.

⁵⁵⁴ Paus. 7.21.14: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς Πάτραις ἀριθμὸν μὲν καὶ ἐς δις τῶν ἀνδρῶν: Ἀφροδίτης δέ, εἴπερ ἄλλαις γυναῖξί, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις. Cf. Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 274; Papapostolou 2014, 268; Leake 1830, 125: 'Pausanias states the female population to have been double that of the men, a circumstance which seems not to have been very favourable to the morals of the city'.

⁵⁵⁵ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 28-29.

⁵⁵⁶ Paus. 7.18.12: 'ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη δρᾶν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν νομίζουσι, δημοσίᾳ τε ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν'.

⁵⁵⁷ Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 28.

⁵⁵⁸ See Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 118 and 138: in the Acts of Andrew Patras is referred to as the site of the detainment and crucifixion of Andrew, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ. The events took place in 60 CE, under Nero. Patras later became an important centre of Christianity. See also Appendix B, no. 24 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, no. 700, which is an inscription that refers to a boundary regulation that was signed in Patras by one Titus Flavius Monomitrus, freedman of Vespasian, in 78 CE.

⁵⁵⁹ Gell. 18.9.5 = Rizakis *Achaïe I*, no. 137.

⁵⁶⁰ Two inscriptions honour victors of the Kaisareia in Patras (Appendix B, nos. 25 and 34 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, nos. 704, 705), while two others refer to games at Patras without a specification of the name of the festival (Appendix B, nos. 32 and 35 = Rizakis, *Achaïe I*, nos. 706 and 707). See Camia and Kantiréa 2010 for the celebration of Kaisareia in the Peloponnese.

⁵⁶¹ Plut. *De Vit.* 7: 'ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται τοκιστὴς ἢ πραγματευτὴς Κορίνθιος, εἴτα Πατρεύς, εἴτ' Ἀθηναῖος, ἄχρι ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων περικρουόμενος εἰς τόκους διαλυθῇ καὶ κατακερματισθῇ'.

local countryside.⁵⁶² Surveys in the hinterland have yielded evidence for small settlements and farmsteads, some of which had elaborate decorations, bathing facilities, or even a monumental tomb, that were mostly concentrated in the coastal zone to the north of the urban area and in the Glaukos basin to its south.⁵⁶³ The main activities that were carried out in these rural structures were the production of wine and oil and the keeping of livestock, while some of the coastal farmsteads seem to have been engaged in the processing of fish; large numbers of loomweights show that textile production was an important part of the daily activities as well.⁵⁶⁴ Rizakis and Petropoulos' observation that all the farmsteads were situated near roads that led to the harbour of Patras, is an indication that the produce and products from the countryside were not only meant for the local market, but were exported as well.

With the rise in local prosperity came increased investments on urban infrastructure, public architecture, and private houses. We already noted the grand imperial building initiatives above, but it is also worth pointing out that more mundane, but crucial improvements were carried out. The main streets were paved, sewers were laid out, at least two public bathing complexes were constructed, and the construction of the aqueduct by Hadrian was accompanied by the arrangement of a vast network of underground pipelines that supplied private and public buildings (including two nymphaea) with fresh water. From this period, too, date several large villas with splendid mosaic and marble floors, wall paintings, and filled with sculpted works of art. The villas were primarily concentrated around modern Plateia Ipsilon Alonion, where a residential area seems to have been laid out for the sole reason of accommodating the sumptuous villas of the local rich.

To conclude, while we have seen that Patras underwent dramatic political, geographical, religious and social interventions when it was first colonized, Rome's occupation of the polis effec-

tively ushered in a period of unprecedented prosperity. The city reached its zenith as a colony of Rome because, as a strategically situated node on the Mediterranean network of connectivity, it benefitted greatly from the favourable conditions of the *Pax Romana*. The evidence from the political, official domain testifies to the strong Roman identity of the colony. But while the public image of the colony may indeed have been that of a thoroughly Roman(ized) city, the rich evidence from the cultic domain and the remnants of domestic architecture provide us with a picture of a culturally and socially diverse community. Let us now explore the mortuary record to see who made up this diverse colonial community of Patras, how these people viewed themselves, and how they preserved and presented their identities after death.

6.3 The archaeological evidence

Mortuary evidence of the Roman era was discovered at (at least) 189 sites in and around Patras (Fig. 6.2).⁵⁶⁵ The data consist of 210 tombs and 1626 burials - some placed in larger tombs, others not - of which 123 were well-documented enough to allow for an analysis of adornment practices and habits in the provision of grave goods. The data further include 152 tombstones and/or epitaphs.

The spatial distribution pattern of burial sites that is presented in Figure 6.2 shows that the three urban cemeteries saw intensive use in the Roman period, which gradually filled up and expanded outward over the course of the first three centuries CE. The density of burial sites in the North Cemetery indicates that in Roman times, too, this was the prime burial location. The primacy of the North Cemetery is also evident from the fact that the majority of the Roman tombs (67%) and burials (46%) were situated there (Fig. 6.3). The South Cemetery

⁵⁶² Rizakis and Petropoulos 2006, 27.

⁵⁶³ Rizakis and Petropoulos 1994; 2006, 25. Rizakis and Petropoulos refer to these farmsteads as *villae rusticae* and *villae suburbanae*, but note that they are relatively small in comparison with similar structures from the western provinces of the empire.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Rizakis and Petropoulos 1994; Petropoulos 1994; 2001; 2013.

⁵⁶⁵ Material of Roman date was excavated at BS1-3, 5-11, 13-17, 19-20, 24-26, 28-40, 42, 46-48, 50-52, 54-56, 58-62, 64-67, 69-73, 75, 77-81, 83, 86, 88-113, 115-120, 122-125, 127-133, 135-137, 140-144, 146, 148-150, 154-156, 158-163, 165-166, 168, 174, 177, 181-184, 187-188, 190, 192, 196-201, 203, 205-207, 210, 212, 214, 218-224, 226-229, 231-236, 240-246, 248-250, 252-255, and 257-259. Of possible Roman date are remains at BS 21-23, 63, 76, 84-85, 87, 167, 189, 193, 211, 230, and 239. The latter are excluded from the distribution map of Roman burial sites due to the uncertainty of the data.

Fig. 6.2a Distribution of Roman burial sites.

Fig. 6.2b Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: North Cemetery).

Fig. 6.2c Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: South Cemetery).

Fig. 6.2d Distribution of Roman burial sites (detail: East Cemetery).

Fig. 6.3 Tombs of the Roman period: number per burial location (N=210).

followed in popularity, while excavations in the East Cemetery yielded only 12 percent of the tombs and 10 percent of the depositions of the period. Eight monumental tombs and 114 burials were found in rural locations outside the three main cemeteries.

Before we delve into our discussion of Roman mortuary practices let me once more repeat the caveat about the quality of the data, especially with regard to the funerary architecture which is overall very poorly preserved and is published without much detail. Many tombs have been reduced to no more than their foundations, and only few preserve remnants of their superstructures. Even more so than was true for the Early Roman tombs discussed in the previous chapter, it can be difficult to assess the general type to which a tomb belonged, and it is near impossible to reconstruct the former appearance of the tombs. Comparisons of the tombs in terms of construction method and materials, elaboration, layout and even size are, therefore, necessarily limited. While the problems with the data mostly concern the tombs and the depositions that were placed therein, we should be aware that the information regarding individual graves, their date, and their contents, too, is less detailed than it had been for the previous (especially the Hellenistic) centuries. Despite these issues, however, we shall see that we can identify general patterns, trends, and developments in local mortuary behaviour in the Roman era, and that we can differentiate between developments that took place in the first decades after the creation of the colony and those that took place during the centuries that followed, and we shall see that these patterns offer new insights into the society of the time.

6.4 Tomb architecture

6.4.1 The basic data

The first thing that becomes obvious from the analysis of Roman tomb architecture, is that the use of aboveground, communal tombs increased dramatically over the course of the first three centuries CE. In the previous chapter we have already seen that 43 of such tombs were built during the late 1st century BCE-1st century CE, but an additional 210 tombs were erected in the broader imperial period (Fig. 6.4).⁵⁶⁶ We shall discuss the tomb types and the evidence for mortuary treatment below, but let us first take a look at the placement of the tombs.

6.4.2 The organization of the cemeteries

Although the availability of site plans is limited, it is possible to reconstruct a (patchy) picture of the internal organization of the Patraean cemeteries in the Roman period. While evidence for the Classical and Hellenistic periods was limited, we could observe a clear correlation between roads and gravesites, but no preferred orientation of the graves - either in relation to the road or otherwise - could be discerned. This was different for the Roman period. The analysis of Roman funerary architecture of the 1st through the 3rd centuries CE makes it clear that

⁵⁶⁶ These are T1.A-B, 3.A-B, 5.A, 8.A, 13.A, 15.A, 17.A-C, 20.A-B, 24.A, 25.A-C, 26.A-D, 28.A-D, 29.A, 30.A, 31.A, 34.A, 35.A, 37.A, 40.A, 42.A, 48.A, 52.A, 54.C, 62.A, 64.B-E, 65.B-E, 66.A-B, 72.A-F, 78.A, 79.A-C, 80.A-E, 81.A-B, 83.A, 86.A-B, 88.A-B, 92.A, 93.A-B, 94.A-D, 95.A-B, 96.A, 98.A-B, 99.A-B, F-H, 100.B-F, 101.C, F, 102.A-C, 103.A, D, F-G, 104.A, C-D, 105.A-B, D-F, 106.A-B, 108.A, 109.A, 111.A, 112.A-D, 113.A-B, 115.A-D, 116.A-B, 117.A, 118.B-E, 119.A-D, 120.A, 122.A, 123.A-B, 125.A, 129.A-B, 129.B, 130.A-B, 131.A-B, 132.A, 136.A, 137.A, 140.A, 144.A-C, 146.E-G, 149.B-C, 158.A, 159.A, 160.A, 168.A, 174.A-C, 182.A, 190.A, 197.B-D, 198.A-C, 199.A, 200.A-D, 203.A, 206.A-B, 207.A-B, 210.A, 212.A, 214.A-B, 218.A, 223.A, 226.B-D, 227.A, C-D, 231.B-C, 232.A, 235.A-B, 236.B-C, 241.A, 243.A, 244.A, 245.A-B, 250.A-B, 252.A, 255.A, and 259.A.

Fig. 6.4 Funerary architecture:
number of tombs per period (N=277).

both the placement and the design of the tombs was dictated by the course of the main routes leading into and out of the city: in all three of the main cemeteries tombs were placed on both sides of the funerary roads, the tomb façades – and burial markers, we may presume – were invariably directed towards the roads, and burial chambers were often entered either directly from the street. The choice for a roadside burial site served the practical goal of allowing easy access to the burial site for the funeral and for subsequent commemorative practices. But in addition, a gravesite along one of these routes ensured that the dead would not be easily forgotten, because the steady stream of passers-by was guaranteed to serve as an audience for the monuments and tombstones memorializing the identity of the deceased.

In the previous chapters we have already seen that the majority of tombs and depositions had always been situated in the North Cemetery, and the same was true for the Roman period (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). The road along which the cemetery developed had always been one of the most important land routes of ancient Greece but this was particularly true in the Roman era, for it led to Corinth, another colony of Rome and the primary centre of Roman Peloponnese. The evidence for repeated restoration of the road

surface in the Roman period is a strong indicator for the intensity of its use; carts, horses, mules and people on foot travelled the road so frequently that it needed regular upkeep. Similar efforts were not reported for the roads of the South and East Cemeteries, suggesting that they were far less intensively used. Roadside burial in the North Cemetery, thus, ensured the highest number of people to gaze upon the memorials erected in honour of the Patraean dead. Moreover, because it was the way to Corinth, it provided the best chance that one's memorial would be noticed not only by simple folk, but also by members of the political and social elite travelling to and from Patras.

That visibility, display and self-representation were central factors in the choice for burial in the North Cemetery is manifested in the push for pride of place that governed tomb construction there in the Roman era. We saw that the earliest colonial tombs were erected in the core of the pre-colonial cemetery among the graves of the Hellenistic elite, the most monumental tombs of the 1st century CE were constructed right by the entrance to the city, and in the time thereafter the roadside filled up in rapid pace, both towards the city and expanding outward. This process of growth was characterized by intense crowding, which can be aptly illustrated by the site plans published for the plots at Gerokostopoulou 31 (Fig. 6.5) and at Kanakari 121, 123 and Ermou 83 (Fig. 6.6). These show that construction space was sought between, behind, in front of and in some cases over top of existing tombs that stood in the area. Tombs and memorials were built between older structures, sometimes directly against each other, sometimes separated by narrow corridors. Such passageways could lead to entrances at the side or back of the tombs and, so it seems, to a second class of tombs that were situated behind the primary row of monuments.⁵⁶⁷ Individual burials in simple grave types, too, were placed among, behind, in front of, and over top of existing

⁵⁶⁷ Note that Rizakis (1998, 48-49) speaks of the organization of tombs in different *insulae* and considers this to be a reflection of the space of the living based on similar examples at the Isola Sacra necropolis at Portus in Italy (cf. Calza 1940, 43, 49). This suggestion is interesting and worth exploring further for the Patraean case. Unfortunately, however, it cannot be pursued in this thesis because on the basis of the available site plans a reconstruction of these *insulae* is not possible.

Fig. 6.5 Burial Site 80: Gerokostopoulou 31. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1973, Σχέδ. 1.

Fig. 6.6 Burial Sites 103 and 105: Top plan of the excavations.
After Dekoulakou 1974, Σχδ. 1 and Agallopoulou 1974, Σχδ. 5.

Fig. 6.7 Burial Site 206: Petmeza 3. Top plan of house tomb T206.A.
After Papapostolou 1973, Σχέδ. 10.

structures; every bit of available space was utilized. Other telling examples include the burial site at Karaïskaki 136, where two house tombs were built between the road and a monumental tomb of the Early Roman period, thus obscuring the earlier tomb from view (see Fig. 5.16 in the previous chapter), and the site at Ermou 80-82 where the mausoleum of the Aequani was originally set on a generous roadside plot during the early 1st century CE, but was surrounded by other tombs and individual graves by the end of the Roman period, and had even been partly built over (see Fig. 5.19 in the previous chapter). This process of crowding in the North Cemetery was not the result of a lack of available burial space; the other cemeteries had plenty of it, as did the outer sections of the North Cemetery. Therefore, it points to a desire to be buried a) in the North Cemetery, b) as close to the roadside as possible, and c) as close to the urban perimeter as possible. Ensuring the proper and repeated visibility of one's tomb seems to have been the primary objective of this.

6.4.3 Tomb types

*House tombs and enclosure tombs*⁵⁶⁸

An analysis of tomb types of the Roman era - as far as this is possible - indicates that masonry house tombs and enclosure tombs make up 90 percent of the tombs of the Roman era. Both types had been introduced to Patras in the 1st century CE in small numbers already, but by the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE they had become the norm among the tombs. Although they are, in effect, two different tomb types - the one covered with a roof, the other open to the air - the construction method, material, and external appearance of the house tombs and periboloi was overall very similar (and the excavation reports leave the impression that archaeologists have often had difficulty distinguishing between the two): both were built from brickwork in varying techniques, and both had high walls that, even in the case of periboloi, would often reach to up to 2 meters in height. Since many of the tombs were only partially excavated and many

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Flämig 2007 for a discussion of 'umfriedete Bezirke' (26-28) and 'gemauerte Kammergräber' (31-36) and Dekoulakou 2009 on 'recinti funerari ipetrali' (168-173) and 'tombe a camera' (173-185) in Patras, Roman Greece and the wider Roman Empire.

Fig. 6.8 Burial Site 79: Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141. Top plan of tombs T79.B-C.
After Papapostolou 1973, Σχέδ. 2.

reports refrain from recording dimensions in the first place, it is impossible to ascertain whether there was much differentiation in tomb size or in the number of individuals deposited in the tombs. The reports do indicate that there was some differentiation in elaboration, especially among house tombs: some were given a monumental appearance by adding architectural elaborations in the form of limestone podia or pediments. Examples include **T103.A** and **T130.B**, which were both situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery (cf. Fig. 6.2b, **BS103** and **BS130**).

The reports further indicate that the tombs of these two categories showed a wide range of differentiation behind their façades. The few Early Roman examples that were discussed in the previous chapter showed that house tombs and periboloi could consist of one, two, or multiple spaces. The 1st century CE tombs provided burial spots - most often niches in the interior walls - for the cremated remains of the deceased. The tombs of the later Roman period, on the other hand, were not solely or primarily intended for cremation burials, but could be intended for a combination of cremations and

inhumations and, as time progressed, for inhumations alone.

The simplest peribolos tombs consisted of a rectangular open air space that was surrounded by brick-built walls (sometimes with niches for ash urns), in which cist graves, tile graves and/or cremation urns were buried, but there were also periboloi that consisted of multiple open-air burial spaces and others that had internal burial chambers. Examples of the latter include **T86.A-B** and **T245.A**, but we also saw it the Early Roman **T103.B** already. These burial chambers are thought to have been reserved for members of the nuclear family that owned the tomb, while the open air burial spaces in front of the burial chambers are thought to have been occupied by members of the wider household, including slaves and freedmen.

House tombs existed in multiple forms as well. In its most basic form a house tomb consisted of a single barrel-vaulted burial chamber that contained burials in cist graves, tile graves, ash urns, or more rarely in sarcophagi.⁵⁶⁹ Brick-built cist graves were often an integral part of the design in 2nd and 3rd century CE house tombs. An example of this is **T206.A** (Fig. 6.7), in which six brick-built cist graves were arranged along the side and back walls of the burial chamber; and a mosaic with a geometric pattern decorated the floor space between the graves.⁵⁷⁰ In addition to tombs with a single burial chamber, there were those that consisted of two to four interconnected chambers⁵⁷¹, while others had courtyards that were sometimes equipped with permanent furnishings for funerary and commemorative ritual such as hearths or an altar (e.g. **T79.B** in Fig. 6.8).⁵⁷² The remnants of staircases discovered in a few of the tombs suggest that they had originally had a second storey (e.g. **T116.A-B** in Fig. 5.16 in the previous chapter).⁵⁷³

There were also a few funerary complexes that, rather than having interconnected chambers, consisted of multiple burial chambers that were built beside each other and that may have had separate entrances.⁵⁷⁴ It is not clear how the individual chambers were architecturally related

to each other, or even whether or not the entire complex constituted a single whole. The question whether such funerary complexes belonged to a family, as is presumed for the majority of the enclosure and house tombs, some other social group, or whether it was perhaps owned by a funerary collegium or an entrepreneur who sold rooms or burial spots inside the complex (similar to the columbaria in Rome) is of great interest, but not one we can answer on the basis of the available evidence.

Monumental tombs of the Roman era

Although the majority of the tombs of the Roman era were rather uniform and do not attest to significant attempts at standing out from the crowd, there were a few tombs of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE that can be singled out as monumental. One of these is **T103.A**. It stood by the side of the road through the North Cemetery not far from the urban perimeter (see Fig. 6.2b, **BS103**), where it was built in the courtyard of **T103.B**, one of the Early Roman brick-built periboloi that was discussed in the previous chapter (see Fig. 6.6; cf. Fig. 5.13). The tomb was not exceptionally large (ext. dim. 5.75x7.15 m), but was raised on a high *opus caementicium* podium with a three-stepped krepis along its façade that was decorated with lions' feet. The tomb walls were built in *opus testaceum*-technique. The burial chamber was entered via a doorway in the centre of its main façade; a three-stepped staircase led up to it. Four brick-built pilasters decorated the front of the tomb, two of which flanked the entrance; the bases were carved in the upper step of the limestone krepis. The excavator proposes that funerary statues may have originally stood between these pilasters, but statuary was apparently not found. The burial chamber would have originally had a vaulted roof. No graves were preserved inside, but there is a possibility that the fragmentary remains of a relief sarcophagus and an inscribed sarcophagus cover that were found nearby originally belonged to the structure.⁵⁷⁵ The fact that this tomb was built in the courtyard of an earlier peribolos tomb - which remained in use afterwards - may indicate that the owners of the burial plot decided to add a new, monumental tomb for future burials. Another possibility,

⁵⁶⁹ E.g. **T101.C**.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. **T117.A**.

⁵⁷¹ E.g. **T99.F**, **100.B**, **105.A**, and **108.A**.

⁵⁷² Cf. **T105.D**.

⁵⁷³ Cf. **T80.B** (Fig. 6.5).

⁵⁷⁴ E.g. **T102.A-B**.

⁵⁷⁵ **G103.1** and Epitaph 215.

Fig. 6.9 Burial Site 119: Katerinis 14-16, Konstantinoupoleos 75. Plan of the excavation.
After Petropoulos 1993, Σχέδ. 2.

Fig. 6.10 Mortuary treatment in the tombs of the Roman era (N=459).

however, is that the plot was divided up and partly sold. A lack of funerary inscriptions and depositions hinder the identification of the tomb owners. Nonetheless, the monumentality of the tomb and its location close to the tombs of the 1st century CE elite could be taken as indications that the people who built this tomb counted themselves among the same social group.

In contrast to the previous period, when the most conspicuous tombs were clustered in the core of the North Cemetery, the other monumental tombs of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE stood much further away from the city. **T119.A**, a tomb of the 2nd century CE, stood on the west side of the northern funerary road at Odos Konstantinoupoleos 75 (see Fig. 6.2d, **BS119** and Fig. 6.9). A two-storey tomb of monumental design (poorly preserved and otherwise unspecified) is said to have stood nearby at **BS137** (i.e. **T137.A**). Tomb **T119.A** had a T-shaped floor plan of an impressive size (l. 10.60, w. façade 10.60, w. burial chamber 6.50 m; see Fig. 6.9), and was mainly made of brickwork; the *opus testaceum* walls were preserved up to a height of 1.92m. The tomb stood on high podium that was faced with limestone slabs, and its base was decorated with a limestone krepis. Multiple architectural members discovered around the plot make it clear that the main façade of the superstructure was of an elaborate pedimental design. The tomb interior consisted of two spaces: an antechamber and a burial chamber. Although the entrances to neither of the rooms were preserved, it is likely that the tomb was entered from the road through a doorway in its monumental façade. The antechamber gave access to the burial chamber. A large rectangular structure built against the back wall of the burial chamber was probably a podium for a stone sarcophagus. No inscriptions or burials were preserved, which once again leaves us in the dark about the identity of the tomb owners, but the size, design, and quality of the construction

materials do attest to their wealth. The fact that this tomb and the two-storey tomb that stood nearby stood at a significant distance from the city may be an indication that the tombs had been erected by families that lived in one the villas in the territory to the north of the city, rather than by members of the urban population.

A final monumental tomb of the era was found at Zarouchleika to the south of Patras (see Fig. 6.2 **BS259** for an approximate location). **T259.A** was enclosed by a large peribolos (12.70x12.20 m) and was erected on a high podium with a central staircase leading up to the burial chamber.⁵⁷⁶ Except for two unfluted columns that decorated the tomb façade, nothing remains of the superstructure of the tomb; the staircase and the columns may suggest that it had a temple-like appearance. The remnants of two sarcophagi, one of which was imported from Attica, were found within the confines of the peribolos and it is likely that these once stood in the burial chamber. The tomb was associated with a suburban villa of the 1st-2nd century CE, suggesting that it was owned by a wealthy landowning family.

6.4.4 New choices in building for the dead

Although the remnants of the Roman tombs are for the most part poorly preserved, only partly excavated, and not fully published, the survey of the available data does show that local preferences in funerary architecture changed over the course of the imperial period. Tomb architecture of the Early Roman era was primarily intended for the deposition of cremated remains, but showed a range of diversity in types, sizes, quality, and the number of individuals for whom the structure was intended (ranging from 1 to 45). By the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, the correlation between tomb architecture and cre-

⁵⁷⁶ No site or tomb plan was published, but a photograph of the tomb is on display in the Archaeological Museum of Patras.

mation had become markedly less strong (see Fig. 6.10 and compare to Fig. 5.21), and the deposition of cremations in tombs was ultimately abandoned. The construction of monumental tombs for single or double use was completely abandoned in favour of collective tombs, columbaria had disappeared from the repertoire of tomb types, and masonry periboloi and house tombs became the absolute norm. While the excavation reports indicate that the tombs of these two types varied significantly in their sizes and interior layout, they seem to have been quite similar in their exterior, brick-built appearance. Save for a few examples, people do not seem to have had a strong desire to monumentalize the appearance of these tombs, or to make them unique in order to catch the gaze of the passers-by. This development towards standardization is noteworthy, because on the one hand it seems to contradict the push for pride of place and thus for visibility that was observed in the spatial distribution of the tombs. On the other hand, though, it may be that because there was hardly any differentiation in funerary architecture (which could be the result of practical considerations, for example, or a lack of funds for more conspicuous designs and construction materials) that this push for pride of place was happening in the first place.

Whatever the case may be, those 2nd-3rd century CE tombs that were truly monumental, that stood on a large plot, that drew from religious architecture in their designs, that attested to significant expense on the architecture and construction material, and that thus seem to have sought to impress the onlookers, were primarily found on the outskirts of the North Cemetery and in the countryside. This is a sharp contrast with the early colonial period, when the most elaborate tombs were found in the first metres of the North Cemetery. We may wonder whether the new distribution pattern of conspicuous tombs could attest to the emergence of a rich landowning elite that differentiated themselves from the urban population by placing their tombs on or close to their own land.

Another observation that is of importance, is that the sparse tomb remnants bear striking similarities to the funerary architecture that is known from the same period in Rome, Ostia, and

especially the Isola Sacra Necropolis of Portus.⁵⁷⁷ The tombs at Portus are exceptionally well-preserved, and we may look to these to get an impression of what the most densely built sections in the cemeteries of Patras may have looked like in the Roman era (Fig. 6.11). In Greece, tombs of these types have been attested as such sites as Corinth, Nikopolis, Thessaloniki, and Delphi, but nowhere do they appear in such numbers as they do in Patras.⁵⁷⁸ The fact that the tomb architecture of early colonial times and that of later Roman times displays strong similarities with that in cities on the Italian peninsula is indicative of continued contact between the colony and the area around Rome. Is it also an indication to the identity of the tomb owners?

In the previous chapter, the case was made to tentatively identify the people who built the Early Roman monumental tombs as Roman colonists. The hypothesis was based on the fact that the colonization-event coincided with the timing of the emergence of new burial practices, but also because the newly introduced practices bore striking similarities to those known from Italy: the tomb owners chose to cremate their dead, they chose to build tomb types that were fashionable in Italian towns of the period, and they used Latin for their epitaphs. Although the tombs of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE display strong similarities to Roman examples as well, and although it is likely that their introduction to Patras (and other sites in Greece) can be attributed to direct Roman influence⁵⁷⁹, we should be careful to unproblematically identify the tomb owners as Roman colonists or their descendants. First, because the tombs were no longer exclusively or primarily used for cremations, second, because no tombs could be associated with any epitaphs, be they Greek or Latin, and third, because a lot of time had passed since Augustus' colonization of Patras. Therefore, if Romans were still present in Patras, they need not have been related to original settlers at all, but could just as well have been immigrants (traders, for

⁵⁷⁷ These similarities have also been noted by e.g. Flämig 2007 and Dekoulakou 2009. See Calza 1940; Squarciapino 1958.

⁵⁷⁸ See Flämig 2007, 27-29 and 31-36. Flämig's analysis of Roman tomb architecture in Greece indicated that masonry house tombs with niches for cremations urns are found only in Patras, Nikopolis, and Corinth.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. Flämig 2007, 36.

Fig. 6.11 The Isola Sacra Necropolis of Portus.
Photographs by W.B. Meulenbelt and author.

example) who came to Patras of their own volition at a later point in time. Moreover, it is also entirely possible that people of Greek descent were the ones who erected these tombs of recognizably Roman design, either because they were simply enamoured by the design and functionality of the tomb types, or, perhaps, because they wanted to profess adherence to Roman cultural and/or civic identity. Without *in situ* epigraphic evidence and without undisturbed burials, it is very difficult to come closer to identifying the people who built and were buried in the 2nd and 3rd century CE tombs of Patras. But whether the tomb builders came from Italy or whether it was just the tomb type that found its way to the colony, it is certainly clear that the Patraean cemeteries were heavily impacted not only by colonization itself, but also by the constant direct contact with Rome and its ports that took place during the Imperial period.

6.5 Depositions of the Roman era

6.5.1 Spatial distribution

Of the 1626 burials that were dated to the Roman era with a relative amount of certainty, 511 were situated inside tombs or stone-built enclosures, while the remaining 1115 were not. The majority of the graves of the latter group, i.e. those that were not associated with tomb architecture, were situated in the South Cemetery (47%), followed by the North Cemetery (35%), the East Cemetery (10%), and finally the hinterland (8%). In contrast, the majority of depositions of the first group, i.e. those that were associated with tomb architecture, were situated in the North Cemetery (75%), followed by the South Cemetery (15%), the East Cemetery (7%), and the countryside (3%). The latter pattern is hardly surprising, given the fact that we saw that the bulk of the tombs were situated in the North Cemetery. That the South Cemetery received the highest percentage of simple graves is an important observation, because it shows that the hierarchical difference between the cemeteries that was observed for the preceding centuries was perpetuated in Roman times.

6.5.2 Grave types and treatment of the body

Inhumation graves

As can be seen in Figure 6.12, tile graves were by far the most popular grave type in the Roman period. They make up at least 63 percent of the individual graves and 26 percent of the graves that had been placed in tombs and enclosures; together, they make up more than 50 percent of the Roman depositions. Since tile graves had been the most common grave type in Hellenistic times and Early Roman times, too, we may identify it as the norm. Other grave types that continued in use from Classical to Roman times were the pit grave, the monolithic limestone sarcophagus, as well as the tile-built and limestone cist grave (although these two were only sparsely identified among the material of the Hellenistic and Early Roman era). These four types were only used very rarely; even if we add up those inside tombs and those that were individually situated in the cemetery, they still form a mere 3 percent of the Roman inhumation graves.

A much larger percentage of the graves belonged to the newly introduced type of the brick-built cist grave (375 graves = 23%). These were rectangular graves with walls built of brickwork, a soil, gravel or tile floor that sometimes had a built headrest, and they were covered either with stone slabs, (roof) tiles, or with tile and brick vaults (Fig. 6.13). Cist graves made of brickwork could be built individually, in pairs⁵⁸⁰, or in threes⁵⁸¹, but most often the built cists were situated inside communal tombs or periboloi, where they were either an integral part of the tomb's original design or a later addition. A sub-category of the brick-built cist graves were those that had an opening in one of the short walls, thus allowing easy access to the grave for repeated depositions.⁵⁸² Such cist graves with vaulted roofs and a doorway of sorts were, in a way, mini versions of the masonry house tombs that were common Roman Patras.

Another new grave type was the marble sarcophagus. These seem to have been introduced during the 2nd century CE, but remained a rare occurrence throughout the Roman era (<1%).

⁵⁸⁰ E.g. G40.1-2, 104.4-5, 206.8-9.

⁵⁸¹ E.g. G42.2-4.

⁵⁸² E.g. the two *polyandria* for gladiators that were mentioned above (G146.17 and 18).

Inhumation graves

Ash containers/cremation graves

Burial vessel (cremation/inhumation)

Unspecified deposition

■ Individual graves ■ Graves associated with tomb architecture

Fig. 6.12 Graves of the Roman period: types (N=1626).

Fig. 6.13 Burial Site 254: Vasiliadou 9. Plan of the excavation and plan of vaulted brick-built cist G254.25. After Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1996, Σχέδ. 21.

Since marble was not locally available, either the source material itself or the fully finished sarcophagi had to be imported from elsewhere. According to local archaeologists, at least some of the sarcophagi came from workshops in Attica.⁵⁸³ Roman inhumation graves further include *enchytrismoι* in various types of vessels (3%). These include a child burial inside an amphora in the South Cemetery⁵⁸⁴ and a group of burials in pithoi discovered at Saravali⁵⁸⁵, a modern village in the countryside around Patras (see Fig. 6.2a, **BS224**). The pithoi were placed on their sides, and after the individuals had been placed inside the openings were closed off by a pile of stones, a stone slab, or a clay tile.

⁵⁸³ E.g. G259.1.

⁵⁸⁴ G20.18.

⁵⁸⁵ G224.1-14; one of these was dated to the Early Roman era on the basis of a coin find. Whether the other were Early Roman as well is not clear.

Ash containers and cremation graves

Depositions in inhumation graves formed the majority of burials in the Roman era, as had been true for all preceding centuries. Inhumation graves formed ca. 80 percent of our current sample, while primary and secondary cremation graves form ca. 20 percent; only very few graves contained secondary burials or unspecified depositions. Primary cremations in our current sample include one pyre⁵⁸⁶ as well as five tile graves and one brick-built cist⁵⁸⁷ that differed from the typical inhumation graves only in the sense that the excavator observed that the bones were 'charred'. It is noteworthy that the primary cremations were all discovered in the South Cemetery, as had also been the case with all but one of the primary cremations of the pre-colonial era. Secondary cremations in ceramic, glass, lead, and stone urns or reused household

⁵⁸⁶ G123.10.

⁵⁸⁷ G253.1-6.

pottery were either simply buried in the ground, sometimes covered by or inserted into an amphora, placed inside a simple grave⁵⁸⁸, or deposited inside a collective tomb.

Grave types through time

The lack of dateable characteristics for the majority of the graves and their contents inhibits a detailed diachronic analysis of the introduction, use, and abandonment of grave types. Nonetheless, it is clear that tile graves were used throughout the Roman period, and that they became the norm among the simple burials. Brick-built cist graves - both inside tomb architecture and individually placed in the cemetery - did not become popular until the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, although they were already introduced in the first century CE. Marble sarcophagi, a funerary fashion which came from the East, were imported to Patras from the 2nd century CE onwards, but remained a rare luxury. Two of these were found *in situ* associated with the monumental tomb at Zarouchleika.⁵⁸⁹ It is possible that the other marble sarcophagi had originally been placed inside a collective tomb as well, but this cannot be proven. A temporal analysis of ash containers and cremation graves, finally, indicates that they disappear from the mortuary record during the Roman period (see Fig. 5.34 in the previous chapter). After cremations had witnessed a dramatic rise in the early colonial era, the practice dwindled over the course of the Roman period until it was abandoned by or during the early 3rd century CE, as was the case in the wider Roman Empire.

6.5.3 Single, double, and communal burial

Now that we have reconstructed some basic patterns in mortuary behaviour on the basis of tomb and grave types, let us now turn our attention to the available data on the human remains. As was true for the preceding periods, the available information about the human remains is quite limited. Cremations have not been studied at all, except for the one stone urn of the Early Roman period that contained the remains of a child (discussed in the previous chapter). There is, on the other hand, some basic information on human remains from Roman inhumation graves: some excavation reports,

Fig. 6.14 Number of individuals buried in the Roman inhumation graves of Patras (N=251).

site plans, or photographs provide information about the number of grave occupants, an estimation of their age, and/or the position in which they had been placed in the grave.

Combined, these data show the following: among the burials that were not associated with tomb architecture there were 145 graves that contained a single inhumation, thirteen that contained a double burial, and at least nine graves contained three or more individuals; among the burials inside collective tombs or periboloi, there were 58 that contained a single inhumation, fifteen that contained a double burial, and at least 26 graves that contained the skeletal remains of three or more individuals (Fig. 6.14). This indicates, as one would expect, that the repeated use of a single grave was more common inside the tombs than in graves that were individually placed in the cemetery. If we compare these data from human remains to those from the previous periods, then we see that a new trend had set in in the deposition of the dead: for while the Classical and Hellenistic material yielded no evidence for double, triple, or multiple burials in a single grave⁵⁹⁰, the

⁵⁸⁸ I.e. G17.2-4, 174.19, and 227.5.

⁵⁸⁹ G259.1-2 in T259.A.

⁵⁹⁰ But note that Dimakis (2016, 37) has identified double and multiple burials of the Classical and Hellenistic era in the

deposition of two, three or more individuals in the same grave became increasingly common over the course of the Roman era.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the double and multiple depositions could be the result of a single funerary event, of the addition of secondary and subsequent burials during funerals at later points in time⁵⁹¹, of the re-burying of decayed human remains together with a newly deceased individual⁵⁹², or of the redeposition in ossuaries of fully skeletonized material stemming from the clearing of older graves (although this may be an even later development, see Chapter 7). There is a clear correlation between grave type and the number of individuals buried within, which may also serve as an indication as to how the burial came into being: tile graves overwhelmingly contained one individual and only contained a few double burials and one triple burial of an adult with two children; (vaulted) built cist graves, on the other hand, would be used much more often for double, triple, and multiple depositions (the highest number of individuals reported is nine). Since brick-built cists were suitable for reuse and tile graves much less so, it is not unlikely that the double and triple burials in tile graves represent a single burial of people who had died around the same time, while the brick-built cists were used and reused over a much longer period. Who, then, were the people in the double and multiple burials, and do we know why they were buried together?

Although we do not have a lot of information about the estimated ages of the people buried in communal graves, it is clear that they could either contain adults only, or adults with a child or children; there do not seem to have been any double or multiple burials of infants or children without the presence of adult individuals. The latter observation is somewhat surprising, because child mortality is generally thought to have been rather high, and contemporaneous deaths of children due to contagious diseases were probably not uncommon. The observed age patterns may suggest that formal inhumation

burial was reserved for adult individuals, and that infants and children were included only in the event that their deaths coincided with those of adult family members⁵⁹³ or when a family grave already existed, but this seems to be negated by the existence of individual infant and child burials among our data.⁵⁹⁴

We can make some inferences about the relations between the deceased that occupied the same grave, especially when contextualized with the available epigraphic evidence. It is not unlikely that burials of adults with children represent the deposition of members of the same family or household. That we should be wary, however, of jumping to the conclusion that these were parents and their offspring is evident from an epitaph that commemorates 53 year-old Doxa and 4 year-old Threptos; their ages almost certainly precludes a mother-and-son relationship, as does the name Threptos, which is usually used for foundlings or slaves that are born and raised within a household.⁵⁹⁵ As we shall see in more detail below, the epigraphic evidence further indicates that communal burials - be they in the same grave, or in individual graves in the same tomb - could also belong to

⁵⁹³ Although he discusses material from the Classical and Hellenistic period, it is worth referring to Dimakis' interpretation of double burials of adults with children (2016, 37). For instead of seeing the social status of the adult as the prime motivation for the form that the burial took, Dimakis argues that in the case of double burials of an adult and a child (which he perhaps too unproblematically interprets as mother and (male) offspring), it is the status of the male child that determines the nature of the burial: 'it is believed that an adult skeleton found next to that of a young child or infant might suggest mother and offspring carried away on the same occasion. If the child was, or was perceived to be, a male heir, then the richness of the burial may be less to do with the adult female than with the child. The signalling of inheritance routes, lineages, and bloodlines might have been an important factor in determining the nature of child burials, especially amongst elite groups.' Although his latter argument concerning the importance of kinship relations is well taken, there does not seem to be strong evidence for attributing the 'richness of the burial' to the deceased child rather than the adult. In fact, quite the opposite seems true, for if male infants and children were considered so important as to determine the form of the burial and the amount of wealth deposited in it, then we should also have elaborate individual (male) child burials in the archaeological record. Moreover, we have seen that (and this was also noted by Dimakis himself (p. 38)) there were many burials of women that were particularly well-furnished, thus undermining the argument that male infants and children in double graves were the prime recipient of the grave goods.

⁵⁹⁴ The infant and child graves of the Roman era include: G7.1, 20.18, 29.2-4, 46.1, 64.51, 67.6-8, 72.1, 72.15, 77.1-2, 86.7, 99.6-7, 99.17, 101.10, 104.17, 104.25, 104.26, 130.1, 163.1, 165.1, 174.6, 174.10, 183.3, 212.3, 223.8, 228.8, 242.10, and 248.1 (infant).

⁵⁹⁵ BM100.

Argolid (Fig. 48) and the other regions of the northwest Peloponnese (Fig. 63). He also showed, though, that the practice was rather limited in Achaia, being represented only by one triple and two double burials discovered in Aigion.

⁵⁹¹ E.g. G104.6.

⁵⁹² E.g. G42.1, 120.2, 214.6, and 245.8.

spouses, to siblings, or even to colleagues. But while the inscriptions suggest that communal depositions often belonged to people who were family members or otherwise shared a social relation in life, and that communal burial was therefore deliberate and reflective of a notion of 'togetherness in death', the tombstone of one Kointos Ailios Zosimos - which threatens a steep fine against anyone who dares to disturb his remains by burying another individual in his grave⁵⁹⁶ - tells us that it is not always the case. Instead, it shows that the occupants of one and the same grave need not have had a social relation in life at all, but that a 'communal deposition' could also simply be the result of unwarranted reuse by people who perhaps did not want to pay for their own grave. Due to the accessibility of the cist graves in the above-ground tombs such reuse was easy enough, but the practice could clearly be met with strong aversion as Zosimos' warning makes poignantly clear.

One of the multiple depositions of the Roman era can be singled out as deviant mortuary behaviour: according to the excavation report about a dig at Kanakari 76 in the North Cemetery, a small area or pit was found to contain five skulls.⁵⁹⁷ These skulls were placed side by side, with two bronze coins, a bone pin, an unguentarium, and several sherds between them. Unfortunately, the original report is extremely brief and the skulls do not seem to have been subjected to any subsequent research. This deposition may represent a form of secondary burial, in which the five skeletonized skulls were taken from their original burial sites and were reburied with a number of grave goods. It is also possible, on the other hand, that the heads had been separated from the bodies at or around the time of death by way of decapitation. Without

any additional information, however, we can only guess at the actions and motivations that created this puzzling deposition.

6.6 Burial assemblages

6.6.1 Corpse adornment: turning to simplicity

In the previous chapters we have seen that the adornment of the corpse was a major priority in the (richest) burials of the Hellenistic era, but that the interest in decking the deceased with precious clothes, wreaths, and jewellery was already starting to decline in the Early Roman period. An analysis of ornaments in the graves of the Roman period makes it clear that this trend persisted, and that corpse adornment became rare, and was moreover drastically simplified: out of the 1626 published Roman burials, a mere sixteen were reported to have contained items of adornment (i.e. 0.1%). As can be seen in Table 6.1, which lists the sixteen adorned burials, the use of gold for funerary wreaths was completely abandoned except for one final example (that consisted of a mere two gold leaves), six graves contained non-perishable remnants of clothing (buttons and pins), and only ten graves contained jewellery. It should further be noted that while the dead of earlier centuries would generally be beautified with multiple items of adornment, the quantity of ornaments per individual was now reduced to a mere one or two items (Table 6.2).

Not only did the number of adorned burials and the number of ornaments drop, there was also a drastic decline in the value of those ornaments that were still being used. In sharp contrast to the previous centuries, when gold jewellery was common, we can no longer observe a preference for gold ornaments in the burials of the 2nd century CE and later (Table 6.2, Fig. 6.12). Gold and bronze jewellery were now deposited in more or less equal numbers, while silver items of adornment were only rarely chosen; although glass was introduced to Patras in large numbers during the Early Roman era, the material never became popular for jewellery.

As was observed in the previous chapter, the decline in the amount and quality of ornaments reflect a decrease in the investment on the appearance of the body during the funeral proceedings. This indicates that the local population

⁵⁹⁶ BM121: Κ(όιντος) Αἰλ(ίου) Ζώσιμος Κίλιξ ἐνθάδε/δε κεῖται Κίλιξ Ῥαβεννή/σιος ἐνθάδε κε<τ>ται/εἰσερχομένων δε/ξιάς χειρός. εἰ δέ τις/τολήσειεν ἔτετε/ρόν τινα θεῖναι, δώ/σει τῷ ταμείῳ/ * ἀφ' - 'Kointos Ailios Zosimos, the Cilician, a citizen of Ravenna, lies here to your right when entering (this tomb). If anyone dares to bury someone else here, he will have to pay the treasurer 1500 denaria'. We cannot be sure whether or not the warning helped, or if it did, for how long; certainly by Early Christian times, when the inscribed slab was reused as construction material, the epitaph had been taken from its original location and could no longer be associated with Zosimos' grave (cf. BS108). For funerary fines in Roman Asia Minor, where they were rather common, e.g. Harter-Uibopuu and Wiedergut 2014.

⁵⁹⁷ BS98, G98.15.

Table 6.1 Roman graves with evidence for the adornment of the dead (N=16).

Grave ID	Tomb ID	Cemetery	Date	Grave type	Treatment of body	No. of deceased	Age	Dress items	Wreath	Jewellery	Grave goods
20.7	-	S	R	tile grave	inh	1	-	-	-	1 bronze ring	1 lamp
20.17	T17.B	S	R	built cist	inh	-	-	-	-	1 bronze ring	-
51.1	-	•	R	tile grave	inh	2	-	1 silver pin, 1 bronze pin	-	1 pair of silver earrings, 1 bronze ring	-
60.4	-	S	R (?)	built cist	inh	-	-	-	-	1 small wire ring, 1 glass bead	-
64.47	T64.B	N	MR	built cist	inh	-	-	1 bronze pin	-	-	1 oinochoe, iron nails (coffin?)
72.19	T72.E	N	R	tile grave	inh	2	A, C	-	-	1 bronze bracelet	2 glass unguentaria
98.6	T98.A	N	R	built cist	inh	-	A	-	2 gold leaves	-	7 glass unguentaria
98.15	-	N	R (?)	pit *	sec bur	5	-	1 bone pin	-	-	2 bronze coins, several broken vessels, 1 unguentarium (among the five skulls)
104.6	T104.C	N	R	built cist	inh	6	-	-	-	1 gold earring	-
105.7	-	N	MR-LR	built cist	inh	-	-	-	-	gold and bronze jewellery	8 bronze coins, 2 oinochoai
117.1	T117.A	N	R	built cist	inh	-	-	1 gold pin	-	-	-
127.15	-	N	R	glass urn	cr	-	-	7 bone buttons, 1 bone pin	-	-	large set of gaming pebbles, bronze and iron fragments
149.16	-	N	R	built cist	inh	>1	-	-	-	1 pair of gold earrings, 1 bronze bracelet	1 ceramic phiale, 1 ceramic, 3 glass unguentaria
163.1	-	N	R (?)	tile grave	inh	1	C	-	-	1 glass-bead necklace	-
201.18	-	E	2nd c.	tile-built cist	inh	1	-	-	-	1 gold earring with green gem, 1 gold bead, 1 gold pendant (Aphrodite)	1 glass unguentarium with handle
252.1	-	S	R	vaulted built cist	inh	-	-	1 bone pin	-	-	1 iron nail, 1 lamp, 1 glass unguentarium

Table 6.2 Garments, wreaths, and jewellery: number and material per period.

	LCI-EHel	Hel	LHel-ER	R	LR-EChr	TOTAL
Gold	7	88	26	8	5	134
Silver/silver gilded	0	7	2	2	1	12
Bronze/bronze gilded	6	1	4	8	5	24
Glass	0	0	3	2	0	5
Ceramic/ceramic gilded	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other/unspecified	2	0	0	5	3	10
TOTAL no. of ornaments	16	96	35	25	14	186
TOTAL no. of adorned burials	12	25	13	16	11	77
Average no. of ornaments per adorned burial	1.3	3.8	2.7	1.6	1.3	2.4

was no longer interested in the conspicuous display of the corpse, and that the bodies of the deceased were no longer used for the proclamation of wealth and status. The trend may further point to a change in local attitudes towards the dead body.

6.6.2 Grave goods

A similar trend towards simplicity can be seen in the grave goods of the Roman era. Burial assemblages could be reconstructed for 123 burials, which contained a total of >317 artefacts (Table 6.3). Twenty-three of these are the items of dress and adornment discussed above (i.e. 7%), while 294 (93%) can be characterized as grave provisions. The number of provisions per grave ranged from 1 to ≥19, but most graves contained only one or two artefacts; only six graves contained more than ten.

The furnished depositions include eight cremations in containers of various types, including amphorai and glass and clay urns⁵⁹⁸, inhumations in pits (3), tile-covered graves (39-43), tile-built (2) and brick-built cist graves (54-57), limestone sarcophagi (2), and unspecified burial vessels (8), as well as the burial of five skulls that was mentioned above. This indicates that inhumed and cremated individuals could both be provided with grave goods, and that there was no direct correlation between the choice of grave type and the presence of grave provisions.

Before we proceed with a discussion of the burial assemblages, it is important to note that many graves were situated inside tombs that were reused over a long period of time. This problematizes the analysis of depositional pat-

terns in grave provisions, because in sharp contrast to the underground, undisturbed burials that formed the bulk of our evidence so far, the graves inside collective tombs cannot be assumed to be a closed context since they may have been emptied and reused over decades or even centuries. Therefore, we can no longer assume that a) the human remains that lay within are the remains of the people for whom the tomb and grave were originally built, that b) the artefact assemblage found in the grave forms one set, which was deposited during one funeral event, or that c) the artefacts and the skeletal remains that were found together at the moment of excavation even shared a relation at all. With this caveat in mind, let us look at the content - skeletal remains and artefacts - of our furnished burials in more detail.

Thirty-five inhumation graves were reported to have contained the remains of one individual, seven held a double burial, and twelve graves contained between three and six individuals. For the other graves no detailed information about the number of occupants was provided. Age estimations are limited to fourteen depositions: seven graves reportedly contained burial of one, four or five adult individuals, two graves held an adult and a child, four graves belonged to children, and one grave contained the remains of an infant. If the human remains and burial assemblages do indeed belong together, then our evidence shows that adults, children, and even infants could be provided with grave goods. Since none of the skeletons were sexed, we cannot determine whether men and women received differential treatment.

Turning to the grave goods themselves, we see that the bulk of the Roman-era grave goods

⁵⁹⁸ One lead kalpe was deposited in a vaulted built cist; it is unclear whether this grave also contained inhumed remains.

Table 6.3. Furnished and/or adorned burials of the Roman period (N = 123).

Grave number	Tomb	Cemetery	Grave Type	Date (CE)	No. of individuals	Treatment of body	Age estimation	No. of objects	Ornaments	Provisions
3.2	3.A	E	built cist	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 amphora
8.6	8.A	N	tile grave	l. 2nd c. (?)	1	inh	A	2	-	2 glass unguentaria
13.6	-	S	built cist	R	-	inh	-	?	-	vessels (broken)
13.7	13.A	S	vaulted built cist	R	-	inh	-	11	-	1 round bone object, 8 ceramic vessels, 1 glass unguentarium, and 1 bronze coin
20.1	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	-	1 bowl, 1 glass unguentarium
20.3	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	-	2 bronze coins
20.4	-	S	built cist	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
20.5	-	S	built cist	R	3	inh	-	6	-	1 lamp, 5 glass unguentaria
20.7	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	1 bronze ring	1 lamp
20.8	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	3	-	2 bronze unguentaria, 1 lamp
20.11	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	-	1 iron spike, 1 glass unguentarium
20.12	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 lamp
20.15	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	-	2 glass unguentaria
20.16	-	S	built cist	R	1	inh	-	2	-	1 iron strigil, 1 glass unguentarium
20.17	20.B	S	built cist	R	-	inh	-	1	bronze ring	-
29.6	-	N	vaulted built cist	R	1	inh	-	10	-	10 glass unguentaria
30.1	-	N	pit grave	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 pithamphora
30.2	-	N	tile-built cist	R	1	inh	-	10	-	9 ceramic vessels, 1 glass unguentarium
46.1	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	C	14	-	1 wooden box, 3 small lead rattles, 3 terracotta figurines (2 birds, 1 pregnant woman), 4 spherical glass vessels, and 3 glass unguentaria
51.1	-	•	tile grave	R	2	inh	-	4	1 pair of silver earrings, 1 silver pin, 1 bronze pin, 1 bronze ring	-
54.26	54.B	S	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 lamp
60.4	-	S	built cist	R(?)	-	inh	-	2	1 small wire ring, 1 glass bead	-
62.3	62.A	N	tile grave	l. 2nd-3rd c.	1(?)	inh	-	3	-	1 lamp (erotic scene), 1 lekythos-oinochoe, and 1 jug
62.4	62.A	N	tile grave	R	1(?)	inh	-	3	-	1 glass bowl with incised decoration, 2 glass unguentaria
64.46	64.B	N	limestone sarcophagus	MR	-	inh	-	2	-	2 glass unguentaria
64.47	64.B	N	built cist	MR	-	inh	-	3	bronze pin	1 oinochoe, iron nails (box, chest, coffin?)
64.48	64.B	N	built cist	MR	-	inh	-	1	-	1 lamp
64.49	-	N	built cist	MR	1	inh	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
64.54	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	2	-	2 bronze coins 14 CE, Patras; R, Corinth)
65.34	-	N	built cist	R	1	inh	A	1	-	1 gold danake

65.25	-	N	vaulted built cist	R-LR	-	inh	-	?	-	many spherical glass unguentaria
67.1	-	•	built cist	R	4	inh	A	1	-	1 jug
69.1	-	•	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (on chest)
72.19	72.E	N	tile grave	R	2	inh	A, C	3	1 bronze bracelet	2 glass unguentaria
70.22	70.A	N	kalpe	R	-	cr	-	?	-	ceramic and glass vessels
72.28	-	N	amphora	R	-	cr	-	3	-	1 glass vessel (in urn); 1 terracotta doll and 1 lamp (outside urn)
79.3	79.A	N	built cist	MR	>1	inh	-	≥3	-	1 lamp, small vessels
79.7	79.B	N	built cist	MR	-	inh	-	≥3	-	1 lamp, unguentaria
80.18	80.C	N	vaulted built cist	MR	-	inh	-	≥5	-	1 skyphos, lamps, and glass unguentaria
89.1	-	E	tile grave	MR	-	inh	-	1	-	1 lamp (Artemis Kynegetis)
89.4	-	E	built cist	MR	-	inh	-	5	-	1 clay model of a theatrical mask, 1 large elliptical lamp, 2 lamps, and 1 ceramic vessel
90.1	-	E	built cist	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 gold danake
98.6	98.A	N	built cist	R	-	inh	A	8	1 gold wreath (2 leaves)	7 glass unguentaria
98.14	-	N	urn	R	-	cr	-	2(?)	-	burnt (animal?) bones, 1 bronze coin
98.15	-	N	pit	R(?)	5	sec bur	-	>5	1 bone pin	several broken vessels, 1 unguentarium, and 2 bronze coins among the five skulls
100.4	100.C	N	built cist	R	>1	inh	-	>4	-	1 cup, 2 glass unguentaria, coins; 1 lamp outside the grave
104.1	104.A	N	built cist	R	4	inh	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
104.4	-	N	vaulted built cist	MR	4	inh	-	1	-	1 unguentarium
104.5	-	N	vaulted built cist	MR	4	inh	-	5	-	1 lamp, 1 stamnos, 3 unguentaria
104.6	104.C	N	built cist	R	6	inh	-	1	1 gold earring	-
104.7	104.C	N	built cist	R	3	inh	-	1	-	stamnos
104.11	104.D	N	tile grave	1st-2nd c.	-	inh	-	8	-	8 unguentaria
104.12	104.D	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 unguentarium
104.32	-	N	vaulted built cist	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (in mouth)
104.35	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	4	-	4 glass unguentaria
105.1	105.A	N	built cist	l. 1st-2nd c.	-	inh	-	2	-	1 lamp, 1 glass unguentarium
105.2	105.A	N	built cist	R	2	inh	-	?	-	coin(s) of the 4th c. CE
105.3	105.A	N	built cist	R	3	inh	-	?	-	coin(s) of the 4th c. CE
105.5	105.B	N	built cist/tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (Domitian, Patras)
105.6	105.B	N	built cist/tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
105.7	-	N	built cist	MR-LR	-	inh	-	>10	gold and bronze jewellery	2 oinochoai, 8 bronze coins
117.1	117.A	N	built cist	R	-	inh	-	1	1 gold pin	-
117.2	117.A	N	built cist	R	-	inh	-	3	-	1 trefoil oinochoe, 1 lekanidion, and 1 glass unguentarium
127.15	-	N	glass urn	R	-	cr	-	≥4	7 bone buttons, 1 bone pin	large set of gaming pebbles, bronze and iron fragments
127.19	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	2	-	1 clay comical mask, 1 figurine (old man with young child)
127.24	-	N	pit grave	R	-	inh	-	2	-	1 vessel with relief decoration, 1 bronze coin
128.9	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	3	-	3 glass unguentaria

Roman Patras

130.2	-	N	tile grave	2nd c.	1	inh	-	1	-	1 glass unguentarium
130.7	130.B	N	tile grave	1st-2nd c.	1	inh	-	1	-	1 glass vessel
131.11	131.B	N	built cist	R	2	inh	-	2	-	2 bronze sistra
132.1	132.A	N	built cist/ tile grave	2nd c.	-	inh	-	2	-	1 cup, 1 glass unguentarium
146.17	-	N	vaulted built cist	MR	4	inh	A	2	-	1 prochous, 1 unguentarium
146.18	-	N	vaulted built cist	MR	5	inh	A	3	-	1 lamp (gladiators), 2 bronze coins (Marcus Aurelius, Patras)
149.16	-	N	built cist	R	>1	inh	-	7	1 pair of gold earrings, 1 bronze bracelet	1 ceramic phiale, 1 ceramic and 3 glass unguentaria
149.17	-	N	kalpe	R	-	cr	-	1	-	set of 8 black and blue glass gaming pebbles
159.2	159.A	S	built cist	R	-	inh	-	6	-	6 vessels
160.1	160.A	S	built cist	MR	-	inh	-	1	-	1 oinochoe
160.4	-	S	built cist	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 glass vessel
162.4	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 skyphos
163.1	-	N	tile grave	R(?)	1	inh	C	1	1 necklace of blue glass beads	-
166.3	-	N	built cist	l. 2nd-3rd c.	2	inh	A, C	1	-	1 bronze coin (Marcus Aurelius, Patras)
174.4	174.A	S	pit grave (?)	R	-	inh	-	2	-	2 glass unguentaria
174.8	174.A	S	vaulted built cist	R	3	inh	-	1	-	1 lamp, iron nails (coffin?)
174.21	-	S	amphora	R	-	cr	-	?	-	many clay unguentaria
174.13	174.B	S	built cist	R	-	inh	-	?	-	spherical glass unguentaria
174.17	174.C	S	tile grave	MR	-	inh	-	2	-	1 lamp (Leda and swan), 1 bronze coin
174.20	-	S	built cist	R	-	inh	-	≥19	-	two pieces of gold sheet, 14 ceramic and 4 glass unguentaria
183.1	-	•	vaulted built cist	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
187.1	-	S	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (in mouth)
187.2	-	S	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (in mouth)
190.5	-	•	tile grave	R(?)	-	inh	-	3	-	1 lamp, 1 small cup, 1 oinochoe
199.1	199.A	E	built cist	MR-LR	6/7	inh	-	3	-	1 lamp, 1 clay incense burner, and 1 glass unguentarium
201.18	-	E	tile-built cist	2nd c.	1	inh	-	4	1 gold pendant (Aphrodite), 1 gold earring with a green gem, and 1 gold bead	1 glass unguentarium with handle
212.1	-	N	tile grave	MR	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (Antoninus)
214.6	214.B	N	built cist	R	2	inh	-	4	-	1 lamp, 1 glass unguentarium, 1 gold danake, and 1 bronze coin
222.1	-	N	built cist	R	-	inh	-	2	-	2 glass unguentaria
223.2	-	N	limestone sarcophagus	R	-	inh	-	?	-	some sherds
223.3	223.A	N	built cist	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin (by the skull)
223.5	-	N	built cist	R	1	inh	-	?	-	some sherds
224.2	-	•	pithos	R	-	inh	-	2(?)	-	bronze fragments, 1 glass paste pebble
227.4	-	N	vaulted built cist	R	1(?)	cr	-	7	-	2 ceramic and 5 glass unguentaria NB. urn G227.5 lay in this grave
227.5	-	N	lead kalpe	R	-	cr	-	?	bone buttons	bone objects
228.8	-	N	tile grave	R	1	inh	C	16	-	16 globular and bird-shaped

										glass unguentaria
236.5	236.B	S	unspec. burial vessel	R	-	inhumation (?)	-	?	-	a large number of unguentaria was deposited in the soil around the vessels
236.6	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
236.7	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
236.8	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
236.9	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
236.10	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
236.11	236.B	S		R	-		-	?	-	
242.1	-	N	tile grave	R-LR	1	inh	C	2	-	1 glass unguentarium, 1 bronze coin (in mouth)
245.1	245.A	N	built cist	R	1	inh	-	2	-	2 lamps outside the grave
245.2	245.A	N	built cist	R	-	inh	-	2	-	1 unguentarium, 1 bronze coin
245.10	-	N	tile grave	R	2	inh	-	2	-	1 glass unguentarium, 1 bronze coin
245.11	-	N	tile grave	R	-	inh	-	1	-	1 unguentarium
245.13	245.B	N	built cist	R	-	inh	-	2	-	1 two-handled cup, 1 bronze coin (Domitian, Patras)
248.1	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	I	1	-	1 bronze coin
248.2	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
248.3	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	1	-	1 bronze coin
248.4	-	S	tile grave	1st c. (?)	1	inh	-	1	-	1 plate
248.5	-	S	tile grave	R	1	inh	-	2	-	1 glass unguentarium with lid, 1 bronze coin
252.1	-	S	vaulted built cist	R	-	inh	-	4	1 bone pin	1 lamp, 1 iron nail/spike, and 1 glass unguentarium
253.7	-	S	glass urn in amphora	R	-	cr	-	2	-	2 glass unguentaria (1 in amphora, 1 in urn)

Table 6.4 Grave assemblages of the Roman era:
Artefact types and their frequency (N objects = 317, N burials = 123).

unguentarium	>138	model of a theatrical mask	2
coin/danake	>42	nail/spike	2
lamp	28	sistrum	2
jewellery/dress items	22	skyphos	2
ceramic vessel (unspec.)	18	stamnos	1
vessel (unspec.)	>10	doll	1
glass vessel (unspec.)	7	incense burner	1
oinochoe	7	lekanidion	1
cup	4	strigil	1
figurine	4	phiale	1
gaming pebbles (set)	3	plate	1
rattle	3	prochous	1
amphora	2	wreath	1
bowl	2	miscellaneous	7
jug	2

Fig. 6.15 Roman grave assemblages: the main functional categories (N=275; 42 objects are excluded).

consists of glass and ceramic unguentaria (Table 6.4). Found in at least sixty graves (i.e. 49% of the furnished burials)⁵⁹⁹, the unguentaria total to at least 138 in number⁶⁰⁰, and they form 47 percent of the grave provisions. Other glass and ceramic vessels number sixty in total, and make up 20 percent of the provisions; they include a variety of shapes such as oinochoai, cups, bowls, and plates. Ceramics further include twenty-five lamps, an incense burner, two miniature theatrical masks, one doll, and four figurines. One figurine represents an old man with a young child, two are birds, and the fourth represents a pregnant woman⁶⁰¹. Gaming pebbles were found in three graves.⁶⁰²

At least thirty-nine bronze coins and three gold *danakes* formed 14 percent of the grave provisions, and they were found in 28 percent of the furnished burials. The majority of the graves were provided with only one coin, just as we have seen for the earlier periods, but five burials (mostly double or multiple inhumations) contained two coins. One grave was exceptional, for it contained eight bronze coins; the large number suggests that may have originally been placed in a purse.⁶⁰³

The decline in the number of grooming instruments that had set in during the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman era resulted in the abandonment of the practice in Roman times: only one grave contained a strigil⁶⁰⁴, while bronze mirrors, combs and other grooming utensils were completely absent (Table 6.4, Fig. 6.15). The abandonment of provisions related to bodily care is observed both in metal grooming tools, and in the pottery shapes, where such items as pyxides and lekani-des are completely absent. This, once more, can be combined with the noted decline in the use of ornaments, and testifies to a new attitude towards the body during the funeral and about the preservation of beauty after death.

The grave goods further include two bronze sistra that were discovered in a built cist grave in which two individuals were buried⁶⁰⁵, as well as three lead rattles that were among the grave goods provided in a child's tile grave.⁶⁰⁶ Iron nails or spikes in graves may belong to coffins, boxes, or chests, but may also themselves repre-

⁶⁰⁴ G20.16.

⁶⁰⁵ It is possible that these sistra identify the two individuals as initiates in the cult of Isis. The sistrum is an Egyptian musical instrument that is invariably associated with the cult of Isis in the Greco-Roman world. Sistra are known in the Greek mortuary sphere, where they appear on gravestones the Roman period. The grave reliefs generally represent women wearing the dress of Isis and carrying a sistrum and situla; they are thought to have been initiates in the cult of Isis. According to Walters, who has analysed the Attic grave stelai representing women in the dress of Isis, suggests that the importance of representing the deceased as an initiate lies not only in their identification as participants in the cult, but also representing her as belonging to the social group of 'the prosperous middle class', because initiation is thought to have been costly and prestigious (Walters 1988).

⁶⁰⁶ G46.1 and 131.11.

⁵⁹⁹ It is possible that unguentaria were also present in ten graves for which the report listed vessels or sherds without identifying their types. These graves are: G13.6, 70.22, 72.28, 79.3, 89.4, 130.7, 159.2, 160.4, 223.2, and 223.5.

⁶⁰⁰ It should be noted that ten depositions were reported to contain unguentaria (i.e. G65.25, 174.21, 174.13, 236.5, 236.6, 236.7, 236.8, 236.9, 236.10, and 236.11), but no information was provided about their number per grave.

⁶⁰¹ See G46.1 and 127.19.

⁶⁰² G127.15, 149.17, and 224.2.

⁶⁰³ G105.7

sent a provision to the dead, especially in those cases where a single nail or spike is found.⁶⁰⁷ Such single nails or spikes have been interpreted as having a magical or an apotropaic function.⁶⁰⁸ A similar function may be ascribed to the lead rattles in the child's grave: although they may simply have been toys owned by the child in life, their rattling sound could also have been considered helpful in the warding off of evil powers.⁶⁰⁹

Some of the grave goods may be interpreted as toys (e.g. a doll, figurines, gaming pebbles), and if indeed they were, then they may have appeared more frequently in the graves of children. The unfortunate lack of age information for most of the burials in which such items were found prohibits us from exploring child burials much further, although it is worth noting that two of the burials with the highest numbers of provisions belonged to children: **G46.1** contained fourteen artefacts including the figurines of birds and of a pregnant woman that were mentioned above, and **G228.8** contained sixteen globular and bird-shaped unguentaria. While it is in many ways simplistic to correlate the number or monetary value of grave provisions with the social value of the deceased, these two burials at least indicate that the bereaved next of kin - the parents and other family members, one presumes - cared a great deal about the loss of these children.

6.6.3 Burial assemblages: observations

Overall, the burials of the Roman period appear to have been furnished with low numbers of ornaments and grave goods. Most graves contained only one or two artefacts, and the few objects that did end up in the grave - mostly

unguentaria and bronze coins - were of a rather low value, especially compared to what we have seen for the previous centuries (see Figs. 6.16 and 6.17). It is noteworthy that those burials with the highest number of grave goods did not include particularly valuable or unique items, but instead they all contained a multitude of unguentaria.⁶¹⁰ While the deposition of multiple oil flasks does represent a relatively high expense on the funeral (the perfumes accounting for the value, and not the containers themselves), the deposition of riches in the grave and the display of wealth was clearly not a primary concern in the Roman era provision of grave goods. In addition to the lack of variation in the value of burial assemblages, there was a lack in variation among the grave provisions themselves. The artefacts recovered from Roman era are quite generic and there is hardly any distinction among the individual burial assemblages: the overall majority of burials were furnished with an unguentarium, a bronze coin, a lamp, or a combination thereof. Hardly any burials deviate from the norm⁶¹¹ and individualised grave assemblages are exceedingly rare: the few graves with *sistra*, rattles, toys, and figurines for the notable exception. This suggests, then, that grave provisions were not used to differentiate the deceased on the basis of status (i.e. the socio-political or socioeconomic elite vs. the general populace), wealth (rich vs. poor), ethnic or civic identity (i.e. Greek vs. Roman vs. all other options), or gender. Instead, they adhered to a social norm that apparently applied to everyone more or less equally.

6.7 Inscribing identity in Roman Patras

6.7.1 The basic data

Now that we have discussed the tombs, burials, mortuary treatment, and the burial assemblages of the Roman era, let us turn to the final aspect of the mortuary evidence: tombstones and epitaphs. The corpus of Roman epitaphs consists

⁶⁰⁷ I.e. G20.11 and 252.1.

⁶⁰⁸ Walbank (2005, 277) proposes that occurrences of single nails in 2nd c. CE graves of Corinth could have been regarded as a form of protection against the supernatural. Warner Slane (2017, 217) rejects a magical function for the iron nails found in her body of Roman graves of the North cemetery of Corinth. De Jong (2017, 91) sees a magical function as a plausible explanation for the deposition of single nails in six tombs from the military colony at Jebel Khalid in the Roman province of Syria.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. De Jong 2017, 83, who notes that bells, suspected to carry magical properties precisely because of the sound they make, were common grave goods in Roman Syria. It is also worth noting that the Syrian material included several lead amulets that served to protect a person from evil; De Jong suggests that lead - which was the material used for the Patraean rattles - was chosen deliberately, because it carried apotropaic characteristics.

⁶¹⁰ Three or more unguentaria were found in at least twelve of the furnished burials: G20.5, 29.6, 46.1, 98.6, 104.5, 104.11, 104.35, 128.9, 149.16, 174.20, 227.4, and 228.8.

⁶¹¹ Only twenty burials did not contain one or more of these types of artefacts. These are: 3.2, 20.17, 30.1, 51.1, 60.4, 64.47, 67.1, 104.6, 104.7, 117.1, 127.15, 127.19, 131.11, 149.17, 160.1, 162.4, 163.1, 224.2, 227.5, and 248.4.

Fig. 6.16 The number of ornaments per period and shifting preferences in materials through time (N burials/ornaments=12/16 (LCI-EHel); 25/96 (Hel); 13/35 (LHel-ER); 16/26 (R); 11/14 (LR-EChr)).

Fig. 6.17a, b The material of the grave assemblages through time:
a) grave provisions (excl. ornaments), b) grave provisions and ornaments.

Fig. 6.18 The gender of the named individuals on Roman tombstones.

of 147 inscriptions that were carved on marble, limestone, or sandstone slabs and stelai⁶¹², as well as five epitaphs on urns and sarcophagi.⁶¹³ The tombstones of the Roman period consist for the most part of simple marble slabs that were meant to be attached to the walls of tombs and periboloi, but also included stelai that were intended to be set atop individual graves. Sculptural decoration of the stelai was rare, but did occur (see below); evidence for painted decoration is absent. Many of the tombstones and the texts that were written on them have only been partly preserved; others have been recorded in the past but are now lost.

Despite the fact that many of the texts were only fragmentarily preserved, they are at least informative about one aspect, and that is the language in which they were written⁶¹⁴: 106 of the epitaphs were Latin, and 46 were Greek. As can be seen in Figure 5.31 in the previous chapter, the proportion of Greek epitaphs increased over time, and by the 3rd century CE they outnumbered those in Latin. This shift is a strong indication that the dominance of the Latin

language in the funerary realm, which was so pronounced in the first century of the colony's existence, diminished over time.⁶¹⁵ The question is what this pattern reflects. Could the gradual abandonment of Latin be indicative of the disappearance of the Roman community in Patras, or is it the result of a process of assimilation whereby the immigrant community ultimately adopted the local, Greek language; is it both, perhaps, or is it something else entirely? In order to come closer to an answer, we need to have a closer look at the content of the Greek and Latin epitaphs to see what they relate about the ethnicity, civic identity, cultural preferences and personal identities of the deceased themselves, and what they tell us about the community as a whole.

6.7.2 Epitaphs and identity

Gender

Forty-eight epitaphs are too fragmentary to be discussed any further⁶¹⁶; the remaining 104 inscriptions are presented in Table 6.5. These better-preserved epitaphs record the names of 137 individuals⁶¹⁷, 43 of whom were women, and 94 of whom were men (Fig. 6.18). The named individuals include the people in whose memory the tombstone was set up, as well as those who had been responsible for having the tombstone erected. The fact that only about a

⁶¹² See Table 5.5 in the previous chapter for the types, and Table 5.6 for the material of which these stones were made.

⁶¹³ Following the dates proposed by Rizakis (1998), four of these are dated to the Roman period in general (BM14, 37, 61, and 145); 65 date to the 1st-2nd century CE (BM, 2, 8-11, 17, 19-22, 25, 28-29, 31, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42-43, 48, 55, 60, 64, 67, 72, 86, 92, 97, 105, 107-108, 112, 114-115, 119, 126, 129, 130, 132, 139, 146, 154, 157-159, 161-163, 167, 169-171, 174, 176-177, 181, 194, 198-199, 207-208, 211, 213, and Epitaph 219), 15 to the 2nd century CE (BM7, 41, 45, 70, 80, 102, 113, 123, 127-128, 140, 173, 197, 202, and 205), 46 to the 2nd-3rd century CE (BM1, 4, 6, 12-13, 15, 26-27, 30, 34, 39, 44, 54, 56, 58, 63, 71, 74, 78, 84-85, 90-91, 94, 96, 98-99, 101, 110, 116, 122, 124-125, 133, 141-142, 151, 156, 160, 166, 168, 184, 193, 203, 212, and Epitaph 217), and 22 are of 3rd century date (BM23, 32, 53, 66, 100, 120-121, 131, 135-138, 143, 147, 175, 180, 183, 185, 210, Epitaph 214, Epitaph 215, and Epitaph 218). Those of 3rd-4th century date are discussed in the following chapter.

⁶¹⁴ Although some cases are, admittedly, ambiguous.

⁶¹⁵ The same was noted by Rizakis (1998, 54-56) on the basis of all epigraphic documents from Patras, both public and private. In Corinth a similar shift took place under Hadrian (Kent 1966, 18-19).

⁶¹⁶ These are: BM7-10, 20-23, 27, 32-33, 35, 41-44, 48, 53-54, 60, 64, 67, 70, 80, 86, 97, 108, 116, 119, 121, 123, 131-132, 138-139, 143, 146-147, 154, 158-159, 167-170, and 183-185. The fragmentary texts and references to their full publication by A.D. Rizakis can be found in Catalogue D.

⁶¹⁷ The names of at least fourteen individuals were not preserved well enough to use them for gender assignment.

third of both the deceased and the dedicators were female suggests that men were about twice as likely as women to be commemorated on a tombstone, or to set up one. Women are more likely to have been named on tombstones if these mentioned more than one individual. On these, the women were generally identified as wives, mothers, and/or daughters. In a few cases we learn a bit more about the identity of the women than merely their status in relation to their (male) family members: one woman was said to be a native of Pamphylia⁶¹⁸, another was a slave (*verna*)⁶¹⁹, seven were freedwomen⁶²⁰, and two others - one of whom was an 8 year old girl - had been awarded priestly distinctions by the magistrates of the colony.⁶²¹ Even though the latter two inscriptions indicate that there were women - of Roman citizenship! - who could be counted among the local colonial elite, it should be noted that their status was nonetheless primarily dependent on men: the honorary title of priestess had been bestowed upon them by the male ruling elite, most likely in recognition of the status of their fathers and/or husbands. The identity and status of the men that we encounter in the Roman epitaphs are discussed further below.

Age

Recording the age of the deceased was a common feature of Roman epitaphs. Age at death was recorded on 31 tombstones in our corpus, but several of the texts were too damaged to be certain about the deceased's age. Nonetheless, the evidence shows that people of all ages - children, adults, and the elderly - could be commemorated with a tombstone (Fig. 6.19). The youngest person that we encounter is a boy named Caius Clodius Urbanus who died at the age of 2 years and 4 days, while the eldest was a woman named Heredia Attice, who had reached the ripe old age of 62 by the time she passed

Fig. 6.19 The age of the deceased as recorded on the Roman tombstones of Patras (N=25).

away.⁶²² Overall, the ages seem to have been recorded quite precisely, and were not estimated or rounded off.⁶²³ It is noteworthy that for children in particular ages were recorded in detail, mentioning not only the number of years that the child had lived, but also the number of months and/or days. There is only one case in which the age of an adult man was recorded so diligently as well: the tombstone for Titus Statilius Felix, an *eques* who had served as the tribune of the *Cohors XXVI Voluntariorum Civium Romanorum* stationed in Germania superior, records that he had lived for 35 years, 3 months, and 17 days. Before we move on to other epitaphs, it is important to note that despite the fact that the inclusion of age in epitaphs was a Roman epigraphic habit and not a Greek one, it was used in several Greek epitaphs as well⁶²⁴; this attests to a process of cultural transfer that is also observed in other aspects of the local epigraphic record.

⁶¹⁸ Epitaph 218.

⁶¹⁹ BM113.

⁶²⁰ BM39-40, 102, 129, 156, and 193-194. Note that only one of the freedwomen was formerly owned by an individual of a Greek name (the text is also the only one in Greek: BM40), while all others had been in the service of individuals with Roman names. Whether this means that Roman individuals in Patras were more often in the (financial/social) position to own and free slaves is a question of major interest, but not one that can be answered on the basis of the available evidence.

⁶²¹ BM2 and BM29.

⁶²² BM94 and BM125.

⁶²³ Although in the eight cases in which the ages are recorded as 10, 20, 30, 40 or 60, we cannot exclude the possibility that they were rounded off.

⁶²⁴ BM15, 58, 98, 100-101, 120, 124, and 166.

Table 6.5a Inscribed tombstones of the Roman period (N=100; 48 fragmentary inscriptions are excluded).

Burial Marker ID	Date CE	Type Material	Dimensions (cm)	Decorations	Description of decoration	Inscription	Gender of named individuals	Age of the deceased	Comments
BM1	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	16x10x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Sym[---] v(ixit) a[nn(is)---]	?	?	
BM2	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	fragm. a. 88x40x3 fragm. b. 23x19x3	no	-	Ba[----]e Cn(aei) f(iliae) Postumae ux[ori] L(ucii) Senti Vatin[i]ani or[na-] mentis sace[r]do[ta](ibus)] honorata[e---] Appuleia [---]	f, m, f	-	The deceased was granted the honorary title of priestess; her husband - Lucius Senti Vatinianus - is known from an epitaph that he erected for his parents (BM16); Appuleia, the dedicator of this text, belongs to the known colonial family of the <i>Appuleii</i> (cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 52 and BM55).
BM4	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	15.3x8.2x5.8 (fragm.)	no	-	Γα[---] Ιοϋ[---]	m	-	Roman name in the Greek alphabet.
BM6	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	18x9x4.5	yes	a <i>retiaricus</i> of whom only two bare feet, a trident, and the top of the head are preserved	Φύ/σω/ν/τι Κρήσ/κης μνε[ι]/ας	m, m	-	The deceased, Physon, and the dedicator, Kreskes (Crescens), were both gladiators.
BM11	1st-2nd c.	marble stele	34x15.5x7 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]R.SUCC[---] [---]JANUS[---] [---]JENNA[---] [---]VIR.PON[---] [---]ICIL.EX[---] [---]SIB(I)[---]	m	-	Rizakis (1998, no. 265) reconstructs l. 4 as II]vir pon[ti(fex)]; if this is correct, then the deceased held the highest political and religious offices in the colony.
BM12	2nd-3rd c.	limestone plaque	36.5x27.5x5.5 (fragm.)	no	-	L(ucius/o) Billien[---] vi(xit) ann(os) [---] Billien[---vi(xit)] ann(os) [---]	m, m	?, ?	The two deceased are most likely brothers; the <i>nomen</i> Billien(i)us is otherwise unattested in Greece, but is known in the East and from the Italian peninsula.
BM13	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	17x10x3 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]iliu[---] [a]nn(is) LX[---] [---] M[---]	m	60?	
BM14	1st-3rd c.	-	-	no	-	L(ucio) Albio L(ucii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Scapulae vix(it) ann(os) XII	m	12	The deceased was member of the <i>tribus Quirina</i> and may have been (the son of) one of the original settlers of the colony.
BM15	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	28x17x1.8 (fragm.)	no	-	E[---] ΚΟ[---] ἐτῶ[v ---] ἡμ[ερῶν ---] πεπαῖδ[---] μοῦσ[---]	?	?	The deceased, whose name and age were recorded but not preserved, boasts of an education in the arts.

BM17	1st-2nd c.	limestone stele	38.5x36.5x9.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Sex(to) Aequ[ano] Sex(ti) l(iberto) Astio a[ug(ustali)] nemo me lachrimet [nemo]/ pectora plan[gat] anxius hic iaceo q[ui vixi] annis [---] set mihi de[f]uncto levi[t]er pre[cor ossa] quiescant quatinus explevi n[atales] [fat]a dederunt	m	?	The epitaph is an epigram in hexameter. The deceased, Sextus Aequanus Astius, was a freedman who attained the office of <i>augustalis</i> in Patras; it is noteworthy that the daughter of his former owner is known to have served in the imperial cult as well, namely as the priestess of Diana Laphria and Augustus (cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 5).
BM19	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	18x9x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Va[---] v(ivus/a) Aequ[---]	?, ?	-	The deceased and/or dedicator was/were part of the family of the Aequani.
BM25	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	40x79x7 (fragm.)	no	-	V(ivis) C(aio) Pomponio Hilarioni C(aio) Pomponio Philadelpho	m, m	-	The two Caii Pomponii may have been brothers; other <i>Pomponii</i> are known from Patras as well (BM74; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 53).
BM26	2nd-3rd c.	limestone stele	21x24x6 (fragm.)	no	-	[---] [---]ae Erotid[i]	f	-	
BM28	1st-2nd c.	marble stele	24.5x23.5x5 (fragm.)	no	-	[- P]ontio [Da]phno [an]n(or)um XXVI	m	26	
BM29	1st-2nd c.	limestone plaque	61x88x5 (fragm.)	no	-	Numisiae L(ucii) f(iliae) Edasena huic post obit(um) decur(iones) col(oniae) Patr(ensis) ornam(enta) sacerdot(alia) imaginem et statuam decr(everunt) L(ucii) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Homuncio filiae annor(um) octo	f, m	8	The <i>decuriones</i> of the colony posthumously honoured the deceased 8-year old girl with the title of priestess, a painted image, and a statue; her cognomen - Edasena - is likely derived from the ethnic Έδεσσηνή (cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 130); her father, Lucius Numisius Homuncio, was enrolled in the <i>tribus Quirina</i> and may have been one of the original colonists.
BM30	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	15.5x10x3.7 (fragm.)	yes	gladiator's helmet	[Χρυ]σάνπελ[ος] [νι]κῶν Δ[---] [---]ΤΟΜΝ[---] [---]!ΩΧΡ[---]	m	-	Chrysampelos was a gladiator who could boast four victories. For a second gladiator of the same name, see BM85.
BM31	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	17x16x5.5 (fragm.)	no	-	M(arcus/o) Po[---] Dat[---]	m	-	
BM34	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	41x29.5x5 (fragm.)	yes	crudely incised attributes of a gladiator: a dagger, a helmet, and the weapon of a <i>provocator</i>	Καλ[λίν]- ικος [Ιπ]- πάρ[χφ] μνείας χάριν	m, m	-	The figurative representations on the stele allow us to identify Hipparchos as a gladiator.
BM37	1st-3rd c.	-	-	no	-	L(ucio) Numisio Atimeto	m	-	

BM38	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	28.5x23x2 (fragm.)	no	-	Νάρκισσον ΗΦΙΛΗ μνείας χάριν ΗC ΕΒΟΥΛΕ ΤΟ	m	-	Rizakis (1998, no. 143) proposes that the deceased may have been a gladiator.
BM39	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	30x42x3	no	-	Axia L(ucii) l(iberta) Megiste	f	-	Axia Megiste was a freedwoman.
BM40	1st-2nd c.	limestone stele	107x47x15-19	yes	kalathos and folding mirror (?)	Νικόπολις Ἀντιόχου ἀπελευθέρᾳ χαῖρε vac. καὶ σύ	f	-	The deceased was a freedwoman. The inscription is the only example of the Greek word for freed(wo)man in the epigraphic record of Patras, and only one of few in the Peloponnese, although it was common in Central Greece and Asia Minor.
BM45	2nd c.	limestone stele	21x15.5x14 (fragm.)	yes	pediment	[---]cla	f	-	
BM55	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	39x26x3.5	yes	pediment with phiale	Appule- ia Mu- sa	f	-	Other <i>Appuleii</i> are known from Patras as well: cf. BM2 and Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 52.
BM56	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	32.5x12x6.5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]ius Tertius [v]ix(it) an(nos) XXXX	m	40	
BM58	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	60x41x4 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]σία Σε- [κο]υνδίλλα ἐτῶν κα' [---]σιος Εὐπρ<ε>πή- [ς στρ]ατηγός ἐτῶν κγ' ο[ῖ ἀδ]ελφοί	f, m (m, m)	21, 23	The siblings [Kas]sia Sekoundilla and [Kas]sios Euprepes were commemorated by their brothers. [Kas]sios is identified as a <i>strategos</i> ; Rizakis (1998, no. 110) suggests that it refers to him holding the office of the <i>duumvir</i> (but note [Kas]sios' young age).
BM61	1st-3rd c.	sandstone stele	135x61x16.5	yes	arched niche	Σάλβιος Παν- κράτους ὁ καὶ Πομπήιος χαῖρε	m	-	
BM63	2nd-3rd c.	limestone stele	46x38x6	no	-	P(ublius) Folius Potitus Thraex	m	-	The deceased was a gladiator (<i>thraex</i>); his name identifies him a free Roman citizen.
BM66	3rd c.	marble stele	46x47x4.3	no	-	Κ(όιντος) Αἰλ(ιος) Ζώσιμος Κίλιξ {ἐνθά} {δε κεῖται Κίλιξ} Ῥαβεννή- σιος ἐνθάδε κε<ῖ>ται εἰσερχομένων δε- ξιᾶς χειρὸς εἰ δέ τις τολμήσιν ἐτε{τε}- ρόν τινα θεῖναι δώ- σει τῷ ταμείῳ * ἀφ'	m	-	The deceased, Kointos Ailios (Quintus Aelius) Zosimos, originated in Cilicia and was a citizen of Ravenna. His tombstone signifies the place where he is buried and threatens a steep fine (1500 denarii) on anyone who dares to disturb his grave.
BM71	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	14.5x35x4 (fragm.)	yes	crudely incised gladiator's helmet	[---] πυγμῶν κβ'	m	-	The deceased was a gladiator who could boast 22 battles (i.e. victories).

BM72	1st-2nd c.	limestone pedimental stele	48x24.6x3.7	yes	pediment with phiale	Festus	m	-	
BM74	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	41.5x53x6	no	-	v(ivus) Q(uintus) Pompo- nius Lupus v(ivus) Q(uintus) Pomponi- us Q(uinti) f(ilius) Thallio f(ilius) qui et Pamphilus	m, m, m	-	The epitaph commemorates a father and his two sons (?). Other <i>Pomponii</i> are known from Patras as well (BM25; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 53).
BM78	2nd-3rd c.	marble pedimental stele with inset panel	53x30.5x3	yes	a gladiator and a winged boy who offers him a palm branch and a wreath; 11 wreaths represent victories won	Τρυφερὸς πρ(ωτόπαλος) πυ(γμῶν)ια Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ μνείας χάριν	m, m	-	The fact that the gladiator Trypheros was commemorated by his son Alexandros shows that gladiators could have families.
BM84	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	34.5x25x3 (fragm.)	yes	crudely incised gladiator in combative pose, with 5 victory wreaths and a palm branch	μή με παρατροχά[σας ---] παρέλθης ἀλλ' ἴδε[---] ΕΠΙΤΥΝ[---]ΝΤΟ[---] ΜΑΦΟΝΙΟΥ ἐ[νθ]άδε κ[εῖμαι] ΑΓ[---] τιοῖς αἰεὶ τοῖς ΤΗ[---]ΟΜΟ[---] ὅτι νέος τέθνηκα σὺ δὲ [---] καὶ μάλα χαίρων ἐλθοῖς [---] τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας [---]	m	-	The figurative representation makes it clear that this funerary epigram commemorates a gladiator. The text addresses the passers-by and informs them that the deceased, Epitun[chanos/on], died young.
BM85	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	32x38x1.5 (fragm.)	yes	two crudely incised gladiators, both in combative poses; 1 victory wreath	Χρυσάμπελος	m	-	Chrysampelos was a gladiator. For a second gladiator of the same name, see BM30.
BM90	2nd-3rd c.	limestone stele	34x30x4.5 (fragm.)	yes	<i>retiarius</i> with one palm branch	Χρυσὸς καὶ Χρυσόπτερος Πασι- νίκῳ. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν. ξρρωσο, παροδῖτα.	m, m, m	-	The tombstone for Pasinikos, a <i>retiarius</i> , was erected by Chrysos and Chrysopteros, two of his fellow-gladiators.
BM91	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	16x30x2.5 (fragm.)	yes	crudely incised gladiator of whom only the feet and the shins are preserved	[---] ΜΙ παρ- οδῖτα [---] [---] ων ἐκ τῶν ιδίων	m	-	This poorly preserved epitaph commemorates a gladiator.
BM92	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	11x14.5x5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]jentiu[s---] [---]ΤΙ Μ[---]	m	-	
BM94	2nd-3rd c.	limestone plaque	27x17.5x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	C(aius) Clodius Urbanus a(nnorum) II d(ierum) XXXX	m	2 y, 40 d	
BM96	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	17x16x4.5 (fragm.)	no	-	V(ivus) D(ecimus) Liv[---] Naia[---] et sui[s---] [---]Α[---]	m	-	

BM98	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	26x28x2	yes	palm branch	Μέμφις Πιστίδος καὶ Ἐρωτος θυγ<άτ>ηρ ἐζήσσε ἔτη ζ' μ(ῆνας) ΙΙΙΙ χαῖρε	f, f, m	7 y, 4 m	Memphis, the daughter of Pistis and Eros, died when she was only 7 years and 4 months old. Her parents commemorated her with this tombstone.
BM99	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	14x16.5x3.5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---] Ιου[---]	?	-	Roman name in the Greek alphabet.
BM100	3rd c.	marble plaque	30.5x29.5x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Θρέπτος ἐτῶν δ' Δόξα ἐτ(ῶν) νγ'	m, f	4, 53	This tombstone (found <i>in situ</i>) may commemorate two slaves.
BM101	2nd-3rd c.	marble pillar stele	fragm. a. 17.5x12.5x3.5 fragm. b. 38x15x3.5	yes	palm branches on either side of the inscription	Ἰππ[όλ]υτος [---]N <i>vac.</i> [---]H <i>vac.</i>	m	?	Rizakis tentatively identifies Hippolytos as a gladiator.
BM102	2nd c.	limestone stele	107x48x10	yes	pediment with phiale	M(arco) Attio Fausto Forensi et Attiae Tertiae libertae et uxori eius Clemens frater	m, f, m	-	The tombstone commemorates one Marcus Attius Faustus of the forum/from Forum, and his freedwoman and wife Attia Tertia. <i>Forensi</i> may refer to Marcus' profession (e.g. merchant) or his provenance. The monument was set up by his brother.
BM105	1st-2nd c.	marble pedimental stele	90x45x21.5	no	-	L(ucius) Caecilius	m	-	
BM107	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	fragm. a. 18.5x21x3.5 fragm. b. 20x18x3.5	no	-	Clau[---] T(iti) f(iliu/o) Qu[irina] sanct[---] [a]gono[th---] [-]AG F[---]	m	-	Although the epitaph is poorly preserved, it is clear that it commemorates a man who had held the office of the <i>agonothete</i> .
BM110	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	73x28x4 (fragm.)	no	-	Q(uintus) Aetrius Tertius v(ixit) an(nos) XXX	m	30	
BM112	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	40x26x3 (fragm.)	no	-	M(arcus/o) Po[---]	m	-	
BM113	2nd c.	marble plaque	54x29x10 (fragm.)	yes	pediment with phiale	[---Fo]rtunat(us/a) [---]Spediae [Help]idis vern(ae) [vix]it ann(os) [---]	?, f	?	The tombstone commemorates a home born slave (<i>verna</i>) named Spedia Helpis.
BM114	1st-2nd c.	marble stele	24x20x6.5 (fragm.)	no	-	M(arcus/o) A[---] Pri[---]	m	-	
BM115	1st-2nd c.	limestone plaque	44.5x24x10.5	no	-	Marcia An- tiochis Al- liatus Pro- bus matri	f, m	-	This tombstone was erected by Alliatius Probus in commemoration of his mother Marcia Antiochis.

BM120	3rd c.	marble stele	68x57x9 (fragm.)	no	-	[---] Δομίτιος [O]ύρβανδός [έ]τῶν η'	m	8	Roman name in the Greek alphabet. For other <i>Domitii</i> in Patras, see BM47 and 211.
BM122	2nd-3rd c.	marble pillar stele	28.2x29.2x7.2 (fragm.)	no	-	[----] Feli- [c]ula vix<i>t annos XXX	f	30	
BM124	161-212	marble plaque	54x22.5x4	no	-	Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις) Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρήλιος Σέσσωρ γένει Καισαρεὺς ἀπὸ Μαυρητανίας χρῶματι Κορίν- θιος κέϊται ἐν Πά- τραις ζήσας ἔτεσιν ΙΗ καὶ εὐψύχει Σέσσωρ. οὐδεὶς ἀθά- νατος	m	18	This well-known epitaph commemorates an 18 year-old boy named Markos Aurelios Sessor. He is identified as a dark-skinned native of Caesarea in Mauretania. Rizakis (1990) proposes that athletics, studies, and trade are possible reasons for his presence in Patras.
BM125	2nd-3rd c.	limestone stele	95x40-45x15 (fragm.)	no	-	Heredia Attice vi- xit ann(os) LXII	f	62	
BM126	1st-2nd c.	limestone stele	50x67x26 (fragm.)	yes	<i>tabula ansata</i>	Sal(vius/o) A[---] vac. M[---] Sal(vius/o) A[---]	m, m	-	The tombstone commemorates two people of the same family.
BM127	2nd c.	marble plaque	32x37x9 (fragm.)	no	-	Antae Aequanae lib(erto)	m	-	The freedman Antas was formerly owned by a female member of the <i>Aequani</i> -family (herself perhaps a freedwoman(?); cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 118).
BM128	2nd c.	limestone pillar stele	50x37x12 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]t[i]u[s] Amemptu[s] [---]eia uxor fecit	m, f	-	The epitaph for [---]ius Amemptus was set up by his wife.
BM129	1st-2nd c.	limestone plaque	41x44.5x7.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Iunia D(ecimi) lib(erta) Alciae	f	-	The deceased was a freedwoman.
BM130	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque?	17x13.5x2.8 (fragm.)	no	-	C(aius) Em[---] / [---]C[---]	m	-	
BM133	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	23x27x2 (fragm.)	no	-	[---] / [vix(it) an]n(os) XII / [m]en(sibus) X	?	12 y, 10 m	
BM135	3rd c.	limestone pillar stele	27x34x3 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]ΝΕΗΔΕΥΦΡΗ[---] [---]ς Συρίας Ἐπίτ[---] [---]ΠΟΘΗΜΟCΥ[---] [---] θεράπων [---] [---]ει θεράπο[---] [---]ΓΜΑÇΙ[---]	m	-	Although this funerary epigram is poorly preserved, the text indicates that the deceased has served as the procurator of the Roman province of Syria.
BM136	3rd c.	marble stele	22x16x5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]VS	m	-	
BM137	3rd c.	marble plaque	26x18.5x3 (fragm.)	no	-	a. [---]s Lupus / [sibi] et suis b. [---] Ε]ύοδία ἐτῶν ι' / [μ]ηνῶν η'	m f	- 10 y, 8m	The Greek text post-dates the Latin text; the relation between the individuals is unclear.

BM140	2nd c.	limestone plaque	34x48x14	no	-	Ti(berio) Claudio Satyro vilico XX heredit(atium) ornament(is) august(alibus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) honorato Marcia Secunda uxor	m, f	-	This epitaph commemorates Tiberius Claudius Satyrus, who served as a collector of inheritance taxes and received the honorary title of <i>augustalis</i> by decurion's decree. The stone was set up by his wife Marcia Secunda.
BM141	2nd-3rd c.	limestone stele	70x36x17	yes	pediment with akrotiria	Sex(to) Mallio Apto vix(it) an(nos) X Hyla fec(it)	m, m	10	
BM142	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	54x45x4 (fragm.)	no	-	Mamilia Trophime vix(it) an(nos) XXX	f	30	
BM145	1st-3rd c.	marble plaque	-	no	-	Priscus Silivius	m	-	
BM151	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	26x37x5.5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]μενος [--ά]γδρου έαυτω [καὶ (nomen) τη] συμβίω [---]	m, f	-	Although the epitaph is poorly preserved, it is clear that it commemorated a husband and wife.
BM156	2nd-3rd c.	marble pedimental stele	40x30x18	no	-	Betutia T(iti) l(iberta) Philete	f	-	The deceased - Betutia Philete - was a freedwoman.
BM157	1st-2nd c.	marble pillar stele	28.5x28.2x4.5 (fragm.)	no	-	L(ucio) Durcatio L(ucii) lib(erto) Cisso	m	-	The deceased - Lucius Durcatus Cissus - was a freedman; one Lucius Durcatus Eros, known from another epitaph, may be related (BM206).
BM160	2nd-3rd c.	marble stele	33x28x4 (fragm.)	no	-	Μαρκία Καλ- λινόρφω μνείας χά- ριν έκ τών αύ- του	f, m	-	Rizakis (1998, no. 170) identifies the deceased as a gladiator on the basis of his name - Kallimorphos. He was commemorated by a woman, Marcia, who was likely his partner or wife.
BM161	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	12x15x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	[---] / [---a]edili / [---]	m	-	All that is preserved is a reference to the office of the <i>aedile</i> .
BM162	1st-2nd c.	marble altar	-	no	-	L(ucius) Curtius Onesiphorus Aepicia Nice	m, f	-	The tombstone likely commemorates a husband and wife.
BM163	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	30x30x3	no	-	D(iis) M(anibus) Aelio Iucundo filio parentes	m (m, f)		The tombstone was erected in honour of one Aelius Iucundus by his parents.
BM166	2nd-3rd c.	marble plaque	-	no	-	[---] [--έτων] i' μη(νων) ζ' χαίρε	?	10 y, 7 m	The deceased was a child whose name and gender are unknown. The epitaph is of interest, because it combines Greek (χαίρε) and Roman (age) epigraphic practices.
BM171	1st-2nd c.	limestone stele	17x25x12 (fragm.)	yes	column with Ionic capital	[---]culeia	f	-	

BM173	2nd c.	marble plaque	22.5x26.5x2 (fragm.)	no	-	P(ublius) Aemilius Primionis l(ibertus) Primigenius vix(it) an(nos) XXXI Ephebio frat(er)	m, m	31	The deceased was a freedman; the tombstone was set up by his brother. The name Aemilius is also attested in BM69 and BM213.
BM174	1st-2nd c.	limestone plaque	46x29x6	no	-	Q(uinto) Manlio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Crescenti	m	-	The deceased was enrolled in the <i>tribus Quirina</i> .
BM175	3rd c.	marble pillar stele	23x28x2.5 (fragm.)	no	-	Καφατί- α Παρδα- λῶ .[---] [---]	f, m	-	
BM176	1st-2nd c.	-	-	no	-	T(itus) Turpili(us) aug(ur) sibi et Manli(us) T(iti) f(ilius) Aeni(us) Secundus T(iti) f(ilius), Agele f(ilia) Vallia p(ecunia) s(ua) et iu(ssu) Turpiliae Nice f(iliae) lib(ertis) libertab(us) suis poster(isque) et Turpiliae Nymphae et libertis posteris h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equitur)	m, m, f, f, f	-	The monument commemorates several Turpili, their freedmen, and their descendants.
BM177	1st-2nd c.	limestone stele	fragm. a. 18x38x8 fragm. b. 82.5x42x5.5	no	-	col. 1. [C(aio) Annusidio C(aii)(?) f(ilio)] Q(uir(ina) Rufo dec(urioni) col(oniae)] [Pa]tr(ensis), aed(ili), Ilv(ir(o)] [trib(un)o]] milit(um) exe[---] [trib(un)o coh(ortis)][---] c(iv)ium Rom(anorum) [---] ho(n)orato d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [---]g patri [---]e)t sororib(us) col. 2. [---] [C(aio) Annusidi]o C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo Vireiano C(aio) Annusidio C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo Marcelliano Ilvir(alibus) et agonothet(iciis) ornam(entis) honor(at)is d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) filis	m, (f, f) m, m	-	The monument commemorates several Annusidii. The men of the family served the colony and the Roman empire in various offices (<i>decurion</i> , <i>aedilis</i> , <i>duumvir</i> , military tribune, and <i>agonothete</i>). It is noteworthy that no Annusidii are known from any other inscriptions from the Roman Empire.
BM180	3rd c.	marble stele	22x32.5x3 (fragm.)	no	-	[---]ANTO[---] [.] μνημεία κακά [.]ος ποιήσει, ἔσται ὑπεύθυνος τῶν βωρυχίου	?	-	Although this epitaph does not inform us about the identity of the deceased, it is of interest because it contains a warning against he who dares to disturb the grave.
BM181	1st-2nd c.	marble plaque	16x15x7 (fragm.)	no	-	[D(iis) M(anibus)] L(ucii) Num(isii) ---] terni m(il(itis) leg(ionis) ---] (centuria) Grani an(norum) ---]	m	?	The deceased - Lucius Numisius [---]ternus - was a soldier in the Roman army. The date of the monument (l. 1st-2nd c. CE) suggests that he was not one of the original colonists in Patras.

BM193	2nd-3rd c.	limestone plaque	36x25.5x2	no	-	Oppia L(ucii) lib(erta) Synpherusa	f	-	The deceased was a freedwoman.
BM194	1st-2nd c.	-	-	-	-	Tadia Q(uinti) li[b](erta) Myrine N[---] Tadiani[---]	f, ?	-	The deceased was a freedwoman.
BM197	2nd c.	-	-	-	-	T(itus) Statilius T(iti) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Felix equo publico trib(unus) c(o)ho(rtis) XXVI Voluntariorum civium Romanorum vixit annis XXXV mens(ibus) III dieb(us) XVII parentes infelixissimi	m (m, f)	35 y, 3 m, 17 d	The tombstone commemorates Titus Statilius Felix of the <i>tribus Palatina</i> , who was made an <i>equus</i> and served as the tribune of the 26th military cohort of volunteers that was stationed in <i>Germania superior</i> .
BM198	1st-2nd c.	pedimental stele	-	-	-	Sex(to) Appulo L(ucii) f(ilio) Firmo	m	-	
BM199	1st-2nd c.	-	-	-	-	C(aio) Aurelio C(aii) f(ilio) Basso annor(um) X	m	10	
BM202	2nd c.	-	-	-	-	L(ucius) Romani- us L(ucii) f(ilius) Ani(ensis) Iustus Ver- cel(lis) mil(es) co- [h]or(tis) X prae(toriae) [c(enturia)] Crispini	m, m	-	The deceased - Lucius Romanus Iustus - was a native of Vercellae, member of the <i>tribus Aniensis</i> , and soldier in the praetorian guard. The text indicates that he died in Patras while on duty (i.e. whilst accompanying an emperor; cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 159).
BM203	2nd-3rd c.	-	-	-	-	V(ivus) Vir(eius) Moschus Didiae Urbanae et Primae matri Urbanae	m, f, f	-	This tombstone was erected by Vireius Moschus for his wife and his mother-in-law.
BM205	2nd c.	cippus	-	-	-	M(arco) Vibullio M(arci) f(ilio) [---] v[ix(it)] ann(os) X[---] M(arcus) Vibullius Ven(erianus? et) Cornelia Gemella post obitum	m, m, f	10?	Marcus Vibullius Ven[erianus] and Cornelia Gemella erected this tombstone in commemoration of their son. The Vibullii are a well-known gens in Roman Greece (cf. Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 131).
BM207	1st-2nd c.	-	-	-	-	L(ucio) Marcio RVH SHA[----]PAR	m	-	
BM208	1st-2nd c.	-	-	-	-	T(ito) Apponio Quartioni	m	-	
BM210	200-225	-	-	-	-	V(ivis) T(ito) Su<lp>i<c>io [-] f(ilio) Quir(ina) Felici August[ali et] Liviae Foebae uxor(i) et [T(ito)] Su[lp]icio T(iti) [f(ilio)] Quir(ina) Floron ornamentis Ilviral(ibus) honor(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	m, f, m	-	This tombstone commemorates Titus Sulpicius Felix, his wife Livia Foeba, and their son Titus Sulpicius Floron. The father had served as an <i>augustalis</i> , and the son had received the honorary title of <i>duumvir</i> .
BM211	1st-2nd c.	marble altar	-	-	-	Δομτίου Φαίδρου τὴν σὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν, Φαῖδρε, καλοῦ- ντες ἐν βιοτῆς μέτ- ροις οὐποτε παυσόμεθα	m	-	

BM212	2nd-3rd c.	-	-	-	-	[---] [vix]it an(nos) XX [---]ia Secunda [m]ater	?, f	20	[---]ia Secunda set up this monument for her child, who died at the age of 20.
BM213	1st-2nd c.	-	-	-	-	P(ublius) Aemilius Urbanus annor(um) XXXV mater et soror fecerunt Aemilia Erotis et Aemilia Secunda	m, f, f	35	Publius Aemilius Urbanus, who died aged 35, was commemorated by his mother Aemilia Erotis and his sister Aemilia Secunda. The Aemilii are also known from other inscriptions: cf. BM69 and 173.

Table 6.5b Inscribed urns and sarcophagi of the Roman period (N=5).

Epitaph ID	Date CE	Type	Decorations Comments	Inscription	Gender of named individuals	Age of the deceased	Comments
Ep. 214	3rd c.	marble urn (= G64.56)	Fragmentary hexagonal urn lid with a pediment with a sculpted floral pattern. The inscription is written on the architrave.	[---]ς Ἀπολλωνίου	?	-	
Ep. 215	3rd c.	sarcophagus (= G103.1)	Fragmentary sarcophagus cover with roof tiles in the form of scales.	[---]ΜΩΚΕΙΑ[---]	?	-	
Ep. 217	2nd-3rd c.	marble sarcophagus (=G260.2)	The long side the sarcophagus is decorated with garlands of leaves and fruits, held in the middle by a flying Eros and by <i>boukephalai</i> on the corners. Above the garlands are the heads of two lions. The inscription is written on the plinth, below the decorations.	Σερβίλιος Φιλέρωσ κατεσκεύασα{ν} αὐτῶ καὶ τῇ συνβίῳ μου Βουλομνία Συνφ[ερ]ούση	m, f	-	The sarcophagus was 'built' by Servilios Phileros and was intended to hold the remains of himself and his wife Voulomnia Synpherosa.
Ep. 218	3rd c.	marble sarcophagus (=G260.3)	Fragmentary sarcophagus cover with roof tiles in the form of scales.	Σπόνδη ἐπώλησα [--]Ισινδεῖ τῆς Παμφυλ[ι]α[ς] [--δώσει τῶ ταμείῳ *] βφ' καὶ ΤQ . . Λ[---]	f, f	-	The inscription records the sale of the sarcophagus by a woman named Sponde to Isindea, a woman native to Pamphylia.
Ep. 219	1st-2nd c.	marble sarcophagus	Fragmentary marble sarcophagus. Now lost.	AE... PR[---]	?	-	

Names

If we look at the names that are recorded on the tombstones of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, we also see a mixture of Greek and Roman features. Several individuals bear a mixture of Roman and Greek names or cognomina, write their Roman name in the Greek alphabet, or write their Greek name in the Latin alphabet. Examples include Lucius Numisius Atimetus (ἀτίμητος being the Greek word for invaluable or priceless), Δομίτιος [Ο]ύρβανός (Roman name and cognomen, written in the Greek alphabet), Lucius Curtius Onesiphorus (Roman name with Greek cognomen in the Latin alphabet; ὀνησιφόρος being the Greek word for bringer of advantage, beneficial), Aepicia Nice (Nice instead of Νίκη), Σερβίλιος Φιλέρως (Servilius Full-of-love, with a Roman name and a Greek cognomen), and his wife Βουλομνία Συνφ[ερ]ούση (with a Roman name and Greek cognomen as well).⁶²⁵

Men: their roles and their status

So far, we have seen that the Roman epitaphs inform us about the age and gender of the deceased, about the language that they used, and about the mixing of Greek and Roman cultural habits. We briefly touched upon the identities and social roles of the deceased women, but - as was true for the Early Roman epitaphs as well - the inscriptions are more informative about the identity of men and the social roles that were performed by them. The men in the epitaphs are portrayed as husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, but in addition to their family-identity, they often state their ethnic or civic identity as well.

Roman citizenship was of course implied by the use of the *tria nomina*, but several epitaphs were more explicit about the ethnicity or civic status of the deceased and record the Roman *tribus* in which the deceased was enrolled⁶²⁶, or the name of the city of which they were a citizen⁶²⁷; the tombstone of one man - 18 year old Markos Aurelios Sessor from Caesarea in Mauretania⁶²⁸ - states that the deceased had been dark-skinned. There were also a number of epitaphs that included references to the social status of the

deceased, the offices or magistracies held, or the occupation that they had carried out. One boy was probably a slave⁶²⁹, four individuals were freedmen, while another person (a child?) seems to boast of an 'education in the Muses'.⁶³⁰ As was true for the early colonial period, the higher colonial offices seem to have been in the hands of Romans, often members of the same families. One Caius Annusidius Rufus was [decurion] of the colony, had served as an aedile, a duumvir, a military tribune, and as the tribune of a Roman cohort, while his two sons were awarded the distinctions of duumvir and agonothete by decree of the decurions. Titus Sulpicius Felix was an augustalis, while his son Titus Sulpicius Floron was awarded the distinctions of duumvir. Titus Claudius Satyrus, a collector of inheritance taxes, was awarded the distinctions of an augustalis. And finally, two men whose names were not preserved but whose epitaphs were in Latin had held the office of aedile and those of [aedile], duumvir, and pontifex respectively.⁶³¹

One epitaph of the 2nd-3rd century CE, which commemorates 21 year old [Kas]sia Sekoundilla and her 23 year old brother [Kas]sios Euprepes, is of particular interest, for it is another testament to the convergence of Greek and Roman culture: although the text is written in Greek, the siblings have Roman and Greek nomina and cognomina, the epitaph adheres to the Roman

⁶²⁹ BM100. The name Θρέπτος literally translates as 'slave bred in the house', but since it is also used for adopted foundlings we cannot be absolutely sure of Threptos' status. Nonetheless, the fact that the epitaph commemorates Threptos, a 4 year old boy, and Doxa, a 53 year old woman, both presumably of servile status. This tombstone was found *in situ*, and The tombstone was associated with G207.1, a brick-built cist grave. Their grave, which was reported to have contained grave goods (unspecified), was situated in a funerary peribolos (T207.A or B) that surrounded multiple simple built cists and tile graves. It would be of great interest to know who joined Threptos and Doxa in this peribolos, whether the burial plot was reserved for slaves alone, or whether it belonged to a household (a family with their slaves), and if so, what the cultural and social identity of this family was. Unfortunately, however, the lack of information about the peribolos itself as well as the graves, grave goods and human remains found inside it, inhibits further study of the composition of the group of people buried here.

⁶³⁰ BM17 (i.e. Sextus Aequanus Astius, freedman of Sextus Aequanus, who later became an augustalis), 127 (i.e. Antas, freedman of a woman named Aequana, who, according to Rizakis (1998, no. 118) may herself have been a freedwoman of the Aequani-family), 157, and 173; BM15 (the fact that traces of an age in years and days are preserved may be indicative of the deceased's youth).

⁶³¹ BM177, 144, 140, 115, and 11; cf. BM107, which commemorates an agonothete, and BM176, which may refer to an augur.

⁶²⁵ BM37, 120, 162, and Epitaph 217.

⁶²⁶ BM14, 107, 174, 177, and 210 (Quirina); BM197 (Palatina); BM202 (Aniensis).

⁶²⁷ BM66 (Ravenna); BM124 (Caesarea in Mauretania); BM202 (Vercellae).

⁶²⁸ BM124.

Fig. 6.20 The tombstone of a gladiator who fought 22 battles (2nd-3rd c. CE - BM71). Archaeological Museum of Patras. Inv. No. 802. Source: Rizakis *Achaïe II*, Planche XXXIV, no. 172.

Fig. 6.21 Tombstone of the gladiator Trypheros, erected by his son Alexandros (2nd-3rd c. CE - BM78). Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. No. 191. Source: Rizakis *Achaïe II*, Planche XXXII, no. 163.

habit of including age and office, and it refers to [Kas]sios' status as a duumvir by using the Greek version of the word: στρατηγός.⁶³²

The epitaphs further commemorate a soldier of the Roman army, a soldier in the Praetorian Guard who seems to have died in Patras while he

was on duty, and the military tribune of *Cohors XXVI* whom we already encountered above.⁶³³ In contrast to the early colonial period, when men who boasted of a career in the Roman army had formed a majority among those who were commemorated in stone, military men make up only a small percentage of the commemorated people of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. The contrast is not entirely surprising: since Patras was not a military stronghold, it is likely that there was not a marked presence of soldiers in the area after the original veteran-colonists had died.

A new social group that became visible in the cemeteries of the period was that of the gladiators. Thirteen tombstones commemorate men of the arena, and several of these bore representations of the deceased gladiators themselves, of gladiatorial apparel, of victory wreaths, and/or of palm branches.⁶³⁴

The fact that many of gladiator-stelai bore imagery is noteworthy, since sculpted, figurative elaboration of tombstones was extremely rare in Roman Patras. While there were some with decorative mouldings or architectural elements such as pediments or columns, there is only one stele with figurative representations - that of the freedwoman Nikopolis, which depicts a kalathos and a folding mirror⁶³⁵ - that does not belong to a gladiator.

The Patraean gladiator-stelai are all quite small, but do show a wide range of elaboration and quality of execution. On the lower end of the spectrum with regards to quality we find the tombstone for a gladiator who fought twenty-two battles (Fig. 6.20); its imagery consists of nothing more than a crudely incised simplistic depiction of a *secutor's* helmet.⁶³⁶

The finest example is the pedimental stele for a gladiator of the name Trypheros (Fig. 6.21).⁶³⁷ The stone depicts Trypheros in full gladiatorial apparel; eleven wreaths to his left testify to his victories. His son Alexandros, whose name we learn from the inscription below the relief,

⁶³³ BM181, 202, and 197.

⁶³⁴ BM6, 30, 34, 38, 63, 71, 78, 84-85, 90-91, 101, and 160. Ten of these carry imagery, only BM38, 63 and 101 do not. It should be noted that BM101 and 160 are only tentatively identified as the tombstones of gladiators. Cf. Papapostolou 1989; Rizakis 1984; 1990b.

⁶³⁵ BM40; Contra Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 151: 'au-dessous, champs de forme absidioïdale avec un panier (?), en bas, côtoyé à sa droite par deux couronnes funéraires.'

⁶³⁶ BM71.

⁶³⁷ BM78.

