



The University of Nottingham

Centre for Spartan and  
Peloponnesian Studies

# Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

Proceedings of the conference  
held at Sparta 23-25 April 2009

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CSPS Online Publication 2

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## Abstracts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

διαμόρφωση κοινωνικής συνοχής εντός της Λακωνίας κατά τη διάρκεια μιας καθοριστικής για κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές περιόδου, με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά: α) στην εξέλιξη των τελετουργικών πρακτικών αυτή την περίοδο, και β) στις διαφορετικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονται: τι 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 σημειωθεί 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 του εξασφαλίζουν υστεροφημία. Στη μελέτη συγκεντρώνονται όχι μόνον τα επιγραφικά αλλά και τα διαθέσιμα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα. Πρόκειται για ταφές διαφόρων τύπων που έχουν έρθει στο φως στις σωστικές ανασκαφές που διεξάγει η Ελληνική Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία τα τελευταία χρόνια στα εδάφη της Μεγαλόπολης, αποτέλεσμα της σύγχρονης οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας στο νότιο κυρίως τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης και της εκτέλεσης δημόσιων έργων στην υπαίθρο χώρα.

## **8 Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century)**

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



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

### **Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας φεύγουμε ανεβαίνοντας ...»**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Το μοιρολόι της νότιας 'κοίλης Λακεδαιμόνος' και οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της χώρας**

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

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

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

#### **Η σχέση της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης**

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

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



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

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

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

#### **Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi**

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

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

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

**Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου**

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

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

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

**Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση**

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

**20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese**

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

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

### **Η κοινωνική προέκταση των κτερισματικών και αναθηματικών κοσμημάτων στην αρχαϊκή Πελοπόννησο**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

**Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;**

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

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

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

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

### **Ο Θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα**

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

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

This paper examines the role of hero cult in the creation of communal identity in Archaic Sparta. Through the analysis of the archaeological evidence it treats the gradual development of a Spartan community identity between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The cult site on Stauffert Street offers a paradigmatic example of this phenomenon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **33 Angeliki Petropoulou. The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective**

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

### **Η σπαρτιάτικη βασιλική ταφή μέσω συγκριτικής προοπτικής**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**35 James Roy. Anyte of Tegea and the other dead**

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

**Η Ανύτη της Τεγέας και οι άλλοι νεκροί**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας**

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

**Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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## CHAPTER 33

# THE SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

ANGELIKI PETROPOULOU

### INTRODUCTION

The public honours granted to Spartan kings on their death are known from Herodotus, Xenophon and Plutarch. Herodotus (6.58) gives an account of the practices concerning the announcement of a king's death, the imposition of mourning, and the burial of a king's image, should he have died in battle. In doing so, he draws parallels between Spartan royal funerary customs and similar practices of the "barbarians of Asia," of whom he mentions once by name the Persians (6.59). On the other hand, Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 15.8–9) compares the honours granted to Spartan kings in their lifetime to those paid them on their death. Honours paid in life did not greatly exceed those accorded private individuals, whilst posthumous honours were exceptional τιμαὶ with which the Spartans honoured their kings ὡς ἡρώας. Finally, according to Plutarch (*Ages.* 40.3) it was a Spartan custom to bury on the spot men of ordinary rank who died abroad, but to bring home the bodies of their kings. Our aim in this paper is twofold. We shall first (I–II) re-examine all the customs described by Herodotus and Plutarch in the hope of gaining a better understanding of their religious nature and political significance. Then (III) we shall compare customs related to compulsory mourning with similar practices of the Persians, who have been always more or less understood to be the 'barbarians of Asia'.

### I. HERODOTUS' ACCOUNT OF THE SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL

The funerary honours accorded their kings by the Spartans (Hdt. 6.58.1–3) arise from a series of measures of which the aim is: (1) to proclaim the king's death

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<sup>1</sup> This paper has greatly profited from a short stay (August 1–16, 2009) at Trinity College in Cambridge, thanks to the kind invitation of Dr. R. D. Dawe, whom I also thank here.

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throughout the state and to avert pollution from the city of Sparta; (2) to impose mourning upon every Spartan and *perioikic* household, which is effected both through self-defilement of men and women and through attendance at the funeral both by all Spartans that have defiled themselves and by a certain number of the *perioikoi* (and helots) who have likewise defiled themselves and have come in order to mourn for the deceased king; and (3) to ensure that no business is transacted in Sparta and no king succeeds to the throne until the period of mourning is over. As we shall see, all ritual acts or other customs related to these measures have no parallel in the funerary practices observed for common Spartans singly or collectively during the Classical period, no matter how high their rank was.

### *Proclamation of a king's death in Laconia*

The news of a king's death is announced throughout Laconia by horsemen, *ἵππδες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν* (6.58.1). Although the Spartan state had in its service heralds (*κήρυκες*), to whom Herodotus refers at 6.60,<sup>2</sup> horsemen (*ἵππδες*) are obviously employed on this occasion, because the news is to reach all of Laconia as quickly as possible. The only *ἵππεις* known during the first three quarters of 5<sup>th</sup>-century Sparta are a corps of 300 picked men (*λογάδες*) who protected the Spartan king in battle.<sup>3</sup> However, these *ἵππεις*<sup>4</sup> fought on foot around the king during the Classical period,<sup>5</sup> and, according to Strabo,<sup>6</sup> they did not raise horses. Each year the oldest five<sup>7</sup> of these Spartan 'horsemen' were discharged (Hdt. 1.67.5) and served as

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<sup>2</sup> For a herald's service to a king on campaign, see Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.7.

<sup>3</sup> Their activity in war or peace is attested until 362 BC, the earliest instance (Hdt. 1.67.5) going back to about mid 6<sup>th</sup> century. See also Hdt. 6.56, 8.124.3 (escort of Themistocles); Thuc. 5.72.4 (battle of Mantinea in 418); Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.9–10 (conspiracy of Kinadon in 398), 5.1.33 (Agis' march to Tegea in 387), 6.4.14 (battle of Leuctra in 371). They are noted as *δορυφόροι* at Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.8. According to Lazenby (1985, 53) only a hundred of these *ἵππεις* formed the king's royal bodyguard on campaign (Hdt. 6.56). The remainder probably marched with the rest of the army and were stationed with the king in the battle line. See Scott 2005, 235.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Spartan citizens recruited by the *ἵππαγρέται* from the ten youngest age-classes (they were picked on merit). See Xen. *Lac.* 4.3, cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 22.4. (an Olympian victor selected to fight by the king). See also Hodkinson 1983, 247.

<sup>5</sup> See Spence 1993, 2.

<sup>6</sup> See 10.4.18: *τοὺς δὲ* (i.e. *Λακεδαιμονίους ἵππεις*) *μὴ ἵπποτροφεῖν*.

<sup>7</sup> Lazenby (1985, 53 and n. 28 on p. 182) has cast doubt on the number (five) attested by Herodotus.

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ἀγαθοεργοί ('good workers'):<sup>8</sup> namely as 'commissioners sent on foreign service'<sup>9</sup> for tasks such as the discovery and 'repatriation' of the body of Orestes (Hdt. 1.67–68). Whenever speed was important, they could of course borrow horses from Spartan horse owners in accordance with a 'property borrowing mechanism',<sup>10</sup> which allowed a non-owner of horses to arrive quickly at the place he wished.<sup>11</sup> To judge from the Spartan cavalry<sup>12</sup> at Leuctra, which depended entirely upon horses borrowed from rich Spartans who raised horses,<sup>13</sup> the above mechanism worked primarily for the benefit of the state.<sup>14</sup> However, Strabo's statement<sup>15</sup> that the Spartan ἱππεῖς did not raise horses, is possibly a misleading generalization, for the *agathoergos* Lichas, at least, who discovered the presumed skeleton of Orestes,<sup>16</sup> belonged to one of the wealthiest Spartan families, whose Olympic chariot victories probably resulted from the continuous breeding of horses.<sup>17</sup>

### *Ritual beating of cauldrons in the city of Sparta*

The announcement of a king's death was the sign that certain ritual acts were to be performed, the aim of which was the aversion of pollution from the city of Sparta and the imposition of mourning upon free adult members of every Spartan and Laconian household. First comes what is understood to be a purificatory ritual performed in the streets of Sparta: married<sup>18</sup> women move around all of Sparta beating on cauldrons as they do so, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναιῖκες περιμοῦσαι λέβητας κροτέουσι (6.58.1). A. B. Cook,<sup>19</sup> on the evidence of a couple of scholia on Theocritus, which rely on Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν*,

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<sup>8</sup> See Lazenby, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See LSJ *s.v.* ἀγαθο-εργία 2.

<sup>10</sup> To use Hodkinson's 2000, 312 phraseology.

<sup>11</sup> See Xen. *Lac.* 6.3.: ὁ γὰρ... ἢ ταχύ ποι βουλευθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἣν πον ἴδη ἵππον ὄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν. According to Hodkinson 2000, 200 "The borrowing of horses appears as an impersonal matter, involving no prior arrangement between the two parties."

