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.

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 θεσπήτων, 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 Μειλίχιου, έργο του Πολυκλείτου στο Άργος, και το λατρευτικό άγαλμα του Απόλλωνα στις Άμυκλες, καθώς και την λατρεία τους στο πλαίσιο τοπικών προοδευτικών. Κάποιες λατρείες όπως αυτή του Διός Μειλίχιου, 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.

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 από 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 δυνατό, ο πλούτος και τα χαρακτηριστικά της αναλογίας συγκρίνονται με εκείνα συγχρόνων ανδρικών ταφών ανάλογης κοινωνικής θέσης (status), σε μια προσπάθεια να διακρίνουν διαφορές ή/και ομοιότητες ανάμεσά 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) εκτεταμένο συμπέρασμα είναι ότι η χρήση μοτίβων αυτών θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν ως «κατάλληλα για γυναïκες» 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 επισκαίαζεται από την ΤΕ III ανακτορική περίοδο. Μια σχεδία από τα στοιχεία του χρόνου, αναφέροντας αντικείμενο/ταφικά τελετουργικά πόσευσες και τις κοινωνικές δομές πώς από αυτά. Αναλύοντας τον τύπο τους μετάλλευσης και κεραμικών αγγείων - επικεντρώντας 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.): την περίπτωση της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας

Η έρευνα που αφορά στη θέση και την κοινωνική οργάνωση των ιερών, ειδικότερα από τον 8ο αι. κ.ε., έχει μελετηθεί με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο θέμα των επικρατειών της πρώιμης δημιουργίας κρατών. Η οργάνωση των ιερών κατά τη διάρκεια της δημιουργίας του σπαρτατικού κράτους, αποτελεί μια ξεχωριστή περίπτωση στη Λακωνία καθώς φαίνεται να συνδέεται στενά με τον τρόπο θεραπείας των νεκρών. Το σπαρτατικό κράτος δημιουργήθηκε μέσω της καταλήψεως ή/και της ενσωμάτωσης διάφορων εδαφικών περιοχών. Ταυτόχρονα με αυτή τη διαδικασία, διαφορετικές κοινωνικές ομάδες κατέληξαν να συμπεριληφθούν (ή και επισήμως να αποκλειστούν από) στην Σπαρτατική πολιτική κοινότητα. Θα περιέλθει, λοιπόν, κατεστήσεις και αποκλεισμοί της επίσημης εκφράσης αυτών των σχέσεων στα τελετουργικά δρώμενα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, συγκεκριμένα αναθήματα όπως σκηνές πρόθεσης που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα σε προσφορές στο ιερό της Άρτεμιδος 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 επικρατείας κατά την πρώιμη περίοδο της δημιουργίας του σπαρτατικού κράτους (π. 800-600 π.Χ.), η παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί να διαφωτίσει το ρόλο που έπαιξε η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη
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 ζωής και την καθημερινή ζωή. Αυτή η παρουσίαση θα δείξει πώς αυτές οι αλλαγές μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μέσα από τον ταφικό περιεχόμενο, και πώς οι τιμές των νεκρών αλλάζουν από την Μεσολιθική στη Νεολιθική περίοδο, από τα παραδείγματα που έχουμε από την Πελοπόννησο. Αν και τα παραδείγματα που διαθέτουμε είναι λίγα, 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 Ephoria, 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.

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.

Nikifóros Vrettákos: «ας φεύγουμε 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 ποιεία του ποιητικού εγώ, όταν «υπερκαλύπτεται από τον θάνατο», έως την τελευταία που «φως βγάζει η ψυχή του». Η μετατροπή 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».

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 II A in rich Peleponnesian tombs (so called palatial jars) are prestige items connected with the early Mycenaean Peleponnesian 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 ΤΕ II περιόδου είναι αντικείμενα κύρους συνδεδεμένα με την ανωτέρα κοινωνική τάξη στην Πελοπόννησο της Πρώιμης Μυκηναϊκής Εποχής. Ο στόχος της ανακοίνωσης αυτής δεν είναι να απορρίψει την βασική ιδέα πίσω από αυτή τη 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.