⁶³² BM58; cf. BM135, which seems to commemorate - in Greek - the procurator of the Roman province of Syria.

stands to his right and is depicted in the guise of a winged Eros. The boy hands Trypheros a palm branch, and holds a wreath in his left hand. The fact that this tombstone was erected by a son in commemoration of his father shows that gladiators could have families; the tombstone for Kallimorphos, which was erected by a woman named Markia who was probably his partner, testifies to this as well.⁶³⁸

All but one of the gladiator-stelai had a Greek inscription that referred to the gladiators by a single Greek (or Hellenized Roman) stage name: Physon, Kreskes, Trypheros, Pasinikos, Kallinikos, Narkissos, Kallimorphos, Hipparchos, Hippolytos, Chrysos, Chrysopteros, and two Chrysampeloi. It is difficult to assess the social status of the gladiators based on their names alone, but the use of the single name and evidence about gladiators in the Roman world suggest that most of them must have been slaves. Nonetheless, the fact that Trypheros had a child and Kallimorphos had a partner suggests that some of the men at least had the freedom to enjoy a love- or family life.⁶³⁹

One of the Patraean gladiators, the only one whose tombstone was written in Latin, was certainly a free man. Publius Folius Potitus, as we can see from his name, was a free Roman citizen, who apparently chose to pursue a career as a *thraex*. It is generally assumed that men who entered gladiatorial life out of their own will did so either due to financial hardships, or because they were in pursuit of fame. We will never know what drove Publius Folius Potitus to the arena and whether he was famous or not, but his tombstone is an important reminder that not all Roman citizens in Patras enjoyed a life of privilege and high social status.

One of the gladiator-stelai was found *in situ*.⁶⁴⁰ It was found in the North Cemetery and was associated with a large, brick-built cist with a vaulted roof and a reusable entrance in the short side of the grave. The grave was built by the side of the main road, in front of a row of early colonial

tombs (see Fig. 5.6 in the previous chapter).⁶⁴¹ It contained the skeletal remains of four individuals - the last person was unceremoniously placed in the grave with the lower legs sticking out of the entrance - and was furnished with a prochous and an unguentarium. Although the grave contained four persons, the tombstone commemorated only one: a gladiator named Pasinikos. The tombstone was set up in his honour by Chrysos and Chrysopteros, who, judging from their names, were Pasinikos' fellow-gladiators. Three additional gladiator stelai were discovered at this site as well (albeit *ex situ*), and a second brick-built cist, built right beside the one just discussed, contained the remains of five individuals and was furnished with two bronze coins and a lamp with a gladiatorial scene.⁶⁴² Considering the spatial proximity of the two graves, the distinct similarities in their design and the mortuary practices used, the iconography of the lamp in the second grave, and the presence of four gladiator-stelai on this plot has led Papapostolou, under whose direction the site was excavated, to convincingly argue that both graves should be seen as *polyandria* for gladiators who performed (and presumably died) in the stadium-theatre of Patras.⁶⁴³

6.7.3 Epitaphs and society: observations

To conclude, the epitaphs of the Roman period offer a wealth of information about the society of Patras and its development over the course of the Roman era. The tombstones show that the highest colonial political and religious offices were still held by men and women of Roman civic identity, and that kinship and descent mattered in the attainment of these elite roles. The texts indicate that Roman military men were no longer the prime social group among those

⁶³⁸ BM160.

⁶³⁹ Cf. Rizakis 1984, 541. Note that Rizakis also sees Kallinikos as a free man, because he restores the name Hipparchos as a patronymic. However, I would prefer to see Kallinikos as the dedicator of the stele, and Hipparchos as the one commemorated.

⁶⁴⁰ BM90; G146.18.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Papapostolou 1989, 382-385; Rizakis 1984 and 1990; Flämig 2007, nos. 146-147. It is likely that the early colonial funerary monuments were no longer in use and may have dilapidated by the time the cist grave was built in front of it, but the available archaeological data are too limited to be certain of this.

⁶⁴² BM84-85, and 91; G146.17.

⁶⁴³ Papapostolou 1989: *Polyandria Sud* (G146.17) and *Polyandria Nord* (G146.18). Cf. Rizakis 1984; Rizakis 1990. The skeletal remains from a polyandria of gladiators from Ephesos have been subjected to intensive osteological research and yielded fascinating insights about the identity of the gladiators (generally males between 20-30 years of age), their diet, training, injuries and healthcare, and about the violent ways in which they died (Kanz and Großschmidt 2009).

who were commemorated in stone, and that the stating of membership of the *tribus Quirina* became less common than it was in the early colonial period. These interrelated patterns indicate that while membership of the Roman *tribus* and thus Roman civic identity were a crucial identity marker for the veteran colonists since it designated them as a full citizen of the colony, it became less valuable for later generations, presumably because their civic status had become self-evident. The tombstones also show that the community consisted of free citizens, freedmen and -women, and slaves, of locals and foreigners, and people of Greek and of Roman ethnicity, all of whom could clearly be deemed worthy of commemoration in stone. The presence of so many gladiators in the cemetery, several of whom were buried at a prominent location in the North Cemetery, is a testament to the popularity of blood sports in the community of the time.

The epitaphs further indicate that the members of the local elite not only took up Roman offices, but also got involved in cultural events with Greek roots, notably festivals, given the fact that several individuals were commemorated as *agonothetes*.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, as time progressed, the Patraean elites seem to have adopted a mixture of Roman and Greek names, and eventually they adopted the Greek language as well. This process of cultural change was also witnessed among people of the lower classes: while Roman names and the Latin language far outnumbered Greek names and texts in the 1st and 2nd century CE, they had lost their primacy by the 3rd century CE. While it is tempting to see these developments as progressive Hellenization or regressive Romanization, the process of cultural change was in fact much more nuanced. It was not simply a matter of replacement, but one of mutual adoption and adaptation. This process of cultural transfer was evident not only from the mixing of Roman and Greek names and the disappearance of the one to one relationship between the name of the individual (Roman or Greek) and the language they used for their epitaph, but also from the intermingling of epi-

graphic habits. The epigraphic record of Roman Patras, thus, suggests that while the community may have consisted of two culturally distinct groups in early colonial times, these two groups had become a commingled whole over the course of the Roman era through regular interactions in day to day life.

6.8 Cemetery and society in Roman Patras

Let us now take a step back and return to the questions with which we started this chapter. The contextual analysis of the mortuary record of the 1st centuries BCE and CE (Chapter 5) gave us valuable insights into the consequences of colonization, showing that the direct effects were dramatic. The exponential increase in the number of burials indicated that the population expanded massively due to mass-immigration, and the epitaphs proved that the immigrants consisted of Roman men - many of whom were veterans of the Roman army - but also included Roman women. The epitaphs showed that Romans occupied the higher political offices, and the evidence from the cemeteries indicates that they occupied the most prominent burial sites as well. We saw that the early colonial cemeteries were broadly characterized by two distinct modes of mortuary treatment, and it was hypothesized that this reflected the presence of two culturally distinct social groups: the Greeks of local or regional provenance and colonists of Roman descent. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Romans appear to have had the upper hand during the period. The question with which we started the present chapter, is whether the existence of this dual community was a temporary state of affairs, or one that persisted throughout Patras' colonial history. How did the society of Patras recover from colonization, how did people adapt to life in a Roman colony in Greece, and how did social structure and culture develop over the course of the Roman era?

The chapter started with a brief sketch of local history as we know it from literary, documentary, and archaeological sources. It showed that imperial actions in the colony continued in the Roman era. These actions mostly revolved around the improvement of local infrastructure, so that the colony could serve Rome's interests to its best capacity as a port of trade and communication-hub. Imperial actions also included

⁶⁴⁴ According to Kent, who studied the epigraphic record of the neighbouring Roman colony at Corinth, 'the office of *agonothetes* seems to have been considered the highest honor within the power of the colony to bestow, exceeding even the preside of the *duovir quinquennalis*' (1966, 30).

donations of a less practical nature, such as the construction of an odeon or that of a large stadium-theatre to celebrate the centenary of the colony. Besides serving as a port of trade, the colony was a judicial centre and one of the main commercial centres of Roman Greece, and its countryside offered a steady supply of produce that could be traded and exported. The colony offered its inhabitants various cultural activities in the form of a library, a stadium-theatre where gladiatorial and other games were held, an odeon where one could attend musical performances, and it celebrated the athletic festival of the Kaisareia. Archaeological research in the urban area has revealed the existence of several luxurious villas, which clearly proves the existence of a wealthy upper layer in the local society.

We also saw that Pausanias' account of what he encountered in Patras in the late 2nd century CE was particularly informative about the rich cultic life in the colony; he wrote of temples, sanctuaries, and other sacred places throughout the urban area: on the acropolis, on the agora (or forum), around the agora and near the stadium-theatre, and in the area near the harbour. It is from Pausanias, too, that we know that the cult of Artemis Laphria - the goddess who Augustus installed as the new patron deity of the colony - was widely adopted by the colonial community, which eagerly participated in the annual festival and gruesome sacrifice in the goddess' honour. We learnt that the harbour-district in particular catered to itinerant merchants from East and West: here were sanctuaries for Poseidon, god of the sea, sanctuaries for Eastern gods, and 'places where Aphrodite could be worshipped' if one was so inclined. The rich religious landscape as portrayed by Pausanias can be characterized as a bit of a melting pot, in which influences from all over the Mediterranean were mixed into complex, multi-cultural pantheon.

The available information about what Patras was like in the Roman period is very substantial, especially when compared to what we know about the polis in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Before starting our analysis of the local mortuary record, therefore, we already knew that while Patras had undergone dramatic political, geographical, religious and social change when it was first colonized, its occupation by Rome had in fact ushered in a period of un-

precedented prosperity. The evidence from the political and public domain testified to the strong Roman character of the colony, but the rich religious and cultural landscapes provide us with a picture of a culturally and socially diverse community, and the analysis of mortuary evidence that was presented above gave us a deeper knowledge about the people that made up the colonial community, and how they viewed and presented themselves.

The epitaphs of the period offered a wealth of information. They indicated that people of Roman citizenship and descent were still the ones to hold the highest political and religious offices. The fact that several individuals not only took up offices in the colony's political and religious realm, but also served as *agonothetes* shows that the Roman elites also got involved in cultural events with Greek roots.

In sharp contrast to the early colonial period, we saw that men with a military background - many of whom rose to high ranks in the colony - were no longer the prime social group to receive stone epitaphs. Clearly, there were less soldiers and veterans in the colony. A related observation was that the reference to membership of the *tribus Quirina* became less common than it had been in the early colonial period. It was argued that the listing of one's tribe and/or service in the army was a crucial identity marker for the veteran colonists because it designated their newly acquired status of Roman citizen of Patras. Given that citizenship of the colony had become self-evident for later generations, the inclusion of this type of information ultimately lost its value.

With the disappearance of 'military tombstones' came a rise in tombstones that commemorated gladiators. All but one of the gladiator *stelai* had a Greek epitaph that contained single Greek names, while the other was a Latin epitaph that commemorated someone with the *tria nomina*; the individuals commemorated in Greek likely consisted solely of slaves, while the latter must have been a free Roman citizen who either became a gladiator by choice, or was forced to do so due to unfortunate circumstances such as financial hardship. The fact that the gladiator *stelai* were the only tombstones with figurative representations is a testament to the distinct, ambiguous social status (and perhaps the fame) that the gladiators had. Moreover, the sheer

quantity of the gladiator stelai shows that gladiatorial combats, a traditionally Roman pastime, had become extremely popular among the residents of 2nd and 3rd century CE Patras.

In addition to elite politicians, a few military men, and a significant group of gladiators, the epitaphs indicated that the community consisted of free citizens of both local and foreign descent, of freedmen, freedwomen, and of slaves. The inclusion of the age of the deceased on several tombstones allows us, for the first time, to be certain that people of all ages could be commemorated in stone, including children of both sexes. Combined with the identification of several child burials that contained similar grave goods as those of adults, these epitaphs are an important indication that children - those that had passed infancy, at least - did not receive differential treatment after death.⁶⁴⁵ From this, we may carefully deduce that children were not seen as being of lesser importance than adults.

Despite Pausanias' attestation (presumably in jest, though) that there were twice as many women as men in Patras⁶⁴⁶, our analysis showed that men were twice as often commemorated with tombstones as women were. Those women that were commemorated in stone were primarily portrayed as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters as had been the case in the early colonial era. We also came across freedwomen, female slaves, as well as female slave owners (or more accurately the former owners of freed slaves), and women who sold and procured tombstones and/or sarcophagi. One Roman woman and one Roman girl, both honoured with priestly *ornamenta* by the local body of decurions, were among few women who seemingly had a more public role. But while their epitaphs show that women could be held in high public esteem, the phrasing of the texts makes it quite clear that their elevated status was primarily dependent on the male members of their families.

The analysis of epitaphs further showed that a third of the texts were written in Greek, and two

thirds were written in Latin. In the first two centuries CE the epitaphs in Latin outnumbered those in Greek, until the turn of the 3rd century CE when Greek was used more often. If we presume that the language chosen for epitaphs was the language spoken by the individuals during life, then the evidence suggests that Latin was the most popular language in the first two centuries of the colony's existence, and that Greek was re-established as the primary local language in the 3rd century CE. While this could be taken as an indication that people of Roman ethnicity outnumbered Greeks in the first two centuries CE, we should be careful to make this assumption, since other evidence from the cemeteries does not corroborate this: never do depositions of distinctly non-local character (e.g. cremations in Roman tomb types) outnumber those that follow Greek tradition. Moreover, the epitaphs revealed a *mélange* of language use, of naming practices, and of epigraphic habits. This suggests that the gradual abandonment of Latin was not reflective of the disappearance of a Roman community, but was instead the result of a process of assimilation whereby immigrants and their descendants ultimately adopted the Greek language as part of a wider process of cultural transfer and mutual adaptation.

The analysis of funerary architecture, mortuary treatment, and burial assemblages also testified to social and cultural change. It became clear that the use of aboveground tombs became increasingly popular, but that the variety in architectural types was reduced from the early colonial period onwards: tombs for individual use, funerary altars, and columbaria were all abandoned. Masonry house tombs and peribolos tombs became the norm and dominated the funerary landscape. These tombs were very uniform in their external appearance, and only few showed evidence for architectural elaboration by means of sculpted pediments or columns. We saw that those tombs that were truly monumental and that can be compared to the *aediculae* and temple tombs of the early colonial era in terms of size and elaboration were few in number and - in contrast to the early colonial tombs - that they were primarily situated on the outskirts of the North Cemetery. The tombs of the period were all of a collective nature, and given the evidence from contemporaneous epitaphs we may assume that many belonged either

⁶⁴⁵ An overall lack of infant burials (only one was identified), however, may be an indication that a certain age needed to be reached in order to receive a formal burial; I remind the reader that the youngest person commemorated with a tombstone was 2 years and 4 days old.

⁶⁴⁶ It is not unlikely that this was an exaggeration that served to emphasize the wide availability of female beauty in Patras, it is still worth pointing out that the mortuary realm did not provide any evidence to substantiate his claim.

to families or to other social groups. The architectural divide between uniform tombs and those of a monumental design hints to a difference in social status: while house and peribolos tombs seem to have belonged to families of the local (upper) middle class (an identification that parallels from Italy seem to support), the monumental tombs in the countryside around Patras are more likely to have been built by rich land-owning families, which is a social group that seems to have emerged in this period. A lack of *in situ* inscriptions and undisturbed depositions in all types of Roman tombs, however, hindered an in-depth study into the ethnic or cultural identity of the tomb owners. But despite the fact that we cannot use the evidence from tombs to identify whether the tomb builders were (descendants of) people from Italy, it is clear that the masonry house and peribolos tombs that filled up the cemeteries of Patras did have their origins in Italy.

The evidence from tombs and simple graves further attested to the gradual abandonment of the rite of cremation. Inhumation - mostly single, but now also double, triple, and multiple - in tile graves and brick-built cist graves, either individually placed (mostly in the South Cemetery) or in collective tombs (mostly in the North Cemetery), became the undisputed norm. This process towards homogenization and standardization was witnessed in tomb architecture, grave construction, and mortuary treatment, and was also identified in local habits of corpse adornment and grave provision. The burials of the Roman period were furnished with low numbers of ornaments and grave goods, that were, moreover, very simple and generic. Most graves

contained only one or two artefacts, and the few objects that did end up in the grave - mostly unguentaria and bronze coins - were of a rather low value, especially compared to what we have seen for the previous centuries. The complete lack of rich burial assemblages shows that the display of wealth and status by adorning the dead and providing them with expensive grave goods was no longer a primary concern in the Roman era.

The epigraphic record made it clear that the Roman society of Patras consisted of a wide variety of people, from different backgrounds, with different occupations and social roles, and of diverging social statuses. But the evidence from funerary architecture, mortuary treatment, and burial assemblages indicates that while these social differences - in wealth, status, gender, and ethnicity - had been emphasized in the past, they, or at least their representation in the mortuary realm, became less important as time passed by. Overall, people seem to have lost interest in the use of funerals and commemorative architecture for the display, assertion, and promotion of their social status and identity. The fact that funerary ostentation and mortuary differentiation was largely abandoned suggests that the local social order had become solidified and no longer needed to be negotiated in the cemeteries. The mortuary record, therefore, paints Roman Patras as a cosmopolitan colony in which people from different cultures and provenance lived and died, who adopted each other's habits and adapted their own behaviour over time, and who, despite having lived significantly different lives, were for the most part treated very similarly in death.

7. Patras in Late Roman-Early Christian Times

the end of an era

7.1 Introduction

Thus far, we have seen that Patras developed from a small but seemingly well-connected polis in the Classical period, to a thriving port town in the later Hellenistic era, to one of the major centres and trade hubs in Roman Greece and the wider Roman world. From the 2nd century BCE onwards, life in Patras was marked by ever-increasing connectivity and supra-regional contact, by the daily coming and going of traders and travellers, by a steady flow of import and export of produce and merchandise, and by the immigration of newcomers who came of their own volition, or had been settled there as part of the Augustan colonizing effort. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence from the cemeteries has shown that the local community changed from a relatively isonomic society of a Greek cultural identity, to one that was marked by extreme differences between the haves and have-nots, to one that was defined by status and ethnic differentiation between locals and immigrant Romans, to one that is perhaps best characterized as a cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman community marked by cultural transfer.

This chapter briefly discusses the period that followed, and asks how society and culture developed when the decline of Roman power set in. It intends to give some preliminary insights into this question so that it can serve as a comparison to the previous phases, but does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of Late Antiquity or its mortuary record⁶⁴⁷, for that would be beyond the scope of the thesis. As was the case in the previous chapters, we will start with an outline of the local history, which is quite brief due to a shortage of sources, and then proceed with a contextual analysis of the mortuary record.

⁶⁴⁷ The archaeological evidence collected for this period is limited to the material that has been published by the former 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and excludes that of the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

7.2 Late Roman and Early Christian Patras

Having reached its zenith during the imperial period, the success of the Roman colony at Patras started to decline in the latter half of the 3rd century CE. The last imperial coinages were issued under Geta and Caracalla, and this is thought to reflect a reduction of imperial interest in Patras.⁶⁴⁸ A destruction layer with debris and traces of fire dating to the same period was noted in many of the excavations; it is likely connected to the Herulian invasion of 267 CE and/or to a devastating earthquake that is known to have hit the northwest Peloponnese around 280 CE.⁶⁴⁹ These are, of course, not mutually exclusive, and the combined effect of the two events must have been substantial. Indeed, archaeological evidence from the urban area suggests that they caused an abrupt decline in local prosperity, since most of the destroyed buildings were abandoned rather than rebuilt.

Epigraphic evidence from the public domain, on the other hand, shows that Patras did not cease to exist. An inscription (in Latin) dating between 293 and 305 CE was dedicated to the current tetrarchy; another (in Greek) honours the emperors Valentinian and Valens and dates to 364-365 CE.⁶⁵⁰ Two milestones date to 397 CE⁶⁵¹, and a late 4th century inscription that was found at Sparta refers to Patras both as a polis and as a colony.⁶⁵² The contemporary honorary epigram for Basileios, an exceptionally wealthy

⁶⁴⁸ Papapostolou 2014, 270-271. But see Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004, 69, who dates the mint's cessation later, namely to the time of Elagabalus. She provides a catalogue of the colonial coinages of Patras on pages 119-124 (with issues by Geta and Caracalla being the latest ones). Petropoulos (1999, 94) mentions the reign of Gordian III as the closing date of the mint at Patras.

⁶⁴⁹ Papapostolou 2014, 270.

⁶⁵⁰ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, nos. 25 and 26.

⁶⁵¹ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, nos. 27b, 31.

⁶⁵² Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 365: ἡ πόλις ἡ Πα<τ>[ρέων]/λογιστεύοντος <τ>ῆς κολ(ωνίας) τοῦ κρα[τίστου]/[κόμη]τος Βιτελλίου Βαλερείνου Πατρ[έως(?)] - 'La cité de Patras, étant curateur de la colonie le clarissime comes Vitellius Valerinus, patréen'.

local benefactor with estates in both Achaia and in Pisa, offers a particularly interesting glimpse into daily life in Late Roman Patras⁶⁵³: not only does the text testify to the continued existence of a rich landowning class into the 4th or early 5th century CE, but it also refers to the restoration or maintenance of the public baths⁶⁵⁴, the funding of feasts, the supply of gold and clothing, as well as the provision of large quantities of wheat, wine and oil to the public when times were apparently rough. Combined, the small body of inscriptions show that, despite the archaeologically attested destruction of the city, there was also continuity into and for most of the Late Antique period.

We cannot pinpoint a definitive end of the existence of the Roman colony. The written record does inform us, however, that a series of major earthquakes hit Greece in 551/2 CE and that Patras was one of the cities that was levelled to the ground⁶⁵⁵; when the town recovered it eventually became an archdiocese and metropolis that traced its Christian heritage back to Saint Andrew's detainment and execution here during the 1st century CE.⁶⁵⁶

7.3 The data and their distribution

Funerary remains of Late Roman and Early Christian date were excavated at 66 sites in and around Patras, and it consists of 11 epitaphs, 14 collective tombs, and an estimated 700 depositions in 556 graves (some associated with the 14 tombs, others not), of which 32 were well-documented enough to allow for an analysis of grave goods and ornaments.

If we compare these numbers to those for the previous centuries, we see that they all decline: the number of burial sites diminished (Fig. 7.1), the number of tombs fell dramatically (see Fig. 6.4), the number of depositions dropped by more than half from the 3rd century to the 4th century CE (see Fig. 5.32), and the use of tombstones and epitaphs ceased almost completely (see Fig. 5.29). Although it is likely that the preliminary nature of the data makes the trans-

ition seem more abrupt than it actually was, the combined patterns do testify to significant change that took place in the society of Patras around the late 3rd-early 4th century CE.

An analysis of the spatial distribution of burial sites shows that the extent of the cemeteries shrank, but that the North Cemetery remained the one with the most attested burial sites,⁶⁵⁷ followed by the South Cemetery⁶⁵⁸, five sites in the East Cemetery yielded Late Roman-Early Christian funerary remains, and the number of burial sites that were not associated with the three main cemeteries reached a new high. (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2; cf. Fig. 5.33).⁶⁵⁹

A divergent pattern is seen in the distribution of tombs, graves, and the number of individuals that were placed at these sites, for these indicate that tomb construction and burial were concentrated in the South Cemetery, while the North and East Cemeteries were hardly used. This would indicate that, even though the North Cemetery had been the primary burial ground for the better part of a millennium, the South Cemetery became the most important cemetery in Late Roman-Early Christian times. A closer look at the remains, however, indicates that these patterns are probably heavily subject to problematic data and publication bias: the fact that burial in the North Cemetery primarily took the form of reuse of existing tombs and graves while the area to the south of the city witnessed the organization of new burial grounds and the construction of new tombs and graves means that the available data are quite heavily biased in favour of the latter cemetery. Nonetheless, the evidence does indicate that while the mortuary landscape witnessed continuity in the use of the existing burial grounds, new spatial patterns emerged as well. The marked changes in the

⁶⁵³ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 37.

⁶⁵⁴ For which Basileios apparently was held in high regard by inhabitants of Patras and foreigners alike, ll. 7-9: *μούνος ἐὼν θεσμοῖσιν ἀνύσσατο καὶ ναετῆρας/ πάντας ὁμῶς ξείνους τε τελεσφόρον ἐς λυκάβαντα/ ἥνεκέως λοετροῖσιν ἀρέσσατο.*

⁶⁵⁵ Proc. *Goth.* 8.25.16-7.

⁶⁵⁶ See Rizakis *Achaïe I*, nos. 118 and 138.

⁶⁵⁷ LR-EChr burials are attested at 22 sites in the North Cemetery: BS25 and 62 (tomb reuse), BS64 (burials associated with an EChr basilica), 80, 98 (reuse of peribolos?), 101 (graves built over dilapidated Roman tombs), 103, 105, 106, 112, 114, 116, 121, 124, 138, 144, 146 (graves built over dilapidated Roman tombs), 147-149, 213, and 242.

⁶⁵⁸ Evidence for LR-EChr burial in the South Cemetery was unearthed at seventeen sites: BS39, 41, 43-45, 59, 75, 96, 157, 159, 173, 175, 185, 186, 233, 234, and 255. BS170-172 might be considered part of the South Cemetery, the report for BS170 states that the graves were built among the remnants of domestic architecture; hence they were not included in the South Cemetery for this analysis.

⁶⁵⁹ In the East Cemetery LR-EChr burial took place at BS2 (reuse of T2.A), 4, 84, 95 (tomb reuse), and 210.

Fig. 7.1 Distribution of Late Roman-Early Christian burial sites.

Fig. 7.2 Distribution of Late Roman-Early Christian mortuary remains per burial location.

landscape of the dead points to a significant alteration in local mortuary behaviour, at least as far as the choice for burial location was concerned.⁶⁶⁰

7.4 Placing the dead

Based on the spatial information that is relayed in the available excavation reports, the placement of the dead in Late Roman-Early Christian Patras was characterized by three main phenomena: a) the reuse of older tombs and graves, b) scattered burials among abandoned houses in areas that were formerly used for habitation, and c) clustered burial in newly laid out tombs and cemeteries to the south of the urban core. While the majority of the depositions fall into these three categories, dispersed burials of the period were also discovered at isolated locations further away from the city. These include a burial ground of 44 tile graves in the Kotroni-district near the end of the ancient North Cemetery⁶⁶¹, one isolated tile grave across the river Glaukos⁶⁶², and a cemetery of 13 cist and tile graves near Saravali.⁶⁶³ While the limited availability of data does not allow us to assess this rural material further, we can delve deeper into the evidence from the urban sites.

7.4.1 The reuse of Roman tombs and graves

The excavation reports state that many Roman tombs were used for burial into the Late Roman-

Early Christian era. Reuse is attested in tombs in the North and East cemeteries, but was most frequent in the North Cemetery.⁶⁶⁴ This is not surprising, of course, since this was the cemetery with the highest number of tombs, which were, moreover, easily accessible and allowed for frequent reuse. Since the reports are generally focused on the material from the Roman era, the information on the burials of later date is rather limited. Nonetheless, it is clear that all of the later depositions are inhumations, and that some were furnished with simple artefacts such as bronze coins or lamps.

7.4.2 Burial among Roman ruins

During the 4th-6th century CE people began to bury their dead in areas that were formerly used for habitation. Combined with the fact that the number of burials drastically declined in Late Roman times, the insertion of burial among dilapidated Roman houses is a clear testimony to demographic decline.

Illustrative examples of the practice can be seen in Figures 7.3 and 7.4: the former shows a site plan of the plots at Panachaikou 4-8, where a few clusters of cist and tile graves - some enclosed by simple periboloi of makeshift materials⁶⁶⁵ - were dug directly beside the remnants of an elite Roman villa (**BS186**); the latter shows a photograph of a double cist grave that was cut through the mosaic floor of a Roman house (**BS179**).

⁶⁶⁰ The sites outside the main cemeteries with evidence for the period number 22 in total. These are BS27, 31, 37, 49, 53, 68, 74, 82, 153, 164, 170-172 (but see comment above), 178-180, 194, 208, 209, 225, 231, and 256.

⁶⁶¹ BS153.

⁶⁶² G27.1.

⁶⁶³ BS225.

⁶⁶⁴ Although it must have occurred in more tombs, Late Roman-Early Christian burials are explicitly reported for T2.A in the East Cemetery, and T62.A, 95.A, 98.A, 103.C, 105.A, and 116.B in the North Cemetery.

⁶⁶⁵ I.e. T186.A (without preserved burials), T186.B (surrounding G186.20), and T186.C (enclosing the double burial in G186.24).

Fig. 7.3 Burial Site 186: Panachaïkou 4-8. Plan of the excavation.

The remnants of a luxurious Roman villa with mosaic floors and a hypocaust were found in the east section of the plot; graves of Late Roman-Early Christian date were dug to the west of the villa once it was no longer in use.

After: Papapostolou 1974, Σχέδ. 8 and Agallopoulou 1974, Σχέδ. 7.

Fig. 7.4 Burial Site 179: Nikita 60-66. A double cist grave of Late Roman-Early Christian date was cut through a Roman mosaic floor with a central panel depicting Triton on a hippocamp.
Source: Papapostolou 1978, Πίv. 278.

Noteworthy, too, is a cluster of ten 6th-century cist graves, unearthed at Nikita 74. They were situated among dilapidated buildings of Hellenistic and Roman date (**BS180**), and are believed to have been built for victims of the devastating earthquake of 552 CE. Seven cists contained a double burial, the other three contained a single individual; the dead were all placed on the natural soil, in West-East orientation, and with their arms folded over their the chest. The walls of these cist graves were made of stone and brick, while the covers were made of limestone and marble building materials in secondary use that must have been readily available since the earthquake left many buildings in ruins.

At both **BS63**⁶⁶⁶ and **BS77**⁶⁶⁷ two unfurnished infant or child burials were found in houses of Roman date; in both cases, however, it is not clear whether these depositions had taken place while the houses were still in use (and thus represent the intramural burial of deceased children from the household), or whether they post-date their abandonment.

The limited availability of site plans makes it difficult to establish whether or not the graves that were found among the remnants of old houses were spatially organized in a particular manner. The evidence suggests that some graves could have been arranged along pathways (e.g. those on **BS186**, see Fig. 7.3), but overall their

⁶⁶⁶ G63.1-2: two infant burials in tile graves.

⁶⁶⁷ G77.1-2: two child burials in a tile grave and a cist grave.

Fig. 7.5 Burial Site 171: Mesologgiou 9. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1979, Σχέδ. 2.

placement seems to have been haphazard. The reports and plans do make it clear that the graves were for the most part laid out in West-East orientation.

7.4.3 New tombs and new cemeteries

While many of the Late Roman-Early Christian graves filled up the available space between and within the existing tombs and enclosures or were situated among abandoned houses, others were part of newly built tombs or funerary complexes. The construction of conspicuous tombs was completely abandoned by the beginning of Late Roman times. Three house tombs and one masonry burial chamber (?) were ascribed a Late Roman date, however.⁶⁶⁸ They were situated at **BS157** and **BS231** in the South Cemetery, and were probably organized along the road to Dyme as had been the custom in the preceding periods (although site plans are lacking). Since no data are provided about the sizes, designs, interior layout, or associated depositions of the tombs, and we cannot ascertain whether or not these tombs were similar or different from the masonry tombs of the Roman era.

Funerary architecture of the Late Roman-Early Christian era also includes a small number of funerary enclosures. They were situated at **BS41**, **BS171** (Fig. 7.5), and **BS173** in the area south of Plateia Ipsilon Alonion. Although this is near the South Cemetery, they were probably part of a newly laid out burial ground.

The periboloi of this period were markedly different from those of the Hellenistic and Roman eras: they were small, had low walls, and were of a decidedly plain and functional design (i.e. not monumental at all), and they were generally built from unworked stone and/or makeshift materials.

The same area also witnessed the construction of a new type of collective tomb: 'forma-tombs' (see Figs. 7.5 and 7.6). **T171.A** and **208.B**, and possibly the graves at **BS172**, were burial complexes that each consisted of consecutive rows of subterranean cist graves that were almost invariably laid out in West-East orientation. These cists are perhaps better described as floor trenches, and are known as *formae*. While it is clear that the burials in these tombs took place underground, it is not clear what the external appearance of these structures was, whether the graves or the tomb itself were architecturally elaborated, whether individual *formae* could be topped with a burial marker, or whether some sort of enclosure surrounded them. It is clear, however, that these tombs offered an economic form of communal burial in terms of space and expense, especially considering the fact that each individual *forma* apparently contained the remains of up to five people.

Only one of these *formae* was reported to have contained grave goods: **G171.1** contained one ceramic unguentarium and one ceramic vessel of an unspecified type. The lack of detailed skeletal data, the dearth of grave goods, and the absence of epitaphs associated with these burial complexes inhibits our understanding of who occupied the *formae*.

⁶⁶⁸ T157.A-C and 231.A. The dates for these tombs should, however, be taken with some caution since the excavation reports are extremely brief and do not clarify on which criteria the date is based.

Fig. 7.6 Burial Site 208: Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 28. Plan of the excavation.
After Papapostolou 1974, Σχέδ. 2.

Together with the burials at neighbouring sites, these *forma*-tombs were part of a newly laid out cemetery to the south of the urban area.⁶⁶⁹ Two new cemeteries, of 5th-6th century CE date (?), were also found in the North Cemetery. One was situated at Korinthou 221-223 and consisted only of tile graves (**BS146**), the other was situated at Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**, i.e. the site of the mausoleum of the Aequani) and consisted of a veritable multitude of simple burials, haphazardly organized but primarily laid out in West-East orientation, around an Early Christian basilica that had been built over top of the dilapidated tombs.

Although the evidence is dispersed, it is likely that the newly laid out cemeteries to the north

and south of the city were the burial grounds of a Christian community: following Christian funerary ideology, the graves were laid out in West-East orientation, and at least in the case of the cemetery at Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**), there was an obvious correlation with an Early Christian basilica.

7.4.4 Grave types and mortuary treatment

Out of the corpus collected in Catalogue C, a total of 556 graves was dated to the Late Roman-Early Christian period. So far, we have already seen that these graves include tile and cist graves, and that these could be placed within or among tombs of Roman date, could be individually situated in the area that used to be part of the Roman city, but could also be part of newly laid out cemeteries and/or burial clusters. Although a detailed analysis of grave types is hindered by

⁶⁶⁹ BS41, 43, 44, 170-173, 175, and 186; it might be possible that there was an Early Christian church or martyrion nearby, but I have not come across a reference to this in the reports that were collected for this study.

Fig. 7.7 Graves of the 4th-6th centuries CE: types (N=556).

an overall lack of specificity in the excavation reports, it is nonetheless clear that the decline in variability in funerary architecture that had set in during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE continued into the Late Roman-Early Christian era: other than tile and cist graves, the only attested grave types are two burial pithoi that had been placed in an older tomb and one burial in an unspecified vessel at **BS194** in the area near the old agora (Fig. 7.7).⁶⁷⁰ The mortuary record shows that all graves of the period were intended for inhumations; the complete lack of urns or cremation graves among the material testifies to the complete cessation of the rite of cremation during (at the latest) the 3rd century CE.

The number of individuals per grave ranged from one to at least seventeen; one grave⁶⁷¹ was said to have contained the remains of dozens of individuals. The evidence indicates that burial of multiple individuals per grave occurred primarily in cists, and had become an increasingly common occurrence - a trend that had set in during the previous period. Some graves, especially those that contained ten or more skeletons, are more likely to have been ossuaries in which skeletal remains were redeposited after they had been collected from the graves in which the corpses had first fully decomposed.⁶⁷²

As had been the case for the material of the older periods, estimations about the skeletal remains is very limited. In those cases where site plans are preserved, we can see that people were generally placed in the grave in supine position,

with the hands beside body or on the chest, and with their heads placed in the west end of the grave. No sex determination was carried out, but estimations of the age of the deceased were provided for a number of the burials: one tile grave contained the skeletal remains of an adult and an infant⁶⁷³, two cist graves and five tile graves - three of which were inserted among the ruins of Roman houses at the junction of Asimaki Fotila 75 and Vasiliou Roufou (**BS45**) - contained one child each⁶⁷⁴, while graves unearthed near the acropolis - inserted in the area after the decline of the Roman city - reportedly contained both adults and children.⁶⁷⁵ One of the child graves was furnished and had its tombstone preserved *in situ*; it commemorated the toddler named Digna whom we already encountered in Chapter 2 and whose burial shall be discussed further below.

7.4.5 Observations

The analysis of funerary architecture, burials, and their spatial distribution makes it clear that mortuary behaviour in the Late Roman-Early Christian period was very different from that in the preceding centuries, although it also showed signs of continuity. A few masonry tombs may date to Late Roman times, but it is clear that truly monumental funerary architecture was no longer being built. Cremation was abandoned, and inhumation - single, double, and collective - in tile and cist graves, individually placed, in clusters, or in tombs, became the undisputed

⁶⁷⁰ G98.2-3 and G194.2.

⁶⁷¹ G233.5.

⁶⁷² E.g. G233.5, 234.23.

⁶⁷³ G31.1.

⁶⁷⁴ G44.1, 45.1-3 (compare to the child graves at BS63 and BS77 discussed in Section 7.4.2), 106.15, 186.23, and 233.7.

⁶⁷⁵ G164.1-25.

Fig. 7.8. Late Roman-Early Christian grave assemblages: The main functional categories (N=76; 8 objects are excluded).

norm. Burial continued in the three urban cemeteries and, for a long time at least, even within tombs of the Roman era. Yet, the dead were now also deposited among ruins of Hellenistic and Roman buildings, as well as in newly laid out cemeteries. While the organization of the cemeteries had formerly been dictated by the courses of the main roads leading into and out of the city, this was no longer true for the burials of the 4th-6th centuries CE. The placement of cemeteries and graves was instead characterized by rows and clusters of burials in West-East orientation. This must have been motivated by the Christian doctrine about death and resurrection; at least one of the new cemeteries was laid out around an Early Christian place of worship, and the same may have been true for the others as well. Having reconstructed these patterns of continuity and change thus far, let us turn to the burial assemblages to see whether these attest to similar developments.

7.5 Burial assemblages

Burial assemblages are known for 32 out of the 556 graves of Late Roman-Early Christian date (Tables 7.1 and 7.2, Fig. 7.8). Grave goods were found in both cist and tile graves. The total number of artefacts in these graves amounts to >84. Fifteen of these are items of adornment (18%), while the other 69 may be interpreted as provisions for the dead (82%). While the number of artefacts per furnished grave ranges from one to fourteen, most graves only contained a single object.

7.5.1 Adornment of the corpse

In the previous chapter we have already seen that the beautification of the dead body was a much less important aspect of mortuary practices in the Roman era than it had been in Hellenistic times. By Late Roman times, only a minimal portion of the dead were adorned with non-perishable items, let alone valuable ones. There were only eleven graves that included items for the dressing and/or adorning of the dead.⁶⁷⁶ The ornaments and dress items include bronze and iron clothing pins, bronze, silver and gold earrings, bronze and gold rings, and one beaded necklace; gold-threaded textile was found in one grave.

7.5.2 Grave goods

In contrast to the previous periods, coins now formed the main category of the grave goods. A total of >38 coins were found in twelve of the furnished burials (i.e. 32%), and these burials contained one to thirteen coins each.⁶⁷⁷ One was a gold danake of the 3rd century BCE and probably stemmed from a disturbed Hellenistic burial, all others were bronze coins of little value. Half of the burials contained one coin, while the other half contained two coins or more. This suggests that a shift had occurred from earlier

⁶⁷⁶ These are: G27.1, 31.2, 31.3, 53.2, 64.52, 82.1, 106.15, 171.28, and 179.1-3.

⁶⁷⁷ It is worth noting that while coins were the most popular grave provision in Late Roman-Early Christian times (and not in any of the other periods), they were actually found in a higher percentage of graves during the 1st centuries BCE and CE, when 55 percent of the furnished burials contained coins (see Section 5.6.3 and Appendix C).

Table 7.1 Furnished graves of the Late Roman-Early Christian period (N=31).

Grave number	Tomb	Grave Type	Date (CE)	Cemetery	No. of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age estimation	Gender	No. of objects	Description
27.1		tile grave	LR	•	2	inhumation	-	-	2	bronze pin, bronze ring
31.1		tile grave	LR	•	2		A, I	-	1	coin (near the grave)
31.2		tile grave	LR	•	1		A	-	1	bronze earrings
31.3		tile grave	LR	•	1		A	-	2	bronze ring, coin (4th c., near the grave)
43.1		built cist grave	EChr	S	-		-	-	1	glass amphora
53.2		built cist	LR-EChr	•	-		-	-	1	bronze buckle
62.1	62.A	tile grave	LR	N	1(?)		-	-	1	bronze coin (Justin II and Sofia)
62.5	62.A	tile grave	3rd-4th c.	N	2		-	-	5	individual 1: bronze coin (Caracalla, mint of Patras); individual 2: 2 one-handed cups, pyxis with bones, lamp (ca. 250 CE)
64.52	64.E	built cist	3rd-4th c.	N	>1		-	-	14	bronze ring, 13 bronze coins (1 from Lokris, 338-300 BCE, the others of R-LR date)
64.53		tile grave	LR	N	-		-	-	2	2 bronze coins (LR)
82.1		built cist	LR	•	-		-	-	2	ring, iron buckle
84.1		tile grave	3rd-4th c.	E	-		-	-	1	trefoil oinochoiskos (early 3rd c.)
106.15	106.A	vaulted built cist	3rd-4th c.	N	1		3	F	>4	fine gold ring, glass vessels including 2 of bird-shape, figurine of a pig
112.1	112.A	vaulted built cist	LR-EChr	N	-		-	-	9	gold danake (3rd c. BCE), 4 bronze coins, 2 glass unguentaria, lamp (7th c.), iron nails (chest/ box/ coffin?)
112.2	112.D	vaulted built cist	LR-EChr	N	-		-	-	7	amphora, 6 bronze coins (5th-6th c.; Justin I)
112.3	112.D	vaulted built cist	LR-EChr	N	-		-	-	1	lamp (5th-6th c.)
112.4	112.D	vaulted built cist	LR-EChr	N	-		-	-	>7	lamp (5th-6th c.), >6 bronze coins
121.1		built cist	LR	N	-		-	-	?	clay and glass vessels, bronze coins
170.1		built cist/ tile grave	5th-6th c.	•	-		-	-	1	bronze coin
170.2		built cist/ tile grave	5th-6th c.	•	-		-	-	1	bronze coin
170.3		built cist/ tile grave	5th-6th c.	•	-		-	-	1	bronze object
171.1	171.A	built cist grave	LR-EChr	•	-		-	-	2	clay unguentarium, clay vessel
171.28		built cist/ tile grave	LR-EChr	•	-		-	-	2	clay vessel, beaded necklace
178.1		unspec. grave	LR	•	1		A	-	1	clay vessel (LR)
179.1		built cist	LR-EChr	•	≥1		-	-	≥3	silver earrings, unguentaria
179.2		built cist	LR-EChr	•	≥1		-	-	4	2 pairs of gold earrings, bronze incense burner, glass polyhedral vial
179.3		double built cist	LR-EChr	•	≥1		-	-	≥4	gold earrings, gold thread (clothing/ shroud), glass unguentaria
179.4					≥1		-	-		
185.1		tile grave	LR-EChr	S	2		-	-	1	glass unguentarium
213.1		built cist	LR	N	-		-	-	1	glass unguentarium
213.2		built cist	LR	N	-		-	-	1	iron nail

Table 7.2 Grave assemblages of the Late Roman-Early Christian era:
Artefact types and their frequency (N objects = 84, N burials = 32).

coin/danake	>38	figurine	1
jewellery/dress items	15	incense burner	1
unguentarium	10	lekythion	1
lamp	4	nail/spike	1
ceramic vessel (unspec.)	3	oinochoiskos	1
glass vessel (unspec.)	3	pyxis	1
amphora	2	miscellaneous	2
cup	2		

centuries, when one coin was almost always deemed sufficient. A contextual analysis of the coins shows that they were found in tile and cist graves, but they have not been reported for any of the *formae* (although this may be due to their incomplete publication). Coins are often the only provision in a burial, but they could also be coupled with unguentaria, lamps, or drinking and pouring vessels. The second most popular grave provision in this period was the oil flask, but they number only ten in total, and were found only in seven, possibly eight of the furnished burials. They are, thus, hardly as ubiquitous as they had been in the Roman age. The other grave provisions of the period include a few pouring and drinking vessels, lamps, an incense burner, as well as a pyxis that contained (animal?) bones and may constitute the remnants of a ritual offering. One grave contained a single nail that may have had a symbolic function⁶⁷⁸, while the nails in other graves may rather have been part of a coffin or a bier. It is noteworthy that glass vessels and other artefacts that are readily identifiable as imports have all but disappeared from the burial assemblages.

7.5.3. Grave goods and identity

Since many depositions were placed in reused tombs or graves, since many graves were occupied by two or more individuals, and since information on human remains was lacking and epigraphic evidence was scarce, it is difficult to correlate grave provisions to the identity of the deceased. In one case, as was mentioned above, we are lucky to find an undisturbed burial that was topped with an *in situ* marble tombstone. This was the grave of Digna, the girl that we already met in Chapter 2.⁶⁷⁹ Her tombstone bore

a Latin inscription that identified Digna as a 3 year old girl. Sometime in the 3rd or 4th century CE she had been laid to rest in a vaulted brick-built cist grave that was situated in the North Cemetery, and was built against the outer wall of a house tomb of Roman date. The cist had been encased into a solid construction that was coated with plaster; the tombstone had been inserted into it. Digna lay with her head towards the North, and her body was surrounded by iron nails that are probably best interpreted as the remains of a wooden coffin or bier. Two bird-shaped unguentaria made of glass, other fragmented glass vessels, and a pig-shaped figurine in the lay beside her, and she wore a fine gold ring around one of her fingers. Digna's grave is exceptional among the Late Roman-Early Christian graves not only because her name and age have passed on to us, it is also one of the few burials of the period that contained more than just one or two artefacts, artefacts of some value (a gold ring), and artefacts of some variety. Most other graves were poorly furnished with generic grave goods, such as coins, unguentaria or other vessels, or lamps.

7.5.4 Observations

Overall, the grave provisions in the 4th-6th century CE are modest and not very diverse. The general categories to which they belong show a basic continuity with the depositional habits established in the preceding centuries, and none of the provisions were unique to this era. Taking into account the low number of grave assemblages known, the simple nature of the grave goods, and the limitations of our contextual data (a lack of skeletal evidence, reuse of graves, etc.), no clear-cut differentiation in burial assemblages can be ascertained that relates to social status, wealth, age, gender, or any other aspect

⁶⁷⁸ G213.2; see Section 6.6.2 and n. 596 above.

⁶⁷⁹ G106.15, BM65, cf. Section 2.1.

Table 7.3 Tombstones and epitaphs of the Late Roman and Early Christian period (N=11).

Burial Marker ID	Date CE	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Inscription	Comments
BM18	3rd-4th c.	Plaque	Sandstone	26.5x35x7.5 (incompl.)	I(ulii) Philonis/ memoria	
BM24	3rd-4th c.	Stele	Marble	18.5x8x2.5 (incompl.)	[---]Y	Remnants of simple decorative mouldings.
BM65	3rd-4th c.	Plaque	Marble	41x30.5x4	Memoria/ Dignae/ vix(it) a(nnis) III	
BM73	3rd-4th c.	Plaque	Marble	41.5x18x11 (incompl.)	a. Ιουλ[---]/ ΟΞ[---]/ ΔΙ[---]/ CA[---] b. [---]ΟCΩC	
BM95	3rd-4th c.	Plaque	Marble	39x42x5	Λαμπρίας ζών/ 'Ιουλίαί Ἀκμήι τηι/ συμβίωι καὶ/ ἐαυτῶν κα/θώς ὁ Κύριο[ς]/ ἐπέτρεψε[ν].	
BM118	3rd-4th c.	Plaque	Marble	23x11x3.5 (incompl.)	[---]/ ΧΙΞΘ[---]/ ΔΟΥΛ[---]/ Κ[---]/ ΤΑΠΙΟΝ[---]/ Ν ΗΛ[---]	
BM152	3rd-4th c.	Stele	Marble	22x13x15 (incompl.)	[---]ΑΠΟΥ[---]/ [---]	
BM172	3rd-4th c.	Indet.	Unknown	Unknown (unpres.)	Θεόδωρος/ Κριτολάου/ καλῶς/ βιώσας	
BM182	4th c.	Naiskos	Unknown	Unknown	a. Εὐτύχι/ Θυηπό[λι] b. Ζήσαις/ Εὐάγρι c. Μέγας Σωτήρ	A medaillon with an urn in the centre of the pediment. <i>Palmae</i> carved below inscriptions a. and b, while c. was written below the left palm branch.
BM195	3rd-4th c.	Cippus	Unknown	Unknown (unpres.)	[--E]υρεναν/ [---]χι ζήσας/ ἔτη λγ'	
Epitaph 216	3rd-4th c.	Sarcophagus	Limestone	Unknown	[---]ΕΑΛΩΜΕΙΑ	Fragmentary cover of a sarcophagus with part of its pediment and one akrotirion preserved. The inscription in found on the frieze.

of the identities of the deceased. This absence of differentiation in treatment of the dead perpetuates the trend towards homogenization that we saw arising in the preceding centuries.

Therefore, the evidence indicates that the rise of Christianity did not necessarily cause significant changes in local mortuary practices, but instead seems to have intensified a process that had already begun. The almost complete absence of imported goods in the graves is notable as well. It may be the case that people simply did not choose to deposit imported goods in their graves anymore, but the lack of imports may also be the result of a declining intensity of trade. If the latter is the case, then the evidence may be reflective of Patras' changing role in the Mediterranean network.

7.6 Tombstones and epitaphs

Rizakis' corpus of Patraean inscriptions includes one epitaph of the 5th-6th century⁶⁸⁰, one epitaph of the 4th-century that may actually be an acclamation rather than an epitaph (**BM182**), and ten epitaphs that are dated to the 3rd-4th century CE (Table 7.3). As was true for the tomb architecture of this period, the tombstones and epitaphs, too, lack a distinctly monumental character. Overall, they were simple plaques of rather small dimensions, but one epitaph was written on the limestone cover of a sarcophagus (**Epitaph 216**). The epitaph/acclamation was carved on a naiskos-stele, one inscription was reportedly carved on a cippus that is now lost (**BM192**), and another inscription, also now lost, was copied from a memorial of unknown shape, material, and size (**BM172**). Four poorly preserved texts were carved on marble plaques or stelai (**BM24**, **73**, **118**, and **152**), as were the aforementioned tombstone for Digna (**BM65**), and the tombstone that one Lamprias erected for himself and his wife Ioulia Akme (**BM95**). The latter tombstone was discovered at the junction

of Asimaki Fotila and Mesologgiou, reportedly close to where a cemetery of this date was excavated; although it was not found *in situ*, it is possible that the tombstone belonged to one of the graves of this cemetery. The final epitaph of the period was carved on a badly worn sandstone plaque, but still preserves its full text: I(ulii) Philonis/ memoria (**BM18**).

Despite the low number of Late Roman-Early Christian epitaphs, it does inform us in some small ways about the local society and culture of the time. The use of both Latin and Greek attests to a persisting presence of Latin-speakers in the period, and the continued commingling of Roman and Greek onomastic and epigraphic conventions is likewise reflective of an enduring cultural *mélange*: one *Ἰούλ[ιος?]* and one *Ἰουλία* write their Roman name in the Greek alphabet, the typically Roman expression of erecting a funerary monument while alive (*vivus/a*) was used by Lamprias in Greek (*ζῶν*), and the Roman habit of including the deceased's age (*vixit annis...*) also continued to be used in Greek texts (*ζήσας ἔτη...*).

The content of the epitaphs is not particularly enlightening about the identity or status of the people they were erected for. We learn a few ages, we learn of a married couple, but in contrast to the previous period, there are no explicit references to such things as provenance, occupation or offices held, social status, etc. This is a clear indication that the epitaphs, just as the tombs, the mortuary rites, the burial assemblages and the tombstones on which they were carved, were no longer being used to point out and emphasize social differentiation. What some epitaphs do attest to, for the first time, is religious identity: Lamprias, for example, is said to have been entrusted by the Christian god (*ὁ Κύριος[ς]*) to take care of the burial and commemoration of himself and his wife. As was established by Rizakis, the epitaphs of the period thus testify to the existence of a Christian community at Patras from as early as the 3rd-4th century CE.⁶⁸¹

7.7 Death and burial in the 4th-6th century

As was stated in the introduction, this chapter is aimed at providing only a brief overview of mortuary practices in 4th-6th century Patras in or-

⁶⁸⁰ While this epitaph was not included Catalogue D nor in any of the temporal analyses presented in this thesis due to its late date, it is worth noting its existence nonetheless because the text explicitly refers to a Christian community in Patras: *Χριστιανοὶ ὄντες καὶ τὸν θεόν [φο]βούμενοι, μή τις τολμήσῃ ἀνέξαι [τὸ] οἰκητήριον τοῦτο τῇ<ν> κρί[σιν] ἔξ[ε] <ε> τὴν φοβερὰν τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ. I--- πρ[ι]-/[οσ]δοκῶντες τὸ μέλ[λον]. c.4.. ἐνθά[δε] κεῖται ὁ ΚΙ[---]/ατῆς χω[---]/ΤΤΑ[---] - 'A ceux qui sont chrétiens et craignent dieu: si quelqu'un ose ouvrir cette tombe il aura affaire au jugement terrible du dieu en attendant la parousie ...Ci gît...'. See Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 189 for an extensive discussion and bibliography.*

⁶⁸¹ Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 77.

der to allow for a comparison with the preceding and to provide some preliminary insights into local society and culture in the period that was characterized by the demise of the Roman empire and the rise of Christianity. The analysis of the mortuary record indicated that the number of burial sites, tombs, graves, and depositions grew smaller rather abruptly from the 3rd to the 4th century CE. Moreover, the spatial analysis showed that the three main cemeteries shrank in size, and that burials were inserted among the dilapidated remains of Roman houses. These patterns - fewer burials, smaller cemeteries, and burials in and among abandoned houses - are clearly correlated and point to demographic decline and a significant reduction of the size of the urban area.

We also saw that a new spatial distribution pattern emerged in the landscape of the dead: the placement of tombs and graves was no longer guided by the courses of the roads, but clusters of graves were now situated in new locations, and graves were almost invariably laid out in West-East orientation. Since at least one cemetery originated outside an Early Christian basilica and since the West-East orientation of burials was a central aspect of Christian ideology about death and resurrection, the alteration in the space of the dead must have been related to the growing influence of Christianity. The existence of a Christian community is attested by the

small number of epitaphs that invoke or refer to the Lord.

Trends towards funerary simplicity and equal treatment in death had already taken off during the Roman era, but it became more obvious in Late Roman and Early Christian times. It is likely that the rise of Christianity played an important role in solidifying these changes in mortuary practices: Christian notions about death and the afterlife would have led to an increasing belief that the provision of grave goods was no longer necessary, while Christianity's message about social equality may well have been a factor in the abandonment of the construction of monumental funerary architecture and the absence of emphasis on status and identity differentiation in mortuary treatment, burial assemblages, and the epitaphs of the period. Despite the fact, then, that the honorary decree for Basileios points to the continuation of life as it had been in the Roman era and proves existence of a wealthy, landowning upper class that served as benefactors for the wider community, the cemeteries of the period provide a picture of a Christianising society with an increasingly egalitarian social structure. It is possible that archaeologists have not yet unearthed the graves of the Late Roman-Early Christian elite, but it may also be the case that people of the higher social echelons as well no longer used the funeral, the tomb, and the epitaph for the assertion and promotion of their elevated social status.

8. From Polis to Colonia

a social analysis of death practices

8.1 Death and burial in a changing world

The aim of this study has been twofold. The first goal was to reconstruct the ways in which the people of Patras dealt with their dead from Classical to Late Roman-Early Christian times in a holistic manner, by using well-published archaeological and epigraphic data from funerary contexts, as well as poorer quality *legacy data*. The second aim was to use the local mortuary record to assess the impact of imperialism and globalization on this Greek community, and to shed light on the social and cultural consequences that processes of geopolitical change and growing global connectivity had on Patraean society as a whole, on local families, and on individuals.

As was explained in the introductory chapters, an analysis of burials is particularly useful in studies of social and cultural change, because funerary ritual and commemorative practices provide a series of opportunities for self-definition and self-representation. Patterns of common behaviour, transformations therein, and deviations from the norm are extremely informative about the society in which the behaviour took place, since they are the result of motivated actions that on the one hand reflect social norms, values and beliefs surrounding death, but that on the other hand are the result of individual expressions of and thoughts about identity. Therefore, each individual burial can help us reconstruct the ways in which the people of the past viewed and presented themselves, while the combined body of burials gives us insights into societies as a whole. When studied through time, patterns of tradition and innovation in the mortuary record can be identified, and these are an invaluable source of information about changing social structures, about local negotiations on social hierarchies, about fluctuating civic identities, and about shifting cultural orientations. Moreover, mortuary practices can be examined indiscriminately across the

social body, they provide us with information that extends beyond the better-known male elite perspective, and includes the wider urban masses and rural dwellers, men, women, and children, the rich and the poor, and whomever else's remains may have been excavated.

The material that was used for this study consists of archaeological and epigraphic material from Patras itself and from its immediate surroundings. It consists of burial sites, tombs and graves, tombstones and epitaphs, ornaments used for the adornment of the body, grave provisions, and the human remains themselves. The information was compiled from published reports and studies; none of the remains were studied in further detail. It is worth repeating that the archaeological remains all stem from rescue excavations that were carried out under difficult conditions, with limited resources and under strict time restraints; the local archaeologists were forced to leave much of the excavated material understudied, since new excavations had to be undertaken in rapid succession. As a result, the state of publication varies significantly between the individual excavations, tombs, graves, and burial assemblages. The tombstones and inscriptions, on the other hand, have been subjected to thorough study and almost all of them are fully published. While these issues of limited and uneven documentation on the one hand hindered finer analyses of qualitative aspects of the mortuary record, this study expressly intended to prove that archaeological data from old excavations that were carried out in hard circumstances, even if they are incompletely documented, are a source of tremendous value for students of the ancient world and that they are worthy of more scholarly attention than they are usually awarded.

This study adopted an approach that consisted of four steps. The first step entailed the collection and organization of all available mortuary data - on burial sites, on tombs, on graves, on the human remains, on the ornaments that the dead

were wearing, on the grave goods they were provided with, and on the tombstones and epitaphs that marked the graves - in a relational database and GIS. The second step involved the reconstruction of patterns and the identification of variation and deviations in local mortuary behaviour. In order to do so, the material was divided into five corpora that each spans a timeframe of about two centuries, and each of the five bodies of material was subjected to an integrated analysis along temporal, spatial, quantitative, and qualitative lines of enquiry. The next step was the contextualization of the observed patterns and deviations in mortuary behaviour within their historical context (which was sketched at the beginning of each chapter), and the final step involved the social interpretation of the patterns and deviations observed in the cemeteries per period and through time.

In this concluding chapter, the main observations of the period-specific analyses are tied together and the reconstructed patterns of continuity, change, tradition, and innovation in mortuary behaviour are discussed from a diachronic perspective. We will focus our attention on developments in the space of the dead, in the architecture of death and burial, in the way that the dead were dressed and adorned, in the grave goods that were given to them, and in the tombstones and epitaphs that were erected in their commemoration. By tracing how the different aspects of dealing with the dead changed through time and varied per period, we can get a deeper understanding of how the local community and its social structure developed through time, how social hierarchies were determined and renegotiated, and how communal and personal identities were shaped and reshaped in the context of imperialism and globalization.

8.2 The space of the dead

Where to place the dead? The question where to dispose of the decaying corpse was as central an aspect in ancient death practices as it is today. Today, the choice for burial location is motivated by several considerations, including those of a legal, practical, cultural, and ideological nature. In the modern Western world the inhumation of human remains is only allowed in those spaces that are by law assigned for funerary use, often situated at obscure locations in the landscape,

and - in the Netherlands at least - behind hedges so as to obscure the dead from view. The placement of the dead is strongly guided by a sense of belonging: people are generally buried near the place where they lived out their lives, spouses or kin are often buried together, but entire cemeteries or specific plots can also be reserved for other social groups, such as those that share a religious affiliation or ethnicity.

Similar considerations about the placement of the dead were also important in Antiquity. We know this, for example, from the burial of Herodotus Atticus, who, despite his wish to be buried alongside his wife on his own estate at Marathon, was buried in the Panathenaic stadium in Roman Athens, because it was the will of the Athenian people to honour the benefactor with a public funeral.⁶⁸² The point that I am trying to make is this: the placement of the dead is and never has been a random process; it is deliberate and meaningful, and we are wise not to take it as arbitrary and inconsequential. Therefore, the spatial dimensions of the mortuary record were a central theme throughout the thesis. By reconstructing patterns in the space of the cemetery, we can come closer a) to identifying the principles that guided the placement of the dead in ancient Patras, and b) to understanding if these principles were valid through the ages and for everyone, or if they were subject to change and differentiation. Let us summarize and discuss some of the spatial patterns that were observed in the analysis of the Patraean mortuary record.

8.2.1 The development of the mortuary locale

A total of 259 burial sites were identified for this study. Most of them were part of three major clusters that were located just outside the city along its major entrance route, which are the North, South, and East Cemeteries of Patras. Small burial grounds and isolated tombs and graves dotted the countryside and were probably related to farmsteads and rural habitation. The temporal analysis of the funerary remains at these sites allowed us to trace the development of the mortuary locale through time, from the 5th century BCE into the Early Christian period. Most burials of the Classical era were situated to the north of the settlement, fewer to its south, and even less in to its west and in rural locations.

⁶⁸² Cf. Rife 2008; Phil. VS, 2.1.15.

The evidence suggests that the North Cemetery developed into a formal cemetery from as early as the mid-5th century BCE when the polis was first established, while the South Cemetery developed later, probably towards the end of the 4th century BCE. As was true for most cemeteries of the Classical world, the space of the dead lay beyond the inhabited area (no domestic remains are attested at sites with 5th and 4th century BCE burials), thus attesting to the strict separations of the landscapes of the living and the dead. Although the number of burial sites was low for this period, it is nonetheless clear that they were situated along the main land routes to Aigion and Dyme respectively.

A dearth of burials dating to the 3rd century BCE may be indicative of demographic decline and/or economic hardships that resulted from the tumultuous political and military circumstances of the period. During the next century, however, both the North and the South Cemeteries started to expand. Since the domestic area of the polis is said to have expanded as well⁶⁸³, this pattern of expansion attests to a process of steady population growth. A cluster to the north of the acropolis represents the core of the Hellenistic cemetery⁶⁸⁴.

The spatial analysis of burial sites of 1st century BCE and CE date testified to the expansion of the North Cemetery away from and (primarily) closer to the urban core, to the continued and slightly intensified use of the South Cemetery, and to the creation of the new East Cemetery along the road that led to inland Achaia. The need for a third urban cemetery was surely related to the surging number of dead in the period; a fourfold increase was calculated in the number of dead from Hellenistic to early colonial times.⁶⁸⁵ This steep rise in the number of dead is a striking testimony to just how much the living population had grown in the wake of colonization. A contemporaneous increase in the number of rural burials, combined with evidence for centuriation and the construction of farmsteads, shows that the settlement of colonists was not limited to the urban area itself, but extended to the hinterland where these newcomers received a plot of land to inhabit and cultivate.

Over the course of the first three centuries CE, the Patraean cemeteries saw intensive use and massive expansion; a process of crowding was identified for the North Cemetery. The filling up of the cemeteries corresponds well with the known fact that Roman Patras grew out to be one of the main urban centres of the Roman province of Achaia, and was heavily populated at the time.

Marked changes in the space of the dead took place in the Late Roman and Early Christian period. The analysis of the mortuary record indicated that the number of burial sites, tombs, graves, and depositions declined rather rapidly from the 3rd to the 4th century CE, and a spatial analysis of the material showed that the three urban cemeteries shrank in size, and that burials were inserted among the dilapidated remains of Roman houses. These patterns - fewer burials, smaller cemeteries, and burials in and among abandoned houses - point to demographic decline and to a significant reduction of the size of the urban area. At the same time, a new spatial pattern emerged. Burials were no longer situated along the main roads into and out of the city as they had been in all of the centuries before, but they now were being placed in new locations. The observations that almost all graves in these new locations were laid out in West-East orientation following Christian ideologies regarding death and resurrection, and that at least one of the new cemeteries is known to have been situated next to an Early Christian basilica, make it clear that the alterations in the space of the dead were related to the Christianisation of the local community. Nonetheless, the period also witnessed continued use of the earlier cemeteries, thus showing that this was a gradual protracted and uneven process of change.

The analysis thus testified to a direct correlation between the number of depositions, the number of burial sites, and the extent of the cemeteries. This clearly shows that the development of the mortuary landscape was, for a large part, guided by the size of the population and the resulting number of dead that the cemeteries had to cater to. We have seen that the cemeteries expanded and filled up in times of prosperity, and when the number of dead decreased, the cemeteries compressed in size. But while population size and the need for space were obvious factors in the *development* of the space of the dead, the

⁶⁸³ Petropoulos and Rizakis 2006.

⁶⁸⁴ I.e. BS 142, 143, 145, 146, 149, 215-217, 227, and 228.

⁶⁸⁵ See Section 5.3.

organization of the burial landscape, and the internal organization of cemeteries was guided by considerations of another sort.

8.2.2 The organization of the mortuary locale

Throughout the period under study, the Patraeans physically separated their dead from the living community. In the city, the space of the dead lay beyond the urban perimeter, while in the countryside the dead seem to have been placed at a distance from minor settlements, farmhouses, and villae.⁶⁸⁶ As mentioned above, the practice of separating the landscapes of the living and the dead was a common Mediterranean tradition, and it is a well-known feature of cemeteries in the ancient world. The prime motivation for keeping the dead at safe distance was the notion of *miasma*, or the idea that death carried pollution.

At the same time, we can note a certain tension between the separation of the dead from the living and the existence of a close association between the two worlds, in the sense that accessibility and visibility were likewise key factors in choosing a final resting place for the dead. In Patras, as we have seen, the vast majority of burial sites were concentrated along the roads that led into and out of the city. Roadside burial served the practical goal of allowing easy access to the burial site for the funeral itself and for subsequent commemorative practices. Moreover, a gravesite along one of these routes ensured that the dead would not be easily forgotten, since a steady stream of passers-by was guaranteed to serve as an audience for the monuments and tombstones that memorialized the identity of the deceased.

From Classical to Roman times, the North Cemetery was the prime burial location. This is clear from sheer numerical evidence since the cemetery yielded the highest number of burial sites, tombs, and graves. But we also saw that this cemetery housed the majority of the monumental funerary architecture, the majority of the better quality graves, the majority of the tombstones (although I repeat that most were found *ex situ*), and that it yielded the highest number of richly furnished burials. The consistent and persistent differentiation between the North Cemetery and the other burial locations seems to have

been guided by a profound interest in social display: the people who buried their dead here wanted their funerals and memorials to be seen, noticed, and remembered. The fact that this sort of conspicuous mortuary behaviour was concentrated in the North Cemetery is quite easily explained by the fact that it was formed around one of the main land routes of the ancient Peloponnese. Evidence for repeated restoration of the road surface is a strong indicator for the intensity of its use; carts, horses, mules and people on foot travelled the road so frequently that it needed regular upkeep.⁶⁸⁷ Similar efforts were not identified in the roads of the South and East Cemeteries, which indicates that they were far less intensively used. The importance of this route is further evidenced by its widening, paving, and architectural embellishment in Roman times. Roadside burial in the North Cemetery, therefore, ensured the biggest audience for funerals and commemorative architecture. It is also important to realize that, because the road led to such places as Aigion and Corinth - cities of political and/or economic importance in the history of the Peloponnese - this cemetery provided the best possibility that one's memorial would be noticed not only by simple folk, but also by members of the political and social elite making their way through the area.

That visibility and display were major factors in the choice for a burial location is also manifested in the apparent push for pride of place that governed tomb construction in the North Cemetery during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. We have seen that construction space in the core of the cemetery was sought between, behind, in front of and in some cases on top of older tombs that stood in the area. This was not due to a lack of available burial space, since the other cemeteries had plenty of it, as did the outer sections of the North Cemetery and the area behind the first row of tombs. Therefore, rather than being the result of a gradual filling up, this pattern seems to point to a competition for space that was related to the desire to be buried as close to the roadside as possible, and as near to the urban perimeter as possible, in order to ensure proper visibility of one's tomb.

⁶⁸⁶ E.g. BS220.

⁶⁸⁷ See Section 2.3.2.

8.2.3 The spatial segregation of social groups

We have seen that the quality of information on the internal organization of cemeteries is patchy and poor given the sparse availability of site plans. Yet, it has proven possible to draw a picture of how the cemeteries themselves were organized. For the 5th and 4th centuries BCE observations were particularly limited. While there was a correlation between burial sites and roads, no preferred orientation could be discerned, either in relation to the road or otherwise. Burial clusters within the cemeteries could not be identified, but may have existed nonetheless: a group of burials at **BS215** contained similar types of jewellery and mortuary treatment, and it has in the past been hypothesized by Petropoulos that this site could have housed the remains of migrants from Macedonia.⁶⁸⁸

The evidence for the internal organization of the Hellenistic cemeteries was slightly better. The period witnessed the introduction of stone-built funerary periboloi in the North and South Cemeteries that enclosed, demarcated and monumentalized burial plots. A lack of contextual evidence for these periboloi inhibited their further analysis, but it is not unlikely that they belonged to local families.⁶⁸⁹ Other possible burial clusters, whether they were originally demarcated or not, might be identified on the basis of similarities in performed mortuary practices, grave types, or grave goods. One such example was found at **BS146**, where three cist graves built of limestone slabs that were all richly furnished with gold and silver artefacts, were placed by the side of the road through the North Cemetery in West-East orientation (i.e. perpendicular to the road). Hellenistic funerary stelai excavated at the same site might be associated with these burials. Considering the nature and the similarity of the remnants, these graves are thought to have belonged to a group of elite individuals from Patras; given that these burials were disturbed and looted, we cannot look into their identity any further. A cluster of burials that contained the skeletal remains of children was identified at **BS216**, but for this site, too, further information was lacking.

Although the observations are sparse and isolated, the Classical and Hellenistic evidence does show that the choice for burial location was, at least in part, governed by specific aspects of the identity of the deceased. These aspects appear to have included kinship relations, social status, age, and possibly ethnicity or provenance.

The evidence for spatial demarcation of groups of burials became much more clear-cut and pronounced in the Roman period, when the communal deposition of the dead in high-walled periboloi and aboveground tombs became a defining feature of the cemeteries. These enclosures and tombs were intended to house the remains of small social groups: in many tombs the number of burial spots ranged between 6 to 10, but in others (such as the mausoleum of the Aequani) we counted up to 45 individual places of burial. On the basis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence, we plausibly identified the tomb occupants as both nuclear and extended families, the latter including slaves and freedmen as well⁶⁹⁰, but we have seen that gladiators were also buried together in this period. Burial associations that are known from other parts of Roman Greece are, thus far, not attested in Patras.

Spatial differentiation was also observed *within* the individual tombs of this period. In the case of **T100.D**, for example, which was a small columbarium enclosed by a peribolos, we may note variation in mortuary treatment between the burials that took place in the peribolos (inhumations) and in the columbarium (cremations), and while the urns in the burial chamber were almost all made of clay, the one in the central niche at the back of the chamber (i.e. opposite the entrance), was made of lead. Similar divisions of space and mortuary treatment was observed in other tombs as well (e.g. **T54.A-B**, **T103.B**). The spatial differentiation may be interpreted as a reflection of social differentiation among the tomb occupants. The people that were buried inside the burial chambers - the most prominent burial spots, that is - are likely to have been the core members of the family that commissioned the tomb; the central niche must have been occupied by the head of the family. Those individuals who were buried in the other spaces of the tomb are more plausibly identified

⁶⁸⁸ The hypothesis was put forth by Petropoulos 2005a, 2005b; see Chapter 3.

⁶⁸⁹ Several periboloi in Attica, for example, belonged to the local citizen elite (cf. Garland 1982; Stroszeck 2014).

⁶⁹⁰ The epitaph of the family of the Turpilii is the most direct evidence for this, see BM176.

as the descendants, freedmen, and/or slaves of the tomb owners. This internal differentiation in space and mortuary treatment was a marked feature of several - but not all - 1st-early 2nd century CE tombs. It is interesting to see that this feature appears to have been abandoned over the course of the 2nd-3rd centuries CE. This may point to three things, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: it is possible that a) people no longer built tombs that catered to individuals of significantly varying status, b) that the social groups that erected and were buried in the communal tombs changed in nature and composition (from families with slaves to a *familia* of gladiators, for example), but it may also be c) that internal status differences between tomb occupants still existed, but that their perpetuation after death was no longer a concern in the later Roman periods. The latter explanation seems to bear particular weight, given that a diminishing importance in differentiation after death was also observed in the tomb architecture, in the adornment of the dead, and in the grave provisions of the period.

In Late Roman times the construction of collective, aboveground tombs was abandoned, but the clustering of graves remained a feature of the internal organization of cemeteries. Now, however, graves could be concentrated around religious architecture, and were laid out in clusters or parallel rows in West-East orientation, without any architectural elaboration or differentiation. It was already noted that these spatial patterns testify to the Christianisation of the local population, but they also attest to something else, namely that religious identity and the membership of a religious community had grown to become more important than family identity and the membership of a particular kin-group.

To conclude, the grouping of individuals in the cemeteries was a defining organizing principle in the space of the dead. Individuals were grouped in death, because they shared crucial aspects of identity in life: they shared kinship relations, were of roughly the same age when they died, belonged to the same social layer in terms of wealth, status, or worked in the same profession, shared a joint foreign provenance, or were connected through a common religious identity. As far as we could see, there was no evidence for clustering or segregation along lines of sex or

gender. Throughout the period under study efforts were undertaken to physically and visibly demarcate groups of depositions, albeit in varying ways. In Patras, the earliest archaeological evidence for this practice dates to the Hellenistic era, when limestone periboloi were built to enclose multiple burials, and continued into the Early Christian era, when people were buried in consecutive, parallel rows of adjoining graves. The spatial segregation of burial groups was most pronounced in the Roman era, when it was accomplished through the construction of high-walled funerary enclosures and communal tombs. But we need to be aware that only those enclosures built in durable materials are preserved in the archaeological record, and we should never exclude the possibility that wood or even hedges or plants could have been used to fence off burial plots.

The demarcation of burial groups within the cemetery is strongly interwoven with notions of both association and segregation, of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and of division. Communal burial spaces served as a testimony to the social cohesiveness of the group of people buried within the enclosure or tomb - even though we have seen that differentiation within the group was emphasized as well. At the same time, communal burial set the group apart from those who were not included: it was a matter of 'us versus them', and as such, the spatial organization of the burial groups vis-à-vis one another could serve as a statement on how the different groups related to each other. We have seen that in Patras these groups were formed on the basis of social factors, often by such aspects as family relations - be they a nuclear family, or an extended *oikos*, or a *familia* -, the age of the deceased, their social status, profession, religious affiliation, or cultural and ethnic identity.

8.2.4 Death and space

To conclude, the spatial analysis of burials in Patras proves that the development of the mortuary landscape was never an arbitrary process. Rather, the placement of each and every deposition was the result of various deliberate choices that could be motivated by practical factors, by beliefs surrounding death and the afterlife, by social conventions, or by one's status or status aspirations. Over time, cemeteries were

created and abandoned, expanded and reduced in size, thus catering to the needs of the local population at each point in time. Three main principles guided the organization of the mortuary landscape: the removal of the dead from the space of the living, the visibility and display of the dead, and the spatial clustering of social groups. As such, the internal organization of cemeteries reflected and reproduced, yet could also challenge and redefine the social order of the living community.

8.3 Dressing and adorning the dead

Before a deceased person was deposited in the final resting place of choice, several very important aspects of the funeral process had already taken place. Immediately after a death occurred, the bereaved washed, anointed, dressed, and adorned the corpse so that the dead body could be laid out in the family home, and people could visit and pay their respects. Although it may at first seem inconsequential, the appearance of the deceased, the way that he or she was dressed and adorned was in fact of the utmost importance. Since the *prothesis* and *ekphora* represented the final moments that the deceased was present in the world of the living, this was the last time that people could look upon the deceased and reminisce about who they had been and what they had meant during life. These final moments are laden with powerful emotions, and the viewing of a dead body will inevitably be imprinted upon the minds of the onlookers. It was, therefore, of crucial importance that the dead looked as best they could, precisely because the weight of these moments meant that it would leave a lasting memory. An analysis of practices of corpse adornment, thus, can provide us with insights into how people viewed and presented their dead, and about the aspects of the identity of the deceased that the Patraeans deemed worthy of emphasizing during the funeral.

In total, only 78 out of all the burials collected for this study provided good quality evidence relating to the way the Patraean dead were dressed and/or adorned. Of these, twelve burials dated to Late Classical-Early Hellenistic times, 25 were Hellenistic, thirteen were of the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period, sixteen were Roman, and the final eleven dated to the 4th-6th century CE. This is only a small number for each

period and the material is moreover heavily subjected to publication bias (valuable jewellery was studied and published in more detail), but the data still allowed the reconstruction of noteworthy patterns in local practices of corpse adornment.

8.3.1 Funerary garments and shrouds

The archaeological evidence for funerary dress is restricted because the soil conditions in Patras – as is true for Greece in general – are not suitable for the preservation of woven fabrics and leather, which were the materials commonly used for clothing and footwear in the ancient world. Therefore, the evidence consisted solely of items made of durable materials (e.g. bone or metals) such as buttons, dress pins, or buckles, but also includes gold thread. Since only 21 burials yielded objects that may be identified as the remnants of garments or as items for fastening clothes, the evidence for the ways in which the dead could be dressed is extremely limited and the discussion of the topic is therefore brief.

Dress items of the Classical era were limited to two pins of unspecified material. Three Hellenistic burials contained gold thread that either belonged to luxury garments or to shrouds; in one of these burials, the deceased wore silver-plated sandals (as well as a large amount of gold jewellery). Hellenistic, too, are two silver clothing pins, and a gold dress pin and brooch that were made of gold foil and were thus for funerary use only. To the Early Roman era date three burials with evidence for the dressing of the dead: two children, both buried in simple tile graves, wore a gilded silver buckle and bronze studded sandals respectively, and the clothes of the man buried in Mausoleum of the Aequani were fastened with a gold fibula. Two ash urns of the 1st-2nd c. CE contained simple bone buttons and one bone pin mixed, which were with the cremated remains; these items must be the remnants of the clothing that was worn by the deceased during the cremation process. Roman inhumation graves yielded clothing pins of bone, bronze, silver, and gold. Of Late Roman-Early Christian date were one bronze and one iron buckle, as well as gold thread.

Some observations can be made. The gold thread that was found in four of the burials points to the sparse use of opulent textiles in Hellenistic and

again in Late Roman times. Pins were the most commonly used dress item, but these do not provide very specific indications as to the type of clothes they were used for. In fact, it is even possible that some of them were worn in the hair, rather than used for fastening garments.⁶⁹¹ Gold thread was never coupled with a pin or fibula, which might mean that the gold-threaded textiles were shrouds rather than tunics or cloaks, but obviously this cannot be ascertained. Evidence for footwear was limited to two examples, and in the case of the silver plated sandals, we may wonder whether these were commissioned specifically for the burial, rather than having been worn in daily life. The presence of a small number of buckles in graves of Roman and Late Roman times points to the use of belts.

The distinct lack of valuable dress remains in the majority of the graves may be taken as an indication that most people were dressed in simple garments and were covered with simple shrouds on their way to the grave, while only a minority was treated differently. This minority was of a varied social composition, and the way in which they were treated was highly varied as well. The available evidence indicates that both adults and children were provided with durable dress items⁶⁹², and so were both men and women. There is no one to one relation between the presence of dress items and the type of mortuary treatment of the type of grave in which the deceased was deposited. It does seem to be the case that golden items of the Hellenistic and Early Roman eras were associated with higher quality graves and, but rarely, with monumental funerary architecture. This suggests, perhaps not surprisingly, that people who were buried in better quality tombs or graves also wore more elaborate garments and/or were covered by more elaborate shrouds. When we look at the material that the durable dress items were made of, then one pattern does become quite clear: the use of valuable materials - gold and silver, in this case - was heavily concentrated in the Hellenistic era. As is shown below, this pattern is replicated in the local practices of adornment.

⁶⁹¹ A good hint to its function would obviously be the location of the pins inside the graves in relation to the dead body. Unfortunately, this kind of spatial information is not usually noted in the preliminary reports used for this thesis.

⁶⁹² For the dressing of dead children in the Roman era, see Carroll 2012.

8.3.2 Wreaths, jewellery, and ostentation

While the evidence for garments was limited, the burials of Patras do give a good overview of local habits in the beautification of the body by means of wreaths and jewellery. Detailed information about the ornaments that were worn by the deceased was available for 69 burials, which together yielded 35 gold or gilded wreaths and 128 items of jewellery that include earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and finger rings, which were made from precious metals, glass, gems, and other durable materials. Overall, however, the bejewelled burials form only a small group. This suggests that the overwhelming majority of the Patraean dead did not wear any durable jewellery in the grave, and that they were crowned – if they were crowned, that is – with wreaths that were made of natural branches, leaves, fruits and flowers, rather than with their valuable metal counterparts. Those individuals that did wear jewellery in death wore strikingly different amount of it. There were those that adorned with few and simple items of jewellery and there were those that were decked with impressive amounts of luxuries. The jewellery includes items that could have belonged to the deceased while alive, but it also includes items that had been specifically bought or commissioned for the funeral. Wreaths are assumed to have been procured for funerary use as well. A diachronic analysis of the evidence has shown that adornment of the corpse was practiced throughout the period under study, but exclusivity, diversity, quantity, and quality fluctuated through time and among individuals.

In the Classical period, the adornment of the dead was very limited and this may reflect that there was a shared ideology concerning social equality (*isonomia*). It was in the late 4th century BCE that valuable items of adornment were for the first time consciously being deposited in the grave. These ornaments included bronze gilded wreaths and gold jewellery. It was argued that these artefacts were imports; the wreaths and earrings display strong similarities with those that were being produced in Macedon at the time, and it seems likely that the sudden influx of these new items is related to increased connectivity between Patras and the Macedonian heartland. While it may well be the case that these items found their way to Patras simply by trade,

we should not exclude the possibility that the presence of Macedonians in Patras itself - attested in the written sources - was a driving factor behind their import.

After a century or so for which there is no evidence on corpse adornment, the mortuary record shows that local interest in the beautification of the corpse was particularly strong in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. In this period, gold wreaths and gold jewellery decked many a corpse. The practice reached its peak in the period 150-75 BCE, when disposable gold funerary jewellery was in vogue and locally produced. The observation that the majority of these items of funerary jewellery were decorated with imagery that relates to death or afterlife indicates that the jewellery not merely served to adorn the dead, but also served a symbolic function in offering hope and protecting or shielding the deceased from the evils of death.

Some of the people who wore funerary jewellery were, however, quite literally dressed to impress. It was argued that the phenomenon of sumptuous corpse adornment should be ascribed to a group of wealthy individuals who wanted and could afford to direct significant amounts of their means towards their dead. The practice was identified as a strategic form of funerary ostentation by means of which these people sought public attention in order to claim, promote and secure an elevated status in the local community. It seems that the urgency for this behaviour was induced by the circumstances in which the Patraeans found themselves in this period: political unrest followed the encroachment of Roman power in Greece and the dissolution of the Achaian League, Patras' regional and supra-regional importance had risen after the destruction of Corinth, and the polis witnessed increased connectivity and an unprecedented influx of wealth (see Chapter 4). These were all major disruptions to the local status quo that on the one hand provided people with new opportunities for political, economic, and social gain, but on the other hand necessitated a social debate about who stood where in the local social hierarchy. Funerary ostentation could be put to strategic use in this debate.

The expense put towards the dressing and adorning of the dead dwindled after the Hellenistic period. Over the course of the Roman era the deposited jewellery not only diminished in num-

ber, it also became decidedly plain. The practice of procuring valuable items of adornment specifically for the funeral - gold wreaths and gold funerary jewellery - was completely abandoned by the 2nd century CE if not earlier, and did not reappear. There was probably a variety of reasons for this development that are not mutually exclusive, but likely mutually reinforcing each other. It is possible that the developments reflect changes in the funeral process, whereby display of the body during the *prothesis* and the *ekphora* became less important, and it may also be that new attitudes toward dead bodies prohibited them from being used as props in the advertisement of wealth and status. In the Early Christian era, ideologies surrounding modesty and equality may have played a role in the lack of adornment in death (and during life, perhaps?). The immigration of Roman settlers and their funerary practices and ideologies may have had an effect as well: the rapid destruction of the body by means of fire and the Roman aversion of the deposition of wealth within the grave may have spread to the wider population. Since it is not possible to test these hypotheses on the basis of Patraean remains itself, a future comparative study of the question is necessary.

8.3.3 Adornment and identity

To conclude, Patraean practices of corpse adornment varied significantly over time and among social groups and individuals. Although the burials of both men and women (with different types of ornaments), of adults and children, of cremated and inhumed individuals, and simple and elaborate graves could be furnished with durable and/or valuable items of adornment, the majority of the people were buried in simple garments, without metal wreaths, and without jewellery. While care for the external appearance of the Patraean deceased was doubtlessly a concern throughout the ages, there are two periods during which bodies received more attention than had been usual. These are the late 4th-early 3rd century CE and the period between ca. 150-75 BCE, when new and conspicuous adornment practices were introduced. These practices may reflect a heightened attempt to preserve or protect the body after death, but the expensive and exclusive nature of the wreaths and jewellery that was deposited makes it more

likely that the choice to use these items was related to the presentation and viewing of the body. It was mentioned above that the dead body could be used to communicate a carefully constructed narrative about the deceased, and that it would leave a lasting memory on those who saw it. If the deceased was crowned with a gold wreath and his or her body was decked with copious amounts of gold jewellery, then this constructed narrative must have revolved around the glorification of the deceased. Adornment, then, served to proclaim, reinforce, and aggrandize the social status of the deceased. By extension, the status of the burying group was promoted as well.

8.4 The provision of grave goods

In addition to the items that dressed and adorned the bodies of the deceased, a varied collection of grave goods was recovered from the Patraean graves. These grave goods, which included objects that may have been owned by the deceased in daily life as well as items that were procured specifically for their deposition in the grave, were brought to the burial site during the *ekphora*, and they were placed within the graves together with the body of the deceased. Since the bereaved had to pick out certain objects to accompany their loved ones in their graves, the deposition of grave goods reflects a conscious choice by the burying group. The artefacts that were chosen must have, therefore, been considered as essential provisions in the death process. The question is why they were essential, and what they represent: were they used during one of the funerary rituals, were they provisions for the afterlife, or were they perhaps an object-based rendition the deceased's persona, or were they all of the above combined into one? A contextual analysis of the grave goods was undertaken in order to identify depositional norms and exceptions per period, to identify changing patterns through time, and to come closer to understanding the motivations behind the deposition of certain types of grave goods. The main aim is to ascertain whether aspects of identity and political, economic, and social circumstances are related to the provision of grave goods, but since not everything can be explained by such factors alone, some attention is also given to afterlife beliefs.

Burial assemblages could be reconstructed for 238 out of the 3432 depositions that form the corpus of this study. Many more graves were reported to have been furnished, but lacked adequate descriptions of the grave goods⁶⁹³, while for others the excavated grave goods were collectively recorded for the entire excavated site and could not be assigned to a particular grave.⁶⁹⁴ It is impossible to give estimations on the number of burials that would have originally been furnished, but the excavation reports do indicate that there were plenty of graves that did not contain artefacts of any sort. Despite the relatively low number of known grave assemblages, they did prove sufficient for a reconstruction of the main depositional patterns per period, and for the identification of norms, exceptions, and developments in the practices surrounding the provisions for the dead. The observations that are of the most interest for this study and are discussed in further detail here include variation in the types of grave goods, fluctuations in the quantity and value of grave goods, observations about the provenance of the grave goods, depositional patterns relating to the identity of the deceased, and the relation between grave goods and afterlife beliefs.

8.4.1 Types of grave goods

The grave goods of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period consisted for a large part of ceramic vessels that were either intended for the storing, pouring, or drinking of wine or served as containers for scented oils and other toiletries. Metal artefacts include mirrors and strigils, and five individuals were provided with a coin; in at least two cases the coins had been placed in the mouth of the deceased. The grave goods further include ceramic lamps, a miniature kalathos, and two terracotta figurines of unknown shape. One grave contained four ivory doves among its fur-

⁶⁹³ This group includes 61 depositions. Six are LCI-EHel: G55.1, 150.1-4, and 251.1 ('female attributes'), two are Hel: G142.1-2 ('rich grave goods'), seventeen are LHel-ER: G100.19, 100.24, 195.1-2, and 215.113-125, 31 are of R date: 10.1, 28.1, 36.1, 70.1-5, 70.16-21, 95.20-24, 100.6-11 ('various grave goods of the 1st-2nd c. CE'), 154.3-4, 181.9-10 ('many grave goods'), 207.1, and 220.1 ('some grave goods, mainly lamps'), and the final five are LR-EChr: 95.1-5 ('coins were found in these graves').

⁶⁹⁴ These are depositions at BS13, 19, 29, 35, 39, 59, 86, 90, 91, 94, 96, 99, 100, 119, 132, 133, 136, 141, 153, 155, 161, 165, 167, 172, 174, 177, 196, 200, 205, 210, 215, 216, 219, 228, 234, and 254. See Catalogues A and C for a description of the grave goods recovered from these burial sites.

nishings, and fragments of ivory and iron nails in another burial may represent the remnants of a small box or chest. Of particular interest was a small bronze vessel that could be identified as an egg-cup because one hen's egg was preserved inside.

The grave goods of the Hellenistic period include gold danakes and bronze coins, bronze mirrors, iron strigils, combs, various types of utensils, as well as one large set of gaming pebbles. Miscellaneous objects include fragments of silver, bronze and lead plating as well as a bronze handle and ivory hinges that are likely the remnants of wooden boxes or chests. As was true for the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, however, most of the Hellenistic grave furnishings can be assigned to two main functional categories: those related to drinking practices and those related to grooming practices. Although the types of artefacts remained largely the same as those that were deposited before, a marked difference was identified in the depositional patterns. For while items related to nourishment had been the largest category in the earlier material, items related to grooming formed the largest category in the Hellenistic graves. The pattern seems to represent a shift in priorities in the death ritual, whereby concerns for the nourishment of the dead gave way to concerns about the external appearance of the deceased. This corresponds well with the increased attention for the adornment of the dead that we discussed above. In addition to the shift in their relative importance, the grave provisions of these two categories also witnessed a dramatic change in material and value. In sharp contrast to the previous period, when all drinking, pouring and storing vessels were made of clay, about half of the Hellenistic vessels of this category were made of silver.⁶⁹⁵ Silver was also used for oil and cosmetics containers: several Hellenistic pyxides were made of silver, as were the two aryballoi that were both combined with a set of silver strigils attached to a ring. Other items made of or plated with silver include lamps, combs, a shell (possibly used as a makeup container), and utensils such as needles and a spoon. The surge in silverware is striking and significant and is discussed further in the following section.

In striking contrast to the Hellenistic era, when several burials had been furnished with silver symposium-sets, strigils, pyxides, and other silver objects, the burials of the 1st centuries BCE and CE were completely devoid of silver vessels and silver grooming tools. In this period, grave goods of valuable metals were limited to eight gold danakes, one silver coin or danake, two silver astragaloï and one silver rattle in the Aequani-sarcophagus, a silver pen and a silver needle that were each placed in the grave of a child. Bronzes consisted primarily of coins, but also included one mirror, one needle, and one ear spoon. Other valuable materials, such as rock-crystal, ivory, or marble, were found in only two graves. Ceramic vessels related to nourishment are deposited in modest numbers, and the bulk of the grave goods is formed by unguentaria. While unguentaria had been common among earlier burial assemblages as well, they are now primarily made from glass rather than clay.

The Roman-era burial assemblages consist largely of glass and ceramic unguentaria; they form 47 percent of the grave provisions. Other glass and ceramic vessels (many of unspecified type) make up an additional 20 percent of the provisions. Ceramics further include lamps, an incense burner, two miniature theatrical masks, a doll, and figurines. Gaming pebbles were found in three graves. At least thirty-nine bronze coins and three gold danakes formed 14 percent of the grave provisions. The decline in the number of grooming instruments that had set in during the Early Roman era continued: only one grave contained a strigil, while bronze mirrors, combs and other grooming utensils were completely absent. It was observed that the abandonment of provisions related to bodily care not only related to metal grooming tools, but also to the pottery shapes, where such items as pyxides and lekani-des have become completely absent. This, once more, can be correlated to the noted decline in the use of ornaments, and seems to testify to a new attitude towards the body during the funeral and about the preservation of the body after death. Grave goods of the period further include two bronze sistra, three lead rattles, and iron nails or spikes that may have carried an apotropaic function.

In Late Roman-Early Christian times, coins formed the main category of the grave goods. The

⁶⁹⁵ I remind the reader that the pattern is skewed due to a publication bias in favour of richly furnished burials.

second most popular grave provision in this period was the oil flask, but they are hardly as ubiquitous as they had been in the Roman age. The other grave provisions of the period include a few pouring and drinking vessels, lamps, an incense burner, as well as a pyxis that contained bones and may constitute the remnants of a ritual offering. One grave contained a single nail that may have had a symbolic function. It is noteworthy that glass vessels and other artefacts that are readily identifiable as imports have all but disappeared from the burial assemblages.

8.4.2 Quantity, value, and provenance

The analyses of grave goods that were presented in Chapters 3-7 shows that the number of grave provisions per furnished grave dwindled over time. While the average number of grave goods lay around five in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic era, this dropped to 3-4 in both the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, and to 1-2 from the 2nd century CE onwards. It should be noted that the averages are skewed for all but the earliest era due to existence of a few burials that contain exceptionally high numbers of grave provisions. In other words, while four or five grave goods did indeed seem to have been the norm among the earliest furnished burials, the majority of all of the furnished graves of the later periods were in fact provided with only one or maybe two grave goods. But while the average number of objects per furnished burial declined from the 4th-3rd c. BCE to the 2nd-1st c. BCE, the divide between and 'rich' and 'poor' burial assemblages actually widened dramatically in the same period. The materials from which the grave goods were manufactured showed that the percentage of high-value gold and silver artefacts reached its peak in the Hellenistic era. This corresponds directly with the pattern that was observed in the ornaments. The phenomena of extravagant corpse adornment and the deposition of high-value grave goods were both limited to the Hellenistic era, and - or so our data suggest - culminated between ca. 150 and 75 BCE with the production of gold funerary jewellery in the one aspect and the deposition of silver symposium-sets and grooming tools in the other. Both practices were undoubtedly meant to serve as a conspicuous display of wealth. We should also remember that both gold and silver were

imported commodities. Their high occurrence in the Hellenistic era, therefore, does not only attest to the wealth of certain families in Patras, it also reflects intensifying networks of contact and trade.

The marked increase the number and value of grave provisions in Hellenistic times and the associated widening gap between high and low-value grave assemblages has been observed in many other cemeteries in Greece as well. Scholars relate this phenomenon to an abandonment of the Classical isonomic ethos and a turn towards individualism and oligarchization, and a similar explanation may be valid for Patras. The fact that these phenomena occurred in the period in the wake of Rome's defeat of the Achaean League and destruction of Corinth is not incidental, but crucial: Patras' new role on the regional and supra-regional stage provided a) the availability of gold and silver items through the intensification of trade networks, b) a greater affluence in the polis and rising wealth among its inhabitants, thus allowing people to increase their expenditure on a burial, and c) it created a need for a discourse on social status, since the new circumstances opened up new possibilities for advancement in the social, economic, and political sphere. The ostentatious display and disposal of wealth during the funeral indicates that this discourse was evidently (partly) played out in the polis' cemeteries.

During Patras' colonial existence a dramatic change was observed in local habits of grave good provision in terms of value. Notwithstanding a few exceptions, the burials of the Roman period were furnished with low numbers of grave goods: most graves contained only one or maybe two artefacts, and the few objects that did end up in the grave - mostly unguentaria and coins - were of a relatively modest nature, especially if we look at the materials they were made of: while 36 percent of (published) Hellenistic grave provisions were made of gold or silver, this dropped to 11 percent in the 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE, and to a mere 1 percent in the following centuries.

At the same time that the value of grave assemblages started to decline, however, we witnessed the largescale introduction of glass vessels, mainly unguentaria, in grave assemblages. These were not locally produced, but were most likely imported from production centres on the

Levantine coast and in northern Italy. In addition to the massive amounts of glassware, there were other objects of non-local origin that attest to wide-spreading networks of trade in the Roman period. Such imports included a cup and phiale from an Italian workshop and various ivory objects that hint to contacts with Egypt or wider North Africa. In addition, there were coins from localities in the Peloponnese, wider Greece, and Italy. Moreover, 1st c. CE ash chests that were imported from workshops in the city of Rome attest to close trade relations with the Italian peninsula, marble sarcophagi came from the East, and the marble that was used for tomb-construction and burial markers of the era were also sourced outside the Peloponnese. Imported items were hardly unique to the Roman period; the gold and silver that was common in Hellenistic graves had to be imported as well, because these materials were not available in the Peloponnese itself. Nonetheless, the increased intensity and variety of the imported items in Roman times shows that Patras was affected by the growing intensification of supra-regional connectivity and trade that characterized the Roman Imperial period. The number of identifiable imports declined in Late Roman-Early Christian period, suggesting that Patras' relations with other cities and regions became less intense at this time.

8.4.3 Grave goods and identity

One of the crucial questions regarding the provision of grave goods is whether the identity of the deceased determined what kinds of grave goods were provided, and if so, which aspects of his or her identity were the prime determining factors. Here, we inevitably run into problems with the evidence. It was stated before that the lack of skeletal analyses prevents a solid analysis of differentiation along lines of age, sex, health, or provenance. Grave markers, which can be equally helpful determining age and gender of the deceased, but can also inform us about the name, ethnicity, social roles, family connections and so forth, have hardly ever been found *in situ* upon an undisturbed grave. Despite these constraints, a contextual analysis of the grave assemblages did allow us to make correlations that may hint to differential mortuary treatment related to the deceased's persona.

Some correlations were observed between grave goods and identity. Certain grave provisions marked the deceased's membership to a social group based on shared biological traits or economic ability: mirrors were identified as signifiers of female identity, sets of strigils with aryballoi - not strigils in their own right - seem to have been beholden to men, children may have received animal-shaped grave goods more often, and the inclusion of silver variations of ceramic grave provisions distinguished the rich from the wider community. Grave provisions did not let us differentiate between locals and migrants. Gendered objects were limited to the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, while children became more visible in the Roman era. And while wealth differentiation was marked in the Hellenistic era, the Roman-period grave goods were overall of a modest nature despite the existence of truly monumental tombs. As far as expenditure is concerned, therefore, the patterns observed in the adornments of the corpse are thus replicated by those in grave provisions, and together they counter the developments in tomb construction.

Religious identity was tentatively identified for a few individuals buried with paraphernalia related to Orphism or Dionysiac cult, and to the cult of Isis. Christian identity markers were not attested. Other aspects of identity, in particular those of a more personal nature, have been tentatively identified in a few cases, but are difficult to substantiate precisely because they were unique to one person: we came across a child who was given a pen, a child buried with the figurine of a pregnant woman (representing motherhood un-attained?), a young woman who was buried with a baby feeder, and we came across gladiators who were provided with a lamp with a gladiatorial scene.

Overall, therefore, we can observe both norms and variations along different aspects of the persona of the deceased, including their age, gender, social status, and cultural identity, and that these attained different measures of importance over time. Differentiation was rather marked among Classical and Hellenistic burial assemblages, but we get the impression that grave provisions in the Roman era were much less tailored to the personal identity of the deceased, but instead adhered to a general social norm that applied more or less equally to all of the dead.

8.4.4 Grave goods, rituals, and afterlife beliefs

In a few cases, the grave goods seem to offer clues about the religious beliefs of the grave's occupant: two individuals who were buried with *sistra* could be initiates in the cult of Isis, and two individuals that were buried with inscribed golden leaves were likely initiates in a Dionysiac cult. Afterlife ideologies were an important aspect of both cults; the worship of these deities in life was thought to guarantee the initiates a better position in the life that came after death. Arguably, the deceased took the symbols of their initiation with them in the grave so that, once they reached the Underworld, they could be easily identified as worshippers and thus get immediate better treatment.

How other depositional practices relate to afterlife beliefs is less clear-cut, but a consideration of the main artefact categories per period and shifts therein through time do provide some insights into changing priorities in taking care of the dead, be they guided by afterlife beliefs or not. The analyses have shown that the majority of the grave provisions could be assigned to six general categories: coins, lamps, vessels for food and drink, oil vessels, grooming instruments and cosmetics (the latter represented by the now empty containers), and miscellanea. Their relative popularity shifted over time, but one or more items of almost all categories were present in each period; grooming is the exception, for no artefacts of this category were found in Late Roman-Early Christian burials.

The category of miscellaneous artefacts and those of indeterminable or unspecified shape or function consistently makes up about 20 percent of the grave good assemblages, and includes such objects as figurines and play-things, iron nails and spikes, the remnants of boxes or chests, as well as many of the unique items discussed in the section on grave goods and identity above.

Lamps are a consistent, but decisively small presence among grave good assemblages, but their inclusion was never part of the norm. A correlation was observed between lamps and vessels for nourishment in the burials of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods and it was tentatively proposed that this combination might be related to afterlife beliefs, in which a dark underworld needed to be lit, and where the dead

needed their drinking gear to nourish their souls. Alternatively, lamps may constitute the remnants of funerary ritual. Warner Slane reports on two Roman burials in the North Cemetery of Corinth where the lamps were found on top on the grave cover; she suggests that the extinguishing of the lamp could have been part of the funerary ritual itself.⁶⁹⁶ Indeed, in funerary iconography the extinguishing of light - often a torch - is a well-known theme that symbolizes a life that has come to an end. Unfortunately, the data on the Patraean lamps from funerary contexts is limited and we cannot test if Warner Slane's hypothesis may be valid here as well. In most cases, only the presence of a lamp is recorded in the preliminary reports, and it is generally not mentioned where the lamps were situated in (or on) the grave, whether they showed signs of use, which iconographies they bore, and so forth. At the moment, this precludes a deeper analysis of the function and meaning of lamps during the funeral proceedings.

In the Early Roman and Roman periods, oil flasks - mostly *unguentaria* - formed the bulk of the grave provisions. While they would have contained oils or perfumes that could have been used for bodily care, the fact that they are not combined with grooming tools seems to suggest that they can also be seen as a grave good in their own right. It is important to note that none of the reports mention the presence of caps of any sort closing off the *unguentarium*, although they could have been made of perishable materials. At the moment, at least, there is no evidence to suggest that the *unguentaria* were full or empty when deposited. Therefore, the flasks may also be the remnants of a funeral ritual during which the oil was sprinkled in the grave either as an offering to appease the spirit of the deceased or to serve the more mundane use of masking the smell of the corpse.

The types of objects that make up the nourishment category include jugs, cups, bowls, ladles, spoons, plates, but also *phialai* that were used for wine libations. They were provided in graves of all periods, but they played a particularly central role in Late Classical and Hellenistic funeral practices, when they were often deposited as sets of two or more artefacts. As was mentioned above, several grave assemblages of

⁶⁹⁶ Warner Slane 2017, 229-230.

these periods contain symposium-sets, with vessels and utensils for the storing, pouring, and drinking of wine. Save for two examples, such sets are no longer provided in burials of the Roman period and later, when vessels for food and drink become decisively less popular and mostly appear as one artefact per grave. A crucial aspect of these vessels is unknown: on the basis of the available evidence we cannot ascertain whether they were deposited with foodstuffs inside or whether they were empty.⁶⁹⁷ The meaning behind the deposition of these vessels is therefore difficult to interpret: if foodstuffs were provided, then they can be assumed to have functioned in the provision of nourishment for the deceased; if, on the other hand, they were empty, they may either represent the remnants of a funerary meal, or be a sign that the deceased was thought to need his or her personal drinking set in order to participate in banquets and symposia in the afterlife. The reduction of the deposition of fuller sets over the course of time might imply that beliefs about afterlife feasting were gradually abandoned.

Importantly, artefacts of the nourishment-category were exclusively found alongside inhumed individuals, and not with any (certain) cremations. Whether or not this pattern is formed by actual differing practices, or is the result of excavation and publication biases is unclear at the moment. If, however, cremations are indeed not provided with drinking and eating gear, this might attest to differing rituals during the funeral, or to differing afterlife beliefs between those who chose cremation and those who chose inhumation.

The category of artefacts related to grooming includes mirrors, strigils, combs, aryballoi, and small lidded pyxides and lekanides that in other cemeteries have been attested to contain make-up powders, ointments, or trinkets.⁶⁹⁸ Depositional patterns in this category are the most remarkable, in the sense that artefacts of these types drastically stops (save for two exceptions)

after the end of the Hellenistic era. Their inclusion in grave assemblages can on the one hand be seen as representative of activities carried out by the deceased during life, and thus serve as a confirmation and perpetuation of his or her social identity. This is supported by the gender-associations that some of the items carried. On the other hand, they may also reflect ideas about activities carried out in the afterlife for which these items would have been useful, e.g. care for the external appearance, sports (i.e. the strigil and aryballos-sets), but also social activities for which one needed to look good, such as the symposium or communal meals.

The inclusion of grave provisions of the latter two categories suggests that the dead needed to take care of their bodies, both internally by means of food and drink, and externally by means of cosmetics and grooming tools. These two fields of activity were essential in the personal and social life of every individual before they met their end, but it seems that eating, drinking, self-care and beautification also played a crucial role in the life after death. It is interesting that together, these items formed the most important provisions to the dead in a period when Greek culture reigned supreme in Patras, and were abandoned around the time of the polis' colonization. We can therefore hypothesize that their abandonment attests to shifting afterlife ideologies about social life in the underworld that are reflective of changes in the socio-cultural life of the living community.

Coins and *danakes*, finally, make up an important category among the grave goods. Coins were deposited in Patraean graves throughout the period under study, and they are worthy of an in-depth analysis. A discussion of diachronic patterns in coin provision that focuses on their find context, the material they were made of, their quantity, provenance, and iconography can be found in Appendix C. Let us here, however, discuss their interpretation as Charon's obol. According to several literary sources, one of the steps in preparing the dead for their journey to the afterlife was the placement of a coin or *danake* in the mouth or over the eyes of the deceased so that they could use it to pay Charon to ferry them across the river Styx into the

⁶⁹⁷ The only remnants of foodstuffs reported are eggshells in two burials (G64.45, 215.2), but the strong symbolic connotations of the egg - fertility, birth, life, rebirth - leads me to believe that they were primarily included for the inherent meaning they carried, not as sustenance to the deceased.

⁶⁹⁸ Whether some of the Patraean pyxides or lekanides contained remnants of cosmetics or items of jewellery does not become clear from the published data.

Underworld.⁶⁹⁹ The analysis of coins and *danakes* shows that they were found with inhumations and cremations, in poor and rich graves, with men and women, and with adults and children. This indicates that neither age, nor gender, nor status, nor wealth, nor ideas about treatment of the body were a determining factor in coin provision. Were ideas about an afterlife the determining factor then?

The Patraean graves contained bronze and silver coins (actual currency) as well as gold *danakes* that were thin, gold foil simulacra made for their use in the funeral rites; the dove - often regarded as a symbolic representation of the soul - was a preferred representation on these *danakes*. The coins and *danakes* were found clenched between the teeth of the deceased, placed in their mouths, over their eyes, on their chests, or placed in an urn together with cremated remains.⁷⁰⁰ The correlation between the evidence from written sources, the archaeological evidence regarding the placement of the coins, and the iconographic evidence regarding symbolic references to the soul is a strong argument in favour of ascribing the habit of coin provision to beliefs surrounding a ferryman's fee. In Patras this habit was practiced throughout the period under study, but it was never universally practised or even practised by a majority of the Patraeans: coins were a common provision in the furnished burials (they were present in a third of our 238 burial assemblages), the coin-furnished burials form only 2% of all the extant graves that were included in this study. This shows that while (knowledge of) the tradition may have been widespread, the provision of coinage was certainly not an indispensable part of the local mortuary rites.⁷⁰¹

8.4.6 Grave goods and society

To conclude, the analysis of grave goods clearly shows that local depositional practices shifted

through time, varied among social groups and individuals, and adhered to broader norms while allowing for individual variations. It also shows that choices in grave provision were guided by afterlife beliefs, by the social and personal identity of the deceased, and that several artefacts may in fact be the remnants of funerary rituals. Imported goods and commodities form a significant group among the grave goods of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and they are indicative of an intensification of trade relations. A lack of imports in the later graves is indicative that connectivity had later declined. The grave assemblages of the Hellenistic period are characterized by their variation in value, and they seem to reflect the emergence of a wealthy elite. While burials of the Classical and Hellenistic period do indicate that social differentiation played a role in the deposition of grave gifts, the burial assemblages show that after the 2nd century CE grave goods were no longer used to reproduce and emphasize social differences in the cemetery. This trend towards homogenization is replicated in adornment practices and tomb construction, and it may reflect that the local society had become less competitive over time.

8.5 Tomb variability and social diversity

In addition to deciding how to dress the dead, how to adorn them, which grave goods to give, and where to place them, a choice had to be made with regards to the receptacle that the deceased individual was to be placed in. The analysis of tomb architecture and grave types has shown that the variety of options that people could choose from varied through time, but in the Roman period - the time in which we observed the greatest differentiation - they ranged from simple, unassuming pit graves to elaborate, imposing, temple-like constructions that were built from expensive imported materials. Throughout the period under study tomb and grave architecture was characterized by norms as well as variability, but the degree and extent of the variation changed significantly. The question is why, and what this variability tells us about the society.

8.5.1 Burials of Classical and Hellenistic times

In the Classical and Early Hellenistic period the majority of the dead were buried in simple pit

⁶⁹⁹ For an in-depth discussion of the practice, see Stevens 1991 with extensive bibliography. For a literary reference, e.g. Juv. 3.267; for general commentaries on the practice in the Greek and Roman world, additional literary references and bibliography see Toynbee 1971, 44; Kurtz and Boardman 1977, 166; Garland 2001 [1985], 23; Hope 2009, 71. For coin finds in Peloponnesian burials, e.g. Dimakis 2016, 51-53, Warner Slane 2017, 215-17.

⁷⁰⁰ It is not clear whether coins were also placed further away from the body, but we should not exclude the possibility.

⁷⁰¹ Literary sources also tell us that the rite was never universally practised. Cf. Strabo 8.6.12.

graves and tile-built cist graves, but some people received a limestone cist grave or sarcophagus. The latter two types, which needed higher amounts of investment, seem to have been introduced during the later 4th century BCE. Tombstones were a rare feature in the cemeteries of the time, but the material did include one marble grave stele of exceptional quality, also from the late 4th century BCE, that was imported from Attica. It seems, therefore, that people had a choice in the form that their grave took and whether or not to mark it with a tombstone. Disposal methods, on the other hand, were limited to only one option: primary single inhumation in supine position. There were no attested cremations, no recorded double or multiple burials, and there is no evidence for the re-opening of graves for secondary treatment of any sort. Overall, therefore, the burials of the period attest to homogeneous treatment of the dead, with subtle variation in terms of construction quality of the grave and the use and quality of a tombstone. This variation seems to have increased over the course of the 4th century BCE.

What does this pattern tell us? Due to the lack of skeletal data we cannot answer the question whether or not social-biological facets of identity (age, sex, health, etc.) were a motivating factor in the choice for a certain grave type. The lack of site plans inhibits the reconstruction of the internal organization mortuary landscape and hinders an analysis of the spatial distribution of the graves. This means that we cannot ask whether different grave types were clustered, and if so, whether these clusters could possibly represent kinship or other social relations. The graves themselves, on the other hand, can be placed along a scale of quality, energy investment, and expenditure, thus suggesting that the variability in grave types could have been related to the wealth of the deceased and his or her burying group. The introduction of higher quality graves during the 4th century BCE attests to attempts at social differentiation, which may point to the emergence of a wealthier stratum in the local population that became interested in emphasizing their status in the funerary realm.

A dearth of evidence does not let us reconstruct variability in tombs and graves for the 3rd century BCE, but differentiation by means of

funerary architecture and in mortuary treatment increased dramatically in the 2nd century BCE. At this time, the cemeteries witnessed the introduction of stone-built periboloi and a significant rise in the use of tombstones; these tombstones ranged from simple inscribed slabs to painted pedimental stelai and elaborate composite *naiskoi* that were manufactured in local workshops.⁷⁰² The epitaphs listed kinship relations more often than before, and even provenance was included in the case of two tombstones of foreigners. Combined, the periboloi and tombstones testify to a rise in expenditure on the demarcation of burial sites, which reflects a growing interest in the preservation and display of identity - in particular kinship and provenance, so it seems - after death.

In addition to emerging monumentality, the data showed that the Hellenistic cemeteries witnessed the introduction of several new grave types, mostly those that accommodated the new mortuary rites of cremation and secondary burial. Inhumation in simple pit and tile graves was the simplest mode to dispose of the dead and remained the norm, and tile-built cist graves seem to have been abandoned in favour of cist graves that were built from limestone slabs. These limestone cist graves, together with monolithic limestone sarcophagi, formed the top of the range in terms of quality and investment among the inhumation graves. The newly introduced rite of cremation also required significant investment, albeit more with regards to time, energy, and the cost of wood than with regard to the actual grave type: cremated remains were either buried on the spot of the pyre, or were collected, sometimes in an urn, and deposited in small tile-covered pits. The grave types that were used in Hellenistic Patras thus varied in design, construction, and quality, and the graves could now contain inhumations, secondary burials, as well as primary or secondary cremations. This marked rise in variability is a clear testimony to increased social differentiation and unstable social conditions. It is difficult to ascertain, how-

⁷⁰² Papapostolou 1993. It is worth noting, though, that while these tombstones may have been elaborate in local terms, they are rather simple when compared to contemporaneous examples from Greek cities further east. There are, for example, no Totenmahl reliefs attested in Patras, nor any other type of tombstones with sculpted figurative scenes. For comparison, see e.g. Schmidt 1991; Cremer 1991; Zanker 1993; Breuer 1995; Berges 1996; Fabricius 1999; 2016.

ever, which motivations guided the choice for a grave type or a type of mortuary treatment because we lack sufficient contextual evidence. Overall, there is an argument to be made that wealth and perhaps status played a role in the choice for a grave or type of treatment, because we may assume that the cost of a higher quality grave or of more elaborate treatment would have prohibited their use by poorer classes. Yet, wealth in itself does not sufficiently explain the introduction of new practices. Where did, for example, the idea to cremate the dead come from? Although the practice was practiced in other regions of Greece, its appearance in Patras needs to be explained. This, however, is difficult. It may be that the rite was brought in by migrants with diverging ideas on how to deal with the dead, but this hypothesis cannot be tested: none of the cremations are marked with a tombstone, none of the skeletal remains have been analysed, and the grave goods that were associated with the cremations are not extraordinary or telling at all. It may also be that cremation was introduced by local people who were intent on using their funeral for social display. There are three reasons why we may consider cremations as a form of social display: 1) the rite was widely known to have been used aristocratic funerals from the (mythical) past⁷⁰³ and the rite would have had inherent elite connotations; 2) the use of cremation would have stood out as something unusual in an inhuming society and would be noticed and talked about; 3) the choice to cremate rather than inhume an individual would protract the funeral process, thus lengthening the amount of time that could be used to attract attention. While these reasons seem plausible, one thing may speak against it. For if cremation was indeed used primarily for display-purposes, then one might expect that the grave goods associated with cremated remains would also have been particularly rich. This, however, was not the case. Even though the Hellenistic cremations could be furnished with gold wreaths and jewellery, the inhumations were by far the most richly furnished depositions.

