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Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

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Abstracts

1 **Emilia Banou and Louise Hitchcock. The 'Lord of Vapheio': the social identity of the dead and its implications for Laconia in the Late Helladic II-IIIa period**

The paper examines the social identity of the dead buried in the cist-grave of the tholos tomb of Vapheio, on the basis of the funerary gifts which accompanied him and the symbolism of the tomb's architecture. It also combines the evidence from Vapheio with the picture we possess of the Eurotas valley in the LHII-III period.

It is concluded that the occupant of the cist in the Vapheio tholos was an important ruler, having established (at least in the transition from the LHIIa to the LHIIb period) significant contacts with Minoan Crete. These contacts permitted him and his immediate successors to stand at front in the developments of their time in the mainland, having by that time set the territory they controlled on the way to becoming a state. Having their seat presumably on Paliopyrgi, they had to rival at least two other local centres of power in the Eurotas valley, namely Vouno Panayias and Ayios Vassileios, at a close distance. How they may have succeeded in achieving and maintaining their position remains to be elucidated through systematic research and excavation of all three sites, which would also shed light on the process leading to the rise of Mycenaean states in the Argolid, where the same pattern of intervisible important Mycenaean sites can be observed.

Ο «Άρχοντας του Βαφειού»: η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού και η σημασία της για την Λακωνία κατά την ΥΕII-IIIa περίοδο

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει την κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού στον κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο του θολωτού τάφου του Βαφειού, επί τη βάσει των ταφικών κτερισμάτων τα οποία τον συνόδευαν, και του συμβολισμού της αρχιτεκτονικής του τάφου. Έμφαση δίδεται στις θρησκευτικές και οικονομικές πτυχές της ταυτότητάς του, οι οποίες συγκρίνονται με την εικόνα που έχουμε για τα θρησκευτικά θέματα μέσα από τη μελέτη των πινακίδων Γραμμικής Β. Αν και μεταγενέστερη της ταφής, η οποία θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί στην ΥΕ IIB περίοδο, η παραπάνω εικόνα είναι ιδανική για τη μελέτη των κοινωνικοπολιτικών εξελίξεων στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα κατά την Υστεροελλαδική II περίοδο, οι οποίες δημιούργησαν το ανακτορικό σύστημα της ΥΕ III περιόδου, όπως υποδεικνύεται από την ξεχωριστή ταφή και αρχιτεκτονική του Βαφειού, ενός από τους πρωιμότερους μνημειώδεις θολωτούς τάφους. Επιπλέον, συνδυάζοντας τα στοιχεία από το Βαφείο με τα αντίστοιχα από την κοιλάδα του Ευρώτα κατά την ΥΕ II-III περίοδο, οδηγούμεθα στο συμπέρασμα πως η Λακωνία πρέπει να ήταν στο προσκήνιο - εάν δεν κατείχε ηγετικό ρόλο - των εξελίξεων γύρω από τη Μυκηναϊκή κατοχή της Κνωσού και λίγο αργότερα.

2 **Diana Burton. God and Hero: the iconography and cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion**

Cult and art recognise an ambivalence between Olympian and underworld gods, which is generally lacking in literary sources. The Peloponnese was rich in divinities who carried epithets associating them with the underworld. This paper explores the iconography of one such divine figure, the statue of Apollo at Amyklai, and his cult, in the context of the associated hero-cult of Hyakinthos.

Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία

Στην λατρεία και την τέχνη υπάρχει μια διφορούμενη στάση μεταξύ των Ολύμπιων και χθόνιων θεοτήτων, η οποία όμως δεν εμφανίζεται γενικά στις γραπτές πηγές. Στην

Πελοπόννησο αφθονούν οι θεότητες που έφεραν επίθετα σχετικά με τον Κάτω Κόσμο. Αυτή η ανακοίνωση ερευνά την εικονογραφία τέτοιων θεοτήτων όπως το άγαλμα του Διός Μελίχιου, έργο του Πολυκλείτου στο Άργος, και το λατρευτικό άγαλμα του Απόλλωνα στις Αμύκλες, καθώς και την λατρεία τους στο πλαίσιο τοπικών ηρωολατρειών. Κάποιες λατρείες όπως αυτή του Διός Μελίχιου, αποτέλεσαν το αντικείμενο διαδεδομένης λατρείας, αν και ενδεχομένως συνεχίζουν χαρακτηριστικά ντόπιας εικονογραφίας.

3 Nikolaos Dimakis. The display of individual status in the burials of Classical and Hellenistic Argos

This paper aims to outline the ways in which burials can be analysed in order to investigate the display of individual status in the mortuary record of Classical and Hellenistic Argos. Subsequently, this study will throw light on social inequality and the degrees of socio-political ranking within the Argive society of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Η επίδειξη ατομικής κοινωνικής ταυτότητας στις ταφές του Άργους των κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων

Σκοπός αυτής της παρουσίασης είναι η αναφορά στον τρόπο με τον οποίο μπορούν να αναλυθούν οι ταφές προκειμένου να ερευνηθεί η επίδειξη ατομικής κοινωνικής ταυτότητας στα ταφικά σύνολα του Άργους κατά τους κλασικούς και ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Ακολούθως, η παρούσα μελέτη θα διαφωτίσει ζητήματα κοινωνικής ανισότητας και το βαθμό κοινωνικο-πολιτικής διαστρωμάτωσης στην Αργειακή κοινωνία των κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων.

4 Eleni Drakaki. Late Bronze Age female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnese: a contextual approach

In Mycenaean Greece, hard stone seals were predominantly deposited with burials and are often regarded by scholars as emblems of their owners' personal and social identity. In an effort to achieve a better understanding of the mechanisms of seal ownership, this paper undertakes a detailed examination of the contextual associations of a small corpus of hard stone seals associated with nine Late Bronze Age elite female burials from the Peloponnese. The conclusion reached is that the seals do not always reflect the wealth/status differences of the burials, while in their overwhelming majority they are not engraved with 'female appropriate' motifs. Finally, the comparison of some of these female burials with male burials of equal status helps to establish that the former were furnished more modestly and with significantly fewer seals.

Γυναικείες ταφές της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού από την Πελοπόννησο με σφραγίδες απο σκληρούς λίθους: προσέγγιση πλαισίου.

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζει μια διαχρονική μελέτη δέκα (πιθανώς) γυναικείων ταφών, οι οποίες είναι κτερισμένες με σφραγίδες από σκληρούς λίθους. Στις περιπτώσεις που αυτό καθίσταται δυνατόν, ο πλούτος και τα χαρακτηριστικά κτερίσματα συγκρίνονται με εκείνα σύγχρονων ανδρικών ταφών ανάλογης κοινωνικής θέσης (status), σε μια προσπάθεια να διακριθούν διαφορές ή/και ομοιότητες ανάμεσα τους. Ιδιαίτερη προσοχή δίδεται στην εικονογραφία των σφραγίδων, καθώς τα μοτίβα τους εκλαμβάνονται συχνά ως σύμβολα της προσωπικής και κοινωνικής ταυτότητας των κατόχων τους. Το (ίσως) εκπληκτικό συμπέρασμα είναι ότι η χρήση μοτίβων τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν ως «κατάλληλα για γυναίκες» ήταν η εξαίρεση, ενώ ορισμένες σφραγίδες πιθανώς να εκτιμούνταν για ιδιότητες ανεξάρτητες της εικονογραφίας τους.

5 Rachel S. Fox. Vessels and the body in Early Mycenaean funerary contexts

The capsule-type nature of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae means that they are an ideal dataset upon which to perform an analysis of the vessels found within them. In this paper I examine the metal and ceramic vessels from both Grave Circles, noting the forms that predominate and from these drawing conclusions regarding the ritual practices surrounding the interment of a body and the ways in which social messages could be conveyed to the funeral attendees. Following this, I consider how the vessels can be correlated with sex, age and other grave-goods, thus demonstrating how feasting practices were a method of displaying and accruing socio-political status in the Early Mycenaean period.

Τα αγγεία και το ανθρώπινο σώμα στα ταφικά σύνολα της πρώιμης μυκηναϊκής περιόδου

Λόγω έλλειψης στοιχείων, η Πρώιμη Μυκηναϊκή περίοδος συχνά επισκιάζεται από την ΥΕ ΙΙΙ ανακτορική περίοδο. Ωστόσο, τα στοιχεία όταν ερμηνεύονται ενδελεχώς μπορεί να είναι ιδιαίτερα κατατοπιστικά σχετικά με την τελετουργική συμπεριφορά και το κοινωνικό πλέγμα. Θα επικεντρωθώ σε ένα σύνολο στοιχείων - αγγεία τοποθετημένα σε ταφικά σύνολα - προκειμένου να διερευνήσω τα νεκρόδειπνα/ ταφικά τελετουργικά πόσεως και τις κοινωνικές δομές πίσω από αυτά. Αναλύοντας τους τύπους των μεταλλικών και κεραμικών αγγείων - εστιάζοντας στους Ταφικούς Κύκλους των Μυκηνών - και τη σχέση τους με το ανθρώπινο σώμα, θα εξαχθούν συμπεράσματα σχετικά με τις τελετουργικές δραστηριότητες δίπλα στο ταφικό μνημείο, το ρόλο του συμποσίου και την κοινωνικο-πολιτική ρευστότητα κατά την περίοδο αυτή.

6 Florentia Fragkopoulou. Sanctuary dedications and the treatment of the dead in Laconia (800–600 BC): the case of Artemis Orthia

This paper focuses on two ivory plaques NM 15518 and NM 16432 retrieved from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia during the excavations conducted by the British School at Athens during the 1906–10 seasons. The uniqueness of these plaques lies in their iconography (each one is decorated with a *prothesis* scene which is a rather unusual decorative element for sanctuary dedications), their luxurious material, and the fact that no other ivory parallels of this sort are known from other contemporaneous Lakonian sanctuaries. Since their recovery, scholars have concentrated on their stylistic production and chronological implications within the context of Spartan-Near Eastern relationships during the Archaic period. This paper focuses on their interpretation within the ritual context of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia itself with the aim of defining their role within the ritual context of the Limnai sanctuary.

Αναθήματα και η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη Λακωνία (800-600 π.Χ.): η περίπτωση της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας

Η έρευνα που αφορά στη θέση και την κοινωνική οργάνωση των ιερών, ειδικότερα από τον 8ο αι. π.Χ., έχει μελετήσει με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο θέμα των επικρατειών της πρώιμης δημιουργίας κρατών. Η οργάνωση των ιερών κατά τη διάρκεια της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους, αποτελεί μια ξεχωριστή περίπτωση στη Λακωνία καθώς φαίνεται να συνδέεται στενά με τον τρόπο θεραπείας των νεκρών. Το σπαρτιατικό κράτος δημιουργήθηκε μέσω της κατάληψης ή/και της ενσωμάτωσης διαφόρων εδαφικών περιοχών. Ταυτόχρονα με αυτή τη διαδικασία, διαφορετικές κοινωνικές ομάδες κατέληξαν να συμπεριληφθούν (ή και επισήμως να αποκλειστούν από) στη Σπαρτιατική πολιτική κοινότητα. Θα περίμενε, λοιπόν, κανείς να ανακαλύψει την επίσημη έκφραση αυτών των σχέσεων στα τελετουργικά δρώμενα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, συγκεκριμένα αναθήματα όπως σκηνές πρόθεσης που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα σε προσφορές στο ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας αποκτούν συγκεκριμένο νόημα. Έτσι, μέσω της εξέτασης των στοιχείων για την απεικόνιση διαφορετικών υπο-ομάδων αναθημάτων από το αρχαιολογικό υλικό ιερών εντός της λακωνικής επικράτειας κατά την πρώιμη περίοδο της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους (π. 800-600 π.Χ.), η παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί να διαφωτίσει το ρόλο που έπαιξε η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη

διαμόρφωση κοινωνικής συνοχής εντός της Λακωνίας κατά τη διάρκεια μιας καθοριστικής για κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές περιόδου, με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά: α) στην εξέλιξη των τελετουργικών πρακτικών αυτή την περίοδο, και β) στις διαφορετικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονται: τι επέλεξαν να θυμούνται/τιμούν, τι επέλεξαν (ή ήταν υποχρεωμένες) να ξεχνούν, και ποιοι επέβαλαν το κυρίαρχο πλαίσιο που όφειλαν να ακολουθούν;

7 Stamatis Fritzilas. Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis

This paper examines certain representative examples of grave stelai found in the region of the federal capital of ancient Arcadia. These are a small but characteristic group of funerary stelai, mainly of Hellenistic and Roman date, and forming part of the Archaeological Collection of Megalopolis. They are presented with a commentary and illustrated, in some cases for the first time. They comprise characteristic funerary monuments which display not only a particular concern to make the grave visible, but also to preserve the deceased's name, in order to keep his memory alive. The inscribed stelai provide important cultural and demographic information. They enlarge the prosopography of Megalopolis, since they mention certain names of its inhabitants and their family or social relationships. They also include dictums which reflect the spirit of the times, record the passage of the deceased into the next world and ensure his eternal fame. Epigraphic material as well as available data from excavations are brought together. There is a variety of types of burial, brought to light by rescue excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service in the area of Megalopolis, as a result of building activity mainly in the southern part of the ancient city and of public works in the countryside.

Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζονται ορισμένα αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα ταφικών στηλών που βρέθηκαν στην επικράτεια της ομοσπονδιακής πρωτεύουσας της αρχαίας Αρκαδίας. Πρόκειται για μικρή αλλά χαρακτηριστική σειρά επιτύμβιων στηλών, κυρίως της ελληνιστικής και ρωμαϊκής εποχής, που φυλάσσονται στην Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή της Μεγαλόπολης. Σχολιάζονται και απεικονίζονται, ορισμένα για πρώτη φορά, χαρακτηριστικά ταφικά μνημεία που μαρτυρούν όχι μόνο την ιδιαίτερη φροντίδα να σημειωθεί ο τάφος του νεκρού αλλά και να διασωθεί το όνομά του, ώστε η μνήμη του να διατηρηθεί ζωντανή. Οι εναγόμενες στήλες παρέχουν σημαντικά πολιτισμικά και δημογραφικά στοιχεία. Εμπλουτίζουν την προσωπογραφία της Μεγαλόπολης, καθώς μας πληροφορούν για τα ονόματα των κατοίκων της και για τις οικογενειακές ή φιλικές τους σχέσεις. Στα μνημεία αυτά έχουν γραφεί και αποφθέγματα που αντανακλούν το πνεύμα της εποχής, σηματοδοτούν τη μετάβαση του νεκρού στον άλλο κόσμο και του εξασφαλίζουν υστεροφημία. Στη μελέτη συγκεντρώνονται όχι μόνον τα επιγραφικά αλλά και τα διαθέσιμα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα. Πρόκειται για ταφές διαφόρων τύπων που έχουν έρθει στο φως στις σωστικές ανασκαφές που διεξάγει η Ελληνική Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία τα τελευταία χρόνια στα εδάφη της Μεγαλόπολης, αποτέλεσμα της σύγχρονης οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας στο νότιο κυρίως τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης και της εκτέλεσης δημόσιων έργων στην υπαίθρο χώρα.

