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Investigations of Physical Anthropology and Paleopathology at the Ancient Necropolis of Thasos. In M. Sgourou Excavating Houses and Graves: Exploring Aspects of Everyday Life and Afterlife in Ancient Thasos

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Studies in Classical Archaeology I

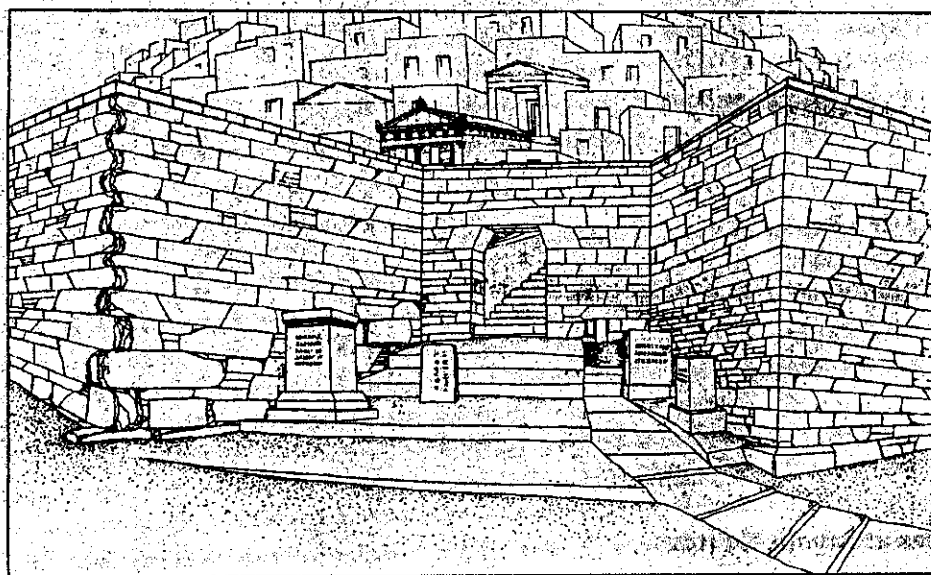
Excavating Classical Culture

Recent archaeological discoveries in Greece

Edited by

Maria Stamatopoulou

Marina Yeroulanou



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Excavating houses and graves: exploring aspects of everyday life and afterlife in ancient Thasos

Marina Sgourou

Since 1911, the ancient city of Thasos has been gradually brought to light through the excavations of the French Archaeological School at first, joined later by the parallel or collaborative work of the 18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.¹ The archaeological evidence emerging out of the tightly woven tissue of the superimposed modern village has unfortunately a fragmentary and disparate character. Nevertheless, a number of monumental civic and sacred complexes as well as substantial groups of private dwellings have come to light in numerous systematic and rescue excavations, offering the possibility to explore and trace the history of the urban landscape of an important ancient Greek

city.² This brief survey will concentrate on the developments of the 4th century BC, which is a period very well represented both in the city's domestic and funerary archaeological record.

The houses

The first Parian colonists founded the *εὐδείελον ἄστυ* on the slopes of the acropolis hill,³ close to a secure natural port just opposite the Thracian coast, at a site with easy access to arable land. There is very little evidence of the 7th century BC settlement. It seems that the early settlement, which consisted of clusters of houses around major sanctuaries, expanded during the 6th century BC not only to the foothill of the acropolis but also to the coastal areas and to the south. The massive fortification wall, erected in the beginning of the 5th century BC out of the need to protect the prosperous city, encroached upon a cemetery, which was still in use in the late 6th cen-

Abbreviations

Archaeology of Household = P.M. Allison (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London and New York 1999).

Grandjean, *Recherches* = Y. Grandjean, *ET XII: Recherches sur l'habitat Thasien à l'époque grecque* (Paris 1988).

Guide 2000 = Y. Grandjean and F. Salviat, *Guide de Thasos* (Athens 2000).

Humphreys, *Family* = S.C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death. Comparative Studies* (London 1983).

Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis = Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, M. Sgourou and A. Agelarakis, 'Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην νεκρόπολη της αρχαίας Θάσου: 1979-1996', *AEMTH* 10 (1996), 769-794.

Pomeroy, *Families* = S. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Representations and Realities* (Oxford 1997).

Sgourou, 'Jewellery' = M. Sgourou, 'Jewellery from Thasian Graves', *BSA* 96 (2001) 327-364.

¹ For an inventory of the salvage digs undertaken in Thasos until 1982 see the catalogue compiled by Grandjean, *Recherches*, 271-353. For subsequent archaeological research see the volumes of the *Chronika* of the *ADelti*: (1983) B2, 313, 316, 327-329; (1984), 268, 277-279; (1985), 256-260, 272-276; (1986), 168, 181; (1988) B2, 419-421; (1989) B2, 368-372, 379-381; (1990) B2, 374-375; (1991) B2, 310-315; (1992) B2, 461-465, 480-482; (1993) B2, 383-386; (1994) B2, 587-589, 612-614.

² On the urban landscape of the ancient city see the synthesis by J. Pouilloux, 'Une énigme thasienne: Le Passage des Théores', in *Thasiaca* (Paris 1979) 135-141 (Archaic city); R. Martin, 'Thasos: quelques problèmes de structure urbaine', *CRAI* 1978, 182-197; the extensive survey by Grandjean, *Recherches*, 463-489 and the comprehensive summary offered by Y. Grandjean and J.-Y. Marc, 'La ville de Thasos', *L'espace Grec. 150 ans de fouilles de l'École Française d'Athènes* (Paris 1996), 75-80. We should not fail to mention the contribution of epigraphic texts to the knowledge of some of the landmarks and the structure of the urban landscape: H. Duchêne, *ET XIV: La stèle du port* (Paris 1992), 99-108; A.J. Graham, 'Thasos: The Topography of the Ancient City', *BSA* 95 (2000), 301-327. On the Archaic city see also F. Blondé, A. Muller and D. Mulliez, 'Thasos. De la ville d'Archiloque à la ville de Théagènes. Questions de topographie et d'urbanisme à l'époque archaïque', *AEMTH* 13 (1999), 49-62.

³ According to the Delphic oracle given to Telesikles (Steph. Byz. s.v. Thasos).

tury BC, to the south-east [fig. 1.1], and prompted expansion of habitation to the area. By the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC, at the peak of its floruit, the city grew within the area delimited by the wall, following the pattern of a dense network of streets and habitation quarters (insulae), the size and orientation of which was dictated by the natural terrain. This intra-muros plan was respected during the Roman period, when workshops and houses expanded into areas outside major city gates, and remained intact, for the most part, down to the middle of the 3rd century AD [fig. 1].⁴

With regards to domestic architecture, habitation quarters and entire neighbourhoods, single houses or parts of them have been unearthed, revealing extensive structural remains of particular importance to the study of the cultural patterning of private space, and thus permitting us to trace – in more or less clear lines – its course and development in ancient Thasos.

The single-spaced houses of the 6th century BC at the area of the Gate of the Silen [figs 1E, 2a], or the more spacious ones with a front court at the area of the Gate of Hermes [figs 1G, 3] are superseded during the 5th century BC by houses with more complicated internal organisation, a variation of the *pastas* house type,⁵ centred about an open courtyard with rooms on two or more sides (Quarter of the Gate of the Silen [fig. 2b], Gate of Hermes [fig. 3 - insula III]). Throughout the 4th century BC house types remained unaltered, modelled on the principles of modesty, simplicity and functionality.⁶ The role of democratic ideology in shaping similar urban and domestic environments throughout the Greek world has often been stressed.⁷

It is in the area of the Gate of Hermes, located close to the harbour and the Agora [fig. 1G], home of a more privileged class, and in the flat areas at the south-west sector of the city⁸ that the peristyle court

house, equipped with ancillary open areas to house domestic activities, appears during the very late 4th century [fig. 3 - insula I]. It signals – here a little later than in many parts of the Greek world – a development of the upper class house towards more elaborate forms, with a distinct taste for greater comfort and the display of luxury as an added new function.⁹

These changes in the spatial organisation of the household, which fall within the general pattern observed in most Greek city-states, are generally interpreted as reflecting developments affecting the *oikos*,¹⁰ the social unit sheltered within the architectural shell of the house.¹¹ In fact, in 4th century BC Thasos operative conditions were similar to those dominant in the rest of the Greek world, which gradually gave rise to a new, individual and highly valued, notion of private life.¹²

The epigraphic and archaeological records amply attest the floruit of the city. The political reorganisation taking place at the beginning of the century was modelled on the pattern of the Athenian democracy, while growing economic prosperity resulted, at the same time, in the steady increase in the social and political power of the wealthier members of society, a development well reflected in public works, which were often sponsored by prominent citizens.¹³

Of course, the way domestic space is structured contributes only a very small part in our effort to understand some of the social mechanisms regulating the

See also Graham, *op.cit.* n. 2, 324. For peristyle court houses in this area see *BCH* 75 (1951) *Chroniques*, 142-145, pl. 22; P. Malama and Th. Salonidis, 'Ελληνιστική οικία στο Λιμένα Θάσου', *AEMTH* 6 (1992), 605-616; Th. Salonidis, 'Ελληνιστικό κτίριο στην Αρχαία Θάσο', *AEMTH* 7 (1993), 573-584.

⁹ F. Walter-Karydi, *Die Nobilierung des Wohnhauses. Lebensform und Architektur im spätklassischen Griechenland* (Konstanz 1994).

¹⁰ On the definition of the *oikos* in both Athens and Sparta see Pomeroy, *Families*, 17-66; Humphreys, *Family*, ch. 1: *Oikos* and *Polis*, 1-21.

¹¹ L.C. Nevett, *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge 1999), 4-10. There has been a recent interest in interpreting the social dimension of domestic architecture through the means of interdisciplinary approaches. See M. Parker, C. Pearson and C. Richards, *Architecture and Order. Approaches to Social Space* (London and New York 1994); M. Jameson, 'Domestic Space in the Greek City-state', in S. Kent (ed.), *Domestic Architecture and the use of Space* (Cambridge 1990), 92-113; *id.*, 'Private Space and the Greek City', in O. Murray and S. Price (eds), *The Greek City* (Oxford 1990), 171-195.

¹² M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1953), 90-125; R. Vannier, *Le quatrième siècle grec* (Paris 1967), 70-82.

¹³ J. Pouilloux, *ET III: Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos de la fondation de la cité* (Paris 1954), 193-237; *Guide* 2000, 30-31, 200-201.

⁴ Grandjean, *Recherches*, 463-489; *Guide* 2000, 195-203.

⁵ See Grandjean, *Recherches*, 460, 479 and 443 for the early appearance of this house type at the area of the Herakleion (sondage Apostolidis). Also, F. Lang, *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland. Struktur und Entwicklung* (Munich 1999), 99-100, 143.

