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Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

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Abstracts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Stamatis Fritzilas. Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis

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

Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη

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

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

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

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

Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας 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, τότε που ο θάνατος μπορεί να «δολοφονεί το Θεό», αλλά και να «φωτίζει τον παγκόσμιο πόνο».

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Η σχέση της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

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

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

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

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

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

Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi

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

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

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

Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου

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

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

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

Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

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

20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese

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

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

Η κοινωνική προέκταση των κτερισματικών και αναθηματικών κοσμημάτων στην αρχαϊκή Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Το άρθρο εξετάζει την διαδικασία διαμόρφωσης της χαρακτηριστικής διάταξης των μυκηναϊκών τάφων σε δρόμο, στόμιο και θάλαμο, και την πιθανή συμβολική σημασία της. Καταδεικνύεται ότι η διάταξη αυτή προέκυψε σταδιακά ως αποτέλεσμα της υιοθέτησης του εθίμου της οικογενειακής ταφής και της ανάγκης διαρκούς πρόσβασης στον τάφο. Το είδος της πρόσβασης αυτής άρχισε να διαμορφώνεται στους ΜΕ τύμβους, πέρασε από ένα στάδιο πειραματισμού και αποκρυσταλλώθηκε κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΑ περίοδο. Προτείνεται ότι οι παρατηρούμενες αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα δεν οφείλονται σε κοινωνικούς ανταγωνισμούς μεταξύ «ισχυρών ελίτ» αλλά 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 επιτρέπεται να αναγράφονται πάνω στους τάφους τα ονόματα των νεκρών, εκτός εάν επρόκειτο για άνδρες που έπεσαν στον πόλεμο και γυναίκες που πέθαναν στον τοκετό. Οι σύγχρονοι ιστορικοί έχουν θεωρήσει ότι μόνο το γεγονός του θανάτου στον τοκετό θα μπορούσε να δώσει σε μια Σπαρτιάτισσα το δικαίωμα να ξεφύγει από την ανωνυμία. Η Σπάρτη θεωρούνταν η πόλη που είχε επινοήσει το ιδανικό του 'καλού θανάτου' για τον πολίτη που έπεσε στην πρώτη γραμμή, του θανάτου που εξυμνεί ο Τυρταίος. Βέβαια, η γυναικεία εκδοχή του 'καλού θανάτου' δεν περνά καθόλου έξω από τα σύνορα της Λακεδαίμονος. Έτσι, η υπερεκτίμηση θανάτου κατά τον τοκετό πρέπει να εξηγηθεί με όρους καθαρά Σπαρτιατικούς. Στην εισήγησή μας θα αναφερθούμε διεξοδικά στις τιμές που απέδιδαν οι Σπαρτιάτες στους νεκρούς της μάχης και παράλληλα θα εξετάσουμε ποιες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. 'Αραγε ήταν ισοδύναμος ο θάνατος στη μάχη και ο θάνατος στον τοκετό;

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

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

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

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

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

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

Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;

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

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

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

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

Ο Θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33 Angeliki Petropoulou. The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective

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

Η σπαρτιάτικη βασιλική ταφή μέσω συγκριτικής προοπτικής

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

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

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

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

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

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

35 James Roy. Anyte of Tegea and the other dead

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

Η Ανύτη της Τεγέας και οι άλλοι νεκροί

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WGC

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CHAPTER 17

HONOURING THE DEAD OFF- STAGE: A CASE OF TOMB CULT SOUTH OF GRAVE CIRCLE B, MYCENAE

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WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY ARGYRO NAFPLIOTI¹

INTRODUCTION²

During the winter of 2007, the authors of this paper recorded a series of small finds of the early Mycenaean period, kept in the storeroom of the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens³. The artefacts had remained for years on the shelves along with unrecorded and unidentified finds, under the general label, 'Mycenae'. After a short investigation in the Museum's library, we managed to identify the group of the objects as deriving from the chamber tomb south of Grave Circle B at

¹ We would like to extend our warmest thanks to Professor Spyridon Iakovides and to Dr. Vassileios C. Petrakos, General Secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens, for granting us permission to study and present the excavation diaries and photographic archive, as well as to Ms Ioanna Ninou, responsible for the archives of the Archaeological Society, who offered her invaluable help; to the Director of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr Anna Banaka and to the archaeologist and good friend Ms Eleni Palaiologou, responsible for the Mycenae Archaeological Museum, who granted us permission to study and publish the material located there; to the conservators of the Mycenae Museum Ms Maria Dimitrakopoulou and Mr Michalis Skourtis, for the conservation of pottery and frescoes, as well as to the archaeologist Mr Nikos Katsaraïos and the guard of antiquities Mr Nikos Keramidas, for facilitating our work in every way during our stay at Mycenae. Finally we wish to thank our colleague in the National Archaeological Museum, Dr Anastasia Gadolou and the archaeologist Ms Athanassia Psalti responsible for the Eretria Museum, for their valuable insights on Geometric pottery and literature, as well as Dr Colin F. Macdonald for correcting the English version of this text.

² Abbreviations in this chapter:

EG: Early Geometric

LG: Late Geometric

GR 2b, 2c: Late Geometric 2b, 2c (Géometrique Récente 2b, 2c)

KM: Kunisch motif.

MM: Mycenae Archaeological Museum.

³ Discussion and study of the rich Mycenaean finds are still in progress and will be published soon.

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Mycenae (FIGS 1, 2).⁴ The tomb – also curiously known as tomb 222, due to its absolute height above sea level, which is 222 m – was found and investigated by Ioannis Papadimitriou, under the shadow of the major excavation of the Circle, during the summers of 1952 and 1953 and was announced briefly in the periodical of the Archaeological Society.⁵ The rich evidence for honouring the dead and ancestors in various periods, found both inside the grave and in the surrounding area, is presented here for the first time⁶.

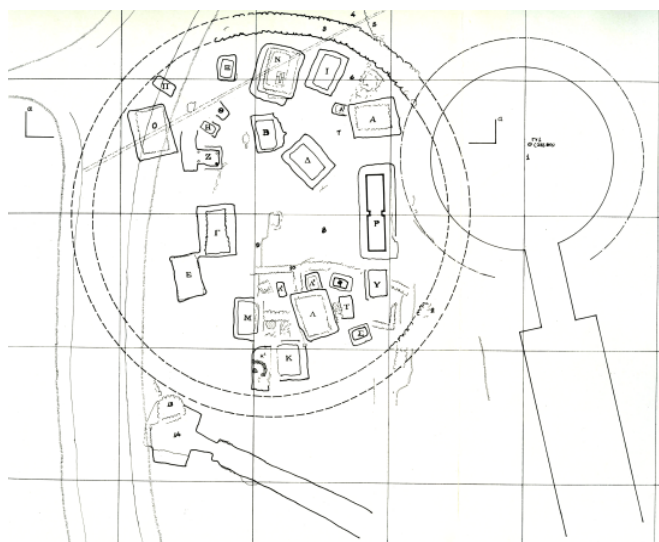


FIG. 1. Plan of Grave Circle B, the chamber tomb 222 and the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 2. Chamber tomb 222. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

The various finds of the chamber tomb were divided between two museums: the pottery from the grave was transferred first to the Nauplion Archaeological Museum⁷ and then, in 2002, to the storerooms of the Mycenae Archaeological Museum, while the metal objects were sent for conservation to the National Archaeological Museum.⁸ The excavation diaries and photographs were kept in the Archive of the Archaeological Society. In the

⁴ Protonotartiou-Deilaki 1990, 89 and Antonaccio 1995, especially 47–8.

⁵ Papadimitriou 1952 and 1953. The chamber tomb is also mentioned in Mylonas 1972–73, 18, pls.1, 5 and discussed in Mylonas 1957, 171; also Whitley 1988, 178 n. 37 and Antonaccio 1995, 47–48, 250 as a case of Iron Age tomb cult in a Bronze Age tomb.

⁶ The matter of post-Mycenaean finds from Bronze Age tombs is open to discussion since Blegen's first treatment, Blegen 1937, 377–90; also Whitley 1988, 173–175 with references. Whitley presents the situation in Attica and in the Argolid and underlines the differences as a result of locally developed traditions and emerging ideologies; Whitley 1988, 176–182.

⁷ The excavator notes that he never completed the study of the sherds that were stored in cardboard boxes and which should join up into complete vases, Papadimitriou 1952, 472.

⁸ Papadimitriou 1952, 471.