<sup>12</sup> The earliest Spartan cavalry consisting of 400 horsemen was raised in 424. See Thuc. 4.55.2.

<sup>13</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.10–11: τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. Ἐτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι.

<sup>14</sup> For the limited nature of the borrowing of private property for communal use, see Hodkinson 2000, 200–201.

<sup>15</sup> See above n. 6.

<sup>16</sup> See Hdt. 1.68.

<sup>17</sup> On the victories of Arkesilaos and his son Lichas (the son and grandson of the *agathoergos* Lichas) in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, see Hodkinson 2000, 313 and table 12 on p. 308.

<sup>18</sup> As Cartledge 1987, 333 first noticed.

<sup>19</sup> See Cook 1902, 14–6 (cited already by How & Wells, 1928, 87 *ad* 58.1; cf. Scott 2005, 247).

suggests that the beating of bronze was employed in all kinds of purificatory ritual, because bronze “was regarded as pure (‘purifying’)<sup>20</sup> and an averter of pollution”; and that this practice was customary at funerals, τὸν δὲ χαλκὸν ἐπήχουν . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατοικομένοις, as in the case of a king’s death among the Spartans.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the sound produced by clashing or hitting bronze warded off chthonic powers, cymbals, bells and other percussion instruments or objects being used as prophylactic items.<sup>22</sup>

In Sparta a considerable number of bronze bells and cymbals, dedicated to Athena Chalkioikos<sup>23</sup> and to Artemis Limnatis<sup>24</sup> respectively, were probably of cultic use, although we do not know for what purpose they were employed.<sup>25</sup> However, bronze λέβητες, i.e. bowl-like vessels with round bottoms probably used for cooking,<sup>26</sup> served as cinerary urns among the Greeks.<sup>27</sup> The funereal beating on these urns by the Spartan women, who used them as drums, was certainly prophylactic or apotropaeic; it was intended to avert the pollution of the city arising from the presence of the king’s corpse, otherwise the women would not have circulated around the whole of Sparta.

Funerary pollution regularly affected the house where death had occurred and those coming out<sup>28</sup> or entering it,<sup>29</sup> i.e. the close relatives and mourners or friends of the dead. A good example is attested from Argos.<sup>30</sup> The hearth of a house in which someone has died is extinguished and new fire brought from next door after mourning is over. Thereafter the mourners sacrifice a victim to Apollo and take a piece of meat<sup>31</sup> from the god’s priest, in return for barley, which they roast at home in the new fire. At Ioulis, on the day after the funeral,

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<sup>20</sup> See *FGrH* 244 F110: ἐπειδὴ ἐνομιζέτο καθαροῦ εἶναι καὶ ἀπελαστικός τῶν μασμάτων .

<sup>21</sup> See *ibid.*: καὶ παρὰ Λάκωσι βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος εἰώθασι κρούειν λέβητα.

<sup>22</sup> They appear as such on bronze votive hands. See Cook 1902, 16.

<sup>23</sup> See Hodkinson 2000, 277 and fig. 14.

<sup>24</sup> See *IG* V<sup>1</sup> 225–6 and 1497 (cited by Cook 1902, 16, n. 5). See also the archaic bronze statuette of a female votary with cymbals, from the temple of Artemis Orthia, in Fitzhardinge 1980, 97 and fig. 124.

<sup>25</sup> The bells may have had a musical purpose. See Hodkinson 2002, 293 and n. 39.

<sup>26</sup> See Richter & Milne 1935, 10.

<sup>27</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. λέβης IV (especially Aesch. *Cho.* 686). A broad bowl-like bronze *lebes* containing the remains of a noble Eretrian warrior is in Blandin 2010, 320, pls 3–4.

<sup>28</sup> See Parker 1983, 35.

<sup>29</sup> See Bendlin 2007, 180.

<sup>30</sup> See Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 296 f–297 a.

<sup>31</sup> Called by the Argives ἔγκνισμα, see *ibidem*.



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the house is purified and a sacrifice is made of offerings burned in the hearth fire.<sup>32</sup>

Pollution seems likewise to have affected a Spartan house visited by death; for mourning did not come to an end until sacrifice was made on the twelfth day to Demeter,<sup>33</sup> which meant that pollution was no longer a barrier between man and the gods.<sup>34</sup> Yet the pollution caused by the death of a Spartan king was not simply a private affair restricted to the royal residence; for it seems to have been capable of affecting the entire city of Sparta.<sup>35</sup> Since in Greek religious thought the conduct of a king with regard to sacred matters can cause pollution affecting the city, as is the case with Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*,<sup>36</sup> the death of a king too can cause pollution with a similar effect. It is not out of place to mention here that the Spartan ephors were prepared to take prophylactic measures against those kings regarding whom they received celestial signs indicating transgression of the divine law.<sup>37</sup> To this end, the ephors employed celestial<sup>38</sup> divination, i.e. the *inductive* (or *deductive*)<sup>39</sup> divination of sky omens.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See IG XII, 5.593 A 17–8: καὶ θύη θύεν ἐφίλ[στι]α. The offerings are called θύη, a word appearing in plural, which means either burnt offerings or incense. See LSJ s.v. θύον II (θύος). Cf. Garland, 1985, 44. See also Toher 1991, 164–5.

<sup>33</sup> See Plut. *Lyc.* 27.2.: χρόνον δὲ πένθονος ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἔνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος.

<sup>34</sup> As Parker 1983, 66 has pointed out, it seems that “the real barrier that pollution sets up is not between man and man but between man and gods.”

<sup>35</sup> The sprinkling of the Spartan agora with chaff, which is attested by Heraclides Lembus (373, lines 26–8, Dilts) but goes back to Aristotle (fr. 611.10, Rose), seems to be a purificatory ritual, though the role of chaff is better understood in connection with the winnowing fan. For the latter point, see Burkert 1985, 76.

<sup>36</sup> A case of incest and patricide, i.e. two taboos representing the life-and-death attitudes of the Greeks towards familial blood, which is sacred, “and one must neither procreate with it nor destroy it.” See Daw’s 2006, 78–9 discussion of the word μίασμα *ad* 97 and his quotation from T. P. Howe (*TAPA* 93 [1962] 124–43), who is in turn quoting Lévy-Bruhl (*Primitives and the supernatural* [New York 1935]). For the untouchable sanctity of taboo, see Parker 1983, 328.

<sup>37</sup> Plut. *Cleom.* 11.3.

<sup>38</sup> Which was practiced by the Babylonians *par excellence*; the *Enūma Anu Enlil* compilation of 7,000 sky-omens having been inscribed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but incorporating material from much older times. See Barton 1994, 11.

<sup>39</sup> See on the subject, Bonnechere 2007, 150–3 (celestial divination is not treated). Cf. Koch-Westenholz 1995, 10, who distinguishes between provoked and unprovoked omens, i.e. celestial signs.

<sup>40</sup> In eighth-century Babylon the taking of sky-omens took priority over those revealed by extispicy, the welfare of the state and the king (as *persona publica*) being their concern. See Koch-Westenholz 1995, 13, 19; cf. Barton 1994, 13. The ephors’ celestial divination, though aiming at checking the efficiency of royal power in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, as Richer 1998, 176 has remarked, is similarly concerned with the welfare of the Spartan state.

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Every eight<sup>41</sup> years they selected a clear and moonless night and in silent session observed the heavens. Should a star shoot across the sky from one place to another,<sup>42</sup> they judged that their kings had committed some religious offence and suspended them from their office,<sup>43</sup> until such time as an oracle from Delphi or Olympia should come to the aid of the kings.

### *Obligatory self-defilement of Spartans and 'perioikoi'*

Next comes the obligatory self-defilement of two free persons, a man and a married woman, in every Spartan and *perioikic* household, the penalty for failure to comply being a heavy fine: ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γένηται τοιοῦτον, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέαται (6.58.1). In other words, every single Spartan and *perioikic* household was to go into mourning, for 'being polluted' was a kind of metaphysical suit of mourning.<sup>44</sup> As for those mourning within, they were to be two adults, i.e. persons of full status of either sex, most probably the *pater familias* and his wife,<sup>45</sup> who were obliged to pollute themselves with signs of defilement, *καταμιαίνεσθαι*. In the private sphere of mourning the relatives of the dead king did obviously the same, i.e. they befouled themselves, not because they were forced to, but in sympathy with the deceased.<sup>46</sup> However, although the term *καταμιαίνεσθαι* ('befoul oneself')<sup>47</sup> is always interpreted in relation to *μίασμα*, of which the meaning is either defilement or pollution ('that which defiles'),<sup>48</sup> there is no agreement as to the manner of defilement.<sup>49</sup> Cartledge, for example, translates *καταμιαίνεσθαι* as "to don mourning

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<sup>41</sup> On Plutarch's "δι' ἑτῶν ἑννέα", which is translated as "every eight years", see Carlier 1984, 294, n. 323 and Richer 1998, 155 ff. (mainly 166–74, and particularly p.169, n. 95). The *octaeteris*, in use at Babylonia already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, was a borrowing. See Richer 1998, 169, n. 98.