Dimitrios Katsoulakos. The lament in southern ‘koile Lakedaimon’ and the turbulent history of Greece

The Moiroloï 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.

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

Vital data for research into the Moiroloï 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 Moiroloï, as a discrete artistic creation, must, for this reason, be accompanied by as much information as possible.

Georgiа 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.

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 παρέμεινε αδημοσίευτος έως σήμερα. Η θέση και οι 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, εξετάζουν τα
πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής που διενεργείται από τη Δ΄ ΕΠΚΑ στην περιοχή 'Δέλπριζα' Κρανιδίος συσχετίζεται με την περιορισμένη παρουσία νεκροταφείων στο αρχαιολογικό τοπίο της Αργολίδας. Δύο χιλιόμετρα νότια από το Φράγχθι και 2,5 χμ. ανατολικά του χωριού της Κοιλάδας, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της οποίας τοποθετείται και η αρχαία πόλη Μάση, ανιχνεύουμε μέσα από τις ταφικές πρακτικές την οικονομική επιφάνεια απλών ανθρώπων.

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' Κρανιδίος, συσχετίζεται με την περιορισμένη παρουσία νεκροταφείων στο αρχαιολογικό τοπίο της Αργολίδας. Δύο χιλιόμετρα νότια από το Φράγχθι και 2,5 χμ. ανατολικά του χωριού της Κοιλάδας, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της οποίας τοποθετείται και η αρχαία πόλη Μάση, ανιχνεύουμε μέσα από τις ταφικές πρακτικές την οικονομική επιφάνεια απλών ανθρώπων.

Anthrropomorphic stele from Levidi, Arcadia: a typological and interpretative study
The anthroopomorphic 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 Λεβίδιου αποτελεί ένα από τα πρωιμότερα, κολοσσικά έργα της αρκαδικής μεγάλης πλαστικής, χρονολογούμενη περί τα τέλη του 7ο - αρχές του 6ο αιώνα π.Χ. Το μέγεθος, η μορφή και ο μνημειώδης χαρακτήρας της οδηγούν στην ερμηνεία της ως επιτάφιαν μνημείον, ανιδρυμένο στο βόρειο ορχομένιο πεδίο, σε τύμβο ο οποίος πεθανόν ανήκε στον αρχαίο βασιλιά Αριστοκράτη, που τιμωρήθηκε με θάνατο λόγω των ανοσιοπραγμάτων του.

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 ενώτα 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 γυναικείες-κατόχους τους στο επέκεινα, αλλά και τα κοσμήματα στην κοινωνική τους διάσταση, όταν αυτά διατηρούσαν στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ως προϊόν ή για να ανατεθούν στα μεγάλα μέρη της εποχής, προβάλλοντας έστω 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 περίπου των 6000 τάφων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Ελλάδα και στάνταρ των 6000 τάφων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Πελοπόννησο παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες με αυτές της Ακαρνανίας, Αιτωλίας και Λοκρίδας. Βάσει των παραπάνω στοιχείων η σύγκριση των ταφικών στην Πελοπόννησο με άλλα σημαντικά καλλιτεχνικά κέντρα στην κυρίως Ελλάδα και τα νησιά, όταν αυτά διατηρούσαν στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ως προϊόν ή για να ανατεθούν στα μεγάλα μέρη της εποχής, προβάλλοντας έστω τον πολλαπλό χαρακτήρα αυτής της πανάρχαιας τέχνης που συνεχίζει να μας γοητεύει.

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
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 Παυσανίας
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 περίβλεπτα σημεία αποτελούσε σύνηθες φαινόμενο, ενώ συχαίρασαν θρησκευτικές τελευταίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην Περιηγησή του ο Παυσανίας περιγράφει, εκτός άλλων, τα ταφικά μνημεία που συναντά. Συγκεντρώνοντας τα στοιχεία για όλα τα ταφικά μνημεία που αναφέρει ο Παυσανίας στους νομούς Αρκαδίας, Ηλείας, Μεσσηνίας και Λακωνίας και εντοπίζοντας τους χώρους ταφικής λατρείας, σκοπός της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι η σύνδεσής τους με την ιστορία της κάθε περιοχής και η κατανόηση των λόγων εγκαθίδρυσης τους.