8.5.2 Disposing of the dead in Early Roman times

Although the graves of the Hellenistic period varied in design and content, they all shared one important feature: they were all situated below-ground, thus removing the dead from the world of the living and creating a physical boundary between the living and the dead. This changed in the Early Roman period, when radical innovations took place in local practices surrounding corpse disposal. We have seen that the early colonial era witnessed the largescale introduction of aboveground collective tombs and monumental funerary architecture of a wide variety of types, including memorials on stepped podia (funerary altars?), columbaria, house tombs, masonry periboloi, *aediculae*, and even a temple tomb.

The introduction of these new tomb types coincided with a lot of other changes in the cemetery. These changes include a drastic increase in the number of cremations, and we observed a clear correlation between the new tomb types and the rite of cremation: 90 percent of the depositions inside the Early Roman tombs were cremations (see Section 5.4.8). Latin epitaphs were introduced in the same period as well, and we saw the first attestations of Roman citizens among the commemorated dead. The import of marble tombstones was noted for the period as well, as was the import of marble ash chests and glass urns that came from Roman or Italian workshops. The contemporaneity, correlation, and Roman character of all these phenomena are important, and there is a strong argument to be made in favour of ascribing the new disposal methods to immigrant Romans. The Roman identity of tomb owners need not be doubted in those few cases where Latin inscriptions commemorating Roman magistrates, citizens and/or freedmen could be associated with the tombs. But it seems likely that the other Early Roman tombs, too, were erected by Roman settlers, given that the mortuary traditions displayed in these tombs contrasted so sharply with local norms and traditions. Nevertheless, as long as this hypothesis cannot be tested, we may not exclude the possibility that these tomb types and the rite of cremation were adopted by Greeks.

While these new types of tomb architecture and new practices were emerging, simple burials in tile graves and other Hellenistic grave types

⁷⁰³ From the Iliad, for example.

continued. In these grave types single, supine inhumation remained the norm. Given the continuity of practices, it was hypothesized that these graves housed the remains of local individuals or, at least, to people who adhered to mortuary practices that were traditionally Greek. The tomb and grave architecture and mortuary treatment of the early colonial period, therefore, seem to reflect a society that was characterized by duality in terms of cultural identity.

While cultural identity seems to have been a prime motivation in choosing a mortuary rite and a certain form of funerary architecture, social status seems to have been of particular importance as well, at least when it came to tombs.⁷⁰⁴ It was argued that the variation between the Early Roman tombs in terms of type, their size, and their elaboration as well as their location in the cemetery, could be interpreted as a reflection of social differentiation between the tomb owners. It was hypothesized that the monuments built during the first decades of the colony's existence, the 'altar tombs' for individual or double burial, may have belonged to the initial members of the local magisterial elite; they erected tombs that followed Italian models that had inherent connotations of elite status. The evidence suggested that, over time, members of this same social upper class chose to erect increasingly conspicuous funerary monuments - *aediculae*, a funerary altar, and a temple tomb were recognized - and that these were built ever closer to the urban perimeter in what seems to be an obvious attempt to attract public attention and to proclaim the tomb owners' elevated status in the colony. The columbaria, house tombs, and enclosure tombs, on the other hand, were more modest in size, simpler in design, and were generally situated further away from the prominent burial sites; these tombs were tentatively ascribed to migrant families of the (upper) middle classes, some of whom must have inhabited farmsteads or villas in the countryside around the colony. In short, the tombs and graves of the Early Roman period seem to suggest that the society of the time was characterized by a contrast between people of Greek and Roman identity, and that those people

who adhered to Roman funerary customs tended to erect tomb types that suited and reflected the social layer that they were claiming to be part of: some belonged to - and proclaimed that they were - the elite, others were of a more modest social standing.

8.5.3 Disposing of the dead in the Roman era

We have seen that differentiation in tomb architecture diminished over the course of the Roman era, that tile graves and brick-built cists had become the norm among the simple burials of the period, and that cremation was used less and less until it was ultimately abandoned. We noted the disappearance of several tomb types, including funerary altars and columbaria; tombs that were intended for only one or two individuals were abandoned over the course of the 1st century CE, while tombs with accessible burial chambers that provided opportunity and space for the deposition of small groups of people gained favour. While some elaborate tombs were still constructed, perhaps by a local landowning elite, masonry periboloi and house tombs became the standard in tomb construction in the 2nd-3rd century CE. These two types existed in various configurations as far as their interior layout was concerned, but their exterior was rather uniform. The construction and designs of the tombs display strong resemblances to prototypes from the Italian peninsula, which is of great interest. For although the colonization-event had taken place long before, the inspiration for tomb types was apparently still being drawn from Italian examples. While this may be an indication that the owners of these Patraean tombs, too, were of a Roman provenance, the contextual evidence could neither support nor deny this. In fact, the question whether the tomb owners were people of Roman provenance or not is not necessarily very relevant for this period. Indeed, Patras was very much a Roman city at this time, that was very much part of the Roman world - its inhabitant were Romans. The distinction between Greek and Roman cultural identity, therefore, must have mattered a lot less in this period than it had in the period before. Nonetheless, the number of these characteristically Roman-style tombs is uniquely high for the Greek world, and it is a clear and direct testi-

⁷⁰⁴ While there was differentiation among the simple graves as well, this was much less pronounced and seems to have been of lesser significance.

mony to the intense connectivity that existed between the colony and its Western capital. The contrast between the cemeteries of the early colonial period and of the later Roman period is marked, since the former had been characterized by diversity in tomb types and mortuary rites, and the latter can be characterized as increasingly homogeneous (although differentiation certainly still existed). If we are correct in ascribing the Early Roman variation to differences in cultural identity and social status among the tomb owners, then the lessening of this kind of variation in the later Roman cemeteries would seem to suggest that these differences were either no longer present in the community of the time (or at least less pronounced than they had been in the past), or that the local population had lost interest in presenting and reinforcing these differences in the cemetery. Either way, the disposal methods of 2nd-3rd century CE Patras indicate that the society had moved away from a dual community in which differences in culture and status mattered, to a more cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman community in which people - in the mortuary realm, at least - had adopted each other's habits and adapted their own behaviour and grew increasingly closer to each other.

8.5.4 Burial in Late Roman-Early Christian times

After the 3rd century CE or so, local habits in the deposition of the dead changed once more. Cremation had been abandoned already, and inhumation - single, double, and multiple - had become the only mode of corpse disposal that was utilized. The reuse of existing funerary architecture was a common practice, but the construction of new (aboveground) tombs was limited, and was eventually abandoned. A novel type of burial space that was characterized by consecutive, parallel rows of floor trenches (*formae*) provided a new, simplistic and economic manner of communal burial. In sharp contrast to the communal tombs of the previous period, the dead were once again placed underground.

Besides tomb reuse and *forma*-tombs, burial also took place simple tile and cist graves. It was noted that the cist graves of the period were generally built from makeshift and architectural remnants; the latter must have been readily available since population decline and two devastating earthquakes had left many buildings

in ruins. The simplicity of the new tomb and grave types, the exclusive use of inhumation, the West-East orientation of the overwhelming majority of the graves, make it clear that Christian funerary ideology not only guided the choice for a burial location (as was argued above), but that it also was a prime motivation in deciding which form one's grave should take and how the body should be treated.

8.5.5 Tombs, graves, and society

To conclude, the analysis of funerary architecture showed that variation in tomb and grave types was an important feature of the Patraean mortuary landscape within each time period, and that this variation in architecture, design, elaboration, and monumentality changed over time. Variation slowly increased from Classical to Early Hellenistic times, was quite pronounced in the 2nd and early 1st century BCE, reached its peak in the early colonial period, and gradually diminished over the course of the Roman period and into the Early Roman era. What, then, were the reasons behind these waves of incremental and lessening variation?

Variability in tomb and grave architecture is the result of practical, social, and ideological considerations. Choices for a particular tomb or grave type were in part motivated by practical issues: certain types of tombs or graves were reserved for a particular type of mortuary treatment (e.g. a marble ash urn cannot be used for an inhumation), ideas about the number of individuals that a tomb or grave should cater to would guide people away from or towards specific types, and the size of one's disposable wealth would likewise influence the decision making process. Ideologies about afterlife or resurrection could be a determining factor in how to deal with the body and would, by extension, motivate the choice for a certain tomb or grave as well. Social factors seem to have been particularly important, however. The importance of kinship and family relations resulted in the construction of Hellenistic periboloi and Roman collective tombs; a shared religious identity led to the construction of the communal *forma*-tombs in the Early Christian. Differences in ethnic or cultural identity seem to have partly guided the differentiation among the tombs and graves of the Early Roman period, but so did status diffe-

rentiation. While status differences may also have been reflected in the graves of the Hellenistic period, this was much more clear-cut in the Early Roman period, when certain individuals and families erected conspicuous monumental tombs that displayed the wealth and propagated, and possibly exaggerated, the social status of the people whose remains were found within.

The fact that (relatively) abrupt changes in the Patraean habits in tomb and grave construction can be identified in the 2nd century BCE, in the first decades after colonization, and in Early Christian times is telling, because these were all periods that were marked by disruption (not necessarily negative!) of the status quo and social change. Therefore, the evidence indicates that social differences were emphasized in the cemetery at times of social unrest, while homogeneity ensued when a new situation had solidified. Moreover, the fact that in all these periods a new emphasis arises on group identity - kinship relations in the case of Hellenistic periboloi, the *familia* or *oikos* in the Roman columbaria, house tombs, and enclosure tombs, and the religious community in the *forma*-tombs - shows that the importance of these social relations grew in times of change.

8.6 In summary

The evidence from the cemeteries shows that Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras was a minor polis that, while it may have been of marginal political importance, was part of wide networks of connectivity and trade. While it started as an isonomic society in which people were treated similarly in death, variability started to increase over time. This suggests that the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic community of Patras underwent a process of social change that moved away from an isonomic social structure towards one in which social differentiation became more important. A dearth of burials from the 3rd century BCE may point to demographic decline and/or economic hardships, which corresponds well with the picture that written sources paint of Patras in the period, namely as a polis that was plagued by warfare and raids, and that suffered severe economic and social malaise as a consequence. After the middle of 2nd century BCE, when Rome had conquered the Peloponnese, Patras gained a new

role in the Mediterranean world. The cemeteries show that Patras' new status resulted in population growth, in greater affluence among its residents, and in an intensification of connectivity that entailed the wide availability of imported commodities. Some people buried their dead with masses of gold and silver; the introduction of this type of funerary display and ostentation reflect a rise of individualism, and the development of a complex, stratified society.

The historical record shows that for most of the 1st century BCE, Patras was a thriving harbour town that was frequented by travelling merchants on a daily basis, and that, though it was inhabited by both locals and resident foreigners, was in all facets a thoroughly Greek *polis*. The status quo was completely uprooted, however, when Augustus decided to colonize the town. A contextual analysis of the mortuary record of the 1st centuries BCE and CE allows us to gauge some of the social consequences of colonization: it shows that Patras witnessed exponential demographic growth due to mass-immigration of Roman men and women, some apparently coming over as families, and that these immigrants introduced new tomb types (following Italian prototypes), Latin epitaphs, and caused a dramatic spike in the number of cremations. The cemeteries of the period were broadly characterized by two distinct modes of mortuary treatment: inhumation in simple graves versus cremation in collective and/or monumental tombs. This indicates that, certainly directly following colonization, the society consisted of (at least) two culturally distinct social groups: Greeks of local or regional provenance and colonists and migrants of Roman descent. The immigrant Romans occupied the higher colonial offices, constructed the most monumental tombs, and built them most prominent burial sites. The people of Roman identity, thus, were the most visible social group in the cemetery, but also occupied the highest social and political echelons in the living community.

The epitaphs show that, during the following two centuries or so, Patras was home to a wide variety of people, from different backgrounds (Greek, Roman, and other), with different occupations and social roles, and of widely diverging social statuses. Nonetheless, the evidence from funerary architecture, mortuary treatment, and burial assemblages indicates that these social

differences - in wealth, status, gender, age, culture, and ethnicity - were not particularly emphasized after death, even though this had been an important characteristic of the Hellenistic and early colonial mortuary behaviour. The patterns indicate that people were apparently losing interest in the use of funerals and commemorative architecture for the display, assertion, and promotion of their identity and social status. The evidence further attests to a process of cultural transfer, particularly in the epigraphic record. Together, these patterns indicate that the dual community of the early colonial period transformed into what can perhaps best be described as a cosmopolitan society in which people from different cultures and provenance lived and died, who adopted each other's habits and adapted their own behaviour over time, and who, despite having significantly different lifeways, were for the most part treated similarly in death.

The analysis of the mortuary record of the 4th-6th century CE shows that the number of burial sites, tombs, graves, and depositions fell significantly from the 3rd to the 4th century CE, and their spatial analysis shows that the urban cemeteries shrank in size, and that burials were being inserted among the dilapidated remains of Roman houses. These patterns - less burials, smaller cemeteries, and burials in and among abandoned houses - are correlated and point to

demographic decline and a significant reduction of the size of the urban area. Trends towards funerary simplicity and equal treatment in death had already taken off during the Roman era, but became more obvious in Late Roman and Early Christian times. Combined with the fact that graves were almost invariably laid out in West-East orientation, and that at least one of the new cemeteries was associated with a basilica, this patterns can be ascribed to the influence of Christian doctrines and eschatology on local mortuary behaviour, and, by extension, the emergence of a Christian community.

To conclude, the diachronic, contextual analysis of mortuary practices reveals that the society of Patras went through significant transformations from Classical to Early Christian times, many of which were related to processes of imperialism and globalization. Over time, the town transformed from a rather typical Greek *polis* of marginal importance into a Roman *colonia* that was one of the main centres of Roman Greece and a major node on the Mediterranean network of connectivity and trade, that was home to a multi-cultural community. The importance of the city dwindled over the course of the 4th century CE, until the rise and adoption of Christianity ultimately ushered in a new social and cultural era.

Summary

Topic and approach

The question that underlies this thesis is how the rise and demise of the Macedonian and Roman empires affected local societies in Greece. The Hellenistic and Roman periods are characterized by imperialist expansionism, but also by globalization: the Greek city states lost their political autonomy when they were subjugated to the Macedonians and the Romans, but at the same time they became part of new and intensified networks of connectivity that spread across the Mediterranean and beyond. This thesis aims to shed light on the social and cultural consequences that these processes of geopolitical change and growing global connectivity had on communities, families, and individuals in Greece. It traces the effects on local social structure, culture, and identities, and aims to identify the mechanisms that played a role in the transformations that occurred. Decades of theoretical debates about social and cultural change have made it clear that questions of this sort are best approached by site-specific analyses. Therefore, this study takes one site as its case study, namely Patras, a Greek *polis* in the northwest Peloponnese that was transformed into a Roman *colonia* under Augustus.

The effects of global transformations on the society of Patras are explored by analysing the local mortuary record, by reconstructing processes of continuity and change in funerary behaviour, and by identifying norms and differentiation in the way people dealt with their dead. An analysis of burials is particularly useful for issues of social and cultural change, because funerary ritual and commemorative practices take place on the boundary of public and private life, and provide a series of opportunities for self-definition and self-representation. The death of an individual and the actions that necessarily follow force people to make conscious and unconscious statements about who they were: adherence to or divergence from local burial norms can be used to affirm or deny cultural

traditions, communal values and beliefs surrounding death; mortuary treatment allows the expression and shaping of personal identities, social divisions, and cultural orientations; and mortuary practices even provide possibilities for the assertion of relationships with local, regional, and supra-regional political or social entities. As such, each individual burial can help us reconstruct the ways in which individuals and families viewed themselves, while the combined body of burials gives us insights into communities as a whole. Tradition and innovation in the mortuary record are, thus, an extremely useful source of information about changing social structures, negotiations about social hierarchies, fluctuating civic identities, and shifting cultural orientations. Moreover, since mortuary practices can be examined indiscriminately across the social body, they provide us with information that extends beyond the better-known male elite perspective and includes the wider urban masses and rural dwellers, men, women, and children, the rich and the poor, and whomever else remains may have been excavated.

Hundreds of archaeological rescue excavations in and around the modern city of Patras have brought to light a multitude of archaeological and epigraphic remains from the ancient cemeteries. These excavations were carried out under difficult conditions, with limited resources and under strict time restraints and as a result, much of the excavated material has had to be left un(der)studied and the state of publication varies significantly between the individual excavations, tombs, graves, and burial assemblages. Despite these issues of limited and uneven documentation, this study shows that these *legacy data* are a rich source of information that can provide valuable new insights into the past society.

The data are subjected to a holistic, contextual analysis and is studied from a diachronic perspective starting from the development of the *polis* around 450 BCE, through the vicissitudes of the Hellenistic period and Patras' colonization,

through the Roman period, and into the late Roman-early Christian era. Patterns and deviations in mortuary behaviour are reconstructed through time, and can be contextualized within local and global historical trajectories.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 sets out the theoretical framework, discusses why mortuary evidence is best used to answer questions of social and cultural change, and explains the choice for Patras as the thesis' main case study. Chapter 2 outlines the methodology of the study, presents the data, and discusses the possibilities, and limitations of working with *legacy data*.

The analysis is presented in five chapters that each covers a time period of about two centuries: Chapter 3 deals with Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras (ca. 450-275 BCE), Chapter 4 discusses the Hellenistic era (ca. 275-75 BCE), Chapter 5 deals with the period 75 BCE-100 CE during which Patras transformed from *polis* to *colonia*, Chapter 6 contains an analysis of the material from Patras' Roman history (ca. 100-300 CE), and Chapter 7 deals with mortuary behaviour in the transition from Roman to Christian times (post-300 CE). Each of the chapters starts with a local history as reconstructed from literary, documentary, numismatic, and non-funerary archaeological sources, after which the mortuary evidence is systematically presented and analysed. The chapters end with an exploration of the patterns in mortuary behaviour in relation to the historical events that took place in the polis, and a discussion of what the evidence from burials tells us about the local community of the time.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main observations of the period-specific analyses and discusses fluctuations in the mortuary record from a diachronic perspective. By tying the evidence together, this chapter attempts to shed new light on how the local community and its social structure developed over time, how social hierarchies were determined and renegotiated, and how communal and personal identities were shaped and reshaped in the context of imperialism and globalization.

The data that are at the heart of this study are organized in Catalogues A-D, selections of literary sources and epigraphic testimonia about

Patras' history are presented in Appendices A and B; a diachronic study of coin provision in burials is presented in Appendix C.

Cemetery and society

The evidence from the cemeteries shows that Classical and Early Hellenistic Patras was a minor polis that, while it may have been of marginal political importance, was part of wide networks of connectivity and trade. While it started as an isonomic society in which people were treated similarly in death, variability started to increase over time. This suggests that the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic community of Patras underwent a process of social change that moved away from an isonomic social structure towards one in which social differentiation became more important. A dearth of burials from the 3rd century BCE may point to demographic decline and/or economic hardships, which corresponds well with the picture that written sources paint of Patras in the period, namely as a polis that was plagued by warfare and raids, and that suffered severe economic and social malaise as a consequence.

After the middle of 2nd century BCE, when Rome had conquered the Peloponnese, Patras gained a new role in the Mediterranean world. The cemeteries show that Patras' new status resulted in population growth, in greater affluence among its residents, and in an intensification of connectivity that entailed the wide availability of imported commodities. Some people buried their dead with masses of gold and silver; the introduction of this type of funerary display and ostentation reflect a rise of individualism, and the development of a complex, stratified society.

The historical record shows that for most of the 1st century BCE, Patras was a thriving harbour town that was frequented by travelling merchants on a daily basis, and that, though it was inhabited by both locals and resident foreigners, was in all facets a thoroughly Greek polis. The status quo was completely uprooted, however, when Augustus decided to colonize the town. A contextual analysis of the mortuary record of the 1st centuries BCE and CE allows us to gauge (some of) the social consequences of colonization: it shows that Patras witnessed exponential demographic growth due to mass-immigration of Roman men and women, some apparently

coming over as families, and that these immigrants introduced new tomb types (following Italian prototypes), Latin epitaphs, and caused a dramatic spike in the number of cremations. The cemeteries of the period were broadly characterized by two distinct modes of mortuary treatment: inhumation in simple graves versus cremation in collective and/or monumental tombs. This indicates that, certainly directly following colonization, the society consisted of (at least) two culturally distinct social groups: Greeks of local or regional provenance and colonists and migrants of Roman descent. The immigrant Romans occupied the higher colonial offices, constructed the most monumental tombs, and built them most prominent burial sites. The people of Roman identity, thus, were the most visible social group in the cemetery, but also occupied the highest social and political echelons in the living community.

The epitaphs show that, during the following two centuries or so, Patras was home to a wide variety of people, from different backgrounds (Greek, Roman, and other), with different occupations and social roles, and of widely diverging social statuses. Nonetheless, the evidence from funerary architecture, mortuary treatment, and burial assemblages indicates that these social differences - in wealth, status, gender, age, culture, and ethnicity - were not particularly emphasized after death, even though this had been an important characteristic of the Hellenistic and early colonial mortuary behaviour. The patterns indicate that people were apparently losing interest in the use of funerals and commemorative architecture for the display, assertion, and promotion of their identity and social status. The evidence further attests to a process of cultural transfer, particularly in the epigraphic record. Together, these patterns indicate that the dual community of the early colonial period transformed into what can perhaps best be described as a cosmopolitan society in which people from different cultures and provenance

lived and died, who adopted each other's habits and adapted their own behaviour over time, and who, despite having significantly different life-ways, were for the most part treated similarly in death.

The analysis of the mortuary record of the 4th-6th century CE shows that the number of burial sites, tombs, graves, and depositions fell significantly from the 3rd to the 4th century CE, and their spatial analysis shows that the urban cemeteries shrank in size, and that burials were being inserted among the dilapidated remains of Roman houses. These patterns - fewer burials, smaller cemeteries, and burials in and among abandoned houses - are correlated and point to demographic decline and a significant reduction of the size of the urban area. Trends towards funerary simplicity and equal treatment in death had already taken off during the Roman era, but became more obvious in Late Roman and Early Christian times. Combined with the fact that graves were almost invariably laid out in West-East orientation, and that at least one of the new cemeteries was associated with a basilica, this patterns can be ascribed to the influence of Christian doctrines and eschatology on local mortuary behaviour, and, by extension, the emergence of a Christian community.

To conclude, the diachronic, contextual analysis of mortuary practices reveals that the society of Patras went through significant transformations from Classical to Early Christian times under the influence of imperialism and globalization. Over time, the town transformed from a rather typical Greek *polis* of marginal importance into a Roman *colonia* that was one of the main centres of Roman Greece and a major node on the Mediterranean network of connectivity and trade, and that was home to a multi-cultural community. The importance of the city dwindled over the course of the 4th century CE, until the rise and adoption of Christianity ultimately ushered in a new social and cultural era.

Samenvatting

Onderwerp en aanpak

De vraag die ten grondslag ligt aan dit proefschrift is welke effecten de opkomst en ondergang van Macedonië en Rome hadden op lokale samenlevingen in Griekenland. De Hellenistische en Romeinse periodes worden gekenmerkt door imperialisme en expansionisme, maar ook door globalisering: de Griekse stadstaten mogen dan hun autonomie hebben verloren toen ze onderworpen werden aan de Macedoniërs en de Romeinen, maar tegelijkertijd werden ze onderdeel van nieuwe, intensieve netwerken van contact en handel in het Middellandse Zeegebied en daarbuiten. Dit proefschrift probeert inzicht te geven in de sociale en culturele gevolgen die deze processen van geopolitieke verandering en groeiende wereldwijde connectiviteit hadden voor gemeenschappen, families en individuen in het oude Griekenland. Het onderzoekt veranderingen in sociale structuur, in culturele uitingen, en in persoonlijke en sociale identiteiten, en probeert de motivaties en mechanismen achter deze veranderingen te identificeren. Omdat theoretische discussies duidelijk hebben gemaakt dat dit soort vragen het best kunnen worden benaderd door middel van site-specifieke analyses, richt deze studie zich op één casestudie, namelijk Patras, een Griekse *polis* in het noordwesten van de Peloponnesos die door Augustus tot een Romeinse *colonia* werd omgevormd.

De effecten van globale veranderingen op de lokale samenleving van Patras worden onderzocht door lokale grafgebruiken te analyseren, door processen van continuïteit en innovatie te reconstrueren, en door normen, verschillen, en uitzonderingen te identificeren in de manier waarop mensen met hun doden omgingen. Een onderzoek naar grafmateriaal is bijzonder interessant, omdat het inzicht geeft in de samenleving als geheel: in tegenstelling tot geschreven bronnen die vanuit het perspectief van de mannelijke elite werden geschreven, biedt archeologisch en epigrafisch materiaal uit de grafvel-

den een breed scala aan informatie over zowel mannen, vrouwen als kinderen, over mensen uit de stad en het ommeland, over rijken en armen, en over al wiens resten er nog maar meer opgegraven zijn.

Honderden archeologische noodopgravingen in en rond de moderne stad Patras hebben een enorme hoeveelheid overblijfselen van de oude begraafplaatsen aan het licht gebracht. Deze noodopgravingen werden uitgevoerd onder moeilijke omstandigheden, met beperkte middelen en onder tijdsdruk. Als gevolg daarvan moest veel van het opgegraven materiaal onbestudeerd blijven; de hoeveelheid en de kwaliteit van informatie over de verschillende sites, tombes, graven en grafassemblages loopt dan ook sterk uiteen. Ondanks de moeilijkheden die dit soort data met zich meebrengen, laat deze studie zien dat *legacy data* een rijke bron van informatie zijn, en dat ze waardevolle nieuwe inzichten kunnen bieden in oude samenlevingen.

De archeologische en epigrafische data uit de grafvelden van Patras worden onderworpen aan een holistische, contextuele analyse. Ze worden bestudeerd vanuit een diachroon perspectief, beginnend bij de ontwikkeling van de *polis* rond 450 v.Chr., door de lotgevallen in de Hellenistische tijd en de kolonisatie van Patras, door de Romeinse periode, en eindigend bij de laat-Romeinse-Vroegchristelijke tijd (ca. 600 n.Chr.). Patronen van continuïteit en verandering worden gereconstrueerd door de tijd heen, en kunnen daardoor gecontextualiseerd worden binnen zowel de lokale als de globale geschiedenis.

Structuur van het proefschrift

Hoofdstuk 1 beschrijft het theoretisch kader, legt uit waarom grafgebruiken bij uitstek inzicht kunnen geven in sociale en culturele verandering, en licht de keuze voor Patras als casestudie toe. Hoofdstuk 2 schetst de methodologie van het onderzoek, presenteert de data die voor de studie gebruikt worden, en bespreekt de potentie en de beperkingen van het werken met *legacy data*.

De analyse wordt gepresenteerd in vijf hoofdstukken die elk een tijdsperiode van ongeveer twee eeuwen beslaan: Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt Klassiek en vroeg-Hellenistisch Patras (ca. 450-275 v.Chr.), Hoofdstuk 4 bespreekt de periode van ca. 275-75 v.Chr., Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt de periode tussen 75 v.Chr.-100 n.Chr. waarin Patras een Romeinse kolonie werd, Hoofdstuk 6 bevat een analyse van het materiaal uit Patras' Romeinse geschiedenis (ca. 100-300 CE), en Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt grafgebruiken in de overgang van de Romeinse naar de Vroegchristelijke tijd (na 300 CE). Elk van de hoofdstukken begint met een overzicht van de lokale geschiedenis, waarna het grafmateriaal systematisch wordt gepresenteerd en geanalyseerd. Aan het einde van ieder hoofdstuk worden de geïdentificeerde patronen gerelateerd aan de historische context waarin ze plaatsvonden en wordt besproken wat de begraafplaatsen ons vertellen over de lokale samenleving in iedere periode.

Hoofdstuk 8, tot slot, vat de belangrijkste observaties van de analyses samen en bespreekt ze vanuit een diachroon perspectief om te laten zien hoe de gemeenschap van Patras zich ontwikkelde gedurende het millennium dat bestudeerd werd, hoe de sociale hiërarchie werd bepaald en hervormd, hoe de cultuur veranderde, en hoe sociale en persoonlijke identiteiten werden gevormd en hervormd binnen de context van imperialisme en globalisering.

De archeologische en epigrafische data die centraal staan in dit onderzoek worden gepresenteerd in Catalogi A-D, selecties van literaire bronnen en epigrafische getuigenissen over de geschiedenis van Patras zijn te vinden in Appendices A en B; een diachrone studie van munten als grafgift is te vinden in Appendix C.

Grafveld en samenleving

Het grafmateriaal toont aan dat Patras in de 5e en 4e eeuw v.Chr. een kleine *polis* was die, hoewel onbeduidend op politiek vlak, deel uitmaakte van brede netwerken van connectiviteit en handel. De samenleving lijkt in eerste instantie vrij egalitair te zijn geweest, maar de verschillen in hoe mensen behandeld werden na hun dood begonnen in de loop van de tijd groter te worden. Dit suggereert dat de lokale gemeenschap een proces van sociale verandering onderging dat gekenmerkt werd door het langzaam achter-

laten van de isonomische sociale structuur en een grotere interesse in sociale differentiatie.

Een gebrek aan graven uit de 3e eeuw voor onze jaartelling kan wijzen op demografische achteruitgang en/of economische neergang. Dit komt goed overeen met het beeld dat de oude literatuur schetst van Patras in deze periode, namelijk als een *polis* die geplaagd werd door oorlog en vijandige invallen, en die als gevolg daarvan ernstige economische en sociale malaise leed.

Na het midden van de 2e eeuw v.Chr., toen Rome de Peloponnesos had veroverd, kreeg Patras een nieuwe rol in de Mediterrane wereld. De begraafplaatsen laten zien dat de nieuwe status van Patras resulteerde in bevolkingsgroei, in grotere welvaart voor de bewoners, en in een intensivering van connectiviteit die een brede beschikbaarheid van geïmporteerde goederen met zich meebracht. Sommige mensen begroeven hun doden met massa's goud en zilver; de introductie van dit soort funeraire pronkzucht weerspiegelen de opkomst van individualisme en de ontwikkeling van een complexe, hiërarchische samenleving.

Historische bronnen laten zien dat Patras gedurende het grootste deel van de 1ste eeuw v.Chr. een bloeiende havenstad was die dagelijks werd aangedaan door rondreizende kooplieden, en die, hoewel bewoond door zowel de lokale bevolking als expats uit Rome en elders, in alle politieke en culturele facetten een vrij typische Griekse *polis* was. Deze situatie werd echter volledig overhoop gehaald toen Augustus besloot de stad te koloniseren en er een Romeinse kolonie van te maken. De contextuele analyse van het grafmateriaal uit de 1ste eeuw voor en na Christus maakt het mogelijk om de sociale gevolgen van kolonisatie (deels) te reconstrueren. De begraafplaatsen wijzen op exponentiële bevolkingsgroei als resultaat van de massale immigratie van Romeinse mannen en vrouwen, waarvan sommigen blijkbaar als gezin in Patras kwamen wonen. Ze laten zien dat deze immigranten nieuwe tombes en graftypen introduceerden (die Italiaanse prototypes volgden), Latijnse grafinscripties oprichtten, en een enorme piek in het aantal crematies veroorzaakten. In grote lijnen kunnen we zeggen dat het grafmateriaal van deze periode gekenmerkt wordt door twee grafculturen: de één gekenmerkt door inhumatie in eenvoudige, ondergrondse graven en de ander door crematie in bovengrondse,

collectieve en/of monumentale tombes. Dit geeft aan dat, in ieder geval direct na Patras' kolonisatie, de maatschappij bestond uit twee verschillende sociale groepen: Grieken van lokale of regionale herkomst, en kolonisten en migranten van Romeinse afkomst. De Romeinse nieuwkomers bouwden de meest monumentale graven, en zetten deze op de meest prominente locaties in het grafveld neer; zij waren de meest zichtbare sociale groep in de begraafplaats, maar ook in de levende gemeenschap bezetten zij de belangrijke publieke functies en de hoogste sociale rangen.

De grafinscripties uit de 2e en 3e eeuw n.Chr. laten zien dat de samenleving van Patras gedurende deze periode bestond uit mensen van verschillende achtergronden (Grieks, Romeins en andere), die allerlei functies, beroepen en sociale rollen hadden, en wiens sociale status wijd uiteenliep. Desalniettemin duidt het grafmateriaal erop dat deze sociale verschillen - in rijkdom, status, geslacht, leeftijd, cultuur en etniciteit - niet met klem werden benadrukt na de dood, hoewel dit wel een belangrijk kenmerk was van de begrafenispraktijken uit de Hellenistische en vroegkoloniale periodes. Deze patronen geven aan dat mensen kennelijk hun interesse verloren in het gebruik van begravenissen en grafmonumenten om hun persoonlijke identiteit en sociale status tentoon te spreiden. Het materiaal getuigt verder van een proces van culturele overdracht en aanpassing, bijvoorbeeld in de namen die mensen hadden, en tussen Griekse en Romeinse epigrafische gewoontes. Samen geven deze patronen aan dat de duale gemeenschap van de vroegkoloniale periode veranderde in wat we misschien het beste kunnen omschrijven als een multiculturele, kosmopolitische samenleving waarin mensen van verschillende culturen en herkomst leefden en stierven, die elkaars gewoonten overnamen en hun eigen gedrag in de loop van de tijd aanpasten, en die, ondanks dat ze ieder hun eigen identiteit hadden en significant verschillende levens leidden, voor een groot deel op dezelfde manier werden behandeld na hun dood.

De analyse van het grafmateriaal van de 4e-6e eeuw n.Chr. laat zien dat het aantal begraafplaatsen, tombes, graven, en menselijke resten aanzienlijk daalde in de 4e eeuw na Christus. Hun ruimtelijke analyse laat zien dat de stedelijke begraafplaatsen kleiner werden en dat mensen werden begraven tussen de vervallen overblijfselen van Romeinse huizen. Deze patronen - minder begravingen, krimpende begraafplaatsen, en het plaatsen van graven in en tussen verlaten huizen - zijn gecorreleerd en wijzen op demografische krimp en een significante verkleining van het stedelijk gebied. De tendens naar meer eenvoudige begrafenisriten en gelijke behandeling in de dood waren al ingezet in de latere eeuwen van de Romeinse tijd, maar werden duidelijker naarmate de tijd vorderde. Gecombineerd met het feit dat graven bijna allemaal in West-Oost oriëntatie werden aangelegd, en dat ten minste één van de nieuwe begraafplaatsen naast een basiliek lag, kunnen deze patronen worden toegeschreven aan een groeiende invloed van Christelijke doctrines en eschatologie op lokale grafgebruiken; dit wijst vanzelfsprekend op de opkomst en groei van een lokale Christelijke gemeenschap.

Tot slot, de diachrone, contextuele analyse van het archeologische en epigrafische bestand uit de lokale grafvelden laat zien dat de samenleving van Patras onder invloed van imperialisme en globalisering belangrijke transformaties doormaakte van de Klassieke naar de Vroegchristelijke tijd. In de loop van de tijd veranderde Patras van een typisch Griekse *polis* van marginaal belang in een Romeinse *colonia* die niet alleen één van de belangrijkste centra van Romeins Griekenland en een belangrijk knooppunt in het Mediterrane netwerk van connectiviteit en handel was, maar ook de thuisbasis van een multiculturele gemeenschap. Het belang van de stad verminderde in de loop van de 4de eeuw n.Chr., en de opkomst van het Christendom leidde uiteindelijk een nieuw sociaal en cultureel tijdperk in.

Περίληψη

Θέμα και προσέγγιση

Το ερώτημα που διατρέχει όλη τη διδακτορική διατριβή είναι το πώς η άνοδος και η πτώση της Μακεδονικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας επηρέασε τις τοπικές κοινωνίες στην Ελλάδα. Οι Ελληνιστική και Ρωμαϊκή περίοδοι χαρακτηρίζονται από αυτοκρατορικό επεκτατισμό αλλά και παγκοσμιοποίηση: οι ελληνικές πόλεις κράτη έχασαν την πολιτική τους αυτονομία όταν υποδουλώθηκαν από τους Μακεδόνες και τους Ρωμαίους αλλά την ίδια στιγμή έγιναν μέρος νέων και εντατικοποιημένων δικτύων που εξαπλώθηκαν πέρα από τη Μεσόγειο. Σκοπός της διδακτορικής διατριβής είναι να ρίξει φως στις κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές επιδράσεις που οι διεργασίες της γεωπολιτικής αλλαγής και η αναπτυσσόμενη παγκοσμιοποίηση είχαν πάνω στις κοινωνίες, τις οικογένειες αλλά και τα μεμονωμένα άτομα στην Ελλάδα. Εντοπίζει τις συνέπειες στην τοπική κοινωνική δομή, τον πολιτισμό και την ταυτότητα και σκοπεύει να αναγνωρίσει τους μηχανισμούς που έπαιξαν ρόλο στους μετασχηματισμούς που έλαβαν χώρα. Δεκαετίες θεωρητικών διαλόγων περί κοινωνικών και πολιτισμικών αλλαγών έχουν κάνει κατανοητό πως τέτοιου είδους ερωτήματα προσεγγίζονται καλύτερα όταν η ανάλυση επικεντρώνεται σε μεμονωμένες θέσεις. Για το λόγο αυτό η μελέτη αυτή εστιάζει σε μια συγκεκριμένη θέση σαν μελέτη περίπτωσης, την Πάτρα, μια Ελληνική πόλη στη Νοτιοδυτική Πελοπόννησο η οποία μεταμορφώθηκε σε Ρωμαϊκή *colonia* υπό τον Αυτοκράτορα Αύγουστο.

Οι συνέπειες της εφαρμογής παγκόσμιων μετασχηματισμών πάνω στην Πατρινή κοινωνία εξερευνώνται αναλύοντας τις τοπικές ταφικές πρακτικές, ανακατασκευάζοντας τις διεργασίες είτε συνέχισης είτε αλλαγής της ταφικής συμπεριφοράς και αναγνωρίζοντας κανόνες και διαφοροποιήσεις στον τρόπο που οι άνθρωποι διαχειρίζονταν τους νεκρούς τους. Η ανάλυση των ταφών είναι ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη για θέματα κοινωνικής και πολιτισμικής αλλαγής, καθώς οι

ταφικές τελετές και οι μνημόσυνες πρακτικές πραγματοποιούνται στα όρια της δημόσιας και ιδιωτικής ζωής και παρέχουν μια σειρά ευκαιριών για αυτοπροσδιορισμό και αυτοπροσωποποίηση. Ο θάνατος ενός ατόμου και οι ενέργειες που απαραίτητα ακολουθούνται υποχρεώνουν τους ανθρώπους να κάνουν συνειδητές και ασυνείδητες δηλώσεις για το ποιοί είναι: η προσκόλληση ή η απόκλιση από τα τοπικά πρότυπα ταφής μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για να επιβεβαιώσει ή να αρνηθεί πολιτισμικές παραδόσεις, κοινές αξίες και πεποιθήσεις που περιβάλλουν τον θάνατο· η μεταχείριση των νεκρών επιτρέπει την έκφραση και τη διαμόρφωση προσωπικών ταυτοτήτων, κοινωνικών διαχωρισμών και πολιτισμικών προσανατολισμών· και τέλος οι ταφικές πρακτικές παρέχουν ακόμη και δυνατότητες για τη διεκδίκηση σχέσεων με τοπικούς, περιφερειακούς και υπερεθνικούς πολιτικούς ή κοινωνικούς φορείς.

Ως εκ τούτου, κάθε μεμονωμένη ταφή μπορεί να μας βοηθήσει να ανακατασκευάσουμε τους τρόπους με τους οποίους τα άτομα και οι οικογένειες έβλεπαν τον εαυτό τους, ενώ η συνδυασμένη μελέτη όλων των ταφών μας δίνει πληροφορίες για τις κοινωνίες στο σύνολό τους. Η παράδοση ή η καινοτομία που καταγράφεται στα ταφικά σύνολα είναι επομένως μια εξαιρετικά χρήσιμη πηγή πληροφοριών για τις μεταβαλλόμενες κοινωνικές δομές, τις διαπραγματεύσεις για την κοινωνική ιεραρχία, τις διακυμάνσεις των πολιτικών ταυτοτήτων και την αλλαγή των πολιτισμικών προσανατολισμών. Επιπλέον, επειδή οι ταφικές πρακτικές μπορούν να εξεταστούν αδιακρίτως για όλο το κοινωνικό φάσμα, μας παρέχουν πληροφορίες που ξεπερνούν την πολύ γνωστή οπτική «άνδρας ελίτ» περιλαμβάνοντας ευρύτερες αστικές μάζες και κατοίκους της υπαίθρου, άνδρες, γυναίκες και παιδιά, πλούσιους και φτωχούς και όλων όσων τα λείψανα μπορεί να έχουν ανασκαφεί.

Εκατοντάδες αρχαιολογικές σωστικές ανασκαφές μέσα και γύρω από τη σύγχρονη πόλη της Πάτρας έφεραν στο φως πολλά αρχαιολογικά

και επιγραφικά λείψανα από τα αρχαία νεκροταφεία. Οι ανασκαφές αυτές διεξήχθησαν υπό δύσκολες συνθήκες, με περιορισμένους πόρους και υπό αυστηρούς χρονικούς περιορισμούς και ως εκ τούτου, ένα μεγάλο μέρος του ανεσκαμμένου υλικού δεν έχει μελετηθεί πλήρως ή έχει μείνει αμελέτητο ενώ η κατάσταση της δημοσίευσης διαφέρει σημαντικά μεταξύ μεμονωμένων ανασκαφών, τάφων και ταφικών συνόλων. Παρά τα ζητήματα περιορισμένης και ανομοιομορφικής καταγραφής, αυτή η μελέτη δείχνει ότι το αρχαιολογικό υλικό παλαιών ανασκαφών αποτελούν μια πλούσια πηγή πληροφοριών που μπορεί να προσφέρει πολύτιμη γνώση για την κοινωνία του παρελθόντος.

Τα δεδομένα αναλύονται ολιστικά με τη μέθοδο του *contextual analysis* και μελετώνται διαχρονικά, αρχίζοντας από την ανάπτυξη της πόλης γύρω στο 450 π.Χ., περνώντας μέσα από τις αντιξοότητες της ελληνιστικής περιόδου και τον αποικισμό της Πάτρας, στη Ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, και καταλήγοντας στην Ύστερη Ρωμαϊκή-Πρώιμη Χριστιανική εποχή. Πρότυπες ταφικές συμπεριφορές και αποκλίσεις ανακατασκευάζονται διαχρονικά και μπορούν να μελετηθούν μέσα σε τοπικά και παγκόσμια ιστορικά πλαίσια.

Δομή της διατριβής

Το κεφάλαιο 1 ορίζει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, πραγματεύεται γιατί τα ταφικά τεκμήρια είναι καλύτερο να χρησιμοποιούνται για να απαντηθούν ερωτήματα σχετικά με κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές αλλαγές και εξηγεί την επιλογή της Πάτρας ως τη κύρια μελέτη περίπτωσης αυτής της διδακτορικής διατριβής. Το κεφάλαιο 2 περιγράφει τη μεθοδολογία τη διατριβής, παρουσιάζει τα δεδομένα, και αναλύει τις δυνατότητες και τους περιορισμούς της μελέτης αρχαιολογικού υλικού παλαιών ανασκαφών.

Η ανάλυση παρουσιάζεται σε πέντε κεφάλαια που το καθένα καλύπτει μία χρονική περίοδο περίπου δύο αιώνων: το Κεφάλαιο 3 πραγματεύεται την Πάτρα της Κλασσικής και Ελληνιστικής εποχής (περίπου 450-275 π.Χ.), το κεφάλαιο 4 πραγματεύεται την Ελληνιστική περίοδο (περίπου 275-75 π.Χ.), το κεφάλαιο 5 πραγματεύεται την περίοδο 75 π.Χ.-100 μ.Χ. κατά τη διάρκεια της οποίας η Πάτρα μετασχηματίστηκε από πόλις σε *colonia*, το κεφάλαιο 6 περιέχει μια ανάλυση του υλικού από την

Ρωμαϊκή ιστορία της Πάτρας (περίπου 100-300 μ.Χ.) και το κεφάλαιο 7 πραγματεύεται τη ταφική συμπεριφορά κατά τη μετάβαση από τους Ρωμαϊκούς στους Χριστιανικούς χρόνους (μετά το 300 μ.Χ.). Κάθε ένα από τα κεφάλαια ξεκινά με την τοπική ιστορία όπως αυτή ανασυντίθεται από πηγές όπως κείμενα, τεκμήρια, νομίσματα και μη ταφικά αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα, ενώ στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζονται και αναλύονται τα ταφικά δεδομένα. Τα κεφάλαια τελειώνουν με μια εξερεύνηση της ταφικής συμπεριφοράς και των επαναλαμβανόμενων πρακτικών που εμφανίζονται σε σχέση με τα ιστορικά γεγονότα που έλαβαν χώρα στην πόλις και μια συζήτηση για το τί μας λένε τα ταφικά στοιχεία για την τοπική κοινότητα της κάθε εποχής.

Το κεφάλαιο 8 συνοψίζει τις κυριότερες παρατηρήσεις που προκύπτουν από την ανάλυση της κάθε περιόδου και εξετάζει τις διακυμάνσεις στην ταφική μαρτυρία διαχρονικά. Συνδυάζοντας όλα τα στοιχεία, το κεφάλαιο αυτό επιχειρεί να ρίξει φως στον τρόπο που η τοπική κοινότητα και η κοινωνική της δομή αναπτύχθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια του χρόνου, πώς καθορίστηκαν και επαναδιαπραγματεύθηκαν οι κοινωνικές ιεραρχίες και πώς διαμορφώθηκαν και μεταμορφώθηκαν οι κοινότητες και οι προσωπικές ταυτότητες στο πλαίσιο του επεκτατισμού και της παγκοσμιοποίησης.

Τα δεδομένα που βρίσκονται στο επίκεντρο αυτής της μελέτης έχουν οργανωθεί στους Καταλόγους A-D, επιλογές κειμένων και επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες για την ιστορία της Πάτρας παρουσιάζονται στα Παραρτήματα A και B και μια διαχρονική μελέτη νομισμάτων που είχαν τοποθετηθεί στις ταφές βρίσκεται στο Παράρτημα C.

Νεκροταφείο και κοινωνία

Τα στοιχεία από τα νεκροταφεία δείχνουν ότι η Κλασική και Πρώιμη Ελληνιστική Πάτρα ήταν μια δευτερεύουσα πόλις που, μολονότι μπορεί να ήταν περιφερειακής πολιτικής σημασίας, ήταν μέρος μεγάλων δικτύων επαφών και εμπορίου. Ενώ ξεκίνησε ως μια ισονομική κοινωνία στην οποία οι άνθρωποι αντιμετώπιζονταν κατά τον ίδιο τρόπο στο θάνατο, η ποικιλομορφία άρχισε να αυξάνεται με την πάροδο του χρόνου. Αυτό υποδηλώνει ότι η Ύστερη Κλασική-Πρώιμη Ελληνιστική κοινότητα της Πάτρας υπέστη κοινωνική αλλαγή που μετακινήθηκε από μια ισονομική κοινωνική δομή προς μια

άλλη στην οποία η κοινωνική διαφοροποίηση ήταν σημαντικότερη. Η έλλειψη ταφών από τον 3ο αιώνα π.Χ. μπορεί να υποδηλώνει δημογραφική πτώση ή/και οικονομικές δυσκολίες, εικόνα που αντιστοιχεί σε αυτή που περιέγραψαν γραπτές πηγές την Πάτρα κατά την περίοδο αυτή, δηλαδή ως πόλις που μαστίζεται από πολέμους και επιδρομές και που ως συνέπεια, υπέστη σοβαρές οικονομικές και κοινωνικές κακουχίες. Μετά τα μέσα του 2ου αιώνα π.Χ., όταν η Ρώμη είχε κατακτήσει την Πελοπόννησο, η Πάτρα απέκτησε έναν νέο ρόλο στον Μεσογειακό κόσμο. Τα νεκροταφεία δείχνουν ότι η νέα κατάσταση της Πάτρας είχε σαν αποτέλεσμα την αύξηση του πληθυσμού, τη μεγαλύτερη ευημερία των κατοίκων της και την εντατικοποίηση των επαφών που συνεπάγονταν την ευρεία διαθεσιμότητα εισαγόμενων εμπορευμάτων. Μερικοί άνθρωποι έθαβαν τους νεκρούς τους με μάζες χρυσού και αργύρου· η εισαγωγή αυτού του τύπου ταφικής παρουσίασης και επίδειξης αντανάκλα την άνοδο της ατομικότητας και την ανάπτυξη μιας πολύπλοκης, στρωματοποιημένης κοινωνίας.

Η ιστορική μαρτυρία δείχνει ότι για το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του 1ου αιώνα π.Χ., η Πάτρα ήταν ένα ακμάζον λιμάνι όπου συχνάζαν καθημερινά ταξιδεύοντες έμποροι και ότι, παρόλο που κατοικούσαν τόσο από ντόπιους όσο και από ξένους κατοίκους, ήταν σε όλες τις όψεις Ελληνική πόλις. Το status quo ήταν εντελώς ξεριζωμένο, ωστόσο, όταν ο Αυτοκράτορας Αύγουστος αποφάσισε να αποικίσει την πόλη. Η μέθοδος του contextual analysis των ταφικών δεδομένων του 1ου αι. π.Χ. και μ.Χ. μας επιτρέπει να μετρήσουμε (μερικές) από τις κοινωνικές συνέπειες του αποικισμού: δείχνει ότι η Πάτρα ήταν μάρτυρας μιας εκθετικής δημογραφικής ανάπτυξης λόγω μαζικής μετανάστευσης Ρωμαίων ανδρών και γυναικών, μερικοί προφανώς ερχόμενοι με τις οικογένειές τους, και ότι αυτοί οι μετανάστες εισήγαγαν νέους τύπους τάφων (ακολουθώντας ιταλικά πρωτότυπα), λατινικές επιτάφιας επιγραφές και προκάλεσαν μια δραματική άνοδο στον αριθμό των καύσεων. Τα νεκροταφεία της εποχής χαρακτηρίζονταν σε γενικές γραμμές από δύο ξεχωριστούς τρόπους μεταχείρισης νεκρών: ταφές σε απλούς τάφους έναντι καύσης σε συλλογικούς και/ή μνημειώδεις τάφους. Αυτό δείχνει ότι, αμέσως μετά τον αποικισμό, η κοινωνία αποτελείτο από (τουλάχιστο) δύο πολιτισμικά ξεχωριστές κοινω-

νικές ομάδες: Έλληνες τοπικής ή περιφερειακής προέλευσης και αποίκους και μετανάστες ρωμαϊκής καταγωγής. Οι μετανάστες Ρωμαίοι κατείχαν τα υψηλότερα αποικιακά γραφεία και έχτιζαν τους πιο μνημειώδεις τάφους στις πιο σημαντικές ταφικές θέσεις. Έτσι, οι άνθρωποι με Ρωμαϊκή ταυτότητα ήταν η πιο ορατή κοινωνική ομάδα στο νεκροταφείο, αλλά καταλάμβανε επίσης και τα υψηλότερα κοινωνικά και πολιτικά κλιμάκια στην κοινωνία.

Οι επιτάφιας επιγραφές δείχνουν ότι κατά τη διάρκεια των επόμενων δύο αιώνων, η Πάτρα φιλοξενούσε μια ευρεία ποικιλία ανθρώπων, διαφορετικής καταγωγής (Ελληνική, Ρωμαϊκή ή άλλη), διαφορετικών επαγγελματιών και κοινωνικών ρόλων και από διαφορετικές κοινωνικές θέσεις. Παρόλα αυτά, τα στοιχεία από την ταφική αρχιτεκτονική, τις ταφικές πρακτικές και τα ταφικά σύνολα δείχνουν ότι σε αυτές τις κοινωνικές διαφοροποιήσεις - στον πλούτο, τη θέση, το φύλο, την ηλικία, τον πολιτισμό και την εθνικότητα - δε δόθηκε ιδιαίτερη έμφαση μετά το θάνατο, παρόλο που αυτό ήταν ένα σημαντικό χαρακτηριστικό κατά την Ελληνιστική και πρώιμη αποικιακή ταφική συμπεριφορά. Τα νέα ταφικά έθιμα δείχνουν ότι οι άνθρωποι προφανώς έχαναν το ενδιαφέρον για την προβολή, την εδραίωση και την προώθηση της ταυτότητας και της κοινωνικής τους θέσης μέσω ταφικών τελετών και ταφικής αρχιτεκτονικής. Τα στοιχεία επιβεβαιώνουν περαιτέρω μια διαδικασία πολιτισμικής μεταφοράς, ιδιαίτερα στο επιγραφικό σύνολο. Συνδυάζόμενα όλα τα στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι η διπλή κοινότητα της πρώιμης αποικιακής περιόδου μεταμορφώθηκε σε, αυτό που μπορεί καλύτερα να περιγραφεί ως, μια κοσμοπολίτικη κοινωνία στην οποία ζούσαν και πέθαιναν άνθρωποι διαφορετικών πολιτισμών και προέλευσης, οι οποίοι υιοθετούσαν συνήθειες αλλήλων και προσάρμοζαν με την πάροδο του χρόνου τη δική τους συμπεριφορά, και οι οποίοι, παρά το γεγονός ότι είχαν σημαντικά διαφορετικό τρόπο ζωής, αντιμετώπιζονταν ως επί το πλείστον με παρόμοιο τρόπο στο θάνατο.

Η ανάλυση των ταφικών πρακτικών του 4ου αιώνα μ.Χ. δείχνει ότι ο αριθμός των χώρων ταφής, των τάφων και των ταφών μειώθηκε σημαντικά από τον 3ο έως τον 4ο αιώνα μ.Χ. και η χωρική ανάλυση δείχνει ότι τα αστικά νεκροταφεία συρρικνώθηκαν σε μέγεθος ενώ οι ταφές εισχώρησαν ανάμεσα στα ερειπωμένα

λείψανα των ρωμαϊκών σπιτιών. Αυτές οι πρακτικές - λιγότερες ταφές, μικρότερα νεκροταφεία και ταφές εντός και ανάμεσα σε εγκαταλελειμμένες οικείες - συσχετίζονται και υποδηλώνουν δημογραφική πτώση και σημαντική μείωση του μεγέθους της αστικής περιοχής. Οι τάσεις προς την ταφική απλότητα και την ίση μεταχείριση στον θάνατο είχαν ήδη ξεκινήσει κατά τη διάρκεια της Ρωμαϊκής Εποχής, αλλά έγιναν πιο εμφανείς στην Ύστερη Ρωμαϊκή και Πρώιμη Χριστιανική εποχή. Συνδυάζοντας τα παραπάνω με τη σχεδόν σταθερή διάταξη των τάφων σε δυτικό-ανατολικό προσανατολισμό και τη σύνδεση τουλάχιστον ενός από τα νέα νεκροταφεία με μια βασιλική, διαφαίνεται η επιρροή των Χριστιανικών δογμάτων και της εσχατολογίας στην τοπική ταφική συμπεριφορά, και, κατ'επέκταση, την εμφάνιση μιας Χριστιανικής κοινότητας.

Συνοψίζοντας, η εφαρμογή της μεθόδου *contextual analysis* των ταφικών πρακτικών διαχρονικά, αποκαλύπτει ότι η κοινωνία της Πάτρας πέρασε σημαντικές μεταμορφώσεις από την Κλασική στην Πρώιμη Χριστιανική περίοδο κάτω από την επίδραση του επεκτατισμού και της παγκοσμιοποίησης. Με την πάροδο του χρόνου, η πόλη μεταμορφώθηκε από μια οριακά σημαντική μάλλον τυπική ελληνική πόλις σε μια Ρωμαϊκή *colonia* που ήταν ένα από τα κύρια κέντρα της Ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας, ένας βασικός κόμβος στο Μεσογειακό δίκτυο επαφών και εμπορίου, και σπίτι μιας πολυ-πολιτισμικής κοινότητας. Η σημασία της πόλης μειώθηκε κατά τη διάρκεια του 4ου αιώνα μ.Χ., μέχρις ότου η άνοδος και η υιοθέτηση του Χριστιανισμού τελικά προκάλεσαν μια νέα κοινωνική και πολιτισμική εποχή.

Appendix A

Literary Sources

This appendix presents a selection of ancient literary sources on Patras and its environs, compiled from Rizakis' collection of sources on Achaia and the Achaian poleis (*Achaïe I*, 1995). The entries are listed in alphabetical order and a short description of the passage is provided. A reference to *Achaïe I*, where a commentary and bibliography about the passages can be found, is included for each entry.

Aelianus

Ael. *VH* 13.46.3
= *Achaïe I*, no. 4

Aelian relates a myth about a boy and his dragon which took place at Patras.

Africanus

Afr. *Ol. CXC*
= *Achaïe I*, no. 13

In the Olympiad of 20 BCE, a certain Aufidius of Patras won the stadium-race.

Ammianus Marcellinus

Amm. Marc. 19.12.10
= *Achaïe I*, no. 20

From 357-359 CE Parnasius, a native of Patras, but citizen of Corinth, was a prefect of Egypt. He had to stand trial for capital punishment in Rome, but was sent into exile.

Anthologia Palatina

Anth. Pal. 7.438
= *Achaïe I*, no. 25

Funerary epigram for Machatas, a young man who died in the war against the Aitolians. Dating to ca. 220 BCE.

App. Anth. 249
= *Achaïe I*, no. 31

Funerary epigram for the athlete Chilon of Patras, who was praised by the Achaian people for his athletic prowess as well as his military virtues. He joined in one of the wars of the 4th century BCE.

Appianus

App. B.Civ. 1.79.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 39

Sulla crosses the Adriatic between Patras and Brundisium in his second march on Rome (83 BCE), accompanied by 40.000 men, in 1600 ships, and with 6000 horses. Five of the legions were comprised of Italian men, the others were Peloponnesians and Macedonians.

App. Mithr. 14.96
= *Achaïe I*, no. 40

Dyme in Achaia is one of the poleis where Pompey sends the defeated Cilician pirates in 68/7 BCE. Only those men who had fallen to a life of piracy because of poverty, rather than inherent 'wickedness', were granted this opportunity.

Aulus Gellius

Gel. 18.9.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 137

Aulus Gellius refers to a book that he has consulted at the library at Patras. This is the only reference to this library, and it has not been archaeologically attested.

Cassius Dio

Cass. Dio 42.13-14
= *Achaïe I*, no. 97-8

In 48 BCE, during the civil war and just after the battle at Pharsalos and the death of Pompey Magnus, Cato and his followers sailed to the Peloponnese with the intention of occupying it. Patras was seized. Both Petreius, general of Pompey, and Faustus, Pompey's son in law, were in Patras at the time, joined Cato's entourage. Shortly after, Quintus Fufius Calenus, general of Caesar, marched against them. He took Patras easily, because Cato and the others had already fled to Africa upon hearing of Calenus' approach.

Cass. Dio 50.9
= *Achaïe I*, no. 99

In the autumn of 32 BCE Marcus Antonius and Octavian decide not to go to war just yet, and postpone the battle until the winter has passed. Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, along with their men, passed the winter at Patras. The soldiers were distributed around the area, so that they might keep guard over the strategic points, but also in order to secure sufficient of provisions ('τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πανταχόσε διέπεμψεν, ἵνα τὰ τε χωρία φυλάττωσι καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ῥᾶον εὐπορῶσι').

Cass. Dio 50.13
= *Achaïe I*, no. 100

When Marcus Antonius and Octavian are at a stand off at Actium, Agrippa launched an attack with his fleet; he captured Leukas and took Patras after being victorious in a sea battle against Quintus Nasidius before moving on to take Corinth.

Cicero

Cic. Att. 5.9.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 73

In a letter dating to June of 51 BCE, Patras is mentioned as a stop-over on the route to Athens.

Cic. Att. 7.2.3
Achaïe I, no. 75

On November 25, 50 BCE Cicero informs Atticus that he has had to leave Tiro at Patras, in the care of Manius Curius, because Tiro was suffering from an illness.

Cic. Att. 11.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 76

Cicero relates a meeting between himself and Quintus, his brother, where they had an argument. Cicero further states that his nephew came to Patras, too, travelling from Corcyra. The letter dates to November 4, 49 BCE.

Cic. Att. 11.10
= *Achaïe I*, no. 77

This letter mentions how a friend of Cicero met with Quintus in Patras. Quintus and Cicero are still heavily embroiled at the time. The letter is dated to January 19, 47 BCE.

Cic. Att. 11.16
= *Achaïe I*, no. 78

On June 3, 47 BCE Cicero writes that a resident of Patras (Manius Curius) informed him that Quintus, who still resides in Patras, continues to speak ill of his brother.

Cic. Att. 11.20
= *Achaïe I*, no. 79

In a letter to Atticus dating to August 15, 47 BCE Patras is mentioned as the point of departure for Caesar on his route to Sicily.

Cic. Att. 11.21
= *Achaïe I*, no. 80

Patras is again mentioned as the point of crossing to Sicily on Caesar's itinerary from Greece to Sicily (August 25, 47 BCE).

Cic. Att. 16.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 81

In a letter dating to July of 44 BCE Cicero refers to unrest in two Roman colonies in Greece: at Buthrotum, colonists are being cut to pieces: 'Sed quid est, quod agripetas Buthroti concisos audio?', and in Dyme the dispossessed men have turned to piracy: 'Dymaeos agro pulsos mare infestum habere nil mirum.'

Cic. Att. 16.6
= *Achaïe I*, no. 82

Patras is mentioned again as a stop-over in Cicero's travels between Greece and Italy. Cicero is considering whether to take a merchant vessel to Patras, or instead go to Leukopetra on a barge. The letter dates to July 25, 44 BCE.

Cic. Fam. 7.28
= *Achaïe I*, no. 83

In early August of 46 BCE, Cicero writes to Manius Curius, residing in Patras. He states that he first thought Manius Curius foolish for choosing Patras as a place to live, because it was not well-suited to a refined man. Now, however, Cicero laments that even Patras is better than Rome.

- Cic. *Fam.* 13.17
= *Achaïe I*, no. 84
- In 46/45 BCE Cicero writes to Servius Sulpicius Rufus to recommend Manius Curius to him, a Roman *negotiator* in Patras, and a close friend of Cicero. Cicero speaks highly of Manius Curius, but also mentions how he has stayed at Curius' house at Patras on several occasions.
- Cic. *Fam.* 13.19
= *Achaïe I*, no. 85
- In a second letter to Servius Sulpicius Rufus of 46/45 BCE Cicero recommends his Greek friend, Lyson of Patras, to him as the dearest of foreigners. Lyson stayed with Cicero in Rome around 47 BCE, and had earlier hosted Cicero and his entourage at Patras as they returned to Italy in late 50 following Cicero's procursulship. Lyson sided with Pompey in the war, but was subsequently pardoned by Caesar.
- Cn. Maenius Gemellus, a Roman who was exiled from Rome, became a citizen of Patrae, and adopted the young son of Lyson ('Quae ne singula enumerem, totam tibi domum commendo, in his adolescentem filium eius, quem C. Maenius Gemellus, cliens meus, quum in calamitate exsilii sui Patrensis civis factus esset, Patrensi legibus adoptavit, ut eius ipsius hereditatis ius causamque tueare.').
- Cic. *Fam.* 13.20
= *Achaïe I*, no. 86
- A third inhabitant of Patras is praised by Cicero. This time it is the local doctor Asklaon, whose medical skill and character he has experienced when Tiro was suffering from an illness whilst in Patras. The letter is addressed to Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and dates to 46/45 BCE.
- Cic. *Fam.* 13.24
= *Achaïe I*, no. 87
- Cicero writes to Servius Sulpicius Rufus about his friend Lyson once more (46/45 BCE).
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 88
- On November 3, 50 BCE Cicero writes to Tiro, who stayed behind ill in Patras. Cicero is on route from Patras to Alyzia, and hopes Tiro will be able to join them from Leukas.
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.4
= *Achaïe I*, no. 89
- On November 7, 50 BCE Cicero, now at Leukas, writes to Tiro again in response to a letter that he has received. Cicero has heard good things about the doctor taking care of Tiro, though scolds him for giving Tiro soup. Cicero further suggests that Tiro may want to move from Lyson's house to that of Manius Curius, because he fears that 'our friend Lyso is somewhat careless, just like all Greeks indeed, but also because, though he received a letter from me, he has sent me no answer'. In addition, Cicero informs Tiro that he is free to collect whatever amount of money he needs from Curius, which is an indication to the latter's financial dealings and business ties with Cicero.
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 90
- In a second letter dated to November 7, 50 BCE Cicero asks Tiro to write an update on a daily basis, and to have someone go down to the harbour to send the letter on its way; Cicero will do the same, giving anyone going to Patras a letter for Tiro. Cicero further urges Tiro to come to Leukas to get better, rather than remaining in Patras with Curius.
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.6
= *Achaïe I*, no. 91
- Cicero writes a third letter to Tiro on the same day, November 7, 50 BCE, because he came across yet another person travelling to Patras, who could deliver the letter. Cicero again mentions how he wants frequent letters, and will send them frequently also ('in Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me litteras dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto.').
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.9
= *Achaïe I*, no. 92
- By November 26, 50 BCE Cicero has arrived in Italy, and has received a letter from Tiro that dates to the 13th. This letter had been underway for 13 days before it reached Cicero. The implication that this was an exceptionally long time, is indicative of the intensity of the contacts between Greece and Rome. Another reference is made to Curius as taking care of Cicero's financial affairs in Patras, with money to be paid to doctor Asklaon and given to Tiro.
- Cic. *Fam.* 16.11
= *Achaïe I*, no. 93
- On January 12, 49 BCE Cicero, having arrived back in Rome, writes to Tiro. Tiro is still ill with malaria at Patras, for more than two months now. Curius has apparently sent word to Cicero informing him that Tiro is slowly recovering. Yet Cicero advises Tiro to remain in Patras and warns against a winter voyage because of the dangers the sea brings.

Diodorus Siculus

Diod. Sic. 12.48
= *Achaïe I*, no. 106

This text briefly mentions the battle of Rhion, where the Peloponnesians and their 47 ships were defeated by 20 Athenian ships under general Phormio. After their defeat, the Peloponnesians withdrew to Patras, where they waited for Lakedaimonian reinforcements (429 BCE).

Diod. Sic. 19.66
= *Achaïe I*, no. 112

In 314/3 BCE Aristodemos, general of Antigonos, raised the siege of Kyllene before moving on to Patras, which he freed from a garrison of Kassandros' troops. The same he did in Aigion, but his troops rampaged the city, killing large numbers of local citizens, and destroying many of their buildings. Afterwards, horrible things happen in Dyme, first by the hand of Alexander, then by the Dymeans themselves, punishing Alexander's supporters with death. It is clear that Achaia was under heavy stress at this time. Patras, however, seems to have escaped utter destruction.

Eusebius

Eus. *Chron.* 1, no. 90
= *Achaïe I*, no. 132

Eusebius mentions an Aufidius of Patrae, who won in a stadion race in the 190th Olympiad, in 20 BCE (cf. Africanus, above).

Eus. *Chron.* 2, C142
= *Achaïe I*, no. 135

The colonies of Berytus and Patras were founded in 14 BCE.

Herodotus

Herod. 1.145
= *Achaïe I*, no. 142

Herodotus lists the twelve districts of Achaia, and explains that these districts had been in existence from Ionian times onwards. He relates this to the existence of twelve cities in the new Ionian territory. Patras, according to Herodotus, was one of the original districts of Achaia ('κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δωδέκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγαιρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς αἰεῖνος ἐστὶ, ἀπ' ὅθεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγίον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὀλενος, ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταῖες, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δωδέκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.').

Livius

Liv. 27.29.9
= *Achaïe I*, no. 163

In the summer of 210/9 BCE the area around Patras was devastated by the Aitolians, and Philip V came to the aid of the Achaian League ('et Aetoli, navibus per fretum quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit— Rhion incolae vocant—exercitu traiecto, depopulati erant.').

Liv. 35.26.2-10
= *Achaïe I*, no. 171

In 192 BCE Teison of Patras serves as the admiral of the flagship of the Achaian fleet, but the ship is soon lost. Teison and all his men were taken captive; Philopoimen was able to escape, fleeing to Patras.

Liv. 36.21.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 172

Patras is once again mentioned as one of the stopping points on the route between Greece and Italy. Livius here describes Cato's return to Italy in 191 BCE.

Liv. 38.7.2
= *Achaïe I*, no. 173

In 189 BCE Patras served as the dockyard for the ships of the Achaian League, and from there, they raided the coast of Aetolia. The Illyrian king Pleuratus assisted the Achaeans with sixty ships.

Liv. 38.29.1-11
= *Achaïe I*, no. 174

This passage describes the Roman siege of Same, on the island of Kephallonia, in 189 BCE. Highly skilled slingers from Aigion, Patras, and Dyme, 100 in number, joined the Romans.

Ovidius

Ov. *Met.* 6.412-420
= *Achaïe I*, no. 194

Ovidius lists Patras (anachronistically) among a number of ancient cities in the Peloponnese whence kings came to mourn together with Pelops.

Pausanias

- Paus. 3.2.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 203
- A brief reference to the founding of Patras in Achaia by Patreus, son Preugeses.
- Paus. 4.31.7
= *Achaïe I*, no. 207
- A brief comment to the worship of Artemis Laphria in Patras. An extensive description of her festival is found later on, in Paus. 7.18.8.
- Paus. 6.4.6-7
= *Achaïe I*, no. 217
- Pausanias describes the statue of Chilon, a talented wrestler from Patras, at Olympia. He also records the inscription below the statue. It refers to a public burial by the Achaian people, because of his valour in battle. Pausanias suggests that this must have been either the Battle of Chaironeia, or the battle against the Macedonians at Lamia (Cf. *App. Anth.* 249 above).
- Paus. 6.25.6
= *Achaïe I*, no. 223
- Pausanias states that after the enlargement (προσσίκησιν) of Patras, the Eleans learned to use the name Satrapis for a statue previously known as Poseidon.
- Paus. 7.6.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 227
- In Pausanias' list of the original districts of Achaia, he does not include Patras.
- Paus. 7.6.2
= *Achaïe I*, no. 228
- The Achaians allow the Spartan Patreus, son of Preugeses, to found a city in their territory ('καί σφισιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐδόθη κτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρώως ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει').
- Paus. 7.6.3-17.4
= *Achaïe I*, nos. 229-238
- The history of the wars of the Achaians: Achaia did not participate in the Persian Wars (7.6.3); were absent from the battle of Plataia (7.6.4); in the war between Sparta and Athens, Patras was of interest to both the Achaians and the Athenians; Chilon of Patras (the wrestler with the statue at Olympia, Paus. 6.4.6-7) was the only one to participate in the battle at Lamia in 323 BCE (7.6.5). Then follows the description of the wars of the Achaian League, ultimately ending with a comment by Vespasian that 'the Greek people had forgotten to be free' ('(...) ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.').
- Paus. 7.17.5-14
= *Achaïe I*, nos. 239-245
- Pausanias' description of Dyme. He mentions that Dyme was incorporated into the territory of Patras by Augustus ('Αὔγουστος δὲ ὕστερον καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτὴν Πατρεῦσιν').
- Paus. 7.18.2-21.14
= *Achaïe I*, nos. 249-274
- These four chapters start with a brief account of the local history, from the mythical traditions about the first inhabitants of the area (7.18.2-4), the founding of the polis by Patreus (7.18.5), a later dissolution of the community (7.18.6), to finally the Augustan colonization (7.18.7). The description of Patras is lengthy, starting on the acropolis at the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria, with an account of the festival celebrated in the goddess' honour (7.18.8-13), the tomb of Eurypylos and the associated tale, and the temple for Athena Panachaia (7.19.1-20.2). Pausanias then moves down from the acropolis, being mostly focused on religious art and architecture, but also referring to a hero tomb for Patreus, located in the agora (7.20.3-5). Next to the agora, the city's odeon is found - second in magnificence only to the Odeon of Herodas Atticus in Athens (7.20.6). More temples and sanctuaries are found in the rest of the town, as well as a theatre (7.20.7-21.6). Pausanias' description ends in the harbour-district, where we not unexpectedly find a temple for Poseidon (7.21.7-9), as well as a statue of Aphrodite (7.21.10). Here is a grove by the sea, where one can enjoy pleasurable walks and other pastimes, visit the sanctuary of Demeter (7.21.11), consult an infallible oracle or the god Asklepios (7.21.12-14). Pausanias' description of Patras ends with the suggestive statement that at Patras the women outnumber the men by two to one, and that Aphrodite is with these women - most of whom make their livelihoods from weaving locally grown flax - more than with other women ('Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς Πάτραις ἀριθμὸν μὲν καὶ ἐς δις τῶν ἀνδρῶν: Ἀφροδίτης δέ, ἔπειρ ἄλλαις γυναῖξι, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις.').
- Paus. 10.22.6
= *Achaïe I*, no. 362
- In 279 BCE the Patraeans were the only Achaian polis to assist the Aetolians in their war against the Galatians.

Paus. 10.38.9
= *Achaïe I*, no. 364

Pausanias writes that Augustus ascribed the coastal towns of Lokris to the territory of Patras ('Πλὴν δὲ Ἀμφίσης ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Πατρέων ἄρχονται, βασιλέως σφίσι δόντος Αὐγούστου').

Plinius

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 2.244
= *Achaïe I*, no. 389

Plinius refers to Patras in an account of the dimensions of the earth, implicating that Patras was an important node on the map of the ancient Roman world.

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4.4.11
= *Achaïe I*, no. 390

Description of the geography and location of Patras: The distance between Leukas and Patras is 88 miles, and the colony is founded on the longest promontory of the Peloponnese. The Corinthian Gulf is less than a mile wide at the entrance here. Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4.5.12-13 = *Achaïe I*, no. 391.

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 6.215
= *Achaïe I*, no. 394

Pliny describes the divisions of the earth, and lists Patras as one of the major cities in the fourth circle.

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.172
= *Achaïe I*, no. 398

The temples of Jupiter and Hercules at Patras are built of brick, as is also mentioned by Vitruvius (see *Vitr.* 2.8-9 below).

Plutarchus

Plut. *Alc.* 15.4-6
= *Achaïe I*, no. 406

In 419 BCE Alkibiades tries to persuade the people of Patras to build long walls from their city to the sea. Cf. *Thuc.* 5.52.2, below.

Plut. *Ant.* 60
= *Achaïe I*, no. 422

Plutarchus describes the bad omens that preceded the battle at Actium in 32/1 BCE, all foreboding a bad outcome for Marcus Antonius. One of these omens occurred in Patras: the temple of Herakles was struck by lightning and caught fire.

Plut. *Arat.* 47.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 417

In 221/0 BCE The Aitolians invaded Messenia, but on the way there they plundered the territories of Patras and Dyme.

Plut. *Cat. Ma.* 12.3-4
= *Achaïe I*, no. 420

Patrae was brought into allegiance with Rome in 192/1 BCE because of the efforts by Cato Maior.

Plut. *De vitando* 7
= *Achaïe I*, no. 402

In this section of the *Moralia*, entitled 'De vitando aere alieno', Patras is listed as one of the major financial centres of Plutarchus' day.

Plut. *Demetr.* 9.3-4
= *Achaïe I*, no. 407

In 307 BCE Kratesipolis, widow of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, has withdrawn to Patras after betraying Corinth and Sicyon to Ptolemy.

Plut. *Pomp.* 28.6-7
= *Achaïe I*, no. 421

In 68/7 BCE Cilician pirates were settled in Dyme by Pompey. At the time, Dyme was at the time bereft of men, but had good, fertile land and was thus a suitable place for such a settlement. Cf. *App. Mithr.* 14.96, above.

Plut. *Quest. Conv.* 2.1
= *Achaïe I*, no. 400

Plutarchus was invited to a dinner party by Q. Sosius Senecio (quaestor of the province Achaia) at Patras, where the described discussion took place.

Polybius

Polyb. 2.41
= *Achaïe I*, no. 430

This passage briefly relates the history of Achaia in 'mythical times' (2.41.3-5), the first Achaian Confederacy (2.41.6-10), and the second Achaian League (2.41.11-15).

Polyb. 4.6.7-10
= *Achaïe I*, no. 438

In the spring of 220 BCE the territories of Patras, Pharai, and Tritaia suffer from plundering Aitolian soldiers.

Polyb. 4.7.1-5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 439

In May 220 BCE envoys from Patras and Pharai make a formal complaint at the assembly about the injuries inflicted upon their territories during the passage of the Aitolians. This aroused great indignation among the fellow Achaians, and war was declared on the Aitolians.

Polyb. 4.10.1-9 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 440	In 220 BCE Aratos leads 3000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and the 'division under Taurion' to Patras, in order to keep an eye on the Aitolians, retreating with their booty. The latter, however, decide not to retreat after all.
Polyb. 4.25.1-4 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 442	In late July/early August of 220 BCE the envoys from the allied cities bring their grievances to the congress at Corinth. The Achaïans complain about, among other things, the pillaging of the territories of Patras and Pharai by Aitolian troops.
Polyb. 5.2.11 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 451	In 218 BCE Philip V and 7200 of his men disembark at Patras.
Polyb. 5.28.1-3 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 454	Later in 218 BCE the Aitolians offer a thirty day truce, and are ready to make peace. Philip accepts and heads to Patras.
Polyb. 5.30.1-7 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 455	In 218 BCE 3000 Aetolian and Elean forces under the command of Pyrrhias repeatedly raided the territories of Dyme, Pharai, and Patras. He pitched his camp on the acropolis of Patras, and then ravaged the whole territory of the city towards Rhion and Aigion. These raids left the area in utter despair, because being unable to pay for their membership in the League, they lost their protection.
Polyb. 5.91.4-8 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 456	Aratos initiated the installment of new infantry, cavalry, and ships in 217 BCE. Three of these ships were to protect the area around Dyme and Patras.
Polyb. 5.94.1-9 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 457	More pillaging at the hands of the Aitolian and Elean forces takes place in the summer of 217 BCE. The Achaïans retaliate.
Polyb. 5.95.5-12 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 458	After hearing of renewed Aitolian plans to raid the territory of Tritaia, the people of Dyme, Patras, and Pharae joined the forces of Lykos and Demodarchos and entered Elis, where they plundered the country, killed 200 Elean men, and took 80 captive.
Polyb. 5.101.4 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 459	The Macedonian fleet sails towards Aigion and Patras prior to the Peace of Naupaktos.
Polyb. 38.16.4-9 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 466	The forces of the Roman Republic, led by praetor Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, and a contingent of Achaean troops led by Critolaos of Megalopolis went to war against each other at the battle of Scarpheia in 146 BCE. The Romans were victorious. Polybius states that the Achaïan poleis, but especially Patras, were left in a deplorable state, driving men to suicide, to flee the cities, to accuse others of treachery, or to beg forgiveness from the Romans. The situation was so bad, that 'even an enemy would have pitied the disaster of Greece' ('Πατρείς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικὸν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἐπταίκει κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα, καὶ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἦν πολλῶ τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐλεεινότερον. (...) πάντα δ' ἦν πλήρη παρηλλαγμένης φαρμακείας τῶν ῥιπτούντων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεῆσαι θεασάμενον τὴν τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.').

Procopius

Proc. <i>Goth.</i> 8.25.17 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 469	A series of major earthquakes hit Greece in 551/2 CE, especially in Achaia. Many cities, among which Patras, were levelled to the ground.
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Seneca

Sen. <i>QNat.</i> 6.25.4 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 476	Seneca refers to two severe earthquakes in Achaia, the epicentre of one of which was in Aigion, the other in Helike and Boura. He notes that even though the earthquake devastated Aegion, Patras steered clear of all tremors.
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Silius Italicus

Sil. <i>Pu.</i> 15.306-311 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 481	Silius refers to Patras when he relates Philip V's expedition through Greece.
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Strabo

Str. 8.3.2
= *Achaïe I*, no. 518

This passage describes the synoikism of Patras, as well as many other cities in the region. Strabo says that Patras was created from seven communities, or 'δήμων'.

Str. 8.7.4
= *Achaïe I*, no. 530

Strabo lists Patras among the twelve districts (δώδεκα μέρη) of Achaia.

Str. 8.7.5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 531

In his description of the twelve districts of Achaia, Strabo refers to Patras as a noteworthy city, where recently the Romans, after their victory at Actium, settled a large part of the army. It was now an exceptionally populous, since it was a Roman colony. It also has a fairly good anchoring-place: 'ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ῥυπῶν ἦν ὁ Μύσκελλος ὁ Κρότωνος οἰκιστής: τῆς δὲ Ῥυπίδος καὶ τὸ Λεῦκτρον ἦν, δῆμος τῶν Ῥυπῶν. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους Πάτραι πόλις ἀξιόλογος: μεταξύ δὲ τὸ Ῥίον ἀπέχον Πατρῶν στάδια τετταράκοντα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νεωστὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀκτιακὴν νίκην ἵδρυσαν αὐτόθι τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἀξιόλογον, καὶ διαφερόντως εὐάνδρεϊ νῦν ἀποικία Ῥωμαίων οὖσα: ἔχει δὲ ὕψορον μέτριον.'

Str. 10.2.21
= *Achaïe I*, no. 538

A large lake near Kalydon, rich in fish, belongs to the Romans of Patras: 'ἔστι δέ τις καὶ πρὸς τῇ Καλυδῶνι λίμνῃ μεγάλη καὶ εὖοψος, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐν Πάτραις Ῥωμαῖοι.'

Str. 14.3.3
= *Achaïe I*, no. 539

Strabo refers to the settlement of pirates in Dyme by Pompey in 68/7 BCE, stating that it is at present a Roman colony: 'τούς δ' εἰς Δύμην λιπανδρήσασαν, ἣν νυνὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικία νέμεται.' Cf. App. *Mithr.* 14.96 and Plut. *Pomp.* 28.6-7 above.

Suda

Suda S866
= *Achaïe I*, no. 547

This entry refers to a wrestler who was trained by Chilon of Patras. Chilon we know from Pausanias to have won victories at Olympia (Cf. Paus. 7.4.6-7, above).

Theophrastus

Theophr. *HP.* 9.15.8
= *Achaïe I*, no. 554

The area around Patras was a good place for finding *daukon*. *Daukon* is a plant said to have healing qualities. See also Theophr. *HP.* 9.18.10-11 and 20.2 = *Achaïe I*, nos. 555-556.

Thucydides

Thuc. 2.83.3
= *Achaïe I*, no. 559

This passage describes the sea battle of Rhion in 429 BCE. Patras is mentioned as the place from where the Peloponnesians wanted to cross over to Akarnania to engage in battle. Midway battle commences, and ends badly for the Peloponnesians.

Thuc. 2.84.1-5
= *Achaïe I*, no. 560

The Peloponnesian forces are on the losing side during the battle at Rhion, and after they realise that there is no victory in this battle for them, they flee towards Patras and Dyme. Later on, after having regrouped, went on to Kyllene where more forces joined them.

Thuc. 5.52.2
= *Achaïe I*, no. 564

In 419 BCE Alkibiades pushed the people of Patras to build walls down to the sea, and he himself would build a fort near Rhion. This plan for the fort was apparently not well-received by the Corinthians, Sikyonians, and 'all others who would have suffered by its being built' and they did not let this happen. Cf. Plut. *Alc.* 15.4-6, above.

Velleius Paterculus

Vell. 2.84
= *Achaïe I*, no. 577

This passage related the battle of Actium and the capture of Patras just before the final battle. Marcus Agrippa, after taking Leukas, captured Patras and then went on to Corinth. Cf. Cass. Dio 50.13, above.

Vitruvius

Vitr. 2.8-9
= *Achaïe I*, no. 578

Vitruvius refers to a temple of Jupiter and Hercules at Patras, both of which have a cella built of brick, and have an entablature and columns made of stone. Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.172 above.

Appendix B

Epigraphic Testimonia

This section contains a selection of epigraphic sources on the history of Patras. Presented here are inscriptions on stone found outside Patras that include a reference to polis itself, to individuals coming from or having been there, or to events taking place at Patras. The list is compiled from Rizakis' corpus of epigraphic testimonia in *Achaïe I* and *III* and an additional search of the SEG, the PHI and EDH databases. The inscriptions included in this list date to Hellenistic and Roman times; Classical inscriptions were not excluded *a priori*, but have not been attested.

Not included in the selection are the inscriptions stemming from the city and its countryside itself; the Patraean corpus, with extensive discussion and bibliography, can be found in the second volume of Rizakis' *Achaïe*-series (though for the epitaphs, see Catalogue D). The inscriptions attested at Patras date from Classical to Byzantine times, were written in both Greek and Latin, and are of a varied nature. They include decrees (*Achaïe II*, no. 1), dedications to gods, priests and priestesses, emperors, the imperial family, and senators (*Achaïe II*, nos. 2-48), donations (*Achaïe II*, nos. 49-53), funerary inscriptions (*Achaïe II*, nos. 54-266), and a variety of other texts (*Achaïe II*, nos. 267-369). Since the publication of the corpus in 1998 only a small number of additional inscriptions has been recovered during archaeological work and subsequently published. The newly discovered inscriptions include a noteworthy epitaph for Marcia Maxima (SEG 60:487, see Catalogue D, BM106), but most are of a more modest nature and not written on stone, such as the name of one Aischrion on a perirrhanterion of the Classical period dedicated to Demeter (SEG 60:485), a partial signature on a lamp of the Roman period (SEG 60:489), the name Galinos on a lamp of 100-150 CE found in a tile grave (SEG 60:490), and two tiles signed with the name Timodamas that were used as the covers of tile graves (SEG 56:501).

The entries in the list below are organized chronologically. References to Rizakis' corpora, where further bibliography can be found, are provided but additional references are kept to a minimum. The epigraphic testimonia presented here provide fascinating insights into the mobility and connectivity of Patras through time, and give an overview of the wide variety of foreign contacts and affairs the city and its inhabitants were involved in during Hellenistic and Roman times.

1. SEG 14:375
= <i>Achaïe III</i> , no. 120	From Aigion. Patras is featured as one of the <i>poleis</i> of the Achaian League in a treaty between the confederacy and Koroneia.	1. 4th c. BCE
2. SEG 34:472
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 746	This epitaph for Xenon of Patras was found in Trichonion in Aitolia.	Hel.
3. IG V,2 368
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 682	Two citizens of Patras, Lakon Skylonos and Agyllos Kleomeneos, are listed as proxenoi in this inscription from Kleitor in Arkadia.	before 280 BCE
4. IG IX,1 ² 1:17
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 671	A list of proxenoi from Thermon in Aitolia features citizens of Patras; legible is the name Theodoros Timanorida.	262-236 BCE
5. FD III 1:355
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 662	This inscription from Delphi records the proxeny decree for Sostratos Pantareos of Patras and his descendants.	250-225 BCE
6. IG IV ² ,1 73
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 597	This inscription from Epidauros records the nomographs of the Achaians. Aganoridas Timanorida, brother of the Theodoros of IG IX,1 ² 1:17 (above), is listed as the nomograph of Patras.	after 229/8 BCE
7. IG IX,1 ² 1:32
= <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 672	A second list of proxenoi from Thermon in Aitolia records the honours being granted to two Patraean brothers: 'Δορκία, Στράτωνι Ἀ[λεξ]άνδρου/ Πάτρειος' (lines 44-45).	185/4 BCE

Fig. B.1 The find location of epigraphic testimonia on Patras prior to 146 BCE
(Map by C.J. van Toor, via hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio).

8. Milet I 3, 148 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 697	Ambassadors of the Achaian League from Patras, Megalopolis and Antigoneia (Arkadia), and a fourth illegible polis are recorded to have witnessed a peacy treaty between Miletos and Magnesia. From Miletos.	185-2 BCE
9. SGDI II 2611 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 663	This decree was erected in Delphi for Archon Aristokrateos of Patras, honouring him as proxenos and euergetes of the polis, and listing all the honours they grant him, including: 'προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, άσυλίαν, άτέλειαν/[παν]τός, προεδρίαν έμ πάσι τοίς άγώνοις οίς ά πόλις τίθητι'. Archon is known to have played a role of some importance in the Achaian League: cf. Polyb. 28.6 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 463.	170 BCE
10. SEG 11:972 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 699	A dispute between Thouria (Messenia) and Megalopolis was arbitrated by Patras as a neutral member state of the Achaian League. The inscription was found in Thouria, the text itself informs us that it was set up there in the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess.	150 BCE
11. IG IX,1 ² 2:208 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 679	A proxeny decree dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE, and erected by the koinon of the Akarnanians, records the honours granted to Agasias Olympionos, a citizen of Patras, and two Romans: 'Πόπλιον/Λεύκιον τοὺς Ποπλίου Ἀκιλίου Ῥωμαί/ους' (lines 9-11). The benefits granted to them are: 'έν Ἀκαρνανίαι άσφάλειαν και αύτοίς/και χρήμασι και κατά γαν και κατά θάλασσαν και/πολέμου και είράνας και γās και οίκίας έγκτησιν/και τὰ άλλα τίμια και φιλόνθρωπα πάντα, όσα και τοίς/άλλοις προξένοις και ευεργέταις του κοινου των/Ακαρνάνων ύπάρχει' (lines 12-17).	ca. 150 BCE

<p>12. IG V,2.367
= <i>Achaïe I</i>, no. 698</p>	This set of honorary decrees was erected by Demetrias and the koinon of the Magnesians for judges from Kleitor and Patras. The inscription was found in Kleitor, and decorated with a crown in relief. The text of the Demetrian decree stipulates that the decree was to be published in Patras as well, in the temple of Apollo on the agora: '[Πατρεῖς]/[δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ] παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ[ωνα]' (lines 48-49).	150-100 BCE
<p>13. CIG 1543
= <i>Achaïe III</i>, no. 5</p>	This inscription records a letter (in Greek) from the Roman proconsul Q. Fabius Maximus addressed to Dyme concerning his trial and sentencing of three Dymaeian citizens. These men had been involved in an uprising at Dyme, during which the archives and public records had been burnt (lines 7-6, 22) and laws were proposed that went against Roman will (lines 8-10, 18-20, 23-4). Fabius was appealed to adjudicate the matter by a pro-Roman faction of Dymaeian politicians, led by a certain Kyllanios. Two of the perpetrators were sentenced to death, a third received a lesser punishment. This matter was discussed and decided by Fabius and his council at Patras: 'περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος διή[λ]θο/[μεν ἐν Πά]τραις μετὰ τοῦ παρόν[τ]ος συμβουλίου' (lines 10-11). Cf. Kallet-Marx 1995.	144/3 BCE
<p>14. SEG 15:254
= <i>Achaïe I</i>, no. 598</p>	An inscription on an equestrian monument, erected in Olympia, lists Patras first among the poleis of the Achaian League that continued to exist after the Roman destruction of Corinth and covered a large part of the Northern Peloponnese. The monument honoured Damon Alkistheneos of Patras, who served as the commander of an Achaian contingent that joined the forces under the Roman consul Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus in a battle against the Galatians: 'Ἀχαιῶν Πατρεῖς Δυμαῖοι Φαραιεῖς/Θριάσιοι Ἡραιεῖς Θελφούσιοι Ψωφίδιοι/ Κλειτόριοι Κυναίθεις Καλλιστάται/ Ἀσχεῖς Λεοντήσιοι Τριταεῖς Αἰγιεῖς/ Αἰγυρᾶται Πελλανεῖς Βούριοι/ Φεναῖται Καρυνεῖς οἱ στρατευσά-μενοι/ μετὰ Γναίου Δομετίου στραταγοῦ ὑπάτου/ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ Γαλάτας Δάμωνα Ἀλκισθένης/ Πατρὴ τὸν αὐτῶν ἀγεμόνα ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν/ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.' Cf. Schwertfeger 1974, 27-40.	122 BCE
<p>15. SEG 19:400
= <i>Achaïe I</i>, no. 625</p>	Statue base for Aristodamos Lykinos of Patras(?, cf. FD III 4:52 below) at the sanctuary of Delphi. The inscription records the names of a number of men with various ethnicities who are in some way related to Aristodamos. Among the dedicants are two Patraeans: Lykinos Aristodamou and Timanoridas Agia. Bousquet (1961, 86-88) suggests that Aristodamos may have been the chief of the Achaian mercenaries, and that the other men noted in the inscription were his primary officers.	120-80 BCE
<p>16. FD III 4:52
= <i>Achaïe I</i>, no. 624</p>	This decree states that Aristodamos, son of Lykinos, from Patras is honoured by the Delphians for having done useful things for the polis when they requested his help. He is declared a proxenos and benefactor of the polis, is rewarded all the usual benefits that come with these honours, and is to receive a bronze statue (cf. SEG 19:400 (?) above) and a crown. This decision was to be proclaimed at the Pythian Games and the Soteria, and the text was to be published in the sanctuary of Apollo at a prominent location (where it was indeed found, on the monument for Aemilius Paulus). Word of these honours was to be sent to the polis of Patras. What exactly it was that Aristodamos did for Delphi is not recorded.	121-108 BCE
17. IG IX,2 528	An unknown athlete from Patras is mentioned as a victor in the pentathlon for men in a victory list from Larisa in Thessaly.	e. 1st c. BCE

Fig. B.2 The find location of epigraphic testimonia on Patras after 146 BCE
(Map by C.J. van Toor, via hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio).

18. IStr 508 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 693	In this inscription found at the sanctuary at Lagina, Patras is listed among the poleis that recognize the <i>asylia</i> of the temple of Hekate.	81 BCE
19. Ep. Oropou 523 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 709	Nikias, son of Nikias, from Patras is recorded as the winner of boxing for children in a victory list of the Amphiaraia and Rhomaia in Oropos.	ca. 80 BCE
20. OGIS 1,191 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 720	An inscription on a statue base found in Philae in Egypt records a certain Achaïos from Patras, Αχαιός από Πατρών (line 7), as the artist who made the statue.	59-51 BCE
21. FD III 1:542 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 716	The name of the poet Klaudios Kurina Avidienos of Nikopolis, Korinth, Patras, Argos and Sparta, twice victorious at the Pythia, is inscribed on the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi.	75-125 CE
22. Corinth 8,3 272 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 719	This statue base, found during excavations at the ancient theatre of Corinth, records the accomplishments of L. Beibios Floros, a boy comic actor, citizen of Patras and Corinth. He was victorious at various games: the Heraia at Argos, the Kaisareia at Sikyon, and the Asklepia of Epidauros. The statue was erected by his father, L. Beibios Oursylos. Cf. Shear 1928, 477.	75-125 CE
23. IG V,1 1431 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 700	This inscription (in Greek), erected in Messene, records a boundary regulation of 78 CE. The inscription states that one Titus Flavius Monomitus, freedman of Emperor Vespasian, served as a surveyor in delineating the boundary between Messene and Sparta, and that the ruling was signed at Patras. Cf. Pawlak 2010.	78 CE

24. IG XII,4 2:938 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 704	This inscription, found at the Asklepieion at Kos, lists the victories of an athlete whose name is not preserved. During his career, spanning from boyhood to adulthood, this athlete competed in many of the major games of the Greek world. Among his victories we find the pentathlon for youths at the Kaisareia in Patras.	1st c. CE
25. <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 625a	This inscription records a letter (in Greek) from the emperor Hadrian to Delphi. One of the subjects that Hadrian addresses is his approval of the honours bestowed on a certain Memmius of Patras, who is otherwise unknown to us.	118 CE
26. IG V,1 515 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 610	Damatrios Aristandrou of Mesoa is honoured in this text. He was the former curator, ἐπιμελητὴν (...) γενόμενον (line 2), of various Peloponnesian cities, including Patras.	120-130 CE
27. FD III 4:83 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 717	An honorary inscription for the doctor Aristokleides Diogenous was found in Delphi. The doctor was originally from Nikopolis, but carries additional ethnika: Tyane, Patras, Corinth, Argos, and Delphi.	120-130 CE
28. IG II ² 2315 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 711	A certain (...)kidou of Patras was victorious in a stadium race at Athens.	after 180 CE
29. IG IV 619 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 600	This administrative inscription, found at Argos, records the contributions that various cities paid towards celebrations of the imperial cult. Patras is the only city included from the region of Achaia.	2nd c. CE
30. Dessau, <i>ILS</i> , 9488 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 611	This Latin inscription, erected in Cuicul in Algeria, honours Ti. Cl. Subatianus Proculus and records his career in the imperial administration. Among the offices held is a curatorship of Athens and Patras: 'curatoris Atheniensium et Patrensium' (lines 8-9).	200-225 CE
31. IGLSyr 4 1265 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 707	In an inscription dating to the early 3rd century CE, found in Laodikeia in Syria, Patras is once again referred to as a host city for games in a victory list: Aurelios Septimios, son of Eutychos, is recorded to have won the boxing and running matches here.	221 CE
32. FD III 1:551 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 718	Patras is one of the cities honouring the artist Tib. Ioulios Apolaustos, for whom this inscription and statue were erected in Delphi.	Commodus?
33. SEG 29:340 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 705	The Kaisareia of Patras are mentioned in the victory list of the athlete Loukios Kornelios Korinthos. The monument, erected in L. Kornelios' honour by his sons, includes a relief depiction of the athlete and his victories are inscribed in wreaths in high relief. Found at Isthmia.	2nd-3rd c. CE
34. Corinth 8,3 370 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 706	An honorary inscription for an unknown athlete, found in Corinth, records another reference to victories won in Patras.	2nd-3rd c. CE
35. I.Apollonia 213 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 747	An epitaph for a man from Patras was found in Apollonia in Illyria.	2nd-3rd c. CE
36. IG II ² 10046a = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 750	A funerary epigram for Achilleos from Patras, who died as a young boy, was found in Attica.	2nd-3rd c. CE
37. Dessau, <i>ILS</i> , 4044 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 729	A soldier of <i>legio II Adiutrix</i> erected an inscription near Aquincum in honour of Iupiter Optimus Maximus and Diana of Patras.	Roman
38. IG II ² 2083 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 710	In a catalogue of ephebes, dated to the Roman period, a certain Thoas(?) of Patras is featured. From Attica.	Roman

39. IG II ² 10046 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 749	An epitaph for Euchiria Omilou of Patras and Omiros Lamptreus was found in Attica.	Roman
40. IG II ² 10047 = <i>Achaïe I</i> , no. 751	An epitaph from Attika records the name of the Patraean Myron.	Roman
41. I.Napoli I 75	One (...)ν Πατρεύς is commemorated in an inscription from Neapolis.	undated
42. AE 1978, 0239	A Latin funerary inscription from Brundisium commemorates the 8-year old Hermes Quinti Patrensis.	undated
43. SEG 46: 1315,1	An inscription found at Formiae commemorates K. Koilos Gratos from Patras, who died here aged 45.	undated

Appendix C

The Ferryman's Fee

According to several literary sources, one of the steps in preparing the dead for their journey to the afterlife was the placement of a coin or *danake* in the mouth or over the eyes of the deceased so that they could use it to pay Charon to ferry them across the river Styx into the Underworld.⁷⁰⁵ The tradition is thought to have been widespread in the ancient world, but even literary sources themselves tell us that it was never universally practised.⁷⁰⁶ In Patras, coins are one of the few types of grave provision that was used uninterrupted through time. They were found in 78 out of the 238 well-documented furnished burials⁷⁰⁷, which date from the late 4th century BCE down to the 5th-6th century CE, and. Coins were provided in burials in the three urban cemeteries, as well as at burial sites in the city's countryside, as well as in Late Roman-Early Christian burials that were found in scattered locations among the remnants of abandoned Roman houses. Coins were found in both inhumation and cremation graves, and were not associated with a particular type of grave; they were found in pit graves, tile graves, tile-built cist graves, masonry cist graves, limestone cist graves and sarcophagi, pithoi, and in various types of ash urns. Coins were given to people of all ages and - if the gender assignments based on grave goods are correct - of both genders.⁷⁰⁸ The coins could be clenched between

the teeth of the deceased⁷⁰⁹, placed in their mouths⁷¹⁰, over their eyes⁷¹¹, on their chests⁷¹², or placed in an urn⁷¹³ together with cremated remains. It is not clear whether coins were also placed further away from the body, but we cannot exclude the possibility.⁷¹⁴

Some temporal patterns may be identified. In Patras, the practice of providing the dead with a *danake* seems to have originated in the last decades of the 4th century BCE. In this period, a coin was included in the burial assemblages in five out of the fifteen of the well-documented burials (i.e. 33%, see Fig. C.1).⁷¹⁵ In the following centuries the percentage of grave assemblages that included a coin fluctuated between 26 and 38 percent, but a marked increase can be noted in the Hellenistic period, when 55 percent of the known grave assemblages included coins. The average number of coins deposited per grave increased over time, although one coin per de-

gender was determined (grave goods?), but even if this pattern was clear for this particular site of 2nd century CE date, it is never reported to have been observed at other local burial sites.

⁷⁰⁹ E.g. G187.1-2, 215.2.

⁷¹⁰ E.g. G12.3, 104.32, 119.14, 215.3 (NB. 3 coins), 223.3, 242.1.

⁷¹¹ G64.45(?).

⁷¹² E.g. G69.1, 139.1.

⁷¹³ E.g. G98.14, 100.12, 105.10, 139.6-7.

⁷¹⁴ Unfortunately, most of the preliminary reports that refer to the discovery of coins or *danakes* in graves do not explicitly state where the coins were situated. This is the case for G12.2, 13.7, 18.1, 20.3, 29.1, 31.1 and 31.3 (in both cases the coin was found near the grave, not in it), 54.10, 62.1, 62.2, 62.5 (associated with one of the individuals in a double burial), 64.52, 64.53, 64.54, 65.33 (a double burial with one gold *danake* each), 65.34, 90.1, 90.2, 98.15 (among a secondary deposition of five skulls), 100.4, 105.2, 105.3, 105.5, 105.7, 111.1, 112.1, 112.2, 112.4, 119.12, 119.15, 119.18, 121.1, 127.24, 130.9 (NB. the coin in this grave is intrusive), 130.10, 139.3 (a double burial of an adult and child with one gold *danake* each), 145.7, 146.2, 146.3, 146.18, 151.1, 166.3, 170.1, 170.2, 174.17, 183.1, 191.1, 212.1, 214.6, 224.1, 239.1-3, 245.2, 245.10, 245.13, 248.1-3, and 248.5.

⁷¹⁵ The same has been observed for Athens (Garland 2001 [1985], 23), while Dimakis (2016, 51) notes that the practice already started in the Classical period in the Argolid, the Corinthia, and in Elis.

⁷⁰⁵ For an in-depth discussion of the practice, see Stevens 1991 with extensive bibliography. For a literary reference, e.g. Juv. 3.267; for general commentaries on the practice in the Greek and Roman world, additional literary references and bibliography see Toynbee 1971, 44; Kurtz and Boardman 1977, 166; Garland 2001 [1985], 23; Hope 2009, 71. For coin finds in Peloponnesian burials, e.g. Dimakis 2016, 51-53, Warner Slane 2017, 215-17.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. Strabo 8.6.12.

⁷⁰⁷ In addition to these well-documented graves, coins were also reported to have been among the grave provisions at BS13, 19, 29, 37, 59, 86, 90, 91, 94, 95, 100, 109, 126, 136, 141, 153, 155, 161, 165, 196, 201, 210, 215, 216, and 228.

⁷⁰⁸ The preliminary report on BS201 states that bronze coins were found only in the mouths of male individuals buried there (cf. Petropoulos 1988). It is not clear on what basis

Fig. C.1 The ratio between grave assemblages with and without a coin/danake per period.

ceased individual remained the norm throughout the practice's existence (Fig. C.2).

The source material of the coins testifies to a noteworthy development through time (Fig. C.3). The earliest graves included coins that were all made of silver and were minted in such *poleis* as Aigina and Kleitoria⁷¹⁶, but over the course of the following centuries the deposition of silver coinage was almost completely abandoned, except for one Late Hellenistic-Early Roman example.⁷¹⁷ In the Hellenistic period gold and bronze coins were deposited in an equal number of graves⁷¹⁸; that the total number of bronze coins was nonetheless higher in this period, is due to the fact that gold coins only occurred once per grave, while three burials contained three bronze coins. The use of gold coins diminished soon after. Bronze coins became the norm sometime during the early colonial era and they remained so till the late-Roman early Christian period. It should be noted that the one gold coin that was found in a Late Roman-Early Christian burial in fact dates back to the 3rd century BCE and may have been reused after it was recovered from a disturbed Hellenistic burial.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁶ G151.1, G215.2, and BS100, grave 7.

⁷¹⁷ G90.2.

⁷¹⁸ Five graves contained one gold *danake*: G12.3, 59.39, 105.10, 146.2, and BS100, grave 8; five graves contained bronze coins: G119.12, 119.18, 145.7, 146.3, and 191.1; BS100, grave 1 contained one gold *danake* as well as three bronze coins.

⁷¹⁹ G112.1.

Fig. C.2. The ratio between graves with 1, 2, or 3 or more coins per period.

As far as is clear from the published data, all of the gold coins that were recovered from Patraean burials were in fact gold foil simulacra, and not actual gold currency; the silver and bronze coins, on the other hand, were. This is of particular interest, because it indicates that the gold *danakes*, thus, were made specifically for their use in the funeral rites. Not surprisingly, the period of their use overlaps with the period in which gold wreaths and jewellery were frequently used for corpse adornment. Gold *danakes* are found in graves that also include gold ornaments, many and valuable grave provisions, and have a strong correlation with the higher quality grave types and depositions: in the Hellenistic period they were found in limestone cist graves and with the two cremations, and in the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period they were exclusively deposited in limestone sarcophagi. It is worth noting that two rich graves of the Hellenistic period did not contain gold coins, but three bronze coins each.⁷²⁰ Since the simpler burials of the period contain only one bronze coin each, this suggests that in these two graves, too, a correlation existed between the value of the funerary assemblage in general and the value of the coinage; one bronze coin was apparently not deemed enough in a burial of above-average lavishness.

⁷²⁰ G119.18, 146.3.

The provenance of or the representations on the coins are not often reported. If we look at what we know about the representations on the gold *danakes*, then the dove seems to have been a preferred symbol (probably in imitation of Hellenistic Sikyonian coins), while one Early Roman *danake* was a simulacrum of a 40-30 BCE coin from colonial Corinth. The mints where the silver and bronze coins were produced (as well as the coins that the gold *simulacra* imitate) include Kleitoria, Sikyon, Elis, Aitolia, and Aigina in Hellenistic times; the Roman graves include a few coins from Rome, but also coins that were minted in Patras itself. Nine burials contained locally minted bronze coins that were struck during the reigns of Augustus, Claudius, Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and Caracalla. The identification of coin types and systematic publication of coins that are found in graves should be carried out more often than it is often done, since coins from such closed deposits can give fascinating insights into patterns of coin circulation and, by extension, into current networks of connectivity.

As was mentioned above, coins were a relatively common grave provision among the furnished burials; they were present in a third of our corpus of burial assemblages (78 out of 238). It should be noted, however, that these coin-furnished burials form a mere 2 percent of all extant graves that were included in this study. If we set the number of graves *that were reported* to have been furnished with coins against those that *were not reported* to have contained coins per period, then we see that 6 percent of extant 4th century graves had coins, 4 percent of Hellenistic graves, and 2 percent of the graves of all following periods. Although this suggests that the popularity of the practice decreased somewhat through time - which would contrast with the general picture that despite regional variation the practice overall increased in Roman times⁷²¹ - I believe that this pattern is skewed by the fact that the Hellenistic-era gold coins were more likely to be reported than the simple bronze coins that were the norm in Roman times. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the provision of coinage to the dead was never practised by a majority of the Patraeans, and it

Fig. C.3 The ratio between coins/danakes of different materials per period.

was certainly not an indispensable part of the local mortuary rites.

Who, then, did receive coins, and why? These questions are difficult, if not impossible to answer. The fact that coins were found with inhumations and cremations, in poor and rich graves, with men and women, and with adults and children indicates that neither age, nor gender, nor status, nor wealth, were a determining factor in coin provision. Other than the fact that these burials were all situated in or around Patras and included a coin, no archaeologically detectable pattern correlates these 78 depositions. In other words, while it seems that everyone apparently *could* receive a coin, not everyone *would*.

Were the coins reflective of a belief in a ferryman who was to carry the deceased over to the afterlife? It is certainly possible that the coins were meant as symbolic payments for an underworld journey, and especially in those cases where coins or simulacra were found in the mouths, on the eyes, or near the skull of the deceased, as described in literature, such an interpretation imposes itself quite forcefully.⁷²²

⁷²² Cf. Dimakis 2016, 53, who makes a similar point about not interpreting every example of coinage in graves simply as Charon's fee. He goes on to posit that 'coins in graves became prevalent in a period, following Alexander's conquests, of financial liquidity and monetary economy and, therefore, might have represented a substitute for more precious and/or numerous burial offerings.' Unfortunately, Dimakis does not develop this argument much further. If he is correctly understood, he seems to imply that he has noted a

⁷²¹ Cf. Stevens 1991.

At the same time, however, coins were also a valuable item *per se* and it may be the case that they did not necessarily play a function as the ferryman's fee. It is quite possible that coins were provided because their own intrinsic value made them useful for the deceased's existence in Hades.⁷²³

An important question to ask is whether specific coin types or iconographies types were chosen for the funeral because they represented a symbolic meaning. Doves, for instance, were particularly popular and may have been regarded as symbolic representations of the soul. Coins from Patras were popular as well. Perhaps this was simply because they were widely locally availa-

ble, but we should at least ask the question if the inclusion of colonial coinage may have been a statement about the deceased's civic identity. Taking this question further, we could ask whether the use of a coin from a foreign locality was in any way reflective of the deceased's provenance or ethnic identity. These are questions that cannot be answered on without better contextual evidence. As said, at the moment the published data on coins in graves, not only for Patras but for Greek burials in general, is too meagre to posit solid hypotheses about the significance of particular coin types or of the practice in general. Future research is highly desirable.

rise in the number of coins deposited in graves which is countered by a decline in the value or number of other types of grave goods. But with regards to Patras at least, this does not seem to have been the case.

⁷²³ Cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 166, 211; Stevens 1991, 227-229.

Catalogue A

Burial Sites

This catalogue lists the 259 excavation sites that form the basis for this study. They were selected from the reports published in the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*-series between 1915 (Volume 1) and 2014 (Volume 61 = 2006). The selection criteria are straightforward: 1) the site had to be located either in the city itself or in its immediate surroundings, 2) the published report had to make explicit reference to the recovery of any type of remains from mortuary contexts, and 3) these remains had to be reliably dated to Classical, Hellenistic or Roman times. Each excavation is referred to by the address or location of the excavated plot; the burial sites are alphabetically organized. A final entry (no. 260) lists finds from unspecified contexts. Each entry gives a general description of the site location, the site, and the finds based on the preliminary reports, plans and photographs published by the excavators in the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*-series. When available, additional information from subsequent systematic studies of the excavated remains is included. References to these publications are provided in each entry; the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*-report is always referred to first. If, to my knowledge, any of the archaeological, numismatic, or epigraphic material from an excavated site has received additional treatment in secondary literature, a reference is added as well.

1. 3ου Oreivatikou, Plateia Giannia

During rescue excavations in 1996 remains of the East Cemetery were excavated at various locations in the area around Plateia Giannia. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi published a brief report; the site received subsequent attention from I. Dekoulakou.

A) Near the junction of Plateia Marouda and Aidinion three unfurnished tile graves (**G1.1-3**) were found.

B) Architectural remains at 3ου Oreivatikou 6-22 likely belonged to several house (?) tombs of R date, as the presence of one built cist grave (**G1.4**) near one of them suggests. The *opus reticulatum* wall of one of these tombs was preserved for 4.30 m in length and up to 1.80 m in height (**T1.A**). The wall enclosed a solid rectangular structure that may have served as a base for funerary statuary or a sarcophagus.

C) In front of 3ου Oreivatikou 7-9 the remnants of a monumental tomb were unearthed (**T1.B**). It was not well preserved. The podium, dim. 4.10x3.80m, pres. h.

2.10 m, was decorated with a three-stepped krepis. The excavation report does not describe the tomb any further, nor does it refer to burials associated with the tomb.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 1.A-B, xx
Graves: 1.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Πλατεία Γιαννιά-Οδός Γ' Ορειβατικού. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), pp. 231-232; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

2. 3ου Oreivatikou 42, Agias Paraskevis

This plot, excavated in 1976, yielded the remnants of an ER tomb of the East Cemetery of Patras (**T2.A**). I. Dekoulakou published a preliminary report and paid further attention to the tomb in two later articles. Inscriptions recovered from the site were studied by A.D. Rizakis, while C. Flämig included the tomb in her analysis of the funerary architecture of R Greece.

The tomb was built in the 1st c. CE and consisted of at least three interconnected burial chambers. The SW chamber was the only one that could be excavated in full. The tomb walls were preserved to the onset of the vaulted roof that covered both the burial chamber and the tomb entrance. The walls were built of concrete; the interior wall of the SW chamber was faced with

opus mixtum (*reticulatum* and *testaceum*), while the other two were faced with *opus testaceum*. The original floor of the tomb was not preserved.

The tomb entrance was located in the E corner of the SW wall, where the stone threshold and doorposts were preserved *in situ*. The interior walls of the burial chamber had four niches for ash urns; one in each of the two long walls (SW and NE), and two in the short SE wall. Although the other two burial chambers were only partially excavated, it is clear that they also had niches for the deposition of ash urns. It is unclear how many urns the tomb would have originally held.

Cist graves were added to the burial chambers during a secondary phase of use; fragmentary inscriptions in Latin were reused for the construction of three of them (**G2.1-3**). The texts were studied by A.D. Rizakis: the first is a dedication for Trajan (?) dating after 97 CE, the second an epitaph of the 1st-2nd c. CE (**BM2**)*, and the third is a dedication to T. Prifernius Paetus, proconsul of Achaëa, dating to 122/3 CE. Together with pottery finds (unspec.) from the graves, the inscriptions date cists to the late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE.

Additional burials were placed in the tomb in EChr times, when three tile graves (**G2.4-6**) were inserted into the floor of the SW burial chamber. Skeletal

remains were preserved and show that the deceased were placed with their heads towards the W.

The fourth and final phase of use dates to the Ott period. Having lost its funerary function, the tomb was converted into a warehouse and tannery.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-EChr
Tombs: 2.A
Graves: 2.1-6, xx
Burial Markers: 1-2

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Αγίας Παρασκευής και 3ου Ορειβατικού. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 105; Dekoulakou, I., 1980. Ρωμαϊκό μανσολείο στην Πάτρα. In: *Στήλη*, pp. 556-575; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 28; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 15, 23, 35, 129, 207; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 174; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

* BM1 is a fragmentary Latin epitaph for which the find context is unspecified; two additional inscriptions from the site were non-funerary.