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following text, we present the conclusions of a preliminary study of the material located in both museums, as well as of the excavator's notes which were kindly put at our disposal. Dr Argyro Nafplioti has contributed a study of the animal bones from the grave, presented as an *appendix* at the end of this text.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

The tomb's dromos was 13 m long and 1.8–2.1 m wide, narrowing towards the entrance (FIGS 3, 4, 5). The earth floor of the dromos sloped down towards the entrance and its walls converged upwards. The tomb's *stomion* was found sealed with a dry-stone blocking up to half of its height, while the whole upper part was missing. The front and the sides of the *stomion* must have originally been coated with clay and decorated with painted plaster. The excavator collected a few fragments of coloured mortar from the walls of the *stomion*, while others were found scattered inside the chamber.⁹

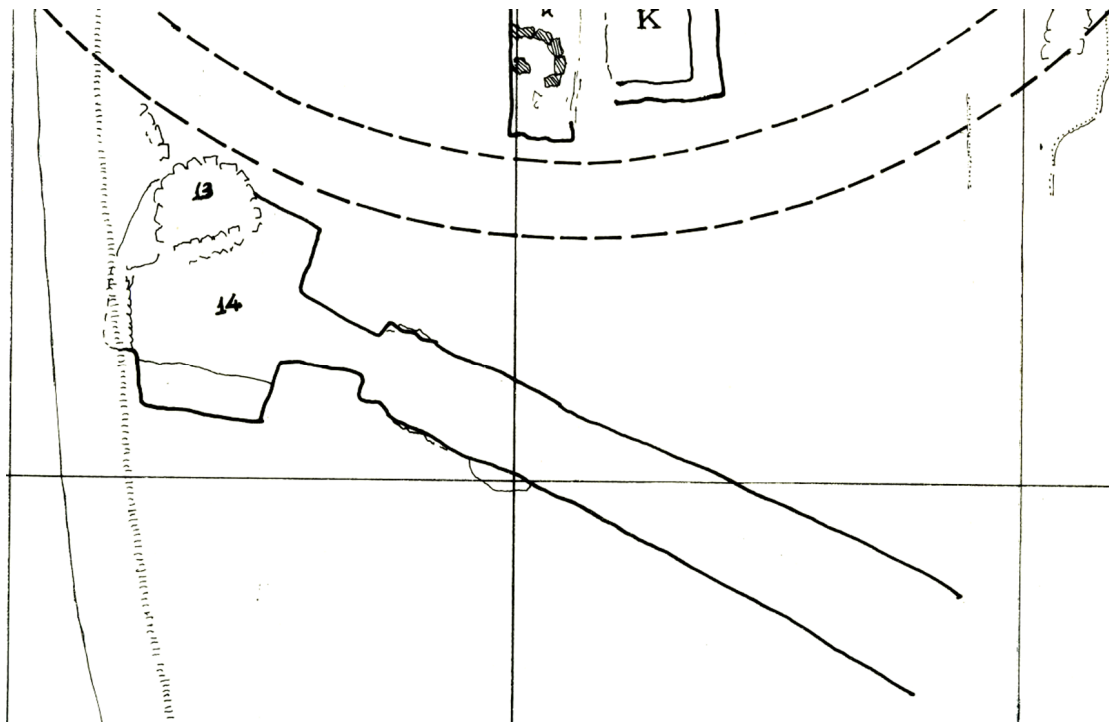


FIG. 3. Plan of the chamber tomb 222. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

⁹ Papadimitriou 1952, 469. The few fresco fragments located at the Mycenae Museum, are currently under conservation.



FIG. 4. The chamber's *stomion* with a dry-stone blocking up to half of its height. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 5. The tomb's dromos. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The chamber had the shape of an irregular trapeze, measuring 4 x 2.5 m. It was filled with earth from the collapse of the rock-cut roof, and this is why it was excavated by means of a vertical trench from the roof to the floor, 2.40 m deep. The rock-cut walls were either not well preserved or entirely eroded, like the north and the west ones (see below). At the bottom of the south wall was revealed a low, bench-shaped construction of clay, 15–30 cm high, unfortunately without any finds *in situ*, which would aid its interpretation (FIG. 6).

The excavation of the chamber showed that the rock on the north and west sides of the chamber was completely eroded and had been almost entirely replaced by successive retaining walls.¹⁰ The better built of these, at the base of the west wall of the chamber, originally interpreted as a dry-stone blocking of a possible entrance to a side chamber or a niche, had subsequently included part of the foot of a Mycenaean lamp made of black steatite (FIG. 7).¹¹

The tomb was robbed and had been emptied of its original contents before the roof collapsed, as indicated by the absence of the upper part of the dry-stone walling at the entrance (FIG. 4). Of the surviving finds from the

¹⁰ Papadimitriou 1953, 209.

¹¹ The fragment of the stone lamp will be presented elsewhere, along with the rest of the Mycenaean finds of the grave.

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tomb, none was found in its original position.¹² All finds date from the LH II–III A1 period.



FIG. 6. The low bench-shaped construction at the base of the chamber's south wall. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 7. Successive retaining walls at the chamber's west side. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens). Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The construction of this tomb, to the south of the MH cemetery, in a region where there are no other known chamber tombs, shows the importance of the deceased buried within and the special honours given by his relatives. Furthermore, the proximity of the chamber tomb to Circle B, where the one did not disturb the other, indicates the respect of the living for the ancestors buried in the MH and LH I graves, which should have still been visible, since Tomb Rho – the last of Circle B – had been built only a few decades earlier (in LH II).¹³ Finally, the chamber tomb was cut within the broader area of *Tumulus B*, namely the wide enclosure around Grave Circle B, defined by the Great Poros Wall. According to Protonotariou-Deilaki, a large part of *Tumulus B* remains unexcavated and probably contains both Mycenaean and MH graves. The choice of that spot for the chamber tomb follows a custom, common throughout Greece, of placing graves within a large tumulus, which was used over a period of centuries.¹⁴

¹² A selection of finds from the chamber is illustrated in Papadimitriou 1953, 210.

¹³ Mylonas 1972–73, 220.

¹⁴ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 91.

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More than a century after the last use of chamber tomb 222, the construction of the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb¹⁵ within the confines of *Tumulus B* destroyed part of Grave Circle B and the earth removed covered the whole area.¹⁶ Wace suggested that a mound of earth was piled over the tholos of the tomb of Clytemnestra, which also covered a good part of Circle B.¹⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki argued against that theory, demonstrating that the Great Poros Wall excavated by the British School has a much larger perimeter than necessary, encompassing the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb, and that its calculated centre is not even near the centre of the tholos.¹⁸

Over the succeeding centuries the chamber tomb was robbed, as indicated by the missing upper half of the dry-stone blocking, and a little later the roof must have fallen. On the north side, next to the hollow formed in the ground by the collapse, a rough, circular construction of stones was built with earth in the interior.¹⁹ Its diameter was almost 2 m and the preserved height 40 cm. The excavator identified it as an altar for the worship of the “heroic dead”²⁰ (FIGS 8, 9, 10).

Furthermore, Papadimitriou recorded in at least three points of the chamber’s fill (from the floor to the height of the roof), patches of black and grey earth. Within those layers were “many burnt animal bones and an abundance of Late Geometric pottery sherds, along with a few proto-Corinthian”.²¹ Based on those observations, Papadimitriou suggested the continuous worship of ancestors with offerings of pottery and animal sacrifices over a long time span. However, the study of the sherds and animal bones from the fill, as well as the careful study of the excavation notes, support a different interpretation of the facts. What could indeed have happened there?

¹⁵ Pelon 1976, 403 ff. , for a description on the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb.

¹⁶ Mylonas 1957, 171–172 and Mylonas 1972–73, 18. Wace 1954, 170.

¹⁷ Wace 1954, 170.

¹⁸ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 89.

¹⁹ Papadimitriou 1952, 465–467, Mylonas 1972–73, pl. 5.

²⁰ Papadimitriou 1953, 208.

²¹ Papadimitriou 1952, 469–470 and Papadimitriou 1953, 208.

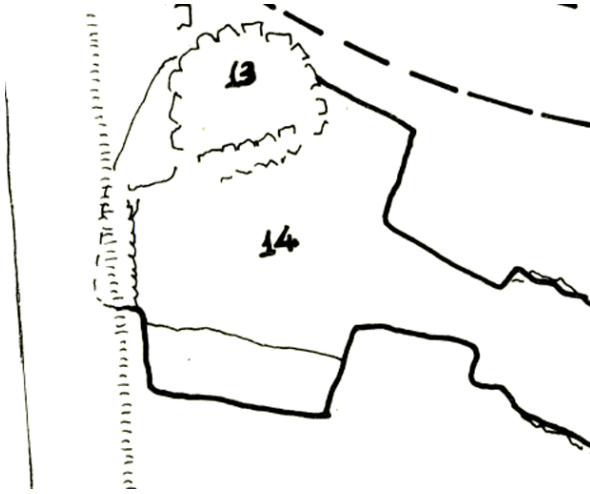


FIG. 8. Plan of the tomb's chamber with the stone-built circular altar on top of it. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 9. The LG altar revealed during the early days of the excavation (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, July 24, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 10. The LG altar on top of the tomb's chamber. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 4, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 11. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



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THE CHARACTER OF POTTERY AND ANIMAL BONES FROM THE
CHAMBER'S FILL

The preliminary study of hundreds of sherds from the fill of the chamber produced fragments of various shapes of both decorated and plain pottery of the MH, LH, Middle and Late Geometric period, as well as a few of the 7th century BC (FIGS 11, 12, 13, 14). The large numbers of Geometric sherds were found throughout the whole fill of the chamber, from the floor to the roof. However, despite their large number, the sherds did not make up into whole vases and in only a few cases did they belong to the same vase in groups of two or three. Furthermore, the animal bones collected from the fill belong to a minimum of eight individuals, only one of which bears traces of knife cuts. Of all the animal bones, only one sheep/goat bears any evidence at all of having been burnt by fire (see *appendix* by Argyro Nafplioti). Thus, both the sherds and the animal bones, as well as the patches of burnt earth recorded by the excavator as evidence of successive sacrifices, may have come from rubbish debris derived from the LG and the 7th century settlement, which collected in the hollow.