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 κεραμεική της Πρώιμης Ύστεροελλαδικής περιόδου, γνωστή ως «ηπειρωτική πολύχρωμη κεραμεική», η οποία εκπροσωπείται στους Κάθετους Λακκοειδείς Τάφους των Μυκηνών και είναι συχνά διακοσμημένη με εικονιστικά μοτίβα όπως πουλιά και γρύπες. Η κεραμεική έχει ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα και λειτουργία, επεξεργασμένη με ακρίβεια και τεχνολογικά προσεχείματα. Θέρει δε μα 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 κεραμεική αυτού του είδους 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 κεραμεική αυτού του είδους 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 κεραμεική αυτού του είδους 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.

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 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.

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 II A 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 τη 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 εδίου της οικουγενειακής ταφής και της ανάγκης διαρκούς πρόσβασης στον τάφο. Το είδος της πρόσβασης αυτής αρχίζει να διαμορφώνεται στους ΜΕ τύμβους, πέρασε από ένα στάδιο πειραματισμού και αποκρυσταλλώθηκε κατά την ΤΕ ΙΙΑ περίοδο. Προτείνεται ότι οι παρατηρούμενες αλλαγές στα ταφικά εδίμα δεν οφείλονται σε κοινωνικούς ανταγωνισμούς μεταξύ «ισχυρών ελίτ» αλλά αντανακλούν 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 επιτρέποταν 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 θεωρούσαν 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 Σπαρτιατικώς. Στην εισήγησή μας θα αναφερθούμε στην ανωνυμία του θανάτου στον τοκετό και τις γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών, όχι μόνο του θανάτου στη μάχη αλλά και του θανάτου 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 Μυγδαλίας (Πετρωτό) στην Αχαΐα

Οι θολωτοί τάφοι της Αχαίας στο λόφο Μυγδαλία, Καλλιθέα και Φαράι είναι κτισμένοι στην ΥΕ II και η κύρια χρήση τους τερματίζεται αιφνίδια στην ΥΕ IIIA. 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 οστεοθήκων και ως ακτέριστων τάφων δεν συνιστά πρέπουσα 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 arístos; 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, Euritios, 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; «καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἄνηρ γενόμενος ἀρίστος καὶ ἑτεροὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητῶν, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸν ἀξίων γενόμενον ἐπιθυμήν τὰ συνόματα, ἐπιθυμήν δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριμοσίων» (Ηροδ. 7.224). Σε αυτή την δυνατή και πολύ δραματική φράση, ο Ηρόδοτος εκφράζει την εκτίμησή του για τον Λεωνίδα, όταν μας εξιστορεί το θάνατό του, και για τους πολεμιστές που έχασαν τη ζωή τους μαζί του. Ο Λεωνίδας ήταν ἀρίστος. Σε μικρότερο βαθμό, οι υπόλοιποι ήταν ονομαστοί. Ο ίδιος ισχυρίζεται ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες σχετικά με αυτούς τους αξίους 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, ότι απλά τα ονόματά τους, αλλά και τα τελευταία κατορθώματα κάποιων, τις τελευταίες θετικές ή αρνητικές πράξεις ή ρήσεις των έξι εξ αυτών: των Διηνέκη, Αλφείου, Μάρωνος, Εὐριτοῦ, Αριστόδημου και Παντίτη. Από πού αντλήσε ο Ηρόδοτος τις πληροφορίες αυτές; Από επίσημο κατάλογο ή από προφανείς πηγές; Μήπως είδε τον επίσημο κατάλογο που αναγράφοταν στη στήλη και περιγράφεται από τον Παυσανία (3.14); Μπορούμε να στέψουμε σε συμπερασμάτα από την ίδια τη μορφή της δήλωσης του Ηρόδοτου;