<sup>42</sup> Richer 1998, 187–91 argues that the passage refers to the heliacal rising of Sirius from an invisible part of the sky to another visible one.

<sup>43</sup> On the deposition of Leonidas II by the ephors in 243–2, on the pretext that one of them had seen a shooting star, see Plut. *Cleom.* 11.4–5. See also Carlier 1984, 295 and Richer 1998, 176–9.

<sup>44</sup> See Parker 1983, 41, 64. Cf. Scott 2005, 248.

<sup>45</sup> See below.

<sup>46</sup> See Ath. 15.674 a. Cf. Parker 1983, 64, "pollution is a transposition of this sympathetic befoulement to the metaphysical plane," and n. 107.

<sup>47</sup> See Powell 1938, s.v. *καταμιαίνομαι*.

<sup>48</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. *μίασμα*. I, II.

<sup>49</sup> See Nafissi 1991, 287, n. 45.

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apparel,”<sup>50</sup> while recently Scott refers to “cutting or tearing the hair or face or clothes, and throwing dust on oneself.”<sup>51</sup>

In fact, from Homer down to Lucian there were several ways of befouling oneself: refraining from washing,<sup>52</sup> dirtying one’s clothes,<sup>53</sup> rolling oneself in earth or dung,<sup>54</sup> rubbing or shedding dung or earth or ashes upon the head,<sup>55</sup> cutting or tearing the hair<sup>56</sup> tearing or cutting the face or the neck or the breast with one’s nails,<sup>57</sup> tearing one’s garments,<sup>58</sup> and, finally, wearing black clothes.<sup>59</sup> Yet most of these modes of defilement are merely expressions of the spontaneous reaction to the death of someone intimately connected with the mourner.<sup>60</sup> In the *Iliad*, only the cutting of men’s hair, which takes the form of sacrifice,<sup>61</sup> constitutes ritual defilement that has a bearing on the public aspect of funeral, i.e. the *ekphora* and cremation of the corpse, during which ritual defilement is practiced;<sup>62</sup> while throughout antiquity the cutting of the mourners’ long or short hair and/or the wearing of black clothes<sup>63</sup> are either imposed or permissible modes of defilement, which render those mourning recognizable.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, the laceration of flesh (*ἀμύσσειν*, or *φοινίσσειν*)<sup>65</sup> is occasionally forbidden by

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<sup>50</sup> See Cartledge 1987, 104.

<sup>51</sup> See Scott 2005, 248.

<sup>52</sup> See *Il.* 23.42–6.

<sup>53</sup> See *Il.* 18.25. See also Sokolowski 1955, 16.6 (wearing of squalid mourning garment banned).

<sup>54</sup> See *Il.* 18.26 (earth); 22.414 and 24.163–5, 640 (dung). Cf. Lucian, *Luct.* 12 (rolling oneself on the ground).

<sup>55</sup> See *Il.* 24. 163–5 (dung); *Od.* 24.316–7 (ashes) and Eur. *Supp.* 826–7, 1160 (ashes); Lucian *Luct.* 12 (earth).

<sup>56</sup> See *Il.* 23.135–6, 141 (cutting); *Od.* 4.197–8 and 24.46 (cutting); *Il.* 24.710–12 (tearing); Aesch. *Cho.* 6–7, 168 and 172–3 (cutting); Eur. *Andr.* 826 (tearing); Pl. *Phd.* 89b (cutting); Luc. *Luc.* 12 (tearing).

<sup>57</sup> See *Il.* 19.284–5. See also Eur. *Andr.* 826–7, *Suppl.* 76–8, *Hel.* 1089 (see also Garland 1985, 141–2); Luc. *Luc.* 12; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 608f.

<sup>58</sup> See Sappho (fr.140a Lobel-Page); Lucian (see previous note); Peek 1955, 1159.9–10. The tearing of garments was much more common among the Hebrews (see the O. Testament, *Lev.* 10.6, 21.10; *Jer.* 41.5; *Job* 1.20) and the Persians (see text below and n. 167) than among the Greeks.

<sup>59</sup> See *Il.* 24.93–4, the only Homeric mention of it (see Richardson 1993, 286–7); Aesch. *Cho.* 10–12; Artem. 2.3, lines 22–5. The Argives (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 270 f) and the people of Gambreion (Sokolowski 1955, 16, 9) were exceptions: they wore white or grey mourning garments. Cf. Polyb. 30.4.5.

<sup>60</sup> On the Homeric epics, see Andronikos 1968, W 1–2, 11. On later practice, see Peek, n. 58 above.

<sup>61</sup> See Petropoulou 2006, 20 and nn. 204–5; cf. Reiner 1938, 45 and n. 5 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>62</sup> See *Il.* 23.134–6 and 140–1.

<sup>63</sup> Both in private and public mourning, see Brill’s *Neue Pauly* s.v. “mourning dress.”

<sup>64</sup> Black or dark clothes were visible expression of grief or mourning, see Pekridou–Gorecki 1989, 123.

<sup>65</sup> Practiced by a slave in the Homeric epics, see *Il.* 19.284–5.

archaic legislation<sup>66</sup> and persists only in the privacy of the home, as is suggested by both literary and visual evidence.<sup>67</sup> In particular the cutting of men's hair was sometimes imposed on occasions of public mourning resulting from military defeat and disaster<sup>68</sup> or from the death of a victorious war leader.<sup>69</sup> Regularly, however, both men and women wore black clothes and cut their hair on occasions of either private or public mourning.<sup>70</sup>

Mourning in black is attested by Pausanias (4.14.4) as a Spartan custom. It was imposed on the helots of Messenia, i.e. both men and women, who were obliged to come to the *ekphorai* of the Spartan kings dressed in black: ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ. Pausanias here cites Tyrtaeus (fr. 7 West) and his passage is in certain respects confused;<sup>71</sup> but his reference to *couples* of helots, i.e. "mourning men and married women" who participated in the funerals of the Spartan kings suggests that his information about the colour of the mourning garment may be correct. For down to Herodotus' time those obliged to attend the Spartan royal funerals were similarly (married) 'couples' of mourning Spartans and *perioikoi*. After all, the wearing of black mourning clothes was a prevalent Greek custom, as we have already seen. There remains little doubt that the garments of the king's relatives were black. The free Spartans and *perioikoi* who were obliged to attend the funeral were evidently dressed in the same fashion. And since black garments and freshly cut hair were complementary mourning practices among the Greeks, it is also very likely that both the king's relatives and these free Spartan citizens and *perioikoi* 'defiled themselves' by cutting their hair. The adult Spartan citizens, who are well known from several sources to have worn long hair,<sup>72</sup> presumably cut it short. It is less easy to determine how the married Spartan women defiled themselves; for,

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<sup>66</sup> See below and n. 77.

<sup>67</sup> On visual evidence, see Shapiro 1991, 631. The tearing at or lacerating the flesh no longer appears on Attic white lekythoi. See idem, 650.

<sup>68</sup> See Hdt. 1.82.7 (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 89c) and 6.21.1. Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 1.2. (political defeat resulting in the expulsion of the Bacchiadae).

<sup>69</sup> E.g. that of Patroclus or Achilles in the Homeric epics (see above n. 56) and centuries later of Pelopidas, see Plut. *Pel.* 33.3–4 (κείρασθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς).

<sup>70</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8; Isae. 4.7; Plut. *Mor.* 609b. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 215–7, 425–7; *Tro.* 279; *Hel.* 1087–8; *IA* 1437–8. For visual evidence on the female mourners' short cut hair, see Shapiro 1991, 650 and figs. 18–19. See also the loutrophoros of the Kleophrades Painter (Louvre, CA453) in Arias [1962], pll. 126–8.

<sup>71</sup> The reference to the funerals of other dignitaries, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει, is certainly wrong. For the problems of this passage in its context, see Scott 2005, 249 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>72</sup> As contrasted to the ephebes whose heads were closely cropped, see David 1992, 12–13. See also Hodkinson 2000, 226.