FIG. 12. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 13. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 14. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 15. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



THE GEOMETRIC ALTAR

By contrast, at the top of the chamber, around the circular structure, a significant number of sherds, dated mostly to the LG period, was found. Most of them comprised parts of four kraters and a monochrome cup, which are presented and discussed below. Papadimitriou, who characterised that construction as an altar the very day of its discovery, did not make any mention of burnt earth in the surrounding area or of animal bones. However, the soil inside and outside the construction was black, as shown in the photographs, perhaps indicative of traces of fire/pyres – and organic remains from food consumption (FIGS 9, 10). The small number of burnt bones and the discovery *in situ* of four kraters and only one cup, indicate that the altar was used for a restricted period of time, confined to LG IIB–C (725–700 BC) and definitely not in succeeding periods. The altar and its offerings fall within the

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first generation of such practices and appear to have been directed towards figures who, for us at least, remain anonymous.²²

Built altars that were intensively used over a long period of time are to be found covered with thick layers of burnt earth, fragmentary cooked or burnt animal bones, sherds of cooking pots and drinking vessels and of course a whole variety of offerings, such as figurines, metal objects and so forth. Such is the case of the altar unearthed at Likoleika in Achaia, which had been in intensive use during the second half of the 8th century BC.²³ In the Barbouna area at Asine, circular stone altar-like structures which were situated near the Geometric necropolis were found together with a late 8th century deposit of nearly 40 broken vases which had once served for libation and feasting.²⁴ The Barbouna circles offer another contemporary example of a short lived altar-like structure close to graves.²⁵

Catalogue of pottery from the altar

Vase 1. MM 5231, 5289 and 4907 (FIGS 15, 16).

Krater fragments. Three-quarters of plain, vertical rim preserved, parts of spherical body, the stub of only one monochrome painted, horizontal handle, circular in section, as well as about half the bottom of the vessel with the start of the missing conical base. Pinkish clay, yellowish slip, red to red-brown lustrous paint. Bands on interior of cylindrical rim, otherwise monochrome interior. On exterior, between bands on neck, zone of groups of vertical S-shaped motifs or *sigmas*. Densely packed bands all over body, with monochrome lower part. Unpainted under base. On shoulder, at level of handles, broad zone with wide metopes, each containing a large hatched lozenge between triglyphs of vertical straight lines or multiple zigzag.

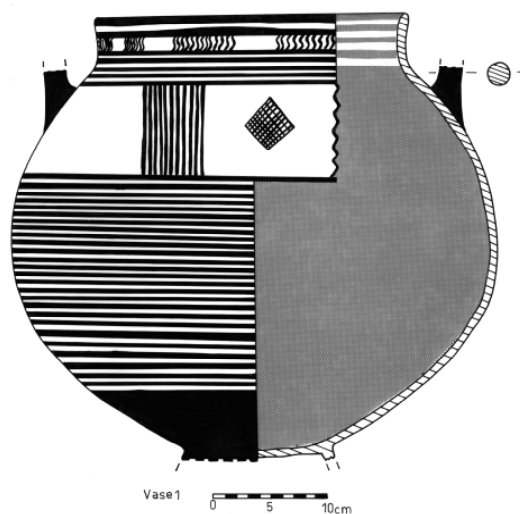


FIG. 16. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

²² Whitley 1988, 174–175.

²³ Kolia & Gadoulou (forthcoming).

²⁴ Antonaccio 1995, 200 with references.

²⁵ Hägg 1983, 190 and fig.1

Honouring the dead off-stage

Pres. Ht. 43.2; rim diameter 27.0; max. diameter 41.8.

Decoration: The shoulder decoration is simple and avoids dense compositions, a feature which implies a rather late date within LG II. The vase's S-shaped lines on the rim zone do not exactly match any KM, although they are close to 66a. The straight lines of the triglyphs fit in Kunisch's *vertical bars* or motif 1d, while the multiple zigzag is KM 61g. The hatched lozenge corresponds to KM 39i.

Although vase 1 features groups of *sigmas* and a densely banded body, like most of the Corinthian LG kraters,²⁶ it is probably the product of an Argive workshop. Vase 1 belongs to a popular type of Argive krater, with numerous examples.²⁷ These kraters are collar-necked with two horizontal handles with vertical extensions. The globular-ovoid body of such vases is densely banded and monochrome in the lower part towards the base which is relatively narrow and conical. All of them fall into Courbin's GR 2c, namely between 710–700 BC, or according to Coldstream, at the end of LG II.²⁸

Vase 2. MM 5231, 5289 and 4907 (FIGS 17, 18).

Krater fragments. One third of flat rim preserved with the short cylindrical neck and about half the spherical body, together with the two stubs of one of two horizontal handles. Light orange-brown clay and slip, reddish black paint fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. Exterior decoration of bands and zones, and monochrome lower body. The neck zone has alternating groups of horizontal and vertical zigzag. On the shoulder, large pictorial metopes with horses and subsidiary water-birds in silhouette, alternating with hatched meander pattern. Triglyphs of dense vertical lines. At the same level, the broad strap handles are decorated on the outside with horizontal zigzag flanked by dense vertical lines. On lower part of the densely banded body, zones with rows of closely packed lozenges, with rows of dots and with vertical and horizontal zigzag.

Pres. Ht. 47.0; max. diameter 42.0.

Decoration: The vertical and horizontal zigzag on the neck zone, on the handles and on the belly zone fit in KM 66h and 67e respectively. The straight lines of the triglyphs fit in Kunisch's *vertical bars* or motif 1d, while the hatched meanders on the metope correspond to KM 23a and the water-bird to KM 96d. The zone of dense lozenge chains matches KM 35c and those with dots KM 69a.

Vase 2 belongs to the Argive group of voluminous kraters with depressed spherical bodies.²⁹ Their decoration is always dense and their metopes often illustrate antithetic horses alternating with hatched meander. Zones with dots and dense lozenge chains in between bands of the lower body are characteristic – among others – of Coldstream's *Painter of Athens*, whose horses are not too far from the ones depicted here.³⁰ Vase 2 fits in Courbin's GR 2, mainly 2b and 2c (720–700 BC), or in Coldstream's LG II.

Unfortunately a large part of the vase is currently lost. The sherds shown in **FIG. 17** are the ones that we have located in the Mycenae Museum. However, a considerable part of the krater, mended from many fragments and illustrated in the excavator's preliminary note

²⁶ For the style and decoration of the Corinthian LG kraters see Coldstream 1968, 99–100.

²⁷ Courbin 1966, 563, pl. 36: cat. no. C.645, pl. 37: cat. no. C.169, pl. 38: cat. no. C.2428, pl. 46: cat. no. C.208/B, pl. 47: cat. nos. C.2509 and C.915, pl. 113: cat. nos. C.208 and C.2509.

²⁸ Coldstream 1968, 132 and 145–146, where he discusses the relative chronology of the Argive LG.

²⁹ Courbin 1966, pl. 35: cat. no. C.286 (LG 2), pl. 41: cat. no. C.210 (LG 2b), pl. 43: cat. no. C.201 (LG 2c) and pl. 48: cat. no. C.239 (LG 2b).

³⁰ Coldstream 1968, 138 and 144.

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(FIG. 18) is still missing.³¹ This part together with the freshly identified fragments would form a significant proportion of this impressive krater.

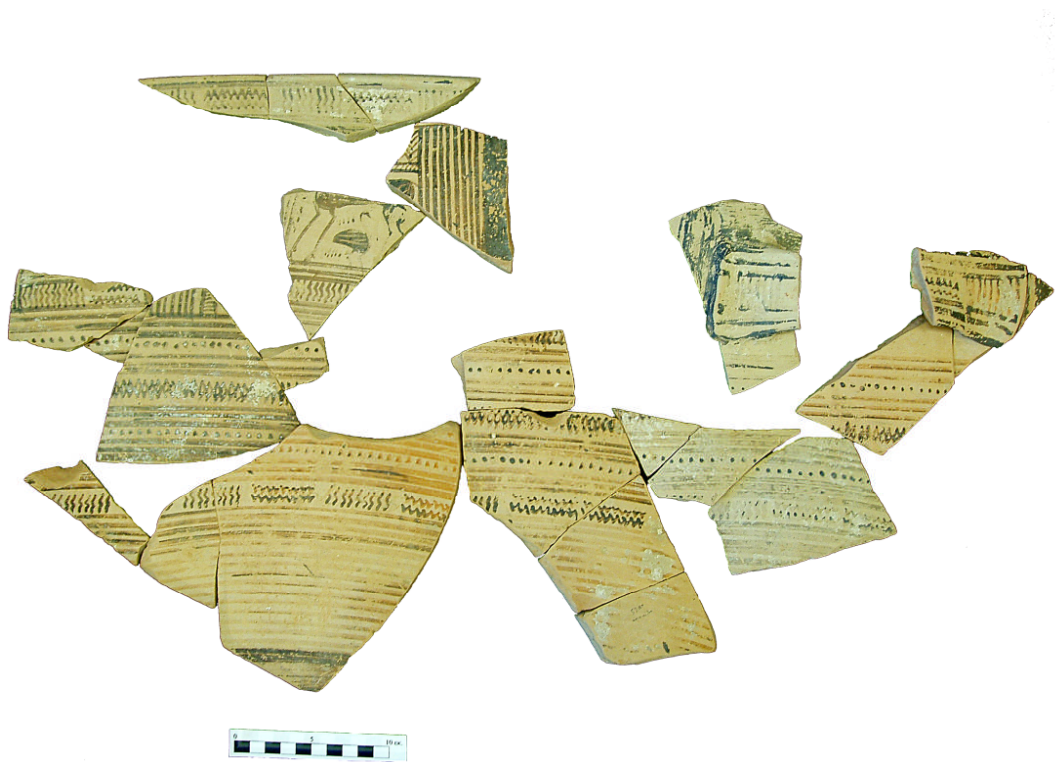


FIG. 17. Vase 2. Krater fragments stored at the Mycenae Museum.
(Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³¹ Papadimitriou 1952, 470 fig.35. It is possible that the part of the vase illustrated in the excavator's note, went to the National Archaeological Museum in pieces, together with the fragmentary vases of Grave Circle B, in order to be mended. If this is the case, then this part of the krater should be sought in the storerooms of the National Museum's Collection of Vases and Minor Arts. The authors of this text hope to get access, locate and reunite the krater soon.

