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

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

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

Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία

Στην λατρεία και την τέχνη υπάρχει μια διφορούμενη στάση μεταξύ των Ολύμπιων και χθόνιων θεσπήτων, η οποία όμως δεν εμφανίζεται γενικά στις γραπτές πηγές. Στην
Πελοπόννησο αφθονούν οι θεότητες που έφεραν επίθετα σχετικά με τον Κάτω Κόσμο. Αυτή η ανακοίνωση ερευνά την εικονογραφία τέτοιων θεοτήτων όπως το γάλαμα του Δίως Μειλίχου, έργο του Πολυκλείτου στο Άργος, και το λατρευτικό γάλαμα του Απόλλωνα στις Αμύκλες, καθώς και την λατρεία τους στο πλαίσιο τοπικών προυσατρεμών. Κάποιες λατρείες όπως αυτή του Δίως Μειλίχου, 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 στους γάλαμες του Άργους κατά τους κλασικούς και ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Ακολούθως, η παρουσία μελέτη θα διαφωτίσει ζητήματα κοινωνικής ανισότητας και το βαθμό κοινωνικο-πολιτικής διαστροφικότητας στην Αργειακή κοινωνία των κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων.

4 Eleni Drakaki. Late Bronze Age female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnesian: 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 Peloponnesian. 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.

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

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζει μια διαχρονική μελέτη δέκα (πιθανώς) γυναικείων ταφών, οι οποίες είναι κτερισμένες με σφραγίδες από σκληρούς λίθους. Στις περιπτώσεις που αυτό καθίσταται δυνατόν, ο πλούτος και τα χαρακτηριστικά κτερίσματα συγκρίνονται με εκείνα σύγχρονων ανθρώπινων ταφών ανάλογης κοινωνικής θέσης (status), σε μια προσπάθεια να διακριθούν διαφορές ή/και ομοιότητες ανάμεσά τους. Ιδιαίτερη προσοχή δίδεται στην εικονογραφία των σφραγίδων, καθώς τα άντρες τους εκλαμβάνονται 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.
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.

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.
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 εμπλέκονταν: τι επέλεγαν να θυμούνται/τιμούν, τι επέλεγαν (ή ήταν υποχρεωμένες) να ξεχνούν, και ποιοι επέβαλαν το κυρίαρχο πλαίσιο που όφειλαν να ακολουθούν;

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

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

8 Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19th – early 20th century)
Many funeral 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 συνιστώδας για τις τοπικές κοινωνίες. Εμφανίστηκαν νέες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες, μετασχηματίζοντας την ιδιαίτερη τοπικό τρόπο σκέψης και την καθημερινή ζωή. Αυτή η παρουσίαση θα δείξει πώς αυτές οι αλλαγές μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μέσα από το ταφικό περιεχόμενο, που δίνει έμφαση και πώς οι τιμές των νεκρών αλλάζουν από την Μεσολιθική στην Νεολιθική περίοδο, από τα παραδείγματα που έχουμε από την Πελοπόννησο. Αν και τα παραδείγματα που διαθέτουμε είναι λίγα για αυτές τις μακριές περιόδους, μπορούν να προσφέρουν χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες αυτών των φάσεων.

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

200 m west of the grave enclosure on the west slopes of Teichio at Helleniko in northern Kynouria, in the framework of rescue excavations by the Ephoria, a tomb of the mid-4th
century BC was investigated. The large number of offerings categorizes it as a ‘wealthy’ burial, and provides us with valuable information both about the mortuary practices, and about the conception of the next world. Finally, the location of the grave, the extent of the cemetery along the road and its relationship both to other cemeteries in the vicinity and, in particular, to the spectacular acropolis at Teichio, indicates the significance of this site in the Thyreatis.