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 προεδρούσα μεθοδική μορφή της αρχαίατης. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρούμε να εξετάσουμε τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο Σενέκας χειρίζεται το θάνατο του Αγαμέμνονα στην τραγωδία Agamemnon. Σύγκριση και παράλληλη ανάγνωση με αντίστοιχες περιγράφες 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 ακριβώς 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 επικεντρωθούμε σε τρεις θέσεις στο «Ηρώον» κοντά στον ποταμό Ευρώτα, και στα οικοδομικά τετράγωνα 98 και 101 της σύγχρονης πόλης στην Σπάρτη. Η λατρεία των νεκρών ως ηρώων μέσα στον οικισμό της Σπάρτης αντιπροσωπεύει μία τοπικοτατική μορφή σεβασμού με αδραματικές προσφορές όμοιες με αυτές προς τιμήν ηρώων όπως του Αγαμέμνονα και της Αλεξάνδρας-Κασσάνδρας στις Αμύκλες. 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 Monodendri; 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 Monodendri killing field where distant relatives kept their flocks; and fear of the junta in 1970 when I stopped at the neglected Monodendri 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 είχαν αποκορύφωση με τη βοήθεια ντοπίων δωσίλογων πάνω από εκατό αιχμαλώτων το 1943. Θυμάμαι να τους μεταφέρουν σε ανοικτά φορτηγά. Να διαδίδονται τα φρικτά νέα της εκτέλεσης 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. Θυμάμαι να μεταφέρουν τα αιματοβαμμένα κορμιά κάτω από το παράθυρό μου στην οδό Οσίου Νικώνας 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 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 χωριά 6.58 του Ηροδότου, Λακ. 15.9 του Ξενοφώντα και Άγης. 40.3 του Πλουτάρχου με αντίστοιχες επιβεβαιωμένες πρακτικές που παρατηρούνται σε σχέση με ταφές Αχαιμενιδών και ομηρικών βασιλέων ή μελών της βασιλικής οικογένειας. Θα υποστηρίχθηκε 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 τελευταίες αναγέννησης με αφετηρία μια παράσταση σε μυκηναϊκό κρατήρα
Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 αποκαλύφθηκε μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο στην Αγία Τριάδα του νομού Ηλείας, στη θέση «Παλιομπουκοβίνα». Στο δρόμο ενός από τους θαλαμωτούς τάφους βρέθηκε κεραμικό οστράκω και 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 μπορεί να 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 periopikic 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 periopoi, forcibly intervened to prevent the synoikism of Mantinea. Epigraphic parallels for the letter-forms will be offered.

IG. V.1 1124. O νεκρός των Γερονθρών στη Μαντίνεια
Η επιγραφή IG. V.1 1124 από τις Γερονθρώνες μιας πλημμοφορεί πως κάποιος έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή συνεχίστηκε 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 στράτος 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
Βασιζόμενη 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 ασβεστοκονίαματος σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα
Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείται 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 Αρχαία Ελλάδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα ανευρίσκονται επίσης στη Βουλιαία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζει τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προέρχονταν από την
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.

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

**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.

**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 Άργολίδας και της Κορινθίας κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού
Οι πιθανότητες των αρχαιολόγων να ανακαλύψουν τους νεκρούς σποιδεντότε κοινωνιών 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 Άργολίδας και της Κορινθίας της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού είναι ισχυρά. 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 αρχαιολόγων της πρώιμης και μέσης εποχής της αραβικής ιστοριογραφίας. Η αφήγηση των Αράβων αρχαιολόγων συγκρίνεται με αυτή του ελληνικού Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των υπολογισμών του στα συριακά, αιθιοπικά και αρμένικα. Η τελετή για τον Αλέξανδρο συγκρίνεται επίσης με αυτή για τον Δαρείο Γ' μια τελετή που αναφέρονται επίσης στην αραβική ιστοριογραφία, από 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 Sparti, 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 Spartis and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparti 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 Sparti; ‘The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulous Collection’ presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparti and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; ‘In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis’ art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparti; ‘Heroes of my Town’ competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparti. 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. Konstantintidi-Syvridi 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 ἱστορίη 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 moirology, 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 *moirology*, 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.