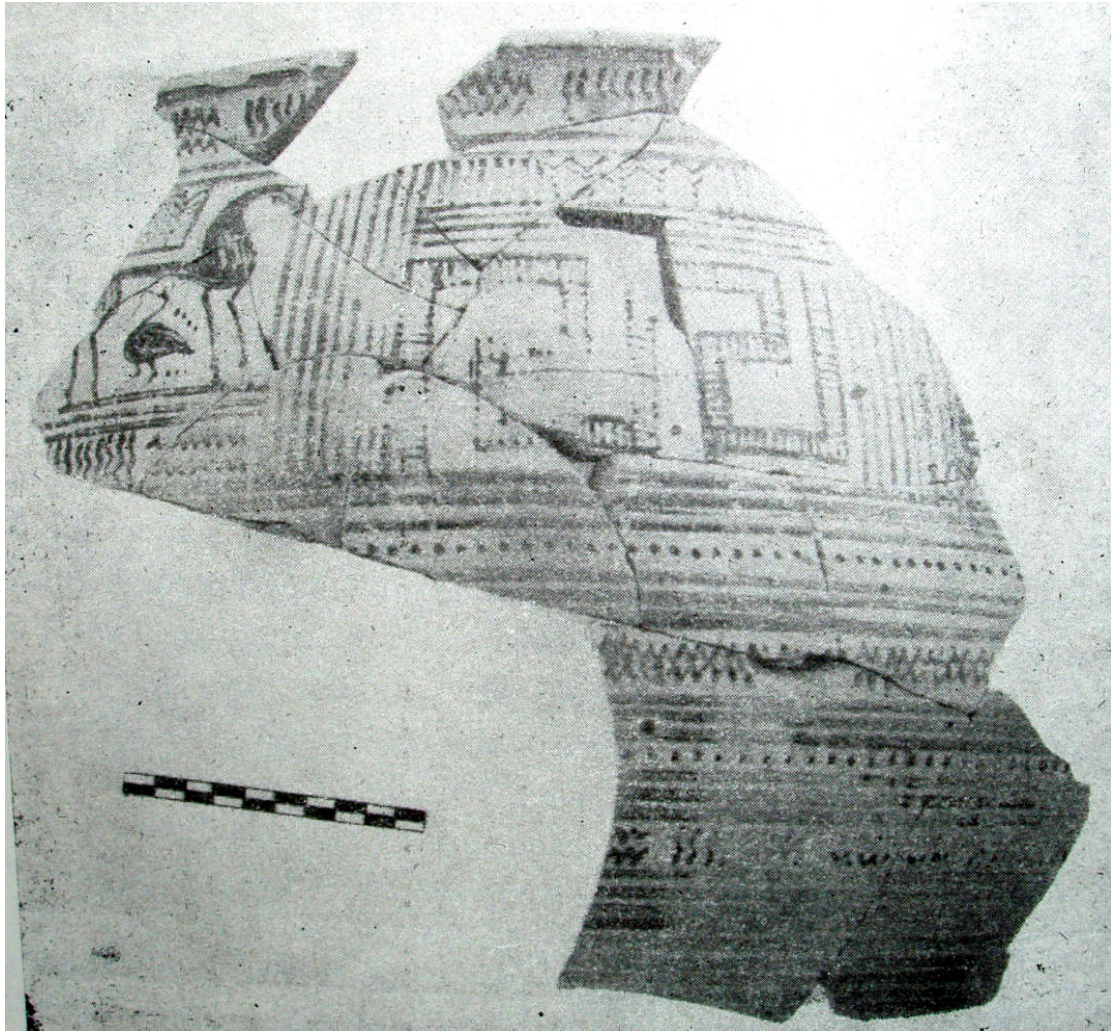


FIG. 18. Vase 2. Krater fragments mended and illustrated in Papadimitriou 1952, 470 fig.35. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

Vase 3. MM 4972 and 5088 (FIGS 19, 20).

Krater fragments. Small part of flat rim, triangular in section and of the short, cylindrical neck, as well as one sixth of the spherical body with parts of one of the two handles. Brownish yellow clay and slip, brown paint, very fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. On exterior, groups of small lines and zigzags on top of rim, zone with vertical little lines on neck, broad zone with hatched meander on shoulder, another with concentric circles and two more with successive dots lower down. At the maximum diameter, horizontal strap handles of the stirrup type.³² The back of the preserved handle has thin bands of successive dots on the margins and a triple zigzag in the main zone in the middle. Between the handles are triglyphs, depicted by groups of vertical lines, and metopes. On the fragments of the sole preserved metope, a horse is depicted with fringed tail and a subsidiary chain of lozenges behind and vertical zigzag before. Above the hind-quarters, a solid star and between the legs of the animal, a hatched quatrefoil motif with subsidiary star ornaments and framed. Pres. Ht. 27.8; rim diameter 39.0; max. diameter 53.2.

³² As termed by Coldstream (1968, 142).

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Decoration: The zones with little vertical lines fit in KM 1g, while the hatched meanders in KM 23a. Bands and zones with successive dots correspond to KM 69a and the zone with concentric circles to KM 75d. The triple zigzag in the main zone of the handle is close to KM 6a. The subsidiary vertical chain of lozenges fit in KM 35f, the hatched quatrefoil in KM 16a, 16e and the subsidiary solid star in KM 16h.

Vase 3, like the krater discussed above, belongs to the Argive group of voluminous kraters with depressed spherical bodies.³³ Although the handle's type of decoration appears earlier (LG 1, see Courbin 1966, pls. 40, 113: cat. no. C.240), the rest of the decoration fits in the popular horse-scene repertoire of Argive pottery that Courbin dates to GR 2b and 2c phases. Moreover, the subsidiary vertical chain of lozenges in horse metopes occurs on many vases from the Argolid of the same period,³⁴ while the animal's fringed tail also appears quite frequently.³⁵



FIG. 19. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³³ supra n.27 and also Courbin 1966, pl.39 cat.n.C.423 (LG 2) and pl.40 cat.n.C.240 (LG 1).

³⁴ Courbin 1966, pl.61: cat.n.C.4 (LG 2b), pl.84: cat.n.C.214 (LG 2b), pl.133: cat.n.C.3256 (LG 2).

³⁵ Courbin 1966, pl.133: cat.n.C.4097 (LG 2), pl.136: cat.n.C.4165 (LG 2c).

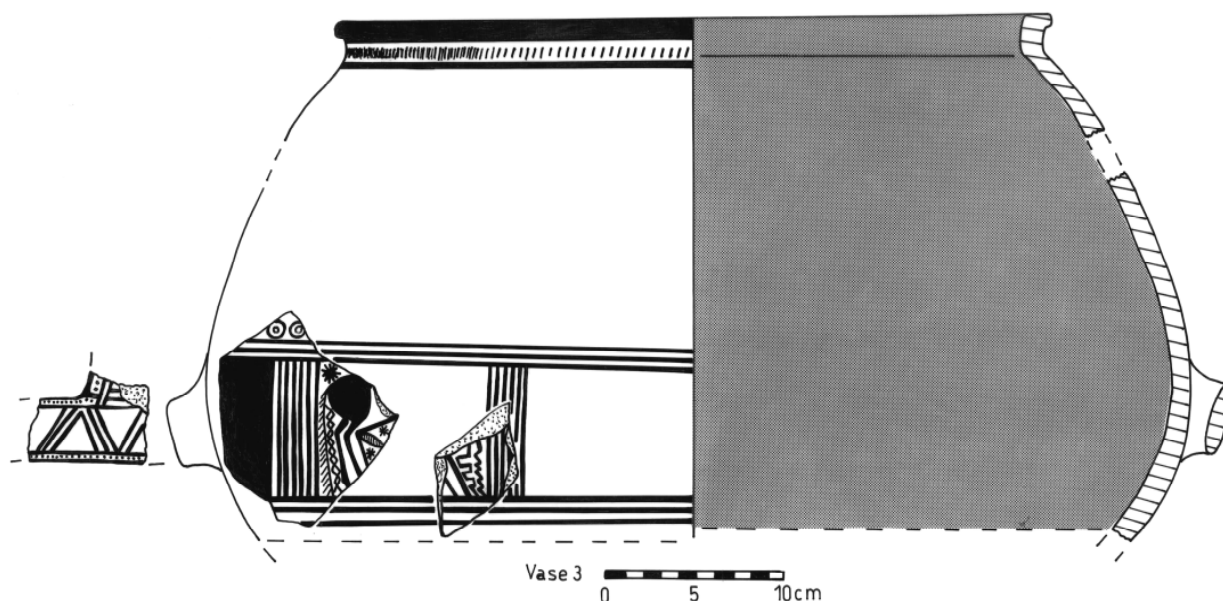


FIG. 20. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Vase 4. MM 4972, 5024 and 5088 (FIGS 21, 22).