**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.

**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 Moiroloí 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 θηρασιοσκεψή 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 ευημερικό την απώλεια νέων ανθρώπων. Εκείνο που προκαλεί εντυπώσει στο ερευνητή της λαμπρής αυτής λογοτεχνίας είναι το θέμα της αδικίας, το οποίο ποτέ δεν προσωποποιείται. Το αδικό συνιστάται μόνο στην απώλεια του νέου ανθρώπου.

15 Theodoros Katsoulakos. The relationship of the moiroloí singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration
Vital data for research into the Moiroloí 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 Moiroloí, 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 καταγωγής του αυτού και η γνώση της σχέσης της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό. Εάν τα στοιχεία αυτά γίνουν γνωστά, ο μελετητής θα έχει τη διάθεση 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. Funeral statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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

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

22 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 Peloponnesse 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 Peloponnesse 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

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

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

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

Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί σύντομη παρουσίαση του Μυκηναϊκού θολωτού τάφου στον Κάμπο Αβίας (Νομού Μεσσηνίας), του οποίου η πλήρης μελέτη και δημοσίευση έχει αναλαβεί η υπογραφόμενη. Ο τάφος, ο οποίος ερευνήθηκε από τον Χρήστο Τσούντα 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 Τσούντας αποκαλύπτει πλευρές της έρευνάς του. Δίδονται πρώτες εκτιμήσεις για τη χρονολόγηση του μνημείου και διαγράφονται ιστορικές προεκτάσεις.

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

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

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

Οι πρόγονοι και οι ήρωες κατείχαν ιδιαίτερη θέση στη μνήμη και την καρδιά των ανθρώπων κατά την αρχαιότητα. Η εγκαθίδρυση ταφικών μνημείων για εξέχουσες προσωπικότητες σε περιβάλλον σημεία αποτελούσε συνήθες φαινόμενο, ενώ συχνά αφιερώνονταν θρησκευτικές τελευταίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην Περιηγήσει του ο Παυσανίας περιγράφει, εκτός αλλού, τα ταφικά μνημεία που συναντά. Συγκεκριμένα, τα στοιχεία για όλα τα ταφικά μνημεία που αναφέρει ο Παυσανίας...
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.

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

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

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 επιτρέπτονταν 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 θεωρούντας το ιδανικό του ‘καλού θανάτου’ για τον πολίτη, δυνάμει της πρώτης γραμμής του θανάτου που εξυμνεί ο Τυρταίος. Βέβαια, η γυνακεία εκδοχή του ‘καλού θανάτου’ δεν περνά καθόλου 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 γυναίκες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. Αφαγε 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.
Απομνήμονας 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 II και η κύρια χρήση τους τερματίζεται αιφνίδια στην ΥΕ IIIA. Αυτό ισχύει για τους περισσότερους θολωτούς τάφους που ανασκάφηκαν σε μη ανακτορικά κέντρα στην Πελοπόννησο. Η λεηλασία του εσωτερικού του τάφου είναι συνήθως βίαια και η μετέπειτα χρήση τους ως οστεοθηκών και ως ακτέριστων τάφων δεν συνιστά πρέπουσα επαναχρησιμοποίησή τους. Η πρόωρη καταστροφή των μυκηναϊκών οικισμών κατά την ίδια περίοδο, η οποία βεβαιώνεται επίσης στο Αίγιο στην Αχαΐα, έρχεται να προσθέσει στην εικόνα των διαταραχών που σηματοδοτούν την έναρξη της περιόδου αυτής.

