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.

O «Άρχοντας του Βαφειού»: η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού και η σημασία της για την Λακωνία κατά την ΥΕΙΙ-ΙΙΙΑ περίοδο

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει την κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού στον κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο του θολωτού τάφου του Βαφειού, επί τη βάση των ταφικών κτερισμάτων τα οποία συνόδευαν και του συμβολισμού της αρχιτεκτονικής του τάφου. Αν και μεταγενέστερη της ταφής, η οποία θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί στην ΥΕ ΙΙΒ περίοδο, η παραπάνω εικόνα είναι ιδανική για τη μελέτη των κοινωνικοπολιτικών εξελίξεων στην Ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα κατά την Υστεροελλαδική ΙΙ περίοδο, οι οποίες υποδεικνύονται από την ξεχωριστή ταφή και αρχιτεκτονική του Βαφειού, ενός από τους πρωιμότερους μνημειώδεις θολωτούς τάφους. Επιπλέον, συνδυάζοντας τα στοιχεία από το Βαφείο με το ανάκτορο Κατσαλία στην ΥΕ ΙΙ-ΙΙΙ περίοδο, οδηγούμεθα στο συμπέρασμα πως η Λακωνία πρέπει να ήταν στο προσκήνιο - εάν δεν κατείχε ηγετικό όψιν - των εξελίξεων γύρω από τη Μυκηναϊκή κατοχή της Κνωσού και λίγο αργότερα.

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

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

Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία

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

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.

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

Δόγμα έλλειψης στοιχείων, η Πρώιμη Μυκηναϊκή περίοδος συχνά επισκαίεται από την TE III ανακτορική περίοδο. Ωστόσο, παρά τα στοιχεία ότι είναι εξαφανίστηκαν συχνά ενδεχομένως μπορεί να είναι ιδιαίτερα κατατοπιστικά σχετικά με την τελετουργική συμπεριφορά και το κοινωνικό πλέγμα. Θα επικεντρωθούμε σε ένα σύνολο στοιχείων - αγγεία τοποθετημένα στα ταφικά σύνολα - προκειμένου να διερευνήσουμε τα νεκρόδειπνα/ ταφικά τελετουργικά πόσεως και τις κοινωνικές δομές πίσω από αυτά. Αναλύοντας τους τύπους των μετάλλινων και κεραμικών αγγείων - επιστημονικά στοιχεία Ταφικού Κύκλου των Μυκηνών - και τη σχέση τους με το ανθρώπινο σώμα, θα εξαχθούμε συμπεράσματα σχετικά με τις τελετουργικές δυσαρεστήσεις δίπλα στο ταφικό μνημείο, το ρόλο του συμποσίου και την κοινωνικο-πολιτική ρευστότητα κατά την περίοδο αυτή.

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

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

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

Η έρευνα που αφορά στη θέση και την κοινωνική οργάνωση των ιερών, ειδικότερα από τον 8ο αι. κ.ε., έχει μελετηθεί με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο ρω ενώ οι επικρατείς της πρώιμης δημιουργίας κρατών. Η οργάνωση των ιερών κατά τη διάρκεια της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους, αποτελεί μια έννοια περίπτωση στη Λακωνία καθώς φαίνεται να συνδέεται στενά με τον τρόπο θεραπείας των νεκρών. Το σπαρτιατικό κράτος δημιουργήθηκε μέσω της κατάληψης της επικράτειας της έννοιας διαφόρων εδαφικών χωριών. Ταυτόχρονα με αυτή τη διαδικασία, διαφορετικές κοινωνικές ομάδες κατέληξαν να συμπεριληφθούν (ή και να αποκλειστούν από) στη συγκεκριμένη περιοδό οι κοινωνικές ομάδες. Εκτός αυτής η επίσημη έκφραση αυτών των σχέσεων στα τελετουργικά δρώμενα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, συγκεκριμένα αναθήματα όπως σκηνές πρόθεσης που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα σε προσφορές στο ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας αποκτούν συγκεκριμένο νόημα. Έτσι, μέσω της εξέτασης των στοιχείων για την απεικόνιση διαφορετικών υπο-ομάδων αναθημάτων από το αρχαιολογικό υλικό ιερών εντός της Λακωνικής επικράτειας κατά την πρώιμη περίοδο της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους (π. 800-600 π.Χ.), η έρευνα ανακοίνωσε επιχείρησε να διαφωτίσει το ρόλο του επανειλήμενη θεραπεία των νεκρών στη
διαμόρφωση κοινωνικής συνοχής εντός της Λακωνίας κατά τη διάρκεια μιας καθοριστικής για κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές περιόδου, με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά: α) στην εξέλιξη των τελετουργικών πρακτικών αυτή την περιόδο, και β) στις διαφορετικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονταν: τι επέλεγαν να θυμόνται/τιμούν, τι επέλεγαν (ή ήταν υποχρεωμένες) να ξεχνούν, και ποιοι επέβαλαν το κυρίαρχο πλαίσιο που όφειλαν να ακολουθούν;