Krater fragments. Small parts of the plain, everted rim, the shoulder and the spherical body. Light pinkish brown clay and slip, lustrous black paint, very fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. Exterior of neck decorated with zone of vertical zigzag alternating with X-shaped motifs. The start of one of the two horizontal handles is preserved at the maximum diameter; it is circular in section, possibly solid painted. Between the handles, triglyphs, comprising three vertical lines, and metopes with either hatched quatrefoil motifs and four subsidiary stars, or water-birds, alternating. The only preserved bird is depicted with head and legs in silhouette, and body in outline filled with cross-hatching. The vase has a lower zone of rows of dots and thick bands, perhaps becoming monochrome a little above the bottom.

Pres. Ht. (without foot) 16.2; rim diameter 30.0; max. diameter 32.9.

Decoration. The zone of vertical zigzag alternating with X-shaped motifs is close to Kunisch's *groups of sigmas turned to right* or KM 66d (with X-shaped motifs instead of stars), while the zone with successive dots correspond to KM 69a. The hatched quatrefoil motifs with four subsidiary stars each resemble with the one illustrated on vase 3's metope, i.e. KM 16a, 16e and KM 16h for the subsidiary solid star. The water-bird corresponds to KM 95e.

Vase 4 belongs to the group of LG depressed globular vessels, mainly open shapes (kraters, skyphoi and pyxides), that are collar-necked with a characteristic groove at the base.³⁶ Metopes with cross-hatched bodied birds or hatched quatrefoil motifs with star filling-ornament occur on many LG II vases of that group.³⁷ However, the metope system, where birds flank a central quatrefoil has been seen by Coldstream as an Atticism, occurring also on a krater from Asine.³⁸

³⁶ Courbin 1966, pl.121: cat.nos.C.4405, C.4303, pl.122: cat.n.C.1029, pl.126: cat.nos.C.1030, C.4599 and the Würzburg pyxis, pl.129: cat.nos.C.1028, C.1039, C.3304, C.4302 and C.759.

³⁷ Courbin 1966, pl.121: cat.nos. C.731, C.4654, C.4314, C.3334, C.4303, pl.128: cat.n.C.3316, pl.129: cat.n.C.4302. Stars as filling ornament are a rule in the Argolid, see Coldstream 1968, 133.

³⁸ Coldstream (1968, 132–3) presents in detail the 'Atticizing work of Asine'.



FIG. 21. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

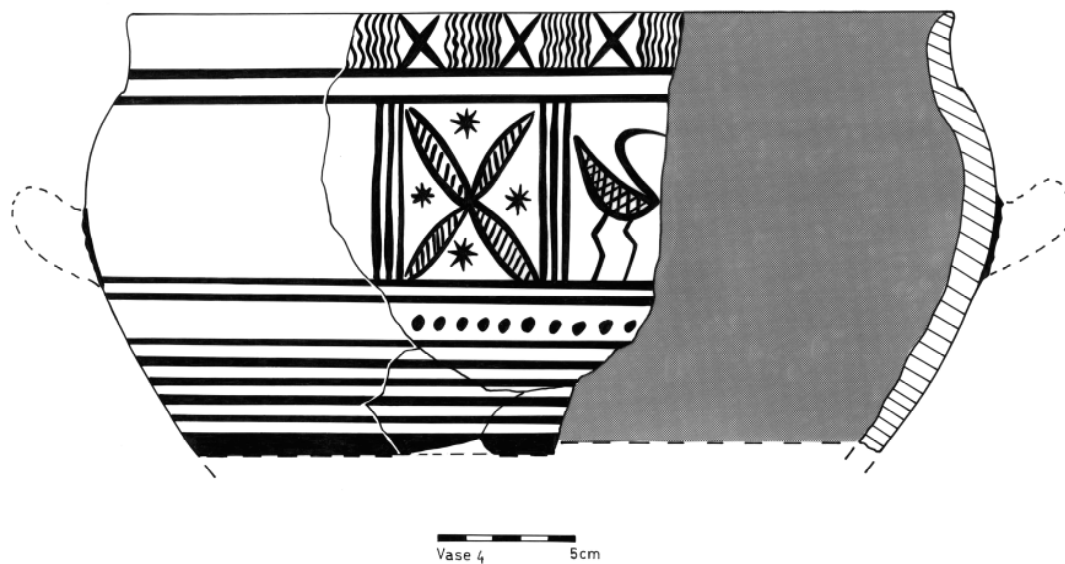


FIG. 22. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Honouring the dead off-stage

Vase 5. MM 5024, 5088 and 5022 (FIGS 23, 24, 25, 26). One-handed cup. Half preserved and mended from many sherds. Strap handle missing. Yellowish pink clay, purple-brown paint. Plain, vertical rim, deep hemispherical body, flat base. Monochrome inside and out, with interior preserved band below rim. Solid cross painted on underside of base.

Ht. 6.8; rim diameter 11.0; max. diameter 12.2.

Decoration. The solid cross on the base corresponds to Kunisch's 79c ornament.

This type of cup, termed by Courbin as *tasse haute*, is probably the most common drinking vessel of the whole Geometric period.³⁹ Created to be used and not to symbolize, this shape remained unchanged for many centuries. Monochrome cups of this type occur in the Argolid as early as the beginning of the EG period; certain LG II examples have a solid cross painted on the underside of the base, visible when lifted for drinking.⁴⁰



FIG. 23. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 24. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³⁹ Courbin 1966, 220–223 and pls.70–75.

⁴⁰ Courbin 1966, 311 and n.2 where he lists all cups with painted cross on underside found in the Argolid and ibid pl.76: C.2728 and C.1082 where two examples from Tiryns are illustrated. A similar example from Perachora is illustrated in Payne 1940, pl.13:18.



FIG. 25. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

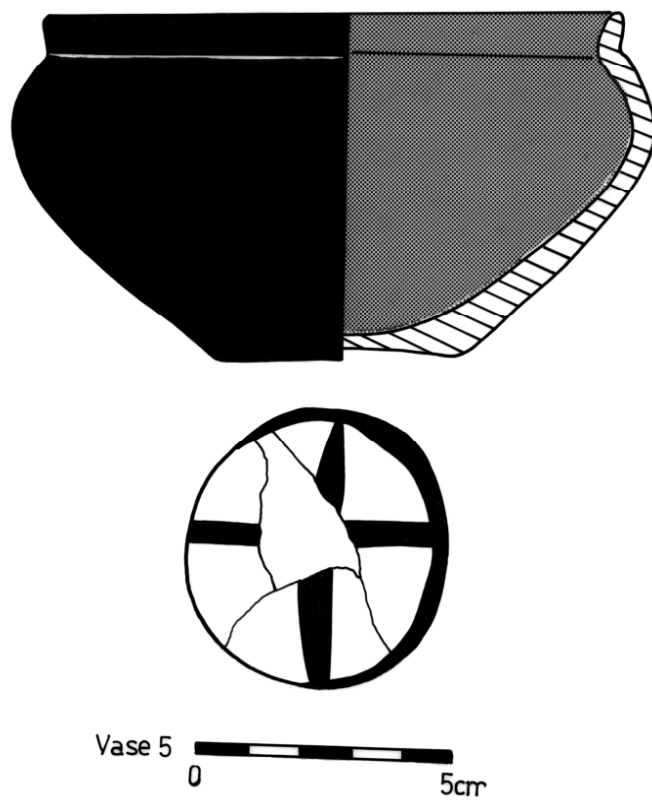


FIG. 26. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Honouring the dead off-stage

Architectural model. MM 5061 (FIGS 27, 28, 29, 30). Joined from three pieces. Brownish orange clay. Unpainted and unslipped. Part of the floor level of the building is preserved, with the start of the vertical walls on the long sides and a low parapet on the preserved narrow side. At the two preserved corners inside, one can make out the start of pilasters and in the middle of the narrow side, what appears to be a column base. There appears to be a lower course running the length of the narrow side, also indicated underneath the model.

Pres. Ht. 3.1; width 10.6; pres. length 4.3.

Judging from the curved outline of the model's long sides it is not impossible that it was a model of an apsidal building. If this is the case, then the model represents a rather small, one-roomed structure, since the fragment's outline starts curving immediately after the long sides join to the façade. Other apsidal building models include the well-known clay models from Aetos (Ithaca), Perachora and Samos⁴¹, all of which date to the second half of the 8th century B.C. The Mycenae model, being totally undecorated, is closer to that from Samos. However, the low parapet on the former's narrow side with the two pilasters and the middle column, instead of a plain entrance, sets it apart from all other examples.