3. 12ου Syntagmatos 65

The excavation of this plot in 1975 brought to light a section of the East Cemetery, yielding the remnants of two neighbouring R burial enclosures and fourteen R graves (**T3.A-B**, **G3.1-14**). I. Dekoulakou published a brief report.

Peribolos **T3.A** was located in the SW section of the plot. It was built in *opus reticulatum* with corners in *opus testaceum*. The base of the W wall was made of rows of clay tiles, while the other two sides of the peribolos were made of concrete. Its floor was made of tile bonded with mortar. The peribolos enclosed four built cist graves, one of which had a floor of clay slabs (**G3.1**). The other three (**G3.2-4**) had no paved floors and the dead were placed directly on the soil with differing orientations. **G3.2** held an amphora. A tile grave (**G3.5**) was found below the floor of the tomb.

One built cist grave and six tile graves (**G3.6-12**) were situated outside the peribolos. Two of these had been looted; the others were unfurnished.

Only the N wall of peribolos **T3.B** was preserved. It consisted of *opus testaceum* brickwork and was likely the tomb façade, since the entrance to the peribolos was situated in the centre of the wall (traces of door jambs *in situ*). Three burials in tile graves (**G3.13-15**) were found in the middle of the enclosure. One of these was placed on top of the cover tiles of an older grave. All burials were unfurnished.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 3.A-B
Graves: 3.1-15
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός 12ου Συντάγματος 65. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), p. 118; Catling, H.W., 1984. Archaeology in Greece, 1983-4. *AR*, 30, p. 31.

4. 12ου Syntagmatos 67

This plot was investigated in 1992; it yielded a built cist grave of the LR period (**G4.1**).

Cemetery: East
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 4.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός 12ου Συντάγματος 67. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), p. 130.

5. 12ou Syntagmatos, Geor. Ieros

An *opus reticulatum* wall of the R era came to light during works at the junction of 12ou Syntagmatos and Georgiou Ieros in 1996. It was most likely part of a funerary peribolos of the East cemetery (T5.A).

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 5.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1996. Συμβολή των οδών 12ου Συντάγματος και Γεωργίου ιερέως. *ArchDelt*, 51 (B1), p. 221; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43.

6. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 30

G. Alexopoulou reports that two R graves were found during the investigation of this plot in 1997. One was a simple, unfurnished tile grave in which the deceased was placed in supine position in W-E orientation (G6.1). The second was an ash urn that was buried directly N of the tile grave (G6.2). It was a clay vessel (h.0.40, w.0.30m), and its opening was closed with a piece of pottery.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 6.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Καρόλου, α) 30. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 283; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

7. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 85-87

L. Papakosta reported the discovery of one tile grave (G7.1) at this plot during investigations in 1980. The grave, with E-W orientation, measured 0.62x0.38m. The grave size suggests this may have been a child burial. The grave is undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 7.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papakosta, L., 1980. Οδός Καρόλου 85-87 (μεσοτοιχία οικοπέδων). *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 193.

8. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos

The excavation of this plot, which is situated in the North Cemetery, yielded the remnants of a R house tomb, multiple graves, and one inscription. A brief report, site plan and photographs were published by I. Dekoulakou; A.D. Rizakis published the inscription. The tomb (T8.A) was only partly excavated. It had a burial chamber that contained three cist graves (G8.1-3), built of brick and mortar. The floors of two graves were paved with large rectangular clay tiles; a sloping tile was placed in the N ends of the graves, functioning as a headrest. These two graves were badly damaged. The third grave (G8.3) was better preserved and contained the skeletal remains of multiple individuals. It had an opening in the W end that provided easy access for its reuse. The grave was covered with a vaulted roof of bricks and cast masonry. Two built graves (G8.4-5) and five tile graves (G8.6-10) belong

to a later phase of use. One of the tile graves contained two glass unguentaria of 150-200 CE; all others were unfurnished.

An epitaph for an eye-doctor, inscribed on a limestone plaque and dating to the 1st c. CE, was found *ex situ* (BM3).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 8.A
Graves: 8.1-10, xx
Burial Markers: 3

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1974. Οδός Καρόλου και Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 395-397; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 133.

9. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos

This site was investigated in 1996; it yielded remains of the North Cemetery. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

A fragmentary marble sarcophagus (G9.1) of the R era was found *ex situ*; nearby was an intact Hel cist grave

(G9.2). The walls and the cover of the grave were built of neatly worked poros limestone slabs; the surface of the slabs and the joints were covered with plaster. The interior dimensions of the grave were 2.05x0.78x 1.10 m.

The skeletal remains were placed on the natural soil, and were badly preserved; no age estimation has been attempted by the excavator. The grave was furnished with various grave goods: nine gold leaves of a three-pointed shape, a spear shaped leaf with carvings that may have been an inscription, a gold ring with a red inset stone, two gold earrings, and a gold necklace with pearls and a green stone. The grave goods suggest that the deceased was female.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 9.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Καρόλου, γ) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 230; Blackman, D., 2002. *Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. AR*, 48, p. 43.

10. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Maizonos

A partly destroyed built cist grave (**G10.1**) of the R period was found near the junction of 28is Oktovriou and Maizonos. It contained the skeletal remains of two individuals: an adult and a child. They were placed in supine position on a perforated clay slab. The grave was furnished with a small number of grave goods (unspec.).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 10.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Καρόλου, β) Μαιζώνος. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 230; Blackman, D., 2002. *Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. AR*, 48, p. 43.

11. Agias Sofias

A section of the main road through the North Cemetery was unearthed during sewerage works along Odos Agias Sofias in 1996. Two ash urns were found to the E of the road, both containing cremated remains: one was a lead kalpe (**G11.1**), and the other a marble cist with floral decoration in relief and a tabula on its front (**G11.2** = Petropoulos 2018, no. 8, Neronian?).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 11.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Αγίας Σοφίας, α) Τενέδου, β) 42. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 230; Blackman, D., 2002. *Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. AR*, 48, p. 43; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A; Petropoulos, M., 2018. Ρωμαϊκές μαρμάρινες κίστες, no. 8.

12. Agias Sofias 44 (Fig. 4.5, p. 74)

This site, located in the North Cemetery of Patras, was investigated in 1977 and yielded three graves. I.A. Papapostolou published a brief general report, as well as a systematic analysis of the grave goods recovered from G12.3. A summary for *AR* was prepared by H.W. Catling. The site received some further attention from D. Andrianou and N. Dimakis.

G12.1 was a brick-built cist grave of the 1st c. CE, dim. 2.15x0.50x0.76 m. It was found without its cover and was looted. Next to it a transport amphora was found (offering or ash urn?).

Below the grave was an earlier pit grave that had been disturbed by the cist (**G12.2**). Iron nails in the grave attest to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial. The deceased individual, of whom only some dispersed bones were preserved, was buried with a wreath of gold leaves on a bronze stem, a clay unguentarium (1st c. CE), an ER lamp, and a bronze coin.

The third grave (**G12.3**) was a Hel cist grave, ext. dim. 2.47x1.12x0.66 m, with NW-SE orientation. It was built from six poros limestone slabs linked with iron clamps that were covered with lead; the grave was covered with four large slabs, the joints of which had been closed with mortar. Inside, the skeleton had

been placed on the natural soil in supine position with the head towards the W. The skeletal remains were poorly preserved, but the length of the skeleton was recorded: ca. 1.40 m.

The deceased was decked with many pieces of gold and silver jewellery, clothing, and other items, all preserved *in situ*. The publication by I.A. Papapostolou includes extensive descriptions, drawings and/or photographs of the finds (most of the grave goods are on permanent display in the local archaeological museum).

A wreath of 285 gold olive and myrtle leaves on a bronze stem was found at the head, a gold diadem was placed on the brow, a wooden (?) comb covered in sheet silver was found beside the head, possibly having dressed the hair, a pair of gold earrings with dangles in the shape of Erotes were found at either side of the head, and a gold *danake* was found within the jaw. The diadem has a floral decoration and a central relief panel that depicts Nike slaying a bull. The *danake* was a golden simulacrum of a coin of Aitolia in circulation between 279-168 BCE.

A shell made of a thin sheet of silver was found near the right shoulder. The torso of the deceased was

adorned with two gold necklaces (both with seven roundels with relief depictions of Gorgoneia, female heads, and stylized rosettes/suns), a cruciform pectoral with a central roundel depicting Herakles and the hydra and four smaller terminal roundels with Gorgoneia, over which was laid a gold ribbon with a central panel of Hermes Psychopompos (?).

Two spiral armlets in the form of snakes were worn around the upper arms and simple bracelets with animal head terminals around the wrists. The deceased wore four gold spiral rings (stylized snakes) around the fingers of the right hand. The left hand had three gold rings: a ring with a relief decoration of Telephos was worn on the index finger, one with a sphinx was on the thumb, and a ring of exquisite quality (and the only one not for funerary use only) was found on the ring finger. The latter ring had a knotted design and had a bezel with a decoration in gold and enamel of ivy leaves and a bird, covered by a rock crystal set within a granulated border.

An iron strigil was found by the right hand, along with remains of silver strips that likely once lined wooden boxes. A silver triangular comb was found by the left hand, and a bronze mirror was placed over the pelvis. By the feet were the almost completely disintegrated remains of silver plaques and ribbons, the latter chiefly over top of the feet, suggesting that these were the remains of elaborate sandals. Gold thread of clothing or a shroud was found over the chest and the legs. Finally, a clay unguentarium was found by the feet. Based on the grave goods this burial can be dated to 150-125 BCE.

Most of the gold and silver items adorning the skeleton were of a funerary nature, i.e. made specifically for their use in the burial rites. Only the earrings, the ring with rock crystal, the mirror, the strigil and possibly the combs and boxes would have been used in daily life.

Many of the funerary items display symbolism related to the afterlife, birth and rebirth, and the soul, and provide some insights into the beliefs of the people of the time. Other items, however, are rather more symbolic of life and marriage. Hence, Papapostolou argues that the deceased individual, likely a young female given the jewellery, must have been an unmarried girl that belonged to the elite class of Hel Patras, and was dressed as a bride of Hades.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-ER
Tombs: -
Graves: 12.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Αγίας Σοφίας 44. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), pp. 92-93; Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Ελληνιστικοί Τάφοι της Πάτρας Ι. *ArchDelt*, 32(A), pp. 281-343 (Sched. 1, Pin. 95-118); Catling, H.W., 1983. Archaeology in Greece, 1982-3. *AR*, 29, pp. 30-31; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38; Andrianou, D., 2012. Eternal Comfort: Funerary Textiles in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece. In: *Dressing the dead in Classical Antiquity*. pp. 42-61; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

13. Agias Triados 94

This plot, investigated in 1978, yielded a section of the South Cemetery with five R tile graves and two R built cist graves, one of which was enclosed in a peribolos. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou.

Four of the tile graves (**G13.1-4**) had been severely damaged before the archaeologists reached the scene, but sherds of several vessels, a bronze coin and an intact red glazed phiale were rescued and could be associated with them. The only tile grave (**G13.5**) that was fully investigated was 1.30 m long, contained a skeleton in supine position, and no grave goods. One of the cist graves (**G13.6**) was also badly damaged, but its floor was preserved (2.50x1.25 m) and some bones and sherds were recovered.

The second cist grave (**G13.7**) was placed in a R funerary enclosure (**T13.A**) of which three *opus quasi reticulatum* walls (w.0.60 m) were uncovered. The foundations were preserved to a height of 1.20 m; the superstructure was preserved for 0.50 m. The cist grave, int. dim. 2.60x0.70x0.93 m, was constructed in the NW corner of the peribolos against the W wall, which also served as the wall of the grave. It had a

vaulted entrance (h: 0.80, w: 0.70 m) and roof, built of brick, and covered with a layer of concrete on its exterior. The entrance was blocked with sherds of clay tiles. The floor was made of small stones and plaster. The bones had dissolved. The grave further contained a glass unguentarium, eight clay vessels, a round bone object, and a bronze coin.

Additional trenches at the plot yielded a variety of finds, including pottery sherds, a fragment of a clay mask, several bronze coins, a clay lamp, and a stone tool.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 13.A
Graves: 1-7
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Αγίας Τριάδος 94. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 98; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 37.

14. Agias Triados, Dorylaiou

I. A. Papapostolou has reported the discovery of eleven graves in a narrow trench dug in this area in 1978. The graves (**G14.1-11**), both built cists and tile graves belonged to the South Cemetery. Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 14.1-11
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Αγίας Τριάδος και Δορυλαίου. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 98; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 37.

15. Agias Triados, Karava, El. Venizelou

Remains of the South Cemetery were discovered during construction works at the junction of Agias Triados, Karava, and El. Venizelou in 1995. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

A section of a gravel road, two tile graves (**G15.1-2**) and a R funerary monument that was enclosed within a peribolos (**T15.A**) were recovered. The monument was badly preserved, but the remains testify to a significant size. The *opus caementicium* core was of rectangular shape and had a preserved height of 2 m and measured at least 2.60x2.20 m; it extends beyond the trench border. Walls of unspecified construction to the N and S of the monument formed the peribolos.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 15.A
Graves: 15.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1995. Οδός Αγίας Τριάδος. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 207-208; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42.

16. Agion Saranta 4

L. Kolonas published a brief report about the investigation of this plot. A section of the South Cemetery was revealed, yielding two R ash containers (**G16.1-2**), as well as burial enclosures that remain unspecified.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 16.xx
Graves: 16.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Αγίων Σαράντα 4. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 123.

17. Agion Saranta 6-8

The investigation of this site in 1987 yielded a section of the gravel funerary road of the South Cemetery and three tombs to its W (**T17.A-C**). A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi; the site received subsequent attention from N. Dimakis.

The tomb walls were only preserved to a low height, but brick mouldings at the base suggest that they once had a monumental appearance and were possibly of the house tomb-type.

Only one of the burial chambers could be excavated in its entirety. Inside was one exceptional grave (**G17.1**): its walls and floor were made of clay tiles and it had a built headrest. It had three niches on the outer side wall of the grave were created from protruding bricks and topped with a pedimental tile roof. Ash urns were built into the niches (**G17.2-4**); in some way this is reminiscent of a columbarium.

Also found at the site were pit graves of the Hel period, as were many ash urns, built cist graves and tile graves of the R period. Most graves contained many and noteworthy grave goods.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 17.A-C
Graves: 17.1-4, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Αγίων Σαράντα 6-8. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), pp. 148-150; French, E.B., 1994. Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4. *AR*, 40, p. 22; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

18. Agion Saranta 13 (Fig. 4.3, p. 61)

This small plot, part of the South Cemetery of ancient Patras, was excavated in 1979. A preliminary report as well as a detailed study of cist grave **G18.14** and its contents were published by I.A. Papapostolou. The site received later attention from N. Dimakis.

Ten tile graves of the 1st c. CE (**G18.1-10**) were situated at different levels and with varying orientations. In nine graves the bodies had been placed directly on the natural soil, but one had a roof tile floor. One grave contained a double inhumation. Furnishings were only found in one grave: a glass unguentarium of the 1st c. CE and a bronze coin of Nero that was used as a *danake*.

A transport amphora (Knidian?) of the 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE and a hydria were used as containers for cremated remains (**G18.11-12**). Two layers of clay in rectangular shape were found with traces of fire. These areas were possibly used for the cremation of deceased individuals, or may have been related to graveside rituals that took place during the burial or at a later stage. A partly destroyed cist (**G18.13**; dim. 0.83x0.60 m), built of square ceramic tiles, was perhaps an ossuary or a small grave. It contained human remains and an unguentarium of the 2nd c. BCE.

G18.14 was a limestone cist grave. It measured (ext. dim.) 2.15x1.12x1.10 m, and was placed in NW-SE orientation. Although it was placed below the ossuary, the cist grave post-dated it. The walls and cover were built of reused poros slabs, connected with iron clamps that were reinforced with lead. The grave was intact, yet had suffered from water disturbance: the skeleton was badly preserved and most objects were not found in their original position, except for the bracelets and the rings.

The deceased had worn several items of gold and silver jewellery: a gold necklace consisting of 44 reel-shaped beads with clasps shaped like lynx-heads, a pair of gold earrings with dangles in the shape of a perching dove, and two gold rings with inset red gems, one of which was engraved with a depiction of Isis. Ca. 130 gold leaves of different types once formed one or more wreaths.

Made of sheet gold, and thus for funerary use only,

were two bracelets with terminals shaped like snake heads, a brooch with a winged lightning in relief, a pin, and five rings: one with a female portrait head in relief, another an Eros, a third ring was a spiral in the shape of a snake, while the fourth and fifth were plain and undecorated.

In addition to these objects for adornment of the body, many other grave goods were found. Made of silver were a spouted lamp, two small bell-shaped pyxides with relief floral decoration, a small jug, a phiale, a simple cup with a small unattached pedestal, a spoon with a terminal in the shape of the neck and head of a swan, and a number of needles. Several fragments of sheet silver with relief decoration, shaped like disks, a ribbon, and combs, were all that remained of (wooden?) items that have not been preserved themselves. The hinges of a small (wooden?) box were made of ivory. Three clay unguentaria date between 150-75 BCE.

The assemblage of grave goods testifies to a wide variety of cross-cultural connections: while the funerary jewellery and probably the earrings were locally produced, the silver items are thought to have originated from Italy, and the engraving of Isis on one of the rings reflects Egyptian influences.

This burial can be dated between 125 and 75 BCE. The excavator suggests that the gravesite may have been part of a small private cemetery, possibly belonging to a local landowning family, and that the person buried in the cist grave was an unmarried female.

Cemetery:	South
Date:	Hel-ER
Tombs:	-
Graves:	18.1-14
Burial Markers:	-

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Αγίων Σαράντα 13. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 142; Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Ελληνιστικοί Τάφοι της Πάτρας II. *ArchDelt*, 33(A), pp. 354-385; Catling, H.W., 1985. *Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5*. *AR*, 31, p. 27-28; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

19. Agion Saranta, Cheimarros Diakoniares

This site was investigated in 1984 and yielded a very densely occupied section of the South Cemetery. A long stretch of the gravel road was unearthed in the centre of the trench (l. 20.70 m, w. 1.80-2.70 m), and a total of 88 graves of Cl, Hel and R times came to light on either side of it (**G19.1-88**). A brief report was published by M. Kotsaki; the site received further attention from I. Dekoulakou and N. Dimakis.

The cist and pit graves of the Cl and Hel periods were richly furnished with pottery, gold jewellery, coins, bronze mirrors, clay objects and glass unguentaria. Ascribed to the same period were a large number of ash urns with few grave goods. Tile graves with few offerings belong to the R period, as do large amphorai used as ash urns.

An unspecified number of R rectangular periboloi enclosed brick-built cist graves.

Cemetery:	South
Date:	Cl-Hel-R
Tombs:	19.xx
Graves:	19.1-88
Burial Markers:	4-5

References: Kotsaki, M., 1984. Οδός Αγίων Σαράντα-Χείμαρρος Διακονιάρης. *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 92; French, E.B., 1992. *Archaeology in Greece, 1991-2*. *AR*, 38, p. 22; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 73, 217; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205. Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

20. Agion Saranta, El. Venizelou

During construction works at this plot in 1994 a pointed amphora used for the *enchytrismos* of a small child (height amphora: 0.74 m, orientation: N-S, no grave goods) came to light; a glass unguentarium discovered *ex situ* must have belonged to a destroyed grave. A rescue excavation followed these initial discoveries. G. Alexopoulou has published a description of the excavated remains, which include a small section of the main road of the South Cemetery (3 m long, 1.60 m wide), sections of two R funerary periboloi (**T20.A-B**), and R burials: 6 cist graves, 11 tile graves, and one ash urn (0.93 m high).

G20.1: Tile grave, dim. 2.10x0.55 m, E-W orientation. Deceased placed on roof tiles in extended position with the head towards the E. Furnished with an oval glass unguentarium and a bowl with incised decoration.

G20.2: Tile grave, dim. 1.50x0.70 m, E-W orientation. The cover was brittle and poorly preserved. Deceased placed on the natural soil in supine position with the head towards the E. Unfurnished.

G20.3: Tile grave, dim. 2.20x0.60m, E-W orientation. Covered with broken tiles. The deceased was placed in supine position on the natural soil, with the head towards the E. Two bronze coins were the grave goods.

G20.4: Cist grave built of brick, stone and mortar, dim. 1.70x0.50 m, E-W orientation. The width of the walls varied between 0.26-0.50 m. The deceased was placed on a floor of fragmented tile; in the E end of the grave a built headrest had a cavity in which the head was laid. The grave contained one glass unguentarium.

G20.5: Cist grave built from bricks and a red-coloured binder, int. dim. 1.65x0.65 m, E-W orientation. The cist grave contained the commingled bones of three individuals, placed on a floor of clay tiles with incised X-es. Furnished with five glass unguentaria and one lamp.

G20.6: Tile grave, dim. 1.20x0.65 m, SE-NW orientation. Looted.

G20.7: Tile grave, dim. 1.70x0.80 m, N-S orientation. Poorly preserved cover. The deceased was placed on the natural soil in supine position, with the head towards the S. Grave goods: one lamp and a bronze ring.

G20.8: Tile grave, dim. 2.30x0.50 m, N-S orientation. Stones support the brittle tile cover of the grave. The deceased was placed in supine position, with the head towards the S. Grave goods: one lamp and two bronze unguentaria.

G20.9: Unfurnished cist grave of makeshift construction, with int. dim. of 1.45x0.60 m and an E-W orientation. The floor was made of bricks and no cover was preserved. Only few bones were preserved.

G20.10: Cist grave of makeshift construction, with int. dim. of 1.10-1.15 m and N-S orientation. No grave goods.

G20.11: Tile grave with unpreserved cover, dim. 1.30x0.35 m, E-W orientation. The human remains were poorly preserved. The head was in the W. Grave goods: a glass unguentarium and an iron spike.

G20.12: Tile grave, dim. 1.20x0.50 m, E-W orientation. The cover was brittle and poorly preserved. Deceased in supine position with the head towards the W. A lamp was placed by the legs.

G20.13: Tile grave, dim. 0.90x0.55 m, E-W orientation. The cover was brittle and poorly preserved. Looted.

G20.14: Tile grave, dim. 0.95x0.27 m, E-W orientation. The deceased was placed with the head towards the W. Unfurnished.

G20.15: Tile grave, dim. 1.90x0.50x 0.20 m, SE-NW orientation. Deceased placed in supine position on the natural soil, with the head towards the SE. Three glass unguentaria lay by the legs.

G20.16: Brick-built cist grave, int. dim. 2x0.55 m, SW-NE orientation. No cover was preserved. Deceased placed in supine position, head towards the SW. Grave goods: a glass unguentarium and an iron strigil.

Finally, cist grave **G20.17** (int. dim. 1.93x0.73x0.37 m, orientation not reported) was situated within periboloi **T20.B**. The grave floor was made of clay tiles with incised X-es, its cover was not preserved. Mingled bones were found inside, as was one bronze ring.

At a deeper level, to the S of the periboloi, the remains of a Hel farmhouse were discovered. This points to an exponential growth of the city and its cemeteries in R times at the expense of the rural population in its direct vicinity.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 20.A-B
Graves: 20.1-19
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1994. Οδός Ελευθ. Βενιζέλου και Αγ. Σαράντα (οικόπεδο Φ. Ασημακόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), pp. 226-227; Blackman, D., 2000. Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. *AR*, 46, p. 46.

21. Agion Saranta, Maximou 86-88

This site was investigated in 2006 and yielded one built cist grave (**G21.1**). It was fully excavated, yet it was clear that it was built of bricks, had a floor made of square clay tiles, and a cover of reused limestone slabs. It contained only poorly preserved skeletal remains. Undated; MR-LR?

Cemetery: South
Date: MR-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 21.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papakosta, L., 2006. Οδοί Μαξίμου 86-88 και Αγίων Σαράντα (οικόπεδο Β. Κόθρη). *ArchDelt*, 61(B1), p. 437.

22. Agiou Andreou 187-189

Papapostolou reports the discovery of three built cist graves (**G22.1-3**) and twelve tile graves (**G22.4-15**) at this site in 1979. None of the graves were furnished. Walls associated with the graves may have been periboloi. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: 22.xx
Graves: 22.1-15
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Αγίου Ανδρέου 187-189. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 142; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31.

23. Agiou Dimitriou 40-44

A narrow trench was dug along the sidewalk of Agiou Dimitriou in front of nos. 40-44 in 1974. The site is located in the Tabachana district, to the SE of the ancient town. I.A. Papapostolou reports that a built cist grave (**G23.1**) was found, but could only be excavated in part. It was covered with Corinthian tiles and contained the skeletal remains of multiple individuals. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 23.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Αγίου Δημητρίου 40-44. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 360.

24. Agiou Georgiou 112*, Filopoimenos

During municipal works at this site in 1983 the remnants of what was probably a R peribolos wall (**T24.A**) were found, as well as the corner of a built cist grave (**G24.1**).

Cemetery: ?
Date: R
Tombs: A
Graves: 24.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Αγίου Γεωργίου 112 και Φιλοποίμενος. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 119.

*Not found. Is it Agiou Andreou 112 instead?

25. Agiou Nikolaou 63

This site was investigated in 1974 and yielded a section of the North Cemetery. Three R tombs were discovered, but none could be excavated in its entirety. A brief report and site plan were published by I.A. Papapostolou; A.D. Rizakis later published the inscriptions from the site.

In the NE of the trench the stepped entrance to a monumental tomb (**T25.A**) was found. There were stone seats on either side of the three steps. The seats were decorated with a floral pattern and ribbons in relief. Above the seats there was another step of limestone slabs which served as the toichobate. Inside, the tomb had a gravel floor with a thickness of 0.90 m. A plastered built cist grave (**G25.1**) below the tomb floor contained the skeletal remains of four individuals.

The other two tombs (**T25.B-C**) excavated here were of a different type. Their walls were built in *opus reticulatum* and *opus testaceum*, and one of the tombs had at least three interconnected burial spaces.

Several cist graves and tile graves were found inside the two tombs (their number is unspecified). They contained various grave goods: coins, gold and bronze items, earrings, needles, combs, silver leaves, glass unguentaria, and lamps. A terracotta figurine of Aphrodite was found outside one of the graves. All three tombs were constructed in the R period, but remained in use until the 5th-6th c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 25.A-C
Graves: 25.1, xx
Burial Markers: 6

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Αγίου Νικολάου 63. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 346; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 167.

26. Agiou Nikolaou, Kanakari

A section of the North Cemetery was unearthed at the junction of Agiou Nikolaou and Kanakari in 1991. The site yielded a stretch of the main road with to its W a R funerary monument, a house tomb, and periboloi. G. Alexopoulou published a brief report.

The remnants of monument **T36.A** consisted of a rectangular concrete core faced with a three-stepped stone krepis on all four sides. An opening (0.80x0.60 m) in the centre of the concrete core led to an arched lintel at a depth of 0.70 m. This must have formed the entrance to a subterranean burial chamber that was not investigated.

T26.B-C, both periboloi, were only excavated in part. Also unearthed were wall remnants of a house tomb (**T26.D**) in *opus reticulatum*. The measurements of the excavated wall section were 1.30x0.60x0.90 m. It had three openings on top, in which ash urns were sunken

(**G26.1-3**). The superstructure would originally have had niches.

One unfurnished tile grave (**G26.4**) was found at the site. It contained badly preserved skeletal remains of one individual. The deceased was placed in supine position in E-W orientation.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 26.A-D
Graves: 26.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1991. Οδός Αγίου Νικολάου και Κανακάρη. *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), pp. 143-144; Blackman, D., 1997. Archaeology in Greece, 1996-7. *AR*, 43, p. 42.

27. Akrotiriou 563

This site is located to the S of the ancient city, across the river Glaukos, and does not belong to any of the main cemeteries. A tile grave (**G27.1**) of the LR period was found here, containing the skeletal remains of two individuals, a bronze pin and a bronze finger ring.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 27.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1991. Πάροδος Ακρωτηρίου 563. *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), p. 140.

28. Aktis Dymaion 21

This site was located in the South Cemetery and yielded four (house?) tombs of the R-LR period (**T28.A-D**). The *opus quasi reticulatum* or *opus mixtum* tomb walls were only preserved to a low height and had a width of 0.45-0.75 m. Three limestone thresholds were preserved: two were entrances to burial chambers, and the other formed an entrance to a narrow corridor created in a later phase of use. In addition, ten built cist graves (**G28.1-10**) were excavated, but all except one were looted. Below the floors of the tombs and pre-dating them, were five R tile graves (**G28.11-15**) and six (broken) ash urns (**G16-21**).

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 28.A-D
Graves: 28.1-21
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Ακτής Δυμαίων 21. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), pp. 161-162; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

29. Amerikis, Thermopylon (Fig. 5.8, p. 102)

The excavation of this plot, which is located in the North Cemetery, yielded a long stretch of the pebbled funerary road (ca. 50 m) as well as tombs and graves of the R period. Coins found in the surface of the road testify to its use until at least the 5th-6th c. CE. A report about the investigation was published by G. Alexopoulou; the inscribed stele recovered from the site was studied by A.D. Rizakis. The site received further attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou.

A total of 46 graves were excavated at the site: 39 were tile graves (**G29.1-39**), and the other seven were cist graves (**G29.40-46**).

Four tile graves (**G29.1-4**) contained child burials; one of these held a *quadrans* of Claudius, dating to ca. 41-43 CE. One of the cist graves (**G29.40**), had its long

sides built from reused slabs of a poros sarcophagus and brick-built short sides. Another cist grave was notable for its brick-built vaulted roof (**G29.41**). It contained a skeleton in supine position and ten small glass unguentaria.

The finds from the other graves, collectively listed in the report, are clay unguentaria, glass vessels, various coins of the R age (Claudius and Domitian, mint of Patras; Philippus, mint of Rome). Also found was a fragmentary inscribed marble stele of the 2nd c. CE.

Funerary peribolos **T29.A** bordered the road. The excavated part of the peribolos, a single buttressed wall, measured 16 m long and 0.45 m wide. It was preserved to a height of 0.70 m. The construction method of the wall is not reported.

On the opposite side of the road the remains of a small columbarium were found (**T29.B**). It had a rectangular ground plan (ext. dim. 3.60x3.50 m) and was preserved to a height of 1.10 m. The tomb walls are made of a concrete core faced with bricks. The E façade, facing the road, was formed by a krepis made of large stone slabs connected with iron clamps. The upper step of the krepis served as the toichobate upon which rested limestone slabs that faced the tomb's façade. The outer walls were coated with plaster and had iron clamps in an attempt to imitate the orthostats of the façade and to give the tomb a monumental appearance.

The entrance to the tomb's small burial chamber was found in its W wall (i.e. at the back of the monument), where the 0.90 m wide stone threshold was preserved *in situ*. It originally had a single door. The small burial chamber, int. dim. 1.70x1.50 m, had a floor paved with square clay tiles. The S, E, and N wall each contained two niches that were meant to house ash urns (not found).

The construction method of the tomb suggests a date between the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd

c. CE. In later times a grave (**G29.5**) was dug in the N side of the burial chamber. It contained one skeleton, head towards the W, and no grave goods.

Architectural members, possibly belonging to the monument, were both found to the S of the tomb and used as the covers of two cist graves (**G29.45-46**).

Cemetery: North
Date: ER-R-LR
Tombs: 29.A-B
Graves: 29.1-46
Burial Markers: 7

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1995. Ν.Ε.Ο. Πατρών-Αθηνών. Οδός Αμερικής και Θερμοπυλών (οικόπεδο Α.Β. Βασιλόπουλος ΑΕ). *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 213-215; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 196; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 166; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

30. Amerikis, Thermopylon, NEO Patron-Athinon 21

This site was investigated in 1997. At the S end of the trench a section of the main road to Aigion and Corinth was identified. G. Alexopoulou further reports the discovery of a R peribolos wall (?; **T30.A**) of 6.50 m long and 0.45 m wide, with a preserved height of 0.65 m. Two graves were found beside it. Grave **G30.1** was a pit grave with its sides covered with tile sherds. It contained a skeleton in supine position with E-W orientation. A clay pithamphora had been placed by the head. Grave **G30.2** (N-S orientation) was a tile-built cist grave. The skeletal remains were disturbed. Nine clay vessels and one glass unguentarium lay between the bones.

Also found at the site was a piriform jar (**G30.3**) that contained bones. It is unclear from the report whether

these are human remains or not, and whether they constitute an *enchytrismos* or rather an offering. An argument for the latter may be the traces of fire that were found close by.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 30.A
Graves: 30.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Αμερικής, α) Θερμοπυλών, ΝΕΟ Πατρών-Αθηνών. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 282-283; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

31. Anaximandrou, Zinonos

In 1974 an excavation was carried out in the Ghiro-komeio district to the E of the ancient city and away from its main cemeteries. A brief report about the investigation was published by I. Dekoulakou.

A section of a R tomb in *opus caementicium* and *opus testaceum* was discovered at the site (**T31.A**). The remains of a floor consisted of fragmented tile bonded with a hard plaster. No burials were found inside the tomb, but four tile graves were uncovered to its E (**G31.1-4**). One grave contained the skeletons of an adult and an infant, and near it was found a LR coin (**G31.1**). The individual buried in another grave had worn a pair of bronze earrings (**G31.2**), while the one

in a third grave wore a bronze ring (**G31.3**). Nearby another LR coin (4th c. CE) was found.

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 31.A
Graves: 31.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1974. Οδός Αναξίμανδρου και Ζήνωνος (οικισμός Τσίλιρα). *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 397.

32. Ano Soudanaiika, Agios Konstantinos

Ca. 20 km SW of Patras at Ano Soudanaiika a partly destroyed R cist grave (**G32.1**) was found in 1981. It was built of locally sourced limestone slabs.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 32.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1981. Άνω Σουδαναίικα. *ArchDelt*, 36(B1), p. 166.

33. Antheias

In a narrow trench dug for sewerage works along Odos Antheias three graves were found. They had been partly destroyed during the mechanical excavation of the area. Yet, it could be established that they were two tile graves (**G33.1-2**) and one brick-built vaulted cist grave (**G33.3**). Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 33.1-3
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. Οδός Ανθείας. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 377.

34. Aratou 33

During the rescue excavation of this site in 1978 a section of a R funerary peribolos of the North Cemetery was discovered (**T34.A**). A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou; a fragmentary Latin funerary epigram was later published by A.D. Rizakis. The *opus testaceum* peribolos was poorly preserved. Only its W wall (2.80 m long) and remnants of the N and S walls (max. h. 0.30 m) were unearthed. The peribolos enclosed a burial pithos (**G34.1**; diam. 1.18 m) and a badly damaged built cist grave (**G34.2**). Another built cist grave (**G34.3**) was found outside the enclosure. It measured 1.35x0.72x0.70 m. A head-rest was built in its S end. A fragment of a sarcophagus

with a helmeted Eros in relief was found in a water reservoir (**G34.4**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 34.A
Graves: 34.1-4
Burial Markers: 8

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Αράτου 33. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 96; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 146.

35. Aratou, between Korinthou and Kanakari

Two long narrow trenches were dug during works along Aratou in 1997. G. Alexopoulou reports the discovery of two parallel walls of a large R rectangular burial chamber (**T35.A**). It contained 11 burials: five pit graves (**G35.1-5**) and six tile graves (**G35.6-11**). Among the grave goods were several glass unguentaria.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 35.A
Graves: 35.1-11
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Αράτου. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 284; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 38.

36. Aratou, Korinthou

A section of the North Cemetery was revealed at the junction of Aratou and Korinthou in 1960. N. Gialouris published a brief report.

A large number of R tile graves contained lamps and other vessels. A funerary enclosure of R date was found between the simple graves (**T36.A**). It was built from well-crafted large slabs and measured 3.75x1.90 m, with a preserved height of 0.70 m. Below the floor level of the enclosure an ash urn was discovered (**G36.1**). It was located in the centre of one of the long sides of the tomb. The urn was made of glass, 0.30 m high, and cremated remains were preserved inside.

Similar urns are known from Italy. It dates to the late 1st-early 2nd c. CE. Several glass and clay vessels were also found inside this peribolos.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 36.A
Graves: 36.1, xx
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Gialouris, N., 1960. Πάτρα. *ArchDelt*, 16, p. 137.

37. Aretha 52

This plot, located to the NE of the ancient town and outside its main cemeteries, was investigated in 1984. It yielded the remains of a gravel road and the corner of a R house tomb. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

The *opus quasi reticulatum* N tomb wall (**T37.A**) was uncovered along its entire length (8 m). It measured 0.70 m wide, and it was preserved for its full height (1.80 m), up to the spring of the barrel-vaulted roof. The E wall, the main façade of the tomb, was built in *opus reticulatum* of excellent quality. Its excavated length was 4 m, it had a width of 0.50 m, and was preserved to a height of 1.20 m. Inside the burial chamber were three tile graves (**G37.1-3**) and one destroyed grave (**G37.4**). They yielded three bronze coins.

Near the tomb façade were two unfurnished built cist graves (**G37.5-6**) of EChr date. One built cist grave (**G37.7**) and two tile graves (**G37.8-9**) were discovered outside the N tomb wall, and yielded five glass unguentaria and two bronze coins.

Cemetery: •
Date: R-EChr
Tombs: 37.A
Graves: 37.1-9
Burial Markers: 9-11

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1984. Οδός Αρέθα 52 (Έργα Δήμου). *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 92; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 221, 237, 265.

38. Artas 6

At this site, located in the Aroe-district to the E of the centre of Patras, four R tile graves (**G38.1-4**) were excavated in 1992, together yielding 8 glass unguentaria and one clay lamp.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 38.1-4
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός Άρτας 6-Αρόη. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), p. 130.

39. Asimaki Fotila 4-6

This plot yielded a significant section of the ancient South Cemetery of Patras. A brief report was published by L. Papakosta. The site received later attention from N. Dimakis.

Burials were encountered at three successive levels, dating from EHel to LR times. These were 144 tile graves (**G39.1-144**), covered with either one or two tiles, three built cist graves (**G39.145-147**), and six burials in vessels (**G39.148-153**). According to the excavator there was no preference for a specific orientation. The skeletal remains are said to have been well-preserved, yet remain undiscussed in the report. It is noteworthy that 80 iron nails were found, suggesting that in many cases the deceased had been placed in wooden coffins. A Hel cremation (**G39.154**) found in the lowest and oldest level of the cemetery was furnished with a wreath of gold leaves.

The other grave goods are listed collectively and include 61 glass unguentaria, 22 clay unguentaria, 15 lamps, 25 vessels of various types, bone pins, and bronze rings, loops and plating.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel-R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 39.1-154
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1980. Οδός Ασημάκη Φω-τήλα 4-6. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 193; Catling, H.W., 1989. *Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9*. *AR*, 35, p. 44; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

40. Asimaki Fotila 9-11

This site was investigated in 1974 and yielded a section of the South Cemetery. A brief report was published by P. Agalopoulou.

Seven built cist graves (**G40.1-7**) of the R period all had an NW-SE orientation. Only two were found

intact, the others had been destroyed during the mechanical excavation of the site.

The two intact graves were a double cist grave (**G40.1-2**), sharing their long wall in the middle. Each grave had internal dimensions of 1.90x0.60x0.60 m.

The walls were brick-built, and the floors and covers were made of limestone slabs. The destroyed graves seem to have been of a similar construction; three had traces of plaster on both the interior and exterior (**G40.3-5**).

A small section of a peribolos (**T40.A**) was uncovered at the site as well, but no burials were identified.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 40.A
Graves: 40.1-7
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 1. Οδός Άσσημ. Φω-
τήλα 9-11. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 362.

41. Asimaki Fotila 16-18

A section of the South Cemetery was discovered at this plot in 1992, as were buildings of the LR and Byz periods. N. Kokkotaki published a brief report.

A cluster of sixteen EChr built cist graves were excavated in the E section of the trench (**G41.1-16**). The excavator reports that they contained no noteworthy grave goods. Seven of these graves were enclosed in a peribolos (**T41.A**). Older walls were used in the construction of several other graves. There were also seven LR tile graves (**G42.17-23**), and six additional R/LR graves (four cist graves and two tile graves) that were only excavated in part (**G42.24-29**).

A small tile grave (**G24.30**) was inserted into a water tank of the LR period after it had fallen out of use.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: 41.A
Graves: 41.1-30
Burial Markers: -

References: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός Ασημάκη Φω-
τήλα 16-18. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), p. 138; Blackman, D.,
Baker, J. & Hardwick, N., 1998. Archaeology in Greece,
1997-8. *AR*, 44, p. 42.

42. Asimaki Fotila 18-20

This plot was investigated in 1995 and yielded the remains of rectangular burial enclosures of the R period as well as several individual graves. A brief report about the finds was published by G. Georgopoulou.

The walls of the periboloi were built of stone and brickwork bounded together with mortar. The periboloi enclosed multiple brick-built cist graves and a single tile grave. The cist graves were made in two different ways: some were built of stones and bricks and had its walls covered with plaster, others were simply brick built. The floors were made of square clay tiles, some of which carried incised crosses.

The tile grave (**G42.1**), dim. 1.80, was found in the corner of one of the periboloi (**T42.A**). In it lay the skeletal remains of one individual, placed on the natural soil in supine position with the head towards the S. In the N end of the grave, near the feet of the skeleton, a pile of bones was discovered, which was either the result of a clearance of an earlier burial or formed a secondary burial. The grave was unfurnished.

An additional five cist graves were discovered at the edge of the trench. They lay outside the burial enclosures and were destroyed. Three graves (**G42.2-4**) formed a triple cist by sharing their long walls (NW-SE orientation). They were built from alternating rows of stones and bricks. Only the lower halves of the graves could be excavated, yielding foot bones. The other two cists (**G42.5-6**), oriented E-W and N-S respectively, were similarly constructed, but their floors were made of Laconian tiles upon which the deceased were placed. Few bones survive and no grave goods were found.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 42.A, xx
Graves: 42.1-6, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Georgopoulou, G., 1995. Οδός Ασημάκη
Φωτήλα 18-20. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 215-216; Black-
man, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47,
p. 42.

43. Asimaki Fotila 21, 23, 25

These three plots yielded a cemetery of the EChr period. Most of the graves were cists with walls built of stones and bricks, arranged in consecutive rows, and oriented W-E. Some had floors made of tiles, in others the bodies were simply placed on the soil. The graves were sealed either by stone or clay slabs. Some graves were clearly reused. In all of the graves (**G43.1-103**) the deceased was placed with the head towards the W. One grave (**G43.1**) contained a glass amphora, and another a glass lekythion (**G43.2**); all others were unfurnished.

Cemetery: South
Date: EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 43.1-103
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Ασημάκη Φω-
τήλα 23-25. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 103; Stavropoulou-
Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Ασημάκη Φωτήλα 21. *ArchDelt*,
42(B), p. 150.

44. Asimaki Fotila 28

Here, next to a R wall built of stones and brick, a tile grave was found containing the skeleton of a child (**G44.1**). Undated; LR-EChr?

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr (?)
Tombs: 44.xx
Graves: 44.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Ασημάκη Φωτήλα 28. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 358.

45. Asimaki Fotila 75, Vasiliou Roufou

The remains of several R houses were found at this site, with evidence for several alterations to their original designs. After the buildings had gone out of use three tile-covered child burials (**G45.1-3**) were inserted among the ruins.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 45.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Ασημάκη Φωτήλα 75 και Βασ. Ρούφου. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 89; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 27.

46. Benizelou Roufou 9

This plot, located in the area of the South Cemetery of Patras, yielded 29 graves of the R period in two strata (**G46.1-29**). A report was published by L. Papakosta. The graves were all of the tile-covered type and had varying orientations. In most of them the deceased had been placed on tiles. One grave was exceptional (**G46.1**). It contained the skeleton of a young child and the remains of a wooden box. The box would have originally measured ca. 0.35x0.40 m. It contained two clay birds, three glass unguentaria, four spherical glass vessels, three small lead rattles and a clay figurine of a pregnant woman.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 46.1-29
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1987. Οδός Μπενιζέλου Ρούφου 9. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 145; French, E.B., 1994. Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4. *AR*, 40, p. 22.

47. Benizelou Roufou 29

In a trench dug in 1967 for the construction of a drain along Odos Benizelou Roufou a marble sarcophagus, dim. 2.45x0.97x0.91 m, of the 2nd c. CE was found with its cover (**G47.1**, on display in the Archaeological Museum of Patras). The corners of the sarcophagus are decorated with bucrania and fruit garlands. In the centre of the long, front side an eagle is depicted with its wings spread out. The two garlands meet behind its head, and two rosettes are placed above each garland. The cover has four stylized akroteria at its corners. There were no grave goods found inside the sarcophagus; no mention is made of any skeletal remains.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 47.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Mastrokostas, E., 1967. Πάτραι, 1. Μπενιζέλου Ρούφου. *ArchDelt*, 22(B1), p. 213.

48. Benizelou Roufou 71

M. Kotsaki reported the investigation of this plot in 1988. A section of the main road through the South Cemetery was discovered, and the foundations of a funerary peribolos were found beside it (**T48.A**).

Only one grave, an unfurnished monolithic poros sarcophagus of R date (**G48.1**), was situated in the enclosure. It contained the skeletal remains of two individuals, who had apparently been buried at two

separate occasions.

A fragmentary funerary inscription of the 2nd-3rd c. CE was used as the cover of a grave. It is unclear from the report if this refers to the sarcophagus or to a second, unspecified grave. If the epitaph is associated with the sarcophagus, it identifies its occupants as two individuals of the same family (Billien[i?]).

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 48.A
Graves: 48.1
Burial Markers: 12

References: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Μπεν. Ρούφου 71. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 161; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. *Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. AR*, 41, p. 18; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 100.

49. Boukaouri, Karatza

This area is located to the SE of the ancient town. During investigations in 1979 a built cist grave of the LR period was found here, built among the remains of an abandoned house (**G49.1**). The grave was clad in marble and a perforated marble slab as its floor.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 49.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Μπουκαούρη και Καρατζά. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 134; Catling, H.W., 1988. *Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. AR*, 34, p. 29.

50. Bozaitika, Kouma

At Bozaitika, far N of the ancient city, a R tile grave (**G50.1**) with N-S orientation was discovered in 1998.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 50.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Alexopoulou, G., 1998. Οδός Κούμα, Μποζαϊτικά. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 262.

51. Bozaitika, Kybelis, Australias 41

At this site, located in the Bozaitika district, far N of the ancient city and outside its main cemeteries, two R tile graves were found in 2004 (**G51.1-2**). **G51.1**, dim. 1.25x0.40 m, contained two poorly preserved skeletons placed in supine position with the heads towards the E. The dead were buried with several pieces of jewellery: a silver and bronze pin, a pair of silver earrings, and a bronze ring. In **G51.2**, dim. 1.90x0.50 m and unfurnished, one individual had been placed in supine position with the head towards the E.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 51.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Alexopoulou, G., 2004. Οδός Κυβέλης και πάροδος Αυστραλίας 41 (Μποζαϊτικά) (ιδιοκτησία Δ. Μπάστα). *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 545.

52. Bozaitika, Mantilo

I.A. Papapostolou reported on the discovery of a R masonry house tomb (**T52.A**) during construction works in the Bozaitika district in 1978. The tomb, dim. 4.10x4.18 m, was built in *opus mixtum* and *opus testaceum*, with walls varying between 0.60-0.73 m in width. The entrance would originally have been located in the E wall, but does not survive. The N and S wall both had a single square niche, and there were two in the W. The niches are likely to have been intended for cremation urns, but none were reported.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 52.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Μποζαϊτικά. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), pp. 98-99; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. AR*, 32, p. 39.

53. Charalampi 22-24

This plot, located just SW of the R Odeon of Patras, yielded a section of a R road with N-S direction, a R house with courtyard, a water tank, a fragmentary mosaic floor, and two cist graves (**G53.1-2**) of the LR-EChr period that were inserted in the area after it lost its domestic function.

The cist graves had thick walls (0.80 m) built of stones, bricks and reused architectural members. **G53.1** contained the commingled bones of eleven individuals. In **G53.2** a bronze belt buckle was found (no mention is made of skeletal remains).

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 53.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Χαράλαμ-
πη 22-24. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 89; Catling, H.W., 1985.
Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 27.

54. Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28 (Figs. 5.10-11, pp. 103-104)

A section of the South Cemetery was excavated here in 1976. The site yielded a section of the main road (4 m wide) through the cemetery, in which two different road levels were discerned. Three periboloi (**T54.A-C**) stood to its W. One of these was completely uncovered, while the other two could only be partially revealed. Cist and tile graves were found both in and outside the enclosures. A report was published by I. Dekoulakou, who further discussed the site in two later articles. The R tombs received subsequent attention from C. Flämig.

The cist graves had floors made either from clay tiles or a layer of ceramic gravel and had built headrests. Most of the cist graves contained the remains of multiple individuals; iron nails were found in the corners of many of them, indicating that wooden coffins were used for the burials. The tile graves contained skeletal remains of one or two individuals, placed either on the natural soil, on roof tiles or on floor tiles. Peribolos **T54.A** enclosed a small semi-underground columbarium-type tomb. This structure was placed in the SE corner of the peribolos and was made in *opus caementicium*; both the interior and exterior were plastered. The burial chamber was entered through the W wall, via two descending steps. The floor, covered with a layer of ceramic gravel, had cavities that were found to contain ash urns, three in front of both the N and S walls, one in front of the E wall (**G54.1-7**). Cremated remains were only preserved in one of the urns. A lamp of the 1st c. CE was found in the fill of this ER 'columbarium'.

One of the graves in peribolos T54.A contained a multi-coloured glass vessel of the 1st c. CE (**G54.8**); another contained a clay unguentarium and a black-glazed Hel kantharos (**G54.9**); while a third yielded a

bronze coin of Patras of Augustan date (**G54.10**). At the E end of grave **G54.11** a cremation in a kalpe (**G54.12**) was found. A small enclosure in the NW corner of peribolos **T54.A** surrounded three tile graves (**G54.13-15**).

Peribolos **T54.B** also enclosed a semi-hypogeum, built cist graves and tile graves. The hypogeum was entered from the W via a doorway with steps leading down into the burial chamber, which was laid out as a columbarium. The tomb had a vaulted roof, and its entrance was covered by a separate vault. Inside, ten ash urns were immured in niches (**G54.16-25**), while a large niche at the back of the tomb contained a clay pipe leading down into the floor for libation offerings. On the interior tomb walls traces of painting were discerned. In the centre of the chamber a clay vessel of the 1st c. CE was found. After the roof of the tomb had collapsed, a tile grave (**G54.26**) was placed here. It held a lamp of the 1st c. CE.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 54.A-C
Graves: 54.1-26, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Χαρ. Τρικουπή
26-28. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 103-105; Dekoulakou, I.,
1980. Ρωμαϊκό μανσωλείο στην Πάτρα. In: *Στήλη*, pp.
556-575; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece,
1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 28; Flämig, C., 2007. Grabarchitek-
tur, nos. 168-170; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di
Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

55. Charilaou Trikoupi 32-36

A small section of the South Cemetery was uncovered at this site in 1987. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi published a brief report and N. Dimakis paid subsequent attention to the burials. A fragmentary epitaph of the 2nd-3rd c. CE, found at this site at a previous occasion in 1976, was published by A.D. Rizakis in 1998 (**BM13**).

The excavation of these three plots yielded 14 cist and tile graves (**G55.1-14**). One cist grave (**G55.1**) was covered with vertically arranged tiles and held grave goods dating back to the EH period.

Cemetery: South
Date: EH-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 55.1-14
Burial Markers: 13

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Χαρ.
Τρικουπή 32-36. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 150; French, E.B.,
1994. Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4. *AR*, 40, p. 22;
Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 210; Dimakis, N.,
2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

56. Diakou, Koumanioti, Benizelou Roufou

I. Dekoulakou reports that seven unfurnished tile graves (**G56.1-7**) were found at this site in 1974. Each grave was covered with two pairs of curved tiles and was closed at the short ends by clay tiles set upright. In **G56.1** the skeleton had the head in the S side; **G56.2** had an N-S orientation and **G56.3-7** had an SE-NW orientation. In **G56.3** the body had been placed on two tiles, in the others the dead were simply placed on the natural soil. Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 56.1-7
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Dekoulakou, I., 1974. Οδός Διάκου, Κουμανιώτου και Ρούφου. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 397.

57. Dim. Gounari 77-79

On this plot, which was located to the S of the R Odeon, the remains of a bathing complex were discovered. Among the finds was a reused marble tombstone, dim. 0.42x0.60 m, commemorating in Latin a boy who had died aged 12 (**BM14**). The excavator dates the inscription to the 2nd c. CE.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: -
Burial Markers: 14

References: Moutzali, A., 2001. Οδός Δ. Γούναρη 77-79 (O.T. 458, οικόπεδο Π. Τερζή). *ArchDelt*, 56(B4), p. 599; *AE* 2014 (Année 2011), 1236.

58. Dim. Gounari 135, Plateia Omonoias

During road restoration works in 1974 in the area to the SE of the ancient city the corner of a R built cist grave was found (**58.1**), which had a cover of white limestone slabs.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 58.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Γούναρη 135 και πλατεία Ομονοίας. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 360.

59. Dim. Ipsilantou 54

This plot was investigated in 1982. The brief report published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi informs us that the excavation yielded one cist grave (**G59.1**), 22 tile graves (**G59.2-23**), nine pit graves (**G59.24-32**) and seven ash urns (**G59.33-39**) dating from LHel to LR times. The grave goods were varied and included glass and clay vessels, gold and metal jewellery, and coins. Below one of the ash urns (**G59.39**; 1st c. BCE), lay a gold leaf wreath, a gold *danake* (dove, Sikyon 196-160 BCE), and gold funerary jewellery: a ring with the embossed representation of a female bust in profile and earrings in the shape of Nikes.

Cemetery: South
Date: LHel-R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 59.1-39
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1982. Οδός Δημ. Υψηλάντου 54ε και Κουμανιώτη. *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 146; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

60. Dim. Ipsilantou 57, Vasiliadou

Four graves were excavated at this plot in 1988. Three tile graves (**G60.1-3**) held no grave goods; a built cist grave (**G60.4**) contained a small wire ring and a glass bead. Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 60.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Δ. Υψηλάντου 57-Βασιλειάδου. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 161; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

61. Dim. Ipsilantou, Koumanioti 14

Eleven tile graves were found at this site during a rescue excavation in 1973 (**G61.1-11**). Undated; R?.

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 61.1-11
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1973. Οδός Δημ. Υψηλάντου και Κουμανιώτη 14. *ArchDelt*, 28(B1), pp. 219-220.

62. Ellinos Stratiotou 73

This plot, located in the North Cemetery of the ancient city, yielded the remains of a house tomb (**T62.A**) during a rescue excavation in 1975. A brief report was published by I. Dekoulakou, and other than a brief mention in *AR* by H.W. Catling the site received no further attention.

The tomb walls, built of cast masonry faced with *opus reticulatum* brickwork, were preserved up to 1.90 m in height. The façades of the walls were plastered. Outside the SE wall of the tomb a small podium was found. The burial chamber contained eleven tile graves (**G62.1-11**) and two vaulted built cist graves (**G62.12-13**). Most were unfurnished.

One grave (**G62.1**) contained a bronze coin of Justin II and Sofia, another (**G62.2**) a bronze coin of Nero (mint of Rome) and a deep plate with a vertical lip. Associated with a third grave (**G62.3**) were a lamp with an erotic scene and a potter's signature (175-225 CE), a lekythos-oinochos, and a clay jug.

G62.4 contained two glass unguentaria and a glass bowl with incised decorations, and **G62.5** contained two skeletons placed in opposite directions. Near the head of one of them were two one-handled cups, a pyxis that contained some bones, and a lamp of ca. 250 CE. A bronze coin of Caracalla from the local mint was associated with the other skeleton.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 62.A
Graves: 62.1-13
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός Έλληνοσ Στρατιώτου 73. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), pp. 113-114; Catling, H.W., 1984. Archaeology in Greece, 1983-4. *AR*, 30, p. 31.

63. Erenstrole 22-24

This plot, located ca. 200 m S of the R Odeon, yielded a road with N-S orientation and to its W a R (domestic?) structure in *opus quasi reticulatum*. Three large rooms and sections of two smaller ones were excavated; the stone threshold of the main entrance was preserved *in situ*. One of the rooms contained two infant burials in tile graves (**G63.1-2**), both without grave goods. The graves are undated, and can either date to the period the house was in use, or have been inserted later among its dilapidated remains.

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 63.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Ερενστρώλε 22-24. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 149.

64. Ermou 80-82 (Figs. 5.19-20, pp. 113-114)

A densely organized section of the North Cemetery was unearthed at this site during rescue excavations in 1976, yielding a monumental ER mausoleum and several other tombs of the R period. A preliminary report, site plans, reconstruction drawings of the mausoleum, and several photographs were published by I. Dekoulakou. She also published a detailed analysis of the ER mausoleum (1980), and included the tomb in her overview of the R funerary architecture of Roman Patras (2009). The mausoleum received subsequent attention from a.o. C. Flämig, Y. Lolos, and T.M. Dijkstra. I.A. Papapostolou conducted a thorough analysis of the grave goods (1983); A.D. Rizakis published the inscriptions recovered from the site.

The mausoleum (**T64.A**), dating to the early 1st c. CE, consisted of a semi-underground barrel-vaulted burial chamber and a naiskos-shaped superstructure of which only the podium was preserved. The podium was constructed of a solid core of *opus caementicium* and the exterior was lined with limestone slabs. On the side facing the road there was an exedra decorated with lion's feet, and on either side there was a stone foundation (statue bases?). Above the exedra once rose a temple-like construction with a tetrastyle façade; pilasters decorated its side faces. Though it has not been preserved, parallels from other regions indicate that it is likely that the cella of the temple held human remains, possibly with funerary statuary (cf. Von Hesberg 1992, 182-201). It

may also have been used for family gatherings during commemorative rituals. At the back of the tomb a flight of steps must have led up to the cella, while a second set of steps led down into the burial chamber. The burial chamber was found intact, but was reused in Byzantine times as a place of worship (frescoes are preserved). The chamber's internal dimensions are 5.60x3.80x3.60 m. The walls, part of the podium, were 2 m thick here and faced with brickwork on the interior. There was a niche for cinerary urns on either side of the entrance and there were four niches in each of the other walls. A total of 44 urns were inserted here (**G64.1-44**).

In the core of the podium an inhumation grave (**G64.45**) was found, which dates to the time of the construction of the tomb; the death of this particular individual may well have been the incentive for the tomb's erection. The grave was a rectangular pit, lined with *opus testaceum* brickwork. The pit contained a poros monolithic sarcophagus, covered by two neatly cut slabs. At the head of the grave a small extension contained a marble box which held a large number of broken chicken eggs. Three marble slabs covered both the marble box and the sarcophagus, the slabs were covered by square tiles (seven rows of three tiles), which were then covered by a 15 cm thick layer of soil and stones, and this was sealed off by a 90 cm thick layer of loose masonry. This careful sealing of the grave ensured its survival, and upon opening the grave the skeleton, though badly preserved, and the grave goods were found *in situ*.

The grave belonged to a young adult male.* The deceased was buried in supine position, with the head towards the N. Around the skull lay nine gold leaves, a glass perfume bottle, and two gold *danakes* (one of Sikyon of the 4th c. BCE, the other of Corinth of 40-30 BCE). A gold ring and a glass perfume bottle had been placed on the chest. Four gold rings were found on the left hand and here too were placed a silver rattle, an inscribed rock-crystal dodecahedron, and a bronze coin. Nearby lay several ivory objects, including a diptych, a relief plaque, and a statuette of a cripple in Alexandrian tradition. Also to the left of the body were two silver astragaloi, three glass perfume bottles, a second bronze coin and a sixth gold ring. On the right side there was a glass cup and three perfume bottles. A total of 41 gold leaves, belonging to a second wreath, lay scattered around the thighs; over the pelvis lay a gold fibula. Six more glass perfume bottles were found at the feet of the deceased.

One of the six gold rings has a rotatable stone, the other five have intaglio settings with symbolism that may be related to the afterlife. Four date to the Augustan period and depict Herakles, Hermes, Eros, and a tripod (interpreted by Papapostolou as the emblem of the *quindecimviratus*). The fifth is Etruscan and dates to the 2nd c. BCE. It portrays a naked, helmeted warrior (Odysseus or Orpheus?) and a female head that seems to be rising from the ground (i.e. the Underworld?).

In probable association with the tomb were two funerary inscriptions (**BM17** and **19**), as were several architectural remains found in the fill of the plot, including a Corinthian capital and a fragmentary sima.

On the basis of grave goods, the burial is dated to the early first century CE; the architecture of the tomb likewise indicates a 1st century CE construction date. The combination of grave goods and architecture date the entire structure to the early years of the colony, making it one of the very first monumental tombs to be erected in Patras. Based on the finds, Papapostolou further suggests that the deceased may have been an unmarried man of the Aequani-family who held the position of *quindecimvir* in the early decades of the R colony at Patras.

To the S of the mausoleum the remains of four R burial chambers (**T64.B-E**) and the corner of an ER monumental tomb on a stone krepis (**T64.F**) were excavated, as were many burials both inside and between the tombs.

Burial chamber **T64.B**, in *opus reticulatum*, was located directly S of the mausoleum. Inside was a poros limestone sarcophagus (**G64.46**), covered with limestone slabs and with a headrest carved in its bottom. Traces of plaster with red and yellow colouring were preserved on the exterior of the sarcophagus. Two glass perfume bottles were found inside the grave. **G64.47**, a built cist grave, was covered with clay slabs and had an earthen floor with a built headrest in the E. No skeletal remains were preserved in the grave, but it did contain a clay oinochoe, a bronze pin and iron nails (coffin?). **G64.48**, in the same burial chamber, yielded a lamp of the 2nd c. CE. Outside, a bench was built against the wall of the burial chamber. It was later used as a grave (**G64.49**) and contained the skeletal remains of one individual and a glass perfume bottle.

Tomb **T64.C**, a burial chamber transformed from what was originally an open space, contained one built cist grave with many inhumations (**G64.50**) and a child's tile grave (**G64.51**). A fragmentary inscribed funerary plaque of the 1st c. CE was used in the construction of the cist grave (**BM16**). Neither of the graves was furnished.

Burial chamber **T64.D** was a small vaulted tomb, dim. 2.03x1.30x1.58 m, made of cast masonry with a plastered interior. The entrance, on the west side, consisted of two steps leading down into the chamber. The tomb was looted.

T64.E, built against the S wall of tomb B, had a gravel floor below which were found four lamps of the mid-3rd c. CE, a lamp of the 5th c. CE, a transport amphora, and various coins of the R-LR period. Below the floor, too, was a built vaulted cist grave (**G64.52**) containing multiple burials. The grave also yielded a bronze ring and thirteen bronze coins (R and LR, and one of Locris of 338-300 BCE). One tile grave (**G64.53**) yielded two bronze coins of the LR period, and another (**G64.54**) contained a bronze coin of Patras dating to 14 CE and one of Corinth of imperial date.

In the fill of the site a fragmentary R (funerary?) statue of a female was found, as well as a fragment of a relief decorated sarcophagus (**G64.55**).

After the R cemetery lost its function and the tombs had dilapidated, an EChr basilica was constructed in the area. Several remnants of a funerary nature, including tombstones and an inscribed marble lid of

an ash urn (**G64.56, Epitaph 214**), were reused in its construction. Following the destruction of the church, the area was again used for burials. A large number of tile graves, in which the dead were almost all placed with their heads towards the W in Chr tradition, were found all over the site.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: 64.A-F
Graves: 64.1-56, xx
Burial Markers: 15-24
Epitaphs: 214 (inscribed urn)

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Ερμού 80-82. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 97-102; Dekoulakou, I., 1980. Ρωμαϊκό μυσωλείο στην Πάτρα. In: *Στήλη*, pp. 556-575; Catling, H.W., 1981. Archaeology in Greece, 1980-1. *AR*, 27, p. 22.; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 28; Papapostolou, I.A., 1983. Κτερίσματα ταφής σε ρωμαϊκό μυσωλείο στην Πάτρα. *AE*, 122, pp. 1-34; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archae-

ology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, pp. 36-37; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, nos. 107, 126, 145, 175, 184, 208, 211, 212, 225, 228, 242, 244, 336; Flämig, C., 2003. Grabarchitektur als Spiegel der Historischen Prozesse und der Bevölkerungsstruktur im Kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland. In: *Romanisation und Resistenz*. pp. 563-575; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 107; Lolos, Y., 2016. On the Trail of a Large Burial Monument of Patras. In: *PhilHelene*, pp. 351-360; Dijkstra, T.M., 2017. Strategies of remembering in the creation of a colonial society in Patras. In: *Strategies of Remembering*, pp. 37-48; Platz-Horster, G., 2017. Antike Polyeder, *Jdl*, p. 134, Cat. no. I.B.2.

* In the original publication in *ArchDelt* the grave was identified as containing a female individual based on the grave goods that accompanied the human remains. However, a subsequent study of (photographs of the skeleton) by anthropologist T. McGeorge suggests that the individual was more likely to be a young male (Papapostolou 1983, 4 N.4).

65. Ermou 85-87 (Fig. 5.14, p. 108)

A densely organized section of the North Cemetery was uncovered at these plots during rescue excavations in 1978-9; they yielded the remains of five R tombs (**T65.A-E**; 1st-3rd c. CE), only two of which could be uncovered in their entirety. I.A. Papapostolou published a brief report. The inscriptions recovered from the site were studied by A.D. Rizakis. The R tombs received later attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou.

Tomb **T65.A**, int. dim. 5.46x3.65 m, ext. dim. ca. 5x6.50 m, was an ER house tomb built in *opus testaceum* with an *opus reticulatum* façade, and originally had a brick-built vaulted roof covered with plaster. It was entered through a doorway in its W wall, which was found with intact poros jambs and limestone threshold and lintel (dim. 0.96x1.62 m). The burial chamber was divided into two spaces that were interconnected via a doorway. Vaulted niches along the walls of the chambers held immured ash urns: the published site plan shows seven rectangular niches with two urns per niche (**G65.1-14**), while other niches seem empty. The central niche in the N wall of the N burial chamber was larger, semi-circular, and had no immured ash urns. It may have been intended to house a freestanding ash urn or a portrait bust.

No depositions of the ER period were preserved; the graves (**G65.15-18**) that were present in the tomb are later insertions, but date before the collapse of the roof in the 5th-6th c. CE. One of these was a built cist grave (**G65.15**), using as its cover slab a gravestone with a Latin epitaph that may well have belonged to the original use of the tomb (**BM25**).

House tomb **T65.B** was built in *opus reticulatum* and measured 4.90x3.80 m on the inside, with a preserved height of 1.50 m. It was entered through a doorway in the W wall, where the threshold was preserved *in situ*. Inside were the remains of two tile graves (**G65.19-20**) and two vaulted cist graves (**G65.21-22**).

Depositions had also been placed in the narrow space between the two tombs: here were at least two tile

graves (**G65.23-24**), two built cist graves (**G65.25-26**), and five ash urns (**G65.27-31**). One of the cist graves, which had a vaulted cover, was unlooted and contained may spherical glass vessels.

Burial chamber **T65.C** was only partially excavated, but contained a poros sarcophagus (**G65.32**). Beside it a deposit was found that contained Hel figurines, fragments of two life-size terracotta statues, and fragments of bronze statuettes.

Burial chamber **T65.D**, of which only a corner was excavated, had niches in its walls. This tomb was built over an earlier poros sarcophagus (**G65.33**) that contained the skeletal remains of two individuals, a pair of gold earrings, four gold rings, two gold *danakes*, and 16 gold leaves of a wreath. The excavator dates this grave to the first c. CE, but a LHel date cannot be excluded.

A brick-built cist grave (**G65.34**) was unearthed close by. It was lined with marble slabs on the interior; a burial marker was reused in the construction of its cover. The grave was undisturbed and contained a skeleton with a gold *danake*.

Tomb **T65.E**, only partly excavated, had cist graves arranged along its interior walls (**G65.35-37**). Other graves at the site remain unspecified.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 65.A-E
Graves: 65.1-37, xx
Burial Markers: 25-27

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Ερμού 85-87. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), pp. 136-139; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, pp. 29-30; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, nos. 137, 206, 236, 246; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 108-112; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

66. Ermou 89

On Ermou 89, located in the North Cemetery of ancient Patras, two adjoining tombs of the R-LR period were excavated in 1976 (**T66.A-B**). A brief report was published by I. Dekoulakou.

Both tombs were similarly constructed: the walls had a foundation of cast masonry and an upper structure with facades in *opus reticulatum*.

Tomb **T66.A** contained the remains of one built cist grave (**G66.1**). The grave was brick-built, plastered on the inside, and had a cover of reused architectural elements. It contained more than one burial, but no grave goods. Sherds found inside the burial chamber date to the 3rd-5th c. CE.

In tomb **T66.B** two unfurnished tile graves (**G66.2-3**) were found. The dead were placed on the natural soil, with their heads towards the N. Both were covered with two pairs of convex tiles.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 66.A-B
Graves: 66.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Ερμού 89. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 102; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 28.

67. Exo Aguia Patron, Marouda

At this site, located far N of the ancient city, 12 R graves were excavated (**G67.1-12**). A brief report was published by G. Georgopoulou. The graves do not belong to the North Cemetery but are thought to be related to a R farmhouse, of which some have been found in the area.

A built cist grave (**G67.1**), dim. 1.75x0.65x0.50 m, had an E-W orientation. Its walls were 0.25-0.30 m thick, made of stones, brick, and tiles, bonded with mortar. The floor was paved with four rectangular clay tiles, and the grave was covered with roof tiles of the Laconian type. The skeletal remains of four individuals were found inside. The skulls were in the W part of the grave; a jug had been placed here as well.

G67.2-12 were of the tile-covered type, and the dead lay on the natural soil. Four graves contained a double burial, while three were children's graves; none contained grave goods.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 67.1-12
Burial Markers: -

References: Georgopoulou, G., 1999. Έξω Αγυιά Πατρών, οδός Μαρούδα. *ArchDelt*, 54(B1), p. 256; Whitley, J. et al., 2006. Archaeology in Greece, 2005-6. *AR*, 52, p. 47.

68. Exo Aguia Patron, Papdiamanti 21

N. Kokkotaki reports that two unfurnished LR graves (**G68.1-2**) were discovered at this site in 1992.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 68.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός Παπαδιαμάντη 21. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), p. 130.

69. Exo Aguia Patron, Veaki

At this site a R farmhouse and a group of ten tile graves (**G69.1-10**) were discovered. All of the graves were covered with a pair of Laconian tiles. All but one were unfurnished; the only grave good was a bronze coin that had been placed on top of the chest of the deceased.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 69.1-10
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Alexopoulou, G., 2004. Έξω Αγυιά: Οδός Βεάκη (ιδιοκτησία Δ. Βαχλιώτη). *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 544.

70. Favierou 39-41

This plot, located in the North Cemetery, was investigated in 1978. I. A. Papapostolou wrote a brief report about the site and the inscriptions were studied by A.D. Rizakis; the site received subsequent attention from I. Dekoulakou.

The site yielded 21 R built cist graves, coffin burials, and tile graves (**G70.1-21**), as well as 12 R ash urns (**G70.22-33**). Some of the cist graves contained multiple skeletons. Grave goods were found in five cist graves, three tile graves, and three coffin burials. Nails in a tile grave and a cist grave indicate the use of a wooden coffin for the burial. The cover of **G70.6**, an unfurnished built cist grave, was a reused burial marker of the 1st-2nd c. CE with a Latin inscription (**BM29**). One of the ash urns (**G70.22**), a kalpe, was inserted into a stone-built funerary structure (**T70.A**), measuring 1.08x1.04x0.84 m. Underneath the urn was a layer with traces of fire that contained several clay and glass vessels.

A funerary peribolos (**T70.B**), made of walls with strong foundations, was preserved to a height of 1 m. Eight cremations (**G70.23-30**), mainly in transport amphorai, were found inside the peribolos. In the middle of the same enclosure an elliptical pit (diam. 0.70 m) was found with traces of fire and containing

burnt wood, pebbles, and small items such as a fragmentary ivory puppet, bronze and silver loops, a silver and a bronze pin, a glass unguentarium, and sherds of several vessels.

At a deeper level the remnants of a Hel wall were discovered, while other architectural remains at the site dated to the 5th-6th c. CE. A coin hoard of ca. 50 coins (undated) was found nearby the latter. In addition to the complete inscription mentioned above, five fragmentary texts were found here as well.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 70.A-B
Graves: 70.1-33
Burial Markers: 28-33

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Φαβιέρου 39-41. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 97; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 120, 130, 164, 194, 214, 258, 307; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

71. Favierou 43

L. Kolonas briefly reported on the excavation of this site, where a section of the North Cemetery was uncovered; an inscription recovered from the plot was later published by A.D. Rizakis, and the marble cist was published by M. Petropoulos. N. Dimakis included the site in his analysis of Cl-Hel burials in the N. Peloponnese.

Along the centre of the plot a part of the main road through the North Cemetery to Aigion and Corinth was uncovered, and funerary periboloi were found on either side. The enclosures surrounded several built cist and tile graves, various ceramic cremation urns, as well as one marble ash chest with relief floral decoration (**G71.1** = Petropoulos 2018, no. 1). The marble urn was discovered inside a square tile-covered pit, and iron nails suggest it was originally

placed inside a wooden chest. The urn was imported from a workshop in Rome, where it was produced in Neronian or early Flavian times.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 71.xx
Graves: 71.1, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Φαβιέρου 43. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 123; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 307; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A; Petropoulos, M., 2018. Ρωμαϊκές μαρμάρινες κίστες, no. 1.

72. Favierou 47

This site, located in the North Cemetery, was excavated in 1979, and yielded six R funerary periboloi (**T72.A-F**), 27 graves (**G72.1-27**), and one ash urn (**G72.28**). I.A. Papapostolou published a brief report, and the tombs received subsequent attention from C. Flämig.

The periboloi contained brick-built cist graves and tile graves. The covers of two cist graves were made of reused architectural elements (**G72.1-2**). Only in one of the graves did four iron nails point to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial. One of the tile graves (**G72.16**) contained the skeletal remains of an adult and a child, a bronze bracelet, and two glass unguentaria of the 1st c. CE. A pointed amphora was used as an ash urn (**G72.28**) and contained a fragmentary

glass vessel. Nearby a terracotta doll and the remains of a lamp were found; it is unclear whether these were associated with the urn.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 72.A-F
Graves: 72.1-28
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Φαβιέρου 47. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 139; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 160-165.

73. Fokaias, Patriarchou Ioakim

This plot was investigated in 1987. It yielded a looted cist grave (**G73.1**) with NW-SE orientation, as well as three tile graves that were poorly preserved (**G73.2-4**). Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 73.1-4
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Φωκαίας και Πατριάρχου Ιωακείμ. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 150.

74. Frourio

At unspecified locations in the area of Frourio (around the acropolis) architectural remains of the R period, a pipeline, 16 LR cist and tile graves, and some EByz remains were discovered in 1985. The graves (**G74.1-16**) had been inserted in the area when the R buildings had gone out of use.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 74.1-16
Burial Markers: -

References: Peritaki, M., 1985. Ανώνυμες οδοί στην περιοχή Φρουρίου (οικόπεδο Χέλα). *ArchDelt*, 40(B), p. 114; French, E.B., 1993. Archaeology in Greece, 1992-3. *AR*, 39, p. 24.

75. Geor. Olympiou 82

This site, located in the South Cemetery of the ancient city, yielded three LR tile graves (**G75.1-3**) and two R ash urns (**G75.4-5**). Three EChr built cist graves (**G75.6-8**) were also discovered; two of these contained a double burial.

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 75.1-8
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Sotiriou, A., 1990. Οδός Γ. Ολυμπίου 82. *ArchDelt*, 45(B1), p. 131.

76. Geor. Papandreou, Dirfys

On this plot, located to the SE of the ancient city, two graves were excavated in 2000. One was a built cist grave (**G76.1**) with a floor of three clay tiles and walls of brick, tile and cement. The second grave (**G76.2**) was a tile grave with a badly preserved cover. The skeleton, placed on two tiles with the head towards the E, belonged to an adult. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 76.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 2000. Οδός Γ. Παπανδρέου και Δίρφους. *ArchDelt*, 55(B1), p. 297; Morgan, C., 2010. Achaia. *AR*, (56), p. 62.

77. Paleon Patron Germanou 176

M. Kotsaki reports on the discovery of Hel workshops at this site that were transformed into two houses in R times. The structures were separated by a narrow corridor (1.05 m wide). In the corner of the courtyard of the E building two child burials were discovered, one in a cist grave (**G77.1**), the other in a tile grave (**G77.2**). Both children were buried without any grave goods.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 77.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kotsaki, M., 1984. Οδός Γερμανού 176 και Κ. Παλαιολόγου. *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 84.

78. Gerokostopoulou

Funerary remains were discovered in a narrow trench along the pavement of Odos Gerokostopoulou in 1995. R period remnants came to light in front of nos. 31-33 (see **BS80**): One cast masonry construction (**T78.A**, l. 4.10 m, pres. h. 1.45 m) occupied the entire width of the trench (1.10 m). The tomb type is unclear.

A section of a stone stylobate with two bases for Ionic columns came to light at the corner with Kanakari 141. Near it was a large part of an unfluted column (1.30 m high). These remains are related to those of the 'stoa' found at **BS79**, and are thought to have belonged to a large complex of R baths.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 78.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: 34

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1995. Οδός Γεροκωστοπούλου. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), p. 207; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 168; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 41.

79. Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141 (Fig. 6.8, p. 157)

The site at the junction of Gerokostopoulou 27 and Kanakari 141 yielded several monumental funerary structures of the North Cemetery, dating to the 2nd and 3rd c. CE. I.A. Papapostolou published a report about the excavation, which H.W. Catling summarized for *AR*. The site received subsequent attention from C. Flämig, who included the tombs in her analysis of R funerary architecture.

In the SE part of the plot, at the trench border, the krepis of a monumental tomb (**T79.A**) could only be uncovered in part. Directly to its N were the remnants of a burial chamber (**T79.B**) with four built cist graves inside (**G79.1-4**). Two graves contained multiple skeletons, and one of these held grave goods (small vessels and a lamp) of the 2nd-3rd c. CE.

T79.C, a large rectangular brick-built (*opus mixtum*) funerary structure was located to the W of **T79.B**. It consisted of two sections: a complex of three interconnected burial spaces and an enclosed courtyard with furnishings for cult activity.

The burial chambers were located in the NE part of the tomb. The NE burial chamber, with a vaulted roof, contained three built cist graves (**G79.5-7**). Two of these contained the skeletal remains of two individuals; the other contained some bones and simple grave goods (perfume bottles and a lamp) of the 2nd-3rd c. CE. The burial chamber also had two niches in the back wall, above one of the graves, in which clay pots had been sunken (2 in one niche, 1 in the other). They are interpreted by the excavator as being intended for offerings to the deceased. However, the possibility of these having been originally meant as containers for cremations cannot be excluded.

This burial chamber was connected to the NW chamber of the tomb with an arched opening. However, the opening was blocked by one of the aforementioned cist graves (a later addition?). The NW burial chamber contained a single built cist grave (**G79.8**), and had vessels embedded in a niche in its N wall (urns?).

A rectangular space in front of the burial chambers is identified as a peribolos by the excavator. It is unclear from the report whether the area was roofed, but if so, it may also have served as an antechamber. A stone threshold leading into the area is preserved in the centre of its S wall. Next to the doorway a cist grave (**G79.9**) as built against the wall; on the other side was a horseshoe-shaped clay construction built into the floor. Its bottom was made of a whitish mortar; it held the bones of several small animals.

The courtyard (dim. 5.50x3.85 m) is found in the S section of the tomb. Both the courtyard and the area described above - connected to each other through the aforementioned doorway - had a floor of gravel, below which rows of cover tiles were placed to allow for drainage of the area.

Beside the doorway a low rise was clad in marble. Most of this structure was below the floor level, and only the top would have been visible. Here, too, were two square built cists (**G79.10-11**), one with an internal marble lining, possibly serving as ossuaries or graves. In front of these structures, in the centre of the E part of the courtyard, a round undecorated altar was sunken into the floor. Near the altar were openings placed in a square, each lined with clay pipes. It is believed that they would have been meant to hold poles for temporary roofs to provide shade.

Built against the S wall, opposite the doorway, was a square concrete construction (a podium, statue base?), and another podium (1.15x0.80x0.30 m) stood in the NW corner of the courtyard. It had a concrete core and was lined with brickwork. Here, a chute was cut through the W wall of the tomb and led outside. The bottom of the chute is paved with lead sheets and in it were bones of small animals and residues of burning, indicating that this platform served as a hearth. Together, the hearth and the altar are evidence that cult activity took place in this part of the tomb. Also found in the courtyard were the remains of a marble statue (a tree trunk with a part of a himation) and an Ionic capital.

From this site, too, but from a higher level, came a square stylobate that is reminiscent of a stoa. It could not be fully excavated, since it was located at the border of the trench, but the east side was 7.60 m long and three bases for Ionic columns were preserved on its top. The area inside the 'stoa' was paved with square clay tiles, incised with crosses. Some of the lamps excavated at this site bore signatures of well-known local pottery workshops: Πρέιμου, Πωσφόρου, Σωτηρίδα and Ζωσίμου (for lamp production in Roman Patras, see Petropoulos, M., 1999. *Τα εργαστήρια των ρωμαϊκών λυχναρίων της Πάτρας και το Λυχνομαντείο*, Athens).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 79.A-C
Graves: 79.1-11
Burial Markers: 35

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1973. Οδός Γεροκωστοπούλου και Κανακάρη 141. *ArchDelt*, 28(B1), pp. 210-213; Catling, H.W., 1979. Archaeology in Greece, 1978-9. *AR*, 25, p. 22; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 243; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 104-106.

80. Gerokostopoulou 31 (Figs. 5.17 and 6.5, pp. 112, 154)

At this site, located in the North Cemetery of ancient Patras just SE of the previous site, the remains of multiple R funerary structures and a R colonnade came to light in 1973. I.A. Papapostolou published a brief report, and H.W. Catling prepared a summary for *AR*. The site received subsequent attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou, who included the R tombs in their discussions of R funerary architecture in Patras.

The remnants of the Ionic colonnade were found in the W section of the plot, and consisted of three large stone blocks of the stylobate, on two of which a column base was preserved. In front of it ran a stone and tile water channel.

In the N section of the plot the remnants of a burial chamber (**T80.A**) were found enclosing a monolithic stone sarcophagus and a tile grave (**G80.1-2**). The west side of the monument was the façade; it consisted of a concrete podium, revetted with stone slabs.

To its S was a large, square funerary complex (**T80.B**) that consisted of four burial chambers. In the NE corner of the NW chamber, which was entered through a doorway in the W wall, stood a monolithic poros sarcophagus (**G80.3**); at its bottom end was a tile grave (**G80.4**) on a built podium. This room gave access to the NE chamber, where built vaulted cist graves were placed in front of three of the walls (**G80.5-7**). A stairway of six steps apparently once led to an upper storey of the tomb.

The SW chamber also held three cist graves (**G80.8-10**). They had floors paved with clay tiles, plastered interior walls, and a cover of stone slabs. One of the graves contained three skulls as well as a glass vessel containing bones; another contained two skulls. The SE burial chamber contained a poros sarcophagus (**G80.11**) and three tile-built cist graves (**G80.12-14**). A second funerary complex (**T80.C**) was found behind tomb **T80.B**, and was separated from it by a narrow corridor. It was only partly uncovered as it continues underneath Odos Karaïskaki. The N façade of the tomb was built of brickwork and decorated with a tile kymation. In the NW burial chamber stood three built cist graves (**G80.15-17**). In the area to the S were two built, vaulted cist graves (**G80.18-19**), one of which

contained bones, lamps, glass unguentaria, and a skyphos of the 2nd c. CE.

In the S section of the plot a tomb of monumental appearance was built on top of a stepped stone podium (**T80.D**). It was entered from the E through a single door; the threshold was preserved *in situ*.^{*} A built cist grave was placed on either side of the entrance (**G80.20-21**), and two built square cists were placed in the centre of the tomb. Skeletons were found in both graves; no explicit mention is made of any finds in the built cists. A stone loutrophoros, found just outside the tomb in front of the krepis, may have served as a burial marker.

Another burial chamber (**T80.E**), in the SE of the plot, was decorated with a mosaic floor. The tomb entrance was preserved in the S wall. The burial chamber contained the remains of one built cist grave (**G80.22**).

Between **T80.C** and **T80.D** a pair of Chr built cist graves was discovered (**G80.23-24**). To the W of the stylobate, and 1.50 m deeper, lay the remains of older funerary structures (unspec.). Multiple tile graves were scattered around the plot between the tombs. These are drawn on the site plan, but not described in the report.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 80.A-E, xx
Graves: 80.1-24, xx
Burial Markers: 36

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1973. Οδός Γεροκωστοπούλου 31 και Καραϊσκάκη. *ArchDelt*, 28(B1), pp. 208-210; Catling, H.W., 1979. Archaeology in Greece, 1978-9. *AR*, 25, p. 22; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 65; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 64; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 97-101; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

^{*} The site plan suggests the presence of a second doorway in the west side, i.e. the facade, of the monument; cf. Flämig 2007, no. 101.

81. Gerokostopoulou 39

This plot was investigated in 1982. A brief report was published by E. Papazoglou and the site received subsequent attention from C. Flämig.

The site yielded a section of the North Cemetery that was close to the public centre of the ancient R city. The remnants of two R house tombs in *opus reticulatum* were uncovered (**T81.A-B**), as well as several unfurnished tile graves. A marble portrait of a female was found near the threshold of one of the burial chambers, and was probably part of a tomb statue.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 81.A-B
Graves: 81.xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Papazoglou, E., 1982. Οδός Γεροκωστούπουλου 39. *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 146; French, E.B., 1991. Archaeology in Greece, 1990-1. *AR*, 37, p. 29; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 102-103.

82. Gervasiou Paraskevopoulou 7

A built cist grave (**G82.1**) of the LR period, containing a ring and an iron buckle, was found at this plot in 1976. The site is located to the SE of the ancient city, and is unassociated with its main cemeteries.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 82.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Γερβασίου Παρασκευοπούλου 7. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 95-97.

83. Giannitson 66

On Giannitson 66 a section of the main road of the North Cemetery was excavated, as well as a R funerary peribolos that enclosed an unspecified number of ash urns and tile graves (**T83.A**). A marble slab, dim. 0.55x0.36x0.08 m, engraved with a Latin epitaph was found *ex situ* outside the peribolos (**BM37**)

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 83.A
Graves: 83.xx
Burial Markers: 37

References: Alexopoulou, G., 2004. Γιαννιτσών 66 (ιδιοκτησία Στ. Λάππα). *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 560; *AE* 2014 (Année 2011), 1235.

84. Ilias 78

A 1977 rescue excavation at this site, which is located to the SE of the ancient town, yielded a section of a LR-EChr cemetery. It consisted of three rows of brick-built cist graves. The outer walls of the complex were built in *opus reticulatum*-brickwork. An additional three tile graves (**G84.1-3**), of R-LR date, were found to the E of the burial complex. One of these held a trefoil oinochoiskos of the early 3rd c. CE.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 84.1-3, xx
Burial Markers: 133

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Ηλείας 78. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 74; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 192.

85. Ippokratous, Pesonton Astynomikon

At the junction of Ippokratous and Pesonton Astynomikon, located in the general area of the East Cemetery, an unfurnished R-LR cist grave in *opus testaceum* with walls of 0.20 m thick was discovered (**G85.1**). It measured 1.40 m long and had an interior width of 0.45 m, E-W orientation. The bottom was paved with clay tiles (0.20x0.20 m). The skeleton was poorly preserved, and no grave goods were found.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 85.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1998. Οδός Ιπποκράτους και Πεσσόντων Αστυνομικών. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 263; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

86. Isoma Faron, Kampos

At the village of Isoma Pharon, far S of Patras and to the W of Pharai, the remains of a double R funerary peribolos were excavated in 1997. M. Petropoulos published a brief report about the findings.

The S peribolos (**T86.A**) was entered through a doorway in its W wall; the stone threshold was preserved *in situ*. Peribolos **T86.B**, to its N, would have had a similar entrance, but this had been destroyed during ploughing of the site (the threshold was found among the rubble). The two periboloi were separated by a double wall that had also been partly destroyed by farming activities. In both enclosures the entrance led into an L-shaped area, and smaller walled spaces containing graves were located in their SW and NW corners, respectively. In **T86.A** this area contained a double cist grave (**G86.1-2**); in peribolos **T86.B** were four partly destroyed built vaulted cist graves (**G86.3-6**). In the W wall a niche held a vessel containing the remains of a child (**G86.7**). Another cist grave and a simple tile grave (**G86.8-9**) were found in the L-shaped section of peribolos **T86.B**. Additional tile graves were found outside the periboloi to the E (**G86.10-16**).

Grave goods included clay and glass vessels, bronze and ivory items, and bronze coins. The periboloi were in use between the 1st-3rd c. CE; **T86.A** was probably built first.

It is likely that this burial site was associated with a farmhouse of the R period, one example of which had already been identified at a distance of 350m from this burial site. Petropoulos further notes that already in the 1960s a local man had brought a tombstone, originating from this general area, to the museum and reported the presence of mosaic floors with floral decoration.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 86.A-B
Graves: 86.1-16
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 1997. Ίσωμα Φαράων: Θέση Κάμπος. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 289-291; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

87. K. Satha

Two tile graves with E-W orientation were found at this site in 1998 (**G87.1-2**). The skeletons had completely disintegrated and no grave goods are reported. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 87.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1998. Οδός Κ. Σαθά. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 263; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

88. Kalavryton

On Kalavryton a long narrow stretch of the East Cemetery was excavated during the laying of sewage pipes along the road in 1985. M. Kotsaki reports the discovery of the remains of several tombs and graves, noting that these could not be thoroughly investigated due to the limited width of the trench.

In the S end of the trench a floor made of gravel, tile sherds, and plaster was identified. Beside it were the remains of a burial chamber (**T88.A**) in which lay an unfurnished tile grave (**G88.1**).

The main road through the East Cemetery was unearthed in the E section of the trench. It had a significant width: 8.50 m. Directly beside it was the stepped façade of a monumental tomb (**T88.B**) and nearby were two unfurnished graves (**G88.2-3**).

Also uncovered were six R tile graves (**G88.4-9**), three looted built cist graves (**G88.10-12**), and (house?) tombs containing additional built and tile graves.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 88.A-B, xx
Graves: 88.1-12, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1985. Οδός Καλαβρύτων (έργα Δήμου). *ArchDelt*, 40(B), p. 120; French, E.B., 1993. Archaeology in Greece, 1992-3. *AR*, 39, p. 24; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

89. Kalavryton

During excavation works carried out by ΔΕΗ on Odos Kalavryton in 1987 archaeological remains of the R East Cemetery were discovered at various locations. A brief report was published by M. Peritaki.

Near the junction with Odos N. Giannopoulou R (funerary?) buildings and three tile graves (**G89.1-3**) were unearthed. One of the graves contained a lamp of the 2nd-3rd c. CE with a representation of Artemis

Kynegetis and her dog. It was signed at the bottom (Sposianos). Near the junction with Odos Pontou the remnants of R walls in *opus reticulatum* and *opus caementicium* probably belonged to (house?) tombs. Built in front of one of the walls was a cist grave (G89.4). It had a N-S orientation, the interior walls were plastered, and the floor was paved with a pair of tiles. The cover was most likely made of tiles as well. Inside were a few remains of bones, a clay model of a theatrical mask, a large elliptical lamp (broken) with a depiction of Triton and a Nereid, a lamp of the 2nd c. CE, fragments of another lamp, and sherds of a R vessel with a conical foot.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 89.xx
Graves: 89.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Peritaki, M., 1987. Οδός Καλαβρύτων και Ν. Γιαννοπούλου (σκάμμα ΔΕΗ). *ArchDelt*, 42(B), pp. 146-147; Peritaki, M., 1987. Οδός Καλαβρύτων στο ύψος της οδού Πόντου (σκάμματα ΔΕΗ). *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 146; French, E.B., 1994. *Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4*. *AR*, 40, p. 22.

90. Kalavryton 24-26

During excavations at these two plots in 1977 two built cist graves, five tile graves, and one ash urn were discovered. I.A. Papapostolou published a short report and a summary for *AR* was prepared by H.W. Catling. The graves received subsequent attention from N. Dimakis.

One of the built cist graves (G90.1) had a roof of slabs that were covered with concrete. The grave contained a skeleton with a gold *danake*. Iron nails and traces of wood found in the grave suggest that the deceased had originally been laid in a wooden coffin.

Underneath this burial was an older grave (G90.2) that contained a skeleton and a silver *danake*. The other built cist grave (G90.3) had a vaulted roof, but was destroyed.

Finds from the site further include bronze coins, unspecified bronze objects, a glass ring in the shape of a snake, a small oinochoe (1st c. BCE-1st c. CE), and a stamnos (2nd-early 3rd c. CE).

Cemetery: East
Date: LHel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 90.1-8
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Καλαβρύτων 24-26. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 90; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6*. *AR*, 32, p. 38; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

91. Kalavryton 34

In 1984 a section of the East Cemetery of Patras was excavated here, yielding four cist graves (G91.1-4), three tile graves (G91.5-7), two pit graves (G91.8-9), and one cremation (G91.10) of R date.

The cists had interior walls built of bricks and tiles (plastered) and outer walls built of stones and tiles. The floors were paved with square tiles, and the graves had tile covers. Two of these contained the remains of multiple individuals. The grave goods are five bronze coins, a tapered clay lekythion, two glass lekythia, one lamp, a bone needle, a clay plate, and a lead cup with handles.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 91.1-10
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Lakaki, M., 1984. Οδός Καλαβρύτων 34 και Χρυσοστόμου (οικόπεδο Πετρόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 93.

92. Kalavryton 69

A section of a R funerary peribolos in *opus mixtum* was excavated at this plot in 1988 (T92.A). No graves are reported.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 92.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Καλαβρύτων 69. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 162; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. *Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5*. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

93. Kalavryton, Fokaias

Works at the junction of Kalavryton and Fokaias yielded remains of the East Cemetery at two separate occasions. In 1987 the wall of a R burial chamber (T93.A) was discovered in a trench dug by ΔΕΗ. Later, in 1998, a section of a stone-built funerary peribolos (T93.B) was found. To its E the remains of a cist grave (G93.1) were identified, but it was destroyed during the mechanical excavation of the trench.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 93.A-B
Graves: 93.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Συμβολή οδών Καλαβρύτων και Φωκαίας (έργα ΔΕΗ). *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 151; Alexopoulou, G., 1998. Οδός Καλαβρύτων και Φωκαίας. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 263; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

94. Kalavryton, between Maragkopoulou and Giannopoulou

In three trenches (B-D) along Kalavryton a section of the East Cemetery was unearthed during road works in 1996. A report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. The site received subsequent attention from I. Dekoulakou.

Trench B: The excavation yielded a R burial chamber (T94.A) with built cist graves in its interior, nearby lay (an unspecified number of) R tile graves.

Trench C: Further down the road the remains of rectangular funerary enclosures built of stone and mortar were found (T94.B-C). The walls had a width of 0.50-0.65 m and a preserved height of up to 1.30 m. Peribolos T94.B (exc. dim. 10.5x8 m) was internally divided into separate sections: a walled off area measures 5x2.7 m. Both periboloi extended outside the trench border towards the W. Sixteen built cist graves (G94.1-16) and ten tile graves (G94.17-26) were investigated in this area, but many were looted and/or destroyed. They were placed both in- and outside the enclosures. The better preserved brick-built cist graves had floors paved with large clay slabs and built headrests. Grave goods and other finds from this area date to the R period, and include clay and glass vessels, small bronze items, a large number of bronze coins, fragments of an inscribed slab and two funerary stelai (unpublished?). In Chr times the area was used for workshop activities.

Trench D: A R funerary peribolos was only partly

uncovered, exc. dim. 18x5.5 m (T94.D). The peribolos, built of stone and mortar, was internally divided in at least four areas of varying sizes. It was oriented N-S parallel to the modern road, suggesting that the ancient cemetery road followed the same path at this point. In total, six built cist graves (G94.27-32) and eleven tile graves (G94.33-43) were unearthed in this trench. The cist graves were all located inside the peribolos, whereas some of the tile graves were found outside it. A few grave goods were collected: clay and glass vessels, small bronze items, and a large number of coins. This trench, too, yielded evidence for workshop installations in the Chr period, since a pottery kiln was excavated here.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 94.A-D
Graves: 94.1-43, xx
Burial Markers: Unpublished (?)

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Καλαβρύτων - Έργα διαπλάτυνσης από τη 2η ΔΕΚΕ Πατρών. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), pp. 225-228; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

95. Kalavryton, between Smyrnis and Maragkopoulou

Two burial enclosures and 35 graves (1st-5th c. CE) of the East Cemetery of Patras came to light during road works along the east side of Odos Kalavryton. A brief report was published by A. Koumoussi.

Nineteen of the graves were tile-covered (G95.1-19), five were simple pit graves (G95.20-24) and another pit grave was covered with stone slabs (G95.25); there was one poros sarcophagus (G95.26), six brick-built cists (G95.27-32), and there were three clay ash urns (G95.33-35).

Peribolos T95.A and T95.B were both rectangular and built of stone, brick and tile, bonded with a whitish mortar. Entrances were not found, but may have been situated in the unexcavated S end.

Peribolos T95.A, dim. 6.10x5.40 m, enclosed five tile graves of the late 4th-mid 5th c. CE (based on coins). Below these were successive levels of R depositions;

both simple burials and cremations. Coins and grave goods date these graves to the 1st-2nd c. CE.

Peribolos T95.B, dim. 6.20x8.50 m, contained EChr graves and R graves of the 1st-2nd c. CE. Wall remnants between the two enclosures may have belonged to additional periboloi.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: 95.A-B, xx
Graves: 95.1-35
Burial Markers: -

References: Koumoussi, A., 1995. Οδός Καλαβρύτων (μεταξύ των οδών Σμύρνης και Μαραγκοπούλου). *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 263-264; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42.

96. Kalavryton, Vermiou

A small section of the East Cemetery was uncovered here in 1987. The site yielded remains of the ER-LR period: a funerary peribolos (**T96.A**), four ash urns (**G96.1-4**), three looted cist graves (**G96.5-7**), and seven tile graves (**G96.8-14**) most of which were unfurnished.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 96.A
Graves: 96.1-14
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Καλαβρύτων και Βερμίου. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 151.

97. Kanakari 72

This plot is located in the North Cemetery of ancient Patras. It was excavated in 2005. Two graves came to light: one was a tile grave (**G97.1**), the other a R cist grave covered with a gabled roof (**G97.2**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 97.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papakosta, L., 2005. Οδός Κανακάρη 72. *ArchDelt*, 60(B1), p. 349.

98. Kanakari 76

This site yielded remains of the North Cemetery, dating from R to Byz times. L. Papakosta reports the identification of a section of the main road to Aigion and Corinth, and the discovery of several tombs and graves to its E; two epitaphs recovered from the site were published by A.D. Rizakis.

The corner of an *opus reticulatum* peribolos (**T98.A**) was excavated in the centre of the plot. Its two walls were excavated for 11.3 m and 9.90 m respectively, and were preserved up to 2.20-2.60 m in height. The peribolos enclosed two funerary structures (unspec.), several tile graves of the LR period, and two burial pithoi (**G98.2-3**). Most graves had an E-W orientation, all contained the skeletons of adults, and only few contained simple grave goods. Tile grave **G98.1** had a fragmentary marble epitaph (Greek) embedded in its cover (**BM38**).

Three built cist graves with tile and cement covers were found at a lower level and belong to the R period (**G98.4-6**). A marble plaque with a Latin epitaph (**BM39**) was embedded in the cover of one of the graves (**G98.4**, int. dim. 2.25x0.75x1.20 m). The grave contained the skeletal remains of an adult individual, and the presence of iron nails attest to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial. **G98.5** contained three

clay ash urns (**G98.7-9**) in which cremated remains preserved. **G98.6** yielded seven glass perfume bottles and two gold leaves.

Three similar graves (**G98.10-12**) were found in the area to the S; one of them lay beneath the wall of a second peribolos (**T98.B**). A tile grave (**G98.13**) dates to the same period.

An ash urn (**G98.14**) was situated in a compact layer covering a 0.75x0.75 m area, which contained burnt bones and a bronze coin. In a similar area five skulls were placed side by side with between them an unguentarium, two bronze coins, a bone pin, and several sherds (**G98.15**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 98.A-B
Graves: 98.1-15, xx
Burial Markers: 38-39

References: Papakosta, L., 1994. Οδός Κανακάρη 76. *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), pp. 224-226; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 90, 143; Blackman, D., 2000. Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. *AR*, 46, p. 46.

99. Kanakari 80-82 (Fig. 5.6, p. 96)

A central part of the North Cemetery was investigated at these two plots during rescue excavations in 1996-7. A detailed report was published by G. Georgopoulou; a short summary was presented by J. Whitley in *AR*. Two inscriptions recovered from the site were published by A.D. Rizakis, and both C. Flämig and N. Dimakis included material from the site in their analyses of tomb architecture and mortuary practices, respectively.

A 10 m long section of the funerary road was excavated in the W part of the plot, measuring 6.30 m wide at this point. Three successive levels (Hel, R, LR) attest to

the intensive use of the road over time. Two house tombs (**T99.A-B**) and three monumental funerary structures (**T99.C-E**) were found along its east side.

T99.A was a house tomb of the 2nd-3rd c. CE with internal dimensions of 4.60x2.05 m and a preserved height of 3.65m. It had three *opus testaceum* walls, and was built against and sharing a wall with an older burial chamber in *opus quasi reticulatum* (outside the excavation trench). The burial chamber was entered through a doorway in its W wall, i.e. from the road, with a low step leading up to it. In LR times the tomb entrance was closed with various architectural

remnants, some of which were clearly stemming from dilapidated tombs in the area. The interior walls of the tomb were plastered and contained niches that were either used for cinerary urns or for the placement of offerings related to commemorative rituals.

Remains of four brick-built, plastered cist graves (**G99.1-4**) were found inside the tomb. They had average dimensions of 1.95x0.70x0.55 m, and were placed along the walls at either side of the chamber (E-W orientation), leaving only a ca. 0.50m wide corridor between them. On one side the space between the two graves was closed off with a wall and was contained bones (an ossuary?). The floors of the graves were paved with clay slabs or tiles with crossed incised decorations, and they had brick-built headrests in their E end. The graves were looted, but did contain skeletal remains. Two graves contained the remains of five individuals, while in a third grave nine skeletons were counted, two of which belonged to infants.

Below the floor level of the tomb the remains of an earlier funerary structure (**T99.B**) were found. This was a wall of cast masonry 2 m long, 0.70 m wide, and 1.10 m high. Here, too, were the remains of a cist grave (**G99.5**) built of square clay slabs, in which the deceased was placed with the head towards the E, where a built headrest was found. Two child burials in tile graves were discovered at the same level (**G99.6-7**). On a deeper level and dating to the LCI-Hel period, within the boundaries of the burial chamber but predating it, were Hel pit graves (no. unsp.) and a LCI cist grave (**G99.8**) built of Corinthian tiles.

Tombs **T99.C-E** are three ER funerary monuments of which only the limestone krepis, the cast masonry core, and the foundation (river stones, 1 m high) were preserved. The three monuments were built directly beside each other, together measuring 5 m in length. One of the monuments had inscribed letters (construction markings), while another had sculpted decoration.

In the best preserved of the monuments (**T99.E**) a lead ash urn that was set into half an amphora had been inserted into the solid core (**G99.9**). It is likely that similar depositions were originally been placed in the other two funerary monuments as well, although they were not preserved.

Tomb **T99.F** was an *opus reticulatum* house tomb, partly located in the neighbouring plot, and not completely excavated (exc. int. dim. 3.55x2.75 m). The walls were 0.55-0.60 m wide, and were preserved up to 1.72 m in height. The tomb was internally divided into two separate spaces. The W area was excavated and contained three poorly preserved vaulted brick-built cist graves (**G99.10-12**) with N-S orientation. The graves, av. int. dim. 2.25x0.65 m, were plastered on the inside, the floors were paved with square clay tiles, and one of the graves had a built headrest. They were looted, yet some skeletal remains were found inside. One grave also contained some sherds of the 2nd-3rd c. CE. Below the floor a fourth vaulted brick-built cist grave (**G99.13**) was discovered (dim. 2x1.10

m, E-W orientation). Its cover was made of Laconian tiles over which a brick-built arch was constructed, sealed with mortar. The grave floor was paved with four Corinthian tiles, and a headrest was built in its E end. The remains of four individuals were found inside, but there were no grave goods.

Two funerary periboloi, **T99.G** and **T99.H**, were situated behind the tombs described here, at a distance of ca. 12 m from the road. These could only be excavated in part, as they were located on the trench border. Both periboloi date to the 2nd-3rd c. CE, i.e. to the same time as **T99.A**. The façade of peribolos **T99.G** was built in *opus testaceum* and was preserved for 0.80 m on top of a 1.70 m foundation of river stones and mortar. The remains of two brick-built cist graves (**G99.14-15**) were found inside.

Peribolos **T99.H** had walls of cast masonry, but the brick facing of its façade was not preserved. A tombstone with a Latin inscription of the 1st-2nd c. CE was immured here (**BM40**). Within the peribolos were two tile graves (**G99.16-17**) in which the dead had been placed on the natural soil; one contained the skeletal remains of a child.

Between the funerary structures 93 burials were densely arranged in successive layers (**G99.18-110**). The oldest were three tile-built cist graves (**G99.19-21**), made of Corinthian tiles. They date to the LCI period. To Hel times date burials in simple pit graves in which the dead were placed either directly in the natural soil, or in wooden coffins (no. unsp.). Some graves of the same type are found at the ER level. Most numerous were burials of R date in built cists and tile graves of multiple configurations: the dead were placed either on tiles, in the natural soil, or in a coffin, and were covered with tiles that were either simply placed horizontally, or set against each other to form an arched roof. There were also a number of clay cinerary urns; one that stands out (**G99.18**) is a clay amphora with three wavy decorative bands over its body, and a female bust in relief beneath its handles.

The numerous grave goods recovered from the site were listed collectively in the report. They include glass unguentaria, some of which were bird-shaped, clay unguentaria, plates, lekythia, lamps, gold leaves of funerary wreaths, gold and bronze jewellery, one bronze mirror, some bronze coins, astragaloi and one egg shell.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	CI-LR
Tombs:	99.A-H
Graves:	99.1-110, xx
Burial Markers:	40

References: Georgopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Κανακάπη 80-82. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 278-281; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 38; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 82, 296; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 141-145; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

100. Kanakari 84-86

The excavation of this plot is reported on twice; first in 1980 by I.A. Papapostolou and later in 1983 by L. Kolonas. No site plan is published, but a number of photographs accompany the first report. I.A. Papapostolou published jewellery from the site in *AE*.^{*} In addition to a summary in *AR* by H.W. Catling, this site has received attention from C. Flämig, I. Dekoulakou, and N. Dimakis.

During the first investigation of this site a 14.45 m long and 8.3 m wide section of the main road through the North Cemetery was uncovered (three levels were identified), with funerary structures and graves on either side. To the W of the road a monumental tomb of the ER period was identified (**T100.A**). It consisted of a solid concrete podium with a two-stepped krepidote and a moulded toichobate resting on it.

To its W and at a lower level older tile graves were discovered; to its N and S (i.e. along the road) stood two brick-built house tombs of the 2nd c. CE (**T100.B-C**). These tombs were only excavated in part. The N tomb (**T100.B**) was divided into two sections, one of which held two cist graves (**G100.1-2**) as well as a poros sarcophagus faced with marble slabs (**G100.3**) (all looted). While only one corner of the second house tomb (**T100.C**) was excavated, it did yield an unlooted cist grave with many successive burials (**G100.4**). The grave goods were coins, two glass perfume bottles and a red slip cup. A lamp with erotic decoration lay outside the grave. In the excavated section of the wall one niche contained a glass ash urn (**G100.5**).

On the east side of the road one funerary structure was excavated in its entirety (**T100.D**), while others could only be investigated in part. Tomb **T100.D** was brick-built and had an entrance in the corner of its W wall, i.e. on the road. It was either a house tomb or a peribolos, measured 6.70x5.18 m, and enclosed five cist graves (**G100.6-10**) and one poros sarcophagus (**G100.11**). The graves were undisturbed and contained various grave goods of the 1st-2nd c. CE. A photograph of the sarcophagus shows that it contained the remains of one individual in supine position, with various vessels placed at the feet.

Built beside the entrance and against the interior W wall of **T100.D** was a small columbarium (ext. dim. 2.35x2.25 m, int. dim. 1.70x0.75 m) with an entrance in its E wall. Inside, 7 niches contained immured ash vessels (**G100.12-18**). There were two niches in both the N and S wall, and three niches in the W wall, opposite the entrance. The central niche of the W wall held the only urn made of lead, the others were ceramic. The columbarium floor was paved with stones and the walls were covered with white plaster. Various objects were found on the tomb floor: lamps, figurines, perfume bottles, fragmentary pots, and a gold *danake*. The fill of the monument contained ashes. It can be dated to ca. 50-125 CE.

A narrow alley separates tomb **T100.D** from **T100.E**, which is situated to its N. If the description is interpreted correctly, then **T100.E** can be identified as a

house tomb. It was entered from the alley, through an entrance in its side wall. The walls are preserved to their original height (dimensions not reported), up to the onset of the tomb's vaulted roof. The tomb façade was built in *opus testaceum*, and was decorated with thin pilasters as well as a moulded fillet at the foot. The original graves of the tomb were not preserved, but at a lower level lay five pit graves (**G100.19-23**), of which only one was furnished. There was also one tile grave that contained the skeletal remains of a female individuals and various grave goods of the 1st c. CE (**G100.24**; the grave goods are unspecified, but the gender assignment was based on the assemblage). A hypogeum in the centre of the burial chamber is noted, but was not investigated until later (see below). Further east of the tomb lay 18 tile graves (**G100.25-42**) of the 1st-2nd c. CE that were mostly furnished (grave goods unspc.) and at a lower level, dispersed around the entire east side of the road, were burials of the LHell and R periods in pits, tile graves, and cist graves with rich grave goods.* One poros sarcophagus with an undisturbed burial (**G100.43**) and some pit graves date to the 4th c. BCE and the EHell period.

The second investigation of the site, in 1983, yielded an additional 42 graves (**G100.44-85**), and twelve ceramic and three lead ash urns (**G100.86-100**). The graves are not described in detail, but are reported to date from LCI to LR times and to contain many grave goods, including clay and glass vessels, metal utensils, coins, and gold and silver jewellery.

The hypogeum in **T100.E**, already noted above, was further studied during the second investigation. The vaulted tomb was of rectangular shape, had internal dimensions of 2.67x2.09 m, with a preserved height 2.03 m, and was entered via a scale of nine steps that descended into the chamber. The interior walls and the ceiling were plastered and decorated with painted geometric patterns in black and red. Niches in the walls were reserved for the deposition of an unspecified number of ash containers, suggesting this too was a columbarium-type tomb.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	LCI-Hell-R
Tombs:	100.A-E
Graves:	100.1-100, xx
Burial Markers:	41-45

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1980. Οδός Κανακάρη 84-86. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), pp. 185-188; Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Κανακάρη 84-86. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), pp. 119-121; Catling, H.W., 1989. Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9. *AR*, 35, p. 44; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, nos. 224, 233, 234, 235, 261; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 135-140; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

* In the publication on late Cl and Hel jewellery from Patras and Dyme, I.A. Papapostolou records the contents of eleven graves that were excavated at this site. Unfortunately, the publication does not include information about grave type or skeletal remains, and it is not clear to which of the graves mentioned in the report in *ArchDelt* these burial assemblages belonged. In order to avoid duplicates, these graves have not received a G-number, but were included in Catalogue C as a separate entry. The assemblages are, of course, included in the discussions and statistical analyses of Cl and Hel ornaments and grave goods.

Grave 1 (ca. 125-75 BCE) contained gold leaves of a funerary wreath, a gold diadem, a gold ring, a silver Illyrian pin, and a gold *danake* (Sikyon), as well as silver vessels of the 2nd half of the 2nd c. BCE (one cup, two mastoid cups, an aryballos, one lagnos, and a ladle), a silver ring with six silver strigils hanging from it, two unguentaria and a lamp of the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE, and three worn bronze coins (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 1).

Grave 2 (ca. 125-75 BCE) contained the gold leaves of a funerary wreath, a gold necklace, gold earrings with pearls and gemstones, three snake-shaped bracelets, a silver diadem, a bronze mirror, bronze and iron instruments, a bronze handle, an unguentarium, and a stamnoid pyxis of the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE (cf. Papapostolou 1990, nos. 10, 15, 20 and 30).

Grave 3 (ca. 150-100 BCE) contained the gold leaves of a funerary wreath, a gold necklace with finials in the shape of lion's heads, two bracelets, four snake-shaped rings, three rings with engraved gemstones or glass beads (Apollo, Aphrodite, Athena Promachos), sphinx-shaped earrings, an unidentified piece of funerary jewellery, two unguentaria (150-100 BCE), and a bronze mirror (cf. Papapostolou 1990, nos. 12, 14, 21, 31-33 and 46a-d).

Grave 4 (ca. mid-4th c. BCE) yielded gilded ceramic earrings, fragments of silver jewellery, a bone pin, two figurines, and seven vessels (ca. 350 BCE), including a miniature hydria and kalathos (cf. Papapostolou 1990,

no. 24).

Grave 5 (ca. 350-300 BCE) yielded a pair of earrings with Eroses-danglers, one gold and three bronze links (of a chain?), the remnants of a silver strigil, a bronze mirror (350-300 BCE), a lamp (340-330 BCE), a hydriskos (350-300 BCE), and two pyxides (350-325 BCE) (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 25).

Grave 6 (ca. 300-275 BCE) contained the remnants of a gilded bronze wreath, a pair of gold earrings with finials in the shape of lion's heads, and a small phiale of ca. 300-275 BCE (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 28).

Grave 7 (ca. 325-300 BCE) yielded one snake-shaped earring, a bronze mirror (400-350 BCE), the remnants of a bronze gilded wreath, and a silver coin of Aigina of the late 4th c. BCE (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 29).

Grave 8 (ca. 125-75 BCE) contained gold myrtle and oak leaves (wreath(s?)), a gold myrtle leaf inscribed with the word ΜΥΣΤΑ, a gold funerary ring with the embossed representation of a winged lightning bolt, a lamp, an unguentarium (ca. 125-75 BCE), silverware of the period 150-100 BCE (one pyxis, a lagnos, a mastoid cup, a cup on a pedestal and a ladle), a clay lamp with silver decorative sheeting, a loop or ring, a silver Illyrian pin, and a silver ring from which hung four silver strigils and a silver aryballos (125-75 BCE), and a gold *danake* (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 41).