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

Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη
Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζονται ορισμένα αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα ταφικών στηλών που βρέθηκαν στην επικράτεια της ομοσπονδιακής πρωτεύουσας της αρχαίας Αρκαδίας. Πρόκειται για μικρή αλλά χαρακτηριστική σειρά επιτύμβιων στηλών, κυρίως της ελληνιστικής και ρωμαϊκής εποχής, που φυλάσσονται στην Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή της Μεγαλόπολης. Σχολιάζονται και απεικονίζονται, ορισμένα για πρώτη φορά, χαρακτηριστικά ταφικά μνημεία που μαρτυρούν όχι μόνο την ιδιαίτερη φροντίδα να σημανθεί ο τάφος του νεκρού αλλά και να διασωθεί το όνομά του, ώστε η μνήμη του να διατηρηθεί ζωντανή. Οι ενεπίγραφες στήλες παρέχουν σημαντικά πολιτισμικά και δημογραφικά στοιχεία. Εμπλουτίζουν την προσωπογραφία της Μεγαλόπολης, καθώς μας πληροφορούν για τα ονόματα των κατοίκων της και για τις οικογενειακές ή φιλικές τους σχέσεις. Στα μνημεία αυτά έχουν γραφεί και αποφθέγματα που αντανακλούν τις ιδιαίτερες διατάξεις της εποχής, σημαντοδοτώντας τη μετάβαση του νεκρού στον άλλο κόσμο και τον εξοντωτικό υποεθησίμα. Στη μελέτη συγκεντρώνονται όχι μόνο τα επιγραφικά αλλά και τα διαθέσιμα αναπαραστάτικα δεδομένα. Πρόκειται για ταφικό διάφορων τύπων που έχουν διαπέρασει τις γενικές κανόνες. Οι μνημεία αυτά ενδείκνυαν την καλή προσωπογραφική της Μεγαλόπολης, καθώς και την καλή διατήρηση τους μετά βαθρών της. Μερικά από αυτά έχουν μάλιστα μια σημαντική επιγραφική επιφύλαξη.

8 Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19th – early 20th century)
Many funerary monuments in the cemeteries of Greek cities and towns, including those in Laconia, bear the stamp of Classicism, an important school of art in Western Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries, which greatly influenced Greek art and architecture in the 19th century. The identification and recording of those monuments helps their preservation through the ages, since they are constantly at risk of being damaged. The types of monument and their decoration as well as their inscriptions and epigrams are also recorded. The main
target of such efforts is focused on an awareness of the historical and aesthetic value of these monuments.

Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας

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

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.

O 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.

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

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

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

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

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.

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

Διακόσια μέτρα δυτικότερα των περιφραγμένων τάφων στις δυτικές υπώρειες του Τειχίου, στο Ελληνικό της βόρειας Κυνουρίας, καταδεικνύει και τη σπουδαιότητα της θέσης αυτής της Θυρεάτιδος.

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

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

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

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

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

Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας 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 πορεία του ποιητικού εγώ, όταν «υπερκαλύπτεται από τον θάνατο», έως την τελευταία που «φως βγάζει η ψυχή του». Η μεταστροφή αυτή αρχίζει να συντελείται κατά το Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, έως τον τελευταίο που ο θάνατος μπορεί να «δολοφονεί το Θεό», αλλά και να «φωτίζει τον παγκόσμιο πόνο».

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

It is generally accepted that the monumental and very finely painted jars found mainly during LH II A in rich Peloponnesian tombs (so called palatial jars) are prestige items connected with the early Mycenaean Peloponnesian elite. The aim of this paper is not to
refute the basic idea behind such a general identification but to enlarge upon it. It is argued that the use of ‘palatial jars’ in mortuary ceremonies has a certain religious connotation also, since several syntactic and iconographic elements on these vases point to their ritual use and symbolism.

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

Είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι οι μνημειώδεις και περικαλείς αμφορείς - οι λεγόμενοι «ανακτορικοί αμφορείς» - που έχουν βρεθεί σε πλούσιους πελοποννησιακούς τάφους της ΤΕ Περιόδου είναι αντικείμενα κύρους συνδεδεμένα με την αιώνια 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.

14 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.

Το μοιρολόι της νόστιμα ‘κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος’ και οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της χώρας

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

15 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.

Η σχέση της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

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

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

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

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

**Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο**

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

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

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

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

Τα καλοκαίρια του 1952 και του 1953 κατά την ανασκαφή του ταφικού Κύκλου Β, ο Ιωάννης Παπαδημητρίου εντόπισε και ανέσκαψε έναν πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό θαλαμωτό τάφο, που παρέμεινε αδημοσίευτος ώς σήμερα. Η θέση και οι ευρήματα του τάφου διαφοροποίησαν 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, εξετάζοντας τα
στοιχεία της ηρωολατρείας, όπως ερμηνεύσε ο ανασκαφέας τα πλούσια κατάλοιπα της ύστερης Γεωμετρικής περιόδου μέσα και πάνω από το θάλαμο. Σχολιάζεται επίσης η εγκύκλιος των σημαντικών ταφικών μνημείων (Κύκλος Β, θολωτός Κλυταιμνήστρας, θαλαμωτός τάφος) με το ελληνιστικό θέατρο της πόλης, όπου αναφέρονταν τα πάθη των Ατρειδών. Τέλος, αποτείται φόρος τιμής στον ανασκαφέα, τα ημερολόγια του οποίου αποκαλύπτουν τις σκέψεις ενός μεγάλου αρχαιολόγου και τις ανησυχίες ενός καθημερινού ανθρώπου.

18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi

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

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

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

Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου

Η αποκάλυψη τμήματος ενός οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου μιας αγροτικής κοινότητας των ύστερων κλασικών-ελληνιστικών χρόνων, στο πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής που διενεργείται από τη Δ’ ΕΠΚΑ στην περιοχή 'Δέλπριζα' Κρανιδίου, συνεχίζεται με την περιορισμένη παρουσία νεκροταφείων στο αρχαιολογικό τοπίο της Αργολίδας. Δύο χιλιόμετρα νότια από το Φράγχθι και 2,5 χλμ. 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.

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

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

Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

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

20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnesse

Jewellery in the Peloponnesse is characterized by various categories, ranging from sumptuous earrings to carefully crafted pins, fibulae and bracelets. These specimens, recovered either from a funerary or a sanctuary/votive context, reveal the local workshops' artistic connections with other important artistic centres of the time on the Greek mainland and the islands, as
well as the impact of earlier traditions. The Peloponnese provides us with a very interesting research field, as these finds prove that the restrictions imposed by the Spartan regime evidently did not apply to all regions, nor to all circumstances in the life of Peloponnesian women – and therefore speak of the multi-levelled character of this centuries-old and ever appealing craft.