FIG. 27.
Architectural
model.
(Photograph by C.
Paschalidis).



FIG. 28. Architectural
model. (Photograph
by C. Paschalidis).

⁴¹ See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 44 and fig.496, 64 and fig.499a–f, 86 and fig.507 respectively.



FIG. 29. Architectural model.
(Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

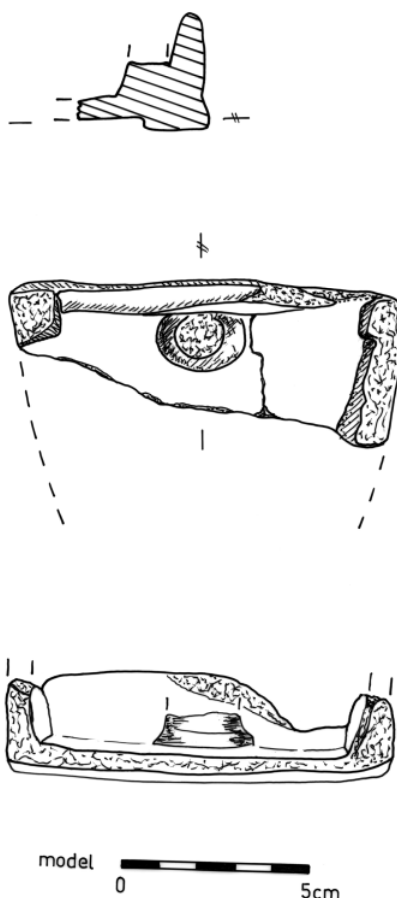


FIG. 30. Architectural model. (Drawing
by C. Paschalidis).

The discovery of a possible model within the fill of Chamber Tomb 222, by the altar is not a surprise. Such artefacts are characterized as offerings in tombs and in shrines of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period and have been found in various sites of the Mainland and the Aegean.⁴² The apsidal models – if this is the case here – are thought to represent either temples or houses and their significance has been a subject of debate among scholars since they appeared.⁴³ In Crete a good number of cylindrical clay models, found in tholos tombs and in domestic contexts, date between LM III A2 and the LG period. Although they had generally been regarded as tomb models, Petrakis recently proposed a possible function of those models as the ‘material vehicles

⁴² For a complete list of such architectural models see Gadoulou 2008, 239 and n. 543. A new LG fragment that has been unearthed recently at Nikoleika, Aigion in the Peloponnese, has been presented by Kolia and Gadoulou (forthcoming).

⁴³ Mazarakis Ainian sees the Perachora models as representing the site’s late 8th century temple and the Samos clay model as depicting possibly the house of the dedicant (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 64 and 86). Gadoulou favours the idea of models representing houses rather than temples, since most of them come from various sanctuaries of Hera, the protectress of the *oikos* (Gadoulou 2008, 240).

Honouring the dead off-stage

for ancestor worship',⁴⁴ an idea that would also fit well with the Mycenae model. However, the case of the latter is particular, since it comes from an unusual context – that of an altar honouring an ancestor's grave – and therefore it cannot be interpreted with certainty.

CONCLUSIONS. THE GEOMETRIC CULT OF THE 'DEAD HERO' ON TOP OF THE MYCENAEAN TOMB 222

To summarize the above evidence, we would suggest that after the fall of the roof, the chamber was cleaned out and remained open and well looked after for some time. It is quite possible that the chamber was investigated for any remains of the *heroic ancestors* and of the burial gifts they had been given, which would explain why the only human bones found during excavation came from the tomb's entrance.⁴⁵ In order to prevent the side of the chamber from collapsing, the collapsed walls were reinforced with retaining walls. At the top, the rough, circular altar was constructed for the performance of rituals, possibly bloodless, accompanied by the deposition of three kraters and a cup – namely the remains of a drinking set – indicating feasts, which must have been held *in situ* during the Late Geometric II period. As often suggested, the pottery used in such offerings became part of them in some cases when the vessels were smashed after use.⁴⁶ It is also possible that some of the remnants of dedications were thrown inside the chamber, as perhaps indicated by the few burnt animal bones recovered. The limited number of vases and burnt bones imply an infrequent use of the altar, towards the late 8th century BC. LG altar-like structures on top of Mycenaean tombs is not a common phenomenon; the famous 'altar' over tomb IV, Grave Circle A, found by Schliemann is considered to have been contemporary with the burial beneath that was later covered by the mound erected in the 13th century B.C. and has been the subject of debate ever since.⁴⁷

However, the practice of honouring the dead with feasting sessions especially in the 8th century BC, is found all over the Aegean.⁴⁸ In Crete, post-Minoan finds in Bronze Age tombs are known mainly from tholos tombs, such as at Achladia near Siteia, Kamilari and Hagia Triada in Messara and

⁴⁴ Petrakis 2006, especially 211. Gadolou also sees in the Cretan models a religious, possibly chthonic significance, and distinguishes them from the mainland ones (Gadolou 2008, 240).

⁴⁵ For a thorough study of the 'bone cult' in Classical Greece see McCauley 1999.

⁴⁶ Antonaccio 1995, 205.

⁴⁷ Mylonas 1957, 111–112 and 121; see also Gallou 2005, 21–24 for a detailed history of the debate on Schliemann's 'altar'.

⁴⁸ Antonaccio 1995, 199 ff especially 205–207, where she connects the stone circles at Asine, Naxos, Mycenae, Nichoria and Lefkandi with food consumption or 'ritual meals'. For the tomb cult of the Geometric period see also Lefèvre-Novaro 184 with references.

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from the LM III chamber tomb 27 at Mochlos.⁴⁹ The latter is the only known Aegean parallel for our case. An irregular platform of stones was erected over this tomb and two vases of the 7th century BC were placed nearby. This structure – which was interpreted by the excavators as an altar – together with another two contemporary vases found inside the chamber on top of an evacuated LM III A2 burial pithos, offer the best-documented evidence of a tomb cult in the Early Orientalizing Crete.⁵⁰ The excavator of the Mochlos tomb identified this as an example of removing a *hero's* skeleton and offering in return gifts, both inside and on an altar by the chamber's entrance. The Mochlos settlement was deserted at the time of this event, therefore such an unusual episode is not at all unlikely to have happened. By contrast, Mycenae was constantly inhabited and tomb cult (with or without the previous removal of the deceased bones and gifts) was a rather common practice for the living during the late 8th century BC onwards⁵¹.

Returning to Mycenae, it was no later than the 7th century BC, as indicated by the latest pottery found in the tomb's fill, that the chamber must have been filled to the top with rubbish from the settlement at Mycenae, the respect and the rituals to the dead must have ceased; the worship of the dead was forgotten and the area returned to the living. The place must have been used for the construction of a small house or a stoa, as the excavator interpreted the discovery over the tomb of a long wall and a layer of fallen roof tiles (**FIG. 31**).⁵² However, the evaluation of such a hypothesis would require the study of the tiles and the accompanying pottery, which has not yet been located in the Mycenae Museum.⁵³

⁴⁹ Although Whitley (1988, 174) excluded Crete from that practice, later excavation finds together with the re-evaluation of the existing material revealed numerous cases of the Geometric cult of the ancestors; Lefèvre-Novaro (2004, 185–191 with references) lists all the LM III tombs that contained offerings from the Geometric period.

⁵⁰ Lefèvre-Novaro 2004, 186. See also Soles 2001, 230–231 and Soles 2008, 177–179.

⁵¹ Antonaccio 1995, 30 ff. Panayiotopoulou (1990, 347–349 cat.nos. 329 and 330) illustrates sherds of LG vases from the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra.

⁵² Papadimitriou 1952, 467–8.

⁵³ Antonaccio (1995, 201 and n.8) following Papadimitriou, accepts those building remains as 8th century and wonders how they relate to the altar, named by her as 'stone circle'.