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

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

Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;

«καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτω τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀρίστος καὶ ἔτεροι μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ οὖσαι ἀραμάτων ὰμπριτείων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπευθὺμην τὰ οὖν ὀνόματα, ἐπιθυμὴν δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τρικοσίων» (Ηροδ. 7.224). Σε αυτή την δυνατή και πολύ δραματική φράση, ο Ηρόδοτος εκφράζει την εκτίμησή του για τον Λεωνίδα, όταν μας εξιστορεί το θάνατό του, και για τους πολεμιστές που έχασαν τη ζωή τους μαζί του. Ο Λεωνίδας ήταν αριστος. Σε μικρότερο βαθμό, οι υπόλοιποι ήταν ονομαστοί. Ο ίδιος ισχυρίζεται ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες σχετικά με αυτούς τους αξίως άνδρες, σχετικά με όλους τους Τριακοσίους. Η έμφαση εδώ καλύπτεται έναν λογικό κενό στη σκέψη του: δηλάται ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες, ωστόσο αυτές φαίνεται να αφορούν μόνο τα ονόματα τους, ακόμη και όλα τα ονόματα, όχι όμως και τα ανδραγαθήματα τους. Ο Ηρόδοτος ίσως γνωρίζει τα ονόματα όλων των πολεμιστών, αλλά δεν τα παραθέτει όλα. Αντίθετα γνωρίζει, προφανώς, όχι απλά τα ονόματα τους, αλλά και τα τελευταία κατορθώματα κάποιων, τις τελευταίες θετικές ή αρνητικές πράξεις ή ρήσεις των έξι εξ αυτών: των Διηνέκη, Αλφειού, Μάρωνος, Ευρίτου, Αριστόδημου και Παντίτης. Από πού άντλησε ο Ηρόδοτος τις πληροφορίες αυτές; Από επίσημο κατάλογο ή από προφανείς πηγές; Μήπως είδε τον επίσημο κατάλογο που αναγράφοταν στη σημείωση και περιγράφεται από τον Παυσανία (3.14); Μπορούμε να σταθούμε σε συμπεράσματα από την ίδια τη μορφή της δήλωσης του Ηρόδοτου;

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

Agamemnon was a mythical figure of high importance in the ancient world, whose life and death inspired several works in Greek and Roman literature. The main aim of this paper is to
offer a detailed examination of the way in which Seneca uses and manipulates Agamemnon’s death in his tragedy *Agamemnon*. A parallel reading with earlier Greek literary treatments of the same incident will enable us, through close examination of the similarities and differences, to find out its literary role and function in the Roman tragic play.

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

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

Η λατρεία τοπικών ηρώων: η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη της ταφής και η ταυτότητα στη Σπάρτη
Η ανακοίνωση αυτή θα εξετάσει τους χώρους ταφής της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής / πρώιμης Αρχαϊκής εποχής στη Σπάρτη, όπου εμφανίζεται η μεταθανάτιος λατρεία των νεκρών από την Αρχαϊκή στην Ελληνιστική Περίοδο. Θα επικεντρωθούμε σε τρεις θέσεις: στο «Ηρώον» κοντά στον ποταμό Ευρώτα, και στα οικοδομικά τετράγωνα 98 και 101 της σύγχρονης πόλης της Σπάρτης. Η λατρεία των νεκρών ως ηρώων μέσα στον οικισμό της Σπάρτης αντίστοιχα προσκυνούσε μία τοπικοτοπική μορφή σεβασμού με αφερεδρομικές προσφορές όμως με αυτές προς τιμήν ηρώων όπως του Αγαμέμνονα και της Αλεξάνδρας-Κασσάνδρας στις Αμύκλες. Προτείνω, λοιπόν, ότι η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη των ταφών από την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο και εξής, συνεβάλλει 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 Monodenti killing field where distant relatives kept their flocks; and fear of the junta in 1970 when I stopped at the neglected Monodenti monument to leave some flowers.
Οι αναμνήσεις ενός παιδιού που έζησε την ομάτητα 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– από εκατό αιχμαλώτων το 1943. Θυμάμαι να τους μεταφέρουν σε ανοικτά φορτηγά. Να διαδίδονται τα φρικτά νέα της εκτέλεσης 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. Είδα να μεταφέρουν τα αιματοβαμμένα κορμιά κάτω από το παράθυρό μου στην οδό Οσίου Νίκωνος καθ’ οδόν προς το νεκροτάφειο. Θυμάμαι την ταφή τους ακριβώς απέναντι από το μνήμα της γιαγιάς μου. Θυμάμαι τη Σπάρτη τρομοκρατούμενη καθώς πέρασα μία εβδομάδα το καλοκαίρι του 1946 στο Μονοδέντρι δίπλα στο πεδίο εκτελέσεως, όπου μακρινοί συγγενείς είχαν τα κοπάδια τους. Και θυμάμαι το φόβο για τη χούντα το 1970 όταν σταμάτησα στο εγκαταλελειμένο μνημείο στο Μονοδέντρι για να αφήσω λουλούδια.