WGC
JR
CHAPTER 5

VESSELS AND THE BODY IN EARLY MYCENAEAN FUNERARY CONTEXTS

RACHEL S. FOX

The Shaft Graves at Mycenae have a capsule-type nature that is unique in Early Mycenaean mainland Greece, due to their defined spatial limits, short chronological span and, most importantly, their escape from later plundering. Hence, it is possible to perform a closer analysis of their contents than of any other contemporary dataset. In this paper, I concentrate upon the vessels found in the two Grave Circles, both metal and ceramic, and examine their forms and deposition in order to draw some conclusions regarding funerary practices and the importance that commensality held for those buried in the Shaft Graves. I use the catalogues by Mylonas¹ for Grave Circle B (GCB) and by Karo² for Grave Circle A (GCA), as these are still the most complete records of the grave-goods, and I employ only those vessels whose form can be reconstructed.

VEssel Categories

Neither Karo nor Mylonas divided the vessel grave-goods into different categories of form or use; therefore I have devised my own groupings. The vessels in both Grave Circles can be divided into six categories, based on their form and its associated purpose, which are as follows:

1) Drinking: this comprises all varieties of cups and is the most unambiguous group (Minyan cups, one-handled cups of various kinds, skyphoi, kantharoi and kantharoid cups, and Vapheio cups).

2) Pouring: this includes those vessels whose purpose was clearly that of decanting liquid from one container into another (jugs, ewers, hydriae).

3) Mixing: this is a small category which includes those vessels whose mouth was clearly wide enough to permit stirring of the contents (kraters, small krater-type vessels). Through analogy with later practices, we may surmise that this is a reasonable assumption to make regarding their purpose.

¹ Mylonas 1973.
² Karo 1930.
Transport/Storage: this is an amorphous category comprising vessels that would be suitable either for carrying provisions to the graveside for use in the funerary rites or for storage of the contents for the deceased’s benefit (stamnoi, pithoid stamnoi, amphoriskoi). The fact that certain examples, such as amphoriskoi, have wide mouths that are not easily stoppered up may suggest that long-term storage was not their primary use.

Storage: this small category of vessels was more clearly suitable for long-term storage purposes (amphorae). They are generally too large to be easily transportable.

Other: this includes all the vessels that do not fit into the above categories (askoi, alabastra, phialai, lekanai, rhyta). It should be noted that ritual purposes predominate in this group.

**Vessel Forms: Evidence Of Ritual Practices And Symbolic Value**

Although GCA is visibly richer than GCB, the same overall patterns of interred vessels can be seen in both Grave Circles. To commence by examining the metal vessels, in both datasets they are intimately associated with drinking rituals. In GCB, where they are fewer in number, they are almost exclusively represented by drinking and pouring forms (TABLE 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Drinking</th>
<th>Pouring</th>
<th>Mixing</th>
<th>Transport/Storage</th>
<th>Storage</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☛ceramic: metal:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>☛ceramic:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>☛ceramic: metal:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (1 alabastron, 1 askos, 2 phialai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☛ceramic: metal:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (lekane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☛ceramic:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (askos)</td>
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Vessels and the body

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Pouring</th>
<th>Mixing</th>
<th>Transport/Storage</th>
<th>Storage</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1: Vessel forms in GCB.**

Grave E has a krater, which can also be associated with drinking through the practice of mixing, and the two examples in the Other category are a phiale and a lekane, both of which can be linked with libation rites. While the exact purposes differ, all these vessels can be associated with a multi-stage drinking ritual, including the mixing, pouring and consumption presumably of wine alongside the offering of a certain portion to supernatural entities. In GCA the metal vessels are more spectacular as well as more numerous, but the same basic pattern can be seen (TABLE 2).
Drinking vessels feature in every one of the six graves, and pouring and mixing vessels were both found in four out of the six. The Other category is dominated by rhyta, again a vessel that could have been employed for libations. The only exceptions to this emphasis on drinking rites are two gold amphoriskoi which come into the Transport/Storage category, although it is highly likely that they fulfilled a pyxis-type purpose for the deceased’s use, rather than any practical carrying of supplies to the graveside. Therefore, the focus on the drinking elements of the funerary rites is very strong and the conclusion can be drawn that such rituals were highly significant to the people involved in the funeral. However, such importance can be interpreted in two non-exclusive ways: firstly, drinking rituals (including libations) may have been a central part of the actual funeral and burying process and therefore were given focus through conspicuously wealthy vessels when the deceased’s family could afford them. Secondly, drinking rituals and concurrent feasts may have been fundamental to the deceased during their lifetime, and therefore they were buried with these symbols of their ability to partake in such activities. Statement vessels can metonymically refer to the owner’s participation in feasting practices, an activity that was an effective expression of wealth and control of resources.