Honouring the dead off-stage

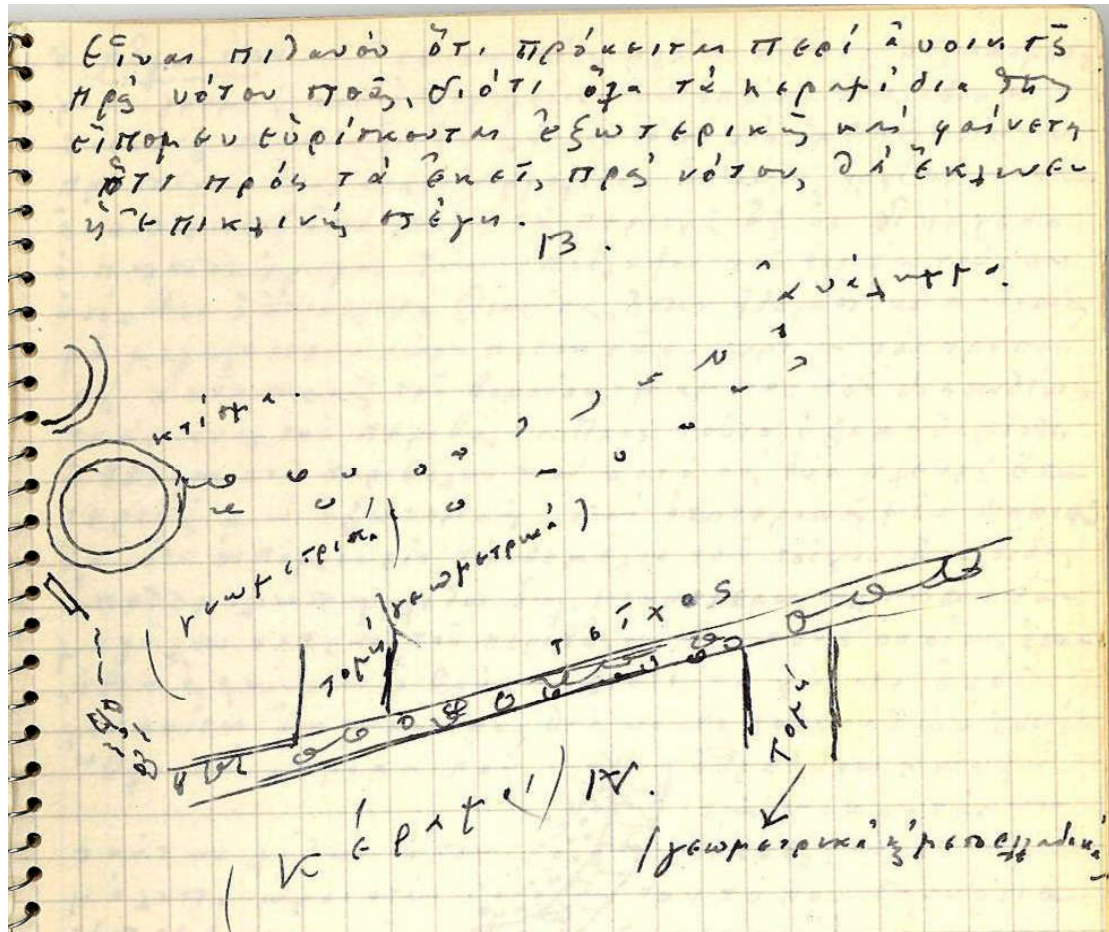


FIG. 31. Text and sketch from the excavator's diary of the circular altar and of the small house or stoa, over the tomb. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

A few centuries later, in the 3rd century BC, the Hellenistic theatre of the city of Mycenae was built at this spot. The chamber tomb and the area around Grave Circle B were filled anew. Stone seats were placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb, which was used as the suitable foundation, as well as a guide for the slope of the *koilon* (auditorium) (**FIGS 32, 33**). The tholos tomb, then still visible, was finally covered with earth. The choice of the theatre's position must have been dictated by the natural formation of the slope. However, the presence of the ancient tombs at the area must have been of some importance, judging from the case of Grave Circle A, which seems to have remained untouched and deeply respected until the end of antiquity.⁵⁴ In a place where memories were never absent, as noted by Pausanias, the teaching of drama would definitely have included an aspect that respected (honoured) the heroic ancestors. The performances of the

⁵⁴ Gallou 2005, 21.

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“misfortunes of the House of Atreus” – the words of Elektra – a breath away from the royal tombs, must have especially electrified both actors and audience alike.



FIG. 32. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).



FIG. 33. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

Handmaidens, orderers of the palace-halls,
Since at my side ye come, a suppliant train,
Companions of this offering, counsel me
As best befits the time: for I, who pour
Upon the grave these streams funereal...
...Or shall I pour this draught for Earth to drink,
Sans word or reverence, as my sire was slain,
And homeward pass with unevered eyes,
Casting the bowl away, as one who flings the household
cleansings to the common road? ⁵⁵

A similar symbolism and significance must have influenced the choice of location for the construction of Boeotian Orchomenos's theatre in the 4th century BC.⁵⁶ It was built on the slopes of the tumulus of the Tholos Tomb of Minyas,⁵⁷ a monument still visible – if not rediscovered – and especially

⁵⁵Aeschylus, *The Choephoroi*, verses 84–99. Translated by E. D. A. Morshead and published in 1998 by Orange Street Press (available at www.sparks.eserver.org/books/choephoroi.pdf).

⁵⁶For the discovery and a comment on the use of the theatre for musical contests, according to inscriptions found nearby, see Spyropoulos 1973, 392–393. Also, Papachatzis 1999, 237, n. 288 and Kountouri 1999, 50.

⁵⁷ For a description of the Minyas Tholos tomb see Pelon 1976, 414–416.

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respected in the Hellenistic period **FIG. 34**).⁵⁸ (In Pausanias's times, it was considered to be the Treasury of Minyas).⁵⁹



FIG. 34. The Boeotian Orchomenos's theatre built at the slopes of the tumulus of the Minyas Tholos tomb. (Photograph by G. Kouroupis. After Vlachopoulos 2008, 249 fig. 406. Courtesy of the volume's editor and of Melissa Publishing House).

IOANNIS PAPADIMITRIOU, THE EXCAVATOR

The study of the excavation of the chamber tomb south of Grave Circle B could not have been accomplished without the valuable manuscripts and well organized photographic archive of Ioannis Papadimitriou (**FIG. 35**). The excavator, who passed away, only a few years after the Mycenae project, left behind him much more than a mere diary, but a full excavation diary. Its pages are full of reports on the chief workers and their virtues, as well as detailed descriptions of the every minute of the day, with all kinds of

⁵⁸ Hughes 1999, 167 ff especially 174–175, interprets the revival of heroisation during Hellenistic and Roman times by individuals, social groups or cities, as an intention to claim territory and resources over the land of the putative ancestors.

⁵⁹ Pausanias 9.38. 2. Commentary by Papachatzis 1999, 232–233.

Honouring the dead off-stage

measurements, accurate terminology, comprehensive sketches of the trenches and phases and analytical descriptions of the finds (**FIGS 31, 36, 37**). At many points, the text betrays its writing at the actual time of the excavation, offering an interpretation here while rejecting or confirming it a few lines later.⁶⁰



FIG. 35. Portrait of Ioannis Papadimitriou by N. Tombazi, taken on September 11, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 36. Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi of some golden artefacts as found in situ during the excavation. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The excavation diaries of Papadimitriou attest to the electric atmosphere of the days of the excavation with the stream of journalists and the great and good. On August 2, 1952, he records for example: «*At 10 o'clock a.m. Minister Rentes⁶¹ arrived, at 12 Mrs Venizelou⁶² with Levidis⁶³, in the afternoon Papagos⁶⁴ and Markezinis*".⁶⁵ Elsewhere he does not hide the sensitive relationship between himself and archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos, then Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens and one of the three-member committee of the

⁶⁰ For the life-work of Ioannis Papadimitriou, see Petrakos 1997.

⁶¹ Constantinos Rentis, Minister of Alexandros Papagos Government. (1952–1955).

⁶² Elena Skylitsi-Venizelou, widow of Eleutherios Venizelos, late Greek Prime Minister.

⁶³ Dimitris Levidis, Lord Chamberlain of King Pavlos I of Greece (1947–1964).

⁶⁴ Alexandros Papagos, Greek Prime Minister (1952–1955).

⁶⁵ Spyros Markezinis, Minister of Alexandros Papagos Government.

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Mycenae excavations.⁶⁶ Furthermore, he preserves testimonies to the recent history of the excavation area, such as the robbing of tomb Theta by an inhabitant of Charvati⁶⁷ during “the rebellion period...” “... who in 1945 was self-nominated guardian of antiquities and president of the community and conducted excavations”. Finally, he records the well known incident at Nauplion Archaeological Museum, when he faced “inside the cases, inscriptions on every vase found by the British with large letters: BRITISH EXCAVATIONS, without Greek translation. Mr Wace who meets me every day did not mention anything on the matter. Are we in a British Museum founded in Nauplion?”⁶⁸

Much more than all this, the pages of the excavation diaries illustrate the special personality of the excavator. Along with his entirely professional position, Papadimitriou developed a very personal and emotional participation in the investigation, as seen in expressions, often overwhelmed with instant despair: “I cannot figure it out”, “I was so tired these last few days that we did not work at all today”, or expressions of wonder: “I was so impressed by the ornament that I had to descend immediately into the grave to a depth of 3m.”, or even of gratitude: “May God always reserve for me such surprises and may he retain my good luck, I have but to thank my guardian Angel”.⁶⁹ The excavation of the sacred place of Mycenae by Ioannis Papadimitriou was itself an act of respect and homage to the dead of antiquity.

⁶⁶ The committee or advisory board that supervised the excavation of the Grave Circle B consisted of

A. Keramopoulos, S. Marinatos and G. Mylonas, see Petrakos 1997, 16–19.

⁶⁷ The former name of the homonymous modern village, by ancient Mycenae.

⁶⁸ Petrakos 1997, 30–31.

⁶⁹ Petrakos 1997, 18.