⁶ See the houses at the Gate of the Silen [fig. 2c]; Y. Grandjean, 'La maison grecque du Ve au IVe siècle: tradition et innovation', in P. Carlier (ed.), *Le IVe siècle av. J.-C. Approches historiques* (Nancy 1996), 293-313. The simplicity of the Thasian houses, signalled by the absence of paved courts, mosaic floors and plastered/painted walls, stands in strong contrast to the marked prosperity of the city and brings the Thasian houses close to the Athenian ones both in type and character: Grandjean, *Recherches*, 459, 487-488.

⁷ W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Munich 1986), 256-267.

⁸ This area may be indicated by the term *Ἐνὶ τοῦ λείου* in Hip. Epid. iii.16 where the residences of two elite citizens were located.

norms of private life. Despite the fact that there exists a strong bias in approaching the social dimension of space based on architecture alone, there has recently been a trend in classical studies towards a more holistic approach to the archaeological record, which integrates written sources and artefact assemblages to subsequent interpretation, viewing architecture only as part of domestic material culture.¹⁴ It has been increasingly recognised that artefact assemblages may give us a greater comprehension of the range, distribution of activities, behaviour and ideology within the household units under investigation, since they have the advantage of providing evidence across a much broader spectrum than plain two-dimensional house plans or written sources, which often focus on the society's élites. The full use of this type of evidence in the construction of ancient domestic landscapes is, however, liable to a number of limitations.

The most important prerequisite in rendering this kind of material into a useful interpretive tool, is the need to read and comprehend site formation process, depositional conditions and processes of abandonment. Sealed off undisturbed deposits, resulting from rapid and complete abandonment or destruction, offer more or less secure datasets and ideal conditions for the study of representative household assemblages. But in most cases house floor assemblages are not fossilised representations of past activities. They are ordinarily subjected to a series of accretion and depletion processes during their formation stages,¹⁵ which, however, do not completely abolish their value in investigating household behaviour, since they may represent a palimpsest of activities revealing recurrent patterns, which cover several generations and persist over time.¹⁶ Meticulous excavation, which keeps, records, quantifies and publishes the data in its entirety,¹⁷ is the second requirement in any secure interpretation of the domestic material record.

In Thasos, where the urban landscape remained in use for more than a thousand years and houses underwent constant use and reuse – were built, repaired and rebuild many times – none of the above predicaments are generally met. In most cases, later walls were built on older foundations, destroying or

disrupting the previous phases. Rescue excavations performed urgently, at rapid pace, do not always offer the necessary time to perform detailed analysis. Under these constraints, it is rare good fortune that floor levels of certain periods were preserved and unearthed under flood layers and later artificial fills. This was the case at the habitation quarter of the Gate of the Silen, where severe floods and subsequent artificial soil deposition contributed to a more or less clear-cut separation of late 5th, mid-4th and mid-3rd century deposits,¹⁸ at the quarter by the Gate of Hermes, where an artificial rise of the floor level took place during the first quarter of the 5th century,¹⁹ and in several houses unearthed during salvage digs [pl. 1A].²⁰

The excavators of the houses near the Gate of the Silen linked the architectural spaces with the objects discovered in them, providing catalogues of representative artefacts found in different areas during successive phases of occupation.²¹ The numerous houses completely or partially explored during salvage excavation make up a very rich material record. When put under detailed study, combined with other sources – especially the island's rich corpus of inscriptions – they may provide us with promising views of the everyday realities and dynamics in a rather typical Greek city-state. Furthermore, with this approach we are taken away from the biases of the, mostly Athenocentric, iconographic and textual evidence, which has hitherto been used in almost all reconstructions of daily life in antiquity.

The graves

Archaeology often focuses on the way death was conceived and articulated by the living as a means of recovering and analysing the dynamics of social structures.²² Undisturbed graves constitute the material upon which such analysis is based. Graves, however, are the material remains of funerals and

¹⁴ B.A. Ault and I.C. Nevett, 'Digging Houses: Archaeologies of Classical and Hellenistic Greek Domestic Assemblages', in *Archaeology of Household*, 43-46.

¹⁵ V. La Motta and M.B. Schiffer, 'Formation Processes of House Floor Assemblages', in *Archaeology of Household*, 20-25.

¹⁶ P.M. Allison in *Archaeology of Household*, 12.

¹⁷ S. Rotroff, 'How Did Pots Function within the Landscape of Daily Living?', in *Céramique et Peinture Grecques. Modes d'emploi. Actes du Colloque International. École du Louvre. 26-28 Avril 1995* (Paris 1995), 65-67.

¹⁸ Grandjean, *Recherches; Guide 2000*, 123-128.

¹⁹ Grandjean, *Recherches*, 447-451; *Guide 2000*, 98-102.

²⁰ See for example pl. 1A: part of a house unearthed during a rescue excavation where, in order to deal with successive rise in water level, draining floors consisting of overturned amphorae were used during the 4th century: S. Samartzidou, *ADelt* 37 (1982) B2, 309-312.

²¹ Grandjean, *Recherches*.

²² A.A. Saxe, *Social Dimension of Mortuary Practices* (PhD thesis, University Of Michigan 1970); L. Binford, 'Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Potential', in J. Brown (ed.), *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices* (New York 1971); I. Morris, *Death-ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1992) and the critical review of past and current scholarship on the matter in F. McLugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Mortuary Practice* (Oxford 1999), 1-18.

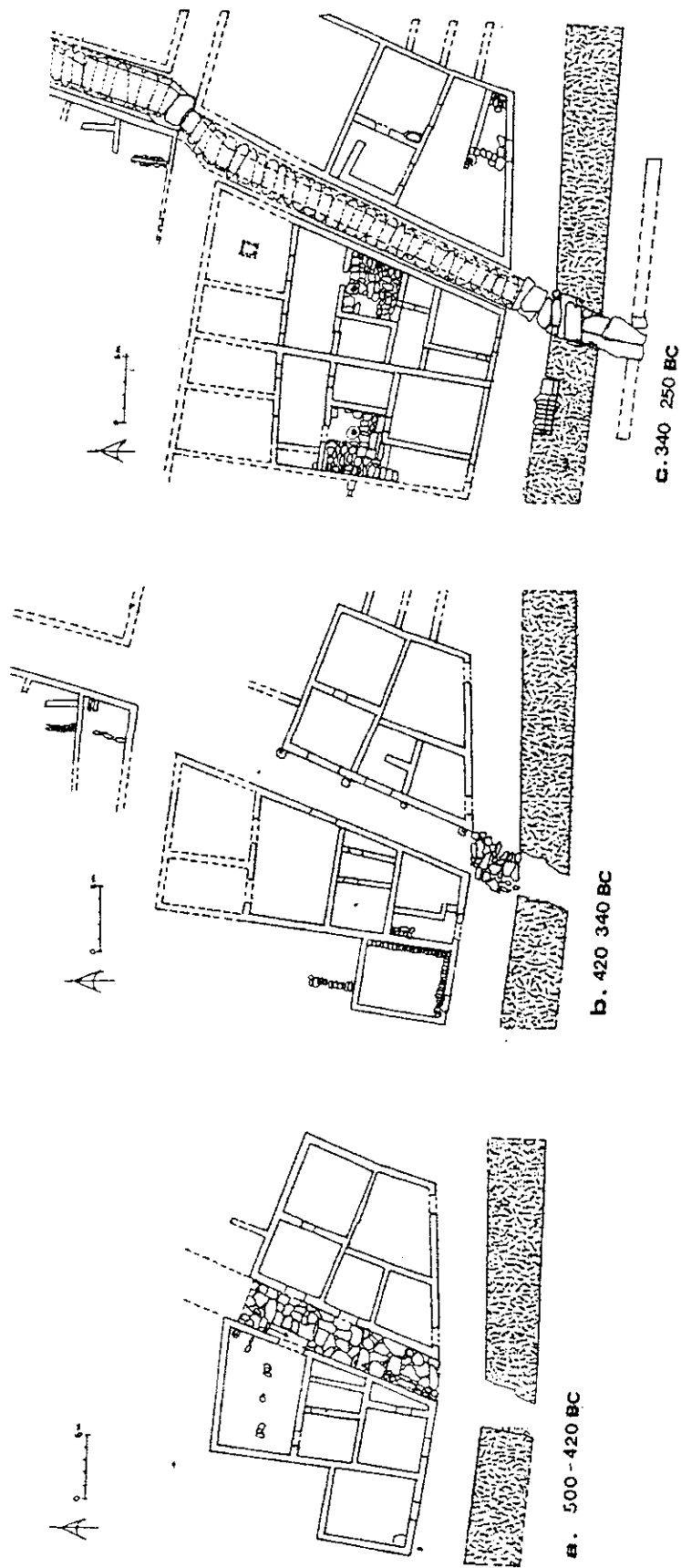


Figure 2. Habitation quarter at the Gate of the Silen. Successive phases of occupation (after *Guide* 2000, figs 76, 78, 81).

Figure 3. Habitation quarter at the Gate of Hermes (after *Guide* 2000, fig. 54).

represent only the final stage of a symbolic, ceremonial act, the interpretation of which has to be checked against all available evidence. Greek cities, where both the settlement and the cemetery areas have been explored, present a challenging case for studying and cross-checking the relation between domestic and funerary sphere and the social forces and attitudes shaping both.²³

In Thasos, the extensive cemetery that lay around the city had not until recently been the object of systematic archaeological exploration. The 19th century visitors to the island reported on the existence of the marble sarcophagi and the remains of funerary monuments that were visible at their time.²⁴ An excavation carried out in 1952-53 by L. Kahil revealed several groups of Hellenistic graves [fig. 1.2a-c].²⁵ Until recently, our evidence consisted of a few chance finds of the salvage work of the 18th Ephorate; the expansion of the modern village, previously restricted within the ancient city wall, precipitated research in the extramural area to the south-west, resulting in the discovery of several burial groups.²⁶

Burial groups unearthed at this sector follow a line right up to one of the south-west city gates [fig. 1]. In fact, the location of all graves offers tangible evidence that the Thasian cemetery extended along the main roads that led from the chora to the city crossing the coastal area to the west, the plain to the south-west or following the course of the modern road leading to the mountainous inland.²⁷

Moreover, in the plot indicated with 3 on fig. 1 (Soultou plot) we were fortunate enough to discover the limits of a burial zone: a low wall separated the

cemetery from the cobbled road [pl. 1B] and graves extended to a distance of less than 15 m from it [fig. 4].

A total of 130 graves, scattered in different land plots, were excavated in the extramural area and the skeletal remains of 167 individuals were recovered and studied. The tombs range in date from the 4th to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. Not all the graves, however, offer clear indications for precise dating. Chronological attribution within a large number of excavated tombs including looted, destroyed tombs, and graves furnished with offerings of no chronological value, is impeded by their similar appearance throughout this period.