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

21 Jean-Marc Luce. Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnesse 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Οι πρόγονοι και οι ήρωες κατείχαν ιδιαίτερη θέση στη μνήμη και την καρδιά των ανθρώπων. Η εγκαθίδρυση ταφικών μνημείων για εξέχουσες προσωπικότητες σε περίβλεπτα σημεία αποτελούσε σύννεφα φαινόμενα, ενώ συχνά αφιερώνονταν θρησκευτικές τελευταίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην Περιήγησή 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 σύνδεσή τους με την ιστορία της καθέ περιοχής και η κατανόηση των λόγων εγκαθίδρυσής τους.

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

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

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς με πολύχρωμα αγγεία: η περίπτωση της ηπειρωτικής πολύχρωμης κεραμικής στα ταφικά σύνολα της Πελοποννήσου (ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση)
Το θέμα μου είναι η λεπτή 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 προσιτή. Φέρει δε μια συγκεκριμένη αισθητική αξία. Αυτό το υλικό προσφέρει την κατάλληλη βάση για την εφαρμογή των θεωρητικών μοντέλων που αναπτύσσονται και δοκιμάζονται σε μελέτες υλικού πολιτισμού (π.χ. αισθητική, βιογραφίες αντικειμένων). Μεθοδολογικά ζητήματα θα ληφθούν επίσης υπ’ όψη. Η κεραμεική αυτού του είδους που διαθέτει τέτοιες ποιοτικές και εγγενείς ιδιότητες, γίνεται η υλική εκδήλωση εννοιών που αναπτύσσονται και εκφράζονται από την «κοινότητα των νεκρών» σε ένα συγκεκριμένο χωροχρονικό πλαίσιο.

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

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

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

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

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

This paper examines the formation and the possible symbolic meaning of the dromos-stomion-chamber layout in Mycenaean tombs. This distinctive arrangement was the outcome of a gradual restructuring of the funerary space associated with the adoption of multiple burial and the need for a permanent access to the tomb. The form of access originated in the tumulus tradition, went through an experimental stage and crystallized in the dromoi of LH 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 είδους της οικογενειακής ταφής και της ανάγκης διαρκούς πρόσβασης στον τάφο. Το είδος της προσέβασης 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 είδη 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 επιτρέπονταν να αναγράφονται πάνω στους τάφους τα ονόματα των νεκρών, εκτός εάν επρόκειτο για άνδρες που έπεσαν στον πόλεμο και γυναίκες που πέθαναν στον τοκετό. Οι σύγχρονοι ιστορικοί έχουν θεωρήσει ότι μόνο το γεγονός του θανάτου στον τοκετό θα μπορούσε να δώσει σε μια Σπαρτιάτισσα το δικαίωμα να ξεφύγει από την ανωνυμία. Η Σπάρτη θεωρούνταν η πόλη που είχε επιφύσημη την αθανασία του ‘καλού θανάτου’ για τον πολίτη που έπεσε στην πρώτη γραμμή, του θανάτου που εξυμνεί ο Τυρταίος. Βέβαια, η γυνακεία εικονιά του ‘καλού θανάτου’ δεν περιέλαβε καθόλου έξω από τα σύνορα της Λακεδαίμονος. Έτσι, η υπερεκτίμηση του θανάτου κατά τον τοκετό πρέπει να εξηγηθεί με όρους καθαρά Σπαρτιατικούς. Στην εισήγησή μας ως θα αναφερθούμε διεξοδικά στις τιμές που απέδιδαν οι Σπαρτιάτες στους νεκρούς της μάχης και παράλληλα θα εξετάσουμε ποιες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. Άραγε ήταν ισοδύναμος ο θάνατος στη μάχη και o θάνατος στον τοκετό;

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

The tholos tombs in Achaean, at the Mygdalia hill, Kallithea and Pharai were built in LH II and their main use came to an abrupt end in LH IIIA. This applies to most of the tholos tombs excavated at the non-palatial centres on the Greek mainland. The plundering of the interior of the tholos is usually violent, maybe deliberate, and their later use as ossuaries and for unfurnished burials does not constitute a proper reuse. The destruction of early Mycenaean settlements at the same period adds to the picture of the disturbances at the transition to the Mycenaean palatial period.
Ατιμάζοντας τους νεκρούς. Η λεηλασία των θολωτών τάφων στην Πρώιμη Ανακτορική περίοδο και η περίπτωση του θολωτού τάφου στο λόφο της Μυγδαλιάς (Πετρωτό) στην Αχαΐα

Οι θολωτοί τάφοι της Αχαΐας στο λόφο Μυγδαλιά, Καλλιθέα και Φαραί είναι κτισμένοι στην ΥΕ ΙΙ και η κύρια χρήση τους τερματίζεται αιφνίδια στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ. Αυτό ισχύει για τους περισσότερους θολωτούς τάφους που ανασκάφηκαν σε μη ανακτορικά κέντρα στην Πελοπόννησο. Η λεηλασία του εσωτερικού του τάφου είναι συνήθως βίαια και η μετέπειτα χρήση τους ως οστεοθηκών και ως ακτέριστων τάφων δεν συνιστά 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 aristos; to a lesser degree, the others were onomastoi. He claims to have gathered information about these axioi men, about all the Three Hundred. The emphasis here covers a logical contraction of his thought: he declares that he has gained information; however this information apparently concerns only their names and even all the names, not their deeds. Herodotus perhaps knows all these warriors’ names, but evidently he does not quote them all. On the other hand, he evidently knows something else, not simply their names but also the last exploits of some of them, the positive or negative last deeds or sayings of six of them: Dienekes, Alpheios, Maron, 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 ἄριστος καὶ ἔτεροι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὄνομαστοι Σπαρτιητῶν, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἄνδρων ἀξίων γενόμενοι ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ οὖνόματα, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριμποσίων» (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 άριστος. 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 εμφασισμένη εννοιολογία περίδραμα τη στήλη του Ηρόδοτου. Δηλώνει ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες, ωστόσο αυτές φαίνεται να αφορούν μόνο τα ονόματα τους, ακόμη και όλα τα ονόματα, όχι όμως και τα ανδραγαθήματα τους. Ο Ηρόδοτος ίσως γνωρίζει τα ονόματα όλων των πολεμιστών, αλλά δεν τα παραθέτει όλα. Αντιθέτως γνωρίζει, προφανώς, ότι απλά τα ονόματα τους, αλλά και τα τελευταία κατορθώματα κάποιων, τις τελευταίες θετικές ή αρνητικές πράξεις ή ρήσεις των έξι εξ αυτών: τον Δημήνη, Αλφειού, Μάρονος, Ευρίτου, Αριστόδημου και Παντίτη, Από πού άντλησε 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 στήσουμε σε συμπεράσματα από την ίδια τη μορφή της δήλωσής του Ηρόδοτος;

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.