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upon marriage, they had their hair cut off close to the head, and they were expected to wear it short thereafter;<sup>73</sup> unless they defiled themselves by cropping their hair close, as the Athenian men did as they mourned the victims at Arginoussai, described by Xenophon as ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμέντοι.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, hardly anything is known of the hairstyles of the *perioikoi*.<sup>75</sup> In general, one thing is certain, no matter whether the mourner's hair was short or long, it was cut in any case as a sign of mourning. For, as Plutarch puts it, mourning brings about a reversal of the familiar and ordinary.<sup>76</sup>

Funerary defilement at royal funerals seems to be an exception in late Archaic and Classical Sparta. For, though in Athens Solon had specifically forbidden the practice of lacerating the flesh,<sup>77</sup> funerary defilement of all kinds had been abolished in Sparta. The measure is attributed to Lycurgus, περιεἶλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισμοῦς;<sup>78</sup> yet it is evidently part of the changes brought about by the development of Spartan funerary practices, which is placed by Nafissi in the context of the transformation of a seventh-century aristocratic society into the classical Spartan polis, i.e. about mid sixth-century.<sup>79</sup>

### *Compulsory attendance and lamentation at a king's funeral*

In addition to the Spartans, a certain number of the *perioikoi* were forced to attend the funeral from all over Laconia, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι (6.58.2). The Spartans, i.e. the couples subjected to defilement from every Spartan household, were evidently all required to be present at the funeral; while only a certain, undefined number of the equivalent couples of the *perioikoi* were forced

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<sup>73</sup> See David 1992, 17.

<sup>74</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8. The phrase πένθιμος κουρὰ refers to the close cropping of hair as is suggested by the phrase ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ πρὸς φθεῖρα κείρεσθαι τὴν πένθιμον κουρὰν, see Poll. *Onom.* 2.29. Cf. the cutting of the Spartan bride's hair in Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3: τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῶ περιέκειρεν.

<sup>75</sup> See David 1992, 19–20. He has suggested that the relatively short hair of a bronze statuette showing presumably a *perioikos*, may reflect the hair-style characteristic of his perioecic status (see photograph in Fitzhardinge 1980, 99, fig. 126).

<sup>76</sup> See Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 267 a.

<sup>77</sup> See Plut. *Sol.* 21.6: ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων...ἀφείλεν. For Solon's funerary legislation, see Alexiou 2002, 15. As Toher 1191, 162–3 and Shapiro 1991, 630 have pointed out Solon's legislation is concerned with the conduct of women in the home and in public. See also Stears 2008, 143.

<sup>78</sup> See Plut. *Quest. Graec.* 238 d1 (*Apophthegmata Laconica*).

<sup>79</sup> See Nafissi 1991, 338–41 and Hodkinson 2000, 242, who argues in favour of a date before mid-sixth century on the basis of the extant visual record.



to come to Sparta, evidently fewer than the Spartan couples. Helots, mentioned by Herodotus for the first time in the next phrase, were also included in the gathering of Spartans and *perioikoi*. They were presumably “representatives from each of the Helot families working the domains of the deceased king together with perhaps a token couple from each of the other *klaroi*.”<sup>80</sup> The helot couples were no doubt fewer than the *perioikic* ones. The reason the helots were not mentioned earlier in the text is, I think, due to the fact that Herodotus laid emphasis on the imposition of mourning upon free persons, not upon slaves. Compulsory attendance by men and their *wives*, i.e. “married” couples, “who lamented at the funerals of their Spartan masters” is indirectly attested as early as Tyrtaeus (fr. 7 West): δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί. There remains little doubt that those defiled and attending the funeral of a Spartan king as mourners were “married” couples.

In fact, those participating in the royal funeral represented all sections of the population, their numbers being seemingly in proportion to their social status: a couple from every Spartan household, a smaller number of couples of *perioikoi*, and even fewer helots. As Richer<sup>81</sup> has aptly remarked, the importance of a royal death for the Lacedaemonian community in general is demonstrated by the great number of participants and the duration of mourning.<sup>82</sup>

After the *perioikoi*, the helots and the Spartans all gathered in their thousands in one spot, both men and women zealously beat their brows and lamented profusely, constantly declaring that the king who has just died was the best they ever had, τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τῶντὸ πολλὰ χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον (6.58.3). Herodotus is vague concerning the place where the gathering and lamentation take place. Reiner<sup>83</sup> has suggested that this public lamentation was part of the *prothesis* of the deceased king, and that it was held in the open. However, both gathering and lamentation are mentioned in connection not with the *prothesis* but the *ekphora*: i.e. the formal procession from the place of *prothesis* to the grave, as the phrase ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι (‘to attend the funeral’)<sup>84</sup> suggests. It is, therefore, more likely that Herodotus is referring to the gathering of the *perioikoi*, the helots and the

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<sup>80</sup> As Cartledge 1987, 333 has suggested.

<sup>81</sup> See Richer 2007, 249.

<sup>82</sup> On this point, see below.

<sup>83</sup> See Reiner 1938, 50, n. 1.

<sup>84</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. κῆδος 2b.

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Spartans in the royal cemetery.<sup>85</sup> At the public funeral of the war dead in Athens, the ritual lamentation of the dead by their female relatives and the funeral oration are held at the place of burial, i.e. in the Kerameikos.<sup>86</sup>

However, in sharp contrast to Classical mourning practices, at Spartan royal funerals men and women not related to the king by *anchisteia* lamented without restraint<sup>87</sup> and behaved in the same ritual manner. They beat their forehead passionately, *κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως*. Their behaviour was reminiscent of non-Greek expressions of great grief, which is always attested in connection with male mourners.<sup>88</sup> However, the beating of the mourner's head on the ground or of the breasts (*στέρνα τυπτόμενα*) with the hands is still practiced in Lucian's time, by women and men respectively.<sup>89</sup> With regard to the dirge (*οἰμωγή*), it obviously contained a refrain<sup>90</sup> (*φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον*)<sup>91</sup> which probably alluded to a *canto funebre ufficiale*<sup>92</sup> exalting the deceased king in a kind of *laudatio temporis acti*.<sup>93</sup> An indirect reference to such eulogies is presumably made by Xenophon in his portrait of *Agesilaus*.<sup>94</sup> Finally, it should be noted that the public lamentation at a Spartan king's funeral was a funerary practice that was exceptional for Sparta. The funerals of all other Spartans were probably held in silence,<sup>95</sup> given that both mourning (*πένθη*) and lamentation (*ὀδυρμοὶ*) had been completely prohibited in the period of transformation of funerary customs in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> The graves of the Eurypontids lay in the village of Limnai, near a sanctuary of Dictynna; those of the Agiads were situated on a site called Theomelida in Pitane, close to a shrine of Asclepius. See Paus. 3.12.8 and 3.14.2.

<sup>86</sup> See Thuc. 2.34.4, 6. Cf. Cartledge 1987, 334. He places the mourning of the Lacedaemonian men and women during the *ekphora* and at the graveside.

<sup>87</sup> For the restrictions on lamentation in funerary legislation, see Toher 1991, 160–6, and 168, Shapiro 1991, 630, Stears 2008, 141–2, and Hodkinson 2000, 246–7.

<sup>88</sup> See Hdt. 2.121 δ.2; Arr. *Anab.* 7.24.3 (*τύπτεσθαι τὰ τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα*); Plut. *Alex.* 30.3 (*πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν*)]. Cf. Priam in the *Il.* 22.33 (*κεφαλὴν δ' ὃ γε κόψατο χερσὶν*) and the citizens of Erythrai forced to mourn for their tyrants, below.

<sup>89</sup> See Luc. *Luct.* 12; [Plut.] *Cons. Ad Apoll.* 114 f; Peek 1955, 1159, 9–10.

<sup>90</sup> Which is a constituent of the ritual lament, see Reiner 1938, 30–5 and Alexiou 2002, 13.

<sup>91</sup> For the importance of the *aristeia* in Spartan life, which was a quality acquired by the king after his death, see Richer 1994, 58–62.

<sup>92</sup> As Nenci 1998, 227 (ad 58.16–7) has suggested.

<sup>93</sup> The eulogy of the deceased, as an important component of the *γόος*, also appears in *Beowulf*, see Reiner 1938, 62–3.

<sup>94</sup> See Xen. *Ages.* 10.3: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκῶς ἐπαινεῖται τούτου ἔνεκα θρῆνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω.*

<sup>95</sup> See Nafissi 1991, 285.

<sup>96</sup> See Plut. *Mor.* 238d (*Instituta Laconica*); see also Hodkinson 2000, 246–7 and text above.

*Closing of the Spartan marketplace and postponement of the ἀρχαιρεσίη*

We are told that for ten days after a king had been buried, the marketplace was closed for business and there was no ἀρχαιρεσίη, for this was a period of mourning, ἐπεὶ δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφί οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίξει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας (6.58.3). The phrase ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίξει denotes "the sitting of an electoral assembly",<sup>97</sup> but is usually taken to mean that public business is suspended, with reference to the day-to-day activity of the ephors.<sup>98</sup> However, since the plural *archairesiai* refers to the elections of magistrates,<sup>99</sup> the singular, which appears only here,<sup>100</sup> is used, I think, for the 'choice' of the member of the royal family, who has legitimate claims to succeed the deceased king. Though there was a clear vertical system of succession in Sparta, succession disputes were not rare. And they were most likely resolved by the Gerousia and Ephors in combination.<sup>101</sup>

A case in point is the succession of Agis II (in 400 BC) by his half-brother Agesilaus ahead of his son Leotychidas, whose parentage was suspect.<sup>102</sup> Agesilaos was chosen as king<sup>103</sup> "when the days were purified,"<sup>104</sup> i.e. on the eleventh day after Agis' burial. It was only then, when communion with the gods had been restored, that the installation of the new king could be accompanied by the traditional dances and sacrifices.<sup>105</sup> Naturally, the 'impurity' and inauspicious character of the days of mourning are responsible both for the closing of the marketplace and the postponement of the royal succession. For, in accordance with an established Greek custom, private and public activity stopped on days which were regarded as μὴ καθαράι and nefandous (ἀποφράδες).<sup>106</sup> With regard to the length of the overall mourning period for a Spartan king, it certainly exceeded that of private Spartan mourning, which was eleven days.<sup>107</sup> As

<sup>97</sup> See Powell 1938, s.v. ἀρχαιρεσίη (συνίξει).