The vast majority of the dated graves, however, fall into the 4th century BC. This may be due to the spatial organisation of the ancient cemetery. The location of the only known Archaic graves within the foundations of the south-west city wall [fig. 1.1] suggests that the 6th century BC town did not yet extend in this area and that a zone which was later enclosed within the wall had, until the late 6th century BC, funerary use.²⁸ The expansion of the burial ground to the extramural area to the south-west may have thus gradually taken place during the subsequent centuries.

The high visibility of the 4th century BC in the part of the cemetery thus far explored may also be the outcome of a tendency, appearing during the later part of this century, to put into the graves objects of a particular type and value, such as coins, jewellery, and pots.

On the present state of evidence, within the chronological range of the 4th to 1st centuries BC, a picture of a highly homogeneous cemetery is emerging in what concerns both the type of graves and the way of burial. Inhumation in simple cists, lined and covered with marble slabs or with built side walls, remained the predominant way of burial throughout this period. Cists may be adjacent, sharing common sides [fig. 4, pl. 1C]. Cremation represents a very low percentage. The ashes are gathered in funerary containers of high value, bronze or red-figure hydriai or pelikai, which are sealed in marble thekai [pl. 4A-B]. Isolated cases of primary, in situ cremation in pits lined with clay are difficult to pinpoint chronologi-

²³ On the need to seek and compare evidence on the social significance of artefacts from different areas of the same culture see S. Humphreys, 'Introduction. Comparative Perspectives on Death', in S.C. Humphreys and H. King (eds), *Mortality and Immortality. The Anthropology and Archaeology of Death* (London 1981), 8-10. See also Pomeroy, *Families*, 114-121 on the limitations of the archaeological material coming from cemetery exploration "More than one formula should be sought to reconstruct life from the artefacts of death".

²⁴ E. Jacobsthal, 'Die Thasiaca des Cyriacus von Ancona im Codex Vaticanus 5250', *AM* 22 (1897), 113-138; A. Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Orient III* (Stuttgart 1837), 618-619; A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des thrakischen Meeres*, (Hannover 1860), 4, 14, 17-23; G. Perrot, *Memoire sur l'île de Thasos* (Paris 1864), 22-28; Th. Bent, 'Thasiote Tombs', *CIR* 1 (1887), 210-211.

²⁵ J. Ghali-Kahil, 'Nécropoles thasiennes', *BCH* 58 (1954), 225-251.

²⁶ The results of the excavations of the 18th Ephorate at the area of the ancient necropolis are going to be published in a separate monograph by Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, M. Sgourou and A. Agelarakis. For a preliminary report see Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis with bibliography on past research of the Thasian cemetery.

²⁷ Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis, 772-773.

²⁸ Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 'Recherches autour du rempart méridional de Thasos', in *Thasiaca* (Paris 1979), 75-106. It has been assumed that an Early Archaic necropolis extended at the site where the Agora later stood; the cenotaph of Glaukos was considered a remnant of this cemetery: Martin, *op.cit.* n. 2, 189; Pouilloux, *op.cit.* n. 2, 138-139. On the Archaic cemetery see also Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis, 770, 776-777.

cally. Hellenistic graves are usually furnished with very few, poor, or no offerings.²⁹

The graves accommodate one, two and in rare cases more than three individuals, one or two of which is usually a child or an adolescent [pl. 2A]. Single child burials in separate cists or pots are extremely rare. Children are buried in the graves of older members of the family. Infants are under-represented in the anthropological record, owing to soil conditions unfavourable to the preservation of their remains.

Scattered among the graves are pyres containing broken cooking and tableware [pl. 2B]. The carbonised material contained bones of small goats, some sort of sweet bread and incinerated seeds among which wheat, pomegranate, grapes, walnut and even garlic were recognised.³⁰ These are the remains of ceremonies that took place immediately or a few days after the burial and involved the offering of food to the dead.³¹ Often, pyres functioned as separate offering places for the ritual disposal of grave gifts. In one case a set of silver jewellery belonging to a young girl was thrown in the fire along with a couple of miniature pots of the mid-4th century BC.³²

The relative absence of grave markers is due to their destruction at an early date. Nearly all preserved inscribed stelai are chance finds disassociated from their initial context.³³ Despite the fact that there exists strong evidence in Thasos on the existence and religious function of the phratries, very few material indications suggest that the graves were grouped in family plots.³⁴ Monumental enclosures (periboloi)³⁵

with elaborate sculptural decoration³⁶ seem to have been a rarity.

A rectangular enclosure with four plundered graves, excavated in the early 1950s,³⁷ was associated with a monumental grave relief found near by, a work created under the strong influence of post-Parthenonian sculpture, commissioned no doubt by a prominent family.³⁸ The relief shows a woman seized by birth pangs, stressing her exemplary gender role of motherhood and probably her 'heroic' death during child-bearing.³⁹ The pedestal unearthed in a burial plot to the coastal area west of the city [figs 1.5 and 5] must have been part of an equally grandiose funerary monument, erected before the middle of the 4th century BC, as suggested by the date of the cist built at one of its sides [fig. 5, grave 9].⁴⁰

Grave offerings include strigils, pots, coins and tools found in the graves of both men and women. Mirrors, gold, gilded, silver or ivory jewellery and implements of wool working [pls 2C, 3C-D] are characteristic furnishings for women, gilded wreaths for men. Weapons are extremely rare.⁴¹

The anthropological study of the skeletal material pursued by Professor Agelerakis not only yielded important information concerning palaeodemography, life expectancy, dietary habits, and pathologies, but also focused on the markers left on osseous surfaces by occupational and habitual stress. The appendix contains a brief, updated report of his pre-

²⁹ Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelerakis, 777. On the changes affecting the family in the Hellenistic period and their reflections in funerary customs see Pomeroy, *Families*, 108-114.

³⁰ The archaeobotanical study of two pyres from the Thasian cemetery was completed by F. Megaloudi and Ph. Marinval: 'Étude d'offrandes de Thasos', *BCH* 125 (2001).

³¹ D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971), 205; Pomeroy, *Families*, 107-108. The variety of seeds detected in the pyres point to the custom of *panspermia*, the offering of cooked cereals and fruit brought to the grave in cooking ware on the third day after the burial: F. Pfister, *RE* 37, 719-723, s.v. *perideipnon*. See also H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977), 115-117 for the inclusion of the same ceremony on the third day of the Athenian *Antheateria*.

³² Sgourou, 'Jewellery'.

³³ On funerary inscriptions from Thasos see *IG* XII 8 (1909), 136-158; *IG* XII Suppl. (1939), 168-171; Pouilloux, *op.cit.* n. 13, 299-325; Ch. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *ET V: Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II. De 196 av. J.-C. jusqu' à la fin de l'Antiquité* (Paris 1957), 165-185; G. Daux, 'Une épitaphe thasienne', *BCH* 82 (1958), 314-318; M. Séve, 'Épitaphes mal connues de Thasos', in *Thasiaca* (Paris 1979), 351-373; *id.*, 'Épitaphes des IVe-IIIe siècles av. J.-C.', *BCH* 105 (1981), 183-198, and the 'Notes de lecture. Inscriptions de Thasos' which regularly appear in *BCH* vols.

³⁴ Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelerakis, 777. About principles (age, status) other than kinship, dictating the grouping of burials in the

Athenian cemeteries see S. Houby-Nielsen, 'Burial language' in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos', in S. Dietz (ed.), *Proceedings of the Danish Institute in Athens I* (Athens 1995), 129-191, esp. 138-140, 165-170.

³⁵ On periboloi and family groupings in Attica see R. Garland, 'A First Catalogue of Attic Peribolos Tombs', *BSA* 77 (1982), 125-175; Humphreys, *Family*, 79-130.

³⁶ The late 4th century BC frieze in B. Holtzmann, *ET XV: La sculpture de Thasos. Corpus des reliefs I. Reliefs à thème divin* (Paris 1994), 84-86, decorated a monumental funerary monument that stood in the coastal site of Molos, where part of the necropolis has been excavated [fig. 1.5].

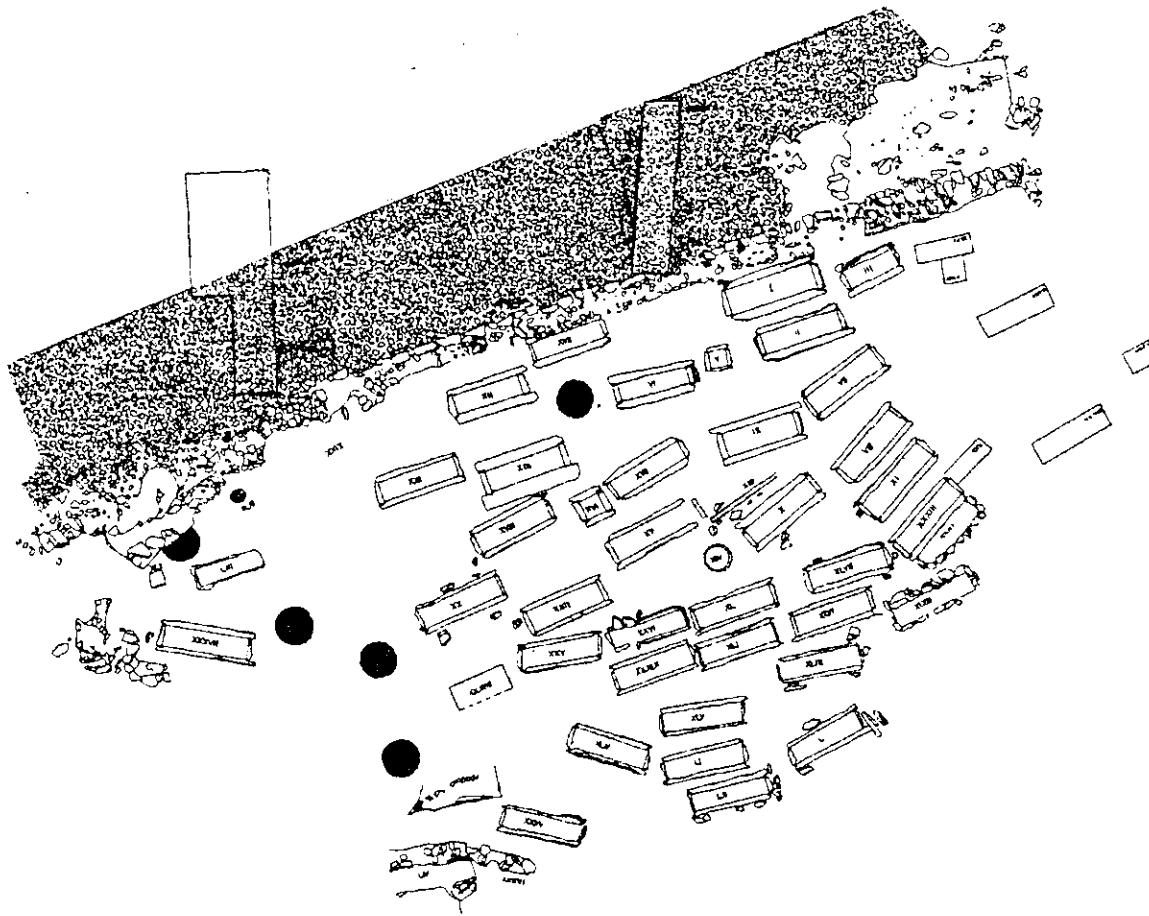
³⁷ Ghali-Kahil, *op.cit.* n. 25, 236-237.