O 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 μυθική μορφή της αρχαιότητας. 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 περιγραφές όπως αυτές αντλούνται από την προγενέστερη λογοτεχνική παράδοση (ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή) μας επιτρέπει να εντοπίσουμε ομοιότητες και διαφορές γύρω από την περιγραφή του θανάτου του ήρωα, και έτσι να κρίνουμε πιο 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 μεταθανάτια 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 της Σπάρτης. Η λατρεία των νεκρών ως ηρώων μέσα στον οικισμό της Σπάρτης αντανοκοστεύει μια τοπικοτοπική μορφή σεβασμού με αφερερματικές 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 Monodentri; seeing the blood-splattered bodies passing underneath my window on Hosios Nikon Street on their way to the cemetery; their burial directly across from my grandmother’s grave. I remember Sparta gripped by fear, when I spent a week during the summer of 1946 next to the Monodentri killing field where distant relatives kept their flocks; and fear of the junta in 1970 when I stopped at the neglected Monodentri monument to leave some flowers.
Οι αναμνήσεις ενός παιδιού που έζησε την ωμότητα των Ναζί κατά των ‘118 Σπαρτιατών’ το φθινόπωρο του 1943

Θυμάμαι τους Γερμανούς να βομβαρδίζουν τους Βρετανούς ενώ οπισθοχωρούσαν το 1941 και μετά να εισέρχονται στη Σπάρτη από τον κεντρικό δρόμο Τρίπολης-Σπάρτης, μόλις δύο τετράγωνα από το σπίτι μου. Η ντροπή της Κατοχής, η πείνα και οι στερήσεις είχαν πέσει στο αποκορύφωμα μου. Θυμάμαι τους να μεταφέρουν σε ανυπόκεντρη φορτηγή. Να διαδίδονταν τα φρικτά νέα της εκτελέσεως 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. Θυμάμαι να τους μεταφέρουν σε ανοικτά φορτηγά. Να διαδίδονταν τα φρικτά νέα της εκτελέσεως 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. 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 σπαρτιατική 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 υποστηριχθεί ότι: 1) η ανακήρυξη και επιβολή θρήνου για όλους τους υπηκόους του βασιλιά και η μεταφορά του σώματός του στην πατρική γη για ταφή ήταν σπαρτιατικές, περσικές και ομηρικές πρακτικές, και 2) οι Πέρσες είναι ανάμεσα στους ανώνυμους βαρβάρους της Ασίας που αναφέρει ο Ηρόδοτος ότι μοιράζονταν - μαζί με τους Σπαρτιάτες - το εθίμο του υποχρεωτικού θρήνου.

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

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

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

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

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.

Nicholas Sekunda. IG V.1 1124. The dead of Geronthrai fallen at Mantinea
IG V.1 1124 from Geronthrai informs us that one Eualkes fell in the war at Mantinea. Since its first publication this inscription has been associated with the first battle of Mantinea in 418.
This causes problems as the perioikic contingents had not yet been incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army as a whole, and were absent from the battle. In this paper I shall propose that the inscription should be down-dated to 385, when the Lakedaimonian army, now incorporating the perioikoi, forcibly intervened to prevent the synoikism of Mantineia. 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 Γερονθρών μας πληροφορεί πως κάποιος Ευάλκης έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή συνχρονίσθηκε με την πρώτη μάχη της Μαντίνειας το 418. Ο συσχετισμός αυτός είναι προβληματικός καθώς τα στρατιωτικά τμήματα των περιοίκων δεν είχαν ακόμη εξ ολοκλήρου ενσωματωθεί στο στρατό των Λακεδαιμονίων, και απουσίαζαν από τη μάχη. Σε αυτή την ανακοίνωση εισηγούμαι πως η επιγραφή πρέπει να χρονολογηθεί στο 385 όταν ο στρατός των Λακεδαιμονίων, την εποχή που ενέταξε τους περιοίκους, παρενέβη δυναμικά με σκοπό να εμποδίσει τον συνοικισμό της Μαντίνειας. Θα παρατεθούν επιγραφικά παράλληλα για τη μορφή των γραμμάτων.

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

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

Παρατηρήσεις για τη χρήση ασβεστοκονιάματος σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα
Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείτο αρχικά σε τάφους για την αδιαβροχοποίηση κατασκευών κυρίως από πωρόλιθους, όπως διαπιστώνεται στους θολωτούς τάφους της μεσαίας ομάδας κατά Wace στις Μυκήνες Εν τούτοις, φαίνεται ότι παράλληλα εξαπλώθηκε και την αισθητική εικόνα τους. Η ταφική διακόσμηση οπωσδήποτε περιορισμένη, εντοπίζεται κυρίως στην Αργολίδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα ανευρίσκονται επίσης στη Βοιωτία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζει τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προερχόταν από την
The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age