As for the ceramic vessels, in GCB there is a continued emphasis on drinking rituals, with all of the 21 grave assemblages containing at least one drinking vessel and 17 of them also including at least one pouring vessel (TABLE 1). There is also an apparent attempt to create a ‘drinking set’, with drinking vessels exceeding or equalling pouring ones in 15 out of the 17 graves to have examples of both categories. This is to be expected, given that several people could share the same jug or ewer, but were more likely to require an individual cup. The upholding of this ratio in almost every case suggests a genuine practice and not simply coincidence. As with the metal versions, mixing vessels did appear in ceramic form but remained fairly rare. From this one may surmise that the mixing element of drinking rites was known but not universal – in other words, that drinking activities were not wholly formalised and remained relatively flexible at this early period.

However, the ceramic vessels also have a much greater representation in the remaining categories, with over half the graves (12 out of 21) yielding examples of the Transport/Storage group. The majority of these were pithoid stamnoi, relatively small vessels between 30 and 50 cm high. They would have been easily transportable, due to their size, and their narrow necks would have made them easy to stopper in order to contain whatever contents they held. This does not rule out the possibility of them having been left with the deceased for provision in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Drinking</th>
<th>Pouring</th>
<th>Mixing</th>
<th>Transport/Storage</th>
<th>Storage</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI ceramic: metal:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (askos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: Vessel forms in GCA.**
afterlife, but such convenient features of their morphology suggests to me that they could well have held supplies for the funeral meal that were carried by certain mourners to the graveside. The occurrence of funerary feasts is well attested at the Shaft Graves themselves, as well as at contemporary tombs across the Greek mainland such as shaft graves I and II at Lerna. Animal bones were found in the fills of the GCA graves and associated with 10 graves in GCB also, and certain of these tombs in addition held oyster shells, pieces of charcoal and slabs that may have been used as tables. The vessels for consumption purposes that have already been noted fit into this scenario. Hence it would be a logical assumption that additional supplies, such as figs, olives or meal, may have been transported in these pithoid stamnoi to the graveside to provision the feast.

The ceramic vessels in GCA are much fewer, probably because the occupants were so well supplied with metal versions (TABLE 2). However, the examples that do exist differ little from those in GCB. Drinking and pouring vessels remained the most popular forms, with only a fractionally smaller number of mixing vessels (the seven kraters in grave I are exceptional). There was also a sizeable sub-group of Transport/Storage and Storage vessels, as was seen in GCB, and the same purposes can be proposed for these examples also.

Having examined ceramic and metal vessels separately, it is worth considering the graves where both types appear together in order to see how the two datasets interact. Did the two assemblages echo each other, or were they intended to fulfil different purposes? Only six graves from GCB had examples of both ceramic and metal vessels (A, Γ, Δ, E, I, N), and in every case, as is unsurprising in this poorer Grave Circle, the ceramic examples far outnumber the metal ones. The metal vessels therefore augment the assemblage that is already represented in ceramic form and do not form a separate group. In every single case, apart from the krater in grave E, the metal vessels have ceramic counterparts. The conclusion can hence be drawn that the metal vessels were not used for separate rites but were likely to have diacritically distinguished those using them from those who only had ceramic versions. This diacritical objective would remain the same whether it served to mark out the most honoured guests at the funeral itself, or the deceased at feasts during his lifetime. Secondly, the metal vessels do not feature at all in the Transport/Storage or Storage categories, as has been mentioned. This is not because metal storage vessels were never made, as graves I and III from GCA both have metal amphoriskoi, and I would suggest that such a trend is explicable by the mundane nature of their purposes here. If, as I proposed, they were employed to transport additional food for the funerary feast to the graveside, then when the tomb was reached their use would have been achieved and the focus on them would be removed. Although it is evident that food consumption formed part of the funerary rituals, it appears that the primary rite comprised drinking and liquid-based

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3 Lindblom 2008.
activities and this was therefore where deployment of ostentatious wealth was directed.