Honouring the dead off-stage

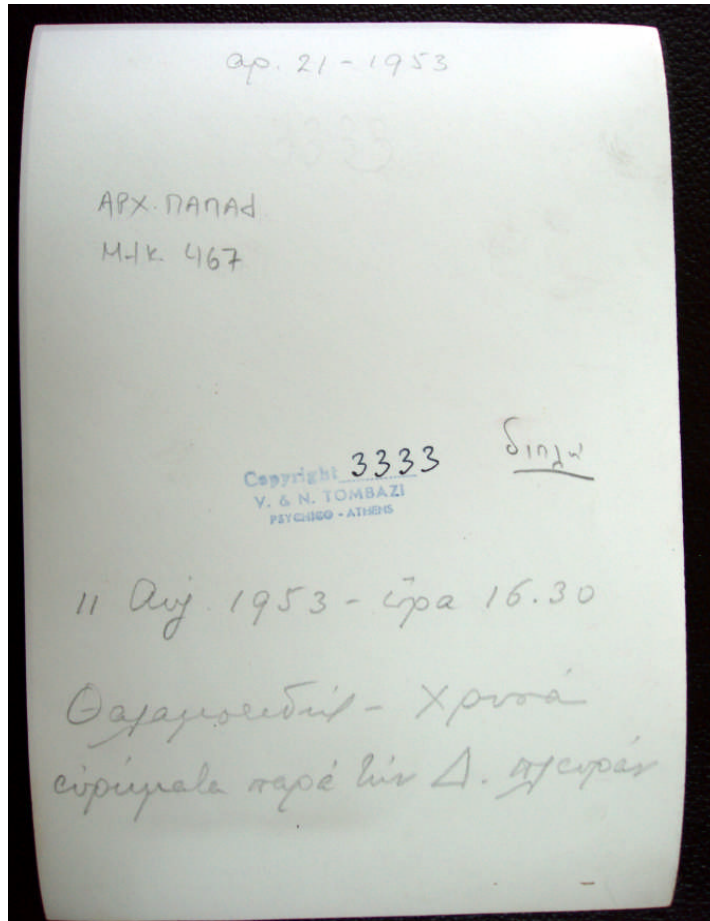


FIG. 37. The back of the photograph illustrated in FIG. 36, where the excavator notes the exact date, time and subject depicted. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

SYNOPSIS

In conclusion, the case of the chamber tomb 222 south of Grave Circle B clearly preserves the successive episodes in the history of the sacred place. On one piece of land, first people paid homage to the deceased in the chamber tomb; then they built a Late Geometric altar for worshipping the memory of their ancestors, followed by a period of oblivion during which an Archaic house was built; and finally, the Hellenistic theatre was erected to recall the words and deeds of the House of Atreus. Finally, during the last century, Ioannis Papadimitriou dedicated all his attention and care to the discovery of the remains of human activity and the important monuments of the site.

APPENDIX: ANIMAL SKELETAL REMAINS (BY ARGYRO NAFPLIOTI)

Introduction

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Argyro Nafplioti*

This appendix briefly presents and discusses preliminary results of the analysis of the animal skeletal remains from the interior of the chamber tomb that Papadimitriou excavated at Mycenae in 1952 and 1953, with particular emphasis on the history of the use of the tomb during the Geometric period. The author identified and examined this material as part of her study of the skeletal remains from the tomb, which focused on the human rather than the animal component of the collection. The human skeletal remains are not included in this appendix because they reflect the Late Bronze Age period when the tomb was used for burials. Regarding the animal bones on the other hand, there is adequate evidence from the archaeological context to infer that these, particularly the remains from the upper levels, probably largely represent the period following the collapse of the roof of the tomb and its use for interments. Also, because much of this material was found to have been collected together with pottery from the tomb and since, to date, not all the pottery boxes have been assessed, one cannot exclude the possibility that there is yet more skeletal material from the tomb to be studied. This study is currently ongoing: the author herself will carry out the study for publication of the human skeletal material from the tomb, and it is expected that the animal bones will be studied and published in the future by a specialist in zooarchaeological studies.

Materials and Methods

The animal bones were recorded for species, skeletal element, specific portion of it represented and, where possible, side, degree of epiphyseal fusion and the presence of post-mortem modifications. Undiagnostic limb-bone and other small fragments were recorded to broad size categories, namely cow or sheep/goat size. Following Silver⁷⁰, epiphyseal fusion data were used to estimate the age at death of the individuals examined. More precise age-estimates using data on dental eruption and wear were not possible due to the paucity of teeth in the material examined. The four teeth present were found loose, i.e. with no associated alveolar bone.

Concerning quantification of the recorded animal skeletal material from the tomb, acknowledging evidence for the mixing of the finds and the disturbance of the deposits in the interior of the tomb⁷¹, the paucity of stratigraphic data, and the generally poor skeletal completeness, the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) was not calculated for each context separately. Instead, the deposits from the interior of the tomb (of approximately 2.4 m total height) were arbitrarily divided into two levels at

⁷⁰ Silver 1969, 282–302.

⁷¹ Papadimitriou 1952 *op.cit.*, 1953 *op.cit.*

Honouring the dead off-stage

about 1m height; a lower one, from the floor level up to 1 m, and an upper one from 1 m in height to the level of the roof of the chamber. The skeletal material from the two levels was treated as commingled and the MNI was calculated for each level separately from the most frequent skeletal element. Right and left sides were separately counted. Further, calculation of the MNI took into account the estimated age at death.

Results

Minimum Number of Individuals, Species and Skeletal Completeness

A total number of 48 teeth and bone fragments from the upper level of the tomb deposits represent a minimum of one young (less than 1 year) and one adult pig (older than 2 years), one cow, and at least one sheep/goat (older than 10 months). An incomplete tibia of a sheep/goat, which was also collected with animal bones from the upper level of the tomb deposits, was identified as a bone tool (**FIGS 38, 39**). From the lower level, 44 teeth and bone fragments represent a minimum of one young pig (aged approximately 1 year), one sheep/goat, one calf (less than 12–18 months) and at least one cow.

Teeth are underrepresented in the material examined, i.e. 4 teeth to 88 bone fragments. Out of the above-mentioned eight individuals identified from the examined animal skeletal remains (not counting in the left tibia – bone tool), the two young pigs, that from the upper (context 5265) and mainly the other from the lower level (context 4871) of the deposits are better represented (**TABLE 1**). Based on anatomical representation and skeletal completeness, one can infer that the two young pigs probably entered the tomb as (fairly) complete carcasses when enough soft tissue was still present on the skeleton to hold together unfused parts of skeletal elements. Skeletal representation for the other six individuals ranges from one to eight identified specimens, either bones or teeth.



FIG. 38. Incomplete tibia of a sheep/goat worked to form a tool.
(Photograph by A. Nafplioti).



FIG. 39. Detail of the bone tool (FIG. 38). (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

Post-mortem skeletal modifications

Cut-marks from a sharp tool were recorded on the proximal shaft of the left humerus of the young pig from the upper level⁷².

Based on the colour and texture of the eight bone (sheep/goat-sized) fragments from context 5264 in the upper level of the tomb deposits, it may be suggested that they were burnt (FIG. 40). According to experimental studies

⁷² See Binford 1981 for the processing of animal carcasses and associated marks on the skeleton.

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on the burning of bone⁷³ although the environment surrounding bone during burning impacts on the relationship between the change of bone colour and firing temperature⁷⁴ bone colour and texture can be used to reconstruct firing conditions. Thus based on the latter bone properties, the eight bone fragments were burnt unequally. For five of these that show black cortical bone at the shaft cross-section and white to grey-blue subperiosteal surface, burning at high temperatures up to 600–900° C may be suggested. Burning for the remaining three bone fragments probably occurred at lower temperatures based on the black colour of the inner part of the trabecular bone and the light to dark brown external surface of these fragments.

No signs of burning were observed on any of the other bone fragments examined.



FIG. 40. Burnt bone fragments from the upper level of the tomb deposits, context 5264. (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

⁷³ Shipman *et al.* 1984, 307–325; Correia 1997, 275–293.

⁷⁴ Walker *et al.* 2008, 129–136.

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Discussion and Conclusions

Owing to the fact that the animal skeletal remains as yet examined probably represent a portion only of the material originally recovered by Papadimitriou, the recovery practices, and mainly the disturbance of the tomb deposits, it is very difficult to interpret the nature of this skeletal assemblage by reconstructing the practices and/or processes that led to its formation.

Based on the skeletal completeness and anatomical representation data available, the two young pigs probably entered the tomb as (fairly) complete carcasses. At that time, the unfused joining components of bones from the two individuals, such as the femoral distal epiphysis and the joining distal shaft, or the vertebral body and its unfused endplate, respectively, were still coated with soft tissue. Principally due to the disturbance of the deposits from the interior of the tomb, on present data one cannot reject a similar mode for the disposal, that is as articulated or semi-articulated bodies, of the other animals also recovered from the tomb. Finally, signs of burning were recorded for eight bone fragments only from the material examined (92 teeth or bone fragments in total), and these were recovered from the upper level of the tomb deposits, context 5264. Also, cut-marks were observed on the proximal shaft of an incomplete humerus.

To sum up, this appendix presents the preliminary study of a portion of the animal skeletal remains from the tomb. A thorough study of the entire animal skeletal material in conjunction with the excavation data available and the study of other finds from the tomb will help shed more light onto the history of its use.

TABLE 1. Skeletal completeness for the two young pigs from the tomb: number of bone fragments per skeletal element or group of skeletal elements represented.

Indi- vidual	Skull	Front Limbs	Hind Limbs	Pelvis	Verte- brae	Ribs	Carpals/ Tarsals	Metacarpals/ Metatarsals	Phalanges
Pig, context 5265	5	2	4	0	1?	0	0	2	0
Pig, context 4871	6	2	1?	1	6	2	3	2	2

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