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

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

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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 της τελετής της ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου καθώς και της αναφοράς του παραλλαγούν στους γενικούς ιστορικούς της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου της αραβικής ιστοριογραφίας. Η αφήγηση των Αράβων ιστορικών συγκρίνεται με αυτή του Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των μεταφράσεων του στα συριακά, αιθιοπικά και αρμένικα. Η τελετή για τον Αλέξανδρο συγκρίνεται επίσης με αυτή για τον Δαρείο Γ΄—μια τελετή που αναφέρεται ότι 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 Tantoulos 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 moiroloyia*, the extemporised Maniot laments of S Greece, are a classic archetype of the dirge. Seremetakis sets the scene for this section, with *Antiphony, Ritual and the Construction of Truth* examining the presentation of the individual and the setting of the lament within the overall structure of the ritual. Katsoulakos, father and son, then make their portrayal all the more vivid thanks to their unrivalled archive of examples of *moiroloyia*, picking out, in particular, the historical and political context, on the one hand, and the kin relationship between deceased and singer on the other. Psychogiou takes the remarkable find of vase scenes depicting lamentation of the dead which have recently been recovered from Mycenaean tombs in Elis, to bridge the gap between remote past and present by confronting the similarities in the representation of ritual in past and present. The laying out of the corpse (prothesis) is treated by Fragkopoulou in the unexpected context of votives at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries. These popular themes are confronted with poetry of a more consciously literary conceit: Roy sketches poems by the Hellenistic poetess Anyte of Tegea including not only funerary epigrams for young maidens but extending also to the commemoration of animals. Kakourou-Chroni turns to the modern poet Nikiforos Vrettakos, tracing the development of his reflections on death from an early phase where he is ‘immersed in death’ to his late poetry transformed by his experiences of World War II where ‘death murders God’ but also ‘shines on the suffering world’.

The papers contemplating *Memorials, Monumentality and Memory* range from the prehistoric through historic periods to modern monuments. Marabea revisits the great tholos tomb at Kambos, close to the Laconian-Messenian border, a newly monumentalised tomb type of the early Mycenaean period. Papadimitriou considers a similar early part of the Mycenaean period, but with an emphasis on the symbolism of entrances in the passage from life to death. Sgouritsa also follows up the symbolism of the entrance and threshold rituals expressed materialy 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 Delpirza, 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
Leonidas and the Three Hundred were still in Imperial times the perfect embodiment of the Spartan virtues of courage and honour, just as Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, remained above all the victor of Plataia. During the reign of Trajan, an athletic contest dedicated to the memory of Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred makes an appearance in our documentation. My purpose in this paper is to study afresh the evidence relating to these contests, essentially known from Pausanias the Periegete and various inscriptions, and to place it in the broader context of the Spartan renaissance of the second century AD.

The Contest at the Tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas

Leaving the agora to the west and passing the cenotaph of Brasidas, the reader of Pausanias the Periegete, thanks to the way the space is reconfigured in the description, reaches the theatre of Sparta, which at present constitutes one of the few fixed points in the topography of the city (FIG. 1).


1 This study is a part of my current research project on the society of Roman Sparta, funded by a grant of the Gerda Henkel Foundation at the University of Freiburg, Germany.

2 Even though the role of Leonidas, the Three Hundred or Pausanias had been minimized by Aristeides in his Panathenaikos (Tigerstedt 1974, 179–181). In this respect, his position functions as a good counterproof.

3 For an overview of Pausanias’ method of description, see Gengler 2009.

4 Besides the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. The whole topography of Sparta has been recently discussed, with previous bibliography, by Kourinou 2000.
“Opposite the theatre” says the Periegete “is a monument (μνῆμα) for Pausanias, who commanded at Plataia. The other is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is also a slab with the names, and their fathers’ names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians.”

Even though we know where the theatre was, it is not possible to determine the exact location of the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas. At least we can assume that the tomb of the latter was not in the small temple usually called the Leonidaion, which is

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5 Paus. 3.14.1, in the translation of Ormerod (Jones & Ormerod 1966), slightly modified.
Memory of the dead in Roman Sparta

located too far to the south (FIG. 1). According to Thucydides, Pausanias was buried at the entrance of the precinct — the temenos — of Athena Chalkioikos, where he died of starvation. As is well known, the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos was on the acropolis of Sparta, above the theatre. If, as the Periegete says, the tomb was at the same time “opposite the theatre” (τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρύ), it must also have stood on the acropolis. The only alternative is to suppose that the temenos of Chalkioikos extended as far south as the lower part of the theatre. The question remains open, but we are sure that the tomb of Pausanias, that of Leonidas and the inscription with the names of the Three Hundred were in the immediate vicinity of the theatre either above the cavea or by the stage building.

The funeral contest alluded to by Pausanias is also mentioned in an honorary inscription seen “close to the theatre” by the 18th century French scholar Michel Fourmont, who copied several texts from Sparta in 1730. The stone, a statue base, came to light during the first British excavation at the theatre site at the beginning of the 20th century. It was found in trench B as indicated on the plan published in the Annual of the British School (FIG. 1.b). According to the inscription, one Cleon, son of Sosikrates “took part in the funeral contest” — literally, the contest by the tomb (τὸν ἐπιτάφιον) — “of Leonidas, Pausanias and the other heroes” (τῶν λοιπῶν ἡρώων), and was crowned. He is also praised for his seriousness (σεμνότητος).

This text plainly confirms the testimony of the Periegete and provides us with further information. In fact, we learn here that the contest was held not only in memory of Pausanias and Leonidas, but also of the other Spartan warriors at Thermopylae, who were all — generals and warriors — characterised as heroes.