Grave 9 (ca. mid-3rd c. BCE) contained gold funerary jewellery (one ring with an embossed representation of a Gorgon (?) and a pair of earrings in the shape of Nikes), a bronze mirror, a bronze cylindrical vessel, an iron knife, a lead pyxis, and an unguentarium dating to 275-250 BCE (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 42).

Grave 10 (Hel) yielded a tripod pyxis of the early 2nd c. BCE, a pair of gold funerary earrings in the shape of Eroses, and a gold snake-shaped funerary ring (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 47).

Context 11 (late 3rd c. BCE): a layer with traces of fire contained gold earrings in the shape of Sirens, the figurine of a woman (250-225 BCE), and the bronze disc of a mirror (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 27).

101. Kanakari 90-92 (Fig. 5.5, p. 95)

In 1981-2 a densely organised section of the North Cemetery was excavated at this plot. It yielded a part of the main road, six funerary structures (**T101.A-F**), as well as at least three ash urns (**G101.1-3**) and 42 graves (**G101.4-45**). A brief site report was published by M. Petropoulos; three inscriptions recovered from the site were later published by A.D. Rizakis. C. Flämig and N. Dimakis paid subsequent attention to the R tombs and Cl-Hel burials respectively.

A square funerary monument (**T101.A**) with a stone krepis built around a solid core stood to the W of the road. Beside it was another square monument, yet built of bricks (**T101.B**). Placed behind this structure were two clay vessels which each contained a glass cinerary urn (**G101.1-2**). On this side of the road, too, was a burial chamber (**T101.C**) that could only be excavated in part. In the area behind the tombs multiple tile graves were discovered.

On the opposite side of the road stood a second funerary monument with a stone krepis (**T101.D**); an ash urn had been inserted into its solid core (**G101.3**).

A circular funerary monument with a limestone krepis stood directly beside it (**T101.E**); below it lay a 4th c. BCE cist grave (**G101.4**). A burial chamber (**T101.F**) was built behind the two monumental tombs.

The tombs date to the first two centuries CE. They were destroyed during the LR period when tile and cist graves were built over their remains.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	LCl-Hel-R-LR
Tombs:	101.A-F
Graves:	101.1-45, xx
Burial Markers:	46-48

References: Petropoulos, M., 1982. Οδός Κανακάρη 90-92. *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 146; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 35; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 68, 152, 232; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 129-134; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

102. Kanakari 113-117

This plot was excavated in 1974 and yielded a section of the North Cemetery that had been in use from ca. 50 BCE to 600 CE. Most of the preserved remains date to the 3rd-4th c. CE. I.A. Papapostolou published a brief report of the excavation with a site plan; H.W. Catling subsequently noted the findings in *AR*. Inscriptions recovered from the plots were published by A.D. Rizakis, and I. Dekoulakou included the site in her overview of the R cemeteries of Patras.

Two excavated funerary structures, **T102.A-B**, both consisted of multiple burial chambers that were built during multiple phases. Cist graves were built along the interior walls of the burial chambers. Their number ranged from one to seven per chamber, and their size ranged from 1.30x0.77 m to 2.10x0.71 m. The floors were mostly paved with tiles or square bricks; one had marble slabs (**G102.1**), however, and another was paved with fragmented tiles (**G102.2**). The interior and exterior grave walls were faced with plaster or marble. The covers were made of Laconian roof tiles, flat tiles, or limestone slabs. Skeletal remains were present in most of the graves, and the number of individuals buried per grave ranged from one to ten. In those graves with successive burials, the earlier depositions had often been pushed aside towards the corners; in one grave a vessel with bones was found (**G102.3**).

Most of the burial chambers had niches in their interior walls that were located above the graves. Embedded in these niches were vessels that were probably used as containers for cremated remains or bones and/or as vessels for offerings to the dead buried in the graves below.

Several tile graves were unearthed at the site as well. In these, the dead were placed either in the natural soil, on tiles, or on a layer of river stones. There were also three ossuaries (?) of similar construction as the cist graves, but smaller, that may have been used for the bones that came from the clearance of the graves.

A small hypogeum (**T102.C**), int. dim. 0.91x0.76 m, was found in the northern end of the plot. It had one niche in each wall, and a round opening in its marble floor was closed off with a marble lid with a bronze handle. The space underneath was divided into two boxes, with the one area being built up, the other having a gravel floor. Here, one glass unguentarium and fourteen white and black (gaming?) pebbles were discovered.

At the southern edge of the plot lay the remains of a monumental tomb of which only the NE corner could be excavated; the SE corner of this same tomb was unearthed at Kanakari 121 (= **T103.F**).

Cemetery:	North
Date:	R-LR
Tombs:	102.A-C, xx
Graves:	102.1-3, xx
Burial Markers:	49-51

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 113-117. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 346-350; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 7, 57; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 72, 79, 142; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

103. Kanakari 121 (Figs. 5.13 and 6.6, pp. 106, 155)

Work at this site, which yielded a central part of the North Cemetery of ancient Patras, was carried out in 1974-5. An extensive report of the excavation, a site plan and drawing of the eastern façade of the road, as well as several photographs of the site and individual finds were published by I. Dekoulakou; a summary was presented by H.W. Catling in *AR*. A few items of jewellery were published by I.A. Papapostolou, the inscriptions recovered from the site were studied and published by A.D. Rizakis, and the tombs of the R era were studied by C. Flämig.

The site yielded a section of the main road through the North Cemetery, which measured 7.20 m wide at this point. Two successive road surfaces were identified, which corresponded with the two main construction phases of the funerary structures that had been erected on either side of the road. Four periboloi and two monumental tombs were discovered on its east side; a section of a peribolos and a burial chamber were unearthed on west side of the road.

The centre of the plot was occupied by the remains of a monumental funerary structure (**T103.A**), ext. dim. 5.75x7.15 m, that was placed directly beside the road in the 2nd c. CE. The (house?) tomb was raised on an *opus caementicium* podium (1.80 m high) with a three-stepped krepis along its façade. The krepis was decorated with lion's feet in imitation of a bench and

its upper step, decorated with a kymation, functioned as the toichobate. The tomb walls were *opus testaceum* (pres. h. 1.60 m, w. 0.70-0.80 m). The burial chamber was entered via a doorway in the centre of its main façade, with a three-stepped staircase leading up to it. Four brick-built pilasters decorated the front of the tomb, two of which were flanking the entrance. The bases were carved in the upper step of the limestone krepis. The excavator proposes that funerary statues may have originally been placed between these pilasters. The burial chamber, int. dim. 4.20x5.05 m, would have originally had a vaulted roof. The 1 m thick floor was covered with a thin layer of mortar. No graves were preserved inside, yet the fragmentary remains of a sculpted sarcophagus and its(?) inscribed cover (**G103.1, Epitaph 215**) may have originally belonged to the structure.

Below the tomb floor and its foundations were four tile graves (**G103.2-5**), two vaulted cist graves (**G103.6-7**), and one cinerary urn (**G103.8**). Clay and glass unguentaria were found inside the graves. These burials belong to a peribolos tomb (**T103.B**), ext. dim. 8.80x12.90 m, that predated and was partly destroyed by the construction of the house tomb. The peribolos was built in *opus reticulatum* with *opus testaceum* for its lower walls, corners, and doorposts. It was entered from the main road through a doorway in its W

facade. Inside, the enclosure was divided into three spaces. A spacious open air area, dim. 7.70x9.90 m, gave access to the SE vaulted burial chamber, dim. 5.10x1.80 m, via three separate doorways (1-1.10 m wide). This chamber, in turn, had a passage in its N wall that led into the small NE vaulted burial chamber (ca. 2.10x1.80 m). The four walls of the NE burial chamber contained niches, in each of which one or two immured ash urns were found (G103.9-15). The niche in the N wall was larger and architecturally elaborated. It did not have an inserted ash urn, but may have contained an urn of a different type (e.g. a marble urn), or perhaps a funerary portrait bust. Two niches were also discovered in the E wall of the SE burial chamber: one was semi-circular and located in the centre of the wall, while the other was rectangular and situated close to wall's SE corner. Four amphorai used as cinerary urns had been inserted into the floor in front of the S wall of the burial chamber (G103.16-19).

Two distinct phases of use can be identified for this burial enclosure. The construction of the peribolos has been dated to the first c. CE, while the primary phase of use of the two burial chambers has been narrowed to the period 75-125 CE. Other burials in the tomb date to the 1st-2nd c. CE.

A second phase of construction dates to the time when T103.A was built over the NE corner of the peribolos in the 2nd c. CE. The floor of the interior was raised and new thresholds were inserted in both the main entrance and the doorways leading to the SE burial chamber, so as to correspond with the heightened level of the road. The peribolos, now significantly limited in size, was filled up with at least ten brick-built vaulted cist graves which were used for multiple successive inhumations (G103.20-29), as attested by the large numbers of skeletal remains found in the graves.

A second peribolos (T103.C), with int. dim. of 3.40x11.60 m, was found directly to the N of and sharing a wall with peribolos T103.B. The peribolos had *opus quasi reticulatum* walls with corners in *opus testaceum*. It, too, had two phases of use. The peribolos was built in the 1st c. CE, though slightly later than T103.B as it was built against it. During the second phase of use a new doorway was created, with its threshold placed 1.20 m higher than the original one. The peribolos enclosed tile graves and brick-built cist graves, which dated to both phases of use. Some graves contained the skeletal remains of multiple individuals. Grave goods were recovered from some of the graves of the 1st and 2nd c. CE. The youngest of the graves in this area was a cist grave of the Byz period (G103.30). Noteworthy was a cist grave (G103.31) upon which an inscribed burial marker was preserved *in situ*, commemorating a woman named Appuleia Musa (BM55). No description is given of the content of the grave. Two cinerary urns (G103.32-33), one dating to the 2nd c. CE, the other an undated amphora, are found in this area as well. Finds from this peribolos further include a clay theatre mask.

T103.D, a third peribolos, is located in the E part of the plot. It was only partly excavated, but yielded several burials and a deposition of clay unguentaria of the 1st c. CE, possibly representing a clearance of early graves from the area. One of the graves in this peribolos was a tile grave (G103.34) of the 3rd c. CE. Peribolos T103.E, located N of peribolos T103.C and separated from it by a narrow corridor (0.40m wide), was also only excavated in part. It was clear though, that it had two construction phases that corresponded with those noted for T103.B and T103.C. The peribolos was of similar *opus reticulatum* and *opus testaceum* construction as the others. It was entered from the road through a doorway in its W façade, and also had a second threshold placed at the higher street level. The peribolos was subdivided into multiple spaces. One area must have functioned as an antechamber; here were a tile grave (G103.35), two cist graves (G103.36-37), and a transport amphora used as an urn (G103.38). In one of the other spaces a well had been cut into the floor, and a cist grave (G103.39) was built near it around the end of the 3rd c. CE. Nearby were three tile graves (G103.40-42) and a cist grave (G103.43) built of makeshift materials, all dating to the 3rd c. CE.

A second monumental burial chamber (T103.F), built in *opus testaceum* and erected on an *opus caementicium* podium decorated with a limestone krepis, was discovered on the N border of the plot. Only the SW corner could be investigated; the NE corner was unearthened at Kanakari 113-117 (see BS102). The tomb post-dated peribolos T103.E, over part of which it was built. A fragment of a sima with a spout in the shape of a lion's head is tentatively identified as belonging to the superstructure of this tomb.

Additionally, a funerary peribolos (T103.G) of the 3rd c. CE, of rather crude construction, stood on the west side of the road. It was entered from the main road through a doorway in its east side. Finally, one bracelet and two rings were found outside one of the graves (grave unspc.; cf. Papapostolou 1990, nos. 18, 44 and 50).

The architectural remains and the large number of burials excavated at this site attest to the intensive use of the area throughout the 1st to the 6th c. CE.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	R-LR-EChr
Tombs:	103.A-G
Graves:	103.1-43, xx
Burial Markers:	52-56
Epitaphs:	215-216 (inscribed sarcophagi)

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 121. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 382-387; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 86, 97, 129, 161, 203, 204, 241, 245, 288; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 122-128; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

104. Kanakari 122

This plot, excavated in 1974, yielded a section of the North Cemetery of Patras. The remains of several funerary structures were uncovered at the site, as well as a large number of burials both in- and outside the tombs. A report, site plan and cross section, as well as photographs of the site, graves and individual finds were published by P. Agallopoulou. Two R tombs received later attention from C. Flämig.

The NE corner was preserved of a tomb (**T104.A**) that was uncovered in the S part of the plot. Its walls were *opus quasi reticulatum*, with corners in *opus testaceum*. Inside, two built cist graves (**G104.1-2**) were found, only one of which was completely preserved. The floors were paved with square clay tiles. **G104.1** contained the skeletal remains of four individuals; three were placed with their heads towards the S (where a headrest was built), the other had the head towards the N. A glass unguentarium lay by the head of the latter individual. A small cist in the corner between **G104.1** and **G104.2** contained five unguentaria and two bronze rings.

T104.B was a small monument with a solid core of stones, sherds, and mortar in which an ash urn had been inserted (**G104.3**). The outside of the monument had *opus reticulatum* brickwork with corners in *opus testaceum*.

A double vaulted cist grave (**G104.4-5**) was built between the E wall of **T104.A** and the W face of **T104.B** (post-dating the two?). The graves were brick-built and had an arched brick roof covered with stones and mortar. The floors were paved with two large roof tiles of the Laconian type. Both graves contained the skeletal remains of four individuals. One held an unguentarium, while the other contained a stamnos, a lamp of 100-150 CE, and three unguentaria of the 2nd c. CE.

T104.C, a small house tomb, had walls in *opus quasi reticulatum*. Inside the chamber were two brick-built cist graves (**G104.6-7**) on either side of a narrow aisle, and a small cist was constructed between them. The floors of the two graves were paved with square tiles, and head-rests were created in their N ends. One grave contained two complete skeletons in supine position with the head towards the N, as well as four skulls and disintegrated bones belonging to earlier burials. One gold earring was found in this grave. The other grave contained three skeletons and a stamnos of the early 3rd c. CE.

A clay ash urn (**G104.8**) was found near the SE corner of **T104.C**; more ash urns, including an amphora (**G104.9**) and a stamnos of the late 2nd c. CE (**G104.10**), were found in the same general area, as were tile graves in successive levels. The dead were placed with their head towards the NW, either laid on the natural soil or on a pair of Laconian tiles.

Here, too, was the entrance (originally a double door) to **T104.D**. Only a section of this funerary structure could be unearthed, and only the stone and mortar wall foundations were preserved. Two separate spaces were identified: one was likely an open air area, while the other may have been a burial chamber. In the first area eleven tile graves (**G104.11-21**) and three cinerary urns (**G104.22-24**) were found. The graves were variously oriented, and some predate the tomb. The dead were placed in supine position either on the natural soil or on top of one or two roof tiles. One grave was furnished with eight unguentaria of the late 1st-early 2nd c. CE (**G104.11**), another contained one unguentarium (**G104.12**), while all other graves were devoid of grave goods.

In the second area of this burial complex, possibly a burial chamber, six graves were discovered. Two were unfurnished tile graves (**G104.25-26**) that contained the skeletal remains of children; two others were vaulted built cist graves (**G104.27-28**). Near the tile grave (**G104.29**) of an adult individual stood an amphora used as an urn (**G104.30**). A seventh grave (**G104.31**) was found below the foundation of the S wall and predated the construction of the tomb. Since there were no grave goods, the excavator could not offer an accurate date.

Discovered in the rest of the plot were three brick-built vaulted cist graves (**G104.32-34**), six tile graves (**G104.35-40**), and four pit graves (**G104.41-44**). In one of the cist graves a bronze coin had been placed in the mouth of the deceased; a tile grave contained four glass unguentaria of the late 1st-early 2nd c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 104.A-D
Graves: 104.1-44, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Agallopoulou, 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 122. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 391-394; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 120-121.

105. Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (Fig. 6.6, p. 155)

A part of the North Cemetery was unearthed here during a rescue excavation in 1974. The main road was uncovered in the middle of the plot and occupied a significant part of it. Funerary structures and burials were found on either side. Three successive road surfaces date roughly to Hel, R and LR times, while most of the archaeological remains at the site date to the 2nd-3rd c. CE. The main report, accompanied by drawings and photographs, was published by P. Agallopoulou, while I. Dekoulakou reported on some of the structures excavated in the W of the plot. A brief

summary was provided by H.W. Catling in *AR*, and A.D. Rizakis (inscriptions) and C. Flämig (R tombs) paid subsequent attention to the site.

To the W of the road, at the N edge of the plot, a brick-built funerary peribolos (**T105.A**) could only be investigated in part. The façade was built in *opus reticulatum*, while *opus testaceum* was used for the corners and the side walls. It had two construction phases; the earliest one dates to the R period. The structure was adapted in the later R period, when the threshold of the entrance was replaced at a higher

level. The peribolos was entered from the main road and consisted of two interconnected spaces; the threshold of a doorway between them was preserved *in situ*. Cist graves were discovered in both spaces; in one of these (G105.1) lay a lamp and a glass unguentarium of 50-100 CE; two others (G105.2-3) yielded coins of the 4th c. CE and the skeletal remains of two and three individuals, respectively. Walls were constructed in front of the peribolos in LR times, thus creating two extra burial spaces. In one of the areas the tile grave of a child (G105.4) was unearthed.

A second tomb (T105.B), consisting of (at least) three interconnected vaulted burial chambers, was found to the S of peribolos T105.A. The cast masonry walls were extraordinarily wide (w. 0.95 m) and were preserved to a height of 1.58 m. Brick-built cist graves and tile graves were found dispersed throughout the three spaces of the tomb. One grave contained a bronze coin of Domitian of the local mint (G105.5), while in another a glass perfume bottle of the late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE was found (G105.6).

Placed in front of the S chamber of T105.B, by the side of the road, was T105.C, an ER funerary monument of which a five-stepped krepis was preserved. The krepis, constructed from limestone slabs which were held together by lead clamps, surrounded a solid core of cast masonry, and was placed on a foundation of limestone slabs. Built over this monument after it had dilapidated, were two cist graves (G105.7-8). One of these contained two oinochoai, bronze and gold jewellery, and eight bronze coins.

Two tombs and one peribolos were discovered on the east side of the road, both continuing beyond the trench border. T105.D was a house tomb with a courtyard that was created in front of it during a second building phase. The burial chamber had *opus testaceum* walls, a floor paved with clay tiles, and contained built cist and tile graves. Built against the S wall of courtyard was another cist grave (G105.9).

T105.E had a façade of *opus reticulatum* with *opus*

testaceum corners. It consisted of multiple chambers, and was entered from the main road through a doorway in the W wall. Both cist and tile graves were unearthed in this tomb, in some cases containing successive burials. A peribolos wall (T105.F) enclosed a space to the S, but it remains undescribed in the report.

To the Hel age dates a clay ash urn beneath which a bronze mirror, several items of silver jewellery, and a gold coin were buried (G105.10). To the same period belong a poros sarcophagus (G105.11) and a tile grave (G105.12) that were discovered underneath the foundations of tomb T105.D. Also said to be of early date were a cist grave (G105.13), a tile grave (G105.14), and a transport amphora found in front of T105.B. The graves yielded mostly lamps and bronze coins; a funerary stele was found in the courtyard in front of T105.D (BM61), and a marble child's head of a statue of the Antonine age was found immured in a wall of the LR period. P. Agalopoulou also notes the discovery of remains of two hearths which were likely to have been used during the preparations of funerary meals and other commemorative rituals.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R-LR
Tombs: 105.A-F
Graves: 105.1-14, xx
Burial Markers: 57-62

References: Agalopoulou, P., 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 123 και Έρμου 83. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 403; Dekoulakou, I., 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 121. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 382-387 (249f); Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 53; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 80, 93, 110, 202, 215, 300; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 113-116; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

106. Kanakari 124-126

This site was investigated in 1978 and yielded a section of the North Cemetery. An excavation report was published by I.A. Papapostolou; the inscriptions recovered from the site were later published by A.D. Rizakis.

In the northern part of the plot stood a R house tomb (T106.A). It was built in *opus quasi reticulatum* with corners in *opus testaceum*. Two entrances, one in the N and one in the W walls, gave access to the burial chamber. The thresholds were preserved *in situ*, as was a part of one of the doorposts. Inside were a built cist grave (G106.1), seven ash urns (G106.2-8), and five tile graves (G106.9-13) that were found at different levels. A floor of tile fragments and a well in the NW corner of the tomb belong to a second phase of use in the 5th-6th c. CE. A second burial chamber could only be partly uncovered and contained one tile grave (T106.B, G106.14).

In total, 26 built cist graves and tile graves were uncovered outside the tombs; a clay tragic mask was found in the fill of this area (G106.15-40).

One of the cist graves (G106.15) had been inserted into a solid structure, dim. 1.55x1.05x1.30 m, that was built against the E wall of T106.A. The top and upper half of the structure were coated with plaster; the lower part must have been intended to remain underground and invisible. The cist grave found inside was brick-built, had a floor paved with fragments of clay tiles, and a vaulted roof that was constructed from a pair of curved tiles covered by an arch of bricks. The entrance, located in the short N end, was blocked with a tile. On top of the solid structure an inscribed burial marker was found *in situ* (BM65). The text commemorates a young girl named Digna, who died at the age of three. The remains of the girl were found inside the grave: a skeleton of a young child, placed with the head towards the N, was found surrounded by glass sherds of various vessels, including two of bird-shape. She wore a fine gold ring, and buried alongside her was a figurine in the shape of a pig. Iron nails found around the skeleton point to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial.

In the S section of the plot the remnants of an EChr basilica were uncovered. Here, too, was found an underground built grave (EChr?; **G106.41**), int. dim. 2.37x8.76x0.64 m, covered with three marble slabs and revetted with fine white marble. It had a built headrest in its west side. It contained the poorly preserved bones of a single skeleton.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-EChr
Tombs: 106.A-B
Graves: 106.1-41
Burial Markers: 63-65

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κανακάρη 124-126. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), pp. 95-96; Rizakis, A.D., 1984. Gladiateurs. *BCH*, 108, pp. 539-540; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 171, 185, 229.

107. Kanakari 133 (Fig. 5.18, p. 112)

During a rescue excavation at this site in 1988 a section of the North Cemetery was unearthed, yielding a stretch of the main road through the cemetery, a monumental tomb of the R era, several other funerary structures, depositions in cist and tile graves, and cinerary urns. A report, drawings and photographs were published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. The site received further attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou. The monumental R tomb was transferred to the archaeological museum, where it is part of the exhibition on mortuary practices.

The funerary road was uncovered in the E end of the plot, with tomb **T107.A** flanking its west side. This funerary monument was a rectangular structure, dim. 5.35x4.65 m, erected on a three-stepped krepis. The super-structure had a rubble core and a limestone facing, and was preserved to a height of 1.10 m. A semi-circular exedra faced the road. The bench was supported by two lions' feet and was flanked by two Ionic bases; two rectangular bases for pilasters were identified at the corners of the monument. The tomb was entered from the back, where a limestone threshold was preserved *in situ*. It led into a small burial chamber in the form of a columbarium, int. dim. 1.77x1.05 m. No urns were found in the niches of the walls. However, a lead cinerary urn (**G107.1**) was found inserted into the solid core of the monument; the death of the cremated individual whose remains

were found inside may well have been the primary incentive for the tomb's construction. The excavator dates the tomb to the 1st c. CE on the basis of its architectural design.

Tomb **T107.B** was located in the W section of the plot, a little further from the main road. The house tomb had a semi-subterranean burial chamber, which had originally been covered with a vaulted roof. Only its SE corner was excavated, which measured 4.50x1.50 m, and had a preserved height of 1.90 m. Three niches in the interior tomb walls each contained one immured ash urn (**G107.2-4**). A monolithic poros sarcophagus (**G107.5**) and a built cist grave (**G107.6**) were later additions to the tomb.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 107.A-B
Graves: 107.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1988. Οδός Κανακάρη 133. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), pp. 153-157; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 118-119; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

108. Kanakari 139

This plot was excavated in 1973-4 and yielded an EChr basilica and, at a deeper level, a section of the R North Cemetery of Patras. A report, two site plans (one of each phase), and several photographs of the site and individual finds were published by P. Agallopoulou; four inscriptions recovered from this site were published by A.D. Rizakis. The R tomb has received further attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou.

The tomb (**T108.A**) consisted of four interconnected burial chambers, only two of which were excavated in their entirety. The tomb was built in *opus reticulatum*-technique. The floors of the two S chambers were paved with large clay tiles, while the N chamber floors were originally paved with marble slabs (though hardly preserved). Beneath the floors a system of stacked square bricks was encountered upon which the tile floor was laid. This type of construction must have served as drainage and to protect the tomb from flooding.

The tomb was entered through a doorway in its W wall (threshold preserved *in situ*) that led into the SW burial chamber. This chamber contained three brick-built cist graves (**G108.1-3**) along the walls, and a pithos that was sunken into the floor. In the same wall there was a niche in which two ceramic vessels were immured (**G108.4-5**). This chamber had doorways in its N and E walls (thresholds preserved *in situ*) that led two other burial chambers.

In the SE chamber five built cist graves (**G108.6-10**), two of which were almost completely destroyed, were arranged along the walls. The graves were plastered. One had a floor of four layers of clay tiles, while another had bricks and a marble slab as its floor (to counter flooding?). The S wall of this chamber had two niches with both one immured vessel (**G108.11-12**), while one of the niches contained a second (not immured) pot (**G108.13**). It is unclear from the report whether or not these vessels contained cremated

remains, or may rather have been (related to) offerings to the dead.

Many lamps were found during the excavation of the tomb, most dating to the late 2nd-3rd c. CE, some of which bore potter's signatures: Πωσφόρου and Ευτυχίδου. One lamp dated to an earlier period.

Outside the tomb, beside the entrance, lay the head of a marble statue of a male wearing a torque (?) around the neck (Classicising work of the Hadrianic era). A R marble funerary statue of a female dressed in a chiton and himation (headless, pres. h. 1.73 m), stylistically based on types of the 4th c. BCE, was found reused as building material in a wall of the EChr period, as were fragments of another statue (unspec.). Here, too, was immured a marble funerary plaque with a Greek inscription of poor quality and spelling dating to the 3rd c. CE (**BM66**). It originally marked the grave of a

man from Ravenna and states that anyone who dared to bury another corpse in the graves would have to pay a fine to the taxman.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 108.A
Graves: 108.1-13
Burial Markers: 66-67

References: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. Οδός Κανακάρη 139. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 397-403; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 22, 38, 177, 216; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 117; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

109. Kanakari 163

This site was investigated in 1977, and yielded the remnants of a R funerary structure in *opus mixtum* (**T109.A**). A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou.

The tomb, either a peribolos or a house tomb, had a preserved height of ca. 1 m. It enclosed six built cist graves (**G109.1-6**) and one tile grave (**G109.7**). The cist graves were built from stone, bricks, and clay, and were covered with stone slabs. An architectural element with a double moulding was reused as the cover of one of the cist graves. Three cist graves were placed in a row (**G109.1-3**); these contained the commingled remains of several individuals, sherds of various vessels, a bronze needle, and bronze coins of the 3rd c. CE. A fourth, unfurnished cist grave

contained the skeletal remains of many individuals. (**G109.4**) The other two graves had been destroyed. The tile grave (**G109.7**) contained a double burial without grave goods. A lamp of the 5th c. CE, a bronze ring, and a bronze coin were found outside the graves.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 109.A
Graves: 109.1-7
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Κανακάρη 163. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 90; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38.

110. Kanari 88, Ioannou Vlachou

Excavations by the ΔΕΗ at this site revealed the remnants of two R *opus mixtum* walls (funerary?), running in E-W direction, as well as a R cist grave (**G110.1**). The cist grave, dim. 1.90x0.43 m, was built of bricks, had a floor paved with large bricks and a cover of large stones.

A funerary stele of the 4th c. BCE was recovered from the area as well (**BM68**); it was published both by I.A. Papapostolou (stele) and A.D. Rizakis (epitaph).

Cemetery: North
Date: LCI-R
Tombs: 110.xx
Graves: 110.1
Burial Marker: 68

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Κανάρη 88 και Ιωάννου Βλάχου. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 355; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 14; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 55.

111. Kapodistriou 36-38

I.A. Papapostolou reports that the excavation of these two plots in 1979 yielded a R funerary peribolos (**T111.A**) and the remains of two built cist graves (**G111.1-2**). Also noted is the discovery of a bronze coin.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 111.A
Graves: 111.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Καποδιστρίου 36-38. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 142; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 32.

112. Karaïskaki 116

This plot was investigated in 1975 and yielded the remnants of four R-LR (house?) tombs. A report was published by I. Dekoulakou.

The *opus reticulatum* tombs had walls of 0.40-0.70 m wide; their height was preserved to a maximum of 1.90 m. **T112.A** and **T112.B** were found in the western section of the plot; below their foundations were the remnants of older (funerary?) structures.

A vaulted cist grave in **T112.A** contained poorly preserved skeletal remains, two glass unguentaria, a gold *danake* of the 3rd c. BCE, four bronze coins (one of Honorius, two coins of the 4th c. CE, and one coin of the 5th-6th c. CE), iron nails, and a lamp of the 7th c. CE (**G112.1**).

A third tomb (**T112.C**) contained niches in its SW corner that were likely intended for the deposition of ash urns; none are recorded.

A fourth tomb (**T112.D**) had an entrance in its southern wall, where a threshold was preserved *in situ*. Alterations in the tomb design attest to its use over a long period of time. It contained five vaulted cist graves (**G112.2-6**). **G112.2** yielded a fragmentary amphora, five small bronze coins of the 5th-6th c. CE and one of Justin I; **G112.3** held a lamp of the 5th-6th

c. CE with a depiction of a female bust in relief, while **G112.4** was furnished with a lamp of the same period, two bronze coins of Theodosius I (378-388 CE), one of Marcus Aurelius (of the local mint), one of Honorius (388-392 CE), one of Arcadius (388-392 CE), one of Constantius Gallus (351-354 CE), and several other smaller and/or worn coins of the 4th-6th c. CE. In the middle of the burial chamber a cinerary stamnos was found *in situ* (**G112.7**).

On one of the photographs published with the original report a skeleton (**G112.8**) can be seen laying on the natural soil in supine position (tile grave?), but it remains undescribed in the report.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 112.A-D
Graves: 112.1-8
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 116. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), p. 115; Catling, H.W., 1984. *Archaeology in Greece, 1983-4. AR*, 30, p. 31.

113. Karaïskaki 118

A section of the North Cemetery was excavated at this site in 1999. L. Papakosta reports the discovery of a narrow road (l. 4.40 m, w. 1.07 m) running in N-S direction and a peribolos (**T113.A**) and funerary monument (**T113.B**) beside it. The tombs were only partially uncovered as they continue underneath the foundations of the building at the adjoining plot. Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 113.A-B
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1999. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 118. *ArchDelt*, 54(B1), pp. 256-257; Whitley, J. et al., 2006. *Archaeology in Greece, 2005-6. AR*, 52, p. 47; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese, App. A, B*.

114. Karaïskaki 129

I.A. Papapostolou reports that during the investigation of this plot in 1972 an EChr cist grave (**G114.1**) was discovered among the remnants of a dilapidated R building. The grave measured 2x0.65x0.62 m, was built from irregular stones and was covered by three marble slabs. It contained five skeletons.

Cemetery: North
Date: EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 114.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1972. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 129. *ArchDelt*, 27(B1), p. 289.

115. Karaïskaki 132

This site was situated in the North Cemetery and was excavated in 1970. F. Petsas reported on the investigation of several R funerary monuments that had been badly damaged by construction work prior to the archaeologists' intervention.

T115.A was a monumental stone structure, of which only one side of the two-stepped krepis and the toichobate were preserved *in situ*. Several orthostats had been preserved as well, but were already taken from their original position during the mechanical excavation of the site. The foundations of the

monument are fully preserved on the west side, measuring 5.42 m in length.

A second monumental funerary structure (**T115.B**) was found to its N. Best preserved was its east side (4.3 m long), where a two-stepped limestone krepis and some orthostats remained in place. The second step of the krepis is constructed from three large slabs, and it is adorned by four lion's feet at regular intervals (with two at the outer ends of the monument). The orthostats cover a core of *opus caementicium*, the top of which is also covered with

large stone slabs, which are protruding over the orthostats. Inside the monument the walls of a burial chamber were lined with *opus reticulatum*-brickwork. The remains of several graves were discovered inside (unspec.)

T115.C was of similar design and construction to **T115.B**, but less of it was preserved (i.e. parts of the foundation, the krepis, and one fragmentary orthostat), because it had been destroyed during later habitation of the plot.

Other R funerary structures (unspec.) were discovered as well, but all were very poorly preserved. One, **T115.D**, was in slightly better condition. Its foundation was made of limestone and mortar, and a wall of orthostats was placed on top. The S wall of the monument was best preserved, and measured 3.60 m long. The façade (remaining height 1 m), was brick-built in an isodomic system with pilasters on the corners. The building had a cement core. A three-stepped scale must originally have led to the burial chamber or to a second storey. A floor of large clay slabs was preserved, as were the remains of wells (?; thought to be related to libation offerings).

The poorly preserved remnants of a circular funerary construction (**T115.E**) are likely to be associated with a Latin epitaph inscribed on a convex stele (**BM69**).

Descriptions of the individual graves are not provided in the report. Noted are fragments of one undecorated sarcophagus (**G115.1**) and another sarcophagus with sculpted decoration (**G115.2**).

Although all graves are said to have been looted, the site did yield some grave goods, including a fragmentary pyxis with relief decoration, lamps with potter's signatures of the R era (Πωσφόρου, Καλλίστου etc.), a glass vessel, a bronze and ivory handle, an electrum bird, three gold bracelets, two gold earrings, and one gold buckle.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	R
Tombs:	115.A-E, xx
Graves:	115.1-2, xx
Burial Markers:	69

References: Petsas, F., 1970. Οικόπεδον Απ. Κούκου. *ArchDelt*, 25(B1), pp. 198-201; Catling, H.W., 1972. Archaeology in Greece, 1971-2. *AR*, 18, pp. 11-2; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 156.

116. Karaïskaki 136 (Fig. 5.16, p. 110)

This plot was investigated during a rescue excavation in 1978. A section of the main road of the North Cemetery was uncovered in the E of the plot, with densely organized tombs lining its west side. A report with a site plan and several photographs was published by I.A. Papapostolou; a summary by H.W. Catling appeared in *AR*, and a fragmentary epitaph recovered from the site was published by A.D. Rizakis. The R tombs received further attention from C. Flämig.

T116.A was a rectangular vaulted house tomb in *opus testaceum* (ext. dim. 4.20x5.10 m, int. dim. 2.90x3.90 m, pres. h. 2.05 m) of the 2nd-3rd c. CE. The tomb was entered from the road through a 1.08 m wide doorway; the thresholds and doorposts were preserved *in situ*. There was a small window (0.48x0.35 m) in its N wall. The interior of the tomb was renovated at least twice as is clear from the identification of three floor levels. The original floor level lay below the street level and was accessed via two descending steps. Five cist graves (**G116.1-5**) were arranged in front of the interior walls of the burial chamber. Three were brick-built cists (**G116.1-3**), two of which had their floors paved with square tiles, while the third had no remaining floor covering. A fourth grave (**G116.4**), probably a later addition, was made of a marble slab with relief decoration set on edge at 0.90 m from the back wall of the tomb. The bottom was made of a marble slab pierced with several holes which rested on nine built pillars. A brick-built cist grave (int. dim. 0.75x0.35 m) with a clay floor and a built headrest was added after the renewal of the floor (**G116.5**). The size of the grave and the presence of the built headrest suggests that this was intended as a child's grave rather than an ossuary. A third floor level, dating to the 5th-6th c. CE based, attests to a long period of use. Two fragmentary architraves, one of red

marble, the other a white stone, were later placed in front of the entrance of the tomb (unknown function; step or monument base?).

T116.B, a second house tomb of the 2nd-3rd c. CE (ext. dim. 3.80x5.60 m, int. dim. 2x3.25 m, pres. h. 1.30 m), was also used over a long period of time, and had undergone several renovations. The burial chamber was entered via a 0.90 m wide doorway in the W wall, the thresholds and doorposts of which were preserved *in situ*. Three cist graves were arranged around the interior walls (**G116.6-8**); the grave in front of the E wall was an arcosolium. These graves were not part of the original design of the tomb, but date to EChr times (a relief plaque with cross was associated with one of them), although the original graves may well have been arranged in a similar way. There were three niches in the walls which held immured vessels (**G116.9-11**). The walls of the burial chamber had been plastered and carried traces of a painted decoration in red and black. The E wall of the tomb was exceptionally wide (1.85 m), and in it a cist grave was constructed that was paved with square clay floor tiles (**G116.12**).

T116.A and **T116.B** both had a podium built in front of their facades (exc. dim. podium A: 2x1.68x0.45 m, dim. podium B: 3.02x1.88x0.82 m). The podia had a solid core, were faced with brickwork, and a protruding base of poros limestone. The structures may have served as bases for funerary stelai or statues.

The narrow space between **T116.A** and **T116.B** was occupied by a staircase that must have led up to the (unpreserved) superstructures of the tombs (four steps were preserved). Below the stairway, inserted into its thick base, was a vaulted space that contained a cist grave (**G116.13**). It was reached through an arched entrance in its west side. A rectangular

structure in the middle of the narrow area between the tombs was a stone-lined cist for an ash urn (**G116.14**).

T116.C is a poorly preserved monumental tomb of the ER period. It is situated behind **T116.A** and **T116.B**, which were built in front of it at a later date. The tomb consisted of a solid *opus caementicium* podium lined with a krepis of limestone blocks (dim. base 6.85x6.85 m) and a superstructure (4.70x4.70 m) of unknown design (naos?). The upper step of the krepis was decorated with a kymation, and served as the toichobate for the limestone orthostats (1.17 m high) that faced the *opus caementicium* core of the superstructure. A niche in the centre of the E façade, facing the road, is thought to have once contained a funerary statue. It is likely that fragments of red and white stone columns, Ionian bases and capitals found on the premises, as well as the architraves in front of **T116.A**, originally belonged to **T116.C**, attesting to its monumentality. The excavation further yielded small sections of additional brick-built funerary structures at the edges

of the plot. Various graves and one sarcophagus (**G116.15**) were found here as well. Fragments of marble sarcophagi and statues, various bronze items, two gold *danakes*, fragmentary glass and clay vessels, lamps and coins (most coins date to the 5th-6th c. CE) were also retrieved from the site. All graves are reported to have been pillaged, and no information is provided about the presence of skeletal remains.

Cemetery: North
Date: ER-R-LR
Tombs: 116.A-C, xx
Graves: 116.1-15, xx
Burial Markers: 70

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 136. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), pp. 92-94; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 222; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 91-93.

117. Karaïskaki 147

This site was investigated in 1992 and yielded a R tomb. A brief report, tomb plan, and a photograph of the tomb interior were published by N. Kokkotaki; a summary appeared in the 1998 issue of *AR*. The site received subsequent attention from C. Flämig, who included the tomb in her study of R funerary architecture in Greece.

T117.A was an *opus mixtum* house tomb, int. dim. 3.80x4.70 m, that was preserved up to a height of 2 m. It was entered through a doorway in the corner of the N wall; the limestone threshold (0.89 m wide) and doorposts (1.20 m high) were preserved *in situ*. Inside, the centre of the floor was decorated with a mosaic (dim. 2.75x1.90 m) with a geometric pattern of stylized four-leafed flowers in red and white on a white background. Cist graves were arranged along the walls, partly sunken below the floor level (**G117.1-5**; there must have been a sixth (**G117.6**) in the unexcavated SW corner of the tomb). Two of the graves had a floor paved with three square clay slabs. The other three graves were built over the remains of

a bathing facility (hypocaust and pipeline) that occupied the area before the construction of the tomb. The walls above the graves had niches: two of semi-circular shape in the E wall, a rectangular niche in the S wall, and one semi-circular niche in both the N and W walls.

A small gold pin came from one of the graves, and another yielded a green glass unguentarium, a trefoil oinochoe and a lekanidion. Bronze coins were also found (undated), as were ceramics of the R period.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 117.A
Graves: 117.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 147. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), pp. 135-138; Blackman, D., Baker, J. & Hardwick, N., 1998. Archaeology in Greece, 1997-8. *AR*, 44, p. 42; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 90.

118. Karaïskaki 153-155

L. Kolonas published a brief report, with two site drawings and a photograph, about the investigation of these two plots in 1983. Several R tombs in *opus testaceum* and two funerary monuments (**T118.A-B**) were excavated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. In the tombs several built cist graves, tile graves, and monolithic stone sarcophagi (looted) were found at different levels.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 118.A-E, xx
Graves: 118.xx
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Καραϊσκάκη 153-155. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 119.

119. Katerinis 14-16, Konstantinoupoleos 75 (Fig. 6.9, p. 159)

These neighbouring plots were excavated at various stages between 1977 and 1993; first by the Byz Ephorate, and after transferral to the appropriate Ephorate they were studied under the supervision of

E. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, M. Petropoulos, and M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. The site yielded a section of the main road through the North Cemetery and a major tomb to its W. Preliminary reports, a site plan and

several photographs were published in *ArchDelt* by the latter two archaeologists. A detailed study of the LCI-Hel graves was later undertaken by E. Kolia and M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, and the early graves received further attention from N. Dimakis.

The gravel road occupied the E part of the trench and measured 6.80 m wide at this point. To its W and in the S part of the site (Konstantinoupoleos 75) stood the poorly preserved remnants of a monumental T-shaped tomb (**T119.A**) of the 2nd c. CE. The tomb had an impressive size: it measured 10.60 m long and had a façade of 10.60 m wide and 2.75 m deep, behind which was a burial chamber with an external width of 6.50 m. The *opus testaceum* walls were preserved up to a height of 1.92 m. The podium was decorated with a limestone krepis at its base and had a facing of limestone slabs. The main façade had an elaborate pedimental design, as is clear from several architectural members discovered around the plot. The excavator, M. Petropoulos, is doubtful that the façade once had columns, since no column fragments were recovered from the site.

The tomb interior was divided into two spaces, which most likely were an antechamber and a burial chamber. Although the entrances to neither of the chambers were preserved, it is likely that the tomb was entered from the road, through a doorway in its monumental façade, with the antechamber giving access to the burial chamber. A large rectangular structure built against the back wall of the burial chamber is thought to have been a podium for a stone sarcophagus. No burials were encountered within the building; these must have been removed over time because of the intensive reuse of the building over time. For after the tomb was destroyed, probably during an earthquake in the 6th c. CE, it was transformed into a wine-making facility.

The remnants of two stone-built peribolos walls (**T119.B-C**) were discovered in the area around the tomb, as were one cinerary urn (**G119.1**) and eleven tile graves (**G119.2-12**). Nine graves were R, while the other two were of LCI-Hel date (**G119.11-12**). The LCI-Hel graves were located beneath the R road, indicating that it was widened in the R period in order to accommodate the increased traffic of the time. One of the graves was furnished with two skyphoi of the 4th c. BCE (**G119.11**), while the other (**G119.12**) was furnished with a skyphidion, a gilded bronze ribbon, a bronze coin, a shell, and astragaloi, and a kantharos that was placed on top of its cover tiles. From the nine graves of the R period only one glass unguentarium and a pair of gold earrings were recovered.

Additional burials of the LCI-R age were discovered in the N part of the excavation (the plots on Katerinis 14-16). The graves included brick-built cist graves, tile-covered and pit graves, tile-built cists made from Corinthian tiles set on edge, and three monolithic sarcophagi. Also found were pits that contained

secondary burials or secondary cremations, some of which were placed in cinerary urns. Grave goods recovered from the site include ceramic vessels, glassware, coins, and gold jewellery.

A wall running perpendicular to the road must have belonged to a peribolos or tomb (**T119.D**) of which hardly anything was preserved.

Seven furnished graves of the LCI-Hel period were later published in more detail. **G119.13**, a pit grave, contained a skeleton in poor condition and was furnished with a skyphos, a lekythos, and a lamp. The deceased wore a golden ring. The burial can be dated to ca. 375-350 BCE.

The deceased in **G119.14**, a pit grave of ca. 350-325 BCE, was buried with a silver coin in the mouth. The grave was furnished with a shell, a skyphos, and a skyphidion. **G119.15**, a tile-built cist grave, held a skeleton that was preserved in poor condition. A lamp, a kotyle base, one silver coin, an iron strigil, and fragments of ivory were found in the grave, as well as iron nails that may have belong to either a coffin or a box. This grave dates to the late 4th-early 3rd c. BCE.

G119.16, another tile-built cist grave, contained a skeleton with a gold wreath, a bronze mirror, a marble alabastron, a black glazed lekanis with lid, a plain lekanis, and a pyxis. Based on the grave goods, it is thought that the buried individual was female. The burial dates to the early 3rd c. BCE.

G119.17 was a pit grave with a single inhumation. A bronze mirror and two clay unguentaria were found near the pelvis. The grave dates to the late 4th-early 3rd c. BCE. **G119.18**, a pit grave of the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE, contained the skeletal remains of one individual, gold leaves of a funerary wreath, a gold ring, three bronze coins, a lagnos and a large lamp. Finally, the deceased individual buried in a tile grave (**G119.19**) of the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE, was accompanied by a lamp. The majority of the pottery from the graves can be attributed to local production centres.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	LCI-Hel-R
Tombs:	119.A-D
Graves:	119.1-22, xx
Burial Markers:	-

References: Petropoulos, M., 1993. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 75-Νόρμαν-Κατερίνης. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), pp. 116-120; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1993. Οδός Κατερίνης 14-16. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 120; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41; Kolia, E. & Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 2005. Το βόρειο νεκροταφείο των αρχαίων Πατρών: Οικόπεδα οδών Νόρμαν-Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και Κατερίνης 14-16. In L. Κυπραίου, ed. *Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την Πελοπόννησο*. Athens: ΥΠΠΟ ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ, pp. 47-58; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

120. Katerinis 18-20

Katerinis 20 was investigated in 1978. It yielded the remnants of a R tomb (**T120.A**) and four graves. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou. The neighbouring plot (no. 18) was investigated in 1999,

but only 0.80 m of the soil was removed for construction purposes. A small test trench was dug to a deeper level, but no archaeological remains were

discovered despite the plot's location in the North Cemetery.

T120.A was partly excavated. Its W wall was traced for 4.50 m, and the N wall for 3.10 m; both were 0.45 m wide and built of stones and mortar. The foundations were 1.10 m high, and the superstructure was preserved up to a height of 0.70 m.

Inside, the burial chamber had a gravel floor. Three built cist graves (**G120.1-3**) were arranged along the walls. The graves had rectangular clay slabs used for floors and had built headrests. Only two of the graves were excavated. **G120.1**, measuring 1.83x0.62x0.63 m (int. dim.), contained the skeletal remains of two adults and one child, possibly deposited at the same time. **G120.2**, measuring 1.82x0.65x0.72 m (int. dim.), contained two skeletons, one of which was heaped in the W end of the grave. The graves were looted.

Underneath the floor of the burial chamber an older cist grave (**G120.4**), int. dim. 2.30x0.60x0.75 m, came to light. It had a vaulted roof built of tile and covered with a built arch, and a floor made of rectangular clay tiles. The grave was empty.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 120.A
Graves: 120.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κατερίνης 20. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 97; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Papakosta, L., 1999. Οδός Κατερίνης 18 (οικόπεδο αφών Σπαθή). *ArchDelt*, 54(B1), p. 252; Whitley, J. et al., 2006. Archaeology in Greece, 2005-6. *AR*, 52, p. 47.

121. Katerinis 22-24

F. Petsas reports the discovery of a damaged LR cist grave in 1970, encountered during the opening of a sewer at this site. The brick-built cist grave (**G121.1**), int. dim. 1.84x0.78 m, was closed by two limestone slabs and was furnished with various clay and glass vessels and bronze coins.

Cemetery: North
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 121.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Petsas, F., 1970. Άλλα οικόπεδα, Κατερίνης 22-24. *ArchDelt*, 25(B1), p. 201; Catling, H.W., 1972. Archaeology in Greece, 1971-2. *AR*, 18, pp. 11-2.

122. Kefallinias 29

The corner of a tomb (**T122.A**) was uncovered at this site in 1989. It was, however, situated at the edge of the plot and could hardly be investigated. The walls, made of makeshift materials, were 0.55 m wide and preserved to a height of 1 m. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: 122.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1989. Οδός Κεφαλληνίας 29-Ναυμαχίας Έλλης. *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), p. 128.

123. Kefallinias, Naumachias Ellis

This plot was investigated in 1994 and yielded the remnants of two funerary periboloi (**T123.A-B**). One of these enclosed six partly destroyed tile graves (**G123.1-6**), three broken ash urns (**G123.7-9**), and one pyre (**G123.10**). Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: 123.A-B
Graves: 123.1-10
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1994. Οδός Κεφαλληνίας και Ναυμαχίας Έλλης (οικόπεδο Αντωνίου Φωτίου). *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), p. 223; Blackman, D., 2000. Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. *AR*, 46, p. 46.

124. Kefallinias, Thermopylon

A section of the North Cemetery was investigated at this plot in 1987. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi reports the discovery of an ER house tomb (**T124.A**). One of the walls contained three niches with immured ash urns (**G124.1-3**). The chamber also housed nine built cist

and tile graves (**G124.4-12**). A limestone sarcophagus was discovered outside the tomb (**G124.13**). Finds from the site date from the EH_{el} to the LR period.

M. Petropoulos recently published a marble ash chest from this site (**G124.14** = Petropoulos 2018, no. 2). It

was discovered in a pit and contained the bones of a young child, a gold ring with an inset emerald, a bone button or gaming piece, a bronze and a silver needle (possibly used as hairpins), a bronze ear spoon, and bronze fragments of unknown use. The chest was made in Rome during the Claudian era.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R-LR
Tombs: 124.A
Graves: 124.1-14
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Κεφαλληνίας και Θερμοπυλῶν. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 151; French, E.B., 1994. Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4. *AR*, 40, p. 22; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A; Petropoulos, M. 2018. Ρωμαϊκές μαρμάρινες κίστες, no. 2.

125. Kefallinias, Thessalonikis

During works carried out by the Demos of Patras in 1985 a small section of the North Cemetery was invest-gated at this location. The remnants of walls likely belong to a funerary peribolos (**T125.A**). Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: 125.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Papazoglou-Manioudaki, E., 1985. Οδός Κεφαλληνίας-Θεσσαλονίκης (έργα Δήμου). *ArchDelt*, 40(B), p. 120; French, E.B., 1993. Archaeology in Greece, 1992-3. *AR*, 39, p. 24; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

126. Klearchou 33

This plot, located in the South Cemetery of Patras, yielded the remains of three cist graves (**G126.1-3**) and one pit grave (**G126.4**) during an excavation in 1989. The pit grave was unfurnished, but in the cist graves a variety of grave goods was discovered: gold *danakes*, gold earrings, bronze jewellery, bronze tweezers, a bone comb, coins, and various vessels. The burials are undated, but the grave types and grave goods suggest a Hel date.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 126.1-4
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kotsaki, M. 1989. Πάροδος Κλεάρχου 33. *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), p. 129.

127. Kolokotroni 29-35 (Fig. 6.20, p. 191)

In a narrow trench dug along these plots part of the North Cemetery of the ancient city was unearthed in 1974. P. Agalopoulou published a report and H.W. Catling prepared a summary for *AR*. The inscription recovered from this site was published by A.D. Rizakis. I. Dekoulakou and N. Dimakis included the site in their analyses of mortuary practices in the area. In total, the trench yielded 26 burials of Hel and R date. These were 15 ash urns (**G127.1-15**), four tile graves (**G127.16-19**), two built cist graves (**G127.20-21**), two pit graves (**G127.22-23**), two burials in wooden coffins (**G127.24-25**), and one poros sarcophagus (**G127.26**). The latter, dim. 1.75x0.80 m, was covered with poros slabs and contained a skeleton placed with the head towards the SE. An EHel lamp was found at the feet of the deceased, and the grave further contained an amphoriskos, a lekythion, and a fragmentary gold ring that was found around one of the fingers. A transport amphora of EHel date (0.435 m high) had been placed outside the grave, against its SE corner.

The two built cist graves were found near the sarcophagus, to its S. One was almost completely destroyed (**G127.20**), while the other was better preserved. It measured 2.05x1.10 m (ext. dim.), had an NE-SW orientation, was brick-built, and had a cover of Laconian tiles coated with a layer of mortared stones and ceramic sherds (**G127.21**). Parallel to these graves but on a deeper level was a row of twelve ash urns. Most were covered with lids or plates. Together with two other urns found elsewhere on the plot, these form an interesting group because of their various shapes, including a hydria and stamnoi, and their painted decoration; one even bears an inscription (unspec.). Most are depicted in the published report; some are on display in the museum. The excavator dates these cremations to between 200-75 BCE, but a R date cannot be excluded.

A glass cinerary urn held cremated remains and various objects: four complete and three broken bone buttons, a fragmentary bone pin, many small spherical pebbles, and bronze and iron fragments (**G127.15**).

The glass urn had been inserted into the lower half of a transport amphora.

At a deeper level lay three unfurnished tile graves, in NE-SW orientation. (**G127.16-18**). A fourth tile grave (**G127.19**) was found in the NE corner of the trench, as were the two pit graves (**G127.22-23**) and two burials in wooden coffins (of which only the iron nails were preserved) that had been covered with a layer of stones, fragments of bricks and mortar. The tile grave contained a clay comical mask and a poorly made figurine of an old man holding a child by the hand. One of the coffin-burials (**G127.24**) held a vessel with relief decoration and a bronze coin of imperial times; near the other was an *ex situ* fragmentary tombstone that commemorated a gladiator (**G127.25, BM71**).

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 127.1-26
Burial Markers: 71

References: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 8. Οδός Κολοκοτρώνη 29-35. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 366; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 172; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

128. Kolokotroni 35

A section of the North Cemetery was uncovered at this plot in 1991. G. Georgopoulou reports that the finds included eight R built cist graves (**G128.1-8**) and five R destroyed tile graves (**G128.9-13**), three broken ash urns (**G128.14-16**; R?), and a poros sarcophagus (**G128.17**; Hel?). One of the tile graves was furnished with three glass unguentaria.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel(?) - R
Tombs: -
Graves: 128.1-17
Burial Markers: -

References: Georgopoulou, G., 1991. Οδός Κολοκοτρώνη 35. *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), p. 146; Blackman, D., 1997. Archaeology in Greece, 1996-7. *AR*, 43, p. 42.

129. Konstantinoupoleos 76; 81, Paxon

A section of the North Cemetery was excavated at these two plots in 1974. A brief report and a site plan were published by I.A. Papapostolou, an inscription from the site was later published by A.D. Rizakis (**BM72**), and the R tombs received further attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou.

At no. 76 two R built cist graves (**G129.1-2**) and three R tile graves (**G129.3-5**) were discovered, while at no. 81 two funerary structures (**T129.A-B**) of the R period (3rd c. CE) were unearthed. Inside the burial chamber of tomb **T129.A** stood a plain stone sarcophagus (**G129.6**). Four cist graves at the site were built underground (**G129.7-10**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 129.A-C
Graves: 129.1-10,xx
Burial Markers: 72

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 81 και Παξών. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 346; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 83; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 157; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

130. Konstantinoupoleos 82, Stratokleous, Karolou

This plot was investigated in 1973-4. It yielded two funerary structures (**T130.A-B**) and (at least) ten burials (**G130.1-10**). A report, site plan and photographs were published by P. Agallopoulou. A fragmentary epitaph recovered from the site was published by A.D. Rizakis (**BM73**).

A rectangular stone and mortar structure (ext. dim. 9.70x6.80 m, pres. h. 1.25 m) and sculpted architectural remains of the Ionic order (two cornices and an architrave) constitute the remnants of a monumental tomb of the R era (**T130.A**).

The corner of a funerary peribolos (**T130.B**) was unearthed in the SE section of the plot. Its walls were preserved to a height of 1.75 m, and it enclosed nine depositions (**G130.1-9**). **G130.1**, dim. 1x0.45x0.50m, NE-SW orientation, was a tile-covered child's grave built into the NW corner of the enclosure. **G130.2** (dim. 1.70x0.40x0.40 m) lay beneath it. It contained

the skeletal remains of an adult individual and a glass unguentarium of the 2nd c. CE. Beside the grave were placed two ash urns: a stamnos (**G130.3**) and a lead kalpe (**G130.4**). The latter was inserted into the bottom half of a transport amphora, with the upper half functioning as a cover.

G130.5-6 were unfurnished tile graves, NE-SW orientation, in which the dead were placed in the natural soil. **G130.7**, dim. 1.30x0.40x0.30m, NW-SE orientation, another child's grave, was of the tile-covered type. A glass vessel of the late 1st-2nd c. CE was found at the child's feet.

G130.8 was discovered at a deeper level. It had a NE-SW orientation. It, too, was a child's grave. Bronze and iron nails surrounding the skeleton attest to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial. The child was buried wearing a pair of simple golden earrings, a gold ring, and a necklace of 33 glass beads. Near the feet were

found three clay and four glass unguentaria of the late 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE. Also at this deeper level was **G130.9**. This was the tile grave (NE-SW orientation) of a child. A silver, gold-plated belt buckle and a silver pen were found in the grave, as well as five clay unguentaria, one glass spherical unguentarium, a simple glass cup, and a fine glass bowl with ribbed decoration which date this burial to 0-50 CE. Note, however, that this grave also contained an intrusive coin of Corinth dating to the 4th-5th c. CE.

A limestone monolithic sarcophagus, not associated with the tomb (?) was covered with limestone slabs. It had an NW-SE orientation, and measured (int. dim.) 1.85x0.60x0.55 m (**G130.10**). Grave goods were a gold *danake* bearing a representation of a dove, a

bronze folding mirror, the locking mechanism of a wooden chest, and seven glass unguentaria of the 1st c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: LHel-ER-R
Tombs: 130.A-B
Graves: 130.1-10
Burial Markers: 73

References: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 12. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 82, Στρατοκλέους και Καρόλου. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 367-369; Catling, H.W., 1980. *Archaeology in Greece*, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 248.

131. Konstantinoupoleos 85

A small section of the North Cemetery was excavated at this plot in 1979. A short report with site plan and photographs were published by I.A. Papapostolou. A.D. Rizakis published a Latin epitaph that was reused in the construction of a wall (**BM74**), and the tomb received later attention from C. Flämig.

The site yielded part of a R peribolos wall (**T131.A**), a R tomb (**T131.B**), and 21 graves (**G131.1-21**). Six built cist graves (**G131.1-6**) and four tile graves (**G131.7-10**) were enclosed within the peribolos. Two built cist graves (**G131.11-12**) were found inside tomb **T131.B**. One of these contained two bronze sistra. Finally, grave **G131.13** was a large vaulted cist with a stepped descent that contained the skeletal remains of two individuals.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 131.A-B
Graves: 131.1-21
Burial Markers: 74

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 85. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 139; Catling, H.W., 1988. *Archaeology in Greece*, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 92; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 159.

132. Konstantinoupoleos 89

In a brief report I.A. Papapostolou describes the finds uncovered at this plot in 1978. Inscribed funerary stelai were published in 1990 by I.A. Papapostolou and in 1998 by A.D. Rizakis.

A section of the main road to Aigion and Corinth was unearthed at the site, as were a peribolos in *opus quasi reticulatum* (**T132.A**), eleven built and tile graves (**G132.1-11**), and an unspecified number of cremations in urns. The graves were disturbed, yet contained skeletal remains and fragmentary vessels of the 2nd c. CE. One of the graves (**G132.1**) was furnished with a glass unguentarium and a one-handled cup with a ribbed body.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 132.A
Graves: 132.1-11, xx
Burial Markers: 75-77

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 89 και Στρατοκλέους. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 97; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece*, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, nos. 19, 20; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 70, 81, 247.

133. Konstantinoupoleos 91

A section of the main road through the North Cemetery was identified here during a rescue excavation in 1984. Architectural remains prove here once existed monumental tombs, but these were not preserved. Six R tile graves (**G133.1-6**) and two R built cist graves (**G133.7-8**) contained mostly clay and glass vessels, while one grave held the remains of a wreath of gold leaves.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 133.xx
Graves: 133.1-8
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kotsaki, M., 1984. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 91. *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 92.

134. Konstantinoupoleos, Astiggos

A narrow trench opened by the ΔΕΗ along Odos Konstantinoupoleos in 1998 revealed a 10.40 m long section of a wall. It was built of large river stones and was at least 0.70 m wide, covering the full width of the trench. The excavator, L. Papakosta, suggests that this wall belongs to a peribolos (**T134.A**). Undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: 134.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papakosta, L., 1998. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 264.

135. Konstantinoupoleos, Favierou

In a trench dug along Konstantinoupoleos in 1996, in the area between the junctions with Favierou and Stratokleous, eight tile graves (**G135.1-8**) and two cist graves (**G135.9-10**) were discovered. Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 135.1-10
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 230; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

136. Konstantinoupoleos, Norman, Paxon

This plot, located in the North Cemetery, was investigated in 1995. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. In addition to a note by D. Blackman in *AR* the site received further attention from C. Flämig and N. Dimakis.

The corner m of a poorly preserved R house tomb was uncovered (**T136.A**; exc. dim. of walls 4.50 m and 4.30 m, respectively). The entrance to the burial chamber was located in the E wall. Six brick-built cist graves stood inside (**G136.1-6**). They had mortared floors, and in some graves a headrest was built. Partly below **G126.5** an earlier pit grave was uncovered (**G126.7**). To the N of the burial chamber an ovoid, funnel-shaped structure was found (ext. dim. 1.55x1.15 m, 1 m high), with built sides of 0.20 m thick and lined with plaster. It may have been used for cult activities. Additional depositions lay in the centre of the plot: eight tile graves (**G136.8-15**), two pit graves (**G136.16-17**), six cist graves (**G136.18-23**), and four ash urns (**G136.24-27**). **G136.18** had a vaulted cover,

built of roof tile and bricks, and sealed with plaster. A skeleton, placed in supine position, was found inside. The two pit graves were Hel, the other graves date to the R era. Many grave goods were found: glass vessels, lamps, unguentaria, and bronze coins. Two of the lamps bore the signatures of known local potters of the R age.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 136.A
Graves: 136.1-27
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1995. Οδός Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νόρμαν-Παξών (οικόπεδο Ν. Κόλλια). *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 212-213; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 158; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

137. Konstantinoupoleos, Paxon

In a trench dug in 1993 for the construction of a sewer, two built cist graves (**G137.1-2**) and the remains of a monumental R funerary structure (**T137.A**) came to light near the junction of Konstantinoupoleos and Paxon. The tomb was severely damaged, but must have been a two-storey monument.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 137.A
Graves: 137.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Sotiriou, A., 1993. Οδός Παξών και Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 122; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41.

138. Korinthou 34

A LR cist grave (**G138.1**) excavated at this site was built from reused building materials, among which was a fragmentary marble plinth bearing a Latin inscription. This was later published by A.D. Rizakis, who identified it as the base of an honorific statue of the 1st-2nd c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Κορίνθου 34. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 93; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6*. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 42.

139. Korinthou 125 (Fig. 6.21, p. 191)

A section of the North Cemetery was uncovered at this site during construction work in the early 1960s. The graves are described in detail in the report published by E. Mastrokostas in 1964; in 1967 he reported the recovery of an inscribed marble stele that was later published by A.D. Rizakis. The marble ash chest recovered from the site was studied and published by F. Sinn and received later attention from M. Petropoulos in his publication on R stone urns in Patras.

G139.1 was a monolithic poros sarcophagus (int. dim. 2.10x0.55x0.50 m, E-W orientation); its cover slabs had fallen into the grave. A carved support in the bottom of the grave was meant for the head and shoulders of the deceased. The skeletal remains of one individual were found inside. The deceased had been deposited in supine position, a gold *danake* with the representation of a dove (known from Sikyonian coins) was placed on the chest, and two glass lekythia were placed by the feet.

G139.2 was found directly S of **G139.1**, and was partly built against it. It was a brick-built cist grave (int. dim. 1.24x0.62x0.53 m, E-W orientation). The floor of the grave was paved with bricks. No mention is made of the cover. Inside, a skeleton was placed in supine position. On the chest of the deceased a gold pendant was found consisting of three parts: at the top there is a round amethyst set in a gold bezel, in the middle an unevenly shaped opaque green stone (jade?) set in a gold bezel, and the bottom part is a representation of a squatting naked female with a pronounced vulva (a fertility goddess?). The pendant measures 0.055 m in total. Other grave goods were a cup and a phiale imported from Italy, a broken glass lekythion, a bronze earring (?), and iron nails that indicate the use of a coffin for the burial of the deceased.

G139.3, a monolithic poros sarcophagus (int. dim. 2.20x0.63x0.70 m) was found to the S of the previous graves at a distance of ca. 15 m. Two limestone slabs were used as a cover. Inside the sarcophagus the skeletons of an adult and a child were found side by side, both placed in supine position. Both skeletons had a gold *danake*: the adult's *danake* bore a relief representation of a female head, the child's *danake* that of a dove. On the ring finger the adult wore a golden ring with an inlaid stone (ruby?), bearing a carved decoration of a crescent moon and a hexagonal star. The excavator relates the symbolism to the god

Men, the worship of whom was taken to Greece from Asia Minor in Hel times as the god of slaves. Near the chest were four glass lekythia, and at the feet lay a monochrome shallow vessel. The child wore a wreath of fifteen gold myrtle leaves. The myrtle leaves suggest that the child was a girl. At her feet lay a one-handled ceramic vessel in the shape of a seated lion. At the bottom of the grave, at the feet of the deceased, stood a marble chest containing cremated remains and a fragmented cylindrical ivory object (**G139.4** = Sinn 1987, no. 70 and Petropoulos 2018, no. 7). The chest measured 0.32x0.26x0.24 m and bore relief decoration. On its front it carries a symmetrical design of ivy and birds (two on either side) with a small krater in the centre of the bottom, below a rectangular frame (tabula) intended for an inscription. Flowers adorn the front of the pedimental-shaped cover. The ash chest is an import from Rome, where it was produced in the Claudian era.

Finds from this grave (the pendant and the ring, the lion-shaped vessel, and the marble chest) can be seen in the museum of Patras, where they are on permanent display.

A third poros sarcophagus (**G139.5**) from this site contained a clay lekythion and a phiale. Outside grave **G139.3** stood a pointed cinerary amphora (**G139.6**) which held a coin of Tiberius (34-36 CE). Here, too, was a glass ash urn (**G139.7**) with a coin of Sikyon (3rd c. BCE), of Elis (271-191 BCE), and of the local mint dating to the time of Domitian. Finally, a scarab set in a silver wire ring was found inside a cylindrical lead ash urn (**G139.8**). It carried the hieroglyphs for Shu, son of Ra.

Cemetery: North
Date: ER
Tombs: -
Graves: 139.1-8
Burial Markers: 78

References: Mastrokostas, E., 1964. Ανασκαφή τάφων εν τω οικοπέδω του Β' Γυμνασίου Θηλέων. *ArchDelt*, 19(B2), pp. 184-186; Mastrokostas, E., 1967. Πάτραι, 2. Β' Γυμνασίου Θηλέων. *ArchDelt*, 22(B1), p. 213; Sinn, F., 1987. *Stadttrömische Marmorurnen*, no. 70; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 163; Petropoulos, M., 2018. Ρωμαϊκές μαρμάρινες κίστες, no. 7.

140. Korinthou 132

This plot yielded a section of the North Cemetery in 1993. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi published a brief report. Remnants of R period include a tomb with two interconnected burial chambers (**T140.A**). Its stone and tile-built walls were 0.60-0.70 m wide; the entrance to the double-chambered tomb was located in its NE wall. It led into a room (dim. 4.85x2.70 m) with two cist graves and two tile graves (**G140.1-4**). A doorway in the SE wall of this chamber led to the second room (int. dim. 5x3.60 m), in which three cist graves (**G140.5-7**) and three tile graves (**G140.8-10**) were found. The skeletons in the tile graves lay on top of roof tiles.

Additional cist and tile graves were found outside the tomb and below its foundations.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 140.A
Graves: 140.1-19
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1993. Οδός Κορίνθου 132 και Βαλτετσίου. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 120; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41.

141. Korinthou 152-154

This plot was investigated in 1978. It yielded 30 cist and tile graves (**G141.1-30**) as well as 10 cremations in various vessels (e.g. pithoi, transport amphorai, hydriai; **G141.31-40**). The tile graves were covered either with one or two pairs of convex tiles, and the skeletons were either placed on tiles, or in the natural soil. The covers of all the brick-built cist graves had been preserved, except for one (**G141.1**). Two had been vaulted (**G141.2-3**). Two others showed some peculiarities in their construction: one (**G141.4**) had its short W end blocked with a roof tile rather than a built wall, while the other (**G141.5**) had a triangular entrance in its S short end made from two roof tiles set upright and leaning against each other. Although several burials were looted, grave goods were found nonetheless. These were mostly clay and glass vessels and bronze coins.

One of the ash urns (**G141.31**) was covered with a square clay tile; cremated remains found nearby were covered with a similar tile (**G141.32**). One urn was furnished with a gold wreath (**G141.33**).

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 141.1-40
Burial Markers: 79

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κορίνθου 152-154. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 96; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36.; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 58.

142. Korinthou 156

In a very brief report L. Kolonas notes that a part of the North Cemetery, including a section of the gravel funerary road (w. 2.50 m), was excavated at this plot in 1983. Built cist graves, tile graves and ash urns of the R period were excavated here, as were two richly furnished cist graves (**G142.1-2**) of the Hel period (items unspc.).

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 142.1-2, xx
Burial Markers: 80

References: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Κορίνθου 156. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), pp. 121-123; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 223; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

143. Korinthou 158

This plot, investigated in 1990, yielded remains of the North Cemetery, including a section of the funerary road that crossed the plot in N-S direction. A total of 88 graves, mostly Hel and some of R date, and several ash urns were discovered. The excavator, N. Kokkotaki, published a brief report about the excavation, an inscription recovered from the site was published by A.D. Rizakis (**BM81**), and N. Dimakis paid subsequent attention to the site in his study on Cl-Hel funerary practices in the Northern Peloponnese.

The R built cists and tile graves were clustered in the W section of the plot. The graves were mostly furnished with glass unguentaria. In some burials a bronze coin had been placed in the mouth of the deceased.

The Hel graves were found in successive layers in the E part of the plot. They contained very rich and varied offerings: many clay unguentaria, skyphoi, plates, lamps, a bronze mirror, a lead cylindrical pyxis, a silver bracelet and a silver flute, many gold leaves

(wreaths), a pair of earrings with the embossed representation of a sphinx, a gold ring, gold earrings with lynx heads decorating the finials, gold *danakes*, and a gold diadem with embossed decoration. In the hands of two of the skeletons blue beads were found.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 143.1-88, xx
Burial Markers: 81

References: Kokkotaki, N., 1990. Οδός Κορίνθου 158. *ArchDelt*, 45(B1), p. 130; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 60; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

144. Korinthou 166

In 1978 a section of the North Cemetery and the gravel funerary road were excavated at this plot. The remnants of three R funerary structures (**T144.A-C**) and multiple tile graves lay east side of the road. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou.

Tomb **T144.A** had walls in *opus quasi reticulatum*. It contained a large, but fragmentary (burial?) pithos (**G144.1**). Two stone pilasters decorated the façade of the second tomb, and three limestone thresholds were placed in a row between them (**T144.B**). Situated behind **T144.A** and **T144.B** and further removed from the road was tomb **T144.C**. This was a monumental tomb, built on a concrete podium that was

revetted with a stone krepis and toichobate. All three tombs were built in the R period, but the area was in use until the 5th-6th c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: 144.A-C
Graves: 144.1, xx
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κορίνθου 166. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 96.

145. Korinthou 189

This plot was investigated in 1978. It yielded a section of the North Cemetery with eight tile graves of the LHel period (**G145.8**). Unfortunately, most of the graves had already been damaged during the mechanical excavation of the site before the archaeologists got involved. A description of the graves was published by I.A. Papapostolou; N. Dimakis later included the site in his analysis of Cl-Hel mortuary practices.

G145.1 contained a clay unguentarium (2nd-1st c. BCE), sherds of a large vessel, and five gold leaves of a wreath. **G145.2** held a LHel lagnos and three clay unguentaria. The bones were burnt.

In **G145.3**, of which only the upper half could be investigated, a skull and torso were found; golden leaves of a funerary wreath, some of which still had bronze stems, were scattered around the skull. Additional leaves were found scattered around the rest of the body, mainly around the area of the abdomen (a second wreath?). Two fragments of iron, beside the skull, may come from a strigil. A transport amphora is dated to the 2nd-1st c. BCE.

G145.4 was unfurnished. **G145.5** contained a few bones and the bronze disk of a small mirror, diam. 0.07 m. In **G145.6**, dim. 1.83x0.62m, the skeleton was

placed in supine position with the head towards the N. A few bronze nails probably belonged to a wooden coffin.

The skeleton in **G145.7** was poorly preserved, and only a few bones were recovered. It held a bronze coin. **G145.8** was covered with sherds of curved and flat tiles. It measured 1.50x0.80x0.30 m and contained a skeleton in supine position with the head towards the S. The skeleton was measured: it was 1.23 m long. Placed to the left of the skull was a clay unguentarium. Found outside the graves were an additional three unguentaria of the 2nd-1st c. BCE, sherds of a black-glazed kantharos, and a bronze coin.

Cemetery: North
Date: LHel
Tombs: -
Graves: 145.1-8
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Κορίνθου 189. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), pp. 96-97; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6*. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

146. Korinthou 221-223 (Fig. 5.7, p. 97)

This site was excavated in 1976 and yielded a densely organized section of the North Cemetery with remains of the Hel, R, and LR periods. A report, site plan and photographs were published by I.A. Papapostolou and a summary for *AR* was written by H.W. Catling. The funerary stelai and inscriptions received subsequent attention from I.A. Papapostolou and A.D. Rizakis, C.

Flämig and I. Dekoulakou studied the R tombs, and N. Dimakis analysed the Hel burials of the site.

The main road of the North Cemetery ran through the centre of the plot. Three Hel cist graves (**G146.1-3**) were situated to its W. These were made of poros slabs, linked together with the use of iron clamps. **G146.1** was destroyed during later building activities,

yet contained the remains of a gold leaf wreath, a fragmentary silver vessel, and some fragments of lead and bronze plating.

G146.2 was looted, yet some disarticulated bones were found, along with a few leaves of a gold funerary wreath and a gold *danake*; one silver vessel was completely preserved, another was fragmentary, and there were gold fruit-shaped accessories and gold thread that belonged to an ornate piece of textile. A solid marble kalpe was placed above the grave, possibly originally serving as a burial marker.

The third Hel cist grave (**G146.3**) contained the skeletal remains of one individual, placed with the head towards the E. Gold leaves of one or two wreaths were found scattered around the head and the waist, while silver vessels and three bronze coins of the period 146-31 BCE lay to the left of the deceased. Also of Hel date were funerary stelai and architectural members found in the fill of the R road, representing a clearing of the area in the ER period.

Four tombs of the ER period were found on the opposite side of the road. Two tombs (**T146.A, D**) were poorly preserved, and only their krepides were preserved. Both tombs contained cremated remains: a cinerary stamnos (**G146.4**) was sunken into the *opus caementicium* core of **T146.A**, and **T146.D** covered two lead ash urns (**G146.5-6**). **T146.B** was a small peribolos in *opus quasi reticulatum* and *opus testaceum* that enclosed a small tile-built and plastered tumulus (diam. 1 m, h. 0.50 m) that covered a lead ash urn (**G146.7**). The remnants of the fourth tomb (**T146.C**) consisted of a limestone krepis and a small burial chamber with an entrance in the E (i.e. the back of the monument). No burials were preserved inside. Nine additional ash urns from the same area, some covered by a transport amphora, dated to the first two centuries CE (**G146.8-16**).

In the MR period a funerary peribolos (**T146.E**) was built behind these monuments; it enclosed built cists

and tile graves. The remnants of two periboloi (**T146.F-G**) and several cist graves to the W of the road date to the same period.

In the MR period, too, four brick-built vaulted cist graves (**G146.17-20**) were constructed in front of/against tombs **T146.A-D**. Two of these graves are identified as polyandria for gladiators, based on the inscriptions and finds associated with them. One contained four successively buried individuals; the last person was rather unceremoniously placed half way in the grave, and the lower legs stuck out of the entrance in the S side. An unguentarium and prochous (200-250 CE) were the grave goods. The second polyandrium contained five individuals, two coins (Marcus Aurelius, mint of Patras, worn), and a lamp with the representation of a gladiatorial battle (late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE).

In the 5th-6th c. CE the road was renovated and a new cemetery, consisting only of tile graves, was laid out over the remains of the preceding periods.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R-LR
Tombs: 146.A-G
Graves: 146.1-20, xx
Burial Markers: 82-91

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Κορίνθου 221-223. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 92-95; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 27; Papapostolou, I.A., 1989. Monuments de gladiateurs à Patras. *BCH*, 113(1), pp. 351-401; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 12, 15, 17, 28, 29; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 56, 58, 162, 165, 166, 169, 256, 284; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 146-154; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

147. Korinthou 246

This plot was investigated in 1974 and yielded six LR graves. A brief description of each of the graves was published by P. Agalopoulou.

G147.1 (dim. 1.25x0.60 m, NW-SE orientation) was a cist grave built of thick limestone slabs, partly destroyed, and found without its cover. It contained a skeleton in supine position, with the head towards the NW.

G147.2, ext. dim. 2.15x0.90 m, NW-SE orientation, was built from roughly worked pieces of limestone and broken bricks. It was covered with a reused, damaged marble kymation and three limestone slabs. The grave was used over a longer period of time and contained five skeletons, all placed with the heads in the NW.

G147.3 was of a similar size (ext. dim. 2.10x0.85 m) and construction, and had the same orientation. No mention is made of any skeletal remains.

G147.4, a built cist grave (NW-SE orientation), had been destroyed, but nonetheless contained the dispersed skeletal remains of multiple individuals.

G147.5 was a tile-built cist (pres. dim. 1.30x0.50 m, NW-SE orientation) with stones surrounding and

supporting the tiles on the outside. The grave was covered with Laconian roof tiles. Two skulls and broken bones were discovered inside.

Cist grave **G147.6** was situated at some distance from the others, and could only be excavated in part (exc. dim. 1.60x1.10x0.50 m). Its construction was similar to that of **G147.2-3** and had the same NW-SE orientation. It was also covered with reused architectural elements: limestone slabs and a fragmentary marble column. Five skulls were found inside.

From the fill of the excavation came two coins of Constantine I and twenty bronze coins dating between 400 and 600 CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 147.1-6
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agalopoulou, P., 1974. Οδός Κορίνθου 246 και Πλατεία Γιωργίου Α. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 373.

148. Korinthou 287

A monumental tomb (**T148.A**) of the 1st c. CE and seven cist and tile graves were excavated at this site (**G148.1-7**), but a workshop (?) of the 2nd-3rd c. CE that was in use until LR times occupied most of the plot. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi; the tomb received later attention from C. Flämig and I. Dekoulakou.

Only a corner of the tomb, likely a house tomb, could be unearthed: exc. dim. 6x4.50 m, pres. h. 1.30 m (without foundation). It was set on a podium that was revetted with a stone krepis, the upper step of which carried a decorative kymation. The *opus testaceum* walls were decorated with brick pilasters. Inside the burial chamber faint traces of built cist graves were identified (no. unspc.). The excavator suggests that the monumental tomb was too far removed from the main funerary road to have been part of the North Cemetery. Rather, she argues, it must have been a tomb that belonged to the owners of a Roman villa.

Outside the tomb were five unfurnished R tile graves (**G148.1-5**) and two cist graves (**G148.6-7**) that are LR.

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 148.A
Graves: 148.1-7, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Κορίνθου 287 και πλατεία Γεωργίου Α'. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), pp. 202-204; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 175; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

149. Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19

This plot, located at a central spot in the ancient North Cemetery, was investigated in 1976. A preliminary report with a site plan and some photographs were published by I.A. Papapostolou; a summary was prepared for *AR* by H.W. Catling. Tombstones and jewellery from the site were later published in more detail by I.A. Papapostolou. The inscriptions from the site were studied by A.D. Rizakis; the Hel graves received further attention from N. Dimakis.

The remains excavated at this site included a section of the gravel road, measuring 3.80 m wide at this point, that traverses the North Cemetery as well as tombs and graves that were situated on either side of the road

To the E of the road were fourteen LCI-R graves (**G149.1-14**)*, a Hel peribolos of large limestone blocks (**T149.A**), and remnants of R periboloi.

A tile grave (**G149.1**) of the 4th c. BCE contained the skeletal remains of a female individual (gender based on grave goods), placed in supine position with the head towards the N. She held a bronze mirror in her left hand, and had worn bronze earrings of pyramidal shape (= Papapostolou 1990, no. 23). The grave was further furnished with two cylindrical pyxides, a glass alabastron, four ivory dove-shaped plaques that may once have belonged to clothing, a black-glazed lamp, four red-figured lekythia, and a black-glazed plain lekythion, kantharos, kyathion, krateriskos, and two phialai. The vessels largely date to the period 400-370 BCE, while the mirror dates to 400-350 BCE.

A Hel cremation (**G149.2**) to its N contained golden leaves (wreath), and another tile grave (**G149.3**, 2nd c. BCE) in the area contained clay unguentaria, a cylindrical pyxis with West Slope decoration, three gold pendants, glass and stone beads of a necklace, and a silver ring.

The two periboloi (**T149.B-C**) on the opposite side of the road were partly built over a massive wall of the Hel period (l. 8.4 m, w. 1.58 m). One peribolos was built in *opus quasi reticulatum* and *opus testaceum*, the other in *opus mixtum*. The graves inside, both of the

built cist and tile-covered type, belonged to two phases. The older graves were covered with a thick layer of gravel, and the graves of the later period were placed above this. A child's pit grave (**G149.15**) was covered with an inscribed stele commemorating Caius Clodius Urbanus, who died aged two years and four days old (**BM94**). The report does not make it clear whether the tombstone originally belonged to this burial, or was placed here in second use.

A built cist grave (**G149.16**) discovered outside the periboloi contained many successive burials, a pair of gold earrings, a bronze bracelet, three glass and one clay unguentarium, and a clay phiale of the R era. Clay and glass vessels were found in the other graves, as well as bronze coins and other bronze items. A clay cinerary kalpe (**G149.17**) held eight black and blue glass pebbles.

An EHel grave (**G149.18**) was discovered beneath the Hel wall; it contained a wreath with gilded leaves and fruits fixed to a bronze stem. Immured in the wall were two bases for funerary stelai and a Hel funerary inscription (**BM93**).

Cemetery: North
Date: LCI-Hel-R-LR
Tombs: 149.A-C, xx
Graves: 149.1-18, xx
Burial Markers: 92-94

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Κορίνθου και Πουκεβίλ 17-19. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), pp. 95-97; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, pp. 27-28; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Papapostolou, I.A., 1993. *AGS*, no. 2; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 59, 94, 231; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

* A Hel burial (ca. 150-100 BCE?) is referred to in I.A. Papapostolou's article on the jewellery from Patras and Dyme (cf. Papapostolou 1990, nos. 22 and 43).

The grave is said to have contained a gold necklace of the LHel era, a silver bracelet, a silver ring with inset stone as well as a simple silver ring, a lead cylindrical pyxis, two unguentaria (150-125 BCE), and ca. 30 glass paste and stone gaming pebbles. As it is unclear

whether these finds belonged to one of the here mentioned graves (and if so, to which one) or to an additional burial, they are excluded from Catalogue C. The assemblage is, however, included in the various discussions about grave goods.

150. Koritsas

Remains of the South Cemetery of Patras came to light during rescue excavations in 1999 at the site of the Skagiopouleios Orphanage. The old road towards Dyme was uncovered for a total length of 22.5 m; funerary structures (**T150.xx**) and 49 Hel and R graves (**G150.1-49**) were found on either side. The wide variety of mortuary customs used in these burials shows that practices shifted over time. A brief report was published by A. Vasilogamvrou, and the site received later attention from N. Dimakis.

Four simple pit graves (**G150.1-4**) with few grave goods are the earliest depositions at the site, and date to the EH period. Towards the end of the 3rd c. BCE a new mortuary practice came into use, as eleven primary cremations show (**G150.5-15**). Rectangular pits (av. dim. 2.05x1.70x0.93 m) were opened in the soil, and pyres were placed inside as the presence of charred remains indicate. Due to the heat of the pyre and the duration of the cremation process, the clay

soil of the walls of the pits was baked for up to 0.10 m thick.

Funerary periboloi were built over the Hel remains in the R period, sometimes disturbing the older graves. The periboloi enclosed built cists, tile graves, and ceramic and lead ash urns (**G150.16-49**). No skeletal remains or grave goods are mentioned.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 150.xx
Graves: 150.1-49
Burial Markers: -

References: Vasilogamvrou, A., 1999. Οδός Κορυτσάς (οικόπεδο Σκαγιοπουλείου Ορφανοτροφείου). *ArchDelt*, 54(B1), p. 257; Whitley, J. et al., 2006. Archaeology in Greece, 2005-6. *AR*, 52, p. 47; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

151. Korydalleos 20

This site was investigated in 1998 under direction of G. Alexopoulou. It is located far N of the ancient city centre and outside the North Cemetery. The site yielded three tile-covered graves in N-S orientation (**G151.1-3**). Disarticulated skeletons were found inside. Only one grave was furnished: **G151.1** contained a clay vessel, a fragmentary pin, and a silver obol of Kleitoria (362-300 BCE).

Cemetery: •
Date: LCI-EHel
Tombs: -
Graves: 151.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1998. Οδός Κορυδαλλέως. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 262; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

152. Kotroni, Moraïtidi

In the Kotroni-district, to the N of Patras and outside the main North Cemetery, a tile grave (**G152.1**) with E-W orientation came to light, but could not be investigated due to rising water. Undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: •
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 152.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Μωραϊτίδη, θέση Κοτρών. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 285; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

153. Kotroni, Patron-Athinon 102

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi reports the discovery of a LR-EChr burial ground in the Kotroni-district in 1989, yielding a total of 44 tile graves in two successive layers (**G153.1-44**). Grave goods were only encountered in a number of the graves of the lower level. These were bronze coins and rings.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 153.1-44
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1989. Νέα εθνική οδός Πατρών-Αθηνών 102 (Κοτρών). *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), pp. 128-129.

154. Kotroni, Ragkavi

A substantial wall of the Hel period was uncovered at this site during an investigation in 1987. It was traced for a length of 15 m and had a maximum width of 1.35 m, running in E-W direction. A section of a cobbled road to the N of the wall measured 5 m in width; to its S were four R tile graves (**G154.1-4**), two of which contained grave goods (unspec.).

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 154.1-4
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Alexopoulou, G., 1987. Οδός Παγκαβή (Κοτρώνι Πατρών). *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 147.

155. Koumanioti 13

G. Alexopoulou published a brief report about the rescue excavation carried out at this plot in 1987, which revealed a densely occupied section of the South Cemetery. A total of 195 R burials were discovered: one was a plastered brick-built cist grave (**G155.1**), 23 burials were placed in pots (**G155.2-24**), and 171 graves (**G155.25-195**) were of the tile-covered type. Many graves were furnished. The grave goods include glass unguentaria, lamps, coins, and small vessels.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 155.1-195
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Alexopoulou, G., 1987. Οδός Κουμανιώτη 13 και Ασημάκη Φωτήλα. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 150.

156. Koumanioti 17

A rescue excavation was undertaken at this plot in 1974. The excavator, I.A. Papapostolou, has only briefly reported on the finds, stating that nineteen tile-covered graves (**G156.1-19**) and one cist grave (**G156.20**) were uncovered. He does not provide a date, but R seems likely (see the other burial sites in this area).

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 156.1-20
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Κουμανιώτου 17. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 355.

157. Koumanioti 22

A section of the South Cemetery was discovered here in 1987. The remnants were situated at a depth of 3.60 m and lower. The superstructures of two LR burial chambers (**T157.A-B**) were identified. A small test pit revealed that the walls extended down for at least 1.40m; the foundations could not be reached. To their N were the remains of a third tomb (**T157.C**). Its walls were preserved up to a height of 1.80 m. Its burial chamber could not be studied. Traces of a pebbled surface are interpreted as a corridor between the tombs.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR
Tombs: 157.A-C
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Κουμανιώτη 22. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 150; French, E.B., 1994. Archaeology in Greece, 1993-4. *AR*, 40, p. 22.

158. Koumanioti 23

This site, located in the area of the South Cemetery, was briefly investigated during excavation works in 1990. The remnants of a large R funerary (?) building (**T158.A**) were found in the NW corner of the plot. It had three rooms, all of which had been covered with a tiled roof. It was built on the N side of a gravel road, of which only faint traces were encountered.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 158.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kotsaki, M., 1990. Οδός Κουμανιώτου 23. *ArchDelt*, 45(B1), p. 131.

159. Koumanioti 29-31

Two rescue excavations were carried out at these plots. During the first excavation, in 1989, an empty LR poorly constructed stone-built cist grave (**G159.1**) was unearthed (dim. 1.17x0.47x0.52 m, N-S orientation). In another section of the plot a wall and the remains of a hearth (?) were found. Below the wall a large pithos was discovered, containing half of a large two-handled neck amphora, three conical lids, a clay plate, and seven bronze coins. There is no mention of human remains, and it is not clear whether the pithos was used for funerary purposes.

During the second excavation, carried out in 1998, architectural remnants were uncovered, including a peribolos (**T159.A**) that enclosed four built cist graves

(**G159.2-5**) and one tile grave (**G159.6**). One of the graves contained six vessels of R date.

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 159.A
Graves: 159.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Kokkotaki, N., 1989. Οδός Κουμανιώτου 31. *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), p. 129; Papakosta, L., 1998. Οδός Κουμανιώτη 29-31. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 258; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

160. Koumanioti 33-35

A section of a wall belonging to a R (house?) tomb (**T160.A**) was revealed during rescue excavations at these plots in 1977. Two badly preserved built cist graves (**G160.1-2**) and a fragmentary poros sarcophagus (**G160.3**) were found inside the tomb. One of the cist graves contained an oinochoe of the 2nd c. CE. A third brick-built cist grave (**G160.4**) was built against the outside S tomb wall. It contained a skeleton, a glass vessel, and iron nails that point to the use of a wooden coffin for the burial.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 160.A
Graves: 160.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Κουμανιώτου 33-35. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 93; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38.

161. Koumanioti, Asimaki Fotila

The plot at the junction of Koumanioti and Asimaki Fotila was excavated in 1998. It yielded a densely occupied section of the South Cemetery. L. Papakosta published a brief report of the findings.

A total of 49 R tile graves were found in successive strata (**G161.1-49**), some of which had been damaged or destroyed during the erection of a Neoclassical building at the site. Most graves were covered with a pair of roof tiles, and many of them had been reinforced with a layer of small round stones and mud on all sides. The graves contained both adults and children. Some of the bodies were placed on the natural soil, others on top of tiles, while yet others had been deposited in wooden coffins as is indicated by the presence of iron nails. The dead were all placed in

supine position, one arm placed alongside the body, while the hand of the other arm was placed on the abdomen. Most graves were furnished, and together they yielded one gold *danake*, one silver coin, 11 bronze coins, 55 ceramic vessels, and 21 glass vessels.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 161.1-49
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1998. Κουμανιώτη, Ασημάκη Φωτήλα. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), pp. 257-258; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

162. Kyprou, Doïranis

This plot, located in the North Cemetery of ancient Patras, was investigated in 1988 and yielded the remains of four R tile graves. Three of the graves (**G162.1-3**) were unfurnished, while one skyphos was found in the fourth grave (**G162.4**). Discovered between the graves were a transport amphora and a fragmentary vessel. It is not clear from the report whether either of these were used as ash urns.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 162.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1988. Οδός Κύπρου-Δοϊράνης (58ο Δημοτικό Σχολείο). *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 157; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

163. Lefkosias

A rescue excavation on Lefkosias in 1978 revealed two tile graves. **G163.1** contained the skeletal remains of a child whose body was placed in supine position with the head towards the W. The child wore a necklace of eight blue glass paste beads, suggesting this may have been a girl. Inside the second grave (**G163.2**) lay the skeletal remains of an individual (ca. 1.34 m tall), likewise placed in supine position, but with the left arm along the body and the right hand placed on the pelvis. The grave was unfurnished. Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 163.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Λευκωσίας. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 98; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36.

164. Lontou 8-36

In 1995 archaeological remains were recovered during the construction of a water pipeline along Odos Lontou. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. The site is located near the acropolis, in the centre of the R city, but funerary remains were discovered as well. These include the walls of a funerary peribolos (**T164.A**; near Lontou 24), and six LR graves that were associated with it. Four were cist graves (**G164.1-4**) built from makeshift and reused materials, the other two were tile graves (**G164.5-6**). At least nineteen other depositions (**G164.7-25**), including several child burials, were discovered during other rescue excavations in this same area. The graves, all of EChr date, had an W-E orientation, with the dead placed with the head towards the W. The burials were inserted in the area after the decline of the R city.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: A
Graves: 164.1-25
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1995. Οδός Λόντου. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), p. 208; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42; Dekoulakou, I., 1976. Οδός Λόντου 8-10. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 109; Alexoroulou, G., 1996. Οδός Λόντου 10 (οικόπεδο Δ. Κοσμοπούλου). *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), pp. 207-208; Alexoroulou, G., 1996. Οδός Λόντου 36 (οικόπεδο Λ. Βασιλόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 208; Alexoroulou, G., 2004. Οδός Λόντου 19-21 (οικόπεδο Δημ. Παναγιωτόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 504.

165. Lontou 148-150

This site was investigated in 1982; a brief report was published by M. Kotsaki. The excavations yielded the remnants of a Hel pottery workshop that was used as a cemetery between ca. 1-150 CE, when thirteen burials were inserted into the area. The graves were of the tile-covered and built cist-type, and had varying orientations. The grave goods were few and include clay vessels, coins, a bronze buckle, and one glass vessel. One tile grave (**G165.1**) contained the skeletal remains of a young individual, as well as various grave goods that suggest the deceased may have been a girl: a clay mask, two gold rings, the bronze pendant of a necklace, a bronze ring, two iron spoons, several

bronze studs that were part of a pair of sandals, six glass vessels, and two lead bell-shaped objects.

Cemetery: •
Date: ER
Tombs: -
Graves: 165.1-13
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1982. Οδός Λόντου 148-150 (οικόπεδο Παγανιά). *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 140; French, E.B., 1991. Archaeology in Greece, 1990-1. *AR*, 37, p. 29.

166. Maizonos 3

This plot was located in the North Cemetery and yielded three graves during a rescue excavation in 1974. A brief report was published by P. Agallopoulou. **G166.1**, a tile grave, and **G166.2**, a brick-built cist grave were poorly preserved. **G166.3** was better preserved. It was a brick-built cist with external dimensions of 2.15x1.05 m, with a NW-SE orientation. Its floor was made of square tiles that had simple decorative markings, and it had a roof tile cover. Inside lay the skeletons of an adult and a child, as well as a bronze coin that was locally minted at the time of Marcus Aurelius.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 166.1-3
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 7. Οδός Μαϊζώνος 3 και Μανιακίου. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 366.

167. Maizonos 5

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi reports the discovery of six tile graves (**G167.1-6**) and four cist graves (**G167.7-10**) at this site in 1989. They were badly preserved, with the exception of one cist grave that retained its cover of reused poros slabs. It was empty nonetheless. Most graves were unfurnished; only a few clay and glass vessels were recovered. The graves are undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 167.1-10
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1989. Οδός Μαϊζώνος 5. *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), p. 128; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

168. Maizonos 23

I.A. Papapostolou reports the discovery of the corner of a funerary structure (**T168.A**), either a house tomb or a peribolos, during a rescue excavation in 1980. One tile grave was found inside (**G168.1**). Outside its N wall were three additional tile graves (**G168.2-4**). Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: 168.A
Graves: 168.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1980. Οδός Μαϊζώνος 23. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 188; Catling, H.W., 1989. *Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9*. AR, 35, p. 44.

169. Maizonos 157, Filopoimenos

M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi reports that the 1997 excavation of this site, which is located close to the port facilities of the R town, yielded finds that date from the 4th c. BCE to the 4th c. CE.

A 27 m long section of a wall of 1.50 m wide was found along the entire S part of the site. It runs in an E-W direction towards the port. The foundation of the wall is preserved to a height of ca. 0.65 m and consists of two layers of poros and conglomerate blocks. It is made of two scales, the N of which was better built and was likely the outer face. A mudbrick superstructure must have originally been built on top of these foundations. The foundations of two towers, one with sq. dim. 5.60 m, were discovered as well. The wall and towers are tentatively identified as defensive structures; the hypothesis is posed that these may be the long walls Alcibiades ordered the people of Patras to build in 419 BCE. However, several graves of the LCI era were disturbed by and therefore predate the construction of the wall, and seem to rather indicate that the wall was in fact of Hel date.

The area was in use as a cemetery between the 3rd c. BCE and the 1st c. CE as the discovery of sporadic graves and rows of ash vessels buried in the area indicate (unspec.). Towards the end of the 1st c. CE the area was transformed to a production site for ceramics and workshops were built against the fortification wall.

Cemetery: •
Date: LCI-Hel-ER
Tombs: -
Graves: 169.xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1997. Οδός Μαϊζώνος 157 και Φιλοποίμενος. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 273-275; Whitley, J., 2003. *Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3*. AR, 49, p. 38; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

170. Mesologgiou 7

At this plot, located within the area of the ancient city, a total of 26 damaged built cist graves and tile graves were unearthed during a rescue excavation in 1977 (**G170.1-16**). The graves dated to the 5th-6th c. CE, when the area had stopped being used for habitation. In two of the graves a bronze coin was found (undated), a third contained an unidentified bronze item.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 170.1-26
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Μεσολογίου 7. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 93; Catling, H.W., 1986. *Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6*. AR, 32, p. 38.

171. Mesologgiou 9 (Fig. 7.5, p. 203)

A rescue excavation at the neighbouring plot in 1979 yielded an additional 28 tile-covered and cist graves of the same LR-EChr cemetery. Most of the graves had an E-W orientation.

In the W part of the plot a large funerary peribolos (**T171.A**) enclosed at least ten cist graves, one of which was furnished with an unguentarium and a clay vessel. The excavator, I.A. Papapostolou, notes that the peribolos had no entrance and the graves had to be reached from above; this description and the site plan suggest that these graves were *formae* (burial trenches) and the structure was thus a *forma*-tomb.

Two other enclosures (**T171.B-C**) surrounded many unfurnished graves, while several individual tile, cist,

and tile-covered cist graves were scattered around the plot. Only one of these contained grave goods: a clay vessel and a beaded necklace.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: 171.A-C
Graves: 171.1-28
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Μεσολογίου 9. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 147; Catling, H.W., 1988. *Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. AR*, 34, p. 32.

172. Mesologgiou 11

Another section of the same LR-EChr cemetery came to light in 1988, during rescue excavations under the direction of M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

A total of 68 graves (built cists and tile graves) were discovered. Most graves were organized in rows, and all shared an W-E orientation with only minimal deviations. The walls, built of stones and bricks, were plastered. The skeletons were placed either on the natural soil, on Laconian roof tiles, or on flat floor tiles. Only two graves had a preserved cover: **G172.1** was closed with three large slabs (two limestone, one marble) and **G172.2** with three large stones that were sealed with mortar.

Most graves were unfurnished, but some did contain simple objects. Only few exceptional grave goods are

noted: a pair of gold earrings, two silver pins, and a silver cosmetic tool.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 172.1-68
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1988. Οδός Μεσολογίου 11. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), pp. 157-161; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. *Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. AR*, 41, p. 18.

173. Mesologgiou 16

The remnants of a LR-EChr funerary peribolos were discovered at this site in 1994 (**T173.A**). The wall is 0.80 m high, 0.50 m wide and built of stones, bricks, and mud.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: 173.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Gkadoulou, A., 1994. Οδός Μεσολογίου 16 (οικόπεδο Πην. Ράπτη). *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), p. 219; Blackman, D., 2000. *Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. AR*, 46, p. 46.

174. Mesologgiou 32

A densely organised section of the South Cemetery came to light at this plot during a rescue excavation in 1975. The site yielded the remnants of two funerary periboloi (**T174.A-B**) and one burial chamber (**T174.C**). I. Dekoulakou published a preliminary report, along with a site plan and several photographs of the findings. Other than a brief note in *AR* by H.W. Catling, the site received no further attention.

Only the cast masonry foundations of the tombs were preserved. The periboloi could only be excavated in part, but the burial chamber was investigated in its entirety. Graves were discovered both in and outside the tombs.

Peribolos **T174.A** was found at the N border of the plot; a wall in its NE part may be part of an internal division. Inside the enclosure and against its S wall, a rectangular compact structure (1.65x2x1.10 m) was built over a tile-covered deposition of a bone pile (**G174.1**). The bones were mixed with gold leaves and three glass unguentaria. This ER (?) monument was built of cast masonry; traces of a decorative kymation and plaster were preserved. A tile grave (**G174.2**) that was situated beside it contained two successive burials. Placed over top an unfurnished tile grave (**G174.3**) was a burial that was furnished with two glass unguentaria (**G174.4**).

G174.5 was a large amphora that was used as a receptacle for cremated remains.

In the SE corner of the same peribolos three vaulted cist graves were built beside each other (**G174.6-8**), in E-W orientation. One of the graves contained the skeleton of a child, who was buried without grave goods; another held the poorly preserved remains of three individuals; and in the latter lay three skeletons, an amphora with ashes (**G174.9**), a lamp, and iron nails (coffin?). In the S wall, above **G174.8**, were two niches that were meant for the placement of either ash urns or lamps. Finally, to the NW of these graves were a child's tile grave (**G174.10**) and two ash urns (**G174.11-12**).

Funerary peribolos **T174.B** was built adjacent to the E wall of peribolos **T174.A**. A cist grave was placed in its SW corner and contained spherical glass unguentaria of the 1st c. CE (**G174.13**). Parts of two other graves (**G174.14-15**) enclosed in this tomb were discovered below the sidewalk in front of the plot.

Tomb **T174.C** (a house tomb?) was separated from **T174.A** by a narrow corridor. The foundations of the walls were 0.70 m wide, and were preserved to a height of 0.85 m. Inside and built against its N wall was a severely damaged vaulted cist grave (**G174.16**). A tile grave in the W part of the tomb contained a bronze coin and a 2nd c. CE lamp with a representation of Leda and the swan (**G174.17**).

G174.18, situated just outside the tomb, held bones and a fragmented large vessel used as an ash urn (**G174.19**).

In the area surrounding the tomb many tile-covered and vaulted cist graves were found, that yielded mostly glass and clay unguentaria as well as one iron key. Only one of these graves is described in more detail: **G174.20** was a built cist grave (dim. 2.25x0.65 m, N-S orientation) with plastered walls and covered with a monolithic limestone slab. Fourteen ceramic unguentaria and four unguentaria of coloured glass were found inside, as well as two pieces of gold sheet. No information is provided about skeletal remains. Buried to the W of this cist grave was a large cinerary amphora (**G174.21**) with a heap of clay unguentaria beside it.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 174.A-C
Graves: 174.1-21, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός Μεσολογγίου 32. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), pp. 115-117; Catling, H.W., 1984. *Archaeology in Greece, 1983-4*. *AR*, 30, p. 31.

175. Mesologgiou, Asimaki Fotila

In 1967 a LR-EChr cist grave (**G175.1**) was discovered at the junction of Mesologgiou and Asimaki Fotila. The grave is not described, except for the fact that a reused circular marble slab, originally a tripod table, served as its cover. An epitaph of the EChr era was discovered here as well (**BM95**); it was published by A.D. Rizakis in 1998.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 175.1
Burial Markers: 95

References: Mastrokostas, E., 1967. Πάτραι, 3. Μεσολογγίου, Ασημάκη Φωτιάλα. *ArchDelt*, 22(B1), p. 213; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 187.

176. Mikinon 6 (Fig. 5.12, p. 104)

This plot, located in the East Cemetery, was excavated in 1984. M. Kotsaki reports the discovery of remnants of a monumental R funerary structure enclosed within a peribolos, both in *opus reticulatum* (**T176.A**).

The tomb had a small vaulted burial chamber and was entered through a single door on its west side; the limestone threshold was preserved *in situ*. The burial chamber measured only 2x1.66 m and was 2.10 m high. Square compartments were built along its N and S walls. These may have been intended for the deposition of ash urns or secondary burials, but their discovery is not reported. A bench in front of the back wall had five circular pipes leading down into the floor of the tomb. These pipes were most likely meant for the pouring of offerings.

Cemetery: East
Date: ER
Tombs: 176.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Kotsaki, M., 1984. Πάροδος Μυκηνών 6. *ArchDelt*, 39(B), p. 92; French, E.B., 1992. *Archaeology in Greece, 1991-2*. *AR*, 38, p. 22; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

177. Mikinon 8

L. Papakosta reports that eight R tile graves were excavated at this site in 1992. The graves (**G177.1-8**) were placed in a row and all had a N-S orientation. The dead were placed on the natural soil; among the grave goods were three skyphoi with relief decoration.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 177.1-8
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1992. Οδός Μυκηνών 8 (Περιοχή Αϊ-Γιάννη Πράτσικα). *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), p. 135; Blackman, D., Baker, J. & Hardwick, N., 1998. Archaeology in Greece, 1997-8. *AR*, 44, p. 42.

178. Nikita 45

A LR grave (**G178.1**) was found among the remnants of the R infrastructure of Patras. The grave, only uncovered in part, contained the skeletal remains of an adult, placed with the head towards the E, and a clay vessel of the LR period.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 178.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1996. Οδός Νικήτα 45. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 220; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43.

179. Nikita 60-66 (Fig. 7.4, p. 202)

These plots were investigated in 1978. A report was published by I.A. Papapostolou; other than a summary in *AR* the site received no further attention.

This site is located in the area to the S of the R Odeon and was part of the domestic quarters in R times. It yielded a street equipped with a central drain and a water pipeline, and buildings that stood on both sides of it. Some of these buildings were connected to the water works that ran along the street. The architectural remains date from Hel to Byz times, but the majority have been dated to the R period.

Among the R building remains were ten built cist graves of the LR-EChr period (**G179.1-10**), inserted here after the area was no longer being used for habitation. The graves all had an E-W orientation, and the dead were placed with their heads towards the E. They lay either on the natural soil or on a floor of square clay tiles. Most graves contained the remains of multiple individuals. Unguentaria and a pair of silver earrings were found in **G179.1**. **G179.2** contained two pairs of gold earrings, a bronze incense

burner, and a glass polyhedral vial. A double cist with a vaulted cover contained one pair of gold earrings, gold thread, and glass unguentaria (**G179.3-4**).

A second double cist grave was cut through a R mosaic floor depicting Triton and a hippocamp (**G179.5-6**).*

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 179.1-10
Burial Markers: 96

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Νικήτα 60-66. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), pp. 84-86; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 34; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 139.

* For this and other mosaics from Patras, see Papapostolou, I.A., 2009. Παρατηρήσεις σε ψηφιδωτά τον Πατρών. In *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 211-256.

180. Nikita 74

A. Gkadolou and A. Koumoussi reported that this plot yielded fifteen cist graves (**G180.1-15**) and two tile graves (**G180.16-17**) that were situated among Hel and R architectural remains of a non-funerary nature; the graves were inserted into the area in LR-EChr times when the buildings were no longer in use.

Ten cist graves were found in a EChr cluster. Their walls were built of stones and brick, and they were covered with limestone slabs and reused architectural members of marble. The dead were placed on the natural soil, with their heads towards the W and their arms placed on the chest; seven graves contained double burials. These ten graves have tentatively been

identified as belonging to victims of the earthquake that hit the area in the mid-6th c. CE.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 180.1-17
Burial Markers: -

References: Gkadolou, A., 1995. Οδός Νικήτα 74. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), p. 200; Koumoussi, A., 1995. Οδός Νικήτα 74. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 264-265; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42.

181. Norman 88

This plot, investigated in 1981, revealed a section of the North Cemetery of Patras, including a large part of the funerary road (measuring 8 m wide at this point) and tombs and graves on its west side. A preliminary report was published by I.A. Papapostolou; a pair of earrings from one of the graves was later published in more detail. A summary of the report was prepared for *AR* by E.B. French. The site received subsequent attention from H. von Hesberg, C. Flämig, I. Dekoulakou, and N. Dimakis.

Remains from three main periods were discovered: of Hel date are six burials (**G181.1-6**; 2nd c. BCE), the ER period is represented by three funerary structures (**T181.A-C**) and one of the levels of the street, while in the LR period the level of the road had risen to such an extent that it covered the facades of the ER tombs; terrace walls were then built between them to define the course of the road.

One of the Hel burials contained gold earrings with finials in the shape of lion's heads (=Papapostolou 1990, no. 27), a bronze mirror of the 3rd c. BCE, a tripod pyxis (200-175 BCE), and an unguentarium (300-275 BCE) (**G181.4**).

T181.A is an *opus reticulatum* house tomb, built on a brick podium decorated with a kymation. The tomb measures 3.10x4.45 m, and has a preserved height of

1.82 m. A looted built cist grave (**G181.7**), a tile grave (**G181.8**), as well as ER clay and lead ash urns were discovered inside the burial chamber. There were rich grave goods (unspec.).

T181.B is a well-preserved Pi-shaped exedra, built of a concrete core with a revetment of limestone slabs, dim. 3.10x2.60x1.62 m. The antae of the façade are decorated with relief bucrania.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 181.A-C
Graves: 181.1-8, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1981. Οδός Νόρμαν 88. *ArchDelt*, 36(B1), p. 166; French, E.B., 1990. Archaeology in Greece, 1989-90. *AR*, 36, pp. 28; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; von Hesberg, H., 1992. *Römische Grabbauten*, p. 170; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 155-156; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

182. Norman, between Katerinis and Konstantinoupoles

The remains discovered at this site included a section of the gravel road through the North Cemetery, which measured ca. 4.50 m wide at this point. To the W of the road the remnants of an *opus testaceum* tomb (**T182.A**) were revealed, with the badly damaged remains of a built cist grave (**G182.1**) found inside. The grave had a NW-SE orientation and its floor was paved with three large square clay slabs. Further W were two clay ash urns (**G182.2-3**), an amphora and a stamniskos, both covered with the bottom half of a transport amphora.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 182.A
Graves: 182.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Νόρμαν. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 231; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

183. Notara 9

Two excavations at this site, which is located N of the ancient city and outside its main cemeteries, revealed architectural remains of the LR and Byz periods, with funerary remains at deeper levels.

A large rectangular vaulted built cist grave (**G183.1**) of the R era, int. dim. 1x1x1.27 m, was uncovered in the N part of the plot. It had an entrance in its S side with a three-stepped scale descending down into the burial chamber. The *opus testaceum* walls (w. 0.30-0.45 m) were plastered. Three successive floor levels, 0.50 m thick in total, consisted of clay tiles placed on a substratum of stones, mortar, and plaster. A few bones were found inside, as well as a bronze coin (undated).

Also discovered at the site were a disturbed built cist grave (**G183.2**), the undisturbed tile grave (**G183.3**) of a child, and a fragmentary epitaph of the R era (**BM97**).

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 183.A
Graves: 183.1-3
Burial Markers: 97

References: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. Οδός Νοταρά 9. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 403-406; Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Νοταρά 9. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 92; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 250.

184. Notara, G. Chortatzi

At the junction of Notara and G. Chortatzi, far N of the ancient city and away from the North Cemetery, the remains of two R tile graves were excavated in 1998. **G184.1** was disturbed and only its fragmented cover tiles were found. **G184.2** was undisturbed. It was covered with two pairs of Laconian roof tiles. The deceased was placed on the natural soil, with the head towards the S. The grave contained no grave goods.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 184.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1998. Οδός Νοταρά και Γ. Χορτάτζη. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 262; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

185. Panachaïkou 2

In 2000, during construction works in the basement of the modern building occupying this plot, Hel and R architectural remains were unearthed as well as a tile grave (**G185.1**). The grave had a NE-SW orientation and contained the skeletal remains of two individuals, placed on the natural soil with their heads towards the SW. The grave was furnished with a glass perfume bottle. Undated; LR-EChr?

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 185.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 2000. Οδός Παναχαϊκού 2 και Υψηλών Αλωνίων (ιδιοκτησία Γ. Νικολετάτου). *ArchDelt*, 55(B1), p. 293; Morgan, C., 2010. Achaia. *AR*, (56), p. 61.

186. Panachaïkou 4-8 (Fig. 7.3, p. 201)

These three plots were excavated in 1974 and yielded a part of a R villa, including a room with a hypocaust, and a room with a magnificent mosaic floor depicting a hunting scene.* The area was used for burials after the house was abandoned. Two separate reports were published about the findings, one by I.A. Papapostolou, the other by P. Agallopoulou.

Papapostolou reports the excavation of ten EChr built cist graves (**G186.1-10**) to the W of the house, in the S part of the site. Eight of the graves were organised in a row (W-E orientation), while the other two were individually placed (one W-E, the other N-S oriented). No information about grave content is provided.

Agallopoulou reports the discovery of an additional sixteen graves (**G186.11-26**) in the N part of the site. **G186.11-14** were placed beside one another in E-W orientation. Three were tile graves, the fourth a brick built cist grave. The dead were all placed with their heads towards the W. Another tile grave (**G186.15**) was placed on top of the cover of the cist grave. Two additional tile graves occupied the same general area (**G186.16-17**), as well as the corner of a stone built funerary peribolos (?; **T186.A**), that was preserved to a height of 0.40 m. The other graves lay a bit towards the E. All of these were placed in a row, parallel to each other, in W-E orientation.

Two graves (**G186.18-19**) formed a double built cist, with stone and brick-built walls of a rather careless

construction. These were damaged and found without their covers. The dead were placed on the natural soil. **G186.20** contained the dispersed bones of one individual, and is surrounded by a poorly built peribolos (**T186.B**). **G186.21** was a tile grave and **G186.22-23** were two tile graves placed over each other; the bottom grave contained the remains of a child.

G186.24, a built cist grave, was preserved in a very bad state. Directly N of this stood peribolos **T186.C** (dim. 2.20x2 m). It was poorly constructed, with thin walls of unworked or only minimally worked limestone and fragments of bricks. It contained a double burial (**G186.25**). Finally, the remains of a damaged tile grave (**G186.26**) lay to its N.

Cemetery: South
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: 186.A-C
Graves: 186.1-26
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Παναχαϊκού 8. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 355; Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 22. Οδός Παναχαϊκού 4-6. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 374.

* The mosaic is on display in the museum of Patras. For mosaics from Patras, see Papapostolou, I.A., 2009. Παρασχηματισμοί σε ψηφιδωτά των Πατρών. In *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 211-256.

187. Panachaïkou 37, Geor. Olympiou

This plot was investigated in 1974; it yielded three R tile graves (**G187.1-3**), as well as a secondary burial (**G187.4**). The covers of the graves were formed by both Corinthian and Laconian roof tiles. In two of the graves the deceased held a bronze *danake* between their teeth.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 187.1-4
Burial Markers: 98

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Παναχαϊκού 37 και Γ. Ολυμπίου. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 355; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 105.