8 Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19th – early 20th century)

Many funerary monuments in the cemeteries of Greek cities and towns, including those in Laconia, bear the stamp of Classicism, an important school of art in Western Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries, which greatly influenced Greek art and architecture in the 19th century. The identification and recording of those monuments helps their preservation through the ages, since they are constantly at risk of being damaged. The types of monument and their decoration as well as their inscriptions and epigrams are also recorded. The main

target of such efforts is focused on an awareness of the historical and aesthetic value of these monuments.

Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζονται τα ταφικά μνημεία των Κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας του 19ου και 20ου αιώνα (επιτύμβιες στήλες, προτομές, σταυροί, βάθρα, κ.α.).

9 Olivier Gengler. Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae: memory of the dead and identity in Roman Sparta

Through a new examination of the evidence relating to the contest organised in Sparta in honour of Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred, essentially known from Pausanias the *Periegete* and various inscriptions, this paper proposed a new insight into the construction of Spartan identity in Roman imperial times. A comparison with a text of Plutarch reveals how the organisation of the *Leonideia* constituted for the Spartan of the second century AD a further attempt to equal their ancestors.

Ο Λεωνίδας και οι ήρωες των Θερμοπυλών: η ανάμνηση των νεκρών και η κοινωνική ταυτότητα στη ρωμαϊκή Σπάρτη

Σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής είναι να επανεξετάσει τα στοιχεία σχετικά με τα Λεωνίδεια στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της μεταμόρφωσης των σπαρτιατικών παραδόσεων κατά τους Αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους, και σε σχέση με την εικόνα της σπαρτιατικής ιστορίας στη λογοτεχνία αυτής της περιόδου.

10 Mercourios Georgiadis. Honouring the dead in Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese: a few general observations

The change from the Mesolithic way of life and the introduction of agriculture in the Neolithic period has been fundamental for local societies. New economic and social conditions appeared, transforming at the same time the local belief systems and the way of everyday life. This paper will show how these changes can be traced in the funerary context, where the emphasis was concentrated and how honouring of the dead altered from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic, in the examples we have from the Peloponnese. Although the available examples are very limited for these long periods of time, they can provide useful insights into the social conditions of these phases.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς στη μεσολιθική και νεολιθική Πελοπόννησο: μερικές γενικές παρατηρήσεις

Η αλλαγή από τον Μεσολιθικό τρόπο ζωής και η εισαγωγή της γεωργίας στην νεολιθική περίοδο υπήρξε ουσιώδης για τις τοπικές κοινωνίες. Εμφανίστηκαν νέες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες, μετασχηματίζοντας την ίδια στιγμή τον τοπικό τρόπο σκέψης και την καθημερινή ζωή. Αυτή η παρουσίαση θα δείξει πώς αυτές οι αλλαγές μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μέσα από το ταφικό περιεχόμενο, πού δίνεται έμφαση και πώς οι τιμές των νεκρών άλλαξαν από την Μεσολιθική στην Νεολιθική περίοδο, από τα παραδείγματα που έχουμε από την Πελοπόννησο. Αν και τα παραδείγματα που διαθέτουμε είναι λιγοστά για αυτές τις μακρές περιόδους, μπορούν να προσφέρουν χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες αυτών των φάσεων.

11 Grigoris Grigorakakis. New investigations by the 39th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Helleniko, N. Kynouria. The burial of Late Classical date from the western roadside cemetery

200 m west of the grave enclosure on the west slopes of Teichio at Helleniko in northern Kynouria, in the framework of rescue excavations by the Ephoreia, a tomb of the mid-4th century BC was investigated. The large number of offerings categorizes it as a 'wealthy'

burial, and provides us with valuable information both about the mortuary practices, and about the conception of the next world. Finally, the location of the grave, the extent of the cemetery along the road and its relationship both to other cemeteries in the vicinity and, in particular, to the spectacular acropolis at Teichio, indicates the significance of this site in the Thyreatis.

Νέες έρευνες της ΛΘ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων στο Ελληνικό βόρειας Κυνουρίας. Η ταφή των ύστερων κλασικών χρόνων του δυτικού παρόδιου νεκροταφείου

Διακόσια μέτρα δυτικότερα των περιφραγμένων τάφων στις δυτικές υπώρειες του Τειχιού, στο Ελληνικό της βόρειας Κυνουρίας, στο πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής της Εφορείας διερευνήθηκε τάφος των μέσων του 4ου π.Χ. αι. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός κτερισμάτων παραπέμπει σε 'πλούσια' ταφή, και μας δίδει πολύτιμες πληροφορίες τόσο για τα ταφικά έθιμα, όσο και για τις αντιλήψεις σχετικά με τον επέκεινα κόσμο. Τέλος, η θέση του τάφου, η έκταση του παρόδιου νεκροταφείου και η σχέση του με τα άλλα νεκροταφεία στην περιοχή, και κυρίως με την επιβλητική Ακρόπολη στο Τειχίο, καταδεικνύει και τη σπουδαιότητα της θέσης αυτής της Θυρεάτιδος.

12 Georgia Kakourou-Chroni. Nikiforos Vrettakos: "Let us depart ascending ..."

The poetry of Laconian-born Nikiforos Vrettakos might be said to have death as one of its defining themes. This paper traces the development of the poetical ego from his first collection where "death permeates", to his last where "light rises from the soul". The transition begins to take shape and form during World War II when death has the power to "kill God" but also to "shed light on the pain of the world".

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the attitude to death that emerges in the poetry of Nikiforos Vrettakos and unfolds in three stages: nihilism and the dominance of death; heroic death; and the recognition of human immortality.

Critical studies of a lifetime of literary work seen as a whole frequently divide the work into periods on the basis of certain characteristics that pervade each one. This approach is widely accepted by both critics and readers since it facilitates study, though they recognise the fact that the periods are not separated by brick walls and the characteristics of one period overlap those of the next, often making it difficult to see where one period ends and another begins. Neither do all concerned agree over the timeframes.

Having pointed this out, I shall refer to the three different attitudes to death that evolve in the poetry of Nikiforos Vrettakos, keeping within the constraints of time imposed by an introduction of this kind. These attitudes are: nihilism and the dominance of death; heroic death; and the recognition of human immortality.

Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας φύγουμε ανεβαίνοντας ...»

Η ποιητική του λάκωνα λογοτέχνη Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου θα μπορούσε να ισχυρισθεί κανείς ότι οριοθετείται και από το θέμα του θανάτου. Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή καταγράφεται, από την πρώτη συλλογή, η πορεία του ποιητικού εγώ, όταν «υπερκαλύπτεται από τον θάνατο», έως την τελευταία που «φως βγάζει η ψυχή του». Η μεταστροφή αυτή αρχίζει να συντελείται κατά το Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, τότε που ο θάνατος μπορεί να «δολοφονεί το Θεό», αλλά και να «φωτίζει τον παγκόσμιο πόνο».

13 Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos. The Social and religious significance of palatial jars as grave offerings

It is generally accepted that the monumental and very finely painted jars found mainly during LH IIA in rich Peloponnesian tombs (so called palatial jars) are prestige items connected with the early Mycenaean Peloponnesian elite. The aim of this paper is not to

refute the basic idea behind such a general identification but to enlarge upon it. It is argued that the use of 'palatial jars' in mortuary ceremonies has a certain religious connotation also, since several syntactic and iconographic elements on these vases point to their ritual use and symbolism.

Η κοινωνική και θρησκευτική σημασία των «ανακτορικών αμφορέων» ως ταφικών προσφορών

Είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι οι μνημειώδεις και περικαλείς αμφορείς - οι λεγόμενοι «ανακτορικοί αμφορείς» - που έχουν βρεθεί σε πλούσιους πελοποννησιακούς τάφους της ΥΕ ΙΙ περιόδου είναι αντικείμενα κύρους συνδεδεμένα με την ανώτερη κοινωνική τάξη στην Πελοπόννησο της Πρώιμης Μυκηναϊκής Εποχής. Ο στόχος της ανακοίνωσης αυτής δεν είναι να απορρίψει την βασική ιδέα πίσω από αυτή την γενική ταύτιση αλλά να την διευρύνει. Θα υποστηριχθεί ότι η χρήση των «ανακτορικών αμφορέων» σε ταφικές τελετές έχει επίσης συγκεκριμένη θρησκευτική χροιά καθώς αρκετά τεχνικά, εικονογραφικά και συντακτικά στοιχεία πάνω στους αμφορείς καταδεικνύουν τη θρησκευτική τους χρήση και συμβολισμό.

14 Dimitrios Katsoulakos. The lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon' and the turbulent history of Greece

The Moiroloi carries within it historical witness to the collective memory. It is a treasury of the human reaction to extreme experiences. The violent events undergone by the nation (the Balkan Wars, the War in Asia Minor, the Greco-Italian War, the Civil War) deeply moved the popular sensibility, which lamented in an imaginative manner the untimely death of the young. What is particularly striking in researching this brilliant literature is the theme of injustice, which is never personalised. The injustice lies only in the loss of a young life.

Το μοιρολόι της νότιας 'κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος' και οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της χώρας

Το μοιρολόι συνιστά ιστορική μαρτυρία που απηχεί στη συλλογική μνήμη. Αποτελεί θησαυρισμένη σοφία από την έσχατη εμπειρία του ανθρώπου. Οι αιματηρές περιπέτειες της χώρας (Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι, Μικρασιατικός Πόλεμος, Ελληνοϊταλικός Πόλεμος, Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος) συγκίνησαν βαθύτατα τη λαϊκή ψυχή, η οποία θρήνησε με τρόπο ευρηματικό την απώλεια νέων ανθρώπων. Εκείνο που προκαλεί εντύπωση στο ερευνητή της λαμπρής αυτής λογοτεχνίας είναι το θέμα της αδικίας, το οποίο ποτέ δεν προσωποποιείται. Το άδικο συνίσταται μόνο στην απώλεια του νέου ανθρώπου.

15 Theodoros Katsoulakos. The relationship of the moiroloi singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration

Vital data for research into the Moiroloi are the date of its recording and knowledge of the relationship between the singer and the deceased. If these facts are known, the researcher will have at their disposal a picture of the circumstances of its composition, insofar as this is possible. The Moiroloi, as a discrete artistic creation, must, for this reason, be accompanied by as much information as possible.

Η σχέση της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

Κρίσιμα στοιχεία της έρευνας της σχετικής με το μοιρολόι αποτελούν ο χρόνος καταγραφής αυτού και η γνώση της σχέσης της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό. Εάν τα στοιχεία αυτά γίνουν γνωστά, ο μελετητής θα έχει στη διάθεσή του, κατά το δυνατόν, εικόνα των συνθηκών δημιουργίας αυτού. Το μοιρολόι, ως αυτοτελές λογοτεχνικό κείμενο, είναι απαραίτητο, ως εκ τούτου, να συνοδεύεται από όσο το δυνατόν πιο πλήρη υπομνηματισμό.

16 Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras. Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese

During the Archaic period in Attica and in the Aegean islands there are many stone funerary monuments commemorating the dead. These monuments include a variety of statuary types such as kouroi and korai, lions, sphinxes, gorgons and so forth as well as the more common relief stelai bearing representations of the dead. On the other hand, the number of stone funerary monuments in the Peloponnese is very small and consists mainly of statues of lions, rarely of sphinxes and other types. It seems most probable that the statues of lions, which were represented sitting on high columns that were erected over the tombs, symbolized the bravery of the dead as indicated by the ancient written sources.

The fact that the Peloponnesian funerary statuary has been found mainly in the territory of Corinth and in the Argolid, may be explained by the vicinity of these areas to Attica and the Cycladic islands and by the influence exercised by these areas in the north-east Peloponnese.

Finally, the main reason for the general rarity of funerary sculpture in the Peloponnese may be the different, 'Doric' ideal that existed in this area and which is documented by the Spartan, Lykourgan, attitude towards honouring the dead, which did not favour the distinction of the individual through lavish grave monuments.

Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο

Κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο στην Αττική και τα νησιά του Αιγαίου απαντούν πολλά λίθινα ταφικά μνημεία προς τιμήν των νεκρών. Αυτά τα μνημεία περιλαμβάνουν ποικιλία ειδών όπως κούρους και κόρες, λέοντες, σφίγγες, γοργόνεια κ.λπ., καθώς και πιο κοινές ανάγλυφες στήλες που φέρουν αναπαραστάσεις νεκρών. Από την άλλη πλευρά, ο αριθμός των λίθινων ταφικών μνημείων στην Πελοπόννησο είναι πολύ μικρός και αποτελείται κυρίως από αγάλματα λεόντων, σπανιότερα δέ από σφίγγες και άλλους τύπους. Επιπλέον, τα πελοποννησιακά ταφικά αγάλματα εντοπίζονται κυρίως στην επικράτεια της Κορίνθου. Η ανακοίνωση αυτή έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει και να ερμηνεύσει αυτό το αξιοσημείωτο φαινόμενο.

17 Eleni Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Konstantinos Paschalidis. Honouring the dead behind the scenes: the case of the chamber tomb to the south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae

During the summers of 1952 and 1953 in the course of the excavations of Grave Circle B at Mycenae, Ioannis Papadimitriou located and excavated an Early Mycenaean chamber tomb, which has remained unpublished up to now. Its location and the finds from the tomb preserve information about the granting of honours to the dead and ancestors over the ensuing periods, with a different content on each occasion. Following analysis of the architectural form and the offerings in the tomb, the evidence for *hero worship* is examined, which was the excavator's interpretation of the rich remains of the Late Geometric period from within and above the chamber. Likewise, the proximity of a number of important funerary monuments (Grave Circle B, the Tomb of Clytemnestra, the chamber tomb) to the Hellenistic theatre of the town, where the tragedies of the Atreids would have been re-enacted, is emphasised. Finally, the memory of the excavator is honoured, whose diaries reveal the thoughts of a great archaeologist and the concerns of an everyday human being.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς στα παρασκήνια: η περίπτωση του θαλαμωτού τάφου νότια του Κύκλου Β των Μυκηνών

Τα καλοκαίρια του 1952 και του 1953 κατά την ανασκαφή του ταφικού Κύκλου Β, ο Ιωάννης Παπαδημητρίου εντόπισε και ανέσκαψε έναν πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό θαλαμωτό τάφο, που παρέμενε αδημοσίευτος έως σήμερα. Η θέση και τα ευρήματα του τάφου διασώζουν στοιχεία για την απόδοση τιμών σε νεκρούς και προγόνους σε διαδοχικές χρονικές περιόδους και με διαφορετικό κάθε φορά περιεχόμενο. Μετά την αναλυτική παρουσίαση της αρχιτεκτονικής και των κτερισμάτων του τάφου, εξετάζονται τα

στοιχεία της ηρωολατρείας, όπως ερμήνευσε ο ανασκαφέας τα πλούσια κατάλοιπα της ύστερης Γεωμετρικής περιόδου μέσα και πάνω από το θάλαμο. Σχολιάζεται επίσης η γειτνίαση των σημαντικών ταφικών μνημείων (Κύκλος Β, θολωτός Κλυταιμνήστρας, θαλαμωτός τάφος) με το ελληνιστικό θέατρο της πόλης, όπου αναβίωναν τα πάθη των Ατρειδών. Τέλος, αποτίεται φόρος τιμής στον ανασκαφέα, τα ημερολόγια του οποίου αποκαλύπτουν τις σκέψεις ενός μεγάλου αρχαιολόγου και τις ανησυχίες ενός καθημερινού ανθρώπου.