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6 The building was cleared by Ludwig Ross in 1834 and studied again by Charles Waldstein in 1892: see Ross 1851, 2: 15–16 and the report of Waldstein 1892, 71–2, with Crosby 1893, 353.
7 Thuc. 1.134.
8 This was the conclusion of Woodward 1925, 263–64 in his report on the excavation of the Athena Chalkioikos sanctuary. We now know that the upper part of the theatre was designed as a portico, which surely served as a transition with the sanctuary of Athena: Waywell, Wilkes & Walker 1998, 99–100.
9 See the discussion in Bulle 1937, 27–33. Even though the actual theatre had replaced another earlier structure of the same type, its construction in the last decades of the first century BC and the construction of a new stage building under Vespasian certainly imply a reorganisation of the circulation in the whole area and accordingly disturb its perception for visitors to the sanctuary. For an overview of the history of the theatre of Sparta, see Waywell, Wilkes & Walker 1998 with a full bibliography.
10 This fascinating figure of the early archaeological exploration of Greece has been recently studied by Raspi Serra 1998.
12 The text is here corrupt. The supplement for ll. 7–8 (ἀνδρείας ἐνεκα καὶ σεμνότατος βίου) suggested by Boeckh, CIG I 1417, after CIG I 1426 (IG V.1 472) and accepted by Kolbe is inappropriate: the praise of ἀνδρεία, which is appropriate in honorary inscriptions for successful participants in the agege (cf. also for ex. IG V.1 527, 564 or 652), would be surprising here.
These warriors had thus not only their names inscribed on a slab by the tombs, as Pausanias the Periegete says, but received a real part of the honours given to Pausanias and Leonidas.13

**The Reorganization of the Leonideia**

A second set of inscriptions inform us about the general organisation of the athletic contest, which was called the Leonideia and was reorganized, as we shall see, at the end of the reign of Trajan. The first texts are written on two square blocks of bluish marble discovered during the excavations in the theatre of Sparta in the year 1906, just like the inscription for Cleon. They were built into a Byzantine wall in front of the theatre, in trench E (FIG. 1.b). The blocks formed, according to Bosanquet, “the upper and lower members of a monument”, the main portion of which is missing. The texts, which are very lacunose, “cover the moulded surface of the front and one side” of each block.14

We have apparently the beginning and the end of an official document regulating the progress of a festival and an athletic contest, the Leonideia.15 The whole text is a decision of the synarchia and of the gerontes organizing a series of questions relating to the event: finance, role of the magistrates, etc.16 One Agesilaus seems to have funded an endowment to double the amount of the prizes given to the victors.17 One Flavius Charixenus, whose involvement is not clear, is also mentioned.18

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13 According to Pausanias (3.12.9), two of them, Maron and Alpheios, also had a heroic sanctuary in the town, along the Aphetais Street. These were already known to Herodotus (7.227).

14 R.C. Bosanquet cited by Tillyard 1906, 445. According to Tillyard, the blocks’ measurements are 0.35 x 0.95 x 1.5 m for the first block and 0.35 x 0.95 x 0.83 m at the top, 1.105 x 0.925 m at the bottom, for the second one. If those measurements are correct, a further block was required to form with the latter the lower part of the monument.

15 IG V.1 18 and 20 respectively.

16 The names of gerontes, nomophulakes and ephors, the last bodies forming the synarchia of Sparta, appear at the end of the text on the second bloc (IG V.1 20B). In the first line of the text on the upper block the letters ΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝΤΕ are preserved, slightly more spaced than the remainder of the inscription (judging by the facsimile given by Tillyard 1906, 446), where we can identify an opening formula of the type: γνώμα τᾶς συναρχίας καθὰ καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκρειαν. See Kennell 1992b for the synarchia and Kennell 1992a for the power of the gerousia in Roman Sparta, with the parallels p. 200 for the opening formula.

17 IG V.1 18A, ll. 7–8. The amount of the endowment is unknown. The sum of 10,500 denarii appears in the text (l. 4), but in a part too lacunose to be confidently interpreted. We know that a public bank was entrusted with the money and must therefore have given a warranty of 30,000 denarii (B, ll. 12–15). If the endowment was of 10,500, the warranty would then be three times as great as the entrusted sum, which is at best unusual. This hypothesis is defended by Bogaert 1968, 99–100, but it seems untenable. As we have seen, the endowment was created to double the number of the prizes offered to the winners, but the known value of the new prizes decided by Agesilaus according to IG V.1 19, ll. 6–11 (see below), which because of the lacunose state of the text is only a part of the whole, already exceeds the funding possibilities of an endowment of 10,500 denarii. The whole of an annual income of 10,500 denarii would be more realistic, and could be the product of an endowment of, say, 140,000 denarii at 7.5
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The missing part of the monument, which is thought to have borne an honorary inscription on the front, had probably also displayed a part of the text of the festival regulation on the side. A third stone, once built into the wall of a house, south of the metropolitan church of Sparta, is often considered to be that very missing part. According to Woodward, who saw and described the stone in 1909, the style of the letters is the same as that of the other inscriptions. Moreover, the text itself offers an interesting complement to the others. It is a list of different categories of contest (dolichodromos, diaulodromos, pentathlon, separately for boys, young men and men) with the accompanying prize amounts “according to the decision of Agesilaus” (κρίσεως τῆς Ἀγησιλαίου). We learn here that the names of the athlothetes and of the competitors at the Leonideia had to be published in the vicinity of the statues of Agesilaus and Charixenous. So, even if this stone is not the missing part of the monument of the theatre — a further investigation of the different parts would be necessary to confirm the hypothesis — the text is clearly related to the reorganisation of the contest.

The prosopography allows us to date the reform. The regulation text is certified by the name of some magistrates: sixteen gerontes, five ephors and four nomophylakes whose names appear at the end of IG V1 20. The first sixteen names are not explicitly identified as those of gerontes, but we have another inscription with the complete list of the gerontes of that year, where the sixteen names appear in the same order. Among them, Tiberius Claudius Harmonicus is geron for the second time in the year of Philokleidas, a patronomos under Trajan, and for the third time in the year of the text regulating the Leonideia. Accordingly, Aleximachus the son of Soterichus is geron for the first time in the year of Philokleidas and for the second time in the year of the regulation. Soandrus the son of Thruphon is geron for the third time in the year of Philokleidas and for the fourth time in the year of Lucius Volusenus Aristokrates.

% comparable to the one created at Aphrodisias by Flavius Lysimachus in the reign of Commodus (Reynolds 1982, 185–189, with Wörle 1988, 236–8); see also the donations of Claudius Adrastus at Aphrodisias (Reynolds 1982, 190–192) and of C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oinoanda (Wörle 1988, 151–64). For his part, Tony Spawforth sees in the 30,000 denarii the total of the endowment, of which Agesilaus gave only a part (Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 192), but even so such income would not suffice to fund the organization of the festival.