188. Panepistimiou 88

A tile grave (**G188.1**), 1.90 m long, and with N-S orientation was unearthed at this site in 1993. The grave contained disintegrated bones and had no grave goods. Undated; R?

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 188.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Georgopoulou, G., 1993. Οδός Πανεπιστημίου 88. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 116.

189. Panepistimiou 257-263

Six tile graves (G189.1-6) with E-W orientation were discovered at this site in 1997. The graves mostly contained poorly preserved skeletons, and none had any grave goods. Undated; R-LR-EChr?

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR-EChr (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 189.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Πανεπιστημίου, α) 257-263. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 281; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 38; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

190. Panepistimiou 268

At this site, located at an isolated location far N of the city, a rectangular funerary peribolos of the 2nd c. CE came to light in 1981 (**T190.A**). It was only partly excavated, but enclosed three tile graves (**G190.1-3**) and one built cist grave (**G190.4**). It may have been a private cemetery of a family living in the countryside. Outside the enclosure lay another tile grave (**G190.5**). It held a lamp, a small clay cup, and an oinochoe. No information is provided about skeletal remains.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 190.A
Graves: 190.1-5
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1981. Κοτρώνη Συχαίνων. *ArchDelt*, 36(B1), p. 166; Flämig, C., 2007. Grabarchitektur, no. 176.

191. Panepistimiou 368-370

These two plots yielded nine tile graves during an excavation in 1997. The site is located far N of the ancient city, beyond the North Cemetery. A brief report was published by G. Alexopoulou; the site received subsequent attention from N. Dimakis. Eight graves (**G191.1-8**) shared an N-S orientation, while the other one was E-W oriented (**G191.9**). All graves were damaged and the skeletons were poorly preserved. One grave (**G191.1**) held a coin of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BCE); the others were unfurnished. The excavator notes that these graves are found 150 m away from a paved road of the R period that had previously been identified on Korydalleos.

Cemetery: •
Date: Hel (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 191.1-9
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Πανεπιστημίου, β) 368-370. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 281-282; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 38; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

192. Panepistimiou, Alkaiou

A tile grave (**G192.1**) was unearthed here in 1998. It had a N-S orientation, was partially destroyed and only contained poorly preserved bones. Undated; R?

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 192.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1998. Οδός Πανεπιστημίου. *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 263; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 37.

193. Pantokratoros 27

A built cist grave (**G193.1**) with E-W orientation was unearthed at this site in 1996. The walls were brick-built and the grave was covered with a large monolith of 0.30 m thick. The interior, measuring 0.75 m wide, was empty. Undated: R-LR-EChr?

Cemetery: •
Date: R-LR-EChr (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 193.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papakosta, L., 1996. Οδός Παντοκράτορος 27 (οικόπεδο Τζελέπη). *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 222.

194. Pantokratoros 32

During the opening of a narrow trench along Pantokratoros in 1974 archaeological remains were discovered, including a LR built cist grave (**G194.1**) and a burial vessel filled with bones that was placed in front of the grave (**G194.2**). In three EChr graves the deceased were all placed with their heads towards the W and their hands on their chests (**G194.3-5**).

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 194.1-5
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Οδός Παντοκράτορος. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 360.

195. Papaflessa, Benizelou Roufou 2

This plot was investigated in 1974. Two graves were discovered (**G195.1-2**), but were destroyed during the mechanical excavation of the site. Yet, it was clear that they were both of the tile-covered type, and had an NW-SE orientation. A black glazed skyphidion and a lamp of the ER period were likely associated with the graves.

Cemetery: South
Date: ER
Tombs: -
Graves: 195.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 2. Οδός Παπαφλέσσα και Μπεν. Ρούφου 2. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 362.

196. Paralia Patron, 25is Martiou 84

This plot at Paralia Patron, a village located to the S of Patras, was investigated in 1994. It yielded the remains of a substantial R farm complex with wine press and kiln that had been in continuous use from the 1st-4th c. CE. It was probably located along the ancient road between Patras and Dyme. Associated with the farmhouse is a small cemetery of eight burials: seven tile graves (**G196.1-7**) and one cist grave (**G196.8**). The dead were all placed in supine position with their heads towards the E. Grave goods included coins and glass unguentaria.

Cemetery: -
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 196.1-8
Inscriptions: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1994. Παραλία Πατρών. *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), pp. 231-232; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 45.

197. Patreos 65

This plot, which was located in the North Cemetery, was investigated in 1978 and yielded remains that most likely belonged to funerary structures. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou; N. Dimakis later included the site in his analysis of Cl-Hel mortuary practices.

Of Hel date are two stone and mud-built walls that formed the corner of a funerary structure (peribolos?; **T197.A**). Inside it an ash urn (**G197.1**) was buried under two flat tiles. The urn measured 0.30 m high and had two horizontal handles.

Three rectangular spaces were of R date (periboloi?; **T197.B-D**). The largest space measured 10x3.70 m. The walls, built of stones, sherds, and plaster, were

0.65 m wide, and were preserved up to 1.10 m in height. Two wells discovered at the plot were also of R date.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 197.A-D
Graves: 197.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Πατρέως 65. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 95; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 36; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

198. Patreos 83-85

This site was investigated in 1979. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou, an inscription was published by A.D. Rizakis (**BM99**), and C. Flämig included the R tombs in her analysis of R funerary architecture in Greece.

The remnants of three tombs were excavated at this site. They were situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery. **T198.A** consisted of multiple (four, five?) burial chambers, only two of which were fully unearthed. In the NE burial chamber were four built cist graves (looted) and one pit/tile grave (**G198.1-5**), while the NW chamber contained at least two built cist graves (**G198.6-7**).

Podia in tombs **T198.B** and **T198.C** may have served as a base for burial markers or sarcophagi. The tombs

themselves are not described in the report. A tile grave (**G198.8**) was found between the tombs, by the side of the road.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 198.A-C
Graves: 198.1-8, xx
Burial Markers: 99

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Πατρέως 83-85, Καραϊσκάκη. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 136; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 209; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, nos. 94-96.

199. Patron-Klaous

In a trench excavated in 1976 along Odos Patron-Klaous remnants of several funerary structures of the East Cemetery were discovered in the vicinity of the hospital. Two of these structures are briefly described in the report published by I.A. Papapostolou.

T199.A is a R house tomb (?), of which only one wall could be excavated in its entirety; two others were partly uncovered. The walls had vaulted niches with immured vessels for cremated remains. During a later phase of use a wall was added so as to form a cist grave (**G199.1**). The remains of six or seven skeletons were found inside, as were a glass unguentarium, a lamp, and a clay incense burner.

T199.B, also of R date, was a large monumental struc-

ture on a stone krepis. A crypt in its core contained a lead ash urn (**G199.2**).

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 199.A-B
Graves: 199.1-2, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Πατρών-Κλάους (προ του Νοσοκομείου). *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 97; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, pp. 27-28; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 171-173.

200. Patron-Klaous 1

This site yielded the remains of 4 R tombs of the East Cemetery of Patras, but only one could be investigated (**T200.A**). It had an entrance in the E wall, where a stone threshold was preserved *in situ*. Four ash urns (**G200.1-4**) were also found at the site, as well as six built cists (**G200.5-10**), and six tile graves (**G200.11-16**). The report provides no information about skeletal remains; grave goods are said to have been few and simple.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 200.A-D
Graves: 200.1-16
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1988. Οδός Πατρών-Κλάους 1. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 162; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

201. Patron-Klaous 3

This plot was investigated in 1988; a brief report was published by M. Petropoulos. The burials from the site received no further attention.

Before being taken over by an extension of the East Cemetery in the 2nd c. CE, a wine-making complex occupied the area. Unearthed were three treading floors with their collection tanks, one tank without a treading floor, as well as two treading floors without a collection tank. The complex was in use from the late 1st c. BCE to the early 2nd c. CE.

In the 2nd c. CE 21 burials were inserted into the area. These were sixteen tile graves (**G201.1-16**), a rectangular grave with limestone slabs as its cover and two roof tiles as its bottom (**G201.17**), one cist grave with walls built of flat tiles (**G201.18**), and three ash urns (**G201.19-21**). The graves had varying orientations. Most graves contained the skeletal remains of one individual, one contained two adult individuals, and in a third an adult and two children were buried. The grave goods were modest, and include lamps, vessels, loomweights, and bronze coins. According to the excavator the coins were placed in the mouths of male

individuals only (it is unclear how this was determined).

Exceptional was **G201.18**, the tile-built cist grave. The deceased, probably a woman, wore a necklace with a gold pendant with an embossed representation of Aphrodite and a gold earring with a green stone. Also recovered from the grave were a gold bead and a glass perfume bottle with a fine vertical handle.

The burial site was covered by a torrential flood in the 3rd c. CE. Later, a building of unknown use and date was constructed over them.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 201.1-21
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 1988. Οδός Πατρών-Κλάους 3 (οικόπεδο Παπαναγιώτου). *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), pp. 162-163; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18.

202. Patron-Korinthou, Neo Archaialogiko Mouseio

In 2000-1 archaeological research was carried out at the site of the New Archaeological Museum of Patras in preparation for its construction. Here, a 64 m long section of the ancient road from Patras to Aigion and Corinth was uncovered. It was in continuous use from the 5th c. BCE to the 7th c. CE. At least three different street levels were identified: the lowest level was shaped in the natural soil and contained mostly sherds of the 3rd c. BCE; and two R phases dating to the 2nd and 4th c. CE. The latter two coincide with works on the R bridge that has been excavated a bit further to the N. The width of the road was 1.3 m in the Hel period and 3 m in R times. Reparations of wheel ruts attest to its intensive use. A coin of King George I dating to 1869, found in the surface of the

road, implies that it remained in use and was succeeded by/used parallel with the old national road. Interestingly, no evidence for the continuation of the North Cemetery was discovered at this point.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 2000. Χώρος ανέγερσης Νέου Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Πατρών, νέα εθνική οδός Πατρών-Κορίνθου. *ArchDelt*, 55(B1), p. 301; Morgan, C., 2010. Achaia. *AR*, (56), p. 63.

203. Paulou Mela 18

This site, located in the North Cemetery, was investigated in 2005 and yielded the corner of a stone-built peribolos (**T203.A**) and six graves of the 2nd c. CE and later (**G203.1-6**). The funerary remains were situated to the W of the road through the North Cemetery road, 9 m of which were uncovered. It ran in NE-SW direction, and had a surface of gravel, stones, and pot sherds. Its width was ca. 7.30 m at this point.

G203.1 was a built cist grave with NE-SW orientation. Inside lay the skeletal remains of three individuals. There were no grave goods, but it was clear that the grave had been looted. **G203.2** was an *enchytrismos* of a child in a transport amphora. Four tile graves

contained disintegrated skeletons and were (mostly) unfurnished (**G203.3-6**).

Cemetery: North
Date: MR-LR
Tombs: 203.A
Graves: 203.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 2005. Οδός Παύλου Μελά 187. *ArchDelt*, 60(B1), p. 349; Smith, D.M., 2014. Central Greece and the Peloponnese (Archaic to Roman). *AR*, 60, p. 69.

204. Pavlokaastro

M. Petropoulos reports the 1988 discovery of four burials during the investigation of a country road at Pavlokaastro, 200 m away from the Patras-Kato Achaia highway. **G204.1-3** were tile graves, and **G204.4** was a built cist grave. The graves contained no grave goods, but sherds recovered from the area suggest a LCI-Hel date.

Cemetery: •
Date: LCI-Hel
Tombs: -
Graves: 204.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 1988. Παυλόκαστρο. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 170; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

205. Petmeza 2, Navarinou 23

This site, located to the S of the ancient city, was excavated in 1976. I.A. Papapostolou reports the discovery of an ER wine-making facility. The complex was likely constructed in or just after the time of Vespasian, and was in use throughout the 1st and (most of) the 2nd c. CE. Thereafter, the area was absorbed in the South Cemetery and used for burials (ca. 150-250 CE). Eleven tile graves contained various modest grave goods, including a Corinthian relief decorated skyphos and other small clay vessels (**G205.1-11**). In another part of the same building a clay cinerary kalpe was found with traces of fire around it (**G205.12**). The upper half of a pithos that was placed upside

down and connected to a pipeline, may have been used as a *bothros*.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 205.1-12
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1976. Οδός Πετμεζά 2 και Ναυαρίνου 23. *ArchDelt*, 31(B1), p. 92; Catling, H.W., 1985. Archaeology in Greece, 1984-5. *AR*, 31, p. 28.

206. Petmeza 3 (Fig. 6.7, p. 156)

This site, located in the area of the South Cemetery, was investigated in 1973. It yielded a R house tomb of 150-250 CE (**T206.A**), part of a second tomb (**T206.B**), and various individual burials. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou, who later published one gold ring in more detail (cf. Papapostolou 1990, no. 45).^{*} The R tomb received later attention from C. Flämig.

The house tomb (**T206.A**), dim. 6.20x4.90 m, was brick-built; three of its walls preserved to a height of 1-1.50 m. The entrance to the burial chamber would have been located on its east side (not preserved). Inside, six brick-built cist graves (**G206.1-6**) were arranged two by two in front of the three walls. They were almost completely destroyed, and no skeletal remains or grave goods were encountered in them. The floor between the graves was decorated with a mosaic of geometric design.^{**}

T206.B, of unspecified type, contained the remnants of at least one grave (tile-built cist?; **G206.7**). Dispersed around the plot were several additional burials, but the only ones noted in the report are a

double built cist grave (**G206.8-9**) and an ash urn (**G206.10**).

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 206.A-B
Graves: 206.1-10, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1973. Οδός Πετμεζά 3. *ArchDelt*, 28(B1), p. 219; Papapostolou, I.A., Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Flämig, C., 2007. *Grabarchitektur*, no. 167.

^{*} It is not clear to which burial this ring belonged. We do know, however, it was the only object found in the grave.

^{**} For this and other mosaics from Patras, see Papapostolou, I.A., 2009. Παρατηρήσεις σε ψηφιδωτά των Πατρών. In *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 211-256.

207. Petmeza 5

This site was investigated in 1982 and yielded sixteen graves of the South Cemetery. E. Papazoglou published a brief report; the epitaphs received subsequent attention from A.D. Rizakis.

The graves, both simple built cists and tile graves, were enclosed in two periboloi (**T207.A-B**). On one of the cist graves a burial marker was preserved *in situ* (**G207.1, BM100**). It bears a simple epitaph in Greek,

and dates to the 3rd c. CE. The text commemorates a young boy and an elderly woman: Threptos, who died aged 4, and Doxa, who died aged 53. The grave is said to have yielded grave goods (unspec.), but skeletal remains are not mentioned in the report. A second Greek inscription found at the site was fragmentary and not *in situ* (**BM101**).

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 207.A-B
Graves: 207.1-16
Burial Markers: 100-101

References: Papazoglou, E., 1982. Οδός Πετμεζιά 5. *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 146; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 101, 103.

208. Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 28 (Fig. 7.6, p. 204)

A cluster of built cist graves in parallel rows was uncovered here during a rescue excavation in 1974 (**T208.A**). The graves are almost without exception W-E oriented and date to the 5th-6th c. CE. The group of similar graves in the NE corner of the plot (**T208.B**) was found at a lower level, and the graves were covered with marble architectural elements in secondary use. Skeletons were preserved in most graves, and each contained the remains of one to five individuals. The grave goods include lamps, bronze items, bronze jewellery, and a pair of gold earrings.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: 208.A-B
Graves: 208.1-54, xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1974. Πλατεία Ψηλαλωνιών 28. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 355-358; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 279.

209. Plateia Omonias

An EChr cist grave (**G209.1**) was discovered at the NE corner of Plateia Omonias in 1972. The site is located in the domestic area of the ancient city, to the S of the R Odeon. The grave was 2 m long, had walls built of stone and bricks, while its floor and cover were made of (reused) marble slabs. The interior walls were plastered. The report does not give information about skeletal remains or the presence of grave goods.

Cemetery: •
Date: EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 209.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1972. Πλατεία Ομονοίας. *ArchDelt*, 27(B1), p. 281.

210. Pontou 73

This site, located in the East Cemetery of the ancient town, yielded a section of a R peribolos (**T210.A**), with a vaulted cist grave in the corner (**G210.1**). An immured ash urn was likely originally set inside a niche (**G210.2**). The W wall of the peribolos (l. 5.10 m) was built of stone and mortar.

To the W of the peribolos were eleven EChr tile graves (**G210.3-13**), some of which were surrounded by stones, and two R (?) built cist graves (**G210.14-15**). In one of the tile graves the deceased was buried in contracted position. The site further yielded a lidded ash urn (**G210.16**). Grave goods were generally poor;

a bronze coin-*danake* and a bronze pendant are the only finds noted in the report.

Cemetery: East
Date: R-EChr
Tombs: 210.A
Graves: 210.1-16
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1978. Οδός Πόντου 73. *ArchDelt*, 33(B1), p. 98; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38.

211. Poukevil 15

Four tile graves were excavated at this site during rescue work in 1994 (**G211.1-4**). They contained disintegrated skeletal remains; none had grave goods. Undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 211.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1994. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 15 (οικόπεδο Κάτιας Σοφριανοπούλου). *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), pp. 222-223; Blackman, D., 2000. Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. *AR*, 46, p. 46; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

212. Poukevil 17

This site, situated in the North Cemetery of Patras, was investigated in 1974 and yielded a R peribolos wall (**T212.A**) and fourteen R tile graves (**G212.1-14**). Additional graves had already been destroyed by the mechanical excavation of the plot before the archaeologists stepped in. A brief report of the findings was published by P. Agallopoulou.

G212.1 and **G212.2**, both with SE-NW orientation, contained skeletons in supine position that were placed on the natural soil. One of the graves contained a bronze coin of Antoninus. **G212.3**, with NE-SW orientation, contained a child's burial. The skeleton was placed in supine position on top of a Laconian roof tile.

In **G212.4**, also with NE-SW orientation, the deceased was placed in supine position on the natural soil. The lower legs of the individual, however, rested on top of

the roof tile cover of **G212.14**, an older grave that had apparently been disturbed. The bones from **G212.14** had been gathered and placed at the feet of the individual buried in **G212.4**. A similar situation was encountered in grave **G212.5**.

The site further yielded a glass unguentarium of the 2nd c. CE and an oinochoe of the 3rd c. CE. A coin of Commodus was found outside one of the graves.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 212.A
Graves: 212.1-14
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Agallopoulou, P., 1974. 25. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 17. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 376.

213. Poukevil 22

A. Sotiriou reports the discovery of a LR double cist grave (**G213.1-2**) measuring 1.70x0.50x1.10 m and 1.70x0.55x0.95 m (int. dim.) respectively, and with an SE-NW orientation. The walls were brick-built and both the floors and the covers were made of reused inscribed funerary stelai and architectural members. **G213.1** contained some bones that were piled up in the S corner as well as a broken glass vessel. **G213.2** contained some bones and an iron nail.

Cemetery: North
Date: LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 213.1-2
Burial Markers: 102-103

References: Sotiriou, A., 1993. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 22. *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), pp. 120-122; Blackman, D., 1999. *Archaeology in Greece*, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 132, 151.

214. Poukevil 24

Remains of the North Cemetery of the ancient city were discovered at this plot during a rescue excavation in 1975. A report and a site plan were published by I. Dekoulakou.

Among the excavated remains were two R funerary structures (**T214.A-B**). Tomb **T214.A** (type unclear) contained only a destroyed tile grave (**G214.1**), but multiple floor levels attest to its use over a long period of time. Below one of its walls an older tile grave was discovered (**G214.2**). The deceased, buried in supine position, was provided with a glass unguentarium. Three urns (**G214.3-5**), two of clay and one of stone, were discovered to the E of **T214.A**.

T214.B was a small burial chamber, ca. 2 m long and 1.60 m high, made of cast masonry and plastered on the outside faces; its pyramidal roof was formed by clay tiles. The tomb was entered from the W; inside stood one brick-built cist grave that was used for two successive inhumations (**G214.6**). The bones of the

primary burial were heaped in one of the grave's corners. The grave was furnished with a bronze coin, a gold *danake*, a glass unguentarium, and a lamp.

Just N of **T214.B** were four tile graves in a row, all with E-W orientation (**G214.7-10**). The site further yielded a fragmentary life-sized statue of a female dressed in a chiton and himation; this was possibly a funerary statue.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 214.A-B
Graves: 214.1-10
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 24. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), p. 118; Catling, H.W., 1984. *Archaeology in Greece*, 1983-4. *AR*, 30, p. 31.

215. Poukevil 25-27 (Fig. 3.3, p. 44)

This site is located in the North Cemetery of the ancient city at some distance from the main funerary road. It was excavated in 1988 and yielded a total of 90 inhumation graves (**G215.1-90**) and 35 cremations (**G215.91-125**) in six successive strata (LCI-ER). No remains of funerary architecture are reported to have been found. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi published a

short report of the findings. Two graves (**G215.1-2**; nos. 15 and 20 in the original publication) were later published in detail by M. Petropoulos, while an inscription recovered from the site, but not associated with a specific grave, was published by A.D. Rizakis (**BM104**). In addition, N. Dimakis included the site in his analysis of CI and Hel mortuary practices.

The ninety graves included many pit graves, one cist grave that was built of limestone slabs, many cist graves constructed from Corinthian tiles, and there was a large number of tile graves made from Laconian tiles. The pit and cist graves all date to the Hel period, while the tile graves are the only type used in R times. Most graves have an E-W orientation, and the dead were generally placed in supine position with the arms alongside the body. In a few cases the hands held each other and lay over the pelvis, while in one grave it seemed as if the buried individual was holding a small vessel in one hand.

Pit grave **G215.1** contained a skeleton in supine position, with the head towards the E. Buried with the deceased were a bronze gilded wreath, one kantharos, a kotyle, two lekythia, and a feeding bottle. The first four all come from the same workshop (of Dyme, with a shop in Patras?) and show no signs of use, suggesting that they were bought for the sole purpose of their deposition in the grave. The thilastro, or feeding bottle, on the other hand did show signs of use. Based on the grave goods this burial can be dated to 325-275 BCE.

G215.2 was a pit grave that contained the skeletal remains of a young individual, buried in supine position with the head towards the E. A bronze wreath with clay gilded fruits was placed on the head, a silver coin (hemionbol of Aigina, late 4th-early 3rd c. BCE) was placed between the teeth, and the deceased had worn a pair of gold earrings. To the left of the pelvis a one-handled skyphion was found, to the right was a bronze egg-container - with an egg preserved inside. On the right, beside the thighs, was a second skyphion, but without handles. The skyphidia are locally produced, and date to 300-275 BCE. The bronze egg-container is rare; it is of simple quality, welded from several pieces, and has two moveable handles hooked to the rim of the vessel (on permanent display in the museum). The wreath consisted of a lead stem, to which bronze gilded leaves and clay gilded fruits of the myrtle tree were attached. The earrings were made of twisted gold wires with finials of lion's heads at one end and snake heads at the other (300-275 BCE).^{*} Based on the grave goods this burial should be dated to 300-275 BCE; the grave goods indicate that this is the burial of a young girl.

In one of the R tile graves (**G215.3**) the deceased was buried with three bronze coins in his/her mouth.

Twenty-two clay ash containers and one of lead at the site (**G215.91-113**) were placed in rectangular pits covered by a flat tile. In a few cases the pit walls, int. dim. 0.40x0.26x0.40 m, had also been constructed from the same tile type. Twelve pits (**G215.114-125**), similarly covered with a flat tile, contained cremated remains (without a container) and grave goods. The rite of cremation is practiced throughout the use of the cemetery; in the third level of the site cremations were as common as inhumations.

Most of the depositions were furnished. The most common grave goods were unguentaria. Although they were absent in the earliest burials (except for one case), the later graves were almost exclusively furnished with this type of vessel. Typical grave goods in the older graves are locally produced lekythia of the

Iliac type. Of local production, too, are kantharoi and kotyles. Lekythia and kantharoi were not deposited in the graves after 275 BCE, while the kotyles were likely used as grave goods until ca. 250 BCE. Only a few lamps were found; these were all deposited in the older graves. Some figurines with traces of their original colours were found as well, but they were rare. In general, most of the clay grave goods did not show any signs of wear. This leads Petropoulos to the conclusion that they were all bought on the local market for funerary use. It is unclear whether the vessels were produced in Patras, or manufactured in Dyme, a known production centre at this time, and sold on the Patraean market.

The oldest graves at the site, dating between 325-275 BCE, were the richest in grave goods. These contained elaborate wreaths of painted and gilded clay fruits and flowers (on display in the museum) and many items of gold jewellery (rings, earrings, pendants).

Younger graves contained gold as well, but in lesser quantities: these were mostly earrings and rings, as well as scattered gold leaves of funerary wreaths. The overall number of silver and bronze coins and gold *danakes* was rather low, as they were encountered in only few of the graves. Some burials contained iron strigils; in some other graves - according to the excavators exclusively those of young females - eggs were deposited.

In two articles Petropoulos places the findings from this site in their wider historical context. The date of the oldest strata of the site corresponds to that of the Macedonian occupation of Patras. In addition, some of the jewellery displays Macedonian traits and the burials are located at a significant distance from the main road through the cemetery. Therefore, Petropoulos suggests, this particular site can be considered as the burial place of an elite group of Macedonian immigrants. Whether immigrants or not, many of the graves clearly belong to individuals from the wealthiest strata of the Hel society.

Cemetery:	North
Date:	LCl-Hel-ER
Tombs:	-
Graves:	215.1-125
Burial Markers:	104

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1988. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 25-27. *ArchDelt*, 43(B1), p. 157; Tomlinson, R.A., 1995. Archaeology in Greece, 1994-5. *AR*, 41, p. 18; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 66; Petropoulos, M., 2005. Το βόρειο νεκροταφείο των αρχαίων Πατρών: Οικόπεδο οδού Πουκεβίλ 25-27. In L. Kypraiou, ed. *Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από την Πελοπόννησο*. Athens: ΥΠΠΟ, pp. 59-72; Petropoulos, M., 2005. Οι Μακεδόνες στην Πάτρα. In: *Οι Φίλοι του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, pp. 4-10; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

^{*} Two similar pairs of earrings were found in graves on Norman 88 (**BS181**) and Kanakari 84-86 (**BS100**), see Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, nos. 27-28.

216. Poukevil 31

This site was investigated in 2007. L. Papakosta published a brief report about the findings and the site received further attention from N. Dimakis in his analysis of Cl-Hel death practices.

The excavation yielded eighteen Hel depositions in two strata. On the lowest level were two unfurnished pit graves with E-W orientation (**G216.1-2**). Both contained the skeletal remains of one adult individual.

The depositions on the higher level were of various types: pit graves (**G216.3-7**), tile graves covered with either Laconian or Corinthian tiles (**G216.8-10**), cremated remains were placed either in pits covered with a Corinthian tile (**G216.11-14**) or in ash urns (**G216.15-16**), a simple pit contained a secondary burial (**G216.17**), and another secondary burial or cremation was placed in a tile-built theke (**G216.18**). Most graves had an E-W or W-E orientation, but one

tile grave was N-S oriented. It is noteworthy that the majority of the dead in the graves were children or infants. Three graves were looted, but the others contained rich grave goods including four gold wreaths, gold and silver bracelets, rings, earrings, pins, strigils, unguentaria, lamps, one anthropomorphic vessel, and several coins.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel
Tombs: -
Graves: 216.1-18
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 2007. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 31. *ArchDelt*, 62(B1), p. 485; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

217. Poukevil 32

This plot was investigated in 1996. A brief report was published by L. Papakosta. Among the finds were two walls that were probably part of a funerary peribolos of the Hel period (**T217.A**). A pedimental grave stele with a Latin inscription, published by A.D. Rizakis, was found among the debris of the site (**BM105**).

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 217.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: 105

References: Papakosta, L., 1996. Οδός Πουκεβίλ 32. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 223; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 84; Blackman, D., 2002. *Archaeology in Greece*, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

218. Poukevil 38-40, Zaimi 57-59

This site, which faces both Odos Poukevil and Odos Zaimi, was partially excavated in 2000 and yielded a section of the North Cemetery. An *opus caementicium* wall was uncovered for a length of 8 m, measured 0.60 m wide, and was preserved to a height of 0.75 m. The excavator, G. Alexopoulou, tentatively identifies it as a peribolos wall (**T218.A**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 218.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 2000. Οδός Ζαΐμη 57-59 και Πουκεβίλ 38-40 (ιδιοκτησία Μ. Θεριανού). *ArchDelt*, 55(B1), p. 302; Morgan, C., 2010. *Achaia. AR*, (56), p. 63.

219. Prevedos

L. Papakosta reports that during an excavation at the village Prevedos near ancient Pharai an isolated cemetery of thirteen graves came to light (Hel-R). The graves, 12 tile-covered graves (**G219.1-12**) and one cist grave (**G219.13**), shared an E-W orientation and were clustered in three groups (periboloi?). The cist grave was built of flat tiles and mortar, and measured 1.80x0.65 m (ext. dim.). The graves were disturbed and the skeletal remains were poorly preserved. Three graves contained skeletal remains that were heaped together. All burials were placed on the natural soil. Few graves contained grave goods. The material excavated at the site dates to Hel-R times.

Cemetery: •
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 219.xx
Graves: 219.1-13
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 2006. Α.Δ. Πρεβέδου (οικόπεδο Δ. Κουμανιώτη). *ArchDelt*, 61(B1), p. 440; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

220. Samou, Aristomenous (Fig. 5.15, p. 109)

During excavations in 2001-2 two adjoining Roman house tombs were found in the Laggoura-district, situated some 300 m E of the main road through the East Cemetery. The excavator, M. Petropoulos, identifies the site as a private cemetery that belongs to a R villa identified at Odos Samou in the 1970s (see 1973-4, *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), p. 360). The owners of both the villa and the cemetery are thought to have been a family of veteran-colonists that migrated to Patras in the Augustan era.

Both tombs were built in *opus reticulatum* with *opus testaceum* corners. **T220.A** was divided into two spaces, separated by a door: an antechamber and the actual burial chamber. Two female portrait busts of the Augustan period stood in two niches in the back wall of the tomb (on display in the museum). Simple frescoes were preserved on the walls. An underground vaulted cist grave (**G220.1**) below the floor of the burial chamber had been looted, yet it did contain multiple skulls and some objects, mainly lamps (late 1st-early 2nd c. CE).

A Latin inscription commemorating Marcia Maxima, wife of Caius Laetilius Clemens, was erected by her mother Pavia. It was found *in situ*, attached to the tomb façade (**BM106**). The two portrait busts, one of a young woman and the other of a mature lady, probably represent Pavia and Marcia Maxima. An illegible inscription in Greek, likely in dactylic

hexameter, was scratched into one of the walls of the antechamber (3rd c. CE?). The archaeological and epigraphic data suggest that the tomb was built in ER times and used for over a century.

T220.B, built against **T220.A** and postdating it, had a burial chamber with a preserved double arched roof. No depositions were found inside the tomb. Both tombs were entered from the N, which was likely their back side.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 220.A-B
Graves: 220.1
Burial Markers: 106

References: Petropoulos, M., 2004. Οδός Σάμου και Αριστομένους. *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 508; Petropoulos, M., 2004. Οδός Σάμου και Αριστομένους, περιοχή Λάγγουρα. *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), p. 543; Rizakis, A.D. and M. Petropoulos, 2006. *Ancient Patras*, p. 46; Petropoulos, M., 2007. Νικόπολις-Πάτρα μέσω Αιτωλο-ακαρνανίας. In: *Νικόπολις Β'*, pp. 175-211; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205; Petropoulos, M. & Aslamatzidou, Z., 2012. Αχαΐα. In: *Από το ανασκαφικό έργο των εφορειών αρχαιοτήτων*, pp. 99-104.

221. Sarantaporou 48

G. Alexopoulou reports on the excavation of this plot, which yielded a section of the main road through the North Cemetery (l. 7.50 m long, w. 2.50 m). Three successive strata were identified, the oldest of which dates to the Hel period. Six burials in built cist and tile graves (**G221.1-6**) were identified to the W of the road, as were the remains of one stone-built Hel funerary peribolos (**T221.A**).

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 221.A
Graves: 221.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Σαρανταπόρου 48 (οικόπεδο Χ. Τσέλη). *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 277-278; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 38; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

222. Sarantaporou 50

A section of the North Cemetery road, measuring 9.10 m long and 4.15 m wide, was uncovered at this site in 1989. A stone-built peribolos wall (Hel?; **T222.A**), three graves (**G222.1-3**), and four ash urns (**G222.4-7**) were located to its E. A brief report was published by N. Kokkotaki.

G222.1, a poorly constructed cist grave (dim. 1.20x0.83 m, N-S orientation), contained two glass unguentaria, but no skeletal remains. **G222.2** was an unfurnished tile grave with a tile floor (dim. 1x0.45 m, E-W orientation). No skeletal remains were preserved. Pit grave **G222.3** (2.05x0.60 m, N-S orientation) lay below **G222.1** and pre-dates it. The body was placed in supine position with the head towards the N.

The presence of 18 iron nails indicate that the deceased had originally been placed in a wooden coffin. A glass bead lay next to the skull, a glass ring by the left hand, and four glass unguentaria were found by the feet.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 222.A
Graves: 222.1-7
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1989. Οδός Σαρανταπόρου 50. *ArchDelt*, 44(B1), p. 129.

223. Sarantaporou 52

This plot, excavated in 1991, yielded eight graves of R date (**G223.1-8**) and remnants of stone-built walls that likely belong to a funerary peribolos (**T223.A**). A report and site plan were published by G. Alexopoulou. Apart from a note by D. Blackman in *AR* the site received no further attention.

G223.1 was a poros sarcophagus (int. dim. 1.30x0.63x0.34 m, NE-SW orientation), found without its cover. The skeletal remains were in poor condition, and no grave goods were found. **G223.2**, another poros sarcophagus, was only partly unearthed (exc. dim. 1.47x0.64x0.64 m, E-W orientation). It had traces of black and purple colour on its exterior. No cover was preserved, and it had no content other than a few sherds.

G223.3 was a built cist grave, situated in the corner of the peribolos (int. dim. 1.02x0.46 m, N-S orientation). Inside lay a skull with a bronze coin. **G223.4** was another brick-built cist (int. dim. 2.20x0.55x0.25 m, NE-SW orientation). It had traces of plaster on the walls and a floor of four square clay tiles with incised X-es. No cover. Dispersed remains of one skeleton. No grave goods.

Cist grave **G223.5** (int. dim. 1.83x0.47x0.56 m, N-S orientation) was covered with fragmented tiles. It contained a body in supine position with the head towards the S as well as some sherds (unspec.).

G223.6-8 were unfurnished tile graves. In **G223.6** (dim. 1.80x0.40x0.30 m, N-S orientation), the skeleton lay on the natural soil, in supine position with slightly bent limbs and with the head towards the N. In **G223.7** (dim. 1.50x0.30x0.30 m, NE-SW orientation) only a few badly preserved bones were found. Finally, **G223.8** (dim. 0.95x0.46 m, E-W orientation), contained the skeletal remains of a child, placed with its head towards the W.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 223.A
Graves: 223.1-8
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1991. Οδός Σαρανταπόρου 52 (ιδιοκτησία Α. Φιλιππάτου - Γ. Γαλιφοπούλου). *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), pp. 144-146; Blackman, D., 1997. Archaeology in Greece, 1996-7. *AR*, 43, p. 42.

224. Saravali

Excavations in Saravali in 1994 and 1997 yielded a cemetery of fourteen burial pithoi of R date (**G224.1-14**). They were all placed on their sides with the openings towards the W. The openings were closed off by a stone slab or a pile of stones; in one case a clay tile was used as a cover. Only two of the pithoi were furnished: **G224.1** contained a lekane of the 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE and a coin of Domitian minted in Patras, while **G224.2** contained bronze fragments and a glass paste gaming (?) pebble. Sherds in the area date mainly to Cl-Hel times, walls and two small reservoirs are Cl-Hel, and a kiln belongs to the R period.*

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 224.1-14
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1994. Σαραβάλι, *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), p. 234; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1997. ΕΠΓΟ 2ης ΔΕΚΕ, *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 286-287; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

* It is noteworthy that another burial ground of thirteen burial pithoi, though likely of Geo date, was unearthed at Saravali during excavations in the same year, as reported by G. Alexopoulou (1997, *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 286).

225. Saravali, Dimotiko Scholeio

Thirteen built cist and tile graves (**G225.1-13**) of LR-EChr date were discovered during excavations at the public school of the village Saravali, located S of Patras.

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 225.1-13
Burial Markers: -

References: Kolonas, L., 1983. Σαραβάλι: Δημοτικό Σχολείο. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 125; French, E.B., 1991. Archaeology in Greece, 1990-1. *AR*, 37, p. 29.

226. Satovriandou 51

This small plot is located in the North Cemetery of the ancient city. It yielded the badly preserved remains of four rectangular funerary periboloi built from make-shift materials (**T226.A-D**; Hel-R?). Disturbed tile and cist graves which contained a few grave goods were situated both within and outside the periboloi.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: 226.A-D
Graves: 226.xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1996. Οδός Σατωβριάνδου 51 (οικόπεδο Δημ. Βασιλόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 51 (B1), p. 220; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

227. Satovriandou 53-55

A section of the North Cemetery was excavated at this site in 1974, yielding funerary remains of the Hel and R periods. P. Agalopoulou published a brief report. Jewellery from the site was later published by I.A. Papapostolou.

In the NE corner of the plot a built cist grave with NE-SW orientation (**G227.1**) was situated within a peribolos of which only one corner was preserved (**T227.A**). The grave could only be excavated in part; it held bones, but no grave goods.

Another funerary structure (**T227.B**) was found to its SW at a deeper level and must be of Hel date. The structure, dim. 4.20x1.90 m, was built of large blocks of poros limestone. It was badly preserved, but was likely a peribolos. There were no associated burials. A third structure was built of stone and mortar, dim. 4.40x2.20x1 m (**T227.C**). Another wall of the same construction method belonged to a fourth tomb (**T227.D**).

Three graves, all without a clear association with any of the structures, were discovered at the site. One was a tile grave (**G227.2**) with NE-SW orientation in which the skeleton was placed on the natural soil. Beside the skull, on the left side, lay two clay unguentaria. A disturbed burial (**G227.3**) of the 2nd c. BCE contained some bones, a pair of gold earrings with dangles in the shape of sirens, a gold ring with a depiction of a female bust in relief (= Papapostolou 1990, no. 39),

two gold leaves of a funerary wreath, and seven clay unguentaria. The jewellery was made of thin gold sheet, and for funerary purposes only.

A brick-built cist grave (**G227.4**) with ext. dim. of 2.50x1x 0.95m and E-W orientation was very well preserved. It had a floor of fragmented clay tiles and was roofed with curved roof tiles covered by a brick-built vault. A poorly preserved lead ash kalpe was found inside, placed at the W end (**G227.5**). Found among the cremated remains were three intact and three fragmented bone buttons and many bone objects. In the E end of the grave lay two ceramic and five glass unguentaria of the first c. CE. No skeletal remains are noted other than those in the urn.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 227.A-D
Graves: 227.1-5
Burial Markers: -

References: Agalopoulou, P., 1974. 18. Οδός Σατωβριάνδου 53-55. *ArchDelt*, 29(B2), pp. 372-373; Catling, H.W., 1980. Archaeology in Greece, 1979-80. *AR*, 26, p. 36; Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

228. Satovriandou 57

This plot was excavated in 2005 and yielded 18 burials of Hel and R date (**G228.1-18**). M. Petropoulos published a brief report and a site plan. The Hel graves received later attention from N. Dimakis. A gravestone with Latin epitaph is said to belong to a well-known family of R Patras (unpublished?).

Hel are three tile graves, three cist graves, and one poros sarcophagus (**G228.1-7**). The grave goods include a gold pin, two gold rings, three *danakes*, and 15 silver pins.

Eleven tile graves were of R date (**G228.8-18**); they were mostly furnished with glass vessels. **G228.8** was a child's grave furnished with 16 spherical and bird-shaped glass unguentaria.

The graves were either N-S or E-W oriented, with the deceased placed in supine position either on the

natural soil or on clay tiles. Ten graves did not contain skeletal remains; the excavator suggests that these may have been child burials of which the bones were not preserved.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: -
Graves: 228.1-18
Burial Markers: unpublished (?)

References: Petropoulos, M., 2005. Οδός Σατωβριάνδου 57. *ArchDelt*, 60(B1), p. 348; Smith, D.M., 2014. Central Greece and the Peloponnese (Archaic to Roman). *AR*, 60, p. 69; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

229. Smyrnis 44

During an excavation in 1972 the remains of one tile grave (**G229.1**) were uncovered at this site. Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 229.1
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Papapostolou, I.A., 1972. Οδός Σολωμού και Σμύρνης 44. *ArchDelt*, 27(B1), pp. 289-290.

230. Smyrnis 145

Five built cist graves with cover slabs were found at this site (**G230.1-5**). The bodies had been placed on the natural soil; the skeletons were poorly preserved. No grave goods. Undated; R-LR?

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 230.1-5
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1980. Οδός Σμύρνης 145 και Λασκάρεως. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 193; Catling, H.W., 1989. Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9. *AR*, 35, p. 44.

231. Smyrnis, Solomou

G. Alexopoulou reports that in 1997 two trenches were opened at the junction of Smyrnis and Solomou, yielding the remains of three tombs. One was a LR burial chamber of unspecified construction (**T231.A**), an *opus caementicium* wall, preserved to a height of 1 m, belonged to a R house tomb (**T231.B**), and a third tomb (**T231.C**), must have been a monumental R funerary structure, but only the concrete core of its podium was preserved (dim. 1.20x1.80x1 m).

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 231.A-C
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1997. Οδός Σμύρνης. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), pp. 283-284; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

232. Solomou 7-9

This site was investigated in 1979. A brief report was published by I.A. Papapostolou. A fragmentary inscription (non-funerary?) recovered from the site was later published by A.D. Rizakis, and the site received subsequent attention from I. Dekoulakou.

The excavation yielded the remains of a brick-built R house tomb (**T232.A**). It had an *opus testaceum* façade in which the stone threshold of the entrance was preserved. A photograph published with the excavation report suggests that additional (funerary?) structures were uncovered at this site as well.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 232.A
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Σολωμού 7-9. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 139; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, no. 305; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

233. Solomou 30

N. Kokkotaki reports that this site yielded three lead ash urns (**G223.1-3**), one large clay ash urn (**G223.4**), and a LR cist grave (**G223.5**). The grave had a SW-NE orientation and contained dozens of bones and skulls, suggesting it may have been used as an ossuary. A second built cist grave (**G223.6**) was encountered at the trench border, but could not be investigated. A gravel road (l. 8.30 m, w. 3.50 m) ran through the centre of the plot in N-S direction. Above the road, and postdating its use, was a child's burial in a tile grave (**G223.7**).

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 233.1-7
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Kokkotaki, N., 1992. Οδός Σολωμού 30 και Καποδιστρίου. *ArchDelt*, 47(B1), pp. 138-139.

234. Solomou 36

This plot, located in the area of the South Cemetery, was investigated in 1979. I.A. Papapostolou reports the discovery of 23 burials. Fifteen of these were R graves of the built cist and tile-covered type (**G234.1-15**). A poros sarcophagus with an exterior built of brick (**G234.16**) dates to the same period, as do six ash urns (**G234.17-22**). A LR cist grave (**G234.23**) covered with four clay slabs was probably used as an ossuary, as it held the skeletal remains of seventeen individuals. Two glass unguentaria were recovered from the graves.

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 234.1-23
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Σολωμού 36. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 142; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31.

235. Solomou 51

This plot, located in the South Cemetery, was excavated in 1993. It yielded a gravel road running in N-S direction (4.30m wide) and the corners of two adjacent R burial chambers (**T235.A-B**) on its west side. The burial chambers could not be investigated as they were found at the trench border. A 1 m wide Hel wall was situated on the opposite side of the road.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 235.A-B
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1993. Οδός Σολωμού 51 (ιδιοκτησία Παύλου Μούλια). *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 122; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41.

236. Solomou 53 (Fig. 4.4, p. 63)

A section of the South Cemetery was excavated at this site in 1973. Remains of a Hel and a R phase were identified. A report, site plans, and photographs were published by I.A. Papapostolou. One gold ring was later published in more detail.

A Hel Pi-shaped funerary structure (**T236.A**), made of large limestone blocks, was found at the lowest level. Likely related to it was a limestone cist grave that had later been disturbed (skeletal remains of the original burial were found though) and transformed into two square cists (**G236.1-3**). The cists held bones but no grave goods. Inside a 2nd c. BCE pit grave a skeleton lay in supine position, with the head towards the E (**G236.4**). The deceased wore a wreath of gold oak leaves as well as a gold ring with a representation of a spearhead on the left hand (= Papapostolou 1990, no. 38). Gold thread scattered over the body was part of an ornate textile (shroud or clothing).

A R funerary peribolos (**T236.B**) situated at a higher level enclosed funerary vessels (**G236.5-11**), a tile

grave (**G236.12**), and a brick-built cist (**G236.13**). The two graves were unfurnished, but unguentaria were placed around the funerary vessels. Further N stood a R monumental tomb (**T236.C**) of which only a concrete core and fragmentary stone krepis were preserved.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 236.A-C
Graves: 236.1-13
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1973. Οδός Σολωμού 53 και Σμύρνης. *ArchDelt*, 28(B1), pp. 218-219; Catling, H.W., 1979. Archaeology in Greece, 1978-9. *AR*, 25, p. 22. Papapostolou, I.A., 1990. Κοσμήματα Πατρών και Δύμης, *AE*, pp. 83-140.

237. Sosipatrou 54-56

This site yielded a section of the main road through the South Cemetery, but no burials were uncovered.

Cemetery: South
Date: -
Tombs: -
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1987. Οδός Σωσιπάτρου 54-56. *ArchDelt*, 42(B), p. 150.

238. Strategou Menounou, Pesonton Astinomikon

This area was investigated in 1991 and yielded the remains of a funerary peribolos that enclosed an unspecified number of graves (**T238.A**). The graves were looted, but sherds retrieved from the site date to the Hel period.

Cemetery: South
Date: Hel
Tombs: 238.A
Graves: 238.xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1991. Οδός Στρατηγού Μενούνου και Πεσόντων Αστυνομικών (οικόπεδο Κωστόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), p. 146; Blackman, D., 1997. Archaeology in Greece, 1996-7. *AR*, 43, p. 42; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A.

239. Stratokleous 20

This plot was investigated in 1995 and yielded four child burials in tile graves (**G239.1-4**). The children had all been placed in the natural soil, and three of them were provided with a bronze *danake*. Undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 239.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Gkadolou, A., 1995. Οδός Στρατοκλέους 20 και Κατερίνης (οικόπεδο Αττάλα). *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), p. 213; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42.

240. Thea, Katarrachi

Traces of a R cemetery came to light in 1990 during the ploughing of fields near the village Thea, far S of Patras.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 240.xx
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Petropoulos, M., 1990. Θέα. *ArchDelt*, 45(B1), p. 136.

241. Themistokleous, between Geor. Olympiou, Dim. Ipsilantou

This site, located in the South Cemetery of ancient Patras, was investigated in 1996. A report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, who notes the discovery of a funerary peribolos (**T241.A**, partly excavated) and three tile graves (**G241.1-3**). It is not clear from the report whether the graves were placed inside the peribolos. Undated; R?

Cemetery: South
Date: R (?)
Tombs: 241.A
Graves: 241.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Θεμιστοκλέους. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 230; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43.

242. Thermopylon 35

This site was excavated in 1995 and yielded ten graves R-EChr date. Nine were tile graves (**G242.1-9**) and one was an *enchytrismos* in a transport amphora (**G242.10**). In the tile graves the dead were either placed on the natural soil, or on a floor made of roof tiles. Five graves as well as the *enchytrismos* contained child burials. One child was buried with a bronze coin in his/her mouth; a glass unguentarium was provided as a grave gift (**G242.1**). Two graves contained a double burial (**G242.6-7**), while another contained a skeleton in supine position and skeletal remains heaped in a pile (**G242.8**).

Cemetery: North
Date: R-LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 242.1-10
Burial Markers: 107

References: Georgopoulou, G., 1995. Οδός Θερμοπυλών 35. *ArchDelt*, 50(B1), pp. 194-197; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaie II*, no. 266; Blackman, D., 2001. Archaeology in Greece, 2000-1. *AR*, 47, p. 42.

243. Thermopylon 40

This site, situated in the North Cemetery, was investigated in 1983. It yielded a section of the main road and funerary remains by its side. A brief report was published by L. Kolonas, and the site only received some further attention from I. Dekoulakou.

Seventeen individual graves date to the ER period (**G243.1-17**). A R house tomb had a façade in *opus reticulatum* that faced the road (**T243.A**). Inside the burial chamber stood five built cist graves (**G243.18-22**); two tile graves (**G243.23-24**) were dug into the floor. The content of none of the graves is specified.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R
Tombs: 243.A
Graves: 243.1-24
Burial Markers: -

References: Kolonas, L., 1983. Οδός Θερμοπυλῶν 40. *ArchDelt*, 38(B1), p. 123; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patraso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patraso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

244. Thermopylon 42

This site yielded a section of the main road through the North Cemetery (l. 15 m, w. 5.80 m). Wheel ruts were preserved in the road's surface and testify to its intensive use. A Pi-shaped funerary peribolos that enclosed two burials was found to its E (**T244.A**, **G244.1-2**). A third burial (**G244.3**), also to the E of the road, was unassociated with the peribolos. The site is undated; Hel-R?

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel-R (?)
Tombs: 244.A
Graves: 245.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1994. Οδός Θερμοπυλῶν 42 (οικόπεδο Στ. Δελλή). *ArchDelt*, 49(B1), p. 223; Blackman, D., 2000. Archaeology in Greece, 1999-2000. *AR*, 46, p. 46.

245. Thermopylon, Archiepiskopou Makariou

Rescue excavations at this site in 2004 yielded a section of the main road through the North Cemetery (l. 14 m, w. 1.2 m) as well as a stone-built R burial enclosure at a distance of 10.2 m from it (**T245.A**). A wall attached to the outside of the peribolos belonged to a second enclosure (**T245.B**). Situated both in and outside the two funerary structures were thirteen graves (**G245.1-13**) and eight ash urns (**G245.14-21**). In her report for *ArchDelt* the excavator, G. Alexopoulou, has described the inhumation graves in detail and has provided a site plan and several photographs.

Peribolos **T245.A**, int. dim. 10.5x7.7 m, enclosed cist and tile graves as well as a burial chamber that was built in its NW corner; only the cist graves (**G245.1-3**) are contemporary with the structure. **G245.1** (int. dim. 2.30x0.85 m, E-W orientation) was built in the NW corner of the burial chamber. Its walls were built of bricks and mortar (w. 0.15 m), the floor was paved with clay tiles and showed traces of a headrest in the E end of the grave. The grave was empty. Outside it, however, two lamps were discovered. They date to the 1st c. CE and to 150-200 CE respectively. **G245.2** (int. dim. 2.10x0.70 m, E-W orientation) was of similar construction and had brick-built walls of 0.10 m wide. The floor was paved with large clay slabs, with a headrest in the N end. No skeletal remains were found, but the grave did contain an unguentarium and a bronze coin. **G245.3** (dim. 2.10x0.80 m, N-S orientation) was covered with roof tiles and its floor was paved with clay tiles with X-shaped grooves. No skeleton or grave goods were found inside.

G245.4-9 were simple tile graves with Laconian tiles used for their covers. They were situated inside the enclosure wall, but some predated it. **G245.4** (dim. 1.40x0.60 m, E-W orientation) contained the skeletal remains of one individual, placed in supine position

with the head towards the E. The grave was unfurnished. In **G245.5** (dim. 2.06x0.60 m, N-S orientation), also unfurnished, the deceased lay in supine position with the head towards the N. No skeletal remains nor any grave goods were found in **G245.6** (dim. 1.08x0.60 m (child burial?), N-S orientation). **G245.7** (dim. 1.95x0.60 m, E-W orientation) contained the skeletal remains of two individuals placed in supine position, with their heads towards the E and W respectively. No grave goods. For **G245.8** (dim. 0.91x0.42 m, N-S orientation) a Laconian roof tile with a double concentric circle as its decoration was used as a cover. The deceased was placed in supine position with the head towards the S; a second skull was found in the N end of the grave. No grave goods. **G245.9** (dim. 1.60x0.90 m, N-S orientation) was empty.

G245.10-11 were situated to the E of the funerary road. **G245.10** was a tile grave (dim. 1.80x0.65 m, NE-SW orientation) covered by a pair of Laconian tiles. The grave contained two skeletons in supine position that were placed on tiles (heads towards the N), as well as one glass perfume bottle and a bronze coin (R, provincial). **G245.11**, another tile grave (pres. dim. 0.78x0.35 m, E-W orientation), was poorly preserved. It contained a fragmentary clay unguentarium but no skeletal remains.

G245.12-13 were associated with funerary peribolos **T245.B**. **G245.12** was a tile grave (dim. 1.60x0.65 m, E-W orientation). Two pairs of Laconian tiles formed its cover; similar tiles were used as a floor. It contained the skeletal remains of a child. (S)he was placed in supine position with slightly bent legs and with the head towards the W. No grave goods were provided. Cist grave **G245.13** (int. dim. 2.06x0.50 m, E-W orientation) had walls built of brick and mortar (w. 0.20 m) and Laconian tiles as its cover. The floor

was paved with square tiles with X-shaped markings. A headrest was built in the W end of the grave, where the skeletal remains lay heaped together. In the E end of the grave lay a two-handled cup of the 1st c. CE and a bronze coin of the local mint dating to the time of Domitian.

The eight cinerary urns (G245.14-21) recovered from the site were stamnoi and amphorai. Most urns were placed in pits, but one was deposited inside an amphora. The ash urns seem to predate the construction of the peribolos.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: 245.A-B
Graves: 245.1-21
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 2004. Οδός Θερμοπυλών και Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου (οικόπεδο Γιαννόπουλου-Αγγελόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 56-59(B4), pp. 505-508.

246. Thessalonikis 101, Zakynthou

At this site architectural remains (unspecified) and two unfurnished tile graves were uncovered during an excavation in 1982. G246.1-2 both contained one skeleton in supine position. Undated; R?.

Cemetery: North
Date: R (?)
Tombs: -
Graves: 246.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1982. Οδός Θεσσαλονίκης 101 και Ζακύνθου. *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), pp. 146-148.

247. Thessalonikis, Kefallinias

Two Hel graves were found at this site in 1979. One was a poros sarcophagus and its fragmented cover (G247.1). No skeletal remains were found inside, but there was a lamp (Hel). G247.2 was a pit grave in which the deceased had been buried with an iron strigil.

Cemetery: North
Date: Hel
Tombs: -
Graves: 247.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1979. Οδός Θεσσαλονίκης και Κεφαλληνίας. *ArchDelt*, 34(B1), p. 139; Catling, H.W., 1988. Archaeology in Greece, 1987-8. *AR*, 34, p. 31; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. B.

248. Thoma Palaiologou 43

This site, located in the general area of the South Cemetery, was investigated in 1977 and yielded six R tile graves (G248.1-6). One grave contained the skeletal remains of an infant who was buried with a bronze coin (G248.1). A bronze coin was also found in two other graves (G248.2-3), while a fourth grave contained a plate of the 1st c. CE (G248.4). Only one of the burials was undisturbed; it contained a glass lidded perfume bottle as well as a bronze coin (G248.5).

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 248.1-6
Burial Markers: -

References: Papapostolou, I.A., 1977. Οδός Θωμά Παλαιολόγου 43. *ArchDelt*, 32(B1), p. 90; Catling, H.W., 1986. Archaeology in Greece, 1985-6. *AR*, 32, p. 38.

249. Trilagkado

This site, which is located far SW of the ancient city near the modern TITAN quarry, yielded a small cemetery of the R period. The graves were all of the tile-covered type and had all been looted.

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 249.xx
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 1997. Θέση Τριλάγκαδο. *ArchDelt*, 52(B1), p. 288; Whitley, J., 2003. Archaeology in Greece, 2002-3. *AR*, 49, p. 39.

250. Tsertidou 4

Two funerary periboloi of the R period, which were part of the East Cemetery of ancient Patras, were unearthed at this site in 1991 (**T250.A-B**). One of the periboloi had a preserved length of 9.90 m. The enclosures were separated by a narrow corridor of 0.50 m wide. Both were looted.

Cemetery: East
Date: R
Tombs: 250.A-B
Graves: -
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1991. Οδός Τσερτίδου 4 (οικόπεδο Δημ. Παπαδάτου). *ArchDelt*, 46(B1), p. 146; Blackman, D., 1997. Archaeology in Greece, 1996-7. *AR*, 43, p. 42.

251. Tsoukaleika, Ypolochagou G.A. Kampouri

This site, which is located close to the sea in a village to the S of Patras, yielded a cist grave of the late 4th c. BCE (**G251.1**). The walls and cover were made out of large clay slabs. The grave measured 1.86x1.70x0.50 m (ext. dim.). Inside lay a skeleton and grave goods. The furnishings are not specified in the report, but described as female attributes.

Cemetery: •
Date: Cl
Tombs: -
Graves: 251.1
Burial Markers: -

References: Papazoglou-Manioudaki, L., 1982. Οδός Υπολοχαγού Γ.Α. Καμπούρη (οικόπεδο Ν. Σουσάκη). *ArchDelt*, 37(B1), p. 149; Dimakis, N., 2016. *Northern Peloponnese*, App. A, B.

252. Vasiliadou

Remains of the South Cemetery were uncovered in 1996 in an excavation trench at the junction of Vasiliadou and Papaflessa. A R cast masonry retaining wall, 1.10 m wide and up to 2.10 m high, ran in E-W direction. It formed a corner with a second, narrower wall and must have either been a side-wall of a burial chamber or a peribolos wall (**T252.A**). The remnants of three parallel walls to the S of **T252.A** belong to at least two R burial chambers. Near them were two vaulted built cist graves (**G252.1-2**). **G252.1** contained a lamp, a glass unguentarium, a bone pin, and an iron nail. Skeletal remains were not preserved.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: 252.A, xx
Graves: 252.1-2
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Σπ. Βασιλειάδου. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), p. 229; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43.

253. Vasiliadou 5

L. Papakosta reports that five tile graves (**G253.1-5**) and the remnants of a R built cist grave (**G252.6**) were discovered at this site in 1980. The skeletal remains that were found inside are characterized as 'charred'. A transport amphora held a glass perfume bottle and a glass two-handled cinerary urn (**G253.7**). The urn contained cremated remains and a second glass unguentarium.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 253.1-7
Burial Markers: -

References: Papakosta, L., 1980. Οδός Βασιλειάδου 5. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 193; Catling, H.W., 1989. Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9. *AR*, 35, p. 44.

254. Vasiliadou 9 (Fig. 6.13, p. 165)

This site was excavated in 1996 and yielded a section of the South Cemetery. A brief report was published by M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi.

Twenty-one tile graves (**G254.1-21**), four cist graves (**G254.22-25**), and one ash urn (**G254.26**) were unearthed at two different levels. Most of the graves had a NW-SE orientation. In the graves of the lowest level lay poorly preserved skeletons that had been placed directly on the natural soil.

One of the cist graves (**G254.25**) was particularly well-preserved and very well-built. It was a vaulted brick-built cist grave; its roof made of two pairs of tiles covered with an arch of bricks. The floor of the grave was paved with clay tiles, and a brick-built headrest was found in its NW end. The grave was intact and undisturbed, but the report does not provide information about the skeletal remains or grave goods.

Finds from the site are collectively listed. They include ca. 50 glass vessels (many were broken), clay unguentaria, a few figurines, and various small metal objects of unspecified function. The finds date to the R period.

Cemetery: South
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 254.1-26
Burial Markers: -

References: Stavropoulou-Gatsi, M., 1996. Οδός Βασιλειάδου 9. *ArchDelt*, 51(B1), pp. 223-224; Blackman, D., 2002. Archaeology in Greece, 2001-2. *AR*, 48, p. 43; Dekoulakou, I., 2009. Monumenti di Patrasso durante il dominio Romano. In: *Patrasso, Colonia di Augusto*, pp. 163-205.

255. Vasiliadou 18-22, Geor. Olympiou

During excavations in 1993 a section of the South cemetery was excavated at the junction of Vasiliadou 18-22 and Geor. Olympiou. The site yielded the corner of a funerary peribolos (**T255.A**), five tile graves (**G255.1-5**), and four LR cist graves built of makeshift materials (**G255.6-9**).

Cemetery: South
Date: R-LR
Tombs: 255.A
Graves: 255.1-9
Burial Markers: -

References: Alexopoulou, G., 1993. Οδός Βασιλειάδου 18-22 και Γ. Ολυμπίου (ιδιοκτησία Κων. Καπογιαννόπουλου). *ArchDelt*, 48(B1), p. 122; Blackman, D., 1999. Archaeology in Greece, 1998-9. *AR*, 45, p. 41.

256. Votsari 40

This site is located to the S of the city's acropolis and within the urban centre of the R town. A test trench dug here in 1985 yielded two unfurnished tile graves (**G256.1-2**). Undated; LR-EChr?

Cemetery: •
Date: LR-EChr
Tombs: -
Graves: 256.1-2
Burial Markers: -

Reference: Peritaki, M., 1985. Οδός Βότσαρη 40. *ArchDelt*, 40(B), p. 108.

257. Zakynthou, Kyprou

A small trench near the junction of Zakynthou and Kyprou yielded three tile graves of the 2nd-3rd c. CE (**G257.1-3**). These graves are part of an extension of the North Cemetery that was in use between the 2nd-5th c. CE.

Cemetery: North
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 257.1-3
Burial Markers: -

References: Petropoulos, M., 1980. Οδός Ζακύνθου και Κύπρου. *ArchDelt*, 35(B1), p. 191; Catling, H.W., 1989. Archaeology in Greece, 1988-9. *AR*, 35, p. 44.

258. Zaloggou, Geor. Olympiou

This site yielded remains of the East Cemetery of Patras during a rescue excavation in 1975. A brief report was published by I. Dekoulakou.

Six built cist graves (**G258.1-6**) and four tile graves (**G258.7-10**) were found – all were unfurnished. One of the cist graves (**G258.1**) had its walls and floor built of cast masonry and was revetted with marble slabs. Two large floor slabs were perforated, while a smaller third slab served as the headrest.

Three built cists (**G258.4-6**) were likely of the vaulted type, yet their covers were not preserved. The floors were paved with clay slabs and the interior walls were plastered. Three individuals were buried in **G258.4**

(E-W orientation), and **G258.7** contained the skeletal remains of a child (W-E orientation).

Cemetery: East
Date: R-LR
Tombs: -
Graves: 258.1-10
Burial Markers: -

References: Dekoulakou, I., 1975. Οδός Ζαλόγγου και Γ. Ολυμπίου. *ArchDelt*, 30(B1), p. 117; Catling, H.W., 1984. Archaeology in Greece, 1983-4. *AR*, 30, p. 31.

259. Zarouchleika

In the Zarouchleika-area to the S of the Patras near the river Glaukos a large domestic (?) building, bathing facilities, and a conspicuous monumental tomb (**T259.A**) constitute the remains of a large villa of the ER period. The area was abandoned towards the end of the 2nd c. CE, when a flooding of the Glaukos seems to have destroyed much of it.

The tomb was enclosed within a peribolos wall measuring 12.7x12.2m. The remnants of the tomb were a solid concrete podium with a stone krepis and a scale leading up to it on its west side. The dimensions of the podium are 5.80x5.50m, pres. h. 2.5-3.4m. Two unfluted columns decorated the corners of the façade.

Inside the peribolos two sarcophagus lids were found (**G259.1-2**). One was of Attic marble and had relief decoration (incl. a Medusa), with corners topped with akroteria. The other sarcophagus lid was smaller and plain.

No actual burials are reported to have been found inside the tomb or within its enclosure wall. Outside the peribolos, however, at a short distance from its N wall, were two tile graves (**G259.3-4**).

Cemetery: •
Date: R
Tombs: 259.A
Graves: 259.1-4
Burial Markers: -

References: Vasilogamvrou, A., 1998. Ζαρουχλείκα, οικόπεδο ΟΕΚ, «Πάτρα XI». *ArchDelt*, 53(B1), p. 253; Vasilogamvrou, A., 2000. Ζαρουχλείκα (οικόπεδο ΟΕΚ, «Πάτρα XI»). *ArchDelt*, 55(B1), p. 300; Whitley, J., 2005. Archaeology in Greece, 2004-5. *AR*, 51, p. 36; Morgan, C., 2010. Achaia. *AR*, 56, p. 63.

260. Unspecified, Patras

A number of sarcophagi and urns from unknown find contexts have been published over the years. In 1962 E. Mastrokostas reported the recovery of several pieces of sculpture, including fragments of a marble sarcophagus with a battle scene (**G260.1**).

A marble sarcophagus of the 2nd-3rd c. CE is decorated with garlands, bucrania, lion's heads, and an Eros, and carries a Greek inscription along its base (**G260.2, Epitaph 217**). The fragmentary cover of another marble sarcophagus dates to the 3rd c. CE; the inscription on it records the sarcophagus' sale by Sponde to a new owner: Isindea of Pamphylia (**G260.3, Epitaph 218**).

Marble ash chests from Patras have been studied by F. Sinn and M. Petropoulos. They were all imported from Rome, and date to the mid-late 1st c. CE. **G260.4** (=Petropoulos 2018, no. 6) is a rectangular chest with a decoration of birds, garlands, bucrania and theatre masks encircling one tabula; it dates to late Claudian or Neronian times. **G260.5** (=Petropoulos 2018, no. 3) is of a simpler design with two tabulae in patterned frames. It dates to the Flavian era.

G260.6 (=Petropoulos 2018, no. 4) was excavated in 1902 together with **G260.4** on the corner of Karolou and Maizonos. It has the shape of a lidded loutrophoros or krater with vertical ribs decorating the

body, is made from Egyptian alabaster, and may date to the Neronian period.

G206.7 (=Petropoulos 2018, no. 5) stems from the South Cemetery. It has an ovoid body with decoration in low relief (leaves and ribbed), handles in the shape of Satyr's (?) faces, a rectangular tabula, and a conical lid. Its contents were preserved and included fragments of bronze and hen's eggs (according to Petropoulos, this indicated that the cremated remains belonged to a child). The urn is dated to 50-60 CE.

The tabulae on the ash chests were uninscribed; it is likely that the names of the deceased would have been painted on them.

Cemetery: ?
Date: R
Tombs: -
Graves: 260.1-5
Epitaphs: 217-218 (inscribed sarcophagi)

References: Mastrokostas, E., 1962. Πάτραι. *ArchDelt*, 17(B), pp. 127-128; Sinn, F., 1987. *Stadtrömische Mar-morurnen*, nos. 102, 285; Rizakis, A.D., 1998. *Achaïe II*, nos. 174, 176; Petropoulos, M., 2018. Ρωμαϊκές μαρ-μάρινες κίστες, nos. 3-6.

Catalogue B

Funerary Architecture

This catalogue lists the 277 tombs that were reported to have been found at the burial sites that were included for this study (see Catalogue A). The tombs have all received a unique tomb ID that consists of a reference to the site where the tomb was excavated and a letter that refers to the specific tomb. There are several sites where the tombs could not (all) be individually specified; for these, a general description of the tombs is provided (e.g. T1.xx).

For each tomb the main characteristics are listed. First, an approximation of the tomb type is given if possible. Second, it is stated whether or not the tomb was fully excavated; the dimensions of the tomb follow where possible. If dimensions were not mentioned in the excavation report but site plans were provided, then these plans were used to estimate the tomb size. The following column contains a description of the tomb remains that is based on the excavation reports and, when available, additional published documentation. Also included is information on the location of the tomb and its period of use. If any graves or burial markers were associated with the tomb, these are referred to in the sixth column of the table; further information about these graves and tombstones can be found in Catalogues C and D. Finally, each entry lists an estimated date of the grave.

Several of these tombs have been extensively described by Flämig in her study of Roman tomb architecture in Greece. A concordance is provided at the end of this catalogue.

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
1. 3ou Oreivatikou, Plateia Giannia (East Cemetery)						
1.A	house tomb	no	pres. l.: 4.30 pres. h.: 1.80	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Only one tomb wall was recovered; a solid rectangular structure associated with it may have been a statue or sarcophagus base.	- R
1.B	krepis (tomb type unclear)	yes	ext. dim.: 3.80x4.10 pres. h.: 2.10	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Only the tomb's the rectangular foundation and three-stepped krepis were preserved; the superstructure cannot be reconstructed.	- R
1.xx	Additional tomb architecture is referred to in the report, but remains unspecified.					
2. 3ou Oreivatikou 42, Agias Paraskevis (East Cemetery)						
2.A	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	int. dim. SW chamber: 4.20x5.90	Construction: Description: Reuse:	<i>Opus mixtum</i> and <i>opus testaceum</i> . The tomb consisted of at least three interconnected burial chambers, but only one could be fully excavated. The walls were preserved to the onset of the barrel-vaulted roof that covered both the burial chamber and the tomb entrance, of which the stone threshold and doorposts were preserved <i>in situ</i> . The interior walls of the burial chamber had niches for ash urns. Cist graves were added to the burial chambers during a secondary phase of use in the late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE. Additional burials were placed in the tomb in EChr times, when three tile graves were inserted into the floor of the SW burial chamber. The fourth and final phase of use dates to the Ott period, when the tomb was converted into a warehouse and tannery.	G2.1-6 ER
3. 12ou Syntagmatos 65 (East Cemetery)						
3.A	peribolos	?		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . The peribolos had a tile floor that was bonded with mortar. It enclosed four built cist graves; a tile grave was found below the tomb floor and likely pre-dated the tomb's construction.	G3.1-5 R
3.B	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus testaceum</i> . Only the N wall, likely the façade, was preserved. The entrance to the peribolos was located in the centre of the wall, where the threshold and door jambs were preserved <i>in situ</i> . Three tile graves were situated in the centre of the enclosure.	G3.13-15 R
4. 12ou Syntagmatos 65 (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
5. 12ou Syntagmatos, Geor. Ieros (East Cemetery)						
5.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The remnants of one wall likely belonged to a peribolos; no associated burials are reported.	- R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
6. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 30 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
7. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 85-87 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
8. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)						
8.A	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 5.20x5.40	Construction: unspec. Description: Only the SE corner of the tomb was excavated. Three brick-built cist graves in the corner belong to the original design of the tomb. Five tile graves were placed in the tomb at a later point in time.	G8.1-3, 6-10	R
9. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
10. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Maizonos (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
11. Agias Sofias (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
12. Agias Sofias 44 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
13. Agias Triados 94 (South Cemetery)						
13.A	peribolos	no	pres. h. foundation: 1.20 pres. h. superstructure: 0.50 w. of walls: 0.60	Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> . Description: Three walls were uncovered. They enclosed one cist grave.	G13.7	R
14. Agias Triados, Dorylaiou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
15. Agias Triados, Karava, El. Venizelou (South Cemetery)						
15.A	monumental tomb (type unclear) with a peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.) tomb: 2.60x2.20 pres. h. tomb: 2	Construction: Peribolos: unspec. Tomb: <i>opus caementicium</i> core, facing not preserved. Description: The tomb was erected on a solid concrete podium of rectangular shape. No remnants of the superstructure were preserved. No associated depositions are reported.	-	R
16. Agion Saranta 4 (South Cemetery)						
16.xx	The remnants of multiple periboloi were discovered at this site, but they remain unspecified in the report.					

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
17. Agion Saranta 6-8 (South Cemetery)						
17.A	house tomb (?) with internal burial chamber	yes	ext. dim. tomb: 5.10x6 int. dim. tomb: 4.70x5 int. dim. burial chamber: 1.20x1.70	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb had a rectangular ground plan; the published site drawing indicates the presence of a small internal burial chamber. The tomb was situated on the W side of the road through the South Cemetery and contained built cist graves, tile graves, and cremation urns.	G17.1-4, xx	R
17.B	house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 3.40x4.70	Construction: unspec. Comments: The tomb was poorly preserved and only partly excavated.	G17.xx	R
17.C	house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 2.40x6	Construction: unspec. Comments: The tomb was poorly preserved and only partly excavated.	G17.xx	R
18. Agion Saranta 13 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
19. Agion Saranta, Cheimarros Diakoniares (South Cemetery)						
19.xx	The remnants of multiple R periboloi were discovered at this site, but they remain unspecified in the report.					
20. Agion Saranta, El. Venizelou (South Cemetery)						
20.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Comments: The peribolos was only partly excavated. It was situated in the South Cemetery, by the side of the funerary road. The remnants of a Hel farmhouse lay at a deeper level.	?	R
20.B	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Depositions: The peribolos was only partly excavated. It was situated in the South Cemetery, by the side of the funerary road. The remnants of a Hel farmhouse lay at a deeper level. Enclosed in the excavated section of the peribolos was one cist grave.	G20.17	R
21. Agion Saranta, Maximou 86-88 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
22. Agiou Andreou 187-189 (•)						
22.xx	Architectural remains found at the site may have belonged to periboloi.					
23. Agiou Dimitriou 40-44 (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
24. Agiou Georgiou 112 , Filopoimenos (?)						
24.A	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: unspec. Depositions: A cist grave may be associated with the peribolos.	G24.1	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
25. Agiou Nikolaou 63 (North Cemetery)						
25.A	krepis with central stairway and seats (tomb type unclear)	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 1.10x4.20	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The excavated part of the tomb consisted of a krepis with a three-stepped stairway with stone seats on either side of it. The seats were decorated with a floral pattern and ribbons in relief. A step of limestone slabs above the seats served as the toichobate. The stairway led into a burial chamber (partly excavated) with a thick gravel floor (0.90 m) beneath which one cist grave had been built. Reuse: The tomb was in use until the 5th-6th c. CE.	G25.1	R
25.B	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 4.80x5.80 int. dim. W chamber: 2.40x4.80 int. dim. NE chamber: 1.50x1.80 int. dim. SE chamber: 2.70x1.80	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb was only partly excavated, but had (at least) three interconnected burial chambers with built cist and tile graves. Reuse: The tomb was in use until the 5th-6th c. CE.	G25.xx	R
25.C	house tomb	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 2.80x6.10	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Depositions: The tomb contained burials in built cist graves and tile graves. Reuse: The tomb was in use until the 5th-6th c. CE.	G25.xx	R
26. Agiou Nikolaou, Kanakari (North Cemetery)						
26.A	krepis with crypt (tomb type unclear)	no		Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: This tomb was situated in the North Cemetery, on the W side of the main road. The remnants consisted of a rectangular concrete core that was faced with a three-stepped stone krepis. The superstructure was not preserved, but an opening (0.80x0.60m) in the centre of the core was followed to a depth of 0.70m, where a brick-built (?) arched lintel was encountered that must have formed the entrance to a subterranean burial chamber (unexcavated).	-	R
26.B	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos, situated on the W side of the funerary road, was only partly excavated. No associated burials are reported.	-	R
26.C	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos, situated on the W side of the funerary road, was only partly excavated. No associated burials are reported.	-	R
26.D	house tomb	no	pres. l. x w.: 1.30x0.60 pres. h.: 0.90	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Depositions: Only a section of one wall was excavated; it contained three immured ash urns.	G26.1-3	1st-2nd c. CE
27. Akrotiriou 563 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
28. Aktis Dymaion 21 (South Cemetery)						
28.A-D	house tomb (?)	?		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> or <i>opus mixtum</i> . The remnants of four poorly preserved house (?) tombs were excavated at this site. Ten cist graves were probably associated with them, while tile graves and cremations in ash urns beneath the floors of the burial chambers likely pre-date the construction of the tombs.	G28.1-10 (?) R-LR
29. Amerikis, Thermopylon (North Cemetery)						
29.A	peribolos	no	pres. l x w.: 16x0.45 pres. h.: 0.70	Construction: Description:	unspec. The excavated part of the peribolos consisted of a single buttressed wall. It was situated in the North Cemetery, where it bordered the main road.	- R
29.B	columbarium	yes	ext. dim. tomb: 3.40x3.60 int. dim. burial chamber: 1.70x1.50 pres. h. burial chamber: 1.10	Construction: Description: Reuse:	Façade: <i>opus caementicium</i> revetted with limestone slabs. Side and back walls: <i>opus caementicium</i> faced with plastered brickwork. The tomb stood by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. It was erected on a krepis, the upper step of which was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate. The E tomb façade, facing the road, was elaborated with large limestone slabs connected with iron clamps. The other side and back walls were coated with plaster and had drawn lines and iron clamps in imitation of the façade. The tomb was entered through a 0.90 m wide single door at the back of the monument. The floor of the small burial chamber was paved with square clay tiles. The interior walls each had two niches that were meant to house freestanding ash urns (not preserved). Architectural members (unspec.) found at the site may have belonged to the superstructure of the tomb. One grave was placed in the tomb after it had dilapidated.	G29.46 1st c. CE
30. Amerikis, Thermopylon, NEO Patron-Athinon 21 (North Cemetery)						
30.A	peribolos (?)	no	pres. l x w.: 6.50 x 0.45 pres. h.: 0.65	Construction: Description:	unspec. Only one wall of this peribolos was excavated. It was situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. A pit grave and a tile-built cist grave were associated with it.	G30.1-2 R
31. Anaximandrou, Zinonos (•)						
31.A	house tomb (?)	no	unspec.	Construction: Comments:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> and <i>opus testaceum</i> . The tomb was only partly excavated and no details are provided about its design and layout. A preserved section of the floor was paved with fragmented tile that was bonded with a hard plaster. No burials were found inside the tomb.	- R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
32. Ano Soudanaiika, Agios Konstantinos (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
33. Antheias (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
34. Aratou 33 (North Cemetery)						
34.A	peribolos	no	pres. l. of W wall: 2.80 pres. h. of W wall: 0.30	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: This poorly preserved peribolos was only excavated in part, but enclosed a burial pithos and a built cist grave.	G34.1-2	R
35. Aratou, between Korinthou and Kanakari (North Cemetery)						
35.A	house tomb	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The excavated section of the burial chamber contained five pit graves and six tile graves.	G35.1-11	R
36. Aratou, Korinthou (North Cemetery)						
36.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim.: 1.90x3.75 pres. h.: 0.70	Construction: Limestone slabs. Description: The monumental funerary enclosure was built from well-crafted large stone slabs. Buried inside the peribolos was a glass urn containing cremated remains. Glass and clay vessels deposited inside the peribolos may have been offered during the funeral or at later commemorative events.	G36.1	l. 1st-e. 2nd c. CE
37. Aretha 52 (•)						
37.A	house tomb	no	l. side wall (full): 8 pres. h. side wall: 1.80 l. façade (exc.): 4	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> (façade) and <i>opus quasi reticulatum</i> (side wall). Description: The tomb was only excavated in part, but was preserved to the onset of the barrel-vaulted roof. Four burials were found inside the burial chamber. Comments: The tomb is situated to the NE of the ancient city, and is not associated with any of the canonical cemeteries.	G37.1-4	R
38. Artas 6 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
39. Asimaki Fotila 4-6 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
40. Asimaki Fotila 9-11 (South Cemetery)						
40.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Comments: Only a small section of this peribolos was unearthed; no graves were found within it.	-	R
41. Asimaki Fotila 16-18 (South Cemetery)						
41.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.60x7.20	Construction: unspec. Description: Seven cist graves were built side by side in the peribolos.	G41.1-7	EChr

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
42. Asimaki Fotila 18-20 (South Cemetery)						
42.A	peribolos			Construction: Stone, brick, and mortar. Depositions: At least one tile grave was associated with the peribolos.	G42.1	R
42.xx	The remnants of additional periboloi are mentioned in the report, but their number is unspecified.					
43. Asimaki Fotila 21, 23, 25 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
44. Asimaki Fotila 28 (South Cemetery)						
A stone and brick-built wall of the R period may have had a funerary function, but this is uncertain.						
45. Asimaki Fotila 75, Vasiliou Roufou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
46. Benizelou Roufou 9 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
47. Benizelou Roufou 29 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
48. Benizelou Roufou 71 (South Cemetery)						
48.A	peribolos	?		Construction: unspec. Depositions: The peribolos was situated in the South Cemetery, by the side of the main road. One monolithic poros sarcophagus was enclosed within the peribolos; an epitaph of the 2nd-3rd c. CE may be associated with this grave.	G48.1 BM12	R
49. Boukaouri, Karatza (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
50. Bozaitika, Kouma (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
51. Bozaitika, Kybelis, Australias 41 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
52. Bozaitika, Mantilo (•)						
52.A	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 4.10x4.18	Construction: <i>Opus mixtum</i> and <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The interior walls had niches that were probably intended for the deposition of cremation urns (not found). The tomb is situated at an isolated location to the north of Patras.	-	R
53. Charalampi 22-24 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
54. Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28 (South Cemetery)						
54.A	'columbarium' enclosed in a peribolos	yes	ext. dim. peribolos: 7.50x8.70 ext. dim. columbarium: 2.40x2.50 int. dim. columbarium: 1.40x1.40 int. dim. internal enclosure: 2.30x2.60	<p>Construction: Peribolos: unspec. Columbarium: <i>opus caementicium</i> coated with plaster.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos enclosed cist and tile graves, three of which were surrounded by an internal enclosure wall in the NW corner; a small semi-subterranean tomb that was built in the SE corner of the peribolos. This hypogeum was entered via two descending steps. Seven ash urns had been sunken into the floor of the burial chamber; three in front of the N and S walls, one in front of the E wall. The tomb has the function of a columbarium, although it lacks the niches that are characteristic of columbaria.</p> <p>Comments: The tomb is situated in the South Cemetery, on the W side of the funerary road. It borders tomb 54.B; the published site plan suggests it was built against and thus post-dates it.</p>	G54.1-7 G54.8-15	1st- e. 2nd c. CE
54.B	columbarium enclosed in a peribolos	no	ext. dim. peribolos (exc.): 6.40x7 ext. dim. columbarium: 3x3.50 int. dim. columbarium: 1.10x1.30	<p>Construction: Peribolos: unspec. Columbarium: unspec.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos enclosed cist graves and tile graves, as well as a small semi-subterranean tomb that was built against its E wall. This hypogeum was entered through a barrel-vaulted entrance with four steps leading down into a barrel-vaulted burial chamber. Niches in the interior walls contained immured ash urns; there were four in each of the two side walls, and one in each of the back corners. A large niche in the back wall had a clay pipe leading down into the floor for libation offerings. There were traces of painted decoration.</p> <p>Reuse: After the roof of the tomb had collapsed, a tile grave was placed inside it. It contained an oil lamp of the 1st century CE, suggesting that the tomb had stopped being maintained relatively soon after its construction.</p>	G54.16-26	1st c. CE
54.C	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.80x3.20	<p>Construction: unspec.</p> <p>Comments: Only a small section of this peribolos was unearthed. It was situated behind T54.B, although the site plan suggests that it could also have been an integral part of that tomb (i.e. an internal enclosure). No associated burials are reported.</p>	-	R
55. Charilaou Trikoupi 32-36 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
56. Diakou, Koumanioti, Benizelou Roufou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
57. Dim. Gounari 77-79 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
58. Dim. Gounari 135, Plateia Omonoias (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
59. Dim. Ipsilantou 54 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
60. Dim. Ipsilantou 57, Vasiliadou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
61. Dim. Ipsilantou, Koumanioti 14 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
62. Ellinos Stratiotou 73 (North Cemetery)						
62.A	house tomb	?	pres. h.: 1.90	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The exterior tomb walls were plastered, and a small podium was built in front of its SE wall (the façade?). The burial chamber contained eleven tile graves and two vaulted cist graves.	G62.1-13	R
63. Erenstrole 22-24 (•)						
The graves at this site were not associated with tomb architecture, but dug into the floor of a domestic building, either during the period of use of the house, or after its abandonment.						
64. Ermou 80-82 (North Cemetery)						
64.A	temple tomb	no	ext. dim. tomb (rec.): 12.40x14.20 pres. h. podium (max.): 2.50 dim. burial chamber: 3.80x5.60 h. burial chamber: 3.60	Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Burial chamber: <i>opus testaceum</i> . Superstructure: unknown. Description: The tomb consists of a podium in which a semi-underground barrel-vaulted burial chamber was integrated. The podium would have supported and a naiskos-shaped superstructure. but this has not been preserved. The tomb façade consisted of a Pi-shaped exedra that was decorated with lion's feet; flanking it on both sides was a stone foundation that may have served as statue bases. Above the exedra probably once rose a temple-like construction with a tetrastyle façade. Pilasters decorated its side faces. A flight of steps at the back of the monument must have once led up to the cella, while a second set of steps led down into the burial chamber. The burial chamber was found intact, but was reused in Byzantine times as a place of worship (frescoes are preserved). The walls were 2m thick, and were faced with brickwork on the interior. There was a niche for cinerary urns in the walls on either side of the entrance and there were four niches in each of the other walls. A total of 44 urns were inserted in them. In the core of the podium a richly furnished burial was found in a grave of elaborate construction: a rectangular pit, lined with opus testaceum brickwork, contained a poros monolithic sarcophagus that was covered by two neatly cut limestone slabs. At the head of the	G64.1-44 G64.45 BM17, 19	e. 1st c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
				<p>Comments:</p> <p>grave a small extension contained a marble chest which held hen's eggs. Three marble slabs covered both the marble chest and the sarcophagus; the slabs were covered by square tiles which were then covered by a 0.15 m thick layer of soil and stones, and a 0.90 m thick layer of rubble masonry.</p> <p>The tomb was situated in the N cemetery, to the E of the main road. Tombs and graves surrounding the tomb all post-date it by several decades if not centuries, suggesting that the tomb originally occupied a large plot.</p> <p>Two inscriptions found near the tomb refer to the Aequani, a family known to have held high status in early colonial Patras. Even though the inscriptions were not found <i>in situ</i>, a convincing case has been made to ascribe the tomb to this family.</p>		
64.B	house tomb with external <i>biclinium</i>	yes	ext. dim.: 4.10x7.10 int. dim.: 3x5.90	<p>Construction:</p> <p>Description:</p> <p><i>Opus reticulatum</i>.</p> <p>The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery, on the E side of the sepulchral road; it was partly built over the krepis of T64.A and post-dates it by probably a century or more. The tomb was entered through a doorway in its S side wall. A painted poros sarcophagus and built cist graves were arranged along the interior walls of the burial chamber. Outside, benches were built against the wall of the burial chamber, one of which was later used as a grave. Although the excavation report does not make it entirely clear, it seems that these benches formed a <i>biclinium</i> that would have been used during commemorative gatherings at the tomb site.</p>	G64.46-49	2nd -3rd c. CE
64.C	burial chamber (?)	yes		<p>Construction:</p> <p>Description:</p> <p>unspec.</p> <p>The funerary structure had originally been an open space, but was transformed into a burial chamber. It contained one built cist grave and a child's tile grave. The tomb was built in front of tomb 64.B and post-dates it.</p>	G64.50-51	2nd -3rd c. CE
64.D	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 2.10x2.90 int. dim.: 1.30x2.03x1.58	<p>Construction:</p> <p>Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> faced with plaster.</p> <p>This small, barrel-vaulted tomb was a semi-hypogeum. Its burial chamber was entered via a two-stepped descent.</p>	-	2nd -3rd c. CE
64.E	burial chamber (?)	yes		<p>Construction:</p> <p>Description:</p> <p>unspec.</p> <p>The tomb is not described in the excavation report, but it was reported that a vaulted built cist grave was situated below the floor of the burial chamber. The grave contained both R and LR finds, indicating that it was used over a long period of time.</p>	G64.52	2nd -3rd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
64.F	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.90x5.40	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. This tomb, of which only one corner was excavated, was erected on a three-stepped stone krepis, upon which stood the remains of a moulded toichobate. The superstructure cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence, but it is clear that the tomb was of a monumental design.	- 1st c. CE
65. Ermou 85-87 (North Cemetery)						
65.A	house tomb with two burial chambers	yes	ext. dim. tomb: 5x6.50 int. dim. N burial chamber: 2.70x3.65 int. dim. S burial chamber: 2.30x3.65	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus testaceum</i> with an <i>opus reticulatum</i> façade. The barrel-vaulted tomb consisted of two burial chambers. It was entered through a doorway in its SW corner; the door jambs, threshold and lintel were found <i>in situ</i> (w. 0.96 m, h. 1.62 m). The walls of both burial chambers had vaulted niches that each contained two immured ash urns; a semi-circular niche in centre of the back wall of the N burial chamber did not have immured ash urns, but may have been intended for a freestanding ash urn or a portrait bust.	G65.1-18 BM25 ER
				Reuse:	The tomb was reused until it was destroyed in the 5th-6th c. CE.	
65.B	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 5.70x6.70 int. dim.: 3.80x4.90 pres. h.: 1.50	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The tomb consisted of one simple, rectangular burial chamber that was entered through a double door in the W wall, the threshold of which was preserved <i>in situ</i> . Two tile graves and two vaulted cist graves were placed inside the burial chamber.	G65.19-22 R
65.C	house tomb (?)	no	ext. tomb (exc.): 2.60x5.70	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus testaceum</i> . The tomb could not be fully excavated. A poros sarcophagus was found inside the burial chamber, as well as a deposit that contained Hel figurines, fragments of two life-sized terracotta statues, and fragmentary bronze statuettes. It is not clear if an how this deposit relates to the tomb.	G65.32 R
65.D	house tomb (?)	no	ext. tomb (exc.): 2.50x2.80	Construction: Description:	unspec. Only a small section of the tomb was excavated. It had rectangular niches in its walls; a built cist grave dates to a later phase of use.	- R
65.E	house tomb (?)	no	ext. tomb (exc.): 2.50x3.70	Construction: Description:	unspec. Only a small section of the tomb was excavated. Cist graves were arranged along the interior walls.	G65.35-37 R
66. Ermou 89 (North Cemetery)						
66.A	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: Description: Reuse:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The burial chamber contained one built cist grave. The tomb was used until the 5th c. CE.	G66.1 2nd-3rd c. CE
66.B	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The burial chamber contained two tile graves.	G66.2-3 R-LR

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
67. Exo Aguia Patron, Marouda (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
68. Exo Aguia Patron, Papdiamanti 21 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
69. Exo Aguia Patron, Veaki (•)						
No funerary architecture was present at this site; the graves found here were associated with a farmhouse of the R period.						
70. Favierou 39-41 (North Cemetery)						
70.A	square, structure (tomb type unclear)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.08x1.04 pres. h.: 0.84	Construction: Stone (unspec.). Description: This stone-built structure had a square ground plan and encased an ash kalpe. A layer with traces of fire and containing clay and glass vessels below the tomb may be identified as the remains of the cremation pyre or of a funerary offering.	G70.22	1st c. CE (?)
70.B	peribolos	yes	pres. h.: 1	Construction: unspec. Description: Eight cremations, mainly deposited in transport amphorai, were enclosed by the peribolos. An elliptical pit (diam. 0.70m) in the centre of the enclosure had traces of fire and contained burnt wood, pebbles, and small items; it must be related to funerary rituals.	G70.23-30	1st- e. 2nd c. CE
71. Favierou 43 (North Cemetery)						
71.xx	The remnants of multiple burial enclosures were discovered at this site, but they remain unspecified in the report.					
72. Favierou 47 (North Cemetery)						
72.A-F	peribolos	?	indet.	Construction: unspec. Description: It is not possible to determine the size and layout of the periboloi on the basis of the available information. The periboloi enclosed brick-built cist graves and tile graves, as well as one ash urn.	G72.1-28	R
73. Fokaias, Patriarchou Ioakim (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
74. Frourio (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
75. Geor. Olympiou 82 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
76. Geor. Papandreou, Dirfys (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
77. Paleon Patron Germanou 176 (•)						
The graves at this site were dug into the courtyard of a domestic building, either during the period of use of the house or after its abandonment.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
78. Gerokostopoulou (North Cemetery)						
78.A	podium (tomb type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.10x1.10 pres. h.: 1.45	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. Only a small section of this tomb was excavated. Its remnants consisted only of the cast masonry core of a large podium.	- R
79. Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141 (North Cemetery)						
79.A	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.30x6.50	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment (?). Only one corner of the tomb was excavated. It was erected on a three-stepped stone krepis, the upper step of which was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate for the superstructure.	1st-2nd c. CE
79.B	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 4x4.95 int. dim.: 2.90x3.90	Construction: Description:	unspec. The tomb consist of a single, rectangular burial chamber. Four cist graves were arranged along its interior walls. The tomb was built against (or over?) the lower step of the krepis of T79.A and shares its W wall with T79.C and thus post-dates both of these tombs.	G79.1-4 2nd-3rd c. CE
79.C	house tomb with three burial chambers and a courtyard with furnishings for funerary cult	yes	ext. dim. tomb: 6.70x11.80 int. dim. NW chamber: 2.50x3 int. dim. NE chamber: 2.20x3.20 int. dim. antechamber: 2.60x5.50 int. dim. courtyard: 3.85x5.50	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus mixtum</i> . The large rectangular funerary structure consisted of three interconnected burial spaces and an enclosed courtyard with furnishings for cult activity. The tomb was entered through a 1.10 m wide entrance that led to an antechamber or courtyard. This area contained a cist grave as well as a horseshoe-shaped construction filled with animal bones (a hearth with remnants of offerings or meals?). Two burial chambers were located in the NW and NE part of the tomb. Both had barrel-vaulted ceilings and contained cist graves; the NE chamber had niches in the walls in which clay vessels were sunken (ash urns/containers for offerings). A doorway in the S wall of the antechamber led into a courtyard. It enclosed several cists (ossuaries?), an altar, and a podium that was used as a hearth. Also found in the courtyard were fragments of a marble (tomb?) statue.	G79.5-11 2nd-3rd c. CE
80. Gerokostopoulou 31 (North Cemetery)						
80.A	house tomb with a monumental façade	yes	ext. dim.: 4.10x3.75 int. dim.: 3.35x2.55	Construction: Description:	Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Superstructure: brickwork. The poorly preserved tomb was erected on a rectangular podium. Behind what must have been a monumental façade were the remains of a single burial chamber that contained one monolithic sarcophagus and a tile grave. The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, where it stood by the side of the road close to the urban perimeter.	G80.1-2 R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
80.B	house tomb with four burial chambers	yes	ext. dim.: 9x9.15 int. dim. NW burial chamber: 4.85x3.95 int. dim. NE burial chamber: 3.70x3.65 int. dim. SW burial chamber: 2.70x3.35 int. dim. SE burial chamber: 2.65x4	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> (?). Description: This large, square tomb consisted of four burial chambers, of which only two were interconnected. The NW chamber was entered from the roadside and contained a monolithic poros sarcophagus and a tile grave. This room gave access to the NE chamber, where <i>arcosolia</i> were built in three of the walls. A stairway of (at least) six steps likely once led to an upper storey. The SW chamber was also entered from the roadside. It contained three arcosolia. The SE burial chamber had an entrance in the S wall (the side face of the tomb), contained a poros sarcophagus and three cist graves built of tiles. A colonnade ran in front of the tomb, along the course of the road. Reuse: The tomb was reused over several centuries, and it seems that the original tomb design was altered at various occasions.	G80.3-14	R
80.C	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.30x9.30 int. dim. NW burial chamber: 3.50x2.40	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> (?). Description: This tomb was situated behind T80.B; it consisted of multiple burial chambers, but only the NW burial chamber was fully excavated. The brick-built cist graves lined the interior walls of the burial chamber.	G80.15-19	R
80.D	altar tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.60x5.50 int. dim.: 2.40x2.90	Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Superstructure: <i>opus caementicium</i> coated with plaster. Description: The tomb was erected on a three-stepped stone podium. The upper step was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate of the superstructure. The tomb was entered from the back, through a single door the threshold of which was preserved <i>in situ</i> . A built cist grave was placed on either side of the entrance, and two built square cists were placed in the centre of the tomb (ossuaries?). A stone loutrophoros was found just outside the tomb, near its entrance, and may have belonged to it.	G80.20-21	1st-2nd c. CE
80.E	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.60x5 int. dim. (exc.): 3.10x4.90	Construction: Brickwork (unspec.). Description: The tomb was poorly preserved and only partly excavated, but it was clear that it had an single door in its S wall and contained the remnants of one built cist grave. A mosaic with a geometric pattern of stylized flowers decorated the floor of the burial chamber.	G80.22	R
80.xx	Additional remnants of funerary architecture can be discerned on the site plan, but these structures remain unspecified in the published report.					
81. Gerokostopoulou 39 (North Cemetery)						
81.A	house tomb	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: unspec. Comments: A marble portrait head of a female that was found beside the tomb entrance was probably part of a funerary statue.	-	1st c. CE
81.B	house tomb	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: unspec.	-	1st c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
82. Gervasiou Paraskevopoulou 7 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
83. Giannitson 66 (North Cemetery)						
83.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Depositions: The peribolos was situated by the side of the sepulchral road through the North Cemetery. It enclosed cinerary urns and tile graves. A tombstone engraved with a Latin epitaph was found <i>ex situ</i> outside the peribolos, but may have been associated with it.	G88.xx BM37	R
84. Ilias 78 (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
85. Ippokratous, Pesonton Astynomikon (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
86. Isoma Faron, Kampos (•)						
86.A	peribolos with internal enclosure	yes	ext. peribolos: 5.90x7.20 int. enclosure: 2.10x2.20	Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos was entered through a doorway in its W wall, where the stone threshold was preserved in situ. The entrance led into an L-shaped area, and in the SW corner a smaller walled-off space enclosed a double cist grave. A niche above the cists held a vessel containing the remains of a child. Comments: Tombs 86.A and 86.B are situated in the territory to the S of Patras and to the W of Pharai and most likely belonged to a farmhouse.	G86.1-2, 7	R
86.B	peribolos with internal enclosure	yes	ext. peribolos: 10.20x10.40 int. enclosure: 4.30x5.90	Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos is built against tomb 86.A and post-dates it. It is of similar design, but significantly larger. The entrance (destroyed by ploughing) in the W wall would have led into an L-shaped area, and in the NW corner of the tomb a walled-off space enclosed four vaulted cist graves. Another cist grave and a simple tile grave were found in the L-shaped section of the peribolos. Comments: Tombs 86.A and 86.B are situated in the territory to the S of Patras and to the W of Pharai and most likely belonged to a farmhouse.	G86.3-6, 8-9	R
87. K. Satha (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
88. Kalavryton (East Cemetery)						
88.A	house tomb	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb was situated in the East Cemetery, where it stood by the side of the road. It could only be excavated in part. The excavated section of the burial chamber contained one tile grave.	G88.1	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)			Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
88.B	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment (?). The excavated remnants of the tomb consist only of a part of a stepped façade. The superstructure or tomb type cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence. The excavator characterizes the remnants as monumental.	-	R
88.xx	Additional architectural remnants at the site belong to house(?) tombs.						
89. Kalavryton (East Cemetery)							
89.xx	Wall remnants in <i>opus caementicium</i> and <i>opus reticulatum</i> probably belong to house tombs of the R era.						
90. Kalavryton 24-26 (East Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
91. Kalavryton 34 (East Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
92. Kalavryton 69 (East Cemetery)							
92.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus mixtum</i> . The peribolos is not described in the report, but it is stated that no associated burials were found.	-	R
93. Kalavryton, Fokaia (East Cemetery)							
93.A	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: Description:	unspec. One wall of R date probably belongs to a house tomb.	-	R
93.B	peribolos	no		Construction: Depositions:	Stone (unspec.). A stone-built peribolos was partly excavated. A cist grave may have been associated with it.	G93.1	R
94. Kalavryton, between Maragkopoulou and Giannopoulou (East Cemetery)							
94.A	house tomb	?		Construction: Description:	unspec. The tomb stood by the side of the road through the East Cemetery. Cist graves were built along the interior walls of the burial chamber.	-	R
94.B	peribolos with internal divisions	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 8x10.50 pres. h.: 1.30	Construction: Description:	Stone and mortar. The peribolos was only partly excavated. It was internally divided into separate sections (enclosures/burial chambers). Cist and tile graves were found in both spaces.	-	R
94.C	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	Stone and mortar. The peribolos was only partly excavated. It was internally divided into separate sections (enclosures/burial chambers). Cist and tile graves were found in the spaces.	-	R
94.D	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 5.50x18	Construction: Description:	Stone and mortar. The peribolos was internally divided in at least four areas of varying sizes; it contained six built cist graves and eleven tile graves.	-	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)			Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
95. Kalavryton, between Smyrnis and Maragkopoulou (East Cemetery)							
95.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 5.40x6.10	Construction: Description:	Stone, brick, and tile bonded with mortar. The peribolos was situated on the side of the road through the East Cemetery. It enclosed successive levels of 1st-2nd c. CE inhumations and cremations.	G95.1-5, 20-24, 26, 33-35	1st-2nd c. CE
				Reuse:	The peribolos was reused during the late 4th-mid 5th c. CE.		
95.B	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 6.20x8.50	Construction: Description:	Stone, brick, and tile bonded with mortar. The peribolos was situated on the side of the road through the East Cemetery. It enclosed successive levels of 1st-2nd c. CE inhumations and cremations.	G95.xx	1st-2nd c. CE
				Reuse:	The peribolos was reused during the late 4th-mid 5th c. CE.		
95.xx	Wall remnants between tombs 98.A and 98.B may belong to additional periboloi.						
96. Kalavryton, Vermiou (East Cemetery)							
96.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	unspec. The peribolos was situated in the East Cemetery. Cremations and inhumations found at the site may have been enclosed by it.	-	R-LR
97. Kanakari 72 (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
98. Kanakari 76 (North Cemetery)							
98.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim.: 9.90x11.30 pres. h.: 2.20-2.60	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, where it stood on the east side of the funerary road. The peribolos was not fully excavated, but enclosed cist graves and ash urns.	G98.1-9	1st-e. 2nd c. CE
				Reuse:	Two structures (unspec.), as well as several LR tile graves and two burial pithoi date to the LR period, when the tomb was reused.		
98.B	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4x8.30	Construction: Description:	unspec. unspec.	-	R
98.xx	Additional architectural remnants at the site may belong to a house (?) tomb.						
99. Kanakari 80-82 (North Cemetery)							
99.A	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 3.35x5.80 int. dim.: 2.05x4.60 pres. h.: 3.65	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus testaceum</i> . The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, where it stood on the east side of the sepulchral road. The tomb was a simple house tomb with one burial chamber. It was built against and shares a wall with an older tomb to its south. The tomb was entered from the roadside, through a doorway in the centre of its façade. The interior walls were plastered and contained niches that were either used for cinerary urns or for the placement of offerings. Cist graves were arranged along the side walls; between two of the graves a small ossuary (?)	G99.1-4	2nd-3rd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
				Reuse: had been created. In LR times the tomb entrance was closed with various architectural remnants, some of which clearly stemmed from dilapidated tombs in the area.		
99.B	house tomb or peribolos (?)	no	l. x w.: 2x0.70 pres. h.: 1.10	Construction: Description: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. The remnants of one wall three associated burials were all that was uncovered. The remains were discovered underneath T99.A and predates it.	G99.5-7	1st c. CE (?)
99.C	krepis (altar tomb?)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.60x1.70	Construction: Description: Comments: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The tomb has a square ground plan and consists of a cast masonry core with a limestone krepis of which three steps are preserved. There are no remains of the superstructure. The tomb is situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. It is built against and is related to T99.D and T99.E.	-	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
99.D	krepis (altar tomb?)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.70x1.80	Construction: Description: Comments: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The tomb has a square ground plan and consists of a cast masonry core with a limestone krepis of which two steps are preserved. There are no remains of the superstructure. The tomb is situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. It is built between and is related to T99.C and T99.E.	-	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
99.E	krepis (altar tomb?)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.40x1.40	Construction: Description: Comments: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The tomb is built on a foundation of river stones. It has a square ground plan and consists of a cast masonry core that is lined with a limestone krepis of which three steps are preserved. A lead cinerary urn was inserted into the core of the monument. There are no remains of the superstructure. The tomb is situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. It is built beside and is related to T99.D and T99.E; it is structurally connected to T99.D by means of an iron clamp.	G99.9	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
99.F	house tomb with two burial chambers	no	int. dim (exc.): 2.75x3.55 pres. h.: 1.72	Construction: Description: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . The tomb was internally divided into two separate spaces, of which only one was excavated. It contained three poorly preserved vaulted brick-built cist graves; another was built below the tomb floor.	G99.10-13	1st- 2nd c. CE
99.G	peribolos	no	pres. h. foundation: 1.70 pres. h. superstructure: 0.80	Construction: Description: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . The peribolos is situated behind T99.A-F. It was only partly excavated, but it enclosed two brick-built cist graves.	G99.14-15	2nd- 3rd c. CE
99.H	peribolos	no		Construction: Description: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , brick facing not preserved. The peribolos is situated behind T99.A-F. It was only partly excavated, but it enclosed two tile graves.	G99.16-17	2nd- 3rd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
100. Kanakari 84-86 (North Cemetery)						
100.A	krepis (altar tomb?)	yes		Construction: Description: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, flanking the west side of the road. It was fully excavated, but poorly preserved. All that remained were a rectangular concrete podium, revetted with a two-stepped limestone krepis and a moulded toichobate. The superstructure of the tomb is not preserved. The report does not refer to any burials.	-	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
100.B	house tomb with two burial chambers	no		Construction: Description: Brickwork. The tomb is divided into two sections that were interconnected via a doorway. The tomb was only excavated in part. One of the burial chambers contained two built cist graves and one poros sarcophagus that revetted with marble slabs.	G100.1-3	2nd c. CE
100.C	house tomb	no		Construction: Description: Brickwork. One brick-built cist grave was found in the excavated section of the burial chamber; one niche in the tomb wall contained an immured glass cinerary urn.	G100.4-5	2nd c. CE
100.D	columbarium enclosed in a peribolos	yes	ext. dim. peribolos: 5.18x6.70 ext. dim. columbarium: 2.35x2.25 int. dim. columbarium: 1.70x0.75	Construction: Description: Peribolos: <i>opus testaceum</i> . Columbarium: unspec. The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery, and was entered from the road through a doorway in the corner of its façade. The peribolos enclosed five cist graves and one poros sarcophagus, as well as one columbarium. The columbarium is built beside the entrance of the peribolos, against its interior wall. The small burial chamber was entered through a narrow entrance. Its floor was paved with stones and the walls were covered with a white plaster. There were two rectangular niches in each of the side walls, and three niches in the back wall. Each niche contained an immured ash urn. The urn in the central niche in the back wall was made of lead, while the others were made of clay.	G100.6-18	50-125 CE
100.E	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: Description: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . The tomb is situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery beside T100.D, from which it is separated by a narrow passageway. The tomb was entered from this passageway through an entrance in its S wall. The walls are preserved to their original height, up to the onset of the tomb's barrel-vaulted roof (dimensions not reported). The tomb façade was decorated with thin brick-built pilasters, and a moulded fillet that ran along its base. Comments: The original graves of this tomb have not been preserved, but earlier burials and an earlier tomb were discovered below its floor.	-	2nd c. CE (?)