³⁸ P. Devambez, 'Le motif de Phèdre sur une stèle thasienne', *BCH* 79 (1955), 121-134.

³⁹ U. Vedder, 'Frauentod-Kriegertod im Spiegel der attischen Grabkunst des 4. Jhr. v. Chr.', *AM* 103 (1983), 161-191.

⁴⁰ Sgourou, *ADelt* 53 (1998) B (in press).

⁴¹ A more detailed presentation of the variety and distribution of grave gifts according to gender, age or status must await the final publication of the material. On the study of this aspect of funerary behaviour see S. Houby-Nielsen, 'Grave Gifts, Women and Conventional Values in Hellenistic Athens', in P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle (eds), *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Aarhus 1997), 220-262.



ΘΑΙΟΙ ΑΙΜΕΝΑΣ 1996
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Figure 4. Graves in Soutou plot (Figure 1 no. 3).

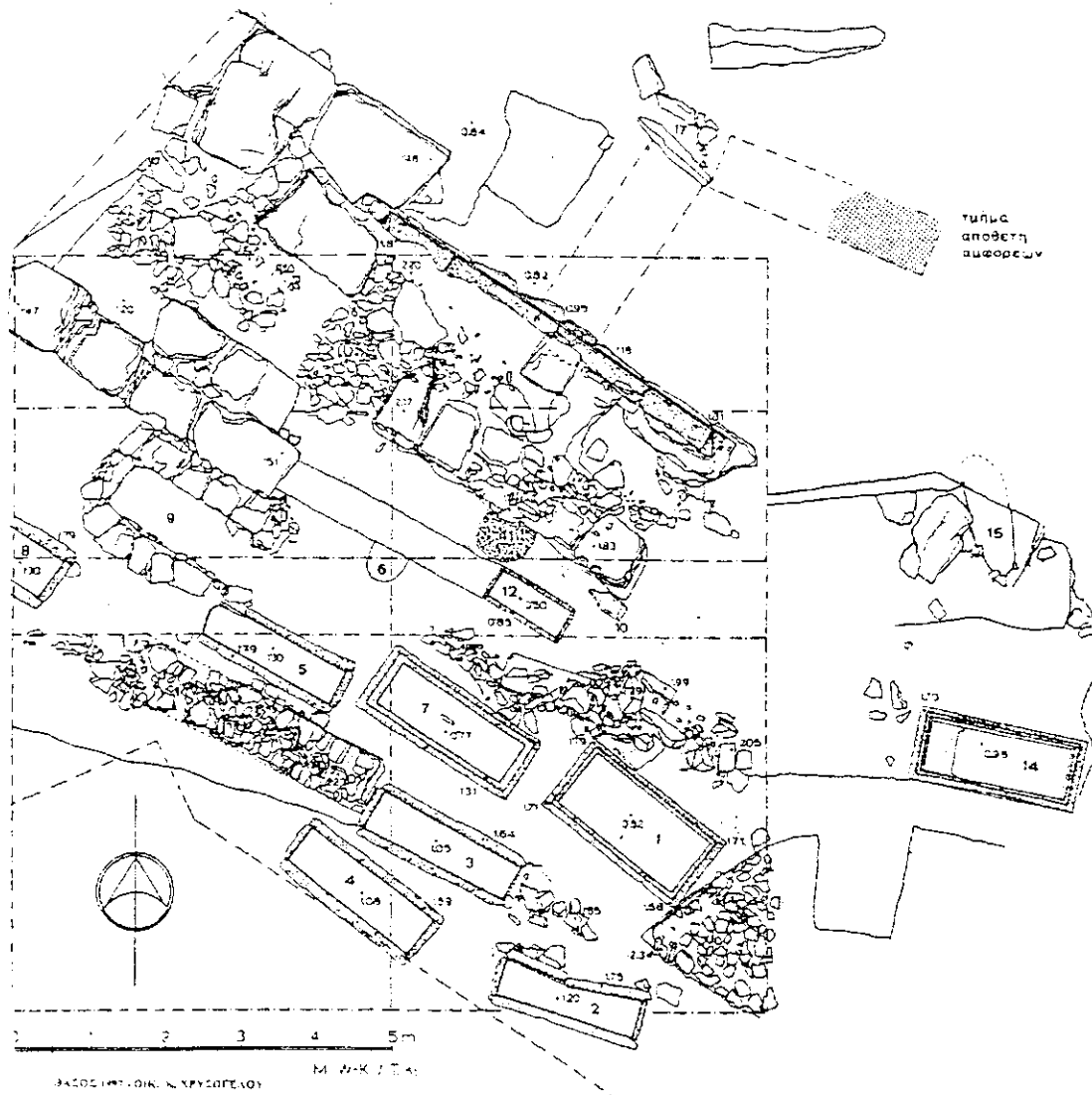


Figure 5. Graves and foundation of funerary monument in Chryssogelos plot (Figure 1 no. 5).

liminary results,⁴² which are relevant to the social identity of the population examined.

What is of particular interest is the high values of robustness scored for both males and females especially in the upper and lower extremities. The fact that females showed more pronounced markers on the arms may be taken to reflect their occupation with manual household work such as weaving,⁴³ which was considered a quintessential female accomplishment. Men exhibited extremely emphasised muscular imprints in feet and legs, a fact possibly connected with their outdoor mobility. Their overall robustness is unique when compared with other East Macedonian and Thracian populations and can be only paralleled with similar metric values from the Iron Age population from Kastri in mountainous Thasos.

We know that free citizens were mostly farmers residing in the city and exploiting the holdings of their *oikos* in the surrounding chora, but the skeletomuscular profile of these people does not support our traditional view of the way a free citizen led his life in the urban environment of an ancient Greek polis.

Ischomachos in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, while praising the value of agriculture as a dignified occupation befitting a free man (v.1), limits this activity in taking a walk in his estate supervising the work of the slaves (xi),⁴⁴ while a horse ride in the country keeps him fit and well trained for war. Of course, the Athenian source does not guarantee the validity of this information for the rest of the Greek world, and Ischomachos may have belonged to a rich élite.⁴⁵ It is likely that in families of meagre means the manual work of all members was required. Several of the men in Thasos were accompanied in their grave by the tools that they used during their lifetime (very characteristic are the bronze or iron knives and scissors [pl. 3A-B]) and this may be indicative of their occupation or status. We should not forget that the *oikos*, depending on its size and means, comprised few or several slave servants,⁴⁶ who did most of the

heavy work at home and in the fields or workshops. They were considered part of the family and were buried in the same plot as their *kyrtoi*.⁴⁷ The fact, however, that manifestations of bone robustness are equally pronounced in individuals buried with precious grave offerings calls for caution on any premature conclusions and leaves the issue open for the time being.⁴⁸

The image of homogeneity in the way of burial is not disturbed by a very small number of women's graves, all dating to the 4th century BC, which were furnished with gold and silver jewellery [pl. 3C-D]. Gold sheet diadems of the pyramidal type decorated with floral spirals, which have close parallels to the ones found in Asia Minor and Attica, are the most impressive among the precious objects found in Thasos. These objects offer a brief glimpse of a local craft thus far obscured by the lack of finds. It is reasonable to argue that prime material was drawn from local resources, since both the ancient testimonies and the archaeological record confirm the existence of rich gold mines on the island, exploited since the Iron Age. Furthermore, through stylistic analysis we may recognise the particular characteristics visible in other aspects of Thasian art, such as the close affinity to Attic-Ionian tastes as well as the rich influences from the East.⁴⁹

At this period precious objects of this sort may not have found their way to the grave as straightforward manifestations of a social desire to display status and wealth. The bee on the gold diadem [pl. 3D] which was placed on the head of a 30-year-old woman, may be symbolic of her domestic virtue or a visual expression of her desire to achieve the immortality

debate concerning the extent to which slave labour was used in agriculture. M. Jameson, 'Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens', *CJ* 73 (1977-1978), 122-46, argued for a very extensive use of slaves while contrary opinions have been expressed by E. M. Wood, *Peasant Citizen and Slave* (London and New York 1988), ch. 2; R. Osborne, *Demos. The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985), 142ff. R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Duckworth 1991) holds that the use of slaves in agriculture was minimal. T.W. Gallant, *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1991) argues for the occasional and temporary hiring of slaves when the means of the family permitted.

⁴⁷ There is a class bias in the case of slaves. The master was required to bury his slaves but archaeologists have not detected slave burials. Either slaves were excluded from the cemeteries that have been studied, or they may have been buried anonymously in the family plot, or in death they lost their lowly status and received burial without indication that they were slaves: Kurtz and Boardman, *op.cit.* n. 31, 198-199.

⁴⁸ Sgourou, 'Jewellery', esp. 359, 361, 363 where the skeletomuscular imprints of individuals buried with precious grave gifts is discussed.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 327-364.

⁴² The Appendix complements the information provided in the first preliminary report by A. Agelarakis, in Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis, 779-794.

⁴³ On the household duties of women see E. Fantham, H.P. Foley, N.B. Kampen, S.B. Pomeroy and H.A. Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World. Image and Text* (New York and Oxford 1994), 101-106; S. Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1995), 138-145 and 124-127 for bibliography on the topic.

⁴⁴ S. Pomeroy, *Xenophon. Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary* (Oxford 1994), 314-316 on the use of slaves in agriculture.

⁴⁵ On the identity of Ischomachos, *ibid.*, 259-265.

⁴⁶ According to studies an average peasant *oikos* in Athens must have owned at least three slaves: Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca and London 1988), 60-69. There has been some

promised by an Orphic Sect.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Attic bronze hydria, an imported work by a tarent of great merit, was chosen to hold the ashes of a 40-year-old man because of the possible symbolic overtones of the Dionysiac imagery on the repoussé relief under the grip handle [pl. 4A-B].

The new beliefs, influenced by philosophical thought, involving individual salvation, a happy afterlife depending on moral behaviour or initiation to Mysteries or sects, which started gaining increasing popularity during the later part of the 4th century BC and can be detected in many parts of the Greek world, may have been present in Thasos too.