18 IG V.1 18A, l. 3.
19 IG V.1 19.
20 Woodward 1909, 98. The editio princeps was given by Ph. Le Bas, who saw the stone in Sparta during his tour of the Peloponnese in 1843 (Le Bas & Foucart 1848–1878, n. 194c); see also Dressel & Milchhöfer 1877, 439. However, the lettering of IG V.1 19 and 20 presents some differences (especially the M, the N, the Y and the Ψ), judging from the squeezes stored at the Brandenburgische Academie in Berlin. I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. K. Hallof for giving me the opportunity to see these squeezes in Berlin.
21 IG V.1 19, ll. 14–16.
22 SEG 11 565. We have also already seen that IG V.1 18 begins with the mention of the gerontes.
23 SEG 11 564, l. 9, cf. SEG 11 565, l. 3.
24 SEG 11 564, l. 10, cf. SEG 11 565, l. 5.
25 SEG 11 564, l. 15, cf. SEG 11 569, l. 3.
which predate by a few years the patronomate of the emperor Hadrian, which we can place in its turn about AD 130.\textsuperscript{26} One Caius Iulius Agesilaus and one Titus Flavius Charixenus, who are probably the individuals involved with the reform of the \textit{Leonideia},\textsuperscript{27} were also jointly the first \textit{athlotothetes} of the “Great Imperial Ourania Nervanideia”,\textsuperscript{28} a contest founded in the years 97–98 in honour of Nerva, as is commonly believed. According to Anthony Birley however, the Nervanideia could have honoured the whole imperial dynasty, under a title perhaps reflecting the propaganda of Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, when he sought to gain legitimacy.\textsuperscript{29} All in all, we are here in the time-span covering the first decades of the second century AD.

We do not know exactly who Agesilaus and Charixenus were. They were probably relatives, wealthy, and of high social rank. They played a role together in the organisation of the contest in honour of Nerva or the lineage of Nerva, and in the reorganisation of the \textit{Leonideia}. An honorary inscription for Titus Flavius Charixenus has been discovered, once again, near the theatre, “built into the Byzantine wall”. According to Tillyard, who published the inscription, “the letters show traces of red paint”.\textsuperscript{30} Titus Flavius Charixenus had won the first \textit{ἀγων ἀριστοπολιτείας}, the “contest of the best citizen”, after his renewal. This contest was probably aimed to honour the most generous citizen of Sparta.\textsuperscript{31}

The name of Agesilaus may indicate a claim to a royal lineage. His involvement in the organisation of the Ouranian contest, probably connected with the cult of Zeus Ouranios, whose priesthood was a royal responsibility in Classical times,\textsuperscript{32} points in the same direction. A little more than a century after him, about AD 230, Sextus Pompeius Eudamus, son of Onasikrates, and a really prominent figure in the city of his time,\textsuperscript{33} was hereditary \textit{agonothetes} of the great \textit{Leonideia}.\textsuperscript{34} This Eudamus is characterized as a descendant from Heracles and from the Dioskouroi. The claim of aristocracy associated here with hereditary responsibility for the contest in honour of Leonidas is significant.

\textit{The Leonideia in Context}

\textsuperscript{26} The attempt by Bradford 1986 to determine the chronology of the \textit{patronomoi} for the years 124/5–129/30 is not convincing. At best, we can say that the patronomate of Hadrian occurred in the years 126/7–131/2, but not in 128/9.
\textsuperscript{27} For more details, see Rizakis, Zoumbaki & Lepenioti 2004, LAC 416 and LAC 361.
\textsuperscript{28} IG V.1 667.
\textsuperscript{29} Birley 1997, 239.
\textsuperscript{30} Tillyard 1906, 460–1. IG V.1 467.
\textsuperscript{31} Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 159 and 198–9.
\textsuperscript{32} Hdt. 6.56.
\textsuperscript{33} Rizakis, Zoumbaki & Lepenioti 2004, LAC 626.
\textsuperscript{34} IG V.1 559, ll. 10–12.
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The text regulating the *Leonideia* describes indirectly the topography of the contest. It was to take place in the stadium where the *gymnasiarch* had to provide oil for the competitors and in the gymnasium where the victors would have their portrait placed. We do not know exactly where the stadium and the gymnasium were, but they could have been located on the *dromos* which, according to Pausanias the *Periegete*, contained a race course as well as two gymnasia.\footnote{Paus. 3.14.6. At the time of our text, there was probably only one gymnasium at Sparta. The second would be given to the city only a few years later by C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus, perhaps in connexion with the foundation of the funerary games honouring his memory, the *Eurykleia*.} As we have seen, the names of the *athlothetes* and of the competitors had also to be inscribed in the vicinity of the statues of Agesilaus and Charixenus, perhaps the monument close to the theatre which held the text of the regulation. The theatre, where most of the documents relating to the contest were discovered, was probably the focal point of the ceremony, I believe, because of the proximity of the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas and the slab bearing the names of the Three Hundred. I would argue that there was also another reason.

The statue of Cleon, the son of Sosikrates, stood once there, the man who was crowned at the “funeral contest of Leonidas, Pausanias and the other heroes”. According to the *Periegete*, the ceremony was twofold: “Every year” he says “they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans”. I believe that the athletic contest described in the inscriptions relating to the *Leonideia* are to be identified with the second part of the ceremony, and that Cleon delivered a speech during the first part, which would then also be a contest and evidently constituted a part of the festival and probably took place at the theatre.