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

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

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

Τιμώντας τους μεταφυσικούς 'νεκρούς': αρχαίες και σύγχρονες θρησκευτικές τελευταίες αναγέννησης με αφετηρία μια παράσταση σε μυκηναϊκό κρατήρα
Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 αποκαλύφθηκε μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο στην Αγία Τριάδα του νομού Ηλείας, στη θέση «Παλιομπουκοβίνα». Στο δρόμο ενός από τους θαλαμωτούς τάφους βρέθηκε κεραμικό οστράκο με παράσταση πρόθεσης νεκρού και
γυναικείου θρήνου, η αρχαιότερη στο είδος της μέχρι σήμερα. Κατά τους ανασκαφές 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 δαμινικές 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 καλύπτει μεγαλύτερο εύρος θεμάτων. Σε αυτή τη διαδικασία αναπροσαρμογής, το εκλεπτυσμένο έργο της Τεγεάτισσας ποιήτριας Ανύτης απέτελε 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 τεχνικές κοινότητες, τις πατροτοπικές ομάδες και την κοινωνική κινητικότητα 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 Mantineia. Epigraphic parallels for the letter-forms will be offered.

IG. V.1 1124. O νεκρός των Γερονθρών στη Μαντίνεια
Η επιγραφή IG. V.1 1124 από τις Γερονθρών μας πληροφορεί πως κάποιος Ευάλκης έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή υσυχετόθηκε 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
Βασιζόμενη στην εθνογραφία μου για τη Μέσα Μάνη, θα συζητήσω τους τοπικούς τρόπους 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 ασβεστοκονιαμάτων σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα
Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείται αρχικά σε τάφους για την αδιαβροχοποίηση κατασκευών κυρίως από πωρόλιθους, όπως διαπιστώνεται στους θολωτούς τάφους της μεσαιώνας ομάδας κατά Wace στις Μυκήνες. Εν τούτω, φαίνεται ότι παράλληλα εξυπηρετούσε και την αισθητική εικόνα τους. Η ταφική διακόσμηση, επομένως, επικαιροποιείται κυρίως στην Αργολίδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα αναφέρονται επίσης στη Βοιωτία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζεται τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προέρχονταν 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.

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.

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 σπουδαήτοτε κοινωνίας εξαρτώνται εν τέλει από τον τρόπο με τον οποίο επέλεξαν να χειριστούν τους νεκρούς τους οι διάφορες ιθαγένες ανθρώπων διαφορετικών πολιτισμών και εποχών. Τα στοιχεία που αφορούν στα νεκροταφεία της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού είναι ισχυρά. Πώς μπορούμε να ερμηνεύσουμε την αποτυχία μας να εντοπίσουμε τους νεκρούς της Πρώιμης Ελληνικής 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 εθιμών 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 αφίγηση των Αράβων ιστορικών συγκρίνεται με αυτή του ελληνικού Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των μεταφραστών 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 Sparti, who showed unstinting support and generous backing; the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the British Academy also provided generous support and other participating organisations were the Pnevmatiki Estia of the Dimos Spartis and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparti and Mrs Eleni Tzinieri-Tzannetakou and the University of the Peloponnese for generously placing their lecture halls at our disposal. We were particularly pleased that a number of exhibitions and other cultural events were timed to coincide with the conference: ‘Studies on Laconia’. Book exhibition organised by the Central Public Library of Sparti; ‘The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulas Collection’ presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparti and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; ‘In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis’ art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparti; ‘Heroes of my Town’ competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparti. Particular thanks are due to the individuals who helped organise the Conference, Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Metaxia Papapostolou.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER 22