<sup>98</sup> See, e.g., recently Scott 2005, 250. Millender 2002, 10 speaks of the suspension of political activity.

<sup>99</sup> See examples cited by LSJ s.v. ἀρχαιρεσία, mainly Arist. *Pol.* 1281b.33 (ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας... τῶν ἀρχόντων).

<sup>100</sup> See previous note.

<sup>101</sup> See Cartledge 1987, 110–13.

<sup>102</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1–4, Ages. 1.5; Plut. *Lys.* 22.3–5. See the excellent discussion of these texts by Cartledge 1987, 111–14.

<sup>103</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.4: Ἀγησίλαον εἶλοντο βασιλέα.

<sup>104</sup> See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι....

<sup>105</sup> Mentioned by Thucydides (5.16.3) in connection with the return of Pleistoanax.

<sup>106</sup> So-called in Athens, see Luc. *Pseudol.* 12 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.12; Pl. *Leg.* 800 d.

<sup>107</sup> See above, n. 33.

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Cartledge<sup>108</sup> has pointed out, it will have taken at least three to four days from the announcement of a king's death until the gathering at Sparta of those forced to attend the funeral. In other words, the complete mourning period for a Spartan king would have been at least fourteen days, i.e. two weeks.

### II. THE REPATRIATION OF THE KINGS' BODIES: A *SINE QUA NON* FOR A SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL

The honours described by Herodotus constitute the salient features of the public aspect of Spartan royal obsequies, which were fundamentally different from those of the other Spartans in yet another respect. No matter where the kings died, custom required that they be buried at home. Plutarch (*Ages.* 40.3) is explicit on the matter. It was Spartan practice that, whilst when men of ordinary rank died abroad, their bodies were given funerary rites and buried on the spot, the bodies of their kings were brought home, ἔθους δὲ ὄντος Λακωνικοῦ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπὶ ξένης ἀποθανόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα κηδεύειν καὶ ἀπολείπειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οἴκαδε κομίζειν. Plutarch's description of the custom introduces us to the theme of the burial of Agesilaus, who died peacefully in Cyrene at the age of eighty four, in 359 BC. They enclosed his dead body in melted wax and brought it back to Sparta. Xenophon (*Ages.* 11.16) stresses the fact that Agesilaus received a 'royal burial' in his homeland.<sup>109</sup>

The information given by Plutarch is confirmed by other evidence. The body of the Spartan king Agesipolis, who died of fever in 381 BC while on campaign in Macedonia, was repatriated and received a 'royal burial' at home (*Xen. Hell.* 5.3.19). Yet even if a king died on the battlefield, the Spartans fighting around him did their utmost to recover his body and carry it back to Sparta for burial. Thus, when Kleombrotos was mortally wounded at the battle of Leuktra, in 371 BC, the Spartans around him were able to pick him up and carry him off while he was still alive.<sup>110</sup> In discussing the death of Kleombrotos, Pausanias (9.13.10) explains that among the Lacedaemonians it was regarded as utterly disgraceful to allow the body of the king to fall into the hands of the enemy. On the other hand, both literary and archaeological evidence indicate that burial on the spot or in nearby territory and accompanied by the same funerary ceremony,

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<sup>108</sup> See Cartledge 1987, 333. Cf. the period of several days decreed by the Syracusans for the preparation of the funeral of Timoleon and the assembling of *perioikoi* and foreigners in *Plut. Tim.* 39.2.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *Diod. Sic.* 15.93.6.

<sup>110</sup> See *Xen. Hell.* 6.4.13; *Diod. Sic.* 15.56.1.

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was practiced for all other Spartans dying abroad, no matter how high their rank or whether they died in peace or war.<sup>111</sup>

### *Ekphora of an 'eidolon' and burial in a cenotaph*

Herodotus (6.58.3) recorded that if a king died in battle, the Spartans made an effigy of him and carried it to the grave on a magnificently decked bier, ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἶδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. Given the established practice of repatriating the king's body, Herodotus is here referring to the circumstances in which the body was not retrieved from the enemy.<sup>112</sup> In fact, this was the case of Leonidas, whose death is described by Herodotus at 7.225.1. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylai, a fierce struggle rose over his body between the Persians and the Spartans. The Persians intended to mutilate Leonidas' body in accordance with their own custom,<sup>113</sup> but the Spartans refused to disgrace themselves by letting the king's body fall into enemy hands. Thus the Spartans drove back the enemy four times and Leonidas' corpse was not mutilated until all Spartans lay dead (Hdt. 7.238.1).

In view of all this, it has been persuasively argued by Schaefer<sup>114</sup> that the construction of the king's *eidolon*, which was carried to the grave on a magnificently decked bier, was an innovation made for Leonidas; and that the *eidolon* in question was in fact a life-size and lifelike effigy, which functioned as a substitute (for the body). In fact, no other king prior to Leonidas is known to have fallen into enemy hands, at least not since Messenia had come under Spartan rule.<sup>115</sup> After Leonidas, the only other king whose corpse was not retrieved was Archidamos III,<sup>116</sup> the son of the Agesilaus mentioned above,<sup>117</sup> who reigned in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. Archidamos was slain at Mandonion in 338

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<sup>111</sup> For the latter ones, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.14–15: the Spartan dead at Leuctra, including a polemarch and one of the king's companions with his son, were interred *in situ* under a truce. Cf. examples cited by Pritchett 1985, 243–4 and Cartledge 1987, 337. However, warriors from the wealthy elite were to some degree differentially honoured in military burials abroad. See Hodkinson 2000, 256–9.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Hodkinson 2000, 262. For those following Schaefer, see Toher 1999, 114 and n. 2.

<sup>113</sup> See on this point Petropoulou 2008, 15 and n. 131. "Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other man" (Hdt. 7.238.2).

<sup>114</sup> See Schaefer 1957, 223–33.

<sup>115</sup> The Agiad Teleklos, killed by the Messenians before the subjugation of Messenia, is placed in 825/24–786/85. See Poralla 1985, 117–8. Nothing is known about the fate of his body. See Paus. 4.4.2–3.

<sup>116</sup> As Toher 1999, 114, n. 4 first remarked.

<sup>117</sup> For his genealogy and vita, see See Poralla 1985, 33–4.

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BC by the Messapioi, an Italian tribe. They refused to surrender his body, in spite of the great sums of money promised by the Tarentines, to whose aid Archidamos had come.<sup>118</sup> Thus his corpse was not buried, a fact attributed to the wrath of Apollo, whose Delphic sanctuary had been seized and looted with the aid of the Spartans during Archidamos' reign (Paus. 3.10.5).<sup>119</sup> Archidamos was, according to Pausanias (6.4.9), the only Spartan king known not to have been buried at Sparta: καὶ βασιλέων μόνος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δηλός ἐστιν ἀμαρτῶν τάφου. Thus no life-size and lifelike effigy of Archidamos will have been carried to a royal grave constructed to house it, as had presumably happened in the case of Leonidas. The Spartan aid in the seizure and looting of the Delphic sanctuary had apparently made Archidamos a *persona non grata* for burial at home, for no king was supposed to transgress divine law. In all likelihood it was his family who sent a statue of him to Olympia, this being the only image of a Spartan king to be set up outside the borders of Lacedaemonia.<sup>120</sup>

To return to Leonidas, Richer<sup>121</sup> has argued that three successive funerary ceremonies were held in his honour: (1) He was initially buried at Thermopylai; (2) in the absence of his body, the Spartans conferred funerary honours on his *eidolon*; and (3) forty years later, the Spartans, having returned to Sparta with his bones, erected a tomb intended to house them, which Pausanias saw in the proximity of the theatre (3.14.1).<sup>122</sup> However, there is no evidence whatsoever that Leonidas' decapitated body<sup>123</sup> was buried either together with the other Spartans or separately, i.e. at the place where a stone lion stood later "in his honour"<sup>124</sup> (Hdt. 7.225.2). As Macan noted, "the body of Leonidas was not buried there (i.e. at Thermopylai) at all, but beheaded, impaled, and exposed."<sup>125</sup> We should not forget that until the victory of 479 the Greeks had no opportunity of

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<sup>118</sup> See Theopompos of Chios in *FGrH* 15 F 232 (=Athen. 12 536 c/d); Plut. *Agis* 3.3; Diod. Sic.16.63.1–2.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. 16.63.1.