18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi

Despite the wealth of data for habitation in the southern Argolid from very early times, very little is known about the framework of society and its economy during the Early Bronze Age as it can be established through the burials and the behaviour of the community towards the dead.

As regards the Classical period also, the tombs of ordinary people reveal unknown aspects of the organization of small rural communities of the region, the economic potential and the external contacts of the rural population living in the shadow of the urban centres of Hermione and Halieis.

Some aspects of the above-mentioned points were possible to be detected through the finds of the rescue excavation in the Delpriza area, which is only 2.5 km away from the Franchthi cave and about 8 km from Halieis.

Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου

Η αποκάλυψη τμήματος ενός οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου μιας αγροτικής κοινότητας των ύστερων κλασικών-ελληνιστικών χρόνων, στο πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής που διενεργείται από τη Δ' ΕΠΚΑ στην περιοχή 'Δέλπριζα' Κρανιδίου, συσχετίζεται με την περιορισμένη παρουσία νεκροταφείων στο αρχαιολογικό τοπίο της Αργολίδας. Δύο χιλιόμετρα νότια από το Φράγχθι και 2,5 χλμ. ανατολικά του χωριού της Κοιλιάδας, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της οποίας τοποθετείται και η αρχαία πόλη Μάση, ανιχνεύουμε μέσα από τις ταφικές πρακτικές την οικονομική επιφάνεια απλών ανθρώπων.

19 Sokratis S. Koursoumis and Anna-Vassiliki Karapanagiotou. Anthropomorphic stele from Levidi, Arcadia: a typological and interpretative study

The anthropomorphic stele of Levidi is one of the earliest colossal statues of Arcadian monumental sculpture, dated in the late 7th – early 6th century BC. Due to its size, shape and monumental character, it is interpreted as a funerary monument, erected on a tomb in the north Orchomenian plain, which probably belonged to Aristokrates, the mythical king of Arcadia punished by death for his sacrilege.

Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

Η ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη του Λεβιδίου αποτελεί ένα από τα πρωιμότερα, κολοσσικά έργα της αρκαδικής μεγάλης πλαστικής, χρονολογούμενη περί τα τέλη του 7^{ου} - αρχές του 6^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. Το μέγεθος, η μορφή και ο μνημειώδης χαρακτήρας της οδηγούν στην ερμηνεία της ως επιτάφιου μνημείου, ανιδρυμένου στο βόρειο ορχομένιο πεδίο, σε τύμβο ο οποίος πιθανόν ανήκε στον αρκάδα βασιλιά Αριστοκράτη, που τιμωρήθηκε με θάνατο λόγω των ανοσιουργημάτων του.

20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese

Jewellery in the Peloponnese is characterized by various categories, ranging from sumptuous earrings to carefully crafted pins, fibulae and bracelets. These specimens, recovered either from a funerary or a sanctuary/votive context, reveal the local workshops' artistic connections with other important artistic centres of the time on the Greek mainland and the islands, as

well as the impact of earlier traditions. The Peloponnese provides us with a very interesting research field, as these finds prove that the restrictions imposed by the Spartan regime evidently did not apply to all regions, nor to all circumstances in the life of Peloponnesian women – and therefore speak of the multi-levelled character of this centuries-old and ever appealing craft.

Η κοινωνική προέκταση των κτερισματικών και αναθηματικών κοσμημάτων στην αρχαϊκή Πελοπόννησο

Τα κοσμήματα της αρχαϊκής περιόδου από την Πελοπόννησο με την σημαντική τους τυπολογία, από τα πολυτελή ενώτια έως τις περόνες, τις πόρπες και τα ψέλια, αναδεικνύουν τις δημιουργικές σχέσεις των τοπικών εργαστηρίων με άλλα σημαντικά καλλιτεχνικά κέντρα της εποχής στην κυρίως Ελλάδα και τα νησιά, καθώς και με παλαιότερες παραδόσεις. Η Πελοποννησιακή γη αποτελεί ένα ενδιαφέρον πεδίο έρευνας σχετικά με τα ταφικά έθιμα, όπως αυτά εκφράζονται μέσα από τα κοσμήματα που συνόδευαν τις γυναίκες-κατόχους τους στο επέκεινα, αλλά και τα κοσμήματα στην κοινωνική τους διάσταση, όταν αυτά διατηρούνταν στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ως προίκα ή για να ανατεθούν στα μεγάλα ιερά της εποχής, προβάλλοντας έτσι τον πολλαπλό χαρακτήρα αυτής της πανάρχαιας τέχνης που συνεχίζει να μας γοητεύει.

21 Jean-Marc Luce. Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnese and their place in the funerary geography of the Greek world

As appears from a wide survey of more than 6000 Iron Age graves in the Greek world, burial practices in the Peloponnese are very similar to those in Akarnania, Aitolia and Lokris. Comparison of the map of burial types based on the above with the dialect map affords surprising and unexpected results. The striking difference between the practices in the Peloponnese and those described by Homer should be noted. The role of burials in signalling ethnic identity will also be discussed. Specifically, the question raised here is whether the graves of this period can be interpreted as ‘geo-symbols’ as defined by the geographer Joël Bonnemaison in ‘Voyage autour du patrimoine’ *Espace géographique* 4 (1981) 249-62.

Ταφικά έθιμα της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Πελοπόννησο και η θέση τους στην ταφική γεωγραφία του ελληνικού κόσμου

Όπως προκύπτει από μία ευρύτερη έρευνα περισσότερων των 6000 τάφων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στον Ελλαδικό κόσμο, οι ταφικές πρακτικές στην Πελοπόννησο παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες με αυτές της Ακαρνανίας, Αιτωλίας και Λοκρίδας. Με βάση τα παραπάνω στοιχεία η σύγκριση στον χάρτη των ταφικών τύπων με το χάρτη των διαλέκτων προσφέρει εκπληκτικά και απροσδόκητα αποτελέσματα. Πρέπει να σημειωθεί η εντυπωσιακή διαφορά μεταξύ των πρακτικών στην Πελοπόννησο και αυτών που περιγράφονται στον Όμηρο. Θα συζητηθεί επίσης ο ρόλος των τάφων στη σηματοδότηση εθνικής ταυτότητας. Συγκεκριμένα, το ερώτημα που τίθεται είναι κατά πόσον οι τάφοι της περιόδου αυτής μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν ως «γεω-σύμβολα», όπως αυτά έχουν οριστεί από το γεωγράφο Joël Bonnemaison στο έργο του «Voyage autour du Patrimoine» στο *Espace géographique* 4 (1981) 249-62.

22 Christina Marabea. The tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia: excavation by Christos Tsountas, 1891

This paper is a short presentation of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia (prefecture of Messinia) whose full study and publication has been undertaken by the author. The tomb, investigated by Christos Tsountas in 1891, was found looted; however, it yielded a number of small objects, among them two well-known lead figurines of Minoan character. Of particular importance are the reports and other documents, now deposited in the Archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens, in which Christos Tsountas revealed aspects of his

investigation. Preliminary estimates are put forward for the dating of the monument and historical implications are outlined.

Ο θολωτός τάφος στον Κάμπο Αβίας: η ανασκαφή του Χρήστου Τσουντα, 1891

Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί σύντομη παρουσίαση του Μυκηναϊκού θολωτού τάφου στον Κάμπο Αβίας (Νομού Μεσσηνίας), του οποίου την πλήρη μελέτη και δημοσίευση έχει αναλάβει η υπογραφόμενη. Ο τάφος, ο οποίος ερευνήθηκε από τον Χρήστο Τσουντα το 1891, βρέθηκε συλημένος. Ωστόσο, απέδωσε αριθμό μικροαντικειμένων, μεταξύ των οποίων τα δύο γνωστά μολύβδινα ειδώλια Μινωικού τύπου. Ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχουν οι αναφορές και τα άλλα έγγραφα, σήμερα στο Αρχείο της Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, όπου ο Χρήστος Τσουντας αποκαλύπτει πλευρές της έρευνάς του. Δίδονται πρώτες εκτιμήσεις για τη χρονολόγηση του μνημείου και διαγράφονται ιστορικές προεκτάσεις.

23 Eleni Marantou. Ancestor worship and hero cult in the central and southern Peloponnese: the evidence from Pausanias

In antiquity, ancestors and heroes held a special place in people's memory and in their hearts. It was extremely common for funerary monuments of distinguished individuals to be set up in conspicuous places, and frequently cult ceremonies took place to honour them. In his guide, Pausanias describes *inter alia* the funerary monuments which he encounters. The present paper will bring together the many funerary monuments which Pausanias noted in Arcadia, Elis, Messenia and Laconia with the aim of identifying the location of the funerary cults, in order to link them with the history of the region and to understand the reasons behind their existence.

Η προγονολατρεία και ηρωολατρεία στην κεντρική και νότια Πελοπόννησο: η μαρτυρία του Πανσανία

Οι πρόγονοι και οι ήρωες κατείχαν ιδιαίτερη θέση στη μνήμη και την καρδιά των ανθρώπων κατά την αρχαιότητα. Η εγκαθίδρυση ταφικών μνημείων για εξέχουσες προσωπικότητες σε περιβλεπτα σημεία αποτελούσε σύνηθες φαινόμενο, ενώ συχνά αφιερώνονταν θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην Περιήγησή του ο Πανσανίας περιγράφει, εκτός άλλων, τα ταφικά μνημεία που συναντά. Συγκεντρώνοντας τα στοιχεία για όλα τα ταφικά μνημεία που αναφέρει ο Πανσανίας στους νομούς Αρκαδίας, Ηλείας, Μεσσηνίας και Λακωνίας και εντοπίζοντας τους χώρους ταφικής λατρείας, σκοπός της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι η σύνδεσή τους με την ιστορία της κάθε περιοχής και η κατανόηση των λόγων εγκαθίδρυσής τους.

24 Iro Mathioudaki. Honouring the dead with polychrome pots: the case of Mainland Polychrome pottery in Peloponnesian funerary contexts (an interpretative approach)

The subject of this paper concerns the fine pottery type of the early Late Helladic period, known as 'Mainland Polychrome', well represented in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and sometimes decorated with pictorial motives such as birds and griffins. The pottery has specific character and function, being elaborate and technologically advanced; it carries a certain aesthetic value. The example provides an appropriate case-study for the application of theoretical models developed and tested by Material Culture Studies (i.e. aesthetics, object biographies), also taking methodological issues into consideration. Pottery with such inherent qualitative properties becomes the material manifestation of concepts developed and expressed by "communities of the dead" of a certain spatio-temporal context.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς με πολύχρωμα αγγεία: η περίπτωση της ηπειρωτικής πολύχρωμης κεραμικής στα ταφικά σύνολα της Πελοποννήσου (ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση)

Το θέμα μου είναι η λεπτή κεραμική της Πρώιμης Ύστεροελλαδικής περιόδου, γνωστή ως «ηπειρωτική πολύχρωμη κεραμική», η οποία εκπροσωπείται στους Κάθετους Λακκοειδείς Τάφους των Μυκηνών και είναι συχνά διακοσμημένη με εικονιστικά μοτίβα όπως πουλιά και γρύπες. Η κεραμική έχει ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα και λειτουργία, επεξεργασμένη με ακρίβεια και τεχνολογικά προηγμένη. Φέρει δε μια συγκεκριμένη αισθητική αξία. Αυτό το υλικό προσφέρει την κατάλληλη βάση για την εφαρμογή των θεωρητικών μοντέλων που αναπτύσσονται και δοκιμάζονται σε μελέτες υλικού πολιτισμού (π.χ. αισθητική, βιογραφίες αντικειμένων). Μεθοδολογικά ζητήματα θα ληφθούν επίσης υπ' όψη. Η κεραμική αυτού του είδους που διαθέτει τέτοιες ποιοτικές και εγγενείς ιδιότητες, γίνεται η υλική εκδήλωση εννοιών που αναπτύσσονται και εκφράζονται από την «κοινότητα των νεκρών» σε ένα συγκεκριμένο χωροχρονικό πλαίσιο.

25 Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas Nikolentzos. Hybrid burial monuments of the Late Bronze Age in two recently excavated sites in Elis (Strephi and Arvaniti)

This paper reviews the conclusions of archaeological research on two new sites of the Late Bronze Age, in the municipal prefectures of Strephi and Arvanitis (prefecture of Elis). The sites present particular interest, because of the diversity of burial architecture (co-existence of chamber tombs, burial pits and niches). In addition, burial customs, social stratification, anthropological data and possible interregional contacts are also being studied.

Υβριδικά ταφικά μνημεία της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού σε δύο νέες θέσεις του νομού Ηλείας (Στρεφί και Αρβανίτη)

Η ανακοίνωση πραγματεύεται τα ανασκαφικά πορίσματα της έρευνας σε δύο νέες θέσεις της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού, στα Δ.Δ. Στρεφίου και Αρβανίτη. Οι θέσεις παρουσιάζουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον ως προς την ποικιλομορφία της αρχιτεκτονικής των ταφικών μνημείων. Σε δεύτερο επίπεδο, εξετάζονται έθιμα ταφής, η κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση, ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα και πιθανές επαφές με άλλες περιοχές.

26 Nikolas Papadimitriou. "Passing away" or "passing through"? Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition

This paper examines the formation and the possible symbolic meaning of the *dromos-stomion-chamber* layout in Mycenaean tombs. This distinctive arrangement was the outcome of a gradual restructuring of the funerary space associated with the adoption of multiple burial and the need for a permanent access to the tomb. The form of access originated in the tumulus tradition, went through an experimental stage and crystallized in the dromoi of LH IIA tombs. It is argued that the observed changes in funerary attitudes were *not* motivated by competition among 'powerful elites'; rather, they reflect an increasing sophistication in ritual performance and symbolic representation, resulting from a widespread renegotiation of social identities in the MH/LH transition.