The lacunose character of the evidence from the ancient cemetery, the almost complete absence of Archaic and 5th century BC burials do not permit the tracing of the local history of funerary behaviour parallel to the development of the urban and domestic scene. The preliminary conclusions presented here do not concern particular issues, the approach of which must be based on detailed analysis and solid statistical facts. The purpose is solely to underline recurrent patterns and trace the main characteristics of the Thasian cemetery focusing on a specific time period.

Limiting ourselves within the well-represented chronological range of the 4th century BC in both the urban and funerary record, we may observe that the democratic structure of the city, secured by economic growth and independence, kept it particularly resistant to the swift developments taking place in the North.⁵¹ The domestic and funerary landscapes of the city, where differentiating elements relevant to the stating of individual identity remain rare and discrete down to the end of the century, strongly testify to a lasting stability and a close adherence to traditional norms. Restrictive legislation regulating the expenditure and behaviour at funerals must have played some role here as in other Greek city-states.⁵²

The continuing interdisciplinary study of the funerary space of ancient Thasos, the urban and domestic landscapes of which can be approached, even under the conditions and limitations described above, presents the exciting task of constructing its regional

identity by cross-checking, confirming or even challenging well established views on aspects of life in a Greek polis.

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Appendix:

*Investigations of physical anthropology and palaeopathology at the ancient necropolis of Thasos*⁵³

by Anagnostis P. Agelarakis

Preface

This paper reflects on updated demographic and palaeopathologic data relevant to studies of the human skeletal remains recovered from the necropolis of the ancient city of Thasos. In the tradition of an ongoing investigation aiming to elucidate aspects of the human condition in antiquity at the island of Thasos,⁵⁴ anthropological archaeology analyses were conducted within a framework encompassing anthropological, palaeopathological, palaeoenvironmental, and archaeometric approaches. The results of this endeavour, along with the rest of the archaeological record, are expected to further facilitate the decipherment, understanding and interpretation of the intricate interrelationships between the physical and social environments, as well as aspects of the dynamics and organisational capacities of the Thasian population.

⁵³ I wish to acknowledge the several teams of Adelphi students who tirelessly and with great devotion participated so far in this anthropological project. Further to be commended is the entire personnel of the Archaeological Museum of Thasos, part of the 18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for their support. Last but not least I wish to thank my colleagues and collaborators Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Marina Sgourou for their relentless efforts in archaeological investigation and the inspiration provided by scholarly discussions on Thasos.

⁵⁴ A.P. Agelarakis, in Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis, 779-794; *id.*, 'On the Anthropological and Palaeopathological Records of a Select Number of Human Individuals from the Ancient Necropolis of Thasos Island', in Sgourou, 'Jewellery', 355-364.

⁵⁰ Sgourou, 'Jewellery', 329-336.

⁵¹ O. Picard, 'Thasos et la Macédoine au IV^e et III^e siècle', *CRAI* 1985, 761-778.

⁵² Koukouli, Sgourou and Agelarakis, 776. On the Solonian sumptuary legislation: Pomeroy, *Families*, 100-105; Humphreys, *Family*, 85-86. On similar legislation from Iouliis and Delphi: F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969), 152-157, 188-191.

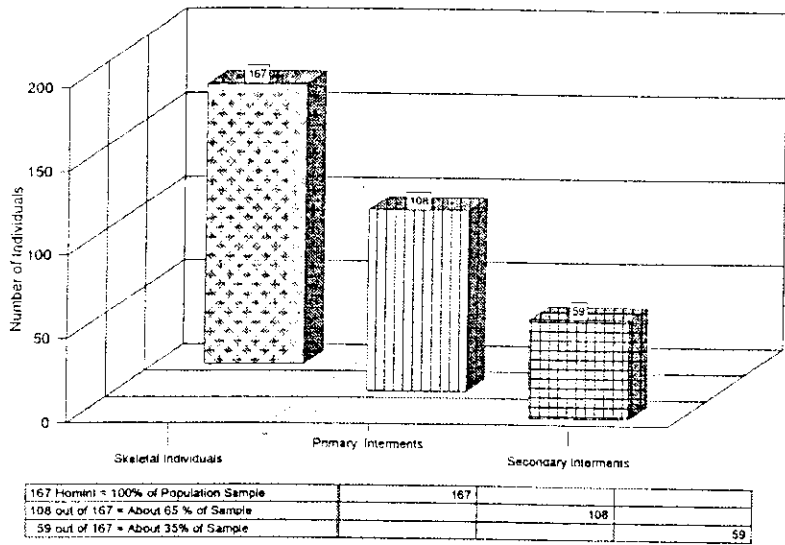


Figure 6a.
Size of population:
samples and
types of burials.

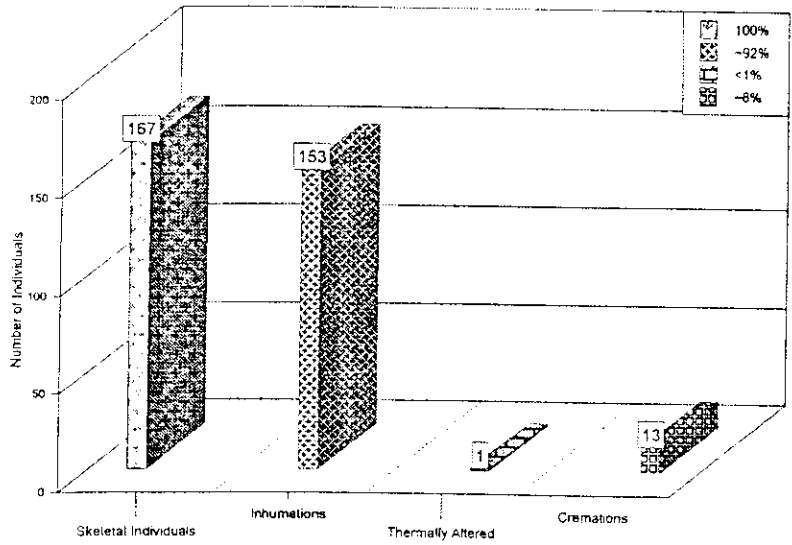


Figure 6b.
Types of interments.

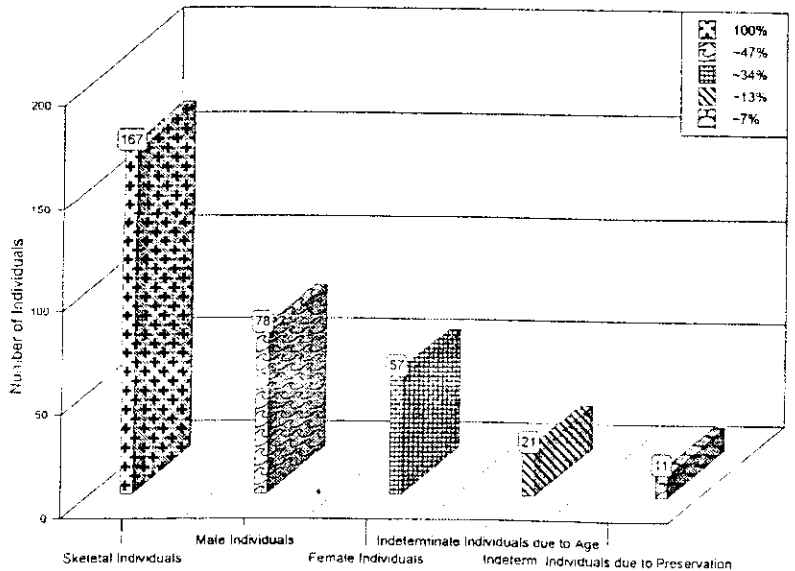


Figure 6c.
Aspects of demography:
biological sex
assessments.

Sample and aspects of analysis

Excavations at the necropolis of Thasos yielded human skeletal remains comprising an anthropological collection of 167 individuals. Out of this population sample, 108 burials were classified as primary interments and 59 as secondary [fig. 6a], whereas 153 were in dry form - inhumations, 1 was assessed as thermally altered, and 13 were cremated [fig. 6b].

Considering the fair-to-good state of preservation of the skeletal material, it was possible to conduct all standard inspectional studies of physical anthropological nature of skeletal morphological features,⁵⁵ loci of non-metric epigenetic variants,⁵⁶ skeletal biology,⁵⁷ and mensurational surveys for assessing skeletal forensic determinations.⁵⁸ It was also possible to carry out in-depth macro- and microscopic studies involving palaeopathology and palaeoepidemiology.⁵⁹ Finally, archaeometric investigations (for bone isotopic fractionation, osteocyte analyses, DNA probing, and trace element analyses) are still in progress.

Results

On demography

This skeletal population,⁶⁰ representing a random sample of the ancient population of Thasos, consisted of 78 Males, 57 Females, 21 individuals of indeterminate sex (due to the immature characteristics of their skeletal structures, a factor contingent to young age), and finally 11 individuals unable to be sex-assessed because of their poor state of preserva-

tion. Hence, male mortality revealed a value of ~47%, relevant to the prevalence of female mortality at a value of ~34% [fig. 6c].

Assessments of age at death indicated the involvement of all age subcategories. The highest prevalence was scored by the subgroup *Senilis* at 24.5%, followed by a high value of 21.5% during Late Adulthood, then gradually decreasing among the cluster of *Maturus* (~14%), *Middle Adults* (~11%), *Young Adults* (~9%), and *Infancy I* (~8%), subsequently tapering off between "General" *Adults* (~4%) and *Juvenilis* (~3.5%), while diminishing to a low of 3% within the *Infancy II* age subgroup [fig. 7a]. Examinations of mortality by age and sex subcategories revealed a greater prevalence of females within *Young* and *Middle Adults*, whereas there was a consistently greater prevalence of male ratios among the *Late Adults* to *Senilis* age subgroups [fig. 7b]. Although the higher prevalence of female mortality among *Young* and *Middle Adults* is suggested to be relative among other causative agents to the stresses of their child bearing and rearing years, both females and males scored the highest mortality within the *Senilis* age subgroup, demonstrating the potential and ability of both sex subgroups to attain an extended longevity in ancient Thasos.

On osseous morphology, and markers of habitual and occupational stress

Considering the plastic ability of bone – as an *in vivo* organ – a number of repetitive activities engaged in by individuals on a 'day-to-day' basis can be inscribed on bone surfaces. Such skeleto-anatomical loci, forensically determined as Markers of Habitual and Occupational Stress (MHOS),⁶¹ when traceable, may reveal important facets of the socio-economic environment and behavioural conduct of those individuals as mandated by both cultural and physical environments. Relevant studies of bone morpho-anatomical characteristics indicated that 102 individuals of age and with well-preserved skeletal surfaces (~61% of the entire collection), or a nearly 100% observation ratio, showed a variety of expressions of MHOS and bone robustness. Only 2 females (a *Maturus* and a *Senilis* respectively), representing

⁵⁵ G.N. van Vark and W. Schaafsma, in S. R. Saunders and M. A. Katzenberg (eds), *Skeletal Biology of Past Peoples: Advances in the Quantitative Analysis of Skeletal Morphology* (New York 1991), 225-257.