IRON AGE BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE PELOPONNESE AND THEIR PLACE IN THE FUNERARY GEOGRAPHY OF THE GREEK WORLD

JEAN-MARC LUCE

This chapter presents a part of a more general study of the geography of Early Iron Age burial customs.¹ This study is based on a survey of more than 6200 burials (more than 4800 graves) throughout the Greek world (excluding the colonies in the west) covering the period from 1100–700 BC. It allows us to place the Peloponnese within this general framework. The result will be a book to published at Nancy, currently in preparation. A first presentation is available in Pallas 73 (2007).²

FIG. 1: Combination of funeral features.

¹ Luce, forthcoming.
² Luce 2007b.
Before I present the results, I would like to say a few words on the methodological approach. We have to consider that, as far as burial customs are concerned, every Greek community gave its members a kind of choice, but the choice was not the same from one community to another. This choice is what we have to study. What does it mean, to have a choice? It means that burial customs should be defined at two levels. The first one focuses on features related to the individual being buried, the second on those which can be accepted by the community. Materials included in the grave, by the side of the body, such as furniture or offerings, reflect the status of the dead in society and many of these objects are personal ones. They are concerned with the individual and suggest a social interpretation. The features defined at the level of the community provide the form of the internment. There are five of them: (1) the shape of the grave (pit or cist-grave, tholos or chamber tomb); (2) the container (vase, coffin, sarcophagus, shroud etc.); (3) the ritual (inhumation or cremation, - both can be primary or secondary); (4) the position of the body (outstretched position, contracted position, on its back or on its side); (5) the markers over the grave (e.g. tumulus). These features provide quite a large number of possibilities for combination (fig. 1). Their combination is what communities decide. For example, in some places, cremation and inhumation were both accepted and were combined with collective tombs like tholos- or chamber-tombs, but also with individual pit- or cist-graves, with an extended position of the body. Other communities preferred inhumation for children and cremation for adults, but admitted exceptions, and knew pit- and cist-graves only. Such combinations are what I call a sequence. Indeed, sequence has, as in cinema, a kind of temporal depth. Actually, the combination is the result of a process where new features can be added to other more ancient ones at different stages of the evolution. But, because the sequences are so clearly distinct and documented by several thousand graves, it is possible to draw a general map of funeral practices in Early Iron Age Greece (FIG. 2). The distribution of burial customs visible on the map is available from the Protogeometric period onwards (end of 11th–10th century), after a first stage in the Submycenaean period, when sequences were in progress of definition but not completely elaborated.

Subsequently, we can consider the Peloponnesian sequence (FIG. 3). In fact, there are two sequences. The first is limited to Messenia. It is characterised by a strong conservatism in respect of the Mycenaean period. Tholos tombs, already frequent in the Bronze Age, still existed, and ancient cemeteries continued to be used. But in the 10th century a new form appeared, which is a deterioration from the tholos tomb: the horseshoe-grave. The vault, which was normal in tholos tombs, was replaced by a series of cover slabs. Some archaeologists call them ‘cist graves’, but they are wrong, because these graves were equipped with a lateral access into the chamber, namely the dromos, which is a characteristic of tombs with chambers. Contracted and extended positions are both used for the body, as they were in the Mycenaean period. Inhumation seems to be the only accepted ritual. As far as I
Iron Age burial customs

know, cases of cremation are dubious. This sequence survived until the end of the ninth century, and seems to have disappeared during the eighth.