"Πεθαίνοντας" ή "μεταβαίνοντας"; Η αλλαγή ταφικής νοοτροπίας στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τη μετάβαση από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού

Το άρθρο εξετάζει την διαδικασία διαμόρφωσης της χαρακτηριστικής διάταξης των μυκηναϊκών τάφων σε δρόμο, στόμιο και θάλαμο, και την πιθανή συμβολική σημασία της. Καταδεικνύεται ότι η διάταξη αυτή προέκυψε σταδιακά ως αποτέλεσμα της υιοθέτησης του εθίμου της οικογενειακής ταφής και της ανάγκης διαρκούς πρόσβασης στον τάφο. Το είδος της πρόσβασης αυτής άρχισε να διαμορφώνεται στους ΜΕ τύμβους, πέρασε από ένα στάδιο πειραματισμού και αποκρυσταλλώθηκε κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΑ περίοδο. Προτείνεται ότι οι παρατηρούμενες αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα δεν οφείλονται σε κοινωνικούς ανταγωνισμούς μεταξύ «ισχυρών ελίτ» αλλά αντανakλούν μια ευρύτερη

αναδιαπραγμάτευση των κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων κατά την μεταβατική ΜΕ/ΥΕ περίοδο, η οποία οδήγησε στην υιοθέτηση συνθετότερων τελετουργιών και μορφών συμβολικής αναπαράστασης.

27 Metaxia Papapostolou. 'Honourable death': the honours paid in ancient Sparta to dead war-heroes and mothers dying in child-birth

In accordance with a levelling tendency in Spartan life, its burial and funerary customs were simple and austere. Offerings were not allowed at Spartan funerals. The Spartans observed a law in their code concerning burial, under which, according to Pausanias, it was not permitted to inscribe the name of the deceased over their graves, with the exceptions only of men who died in battle and women who died in child-birth. Modern historians have speculated that only through dying in child-birth could a Spartan woman earn the distinction of escaping anonymity. Sparta has been distinguished as the city which advocated the ideal of a 'good death' for a citizen who died in the front line, a death which Tyrtaios praises in his poetry. Certainly the female version of the 'good death' did not extend beyond the boundaries of Lacedaemon. Consequently, the high esteem held for death in child-birth must be explained strictly within the bounds of Sparta. In this paper reference will be made in turn to the honours which the Spartans paid to those who died in battle and at the same time we shall examine which women could gain the privilege of such honours. In other words, were death in battle and death in child-birth held in equal esteem?

Ο 'τιμημένος θάνατος': οι τιμές στον νεκρό ήρωα της μάχης και στη γυναίκα λεχώνα στην αρχαία Σπάρτη

Ανάλογες με την ομοιομορφία της Σπαρτιατικής ζωής ήταν και οι επικήδειες και ταφικές τελετές, λιτές και αυστηρές. Στις Σπαρτιατικές κηδείες δεν επιτρέπονταν κτερίσματα. Οι Σπαρτιάτες υπάκουαν σε μια επιταγή της νομοθεσίας τους για την ταφή, δυνάμει της οποίας, σύμφωνα με τον Πλούταρχο, δεν επιτρέπεται να αναγράφονται πάνω στους τάφους τα ονόματα των νεκρών, εκτός εάν επρόκειτο για άνδρες που έπεσαν στον πόλεμο και γυναίκες που πέθαναν στον τοκετό. Οι σύγχρονοι ιστορικοί έχουν θεωρήσει ότι μόνο το γεγονός του θανάτου στον τοκετό θα μπορούσε να δώσει σε μια Σπαρτιάτισσα το δικαίωμα να ξεφύγει από την ανωνυμία. Η Σπάρτη θεωρούνταν η πόλη που είχε επινοήσει το ιδανικό του 'καλού θανάτου' για τον πολίτη που έπεσε στην πρώτη γραμμή, του θανάτου που εξυμνεί ο Τυρταίος. Βέβαια, η γυνακεία εκδοχή του 'καλού θανάτου' δεν περνά καθόλου έξω από τα σύνορα της Λακεδαίμονος. Έτσι, η υπερεκτίμηση θανάτου κατά τον τοκετό πρέπει να εξηγηθεί με όρους καθαρά Σπαρτιατικούς. Στην εισήγησή μας θα αναφερθούμε διεξοδικά στις τιμές που απέδιδαν οι Σπαρτιάτες στους νεκρούς της μάχης και παράλληλα θα εξετάσουμε ποιες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. 'Αραγε ήταν ισοδύναμος ο θάνατος στη μάχη και ο θάνατος στον τοκετό;

28 Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki. Dishonouring the dead: the plundering of tholos tombs in the Early Palatial period and the case of the tholos tomb at Mygdalia hill (Petroto) in Achaea

The tholos tombs in Achaea, at the Mygdalia hill, Kallithea and Pharai were built in LH II and their main use came to an abrupt end in LH IIIA. This applies to most of the tholos tombs excavated at the non-palatial centres on the Greek mainland. The plundering of the interior of the tholos is usually violent, maybe deliberate, and their later use as ossuaries and for unfurnished burials does not constitute a proper reuse. The destruction of early Mycenaean settlements at the same period adds to the picture of the disturbances at the transition to the Mycenaean palatial period.

Ατιμάζοντας τους νεκρούς. Η λεηλασία των θολωτών τάφων στην Πρώιμη Ανακτορική περίοδο και η περίπτωση του θολωτού τάφου στο λόφο της Μυγδαλιάς (Πετρωτό) στην Αχαΐα

Οι θολωτοί τάφοι της Αχαΐας στο λόφο Μυγδαλιά, Καλλιθέα και Φαραί είναι κτισμένοι στην ΥΕ ΙΙ και η κύρια χρήση τους τερματίζεται αιφνίδια στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ. Αυτό ισχύει για τους περισσότερους θολωτούς τάφους που ανασκάφηκαν σε μη ανακτορικά κέντρα στην Πελοπόννησο. Η λεηλασία του εσωτερικού του τάφου είναι συνήθως βίαια και η μετέπειτα χρήση τους ως οστεοθηκών και ως ακτέριστων τάφων δεν συνιστά πρόβλημα επαναχρησιμοποίησή τους. Η πρόωρη καταστροφή των μυκηναϊκών οικισμών κατά την ίδια περίοδο, η οποία βεβαιώνεται επίσης στο Αίγιο στην Αχαΐα, έρχεται να προσθέσει στην εικόνα των διαταραχών που σηματοδοτούν την έναρξη της περιόδου αυτής.

29 Annalisa Paradiso. Did Herodotus ever see the list of the Three Hundred?

“In that travail - says Herodotus - fell Leonidas, fighting most gallantly, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learnt for their great worth and desert, as I have learnt besides the names of all the three hundred” [Hdt.7.224]. In this emphatic and very dense sentence, Herodotus expresses his judgement about Leonidas, when he tells us of his death, and about the warriors who died with him. Leonidas was *aristos*; to a lesser degree, the others were *onomastoi*. He claims to have gathered information about these *axioi* men, about all the Three Hundred. The emphasis here covers a logical contraction of his thought: he declares that he has gained information; however this information apparently concerns only their names and even all the names, not their deeds. Herodotus perhaps knows all these warriors’ names, but evidently he does not quote them all. On the other hand, he evidently knows something else, not simply their names but also the last exploits of some of them, the positive or negative last deeds or sayings of six of them: Dienekes, Alpheios, Maron, Euritos, Aristodemos and Pantites. Where did Herodotus derive his information from? An official list or oral sources? Did he see the official list inscribed on the stele and described by Pausanias 3.14? Can we deduce anything from the very form of Herodotus’ declaration?

Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;

«και Λεωνίδης τε εν τούτω τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων» (Ηροδ. 7.224). Σε αυτή την δυνατή και πολύ δραματική φράση, ο Ηρόδοτος εκφράζει την εκτίμηση του για τον Λεωνίδα, όταν μας εξιστορεί το θάνατό του, και για τους πολεμιστές που έχασαν τη ζωή τους μαζί του. Ο Λεωνίδας ήταν *άριστος*. Σε μικρότερο βαθμό, οι υπόλοιποι ήταν *ονομαστοί*. Ο ίδιος ισχυρίζεται ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες σχετικά με αυτούς τους *άξιους* άνδρες, σχετικά με όλους τους Τριακοσίους. Η έμφαση εδώ καλύπτει ένα λογικό κενό στη σκέψη του: δηλώνει ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες, ωστόσο αυτές φαίνεται να αφορούν μόνο τα ονόματά τους, ακόμη και όλα τα ονόματα, όχι όμως και τα ανδραγαθήματά τους. Ο Ηρόδοτος ίσως γνωρίζει τα ονόματα όλων των πολεμιστών, αλλά δεν τα παραθέτει όλα. Αντιθέτως γνωρίζει, προφανώς, όχι απλά τα ονόματά τους, αλλά και τα τελευταία κατορθώματα κάποιων, τις τελευταίες θετικές ή αρνητικές πράξεις ή ρήσεις των έξι εξ αυτών: των Διηνέκη, Αλφειού, Μάρωνος, Εύριτου, Αριστόδημου και Παντίτη. Από πού άντλησε ο Ηρόδοτος τις πληροφορίες αυτές; Από επίσημο κατάλογο ή από προφορικές πηγές; Μήπως είδε τον επίσημο κατάλογο που αναγραφόταν στη στήλη και περιγράφεται από τον Πausανία (3.14); Μπορούμε να φτάσουμε σε συμπεράσματα από την ίδια τη μορφή της δήλωσης του Ηροδότου;

30 George C. Paraskeviotis. Agamemnon’s death in Seneca

Agamemnon was a mythical figure of high importance in the ancient world, whose life and death inspired several works in Greek and Roman literature. The main aim of this paper is to

offer a detailed examination of the way in which Seneca uses and manipulates Agamemnon's death in his tragedy *Agamemnon*. A parallel reading with earlier Greek literary treatments of the same incident will enable us, through close examination of the similarities and differences, to find out its literary role and function in the Roman tragic play.

Ο Θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα

Ο Αγαμέμνονας, του οποίου η ζωή και ο θάνατος αποτέλεσε πηγή έμπνευσης για σημαντικούς εκπροσώπους της αρχαίας ελληνικής και ρωμαϊκής λογοτεχνίας, υπήρξε προεξάρχουσα μυθική μορφή της αρχαιότητας. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρώ να εξετάσω τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο Σενέκας χειρίζεται το θάνατο του Αγαμέμνονα στην τραγωδία *Agamemnon*. Σύγκριση και παράλληλη ανάγνωση με αντίστοιχες περιγραφές όπως αυτές αντλούνται από την προγενέστερη λογοτεχνική παράδοση (ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή) μας επιτρέπει να εντοπίσουμε ομοιότητες και διαφορές γύρω από την περιγραφή του θανάτου του ήρωα, και έτσι να κρίνουμε πιο ολοκληρωμένα τη δραματική τεχνική του Σενέκα, αλλά και τον ιδιαίτερο χειρισμό της έννοιας του θανάτου στις τραγωδίες του.

31 Nicolette Pavlides. Worshipping heroes: civic identity and the veneration of the communal dead in Archaic Sparta

This paper examines the role of hero cult in the creation of communal identity in Archaic Sparta. Through the analysis of the archaeological evidence it treats the gradual development of a Spartan community identity between the 7th and 5th centuries BC. This paper argues that heroic cult both influenced and was influenced by the communal consciousness arising at this time. In particular, it contends that the area of Limnai, rich in Geometric burials, became a focus of hero cult from the 7th century onwards. The cult site on Stauffert Street offers a paradigmatic example of this phenomenon.

Η λατρεία τοπικών ηρώων: η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη της ταφής και η ταυτότητα στη Σπάρτη

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή θα εξετάσει τους χώρους ταφής της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής / πρώιμης Αρχαϊκής εποχής στη Σπάρτη, όπου εμφανίζεται η μεταθανάτιος λατρεία των νεκρών από την Αρχαϊκή στην Ελληνιστική Περίοδο. Θα επικεντρωθώ σε τρεις θέσεις: στο «Ηρώον» κοντά στον ποταμό Ευρώτα, και στα οικοδομικά τετράγωνα 98 και 101 της σύγχρονης πόλης της Σπάρτης. Η λατρεία των νεκρών ως ηρώων μέσα στον οικισμό της Σπάρτης αντιπροσωπεύει μία τοπικιστική μορφή σεβασμού με αφιερωματικές προσφορές όμοιες με αυτές προς τιμήν ηρώων όπως του Αγαμέμνονα και της Αλεξάνδρας-Κασσάνδρας στις Αμύνκες. Προτείνω, λοιπόν, ότι η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη των ταφών από την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο και εξής, συνέβαλε σε μια τοπική Σπαρτιατική ταυτότητα που εκφράστηκε μέσα από τη λατρεία «μικρότερων» ηρώων.

32 Leonidas Petrakis. A child's remembrance of living through the Nazi atrocity against the '118 Spartans' in autumn 1943

I remember the Germans bombing the retreating British in 1941 and then entering Sparta on the main Tripolis-to-Sparta road, just two blocks from my home. Shame felt by the occupation, starvation, and deprivations culminated in the taking (with help from local collaborators) of over a hundred hostages in the autumn of 1943, and transporting them on open trucks; how the horrible news spread of the execution of 118 of them at Monodentri; seeing the blood-splattered bodies passing underneath my window on Hosios Nikon Street on their way to the cemetery; their burial directly across from my grandmother's grave. I remember Sparta gripped by fear, when I spent a week during the summer of 1946 next to the Monodentri killing field where distant relatives kept their flocks; and fear of the junta in 1970 when I stopped at the neglected Monodentri monument to leave some flowers.

Οι αναμνήσεις ενός παιδιού που έζησε την ωμότητα των Ναζί κατά των '118 Σπαρτιατών' το φθινόπωρο του 1943

Θυμάμαι τους Γερμανούς να βομβαρδίζουν τους Βρετανούς ενώ οπισθοχωρούσαν το 1941 και μετά να εισέρχονται στη Σπάρτη από τον κεντρικό δρόμο Τρίπολης-Σπάρτης, μόλις δύο τετράγωνα από το σπίτι μου. Η ντροπή της Κατοχής, η πείνα και οι στερήσεις έφτασαν στο αποκορύφωμά τους με τη σύλληψη –με τη βοήθεια ντοπίων δωσίλογων– πάνω από εκατό αιχμαλώτων το 1943. Θυμάμαι να τους μεταφέρουν σε ανοικτά φορτηγά. Να διαδίδονται τα φρικτά νέα της εκτελέσεως 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. Είδα να μεταφέρουν τα αιματοβαμμένα κορμιά κάτω από το παράθυρό μου στην οδό Οσίου Νίκωνος καθ' οδόν προς το νεκροταφείο. Θυμάμαι την ταφή τους ακριβώς απέναντι από το μνήμα της γιαγιάς μου. Θυμάμαι τη Σπάρτη τρομοκρατούμενη καθώς πέρασα μία εβδομάδα το καλοκαίρι του 1946 στο Μονοδέντρι δίπλα στο πεδίο εκτελέσεως, όπου μακρινοί συγγενείς είχαν τα κοπάδια τους. Και θυμάμαι το φόβο για τη χούντα το 1970 όταν σταμάτησα στο εγκαταλελειμένο πια μνημείο στο Μονοδέντρι για να αφήσω λουλούδια.

33 Angeliki Petropoulou. The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective

The paper examines the religious nature and political significance of the honours granted to Spartan kings on their death, which are then compared with similar Achaemenid practices. We argue that all customs concerning compulsory mourning are exceptions in the context of Classical Sparta, as are the *ekphora* and burial of a king's image, a rite necessitated by the fact that Leonidas' body had been left exposed on the battlefield, rather than being repatriated and buried in Sparta. We then show that, although parallels between Spartan and Achaemenid compulsory mourning exist, the differences between the two are more significant than the similarities.