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
100.F	subterranean columbarium	yes	int. dim.: 2.09x2.67 pres. h.: 2.03	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> faced with plaster on the interior. The tomb is a rectangular, barrel-vaulted underground columbarium. The burial chamber was entered via a nine-stepped descent. The interior walls and the ceiling were plastered and decorated with painted geometric patterns in black and red. Niches in the walls were reserved for the deposition of ash containers (no. unspc.).</p> <p>Comments:</p> <p>The tomb is situated inside/below tomb 100.E; it is not clear from the available information what the relation between the two tombs is and whether the columbarium was still accessible when tomb 100.E was built over it.</p>	-	1st- e. 2nd c. CE
101. Kanakari 90-92 (North Cemetery)						
101.A	krepis (altar?)	yes	ext. dim.: 3.30x3.40	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The square funerary monument is situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It had a limestone krepis of (at least) three steps. The superstructure was not preserved. No associated burials were discovered.</p>	-	1st c. CE
101.B	square podium (altar?)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.30x1.30	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> faced with <i>opus testaceum</i>. The square funerary monument is situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery. Only the podium was preserved; a reconstruction of the superstructure is not possible. Two clay vessels, both containing a glass ash urn, were buried against the back of the monument and were likely associated with it.</p>	G101.1-2	1st c. CE
101.C	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.60x4.20	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p>unspc. The tomb is situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It was poorly preserved and only partly excavated. The burial chamber contained three tile graves and ash urns.</p>	G101.5-7, xx	1st- 2nd c. CE
101.D	krepis (altar?)	yes	ext. dim.: 2.70x2.70	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The square funerary monument is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It had a two-stepped krepis. The superstructure was not preserved. An ash urn had been inserted into the core of the podium.</p>	G101.3	1st c. CE
101.E	circular krepis (tomb type unclear)	yes	diam.: 5.30	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p><i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. This funerary monument was situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It had a circular ground plan. Only the podium was preserved; it was faced with a limestone krepis of which two steps were preserved. No associated burials were discovered.</p>	-	1st c. CE
101.F	house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.20x3.30	<p>Construction: Description:</p> <p>unspc. The tomb was situated behind T101.D and 101.E. Only one corner of was excavated; it contained one cist grave.</p>	G101.18	1st- 2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
102. Kanakari 113-117 (North Cemetery)						
102.A	complex of burial chambers	no	ext. dim.: 7.80x21.80	Construction: Description:	unspec. This funerary structure consisted of multiple burial chambers, which were constructed in multiple phases. Cist graves were arranged along the interior walls of most chambers, often with niches with embedded vessels (ash urns/offering containers) above them.	G102.xx R
102.B	complex of burial chambers	no	ext. dim.: 5.40x18.90	Construction: Description:	unspec. This funerary structure consisted of multiple burial chambers, which were constructed in multiple phases. Cist graves were arranged along the interior walls of most chambers, often with niches with embedded vessels (ash urns/offering containers) above them.	G102.xx R
102.C	hypogeum/crypt	yes	int. dim.: 0.76x0.91	Construction: Description:	unspec. A small hypogeum or crypt was found in (or below and pre-dating?) one of the burial chambers. It had a rectangular shape, and had one niche in each of its four walls. In the marble floor there was a circular opening that was closed off by means of a marble lid with a bronze handle. The space underneath was divided into two boxes that contained one glass unguentarium and fourteen white and black pebbles. No depositions were preserved in the crypt, but the niches were likely intended to house freestanding ash urns.	- R
103. Kanakari 121						
103.A	monumental house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 5.75x7.15 int. dim.: 4.20x5.05 pres. h. podium: 1.80 pres. h. burial chamber: 1.60	Construction: Description: Comments:	Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with a stone(?) krepis. Superstructure: <i>opus testaceum</i> . The tomb was erected on a podium that was decorated with a three-stepped krepis along its façade. The krepis was decorated with lion's feet in imitation of a bench. The upper step of the krepis, decorated with a kymation, functioned as the toichobate. A three-stepped stairway in the centre of the façade led up to the entrance of the burial chamber. Two brick-built pilasters flanked the entrance and two stood on the corners. The bases were carved in the upper step of the limestone krepis. No graves were preserved in the burial chamber, but fragmentary remains of a relief decorated sarcophagus and an inscribed sarcophagus cover were found at the site and may tentatively be associated with this tomb. The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the east side of the main road. It is built over and post-dates peribolos T103.B, but the two tombs may be related to each other. Graves below the floor of the burial chamber are associated with peribolos T103.B.	G103.1 Epitaph 215 2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
103.B	peribolos with two interconnected burial chambers	yes	ext. dim.: 8.80x12.90 pres. h.: 1.80 int. dim. courtyard: 7.70x9.90 int. dim. NE burial chamber: 2.10-2.20 int. dim. SE burial chamber: 5.05-5.20	<p>Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i>, with lower walls, corners, doorposts in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. The tomb was entered from the street. It was divided into three spaces: a courtyard and two vaulted burial chambers. The courtyard gave access to the SE burial chamber via three doorways that were placed side by side (1-1.10m wide), and the SE chamber had a passage in its N wall that led into the small NE burial chamber. The four walls of the NE burial chamber contained niches which held one or two immured ash urns. The niche in the back wall of the room was larger and architecturally elaborated. It did not have an inserted ash urn, but may have housed a freestanding urn or perhaps a funerary portrait bust. Two niches were also discovered in the E wall of the SE burial chamber. They did not contain urns. Four amphorai used as cinerary urns had been inserted into the floor in front of the S wall of the burial chamber.</p> <p>Comments: The tomb had two distinct phases of construction. It was built in the 1st c. CE, and the primary phase of use can be narrowed to the period 75-125 CE. Other burials in the tomb date to the 1st-2nd c. CE. A second phase of construction dates to the 2nd c. CE when T103.A was built in the NE corner of the peribolos. The courtyard was significantly reduced in size, the floor was raised, and new thresholds were inserted in both the main entrance and the doorways to the SE burial chamber. Over the course of the following centuries the peribolos was filled up with tile graves and brick-built vaulted cists.</p>	G103.2-29 G103.xx	l. 1st c. CE
103.C	peribolos	yes	ext. dim.: 4.40x12.60 int. dim.: 3.40x11.60	<p>Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It shares its S wall with T103.B, and post-dates it, but was also constructed in the late 1st c. CE. The peribolos enclosed tile graves, brick-built cist graves, and cremations in urns. On top of one of the cist graves a burial marker was preserved <i>in situ</i>.</p> <p>Comments: The peribolos was reused over a long period of time, and had at least two construction phases. The youngest grave in the peribolos was of Byz date.</p>	G103.30-33 G103.xx BM55	1st c. CE
103.D	peribolos	yes		<p>Construction: unspc.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It is situated behind T103.C. Only a small section of the peribolos was excavated; it yielded (at least?) one tile grave that was dated to the 3rd century CE.</p>	G103.34	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
103.E	peribolos with internal divisions	no		<p>Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos (not fully excavated) was situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery, to the north of T103.C and separated from it by a narrow corridor of 0.40 m wide. The peribolos was subdivided in multiple spaces. It was entered from the road through a doorway in the corner of its façade. The entrance led into an open air space that may have functioned as an antechamber. Here, a tile grave, two cist graves, and a transport amphora with cremated remains were found. In one of the other spaces a well had been cut into the floor. It is not clear from the report whether the well was contemporary with the structure, but if so, it may have supplied water for commemorative rituals.</p> <p>Comments: This peribolos, too, had two construction phases; it was built in the ER period and was adapted in the 2nd c. CE. This redevelopment may be related to the construction of T103.F, which was built over top of some of the peribolos walls. Burials of the 3rd c. CE testify to reuse over an even longer period of time.</p>	G103.35-43	1st c. CE
103.F	monumental house tomb(?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.20x6	<p>Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment.</p> <p>Description: Superstructure: <i>opus testaceum</i>. The tomb was situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. Only one corner of this tomb was excavated (another corner of the same tomb was unearthed at Kanakari 113-117 = BS102). The tomb was erected on a podium with a limestone krepis. A fragment of a sima with a spout in the shape of a lion's head is tentatively identified as part of the superstructure.</p> <p>Comments: The tomb post-dates peribolos T103.E, over part of which it was built.</p>	-	2nd c. CE
103.G	peribolos	no		<p>Construction: unspec.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was situated on the west side of the road through the North Cemetery. The peribolos (not fully excavated) was entered from the road through a doorway in its façade. The excavator characterizes the construction of the walls as crude. No burials are reported for this peribolos.</p>	-	3rd c. CE
104. Kanakari 122 (North Cemetery)						
104.A	house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.20x3.70	<p>Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i>, with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. Only a small section of it was excavated; brick-built cist graves were arranged along the interior tomb walls.</p>	G104.1-2	R
104.B	square monument (type unclear)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.10x1.20	<p>Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> faced with <i>opus reticulatum</i> and <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The remnants of the small, square funerary monument consisted of a solid core faced with brickwork, in which an ash urn was encased.</p>	G104.3	1st-e. 2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
104.C	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 2.50x2.60 int. dim.: 1.70x1.80	Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> . Description: The small tomb, which had an irregular square ground plan, was situated in the North Cemetery and was built against the outer wall of T104.D. Inside the burial chamber two brick-built cist graves were constructed on either side of a narrow aisle; a small cist was built between them.	G104.6-7	R
104.D	peribolos with internal burial chamber (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 6.90x8.60 int. dim. burial chamber: 3.40x3.40	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb, situated in the North Cemetery, was poorly preserved and only the wall foundations remain. The tomb was subdivided into two separate spaces, and was entered through a double door in its S wall (the façade?). The entryway led into what was likely courtyard, where inhumations in tile graves and cremations in urns were found (some of which pre-date the construction of the tomb). The second space of this burial complex (no entrance preserved) was probably a burial chamber. It contained two child's tile graves, one tile grave of an adult, two vaulted built cist graves and one amphora used as an urn.	G104.11-30	R
105. Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (North Cemetery)						
105.A	house tomb/ peribolos with internal divisions	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.30x8.90 (R) ext. dim. (exc.): 7.70x8.90 (LR)	Construction: Façade: <i>opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the road. The tomb was entered from the road through a single door in the E wall. Only a small part of the structure was excavated. It consisted of (at least) two interconnected spaces in which cist graves were randomly arranged. Comments: During the LR period walls were constructed in front of the tomb, creating two additional burial spaces.	G105.1-4 G105.xx	2nd c. CE
105.B	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.60x9.90 pres. h.: 1.58	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> . Description: The tomb (not fully excavated) is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the road. It stands adjacent to T105.A, and consists of (at least) three interconnected vaulted burial chambers. Brick-built cist graves were arranged along the interior walls.	G105.5-6	2nd c. CE
105.C	krepis (altar?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2x2.10	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: This funerary monument was situated in the North Cemetery, by the west side of the road. It stood in front of T105.B and pre-dated it. The remnants of the monument consist of a five-stepped limestone krepis. No associated depositions are reported.	-	1st c. CE
105.D	house tomb with courtyard	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 5.80x6.60 int. dim. courtyard: 5.80x2.30 int. dim. burial chamber: 4.30x3.30	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery, where it stands adjacent to T103.B. It consisted of a burial chamber and a courtyard in front of it that may date to a second	G105.9 BM61	2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
				phase of construction. Both the courtyard and the burial chamber contained built cist graves and tile graves. A burial marker was found in the courtyard, possibly <i>in situ</i> .		
105.E	house tomb with multiple burial chambers (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 6.10x6.90 int. dim. NW chamber: 3.50x3.70 int. dim. NE chamber (exc.): 1.70x3.30 int. dim. SW chamber (exc.): 1x4.60	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. The tomb was entered from the main road through a doorway in its façade. Only one of the burial chambers was fully excavated; it contained both cist and tile graves.	G105.xx	2nd c. CE
105.F	peribolos (?)	no	ext. peribolos: 5.10x6.80	Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.	-	R
106. Kanakari 124-126 (North Cemetery)						
106.A	house tomb	yes		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. It had two entrances, in the N and W walls, that both gave access to the burial chamber. Inside the burial chamber a built cist grave, ash urns, five tile graves were found at different levels. Comments: A floor level and a well of the 5th-6th century CE attests to reuse of the structure over a long period of time.	G106.1-13	1st-2nd c. CE
106.B	house tomb	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. Only a small part of the tomb was unearthed; the excavated section of the burial chamber yielded one tile grave.	G106.14	R
107. Kanakari 133 (North Cemetery)						
107.A	monumental tomb with semi-circular exedra (aedicula?)	no	ext. dim.: 4.65x5.35 int. dim.: 1.05x1.77 pres. h.: 1.10	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The rectangular funerary monument was situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the road. It was erected on a three-stepped krepis; the upper step was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate for the superstructure. The superstructure had a rubble core with a limestone facing, and was preserved to a height of 1.10m. The façade consisted of a semi-circular exedra. The bench was supported by two lions' feet and was flanked by two Ionic bases; two rectangular bases for pilasters decorated the corners of the monument. The tomb was entered from the back, where a limestone threshold for a single door was preserved <i>in situ</i> . The small burial chamber had the form of a small columbarium with four niches for ash urns (not found). A lead cinerary urn had been inserted into the solid core of the monument.	G107.1	1st c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
107.B	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.50x1.50 pres. h.: 1.90	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb (not fully excavated) is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the road, behind T107.A. The tomb had a semi-subterranean burial chamber that had originally been covered with a barrel-vaulted roof. Three niches in the interior walls each contained one immured ash urn. A monolithic poros sarcophagus and a built cist grave were later additions to the tomb.	G107.2-6	1st c. CE
108. Kanakari 139 (North Cemetery)						
108.A	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 10.60x11.30 int. dim. SW chamber: 3.10x6.10 int. dim. SE chamber: 5x5.20 int. dim. NW chamber (exc.): 4.40x4.70 int. dim. NE chamber (exc.): 2.80x3.70	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery, to the west of the sepulchral road. The tomb consisted of four interconnected burial chambers, of which only two were fully excavated. The tomb entrance was situated in the W wall (the back of the tomb?) and led into the SW burial chamber (or courtyard?). It contained three built cist graves and one pithos that was sunken into the floor and was probably used during commemorative rituals. One of the interior walls of this area contained one niche with two immured vessels. Two doorways, in the N and E wall respectively, led to two adjoining burial chambers. Five built cist graves were arranged along the walls of the SE burial chamber. Here, too, were niches with immured vessels (urns/containers for offerings). The NW burial chamber contained built cist and tile graves.	G108.1-16 G108.xx	1st- 2nd c. CE
109. Kanakari 163 (North Cemetery)						
109.A	house tomb/ peribolos (?)	no	pres. h.: 1	Construction: <i>Opus mixtum</i> . Description: The tomb enclosed six built cist graves and one tile grave.	G109.1-7	R
110. Kanari 88, Ioannou Vlachou (North Cemetery)						
110.xx	Two walls in <i>opus mixtum</i> may have belonged to funerary architecture.					
111. Kapodistriou 36-38 (South Cemetery)						
111.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos is situated in the South Cemetery. It is not clear whether the two built cist graves found at the site were associated with the peribolos or not.	G111.1-2	R
112. Karaïskaki 116 (North Cemetery)						
112.A	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. It contained (at least) one vaulted cist grave. Reuse: The tomb was reused until the 6th c. CE.	G112.1	R
112.B	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: unspec.	-	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
112.C	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb had niches in its interior walls for the deposition of ash urns, but none were preserved.	-	R
112.D	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. It had an entrance in its S wall, where the threshold was preserved <i>in situ</i> . Inside the burial chamber five vaulted cist graves were found, as well as one cinerary stamnos. Reuse: The tomb was reused until the 6th c. CE.	G112.2-7	R
113. Karaïskaki 118 (North Cemetery)						
113.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, by the side of a narrow, secondary (?) road. The peribolos was not fully excavated; no burials were reported.	-	R (?)
113.B	funerary monument (type unclear)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, by the side of a narrow, secondary (?) road. The monument was not fully excavated; no associated depositions were reported.	-	R (?)
114. Karaïskaki 129 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
115. Karaïskaki 132 (North Cemetery)						
115.A	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no	ext. dim.: l. 5.42	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery. The remnants of the tomb constitute only one side of a podium, with a two-stepped krepis and a toichobate. Several limestone orthostats were found nearby.	-	R
115.B	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no	ext. dim.: l. 4.3	Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: Burial chamber (interior): <i>opus reticulatum</i> . The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery. The remnants of the tomb consist of a two-stepped limestone krepis and a few orthostats. The upper step of the krepis is constructed from three large limestone slabs and is decorated with lion's feet. Graves (unspec.) were found inside the burial chamber.	-	R
115.C	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no		Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery. The remnants of the tomb consist of a foundation, a limestone krepis, and one fragmentary limestone orthostat. The excavator notes that the tomb is similar to T115.B, but preserved in a poorer state.	-	R

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
115.D	monumental house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim.: l. 3.60	Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment (?). Superstructure: <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb was erected on a podium, and had a brickwork façade with pilasters on the corners. A three-stepped stairway is thought to have led to the burial chamber or an upper storey of the building. Openings in the floor (of the burial chamber?) are possibly related to libation offerings.	-	R
115.E	circular monument (type unclear)	no		Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment (?). Description: The remnants of a circular funerary construction are likely to be associated with a Latin epitaph inscribed on a convex stele. No associated burials are reported.	BM69	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
115.xx	Additional remnants of funerary architecture were discovered at this site, but they remain unspecified in the report.					
116. Karaïskaki 136 (North Cemetery)						
116.A	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 4.20x5.10 int. dim.: 2.90x3.90 pres. h.: 2.05 dim. podium: 2x1.68x0.45	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. It stands in front of T116.C, and adjacent to T116.B. The tomb was entered from the road through a 1.08m wide double door, the thresholds and doorposts of which were preserved <i>in situ</i> ; there was a small window (0.48x0.35m) in the tomb's side wall. Cist graves were arranged along the interior walls of the burial chamber. The ceiling was barrel-vaulted. A podium, possibly serving as a base for burial markers, was built against the tomb façade. Comments: The narrow space between tombs T116.A and T116.B was occupied by a staircase that may have led to a second storey. Reuse: The tomb was reused until the 5th-6th c. CE and was renovated on multiple occasions.	G116.1-5	2nd- 3rd c. CE
116.B	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 3.80x5.60 int. dim.: 2x3.25 pres. h.: 1.30 dim. podium: 3.02x1.88x0.82	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. It stands in front of T116.C, and adjacent to T116.A. The tomb was entered via a 0.90m wide doorway at the back of the monument, where the thresholds and doorposts were preserved <i>in situ</i> . Cist graves were arranged around the interior walls, but these date to EChr times. It is not unlikely, though, that the original graves had been similarly arranged. Three niches in the walls held immured vessels. The interior walls of the tomb were plastered and carried traces of a painted decoration in red and black. The E wall of the tomb was exceptionally wide (1.85 m), and was probably created in a secondary construction phase, when a cist grave was immured here. A podium, possibly serving as a base for burial markers, was built against the tomb façade.	G116.6-12	2nd- 3rd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
				Comments: The narrow space between tombs T116.A and T116.B was occupied by a staircase that may have led to a second storey. Reuse: The tomb was reused until the 5th-6th c. CE and was renovated on multiple occasions.		
116.C	monumental tomb with semi-circular exedra (aedicula?)	yes	ext. dim. podium: 6.85x6.85 ext. dim. superstructure: 4.70x4.70	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The poorly preserved tom remnants consist of a solid podium with a three-stepped limestone krepis, upon which a superstructure of monumental design (aedicula?) once stood. The upper step of the krepis was decorated with a kymation; it served as the toichobate for the limestone orthostats (1.17m high) that faced the core of the superstructure. An exedra in the façade may have once housed a funerary statue. Sculpted architectural elements recovered from the premises, including red and white stone columns, Ionian bases and capitals, as well as the architraves that were reused in T116.A, very likely were originally part of this tomb. Comments: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. It had originally been placed directly by the side of the road, but T116A and B were built in front of it, probably after the tomb had fallen out of use and had dilapidated.	-	1st c. CE
116.xx	The remnants of (four?) additional brick-built funerary structures were found at the edges of the excavation trench.					
117. Karaïskaki 147 (North Cemetery)						
117.A	house tomb	no	ext. dim.: 4.50x5.70 int. dim.: 3.80x4.60 pres. h.: 2	Construction: <i>Opus mixtum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery. The tomb had a simple, rectangular design and consisted of a single burial chamber. Cist graves were arranged along the interior tomb walls; niches above the cist graves may have been intended for ash urns, offerings, or funerary statuary. The tomb had a mosaic floor with a central panel in a geometric pattern of stylized four-leafed flowers in red and black on a white background. The ceiling was barrel-vaulted. Comments: The tomb was built over the remnants of a bathing facility.	G117.1-6	2nd-3rd c. CE
118. Karaïskaki 153-155 (North Cemetery)						
118.A	funerary monument (type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.10x2.10	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The tomb (not fully excavated) is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. Only one step of the krepis of this small, square funerary monument was preserved. No associated burials are reported.	-	1st-2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
118.B	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.70x2.80	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. The only excavated remains of this tomb are the corner of its podium and a three-stepped krepis. No associated burials are reported.	-	1st-2nd c. CE
118.C	house tomb (?)	no	int. dim. (exc.): 3.40x5.20	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. Only a small part was unearthed. The excavated section of the tomb yielded three monolithic sarcophagi. Comments: It is possible that T118.C and T118.D were part of a single structure, but this is not clear.	G118.1-3	R
118.D	house tomb (?)	yes	int. dim.: 4.50x6.20	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. The tomb was entered through a single door in the S wall, the threshold of which was preserved <i>in situ</i> . The floor of the burial chamber was paved with clay tiles; monolithic sarcophagi and cist graves were arranged along the interior walls. Comments: It is possible that T118.C and T118.D were part of a single structure, but this is not clear.	G118.4-10	R
118.E	house tomb/ peribolos (?)	no	int. dim. (exc.): 3.20x4.10	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery, behind and built against a peribolos wall that surrounds T118.A. The burial chamber was entered through a single door in the E wall, where the threshold was preserved <i>in situ</i> . The burial chamber (not fully excavated) contained cist and tile graves.	G118.11-12 G118.xx	R
118.xx	Additional architectural remnants at the site may belong to a house tomb or peribolos internally divided into multiple spaces. It is possible that they were related to T118. C and D.					
119. Katerinis 14-16, Konstantinoupoleos 75 (North Cemetery)						
119.A	monumental tomb with a pedimental façade (temple tomb?)	yes	ext. dim.: 10.60x10.60 pres. h.: 1.92 int. dim. antechamber: 4.20x2 int. dim. burial chamber: 4.20x5.80	Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Superstructure: <i>opus testaceum</i> with sculpted architectural elements in limestone (?). Description: The tomb was situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. It was poorly preserved and was completely devoid of funerary remains as it was transformed into a wine-making facility after the 6th c. CE. Nonetheless, it is clear that the tomb had a T-shaped tomb ground plan, and was erected on a podium that was lined with a limestone krepis, and had a facing of limestone slabs. The superstructure was built in <i>opus testaceum</i> ; the façade was of pedimental design and was elaborated with sculpted architectural elements. Although the tomb entrance is not preserved, it is likely that a doorway in the centre of its monumental façade gave access to	-	2nd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
				the tomb. Inside, the tomb was divided into two spaces, probably an antechamber and a burial chamber. A large rectangular structure built against the back wall of the burial chamber is thought to have been a podium for a stone sarcophagus.		
119.B	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: Stone (unspec.) Description: unspec.	-	R (?)
119.C	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: Stone (unspec.) Description: unspec.	-	R (?)
119.D	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: A wall running perpendicular to the road must have belonged to a peribolos or tomb. Built cist graves excavated in the area may be associated with it.	G119.xx	R (?)
120. Katerinis 18-20 (North Cemetery)						
120.A	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.10x4.50 pres. h.: 1.80	Construction: Stone and mortar. Description: The tomb was only excavated in part. Three brick-built cist graves were arranged along the interior walls of the burial chamber, and an older vaulted cist graves was found underneath the floor level .	G120.1-4	R
121. Katerinis 22-24 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
122. Kefallinias 29 (North Cemetery)						
122.A	tomb (unclear)	no	w. of walls: 0.55 pres. h.: 1	Construction: Makeshift materials. Description: Only one corner of this structure was excavated.	-	R-LR
123. Kefallinias, Naumachias Ellis (North Cemetery)						
123.A	peribolos	?		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos enclosed tile graves, ash urns, and a pyre .	G123.1-10	R-LR
123.B	peribolos	?		Construction: unspec. Description: No associated burials were reported.	-	R-LR
124. Kefallinias, Thermopylon (North Cemetery)						
124.A	house tomb	no		Construction: unspec. Description: One of the interior tomb walls contained three niches with immured ash urns; the burial chamber further housed built cist and tile graves.	G124.1-12	ER
125. Kefallinias, Thessalonikis (North Cemetery)						
125.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.	-	R (?)
126. Klearchou 33 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)			Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
127. Kolokotroni 29-35 (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
128. Kolokotroni 35 (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
129. Konstantinoupoleos 76; 81, Paxon (North Cemetery)							
129.A	peribolos with internal burial chamber (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.80x11.60 int. dim. burial chamber: 2.80x3	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus testaceum</i> . The square burial chamber was entered through a single doorway in its S wall; a cist grave was built against the W wall, and a plain stone sarcophagus was placed in front of the N wall at a later date. Walls surrounding the tomb may belong to additional rooms or a peribolos associated with the burial chamber.	G129.6-10	3rd c. CE
129.B	peribolos with internal burial chamber (?)	no	ext. dim.: 3.50x8.20 int. dim. burial chamber (exc.): 2.40x3.90	Construction: Description:	unspec. unspec.	-	3rd c. CE
130. Konstantinoupoleos 82, Stratokleous, Karolou (North Cemetery)							
130.A	monumental tomb (type unclear)	yes	ext. dim.: 6.80x9.70 pres. h.: 1.25	Construction: Description:	Stone and mortar, sculpted architectural elements in limestone. The only remnants of what must have been a monumental tomb were its foundations and sculpted architectural elements of the Ionic order (two cornices and an architrave).	-	R
130.B	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.30x10.5 pres. h.: 1.75	Construction: Description:	unspec. The peribolos was only partly excavated. The excavated section enclosed ash urns and tile graves.	G130.1-9	1st- 2nd c. CE
131. Konstantinoupoleos 85 (North Cemetery)							
131.A	peribolos	no	int. dim. (exc.): 5.40x6.50	Construction: Description:	unspec. The peribolos enclosed six built cist graves and four tile graves.	G131.1-10	R
131.B	tomb (type unclear)	yes	ext. dim.: 3.50x4.60 int. dim.: 3x3.10	Construction: Description:	unspec. The tomb contained two built cist graves.	G131.11-12	R
132. Konstantinoupoleos 89 (North Cemetery)							
132.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	<i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> . The peribolos was situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. It is not clear whether the cist graves, tile graves, cinerary urns, and burial markers discovered at the site were associated with the peribolos or not.	G132.1-11 BM75-77	R
133. Konstantinoupoleos 91 (North Cemetery)							
133.xx	Architectural remains found at the site point to the previous existence of monumental tombs, but these have not been preserved.						
134. Konstantinoupoleos, Astiggos (North Cemetery)							
134.A	peribolos (?)	no	l. x w. (exc.): 10.40x>0.70	Construction: Description:	River stones. unspec.	-	Hel-R (?)

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
135. Konstantinoupoleos, Favierou (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
136. Konstantinoupoleos, Norman, Paxon (North Cemetery)						
136.A	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.30x4.50	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> (?). Description: The poorly preserved tomb was situated in the North Cemetery. It was only excavated in part. The excavated section of the burial chamber contained six brick-built cist graves, some with built headrests. To the N of the tomb an ovoid, funnel-shaped structure lined with plaster was found (ext. 1.55x1.15m, 1m high), which is thought to have been used for cult activities.	G136.1-6	R
137. Konstantinoupoleos, Paxon (North Cemetery)						
137.A	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The remnants of this severely damaged tomb indicate that it originally consisted of two storeys. The excavator characterizes the remnants as monumental.	-	R
138. Korinthou 34 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
139. Korinthou 125 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
140. Korinthou 132 (North Cemetery)						
140.A	house tomb with two burial chambers	yes	ext. dim.: 6.20x8.10 int. dim. NW burial chamber: 2.70x4.85 int. dim. SE burial chamber: 3.60x5	Construction: Stone and tile (=opus reticulatum?). Description: The tomb consisted of two interconnected burial chambers. The tomb entrance led into the first burial chamber, which contained to built cist graves and two tile graves. A single door led into the second burial chamber, where three cist graves were built against the walls in Pi-formation to the right of the entrance. To the left lay three tile graves in parallel position.	G140.1-10	R
141. Korinthou 152-154 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
142. Korinthou 156 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
143. Korinthou 158 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
144. Korinthou 166 (North Cemetery)						
144.A	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. The tomb is not described, but it is reported that a large pithos was found inside the burial chamber. No skeletal remains are reported, but the pithos may have been used for a burial.	G144.1	R
144.B	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb was situated by the side of the road through the North Cemetery. The tomb is not described, but the report indicates that the tomb façade was elaborated with two stone (unspec.) pilasters and three limestone thresholds. No associated burials are reported.	-	R
144.C	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no		Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The tomb was erected on a podium with a limestone krepis and toichobate. There are no remnants of the superstructure. The tomb is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery, behind T144.A and T144.B.	-	R
145. Korinthou 189 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
146. Korinthou 221-223 (North Cemetery)						
146.A	krepis (altar tomb?)	yes	ext. dim.: 1.50x1.50	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone (?) revetment. Description: This square funerary monument is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It was poorly preserved, but a cinerary stamnos containing cremated remains was encased in the podium.	G146.4	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
146.B	built tumulus enclosed in a peribolos	yes	ext. dim. peribolos (pres.): 2.40x3 diam. tumulus: 1 pres. h. tumulus: 0.50	Construction: Peribolos: <i>opus quasi reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Tumulus: tile and mortar. Description: The tomb is poorly preserved, and is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It consists of a small tumulus built of fragmented tile and mortar surrounded by a peribolos, of which three sides are preserved. The tumulus covered a lead ash urn.	G146.7	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
146.C	krepis (altar tomb with small burial chamber?)	yes	ext. dim.: 2.60x3 int. dim.: 0.80x1.20	<p>Construction: Podium: <i>opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Superstructure: <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The tomb is poorly preserved, and is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It was erected on a small rectangular krepis, the upper step of which was decorated with a kymation and served as the toichobate for the superstructure of the tomb. The superstructure consisted of a small burial chamber, the entrance to which was located at the back of the monument. It is not possible to reconstruct the interior of the burial chamber, but the small size suggests that the tomb was meant to house cremated remains rather than inhumations.</p>	-	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
146.D	krepis (altar tomb?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2x2.20	<p>Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone (?) revetment.</p> <p>Description: The tomb is situated on the east side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It is poorly preserved; only the core of the podium remains. Two lead ash urns were encased in it.</p>	G146.5-6	l. 1st c. BCE- e. 1st c. CE
146.E	peribolos	no		<p>Construction: unspec.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was only excavated in part. It enclosed built cist graves, tile graves, and ash urns. The peribolos is situated behind tombs T146.C and T146.D and post-dates them.</p>	G146.12, xx	R
146.F	peribolos	no		<p>Construction: unspec.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was only partly excavated and yielded at least one ash urn. It is situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery, opposite T146.A-E.</p>	G146.14	R
146.G	peribolos	no		<p>Construction: unspec.</p> <p>Description: The peribolos was only partly excavated; no associated burials are reported. It is situated on the west side of the main road through the North Cemetery, opposite T146.A-E. Below the foundations of the tomb lay the remnants of a Hel limestone cist grave.</p>	(G146.1)	R
147. Korinthou 246 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
148. Korinthou 287 (North Cemetery)						
148.A	monumental house tomb (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.50x6 pres. h.: 1.30	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: Only one corner of the tomb was excavated. The tomb was erected on a podium with a two-stepped krepis, the upper step of which carried a decorative kymation and served as the toichobate. The tomb façade had been decorated with brick-built pilasters. Inside the burial chamber faint traces of built cist graves were identified. Architectural elements, including columns and capitals, were reused in later constructions at the site, but are thought to have belonged to the superstructure of the tomb. Comments: The tomb is situated at an isolated location, at a distance of 120 m from the main road through the North Cemetery. It is thought to have been associated with a suburban villa.	G148.xx	1st c. CE
149. Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19 (North Cemetery)						
149.A	peribolos (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.30x2.10	Construction: Limestone blocks. Description: The funerary structure was situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. It was only partly excavated; the excavated section of the tomb consisted of three large limestone blocks in a Pi-shaped arrangement. No associated burials were reported.	-	Hel (?)
149.B	peribolos	yes	int. dim.: 1.60x4.80	Construction: <i>Opus quasi reticulatum</i> and <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The funerary structure was situated on the west side of the road through the North Cemetery. It contained built cist graves and tile-covered graves that belonged to two phases of use.	G149.15 (?) BM94	R
149.C	peribolos	no	int. dim.: 2.40x4.10	Construction: <i>Opus mixtum</i> . Description: The funerary structure was situated on the west side of the road through the North Cemetery. It was only partly excavated. It contained built cist graves and tile-covered graves that belonged to two phases of use.	-	R
149.xx	Additional remnants of funerary architecture were discovered at this site, but they remain unspecified in the report.					
150. Koritsas (South Cemetery)						
150.xx	The remnants of multiple R periboloi were discovered at this site. They enclosed built cists, tile graves, and clay and lead ash urns (see G150.16-49).					
151. Korydalleos 20 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
152. Kotroni, Moraïtidi (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
153. Kotroni, Patron-Athinon 102 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)			Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
154. Kotroni, Ragkavi (•)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
155. Koumanioti 13 (South Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
156. Koumanioti 17 (South Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
157. Koumanioti 22 (South Cemetery)							
157.A	house tomb	no	pres. h.: >1.40	Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.		-	LR
157.B	house tomb	no	pres. h.: >1.40	Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.		-	LR
157.C	house tomb	no	pres. h.: 1.80	Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.		-	LR
158. Koumanioti 23 (South Cemetery)							
158.A	house tomb with multiple burial chambers (?)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The excavation section of this structure consists of three rooms. It is not fully certain whether this building had a funerary function.		-	
159. Koumanioti 29-31 (South Cemetery)							
159.A	peribolos	?		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos enclosed four cist graves and one tile grave.		G159.2-6	R
160. Koumanioti 33-35 (South Cemetery)							
160.A	house tomb/ peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: A section of a wall was excavated, and two badly preserved built cist graves and a fragmentary poros sarcophagus were found beside it.		G160.1-3	R
161. Koumanioti, Asimaki Fotila (South Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
162. Kyprou, Doiranis (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
163. Lefkosias (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
164. Lontou 8-36 (•)							
164.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: Four cist graves and two tile graves were associated with the peribolos.		G164.1-6	LR

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
165. Lontou 148-150 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
166. Maizonos 3 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
167. Maizonos 5 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
168. Maizonos 23 (North Cemetery)						
168.A	house tomb/ peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: Only one corner of this tomb was excavated. It contained one tile grave.	G168.1	R
169. Maizonos 157, Filopoimenos (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
170. Mesologgiou 7 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
171. Mesologgiou 9 (South Cemetery)						
171.A	<i>forma</i> tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 5.20x6.60	Construction: unspec. Description: This tomb enclosed at least ten burial trenches (<i>formae</i>).	G171.1-10	LR-EChr
171.B	peribolos	yes	ext. dim.: 2.90x3.40/4.10	Construction: unspec. Description: This peribolos enclosed unfurnished burials.	G171.11-14	LR-EChr
171.C	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: This peribolos enclosed unfurnished burials.	-	LR-EChr
172. Mesologgiou 11 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
173. Mesologgiou 16 (South Cemetery)						
173.A	peribolos	no	pres. h.: 0.80	Construction: Stone, brick, and soil. Description: Only one wall was excavated of this peribolos. No associated burials are reported.	-	LR-EChr
174. Mesologgiou 32 (South Cemetery)						
174.A	peribolos with an internal enclosure	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.70x8.90	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. Description: The tomb had an irregular rectangular ground plan, and had an internal enclosure in its NE corner (not excavated). The peribolos surrounded built cist graves, tile graves, ash urns, and a compact structure of plastered <i>opus caementicium</i> (1.65x2x1.10 m) with a decorative kymation that covered a secondary burial of ER date.	G174.1-12	1st- 2ndc. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
174.B	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.40x4.90	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. Description: Only a small section of this peribolos was excavated. The excavated part enclosed three cist graves.	G174.13-15	1st-2nd c. CE
174.C	house tomb (?)	yes	ext. dim.: 4.90x5 int. dim.: 3.50x3.90 pres. h.: 0.85	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. Description: The tomb had a rectangular ground plan and consisted of one burial chamber. The entrance was not preserved. One cist grave was built in the centre of the tomb; a (later?) tile grave was placed against one of its side walls.	G174.16-17	R
175. Mesologgiou, Asimaki Fotila (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
176. Mikinon 6 (East Cemetery)						
176.A	'columbarium' enclosed in a peribolos	yes	ext. dim. columbarium: 3.70x4.10 pres. h. columbarium: 2.60 int. dim. columbarium: 1.66x2 pres. h. columbarium: 2.10	Construction: Peribolos: <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Columbarium: <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Description: This tomb was situated in the East Cemetery. The peribolos is not described in the report. The columbarium had a square ground plan. The small burial chamber was barrel-vaulted. It was entered through a single door; the limestone threshold was preserved <i>in situ</i> . Square compartments were built along the interior N and S walls of the burial chamber. These were likely intended for the deposition of cinerary urns, but their discovery is not reported. A bench in front of the back wall had five circular pipes leading down into the floor of the tomb for the pouring of offerings.	-	ER
177. Mikinon 8 (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
178. Nikita 45 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
179. Nikita 60-66 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
180. Nikita 74 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
181. Norman 88 (North Cemetery)						
181.A	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 3.10x4.45 int. dim.: 2.60x3.20 pres. h.: 1.82	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated by the side of the main road through the North Cemetery. It was built on a brick-built podium that is decorated with a kymation. Inside the burial chamber richly furnished clay and lead cinerary urns, a looted built cist grave, and a tile grave were found.	G181.7-10	1st c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
181.B	Pi-shaped exedra	yes	ext. dim.: 2.60x3.10 pres. h.: 1.62	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The exedra had a bench that was 0.33 m high and 0.32 m deep. The structure was not architecturally elaborated, but the antae of the façade were decorated with bucrania in relief. No associated depositions or inscriptions are reported to have been found; the tomb may have been a cenotaph.	-	1st c. CE
181.C	house tomb/ peribolos (?)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1x4	Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.	-	1st c. CE
182. Norman, between Katerinis and Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)						
182.A	house tomb	no		Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb is situated by the side of the main road through the North Cemetery. The burial chamber contained one poorly preserved built cist grave.	G182.1	R
183. Notara 9 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
184. Notara, G. Chortatzi (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
185. Panachaïkou 2 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
186. Panachaïkou 4-8 (South Cemetery)						
186.A	peribolos	yes	pres. dim.: 2.30x2.80 pres. h.: 0.40	Construction: Stone (unspec.). Description: Only the corner of this stone-built construction was preserved. Its funerary function is not entirely certain since no associated burials were uncovered.	-	LR-EChr
186.B	peribolos	yes	pres. dim.: 1.50x1.80	Construction: Stone (unspec.). Description: This poorly built peribolos enclosed the burial of one individual.	G186.20	LR-EChr
186.C	peribolos	yes	ext. dim.: 2.20x2.60	Construction: Limestone and brick. Description: This peribolos was poorly constructed. It had thin walls of unworked pieces of limestone and fragmented bricks. It enclosed a double burial.	G186.25	LR-EChr
187. Panachaïkou 37, Geor. Olympiou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
188. Panepistimiou 88 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
189. Panepistimiou 257-263 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
190. Panepistimiou 268 (•)						
190.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: This peribolos was situated at an isolated location north of the city and may have been associated with a rural villa or farmhouse. The excavated section of the enclosure contained three tile graves and one built cist grave.	G190.1-4	2nd c. CE
191. Panepistimiou 368-370 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
192. Panepistimiou, Alkaiou (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
193. Pantokratoros 27 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
194. Pantokratoros 32 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
195. Papaflessa, Benizelou Roufou 2 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
196. Paralia Patron, 25is Martiou 84 (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
197. Patreos 65 (North Cemetery)						
197.A	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: Stone (unspec.) and soil. Description: Only one corner of this structure was excavated. It contained one ash urn that was covered by two flat tiles.	G197.1	Hel
197.B	peribolos (?)	?	int. dim.: 3.70x10 pres. h.: 1.10	Construction: Stone, sherds, and plaster. Description: The peribolos had a rectangular ground plan.	-	R
197.C	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: Stone, sherds, and plaster. Description: The peribolos had a rectangular ground plan.	-	R
197.D	peribolos (?)	no		Construction: Stone, sherds, and plaster. Description: The peribolos had a rectangular ground plan.	-	R
198. Patreos 83-85, Karaïskaki (North Cemetery)						
198.A	house tomb with multiple burial chambers	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 6.10x10.20 int. dim. NE burial chamber: 4.20x4.60 int. dim. NW burial chamber: 4.20x4.60	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. The tomb existed of multiple burial chambers, but only two were fully excavated; cist graves were arranged in front of the walls of both of them.	G198.1-7	2nd-3rd c. CE

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
198.B	unclear	no	ext. dim. tomb (exc.): 2.30x6.80 ext. dim. podium: 1.50x1.50	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. Only a small section of the tomb was excavated. No burials are reported, but a podium in the corner of the tomb may have served as the base for a sarcophagus or burial markers.	-	2nd-3rd c. CE
198.C	unclear	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 4.20x4.20	Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. Only a small section of the tomb was excavated. No burials are reported, but the site plan indicates that at least one (cist?) grave was built inside the burial chamber. Two podia, one against an interior wall and one in the centre of the tomb, may have served as the base for a sarcophagus or burial markers.	-	2nd-3rd c. CE
199. Patron-Klaous (East Cemetery)						
199.A	house tomb	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb, situated in the East Cemetery, was only excavated in part. The interior tomb walls had vaulted niches with immured vessels for the deposition of cremated remains. Reuse: A cist grave was added to the tomb during a later phase of use.	G199.1	1st-2nd c. CE
199.B	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no		Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment (?). Description: The tomb was situated in the East Cemetery, by the side of the main road. It was a structure of unknown design, erected on a stone krepis. The excavator characterizes the remains as monumental. A crypt in the core of the building contained a lead ash urn.	G199.2	1st c. CE (?)
200. Patron-Klaous 1 (East Cemetery)						
200.A	house tomb (?)	yes	int. dim.: 3.70x4.35	Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb was situated in the East Cemetery of Patras. It had a simple rectangular ground plan. The burial chamber was entered through a 1.17m wide single door (the threshold was preserved <i>in situ</i>). Inside were the remnants of built cist graves.	-	R
200.B-D	tomb (unspec.)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.	-	R
201. Patron-Klaous 3 (East Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
202. Patron-Korinthou, Neo Archaialogiko Mouseio (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
203. Paulou Mela 18 (North Cemetery)						
203.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.90x7.20	Construction: Stone (unspec.). Comments: The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the main road. Only a corner of the peribolos was excavated. It is not clear whether the six cist graves uncovered at the site were associated with the peribolos or not.	G203.1-6	R
204. Pavlokaastro (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
205. Petmeza 2, Navarinou 23 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
206. Petmeza 3 (South Cemetery)						
206.A	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 7.15x8 int. dim.: 4.90x6.20 pres. h.: 1.50	Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The tomb was a simple, rectangular house tomb. The entrance to the barrel-vaulted burial chamber would have been situated in the centre of the façade, but is not preserved. Six brick-built cist graves were arranged along the interior side and back walls. The floor between the graves was decorated with a mosaic, the central panel of which consisted of a geometric design of triangles and checkers.	G206.1-6	150-250 CE
206.B	house tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.30x5 int. dim. (exc.): 2.40x3.50	Construction: unspec. Depositions: Although only a small section of the tomb was excavated, it was likely a simple, rectangular house tomb. One inhumation grave was placed in the centre of the burial chamber.	G206.7	R
207. Petmeza 5 (South Cemetery)						
207.A-B	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Depositions: The two periboloi were situated in the South Cemetery of Patras. They enclosed both built cist graves and tile graves. One of the cist graves had a burial marker preserved <i>in situ</i> .	G207.1-16 BM100	R
208. Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 28 (•)						
208.A	<i>forma</i> -tomb	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 7.90x14.90	Construction: unspec. Description: The burial complex consisted of 46 burial trenches in parallel, but irregular rows. The published site plan suggests that the complex underwent several construction phases, expanding over time.	G208.1-46	5th- 6th c. CE
209. Plateia Omonias (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
210. Pontou 73 (East Cemetery)						
210.A	peribolos (?)	no	pres. l.: 5.10	Construction: Stone (unspec.) and mortar. Description: Only a section of this tomb was excavated. One of the walls contained an immured ash urn that must have been set in a niche originally. A vaulted cist graves was built into the corner of the tomb.	G210.1-2	1st-2nd c. CE
211. Poukevil 15 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
212. Poukevil 17 (North Cemetery)						
212.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Stone and soil. Depositions: Only one wall of this peribolos was excavated. It is unclear whether all twelve tile graves excavated at the site were associated with it.	G212.1-12 (?)	R
213. Poukevil 22 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
214. Poukevil 24 (North Cemetery)						
214.A	tomb (unspec.)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.80x5.80	Construction: unspec. Description: The excavated section of the tomb yielded only one tile grave, but multiple floor levels in the burial chamber attest to use and reuse over a long period of time.	G214.1	R
214.B	burial chamber	yes	ext. dim.: 1.50x2.20 int. dim.: 0.50x2 pres. h.: 1.60	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> faced with plaster. Description: The small tomb was made of cast masonry and had a plastered exterior; its roof made was made of clay tiles. The space inside the burial chamber was filled up with one brick-built cist grave that was used for two consecutive inhumations.	G214.6	R
215. Poukevil 25-27 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
216. Poukevil 31 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
217. Poukevil 32 (North Cemetery)						
217.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: Two walls probably constitute the remnants of a peribolos, but no associated burials are reported.	-	Hel
218. Poukevil 38-40, Zaimi 57-59 (North Cemetery)						
218.A	peribolos	no	l. (pres.) x w.: 8x 0.60 pres. h.: 0.75	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> . Comments: The wall was probably part of a funerary peribolos, but no associated burials are reported to have been found.	-	R
219. Prevedos (•)						
219.xx	No funerary architecture is reported, but the presence of clustered burials suggests there may once have been enclosures, either stone-built or made of a perishable material.					

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
220. Samou, Aristomenous (•)						
220.A	house tomb with two burial chambers	yes	ext. dim.: 5x7.80 int. dim. antechamber: 3x4.10 int. dim. burial chamber: 3.20x4	<p>Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The tomb has a rectangular ground plan and was divided into two spaces: an antechamber and the burial chamber. The tomb was accessed through an entrance in the long N wall. The entrance led into the antechamber, where a niche in the back wall held a funerary bust of a female (Augustan era). The antechamber gave access to the burial chamber, where a second niche held a second bust of a female (Augustan era). Simple frescoes were preserved on the interior tomb walls. Below the floor of the burial chamber there was an underground vaulted built cist grave. An illegible inscription in Greek was scratched into one of the walls of the antechamber (3rd c. CE?), and a Latin inscription was found <i>in situ</i> attached to the tomb façade. The text commemorates Marcia Maxima, the wife of Caius Laetilius Clemens, and states that the tomb was erected for her by her mother Pavia. The portrait busts are likely to be representations of Pavia and Marcia Maxima.</p> <p>Comments: The tomb is situated at a distance of 300m from the main road through the East Cemetery and is thought to have been related to a R farmhouse that was found in the area.</p>	G220.1 BM106	ER
220.B	house tomb	yes	ext. dim.: 4x4.80	<p>Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> with corners in <i>opus testaceum</i>.</p> <p>Description: The tomb has a rectangular ground plan and its double barrel-vaulted roof was preserved intact. No depositions were preserved in the burial chamber.</p> <p>Comments: The tomb is built against T220.A and post-dates it only by a short period of time.</p>	-	ER
221. Sarantoporou 48 (North Cemetery)						
221.A	peribolos	no		<p>Construction: Stone (unspec.).</p> <p>Description: The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the funerary road. It is not clear whether any of the six burials at the site were associated with the peribolos.</p>	G221.1-6	Hel
222. Sarantaporou 50 (North Cemetery)						
222.A	peribolos	no	l. (pres.) x w.: 7.20x0.70	<p>Construction: Stone (unspec.).</p> <p>Description: The peribolos is situated in the North Cemetery, on the west side of the funerary road. It is not clear whether any of the seven burials at the site were associated with the peribolos.</p>	-	Hel (?)
223. Sarantaporou 52 (North Cemetery)						
223.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim.: 4.40x5.10	<p>Construction: Stone (unspec.).</p> <p>Description: A cist grave was built in the corner of the peribolos.</p>	G223.3	R (?)

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
224. Saravali (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
225. Saravali, Dimotiko Scholeio (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
226. Satovriandou 51 (North Cemetery)						
226.A-D	peribolos	no		Construction: Makeshift materials. Description: The periboloi enclosed cist and tile graves.	G226.xx	Hel-R (?)
227. Satovriandou 53-55 (North Cemetery)						
227.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: Only a corner of the peribolos was excavated. It contained a cist grave.	G227.1	R (?)
227.B	peribolos	?	ext. dim.: 1.90x4.20	Construction: Limestone blocks. Description: No associated burials were uncovered.	-	Hel
227.C	tomb (unspec.)	?	ext. dim.: 2.20x4.40 pres. h.: 1	Construction: Stone and mortar. Description: No associated burials were uncovered.	-	R (?)
227.D	tomb (unspec.)	no		Construction: Stone and mortar. Description: The edge of the wall was clad in clay slabs.	-	R (?)
228. Satovriandou 57 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
229. Smyrnis 44 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
230. Smyrnis 145, Laskareos (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
231. Smyrnis (South Cemetery)						
231.A	house tomb (?)	no		Construction: unspec. Description: unspec.	-	LR
231.B	house tomb	no	pres. h.: 1	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , brick facing not preserved. Description: unspec.	-	R
231.C	monumental tomb (type unclear)	no	ext. dim.: 1.20x1.80 pres. h.: 1	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> , facing not preserved. Description: Only the rectangular podium of this tomb was preserved. The excavator characterizes the remnants as monumental nonetheless.	-	R
232. Solomou 7-9 (South Cemetery)						
232.A	house tomb	no		Construction: <i>Opus testaceum</i> . Description: The limestone threshold of the entrance was preserved in the centre of the tomb façade.	-	R
232.xx	Additional architectural remnants were found at the site, but are not discussed in the report.					

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
233. Solomou 30, Kapodistriou (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
234. Solomou 36 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
235. Solomou 51 (South Cemetery)						
235.A-B	house tomb	no		Construction: Brickwork. Description: Only one corner of each of these two adjacent house tombs were uncovered; the burial chambers could not be excavated. The tombs stood by the side of the road through the South Cemetery.	-	
236. Solomou 53 (South Cemetery)						
236.A	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 1.70x3.80	Construction: Limestone blocks. Description: The Pi-shaped peribolos was associated with four depositions.	G236.1-4	Hel
236.B	peribolos	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 3.10x3.40	Construction: unspec. Description: Only a small section of this peribolos was excavated. It enclosed funerary vessels (unspec.), a tile grave, and a brick-built cist grave.	G236.5-13	R
236.C	krepis (tomb type unclear)	no	ext. dim. (exc.): 2.50x2.80	Construction: <i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. Description: The excavated section of the tomb consists of a podium with a limestone krepis. The excavator characterizes the remains as monumental. No associated burials were reported.	-	R
237. Sosipatrou 54-56 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
238. Strategou Menounou, Pesonton Astynomikon (South Cemetery)						
238.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The peribolos enclosed burials (unspec.).	G238.xx	Hel
239. Stratokleous 20 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
240. Thea, Katarrachi (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
241. Themistokleous, Geor. Olympiou, Dim. Ipsilantou (South Cemetery)						
241.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: Only a small section of the peribolos was unearthed. It is not clear whether the three tile graves excavated at the site were associated with the peribolos or not.	G241.1-3	R (?)
242. Thermopylon 35 (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)		Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
243. Thermopylon 40 (North Cemetery)						
243.A	house tomb	?		Construction: <i>Opus reticulatum</i> . Description: The tomb stood in the North Cemetery, by the side of the main road. Inside the burial chamber stood five built cist graves; two tile graves were dug into its floor.	G243.18-24	R
244. Thermopylon 42 (North Cemetery)						
244.A	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb was situated on the east side of the road through the North Cemetery. The peribolos was Pi-shaped enclosed two burials.	G244.1-2	?
245. Thermopylon, Archiepiskopou Makariou (North Cemetery)						
245.A	peribolos with internal burial chamber	yes	ext. dim. peribolos: 8.80x11.60 int. dim. peribolos: 7.70x10.50 int. dim. burial chamber: 3.10x4.70	Construction: Stone (unspec.). Description: The peribolos is situated at a distance of ca. 10 m from the main road through the North Cemetery. The peribolos was of rectangular shape and had an internal burial chamber in its NW corner. The L-shaped, open air section of the tomb enclosed five tile graves (some pre-dated the tomb though) and the burial chamber contained three cist graves.	G245.1-9	R
245.B	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: A wall built against the back of T345.A formed a peribolos. Only a small section was unearthed; it enclosed a tile grave and a built cist grave.	G245.12-13	R
246. Thessalonikis 101, Zakynthou (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
247. Thessalonikis, Kefallinias (North Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
248. Thoma Palaiologou 43 (South Cemetery)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
249. Trilagkado (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						
250. Tsertidou 4 (East Cemetery)						
250.A	peribolos	no	pres. l.: 9.90	Construction: unspec. Description: Only one wall of this peribolos was unearthed.	-	R
250.B	peribolos	no		Construction: unspec. Description: The tomb is separated from T250.A by a 0.50 m wide passageway.	-	R
251. Tsoukaleika, Ypolochagou G.a Kampouri (•)						
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.						

Tomb ID	Tomb type (approximation)	Fully Excavated	Dimensions (m)			Graves Burial Markers Epitaphs	Date
252. Vasiliadou (South Cemetery)							
252.A	house tomb/ peribolos	no	w. of retaining wall: 1.10 pres. h.: 2.10	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> . A cast masonry retaining wall formed a corner with a second, narrower wall; these are thought to be the remnants of either of a peribolos or a house tomb.	-	R
252.xx	Three parallel walls probably are the remnants of R house tombs.						
253. Vasiliadou 5 (South Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
254. Vasiliadou 9 (South Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
255. Vasiliadou 18-22, Geor. Olympiou (South Cemetery)							
255.A	peribolos	no		Construction: Description:	unspec. Only one corner of the peribolos was excavated. It is not clear whether the five tile graves and four cist graves unearthed at the site were associated with it.	G255.1-9	R-LR
256. Votsari 40 (•)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
257. Zakynthou, Kyprou (North Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
258. Zaloggou, Geor. Olympiou (East Cemetery)							
No tomb architecture is reported for this site.							
259. Zarouchleika (•)							
259.A	monumental tomb enclosed in a peribolos		ext. dim. peribolos: 12.7x12.2 ext. dim. tomb: 5.80x5.50 pres. h. tomb: 2.50-3.40	Construction: Description:	<i>Opus caementicium</i> with limestone revetment. The tomb is situated in the S territory of Patras, near the river Glaukos, and is associated with a large R villa that was excavated nearby. Preserved were the tomb's high concrete podium with a limestone krepis, and a central stairway in its façade that would have led up to the unpreserved burial chamber. Two unfluted columns originally decorated the corners of the façade. Two sarcophagus covers were found in the peribolos, but were likely originally been placed in the burial chamber.	G259.1-2	1st- 2nd c. CE
260. Unspecified, Patras (•)							
N/A							

Concordance

Catalogue B. Funerary Architecture – Flämig 2007, *Grabarchitektur*

Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.
T2.A	174	T80.C	99	T103.A	122	T131.B	159
T29.B	166	T80.D	101	T103.B	123	T136.A	158
T54.A	168	T80.E	100	T103.C	124	T146.A	151
T54.B	170	T81.A	102	T103.D	127	T146.C	148
T54.C	169	T81.B	103	T103.E	125	T146.B	150
T64.A	107	T99.A	141	T103.F	126	T146.D	149
T65.A	108	T99.C	142	T103.G	128	T146.E	152
T65.B	109	T99.D	143	T104.A	120	T146.F	153
T65.C	110	T99.E	144	T104.C	121	T146.G	154
T65.D	111	T99.F	145	T105.A	115	T148.A	175
T65.E	112	T100.A	135	T105.B	116	T181.A	156
T72.A	160	T100.B	136	T105.D	113	T181.B	155
T72.B	161	T100.C	137	T105.E	114	T190.A	176
T72.C	162	T100.D	138	T107.A	118	T198.A	94
T72.D	163	T100.E	139	T107.B	119	T198.B	95
T72.E	164	T100.F	140	T108.A	117	T198.C	96
T72.F	165	T101.A	130	T116.A	91	T199.A	172
T79.A	106	T101.B	131	T116.B	92	T199.B	173
T79.B	105	T101.C	129	T116.C	93	T200.A	171
T79.C	104	T101.D	132	T117.A	90	T206.A	167
T80.A	98	T101.E	133	T129.A	157		
T80.B	97	T101.F	134	T131.A	159		

Concordance

Flämig 2007, *Grabarchitektur* – Catalogue B. Funerary Architecture

Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.	Flämig No.	Tomb No.
90	T117.A	112	T65.E	134	T101.F	156	T181.A
91	T116.A	113	T105.D	135	T100.A	157	T129.A
92	T116.B	114	T105.E	136	T100.B	158	T136.A
93	T116.C	115	T105.A	137	T100.C	159	T131.A
94	T198.A	116	T105.B	138	T100.D	159	T131.B
95	T198.B	117	T108.A	139	T100.E	160	T72.A
96	T198.C	118	T107.A	140	T100.F	161	T72.B
97	T80.B	119	T107.B	141	T99.A	162	T72.C
98	T80.A	120	T104.A	142	T99.C	163	T72.D
99	T80.C	121	T104.C	143	T99.D	164	T72.E
100	T80.E	122	T103.A	144	T99.E	165	T72.F
101	T80.D	123	T103.B	145	T99.F	166	T29.B
102	T81.A	124	T103.C	146	G146.18	167	T206.A
103	T81.B	125	T103.E	147	G146.17	168	T54.A
104	T79.C	126	T103.F	148	T146.C	169	T54.C
105	T79.B	127	T103.D	149	T146.D	170	T54.B
106	T79.A	128	T103.G	150	T146.B	171	T200.A
107	T64.A	129	T101.C	151	T146.A	172	T199.A
108	T65.A	130	T101.A	152	T146.E	173	T199.B
109	T65.B	131	T101.B	153	T146.F	174	T2.A
110	T65.C	132	T101.D	154	T146.G	175	T148.A
111	T65.D	133	T101.E	155	T181.B	176	T190.A

Catalogue C

Graves

This catalogue lists the 3432ⁱ depositions reported for the 260 sites included in this study, including the depositions in communal and/or monumental tombs (see Catalogues A and B). The depositions have all received a unique grave ID that consists of a reference to the site where the burial was excavated, followed by the number of the individual deposition. If a grave was situated inside a tomb, this is noted in the second column of the table. There are several sites where the depositions could not all be individually specified. For these sites, a general description of the graves is provided. At those sites where many graves share the same characteristics, the entries are merged for reasons of space and clarity (e.g. G29.7-40).

Each entry lists the date of the grave as stated in the original report or subsequent publications. This means that they are not referred to in a consistent manner, but are either given in the canonical periods, in centuries, or in more precise dates. When a date was not given in the original report, a date was proposed on the basis of the published information, not on an actual study of the remains. Therefore, these dates are tentative and are indicated with a question mark (?). Each entry further lists the standardized grave type, its orientation (head-feet, when known) and when available additional comments on the grave, its use, location, design or construction.

The following columns are devoted to the human remains: first, the number of individuals deposited is notedⁱⁱ, then the treatment of the bodyⁱⁱⁱ, and finally an estimation of age^{iv} (infant, child, or adult) and gender^v of the buried individuals. Unless stated otherwise inhumation (inh) refers to the burial of an individual in supine, extended position, with both arms placed alongside the body. Cremation (cr) can be either primary or secondary: the burnt human remains could be buried on the site of the pyre (primary cremation), or collected and deposited in some form of receptacle (secondary cremation). The two methods are not differentiated under the 'treatment of the body' header, because it is clear from the grave type. The final two columns state whether or not the deceased was adorned and/or provided with grave goods, and if so, what items were encountered.

Some symbols are used in the table. The symbol '–' is used when no information is provided in the original publication; 'o' is used to indicate that a grave may have included grave goods, but this is uncertain. This symbol is generally used either when a grave was looted, or when grave goods were listed collectively in a site report and therefore could not be assigned to a particular grave. Lastly, '*' conveys that there is something particular about a grave, and it may be useful for the reader to look up the site description in Catalogue A for clarification.

ⁱ It should be noted that there are in fact 3443 entries in this Catalogue. However, the total number of burials is more safely set at 3432, because eleven burials at BS100, Kanakari 84-86 are likely double entries. To be more precise, it is very probable that (some of the) burials referred to in the preliminary reports about the excavation overlap with eleven depositions that were discussed in a later article about the jewellery from Patras (Papapostolou 1990). Unfortunately, the available information does not allow us to determine which of the 100 graves referred to in the original reports would have contained the assemblages discussed in the later article. Therefore, while they are listed here as separate graves - for clarity's sake under a different form of ID: BS100, grave 1-10 and context 11 - they are not counted as separate graves in the total number of graves and the statistical analyses based on that number.

ⁱⁱ Note that 'xx' means multiple individuals.

ⁱⁱⁱ As reported in the published data, or deduced from the grave type.

^{iv} Age identification is commonly based on preliminary observations; archaeologists used grave and skeleton size as age indicators.

^v Gender estimation is in almost all cases based on grave goods, and not on a study of skeletal remains.

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
1. 3ou Oreivatikou, Plateia Giannia (East Cemetery)											
1.1-3		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
1.4	1.A	R	built cist grave	-	probably inside a R house (?) tomb	-	inh	-	-	-	
2. 3ou Oreivatikou 42, Agias Paraskevis (East Cemetery)											
2.1	2.A	l. 2nd- e. 3rd c. CE	built cist grave	-	later addition to the tomb (2nd phase)	-	inhumation	-	-	-	
2.2	2.A		built cist grave	-	inscriptions were reused in the construction of the graves	-		-	-	-	
2.3	2.A		built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
2.4	2.A	EChr	tile grave	W-E	later addition to the tomb (3rd phase)	-		-	-	-	
2.5	2.A		tile grave	W-E	inserted into the floor of one of the burial chambers	-		-	-	-	
2.6	2.A		tile grave	W-E		-		-	-	-	
2.xx	Niches in the interior walls of T2.A were probably intended for the deposition of ash urns.										
3. 12ou Syntagmatos 65 (East Cemetery)											
3.1	3.A	R	built cist grave	varying orientations	floor of clay slabs	-	inhumation	-	-	no	
3.2	3.A	R	built cist grave			-		-	-	yes	amphora
3.3	3.A	R	built cist grave			-		-	-	no	
3.4	3.A	R	built cist grave			-		-	-	no	
3.5	3.A	R	tile grave		below the floor of T3.A	-		-	-	-	
3.6		R	built cist grave			-		-	-	no	
3.7		R	tile grave			-		-	-	○	looted
3.8		R	tile grave			-		-	-	○	looted
3.9		R	tile grave			-		-	-	no	
3.10		R	tile grave			-		-	-	no	
3.11		R	tile grave			-		-	-	no	
3.12		R	tile grave			-		-	-	no	
3.13	3.B	R	tile grave			1		-	-	no	
3.14	3.B	R	tile grave			1		-	-	no	
3.15	3.B	R	tile grave			placed directly above and post-dating G3.14		1	-	-	no
4. 12ou Syntagmatos 65 (East Cemetery)											
4.1		LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
5. 12ou Syntagmatos, Geor. Ieros (East Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects			
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description		
6. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 30 (North Cemetery)													
6.1		R	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	no			
6.2		R	urn	-	dim. 0.40x0.30 m, closed off with a pottery fragment and placed beside G6.1	-	cr	-	-	-			
7. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou) 85-87 (North Cemetery)													
7.1		R(?)	tile grave	E-W	dim. 0.62x0.38 m	1	inh	c	-	-			
8. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)													
8.1	8.A	R	built cist grave	N-S	brick-built cists, floors paved with rectangular clay tiles, and tile headrests entrance in the short W end of the grave later additions to the tomb	-	inhumation	-	-	-			
8.2	8.A	R	built cist grave	N-S		-		-	-	-			
8.3	8.A	R	vaulted built cist	E-W		xx		-	-	-			
8.4	8.A	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-			
8.5	8.A	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-			
8.6	8.A	l. 2nd-e. 3rd c. CE	tile grave	N-S		1		a	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria (150-200 CE)		
8.7	8.A	MR	tile grave	N-S		1		a	-	no			
8.8	8.A	MR	tile grave	N-S		1		a	-	no			
8.9	8.A	MR	tile grave	E-W		1		a	-	no			
8.10	8.A	MR	tile grave	W-E		1		a	-	no			
8.xx	Additional graves can be seen on the site plan, yet are not described in the report.												
9. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)													
9.1		R	sarcophagus	-	marble; fragmentary	-	inh	-	-	-			
9.2		Hel	limestone cist	-	int. dim. 2.05x0.78x1.10 m, walls and cover made of poros limestone slabs, the cover and joints sealed with plaster	1	inh	-	f	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold leaf with inscription (unspec.), 1 gold ring with an inset red gemstone, 1 pair of gold earrings, and 1 gold necklace with pearls and a green gemstone		
10. 28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Maizonos (North Cemetery)													
10.1		R	built cist grave	-	a perforated clay slab served as the floor	2	inh	a, c	-	yes	a few grave goods (unspec.)		
11. Agias Sofias (North Cemetery)													
11.1		1st-2nd c. CE	lead kalpe	-		-	cr	-	-	no			
11.2		55-70 CE	marble ash chest	-	sculpted floral decoration, imported from a workshop in Rome (Neronian)	-	cr	-	-	no			

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
12. Agias Sofias 44 (North Cemetery)											
12.1		1st c. CE	built cist grave	-	dim. 2.15x0.50x0.76 m brick-built walls, cover not preserved	-	inhumation	-	-	o	the grave was looted, but an amphora (urn or offering?) placed beside the grave may have been associated with it
12.2		1st c. CE	pit	-	coffin used for the burial situated below and pre-dating G12.1	1		-	-	yes	gold leaves on a bronze stem (wreath), 1 ceramic unguentarium (1st c. CE), 1 lamp (ER), and 1 bronze coin
12.3		150-125 BCE	limestone cist	NW-SE	dim. 2.47x1.12x0.66 m walls and cover of large limestone slabs linked together with iron clamps that were covered with lead; the joints were sealed with mortar	1		a	f	yes	gold thread (clothing/shroud), 285 gold myrtle and olive leaves (wreath), 1 pair of gold earrings (Erotes), 1 gold ring with inset rock crystal (ivy leaves and bird), gold funerary jewellery with embossed decoration: 1 diadem (floral, Nike slaying bull), 2 necklaces (Gorgoneia, female heads and stylized rosettes/suns), 1 cruciform pectoral (Herakles and the Hydra, Gorgoneia), 1 gold ribbon (Hermes Psychopompos?), 2 spiral armlets (snakes), 2 bracelets (animal finials), 6 rings (snake-shaped (4), Telephos (1), and a sphinx (1)), and 1 <i>danake</i> (gold simulacrum of Aitolian coin) placed in the mouth of the deceased; of silver were (the sheeting of) 2 combs, wooden boxes, 1 shell, and sandals; 1 iron strigil lay by the right hand, 1 bronze mirror was placed on the pelvis, and 1 clay unguentarium lay by the feet of the deceased
13. Agias Triados 94 (South Cemetery)											
13.1-4		R	tile grave	-	badly damaged	-	inhumation	-	-	o	the sherds of multiple vessels, 1 bronze coin, and 1 red glazed phiale were probably associated with these tile graves
13.5		R	tile grave	-	dim. 1.30 m	1		-	-	no	
13.6		R	built cist grave	-	dim. 2.50x1.25 m, badly damaged	-		-	-	yes	vessels (broken)
13.7	13.A	R	vaulted built cist	-	dim. 2.60x0.70x0.93 m, the grave had vaulted entrance in its short end	-		-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 8 clay vessels, 1 round bone object, 1 bronze coin
14. Agias Triados, Dorylaiou (South Cemetery)											
14.1-11		R(?)	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
15. Agias Triados, Karava, El. Venizelou (South Cemetery)											
15.1-2		R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
16. Agion Saranta 4 (South Cemetery)											
16.1-2		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
17. Agion Saranta 6-8 (South Cemetery)											
17.1	17.A	R	built cist grave	E-W	cist grave with built headrest for the deposition of an inhumation; one of its outer walls had three niches were built with immured ash urns (G17.1-4)	-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
17.2	17.A	R	urn	-	immured in G17.1	-	cr	-	-	-	
17.3	17.A	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
17.4	17.A	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
17.xx	This site further yielded Hellenistic pits and many ash urns, built cist graves and tile graves of the R era. Most graves were furnished with many and noteworthy (yet unspec.) grave goods.										
18. Agion Saranta 13 (South Cemetery)											
18.1		1st c. CE	tile grave	E-W		1	inhumation	-	-	o	one of the tile graves was furnished with 1 glass unguentarium (1st c. CE) and a bronze coin (Nero)
18.2		1st c. CE	tile grave	SE-NW		1		-	-		
18.3		1st c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE		1		-	-		
18.4		1st c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE		1		-	-		
18.5		1st c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE		1		-	-		
18.6		1st c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE		1		-	-		
18.7		1st c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE		2		-	-		
18.8		1st c. CE	tile grave	SW-NE	floor of roof tile graves	1		-	-		
18.9		1st c. CE	tile grave	NE-SW		1		-	-		
18.10		1st c. CE	tile grave	SW-NE		1		-	-		
18.11		ER	transport amphora		the type dates to the 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE	-	cr	-	-	-	
18.12		ER	hydria			-	cr	-	-	-	
18.13		2nd c. BCE	tile-built cist	NE-SW	dim. 0.83x0.60 m (ossuary?) disturbed by and pre-dating G18.14	-	inh (piled)	-	-	yes	ceramic unguentarium (2nd c. BCE)
18.14		125-75 BCE	cist grave	NW-SE	walls and cover of large limestone slabs that are connected with iron clamps that were covered with lead	1	inh	young adult	f	yes	ca. 130 gold leaves (1 or more wreaths), 1 gold necklace, 1 pair of gold earrings (doves), 2 gold rings with inset gemstones (1 with engraving of Isis), gold funerary jewellery: 2 bracelets, 1 brooch, 1 pin, 5 rings, silver objects: 1 spouted lamp, 2 bell-shaped pyxides, 1 jug, 1 phiale, a cup with a separate pedestal, a spoon, needles, disks with embossed decoration, a ribbon, and combs), the ivory hinges of a small box, and 3 unguentaria
19. Agion Saranta, Cheimarros Diakoniaras (South Cemetery)											
19.1-88	This site yielded Classical-Hellenistic cist graves, tile graves, and ash urns. To the Roman period date ash urns (mostly amphorai), tile graves, and brick-built cist graves that were enclosed by rectangular periboloi (T19.xx). The Classical-Hellenistic cist and pit graves were furnished with gold jewellery, pottery, bronze mirrors, coins, terracotta objects, pottery, and glass unguentaria. Cremation urns with grave goods date to the same period. The Roman ash urns were unfurnished, but the tile graves and brick-built cist graves were furnished with few grave goods.										

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
20. Agion Saranta, El. Venizelou (South Cemetery)											
20.1		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 2.10x0.55 m, floor made of roof tiles	1	inhumation	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 bowl with incised decoration
20.2		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 1.50x0.70 m	1		-	-	no	
20.3		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 2.20x0.60 m, cover of fragmented tiles	1		-	-	yes	2 bronze coins
20.4		R	built cist grave	E-W	dim. 1.70x0.50 m, built of brick, stone and mortar, floor of fragmented tiles with headrest	1		-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium
20.5		R	built cist grave	E-W	dim. 1.65x0.65 m, brick-built walls, floor made of tiles that are marked with X-es	3		-	-	yes	5 glass unguentaria, lamp
20.6		R	tile grave	SE-NW	dim. 1.20x0.65 m	-		-	-	o	looted
20.7		R	tile grave	S-N	dim. 1.70x0.80 m	1		-	-	yes	1 bronze ring, 1 lamp
20.8		R	tile grave	S-N	dim. 2.30x0.50 m, stones around the tile cover	1		-	-	yes	1 lamp, 2 bronze unguentaria
20.9		R	built cist grave	E-W	dim. 1.45x0.60 m, brick floor	-		-	-	no	
20.10		R	built cist grave	N-S	dim. 1.10x1.15 m, poorly constructed	-		-	-	no	
20.11		R	tile grave	W-E	dim. 1.30x0.35 m	1		-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 iron spike
20.12		R	tile grave	W-E	dim. 1.20x0.50 m	1		-	-	yes	1 lamp
20.13		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 0.90x0.55 m	-		-	-	o	looted
20.14		R	tile grave	W-E	dim. 0.95x0.27 m	-		-	-	no	
20.15		R	tile grave	SE-NW	dim. 1.90x0.50x0.20 m	1		-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria
20.16		R	built cist grave	SW-NE	dim. 2x0.55 m; brick-built walls	1		-	-	yes	1 iron strigil, 1 glass unguentarium
20.17	20.B	R	built cist grave	-	dim. 1.93x0.73x0.37 m, floor made of clay tiles that are marked with X-es	xx(?)		-	-	yes	1 bronze ring
20.18		R	amphora	N-S	h. 0.74 m	1		c	-	no	
20.19		R	urn	-	h. 0.93 m	-	cr	-	-	no	
21. Agion Saranta, Maximou 86-88 (South Cemetery)											
21.1		MR-LR (?)	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls, floor of square clay tiles, cover of reused limestone slabs	-	inh	-	-	no	
22. Agiou Andreou 187-189 (•)											
22.1-3		R-LR (?)	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
22.4-15		R-LR (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
23. Agiou Dimitriou 40-44 (East Cemetery)											
23.1		R-LR (?)	built cist grave	-	covered with Corinthian tiles	xx	inh	-	-	-	
24. Agiou Georgiou 112, Filopoimenos (?)											
24.1	24.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
25. Agiou Nikolaou 63 (North Cemetery)											
25.1	25.A	R	built cist grave	-	plastered interior walls placed below the tomb floor	4	inh	-	-	-	
25.xx	R cist and tile graves (no. unspec.) were found inside T25.B and T25.C. The grave goods include coins, gold and bronze items, earrings, needles, combs, silver leaves, glass unguentaria, and lamps. A terracotta figurine of Aphrodite was found outside one of the graves.										
26. Agiou Nikolaou, Kanakari (North Cemetery)											
26.1	26.D	R	urn	-	immured in niches in the wall of T26.D	-	cr	-	-	-	
26.2	26.D	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
26.3	26.D	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
26.4		R	tile grave	E-W		1	inh	-	-	no	
27. Akrotiriou 563 (•)											
27.1		LR	tile grave	-		2	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze pin, 1 bronze ring
28. Aktis Dymaion 21 (South Cemetery)											
28.1	28.A-D	R-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
28.2-10	28.A-D	R-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	looted
28.11-15		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
28.16-21		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
29. Amerikis, Thermopylon (North Cemetery)											
29.1		ER	tile grave	-		1	inhumation	c	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Claudius, 41-43 CE)
29.2		R	tile grave	-		1		c	-	no	
29.3		R	tile grave	-		1		c	-	no	
29.4		R	tile grave	-		1		c	-	no	
29.5	29.B	MR-LR	tile grave	W-E	inserted into the tomb during a phase of reuse	1		-	-	o	the graves from the site yielded various R coins and ceramic and glass unguentaria
29.6-39		R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	o	
29.40		R	built cist grave	-	built of brick and reused poros slabs	-		-	-	o	
29.41		R	built cist grave	-	brick-built, vaulted cover	1		-	-	yes	10 glass unguentaria
29.42		R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	o	the graves from the site yielded various R coins and ceramic and glass unguentaria
29.43		R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	o	
29.44		R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	o	
29.45		MR-LR	built cist grave	-	covered with reused architectural members	-		-	-	o	
29.46		MR-LR	built cist grave	-	(that came from T29.B?)	-		-	-	o	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
30. Amerikis, Thermopylon, NEO Patron-Athinon 21 (North Cemetery)											
30.1	30.A	R	pit	E-W	sides built of fragmented tile grave	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 pithamphora
30.2	30.A	R	tile-built cist	N-S	disturbed	1	inh	-	-	yes	9 clay vessels, 1 glass unguentarium
30.3		R	piriform jar	-		-	inh?	-	-	-	
31. Anaximandrou, Zinonos (•)											
31.1		R-LR	tile grave	-		2	inh	a, i	-	o	1 coin (LR) found near the grave
31.2		R-LR	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	yes	bronze earrings
31.3		R-LR	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	yes	1 bronze ring, 1 coin (4th c. CE) near the grave
31.4		R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
32. Ano Soudanaiika, Agios Konstantinos (•)											
32.1		R	limestone cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
33. Antheias (South Cemetery)											
33.1-2		R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
33.3		R(?)	vaulted built cist	-	brick-built	-	inh	-	-	-	
34. Aratou 33 (North Cemetery)											
34.1	34.A	R	pithos	-	diam. 1.18 m	-	inh	-	-	-	
34.2	34.A	R	built cist grave	-	badly damaged	-	inh	-	-	-	
34.3		R	built cist grave	S-N	dim. 1.35x0.72x0.70 m, with built headrest	-	inh	-	-	-	
34.4		R	sarcophagus	-	marble, small fragment	-	inh	-	-	-	
35. Aratou, between Korinthou and Kanakari (North Cemetery)											
35.1-5	35.A	R	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	among the grave goods were several glass
35.6-11	35.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	unguentaria
36. Aratou, Korinthou (North Cemetery)											
36.1	36.A	75-125 CE	glass urn	-	h. 0.30 m; below the floor of the peribolos	-	cr	-	-	o	several glass and clay vessels found in the tomb may be associated with this urn
36.xx	A large number of R tile graves were discovered at this site. These were furnished with lamps and various types of vessels.										
37. Aretha 52 (•)											
37.1-3	37.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	3 bronze coins
37.4	37.A	R	unspec.	-	destroyed						
37.5-6		EChr	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
37.7		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the graves yielded 5 glass unguentaria and
37.8-9		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	2 bronze coins

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
38. Artas 6 (•)											
38.1-4		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	○	the graves yielded 8 glass unguentaria and 1 lamp
39. Asimaki Fotila 4-6 (South Cemetery)											
39.1-144		Hel-R-LR	tile grave	varied	80 nails found in the graves indicate the use of wooden coffins for several of the burials	-	inh	-	-	○	the graves yielded 61 glass unguentaria, 22 clay unguentaria, 15 lamps, 25 vessels of various types, bone pins, and bronze rings, loops, and plating
39.145-147		Hel-R-LR	built cist grave			-	inh	-	-	○	
39.148-153		Hel-R-LR	vessel			-	inh	-	-	○	
39.154		Hel	unspec.	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath)
40. Asimaki Fotila 9-11 (South Cemetery)											
40.1-2		R	built cist grave	NW-SE	double brick-built cist with limestone floors and covers	-	inh	-	-	-	
40.3-7		R	built cist grave	NW-SE	destroyed, but with traces of plaster on the interior walls of some of the graves	-	inh	-	-	-	
41. Asimaki Fotila 16-18 (South Cemetery)											
41.1-7	41.A	EChr	built cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	○	‘no noteworthy grave goods’
41.8-16		EChr	built cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	○	
41.17-23		LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
41.24-27		R-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
41.28-29		R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
41.30		EChr	tile grave	-	inserted into an out of use water reservoir	-	inh	-	-	-	
42. Asimaki Fotila 18-20 (South Cemetery)											
42.1	42.A	R	tile grave	S-N	dim. 1.80 m	2	1 inh 1 piled inh	-	-	no	
42.2-4		R	built cist grave	NW-SE	triple cist built of alternating rows of stone and bricks	-	inh	-	-	no	
42.5-6		R	built cist grave	E-W	stone and brick-built walls, floor of Laconian tiles	-	inh	-	-	no	
42.xx	The R periboloi at this site enclosed multiple built cist graves, some built of stone and bricks and covered with plaster, others simply brick-built. The floors were paved with square tiles.										
43. Asimaki Fotila 21, 23, 25 (South Cemetery)											
43.1		EChr	built cist grave	W-E	the graves were arranged in rows, most were stone and brick-built cists, some had tile floors, and the covers were made of stone or clay slabs	some reused	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass amphora
43.2		EChr	built cist grave	W-E			inh	-	-	yes	1 glass lekythion
43.3-103		EChr	built cist grave	W-E			inh	-	-	no	
44. Asimaki Fotila 28 (South Cemetery)											
44.1		LR-EChr	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
45. Asimaki Fotila 75, Vasiliou Roufou (South Cemetery)											
45.1-3		LR-EChr	tile grave	-	inserted among the ruins of R houses	1	inh	c	-	-	
46. Benizelou Roufou 9 (South Cemetery)											
46.1		R	tile grave	varying orientations	in most graves the deceased was laid on a roof tile floor	1	inh	c	-	yes	the remnants of a wooden box surrounded 2 clay birds, 3 glass unguentaria, 4 spherical glass vessels, 3 lead rattles and a figurine of a pregnant woman
46.2-29		R	tile grave			-	inh	-	-	o	
47. Benizelou Roufou 29 (South Cemetery)											
47.1		2nd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	marble with sculpted bucrania, garlands, and eagle; complete: dim. 2.45x0.97x0.91 m	-	inh	-	-	no	
48. Benizelou Roufou 71 (South Cemetery)											
48.1	48.A	R	sarcophagus	-	BM12 may be associated with the grave	2	inh	-	-	no	
49. Boukaouri, Karatza (•)											
49.1		LR	built cist grave	-	situated among the remnants of a R house, the grave was revetted with marble, and a perforated marble slab served as its floor	-	inh	-	-	-	
50. Bozaitika, Kouma (•)											
50.1		R	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	-	
51. Bozaitika, Kybelis, Australias 41 (•)											
51.1		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 1.25x0.40 m	2	inh	-	f	yes	1 silver pin, 1 bronze pin, 1 pair of silver earrings, and 1 bronze ring
51.2		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 1.90x0.50 m	1	inh	-	-	no	
52. Bozaitika, Mantilo (•)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
53. Charalampi 22-24 (•)											
53.1		LR-EChr	built cist grave	-	the graves were built from stones, bricks, and reused architectural members; they were built after the area had lost its domestic function	11	inh	-	-	-	1 bronze buckle
53.2		LR-EChr	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	
54. Charilaou Trikoupi 26-28 (South Cemetery)											
54.1-7	54.A	ER	urn	-	inserted into the floor of the ‘columbarium’	-	cr	-	-	no	
54.8	54.A	ER	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass vessel (1st c. CE)
54.9	54.A	LHel-ER	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 clay unguentarium, 1 kantharos (Hel)

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
54.10	54.A	ER	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Augustus, Patras)
54.11	54.A	R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
54.12	54.A	ER	kalpe	-	placed by G54.11	-	cr	-	-	-	
54.13-15	54.A	R	tile grave	-	enclosed by an internal enclosure wall	-	inh	-	-	-	
54.16-25	54.B	ER	urn	-	immured in the columbarium	-	cr	-	-	-	
54.26	54.B	R	tile grave	-	placed in the burial chamber after the roof had collapsed	-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (1st c. CE)
54.xx	Additional cist and tile graves were found both in and outside the enclosures. The cist graves had floors made either from clay tiles or a layer of ceramic gravel. They had built headrests. Most of the cists contained the remains of multiple individuals; iron nails were found in the corners of many them, indicating that wooden coffins were used for the burials. The tile graves contained skeletal remains of one or two individuals, placed either on the natural soil or on roof/floor tile graves.										
55. Charilaou Trikoupi 32-36 (South Cemetery)											
55.1		EHel	cist grave	-	unspec. construction of walls, tile cover	-	inh	-	-	yes	grave goods dating back to the EHel period
55.2-14		Hel-R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
56. Diakou, Koumanioti, Benizelou Roufou (South Cemetery)											
56.1		R(?)	tile grave	S-N	covered with four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	
56.2		R(?)	tile grave	N-S	covered with four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	
56.3		R(?)	tile grave	SE-NW	floor made of two, cover made of four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	
56.4-7		R(?)	tile grave	SE-NW	covered with four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	
57. Dim. Gounari 77-79 (•)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
58. Dim. Gounari 135, Plateia Omonoias (•)											
58.1		R	built cist grave	-	covered with limestone slabs	-	inh	-	-	-	
59. Dim. Ipsilantou 54 (South Cemetery)											
59.1		LHel-R-LR	cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the grave goods include (gold) jewellery, clay and glass vessels, and coins
59.2-23		LHel-R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
59.24-32		LHel-R-LR	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
59.33-38		LHel-R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
59.39		1st c. BCE	urn	-		-	cr	-	f	yes	below the urn lay 1 gold wreath, 1 gold danake (dove, Sikyon 196-160 BCE), and gold funerary jewellery: a ring with the embossed representation of a female bust in profile and earrings (Nikes)
60. Dim. Ipsilantou 57, Vasiliadou (South Cemetery)											
60.1-3		R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
60.4		R(?)	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 small wire ring, 1 glass bead

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
61. Dim. Ipsilantou, Koumanioti 14 (South Cemetery)											
61.1-11		R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
62. Ellinos Stratiotou 73 (North Cemetery)											
62.1	62.A	LR	tile grave	-		-	inhumation	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Justin II and Sofia)
62.2	62.A	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Nero, Rome), 1 plate
62.3	62.A	l. 2nd- e. 3rd c. CE	tile grave	-		-		-	-	yes	1 lekythos-oinochoe, 1 jug, 1 lamp (erotic, 175-225 CE)
62.4	62.A	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria, 1 glass bowl with incised decoration
62.5	62.A	3rd- 4th c. CE	tile grave	-		2		-	-	yes	individual 1: 1 bronze coin (Caracalla, Patras) individual 2: 2 one-handled cups, 1 pyxis with bones, and 1 lamp (ca 250 CE)
62.6-11	62.A	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	-	
62.12-13	62.A	R	vaulted built cist	-		-		-	-	-	
63. Erenstrole 22-24 (•)											
63.1-2		R-LR	tile grave	-	in an (abandoned?) house	-	inh	i.	-	no	
64. Ermou 80-82 (North Cemetery)											
64.1-44	64.A	ER	urn	-	immured in the burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
64.45	64.A	ER	sarcophagus	-	the monolithic poros sarcophagus was built into the podium of the tomb, in a rectangular pit lined with <i>Opus testaceum</i> brickwork; the sarcophagus was covered by two stone slabs, and at the head of the grave a small extension contained a marble chest; three marble slabs covered both the marble box and the sarcophagus and the slabs were covered by square tile graves and a 15 cm thick layer of soil and stones, sealed off by a 90 cm thick layer of loose masonry	1	inh	a	m	yes	marble chest with hen's eggs, 9 gold leaves (wreath) around the head and 41 gold leaves (wreath) around the thighs, 1 gold fibula, 2 gold danakes (4th BCE Sikyon; 40-30 BCE Corinth) by the skull, 6 gold rings (4 of the Augustan era, depicting Herakles, Hermes, Eros, and a tripod; a fifth with a naked, helmeted warrior is Etruscan of the 2nd c. BCE), 1 silver rattle, 2 silver astragaloi, 1 inscribed rock-crystal dodecahedron, 14 glass unguentaria, 1 glass cup, and 2 bronze coins, and various ivory objects including 1 diptych, 1 relief plaque, and a statuette of a crippled person
64.46	64.B	MR	sarcophagus	-	monolithic limestone sarcophagus with carved headrest, and closed with limestone slabs, traces of red and yellow paint on the exterior	-	inh	-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria
64.47	64.B	MR	built cist grave	E-W	covered with clay slabs, earthen floor, built headrest	-	inh	-	-	yes	1 oinochoe, 1 bronze pin, iron nails (coffin? but note the headrest in the grave)
64.48	64.B	MR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (2nd c. CE)
64.49		MR	built cist grave	-	bench (of a <i>biclinium</i> ?) transformed into a cist grave	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
64.50	64.C	MR	built cist grave	-	BM16 was reused in the construction of the grave	xx	inh	-	-	no	
64.51	64.C	MR	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
64.52	64.E	3rd-4th c. CE	built cist grave	-	below the tomb floor	xx	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze ring, 1 bronze coin (Lokris, 338-300 BCE), 12 bronze coins (R-LR)
64.53		LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	2 bronze coins (LR)
64.54		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	2 bronze coins (14 CE, Patras; R, Corinth)
64.55		R	sarcophagus	-	marble, sculpted decoration	-	inh	-	-	-	
64.56		ER	marble urn	-	only the cover was preserved (Epitaph 214)	-	cr	-	-	-	
64.xx	Additional graves were found both in and outside the tombs; in the Chr period dozens of inhumations (all with W-E orientation) were placed over the remains of the preceding periods.										
65. Ermou 85-87 (North Cemetery)											
65.1-14	65.A	ER	urn	-	immured in an ER house tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
65.15	65.A	2nd-4th c. CE	built cist grave	NE-SW	the graves are later additions to the tomb, BM25 was reused for the cover of G65.15	1(?)	inh	-	-	-	
65.16	65.A		tile grave	NW-SE		1	inh	a	-	-	
65.17	65.A		tile grave	NW-SE		1	inh	a	-	-	
65.18	65.A		tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
65.19-20	65.B	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
65.21-22	65.B	R	vaulted built cist	NE-SW		-	inh	-	-	-	
65.23-24		R-LR	tile grave	SE-NW		-	inh	-	-	-	
65.25		R-LR	vaulted built cist	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	yes	many spherical glass unguentaria
65.26		R-LR	built cist grave	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	-	
65.27-31		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
65.32	65.C	R	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	o	it is unclear if the deposit of Hel figurines, fragments of two life-sized terracotta statues, and fragmented bronze figurines in the centre of the tomb is related to the grave
65.33		LHel-ER	sarcophagus	SE-NW	under the wall and pre-dating T65.D	2	inh	a, -	f, -	yes	16 gold leaves (wreath), a pair of gold earrings, 4 gold rings, 2 gold danakes
65.34		R	built cist grave	-	brick-built grave, epitaph (?) reused for the cover	1	inh	a	-	yes	1 gold danake
65.35-37	65.E	MR	built cist grave	NE-SW	the grave floors are paved with flat tiles	-	inh	-	-	-	
65.xx	Additional graves were found both in and outside the tombs.										
66. Ermou 89 (North Cemetery)											
66.1	66.A	3rd-5th c. CE	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls, plastered interior, cover made of reused architectural elements	xx	inh	-	-	no	
66.2-3	66.B	R-LR	tile grave	N-S	covered with four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
67. Exo Aguia Patron, Marouda (•)											
67.1		R	built cist grave	W-E	walls built of stone, brick, tile and mortar, a tile floor, and a cover of Laconian tiles dim. 1.75x0.65x0.50 m,	4	inh	a	-	yes	1 jug
67.2-5		R	tile grave	-		2	inh	-	-	no	
67.6-8		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
67.9-12		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	no	
68. Exo Aguia Patron, Papdiamanti 21 (•)											
68.1-2		LR	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
69. Exo Aguia Patron, Veaki (•)											
69.1		R	tile grave	-	associated with a R farmhouse	1	inh	-	-	yes	bronze coin (on chest)
69.2-10		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
70. Favierou 39-41 (North Cemetery)											
70.1-5		R	built cist grave	-		xx	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
70.6		2nd-3rd c. CE	built cist grave	-	a reused burial marker of the 1st-2nd c. CE was used as the cover of the grave (BM29)		inh	-	-	no	
70.7		R	built cist grave	-	coffin used for the burial	1	inh	-	-	no	
70.8-15		R	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
70.16		R	tile grave	-	coffin used for the burial	1	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
70.17-18		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
70.19-21		R	pit grave	-	coffin used for the burial	1	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
70.22	70.A	R	kalpe	-	inserted in the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	yes	a layer with traces of fire underneath the kalpe contained several clay and glass vessels
70.23-30	70.B	R	urn	-	mostly transport amphorai	-	cr	-	-	-	
70.31-33		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
71. Favierou 43 (North Cemetery)											
71.1		l. 1st c. CE	marble ash chest	-	sculpted decoration; imported from a workshop in Rome (Neronian-early Flavian)	-	cr	-	-	-	
71.xx	Built cist graves, tile graves, and various cremation urns were discovered both in- and outside periboloi flanking the main road through the N cemetery.										
72. Favierou 47 (North Cemetery)											
72.1-2	72.A-F	R	built cist grave	-	architectural elements reused as the cover	-	inh	-	-	-	
72.3-15		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
72.16		R	tile grave	-		2	inh	a, c	-	yes	1 bronze bracelet, 2 glass unguentaria (1st c. CE)

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects			
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description		
72.17-27	72.A-F	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-			
72.28		R	transport amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	1 glass vessel in the urn; 1 doll and 1 lamp lay near it		
73. Fokaia, Patriarchou Ioakim (East Cemetery)													
73.1		R-LR(?)	built cist grave	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	o	looted		
73.2-4		R-LR(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-			
74. Frourio (•)													
74.1-16		LR	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-			
75. Geor. Olympiou 82 (South Cemetery)													
75.1-3		LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-			
75.4-5		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-			
75.6		EChr	built cist grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-			
75.7		EChr	built cist grave	-		2	inh	-	-	-			
75.8		EChr	built cist grave	-		2	inh	-	-	-			
76. Geor. Papandreou, Dirfys (East Cemetery)													
76.1		R-LR(?)	built cist grave	-	walls built of brick, tile grave and mortar, the bottom of the grave was tile-paved	-	inh	-	-	-			
76.2		R-LR(?)	tile grave	E-W	bottom of two Laconian roof tiles	1	inh	a	-	-			
77. Paleon Patron Germanou 176 (•)													
77.1		R	built cist grave	-	in the courtyard of a house	1	inh	c	-	no			
77.2		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no			
78. Gerokostopoulou (North Cemetery)													
No graves are reported for this site.													
79. Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141 (North Cemetery)													
79.1-2	79.A	MR	built cist grave	-	in the NE burial chamber	-	inhumation	-	-	-	small vessels, 1 lamp (2nd-3rd c. CE)		
79.3	79.A	MR	built cist grave	-		xx		-	-	yes			
79.4	79.A	MR	built cist grave	-		xx		-	-	-			
79.5-6	79.B	MR	built cist grave	-		2		-	-	-	yes	unguentaria, 1 lamp (all of the 2nd-3rd c. CE)	
79.7	79.B	MR	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-			
79.8	79.B	MR	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-			
79.9	79.B	MR	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	
79.10-11	79.B	MR	cist	-		cist with marble lining (ossuary?), in the courtyard		-	-	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
80. Gerokostopoulou 31 (North Cemetery)											
80.1	80.A	R	sarcophagus	-		-	inhumation	-	-	-	
80.2	80.A	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	-	
80.3	80.B	R	sarcophagus	-	in the NW burial chamber	-		-	-	-	
80.4	80.B	R	tile grave	-	on a built podium in the NW burial chamber	-		-	-	-	
80.5-7	80.B	R	vaulted built cist	-	in the NE burial chamber	-		-	-	-	
80.8-10	80.B	R	built cist grave	-	in the SW burial chamber, plastered interior walls, tile-paved floor, and a cover of stone slabs	-		-	-	-	
80.11	80.B	R	sarcophagus	-	in the SE burial chamber	-		-	-	-	
80.12-14	80.B	R	tile-built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
80.15-17	80.C	R	built cist grave	-	in the NW burial chamber	-		-	-	-	
80.18	80.C	R	vaulted built cist	-		-		-	-	yes	glass unguentaria, lamps, and 1 skyphos (2nd c. CE)
80.19	80.C	R	vaulted built cist	-		-		-	-	-	
80.20-21	80.D	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
80.22	80.E	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
80.23-24		EChr	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
80.xx	Additional graves were found both in and outside the tombs.										
81. Gerokostopoulou 39 (North Cemetery)											
81.xx	Several unfurnished tile graves were uncovered at this site, as were two R tombs that likely contained burials.										
82. Gervasiou Paraskevopoulou 7 (•)											
82.1		LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 ring, 1 iron buckle
83. Giannitson 66 (North Cemetery)											
83.xx	Ash urns and tile graves were enclosed in a peribolos of R date.										
84. Ilias 78 (East Cemetery)											
84.1		3rd-4th c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 trefoil oinochoiskos (early 3rd c. CE)
84.2-3		R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
84.xx	A section of a LR-EChr cemetery consisted of three rows of brick-built cist graves.										
85. Ippokratous, Pesonton Astynomikon (East Cemetery)											
85.1		R-LR	cist grave	E-W	brick-built walls, bottom paved with square clay tiles, dim. 1.40x0.45 m	1	inh	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
86. Isoma Faron, Kampos (•)											
86.1-2	86.A	R	built cist grave	SW-NE	in an internal enclosure	1	inhumation	c	-	o	the grave goods include glass and clay vessels, items of bronze and ivory, and bronze coins
86.3-6	86.B	R	built cist grave	SW-NE		-		-	-	o	
86.7	86.A	R	vessel	-	in a niche in the internal enclosure of T86.A	1		c	-	o	
86.8	86.B	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	o	
86.9	86.B	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	o	
86.10-16		R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	o	
87. K. Satha (•)											
87.1-2		R-LR(?)	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	-	
88. Kalavryton (East Cemetery)											
88.1	88.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
88.2-3		R	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
88.4-9		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
88.10-12		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	looted
88.xx	Tombs discovered at the site contained additional built cist grave and tile graves.										
89. Kalavryton (East Cemetery)											
89.1		2nd-3rd c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (Artemis Kynegetis; 2nd-3rd c. CE)
89.2-3		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
89.4		MR	built cist grave	N-S	interior walls plastered, floor (and cover?) of tiles	-	inh	-	-	yes	clay model of a theatrical mask, 1 large elliptical lamp, 2 lamps (one of the 2nd c. CE), 1 vessel with a conical foot
90. Kalavryton 24-26 (East Cemetery)											
90.1		ER	built cist grave	-	covered with slabs and concrete a coffin may have been used for the burial	1	inh	-	-	yes	gold danake
90.2		LHel-ER	tile grave	-	below and pre-dating G90.1	1	inh	-	-	yes	silver danake
90.3		R	vaulted built cist	-	destroyed	-	inh	-	-	o	finds from the site include bronze coins, bronze objects, 1 glass ring in the shape of a snake, 1 oinochoiskos (1st c. BCE-1st c. CE), and 1 stamnos (2nd-e. 3rd c. CE)
90.4-7		LHel-R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
90.8		LHel-R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
91. Kalavryton 34 (East Cemetery)											
91.1-2		R	built cist grave	-	interior walls of brick and tile grave (plastered), exterior walls of stone and tile grave, floors paved with square tile graves, tile grave cover	xx	inh	-	-	o	the grave goods from the site are 1 clay lekythion, 2 glass lekythia, 1 bone needle, 1 plate, 1 lead cup with handles, and 5 bronze coins
91.3-4		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
91.5-7		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
91.8-9		R	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the grave goods from the site are 1 clay lekythion, 2 glass lekythia, 1 bone needle, 1 plate, 1 lead cup with handles, and 5 bronze coins
91.10		R	urn (?)	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
92. Kalavryton 69 (East Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
93. Kalavryton, Fokaia (East Cemetery)											
93.1	93.B	R	built cist grave	-	destroyed	-	inh	-	-	-	
94. Kalavryton, between Maragkopoulou and Giannopoulou (East Cemetery)											
94.1-16	94.B-C	R	built cist grave	-		-	inhumation	-	-	o	many graves were destroyed or looted; preserved grave goods include clay and glass vessels, small bronze items, and many bronze coins; most items date to the R era
94.17-26	94.B-C	R	tile grave	-		-		-	-	o	
94.27-32	94.D	R	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	o	grave goods include clay and glass vessels, small bronze items, and a large number of coins
94.33-43	94.D	R	tile grave	E-W		1		-	-	o	
94.xx	Trench B yielded a R tomb (T94.A) with built cist graves, as well as an unspecified number of tile graves that were not organized in periboloi.										
95. Kalavryton, between Smyrnis and Maragkopoulou (East Cemetery)											
95.1-5	95.A	375-450 CE	tile grave	-	later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	yes	coins (375-450 CE)
95.6-19		R-EChr	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
95.20-24		1st-2nd c. CE	pit	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
95.25		R-EChr	pit grave	-	covered with stone slabs	-	inh	-	-	o	
95.26		R-EChr	sarcophagus	-	made of poros; a later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	o	
95.27-32		R- EChr	built cist grave	-	brick-built	-	inh	-	-	o	
95.33-35	95.A	1st-2nd c. CE	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
96. Kalavryton, Vermiou (East Cemetery)											
96.1-4		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
96.5-7		R-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the cist graves were looted
96.8-14		R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	most graves were unfurnished
97. Kanakari 72 (North Cemetery)											
97.1		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
97.2		R	built cist grave	-	gabled cover	-	inh	-	-	-	
98. Kanakari 76 (North Cemetery)											
98.1	98.A	LR	tile grave	-	marble tombstone reused for the cover (BM38)	-	inh	a	-	o	
98.2-3	98.A	LR	pithos	-	later addition to the tomb	-	inh	a	-	o	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
98.4	98.A	R	built cist grave	-	dim. 2.25x0.75x1.20 m, a marble tombstone was reused for the cover (BM39), burial in a coffin	1	inh	a	-	-	
98.5	98.A	R	built cist grave	-	urns G98.7-9 were placed in the grave	-	-	-	-	-	
98.6	98.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	a	-	yes	2 gold leaves, 7 glass unguentaria
98.7-9	98.A	R	urn	-	placed in G98.5	-	cr	-	-	-	
98.10-11		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
98.12		R	built cist grave	-	below the wall of and pre-dating T98.B	-	inh	-	-	-	
98.13		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
98.14		R	urn	-	set in a square area with hard soil (0.75x0.75 m)	-	cr	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin lay underneath the urn in a layer with traces of fire and burnt bones
98.15		R(?)	secondary burial of five crania	-	set in a square area with hard soil, (0.75x0.75m)	5	sec bur	-	-	yes	1 unguentarium, 1 bone pin, 2 bronze coins, and sherds of several vessels lay between the crania
98.xx	In addition to graves G98.1-3 peribolos T98.A enclosed several tile graves of the LR period, most with E-W orientation. All graves contained the skeletal remains of adult individuals, and only a few were furnished with simple grave goods.										
99. Kanakari 80-82 (North Cemetery)											
99.1	99.A	2nd-3rd c. CE	built cist grave	E-W	the graves had brick-built, plastered walls, floors that were paved with clay tiles and built headrests; the av. dim. of the graves was 1.95x0.70x0.55 m	5	inhumation	a	-	o	looted
99.2						5		a			
99.3						9		7 a, 2 i			
99.4						-		-			
99.5	99.B	1st-2nd c. CE	tile-built cist	E-W	headrest in the E end of the grave	1	inh	-	-	-	
99.6-7	99.B	1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	-	
99.8		LCl	tile-built cist	-	below and pre-dating house tomb T99.B	-	inh	-	-	-	
99.9	99.E	ER	lead urn	-	set into half an amphora and inserted into the core of the funerary monument	-	cr	-	-	-	
99.10-12	99.F	MR	vaulted built cist	N-S	brick-built, plastered walls, and a tile-paved floor, av. int. dim. 2.25x0.65 m	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
99.13	99.F	MR	vaulted built cist	E-W	brick-built walls, floor paved with four Corinthian tiles, headrest in the E end, dim. 2x1.10 m	4	inh	-	-	no	
99.14-15	99.G	MR	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls	-	inh	-	-	-	
99.16	99.H	MR	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	-	
99.17	99.H	MR	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	-	
99.18		R	amphora	-	relief decoration (wavy ribbons, female bust)	-	cr	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
99.19-21		LCI	tile-built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
99.22-110		Hel-R	various	-	Of Hel date are burials in simple pits in which the dead were placed directly in the natural soil, or in wooden coffins. Some graves of the same type were ER. Most numerous were burials of R date in built cist graves and tile graves of multiple configurations: the dead were placed either on tile graves, in the natural soil, or in a coffin, and were covered with tile graves that were either simply placed horizontally, or set against each other to form an arched roof. There were also a number of clay cinerary urns.	-	inhumation and cremation	-	-	o	The grave goods from the site were very numerous. The most common were glass unguentaria (some bird-shaped), but they also included clay unguentaria, plates, lekythia, lamps, gold leaves of funerary wreaths, gold and bronze jewellery, 1 bronze mirror, astragaloi, and 1 egg shell.
99.xx	There were additional Hellenistic graves beneath T99.A, but these remain unspecified in the report.										
100. Kanakari 84-86 (North Cemetery)											
100.1-2	100.B	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	looted
100.3	100.B	R	sarcophagus	-	revetted with marble slabs	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
100.4	100.C	R	built cist grave	-		xx	inh	-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria, 1 cup, coins; a lamp was found outside the grave
100.5	100.C	1st-2nd c. CE	glass urn	-	placed in a niche in the tomb wall	-	cr	-	-	-	
100.6-10	100.D	1st-2nd c. CE	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	various grave goods of the 1st-2nd c. CE
100.11	100.D	1st-2nd c. CE	sarcophagus	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	
100.12-17	100.D	1st-2nd c. CE	urn	-	immured in the columbarium	-	cr	-	-	o	the fill of the columbarium contained ashes and grave goods: unguentaria, various vessels, lamps, figurines, and a gold danake
100.18	100.D	1st-2nd c. CE	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
100.19		LHel-ER	pit grave	-	below and pre-dating T100.F	-	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
100.20-23		LHel-ER	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
100.24		ER	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	f	yes	unspec. grave goods of the 1st c. CE
100.25-42		1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
100.43		LCI-EHel	sarcophagus	-		1	inh	-	-	o	the graves contained many grave goods: gold and silver jewellery, metal utensils, clay and glass vessels, and coins
100.44-85		LCI-LR	unspec. grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
100.86-97		LHel-R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
100.98-100		LHel-R	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
100.xx	Additional pit, tile grave and cist graves were dispersed around the site; hypogeum T100.F had several niches in its walls that were intended for ash urns.										

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
BS100, grave 1*		125-75 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	m	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold diadem, 1 gold ring, an Illyrian-type pin, and 1 gold danake (Sikyon), silver vessels of the 2nd half of the 2nd c. BCE: 1 cup, 2 mastoid cups, 1 aryballos, and 1 lagnos, 1 silver a ladle, 6 silver strigils hanging on a ring, 2 unguentaria and 1 lamp of the (l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE), 3 worn bronze coins
BS100, grave 2*		125-75 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold necklace, 1 pair of gold earrings with gold, gem, and pearl dangles (amphoriskoi), 3 gold snake-shaped bracelets, 1 silver diadem, 1 bronze mirror, bronze and iron instruments, 1 bronze handle, 1 unguentarium and 1 stannoid pyxis (l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE)
BS100, grave 3*		150-100 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold necklace with finials in the shape of lion's heads, 2 bracelets, 4 snake-shaped rings, 3 rings with inset engraved gemstones or glass beads (Aphrodite, Athena Promachos, and Apollo), 1 pair of sphinx-shaped earrings, 1 unidentified item of funerary jewellery, 2 unguentaria (150-100 BCE), and 1 bronze mirror
BS100, grave 4*		mid-4th c. BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 pair of gilded clay earrings, fragments of silver jewellery, 1 bone pin, 2 figurines, and 7 vessels (ca. 350 BCE), including a miniature hydria and kalathos
BS100, grave 5*		350-300 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 pair of earrings with dangles in the form of Erotes, 1 gold and 3 bronze links (of a chain?), 1 silver strigil, 1 bronze mirror (350-300 BCE), 1 lamp (340-330 BCE), 1 hydriokos (2nd half of the 4th c. BCE), and 2 pyxides (350-325 BCE)
BS100, grave 6*		300-275 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 gilded bronze crown, 1 pair of gold earrings with finials in the shape of lion's heads, and 1 small phiale (ca. 300-275 BCE)
BS100, grave 7*		325-300 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 bronze gilded wreath, 1 snake-shaped earring, 1 bronze mirror (400-350 BCE), and 1 silver coin of Aigina of the late 4th c. BCE
BS100, grave 8*		125-75 BCE	-	-	-	1	inh	-	m	yes	gold myrtle and oak leaves (wreath(s?)), 1 inscribed gold myrtle leaf (ΜΥΣΤΑ), 1 gold funerary ring (winged lightning bolt), 1 lamp, 1 unguentarium (ca. 125-75 BCE), silverware (ca. 150-100 BCE): 1 pyxis, 1 lagnos, 1 mastoid cup, and 1 cup on a pedestal, 1 silver ladle, 1 ceramic lamp with silver decorative sheeting, 1 loop or ring, 1 silver Illyrian-type pin, 4 silver strigils and 1 silver aryballos all hanging on a ring (125-75 BCE), and 1 gold danake
BS100, grave 9*		2nd c. BCE (?)	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	gold funerary jewellery: 1 ring with an embossed representation of a Gorgon (?) and 1 pair of earrings in the shape of Nikes, 1 bronze mirror, 1 bronze cylindrical vessel, 1 iron knife, 1 lead pyxis, and 1 unguentarium dating to 275-250 BCE
BS100, grave 10*		Hel	-	-	-	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 tripod pyxis of the early 2nd c. BCE, 1 pair of gold funerary earrings (Erotes), and 1 gold funerary ring with finials in the shape of snake's heads
BS100, context 11*		l. 3rd c. BCE	-	-	-	1	cr	-	f	yes	a layer with traces of fire contained gold earrings in the shape of Sirens, 1 figurine in the shape of a female (250-225 BCE), and the bronze disc of a mirror

* See Catalogue C, note 1.

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
101. Kanakari 90-92 (North Cemetery)											
101.1-2	101.A	ER	glass urn	-	inserted into a ceramic vessel and placed against the base of the funerary monument	-	cr	-	-	-	
101.3	101.D	ER	urn	-	inserted into the core of the monument	-	cr	-	-	-	
101.4		4th c. BCE	limestone cist	N-S		-	inh	-	-	-	
101.5-7	101.C	R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
101.8-9		Hel-R	tile/pit grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
101.10-17		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
101.18	101.F	R	built cist grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	-	
101.19-45		LCI-LR	various	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
101.xx	The published site plan suggests that additional inhumation graves (and ash urns?) were found on either side of the road.										
102. Kanakari 113-117 (North Cemetery)											
102.1		R	built cist grave	-	floor paved with marble slabs	-	inh	-	-	-	
102.2		R	built cist grave	-	floor paved with fragmented tile	-	inh	-	-	-	
102.xx	Cist graves were built along the walls of the burial chambers, their number ranging from one to seven per chamber, and their size ranging from 1.30x0.77 m to 2.10x0.71 m. The floors were paved with clay tile graves or slabs, and the walls were faced with plaster or marble. The covers were made of Laconian roof tiles, flat tiles, or limestone slabs. Skeletal remains were present in most of the graves (1-10 individuals). In those graves with successive burials, the earlier depositions had often been pushed aside towards the corners. Three ossuaries also the point to the practice of clearance and reuse of graves. Most of the burial chambers had niches with immured ash urns. Tile graves were found at the site as well. In these, the dead were placed in the natural soil, on tile graves, or on a layer of river stones.										
103. Kanakari 121 (North Cemetery)											
103.1	103.A(?)	2nd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	marble, sculpted and inscribed (Epitaph 215)	-	inh	-	-	-	
103.2-5	103.B	1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	-	below the podium of T103.A	-	inh	-	-	-	
103.6-7	103.B	1st-2nd c. CE	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.8	103.B	1st-2nd c. CE	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
103.9-15	103.B	75-125 CE	urn	-	immured in the NE burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
103.16-19	103.B	75-125 CE	urn	-	inserted into the floor of the antechamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
103.20-29	103.B	MR-LR	vaulted built cist	-	later addition to the tomb	xx	inh	-	-	-	
103.30	103.C	Byz	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.31	103.C	R	built cist grave	-	burial marker preserved <i>in situ</i> (BM55)	-	inh	-	-	-	
103.32	103.C	2nd c. CE	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
103.33	103.C	R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
103.34-35	103.D	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.36-37	103.E	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
103.38	103.E	R	transport amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
103.39	103.E	l. 3rd c. CE	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.40-42	103.E	3rd c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.43	103.E	3rd c. CE	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
103.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site.										
104. Kanakari 122 (North Cemetery)											
104.1	104.A	R	built cist grave	N-S, S-N	floor of clay tile graves, headrest	4	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium
104.2	104.A	R	built cist grave	-	floor of clay tiles	-	inh	-	-	-	
104.3	104.B	R	urn	-	inserted into the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
104.4		MR	vaulted built cist	N-S	double cist grave	4	inh	-	-	-	1 unguentarium
104.5		MR	vaulted built cist	N-S		4	inh	-	-	-	1 stamnos, 1 lamp (100-150 CE), 3 unguentaria (2nd c. CE)
104.6	104.C	R	built cist grave	N-S	floor paved with square tiles, headrest	6	inh	-	f	yes	1 gold earring
104.7	104.C	R	built cist grave	N-S	floor paved with square tiles, headrest	3	inh	-	-	yes	1 stamnos (3rd c. CE)
104.8		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
104.9		R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
104.10		l. 2nd c. CE	stamnos	-	type dated to the l. 2nd c. CE	-	cr	-	-	-	
104.11	104.D	l. 1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	-	in the courtyard(?) of T104.D, although some of the burials were found at a deeper level and belong to an earlier phase	-	inh	-	-	yes	8 unguentaria (l. 1st-e. 2nd c. CE)
104.12	104.D	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 unguentarium
104.13-16	104.D	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
104.17	104.D	R	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
104.18-21	104.D	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
104.22-24	104.D	R	urn	-	in the burial chamber (?) of T104.D	-	cr	-	-	no	
104.25-26	104.D	R	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
104.27-28	104.D	R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
104.29	104.D	R	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	-	
104.30	104.D	R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
104.31		ER(?)	tile grave	-	below the wall of T104.D	1	inh	-	-	no	
104.32		R	vaulted built cist	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (in mouth)
104.33-34		R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
104.35		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	4 glass unguentaria (l. 1st-e. 2nd c. CE)

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
104.36-40		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
104.41-44		R	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
104.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site.										
105. Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (North Cemetery)											
105.1	105.A	l. 1st-2nd c. CE	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp, 1 glass unguentarium (50-100 CE)
105.2	105.A	LR	built cist grave	-		2	inh	-	-	yes	coin(s) of the 4th c. CE
105.3	105.A	LR	built cist grave	-		3	inh	-	-	yes	coin(s) of the 4th c. CE
105.4	105.A	LR	tile grave	-	in a space added to the tomb in LR times	1	inh	c	-	no	
105.5	105.B	R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	bronze coin (Domitian, Patras)
105.6	105.B	R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium (late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE)
105.7		MR-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	gold and bronze jewellery, 2 oinochoai, 8 bronze coins
105.8		MR-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
105.9	105.D	MR-LR	built cist grave	-	in the courtyard of the tomb	-	inh	-	-	-	
105.10		Hel	urn	-	in a pit	-	cr	-	f	yes	1 bronze mirror, silver jewellery, and 1 gold coin had been placed below the urn
105.11		Hel	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
105.12		Hel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
105.13		Hel	cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
105.14		Hel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
105.xx	Many additional depositions were discovered at the site, but remain undiscussed in the excavation report.										
106. Kanakari 124-126 (North Cemetery)											
106.1	106.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
106.2-8	106.A	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
106.9-13	106.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
106.14	106.B	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
106.15		3rd-4th c. CE	built cist grave	-	encased in a solid structure (1.55x1.05x1.30 m) that was coated with plaster, with a burial marker <i>in situ</i> (BM65); a coffin was used for the burial	1	inh	3	f	yes	1 fine gold ring, glass vessels including 2 of bird-shape, 1 figurine (pig)
106.16-40		R-LR	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
106.41		EChr	built cist grave	W-E	dim. 2.37x8.76x0.64 m; revetted with marble slabs, associated with an EChr basilica	1	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
107. Kanakari 133 (North Cemetery)											
107.1	107.A	ER	lead urn	-	inserted into the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
107.2-4	107.B	ER	urn	-	immured	-	cr	-	-	-	
107.5	107.B	R	sarcophagus	-	later addition to the tomb	2	inh	-	-	-	
107.6	107.B	R	built cist grave	-	later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	-	
107.7		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
107.8		MR(?)	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
107.9		MR(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
107.10-12		MR(?)	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
107.xx	Additional depositions were discovered around the plot; niches in the burial chamber of T107.A would originally have contained ash urns.										
108. Kanakari 139 (North Cemetery)											
108.1-3	108.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the SW burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	-	
108.4-5	108.A	R	urn	-	immured in the SW burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
108.6-10	108.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the SE burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	-	
108.11-12	108.A	R	urn	-	immured in the SE burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
108.13	108.A	R	urn	-	in a niche in the wall of the SE burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
108.14-16	108.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the NW burial chamber	-	cr	-	-	-	
108.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site, but remain undiscussed in the excavation report.										
109. Kanakari 163 (North Cemetery)											
109.1-3	109.A	3rd c. CE(?)	built cist grave	-	stone and brick-built, covered with stone slabs	xx	inh	-	-	o	the graves contained various fragmented vessels, a bronze needle and bronze coins of the 3rd c. CE
109.4	109.A	R-LR	built cist grave	-		xx	inh	-	-	no	
109.5-6	109.A	R-LR	built cist grave	-	destroyed	-	inh	-	-	o	
109.7	109.A	R-LR	tile grave	-		2	inh	-	-	no	
110. Kanari 88, Ioannou Vlachou (North Cemetery)											
110.1		R	built cist grave	-	dim. 1.90x0.43 m; brick-built walls, brick floor, and covered with large stones	-	inh	-	-	-	
111. Kapodistriou 36-38 (South Cemetery)											
111.1	111.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	1 bronze coin(?)
111.2	111.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
112. Karaïskaki 116 (North Cemetery)											
112.1	112.A	R-LR-EChr	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria, 1 lamp (7th c. CE), iron nails, 1 gold danake (3rd c. BCE), and 4 bronze coins (Honorius, and others of the 4th-6th c. CE)
112.2	112.D	R-LR-EChr	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 amphora, 6 bronze coins (Justin I, and others of the 5th-6th c. CE)
112.3	112.D	R-LR-EChr	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (5th-6th c. CE)
112.4	112.D	R-LR-EChr	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (5th-6th c. CE), bronze coins (Theodosius I, Marcus Aurelius (of Patras), Honorius, Arcadius, Constantius Gallus, and others of the 4th-6th c. CE)
112.5-6	112.D	R-LR-EChr	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
112.7	112.D	R	stamnos	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
112.8		R-LR	tile grave(?)	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
113. Karaïskaki 118 (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
114. Karaïskaki 129 (North Cemetery)											
114.1		EChr	stone-built cist	-	dim. 2×0.65×0.62 m, covered with three marble slabs	5	inh	-	-	no	
115. Karaïskaki 132 (North Cemetery)											
115.1		R	sarcophagus	-	fragmentary, marble (undecorated)	-	inh	-	-	-	
115.2		R	sarcophagus	-	fragmentary, marble (sculpted decoration)	-	inh	-	-	-	
115.xx	Burials were discovered both in and outside the tombs at this site, but are not discussed in the report. The grave goods include a fragmentary pyxis with relief decoration, lamps with potter's signatures of the R era (Πωσφόρου, Καλλίστου etc.), 1 glass vessel, 1 bronze and ivory handle, 1 bird made of electron, 3 golden bracelets, 2 gold earrings, and 1 golden buckle.										
116. Karaïskaki 136 (North Cemetery)											
116.1-2	116.A	MR	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls, floor paved with square clay tiles	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.3	116.A	MR	built cist grave	-	brick-built	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.4	116.A	MR-LR	built cist grave	-	marble, sculpted slab used for the wall, the grave is a later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.5	116.A	MR-LR	built cist grave	-	dim. 0.75x0.35m; brick-built walls, built headrest, the grave is a later addition to the tomb	-	inh	c(?)	-	o	looted
116.6-7	116.B	EChr	built cist grave	-	the grave is a later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.8	116.B	EChr	built cist grave	-	arcosolium; the grave is a later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.9-11	116.B	MR	urn	-	immured	-	cr	-	-	o	looted
116.12	116.B	MR	built cist grave	-	floor paved with square clay tile graves, some with X-shaped grooves; immured in the tomb wall(?)	-	inh	-	-	o	looted

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
116.13		MR	vaulted built cist	-	built under the staircase between T116.A and 116.B	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.14		MR	urn	-	inserted into a stone-lined cist	-	cr	-	-	o	looted
116.15		R	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	o	looted
116.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site.										
117. Karaïskaki 147 (North Cemetery)											
117.1	117.A	R	built cist grave	-	floor paved with three large square tile graves	-	inh	-	-	yes	1 gold pin
117.2	117.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 trefoil oinochoe, 1 lekanidion
117.3-6	117.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	finds include R bronze coins and R ceramics
118. Karaïskaki 153-155 (North Cemetery)											
118.1	118.C	R	sarcophagus	-		2	inh	-	-	-	
118.2-3	118.C	R	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
118.4-5	118.D	R	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
118.6-10	118.D	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
118.11	118.E	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
118.12	118.E	R	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
118.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site.										
119. Katerinis 14-16, Konstantinoupoleos 75 (North Cemetery)											
119.1		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	a pair of gold earrings and a glass unguentarium
119.2-10		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	were all the finds from the ten R depositions
119.11		Hel	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	2 skyphoi (4th c. BCE)
119.12		Hel	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 kantharos on top of the cover tiles of the grave; inside the grave lay a bronze gilded ribbon, astragaloi, 1 shell, 1 skyphidion, and 1 bronze coin
119.13		375-350 BCE	pit grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 gold ring, 1 skyphos, 1 lekythos, 1 lamp
119.14		350-325 BCE	pit grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 shell, 1 skyphos, 1 skyphidion, 1 silver coin (in mouth)
119.15		l. 4th-e. 3rd c. BCE	tile-built cist grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp, 1 kotyle base, 1 strigil, 1 silver coin, and fragments of ivory and iron nails (coffin or box?)
119.16		e. 3rd c. BCE	tile-built cist grave	-		1	inh	-	f	yes	1 gold wreath, 1 bronze mirror, 1 marble alabastron, 1 black-glazed lekanis with lid, 1 plain lekanis, and 1 pyxis
119.17		l. 4th-e. 3rd c. BCE	pit grave	-		1	inh	-	f	yes	1 bronze mirror, 2 unguentaria

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
119.18		l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE	pit grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold ring, 1 laginos, 1 large lamp, and 3 bronze coins
119.19		l. 2nd-e. 1st c. BCE	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp
119.20-22		Hel-R	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
119.xx	Additional built cist graves and tile graves of the R period were discovered at this site, some enclosed in peribolos T119.D. Tile grave-covered pits contained ash urns, cremated remains and/or secondary burials.										
120. Katerinis 18-20 (North Cemetery)											
120.1	120.A	R	built cist grave	-	dim. 1.83x0.62x0.63 m, a floor of rectangular tiles with a built headrest	3	inh	a, a, c	-	o	looted
120.2	120.A	R	built cist grave	-	dim. 1.82x0.65x0.72 m, a floor of rectangular tiles with a built headrest	2	1 inh 1 inh piled	-	-	o	looted
120.3	120.A	R	built cist grave	-	a floor of rectangular tiles, with a built headrest	-	inh	-	-	-	
120.4	120.A	R	vaulted built cist	-	dim. 2.30x0.60x0.75 m, floor of rectangular tiles, built below the tomb floor	-	inh	-	-	no	emptied
121. Katerinis 22-24 (North Cemetery)											
121.1		LR	built cist grave	-	dim. 1.84x0.78 m, brick-built walls and covered with two limestone slabs	-	inh	-	-	yes	clay and glass vessels, bronze coins
122. Kefallinias 29 (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
123. Kefallinias, Naumachias Ellis (North Cemetery)											
123.1-6	123.A	R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
123.7-9	123.A	R(?)	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
123.10	123.A	R(?)	pyre	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
124. Kefallinias, Thermopylon (North Cemetery)											
124.1-3	124.A	R	urn	-	immured	-	cr	-	-	-	
124.4-12	124.A	R-LR	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
124.13		EHel(?)	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
124.14		mid-1st c. CE	marble ash chest buried in a pit	-	sculpted decoration; imported from a workshop in Rome (Claudian)	-	cr	c	-	-	1 gold ring with an inset emerald, 1 bone button or gaming piece, 1 bronze and 1 silver needle (possibly used as hairpins), 1 bronze grooming tool of bronze, and bronze fragments of unknown use
125. Kefallinias, Thessalonikis (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
126. Klearchou 33 (South Cemetery)											
126.1-3		Hel(?)	cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	the cist graves were furnished with gold danakes, gold earrings, coins, bronze jewellery, bronze tweezers, 1 bone comb, and various vessels
126.4		Hel(?)	pit	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
127. Kolokotroni 29-35 (North Cemetery)											
127.1-14		Hel-ER	urn	-	amphorai, stamnoi, and one hydria decorated with red paint, most were closed off with lids or plates, urns G127.1-127.12 had been placed in a row, while G127.13-14 stood elsewhere at the site	-	cr	-	-	-	
127.15		R	glass urn	-	inserted into the lower half of a transport amphora	-	cr	-	-	yes	7 bone buttons, 1 bone pin, many small round pebbles, bronze and iron fragments
127.16-18		Hel (?)	tile grave	NE-SW		-	inh	-	-	no	
127.19		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 clay comical mask, and 1 figurine of an old man with a young child
127.20		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
127.21		R	vaulted built cist	NE-SW		-	inh	-	-	-	
127.22-23		Hel-R	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
127.24		R	pit grave	-	coffin used for the burial, covered with stone, brick, and mortar	-	inh	-	-	yes	1 vessel with relief decoration, 1 bronze coin (R)
127.25		R	pit grave	-	coffin used for the burial, covered with stone, brick, and mortar; a tombstone for a gladiator found nearby may possibly be associated with the grave (BM71)	-	inh	-	-	-	
127.26		EHel	sarcophagus	SE-NW	covered with limestone slabs	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 gold ring, 1 amphoriskos, 1 lekythion, 1 lamp (EHel) placed at the feet of the deceased; outside the grave, against its corner, stood a transport amphora (EHel)
128. Kolokotroni 35 (North Cemetery)											
128.1-8		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
128.9		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	3 glass unguentaria
128.10-13		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
128.14-16		R(?)	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
128.17		Hel(?)	sarcophagus	-	fragmentary	-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
129. Konstantinoupoleos 76; 81, Paxon (North Cemetery)											
129.1-2		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
129.3-5		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
129.6	129.A	3rd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	in a small burial chamber in T129.A	-	inh	-	-	-	
129.7-9	129.A	3rd c. CE	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
129.10	129.B	3rd c. CE	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
129.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site, but remain undiscussed in the excavation report.										
130. Konstantinoupoleos 82, Stratokleous, Karolou (North Cemetery)											
130.1	130.B	R	tile grave	NE-SW	dim. 1x0.45x0.50 m	1	inh	c	-	-	
130.2	130.B	2nd c. CE	tile grave	NE-SW	dim. 1.70x0.40x0.40 m; placed below G130.1	1	inh	a	-	-	1 glass unguentarium (2nd c. CE)
130.3	130.B	R	stamnos	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
130.4	130.B	R	lead kalpe	-	inserted into a transport amphora	-	cr	-	-	-	
130.5-6	130.B	R	tile grave	NE-SW		1	inh	-	-	no	
130.7	130.B	l. 1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	NW-SE	dim. 1.30x0.40x0.30 m	1	inh	c	-	yes	1 glass vessel (l. 1st-2nd c. CE)
130.8	130.B	l. 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE	pit grave	NE-SW	coffin used for the burial	1	inh	c	f	yes	gold earrings, 1 gold ring, 1 glass-bead necklace, 3 clay and 5 glass unguentaria (l. 1st c. BCE-1st c. CE)
130.9	130.B	0-50 CE	tile grave	NE-SW		1	inh	c	m	yes	1 gilded silver buckle, 1 silver pen, 1 glass cup, 1 ribbed glass bowl, 1 glass unguentarium, 5 clay unguentaria, (and an intrusive coin of 4th-5th c. CE Corinth)
130.10		ER	sarcophagus	NW-SE	covered with limestone slabs ; internal dimensions of the grave: 1.85x0.60x0.55 m	1	inh	-	f	-	1 gold danake (dove), 1 bronze folding mirror, the locking mechanism of a wooden chest, and 7 glass unguentaria (1st c. CE)
131. Konstantinoupoleos 85 (North Cemetery)											
131.1-6	131.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
131.7-10	131.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
131.11	131.B	R	built cist grave	-		2	inh	-	-	yes	2 bronze sistra
131.12	131.B	R	built cist grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
131.13		R	vaulted built cist	-	three-stepped descent into the grave	2	inh	-	-	-	
131.14-19		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
131.20		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
131.21		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
132. Konstantinoupoleos 89 (North Cemetery)											
132.1	132.A	2nd c. CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 cup
132.2-11	132.A	2nd c. CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	fragmentary vessels of the 2nd c. CE
132.xx	The site also yielded an unspecified number of cinerary urns.										
133. Konstantinoupoleos 91 (North Cemetery)											
133.1		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath)
133.2-6		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	clay and glass vessels
133.7-8		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
134. Konstantinoupoleos, Astiggos (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
135. Konstantinoupoleos, Favierou (North Cemetery)											
135.1-8		R(?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
135.9-10		R(?)	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
136. Konstantinoupoleos, Norman, Paxon (North Cemetery)											
136.1-6	136.A	R	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls, mortar floors, built headrest	-	inh	-	-	o	many grave goods were found: glass vessels, lamps, unguentaria, and bronze coins
136.7	136.A	Hel	pit grave	-	below and pre-dating G136.5	-	inh	-	-	o	
136.8-15		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
136.16-17		Hel	pit grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
136.18		R	vaulted built cist	-		1	inh	-	-	o	
136.19-23		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
136.24-27		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
137. Konstantinoupoleos, Paxon (North Cemetery)											
137.1-2		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
138. Korinthou 34 (North Cemetery)											
138.1		LR	built cist grave	-	built of reused material, including a statue base of the 1st-2nd c. CE	-	inh	-	-	-	
139. Korinthou 125 (North Cemetery)											
139.1		ER	sarcophagus	E-W	dim. 2.10x0.55x0.50 m; headrest cut into the floor of the sarcophagus	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 gold danake (dove; on the chest), and 2 glass lekythia (by the feet)
139.2		ER	built cist grave	E-W	built against G139.1, dim. 1.24x0.62x0.53 m; brick-built walls and floor; burial in a coffin	1	inh	-	f	yes	1 gold pendant (naked female), 1 bronze earring, 1 cup and 1 phiale (from Italy), 1 glass lekythion

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
139.3		ER	sarcophagus	-	dim. 2.20x0.63x0.70 m; covered with two limestone slabs	3	2 inh 1 cr	a, c	f, f	yes	The two inhumations both had 1 gold danake (adult: female portrait; child: dove), the adult wore 1 gold ring with an inlaid stone (crescent moon, star), the child had worn a wreath of 15 gold myrtle leaves; there were also 4 glass lekythia , 1 lion-shaped ceramic vessel, and 1 plate. Ash chest G139.4 was placed by the feet of the two individuals and contained a fragmented cylindrical ivory object.
139.4		40-55 CE	marble ash chest	-	placed in G139.3; sculpted ivy leaves, birds, and a krater; imported from a workshop in Rome (Claudian)			-	-		
139.5		ER	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lekythion, 1 phiale
139.6		ER	transport amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	1 coin (Tiberius, 34-36 CE)
139.7		ER	glass urn	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	3 coins (Sikyon, 3rd c. BCE; Elis, 271-191 BCE; Patras, Domitian)
139.8		ER	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	scarab (Shu, son of Ra) set in a silver wire ring
140. Korinthou 132 (North Cemetery)											
140.1-2	140.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the NW burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	-	
140.3-4	140.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
140.5-7	140.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the SE burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	-	
140.8-10	140.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
140.11		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
140.12-14		R	cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
140.15-19		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
141. Korinthou 152-154 (North Cemetery)											
141.1		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the burials were looted, but some grave goods were preserved: glass and clay vessels and bronze coins
141.2-3		R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
141.4		R	built cist grave	-	the short end was blocked by a tile (entrance)	-	inh	-	-	o	
141.5		R	built cist grave	-	the short end had a triangular entrance	-	inh	-	-	o	
141.6-30		Hel-R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
141.31		Hel-R	urn	-	placed in a pit, covered with a square tile	-	cr	-	-	no	
141.32		Hel-R	tile-covered pit	-	no receptacle, but similar pit as G141.31	-	cr	-	-	no	
141.33		Hel-R	urn	-	receptacles include pithoi, amphorai, and hydriai	-	cr	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath)
141.34-40		Hel-R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
142. Korinthou 156 (North Cemetery)											
142.1-2		Hel	cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	rich grave goods (unspec.)
142.xx	Additional built cist graves, tile graves, and ash urns discovered at the site date to the R era.										