The second sequence is spread throughout the rest of Peloponnese. It is better known, because of the number of graves found in the Argolid and in Corinth, often well published (838 graves have been recorded from the Argolid). Other regions are not so well documented, but Elis and especially Achaea have provided a significant number of cemeteries. Arcadia is the most poorly documented area, with only one known site. This sequence is very different from the first one. Unlike the first sequence, it assumes a clear break with the practices of the Mycenaean period. Collective tombs were very exceptional. Cist- and pit-graves were the rule. Cremation was totally rejected and the contracted position of the body, on its back or

FIG. 2: Funeral map of Iron Age Greece (PG–LG).
Jean-Marc Luce

on its side, predominated (but note some exceptions in Achaean *pithoi*). Although some chamber-tombs were still used in Argos in the 11th century, cist- and pit-graves were the rule. But from the 10th century onwards, large jars were used as containers, not only for children, which would not be very distinctive, but also for adults. As we can see, people could not choose between inhumation and cremation in this sequence, but they had a choice of container.

Iron Age Cemeteries in Peloponnese

The development of internment in a jar, the so-called *enchytrismos*, has been the subject of discussion among archaeologists. In his still very useful survey of burial customs in the Argolid, published in 1974, Robin Hägg has described its evolution. Examples were still few in the 10th century, but became more and more numerous.

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3 Deshayes 1966.
4 Hägg 1974.
with time, through the 9th and 8th centuries. In the conference *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth century* Hägg proposed a social interpretation of that phenomenon.5 Because *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* was often poorly furnished or not furnished at all, it was considered as the grave type for the poorest part of the population. On the other hand, cist-graves tended to be more and more richly furnished and became collective tombs, instead of individual, as they had been at the beginning of the Iron Age. *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* would be the tomb type of the Demos, whose rising importance in the city of Argos would be reflected in the evolution of this type of grave. Anne Foley proposed an ethnic interpretation.6 She used an inscription that documented the division of Argive society into four tribes: (Dymanes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Harnathioi). If the first three tribes are the usual ones in Doric cities, the fourth bore a non-Doric name and could have received the non-Doric part of the population. *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* would be the usual practice of these non-Doric people. But both interpretations neglect the evolution of the practices in the 7th century when, as Courbin has observed,7 *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* supplanted cist-graves almost entirely. In her survey of the Argolid (Foley 1988), Anne Foley has calculated 48 graves of the 7th century. In fact, her catalogue contains 34 graves certainly dated to the 7th century or to the transition 8th–7th, 13 Subgeometric graves, 8 dated without precision to the Archaic period and 17 graves hypothetically dated to the 7th century. The catalogue contains two 6th century graves as well. Among these 74 Archaic tombs, 52 are pithos-graves, 11 are crater-graves, 2 are SOS amphora-graves, 2 are burials in a jar, 2 are pit-graves and 2 are poros graves. Almost all the graves, therefore, are a type of *ENCHYTRISMOΣ*. Are we to suppose that rich people had completely disappeared in the seventh century? Are we to infer that Doric tribes had disappeared? Of course not. But there is another argument. The rise of *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* can be observed in other parts of the Peloponnese. In the Submycenean cemetery of Elis, *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* is not documented at all, but is well attested in Elis and within the whole of the Peloponnese from the Protogeometric period onwards. In Achaia it dominates and, according to A. Gadolou,8 who has studied Early Iron Age Achaia thoroughly, it was the only type of grave in the north-west part of Achaia and was combined with cist-graves in the east part of the region. Thus, the evolution of this practice does not seem to be entirely specific to the Argolid. What is specific to the Argolid is not *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* in itself, but the fact that graves of that type were generally poorly furnished, which was not the case in other parts of the Peloponnese. *ENCHYTRISMOΣ* can be rich in Achaia.9 What is significant in the 7th century is the generalisation, not only of one of the two forms of inhumation (the other being left), but of the limitation of

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5 Hägg 1983b.
8 Gadolou 2008.
the richness in the graves. It could be an ideological evolution. In many parts of Greece, from the beginning of the 6th century onwards, laws against luxury in funerals and graves were adopted.10 We have no evidence for such a law in the Argolid, but the diminution of wealth in graves could reflect the rise of an ideology of curtailing luxury. The theory that luxury was a corrupting thing (tryphe) is well documented in the Archaic period.11

This second sequence has a secondary version attested mainly in the 8th century in Corinth, Megara, the east coast of the Argolid and Aegina. The sequence is the same as in the rest of the Peloponnese, but the jar as a container in enchytrismos is replaced by a sarcophagus.