<sup>120</sup> For the way Pausanias himself accounts for the setting up of Archidamos' statue in Olympia, see 6.4.9.

<sup>121</sup> See Richer 1994, 73–6.

<sup>122</sup> It is not within the scope of this paper to examine the problems concerning the date on which the bones of Leonidas were transferred to Sparta. See Richer 1994, 74 and n. 135. The theatre was situated on the slopes of the Acropolis hill of Sparta, below the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. See Waywell et al. 1988, 97–111.

<sup>123</sup> By order of Mardonius and Xerxes the Persians cut off and impaled the head of Leonidas, see Hdt. 7.238.1; 9.78.3.

<sup>124</sup> I follow Connor 1979, 25 and nn. 15, 19 (and most commentators) in translating so the phrase ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. Pritchett's 1985, 168 deduction that Leonidas was buried in a separate tomb, because his bones were later moved to Sparta, rests on the assumption that the bones transferred there were actually the remains of Leonidas. Cf. Nafissi 1991, 312 and n. 152.

<sup>125</sup> See Macan 1908, 335 *ad* 228.

recovering the dead at Thermopylai.<sup>126</sup> By then there were certainly only bones left, the decomposing corpses having become the prey of birds sooner or later. It was probably after the battle of Plataiai that the Amphictyons erected the stele with the famous epitaph,<sup>127</sup> which, however, neither mentions Spartans by name nor makes any explicit or implicit reference to Leonidas. The lion, which is a pun on the name of Leonidas, was evidently set up later.

Consequently, before the transference of Leonidas' supposed remains to Sparta, there was but one funeral ceremony held by the Spartans in honour of Leonidas, namely, the carrying out and burial of his *eidolon*, as described by Herodotus with reference to the funeral of a king who dies in battle. One must assume that the grave to which the *εἰδωλον* was carried, instead of being a real tomb, was merely a cenotaph, such as the one Telemachos was advised to build for the king of Ithaka, should the king no longer be alive.<sup>128</sup>

Cenotaphs excavated in archaic and classical Greece and Italy occasionally contain as substitutes for missing bodies crude stone statuettes, or a large stone, around which offerings are placed, and, in one case, a clay bust inside a pot.<sup>129</sup> On the evidence of normal burials lacking a body, Kurtz and Boardman assume that the whole burial ritual may have been carried out perhaps only "when the body was missing and no rites had been performed elsewhere."<sup>130</sup> The cenotaph, in which was eventually buried the "life-size"<sup>131</sup> effigy of the Spartan king, seems to have been an exceptional funerary practice in Laconia. For, although cenotaphs were presumably erected there, as the so-called EN ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ stelai suggest, which have been interpreted in connection with them,<sup>132</sup> these cenotaphs bear only an apparent resemblance to the Spartan royal cenotaph in question. The cenotaphs and the EN ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ stelai were *monuments commemorating* (*μνημεῖα*) deceased Spartan men who had died in a foreign battle and were buried on the spot.<sup>133</sup> In sharp contrast, the cenotaph to which the 'well decked bier' bearing the king's effigy was carried, seems to have served as the *grave* of a king who had missed the rite of burial, because his body had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

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<sup>126</sup> See Robertson 1983, 81.

<sup>127</sup> See Hdt. 7.228.2.

<sup>128</sup> See *Od.* 1.289–91; 2.220–223. See also Andronikos 1968, W 34. Similar cenotaphs were required for other heroes whose remains could not be identified. See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

<sup>129</sup> See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 179 (Schiff's grave in Thera) and 259 (a late-6<sup>th</sup> century Athenian grave and the Classical pot 'burial' at Locri in South Italy), cf. 100.

<sup>130</sup> See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

<sup>131</sup> As Schaefer 1957, 228–9 has suggested.

<sup>132</sup> See Hodkinson 2000, 249–51. The earliest stelai are dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>133</sup> See *ibidem*, 251–54.



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Toher, however, has argued that Herodotus simply says that “an εἶδωλον was present in the funeral of any Spartan king who had died in battle, without any stipulation as to the availability of the corpse;”<sup>134</sup> and that, once we accept that the *eidolon* did not serve as a substitute, comparative evidence demonstrates that it had important symbolic significance,<sup>135</sup> like the images of Roman emperors, which were displayed at their funerals.<sup>136</sup> It is true that life-size and lifelike images (εἰκόνας) depicting Spartan kings, were made during their lifetime or after their death and occasionally set up at sanctuaries.<sup>137</sup> Yet, apart from Leonidas, only two Spartan kings (Kleombrotos and Archidamos III)<sup>138</sup> are known to have been slain on the battlefield during the Classical period,<sup>139</sup> of whom one, Archidamos III, was not actually buried. This means that Herodotus’ generalization concerning the *eidolon* is based on the particular case of Leonidas, in which the *eidolon* served as a substitute, as Schaefer has rightly argued.

The only parallel to this sort of ‘royal substitute’ that I know of, is perhaps to be found in Cypriot archaeology. A most remarkable cenotaph excavated at Salamis in Cyprus has been identified with the cenotaph of the family of the last king of Salamis, who incinerated themselves together with their palace in 311/10 BC. Life-size clay statues were found burned, having been fastened in place by the use of sixteen holes around the pyre. The statues are portraits (εἰκόνας) of old and young men and women. The remains of the pyre contained only offerings, but no human bones.<sup>140</sup>

Religious as well as political and social considerations presumably necessitated an exceptional funeral, in which a substitute for the body of Leonidas was carried out and buried in a cenotaph. Leonidas’ body had been decapitated and exposed by the Persians, without the Spartans being able to repatriate it in order to offer to it the final honours. Leonidas’ head was still fixed on a stake,<sup>141</sup> when Xerxes’ visitors came from Euboea to view the unburied corpses of those opposing the Persian king;<sup>142</sup> among them were the bodies of the

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<sup>134</sup> See Toher 1999, 115.

<sup>135</sup> See *ibidem*, 115–18, 126.

<sup>136</sup> See the so-called ἀνδρείκελον (of wax) raised above the bier (ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος) of Julius Caesar (App. *B. Civ.* 2.20.147); the lifesize wax image standing on the bier of Augustus and his other two images on chariots (Cass. Dio 56.34.1); the absent image from the head of Germanicus’ bier (Tac. *Ann.* 3.5); the wax image standing on Marcus Aurelius’ bier (Hdn. 4.2.2).

<sup>137</sup> See the statue of Archidamos III, set up at Olympia, above and Plut. *Ages.* 2.2.; cf. *Quest. Graec.* 215 a (*Apophthegmata Laconica*). See also Cartledge 1987, 342.

<sup>138</sup> See Richer 1994, 72–3.

<sup>139</sup> With regard to the earlier times, see above n. 115.

<sup>140</sup> See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

<sup>141</sup> See Hdt. 7.238.1 and above.

<sup>142</sup> See Hdt. 8.24–25.1.

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Three Hundred Spartans fallen around Leonidas. The only way to honour the heroic king with a 'royal funeral,' i.e. in his own homeland, was to build a cenotaph among the royal graves of the Agiads,<sup>143</sup> to which they carried a richly decked bier with Leonidas' life-size and lifelike effigy standing on it. Leonidas' funeral was certainly attended by all Spartans. Among them were presumably the relatives of the Three Hundred, whose bodies had not yet been accorded funerary rites or any sort of burial at Thermopylai.<sup>144</sup> Thus, even on the occasion of a national disaster, the carrying out to the tomb of a bier with a royal substitute on it served the function of uniting all Spartans at a single funeral.

From a religious point of view, the *eidolon* was necessary to attract the soul of the unburied king to the grave (cenotaph) and through it to the underworld. For the soul, known as *psyche*, which was called an *eidolon* from the moment it left the body,<sup>145</sup> did not descend to Hades until the corpse had been burned and/or buried, a belief that goes back to Homer.<sup>146</sup> Yet to argue that the *eidolon* was employed to attract to Sparta the 'protective power' of Leonidas<sup>147</sup> is a different matter, not confirmed by the evidence.

A story based on the belief of the protective power of the body of Alexander the Great is indicative.<sup>148</sup> Alexander's followers were arguing about the succession while his body lay unburied, until Aristander of Telmessus told them what the gods had supposedly said to him: the land that received Alexander's body, the earlier habitation of his soul, would be blessed and unconquered for ever. Alexander's generals then begin to quarrel, each one wishing to carry off the prize to his own kingdom. The story continues with the report that when Ptolemy stole Alexander's corpse and hurried with it to Alexandria, he was pursued by Perdiccas. There was a struggle over the corpse, but Ptolemy checked Perdiccas by means of a stratagem: he constructed a likeness (*εἶδωλον*) of Alexander,<sup>149</sup> clad in royal robes and a shroud of considerable quality, set it on one of the Persian carriages and decked out the bier magnificently with silver, gold, and ivory; Alexander's real body he sent ahead without luxury and formality by a secret and little-used route. When Perdiccas seized the imitation corpse and the elaborate carriage, he stopped his pursuit, under the impression that he had acquired the prize. It is too late when he realised he had been deceived.