Η σπαρτιάτικη βασιλική ταφή μέσω συγκριτικής προοπτικής

Προτείνω να συγκριθούν οι Σπαρτιατικές βασιλικές ταφές στα χωρία 6.58 του Ηροδότου, Λακ. 15.9 του Ξενοφώντα και Αγης. 40.3 του Πλουτάρχου με αντίστοιχες επιβεβαιωμένες πρακτικές που παρατηρούνται σε σχέση με ταφές Αχαιμενιδών και ομηρικών βασιλέων ή μελών της βασιλικής οικογένειας. Θα υποστηριχθεί ότι: 1) η ανακήρυξη και επιβολή θρήνου για όλους τους υπηκόους του βασιλιά και η μεταφορά του σώματός του στην πατρική γη για ταφή ήταν σπαρτιατικές, περσικές και ομηρικές πρακτικές, και 2) οι Πέρσες είναι ανάμεσα στους ανώνυμους βαρβάρους της Ασίας που αναφέρει ο Ηρόδοτος ότι μοιράζονταν - μαζί με τους Σπαρτιάτες - το έθιμο του υποχρεωτικού θρήνου.

34 Eleni Psychogiou. Mycenaean and modern rituals of death and resurrection: comparative data based on a krater from Hagia Triada, Elis

The funeral representation on a Mycenaean krater from Palioboukovina in Elis contains certain obscure, ambiguous elements, which make its interpretation difficult. This paper attempts a new approach to the scene depicted, based on comparisons with modern magico-religious practices regarding death and resurrection, which form crucial stages of the symbolic cycle of time and vegetation. In conclusion it is suggested that the depiction on the krater may not be a funeral scene but the pictorial representation of some seasonal ritual of mourning for the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation, bed-fellow of the Great Mother-Goddess.

Τιμώντας τους μεταφυσικούς 'νεκρούς': αρχαίες και σύγχρονες θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες αναγέννησης με αφετηρία μία παράσταση σε μυκηναϊκό κρατήρα

Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 αποκαλύφθηκε μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο στην Αγία Τριάδα του νομού Ηλείας, στη θέση «Παλιομπουκουβίνα». Στο δρόμο ενός από τους θαλαμωτούς τάφους βρέθηκε κεραμικό όστρακο με παράσταση πρόθεσης νεκρού και

γυναικείου θρήνου, η αρχαιότερη στο είδος της μέχρι σήμερα. Κατά τους ανασκαφείς η παράσταση αφορά τη νεκρική τελετουργία για κάποιο μέλος της κοινότητας στην οποία ανήκε το νεκροταφείο. Παρατηρώντας τις λεπτομέρειες της παράστασης και συγκρίνοντάς την με σύγχρονα ελληνικά λατρευτικά δρώμενα για «θνήσκουσες» χθόνιες θεότητες ή βλαστικές δαιμονικές μορφές, θα υποστηρίξω ότι πιθανόν και η μυκηναϊκή νεκρική παράσταση να μην έχει κοσμικό αλλά θρησκευτικό χαρακτήρα.

35 James Roy. Anyte of Tegea and the other dead

The brief epigram in verse is found from the archaic period onwards, originally most often on inscriptions recording the dead on a tombstone or a dedication to a god. From the early Hellenistic period the use of the epigram was expanded to cover a much wider range of subjects. In this process of adaptation the sophisticated work of the Tegean poetess Anyte made a significant and original contribution, which included funerary epigrams for young unmarried women but extended also to epigrams for animals.

Η Ανύτη της Τεγέας και οι άλλοι νεκροί

Το σύντομο επίγραμμα σε στίχους που εμφανίζεται από την αρχαϊκή περίοδο και εξής, απαντά αρχικά συχνότερα σε επιγραφές επιτύμβιων στηλών ή προσφοράς σε θεότητα. Από την πρώιμη Ελληνιστική περίοδο η χρήση του επιγράμματος επεκτάθηκε ώστε να καλύψει μεγαλύτερο εύρος θεμάτων. Σε αυτή τη διαδικασία αναπροσαρμογής, το εκλεπτυσμένο έργο της Τεγεάτισσας ποιήτριας Ανύτης απετέλεσε μία σημαντική και αυθεντική συνεισφορά, η οποία περιελάμβανε ταφικά επιγράμματα για νεαρές ανύπαντρες γυναίκες, ενώ επεκτάθηκε και σε επιγράμματα για ζώα.

36 Yanis Saitas. Cemeteries and settlements of Mani in medieval and later periods: a second contribution

This paper presents some aspects of an ongoing research documenting the network of settlements and the corresponding cemeteries in the peninsula of Mani. Examples dating from the middle ages are presented, but mainly post-Byzantine and modern cases are discussed. Regional distribution, inner organization and the evolution of the cemeteries over time are examined. The typology of the memorial structures of successive periods is under documentation. The correspondence with the local community, patrilocal lineages and the social status of the family of the dead is analyzed. The first contribution was presented in the International Conference "Sparta and Laconia from prehistory to pre-modern", Sparta 17-20 March 2005.

Κοιμητήρια και οικισμοί στη Μάνη στους μέσους και νεότερους χρόνους. Συμβολή δεύτερη.

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζει ορισμένα στοιχεία μίας έρευνας σε εξέλιξη, με αντικείμενο την τεκμηρίωση του δικτύου των οικισμών και των αντίστοιχων κοιμητηρίων στη χερσόνησο της Μάνης. Περιλαμβάνονται παραδείγματα από τους μέσους χρόνους, κυρίως όμως από τους μεταβυζαντινούς και νεότερους χρόνους. Εξετάζονται ζητήματα της χωροταξικής τους κατανομής, της εσωτερικής τους οργάνωσης, της διαχρονικής τους εξέλιξης. Παρουσιάζονται στοιχεία σχετικά με την τυπολογία των ταφικών κατασκευών των διαφόρων περιόδων. Συσχετίζονται με τις αντίστοιχες τοπικές κοινότητες, τις πατροτοπικές ομάδες και την κοινωνική κατάταξη της οικογένειας των νεκρών. Η πρώτη σχετική ανακοίνωση είχε πραγματοποιηθεί στο Διεθνές Συνέδριο «Η Σπάρτη και η Λακωνία από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα νεότερα χρόνια», Σπάρτη 17-20 Μαρτίου 2005.

37 Nicholas Sekunda. IG V.1 1124. The dead of Geronthrai fallen at Mantinea

IG V.1 1124 from Geronthrai informs us that one Eualkes fell in the war at Mantinea. Since its first publication this inscription has been associated with the first battle of Mantinea in 418.

This causes problems as the perioikic contingents had not yet been incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army as a whole, and were absent from the battle. In this paper I shall propose that the inscription should be down-dated to 385, when the Lakedaimonian army, now incorporating the perioikoi, forcibly intervened to prevent the synoikism of Mantinea. Epigraphic parallels for the letter-forms will be offered.

IG. V.1 1124. Ο νεκρός των Γερωνθρών στη Μαντίνεια

Η επιγραφή IG. V.1 1124 από τις Γερωνθρές μας πληροφορεί πως κάποιος Ευάλκης έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή συσχετίστηκε με την πρώτη μάχη της Μαντίνειας το 418. Ο συσχετισμός αυτός είναι προβληματικός καθώς τα στρατιωτικά τμήματα των περιοίκων δεν είχαν ακόμη εξ ολοκλήρου ενσωματωθεί στο στρατό των Λακεδαιμονίων, και απουσίαζαν από τη μάχη. Σε αυτή την ανακοίνωση εισηγούμαι πως η επιγραφή πρέπει να χρονολογηθεί στο 385 όταν ο στρατός των Λακεδαιμονίων, την εποχή που ενέταξε τους περιοίκους, παρενέβη δυναμικά με σκοπό να εμποδίσει τον συνοικισμό της Μαντίνειας. Θα παρατεθούν επιγραφικά παράλληλα για τη μορφή των γραμμάτων.

38 C. Nadia Seremetakis. Antiphony, ritual and the construction of truth

Based on my published ethnography on the Inner Mani, I will discuss the local way of “honouring the dead” and I will explore the implications of the model of antiphony in today’s society as well as in cultural studies.

Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

Βασίζομενη στην εθνογραφία μου για τη Μέσα Μάνη, θα συζητήσω τον τοπικό τρόπο απόδοσης «τιμών για τους νεκρούς» και θα ερευνήσω τις επιπτώσεις του μοντέλου της αντιφώνησης στη σημερινή κοινωνία καθώς και στις πολιτισμικές σπουδές.

39 Naya Sgouritsa. Remarks on the use of plaster in tholos tombs at Mycenae: hypotheses on the origin of the painted decoration of tombs in mainland Greece

The existing evidence indicates that plaster was originally used in the joints of the masonry of the dromos, façade and doorway of a few tholoi at Mycenae, especially in the constructions made of poros blocks, for the purpose of waterproofing. Besides the structural requirements, plaster was also used for decorative reasons. Tomb decoration, which is of several types, appears rarely. The plastered (simple or coloured) and frescoed LH tholoi and chamber tombs were located mainly in the Argolid and Boeotia. The decoration involved mostly the façade, sometimes the doorway and, in only a few cases, the chamber. This practise, though limited, could well have evolved as a special Helladic idea, arising from the need for ostentation and claim for status, as there are no Minoan prototypes. Undoubtedly, they belonged to the ruling class and the elite of the above regions.

Παρατηρήσεις για τη χρήση ασβεστοκονιάματος σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα

Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείτο αρχικά σε τάφους για την αδιαβροχοποίηση κατασκευών κυρίως από πωρόλιθους, όπως διαπιστώνεται στους θολωτούς τάφους της μεσαίας ομάδας κατά Wace στις Μυκήνες. Εν τούτοις, φαίνεται ότι παράλληλα εξυπηρετούσε και την αισθητική εικόνα τους. Η ταφική διακόσμηση οπωσδήποτε περιορισμένη, εντοπίζεται κυρίως στην Αργολίδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα ανευρίσκονται επίσης στη Βοιωτία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζει τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προερχόταν από την

ανάγκη επίδειξης κάποιων που θα ανήκαν στην άρχουσα τάξη των περιοχών όπου βρέθηκαν.

40 Georgios Steiris. Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese: Plutarch's study of death and its revision by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis

This paper seeks first to explore the way Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-119 AD), the eminent historian and philosopher of Middle Platonism, discussed exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese in his *Moralia*. Plutarch's references are indicative of his theory on death, which is based on Greek philosophy. Secondly, this paper aims to present the attempt by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis, the Greek scholar of the 15th century, to reinterpret Plutarch's views about exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese.

Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο

Αυτή η παρουσίαση στοχεύει, κατ' αρχήν, στην διερεύνηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο Πλούταρχος, ο διακεκριμένος αυτός ιστορικός και φιλόσοφος της Μέσης Πλατωνικής, πραγματεύτηκε στα *Ηθικά* τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο. Οι αναφορές του Πλούταρχου είναι ενδεικτικές της θεωρίας του για το θάνατο, η οποία βασίζεται στην πλατωνική και στωική φιλοσοφία. Δεύτερον, αυτή η ανακοίνωση έχει ως στόχο να παρουσιάσει την προσπάθεια του Γεώργιου Τραπεζούντιου, ενός Έλληνα λογίου του 15ου αιώνα που έζησε τα περισσότερα χρόνια της ζωής του στην Ιταλία, να επανερμηνεύσει τις απόψεις του Πλουτάρχου σχετικά με τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο.

41 Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi. A composite pendant in an EH I burial at the Apollon Maleatas site in Epidauros: an attempt at a biography

Accompanying the EH I burial of a young woman from the precinct of the sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas at Epidauros a necklace with a pendant was found. It is composed of an ovoid plaque of schist, fish teeth attached to its surface and two shell-fragments which framed the plaque on either side. This find raises a series of new research questions, from the most straightforward and practical, such as the use and source of the fish bones, and the technique of its construction, to the more complex, such as its significance as jewellery for the dead and its aesthetic value in the context of Early Helladic culture.

Σύνθετο περιάπτο από Πρωτοελλαδική I ταφή στο χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο: μία απόπειρα βιογραφίας

Σε ΠΕ I ταφή νεαρής γυναίκας από το χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο ήρθε στο φως περιάπτο κόσμημα. Πρόκειται για σύνθεση αποτελούμενη από ωσειδές πλακίδιο από σχιστόλιθο, δόντια ιχθύων προσαρμοσμένα στην επιφάνειά του και δυο θραύσματα οστρέων που πλαισίωναν συμμετρικά το πλακίδιο. Το εύρημα εγείρει πληθώρα νέων ζητημάτων προς έρευνα, από τα πιο απλά και πρακτικά, όπως τη χρήση και την προέλευση των οδόντων ιχθύων, και την τεχνική κατασκευής του, ως τα πιο περίπλοκα όπως τη σημασία του ως ταφικό κόσμημα και την αισθητική του αξία στο πλαίσιο του Πρωτοελλαδικού πολιτισμού.

42 Erika Weiberg. The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age

The possibility of archaeologists finding the dead of any society is ultimately dependent on the way in which groups of people in different cultures and times chose to handle the dead of their communities. For the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age, the mortuary record is very limited. How are we to interpret our failure to locate these Early Helladic dead? This paper sets out to analyse this problem through a consideration of the existing material and comparative Early Helladic data in the search of the missing majority and the meaning of the present few.

Οι αόρατοι νεκροί. Η περίπτωση της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού

Οι πιθανότητες των αρχαιολόγων να ανακαλύψουν τους νεκρούς οποιασδήποτε κοινωνίας εξαρτώνται εν τέλει από τον τρόπο με τον οποίο επέλεξαν να χειριστούν τους νεκρούς τους οι διάφορες ομάδες ανθρώπων διαφορετικών πολιτισμών και εποχών. Τα στοιχεία που αφορούν στα νεκροταφεία της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού είναι ισχνά. Πώς μπορούμε να ερμηνεύσουμε την αποτυχία μας να εντοπίσουμε τους νεκρούς της Πρώιμης Ελλαδικής Εποχής; Προτείνω να αναλύσουμε το πρόβλημα, το διαθέσιμο υλικό και τα συγκριτικά ΠΕ στοιχεία στην αναζήτηση της χαμένης πλειοψηφίας των νεκρών και της σημασίας των λιγοστών νεκρών που έχουν βρεθεί.

43 Theodora Zampaki. The burial customs for Alexander the Great in Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance

This paper aims at presenting a description and discussion of the burial customs as well as the ceremony of the funeral of Alexander the Great as presented in the 'Universal histories' of Arab historians and the surviving various versions of the Alexander Romance. The Arabic narratives as well as those of the Alexander Romance demonstrate that the preparation, laying out, mourning and lamenting, as well as the procession to the grave, are the main parts of the funeral rites of Alexander's burial. On the whole, the narratives of the Arab historians reflect the infiltration of Greek ideas, beliefs and symbols into the world of the East. But it is characteristic that the Arab historians emphasize the ethical and moral elements of the various stories of Alexander's death and burial.