The Peloponnese sequence was not limited to the Peloponnese itself, but extended to the area north of the Corinthian Gulf. As can be seen on the map (FIG. 3), Acarnania, Aetolia and Locris, particularly east Locris, used exactly the same practices, the same combinations. The only difference is that cremation, almost completely excluded from the Peloponnese, occurs more often in central Greece. Evidence of this ritual is known in Stamma12 and in Tragana.13 If the Peloponnesian sequence was diffused north of the Corinthian gulf, it did not expand to the whole of central Greece. Boeotia has another sequence, with very mixed features. The extended position was much more frequent and enchytrismos of adults was rare. The sequence in Thessaly, with its numerous tholos tombs, with more frequent use of cremation and the almost exclusive use of the extended position, was again a very different sequence, with some similarities with Boeotia. The north and south of Phocis did not share the same sequence, but both were different from the Peloponnesian one.

If we put all these data on the map, the result suggests three sets of observations, the last two of which could seem, at first sight, contradictory.

First, the Peloponnesian sequence has no external origin. It is not possible to find either inside or outside of Greece any area where its different features would be combined in the same way. And that is not surprising, because the sequence has been elaborated in situ, in the course of time. It contains ancient features inherited from the Mycenaean period, such as the cist-grave or the contracted position of the body on its back, and some later innovations such as enchytrismos.14

Secondly, the geographical distribution of the sequence presents strong similarities with that of the Doric dialect (FIG. 4). In the east, the frontier between Ionic and Doric dialects is situated between Megara and Eleusis. The boundary

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14 For Mycenaean burial customs, see Cavanagh & Mee 1998.
Iron Age burial customs

between Peloponnesian and Attic burial areas is located at exactly the same place. Such a precise coincidence is truly striking. Inside the regions that spoke what became at a later date the Aeolic dialect (i.e. Boeotia and Thessaly) east Locris was an area of transition that separated them into two parts. We observe the same transition in the burial practices, with the same geographical extent. That is a second striking coincidence between dialectal and burial geographies.

FIG. 4: Superimposed image of dialect map on funeral map.

Thirdly, Arcadia has a distinct dialect within the Peloponnese. Unlike Doric, it was close to the Mycenaean language, from which it was probably the direct descendant. But we observe no specific burial sequence for this region. Few data are available, but all indicate that the Arcadians used the same sequence as the rest of the Peloponnese. Thus, our sequence is not limited to the area of the Doric dialect. On the other hand, outside the mainland, the Doric-speaking islands such as Crete and the Dodecanese had sequences extremely different from those of the Peloponnese. It is clear that the Doric-speaking regions did not constitute a consistent unique area in respect of funeral practices, but were divided into three distinct ones.

In such surprising conditions, assimilating linguistic geography and funeral geography seems impossible. But it would be equally difficult to exclude entirely any
relation between them, because of the precise coincidences we observed. If we look at the general map of Greece, we observe that the limits of the three burial sequences of the Doric speaking regions have no development outside the limits of this linguistic area. That supports the idea of a correlation between the two maps.

How can we solve this contradiction in the data?