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<sup>143</sup> See above n. 85.

<sup>144</sup> Leonidas chose his 300 men among the Spartans who had sons living, see Hdt. 7.205.2.

<sup>145</sup> See Burkert 1985, 195. Cf. Richer 1994, 77–8.

<sup>146</sup> See Rohde 1925, 18–9. Cf. Petropoulou 1988, 484–5.

<sup>147</sup> See Richer 1994, 79 ff.

<sup>148</sup> See Ael. VH 12.64.

<sup>149</sup> See Ael. VH 12.64, lines 32–33: *εἶδωλον γὰρ ποιησάμενος ὅμοιον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*.

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The story suggests that the protective power of the king lay in his actual physical remains and not in his *eidolon*, i.e. the life-size and lifelike effigy. This was why forty years after Thermopylai, the Spartans transferred Leonidas' (supposed) relics to a grave in Sparta,<sup>150</sup> as they had done earlier with Orestes' bones.<sup>151</sup> By this time, however, Leonidas had certainly been heroized and his name inscribed on his tomb, as was also the case with the hero of Plataiai, Pausanias, as we shall see below. Because of Leonidas' heroization, the names of the Three Hundred who had died heroically around the king, also became known in visible form for the first time at his tomb. Our witness to this is Pausanias, who saw both the names and patronymics inscribed on a stele erected there.<sup>152</sup> The source of information was evidently some official list on which had been written the names of the 300 men chosen by Leonidas himself, all being fathers of living sons (Hdt. 7.205.2).<sup>153</sup> As for the tomb, in which Leonidas' remains were placed, it was situated not among the other royal Agiad graves,<sup>154</sup> but close to the tomb of Pausanias, the hero of Plataiai. In accordance with a Delphic oracle,<sup>155</sup> the latter's bones had been also transferred to a grave bearing his name,<sup>156</sup> at the spot where he had died, in front of the sacred precinct (*temenos*) of Athena Chalkioikos.

### III. SPARTAN AND ACHAEMENID ROYAL PRACTICES OF COMPULSORY MOURNING

"We should not be too concerned about Herodotus' belief that the Spartans got their funeral rite for their kings from Asiatic practices. This is probably only a deduction based on the evidence for embalming the Spartan kings who had died away from the community and a reflection of the prejudice held generally among classical Greeks that excessive mourning was characteristic of barbarian Asia."<sup>157</sup> This statement is a good example of how easily we can misunderstand the text or the intentions of an author of the calibre of Herodotus. First and foremost,

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<sup>150</sup> See Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>151</sup> See above. For differing views of the importance of Orestes' bones, see McCauley 1999, 88–95.

<sup>152</sup> See Paus. 3.14.1, lines 10–12: *κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν*.

<sup>153</sup> For similar lists kept by the Athenian taxiarchs, against which they checked the names of the missing dead, see Vaughn 1991, 46.

<sup>154</sup> See above n. 85.

<sup>155</sup> See Thuc. 1.134.4.

<sup>156</sup> His body may have been initially buried in Pitana as is assumed by Cartledge 1987, 335.

<sup>157</sup> See Toher 1991, 172, n. 55.

Herodotus does not say that the Spartans got their royal funeral rite from Asiatic practices, but that they practice the same funeral custom as most of the barbarians of Asia. Secondly, there is no indication that Herodotus knew of the Spartan method of ‘embalming’ the Spartan kings who died abroad;<sup>158</sup> but even if he did, he would have probably made no mention of it in his account at 6.58, since he was focusing there only on the public aspect of Spartan royal funerals. Finally, we should not forget that, before coming to mainland Greece, Herodotus was himself a subject of the Persian king and probably had first-hand information on mourning practices in Asia under Persian rule.

As a matter of fact, at 6.59 Herodotus does compare a custom of the Spartans which resembled one of the rituals practiced by the Persians. This was a practice inaugurating the rule of the incoming Spartan and Persian kings *after mourning was over*.<sup>159</sup> It was the remission of loans owed by Spartan citizens indebted to the king or the state (ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὠφείλε) and of the yearly tax (τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον) that was already owed to the new Persian king by subject nations.<sup>160</sup> An exceptional case is the remission of taxes not for one year, but for a three-year period by pseudo-Smerdis (Hdt. 3.67.2–68.1). As soon as he came to the throne, he proclaimed to all nations under his rule a *three-year* remission of tribute and military service, ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἥρχε προεῖπε ἀτελεῖν εἶναι στρατηγίας καὶ φόρον ἐπ’ ἕτεα τρία (3.67.3).<sup>161</sup> So thanks to these extraordinary benefits that the subject nations in Asia received from him, when he died, he was sorely missed by all except the Persians themselves.

At 6.58.2–3, however, Herodotus was simply generalising about the Asiatic, non-Greek peoples who shared the same royal funeral custom with the Spartans. Yet it is usually felt that at this point too he was thinking of the Persians.<sup>162</sup> Below we shall compare Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning. As we shall see, the Achaemenid practices were carried out on a much grander scale than the Spartan customs and, although there are certain similarities, the divergences are much more significant, and are certainly due to the non-despotic character of dual kingship in Classical Sparta.

Greek and Latin historians, beginning with Herodotus, provide us with a few glimpses into Achaemenid funerary concepts or practices that concern pollution and defilement in the context of a royal death. That the pollution

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<sup>158</sup> Cf. Cartledge 1987, 334.

<sup>159</sup> See on this point above.

<sup>160</sup> A description of the tribute system and the yearly tributes of the subject nations is given by Hdt. 3.89–96.

<sup>161</sup> The passage is cited by Scott 2005, 251.

<sup>162</sup> See Cartledge 1987, 333. Cf. Millender 2002, 6.

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deriving from a king's body had a greater effect than that from a commoner's corpse, was probably a notion prevalent among most "barbarians of Asia". Yet unlike the death of a Spartan king, that of an Achaemenid seems to have been capable of affecting not just the city where the king resided (i.e. Persepolis), but the entire Persian state. This is suggested by Diodorus Siculus' report (17.114.4) on the measures taken by Alexander the Great when preparing the funeral of Hephaestion. Alexander proclaimed to all the peoples in Asia that they should sedulously extinguish what the Persians called 'sacred fire',<sup>163</sup> until the *ekphora* was over. According to Diodorus, Alexander was acting in accordance with a custom held by the Persians on the deaths of their kings, τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τελευτάς. The Persians, like the Greeks, believed in the sacred nature of fire, but their fusion of religious concepts and funerary customs was governed by an extreme sense of purity. For the Persians, fire was the symbol of the light of the great god and should not be polluted by dead bodies, which were buried in the earth, rather than being cremated.<sup>164</sup> Persian concern for the purity of fire was so great that they put to death even those blowing the sacrificial fire with their breath instead of fanning it, not to mention those setting a corpse or dung on it.<sup>165</sup>

Compulsory mourning throughout the empire was certainly a feature of royal Achaemenid funerals. Direct evidence is lacking, but we do know the actions of Cyrus the Great, when his beloved wife Cassandane died. In addition to grieving deeply, he issued a proclamation that all his subjects go into mourning for her, Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἥρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι (Hdt. 2.1.1). Likewise Alexander, on the death of Hephaestion, is said to have proclaimed that the entire barbarian world should go into mourning (Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.9).<sup>166</sup> As in the case of the sacred fire, Alexander was probably observing a Persian royal custom. Consequently the Achaemenid kings occasionally granted to a dearest member of the royal family, such as a beloved wife, the same extraordinary funerary honours they themselves received upon their death.

How the compulsory mourning for the death of Cassandane was actually effected, we do not know. Information on Persians mourning in public is scarce. In any case, Greek authors were struck by the Persians' excessive expressions of grief, whenever facing national disaster. Men and women alike tore not only hair

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<sup>163</sup> For perpetually burning fires on the altars within Persian temples in Cappadocia, see Strab. 15.3.15. For a fire altar placed by Eumenes in front of the statue of Alexander, see Diod. Sic. 18.61.1.

<sup>164</sup> See Razmjou 2005, 154.

<sup>165</sup> See Strab. 15.3.14.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Plut. *Pel.* 34.2.

but also clothes.<sup>167</sup> These, however, were spontaneous reactions, as they were among the Greeks.