Οι τελετές ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου στην αραβική ιστοριογραφία και το Αλεξανδρινό Μυθιστόρημα

Στόχος της ανακοίνωσης είναι η περιγραφή και συζήτηση των ταφικών εθίμων καθώς και η τελετή της ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου όπως παρουσιάζεται στις «Παγκόσμιες Ιστορίες» των Αράβων ιστορικών της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου της αραβικής ιστοριογραφίας. Η αφήγηση των Αράβων ιστορικών συγκρίνεται με αυτή του ελληνικού Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των μεταφράσεών του στα συριακά, αιθιοπικά και αρμένικα. Η τελετή για τον Αλέξανδρο συγκρίνεται επίσης με αυτή για τον Δαρείο Γ' - μια τελετή που αναφέρεται πως οργάνωσε ο ίδιος ο Αλέξανδρος. Τα συμπεράσματα που εξάγονται από αυτή την ανάλυση τονίζουν τα εθνογραφικά και τα πολιτικά στοιχεία πίσω από τις περιγραφές των συγγραφέων των πηγών μας.

Preface

The Conference 'Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese' took place in Sparta 23-25 April 2009. It reflected a wide range of recent academic research in the Arts and Humanities on public and private commemoration. It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge the bodies which contributed so generously to make the conference possible: first and foremost the mayor and council of the city of Sparta, who showed unstinting support and generous backing; the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the British Academy also provided generous support and other participating organisations were the Pnevmatiki Estia of the Dimos Sparti and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparta and Mrs Eleni Tzinieri-Tzannetakou and the University of the Peloponnese for generously placing their lecture halls at our disposal. We were particularly pleased that a number of exhibitions and other cultural events were timed to coincide with the conference: 'Studies on Laconia'. Book exhibition organised by the Central Public Library of Sparta; 'The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulos Collection' presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparta and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; 'In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis' art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparta; 'Heroes of my Town' competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparta. Particular thanks are due to the individuals who helped organise the Conference, Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Metaxia Papapostolou.

Following some popular media productions, the theme 'Honouring the Dead' has significant current reverberations in popular culture, especially in Greece. Purposely held in Sparta, the focal point of recent public attention, this conference sought to exploit such exceptional current interest as a starting-point for a more broad-ranging exploration of the theme across the Peloponnese from prehistory to the 21st century. The human responses to death and burial are highly-charged with emotion and yet also formalised and bound by convention. From the Iliad onwards these tensions have struck a note in Greek life, art and literature: the lament, the memorial and the iconography of death, the address over those killed in war, hero cult and the cult of relics, war monuments and literature.

Consequently, the aim of the conference was to bring together experts from a variety of disciplines (Classicists, Byzantinists, ancient and modern historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, art historians and social historians) to discuss a number of aspects where the combination of their different contributions might open up new vistas.

The conference was focused on Sparta and the Peloponnese to reflect the interests of the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies, but also because that area offers a wealth of relevant material, varying greatly in nature and extending over the chronological span of the conference, from prehistory to the present, and thus allowed a range of different forms of analysis. Our vision in organising the conference was of a perspective that brought together in a single collage the insights of different disciplines across different times, in the hope that each image would reflect on and give new meaning to the others. The opportunity of publishing these papers allows us not only to present this picture to a wide readership, but

also to achieve conjunctions and reflections which were not possible under the constraints of conference organisation.

In this preface we hope to draw out the connections implicit in the different papers. A simple review of the volume will immediately bring to mind the thematic interrelationships which formed part of the structure of the original conference.

Heroization, Politics and Heroic Death ranges from the Bronze Age to the Late Byzantine period. The term 'hero' can convey slightly different things, but touches on the semi-divine, ancestors of a legendary past, doers of great deeds as well as having the modern connotations of courage and daring. The prominence of heroes and their symbolic power can be traced through the creation and manipulation of cultural icon, national ideal and political emblem. Banou and Hitchcock explore this phenomenon through the 'Lord of Vapheio' on the basis of the spectacular funerary gifts which mark the identity of the dynasty buried in the tomb as closely linked with Minoan Crete. Konstantinidi-Syvriddi and Paschalidis take a long perspective in viewing the cult of the dead and hero worship at Mycenae, underlining the landscape setting and how eloquently it spoke to visitors in the Classical and Hellenistic periods of an heroic past. Pavlides explores the worship of the dead as heroes within the settlement of Sparta, representing a local phenomenon closely bound up with the creation of communal identity in the Archaic polis. Burton also reflects on the relationship between divinity, the gods of the underworld and hero cult. The rediscovery of burials from the Archaic period onwards contributed to a local, Spartan identity expressed through the worship of "lesser" heroes. The contrasting histories of tomb and hero cult in Sparta versus Messenia (initially subject to but then liberated from Spartan domination) nicely juxtapose cases of the invention of both 'official' and purely local, small scale worship. Marantou takes up the theme of hero cult with an Arcadian emphasis and through Pausanias's image of the past.

Other papers focus more closely on the Classical period, the celebration of the heroic dead. How typical were the Spartans in their reactions to mortality? Were their attitudes to death and their burial customs really as 'other', if not unique, as Xenophon, Plutarch - and 'The 300' - make them out to be? Paradiso, Gengler and Petropoulou analyse closely the sources and the presentation of exemplary death in Sparta. Again identity and self-image are pictured in investigations of the insiders' and outsiders' views. Spartan royal funerals were exceptionally extravagant, their conduct uniquely embedded in Spartan tradition. The war dead were also commemorated exceptionally in Sparta. The 300 heroes of Thermopylae have been invented and reinvented time and again. Paradiso looks to Herodotus, who was fascinated by their celebrity and conducted his own *ιστορίη* into their names and actions. Gengler places the festival of the Leonidea in the broader context of the transformation of Spartan traditions during the Imperial period and in relation to the image of Spartan history in the literature of that time. The war dead of Perioikic Geronthrai form the theme of Sekunda's paper, while honourable death as perhaps seen through the distorting glass of Roman revisionism is the theme of Papapostolou's article. Seneca's version of Agamemnon's death, as reported by Paraskeviotis, also reveals subtle changes of emphasis from Classical Greek to Roman Imperial perceptions. Later still, as Steiris explains, Plutarch's treatment of exemplary deaths in the *Moralia*, was interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of Middle Platonism, and later Greek thought as exemplified in the writings of Georgios Trapezuntius and Gemistos Plethon. Zampaki illustrates how traditions in the Arab historians about the funeral of Alexander the Great relay on the one hand the narrative of events, but on the other put an emphasis on the ethical and moral lessons.

If in a negative way, the deliberate slighting of the dead is an acknowledgement of their power - the archaeological evidence for this treatment in late Mycenaean Achaia is assembled by Papazoglou-Manioudaki. The emotive impact of one such atrocity in a much more modern context is narrated by Petrakis.

Lament and Threnody. The *moiroloyia*, the extemporised Maniot laments of S Greece, are a classic archetype of the dirge. Seremetakis sets the scene for this section, with *Antiphony, Ritual and the Construction of Truth* examining the presentation of the individual and the setting of the lament within the overall structure of the ritual. Katsoulakos, father and son, then make their portrayal all the more vivid thanks to their unrivalled archive of examples of *moiroloyia*, picking out, in particular, the historical and political context, on the one hand, and the kin relationship between deceased and singer on the other. Psychogiou takes the remarkable find of vase scenes depicting lamentation of the dead which have recently been recovered from Mycenaean tombs in Elis, to bridge the gap between remote past and present by confronting the similarities in the representation of ritual in past and present. The laying out of the corpse (prothesis) is treated by Fragkopoulou in the unexpected context of votives at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries. These popular themes are confronted with poetry of a more consciously literary conceit: Roy sketches poems by the Hellenistic poetess Anyte of Tegea including not only funerary epigrams for young maidens but extending also to the commemoration of animals. Kakourou-Chroni turns to the modern poet Nikiforos Vrettakos, tracing the development of his reflections on death from an early phase where he is 'immersed in death' to his late poetry transformed by his experiences of World War II where 'death murders God' but also 'shines on the suffering world'.

The papers contemplating *Memorials, Monumentality and Memory* range from the prehistoric through historic periods to modern monuments. Marabea revisits the great tholos tomb at Kambos, close to the Laconian-Messenian border, a newly monumentalised tomb type of the early Mycenaean period. Papadimitriou considers a similar early part of the Mycenaean period, but with an emphasis on the symbolism of entrances in the passage from life to death. Sgouritsa also follows up the symbolism of the entrance and threshold rituals expressed materially in the architecture of the great Mycenaean tombs. Kokorou-Alevra turns to the Archaic period and funerary statuary in the Peloponnese, pointing to a major fault-line in the memorialisation of the dead between the city states of the NE Peloponnese and the rest of the region. She interprets the contrast as one grounded in the ideology of the Spartan state. Karapanagiotou and Koursoumis investigate anew the curious 'menhir' from Levidi in Arkadia, perhaps erected to mark the empty tomb of a king struck dead for his hubris.

The final theme of the conference looked to *Burial, Identity and Representation*, that is to say the commemoration (not to say reinvention) of those who have died, through material culture and iconography. The remote prehistory of this deeply human impulse is explored by Georgiadis in his review of fragmentary patterns recorded in the Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese. Kossyva's account of the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Delpriza, in the Argolid, adds precious new evidence to the recent flurry of new discoveries from the period; still, however, EBA burials are not well attested in the NE Peloponnese, a paradox explored by Weinberg. Fox uses the vessels from the heroic Grave Circles at Mycenae to conjure an image of feasting and drinking, which is then analysed to understand the status of feasting and socio-political fluidity in the period; looking to the same time and context Mathioudaki takes a different theoretical perspective of aesthetics and object biographies to consider the Early Mycenaean pictorial vases. Drakaki extends the analysis by exploring the seals accompanying high-status female burials of the Mycenaean epoch and Kalogeropoulos examines the symbolic power of the iconography of Palatial Style amphoras of the early Mycenaean period.

Tomb form and social message is the focus of the publication by Lambropoulos, Moutzouridis and Nikolentzos of two recently-excavated cemeteries in Elis. Moschos illustrates the other end of the Mycenaean epoch by examining social status and burial practices during its final period after the collapse of the palaces; in a radically transformed social and political world, the imagery and material expression used in the past is still exploited, but exploited to tell a very different story. The interplay of communal, ethnic and even linguistic identity with ritual practice lies at the heart of Luce's analysis of Early Iron Age grave types.

Dimakis takes the analysis later still in his review of individual and collective identity in Argos of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Grigorakakis presents new cemetery evidence from the highly contested territory of the Thyreatis. Fritzilas looks to grave stelai of Hellenistic and Roman date from Arkadia, and how they attempt to commemorate and preserve the memory of the dead. Reinvented tradition and the concrete memorialisation of the family make for a fascinating counterpoint in the papers of Gavala and Saitas on recent historical monuments. Another aspect of the presentation of the dead is the use of jewellery to sculpt the body, this is explored by Theodorou-Mavromatidi for the Early Bronze Age and Louka for the Archaic period.

The argument which develops through this rich variety of illustration in no way underplays the strong emotion evoked by death – indeed this precisely gives the ritual and the symbolism their power, even though they are formalized and pressed into moulds of social and political conformity. In the papers that follow, we note the play and counterplay of political manipulation, the idealization of the dead and its use to model civic and moral virtue, the importance of ancestors and ancestry as symbols of identity and belonging, as well as display and conspicuous consumption and its dialectic between the community and the (family) group.

The range of different approaches and of different types of material does not allow any single theoretical viewpoint to dominate the contributions. Instead we have a mosaic of studies exploring in different ways how death was memorialised, and how the process reflected social aspirations of those who created the memorials, or sought to exploit the management of death for social or political purposes. Though all are drawn from the relatively limited area of the Peloponnese, the wealth of material offered by the Peloponnese means that the volume illustrates the issues currently being addressed in the study of death and the dead in the Greek world.

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CHAPTER 3

THE DISPLAY OF INDIVIDUAL STATUS IN THE BURIALS OF CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC ARGOS

NIKOLAOS DIMAKIS

Our knowledge of the Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries at Argos is mainly based on the results of the excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service (4th EPKA) and by the École Française d' Athènes (EFA).¹ All evidence, in the form of brief preliminary reports, is gathered in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture's journal, the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, and in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (*BCH*) of the EFA. A few short papers have been published elsewhere focusing on a limited number of burial contexts with emphasis placed on the pottery finds.² Synthetic approaches are indeed limited. Barakari-Gleni's (1998) 'Οι Νεκροπόλεις των Αρχαϊκών και Κλασικών Χρόνων στην Αρχαία Πόλη του Άργους' ('The Cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical Periods in the Ancient City of Argos'), gives a useful overview of the types of offerings and grave forms preferred by the Argives in the Archaic and Classical periods. A slightly different insight into the Argive mortuary record of the Hellenistic period is offered by Banaka-Dimaki's (2004) 'Ταφικό Σύνολο Ελληνιστικών Χρόνων από το Άργος' ('A Hellenistic Burial Cluster from Argos') where she marks the ritualistic use of specific burial offerings.³ Although previous research on the Argive Classical

¹ This paper presents part of work in progress on the display of status and identity in the cemeteries of Northern Peloponnese during the Classical and Hellenistic times. Argos has formed the case-study of my MA dissertation 'Individual Status in the Classical and Hellenistic Burials of Argos' obtained at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Nottingham in 2008 under the supervision of Professor W. G. Cavanagh. At this point I would like to thank the Director of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the Argolid Anna Banaka, the emeritus director Elisavet Spathari and the archaeologists Dr Alkistis Papadimitriou, Georgia Ivou, Anastasia Panayotopoulou and Evaggelia Pappi for sharing with me their expertise and valuable information on Argive burials. I am also grateful to Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Merkourios Georgiadis, post-doctoral fellows at the University of Nottingham, who have been a constant source of encouragement and guidance. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to my Professor W. G. Cavanagh whose expertise guided me through the paths of funerary archaeology.

² Karouzou 1938; Bruneau 1970; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2005; Kavvadias 2006; see Piérart 1996 for a detailed account of references from 1973 to 1992.

³ The Roman burial monuments of Argos have received a more systematic treatment (Banaka-Dimaki *et al.* 1998). They lie, however, beyond the chronological scope of this paper.

and Hellenistic mortuary record is indeed limited, the papers mentioned above form the basis for this systematic approach.

In spite of the numerous limitations imposed by the available bibliographical references and the fact that unpublished material has not been included in this paper, the information provided by past investigations and brief reports is far too valuable for classical archaeologists to disregard. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate the major dimensions of status in Classical and Hellenistic Argive society based on the burial evidence and to highlight the contribution of mortuary evidence to the study of social inequality within the *polis*. Although, any archaeologist's aim is to remain as objective as possible, the limited information available may require the extrapolation and use of narratives and/or evidence from other periods or even modern cultural bias, in an attempt to reconstruct the missing parts of the story. My analysis is structured on the better, albeit few, documented burials. Argive status is cross-examined and assessed through four basic criteria: space, time, material culture and funerary customs with the emphasis placed mostly on the first two. A different approach is imposed on each case by the available data. The lack of anthropological analyses certainly sets limits on the field of work, underlining once again that classical archaeology lags behind prehistory in skeletal studies.⁴ Written and epigraphical sources, on the other hand, do not provide any information on Argive burial ritual as opposed to other minor or major sites in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Therefore, any scholar wishing to study Argive burial ritual must turn to the archaeological evidence and use the models advanced by theoretical principles and methods.