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
143. Korinthou 158 (North Cemetery)											
143.1-88	The Hellenistic graves were found in successive layers in the east part of the plot. They contained very rich and varied offerings, which are collectively listed in the report: many clay unguentaria, skyphoi, plates, lamps, one bronze mirror, one lead cylindrical pyxis, one silver bracelet and one silver flute, many gold leaves (wreaths), one pair of earrings with the embossed representation of a sphinx, one gold ring with a flat bezel, golden earrings with lynx heads decorating the finials, gold danakes, and one gold diadem with an embossed decoration. In the hands of two of the skeletons blue coloured beads were found. The Roman graves were generally furnished with glass unguentaria, while in some graves a bronze coin was found in the mouth of the deceased.										
143.xx	In addition to the inhumation graves, a number of ash urns were unearthed at the site.										
144. Korinthou 166 (North Cemetery)											
144.1	144.A	R	pithos	-		-	-	-	-	-	
144.xx	Tile graves were discovered between the tombs. No mention is made of any graves inside the tombs, but may have been unearthed nonetheless.										
145. Korinthou 189 (North Cemetery)											
145.1		LHel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	5 gold leaves (wreath), 1 clay unguentarium (2nd-1st c. BCE), 1 fragmentary large vessel
145.2		LHel	tile grave	-	or a tile grave-covered pyre?	-	burnt bones	-	-	yes	laginos (LHel), 3 clay unguentaria
145.3		LHel	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	gold leaves on bronze stems (wreath; on the head), gold leaves (wreath; on the abdomen), 1 strigil, and 1 transport amphora (2nd-1st c. BCE)
145.4		LHel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
145.5		LHel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	f	yes	the bronze disk of a small mirror
145.6		LHel	tile grave	N-S	dim. 1.83x0.62 m; coffin used for the burial	1	inh	-	-	no	
145.7		LHel	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin
145.8		LHel	tile grave	S-N	dim. 1.50x0.80x0.30 m; cover of fragmented tile	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 clay unguentarium
146. Korinthou 221-223 (North Cemetery)											
146.1		Hel	limestone cist	E-W		-	inh	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath), silver vessel, fragments of bronze and lead plating
146.2		Hel	limestone cist	E-W		-	inh	-	-	yes	the grave was looted, but preserved were gold leaves (wreath), 1 gold danake, 1 silver vessel; gold fruit-shaped accessories and gold thread may have belonged to a shroud
146.3		Hel	limestone cist	E-W		1	inh	-	-	yes	gold leaves around the skull and waist (2 wreaths), silver vessels, and 3 bronze coins (146-31 BCE)
146.4	146.A	ER	stamnos	-	inserted in the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
146.5-6	146.D	ER	lead urn	-	inserted in the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
146.7	146.B	ER	lead urn	-	inside a built tumulus (diam. 1 m, h. 0.50 m)	-	cr	-	-	-	
146.8-16		1st-2nd c. CE	urn	-	some were covered by transport amphorai	-	cr	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
146.17		MR	vaulted built cist	N-S	entrance in the short S end for consecutive burials; burial markers found <i>in situ</i> (gladiators, BM90-91)	4	inh	a	m	yes	1 unguentarium, 1 prochous (200-250 CE)
146.18		MR	vaulted built cist	N-S	bench along the exterior	5	inh	a	m	yes	2 bronze coins (Marcus Aurelius, Patras), 1 lamp (gladiators; l. 2nd-e. 3rd c. CE)
146.19		MR	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
146.20		MR	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
146.xx	There were additional depositions of the MR period both in the tombs and between them. In the LR period a cemetery of tile graves was built over the remnants of the preceding periods.										
147. Korinthou 246 (North Cemetery)											
147.1		LR	limestone cist	NW-SE	dim. 1.25x0.60 m; built from thick slabs	1	inh	-	-	no	
147.2		LR	cist grave	NW-SE	dim. 2.15x0.90 m; built from rough limestone blocks and brick, covered with a reused marble kymation and three limestone slabs	5	inh	-	-	no	
147.3		LR	built cist grave	NW-SE	dim. 2.10x0.85 m; built from reused material	-	inh	-	-	no	
147.4		LR	built cist grave	NW-SE		xx	inh	-	-	no	
147.5		LR	tile-built cist	NW-SE	dim. 1.30x0.50 m; walls built of square tiles, reinforced at the base with stones, cover of Laconian tiles	2	inh	-	-	no	
147.6		LR	built cist grave	NW-SE	dim. 1.60x1.10x0.50 m; built from reused material	5	inh	-	-	no	
148. Korinthou 287 (North Cemetery)											
148.1-5		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
148.6-7		LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
148.xx	Faint traces of built cist graves were preserved in T148.A										
149. Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19 (North Cemetery)											
149.1		4th c. BCE	tile grave	N-S		1	inh	-	f	yes	bronze earrings (pyramidal), 1 bronze mirror, 2 cylindrical pyxides, 1 glass alabastron, 4 ivory puppets (doves), 1 lamp, 4 red-figured lekythia, 1 black-glazed lekythion, 1 kantharos, 1 kyathion, 1 krateriskos, and 2 phialai
149.2		Hel	unspec.	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath)
149.3		2nd c. BCE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	f	yes	a necklace of three gold pendants, glass and stone beads, 1 silver ring, clay unguentaria, and 1 pyxis
149.4-14		Hel-R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
149.15	149.A	R	tile grave	-	covered with an inscribed tombstone (BM94)	-	inh	2y, 4d	m	-	
149.16		R	built cist grave	-		xx	inh	-	f	yes	1 pair of gold earrings, 1 bronze bracelet, 3 glass and 1 clay unguentaria, 1 clay phiale (R)

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
149.17		R	kalpe	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	8 black and blue glass pebbles
149.18		EHel	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze wreath with gilded leaves and fruits
149.xx	Additional depositions on the W side of the road, both in and outside the tombs are not discussed in the report. One of the Late Hellenistic depositions contained a gold necklace (LHel), a silver bracelet, a silver ring with inset stone as well as a simple silver ring, a lead cylindrical pyxis, two unguentaria (150-125 BCE), and ca. 30 glass paste and stone gaming pebbles.										
150. Koritsas (South Cemetery)											
150.1-4		EHel	pit	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	few grave goods (unspec.)
150.5-15		l. 3rd-1st c. BCE	pyre	-	av. dimensions: 2.05x0.93x1.70 m	-	cr	-	-	-	
150.16-49	In the R period funerary periboloi were built over the Hellenistic remains, sometimes disturbing them. The periboloi enclosed built cist graves, tile graves, and clay and lead ash urns.										
151. Korydalleos 20 (•)											
151.1		LCl-Hel	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 pin, 1 ceramic vessel, 1 silver obol (Kleitoria, 362-300 BCE)
151.2-3		LCl-Hel	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	no	
152. Kotroni, Moraïtidi (•)											
152.1		Hel-R	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	-	
153. Kotroni, Patron-Athinon 102 (•)											
153.1-44		LR-EChr	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	some of the graves of the lower level contained grave goods: bronze coins and rings
154. Kotroni, Ragkavi (•)											
154.1-2		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
154.3-4		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	unspec.
155. Koumanioti 13 (South Cemetery)											
155.1		R	built cist grave	-	plastered walls	-	inh	-	-	o	many graves were furnished; grave goods include glass unguentaria, lamps, coins, and small vessels.
155.2-24		R	vessel	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
155.25-195		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
156. Koumanioti 17 (South Cemetery)											
156.1-19		R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
156.20		R (?)	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
157. Koumanioti 22 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
158. Koumanioti 23 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
159. Koumanioti 29-31 (South Cemetery)											
159.1		LR	stone-built cist	N-S	dim. 1.17x0.47x0.52 m; poor construction	-	inh	-	-	-	
159.2-5	159.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	6 vessels (R)
159.6	159.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
160. Koumanioti 33-35 (South Cemetery)											
160.1	160.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 oinochoe (2nd c. CE)
160.2	160.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
160.3	160.A	R	sarcophagus	-	poros	-	inh	-	-	-	
160.4		R	built cist grave	-	coffin used for the burial built against T160.A	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass vessel
161. Koumanioti, Asimaki Fotila (South Cemetery)											
161.1-49		R	tile grave	-	most graves were covered with a pair of roof tiles, many of which were reinforced with a layer of small round stones and mud	-	inh	a&c	-	o	most graves were furnished, items are listed collectively: 11 bronze coins, 1 silver coin, one gold danake, 55 clay, and 21 glass vessels
162. Kyprou, Doiranis (North Cemetery)											
162.1-3		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
162.4		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 skyphos
163. Lefkosias (North Cemetery)											
163.1		R (?)	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	c	f	yes	1 necklace of blue glass beads
163.2		R (?)	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	no	
164. Lontou 8-36 (•)											
164.1-4	164.A	LR	built cist grave	-	built from makeshift and reused materials	-	inh	-	-	-	
164.5-6	164.A	LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
164.7-25		EChr	unspec.	W-E		-	inh	a&c	-	-	
165. Lontou 148-150 (•)											
165.1		0-150 CE	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	c	f	yes	1 ceramic mask, 2 gold rings, 1 bronze pendant, 1 bronze ring, 2 iron spoons, bronze studs (sandals), 6 glass vessels, and 2 lead bell-shaped objects
165.2-13		0-150 CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
166. Maizonos 3 (North Cemetery)											
166.1		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
166.2		R	brick-built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
166.3		l. 2nd-3rd c. CE	built cist grave	NW-SE	dim. 2.15x1.05 m; brick-built walls, floor paved with square tiles, cover of roof tiles	2	inh	a, c	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Marcus Aurelius, Patras)

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
167. Maizonos 5 (North Cemetery)											
167.1-6		Hel-R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	most graves were unfurnished; only a few clay and glass vessels were found
167.7-10		Hel-R (?)	built cist grave	-	cover of reused poros limestone slabs	-	inh	-	-	o	
168. Maizonos 23 (North Cemetery)											
168.1	168.A	R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
168.2-4		R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
169. Maizonos 157, Filopoimenos (North Cemetery)											
169.xx	This area yielded remnants of a defensive wall, outside which a number of graves and rows of ash urns were buried in the Hel-ER period.										
170. Mesologgiou 7 (South Cemetery)											
170.1-2		5th-6th c. CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin
170.3		5th-6th c. CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze object
170.4-26		5th-6th c. CE	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
171. Mesologgiou 9 (South Cemetery)											
171.1	171.A	LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 clay unguentarium, 1 clay vessel
171.2-10	171.A	LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	no	
171.11-13	171.B	LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	no	
171.14		LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E	built against T171.B	1	inh	-	-	no	
171.15-27		LR-EChr	cist/tile grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	no	
171.28		LR-EChr	cist/tile grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 clay vessel, 1 beaded necklace
171.xx	Additional graves can be seen on the site drawing, yet are not described in the report.										
172. Mesologgiou 11 (South Cemetery)											
172.1		LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E	stone and brick-built walls, covered with one marble and two limestone slabs	-	inh	-	-	o	most graves were unfurnished, but some contained simple objects; exceptional grave goods were 1 pair of gold earrings, 2 silver pins, and 1 silver cosmetic utensil
172.2		LR-EChr	cist grave	W-E	stone and brick-built walls, covered with three stones, sealed with mortar	-	inh	-	-	o	
172.3-68		LR-EChr	cist/tile grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	o	
173. Mesologgiou 16 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
174. Mesologgiou 32 (South Cemetery)											
174.1	174.A	ER (?)	tile-covered pit	-	covered by a compact structure (1.65x2x 1.10 m) with a kymation and traces of plaster	-	sec. bur.	-	-	yes	gold leaves (wreath), 3 glass unguentaria
174.2	174.A	R	tile grave	N-S		2	inh	-	-	-	
174.3	174.A	R	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
174.4	174.A	R	pit/tile grave	S-N	triple cist grave placed in G174.8	-	inh	-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria
174.5	174.A	R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
174.6	174.A	R	vaulted built cist	E-W		1	inh	c	-	no	
174.7	174.A	R	vaulted built cist	E-W		3	inh	-	-	-	
174.8	174.A	R	vaulted built cist	E-W		3	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp, iron nails (coffin?), and amphora G174.8
174.9	174.A	R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
174.10	174.A	R	tile grave	E-W		1	inh	c	-	-	
174.11-12	174.A	R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
174.13	174.B	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	spherical glass unguentaria (1st c. CE)
174.14-15	174.B	R	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
174.16	174.C	R	vaulted built cist	-	placed in G174.18 dim. 2.25x0.65 m; plastered walls and covered by a limestone monolith	-	inh	-	-	-	
174.17	174.C	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (Leda and swan; 2nd c. CE), 1 bronze coin
174.18		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	G174.18 was found in this grave
174.19		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
174.20		R	built cist grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	yes	2 pieces of gold sheet, 14 clay and 4 glass unguentaria
174.21		R	amphora	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	many clay unguentaria placed beside the urn
174.22-23		R	tile grave	N-S		1	inh	-	-	o	the graves yielded glass and clay unguentaria and 1 iron key
174.24		R	vaulted built cist	N-S		1	inh	-	-	o	
174.25		R	tile grave	N-S		1	inh	-	-	o	
174.26-27		R	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	o	
174.28-29		R	tile grave	N-S	1	inh	-	-	o		
174.30-31		R	tile grave	W-E	1	inh	-	-	o		
174.32		R	vaulted built cist	W-E	-	inh	-	-	o		
174.33		R	tile grave	W-E	-	inh	-	-	o		
174.34-35		R	tile grave	W-E	1	inh	-	-	o		
174.36		R	tile grave	W-E	-	inh	-	-	o		
174.37		R	vaulted built cist	N-S	-	inh	-	-	o		
174.38		R	tile grave	E-W	1	inh	-	-	o		
174.xx	Additional graves were discovered at the site.										
175. Mesologgiou, Asimaki Fotila (South Cemetery)											
175.1		LR-EChr	cist grave	-	marble table top reused for the cover	-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
176. Mikinon 6 (East Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
177. Mikinon 8 (East Cemetery)											
177.1-8		R	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	o	a.o. 3 skyphoi with relief decoration
178. Nikita 45 (•)											
178.1		LR	unspec.	E-W		1	inh	a	-	yes	1 clay vessel (LR)
179. Nikita 60-66 (•)											
179.1		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W		most graves contained multiple individuals	inh	-	-	yes	silver earrings, unguentaria
179.2		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W			inh	-	-	yes	2 pairs of gold earrings, 1 bronze incense burner, and 1 glass polyhedral vial
179.3		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W	double cist grave		inh	-	-	o	gold earrings, gold thread (clothing/shroud), glass unguentaria
179.4		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W			inh	-	-	o	
179.5		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W	double cist grave		inh	-	-	-	
179.6		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W			inh	-	-	-	
179.7-10		LR-EChr	cist grave	E-W			inh	-	-	-	
180. Nikita 74 (•)											
180.1-10		EChr	built cist grave	W-E	built of stone and brick, cover of limestone slabs or reused marble architectural members	1	inh	-	-	-	
180.11-15		LR-EChr	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
180.16-17		LR-EChr	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181. Norman 88 (North Cemetery)											
181.1-3		2nd c. BCE	unspec.	SE-NW		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.4		2nd c. BCE	unspec.	SE-NW		1	inh	-	f	yes	gold earrings (lions), 1 bronze mirror (3rd c. BCE), 1 tripod pyxis (200-175 BCE), and 1 unguentarium (300-275 BCE)
181.5		2nd c. BCE	unspec.	SE-NW		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.6		2nd c. BCE	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.7	181.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	looted
181.8	181.A	R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.9	181.A	R	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	many grave goods
181.10	181.A	R	stone urn	-		-	cr	-	-	yes	
181.11		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.12		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
181.13		R	unspec. grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.14		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.15		R	unspec. grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.16		R	built cist grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.17-18		R	unspec. grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.19-20		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	-	
181.21		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
181.xx	Additional depositions were discovered in T181.A and around the site.										
182. Norman, between Katerinis and Konstantinoupoleos (North Cemetery)											
182.1	182.A	R	built cist grave	NW-SE	floor paved with three square clay slabs	-	inh	-	-	-	
182.2		R	amphora	-	covered with the bottom half of a transport amphora	-	cr	-	-	-	
182.3		R	stamniskos	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
183. Notara 9 (•)											
183.1		R	vaulted built cist	-	stepped descent into the grave, tile floor; dim. 1x1x1.27 m	-	inh	-	-	-	1 bronze coin
183.2		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
183.3		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	-	
184. Notara, G. Chortatzi (•)											
184.1		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
184.2		R	tile grave	S-N	covered with four Laconian tiles	1	inh	-	-	no	
185. Panachaïkou 2 (South Cemetery)											
185.1		LR-EChr (?)	tile grave	SW-NE		2	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium
186. Panachaïkou 4-8 (South Cemetery)											
186.1-9		EChr	built cist grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	-	
186.10		EChr	built cist grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	-	
186.11-13		EChr	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	-	
186.14		EChr	built cist grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	-	
186.15		EChr	tile grave	W-E	placed on top of the cover of G186.14	1	inh	-	-	-	
186.16-17		LR-EChr	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	-	
186.18-19		LR-EChr	built cist grave	W-E	double cist grave of poor construction	1	inh	-	-	-	
186.20	186.B	LR-EChr	unspec. grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	-	
186.21		LR-EChr	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
186.22		LR-EChr	tile grave	W-E	situated above G186.23	1	inh	a	-	-	
186.23		LR-EChr	tile grave	W-E	situated below G186.22	1	inh	c	-	-	
186.24		LR-EChr	unspec. grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	-	
186.25	186.C	LR-EChr	unspec. grave	W-E		2	inh	-	-	-	
186.26		LR-EChr	tile grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	-	
187. Panachaïkou 37, Geor. Olympiou (South Cemetery)											
187.1-2		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (between the teeth)
187.3		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
187.4		R	unspec. grave	-		-	sec. bur.	-	-	-	
188. Panepistimiou 88 (North Cemetery)											
188.1		R (?)	tile grave	N-S	l. 1.90m	-	inh	-	-	no	
189. Panepistimiou 257-263 (•)											
189.1-6		R-EChr (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
190. Panepistimiou 268 (•)											
190.1-3	190.A	2nd c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
190.4	190.A	2nd c. CE	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
190.5		R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp, 1 small clay cup, 1 oinochoe
191. Panepistimiou 368-370 (•)											
191.1		Hel (?)	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 coin (Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246-221 BCE)
191.2-8		Hel (?)	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	no	
191.9		Hel (?)	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	no	
192. Panepistimiou, Alkaiou (•)											
192.1		R (?)	tile grave	N-S		-	inh	-	-	no	
193. Pantokratoros 27 (•)											
193.1		R-EChr (?)	built cist grave	E-W	covered with a 0.30 m thick monolith	-	inh	-	-	no	
194. Pantokratoros 32 (•)											
194.1		LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
194.2		LR (?)	unspec. vessel	-	placed in front of G194.1	-	inh	-	-	-	
194.3-5		EChr	unspec. grave	W-E		-	inh	-	-	-	
195. Papaflessa, Benizelou Roufou 2 (South Cemetery)											
195.1-2		ER	tile grave	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	yes	a skyphidion and a lamp were associated with the graves

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
196. Paralia Patron, 25is Martiou 84 (•)											
196.1-7		R	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	o	grave goods include coins and glass unguentaria
196.8		R	built cist grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	o	
197. Patreos 65 (North Cemetery)											
197.1	197.A	Hel	urn buried in a tile-covered pit	-	h. 0.30m, two horizontal handles	-	cr	-	-	-	
198. Patreos 83-85, Karaïskaki (North Cemetery)											
198.1-4	198.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the NE burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	o	looted
198.5	198.A	R	tile/pit grave	-	in the NE burial chamber	1	inh	-	-	-	
198.6-7	198.A	R	built cist grave	-	in the NW burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	-	
198.8		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
198.xx	Additional graves can be seen on the site drawing, yet are not described in the report.										
199. Patron-Klaous (East Cemetery)											
199.1	199.A	R-LR	built cist grave	-	added to the tomb during a second phase of use	6/7	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 lamp, 1 clay incense burner
199.2	199.B	R	lead urn	-	inserted into the core of the tomb	-	cr	-	-	-	
199.xx	Immured ash urns in the walls of T199.A date to its original phase of use.										
200. Patron-Klaous 1 (East Cemetery)											
200.1-4		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	the depositions had few and simple grave goods
200.5-10		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
200.11-16		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
201. Patron-Klaous 3 (East Cemetery)											
201.1		2nd c. CE	tile grave	varying orientations-		2	inh	a	-	-	the graves contained lamps, vessels, loom weights, and bronze coins (in the mouths of (male?) individuals)
201.2		2nd c. CE	tile grave			3	inh	a, c, c	-	-	
201.3-16		2nd c. CE	tile grave			1	inh	-	-	-	
201.17		2nd c. CE	grave		roof tile floor, cover of three limestone slabs	1	inh	-	-	-	
201.18		2nd c. CE	tile-built cist			1	inh	a	f	yes	1 gold pendant (Aphrodite) and 1 gold bead, 1 gold earring with green stone, 1 glass perfume bottle
201.19-21		2nd c. CE	urn			-	cr	-	-	-	
202. Patron-Korinthou, Neo Archaïologiko Mouseio (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
203. Paulou Mela 18 (North Cemetery)											
203.1	203.A	MR-LR	built cist grave	NE-SW		3	inh	-	-	o	looted

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
203.2	203.A	MR-LR	amphora	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
203.3-6	203.A	MR-LR	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	o	the tile graves were mostly unfurnished
204. Pavlokastro (•)											
204.1-3		LCl-Hel	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
204.4		LCl-Hel	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
205. Petmeza 2, Navarinou 23 (South Cemetery)											
205.1-11		150-250 CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the graves held modest grave goods, including 1 Corinthian relief decorated skyphos and other ceramic vessels
205.12		150-250 CE	kalpe	-	traces of fire were found around the urn	-	cr	-	-	-	
206. Petmeza 3 (South Cemetery)											
206.1-6	206.A	R	built cist grave	-	destroyed	-	inh	-	-	no	
206.7	206.B	R	tile-built cist (?)	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
206.8-9		R	built cist grave	-	double cist grave	-	inh	-	-	-	
206.10		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
206.xx	Additional graves and ash urns can be seen on the site plan, but are not discussed in the report.										
207. Petmeza 5 (South Cemetery)											
207.1	206.A/B	3rd c. CE	built cist grave	-	burial marker preserved <i>in situ</i> (BM100)	2	inh	a, c	f, m	yes	unspec.
207.2-16		R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
208. Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 28 (•)											
208.1-46	208.A	5th-6th c. CE	built cist grave	mostly W-E		-	inh	-	-	-	
208.47-54		5th-6th c. CE	built cist grave		the graves were covered with marble architectural elements in secondary use	-	inh	-	-	-	
208.xx	Additional graves can be seen on the site drawing, yet are not described in the report.										
209. Plateia Omonias (•)											
209.1		EChr	built cist grave	-	stone and brick-built walls, plastered interior, floor and cover of marble slabs (some reused)	-	inh	-	-	-	
210. Pontou 73 (East Cemetery)											
210.1	210.A	R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	o	the grave goods were generally poor, but included 1 bronze coin (danake) and 1 bronze pendant
210.2	210.A	R	urn	-	immured	-	cr	-	-	-	
210.3-13		EChr	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	
210.14-15		R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
210.16		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
211. Poukevil 15 (North Cemetery)											
211.1-4		Hel-R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
212. Poukevil 17 (North Cemetery)											
212.1		R	tile grave	SE-NW		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (Antoninus)
212.2		R	tile grave	SE-NW		1	inh	-	-	no	
212.3		R	tile grave	NE-SW	a Laconian roof tile as floor	1	inh	c	-	-	
212.4		R	tile grave	NE-SW	disturbing G212.14	1	inh	-	-	-	
212.5		R	tile grave	-	disturbing G212.13	1	inh	-	-	-	
212.6-12		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
212.13		R	tile grave	-	disturbed by G212.5; bones piled in G212.5	1	inh	-	-	-	
212.14		R	tile grave	-	disturbed by G212.4; bones piled in G212.4	1	inh	-	-	-	
213. Poukevil 22 (North Cemetery)											
213.1-2		LR	built cist grave	SE-NW	double brick-built cist grave, floor and cover of (reused) marble slabs	-	inh	-	-	yes	grave 1: 1 glass unguentarium grave 2: 1 iron nail
214. Poukevil 24 (North Cemetery)											
214.1	214.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
214.2		ER (?)	tile grave	-	below the walls of and pre-dating T214.A	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium
214.3-4		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
214.5		R	stone urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
214.6	214.B	R	built cist grave	-	brick-built walls	2	inh	-	-	yes	1 gold danake, 1 bronze coin, 1 glass unguentarium, and 1 lamp
214.7-10		R-LR (?)	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	-	
215. Poukevil 25-27 (North Cemetery)											
215.1		325-275 BCE	pit	E-W		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 bronze gilded wreath, 1 kantharos, 1 kotyle, 2 lekythia, and 1 thilastro
215.2		300-275 BCE	pit			1	inh	6-8	f	yes	1 bronze wreath with gilded clay fruits (myrtle), 1 pair of gold earrings (lions), 1 silver hemiobol (Aigina, l. 4th-e. 3rd c. BCE) clenched between the teeth, 1 bronze egg-container with a hen's egg, and 2 skyphidia
215.3		ER	tile grave			1	inh	-	-	yes	3 bronze coins, placed in the mouth

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
215.4		Hel	limestone cist			-	inh	-	-	o	most of the depositions were furnished, and grave goods include wreaths of gold leaves, gold jewellery, bronze mirrors, silver items, various types of vessels (but only unguentaria in the R graves), lamps, some bronze and silver coins, some gold danakes, and several eggs
215.5-90		LCI-R	unspec.		LCI-Hel: tile-built cists and pits; R: tile graves	-	inh	-	-	o	
215.91-112		Hel-ER	urn	-	inserted into rectangular (tile-built) pits and covered by a flat tile	-	cr	-	-	o	
215.113		Hel-ER	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
215.114-125		Hel-ER	tile-covered pit		organic receptacle for the cremated remains (?)	-	cr	-	-	o	
216. Poukevil 31 (North Cemetery)											
216.1-2		Hel	pit grave	E-W		1	inh	a	-	no	most graves were looted, but grave goods include 4 gold wreaths, gold and silver bracelets, rings, earrings, and pins, strigils, unguentaria, lamps, 1 anthropomorphic vessel, and several coins
216.3-7		Hel	pit grave	E-W		1	inh	i/c	-	o	
216.8		Hel	tile grave	N-S		1	inh	i/c	-	o	
216.9-10		Hel	tile grave	E-W		1	inh	i/c	-	o	
216.11-14		Hel	tile-covered pit	-	organic receptacle for the cremated remains (?)	-	cr	-	-	o	
216.15-16		Hel	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
216.17		Hel	tile-built theke	-		-	sec. bur.	-	-	o	
216.18		Hel	pit	-		-	sec. bur.	-	-	o	
217. Poukevil 32 (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
218. Poukevil 38-40, Zaimi 57-59 (North Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
219. Prevedos (•)											
219.1-12		Hel-R	tile grave	E-W		-	inh	-	-	o	few graves were furnished
219.13		Hel-R	tile-built cist	E-W	dim. 1.80x0.65 m	-	inh	-	-	o	
220. Samou, Aristomenous (•)											
220.1	220.A	1st-2nd c. CE	vaulted built cist	-	below the floor of the main burial chamber	xx	inh	-	-	yes	the grave was looted, but there were some lamps of the l. 1st-e. 2nd c. CE
221. Sarantoporou 48 (North Cemetery)											
221.1-6		Hel-R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
222. Sarantaporou 50 (North Cemetery)											
222.1		R	built cist grave	N-S	dim. 1.20x0.83 m	-	inh	-	-	yes	2 glass unguentaria
222.2		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 1x0.45 m	-	inh	-	-	-	
222.3		R	pit grave	N-S	dim. 2.05x0.60 m, below and pre-dating G222.1; a coffin was used for the burial (18 nails)	1	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass bead, 1 glass ring, 4 glass unguentaria

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
222.4-7		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
223. Sarantaporou 52 (North Cemetery)											
223.1		R	sarcophagus	NE-SW	int. dim. 1.30x0.63x0.34 m	-	inhumation	-	-	no	
223.2		R	sarcophagus	E-W	exc. dim. 1.47x0.64x0.64 m; traces of black and purple colour on the exterior	-		-	-	yes	some sherds
223.3	223.A	R	cist grave	N-S	brick-built walls; dim. 1.02x0.46m	1		-	-	yes	1 bronze coin (by the skull)
223.4		R	cist grave	NE-SW	brick-built and plastered walls, tile floor; dim. 2.20x0.55x0.25 m	1		-	-	no	
223.5		R	built cist grave	S-N	cover of fragmented tile; dim. 1.83x0.47x0.56 m	1		-	-	yes	some sherds
223.6		R	tile grave	N-S	dim. 1.80x0.40x0.30 m	1		-	-	no	
223.7		R	tile grave	NE-SW	dim. 1.50x0.30x0.30 m	1		-	-	no	
223.8		R	tile grave	W-E	dim. 0.95x0.46 m	1		c	-	no	
224. Saravali (•)											
224.1		ER	pithos	W-E		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lekanis (1st c. BCE-1st c. CE), 1 coin (Domitian, minted in Patras)
224.2		R	pithos	W-E		-	inh	-	-	yes	bronze fragments, 1 glass paste pebble
224.3-14		R	pithos	W-E		-	inh	-	-	no	
225. Saravali, Dimotiko Scholeio (•)											
225.1-13		LR-EChr	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
226. Satovriandou 51 (North Cemetery)											
226.xx	Built cist graves and tile graves were discovered at this plot, both within and outside the four periboloi. The graves contained only a few grave goods.										
227. Satovriandou 53-55 (North Cemetery)											
227.1	227.A	R	built cist grave	NE-SW		-	inh	-	-	no	
227.2		Hel-R	tile grave	NE-SW		1	inh	-	-	yes	2 clay unguentaria (by the skull)
227.3		2nd c. BCE	unspec. grave	-		1	inh	-	f	yes	2 gold leaves (wreath), 1 pair of gold funerary earrings (Sirens), 1 gold funerary ring (female bust), and 7 clay unguentaria
227.4		R	vaulted cist grave	E-W	brick-built, tile floor, tile and brick cover; dim. 2.50x1x0.95 m	-	-	-	-	yes	2 clay and 5 glass unguentaria (1st c. CE) in the E end of the grave; ash urn G227.5 was deposited in the W end
227.5		R	lead kalpe	-	placed in G227.5	-	cr	-	-	yes	bone buttons and bone objects

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
228. Satovriandou 57 (North Cemetery)											
228.1-3		Hel	tile grave	N-S and E-W orientation		-	inhumation	-	-	yes	the graves were furnished with 2 gold rings, 1 gold pin, 15 silver pins, 3 (gold?) danakes, and other items
228.4-6		Hel	limestone cist			-		-	yes		
228.7		Hel	sarcophagus			-		-	yes		
228.8		R	tile grave			1		c	-	yes	16 glass unguentaria of globular and bird-shape
228.9-18		R	tile grave			-		-	-	o	glass vessels were common objects in the R graves
229. Smyrnis 44 (South Cemetery)											
229.1		R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
230. Smyrnis 145, Laskareos (South Cemetery)											
230.1-5		R-LR (?)	built cist grave	-	with cover slabs	-	inh	-	-	no	
231. Smyrnis (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
232. Solomou 7-9 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
233. Solomou 30, Kapodistriou (South Cemetery)											
233.1-3		R	lead urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
233.4		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
233.5		LR	built cist grave	SW-NE	probably used as an ossuary	xx	inh	-	-	-	
233.6		LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
233.7		LR or later	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	-	
234. Solomou 36 (South Cemetery)											
234.1-15		R	cist/tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	o	mostly unfurnished, but 2 glass unguentaria were recovered from the graves
234.16		R	sarcophagus	-	it had a brick-built exterior	-	inh	-	-	o	
234.17-22		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	-	
234.23		LR	built cist grave	-	covered with four clay slabs; used as an ossuary	17	inh	-	-	-	
235. Solomou 51 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
236. Solomou 53 (South Cemetery)											
236.1	236.A	Hel	limestone cist	-	disturbed by G236.2-3	1	inh	-	-	-	
236.2-3	236.A	Hel	limestone theke	-	transformed from G236.1	-	sec. bur.	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
236.4	236.A	2nd c. BCE	pit grave	E-W		1	inh	a	m	yes	gold oak leaves (wreath), 1 gold ring (spearhead), gold thread (clothing/shroud)
236.5-11	236.B	R	vessel	-		-	-	-	-	yes	unguentaria were deposited around the vessels
236.12	236.B	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
236.13	236.B	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
237. Sosipatrou 54-56 (South Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
238. Strategou Menounou, Pesonton Astynomikon (South Cemetery)											
238.xx	A peribolos enclosed several looted graves; sherds date to the Hellenistic period.										
239. Stratokleous 20 (North Cemetery)											
239.1-3		Hel-R (?)	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	yes	1 bronze coin (as danake)
239.4		Hel-R (?)	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
240. Thea, Katarrachi (•)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
241. Themistokleous, Geor. Olympiou, Dim. Ipsilantou (South Cemetery)											
241.1-3	241.A	R (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
242. Thermopylon 35 (North Cemetery)											
242.1		R-LR	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 bronze coin (in the mouth)
242.2-5		R-LR-EChr	tile grave	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
242.6-8		R-LR-EChr	tile grave	-		2	inh	a	-	no	
242.9		R-LR-EChr	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	no	
242.10		R (?)	transport amphora	-		1	inh	c	-	no	
243. Thermopylon 40 (North Cemetery)											
243.1-17		ER	unspec. graves	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
243.18-22	243.A	R	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
243.23-24	243.A	R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
244. Thermopylon 42 (North Cemetery)											
244.1-2	244.A	Hel-R (?)	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
244.3		Hel-R (?)	unspec.	-		-	inh	-	-	-	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
245. Thermopylon, Archiepiskopou Makariou (North Cemetery)											
245.1	245.A	R	built cist grave	E-W	dim. 2.30x0.85 m; brick-built walls, tile-paved floor, built headrest; in the burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	o	2 lamps lay outside the grave (ER; 150-200 CE)
245.2	245.A	R	built cist grave	N-S	dim. 2.10x0.70 m; brick-built walls, floor paved with clay slabs, headrest; in the burial chamber	-	inh	-	-	yes	unguentarium, bronze coin
245.3	245.A	R	built cist grave	N-S	dim. 2.10x0.80 m; floor paved with tiles with X-shaped grooves, roof tile cover	-	inh	-	-	no	
245.4	245.A	R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 1.40x0.60 m; later addition to the tomb	1	inh	-	-	no	
245.5	245.A	R	tile grave	N-S	dim. 2.06x0.60 m; later addition to the tomb	1	inh	-	-	no	
245.6	245.A	R	tile grave	N-S	dim. 1.08x0.60 m; later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	no	
245.7	245.A	R	tile grave	E-W W-E	dim. 1.95x0.60 m; later addition to the tomb	2	inh	-	-	no	
245.8	245.A	R	tile grave	S-N	dim. 0.91x0.42 m; the cover tile grave has grooves in a double concentric circle; later addition to the tomb	2	inh, sec. bur.	-	-	no	
245.9	245.A	R	tile grave	N-S	dim. 1.60x0.90 m; later addition to the tomb	-	inh	-	-	no	
245.10		R	tile grave	NE-SW	dim. 1.80x0.65 m	2	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 bronze coin (R, provincial)
245.11		R	tile grave	E-W	dim. 0.78x0.35 m	-	inh	-	-	yes	1 unguentarium
245.12	245.B	R	tile grave	W-E	dim. 1.60x0.65 m; floor of roof tile graves	-	inh	c	-	no	
245.13	245.B	R	built cist grave	W-E	dim. 2.06x0.50 m; brick-built walls, a floor paved with tiles with X-shaped grooves, a built headrest, and covered with Laconian tiles	1	inh (pile)	-	-	-	1 two-handled cup (ER), 1 bronze coin (Domitian, minted in Patras)
245.14		R	stamnos	-	inserted into an amphora	-	cr	-	-	-	
245.15-21		R	urn	-	amphora/stamnos	-	cr	-	-	-	
246. Thessalonikis 101, Zakynthou (North Cemetery)											
246.1-2		R (?)	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	no	
247. Thessalonikis, Kefallinias (North Cemetery)											
247.1		Hel	sarcophagus	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 lamp (Hel)
247.2		Hel	pit	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 iron strigil
248. Thoma Palaologou 43 (South Cemetery)											
248.1		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	i	-	yes	1 bronze coin
248.2-3		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	a	-	yes	1 bronze coin
248.4		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 plate (1st c. CE)
248.5		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium with lid, 1 bronze coin
248.6		R	tile grave	-		1	inh	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
249. Trilagkado (•)											
249.xx	A cemetery of R tile graves was found at this site; all graves were looted.										
250. Tsertidou 4 (East Cemetery)											
No graves are reported for this site.											
251. Tsoukaleika, Ypolochagou G.A Kampouri (•)											
251.1		l. 4th c. BCE	tile-built cist	-	dim. 1.86x1.70x0.50 m	1	inh	-	f	yes	unspec., but characterized as female attributes
252. Vasiliadou (South Cemetery)											
252.1		R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium, 1 lamp, 1 bone pin, 1 iron nail
252.2		R	vaulted built cist	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
253. Vasiliadou 5 (South Cemetery)											
253.1-5		R (?)	tile grave	-		-	cr (?)	-	-	-	
253.6		R (?)	built cist grave	-		-		-	-	-	
253.7		R	glass urn	-	inserted into a transport amphora	-	cr	-	-	yes	1 glass unguentarium in the amphora, and 1 glass unguentarium in the urn itself
254. Vasiliadou 9 (South Cemetery)											
254.1-21		R	tile grave	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	o	grave goods from the site include 50 glass vessels, ceramic unguentaria, a few figurines, and various small metal objects
254.22-24		R	built cist grave	NW-SE		-	inh	-	-	o	
254.25		R	vaulted built cist	NW-SE	brick-built walls, tile-paved floor, built headrest	-	inh	-	-	o	
254.26		R	urn	-		-	cr	-	-	o	
255. Vasiliadou 18-22, Geor. Olympiou (South Cemetery)											
255.1-5		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
255.6-9		LR	built cist grave	-	built of makeshift materials	-	inh	-	-	-	
256. Votsari 40 (•)											
256.1-2		LR-EChr (?)	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
257. Zakynthou, Kyprou (North Cemetery)											
257.1-3		R	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
258. Zaloggou, Geor. Olympiou (East Cemetery)											
258.1		R-LR	built cist grave	-	built of cast masonry and marble slabs, marble perforated floor, headrest	-	inh	-	-	no	
258.2-3		R-LR	built cist grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
258.4		R-LR	vaulted built cist	E-W	brick-built and plastered walls, tile-paved floor	3	inh	-	-	no	
258.5-6		R-LR	vaulted built cist	-	brick-built and plastered walls, tile-paved floor	-	inh	-	-	no	

The Grave						The Human Remains				The Objects	
Grave ID	Tomb ID	Date	Grave Type	Orientation	Comments	Number of individuals	Treatment of the body	Age	Gender	Grave goods	Description
258.7		R-LR	tile grave	W-E		1	inh	c	-	no	
258.8-10		R-LR	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	no	
259. Zarouchleika (•)											
259.1	259.A	1st-2nd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	marble (sculpted Medusa), of Attic provenance	-	inh	-	-	-	
259.2	259.A	1st-2nd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	marble (plain)	-	inh	-	-	-	
259.3-4		1st-2nd c. CE	tile grave	-		-	inh	-	-	-	
260. Unspecified, Patras (•)											
260.1		R	sarcophagus	-	marble (sculpted battle scene)	-	inh	-	-	-	
260.2		2nd-3rd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	dim. 2.15x0.90x0.96 m; marble, inscribed	-	inh	-	-	-	
260.3		3rd c. CE	sarcophagus	-	fragmentary cover; marble, inscribed	-	inh	-	-	-	
260.4		50-70 CE	marble ash chest	-	sculpted decoration, one <i>tabula</i> , imported from a workshop in Rome (late Claudian-Neronian)	-	cr	-	-	-	
260.5		70-95 CE	marble ash chest	-	sculpted decoration, two <i>tabulae</i> , imported from a workshop in Rome (Flavian)	-	cr	-	-	-	
260.6		55-70 CE	alabaster ash urn		imported from a workshop in Rome (Neronian)	-	cr	-	-	-	
260.7		50-60 CE	marble ash urn		sculpted decoration, one <i>tabula</i> , imported from a workshop in Rome (late Claudian-early Neronian)	-	cr	-	-	yes	bronze fragments, eggs

Catalogue D

Burial Markers and Epitaphs

This catalogue lists 213 burial markers (BM1-213), inscribed and without inscription, and 6 epitaphs (Epitaph 214-219) that were not written on burial markers but on sarcophagi or ash urns. All come from Patras and its territory, although many were recovered from *ex situ* find contexts. The data were collected from the corpus of Classical and Hellenistic stelai by I.A. Papapostolou and the corpus of inscriptions by A.D. Rizakis.ⁱ To the data collected from these volumes could be added merely three epitaphs: one was discovered *in situ* attached to the wall of an Early Roman house tomb and was published by the excavator, M. Petropoulosⁱⁱ, and two inscriptions were published in *l'Année Épigraphique*.ⁱⁱⁱ The information included in this catalogue is kept to a minimum, since additional information and discussion can easily be found in the aforementioned publications; each entry includes a reference to the Papapostolou and Rizakis-corpora. Included here are a brief note on the monument's find location, its estimated date, its type, the material it was made of, its dimensions (in centimetres), a description of decorations (if present), and the inscription (if present) with an English translation (my own^{iv}).

BM1	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	3ou Oreivatikou 42, Agias Paraskevis (BS2)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	16x10x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Sym[---] v(ixit) a[nn(is)---]
Translation:	Sym[---], (s)he has lived for [---] years
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 207.
BM2	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	3ou Oreivatikou 42, Agias Paraskevis (BS2); fragments of the same inscription were unearthed at Kanakari 121 (BS 103).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	fragm. a. 88x40x3, fragm. b. 23x19x3
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ba[bbia]e Cn(aei) f(iliae) Postumae ux[ori] L(ucii) Senti Vatin[i]ani or[na-] mentis sace[r]do[ta]l(ibus)] honorata[e---] Appuleia [---]
Translation:	To Ba[bbi]a Postuma, daughter of Cnaeus, wife of Lucius Senti Vatinianus, honoured with priestly distinctions, [---] Appuleia [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 129.

ⁱ Papapostolou 1990, with epigraphical notes by A.D. Rizakis; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*.

ⁱⁱ Petropoulos 2007.

ⁱⁱⁱ *AE* 2014 (*Année* 2011) nos. 1235-6.

^{iv} I am grateful to S.M. Kamphorst and C.J. van Toor for taking the time to discuss some of the texts with me.

BM3	1st c. CE
Find location:	28is Oktovriou (Karolou), Konstantinoupoleos (BS8)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	33x44x4.5
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	M(arco) Fulvio Herophilo medico oclario Arescusa lib(erta) de s(ua) p(ecunia)
Translation:	To Marcus Fulvius Herophilus, eye-doctor. Arescusa, his freedwoman, (erected this monument) from her own funds.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 133.
BM4	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Agion Saranta, Cheimarros Diakoniaras (BS19)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	15.3x8.2x5.8 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Γα[---] Ἰουλ[---]
Translation:	Ga[ios?] Ioul[ios?]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 217.
BM5	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Agion Saranta, Cheimarros Diakoniaras (BS19)
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	51x37x6.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Three simple akroteria adorn the pediment. A figurative scene may have been painted in the inset panel, but no traces of paint are visible.
Inscription:	Ἀριστῶ καὶ Ἀρίστων χαίρετε
Translation:	Aristo and Ariston. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 73.
BM6	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Agίου Νικολαου 63 (BS25)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	18x9x4.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The stele bears a relief representation of a gladiator (<i>retarius</i>) in an inset panel. Only two bare feet, a trident, and the top of the head are preserved.
Inscription:	Φύ- σω- ν- τι Κρήσ- κης μνε[[-] ας
Translation:	To the memory of Physon, Kreskes (set up this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 167.

BM7	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Amerikis, Thermopylon (BS29)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	30x29x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	A pediment with floral akroteria in relief and a phiale in its centre decorate the top section of the plaque.
Inscription:	[---]OYTI[---] [---]NIAYT[---] [---]H[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 196.
BM8	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Aratou 33 (BS34)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	16.5x21x9 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]lumina M[---] [---e]t palleat aeti[---] [---]ynthia noc[---] [---]ta senec[---]
Translation:	[Phi?]lumina M[---] [---] and turns pale [---] [---] [C?]ynthia [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 146.
BM9	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Aretha 52 (BS37)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	21x23x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]O M[---] [---]ET[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 221.
BM10	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Aretha 52 (BS37)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	16x12.5x4.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] vac. [---]TI V[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 237.

BM11 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Aretha 52 (**BS37**)
 Type: Stele
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 34x15.5x7 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]R SUCC[---]
 [---]ANUS[---]
 [---]ENNA[---]
 [---]VIR PON[---]
 [---]ICII EX[---]
 [---]SIB(I)[---]
 Translation: [---] [Perp?]enna [---] [duum]vir, priest(?), [---] for himself [---].
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 265.

BM12 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Benizelou Roufou 71 (**BS48**), covering a grave.
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 36.5x27.5x5.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: L(ucius/o) Billien[---]
 vi(xit) ann(os) [---]
 Billien[---] vi(xit)
 ann(os) [---]
 Translation: [To?] Lucius Billien[ius]. He has lived for [---] years.
 [---] Billien[ius]. He has lived for [---] years.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 100.

BM13 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Charilaou Trikoupi 32 (**BS55**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 17x10x3 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]iliu[---]
 [a]nn(is) LX[---]
 [---] m[---]
 Translation: [---], 60(?) years old [---]
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 210.

BM14 1st-3rd c. CE

Find location: Dim. Gounari 77-79 (**BS57**)
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: L(ucio) Albio L(ucii) f(ilio) Quir(ina)
 Scapulae
 vix(it) ann(os) XII
 Translation: To Lucius Albius, son of Lucius Scapula, of the *tribus* Quirina. He has lived for 12 years.
 Reference: *AE* 2014 (Année 2011), 1236.

BM15	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	28x17x1.8 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	E[---] KO[---] ἐτῶ[v[---]] ἡμ[ερω[v[---]]] πεπαῖδ[---] μουσ[---]
Translation:	[---] [---] years and [---] days old, educated in music/the Muses.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 107.
BM16	1st c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64), reused for building G64.50 .
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	52.5x53.5x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	L(ucio) Sentio M(arci) f(ilio) Q(ui(rina) et] Vatiniae Fau[---] L(ucius) Sentius L(ucii) [f(ilius) Qui(rina)] Vatinian[us--] parent[ibus]
Translation:	To Lucius Sentius, son of Marcus, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina and to Vatinia Fau---. Lucius Sentius Vatinianus, son of Lucius, (erected this monument) for his parents.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 126.
BM17	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64), likely associated with T64.A .
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	38.5x36.5x9.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Sex(to) Aequ[ano] Sex(ti) l(iberto) Astio a[ug(ustali)] nemo me lachrimet [nemo] pectora plan[gat] anxius hic iaceo q[ui vixi] vac. annis vac. [---] set mihi de[f]uncto levi[t]er pre[cor ossa] vac. quiescant vac. quatinus explevi n[atales] [fat]a dederunt
Translation:	To Sextus Aequanus Astius, freedman of Sextus, the Augustal (?). May nobody cry for me, may no-one strike his chest. Anxiously I lay here, having lived for [---] years. But now that I am dead, I pray that my bones will rest lightly, after having fulfilled what the Fates have given me.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 145.

BM18 3rd-4th c. CE

Find location: Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Sandstone
 Dimensions (cm): 26.5x35x7.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: I(ulii) Philonis
 memoria
 Translation: To the memory of Iulius Philon.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 184.

BM19 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**), likely associated with **T65.A**.
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 18x9x2.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: *vac.* Va[---]
 v(ivus/a) Aequ[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 208.

BM20 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 9.5x7.5x2 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]Q D[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 212.

BM21 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 14x10x4.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: Simple decorative mouldings frame the inscription.
 Inscription: D[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 225.

BM22 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Ermou 80-82 (**BS64**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 7.5x9.5x1.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]AE [---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 228.

BM23	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	14x14.5x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings frame the text.
Inscription:	[---]SNO[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 242.
BM24	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	18.5x8x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings frame the text.
Inscription:	[---]Y
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 244.
BM25	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 85-87 (BS65), reused as the cover of G65.15 .
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	40x79x7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	V(ivis) C(aio) Pomponio Hilarioni C(aio) Pomponio Philadelpho
Translation:	While they were alive. To Caius Pomponius Hilarion (and) to Caius Pomponius Philadelphus.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 137.
Remarks:	Holes for the attachment of the plaque to the tomb/monument wall are preserved in the top left and right, above the inscription. The V of the first line is inconspicuously placed to the left of the left attachment hole.
BM26	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 85-87 (BS65)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	21x24x6 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---i]ae Erotid[i]
Translation:	[---]ia Erotis.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 206.

BM27	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 85-87 (BS65)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Sandstone
Dimensions (cm):	15x12x6,1 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]ON[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 236.
BM28	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	24.5x23.5x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[- P]ontio [Da]phno [an]n(orum) XXVI
Translation:	To [---] Pontius Daphnus, 26 years old.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 120.
BM29	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70), reused as the cover of G70.6 .
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	61x88x5
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Numisiae L(ucii) f(iliae) Edasena huic post obit(um) decur(iones) col(oniae) Patr(ensis) ornam(enta) sacerdot(alia) imaginem et statuam decr(everunt) L(ucii) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Homuncio filiae annor(um) octo
Translation:	To Numisia Edasena, daughter of Lucius, to whom the decurions of the colony of Patras have decided to award priestly distinctions, an image and a statue. Lucius Numisius Homuncio, son of Lucius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina (set this up) for his 8-year old daughter.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 130.
BM30	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	15.5x10x3.7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Relief representation of a gladiator's helmet in an unelaborated pediment.
Inscription:	[Χρυ]σάμπελ[ος] [v]κῶν δ' [---] [---]ΤΟΜΝ[---] [---]ΙΩΧΡ[---]
Translation:	Chrysampelos, having won four victories [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 164.

BM31	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70), reused as building material.
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	17x16x5.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	M(arcus/o) PO[---] DAT[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 194.
BM32	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	13.5x14.5x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	OANH[---] ΘΩΤΑ[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 214.
BM33	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Favierou 39-41 (BS70)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	14x15.3x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings above the text.
Inscription:	[---]MIA[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 258.
BM34	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Gerokostopoulou (BS78)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	41x29.5x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	One <i>hedera</i> at the end of the inscription. Below the inscription the stele bears a crudely incised representation of gladiator's attributes: a dagger, a helmet, and the weapon of a <i>provocator</i> (?).
Inscription:	Καλ[λίν]- ικος [Ιπ]- πάρ[χου] μνείας χάριν
Translation:	Kallinikos, son of Hipparchos. In honour of his memory.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 168.

BM35 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Gerokostopoulou 27, Kanakari 141 (**BS79**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 29x28x7 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]RA[---] *vac.*
 [---]AMENTO
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 243.

BM36 3rd-2nd c. BCE

Find location: Gerokostopoulou 31 (**BS80**)
 Type: Composite naiskos type B
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 43x38x12 (incompl.)
 Decoration: Possible traces of a painted figurative scene.
 Inscription: Ξενοκλέα Ἀγεσιλάου χ[αῖρε]
 Translation: Xenoklea, daughter of Hagesilaos. Greetings.
 References: Papapostolou, *AGS*, no. 65; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 64.

BM37 1st-3rd c. CE

Find location: Giannitson 66 (**BS83**)
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: L(ucio) Numisio
 Atimeto
 Translation: To Lucius Numisius Atimetus.
 Reference: *AE* 2014 (Année 2011), 1235.

BM38 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 76 (**BS98**), reused as the cover of **G98.1** (stone is now lost).
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 28.5x23x2 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: Νάρκισσον
 ΗΦΙΛΗ
 μνείας
 χάριν
 ΗC ΕΒΟΥΛΕ
 ΤΟ
 Translation: Narkissos [---], in honour of his memory [---]
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 143.

BM39	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 76 (BS98), reused as the cover of G98.4 .
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	30x42x3
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Axia L(ucii) l(iberta) Megiste
Translation:	Axia Megiste, freedwoman of Lucius (Axius).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 90.
BM40	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 80-82 (BS99)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	107x47x15-19
Decoration:	The front face of the stele is decorated with a pediment with akroteria and a phiale in its centre. Part a. of the inscription as well as a relief representation of a kalathos and a folding mirror are placed in arched inset panel. Below the pediment part b. and c. of the inscription are set above the inset panel, on the left and right side, respectively.
Inscription:	a. Νικόπολις Ἀντιόχου ἀπελευθέρῃα b. χάϊρε c. καὶ σὺ
Translation:	Nikopolis, freedwoman of Antiochos. Greetings. You too.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 82.
BM41	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 84-86 (BS100)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	12x7.5x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]AE
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 224.
BM42	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 84-86 (BS100)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22x12.5x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]VIA[---] [---]C[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 233.

BM43	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 84-86 (BS100)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	14x10x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]ANS [---]S D
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 234.
BM44	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 84-86 (BS100)
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	15x18x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	<i>Hedera</i> in text.
Inscription:	[---]S[---] [---]LIOM[---] [---]I [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 235.
BM45	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 84-86 (BS100)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	21x15.5x14 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Remnants of a pediment in relief (?).
Inscription:	[---]CLA
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 261.
BM46	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Kanakari 90-92 (BS101)
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	25x18.4x7.4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The inset panel may have had a painted figurative scene, but no traces of paint are preserved.
Inscription:	[---] [Hρ]ακλείτου [χαῖρ]ε
Translation:	[---], son/daughter of Herakleitos. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 35; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 68.
BM47	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 90-92 (BS101)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	61x37x11
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[P. Do]mitius P(ublii) f(ilius) [---T]ro(mentina) Oriculo leg(ionis) vac. XII
Translation:	Publius Domitius Oriculo, son of Publius, of the <i>tribus</i> Tromentina, (veteran) of <i>Legio XII</i> .
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 152.

BM48	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 90-92 (BS101)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	20.5x25x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]BEL[---] [---]OR <i>vac.</i>
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 232.
BM49	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 113 (BS102)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	42x89x6 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The top of the plaque has a pedimental shape, but is unadorned; <i>hederae</i> separate the words of the inscription.
Inscription:	Q(uintum) Cassium Euprepetem aedile<m> q(uaestorem) Ilvir(um) ann(or)um XXXIII
Translation:	Quintus Cassius Euprepes, <i>aedilis, quaestor</i> , and <i>duumvir</i> . 33 years old.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 142.
BM50	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Kanakari 113-117 (BS102)
Type:	Composite naiskos type A
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	27x23x10 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The frieze is adorned with a simple floral pattern. The inscription is written on the architrave.
Inscription:	[---]α Ἐχέσθ[ένεος χαῖρε]
Translation:	[---], daughter/son of Echstenes. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 57; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 72.
BM51	2nd-1st c. BCE
Find location:	Kanakari 113-117 (BS102)
Type:	Stele (unspec.)
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	37x30x11.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ἑρμιόνη χαῖρε
Translation:	Hermione. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 7; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 79.

BM52 l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 18x14x3 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription:
 a. C(aio) Vo[---]
 Quir(ina) c(enturioni) l[eg(ionis)---]
 b. VXS
 Translation:
 a. To Caius Vo[---], of the *tribus* Quirina, centurio in the [---] legion.
 b. -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 161.

BM53 3rd c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: -
 Inscription:
 a. [---]OC
 b. [---]Ω[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 203.

BM54 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**)
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 11x4.5x2.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription:
 [---]A[---]
 [---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 204.

BM55 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**), associated with **G103.31** (*in situ*).
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 39x26x3.5
 Decoration: The plaque is pedimental in shape and is adorned with akroteria; the pediment bears a crudely carved phiale (?). A *hedera* follows the inscription.
 Inscription:
 Appule-
 ia Mu-
 vac. sa
 Translation: Appuleia Musa.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 86.

BM56	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 121 (BS103)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	32.5x12x6.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]ius Tertius [v]ix(it) an(nos) XXXX
Translation:	[---]ius Tertius. He has lived for 40 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 97.
BM57	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105)
Type:	Composite Naiskos
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	32x24x11 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 53.
BM58	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	60x41x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings frame the inscription.
Inscription:	[Κασ]σία Σε- [κο]υνδύλλα έτων κα' [Κασ]σιος Εύπρ<ε>πή- [ς, στρ]ατηγός έτων κγ' ο[ι άδ]ελφοί
Translation:	[Kas]sia Sekoundilla, 21 years old and [Kas]sios Euprepes, strategos, 23 years old. Their brothers (set up this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 110.
BM59	1st c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	33x31x10 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Μ(άρκος) υἱὸ[ς-] [---] ζω[---]
Translation:	Markos, son of [---], he lived(?) [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 202.

BM60	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	26.5x25x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]NIO [---]TVO
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 215.
BM61	1st-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105), in the courtyard of T105.D .
Type:	Stele
Material:	Sandstone
Dimensions (cm):	135x61x16.5
Decoration:	The upper section of the shaft is adorned with an arched niche.
Inscription:	Σάλβιος Παν- κράτους ὁ καὶ Πομπήιος <i>vac. χάϊρε vac.</i>
Translation:	Salvius, son of Pankrates, also known as Pompeios. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 80.
BM62	75-125 CE
Find location:	Kanakari 123, Ermou 83 (BS105)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	31x46x6
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	v(ivus) T(itus) Pinarius T(iti) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Rufus
Translation:	While he was alive, Titus Pinarius Rufus, son of Titus, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 93.
BM63	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 124-126 (BS106)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	46x38x6
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	P(ublius) Folius Potitus thraex
Translation:	Publius Folius Potitus, Thracian (gladiator).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 171.

BM64	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 124-126 (BS106)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	43x27x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	CN[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 229.
BM65	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 124-126 (BS106), associated with G106.15 (<i>in situ</i>).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	41x30.5x4
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	memoria Dignae vix(it) a(nnis) III
Translation:	To the memory of Digna. She lived 3 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 185.
BM66	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 139 (BS108)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	46x47x4.3
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Κ(όιντος) Αἰλ(ιος) Ζώσιμος Κίλιξ {ἐνθά- δε κεῖται Κίλιξ} Ῥαβεννή- σιος ἐνθάδε κε<τ>ται εἰσερχομένων δε- ξιᾶς χειρός εἰ δέ τις τολμήσιν ἐτε{τε}- ρόν τινα θεῖναι δώ- σει τῷ ταμείῳ * αφ'
Translation:	Here lies Kouintos Ailios Zosimos, a Cilician, citizen of Ravenna. Upon entering, he lies on the right-hand side. If anyone dares to bury another person here, he will have to pay the treasurer 1500 dinaria.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 177.
BM67	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 139 (BS108)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	25x14.5x7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]VIT[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 216.

BM68	4th c. BCE
Find location:	Kanari 88, Ioannou Vlachou (BS110)
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	104.5x50.5x10-12
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ἀγήμεων
Translation:	Hagemon
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 14; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 55.
BM69	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Karaïskaki 132 (BS115), likely associated with T115.E .
Type:	Plaque (convex)
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	a. 56x102x3.8, b. h.57 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	L(ucio) Aemilio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina) cent(urioni) l[eg(ionis) X Eq(uestris) Ilvir(o) P(ublio) Aem[ilio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina)] cent(urioni) l[eg(ionis) eiusdem?] [---]
Translation:	To Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, centurion of the <i>Legio X Equestris</i> , duumvir. To Publius Aemilius, son of Lucius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, centurion of (the same?) legion [---].
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 156.
BM70	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Karaïskaki 136 (BS116)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	8.5x13x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]R IV[---] [---]VM[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 222.
BM71	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kolokotroni 29-35 (BS127)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	14.5x35x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	An incised, very crude representation of a helmet is placed centrally below the inscription.
Inscription:	[---] πυγμαῶν KB
Translation:	[---] 22 fights.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 172.

BM72	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 81, Paxon (BS129)
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	48x24.6x3.7
Decoration:	A phiale (?), floral motif, and akroteria adorn the pediment.
Inscription:	Festus
Translation:	Festus
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 83.
BM73	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 82, Stratokleous, Karolou (BS130)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	41.5x18x11 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	a. IOYΛ[---] OE[---] ΔΙ[---] CA[---] b. [---]OCΩC
Translation:	a. Ioulios/a [---] b. [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 248.
BM74	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 85 (BS131), reused as building material.
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	41.5x53x6
Decoration:	<i>Hederae</i> in text.
Inscription:	v(ivus) Q(uintus) Pomponius Lupus v(ivus) Q(uintus) Pomponius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Thallio f(ilius) qui et Pamphilus
Translation:	While he was alive, Quintus Pomponius Lupus. While he was alive, Quintus Pomponius, son of Quintus, and Thallio, his son, also known as Pamphilus.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 92.
Remarks:	Holes for the attachment of the plaque to a tomb wall are preserved on the left and right side.
BM75	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 89 (BS132), in peribolos T132.A .
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	85x40x8.5
Decoration:	Three simple akroteria adorn the pediment.
Inscription:	Σοφία Εὐθυκράτεος χαῖρε
Translation:	Sofia, daughter of Euthykrates. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 19; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 70.
Remarks:	The base of the stele is preserved; h. 71.5 m.

BM76	2nd-1st c. BCE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 89 (BS132)
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Poros
Dimensions (cm):	68x42.5x9 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple akroteria adorn the pediment. A knotted ribbon in red paint is preserved on the mid-section of the shaft, below the inscription.
Inscription:	Νοστία Ἀριστοδάμου χαῖρε
Translation:	Nostia, daughter of Aristodamos. Greetings.
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 20; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 81.
BM77	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Konstantinoupoleos 89 (BS132)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	41.5x18x11 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]χου
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 247.
BM78	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 125 (BS139)
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	53x30.5x3
Decoration:	A shield or phiale is carved in the centre of the pediment. The inset panel bears a relief representation of a gladiator. The gladiator, in full gladiatorial apparel (murmillo or provocator?), bears a rectangular shield in his left hand and a small dagger in his right hand, his left leg and foot and his right arm are clad in protective gear. To the right stands a young, winged boy who holds a wreath in his left hand, and hands a palm branch to the gladiator. Eleven wreaths represent victories won.
Inscription:	Τρυφερὸς πρ(ωτόπαλος) πυ(γμῶν) ΙΑ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ μνείας χάριν
Translation:	Trypheros, gladiator of the first team, 11 combats. Alexander (erected this monument) for his father, in honour of his memory.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 163.
BM79	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 152-154 (BS141)
Type:	Composite naiskos type A
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	37x26x8 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Floral decoration on the frieze.
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 58.

BM80	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 156 (BS142)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	27x17x6 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Remnants of a pediment with a phiale (?) in its centre.
Inscription:	[---]AR[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 223.
BM81	3rd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 158 (BS143)
Type:	Rough stone block of which only the inscribed surface is flattened.
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	53x33.5x19
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Καλλι- λοχος Νικαγό- ρα Λοκ- ρός
Translation:	Kallilochos, son of Nikagoras, the Lokrian.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 60.
BM82	350-325 BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Palmette stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	184x35x10
Decoration:	Elaborate palmette finial. Two rosettes on the upper part of the shaft. Traces of a knotted ribbon in red paint on the mid-section of the shaft (?).
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 12.
Remarks:	The stele is imported from Attica.
BM83	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	37x18.5x6.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Knotted ribbon in red paint.
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 28.

BM84	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	34.5x25x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	A crude incised representation of a gladiator with five victory wreaths to his right and a palm branch to his left. The gladiator is turned to his right in a combative pose. He wears a helmet, a sword in his right hand, and a rectangular shield in his left hand.
Inscription:	μή με παρατροχά[σας ---] παρέλθης ἀλλ' ἴδε[---] ΕΠΙΤΥΝ[---]ΝΤΟ[---] ΜΑΦΟΝΙΟΥ ἐ[νθ]άδε κ[εῖμαι] ΑΓ[---] τιοις αἰεὶ τοῖς ΤΗ[---]ΟΜΟ[---] ὄτι νέος τέθνηκα σὺ δὲ [---] καὶ μάλα χαίρων ἔλθοις [---] τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας [---]
Translation:	Do not run and pass me by, but watch [---] [---] I lie here [---] [---] that/because I have died young, but may you [---]go, rejoiced, having fulfilled the path [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 162.
BM85	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	32x38x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Crude incised representation of two gladiators. Both gladiators are shown in a combative pose. The left gladiator wears a helmet, as well as protective gear on his left leg and right arm. He carries a rectangular shield in his left hand and wields a small dagger in his right hand. To his right we can discern a victory wreath. The other gladiator, on a second fragment, is armed with similar weaponry. This gladiator is left-handed.
Inscription:	Χρυσάμπελος
Translation:	Chrysampelos
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 165.
BM86	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	17x11x0.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	FP[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 256.
BM87	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Composite Naiskos
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	21x20.5x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Knotted ribbon in red paint.
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 29.

BM88	325-275 BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	64x35.9-33.8x10.3-9.3
Decoration:	Traces of paint on the pediment. Knotted ribbon in red paint on the mid-section of the shaft, below the inscription.
Inscription:	Εὐφάνης Αἰσχρίωνος
Translation:	Euphanes, son of Aischrion.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 17; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 56.
BM89	4th-3rd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146)
Type:	Stele with crown moulding
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	41x30.5x9.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Τιμαρχίς Τιμοδάμου
Translation:	Timarchis, daughter of Timodamos.
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 15; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 58.
BM90	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146), associated with G146.18 (<i>in situ</i>).
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	34x30x4.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Relief representation of a gladiator (<i>retarius</i>) in an inset panel. He carries a trident in his left hand and a short sword or dagger in his right hand. He wears a <i>subligaculum</i> and a <i>balteus</i> , his left shoulder and part of the chest are protected by a <i>galerus</i> , while his head is unprotected. One palm branch is depicted to his left and signifies a victory.
Inscription:	Χρυσός καὶ Χρυσόπτερος Πασι- νίκῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ, μνήμης χάριν, ἔρρωσο, παροδῖτα.
Translation:	Chrysos and Chrysopteros (erected this monument) for Pasinikos, at his own expense, in honour of his memory. Farewell, passerby.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 166.
BM91	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 221-223 (BS146), associated with G146.18 .
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	16x30x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	A crude, incised representation of a gladiator is set in the centre of the stele; only the feet and shins are preserved.
Inscription:	[---] ΜΙ παρ- οδῖτα [---] [---] ων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
Translation:	[---] passerby[---] (erected this monument) at own expense.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 169.

BM92	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19 (BS149)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	11x14.5x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]entiu[s---] [---]TI M[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 231.
BM93	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19 (BS149), immured in a Hellenistic wall.
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	93x50x22
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ψαμώνιος Θρασυμάχ- ου Βούριος
Translation:	Psamonios, son of Thrasymachos, citizen of Boura.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 2; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 59.
BM94	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou, Poukevil 17-19 (BS149), associated with G149.15 (reused?).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	27x17.5x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	C(aius) Clodius Urbanus a(nnorum) II d(ierum) XXXX
Translation:	Caius Clodius Urbanus, (he lived) 2 years and 40 days.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 94.
BM95	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Mesologgiou, Asimaki Fotila (BS175)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	39x42x5
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Λαμπρίας ζῶν Ἰουλίαι Ἀκμήι τῇι συμβίῳ καὶ ἐαυτῶι κα- θὼς ὁ Κύριο[ς] ἐπέτρεψε[ν].
Translation:	Lamprias, while he was alive, (set up this monument) for Julia Akme his wife, and for himself, as the Lord entrusted him to.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 187.

BM96	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Nikita 60-66 (BS179)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	17x16x4.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	V(ivus) D(ecimus) Liv[---] Naia[---] et sui[s---] [---]A[---]
Translation:	While he was alive, Decimus Livius Naias, (set up this memorial) [for himself] and for his own [---].
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 139.
BM97	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Notara 9 (BS183)
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	13x25.5x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] Secu[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 250.
BM98	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Panachaïkou 37, Geor. Olympiou (BS187)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	26x28x2
Decoration:	<i>Hederae</i> in text; a palm branch (?) follows
the inscription.	
Inscription:	Μέμφις Πιστίδος καὶ Ἑρωτος θυγάτηρ ἔζησε ἔτη ζ' μ(ῆνας) ΙΙΙ χαῖρε
Translation:	Memphis, daughter of Pistis and Eros, has lived for 7 years and 4 months. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 105.
BM99	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Patreos 83-85 (BS198)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	14x16.5x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] vac. IOY[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 209.

BM100	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Petmeza 5 (BS207), associated with G207.1 (<i>in situ</i>).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	30.5x29.5x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Θρέπτος έτων δ' Δόξα έτ(ων) νγ'
Translation:	Threptos, 4 years old. Doxa, 53 years old.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 101.
BM101	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Petmeza 5 (BS207)
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	a. 17.5x12.5x3.5, b. 38x15x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Two roughly incised <i>palmae</i> are placed to the left and right of the inscription.
Inscription:	Ἰππ[όλ]υτος [---]N <i>vac.</i> [---]H <i>vac.</i>
Translation:	Hippolytos, [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 103.
BM102	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Poukevil 22 (BS213)
Type:	Stele/pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	107x48x10 (top of pediment missing)
Decoration:	The pediment bears a phiale in its centre. Traces of akroteria.
Inscription:	M(arco) Attio Fausto Forensi et Attiae Tertiae libertae et uxori eius Clemens frater
Translation:	To Marcus Attius Faustus 'of the forum'/from Forum/from Forensi, and to Attia Tertia, his freedwoman and wife. His brother Clemens (erected the stele).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 132.
BM103	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Poukevil 22 (BS213)
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	89x72x9.5
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	P(ublius) Fulvius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Quir(ina) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XII Medicus
Translation:	Publius Fulvius, son of Quintus, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina. Veteran of the 12th legion. Doctor.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 151.

BM104	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Poukevil 25-27 (BS215)
Type:	Naiskos
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	59x45x10
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ἀριστέα Ἀριστοδάμου χαῖρε
Translation:	Aristeas, son of Aristodamos. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 66.
BM105	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Poukevil 32 (BS217)
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	90x45x17.5-21.5
Decoration:	The pediment is adorned with akroteria.
Inscription:	L(ucius) Caecilius
Translation:	Lucius Caecilius
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 84.
BM106	1st c. CE
Find location:	Samou, Aristomenous (BS220), attached to the wall of T220.A (<i>in situ</i>).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Marciae Maximae C(aii) Laetili Clementis uxori Pavia fecit mater
Translation:	To Marcia Maxima, wife of Caius Laetilius Clemens. Her mother Pavia made this.
References:	Petropoulos, 2007. <i>Νικόπολις-Πάτρα</i> , p.93; cf. Rizakis and Zoumbaki, <i>RPN</i> no. ACH 142, 162 and 184.
BM107	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Thermopylon 35 (BS242)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	a. 18.5x21x3.5, b. 20x18x3.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Clau[---] T(iti) f(ili) Qu[irina] sanct[---] [a]gono[th---] [-]ag f[---]
Translation:	Claudius [---], son of Titus, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, [---] agonothete [---].
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 266.

BM108	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Agiou Dimitriou 43
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22.5x15x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	CH[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 263.
BM109	1st c. CE
Find location:	Agiou Dimitriou, Gounari 181-185
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	54x44x9 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Sal(vio) Vettio Sal(vii) l(iberto) Optato Mamilia Tyr[a]nnis uxor
Translation:	To Salvius Vettius Optatus, freedman of Salvius. Mamilia Tyrannis, his wife.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 123.
BM110	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Aiolou
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	73x28x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Q(uintus) Aetrius Tertius v(ixit) an(nos) XXX
Translation:	Quintus Aetrius Tertius. He has lived for 30 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 98.
BM111	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Alex. Ipsilandou, Kanari
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	65x31.8-27.5x5
Decoration:	A painted scene is likely to have adorned the inset panel, but no traces of paint are reported.
Inscription:	Παμφίλα Ἀριστωνύμου Λύκων Λύκωνος χαίρετε
Translation:	Pamphila, daughter of Aristonymos. Lykon, son of Lykon. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 34; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 75.

BM112 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Benizelou Roufou 121-125
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 40x26x3 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: M(arcus/o) Po[---]
 Translation: (To?) Marcus Po[---]
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 198.

BM113 2nd c. CE

Find location: Boukaouri 5, reused as the cover of an EChr grave.
 Type: Plaque/pedimental stele with arched inset panel
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 54x29x10 (incompl.)
 Decoration: A pediment with akroteria bears a phiale in its centre. Below the pediment is an arched inset panel with inscription.
 Inscription: [---Fo]rtunat(us/a)
 [---] Spediae
 [Help]idis vern(ae)
 [vix]it ann(os) [---]
 Translation: [---] Spedia Helpis, the slave girl. She has lived for [---] years.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 197.

BM114 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Bozaitika
 Type: Stele
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 24x20x6.5
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: M(arcus/o) A[---]
 Pri[---]
 Translation: (To?) Marcus A[---] Pri[---].
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 249.

BM115 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Reused as building material in the castle of Patras.
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 44.5x24x10.5
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: Marcia An-
 tiochis Al-
 liatius Pro-
 bus matri
 Translation: Marcia Antiochis. Alliatius Probus, to his mother.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 122.

BM116 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Reused as building material in the castle of Patras.
 Type: Stele
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 23x34.5x24.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]OL[---]
 [---po]steriores et in[---]
 [aedi]fic(iis) III pro parte dim(idia---)
 [et poenam m]ulta L IS
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 178.

BM117 1st c. CE

Find location: Reused as building material in the castle of Patras.
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 29x52x3.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: *Hederæ* in text.
 Inscription: [---]ΤΟΥΣΩ[---]
 Ν ἐπέγραψα *vac.*
 Translation: [---] I have inscribed.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 183.

BM118 3rd-4th c. CE

Find location: Reused as building material in the castle of Patras.
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 23x11x3.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]
 ΧΙΚΟ[---]
 ΔΟΥΛ[---]
vac. Κ[---]
 ΤΑΠΟΝ[---]
 Ν ΗΛ[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 188.

BM119 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Charalampi 42-44
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 16x16x4 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]
 [---]S D[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 251.

BM120	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Charalampi 65-67
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	68x57x9 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings frame the inscription.
Inscription:	[...] Δομίτιος [O]ύρβανός [έ]των Η
Translation:	Domitios Ourbanos, 8 years old.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 102.
BM121	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Charalampi 65-67
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	22.5x26x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]ιετατος [---] [---]ς ἐγὼ νῦν [---] [---]ου παραπίδε[σσιν---] [---] ΠΛΑΡΑΝΙΗ[---] [---] ἐν παλάμ[ησιν---] [---]ερὸν π[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 149.
BM122	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Near the church of Andreas the Apostle, among the remnants of a Roman bath complex.
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	28.2x29.2x7.2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[----] Feli- [c]ula vix<i>t annos XXX
Translation:	[---] Felicula. She has lived for 30 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 96.
BM123	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Dim. Gounari 60
Type:	Stele
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	13x14x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]NOM[---] [Φ]οίβου δὲ τὴν τιμ[---] vac. μνημ[---] [---]μ]ηδεις ἐκπλήξη [---] [---]δὲν γὰρ δεινὸν μ[---] [---]ETICEN νοῦσοι[ς---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 148.

BM124	between 161 and 212 CE
Find location:	Dim. Ipsilantou, Koumanioti
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	54x22.5x4
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις) Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρήλιος Σέσσωρ, γένει Καισαρεὺς ἀπὸ Μαυρητανίας, χρώματι Κορίν- θιος, κεῖται ἐν Πά- τραις, ζήσας ἔτεσιν ιη'. Καὶ εὐψύχει Σέσσωρ. Οὐδεὶς ἀθά- νατος.
Translation:	To the Gods of the Underworld. Markos Aurelios Sessor, born in Caesarea in Mauretania, in colour resembling Corinthian bronze. He lies here in Patras, having lived for 18 years. Be brave Sessor. No-one is immortal.
References:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 182; cf. Rizakis 1990, Les Maurétanies et la couleur du bronze du Corinthe. <i>Karthago</i> 22, pp. 55-62.
BM125	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Dionysou, near the Ghirokomeio monastery
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	95x40-45x15 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Heredia Attice vi- xit ann(os) LXII
Translation:	Heredia Attice. She has lived for 62 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 95.
BM126	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Erenstrole 12
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	50x67x26 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The inscription is set on a <i>tabula ansata</i> .
Inscription:	Sal(vius/o) A[---] vac. M[---] Sal(vius/o) A[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 218.
BM127	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou, Korinthou
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	32x37x9 (incompl.)
Decoration:	<i>Hederae</i> in text.
Inscription:	Antae Aequanae lib(erto)
Translation:	To Antas, freedman of Aequana.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 118.

BM128	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Geor. Olympiou, Koumanioti
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	50x37x12 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]t[i]u[s] Amemptu[s] [---]eia uxor fecit
Translation:	[---]tius Amemptus.[---]eia, his wife, made this (monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 108.
BM129	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Germanou 134
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	41x44.5x7.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Iunia D(ecimi) lib(erta) Alciae
Translation:	To Iunia Alcia, freedwoman of Decimus.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 116.
BM130	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Gerokostopoulou 45-47
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	17x13.5x2.8 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	C(aius/o) Em[---] [---]C[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 219.
BM131	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Gerokostopoulou 45-47
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	15.5x11.5x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	ET[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 220.
BM132	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Hefaistou 53
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	9.5x8.5x1.7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]NH[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 255.

BM133	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ilias 78 (BS84)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	23x27x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [vix(it) an]n(os) XII [m]en(sibus) X
Translation:	[---], (s)he has lived for 12 years and 10 months.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 192.
BM134	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Kalamogdarti 24
Type:	Composite naiskos type B
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	22x21x11.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 70.
BM135	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 142
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	27x34x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]NEHΔΕΥΦΡΗ[---] [---]ς Συρίης Ἐπίτ[---] [---]ΠΟΘΗΜΟΥ[---] [---] θεράπων [---] [---]ει θεράπρ[---] [---]ΓΜΑÇÌ[---] [---] Syrian [---]
Translation:	[---] Syrian [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 147.
Remarks:	The inscription is a funerary epigram in hexameter. Rizakis proposes that this monument commemorates a man ("il n'y a pas de doute qu'il est patréen"), who served as procurator of Provincia Syria in the 3rd century CE.
BM136	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 142
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22x16x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	Simple decorative mouldings frame the text.
Inscription:	[---]VS
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 240.

BM137	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 155-157
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	26x18.5x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	<i>Hederae</i> as punctuation in the Greek text.
Inscription:	a. [---]s Lupus <i>vac.</i> [sibi] et suis b. [--- E]ύοδία έτων ι´ <i>vac.</i> [μ]ηνών η´ <i>vac.</i>
Translation:	a. [---]s Lupus, for himself and his own. b. [--- E]uodia, (she lived) 10 years and 8 months.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 134.
BM138	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 217
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	24x11x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]IC [---] <i>vac.</i> [---]N <i>vac.</i>
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 213.
BM139	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 217
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	16.7x14.1x? (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]VB[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 230.
BM140	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 40-42
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	34x48x14
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ti(berio) Claudio Satyro vilico XX heredit(atium) ornament(is) august(alibus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) honorato Marcia Secunda <i>vac. uxor vac.</i>
Translation:	To Tiberius Claudius Satyrus, overseer of twentieth-part-inheritance taxes, who by decree of the decurions was honoured with the distinctions of the Augustales. His wife Marcia Secunda (erected this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 128.

BM141	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 78
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	70x36x17
Decoration:	The upper part of the shaft bears a pediment with three akroteria in relief.
Inscription:	Sex(to) Mallio Apto vix(it) an(nos) X Hyla fec(it)
Translation:	To Sextus Mallius Aptus, who has lived for 10 years. Hyla erected this (stele).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 127.
BM142	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kanakari 78
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	54x45x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Mamilia Trophime vix(it) an(nos) XXX
Translation:	Mamilia Trophime. She lived for 30 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 99.
BM143	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Karaïskaki, Miaouli
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	7x9x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]ΩΝ[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 205.
BM144	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Karaïskaki, Miaouli
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Sandstone
Dimensions (cm):	42x30x6.2-5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	The pediment is adorned with simple akroteria. A figurative scene may have been painted in the inset panel, but no traces of paint are reported.
Inscription:	[---] Σαραπίωνος [---] υ Φιλάγγρου χαίρετε
Translation:	[---], son/daughter of Sarapion. [---]n, son/daughter of Philandros. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 37; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 74.
BM145	1st-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Kolokotroni 28, associated with a grave (discovered in 1842, now lost).
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	Priscus Silivius
Translation:	Priscus Silivius
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 87.

BM146	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 199
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	20x21x7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]TVI[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 227.
BM147	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Korinthou 199
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	17.5x10x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]Ω[---] [---]Ω KAI T[---] <i>vac. KI vac.</i>
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 239.
BM148	2nd-1st c. BCE
Find location:	Koumanioti 30-32
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	76x27x11.5
Decoration:	Three simple akroteria adorn the pediment. The inset panel is likely to have originally had a painted figurative scene, but no traces of paint are reported.
Inscription:	Στράτιε Μουτίου χαῖρε
Translation:	Greetings, Stratius, son of Moutius.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 31; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 78.
BM149	3rd c. BCE
Find location:	Koumanioti 30-32
Type:	Stele with crown moulding
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	46x30.7x6
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	ΠQ[---]ATH [χα]!ϙε
Translation:	Po---ate. Greetings.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 16; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 61.
BM150	3rd-2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Koumanioti, Geor. Olympiou 58
Type:	Composite naiskos
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	25.5x17x7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 54.

BM151	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Lontou, Papadiamantopoulou
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	26x37x5.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]μενος [--ά]νδρου ἐαυτῷ [καὶ --- τῇ] συμβίῳ
Translation:	[---], son of [---]andros. For himself and [---], his wife.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 191.
BM152	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Lontou, Papadiamantopoulou
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22x13x15 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]ΑΠΟΥ[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 252.
BM153	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Maizonos, in front of the old Arsakeion Lyceum
Type:	Composite naiskos type B
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	48x33x8 (incompl.)
Decoration:	A painted figurative scene may have adorned the inset panel, but no traces of paint are visible. The inscription is written on the architrave.
Inscription:	Κλεόπολι Τρύφωνος χαῖρε
Translation:	Greetings, Kleopolis, son of Tryphon.
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 64; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 71.
BM154	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Miaouli 55-57
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	7.5x9x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [---]ΑΝΔ[---] [---]ΧΑΡ[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 257.

BM155 2nd c. BCE

Find location: Miaouli 55-57
 Type: Composite naiskos type B (?)
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 14.6x11.9x6.8 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: [---]δρεα, χ[αῖρε]
 Translation: [---], greetings.
 References: Papapostolou, *AGS*, no. 73; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 69.

BM156 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Miaouli 55-57
 Type: Pedimental stele
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 40x30x18
 Decoration: Simple pedimental stele with remnants of akroteria.
 Inscription: Betutia
 T(iti) l(iberta) Philete
 Translation: Betutia Philete, freedwoman of Titus (Betutius).
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 88.

BM157 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Miaouli 78
 Type: Pillar stele
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 28.5x28.2x4.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: *Hedera* in text.
 Inscription: L(ucio) Durcatio
 L(ucii) lib(erto)
 Cisso
 Translation: To Lucius Durcatius Cissus, freedman of Lucius.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 117.

BM158 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Nikita 50-52, Cheilonos Patreos
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): 11x10x2.5 (incompl.)
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: C[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 226.

BM159 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Nikita 9
 Type: Stele
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 27.5x10.5x13 (incompl.)
 Decoration: Simple decorative mouldings frame the text.
 Inscription: K[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 260.

BM160	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Papdiamantopoulou 57
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	33x28x4 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Μαρκία Καλ- λιμόρφω μνείας χά- ριν ἐκ τῶν αὐ- τοῦ
Translation:	Markia (erected this monument) for Kallimorphos, in honour of his memory, at his expense.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 170.
BM161	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Petmeza (?)
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	12x15x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---a]edili [---]
Translation:	[---] aedile [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 201.
BM162	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Plateia Ipsilon Alonion
Type:	Altar
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	L(ucius) Curtius Onesiphorus Aëpicia Nice
Translation:	Lucius Curtius Onesiphorus. Aepicia Nice.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 85.
BM163	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Plateia Ipsilon Alonion 13
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	30x30x3
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	D(ii)s M(anibus) Aelio Iucundo vac. filio vac. parentes
Translation:	To the spirits of the Dead. To Aelius Iucundus, (our) son. His parents (erected this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 181.

BM164	1st c. CE
Find location:	Plateia Omonias 7
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	30x79.5x5.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Caetronia Veneria vix(it) annos XXVIII v(ivae) Caetroniae Quintae matri
Translation:	Caetronia Veneria, she has lived for 28 years. Her mother Caetronia Quinta, while she was alive.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 138.
Comments:	The text is somewhat confusing. Caetronia Veneria seems to have been the one who erected the tomb/funerary monument for her mother (and for herself?), but the inclusion of Veneria's age at death signifies her as the deceased who ended up in the tomb before her mother, who is said to have been alive (v(ivae)).
BM165	mid-5th c. BCE
Find location:	Riga Pheraiou, Aratou
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	106x40.5x17.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]θεος
Translation:	[---]theos
References:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 1; Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 54.
Remarks:	The inscription is carved vertically along the front face of the monument.
BM166	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Roman odeon
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] [--ἐτῶν] ι' μην(ῶν) ζ' χαῖρε
Translation:	[---], he/she has lived for 10 years and 7 months. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 193.
BM167	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Roman odeon
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	3.5x4x7.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]NAT[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 254.

BM168	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Sissini 17-19
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	11x9x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]ΜΟCΤΩ[---] [-- μ]νείας [χά]ρις
Translation:	[---], for the sake of his/her memory.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 195.
BM169	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Souniou, Maximou
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	10x13x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]VSICO[---] [---]MIT[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 253.
BM170	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Votsi 60
Material:	Stele
Type:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	14.5x20x6 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]QV[---] [---]NT[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 259.
BM171	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Xylokera, near the village Platani
Type:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	17x25x12 (incompl.)
Decoration:	A column with Ionic capital to the right of the text.
Inscription:	[---]Iuleia
Translation:	[---]Iuleia
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 264.
BM172	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Seen in a private residence in Patras, in 1863 (stone is now lost).
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	Θεύδωρος Κριτολάου καλῶς βιώσας
Translation:	Theodoros, son of Kritolaos, he lived well.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 104.

BM173	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22.5x26.5x2 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	P(ublius) Aemilius Primionis l(ibertus) Primigenius vix(it) an(nos) XXXI Ephebio frat(er)
Translation:	Publius Aemilius Primigenius, freedman of Primion. He has lived for 31 years. His brother Ephebio (erected this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 111.
BM174	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	46x29x6
Decoration:	Simple crown moulding.
Inscription:	Q(uinto) Manlio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Crescenti
Translation:	To Quintus Manlius Crescens, son of Quintus, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 112.
BM175	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Pillar stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	23x28x2.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Καφατί- α Παρδα- λῶ [---]
Translation:	Kaphatia, to Pardalos [---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 115.
BM176	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown (stone is now lost).
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	T(itus) Turpili(us) Aug(ur) sibi et Manli(us) T(iti) f(ilius) Aeni(us) Secundus T(iti) f(ilius), Agele f(ilia) Vallia p(ecunia) s(ua) et iu(ssu) Turpiliae Nice f(iliae) lib(ertis) libertab(us) suis poster(isque) et Turpiliae Nymphae et libertis posteris h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredes) n(on) s(equitur)
Translation:	Titus Turpilius the augur, for himself and Manlius, son of Titus, Aenius Secundus, son of Titus, Agele Vallia, daughter of Titus (have erected this monument) at their own expense and by the order of Turpilia Nice, the daughter of Titus, for her freedmen, freedwomen and their descendants and for Turpilia Nympha, and her freedmen and descendants. This monument shall not pass to the heirs.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 135.

BM177	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Stele/plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	18x38x8 and 82.5x42x5.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	col. I [C(aio) Annusidio C(aii)(?) f(ilio)] Q[uir(ina) Rufo dec(urioni) col(oniae)] [Pa]tr(ensis), aed(ili), Ilv[ir(o)], [trib(uno)] milit(um) exe[---] vac. [trib(uno) coh(ortis)[---] c]iv(ium) Rom(anorum) [---] ho[n(orato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)] [---]g patri [---]e]t sororib(us) col. II [---] [C(aio) Annusidi]o C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo Vireiano vac. C(aio) Annusidio C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo Marcelliano Ilvir(alibus) et agonothet(iciis) ornam(entis) honor(atis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) filis
Translation:	col. I [To Caius Annusidius Rufus, son of Caius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, decurion of the colony] of Patras, aedile, duumvir, tribune of the army of [---], tribune of the cohort [---] of the citizens of Rome, honoured by decree of the decurions. To his father [---] and his sisters. col. II To his sons. To Caius Annusidius Rufus Vireianus, son of Caius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina and to Caius Annusidius Rufus Marcellianus, son of Caius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, who both by decurions' decree received the honours of duumvir and agonothete.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 136.
BM178	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Cippus
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	68.5x77x30.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	L(ucio) Veirio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina) Frontoni veter(ano) leg(ionis) XII Ful(minatae)
Translation:	To Lucius Veirius Fronto, son of Lucius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, veteran of <i>Legio XII Fulminata</i> .
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 153.
BM179	1st c. BCE-1st c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	27x29.5x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[--le]g X[---] [---]ario et[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 160.
Comments:	The texts probably commemorates a veteran or a legionary.

BM180	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Stele
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	22x32.5x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	<i>Hederae</i> below the inscription.
Inscription:	[---]ANTO[---] [---] μνημείῳ κακῶς [---]ος ποιήσει, ἔσται ὑπεύθυνος τυν- <i>vac.</i> βωρυχίου <i>vac.</i>
Translation:	[---] Whoever will harm this monument will be held accountable for graverobbery.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 179.
BM181	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	16x15x7 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[D(iis) M(anibus)] L(ucii) Num[isii ---] terni m[il(itis) leg(ionis) ---] (centuria) Grani an[n(or)um] ---]
Translation:	To the spirits of the Dead. To Lucius Numisius [---]ternus, soldier in <i>Legio</i> [---], in the century of Granus. [---] years old.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 180.
BM182	4th c. CE
Find location:	Unknown (stone is now lost)
Type:	Naiskos
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	A medaillon with an urn in the centre of the pediment (?). <i>Palmae</i> were carved below inscriptions a. and b. Inscription c was written below the left palm branch.
Inscription:	a. εὐτύχι θυηπό[λι] b. ζήσας Εὐάγρι c. μέγας σωτήρ
Translation:	a. Be prosperous priest b. Long live Euagrios c. The great savior
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 186
Remarks:	This inscription could also be an acclamation instead of an epitaph, cf. IG IV ² 2, 1065 (acclamation from Aigina, 2nd-3rd c. CE).
BM183	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	27x16.5x5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]AMAY [---]AEICTONOI [---]YTOY
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 199.

BM184	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions:	23x13x3 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	SIB[---] HE[---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 200.
BM185	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	36x15x1.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---]Θ[---] [ἀδε]λφο[---] [---]ΚΕΤΟΘΗ[---] [---]ΠΕΝ[---] [---]
Translation:	-
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 262.
BM186	4th-3rd c. BCE
Find location:	Seen 'ad aedem S. Mariae Agialiae' (stone is now lost).
Type:	Indet.
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Σάτυρος Αἰσχίνα
Translation:	Satyros, son of Aischynas.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 57.
BM187	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Pedimental stele with inset panel
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	36x25x7.5 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	-
Translation:	-
Reference:	Papapostolou, <i>AGS</i> , no. 38.

BM188 2nd c. BCE

Find location: Unknown
 Type: Naiskos
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 57.5x59.5x11 (incompl.)
 Decoration: Elaborate akroteria adorn the pediment. Two lions face a bucranium on the frieze. The inscription is written on the architrave.
 Inscription: Διόφαντε Διοφάντου χαῖρε
 Translation: Greetings Diophantos, son of Diophantos.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 65.

BM189 3rd c. BCE

Find location: Unknown
 Type: Plaque/slab
 Material: Sandstone
 Dimensions (cm): 43x43x10
 Decoration: -
 Inscription: a. Θέων Τιμάνδρου (3rd c. BCE)
 χαῖρε
 b. Νεόλλι (150-100 BCE)
 χαῖρε
 Translation: a. Theon, son of Timandros. Greetings.
 b. Greetings, Neollis.
 References: Papapostolou, *AGS*, no. 5; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 62.

BM190 3rd-2nd c. BCE

Find location: Unknown
 Type: Composite naiskos type B
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 69x58x10 (incompl.)
 Decoration: Possible traces of a painted scene.
 Inscription: Σατυρίων Ἀριστοτίμου χαῖρε
 Translation: Satyrion, son of Aristotimos. Greetings.
 References: Papapostolou, *AGS*, no. 62; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 63.

BM191 2nd c. BCE

Find location: Unknown
 Type: Pedimental stele with inset panel
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): 72x37x19 (incompl.)
 Decoration: The frieze is decorated with a simple floral pattern. The inset panel may have had a painted figurative scene, but no traces are preserved.
 Inscription: [---]να [---]χ[---]ος χαῖρε
 Translation: [---]na, daughter of Moschion(?). Greetings.
 References: Papapostolou, *AGS*, no. 41; Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 67.

BM192	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	43x57x13 (incompl.)
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Ἀνδρῶν Εὐρέα χαῖρε
Translation:	Andron, son of Eureas. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 76.
BM193	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Unknown
Type:	Plaque
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	36x25.5x2
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	Oppia L(ucii) lib(erta) Synphersa
Translation:	Oppia Synphersa, freedwoman of Lucius (Oppius).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 89.
BM194	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Seen 'ante aedes Spyridoni Manolopouli' (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	T[a]dia Q(uinti) li[b](erta) Myrine N[---] Tadiani[---]
Translation:	Tadia Myrine N[---], freedwoman of Quintus (Tadius), Tadiani[---]
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 91.
BM195	3rd-4th c. CE
Find location:	Seen at Kalamogdarti (stone is now lost).
Type:	Cippus
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	[--E]ῖρενα [---]χι ζήσας ἔτη λγ'
Translation:	[--E]irena(?) [---], having lived for 33 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 106.

BM196 l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE

Find location:	Seen at Saravali, at the church of Agios Giorgos (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	M(arco) Coelio P(ublil) f(ilio) vet[e(rano)] leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae) Felix lib(ertus) v(iva) Coelia M(arci) [f(ilia)] Secunda
Translation:	To Marcus Coelius, son of Publius, veteran of Legion XII Fulminata. The freedman Felix and Coelia Secunda, daughter of Marcus, while she was alive (erected this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 154.

BM197 2nd c. CE

Find location:	Seen at the church of Agia Maria Agailiai (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	T(itus) Statilius T(iti) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Felix equo publico trib(unus) c(o)ho(rtis) XXVI voluntariorum civium Romanorum vixit annis XXXV mens(ibus) III dieb(us) XVII parentes infelixissimi
Translation:	Titus Statilius Felix, son of Titus, of the <i>tribus</i> Palatina. Honoured with an <i>equus publicus</i> , tribune of the 26th cohort of volunteers of the citizens of Rome. He has lived for 35 years, 3 months and 17 days. His most unhappy parents (set up this memorial).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 158.

BM198 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location:	Seen at the church of Agia Maria Hierocomiae (stone is now lost).
Type:	Pedimental stele
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	A phiale in the centre of the pediment.
Inscription:	Sex(to) Appulo L(ucii) f(ilio) Firmo
Translation:	To Sextus Appulus Firmus, son of Lucius.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 113.

BM199 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location:	Seen at the church of Agia Maria Hierocomiae (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	C(aio) Aurelio C(aii) f(ilio) Basso annor(um) X
Translation:	To Caius Aurelius Bassus, son of Caius, (he lived) 10 years.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 121.

BM200 l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE

Find location: Seen at the church of Agia Maria Hierocomiae (stone is now lost).
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: C(aius) Vetullus M(arci) f(ilius)
 Qui(rina) signifer
 leg(ionis) X Equ(estris)
 Translation: Caius Vetullus, son of Marcus, of the *tribus* Quirina, sign-bearer of *Legio X Equestris*.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 155.

BM201 l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE

Find location: Seen at the church of Agia Maria Hierocomiae (stone is now lost).
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Marble
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: C(aio) Aurelio P(ublii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) veter(ano) leg(ionis) X Eq(uestris) aedil(iciis)
 ornament(is)
 D I[---]DATIS *vac.* O C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) [p]rocu[---]
 CI[---]IAROVIV *vac.* T aedi[l]i d(ecreto) d(ecurionem) [---]
 LINNAE *vac.* [hon]orato [---] *vac.* [h]onorato [---]
 FPRIQ E *vac.*
 C(aio) Aurelio C(aii) f(ilio) IA [---] IRX *vac.* Prisco V[ir](o).
 Translation: To Caius Aurelius, son of Publius, of the *tribus* Quirina, veteran of *Legio X Equestris*,
 honoured with the distinctions of the aedile (l.1).
 [---] son of Caius, of the *tribus* Quirina [---] (l.2).
 [---] aedile, honoured by decurion's decree [---] (l.3).
 To Caius Aurelius Priscus, son of Caius, sev[er] [---] (l.7).
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 157.

BM202 2nd c. CE

Find location: Seen at the church of Agia Paraskevi (stone is now lost).
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: L(ucius) Romani-
 us L(ucii) f(ilius) Ani(ensis)
 Iustus Ver-
 cel(lis) mil(es) co-
 [h]or(tis) X prae(toriae)
 [c(enturia)] Crispini
 Translation: Lucius Romanus Iustus, son of Lucius of the *tribus* Aniensis, from Vercella, soldier in the tenth
 praetorian cohort in the century of Crispinus.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 159.

BM203	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Seen at the church of Agia Triada (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	V(ivus) Vir(eius) Moschus Didiae Urbanae et Primae matri Urbanae
Translation:	Vireius Moschus (erected this monument) while he was alive for Didia Urbana and Prima Urbana, her mother.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 140.
BM204	2nd c. BCE
Find location:	Seen at the church of Agios Andreas at Kalamogdarti (stone is now lost).
Type:	Cippus
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	-
Inscription:	[---] Χάριτος χαῖρε
Translation:	[---], daughter/son of Charis. Greetings.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 77.
BM205	2nd c. CE
Find location:	Seen at the church of Agios Vasilios (stone is now lost).
Type:	Cippus
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	M(arco) Vibullio M(arci) f(ilio) [---] v[ix(it)] ann(os) X[---] M(arcus) Vibullius Ven[erianus? et] Cornelia Gemella post obitum
Translation:	To Marcus Vibullius, son of Marcus [---], who has lived for [---] years. Marcus Vibullius Ven[erianus?] and Cornelia Gemella (erected this monument) after their death.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 131.
BM206	l. 1st c. BCE-e. 1st c. CE
Find location:	Seen at the church of Andreas the Apostle (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	M(arco) Doio L(ucii) f(ilio) Qui(rina) Balbo dec(urioni) arbitr(atu) L(ucii) Durcati Erotis
Translation:	To Marcus Doius Balbus, son of Lucius, of the <i>tribus</i> Quirina, decurion. By the decision of Lucius Durcatus Eros.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 125.

BM207 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Seen at the metropolitan church (stone is now lost).
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: L(ucio) Marcio RVH
 SHA[---]PAR
 Translation: To Lucius Marcius, [---]
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 119.

BM208 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Seen at the port of Papasaggili (stone is now lost).
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: T(ito) Apponio
 Quartioni
 Translation: To Titus Apponius Quartio.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 114.

BM209 1st c. CE

Find location: Seen 'in aedibus Iohannis Alexopouli Icrabiotis in gradibus' (stone is now lost).
 Type: Plaque
 Material: Limestone
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: M(arco) Minucio C(aio) f(ilio)
 Quir(ina) Gallo
 Hyacinthus lib(ertus)
 Translation: To Marcus Minucius Gallus, son of Caius, of the *tribus* Quirina. (Set up by his) freedman Hyacinthus.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 124.

BM210 200-225 CE

Find location: Seen 'in domo cuiusdam civis' (stone is now lost).
 Type: Unknown
 Material: Unknown
 Dimensions (cm): Unknown
 Decoration: Unknown
 Inscription: V(ivis) T(ito) Su<lp>i<c>io [-] f(ilio) Quir(ina) Felici
 august[ali et]
 Liviae Foebae uxor(i) et
 [T(ito)] Su[lp]icio T(iti) [f(ilio)] Quir(ina) Floron
 ornamentis Ilviral(ibus) honor(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
 Translation: While they were alive, to Titus Sulpicius Felix, augustal, son of (Titus?), of the *tribus* Quirina, and to Livia Foeba, his wife, and to Titus Sulpicius Floron, son of Titus, of the *tribus* Quirina, who was honoured by decurions' decree with the distinctions of duumvir.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 141.

BM211	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Seen 'in ecclesia D. Constantini' at Patras (stone is now lost).
Type:	Altar (?)
Material:	Marble
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	Δομιτίου Φαίδρου. τὴν σὴν εὖνοιαν καὶ πίστιν Φαῖδρε καλοῦ- ντες ἐν βιοτῆς μέτ- ροις οὐποτε παυσόμεθα
Translation:	(Monument of) Domitios Phaidros. We will never cease, Phaidros, to profess the goodwill and faithfulness you have shown during your lifetime.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 144.
BM212	2nd-3rd c. CE
Find location:	Seen in the stairs leading up to the church of Agia Maria (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	[---] [vix]it an(nos) XX [---]ia Secunda [m]ater
Translation:	---, he/she has lived for 20 years. [---]ia Secunda, the mother.
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 190.
BM213	1st-2nd c. CE
Find location:	Seen outside Patras (stone is now lost).
Type:	Unknown
Material:	Unknown
Dimensions (cm):	Unknown
Decoration:	Unknown
Inscription:	P(ublius) Aemilius Urbanus annor(um) XXXV mater et soror fecerunt Aemilia Erotis et Aemilia Secunda
Translation:	Publius Aemilius Urbanus, 35 years old. His mother and his sister, Aemilia Erotis and Aemilia Secunda, made (this monument).
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 109.
Epitaph 214	3rd c. CE
Find location:	Ermou 80-82 (BS64)
Type:	Urn (= G64.56 , see Catalogue C)
Material:	Marble
Inscription:	[---]ς Ἀπολλωνίου
Translation:	[---]s, son/daughter of Apollonios
Reference:	Rizakis, <i>Achaïe II</i> , no. 175.

Epitaph 215 3rd c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**), reused as the cover of a grave.
 Type: Sarcophagus (= **G103.1**, see Catalogue C)
 Material: Unknown
 Inscription: [---]ΜΩΚΕΙΑ[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 241.

Epitaph 216 3rd-4th c. CE

Find location: Kanakari 121 (**BS103**)
 Type: Sarcophagus
 Material: Limestone
 Inscription: [---]ΕΑΛΩΜΕΙΑ
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 245.

Epitaph 217 2nd-3rd c. CE

Find location: Unknown (**BS260**)
 Type: Sarcophagus (= **G260.2**)
 Material: Marble
 Inscription: Σεργίλιος Φιλέρων κατεσκεύασα{ν} αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ συνβίῳ μου Βουλομνία Συνφερ]ούση.
 Translation: I, Servilius Phileros, have built this for myself and my wife Voulomnion Synpherousa.
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 174.

Epitaph 218 3rd c. CE

Find location: Unknown (**BS260**)
 Type: Sarcophagus (= **G260.3**)
 Material: Marble
 Inscription: Σπόνδη ἐπώλησα
 [--Ι]σινδεῖ τῆς Παμφυλίας[ς]
 [--δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ *] βφ' καὶ ΤΘ . . Δ[---]
 Translation: I, Sponde, have sold (this sarcophagus) to Isindea of Pamphylia, [she will give 2500 denaria to the treasurer?].
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 176.

Epitaph 219 1st-2nd c. CE

Find location: Seen at the church of Agios Giorgos (now lost).
 Type: Sarcophagus
 Material: Marble
 Inscription: ΑΕ . . . ΡΡ[---]
 Translation: -
 Reference: Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, no. 238.

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