The delivery of speeches at festivals and speech contests are well attested in Imperial times, when epideictic oratory flourished.\footnote{Pernot 1993, 55–105, and especially p. 85–92 for the contests. Such a contest also existed in Sparta: *SEG* 11 838, l. 7.} We could also compare the oration held in honour of the heroes of Sparta with the deliberation which took place every four years before the Greek Council at Plataia, to determine who, the Spartans or the Athenians, would have precedence in the procession of the *Eleutheria*.\footnote{Robertson, 1986 with Pernot 1993, 84–5. The evidence shows that the deliberation took place already in the later 2nd century BC, but most of the documents originate in the 2nd century AD.} It was not exactly a contest of *enkomia*, as in the musical contests of the time, but a real debate, with a decision of the Council at the end. It is only its repetition every four year which gave the deliberation an artificial touch. At Sparta, the delivery of speeches, which were certainly funeral speeches, over Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred, could also have functioned simultaneously as an epideictic event, with a kind of competition, and as a ritualised rehearsal of the mourning for the heroes, providing an opportunity for reiterating the most glorious pages of Spartan history.\footnote{See Kennell 1995, 82.}
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Cleon was, at the beginning of the second century AD, a distinguished member of the governing class of Sparta. He was secretary of the Council in the year of Caius Iulius Lysikrates, *grammatophylax* in the year of Caius Iulius Charixenus, *nomophylax* in the year of Caius Iulius Philokleidas and ephor in the year of the reorganisation of the *Leonideia*; he was one of the magistrates who led the reform.\(^{39}\) We cannot exclude the possibility that Cleon won an athletic contest, but it seems to me more plausible that he gained his crown for his eloquence.\(^{40}\) The speeches were probably delivered in the theatre, which would also explain why Pausanias the Periegete chose, in his description, to link the tombs and the allusion to the contest with the description of that place. Pausanias’ choice to provide an explicit link between the theatre, the tombs and the ceremony is significant in this context.

The delivery of funeral speeches plainly brings to mind the practice of *epitaphioi logoi* and the speeches that were held during the *epitaphia* festival in Classical Athens, studied by the late Nicole Loraux.\(^{41}\) This parallel invites us to examine how ancient the tradition may have been in Sparta. According to Pausanias the Periegete, the regent Pausanias brought the bones of Leonidas back to Sparta forty years after the battle at Thermopylae. By that time, however, the victor of Plataia was already dead. Walter Connor argued consequently that a name was missing in the text of the Periegete: it was not Pausanias, but a son of Pausanias who brought the bones back and who at the same time instituted the funeral ceremony.\(^{42}\) The first part of the hypothesis is convincing and resolves the chronological problem. But the institution of the funeral games is not necessarily contemporaneous with the return of the bones of Leonidas.

On the other hand, although the contest was reorganised under Trajan, it need not necessarily have been very ancient or even have previously existed at all.\(^{43}\) Indeed, the creation of an archaistic contest suits perfectly the spirit of Imperial times,\(^{44}\) and the association of Pausanias with Leonidas could then be a fiction, which is chronologically inconsistent.\(^{45}\) The Persian Wars, and the figure of Leonidas in particular, were celebrated throughout the whole period of the Second Sophistic. It

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\(^{39}\) See respectively *SEG* 11 594; *IG* V.1 148, ll. 2–3 (SEG 11 537b), 537a, l. 7 and 538, l. 5; *IG* V.1 51–2 and *SEG* 11 538; *IG* V.1 20B, l. 7. Bradford 1977, 244, ΚΛΕΩΝ (13).

\(^{40}\) I consider that the honorary inscription for Cleon *IG* V.1 660 is posterior to the reform of the *Leonideia*, when Cleon was already a member of the political elite of Sparta (*contra* Tillyard 1908, 455). For a winner at the athletic contest, see *IG* V.1 658.

\(^{41}\) Loraux 1981.

\(^{42}\) See Connor 1979 (with a summary of the other hypothesis). See also the contribution of A. Paradiso in this volume.

\(^{43}\) The decision of Agesilaus to fund an endowment to double the amount of the prizes given to the winners could have intervened during the institutional process creating the contest. See Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 192.

\(^{44}\) Especially in Sparta. See: Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 198–9. The so-called ‘renewal’ of the contest of the best citizen constitutes another example of that archaizing taste. For a large part, the *agoge* was also an archaistic construction: see Kennell 1995.

\(^{45}\) Just as Connor 1979, 24–5 already suggested.
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was one of the popular themes of rhetoric performance and of historical writing. Indeed, Plutarch planned to write a biography of Leonidas, perhaps to please one of his many Spartan friends. He announced his intention to do so in his pamphlet against Herodotus and therein presented already a few anecdotes about Leonidas. He said in particular that the king and his men, before leaving for Thermopylae, took part with the other Spartans in a funeral contest organised for themselves, (ἀγώνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον αὐτῶν ἤγορωσαντο πρὸ τῆς ἔξοδου), in the presence of their fathers and mothers (καὶ τούτον ἔθεωντο πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ μητέρες). This text, exactly contemporaneous with the reform of the Leonidea, certainly reflects the Spartan traditions that sustained the ‘renewal’ of the celebration. In this respect, it is interesting to note that we find here the involvement of both the city and the lineage in the ceremony. We have an exact parallel to the terms of the description of Pausanias the Periegete, who also stressed the fact that only Spartans could take part in the contest, and that the names of the Three Hundred were inscribed on the slab close to the theatre with the names of their fathers. The same insistence on the lineage appears also in the text of the festival regulation. It is not (or not only) a question of citizenship, but actually a question of identity.

The figures of Leonidas and of the Three Hundred embodied Spartan excellence revivified under the High Empire through the renewal of the agoge and of the Lykourgan system. The figure of Pausanias embodied the leading role of the Spartans in the victory over the Persians and the rivalry with Athens. Even though the reorganisation of the Leonidea could have a link with the ideological context of the Parthian campaigns of Trajan, as Tony Spawforth rightly suggested, and finds its place in the broader context of the perennial popularity of the Persian Wars in Greek culture, it is above all an element in the construction of a Spartan identity under the Roman Empire. This festival gives another example of the conscious effort by the Spartan elite during the first centuries AD to match the image of Classical Sparta.

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49 Plut. de Herodoti malignitate, 32, 866B.
50 IG V.1 19, ll. 15–17
References

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1: Schematic map of the principal remains of Ancient Sparta (based on 1/5000 Greek army map). b. Location of trenches B and E of the 1906 British excavations at the theater (after Dickins 1906, 396).