1. PLACING THE DEAD

Although the continuous use of burial grounds in Argos has resulted in their dense and disorderly spatial arrangement, it can be noted that Classical and, to a lesser degree, Hellenistic burials were organised in clusters of various sizes, spatially segregated from each other and placed close to the land around the *polis* (**FIG. 1**). As in the cemeteries of most contemporary *poleis*, burials lined the roads illustrating a wide pattern of articulated burials and roads, whatever the intra-cemetery spatial arrangement of graves.⁵ On the same principle, it would be possible to suggest that burials may provide an indication for the presence of a road near by. Despite their denser placement to the north-east and south-west of Argos where two of the city gates were

⁴ I.e. Charles 1958 and 1963, with very limited reference to Classical and Hellenistic burials.

⁵ Cf. Robinson 1942, on Olynthus' cemetery; Blegen *et al.* 1962, 65–87, on the North Cemetery at Corinth; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 91–96, on Athens.

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probably located, these areas do not form two unified burial grounds.⁶ They are divided into various clusters situated within a relatively limited space (FIGS. 1 & 2).⁷ An in-depth approach to the Argive burial clusters reveals that they mainly consist of *side-by-side* or *head-to-toe* rows of two, three or four graves of the same form, with a common orientation. Multiple burials with two or three dead, or graves sharing one of their long sides, may signify that the closer the burials the closer the bond between the dead. Their linear arrangement in row-segmented groups and the fact that no single grave projects itself as 'exceptional' imply a principle of equality among the dead of the same cluster. One could argue that these egalitarian principles may have been introduced to Argive burial ritual after the battle of Sepeia in 494 BC, following the transformation of the Argive state from oligarchic to democratic.⁸ This, however, may not be the case as the pattern resembles the 8th, 7th and 6th century BC burial patterns of dispersed clusters of evidently corporate groups, perhaps clans or lineages, while it seems to continue well into the Hellenistic period.⁹ A more 'tribal' way of placing the dead is thus noted; the burials of a family could be grouped together with the burials of other families in their own clan. A similar practice is regularly attested in Greek 19th and 20th century AD cemeteries, where the graves of an *oikos* (family) are grouped together with the graves of another *oikos* in their *soi* (kin) duplicating the way the houses were grouped into neighbourhoods of close kin.¹⁰ Could the same pattern be applied to the Classical and Hellenistic Argive burial clusters? Unfortunately, information on residential remains is meager.¹¹ Nonetheless, 5th, 4th and 3rd century BC inscriptions underline the significant role the *phyle* (tribe) and *phratra* (clan) maintained in Argive administration, economy, religion, ritual and daily life, and therefore offer support to this hypothesis.¹² Both gender- and most age-groups seem to be represented in each cluster, arguing for the representation of all subdivisions of a clan although the classification of skeletons has been based on

⁶ Cf. Barakari-Gleni 1998; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 174–5.

⁷ Scanty information does not allow the clarification of when exactly these burial clusters were originally established or ceased to be used, or the frequency in which they were relocated or expanded.

⁸ According to Herodotus, 6000 Argives were killed by the Spartans at Sepeia causing a severe shortage of manpower during the next generation (Hdt. 6.76–83; 7.148.2; and Plut. *Mor.* 223a; Cic. *Off.* 1.10.33; Paus. 3.4.1 mentions 520 BC as the date of the battle; Tomlinson 1972, 93–100, 180–181; on the succeeding political transformation, see Kritzas 1992).

⁹ Alkistis Papadimitriou personal communication 2009.

¹⁰ E.g. Forbes 2007, 259–263, on the Methana peninsula.

¹¹ Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 177–8.

¹² On the Argive *phylai* and *phratrai* and their role in Argos: SEG 11 293; 29 36.III.18; 41 284; Kritzas 1992, 236–40; Piérart & Touchais 1996, 62; Piérart 1997, 332–33; 2000, 298–301; another social subdivision was the *pentekostys* which was introduced to the Argive social structure by 338/7 BC (e.g. SEG 30 355.3; Piérart 2000, 300–301).

judgements proposed by archaeologists in the field on the basis of the skeletons' sizes and the accompanying offerings.¹³ The popularity in Argos of this style of burial may be connected with the belief that members of the 'family' could be reunited in the afterlife if they were buried together. The association in death may indeed reflect a relationship in life.

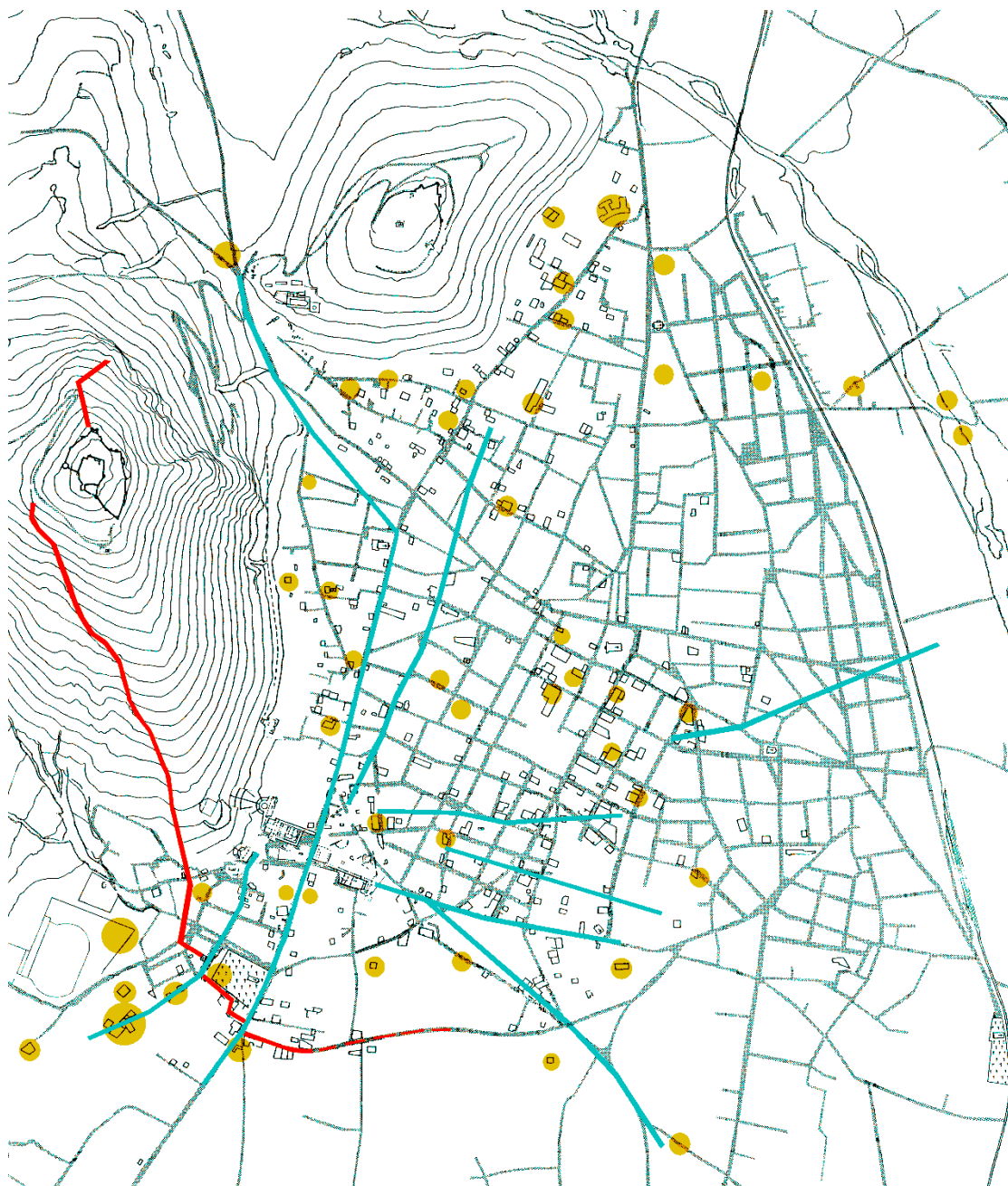


FIG. 1 Distribution of Classical and Hellenistic burial clusters in Argos
clusters – roads – fortification
(Original source of the map: *PARIENTE & TOUCHAIS* pl. XI and XII)

¹³ Cf. North Cemetery in Corinth where children are clustered together, Blegen *et al.* 1964, 68.

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FIG. 2 A late Classical burial cluster NE of Argos.
(Photo: Nikolaos Dimakis)

The pattern seems to have been modified, in the early Hellenistic period or just before. Shortage of space as the result of marked population growth led people to place their dead wherever there was available space.¹⁴ Hellenistic graves are found on the outskirts of Classical or even earlier burial grounds or are cut into them.¹⁵ This more individualized way of placing the dead in the Hellenistic period was probably also related to the individual's wealth. Monumental tombs containing multiple wealthy burials were increasingly erected along roads during this period.¹⁶ They were thus visible

¹⁴ According to Piérart (1982a) and Perlman (2000) Argos' territory grew in the late 4th century BC to ca. 1,400 km² with the annexation of Kleonai and Kynouria down to Zarax (Piérart 2001; *contra* Shipley 2000, 378). Hansen (2004, 21) argues that Argos is the only *polis* with a five-digit population and a territory over 500 km² in the 4th century BC. The city was still prominent in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC as it kept having surrounding settlements (*komai*) dependent upon it (Mitsos 1945, 89 and 99; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998).

¹⁵ This phenomenon is particularly noted to the north of the city in the area of the Hospital, where Hellenistic burials are found among Middle Helladic, Geometric, Archaic, and Classical tombs (e.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 19 (1964) 122–6; 26 (1971) 74–84; 28 (1973) 95–105; 29 (1973–1974) 199–249; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980; Anna Banaka-Dimaki and Alkistis Papadimitriou *pers. comm.* 2009).

¹⁶ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 21 (1966) 128–30; 26 (1971) 74–5; 28 (1973) 100–2, 115–7, 121; Barakari-Gleni 1998, 521; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 168–9 and 174–5. The pattern continues well into the Roman period cf. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 109–111; Banaka-Dimaki *et al.* 1998; Kavvadias 2006.

to those entering and/or leaving the city, displaying and advertising their owners' wealth, power and rank. The accumulation of these monuments especially to the south-west and north-east of Argos implies that these were places of intense daily activity as the areas were located near gates, hence appropriate for social display.¹⁷ On the same principle, one might suggest that the presence of a burial monument could provide an indication for the presence of a gate and consequently a road near by.

2. SEPARATING THE DEAD

In the light of the above, the distance at which burial clusters were placed from each other does not seem to have been arbitrary but rather deliberate and, interestingly, served a purpose (**FIG. 1**). It was used to separate the burials of clans. By the Hellenistic period other means were also used to separate the dead such as the erection of enclosing walls around groups of burials.¹⁸ It is unknown, however, what affiliations led to the erection of an enclosure wall around certain burials. One can only argue that the construction of an enclosing wall served to isolate and demarcate specific burials and not simply to enclose them spatially.

Nevertheless, there might have been some other reason why burial clusters were so widely placed. They could have functioned as territorial markers, 'marking', in a sense, the limits of the area occupied by a given clan. Similarly, but defining larger territories, some Spartan 'limitary' sanctuaries may have served to define Spartan citizen territory, the *politike ge*, as against the territory of the *perioikoi*.¹⁹ The fact that Argive clusters functioned as territorial markers is probably underlined by the proximity of the burials to the stream of Charadros (modern Xerias) even though the latter often overflowed causing much damage to the surrounding area.²⁰

Notably, a substantial number of Classical, late Classical and early Hellenistic burial clusters, of usually 3 to sometimes more than 15 graves each, is almost certainly intramural and clearly separated from the extramural cemeteries (**FIG. 1**).²¹ Fortification walls do not seem to have prevented

¹⁷ Cf. Knigge 1988, on Kerameikos in Athens.

¹⁸ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) 207–8; 28 (1973) 115–7, 117–9; 53 (1998) 121–2.

¹⁹ Cartledge 1998, 44.

²⁰ Burials in proximity to Charadros: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 122–3; 54 (1999) 139–40. Although the modern course of the stream may not correspond exactly to the ancient one, burials situated in the north-east of Argos were extremely vulnerable to the overflows. The latter were a constant concern for the polis at all times, cf. Vollgraff 1907, 145–7; Lehmann 1937, 28–29, 56; Piérart 1982b, 142; Piteros 1994; 1998, 179–85 esp. n. 14 and 35.

²¹ The south-east, east and north course of the city-walls is under debate cf. Thuc. 5.82.5–83.2, on Argos' Long Walls; Hesse 1982; Piérart 1982b; Lang 1996, 174; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998; Piteros 1998; intramural burials: Daux 1959, 754–768; Bruneau 1970; Aupert 1978, 661–

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(certain?) families from placing their dead near houses or the agora.²² Intramural clusters probably belonged to fairly important Argive families or at least more important than those buried *extra muros*, which in this way further demarcated their status.²³ Internal privilege and status were, after all, always of importance to the Argives and the way some of them placed their burials in space may have emphasised exactly that purpose.²⁴ There is nothing, however, indicative of articulated relations between the intramural dead and specific structures or territories i.e. shrines, *temenoi* or temples, that could have imposed their intramural burial.²⁵ By associating the dead directly with the living community as inferred by the lack (at least as far as we can see) of any artificial or mental barriers separating them, it is concluded that the living were not intimidated by the dead and, consequently, were not fearful of pollution or the taint of death. The Argives had probably managed to transform a 'negative event', such as death, into a positive one, reminding us, in some respects, of the Spartan way of placing the dead *intra muros*.²⁶ This argument, however, is rather tentative and requires further research.

3. MORTUARY VARIABILITY AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Based on simple observation made by archaeologists in the field, it does not seem that any age- or gender-groups were excluded from being buried in graves. A closer look at the burials, however, reveals that variability may have lain elsewhere. In the 5th and 4th centuries inhumation was the only burial rite. Adults were interred mainly in poros-lined cist graves and less frequently in tile- and slab-covered graves and pithoi. Children were individually interred in pithoi and next to adults in cists and tile graves. Infants received rather special treatment:²⁷ they were buried in clay tubs marking a desire for their

666; Banaka-Dimaki 2005; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26 (1971) 78; 27 (1972) 202–3; 28 (1973) 121–5, 132–4; 29 (1973–74) 226; 49 (1994) 144; 50 (1995) 100 and Pariente & Touchais 1998, pl. XI and XII.

²² Residential remains have been unearthed in proximity to most intramural burials: Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 177–8.