⁵⁶ C. Berry and J. Berry, 'Epigenetic Variation in the Human Cranium', *Journal of Anatomy* 101.2 (1967), 370-390; M. Finnegan, 'Non-metric Variation of the Infracranial Skeleton', *Journal of Anatomy* 125 (1978), 23-37.

⁵⁷ M.Y. Iscan and K.A.R. Kennedy (eds), *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton* (New York 1989); W.M. Krogman and M.Y. Iscan, *The Human Skeleton in Forensic Medicine* (Springfield IL 1986).

⁵⁸ H.R. Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (2nd ed., Sage CA 1994); R. DiBennardo, in K.J. Reichs, *Forensic Osteology: The Use and Interpretation of Common Computer Implementations of Discriminant Function Analysis* (Springfield IL 1986), 171; K.S. Bordens and B.B. Abott, *Research Design and Methods* (2nd ed., Toronto 1991).

⁵⁹ A.P. Agelarakis, 'Εγχειρίδιο φυσικής ανθρωπολογίας για αρχαιολόγους: μέθοδοι για την ανασκαφή, την περισυλλογή, τη συντήρηση και τεκμηρίωση των αρχαιο-ανθρωπολογικών υλικών', *Ariadne* V.8 (1996), 189-247.

⁶⁰ F.A. Hassan, *Demographic Archaeology* (New York 1981).

⁶¹ A.P. Agelarakis, 'The Archaeology of Human Bones: Prehistoric Copper Producing Peoples in the Khao Wong Prachan Valley, Central Thailand', *The Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 14.V.I (1996); L. Levi, *Stress and Distress in Response to Physiological Stimuli* (Oxford 1972); J. Currey, *The Mechanical Adaptations of Bones* (Princeton 1984); H. Selye, *Stress in Health and Disease* (*Laryngoscope* 68, Boston 1976), 1667-1673.

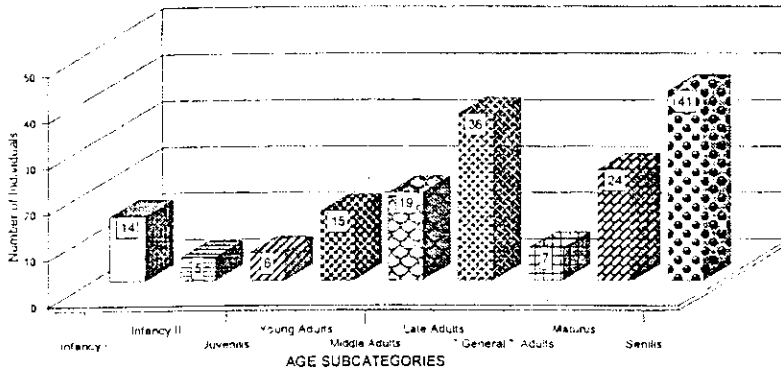


Figure 7a. Aspects of demographic profile: age assessments.

Percentage	Infancy	Infancy II	Juvenis	Young Adults	Middle Adults	Late Adults	General Adults	Maturus	Senilis
~8%			14						
~3%			5						
~2.5%				6					
~9%					15				
~11%						19			
~21.5%							36		
~4%								7	
~14%									24
~24.5%									41

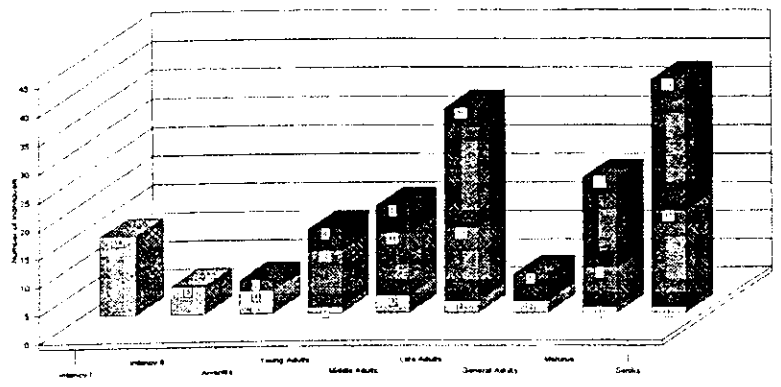


Figure 7b. Aspects of demographic profile: age/sex assessments.

Values in %	Infancy I	Infancy II	Juvenis	Young Adults	Middle Adults	Late Adults	General Adults	Maturus	Senilis
~8.38%	14								
~2.99%		5							
~3.59%			6						
~8.88%				15					
~11.37%					19				
~21.50%						36			
~4.10%							7		
~14.37%								24	
~24.53%									41

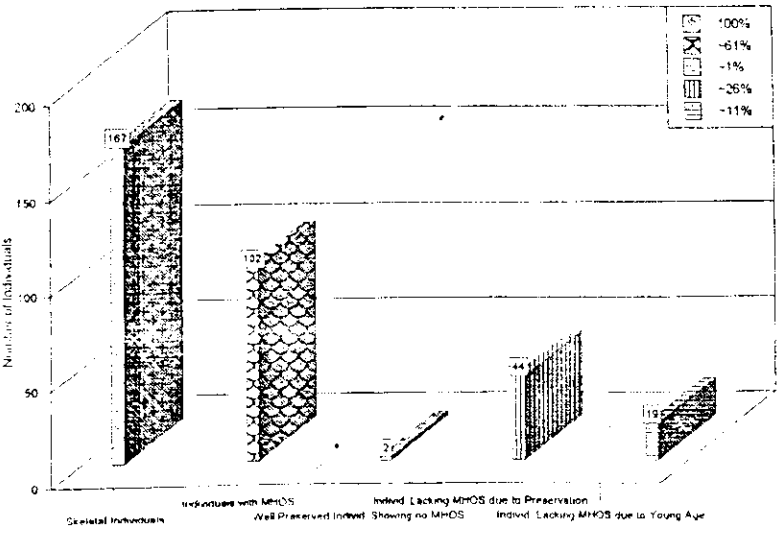


Figure 7c. Prevalence of markers of habitual and occupational stress (MHOS).

~1% of the entire collection, showed a lack of MHOS, suggested to be due to health conditions and physical capacity (based on palaeopathology) rather than factors such as age and possibly social standing (as juxtaposed to other comparable females of the same population⁶²) [fig. 7c].

Although males of all age subgroups consistently revealed greater cortical bone build-up and emphasised imprints of muscular attachment at loci of origin and insertion of muscles throughout the axial and appendicular skeletal structures, when compared with their female counterparts, females persistently showed specific patterns of MHOS clusterings on their appendicular skeletons, manifestations indicative of distinct differences in labour distribution, diversity, and/or physical activities between the sexes. These anatomical sites of muscular imprints were traceable not only to muscular systems as defined by the biology of growth and development pertinent to sexual diversity (i.e. males versus females), but also on multi-focal loci of trajectory stress,⁶³ which operating synergistically, *ante mortem*, carried out complex tasks and actions involving the skeleto-muscular system as required by the specific environments of the occupational needs and habits of the individuals involved [fig. 8a].⁶⁴

Accordingly, it is of particular interest to note that male manifestations of robustness were most apparent on the post-cranial appendicular skeletal structures. In fact, the lower extremities, especially the tibiae followed by the femora, the fibulae, the talocalcaneal, and phalangeal structures, when compared with the upper extremities, reached the highest scores in reference to cortical bone build-up and loci of emphasised subperiosteal osseous reactions. The upper extremities revealed marked robustness at the regions of the scapulo-clavicular regions, implicating the humeral deltoid tuberosities, the two proximal thirds of the radio-ulnar diaphyses, with seriously emphasised metacarpal-phalangeal structures. Compared to the upper and forearm bone build-up, the lower extremities showed profoundly emphasised muscular imprints at the femoro-tibio-fibular trajectories involved with the tasks of supporting and lifting the legs and feet during locomotory behaviour.

Consequently, it was possible to identify a select number of MHOS deterministic for specific qualitative circumstances of occupational nature, and re-

flective of an amalgam of repetitive actions as required by city dwelling craftspeople and specialists, which were not immune from exposure to labour intensive activities pertinent to the aquatic and terrestrial physical environment which surrounded and must have contributed to the wealth and sustenance of their city. Furthermore, it was possible to ascertain, in a quantitative manner, an extensive use of upper extremities for activities which required strength and durability throughout enduring conditions and during rapid bursts of kinetics in extension-flexion-circumflexion and in lengthy intervals of stretched arms at trajectories of abduction-adduction (under wide-ranging spino-humeral angles), also annotating a powerful grip by the hands. In reference to the lower extremities, a recurring squatting position with significant hip flexion and notable foot dorsiflexion was established indiscriminately of sex (i.e. a bodily posture required even up to the middle of the 20th century AD in rural settings for attending the family table for supper). Further, males revealed – although not entirely exclusively from females – skeletal morphological changes and MHOS emphasising on a combination of forwardly/laterally oriented abduction movements and ventro-dorsi-flexion of legs with dorsi-plantar flexion of feet during speeded locomotory patterns on uneven substrates of a steeply gradient, precipitous, natural terrain. Such osseous plasticity changes reflect as they might on a set of expected and recognisable responses to bipedal locomotory behaviour via the means of assess of the city's surrounding, in fact of the island's geomorphology. Hence, a multitude of deductive assessments could be coaxed out of the prolegomena, as a minimum referring on aspects of the economic significance and organisation of harvesting the bounty of the island's mountainous resources.⁶⁵

However, at this juncture it could be underlined that a quantifiable evaluation of male and female lower extremities' metric readings and indicia of robustness place the population of the Thasian necropolis at a unique apex position when juxtaposed with other coeval skeletal populations in the region, comparable so far only to the values scored among the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age population⁶⁶ from the acropolis of Kastri at the mountainous milieu of Theologos in Thasos. Subsequently, in addition to the dynamic interrelationships between geomorphol-

⁶² Agelarakis in Sgourou, *op.cit.* n. 54.

⁶³ J.M. Zarek, 'Dynamic Considerations in Load Bearing Bones with Special Reference to Osteosynthesis and Articular Cartilage', in F.G. Evans (ed.), *Studies on the Anatomy and Function of Bones and Joints* (New York 1966), 40-51.

⁶⁴ Agelarakis, *op.cit.* n. 61.

⁶⁵ To be discussed more extensively in a future paper.

⁶⁶ Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Πρωτοϊστορική Θάσος* (Athens 1992); A.P. Agelarakis, 'Reflections of the Human Condition in Prehistoric Thasos: Aspects of the Anthropological and Palaeopathological Record from the Settlement of Kastri', in *Actes du Colloque International. Matières premières et technologie de la préhistoire à nos jours. Limenaria, Thasos* (Athens 1999), 447-468.