How exactly the Achaemenid kings were publicly mourned is not recorded. However, the self-defilement and lamentation of the entire Persian army and Mardonius himself on the death of Masistios, the commander of the Persian cavalry, may give us some idea.<sup>168</sup> When Masistios was slain in a battle preliminary to Plataiai and his body was not retrieved, the Persians indulged in deep mourning, which lasted a prescribed period of time, the length of which is not reported.<sup>169</sup> They defiled not only themselves but also their horses and yoke-animals, by cutting their own hair and the animals' manes, and they lamented endlessly: σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτω (Hdt. 9.24). It is worth noting that the word οἰμωγῇ, which means "wailing,"<sup>170</sup> is used by Herodotus only in Persian contexts;<sup>171</sup> and that those mourning for the loss of Masistios probably amounted to no fewer than 30,000.<sup>172</sup> Their wailing, we are told, was so intense that it was heard all over Boeotia.

Attendance at the funeral and public lamentation for a deceased king was evidently also imposed upon all the subjects of the Persians, at least those who were of Iranian origin.<sup>173</sup> However, we do not know how many members of Iranian households were obliged to defile themselves or attend the funeral. With regard to the defilement of mourners, the question also arises as to whether these mourners, in addition to cutting their hair, had to wear white garments, white being the colour of mourning among the Iranians.<sup>174</sup>

We are better informed about the imposition of public mourning from texts referring to tyrants ruling in Asia Minor or mainland Greece. The antiquarian Hippias Erythraeus provides us with interesting information about Ortyges, an otherwise unknown tyrant of Erythrai, which was under Persian rule

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<sup>167</sup> See Hdt. 3.66.1; 8.99.2. See also Curt. 3.11.25: *Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste*.

<sup>168</sup> See on the subject, Petropoulou 2008, 19–20.

<sup>169</sup> The duration of mourning, which is presumed to be two or three days, was dictated by the fact that war was still in progress. See Petropoulou 2008, 20. Patroclus was mourned for three whole days. See Petropoulou 1986–1987, 32–4.

<sup>170</sup> See Powell 1938, s.v. οἰμωγῇ.

<sup>171</sup> See Cartledge 1987, 334. Excessive lamentation becomes a feature of the barbarian world in Attic tragedy. See Millender 2002, 7–8.

<sup>172</sup> Not including the Greek allies of the Persians. See Petropoulou 2008, 20.

<sup>173</sup> Should we count among them the Bactrians and the Sacae, who formed part of Mardonius' army at Plataiai? On this latter point, see Hdt. 9.31.3–4 and Green 1996, 249–50. Cf. also Petropoulou 2008, 20.

<sup>174</sup> See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962, 104.

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in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>175</sup> Whenever one of them died, Ortyges and his fellow tyrants, who had murdered king Knopos, gathered together the citizens with their wives and children and compelled them to lament the dead and to beat their breasts and utter shrill and loud cries, while a man armed with a whip (*μαστιγοφόρος*) stood over them and forced them to do so. The regulation of the mourners' behaviour by a *μαστιγοφόρος* reminds us of the whips used by the leaders of the Persian regiments at Thermopylai to drive their men into combat (Hdt. 7.223). So even if Ortyges and his fellow tyrants are semi-historical persons, such a description of forced funerary behaviour seems to reflect historical practices.

On the other hand, the members of the Corinthian clan of Bacchiadai obliged the Megarians to attend their funerals, according to a scholium on Pindar (*Nem.* 7.155 b)<sup>176</sup> adduced as evidence by Toher.<sup>177</sup> The Megarians did so "in their subordinate role as colonists of the Corinthians,"<sup>178</sup> or because they had been reduced to perioikic status, as van Wees has proposed.<sup>179</sup> One may also remark that Megarian men and "married" women, i.e. married couples, were obliged to attend the funerals,<sup>180</sup> but not children as well.

In spite of the similarities between Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning, by far more significant are the divergences. The Spartan royal obligatory mourning seems to differ in two respects from that imposed by the Achaemenids or earlier Greek tyrants: (1) the recipients of the Spartan funerary honours are the kings alone, not their wives as well, or other members of the royal family or milieu; and (2) the obligation for ritual defilement is restricted to specifically defined numbers of *adult* male and female (free) members of every Spartan and Laconian household, i.e. married couples, while only a specific number of the *perioikoi* (married couples) who have defiled themselves are required to attend the funeral as mourners for the dead king. It should be noted that there is no case known of public mourning for a Spartan king's deceased wife, even if she happened to have been as loved by him as Cassandane was by Cyrus. A case in point is Agiatis, the beautiful and prudent wife of Cleomenes III, whose love for her is said to have been without limit.

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<sup>175</sup> See *FGrH* 421 F 1 (=Ath. 6.259).

<sup>176</sup> The story, which supposedly explained the proverb "Megarian tears," is attributed to the atthidographer Demon (*FGrH* 327.19) but may go back to Ephorus. See van Wees 2003, 62–64 and n. 90. See also Luraghi 2003, 114 and n. 23.

<sup>177</sup> See Toher 1991, 173.

<sup>178</sup> See *ibidem* 174.

<sup>179</sup> See the other of the two interpretations proposed by van Wees 2003, 63–4.

<sup>180</sup> Ἐδει Μεγαρέων ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας εἰς Κόρινθον συγκηδεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν [τῶν Βακχιαδῶν].

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When she died, the king mourned for her privately, with his mother and children at home.<sup>181</sup> The behaviour of Cleomenes stands in sharp contrast to that of Cyrus the Great.

### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Hodkinson<sup>182</sup> has recently noted two exceptions to the egalitarian funerary practices of the Spartans: the return to Sparta for burial of the bodies of the kings who died abroad and the public nature of the funerary rites, which did not restrict involvement to certain degrees of kin. He has also cited three specific rites: (1) the proclamation of the king's death throughout Laconia; (2) the imposition of mourning on two free persons from every household; and (3) the compulsory attendance at the burial not only by Spartiates but also by *perioikoi* and helots, who all lamented together, while proclaiming that their last king was the best.

We have further argued (I) that all practices concerning compulsory mourning are exceptions one way or another in the context of Classical Sparta: (1) the announcement of a king's death not by heralds but by horsemen, probably the five so-called *agathoergoi* of the year; (2) the simultaneous purification of the city of Sparta by married women performing a beating on cauldrons ritual; (3) the self-defilement of one married couple in every Spartan and Laconian household, which was probably effected through wearing black clothes and having one's hair cut; (4) the attendance and ritual lamentation at the burial by married couples not only of all Spartans but also of certain numbers of *perioikoi* and helots, which was performed without restraint; and (5) the closing of the marketplace and the postponement of the succession procedure until the days were no longer regarded as inauspicious.

We have also shown (II) that the repatriation of the bodies of the kings who died abroad, was a *sine qua non* for a Spartan royal funeral; and that the grave to which the king's *eidolon* was carried mentioned by Herodotus was actually a cenotaph. This latter procedure, which was carried out in the case of Leonidas, was necessitated by the fact that his decapitated body had been left exposed on the battlefield, rather than being repatriated and buried in Sparta. All these honours were practices with which no other Spartan of the Classical period, no matter how high his rank, had ever been honoured either singly or collectively. These exceptional honours justify Xenophon's view (*Lac.* 15.8–9) that

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<sup>181</sup> See Plut. *Cleom.* 22.1–3.

<sup>182</sup> See Hodkinson 2000, 262–3.



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the Spartans honoured their kings posthumously with exceptional τιμαί, regardless of what the precise meaning of the phrase ὥς ἥρωας may be.<sup>183</sup>

Finally, we have shown (III), that although there are certain similarities between Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning, the chief similarity being the effect on the state of the pollution caused by the death of a king and the modes of self-defilement (cutting of one's hair) and ritual lamentation (without restraint), the divergences are far more significant. In Sparta only a king – and no other member of his family – receives exceptional honours on his death, while public mourning (i.e. both self-defilement and attendance with lamentation at the funeral) is imposed upon specific numbers and ages of mourners in every household, namely upon one married couple, not upon the entire family including children. On the other hand, Achaemenid kings and Greek tyrants more or less arbitrarily proclaim public mourning on the death of other members of the royal family or ruling clan/class as well. As for those obliged to attend the funeral and act as mourners, they were occasionally, as at Erythrai, not restricted to specific numbers or ages and included both young and elderly family members.

Tyrtaeus'<sup>184</sup> evidence for forced (attendance and) lamentation by the Messenian helots at the funerals of their Spartan masters seems to suggest that the imposition of mourning at the Spartan royal obsequies derives from archaic Spartan funerary customs, which had been exceptionally preserved<sup>185</sup> and re-adapted to fit the non--despotic character of dual kingship. By contrast, defilement (μιασμοί) and public lamentation (ὀδυρμοί), means through which the imposition of royal mourning is actually expressed, had been abolished in the private sphere in the archaic period, a measure attributed to Lykourgos.

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<sup>183</sup> See the opposing views of Cartledge 1987, 335–6 and Parker 1988, 9–10; cf. Cartledge 1988, 43–4.

<sup>184</sup> See fr. 7 (West): δεσπότης οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. van Wees 2003, 34–7.

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