²³ Goldstein 1980; Brown 1981.

²⁴ Tomlinson 1972, 180.

²⁵ See Vollgraff 1952, on a 3rd century BC inscription mentioning that the *archigetai* were buried at sacred spaces.

²⁶ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1–4. Another plausible indication of this unusual for the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world attitude to death may also have been the white-coloured *himatia* the Argives were dressed in during funerals instead of black ones as in most Greek cities (Davis 1914, 85, n.1).

²⁷ On the grave forms used in Classical and Hellenistic Argos, see Karouzou 1938; Bruneau 1970; Foley 1988; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2004; 2005; Kavvadias 2006. The large substratum of poor, undifferentiated pithos burials that R. Hagg (1983) first noted as lying alongside the richer cist graves in Argos after 750 BC, does not seem to survive in the

fragile bones to be preserved as well as their importance to the local society. The adoption of a single burial rite, inhumation, the extensive use of poros-lined cist graves and, as we shall see later on, the overall simplicity of Argive burials form a relatively homogeneous mortuary practice implying that the disposal of the dead was probably regulated in classical Argos; but records of such laws are lacking from Argos.²⁸ A law-based model of interpretation would oversimplify as it would have been structured on the egalitarian spirit propounded by the Classical literary sources, which often neglected local variations and minor deviations from the 'norm'. A wealthy monumental tomb, the only one known in Argos so far, which counters the overall homogeneity of Argos' mortuary record, may have been a public burial or even a burial of prominent individual/s.²⁹ However, it is hard to argue on current evidence, based only on burials, that there was some sort of aristocratic reaction to the democratic majority. Whatever the case may be, this burial monument marks the status of those buried, honouring and perpetuating their memory.

By the late 4th century BC, however, the picture altered dramatically. The concept of burying the dead in Argos was, gradually or abruptly, changed hand-in-hand with wider socio-political transformations, alterations in the funerary ritual and a remarkable return to the past and the ancestors.³⁰ The practice of cremation was introduced, alongside to inhumation, although cremation burials were in fact few.³¹ Although it is still unclear whether the preference of Argive society for inhumation was related to religious belief or ancestral customs, they were closely committed to it at all times. However, different concepts could be connected to burial rites in different periods.³² In

Classical and Hellenistic periods (see also Foley 1988, 47–51). Despite the fact that some inurned burials exist in both periods, these are very few.

²⁸ On funerary legislation in general: Sokolowski 1969; Gernet and Boulanger 1970, 137–38; Alexiou 1974, 15–20; Garland 1985; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 102–3, 114–26; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 2–11.

²⁹ Barakari-Gleni 1998, 527. The tomb has not been systematically studied.

³⁰ Many Mycenaean, Geometric and Archaic graves are re-used during the period (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 16 (1960) 93; 28 (1973) 121; 46 (1991) 95; 51 (1996) 88–90) while most Hellenistic burials occupied earlier burial grounds (Barakari-Gleni 1998, 521). Tomb cult may have also occurred in several Mycenaean (Alcock 1991, 463–465) and Archaic (Barakari-Gleni 1998, 517) tombs. Over a late Archaic warrior burial found at the Kanellopoulou plot a Π-shaped stone wall was built in the 3rd century BC while traces of fire and animal bones around the tomb argue for tomb cult (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 132–134). Aside from direct burial evidence inscriptions mentioning mythological founders are set up on crossroads and thus in public view (Psychogiou 2006).

³¹ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) 192–4; 53 (1998) 109–12, 122–3; 54 (1999) 137–9, 144–5; Banaka-Dimaki 2004.

³² Cremation in Argos was never representative of the local funerary rites cf. Hägg 1974; 1983; Foley 1988.

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the Hellenistic period it might have been related to people of 'foreign' origin who kept the burial customs of their homeland.³³

Adults were now disposed of primarily in tile graves, secondarily in cists and then in other rather perishable grave forms such as slab-covered pits, simple pits and various types of urn. Children were placed mainly in tile graves and urns though the total number of child burials is much lower than in the Classical period, implying that the custom of burial in cemeteries may have become age-restricted.³⁴ On the other hand, the fact that in the Hellenistic period certain, albeit few, children were awarded the right of burial (granted in rather 'simple' grave forms i.e. tile graves, urns and simple pits) suggests that those selected were fairly important.

In contrast to child burials, monumental tombs were systematically erected from this period onwards.³⁵ Their elaborate form may have served to enhance the social persona of their owners rather than simply being final resting places. Hence, they may have been the graves of prominent individuals who were buried along with other family members, as implied by the multiple burials found therein, as opposed to people of lower classes who were interred in tile graves, cists, pits and urns. The Hellenistic socio-political system favoured prominent individuals who wished to ascend politically, widening the gap between the poor and the rich. The latter could have presented their wealth, rank and power through burial monuments.

Special reference however should be made to the mortuary record of the 2nd century BC, since extremely lavish burials are found in every single grave form. It appears that social demarcation in death was achieved on the basis of wealth and conspicuous display regardless the grave type.³⁶ The confusing picture of the mortuary record of the 2nd century may be related to a series of events rather than just one. The incorporation of Argos into the Achaean Confederacy and the continuous plundering of the Argive countryside by the Spartans until 229 BC, the degradation of the aristocracy and the redistribution of wealth during the tyranny of Nabis (in ca. 198/7 BC), and the presence of the Romans in Argos already by 195 BC – these are events that deeply affected the Argive social structure causing further alterations to the burial ritual.³⁷ All the above circumstances, however, occurred within a relatively short period

³³ Macedonians were continuously present in Argos during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, often being married to Argives (Mitsos 1945, 104); cf. Toynbee 1971, on Roman cremation burials.

³⁴ e.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 19 (1964), 122–6; 26 (1971) 78; 28 (1973) 97–9, 117–9, 122–3; 29 (1973–74) 226; 35 (1980) 116; 46 (1991), 93–5; 49 (1994) 134, 138–9; 53 (1998) 109–12; 54 (1999) 137–9; Bruneau 1970, T.27; Banaka-Dimaki 2005, T.1.

³⁵ See above n. 15.

³⁶ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 122–3; 49 (1994) 134; Kavvadias 2006, T.9.

³⁷ Argos in the Achaean Confederacy: Plut. *Arat.* 35.1–5; 39.5; *Cleo.* 17.5; 18.1; 19.1; Polyb. 2.44.6; 52.2; 60.4–5; Paus. 2.8.6; Strabo C 385; Navis in Argos: Livy 32.38; 32.39.1; 34.32.4; *Syll.*³ 595³; Mitsos 1945, 91, 104, 106–110; Tomlinson 1972, 165–71, 186, 202; Romans in Argos: Livy 34.25.26; 38.30.5; 55.28.3; Polyb. 22.10.10; 30.10.4; Paus. 7.14.4; Boethius 1921–23, 423.

of time; therefore it is extremely difficult to identify, at this stage, which of them may have triggered the changes.

The relative uniformity of the Classical period was replaced in the Hellenistic by a more heterogeneous mortuary record, probably as the result of population growth that contributed to greater social divergence and consequently mortuary variability.³⁸ Control over funerary ritual was most probably assumed by individuals resulting in the enforcement of kin-groups and conspicuous display of wealth. The marking of graves by stelai is probably another indicator of this more individualised treatment of death.³⁹

4. THE PROSPEROUS DEAD: A CLOSER TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH

4.1 The Classical Period

Wealth, in its commonest sense, would normally be recognized through the quantity of jewellery and precious metals deposited in graves.⁴⁰ However, such offerings are largely absent from Argive burials. Some, though few, graves have produced coins that may be associated with the *obolos* offered to Charon as the fee for the transportation to the Underworld in both Classical and Hellenistic times; larger numbers of coins cannot be adequately explained.⁴¹ Even bronze ornaments such as pins, fibulae, mirrors and strigils are extremely rare in Classical burials. Burial offerings consist largely of pottery for everyday use, in particular drinking vessels.⁴² Terracotta figurines were increasingly deposited in graves by the late-5th century BC, while they appear to have been largely associated with female and especially child burials.⁴³ Interestingly, women and children shared the same grave more commonly than females and males or males and children respectively; this pattern may underline a symbolic link between child and female burials

³⁸ See above n. 13.

³⁹ Hellenistic stelai have been found at: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 23 (1968) 128–30; 36 (1981) 107–109; 50 (1995) 96–9; 54 (1999) 141–2.

⁴⁰ It is anticipated that more light will be shed on the distribution of wealth in Classical Argos when the recently found bronze tablets concerning the *polis*' economy and political life of roughly the 5th and 4th centuries BC, studied by Ch. Kritzas, are published (Papadimitriou 2004; Kritzas 2005).

⁴¹ E.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 109–11; 53 (1998) 121–2; on Charon's fee: *Ar. Ran.* 140, 270; cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211.

⁴² On Classical pottery offerings: Karouzou 1938; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998.

⁴³ They cannot be considered as amulets since these are attested in ancient Greek burials in other forms, cf. Kotansky 1994.

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reflecting their biological association in life. One should bear in mind, however, that gender- and age-related arguments have not been based on anthropological analyses (since these are absent from the Argive archaeological record), but rather on preliminary studies made in the field and comparative studies of burial contexts.

Although the modesty of the Classical Argive burials could be partly related to the continuous political changes the polis underwent in the 5th century BC,⁴⁴ or may reflect the Argives' engagement with more communal aspects of their life in an effort to reinforce their communal identity;⁴⁵ it is not a local phenomenon but rather an interregional one. According to some scholars, a fall in the quality of offerings deposited in the grave is detectable throughout Greece from the Classical period onwards, reaching its lowest ebb c. 400 BC.⁴⁶ It is unknown if the same chronological limits apply to Argive burials as well, but the overall picture looks the same. Further research is, however, needed to get a clearer view, as most Classical Argive burials are dated only relatively.

4.2 The Hellenistic Period

Gold, gild and silver ornaments were regularly placed in Hellenistic graves. Earrings, rings or simple sheets of gold serve as insignia of individual wealth. Rarely, more elaborate offerings such as wreaths and sceptres may also be indicative of the deceased's social status.⁴⁷ Other social indicators could be considered: increasing numbers of strigils and mirrors, reaching a 4:1 rate as compared to the preceding period.⁴⁸ Pottery offerings, on the other hand,

⁴⁴ Namely: 494 BC Battle of Sepeia (above n. 9); 468 BC destruction of Tiryns and Mycenae and unification of the Argive plain (Paus. 2.16.5; 2.25.8; 8.27.1; Strabo 8.6.10–11; Diod. Sic. 11.65; Kiechle 1960; Tomlinson 1972, 101–9); 418 BC Battle of Mantinea (Thuc. 5.66–74); 417 BC democracy was very shortly overthrown (Tomlinson 1972, 125); 392–386 BC Corinthian War (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6–7, 19; 4.5.1–2; 4.8.13, 15, 34; Diod. Sic. 14.92.1; Griffith 1950; Whitby 1984); 370 BC many prominent individuals slaughtered after their attempt to take control over the city (*skyrtalismos*, Aen. Tact. 11.7–10; Ephraim 1986).

⁴⁵ Such as public architecture: Paus. 2.19.3; Thuc. 5.47.11; SEG 31 315; 34 282.16; 41 284; Vollgraff 1956; Roux 1961; Tomlinson 1972, 200–221; Bommelaer and des Courtis 1994; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 46–56; Pariente *et al.* 1998; Piteros 1998; also cf. Waldstein 1902; 1905.

⁴⁶ Cf. Garland 1985, 37; Morris 1992, 145–149.

⁴⁷ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 49 (1994) 132–4; 53 (1998) 109–12; Kavvadias 2006, T.9; Anna Banaka-Dimaki *pers.comm* 2009.

⁴⁸ Mirrors in graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969) 110–11; 28 (1973) 117–9; Bruneau 1970, T. 58 and 59; Strigils in Hellenistic graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 16 (1960) 93; 26 (1971) 82; 27 (1972) 202–3; 28 (1973) 121–5; 50 (1995) 100; 53 (1998) 109–12, 121–2, 122–3; Bruneau 1970, T.3 and 82; Banaka-Dimaki 2005, T.1; Kavvadias 2006, T.9; in Classical graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 126–7; 49 (1994) 136–138; 54 (1999) 139–40; Sarri 1998, T.4.

although still retaining the lion's share among burial offerings, belong to a different repertoire, as they consist mainly of unguentaria, alabastra, lagynoi, lamps, lekythia, pyxides and krateriskoi.⁴⁹ It appears that the emphasis is largely placed on vessels for perfumed oil, such as unguentaria, suggesting a more elaborate ritual than in the previous period. Perfumed oils were most probably used for anointing the body, advertising the status of the dead while most importantly focussing on the dead body.⁵⁰ The dead in the Hellenistic period were more emphatically placed in the spotlight in contrast to Classical times. Rarer types of offerings such as lead pyxides, although of uncertain funerary significance, emphasise the individuality of death in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹

To sum up, I am not claiming that in the Classical period status distinctions were not symbolized in burials, but that the main organizing principle of a cemetery was kinship and identity. Nor am I suggesting that kin relations were insignificant in the Hellenistic period; instead, in Hellenistic burials status and wealth were displayed more markedly than kinship. Burials where dead were interred on the basis of descent would also occur; but the overall concept of placing and burying the dead in the Hellenistic period make them hard to identify; multiple burials in monumental tombs and burials within enclosure walls could belong to members of the same 'family' but these are relatively few. For the Classical period, in contrast, the evidence is clearer. Multiple burials, graves with one shared side and the spatial arrangement of graves into clusters imply more directly some sort of tie between the dead. All in all, the lack of osteological studies has certainly restricted the scope of my work. Nonetheless, what I am arguing for here is that the differing ritual landscapes in the Classical and Hellenistic periods reflected overall changing manifestations of social order. Ritual landscapes in Classical and Hellenistic Argos are as distinctive as their socio-political, economic and ideological structure. In the former the emphasis is most probably on the community, while in the latter it is on the individual. Hence, the wide dimensions of Argive individual status in the Classical and Hellenistic burials have been outlined and the contribution of mortuary evidence to its study has been underlined. It is indeed the systematic assessment of the known mortuary data that will enable us to form the basis for a better understanding of Argive burial ritual. As a consequence of this assessment, more questions could be addressed as part of a wider study of Argive burials that aims to reconstruct Argos' social structure. One can finally

⁴⁹ On Hellenistic pottery offerings: Bruneau 1970; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2004; 2005.

⁵⁰ Perfumed oils were also used to anoint funerary stelai (Humphreys 1980; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 84–90, 121–41, 218–46; Garland 1985, 107–8, 115–6; Johnston 1999, 41–2).

⁵¹ Banaka-Dimaki 2005; cf. Tiverios 1991.

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note that the archaeology of Classical and Hellenistic burials in Argos remains an area that requires attention and further study.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1 Distribution of Classical and Hellenistic burial clusters in Argos
(Original source of the map: *PARIENTE & TOUCHAIS* pl. XI and XII)

FIG. 2 A late Classical burial cluster NE of Argos. (Photo: Nikolaos Dimakis)