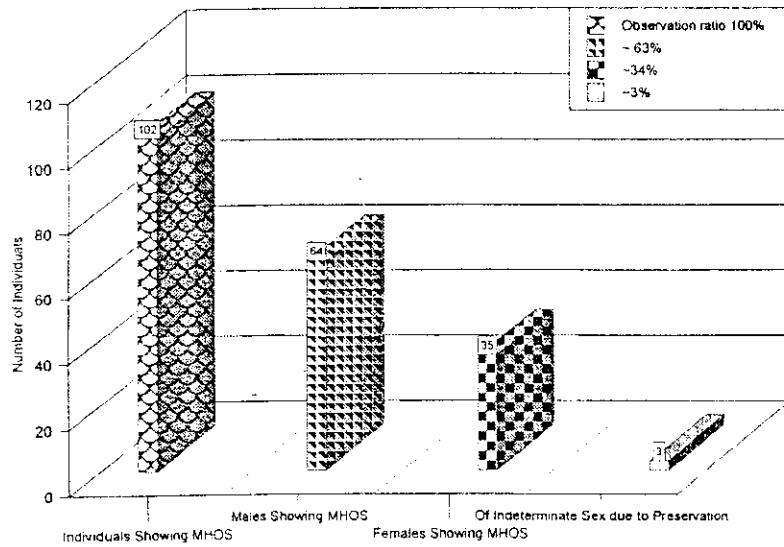


Figure 8a.
Prevalence of MHOS
by sex subgroups.

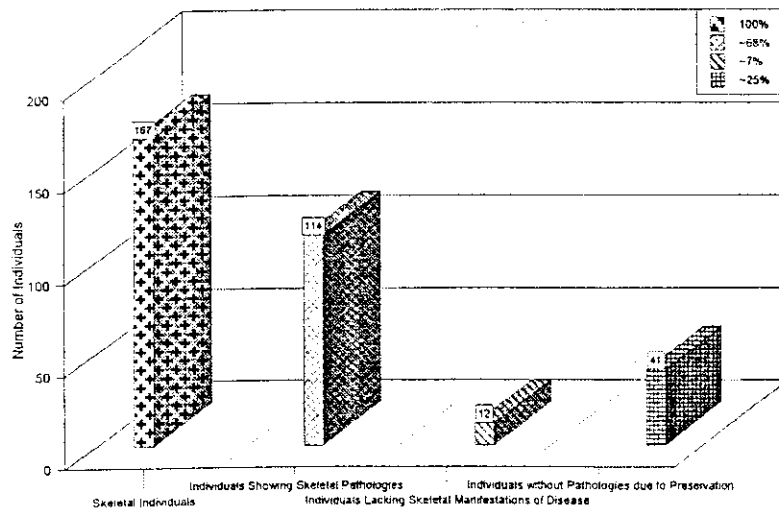


Figure 8b.
Prevalence of
palaeopathologic
manifestations.

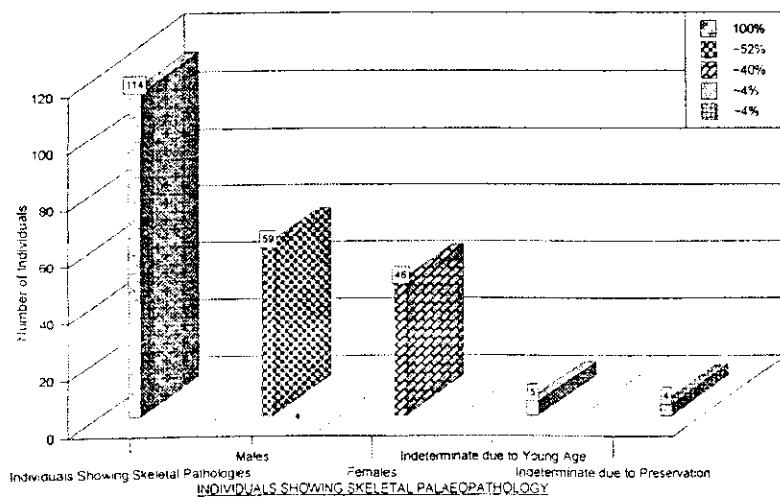


Figure 8c.
Prevalence of
pathologies by
sex subgroups.

ogy and bone plasticity, as in acclimatisation responses, or through 'gene pool' characters, referring to over-generation-time genetic changes (i.e. biological adaptations to external physiological stimuli), one should consider the strengthening of the possibility of 'gene flow' processes between the local Thasian population and the Parian colonists who endeavoured to inhabit Thasos. The later explanatory model may be granted further support, although currently only by qualitative data, considering the nature of skeletal morpho-anatomical characteristics and indicia of a sample of male individuals from the island of Paros, coeval to their colonisation efforts in Thasos (Paros, Paroikia-Bitzi Polyandriion: Ongoing Anthropology Project).

On pathologies

Research relevant to the palaeopathologic record of the skeletal collection is continuing. Nevertheless, out of the 167 individuals, 114 revealed skeletal pathologies whereas only 12 lacked disease manifestations imprinted in skeletal tissue despite their good preservation [fig. 8b]. Following archaeological forensic and palaeopathological procedures, determinations concerning the implicated manifestations were classified under two subcategories for osseous changes: a. the primary result and associated side effects of *ante mortem* biological responses to disease entities; and, b. secondary complications resulting from undiagnosed, or difficult to isolate diagnostically, disease entities often lacking the possibility of conducting differential diagnostic procedures due to preservation.

Incomplete skeletal preservation, often due to conditions of taphonomy and preservation,⁶⁷ may impede not only a thorough palaeopathologic investigation⁶⁸ (including the ability of running differential diagnoses on multiple, pathogenic causative agents), but even the possibility of detecting traces of pathogenic changes, see 41 individuals in fig. 8b. Hence, males exhibited the greatest prevalence of disease manifestations within this population sample, exceeding the value of 50 percentiles [fig. 8c] among the skeletons which were found to exhibit skeletal pathologies. Numerous types of disease manifestations have been identified, including infectious diseases affecting cranial, dental, and infra-cranial structures, hemopoietic and metabolic disorders, degenerative

diseases, and conditions of traumatic nature coupled by secondary complications.

The greater prevalence of cases that were of direct and/or indirect traumatic nature involved osteoarthritis and later eburnation (among the elderly) of synovial joints, for example due to repetitive activities and compression tension factors, accentuated by a stark variety of spondyloarthropathic manifestations and spondylar traumatic and post-traumatic changes. Manifestations of trauma were identified primarily among males' cranial and post-cranial structures signifying a sustained cultural sheltering of females from exposure to very demanding, at least physically, circumstances. It is significant to note, however, that although the degree of severity of both cranial or post-cranial manifestations of trauma were characteristic of considerable potential for morbidity, none proved (palaeopathologically speaking) of having been fatal or even *perimortem* as determined by the completed processes of osteoblastic recovery, indicative of the medical support and attention and/or relative buffer mechanisms provided to the male individuals involved.⁶⁹

Cases of infectious diseases included several manifestations reflective of endocranial meningeal inflammatory responses, dental cariogenic lesions and periodontal disease, a few cases of probable spinothoracic tuberculous changes, and periosteal complications secondary to inflammatory conditions caused by traumatic events, including primary periosteal changes. Diagnosed hemopoietic disorders that affected the very young included several cases of infantile anemias of non-hemolytic nature. In general, anemias that affected the young and predominantly females of age (especially during their years of fertility) were assessed as of iron-deficiency causative agents, of possible parasitic infestation combined with opportunistic diseases, and/or under- or malnutrition secondary to the involvement of other primary pungent diseases.

In addition to degenerative, inflammatory and infectious conditions, several individuals of old age indiscriminately of sex were affected by cranial benign osseous tumours (ivory exostoses), while few exhibited lower extremity endosteal cysts. Individuals of very old age also exhibited evidence of metabolic diseases, namely constitutional manifestations of osteoporosis coupled by characteristics of cranial osteoporosis *parietalia symmetrica senilis*, not exclu-

⁶⁷ R.F. Sognaes (ed.), 'Mechanisms of Hard Tissue Destruction', AAAS Publ. 75 (Washington 1963); P. Shipman, *Life History of a Fossil: An Introduction to Taphonomy and Paleoecology* (Cambridge MA 1981).

⁶⁸ D.J. Ortner and A.C. Aufderheide, *Human Paleopathology. Current Synthesis and Future Options* (Washington 1991).

⁶⁹ The subject matter of a future discussion.

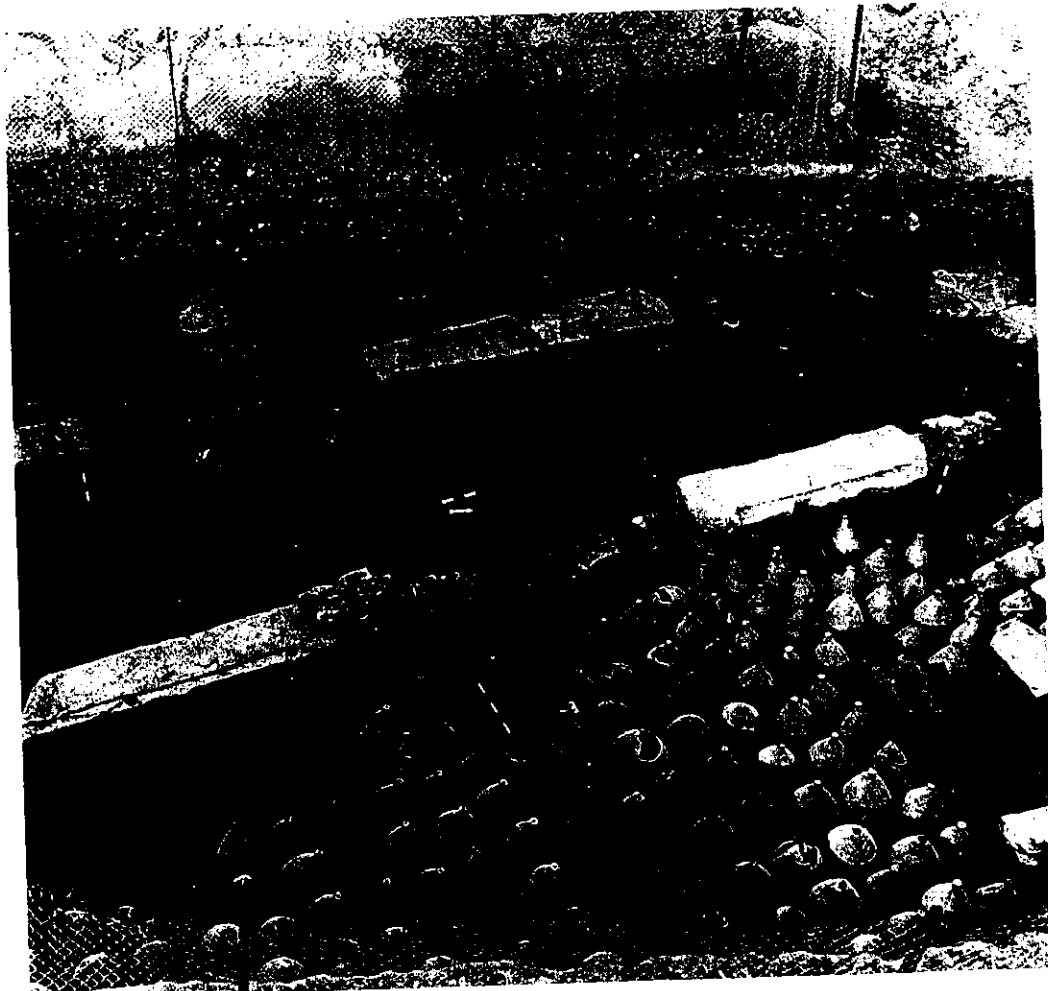
sively observed among suspected post-menopausal elderly females but also among several elderly males as well.