I suggest that we distinguish what is relevant to a passive or to an active attitude inside a sequence. For the same feature, both can be integrated. The passive attitude consists in continuing the tradition as the tradition, because it is the tradition. In the Peloponnesian sequence, it can concern the cist- and pit-grave, the inhumation, the position of the body, i.e. the main features of it. An active attitude can be positive or negative. The positive one consists in the adoption of a new custom, sometimes borrowed from another area, as cremation was from more Oriental areas. Enchytrismos was not borrowed from somewhere else and was not completely new in Greece, but spread, as we saw, as something new. However, a positive attitude can also be negative. It means the refusal of a new feature. The case of inhumation and cremation in the Peloponnesian is a good example. If cremation was traditional in the Mycenaean period, cremation spread slowly in Greece in the 12th and 11th centuries, even in the Peloponnesian, as a minor phenomenon. But in the 10th century, when it became a dominant ritual in a large part of the Greek world, it withdrew completely from the Peloponnesian. The only sure exception which has been published in Argos is associated with a splendid PG amphora imported from Athens, where cremation was the rule.15 This withdrawal cannot be explained either by ignorance of this ritual, or by the continuance of the tradition, but only by the conscious rejection of cremation. As a result, the passive attitude has changed into an active attitude. A sequence is very often a mixture of passive and active attitudes. At the beginning, the active attitude does not affect the features of the sequence as a series of facts, but the consciousness of them. Only at a second stage can this consciousness lead people to strengthen some of them or to change them. Very often, the passive attitude is turned towards the past, the active attitude towards the other communities, even if it is concerned with a conservative feature. It is a way for a human group to affirm its difference vis-à-vis other groups and its similarities with others. The active attitude transforms simple practices into what the French geographer Joël Bonnemaison called a ‘géo-symbole’.16 Geosymbols are cultural markers of territory. They mean the anchorage of identity in space. In using geosymbols, a population engages in a process of construction of ethnic identity. This construction is the main result of an active attitude in burial practices. However, we should be aware that such an attitude is never inevitable, but always depends on the consciousness and the intention of the ethnic group concerned. It is never a mechanical result of the sequence.

15 Excavations at Kophiniotou Street 27, tomb 10, cf. Archaiologikon Deltion 53 (1998) [2004] B’1, 111–112.; Luce 2007b. Miss A. Papadimitriou kindly informed me that some other examples have been excavated, all in the same area.

Iron Age burial customs

As is well known, the Greeks considered the Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian unities as ethnic groups, so much so that the organisation of the Delphic Amphictionic Council was based on this division, at least from the time of the first Sacred War (596–586 BC); also, the migration myths of the Dorians were used for denoting the tribes of Sparta and other Doric cities. Every Greek community was clearly conscious of the practices of the others, particularly of its neighbours. In the 8th century the Homeric poems (where all funeral scenes are of the Ionian type) would have spread throughout the Peloponnese, giving everybody the ability to compare heroic practices with those of their own community.

In conclusion, my guess is that the Dorians of the mainland used the burial practices as geosymbols, giving them an ethnic meaning, because they had an active attitude. Unlike them, the Arcadians had a passive attitude in their funeral practices and did not mark their identity through their burial practices. This suggestion would be consistent with the opinion of Catherine Morgan that Arcadian identity was a late phenomenon (as was also Achaean identity), emerging after the end of the Early Iron Age. In fact, the foundation of Arkades in Crete, with cultural links with Arcadia, is strong evidence for an ancient self-consciousness of the Arcadians, however, they did not express their ethnicity in their material culture before the late Archaic period. The division of the Doric area into three different sequences shows that the Dorians elaborated their active attitude in relation to their immediate neighbours, because their practices were always constructed locally, without looking for a general unity on the scale of the whole Doric world.

But what happened with the Messenian sequence? Why did it disappear in the 8th century, to be replaced by the Doric one? Because the entire sequence is borrowed from outside, it should be interpreted as the result of an active attitude. It may have had some links with Spartan penetration in this region, since it occurred a short time before the Messenian Wars.

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References


Iron Age burial customs


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List of Illustrations

FIG. 1: Combination of funeral features.

FIG. 2: Funeral map of Iron Age Greece (PG–LG).

FIG. 3: Funeral map of the Peloponnese (PG–MG).

FIG. 4: Superimposed image of dialect map on funeral map.