All the graves in GCA contained both metal and ceramic vessels, and the metal examples are considerably more numerous. However, again it may be observed that, excepting the two pyxis-type amphoriskoi, all the vessels in the Transport/Storage and Storage categories were ceramic. This continues to support my proposition that these vessels’ primary uses were for transportation of supplies for the funeral feast and for the deceased’s comfort in the afterlife, and that they did not play a major part in the focal moments of the funerary rites. Moreover, it should be noted that, with the exception of a ceramic rhyton in grave II, all the ritual vessels were metal (a pattern that is seen to some extent in GCB also). This makes sense if it is accepted that the metal vessels are those which received the greatest focus during the burial rites. As all the ritual vessels are intended for the performance of libations, they are again connected with the overall activity of drinking rites.

It can also be noted that, with the exception of the poorer grave II, all the tombs in GCA had a majority of vessels in one type of material and the other type merely extended the assemblage. Graves I and VI had a wide range of ceramic vessels, complemented by metal versions, and graves III, IV and V had all the principal vessels in metal, with ceramic ones where they were more appropriate. There was no equal balance between the two types of material when they appeared in the same grave. It is probable that the ideal was to have the full assemblage of drinking vessels in metal, so as to display one’s wealth most effectively; when the occupant of the grave was not rich enough to do so, the family reserved their metal vessels for statement pieces which would have been visible to all participants of the funeral. Sufficient wealth to do this was not within the grasp of anyone in GCB and few people in GCA, and those in graves III, IV and V who were closest to the ideal may thus have been conspicuously demonstrating their accrual of wealth and presumably their socio-political standing.

**Vessels, Sex And Age: The Use Of Feasting Practices**

For the remainder of this paper, I would like to take a broader perspective and concentrate upon the metal vessels in order to interpret the statements made by the visible deposition of such wealth. Both Kilian-Dirlmeier and Laffineur have attempted to perform statistical analyses of age, sex and grave-goods for the Grave Circles and, while it is difficult to associate items with particular bodies, I have found their work invaluable for my own study here. According to Kilian-Dirlmeier, only men in GCB were buried with metal vessels (TABLE 3).

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4 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986.
5 Laffineur 1989.
6 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, 181.
TABLE 3: Correlation of sex with metal vessels in the Shaft Graves.

Laffineur identified a possible female skeleton in grave E and also included four unsexed individuals in his study, but the general pattern remained that males were the predominant sex to be buried with metal vessels. In GCA, the trend is less clear, as several females had metal vessels as part of their grave-good assemblages, although this is undoubtedly due to the fact that in this slightly later period wealth appears to have been principally ascribed and these women were buried with exceptional amounts of wealth anyway. The association between males and metal vessels as statement feasting pieces is worth examining. I do not doubt that women could at times have partaken in feasts alongside men; if not, it would have been inappropriate for four women in GCA to have been buried with ostentatious consumption vessels. However, as an activity that was performed for the negotiation of socio-political status, it appears to have belonged to the male sphere.
In other words, while feasting in general could be performed by either sex, feasting as a specific means of displaying status and competing for social position was appropriate for men only. The practice was adopted as a method for attaining increased socio-political standing, highly useful in the fluid, competitive society of MHIII/LHI, and the metal vessels that were interred in the Shaft Graves were indicative of this particular use of feasting. They symbolised the ability of the man with whom they were interred to employ feasting to increase his own status and display his wealth to his rivals. It is notable that the graves containing metal vessels were often associated also with the deposition of exceptional wealth and of weapons. Again, while it is often difficult to distinguish which skeleton was accompanied with which grave-goods, Kilian-Dirlmeier’s study has not identified any interment with a metal vessel that had less than two weapons. Laffineur’s results differ slightly, but the general trend remains that there was an association between multiple grave-goods, metal vessels and weapons. If feasting as a method of negotiating status and authority is correctly construed as a specifically male activity, then this association of metal vessels and weapons is significant, as the weapons themselves were expressive of masculinity. Together they constructed an image of elite male identity that only the wealthiest could afford to subscribe to.