Epilogue

Part of a larger ongoing anthropological archaeology investigation and in conjunction with the rest of the archaeologico-historical research, largely following a comprehensive cross-disciplinary framework of operation, this project aims to shed light into a multi-

tude of facets on the unrecorded human condition during antiquity in Thasos, hoping to attain constructive and integrated understanding of their physical and social environments. Not only aiming to reflect on the demographic and epidemiological profile of the city of Thasos *per se*, this endeavour anticipates to provide a combining nexus of the Thasian diachronic human dynamics in the Aegean area, rooted as they might be deeper in time than its indigenous Protohistoric era, to the coming of the Parians, and extending through to the end of antiquity.

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1A. Part of a house with draining floors in the rooms east of the 'pastas'.



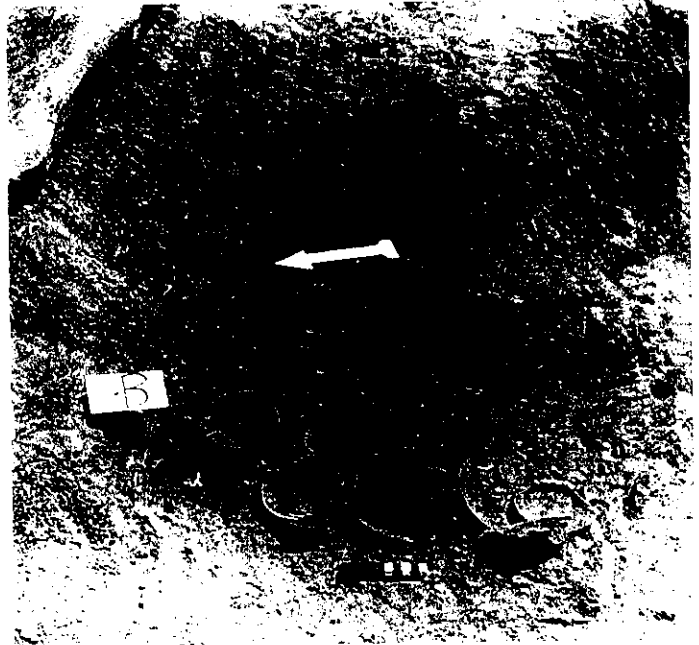
1B. The peribolos wall in the Soultou plot.



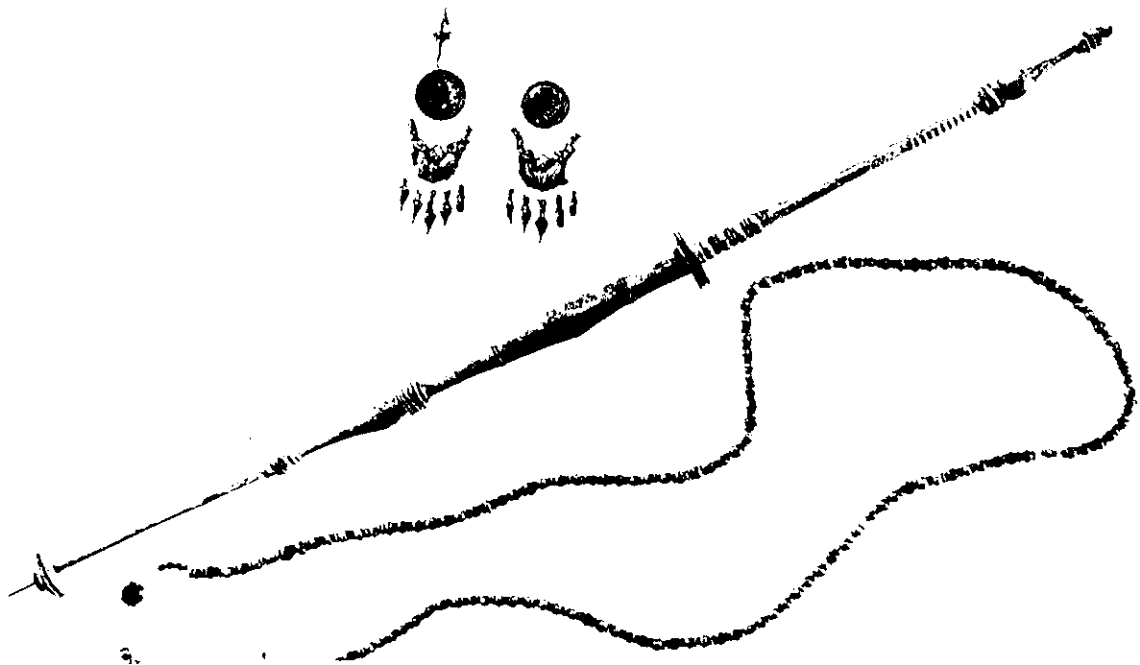
1C. Graves in the Ladikas plot.



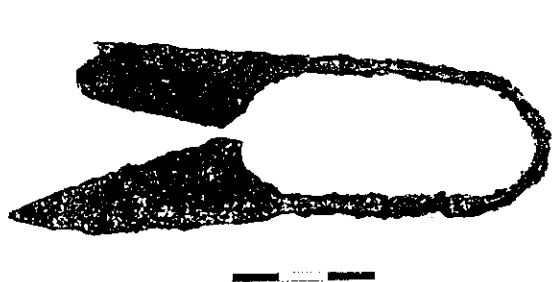
2A. Burial of an adult and three children in grave XV in the Soutou plot.



2B. Pyre B in the Soutou plot.



2C. Pair of gilded earrings, ivory spindle and beads from grave VI in the Soutou plot.



3A. Pair of iron scissors from grave XL in the Soutlou plot.



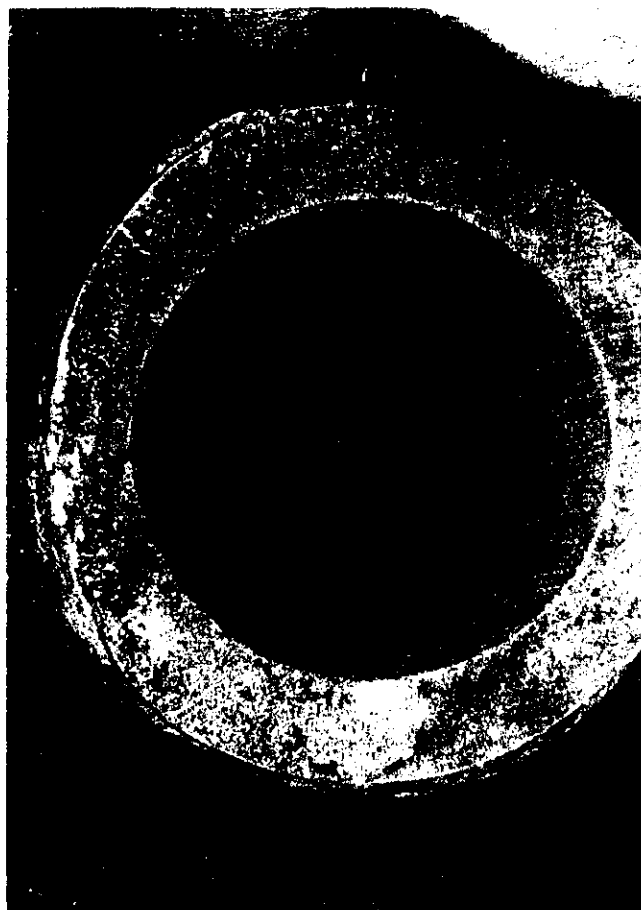
3B. Pair of iron blades from grave VII in Ergatikes Katoikies 1996.



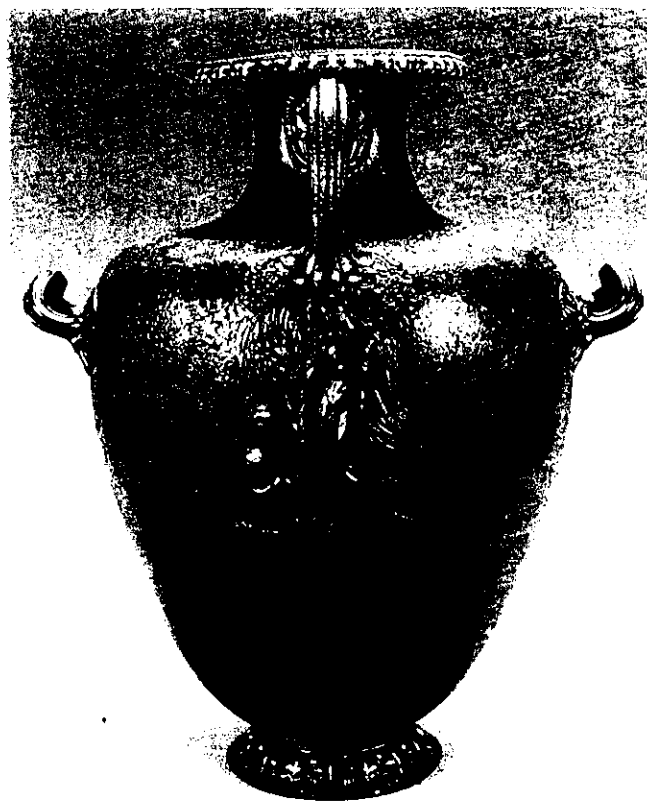
3C. Pair of gold earrings from grave VIII in Ergatikes Katoikies 1996.



3D. Gold diadem from grave II in Ergatikes Katoikies 1996.



4A. Grave V in the Ladikas plot.



4B. Bronze funerary hydria found in grave V in the Ladikas plot.