I have observed the creation of an elite ‘package’ around MHIII/LHI, composed of references to feasting, military skills, ability to travel or trade, and ostentatious wealth. This does not mean that those of lesser status were prevented from partaking in these activities, but rather that a conspicuously expressed combination of these factors served as a marker of elite identity. As I have just mentioned, the association between metal vessels and multiple weapons is one feature of this ‘package’. Likewise, the appearance in the Shaft Graves of motifs and objects that had been borrowed or imported from Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean introduces the element of trade. While the non-elite ate, fought and possibly travelled, all the various factors of the elite ‘package’ could visibly express high social status: feasting demonstrated ownership of and command of resources; martiality displayed the leisure time to learn military arts and the wealth to obtain weapons; trade expressed the mobilisation of a ship and crew, dependent upon wealth and authority, as well as access to what must have appeared a world of exotica. When any or all of these were combined together with conspicuous wealth, they marked out the individual as of elite status. At the beginning of the Early Mycenaean era, when the societal structure was fluid and authority was in part based on achievement, the display of this ‘package’ would have been of great assistance in the accrual of socio-political position. It is worth noting here that exactly the same combination of elements held the same currency in the Early Iron Age also, when the social structure reverted to instability and competition after the fall of the palaces.

In this context, although few of the skeletons from the Shaft Graves have been satisfactorily aged, an association can be seen between adulthood and the interment

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7 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, 185.
of metal vessels. Kilian-Dirlmeier and Laffineur both only studied GCB in this regard, but all the metal vessels there were buried with adults (TABLE 4).

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Body</strong></td>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@c</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@e</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@a</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@north/west</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@</td>
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<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@a</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@b</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**TABLE 4: Correlation of age with metal vessels in GCB.**

The majority were not able to be aged, but those that were range between early 20s and mid 40s. Two conclusions can be drawn from this small sample. Firstly, commensality was not related to maturity to the extent that one did not have to be of a senior age band in order to host feasting activities. Obviously life expectancy was shorter, so that one may have embarked on hosting feasts to negotiate status at a comparatively young age, but there does not appear to have been a distinction between the younger men and the more mature ones. This may well be due to the fact that feasting was a multi-layered activity that not only expressed the position and wealth that one had already gained, but was also a means of attaining status through the surpassing of rivals; thus it would be engaged in throughout one’s adult life. Secondly, commensality in this context was not regarded as appropriate for children. In GCB, metal vessels were not interred with sub-adults, and it has also been observed by Lewartowski in a wide study of non-elite graves of the same period that no child was buried with a krater, which due to its mixing purpose would be intimately associated with feasting as opposed to consumption *per se*. Again, this appears to be related to the aims of feasting as a method of negotiating and displaying social status, which would not be appropriate for a child. The

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8 It should be noted here (and in TABLE 4) that both authors employ the very exact ages presented by Angel in his 1973 analysis of the osteological data. It is commonly recognised now that these are far too precise; hence these figures should be taken as estimates rather than definite facts.
9 Lewartowski 2000, 59.
acquisition of authority was part of the adult sphere. As I mentioned with regard to women, this does not mean that children could never partake in feasts, but rather that commensality as a means of competing for and expressing social position was an adult, male activity.

To conclude, I hope that this survey has shown how informative vessels can be when interred alongside a body, and how they can illuminate the feasting practices and social beliefs of the Early Mycenaean period. This era is still poorly studied in comparison with the succeeding palatial period, and activities such as feasting are rarely discussed. Although the Shaft Graves do have an invaluable capsule-type nature, which means that studies such as this can be performed on their assemblages, similar patterns can be seen across the whole Peloponnese. Other Early Mycenaean graves are equipped with ostentatious metal vessels, such as the Dendra and Kokla tholos tombs or Tholos V at Pylos, and at these sites also the vessels appear to act as status markers for the deceased. The practice of commensality around the graveside is also attested across the entire peninsula, often with a strong focus on drinking rituals, such as at shaft graves I and II at Lerna where there is an emphasis on drinking and pouring shapes in the massive ceramic assemblage. Although the Mycenae Grave Circles are particularly rich examples, they express an ideology that gradually spread across the Greek mainland in the early LH period, which blended commensality and funerary rituals as a powerful arena for the negotiation and display of status.
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